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An edition of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's Kitāb al-Idāh
with critical introduction

A Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

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ABSTRACT

The present thesis consists of two parts, the first, biographical part, prefacing the second which is a critical edition of the actual text of the *Īdāh*. Chapter One of the first part presents the results of the research on Abū 'Alī's life and personality. Due to the extraordinary scarcity of data, the meagre information gleaned from biographical dictionaries which concerns the philologist rather than the man had to be eked out by reference to contemporary annals. His development was traced from his youth in his native Fars over the formative years in Baghdād and his stay at the Hamdānid and Buwayhid Courts to his death as a revered grammarian in Baghdād in 377 A.H. The composite image of his character, reconstructed from historical sources on the basis of relationships with famous contemporary rulers and scholars, shows him as truthful, generous, of controversial morals, but honest and serious to excess in science. He was certainly a Shi'ite, and the suspicion that he was a Mu'tazilite is well founded.

On the premiss that an Arabic philologist who attaches more importance to authority than originality cannot be considered in isolation, Chapters Two and Three examine his relationships with other scholars, (a) teachers (b) students and (c) rivals such as al-Sīrāfī, ibn Khalawaih and al-Rummānī, as well as his rôle and position in the development of Arabic grammar, showing him to have been not

a "Baghdādian" or "mixer", but a broad-minded and tolerant Basrite.

Chapter Four treats of his works other than the Īdāh. Chapter Five is devoted to the Īdāh. It begins with a comparative assessment of its value and the importance attached to it by the contemporaries, including 'Adud al-Dawlah to whom it was dedicated, and proceeds to a detailed discussion of his grammatical method which is based on transmission from his predecessors, especially Sibawaihi, whose rôle as spiritual father of the work is given prominence. Also discussed are the use of corroborative quotations, their provenance and incidental anonymity, and the long series of commentaries on the Īdāh until the late seventh century A.H. The thesis ends in an exposé of the editorial method applied in collating the "basic copy" with four subsidiary manuscripts.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasant duty to thank all those who have given me help in preparing this thesis. In the first place, I should like to express my heartfelt thanks to Dr. W. Arafat, my supervisor, who first drew my attention to the fact that so famous and valuable a book as the *Īdāh* had not yet been edited, and whose advice and encouragement have accompanied me through all these years until the completion of my work. I am also indebted to Mr. Geoffrey Schofield, the Librarian of the S.O.A.S., for helping me to obtain microfilms of manuscripts from German, Spanish and Turkish libraries; Mr. J. H. Eisenegger of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts of the British Museum, and indeed the whole staff of both libraries for their patience and kindness in facilitating my work. Finally, I should like to thank Mr. Muhammad Rashād Abd al-Muttalib of the Arab League Institute of Arabic Manuscripts in Cairo for supplying me with films and photostats.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
<u>ABSTRACT</u>	2
<u>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT</u>	4
<u>PREFACE</u>	7
 <u>CHAPTER I</u>	 10
<u>BIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY</u>	
Descent and genealogical data - Historical background - Formative years - Stay at the Hamdanid court in Aleppo - Relationship with 'Adud al-Dawlah - Controversy about the date of his death - His character and personality - His religious beliefs.	
 <u>CHAPTER II</u>	 50
Teachers; Colleagues and Rivals; Students.	
 <u>CHAPTER III</u>	 86
Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's role and position in the development of Arabic grammar.	
 <u>CHAPTER IV</u>	 103
Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's Works	

CHAPTER VTHE ĪDĀH

Its place in Arabic grammatical literature: a comparative assessment - The controversy about the title - Abū 'Alī's grammatical method as observed in the Īdāh - Unmethodical arrangement of topics - Use of corroborative quotations - Provenance of quotations in general: prose quotations; quotations from poetry; anonymous quotations from poetry - Attempt to identify the anonymous quotations in the Īdāh - Transmission of distance sources and authorities - Editorial approach: collation of available manuscripts - Commentaries on the Īdāh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PREFACE

As it was my intention to provide my critical edition of the Idāh with a biographical and critical assessment of the rôle of its author in the history of Arabic science, I naturally acquainted myself first with the existing two modern Arabic biographical works on Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī. One was an 'Alimiya thesis in Cairo by Abd al-Karīm Muhammad Sha'bān which, however, contained only so much factual information as I had already derived from a first consultation of the original Arabic sources. Nor was Dr. Shalabi's Ph.D. thesis of much help to me as his conception differed fundamentally from my own. As I adopted a completely different approach, I proceeded on entirely new lines of investigation and had, therefore, to do all my own spade-work.

In attempting as accurate a reconstruction of the story of his life as possible, I was faced with an unusual dearth of personal data. The information supplied by the sources consisted of a few identical biographical details and more or less stereotyped analogies. It was, therefore, necessary to take ample recourse to the history of his time which, due to his extensive and ramified personal relationships with a number of contemporary historical figures, enabled me to throw some light not only on certain obscure facts of his life and personality, but also of his work. Thus, when I launched out on the examination of his literary

production with special stress on the Īdāh, I had already convinced myself that it would be of little avail to try to analyse his grammatical work item by item in search of what could be termed an "original approach". Arabic grammarians attached so little value to originality - indeed it can be safely said that originality in grammatical thought was severely proscribed - and so much to accurate and trustworthy transmission, that it would be futile to judge the work of an Arabic grammarian without due attention to Arabic grammatical tradition as a whole, i.e. to his immediate as well as more distant predecessors, his colleagues and successors. It was therefore plain to me that constructive criticism of his grammatical system was only possible on a basis which was both comparative and inductive. Hence the great emphasis on the developmental aspect of Arabic grammar throughout the whole thesis.

That is the reason why Abū 'Alī's immediate philological environment, i.e. his teachers, students, colleagues and rivals have been given such prominence, and why, apart from the actual places in which he lived, taught and wrote, also the more distant philological background of Basra and Kūfa had to be considered. Finally, this is why not only the Īdāh, but also all the other works of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī - all of them as yet unedited, all in the manuscript stage and some fragmentary - have been described

and discussed in some detail, to the extent they could be made available. Needless to say that this entailed some preliminary research and a good deal of travelling.

CHAPTER I

BIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

Descent and genealogical data

Little is known of the antecedents of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī whose very identity, in the genealogical sense of the word, was established so late and in a form so incompatible with previous sources that it hardly deserves much credence. Most of the other information available on Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī consists of meagre references in the biographical dictionaries and historical works which concern the philologist not the person. Nothing is said of his ancestry except that he was a Persian by origin as is indicated by the name al-Fārisī and al-Fasawī (from Fasā)- and that his mother was an Arab woman from Sadūs of the tribe of Shaibān.⁽¹⁾ The name of his grandfather is related, consistently enough, as 'Abd al-Ghaffār, but the form of his father's name varies. Ibn al-Nadīm refers to him as al-Fārisī Abū 'Alī ibn Ahmad.⁽²⁾ Other sources speak of him as al-Hasan ibn Ahmad,⁽³⁾ still others as al-Hasan ibn Muḥammad,⁽⁴⁾ Since both al-Fārisī and

(1) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol.III, p.10.

(2) Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist, Vol.I, p.64.

(3) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān, Vol.I, p.232, Ibn al-Anbārī Nuzhat al-Alibbā', p.387.

(4) Ibn al-'Imād, Shadharāt al-Dhahab, Vol.III, p.88.

al-Fasawī are merely derived from the country of his birth, and the Kunya Abū 'Alī is not very informative, the form of his name is not very helpful in throwing light on his obscure family connections. The version of his name on which most later biographical works depend appears very late in the commentary to Abū 'Alī's grammatical work al-Īdāh, written by his student Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Raba'ī who refers to him as Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan Ibn Ahmad Ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffār Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sulaimān Ibn Abān al-Fārisī.⁽¹⁾ But as has already been stated, the authenticity of the patronymics is dubious.

Historical Background

What is generally known about him, however, is that his name and fate were linked with two of the most famous and powerful men of his time, the representatives of two mighty contemporary dynasties, the Buwayhids and the Ḥamdānids.

His friendship with 'Adud al-Dawlah enhanced his personal prestige and authority as well as the importance of his career which at least at one of its stages may require interpretation not only in the context of philology but in that of contemporary diplomacy, if it is admissible to apply

(1) Al-Qiftī, Inbāh al-Ruwāh, Vol.I, p.264.
Yāqut Īrshād, Vol.III, p.10.

this modern term to the fourth century of the Hijrah. It may not be possible to assess his ability as a negotiator, but it is certainly necessary, especially in view of the dearth of biographical data, to provide sufficient information about the political scene of his time and the characters of the prominent people with whom he was acquainted. His life was influenced by history to such an extent that it can almost be said to have been determined by it, so that, while direct biographical data are scarce, a wealth of information may be gleaned, by inference and analogy, from the annals of his time. That is why, in any biographical study of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, historical facts and events will take pride of place, and why they will play so extensive a part in the present work.

He was born in the town of Fasā,⁽¹⁾ one of the most ancient cities of Persia. Known in earlier times as Basā-Sīr, Fasā was situated in the province in Fars, south east of Shīrāz at a four days' journey from the latter.⁽²⁾ The most important town in the district of Durabdjird,⁽³⁾

(1) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān, Vol.I, p.232.

(2) Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol.III, p.891.

(3) Ištakhri, Masālik al-Mamālik, pp. 97, 127

it was well-built, with houses of clay and cypress wood; ruins of an ancient tower formed its centre. It was surrounded by a wall, outside which was a market suburb,⁽¹⁾ and had, at one time, flourishing industries. It is from its Arabic name Fasā, or rather the adjective related to it, that Abū 'Alī derives the surname al-Fasawī. The Persians, however, refer to him as Basāsīrī (a native of Basā) a word of irregular formation which goes back to the Persian name of this town.⁽²⁾ Born in the year 288 A.H/901 A.D. in the last days of the Caliphate of al-Mu'tadid, he lived under seven 'Abbāsīd caliphs: al-Muqtadir, al-Qāhir, al-Rādī, al-Muttaqī, al-Muṭī', al-Ṭāi' and al-Mustakfī.⁽³⁾

The quick succession of the different holders of the Caliphate indicates that the period in which he lived was not one of power but of decline. The last vestiges of the power and dignity of the Caliphate⁽⁴⁾ vanished with al-Rādī who died at the hands of the soldiery, and whom Arab annalists describe as the last of the real Caliphs. The Caliph al-Mustakfī (944-946 A.D.) conferred the honorific

(1) Ibid, p.127.

(2) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān, Vol.I, p.108.

(3) Introduction to Ibn Djinnī's Sīr-Sinā'at al-i'rāb written by Mustafā al-Saqqā and others, p.24.

(4) Philip K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, p.470.

title of Mu'izz al-Dawlah (=he who renders the state mighty) upon the victorious Ahmad ibn Buwayh. The Buwayhids gradually worked their way southward, occupying Isfahān, Shīrāz, Ahwāz and Carwan. The disintegration of the Abbāsīd Caliphate was complete by the year 324 A.H./935 A.D. As ibn Miskawaihi, the historian of the Caliphate states regretfully: "Fars went to 'Alī Ibn Buwayh, Rayy, Isfahān and Jibal to Hasan ibn Buwayh, the Jazīrah to the Hamdānids, Egypt and Syria to the Ikshidīs, al-Andalus to 'Abdal-Rahmān the Umayyad; Khurasān to the Samanids, and Tabaristān and Daylam to the Daylamites; only Madinat al-Salām remained in the hands of the Caliph.⁽¹⁾ Though the position of Mu'izz al-Dawlah was merely that of Amīr al-Umarā', he insisted on being mentioned in the Khutbah and even had his name stamped on the coinage. After the deposition of al-Mustakfī in 334 A.H./946 A.D., the Caliph became a mere puppet in the hands of a schismatic commander of the commanders, for the Buwayhids were Shī'ites. During their supremacy, which lasted over a century (945-1055 A.D.), Abū 'Alī grew up in his native city, Fasā, a provincial town of Fars. However, the intellectual life of Fasā can hardly have been very stimulating, and there was little in

(1) Miskawaihi, *Tajārib al-Umam*, Vol.I, pp. 366-7.
Mafizullah Kabīr, *the Buwayhīd Dynasty of Baghdād*, p.168.

it to encourage the budding scholar. Besides, political conditions in Persia were very unstable at that time and by no means propitious for scientific pursuits. Consequently Abū 'Alī went in 307 A.H./919 A.D. to Baghdād⁽¹⁾ to seek knowledge. Though the 'Abbāsīd dynasty whose seat it was was already in decline, the city was still the indisputable centre of cultural life. According to a remark made by Abū 'l-Tayyib al-Lughawī in his collection of biographies of Basrite and Kufite grammarians, Baghdād had been primarily a royal city to which science had been transported and imported for the use of the Caliphs,⁽²⁾ and dominated there by the people of Kufa.

Formative years

In the science Abū 'Alī had chosen, i.e. philology, the Kufite monopoly established by al-Kisā'ī and al-Farrā' in the ninth century had been cut short, by the arrival from Basra of al-Mubarrad for whose sake many students had left the Kufite Tha'lab. However, the students of both masters continued to teach in the city side by side. Thus Baghdād's role in philology at that time can only be described as unique, for it housed simultaneously two

(1) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān, Vol.I, p.232.

(2) Abū al-Tayyib al-Lughawī, Marātib al-Nahawīyīn, p.101.

famous schools of grammar. It can be justly said that the tenth century was the golden age of grammatical studies in Baghdād. Abū 'Alī was therefore able to drink at the very fount of knowledge, and to establish contact with the leading philologists of his time. There were at that time in the capital of the caliphate such famous contemporary grammarians as Abū'l Hasan 'Alī ibn Sulaimān al-Akhfash the younger, Ibn al-Sarrāj who introduced the division of logic (taqasum) into philology, Abū Bakr ibn al-Khayyāt, Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn Duraid, Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī and others.

Abū 'Alī's stay in Baghdād extended over thirty-three years, from 307 A.H. / 919 A.D. to 341 A.H./952 A.D.⁽¹⁾ It was comparatively peaceful at first, but coincided later with well-known series of political, religious and social crises. The peace of the city was often disturbed by violence, and the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants found expression in riot and murder. Puritan Hanbalites tried to enforce conformity with their rigorous religious and moral standards by inflicting summary justice. These years have left such a record of confusion that it is impossible to form a clear picture of what was happening in the city.

(1) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān, Vol.I, p.232.

It is only known that its trade and revenue were reduced and Baghdād, which in the early days of Abū 'Alī's stay had been still splendid enough to impress a delegation from luxury-loving Byzantium, became so poor that not only private houses, but palaces and mosques fell into ruins. Conditions of life became almost intolerable, and those who had the necessary means left Baghdād for other cities. Moreover, intellectual life was almost at a standstill; Baghdād definitely lost its position as the hub of the Muslim world.

Though the political implications of this phenomenon are not relevant here, its cultural significance was of great importance for Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's career. The cultural centre of gravity shifted from Baghdād to the newly arisen capitals of the former provinces whose rulers extended their patronage to scholars and scholarship. Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, who was affluent enough to be able to leave Baghdād, went to one of these new cultural centres, Aleppo in Syria, whose ruler Sayfu'l Dawlah encouraged every kind of literary and scientific activity.

Stay at the Hamdānīd Court of Aleppo

Sayfu'l Dawlah ibn Hamdān of the Hamdānīds of Aleppo, the most important of the nomadic Arab dynasties which still

held its own in Syria while the rest of the empire was passing into the hands of Persians and Turks, succeeded for a time to revive the fast decaying and already half-broken spirit of Arab nationalism. His glorious victories over the Byzantines have been immortalized by his poet laureate al-Mutanabbī, and his martial exploits were enhanced by the energy and munificence with which he attracted scholars and men of letters to Aleppo. Beside his court poet, al-Mutanabbī, who is considered by many the greatest Muslim poet, there were at Sayfu'l Dawlah's court Abū al-Faraj, the author of the famous Kitāb al-Aghānī, the philosopher Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī and the philologist Ibn Khalawaih whose lectures were attended by students from all parts of the Muslim world. Sayf al-Dawlah passionately loved literature, and had a very good knowledge of the Arabic language, both in prose and poetry. One of the ways in which his generosity usually found expression was the holding of literary meetings. These were generally held at night. Poets and men of letters assembled there and discussed various literary topics. Sayf al-Dawlah himself took part in these, and besides enjoying the mental recreation, judged the merits of the various participants of the assembly and loaded them with gifts. No fixed way of discussion was followed in these meetings. Recitations

of verses, different questions of grammar, prosody, rhetoric and lexicography were some of the things generally discussed.⁽¹⁾ He imparted his love of literature to his courtiers and grandees who imitated him in this respect. Literary meetings were also held in the palace of Abū 'Alī Ahmad al-Bazyar, the wazir of Sayf al-Dawlah in which men like al-Mutanabbi and ibn Khālawayah also took part.⁽²⁾

Abū 'Alī could not fail to be attracted by the brilliant galaxy of talent assembled at Sayf al-Dawlah's intellectually stimulating court, nor remain insensitive to the lure of his fabulous generosity. In fact, he stayed at Sayf al-Dawlah's court for several years, enjoying the pleasures provided by the splendour of the environment and the munificence of the Amīr. He is said to have engaged in philological discussions with al-Mutanabbī who was well versed in grammar. One day he asked the latter: "How many plurals are there of the form *فَعَالٍ*?" "Two", replied al-Mutanabbī on the spot. "*ظُرَبٌ* and *حِجَالٌ*".⁽³⁾ Abū 'Alī states that he spent three nights reading philological works which had a bearing on the subject in

(1) Muḥammad Sadruddīn, Saifuddawlah and his times, Lahore, 1930, p.149.

(2) Al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān* with Al-'Ukbaris Commentary. On margin: Yūsif al-Badī'ī Al-Ṣubḥ al-Munabbī, Vol. I, p.63.

(3) *حِجَالٌ* is the plural of *حَجَلٌ* (a cock partridge) and *ظُرَبٌ* the plural of *ظُرْبَانٌ*, a word pronounced with the same vowels as *ظُرْبَانٌ*, and which serves to designate a small quadruped emitting a fetid smell. (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol. I, p.63).

search of a third plural, but his efforts were not crowned with success. (1)

He devoted most of his stay in Aleppo to the composition of a grammatical work entitled al-Masā'il al-Halabiya, for it was his wont to allude, in the title of many of the books he wrote, to the place of their origin.

The happiness of his stay at the Aleppo court was marred, however, by the enmity of a celebrated colleague he had found firmly entrenched there at his arrival. The incessant intrigues, which resulted from the jealousy of the great grammarian, seem to have made his life insufferable, and he made up his mind to leave Sayf al-Dawlah's court. According to ibn Khallikān "he went from Aleppo to Fars where he found himself in the company of 'Adud al-Dawla. (2) However, he probably stayed at about that time for some indefinite period in Damascus where he dictated his Masā'il al-Damashqia. Al-Zubaidī states that "Abū 'Alī stayed at ibn Hamdan's (i.e. Sayf al-Dawlah's) court and al-Daylami ('Adud al-Dawlah) brought him to

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān, Vol.I, p.232.

educate his brother Khosrae's children. Then he stayed in Baghdād and then he went to Shīrāz."⁽¹⁾ Henceforth, he remained in Shīrāz under 'Adud al-Dawlah's patronage. A friendship developed between the two men which was to last until 'Adud al-Dawlah's death.

Relationship with 'Adud al-Dawlah

'Adud al-Dawlah, whose reign falls into the middle period of the Buwayhid caliphate, the first ruler in Islam to bear the title Shah-in-Shah,⁽²⁾ created, by uniting under his sceptre several Buwayhid Kingdoms in Persia and 'Irāq, a state the size of an empire which surpassed, in extent, the dominions of any of his contemporaries. There are, in the works of philologists and historians, statements to the effect that this great Buwayhid Amīr, under whom the power of his dynasty reached its zenith, who is hailed by historians as the most illustrious ruler of his time, not only bestowed his active patronage on Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, but even found him worthy of an intimate friendship of many years duration. Passionately interested in philology, and later himself a grammarian of merit, he became Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's respectful disciple. Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī must have been

(1) Al-Zubaidī, *Tabaqāt al-Nahawīyīn wa'l - Lughawīyīn*, p.130.

(2) Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntazam*, Vol. VII, p.113; *Suyūtī*, p.374.

himself a man of no mean stature to have been able to inspire such feelings in a man of the calibre of 'Adud al-Dawlah.

There are some indications that Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī acted on behalf of 'Adud al-Dawlah in matters outside the sphere of philology. A number of contemporary sources contain sufficient evidence to suggest that he played a leading part in a political move which, had it been entirely successful, might have changed the course of the history of the caliphate. 'Adud al-Dawlah was a Shi'ite and was, as such, unable to claim sovereignty over an orthodox Sunni population. Thus he took recourse to the expedient of having his authority delegated to him by the undisputed head of the Sunnis, the Caliph. Having already accepted the post of Amīr al-Umarā' at a solemn ceremony of investiture, he conceived the idea of a much closer alliance between himself and the ruling Caliph. He thought that a son of the marriage between him and Caliph al-Tāi's eldest daughter, or of that between his own daughter and Caliph al-Tāi' might be declared the Caliph's successor, and unite the Caliphate and the Amirate in one dynasty.⁽¹⁾ Thus to win over the Caliph and his orthodox Sunni followers, 'Adud al-Dawlah arranged a marriage between the Caliph al-Tāi' and his eldest daughter. The magnitude of the event at

(1) "... hoping thereby to have a descendant of his assume the Caliphate". Philip K. Hitti, *The History of the Arabs*, p.472.

which Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī stood proxy for 'Adud al-Dawlah is indicated by the fact that the wedding gift to the bride was no less than one hundred thousand dinars.⁽¹⁾ It is obvious that 'Adud al-Dawlah could hardly have given Abū 'Alī greater proof of his esteem and confidence.

He also played a part in the cultural life of the Shiraz Court which was far from negligible. It has already been stated that, in the course of the process of re-orientation which followed the disintegration of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate, newly arisen provincial courts had taken over the intellectual and literary role of Baghdād. Shirāz was perhaps the most important among them. One of the most distinguished historians of that time, Abū 'Alī Miskawaihi, who was 'Adud al-Dawlah's treasurer and lived at his Court, has described this glorious period in his monumental historical work, the Tajārib al-Umam. The bulk of the production of 'Adud al-Dawlah's protégés still awaits examination by research students. In the field of grammar, Abū 'Alī towers above the philologists who dedicated their work to the famous Amīr. It is for 'Adud al-Dawlah that he wrote the Kitāb al-Īdah (the book of explanation), its supplement al-Takmilah, and the Kitāb al-Hujjah fi'l-Qirā'āt al-Sab', a work on the seven different readings of

(1) Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol.VII, p.101; Miskawaihi, Tajarib al-Umam, Vol.II, p.414; Yāqūt, Irshad, Vol.VI, p.266.

the Qur'ān which he dedicated to him. 'Adud al-Dawlah was inordinately fond of reading and knowledge. He is said to have vowed to give twenty thousand dirhams and fifty thousand dirhams to charity as soon as he was able to master Euclid and Abū Alī's grammar.⁽¹⁾ It is related that the Kitāb al-Aghānī was his constant companion both at home and on his journeys abroad,⁽²⁾ and that he read a chapter of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's Īdāh every day.

There is evidence to show that he used to discuss questions of grammar with Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī on walks through the city of Shīrāz. It may be of interest to quote the account of one of these peripatetic conversations. It is related that he was once walking with 'Adud al-Dawlah in the maidān of Shīrāz, and was asked by him why the exception is put in the accusative in this expression: "The people came except Zaid?" to which he replied: "It is governed in the accusative by an understood verb." "How", said 'Adud al-Dawlah, "is the ellipsis to be filled up?" "Thus", replied Abū 'Alī: "I except Zaid" - "Why not put it in the nominative," observed the prince, "and fill the ellipsis thus: 'Zaid kept back'?" Abū 'Alī was silenced by this remark, and at last said: "This is an answer given in the square." When he returned home, he

(1) Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. VII, p.116.

(2) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. V, p.150.

composed on this subject a treatise which obtained 'Adud al-Dawlah's approbation; and he mentions in his *Idāh* that the exception is governed in the accusative by the verb which precedes (by the verb 'came'), in consequence of its corroboration by the word 'except'.⁽¹⁾

With regard to the student-teacher relationship between 'Adud al-Dawlah and Abū 'Alī, Gustav Flügel says that Reiske communicates from the *Raud* (*Annal Musl.* II, p.788, note 403) that " 'Adud al-Dawlah read the *Īdāh* in the presence of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī as a student before his teacher, surrendering to him his own seat in the most distinguished place in the room while he himself, oblivious of all dignity, sat on the floor like any other student.⁽²⁾ 'Adud al-Dawlah is also quoted by al-Qiftī and Yāqūt as having said: "My tutor in the stars and their stations is 'Abd al-Rahmān the Sūfī, in the interpretation of astronomical tables (*al-Zīj*) the Sharīf ibn al-A'lam, and in syntax Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī".⁽³⁾

(1) Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, translated by DeSlane, Vol.I, p.380.

(2) G. Flügel, *Gramm.Schulen*, p.III: "... was Reiske aus dem *Raud* (*Annal.Musl.* II, S.783, Anm.403, mittheilt. 'Aḍudaddaulā las das *Īdāh* in des Fārisī Gegenwart wie der Schüler vor seinem Lehrer, er liess ihn seinen eigenen Sitz an dem vornehmsten Platz im Zimmer einnehmen, während er selbst nach Entäusserung aller Würde auf der Erde wie jeder andere Schüler sich niederliess".

(3) Ibn al-Qiftī *Tārikh al-Hukamā'*, p.226; Yāqūt *Irshād* Vol.III, p.10.

There was in Shīrāz a magnificent library for Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī to consult at will during his stay at 'Adud al-Dawlah's court. The latter, whose ambition it was to collect, for the use of distinguished people able to appreciate them, all books in every branch of knowledge, had founded a large library in his palace in Shīrāz. The geographer al-Muqaddasī relates that it consisted of a large anteroom and a long vaulted hall with rooms on all sides. It was housed in a building of its own, and a superintendent, treasurer and inspector were appointed to supervise it. The books were ranged on shelves in veneered cupboards two yards long. Every branch of knowledge had its own cupboard and a catalogue in which the names were registered.⁽¹⁾ It was a superb place for a scholar to frequent, and there is every reason to assume that Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī made use of the facilities it afforded.

It has been said that 'Adud al-Dawlah preferred the society of scholars to those of amīrs and nobles.⁽²⁾ He continued the 'Abbāsīd practice of evening assemblies; in brilliantly decorated halls, surrounded by his astrologers, musicians and favourite boon-companions,⁽³⁾ he listened to

(1) Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taqaṣīm*, p.449.

(2) Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntazam*, Vol.VII, p.115.

(3) Yāqūt, *Irshād* VI, p.254-6.

music and song, recitals of classical poetry and improvisations of new poems. Among the poets he patronized was Abū Nibātah al-Sa'dī.

Abū 'Alī's interest in poetry is beyond doubt; he liked it and must have relished the recitals, but though he often recited verses in the course of his grammatical lectures to make a grammatical point here or there, he left none to posterity. He himself is said to have stated once that though he liked poetry, he had no gift for it. These words have been transmitted by Abu'l Qāsim ibn Ahmad al-Andalusī, a native of Spain, who relates that once at a society where both he and Abū 'Alī were present, the conversation strayed to poetry, and Abū 'Alī said: "I envy you the ability of making verses; as for me, my genius is not favourable to it, though I am well acquainted with all the sciences which form the basis of poetry". Thereupon someone asked if he had never written poetry himself, to which he replied: "I know of three verses only made by me; they were composed on grey hair(s), and run as follows:

خضبت الشيب لانا كان عيبا د خضبت الشيب اوط ان يما با
 ولم افضب نخانة هجر نخل ولا عيبا خشيت ولا عتابا
 " ولكن المشيب بما ذمها نصيرت الخضاب له عقابا

(1) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān, Vol. I, p.233; Suyūṭī, Bughya, p.217.

It is also reported that the famous al-Mutanabbī whose acquaintance Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī had made at Sayf al-Dawlah's Court in Aleppo, was an occasional visitor to the Shīrās Court, and was generously rewarded for the panegyrics composed in the Amīr's praise. An account of the second encounter of Abū 'Alī with al-Mutanabbī, related by al-Badī'ī, illustrates the relationship between Abū 'Alī and al-Mutanabbī and also indicates that Abū 'Alī found it easy to rid himself of a prejudice when he was convinced that he was wrong. Badī'ī relates that al-Mutanabbī, while he was in Shīrās, used to pass Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's house on his way to the Buwayhid Court. Since the poet was badly dressed and arrogant to boot, Abū 'Alī used to deride him, a dislike which Ibn 'Djinnī, a great admirer of his poetry, was inclined to resent. Thus when Abū 'Alī asked him one day to quote a verse of poetry for grammatical discussion, he recited the following verse of al-Mutanabbī:

حَلَّتْ دُونَ الْمَزَارِ فَالْيَوْمِ لَوْ زَرْتِ لِحَالِ الْخَوْلِ دُونَ الْعِنَاقِ

Abū 'Alī was enchanted and asked him to repeat it and tell him the name of its author. Ibn Djinnī said that it had been written by the same poet who had said:

أَزُورُهُمْ وَسَوَادِ اللَّيْلِ يَشْفَعُ لِي وَأَنْتِي وَبِيَاضِ الصَّبْحِ يَغْرِي بِي

When Abū 'Alī insisted, Ibn Djinnī continued quoting different verses of al-Mutanabbī such as

أَمْضَى إِرَادَتِهِ فَسَوْفَ لَهُ قَدٌ وَاسْتَقْرَبَ الْأَقْصَى فَشَمَّرَ لَهُ هُنَا

and

ودضع الندى في موضع السيف بالعلامة مضع كوضع السيف في موضع الندى

and not until Abū 'Alī had become impatient did he tell him that the poet was Abū'l Tayyib, called al-Mutanabbī whom he was in the habit of deriding. Abū 'Alī replied: "By God, you have produced his love in my mind". Whereupon he went to 'Adud al-Dawlah and praised Abū al-Tayyib in his presence. (1)

Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī stayed at the court of Shīrāz for some twenty years. One might wonder, in view of the propensity for travelling he had shown in his younger days, whether he even left Shīrāz during this period for longer or shorter journeys. If he did, there is no mention of it in any of the available sources. Nor can one find evidence whether he accompanied 'Adud al-Dawlah on any of his campaigns, though there is an incident which indicates or rather permits to infer, that this might have been the case. It is reported that 'Adud al-Dawlah asked him to accompany him when he went to fight his cousin Bakhtiyār: "I cannot see you among those who are in my company". Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī declined the honour with the words: "I am a man of prayer, not a man of combat; may God promote the plans of the king, and bring them to a happy end, and grant him victory":

وددعته حيث لا تودعه نفسي ولكنها تسير معه

(1) Al-Badī'ī, al-Ṣubḥ al-Munabbī, Vol. I, p. 210.

(1) ثم تولى وفي الفؤاد له ضيق محل وفي الدموع سحابة

I am saying farewell which is not a farewell

As my soul is going with him,

He is turning aside as his heart feels so tight,

While a tear is trickling down.

Since the campaign against Bakhtiyār began in 366 A.H./976 A.D.,⁽²⁾ when Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī had been in Shīrāz for a long time, it is hardly likely that it was the first invitation of this kind. 'Adud al-Dawlah must have made such requests before and, as an invitation extended by a sovereign could not easily be spurned, Abū 'Alī will no doubt have accepted. However, there are two perfectly valid reasons why he might have wished to stay away from this particular campaign. First, Bakhtiyār was a Buwayhid, and a powerful one at that, and Abū 'Alī may have feared to antagonize him and incur his enmity. To do so would have been an altogether senseless action in his position as a scholar who set great store on the support of the mighty. Secondly, Abū 'Alī was getting on in years - he was seventy-eight at that time - and had perhaps acquired more sedentary habits, so that adventure

(1) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol.III, p.11; Suyūṭī, Bughya, p.216.

(2) Miskawaihi, Tajārib al-Umam, Vol.II, p.365.

had ceased to attract him. Thus, 'Adud al-Dawlah set out for 'Irāq in 366 A.H./976 A.D., while Abū 'Alī remained in Shīrāz. But when the former had conquered Baghdād, and the city was pacified, Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī followed him in 368 A.H./978 A.D. Henceforth, he stayed in Baghdād where the conditions were now sufficiently settled.

The controversy about the date of his death

If most historians simply ignore the date of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's birth, they differ only slightly on the age he reached. With the only exception of his contemporary Ibn al-Nadīm who says that Abū 'Alī died before 370 A.H.,⁽¹⁾ all Arabic historians agree that he died, almost a nonagenarian, in 377 A.H./987 A.D. Ibn Khallikān states that Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī was born in 288 A.H./501 A.D. and died on Sunday the 17th of the month Rabi' II 377 A.H. at the age of eighty-nine.⁽²⁾ Ibn al-'Imād al-Hanbalī also says that Abū 'Alī was eighty-nine years old when he died,⁽³⁾ but gives the month of his death as Rabi' I 377 A.H. not Rabi' the II. On the other hand, there is an entry in Ibn al-Athīr's al-Kāmil

(1) Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist Vol. I, p.64.

(2) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān, Vol. I, p.234.

(3) Ibn 'Imād al-Hanbalī, Shadharāt al-Dhahab, Vol. III, p.88.

under the year 376 A.H. to the effect that Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn Abd al-Ghaffār al-Fārisī al-Nahawī, the author of al-Īdāb, died in that year, having exceeded the age of ninety. ⁽¹⁾ Ibn al-Fidā's entry under 376 A.H. says the same. ⁽²⁾ Al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, however, maintains that he died on Sunday the 17th of Rabi' I 377 A.H., a date which differs only inconsiderably from that given in Wafayāt al-A'yān. Ibn al-Anbārī, in Nuzhat al-Alibbā', agrees with al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, and so do most later historians and grammarians.

Ibn al-Nadīm's statement, which is unanimously rejected can be assumed as erroneous on at least three grounds:

First, it is incompatible with the established historical fact that, as has been stated, Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī stood proxy for 'Adud al-Dawlah at the marriage ceremony between 'Adud al-Dawlah's daughter and Caliph al-Tā'i' in 369 A.H./979 A.D. ⁽³⁾ which proves that he was alive, healthy and active immediately before the date given by al-Nadīm.

Secondly, a well-known anecdote concerning his most prominent student, ibn Djinnī, a grammarian who later attained great fame, is very informative in this respect.

(1) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, Vol.IX, p.36.

(2) Abū al-Fidā, al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar, Vol.II, p.131.

(3) Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntaẓam Vol.VII, p.101; Miskawaihi, Vol.II, p.101; Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol.VI, p.266.

(1)

An account found in *Nuzhat al-Alibbā'* and *Wafayāt al-A'yān* relates that Ibn Djinnī, whose knowledge of Nahw (Syntax) was at first better than that of Ṣarf (accidence), was reading grammar in the Cathedral Mosque of Mosul surrounded by his students, when Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, who was accidentally travelling through Mosul (the date is not mentioned by Ibn al-Anbārī or Ibn Khallikān, but is given by the editor of *Kitāb al-Khasā'is* in the introduction to the book, as 337 A.H./948 A.D.)⁽²⁾ passed by him and put him a question of accidence, which he failed to answer satisfactorily. Upon this Abū 'Alī scolded him mockingly for trying to teach before he had matured into a scholar:

زيت قبل أن تحصرم "You have become as it were a dry raisin before being a green grape" or "still a green vine, you are already bearing grapes". These words are said to have made so deep an impression on Ibn Djinnī that he ascertained the identity of this superb philologist and followed him for about forty years, a length of time on which most sources concur. This proves conclusively that Abū 'Alī survived the incident in Mosul mosque in 337 A.H. by forty years.

(1) Ibn al-Anbārī *Nuzhat al-Alibbā'*, p.48, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol.I, p.561.

(2) Introduction to Ibn Djinnī's *Khasā'is*, written by Muhammad 'Alī al-Najjar, p.19.

The third fact, related by al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī is that al-Tanūkhī attended Abū 'Alī's lectures in Rajab in 375 A.H./985 A.D.,⁽¹⁾ which corroborates the data provided by Ibn Khallikān, Ibn al-'Imād and al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī. Added together, these three facts can be regarded as conclusive proof that Ibn al-Nadīm was mistaken.

Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī was buried in the cemetery of al-Shunizi in the western part of Baghdād,⁽²⁾ the city in which he spent most of his life, to which he had come as a youth eager to gain knowledge, where he taught for many decades and where he finally returned with 'Adud al-Dawlah.

He was affluent and it has been said that he bequeathed one third of his estate which equalled 30,000 dinars to the grammarians of Baghdād and to new arrivals to it.⁽³⁾ This implies that he was worth about 90,000 dinars at the time of his death. Who inherited the residue of 60,000 dinars is not mentioned anywhere. It is possible and indeed probable that it went, together with his grammatical works, to his two nephews one of whom is said to have studied under him. Little is known about his relationship with these two men who inherited his grammatical system and are credited with having transmitted

(1) al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, Vol.VII, p.275.

(2) Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol. I. p.234.

(3) Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-Nihāya fī Tabaqāt al Qurrah*, Vol. I, p.207.

it to posterity. One of them was the son of Abū 'Alī's sister, Muhammad Ibn al-Husain Ibn 'Abd al-Wārith al-Fārisī al-Nahawī with the kunya Abū'l-Husain.⁽¹⁾ His uncle sent him to al-Sāhib Ibn 'Abbād in Rayy who, probably with regard to the high prestige of his uncle, treated him with great honour. Later, he became the Wazīr of the Amīr Isma'īl Ibn Sabaktakin in Ghazna and Nishabur and finally went to Jurjān where he died in 421 A.H./1030 A.D. He has written Kitāb al-Hijā' and Kitāb al-Shi'r.⁽²⁾

According to 'Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Qiftī, Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī⁽³⁾ had also another nephew, Zaid Ibn 'Alī al-Nahawī al-Fārisī, with the kunya Abū'l-Qāsim⁽⁴⁾. Al-Qiftī is the only source to state the relationship; other authors merely mention the fact that he was the pupil of Abū'l-Husain. On the authority of Ibn 'Asākir in Tārīkh Dimashq and Ibn al-Nadīm in Tārīkh Ḥalab, Suyūṭī says that⁽⁵⁾ he was an expert on lexicography and grammar as well as many other sciences. He wrote a commentary to Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's Idāh and to the Ḥamāsa of Abū Tammām, and taught grammar in Aleppo according to Abū 'Alī's Idāh relying on the transmission

(1) Suyūṭī, Bughya, p.38.

(2) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol.VII, p.3.

(3) Al-Qiftī, Inbāh al-Ruwāh, Vol.II, p.17.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Suyūṭī, Bughya, p.250.

of Abū al-Husain. He also lived and taught in Damascus and died in Tripoli in Dhu al-Hijja or Dhu al-Qāda in 467 A.H./1074 A.D. Abū al-Husain, who was generally recognised as the nephew and spiritual heir of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, enjoyed a higher reputation than Abū al-Qāsim whose prestige mostly derives from the fact that he was Abū al-Husain's student. Both these scholars, Abū al-Husain and Abū al-Qāsim, propagated Abū 'Alī's grammatical theories and spread the fame of the Idāh wherever Arabic was read and studied.

His character and personality

The composite image of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's personality, as far as it can be reconstructed from contemporary history of which he was part on the basis of his friendship with famous people, teachers and students, rulers and scholars, can be further eked out by some casual references scattered in the works of authors such as Suyūṭī and Yāqūt which illustrate particular features of his character. Several of these references are of the anecdotal kind.

The first anecdote found in Suyūṭī's *Bughya* proves that he was naturally quick-witted. Abū al-Qāsim 'Abdullah ibn Muhammad ibn Jarw could not articulate, and, according to Suyūṭī, pronounced it gutturally like ġ. Abū 'Alī said to him: "Insert the nib of your pen under

your tongue and push your tongue up with it and do it frequently while repeating a word containing ُ. He did as his teacher advised and the ُ came forth faultlessly from his mouth". (1)

The second anecdote deals with his reputed truthfulness. Yāqūt relates in Irshād that Abū 'Alī once said: "I came to Abū Bakr al-Sarrāj to study Sibawaihi's Kitāb under him. I took him what I could [of money]. When I was half way through the book, it was difficult to finish it [for financial reasons]. I left him because I had acquired [some knowledge] of the book. Then I said to myself after a while: 'If I go to Fars and am asked whether I have finished the book, if I say yes then I shall be a liar, and if I say no, the chain of transmission will be discredited. Thus necessity prompted me to go (back) to him and I took a bag [of money] to him.' "(2)

On closer scrutiny, this anecdote proves fairly revelatory. First, it points to young Abū 'Alī's immense conceit. He thought that he had acquired all the information contained in Sibawaihi's famous work without even finishing it. But it also indicates that he was too truthful to pretend that he had accomplished his purpose when this was not the case, and too concerned about his

(1) Suyūtī, Bughya, p.320.

(2) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol.III, p.18.

trustworthiness as a scholar to suffer the chain of transmission to be broken by his own fault if he could avoid it. Finally, it shows that he was generous enough to make a financial sacrifice in the cause of science.

It must be added here that his truthfulness is attested by a number of other sources. Ibn Hajar states in *Lisān al-Mizān*: "Abū 'Alī was truthful by nature."⁽¹⁾

The third anecdote is less complimentary. Shaikh Abū al-'Alā' relates: "Abū 'Alī went to 'Irāq and acquired a high rank at King 'Adud al-Dawlah's (Court). It so happened that some people from Ma'rrah were in need of Abū 'Alī's help in 'Irāq, and they took a letter from the judge Abū al-Hasan Sulaimān to Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī. When Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī had read it he said: 'I have forgotten al-Shām and its people, and did not pay any heed to the letter'."⁽²⁾

This anecdote can be interpreted in more ways than one. It might be taken to indicate that he was callous and unhelpful, or what is even worse, guilty of ingratitude and even disloyalty to people whose hospitality he had enjoyed. Such faults it would be difficult to condone. But it must also be remembered that Abū 'Alī had suffered

(1) Ibn Hajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Vol.II, p.195.

(2) Yāqūt *Irshād*, Vol.III, p.19.

in Aleppo grievous wrong at the hands of Ibn Khalawaih whose intrigues had driven him from the Hamdānid Court, so that he probably still harboured a great deal of resentment against al-Shām itself and would have liked to banish the memory of his stay there altogether from his mind.

On the whole, Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's morals appear to have been controversial. Though honest and serious to excess where his science was concerned - it is generally admitted that he was dedicated to his work - his personal conduct was, especially in its moral aspect, not entirely irreproachable. According to Abū Hayyān, أبو علي يشرب

وتجالس ويفارق هدى أهل العلم وطريقة الربانيين وعادة المتسكّين

Abū 'Alī used to drink and perform acts of buffoonery and (1) deviate from the ways of scholars, theologians and ascetics. It seems almost certain that he was unmarried, and celibacy is rare and somewhat suspect in a Muslim. Moreover, though there is no evidence to support it, there are some indications that he might have been more attracted to his own than to the opposite sex.

It might be said in defence of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī that he was, in this aspect of his life, a true son of his time, for the contemporary moral climate can only be described

(1) Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī, al-Imtā ' wal-Mu'ānasah, Vol. 'II, p.132.

as lax. 'Adud al-Dawlah himself, the seriousness of whose attitude towards matters of government and scholarship is stressed by many sources, is said to have been careless in some points of Islamic law. The palaces of kings and nobles were teeming with concubines; it is said that the tax 'Adud al-Dawlah imposed on the immoral earnings of women in Persia contributed a considerable sum to the revenue of the state. To quote Adam Mez: " 'Adud al-Dawlah was un-Islamic enough to tax prostitutes and dancing girls in Fars and to lease out the tax".⁽¹⁾ Wazīr Ibn al-Furāt used to spend his huge income, which amounted to two million dinars yearly, on riotous living. The practice of homosexuality was widespread and quite openly indulged in at that time; there are several mentions of that in contemporary works of history. It is related that Sayf al-Dawlah had a mignon in Aleppo, called by a female name, Thamil, to whom he was greatly attached.⁽²⁾ There is some probability that Abū 'Alī had similar tendencies. Little though is known about the circumstances of his life, there is evidence that he had a favourite among his pupils, a boy named Muhammad al-Qasrī, on whom he lavished costly gifts. Yāqūt who has recorded this fact states explicitly

(1) Adam Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, translated by Salahuddīn Khuda Bukhsh and D. S. Margoliouth, p.362.

(2) Ibn Miskawaihi *Tajārib al-Umam*, Vol. II, p.44; Adam Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, p.358.

that: محمد بن طويين القصري أحمد تلميذ أبي علي الفارسي أُملى عليه
 المائل القصريات وبه سميت . وقتلت في المفاوضات أنه لما طُن مَثأ طُن أبو علي
 الفارسي يثقته ويخصه بالطرف ويحس على الصلاة عليه والالتفات إليه
 Abū 'Alī loved him (i.e. al-Qasrī) when he was young and
 gave him presents and took care of him. He also used to
 dictate to him his grammatical questions and derived the
 title of one of his books, al-Masā'il al-Qasriya, from his
 name. (1)

Another detail of Abū 'Alī's life seems to support
 this assumption. Having been in all probability unmarried,
 he had no direct descendants. The fact that he died
 without issue is confirmed by the circumstance that he left
 his grammatical theories not to a son, but to two
 relatives.

His religious beliefs

Was he a Shī'ite? Only one source, A'yān al-Shī'ah,
 the biographical dictionary of Shī'ites of the Ithnā'ashariyah
 sect, compiled by the prominent Shī'ite Muhsin Ibn 'Abd
 al-Karīm al-Husainī al-'Āmilī, mentions that Abū 'Alī was
 a Shī'ite, stating that he was one of the Imāmiyah:
 (2)

Several circumstances suggest that this statement might be

(1) Yāqūt Irshād, Vol. VII, p.15.

(2) 'Ayān al-Shi'ah, Vol. XXI, p.16.

true. There is, first, the fact that there is a copy of his *Shīrāziyāt*, annotated in his own hand, in the library of Amīr 'Alī in Najaf⁽¹⁾ who was a well-known Shī'ite. Secondly, Sharīf 'Umar ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-'Alawī is known to have read, after Abū 'Alī's death, the book *al-Īdāh* in Aleppo in the year 455 A.H./1063 A.D.⁽²⁾ which owes to him much of its popularity. The intensive campaign of publicity he conducted for Abū 'Alī as a scholar and grammarian indicates that Abū 'Alī was also a Shī'ite, for Sharīf 'Umar would hardly have taken so much trouble for an author of different convictions. Some of his favourite students, the famous Ibn Djinnī and al-Raba'ī were Shī'ites. Finally, his patrons Sayf al-Dawlah and 'Adud al-Dawlah were Shī'ites. Especially the latter would hardly have bestowed his friendship and lavished his gifts on a man of a different persuasion, whatever his merits. As an intimate friend of 'Adud al-Dawlah, Abū 'Ali al-Fārisī was steeped up to his neck in the atmosphere of Shī'ah, and it is difficult to see how he could have escaped its influence.

Was he a Mu'tazilite? There are indications that Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī was a Mu'tazilite. First, there are numerous mentions of his connection with the Mu'tazila in

(1) 'Abd al-'Azīz Maiman. *Iqlīd al-Khizāna*, p.101.

(2) *Al-Qiftī*, *Inbāh al-ruwāh*, Vol. II, p.325.

the biographical works. Secondly, there is a very close connection between the Mu'tazila and the philological school of Basra to which Abū 'Alī belonged and whose representatives in general taught Mu'tazilite doctrines.⁽¹⁾ Thirdly, it was the Mu'tazilites, whose part in the exegesis of the Qur'ān was considerable, who introduced the strictly grammatical method of interpretation of the Qu'rān, a classical example of which, later developed by al-Zamakhsharī, the last theologian of the Mu'tazila, (d.538)⁽²⁾ is found in Abū 'Alī's work. Indeed, Abū 'Alī himself commented upon the exegesis of the Mu'tazilite Muhammad al-Djubbā'i in a lost work called al-Tatabbu'.⁽³⁾

It is true that what most available sources hint at in almost identical terms, is a mere suspicion of Mu'tazilism. Yāqūt, al-Qiftī and al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī are unanimous on the fact that, as they say, "he was accused of being a Mu'tazilite".⁽⁴⁾ Ibn al-Athīr phrases it slightly differently, saying in al-Kāmil: "They say that he was a Mu'tazilite".⁽⁵⁾ Characteristic of both these statements,

(1) The Mu'tazilite doctrine rested on five bases (uṣūl): 1. The Unity of God; 2. The free will; 3. Promises and menaces (wa'd and wa'id); 4. The intermediate state (manzila bayn al-manzilatayn); 5. The obligation to order the good and forbid the evil (al-amr bil-ma'rūf wa l mahy 'anil munkar) (Aḥmad Amīn, Duḥā al-Islām, Vol.III, p.21). Unlike the orthodox who, either through piety or through fear, refrained from discussing religious matter which might lead them to transgress the limits of human understanding, the nationalistic Mu'tazilites engaged in speculative dogmatics.

(2) E.I. Vol.III, part II, p.791.

(3) E.I. Vol.II, p.821; Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol.III, p.13.

(4) Irshād, Vol.II, p.10; Inbāh al-Ruwāh, Vol.I, p.274; Tarīkh Baghdad, Vol.VII, p.276.

(5) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, Vol.IX, p.36.

neither of which is an emphatic assertion, is their extreme caution. The fact in question is not stated explicitly, but related and described as a rumour. This may be due, less to actual doubt on the part of the above-quoted biographers, than to the fact that, as a result of the persecution of the open or secret adherents of the Mu'tazila by the 'Abbāsids, and especially of the severe treatment meted out to Mu'tazilite scholars by al-Mutawakkil, most of them had gone into hiding, so that it was difficult to decide, with any degree of certainty, who was a Mu'tazilite and who was not. In this context, the word "they say that he was" or "he was accused of" instead of the plain and unequivocal "he was" assumes a special significance. What speaks against this assumption, on the other hand, is that in the fourth century the Shī'a flourished and the 'Abbāsīd power declined, and the Buwayhid governors tended to look on the Mu'tazila with more favour.⁽¹⁾ The need for concealment had largely disappeared.

Only two authors make more decisive statements. Yāqūt relates in the Irshād that Abū al Fath al-Isfahānī counted him among the Mu'tazilite grammarians.⁽²⁾ Abū Hayyān, referring to Abū 'Alī's interpretation of a famous Qur'ānic

(1) E.I., Vol.III, Part 2, p.791.

(2) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. I, p.229.

verse, states that "it is a Mu'tazilite (grammatical) analysis."⁽¹⁾

The implication of Abū Hayyān's words is that Abū 'Alī believed in the freedom of human will, a principle characteristic of Mu'tazilite thought. Al-Shahrastānī⁽²⁾ has defined it as follows: "The Mu'tazilites say that man is the creator of his own actions, good and evil, and deserves reward or punishment for what he has done on the day of judgment. God is far above evil or wrong." In other words; to uphold their belief in man's freedom of will, the Mu'tazilites had to deny that God wills all the acts of man, good as well as evil. They maintained that God cannot will the disobedient acts of men.

The verse to which Abū Hayyān refers is Qu'rān, LVII 27.

«رَفَعْنَا بِسَيِّئِ بْنِ مَرْيَمَ وَآتَيْنَاهُ الْإِنْجِيلَ وَجَعَلْنَا فِي قُلُوبِ الَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوهُ رَأْفَةً
رَحْمَةً وَرَهَابَانِيَةً ابْتَدَعُوهَا مَا كَتَبْنَاهَا عَلَيْهِمْ إِلَّا ابْتِغَاءَ رِضْوَانِ اللَّهِ»

The literal translation is as follows: "Then ... Jesus, son of Mary, and we have given him the gospel, and we have put (ja'alnā) in the hearts of those who followed him kindness (ra'fah) and mercy (rahmah) and monastic life (rahbāniyah). It is they who have instituted it (ibtada'ūhā); we had only prescribed it (katabnā) for them in order to make (them) desire to conform to the pleasure of God."

(1) Abū Hayyān al-Andalusī, Al-Baḥr al-Muhīṭ, Vol.VIII, p.228.

(2) Al-Shahrastānī, Kitāb al-Milal wa'l-niḥal, p.62.

This verse had been interpreted in two senses, in a laudatory and permissive one in the first three centuries A.H., and later, perhaps, with the wish to corroborate the prophetic hadīth: لا رهبانية في الإسلام

(no monasticism in Islam), in a pejorative and interdictive sense.⁽¹⁾ Abū 'Alī quotes in the Īdāh⁽²⁾ only part of this verse "and we put in the hearts of those who followed him (i.e. Jesus) kindness and mercy and monasticism; they instituted it" and adds "what God has created, men have not instituted, for rahbaniya is not the object of ja'alna, but in the accusative with a hidden, i.e. understood verb. It is from the fact that Abū 'Alī separates rahbaniya from rafah and rahmah, describing it as the accusative of a hidden verb, that Abū Hayyān concludes in the above-mentioned passage of the Tafsīr: "This is a Mu'tazilite grammatical analysis, and Zamakhshari has followed him in that, and Abū 'Alī was a Mu'tazilite."⁽³⁾ They [the Mu'tazilites] say that what was created by God will not be created by men, and ra'fah and rahmah are of God's creation and rahbaniyah was instituted by men."

(1) This Hadīth was quoted to prove that monasticism was forbidden by the Prophet and Sufism was alien to Islam, and has been suspected of not being strictly authentic since it was not exploited by Imamite attacks. (Khawānsārī, Rawdāt al-Jannāt, Vol. II, p.233).

(2) Īdāh, p.31.

(3) Abū Hayyān, Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ, Vol. II, p.437.

Abū 'Alī's intention here is obvious. In separating rahbaniya from the first two objects, rafah and Rahmah, which he regards as the objects of ja'alnā (= put, deposed), and anticipating the verb ibtada'uha (= innovated, instituted) in the latter part of the verse, he represents rahbaniyah as the object of an understood verb with the meaning "instituted" or "innovated". Thus, describing to men the freedom to "institute" or "innovate" and implying that they have the power to do so, he reveals himself as a Mu'tazilite. This is corroborated by Abū 'Alī's words in the Masā'il al-Shīrāziya: "If /ā free/ agent wishes to increase in knowledge or in religion, his will will never be blamed and he himself will never be blamed for this will."⁽¹⁾ This proves that Abū 'Alī believed in the freedom of the human will, and that the acts of man are of his own creation. Additional support for the assumption that he was a Mu'tazilite may also be found in the circumstance that several of his students were known as Mu'tazilites. His most famous student Ibn Djinnī was one;⁽²⁾ so were Abu'l Qāsim 'Ubaidallāh ibn Jarw al-Asadī⁽³⁾ and Muḥammad ibn Tuways called al-Qasrī, of whom Yāqūt says that he was one of the students of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, and one of the Mu'tazilite grammarians.⁽⁴⁾ This fact implies not only

(1) Al-Masā'il al-Shīrāziya, fol. 32.

(2) Suyūṭī, Muzhir, Vol. I, p.10.

(3) Suyūṭī, Bughya, p.320.

(4) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. VII, p.15.

that Mu'tazilite grammarians studied under Abū 'Alī, but may also be interpreted in the sense that Abū 'Alī encouraged his students in their way of thinking and that, in teaching them grammar, he instilled into them sympathy with I'tizāl.

Since it may now be regarded as established that Abū 'Alī was, to all intents and purposes, a Mu'tazilite, the question remains why he kept the fact so secret and never admitted it publicly in so many words. The answer to this question can probably be found in his concern for his personal safety, even though he spent a great part of his life under the more tolerant Buwayhids. Besides, the Shī'ites of whom he was one recognized the validity of dissimulation as an ethical principle.⁽¹⁾ They believed that, in adverse circumstances, whenever and wherever his opponents were in the ascendancy, a believer may not only refrain from professing his faith, but may and even must conform to the prevailing religious practice as a form of protection.

(1) Cf. Ph. L. Hitti, History of the Arabs, p.440.

CHAPTER II

TEACHERS, STUDENTS, COLLEAGUES AND RIVALS

His teachers

It is not known what or under whose tuition Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī studied in Fars before he came to Baghdād in 307 A.H./929 A.D. at the approximate age of nineteen. It can, however, be assumed with near certainty that he memorized the Qur'ān, studied the Ḥadīth of the Prophet and recited Arabic poetry. Since the whole of his early life is and will probably remain shrouded in mystery, one will presumably never be able to ascertain who his teachers in Fars were and what kind of influence he was subjected to in that period. As regards his studies in Baghdād, however, the position becomes much clearer, so that the picture of his formative years can be drawn with greater precision.

The splendour of Baghdād attracted, in the fourth century A.H., numerous grammarians who, though rivals, could hardly ignore one another, because they shared, more often than not, the same studies. In fact, most students could and did attend lessons of different masters at the same time, and Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī was no exception. Teaching in Baghdād at that time were grammarians of great prestige such as al-Zajjāj, ibn Duraid, al-Akhfash the younger, Abū Bakr ibn al-Sarrāj: in short, all the greatest philologists of the century. Obviously, opportunities for study abounded, and Abū 'Alī availed himself fully of every chance to drink at the fount of knowledge. One must not, however,

equate the great variety of teachers with a great diversity of the material taught, at least insofar as philology is concerned. All philological studies at that time, no matter where or under what teacher, were watched over by the spirit of the great grammarian of the second century in whose immortal Kitāb the principles of grammatical science were laid down: Sibawaihi. Sibawaihi's triumph had been posthumous. Elevated to unchallenged heights by Mubarrad who had made his views the basis of all grammatical discussions, he was regarded in the fourth century as the incomparable master of philology. His authority was both unquestioned and immense; his Kitāb came to be called Qur'ān al-Nahw, "the Qur'ān of grammar",⁽¹⁾ His opinions alone were considered valid. "Like with the Prophet of the Arabs, conclusions were drawn not only from what he said, but also from what he left unsaid; thus, what could not be found in the Kitāb was discarded a priori as deprived of authority".⁽²⁾ Studies which centred on the Kitāb were not merely concerned with the explanation of its often rather difficult text, but also with its interpretation, the main aim of which it was to bring into line with Sibawaihi's Kitāb the entire later grammatical development to which it had given rise.

(1) Abū al-Tayyib al-Lughawī, Marātib al-Nahawīyīn, p.65.

(2) "On en vint aussi à conclure non seulement de ses dires, mais de ses silences (comme pour le Prophète des Arabes): ainsi ce qu'on ne trouvait pas dans le Kitāb était d'avance écarté comme dénué d'autorité"; Henri Fleisch, Traité de philologie arabe, Beyrouth, 1961, Vol.I, p.34.

1. The doyen of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's teachers was Ibrahim ibn al-Sari ibn Sahl (with the kunya Abū Ishāq), known under the name al-Zajjāj, because he had been a glazier before he conceived the wish to study philology. Thus he joined al-Mubarrad to whom he is said to have paid a lion's share of his earnings to make him proficient in grammar.⁽¹⁾ When his education was finished he obtained, through the intermediary of al-Mubarrad, the position of a tutor in the house of a wealthy man. Further, he became the tutor of the Wazīr 'Ubaidallāh ibn Sulaimān's son Qāsim who, when he himself became Wazīr, treated him with great generosity.⁽²⁾ Later he succeeded in establishing a connection with the Caliph al-Mu'tadid.⁽³⁾ Among the numerous books he left is Ma'ani al-Qur'ān which Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī read under him,⁽⁴⁾ and which formed the basis or rather the starting-point of a similar treatise written by Abū 'Alī, known under the title al-Ighfāl (= a book of neglect), i.e. "what al-Zajjāj has disregarded in his book."⁽⁵⁾ He died in 310 A.H./922 A.D.

(1) Ibn al-Anbārī, Nuzhat al-Alibbā, p.309.

(2) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. I, p.48-50; Suyūtī, Bughya, p.179.

(3) Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist, Vol.I, p.60.

(4) G. Bergsträsser, Nichtkanonische Koranlesarten im Muhtasab des ibn Ginnī, p.19.

(5) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān, Vol. I, p.233.

2. The next in order of importance among Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's teachers was the youngest of Mubarrad's assistants,⁽¹⁾ Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn al-Sari ibn Sahl al-Baghdādi, known under the name ibn al-Sarrāj.⁽²⁾ His birth-place cannot be ascertained; he died in 316 A.H./ 928 A.D.⁽³⁾ After the death of al-Zajjāj he occupied the first place among the grammarians of the school of Basra.⁽⁴⁾ However, he found himself sometimes in opposition to the principles of the Basrites.⁽⁵⁾ His grammatical works were highly valued. Abū 'Alī studied Sibawaihi's Kitāb under him.⁽⁶⁾ He also once assisted ibn al-Sarrāj in writing a book on grammar. Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī states in his Risālat al-Ghufrān that Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī used to say that, when Abū Bakr ibn al-Sarrāj had written the first part of the Compendium of Grammar (الموجز) for a draper, he asked Abū 'Alī to complete it. Abū 'Alī compiled the second half of the work from two books by ibn al-Sarrāj, al-Uṣūl and al-Jumāl. This does not mean that it was his original composition; Abū 'Alī was merely the compiler and not the author of the book in question.⁽⁷⁾ When he became a teacher in his turn, he made his students read al-Jumāl and

(1) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol.VII, p.9.

(2) Ibn al-Anbārī, Nuzhat al-Alibbā, p.313.

(3) Ibid., 314.

(4) Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist, Vol. I, p.62.

(5) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. VII, p.10.

(6) Ibid., Vol. VII, p.11.

(7) Abū al-'Alā' al-Mu'arrī, Risālat al-Ghufrān, p.357-8.

al-Mūjaz by ibn al-Sarrāj. Among those who studied these two books under Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's guidance, still in the life-time of ibn al-Sarrāj, was 'Alī ibn 'Isa al-Rummāni.⁽¹⁾

3. Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Isma'īl al-'Askarī, usually called Mabramān, was born at Ramhurmuz, and studied grammar under Mubarrad and, after the latter's death, under al-Zajjāj.⁽²⁾ He is said to have been a miser and to have spent only 100 dinars for reading Sibawaihi's Kitāb,⁽³⁾ the book which Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī afterwards studied under his tuition. He died in 345 A.H./956 A.D.⁽⁴⁾ The most

important among his books were: a commentary on the quotations in Sibawaihi's book شرح شواهد سيويه, and an unfinished commentary on the latter كتاب سيويه.⁽⁵⁾

4. The grammarian Abū'l Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Sulaimān ibn al-Mufaddal, surnamed al-Akhfash the younger, who died in 315 or 316 A.H. /927 or 928 A.D. in Baghdād in dire need.⁽⁶⁾

Information about him is not exhaustive. Nor do the biographers concur in their opinion on his work. The author of the Fihrist lists a number of books by al-Akhfash the younger: a commentary on Sibawaihi, Kitāb al-Anwā',

(1) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. III, p.12.

(2) Suyūṭī, Bughya, p.74.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist, Vol. I, p.60.

(6) Suyūṭī, Bughya, p.338.

Kitāb al-Tathniya wa'ldjam' etc.⁽¹⁾ Abū 'Alī mentions in his *Īdāh* that he recited poetry to him.⁽²⁾

Colleagues and rivals

As has been mentioned above, the Arabic grammarians of the fourth century mostly knew each other personally, or, at least, knew of each other. This led, on the one hand, to close collaboration and life-long friendship, mostly resulting from student-teacher relationships such as that between Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī and ibn **Djinnī**, which lasted for forty years until Abū 'Alī's death. On the other hand, the clash of personal ambitions was often conducive to rivalries. Accounts transmitted by the biographers tell of grammatical disputes which, unlike the great controversy between Basra and Kufa, were on a personal level, and were often characterized by the petty wish to expose the mistakes of the opponent and stress one's own eminence. Thus professional jealousy led to frictions which often degenerated into personal conflicts, still more exacerbated by the fact that every grammarian had his own students and followers who were often fanatical in their adherence to their master, and eager to find fault with his rival, or rivals. Yāqūt relates the following comparison said to

(1) Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Vol. I, p.83; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, Vol. V, p.221.

(2) *Īdāh*, p.156.

have been current in Abū 'Alī's time: "There are three philologists in our days: one whose words are quite incomprehensible, namely al-Rummānī; the second, whose words are only partly comprehensible, namely Abū 'Alī Al-Fārisī, and finally the third, whose words are completely comprehensible, namely al-Sīrāfī."⁽¹⁾

In fact, three, not two, grammarians in particular have been named by Arabic sources as Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's main opponents. These were, in the chronological order according to the date of death, Abū Sa'īd al-Hasan b. 'Abdullāh al-Sīrāfī (d.368 A.H./978 A.D.), al-Husain b. Ahmad (with the kunya Abū 'Abdallāh) known as ibn Khalawaih, (d.370 A.H./980 A.D.) and 'Alī b. 'Īsā al-Rummānī al-Ikhshīdī al-Warrāq (d.384 A.H./994 A.D.).

Abū Sa'īd al-Hasan b. 'Abdullāh al-Sīrāfī, regarded as an expert on Sībawaihi's Kitāb on which he wrote a famous commentary, was, like Sībawaihi and Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, of Persian origin. Having studied, in his youth, the Qu'rān under ibn Mujāhid, the lugha under ibn Duraid, and grammar under ibn al-Sarrāj⁽²⁾ and Mabramān, he was able to lecture on all the Islamic sciences of that time. His student Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī says of him: "Al-Sīrāfī, the Imām of Imāms, a thorough expert in grammar, fiqh, lugha, poetry,

(1) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. V, p.281.

(2) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān, Vol. I, p.231; Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. III, p.84; Suyūtī Bughya, p.221.

metre, the Qu'rān, inheritance law (farā'idh), hadīth, dogma, mathematics and geometry, for fifty years delivered fatwa's in the mosque of al-Rusāfā according to the madhab of Abū Hanīfa, and nobody could prove that he committed a slip or a solecism".⁽¹⁾ Owing to his extensive knowledge, he enjoyed a great reputation in the Muslim world, and even princes turned to him to consult him on divers problems. According to Yāqūt, his scientific correspondence consisted of about 1500 foll.⁽²⁾ Contemporaries praised not only his education, but also his conduct, piety, chastity and kindness. He was a Mu'tazilite, a disciple of al-Jibā'i,⁽³⁾ though he never openly declared himself as such. Among his admirers were al-Andalusī⁽⁴⁾ and ibn 'Abbād.⁽⁵⁾ On the other hand, he did not lack detractors such as Abū al-Faraj, who envied him and wrote satires on him, maintaining that "neither philosophy nor poetry could come from Sīrāfī"⁽⁶⁾

لت صيدا ولا قرأت على صيد ر ود عليك البكي بشاف
لمن الله كل نحو وشعر وعروض يحيى من سیراف

No doubt, al-Sīrāfī was generally more versatile than Abū 'Alī, while the latter was better versed in the science of 'Arabiyya than in other branches of science. Abū 'Alī's students used to stress his unsurpassed mastery of grammar,

(1) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. III, p.86.

(2) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. III, p.100.

(3) Al-Zubaidī, Ṭabaqāt al-Naḥwīyīn wa'l-lughawīyīn, p.130.

(4) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. III, p.87.

(5) Ibid., p.103.

(6) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān, Vol. I, p.232; Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. III, p.85; Suyūṭī, Bughya, p.222.

declaring that he was greater and more knowledgeable than Mubarrad,⁽¹⁾ whereas those of Sīrāfī stressed the universality of his interests and education. There were two reasons for the malice Abū 'Alī bore Sīrāfī. First, Abū 'Alī resented the fact that Abū Sa'īd had gained a march on him by composing a commentary on Sibawaihi's Kitāb which came to enjoy a great reputation, while he considered himself, and was generally considered, an expert on this book. It has been said that jealousy was his motive in acquiring a copy of Sīrāfī's commentary on Sibawaihi in al-Ahwas on a journey to Baghdād for 2000 dirhams in the year 368 A.H./ 978 A.D.⁽²⁾ Abū 'Alī's students tried to explain this fact away, maintaining that it was not as if he had wanted the book to obtain information from it, but that he had bought it only to subject it to legitimate criticism. The truth of the fact of this purchase seems to be confirmed by a report by Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī⁽³⁾ who says that Abū 'Alī had a rival in Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī whose Sharḥ Sibawaihi was much in demand among Abū 'Alī's students who seemed very interested in it, but only endeavoured to find fault with Sīrāfī's work. However, they failed to find any mistakes in the commentary. Nor could Abū 'Alī himself, having got hold of the desired

(1) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. II, p.10.

(2) Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī, al-Imtā' wa'l-mu'ānasah, Vol. I, p.131.

(3) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. III, p.85.

copy in al-Ahwāz, find the expected errors in it. However, it was too late to contact al-Sīrāfī, as he died in that very year (368 A.H./978 A.D.) in Baghdād.

The second reason why Abū 'Alī disliked al-Sīrāfī was one mentioned by Yāqūt in Irshād,⁽¹⁾ namely that Abū 'Alī was jealous of the latter's successes in dialectics. Most famous among these successes was that mentioned by the lexicographer ibn al-Qiftī in his notice on the philosopher Abū Bishr, known as Yūnus ibn Mattā.⁽²⁾ The discussion between al-Sīrāfī and Abū Bishr is reported at length by Yāqūt on the authority of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī. Whether the munazarah in question is historical is difficult to decide, as Abū Ḥayyān has often been deemed untrustworthy. The account seems, on the whole, authentic; Abū Ḥayyān has taken trouble to establish its historical character by fixing its date, 320 A.H./932 A.D., and enumerating the persons present, among them Sheikh Abū'l Fath ibn al-Furāt, 'Alī ibn 'Īsā al-Rummānī, Abū Ḥayyān's teacher, etc. Of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, who would have been thirty-two years of age at that time, it is stated that he "was not present, but might have been". The account is concluded as follows: "... said Abū Ḥayyān: 'I asked 'Alī ibn 'Īsā /the reporter

(1) Irshād, Vol. III, p.124.

(2) JRAS, 1905, p.79; Ibn al-Qiftī's Tārikh al-Hukamā', p.323.

of the debate⁷ how old Abū Sa'īd was at that time? He answered that he was born in the year 280, and so was forty years of age at the time of the debate'. . . . : 'then I said to 'Alī ibn 'Īsā: 'And was 'Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī present?' He said: 'No, he was absent from Baghdād, but was informed of the scene: and Abū Sa'īd was greatly envied ⁷obviously by Abū 'Alī⁷ for the fame and renown he acquired through this famous episode'. Abū Hayyān continued: 'At the end of this narrative, the Wazīr said to me: 'You have reminded me of something I had in my mind,' and wanted to ask you about, in order that I might ascertain it. What was the position of Abū Sa'īd as compared with Abū 'Alī, and that of 'Alī b. 'Īsā as compared with them? How does al-Maraghī compare with all three? How do al-Marzubani, ibn Shadhan, ibn al-Warraḡ, ibn Hayyān?" This is indicative of the eagerness with which one used to discuss and compare contemporary grammarians, playing them out against each other.

Al-Husain b. Aḡmad (with the kunya Abū 'Abdallāh), known as ibn Khalawaih (died 370 A.H./980 A.D.), born in Hamadān was, like Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, a Persian by origin. In his youth, he came in 314 A.H./926 A.D. to Baghdād to devote himself to science.⁽¹⁾ He studied the Qur'ān under ibn Mujahid and Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī, grammar and adab under

(1) Irshād, Vol. IV, p.4.

ibn Duraid, ibn al-Anbarī, and Niftawaih, traditions under ibn al-'Attār and the lugha under Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid. He visited Mecca and Medīna and taught hadīth in Medīna. The sources do not mention the duration of his stay in Baghdād; they merely relate that he went on from Baghdād to Damascus and hence, attracted by the fame of Sayf al-Dawlah's court, to Aleppo, where he took permanent residence.⁽¹⁾ He enjoyed a great reputation, and students came from far and wide to study literature and philology under him. He engaged in munāzarāt (discussions) with the court poet, al-Mutanabbī, and Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī.⁽²⁾ These discussions often tended to become violent, and those with Abū 'Alī may have contributed to the dissension which finally drove the latter from the Court of Aleppo.

The quarrel between Abū 'Alī and ibn Khalawaih was no less acrimonious than that between Abū 'Alī and al-Sīrāfī. They met during Abū 'Alī's stay at Sayf al-Dawlah's Court, and soon engaged in disputations on matters of grammar and language. Ibn Khalawaih may have approached Abū 'Alī with a prejudice, as he was the enemy of his teacher al-Sīrāfī. Be it as it may, it is said that his intrigues made Abū 'Alī's stay at the Hamdānid Court very unhappy. Not even after

(1) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. IV, p.4.

(2) Ibn al-Anbarī, Nuzhat al-Alibbā, p.385.

Abū 'Alī's departure from Aleppo did ibn Khalawaih desist from denigrating him before Sayf al-Dawlah. The latter, however, wrote a letter to Abū 'Alī, informing him of all the accusations ibn Khalawaih had raised against him. Abū 'Alī refuted them one by one in a reply which has been preserved, because he inserted it in his Masā'il al-Halabiya. (1) Abū 'Alī's letter to Sayf al-Dawlah has been transmitted, in an extract, by Yāqūt in his Irshād. (2) This is what Yāqūt has to say about it: "I have read in al-Masā'il al-Halabiya the text lit. "the copy" of a letter from Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī to Sayf al-Dawlah, answering a letter which had come to him from the latter refuting certain things in it which ibn Khalawaih had imparted to him = Sayf al-Dawlah on the subject of Abū 'Alī Said ibn Khalawaih: 'If Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī lived to be the age of Noah, he would not be fit to study under al-Sīrāfī'. Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī commented on that: 'He = ibn Khalawaih knows that children study under ibn Bahzaz al-Sīrāfī; it is obvious that I am fit to study under a teacher under whom children study. How he has confused what he has related about me maintaining that I said that Sīrāfī had studied under me! I did not say that.

(1) Still unedited and preserved only in manuscript form in Cairo; cf. p.124 below.

(2) Irshād, Vol. III, p.20.

but I said: 'He has learned from me' or 'related on my authority'; he and others among those who study to-day any aspect of this science. 'He learned from me' is not equal to 'he studied under me' because you might study under someone from whom you will not learn and you can learn from one under whom you do not study. And he said: 'Ibn Bahzaz learnt from me in the days of Muḥammad al-Sirrī and after him, and this is obvious to any who know me and know him [such] as 'Alī ibn 'Īsā al-Warrāq and Muḥammad ibn Ahmad ibn Yūnus ...' " Here, Abū 'Alī quotes a number of mutual acquaintances of himself and al-Sīrāfī to prove that the latter had indeed benefited by his knowledge.

The logic of Abū 'Alī's reasoning is indeed compelling, and it is quite possible that the position was as he states, although it must be admitted, in fairness to both contending parties, that the fact of al-Sīrāfī's indebtedness to Abū 'Alī is not referred to in Arabic sources.

The above-quoted passage from Abū 'Ali's letter is not only illustrative of the conditions of the life of scholars at the Hamdanid Court in general, but also indicative of the kind of accusations Ibn Khalawaih used to level at Abū 'Alī in particular. It throws, therefore, some light on the roots of the prolonged enmity between the two scholars. So would, no doubt, another of Abū 'Alī's books, entitled Naqd al-Hadhūr (The Babblers Confounded) of which Shibāb al-Dīn

al-Dulajī states that it is concerned with the errors committed by ibn Khalawaih.⁽¹⁾ The nature of this work is not clearly known, but the title indicates that it was polemic and aggressive in character. The causes of this antagonism are still obscure. To state that it is just an ordinary instance of professional jealousy, as it is common between scholars of all ages, is perhaps not enough. So much can be assumed that, if in the enmity between al-Sīrāfī and Abū 'Alī the blame seems to have rested for the most part on the latter, in the bitter quarrel between Abū 'Alī and ibn Khalawaih it must have been the converse. The clue to that may lie in ibn Khalawaih's very mentality. It was ibn Khalawaih's custom, states Arthur Jeffery, "to reproduce the work of his teachers with or without comment. The Kitāb al-Shajar which so long passed under his name, is at most his recension of the work of the older philologist Abū Zaid. Similarly, the Kitāb al-'Asharāt, explaining words having the same beginning, which is frequently given among his works as his Sharḥ Maqṣurat ibn Duraid, is his exposition of the work of another of his teachers."⁽²⁾ The attacks on Abū 'Alī, by which he made the latter's life at Sayf al-Dawlah's Court insupportable, may therefore have been due to a not unmotivated fear of the rivalry of the talented

(1) al-Falāka wal-maflūkūn, p.102.

(2) Arthur Jeffery's Foreword to Ibn Hālawaih's Sammlung nichtkanonischer Koranlesarten, Herausgegeben von G. Bergsträsser, Bibl. Isl. Vol. VII, Leipzig 1934, p.7.

newcomer whose ability for and skill in philology could not but attract his attention. Ibn Khalawaih was no doubt safely ensconced at the Hamdanid Court; he could feel sure of Sayf al-Dawlah's favour; surely there was no need to defend his position with such vehemence unless he feared that the superior intellect of one he considered an intruder might jeopardize his status?

'Alī b. 'Īsā al-Rumḡānī al-Ikhshīdī al-Warrāq. whose family came from Samarra, was born in Baghdād in the year 276 A.H./889 A.D. according to Yāqūt and Suyūṭī⁽¹⁾ or, according to ibn Khallikān, ibn al-Nadīm and ibn al-Anbārī in 296 A.H./908 A.D.⁽²⁾ He studied under ibn al-Zajjāj, ibn al-Sarrāj and ibn Duraid.⁽³⁾ Though he is frequently given the attribute "the grammarian" he possessed, apart from a thorough education in grammar and philosophy, also a vast knowledge of jurisprudence and the Qur'ānic sciences. He was also renowned for his piety, sincere faith, eloquence, tact, probity and purity.⁽⁴⁾ He died in 384 A.H./994 A.D. under the Caliph al-Qādir. Despite his undisputed philological knowledge, he was accused of mixing the science

(1) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. V, p.281; Bughya p.344.

(2) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayat al-A'yan, Vol. II, p.6; Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, Vol. I, p.63; Ibn al-Anbārī, Nuzhat al-Alibbā, p.391.

(3) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. V, p.281.

(4) Ibid, p.282.

of the nahw with logic.⁽¹⁾ Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī expressed the following judgment about his grammatical approach: "If grammar is what al-Rummānī means by it, then we have no part in it; but if grammar is what we mean by it, then he has no part in it."⁽²⁾ Suyūṭī enlarges on that: "Grammar is, of course, what Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī meant by it. For, where else are grammar and logic commingled? For there is nothing of the kind at all to be found in the works of al-Khalīl, Sibawaihi, and their contemporaries."⁽³⁾

What is, then, the inference to be drawn from Abū 'Alī's judgment on al-Rummānī as a grammarian? First, it must be understood that Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī by no means questioned al-Rummānī's grammatical knowledge; he admitted it without reservation. It is even known that Abū 'Alī and his followers gave preference to al-Rummānī over al-Sīrāfī,⁽⁴⁾ insofar as grammatical skill was concerned. Moreover, al-Rummānī himself was one of Abū 'Alī's students; ibn Djinnī relates the fact on Abū 'Alī's own authority. Ibn Djinnī states: "Abū 'Alī said: ' 'Alī ibn 'Īsā al-Rummānī read under me the Kitāb al-Jumal and the Kitāb al-Mūjazz by ibn al-Sarrāj in the life-time of ibn al-Sarrāj.' "⁽⁵⁾ It is obvious that

(1) Ibid, p.281.

(2) Ibid,

(3) Suyūṭī, Bughya, p.344.

(4) Irshād, Vol. III, p.85.

(5) Ibid., p.12.

he could not accuse a man of ignorance for whose knowledge he must have felt at least partly responsible, as he himself had taught him. It is therefore not as if he denied al-Rummānī's knowledge of grammar; what he dissociated himself from was al-Rummānī's method. Abū 'Alī's statement can only be taken to mean that grammar, rationalized though it may be, should be tackled, not with the arguments of the philosopher, but with the proper traditional tools of the grammarian. In other words, it is not al-Rummānī's grammatical knowledge that he finds deficient; what he criticizes is the grammatical approach with which he simply cannot see eye to eye. Thus, questioning his method, he chides al-Rummānī not as one rival to the other, but as a teacher would rebuke a gifted student who has strayed from the right path.

In a reference to this statement which he, however, fails to ascribe to Abū 'Alī, Henri Fleisch reasons as follows: "Tradition relates a protest against al-Rummānī: *كان يمزج النحو بالمنطق* (Bughya, p.344, 1.15) "he mixed logic with grammar. What does this signify exactly? Al-Rummānī, according to the Fihrist (pp.63 and 173), exercised an extensive activity, not only as a fecund grammarian, but also as a jurist, a Qur'ānic scholar, a theologian. Is it a question here of an intrusion of the logic of the philosophers into grammar? To reply, it would be necessary to know his Sharḥ Kitāb Sibawaihi, which has

been partly preserved, but not published (Cf. Fihrist al-Maḥtūtāt al-Musawwara, Vol.I, section 17, no. 85-88 /p.388/, Cairo, 1954, Ma'had'ihyā' al-Maḥtūtāt al-'Arabiyya). Despite this Sharḥ of the Kitāb, al-Rumḡānī has been placed in the second category because of this particular position in the elaboration of the analogico-rational system."⁽¹⁾

(1) Henri Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, p.35, n.2: "La tradition a rapporté une protestation contre al-Rumḡānī: كان يمتزج النحو بالمنطق (Bughya, p.344, l.15). "il mêlait la logique à la grammaire". Que signifie ceci exactement? S'agit-il ici d'une intrusion de la logique dans la grammaire? Pour répondre, il faudrait connaître son Sharḥ Kitāb Sibawayhi, conservé en partie, mais non publié (voir Fihrist al-Maḥtūtāt al-Musawwara, I, section 17, no. 85-88, p.388, Le Caire, 1954, Ma'had'ihyā' al-Maḥtūtāt al-'Arabiyya). ar-Rumḡānī, malgré ce Sarḥ du Kitāb a été placé dans la seconde catégorie à cause de cette position particulière dans l'élaboration du système analogico-rationnel."

His students

Like all the other grammarians of his time, Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī wrote and taught concurrently wherever he took up his abode, continually imparting the results of his studies to a number of students, some of whom transmitted them in their own works. A few of his students attained great fame as grammarians and philologists in later years.

1. By far the most famous and influential of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's students and, as it were, his grammatical alter ego was Abū al-Fath 'Uthmān al-Mausilī, generally known as Ibn Djinnī. He was born, as the name al-Mausilī indicates, in Mosul as the son of a Greek slave in the service of Sulaimān ibn Fahd ibn Ahmad al-Azdī al-Mausilī before 330 A.H./941 A.D.⁽¹⁾ Deluding himself that he had already mastered grammar, he set up as a teacher in his native city al-Mosul. An account, repeated by most transmitters, grammarians as well as philologists, tells that Abū 'Alī, who was by accident travelling through Mosul in 337 A.H./948 A.D., saw him there in the main mosque surrounded by his students and, struck by the extreme youth of the teacher, asked him a question which Ibn Djinnī was unable to answer correctly.⁽²⁾ Thereupon Abū 'Alī apostrophized him with the following words: " زبيت قبل أن تكلم " زبيت قبل أن تكلم

(1) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. V, p.15.

(2) Ibid., p.18.

"Still a green vine, you are already bearing grapes". This censure is said to have made so deep an impression on the youth that, having ascertained the identity of that superb philologist,⁽¹⁾ he gave up lecturing and attached himself to Abū 'Alī to achieve a perfect knowledge of grammar. He followed him henceforward as his faithful disciple and companion for about forty years.⁽²⁾ He profited in this time so much by the master's knowledge that he took over, on Abū 'Alī's death, his chair in Baghdād, which was considered superior in rank to any other chair of that time. His merits were universally acknowledged by contemporary as well as later writers who are almost unanimous in their praise. The account of his life in ibn al-Anbārī consists of a few generally known data which are repeated by other biographers. According to an article by Oscar Rescher in a German periodical on Assyriology,⁽³⁾ this information can be further eked out by details provided by his own utterances, found scattered in his work or transmitted by others which, though unknown to or disregarded by the biographers, are often very illuminating. In many of these passages which

(1) According to al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbā'*, p.408, he did not know him before, but found out his name; in that, al-Anbārī disagrees with ibn Khalīkan, *Wafayat al-A'yan*, Vol. I, p.561.

(2) Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbā'*, p.408.

(3) Oscar Rescher, *Studien über ibn Djinnī und sein Verhältnis zu den Theorien der Baṣri und Baghdādī*, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, edited by Carl Bezold, Vol. XXII, Strassburg, 1908, p.5.

are the more valuable as they possess the virtue of undeniable authenticity, ibn Djinnī has stressed how much he owes to Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī. He admits in his book on phonetics, Sirr al-Ṣinā'a, that he studied under Abū 'Alī's guidance not only Sibawaihi's Kitāb, the starting point of all Arabic studies, but also a considerable part of the literature on the subject, such as Abū Zaid al-Ansārī's Nawādir and Kitāb al-Hamz, the work of Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī by which he means the Kitāb al-Tasrīf, and the works of Ya'qūb (i.e. ibn al-Sikkīt).⁽¹⁾ In any case, it is to be presumed that the dominant influence exercised by Abū 'Alī and the association with him in direct personal contact as well as by scientific correspondence exercised a decisive influence on Ibn Djinnī's outlook and working method.⁽²⁾ We may also assume with absolute certainty the truth of what "is justly stressed everywhere, that he owed his extensive knowledge of grammar in the main, if not exclusively, to the Persian Abū 'Alī."⁽³⁾ His al-Luma', a much quoted work, is

(1) Majallat al-Majma' al-'ilmī al-'Arabī, Damascus, 1957, Vol. 32, p.669

(2) O. Rescher, op.cit., p.9. "Zu präsumieren ist auf jeden Fall, dass der dominierende Einfluss, den der Perser ausübte und der langjährige Verkehr teils in direkter persönlicher Berührung, teils in wissenschaftlicher Korrespondenz nicht ohne entscheidenden Einfluss auf das Denken und die ganze Arbeitsmethode seines Schülers geblieben ist."

(3) O. Rescher, op.cit., p.5. "Wie überall mit Recht betont dürfen wir als sicher annehmen, dass er seine ausgebreiteten Kenntnisse dem Perser Abū 'Alī verdankte, wenn auch nicht ausschliesslich, so doch der Hauptsache nach."

almost entirely derived from Abū 'Alī's lectures.⁽¹⁾ Abū 'Alī's influence on ibn Djinnī, which cannot be gainsaid, was extensive and dominant. They were almost inseparable for the forty years of this unique student-teacher relationship. They resided together at Sayfu'l Dawlah's Court in Aleppo and 'Ādūd al-Dawlah's Court in Shirāz and Baghdād, and their constant scientific discussions are well documented in Ibn Djinnī's work which contains continual references to Abū 'Alī's opinions and advice. "I asked Abū 'Alī (about a grammatical point in the following lines)

إِنَّ تَقْرَانَ عَلَى أَسْمَاءٍ وَحِكْمًا مِّنِ السَّلَامِ وَأَدْتَلَمَّا أُعْمِرَا
سَأَلْتُ عَنْهُ أَبَا عَلِيٍّ

says ibn Djinnī and he answered:"

هِيَ مَخْفَفَةٌ مِنَ الثَّقِيلَةِ لِأَنَّهُ قَالَ : أَنْ تَقْرَانَ إِذْ لَمْ يَكُنْ فِيهَا خَفَفٌ
مِّنْ غَيْرِ تَقْوِيضٍ (2) "

"On another occasion I asked him:

وَسَأَلْتُ مَرَّةً أَبَا عَلِيٍّ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ عَنْ رَدِّ سَبْوِيهِ كَثِيرًا مِنْ أَمْطَامِ التَّحْقِيصِ
إِلَى أَمْطَامِ التَّكْسِيرِ وَهَمَلَهُ إِيَّاهَا عَلِيمًا ، أَدْتَرَاهُ قَالَ تَقُولُ : سُرِّيحِينَ
تَقُولُ : سُرَّاهِينَ ، وَلَا تَقُولُ : عَشِيمِينَ لَكُ لَمْ تَقُولُ : عَشَامِينَ وَغَيْرَ ذَلِكَ

(1) Ḥājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn, Vol. V., p.332.

(2) Ibn Djinnī, Khaṣā'is, Vol. I, p.390.

he says "and he answered":

(1) *إِنَّمَا حَمَلَ الْحَقِيرَ فِي هَذَا عَلَى النَّكَلِ مِنْ حَيْثُ كَانَ النَّكَلُ بِمِثْلِ عَنِ رَتْبَةِ النَّحْلِ*

He loved and admired him, and always extolled the power of his intellect and the vast extent of his knowledge. It must be admitted that he is a trustworthy transmitter of the information imparted to him by his teacher.

Quantitatively, ibn Djinnī's output surpasses that of most of his contemporaries, even those who were known as particularly painstaking; it must be added that it is also supreme in quality. His philological erudition was vast. All the grammatical problems, great and small, accumulated in two centuries of philological studies, are thoroughly examined in his work, with an opinion on all of them and a solution to many. As a grammarian, he was entirely faithful to Basrite tradition. Though he did not actually compose a commentary to Sibawaihi's book, he considered him the unchallenged master whose work he explained and defended. On the whole, he has given, in his works, a complete exposé or rather a synthesis of the whole grammatical tradition, and perfected the system of the qiyās.

He left a number of scholarly books to posterity:

(1) Ibn Djinnī, *Khaṣā'is*, Vol. I, p.354.

1. Al-Khasā'is⁽¹⁾ (the peculiarities of the peculiar principles of grammar), is still the pride of Arabic philology for which western orientologists have a high regard. In the preface to this book, he claims to have applied, to the treatment of Arabic syntax, principles which had before been employed only in dealing with jurisprudence and scholastic theology.⁽²⁾ He deals here with all the fundamental principles and problems of grammar in the tradition of Sibawaihi.

2. Sirr al-Sinā'a⁽³⁾ (the secret of philology), a painstaking work in which he discusses the various uses of individual letters, their possible positions, modifications, transitions and metamorphoses, examining every letter as to whether it can be asl or zā'id, with quotations of interesting ancient dialectal forms. He communicates, moreover, the opinions of other Basrite grammarians on each letter in a separate appendix to the treatise, expatiating simultaneously on the difference between the letter and the vowel and the correct position of the vowel with regard to the letter in question.

(1) Edited in three vols. by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Najjār, Cairo, 1952-6.

(2) Ibn Djinnī, Khasā'is, Vol. I, p.2.

(3) Its first part was edited by Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā, Cairo, 1954.

3. Al-Munsif (the impartial one),⁽¹⁾ a commentary to the Tasrīf of the Sheikh Abū 'Uthmān Bakr, usually called al-Māzinī, in which he takes up the latter's tradition, and appears as an expert on al-Sarf (etymology). He has also written an original work on the question, namely:

4. Mukhtasar al-Tasrīf al-Mulūkī.

5. al-Talqīn fi al-Nahw (informative tuition in syntax), explained in his lifetime by Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-'Askarī in a commentary completed in Rajab 396 A.H./ 980 A.D.⁽²⁾

6. al-Luma' (the light shining over the syntax), a work which is not only extraordinarily important and much commented upon, but also especially interesting in this context, since it is mostly derived from the lectures of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī.⁽³⁾ Of equal interest here are:

7. Sharh al-Maqṣūr wa al-Mamdūd, a commentary to Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's work entitled al-Naqṣūr wa al-Mamdūd, on the words ending in ā which can be abbreviated or not, and

8. Tadhkirat al-Fārisī, an extract from a memorandum of his teacher. Relevant in this context are also:

9. The commentary to Abū 'Alī's Kitāb al-Īdāh;

(1) Edited in two vols. by Ibrāhīm Mustafā and 'Abdallāh Amīn, Cairo, 1954.

(2) Flügel, Gramm. Schulen, p.249.

(3) Hājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn, Vol. V, p.332.

10. The commentary to Abū 'Alī's Kitāb al-Shi'r (Book of Poetry) in which he undertakes a linguistic analysis of the Kitāb al-Shi'r, and

11. The above-mentioned Kitāb al-Muhtasab. Though intended for the information of the reader of the Qur'ān, it has been neglected by the specialists on Qur'ānic readings, but has been widely utilized in the grammatico-lexicographical literature where its title is also al-Shawadd.⁽¹⁾ It has, presumably, been the source of most data of al-Zamakhshari's Qur'ān commentary al-Kashshāf. The Muhtasab is one of ibn Djinnī's latest works, composed after 384 A.H./994 A.D. and not quite completed, as it contains several blank spaces which have not been quite filled.

Ibn Djinnī survived his teacher and friend Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī by fifteen years, and died, according to most sources, in Baghdād in Ṣafar 392 A.H./1001 A.D.⁽²⁾ Among his students were Abū Ahmad 'Abd al-Salām al-Basrī, Abu'l Qāsim al-Tamanīnī and Abūl Hasan al-Shamsī.⁽³⁾

(1) G. Bergsträsser, Nichtkanonische Koranlesarten im Muhtasab des ibn Ginnī, München, 1933, p.9.

(2) Ibn al-Anbārī, Nuzhat al-Alibbā', p.409; Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. V, p.15.

(3) Ibn al-Anbārī, Nuzhat al-Alibbā', p.409; Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. V, p.19.

2. Next in order of prominence among the scholars who derived their knowledge exclusively, or at least in the main, from Abū 'Alī's lectures, was a native of Shīrāz, Abū'l Hasan 'Alī ibn Īsā ibn al-Faraj ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Raba'ī, known as 'Alī al-Baghdādī or al-Raba'i. Born in 328 A.H./939 A.D., he studied at first under al-Sīrāfī in Baghdād, but returned afterwards to his native city where he became the student of Abū 'Alī, who was staying at the Buwayhid Court at that time. He continued his studies under the guidance of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī for twenty years, in the course of which he developed into so proficient a grammarian that Abū 'Alī heaped more praise upon him than upon any other of his students. Ibn Khallikān relates that Abū 'Alī once said of him: "Tell 'Alī al-Baghdādī that, if he wandered from east to west, he would not find a grammarian who was better informed than he."⁽¹⁾ The same source also mentions that, when al-Raba'ī was taking leave of his teacher to go back to Baghdād, Abū 'Alī assured him that he had mastered his science so thoroughly that there was no point left on which he required information.⁽²⁾ Al-Raba'ī lived to the ripe old age of eighty-one (he died in 420 A.H./1029 A.D.)⁽³⁾

(1) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān, Vol. II, p.28.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibn al-Anbārī, Nuzhat al-Alibbā', p.416.

The best-known of his books, which were all received with great acclaim were: an excellent commentary on Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's *Idāh*⁽¹⁾ which bears the same title as his master's main work, and a commentary on the compendium of syntax by Abū 'Umar Ṣāliḥ al-Jarmī.

Besides these two famous grammarians, Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī taught about a score of scholars of minor rank whose works are well-known and much utilized by later generations. They were:

3. Abū Ṭālib Aḥmad ibn Bakr al-'Abdī (died 406 A.H./1016 A.D.) who studied grammar under Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, Abul Hasan al-Rummānī and al-Sīrāfī.⁽²⁾ Nothing is known of the particular circumstances of his life apart from the well-established fact that he had his domicile in Baghdād where he developed into a grammarian of great merit. He is known as the author of a much-praised commentary on Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's *Idāh*.⁽³⁾

4. Abū'l Qāsim 'Ubaidallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Jarw al-Asādī (died 387 A.H./997 A.D.) a Mu'tazilite by persuasion, was a native of the city of Moṣul. He attended in Baghdād the lectures of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, al-Rummānī and al-Sīrāfī.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Ibid., p.414.

(2) Ibid., p.410; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, p.129.

(3) Al-Qiftī, *Inbāh al-ruwāh*, Vol. II, p.387.

(4) Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, p.320.

He was renowned for his beautiful handwriting and the correctness of his orthography. He is said to have been well-versed in the different readings of the Qur'ān, on which he wrote a commentary, and an expert on prosody. His works comprise a handbook of prosody and a treatise on rhyme.

5. 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ahmad al-Fāzārī al-Nahawī (the grammarian) Abū Muhammad, supreme judge (Qaḍī al-Qudāh) in Shirāz, the author of 'Uyūn al-I'rāb and Sinā'at al-I'rāb,⁽¹⁾ died or was born, according to Brockelmann, around 350 A.H./961 A.D.⁽²⁾

6. Abū'l Qāsim 'Alī ibn Talha ibn Kurdān, a grammarian from Wāsīt, who studied under al-Fārisī and al-Rummānī, and read Sibawaihi's Kitāb under their guidance. In his native town he was more highly regarded than al-Raba'ī and ibn Djinnī.⁽³⁾ He was a renowned Sufi, and is said to have compiled a book on I'rāb al-Qur'ān in fifteen volumes.⁽⁴⁾ He died in 424 A.H./1032 A.D.

The Imām, lexicographer and grammarian, Abū Nasr Isma'īl ibn Hammad al-Djawharī of Farab⁽⁵⁾ came to 'Irāq where he attended Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's and al-Sīrāfī's lectures.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Ibid.

(2) Brock., GAL, Suppl. Vol. I, p.200.

(3) Qiftī, Inbāh al-ruwāh, Vol. II, p.284.

(4) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. V, p.226.

(5) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol.II, p.266; Suyūtī, Bughya, p.195.

(6) Ibid.

Then he went to the Hijāz to study the purely classical Arabic of the Arabs of the desert. He died in 393 A.H./1002 A.D. His works are: A dictionary *انصاح في اللغة*; an introduction to syntax *مقدمة في النحو*; and a work on prosody *كتاب في العروض*.⁽¹⁾

7. Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Bulbul, a philologist and grammarian who studied under al-Sīrafī and al-Fārisī whose Kitāb al-Hujjah he transmitted. His lectures on the book are said to have been attended by the grammarian ibn Bushrān. He died in 410 A.H./1019 A.D.⁽²⁾

8. 'Abd al-Bāqī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abdallāh was interested in philology to the exclusion of any other science. He settled in Baghdād and spent there, in all probability, his whole life. He died, as Ḥājī Khalīfa⁽³⁾ says, about 390 A.H./999 A.D. Two of his works which have come down to us are: a commentary on copulative conjunctions

شرح حروف العطف, and "On the word al-dawat (writing utensil, inkstand case) and its derivation" *الدواة واشتقاقها*⁽⁴⁾

9. 'Alī ibn 'Ubaidallāh al-Simsimī Abū al-Ḥasan, a philologist and grammarian, who studied under both Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī and al-Sīrafī.⁽⁵⁾ He was familiar with all Arabic

(1) Suyūṭī, Bughya, p.195.

(2) Ibid., p.72.

(3) Ḥājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn. Vol. IV, p.36.

(4) Suyūṭī, Bughya, p.294.

(5) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. V, p.271-2.

sciences and an expert on orthography and calligraphy. He died in Muharram 415 A.H./1024 A.D.

10. Sā'īd ibn al-Hasan ibn 'Īsā al-Raba'ī al-Baghdādī studied under Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī and al-Sīrāfī. He was expert in all matters of language, literature and narration.⁽¹⁾ According to Suyūṭī, he died in 417 A.H./1026 A.D.⁽²⁾

11. Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassan ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābī, the grandson of Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābī. He was a meritorious writer, truthful and trustworthy and generally considered very reliable. He was conversant with Arabic sciences and has been praised for his mastery of the language. He studied under al-Fārisī and al-Rummānī. He died in 448 A.H./1056 A.D.⁽³⁾

12. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Umar al-Khallāl Abū al-Ghanā'im was a philologist. According to Yāqūt, he was a leading scholar, regarded as very reliable and praised for his proficiency in orthography and calligraphy. He studied under al-Sīrāfī, al-Rummānī, and al-Fārisī.⁽⁴⁾ The dates of his birth and death are unknown.

(1) Ibid, Vol. IV, p.266.

(2) Suyūṭī, Bughya, p.268.

(3) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. VII, pp.255-7.

(4) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol.VI, p.325; Suyūṭī, Bughya, p.15..

13. Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī Abū Ishāq al-Fārisī al-Nahawī. According to Yāqūt, he was counted among the prominent philologists and grammarians.⁽¹⁾ The dates of his birth and death are not mentioned.

14. Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Imām al-Marzūqī Abū 'Alī from Isfahān (d.421 A.H./1030 A.D.), known for high intelligence and sagacity.⁽²⁾ He read Sibawaihi's Kitāb under Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī.⁽³⁾

(4)

15. Al-Ḥusain ibn Muhammad ibn Ja'far known as al-Khālī', was a native of Rāfiq. He lived in the eastern sector of Baghdād⁽⁵⁾ and ranks, according to al-Ṣafadī, among the greatest grammarians. He was also a poet.⁽⁶⁾ He died in 422 A.H./1030 A.D.

16. Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Īsā, known as al-Khaishī, a native of Baṣra. He lived and taught for a while in Wāsiṭ, but moved towards the end of his life to Baghdād where he died in 438 A.H./1046 A.D.⁽⁷⁾

17. 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān ibn Djinnī Abū Sa'd al-Nahawī studied, according to al-Qiftī, Arabic sciences under his own father, the famous ibn Djinnī and Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī.⁽⁸⁾

(1) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. I, p.280; Suyūṭī, Bughya, p.184.

(2) Suyūṭī, Bughya, p.159.

(3) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. II, p.103.

(4) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. IV, p.91.

(5) Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Tārīkh Baghdād, Vol. VIII, p.105.

(6) Suyūṭī, Bughya, p.235.

(7) Ibid., pp.99-100.

(8) Al-Qiftī, Inbāh al-ruwāḥ, Vol. II, p.385.

18. As has already been stated, Abū 'Alī's only relative among his students, the son of his sister,⁽¹⁾ Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusain ibn 'Abd al-Wārith al-Fārisī al-Nahawī, with the kunya Abū'l Ḥusain is important as the transmitter of Abū 'Alī's grammatical theory. He travelled to many countries and stayed repeatedly in Nishapur in Khurasan where he dictated literature and grammar. In his last residence, Djurdjān, he became, among others, the only teacher of 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Djurdjānī, a fact to which he partly owes his reputation. His main claim to fame is, however, his kinship and student-teacher relationship with Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī. He died in Djurdjān in 421 A.H./1030 A.D.⁽²⁾

19. It is also necessary to refer here to a young student who is said to have been Abū 'Alī's favourite, and to whom he dictated al-Masā'il al-Qasriya, the above mentioned Muḥammad ibn Tuwais, surnamed al-Qasrī, from whose name the title of this book is derived.⁽³⁾

20. Last but not least, mention must also be made in this context of Abū 'Alī's patron and benefactor, one of the most powerful rulers in Islām, the Buwayhid 'Adud al-Dawlah who, as has been stressed above, proved a most attentive and modest student of Abū 'Alī's grammatical

(1) Ibn al-Anbārī, Nuzhat al-Alibbā, p.417.

(2) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. VII, p.3.

(3) Ibid., p.15.

classes. He acquired excellent grammatical and lexicographic knowledge of the Arabic language and, according to Suyūṭī, has written praiseworthy pieces of research on it,⁽¹⁾

وله في المربة أبحاث مينة which are extant.

It has already been mentioned that Abū 'Alī composed for him his *Īdāh*, *Takmila*, and *al-Hujja*. 'Adud al-Dawlah predeceased his teacher by five years; he died in Baghdād in 372 A.H./983 A.D.⁽²⁾

(1) Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, p.374.

(2) *Ibid*; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, Vol. VII, p. 113.

CHAPTER III

Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's role and
position in the development
of Arabic grammar

It is perhaps due to the specific mentality of the Arab which sets less store by originality than by tradition and authority that no Arabic grammarian has ever done completely independent work, entirely ignoring his predecessors. In almost every work of Arabic grammar all the Arabic grammarians, dead as well as alive, seem to have participated. Abū 'Alī does not differ from his colleagues in that he is tied, with very close bonds, to the whole confraternity of Arabic grammarians, his contemporaries as well as his predecessors and successors. He is indebted to them as they are indebted to him. Neither his work nor his grammatical approach can be considered in isolation, without first assessing the extent of this indebtedness. The important place he occupies in the unique, complicated though coherent system of Arabic grammar cannot be sufficiently defined unless the origins and the main trends of the whole development are elucidated first.

Traditionally, the grammarians of fourth century Baghdād are classed in three categories, described conventionally though not quite accurately as "schools". These "schools" are termed, with reference to their origin, "the School of Basra", "the School of Kūfa" and "the School of Baghdād".

Chronologically the earliest and, paradoxically, the one which survived the two others, was the School of Basra. Tradition maintains that it was founded by Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī (died 67 A.H./686 A.D.) whom orthodox Muslim sources persist in describing as "the father of Arabic grammar."⁽¹⁾ It is said that Abū al-Aswad's friend and patron, the Caliph 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib,⁽²⁾ was troubled by the numerous solecisms in the use of the Arabic language which crept in when the Muslim faith began to spread and increasing numbers of foreign converts started to learn and recite the Qur'ān. Al-Suyūtī recalls, in al-Muzhir, the following statement of the lexicographer Abū al-Tayyib: "Know that the mistakes offending against the rules of the Arabic language were first heard from the mouth of slaves and foreigners converted to Islām."⁽³⁾ Some sources maintain that the Caliph 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib himself drew up a written memorandum containing the outline of the Arabic language in terms of a threefold division into nouns, verbs and particles, and that he handed it to Abū

(1) Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, Kitāb al-Aghānī, Vol. XII, p.297.

(2) Al-Qiftī, Inbāh al-ruwāh, Vol. I, p.16.

(3) Suyūtī, Muzhir, Vol. II, p.396.

al-Aswad al-Du'alī⁽¹⁾ to be developed into a grammatical method for the purpose of practical tuition of Arabic. Be it as it may, there seems to be no doubt about the fact that Abū al-Aswad founded a school of grammar in Basra which was soon to be emulated by a rival establishment in Kūfa.

Interesting is the formulation given to this situation by Oscar Rescher. "..... the more intensive contact of the Arab conquerors with the subjected non-Arabs furnished the impulse for the scholars who lived in the intellectual and political centres of Kūfa and Basra to record the rules and laws of the 'Arabiyya. Naturally, they were not at first motivated by abstract scientific considerations, but by the desire to safeguard the integrity of the pronunciation and interpretation of the sacred book,"⁽²⁾

The new science limited itself at first to the observation of the language of the Bedouins who, being of unmixed Arab blood, were renowned for the purity of their language. While the collection and interpretation of poetry and proverbs remained the main task of the Kūfites, the Basrites began relatively early to co-ordinate the collected material. According to Gustav Weil⁽³⁾, this was

(1) Ibn al-Anbārī, Nuzhat al Alibbā, p.4.

(2) Oskar Rescher, Abriss der arabischen Litteratur, Vol. II, p.112.

(3) Abū'l-Barakāt ibn al-Anbārī, Die grammatischen Streitfragen des Basrer und Kufer, p.69.

due, to a great extent, to the fact that the population of Basra was homogeneous and consisted of Arabs with the addition of a few Persian scholars, while Kūfa contained a medley of peoples and races. Thus the Basrites were better fitted to undertake the systematic treatment of the grammatical material than the Kūfites.

The Basrites maintained that language being the mirror of thought, nature and life, the rules of logic which govern the latter must also operate in it. Language (the Arabic language) is therefore logic translated into sound, the expression of reason and wisdom.⁽¹⁾ Their grammatical scheme has been described as "the analogical method of Basra, because they either rejected every form of vocabulary or grammar which is not in an absolute sense a basic form, or made it conform to the acknowledged norm according to the principles of "analogy" (qiyās) and uniformity and similarity. However, since the spoken language with its characteristic multiformity is not compatible with this passion for levelling, the task of the Basrite grammarian whose ambition it was to construct a viable scheme of grammar proved very complicated indeed.

(1) H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe* Vol. I, p.1: "... le langage est le miroir des phénomènes: choses et concepts, qui trouvent en lui leur expression; on doit donc retrouver dans le langage les mêmes lois que dans la pensée, la nature et la vie. Tout ce monde organisé étant réglé par des rapports logiques, cette logique devra se reconnaître dans le langage." Cf, also Ibn al-Anbārī, *Luma al'adilla*, p.94.

The analytical method of Kūfa regards facts of language as justified by their very existence. Here, the whole linguistic material is accepted if it is well documented in the tradition of the Arabic language.⁽¹⁾ Its authenticity is assured by the naql, i.e. transmission. What the Kūfites call qiyās is different from its Basrite counterpart; it is no more and no less than a means of juxtaposing and comparing two facts of language.⁽²⁾ The Kūfites were accused of generalizing certain irregularities (الشاذ) and representing them as the rule;⁽³⁾ but Durustawaihi who transmits this about Kisā'ī is such a fanatical Basrite that this statement must not be taken for granted.

The Kūfites were, first and foremost, ardent researchers, collectors of poetry and vocabulary. They deserve credit for having preserved scarce remnants of the popular language which the Basrites deliberately suppressed. As Gotthold Weil says, "It is possible that they sometimes exaggerated and valued a dialectal peculiarity too highly,

(1) G. Weil, op.cit., p.30. "Sie müssen jede in Sprache und Litteratur gut belegte Ausdrucksweise eben durch ihre Existieren für begründet genug halten".

(2) G. Fleisch, op.cit., p.8.

(3) Suyūṭī, Bughya, p.336: وقال ابن درستويه طان الكافي يسمع

الشاذ الذي لا يجوز إلا في الضرورة فيجمله أصلاً ويقين عليه ما أفاد

الخو بذلك

but the opinion that grammar must be based on language as it is spoken and written, is healthier and more correct than that of the Basrites....."(1) Moreover, as the Basrites lacked understanding for the organic development of the language, their approach was arbitrary in spite of their logic. Thus the Basrites became famous for the intransigence with which they guarded the purity of the language. They regarded the Kūfites who constructed rules of Arabic grammar on the basis of frequency as inferior and unworthy of consideration.

Summing up, it can be said that the "School of Basra" is not only chronologically earlier than the "School of Kūfa" but also superior to it in its concern for the purity of expression and construction of the Arabic language, rejecting much of what has been regarded as permissible by Kūfa.

The sympathies of the traditionists who transmit the parallel development of the two madhabs mostly side with the school of Basra to which Sibawaihi belonged. They relate that the study of Arabic grammar was carried on concurrently at Basra and Kūfa which existed as separate schools, the one from Khalīl and Sibawaihi until Mubarrad,

(1) Gotthold Weil, op.cit., p.42: "Es ist möglich, dass sie manchmal übertrieben eine dialektische Eigentümlichkeit zu hoch bewertet haben. Auf jeden Fall ist aber ihr Standpunkt, dass die Grammatik von der gesprochenen and geschriebenen Sprache aus gemacht werden müsse, gesünder und richtiger als der der Basrer..."

the other from Kisā'ī and Farrā until Tha'lab, that they developed separate methods and systems of grammar, that they contended with each other in the famous, though scantily documented "controversies",⁽¹⁾ until they finally united in the early fourth century A.H. This union is said to have taken place through a number of common students of Mubarrad and Tha'lab "who studied both methods and subsequently united them". What this "union" - or "mixing", as it is frequently called - consisted in is not known with any certainty, but it does not seem that the "mixers" created a third method which, based on but different from the opposed methods of Basra and Kūfa, might have been their synthesis.

Therefore, it is doubtful whether there has ever been a "school of Baghdād" which superseded the rival schools of Basra and Kūfa and represented the sum of their views. There is no basis in solid fact to substantiate the claim that the schools of Basra and Kūfa ever blended together into a new school and themselves disappeared in the process. There does not seem to have ever been a

(1) Controversies which are frequently mentioned in contemporary sources, but on which there are no precise data. All that is known is that it was a conscious and bitter feud, resulting from their antithetic approach. Many references have been made in Arabic grammatical literature to the divergences and conflicting theories of the schools of Basra and Kūfa (Ikhtilāf al-Basriyyīn wal-Kūfiyyīn) which were later collected by Abul-Barakāt 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Anbārī (died in 577 A.H./1181-2 A.D.), a teacher of the Academy of Al-Nizamiyya in Baghdād.

complete merger of the schools of Basra and Kūfa in the sense that they became integral parts of a third, mixed school, and that is the reason why the term "mixed" or "eclectic" which has been applied to Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī himself is also inappropriate.

There are two very valid reasons against the assumption of the existence of an eclectic school of fourth century Baghdād which, resulting from a compromise between its two rival predecessors, succeeded in smoothing out differences and removing points of controversy. First, the very tradition that the three schools, the school of Basra, the school of Kūfa and the school of Baghdād, existed side by side in the fourth century, seems to dispose of the theory of the amalgamation of the Basrite and Kūfite systems. If they continued to lead a separate existence, how can they have amalgamated? Secondly, a synthesis of two opposed methods was not possible for the simple reason that, far from there being two contrasting systems, there was only one fully developed system, the Basrite, a perfected system of Sibawaihi whose main exponent was Abū 'Alī, seconded by his student Ibn-Djinnī, and that this system was opposed by what can only be described as the sum of individual decisions by two Kūfite grammarians, Farrā' and Kisā'ī, who never evolved a coherent grammatical theory. Confronted by the consistent

and logical Basrite system, the Kūfites could not survive, and failed to produce students who would have taught and practised Kūfite concepts. The Kūfites ended with Tha'lab, while the Basrite system, perfected and consolidated, prevailed in the person of Abū 'Alī and only now emerged as a school in the real sense of the word, continuing to grow with Abū 'Alī until the system of qiyās reached full perfection. The name "school of Baghdād", on the other hand, neither denotes an ancillary formation superior to both its predecessors nor, indeed, a school of grammar at all, but is merely a loose term embracing, beside the grammarians transmitting from both teachers, also other contemporary scholars residing in the capital, among whom there were Jāhiz, Ibn Qutayba, Abū Hanīfa, al-Dinawarī, etc. The assumption that it is not the "school of Baghdād" but that of Basra that survived is further borne out by the fact that, like the Kūfites, the so-called "mixers" had no successors in the fourth century A.H. What survived is the system of Sibawaihi in the form completed and perfected by Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, and continued by his most famous student and successor, Ibn Djinnī.

As a student in Baghdād, Abū 'Alī attended the lectures of the two madhabs at the same time. As the Basrites had a system to offer, but the one-sided and

conservative Tha'lab still taught the grammatical ideas of Farrā', Abū 'Alī's sharp analytical mind could not fail: to be attracted to the logic, the consistency, the methodical approach of the Basrites. Close contact with both groups of grammarians, students as well as teachers, widened his horizon, the acquaintance with different opinions and new material made him tolerant in the acceptance of rarely occurring modes of expression and deviations from the norm, but this does not stamp him as a "mixer". It is true that he was by no means blind to the merits of the Kūfite method of research, but he could not accept their somewhat chaotic theories.

What is, then, the reason or reasons why Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī has been, at times, ranged with the so-called "eclecticists" or "mixers" of the school of Baghdād? First and foremost, there is the fact that at least three of his teachers were considered by the biographers to have been "mixers". Al-Akhfash had read under both Tha'lab and al-Mubarrad,⁽¹⁾ and Abū Bakr al-Sarrāj, a student of al-Mubarrad, reputed to be the supreme authority in grammar after the latter's death,⁽²⁾ is said to have sometimes opposed Basrite principles and relied on

(1) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. V., p.224.

(2) Ibid., Vol. VII, p.10; also Ibn al-Anbārī, Nuzhat al-Alibbā, p.313.

al-Akhfash and even the Kūfites.⁽¹⁾ Also another teacher, Ibn al-Khayyāt, has been described as a mixer by al-Sīrāfī.⁽²⁾ No other work of Abū 'Alī proves so unequivocally that he is a Basrite as the Īdāh. He is swayed by the spirit of Basra, not that of Kūfa. He does not quote a single Kūfite in the Īdāh; he transmits exclusively from Basrites. The following examples show how strictly he adheres to the Basrite Madhab:

(a) Abū 'Alī concurs with the Basrites in that a compound number is rendered definite by prefixing the article al to the unit alone, e.g. رَبانِ عَرَفْتُ أَحَدَ عَشَرَ وَخَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ

الرُّبْعُ عَشْرُ دَرَاهِمًا وَعَلَى هَذَا الْقِيَاسِ مَا بَعْدَهُ (3)
إِلَى الْمَشْرِيبِ

(b) He agrees with the Basrites in that نَعِمَ and بُئِسَ are not nouns, but verbs, and rejects the Kūfite view that they are nouns: (4) نَعِمٌ وَبُئِيسٌ فِعْلَانِ مَا ضَمِيَانِ

(c) He accepts the Basrite view that the particle رَبِّ is a preposition and not, as the Kūfites maintain, a noun:

(5) وَمِنْ رَّبِّ (أَيُّ مِنْ حُرُوفِ الْجَرِّ)

(1) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. VII, p.10;

(2) Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī, Akhbār al-Naḥawīyīn al-Basriyīn, p.81.

(3) Īdāh, p.261; Ibn al-Anbārī, al Inṣāf, p.139.

(4) Īdāh, p.99; Ibn al-Anbārī, op.cit., p.47.

(5) Īdāh, p.302; Ibn al-Anbārī, op.cit., p.354.

(d) He states, in accordance with the Basrite view which is emphatically rejected by the Kūfites, that the predicate can precede the subject: *وقد يجوز أن تقدم خبر المبتدأ* : *نقول : منطلق زيد ، وضربته عمرو ، تريد : عمرو ضربته ويد على جواز تقدمه قول الشماخ :*

كذلك يومي طوالة وصل أروي نظنون أن مطرح النطنوت (1)

(e) In dealing with forms expressive of surprise and wonder, i.e. exclamations, Abū 'Alī inclines to the opinion that they cannot be derived directly from roots signifying colour, nor from such denoting black and white:

وذلك لم تدخل الألوان في هذا الباب (باب التعجب) نحو : احمر واشرب لأنزلة زائدة على ثلاثة أحرف . فأما عور ودحول وصيد فهو في الحكم زائد على ثلاثة أحرف يدل على ذلك أن الياء والواو صحتاه كما صحتا في أسود وأبيض ولو ذلك لاعتلقتا كما اعتلقتا في خراف دهاب . فإن أريد التعجب من شيء من هذا النوع قيل فيه : ما أشد استخامه وما أهن امراره ، وما أشد دهرجه (2)

This standpoint is unequivocally Basrite, since the Kūfites permit explicitly to derive exclamations directly from words denoting colour, especially black and white, without resorting to circumlocutions.

(f) Abū 'Alī adopts the Basrite view that *ليس* can be preceded by its predicate, which is considered

(1) *Idāh*, p.302; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf*, p.354.

(2) *Idāh*, p.117; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf*, p.68.

inadmissible by the Kūfites. He also agrees that كان can be preceded by its predicate.

ويستقيم أن تقدم الخبر على الاسم فتقول : كان أحمك زيد ، وكان
منطلقا عمرو وقال الله تعالى : « كان مقام علينا نصر المؤمنين » وقال :
أكان للناس عجبا أن أوحينا ، ويجوز أيضا منطلقا كان زيد
و شامضا صار كسر ، وهكذا خبر ليس في قول المتقدمين من البصريين وهو عندي

القياس فتقول : منطلقا ليس زيد (1)

(g) Concerning verbal nouns, Abū 'Alī accepts the Basrite contention that the object of a verbal noun must not precede it, as verbal nouns lack the strength of verbs. The Kūfites, however, do not object to this construction.

و لا يجوز أن تقدم معمول شيء من هذه الأقسام عليها لأنها ليست
كأفعال في القوة (2)

Thus it is obvious that his entire basis for acceptance and rejection, confirmation and negation is that of the Basrite madhab as established by Sibawaihi. It is evident that he is neither a Kūfite nor a mixer, but a Basrite; a less narrow-minded, less intransigent, less bigoted and prejudiced Basrite, but still a Basrite. Abū 'Alī's position among the Basrite scholars is exceptional in that he adhered, in principle, to Sibawaihi's madhab.

(1) *Īdāh*, p.126; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf*, p.73.

(2) *Īdāh*, p.206; *Inṣāf*, p.99.

but not so exclusively as to reject innovations a priori. However, the impulse for these innovations did not come from Kūfa.

Abū 'Alī undertook the modification of the Basrite method not so much under Kūfite influence as under the influence of logic. Logic had been introduced into grammar early in the fourth century, when Abū 'Alī was a student, by his teacher Abū Bakr al-Sarrāj about whom it used to be said that grammar did not cease to err until he made it comprehensible by his usūl.⁽¹⁾ Another great grammarian of the fourth century, al-Rummānī who, as a Mu'tazilite, had a strong propensity for logic, generalized its use even more than Abū 'Alī. But it is Abū 'Alī who used it with success to rationalize the more primitive aspects of the method of Basra such as it had been introduced in Baghdād by Mubarrad in the third century. He worked out a highly intricate system of grammatical rules in accordance with Basrite premises. O. Rescher is right in stating that "Abū 'Alī exceeded the master [Sibawaihi] by independent research".⁽²⁾ The rationalization of the Basrite method constitutes one principal merit of Abū 'Alī's work. He represents a stage in the

(1) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. VII, p.10.

(2) Oscar Rescher, Studien über Ibn Ginni, Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, p. 48-49: "während Abū 'Alī durch selbstständige Forschung zum Teil über den Meister hinausging....."

development of Arabic grammar which is connected with the growth and ~~elab~~oration of the qiyās system. According to the consensus of his students, no grammarian was ever so eminently suited for this science. "What a man Abū 'Alī was, the mercy of God be upon him! For he was skilled in qiyās and intimately acquainted with this science as if he were born for it. This is not strange in a man who spent seventy years of his life among the leading logicians of his time."⁽¹⁾ To continue quoting ibn Djinnī, Abū 'Alī had a third share in the qiyās, whilst the rest of it was divided among all his colleagues.⁽²⁾ The qiyās became a firm friend to him and his main force; he applied it to every problem with which he was faced.⁽³⁾ As he himself said to Ibn Djinnī in Aleppo in 346 A.H./957 A.D. "Many a mistake do I make when I depend on transmission, but none was committed by me when the qiyās was my guide."⁽⁴⁾ It is surely no exaggeration to say that the development of the qiyās was identical with Abū 'Alī's whole scientific career. As the head of what can best be described as a neo-Basrite school, he evolved the qiyās system which is a profounder, more logical, more comprehensive method of Sibawaihi, and it is he who takes

(1) Ibn Djinnī, *Khaṣā'is*, Vol. I, p.276.

(2) *Ibid.*, p.208.

(3) Sa'īd al-Afghānī, *Fi usūl al-Nahw*, p.69.

(4) Ibn Djinnī, *Khaṣā'is*, Vol. II, p.88.

the credit for the final victory of the Basrite School before which both Kūfa and the "mixers" of Baghdād disappeared.

CHAPTER IVABŪ 'ALĪ AL-FĀRISĪ'S WORKS

The Kitāb al-Hujja is mentioned by most biographers, e.g., Ibn al-Nadīm in al-Fihrist, al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, in Tārīkh Baghdād, ibn Khallikan in Wafayāt al-'Ayān and Suyūṭī in Bughya. It is also mentioned by Brockelmann and by Hājī Khalīfa; by the latter in two complementary references in two different places of his Kashf al-Zunūn, on pp. 93 and 134.⁽¹⁾ On p.93, he describes it as a commentary, in three volumes, by Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī on ibn Mujāhid's Kitāb al-Sab'. On p.134, he repeats this statement and adds that Abū 'Alī's commentary on ibn Mujāhid's book was, in its turn, expounded and commented upon by ibn Djinnī, his student, in a commentary entitled al-Muhtasab.

Otto Pretzl has given a detailed description of several manuscripts of the Kitāb al-Hujja in an article on the 'Ilm al-Qirā'a'.⁽²⁾ The first three volumes are Murad Molla 6, 7 and 8. It is dated on page 471 of the second volume, Delgada 427 A.H. The third volume is dated on p.501, Dhu al-Hijja 427 A.H.⁽³⁾ The fourth volume, Murad Molla 9, is dated on p.507, Muharram 428.

Shehid 'Alī 26 and 27 contain, more or less, the second

(1) Hājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn, Vol. V, pp. 93, 134.

(2) Otto Pretzl, Die Wissenschaft der Koranlesung, Islamica Vol. VI, p.1.

(3) Islamica, Vol. VI, p.19.

part of the Kitāb al-Hujja which ends fol. 388 with the treatment of لِئَا in Sura 21, 'Aya 32.⁽¹⁾ Fayzullah 3 is also the second part of the work from Sura 13 on.

The Egyptian Library in Cairo contains, under Qirā'āt 462, the photocopy of a very fine manuscript from Alexandria in seven volumes, the seventh of which is missing.⁽²⁾

The Kitāb al-Hujja fi'l-Qirā' at al-Sab',⁽³⁾ "The Book of the Seven Readings of the Qur'ān" or "The Book of Convincing Argument", is a commentary on the seven readings of the Qur'ān.

Abū 'Alī's Hujja, the earliest of the preserved Qirā'āt works, belongs to the type of general Qirā'āt which deals with the whole of the Qur'ān according to the seven readers to whom ibn Mujāhid limited himself. In contrast to the majority of general Qirā'at, Abū 'Alī is not content with the simple presentation of facts, but provides a commentary in which the differences of the readers are explained (ta'līl). For the ta'līl, he relies mainly on Sibawaihi from whose Kitāb he has

(1) Ibid.

(2) Fihrist al-Makhtūtāt: nashrah bi'l-makhtūtāt allatī Iqtanatha al-Dār min Sanah 1936-1955, Vol: I, p.276, Fihris al-Makhtūtāt al-muṣawwarah, Vol. I, p.8.

(3) Hājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn, Vol. V, p.134, states that numerous commentaries were written on this book both in Mujahid's lifetime and after his death; among them was one by Abū Bakr Ahmad ibn Naṣr al-Sirā'i (d.370/980), the author of Shāmil and Ghayat, and the editor of the book Muntaha.

derived, often anonymously, a number of lengthy passages. (1)

The Kitāb al-Hujja can also be regarded as part of the Tafsir literature, because it deals, beside the Qirā't, with the I'rab and, to some extent, also the Ma'ānī'l-Qur'ān. Apart from its own intrinsic value, it must be regarded as valuable because it has preserved the lost text of ibn Mujahid very faithfully. Beside ibn Mujahid and Sibawaihi, he quotes a number of authorities, among them Abū Hātim āl-Sigistānī.

The material of the Kitāb al-Hujja is arranged, like that of any other Qirā'at work, in such a way that, beginning with Sura 1, every passage in which a certain peculiarity of some Qur'ānic reader occurs is dealt with in turn. If the same peculiarity occurs in several passages of the Qur'ān, all these occurrences are dealt with together on the first occasion. (2) This arrangement of the Hujja which consists in treating general differences together and with the great usūl, has served as a model for later works.

It has been mentioned that Abū 'Alī's Kitāb al-Hujja became, in its turn, the subject of a commentary of ibn Djinnī's Muhtasab. Hājī Khalīfa's Latin translator, G. Flügel, is of the opinion that this is erroneous, and that ibn Djinnī's Muhtasab is a commentary on al-Qirā'at al-Shadhha. (3)

(1) Otto Pretzl *Wissenschaft der Koranlesung*, Islamica, Vol. VI, p. 9

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 11, "Im. hūgga, ebenso wie in anderen ist der Stoff in der Weise angeordnet, dass von Sire I angefangen der Reihe nach jede Stelle behandelt wird, wo eine Besonderheit irgendeines Leser vorliegt. Erstreckt sich diese Besonderheit auf mehrere Stellen im Koran, so wurden beim ersten Vorkommen gleich alle derartigen Stellen behandelt".

(3) Hājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, Vol. V., p. 134.

Flügel's conjecture is not far off the mark. Ibn Djinnī's Kitāb al-Muhtasab (The Supervisor of the Market), a grammatical and lexicographic commentary on the controversial, non-canonical readings of the Qur'ān, seems indeed to have been derived from ibn Mujāhid's Kitāb al-Shawadd which was primarily intended as a counterpart to the Kitāb al-Sab'. The title of ibn Djinnī's book is figurative. It is its professed aim to regulate the treatment of the subject as strictly as the market supervisor watches over the legality of the conduct of commerce and the correctness of weights and measures. The book is interesting in this context as it throws light on a particular aspect of ibn Djinnī's relationship with Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī which, in the latter's lifetime, was one of exceeding veneration. Towards the end of his life, however, after Abū 'Alī's death, when he composed the Kitāb al-Muhtasab, his attitude towards his master seems to have been tinged with criticism. Referring, in the preface to the Muhtasab, to the quality of Abū 'Alī's handling of the subject, he voices the opinion that he "exceeded the limits necessary for its treatment".⁽¹⁾ Moreover, he emphasizes what seems indeed to be true, that he himself has relied for his method, not on the Kitāb al-Hujja, but on ibn Mujahid's Kitāb al-Shawadd.

(1) G. Bergsträsser, Nichtkanonische Koranlesarten im Muhtasab des Ibn Ginnī, München, 1933, p.17.

It still remains to be said that there is a book of polemics in existence directed against Abū 'Alī's exegesis, one MS of which is found in a private library in Medina. It consists of 25 pages in small, largely vocalized script, with numerous marginal notes. It was written in 707 A.H., and seems, to judge by the date 707 A.H. and by the number of pages, to be identical with a work entitled al-Istidrāk 'Alā 'Alī al-Fārisī⁽¹⁾ by the same author, a manuscript of which is found in Leiden University Library Or. 2576.⁽²⁾

Kitāb al-Tadhkira (Memorandum) described by Ibn Khallikān in Wafayāt al 'Ayān as a "compendious work"⁽³⁾ consisted, according to Hājī Khalīfa, "of several volumes, the best of which was edited in a summary by the grammarian Abū al-Fath 'Uthmān ibn Djinnī."⁽⁴⁾ The work is also mentioned by ibn al-Jazarī in Ghāyat al-Nihāya⁽⁵⁾, by al-Suyūtī in Bughya,⁽⁶⁾ ibn 'Imād al-Hanbalī in Shadharāt al-Dhahab⁽⁷⁾ and Yāqūt in Irshād.⁽⁸⁾ Muḥammad ibn Khair⁽⁹⁾ states in his Fihrist that it consisted of twenty volumes. Among the

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- (1) Catalogue de Manuscrits Arabes provenant d'une Bibliothèque privée à El-Medina, edited by Dr. Landberg, Leiden 1883, p.58.
- (2) Codices manuscripti VII, Handlist of Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other collections in the Netherlands, compiled by P.Voorhoeve, 1957, p.141.
- (3) Ibn Khallikān, Vol. I, p.233.
- (4) Kashf al-Zunūn, Vol. II, p.257.
- (5) Vol. I, p.207.
- (6) p.217.
- (7) Vol.III, p.89.
- (8) Vol.III, p.13.
- (9) Muḥammad ibn Khair, Fihrist, Vol. II, p.318.

western Orientalists, it has been mentioned by G. Flügel⁽¹⁾ and W. Ahlwardt.⁽²⁾ The latter states: "..... the work has the title التذكرة It is not a systematic manual, but ^{لتذكر} deals with various difficult grammatical, especially syntactical, questions and, what is characteristic of works marked التذكرة - notebook - is that they deal with details. The work, divided into a considerable number of chapters, deals with these problems invariably under consideration of verses of ancient poets in which these grammatical difficulties occur. It is these that are explained, and not the meaning of the rare words used therein. Nor is anything said about the poet himself except the name. Such explanations are the main concern of works which purposely deal with the evidential verses of grammatical works....."

In the following, Ahlwardt refers to the following note, marginally contained in fol.129a: "This is where the 10th notebook of Abū 'Alī ends in the original. I [the scribe] have taken this note from the manuscript of Abū al-Fath ibn Djinnī."⁽³⁾ Then he discusses, at length, the problem whether the MS represents ibn Djinnī's abridgement or a part

(1) Gramm. Schulen, p.111.

(2) W. Ahlwardt, Die Handschriften - Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, IV Band XV Buch, Die Grammatik, p.10.

(3) Ibid., p.11.

of the original Tadhkira, and finally concludes that it is indeed a question of Abū 'Alī's original work which, as he assumes, consisted of three volumes, in which foll.1-129 would have been books 8-10 (consisting of 128 foll. in all) and the rest, from 129-170 (= 42 foll.), the 11th book. The first and second volumes would thus have comprised 7 books, in which case each of the volumes would have consisted of 150 foll. Ahlwardt seems certain that this MS is the final volume of *كتاب التذكرة لأبي علي الفارسي*. It consists of 40-44 uncounted chapters, a survey of which is given on the fly-leaf by a later hand.

The first part of the Tadhkira seems to be lost altogether. The second, extant part, has been traced, in more recent times, in the Library of Zindjan in Persia. It has been described in the periodical Lughat al-'Arab in an essay entitled: "Les bibliothèques de Zindjan".⁽¹⁾ The manuscript described there from which the end part, presumably containing the date, has crumbled off, is, to all appearances, very ancient. The author of the essay assumes that the copy was made as early as the fifth century A.H.

(1) Lughat al-'Arab, 6th year, Baghdād 1928, Part II. Essay entitled "Les Bibliothèques de Zindjan", p.92; published under the direction of the Pères Carmes de Mesopotamie, Chief Editor: Father Anastase-Marie Carme.

Kitāb al-Shi'r. In 1869, a young German, Dr. Johannes Roediger, published⁽¹⁾ an essay on an Arabic manuscript he had found in the Berlin Royal Library. This is the description he gives of the manuscript: "Our codex is in octavo and contains the text on 170 pages with two additional pages in front and one at the back. The script is a clear, rather large naskh with 15 lines to the page, almost completely vocalized and provided with other diacritic points. Though the codex is damaged by water, especially in its last pages, everything is easily legible. Unfortunately, it is not complete If one compares the page numbers of the note book (کراس) with the present page numbers, one can see that 25 pages all in all are missing in different places."⁽²⁾

(1) ZDMG., Vol. XXIII, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1869, pp. 302

(2) "Unser Codex is in Octav und enthält auf 170 Blättern den Text nebst vorn zwei, hinten einem Beiblatt. Die Schrift ist ein deutliches, ziemlich grosses Neshi mit 15 Zeilen auf der Seite, fast durchgehends vocalisiert und mit vielen andern diakritischen Zeichen versehen. Obgleich der Codex, vorzüglich in den späteren Blättern, durch Wasser gelitten hat, lässt sich doch mit weniger Mühe alles lesen. Leider ist derselbe nicht vollständig. Aus der Vergleichung der Zählung der Heftlagen mit der jetzigen Blattzählung sieht man dass im Ganzen 25 Blätter an den verschiedensten Stellen fehlen".

As the signature shows, the Berlin MS was written in 578 A.H./1182 A.D. There is a marginal note of the scribe on p.129 to the effect that the copy was, for the most part, derived from one made by Abū-l-Fath ibn Djinnī, the famous disciple and successor of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī. The extraordinary care and correction with which the extant copy has been made leads to the conclusion that it is a faithful reproduction of ibn Djinnī's copy, and consequently of the original itself. Thus one is faced here by a text which goes back beyond the year 392 A.H., i.e. the year of ibn Djinnī's death, and which is therefore chronologically very close to the time of the composition of the work.

Roediger states that the title is written in the same hand as the codex, and that the original strokes are still identifiable, though retraced by a later hand.⁽¹⁾ The back of the title page exhibits, immediately after *بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ*

without preamble, the beginning of the text *هذا تقسيم الكلام التي سميت بها الكتاب فقال*

which refers to the purpose of the work.

In 1894, fifteen years after Roediger's article in the ZDMG, W. Ahlwardt compiled a list of Arabic manuscripts of the Royal Library at Berlin and dealt, among the compendia

(1) ZDMG, Vol. XXIII, p.302.

on morphology and syntax ⁽¹⁾ under No. 6465, with an Arabic MS which, to judge by the number in the Berlin Royal Library, We 274, and the description: '171 fol. 8vo. 15 lines (19 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 13. 14 x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm), waterstained, text often damaged, hardly legible in places, etc., title and author F.1^a, is obviously identical with the MS described by Roediger. However, Ahlwardt seems less certain of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's authorship than Roediger. He claims that the original title is even more faded than the script of the whole work, and written by a later hand. He even suspects that it was intentionally falsified, but finally inclines to the opinion that it is, indeed, by Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī.

The title of the book is not at all indicative of its contents which are purely grammatical. Were the book not compiled by a grammarian, one would hardly believe that grammatical questions are concealed under the title of a book of poetry.⁽²⁾ Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī deals in it with the grammatical peculiarities of Arabic poets. He quotes over sixty of them; the names of al-Farazdaq, Jarīr, al-A'shā, al-Aswad ibn Ya'fur, Aus ibn Hajar, Labīd, Abū Du'aib,

(1) W. Ahlwardt, Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Sechster Band, XV Buch, Die Grammatik, p.10.

(2) "Nisi libellus conscriptus esset a grammatico vix crederes sub titulo libri poeseos quaestiones grammaticas latere". De nominibus verborum arabicis, Dr. J. Roediger, 1870, p.2.

al-'Ajjāj occur most frequently. Besides, he quotes a great number of anonymous verses.⁽¹⁾

In Arabic biographical books, the work is mentioned under different titles. In Ibn al-Nadīm's Fihrist, Yāqūt's Irshād and Suyūtī's Bughya,⁽²⁾ it figures under the title Abiyāt al-'Irāb. It is not mentioned by Ibn Khallikān or Hājī Khalīfa. Though comparatively unknown, the work is undoubtedly authentic. There is no doubt of the authenticity of the title or the signature. The signature runs as follows: "That is the end of what Abū 'Alī (God's mercy be on him) has composed. Ahmad ibn al-Husain ibn Ahmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ahmad ibn Musā finished copying on Tuesday, 3rd Rajab of the year 578 A.H."⁽³⁾ But even if both the title and the signature were regarded as forged - which they evidently are not - there is sufficient internal evidence to testify to the authorship of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī. There is,

(1) ZDMG., Vol. XXIII, p.304.

(2) Fihrist, Vol.I, p.64; Irshād, Vol.III, p.13; Bughya, p.217.

(3) هذا آخر ما عملته أبو علي رحمه الله من الأبيات والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد النبي وآله . فذكره في نسخة بخطه أحمد بن الحسين بن أحمد بن علي بن أحمد بن موسى في يوم الثلاثاء ثالث شهر الله الأصم رجب من سنة ثمان مئتين وخمسائة للهجرة المباركة وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل
ZDMG., Vol. XXIII, p.302-3.

first, the passage in which he refers to his *Īdāh* on p.129a:

الاسم الذي يكون فاعلا بالوصف ذكرني كتاب الايضاح على ضربين

Secondly, there is an even more definite reference to his

Masā'il al-Halabiya on p.140b:⁽¹⁾

وقد ذكرت الدلالة على ذلك في المسائل الحلبية

These two statements obviate any doubt as to the authenticity of this Book of Poetry.

It is, nevertheless, surprising that a work of so renowned a grammarian as Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī was so little known that there are so few traces of it in literature. It would be quite wrong to say that the book had fallen into oblivion. On the contrary, it may be right to say that it never became known at all. The most likely explanation of this fact is that it was unfinished and consequently never published. The reference to a non-existent chapter of the book:

سذكر شيئاً منه عند ذكر العوائل الداخلة على الابداء والخبر من هذا الكتاب

corroborates the assumption that the work was not completed.

(1) ZDMG, Vol. XXIII, p.303.

Al-Masā'il al-Basriya, which Abū 'Alī dictated in the mosque of Basra,⁽¹⁾ deals with grammar and etymology. As he himself states, it came into being as answers to questions.⁽²⁾ There is no connection of any kind between the particular questions, as they treat of various subjects from different fields of philology. Al-Masā'il al-Basriya proves that Abū 'Alī was conversant with Basrite as well as Kūfite madhab.⁽³⁾ There are many questions in it on which Basrite and Kūfite opinions are different or even opposite. Though a Basrite himself, he does not absolutely reject Kūfite views. He claims to stand between the Basrites and the Kufites as an impartial judge, but what he points out is the truth of the former and the mistakes of the latter. He attacks al-Farrā' in more than one passage of the Masā'il and at times describes some of his statements as nonsense.⁽⁴⁾ Al-Masā'il al-Basriya contains a great deal of poetical quotations from the jahiliya as well as the Islamic era, each quotation intended to illustrate the point in question. When Abū 'Alī quotes poetry he always takes care to mention the author, an approach which is typically Basrite. An MS dated 615 A.H. is found as No. 2516/2 in the Shehid Ali

(1) Al-Masā'il al-Basriya, fol. 45.

(2) Ibid., foll. 72, 76, 77.

(3) Ibid., fol. 64.

(4) Ibid., foll. 57, 63.

library in Istanbul. It is in Maghribi script, in a fully vocalized naskh, 88 fol. The name of the scribe who made the copy is given as Ahmad ibn Tamīm ibn Hishām al-Layli.⁽¹⁾

al-Masā'il al-'Askariya takes its name from the camp ('Askar) of Mukram.⁽²⁾ This masā'il consists of four chapters. In the first of them, entitled "The science of 'Arabiya",⁽³⁾ Abū 'Alī deals with "the components of speech", beginning with the noun, the verb and particles, adduces most of the definitions of the noun given by his predecessors as well as his colleagues, and proceeds to discuss the verb and its divisions to finish with the particles. The second chapter treats of "what is composed of these three [i.e., noun, verb, and particles]" namely the combinations of noun and noun, verb and noun and the particles introducing verbs and nouns.⁽⁴⁾

In the third chapter, he deals with the irregularities of speech, of the verbs and with what is allowed by grammarians as well as with poetical licence. The fourth chapter is a disquisition on inflection, that is on inflected

(1) Al-Masā'il al-Basriya, fol. 53.

(2) In the 4th century A.H./10th century A.D., 'Askar Mukram was a town occupying both banks of the Musrukān canal; to-day the name of 'Askar Mukram has disappeared from the map, and its site is marked by ruins (G.Lestrange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, p.237.)

(3) Al-Masā'il al-'Askariya, fol. 131.

(4) Ibid., fol. 133.

and uninflected parts of speech, with definitions of both kinds. Al-Masā'il al-'Askariya is found in the library of Shehid 'Alī under No. 2016/4. The manuscript is in ordinary, legible, partly vocalized naskh. The name of the scribe who made the copy is given as Ahmad ibn Tamīm ibn Hishām al-Laylī. The manuscript is dated Saturday, the 10th of Jamad II 615 A.H. (1)

al-Masā'il al-Shiraziya is divided into thirteen parts and consists of forty questions dealing with grammar, etymology and general language problems. This work is more illustrative of the technique of composition of Masā'il than any other book of its kind, for it bears the distinct traces of its origin within the framework of the contemporary method of tuition. It was obviously written by Abū 'Alī in epistolary form in answer to questions put to him during his lectures in his circle at his house or at the mosque, or dictated by him to his students. There is ample internal proof that the word was used for teaching. The compiler, Ahmad ibn Sabūr, apparently one of Abū 'Alī's students, who claims to have made his copy from Abū 'Alī's original manuscript, states explicitly in the note on the first page of the Masā'il:
 الجزء الأول من المسائل الشيرازية تأليف الشيخ أبي علي
 الحسن بن أحمد بن عبد الغفار الحوي أدب الله عزه نقلت من أصله بخطه وقرأت عليه

(1) al-Masā'il al-'Askariya, fol. 141.

"I have copied this from the original in Abū 'Alī's own handwriting". The same page contains the copy of a note which Abū 'Alī himself had added to the manuscript owned by Ahmad ibn Sabūr and which runs as follows:

قرأ علي أبو غالب أحمد بن سبور هذا الكتاب . وكتب الحسن
ابن أحمد الفارسي بخطه .

"Ahmad ibn Sabūr has read this book under me" [i.e. Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī] "Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī wrote that with his own hand."

On the second page he reaffirms the fact in a general prefatory remark to the Masā'il:

بدأت بقراءة هذه المسائل على الشيخ أبي علي الحسن بن أحمد بن عبد الغفار النحوي
أيده الله في شهر رمضان سنة ثلاث وستين وثلاثمائة .

"I began reading these Masā'il under Sheikh Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffār al-Nahwi in the month of Ramadān in the year 363 A.H." The second question is typical of those the answer to which seems to have been asked originally, probably orally, in the circle of students.

Abū 'Alī states of it:

كتبته لملك الجليل عند الدولة أطال الله بقاءه
وأدام سلطانه وثبت ملكه .

"I wrote it to the King 'Adud al-Dawlah, God may give him a long life and lasting power, and strengthen his rule".⁽¹⁾

(1) al-Masā'il al-Shirāziya, fol.11.

The third question is written in answer to an inquiry by Abi Nasr⁽¹⁾ and the fifth problem in answer to Sheikh Abū'l Hasan Hamad.⁽²⁾ As a rule, when he says in introducing a problem; "I have written it", it is to be taken to mean that the answer was sent in the form of a letter to some prominent man of his time, while the words: "I have dictated" probably indicate that it was given in answer to a question put by a student in the lecture room, wherever it was, and that it could have been taken down as a dictation by any of the students.

In seven of the problems treated in this book, Abū 'Alī discusses verses of poetry from the jahiliya as well as the Islamic era, including some written by post-classical poets. He also quotes the hadīth.⁽³⁾

The extant copy of the Masā'il al-Shiraziya is stated to have been made from one written in 391 A.H. which was read under Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī and annotated in his own handwriting. It is written in clear, fully vocalized naskh, and consists of foll. 157 x 36. It is found as No. 1379 in the Raghīb Basha library in Istanbul.⁽⁴⁾ This extant copy

(1) Ibid., fol.14.

(2) Ibid., fol.22.

(3) Ibid., foll. 85, 97.

(4) Fihris al-Makhtūtāt al-Musawwarah, Vol. I, p.397.

of the Masā'il al-Shiraziya dates from the tenth century A.H., and was made from a manuscript written in 391 which seems to have been read under Abū 'Alī and to have been annotated in his own handwriting.

The title of al-Masā'il al-Mushkila can best be rendered as "Ambiguous Problems". In its extant form, the book consists of eighty questions, about thirty of which are derived from Sibawaihi. The latter are immediately recognizable by an introductory remark which states: "Sibawaihi says" or "Sibawaihi mentions"⁽¹⁾ or "a question from al-Kitāb", etc., indicating that they are derived from or depend on "the Book".

In describing MS no. 2516 of the 'Alī Shehid Pasha library in Istanbul, O. Rescher⁽²⁾ gives its title as "El-masā'il el-Muškila, known as the Baghdādiyat, by Abū'Alī el-Hasan b. Ahmad b. Abdelgāffār el-Fārisī." He further states that the octavo volume consists of foll. 169 x 32 of yellowish brown paper in carefully written vowel-less naskh which is vocalized in places, well-preserved, and dated Tuesday, the second Rajab, 615 A.H.

(1) al-Masā'il al-Mushkila, foll. 14, 17, 18.

(2) MFO, 1912, Vol. V., Fasc. 2, p.521.

Al-Qiftī, ibn Khallikān, al-Suyūtī, ibn 'Imād al-Hanbalī and Hājī Khalīfa all speak of al-Baghdādiyat without mentioning al-Mushkila.⁽¹⁾ Yāqūt mentions both works, the Baghdādiyāt first and al-Mushkila afterwards, obviously distinguishing between them as between two separate entities.⁽²⁾

If it is true that al-Masā'il al-Mushkila is identical with al-Baghdādiyat, it would be one of those works of Abū 'Alī which are named after the town in which the original discussions of certain grammatical questions took place. However, there is nothing to corroborate this assumption and, as the examination of the photo-copy has failed to produce any sign of the manuscript being a combination of two different works, one is inclined to assume that it has always been one work under two different titles. However, the possibility that there were originally two separate works, one entitled al-Baghdādiyāt and the other al-Masā'il al-Mushkila, that one of them was lost and its title subsequently erroneously ascribed to the one preserved, cannot be dismissed off-hand. Thus it is a question here of either a confusion between two books or between two titles.

al-Masā'il al-Manthūra deals with grammatical problems. It seems that the questions were collected and compiled in

(1) Al-Qifti, *Inbāh*, Vol. I, p.274; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Vol. I.; p.233; Suyūtī, *Bughya*, p.217.

(2) Yāqūt, *Irshād*, Vol. III, p.13.

one book after Abū 'Alī's death. This is suggested by the phrase: "Abū 'Alī, the mercy of God be upon him" which recurs whenever Abū 'Alī's name is mentioned, a phrase which would hardly be applied to anyone who was alive at that time. It is unlike other Masā'il by Abū 'Alī, each of which takes its name from the locality in which the questions were actually first asked, for the questions contained in this book were discussed in various places, hence the word manthūra (= scattered). Another point of difference between the Masā'il al-Manthūra and all other masā'il of Abū 'Alī is that they are rather brief and concise, so that up to twenty questions are found on two pages. Despite their brevity, they are exhaustive in their treatment of the problems in question. Abū 'Alī quotes the opinions of his predecessors on most of the subjects dealt with, and then proceeds to expound his own ideas, adducing proof from his statements. Quotations from the Qur'ān and poetry are analyzed. The individual questions are in no way connected with each other. As to the arrangement of the book, it begins with grammatical problems, and ends with etymological problems. Al-Masā'il al-Manthūra is found in Shehid 'Alī library in Istanbul, no. 2516, dated Tuesday night, 2nd month of Rajab 615 A.H. It is in Maghribi script, in unvocalized naskh, foll. 27 x 31 lines. The name of the scribe who made the copy is given as Ahmad ibn Tamīm ibn Hishām al-Laylī.

Al-Masā'il al-Halabiya, two MSS of which are found in Cairo, one in Dār al-Kutub under No. 5 ش which, as the letter suggests, used to be in the possession of al-Shinqīṭī, and the other under no. 266 in the library of al-Taymuriya in Cairo. The original of these two manuscripts is in Medina in Saudi Arabia. (1)

Al-Masā'il al-Majlisiya (The questions which were discussed at assemblies) mentioned by ibn Khallikan, ibn al-'Imād and G. Flügel. (2)

Al-Masā'il al-Haythiya, mentioned by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī. (3)

Al-Ahwaziya, only mentioned by ibn Sīdah; (4) no further details are known.

Al-Masā'il al-Qasriyah, the title of which is derived from the name of Muḥammad ibn Tuwais al-Qasrī Abū al-Tayyib of whom Yāqūt says in a biographical note that he was one of the Mu'tazilite grammarians and a student of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī. Yāqūt states that Abū 'Alī dictated the masā'il to al-Qasri, hence the name al-Qasriyah. He adds that al-Qasri died young. (5) Ḥājī Khalīfa provides more or less the same information as Yāqūt. (6)

(1) 'Abd al-Fattāh Shalabī, Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, p.513; Fihris al-Kutub al-'Arabiya al-Mawjuda bi al-Dār lighayat Sanat 1925, Vol. II, p.158.

(2) Wafayāt al-A'yān, Vol. I, p.233; Shadharāt al-Dhahab, Vol. III, p.89; Gramm. Schulen, p.111.

(3) Khizanat al-Adab, Vol. II, p.63.

(4) Al-Muḥkam wa'l-muḥīṭ al-A'zam Fi'l-lughah, Vol. I, p.15.

(5) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. VII, p.15.

(6) Kashf al-Zunun, Vol. V, p.518.

Al-Masā'il al-Damashqiya, mentioned by Yāqūt. (1)

Al-Masā'il al-Karmaniya, mentioned by Yāqūt, al-Qiftī and Suyūṭī. (2)

Al-Masā'il al-Dhahabiya, mentioned only by al-Qiftī. (3)

Al-Maqsūr wa'l-mamdūd, dealing with the final ā which can be abbreviated at the end of the word, mentioned by ibn al-Anbārī, al-Suyūṭī, ibn al-'Imād al-Hanbalī and Gustav Flügel. (4)

Djawāhir al-naḥw, Mesh. XII 7.19. This book is mentioned by Brockelmann, (5) but in no Arabic source.

Al-'awāmil al-mi'a (the hundred regents) mentioned by ibn Khallikān and by ibn al-'Imād. (6) G. Flügel (7) assumes it is probably identical with Mukhtasar 'awāmil al-i'rāb, the compendium on the parts of speech upon which grammatical inflection depends.

Annotation to the book of Sibawaihi. تَلْفِيحَةٌ عَلَى كِتَابِ سِبَوَيْهِ

No nearer details are known. Mentioned by Suyūṭī, Taskūprizadah, and G. Flügel. (8) Lost without trace.

(1) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. III, p.13.

(2) Ibid.; Inbāh al-ruwāh, Vol. I, p.274; Bughya, p.217.

(3) Inbāh al-ruwāh, Vol. I, p.274.

(4) Nuzhat al-Alibbā, p.388; Bughya, p.217; Shadharat al-Dhahab, Vol. III, p.89; Gramm. Schulen, p.111.

(5) Brock., GAL., Suppl. I., p. 176.

(6) Wafayāt al A'yān, Vol. I, p.233; Shadharāt al-Dhahab, Vol. III, p.89.

(7) Gramm. Schulen, p.111.

(8) Bughya, p.217; Miftāh al-Sa'ādah, Vol. I, p.139; Gramm. Schulen, p.111.

Kitāb al-Tarjama, only mentioned by Yāqūt,⁽¹⁾ not to be found in any other source.

Aqsām al-Akhbār fi al-ma'ānī. According to Fihris al-Makhtutat al-Musawwarah,⁽²⁾ this MS is found in the Damad library in Istanbul No. 41775. It is dated 881 A.H., written in beautiful, fully vocalized naskh, and consists of 22 medium sized foll.

Abyāt al-Ma'ānī, the verses on rhetoric, mentioned only by Yāqūt.⁽³⁾

Sharḥ Abyāt al-Idāh, a commentary to the verses of al-Idāh, mentioned only by ibn al-Nadīm and G. Flügel.⁽⁴⁾

Kitāb Abyāt al-I'rāb, mentioned by ibn al-Nadīm, Yāqūt, Suyūtī and Flügel.⁽⁵⁾

Al-Tatabbu', mentioned only by Yāqūt according to whom it consisted of 100 foll.⁽⁶⁾ It was presumably a commentary on the exegesis of the Mu'tazilite Muhammad al-Djubbā'i. Its full title seems to have been al-Tatabbu' likalām Abī 'Alī al-Djubbā'i fi al-Tafsīr.

(1) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. III, p.13.

(2) Vol. I, p.379.

(3) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. III, p.13.

(4) Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist, Vol. I, p.64; G. Flügel, Die grammatischen Schulen, p.111.

(5) Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist, Vol. I, p.64; Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. III, p.13; Suyūtī, Bughya p.217; Flügel, Die Grammatischen Schulen; p.111.

(6) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. III, p.13.

It is not quite clear what was the nature of a book entitled Naqd al-Hadhūr (The Babblers Confounded),⁽¹⁾ Shihāb al-Dīn al-Dulajī states that it was concerned with proving the errors of ibn Khalawaih.⁽²⁾

Al-Awaliyat fi al-nahw (A primer of grammar). A mention of this book is found only in Al-Dari'at ila tasanif al-shi'ah by Muhammad Muhsin al-Tihrānī⁽³⁾ who says that there is a manuscript of this book in the library of al-Gharawiyah in Nadjaf. Al-Tihrānī adds that the manuscript is annotated in the hand of Abū 'Alī's nephew.

Al-Ighfāl fīmā aghfalahu al-Zajjāj fi'l-ma'ānī.

According to Fihris al-Makhtūtāt al-Musawwarah,⁽⁴⁾ the manuscript dates back to the sixth century. It is found in Dar al-Kutub Library, No. 52, and consists of 229 foll. in Maghribi script. The book has been described by ibn al-Nadīm as a masā'il, namely, "al-masā'il al-musliha, known as Ighfāl" transmitted by Abū 'Alī from al-Zajjāj.⁽⁵⁾

According to G. Flügel⁽⁶⁾ the book deals with "the rectified points in question" and is known under the title "Al-Ighfāl", i.e. "the things that have remained undetermined" or, as ibn

(1) EI², Vol. II, p.802; Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol.III, p.13.

(2) Al-Falaka wa'l-maflūkun, p.102.

(3) Vol. II, p.481.

(4) Vol. I, p.20.

(5) Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist, Vol. I, p.64.

(6) G. Flügel, Die grammatischen Schulen, p.111.

Khallikān and Hājī Khalīfa have it, "the things left undetermined".⁽¹⁾ Flügel states that the book deals with ideas al-Zajjāj left undiscussed in his work in "a transmission from the mouth of al-Zajjāj". This just clearly be taken to mean that Abū 'Alī utilized oral information given to him by al-Zajjāj, but not contained in the latter's written work. In Brockelmann,⁽²⁾ the book figures twice under two different titles. It is entered first under 3 as K. al Hujja wal-Ighfāl and secondly, under 4, as al-Ighfāl. As No. 3, it is obviously confused with another of Abū 'Alī's works entitled al-Hujja, which deals with the seven readings of the Qur'ān, a subject which has nothing to do with the Ighfāl. There is no Kitāb al-Hujja wal-Ighfāl at all; there is only a Kitāb al-hujja and a Kitāb al-Ighfāl, two completely different works on totally different subjects. Even Rabin in the EI²⁽³⁾ wonders, obviously in reliance on Brockelmann, whether there might be a hujja wa'l-ighfāl.

(1) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān, Vol. I, p.233; Hājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn, Vol. I, p.369.

(2) Brock., GAL., Suppl., Vol. I, p.176.

(3) EI², Vol. II, p.802.

CHAPTER V

THE IDĀH

The place of the *Īdāh* in Arabic literature; a comparative assessment.

Among Abū 'Alī's works, the *Īdāh* enjoyed the greatest prestige.⁽¹⁾ A late eulogy on the *Īdāh*, composed in Andalusia by al-Ḥasan 'Alī Ahmad ibn Khalaf al-Nahawī⁽²⁾ says that grammar had been an enigma plunged in obscurity, before the morning dawned with the appearance of the *Īdāh*. It was worth recording on slates and being read off them, as the Qur'ān was read. According to Abū Shuja', the *Īdāh* provides, despite its small size, as much information as larger works of its kind; it is well and skilfully arranged and very well written.⁽³⁾ Whenever Abū 'Alī is mentioned by ibn al-Athīr, Abū al-Fida and others, it is as the author of the *Īdāh*.⁽⁴⁾

When ibn Khaldūn says that short books for students were later written by Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī and Abū al-Qāsim al-Zajjājī in which they followed Subawaihi's footsteps,⁽⁵⁾ he refers, no doubt, to the *Īdāh*. As to the reception the *Īdāh* found with 'Adud al-Dawlah to whom it was dedicated, the information available is somewhat controversial. Two stories transmitted by the traditionists are contradictory. There is the anecdote communicated by Abū Shuja' in the Kitāb Dhail

(1) Hājī Khalīfa, Vol. I, p.513.

(2) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. III, p.16.

(3) Abū Shuja', Dhail Tajārib al-Umam, Vol. III, p.68.

(4) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil fil-Tarikh, Vol. IX, p.36; Abu'l-Fida, al-Mukhtasar fi Akhbar al-Bashar, Vol. II, p.131.

(5) Ibn Khaldūn, Muqaddimah, p.500.

Tajārib al-Umam, and attributed to Abū Tālib al-'Abdī, which relates that 'Adud al-Dawlah treasured the book and guarded it jealously, wanting to be the only man to know its contents. But one day a man gained access to it by a subterfuge in order to copy it with his own hand. When the intruder was caught red-handed, 'Adud al-Dawlah gave order for his hand to be cut off because the book was so precious to him and "so sweet to his heart". However, someone interceded on behalf of the transgressor and he was pardoned.⁽¹⁾ This conflicts with the other account transmitted by both ibn al-Anbārī and Suyūṭī, and repeated by Taskūprizadah, to the effect that 'Adud al-Dawlah dismissed the book with an angry shrug as "suitable for children only",⁽²⁾ a criticism to which Abū 'Alī reacted by composing the Takmilah. After perusing the latter, continues the account, 'Adud al-Dawlah commented as follows: "The angry Sheikh has brought something that neither we nor he himself can understand". These two conflicting stories are so hard to reconcile that it is almost impossible to avoid the suspicion that the Amīr never actually said these words, but that they were put in his mouth by Abū 'Alī's adversaries who were anxious to minimize the importance of his main work. This interpretation would seem

(1) Abū Shuja', Dhail Tajārib al-Umam, Vol.III, p.68.

(2) Ibn al-Anbārī, Nuzhat al-Alibbā, p.389; Suyūṭī, Bughya p.116; Miftāh al-Sa'adah, Vol. I, p.139.

to tally with a statement of Qādī Shuhba al-Asadī who said that 'Adud al-Dawlah received the book with appreciation when Abū 'Alī first brought it to him.⁽¹⁾ Moreover, though no mean scholar himself, and no doubt perfectly capable of independent criticism, 'Adud al-Dawlah also prided himself on being Abū 'Alī's faithful student. It has been shown above⁽²⁾ how highly Abū 'Alī rated in his esteem; this is a fact repeatedly stressed by the traditionists. A man who reputedly once stated: "In grammar, I am the servant of Abū 'Alī,"⁽³⁾ who surrendered to him his own seat in the most distinguished place of the room and sat reverently at his feet on the floor like any other student, who read the book in the presence of Abū 'Alī "like a student before his teacher",⁽⁴⁾ who so adamantly refused to share it with others, cannot possibly have criticised it so disdainfully. This utterance of 'Adud al-Dawlah is therefore probably not authentic, and was fabricated by Abū 'Alī's enemies to detract from the importance of the work. However, even if one assumed that 'Adud al-Dawlah really uttered these words, they must have been said in jest rather than in earnest. This assumption can also be substantiated. Abū 'Alī's and

(1) Qādī Shuhba, *Tabaqāt al-Nuḥāh*, fol. 295, MS 2146, Dar al-Kutub, Cairo.

(2) See page 22 above.

(3) *Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. III, p. 10.*

(4) Flügel, op.cit., p. 111.

"Adud al-Dawlah's relationship was intimate, and it is very well possible that one used to tease the other. Ibn Taghri Bardi relates in al-Nujūm al-Zāhira⁽¹⁾ that Abū 'Alī made the following remark on 'Adud al-Dawlah's assumption of the title Shah-in-Shah, i.e., the King of Kings: "He was not satisfied with the title of King of Kings; he also praised himself in the following verses:

عضد الدولة وابن ركنها
ملك الملوك غلاب القدر

' 'Adud al-Dawlah, son of Rukn al-Dawlah

The Shah of the Shahs, fate obeys the throne.' "

Taken seriously, these words would constitute a scathing jibe likely to offend the Amīr. Now to speak of one's sovereign and benevolent patron with a sneer was simply impossible in those days. It would not only have been irreverent, it would also have been highly dangerous. There is no reason whatsoever to assume that Abū 'Alī was foolish enough to expose himself lightheartedly to the risk of losing the Amīr's favour. It is, on the contrary, much more likely, especially in view of the intimate friendship which joined the two men, that it is a question here of an affectionate leg-pull.

(1) Vol. IV, page 142.

The controversy about the title

The Idāh is mentioned in Arabic literature under several different titles. It does not figure in ibn al-Nadīm's Fihrist at all; Al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī⁽¹⁾ quotes the title of the work as al-Idāh fi al-Nahw; Yāqūt speaks of it as⁽²⁾ Kitāb al-Idāh al-Nahwī, and ibn al-Athīr refers to Abū 'Alī as: Ṣahib al-Idāh (the author of the Idāh).⁽³⁾ The basic copy on which the present edition relies, KÜprülü 1457, bears the title: al-Kitāb al-'Adudī; the same title also appears on KÜprülü 1456 which is, obviously, a copy of the former. The Dar al-Kutub MS 1120 says: Kitāb al-Idāh fi'ilm al-'arabiyya. Ahmad III 2256 bears the title: Kitāb al-Idāh fi al-Nahw wa al-Ṣarf. The MS of the Aya-Sofia No.4451, is listed as "Kitāb al-Idāh, with the edition "known as al-Kitāb al-'Adudī".

All the above refer only to the Idāh and not to the Takmila. Other sources, however, mention the Idāh in one breath with the Takmila: ibn Khallikān speaks of "al-Idāh wa al-Takmila fi al-Nahw"⁽⁴⁾; Al-Suyūtī speaks of "al-Idāh fi al-Nahw"⁽⁵⁾ (= The explanation of grammar) and of "al-Takmila fi al-Taṣrīf"⁽⁵⁾ (Supplement on etymology). Ibn al-'Imād al-Hanbalī⁽⁶⁾ also speaks of al-Idāh and al-Takmila

(1) Tārīkh Baghdād, Vol. VII, p.276.

(2) Irshād, Vol. III, p.13.

(3) Al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh, Vol. IX, p.36.

(4) Wafayāt al-A'yān, Vol. I, p.232.

(5) Bughya, p.216.

(6) Shadharāt al-Dhahab, Vol. III, p.88.

as two separate works; so does al-Qiftī.⁽¹⁾ Ibn Kathīr says "Sāhib al-Idāh wa al-Takmila"⁽²⁾; Ibn al-Jazarī speaks of "Kitāb al-Idāh wa al-Takmila".⁽³⁾

The problem whether the Idāh and the Takmila form together one work, or whether they are two different separate works, is controversial. One thing is certain, namely that the Takmila was written as a sequel to the Idāh. The above quoted account of the genesis of the Idāh found in ibn al-Anbārī points unequivocally to their separate composition and presentation to 'Adud al-Dawlah on two different occasions. Both ibn al-Anbārī and Suyūṭī relate that, when Abū 'Alī presented the Idāh to 'Adud al-Dawlah to whom he had dedicated it, the latter became angry and described it as "for children only". This criticism gave the author the idea of writing a sequel which was, in its turn, described by his royal patron as too difficult. This anecdote confirms that, far from being one single work, the Idāh and the Takmila were intended as two different books, the second composed after an appreciable lapse of time. This contention is supported by three facts:

- (1) The two works are thematically different, the Idāh dealing with grammar, and the Takmila with etymology;

(1) Inbāh al-Ruwāh, Vol. I, p.274.

(2) Al-Bidāyah wa'l-nihāyah, Vol. II, p.295.

(3) Ghayat al-Nihāyah, Vol. I, p.207.

- (2) There is a considerable difference in style, which is not accidental, but thematically motivated, the style of the Idāh being simpler and easier than that of the Takmila which is more sophisticated and consequently more obscure; and
- (3) each book has a separate introduction and conclusion. The fact is that they were often thrown together owing to their having been copied by a number of subsequent scribes in one manuscript under the title "Idāh wa al-Takmila" has no intrinsic significance.

Abū 'Alī's grammatical method as observed in the Idāh
Unmethodical arrangement of topics

Before Abū 'Alī, scholars were mainly intent on collecting as much information as possible, and imparting it to the reader. They did not care overmuch for the arrangement of the topics, nor did they treat individual topics consistently. Even though the title of a chapter announces that it is the author's concern to deal with a particular problem, it would be over-optimistic to expect to find it actually treated there. The author consistently deviates to speak of other, sometimes only remotely related problems. Traces of this method, or rather lack of method, are still to be found in the Idāh. Thus, for instance, when dealing

with the class of deverbal nouns, the nomina agentis

أسماء المفعولين (1) and the nomina patientis اسم الفاعل

he strays to the subject of annexation الإضافة (2)

in the following passage: وتقول: سررت برجل ضارب عمراً عمداً فتخرف

التخوين ليخف اللفظ بالخرف والمضى معنى الانفصال، وثبات التخوين وعلى هذا

توله تعالى: فلما رأوه عارضاً مستقبل أوديتهم قالوا هذا عارض مبطوناً

On another occasion, when discussing the subject of the

verb والتنازع في العمل، he strays to the problem of

the conflict with regard to government:

وتقول: أكرمني وأكرمت عبد الله، وأكرمت وأكرمني عبد الله فتحتم الاسم

المذكور بعد الفعلين على الفعل الآخر ولا تحمله على الأول لأنه الثاني أقرب إليه.

This anticipation of the subject-matter of a later chapter

tends to create confusion. Again, referring to the hal

(state or condition), he deviates to speak of the predicate:

وقد سبب الحال من خبر الابتداء في نحو: ضربي زيداً قائماً، وقولهم:

هذا بساً أظيب منه رطياً.

only to take up the hal again when discussing the adjective:

وما كان صفة للندرة جاز أن يكون حالاً للمعرفة إلا الفعل الماضي فإنه لا

يكون حالاً متى يكون صفة مضافة أو مضمرة.

As a result, the treatment of the hal is never completed,

while the discussion of the form 'af'ala (3) أفعل remains

(1) Adjectives by nature which have come to be used as substantives.

(2) The idea of one noun is often more closely determined or defined بتخصيص by that of another. The determined noun is called by Arab grammarians "المضاف" "the annexed," the determining noun "المضاف إليه" "that to which annexation is made," the relation between them is known as الإضافة "the annexation."

(3) It denotes pre-eminence which has the signification of the comparative and superlative.

brief to the extreme. Neither does he exhaust the aforementioned problem of "the conflict in regard to government". The arrangement of the chapters of the Īdāh is therefore no sure guide to the treatment, which is sometimes desultory.

Use of corroborative quotations

Abū 'Alī's grammatical method is so straightforward that it is almost infallible. His practice is as follows: he first illustrates the grammatical point to be discussed by short sentences, some of which he obviously makes up himself. Having thus sufficiently stated and elucidated his point, he turns for support for his opinion to evidential examples from language as he finds it recorded. Like all Basrite grammarians, he is convinced that it is impossible to prove a grammatical point or rule in general, or to question or corroborate the admissibility of a word-form in particular, without resorting to a quotation or quotations from a text or texts of reliable grammatical purity. In adducing quotations in the Īdāh, Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī conformed, as a rule, to the general usage of the time, according to which examples suitable for quotation were derived from sources whose reliability was above suspicion, and whose limits in time and territory were explicitly stated. This was dictated by the concern for the preservation of the purity of Arabic. The rôle of quotations in Arabic grammatical argumentation was then considered paramount. In

the heated disputes among the Arabic grammarians on whether a word or phrase was correct in the form in which it occurred or about the right word to use in a certain place, quotations always proved a powerful and often decisive weapon. Indeed, it is safe to say that no philological controversy was ever settled at all unless the opinion of one or the other side was sufficiently confirmed and supported by a quotation the purity of which seemed incontestable.

Until the 3rd century A.H., the Arabic grammarians derived their knowledge of correct speech from the language of the Bedouin which was held up to the educated Muslim as the model to imitate. When the Arabs penetrated into territories in which other languages were spoken, Arabic found itself in danger of being corrupted. The policy of the Caliph 'Umar forbade the Arabs to buy land and settle in the new provinces to prevent their assimilation by the numerically far superior indigenous population. Persisting in their nomadic way of life also in the conquered countries, the Bedouin were able to preserve the purity of their speech. "As a result", says Fück, "it was still possible, in early Abbasid times, to meet Bedouin tribes from the South of Portugal in the west to Khurasan in the east, and hear from their mouths unadulterated Bedouin Arabic".⁽¹⁾

(1) J. Fück, Arabiya, p.4: "Infolgedessen konnte man noch ihn früh-abbasidischer Zeit von Südportugal im Westen bis nach Chorasán im Osten Beduinenstämme antreffen und aus ihrem Munde unverfälschtes Beduinenarabisch vernehmen".

The period of the conquests in which men of various tribes associated in common campaigns and lived close together in the cities of the Islamic world, resulted in a greater consolidation and uniformity of the Bedouin tongue which became the basis of the classical Arabic of later centuries.

Provenance of quotations in general

As a result, in Abū 'Alī's time as well as many centuries before and some time after, grammatical quotations were considered admissible if they were derived - always apart from the Qur'ān - from the language of pure Arabs who lived in remote places, such as the desert, where they were not exposed to the corrupting influence of foreigners. According to al-Fārābī,⁽¹⁾ philologists derived their linguistic knowledge from the language of Qais, Tamīm and Asad. That is to say, they turned for information, not to Quraish - indeed they excluded the language of Hijāz from the field of quotation because the people of Hijāz, especially those living in urban areas, consorted with Romans, Persians and Indians - but to the Arabic of desert-dwellers.

One can see from the above that eligibility for quotation was defined more or less strictly in geographical terms. It was similarly limited in time: a quotation was decreed preferable if it had originated before the period of

(1) Suyūṭī, Muzhir, Vol. I, p.211.

corruption of the Arabic tongue "which happened after the Arabs had spread themselves, by their conquests, among foreigners, in consequence of which their language became simplified".⁽¹⁾ Therefore quotations were always given priority which had been handed down as literally as possible from the first transmitter to the last.

Prose quotations

Most eligible for quotation was, of course, the Qur'ān, considered the ultimate and most perfect model of language, supreme in its excellence, a quotation from which was always decisive and could always be appealed to in any grammatical controversy. L. Kopf states that it can often be seen in al-Harīrī that grammatical forms used in the Qur'ān were, in principle, preferred to similar non-Qur'ānic ones.⁽²⁾ The tendency to assign pre-eminence to the Qur'ānic language went so far that even forms which did not conform to the morphological norm were declared fasīh if they occurred in the Qur'ān.⁽³⁾ The view eventually prevailed that every

(1) E. W. Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, Supplement, Vol.VIII, p. 2967.

(2) Cf. L. Kopf, Religious Influences on Medieval Arabic Philology in *Studia Islamica*, 5-8, 1956-57, p.49; Cf. also al-Harīrī, Durrat al-ghawwās, p.129: "One must say correctly *suqita fi yadihī*; *suqita*, indeed, has also been transmitted from the ancient Arabs, the former, however, is chaster because of the Qur'ānic saying"

(3) Suyūtī, Muzhir, p.188.

Qur'ānic expression was purer than similar non-Qur'ānic ones⁽¹⁾.
As the linguistic superiority of the Qur'ān was never doubted, a quotation from it was always decisive.

Considered of limited eligibility for quotations were prose texts which had not been handed down literally, among them the sayings of the Prophet which had been transmitted, not in their original wording, but only according to their sense. They were declared unfit for grammatical research in the first centuries of Islam. The main objection against quoting them was that some were transmitted by non-Arabs, so that they were exposed to the danger of becoming linguistically impure. Ibn al-Dai' and Abū Hayyan state that the early grammarians of Basra and Kūfa refrained from quoting hadīth.⁽²⁾ However, Abū Hayyan and ibn al-Dai' err there, for already al-Khalīl in Kitāb al-'Ain,⁽³⁾ and after him Abū 'Alī in the Īdāh quote hadīth.⁽⁴⁾ The attitude of the grammarians towards hadīth was modified in the course of time; the dogma of the unsurpassable linguistic excellence of the Qur'ān seems to have influenced the grammarians in favour of hadīth. It cannot be determined with certainty when full authority in grammar was first ascribed to hadīth.

(1) Cf. Ibn Khalawaih in Suyūṭī's Muzhir, Vol. I, p.213.

(2) 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, Khizānāt al-Adab, Vol.I, pp. 4-5.

(3) Ḥusain Nassār, al-Mu'jam al-'arabī, Vol. I, p.243.

(4) Īdāh, p.128.

A statement by a well-known traditionist proves that there was already before Abū 'Alī a strong tendency among the traditionists to declare the language of ḥadīth irreproachable. Yāqūt says that al-Nasā'i (830-915 A.D.), when consulted on the subject of linguistic errors in ḥadīth, gave the following answer: "If there is anything in it that was used by the ancient Arabs, even if it is not found in the language of Quraish, do not change, for the Prophet spoke to people in their own language: and if it is something not found in the language of the ancient Arabs [it is not wrong], for the Prophet of Allāh did not speak incorrectly".⁽¹⁾

According to Johann Fück, the Spanish Muslim Ibn Kharūf who died at the beginning of the seventh century A.H., and whose commentaries on Sibawaihi's Kitāb and al-Zajjājī were very popular, was the first to use ḥadīth for evidential quotation.⁽²⁾ The famous grammarian of the seventh century A.H., Ibn Mālik, who is said to have been so interested in ḥadīth that he assisted Yūnīnī in editing Bukhari, devoted a special work to a number of difficult textual passages in ḥadīth.⁽³⁾ Ibn Mālik explicitly broke with the usage prevalent in Abū 'Alī's time, for he considered as the best sources of linguistic correctness first the Qur'ān, and

(1) Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. IV, p.777.

(2) Johann Fück, op.cit., p.123; Ibn al-Dāi', Sharḥ al-Jumāl, as quoted in the Khizāna, Vol. I, p.5.

(3) ZDMG, Vol. 92, pp. 81 f.

secondly the sayings of the Prophet, allotting to the poetry of the Bedouin only the third place.⁽¹⁾ The author of the famous commentary on ibn al-Hājib's Kāfiya (written ca 683 A.H.), al-Astarābādi, extended the concept of linguistic superiority even to the ahl al bayt, the family of the Prophet.⁽²⁾

As to Abū 'Alī, there is one quotation from the ḥadīth in the Īdāh:⁽³⁾ كل مولود يولد على الفطرة حتى يكون أبواه هما اللذان يهودانه وينصرانه "When first born, every creature belongs to the natural religion, and only his parents turn him into a Jew or a Christian". It is used in the chapter which treats of the verb كان "to be", "to exist", in order to illustrate the accusative sentence هما اللذان of which he states that it is the predicate of كان as an accusative case. The use of a quotation from ḥadīth without observable reservation indicates that he considered it admissible for quotation.

Quotations from poetry

It has been seen that the choice of quotations from prose texts was by no means haphazard, but severely limited as to time and place of provenance. Nor was the choice of quotations from poetry left to accident or the whims of the

(1) Suyūtī . Bughya, p.55.

(2) 'Abd al-Qādir al Baghdādī, Khizānat al Adab, Vol.I, p.4.

(3) Cf. present edition of the Īdāh, p.123.

grammarian in question. Grammatical usage, the guardian of linguistic purity, had defined exactly what poetry was eligible for grammatical illustration.

As a rule, the suitability of Arabic poetry used to be assessed according to chronological considerations. Chronologically, Arabic poetry is divided into four classes: I. The pre-Islamic poetry of the pagan era; II. the poetry of the Mukhadramīn, who lived in two periods, the Jahiliya and the early Islamic era; III. the Islamic poets, who composed their poetry in the early Islamic period; and IV. the Muwallads, otherwise post-classical poets.

Early usage considered only the first three groups eligible for quotation. The poetry of the post-classical poets, the Muwallads, was not regarded as authoritative in matters of grammar though, to quote Lane⁽¹⁾ it is difficult to mark the exact line of distinction between the Islamic poets and the Muwallads, so as to be always certain to which of the two classes a poet belonged. Suyūṭī, relying on Tha'lab who, in his turn, relied on Asma'ī, states that Ibrāhīm ibn Harma (who was born in 90 A.H./708 A.D. and lived until the late second century) was the last whose poetry was suitable for quotation.⁽²⁾

(1) Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, Suppl., Vol.VIII, p.2967.

(2) Suyūṭī, Iqtirāḥ Fi'ilm uṣūl al-Nahw, p.32.

The Idāh contains a sizable amount of quotations from poetry which are mostly derived from the poetry of the Jahiliya, the Mukhadramān and the Islamic poets. With one exception, no use is made of post-classical poetry for quotation. This single departure from the norm, however, is highly significant in that it is symptomatic of a general change of aesthetic judgment and artistic taste which marked the late third and the whole fourth century A.G., and which entailed a new approach to Muwallad poetry.

At the beginning of the fourth century A.G., the growth of Arabic as a literary language was complete. It had become classical, and the archaic beauty of its form outshone the rough scantiness of the contemporary Bedouin dialects. Parallel with the changing habits of speech were changes in aesthetic judgment and artistic taste, including a change of the attitude of the educated classes towards Bedouin Arabic. To quote Fück again, "The perfect imitation of the language of the Bedouin which had been still until 200 A.H. the greatest ambition of the educated town-dweller, came to be regarded, in the course of the 3/9th century, as pedantry which was sensed, according to the circumstances, as artificial, ridiculous, or even unseemly."⁽¹⁾ Moreover, the

(1) J. Fück, op.cit., p.86: "Die vollkommene Nachahmung der Beduinensprache, noch ums Jahr 200 h. der höchste Ehrgeiz eines gebildeten Städters, ward im Laufe des 3/9 Jahrhunderts zu einer Pedanterie, die je nach den Umständen als gesucht, als lächerlich oder gar als unschicklich wirkte.

Bedouin dialects had, by then, lost much of their purity, as the Bedouin had, in the period of transition between the nomadic and settled way of life, mixed with the existent peasant population, or come into contact with the other strata of society. The matter-of-fact naivety with which the second century A.H. had regarded every eloquent Bedouin as an indisputable arbiter in matters of language, had been superseded by a more critical attitude. Grammarians, including Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, took objection to the differences between Bedouin language and grammatical norm. As to Abū 'Alī, Ibn Jinnī, who devotes a special chapter of his Kitāb al-Khasā'is to the mistakes of the Bedouin, invokes in it the authority of his great teacher Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī. He quotes the opinion of Abū 'Alī on the language of the Bedouin to the effect that their occasional mistakes were due to their ignorance of the principles (usūl) and rules (qawānīn) of the language. Thus they speak as their nature (tibā') prompts them.⁽¹⁾ This proves clearly that Abū 'Alī thought that the linguistic superiority of the language of the Bedouin had been overrated. On the other hand, the fact that he quotes a Muwallad poet demonstrates that he thought that the discrimination of the grammarian who

(1) Ibn Jinnī, al-Khasā'is, Vol. III, p.273.

considered Muwallad poetry unsuitable for quotation had gone too far. This single instance of quotation from post-classical poetry in the Īdāh, adduced in illustration of a rule in the chapter which treats of the verb كان (to be), is a verse of Abū Tammām:

(1) من كان مرياً عزمه وهيموه
فيل الك ما في المرزول مهرزول

"He of whose resolutions and intentions the meadow of vain desire is the pasture ground, will ever remain poor".⁽²⁾

It has been said that Abū 'Alī inserted this quotation to please 'Adud al-Dawlah, who liked the verse and often repeated it.⁽³⁾ However, if 'Adud al-Dawlah's preference influenced Abū 'Alī, it was not his main reason for quoting Abū Tammām, but at best a contributory one. The main reason lay, as has been pointed out above, in the contemporary change of taste which, on the one hand, looked at the language of the Bedouin with new eyes, and, on the other, began to appreciate post-classical authors, and trust their language. The latter fact was already pointed out by Abū 'Alī's commentator al-Qaisī who remarks, in his commentary on the quotations in the Īdāh, that Abū 'Alī quoted Abū Tammām not to ingratiate himself with 'Adud al-Dawlah, but because he respected Abū Tammām's great literary merits and his

(1) The Īdāh, p.129.

(2) As translated by de Slane, Wafayāt al-A'yān, Vol.I, p.380.

(3) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān, Vol. I, p.233.

proficiency in the science of the Arabiya.⁽¹⁾ Many years later, al-Zamakhsharī justified his own quotations from the same poet with the remark: "Though he was one of the post-classical poets whose poetry is not suitable for quotation in questions of language, he was one of the scientists of Arabiya; place therefore what he versifies on an equal level with what he relates."⁽²⁾ Al-Zamakhsharī adds that scholars illustrate examples in their work quoting Abū Tammām's poetry, because they find him trustworthy. "Did you see the words of the scholars?" he asks "they support texts in their books by verses from Hamāsa, and are satisfied with it his poetry by reason of the trustworthiness and accuracy of his transmission".⁽³⁾ As a matter of fact, Abū Tammām's (ca 190-231 A.H.) poetry is linguistically extraordinarily smooth. He was witty and original, his style abounded in bold metaphors, his approach to his subject was often unconventional, which in itself may have appeared objectionable to many critics. But though he was much attacked in his lifetime and after his early death, he was never accused of incorrectness in language. In that, he was always found trustworthy. Thus it can be said that Abū 'Alī

(1) Al-Qaisī, *Īdāh Shawāhid al-Īdāh*, MS Escorial, No. 45. fol.21.

(2) Al-Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshāf*, Vol. I, p.35.

(3) H. Derenbourg, *Les Manuscrits Arabes de l'Escorial*, Vol. I, pp.178-9.

quoted Abū Tammām, because he found him trustworthy, and his poetry linguistically correct. There is also evidence to prove that not only 'Adud al-Dawlah, but Abū 'Alī himself was fond of Abū Tammām's verses. Hartwig Derenbourg's work on Arabic manuscripts in the Escorial⁽¹⁾ lists, under numbers 290 and 291, two collections of poetry by Abū Tammām.. No. 290 shows, on fol. 134 كل ما رواه أبو علي من شعر أبي تمام : "All that Abū 'Alī has transmitted from the poetry of Abū Tammām." Derenbourg identifies "Abū 'Alī" with Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī. From fol. 134 until the end, the collection contains additions coming from al-Sūlī. No. 290 is also, according to Derenbourg "also after Abū 'Alī and al-Sūlī."⁽²⁾ The fact that Abū 'Alī was interested in Abū Tammām to the extent of engaging against his wont in the less philological than literary activity of transmitting his poems, proves how highly he valued him.

Thus, in quoting Abū Tammām, not merely to please 'Adud al-Dawlah, but because he found his poetry enjoyable and his language trustworthy, Abū 'Alī became, though perhaps not the very first - Mubarrad quoted Abū Tammām before him⁽³⁾ - but one of the first exponents of a new and juster - approach to Muwallad poetry. It must be

(1) H. Derenbourg, *Les Manuscrits Arabes de l'Escorial*, Vol. I, pp.178-9.

(2) H. Derenbourg *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p.179, "également d'après Abou 'Alī et As-Souli".

(3) Ibn Barrī, *Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Īdāh*, MS, Cairo, No. 30., fol. 10.

added, however, that this attitude is less revolutionary than might appear at the first glance. It is true that early Arabic grammarians had held fast, with great intransigence, to the principle that poetry had reached, in early Islamic times, a perfection which later poets could not hope to emulate, so that only early Islamic poetry could be considered linguistically pure and suitable for quotation. But great post-classical poets, such as Abū Tammām, al-Buhtarī, ibn al-Mu'tazz and al-Mutanabbī were, in respect of language, the immediate heirs of their predecessors and wrote excellent Arabic. Moreover, if one considers that it was the main ambition of the Muwallads to produce as elaborate a reproduction of ancient masterpieces as possible, and that they were praised for the skilful imitation of the ancient odes, it is obvious that there could be no material difference in the quality of the style of pre-Islamic and good post-classical poetry. This is a complete vindication of Abū 'Alī's quotation from Abū Tammām.

Anonymous quotations from poetry in the Īdāh

The last point to be discussed about poetical quotations in the Īdāh is their authorship. Beside the poetry the authors of which are named, there is a certain proportion of verses quoted anonymously. This raises a problem of some importance. Early scholars maintained,

not without justification, that it was not allowed to quote verses or prose of unknown provenance for fear that they might have been composed by authors whose eloquence could not be trusted.⁽¹⁾ How is, then, the lack of references to the authorship of the verses quoted in the Īdāh to be explained?

To give an adequate reply to this question, it is first necessary to state that the bulk of quotations in the Īdāh is divisible into two groups: (a) quotations taken from Sibawaihi's Kitāb; (b) and quotations not found in Sibawaihi's Kitāb. The authors of some quotations derived from Sibawaihi are not mentioned in the Īdāh for the simple reason that they are already anonymous in Sibawaihi who habitually refrained from referring to the poets' names.⁽²⁾ In view of the high prestige which surrounded Sibawaihi, it was not necessary to ascertain the author's name to consider a quotation admissible; Sibawaihi was generally implicitly trusted and so was everything he quoted, whether its authorship was known or not. Al-Baghdādī, for instance, states in his Khizāna that all the verses in Sibawaihi's Kitāb are exact quotations. "Rely on them" he says, "ancestors and descendants, in spite of there being some

(1) Suyūtī, Al-Iqtirāh Fi'ilm usūl al-Nahw, p.32.

(2) 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, Khizānat al-Adab, Vol. I, p.178.

whose authors are unknown and no blame will be attached to those who transmit them".⁽¹⁾ Thus it can be assumed that there was no need whatsoever for Abū 'Alī to concern himself with the authentication of the quotations taken from Sibawaihi, as he adduced them on the authority of one whose reliability was beyond doubt.

As to the verses of the second group, it is highly probable that their authors were not named because, for some reason or other, they were not known as poets. If a poet had not written any verses apart from those quoted, a reference to his name was not likely to strike a chord, and was, for this very reason, unlikely to be useful or helpful in any way. If, on the other hand, a poet was so famous that verses were immediately recognizable as his work when quoted, any mention of name was clearly superfluous.

How far it is still possible to authenticate any of the anonymous quotations in the *Īdāh* will depend on the individual case. As has been already mentioned, it was not Sibawaihi's wont to stress the origin of his quotations.

The author of *al-Khizāna* states explicitly that Sibawaihi did not mention the author when he quoted a verse. As to the verses which are ascribed to their authors in his

(1) *Al-Baghdādī, Khizānat al-Adab, Vol. I, p.8.*

book, they were authenticated after him by Abū 'Umar al-Djarmī who says: "I have studied Sibawaihi's book. I have found one thousand and fifty verses in it. I knew the authors of one thousand verses and have recorded them in the book; as to the fifty, I don't know the authors."⁽¹⁾ Obviously, Abū 'Alī's quotations in the *Īdāh* which are derived from Sibawaihi's *Kitāb* can be authenticated only insofar as their authorship has been ascertained by al-Baghdādī. Unfortunately they came, for the most part, from among the fifty verses to which no attribution could be made at all. As regards the quotations of the second group, i.e., those not to be found in Sibawaihi, some of them can be attributed to more than one author, while others will presumably have to remain entirely anonymous. However, it can be assumed that no uncertainty as to their provenance existed in Abū 'Alī's mind: he knew their poets' identity and considered them trustworthy, or else he would not have quoted them.

Attempt to identify the anonymous quotations from poetry in the *Īdāh*.

A special effort was made to identify the authors of the verses left unnamed by Abū 'Alī by trying to locate occasional occurrences in the extant literature: first,

(1) 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, Vol. I, p.178.

in the dīwāns; secondly, in the larger anthologies; thirdly, in other grammatical works; and finally, by consulting the various commentaries on the Shawāhid in the Īdāh, insofar as they were accessible. Additional references are found in the footnotes to the Arabic text. With regard to Qur'ānic quotations, the numbers of the Surah and the text have invariably been ascertained. Details on authors who seemed of special interest because they were connected, in one way or another, with Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī or the history of the Īdāh, or are referred to in the Īdāh, have been given, whenever ascertainable, in short biographical or explanatory footnotes to both the English and the Arabic text.

Editorial approach

As far as the text of the Īdāh itself is concerned it was treated, on the whole, with the utmost respect. Any divergences between the "basic copy" and the other versions are listed in the footnotes, but in view of the reliability of the "basic copy" there was hardly any need to change its readings. In general, all that was required was to transpose the literal text into modern Arabic script. The vocalization of the "basic copy" has been, on the whole, ignored as expendable. It was kept only in Qur'ānic quotations, quotations from poetry, evidential grammatical examples and in certain words whenever it was necessary to

avoid confusion. Occasional uncorrected mistakes of the scribes, which are found in the subsidiary copies and are due to wrong vocalization or erroneous spelling, have been rectified in the footnotes with reference to the manuscript in question.

Finally, words not occurring in the "basic copy", but found in one or more of the subsidiary copies, have been supplied in square brackets [] . What is found in the "basic copy" but in none of the subsidiaries, has been marked † . All the marginal notes and interlineations of the basic copy as well as the subsidiary ones have been, without exception, treated as footnotes, with reference to the place of occurrence. All the evidential examples have been underlined.

Transmission of distant sources and authorities
in the Idāh.

It is generally known that Arabic grammar is normative and that non-conformists among Arabic grammarians are rare. None whatsoever are found among those of the Basrite group. The Arab's characteristic regard for authority which lays stress on the reliability and trustworthiness of the person he derives his information from to the detriment of originality of approach, is necessarily reflected in his grammatical method. The chain of transmission is therefore no less important and equally valid of proof for the

grammarians as for the chronicler or the traditionist. In this paramount regard for authority, Abū 'Alī does not materially differ from his colleagues, predecessors or successors. When he quotes the opinion of a scholar in support of any grammatical statement, his concern is with the truthfulness and general reliability of the scholar in question no less than with his knowledge.

The authorities and transmitters he refers to in his Īdāh can be divided into two groups: those whose influence is immediate, derived from personal contact, i.e. his teachers and other contemporary scholars, and those by whose knowledge he benefited in studying their works, but who were not personally known to him, mostly for the reason that they were not his contemporaries. The transmitters of the first group have been dealt with in detail in a separate chapter on teachers and students, so that only those referred to in the Īdāh are of interest here: Abū Ishāq al-Zajjāj, Abū Bakr ibn al-Sarrāj and Abū al-Hasan al-Akhfash the younger. The second group comprises Sibawaihi, Abū Zaid al-Ansārī, Abū 'Umar al-Djarmi and Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī. Strongest of all was the influence of Sibawaihi. Sibawaihi's impact on the Īdāh seems so vivid and immediate that, though almost two centuries separate him from Abū 'Alī, one feels almost tempted to

count him among his actual teachers. Indeed, so pervasive is his presence in the *Īdāh* that one might describe him as its spiritual father.

Sibawaihi's dominant position in the field of Arabic grammar is a general phenomenon. The recognition which he was denied in his lifetime was more than generously accorded to him after his death. His *Kitāb* occupied the first place in Arabic grammar as the most scientific and most comprehensive of Arabic grammatical works. It was commonly described by antonomasis as "the book". The Andalusian scholar Sā'id ibn Ahmad al-Djiyāni states⁽¹⁾ "I know of no scientific works which completely exhausted their domains except three, namely Ptolemy's book on astronomy, Aristotle's book on logic and finally Sibawaihi's *Kitāb* on philology". Yāqūt⁽²⁾, Anbārī⁽³⁾ and ibn Khallikan⁽⁴⁾ quote the following account by Jahiz: "Once I intended to visit Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik (Ibn al-Zayyāt) and wanted to take him a present. I found nothing more suitable than Sibawaihi's *Kitāb* and presented him with a copy from Farrā's estate with which he was very pleased". A certain ibn Rustam relates: "I spent a night in study and finally dozed off. In my dream, I saw a number of Djinn who were

(1) *Irshād*, Vol. VI, p.82.

(2) *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p.85.

(3) *Nuzhat al-Alibbā*, p.74.

(4) *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol. II, p.103.

conversing about fiqh, hadīth, mathematics, grammar and poetry. Since I myself take an interest in philology, I asked the Djinn on whom their 'Ulamā' relied in this science, whereupon they replied: 'on Sibawaihi' ".⁽¹⁾

It would go too far to quote here all the opinions of the early scholars on Sibawaihi. May it suffice to state that the work used to be described as "The Qur'ān of grammar".⁽²⁾

It is well-known that Abū 'Alī taught the Kitāb to his students. Al-'Abdī states: "I remember a day when, attending the circle of Abū 'Alī, I counted thirty or more men studying under him Sibawaihi's Kitāb and other books of comparatively small size".⁽³⁾ Abū Hayyān says that "Abū 'Alī preferred the book to any other book and was always bent over it".⁽⁴⁾ In ibn Sida's Mukhassas there is a remark to the effect that Abū 'Alī used to compare different copies of the Kitāb with each other, obviously to obtain the perfect text.⁽⁵⁾ Silvestre de Sacy has had in hand a manuscript of Sibawaihi's Kitāb in the Paris Royal Library,⁽⁶⁾ which, as he says "contains a number of critical notes, variants, additions or annotations made by the most

(1) Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbā*, p.77.

(2) Baghdādī, *Khizana*, Vol. I, p.179.

(3) Al-Qiftī, *Inbāh al ruwāh*, Vol.II, p.387.

(4) Abū Hayyān al-Tauhīdī, *al-Imtā' wa'l-mu'ānasah*, Vol. I, p.131.

(5) Ibn Sīda, *al-Mukhassas fi'l-lughah*, Vol. XIV, pp.145,180.

(6) Silvestre de Sacy, *Anthologie grammaticale arabe*, p. 381 ff.

celebrated grammarians who had made this book the basis of their studies. Sacy also quotes the note found on the first page of the manuscript:

نقلت هذه النسخة من أصل متقول من أصل أبي علي الفارسي مقروء عليه وهذه الترجمة مشبهة فيه هكذا بخط كاتبه نسخت هذه الترجمة من أصل القصري الذي كان يعتقد عليه أبو علي : اعلم أن ما كان علامته حح فهو في نسخة المبرد بخط يده وما كان علامته حح فهو نسخة أبي اسحاق الزجاج وهي نسخة وقعت إلى أبي علي مصاحفة بخط الزجاج وذلك أنه كان للزجاج نسختان . فالأولى عامه بها اسمعيل الوراق وما كان فيهما من زيادة فقد بينه وجعل علامته حح وعارض أبو علي أيضا كتابه بنسخة أبي بكر بن السراج التي نسخت من نسخة أبي الميافس وما كان فيهما من زيادة فقد بينه وجعل علامته سن . وقرأ أبو علي كتابه على أبي بكر وأبو بكر نظر في كتابه فما كان من زيادة فقد بينه وجعل علامته عنده . وما كان علامته فا فإنه من كلام أبي علي وإنما جعل هذه علامته لأنه يريد : فرسته أنا . قال لنا أبو الحسن علي بن عيسى ما أراد هذا ولكنه علامته من فارس . اعلم أن اسمعيل الوراق نسخت من الكتاب الرسالة وبعض الفاعل من نسخة الكلابي بالبصرة ثم تم باقي الكتاب إلى آخره من نسخة الزجاج وقرأها عليه . وما كان علامته نسخة فإنه من النسخ المجهولة وهذه النسخ المجهولة في شيء بفارس عارض به أبو علي كتابه وهو مطام وستر ماليس بفارس بن بيفداد عارض به أبو علي به كتابه فعلامته نسخة مرهولة . وما كان علامته لا فإنه من نسخة كانت عند بني طاهر مقبودة على علي بن عبد الله ابن هاني .

"The present copy has been made" says de Sacy, "of a copy which had itself been made from an original belonging to Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, and which had been used for his lessons. One reads there the following note which is quoted here as it was written. I have copied the following article from the original of Khadhari, a man whose authority Abū 'Alī respected. Know that what is marked ع is taken from the copy of Mubarrad, written in his own hand; what is marked ع comes from the copy of Ishāq al-Zajjāj; it was a copy corrected by Zajjāj's own hand, and had come into the hands of Abū 'Alī: for Zajjāj owned two copies: the former had been collated by Isma'īl al-Warrāq [with his own copy], and he had identified the additions he noticed there. Abū 'Alī also collated the second copy of Zajjāj, and indicated the additions offered by the latter by the sign ع . The same Abū 'Alī also collated his copy with another which belonged to Abū Bakr ibn al-Sarrāj which the latter had made from a copy of Abū'l 'Abbās; and he indicated the additions found in the copy [of Abū 'Alī] by the sign ع . Abū 'Alī read his copy in the presence of Abū Bakr while the latter was following him in his own copy; and he indicated the additions found in the copy [of Abū 'Alī] by the sign

ع .

As to what bears the sign ع , it is Abū 'Alī himself who speaks there; he makes use of this sign to say:

فـرته أنا "It is I who have explained this".

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī, son of 'Īsā, has given us another explanation of this sign; according to him, it signifies Fars. For one must know, he tells us, that Isma'īl al-Warrāq has only copied the preface of the book of Sibawaihi; and a part of what concerns the agent of the verb, from the copy of Kalabedhi in Baṣra; as for the rest of the book, he copied it from the copy of Zajjāj and read it in the presence of Zajjāj. What was indicated by the word نسخة was taken from certain copies of unknown origin; some of them were found in the province of Fars; Abū 'Alī collated his copy from them, and the lessons he derived from these copies are those to which he put the sign قا; others from which he similarly collated his copy were found, not in the province of Fars, but in Baghdād, and the sign which indicates them is the word نسخة without any addition. What bears the sign لا is taken from a copy found with a family of the Banu-Tāhir, and which had been used for the lessons of 'Alī, son of 'Abdallāh, son of Hāni.

On the margin of the same leaf is another note:

وما كان علامته حم فزوم نسخة المبرد بخطه وما كان علامته ح نسخة الزهاج وما كان ب أو عنده فزوم أبي بكر السراج وما كان علامته ق فإنه من نسخة اسمعيل بن اسحاق القاضي . وما كان علامته قا

نوعين أبي علي وما كان علامته سمح فإنه من نسخة في خزنة
 كتب أبي بكر البخاري بخوارزم مقدودة على الشيخين أبي سديد اليراني
 وعلي بن عيسى وشحة بتوقيعها . وما كان علامته ط فمن نسخة
 ابن طلحة نقلت من أصل البخاري .

What bears the sign ح comes from the copy of Mubarrad, written in his own hand: the sign ع indicates what is taken from the copy of Zajjāj, and the sign ب or the word عنده what is taken from that of Abū Bakr (ibn al) Sarrāj. What is taken from the copy of the qādī Isma'īl, son of Ishāq, is distinguished by the sign ق , and the sign ف indicates what belongs to Abū 'Alī. The sign ح indicates what is taken from a copy of the library of Abū Bakr al-Ikhshīdī in Khwarizm, a copy of which was used at the lessons of the two Sheikhs Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī and 'Alī, son of 'Īsā, and which is adorned with their subscription. Finally, the sign ط denotes what has been taken from the copy of ibn Talha, made after a copy written by the hand of Zamakhsharī." Sacy adds: "It seems evident to me that the first of these two notes belongs to a more ancient manuscript from which it was copied, and that the second applies to our manuscript."⁽¹⁾

No doubt it was generally accepted usage for grammarians to make annotations to books, among them to Sibawaihi's text. The body of the Kitāb is, no doubt, original Sibawaihi recognizable by his unmistakable style,

(1) S. de Sacy, *Anthologie grammaticale arabe*, p.384.

and containing a fair portion of the work of his own teacher al-Khalīl. The sign of a post-Sibawaihi scholar on a Sibawaihi MS makes it easy to discern what has been added, by way of remark and comment, to the corpus of the text in later years. As to the marginal annotations, they were clearly intended, in the first place, to indicate that the scholar who put his sign there had read the book and was teaching it. They may signify, however, one of three things: (a) that the scholar in question had read the book; (b) that he was transmitting Sibawaihi, in which case he mostly gave the chain of narrators who had transmitted Sibawaihi before him; and (c) that the note in question was an addition to Sibawaihi's text by way of comment or illustration or as an identification of a quotation given anonymously by Sibawaihi, by attributing it to its author. Abū 'Alī's annotation, the wording of which cannot be ascertained with accuracy without resorting to the original MS which is not available, must have fallen within one, or all of these three categories.

Next in order of intensity is the influence on the Īdāh of the chronologically earlier Abū Zaid Sa'īd ibn Aus al-Anṣārī (died a nonagenarian in 214, 215, or 216 A.H./ about 830 A.D.), one of the most renowned of the early Basrite grammarians, a student of Abū Amr b. al-'Alā and also the Kufite scholar al-Mufaddal al-Dhabbī.⁽¹⁾ He came

(1) Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbā*, p.170.

from the tribe of Khazradj and had his domicile in Basra. His students were numerous; among them were, according to Yāqūt, Ibn Sallām, 'Amr ibn 'Ubaid, Abū'l'Ainā, Abū Hātim al-Sigistānī, 'Umar b. Shabba and Ru'ba b. al-'Ajjāj.⁽¹⁾ He was a prolific writer on lexicographical and grammatical subjects. The canon of his works varies in the different authorities. As many as twenty-five seem to have been current and are mentioned by more than one author. But few of them were large works. They are tracts rather than books. Though he had studied grammar and lexicography alike, he specialized later in "lugha", al-gharīb and al-nawādir.⁽²⁾ The best-known among his books are al-nawādir and al-Hamz. They were both utilized by Abū 'Alī in teaching.⁽³⁾ Ibn Khallikān says of him: "He held the first rank among the literary men of that time, and devoted his attention principally to the study of the philology of the Arabic language, its simpler terms and rare expressions"⁽⁴⁾ Ibn al-Nadīm relates, relying on the authority of al-Mubarrad: "Abū Zaid was well-learned in grammar, though he did not come up to Khalīl and Sibawaihi. Yūnus was looked upon by Abū Zaid as untrustworthy in matters of

(1) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. IV, p.238.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Majallat al-Majma' al-'ilmī al-'Arabī, Damascus, 1957, Vol. 32, p.669.

(4) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān, Vol. I, p.370.

lexicography, but was more learned than Abū Zaid in grammar. Still, Abū Zaid was held in higher estimation than either al-Asma'ī or Abū 'Ubaidah in grammar. For this reason he is called Abū Zaid al-Nahawī (the grammarian)". (1)

Al-Ansārī is generally praised for his great knowledge and trustworthiness. R. J. H. Gottheil remarks, in his treatise on Abū Zaid's Kitāb al-Matar that "in the strife which divided the Basra from the Kufa school, al-Ansārī seems to have been catholic in his choice of authorities". (2)

Most scholars consider him trustworthy (thiqa). Leading traditionists such as Abū Dā'ūd and al-Tarmidhī had no objection to transmitting from him. (3) Ibn Munadir (4) states with regard to him to Sufyān al-Thawrī: "I shall tell you my opinion about your comrades: al-Asma'ī is the one with the best memory; Abū 'Ubaida the one with the most comprehensive knowledge and Abū Zaid is the most reliable." It is assumed that, whenever Sibawaihi says that he has "heard it from a trustworthy authority" he means Abū Zaid al-Ansārī. (5) Al-Mubarrad utters the following judgment on Abū Zaid: "He knows grammar well, but not like al-Khalīl

(1) Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist, Vol. I, p.54.

(2) R.J.H.Gottheil, Kitāb al-Matar by Abū Zaid Sa'īd Ibn Aus al-Ansārī, transcribed from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and edited with notes in JAOS., Vol. XVI, 1896, p.313.

(3) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. IV, pp. 238-9.

(4) Ibid., p.238.

(5) Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol. IV, p.238.

and Sibawaihi. In the lughat Abū Zaid's knowledge corresponds approximately to that of Yūnus, while the latter is superior in grammar. But Abū Zaid is again superior in this science to Asma'ī and Abū 'Ubaida."⁽¹⁾

Ibn Djinnī, who states in Sirr al-Sinā'a (Phonetics) that he studied under Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī a considerable part of the grammatical literature, including Abū Zaid's Nawādir, testifies vividly to the strong influence the book had on

Abū 'Alī: وكان يكاد يصلي بنوار أبي زيد لأعظامها وقال لي وقت تراءتي بإياها عليه ليس فيها حرف إلا ولأبي زيد فيه غرض لا وهو كذلك لأني مشورة بالثبوت والأسرار.

"He [=Abū 'Alī] was almost praying to Abū Zaid's Nawādir, to exalt it, when I was reading it under him, and said to me: 'It has not a letter in it unless it has a purpose, because it is crowded with witty remarks and hidden secrets.' "⁽²⁾

There is no doubt that Abū 'Alī owed much to Abū Zaid. In spite of ibn Djinnī's statement, however, the extent of this indebtedness must not be over-estimated. Abū Hayyān once expressed the opinion that Abū 'Alī did not exceed, in his knowledge of the language, what was contained in the

(1) Ibn al-Anbārī, Nuzhat al-Alibbā, p.175.

(2) Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, Separat-Abdruck aus Bd. XXII, p.52.

books of Abū Zaid. This statement is in fact so unfair that it seems almost malicious, for Abū 'Alī's erudition in grammar was vast.

Ṣāliḥ b. Ishāq al-Djarmī, of Yemenite origin, lived first in Basra and then in Baghdād where he studied grammar, particularly Sibawaihi's Kitāb, under al-Akhfash and Yūnus b. Habīb, and its lexicographic part, the lugha, under Abū Zaid al-Ansārī, Abū 'Ubaida, al-Asma'ī and other scholars of the same category.⁽¹⁾ In Baghdād, he met al-Farrā and engaged in learned disputations with him.⁽²⁾ According to the testimony of al-Mubarrad, none of his contemporaries knew the book of Sibawaihi so well as al-Djarmī, and that is why he had many students. To judge by the opinion of his teachers, he had mastered philology completely, and his books which prove this mastery were held in great respect by his contemporaries. Abū 'Alī taught one of them, the Compendium of Grammar for Learners, al-Mukhtasar fi al-Nahw, and said in its praise that whoever studied it became proficient in grammar.⁽³⁾ Abū 'Alī himself paid a good deal of attention to this book. Besides, he sometimes refers to al-Djarmī in the Īdāh where he also adduces a poetical quotation from him.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Vol. I, p.57; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, Vol. IV, p.268; al-Qiftī, *Inbāh al-ruwāḥ*, Vol. II, p.80.

(2) Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbā*, p.201.

(3) Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbā*, p.199.

(4) The Īdāh, p.221.

Abū 'Uthmān Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Māzinī (died 249 A.H./863 A.D. or 236 A.H.) from Baṣra, the son of Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, a grammarian and a reader of the Qur'ān,⁽¹⁾ according to Mubarrad, the best expert in grammar after Sibawaihi.⁽²⁾ Most of his numerous works are lost, his Kitāb al-Tasrīf, however, has been preserved in a commentary by Abū 'Alī's student ibn Djinnī who stresses in his Sirr al-Sina'a⁽³⁾ that he studied it under Abū 'Alī and profited by this study a great deal.

Editorial approach

Collation of the available Manuscripts

نسخة الأصل . "The basic Copy".

In collating the text of Kitāb al-Īdāh, five MSS were utilized. The present edition is based, in the main, on an MS which is the copy of a manuscript once demonstrably in the possession of al-Djawālīqī⁽⁴⁾ who lived in the fifth and sixth century A.H. This manuscript is found in the

(1) Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist, Vol. I, p.57.

(2) Irshād, Vol. II, p.381.

(3) Majallat al-Majma'al-'ilmī al-'Arabī, Vol. 32, p.669.

(4) Al-Djawālīqī, often referred to by his kunya Abū Mansūr, was a student of al-Tibrīzī, the famous commentator of the Hamasa, and his second successor in the chair of philology at the Nizamiya. He owes his reputation, in the first place, to the explanatory lexicon Kitāb al-Mu'arrab and was, according to his student al-Anbārī, "a better lexicographer than grammarian" (Nuzhat al-alibbā, p.475). al-Djawālīqī lived, according to ibn al-Athīr (al-Kāmil, Vol. XI, p.70) and Abū al-Fedā (al-Mukhtasar, Vol. III), p.18), from 465-540 A.H./1072-1145 A.D. or, according to ibn Khallikān (Wafayāt al-A'yān, Vol. III, p.37), from 466-539 A.H./1073-1144 A.D.

Küprülü library in Istanbul (No.1457). This manuscript, which was made available in the form of a film-roll, and is referred to in the following as the "basic copy", was preferred to the other four on the ground of its antiquity. In the colophon on p.87 (fol.77 of the edited text), the date of completion is given as Wednesday 14th Jamada II . . 528 A.H./1133 A.D. The entire colophon reads as follows:

تم الجزء الأول بحمد الله ومنه وبتأليف الثاني بمشيئة الله وعونه ولحمد
 لله رب العالمين وصلواته على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله الطاهرين . وافق الفراغ في
 يوم الأربعاء رابع عشر جمادى الآخرة من سنة ثمان وعشرين وخمسة .

The manuscript gives, in every way, the impression of being the best and keeping most closely to the original. Though numbered in Arabic figures from 1-87, it consists of only 77 actual foll. of the Idāh. This discrepancy is due to the erroneous inclusion of 18 pages of the Takmila (fol. 16b-fol.25a). The error was discovered when collating the basic copy with the other four, in particular with Küprülü 1456. The latter manuscript, made almost a century later, in 620 A.H., also from a manuscript owned by al-Djawālīqī, does not contain the pages in question. Otherwise, the pagination of the basic copy is in correct sequence. As a result, all the foll. following 16b had to be re-numbered, so that the last page of the present edition, which corresponds to No. 87 of the basic copy, bears No. 77.

The title-page contains, first, the title of the book:

followed by the name of the author: **تأليف أبي علي الحسن بن أحمد بن عبد القادر الفارسي رحمه الله** and secondly: **رواية الشيخ الأجل الإطام العالم الأدهم صاحب عصره في علمه وفريد** رتبه في فضله **أبي منصور سوهوب بن أحمد بن محمد بن الخضر الجواليقي عن الشيخ الإطام أبي زكريا يحيى بن علي الخطيب التبريزي** وأخبره أنه قرأ منه إلى آخر أبواب العدد على الشيخ أبي القاسم الفضل بن محمد القصباني بالبصرة سنة أربع وخمسين وأربعمائة وأخبره أنه قرأ من باب المقصور والمدود إلى آخره على الشيخ أبي القاسم بن برهان وهذه النسخة منقولة من نسخة شيخنا أدام الله سعاده المقروءة على أبي زكريا المقابلة بأصل القصباني التي عليها خط أبي زكريا بقراءة هذا الكتاب شيخنا في سنة ثمان وثمانين وأربعمائة بمدينة السلام.

This is obviously an isnād going back to Tibrīzī.⁽¹⁾

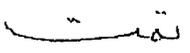
This chain of transmission begins with Abū Mansūr Mawhub ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn al-Khidr al-Djawālīqī who transmits from Abū Zakariya Yahya ibn 'Alī al-Khatīb al-Tibrīzī who, in his turn, claims to have read it under the Sheikh Abū al-Qāsim al-Fadl ibn Muhammad al-Qasabānī in Basra in 454 A.H./1062 A.D. from the beginning to the chapter on numerals inclusive, and from there to the end of the book under Abū al-Qāsim ibn Burhān. Both the title and the chain of transmission are by the same hand as the body of the book, i.e., by that of the unknown scribe. However, the title-page bears, directly below the chain of transmitters, a memorandum which does not appear to be in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript. It is a kind of certificatory statement which runs as follows:

(1) Al-Tibrīzī (born 421 A.H./1030 A.D., died 502 A.H./1109 A.D.). Abū Zakariyā Yahya b. 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Hasan (Yāqūt adds: b. Muhammad b. Mūsā), b. Bīstan al-Shaibānī al-Khatīb, a celebrated Arab philologist. (Ibn al-Anbārī, Nuzhat al-Alibā, p.443; Yāqūt, Irshād, Vol.VII, p.286).

قرأ علي الحاجب الفاضل أبو شجاع سعيد صافي بن عبد الله الحمالي نفسه الله هذا الكتاب
 من أوله إلى آخره قراءة صحيحة ونقل من أصلي وعارض به وكتب قرأته علي
 الشيخ أبي زكريا يحيى بن علي رحمه الله وقرأه علي ابن برهان وعلي القصباني كملت
 قراءته عليها . وكتب مكي بن أحمد بن محمد بن الحضر سنة اثنتين وثلاثين وخمسة .

The words: خط إلياس الجواليقي indicate that it was written by al-Djawālīqī himself. In this memorandum, al-Djawālīqī confirms that Abū Shuja' Sa'īd ibn al-Hājib Safī ibn 'Abdallaḥ al-Hammālī read this book under him from the beginning to the end in the year 532, and adds that he himself read the book under Sheikh Abū Zakariyā who read it under ibn Burhān and al-Qasabānī. This statement, dated 532 A.H./1137 A.D., proves that al-Hammālī read this copy four years after its completion.

The MS. written in partly vocalized naskh, consists of 77 folios with 17 lines to the page and circa 19 words to the line, and is arranged in 160 chapters. The scribe seems to have been a careful, conscientious craftsman who wrote in a steady hand, in medium-sized characters in naskh, without excessive crowding. He revised and corrected the manuscript throughout, crossing out his own not infrequent mistakes, either in the course of writing, putting the desired form beside or on top of the incorrect, deleted (crossed out) word, or apparently retrospectively, in the course of a later revision - in the margin. Sometimes there is a sign in the text indicating that a word has been omitted, and has been supplied in the margin. Apart from

the corrections made by the scribe, the manuscript is frequently annotated. These notes, both marginal and interlineary, often bear al-Djawālīqī's initials, which are of two kinds  , and  . The notes in the margin are sometimes introduced by the word:  and end with:  or  . The interlineations begin and end in the same way.

Little is known of the history of the manuscript apart from what can be inferred from the notes on the title page. i.e., that it was made from a copy of the Īdāh which was in al-Djawālīqī's possession, and was read under him by al-Hammālī in 532 A.H./1137 A.D. How it found its way into the Küprülü library is unknown.

The basic copy has been collated with four other MSS.

أ ب ج د The four subsidiary manuscripts.

The second MS, referred to in the following as أ , is found in Dar al-Kutub library in Cairo under No. 1120. Its value in the preparation of this edition is chiefly confirmatory and is due to its chronological proximity to the basic copy as, according to a colophon on the last page

تم كتاب الإيضاح بحمد الله ومنه ومن توفيقه علقه لنفسه أحمد بن
شجاع في شهر سنة احدى وثمانين وخمسة نفعه الله به محمد وآله الأكرمين
وحسبنا الله وصلواته على خير خلقه سيدنا محمد وآله .

the MS was completed in 581 A.H./1185 A.D.

The title page contained, in the centre, the title of the book *كتاب الإيضاح في علم العربية* and the name of the author: *تأليف أبي عاي الحن بن أحمد بن عبد القادر الفارسي* *شمس الدين بن عبد القادر*. Directly under the name of the author there is the name of the scribe, Ahmad ibn Shujā' al-Takwīnī. Above the title there are two ex-libris which mention the names of two successive owners of the MS. The first indicates that the MS found itself, at some unspecified time, in the possession of 'Abdulqādir ibn 'Umar al-Baghdādī, the author of the *Khizānat al-Adab*. The second ex-libris states that it was, probably subsequently, the property of al-Hāj Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar. A third note of the same kind, found under the name of the scribe, names Yūnus ibn Qais ibn Marzuq ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Shafi'ī as a later owner of the book. Each of these three notes is in a different handwriting. In a still different hand are some hardly legible lines, apparently verses of poetry, which may have been added as a motto by a later owner or donor. They run as follows:

رما زال بي شوق إليك يقودني يدل في كل صمتي صبيب
إذا كان قلمي سائرا بزمامه كلف جسمي بالمقام بلا قلب

At the bottom of the title-page there is the following note: *فائدة: المراد بالحقاق امضار المعنى في الخيال*

It is hardly more than a scribble and seems therefore irrelevant.

Since the MS was available only in the form of a photo-copy, neither the size of the page nor the colour of the ink could be ascertained. The MS consists of 57 foll. with 20 lines to the page, and with approximately 14 words to the line, in partly vocalized naskh. Ahmad ibn Shuja' seems to have been much less careful than the excellent unidentifiable scribe to whom we owe the "basic copy". He made a number of errors, chiefly in the form of wrong vowelings, grammatical mistakes and omissions. His knowledge of grammar seems, on the whole, to have been rather deficient, even to the extent of distorting quotations from the Qur'ān, not to mention misquotations of poetry and grammatical explanations. These mistakes have mostly been left uncorrected. There are only very few glosses in the margin.

MS No. 2256, Ahmad III in Istanbul, referred to as ب , was available in the form of a photo-copy. Written in fully vocalized naskh, it consists of 31 foll. only, as the script is very small and rather crowded, so that there are 25 lines to every page, with approximately 20 words to the line. The writing is, however, very neat and clear and the calligraphy excellent, with occasional marginal corrections. The title-page bears only the title of the book at the top of the page: *كتاب البديع في النحو والصرف*

and immediately below it the name of the author:

لأبي علي الفارسي رحمه الله تعالى

The MS is undated but seems, according to the Fihris al-Makhtūtāt al-Musawwarah, to have been made in the seventh century A.H. (1)

MS No. 1456, Küprülü Library, Istanbul, referred to in the following as ج , contains 227 foll., but is composed of two parts. The first of them is the Īdāh, but also the second, containing the Takmila, is of some interest here, due to the circumstance that it indicates, on p.227a, the name of the scribe, Hibatallah ibn al-Hasan ibn Ya'qūb al-Kātib, as well as the fact that it was made from a copy owned by al-Djawālīqī:

نقلت من أصل بخط هبة الله بن الحسن بن يعقوب الكاتب وخط علي الأصل
نقلت من أصل سيدنا الشيخ الأجل الإمام أبي منصور الجواليقي أطال الله بقاءه .

Part I, which contains the Īdāh, consists of 78 foll. with 15 lines to the page, and an average of 16 words to the line, in sufficiently vocalized naskh without crowding. The script is clear and good with rare marginal corrections, as mistakes are of rare occurrence. The date of its completion is given in a colophon on the last page of the Īdāh, fol. 78b, as Friday, 28 Jumada II of the year

تم الجزء الأول بحمد الله وسنة . وافق الفراغ في يوم الجمعة .
ثمان وعشرين جمادى الآخرة من سنة عشرين وستمائة هجرية . صلى الله على سيدنا محمد النبي وآله وسلم .

(1) Fu'ad Saiyid, Fihris al-Makhtūtāt al-Musawwarah, Vol. I, p.379-380.

The title-page is preceded by a table of contents for both the Īdāh, described as part one, and the Takmila, which figures as part two. This table of contents, in a different hand, occupies fol. 1a and 1b, so that the title-page is on fol. 2a. Rather high up on the title-page is the title of the book: كتاب الإيضاح المضري followed by the name of the author: تأليف أبي علي الحسن بن أحمد بن عبد القفار الفارسي رحمه الله عليه. Below the name of the author there are two ex-libris:

- a) indicating that the MS was the property of Sa'īd ibn 'Abdallāh al-Rūmī ملكه سييد بن عبد الله الرومي غفر الله له والمسلمين أجمعين
 b) to the effect that the MS had come into the possession of Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Sulaimān al-Hanafī.

وانتقل إلى ملك أحمد بن عبد الرحمن بن سليمان الحنفي حامداً لله تعالى
 وصلياً على رسوله .

MS. No. 4451, Aya Sofya Library in Istanbul, and referred to in the following as د, consists of 94 foll. with 15 lines to the page, and circa 13 words to the line. It is written in partly vocalized naskh by an unknown scribe and undated. The title-page bears the title of the book كتاب الإيضاح ويصرف أيضاً بالكتاب المضري and the name of the author: تأليف الشيخ الإمام أبي علي الفارسي الحسن. The name of the author is followed by a note in a different hand which contains some biographical details about Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, and is signed by al-Sayyid Mustafā. The note runs as follows:

عن بن أحمد بن عبد الفطار بن سليمان بن أبلان أبو علي الفارسي الفوي
 الإمام العلامة . قرأ النحو على أبي إسحاق الزجاج ثم نازره فقرأ على
 أبي بكر محمد بن السري الزجاج وأخذ عنه كتاب سيويه . ورغب في النحو
 وانتقلت إليه رياسته . وصحب عضد الدولة فظمه وأحسن الضية
 ومن إنشاده حين ودع عضد الدولة :

ودعته حين لا تودعه نفسي وكلنا تيرمه

ثم تولى وفي الفؤاد له ضيق محل وفي الرؤس سه

ولحق سيف الدولة فأكرمه . أخذ عنه النحو خلق كثير كابن هبني وابي الحسن الربيعي وأبي
 طالب المصدي وعالم كثير . وله كتاب التذكرة وكتاب المحجة وكتاب الإغفال وكتاب الإيضاح
 والنخلة وغير ذلك . وكان ذا دهر يقال أنه أوصى بثلاث ساهل لثمة بغداد والقادسيين
 عليهما وكان ثلاثين ألف دينار . روي عنه قال : لا أعلم سوى ثلاث أبيات في الشيب :

فخصبت الشيب لما كان عيبا وفخصب الشيب أولي أن يصابا

ولم أخضب خفاة هجر هبل ولا عيبا فخصبت ولا عيبا

ولكن المشيب بدأ ذميا فخصبت الخضب له عقالا

مرره السيد مهطفي من كتاب البلغة في تاريخ أئمة النحو واللغة لمجد الدين خيروزابادي

In the margin of the title-page there is a kind of ex-libris:

من كتب أروج الوري السيد مهطفي بن السيد محمد الحسيني ، ١٥٠١ من ربيع الثاني سنة ١٠٤١

in the hand of the same al-Sayyid Mustafā ibn al-Sayyid

Muhammad al-Husainī, and is dated 15 Rabi' II 1041 A.H.

Another marginal note, equally in al-Sayyid Mustafā's hand:

من شروعه لابن الدهان سعيد وسليمان بن عبيد الله الحلواني ، والإيضاح لسليمان

ابن محمد والمصباح لأبي البقاء عبدالله الطبري وشرح لسيد القاهر المرحاني .

lists several commentaries to the *Idāh*: by ibn al-Dahhān

Sa'īd, Sulaimān ibn 'Ubaidallāh al-Halawānī, Sulaimān ibn

Muhammad's al-Ifsāh, Abi al-Baqā al-'Ukbari's al-Misbāh,

and a further unspecified commentary by 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Djurdjānī.

Commentaries on the Īdāh.

As Hājī Khalīfa relates, the Īdāh was valued by numerous grammarians who paid attention to it and provided it with commentaries and appendices.⁽¹⁾ The following list of the commentaries is roughly based on that given by Hājī Khalīfa, but has been completed, whenever possible, by occasional information on the number of manuscripts and places where they are found as provided by Arabic sources as well as Brockelmann, Oscar Rescher and others. Here is a list of the commentaries in chronological order.

The first commentary on the Īdāh was composed by his disciple ibn Djinnī (d.392 A.H./1001 A.D.), and is found in Khalij 'Alī Pasha under No. 932.⁽²⁾

Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī ibn 'Ubaidallāh al-Daqqāq (d.415 A.H./1202 A.D.).⁽³⁾

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Īsā al-Raba'ī (d.420 A.H./1029 A.D.) the grammarian who entitled his commentary al-Īdāh.⁽⁴⁾

Abū al-Ḥusain al-Fārisī, Abū 'Alī's nephew and student (d.421 A.H./1030 A.D.), commonly called ibn Elukht (the son of his sister).⁽⁵⁾

(1) Hājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn, Vol. I, p.512.

(2) Brockelmann, GAL., Suppl. I, p.176.

(3) Hājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn, Vol. I, p.512.

(4) Ibid., p.513.

(5) Hājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn, Vol. I, p.514.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Fadl ibn Muhammad al-'Asabānī (d.444 A.H./1052 A.D.), who does not figure in Hājī Khalīfa's list, but is mentioned by ibn al-Anbārī as the author of a commentary entitled Hawāshī al-Īdāh.⁽¹⁾

Abū al-Qāsim Zaid ibn 'Alī al-Qasharī (d.467 A.H./1074 A.D.).⁽²⁾

'Abd al-Qāhir ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Djurdjāni (d.471 A.H./1078 A.D.). His commentary, entitled al-Mughnī, consisted of about thirty volumes. This was later compressed by him to a single volume under the title "al-Muqtasad". Subsequently, he edited a summary of the Īdāh itself, and gave it the title al-Ijāz.⁽³⁾

So far Hājī Khalīfa. About the most important work on the Īdāh, 'Abd al-Qāhir's Muqtasad, it can be said that its second part is found in Dar al-Kutub library in Cairo under No. 1103 and is, according to the catalogue of the library,⁽⁴⁾ damaged, with a number of cuts and patches. As its end is, according to the catalogue, the end of the whole commentary, it is evidently the final part of the book which must, therefore, have consisted of two parts. As to the manuscript listed by Hartwig Derenbourg as No. 44 of "Les Manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial" as "a commentary on the

(1) Ibn al-Anbārī, Nuzhat al-Alibbā, p.424.

(2) Hājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn, Vol. I, p.512.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Fihris al-Kutub al-'Arabiya al-Mawjuda bi al-Dar li ghayat sanat 1925, Vol. II, p.163.

exposition and the supplement, work of 'Abd al-Qahīr al-Djurdjānī", the well-known author of the Hundred Regents. Derenbourg describes the book as "a commentary on two treatises of Abū 'Alī Hasan al-Fārisī".⁽¹⁾ It figures in the same volume as MSS 42 and 44 of the Escorial library.⁽²⁾ Al-Djurdjānī's authorship of the commentary is beyond doubt as his name occurs twice, once at the beginning

الثاني من شرح الإيضاح والتكملة تأليف عبد القاهر الجرجاني

and secondly, in a more complete form, at the end of the book.

أبو بكر عبد القاهر بن عبد الرحمن الجرجاني

The copy made in Damascus is dated 604 A.H./1207 A.D. Despite the difference in titles, for the Escorial manuscript is entitled الثاني من شرح الإيضاح والتكملة al-Shāfī min Sharh al-Īdāh wal Takmilah (The Comforter), the end of the manuscript: آخر الكتاب المقتصد في شرح الإيضاح أمداه الشيخ الإمام أبي بكر عبد القاهر بن عبد الرحمن الجرجاني رحمه الله وضغ من نسخة في المحرم سنة أربع وستة مائة دمشق

"This is the last of the Kitāb al-Muqtasād fi Sharh al-Īdāh, dictated by the Sheikh al-Imām Abī Bakr 'Abdul Qāhir al-Djurdjānī, the mercy of God be on him " indicates that it is no other than the Muqtasād.

Brockelmann and O. Rescher⁽³⁾ have listed, as Bayezid

(1) Les Manuscrits Arabes de l'Escorial, Vol. I, p.30.

(2) Ibid., pp. 29, 30.

(3) Brockelmann, GAL., Suppl., Vol. I, p.176; O. Rescher, ZDMG, Vol. 64, p.525,

3015, a manuscript of the Īdāh with a commentary by al-Djurdjānī. Rescher gives a detailed description of the MS which consists of a large folio volume 561 x 23, in partly vocalized naskh on brown paper. Rescher states that 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Djurdjānī says [cf. the introduction to the volume] that he read this book [the Īdāh] together with Sibawaihi's Kitāb under Sheikh Abū'l Husain b. al-Husain [his only teacher and Abū 'Alī's nephew] in the year 409. The copy is well preserved, but the dates are missing. Rescher voices no opinion about it, but it can be presumed that this commentary is identical with the Muqtasad. Rescher describes one of the MSS as a large, well-preserved folio volume with gold-cut in readable, though quite unvocalized naskh with a wide margin on whitish paper, containing: I. the complete text of the Īdāh with a commentary by 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Djurdjānī; II. the Shawahid of this work with a commentary. The first volume is dated, at the end, Dhū'l hijja 870. The second is undated. The second work, which comprises 500 x 33 foll., amounts to about approximately a quarter of the whole.

Hasan ibn Ahmad al-Misri, known as ibn al-Bannā (d.471 A.H./1078 A.D.). The date of his death is the only information found in Hājī Khalīfa.⁽¹⁾ The Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore⁽²⁾ lists under No. 2014 the unique

(1) Kashf al-Zunūn, Vol. I, p.512.

(2) Vol. XX, p.48.

copy of a commentary on the Īdāh (foll. 160 x 25 lines).
 The name of the author is not revealed anywhere in the body
 of the MS., but there is the following note on the title-
 page: وأما اسم الشارح فإدري حقيقة بن طان من أئمة النخلة
 الثقة وإنما الذي فهم من عبارة المفتاح للكافي في بحث ما عدا
 وحاشا أن هذا الشرح للإمام ابن البنا المصري
 الشير بذلك .

This note, by a scholar who appears to have read the work,
 indicates that he found in the Muftah of al-Sakkaki (died
 626 A.H./1228 A.D.) in the chapter on حاشا and ما عدا
 a passage from which he inferred that the author was the
 Imām ibn al-Bannā al-Misri whose commentary on the Īdāh,
 one of his 150 works, is specially noted by Yāqūt.⁽¹⁾

The work is divided into two parts, the first of which
 ends on foll. 133b with the following colophon:

وهذه النسخة منقولة من نسخة تاريخ الفرائخ من نسخ في المشرق الأولى
 من ربيع الأول سنة تسعين وخمسة من الهجرة النبوية وهي مقابلة على الأصل
 وذلك على يد كاتبها الفقيه عبد الله بن إبراهيم الزماني . نصر الله وللمؤمنين
 آمين وذلك في أحد عشر خاتون من شهر ربيع الثاني سنة ألف ومائتين
 وستة وتسعون من الهجرة النبوية . منقولة من أصل كتاب اللبحة الميرية .

The second part begins on foll. 135b, as follows:

باب الظروف من المكان : اعلم أن المكان هو ما استقر فيه أو تصرف
 عليه . الخ

(1) Yāqūt, *Irshād*, Vol. III, p.24.

Fol. 135a also contains a note, probably by the above-quoted scholar, on the subject of the identity of the author of the commentary. It appears from the colophons of both parts, the MS is a transcription of a copy dated 590 A.H./1193 A.D., belonging to the Miriya Library of Egypt, and written in naskh. It is dated 1296 A.H./1878 A.D.

Abū Tālib Aḥmad ibn Bakr al-'Abdī, the grammarian (d.494 A.H./1100 A.D.) of whom al-Qiftī says that "he interprets it ~~the~~ īdāh adequately and conclusively, so that they finally said of him that he explained the book of Abū 'Alī in the words of Abū 'Alī due to extensive study of Abū 'Alī's works and notes."⁽¹⁾

Abū 'Abdallah Sulaimān ibn 'Abdallāh al-Halawānī (d.494 A.H./1100 A.D.).⁽²⁾

Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Bādish, the grammarian (d.528 A.H./1133 A.D.).⁽³⁾

Sheikh Naṣr ibn 'Alī al-Shīrazī, commonly called ibn Abī Maryam (d.565 A.H. / 1169 A.D.)⁽⁴⁾

Abū Muḥammad Sa'īd ibn al-Mubārak the grammarian commonly called ibn al-Dahhān (d.569 A.H./1173 A.D.) His commentary consists of as many as forty-three volumes.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Inbāh al-Ruwāh, Vol. II, p.387.

(2) Ḥājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Ẓunūn, Vol. I, p.512.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ḥājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Ẓunūn, Vol. I, p.513.

(5) Ibid.

According to Yāqūt, however, the work consists of 40 volumes only.⁽¹⁾

Kamāl-al-Dīn (Abū al-Barakāt) 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muhammad al-Anbārī, the grammarian (d.577 A.H./ 1181 A.D.)⁽²⁾

Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Ansārī, commonly called al-Khidabb (d.580 A.H. / 1184 A.D.)⁽³⁾

Abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad ibn Ja'far al-Ansārī (d.586 A.H./ 1190 A.D.)⁽⁴⁾

Abū al-Baqā' 'Abdallāh ibn Husain al-'Ukbarī, the grammarian (d.616 A.H./1220 A.D.)⁽⁵⁾ A manuscript in the catalogue of Dar al-Kutub in Cairo, No. 207,⁽⁶⁾ contains part one and part two of his commentary in two volumes, with lacunae in several places. The signature of the scribe is Ahmad ibn Abī al-Hasan Ahmad ibn Hanzala; the date of the completion of the MS is 622 A.H. /1225 A.D. The MS in the Brit.Mus.,⁽⁷⁾ Oriental 58, contains the second part of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's *Īdāh* with al-'Ukbarī's commentary. The front page bears the title of the work

(1) *Irshād*, Vol. IV, p.241.

(2) Hājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, Vol. I, p.513.

(3) *Ibid.*, p.514.

(4) *Ibid.*, p.513.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Fihris al-Kutub al-'arabiya al-mawjuda bi al-dar li ghayat sanat*, 1925, Vol. II, p.124.

(7) *Catalogues Codicum Manuscriptorum Orientalium Qui in Museo Britannico Asservantur, Codices Arabici, Appendix Altera*, p.757.

الجزء الثاني من كتاب المصباح في شرح الإيضاح
(شرح الكلمة) تصنيف الشيخ الإمام حجة العرب رسلان
الأديب صاحب الدين أبي البقاء عبد الله بن الحسين ابن عبد الله
361 x 21 foll. and the name of

the author in partly vocalized naskh. The name of the scribe, which appears at the end of the MS on page 361, is Yahya ibn Muhammad al-Takrītī; the date of the compilation is 616 A.H./ 1219 A.D.

Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Sulaimān Abū 'Abdallāh al-Zuhrī the grammarian, (d.617 A.H./ 1220 A.D.) who does not figure in Hājī Khalīfa's list, but is mentioned by al-Suyūtī. His commentary consists of fifteen volumes.⁽¹⁾

Abū al-'Abbās Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min al-Sharīshī (d.619 A.H./ 1220 A.D.).⁽²⁾

Sheikh Djamāl al-Dīn Abī 'Amr 'Uthmān ibn 'Umar, commonly called ibn al-Hājib (d. 646 A.H./ 1248 A.D.). He composed a commentary on al-Ījāz, the above mentioned summary of the Īdāh by Abd al-Qāhir al-Djurdjānī. He gave to this commentary the title al-Muktafī l'ilmubtadī.⁽³⁾

Muhammad ibn Yahya al-Khadrawi, commonly called ibn Hishām (d. 646 A.H./1248 A.D.) who gave his commentary the title al-Iṣṣāḥ bi Fawā'id al-Īdāh.⁽⁴⁾ According to the

(1) Bughya, p.11.

(2) Hājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn, Vol. I, p.513.

(3) Ibid., p.512.

(4) Ibid., p.513.

catalogue of Dar al-Kutub Library in Cairo,⁽¹⁾ N.16 represents the fifth and last part of the work, according to a statement which indicates that the entire commentary consisted of five parts, only the fifth of which is extant. The MS is in Maghribi script, dated 722 A.H.

Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Ishbilī, commonly called ibn al-Hājī (d.651 A.H./ 1253 A.D.)⁽²⁾

Abū Bakr ibn Yahya al-Māliqī (d.657 A.H./1258 A.D.)⁽³⁾

'Abdallāh ibn Ahmad ibn Abī al-Rabī' al-Umawī (d.688 A.H./1295 A.D.). Al-Umawī's commentary was summarised by Abū al-Tayyib Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Bustī al-Mālikī.⁽⁴⁾ According to Brockelmann, its title is al-Ifsāh, and it is found in the Qarawiyin library in Fas under number 1189.⁽⁵⁾

Abū al-Hasan 'Alī al-Warrāq, whose commentary is valued above others.⁽⁶⁾

Ibrāhīm ibn Ahmad al-Jazarī al-Ansarī whose commentary bears the title al-Ifsāh fi Ghawāmidh al-Īdāh.⁽⁷⁾

Abū 'Alī al-Habūlī..⁽⁸⁾

(1) Fihris al-Kutub al-'arabiya al-mawjuda bi al-dar li ghayat sanat, 1925, Vol. II, p.78.

(2) Hājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn, Vol. I, p.514.

(3) Ibid., p.513.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Brock. GAL., Suppl. Vol. I, p.176.

(6) Hājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn, Vol. I, p.513.

(7) Ibid., p.514.

(8) Ibid.

Abū Bakr ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Maghribī al-Andalusī al-Kāfī. This commentary is not listed by Hājī Khalīfa. It is, however, mentioned by Brockelmann as found in Isma'īl Ef.'s possession in Istanbul.⁽¹⁾ It is also mentioned by Rescher⁽²⁾ in connection with a not otherwise noteworthy copy of the *Īdāh* in *Kutūbhānē-i-Feyziye* and 'Ashir Effendi III, 1909, as a "commentary to Abū 'Alī's text, entitled شرح مسائل البصاح by Abū Bakr Moh. b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Maghribī al-Andalusī /Part I/." As the name of the author is obviously the same it is probably identical with the work referred to by Brockelmann. Since Rescher adds that it is found in private hands in Istanbul, it may even be a question of the same MS. Rescher describes it as written in ancient, completely vocalized naskh, and dated 27 Rabi 654.

Apart from these comprehensive commentaries there are a number which concentrate exclusively on the quotations from poetry contained in the *Īdāh*. They are listed below, arranged in a chronological order according to the date of death of the author.

Muhammad ibn Hamza al-Karmānī (d.500 A.H./ 1106 A.D.) who edited a summary of the *Īdāh*.⁽³⁾

Ibn Tarāwa Sulaimān ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abdallāh al-Māliqī, the grammarian (d.528 A.H./ 1133 A.D.). Hājī

(1) GAL., Suppl., Vol. I, p.176.

(2) O. Rescher, ZDMG., Vol. 68, p.385.

(3) Hājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn, Vol. I, p.515.

Khalīfa says⁽¹⁾ that he raised a number of criticisms against several passages of the Īdāh, but was later refuted by ibn al-Ṣāigh 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Kinānī (d.680 A.H./ 1281 A.D.). So far Ḥājī Khalīfa. According to Brockelmann,⁽²⁾ who located it in the Escorial as Esc. 1830, the title of his commentary is al-Iḥṣāh liba'd majā'a min al-Khaṭa' fi kitāb al-Īdāh.

Yūsuf ibn Sa'i, commonly called ibn Yas'un (d.about 540 A.H./1145 A.D.). His commentary is entitled al-Miṣbāh fi sharḥ shawāhid al-Īdāh.⁽³⁾

Abū al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Fihri al-Shantamarī (d. 550 A.H./ 1155 A.D.)⁽⁴⁾

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Maimūn al-Qaisī al-Qortubī (died 567 A.H./ 1171 A.D.) who gave his work the title "al-Īdāh". This is all the information supplied by Ḥājī Khalīfa.⁽⁵⁾ However, the manuscript of al-Qaisī's work in the Escorial⁽⁶⁾ which has been available to the author of the present thesis in form of a photocopy, is entitled " كتاب إيضاح شواهد الإيضاح للقياس " "Explanation of the verses quoted as examples in the Īdāh".

(1) Ibid., p.514.

(2) GAL., Suppl. Vol. I, p.176.

(3) Ḥājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn, Vol. I, p.514.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Hartwig Derenbourg, Les Manuscrits Arabes de l'Escorial, Vol. I, pp.30-31.

The name of the author is given in a complete form on fol.IV: أبو علي من بن عبد الله القيسي المقرئ
 The copy is dated 633 A.H./1235 A.D. It begins الحمد لله
العزيز العظيم السلطان القويم الإمان It is written on paper in Maghribi script, and consists of 197 x 23 foll.

Not mentioned by Hājī Khalīfa is Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh ibn Barri ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Misri (d.582 A.H./1186 A.D.) who wrote a commentary on the verses in the Īdāh entitled شرح شواهد الإيضاح A MS is found in Dar al-Jutub library in Cairo No. 30,⁽¹⁾ a photocopy of which has been available for inspection to the author of the present thesis. The first page is damaged by a cut in the upper half. The name of the scribe is given as Ṣārim ibn Makhlūf al-Ansārī. It is dated 575 A.H./1179 A.D., and consists of 99 foll., with an average of 20 lines to the page.

Abū al-'Abbās Ahmad ibn 'Alī al-Himsī (d.644 A.H./1246 A.D.) who versified both the Īdāh and the Takmila.⁽²⁾

Abū 'Alī 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusain ibn Hakīm the grammarian.⁽³⁾

(1) Fihris al-kutub al-'arabiya al-mawjudah bi al-dar lighayat sanat, 1925, Vol.II, p.128.

(2) Hājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn, Vol. I, p.515.

(3) Ibid., p.514.

This long and almost continuous stream of commentaries from the fourth to the seventh century A.H. inclusive indicates that the Arabic grammarians paid a great deal of attention to Abū 'Alī's magnum opus for more than three hundred years. That the grammarians still continued to take interest in the Īdāh by the middle of the 7th century A.H., can be inferred from an account by al-Qiftī⁽¹⁾ who states that, when he asked two scholars their opinion on the commentaries of al-'Abdī and al-Djurdjānī on Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's Īdāh, they remained silent for a while, and then one of them remarked that the title al-Djurdjānī had given to his work, calling it al-Muqtasad, was descriptive of the merits of the book, for the benefits to be derived from it were brief indeed. And the other added: " 'Abdī did well in the explanation of the regents the treatment of which by al-Djurdjānī is careless, and both did rather well in etymology. Al-Djurdjānī's words, besides, are more eloquent and moderate". As al-Qiftī died as late as 646 A.H./1248 A.D., one is fully entitled to assume that the interest of the scholars in the Īdāh had not yet begun to flag by the middle of the seventh century. The last independent commentary on the Īdāh seems to have been that

(1) Inbāh al-ruwāh, Vol. II, p.387.

by 'Abdallāh ibn Ahmad ibn Abī al-Rabī' al-Umawī (died 688 A.H./1289 A.D.) which Abū al-Tayyib Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Bustī al-Mālikī (d. 695 A.H./1295 A.D.) read under him, and of which he subsequently made a summary.⁽¹⁾ Abū al-Tayyib's summary seems to have been the last work written on Abū 'Alī's *Idāh*.

(1) Hājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, Vol. I, p.513.

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