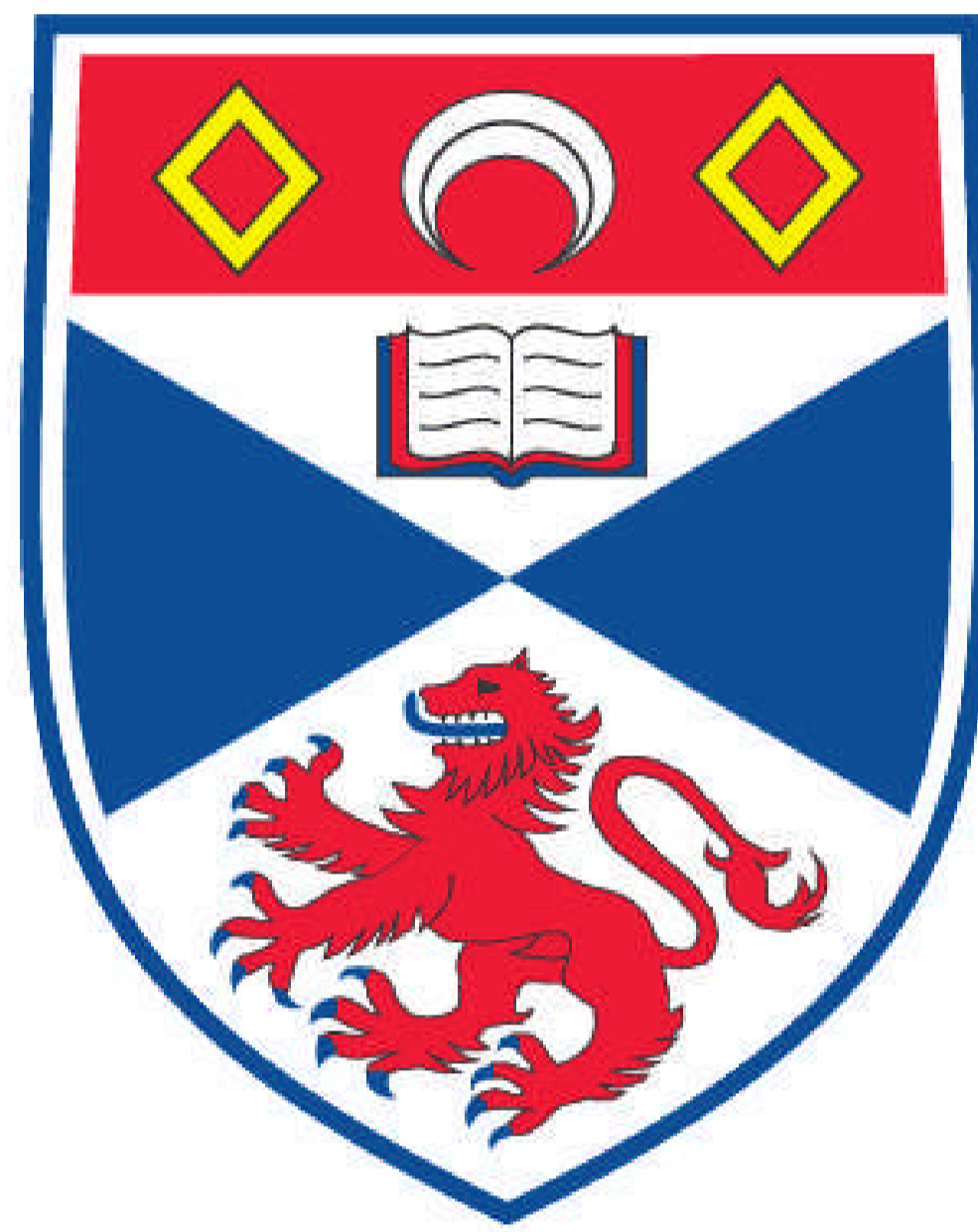


**AL-MAQALAT AL JAWHARIYYA `ALA AL-MAQAMAT AL-HARIRIYYA (VOL. I)**

**Ismail bin Haji Ibrahim**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St. Andrews**



**1975**

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A CRITICAL EDITION

of

AL-MAQĀLĀT AL-JAWHARIYYA 'ALĀ AL-MAQĀMĀT AL-HARIRIYYA

(Volume I)

of

KHAYR AL-DĪN IBN TĀJ AL-DĪN ILYĀS AL-MADANĪ

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A thesis submitted to the  
University of St. Andrews  
for the degree of Ph.D

by

Ismail B.H. IBRAHIM

-----  
May,  
1975



AL-MAQĀLĀT AL-JAWHARIYYA 'ALĀ AL-MAQĀMĀT AL-ḤARĪRIYYA

Abstract of the Thesis

The Thesis presents a critical edition of the first volume of Khayr al-Dīn ibn Tāj al-Dīn Ilyās al-Madani's al-Maqālāt al-Jawhariyya 'alā al-Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīriyya, accompanied by an introduction dealing briefly with the Maqāmāt as a literary genre, the commentaries on the Maqāmāt, the description of various manuscripts of al-Maqālāt and the authorship of the work.

The text itself consists of a preface, the commentary on Ḥarīrī's preface, followed by the commentary on the first twenty-five Maqāmāt of unequal length. Volume two of al-Maqālāt consists of the commentary on the remaining twenty-five Maqāmāt. This has been found too long to include in this work. It is hoped, however, that it will be possible to edit this volume separately in the future.

This work, al-Maqālāt, was brought to my notice by the book Makamat by Theodore Preston,\* Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University, who in his preface mentions al-Maqālāt and describes it

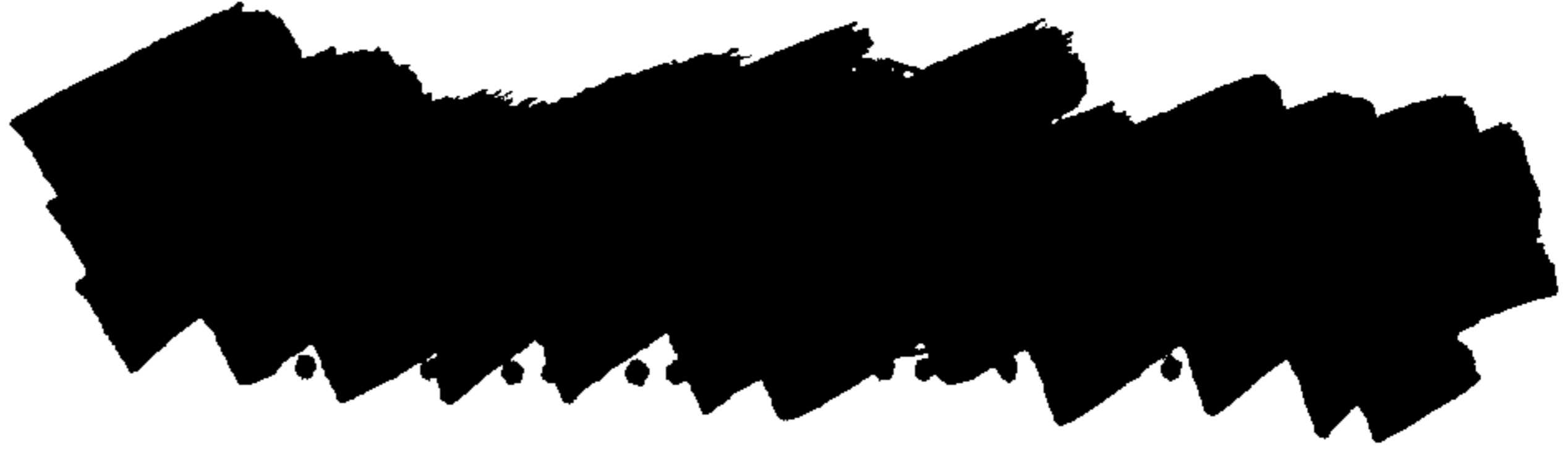
\* Published in London, 1850.

as "an excellent running commentary on the Makamat." The two volumes of the work are contained in the Burchardt collection of the Cambridge University Library, and "it is a very lucid and valuable work, and well deserves to be edited."

My first task in the attempt to edit al-Maḡalāt, then, was a search, extending from Cambridge to Cairo, Alexandria and Patna, for the manuscripts of that and other books of commentary on the Maḡamāt, most of which are still in manuscript form.

C E R T I F I C A T I O N

I CERTIFY THAT Ismail bin Haji Ibrahim  
has completed nine terms of research work in the United  
College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, University of  
St. Andrews, that he has fulfilled the conditions of  
Resolution No. 1 (1967) of the University Court, and  
that he is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis  
in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

A large, irregular black redaction mark covering the signature area of the document.

R.D. Galloway  
(Supervisor)

## Declaration

I hereby declare that the following is a record of research work carried out by me; that the thesis is my own composition, and that it has not previously been presented for any other degree.

.....  
Ismail bin Haji Ibrahim

St. Andrews.

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Jawhariyya 'alā al-Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīriyya : 1 - 652



ABBREVIATIONS

- Bughyā : Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Suyūṭī, Bughyat al-Wu'āt fi Ṭabaqāt al-Lughawiyyīn wa al-Nuhāt, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (2 vols.) Cairo, 1964-1965.
- Cheikho : Louis Cheikho, al-Ādāb al-'Arabiyya fi al-Qarn al-Tāsi 'Ashar, (2 vols.) Beirut, 1924 (second edition).
- Chenery : Thomas Chenery, The Assemblies of al-Hariri, volume 1, London, 1867. Republished by Gregg International Publishers Ltd., Hants., England. 1969.
- De Sacy : Silvestre De Sacy, Les Séances de Hariri, (2 vols.) Paris, 1847. Republished, Amsterdam, 1968.
- Fawāt : Muḥammad ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, Fawāt al-Wafayāt, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyi al-Dīn 'Abd al-Hamid (2 vols.) Cairo, 1951.
- GAL : C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur, (2nd edition, 2 vols.) Leiden, 1943, 1949. Suppl., (3 vols.) Leiden, 1937 - 1942.
- Hajji  
Khalfah : Kashf al-Zunūn 'an al-Asāmī wa al-Funūn, Published for the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland (7 vols.) Leipzig/London, 1835-1858.

- Ibn Khallikān : Ahmad Ibn Khallikān, Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary, translated from the Arabic of Wafayāt al-A'yan wa Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān, by Mac Guckin de Slane, (4 vols.) London, 1842 - 1871
- Al-Kāmil : Abū al-Hasan 'Alī ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh, (12 vols.) Cairo, 1303/1885.
- MacKay : Professor Pierre MacKay, Certificates of Transmission on a Manuscript of the Maqāmāt of Harīrī (MS. Cairo, Adab 105). Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Philadelphia, vol. 61, Part 4, April, 1971.
- Preston : Theodore Preston, Makamat or Rhetorical Anecdotes of al-Hariri of Basra, London, 1850.
- Sharh Maqāmāt al-Hamadhānī : Muḥammad Muhyī 'al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Sharh Maqāmāt Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, Cairo, 1962 (second edition).

- Sharīshī : Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min al-Qaysī al-Sharīshī, Sharh Maqāmāt al-Harīrī, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mun'im Khafājī (4 vols.) Cairo, 1952.
- Steingass : F. Steingass, The Assemblies of al-Hariri, volume II, London 1898. Republished by Gregg International Publishers Ltd., Hants, England, 1969.
- Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya : Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya al-Kubrā, (6 vols.) Cairo, 1905-6.
- Wensinck : A. J. Wensinck, Concordance de la Tradition Musulmane, (7 vols.) المعجم المفهرس لألفاظ الحديث النبوي Leiden, 1936.
- Yāqūt : Yāqūt al-Rūmī, Yāqūt's Dictionary of Learned Men entitled Irshād al-Arīb ilā Ma'rifat al-Adīb, ed. D. S. Margoliouth (7 vols.) partially revised, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series VI, London/Leiden, 1923-1931.

PREFACE

The Thesis presents a critical edition of the first volume of Khayr al-Dīn ibn Tāj al-Dīn Ilyās al-Madani's<sup>1</sup> al-Maqālāt al-Jawhariyya 'alā al-Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīriyya,<sup>2</sup> accompanied by an introduction dealing briefly with the Maqāmāt as a literary genre, the commentaries on the Maqāmāt, the description of various manuscripts of al-Maqālāt and the authorship of the work.

The text itself consists of a preface, the commentary on Ḥarīrī's preface, followed by the commentary on the first twenty-five Maqāmāt of unequal length. Volume two of al-Maqālāt consists of the commentary on the remaining twenty-five Maqāmāt. This has been found too long to include in this work. It is hoped, however, that it will be possible to edit this volume separately in the future.

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1. Hereafter, Khayr al-Dīn.  
2. Hereafter, al-Maqālāt.

This work, al-Maqālāt, was brought to my notice by the book Makāmāt or Rhetorical Anecdotes<sup>3</sup> by Theodore Preston, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University, who in his preface<sup>4</sup> mentions al-Maqālāt and describes it as "an excellent running commentary on the Makāmāt." The two volumes of the work are contained in the Burchardt collection of the Cambridge University library<sup>5</sup>, and "it is a very lucid and valuable work, and well deserves to be edited".<sup>6</sup>

My first task in the attempt to edit al-Maqālāt, then, was a search, extending from Cambridge to Cairo, Alexandria and Patna, for the manuscripts of that and other books of commentary on the Maqāmāt, most of which are still in manuscript form.

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3. See pp 50-51 for the discussion on this book.

4. Preston, p. 5

5. E.G. Browne, Handlist of the Muhammadan Manuscripts in the libraries of the University and Colleges of Cambridge, Cambridge, 1922, p.214.

6. Preston - p. 15.

3

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Dr. J. Burton, without whose able and scholarly guidance, this work would not have been possible, and to Dr. J.R. Perry (now in Chicago University) and Dr. H. Kilpatrick, who gave me all possible help and guidance during their supervision of my work in the early stage of my research. It is mainly due to the encouragement of these teachers and supervisors that I took up this interesting but difficult subject. I offer them my sincere thanks.

Microfilms of al-Maqālāt were very kindly supplied by the librarian of Cambridge University library, for which I am grateful. I should also like to express my thanks to the Director and the Assistant of Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Patna for the microfilms of al-Maqālāt they were kind enough to provide.

Other manuscripts of al-Maqālāt from Cairo were obtained for me by several of my good friends there, among whom special mention should be made of the Director's secretary, National library of Egypt (Dār al-Kutub al-Qawmiyya al-Miṣriyya) who not only obtained the microfilms of the manuscripts for me, but gave me access to those manuscripts and others during my stay in Cairo in March - April, 1973. My thanks are also due to Mr. Rashad 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib of the library of the Arab League in Cairo, and his assistants, who have shown interest in this work, and were responsible for providing me with microfilms of the commentaries on the Maqāmāt by 'Ukbari<sup>7</sup> and Rāzī<sup>8</sup>, and giving me much help in locating other manuscripts in the library. I am also grateful to the officials of the Alexandria Governorate Public Library, who gave me access to this and other manuscripts.

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7. See pp.41-43 for his work.

8. See p. 44.

I also wish to express my profound gratitude to a very kind friend from Medina, Mr. 'Ubayd Madanī, who, having read in the Arab League's pamphlet Akhbār al-Turāth al-'Arabi of 1 April, 1973 that I was undertaking this work, immediately wrote to me offering his assistance, and then kindly gave me valuable information and some important materials regarding the author of al-Maḡālāt, for he himself was preparing the biographies of the writers of Medina from the pre-Islamic period to the present. I can never repay the debt of gratitude that I owe him.

Finally, I would like to thank all the members of the University library, St. Andrews, who have in many ways assisted the progress of this work, as well as to the Universiti Kebangsaan (The National University) of Malaysia for the award of a scholarship which has enabled me to undertake this research.



The Maqāmāt as a Literary Genre

Ḥarīrī, whose full name was Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn 'Alī al-Ḥarīrī al-Basrī al-Ḥaramī (446/1054 - 516/1122)<sup>9</sup> completed the Maqāmāt in the year 504/1111. This date for the completion of the work is given by Yāqūt, who also mentions the date when Ḥarīrī began the work as the year 495. According to Professor Mackay, discussing the colophon and primary certificate of transmission of the earliest manuscript of the Maqāmāt<sup>10</sup>, the latest possible date for the completion of the work is Sha'bān, 504,<sup>11</sup> which confirms the date given by Yāqūt. The work then received immediate acceptance when Ḥarīrī brought it up from Basra to Baghdad in the very year of its completion.<sup>12</sup> But Ḥarīrī, being a modest writer, did not claim himself as the originator of the Maqāmāt, for in his preface to his Maqāmāt

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9. For his biography and works see for instance Yāqūt, v.6, pp.167-184, Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya, v.4, pp.295-298 and Hajji Khalfah, v.6, pp.57-59.

10. Prof. Mackay, University of Washington, mentions that MS. Adab 105 in the National Library of Egypt is the earliest MS of the Maqāmāt and was copied in the same year that Ḥarīrī completed his work. Mackay, p.6.

11. Ibid, p.8

12. So Yāqūt's report, loc. cit.

he wrote that Badi' al-Zaman al-Hamadhani<sup>13</sup> was the first to write this kind of work; al-Hamadhani, therefore, should be preferred to himself, being the earlier author.<sup>14</sup>

Ibn Khallikan for his part frankly says<sup>15</sup> that "The hafiz Abu al-Fadl Ahmad ibn Husayn ibn Yahya ibn Sa'id al-Hamadhani is the author of some beautiful examples of excellent Maqamat, which al-Hariri took as a model for his, fashioning them on the same plan, and imitating the manner of their author in whose footsteps he walked." The general assumption of educated Arabs is that al-Hamadhani was the true originator of the Maqamat genre. As al-Qalqashandi states,<sup>16</sup> "Al-Hamadhani was the originator of the Maqamat genre, and was then followed by Hariri." Al-Qalqashandi, however, insists on the superiority of Hariri's work which

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13. 358/968 - 398/1008. For biographical details see for instance Yaqut, v.I, pp.94-118.

14. See the preface of Hariri to the Maqamat. For English translation see for example Chenery, p.105.

15. Ibn Khallikan, v.I, p.215.

16. Subh al-A'sha (14 vols.) Cairo, 1963, v.14, p.110.

he says, surpassed al-Hamadhānī's, and its elegance and refinement outshone al-Hamadhānī's work and contributed to its neglect.<sup>17</sup> Ḥarīrī in his preface speaks about al-Hamadhānī's superiority with a respect approaching veneration, while implying indirectly that he believes himself to have surpassed his model, as we can see in maqāma forty-seven where Abū Zayd, Ḥarīrī's hero, is made to say "If al-Iskandarī<sup>18</sup> has been before me, the dew precedes the shower, but the shower excels the dew in fructifying bounty."<sup>19</sup> Indeed, the praises which Ḥarīrī received were enough to exalt him in his own esteem.

But this opinion was challenged in the year 1930 by Zakī Mubārak when he concluded<sup>20</sup> that "..... the commonly held opinion for centuries that Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī is the true originator of the Maqāmāt genre is erroneous." Mubārak indeed said that the perpetrator of the "error"

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17. loc. cit.

18. Abū al-Fath al-Iskandarī, al-Hamadhānī's hero in his Maqāmāt.

19. See Steingass for English translation, p.162.

20. "اصلاح خطأ قديم مرت عليه قرون في نشأة المقامات"

Al-Muqtataf, v.76 (1930) pp.418-420.

was Ḥarīrī himself whose acknowledgement in his preface states that al-Hamadhānī "invented the Maqāmāt." According to Mubārak the originator of the Maqāmāt genre was Ibn Durayd<sup>21</sup> who composed forty stories of his own invention, using the style of the Arabs of the pre-Islamic period, full of rare and forceful phrases. In order to rival Ibn Durayd, al-Hamadhānī composed his Maqāmāt. But Ibn Durayd had called his composition Aḥādīth.<sup>22</sup> In fact, Mubārak's opinion was based on that of al-Ḥusrī in his Zahr al-Adab where he mentions<sup>23</sup> that "having seen Ibn Durayd's forty stories,..... al-Hamadhānī followed him with his Maqāmāt."

This criticism was replied to at once by Muṣṭafā Ṣādiq al-Rāfi'ī in the same periodical<sup>24</sup> with arguments to prove the weakness of Mubārak's opinion, and to show how al-Ḥusrī, the root of the conflict, was alone among critics in his point of view on this matter. Al-Rāfi'ī stressed that a great critic such as al-Tha'ālibī, who was

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21. Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Durayd (d.321/933). See Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, Leiden/London, 1954, v.3, p.757.

22. Zakī Mubārak, al-Nathr al-Fannī fi al-Qarn al-Rābi', Cairo, 1934, v.I, pp.198-200.

23. Zahr al-Adab, v.1, p.307

24. Al-Muqtataf, v.77, pp.588-590.

al-Hamadhānī's contemporary, had never expressed this opinion. Al-Husrī, who was from Qairawān, had never travelled to Irak in order to seek the opportunity to study the works of al-Hamadhānī and Ibn Durayd.

This controversy, however, does not make any alteration to the general opinion that al-Hamadhānī was the "father of the Maqāmāt genre". Though we can see the influence of Ibn Durayd's stories on the Maqāmāt, such as in the style of composition which relies on narration, rhythmic prose, telling and rare phrases, there are, nevertheless, differences between the two works.<sup>25</sup> The Maqāmāt have only one hero and one narrator, (rāwī), who are set in an elegant realistic background which makes the work the most comprehensive of its kind. It was meant for the wise and eloquent, not for common people, since the author composed it in a literary style with rare words and phrases, remarkable idioms, proverbs and poetry. Mubarak himself agreed with this point, admitting that, although Ibn Durayd was the originator of the Maqāmāt genre,

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25. See Victor al-Kuk, Badī'at al-Zamān, Beirut, 1961, pp.54-55 for further discussion on the differences between these two works.

al-Hamadhānī's work is the more artistic and comprehensive, and that the writers who wrote after al-Hamadhānī followed his style, and called their works maqāmāt instead of ahādīth.<sup>26</sup> Professor Beeston, in his article The Genesis of the Maqāmāt Genre,<sup>27</sup> writes that al-Hamadhānī's originality lies in two things; firstly, the adoption of saj' as a vehicle for the entire composition, narrative parts included; (this is something that had not been attempted before.) The second point is the frank admission that his stories are fictional. It is typical of anecdote in all ages and places that, however manifestly fictional the narratives may be, they should be given a spurious air of truth by being woven round the names of historical personages.<sup>28</sup>

I do not intend, however, to extend the discussion of this point which is beyond the scope of my work. I shall now proceed to the most important point, the description of the Maqāmāt, and

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26. Zakī Mubārak, al-Nathr al-Fannī fī al-Qarn al-Rābi', v.1, p.201. See pp.14,60 for some of the writers of the Maqāmāt after al-Hamadhānī.

27. Journal of Arabic Literature, v.2, Leiden (1971) pp.1-12.

28. Prof. Beeston gives as an example of this characteristic "Have you heard what Mr. Wilson said to his wife as they were leaving No.10 Downing Street .....?" op. cit. p.9

the question of how such a form of composition took its place in Arabic literature. Since the pre-Islamic period, the Arabs have appreciated true poetry. Some of them could repeat hundreds of qasidas and poems, whilst others could quote verses descriptive of every part of the camel or horse, or in praise or defamation of the multitudinous tribes. Others professed to explain the origin of innumerable proverbs and sayings.<sup>29</sup> In the early period of Islam this tradition remained, and men's memories were exercised on a poetic production which, though individually short, formed as a whole a mass of literature of <sup>vast</sup> ~~unimaginable~~ magnitude.<sup>30</sup> The rawī (reciter), therefore, was in high favour as the repository of communications expressing vividly the spirit both of his own time and of the past. He spent his time learning poetry by heart and studying the lives of the poets and the incidents to which their compositions referred.<sup>31</sup>

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29. See Chenery, pp.16-17 where he also claims that writing was almost unknown among the pre-Islamic Arabs at the time when their poetical vigour was at its height.

30. See R.A.Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs, Cambridge, 1969, pp.131-132 for the tradition of the old poetry and the great importance of oral transmission. See also MacKay, pp.5-6.

31. R.A.Nicholson, *op. cit.* p.132.

Al-Hamadhānī was a member of this school. Biographers<sup>32</sup> of al-Hamadhānī always describe him as a person who had a wonderful memory owing to which he could repeat a lengthy work he had heard only once, turning prose into verse, or verse into prose with equal facility. He then became celebrated for his new form of composition which was eminently fitted to display the powers that he possessed. He imagined an improviser who was given to wandering from place to place, and a reciter who should continually meet him and relate his adventures repeating his excellent composition. To this work he gave the name Maqāmāt. His narrator is called 'Isā ibn Hishām, and the improviser is Abū al-Fath al-Iskandari. Through them, al-Hamadhānī has succeeded in maintaining a certain unity in his work, avoiding abrupt transitions, while he introduces and illustrates all the different ideas of his composition. Learned people admired al-Hamadhānī's composition and loved to listen to the rhythmic cadences of the prose and verse as they were chanted by the reciter,

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32. See for instance Yāqūt, v.1, pp.95-96 and al-Tha'ālibī, Yatīmat al-Dahr, v.4, p.240 for his literary talent and his powerful memory.



through whom the author displays his eloquence, poetical power and learning.<sup>33</sup> The author was therefore honoured with the title of Badi' al-Zamān "The Wonder of the Age".<sup>34</sup>

There were many writers after al-Hamadhānī who composed maqāmāt in his style, such as Abū al-Aṣḥab 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Tammām al-'Irāqī<sup>35</sup> who composed maqāmāt about the ba'th (the resurrection); Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusāyn,<sup>36</sup> Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mukhtār ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abdūn ibn Buṭlān<sup>37</sup> and Abū Ḥumayd Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī,<sup>38</sup> but none, except Ḥarīrī, ever succeeded in achieving what al-Hamadhānī had exhibited in his work with his combination of language and style, rich store of metaphors, ancient proverbs and riddles. Ḥarīrī produced fifty Maqāmāt as models of accuracy in a series of rhythmical and metrical anecdotes to embody all the refinements of grammar, rhetoric,

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33. For details of this treatment see Victor al-Kuk, Badi'at al-Zamān, pp.66-82.

34. It seems that al-Tha'ālībī was the first who gave him this title. See Yatimat al-Dahr, v.4, p.240.

35. 10th century A.D. GAL, 1, p.524

36. He was born in Baghdad in 410/1020 and died in 485/1092. GAL, Suppl. 1, p.486

37. GAL, Suppl. 1, p.885

38. (450/1058 - 505/1111) GAL, 1, p.423.

poetry, history and tradition that the author's extensive learning could supply. The celebrity of the work, therefore, is mainly due to its consummate literary form, a point on which the Arabs have always bestowed singular attention, and the Maqāmāt of Ḥarīrī are prized as a unique monument of their language, antiquities and culture.<sup>39</sup>

Besides the literary motifs and the influence of al-Hamadhānī, the historical origin of Ḥarīrī's Maqāmāt is, according to general tradition, factual. When the armies of the crusaders had forced their way into Syria and carried on a ~~remorseless~~ <sup>sporadic</sup> war <sup>fare</sup> against the local Muslims, the war made many people homeless and drove them forth to exile and poverty.<sup>40</sup> One of them, a stranger from Sarūj,<sup>41</sup> one day entered the mosque of Banū Ḥarām <sup>in Basra</sup> where Ḥarīrī was sitting in company.<sup>42</sup> The stranger was an old man with old

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39. See this point in R.A.Nicholson, op. cit. p.336.

40. Al-Kāmil, v.10, p.113, also Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades, (3 vols.) Cambridge, 1954-5, v.1, pp.209-210.

41. A town not far from Edessa. It was taken by the crusaders in 494/1101. See al-Kāmil, v.10, p.113

42. This meeting took place in the year 495/1102, a year after the occupation of Sarūj by Baldwin of Edessa. Ibid, same page.

garments and all the marks of poverty, but he excited the curiosity of Ḥarīrī and his friends with the fluency and eloquence of his address, in which he related the destruction of his city, the loss of his daughter, and his own exile and beggary. Ḥarīrī, being excited by the tale told by the old man, whose kunya was Abū Zayd, went home and wrote the maqāma of al-Haramiyya.<sup>43</sup> This story about the original Abū Zayd, Ḥarīrī's hero in the Maqāmāt, is related by most of Ḥarīrī's biographers, including Yāqūt<sup>44</sup> who heard it from al-Fanjadīhī,<sup>45</sup> one of the authors of a commentary on the Maqāmāt, who in his turn heard it from Ibn Naqur who heard it from Ḥarīrī himself. Al-Rāzī,<sup>46</sup> in his commentary on the Maqāmāt, quoted Ḥarīrī as describing Abū Zayd as "a fluent old man, full of eloquence and cleverness, who visited us in the mosque of Banū Ḥarām,

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43. This was the first maqāma to be composed, though in the final rearrangement it is placed as the forty-eighth. See, for example, Steingass, p.163.

44. V.6, pp.167-168

45. See pp.32-34 for this author and his work.

46. See p.44 for his work. De Sacy quotes this information in his commentary on the 48th maqāma, v.2, p.643.

conversed with the people and asked alms of them. I was filled with wonder and began that same night the composition of the maqāma of al-Haramiyya, imitating his style."<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, in the same biography of Ḥarīrī, Yāqūt offered another model for Abū Zayd in the person of Abū Zayd ibn Salām<sup>48</sup> al-Basrī, a grammarian of uncertain moral character. This story is related by Yāqūt as a direct report from Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd ibn al-Dubaythī.<sup>49</sup> This original Abū Zayd is also referred to by al-Subkī,<sup>50</sup> but with less confidence. He just said that the story was related by "some people". The two Abū Zayds, therefore, seem to be quite separate. Professor MacKay<sup>51</sup> himself has not been able to find any explicit reference to Abū Zayd "al-Sarūjī" then "al-Basrī". But according to him again, there is enough detail to justify the belief that Abū Zayd ibn Sallār existed, so he continues to suspect that Abū Zayd ibn Sallār was not the same person as Abū Zayd

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47. The same story was also quoted by Hajji Khalfah, v.6, p.57.

48. The name according to Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya is Ibn Sallār, v.4, p.296. Prof. MacKay also quotes this name as Ibn Sallār, p.29.

49. Yāqūt, v.6, p.173.

50. Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya, v.4, p.296.

51. MacKay, p.28

al-Sarūjī.<sup>52</sup>

If we look into the account given by Ḥarīrī himself in his preface, we discover that he states that it was a conversation about the Maqāmāt of al-Hamadhānī that inspired the person<sup>53</sup> "whose suggestion is a decree, and obedience to whom is a prize" to request him to compose some after that model, "in spite of what I suffered from frozen genius, and dryness of imagination and failing judgement".<sup>54</sup> This statement of Ḥarīrī offers no connection with the character Abū Zayd who, according to the story above, visited him in the mosque and made him compose the Maqāmāt. It may be possible to suppose that Ḥarīrī, being astonished with Abū Zayd, composed his first maqāma, and that the first composition of this kind of

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52. MacKay, pp.28-29

53. See pp.19-21 for this person.

54. For English translation of the preface of Ḥarīrī see for instance Chenery, p.105.

writing was received with great interest by people, including the "person" who, having read the first maqāma, asked him to compose others.

This discussion, however, leads to the question : for whom did Ḥarīrī compose his Maqāmāt, or, in particular, whom did Ḥarīrī mean in his preface by "the person" that asked him to compose the Maqāmāt ? Here again, we are confronted with the general tradition from his biographers that "the person" in the question is Sharaf al-Dīn Anū Shirwān ibn Khālīd, wazīr to the caliph Mustarshid Billāh and to the Sultan Mas'ūd. The author al-Rāzī quoted Ḥarīrī as saying<sup>55</sup> ".....when it<sup>56</sup> was finished, I read it to a group of the chief people, who admired it exceedingly, and brought it to the knowledge of the wazīr Sharaf al-Dīn Anū Shirwān ibn Khālīd.

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55. According to al-Rāzī, this story was related to him by al-Fanjadīhī, who heard it from Abū Bakr al-Barāzīnī, who heard it from Ḥarīrī. For the quotation see De Sacy, v.2, p.643.

56. He means the first maqāma.

He pressed me to compose others like it, and I complied." This is the common belief of most of Ḥarīrī's biographers, including Yāqūt<sup>57</sup> and Hajji Khalfah<sup>58</sup> who quoted the same story, which indicates their belief that the Maqāmāt were dedicated to Anū Shirwān ibn Khālid. But this common belief was criticized by Ibn Khallikān in his biography of Ḥarīrī. He claims that in Cairo in the year 656 he saw a copy of several of the Maqāmāt written by Ḥarīrī himself with, on the cover, a declaration that he had composed them for Ibn Ṣadaqa, another wazīr of Mustarshid Billāh.<sup>59</sup> But Ibn Khallikān himself does not seem to be very sure about this since he relies only on the statement on the cover, the authenticity of which depends on the authorship of the hand-writing. Thus he concludes with the phrase "God knows the truth." Here again Professor Mackay expresses his doubt that the Maqāmāt were written for Anū Shirwān or Ibn Ṣadaqa. After studying the authority for the content of the earliest manuscript of the

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57. Yāqūt, v.6, p.168

58. Hajji Khalfah, v.6, p.57

59. Ibn Khallikān, v.I, p.531

Maqāmāt,<sup>60</sup> Professor MacKay concludes that the familiar question raised by Ibn Khallikān about the dedication is largely irrelevant. "The Maqāmāt were written neither for Anū Shirwān ibn Khālīd nor for Abū 'Alī ibn Ṣadaqa. They were written for the literary world of Baghdad....."<sup>61</sup> On Ibn Khallikān's belief that Ibn Ṣadaqa's copy was in Ḥarīrī's hand throughout, Professor MacKay says that he is not sure about that since it seems to depend solely on Ibn Khallikān's expertise as a palaeographer; and in connection with Ḥarīrī's word in the preface about "the person", he mentions that it "could refer to anyone, from God himself on down."<sup>62</sup>

In any case, it seems that the composition of the first maqāma of Ḥarīrī was based on a real incident coloured by his own imagination and fictional power that made his characters Abū Zayd and Ḥārith ibn Hammām, his narrator, into itinerants, full of learning and knowledge. All Maqāmāt composed by Ḥarīrī, following the first,

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60. See p.6, n.10

61. MacKay, p.26

62. loc. cit.



are variations on the theme of the same ill-dressed, old man, roaming from place to place, with no means of support except his marvellous powers of language, while Ḥārith ibn Hammām is always an admirer of Abū Zayd, searching for him and always paying liberally for the pleasure of meeting him. As a great scholar, he narrates the adventures and performances of his friend in the highest style of Arabic eloquence. In this point, Ḥarīrī seems to surpass his predecessor, al-Hamadhānī, who in some of his Maqāmāt, such as in the maqāmāt of Nāhid,<sup>63</sup> Baghdād<sup>64</sup> and the Dīnār,<sup>65</sup> ignores his character Abū al-Fath al-Iskandarī, and in some other maqāmāt, as mentioned by Professor Beeston,<sup>66</sup> al-Iskandarī makes no appearance at all or "His name is dragged in awkwardly at the end, having played no part whatsoever in the main episode. Indeed, in Baghdād it is the narrator, 'Īsā ibn Hishām, who plays the sort of trick that one would, in Ḥarīrī's Maqāmāt, expect to be

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63. Sharh Maqāmāt al-Hamadhānī, p.244.

64. Ibid, p.70.

65. Ibid, p.374.

66. Op. cit. pp.10-11.

played by Sarūjī". In addition, in some of al-Hamadhānī's Maqāmāt the two characters of the drama are not introduced, and the author speaks on his own behalf. In contrast, Ḥarīrī always makes his two characters meet, sometimes in a highly dramatic manner, though the main object of the author is to display his eloquence, his learning and poetical power. Even if some of his Maqāmāt consist only of poetry with little narrative action, such as the third maqāma (al-Dīnāriyya) where Abū Zayd recites his poems in praise and blame of the dīnār, these poetical pieces are highly polished and extremely effective.<sup>67</sup>

Abū Zayd always appears as a person of genius and learning, to create the impression that the new composition is not merely "to amuse the loiterers of the cafe or the seraglio, but to elaborate the result of the literary system of a period in which not only the sciences but the useful arts of life were sacrificed by the ingenious and studious of a great nation to profound grammatical and rhetorical

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67. See some details of this point in Beeston, op. cit. p.11.

research into the structure and resources of their own most copious language".<sup>68</sup> Harīrī discusses the forms of Arabic words in many places in the Maqāmāt. In the sixth maqāma, for example, there is an address in which the words are alternately with or without dotted letters. In the twenty-sixth the address is varied, and each alternate letter is dotted, the others being undotted. In the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth, there are passages in which every word written is devoid of dotted letters. In the thirty-second, Harīrī introduces a person who says that he has gathered a hundred questions from people learned in the law, and he propounds them one by one to Abū Zayd. The peculiarity of these questions is that each contains a word which may be understood in two senses, the aim of the questioner being to test the knowledge of Abū Zayd as a scholar.

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68. Preston, p.ix

of the law and of the rarest idioms of the Arabic tongue.

These remarkable instances show us Ḥarīrī's marvellous facility in his language, and that the great object of his work is to explore and expound the niceties of the Arabic language and literature, besides exhibiting the style of his composition. This is, as has been mentioned, a continuous display of rhetorical artifices, full of alliteration, rhyme, assonance and other poetical elements from beginning to end. But Ḥarīrī never forgot that the primary purpose of the Maqāmāt was to amuse and entertain, and throughout his work "the wit of the descriptions and the dialogue is set off by the delicacy and charm of the verses and the more serious passages."<sup>69</sup>

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69. H.A.R. Gibb, Arabic Literature, Oxford, 1963, p.125.

The Commentaries on the Maqāmāt

Nearly every clause in the Maqāmāt was written to illustrate the use of some remarkable idiom, some rare word or some paradox in grammar, construction or meaning, and the style of the work is a continuous display of rhetorical artifices. Hence, it is very difficult to study the work in the original text without constant reference to commentaries or other references relevant to it. It was possibly recognition of these difficulties in his work that led Ḥarīrī to produce his own commentary on some of his Maqāmāt,<sup>70</sup> and instruct his sons, especially 'Ubayd Allāh, in the work in order that they might teach it after his death and explain its difficulties to numerous students. Many scholars confirm that they received the Maqāmāt on the authority of 'Ubayd Allāh, although not all of them say that they heard them directly from him, but 'Ubayd Allāh is clearly

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70. He wrote his commentaries on the nineteenth, the twenty-fourth, the twenty-seventh and the fortieth of the Maqāmāt. For these commentaries see Kitāb Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī, Cairo, 1908, pp.192, 245-248, 282-285, 511-513.

the ultimate source.<sup>71</sup> Another son<sup>72</sup> of Ḥarīrī, Abū al-ʿAbbās,<sup>73</sup> is said to have been a learned and eloquent man, especially adept in the elucidation of the Maqāmāt.

From these and other pupils, the first commentators gathered their materials and produced them in the form of commentaries on various aspects of the Maqāmāt, including vocabulary, grammar, rhetoric, poetry, idioms and history.

As Hajji Khalfah relates,<sup>74</sup> the work of the Maqāmāt attracted the attention of numerous authors who provided it with commentaries and appendices. His list of the commentaries alone consists of more than twenty-eight authors who paid a great deal of attention to Ḥarīrī's magnum opus, beginning from the commentary of the earlier authors such as Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad al-ʿIrāqī<sup>75</sup> (d.561) and

71. His name is mentioned in several biographies of his father, see, for example, Ibn Khallikan, 2, p.532. Mackay mentions some isnāds on the authority of ʿUbayd Allāh, pp.22,28-29.

72. Ḥarīrī was survived by three sons, Najm al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim, ʿAbd Allāh, Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad and ʿUbayd Allāh. See Mackay, p.11 n.18 where he also mentions that Ibn Khallikān says Ḥarīrī had two sons, but names three.

73. Ibn Khallikān, 2, p.496.

74. Hajji Khalfah, 6, pp.60-65.

75. Ibid, p.60, also Mackay pp.20-21 where he confirms that the commentary of this author does not appear to have survived.

extending to the later authors such as Abū al-Su'ūd al-Kan'ānī who completed the commentary in A.H.966.<sup>76</sup> Preston, on the other hand, to support his conclusion that the Arabic commentators on Ḥarīrī were very numerous, went far beyond that figure, stating that there were forty or fifty commentaries on the Maqāmāt.<sup>77</sup> In any case, I have made every effort to trace and study the surviving copies of the commentaries based on Hajji Khalfah's list, completed, wherever necessary, by information provided by Arabic sources, Brockelmann, the catalogues of Arabic manuscripts and others. As a result, several commentaries have been obtained and studied, the information on which will be found below. Among the contemporaries of Ḥarīrī who admired and studied the work, the first place is due to al-Zamakhsharī who appreciates the work of Ḥarīrī and fathoms his profound learning, expressing a general verdict in these verses :

أقسم بالله وآياته \* ومشعر الحج ومبقاته  
 أن الحريري حري بأن \* تكتب بالتبر مقاماته<sup>78</sup>

76. Hajji Khalfah, p.64, but this author is unidentified and his work also does not seem to have survived.

77. Preston, p.14

78. R.A.Nicholson, op. cit. p.336. He translated the verses as follows :

"I swear by God and His marvels  
 By the pilgrims' rite and their shrine  
 Hariri's Assemblies are worthy  
 To be written in gold each line".

But since al-Zamakhsharī is chiefly famous as a commentator on the Quran and as a great grammarian of his age, he is always quoted by authors of other commentaries for the explanation of any clause which in some way connected with the Quran, or any paradox in grammar. Chenery, for instance, frequently refers to him in his notes on clauses or words in the Maqāmāt which are originally from the Quran, such as the name of Bekka,<sup>79</sup> the word Qisas,<sup>80</sup> and a clause such as "If ye return I return"<sup>81</sup> which is from the Quran "If ye (the unbelievers) return to fight, we (God) will return".<sup>82</sup> Besides, Chenery also quotes extracts from his work on the use of the verb mudāri' majzūm after إن as a conditional particle in connection with the meaning of that clause. Chenery also compares the opinion of al-Zamakhsharī with that of other commentators on some issues, as he does in his discussion on the use of bā', tā' and waw in oaths.<sup>83</sup>

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79. Chenery, p.316

80. Ibid, p.532

81. Ibid, p.499

82. Quran 8/19

83. Chenery, pp.513-514



The identity of the first author to write a commentary on the Maqāmāt is uncertain since most of the works mentioned by Hajji Khalfah are untraceable. An earlier copy of the Maqāmāt of Ḥarīrī, completed in 557 A.H.,<sup>84</sup> suggests that Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī was the first commentator of the Maqāmāt. A note at the end<sup>85</sup> of the MS states that, on the authority of the work entitled Shajarat al-Dhahab fī Akhbār man Dhahab,<sup>86</sup> "the learned and accomplished Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, grandson of the author of the Maqāmāt, was the first to write a commentary on them in four volumes." This note also indicates that Muḥammad was the son of Abū al-ʿAbbās, the eldest of Ḥarīrī's sons.<sup>87</sup> The work of Muḥammad, however, does not appear to have survived or to be mentioned by any of the biographers of Ḥarīrī. Even if we are to believe that the work existed, there would be room for doubt that Muḥammad was really the author's

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84. This MS is available in the British Museum. See Charles Rieu, Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts, London, 1894, pp.635-636, MS. No.1006, or 2790, also GAL. Suppl. I, p.487.

85. MS. f.185a

86. This work is unknown; it might be an error for Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār man Dhahab by ʿAbd al-Ḥayy ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī (8 vols.) Cairo, 1931.

87. See p.27 n.72 for Ḥarīrī's sons.

grandson since he was unknown to biographers of Ḥarīrī such as Ibn Khallikān and Yāqūt. Besides, the note at the end of the MS was made by a later hand, and the reading of this text, according to Professor Mackay's research, took place in Alexandria, because the rāwī, Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mayurqī, from whom Ahmad ibn Muslim al-Lakhmī<sup>88</sup> received his riwāya for the text, spent most of his active life in Alexandria. This suggests that this MS had purely Alexandrian associations, and it may be assumed therefore that it was copied by an Alexandrian, also named Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī, who had only the nisba in common with the author of the Maqāmāt.<sup>89</sup> As for the work Shajarat al-Dhahab fī Akhbār man Dhahab mentioned in the note, we could not find any other evidence of its existence. We may suppose, therefore, that it was an erroneous reference to Ibn 'Imād's Shadharat al-Dhahab fī Akhbār man Dhahab.<sup>90</sup> Even so, we still cannot find any reference in this work to Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī or his work as claimed by the note at the

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88. See Charles Rieu, op. cit. p.636 for the Shaikhs and the rāwis of this MS.

89. Mackay, p.30

90. See p.30 n.86

end of the MS. We are therefore unable to state that the note written in the MS is reliable. Nor, on the other hand, were we able to see any reference to show that Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī was the first author to write a commentary on the Maqāmāt. What we can assume is that, among the early authors who undertook to comment on the Maqāmāt of Ḥarīrī, the first place is due to Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mas'ūd al-Fanjadīhī who died in the year 584/1188.<sup>91</sup> His work, which is called al-Maghānī fī Ma'ānī al-Maqāmāt,<sup>92</sup> is probably among the best of the early works which comment on the Maqāmāt from various aspects and give details of the historical and literary background to Ḥarīrī's work. Al-Fanjadīhī, who heard the Maqāmāt from 'Abd Allāh ibn Nāqūr who, in his turn, heard them from Ḥarīrī himself,<sup>93</sup> referred to a number of books written by several scholars in connection with the subjects he undertakes to explain in his commentary on the Maqāmāt. After praise of Ḥarīrī's work in his short preface

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91. GAL. 1, p.356, Suppl. 1, pp.604-605. According to MacKay he was often called al-Mas'ūdī al-Saghīr or al-Thānī to distinguish him from the better known al-Mas'ūdī, the historian. MacKay, p.26, n.70.

92. A MS of this work, available in the John Rylands University Library, Manchester, is used here as our reference. See A. Mingana, Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, 1934, p.935, MS. No.686. The title of the work is given by the author himself on f.4a. This MS is undated, but it is believed to date back to the 6th century.

93. Yāqūt, v.6, p.167, and MacKay, p.32 (Table 1)

to the commentary, he lists twelve books<sup>94</sup> to which he refers, including works written by al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Baṣrī, Abū Maṣūṣ Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī and Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Iṣḥāq al-Sabt, whose books are relevant to the study of Philology, grammar and philosophy.<sup>95</sup> The words of the text of the Maqāmāt in the commentary are written in red and often introduced by **قوله** in bold black characters. Material quoted from other authors is introduced by **أخبرنا**, and we find this type of introduction from his commentary on Ḥarīrī's preface<sup>96</sup> to the examination of the fiftieth maqāma.<sup>97</sup> Wherever a historical event is referred to, the isnād of transmitters of the story is given. This technique of documented riwāya with the many other references he quotes in his examination of words, phrases, idioms and sayings gives the work an air of authority.

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94. MS. f.4a contains the full list of the books.

95. He writes on f.4a :

فأما مشكلات الألفاظ ... فقد استوضحت ... من  
مشاهير المصنفات وجواهر المؤلفات ... الخ

96. MS. f.4a

97. MS. f.118

As we will see, this method of commentary influenced later authors, especially Sharīshī<sup>98</sup> who always quoted al-Fanjadihī and gave details of his commentary on the Maqāmāt.

The commentary of Abū al-Fath Nāsir ibn 'Abd al-Sayyid al-Muṭarrazī,<sup>99</sup> who died in the year 610/1213, is a highly reputed commentary on the Maqāmāt. This author describes Ḥarīrī's work as an excellent and valuable work in various parts of Arabic studies, especially the field of language and literature, but says that, because of the difficulty of the work, most people may not be able to understand the text of the Maqāmāt and to appreciate their beauty. He, therefore, undertakes to explain the difficulties of the Maqāmāt in order to smoothe the path of the men who intend to savour the sweetness and the originality of the work. In doing so, he, like al-Fanjadihī, mentions that he has consulted and referred to a great many books in connection with grammar, literature, proverbs, history and other branches of knowledge.<sup>100</sup> He also mentions that

98. See pp.38-41 for his work.

99. GAL. 1, p.293, Suppl. 1, pp.514-515. The author who was a Ḥanafī Mu'tazilī of Khawārizm is sometimes called the successor of his fellow countryman, al-Zamakhsharī, who died after a few months after Muṭarrazī's birth. Ibn Khallikān, 3, p.523.

100. Unlike al-Fanjadihī he does not mention the titles or the authors of the books he refers to. He only writes :

فأردت أن أحل ما أشكل بعد أن تصفحت قوانين الأدب... ودواوين  
العرب... الخ

MS. f.4b See n.102 for the MS used here.

he consulted many reputed scholars<sup>101</sup> to solve the difficulties in the Maqāmāt. To his commentary he gives the title Kitāb al-Īdāh<sup>102</sup> and makes a statement as to the authority for the text : 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Anmāti<sup>103</sup> received it from the pupils of Ḥarīrī, Zakariyya ibn 'Alī, known as Ibn al-Sajjād, Abū al-Fath al-Bāqir and Ṭalḥah ibn Ahmad ibn Ṭalḥah.<sup>104</sup>

101. Again he does not mention any particular scholars here. He writes :

مع مراجعة الشيخ الذين عضوا في العلم بنواجذهم ...  
وحللت عقده ببيان شاف حاكيا أقوال الثقات من  
المتقدمين ... من أمثال العرب ... الخ

MS. ff.4b-4a

102. The MS used here is a copy from the John Rylands University Library, Manchester. See A. Mingana, op. cit. p.936, MS. No.687. The title of the work is given by the author on f.159b.

103. Prof. Mackay (p.33) mentions that al-Anmāti was the author of a commentary on the Maqāmāt. Unfortunately the statement is incorrect, since MS No.1974 in Manisa Public Library, which Mackay refers to, is another copy of al-Mutarrāzi's work which is not complete. It contains only the preface of al-Mutarrāzi and the colophon which refers to the authorities of the text. Indeed, the title of the work was changed to Sharḥ Maqāmāt wa Bayān mā fīhā min al-Mushkilāt instead of Kitāb al-Īdāh. The MS consists of only 40 ff.

104. MS. f.196. Ṭalḥah was a poet known as Shams al-Shu'arā'. In the year 497 he visited Basra and was astonished by the Risāla al-Sīniyya which Ḥarīrī had composed and in which every word contains the letter sin. Ḥarīrī acknowledged his praise, and, inspired by the alliteration in the name Shams al-Shu'arā' itself, composed on this occasion al-Risāla al-Shīniyya in which every word contains the letter shīn. Yāqūt, v.6, pp.176-178 and De Sacy, v.2, p.212.

After explaining the purpose of his commentary, he writes a preface to the study of the Maqāmāt dealing briefly with Arabic rhetoric :<sup>105</sup>

اعلم أن البلاغة في الأصل مصدر بلغ الرجل إذا صار  
بليغا ... الخ

Under the heading al-Ḥaqīqa wa al-Majāz he clearly defines and explains these two terms with examples drawn from the common Arabic usage and from the Quran. He then discusses the terms isti'āra, kināya, ījāz, tashbih and a number of other terms which are regarded as aspects of the art of al-balāgha (rhetoric) and gives examples from the works of elegant writers and from the text of the Maqāmāt itself, as well as from the Quran and poetry. The preface goes on to deal with al-fasāha<sup>106</sup> from the rhetoricians' viewpoint, and he mentions different opinions in connection with the origin of al-fasāha and al-balāgha as aspects of the art of rhetoric. He mentions that some scholars do not agree with the opinion that these two branches of knowledge differ from each other. Other scholars

105. MS. f.4a

106. MS. f.9, under the heading :

القول في الفصاحة وأسبابها

emphasise their difference because each of them has its own function, al-balāgha dealing with the meaning of words, whereas al-faṣāha deals with the manipulation of the words themselves. Al-Muṭarrazī then mentions that there has been lengthy discussion on this point among sophisticated scholars and that he does not intend to reproduce this or comment on it. The preface of al-Muṭarrazī goes on to explain the devices of Badīʿ, Tajnīs, Lāhiq, Mutarraf, Mutawāzin, Mulāʿama and other features derived both from al-balāgha and al-faṣāha, with extracts from the text of the Maqāmāt as well as from the poems, Quran and Traditions.

This preface gives a most complete account of the various forms of majāz and tashbīh in use among elegant writers, and exemplifies them from Ḥarīrī's work. It also contains a full discussion on the anomalous grammatical constructions which does much to explain the rhetorical and grammatical difficulties in the Maqāmāt, besides examining the word maqāma itself. <sup>107</sup>

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107. MS. ff.20-21. See pp.52-59 for the discussion on the meaning of the word Maqāmāt.



This preface, which extends from folio 1 to 21, is followed by the commentary on the preface of Ḥarīrī<sup>108</sup>

شرح الخطبة ، والله الموفق ، بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ، اللهم -  
كله تستعمل في الدعاء بمعنى يا الله ... الخ

and his colophon follows immediately after the commentary on the fiftieth maqāma:<sup>109</sup>

قلت قد أفرغ الله أنعامه على وأتم احسانه لى إذ وفقنى لإتمام  
كتاب الأيضاح ... وقد وقع الفراغ من إتمامه .....

giving the date of completion of the work as 563/1168.<sup>110</sup>

The commentary of Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Muʿmin al-Qaysī al-Sharīshī<sup>111</sup> who died in 619 is the most voluminous that has been written on the Maqāmāt. He gives a clear and comprehensive explanation of nearly every word and clause of the work, but, in doing so, he tends to display the extent of his reading, relating lengthy anecdotes and poetical

108. MS. f.21b

109. MS. f.160

110. The John Rylands MS was copied in the middle of Safar, 670 in Baghdad as mentioned in the MS f.160a.

111. GAL. Suppl. I, p.544. The work has been printed several times, the latest edition of which by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafājī in Cairo (4 vols.) in 1952 is used here as our reference. Hajji Khalfah mentions that Sharīshī's work is the most complete commentary on the Maqāmāt. Hajji Khalfah, v.6, pp.62-63.

quotations to illustrate a single word, sometimes with little or no relevance to the immediate subject in the Maqāmāt. This is possibly the only fault a modern reader can find in his work. On the other hand, Sharīshī describes his work as complete and fruitful, saying that he produced a commentary free of errors, and that he had benefited from his contact with a number of learned men and studied under several authorities who had heard the Maqāmāt from Ḥarīrī himself. We learn from his preface<sup>112</sup> that he studied the Maqāmāt under five authorities: (1) Abū Bakr ibn Azhar al-Ḥajarī who related them from Abū al-Qāsim ibn ‘Abd Rabbih al-Qaysī, known as Ibn Jahūr, who heard them from Ḥarīrī himself; (2) Abū Bakr ibn Mālik al-Fihri, who heard them from Ibn Jahūr and also from Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Azdī al-Qudā‘ī,<sup>113</sup> who himself heard them directly from Ḥarīrī; (3) Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥajarī who heard

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112. Sharīshī, v.1, p.6

113. He heard the Maqāmāt from Ḥarīrī in 504/1111. See Abū Bakr ibn Khayr, Fahrāsa, ed. F.Codera, Sarragossa, 1894, p.387

heard them from al-Qudā'ī; (4) Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Jubayr<sup>114</sup> who heard them from Barakāt ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭāhir ibn Barakāt, known as al-Khushū'ī<sup>115</sup> who heard them from Ḥarīrī; and (5) Abū Dhar Muṣ'ab ibn Muḥammad ibn Mas'ūd al-Khushanī who encouraged him to compile the commentary. The riwāya is not given for this last authority. Sharīshī also states in his preface that, besides those reliable authorities, he has consulted many scholars from whom he benefited and whose knowledge is valuable for his commentary, especially al-Fanjadīhī who has produced a comprehensive commentary on the Maqāmāt, from which he obtained much assistance in the task of explaining parts of the work. He acknowledges that the commentary of al-Fanjadīhī is the best of all the works he has consulted and the one which inspired him to compile his own commentary.<sup>116</sup> He then briefly states the object of his work and the principles on which it has been executed. First he mentions that, owing to the general belief that Ḥarīrī was the most learned and

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114. He was known as the Traveller, See GAL. 1, p.478, Suppl. 1, p.879

115. See the diagram of this riwāya in Mackay, p.32

116. Sharīshī, v.1, p.7

eloquent of Arabic authors, he has, therefore, undertaken to annotate and comment on his great work in order to smoothe the path of those interested in the Arabic language. He uses the authoritative text which he received from the pupils of Ḥarīrī and explains the words and clauses in it giving the geographical and historical background wherever necessary. Sharīshī, indeed, has explained the work of Ḥarīrī from various aspects, including grammar, vocabulary, idioms, proverbs, poetry, rhetoric, history and geography, and has, therefore, produced an excellent, clear and comprehensive work.

Al-ʿUkbarī, whose full name was Abū al-Baqāʾ ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī, (538-616)<sup>117</sup> wrote a commentary on the rare words found in the Maqāmāt, entitled Sharḥ mā Ghumida min Alfāz al-Maqāmāt.<sup>118</sup> He wrote a very short preface to his commentary where he praises Ḥarīrī's work as being

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117. Bughya, v.2, pp.38-40

118. The copy used here as our reference is contained in the National Library of Egypt, MS No.560 Adab.

very valuable and full of rare words which need precise interpretation according to the author's intention.<sup>119</sup> 'Ukbarī, indeed, makes a very short commentary,<sup>120</sup> concentrating his discussion on the vocabulary of the Maqāmāt. As a grammarian who wrote many other commentaries on grammar books, including the commentary on Kitāb al-Īdāh<sup>121</sup> of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī,<sup>122</sup> and on the science of Quran and Traditions,<sup>123</sup> 'Ukbarī; in his commentary on the rare words in the Maqāmāt, deals mostly with grammatical rules. He quotes extensively from Ibn al-Khashshāb<sup>124</sup> and reproduces many grammatical questions in his commentary. Ibn al-Khashshāb, who was one of 'Ukbarī's teachers and taught him Arabic grammar and language,<sup>125</sup> was himself the author of a

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119. MS. f.3 where he writes :

أما بعد فاني لما رأيت المقامات الحريية مشحونة بالألفاظ اللغوية... دعاني ذلك إلى تفسي ما غمض من ألفاظها... وقد كنت عثرت لبعض الناس على شيء من ذلك إلا أنه أسهب فيه بما لا يحتاج إليه... الخ

120. The Cairo MS. consists only of 101 ff.

121. This grammar book has the same title as al-Mutarrazī's work. See p.35

122. The commentary is in two volumes, and can be found in the National Library of Egypt, MS. No.207, dated A.H.622

123. Bughya, 2, p.39 gives details of his works.

124. GAL. Suppl. 1, pp.493-494

125. Bughya, 2, p.38

famous critique of the linguistic faults in the Maqāmāt, entitled al-Risāla fī al-I'tirād 'alā al-Harīrī. Many of the discussions in 'Ukbarī's commentary are little more than direct refutations of this Risāla.<sup>126</sup> 'Ukbarī's contribution, however, was good enough to attract the attention of later authors of commentaries on the Maqāmāt where he is always referred to as an authority and the chief pupil of Ibn al-Khashshāb, who, in his turn, was a pupil of Ibn al-Jawālīqī.<sup>127</sup>

The Risāla of Ibn al-Khashshāb contains a number of important criticisms of Harīrī's Maqāmāt, and he discusses some misinterpretations of words, clauses and proverbs.<sup>128</sup> His criticisms were answered, however, by Abū Muḥammad Ibn Barri<sup>129</sup> who defends

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126. This Risāla is included in the edition of Kitāb Maqāmāt al-Harīrī, Cairo, 1908, and is separately paged (pp.1-36) following p.612 of the principal text of the Maqāmāt and the two Risālas : al-Sīniyya and al-Shīniyya.

127. Ibn al-Jawālīqī received his authority from 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Harīrī. Ibn Khallikān, v.1, p.532.

128. For some examples of his critique see Kitāb Maqāmāt al-Harīrī as in n.126 above.

129. GAL. Suppl. 1, pp.529-530.

Ḥarīrī in his work entitled al-Radd 'alā al-Ḥarīrī fī Maqāmātih wa Intisār Ibn Barrī where he reproduces Ibn al-Khashshāb's criticisms and mentions his own arguments in defence of Ḥarīrī.<sup>130</sup> The scholar 'Abd al-Latīf al-Baghdādī,<sup>131</sup> known as Muwaffaq al-Dīn, then involved himself in this discussion by writing an evaluation of Ibn al-Khashshāb's Risāla entitled Hāshiya Latīfa or al-Intisāf Bayn Ibn Barrī wa Ibn al-Khashshāb based on the critical glosses by Ibn al-Khashshāb.

There are several other commentaries which are available, among them a work by al-Rāzī whose name was Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Shams al-Dīn Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ḥanafī, who died in 769.<sup>134</sup> In his preface, he states his intention to produce a commentary on some very important points in the Maqāmāt. He then examines the meaning of the word maqāma and how it

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130. See Kitāb Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī, Cairo, 1908, pp.1-36 (second part) for this discussion.

131. Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya, v.5, p.132, also GAL. Suppl. 1, pp.880-881.

132. GAL. 1, p.227, Suppl. 1, p.487

133. A MS of this commentary is available in the National Library of Egypt No.5099 Adab, and is used here as our reference. It is undated, but it is believed to date to the 9th century.

134. Hajji Khalfah, v.6, p.63.

became the name of this kind of composition.<sup>135</sup>  
 There was one 'Umar ibn 'Alī ibn al-Mubāarak al-Maḡilī, who wrote copious glosses in the margins of a copy of the Maqāmāt termed Gharīb al-Maqāmāt, and who completed his task, as he states, at the end of A.H. six hundred and..... (the remainder of the date is lost),<sup>136</sup> as well as an unknown commentator who wrote glosses between the lines of the text of the Maqāmāt and in the margins.<sup>137</sup> Another copy of the Maqāmāt of Ḥarirī with glosses<sup>138</sup> was copied by one 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Ḥāfiẓ ibn Zumail ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd<sup>139</sup> in 1051/1641. The glosses are said to have been written by al-Muṭarrazī, and the copy, therefore, is unusually valuable if the information contained therein is reliable, especially as it is claimed that the text was made from a manuscript copied from the autograph of Ḥarirī

135. MS. f. 2 where he writes :

وكان كتاب المقامات الذي أنشأه الشيخ الإمام أبو محمد القاسم  
 ابن علي ابن محمد ... الحريري البصري ... واسطة عقده ... أحببت  
 أن أشرحه شرحاً متوسطاً ... فصل في معنى المقامة .....

See the discussion on the meaning of the word Maqāmāt pp. 52-59.

136. His work is available in the British Museum, MS. or. 1200. See Charles Rieu, op. cit. p. 637.

137. See MS. or. 2791 in the British Museum. Charles Rieu, loc. cit.

138. GAL, 1, 325, Suppl. 1, 486.

139. The MS is in the University of Leeds. See John Macdonald, Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, (6 vols.) Department of Semitic Languages and Literature, 1958-1962, v. 4, (Arabic MSS. 151-200) p. 19, MS. 169.



and his son.<sup>140</sup> There is an anonymous commentary on the Maqāmāt in Edinburgh University Library which was transcribed in Lucknow.<sup>141</sup> But having read the MS, I realise that it is another copy of 'Ukbarī's work by an unknown scribe with some additional commentary in the margins, probably by the scribe himself, and also some marginal corrections by the same hand.

These numerous commentaries on the Maqāmāt indicate that Arabic grammarians and linguists showed great interest in Ḥarīrī's work from the sixth century A.H. until the tenth century, if we are to rely on Hajji Khalfah's testimony that one of the authors completed his commentary in A.H. 966.<sup>142</sup> That Arabic authors still continued to take an interest in the Maqāmāt in the middle of the 12th century A.H. may be inferred from the work of our author, Khayr al-Dīn. The commentaries by Sharīshī, Muṭarrazī, 'Ukbarī and Rāzī are always

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140. MS. ff. 5a, 176a.

141. Muhammad Ashraf al-Huk, Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library, 1925, p.39, MS. No.52.

142. See p.28 for this author.

quoted by researchers as the best and most complete.

De Sacy compiled his work from those four commentaries, as he himself mentions in the preface to his work.<sup>143</sup>

He praises these commentaries as reliable sources and the most valuable works in this particular field. Their works were, indeed, copied by many scribes and their manuscripts can be found in the East and West.<sup>144</sup>

In any case, it is evident that the authors of commentaries were influenced by one another, even if they received the Maqamāt through different pupils of Harīrī. Almost all of them expressed their belief that they had produced a better commentary on the basis of their own knowledge together with the authority of Harīrī's pupils and other valuable books relevant to the study of the Maqamāt. Each of them accuses the other authors of having produced works too short to comment adequately on such a large work as the Maqamāt, or too long and without sufficient direct

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143. De Sacy, v.1, pp.vi-vii. See also Preston, pp.14-15 for his praise of the commentaries of Sharīshī, Muṭarrazī and 'Ukbarī.

144. See GAL. Suppl. 1, p.327 for the places where these MSS can be found, also the catalogues of Arabic MSS.

connection with the original work. However, their works have been referred to by modern researchers in their commentaries as authoritative works on the Maqāmāt, and still provide useful assistance to students of the Arabic language.

The works of modern orientalists on the Maqāmāt are excellent and scholarly. Professor Thomas Chenery translated and published the first twenty-six Maqāmāt with copious and valuable annotations.<sup>145</sup> In his preface to the edition, Chenery mentions that he did not attempt to imitate the play on words, or the rhyme of the original. But the parallelistic rhythm of the original has been sufficiently preserved, and on the whole the reader will be able to gain from the version a fair idea of the form in which Harīrī cast his thoughts.

Chenery wrote a long introduction to the edition, extending from page 1 to page 102, and made a complete survey of the whole work to show the wonderful subtlety,

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145. T. Chenery, The Assemblies of al-Hariri, (volume one) London, 1867.

flexibility, fertility, ~~and boundless~~ resources and ~~extraordinary~~ richness of the Arabic language. He had fully intended to complete the remaining twenty-four Maqāmāt in a second volume, but he was called away to the editorship of the Times in 1877. His hopes and expectations were never fulfilled, and he died in 1884, leaving his task unfinished.<sup>146</sup>

Then, with zeal and considerable ability, Dr. F. Steingass undertook to translate the remaining twenty-four Maqāmāt, and supplemented the edition with important and valuable notes. The work was published in 1898. In this volume, too, a complete descriptive index has been added which is extremely valuable in identifying the various names which appear in the two volumes of the work.

These two volumes of Chenery and Steingass are the first attempt at a complete translation of Ḥarīrī's work into English with full annotations and notes, to instruct the reader and assist the student to acquire

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146. This information is taken from the preface to the volume two of the Assemblies of al-Harīrī by Dr. F. Steingass.

a knowledge of the original. In this work, each maqāma is summarised before the full translation is given. At the end of each volume, there are notes on some clauses or words found in the various Maqāmāt. The notes are very important, because the translator not only gives his own explanations, but sometimes compares them with the opinion of commentators like De Sacy, Sharīshī and Rāzī, or with the opinion of Ḥarīrī himself on such subjects, with quotations from other works of Ḥarīrī such as Durrat al-Ghawwās.

An earlier English version of the Maqāmāt was published by T. Preston, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge.<sup>147</sup> He translated a selection of twenty Maqāmāt with remarks and notes, and his work is thoroughly accurate and scholarly. In the introduction, he devotes a few words to the method adopted in this work. He writes,<sup>148</sup> "The Makamat consisting of a stately rhyming prose interspersed with metrical passages, the translator has rendered the latter

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147. Makamat, London, 1850.

148. Ibid, pp.1-2

into English verse, and the former into a species of composition which occupies a middle place between prose and verse, the clauses of which though not rhyming together, are arranged as far as possible in evenly balanced periods and never exceed a certain length." Professor Preston translated, in full, the twenty Maqāmāt, and the rest are merely quoted in notes by way of illustration, while a summary of their contents is added in the form of an appendix.

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The Meaning of the word Maqāmāt

Almost all the commentators on the Maqāmāt of Ḥarīrī gave their individual interpretations of the word maqāma, and their estimations of how it became the name of this kind of composition. Neither al-Hamadhānī nor Ḥarīrī defined precisely what he meant by Maqāmāt, or explained its derivation from the literal meaning to provide this title. This suggests that it was left to commentators and other scholars to try to analyse the use of this word and to define its significance when applied to this type of composition.

Our author, Khayr al-Dīn, gives a very short definition of the word,<sup>149</sup> mentioning only that the word maqāma has the same meaning as majlis; but, unfortunately, he does not define the word majlis or distinguish as to whether it is "a place where one stands", as suggested by some commentators as we shall see below, or "an assembly", as mentioned by some other scholars. However, Khayr al-Dīn then quotes other opinions which state that

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149. P.24 of the Arabic text.

maqāma means a majlis in which a speaker stands, urging the people to do good works, and that, on this basis, Ḥarīrī called his book Maqāmāt because it contains such addresses conducted in many places.

Ukbarī, in his commentary, similarly equated the word maqāma with majlis,<sup>150</sup> but he also mentioned that it could mean "a group of people". Alternatively he suggests, it could refer to "something that happened" to Abū Zayd or something he did in a majlis. This explanation corresponds with al-Fanjadīhī's interpretation of the word maqāma in his commentary<sup>151</sup> where he suggested three possible meanings : (a) a place where one stands, (b) an assembly, or (c) the persons in an assembly, the word majlis sometimes being used to mean those present in it. He supported this third interpretation

150. MS. f.6 where he wrote :

والمقامة المجلس، والجمع مقامات . والمقامة أيضا الجماعة، والذي يريد المجلس . فالمقامة عنده الأمر الذي وقع منه في مجلس أو ما جرى مجراه .

151. MS. f.7 where he wrote :

المقام يفتح الميم المجلس وموضع القيام والجماعة من الناس . وقد يطلق المقامة ويراد بها أهل المقامة كما يقال لأهل المجلس - المجلس . الخ .



with a hadīth ان مجلس بني عوف ينظرون إليه arguing that the word majlis here is used for the group of people in the majlis. In his opinion, Ḥarīrī used the word maqāma for his work because the speaker who conducts the conversations stands among his listeners, ~~and delivers his sermons.~~

Muṭarrazī had something to say regarding the meaning of maqāma from the rhetoricians' viewpoint since his commentary, as we have seen, is a treatise on the rhetorical excellence of Ḥarīrī. He explained the word maqāma as the maf'ala form of qiyām, having the same relationships to maqām as makāna does to makān.<sup>152</sup> These two forms (maqām and maqāma), according to him, originally both meant the same - a place where one stands, but this meaning was extended to

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152. MS. ff.20-21. He wrote :

فصل في معنى المقامة ، هي مفعلة من القيام ، يقال مقام  
ومقامة مكان ومكانة . وهما في الأصل اسمان لموضع  
القيام ، إلا أنهم اتسعوا فيها فاستعملوها  
استعمال المكان والمجلس ... الخ

indicate "a place" in general; then it was used to denote the people who assembled in any place, and next it applied to any meeting of a group of people, such as an assembly of speakers (khutabā') and narrators (qussās). Muṭarrazī called such a use of the word mulābasa, a term in the art of rhetoric which he had discussed earlier, in the preface to his commentary.<sup>153</sup> Similarly the word samā' (heaven) is used to express not only the clouds (sahāb) but the rain which falls from them; and rain is called hayāt (life) because it enlivens the herbs and trees. This explanation by Muṭarrazī seems more helpful to an understanding of the concept of the word maqāmāt as it is used by al-Hamadhānī and Ḥarīrī in their works.

We appreciate that the literal meaning of the word is "a place where one stands", for the word maqāma is derived from the verb qama (to stand), but if we are to accept the explanation of some commentators that the word maqāma has the same meaning as majlis, we might interpret it simply as "a place". This literal meaning may then have been metaphorically extended, as suggested by some commentators, to signify conversations and anecdotes in some place or other such as those narrated by al-Hamadhānī and Ḥarīrī, in which

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153. See pp. 36-37 for details of the preface of Muṭarrazī.

The speaker conducts the conversations, standing among his listeners, who, in turn, are sitting or standing around him.<sup>154</sup>

As far as the lexica are concerned, many of them offered almost the same meaning as those given by the commentators on the Maqāmāt. Ibn Manẓūr,<sup>155</sup> for instance, interpreted the words maqām and maqāma as majlis (assembly). Once again we find the interpretation that the literal meaning of the word was extended to signify the people in a place. Ibn Qutayba mentioned that the meaning of the word had developed over the centuries until it came to signify the sermons or moral lectures narrated by certain preachers in front of caliphs and princes.<sup>156</sup> He gave examples of these sermons, such as those delivered by Khālid ibn Ṣafwān in front of the caliph Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, ʿAmr ibn ʿUbayd in front of the caliph al-Manṣūr, and Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAbd al-Jalīl in front of the

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154. This is the meaning quoted by Chenery in his work, p.270

155. See Lisān al-ʿArab, v.15, pp.399-400

156. Ibn Qutayba, ʿUyūn al-Akḥbār, v.2, p.333 under the heading :

مقامات الزهاد عند الخلفاء والملوك

caliph al-Mahdī. On these occasions those preachers reminded the caliphs of the lessons they could learn from history and the downfall of nations in the past, in order themselves to live in virtue and wisdom.<sup>157</sup> This interpretation of the word is clearly more specialised than those meanings suggested by other linguists and commentators, but it appears to derive from the sense ~~that the word~~ <sup>of</sup> maqāma ~~was~~ ~~used to signify~~ moral addresses or sermons delivered by preachers. It would also explain why al-Hamadhānī wrote his work mostly in the form of sermons, in a highly polished and ornamental style. It was this model that Ḥarīrī adopted for his work.

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157. loc. cit.

From the works of these two writers it seems that the use of the word maqāmat for a title was further extended to suggest that their protagonists were also begging for a few paltry dirhams or dinars. This suggestion, however, does not affect the scope of their works or limit the ingenious devices and activities of their characters which go far beyond the life of begging and ingratiating, because the subject of the work is entirely subordinate, the characters and incidents being selected to form a suitable occasion and background for the basis of recondite learning and rhetorical skill. In addition, as a general tradition in the Arabic and Islamic society of the time, an author would choose a title for his work from the content matter of a part of that book. An example of this is Kitāb al-Aghānī (The Book of Songs) by Abū Faraj al-Isfahānī, which contains the biographies of poets and musicians, historical traditions and anecdotes.

From this discussion we may conclude that the literal meaning of the word maqāma was developed and extended to signify an assembly where a group of people stood or sat listening to someone relating his adventures or delivering his sermons, most of which would lead to literary discussions, and that it was this extended meaning of the word that al-Hamadhānī and Harīrī had in mind when they chose it as a title for their works.

The influence of Harīrī

Judging from the number of writers who composed in the same style as the Maqāmāt, using rhymed prose as a means of verbal display and the collation of abstruse words to exhibit the richness of their vocabulary, it seems reasonable to assume that the Maqāmāt of al-Hamadhānī and Harīrī provided a popular model for writers until the nineteenth century. One of Harīrī's contemporaries, Abū al-Qāsim 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī (467/1073 - 538/1143) composed fifty maqāmāt in 512/1118,<sup>158</sup> and among other writers who composed maqāmāt are Abū al-Ṭahir Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf (d.538/1143)<sup>159</sup>, Abū al-'Abbās Yahyā al-Basrī (d.589/1193),<sup>160</sup> al-Sāhib Safā' al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī (d. 13th century A.D.),<sup>161</sup> Muḥammad ibn 'Afīf al-Dīn (661/1263 - 688/1289),<sup>162</sup> Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Mubarak (d.692/1292),<sup>163</sup>

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158. GAL. 1, p.292, Suppl. 1, p.511

159. GAL. 1, p.309, Suppl. 1, p.543

160. GAL. 1, p.278, Suppl. 1, p.439

161. GAL. Suppl. 1, p.490

162. GAL. 1, p.258, Suppl. 1, p.458

163. GAL. Suppl. 1, p.445

Abū al-Thaḥā'ī Maḥmūd ibn Salīmān ibn Fahd al-Ḥalabī  
 (644/1246 - 725/1325),<sup>164</sup> Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn  
 Muḥammad ibn Wafā' al-Iskandarī (702/1302 - 760/1358)<sup>165</sup>  
 Abū al-Faḍl 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abū Bakr al-Suyūṭī  
 (849/1445 - 911/1505)<sup>166</sup> and Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad  
 ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Wazīr (860/1456 - 914/1508).<sup>167</sup>  
 There were many other writers who showed interest  
 in this kind of composition from the time of al-  
 Ḥamadḥānī<sup>168</sup> until the 19th century when such works  
 were written by Nāṣif al-Yazījī (1800 - 1871),<sup>169</sup>  
 Mansūr al-Ḥamsh al-Mārūnī,<sup>170</sup> Aḥmad Fāris ibn Yūsuf  
 al-Shidyāq (1801 - 1887),<sup>171</sup> Ibrāhīm al-Aḥḍab al-Ḥalabī  
 (1242/1826 - 1308/1891)<sup>172</sup> and Muḥammad Ibrāhīm  
 al-Muwailihī (1285/1868 - 1349/1930).<sup>173</sup>

164. GAL. Suppl. 2, p.43

165. GAL. Suppl. 2, p.148

166. GAL. 2, pp.147,154,158, Suppl. 2, pp.183,187,197

167. GAL. 2, p.188, Suppl. 2, p.248

168. See pp.14,60 for some writers who wrote Maqāmāt  
 after al-Ḥamadḥānī.

169. Chenery, pp.98-99 discusses the works of this  
 writer including his Maqāmāt.

170. GAL. Suppl. 3, p.338

171. GAL. Suppl. 2, p.868

172. GAL. Suppl. 2, p.760

173. GAL. Suppl. 3, p.194



These writers composed their collections of maqāmāt in imitation of Ḥarīrī and al-Hamadhānī, even if some of them did not give the title Maqāmāt to their works. Al-Yazījī, for example, called his composition Majma' al-Bahrain<sup>174</sup> and al-Muwallihī entitled his work Hadīth 'Isā ibn Hishām; but the form and content of their works show how strongly the Maqāmāt and their ornate style influenced prose writers up to the 19th century. Nāsif al-Yazījī,<sup>175</sup> for instance, composed his sixty Maqāmāt in a style similar to that of Ḥarīrī, and one can readily recognise the adoption of Ḥarīrī's work as a model for his Majma' al-Bahrain. The latter work contains many place-names

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174. First printed in Beirut 1856, repeatedly reprinted. The most recent edition is that of 1958, Beirut. The title of the work is taken from Quran 18/59.

175. He was a native of the Lebanon and the author of many books, such as 'Aqd al-Jumān (on rhetoric), Tauq al-Hamāma (on grammar), al-Jāmi'a (on 'arūd) and Fasl al-Khitāb (also on rhetoric). He was born in Kufr al-Shima and educated in language and literature and also medicine, but never left his own country or had knowledge of any other language than Arabic. See Cheikho, v.2, pp.27-28 and Chenery, p.98.

as titles such as Baghdādī, Allepan, Yemenite, Upper Egyptian and so on, although most of them are connected with these places only in a casual sense. This suggests that these names were adopted in conscious imitation of Ḥarīrī and al-Hamadhānī. The rāwī of al-Yāzījī's work was Suhayl ibn 'Abbād who often met Maymūn ibn Khizām, the hero of the work, in a succession of situations. In these meetings every device of rhetoric was displayed, rare words and phrases abounded, and proverbs and traditional sayings were quoted. Like Ḥarīrī, too, al-Yāzījī illustrated his skill in the language by producing verses in which no letter is pointed, and others in which every letter is pointed. There are also verses in which the alternate letters, or words, have points.<sup>176</sup> There are verses which are laudatory when read.

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176. Majma' al-Bahrain, Beirut, 1924, pp. 131-141,  
(the 15th maqāma)

forwards but satirical when read backwards.<sup>177</sup> •  
 Al-Yazījī even wrote a short apologetic introduction to the work as Ḥarīrī had done. Where Ḥarīrī praised al-Hamadhānī as a man who invented the Maqāmāt, al-Yazījī, in his turn, praised al-Hamadhānī and Ḥarīrī in his introduction for their superiority, adding that he was only a trespasser in this field who aspired to recreate this genre in the current renaissance of Arabic literature.<sup>178</sup> He described himself as a Christian from Jabal Lubnān who followed in the foot-steps of the men of Arab literature by composing stories in the style of the Maqāmāt. His aim was to provide help and pleasure through the strange and unusual stories, as he called them, and to charm the reader with their style. It is said that the encouragement of the French Consul in Beirut helped to stimulate him to write these Maqāmāt.<sup>179</sup> Others think

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177. Majma' al-Bahrain, Beirut, 1924, pp.183-184  
 (the 20th maqāma)

178. Ibid, pp.3-4

179. See J.A. Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature  
 (1800 - 1970); London, 1971, p.48.

that the edition of Ḥarīrī's Maqāmāt by the French orientalist, De Sacy, may have helped to encourage his interest in this form of writing. He wrote to De Sacy on some minor discrepancies which he discovered in that learned orientalist's commentary on the Maqāmāt of Ḥarīrī.<sup>180</sup> It seems that al-Yāzījī was able to imitate Ḥarīrī's diction and style with some skill, though he had little of the poetical power of his great predecessor. As Chenery says:<sup>181</sup> "...the original feature in his composition is the introduction of Arab art and science, and the treatment of every subject with a direct scholastic purpose". Al-Yāzījī, therefore, took this form of composition a step forwards with the treatment of many contemporary questions

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180. Chenery, p. 98

181. Ibid, pp. 99-100. Chenery also quoted some examples of al-Yāzījī's subjects in the work.

involving Arab life and language, within and without Islam.<sup>182</sup>

Another 19th century work which attracts our attention as having many points of resemblance with Majma' al-Bahrain is al-Sāq 'alā al-Sāq fīmā huwa al-Fāriyāq by Ahmad Fāris al-Shidyāq<sup>183</sup> who also wrote on linguistic subjects and was fond of rhymed prose and rhetoric. This work is one of his many autobiographical travel works<sup>184</sup> in which he displays his ability in the language, and his love for rare words and phrases. His style

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182. For further details of his works see Cheikho, v.2, pp.27-35, J.A.Haywood, op. cit. pp.45-52 and Chenery, pp.98-101.

183. Unlike al-Yāziji he knew foreign languages and visited many countries including Malta, France, England, Turkey and Egypt. While in Cairo he entered journalism, writing for al-Waqāi' al-Misriyya, and in 1862 he founded his weekly newspaper al-Jawā'ib (See Cheikho v.1, p.74). He wrote poetry and many of his poems dealt with up-to-date themes, such as a poem on the Franco-Prussian war in 1870. His work al-Sāq 'alā al-Sāq was published in Paris 1885, then in Cairo 1919 and 1920. Cheikho, v.2, p.87.

184. When he was in Malta he wrote al-Wāsita fī Ahwāl Mālita, published in Tunis 1886. JcA. Haywood, op. cit. p.20

combines the directness of the journalist with the complexity of the adīb.<sup>185</sup> He introduced his work with the birth of his hero, Fāriyāq, who, it has been suggested, may be autobiographical.<sup>186</sup>

As far as the Maqāmāt form is concerned, his style of writing, as we have seen, depends on rhymed prose and rare words and idioms. He also wrote poems, including two in parallel, one praising, the other attacking Paris,<sup>187</sup> and gave advice in rhymed-prose. His hero, for instance, instructs his wife how to behave with the English,<sup>188</sup> and complains to an English fellow-student about the

185. See for example chapters 5, 6, 12 of the Book Three, and chapters 2, 5, 17, 19 of Book Four, al-Sāq 'alā al-Sāq, Cairo (n.d.) vol.2, pp.55, 66, 91, 160, 179, 254, 279.

186. Ibid, vol.1, pp.2-12

187. Ibid, vol.2, pp.262-263

188. Ibid, vol.2, pp.179-181

absence of his wife.<sup>189</sup> Al-Shidyāq had much in common with al-Yāziji. They not only shared an interest in the Maqāmāt style, but were both employed as editors by European concerns.<sup>190</sup> However, the fact that they both chose to compose in the Maqāmāt style, despite their different political and religious backgrounds, shows how strongly the Maqāmāt influenced them.

Another 19th century writer so influenced was al-Muwailihī from Egypt who produced a work entitled Hadīth 'Isā ibn Hishām.<sup>191</sup> The title of this work suggests that al-Muwailihī wanted to <sup>imply</sup> ~~infer~~ some connection between his work and the Maqāmāt form

189. Ibid, v.II, pp.180-181

190. Haywood assumes that al-Shidyāq contacted the Americans in Beirut, as his brother As'ad (1798-1830) had been employed by American Missionaries, teaching them Arabic, and became a Protestant. op. cit. p.53. See also Cheikho, v.2, p.86.

191. This book first appeared in serial form in the newspaper Misbah al-Sharq in Egypt under the title Fatra min al-Zamān between April 1898 and August 1903. The whole series were then published in book form in 1907. See Roger Alan, Hadīth 'Isā ibn Hishām, Journal of Arabic Literature, v.1, Leiden, 1970, p.88.

for 'Īsā ibn Hishām, as we have seen, is the narrator of the Maqāmāt of al-Hamadhānī. Apart from the use of this name for his narrator, Muwailihī couched his subjects in rhymed-prose and poetry with a skill and effect which show his mastery of the Arabic language.<sup>192</sup> He had been expelled from Egypt for having campaigned on behalf of 'Urābī and his supporters,<sup>193</sup> and his travels had taken him to Italy, Paris, Brussels, London and finally the Sultan's court in Istanbul.<sup>194</sup> He wrote this work to relate his experiences and express his criticism of the reformed Egyptian legal system.

Muwailihī uses the dream of his narrator, 'Īsā ibn Hishām, as the basic structure of his work. The dreaming narrator walks in the Imām al-Shāfi'i cemetery, and meets a Pasha from the time of

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192. For details of Muwailihī's style and some examples of the subjects of the work see Roger Allan, op. cit. pp.102-103

193. Roger Alan states that he was caught distributing a leaflet written by his father. Ibid, p.88

194. loc. cit.



Muhammad 'Alī. They walk together and begin to explore the society and the institutions of Cairo and Alexandria.<sup>195</sup> They see the unbalanced situation in contemporary Egypt, the lack of national unity, the blind imitation of Western habits, the contradiction between the customs of town and country, the corruption of the money-lenders and the opportunism of the 'umda (mayor) and his companions. They also have discussions on language and literature.<sup>196</sup>

Hadīth 'Isā ibn Hishām is considered by some critics to have novelistic tendencies with regard to the development of its characters, particularly that of the Pasha "who starts by being ignorant and stupid but develops rapidly in a way which amazes 'Isā".<sup>197</sup>

Whilst 19th century authors were keen to imitate and emulate the great medieval Maqāmāt, one nevertheless sees in their works various developments arising from the need to encompass modern concepts and treat new themes.

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195. Hadīth 'Isā ibn Hishām, Cairo, 1924, (third edition) pp. 10-15

196. See the examples of these subjects in the chapters Wedding, p.271, Medicine and Doctors, p.163, and the chapters about 'Umda and his companions, pp.307,321, 335,348,363,403 (third edition).

197. 'Alī al-Rā'ī, Dirāsāt fī al-Riwāyat al-Misriyya, Cairo (n.d.) p.21.

Collation of Manuscripts

There are eight manuscripts of this work recorded in various libraries and collections <sup>198</sup>

3 in the National Library of Egypt, (Nos. Adab 244, 1283 and 104);

2 in Cambridge University Library, (Nos. Qq. 55-56 and Add.840);

2 in Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Patna, (Nos. 2589 and 2590);

1 in the Governorate Library Alexandria (No.163).

In preparing this edition, I have made use of following manuscripts :

(1) Basic-copy (BC)

The present edition is based, in the main, on a manuscript which is among Burckhardt's collection in the Cambridge University Library. <sup>199</sup> This manuscript, which was made available in the form of microfilm and is referred to in the following and in the notes to

<sup>197</sup> GAL. 1, pp.327-328

<sup>198</sup> See p.2, n.5 for the reference of this MS.

the text as "BC," was written by an unidentifiable scribe in rough naskh. He appears to have been more careful than scribes of other manuscripts and is less guilty of omitting words and phrases.

The title-page of BC contains the preface of Khayr al-Din :

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ وَبِهِ نَسْتَعِیْنُ رَبِّیْسِرْ یَا كَرِیْمُ  
الْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِیْ رَفَعَ رَاۤیَاتِ الْعِلْمِ وَالْاَدَبِ ..... الخ

The title of the work, al-Maqālāt al-Jawhariyya 'ala al-Maqāmāt al-Haririyya, is given by the author himself <sup>199a</sup>;

وسمیته المقالات الجوهرية على المقامات الحريرية


followed by the commentary on Hariri's preface <sup>200</sup> :

اللهم هو اسم خصصته الميم المشددة في آخره ... الخ  
and the commentary on the first maqāma. <sup>201</sup> The MS

consists of two volumes, each containing the commentary on twenty-five Maqāmāt. Volume one (Qq.55) comprises 320 folios, and volume two (Qq.56) comprises 402 folios, with 19 lines to the page and eight words

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199a. MS. f.3  
200. MS. f.4  
201. MS. f.20

to the line. The commentary is inserted between the citations from the text of the Maqāmāt in large characters without crowding. The scribe revised and corrected the manuscript throughout, writing a small  in the margin against a word he felt it necessary to verify, or a word or a clause omitted and then supplied in the margin.

The date of the work's completion is given on folio 401b of volume two as Sunday, 12th of Ramaḍān. 1126 (A.D. 1714) :

وهذا آخر ما انتهى إليه المقامات الحريية على يد شارح  
بعضها ... خير الدين بن تاج الدين الياس المدني ...  
في يوم الأحد المبارك اثني عشر في شهر رمضان المعظم  
سنة ١١٢٦ ست وعشرين ومائة وألف .

At the end of volume one <sup>202</sup> there is a remark about the completion of this volume which reads as follows :

تمت المقامة الخامسة والعشرون بحمد الله تعالى ..  
تم النصف الأول ويتلوه المقامة السادسة  
والعشرون والحمد لله رب العالمين

No colophon or date of transcription is given, although both the title and the author's preface are by the same hand as the body of the whole commentary on the fifty Maqāmāt. This manuscript, as the basic-copy has been collated with the following manuscripts :

Manuscript A

This manuscript is available in the National Library of Egypt under No. 104 Adab, and is written in fair naskh. It consists of 275 folios of commentary on the fifty Maqāmāt, with 33 lines to the page and 10 words to the line. The manuscript is in one volume only.

The title-page of this manuscript contains the preface of Khayr al-Dīn as in the BC :

الحمد لله الذي رفع رايات العلم والأدب ...

followed by the title of the book :<sup>203</sup>

وسميته المقالات الجوهريّة على المقامات الحريرية ...

The commentary on Harīrī's preface begins on folio 36 :

اللهم هو اسم خصصته الميم المشددة في آخره ...

This manuscript was copied by one Ahmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sallāma al-Muadhhdhin al-Shāfi'i al-Adkāwī, and completed on Thursday 16th of Rabi' al-Awwal, 1175,

as mentioned on the last folio :

ووافق الفراغ من كتابه هذه النسخة المباركة صبيحة يوم  
الخميس المبارك السادس عشر من شهر ربيع الأول  
سنة ألف ومائة وخمسة وسبعين .

Its value in the preparation of this edition is chiefly confirmatory. Although very small and rather crowded, the writing of this manuscript is, nevertheless, neat and clear, and the calligraphy excellent, with occasional marginal corrections and notes from the scribe. On folio 4a, for example, he has made a note in connection with Khayr al-Dīn's commentary on the word *الخطوة* in Ḥarīrī's preface :

قوله : وهي ما بين الخ فيه مسامحة ، لأن الخطوة بالفتح هي  
المرّة من الخطوات ، وأما بالضم فهي ما بين القدمين ،  
وعبارة ابن مالك في ألفيته : وقلة لمرّة بجلسة ... الخ

He, then, puts his signature under the note :

كاتبه الحقيق أحمد المؤذن الأذكاوي

and a reminder :

تأمل

He also draws the reader's attention to the beginning and end of any poem that occurs in the commentary or in the text of the Maqāmāt. These notes occur in the

first three quarters of the book but are not found in the last quarter :

It seems that the scribe was guilty of a number of discrepancies and omissions in his work. For example, he omitted the phrase about the amount of zakāt, in the commentary on it in the fifth-maqāma, which in the other manuscripts reads :

وقدره عشرون مثقالا من الذهب أو مائتا درهم فضة

Similarly, whereas the other scribes (for instance, MS. B f.29) give the explanation of the term المغنم البارد as

هي الغنمة التي تأت بلا تعب ولا مشقة . . .  
ومنه الحديث : الصوم في الشتاء الغنمة الباردة

the scribe of this MS has omitted this section of the commentary.

#### Manuscript B

Another Cairo copy, MS. No.1283 Adab, is a relatively modern copy made by one Ḥanafī Ṣāliḥ ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbbāsī al-Madani. It is in good naskh and is less crowded than manuscript A. It consists of 314 folios and was completed by the scribe on Saturday the 18th of Ṣafar, 1254. The entire colophon reads as follows :

وكان الفراغ من تعليق ( sic ) هذا الكتاب في يوم السبت المبارك ثمانية عشر من شهر صفر الخير الذي هو من شهر سنة ألف ومائتين وأربعة وخمسين

The scribe seems to have been less careful than the scribes of BC and A, and his knowledge of grammar seems, on the whole, to have been rather weak. There are very few notes in the margin, but the scribe writes separate titles for every maqāma in bold letters in the middle of the page, such as

( المقامة الأولى : الصغانية )

followed by the text and commentary.

The commentary on Hariri's preface begins on folio 2a :

اللهم هو اسم خصصته اليم المشددة في آخره

and the commentary on the first maqāma begins on folio 11. As far as spelling is concerned, the scribe of this manuscript frequently uses short-forms for some words in the text, such as ش for شرح , الظ for الظاهر . There is no break between the commentary on the first twenty-five maqāmāt and the following twenty-five, the entire commentary on the fifty maqāmāt being in one volume.

### Manuscript C

The third Cairo copy, MS. No. 244 Adab, is written in large, clear naskh, with rare marginal corrections, and is in two volumes. Volume one (274 ff) consists of the commentary on the first twenty-five maqāmāt, and volume two (322 ff) contains



the commentary on the remaining twenty-five Maqāmāt. There is no mention of the scribe's name, but there is a colophon on the last page, giving the date of completion of his work as Sunday the 11th of Dhū al-Ḥijja, 1178 :

وكان الفراغ من كتابة هذه النسخة المباركة في يوم  
الأحد المبارك حادي عشر من شهر ذي الحجة الحرام  
ختم عام سنة ثمانية وسبعين ومائة وألف  
من الهجرة النبوية .

Omissions and some peculiarities of spelling occur also in this manuscript. In many places, for instance, the copyist has clearly written tā' or yā' for bā' and has also put diacritics on words originally undotted, in an erratic way. A common feature of his grammar is the placing of verbs, plural in number, before their plural subjects, such as in f.40 :

أتموا أهل المجلس كلامهم فسكتوا

The copyist also left several blank spaces in his commentary, which he presumably meant but failed to complete later.

Manuscript D

The Patna copy, MS. No.2589, is written in good, clear naskh. It consists of 375 folios in two volumes with 27 lines to the page and 12 words to the line. Like the basic-copy and copy C, volume one of the work consists of the commentary on the first twenty-five Maqamat, and volume two consists of the commentary on the remaining twenty-five. The scribe was one 'Abd al-Jalil al-Zawāwī al-Buḥayrī who mentions that he completed his copy on 12th Dhū al-Qa'ida, 1154. He seems to have been a careful man who wrote in a steady hand in medium-sized characters, without excessive crowding and with very few marginal corrections, for mistakes are of rare occurrence. Each maqama has a separate title in the middle of the page written in bold characters, such as :

المقامة الأولى وتعرف بالصنعاينة  
المقامة الثانية وتعرف بالحلوانية

The names of poets and other significant people are written in bold letters.

The manuscript, however, has numerous peculiarities and omissions which are indicated in the notes to our text.

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Three other manuscripts have been read and examined carefully :

(1) Another copy from Cambridge University Library, Add.840, which was written by the scribe of manuscript A above, Ahmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sallāma al-Mu'adhdhin al-Shāfi'i. This copy, which comprises 267 folios, is written in fair naskh, and Hariri's text is written in red by the same hand. It is an earlier copy than MS. A, being dated Saturday the 19th of Dhū al-Qa'ida, 1172.<sup>204</sup> MS A, which has additional notes and corrections, is therefore preferred to this copy.

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204. MS. A was completed on Thursday 16th of Rabi' al-Awwal, 1175. See pp.74-75.

(2) The Alexandria copy, MS. No. 3073, which comprises 202 folios, is incomplete, having only volume one which consists of the commentary on the first twenty-five Maqāmāt. The manuscript is written in an undistinguished hand, and is, unfortunately, very inaccurate and defective. Many omissions seem to occur, and the copyist's inaccuracy frequently gives rise to ambiguity and obscurity. The frequency of such discrepancies would suggest the copyist's lack of expertise in the language. The manuscript is difficult to read without reference to other copies. The copyist often fails to comment on terms, words and phrases in the Maqāmāt,<sup>205</sup> and even sometimes omits a part of the text of the Maqāmāt itself together with the commentary on it. There is no colophon or date of transcription of this copy.

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205. For example he omits the commentary on the words بهاجرة - ديباجتى in the first maqāma, the commentary on the sentence تدغ بلسان تضاض in the ninth maqāma and وكان من يزن بالهنات in the tenth maqāma.

(3) The second Patna copy, MS. No. 2590, which comprises 135 folios with 23 lines to the page, is incomplete. Like the other copies, it consists of the commentary from the beginning but ceases abruptly near the end of the 15th maqāma. The manuscript, however, corresponds with the other copies, and is written in rough naskh with quotations from the text of the Maqāmāt in red. There is no colophon or date of transcription of this copy.

#### Conclusion on the MSS.

In the copying and editing of manuscripts, a number of different kinds of scribal error may occur. The above examination of the variant readings has revealed to us that they all contain a large number of discrepancies, and that the copyists themselves were not all of the same academic standard.

All the manuscripts agree that al-Maqālāt was completed on Sunday the 12th of Ramadān, 1126, in Mecca, by the author, Khayr al-Dīn. He revised and completed the work, which had been left defective

and incomplete by one Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Zamzami al-Shāfi'i.<sup>206</sup> Khayr al-Dīn himself identifies the sections of the work that he has undertaken to complete.<sup>207</sup>

Orthographically, all the scribes follow the same convention, whereby :

(a) Final hamza is omitted after yā', such as شيء for شيء, بجى for بجى.

(b) Final hamza is also omitted after alif tawil, which, moreover, then acquires madda, such as ماء for ماء, جاء for جاء.

(c) Medial hamza is normally replaced by ya al-layn, such as سئل for سئل, العائم for العائم.

Other differences from the currently accepted convention include قالوا for قالوا, كذى for كذى and حكا for حكا.

206. See the preface to Arabic text, p.4. See also p.89 of this introduction.

207. See p.5 of the Arabic text.

### The Authorship

The full name of our author was Khayr al-Dīn ibn Tāj al-Dīn Ilyās al-Madani. He was a Medinese writer. Neither Gabrieli nor Pfanmuller mentions his name in their works; even Khayr al-Dīn Zirikli, who produced al-A'lām,<sup>207a</sup> made no mention of his name or his works. Brockelmann and Hajji Khalfah mention his name only in association with his work al-Maḡalāt.<sup>208</sup> For this reason, therefore, little is known of his family connections or his literary background. There are few sources to which we can refer for the details of his life and his works. The Medinese writer, 'Ubayd Madani, to whom I owe the information about Khayr al-Dīn's life,<sup>209</sup> is presently preparing the biographies of the writers of Medina, including that of our author. He has kindly supplied me with a quotation from his work, which is still in manuscript,<sup>210</sup> in connection with the life of our author. There is also a book,

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207a 10 volumes, Cairo, 1954-59 (2nd edition).

208. GAL. 1, p.327, Hajji Khalfah, v.6, p.607.

209. See Acknowledgement, p.5

210. In his letter to me, dated 29th January, 1973, he mentions that the book is entitled A'yān al-Madīna al-Munawwara min al-Jāhiliyya ilā al-Ān.

published in 1970 in Tunis, entitled Tuhfat al-Muhibbin wa al-Ashāb fi Ma'rifat ma Lil-Madaniyyin min al-Ansāb, by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ansārī, edited by Muḥammad al-'Arūsī al-Miṭwī, which deals with the writers and scholars of Medina in the 12th century A.H.. It includes a brief comment on Khayr al-Dīn, who belonged to the Ilyās family.<sup>211</sup> Khayr al-Dīn, himself, in his commentary on the Maqāmāt mentions his father twice; once as having taken part in a discussion and exchange of poems with a group of scholars,<sup>212</sup> and, again, as having once recited a poem which he quotes.<sup>213</sup>

From the limited data available, we may deduce that Khayr al-Dīn was born in A.H. 1086 and died in Ramaḍān 1127, only one year after completing his work, al-Maqālāt.<sup>214</sup> According to 'Ubayd Madanī,<sup>215</sup> Khayr al-Dīn was born and died in Medina, and was considered a great scholar in Islamic and Arabic studies. He gave lectures in the mosque in Medina to large numbers of pupils who came from many parts of the country. He was also contemporarily famous

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211. PP.39-43 where the book mentions Khayr al-Dīn's family, beginning from his grandfather, Ilyās ibn Khayr al-Dīn, who died around A.H.950.

212. Arabic text, p.585

213. Ibid, p.615

214. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ansārī, op. cit. p.42. Al-Maqālāt was completed in 1126 as agreed by all MSS. See p.82.

215. 'Ubayd Madanī's manuscript as in n.210 above.



as a poet and was in contact with many of the poets of his time. In A.H. 1113, he was appointed to the position of Qādī in Medina for the Ḥanafī school.

Besides al-Maqālāt, Khayr al-Dīn wrote a number of other books in the field of literature and Islamic law, and produced an anthology of his poetry. One ʿAbd Allāh al-Khalīfatī undertook to collect his fatawā, which were compiled in a work entitled al-Fatawā al-Ilyāsiyya.<sup>216</sup> Khayr al-Dīn himself, in his commentary, mentions some of his other works, including Tanbīh al-Maqāmāt ʿalā mā Untuqida fī al-Maqāmāt,<sup>217</sup> and Waslat al-Mashūq ilā Sharḥ Hazb al-Shaikh Ahmad Zarūq,<sup>218</sup> but, unfortunately, these works cannot be traced. Even ʿUbayd Madanī and ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Anṣarī seem to be ignorant of the existence of these works, for neither of them mentions them at all. One other work by Khayr al-Dīn, to which our attention has been drawn by ʿUbayd Madanī, is the anthology of his poetry compiled by the writer who collected his fatawā,

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216. This information is taken from ʿUbayd Madanī's manuscript, also mentioned in ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Anṣarī, op. cit. p.42.

217. Arabic text p.569

218. Ibid, p.101. But on p.9 the author gives the title of the book as Waslat al-Mashūq ilā Wazīfa al-Shaikh Zarūq. These books are unknown to Brockelmann.

‘Abd Allāh al-Khalīfātī, and is entitled Raud al-Adab al-Fātih bi Kull ‘Urf Mustatāb. This book, which is still in manuscript form, belongs to ‘Abd al-Quddūs al-Anṣārī, the owner of the current periodical, al-Manhal, in Medina. On the front page of this manuscript, there is a very short comment on Khayr al-Dīn's life, but little is said about his literary life. Other works of Khayr al-Dīn, as cited by ‘Ubayd Madanī and ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Anṣārī,<sup>219</sup> are Latīf al-Musāmara wa Zarīf al-Muhāwara, Tadhkira Adabiyya, Tadhkira ‘Ilmiyya, and one on the science of agriculture ‘Ilm al-Filāha. We have been unable to trace these works, and, if they still survive, they may possibly be in private collections.

Although we know little about Khayr al-Dīn's formative years, it appears from the information forthcoming from ‘Ubayd Madanī and ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Anṣārī that he spent the major part of his life writing his works.

As to Shaikh Abū Bakr ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Zanzamī, for whom Khayr al-Dīn undertook to complete this commentary,<sup>220</sup> we have been unable to find any biographical information concerning him, apart from his place and date of birth which the Catalogue of

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219. loc. cit.

220. See Khayr al-Dīn's preface, pp.4-5 (Arabic text ).

the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Central Public Library in Bangkipore,<sup>221</sup> gives as Mecca and A.H.900 (A:D.1494). The source of this information is not disclosed.

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221. Vol. XXIII, p.98, MS. No. 2598.

Significance of the Work

We learn from Khayr al-Dīn's preface that al-Maqālāt was begun by another author, Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Zamzamī al-Makkī al-Shāfi'ī, but left defective and incomplete,<sup>222</sup> and that Khayr al-Dīn subsequently revised and completed it. He says :<sup>223</sup>

ما رأيت شرح المقامات الحريرية... للشيخ الفاضل...  
المرحوم الشيخ أبي بكر بن عبدالعزيز الزمزمي المكي  
الشافعي... فإذا هو شرح يرحل إليه... غير أنه  
اخترته منية الضياع... فطلب مني من أرى طاعته غنا...  
أن أكل ذلك وأحذو حذوه... الخ

and then provides information about the work left incomplete by al-Zamzamī :

وكان ذلك النقص الذي شرعت في إكماله... الخ

A perusal of this commentary constantly reveals the author's fondness for the examination of rare words and phrases whose meaning is in doubt. He made use of the commentary which Ḥarīrī had added to some of his Maqāmāt,<sup>224</sup> as well as the commentaries of

222. See p.5 of the Arabic text.

223. Ibid, pp.3-4

224. See p.26, n.70

Sharīshī, Muṭarrazī, 'Ukbarī and other authors whose work does not seem to have survived, including Ṣadr al-Afādil<sup>225</sup> and Ibn al-Anbarī.<sup>226</sup> He quotes extracts from many books relevant to the study of grammar, philology and proverbs, including al-Maydānī's Majma' al-Amthāl,<sup>227</sup> Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's Ham' al-Hawāmī 'alā Jam' al-Jawāmī,<sup>228</sup> al-Ghazūlī's Matalī' al-Budūr wa Manāzil al-Surūr,<sup>229</sup> 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fākihānī's Sharḥ Muḥat al-I'rāb,<sup>230</sup> al-Tha'ālibī's Sihr al-Balāgha<sup>231</sup> and many others. He also quotes extensively from the Quran, the Ḥadīth and poetry to support his commentary on the Maqāmāt or as shawāhid (evidence) for lexicographic and grammatical arguments. He seems to have been an enthusiastic scholar who devoted himself to collecting and studying other

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225. Qāsim ibn Ḥusāyn al-Khawārizmī, died in 617. His work is entitled al-Tawdīh. Hajji Khalfah, v.6, p.60.
226. Abū al-Barakāt 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Anbarī, died in 577. His work was a sort of commentary on the vocabulary of the Maqāmāt. Ibid, p.62.
227. P.161 of the Arabic text.
228. Ibid, p.40
229. Ibid, p.359
230. Ibid, p.417. Muḥat al-I'rāb is another grammatical treatise of Ḥarīrī besides Durrat al-Ghawwās.
231. P.142 of the Arabic text.

people's work of which he made full use in his commentary. In his commentary, he criticizes Ḥarīrī and other commentators whenever he notes what he regards as a misleading use of a word or phrase, as well as discussing the various grammatical, philological and rhetorical questions in the Maqāmāt. By way of illustration, a few examples are given below of what our author considers linguistic faults in the Maqāmāt.

When commenting on the phrase *فدخلتها خاوي الوفاض* in the first maqāma,<sup>232</sup> our author examines Ibn al-Khashshab's opinion that the use of the word *الرفاض* in the plural is not suitable in the context; the word should be used in the singular to indicate that Ḥārith ibn Hammām arrived with empty wallet and obviously in need. He again considers Ibn al-Khashshab's criticism of the phrase *ولا فاه لأحد من لسان*<sup>233</sup> in the seventeenth maqāma and his opinion that the verb *فاه* is not correctly used in this context. Similar criticism is made by our author of the use of *فانساب فيها على غرارة* in the first maqāma.<sup>234</sup> This verb, he maintains, is used of

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232. P.41 of the Arabic text.

233. Ibid, p.450

234. Ibid, p.55

water to mean "to flow on the surface of the earth", and Ḥarīrī therefore, is not completely justified in using this verb to indicate that Abū Zayd slipped into the cave. He quotes Sharīshī's opinion<sup>235</sup> here that Ḥarīrī should have used some other verb, such as *انسام* in this context. However, our author criticizes Sharīshī over his interpretation of the phrase<sup>236</sup> *يطبع الأسجاع*, in the first maqāma, as meaning<sup>237</sup> *يرتبها ويصنعها*. Our author seems to be of the opinion that the phrase should be explained as *يصوغ* in order to show the exact meaning of *السيج* in this phrase.

Our author amply displays his power of critical analysis, and when he makes use of the opinions of other commentators, he does so only after a thorough examination.

Besides the discussion on words and phrases in the Maqāmāt, Khayr al-Dīn also gives a most complete commentary on various grammatical and philological points that occur in them. He examines, for

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235. Sharīshī, v.1, p.37

236. P.44 of the Arabic text.

237. Sharīshī, v.1, p.29

instance, the function and structure of : ما الماهية<sup>238</sup>,  
 239 حتى للغاية , 240 اذا للمفاجأة , the adverbs بينا ,  
 عند , منذ , منذ and so on.<sup>241</sup>

As the Maqāmāt contain discussions on rhetoric and some of the finest examples of badī', ma'ānī and bayān, it is little wonder that we find our author involving himself in an examination of rhetorical terms like isti'āra, tashbīh and kināya. His commentary on such terms, with further explanatory examples of his own, is most helpful to an understanding of the text of the Maqāmāt and the many obscure phrases and clauses in them. There is one direct reference in the Maqāmāt to tashbīh, where Abū Zayd describes the poet al-Buhturī as "an expert in tashbīh".<sup>242</sup> Our author

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238. See p.68 of the Arabic text for the example of this ما in the phrase ما الكتاب الذي تنظر فيه where the author mentions that besides الماهية this ما also can be asked about a description (الوصف) and (الهيئة).

239. This حتى can be found in many Maqāmāt.

240. P.339 of the Arabic text.

241. See for example the discussion on بينا in the phrase فينا نحن نجادب أطراف الحديث pp.96-97 of the Arabic text, the functions of the particle عند pp.78-79, the discussion on كم (p.108) and

the phrase وهم جرا (p.176),  
 242. The phrase is فانه أبداع في التشبيه , pp.70-71 of the Arabic text.



seizes this opportunity to enter into a lengthy examination of this term, such as its definition<sup>243</sup> and the particles used,<sup>244</sup> and offers some remarkable examples of its function.<sup>245</sup> Khayr al-Dīn also explains the term isti'āra and how it is different from the term majāz, the term kināya and others.<sup>246</sup>

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243. He explains tashbih as الحاق ناقص بكامل بأداة  
 244. Such as الكاف, مثل, كأن and شبه  
 245. See, for example, the discussion on the comparison between eyes and narjis (pp.80-81 of the Arabic text).  
 246. See p.193 of the Arabic text for a discussion on isti'āra, and pp.168-169 on kināya.

### The Editorial Principles

In this edition, I have attempted to give a faithful reproduction of the manuscript, and the pages correspond as much as possible to those of the original. Another primary principle followed in editing this manuscript has been to render the text as readable as possible. To this end I have inserted paragraphs and punctuation sufficient to indicate the main pauses as they appear to us; hence  $\mathcal{P}$  in the original text has been replaced by a full stop.

I have departed from the original text by placing the heading of each maqāma in a central position above the text, and by beginning each maqāma on a new page. The sections of the text of the Maqāmāt have been placed between square brackets [ ], whilst verses of the Quran and individual traditions have been put between inverted commas " ". Words or sentences omitted by a scribe, and sections which have faded into illegibility, but found in other manuscripts, have been supplied between angled brackets < >.

The poems have been written in verse form, although they appear in prose form in the manuscript, and the examination of words in the poems, originally inserted between the clauses, has been written at the end of the poems and illustrated by symbols :

..... *ابجد هوز حطي كلمه* . I have conformed to the modern convention of orthography in this edition, where necessary changing examples of variant spellings that occur in the manuscript. Examples include <sup>247</sup> *جآ* for *جاء* , *شى* for *شيء* , *هذا* for *نايبة* , *سائل* for *سائل* , *يعفا* for *يعفى* , *يدعو* for *يدعوا* , *هذى* for *هذى* , *ابراهيم* for *الحرث* , *الحارث* etc.

Such amendments are not indicated separately in the form of notes.

I have not thought it necessary to draw attention to scribal errors and orthographical peculiarities unless they are of special interest. Some of these have been mentioned above. <sup>248</sup>

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247. See also p.84

248. See pp.77,78.

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and the commentaries on them  
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NOTES

( The notes are arranged according to the pages of the Arabic text)

## P.2

1. Omitted in B. In A :
2. A المنظوم . BC possibly المنثور والمنثور
3. Omitted in A.
4. B صد يقة
5. Omitted in BC and A.
6. So in all MSS. Possibly there is a word missing after this.
7. Omitted in BC.
8. A وأكرم
9. So in all MSS, but the word might be لدى or عند

## P.3

1. BC ولد
2. A والحكم
3. BC استقرته
4. A الطيبين
5. A المقالات

## P.4

1. A and B حلية
2. BC تشبايب
3. BC الأ
4. Omitted in D.
5. A المضاف
6. B سلامة
7. A, B and C يرفق
8. BC حذو

## P.5

1. So in Ḥarīrī's text. BC ومنطقا . P.18 in this edition.
2. Not clear in BC.
3. P.43 in this edition.
4. P.46 in this edition.

5. P.63 in this edition.
6. P.197 in this edition.
7. P.556 in this edition.
8. P.557 in this edition.
9. The text is in the volume two of the MS. which is not edited in this work. See our introduction p.1
10. The complete verse is :  

والطائفين بها وهم \* شمت النواصي سهم
11. Omitted in BC.

## P.6

1. A بنظر
2. A ذلك
3. A عواره
4. B قولهم
5. C الأول
6. BC للتخصيص

## P.7

1. BC لا يجوز
2. A الأخير
3. Omitted in A.
4. So in A, B, C, D and al-Muṭarrazī's MS. Omitted in BC.
5. BC الحرف

## P.8

1. Qurān 6/163.
2. BC الشكر
3. This Hadith is not available in Wensinck.
4. Omitted in D.
5. BC هذا
6. BC بمقالة
7. Hāshiyā Abī al-Baqā' ? by Al-Sayyid Abū al-Baqā' d.1272 A.H.

## P.9

1. So in B. Omitted in other MSS.
2. BC تعلمكن
3. BC تعالى

4. This work is untraceable. See our introduction p.89.
5. BC سبى
6. Omitted in BC and D.
7. C آيبن
8. Qurān 55/4
9. D تبنى
10. B المعتمد

## P.10

1. Hariri writes :  
وذكر أهل العربية أن جميع المصادر التي جاءت على تفعال هي بفتح التاء  
إلا مصدرين هما تبيان وتلقاء، وقال بعضهم وتنضال أيضا.  
See Durrat al-Ghawwas p. 143.
2. B التيسار
3. So in A and D. Omitted in other MSS.
4. Sahih al-Turmudhi chapter 80 of Kitāb al-Bir.

## P.11

1. D لا يتم
2. A and BC بها
3. Sunan Ibn Mājah chapter 19 of Kitāb al-Nikāh, also Sunan  
Abi Dawūd chapter 18 of Kitāb al-Adab. The full Hadith is  
كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد أقطع.
4. BC كان
5. BC يحتاج
6. Qurān 5/113.
7. C وأسيفت
8. BC مانفة
9. A قواه
10. BC عطية

## P.12

1. BC جيدة
2. B في
3. D السريسي
4. B كالشيرة
5. BC والنوفى

## P.13

1. A على D عن
2. BC الكن

3. BC وسابده
4. D وهذه
5. C حتى
6. Omitted in A.

## P.14

1. Sahih al-Bukhārī chapter 48 of Kitāb al-Anbiyā', also Musnad. Ibn Hanbal volume one pp. 23, 34.
2. C يبدو
3. BC فتقصر
4. B كل
5. A نقص

This Hadith is not available in Wensinck.

## P.15

1. From the Hadith : ومن جاء بالسيئة فجزاؤه سيئة بمثلهما Sn. Ibn Mājah, ch.58 (al-Adab)
2. Qurān 41/34.

## P.16

1. Sahih al-Bukhārī chapter 39 of Kitāb al-Īmān, Sunan Abī Dawūd chapter 3 of Kitāb al-Buyū' and Sahih Muslim Hadith No. 107 in Kitāb al-Musāqāh.
2. Omitted in C.
3. Comment from the scribe of. A (in margin) :

توله وهي ما بين الخ فيد مسالحة، لأن الخطوة بالفتح هي المرة من الخطوات. وأما بالضم فهي ما بين القدمين. وعبارة ابن مالك في ألفيته وفعلة لمرة كجلسة الخ. كاتبه الحبير أحمد المؤذن الأوكاوي تأمل.

See our introduction p. 75

4. Omitted in A.

## P.17

1. Qurān 11/88
2. B المغفرة
3. Omitted in B.
4. A gives the other part of the saying :

وإذا فسد، فسد الجسد كله

5. This Hadith is not available in Wensinck.

P.18

1. Omitted in D.
2. Omitted in C.
3. A طالبك
4. BC فارعا

P.19

1. BC الرراية
2. D كلاصها
3. Musnad Ibn Hanbal volume five pp. 231, 236, 237. Also Sahih al-Turmudhi chapter 8 of Kitāb al-Īmān.

P.20

1. Quran 18/74
2. This proverb is untraceable.
3. Diwan, p.86.
4. A مصفة

P.21

1. Quran 89/20.
2. Quran 5/38.
3. BC انسى

P.22

1. Quran 18/23
2. This Hadith is not available in Wensinck.

P.23

1. Omitted in C.
2. Quran 8/47.
3. Quran 17/97.

## P.24

1. Omitted in BC.
2. Omitted in D.
3. B عزد
4. Omitted in C.

## P.25

1. D فاداه
2. Omitted in A.
3. See our introduction pp.7-11
4. B ردها

## P.26

1. C فنكند
2. B وهي

## P.27

1. See our introduction pp.19-21
2. This statement is untraceable.

## P.28

1. Diwan p. 46.
2. Quran 44/51.
3. Omitted in D.

## P.29

1. Quran 17/64.
2. D الزنات
3. Quran 9/80
4. C أمرا

## P.30

1. Quran 35/35.

## P.31

1. Diwan, 2, p. 261.
2. So in all MSS. Diwan مزدهم
3. So in all MSS. This name is unidentifiable.

## P.32

1. A أحاديته
2. C قلوب
3. Diwan, 1, p.435. Buhturī said this poem to praise Abu Nūh Ḫ̄sā Ibn Ibrāhīm.
4. See al-Tha'ālibī, Yatīmat al-Dahr, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Hamīd, Cairo, 1934, p.272, vol.1, also al-Kutubī, Fawāt al-Wafayāt, Cairo, 1951, v.2, p.301. See also n.6 p.81.

## P.33

1. Omitted in B and C.
2. The 25th maqāma p.632.
3. D قابل
4. BC اقتضاء

## P.34

1. See Chenery, pp.174-275
2. GAL. Suppl., 1, 406.
3. See Chenery, p.275

## P.35

1. Omitted in D.
2. Diwan p.76.
3. BC. للبرة
4. C كالخاضر



## P.36

1. Diwan p. 87
2. Quran 18/105
3. Quran 2/267

## P.37

1. B الكامل
2. Diwan p. 214
3. A منزل

## P.38

1. BC بلع
2. B من
3. BC علاه
4. Sahih al-Bukhārī chapter 1 of Kitāb Bad' al-Wahyi, also Sunan Abī Dāwūd chapter 11 of Kitāb al-Talāq.
5. BC تنحصر

## P.39

1. A في

## P.40

1. Omitted in A.
2. Musnad Ibn Hanbal volume 4, p. 178.
3. Musnad Ibn Hanbal volume 4, p. 345.
4. This Hadith is not available in Wensinck.
5. GAL. Suppl., II, 194, 250.
6. C وان
7. Omitted in BC.

## P.41

1. BC القرناء
2. A بالشام

3. So in all MSS. but this phrase does not make sense. The author possibly left out some words. In Sharīshī the phrase reads :

فسي جبلها نغم ، فلما نظروا إلى مدينتها ورأوها حصينة مبنية  
بالحجارة قالوا هذه صنماء .

See Sharīshī, vol.1, p.28.

4. So in all MSS. The word might be ورأوها . See n.3 above.  
5. C الراعي  
6. See Kitab Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī, Cairo, 1908, p. 6  
7. P.20 in this edition.

## P.42

1. Omitted in D and BC.  
2. Omitted in C.  
3. Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal volume 3 p.65.

## P.43

1. Omitted in A.  
2. Omitted in BC and C.  
3. BC الذي هاب

## P.44

1. Sunan Ibn Mājah chapter 51 of Kitāb al-Janā'iz.  
2. Quran 55/11.

## P.45

1. A ترو  
2. A حين

## P.46

1. C تقابل  
2. Omitted in D.  
3. Omitted in A.

4. A "من الله وهو معكم الآية" Quran 4/107.
5. See Sharishi, Vol.I, p.31 for another verse of the poem.

## P.47

1. Diwan p.215.
2. See 'Abd. al-Rahmān al-Jawzī, Al-Hasan al-Basri, Cairo 1931, p.66.
3. Musnad Ibn Hanbal volume 2, p. 349.

## P.48

1. Diwan p. 69
2. This statement is unfortunately untraceable.
3. Quran 35/37
4. Quran 77/6

## P.49

1. Quran 12/51
2. Omitted in D.
3. Omitted in A.
4. Quran 69/12.

## P.50

1. B and D. ابن عمران
2. A (in margin) قف على هذه الحكاية
3. Sharishi mentions his name as أحمد بن المدبر and the poet as الحسين بن عبدالرحمن البصري. See Sharishi, vol.II, p.34.

## P.51

1. Diwan, 3, p.152.
2. Quran 4/3.
3. Musnad Ibn Hanbal vol.6, pp. 77,91.
4. This man is unidentifiable.
5. Omitted in A.

## P.52

1. Sunan Ibn Mājah chapter 40 of Kitāb al-Jihād, Sahīh al-Bukhārī chapter 81, Kitāb al-Adab and Musnad Ibn Hanbal vol.3 p.67.
2. Sahīh al-Turmudhī chapter 57 Kitāb al-Bir.
3. Quran 75/18.
4. Quran 3/185.
5. Diwan p.185.
6. Quran 12/38.

## P.53

1. Quran 25/65.
2. See Sharīshī, vol.I, p.36 for this quotation.

## P.54

1. Diwan v. 202.
2. Sahīh al-Bukhārī chapter 3, Kitāb al-Musāqah.
3. Quran 13/11.

## P.55

1. Quran 9/58.

## P.56

1. Quran 67/8.
2. Quran 22/72.

## P.57

1. According to Sharīshī this poem is by Tamīm ibn al-Mu'iz. See Sharīshī, vol.I, p. 39.

## P.59

1. Musnad Ibn Hanbal vol.2 p.120.
2. Musnad al-Dārimī chapter 48, Muqaddima.

## P.61

1. Diwan vol.2, p.7.
2. Diwan, p. 108
3. Omitted in C
4. A <sup>تأني</sup>
5. This Hadith is not available in Wensinck.
6. BC <sup>درايته</sup>

## P.62

1. A <sup>عالمًا</sup>
2. Quran 10/16
3. Quran 55/24

## P.63

1. BC <sup>مقولة</sup>
2. The actual meaning of this word is "a while" <sup>مدة قصيرة</sup> not <sup>مدة طويلة</sup>. See Lane's Lexicon and others.
3. Omitted in B.

## P.64

1. See Sharīshī, vol.I, p.63.

## P.66

1. Sunan Ibn Mājah chapter 35, Kitāb al-Libās.
2. Sahīh al-Turmudhī chapter 17, Kitāb al-Adab.
3. See Sharīshī, vol.I, pp.44,45 for this quotation.
4. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.2, p.186.

## P.67

1. These quotations are all from Sharīshī, vol.I, pp.44-46.

## P.68

1. Sahīh al-Bukhārī, chapter 63, Kitāb al-Adab.
2. Quran 38/20.

## P.69

1. See n.7. (page 8.)
2. For his works see for example R.A.Nicholson op.cit. pp.130, 316, 324.

## P.70

1. Quran 24/43

## P.71

1. Quran 27/88.
2. Quran 61/14.
3. See n.7 p.8.

## P.72

1. Omitted in A.
  2. Diwan, 2, p.120.
  3. C
  4. B
- تسرع  
أطلب

## P.75

1. Quran 7/104.
2. C الدلالة
3. Quran 63/1.
4. Omitted in A.
5. Quran 63/17.
6. Omitted in B.

## P.76

1. Remark in A (in margin)
2. B العبر

قف على ما في هذا المجل

## P.77

1. Quran 8/16
  2. Quran 49/12.
- 1a. See n.7, p.8.

## P.78

1. De Sacy, 1, p.29
2. Quran 3/169
3. Quran 28/27

## P.79

1. Al-Tha'labī ? See Chenery, pp. 270-272

## P.81

1. The explanation of the word narjis here is mainly quoted from Sharīshī, vol.I, pp. 52-54
2. A ك
3. A وجد
4. Quran 24/35
5. Quran 2/18 and 171
6. His name was Muḥammad ibn Ahmad. For biographical details see Fawāt al-Wafayāt, vol.2, p.301.

## P.83

1. Quran 34/12

## P.85

1. Taqiy al-Dīn ibn Hijja ? But the work is untraceable.

## P.86

1. Quran 4/89

## P.87

1. BC أو
2. C لا
3. Quran 2/18
4. Diwan, p.176
5. BC وأطلق

## P.89

1. Omitted in A
2. C سح
3. Omitted in A
4. Omitted in A
5. Omitted in D

## P.90

1. C جعلت
2. Omitted in A
3. Omitted in A
4. Omitted in B

## P.91

1. See p.8 n.7
2. GAL. Suppl. II, 304, 639.

## P.92

1. BC الوقع
2. B وهذا
3. Omitted in BC and C
4. Sahih al-Bukhari, chapter 101, Kitāb al-Adab.
5. Omitted in D
6. C صفة
7. This work is untraceable.

## P.93

1. R.A.Nicholson, Literary History of the Arabs, Cambridge, 1966, pp.326-327

## P.97

1. See p.8 n.7

## P.98

1. Ibn Durayd, al-Ishtiqaq, Cairo, 1958, p.307

## P.101

1. Quran 12/51
2. This work is untraceable. See our introduction p.89.



## P. 103

1. Quran 93/8

## P. 105

1. Quran 9/29
2. In all MSS. فقر. The correct form is مفقر
3. B مفعول
4. A مدحك

## P. 107

1. Diwan p. 246.

## P. 109

1. Quran 37/144
2. Quran 68/49 . 2a. Kulliat Abi al-Baqā' ? See p.8 n.7.
3. Quran 20/39
4. Quran 9/41

## P. 110

1. Omitted in A.
2. Omitted in A.

## P. 111

1. Hārith here was Imru' al-Qays's grandfather as cited by Sharīshī who gives a most details explanation of the origin of the proverb. See Sharīshī, vol.I, pp.70-71.

## P. 112

1. A الحارث بن همام
2. Vol.I, pp.71-72 where Sharīshī quotes Badi' al-Zamān, Jubayr and others.

## P.113

1. The works are not identified.
2. Sahih al-Bukhari, chapter 47, Kitab al-Nikah, Musnad al-Darimi, chapter 199, Kitab al-Salat and Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.I, pp.269,303,390.

## P.114

1. Sahih al-Bukhari, chapter 1; Kitab al-Manaqib and others.

## P.115

1. It seems that this is not a Hadith. Wensinck does not mention it either.

## P.117

1. Omitted in B.
2. D كان
3. Omitted in C.

## P.118

1. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.4, p.197.
2. Sunan Abi Dawud, chapter 25.

## P.119

1. Sahih al-Turmudhi, chapter 17, Kitab al-Ahkam.
2. Chenery gives similar explanation that the author of this proverb, who was an Arab judge, made it up when he was addressing a suitor. Chenery quotes from Freytag's Arab Proverbs vol.I, p.669. See Chenery, p.301.
3. B سخنان
4. Omitted in D.
5. Diwan p.185.

P.122

1. Quran 24/61

P.123

1. A متعین

P.124

1. His work is untraceable.
2. BC فارقم
3. Quran 38/15

P.127

1. Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 21, Kitāb al-Tahāra.
2. Sharishī, vol.I, p.80.
3. BC فما

P.128

1. Sunan Abi Dāwūd, chapter 123, Kitāb al-Adab, Sahih al-Turmudhi, chapter 28, Kitāb al-Bir and Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 4, Kitāb al-Adab.

P.130

1. Omitted in A.
2. Quran 20/44

P.131

1. Quran 85/8
2. This work is not available, though the book al-Jāmi' al-Saghir has been printed in Cairo, 1321 A.H. (see n.3, p.410).
3. The works mentioned here are untraceable, Neither Brockelmann nor other sources mention these works.

P.132

1. This statement corresponds with Sharishī's commentary. See Sharishī, vol.I, p.81.

2. See about al-Aghlab al-'Ajilī in Sharḥ Diwān Zuhayr, p.230.
3. Khayr al-Dīn means Ḥarīrī here.
4. Durrat al-Ghawwās, p. 461

## P.133

1. Istanbul edition, 1299, p.88.
- 1<sup>a</sup> Omitted in D.

## P.134

1. So in all MSS. We presume the word is الأيدي as it is written in 'Ukbarī's commentary.

## P.135

1. Omitted in A.
2. Sahīh al-Bukhārī, chapter 1, Bad' al-Wahyi, chapter 41, Kitāb al-Īmān and chapter 5, Kitāb al-Nikāh.
3. Omitted in B.
4. D. اشتعل
5. A. الحكم

## p.136

1. Quran 21/47
2. BC فاعلة

## P.138

1. Omitted in D.
2. This Hadith is not available in Wensinck.
3. A (in margin) :

« قوله وينبغي الخ ، ذكر العلامة سيدي محمد الزرقان المالكى في كتابه المقاصد الحسنة في الأحاديث المشتهرة على الألسنة ، حديثاً فيه بعض تغير وزيادة لما نقله الشارح ، وذكر أنه ضعيف ، ولفظه : من استوى يومه فهو مغبون ، ومن كان آخر يومه شراً فهو ملعون ، ومن لم يكن على الزيادة فهو في النقصان ، ومن كان في النقصان ، فالموت خيراً ، ومن اشتاق إلى الجنة سارع إلى الخيرات » ضعيف . انتهت عبارته بالحرف .

## P.139

1. B فد
2. Omitted in A
3. D عدو

## P.140

1. Quran 16/127
2. Quran 42/41
3. Sahih Muslim, Hadith No.4, Kitāb al-Bir.
4. Omitted in BC.

## P.142

1. The correct title of the book is طراز المجالس, and has been printed in Cairo, 1284 A.H. For the quotation see the book pp.122-123.
2. GAL, Suppl. I, 500.
3. See Chenery, pp.375, 488.

## P.143.

1. This work is untraceable.

## P.144

1. Quran 34/33
2. C روى
3. Omitted in D.

## P.145

1. Omitted in C

## P.146

1. Blank in all our MSS.
2. Quran 27/40
3. Omitted in B
4. Sahih al-Bukhari, chapter 24, Kitāb al-I'tisām, chapter 48, Kitāb al-Jihād, chapter 28, Kitāb al-Manāqib, and Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 14, Kitāb al-Jihād.
5. Omitted in D
6. Omitted in A

P.147

1. BC الأمثال
2. Omitted in D.

P.148

1. BC مضيا
2. BC and D رجل

P.149

1. Quran 90/18.
2. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.4, p.106.

P.150

1. Quran 33/53
2. D وأصله
3. Omitted in A.

P.151

1. See Sharīshī, vol.I, pp.91-92.

P.152

1. B المحدثين
2. BC أتوا
- 3, 4. Omitted in all MSS. This information is quoted from Sharīshī's commentary. See Sharīshī, vol.I, p. 93.

P.153

1. So in A which corresponds with Sharīshī's statement. Omitted in all other MSS.
2. See Chenery, p.327.

P.154

1. This poem is by al-Kurdi according to Sharīshī, vol.I, p.93.

2. See Kitāb Maqāmāt al-Harīrī, Cairo, 1908, p.40, n.14.

P.155

1. Quran 6/71

P.157

1. Sahīh al-Turmudhī, chapter 43, Kitāb al-At'ima.  
 2. Quran 17/2  
 3. BC حَالًا  
 4. Omitted in BC.

P.158

1. Quran 33/18  
 2. Quran 16/72

P.159

1. BC التعليق  
 2. According to Sharīshī this poet is Ibn Harama. See Sharīshī, vol.I, p.97.

P.160

1. A الصف  
 2. See al-Dhahabī, The Biography of Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arī (Arabic text) ed. D.S.Margoliouth, Oxford, 1898, p.132.  
 3. Omitted in BC.

P.161

1. Omitted in BC.  
 2. This book is by Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Maydānī. GAL. Suppl.I, 506, and Bughya, I, p.356.  
 3. B الظلام

P.162

1. Diwan, ed. Khayriyya Mahfūz, Baghdad, 1970, p.295.  
 2. Blank in all MSS.

P. 163

1. D وافق
2. A (in margin) :
3. Omitted in A
4. Quran 16/62

P. 165

1. Omitted in A. For this Hadith see Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.3, p.176
2. Quran 53/49.

P. 167

1. Omitted in C
2. P.142

P. 168

1. Quran 28/10
2. D أقوم
3. BC سابق

P. 169

1. Remark in A (in margin) :  
See R.A.Nicholson, op. cit. for al-Safadi's works, pp.326,456.
2. Omitted in BC and C
3. Omitted in BC
4. BC وعزبه

P. 170

1. BC فنى

P. 171

1. Omitted in A
2. Omitted in BC.



## P.172

1. So in 'Ukbarī's commentary, f.27a. All our MSS. ثوب
2. GAL, I, 130, Suppl. I, 198.

## P.173

1. BC بين
2. Omitted in A and D

## P.175

1. Sharīshī gives his name as Ibn Jarīr. See Sharīshī, v.I, p.104
2. According to Sharīshī again the year was A.H.97, loc. cit.

## P.176

1. Omitted in C
2. A قال
3. GAL, II, 110, Suppl. II, 136-4, also Bughya, I, p.282.

## P.177

1. Omitted in BC
2. D بمعنى

## P.178

1. Omitted in A
2. Omitted in D

## P.179

1. Quran 38/16

## P.180

1. Sunan Abī Dāwūd, chapter 31, Kitāb al-Talāq, Sunan al-Nasā'ī, chapter 51, Kitāb al-Talāq, and Sahīh al-Bukhārī, chapter 23, Kitāb al-Manāqib.

## P. 181

1. Omitted in A
2. B لأن
3. BC ان
4. D ثبت

## P. 182

1. See R.A. Nicholson, op. cit. p. 345
2. Chenery, pp. 132, 320, 340.
3. Ibid, p. 321
4. loc. cit.
5. See also al-Aghānī, vol. 22, pp. 137-141.

## P. 186

1. Sharīshī, vol. I, pp. 107-109

## P. 187

1. A ثبت

## P. 188

1. Ibn Durayd, al-Ishtiqāq, Cairo, 1958, p. 115

## P. 189

1. C أَيْدٍ صَفْدَةٍ

## P. 190

1. P. 154 of this edition.
2. Omitted in BC
3. The Shaikh's name was Abū Bakr ibn Azhar who heard it from Ibn Jahūr. Sharīshī, vol. I, p. 110.
4. A بَصْرِيَّةٌ
5. Omitted in D

## P. 191

1. D الكبر

2. According to Sharīshī this proverb was explained by Abū'Ubayd in his work al-Amthāl as quoted here. See Sharīshī, vol.I, p.111.
3. Omitted in A.

## P.192

1. Omitted in BC
2. Omitted in BC
3. Omitted in A

## P.193

1. Omitted in A.
2. So in B. Omitted in all other MSS.
3. The author and the work are untraceable.
4. D وسطها

## P.194

1. A فيه
2. Omitted in BC
3. Omitted in BC
4. BC مواضع
5. BC عرب

## P.195

1. Omitted in BC
2. Omitted in D
3. Omitted in BC
4. BC فالانتى
5. Omitted in B
6. See al-Maydānī, Majma' al-Amthāl, ed.H.A.Schult an, p.283.

## P.196

1. Mālik, al-Muwatta', Hadith No.30, Isti'dhān.

## P.197

1. Omitted in A
2. For a full account of this man see Chenery, pp.326-327 and Sharīshī, vol.I,p.114.
3. Sahīh Muslim, Hadith No. 165.

## P.198

1. Omitted in BC.
2. Omitted in BC. See Durrat al-Ghawwās, pp.13-14.

## P.199

1. C
2. BC
3. BC
4. BC

الخطأ  
فيما  
أحزن  
لكنهم

## P.201

1. See Dīwān al-Hutay'ah, pp.56-57 for this story, also Sharīshī, vol.I, pp.116-117.

## P.202

1. Sharīshī, vol.I, pp.120-121.

## P.203

1. Dīwān al-Hutay'ah, p.31

## P.205

1. BC العاري
2. Omitted in A.

P.206

- قف على هذه الحكاية
1. A (in margin) :  
For this story see Sharīshī, vol.I, pp.124-125
  2. Omitted in D
  3. Omitted in C

P.207

1. أفعل بك C
2. Diwan, 3, p.1980

P.208

1. Quran 11/44

P.210

1. Diwan, 1, p.205

P.211

1. Omitted in BC

P.212

1. Omitted in A
2. BC الشرق
3. Diwān al-Hutay'ah, p.80.
4. D لتعريشها
5. BC تطيب
6. Omitted in C

P.213

1. BC الذال والصغير
2. BC الذي
3. C وإذلال
4. Sharishi, vol.I, p.129.

P.214

1. See Sharīshī, vol.I, p.129.
2. Sahih al-Turmudhī, chapter 65, Kitāb al-Fitan.
3. Omitted in BC.

P.215

1. Omitted in C.
2. Diwan, p.377.

P.216

1. BC المقل

P.217

1. See Sharīshī, vol.I, p.132.

P.218

1. BC ثبت
2. Sahih al-Bukhārī, chapter 1, Kitāb al-Aidān

P.219

1. BC أجاد

P.220

1. Omitted in D.
2. BC الخلف

P.221

1. BC خيفة
2. Musnad al-Dārimī, chapter 17.
3. BC تله

## P.222

1. Omitted in B.
2. Omitted in BC.
3. Sunan Abi Dāwūd, chapter 13, Kitāb al-Manāsik.

## P.223

1. Sahih al-Bukhārī, chapter 113, Kitāb al-Buyū', chapter 20, Kitāb al-Ijāra, Sunan Abi Dāwūd, chapter 63, Kitāb al-Buyū', and Sahih al-Turmudhī, chapter 36, Kitāb al-Nikāh.
2. Omitted in D.
3. Sunan al-Nassā'ī, chapter 66, Kitāb al-Tahāra and Musnad al-Dārimī, chapter 26, Kitāb al-Wudū'.
4. لا يطبخها أحد ولو يسيرا
5. Diwan, p.206.

## P.224

1. Quran 2/156.
2. BC حل
3. Sahih Muslim, Hadith No.3, Kitāb Imāra.

## P.225

1. BC ضيق
2. Omitted in A.

## P.226

1. Diwan p.65
2. A يراه

## P.227

1. C بسرعة
2. BC عنده

3. P.290 in this edition.
4. D مواضع
5. BC لتعلم

## P.228

1. Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 88, Kitāb al-Iqāma, Sahih al-Turmudhī, chapter 17, Kitāb al-Jum'ah and Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.3, pp.417, 427.
2. A يصيهم
3. BC بعد
4. Omitted in A
5. BC النفرة
6. BC اذا كان

## P.229

1. Sahih al-Bukhārī, chapter 24, Kitāb Fadā'il al-Sahāba and Sahih al-Turmudhī, chapter 42, Kitāb al-Manāqib.
2. See stories about him in Chenery, pp. 334, 335, 417.
3. See al-Tha'ālībī, Thimār al-Qulūb fī al-Mudāf wal-Mansūb, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1965, pp. 92-93 for this work.
4. Diwan, 2, p.249.
5. Omitted in B.
6. Omitted in C.

## P.230

1. Diwan, 1, p.251.
2. BC دعاة
3. BC يعدلون
4. A بثالث
5. BC وضعه
6. Omitted in C.

## P.231

1. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.3, p.290.



2. Quoted from the 16th. Maqāma "Al-Makfūfiyya" . See Sharh Maqāmāt Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhāni, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyiddīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1962, pp.93-94.
3. BC سرت

P.232

1. Omitted in BC.

P.233

1. This poem is by Ibn al-'Abbas, see Chenery, p.333.
2. Diwan, p.249.
3. See Sharīshī, vol.I, p.144.

P.234

1. BC قناة

P.236

1. Omitted in A.
2. BC ابن
3. C رطل

P.237

1. A العظيم
2. July.
3. BC يعقل

P.238

1. This scholar was one of the instructors of Sibawayh. See Chenery, p.498.
2. See Sharīshī, vol.I, p.151.

## P.239

1. Siqt al-Zand, p. 249.
2. Omitted in BC.
3. A جان
4. BC قدرتها

## P.240

1. The author possibly means Hamza al-Isfihānī, who also talked about cats. See Steingass, p.293.
2. See Chenery, p.340.
3. Diwan, p.24.
4. Al-Iuzūmiyyat, p.376.
5. BC مردودا
6. BC ما
7. Omitted in BC.

## P.241

1. A لجانبي
2. Omitted in BC.

## P.242

1. BC انہا
2. BC توضحك

## P.243

1. BC ل
2. Isma'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥamduih. For this writer see Fawāt al-Wafayāt, vol.I, p.24.

## P.244

1. Omitted in D.

## P.245.

1. BC الخيل
2. C أتلفها
3. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.4, p.197.
4. BC حالي
5. This man is untraceable.
6. BC النظم

## P.246

1. See Sharishi, vol.I, p.157.
2. BC بالأرب
3. Omitted in BC.
4. Omitted in BC.

## P.247

1. A كناية
2. Diwan, p.334.
3. The reference to this poem is untraceable.

## P.248

1. The author should mention الأوكف here, since the poem refers to it in the plural.
2. See Sharishi, vol.I, p.158.
3. Quran 2/93
4. BC دعاو

## P.249

1. See Chenery, p.343
2. BC الذى
3. BC وأخلف . A وألف

## P.250

1. This poem might have been quoted from Sharīshī's commentary. But our author left out a verse which reads as follow :

يرى الوعد احدى العار اذ هو لم تكن \* مواهبه تأتي مقدمه الوعد

Sharīshī, vol.I, p.159.

2. Quran 23/46.
3. Sahīh al-Bukhārī, chapter 21, Kitāb al-Tib.
4. Quran 7/57
5. Quran 89/14

## P.251

1. Tafsir al-Jalālain, Cairo (2 vols.) 1280, v.2, p.170
2. Quran 113/4
3. BC با
4. Omitted in BC. Quran 88/22.
5. BC غيره

## P.252

1. BC البين
2. Sharīshī, vol.I, p.160.
3. Diwan, p. 246.
4. Diwan, p. 307.
5. Omitted in BC.
6. Quran 62/5.

## P.253

1. Omitted in BC.
2. Quran 91/6
3. Omitted in BC.
4. C الكرام
5. Diwan, p. 197.
6. B السود

## P.254

1. Diwan, 1, p.140
2. Iqd al-Marid, p.283 (vol.2, Cairo, 1321 A.H.)
3. Diwan al-Nābigha al-Dhubyanī, p.187.
4. A كان
5. A الرجال
6. C في

## P.255

1. For Abū 'Amr al-Qisṭālī see Dīwān al-Hutay'ah, pp.334-335.
2. A and D بان
3. B خطبت
4. Quran 2/191
5. Omitted in BC.
6. Sahīh al-Turmudhī, chapter 4, Kitāb al-Ahkām and Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 2, Kitāb al-Ahkām.
7. D حيث

## P.256

1. C يدري
2. BC الراح , For the poem see Diwan, p.94.
3. Diwan, pp.156-157.
4. Diwan, vol.1, p.435.

## P.257

1. BC بالإضافة
2. A اذا
3. Quran 63/7.
4. C الحاجة

## P.258

1. Sahīh al-Bukhārī, chapter 40, Kitāb al-Anbiyā'.
2. Quran 17/36
3. Sharīshī, 1, p.153

## P.259

1. BC صحة
2. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.2, pp.334, 357.
3. Quran 41/25
4. Quran 27/48
5. This Hadith is not available in Wensinck.
6. Omitted in BC

## P.260

1. Quran 81/16
2. B الصوق
3. Sahih al-Turmudhi, chapter 16, Kitāb al-Salāt.

## P.261

1. See Sharīshī, vol.I, pp.170-171
2. Omitted in D

## P.262

1. Quran 23/16

## P.263

1. Diwan, 1, p.95
2. A الخيال
3. BC يعتاد
4. See p.81, n.6
5. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.2, p.97
6. Omitted in D.

## P.264

1. D السامي
2. He was a poet. His real name was Jarir ibn 'Abd al-Masih. See Chenery, pp.16, 162, 358-261. For this poem see De Sacy, 1, p.102.

## P.266

1. Sunan Abi Dawud, chapter 41, Kitāb al-Libās.

2. BC لؤلؤة
3. BC قبله
4. The reference to this poem is untraceable.

## P.267

1. According to Sharīshī the poet is Ibn Harama. See Sharīshī vol.I, p.174
2. C منازلي
3. BC منه
4. BC ولا قرابة
5. Quran 9/11
6. Quran 18/58
7. B يوصل

## P.268

1. Omitted in BC
2. A (in Margin)

قف على هذين الحديثين

Mālik, al-Muwatta', Hadith No.8, Kitāb al-Wasiyya.

3. This Hadith is not available in Wensinck.
4. There is an additional Hadith in the margin of B :

وروى جابر قال : قال النبي ، صلى الله عليه وسلم ، لا هم ، إلا هم الدين ، ولا وجع إلا وجع العين . انتهى شرحي .

5. Omitted in BC
6. Omitted in BC
7. Omitted in BC

## P.269

1. BC بالكسب
2. Omitted in D.

## P.270

1. BC الطب
2. Quran 87/56
3. BC هكذا

## P.271

1. BC نظم
2. BC المديون
3. Sunan al-Nasā'i, chapter 67.
4. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, v.I, pp.173,177,182.
5. B عذرتك
6. BC واجب

## P.272

1. Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 26.
2. A أبو يحيى التقي
3. Quran 93/5
4. C أعلى
5. C الطلبة

## P.273

1. Quran 12/100
2. BC مزوق
3. A يوصله
4. BC حسين . This interpretation is quoted from Sharīshī, v.I, p.176.
5. Quran 21/104.
6. Tafsīr al-Jalālain, v.2, p.39 (See p.251 n.2 for this edition)
7. Omitted in BC. Quran. 2/249.

## P.274

1. This quotation is untraceable.
2. BC قول
3. Omitted in BC
4. This interpretation corresponds with Mutarrazī's explanation as an expression peculiar to modern authors, who designate under the name of the officers of a qādī's court. MS, f.73.

## P.275

1. See Sharīshī, v.I, p.177.



## P.276

1. Sunan Abi Dāwūd, chapter 6, Kitāb al-Hudūd.
2. See the details in Sharīshī, vol.I, p.177.
3. Quran 38/47
4. Quran 3/135
5. BC <sup>الابى</sup>
6. BC <sup>ابى</sup>
7. BC <sup>عظمتى</sup>

## P.277

1. See Diwān al-Faradhdaq, vol.I, p. 294 for the editor's comment on this story.
2. Ibid, same page.
3. Omitted in A
4. See Diwan al-Hutay'ah, p.347 for the poems by al-Hutay'ah on the same point.
5. BC <sup>اللى</sup>
6. BC <sup>وجبتا</sup>
7. Omitted in C.

## P.278

1. Diwan, p. 237
2. Omitted in BC and A.
3. Diwan p.59.
4. Omitted in B.

## P.279

1. Mālik ibn Tawq was a descendant of 'Amr ibn Kulthūm, the author of one of Mu'allagāt and was an officer in the service of Hārūn al-Rashīd. See Chenery, p.351.
2. Omitted in BC. 'Amr in this verse was 'Amr ibn Kulthūm.
3. B <sup>على</sup>

## P.280

1. Diwan, p.507.
2. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, chapter 37.

3. The author might have quoted this opinion from Ḥarīrī himself in Durrat al-Ghawwās, where Ḥarīrī discusses the same subject. See Durrat al-Ghawwās, p.168.
4. See Sharīshī, vol.I, p. 182.
5. BC لطيف
6. BC بشريف
7. Omitted in BC.

## P.281

1. BC معرفة
2. Omitted in D
3. Diwan, 1, p.450.

## P.282

1. Sharīshī, vol.I, p. 185.
2. Ibid, pp.187-188, and see also Chenery, p.352.
3. Omitted in BC.
4. BC أربعة

## P.283

1. Diwan, 1, p.216
2. B احسن
3. D طرا

## P.284

1. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.3, p154.
2. Sunan Abi Dāwūd, chapter 87.

## P.285

1. Omitted in all MSS. The word is supplied from 'Ukbarī's commentary in order to make sense.

## P.286

1. Diwan, 2, p.179
2. Diwān al-Nābighah al-Dhubyanī, p.106. The full two verses are :

مستحقى خلق الما ذى يقدمهم \* ثم العرائن ضرابون للهام

## P.287

1. Diwan, p.5
2. Diwan, p.265
3. Omitted in B
4. Al-Aghānī, vol.14, p.53
5. Diwan, p.5
6. وفى العز
7. D بعدها

## P.288

1. Diwan, 1, p.161
2. Omitted in A
3. Diwan, 2, p.219
4. Omitted in BC

## P.289

1. BC واحدة
2. Omitted in BC
3. Diwan, p.101

## P.290

1. Omitted in B
2. Quran 27/19
3. Sahīh Muslim, chapter 56.
4. Zayd ibn Rifā'ah, Kitāb al-Amthāl, Cairo ? (n.d) p.106.
5. Ibid, p.20

## P.291

1. Quran 83/14
2. Quran 2/234
3. A "وقيل: القيل: السؤال، والقال: الجواب"

## P.292

1. BC مازع
2. Musnad al-Dārimī, chapter 78.

## P.293

1. Omitted in BC
2. D يتول
3. See Chenery, p.358 for the quotations of his life.
4. See Sharishi, vol.I, pp.205-206.

## P.294

1. Omitted in BC
2. Omitted in D
3. Omitted in A
4. Omitted in BC
5. BC وامنع
6. BC المشق

## P.295

1. Omitted in C
2. Omitted in BC
3. See Sharishi, vol.I, p.207.

## P.296

1. Omitted in BC

## P.297

1. BC الملحق
2. See Chenery, pp.358-359.
3. Omitted in BC
4. BC الملحق

5. Al-Musayyab ibn 'Alas was A'shā's uncle. See Diwan al-A'shā, p. 347.
6. See Sharishi, vol. I, p. 209
7. See Diwan Tarafa ibn al-'Abd for this meeting, pp. 8-10, 48-49.
8. C فجواه

## P. 298

1. Diwan, p. 562
2. Diwan, pp. 48-49
3. BC يعلان
4. Omitted in BC
5. BC فيها
6. BC الماتس
7. Omitted in B

## P. 299

1. BC يده. Sharishi mentions the same story in his commentary and uses the word يده as in A. Sharishi, vol. I, p. 209.
2. BC البيك
3. Omitted in BC
4. Omitted in BC. According to Diwan Tarafa, he was killed at the age of 26 as confirmed by this poem. But the poem is by his sister al-Kharnaq. See Diwan Tarafa, p. 10, also Sharishi, vol. I, p. 210.

## P. 300

1. Quran 70/15
2. This might be a quotation from Safadi's commentary on Tughra'i's ode. See R.A. Nicholson, op. cit. p. 326. Unfortunately the book is not available for consultation.

## P. 301

1. BC ش
2. See Majma' al-Amthal, vol. I, p. 221
3. BC سبا

P.302

1. A الذهن

P.303

1. Omitted in BC
2. See Chenery, p.363
3. BC ماسكه
4. B الأولين
5. See also De Sacy, 1, pp.120-121

P.304

1. Omitted in D
2. Quran 41/43
3. Omitted in A. Diwan, 1, p.147.

P.305

1. Sahih Muslim, chapter 106, Kitāb al-Janā'iz, Sahih al-Turmudhī, chapter 7, Kitāb al-Janā'iz and Sunan al-Nasā'ī, chapter 100, Kitāb al-Janā'iz and chapter 39, Kitāb al-Dahāyā.
2. Sahih al-Turmudhī, chapter 59, Kitāb al-Janā'iz.

P.306.

1. See Sharīshī, vol.I, p.215
2. Omitted in BC
3. This poem is by Ibn al-Mu'taz, see his Diwan, p.292.
4. BC الطير
5. BC اكتفوا

P.307

1. Quran 77/25
2. BC أسر
3. Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 32, Kitāb al-Zuhd.
4. BC ميتا ستورا

## P.308

1. A العبرات
2. Diwan, p.492. This poem was said during the funeral of 'Alī ibn Thābit.
3. BC بصيبة
4. BC بطرق
5. BC بنفرد
6. BC فأوقفت

## P.309

1. Omitted in D. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.3, p.48.
2. Omitted in BC.

## P.310

1. See Sharīshī, vol.I, p.219.
2. Diwan, p.350.
3. Omitted in BC
4. A فائنة
5. Omitted in B
6. Sahīh al-Turmudhī, chapter 58, Kitāb al-Qiyāma.

## P.311

1. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.4, p. 87.
2. Omitted in BC
3. BC الشديدة
4. Sahīh al-Bukhārī, chapter 47, Kitāb al-Janā'iz.
5. See Sharīshī, vol.I, p.218.
6. Omitted in BC
7. D عليها
8. Left blank in BC.

## P.312

1. B قال
2. Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 54.

3. The peculiarity of this poem is what is called musammat as we can see in the commentary of Khayr Al-Dīn himself on these verses. The meaning of this word is strung as beads. As quoted by Chenery, there are various kinds of the verses called musammat and they may be composed of lines of any metre, but they present always the same feature of a continuous rhyme running through the poem. For details of the varieties of musammat and its development see Chenery, pp.366-367.

## P.315

1. Durrat al-Ghawwās, p. 113
2. Quran 4/91
3. Omitted in A. The poet was possibly 'Amrān ibn Ḥittān. See Ibn Durayd, al-Ishtiqaq, Cairo, 1958, p.353.
4. Omitted in D.

## P.316

1. Diwan, p.476

## P.317

1. See Sharīshī, vol.I, p.223
2. Diwan, p.71

## P.318

1. Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 176, Kitāb al-Iqāma.
2. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.6, pp.55, 98.
3. Quran 7/39

## P.319

1. Omitted in D.

## P.320

1. BC حیات
2. Omitted in BC
3. Diwan, p.691
4. Quran 31/18



## P.321

1. Quran 57/23
2. Musnad al-Dārimī, chapter 18, Kitāb al-Ruqāq.

## P.322

1. Tafsīr al-Jalālain, Cairo, 1280 A.H. v.2 pp.235-234.
2. Quran 13/31.

## P.323

1. It seems that the author made mistake by his comment that there is one verse ( بيتا مفردا ) instead of two verses.
2. BC عليه

## P.324

1. See the quotation in Sharīshī, vol.I, p.228.
2. Musnad al-Dārimī, chapter 34, Muqaddima.

## P.325

1. c جنات
2. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.4, p.678.
3. Ibn Jubayr was Sharīshī's teacher as mentioned in Sharīshī's commentary, vol.II, p.3.
4. Quran 23/51.

## P.326

1. Diwan, 1, p.452
2. Omitted in BC.
3. BC صورة
4. BC ذله
5. Sahih al-Bukhārī, chapter 64, Kitāb al-Buyū, Musnad al-Dārimī, chapter 46, Kitāb al-Buyū and Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 42, Kitāb al-Tijārat.

## P.327

1. Omitted in BC
2. Omitted in D

## P.328

1. Omitted in BC
2. Quran 3/159
3. Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 1, Kitāb al-Adhān.
4. Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 37, Kitāb al-Adab  
Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.2, p.368.

## P.329

1. A الشبان

## P.330

1. Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 61, Kitāb al-Manāsik.
2. Omitted in C
3. BC استخرجنا

## P.331

1. Omitted in D
2. Omitted in C
3. Diwan, 2, p.308

## P.332

1. Sharh Diwan al-Hamāsa, ed. 'Abd Salam Hārūn, Cairo, 1953, v.1, p.415.
2. BC ربيته
3. BC كسبه
4. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.1, p.93.

## P.333

1. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.4, p.479.
2. BC طالب
3. BC وثاب
4. Omitted in A.

## P.334

1. Omitted in BC
2. Omitted in BC
3. Omitted in C

## P.335

1. A نصرک
2. Omitted in D
3. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.4, p.361

## P.336

1. Quran 21/43
2. BC دافع
3. Quran 14/43
4. Omitted In BC

## P.337

1. A and B ثلاث مرات
2. Omitted in D
3. Quran 6/142

## P.338

1. Diwan, p.115
2. Quran 32/56

P.339

1. BC

سکنا

P.340

1. See Sharishi, vol.II, p.15
2. See pp.80-81 of this edition.

P.343

1. Diwan, p.532
2. BC ذصبت
3. Omitted in BC
4. BC عشا

P.344

1. Diwan, p.242

P.345

1. Diwan, 2, p.274
2. Diwan, p.282

P.346

1. BC ليامه
2. Diwan, 1, p.214

P.347

1. Omitted in BC
2. BC قال
3. Omitted in BC
4. B نسر

## P.348

1. Omitted in D
2. B <sup>يد</sup> ٢٢
3. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, v.1, p.4

## P.349

1. Quran 9/29

## P.350

1. Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 1, Kitāb al-Tijārāt.
2. Sunan Abī Dāwīd, chapter 20, Kitāb al-Tarajjul, Sunan al-Nasā'ī, chapter 15, Kitāb al-Zīnah and Musnad Ibn Hanbal, v.1, p.273.
3. Sunan al-Nasā'ī, chapter 15, Kitāb al-Zīnah.

## P.351

1. Quran 57/16
2. Omitted in BC

## P.354

1. Omitted in C
2. He probably means Sharīshī, because Sharīshī explains this word in the same way as here. Sharīshī, v.II, p.37.
3. A <sup>الدينه</sup> المدينة
4. Omitted in C
5. BC <sup>تذبح</sup> تذبح
6. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, v.3, p.479

## P.355

1. This sentence is not complete. Sharīshī gives the complete one as " <sup>والكذب مذموم إلا فيهم</sup> " v.II, p.38.
2. Quran 2/198
3. A <sup>مصرف</sup> مصرف
4. Omitted in D

## P.356

1. Diwan, 2, p.347
2. BC المجلس
3. Omitted in D
4. Omitted in BC

## P.357

1. BC المعنى
2. BC يعنى
3. Diwan, p.371
4. BC الرعدة

## P.358

1. Omitted in A,B,C and D
2. BC and D أسنان which does not correspond with other commentaries. See 'Ukbarī, for instance, f.54.
3. He means Sharīshī since the explanation of the word قورى here is quoted exactly as it is written in Sharīshī's commentary, vol.II, p.41.
4. Omitted in BC

## P.359

1. Diwan,2, p.380
2. Omitted in B
3. Diwan, p.583
4. GAL, Suppl.II,55
5. This book has been edited by Muḥammad 'Alī Sultānī, Damascus, 1972. For the quotation see the book pp.60-61.

## P.360

1. Omitted in C

## P.361

1. BC عینی
2. A وغیرہا

## P.364

1. All our MSS 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Abras. The correction is made because it is an error for 'Ubayd ibn al-Abras. See al-Aghānī, v.23, pp.410-412, Diwan, pp.7-9 and Sharīshī, vol.II, p.44.
2. Omitted in D
3. All our MSS 'Ubayd Allāh. See n.1 above.
4. So in all our MSS. Diwan and al-Aghānī : ظہیر
5. All our MSS 'Ubayd Allāh. See n.1 above.

## P.366

1. Diwan, 1, p.147
2. B و ذقنه
3. Omitted in D
4. Omitted in B
5. Quran 3/106
6. C جانب
7. Omitted in B

## P.367

1. Diwan, 3, p:127
2. Omitted in BC
3. He was one of Sibawayh's instructors. See Chenery, p.498.

## P.368

1. Faded in A
2. Diwan, 1, p.358
3. Omitted in BC

## P.369

1. Omitted in BC

## P.371

1. De Sacy, 1, p.153
2. See Diwān al-Khansā', for her biographical details, p.56.

1. BC أخرتها P.372

P.373

1. A عين
2. C ينهى
3. BC الخارج
4. Sunan Abi Dawūd, chapter 68, Kitāb al-Manāsik, and Sabih al-Turmudhī, chapter 57, Kitāb al-Haj.
5. BC استخلت
6. Quran 2/187
7. D لهن
8. BC تجتمع

P.374

1. BC جمعت
2. BC وطيب
3. A عنها
4. BC عشرون
5. BC ثلاثون
6. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.3, p.225

P.376

1. Diwan, p.177
2. Al-Jāmiyatān, ed. 'Abd al-Mu'ain al-Mulūhī, Damascus, 1966, p.17
3. Al-Aghānī, vol.22, p.459.

P.377

1. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.2, p.418

P.379

1. Sahih Muslim, chapter 133, Kitāb al-Imāra.
2. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.5, pp.272, 273.

P.380

1. BC النعم
2. Diwan al-Mu'tamad ibn 'Abbād, ed. Ahmad Badawī, Cairo, 1951 p.3. Al-Mu'tamad said the same verse as here.



## P.381

1. Blank in BC.
2. Diwan, 2, p.571
3. BC اجتمع

## P.382

1. A وان
2. Omitted in BC
3. C اجتمع
4. Diwan, 1, p.376
5. BC بشام. Sharīshī writes بِشَام in his commentary on the same name. Sharīshī, vol.II, p.53.
6. BC تجمع
7. Omitted in B
8. BC بجمع

## P.383

1. BC الماء
2. See Diwān al-Nābigha al-Ja'dī, pp. ل-م for this point.
3. Diwan, p.51
4. Blank in BC
5. Sahih al-Turmudhī, chapter 98, Kitāb al-Da'awāt.
6. BC يتوهم
7. Omitted in BC

## P.384

1. Omitted in D

## P.386

1. BC الذين
2. Sahih Ibn Mājah, chapter 3, Kitāb al-Adab.
3. Sahih al-Bukhārī, chapter 106, Kitāb al-Nikāh, Sunan Abi Dāwūd, chapter 83, Kitāb al-Adab and Sahih Muslim, chapter 126, Kitāb al-Libās.

p. 387

1. Sunan Abi Dāwūd, chapter 39, Kitāb al-Zakāt, chapter 108, Kitāb al-Adab, and Musnad Ibn Hanbal, v.2, pp.68,96,99,127.
2. BC <sup>ش</sup>
3. Sunan al-Nasā'i, chapter 72.
4. BC <sup>ش</sup>
5. C <sup>الطلاق</sup>
6. Quran 34/56
7. See Sharīshī, v.II, p.56
8. Omitted in BC

P. 388

1. Abu Zayd al-Qurashī, Jamharat Ash'ar al-'Arab, Beirut, 1963, p.283.
2. De Sacy, 1, p.161
3. Omitted in BC
4. All our MSS. <sup>وعطاءكم</sup>
5. Sahih al-Bukhari, chapter 1, Kitāb al-Imān, Tafsir Sūra al-Fātiha.

P. 389

1. BC <sup>يتلن</sup>
2. Sahih al-Bukhari, chapter 1, Kitāb al-Imān.

P. 390

1. So in all our MSS. We presume that the word is <sup>العمة</sup> but it has been written <sup>العمى</sup> in order to maintain the rhyme of the poem.

P. 391

1. Diwan, 2, p.339
2. Sunan al-Nasā'i, chapter 4, Kitāb al-Hajj; Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 3, Kitāb al-Manāsik, and Musnad Ibn Hanbal, v.2, pp.229,410,494.

P. 392

1. Sharīshī mentions that Ibn al-Rūmī said this poem when he felt homesick for his city Baghdad. Sharīshī, v.II, p.57.
2. Omitted in B.

## P.393

1. BC سمرت
2. BC وهدت
3. BC اهد
4. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.4, p.471
5. Omitted in BC
6. Omitted in BC

## P.394

1. Omitted in BC

## P.395

1. C لا
2. Quran 15/46

## P.397

1. Quran 33/23
2. Omitted in D

## P.398

1. Quran 83/25
2. Sunan Abi Dawid, chapter 24.
3. Omitted in BC
4. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.4, p.375
5. Omitted in D

## P.399

1. Diwan, p.122
2. A شاهد
3. A بدل
4. B تارك
5. Diwan, 1, p.462
6. A ولعاد . Omitted in BC

P.400

1. Diwan, 2, p.111

P.401

1. A معين
2. A لا يزال
3. Quran 66/4
4. Quran 50/38
5. A (in margin) :

قف على هذه المقامة من مقامات البديع الهزاني رحمه الله تعالى .

6. For Badi's Maqāma, see Muhammad Muhyi al-Din Abd al-Hamid, op.cit. pp.162-167.

P.403

1. Diwan, 2, p.444

P.404

1. A (in margin)

قف على هذا الحديث

2. This Hadith is not available in Wensinck.

P.405

1. A العرب
2. Chenery quotes the same explanation; pp.403-404, see also Sharishi, vol.II, p.63.

P.406

1. BC من الرميدة
2. BC حرة
3. BC . B دهر

## P.408

1. Omitted in BC
2. Diwan, 2, p.462
3. C لئالك
4. Omitted in C.
5. Quran 29/41

## P.409

1. Omitted in BC and D
2. Quran 46/31
3. D زبده
4. A ضره
5. BC الماء . The Hadith is in Sahih al-Bukhari, chapter 1, Kitab al-Hibah and chapter 41, Kitab al-At'ima.

## P.410

1. Sahih Muslim, chapter 153, Kitab al-Ashriba, Sunan Abi Dawud, chapter 41, Kitab al-At'ima and Sahih al-Turmudhi, chapter 17, Kitab al-At'ima.
2. Omitted in BC
3. The full title of the work is al-Jami' al-Saghir fi Ahadith al-Bashir wa al-Nadhir, and it has been printed in Cairo (2 vols.) 1321, A.H. For the quotation here see the book vol.2, p.94.
4. Omitted in B
5. Omitted in BC and C

## P.411

1. Sunan Abi Dawud, chapter 34, Kitab al-Luqata.
2. This Hadith is not available in Wensinck.

## P.412

1. Sahih al-Turmudhi, chapter 57, Kitab al-Bir.
2. See this quotation in Sharishi, vol.II, p.66
3. Chenery quotes the same explanation, p.408.

## P.413

1. Quran 41/13
2. Quran 3/130
3. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, p.549, vol.4

## P.414

1. A ينظر إلى
2. Omitted in C
3. BC ابتلعها
4. A المروءات

## P.415

1. A أسكت
2. Quran 7/96 and 97

## P.416

1. BC طرفها
2. Omitted in BC

## P.417

1. GAL. Suppl.II,195.
2. Sharīshī, vol.II,p.70

## P.419

1. Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 76.

## P.420

1. Sahih al-Turmudhī, chapter 44, Kitāb al-At'ima.
2. Omitted in BC
3. Omitted in B

## P.421

1. BC <sup>تقوى</sup>
2. Sahih al-Turmudhi, chapter 84, Kitāb al-Bir.

## P.422

1. It seems that this is not a Hadith. Wensinck does not mention this Hadith.
2. GAL. Suppl.II,403.
3. Quran 67/36.

## P.423

1. Omitted in D
2. Sahih al-Bukhārī, chapters 31 and 85, Kitāb al-Adab.
3. Sahih al-Turmudhī, chapter 43, Kitāb al-Bir.
4. BC <sup>نظم</sup>

## P.424

1. Sahih al-Turmudhi, chapter 50, Kitāb al-Du'ā'

## P.425

1. Omitted in D

## P.426

1. C <sup>التطهير</sup>
2. Omitted in C • Sahih Muslim, chapter 110, Kitāb al-Nikāh.
3. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.2, p.375
4. Omitted in D
5. Quran 18/63
6. Omitted in BC

## P.427

1. See Sharīshī, vol.II, pp-75-78
2. BC <sup>نظم</sup>
3. BC <sup>بکسر</sup>
4. A <sup>بش</sup>

## P.428

1. Quran 37/18
2. Omitted in BC
3. A (in margin) :  
قوله ولكن الخ ، أى ففى كلامه الجمع بين الفرض والسنة كما هو  
مذهب إمامنا الشافعى ، رضى الله تعالى عنه ، تأمل .
4. Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 53, Kitāb al-Adab, Sahih al-Turmudhi, chapter 6, Kitāb al-Da'awāt and Sunan al-Nassā'i, chapter 1, Kitāb al-Imān.

## P.429

1. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.4, p.349
2. Al-Durrat al-Ghawwās, pp. 143-144.
3. Khalil ibn Ahmad, Ibid, p.143.

## P.430

1. This story is quoted from al-Durrat al-Ghawwās with omitting the last part of 'Umar's speech which reads as follows :  
" وإلا فأخرج إلى نجد ، فإن المدينة ليست بدار مقامك لك "
- See al-Durrat al-Ghawwās, p.144.
2. See Sharishi, vol.II, p.80.

## P.431

1. B يصير
2. A وانظروا
3. Omitted in BC
4. Quran. 14/9

## P.432

1. Diwan, 2, p.364
2. BC الدولة
3. Omitted in BC
4. B المعاونة



## P.433

1. BC الشدائد
2. BC وهي
3. The author has commented on this person in 7th maqāma, p.229 of this edition.
4. A سئل
5. Quran 11/31
6. C جنون
7. BC انصاف
8. BC السوق

## P.434

1. Omitted in B
2. BC ذهب
3. BC يزل
4. BC الحظ or possibly الخط
5. Blank in BC

## P.435

1. Omitted in C
2. BC عاب
3. BC خشيت

## P.436

1. This poem is by 'Adī ibn Abī Zayd. Diwan, pp.107-108
2. BC أشد
3. A البشر
4. Omitted in D

## P.437

1. A نصحتك
2. A لصديق
3. Omitted in BC
4. Omitted in B
5. We cannot see that the example is correct, because the poem cannot be read backwards as in Hariri's examples.
6. Quran 21/19

P.438

1. BC تفضل

P.439

1. BC فضلة
2. See also p.154 of this edition.
3. Omitted in D
4. B أخف
5. Omitted in A
6. Omitted in B
7. C معروفه

P.440

1. BC يكشفه
2. BC رقب . Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.6, pp.206,215,237,252.
3. BC الرأس
4. BC فيها

P.441

1. Diwan, 2, p.58
2. Quran 9/29
3. BC أو

P.442

1. A أذفع
2. Omitted in C
3. BC أبو
4. Omitted in A
5. Omitted in BC
6. BC ذراعده

P.443

1. A and C للغير

## P.444

1. Diwan, 1, p.175
2. This Hadith is not available in Wensinck.

## P.445

1. PP.423-424 of this edition.
2. BC علاة
3. BC الذى
4. Omitted in D

## P.446

1. BC مطرح
2. Blank in BC
3. A لينزل
4. A الرياح
5. BC أحب
6. Blank in BC

## P.447

1. Omitted in C
2. Omitted in D
3. Blank in A
4. BC ارق
5. Al-Durrat al-Ghawwās, p.185

## P.448

1. P. 154 of this edition
2. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, v. 5, p.164

## P.449

1. Ibn Durayd, al-Ishtiqaq, ed. 'Abd al-Salam Ħarūn, Cairo, 1958, p.473
2. Blank in A, C and D.

3. Blank in BC
4. C <sup>العلم</sup>
5. C <sup>العلم</sup>
6. Omitted in A and D
7. BC <sup>الذي</sup>
8. Omitted in BC and D

## P.450

1. Omitted in BC
2. A <sup>كالمواشي</sup>
3. B <sup>منها</sup>
4. Omitted in D

## P.451

1. Blank in A, B, C and D.
2. BC <sup>طلب</sup>
3. A <sup>لا احسان</sup>
4. Omitted in B

## P.452

1. Blank in D
2. See Sharīshī, vol.II, p.94
3. BC <sup>يا رب</sup>
4. Diwan, 2, p.107
5. Omitted in D.

## P.453

1. Sahih al-Bukhārī, chapter 51, Kitāb al-Tib and chapter 47, Kitāb al-Nikāh.
2. A <sup>الله</sup>
3. A <sup>طبع</sup>
4. Omitted in C
5. Omitted in B

## P.454

1. C ادرى
2. See Sharīshī, vol.II, p.95
3. Omitted in C
4. A and B ما
5. Omitted in BC

## P.455

1. Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 5, Kitāb al-Hudūd.
2. BC تنصيره
3. This Hadith is not available in Wensinck.
4. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.2, p.274

## P.456

1. BC الذى
2. Omitted in C
3. BC يقرب

## P.457

1. BC وقيل

## P.458

1. Omitted in BC
2. BC تقارب
3. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.4, p.178

## P.459

1. Diwan, p.64
2. Omitted in D
3. Omitted in BC
4. Omitted in BC

## P.460

1. See Sharīshī, vol. II, p. 98
2. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol. 2, p. 352

## P.461

1. BC <sup>أب</sup>
2. A <sup>فضيلة</sup>
3. Sunan Abī Dāwūd, chapter 56.

## P.462

1. Omitted in D
2. Omitted in BC

## P.464

1. Omitted in BC

## P.465

1. Quran 15/94
2. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol. 3. p. 486
3. Quran 3/110

## P.466

1. Quran 12/92
2. Quran 2/156

## P.468

1. Quran 22/9
2. See details in Chenery, pp. 422-427.

## P.469

1. Details in Sharīshī, vol.II, p.104
2. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.2, pp.99, 119.

## P.470

1. Diwan, 1, p.329
2. Sahih Muslim, Hadith No. 186.

## P.471

1. Blank in A,B,C and D.
2. Diwan,2, p.308
3. BC الذى

## P.472

1. BC ومع
2. Quran 83/27

## P.473

1. Omitted in BC

## P.474

1. Quran 12/23
2. See Sharīshī, vol.II, p.108
3. Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 56.

## P.475

1. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.5, pp.17,22

## P.476

1. This Hadith is not available in Wensinck.
2. Omitted in A
3. Omitted in C
4. B جاش
5. Omitted in BC

## P.477

1. Diwan, ed. Karam al-Bustanī, Beirut, 1961, p.553
2. Diwan, ed. Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-'Alawī, Beirut 1963, p.23
3. Diwan, 2, p.152.

## P.478

1. Diwan, p.452
2. See Preston, pp.135-136

## P.479

1. BC شدة بالقتال
2. Diwān al-Nābigha al-Dhubyanī, p.41
3. Al-Marzūqī, Sharḥ Diwān al-Hamāsa, v.3, p.1302. The poem is by Kuthayyir.
4. Omitted in BC.
5. Al-Aghānī, v.11, p.229.

## P.480

1. Quran 81/8
2. Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, chapter 31, Kitāb Fadā'il al-Qurān, Saḥīḥ Muslim, chapter 235, Kitāb al-Musāfirīn, and Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 176, Kitāb al-Iqāma.
3. Omitted in B
4. De Sacy, 1, pp.203-204.



## P.481

1. Diwan, 2, p.29
2. Diwan, 1, p.517
3. See R.A.Nicholson, op. cit. p.418
4. See De Sacy, 1, p.204.

## P.482

1. Diwan, 3, p.2001
2. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol. 2, p.203 and Musnad al-Darimi, chapter 5, Kitāb al-Ashriba.
3. BC المدّة
4. Quran 7/182

## P.483

1. A أطرح
2. See Preston, p.139 for this kāhin.
3. BC يندرج
4. BC يندرج
5. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.5, pp.389, 391, 396, 399, 406.

## P.484

1. The verse is written as follows in A :  
في الحال قلت فخذ يا صنعة الباري
2. Omitted in B
3. B مرته
4. Diwan, p.277

## P.485

1. Sahih Muslim, Hadith no.168, Kitāb al-Imān.

## P.486

1. Quran 58/12
2. Omitted in C

## P.487

1. Omitted in BC.
2. Omitted in D

## P.488

1. A عوضند
2. BC منزلها
3. Omitted in BC
4. Omitted in D
5. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, v.4, pp.227, 228, v.6, p.459

## P.489

1. A الصفاء
2. The poet is Ibn al-Mu'taz as quoted by Sharīshī, v.II, p.129.
3. A النسيم

## P.490

1. Omitted in BC
2. B بها
3. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, v.5, pp.389, 391, 396, 399, 406.

## P.491

1. Sahih Muslim, Hadith No.254, Kitab al-Adab.
2. A. حسنة

## P.492

1. Omitted in BC

## P.493

1. A والجميم : الماء الحار
2. Sunan Abī Dāwūd, chapter 81, Kitāb al-Adab.

## P.494

1. Omitted in BC
2. A عرفتهم
3. A رمل
4. A صررت
5. B الزمان
6. A ثيابه

## P.496

1. B أصحاب
2. BC حبه

## P.497

1. Quran 12/64
2. Al-Durrat al-Ghawwās, p.197.

## P.499

1. A فتقول العرب
2. Diwan, 1, p.270
3. This writer or his work is untraceable.

## P.500

1. Sahih al-Bukhārī, chapter 156, Kitāb al-Adhān.
2. The author possibly means Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Azhari. See Bughya, 1, pp.19-20.

3. Diwan, p.473

P.501

1. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.5, p.372
2. So in Chenery, p.445
3. In Sharīshī the name is mentioned as :  
Sharīshī, vol.II, p.140
4. C أنجب

عنه بن هياض الغنى

P.502

1. Omitted in D
2. Omitted in BC

P.503

1. B مجاز
2. Omitted in C
3. Omitted in B

P.504

1. A كنية المرت أ

P.506

1. Musnad al-Dārimi, chapter45.
2. Omitted in A
3. Omitted in BC
4. Diwan, p.41
5. Omitted in D

P.507

1. Omitted in BC
2. Quran 3/21

3. See the quotation in Sharīshī, vol.II, p.146
4. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Hadith No. 40, Kitāb al-Bir.
5. Omitted in BC

## P.508

1. Omitted in C
2. BC آخر
3. Compare this with Chenery's quotation, pp.448-449.

## P.509

1. Ibn Durayd, al-Ishtiqāq, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1958, p.338.
2. Ṣaḥīḥ al-Turmudhī, chapter 35, Kitāb al-Tib and Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 45, Kitāb al-Janā'iz.

## P.510

1. See Sharīshī, vol.II, p.147
2. Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Mājah, chapter 1, Kitāb al-Janā'iz.

## P.511

1. Diwan, p.81
2. A وثبت

## P.512

1. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol5, p.369
2. Quran 18/11
3. BC المزابية
4. Musnad al-Dōrimī, chapter 79, Kitāb al-Ṣalat.

## P.513

1. A قو
2. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Hadith Nos.167,168,169. Kitāb al-Ashriba.

## P.514

1. Quran 33/18
2. Omitted in BC
3. Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 56, Kitāb al-Adab.

## P.515

1. These interpretations are by Ḥarīrī himself. See our introduction p. 26

## P.516

1. Diwan, p.476

## P.517

1. A ترید
2. A ساعة
3. According to Sharīshī (vol.II, p.154) the poet is Abū Nuwās, but unfortunately we cannot trace this poem in Abu Nuwās's Diwān.
4. BC واحسانهم اليه

## P.518

1. BC يسرا
2. This statement is untraceable.

## P.519

1. Diwan, 2, p.80
2. A ذهاب
3. Compare with Sharīshī, vol.II, p.157
4. BC يخافون
5. C الصيد
6. Omitted in D.

## P.520

1. Omitted in C
2. Omitted in BC
3. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.3, pp.154, 260.
4. Omitted in D
5. Diwan, p.71

## P.523

1. BC غلب
2. Omitted in C
3. Quran 30/54

## P.524

1. A راجع لصاحب الأوصاف المتقدمة
2. Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 8, Kitāb al-Janā'iz and Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.6, p.402.

## P.525

1. BC يده الذي يحسك
2. Diwan, 2, p.65
3. Omitted in BC

## P.526

1. Omitted in BC
2. Omitted in B
3. A بوئس

## P.527

1. Omitted in A
2. Omitted in B

## P.529

1. Quran 9/31

## P.530

1. Sahih al-Bukhari, chapter 103, Kitab al-Jihad, Sahih Muslim, Hadith No.54, Kitab al-Tawbah and Sunan Abi Dawud, chapter 92, Kitab al-Jihad.
2. In A "فإنه يبيت القلب، والتقى من الشيطان، والضحك..."  
This Hadith is not mentioned in Wensinck.
3. Ibn al-Anbari quotes this explanation from al-Durrat al-Ghawwas, p.99.

## P.531

1. A أيقنت

## P.532

1. See Sharh Diwan Zuhayr, p.254
2. Diwan, 2, p.314
3. Diwan, 4, p.41
4. Chenery quotes the name as Ka'b ibn Qurt, P.455.

## P.533

1. Sahih al-Turmudhi, chapter 15, Kitab al-Adab.
2. Blank in BC
3. Omitted in D.

## P.534

1. He was a preacher who flourished about a century and a half before Hariri. See his biographical details in Sharishi, vol.II, pp.168-169, and Chenery, pp.456-458.
2. A وغيرهم
3. Omitted in BC

## P.535

1. BC الذي
2. A (in margin):

قف على هذا الوعد



## P.536

1. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.3, pp.64,165
2. Musnad al-Darimi, chapter 10, Kitāb al-Ruqāq.
3. Diwan, 1, p.505

## P.537

1. This is a quotation from Sharīshī, vol.II, p.170
2. A الأثر
3. This poem is not from Badi's maqāmāt.

## P.538

1. Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 2, Kitāb al-Ahkām.
2. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.2, pp.164,190,194.

## P.539

1. A (in margin)

هذا آخر الوعد

## P.540

1. Omitted in BC

## P.541

1. Diwan, p.117
2. Sahih al-Bukhari, chapter 42, Kitāb al-Riqāq.

## P.542

1. Quran 23/65
2. A رجائي
3. B سناقيه

## P.543

1. Sahih al-Turmudhi, chapter 9, Kitāb al-Ahkām.

## P.546

1. Sahih Muslim, Hadith No.79, Kitāb al-Janna.
2. This Hadith is not available in Wensinck.
3. See Kitāb Maqāmāt al-Hariri, Cairo, 1908, p.22.

## P.547

1. Sahih al-Bukhari, chapter 29, Kitāb al-Jum'ah, Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.1, pp.6,289, vol.3, pp.441, 480.
2. Quran 75/21
3. B أفعال

## P.548

1. See Kitāb Maqāmāt al-Hariri, Cairo, 1908, p.22.

## P.550

1. He was a preacher of great sanctity in the time of the caliph al-Mansur. See Preston, p.308 and Sharishi, vol.II, pp.181-182.
2. Omitted in BC

## P.551

1. Sharishi, vol.II, pp.181-182

## P.552

1. Omitted in D

## P.553

1. C البلاد
2. A النشر
3. Diwan, ed. Karam al-Bustani, Beirut, 1961, p.260.

## P.554

1. BC الذي
2. BC منهم
3. BC عيون
4. See details in Majma' al-Amthal, p.283
5. Omitted in BC
6. See also Kitāb Maqāmāt al-Harīrī, Cairo, 1908, p.210

## P.555

1. BC وصفه
2. BC وثائقه
3. Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapter 20, Kitāb al-Du'ā', Sahih Muslim, Hadith No.426, Kitāb al-Haj and Musnad Ibn Hanbal, v.5, pp.82,83.
4. A يابنون
5. Blank in B
6. Quran 42/32

## P.556

1. Diwan, p.31

## P.557

1. C صريف
2. Omitted in BC
3. Sunan al-Nasa'i, chapter 41, Kitāb al-Isti'ādha.

## P.558

1. Sharīshī, v.II, p.191
2. Omitted in B
3. Omitted in BC
4. Quran 22/60

## P.560

1. Omitted in BC
2. Omitted in D
3. See al-Maydānī, Majma' al-Amthāl, II, p.71

## P.561

1. Omitted in A
2. Omitted in BC

## P.562

1. Quran 12/31
2. Tafsir al-Jalālain, p.111 (v.2) Cairo edition, 1280 A.H.

## P.564

1. B وقعته
2. BC مطويا
3. A gives the beginning of the phrase :

يوم يطوى السماء

Quran 21/104

## P.565

1. Omitted in D
2. Blank in B

## P.566

1. Sunan Ibn Mājah, chapters 10,25,26, Kitāb al-Fitan and Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.1, pp.389,402,405,450.
2. C تبطله
3. BC تأخذ

## P.567

1. Sahih al-Turmudhi, chapter 54, Kitab al-Zuhd.

## P.568

1. BC عليه
2. Omitted in BC
3. Sahih al-Bukhari, chapters 35,36, Kitab al-Ta'bir, Sahih Muslim, Hadith No.140, Kitab Fada'il al-Sahaba and Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.2, p.146.
4. A gives the name Mu'awiyah instead of بعض الملوك which corresponds with Sharishi, who mentions the same name. Sharishi, vol.II, p.201.

## P.569

1. A معاوية
2. This work is untraceable. See our introduction p.86.
3. A نقصه C نقص

## P.571

1. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.4, p.147 and Sunan Abi Dawud, chapter 38, Kitab al-Adab.

## P.573

1. Omitted in all our MSS. The phrase is supplied from 'Ukbari's commentary.

## P.574

1. BC بأوتابها
2. P.240 of this edition.

## P.575

1. Omitted in C
2. Quran 11/70
3. A يلى

## P.576

1. This is a quotation from Sharīshī, vol.II, p.204.
2. A and B دعبل الخزاعي. Diwan, ed. Yusuf Najm, Beirut, 1962, p.57.
3. This Hadith is not available in Wensinck.

## P.577

1. C ماهر
2. A جرح

## P.578

1. See 'Abbās Mahmūd al-'Aqqād, 'Abqariyya 'Umar, Cairo n.d. p.186.
2. So quoted Chenery, p.483

## P.580

1. Omitted in BC
2. See Sharīshī, vol.II, p.206.

## P.581

1. Sahih Muslim, Hadith No.1, Kitāb al-Zuhd, Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.2, pp.197,323 and Sahih al-Turmudhi, chapter 16, Kitāb al-Zuhd.
2. See Ibn Abi alHadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balāgha, ed. Muhammad Abū al-Fadl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1959, vol.2, p.92.
3. Diwan, p.465.

## P.582

1. Diwan, 2, p.240
2. Diwan, 1, p.221

## P.584

1. De Sacy, 1, p.367
2. Ibn Durayd, al-Ishtiqaq, ed. 'Abd al-Salam Hārūn, Cairo, 1958, p. 119
3. Diwan, p.19

## p.585

1. BC <sup>أحمد</sup>
2. See Sharīshī, vol.II, pp.219-220 for the man and the story.

## P.586

1. See our introduction p. 85.

## P.588

1. A <sup>في</sup>
2. A <sup>الناظم</sup>
3. Quran 27/44
4. Sahīh al-Bukhārī, chapter 8, Kitāb al-Mazālim and Sahīh al-Turmūdhi, chapter 83, Kitāb al-Bir.
5. B <sup>بأنشاده</sup>
6. Blank in BC

## P.589

1. BC <sup>من</sup>
2. Omitted in D
3. Diwan, 2, pp.336-337

## P.590

1. Diwan, 3, p.133
2. C <sup>النظم</sup>
3. Quran 84/18

## P.592

1. A <sup>المتأثرين</sup>
2. Diwan, p.593

## P.593

1. Sahih al-Turmudhi, chapter 46, Kitāb al-Adab.
2. Sharishi, vol.II, p.240.

## P.594

1. BC <sup>بلية</sup>
2. BC <sup>تأثر</sup>
3. This Hadith is not available in Wensinck.

## P.595

1. Omitted in all our MSS. The two verses are supplied from various Maqāmāt's text.

## P.596

1. A and B <sup>جاء</sup>

## P.597

1. The last two verses are omitted in all our MSS. See p.595 n.1 above.
2. A <sup>الصلح</sup>



P.598

1. B الناظرين
2. Omitted in all our MSS. The correction is supplied from Sharīshī's commentary, vol.II, p.244

P.599

1. BC أبو
2. He possibly means الحاج

P.601

1. A وزفيفهم
2. A قلة فطنده

P.602

1. Omitted in C
2. See Chenery, pp.488-489

P.603

1. Al-Iuzūmiyyāt, (2 vols.) Beirut, 1961, v.II, p.587
2. Omitted in D
3. Al-Iuzūmiyyāt, p.497 (v.I, Beirut edition).
4. Al-Aghānī, v.22, p.16.

P.604

1. B لها
2. See Maydānī, Majma' al-Amthāl, 1, p.527

P.605

1. A سافر
2. Diwan, p.84. The full verse is :

فشد فلم يفرع بيوتا كثيرة \* لدى حيث ألفت رحلها أم قشعم

## P.606

1. Omitted in A and C
2. See al-Maydānī, Majma' al-Amthāl, II, p.828
3. Al-Aghānī, v.22, p.16.

## P.607

1. Quran 24/60
2. Omitted in BC

## P.608

1. Omitted in A
2. C عند

## P.609

1. Quran
2. A رجلا
3. Quran 56/69
4. Sharīshī explains in length about this character, vol.II, pp.4-8.
5. C الفرقدينق
6. BC لها

## P.610

1. A نتصدعا
2. B فلما

## P.611

1. Omitted in BC
2. C يعش
3. B من

4. Omitted in all our MSS. It is supplied from Sharīshī, vol.II, p.11
5. A فن
6. A حل
7. C الحب
8. B تضرما
9. A مجلب
10. A واعلا
11. B منشوره
12. B نأوهما
13. B نختما

## P.612

1. Blank in B
2. BC الذى
3. Omitted in BC

## P.613

1. It seems that our author misunderstands Sharīshī's example, for the latter quotes this poem as an example of the coming word which is also الشيب but with a different meaning. See p.614 for this word. See also Sharīshī, vol.III, p.14 for the poem, and Diwan Imru' al-Qays, p.330.
2. For this poem see Sharh Diwān Zuhayr, p.130.
3. Omitted in C
4. Omitted in BC.

## P.614

1. Omitted in BC

## P.615

1. Sharh Diwan, p.673.

## P.616

1. The poet here is Ibn Sharaf as stated by Sharīshī, vol.III, p.18.

## P.617

1. Omitted in all our MSS. The correction is supplied from Sharishi, vol.III, p.18.
2. This example is quoted from Ḥarīrī's commentary. See Kitāb Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī, Cairo 1908, p.245.
3. Omitted in BC
4. This is a quotation from al-Durrat al-Ghawwās, pp.72-73.

## P.618

1. The name of the Shaikh is Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzini. See al-Durrat al-Ghawwās, p.73
2. He means Abū 'Uthman.
3. This is the word of Abū 'Uthmān .
4. Omitted in D
5. He means Abū 'Uthmān.
6. According to the story, al-Wāthiq asks Abū 'Uthmān whether he has any children, to which the latter answers that he has a young daughter. Then al-Wāthiq asks him again : ما قالت لك عند سيرك , then comes the answer. See al-Durrat al-Ghawwās, p.73.
7. Diwan, p.549
8. Diwan, p.77

## P.620

1. Omitted in A
2. From this point, the author quotes Ḥarīrī's commentary. See Kitāb Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī, Cairo, 1908, pp.245-248
3. Omitted in B

## P.621

1. Chenery, p.62, n.1

## P.622

1. Quran, 73/20

## P.623

1. Quran, 69/7

## P.626

1. The text is omitted in all our MSS. It is supplied from Kitāb Maqāmāt al-Hariri, Cairo edition and other books of commentary on the Maqāmāt.

## P.627

1. Omitted in all our MSS. It is supplied from Kitāb Maqāmāt al-Hariri and other books of commentary on the Maqāmāt as in p.625 n.1 above.

## P.628

1. Omitted in BC

## P.629

1. Omitted in A
2. Omitted in D

## P.630

1. So in all our MSS. But Sharishi mentions the name as 'Abd al-Rahim; see Sharishi vol.III, p.27.

2. A بازدياد
3. B حظ
4. B حظ
5. B المراد
6. Sharīshī again mentions this name as 'Abd al-Rahīm, loc. cit.
7. B يلوم
8. Dīwan Di'bil al-Khuza'i, ed. Yusuf Najm, Beirut, 1962, p.150.
9. Sunan Abī Dāwūd, chapter 20, Kitāb al-Adab.

p. 631

1. Sahih al-Turmudhī, chapter 75, Kitāb al-Bir.
2. Al-Iuzūmiyyat (2 vols.) Beirut, 1961, v.2, p.413.

p. 632

1. Omitted in BC
2. He was a celebrated general and a great patron of letters in the time of caliphs al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'tasim. See details in Chenery, p.515.
3. B التترك
4. This Hadith is not available in Wensinck.
5. This Hadith is also not available in Wensinck.

p. 634

1. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.5, p.274
2. Omitted in BC
3. The author means Sharīshī. For this quotation see Sharīshī vol. III, pp. 30-31
4. Omitted in BC
5. Omitted in C

p. 635

1. BC من رحم

## P.636

1. This poem is untraceable, neither in Nābigha al-Ja'dī nor in al-Nābigha al-Dhubyanī.
2. The last four days of February.
3. The last three days of March.

## P.637

1. Al-Aghani, v.11, p.214.
2. A الذين
3. A أولها
4. Diwan, v.I, p.63

## P.638

1. All MSS. عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه. The correction is made according to al-Durrat al-Ghawwās, pp.90,137, and Sharīshī, vol.III, p.32.
2. All our MSS. عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه
3. B حكم
4. A أبي بردة
5. De Sacy, 1, p.10

## P.639

1. A (in margin) قف على هذه المقامة من مقامات البديع الهذاني . رحمه الله تعالى
2. This maqāma of al-Hamadhānī is المقامة البخارية and placed at the 17th in his composition. See Sharḥ Maqāmāt Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, pp.95-96.
3. BC and A هشام بن عيسى
4. BC ذو ثورين A ذو أثورين

## P.640

1. BC بقدره
2. B زيد . See also De Sacy, 1, pp.296-297.
3. Quran 49/13

## P.641

1. Musnad Ibn Hanbal, vol.5, p.411.
2. A (in margin):

قف على ما حدث به القاضي يحيى بن أكثم .

3. C وهينة
4. A يبلغ
5. Blank in C

## P.642

1. B محبياً
2. Quran 75/46

## P.643

1. Quran 59/9
2. Omitted in A
3. A صاحب
4. B سيداً C نشأ
5. Al-Nābigha al-Dhubyanī, Diwan, p.118
6. A ولا تكن
7. BC الذى

## P.644

1. For this Hadith see p.571, n.1.
2. A أحزنى

## P.646

1. BC تسألها
2. B بالكثير
3. A. تقل



P.647

1. C التَّبْيِيسِي

P.648

1. Omitted in BC  
 2. See Sharīshī, vol.III, p.39  
 3. A اشكو

P.649

1. B الدراهم

P.650

1. This person is unknown.  
 2. For this work of al-Safadī and the quotation see n.5 p.359 of this edition.  
 3. For this writer see al-Safadī loc. cit.

P.651

1. This word should written مطابق without tanwin because it is in the group اسماء لا تنصرف  
 2. Omitted in A.