UMAYYAD EPISTOLOGY,
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE
COMPOSITIONS ASCRIBED TO
‘ABD AL-HAMĪD AL-KĀTIB

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Ph.D. Dissertation

School of Oriental and African Studies
1982
ABSTRACT

The object of this study, an analysis of Umayyad epistolography and chancery practice, is characterized by the more general problem of source material for the first century of Islamic history. The sources may be grouped as follows: (a) papyri; (b) *inshā’, balāqha, and adab; (c) history, biography, and geography; (d) *hadīth, *fiqh, and haeresiography.

My approach to the problem delineated here will be set out in three chapters:

(1) An examination of the Umayyad chancery: its structure, its adaptation to Arabic, and its technical development.

(2) A critical analysis of specimen letters reported to have been composed during the Umayyad period.

(3) A study of the compositions ascribed to the dominant figure of *Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib, traditionally acknowledged as the major factor in the development of the Umayyad chancery.

The conclusion of this study may be set out as follows:

(1) It has been found that the Umayyad chancery format consists of (a) introductory formulae: the *basmala, the inside address (al-ʻunwān), the *salām, the *tāhmid, and *amma baʻd; (b) concluding formulae: *in sha’ *Allāh (if God wills), repeating the formula of *salām with the definite article "al", the name of the scribe, and the date.

(2) It has been noticed that the records of *Kharāj in the conquered countries used to be written in Arabic, while the demand letters issued from the bureau of *Kharāj were
written in Persian, Greek, and Coptic until the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān who ordered his secretaries to write them in Arabic.

(3) With regard to the letters ascribed to ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib, it has been found that they are not authentic and they could not be regarded as representative of the Umayyad chancery practice, for they involve considerable ‘Abbāsid characteristics.
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to express my heart-felt gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. John Wansbrough, under whose supervision and guidance this thesis has been prepared. His kind help was always unfailing through the various stages of this work. Working with him was a pleasure and from him I have learnt much.

I have discussed almost all the significant points in this research with my wife and these discussions were very useful in pointing out the line this work had to take. I am, therefore, greatly indebted to her for her help and for her inexhaustible patience throughout.

I would also like to thank His Excellency Muḥammad al-ʿArabi al-Khaṭṭābī, the director of the Royal Library in Rabāṭ, for sending me a manuscript which was relevant to the subject matter of this thesis.

To the University of Jordan go my thanks for granting me a scholarship to cover all the expenses of this work.

My thanks are also due to all those friends who helped me in one way or another, in particular, His Excellency, the Jordanian minister of al-Auqāf and the editor of al-Dustūr newspaper.
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INTRODUCTION

The object of this study, an analysis of Umayyad epistolography and chancery practice, is characterized by the more general problem of source materials for the first century of Islamic history. With the exception of the accidentally preserved papyri from Egypt and elsewhere, these sources are accessibly only in later literary works of the 'Abbāsid period. Not merely the authenticity but also the bias of the several and often conflicting reports of a single event are matters susceptible of different solutions according to the method of source criticism applied. For the products of the Umayyad chancery, the primary criterion must of course be the papyri. But since these deal with or represent only a limited spectrum of chancery activity, it must be assumed that some gaps at least can be filled from the material of admittedly later manuals of rhetoric and protocol. The actual texts of letters preserved for the most part in historical and biographical works, as well as in ḥadīth and adab anthologies, may thus be assessed with reference both to the papyri and the manuals, but also to the intrinsic plausibility of their political and social origins. Now, the anti-Umayyad bias of 'Abbāsid sources is notorious (1), but it can hardly be doubted that some impression of the course of Islamic history prior to 132/750 is feasible.

(1) See for example, Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom, the introduction; c.f., Petersen, Acta Orientalia, p. 157; Gibb, Studies on the Civilization of Islam, Ch. one; Munajjīd, Mu'jam Banī Umayya, p. h; Dūrî, Mugaddima fi Tarikh Sadr al-Islām; Jaib, Marwān b. Muḥammad, the introduction by Muṣṭafā, p. 9; Mackensen, "Arabic Books and Libraries in the Umayyad Period", AJSL, vol. 52, 1939, pp. 245ff.
THE PRIMARY SOURCES

For this study the sources may be grouped as follows:

(A) The Papyri:


----- "Neue Arabische Papyri des Alhroditofundes", Der Islam, II, 1911, pp. 245-68.


Bell, H.I., "Translations of the Greek Aphrodito Papyri in the British Museum", Der Islam, II, 1911, pp. 269-83, and 372-84; III, 1912, pp. 132-40 and 369-73; IV, 1913, pp. 87-96; and XVII, 1928, pp. 4-8.


----- From the World of Arabic Papyri, Cairo, 1952.


Moritz, B. Arabic Palaeography, Cairo, No. 16, 1905.
(B) Inshā'/Balāgha/Adab:


----- Rasā'il al-Jāhiẓ (Risālah fī Dhamm Akhlāq al-Kuttāb), ed. Finckel, Cairo, 1926.


----- Diwan al-Maṣ'ānī, Cairo, 1352/1933.

----- Kitāb al-Sina'atāin, ed. 'Alī al-Bajāwī and Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1952.

Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī (414/1023). Rasā'il Abī Ḥayyān
(Risāla fi 'Ilm al-Kitāba), ed. Ibrāhīm al-Kīlānī, Damascus, 1951.


Ibn Nubātah al-Misrī, Jamāl al-Dīn (768/1366). Sarh al-
Uyūn fī Sharh Risālat Ibn Zaidūn, ed. M. Abū al-Fadl
Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1964.
Al-Qalqashandī, Ahmad Ibn ʿAbd Allāh (821/1418). Subh al-
Aṣḥāḥ fī Šināʿat al-Inshā, Cairo, 1915.
Ibn Ḥijjāh al-Ḥamawi, Abū Bakr Ibn ʿAlī, Taqī al-Dīn (837/
1433). Thamarat al-Awrāq, ed. M. Abū al-Fadl Ibrāhīm,
Cairo, 1971.
C) **History / Biography / Geography:**


----- Al-Tanbih wal-Ishrāf, ed. ʿĀbd Allāh Ismāʿīl al-Ṣawī, Cairo, 1938.


----- Wulāt Misr, ed. Ḥusain Naṣṣār, Bairūt, 1959.


Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī, Muḥammad Ibn Abd Allah (524/1129). Al-Awāṣim min al-Qawāṣim, Cairo, no date.


(D) Hadith / Fiqh / Haeresiography:

----- *Kitāb al-Kharāj wa Sanʿat al-Kitābah*, ed. Ḥusain Khādvījam, Tehrān, 1353 sh.
My approach to the problem delineated here will be set out in the three following chapters:

(1) An examination of the Umayyad chancery: its structure, its adaptation to Arabic, and its technical development.

(2) A critical analysis of specimen letters reported to have been composed during the Umayyad period.

(3) A study of the compositions ascribed to the dominant figure of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, traditionally acknowledged as the major factor in the development of the Umayyad chancery.

The possibility, or even likelihood, of interpolation and fabrication, must be assessed on the basis primarily of formal criteria (i.e., does what is or can be known of chancery technique make plausible its alleged products?), secondarily of historical developments (i.e., are such products conceivable in terms of the contemporary political and/or social circumstances?). Chapters (2) and particularly (3) will entail a discussion not merely of language and style, but also of such factors as sectarian and tribal allegiances which may be thought to figure in the composition of letters ascribed by later compilers to the caliphs, secretaries and officials of the Umayyad regime (40/661 - 132/750).

To demonstrate the bias of anti-Umayyad sources, it will be useful to analyze a letter said to be sent from Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya to his governor at Medina with respect to acknowledging the ba‘ī’a from Ḥusain b. ‘Alī, Ibn al-Zubair, and Ibn ‘Umar. This letter has been chosen from the third group of sources (historical and biographical).
FROM YAZĪD B. MUʿĀWIYA TO HIS GOVERNOR AT MEDĪNA

The versions of the letter:

(1) Ibn Saʿīd (230/844):

On the authority of Abū Mikhnaf and others, who said that Yazīd sent a letter to his governor at Medina, al-Walīd b. ʿUtba, which reads: "Call the people for the baʿīḍa, and begin with the noble men (wujūh) of Quraish. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī is the first one you should begin with, for the Commander of the Faithful (Muʿāwiya) instructed me to take care of him and see to his well-being." (1)

(2) Ibn Qutayba (276/889):

After he mentioned the death of Muʿāwiya, he said: "Acknowledge the baʿīḍa to us from our people and our men with you, gladly and willingly. The first of our people and relations who should pay the baʿīḍa are al-Ḥusayn, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubair, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar. Let them swear all the necessary oaths, covenant alms on their property, except the tithe (ushr), liberty for their slaves, divorce of their wives, and firmness and fulfillment in what they acknowledge of their baʿīḍa. There is no strength save in God, and peace." (2)
(3) Baladhwiri (279/892) and Tabari (310/922):

On the authority of Abu Mikhna and Awana and others who said that Yazid sent a letter to his governor in a piece of paper like a mouse's ear, which reads: "Thereafter, obtain the ba'ara from al-Husain, 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar, and 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubair by vigorous means allowing neither compromise nor leniency till they acknowledge the ba'ara, and peace". (3)

(4) Al-Dinawari (282/995):

Dinawari mentioned that Yazid sent a letter to his governor to obtain the ba'ara from Husain, Ibn 'Umar, Ibn al-Zubair, and 'Abd al-Rahman b. Abi Bakr without relating the text of the letter (4).

(5) Ya'qubi (283/896):

Yazid sent a letter to his governor at Medina which reads: "In receiving my letter, bring al-Husain b. 'Ali and 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubair and obtain the ba'ara from them to me. If they refuse, sever their necks and send me their heads. Obtain the ba'ara from the people as well, and execute every one who refuses to do so, and including al-Husain b. 'Ali and 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubair, and peace. " (5)
I - The size of the letter:

Baladhurî and Tabari mention that the letter was written on a piece of paper "ka'annahā uthnī fā'rah", while the other versions do not mention that. This phrase may be applied to either its colour or its smallness, or its insignificance. But Ibn al-Athîr (630/1232), who transmitted the version of Tabari, mentioned that the letter was small (6). However, this size of letter differs from what is known of epistolography in the Umayyad period, especially for the chancery letters. The Umayyad caliphs used to write to their governors on tumar (large paper)(7), which requires special script called "qalam al-tumar" (8).

II - The format of the letter:

Baladhurî, Tabari, and Ibn Qutaiba begin the letter with the phrase "amnī ba'ād", while Ibn Sa'd and Ya'qūbī omit this phrase.

With the exception of the formula al-salam at the end of the letter, there is not any formula of the format used in Umayyad letters, e.g., basmala, tahmiid, etc. (9)

III - The language and style:

(a) The style in the version of Ibn Qutaiba is rhymed and each sentence divides into two carefully balanced members with a little monotony, e.g.,

\[ \text{فَبِكُلِّ نَارٍ كَوْنَنَآ، وَمَنْ فَيُلْدَكَ،} \]

\[ \text{مَنْ رَفَانَآ، بِعَجْبٍ مَنْشِرَهَةٍ بِعَصْرِكَ، ظُلُّتَ عَلَيْهَا؛ نَفْسَكَمْ.} \]

This parallel diction was widely used by the Abbâsid writers (10), not by the Umayyad secretariat, for the Arabic papyri, which have come down to us from the Umayyad period, are free completely of this phenomenon. Besides,
it seems that the early authors disliked rhymed letters and considered that style to be a kind of disparagement for the addressee (11). In the other versions, this style is absent and the language is very simple.

(b) It may be noticed that the version of Ya‘qubi exhibits confusion in its construction. For example, he says: "مُهَدَّنِ النَّاسَ بِالبيعة، فَسَمِنْ مَذْدَقَتُهُ الْجُلُبِّ، وَقَفَّ الْحَسَنَ بَيْنَ يَدَيْ رَبِّهِ، الْزَّهْرِ."

Since he had mentioned these two persons, there is no need to mention them again unless he wished to insist that his governor execute them, and in this case, he could have written after the word al-hukm "I would like to assure you, with respect to Husain and Ibn al-Zubair, that their punishment is imperative in case of their refusal to acknowledge the ba’aa: "مَأْوَرُ وَأَكْرِمْ لَكَ بَالْمَا سَمَىَ الْحَسَنَ وَأَبْنَ الْزُّبَرَ، لَلَا مَنْ سَمِّيَ الْحَسَنَ وَأَبْنَ الْزُّبَرَ."

It might be understood of the statement "wa fi al-Husain b. ‘Ali wa ‘Abd Allah b. al-Zubair" that the governor should execute them without mentioning any cause, and hence that he need not mention them at the beginning of the letter as well.

(c) The formula of the ba’aa differs widely from one version to another. The formula of Ibn Sa’d stresses kindness and good treatment. There is no violence in the formula of Ibn Qutaiba, nay Yazid ordered his governor to deal gently with the people and the persons mentioned in the letter. But what attracts one’s attention in this formula are the oaths in acknowledging the ba’aa, for these oaths were characteristic of the ‘Abbasid period, not the Umayyad period (12). The formula of the ba’aa in the Umayyad period is illustrated in the letter of Ibn ‘Umar to ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwan which reads: "I avow myself (to be) a listener and
obedient to you in the way of God and His Apostle" (ugirru leka bi al-sam‘i wa al-ta‘a‘a ala sunnat Allāh wa Rasūlih) (13).

In the formula of Baladhuri, Tabari, and Ibn al-Athir, the threat is obvious in the statement "akhdhan shadidan laisat fihi rukhsatun walā hawāda", while Ya‘qūbī threatens killing in case of their refusal to acknowledge the ba‘ā “fa in imtana‘a fadrib a‘nāqahumā wab‘ath lī biru‘ūsihimā.”

I do not see the need for execution to obtain the ba‘ā, for the ba‘ā in Islamic law can be obtained by three to five men of ahl al-hall wal‘aqd (authorities) or an appointment by the former caliph (14). Hence, Yazīd was legal caliph according to his appointment by Mu‘āwiya and the selection by ahl al-hall wal‘aqd as well (15).

IV - The persons in the letter:

The number of persons in this letter differs from one version to another. Ibn Sa‘d named one person only, while Ibn Qutaiba named five persons. Baladhuri, Tabari, and Ibn al-Athir named three, while Ya‘qūbī named two persons. Though Dinawari did not relate the text of the letter, he mentioned four persons.

For the positive attitudes of these persons towards the ba‘ā of Yazīd, it will be useful to discuss each separately.

Al-Husain:

Some reports indicate that Ḥusain acknowledged his ba‘ā to Yazīd then he formulated an independent judgement (ijtahada) and renounced his ba‘ā, for example, (a) when Ḥusain decided to leave Mecca for Kūfa, Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī, one of the companions of the Prophet, advised him not to do so and said to him, "Fear God yourself, and stay at home,
and do not rebel against your Imam1 (16). He would not have said "your Imam" if he (Huṣain) had not acknowledged his baʿa, while the persons who advised Huṣain not to go out used the word "takhruj", which possibly means here "rebel against the caliph".

(b) Ibn Saʿd reported that Yazīd sent a letter to Ibn ʿAbbas telling him about the going out of Huṣain, and asking him, as the eldest one of his family, to forbid Huṣain to strive for disunion (an al-saʿyi fi al-furqa). The letter includes two verses, which read: "Tell Quraish, though the goal is far away, that God and kinship are between him (Huṣain) and me. And to stand by the courtyard of al-Bait (the Kaʿba) imploring him to fulfill the covenant of God and his obligations and responsibilities (17).

It is possible to understand his saying that Huṣain acknowledged his baʿa to Yazīd who, accordingly, asked Ibn ʿAbbas to advise Huṣain to fulfill his covenant, for the phrase "ahd al-ilāh" alludes to the formula of the baʿa in Islam, as I have mentioned. Ibn ʿAbbas wrote a letter to Yazīd, which reads: "I hope that the going out (khurūj) of Huṣain is not for some reason of which you disapprove, and I will never stop advising him (not to do so) for the sake of union and to put out the flame of war."

Ibn ʿUmar:

(a) Bukhārī said that Ibn ʿUmar acknowledged the baʿa to Yazīd according to his sister's advice, Ḥafṣa the
Prophet's wife, who said to her brother, "join them, they are waiting for you (Mu’awiya and the people who were acknowledging the ba’i'a), I am afraid that your refusal to join them will cause disunion" (18).

(b) In 63/682, when the population of Medina rebelled against Yazid, Ibn ‘Umar refused to rebel and to renounce his ba’i'a, moreover, he said to his sons and servants (hasham) threatening: "I heard the Prophet say 'a standard to be raised on the day of resurrection of every disloyal. We acknowledged the ba’i'a to this man (Yazid) in the way of God and His Apostle. Never in my life have I known disloyalty greater than acknowledging the ba’i'a to a man in the way of God and His Apostle and then declare war against him. It would be the last word between me and everyone who renounces his ba’i'a or refuses to acknowledge the ba’i'a (19)"

(c) Ibn ‘Umar advised Husain not to rebel against Yazid and to join the community. He said, "he (Husain) saw the civil strife and the desertion of the people to his father and his brother, which made him learn a lesson not to move as long as he is alive and to join the community, for the community is good (2). According to these reports, it seems that Ibn ‘Umar acknowledged his ba’i'a to Yazid and refused to rebel against him in the battle of Harra.

Ibn al-Zubair:
The attitude of Ibn al-Zubair is a little ambiguous in this case. Most of the reports with regard to his ba’i'a are contradictory and concentrate on his escape and taking refuge in the Ka’ba until the death of Yazid (21). In these reports there is an account related by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih saying that Mu’awiya asked Ibn al-Zubair to express his opinion
of Yazid's baia. Ibn al-Zubair advised Mu'awiya to think deeply before this decision was carried out. His exact words were: "... do look before you step forward, and do think before you regret" (unzur gabra an tatagaddam wa tafakkar gabra an tandem) (22). This reply of Ibn al-Zubair does not show clearly whether he acknowledged his baia or not, and also does not show that he refused Yazid as caliph.

**Ibn 'Abbás:**

The attitude of Ibn 'Abbas is well illustrated in his letter to Yazid which was mentioned above. There is another report which shows clearly his attitude to the baia of Yazid. Baladhuri reports on the authority of Mada'inî that Ibn 'Abbas said, when the death of Mu'awiya came to his knowledge, "O God, bestow ample favor upon Mu'awiya, by God he was not like his forebears and no one like him will come after. His son Yazid is one of his good relatives, so stay in your seats (where you are), and acknowledge your obedience and your baia" (23). Obviously, Ibn 'Abbas in this report praised Yazid and asked his guests to acknowledge the baia and obedience, which is contrary to the text of the letter in the version of Ibn Qutaiba.

**'Abd Allah b. Ja'far:**

It seems that Ibn Ja'far acknowledged his baia to Yazid, for he enjoyed a good relationship with him according to the version of Baladhuri, who reported that Yazid awarded Ibn Ja'far an enormous sum of money which delighted him and he replied to Yazid, "Oh, could my father and my mother but be
your ransom" (fidakā aḥī wa ummī) (24). Ibn Ja'far also enjoyed good relations with 'Amr b. Sa'd, the governor of Medina after the deposition of Walīd b. 'Utba, for he said to him, "write a letter to Ḥusain, give him an assurance of protection, promise him that you will treat him with respect and goodness, and ask him to come back, may be he will be put at ease by your letter and come back". 'Amr b. Sa'd said to Ibn Ja'far, "write whatever you wish and give it to me to seal" (25). This must mean that 'Amr trusted Ibn Ja'far. On the other hand, Ibn Ja'far himself wrote a letter to Ḥusain advising him not to go to Kūfa and warning him of Kūfan (26).

'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr:

This figure, who is mentioned in the Dinawari version, had died in 58/677, i.e., before the accession of Yazīd to the throne in 60/679.

CONCLUSION

(a) It is hardly possible to doubt the authenticity of the letter merely because it is virtually free of the conventions of Umayyad chancery practice. If we do so, we should have to reject most of the letters which have come down to us through the historical, biographical, and literary works and this is not possible, for there are many authentic letters in these works.

(b) It is also not possible to accept the letter as authentic and as issued by the chancery of Yazīd for the following reasons:

(1) The confusion and the contradictions of the text of the letter in the transmitted versions.
of Yazīd's bai'a. Ibn al-Zubair advised Mu‘āwiya to think deeply before this decision was carried out. His exact words were: "... do look before you step forward, and do think before you regret" (unzur gabra an tatagaddam wa tafakkar gabra an tandem) (22). This reply of Ibn al-Zubair does not show clearly whether he acknowledged his bai'a or not, and also does not show that he refused Yazīd as caliph.

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The attitude of Ibn ‘Abbas is well illustrated in his letter to Yazīd which was mentioned above. There is another report which shows clearly his attitude to the bai'a of Yazīd. Balādhurī reports on the authority of Madā’ini that Ibn ‘Abbas said, when the death of Mu‘āwiya came to his knowledge, "O God, bestow ample favor upon Mu‘āwiya, by God he was not like his forebears and no one like him will come after. His son Yazīd is one of his good relatives, so stay in your seats (where you are), and acknowledge your obedience and your bai'a" (23). Obviously, Ibn ‘Abbas in this report praised Yazīd and asked his guests to acknowledge the bai'a and obedience, which is contrary to the text of the letter in the version of Ibn Qutaiba.

‘Abd Allāh b. Ja’far:

It seems that Ibn Ja’far acknowledged his bai'a to Yazīd, for he enjoyed a good relationship with him according to the version of Balādhurī, who reported that Yazīd awarded Ibn Ja’far an enormous sum of money which delighted him and he replied to Yazīd, "Oh, could my father and my mother but be
(2) The difference in the number of persons mentioned in the letter who should acknowledge the ba‘ia.

(3) The difference in the formula of the ba‘ia from one version to another, which varies between kind treatment, violence and killing.

(4) The positive attitudes of the persons mentioned in the letter toward Yazid and his ba‘ia, which contradict the text of the letter.

(5) Most of these contradictory accounts are related by Abu Mikhnaf who shows great sympathy for the Shi‘ites. Ya‘qubî also shows himself strongly against the Umayyads. Hence, I am inclined to be reluctant in accepting this letter as authentic.

(6) Finally, it might seem that the version of Ibn Sa‘d is more acceptable than the other versions, for it would have been reasonable for the caliph, upon his accession, to send a letter to his governors to obtain the ba‘ia from the people.
NOTES

1. Ibn Kathir, Bidāya, vol. VIII, p. 162, based on the version of Ibn Sa'd.


9. See for example the letters of Qurra b. Sharīk to Basīl, the Administrator of Ashqūh, in Grohmann, Arabic Papyri, vol. III, pp. 3-55.

10. See Jāhiz, Akhlāq al-kuttāb, p. 42.


17. Ibid., vol. VIII, p. 164.


19. Ibid., vol. IX, p. 103.


22. 'Iqd, vol. IV, p. 368f.
24. Ibid., p. 3.
27. Ibid., vol. VIII, p. 88.
FROM 'UMAR B. 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ TO ḤAYYĀN B. ZURAIQ

Despite the anti-Umayyad bias of 'Abbāsid sources, one can find, occasionally, a few which have reliably transmitted some product of the Umayyad chancery. In what follows, I would like to discuss a letter from 'Umar II to Ḥayyān b. Zuraiq, the controller of passage to and from Egypt (ʾalā jawāz Misr). I have chosen this letter from my fourth group of sources (Hadīth and Fiqh). These, in general, could be reliable sources where their authors have checked the content (matn) as well as the chain of transmitters (isnād).

The version of the letter:

On the authority of Zuraiq b. Ḥayyān, who was the controller of passage in Egypt during the era of Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, Sulaimān, and 'Umar II, who said that 'Umar II wrote to him: "Collect from Muslims on their trading goods for each 40 dinars one dinar. The minimum taxable amount is 20 dinars. Even one third dinar less than 20 is not taxable. From Ahl al-Dhimma collect for such goods valued at 20 dinars one dinar. The minimum taxable amount is 10 dinars, but one third dinar less than 10 is not taxable. For taxes collected you should issue receipts valid for a year from their date" (1).
ANALYSIS AND COMMENTARY

The importance of this letter lies in (a) pointing out an administrative post in the Umayyad period called customs duties collector (sāhib al-maks); (b) illustrating part of the Umayyad financial revenues which was collected from ambulant merchants; (c) throwing some light upon a mode of Umayyad chancery usage known as tax receipt (kitāb ila al-haul).

The post:

Mālik b. Anas (179/795) and Abū ‘Ubad b. Qāsim t. Sallām (224/838) did not explain the nature of the post mentioned in the letter, but merely said, "He was the controller of passage in Egypt (wa kan ‘alā jawaz Misr)." But Abū Yusuf (182/798) declared that Ḥayyān b. Zuraiq was appointed over custom duties in Egypt (wa kan ‘alā maks Misr), i.e., (sāhib maks) (2).

According to the Arabic lexicons, the custom duty collector (sāhib al-maks) was called al-āshir (collector of the tithe) whether he collected tithe or less than that (3). Maks might also mean collecting money from a merchant in pre-Islamic times, or in general: detraction/injustice (4).

Because of these different meanings later authors often misinterpreted the data. Moreover, they attributed some traditions to the Prophet concerning maks and ‘ushr, e.g., "the custom duty collector would not enter Paradise" (5). The narrator of this tradition commented, "he means the collector of tithe (ushr) (6). It is also asserted that ‘AbdAllāh b. Umar said, "the custom duty collector would not be questions about anything"
he would be taken and thrown into Hell-Fire."

The Prophet also said, "whenever you meet a tithe collector you should kill him" (idhā lagītum ʾāshiran faqtulūḥ) (8). Ḫaṭṭābī (388/998) who interpreted "Sunan Abī Dāūd" said, "sāhib al-maks he it is who collects the tithe—called maks—from Muslims and the merchants who pass through his post" (9).

Muslim (261/874) reported the reply of the Prophet to Khalid b. al-Walīd, who cursed the adultress, which reads: "Khalid, be gentle, by Him in Whose Hand is my life, she has made such a repentance that even had a custom duty collector so repented, he would have been forgiven".

On the other hand, Abū Dāūd (275/888) reported another tradition which reads: "Verily, the tithes are upon Jews and Christians, not upon Muslims".

It seems that these traditions were formulated late in the Abbāsid period when the post of customs duties collector became detestable for its connection with injustice as it had been in the pre-Islamic period. There is a verse attributed to a pre-Islamic poet called Ḫābir b. Ḫūnayy, referring to that which reads: "You should pay tribute at each market in Iraq and you should pay dirham as a maks for everything you sell" (12). It is very likely that the Prophet detested, if the reported traditions are authentic, this kind of maks. Therefore, Abū Yūsuf advised Rashīd to entrust the collection of customs duties to honest and god-fearing officials with clear orders forbidding them to wrong the subjects by collecting from them more than they owed (13).
Abū Yūsuf reported that Abū Mūsā al-Ashtarī wrote to ʿUmar I that Muslim merchants were charged the tithe (ʿushr) when entering the enemy territory (dār al-Ḥarb). Thereupon, ʿUmar I instructed him to collect the same duty from Ḥarbi merchants, a half of tithe and from Muslims a quarter of tithe (15). Abū Yūsuf also reported on the authority of Anas ibn Mālik who said: "ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb appointed me as customs duties collector and instructed me in writing to collect from Muslims a quarter of tithe from the value of their merchandise, from Dhimmis a half tithe, and from Ḥarbis the tithe in full" (16). Another version says that the people of Manbij—a Ḥarbi country near Aleppo—wrote to ʿUmar I: "Allow us to enter and trade in your territory, and you have the right to charge us the tithe". ʿUmar I consulted the Prophet's Companions who advised him to allow them. Those were the first Ḥarbi traders who paid the tithe (17).

These accounts may indicate a similar system which was in use in the neighboring states of the Islamic state with little difference. Baynes mentioned that the Byzantine Empire used to levy customs duties on Eastern merchandise coming up the Arabian Gulf. Eastern slaves, pages and eunuchs were also subject to customs duties (18). The levy was 10 per cent both on exports and imports (19), while in Islamic system customs duties were levied on imports at the rate of 10 per cent from Ḥarbis only.

As for the Persian Empire, Christensen mentioned that the Persians used to collect customs duties from the Roman merchants (20). The rate of customs duties was 20 – 30 per cent (21).
The word *maks* was mentioned for the first time in two letters of the Arabic Papyri, dated 91/709, sent from Qurrah ibn Sharīk to Basīl, the administrator of Ashqauh. In the first letter he says: "... and write me a list of what every merchant carried when he left your province. Order them to sell the food at al-Fustāt, for I have ordered the custom duty collector to appraise what they have brought" (22)

In the second letter he says: "... to al-Fustāt, for I have discharged the merchants from customs duties. They may sell it (the food) at al-Fustāt. Do this quickly, for I fear a rise in the price of food in al-Fustāt. In doing so, the merchants would obtain a good profit..." (23)

These two letters indicate the post of customs duties collector in the Umayyad period, and that the governor had the right to discharge or decrease the *maks* for the benefit of the people as well (24).

**The content:**

(a) The **taxable value**:

Mālik ibn Anas mentioned the letter of 'Umar II in the chapter on commercial levies (*zakāt al-urūd*), which means that the collected amount from Muslims is considered as *zakāt*. Its rate is exactly as *zakāt* (2½ per cent). As for Dhimmīs it is considered as *jizyah* or *kharāj*, for in the event of their settling, they would not pay for their merchandise. In the case of their travelling for commerce,
they should pay half the tithe as maks (25).

The taxable value, for Muslims, is 20 dinars, for Dhimmis 10 dinars.

The receipts:

These receipts were issued to the merchants valid for a year from their date. This financial administrative measure shows that the monetary system in the Umayyad period was well organized to prevent injustice and confusion. This case was an object of controversy between the Islamic law specialists (fugahā). Abū Yusuf suggests that custom duty is to be collected from Muslims and Dhimmis only once a year even if they pass the collector several times (26). Malik and others suggest that Dhimmis' merchandise should be taxable on every passage (27). Abū Ubaid discussed both the views and inclined to the opinion of Abū Yusuf according to the letter of 'Umar II and the attitude of 'Umar I who, when it had come to his knowledge that one of his customs duties collectors collected from a dhimmi merchant twice a year, said, "he had not the right to do so" (28).

Before concluding this argument, it is worth mentioning that this letter contradicts two letters, concerning maks, alleged to be from 'Umar II to his governors. In the first letter, 'Umar II ordered 'Adī b. Arta'a to discharge the people from maks because it is fraudulent (bakhs) (29). In the second letter he ordered 'Abd Allāh b. 'Auf to destroy the office of maks in Rafaḥ (between Egypt and Ramla) and to carry it away and disperse (30).

It seems that these two letters were formulated in the 'Abbāsid period, for 'Umar II had followed his ancestor 'Umar I and Umayyad caliphs in this system. Besides, there
are two kinds of taxes mentioned in the first letter, *al-fidya* and *al-mā'ida*, which were not levied in the Umayyad period according to the Arabic papyri and the early works.

**CONCLUSION**

This argument may be concluded by the followed points:

(a) The post of *jawāz Misr* mentioned in the letter coincides completely with the post of *sāhib al-maks* attested in the Arabic papyri.

(b) Comparing the language of the Arabic papyri with the language of this letter, I have found that they correspond in detail.

(c) *Maks* was levied on ambulant merchants.

(d) The levy was considered as *zakāt* for Muslims, and as *jizya* or *kharāj* for Dhimmis.

(e) The detestation of *maks* emerged due to the connotation of injustice. Possibly, this connotation induced Malik b. Anas to say *jawāz Misr* instead of *sāhib maks*.

Finally, I would incline to accept this letter as authentic and as representative of Umayyad chancery style.
The object of this study, an analysis of Umayyad epistolography and chancery practice, is characterized by the more general problem of source material for the first century of Islamic history. The sources may be grouped as follows: (a) papyri; (b) *inshā*, *balāgha*, and *adab*; (c) history, biography, and geography; (d) *hādīth*, *fiqh*, and haeresiography.

My approach to the problem delineated here will be set out in three chapters:

(1) An examination of the Umayyad chancery: its structure, its adaptation to Arabic, and its technical development.

(2) A critical analysis of specimen letters reported to have been composed during the Umayyad period.

(3) A study of the compositions ascribed to the dominant figure of *‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḵātbī*, traditionally acknowledged as the major factor in the development of the Umayyad chancery.

The conclusion of this study may be set out as follows:

(1) It has been found that the Umayyad chancery format consists of (a) introductory formulae: the *basmala*, the inside address (*al-ʿunwān*), the *salam*, the *tahmīd*, and *amma baʿḍ*; (b) concluding formulae: *in shaʿ Allāh* (if God wills), repeating the formula of *salam* with the definite article "al", the name of the scribe, and the date.

(2) It has been noticed that the records of *Kharāj* in the conquered countries used to be written in Arabic, while the demand letters issued from the bureau of *Kharāj* were
written in Persian, Greek, and Coptic until the reign of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān who ordered his secretaries to write them in Arabic.

(3) With regard to the letters ascribed to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib, it has been found that they are not authentic and they could not be regarded as representative of the Umayyad chancery practice, for they involve considerable 'Abbāsid characteristics.
NOTES


3. Lisān (s.v. makāsa and ‘ashara).

4. Ibid.; Fairūzabādī, Qāmus (s.v. makāsa).


6. Ibid.

7. Amwāl, no. 1626.

8. Ibid., no. 1631.


10. Muslim, Sahīh, k. al-ḥudūd, 23, vol. V, p. 120.


12. Mufaddaliyyāt, p. 211, no. 42; in Lisān (s.v. makāsa) it is mentioned in interrogative form.

13. Kharāj, Sal. p. 132


17. Ibid., p. 135.


19. Baynes and Moss, Byzantium, p. 83. About the Roman Empire customs duties, see, Bell, Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest, p. 51.


27. *Amwāl*, no. 1674.
CHAPTER ONE

THE UMAYYAD CHANCERY

I - Administrative expansion:

Umayyad society grew in complexity due to the movement outwards from the Hijáz in order to propagate Islam. Many thousands of people who embraced Islam were in need of Arabic to understand Qur'ān and Hadīth. The expansion of Umayyad territory necessitated extra bureaus (diwans) as well as development of the established ones, and this required extra scribes and secretaries (1).

II - Orthography and diacritics:

Diacritics were according to some authorities not employed in early letters save when a word was equivocal (2), while another opinion asserted that neglecting orthography and diacritics caused many mistakes and much misunderstanding (3). On the other hand, the Arabic papyri are mostly free from both orthographical error and diacritics. But it does not mean that this phenomenon was unknown in the first (seventh) century as some modern scholars claim (4).

III - Regional modification and adaptation (the tale of arabization)

There is an assumption, adopted by early and modern authors, that the records of kharāj in the conquered countries were written in Persian, Greek, and Coptic (5). This situation is supposed to have continued until the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik who (different reasons are adduced) ordered his secretary Sulaimān b. ʿAbd al-Ṣād to introduce the use of Arabic in the
bureau of Syria (6). Ḥajjāj, Ābd Allāh b. Ābd al-Malik, and Ṣaṣr b. Ṣayyār did so (7). However, it may be useful to re­view the early versions of this story in order to throw more light upon it.

The Bureau of Syria

Baladhūrī (279/892) mentioned that Ābd al-Malik ordered his secretary to translate the bureau of kharāj from Greek to Arabic because one of the Greek scribes urinated in an inkstand (8). Ibn Ābd Rabbīh (328/939) in his Iqd and Jah-shiyārī (331/942) assert that Ābd al-Malik had to do so be­cause his kharāj scribe, namely Sarjūn, was arrogant but Ābd al-Malik required his assistance in reckoning. His secretary Sulaimān b. Saʿd said, "I can change the reckoning to Arabic" and he did (9).

The Bureau of Iraq

Baladhūrī mentioned that Persian was the language of the kharāj bureau in Irāq. After the death of Zādhānfarūkh, the scribe, Ḥajjāj appointed Šāliḥ b. Ābd al-Rahmān who told Ḥajjāj what had happened between him and Zādhān concerning his (Šāliḥ) attempt to change the language of the bureau. On this, Ḥajjāj ordered Šāliḥ to translate the reckoning from Persian to Arabic (10). Ibn al-Faqīh (295/906) suggests that Šāliḥ b. Ābd al-Rahmān had chosen Zādhānfarūkh to keep the reckoning of kharāj. Šāliḥ and his scribes were not able to understand the reckoning for it was in Persian. Šāliḥ complained to Ḥajjāj who asked Zādhān to translate the re­cords to Arabic, and Zādhān did so (11). On the other hand, Ibn Ābd Rabbīh asserts that Qaḥdāhī, the grandfather of Walīd b. Hishām al-Qaḥdhamī, had translated the bureau of kharāj
from Persian to Arabic (12).

According to the version of Jahshiyārī, Ṣāliḥ translated the records in 78/679 while Zādhān was still alive (13).

COMMENTARY

With the exception of the language mentioned, it is to be noticed that there is much contradiction and confusion in these versions. The records themselves should be distinguished from the communications and tax demands issued by the bureaus. Hence, one might be reluctant in accepting these versions. I would incline to believe that the records were in Arabic and that communications and tax demands were in other languages until the reign of 'Abd al-Malik. My argument to support this view may be set out as follows:

a - The story of arabisation was related for the first time by Balādhurī (279/892), Ibn ʿAbd Rabbiḥ (328/939), and by Jahshiyārī (331/942). Before that time, with the exception of Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, it was not mentioned. Khayyāt (240/854) said, "after the death of Sarjūn, ʿAbd al-Malik appointed over the kharāj and jund Sulaimān b. Saʿd. He was the first to translate the bureau of Syria to Arabic." (14) Khayyāt did not mention the modification of Iraq's bureau, but when he cited the officials in Iraq he said, "the scribe of kharāj under the governorship of Ḥajjāj was Zādhānfaṛūkh, after whose death Ḥajjāj appointed Yazīd b. Abī Muslim." (15)

b - Abū Yūsuf in his kitāb al-kharāj reported that ʿUmar I sent Uthmān b. Ḥanif to survey the land of Sawād and to levy kharāj on it (16). Thus Uthmān was the first official appointed over this post which was called land survey (mīsāḥat al-arādīn) (17). This post used to be entrusted to the
juriṣprudents or to the governors together with the Salāt (prayer) (18). Caliphs would send auditors to check the records, for instance, Muʾāwiya wrote to the judge Sulaim b. ʿAtar in Egypt to audit the records of kharāj and to report to the official of the bureau (19). Ḥajjāj himself used to audit the records of Irāq as well (20). It would not have been possible for Sulaim and Ḥajjāj to audit the records of kharāj if they were not written in Arabic.

c - It is hardly true that the Arabs, as is often assumed, did not know how to keep records, for (1) the Qurʾān in a number of verses orders Muslims to write down everything, particularly the financial matters (21). (2) The Prophet ordered his companions to make a census, "write for me those who profess Islam." Ḥudhaifa b. al-Yaman said, "we wrote down 1500 persons." (22) (3) The law of descent and distribution and the law of zakāt, in comparison with kharāj reckoning, are very complicated systems. (4) The records of Ḥijāz were in Arabic. (5) The records of kharāj depend entirely on the use of numerals, and these numerals had been created by the Arabs (23).

d - It is astonishing not to find one single letter, regardless of its authenticity, from and to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik concerning the tale of arabization. The poets also did not mention this tale. If it were true, it would not have been neglected either by the caliph and his governors or by the poets, or in the works of ḥadīth and fīqh.

As for communications and tax demands, it would have been sensible to keep the records in Arabic and to translate the original letters issued by the bureau of kharāj into other languages for the non-Muslim officials, who did not
know Arabic. And this explains the Greek and Coptic writing on the papyri which have been discovered in Egypt. To be sure of this point I consulted the Arabic papyri themselves. I have found at the end of some letters so and so has written (it) and so and so has translated (it) (24) (kataba fulān wa nasakha fulān). According to the Arabic lexicons, the word "nasakha" meant in this context "tarjama" (translated) (25). Moreover, I have found that some of Qurra's letters written in Arabic and those which were written in Greek are identical (26). If the people of Ashqau had not burnt many of the discovered documents, it would be very possible to find more such identical letters.

It seems that ʿAbd al-Malik was convinced that Arabic had by that time spread to the conquered countries, and that it was time for non-Muslim officials to employ it. Thereupon, he ordered his secretaries to write down the documents issued from the chancery of kharāj in Arabic as well as the records themselves, though it can hardly have been possible for such a change to be accomplished thoroughly in a short time (27).

To conclude this argument, it is important to mention the exposition of Becker in treating the question of modification and its stages. He suggests that the variation in order of Greek and Arabic in bilingual texts might indicate the order of translation from one language to the other, that is, Greek Arabic, Arabic Greek, Arabic (28).
NOTES


22. Muslim, Sahīh, Kitāb al-Īmān, b. 65, p. 91; Bukhārī, Sahīh, Kitāb al-Jihād, b. 181, kitābat al-imām linnās.

23. For the development of the Arabic numerals, see, Diringer, The Story of the Alpha Beth, p. 275.


IV - EPISTOLARY FORMAT

The Umayyads, as well as the Rāshidūn caliphs, followed the epistolary format laid down by the Prophet. Unfortunately, we have not an original document from the Prophet in order to know exactly what his epistolary format was, though later authors have adduced some specimens of the Prophet's letters. In what follows I will attempt to describe the Umayyads' format by comparison with the Rāshidūn and ‘Abbāsid models. Customarily, the letter consists of three parts: the introduction (fawāţīh and suďūr), the content (matn), and the conclusion (khawāţīm)(1).

Introductory formulae:

(a) The Basmala (in the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful): The Arabs in the pre-Islamic period used to write "in the name of God" (bism Allāh), or "in Your name, 0 God" (bismik Allāhumma) (2). In the Islamic period the Prophet wrote "in the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful" (بسم الله ﷲ الرحمن الرحیم) and ordered his secretaries to write thus at the beginning of the letters (3).

They so disapproved of every writing without the Basmala that Sa‘īd b. Jubair said, "a letter is unusable unless it begins with the name of God" (4). With respect to writing the Basmala, it is related that the letter (sīn) in the word "bism" should be written with teeth like this "س". Zaid b. Thābit used to rub it out if it was written without teeth (5). The letter "bā‘" should be a little upright to
indicate the omitted "alif" like this "ب" , and it should not be extended before the "sin". The extending should be after the "sin" like this "بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم" (6). It is also preferred to extend the letter "hā" of the word "Rahmān" like this "الرحمن" (7).

On the other hand, the Basmala is to be written alone in one line at the beginning of the letter (8) so, the whole Basmala is written like this, "بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم".

(b) The inside address (al-'Unwan):

It is said that Qiss b. Saida was the first to write "from so and so to so and so". Then the Prophet used this formula. The Rashidun caliphs, the Umayyads, and the Abbāsids used to do so (9).

There are two main formulas for writing the inside address. The first one is "from so and so to so and so". For example, the Prophet used to write "from Muḥammad, the slave of God and His Apostle, to Heraclius, ruler of the Romans." (10) 'Umar I used to write "from 'Umar the successor of the Prophet's successor", but when he was given the title Commander of the Faithful, he wrote, "from the slave of God 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the Commander of the Faithful". This formula continued in use up to the reign of Harūn al-Rashīd when they added the agnomen (kunya) (11).

It was the ancient practice in general addresses to mention, first, the name of the sender then the name of the addressee (12). The second formula in the Rashidun and Umayyad periods is "to so and so from so and so". Khālid b. al-Walīd used to write to the Prophet "to Muḥammad the Apostle of God from Khālid b. Walīd." (13)
In writing to the caliphs, in the Umayyad and ʿAbbasid periods, the address should begin with the name of the caliph and his title, i.e., the Commander of the Faithful (ʿAmīr al-Muʾminīn), then the name of the sender (14). It is found that the Prophet used to write sometimes "this is a letter (kitāb) from Muḥammad the Messenger of God to so and so)" (15).

Theoretically, the scribes used to write the name of the sender at the right side of the paper and the addressee's name at the left side (16). But, according to the Arabic papyri, this rule was not followed, for the name of the addressee is written directly after (i.e., without a space) the name of the sender (17). With respect to this problem, Nahḥās mentioned that Ḥajjāj wrote to ʿAbd al-Malik, with a tumār (broad) script, "to the slave of God, ʿAbd al-Malik the Commander of the Faithful"), then he wrote in a dagīq (fine) script "from Ḥajjāj b. Yusuf". Subsequently, the scribes adopted this style in writing to the caliphs (18). Unfortunately, we have no genuine letter to prove this assumption.

(c) Al-Salām (peace be upon you):

In the Rāshidūn, Umayyad, and ʿAbbasid periods, Salām used to be written after the address as a solution to court the friendship of the addressee (19). To Muslims, the formula of Salām is without definite article, "peace be upon you" (ṣalām ʿalayk) (20). To non-Muslims the formula is "peace be upon him who follows the guidance" (ṣalām ʿalayhi ʾrīdā) (21).

(d) Al-Tahmīd (praise be to God):

The formula of Tahmīd to Muslims is "I praise you
God, besides whom there is no god" (لاقِبُ أَحَدَّ إِلَيْهِ السُّمُوحُ رَبّيَّةُ هُوَ وَلَدِيَّ). (22). To non-Muslims, "I praise God, besides whom there is no god" without mentioning the phrase "unto you" (طَلِبَ أُهِبَ الْسُّمُوحُ رَبّيَّةُ هُوَ وَلَدِيَّ). (23).

The formula of Tahmīd was effective in the Rāshidūn, Umayyad, and ʿAbbāsid periods until the reign of Harūn al-Rashīd who instructed his scribes to add after the Tahmīd "and I implore Him to bless His slave and Apostle. God bless him and grant him salvation." That was the most glorious deed of Rashīd, as Ṣuʿūdī said (24). On the other hand, it is assumed that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Katib was the first to lengthen the phrase of Tahmīd. This assumption will be subjected to a discussion in a separate chapter (25).

(e) Ammā baʿd (thereafter):

It comes directly after the Tahmīd. It is said that the first to use Ammā baʿd was Qiss b. ʿAṣīda (26) while Ṭabarī mentioned that the Prophet Dāūd (David) was the first to say Ammā baʿd. (27). However, we have not any authentic document either from Qiss or from the Prophet Dāūd to reach a decision. But, on the other hand, the letters from the Prophet Muḥammad in literary transmission demonstrate that he used to write it after Tahmīd. The Rāshidūn caliphs, Umayyads, and ʿAbbāsids did so (28). Customarily, it is to be written directly after the first Salām before Tahmīd (29). Bukhārī mentions that it might be written after the Basmala, while Qalqashandī mentions that many letters used to begin with Ammā baʿd without the Basmala according to some letters related without Isnād (the chain of narrators) and full format (31). In the Arabic papyri, Ammā baʿd comes usually after Tahmīd (32).
As for its meaning, Ibn Durustuwain mentioned that it means "after praising and thanking God, it is so and so" (33). Its complement is usually introduced by the particle /fa/ (34).

**Concluding formulae:**

The conclusion consists of (a) the phrase "in Shā'īn Allāh" (if God wills) (35); (b) repeating the formula of salām with the definite article "al" (36). To non-Muslims, they say "السلام عليه من أصح الحدث", if they did not mention the salām at the beginning (37). It is said that the salām should be written without the definite article (al) because it is mentioned at the beginning, while it should be written with the definite article (al) because it alludes to the first salām (38); (c) the name of the scribe.

(d) The date:

It is important to examine the sources with regard to the dating of the letter (39). Who established the date in Islamic chancery procedure was an object of controversy between the early authors, some asserting that it was 'Umar I (40). According to several documents related to the era of the Prophet and his first successor Abū Bakr, it seems that the Prophet was the first who established the date (41). The date has two formulas (a) dating according to the fulfilled days of the month such as "it is written on the first day of the month"; (b) dating according to the remaining days of the month such as "it is written three days before the end of the month" (42). It might be noticed that the date in the Arabic papyri is mostly written without mentioning the days, thus "it is written in Shawwāl of the year so and so" (43).
NOTES


16. Rusūm, p. 104; Burhān, p. 337.

17. See for example the letter of Qurrah to Basīl, Grohmann, Arabic Papyri, vol. III, p. 19; Becker, NAPF, p. 257.


20. Şinā'atain, p. 159; Qalqashandī, vol. VI, p. 320; Rusūm, p. 107.


23. See the letters of Qurrah in Grohmann, Arabic Papyri, vol. III, pp. 3-32.

24. Şūlī, p. 40.

25. See below.


27. Ṭabarī, vol. VI, p. 179.

28. Şūlī, p. 38; Şinā'atain, p. 159.


32. See note 23 above.

33. Rustum, p. 106; Durustuwaih, p. 131.

34. Durustuwaih, p. 131; Qalqashandī, vol. VI, p. 231.

35. Rusum, p. 106; cf. note 23 above.

36. Rustum, p. 107; Durustuwaih, p. 129.

37. Bukhārī, Sāhil, bad’al waby, vol. VIII, p. 105; Muslim, Sāhil, no. 32; cf. note 23 above.


39. Şūlī, p. 179f; Jahshiyārī, p. 20; Shamārīkh, p. 5f.


41. See the formula of the date in ʿIqd, vol. IV, p. 159; Şūlī, p. 182; Shamārīkh, p. 9; Mudabbir, p. 26.

Despite the expansion of Umayyad territory and the growing complexity of society, it is difficult to find authentic letters appropriate for study of Umayyad chancery practice. Furthermore, the material available is limited, being restricted to isolated historical and political aspects of Umayyad society. It is remarkable in this domain that the letters of 'Umar II enjoyed a particular interest, presumably because of his piety, but otherwise, many forged letters were attributed to him (1).

This chapter is an attempt to discuss the substance of Umayyad chancery production from as many points of view as possible. The letters analysed here are chosen from among the four groups of sources mentioned in the introduction.

ARABIC AND GREEK PAPYRI:

The Arabic and Greek papyri deserve special attention for the following reasons: (a) They throw some light on Umayyad chancery practice undistorted by the prejudices of historians (2). (b) They are official documents sent almost entirely by Qurra b. Sharik who was the governor of Egypt from 90/709 - 96/714 (3). (c) They are almost certainly authentic though not necessarily originals (4). (d) They are very important with respect to epistolary format and style, for they coincide completely with the theoretical modes mentioned in the first chapter: each letter consists
of the introductory formulae (al-Basmala, al-'Unwan, al-Tahmīd, and Amma ba'd), and the concluding formulae as well (In Shā'a Allāh, al-Salām, the name of the scribe and the date of letter). Thus, these letters give a reliable impression of chancery practice, unlike those transmitted in literature where this format does not appear clearly. As for the style, it is unrhymed and unstilted. With the exception of some words, the language is easy and straightforward (5).

1 - FROM QURRA B. SHARĪK TO BASĪL

(Corning intrusion into a private dwelling)

1 - In the name of God,/ the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2 - From Qurra b. / Sharīk to Basīl, the pagarch of
3 - Ashqau/: I praise God, besides whom
4 - there is no god. /
5 - Now then /, Dāūd b. Bada (?) (6) told me
6 - that the headman / (mazut) of his village unjustly
intruded into his place
7 - on the pretext / of recovering property and effects.
8 - On receiving /this letter,/
9 - bring them together. If what
10- I have been / told was true, insure
11- him his right,/ and do not treat him unjustly.
12- And, expel/ the headman forcibly from
13- the houses/ of the peasants.
14- And peace/ be upon him who follows the right guidance.
15- And al-Ṣalt b. Mas'ūd /has written (it)/
16- in the month of R/amaḍān of the year ninety (Jul.-Aug. 709).
This letter broaches an important problem concerning the security and protection of the public against the aggression of headmen of the villages. In this case Dāūd b. Bada (7) made a complaint against the headman of his village who intruded into his place. Qurra instructed Basīl to investigate the complaint according to Islamic law (7) by asking Dāūd to substantiate his allegation. This rule does not appear clearly in this case, but it is well illustrated in other letters (8). If the plaintiff did so, the administrator should insure him his right. The most important thing in this case is the order from Qurra to Basīl to avoid injustice, for the plaintiff was one of the peasants (anbat), while the defendant was the headman of the village. Hence,
Qurra was very strict with respect to the conduct of the village headmen.

According to this letter, together with others from Arabic and Greek papyri, Qurra was not unjust, as is assumed by the late Arab authors (10). His letters concerning public affairs and complaints mostly involve the phrase "do not conduct yourself unjustly" (wala yuzlamanna 'indak). Becker and Grohmann suggest "wala tazlimanna 'abdak" (do not treat your servant unjustly) (11). This misunderstanding has occurred because the original letter is free from diacritical points. I would incline to suggest "wala yuzlamanna 'indak" because Dāūd was not a servant of Basīl or the Māzūt, but, in fact, he was one of the peasants. What may support this view is that Qurra at the end of the letter ordered Basīl to prevent the aggression of the headman against the peasants. The view of Becker and Grohmann could be acceptable if the term "'abdak" was used metaphorically. It is worth mentioning that the last letter of the word yuzlamanna/tazlimanna is doubled (= "energetic") in order to emphasize the importance of avoiding injustice.

In addition to the above-mentioned problem, this letter points out an administrative post formerly of the Greek administration and which continued to be so in the Umayyad period. This post was called "māzūt" (headman of a village), borrowed from the Greek " elleptéos" (12). Qurra, as it might be noticed in the Arabic papyri, used to write sometimes "sāhib garyatih" or "sāhib al-garya" (13). Possibly, sāhib or sāhib al-garya indicates the Arabic term either for māzūt who was entrusted with the administrative
affairs in a small village, or for the pagarch who was entrusted with the administrative affairs in a big district like Ashqau.
NOTES


2. For details see, Jeffery in his review of the Qurra papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute, by Abbott, in The Muslim World, vol. XX, 1940, pp. 189-191.

3. Ibid, p. 190

4. It is mentioned in one of the Greek papyri letters no. 134 that Qurra ordered Basili to read his letter to all the people of the district and to charge them to write a copy of it to each place and to publish it in their churches. Accordingly, it might be that these letters are not the original ones, though they are still, of course, authentic. (H.I. Bell, "Translations of the Greek Aphrodito papyri in the British Museum", Der Islam, 1911, vol. II, p. 275.)

5. See below, the commentary.

6. The remnant of the last letter of this name may not suit "Baddā" suggested by Becker (PAF, p. 75). The remnant of the last letter could be read (س), and thus the full name could be (Badās) or (Baddās).


8. See for example, Grohmann, Arabic papyri, vol. III, p. 34, no. 155; Becker, NAPF, p. 260, no. VIII.


1 - In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful/
2 - /From Qurra b. Sharīk to Basīl/
3 - /paqarch of Ashqau. I praise/
4 - /God, besides whom there is no/
5 - god. Now then, A
6 - 1 - Qāsim b. Sayyār the post-
7 - master, reported to me
8 - that you dealt harshly with some of the villages
9 - in your district on account of what is
10- due from them of the poll-tax. On
11- receiving this letter,
12- do not bother any
13- of them on any account until I instruct
14- you with respect to them, if God
15- will. And peace be
16- upon him who follows
17- the right guidance. And Muslim has written (it)
18- in the month of Rabi‘I
19- of the year ninety one (Jan.-Feb. 710).
[بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم]

[من قرة بن شريك إلى بسيط]

[صحاب اشتوه فاني أحمد]

[الله الذي لا إله إلا هو]

هو أما بعد فات ا

القاسم بن سيار صا

حَبُّ الْبَرِيدَ ذَكَرَ لِلَّدَوْرُ

انه اخذت قر

9 ا في ارضك بالذي

10 عليهم من اللزلة فاذا

11 جاك كنت هنذا

12 فلا تعارض ام حدا

13 منهم بياء حتى حدث

14 البك فيهم ان شا

15 الله وسلم

16 علي من اتبع

17 الهدى وكتب مسلم

18 في شهر ربيع الأول

19 سنة احدى وسعين

Grohmann, Arabic Papyri
vol. III, p. 28
The content of this letter consists of two important problems: (a) the functions of the postmaster (ṣāhib al-barīd) in the Umayyad period. (b) The method of collecting and assessing poll-tax.

(a) - The functions of the postmaster:

One of these functions is well illustrated in this letter. Qāsim b. Sayyār (1), the postmaster, delivered a report against Basīl who unjustly dealt with some villages. Hence, the postmaster was charged with observing and reporting on the administrators, the situation of districts, with respect to their prosperity and desolation, and the subjects' affairs with respect to the treatment they had had. He also was charged with observing the mint's officials and despatching persons and things to the governor (2). His reports should be accurate and valid (3).

(b) - The method of collecting and assessing poll-tax:

It is not mentioned in the letter what kind of punishment Basīl inflicted on the villages, but merely that Qurra ordered him to stop, promising to send a letter including his instructions with respect to them. Unfortunately, this complementary letter has not been preserved, but there is a letter amongst the Greek papyri that could be considered as a complementary letter to the Arabic one, for the Greek letter deals with the same subject and contains detailed instructions with respect to the collecting and assessment of the poll-tax. According to the Greek letter, Qurra instructed Basil to fear God and preserve justice and equity in the assessment of the quota
imposed upon the people. Qurra also ordered Basīl to send him a register containing particulars as to the amount assigned to each person, showing the name and patronymic and place of residence of those who assessed the said tax. Moreover, Qurra warned Basīl not to cheat the people of his district in the matter of tax distributed by him (Basīl), nor to show any preference or antipathy to any one in the assessment of the said tax, but to treat each with justice and assess him according to his means (4).

Therefore, the statement "لا أقدر على مالية الأشياء في أراضي بارزان بني بني بن الريحان" could be understood that Basīl afflicted the villages by showing antipathy to them with respect to the amount of assessment. His warning to Basīl reads: "if we find that the assessors have assessed any one too lightly through partiality or too heavily through antipathy, we shall requite them both in their persons and in their estates by God's command (5). On the other hand, Grohmann suggests that the term "akhadhta" means "fined" (6).
NOTES

1. Concerning this name, Grohmann mentions that the remnants of letters at the beginning of the line do not suit (al-Walid) suggested by Becker. The name is surely to be read (al-Qasim b. Sayyar). See, Grohmann, Arabic Papyri, vol. III, p. 28, no. 153; c.f. Becker, NAPF, p. 259, no. VI.

2. For more details see, Qudama, al-Kharaj wa San'at al-kitaba, p. 48; Qalqashandi, vol. XIV, p. 369; Sa'dawi, Barid; Margoliouth, Catalogue, p. 29.

3. Al-Kharaj wa San'at al-Kitaba, p. 48.

4. Bell, Papyri, no. 1345, no. 1356.

5. Ibid., no. 1345.

FROM QURRA TO BASIL CONCERNING THE JĀLIYA

1 - /In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful./
2 - /From Qurra b. Sharik/
3 - /t/o /Basil, pagar/ch /of Ashqau. I/
4 - praise God, besides whom there /is no
god./
6 - Now then, Hīshām b. Uma/r/ (1)
7 - reported to me, in writing,
8 - that some of the people in his district have emigrated
to yours.
9 - I have instructed
10- the factors
11- not to give shelter to an emigrated person. On
receiving this letter,
12- return his
13- emigrants to him.
15- I do not wish to hear again that you have sent back
his messengers
16- or that he has written
17- complaints against you to me. And peace be
upon him who follows the right guidance. And Yazīd
19- has written (it) in Jumādā II
20- of the year ninety one (Apr - May 710)
[بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم]
[من قرة بن شمر بك]
[الله [بسبصابة [شمره قاني,
[حمد الله الذي لا [الله الا
[هو]
[اما بعد فان هتشام بن عمر]
[كتبت الى يذكر]
[جالية له بشارك]
[قد تقدمت الى]
[العال وكتبت اليم]
[الا يو جاليا فادا]
[جاك كتب هذا]
[فادفع الى ما كان]
[له بارضك من جاليه]
[ولا أعرف ما ردت]
[رسله او كتب الى]
[يشتكي والسمل]
[على من اتبع الهدى وكتب]
[يزيد في جمادي الآخره]
[سنة احادى وسعين]

Grohmann, Arabic Papyri
vol. III, p. 23f
It is a serious problem which this letter deals with, and it was common in the Umayyad period, both in Egypt and Iraq as well. This problem is the jāliya (pl. jawālī), those people who used to emigrate from their villages to other places. Hence, it might be useful to expound the meaning of jāliya. Grohmann, Becker, and Bell suggest that jāliya means fugitives (1), though the term jāliya in this letter does not indicate the sense of fugitives, who usually run away from injustice, danger, slavery and possibly from taxes. According to the Arabic lexicon, jāliya has two meanings: (a) the persons who emigrated from their homes; (b) The Dhimmis who were forced to emigrate from their homes by 'Umar I. Then it was applied to the Dhimmis who used to pay poll-tax, though they have not emigrated from their homes. You say: "so and so was employed as a collector of the poll-tax" (2). According to that, jāliya may refer to the emigrant peasants (including Muslims and Dhimmis) who, for some reason, had emigrated their districts. However, the question is, why did they emigrate from their districts? Tritton suggests that one of the main reasons was burden of taxation (3). This suggestion could be convincing, but could they, by emigrating their districts, evade paying taxes? It seems difficult for these jāliya to evade paying the taxes, for Qurra instructed Basil to make a register of these jāliya, specifying the name and patronymic of each, the place of his origin, the district and pagarchy to which he emigrated, and the amount of each man's property, both personal and
real (4). Besides, it is mentioned through these papyri that Qurra, several times, instructed Basīl to fear God in the assessment of taxes as aforementioned (5). On the other hand, some Greek papyri, dealing with this problem, mentioned that some of the emigrants were allowed to remain where they settled on condition of contributing (to the tax) (6).

Bell, dealing with this problem, states that there is, unfortunately, no indication as to the cause of their emigration (7). Probably, those peasants emigrated from their lands seeking their fortunes in the big districts like Ashqau (8). Ḥajjāj in Iraq had had the same problem which he dealt with as exactly as did Qurra (9).

It seems, from the papyri letters, that Qurra had to deal strictly with this problem because the emigration of the peasants left unworked the arable land so very important to the Umayyad treasury (10). In addition to that, these emigrations might delay and throw obstacles in the way of collecting taxes, as a new census and assessment would become necessary.
NOTES

1. If the term *jāliya* refers to the emigrant peasants, Hishām b.‘Umar could be an ordinary administrator, but otherwise, if the term refers to the Dhimmis, Hishām could be an official employed as a collector of the poll-tax.


6. Ibid., no. 1356. See also above, the commentary on the previous letter.

7. Ibid., no. 1333, 1343.


The letters of this group are preserved only in literary works dating after the end of Umayyad caliphate. The earlier specimens of what is said to be Umayyad chancery practice are transmitted by Jahiz (255/968) in al-Bayan wal-tabīn, Ibn Qutaiba (276/889) in ‘Uyun al-akhbār, Mubarrad (285/898) in al-Kamil, and by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (328/939) in al-Igd. Moreover, the letters of this group are virtually free of Umayyad chancery conventions. Thus, most of these letters may not give a reliable impression of chancery practice, which may indicate that they could be forged or interpolated. But it does not mean that one can not find authentic letters appropriate to the study of Umayyad chancery practice. It is noticeable that some letters in this group are brief and some of medium length. This could be due to the fact that the books of this group, usually, deal only with specimens of literary and eloquent style.

1 - FROM ḤĀJJĀJ TO QUTAIBA B. MUSLIM

(Concerning the public welfare)

It is related that Qutaiba b. Muslim wrote to Ḥājjāj complaining about a large quantity of locusts, a decrease of crops, and the drought that had befallen the people of his district. Ḥājjāj wrote to him: "If the time of kharāj has come, look after the welfare of your subjects and their requirements, for the treasury is better equipped for that than the widow, orphan, and poor man."

"إِذَا أَزَفَ خَرَاجٌ فَانظُرُ لِرَعْيَتِكُمْ يَوْمَئِذَِّ أَيْضَ أَنْفَثُكَا بَذَلِكَ مَنْ اسْتَمَلَّ وَالَّذِينَ وَضَعَّ نَفْتَهُمْ أَنفْثٌ".

COMMENTARY

The anti-Umayyad sources accuse Ḥajjāj of being cruel, of collecting kharāj and poll-tax by force, and of imposing additional taxes upon the people (1). But, according to this letter, if it is authentic, Ḥajjāj appears as a governor who cared about his subjects and looked after their requirements especially during the drought seasons when people, naturally, were in need of money and food. Ḥajjāj used to inquire of the delegations about their affairs, condition of their countries, and about the average of rain (2). Rāghib al-Asfahānī reported that Ḥajjāj discharged one of the landlords of what was due from of the kharāj when the latter complained to Ḥajjāj about the decrease of his crop (3). Moreover, Ḥajjāj was the first to give loans to farmers (4).

However, the phrase "bait al-māl ashaddu idtílaʿ an bidhālik" indicates that Ḥajjāj understood that the government, in such cases, should look after the welfare of people. Due to that concept, Ḥajjāj here instructed Qutaiba not to neglect the people by concentrating on collecting kharāj. On the other hand, one may incline to accept this letter as authentic, for its language and style coincide with the mode of writing in the Umayyad period according to the Arabic papyri.
NOTES


FROM SULAIMĀN B. 'ABD AL-MALIK
TO HIS GOVERNOR IN JORDAN

(Concerning the poet ʿAdī b. al-Riqāʾ)

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih reported that Sulaimān b. ʿAbd al-Malik wrote to his governor in Jordan: "Tie the hands of ʿAdī b. al-Riqāʾ to his neck, and send him to me on a small saddle without a rug, and entrust some one to goad him" (get him here quickly).

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih reported that Sulaimān b. ʿAbd al-Malik wrote to his governor in Jordan: "Tie the hands of ʿAdī b. al-Riqāʾ to his neck, and send him to me on a small saddle without a rug, and entrust some one to goad him" (get him here quickly).

COMMENTARY

The Umayyad caliphs were portrayed by later writers in a most unfavourable light. This letter demonstrates one of many different images. It is astonishing that Sulaimān b. ʿAbd al-Malik had nothing to do after his accession but to bring a poet to punish him because he eulogized his brother al-Walīd. The version of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih assumes that ʿAdī was brought to Sulaimān and thrown in front of him unable to move or to breathe. As he revived, Sulaimān said to him: "You deserve it, are not you the one who said to Walīd, 'God save us from being alive after his death and from being the flock of another shepherd'?"

Adī said: "O, Commander of the Faithful, I swear by God that I did not say so, but I said: 'God save us from being alive after their death and from being the flock of another
shepherd."

As 'Adī said that, Sulaimān looked at him and laughed, rewarded him, and released him (1).

However, one might be reluctant in accepting this letter as authentic for (a) with the exception of 'Iqd's version of this tale, none of the other authors who wrote a biography of 'Adī mentions it; (b) 'Adī lived in Damascus all his life and died there (2); (c) Though 'Adī might have been in Jordan, one could not find any indication of that; (d) Without referring to his source, Zirkili assumes that 'Adī died in 95/713, which means that he was dead before the accession of Sulaimān (3). But since the early authors such as 'Abū al-Faraj al-İsfahānī and Ibn Qutaiba did not mention the date of 'Adī's death, it is difficult to reach a decision with regard to that. On the other hand, it may be worth mentioning that 'Adī, in fact, used to eulogize Abd al-Malik and his son Walīd, while one could not find one single verse of poetry concerning Sulaimān (4).
NOTES


4. See the sources in note 2.
Mada'īnī reported that Qutaiba b. Muslim wrote to Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik three letters when it came to his knowledge that Sulaimān was intending to discharge him from Khurāsān in order to appoint Yazīd b. al-Muhallab instead. Qutaiba said to the messenger: "Give Sulaimān the first letter. If he gives it to Yazīd, give him the second one. If he abuses me as he is reading it, give him the third one."

Following the advice of Qutaiba, the messenger gave Sulaimān the first letter which reads: "O Commander of the Faithful, my stringent obedience to you, your father and your brother is such and such." Sulaimān gave the letter to Yazīd. Then the messenger gave him the second one which reads: "O Commander of the Faithful, it is astonishing that you entrust Ibn Daḥma (Yazīd) with your secrets while his father had not trusted him even with the mothers of his (other) children (ummahāt awlādih). As Sulaimān abused Qutaiba, the messenger gave him the third letter which reads: "From Qutaiba b. Muslim to Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik. Peace be upon him who follows the right guidance. Now then, I swear by God that I will tie up for you a noose so tight that even an animated filly could not loosen it."
COMMENTARY

It is assumed that Qutaiba together with Hajjāj supported Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik when he intended to depose his brother Sulaimān in order to acknowledge the bai‘a for his son ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (1). Because of his attitude to Sulaimān, Qutaiba was afraid that he might be discharged from his post as an administrator of Khurāsān.

Tabarī mentions two different versions of this story. The first is related on the authority of Mādā'inī, who asserted that Qutaiba wrote to Sulaimān a letter congratulating him on his accession, consoling him for the death of Walīd, and enumerating his services as evidence of his stringent obedience to ‘Abd al-Malik and Walīd, and that he will be obedient to Sulaimān provided that he
has not discharged him from his post. In the second letter, Qutaiba reminded Sulaimān that he had conquered much territory and caused such harm to his enemies, that the foreign rulers both revered and feared him. In addition to that, Qutaiba disparaged Muhallāb and his family and threatened Sulaimān that he will depose him if he has appointed Yazīd b. al-Muhallāb over Khurāsān. The third letter, as Madāʾinī claimed, involved the deposition of Sulaimān (2).

The second version is related on the authority of Abū Ubaida Maʿmar b. al-Muthamnā who asserted that Qutaiba, in his first letter to Sulaimān, tried to create enmity and hatred between Sulaimān and Yazīd by mentioning that Yazīd was perfidious, infidel, and ungrateful, while he praised him in the second letter. In the third letter he said: "If you do not confirm me in my position and give me safe conduct, I will discard you and dispose of you like an old shoe, and bring a full-scale insurrection against you.

It is noticeable that the version of Madāʾinī in Tabarī is related without mentioning the text of letters. Yet, the content differs widely from the version of Madāʾinī as transmitted elsewhere. Abū Ubaida in Tabarī merely mentioned the text of the third letter which is widely different from the third letter mentioned in ʿUyūn al-akhbār for instance. Thus, it is easy for the truth to disappear amidst these contradictory versions. Now, the question is did Qutaiba, really, write these letters to Sulaimān? Are these letters authentic or forged? To find an answer
to these questions, it may be useful to follow the
story from its very beginning.

(a) Sulaimān's accession was on Saturday, 15th of
Jumādā II, 96 (28th of February, 715). During that time,
Qutaiba was besieging Kāshgar (4). (b) The puzzling thing
in this story is how did Qutaiba know that Sulaimān was
intending to discharge him from his post? It is true that
the caliph used to discharge any administrator from his
post for the welfare of the public and sometimes for his
own reasons (5). But, with the exception of the two
versions mentioned above, it is not reported that Sulaimān
discharged Qutaiba from his post, but rather, it is reported
that Sulaimān discharged Yazīd b. Abī Muslim from his post
as a governor of Irāq and appointed over Irāq Yazīd b. al-
Muhallab (6) without mentioning that Sulaimān added Khurāsān,
where Qutaiba was appointed, to his jurisdiction.

(c) The version of Abū ʿUbaida assumes that Sulaimān,
when he read the third letter, said nothing and put the
letter between two cushions where he used to sit(7), while
Madaʿīnī mentions that the third letter so infuriated
Sulaimān that he sealed it and kept it (8). It is aston-
ishing that Sulaimān put a formal letter between two
cushions, for it is prone to loss.

(d) Moreover, the three letters have a proleptic
touch, i.e., they were written according to the attitude
of Sulaimān towards Qutaiba. This proleptic character
may indicate the inauthenticity of these letters. There-
fore, it may be useful to discuss the content of the three
letters.
Qutaiba, in the first letter, addressed Sulaimān using his official title "Commander of the Faithful". After that he reminded him of his services and obedience to the family of ʿAbd al-Malik using the phrase "such and such" (kaita wa kait), which may not be acceptable in an official letter, for he should mention in detail these services.

In the second letter, Qutaiba disparaged Yazīd b. al-Muhallab by mentioning that his father did not trust him with his wives. It is worth mentioning that this letter contradicts a historical report which asserts that Muhallab appointed his son Yazīd over Khurāsān before his death (9). If Muhallab had not trusted his son, he would hardly have appointed him over Khurasan.

The third letter indicates that Qutaiba rebelled against Sulaimān and deposed him, for he addressed Sulaimān without his official title as he did in the first letter, but merely addressed him with his plain name. Moreover, Qutaiba addressed Sulaimān as if he were non-Muslim when he said to him: "Peace be upon him who follows the right guidance." This formula was employed exclusively for non-Muslims as mentioned above (ch. 1). The version assumes that Sulaimān confessed that he was too hasty with regard to Qutaiba, and ordered his servant (ghulām) to renew his appointment over Khurāsān. It is astonishing to order the servant to renew the appointment of Qutaiba, since this procedure used to be entrusted to a chancery official not to a servant.

Finally, Qutaiba could have rebelled against Sulaimān and have been killed for that by his army as Madaʿini mentioned (10). It also seems probable that Qutaiba sent a
letter or letters to Sulaiman, but surely not these letters.
Therefore, according to the above-mentioned argument, it is hardly possible to accept these letters as authentic, and as specimens of Umayyad chancery practice.
NOTES

1. Ṭabarī, vol. VI, p. 506.
2. Ibid., p. 507.
3. Ibid., p. 508.
4. Ibid., p. 500ff.
5. See for example, Ṭabarī, col. VI, p. 196; and see below.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
4 - FROM 'UMAR B. 'ABD AL-'AZIZ TO THE AMSAR
(GARRISON CITIES)

(Concerning the consumption of nabīdh = intoxicants)

After Ibn 'Abd Rabbih discussed the difference between
wine and nabīdh (infusion), he mentioned the letter of 'Umar II
to the garrison cities with regard to nabīdh which reads (1):

"Now then, the people have so become accustomed to the
forbidden drink that they became imprudent and mindless.
Due to that, killing and adultery are lawful. Some of those
who used to drink of that forbidden drink said, 'we have
drunk tilā' (expressed juice of grapes cooked until the
quantity of two-thirds has gone by evaporation), so there
is no objection to drink it'. Upon my life, there is an
objection with respect to what God has forbidden. The
Sawīg (a kind of mush made of wheat or barley), raisins
and date, which are lawful, are the alternative drinks.
But as for nabīdh (infusion) of honey, date and raisins,
they should be infused in waterskins which are free
from pitch and should be drunk before they become intox­
icating (i.e., as long as they are sweet), for it has
come to my knowledge that the Prophet forbade drinking
of what have been infused in clay jars, dubbā' (the empty
skin of a gourd), and containers lined with pitch. He
said: "All drinks that intoxicate are unlawful to drink".
Therefore, dispense with the forbidden drinks and you can
drink the permissible ones.

"I have forbidden you to drink wine and the like--
such as tilā', drinks that infused in clay jars, dubbā'
and the pitch-lined containers—and every intoxicating drink which constitutes proof (of transgression) against you. Therefore, it is good for those who obey the orders, and we will punish those who publicly disobey. And God will punish those who hide from us, for He watches over all things. And those who hide from us, surely God is the Strongest in might and the Strongest in chastisement."


'Iqd, Cairo, 1876, vol. III, p. 411f.
This letter deals with a serious controversial problem concerning tilā' and nabīdhi, so it may be useful to explain their exact meaning.

**Al-Tilā':**

Tilā', as it is mentioned above, could be regarded as a kind of marmalade or treacle made from grapes. It is called tilā' because it is likened to tar as it is described by ‘Umar I when he was on a visit to Syria where he allowed the people to drink it (2). The version of Muwatta says that ‘Ubāda b. al-Sāmit, one of the Prophet’s companions, said to ‘Umar: "By God you made it (wine) lawful." ‘Umar I said: "By God certainly not, O God, You know that I could not permit for them what you have forbidden, and I could not forbid what You have permitted for them." (3)

According to the version of Ibn ‘Abd al-Hakam, ‘Umar II justified his negative attitude to tilā' by mentioning that ‘Umar I allowed the people to drink a thickened cooked drink, and that was before it had been regarded as an intoxicating drink (4). Taking this justification into account, we have two different kinds of tilā': (a) the thickened cooked drink which was permitted by ‘Umar I; (b) the tilā' mentioned by ‘Umar II which was likened to wine.

In this letter, ‘Umar II did not tell us what is the nature of the forbidden tilā', but, fortunately, there is another letter from ‘Umar II to the people of Baṣra which reads: "Do not drink tilā' until its two-thirds has gone, and one third has remained, and every drink
that intoxicates is unlawful to drink." This brief letter could be the genuine one that was sent by ʿUmar II and the rest of the letter may have been interpolated by the fugahā'1. Besides, this brief letter contradicts the version of ʿIQD where ʿUmar II regarded tilā as a wine without mentioning its cooking. But otherwise, if it is not cooked until the quantity of two-thirds has gone by evaporation, it will be intoxicating and, in this case, it is forbidden as ʿUmar II mentioned.

Al-Nabīdh:

Nabīdh is a controversial problem as well as tilā'. Lexically, it is applied to everything that is cast off. It is also applied to every kind of drink made by infusing dried fruit, such as raisins and dates, in water (6).

The Prophet and his companions used to drink nabīdh. One of his wives reported that she infused some dates in order to make nabīdh for him (7). Ibn ʿĀnbal also reported that the Prophet drank nabīdh when he went to Mecca for pilgrimage (8). According to that, nabīdh is lawful as long as it is sweet and unfermented, for the Prophet said to the ʿAbd al-Qais delegation: "Infuse (dried fruit) in your waterskin, tie it up and drink it as long as it is sweet" (9). ʿAʿisha, the Prophet's wife, also said to a woman called Hind bint Sharīk: "Infuse (the fruit) in the evening and drink it in the morning" (10). Hence, ʿUmar II, in his letter to the people of Kūfah, said: "Nabīdh is lawful for you, drink it from a waterskin" (11). But nabīdh is unlawful if it is left for a long time, for it will boil up (yanishsh) and become sour and intoxicating. Therefore, Abū Hurairā refused to drink such a potion (12).

Nabīdh is always mentioned together with special
containers for infusion. The Prophet ordered his companions to infuse in waterskins and forbade them to infuse in *al-dubbā*’ and *al-muzaffat* (13). Another tradition says that the Prophet forbade the people to infuse in the clay jars, particularly the green ones, because the drink becomes intoxicating so fast in them (14). But when the Prophet was told that most of the people could not find waterskins, he allowed them to infuse in the containers, particularly the clay jars, unlined with pitch provided that the drink should be unintoxicating (15).

It is noticeable that ‘Umar II ordered the people to infuse in the waterskins only and forbade them to infuse in the other containers, while the Prophet allowed the people to infuse in the clay jars unlined with pitch, as has been mentioned.

To conclude this argument, I would incline to assume that this letter may not be the genuine one sent by ‘Umar II, for (a) its language is difficult and unstraightforward, which may indicate the style of *fugahā*’. It must have been easy for the *fugahā*’ to rewrite the letter according to their views and to interpolate whatever they liked. (b) It contradicts the other letters sent by ‘Umar II with regard to *nabīdhn* and *tila*’ as has been mentioned. (c) There is some confusion at the end of the letter, particularly when he said: "We will punish those who hide from us," then he repeated, "and those who hide from us, surely God is the Strongest in might and the Strongest in chastisement." This confusion may indicate a part of the interpolation of either the *fugahā*’ or the transcribers. (d) As for the epistolary format, the letter is virtually free of the conventions of Umayyad chancery practice with the exception of *Amma ba’d* (16).
1. I had to use this edition of Ḥad because this letter of 'Umar II is not mentioned in the other edition mentioned in the second group of my sources.


3. Ibid.


10. Ibid.


16. The version of Ibn Jauzi of this letter ended with Salām, see, Manāqib ‘Umar II, p. 66.
5 - FROM HISHĀM B. ‘ĀBD AL-MALIK TO HIS BROTHER MASLAMA

(Concerning purging the army of corruption)

Tha‘ālibī reported that Hishām b. ‘Ābd al-Malik wrote to his brother Maslama: "Purge your army from the corrupt ones (trouble makers), surely God does not permit the design of the corrupt to prosper."

وكتب إلى مسلمة بن عبد الملك: طهر عسكرك من أهل الفساد فإن الله لا يصلح عمل الفسدين.

Tha‘ālibī, al-Ijāz wal-Ijāz, p. 73.

COMMENTARY

Maslama b. ‘Ābd al-Malik was a famous and successful military leader not involved in any kind of political activities (1). In this brief letter, his brother Hishām ordered him to purge the army from the trouble makers without mentioning either the kind of the trouble makers or the way of purging the army of them. Hishām supported his order by quoting a part of the Quranic verse which reads: "Surely, God does not permit the design of the corrupt to prosper" (2).

It seems that Hishām did not mention what kind of corruption because the context here was well known to both of them. According to the Arabic lexicon, the term fasād (corruption) could be applied to several things e.g., (a) opposite to goodness, piety and probity; (b) evil deeds and sins; (c) accepting a bribe. Thus, corruption in this letter could be applied to one of these meanings or to all of them (3).
On the other hand, Tha‘alibi transmitted this letter in his book because it involves pithy sayings in a few words, but this need not indicate its authenticity, for the early sources did not mention it. On the other hand, there is no objection to accepting it as authentic.

The Quranic verse cited in this letter indicates that for Hishām fasād was a moral as well as an administrative concept. But it is puzzling that Hishām quoted a Quranic verse in his letter, for such a phenomenon was common in the ‘Abbāsid period, not the Umayyad (4).
NOTES

1. See for example, Ṭabarī, vol. VI, pp. 181, 426, 429, 530ff.

2. Qur'ān, 10:81


THE HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS:

Although this group of sources contains so many letters attributed to the Umayyad era, one should be reluctant in accepting them as authentic for (a) they are transmitted to support the political reports; (b) they are transmitted by narrators who mostly show great hostility to the Umayyads, particularly Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā, ‘Awāna b. al-Ḥakam, Muhammad b. al-Ṣā'ib al-Kalbī and his son Hishām (1).

As for epistolary format, these letters, as those preserved in most literary works, do not give a reliable impression of Umayyad chancery practice. The style, occasionally rhymed, may indicate that some of them might have been composed during the ‘Abbāsid period (2). The language, in general, is difficult and ornate.

1 - FROM ‘ABD AL-MALIK B. MARWĀN TO HIS BROTHER BISHR (Concerning the Khārijites)

‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān wrote to his brother Bishr: "Now then, I wrote to Khalid b. ʿAbd Allah ordering him to attack the Khārijites. Therefore, send him five thousand men and put in command of them a man of your own who is acceptable to you. When they have accomplished their campaign, send them to Rayy in order to fight their enemy, to be in their front forts and to collect their booty (fa'il) until the turn of their successors has come to relieve them."

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‘وَكَتَبَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَٰنُ مَلِكٍ إِلَى بْنِ يَسْرَؤِلٍ أَنَّاً يَنَالُ إِلَى خَالِدٍ بْنِ ʿعَبْدِ اللهِ أَسْأَلُهُ الْفَتْرَةَ إِلَى اخْبَارِهِ فَسَرَّحْ إِلَى خَمْسَةِ قَتَافِ رَجُلٍ وَأَبْعَثْ عَلَيْهِمْ رَجِلًا مَنْ فَيَسْكَعُ تَرْمَيْهِ فَإِنَّا قَبْضُوا غَزْيَتَيْنِ وَلَكَ ضُرُبَتْ بِمِنكَاهِمْ إِلَى الْوَلَيْيَةَ فَقَالُوا أَعَلَوْهُمْ وَكَانُوا فِي مُسْتَلِيِّهِمْ وَقَبْضُوا فِيْهِمْ حَتَّى نَأْيَ أَيَامَ عَشَبِهِمْ فَأَرْضَيْنَهُمْ إِلَى أَخْرَجِينَ عَلَى مِكْتَبِهِمْ.

Tabari, vol. VI, p. 171
COMMENTARY

Tabarî reported that the warfare between Muhallab b. Abî Ṣufra, under the command of Ibn al-Zubair, and the Azariqa, one of the Khârijites' sects, lasted several years (66/686 - 72/691).(3) When Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubair was killed (72/691), ʿAbd al-Malik appointed his brother Bishr over Kūfa. Bishr sent an army under the command of ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz b. ʿAbd Allâh b. Asîd, the brother of Khâlid b. ʿAbd Allâh, to fight the Azâriqa who badly defeated the army (4). Khalîd b. ʿAbd Allâh, the governor of Basra at the time, reported to ʿAbd al-Malik upon the defeat, seeking his advice (5).

Because of not sending Muhallab to fight against the Azâriqa, ʿAbd al-Malik, in his letter to Khâlid, called him a fool and ordered him to consult Muhallab promising to write to his brother Bishr to reinforce his army by sending men from Kūfa (6). Fulfilling his promise, ʿAbd al-Malik wrote to his brother Bishr the letter in question. With respect to this case, it is worth mentioning that Wellhausen assumed that ʿAbd al-Malik, after the defeat of Khalîd's brother, deposed Khalîd and gave his brother Bishr control over Basra in addition to Kūfa (7), while Tabarî mentioned that Bishr was given the control over Kûfa in 74/693, i.e., two years after the date of these events (8). On the other hand, the letters between ʿAbd al-Malik, Khâlid, and Bishr, if they are authentic, indicate that there was a kind of cooperation between Khâlid and Bishr b. Marwân in order to put an end to the Azâriqa (9). Bishr, carrying out his brother's order, enlisted five
thousand men under the command of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Al-Asḥath (10) and instructed him to go to Rayy after accomplishing his raid giving him control over it (11).

However, the Umayyad army defeated the Azāriqa and Khālid wrote to *Abd al-Malik informing him that the victory had been achieved. But 'Abd al-Malik ordered Khālid to send an army to pursue the Azāriqa (12).

To conclude this argument, it is worth mentioning that this letter alludes to important military problems, (a) the five thousand men who defeated the Azāriqa had to move to Rayy in order to fight the enemy, to be in the front forts, and to collect the fā' which may indicate that the Umayyad army was in continuous movement on different fronts; (b) *Abd al-Malik instructed his brother not to detain (yujammīr) the soldiers for a long period at the battle-fields, but to call them back home after a limited period (13) and to send other soldiers to take their place. This system had been in effect since the era of 'Umar I who used to do so (14).
NOTES


2. See below the letter of Hisham to Yusuf b. 'Umar concerning Zaid b. 'Ali.


4. Ibid., p. 168f.

5. Ibid., p. 170.

6. Ibid., p. 171.


10. Wellhausen mentioned that the commander was 'Abd al-Rahman b. Mikhnaf; see Religio-Political, p. 62.


12. Ibid., p. 173

13. The limited period was estimated at four to twelve months, see, 'Ali, Nuzum, p. 497; Abu Daud, vol. III, p. 364, no. 2960.

2 - FROM ḤAJJĀJ TO ṬĀBAD AL-MALIK B. MARWĀN

(Concerning the grievous adversity that had befallen the Muslims on the part of Rutbīl)

Ḥajjāj wrote to ʿAbd al-Malik informing him about the defeat of the Umayyad army: "Now then, the soldiers of the Commander of the Faithful in Sijistān were so routed that none but few escaped. Due to that, the enemy became so daring towards the people of Islam that they penetrated their countries and overpowered all over their forts and castles. I have the intention to send to them a massive army from the people of the two garrisons (Kūfa and Baṣra). I would like to know the opinion of the Commander of the Faithful with respect to that. If he agrees to send the army, I will do that, but if he does not, indeed, the Commander of the Faithful has more disposition of his army than I have, although I am afraid, in the event of not sending a massive army promptly, that Rutbīl and the infidels who are with him will capture that region."

COMMENTARY

This letter is a brief military report with respect to what happened to the Muslims in a battle between them and Rutbīl's army. The details of the battle are related by Tabarī as follows: Ḥajjāj appointed 'Ubaid Allāh b. Abī Bakra over Sijistān in 78/697. In 79/698, Ḥajjāj instructed 'Ubaid Allāh to invade Rutbīl's territory. After achieving some victory and obtaining some spoils, the Islamic army found itself besieged by the Turks. Thus, 'Ubaid Allāh found himself in so weak a position that he was forced to make peace with Rutbīl and to pay him 700 thousand dirhams. But Shuraiḥ b. Ḥāni', the leader of the Kūfan troops, rejected this peace and continued fighting until most of the army was killed. Since Shuraiḥ was followed merely by the Kūfans, or only a few men as Ibn Kathīr mentioned, it is puzzling that most of the Umayyad army was killed. On the other hand, it is not related that the Baṣrans followed Shuraiḥ, and in this case, they must have survived. Thus, because of the illogicality and ambiguity of the versions with respect to this battle, one inclines to be reluctant in accepting this account of the peace with Rutbīl.

However, according to the letter of Ḥajjāj, most of the Umayyad army was killed and Ḥajjāj had to report that to 'Abd al-Malik, recommending the dispatch of a massive army against Rutbīl. 'Abd al-Malik gave Ḥajjāj the permission to send that army under the command of a man to be chosen by Ḥajjāj.

It is worth mentioning that this letter indicates that sending an army to the battle field was the responsibility of the caliph himself, though the governor,
particularly Ḥajjāj, had complete authority over his district. In fact, Ḥajjāj did not merely consult ʿAbd al-Malik about the matter, but he expressed his own opinion, and forcibly, which must illustrate his distinguished position in the Umayyad era.
NOTES


(Concerning rebuilding the Ka'ba)

Hajjāj wrote to 'Abd al-Malik asking him for permission to rebuild the Ka'ba on its foundations from pre-Islamic times: "Ibn al-Zubair added to the Ka'ba what was originally not there, and he built another door." 'Abd al-Malik wrote to him: "Wall up the western door that Ibn al-Zubair introduced, and demolish what was added to the Hijr, and fill it in as it was originally."

Azraqī, Akhbār Makka
vol. I, p. 210

COMMENTARY

According to the Qur'an, the Prophet Ibrāhīm and his son Iṣmā'īl were commanded by God to raise the foundations of the Ka'ba (1). Neither the Qur'an nor the traditions mention the length of its sides or the height. The Ka'ba was rebuilt in the pre-Islamic times when the Prophet Muḥammad (before his prophethood) placed the Black Stone in its position with his own hands (2). At that time, the early sources mentioned that the length of its sides were 40 x 35 feet, and the height was 50 feet (3). In 64/683 a fire broke out in the Ka'ba causing great damage to it (4). Due to that, Ibn al-Zubair demolished the Ka'ba and rebuilt it. Concerning this, there is a tradition
attributed to the Prophet which says that he had the intention to demolish the Ka‘ba and rebuild it on the foundations of the Prophet Ibrāhīm, but the very recent conversion of the Meccans prevented him from undertaking such an innovation. According to that, Ibn al-Zubair included the Ḥijr in the building and added a new door on the west (5). Afterwards, when Ḥajjāj was appointed over Mecca, he reported to ‘Abd al-Malik upon the action of Ibn al-Zubair asking him for permission to demolish what Ibn al-Zubair had done and to rebuild the Ka‘ba on the foundations of Quraish. Executing the order of ‘Abd al-Malik, Ḥajjāj walled up the western door and demolished six cubits (9 - 11 feet) and one single span (9 in.) of what adjoins the Ḥijr, i.e., he separated the Ḥijr from the Ka‘ba. The demolished stones were used in filling the pits left outside the Ka‘ba (6).

In fact, the original action of Ibn al-Zubair and the restorative action of Ḥajjāj raise many questions: Why did Ibn al-Zubair institute these kinds of innovations? Did the Prophet really say that tradition(s)? How could we know the foundations of the Prophet Ibrāhīm? On the other hand, why did Ḥajjāj, with the permission of ‘Abd al-Malik, demolish what Ibn al-Zubair had added and rebuild the Ka‘ba on its foundations from pre-Islamic times? What were these?

It may not be easy to answer accurately such questions, but it does not mean that one should not endeavor to find a reasonable solution to this problem. Therefore, it might be useful to examine the traditions that are attributed to the Prophet with respect to rebuilding the Ka‘ba.
(a) The traditions are related on the authority of 'A'isha, the Prophet's wife, through transmitters who were mostly relatives of Ibn al-Zubair which makes one reluctant to accept them as authentic for this particular material. According to these, the Prophet did not demolish the Ka'ba because of the very recent conversion of the Meccans. This excuse may not be acceptable, for the Prophet, according to the Qur'an, changed so many traditions that were effective before Islam. The Ka'ba is a sacred place to the Muslims and has an ancient connection with the pilgrimage, one of the important fundamentals of Islam, which means that the Prophet could not act arbitrarily. On the other hand, supposing that the Prophet took the conversion of the Meccans into account, what was the attitude of Abū Bakr, 'Umar I, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, and Mu'āwiya with respect to this problem? Did they not know about these traditions? Why did they not rebuild the Ka'ba on the foundations of the Prophet Ibrāhīm as is mentioned in the traditions?

(b) It is astonishing to find in these traditions that Quraish could not build the Ka'ba on the foundations of the Prophet Ibrāhīm because they had not enough funds to do so. This statement may not coincide with historical reality, for most of the Meccans who contributed to the project were rich merchants and quite capable of financing the building of the Ka'ba.

(c) The foundations of the Prophet Ibrāhīm is an ambiguous notion, for it is not mentioned in these traditions what the original shape of Ka'ba was. Azraqī mentioned that the Prophet Ibrāhīm built the Ḥijr near the building of the Ka'ba as an arbor where the sheep of his son Ismā'īl
used to be stabled (7), which means that the Ḥijr was not included in the building. Azraqī also mentioned that the Prophet Ibrāhīm made the length of the Ka‘ba 32 cubits (48 feet), the width 22 cubits (33 feet), and the height 9 cubits (12 feet) (8). Moreover, he assumed that Ibn al-Zubair built the Ka‘ba according to the measuring of the Prophet Ibrāhīm (9). But Azraqī himself mentioned that Ibn al-Zubair added to the height of the Ka‘ba 9 cubits (12 feet) and so the total height became 27 cubits (40.5 feet) (10), while other sources mentioned that Quraish made the height 20 cubits (30 feet). Thus, Ibn al-Zubair added 7 cubits (10.5 feet)(11).

However, these different and contradictory reports may indicate that the building and rebuilding the Ka‘ba is a matter of ijtihād (individual judgement), since the Prophet Ibrāhīm was merely ordered to raise the foundations of the Ka‘ba without mentioning its shape. The following points may support this view: (1) Ḥajjāj did not demolish the whole building, but merely separated the Ḥijr from the building and walled the western door as is mentioned in the letter (12).

(2) It is assumed that ‘Abd al-Malik had a talk with al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Rabī‘a who claimed that he heard A‘isha telling Ibn al-Zubair that the Prophet was intending to demolish the Ka‘ba and rebuild it on the foundations of the Prophet Ibrāhīm. On hearing that, ‘Abd al-Malik showed great repentance and said: "I wished I had left what he had done" (13). It seems that this report was related to support the authenticity of the traditions and to prove that Ibn al-Zubair was right,
while 'Abd al-Malik and Ḥajjāj were wrong. It is worth mentioning, in this connection, that 'Abd al-Malik was one of the four specialists of Islamic law in Mecca (14), which means that he must have been aware of such details. On the other hand, there is a tradition attributed to the Prophet on the authority of A'isha through al-Aswad b. Yazīd al-Nakhrī, one of the Kūfan narrators, indicating that Ibn al-Zubair knew about the tradition of building the Ka'ba from al-Aswad not from his aunt A'isha directly (15).

(3) It is reported that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar related that Ibn Abī Bakr told him, on the authority of his aunt A'isha, one of those traditions attributed to the Prophet concerning the Ka'ba. If it is true, why did Ibn ʿUmar not protest against Ḥajjāj and 'Abd al-Malik when the former demolished what Ibn al-Zubair had done?

(4) The ʿAbbasid caliph, al-Mahdī, consulted Malik b. Anas about rebuilding the Ka'ba on the foundations of Ibn al-Zubair. Malik refused to give him a fatwā (legal decision) to do so and said to him: "I am afraid that the kings will make it a game, i.e., one of them adopts the opinion of 'Abd al-Malik while the other adopts the opinion of Ibn al-Zubair" (16). This statement indicates clearly that the building of the Ka'ba is a matter of individual judgement, for if there were authentic traditions with respect to this problem, there would be no need for any one to formulate an individual judgement.

(5) This individual judgement is also demonstrated clearly in the speech of Ibn al-Zubair himself when he said to the Meccans: "O people, advise me about the Ka'ba. Should I demolish it and then rebuild it, or should I repair whatever
has been damaged?" Ibn 'Abbās advised him to repair whatever had been damaged. But Ibn al-Zubair, after asking God for proper guidance in this problem, decided to demolish the Ka'ba and rebuilt it (17). This individual judgement of Ibn al-Zubair induced Hajjāj to write to 'Abd al-Malik telling him that Ibn al-Zubair built the Ka'ba after he had consulted reliable people (18). 'Abd al-Malik ordered Hajjāj to leave untouched what had been added to the length, but as for the Hijr, it should be rebuilt on its previous foundations (19).
NOTES


8. Ibid., p. 64.

9. Ibid., p. 66.

10. Ibid., p. 209; c.f. the sources in note 3 above.


17. Muslim, vol. IX, p. 98.

18. Ibid., p. 99.

Tabarî reported that Hīshām b. ʿAbd al-Malik wrote to Yūsuf b. ʿUmar with respect to Zaid b. ʿAlî: "Now then, you know that the Kūfīs love the people of the Prophet's family and put them in a situation where they ought not to be, that they (the Kūfīs) made incumbent upon themselves to be obedient to them, that the laws of their religion are based upon them, and that they ascribed to them the knowledge of what is existing to the extent that they induced them, seeking the disunion of the community, to rise in a rebellion. And Zaid b. ʿAlî has come to the Commander of the Faithful with a lawsuit against ʿUmar b. al-Walîd. The Commander of the Faithful adjudicated between them, finding him (Zaid) a man argumentative, rhetorical, capable of embellishing and falsifying speech, and completely winning men to his side by the sweetness of his tongue and the multiplicity of his arguments. Therefore, send him promptly to Ḥījāz and do not let him stay in your district, for if the people lent him their ears to fill them with the softness and sweetness of his speech, together with his kinship to the Prophet, he would find them well disposed towards him, their hearts would not tarry in supporting him, their minds would not be tranquil, and their religions (laws) would not be protected. Dealing intolerantly with him would cause harm to him, but sending him out (of Kūfī) unharmed—for the safety of the community, sparing their blood, and security from disunion—is preferable to me than shedding their blood, than disunity of their community, and cutting off their posterity.
For the community is the strong tie (pact) of God and His true religion and His firm. Therefore, call for the nobles of your district and threaten that you will inflict punishment on their bodies and confiscate their properties. Doing such will make those with a contract or covenant tardy to support him. And, thus, he will not find anybody to rebel with him but the rabble and the people of Sawād and those oppressed by poverty seeking division in mutiny. Such people worship Iblīs (the Devil) and he enslaves them. Therefore, you have to threaten them, whip them, unsheath your sword against them, and frighten the noble men before the middle classes, and frighten the middle classes before the lowly people (riffraff).

For know that you stand at the gate of unity, summoning men to obedience, urging the people to be one community and girding to defend the religion of God. Therefore, do not be oppressed because of their great number, and be sure that the trust of God, the zeal for the protection of your religion, defending the community, and declaring war against those who wish to shatter this door through which God commanded them to enter, should be your sanctuary and your motto.

The Commander of the Faithful would like to be excused as to Zaid after he gave him his right. Thus, he has no right to claim that he was treated unjustly with respect to his portion of fāʿir or his relatives' rights, except what the Commander of the Faithful was afraid of, e.g., inducing the lowly people to do what may make them more miserable and abject. Moreover, it is bitter for them while it is more noble and easier for the Commander of the
Faithful to protect and defend the religion. For he does not wish to see in his nation a condition of inequality that would be a warning example and a cause of destruction, but he always gives a respite, deals gently for the sake of guidance, keeps them from fears, leads them to the paths of guidance, and preserves them from dangers as the sympathetic father guards his sons and the kind shepherd cares for his flock. So know that your proof to them that makes you deserve the support of God, in the event of their stubbornness, is satisfying their ambitions, giving their children benefits, and prohibiting your soldiers from entering the privacy of their homes. Therefore, seize the opportunity of God's pleasure with regard to what you are going to do, for surely there is no sin that hastens the punishment (of God) but injustice. For the devil has ensnared them and urged and led them to it. And safety for him who abandons injustice is closer. The Commander of the Faithful seeks the help of God against them and others, asks his God and Lord to refine (straighten) what has been corrupted of them and to hasten them to salvation and success, for surely He hears and is near."
لا يمكنني قراءة النص الأصلي من الصورة المقدمة.
COMMENTARY

This letter deals with a serious problem concerning the rebellion of Zaid b. 'Ali. The reports of it and its causes reveal much contradiction and distortion. We will consider the versions of Tabari.

(a) The version of Haitham b. 'Adi, who assumed that Zaid b. 'Ali, Muhammad b. 'Umar b. Ali b. Abi Talib, and Daud b. Ali b. Abd Allah b. Abbas came to Khalid b. Abd Allah al-Qasri during his governorship over Iraq where he compensated them and returned to Medina. When Yusuf b. 'Umar was appointed over Kufa, he reported to Hisham telling him that Khalid bought land from Zaid then he returned it to him. When Hisham investigated the case, they admitted that they had a compensation, but they denied everything about the land. Hisham believed them on their oath (1).

(b) The version of Hisham b. Muhammad al-Kalbi on the authority of Abu Mihnaib, who claimed that Yazid b. Khalid
al-Qasrī had a claim of money against Zaid b. 'Alī, Muḥammad b. 'Umar, Dāūd b. 'Abd Allāh, Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Auf, and Ayyūb b. Salāma. Hishām, according to a letter from Yūsuf b. 'Umar, asked them about the money. When they denied it, he decided to send them to Yūsuf b. 'Umar to investigate the case. The denial of Yazīd b. Khālid that he had a claim of money against them so infuriated Yūsuf b. 'Umar that he painfully chastised him. After that, Yūsuf asked them to swear an oath. When they did so, he ordered his soldiers to whip them. Then he wrote to Hishām who commanded him to release them after their oath (2).

(c) The version of 'Ubaid b. Janād, who assumed that Zaid b. 'Alī had a dream that he set Irāq on fire, then extinguished it and died (3).

(d) The version of Abū 'Ubaïda is the same as that of Abū Mikhnaf with the exception of the creditor who is Khālid al-Qasrī not his son (4).

(e) In addition to these versions, there is the account in the letter in question which demonstrates that Zaid came to Hishām with a lawsuit against 'Umar b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, where Hishām adjudicated between them.

In fact, none of these versions indicates that Zaid decided to rebel against Hishām except possibly the version of setting Irāq on fire. Besides, these reasons, both logically and historically, may not be acceptable as motives to a rebellion, for it is noticeable that the claim of money against Zaid and his friends is based on a false assumption probably fabricated by the narrators. However, it is reported that Zaid rebelled against Hishām. If in fact he did, which is difficult to prove, according
to the contradictory material available, he might have done
that for some other reason which, unfortunately, is not
mentioned in the historical works available to us. It
may be useful to examine the content of the letter.

(a) The language is difficult and anything but
straightforward. It is full of rhetorical ornatus (bādīʿ),
e.g., metaphor, rhyme, and particularly madhhab kalaṁī (5)
which may indicate that this letter was formulated by
theologians (al-muṭakallīmūn) in the ʿAbbāsid period.

(b) The characteristics of Zaid b. ʿAlī mentioned in
the letter show him as a powerful and persuasive orator.
This impression, which could be influenced by the assump-
tion that Zaid was the leader of the Zaidiyya sect, may
support the view that this letter was formulated by
theologians. On the other hand, Hishām appears here as
a caliph who wishes to see his nation united, but dislikes
bloodshed, is generous and forgiving . . . etc. These
characteristics demonstrate the policy of Hishām in deal-
ing with his opponents. This policy involves two main
aspects. First, there are two kinds of people who might
follow Zaid: the nobles and the rabble. To deal with
the nobles, Yūsuf b.ʾUmar has to threaten them with punish-
ment and confiscation. As for the rabble, there is only one
way to deal with them, namely, corporal punishment and death.

Secondly, to avoid all these troubles with such opponents,
and to gain the support of God against them, Hishām instructed
Yūsuf to give them their rights, to give their children
benefits, prohibit his soldiers from entering their homes,
and particularly, to be fair with them. Fulfilling this
policy, Hishām gave Zaid and his relatives their rights.
In this light, Zaid could have no reason to rebel against Hishām. However, it seems that this letter was formulated by pro-Umayyad theologians but, simultaneously, not anti-Zaidite.

To conclude this argument, it is worth mentioning that Zaid was told, in an attempt to persuade him to rebel against Hishām, that Umayyad rule over Kūfa depended only on the few Syrian soldiers who could not prevail against the 100,000 Kūfan armed men (6). Despite that, he failed and was killed, which may cast doubt on this number of Kūfans. It is puzzling that he decided to rebel though some people advised him not to, reminding him that the Kūfans had disappointed his family several times and that they never fulfilled their promises. Finally, in February, 1982, the Jordanian Ministry of Endowment (Wizarat al-Auqāf) discovered the tomb of Zaid b. ʿAlī at a small village in the province of Karak South Jordan. Such a discovery may throw some light on the story of Zaid and could indicate that he was not killed in Iraq as it is asserted (7).
NOTES

2. Ibid., p. 162.
3. Ibid., p. 162.
4. Ibid., p. 162f.
5. See, for example:

7. Dustūr, issue 5222, p. 20. I have the intention to publish the photograph of the tomb, sent to me from the Jordanian Minister of al-Auqāf, with commentary, in the near future.
TO THE TREASURERS OF THE EXCHEQUER

(Concerning the salary of judge Abd al-Rahman b. Salim)

Kindi reported that he found at the chancery of Banu Umayya (in Egypt) a receipt related to the reign of Marwan b. Muhammad, the last Umayyad caliph, which reads: "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. From 'Isa b. Abi Ata' to the treasurers. Pay judge Abd al-Rahman b. Salim his salary 20 dinars for the months of Rabi'I and Rabi'Ii of the year 131/748, and write a receipt for that. (It was) written on Wednesday the first night of the month of Rabi'I in the year 131/748".

COMMENTARY

Despite the fact that this letter is preserved in a literary work, it comes fairly close to the formulae of the Arabic papyri which means that it might be authentic, and in this case, there is no objection to accept it as a specimen of Umayyad chancery practice. Its importance could be due to the following points: (a) Kindi mentioned that he found this letter at the Umayyad chancery in Egypt which...
indicates that he copied it himself. It also indicates that material from the Umayyad chancery was preserved at the time of Kindī (350/961). (b) It illustrates one aspect of the financial system that was effective in the Umayyad period, namely the payment of salaries to officials, who used to be paid in advance for two months. But it is astonishing to find that judge ʿAbd al-Rahmān was paid merely 20 dinars for two months, while it is elsewhere reported that a judge was paid around 16 dinars or 500 dirhams per month (1). Kindī, perhaps, made a mistake when he copied the letter, i.e., he might had read 20 instead of forty.

(c) Since the word (خَزَّان) is not voweled, it could be read (khazzān sing) or (khuzzān pl.). If it is khuzzān, it indicates that there were more than one khāzin (treasurer) in the Egyptian treasury, a possible sign of the importance and size of treasury, and the complexity of the administrative system in Egypt at the end of the Umayyad period.
NOTES

The letters in these sources usually deal with juridical (fiqhiyya) matters, and tend to be brief. Furthermore, they enjoy a special distinction for (a) they are generally more reliable than the letters of the other literary works, since their editors were concerned to check the content (matn) as well as the chain of transmitters (isnad). But it does not mean that their authenticity is beyond question. (b) They indicate that the Umayyad caliphs and their governors were interested in figh and religious matters and not at all as the ‘Abbāsid sources portrayed them. They also indicate that some caliphs themselves were specialists in Islamic law (fugahā'). For instance, Malik b. Anas and others based some of their juridical opinions on the legal decisions (fatāwā) of Mu‘āwiya, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, and ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (1). (c) Their language is easy to understand, but sometimes involves technical terms such as iqil (pay blood money), hadī (animals brought as an offering to Mecca or Ka‘ba), mukātab (a slave who makes a written contract with his master that he should pay a certain sum as the price of his freedom). The prose is simple, unrhymed, and homely.

1 - FROM MU‘ĀWIYA TO MARWĀN B. AL-ḤAKAM

(Concerning homicide by a mad man)

Malik b. Anas, on the authority of Yahyā b. Sa‘īd, reported that Marwān b. al-Ḥakam wrote to Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān informing him that he was brought a man convicted of homicide. Mu‘āwiya wrote to him: "Let him pay blood money for that, and do not retaliate against him, for
there is no talio upon a mad man."


COMMENTARY

The fugahā', dealing with such problems, differentiate between two types of madness: (a) partial madness, i.e., one who is only occasionally out of his senses, and (b) complete madness. The decision of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalib, Shābī, Zuhri, and Qatāda states that the canonical punishment (ḥadd) should be inflicted on a mad man if he has committed a crime during a period of sanity, but otherwise he should not be punished. Zuhri suggested that premeditated murder by a minor or a mad man is regarded as accidental homicide (2), i.e., he should pay blood money for his crime, for there is no talio upon a man who commits accidental homicide (3).
NOTES


2 - FROM ZAID B. THĀBIT TO MUʿAWIYA B. ABĪ SUFYĀN

(Concerning the legal inheritance of a grandfather)

On the authority of Yahya b. Said who reported that Muʿāwiya wrote to Zaid b. Thābit asking him about the grandfather (his portion of inheritance). Zaid wrote to him: "You wrote to me asking about the grandfather—God knows. That would not have been judged by any one but the umara—he means the caliphs. I attended (noticed) the two caliphs who preceded you gave him half the inheritance if he has one brother, one third if he has two brothers, but they did not give him less than one third if he has more than two brothers."

COMMENTARY

Since this letter deals with a controversial problem, it not unexpectedly contains interpolated words or phrases, by the fugaha', in order to explain what they feel needs explanation. The phrase "God knows" and the sentence "he means the caliphs", for instance, have been interpolated by Mālik b. Anas or by the transcriber. Furthermore, the version of Baihaqi of this particular letter involves several
interpolated words and phrases that made the letter longer than it is in the version of Muwatta' *(1)*.

Before proceeding with this problem, it is worth mentioning that the grandfather portion came into question only when the deceased grandson had no living sons, daughters, or parents, for such persons are regarded among the Qur'anic heirs, i.e., those entitled to statutory portions of the estate, according to Qur'ān 4:12.

And now, how did the companions of the Prophet and the fujahā deal with the portion of the grandfather from the inheritance of his grandson? According to the above-mentioned legal decision *(fatwā)* of Zaid b. Thābit, the two caliphs, ʿUmar I and ʿUthnān b. ʿAffān *(2)* used to give the grandfather half the inheritance if the deceased grandson had one brother and one third if he had two brothers or more. On the other hand, Abū Bakr al-Siddīq and Ḥbn ʿAbbās regarded the grandfather as the father, which means that he should be given one sixth of the inheritance *(3)*, while ʿUmar I used to give him one sixth if he had a son *(4)*. But if the grandson had six brothers, the grandfather should be given one sixth or one seventh according to a legal decision made by Ṣālih b. Abī Taḥlib *(5)*. Ṣālih himself, according to another version, used to give the grandfather one third, while ʿUmar I used to give him one sixth, then ʿUmar decided to give him one third after he consulted Ṣālih b. Abī Taḥlib, Zaid b. Thābit, and Ḥbn ʿAbbās *(6)*. It is attributed to the Prophet that he gave the grandfather one sixth without mentioning who shared the inheritance with him *(7)*. But, according to another version, the Prophet gave him one third *(8)*.
However, this complicated problem seems to be a matter of individual judgement (ijtihād), for (a) we do not have a definite report from the Qur'ān or Hadīth with regard to the portion of the grandfather. (b) It seems that the portion of the grandfather depends on those who would share the inheritance with him (9). But, on the other hand, the fatwā of Zaid was adopted by Shāfi‘ī, Mālik b. Anas, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Abū Yūsuf, Thaurī, Awzā‘ī, and the majority (jumhūr) of the fuqahā’ (10).
NOTES

1. See, for example, Baihaqi, vol. VI, p. 248.

2. The phrase "two caliphs" here is applied to 'Umar I and 'Uthmān because Abū Bakr had a different attitude; see for that, Muwatta', p. 344, no. 1086; Baihaqi, vol. VI, p. 247f.


4. Ibid., p. 16.


Malik B. Anas reported, on the authority of Ḥumaid b. Qais al-Makki, that the mukātab of Ibn al-Mutawakkil died at Mecca before he had completed his mukātaba. He was indebted and left a daughter as well. This case was so difficult for the governor of Mecca that he wrote to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan asking his advice. 'Abd al-Malik wrote to him:

"Begin with paying his debts, then complete what is left of his mukātaba to his master, then divide what remains of his money between his daughter and his master."

\[\text{Muwatta'}, \text{ p. 560f, no. 1485.}\]
The mukātab (a slave who makes a written contract with his master that he should pay a certain sum as the price of his freedom) in Islamic law is a complicated and controversial problem, for it has several aspects and conditions (1). This letter deals with part of these concerning his inheritance, his heirs, and his debt. In addition to the version of Muwatta', there is another version of this letter related in Musannaf on the authority of Ibn Juraij who said that 'Abdād, the mawla (slave) of Mutawakkil, died during his mukātaba. He had paid half the agreed money. He left a free-born daughter and a considerable sum of money. 'Abd al-Malik instructed his governor to complete what was left of his contract and to divide what remained of his inheritance between his daughter and his mawāli. (2)"

The dissimilarities between this version and the version of Muwatta' are, (a) Malik did not mention that the daughter was free-born. (b) Malik said that the mukātab left an unspecified amount of his contract unpaid, i.e., he paid most of the agreed sum, while it is mentioned in the version of Musannaf that the mukātab had paid exactly half the agreed sum. (c) It is not mentioned in the version of Musannaf that the mukātab was indebted. (d) Malik mentioned that the remaining money should be divided between the daughter and the master (mawla), while in the version of Musannaf it should be divided between the daughter and the mawāli of the slave. Probably, a graphical error made of mawla the plural mawāli. Mawāli here may cause some confusion, since the term is any way ambiguous. But,
taking into account that the mukātab has usually only one master, the version of Muwatta' is rather more acceptable.

However, there are three views with respect to the inheritance of mukātab, (a) if the mukātab has died and left some portion of the contract outstanding and also has free-born sons and daughters (walad pl.), what is left of his contract should be paid, and what remains of his estate should be given to his sons and daughters (3).
(b) Ibn 'Umar suggests that the remainder of the inheritance should be given to the master (4). (c) According to this letter, 'Abd al-Malik suggests that the remainder of the inheritance, after payment of the contract and other outstanding debts, should be divided between the sons and daughters (the daughter in this case) and the master. On the other hand, it is related that 'Abd al-Malik, in a different case, awarded the remainder of the estate to the free-born sons and daughters (5).

Finally, these different and contrasting reports and opinions with regard to the mukātab and his inheritance indicate that this problem is a matter of individual judgement (ijtihād), and that it depends on the conditions of the contract, the inheritance, the heirs, and the debts (6).
NOTES

1. For more details, see Schacht, Origins, p. 279ff; Musannaf, vol. VIII, p. 391ff; Muwatta, p. 560ff.


3. Ibid., p. 391, no. 15654.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., p. 392, no. 15657, p. 393f, no. 15664, no. 15665.

6. See the sources in note 1.
On the authority of 'Amra bint 'Abd al-Rahman who said that Ziyād b. Abī Su'fyan wrote to A'isha, the Prophet's wife, mentioning that 'Abd Allāh b. Abbās said: "Whoever sends his hadī (to the Ka'ba) is prohibited those things which are prohibited to a pilgrim until the hadī have been slaughtered. I already sent my hadī. Therefore, write me your instructions or you can instruct ṣāhib al-hadī." 'Amra said, 'A'isha said, "It is not as Ibn 'Abbās said. I prepared the garlands of the Prophet's hadī with my own hands, then the Prophet put them round their necks with his own hands and sent them with my father. And nothing permitted by God was prohibited to the Prophet until the hadī was slaughtered."

Muwatta', p. 233, no. 758.

COMMENTARY

This letter involves two different views with respect to the hadī (offering animals to the Ka'ba or Mecca):
(a) the opinion of Ibn ʿAbbās who suggested that a person who does not intend to go to Mecca for pilgrimage but wishes to send his ḥadī, is not allowed to do the things that are not allowed for a pilgrim to do. (1). Unfortunately, this opinion of Ibn ʿAbbās is unjustified, for the reports neglected to mention the traditions, if such there are, according to which Ibn ʿAbbās made his legal decision.

(b) The opinion of ʿAʾishah which is opposed to the opinion of Ibn ʿAbbās: obviously, the reports concentrated on this opinion because it was the sunna of the Prophet (2), and, in fact, it is rather more acceptable, logically, than the opinion of Ibn ʿAbbās. But it is a little puzzling to find a report that mentions ʿAʾishah was the first to clarify this problem for the community so that they rejected the fatwa of Ibn ʿAbbās and adopted the opinion of ʿAʾishah (3). This version, if it is true, indicates that the opinion of Ibn ʿAbbās was valid before ʿAʾishah made her legal decision, which means that Ibn ʿAbbās must have had authority for his decision.

On the other hand, though ʿAʾishah, who due to her close relationship to the Prophet, was one of the few persons who might know if the Prophet did or did not do the things not permitted to a pilgrim, it is astonishing not to find any indication, with regard to this problem, to the opinion of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar I, ʿUthmān, and ʿAlī.
NOTES

1. For things that are not allowed a pilgrim, see Shaibānī, 
   Muwatta', pp. 143, 147, 149.

2. See for example, Bukhārī, Sahih, Būlaq, vol. II, 
   p. 167f; Abū Dāūd, vol. II, p. 365, no. 1757, p. 366, 
   no. 1758; Shaibānī, Muwatta', p. 139.

FROM 'UMAR B. 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ TO ABU BAKR B. MUḤAMMAD B. ḤĀZM
(Concerning writing down the traditions)

Mālik b. Anas, Yahya b. Sā'id informed us that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz wrote to Abū Bakr b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm: "Look for what there is of the Ĥadīth of the Apostle of God and of his Sunna or of the hadīth of 'Umar or something similar to this and write it down for me, for I fear the vanishing of (religious) knowledge and the passing away of the scholars."

Shaibānī's recension of Mālik's Muwatta', p. 330, no. 936

COMMENTARY

It is assumed that the early attempts to record traditions began during the life of the Prophet and continued into the Rāshidūn caliphs' era (1). Some of the Umayyad caliphs played a personal role in writing down the traditions for different reasons (2). Officially, there was an attempt on the part of 'Umar II who sent several letters to Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm, the people of Medina, and to the provinces asking them to write down the traditions (3). Because the earliest text of the letter of 'Umar II to Abū Bakr is preserved in Shaibānī's recension of Mālik's Muwatta', some doubts have been cast on the authenticity of this letter (4). Abbott has discussed this problem and stated that the letter is authentic (5).

For the content of the letter, it involves three orders to be executed: Recording the Ĥadīth of the Prophet, his
Abbott suggests that 'Umar II sent this letter to Abū Bakr aiming at securing authentic copies of the original documents which were possessed by some families in Medina especially the family of Abū Bakr (6). In addition to that, 'Umar II ordered Abū Bakr to write down the Hadīth and Sunna because he was afraid that the religious knowledge would vanish and the scholars would pass away as is mentioned in his letter. According to a letter from 'Umar II to Abū Bakr transmitted by Baghandī in the Musnad of 'Umar II, Abbott mentions that 'Umar II requested from Abū Bakr specific materials (7). In fact, it is not fair to restrict 'Umar's request of Abū Bakr to specific materials, for (a) the version of Baghandī to the letter of 'Umar reads: "Write for me a copy of the Sadaga of the Prophet's companions together with the names and descents of those who are in charge of it. And write to me the hadīth that you told me on the authority of 'Amra on the authority of 'Ā'isha" (8). Obviously, this letter differs widely from the letter in the version of Muwatta' which induces one to consider it a separate letter sent by 'Umar II to Abū Bakr in addition to the previous one(s).

(b) The formula "look for what there is of the Hadīth of the Apostle of God" is applied to the whole Hadīth of the Prophet not to some of it. The version of Darīmī and Bukhārī of this letter may support this view. The version of Darīmī (255/868) says: "write down for me what is regarded as authentic of the Hadīth of the Apostle of God" (9), while the version of Bukhārī (256/869) reads: "... and do
not accept but the Hadīth of the Apostle of God" (10). The letters of 'Umar II to the people of Medina and to the provinces, where he ordered them to write down the traditions, may support this view as well (11).

As for the term Sunna mentioned in the letter, it is not limited to the example or conduct of the Prophet, but it is also applied to the example and conduct of the distinguished companions of the Prophet, especially the Rāshidūn caliphs (12). Thus, it refers, in this letter, to general activities in any phase of life whatsoever, not to specific fields of administrative and legal practices as interpreted by Abbott (13), for Sunna, or Sunna mādiya (effective) according to the version of Baghāndī (463/1070), is employed generally. If we were to accept the fact that the term Sunna refers to specific fields of administrative and legal practice, this might not coincide with the aim of 'Umar II mentioned above. It may be true that the family of Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm and some other families possessed some documents of Hadīth and Sunna (14), but it does not mean that 'Umar II merely aimed at collecting those documents, for indeed, those documents were a part of the Prophet's traditions. Moreover, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, executing the order of 'Umar II wrote down the Sunan, then 'Umar II sent a copy (daftar) of this work to the various provinces (15). The term Sunan in this report involves the sayings of the Prophet, his conduct, examples and the like. It involves the conduct and examples of the Prophet's companions as well (16).

Before concluding this argument, there is still another point to be explained: 'Umar II requested from Abū Bakr to write for him the hadīth of 'Umar, or 'Āmra according to the
version of Ibn Sa‘d (230/844) and Bāghandi (17). It may be that some misplacement of diacritical marks (tashīf) occurred in the word (عمر). However, it is not astonishing to know that ‘Umar II wrote to Sālim b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar I asking him to write for him the letters of ‘Umar I or the like (18). But, it is most likely that the name in this letter is ‘Amra not ‘Umar, for, according to the letter mentioned in the Musnad of ‘Umar II, ‘Umar II requested from Abū Bakr, in addition to the other requests, a particular hadīth that he heard Abū Bakr relate on the authority of ‘Amra (19).
NOTES

2. Ibid., pp. 12-19.
6. Ibid., p. 29.
7. Ibid., p. 29f.
13. Abbott, op. cit., p. 27
CONCLUSION

Now, what can be known of Umayyad chancery technique, style, and language? It is to be hoped that the first and second chapters will give some reliable impression of Umayyad chancery practice: its technique, style, and language. It might be useful to stress here some important points:

(a) The main problem in dealing with such a subject is not merely the authenticity of the letters but also the bias of several and often conflicting reports of a single event. Moreover, it might be noticed that the letters transmitted in the literary works, or a majority of them, are not the exact copies of the original ones, for they have undergone changes of both format and content on the part of the transmitters.

Since it was not easy for the transmitter, who lived in the Abbasid period and adopted its literary style, to ignore his literary, political and sectarian background in dealing with the Umayyad literature, it may not be easy for the modern scholar to know accurately the style and characteristics of the Umayyad letters. What may support this view is that the letter of Qiss b. Sa ida to his friend had undergone change of its style on the part of ‘Askarî (1). On the other hand, it has been mentioned through discussion and analysis of the specimens of Umayyad chancery practice that some letters are, all things considered, authentic and others are not. But it does mean that this authenticity or in-authenticity is an incontestable problem, for we do not have enough decisive evidence to reach a conclusion.

(b) The format of the Umayyad letters has been illus-
trated, according to the Arabic papyri and the technical literary works (2), as follows:

I - Introductory formulae which consists of the Basmala, the inside address (al-‘Unwān), the Salām, the Tahmīd, and Amma baʿd.

II - Concluding formulae which consists of the phrase "in shā' Allāh" (if God wills), repeating the formula of Salām with the definite article "al" (3), the name of the scribe and the date.

It is noticeable that the literary works did not transmit the letters in their full format. They mostly use the phrase "Ammā baʿd" and occasionally the phrase "al-Salām".

(c) The style:

It might be noticed that there are two prominent patterns of style in the epistolary heritage of the Umayyad period. One is simple, unstilted, homely, and sparing in words; the other is rhetorical, ornamented, stilted, and rather verbose. The first pattern is presented mostly by the letters of the first and fourth groups of sources, while the second style is presented by the great majority of the letters in the second and third groups of sources, particularly the letters attributed to ʿAbd al-Hamīd as we will see in the third chapter.

Since the letters of the Arabic papyri and the Hadīth and Fīqh sources are free of rhetorical figures such as rhyme, ornatus (badiʿ), madhhab kalāmī, ... etc., some doubt might be cast on the authenticity of the letters in the rhetorical and ornamented style. Thus, it may be useful
to mention here the view of the early authors on rhyme, one of the rhetorical figures.

It is related that the Prophet ordered not to use rhyme (ṣaj) because of its similarity to the rhyme of the pre-Islamic soothsayers (kuhān). Jāḥiz suggests that the Prophet had to do so because the Arab soothsayers used to judge the people using rhyme. The prohibition was necessary at that time, as Jāḥiz asserts, because the people were very close to the pre-Islamic times. But when the cause had ended the prohibition ended as well (4). On the other hand, ʿAskari suggests that the Prophet prohibited merely the rhyme of soothsayers and not all kinds of rhyme, for the rhyme of soothsayers was so stilted (5). I would incline to suggest that the rhyme continued to be undesirable during the Rāshidūn, Umayyad, and ʿAbbāsid periods, for (a) the Prophet also prohibited the people to be precious (affected) in both word and deed (6). It is also related that ʿUmar I protested against ʿUṣair al-ʿAbdī when he described a country in rhyme and said to him, "are you a rhymer or a reporter?" (7) These accounts may indicate that the rhyme was undesirable because it leads to stiltedness and preciousness; and that the literature at that time was serving practical purposes. (b) It is notable that rhyme and other rhetorical figures do not appear clearly in the authentic letters of the Rāshidūn, Umayyad, and the first ʿAbbāsid caliphs as well as the Arabic papyri (8). (c) Even in the fourth (tenth) century rhyme was merely recommended, not necessary, but otherwise it was disapproved if it was precious (9). On the other hand, Qalqashandi suggests that rhyme in letters detracts from
the rank of the addressee, and that it is to be restricted
to some, and not all letters as has been mentioned (10).

(d) The language:

Qalqashandi mentions that the Umayyad secretaries used
to write their letters in a powerful, eloquent, and pure
Arabic style, for they were influenced by Arabic culture (11).
Tha alibi also asserts that the Umayyad caliphs used to
write their letters in a fine and eloquent style (12). More­
over, the letters of Marwan II were regarded as models of
letter-writing (13).

It is worth mentioning that Grohmann suggests that
the language of the official correspondence, according to
the Arabic papyri, is the pure classical language, for a
classical education (adab) was one of the required qualifi­
cations which a higher government official was presumed to
have (14).

(e) تادمین (quoting from the Qur'an traditions, or
poems):

It might be noticed that the letters of the Arabic
papyri are free completely of this phenomenon, but other­
wise quoting from the Qur'ān, traditions, or poems figures
often in letters transmitted in the literary works, which
may cast some doubt on the authenticity of such letters,
for the late Abbasid secretaries used to emply this
rhetorical figure in their تاراسول (15).

(f) Verbosity and Brevity:

It seems that the verbosity or brevity of the letters
depend on the nature of the subject itself, for it might be
noticed that some letters in chapter two exhibit some ver­
bosity while others do not (16).
NOTES

2. See chapter 1.
3. See above, pp. 41, 43.
15. See Kâtib, Burhân, p. 350f; c.f.
16. See for example, ch. II, pp. 62, 65, 81, 102f.
CHAPTER THREE

'ABD AL-ḤAMĪD AL-KĀTIB

I. Biography

Name and descent:

In the third (ninth) century, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was known as 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kabīr or 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yahya (1). From the fourth (tenth) century and henceforth, he became 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yahya b. Sa'īd or Sa'īd (2). Mas'ūdī is the only author to mention a complete pedigree for 'Abd al-Ḥamīd back to his earliest ancestors. Hence, he is 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yahya b. Sa'īd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Jābir b. Mālik b. Ḥijr b. Mu‘āis b. 'Amīr b. Lu'ay b. Ghālib (3). It seems that Abbott, according to this pedigree, regarded 'Abd al-Ḥamīd as an Arab not as a Persian (4). It is worth recording that this chain of descent is not mentioned by the genealogists.

For his clientage, on the other hand, it is said that he was the client of al-'Alā'ī b. Waḥb al-Āmirī in particular or the client of Banū 'Āmir in general (5). But Balādhurī and Iṣṭakhri mention that he was the client of Banū Umayya (6). These contrasting and contradictory versions concerning his descent and clientage induce one to investigate his origins. Balādhurī mentions that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was a native of Ḥadīthat al-Nūra, near al-Anbar (known as Ḥadīthat al-Furāt) (7) while Ibn al-Nadīm suggests that he was from Syria (8). According to 'Askari and Iṣṭakhri, he was a native of Persia (9). It is quite easy for the truth to vanish amongst such contradictory reports, so that the question might be asked:
For what reason were these reports related about a famous figure such as `Abd al-Ḥamīd? It may not be easy to find a logical answer to such a question, but otherwise these reports could indicate (a) that `Abd al-Ḥamīd was an invented figure, as some orientalists have said (10), that every political or cultural party in the `Abbasid period wished him to be one of them; for example, `Askārī boasts that `Abd al-Ḥamīd was an intelligent Persian, while Ibn al-Nadīm tries to portray him in a different light (11); (b) that `Abd al-Ḥamīd was a real person but that the authors of the third and fourth (ninth and tenth) centuries did not know anything about him, which encouraged them to fabricate his descent, origin, clientage, and his career according to their political, sectarian, or racial tendencies.

His profession:

Most of the reports agree that `Abd al-Ḥamīd was at first an itinerant pedagogue, who became a secretary at Marwān's chancery (12), but otherwise they disagree on the time of his employment by Marwān. Baladhurī, for instance, mentions that Sālim b. `Abd al-Raḥmān, the secretary of Hishām b. `Abd al-Malik, attached `Abd al-Ḥamīd to Marwān II when the latter was appointed over Armenia (114/ 732). The word "damma" (attached) in the report indicates that Sālim was authorized to appoint `Abd al-Ḥamīd or other secretaries to Hishām's and Marwān's chanceries, which may contradict a report mentioned by Jāḥiz (13). Supposing that Sālim was authorized to do so, he should, first of all, attach `Abd al-Ḥamīd to Hishām's chancery in order to learn the practice of chancery writing, after which he could be
assigned to any chancery. According to another version, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was employed as a secretary to several of the Umayyad caliphs such as 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, and, since that time, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd continued to be a secretary at the Umayyad chancery until the reign of Marwān II (14). On the other hand, Jahshiyārī suggests that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was the minister of Marwān II when the latter became caliph (15). However difficult it is to say which of these versions is the most likely, apparently 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was the secretary of Marwān II.

For his rank at Marwān's chancery, Khalīfa b. Khayyat mentioned that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was responsible for the correspondence bureau (16), while Ṭabarī mentions that he was merely a secretary and that 'Uthmān b. Qais, the client of Khālid al-Qasrī, was responsible for the correspondence bureau (17). Ibn al-Kāzarūnī (697/1297) does not mention 'Abd al-Ḥamīd amongst the secretaries of the Umayyad chancery (18).

The end of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd:

Balādhurī mentions two different versions of the end of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd: (a) It is asserted that Marwān II, when he realized that he was to be killed, said to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, "They (the 'Abbāsids) are in need of you, so you ought to ask them for protection, for you might be useful to me in my life or to look after my family after my death." 'Abd al-Ḥamīd replied, "My loyalty is to be kept in secret! My perfidy is to be announced! Who would find me an excuse whose utterance is acceptable to people?"
Then he added: "O Commander of the Faithful, what you ask me to do is the best for you and the worst for me, but otherwise I can be patient until God has granted you his victory, or I would like to be killed with you." Then he was arrested, jailed, and killed (19).

(b) Baladhuri asserts that he was told by some of 'Abd al-Hamid's sons (he means his grandsons) that 'Abd al-Hamid was hiding either in Syria (Sham) or in the Jazira when he was discovered by the 'Abbasids. Saffāh, the caliph, handed him over to 'Abd al-Jabbar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, the chief of police, who used to heat to intensity a basin and put it on his head until he died. In the meantime, 'Abd al-Hamid would say, "Woe unto you! We are the orators of every state." (20)

(c) Ya'qūbi merely mentions that 'Abd al-Hamid stayed on in Egypt and hid until he was discovered by Ṣālih b. 'Alī, the 'Abbasid governor (21).

(d) On the other hand, Jahshiyāri asserts that 'Abd al-Hamid took refuge in the house of his friend Ibn al-Muqaffa, but was traced, seized, and handed over to 'Abd al-Jabbar (22).

(e) Tha'alibi asserts that 'Abd al-Hamid, al-Balabakki al-mu'adhhdhin (announcer of the hour of prayer), and Salām al-hādī (cameleer) were brought to Abu Ja'far al-Mansūr who was about to kill them, but he spared the life of Salām and al-Balabakki because of their nice voices. 'Abd al-Hamid
said: "O Commander of the Faithful, spare my life for I am unique in writing and rhetoric."

Abu Jafar said: "I know you very well, you are the one who was responsible for our disasters."

Then he ordered his hand and legs to be cut off (23).

(f) Ibn Khallikan said the only one to mention that 'Abd al-Hamid shared with Marwan his fate at Busir in 13 Dhul Hijja 132/23 July 750 (24).

Commentary on these versions:

(a) With the exception of Ibn Khallikan's version, it is not mentioned on which day 'Abd al-Hamid was killed, but supposing that he was arrested on the same day as Marwan's death, he would have been sent to Fustat first, then to Iraq to be jailed, then to be killed. Unfortunately, we do not know how long he was kept in jail, but surely, seventeen days would not be enough for the journey from Busir to Iraq and jailing. Thus, in this case, he might have been killed in 133/751 not in 132/750.

(b) The story of his hiding, apart from location, contradicts the version of his death in 132/750 if he had hidden more than seventeen days. Once again we can not reach a decision.

(c) His saying "we are the orators of every state" demonstrates his astuteness in trying to spare his life. However, this report, if it is true, contradicts that of his refusal to desert Marwan and seek protection from the 'Abbāsids.

(d) It is related that he wrote his last letter to his family, who was at Raqqa at that time, when he was in Palestine
with Marwan (25). This may not coincide with the version which says that his descendants continued to live in Egypt under the name of Banū al-Muhājir (the son of the emigrant) and furnished secretaries to Ahmad b. Tūlūn unless they emigrated after his death (26). But the term "al-muhājir" indicates that Ābd al-Ḥamīd himself willingly emigrated with his family, which may indicate, if it is true, that he was not killed but managed to survive.

(e) If we accept the version of Ābd al-Ḥamīd before al-Mansur, it means that he was killed during the reign of Mansūr, not Saffāḥ, for there is no indication that he was brought to Mansūr during the reign of his brother Saf- fāḥ. On the other hand, this version contradicts that of Jahshiyārī who asserts that Mansūr used to say: "The Umayyads achieved supremacy over us by means of Ḥajjāj, Ābd al-Ḥamīd, and al-Mu’adhīdhin al-Balabbakī" (27). This version, if it is true, may indicate that Ābd al-Ḥamīd was killed on the battle field together with Marwān, which is very likely, for it is a little puzzling that Ābd al-Ḥamīd was killed later, while Muṣḥab b. al-Rabī‘ al-Khath‘āmī, one of Marwān’s secretaries, was not killed by the ‘Abbasids after the defeat of Marwān at the battle of Zāb, but they offered him protection according to his wish (28).

However, due to these contradictory accounts with regard to the descent, clientage, origin and end of Ābd al-Ḥamīd, it seems difficult to say which of these accounts is most likely.
NOTES

6. Ansāb, III, p. 163; Masālik, p. 88.
9. Masālik, p. 88; Sināʿatāin, p. 69 and see below.
11. See below.
13. See below for the view of Jāḥiz with regard to Sālim.
17. Ṭabarī, vol. VI, p. 182.
18. Kāzarūnī, p. 106. For Marwān's secretaries at the correspondence bureau, see the list of al-ʿAlī (Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad) in Majallat Abḥāth, 1966, vol. XIX, p. 66.
19. Ansāb, III, p. 163.
20. Ibid., p. 163f.


II. The Culture of 'Abd al-Hamid:

With the exception of Taha Husain who asserts that 'Abd al-Hamid was influenced by Greek culture, most of the modern authors assume that 'Abd al-Hamid was a product of Persian and Greek culture (1). Shak' ata, on the other hand, insists that 'Abd al-Hamid was of Arabic culture only (2). To find a rational answer to this problem, it will be useful to discuss each possibility separately.

Persian Culture:

'Askari is the only one amongst the early authors to assume that 'Abd al-Hamid was of Persian culture. His assumption reads: "'Abd al-Hamid extracted from the Persian tongue the models of literary composition which he prescribed and transposed into the Arabic tongue" (3).

This assumption indicates two important problems:
(a) that 'Abd al-Hamid mastered Persian; (b) that he extracted the models of writing from Persian. The first part of this assumption might be difficult to be acceptable as uncontestable fact, for it is well known that Pehlevi was the official language in Persia before Islam, and that it was restricted to statesmen and clergy (4). In the seventh century Pehlevi started to disappear and the spread of Arabic became inevitable, for it was used by officials in their communications, by the learned in their books on law and theology, and by all Muslims in their worship (5). Pehlevi disappeared because of its difficulty and complexity (alphabetically and orthographically), such that it required commentary to be understood by the Persians themselves as
Ištakhri mentioned (6). Furthermore, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd was born and bred in the Umayyad period (i.e., roughly fifty years after the desuetude of Pehlevi). It is true that the Zoroastrian priesthood continued to write in Pehlevi even after the rise of Islam (7), but it was limited to the recording and transmission of its sacred scripture (8), and was not employed amongst the Persians who embraced Islam.

It might be objected that Ibn al-Muqaffā‘, who was a friend of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, knew Pehlevi and translated from its literature several works into Arabic, so why should ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd also not have known Pehlevi? It is worth recording that the only source of this information is the Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadīm who lived in the fourth (tenth) century when such Persian states as those of the Samānids and Ṣaffārids originated at the eastern side of the Ḍabbāsīd caliphate (9). These states were so racially prejudiced against the Arabs that they employed at their courts only Persians (10). They encouraged the authors to write books and treatises defaming and disparaging the Arabs. The Fihrist lists many such books (11). Therefore, to deal with the material of the Fihrist, great caution is required, for it seems that Ibn al-Nadīm, as a Persian and Shi‘īte, wished to participate in the conflict (Shu‘ubiyya) between Arabs and Persians at that time (12) by attributing many works to Persians, such as Ibn al-Muqaffa‘. On the other hand, though Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was taught by Arabs (13), it is likely that he knew Pehlevi for he remained a non-Muslim, probably a Zoroastrian or a Manichaean, until the ‘Abbāsid period when he converted to Islam (14). But it is a little
puzzling that these Pehlevi texts which Ibn al-Muqaffā translated into Arabic were lost, together with their Arabic translations. For example, the Pehlevi text of the letter of Tansar, which was translated by Ibn al-Muqaffā, was lost, but in the seventh (thirteenth) century it is said that Ibn Isfandiar translated the Arabic text into modern Persian, and that the Arabic translation disappeared while the modern Persian translation survived. This letter of Tansar, allegedly translated from Pehlevi is full of Islamic thoughts (15), which may indicate that it either was composed during the Islamic period or that the copyist made some modification in the text in order to be acceptable to the Muslims. But it does not mean that one should deny that some Pehlevi texts have in fact been preserved (16).

Despite the aforesaid observations, if we accept the version that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was a Persian native, it is very likely that he knew Persian at least through his intercourse with Persians.

Before discussing the assumption that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd extracted the models of writing from Persian, I would like to state here that it is not the aim of this research to deny the existence of Persian literature which had flourished hundreds of years before Islam, but, unfortunately, what has been preserved of Persian literature is not a large amount such as many modern languages, or some languages of ancient centres of civilization such as India, China, or Greece can demonstrate (17). The materials, apart from the religious texts, remained scanty till, in the tenth Christian century, the vivid literature of medieval Persia began (18).
Moreover, we do not have specimens of Persian chancery practice to make a comparison between the style of these specimens and the style of the letters attributed to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. It might be said that at most there were several works of Persian literature available to the Muslims in the first and second (seventh and eighth) centuries before they disappeared (19).

Concerning these works, it will be useful to cite some important points: first, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī suggests that those Pehlevi texts and their Arabic translations came into being in the third (ninth) century (20). Secondly, these translated works are full of Islamic thoughts as has been alluded to (21). For example, it is asserted that Ardashīr b. Bābak sent a letter which reads: "From Ardashīr b. Bābak, the propagandist for God, the one who asks for his victory". (22) Obviously, the terms "al-daʿī ila Allāh" and "al-mustansir bih" were distinguishing marks for the ʿAbbāsid caliphs.

Supporting his view with regard to the Persian models, 'Askarī asserts again that the translation of Persian speeches and letters is in the mode (style) of Arabs' oratory and letters (23). This statement could be understood to mean that the translator(s) of those letters and speeches took into account that the translation should be changed to suit the Arabic style (i.e., those letters and speeches were adapted from Persian), which must mean that the Arabs had their own models. as has been mentioned (24). It may be worth mentioning that Persian prose, as Arberry suggests, started in a humble,
almost apologetic manner, as if conscious of the superior
strength and suppleness of the Arabic which Persian scholars
preferred (25). It is reported that the earliest surviving
examples of Persian prose were in fact translations from
Aramaic, particularly the history of .Tabari (26). And
Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Baghdādī mentioned that the Persian authors
were so admiring of Arabic letters that they followed their
model (27). Hence, taking into account the large epistolary
heritage of the Arabs since the reign of the Prophet down
to the reign of Marwān II, it is puzzling in fact to read
that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ignored this heritage and borrowed from
the Persian models.

On the other hand, one may protest that there were,
indeed, translated Persian letters at the time of ʿAskari but,
unfortunately, they were lost. This view
would be acceptable if Jahiz did not mention this problem
and cast doubt on such letters. His exact words are: "we
could not know whether the Persian letters on hand are
authentic or forged, and whether they are old or new
(muwallada), for Ibn al-Muqaffa, Sahl b. Ḥarūn, ʿAbd al-
Ḥamīd and Ghailān could have introduced such letters and
created such biographies" (28). According to this report,
ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd must have known Persian to do such work. The
view of Jahiz with regard to Persian literature is supported
by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī who suggests that there was much forger-
ery in the history and biography of Persians (29). Fur-
thermore, such doubt is cast by Tansar himself in his let-
ter to the king of Tabaristān (30).

Finally, I would like to say that no one could deny
the cultural exchange between Persian and Arabic even before
Islam. Due to that, it was expected to find some Persian letters, apart from the question of their authenticity, at the time of ʿAskarī. But, on the other hand, it is unfair to claim that Arabic borrowed its models of literary composition from Persian while it had its own models, as has been mentioned.

**Greek Culture:**

Ibn al-Athīr (637/1239) mentions that secretaries such as ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Ibn al-ʿAmīd, Ṣābī, and the like learnt nothing from Greek books (31). Protesting against this, Ṣafadī says: "How could you know that to make a judgement?" (32) Unfortunately, Ṣafadī does not say whether ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd acquired knowledge from Greek books or not. Since that time this problem was undecided, until recently when Ṭahā Ḥusain asserted that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was influenced by Greek culture owing to his relationship with Sālim, the secretary of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, who, it is claimed, translated some letters from Aristotle to Alexander the Great. This influence also appears, as Ḥusain claims, in the letters attributed to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd with respect to military organization and usage of the circumstantial phrase (33). The following argument is an attempt to find out whether ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was influenced by Greek culture or not.

**Sālim and Greek:**

Ibn al-Nadīm is the only one to assume that Sālim translated (or copied) from the letters of Aristotle to Alexander: "And it was translated for him and he made correction". (34)
If Ibn al-Nadim means by "naqala min" translated, it must mean that Sālim knew Greek. But the other phrase, "wa nugila lahn" indicates that he did not know Greek, or, as Iḥṣān ʿAbbāṣ says, he was too busy to translate himself. (35) Due to that confusion, ʿAbbāṣ suggests that the statement should be read "naqala ... or nugila lahn" (36). But we cannot ignore the preposition "min" as ʿAbbāṣ did, for the phrase "naqala min" may indicate that Sālim did not translate those letters but he adapted or copied some ideas from them, and in this case, there is no confusion in the statement. However, the question remains: Did Sālim know Greek? ʿAbbāṣ suggests that probably he did not know Greek or Syriac (37). But, since we have no evidence to prove that, it may not be easy to answer this question; otherwise, the statement of Fihrist may be unacceptable for (a) the style of these attributed letters to Aristotle is closer to the ʿAbbāsid style than the Umayyad style described in chapter one. (b) Shaikhū mentioned that some of these letters were translated by Ḫūhanna al-Bīṭrīq at the time of Maʾmūn (198-218/813-833), who was the first caliph to send a mission to the Byzantine Emperor asking for permission to translate the Greek books into Arabic (38). On the other hand, ʿAbbāṣ regards what Sālim had done as an early attempt at translation (39). Supporting his view, ʿAbbāṣ mentions the assertion of Masʿūdī that he saw in 303/915 at Iṣṭakhr a book, which was translated for Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik in 113/731, recording much Persian knowledge and history of Persian kings (40). This assertion could be true, but we have to be cautious in accepting such reports, for most of the historical data in
the fourth (tenth) century was written under the influence of racial prejudice (Shuʿūbiyya) no matter whether it was written by Arabs or Persians, to prove that one race was superior to the other.

(c) Yuḥanna al-Bīṭrīq also translated one of Aristotle's books called "al-Siyāsa fī tadbīr al-riyāsa", or as it is known "Sirr al-asrār", containing a letter from Aristotle to Alexander. This letter together with other letters attributed to Aristotle are full of Islamic concepts which may indicate that they were formulated or modified by theologians in the 'Abbāsid period (41).

Trying to prove that Sālim translated the attributed letters to Aristotle which are preserved at Aya Sofya, Grignaschi, as 'Abbās says, cited several arguments (42). It is noticeable that such arguments show Sālim as if he were the writer of these letters, not the translator; otherwise, he made some changes in them (43). It may be worth recording that one could not find in the available specimens of these letters the atmosphere of the Umayyad caliphate as Grignaschi asserts (44).

The Military Influence:

Husain assumes that ʿAbd al-Hamīd was influenced by Greek culture according to a sentence in his letter to the son of Marwān II, which reads: "Then put in command of every one hundred men a close confidant of your trusted counsellor". (45)

Shawqi Daif suggests that this statement does not prove that ʿAbd al-Hamīd was influenced by Greek culture, for the Arabs at that time were fighting Byzantines, and could easily
have become acquainted with their military organization (46), while ʿAbdās suggests that this system was a general military rule and could not be regarded as a distinctive mark to any nation (47). In addition to that, it may be useful to mention some important points:

(a) Greek and Byzantine military organization differed in many respects from Umayyad military organization (48).

(b) There was not a military unit of one hundred men in the Byzantine army at the time of the Umayyads (49). (c) The most important thing in this case is that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, in his letter to the son of Marwān II did not say that this unit of one hundred men was part of the fighting army, but, in fact, he instructed the son of Marwān to select some courageous, experienced, sturdy, and stern horsemen as reserve(s) (50).

On the other hand, ʿAbbās mentions some other Byzantine military rules in the letter of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd such as fortifying the weak points, spying on the enemy, and avoiding to fight the enemy except in case of necessity (51). It is worth mentioning that such rules were in use in the reign of the Prophet and his second successor, ʿUmar I, in particular (52), which may support the aforesaid view.

The Circumstantial Phrase:

Because of circumstantial phrase in the attributed letters to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Ḥusain assumes that he was influenced by Greek culture, for such phraseology is a characteristic of Greek literature (53). ʿAaif supported this view first, then withdrew his support to say that circumstantial phraseology is an Arabic literary characteristic
and was used in the Qur'an (54). With respect to this problem, it is worth mentioning that Husain himself says that Arabs did not translate one single work of Greek literature (55). Thus, how would it be possible for Abd al-Hamid to be influenced by Greek culture, at least according to the points mentioned by Husain?

It is also assumed that Abd al-Hamid was influenced by Aristotle's moral philosophy, though it is well known that Aristotle's philosophy remained untranslated until the 'Abbāsid period (56).

Finally, it seems difficult to reach a decision with regard to the Greek cultural influence on Abd al-Hamid and Sālim. But, on the one hand, if we accept the version that Abd al-Hamid was a Syrian native, it is likely that he knew Greek. On the other hand, it is worth recording that there were some Greek scribes at the Umayyad chancery in Syria where Abd al-Hamid and Sālim had opportunity to learn Greek. Moreover, Greek culture was generally known to Muslims at that time, for Syria had been a Roman territory before it was conquered by Muslims.

**Arabic Culture:**

Some modern authors suggest that Abd al-Hamid was a product of Arabic culture, according to a report mentioned by Jahshiyarī which reads: "Abd al-Hamid was asked, what made you proficient and well educated in rhetoric? He said, 'learning by heart the speech of the bald' (he means 'Alī b. Abī Tālib)" (57).

It could be true that Abd al-Hamid was influenced by the speech of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, but it is a little puzzling that he ignored the Qur'an and the authentic traditions,
for they are more rhetorical than the speech of ‘Alī. It is notable that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, in his letter to the secretaries with regard to their required qualifications, does not mention the speech of ‘Alī, while the knowledge of the Qur‘ān is mentioned (58).

On the other hand, it is well known that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, as a scribe at the Umayyad chancery, was familiar with Arabic and Islamic culture. But, otherwise, it may not be easy to separate one culture from another at this time, for Arabic, Greek, and Persian cultures were intermixed. Thus, I would incline to support the view that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd was a product of the three cultures in one way or another.

With regard to the culture of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, it will be useful to mention some laudatory attitudes towards ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd. For instance, Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, praising his father, declared that he used in his writing several rhetorical devices such as tashqīq, tashbīh (simile), and madhhab kalāmi (59). Ṭabarī says that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd was proficient in rhetoric (60), while Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih remarks that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd was the first to open up the perianths (buds) of rhetoric, to smooth out its ways and to loosen poetry from its bonds (61). On the other hand, Ibn al-ʿNadīm claimed that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd was the first to smooth out the ways of rhetoric with respect to tarassul (62). Moreover, Ibn Khallikān launched his famous statement which reads: "Artistic writing was begun by ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd and ended by Ibn al-ʿAmīd" (63). They also attributed to ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd two different definitions of balāgha: first, balāgha is that which the elite accept and the public understand. Second, "the best speech is that powerful
in effect which hits upon virgin meaning" (64).

It is not the aim of this study to deny that 'Abd al-
Hamīd was eloquent and proficient in writing letters, but
I would like to record here some critical notes on the
aforesaid reports:

(a) 'Abd al-Hamīd was a scribe (katib rasā'il) at
Marwan's chancery, not a mutarassil (one who write in an
elegant, lofty, and embellished style), for tarassul
emerged in the 'Abbāsid period only (65). It is worth
mentioning that 'Arūdī differentiated between tarassul and
letter-writing when he mentioned the letters of 'Abd al-
Hamīd and the tarassul of Sahib b. 'Abbād (66). (b) With
regard to loosing poetry from its bonds, it might be
useful to say that such a rhetorical device did not emerge
until the 'Abbāsid period (67). (c) The statement of
Ibn Khallīkān ignores many of those who preceded 'Abd
al-Hamīd, such as Ḥajjāj and Ziyād, and who were elo-
quent like 'Abd al-Hamīd if not more so. Furthermore, as
has been mentioned, most of the Umayyad caliphs used to
write their letters in a fine and eloquent style (68).
On the other hand, it is unfair to ignore also those who
followed Ibn al-'Amīd, such as al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād (d. 995)
and al-Qādī al-Fādil (d. 1200), and who were proficient in
letter-writing and tarassul (69).

'Abd al-Hamīd as a calligrapher:

To make 'Abd al-Hamīd a perfect secretary, the early
authors assert that he said to Ibrāhīm b. Jabala, whose
script was bad, "do you wish your script to be good?"
Ibrāhīm said, "yes." 'Abd al-Hamīd said, "then lengthen
the jilfa of the pen to make it good, and nib the point obliquely and to the right." (70) From this statement, Abbott assumes that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd played a basic role in the evolution of Arabic script (71). Tawḥīdī attributed this statement to Ibn Muqla, which is more likely than to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (72). Apart from that, this statement need not necessarily be regarded as evidence that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd played such a role.

'*Abd al-Ḥamīd as a poet:

Jāḥīẓ mentions that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd could not be regarded as amongst the poets, but was able to compose mediocre verse (73). On the other hand, there are some sayings attributed to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd such as "the pen is a tree whose fruit is phraseology; thought is a sea whose jewel is wisdom" (74).

To conclude this argument, it might be useful to mention some critical attitudes towards 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. Jāḥīẓ, for instance, exhibits opposing views. First, in his treatise "Dhamm akhlāq al-kuttāb", Jāḥīẓ accuses Sālim, the instructor of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, of committing many errors and of being dim-witted, and that he was to be blamed for the revolution of Khūrasān because of his bias against Nasr b. Sayyār (75). In his work "al-Bayan wal-tabyīn", Jāḥīẓ praised 'Abd al-Ḥamīd for his eloquence (76).

In another respect, it is claimed that Marwān II, when he was presented a black slave, ordered 'Abd al-Ḥamīd to write a rough and abusive letter to the leader who presented the slave. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd wrote a long letter, which Marwān disliked, so he took the letter from him and wrote: "If you had known a numeral less than one and a colour worse than black, you would send it" (77). Though
this report might be false, it suggests that Marwān II, in this particular case, disliked long letters, which may indicate that verbosity or brevity depended on the subject itself.
NOTES


10. See the sources in note 9; Mahnā, Dirasāt fi al-Adab, p. 217.


18. Ibid.

19. See the sources in note 16.

20. Ibn Maskawaih, al-Ḥikma al-Khālid, the introduction, p. 32.

21. See the sources in note 15 above; Maskawaih, Ḥikma, pp. 45, 56, 58; ʿAhd Ardashīr, pp. 49, 82ff, 87, 93f.
24. See Chapter 1.
27. Ḥūfī, p. 170 based on al-Tawassul ilā al-Tarassul, by Baghdādī, Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad.
34. Fihrist, p. 171.
35. Malāmih, p. 100.
36. Ibid., p. 100.
37. Ibid., p. 100.
40. Tanbih, p. 106.
41. Sirr al-Asrār, in al-’Usūl al-‘Yūnāniyya, pp. 70, 149.
44. See the sources in note 42 above.
47. Malāmih, p. 109.

49. See the sources in note 48 above.


53. Ḥadīth al-Shiʿr, p. 44.


55. Al-Taujīh al-Adabī, p. 198.


59. Baghdādī, Kitāb al-Kuttāb, p. 149.

60. Ībārī, vol. VI, p. 182.


64. Thamarāt, p. 335.


68. Thaʿālibī, Tuhfat al-Wuzara', p. 113f.

70. Ḥaqīq, vol. IV, p. 196; Ṣarḥ, p. 239; in Kitāb al-Kuttāb this phrase was addressed to Rāghbān al-Ḥimsī, p. 147; in Tārikh Baghdād, vol. V, p. 216f, it was addressed to Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, the secretary of Maʿmūn.


72. Risālat al-khatt, p. 27.


74. Tuhfat al-Wuzarāʾ; p. 139.

75. Akhlāq al-Kuttāb, p. 47.


77. Ḥaqīq, vol. IV, p. 156; in Ṣarḥ, it is said that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd wrote this letter, p. 239.
III: The Style of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd as a scribe at Marwan's chancery:

Masʿūdī mentions that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was the first to lengthen letters and to use a long tahmīd at the beginning, after which others adopted his style (1); while Ibn al-Nadîm merely mentions that the mutarassilûn adopted his style (2). The modern authors, inferring from the available letters ascribed to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, suggest that the style of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd is based on idioms, rhythms, and the vivid metaphors of Arabic poetry and rhetoric, but elaborated by the additions of often lengthy sequences of qualifying clauses (3). Hijâb agrees that the style of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd is full of rhetorical devices but that the use of rhyme is not deliberate (4). On the other hand, Badawī suggests that the style of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was that of the Umayyad chancery scribes who used to concentrate on the idea with less attention to rhyme, and that it was Jâḥîz who first employed parallelism in his writing (5). With regard to parallelism in the letters ascribed to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Maqdisî denies that it was borrowed from Persians, for it is found in the Qur'ān and in the speech of Arabs, but otherwise, lengthening of the tahmīd and elucidation of the idea were borrowed from Persians (6).

Commentary on these statements:

(a) Since authentic specimens of Persian letters are not available as has been mentioned, it may not be easy to state that lengthening the letters was borrowed from Persians. It is worth recording that Jamshīd the Persian king, as Maskawaih mentions, advised his secretary not to write in verbose style (7). Even in the 'Abbâsid period, where
Persian culture flourished, verbosity was undesirable in chancery letters, for Ja'far b. Yahyā advised his secretaries to make their letters concise (8).

(b) With respect to the tahmīd, it is notable that the available letters ascribed to ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd are free of this formula. It is true that there are four specimens of tahmīd attributed to ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, but they might not be regarded as chancery letters, for the formula is not written at the beginning of the letters as prescribed. It might be worth recalling that the Umayyad chancery practice continued in use in the ‘Abbāsid period until the reign of Rashīd who instructed his secretaries to add after the tahmīd "al-Ṣalātu ‘alā al-Nabī" (9). Thus, it seems that lengthening the formula of tahmīd was introduced during the reign of Ma’mūn (198-218/813-833), for Ṭaifūr, in his book al-Manthur wal-Manzūm, transmitted several tahmīds of Aḥmad b. Yūsuf the secretary of Ma’mūn which are almost identical with those ascribed to ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (10). On the other hand, it is worth recording that in one of these tahmīds there is a name of a person called Abū al-‘Alā’ al-Harurī who could be an invented figure, for I have not found such a name amongst the Umayyad opponents (11).

(c) It is astonishing that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd should borrow lengthening of the tahmīd from Persian, for (1) tahmīd is an Islamic monotheist concept, originally articulated in and borrowed from Arabic into Persian to indicate the same sense. (2) Quite apart from the question of the authenticity of the available Persian letters, the formula of tahmīd does not appear in them (12).
(d) According to the assertion that the style of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was adopted by the secretaries who came after him, it would be logical to find his style in the chancery letters of Marwān's secretaries or in the letters of the early ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Unfortunately, such a style does not appear either in the Arabic papyri from the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods or in letters transmitted in literary sources (13).

(e) It has been mentioned that the problem of verbosity and brevity depends on the subject itself, but since the chancery letters deal with political, administrative, and military affairs, they should not be generally prolix lest they became boring and incomprehensible.

(f) Finally, since it seems difficult to find authentic specimens of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's composition, his style remains a controversial problem, but I would incline to presume that his style, as a chancery scribe, would not be different from the style of other Umayyad chancery scribes, for first, the style of the Arabic papyri from the reign of Marwān II and the early ʿAbbāsid caliphate coincides almost with that in the letters of Qurra b. Sharīk (14). Secondly, since the chancery letters at that time were serving practical purposes, they should be written in a simple, unstilted, and homely style in order to be comprehensible. Thirdly, supposing that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd introduced some evolution into the style of chancery composition, such an evolution would have been achieved by phases, for literary style needs often a long period to be accomplished, which may explain the continuity of writing the chancery letters in the early ʿAbbāsid caliphate (up to the
reign of Rashīd) in the same style of the Umayyad chancery. Since the reign of Rashīd (170-192/786-809), a new style began to evolve gradually under the influence of the Persian and Greek cultures resulting from the movement of translation from those literatures. This new style was almost achieved during the reign of Ma'mūn at the hands of Sahl b. Harūn, Āḥmad b. Yūsuf, ʿAmr b. Maṣʿada, and Ḥāṭīẓ. The styles of these prominent figures are very close, nay they are almost identical (15). Unfortunately, there is no point of similarity between the style of the letters ascribed to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd and that of the letters from Marwān's II reign.

IV: The letters ascribed to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd:

The preserved letters ascribed to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd could be classified into two groups: first, the published group which involves fourteen chancery and personal (private) letters and four tahmīds (16). Secondly, the manuscript group which has been transmitted by a late author called Balawī (559/1164?) in his work al-ʿĀṭāʾ al-Jazīl fī Kashf Ghīṭāʾ al-Tarsīl (17). This group involves fourteen chancery and personal letters, of which none is known to us except for one letter to his brother (18). Submitting the letters to the latter group to editing and discussion is rather important to such a study, but unfortunately, the idea has been abandoned for the following reasons: first, the manuscript is so damaged as to be scarcely legible. Secondly, taking into consideration that early authors did not transmit these letters, it might be expected that Balawī, as a late author, would mention his source(s) or at the least, the chain of transmitters in order to check his authorities.
But since he did not do so, some doubt may be cast on the authenticity of such letters. Thirdly, the confusion in the historical data of these letters, particularly the names of persons, may support the doubt cast on their authenticity. For example, one of these letters asserts that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd sent a letter to Ibn Hubaira concerning Ṣmr b. Sa'īd who had been insulted by the latter (19). It is worth recording that there was no one of Marwān's relatives called Ṣmr b. Sa'īd but one who was alleged to have been killed by 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān in 69/688 (20). On the other hand, it is asserted that Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik ordered his secretary Sālim b. 'Abd al-Rahmān to write a letter to Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī scolding him because he insulted Ṣmr b. Sa'īd (21).

In another passage, Balawi mentions that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd sent a letter to Naṣr b. Sayyār in Egypt, while, as is well known, Naṣr was the governor of Khurāsān during the reign of Marwān II (22).

For these reasons, the manuscript source is less significant than may at first have been thought. The following analysis is of two of the published letters ascribed to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (e.g., to the caliph's son and to the chancery secretaries).

1 - FROM 'ABD AL-ḤAMĪD TO THE SON OF MARWĀN II

**Historical background:**

Since the letter concerns al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Shaibānī and his rebellion against Marwān II, it will be useful to throw some light on this event.
Tabari, on the authority of Abu Ubaida, mentions that the accession of Marwan II was in 15 Safar, 127/7 Dec. 744. In Rajab of this year (14 April, 745), Dāhḥāk conquered Kūfa after a challenging battle between him and the two governors of Iraq, 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar II and Sā'id b. al-Naḍr al-Ḥarashi, who took refuge in Wāsiṭ after their defeat. Dāhḥāk pursued them and the fight continued until the end of Shawwal, 127/745 when Ibn 'Umar acknowledged his baifa to Dāhḥāk who in Dhul-Qa'da set out to Mausil and captured it (22). Makhlad b. Muḥammad, on the authority of 'Abd al-Wahhāb, mentions that Dāhḥāk set out to Mausil after twenty months of his departure to it (23). Unfortunately, the exact date of his departure was unknown, but supposing that he rebelled in Rajab 127 (April, 745), his return to Mausil should be in Șafar 129/Oct. 746, which contradicts the version that he was killed in 128/745 (24). It might be notable that this version contradicts itself, for 'Abd al-Wahhāb mentions that the news of Dāhḥāk's victory came to the knowledge of Marwān when he was besieging Ḥims (25). It is related that the population of Ḥims rebelled against Marwān for the first time after three months of acknowledging their baifa to him (i.e., in Jumāda I, 127/Feb. 745). The campaign of Marwān against Ḥims ended in Dhul-Qa'da, 127/Aug. 745 (26). The second rebellion of Ḥims started at the beginning of the year 128/745 when Sulaimān b. Ḥishām took refuge in it. The siege lasted ten months (from Muḥarram to Dhul-Qa'da 128/Aug. 746) (27). Thus, the return of Dāhḥāk to Mausil might have happened before ending the siege of Ḥims in Dhul-Qa'da 128/746.

On the other hand, the version of Abū Mikhnaf says that Dāhḥāk, after he made peace with Ibn 'Umar, set out
to fight Marwān at Kafar Tūthā where he was killed in 128/746 (28).

However, according to the version of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Marwān sent a letter to his son ʿAbd Allāh in Jazīra ordering him to go to Niṣībīn in order to prevent Ḍahḥāk from conquering the midland of Jazīra (29). On the other hand, Baḥadhūrī mentions that the population of Jazīra appealed for the help of Marwān and that Iṣḥāq b. Muslim wrote to him seeking his aid: "The Khārijites have spread throughout the land of Jazīra and have burnt and slaughtered without distinction, and I fear that those with you in Syria will desert their posts and return to their homes in Jazīra while you are conducting this siege." Marwān replied: "If the enemy, all of them, surround me, I will not move. Either I shall conquer Ḥims, or I shall be killed in the attempt." Marwān then wrote to his son ʿAbd Allāh in Niṣībīn to recall Ibn Hubaira from Irāq, but ʿAbd Allāh refused to do so and wrote to his father informing him that he had enough soldiers to defeat Ḍahḥāk (3). It may be worth mentioning that ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān II was at Raqqa with 40 thousand men while his father was in Syria (31). It is puzzling not to find him participating in the conflict between his father and Ḍahḥāk. However, due to these contradictory reports, it is not easy to know exactly what happened between 127/744 and 129/746, but otherwise, it is important to know whether Marwān sent a letter to his son concerning Ḍahḥāk or not. The version of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb says that he, indeed, sent a letter to his son ordering him to prevent Ḍahḥāk from conquering the midland of Jazīra, while Baḥadhūrī mentions that he ordered
his son to recall Ibn Hubaira for fighting Dāhīk. Thus, we know that a letter was sent from Marwān to his son concerning Dāhīk and his rebellion. But is it the same letter as that analysed in the following pages? It is difficult to answer such a question before discussing the letter which is said to have been sent from Ābd al-Ḥamīd to the son of Marwān.

COMMENTARY ON THE LETTER

This letter was transmitted for the first time in the third (ninth) century by Taifūr, Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭahīr (280/893) in his work al-Manthur wal-Manẓūm (32). In the ninth (fifteenth) century, it was transmitted for the second time by Qalqashandī (821/1418) in his work, Subḥ al-ʿAṣhā (33). The letter is very long and consists of three main parts: (a) introduction; (b) personal and general conduct and ceremonial; (c) military rules. The argument and commentary on this letter could be organized as follows:

Format:

(a) Due to the fact that this letter is very long, it is important to know the primary source of Taifūr, for it is very difficult for any one to transmit such a long letter orally especially if we know that there was a long period between the date of the letter (129/746) and the time of Taifūr. Supposing that Taifūr found the letter at the Umayyad chancery, he should, in this case, have mentioned it, as Kindī did when he found the letter of ʿĪsā b. Abī ʿAtī at the Umayyad chancery in Egypt (34). Unfortunately, Taifūr does not mention either his source or the chain of his transmitters. If the letter surely
had been copied from the Umayyad chancery, it would be very close to the Arabic papyri related to the Umayyad period, or it would, at least, indicate some of the changes in the style of Umayyad composition introduced by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd as is asserted. For example, this letter is free completely of the long tahmīd of which it is asserted that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was the innovator.

(b) It is notable that the formula of the Salām at the end of the letter, "وَالسَّلاَمُ عَلَيْكُمْ وَرَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ وَبَرَكاتُهُ" contradicts that mentioned in the first chapter which is, "والسَّلامُ عَلَيْكُمْ" to the Muslims and "وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَيْكُمْ من آتِيَ التَّيْنِ" to the non-Muslims, without mentioning the phrase "وَرَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ وَبَرَكاتُهُ" (35). It is worth noting that the formula "وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَيْكُمْ وَرَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ وَبَرَكاتُهُ" was employed by the secretaries of the ʿAbbāsid period, especially at the time of Maʿmūn (36).

(c) It is notable that the letter is dated with the year only, without mentioning the day or the month as is the rule in the Arabic papyri (37). On the other hand, dating the letter in 129/746 may cast some doubt on its authenticity, for since it concerns Ḍahḥāk who, according to the majority of the reports, was killed in 128/746, it ought to have been written in 128, not in 129. Supposing that he was killed in 129/746, as Maṣūdī assumes, the letter ought to have been written in 128/746, for Marwān II, who was besieging Ḥims when he knew about the rebellion of Ḍahḥāk and refused to end the siege before conquering it, ended the siege of Ḥims in Dhul-Qaʿda, 128/Aug. 746 as has been mentioned.

(d) With regard to the style of the letter, it could
be said that it is that of the mutarassilūn in the ʿAbbāsid period: stilted, with parallelism, ornamented, verbose, philosophical, and full of rhetorical devices particularly madhhab kalāmī and rhyme (38). The language in general is difficult and exotic.

On the other hand, it is astonishing that the style of this letter together with the other letters ascribed to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd is very close to the style of Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, ʿAmr b. Masʿada, and Ghassān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (not the son of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd), so that one could hardly distinguish one from another (39). Such a phenomenon raises the question: does it mean that all of these secretaries adopted the style of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd literally? Or does it mean that some one in the third/fourth (ninth/tenth) centuries composed these letters and attributed them to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd in order to get them circulated? In fact, it was not unusual for the ʿAbbāsid secretaries to adopt the style of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, but it is notable that this letter together with the other letters ascribed to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, both the published and the manuscript, are full of a specific rhetorical device, namely madhhab kalāmī, which was very common in the style of the third and fourth (ninth and tenth) centuries under the influence of the Muʿtazilites, especially after Maʿmūn adopted their doctrine (40). Due to that, it might be expected to find such a style in the letters of Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, ʿAmr b. Masʿada, the secretaries of Maʿmūn, Ghassān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, and Jāḥiz. It may be worth mentioning that although madhhab kalāmī is found in the Qurʾān, it was Jāḥiz who employed it widely in his letters and works, so that Ibn al-Muʿtazz
ascribed it to him (41). On the other hand, the points of similarity between the style of Jāḥiẓ and the style of this letter induce one to ask: did Jāḥiẓ compose this letter and ascribe it to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd? In fact, it is Jāḥiẓ who inspired us with such a question, for he tells us that he used to compose letters, books and treatises and ascribe them to the preceding writers in order to get them circulated (42). Despite that, it seems difficult to prove, for there were other secretaries such as Ahmad b. Yūsuf and ʿAmr b. Masʿada capable of composing such a letter in such a style. Hence, I would incline to regard this style as ʿAbbāsid, for madhhab kalāmi was widely employed in the theological arguments under the influence of Greek logic and philosophy (43).

(e) The phrase "Amīr al-Muʾminīn" (third person form) was not used in the Umayyad letters issued by the caliphs, for such letters used to be written in one of the first person forms: I, me, we, or us (44). In fact, this phrase emerged in the ʿAbbāsid period where the secretaries were to use it in the letters of the caliphs (45).

With regard to the length of the letter, it is surely impractical to send such a long letter in war-time.

The Content:

The Introduction:

In the introduction, the writer stresses the point that the son of Marwān II was qualified to lead a campaign against the Khārijites who created disorder in the earth and killed the Muslims:

"أَمَّامًا بَعْدَه، فَلَاتَّ أَيْمَرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ قُلْنَا أَعْتَمِرْ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ نَوْرُ حَيْلٍ إِلَّا
It is not the aim of this study to demonstrate whether the son of Marwân was qualified to lead a campaign against the Khārijites or not, but otherwise, it may be worth recording here some critical notes:

(a) It is noticeable that the name of Dahhāk is not mentioned in the introduction as used to be the case in military letters (47). The main object of the letter (i.e., preventing Dahhāk from conquering the midland of Jazîra) is not mentioned either. The writer merely mentions a general juridical view about the Khārijites which could be applied to any Khārijites in any time including those of Dahhāk. It is worth mentioning that the same view is found in the commitment of the king to his son in the work of Aḥmad b. Yūsuf *al-'Uhūd al-Yunaniyya* (48). Hence, probably such a view emerged in the Abbāsid period under the influence of Islamic theology.

(b) The letter says that God had chosen ʿAbd Allâh b. Marwân to be the crown prince (*waliyy al-ahd*):

> ... (49).

It is worth recording that the statement, "مُضْطَّلَعَ ٱلله  " involves two terms not in use in the Umayyad period: the first one is "مُضْطَّلَعَ ٱلله  " which alludes to a political theory, adopted by the ʿAbbāsid
caliphs, that the caliph was regarded as a deputy for God "خليفة الله" (50). Officially, Ma'mun was the first Abbasid caliph to be titled "خليفة الله" (51). It might be protested that this title was used before the Abbasid period, and that Hassān b. Thābit, in his elegy on 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, mentions that he was God's caliph (52). It is worth recording that the elegy of Hassān has a political tendency, for he accuses 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib that he was an accessory to killing 'Uthmān, which might be difficult to prove. Several sources mention that 'Alī was not an accessory to killing 'Uthmān (53). Therefore, much caution is required in dealing with such data. On the other hand, trying to prove that the title "خليفة الله" was approved by the Umayyads, Watt and Lambton give some evidence which is not convincing (54). Since the use of this title was resisted by the scholars (ulama) in the Abbasid period, as Lambton mentions, it was more likely to have been resisted by the Companions of the Prophet in the Umayyad period. The second term is "ولي الرضوان" (crown prince) which was given for the first time, according to a mintage dating in 164/780, to Mūsā al-Hādī, the son of Mahdī (55). Until that time they used to call the son of the caliph who was nominated to be the crown prince "the son of the Commander of the Faithful" (ابن أمير الموهبين) (56).

(c) The introduction stresses a controversial problem in Islamic theology which is that knowledge could be obtained by study, patience, and comprehension not by inspiration or self-teaching lest the educator be regarded as God who is the only one to know the unseen (57).
It is noticeable that the majority of the terms in this statement are theological which may indicate the influence of Greek philosophy.

**Part One: General Conduct and Ceremonial**

This part involves (a) general advice concerning personal conduct, etiquette, and good manners such as piety, studying the Qur'ān, dealing justly and kindly with people, keeping confidence, avoiding self-deception, and prescription for eating and drinking. (b) Political and administrative instructions such as the functions of the head of police, the ḥājib, and the secretary.

It was the duty of Marwān II to bring up his son on good manners and to teach him to be a successful leader, but it might be noticed that there are some puzzling points that deserve to be recorded here.

(a) Lexically, the term "ḥikma" in general has several meanings, such as wisdom, sagacity, maxim, and philosophy (58). Contextually, it has a philosophical sense, for the term "jawāhir" (substances), mentioned after that, is regarded as a prominent problem in philosophy (59). Such terms indicate that the writer was influenced by Greek philosophy in the reign of Ma'mūn, which might not have been available to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd.

(b) The crown prince was advised to start his day with reading and studying a part of the Qur'ān, perceiving
its muhkam and contemplating its mutashābih:  

There is no objection to starting the day with reading the Qurʾān, but otherwise it is unexpected to hear of the muhkam and the mutashābih, for this problem was an object of controversy between theologians in the third and fourth (ninth and tenth) centuries (61). On the other hand, it is worth mentioning that this problem is found also in the commitment of the king to his son in "al-ʿUḥūd al-Yūnāniyya" (62).

The writer mentions that the chief of the police was to deal with those pretending to advise the crown prince:

It is well known that the chief of the police in the Umayyad period was not empowered to deal with such people. He was to deal with crimes, criminals, and executing the legal punishment (64). He also was responsible for security and keeping public order (65).

It might be noticed that the writer confuses the function of the secretary with that of the ḥājjib (chamberlain), and the wazīr (minister), for he mentions that the secretary was to submit a report to the governor upon every case presented by his people. In case of the governor's disapproval, the secretary should prevent the person who submitted the case from seeing the governor (prince) (66):
It was also the duty of the secretary, as the letter says, to report to the governor upon the arrival of delegations and the messengers:

If one of the messengers or the delegations tried to tell the prince something different from what he had been told by his secretary, he would then order his chamberlain (hājib) to deal roughly with him and to prevent him from seeing the prince:

Though the scribe had a special position in the Umayyad period, he had not to deal with submitting reports to the caliph or receiving messengers or delegations, for dealing with submitting reports was the function of the minister in the 'Abbāsid period who used to be chosen from the secretaries (69). With regard to receiving the messengers and the delegations, it was the duty of the chamberlain (hājib) not the secretary (70).
(e) This general advice and instruction could be sent to any crown prince at any time except during war. It seems that there was indeed a kind of competition in the third and fourth (ninth and tenth) centuries between those of Persian culture and of Greek culture, as Badawī has said, so that every party tried to participate in this competition by composing such advice and instruction. For example, Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, the secretary of Maʿmūn, mentions in his work "al-ʿUḥūd al-Yunāniyya" three commitments: from a king to his son, from a minister to his son, and from a common man to his son (71).

Part Two: Military Rules

This part of the letter deals with general military rules which could not be regarded as distinctive for any nation (72). According to that, it is asserted that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was well acquainted with the military rules known at that time (73). It is not the aim of this study to argue whether ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was acquainted with military rules or not, but otherwise, it might be useful to record here some puzzling points with regard to these military rules.

(a) The writer says, "there are two kinds of victory" مَعْلَمَ أَنَّ الْجَرْفَ اِلْفَرَّارَ (74), then he merely mentions the first kind of victory. It seems that, owing to the length of the paragraph, he forgot to mention the other kind of victory, which may indicate the negative side of tarassul and verbosity.

(b) The crown prince was advised not to open hostilities before trying to persuade his enemy to return to the community and obedience to the caliph:
Such general military procedure could be followed in any case of warfare except the case of Dahhak who had a firm intention of rebelling against Marwan II in order to eliminate the Umayyad regime. In fact, he conquered some garrisons as has been mentioned in the historical background. If he had not been killed, he would not have stopped fighting the Umayyads. On the other hand, the son of Marwan was ordered to prevent Dahhak from conquering the midland of Jazira, no to court his friendship.

(c) The writer warns the crown prince not to rely on his secretary or any of his assistants for choosing and reviewing the vanguards:

\[\text{واهد أن نُعلَ مبا سرّة عزمنم (الطرفين)}\]

It might be well known that it was not the duty of the Umayyad secretary to choose and review the vanguards, for it was the duty of the Abbasid minister (wazir).

(d) The son of Marwan II was advised to divide his army into cohorts (karadis):

\[\ldots\text{مَدْفَقَينَ مِنَ أُمَّالِرَمَيْمُ كَرَدُّمُ كَرَدُّمُ رَوْرُمُ.}\]

Once again the tarassul and verbosity cause some confusion in the text, for the writer, after fourteen pages, mentions another method of fighting namely the "ranks" (sufuf). It is worth recording that Marwan used to fight according to the rank rule, but after the death of Dahhak, he used the cohort rule.
(e) Sequestration of property may not be regarded as an Umayyad phenomenon because of its close connection to the 'Abbāsid ministry system. It was distinctive for the 'Abbāsid period so that they originated a new bureau called the bureau of sequestration, for it became a main source of revenue (80).

(f) The term "dabbāba" in the statement:

وَفَمِنْ رَأَيْتُ مَسَّرٍ مِّنْ مَعَاصرِ يُرَمَيْنَهْ "

is used to indicate the day guards, for the writer says, "when the sun sets, your mobilization leader should replace them with the night guards (patrols)"

Though dabbāba is derived from "dabba" (walked slowly), it does not give here the sense of guarding, for lexically "dabbāba" was applied to a kind of military instrument (82). It seems that some misplacement of diacritical marks (tashīf) occurred in the word "dabbāba", for the day guard was called "daidubān" (pl. dayādiba) as it is mentioned in "Mukhtasar Siyāsat al-Hurūb" of al-Harthāmī (83).

(g) It seems that the letter is not complete, for the writer mentions that he will describe at the end of his letter the mobilization of the Commander of the Faithful:

وَفَرَآتُكُمُ أَسْتَأْتُ المُبَارِثُ لِتَصَبِّحْ مُجَلِّكَ

Unfortunately, such description of mobilization is missing from the end of the letter.
Finally, it is worth mentioning that the military rules in this part of the letter are identical with those in the work of Harthami "Mukhtasar Siyāsat al-Hurūb". If the whole book of al-Harthami "al-Hiyal fi al-Hurūb" had not been lost, it would be possible to find more such identical rules (85). It might be protested that Harthami used the letter of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd as a source when he composed his book. Such an argument would not be acceptable, for (a) 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was a scribe (kāṭīb rasā'īl) not a military leader or even a "kāṭīb jund", which means that his military culture may not be regarded as a source for composing a book such as "Mukhtasar Siyāsat al-Hurūb", which must have been composed by a military expert (86). (b) The confusion in this part of the letter may indicate the military ignorance of the writer who, as it seems, formulated these rules in a stilted literary style. (c) The author of "Mukhtasar Siyāsat al-Hurūb" does not mention the letter of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd in his sources, but merely that he consulted the books of predecessors (kutub al-Āwā'īl = Greek and Romans) (87), which indicates that it was the composer of the letter ascribed to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd who copied from "al-Hiyal" of al-Harthami.

On the other hand, some of the military rules in this letter are also identical with those in the works of Ahmad b. Yūsuf "al-'Uhud al-Yūnāniyya", Yūḥannā al-Bīṭrīq "Sīr al-Asrār", and ʻAmīrī "al-Saʿāda wa-l-Iṣʿād" (88). It may not be easy to accept the assumption that these authors copied from this letter, for first, "Sīr al-Asrār" was translated at the time of Maʿmūn (i.e., after the death of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd). Secondly, the works of Ahmad b. Yūsuf
and ‘Amirī were extracted from the Greek books as their authors claim (89). None of them mentions that he consulted the letter of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd when he composed his book. However, it may be difficult to reach a decision with regard to this problem, but otherwise, I would incline to be reluctant in accepting this letter as authentic and as a specimen of Umayyad chancery practice. A letter may have been sent from Marwān II to his son, but certainly it was not this one.

2 - FROM ‘ABD AL-ḤAMĪD TO THE SECRETARIES

Though this letter is not regarded as a chancery formulary, it has been chosen for discussion because it deals with the secretaries and their profession. Generally it involves five main themes: (a) the characteristics of the secretary, (b) the culture of the secretary, (c) the function of the secretaries towards their colleagues and their superiors (ruʾasāʾ), (d) general chancery instructions, and (e) economical and etiquette instructions. Despite that, with the exception of the culture of the secretary, the writer does not mention the rules of chancery writing as the author of al-Risāla al-‘Adhrāʾ did (90).

Now, the question is whether this letter exhibits Umayyad prose or ‘Abbāsid? Answering such a question requires recording some critical notes.

(a) The phrase "craft of secretaryship" (ṣināʿat al-kitāba) indicates the development of secretaryship in the ‘Abbāsid period where it became an independent craft (91). The secretaries were also almost independent, so that they would be regarded as members of a clerical guild, while
the secretaryship in the Umayyad period was restricted to practical purposes as has been mentioned. (b) Mentioning the rank of the secretaries, the writer says:

It is worth recording that the title "malik" (king) was not used officially in the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid periods to indicate the caliph who was titled "Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn" (the Commander of the Faithful). But when such Persian states as those of the Šāmanids and Šaffārīds originated in the fourth (tenth) century, their rulers were titled "king". Officially, the title was effective in 349/960 (93). Taking into consideration that the Šāmanid state originated in 300/912 and that Jahshiyarī, who was the first author to transmit this letter, died in 331/942, it may be possible to suggest that the letter could have been written between 300/912 and 331/942. As for the title "Sultān", it used to be given to secular rulers, not to caliphs (94). Khālid b. Barmak, the minister of Mansūr, was the first to be titled "Sultān" (95). Hence, it is puzzling to find such terms in a letter supposed to be Umayyad.

(c) The secretaries in the Umayyad period did not reach the rank of minister as did their colleagues in the 'Abbāsid period, for the Umayyad caliphs refused their secretaries that title (96), while in the 'Abbāsid period, the best of the secretaries used to be addressed as ministers (97). Furthermore, the secretary was given such
authority that he issued documents freely, and put his own signature to them at the end (98). Thus, the characteristics and functions of the secretaries mentioned in the letter might not be applied to the Umayyad secretaries, for (1) advising the secretaries, the writer says:

It might be well known that the minister was in charge of political, military, and administrative functions. Hence, ruling the people, dealing justly with them, and dealing with the records of kharāj and booty were a part of the minister's functions (100). (2) None of the secretaries should have too sumptuous an office or go beyond the proper limits in his dress, his mount, his food, his drink, his house, his servants, or in other things pertaining to his station:

Such manifestations were a distinctive mark for the 'Abbasid secretaries, especially those who were candidates to be ministers or assistants to a minister (102). (3) The writer suggests that the secretary needs to be mild where mildness is needed, to be understanding where judgement is needed, to be enterprising where enterprise is needed,
to be hesitant where hesitation is needed . . . etc.:  

Such characteristics were required of the minister, not the Umayyad secretary (104).

(d) The letter alludes to a serious problem that emerged in the 'Abbāsid period after the institution of ministry, namely executing or jailing the minister and sequestrating his properties as happened to Abū Salama al-Khallāl, Khālīd al-Barmakī, and Abū Ayyūb al-Mūryani for instance (105). To avoid such a fate, the secretaries were advised to be cautious in dealing with their superiors:

(e) The writer alludes with a "man" and a "friend" to the caliph or to the governor. He says:

Then he advises the secretary to be an expert groom—like one who knows how to deal with his animal in order to know how to deal with his caliph:
It is noticeable that these two statements allude to a very serious situation in the 'Abbāsid period, especially during the Turkish era where the caliph lost his power and became a puppet in the hands of the Turkish military leaders who used to appoint and dethrone the caliphs and their ministers according to their wish (109). Though ministry in this era became less important than it was under Persian influence, some powerful ministers played an important role with regard to the relationship between the caliph and his military leaders (110). It is worth mentioning that this situation was not common in the Umayyad period.

(f) It seems puzzling that the writer of this letter urges the secretaries to vie with each other to acquire the different kinds of knowledge, especially Arabic and calligraphy:

It needs hardly be said that the scribes in the Umayyad period were chosen from those who were well acquainted with
Arabic and rhetoric. Thus, such calling for competition between the secretaries could be regarded as an indication of the fact that the language of secretaries had become corrupt in the 'Abbāsid period, so that they were not capable of writing in a fine style (112). This situation induced Ibn Qutaiba, Ibn al-Mudabbir, and Sūlī to compose books dealing with the rules of chancery writing, epistolary format, subjects to be learned, grammatical instructions, and calligraphy (113). It is also puzzling that the secretaries were advised to be acquainted with both Arab and non-Arab political and historical events (ayyām al-‘Arab wal-‘Ājam), for the Umayyad secretaries were not in need of such themes in their chancery writing, while the 'Abbāsid secretaries were in need of it, particularly those who were ambitious to be ministers. The statement (it will be helpful to you in your ambition) may support this view, for the minister was in need of such a subject, and indeed could learn much from it.

(g) Finally, it is notable that the letter includes such invocations (adīya) as "خَفُّظْلَكَ اللَّهُ" and "ثُلُّتَ اللَّهُ رَبِّيَّاَكُمْ", for instance (114). Such invocations had been widely used in the 'Abbāsid chancery practice since the reign of Rashīd (115).

However, according to the aforesaid argument, though it is not easy to reach a final decision with regard to such a problem, I would incline to consider this letter together with the others ascribed to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd representative of 'Abbāsid prose not the Umayyad. Owing to this assumption, these letters would not be appropriate for studying
Umayyad chancery practice and its stylistic characteristics. They also would not be appropriate for studying the style of ‘Abd al-Hamīd and his development of the Umayyad chancery if he did so.
NOTES


2. Fihrist, p. 170.


4. Ḥijāb, Rawāʾī al-Adab, p. 271

5. Badawī, al-Suḥtūrī, p. 21


9. See p. 42 above.


12. See for example Tānsar, introduction, p. 205 (Persian text), and p. 24 (Arabic text).

13. See for example, Margoliouth, Catalogue, p. 28f; Grohmann, From the World of Arabic Papyri, p. 132f; c.f. Akhbar al-Daula al-Abbsa, pp. 305-11; the letter of Marwān II to the population of Damascus in Azd, Tārīkh al-Mausil, p. 65; see also his letter to the population of Egypt, in, Kindī, Wulāt Misrī, p. 217f.

14. See above pp. 47-58, c.f. the sources in note 13 above.


17. Balawi, al-ʻAtāʾ al-ṣazīl, fols. 22, 55, 19, 121-125. I have the intention to edit and publish these letters in a separate book about Abd al-Ḥamīd.


23. Ibid., p. 345.
27. Bidaya, vol. X, p. 25
30. Dennett, Marwan b. Muhammad, p. 258 based on Ansāb.
31. Ibid.
34. See p. 89 above.
35. See p. 38 above.
37. See p. 43 above.
38. See for example, Jamhara, p. 407:

ولهذا ما أُمِّرُ الْإِنْسَانُ عَلَى مَرْأَةِ عَلِيَّةٍ، وَنَحْتَرِسْنَاءِ أَهْلَ الْعَرَبِ، وَرَكَاَتَ مِنْ نَقْصِ الْعِلْيَةِ، وَالْقَدْرُ،

فَيْنَاكْ، وَأَرْضِيَ بِهِ مَنْ حَمِيَتْ الْعِلْيَةَ، وَالْتَزْكِرِ،

وَرَكَّازُ الْمِلْعَبِ، وَوَلَّدَكَ أَوْلِيَاءَ الْعِلْيَةَ فِي الْفَضْلِ، وَفَقْهَاءَ أَوْلِيَاءَ الْعِلْيَةَ، وَفَقْهَاءَ أَوْلِيَاءَ الْعِلْيَةَ، وَفَقْهَاءَ أَوْلِيَاءَ الْعِلْيَةَ،

وَالْعَلَّامَ، وَأَطْفَأْ أَمَّا الْفَزْعُ مَنْ فَزَعَ عَلَى عِلْيَةٍ إِناَّ بِاللَّهِ إِلَيْكَ.

41. A. Ibn al-Mu'tazz, al-Badi, p. 53; for more details with regard to M.K., see, Wansbrough, "A Note on Arabic
44. See pp. 84, 125 above; the letter of Marwan II to the population of Egypt, in Kindi, Wulat Misr, p. 217f.
45. Sūli, p. 150.
47. See for example the letter of 'Abd al-Malik to his brother, p. 84 above and the letter of Hajjāj concerning Rutbīl, p. 88 above.
51. Al-Alqāb al-Islamiyya, p. 278.
55. Ibid., p. 543.
56. Ibid., p. 197.
58. Lisān, s.v. ḥakama; cf. Tumi al-Shaibāni, Mugaddima fi al-Falsafa, pp. 17ff.


71. *Al-ʻUhūd al-Yunaniyya*, pp. 5-64.

72. See p. 151 above.


86. See Fihrist, p. 437; and cf. the introduction of the editor, p. 8f. In fact I could not find any information with regard to Harthami.


88. Al-Uhūd al-Yūnāniyya, p. 31; Sirr al-Asrār, pp. 149-51; al-Sā`āda wal-Is'āda, p. 329f.

89. See for example the title of al-Uhūd al-Yūnāniyya and the introduction of al-Sā`āda wal-Is'āda, p. 4f.


95. Ibid.

96. Mas'ūdī, Tanbih, p. 294.


100. See the sources in note 70 above.


102. Yūzbakī, Wizāra, p. 45.


104. See Yūzbakī, Wizāra, pp. 34-40.

105. Ibid., pp. 78-83.


108. Ibid., p. 458.

109. About this era see, Yūzkabī, Wizāra, p. 120.

110. Ibid., p. 127.

وينكشف عنك الزور، فإن شئت فصير، وإن شئت فقر، ولا أرى الإفادةقيملاً، إلا رَبِّي أن أَتَّبَعَك ما أَوْلَدَك، إنما وَائِلَك كَالْجَاجِة وَالْأَجَجِرَ. إن وَقَتَتْ عَلَيْهَا رَسُولُ اللَّه، وإن وَقَتَتْ عَلَيْهَا فَضَلَّ(1) كَأَنْ أَمْرَكَ، إِنَّكَ غَيْرُ مُكَذِّبٍ، ولا تَأْكُسُونَ(2) والسلام (9)

(2) 406

5 - رسالة عبد الله بن مروان إلى ابنه عبد الله بن مروان

وكتب عبد الله بن مروان إلى مروان بن محمد إلى ابنه عبد الله بن مروان، حين وجبه غزوة الضحاك بن قيس الشيباني الخارجي (1):

هنا بعد، فإن أمير المؤمنين، عندما أعذرهم عليه، من توجيه، إلى عدو الله الجُفَّ الجاف، الأعراب الكسكي (2) في حُرَيْة الجَيْلَة، وظلَّ الغُنْط، وهمَّوَى المَهْكِمة، ورُجِعَتُهُ الذين عَلَوْا (3) في أرض الله فَنادا، واتبعتهم حُرَيْمة الإسْلَام، استخفافاً ودبَّوا بِبَعْضِ الله كَثِراً، واستحْلَوْا دعاء أهل بَيْتِه جَهَالاً - أَحْبَبْهُ أن يَتَّمعِدَ إِلَيْك في ظفائر (4) أمورك، ووعَّام شَنَك، ودخَال حُواك، ومُصَصَّر (5) تُنَقَّل، عَبْدًا يَجُسُّك فيه أَدْمِه، وَيَبْتَغُهُ قَبْه بِعَطْلته، وإن كنت - والهد - من دين الله وخلاله.

(1) لم يرد في نت القدر من هذه الرسالة إلا ما بين الفرسين.

(2) نكم عن الأمر: أَحْجَى ورَجِعَ.

(3) خرج الضحاك سنة 121 هـ، وغلب على الكوفة، واستدرك على الوصول، وكان سنة 128 هـ، وبلغ مروان خبره، وهو عاصر، معه منثقل بقالة أهلها، فكتب إلى ابنه عبد الله، ولهْبته بالجزاء، فأمره أن يسر فينه، إلى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، فقضى عبد الله إلى النصر، ومن فقه من عرب أمام أو ناسية، وسائر إليه الضحاك، من الوصول، فلم يكن لمداه قوة لكره من مع الضحاك، إذ قبل أن كان في عشرو، ومائة ألف، ثم إن مروان سار إليه فلقيه بابس كفر نور، من أعمال ماردين، قفاته، وأحدث به خيل مروان تأملهم على أُفُوح، ومضى مروان برأس

الضحاك إلى مدانة الجزيرة، أُطيِّب فيه - نظر تاريخ الطبري - 976.

(4) تمكن: منع شيئاً منصفاً، وعاصد في الباطل.

(5) أُفُوح.

(6) جَعَلَ لهُ، وهو الديب، لَعَفَ، كَجِرْمَ صَمْدِرُ.

(7) عَكِرَ، كَعِبَ في نَبْلِ النَّجَمِ. وفي النظروين واللذور، ومضطر، من اعترب: أي

تعَكَ، وهو أفعل من ضرب في الأراضي: إذا خرج تاجراً أو غارياً، أو سار فيها في اقناع الزمن.
بِمِنْ تَصَمَّمَ اللهُ أَن يَهْزُمَكَ، فَخَفَّضْ مِنْ كَلِبٍ} (السَّحْرٍ ٢٠٤) وَبِنَى أَيْبَكَ.

وَلَوْ صَارَ عَلَى يَدَّهُ نَفْسُهُ بِمَعْمَالٍ بِهِ. تَقُلُّ وَمَثَّلُتْ فِي الْحَكَامِ أَمَّرِي بِنَا، مِنْ تَقْدِيمِ

الْبَيْنَةِ، وَالْإِذْكَارِ لَا لِفَاعِلِ الْمَعْرِفَةِ، وَإِنَّكُم مَا أُوْلُى سَابِقًا فِي الْفَضْلِ، وَخُصُوصًا فِي الْأَمْكَانِ

لَعَلَّكَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مَكَّةَ عَلَى اسْتَغْلِبَةِ اللهِ إِبَاكَ، فَضَعِهِ إِلَّا كَمَا أَرَأَكَ أَهْلُ فِي مَكَّةَ

مِنْ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، وَسَنُؤْمِنُكَ إِلَى رَأْبِ أَخْلَاقِهِ، وَأَنْتَزِعَكَ مَعْلُومَ شَيْهَهِ، وَاسْتِيالْثَكَ

عَلَى مَشَارِكٍ تَبِيرٍ بِهِ.

وَلَوْ كانَ الْوَمَّامُ أَخَذَهُ الْعَلَمُ مِنْ عَنْدَ أَنفَسِهِ، وَلْقَنَوْهُ إِلَهًا مِنْ نَذَايْنِهِ، وَلَمْ

يَعْلَمُوا أَثْنِيَةً مِنْ عَنْدَ غَيْبِهِمْ، لِتَحَكُّمَنَّهُمْ (١) عَلَى الْبَيْنَةِ، وَوَضَعُّا مِنْ بَيْنِهِمْ

الْمُسَتَّحِيَّةَ بِمَثَّلِ الْبَيْنَةِ وَحَدُّادَتِهِ وَقَدَامَتِهِ فِي الْبَيْنَةِ، احْتَجَّاً مَنْ مِنْ شِيْعَتِهِ

فِي حُكْمِهِ، وَتَبَثُّوا فِي سَلَطَاتِهِ، وَتَنْهَيْنَ إِراَدَهُ عَلَى سَبَقِ مَشْهُورِهِ، وَلِسَكِ إِمَامٍ

الْمَوْقُفَ لِلْبَيْنَةِ، الْخَصُوصُ بِالْفَضْلِ، الْخَيْرُ مِنْهُ، الْفَرْزُوْرُ الْعَلَمِ وَصُنُفُّهُ، أَذْرَكَهُ مَعَالَةً عَلَى بَلْطِهِ

بَيْنَهُ، وَإِذَا ذَلَّ كَبِيْتِهِ، وَهَجَّرَ سَتَنَّهُ. وَقَدْ تَقَدَّمَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِلَيْكَ، أَخْذًا بِالْخَيْرَةِ عَلَيْكَ، مُؤْدِيًا حَيْثُ اللهُ الْوَاجِبَ عَلَيْهِ

فِي إِسْتِرَادِكَ وَقَضَأً حَقَّكَ، وَمَا يُظْهَرُ بِهِ الدَّوَالُ الدَّمَيْنِ الشَّنَفِيَّ لِإِلَيْهِ، وَأَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

يُرَجِّعُ أَنْ يُبْلِغَهُ اللَّهَ عَنْ كُلِّ فُحُّ يُبَسَّرُهُ لِهِ لَمْ يُطِيعَهُ، وَأَنْ يَسْتَمِعَهُ مِنْ كُلِّ مُكْرُورٍ

حَالَِّ بَأْدٍ، وَأَنْ يَحْسَبَكُ مِنْ كُلِّ أَفْغَامِهِ أُسْتوَتِلَ عَلَى أُمُورِ فِيْدَنِ أو حُلَّقٍ، وَأَنْ يَلْمَعُهُ

فيك أحسنٌ مالٍ يزل بعوده وبره من آثار تسعهٍ لله عليه، ساميةً بك إلى زُروف الشرف، مُنْتَجٌ وأبنٌ بك بِبَّلَّةٍ الَّاءٍ، لاَّعْبَةٍ بك في أَرْهَب مَعْلَمِ الأبْ، مُنْثِنٍ
لك أَنْقَسَ ذَخَارٍ الْمَرْض، والله يَسَّتَخْفِفُ عليك أمَرَ اللَّهِمَيْنِ، وبِأَبْدَاءَكَ،
وَأَنْ بَعُضَكَ من زَيْنٍ الْحَيْوَى، وَحُضْرَكَ دَعْيَ الفَوْقِيَ، مَعَايَنا على الإِشرادَ فيه، فَإِنَّهُ
لا يُبعَي على الخير، ولا يَوْقِعَ لَهُ إِلَّا وَهُوَ.
اعمَّل أنَّ للحِكَّة مَسَالِك تُفْتَنِ نَمَثِّي نَصْبِيْنِ أوَلِيَّهَا، وَرَكَبَ أَقْطَرَهَا (2) فَإِنَّهُ إِلَى سَمَتَ عَاقِبَهَا، وأَمَّنَ سَرِّهَا (3)، وَقَفَّ عَزَّهَا، وَأَنَّهَا لا يُقَرْ
يَسْخَفُ الحَفْقَة، وَلَا تَنْبِثِصُ بَنَفَرِيْنَ الفَغْلَةَ، وَلَا يَبْعَدْهَا لَبِغَامِيْنَ جَدَّهَا (4)، وَرَبَّاهَا أَظْهَرَت بَنَفَرْيَتُ الْأَنْتَ مُسْتَوَيَّ صَبْرٍ، وَقَدْ خَلَّفَتْ أَخْلَاقَ الحَمْكَة مِنَ كُلِّ جِهَةٍ نَفْضَهَا،
مَنْ عِنْدَهَا بِبَيْنَ الْحَبِّ فِي طَلْبَهَا، وَلَا يَقْطَوَلُ تَمُّ الْمَالِ ذَروتَهَا (5)، فَبَلْ أَنْتَ (6) منْهَا أَكْرَمُ نَبُوَّتَا، وَاسْتَخْلَصَتْ منْهَا أَعْقَيْنَ (7) جَواَهْرَهَا، وَمَنْ سَوْتِهَا (8) إِلَى ذُنَّابٍ
مُقَاَمِهَا، وَأَحْزَرَتْ مَنْهَا (9) ذَخَارَهَا، فَأَقْطَرَهَا (10) مَا أَحْزَرَتْهَا، وَنَافِيَهَا أَصْبَتْ.

(1) تَبْجِحْ: ثُمَّ كَنِّنَكَ فِي الْقَامَ وَالْمَلِكِ، وَتَبْجِحُ الْحَدَرِ: ثُوْسَعَهَا. وَفِي الْمَلْكَ وَالْمَلَكِ وَمَنْجِهَةَ
(2) فِي الْمَلْكَ وَالْمَلَكِ. وَوَرَكَبَ أَقْطَرَهَا.
(3) فِي الْقَامَ وَالْمَلِكِ وَوَرَكَبَ أَقْطَرَهَا.
(4) فِي الْقَامَ وَالْمَلِكِ.
(5) فِي الْقَامَ وَالْمَلِكِ.
(6) فِي الْقَامَ وَالْمَلِكِ.
(7) فِي الْقَامَ وَالْمَلِكِ.
(8) فِي الْقَامَ وَالْمَلِكِ.
(9) فِي الْقَامَ وَالْمَلِكِ.
(10) فِي الْقَامَ وَالْمَلِكِ.
واعلم أن احتوائنا على ذلك، وَبِسْبَتَكِ إِلَيْهِ بِإِحْلَاسِ تَقَوْيَةِ اللَّهِ فِي جَمِيعٍ أَمْوَكَ مَوْتِيَّةً بِهَا، وَإِسْحَارٍ طَائِفَتِهَا مَنْطَوْرَةً عَلَيْهَا(1)، وَإِعْطَامِ مَا أَنْفَقَ اللَّهُ بِهِ عَلَيْكَ شَكَّ كِرَاءَ لَهُ مَرْتَبِهِ نِعَمَةً لَّهُ، وَلَذَّكَ بَيْنِي وَهَذَا مَنْ أَنْطَخَ مِنْهُ سَمَاءً مَّلَأِلَل، أوَّلًا نَحْلًا ضَيْغَاءٍ، أو سَيْحَةٌ نَهَوْنَ، أو جَهَالَةٌ مُّقْرَةً، فَإِن ذلِكَ أَحْقَّ مَا بَدْرِيَ بِهِ وَنْظَرُ فيهِ، مَعْتَدِبًا عَلَى بَقُوَّةٍ وَاللَّهَ وَاللَّهُ وَاللَّهُ، وَالجَهَالَةَ مُتَحَزِّرًا إِلَيْهِ(2)، فَإِنَّهُ مَأَطْبِبٌ، وَرَضَيْتُهُ اللَّهُ، وَانْجَهَةُ مَسَاءَةٍ، وَأَجْرَاهُ نُواَبَ، وَأَمْوَهُ نَعْمَ(3)، وَأَعْتُ صَلاَحًا، أُرْضِيَ اللَّهُ لَحَلَّلَكَ، وَمَهْرَكَ سِنَادَةَ، وَأَخَذَ نُمَيْكَ إِلَى مُحَمَّدٍ.

سَمَّى اِلْحَلَّلَكَ فِي كَلَّ صِبْاحٍ بُيْدُم عَلِيَّكَ بَلوغَهُ، وَبِنَظَرِ مَفَكِّكِ السَّلَاطِمَةُ فِي إِسْرَائِهِ، مِن نفْسِكِ نَصِبْيًا تَجْهِيلَ اللَّهُ، شَكَّا عَلَّ إِبَلَاهُ إِلَّا يَوْمَ يَوْمَكَ ذلِكَ بِصَكْحَةٍ جَوَّازَ، وَعَفَا بَعْضُهُ بِهِنَّ، وَقَبْحَةٍ لَّهُ، وَيَطْحَرُ كِرَاءَ لَهُ، وَأَنْقُلُ فِيهِ مِنْ كِتَابِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ جَزِيَّةَ أَرْيَاكَ فِيهَا(4)، وَتُرِيعُ(5) لَفَتَّكَ بِقَرَانِهِ، وَيَحْفِرُ عَقْلُكَ نَاطِرًا فِي جَوَّازِهِ، وَتَنْفِهِ مَفْكَرًاً فِي مَنَاشِيِّهِ، فَإِن فِي الْقُرْآنِ شَفَاءٌ الْخَلْوَهُ مِنْ أَمْرَاهَا، وَجَلَالَ وَمَا سَاءَ السَّيِّدِ الطَّيِّبِ وَسَمَاهُ(6)، وَضَياءُ كَمَالِ الْبُنْرِ - ثَبْتُنَّا لَسْكَنٌ، وَهَذِئَ وَرَحْمَةً لَّوْمَعَ وَبُونَ. وَفِي نَعْمَةٍ يَأْتِيَكَ بِمَجَاهِدِ هَوَاءٍ، فَإِنَّهُ يَمْعَلُ أَخْسَاتِهِ، وَمِنْفَاحُ السَّيِّدَاتِ، وَخَصْمُ الْقَلْطِ.

(1) وَقَفَ اللَّهُ وَمَا نَظَرَ الطَّاعَةِ.
(2) حَمَالِةٌ: حَمَاةُ الرَّجَالِ مِنْ أَهْلِهِ وَوَلَدُهُ.
(3) وَقَفَ اللَّهُ وَمَا نَظَرَ الطَّاعَةِ، وَأَخَذَهُ مَنْزِلًا بِهِ.
(4) وَقَفَ اللَّهُ وَمَا نَظَرَ الطَّاعَةِ، وَأَخَذَهُ مَنْزِلًا بِهِ.
(5) وَقَفَ اللَّهُ وَمَا نَظَرَ الطَّاعَةِ، وَأَخَذَهُ مَنْزِلًا بِهِ.
(6) وَقَفَ اللَّهُ وَمَا نَظَرَ الطَّاعَةِ، وَأَخَذَهُ مَنْزِلًا بِهِ.
(7) وَقَفَ اللَّهُ وَمَا نَظَرَ الطَّاعَةِ، وَأَخَذَهُ مَنْزِلًا بِهِ.
(8) وَقَفَ اللَّهُ وَمَا نَظَرَ الطَّاعَةِ، وَأَخَذَهُ مَنْزِلًا بِهِ.
(1) مَعْذَمُ الْحَلَّلَكَ، وَمَا مَلَأَهُ مَا مَلَأَهُ، وَاللَّهُ وَاللَّهُ وَاللَّهُ.
واعلم أن كل أهوائك (1) لك عدو بما يكون، ويبترض عنها، لأنها
حذّرت إلخ، وحذّرت (2) مكرها، ونسوب أحددها، فاجتهد في جلبها لها، وتوافقت
معترضها سناً، واستTURE لابك عز وجيل من شرها، واجتهد في إ صالحة عليك، وفرز
نعيك في اه، وحزمك اتفلاش وشيئتها (3) أمرك بعد إصداره عليك،
وصدق عالم لا سطع في تكذيبه، ومصادره سارة لا عندها (4) معا، وبيت مصتعر
لاً يديك فيها، فإن ذلك ظهري (5) صدقلك على ردعتك عنك، وومّام دون
ما تتعلع إليه منك، وهي وافية لك سخطه ويلك، دائمة إلى رضا العامة عنك،
سارة عليك عيب من دونك، فازوز بما متعاليا (6)، وأسباب بالأخلاق مواضعها
في النوبة (7)، إذا عاشت مستضعفة، (8) وانتحب باسته أهل الطلب لأخلان أهل
الكرم، المتجرؤون منْ يديه، بسالة مواضع دم الأخلاق وموجها، حتى فرّقة
أهل الفضائل في بعض أمرهم، فدخلت عليهم الأفات من جهأتهم وأذكوا، فستروا إلى
النور، ورضوا بذلك النزل، فاقموا به جالسون بوضع النبل، عدين (11) عن دَرْج
الشرف، ساطعين دون معرفة أهل إجابه، فحاولون بلغ غاليتها تمرّداً لها بسيق الطبّل
(1) في المجنوم والمتون »كل أهوائه، وهو تخريج.
(2) في سبع الأتيي »وخواص بكروه» أي واسع، من النبل وهو النذاع.
(3) يثاب »انقل ذلك بازينة » أي بلاتوان.
(4) يقال »خفيف عنا للناس شهورا ولا تذكرا بالله » ولا تنيه (5)
» كفية » أي استناث. (6) أي لا يكفدها، نتق في الأمر، أسركت ولم يجل، والإسم منه
أباه، وخطئة: اسم من تخلص في قدره من شيء، أي شكلك في، وأصل الاستخراج والانطباع.
(7) أصل ذلك الجري الظاهر: وهو المعد للباحة إلى إجتهاد إليه، نسب إلى الظهر على غير قياس.
(8) وفي المجنوم والمتون » ملاحة ». (9) بالله بُقات، وفي المجنوم والمتون » سامها ». (10) من قوله » فإن النوبة ... إلى قوله » أهل الاضحاء » ساق من المجنوم والمتون ... (11) استصح الأمر » صار سبيا، وقدم الأمر » أباه، وكدَّا بهض. (12) من المجلة ملحم، وهو اختيار والرد.
إلى إصابة الفوضى، مُحبّنا أعمالك من العَجَب، فإن رأس الأَحْرى، وأوَل العَواب،
وَمَتَادَهُ الدَّلِّيَة، حارس أَخلاقك من الآفَات في الطَّعُمَة بِمَبَاراة العَادات وذِمَيْ إِيَارهَا (1)،
من حيث أَنت الفَتى، وانشر الضِّاع، ودُخِلَ الوُشْم، فَنَقدَ قُلْبَك (2) الآفات
على عقلك، فإن شواعد الحق سَتُظْهَر بأَمرانها تَصْدِيق رَأْيك عند ذُوى النَّعى، وحال
الرَّأى وفَجْحَب النَّظَر، فاجْنِب لنفسك مُحَوَّة الذِّكر، وتاثِيْن لِسانِ الصَّدق، وحُبْدَر
لما تَنَأَّم إِلَى ذِي أَمَير المُؤمِنين، مَتَعَرّأ من دُخُول الآفات عليه، من حيثُ
أَدْنَك وقَلةٌ يَتَنَكَ بِمَحسَكها.

من ذلك أن تَنْتَكَ أَمْوَرَكَ بالقَصُدَة، وتأدَّى جِنَانك بالإِحسان، وتَنَوَّن بِك
بالكَيَان، ونَذَاوَرِي حَتِّيك بالإِنِصاف، ونَذَّالنَّ نَسِيك بالعدل، ونسِينَتِيْنَك بِنَقِيم
أُوْلِكَ (3)، وَنَقِيم عقلك من دُخُول الآفات علىهُ بالتَّجَرِّب المُدَّرِّي، وأَنتَ نُقِيمَهَا،
اللَّالَالَ وَقُوَّتَ العَلَم، وقصَائِدَك (4) قَدْرُها روَّى النَّظَر وأَكِنَّها بِأَفْقِ الحَسَم،
وَحُمْرَانِك تَأْحَرُّمُها من الفَتَاة واعتياد الرَّاحة، وصمْتِكِ فَانِيف عنِ النَّغْشَ، وَحَفَّ
فيه سَوَء الفَتَاة (5) واسْتَبَعَكَ فَأَرََعَهُ حُسْنَ التَّقَُّمَ، وَقُوَّةَ إِلَهَاءِ الْمِنْتَكَرَ، وَعَطْاءَك
فَانِيفَهَا (6) بِيْوَانِ الفَتَاة وذِي الحَمْض، وَخَرَّزَّ فيِهِ مَنْ السِّرْف واسْتَطَالَةِ
التَّدْخَلِ (7) وأَمْتِنان الصَّدِيقَة، وحِيَابك فَانِيفُهَا من الحَجَّال وِبَلَدَةِ الحَلََّصَ (8)، وَحَفَّ{
فَرْعُهَا (9) عِنْ النَّهَاب، وَأَحِرَّهُ الْحَمْضُ السَّكَيْنَة، وَقَفْتَ عَلَى قَفسُهَا عِنْ الإِفرَاطِ
وَتَعْمَّدُ بها أَهْلَ الْإِسْتَحْلَاقِ، وَعَفَّوَكَ فَلاْ تَدْخَلُهُ مَثْلُ الحَفْوَق، وَخِذَّهُ بِوَاجِبَ

(1) مَثْلُ صَحِبِ الأَعْمَى؛ النَّسِلة بِمَلَائِكَة الأَلْقَاب وَذَمَيْ تَنازُهَا، والْمَرْجَٰعِيَّة،
(2) الأَبْرَزِيَ، ومَوْلَاهُ حَمْضَة بالْجَهْرِيَّة وَهُوَ الشَّيْءِ.
(3) أَنْبَ عَلَى المَدِينَة، في كِتَابِ المَنْطاَق، (4) الأَوْدِيَّة،
(4) الْمَلْحِرِيَّةَ، وَمَوْلَاهُ حَمْضَة بَالْجَهْرِيَّة وَهُوَ الشَّيْءِ.
(5) التَّوْلِيَّة، وَمَوْلَاهُ حَمْضَة بَالْجَهْرِيَّة وَهُوَ الشَّيْءِ.
(6) مُنْبَعِهَ من أَحْمَدِ اللَّهِ الْعَظِيمَة، وَمَنْهُ؛ فَمَعْنَاهُ مَعْنَاهُ؛ فَمَعْنَاهُ؛
(7) الأَلْقَابِ، (8) المَهْيَة، (9) وَزْعَهُ كَوْنُهُ كَفْرَةً، والْمَكْتِبَةِ، الأَلْقَابِ.
لمفترض، وأقيم، به أودّ أن تيف، واستثنائكي فامتنع منه التبادل وسواء النافحة(1) ، وعهدك أمورك تغضنه أوقاتا ، وقدّرت ساعات لا تفوتين قررتك ، ولا تستدعي
ساعاتك، وعزمتكم فإنها عجلة الرأى وزيادة الإدخال ، وفرر نارك فاشتكها(2) عن البئر، وقيّدها عن الزهو، ورضيتكم فحّضها عن دخشي الرأى واستسلام
الخوض، وحذرتكم فاترها عن الجموع، واعدي بها للحزام ، ورجالك فقتله بحَبَّ من
النائر، وامتعه من أمّي الطبل.

هذه جوامع خيال ، دخل الناقش منها واصلا إلى العقل بلطابٍ أبيه ،
وتصريف حَوْلَه(3) ، فأحبكها عزرا بها ، وتقدّم في الحفظ لها ، معتراً على
الأخذ برمائدها ، والانتباها إليها إلى حيث بلغت بك عهدة أمير المؤمنين، وأدبه
إن شاء الله .

ثم ابتكت بطلتك وجعلها في حَوْلاتها ، ودُخلها في ميرك؛ أهل اللفه
والزعر من خاصّة أهل بيتكم ، وعامة فراغك ينذل قد حسنته السّن بتصريف الأمور
وحتببت فصاها بين قواسم(4) البرّزِّ منها ، وقلبها الأمور في فنونها ، وركّب
أطرافها ، عصرها بتحاسي الأمور ، ووضاعٍ الرأى ، وعمر النشورة ، أماماً
نتشرى، مطويّ الصمع على الطاعة .

(1) بذو الرجل ويل لبداءة : سحق وأخذ فينفته ، وئفته : جالس ، وصريح الأحمد.
(2) وسواء النافحة » تحت فلانا بالكلام : آذان.
(3) شَكّ الفروس كثسر : وضع النكهة في ف ح ، والتشكيلية من اللجام : الحديدة المترضة في ف
الفرس ، والمغفي فيها .
(4) الأين جمع أبنت بالضم : وهي العب، والموعى والهول كمس وعنب : الملاة والاحتال .
وق المعلوم والخزور : هذه جوامع دخل الناس ....
(5) فرسان عام فرسين كجرج ، والفرسان بصل الكفاءة في مانتاء ، والبازل : الجهل في تسمه
ولبس يغمر سنري ) وجمه بزل كتيم ورعه برون والبازل أيضاً : الرجل الكمال في فجيرة ،
والصالح نفع فصيل : وهو ولد الناقة إذا فصل عن آمه .
تم أُحْضِر هُم مِن نُسَاق وَقَارًا يَسْعَدُوكِ مِنْهُمُ الْحَيْثَٰ، وَإِسْطَنْا بِيْلُوبٍ إِلَيْكُمْ مِنْهُمُ الْمُوَّدَةَ، وَإِنْصَانٌ(1) يَبْلُونَ إِفْضَالَهُمْ عَنْكِما تَسْكُرُونَ أَنْ يُبْنَى عَنْكِ مِنْ سَخَاةِ الرَّأْيِ، وَصِيَاحٌ الخَزْمِ، وَلَا يَبْيَنُ عَلَيكُمْ هَوَاكُمْ قَيَّضَائِكُمْ عَنِ الرَّأْيِ، وَبِأَمْئَّكِهِمْ.

وَتَمَّ أَنْكُمْ وَإِنْ خَلَّتْ بَعْضُكُمْ، فَأَلْقَتْ دُوَّنَتُهُمْ سُؤْرَتُكُمْ، وَأَغْلَقَتْ عَلَيْهِمْ أَرْبَابُكُمْ، فَذِلَّلَتْ لَا حَاكَّةَ مُكَشَّفَةَ لِلْعَالِمَةِ، تَذَاهِرُ عَنْكَ .. وَإِنْ أَسْتَرَتْ بِرَبَّكَ وَأَمْلَ، وَما أَرْيَ إذَاعَةَ ذَلِكْ وَأُغْلَبْ(2) .. بِما يَرْفُونَ مِنْ حَالَاتِ مِنْ يَبْنُونَ بِهِ إِلَى الْمَواطِنِ، وَفَتَقَدْنِهِمْ فِي إِجَابَةِ ذَلِكْ مِنْ نَفْسِهِمْ وَسُرِّحُمْ عَنْكَ، فَإِنَّهُ لَيْسَ أَحَدًا أَسْرَعُ إِلَى هِدَى سَوْهَ النَّاقَةِ، وَلَعْتَ الْعَالِمَةِ بَحْرًا أُوْلَى شَر، فَمَنْ كَانَ فِي مِثْلِ حَائِلِ وَمِكَانِكَ الَّذِي أَصْبَحْتُ بِهِ مِنْ دِينِ اللَّهِ، وَالْأَمْلِ الرَّجُوِّ المَتَنْظِرِ فِيكَ، وَإِنْ أَنْ يُبْيَضُ(3) فَيْكَ أَحَدٌ مِنْ حَائِلِكَ وَبِفَطَّانَةِ خَدِمَكَ بِصَلْفَةٍ يَجِدُ بِهِ سُكُانًا إِلَى النَّطِقِ عَنْكَ بِمَا لاَ يَدْرِجُكُمْ عَبْهُ، وَلاَ نَخْلُو مِنْ لَمْ يَنْهِيهِ، وَلَا تَأْمَنُ سُوَءَ الْأَحْدَوَةِ فِيهِ، وَلَا يَرْكَحُ سُوَءَ النَّاقَةِ إِلَّا إِنْ يَجِمَعُ تَذَاهِرًا وَتَعْقَلَ بَادًا(4)، وَإِنْ يَجِرَّ تُوَّرَّا إِلَى تَقَلُّدُكَ إِلَّآ أنْ يَرْكَوا مِنكَ إِسْمَاكُ إِلَيْهِا، وَقَبْلُوا لَهَا، وَتَرْجِحُ لَهُمْ فِي الْإِفْتَاقِ بِهَا.

فَمِنْ إِبَاكَ أنْ يَفْضَى عَنْكَ بِشَيْءٍ مِنْ المُكَشَّفَاتِ وَالْحَكَايَاتِ وَالْبِرْزَاهِ وَالْجَدَّاتِ الَّتِي يَمْعَضَفُ بِهَا أَهْلُ الْبَيْتَةِ، وَيَبْنُونَ تِحْوَاتُهَا نَجَالَهَا، وَيَجِدُونَ فِيهَا أَهْلُ الْحَسَدِ مِنْ آثَارِلَهُمْ، وَلَعْتُنَّ فِي حَقِّ يَبْعِدُونَهُ بِ(5) ، مَعَ مَا ذَلَّلَ مِنْ قَيْضِ الرَّأْيِ وَوَكَّرَنَّ الْمُرْضَى، وَهَذَهُ الْشَّرَفُ، وَذَائِلُ(6) الْقَنْحَةِ، وَفُقُورُ طَبْعِ السُّوَءَ الْسَّكَامِنَةِ

(1) وَفِي الْعَلُوْمِ وَالْإِشْنَأَةِ « وَإِنْضَافًا بِيْلُوبٍ إِلَيْهِمْ لَعَنَّكِ، بِمَا تَسْكُرُونَ أَنْ يُبْنَى عَنْكِ _ بَرْقُ. »
(2) أَرَى بِالْغَمِّ أَيْ أَشَنَّ، وَأَعْلَمَ مَعْطَرَ عَلَيْهِ أَيْ وَمَا أَعْلَمَ وَالَّذِي وَإِنَّهُ وَإِنَّهُ وَإِنَّهُ وَإِنَّهُ وَإِنَّهُ وَإِنَّهُ إِنَّهُ الْأَفْتَاقِ.
(3) أَعُزْ في فَنْ: غَيْبَاءُ وَمِنْهُ، وَعَبِيْدُهُ طَمْرُ عَلَيْهِ أَيْ إِنْهُ.
(4) نَجَّمَ كَنْصَرَ: طَرْبُ، وَعْلَنَ كَنْصَرَ وَضَرْبُ وَكَرْمُ وَفَرْحُ: ُظَلَّ أَيْ إِنْهُ.
(5) وَفِي الْعَلُوْمِ وَالْإِشْنَأَةِ بِبَدْفَمْهُ، وَأَيْ تَأْسَمَلُ وَتَكَبْكَ، وَالْجَرْمُ الْصَّادِ: أَيْ الْجَرْمُ الْصَّادِ.
(6) الْأَلْمِ. 
في بيـن أعمـل كـمـون النَّارِ في الحـلـب الصـليـب، إـذَا فُقـدَ لـأوـه شرْرـهُ، وَلَقيَبَ وَمـيـضهُ، وَوُقِدتْ نـفْرـتَهُ، وَلِيـستْ فِي أـهـد، أَوـى سَوْطَةٍ، وَأَظْهَرَ نَفْرـتَهُ، وأَعـلُ كـمـوناً، وَأَسـرَعَ إِلـيَّ بِالْقَبْدَةَ، وَتَطْرَقَ الْخُنْقَةَ، مِنْهَا لَنْ كَانَ مِنْ مِثْلَ سَيْنَكَ مِنْ أَفْغَالِ الرَّجَال وَذُووَ الْمَنْفَوْنَ في الحَدَائِقَة، الَّذِينَ لَمْ يَتَّخِذُواُ سَيْنَتُ الْأَمْوَر، وَنَطَاقًا عَلَى هِمْ لَا أَنْتَهَىُ عَلَيْهِمْ، وَظَاهَرَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَمَجَّهَا، وَلَمْ يَخْفَضُوهُمْ، مُظْهَرَةُ قَلْبَةٍ فَضَلَّنَّهُمْ، مُذْهِبَةُ حَمْسِ الْمُكَرِّر عَنْهُمْ، وَلَمْ يَبْلُغَ بِهِمُ السَّبْيَةُ فِي الْحَمْسَة مَسْتَحِقَّةٍ، بُدْفَّوْنَ بِهِ مِنْ أنفسهم مَعْطَوْنَ أَنْسِنَ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ، وَحَمَّادَ أَبْصَارُ أَهْلَ الْحَمْسَةُ.

(1) أَفْغَالٌ جَعَلَ غَلَّ كَفَفُ بِهِ مِنْ لِبَارِ الْأَمْوَر، وَهُنَّوْنَ الْشَّيْبِ أَوْلَىً.
(2) مُنْ حَيَّةِ الْوَدِّ وَأَخْنَاشُهُ: أَيْ أَخْنَاشُهُ.
(3) فِي الْبَيْنِ فِي الْمُحْمَلِ وَأَلَّهِمْ عَلَيْهِ الْإِلَّهَةَ، فَيَسْمَعُهُ وَيَضُرِّعُهُ إِلَى سَمَاعِهِ، وَيَهْذِيَهُ عَقْوَمَهُ فِي مَوَاذِنِ أَفْغَالِهِ، وَأَخْبَارَ مَصْطُورَةِ، مِنْهَا نَطَاقًا أَتْنَادَهُمْ عَلَى ضَرْبِ أَفْغَالِهِ فِي مَوَاذِنِهِ وَمَسْأَلَتِهِ الْعَالَةِ، فَيَعْقَبُهُ شَخْصًا كَبْسَةَ الأَلْشَتِ عَنْ يُنْعِيْنِهِ وَشَمَالِهِ، تَرْكُهَ يَمَا، وَرَكِيَّةً يِنَافِكُهَا، وَيَحْتَبِطُهُ إِلَّا إِلَى عَلَى مَطْعَمَةٍ مَشَارِعُهُ، يَنَافِكُهَا، فِي الْمَرْحَةِ، وَيَحْكِيُّ الْجَوَارِحِ مَعْرِضًا، يَحَلُّ أنَّ ذَلِكَ أَسْرَعُ لَهُ وَأَحْثُهُ (2) مُطْعَمَةً، مَحْيَيْنَ.مَحْيَيْنَ.
فلمحَبَّت في ذلك هيئةك، ولتجلب فيه دمّاكُ (1)، وتثجل على ستاركُ (2) إبّالكُ، إلا وأنت مطرقت النظر، غير مانعت إلى محدث، ولا مقبل عليه يوجك في موكبك، لحاجته، ولا موجف (3) في السير، مثالي لجوارحك بالعرقك والاستنضاه، فإن حسن مسيرة الوالي وأندائه (4) في تلك الحالة دليل على كثير من غيوب أمره، ومستقر أحواله.

واعلم أن أقوما سيسيرون إليك بالشماية، وتأولوا من تقبل النصيحة (5) وتسييلواك بإظهار الشفقة، ويستدلونك بالإغراق والشیرة، وينطرونك نصيحة الأهلة، لجلوك لهم درمة إلى استشكال العامة، يبوضهم منك في الدعوى منهم، والصديق لهم على من قرره (6) بمشهدهم، أو أمروا بك في أمره إلى الفناء، فلا يعودون إلى مشاهدك ساعين بمشهدهم، ولا مصرف بمشهدهم، ولا منسوب إلى يدبة، فيعترف لإتباع (7) دينك، ويجعلك على رضيتك بما لاحقته له عندك، ويّحيلك (8) أعراض قوم، لاعلم أنك بذلهم، إلا بما أقدم به عليهم ضرًّا، وأظهرت لك منهم منتصحاً.

ولكن صاحب شرطناك، ومن أحببت أن تقول ذلك من قوادرك، إليه إنها (9) ذلك، وهو المنصوب لأوائلك، والمستعث لأواعكم، والناحص عن نساحهم، ثم ليس ذلك إليك على مايرفع إليه منه، لأنه أمر بأمرك فيه، وتقىه على

(1) وفيه: وانجعل فيما عينك، وهو تجريف.
(2) وفيه: وانجعل فيما عينك، وهو تجريف.
(3) وفيه: ولا يغفف.
(4) وفيه: لا يغفف.
(5) وفيه: لا يغفف.
(6) وفيه: لا يغفف.
(7) وفيه: لا يغفف.
(8) وفيه: لا يغفف.
(9) وفيه: لا يغفف.
رأبك ، من غير أن يُظهَر ذلك للعالم ؛ فإن كان صوابًا بالكلام حقيقةً(1) ، وإن كان خاطأ أخذت بالكلام جاهلًا أو فرضة مريعة منها كاذب ، فإن التهابي(2) منهما أو الظلم عقوبة ، وبذر(3) مين واليك إليه ستكون ؛ لم تصح ذلك الخطا بالكمنت إلى تنزيف ، وحلل على موضع ألم في(4) ، بصرًا إلى ذلككم وصارب رأبك.

وقد تم إلى من نولي ذلك الأمر وتميد عليه فيه ، إن لا يُبّق على شيء ناظراً فيه ، ولا يحاول أحد أحد طارفة له ، ولا يتعاقد أحدًا مسكناً به ، ولا يعلق سبيل أحد صاحبه منه ، لإحوار(5) برااته ، وجسده طرينةه ، حتى يرقع إليك أمره ، ونعي إليك قضيته ، على جهة الصدق ، ومنع الحق ، وينبغي الخبر ، فإن رأبت عليه سبيل لتجبي(6) ؛ أو مجازًا لعقوله ، أمرته بتولى ذلك من غير إذداحه عليك ، ولا مشاهدة لك منه ، فكان المولى ذلك ، ولم ينح على يديك مكره رأي ، ولا غائبة عنكوة ، وإن وجدت إلى الخلق عنه سبيل ، أو كان بما فرط به سبيلاً ، كنت أنت المولى، لإعماج عليه بتطهير سبيله ، والصفر عنبه بإطلاق أمره ، ثم توليت أجر ذلك واستحققت ذكره ، وأطلت لما بتكراك ، وطوفت قومه جديدك ؛ وأوجبت عليهم حفتك ؛ فترمت بين حالئتين ، وأجر زيت حفظك : ثواب الله في الآخرة(7) ، موحد أَلْذَكِرِ في الم穴.

(1) وفيه ِنكل خبرته ِ. (2) وفي المثموه والمستور ئ فنقل الباغي منها ». (3) بدر أي سبب ، ولم يصب : أي لم يكن ومثله . (4) بعد هذى في المثموه والمستور فناهم ذلك وتقدم إلى من توَلَّ فان ختم على شيء ِ ... الخ . (5) أي لو حضر براءته ، من أجر الرجل إذا بشر إلى الصحراء ، ولد حديث عليه ِ أجر لسوأل . (6) أي ليس وهو مصدر مبي . (7) وفي المثموه والمستور فنوليت أجر ذلك وذكره وخلق لناسه بتكراك فقرت خصائص .

روح الله ِ. النهـ .
تم إيقاف وأن يقبل إليك أحد من جنده ويجسّدك ويهويك بسكونكها إلى أي وجهةٍ وسطبها، حتى يرفعها قبل ذلك إلى كانبك اللذى
أهداهها؟ لذلك، نصبه له، فيما سيُضجع عليك، متهبه على جهة الصدق منها،
وتكوين على معرفةٍ من قدرها، فإن أدرت إساءة بها، وناجح ما سألن منها،
أذهب له في طِبِبها، سيفًا له كنفك، مثقالًا عليه بوجهك، مع ظهور سرورك بما
سألت، وفسح رأي، وتسعةٍ دَرَع، وطيب نفس، وإن كرحت قضاء حاجته،
وأحتب استُعده برحيه؟، وتقلَّ عليك إجابته إليها وإعاها بها، أمرت كانبك في
فصيحه؟ منها، ومتعه من واجهتك بها، وحلف عليك في ذلك المنع، وحصن لك
الذكرى، ولم يَغَير عنكِ جِهم؟ الردُّ، ويدلك سوء القائل في المع، وحيل على كانبك
في ذلك لائم؟ أنت منها بَرء الساحة.
وذلك فليكَن رأيك وأمرك في طرَّة علايك من الوضع، وأناك من الرسول،
فلا يعمل أحد منهم إلا بعد وصول على إبلك، وعمر ما قدَّر له علايك، وجهة ما هو
مكتِّب، وقدَّر ما هو سالك، إنما هو وَصل إبلك، فأدرت رأيك في جوابك؟
وأجتمت يفكرك في أمره، واخترت مثلاً على إرادتك في جوابك، وأعدت
مَضْرَبُ زُوٍّريك في مرجع مسأله، قبل دخولك عليه، وعندك بوصول حاَل
إليك، فرفعَ عنه كثرة البديلة، وأرخت عن نفس خانتك؟ الروية،
وأقدمت على رَد جوابه بعد النظر وإجادة الفكر فيه، فإنْ دخل إبلك أحد

(1) بده بِالأمر كنمه: استقبله بِنفاجها. (2) أراد: نصبه كُلَف. (3) الطيبة: ما طابه. (4) مِسْحُ السائل وأمضتهٍ: هذه
(5) جُبَحَ وَجَهَّمَهُ: استقبله بوجه كريء، وهذه الجملة وما بعدها ساقطة من المنظوم والمثير. (6) اللائعة: اللوم.
(7) في المنظوم والمثير: في جوابه. (8) هذه الجملة ساقطة من المنظوم والمثير. (9) المَنْتَق: الحيل يخفق به.
(10) 25: عبرة Regards العرب - ثاني
منهم فيكمُّك بخلاف ما أنتمي إلى كابنكم، وَطُوِّي عَهْ عَنْهُ حَاجِمَةٌ فِيمَّهذِكَ، دَفِعَهُ عَنْك
دَفَا جَمِيلًا، وَمَعَمَّةٍ جَوَابَكَ مِنْهَا وَدِينَا(1)، ثُمَّ أَمْرَتْ حَاجِمَةَ بِإِظَاهِرِ الْجَفَّوَةِ وَالْفَلُطَة
عَلَيُهُ، وَمَنْهٍ مِّنَ الْوَصُّولِ إِلَيْكَ، فَإِنَّ ضَناَكَ لَذَلِكَ رَأَيْتَهُ لَكَ بِالْأَسْبَابِ،
صَاILLA عَنْكَ مِنْهَا، وَصِمَبْلاَ عَلَيْكَ مِسْتَقِيمَةً(2)، إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ.
أُحْدِرْ نَضِيجَ رَأْيَكَ، وَأَمَلَكَ أَدْبِكَ فِي مُسْتَكِبِ الرَّضَا وَالْغَضْبَ، وَاعْتِباِرِهِ(3)
إِلَيْكَ، فَلا يَزِدْ عِظَامَكَ إنْفِضَتْ عَمْشَاكَ رُوَاهُهُ(4)، وَبِسُبُوكَ مَنْتَظَمُّهُ، وَلا
يُبِدْ أَنْ مِلْكَ ذَلِكَ خَطْأٌ وَزَرَّ قَنْتَ إِلَى الْكَرُومِ إِنْ حَلَّ بِكَ أَوْ حَادَثَ إِنْ تُرَأَ عَلِيَّكَ،
وَلَا يَكُنْ لَكَ مِنْ: نَاسِكٍ عَظِيمُ مُبَالِجٍ تَنْتَحَرُوُهُ بِمِنْ آفَاتِ الرِّدْىِ، وَتَمْعِدَهُ(5) فِي مُهْمَ
نَأْلِ، وَتَعْمَّعْ بِهِ أمَوْرَكَ فِي الْتَّدَرِ، فَإِنْ احْتْجَتْ إِلَى مَعَادِهِ مِنْ عَنْكَ، وَرَدِيَّةً مِن
فِكْرِكَ، أَوْ أَنْبِاطٍ مِنْ مَنْتَظَمِّكَ، كَانَ أَخِيَارَكَ إِلَى عَظِيمٍ مُّرَجَّدَا، مَا أَحْبَت
الاِسْتِبْحَارُ مِنْ(6) وَالأَخْتِيَارُ، فَإِنْ اسْتَدَّرَتْ(7) مِنْ أَمْوَرَكَ بُيُوْدُ جَهْلِي، أَوْ مَضَيْ
زَلَّل، أَوْ مَعَانُذُ حَقٍّ، أَوْ خُطْلُ تَدْهِرٍ، كَانَ ما احْتَجَتْ(8) مِنْ رَأْيٍ هَذَا لِكَ
عَنْدِ نَفْسِكَ، وَظَهْرُهَا قُوَّةً عَلَى رَدْ مَا كَرَهَتْ، وَخَحْبِيَّةً مَوْعِئُ الْبَاَيِّنِ عَلَيْكَ فِي التَّلَاء
وَانْقَشَارِ الْذَّكَرِ، وَحِضْنَا مِنْ عََلَٰمَ الْآمَاتِ عَلِيَّكَ، وَاسْتَعَلَانَا إِلَى أَخَلَاقِكَ،
وَأَمَعِ عَلِيٌّ بَلَانَنَكَ وَخَاصَّةً خَمْدَكَ وَعَامَّةً رَيْعَتُكَ مِنْ أَسْتِعْدَاهُ(9) أَعْرَاضُهُ.

(1) فِي الْمَطْلُوبِ وَالْهَنُورِ، وَهُوَ وَذَا فَتَا.
(2) هِذَهِ الْحَمْلَةُ سَافِطَةٌ مِّنْ الْمَطْلُوبِ وَالْهَنُورِ.
(3) أَيْ تَدَاوِفَا.
(4) مِّنْ فَعْلِ رَأْيَ، مِّنْ رَأْيِ التَّهْيِهِ، إِذَا أَجْعَلْهُ، وَاِسْتَهْوَاء، أَسْتَهْوَاء.
(5) إِسْتَبِعَدَ فِي نَفْسِهِ: ضَمَّهُ حِرَّاثُ نَفْسِهِ، وَقَدْ صِبْحُ الأُمَيِّ، وَتَمْعِدَهُ، وَقِبْب
الْقَهْراَةِ: اِسْتَبْنَدَ بِهِ إِسْتَبْنَدَ بِهِ، إِسْتَبْنَدَ بِهِ، وَإِسْتَبْنَدَ بِهِ.
(6) اِسْتَنَاجَ: أَسْتَنَجُّهُ، وَإِسْتَنَاجُ أَلْهَهُ، جَلَّ لَهُ الْعِجْلِ، الْمُغَرُّ، أَيْ الْعِجْلِ.
(7) هِكَلَا فِي الأَقْصَأِ الَّتِي تَقَلُّتْ مِنْهَا، وَأَلْفُ صَوْبَهُ أَدْبَرَتْ، يَجْعَلَ وَقَتْ لاِ يَمْسَ إِلَى تَقَلُّتْ تَأْقِلَهَا،
وَيَسْتَنَجُّ لَهَا بَقَةُ عَسُلِهِ، أَوْ مَفْرَى زَالِ، أَوْ صَوْبَهُ اِسْتَنَجَّهُ أَيْ اِسْتَنَجَّهُ أَيْ اِسْتَنَجَّهُ، وَإِسْتَنَجَّهُ أَيْ اِسْتَنَجَّهُ جَمِيلٌ، وَإِسْتَنَجَّهُ أَيْ اِسْتَنَجَّهُ.
(8) مِّنْ اِسْتَنَجَّهُ مَا أَيْ مَا اِسْتَنَجَّهُ، وَمِمَا أَيْ مَا اِسْتَنَجَّهُ، وَمِمَا أَيْ مَا اِسْتَنَجَّهُ، وَمِمَا أَيْ مَا اِسْتَنَجَّهُ، وَمِمَا أَيْ مَا اِسْتَنَجَّهُ، وَمِمَا أَيْ مَا اِسْتَنَجَّهُ، وَمِمَا أَيْ مَا اِسْتَنَجَّهُ.
(9) أَعْرَاضُهُ: أَعْرَاضُهُ، وَأَعْرَاضُهُ، وَأَعْرَاضُهُ، وَأَعْرَاضُهُ، وَأَعْرَاضُهُ.
ناس عنفك بالغيبة، والتقرب إليك بالشفاعة، والإغراء من بعض ببعض، والشيعة إلى تفسيرك من أحوالهم المستمرة عنك، أو التحليل لك على أحد منهم وجهت النصيحة ومذهب الشيعة، فإن ذلك أبلغ بك سبأ إلى مثل الشرف، وأعون لك على محمود الذكر، وأطلق لمنان الفضل، في جزاء الرأي، وشرف الحياة، وقوة التغدير، وأملك نسك عن الأبسط في الضحك والانفعال(1)، وعن التطور بإظهار العطش وتنجليه، فإن ذلك سُمح عن ملك سُور(2) الجهل، وخروج من احتفال أمم الفضل، وليكين ضحكك نديا أو كثيرا(3) في أجابين ذلك وأوانه، وعدد كل رائع مستيف مطر(4)، وتطوري إطرافا في مواضع ذلك وأحواله، بلا مضطبة إلى القطب، ولا إسراه إلى الطيرة، دون أن يكبمها روعة الحلم، وتُمثل عليها باردود الجهل،
إذا كفت في مجلس ما تذكر، وحيث حضرت العامة مجتاه، فإناك وارئي بصرفك إلى خاص من قوناك، أو ذي أمر(5) عندك من جملك، وليكين ندرك مرسوم في الجبه، وإعارتك(6) مسكك ذا الحدث بِدُعوة هادية ووارق حسن، وحضور كريم مستمتع، وقلة تنضير الحدث، ثم لا يشح ويهب إلى بعضك وراءك وعرضك متوجين بنظر يكن، وتفقد حضن، فإن وجدت إليك أحد منهم نظره متحفا(7)، أو رماة بصره ملحا، فأخفض عنه إطرافا جميلا بالتقاء(8)، وسكون، وإبلاك والتسرع في الإطراف، واللغة في تصريف النظر، والإلحاح على من تصد إلتك في مخلاته، إياك رأييًا بنظره.

(1) التنظيم الفعل: إنسم، وقصر كفف كفسا وقعدا. وزوي ما بين هنوا وكتاب كفت،
(2) وإنه كفف كفسا وقعدا، واتصال قول غيره وتنباج: ادعه لنفسه. (3) ملك عال المصرع ملك، وصورة الجهل: حديثه. (4) كفف عن أسمائه كفوف كما: بدوى. يكون في النجاح وغيره، وفي المنظم والانتوير أو ككر، وهو تحريف.
(5) وفته وعده كل رأي مثل ومستفس طرب، وهو تحريف.
(6) ذي أثرة بالفم والكسر وآثارة بالتحريك: أي من اختصه يضاف وقدمته.
(7) ألمه - منه: أمم إليه. وصيح الأشياء ومنفاج الأفكار. ووارعتك وهو تحريف.
(8) حدق إليه بالنظر: شدد النظر إليه، وفي المنظم والنتور وحدثا. (9) وفيه بابدا وهو تحريف.
وأعلم أن تسبحك وجودة جلستك، وتفقدك مجالس قوادك (1)، من قوة التذمر، وشحنة القلب، وذكاء الفطنة، وانفيا السنه، ففقد ذلك عارفاً بحنكت
وابعتك، علية بمواضيعهم من مجالس، ثم أغد بهمن من ذلك، سألها لهم مرت
أشفاه على أمعتهم من حضور مجالس، وعاقبهم بالنخل على إن شاء الله.
إذا كان أحد من خذلك وأعوانك كثين منك بباب ضمير، وعفف منه لين
طقعه، وتشرف منه على صحة رأي، وتأمه على كسرتهم، فإياك وإياك بالإقال عليه
في كل حادث يبرع عليك، والنتوجة تحور بنظره عند طولاق ذلك، وأن نيتك أو
أحداً من أهل مجالس أن يئله حاجة موجبة، وأن ليس بلد عبير في التذمر، أو
أنك لا تدع دوته رأياً، إشرا كاً منك له في روايك، وإدخالك له في كسرتهم
واضطراراً منك إلى رأيه في الأمر الذيك (2)، فإن ذلك من دخالي العهوب التي
يتحذى بها سواد القالة عن نظرائلك، فإنها عن نسك خائتنا لاعتقالها (3) ذكرك،
واخذتها عن روايتك، تأطع أطاع أو أ]|تاك عن مثلها عننك، أو أقوله عليهم منك
أعلم أن للشورة موضع ظلمة وأفراد النظر، واملأ (1) أمر نية تحقيق بحدده
وبتحم امتيازه، فإنها حُرّرة لها، ورمعها طالباً تلبها (4)، وإياك والتصور عن غايتها،
أو العجز عن دركها، أتوبر في طلبها إن شاء الله تعالى.
إياك والإغرام (5) بكثرة السؤال من حديث ما أوجب، أو أمر ما أرده،
أو اتفق حديث ممن أراوك بحديث حتى تنفسي عليه بالخرير في غده، أو المسألة
لم يس منه، فإن ذلك عند العامة منسوب إلى سوء الفهم، وقصر الأدب عن تناول
(1) وي النظم والمنثور، وأهم أن تصفح وجود قوادك، من قوة التذمر، وشحنة القلب،
ففقد ذلك... (2) أي يعدبك وينزل بك، في النظم والمنثور، وإياك وإياك إلى رأيه...
(3) اعتقلهم: تمثله، في النظم والمنثور «لاقصافاً ذكرك».
(4) هذه الجملة سلفة من النظم والمنثور، (5) في «طالباً تلبها» وإياك والتصور عن غايتها
والإغرام في طالها (6). (6) أُعمر بالمدي: أولم به.
محاسن الأمور والمرفة بمساواها، ولكن أعصى حدّ ذلك، وأزوره سماك، حتى يعلم أنك قد فهمت حديثه، وأحسته معرفة يقولة، فإن أردت إجابةك فلن تعرف باحتجته ومعد علم بطلبه، وإلا كنت عند القضاء كلامه كالقمل (1) من حديثه بالتبسم والإضاءة، فأجزي (2) عليك الجواب، وفعّل منك أنّس النّعم.

إيّاك وَأَنْ تظَهَّرَ منكْ تبرم بطُول ملكك، وضجيج من حصرك، وعليك بالثبات عند سورة الفضل، وحميّة الألف، ومثل الصبر في الأمر تستمجل به، واصل تأمره بإناذة، فإن ذلك سُحق شأّن (3)، وخففة مودية، و الجهالة بادية، وعليك بثبوت النطق، ووقاء المجالس، وسكون الريح، والرفق بفخ السكال، والترك لفضوله، والإغراق (4) بالبزادات في متعالفك، والترديد للنفك من نحو: اسمع، وافهم عنى، وباذنه (5)، وألا ترى، أو ما يلهم به من هذه النضال القصّرة بأهل العقل، الشائعة الذي الحجا في المتنق (6)، النسوبة إلىهم بالبيّ، المردية لهم في الدُّكر، وخصوص من معايب الملوك، والشوقية عنيّة غيّبة النظر (7) إلا من عَرَّفها من أهل الأدب، وقُلّها حاملا، مصطلع (8) بها، صابر على نقلها، آخذ لنفسه.

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(1) في صبح الأحمر، كالترمّج.
(2) مسح عَنْ أَبِي: أَيْ أَيْن.
(3) في التفاح والثمار، مُضْحَكَة سايرة.
(4) معترف على فضوله: أَيْ وعليك بالترك للإغراق بالبزادات الخبّ.
(5) من كلمة يجح بها اسم الإنسان، فإذا ناديت مذكرًا يغيب التصريح بِاحيَاه. قلت: يا ابن أبي، وكأنك تدخل في الفناء. تقول بهم: (يتقى النون وسكون الهماء، كما يقول له وناله). ولكن أن تتجه الحركة تقولاً، تقوله، وقولاً: أَفْلَ (وترد الألف والنون في آخره، في النداء خاصة). وهذه الفناء تصدّت في الوضوء، ووضع على تقرير أنها آخر الإيمام وتكسر لاجتياح السمكين، وكأنك تقول بِنَتِه. أَفْلَ بهاء مضمومة، فوق النون والثلث. من نحو اسم أو اسم أو اسم أو أَلَا ترى؟.
(6) هذه الجملة خاصّة من النحو والثنائي.
(7) في: وَالسُّوَفَة عَنْهَا عند النظر، وهو تحريف.
(8) أي وَقُلّها على البَنَكِ، وَالثَّنَى: إِخْلَفُ النَّقِل.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص الذي تم إرساله.

يرجى توفير نص يمكنني قراءته.
فاسيهم، فإن ذلك من قلّب بهم بورع الله العزة، وقدثّك إسلام صدق في العاتية، وتحريك لك توابة الآخرة، وبرد عليكم عواطنهم المстиزرة منك، وقلوبهم المتفجّرة  
(1) بين منازل أهل الفضل في الدين والجهاز والراحة والوقوف والتدبير والصمت في العامه، وبين منازل أهل الحق في طباق الفضل وأحواله، والحول عند طاعة النسب (1)، وانظر بضعة أيّام تنال من مودته اجتهال، وتستعين لك أقواف العامه على الفضيل، وتبلغ درجة الشرف في أحوالك المنصرفة برك، فانتقد عليهم مهّل، لهم في أمّرك، وأجرهم بجمالتكم لهم مستمّعا منهم، وإباك وتضيعهم مفرّطا، وإخلاصهم مضيماً.

هذه جوامع خيال قد خلقها لك أمير المؤمنين نفسه، وجمع لك شروادها (2).

(1) فيه «في العاتية»، (2) فيه «المستغيرة»، (3) فيه «تينين»، (4) فيه «وأحوش» عند طاعة أهل الحق ونظر فصيحة أمم تنان مودة الجميع، والمباشرة عرفه (5) فيه «شواهده»، والأولى أحق وأصحاب الثورة مؤلفة (6) فيه «وصية الشرف»، ورغب في (7) وردت هذه الجملة في صبي الأغلى، فذكرنا وتأمل سطر العز مع عامة توفيق، وقد صنعتها كما ترى، وأثابها: أصلها وقواه.
فإذا أفضت نحو عدوك، واعترمت على لقائهما، وأخذت أهبة قدامهما، فاجعل
وعامتك التي تلقاها إليها، وتتمكن التي تأمل النجاح بها، ورُكِّبت الذي ترحيب به
مناهل الخير، ورسَّحَ (1) بَيْنَهُما، خَذَّلَ الله عز وجل، مستنَّاراً كَأْنَا
براقيته، والاعتماد رحمة، ميَّزاً لأمره، مُجَبَّداً شكله، محتذى سنته، والتوقي
لماضيه في تعليم حدوده، وتعهد شراهمه، مَنْ كَالاً عليه في صُدُّتُه (2) له، وساهمًا بنصره،
فإذا توجَّهت نحوه، متبركاً من الحوصلة والقوة في تلك من ظهر، وتنقَّل من وزن
اغتيبه في أهاب (2) بك أمر المؤمنين إليه من فضل الجهاد، ورُكِّبَهُ بك إليه، محمدُ الصير
في عنده الله عز وجل من قتال عدوه، للسلم، أَحِبَّه (3) عليهم، وأظهره عدراً
لهم، وأخذَه بحالة مُعَتَّمِهم، وأخذى بِنَقْلِهُم (4)، وأعلاه عليهم فيها، وأظهرُه فِيهِ
فسنا ووجوَرًا، وأشدَّه على فيهم أَنْ تَصْرِحُوا الله لَهُم (5) وَفِى سَاعَتِهِم مَنْ شَاءَ وَقَالَ (6)
والله السميع عليهم، وَالاستناد على جمعتهم، عليه يَتَوَلَّى أمير المؤمنين، وإياه
يَصْرِحُ عليهم، وإياه يَفْوَسُ أمره، وَكُنْيَتَ الله وُلِيّاً وَناصرًا وعَمِيناً، وَهُوَ
التقوى العزيز.

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بَعْثَ أَمَّ نَعْمَ من بَنَاءك (7) وَحَدِّك بَكَّر مُعَتَّمِهِم، وَرَدَّ مَعْلُو
جُورَهُم (8) وَإِحْكَامَ خَالِقِهِم، وَهُمُ مَنْ تَقَسَّيْنِ قَوْمَاهِم، وَكَمْ شَعَرُ أَطَرَافُهُم،
(1) دعاء: وَتَحَصَّنُ بِهِ، وَاشْتِفَاءُ مِن الكَهْفِ وَهوَ الوزَرَ، والمَلِجَّة، يُقال: فَلَنْ كَفِ أَهَمَّه
(2) دعاء: وَأَهَمَّهُ عِنْدَكَ إِذَا دَعَاهُ بَيْنَكَ.ءُسَاءَهُ: هَابُ هَابِ.
(3) أي أُدْخِلُهُ عَلَيْهِمَ وَأَخَذَهُمَ لِيُقَال: كُلُّ المَنْهَرُ كَفِرْهُ كَبْيَا بَيْنَهُمَ، وَأَرْضَهُمَ،
(4) أي أَخْلَصَهُمَ، وَأَخَذَهُمَ لِيُقَال: كُلُّ المَنْهَرُ كَفِرْهُ كَبْيَا بَيْنَهُمَ، وَأَرْضَهُمَ،
(5) أي أَخْلَصَهُمَ، وَأَخَذَهُمَ لِيُقَال: كُلُّ المَنْهَرُ كَفِرْهُ كَبْيَا بَيْنَهُمَ، وَأَرْضَهُمَ،
(6) أي أَخْلَصَهُمَ، وَأَخَذَهُمَ لِيُقَال: كُلُّ المَنْهَرُ كَفِرْهُ كَبْيَا بَيْنَهُمَ، وَأَرْضَهُمَ،
(7) دعاء: وَأَهَمَّهُ عِنْدَكَ إِذَا دَعَاهُ بَيْنَكَ.ءُسَاءَهُ: هَابُ هَابِ.
(8) أي أَخْلَصَهُمَ، وَأَخَذَهُمَ لِيُقَال: كُلُّ المَنْهَرُ كَفِرْهُ كَبْيَا بَيْنَهُمَ، وَأَرْضَهُمَ،
(9) أي أَخْلَصَهُمَ، وَأَخَذَهُمَ لِيُقَال: كُلُّ المَنْهَرُ كَفِرْهُ كَبْيَا بَيْنَهُمَ، وَأَرْضَهُمَ،
(10) أي أَخْلَصَهُمَ، وَأَخَذَهُمَ لِيُقَال: كُلُّ المَنْهَرُ كَفِرْهُ كَبْيَا بَيْنَهُمَ، وَأَرْضَهُمَ،
وَخَذَّهُمْ (١) بِمَرَّاتٍ مِّنْ أَهْلِ ذِمَّةٍ وَمَلَّا مِّنْ بُيُوتِ السَّبِيرَةِ، وَعَنَّهَا الْفَطْمَةُ. (٢) ْوَكَذَّبُوا هُمْ الْمُؤَذِّنَاءَ وَالْقَاهِرَ، وَهُمْ قَاهِرُونَ، وَجَاثَ (٣) الْبَيْنَانِ، فَحُكِمْ فِي هَذَا مَنْ مَنْهُ، مَنْ هُمْ فِيهِ يَنتَفَقُونَ. (٤)

ْإِيٌّا مِّنْ نَفْسِكَ. (٥) ْفَأَنْبَأْكُمُ النَّاسُ عَلَيْهِمْ بِالْإِسْلاَمِ خَارِجًا مِّنْ جَمَاعَةٍ أَهْلِهِ، الْمَنْتَجِ وَالْمُتْنَبِئِ، (٦)

أَنْذِرُوا مَسْجِلًا لِّيَمَعُونَ أَوْلَاهُمْ، طَنَعًا عَلَيْهِمْ، رَاغِبًا عَنْهُمْ، مَنْ فَرَأَ يُشْهَدُهُمْ، (٧) مَسْجِلًا عَلَيْهِمْ. (٨) ْفَأَنْبَأْهُمُ الْمُؤَذِّنُ، وَعَنَّهَا الْفَطْمَةُ. (٩) ْوَأَرْسَلَهُ عَدَاوًّا عَلَيْهِمْ، وَأَطْلَبَ لِلْيَزِّنَاتِ فِرْقَةً مِّنْ الْقَرْبِ (١٠) وَأَمْرَ الْمُشْرَكِ وَطَارِقَيْنِ الْمَلَائِمِ، (١١) يَدْعُونَ إِلَى المَعَاصِي وَالْفُرَّا وَالْمَرْجُو من دِينِ أَهْلِهِ إِلَى الْفُنَّةِ، مُخْتَرًا عَلَى بَيْنَهُمْ الْبَيْنَانِ، (١٢) وَبِكَدِّعَهُ مَنْ فَرَأَ إِلَى الْقَهَّارِ، وَسِيَّارًا وَخَيْرًا، وَصَلَّا إِلَى إِلَهَهُ الَّذِي لا شَيْءٌ فِيهِ، وَلَا بَيْانٌ، (١٣) وَهُمُ الْمُؤَذِّنُاءَ، (٤)

مِنْ وُرَاءِهِ الْمُقَدَّمَةَ، وَسَمِينُ الْذِّينِ، ظَلَّوا مِنْ فِتْرَةٍ نَّقُولُونَ. (١٥) ْفُجَّدَكَ، وَشَكَّكَ مَنْ نَفْسِكَ بِطَاعَةُ الْإِلَهِ فِي مُجَاجَةِ أَدْهَانِهِ، وَرَجْعَ نَصْرٍهُ، (١٦)

وَتَبَّعَ مُوَجَّهًا، مُنْتَجًا فِي طَلْبِ نَوايَةٍ عَلَى جَهَادِهِ، مُدَّرَّسًا فِي إِبْتِغَاءِ الْوَسْبَةِ إِلَى عَلَى لَقَادِهِمْ، إِنْ طَاعُكَ إِيَاهُ فِي هَذَا، وَمَرَّانِيَتْكُ لَهُ، وَرِجَالُكَ تَمْتُرُوهُ، مَسْهُلُ لَكَ وَعِمْرَةُ (١٧)، وَعَاشِكَ مِنْ كُلِّ سَبِيْلٍ، (١٨) وَمَنْجِبَ مِنْ كُلِّ هُوَأٍ، وَغَلْبُهُ (١٩) مِنْ كُلِّ صَرْعَةٍ، وَمُلْكُكِ مِنْ كُلِّ كَوْعَةٍ، وَدُارِيَ (٢٠) عَنْكَ كَلِّ شَيْءٍ، وَمُهُمْ هَبَّ عَنْكَ كَطَّغَةٍ.
كلّ شَكّ، ومَتَّوك بكلّ دُور (1) وسَكَبّ، ومُبْرَك في كلّ مُتَّكَكَر (2) قَتَال، وموُتِّك في كلّ خَلِّة، والمَتَّوك عند كلّ جَلِّة، وقَتَالَ (3)، وحَافَّة (4)، ورَفْع كلّ شَبَرَة مُرَذَّرة، ورَفْعُ، وَلِيّشَكَ وَرُبّيّ أَمرٌ المُؤَمِّنين فيك، ول鬃فْح بِالجَزَالِم من مَعكِّ (5).

أعلَمَ أنَّ الطَّفْقُ طَيْباً: أُحِدٌّهُ، وهو أعْمَم منه، وُلّغَ في حُجَّة النَّافِع، قالَ، وأَحِبَّت سَلَامَة، وأَحِبَّت غَيَابَة، وأَحَمِّن في الأمر مُؤَد، وأَعَلِّم في الفَضَّل (6) شَرَفًا، وأَمْسِلَ في الرَّوَايَة (7) مُرَّ رَا، وأَمْسِلَ عند السَّمَّاء، وأَسْمَّعًا ما نَفْلُ بِسَلَامَة الجَلِّة، وَجْحَنَّ الحَلا، وَنَفْل السَّكِيَّة، وَمِثْل السَّكِيَّة (8)، واستِنْبَت طاعة ذِي الْعَذْف (9)، بَيْنَ إِطْبَار (10) البَيْن، في وَقْتَة جَمْهَرَة الْحَرَب، ومنْزِلَة (11) الْفُرْسُّانَ في مَعْرِكَة الْمُوت، وِإِنْ سَعَادَة الْحَلَّة، وَنِتْكَ مَزِيَّة السَّمَادَة، في الْجَهْرَ، فَنْحَاطَة الْجَهْرِ مَكْرُهُ الصَّاب، وَضَعَفُ السَّيَّة، وَأَمْلَّ الجَرَاح، وَقَصَّاص الحَرَبِ وسَجَّالاً (12) بِمَثْقَالْ أَبَاطُها، على أنَّك لا تَدْرِي لأَيّ النَّحِيَّة.

(1) الأَنْثَى: القَوَّة، أَدْبِهِ: اسْتَهِي، وَقَرِىْ.
(2) هذِهُ الجَلِّة سَاَفَّةً مِن النَّظَامِ وَالطَّورِ.
(3) وَهذِهُ أَبْنَيَ خَاصَّةً، كَانَهُ كَانَ كَانَ بِالْتَّنْجِ وَكَلَّاهُ بِالْبَلْدَة، رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ وَأَغْفِيَ، وَمِنْهُ، وَقَوْلُهُ: (أَفْشَعْتُهُمْ مَّا كَانَ لَأَبيُّرُونَ) أَوْ هَيْ (مَحْيَتُهُ) بَيْنَ شَيْخٍ وَأَشْيَاءٍ، ثُمَّ أَحْمِدَ غَيَابَة، أَوْ هَيَّ مَهْيَتُهُ بِالْبَنِيَّاء، أَوْ هَيَّ مَهْيَتُهُ بِالْبَنِيَّاء
(4) تَدْنِهِ الطَّيْرُ، فَلا تَتَدْنِهِ إِلَى طَرِيقَ الحَلِّام، كُلَّهَا.
(5) وَقِيَّ بِكَانَت، وَحَالِكَ. أيَّ سَيُدَكَ.
(6) هذِهُ الجَلِّة سَاَفَّةً مِن النَّظَامِ وَالطَّورِ.
(7) هذِهِ سَانَةً مِن النَّظَامِ وَالطَّورِ.
(8) سَانَةً مِن النَّظَامِ وَالطَّورِ.
(9) تَصْرِيبُ، (9) النَّظَامِ وَالطَّورِ، وَبِنْدُ عِنْدَهُ: أَغْلَبِ.
(10) مَهَأَ لِإِتِّقَاعِهِمْ فِي النَّظَامِ.
(11) وَإِنْ سَأَلَدَكَ طَوْقَانَ النَّظَامِ وَالْبَيْنَة، أَيْ - وإنَّ سَأَلَدَكَ طَوْقَانَ النَّظَامِ وَالْبَيْنَة، أَيْ - وإنَّ سَأَلَدَكَ طَوْقَانَ النَّظَامِ وَالْبَيْنَة، أَيْ - وإنَّ سَأَلَدَكَ طَوْقَانَ النَّظَامِ وَالْبَيْنَة، أَيْ - وإنَّ سَأَلَدَكَ طَوْقَانَ النَّظَامِ وَالْبَيْنَة، أَيْ - وإنَّ سَأَلَدَكَ طَوْقَانَ النَّظَامِ وَالْبَيْنَة.
(12) كَانَ لِأَصْدِيَّةٍ مَّعَارِضَةً، كَانَ لِأَصْدِيَّةٍ مَّعَارِضَةً، كَانَ لِأَصْدِيَّةٍ مَّعَارِضَةً، كَانَ لِأَصْدِيَّةٍ مَّعَارِضَةً، كَانَ لِأَصْدِيَّةٍ مَّعَارِضَةً، كَانَ لِأَصْدِيَّةٍ مَّعَارِضَةً، كَانَ لِأَصْدِيَّةٍ مَّعَارِضَةً، كَانَ لِأَصْدِيَّةٍ مَّعَارِضَةً.
بكون الطواطم في البديهة، ومن الطواطم بالعزلة (1)، ولعل من تكون الطواطم.

بالتحدي، فاول إصدأ أبلغها في سلماء بنك ورفعك، وأنشرها صننا في بدو

تدبرك ورأيك (2)، وأستمرها لأنك وأريك وعدوك، وأثيرها على نورك

وأهل منك، وأ포ها شبكية في حزمك، وأبعديها ومن عزمك، وأعلهها بزمام

التجية في أخرك (3)، وأحركها ثوابا عن ربك، وأبدا بالإنذار إلى عدولك، والدعاء

ثم إلى مراجعة الطاعة، وأمر الجاعة، وعز (4) الأنفة، آخذًا بالحجة عليهم، متقدماً

بالإنذار لهم، باعتك أنك لن جا إليك منهم، داعيًا لهم بأيمنلفلك (5)، وأطلت

حذرك، متعاطئًا وأطلك عليهم، وترتفعهم في دعائهم، وموقفهم من غابة الغواية

هم، وإغاظة المفسكة بهم، منذًا رسالهم بعد الإنذار، تجسدُ إعطاء كل

دغجالهم إليها، في المشهَّر في مواجهة الحق، وسط كل أمانته لأنفسهم ومن

معهم، ومن أيهم، مضطقة تنسك فها تبُط لهم من ذلك على الوقاية بعدكم، والعصر

على ما أعطيتهم من وفادته عهدك، قالž توبة نازعهم (1) من الاحذية، ومراجعة مسيتهم

إلى الطلعة، مُرحبًا بالنحن إلى فئة المسلمين وجماعتهم إجابًا إلى ما دعونه إليه

وتصرّره إياه من حَكَّ وطاعتك، فشلل النزلة، وإكرام النحو، وتشريف الجهد

ولالجُيزة من أدرك عليه وإحسانك إليه ما يرغب في مثل الصدف عنك، للصر على

خلافك ومصينك، ويبدو إلى الاختلاف في الخلأ التنا، وما هو أمّلك به في الاعتدام

عاجلاً، وأجيّله من الكعاب آجلاً، وأحول عليه وาشه به، فلحقهما وعاقبة، فإن ذلك

ما تقدّمفيه من الله عزّ وجلّ كنصرونا عليهم، وتعلم (8) في تقدّم الخالجة إليهم،

مَعَذَرًا ومشدراً إلى شاء الله.

(1) الدولة في الحرب أن تدع إحدى الفتيين على الأخرى، بالله: كانت لنا على الدولة: أي

الضيافة والنصرة. (2) ولانحرم وينحور ويدي رأيك. (3) ساحة من النظم والمتور. (4)

فب، ودرع الألفة. (5) فب، ولطفك. (6) نزع عن الأص: كف. (7) وفيه، الحال. (8) فب، وتعم.
إذاً (1) عيونك على عدوك، متعطشًا لعلم أحلامهم إلى بها، ومطاعمهم وتقريباً أعينهم نحوها، وأخاً الأموار أذهَنهم إلى البلح، وأقرّوا لها إرهاة إلى الماء، وأسّواه الاسترال طالبهم (2)، ومن أؤلؤه ما أسانه. أمّن بقبل الشدة والمنافاة والسكينة والباعة والإلهام والإباح والإباحة، والمبرع والإطاعة (3) في أمور، متختمًا في زيوتكم، مستشفىً من رأيك، مستشرفاً لدى النصيحة، الذين قد حُكمهم السُّنَّة، وحَدّثهم التجربة (4)، وحَدّثهم الحروب، لمَّن كُنتم تحلو في حريض، آمنًا بالحرم في سوء الطين، معيّدًا للحَجّ، محترسًا من الغزوة، كأنك في مسيرك، ونَبِيّك مسجٌ (5) مواصلبًة لعدوك رأىَ عينين، تنتظر خلائلك، وتخوفك كُرايكم (6)، مُدَّاً أقوى مكابك، وأوهب تكاءك (7)، وناسكًا جذّال، وأجَّد تشملك، معمّدًا أمر عدوك لأهلّهم بما يبِّلَ، خَدّرًا يكاد يُفْرَط، ينُفّدُ له من الاحتراس عفّاً، ومن السكينة قوياً، من غير أن يبِّلَك (8) ذلك عن إحكام أمورك، وتدير رأبك، وإصدار رويتك، والتآهب ما يتحّزك (9)، معفرًة له بعد استِشمار الحرب، الاستشمار (10)، الحزم، وإعمال الروية، وإعداد الأملّه، فإن أغلبّ عدوك كليل.

(1) أذكّر عليه العيون أرسل عليه الطلاق.
(2) هذه ساقيّة من المنظوم المنثور. (3) فيه ستة وهو تحريف.
(4) فيه الذي قد حُكمه الجرب. (5) وحَدّثهم السُّنَّة: أحكامه التجربة.
(6) وحَدّثهم الحروب. (7) وحَدّثهم الحروب. (8) وحَدّثهم الحروب.
(9) إنزدأ آري والأمر: استعد له، وإنزدأ له: أنصب له في المقصود وغيرها.
(10) في المنثور: كأنك ملّك كلمة ومانزلك جهم وهو تحريف.
(11) فيه غرامه.
(12) في المنثور: من الأحتراس علامة من السكينة قوياً من غير ... لخ وهو تحريف.
(13) فيه: سكنه وكرهه، وفقاً للقرن: سكن غلائه.
(14) فيه: انتقال من الإشجار، وفي المنثور: لا أحد له وهو تحريف.
الحَدَّ، وَقَمَّ الحَرْمُ، تَصِيصُ (١) الْوَرَّافُ، لَمْ يَعْرُضَ كَمَا أُعْتُمِدْتُ لِمَنْ قَوَّهُ، وَأَخَذَتْهُ لَمَن حَرْمَ، وَلَمْ يُرْمِيّ ذَلِكَ إِلَّا جَرَّاءَ عَلَيْهِ، وَتَسَرَّعَ إِلَى نَائِهِ، وَإِنَّ أَفْنِيَةَ مُتَوَفَّقٍ، الْحُيْثِرُ (٢) مَسْتَكْبِيْفَ التَّمْيُعُ، قَوْىَ التَّمْيُعُ، مُسْتَقْبِيْفَ وَسْوَةَ الْجِنَّ، مَهَّةَ مِنْ أُهْوَانِ الفِتْنَةِ وَتَحْيَةَ إِبْلِيْسَ مَنْ تَوَفَّقَ كَبْرُ التَّمْيُعَ مَسْرُورًا، وَيَقُولُ إِلَى لَقَاءِ أُبَاطِلَهَا مَسْرُورًا، كُتِّبَ لَا أُخَذِّكَ بِالْحَرْمَ، وَاسْتَمَتْكَ بِالْقُوَّةِ، وَغُرْمُ جَنِّ، وَلَا فَرْوُتْ فِي الرَّأْيِ، وَلَا مَتَلَّقِيَّةَ عَلَى إِضَاعَةِ تَدِيرِ، وَلَا مَنْتَجِيَةَ إِلَى الْإِبْدَاعِ، وَجَمَاعَةَ الْتَأْمِيرِ وَمِبَادَرةَ تَدْهَشَكَ. وَوَذُوَةً مُبْلِظٍّ، وَمَتِّ مِنْ مَقْتِرِ الرَّقَّيِّ (٣) وَتَخْدَعُ مَلْوَسِيَّةً فِي أَمْرِ عُدْوَكِ لِتَصِيغِ الصَّيْرَنِ، يَنْتَبِعُ عَلَيْكَ رَايْكَ، وَيَكُونُ فِي اِسْتِفْنَانِ (٤) أَمْرُكَ، وَهُوَّ دِيْرِكَ، وَإِجْرَاءَ الْحَرْمِ فِي جَنِّكَ، وَتَضِيَعُهُ، وَهُوَّ مَكْنُ الإِجْمَارِ، رَجَبُ لِلطَّابِقِ، تَؤْمِنُ الْيَعْمَاءَ، فَسْيِلِ الْمُضْطَرِبِ بَيْنَ مَدْخُلِهِ رَحْيَتَكَ مِنْ الْأَغْتَرَاقِ، وَالْقِفَةِ عَنْ إِلَزَامِ أَحْرَامِهِ (٥)، وَاِسْتِبْطَ مْرَا كَرِيمٍ، لَمْ يَزْوُجَ فِي اِسْتِفْنَانِكَ (٦) إِلَى الْفَرْوَهِ، وَرَكَّزْكَ إِلَى الْأَمِّيَّ، وَبَحْوَانُكَ بِالْتَدِيرِ، فَيُعْوُدُ ذَلِكَ عَلِيْكَ فِي اِبْتِشَارِ الْأَطْرَافِ، وَضَبْسِبِ الأَحْكَامِ، وَدُخْوَلُ الْوَرَّهِ، بِمَا لَا يُسْتَنَالُ الْحُذُورُهُ، وَلَا يُدْعَعُ مَحْفُوهُ.

احْفَظْ عِنْوَكَ وَجُوُاسِبَكَ، مَا بَيْنِكَ بِمِنْ أَخْبَارٍ عَدْوَكَ، وَإِيَّاكَ وَمَعَايِنَةً، أَحْلِمُ مِنْهُمُ عَلَى حَيْبٍ إِنَّ أَنْتَ يَهْبُهُ، فَوَأَسْوَى بِهِ فَذَاكَ، وَأَنْتُكَ غَيْرُهُ، خَلَافُهُ، أَوْ أَنْ نَكَثُكَ بِهِ فَذَاكَ عَلَيْهِ، وَلَهُ أَنْ يُكُونَ قَدْ مَكَّحَ الْتَصْيِبَةَ وَصِدَّقُ الْحَرْمِ.

(١) وَلَمْ يَصْدِرْ إِلَى الْمَقْبُولِ أَيْ مَوْقُومِ الْحَرْمِ، أيْ مَفْهُومِهِ مِنْ وَقْمِ الْعَدُوِّ، إِذَا جَبَبَ عَنْهَا لِسَكْفٍ، وَوَقَّعَ فِيهِ كَرْسُهُ، وَأَنْذَلَهُ، وَقِلَ الْمَلَكِ وَالْقُنْوُّ، وَكَنَّ اْجْبِرَى، وَهُوَّ مَحْرِفٍ.
(٢) تَقِيَّمُ نَفْسِي قَلِيلِي، يَقَالُ: رَجُلُ نَضْبُتْ اللَّهُ أَيْ قَلِيلِي، وَقَيْلُ اللَّهُ كَبِيرُ: سَالُ قَلِيلُي، أَوْ خَرِجَ رَشْعًا، وَانْضِيَ شَيْءَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي، وَقَرْفُ مِنْ الْمَلَكِ وَالْحَيْثَ: الْكَبِيرُ الْرَّاسِمُ، أَيْ قَلِيلُ الْمَعْدَةِ.
(٣) فِي سَمِّ الْأَحْمَيْسِ، سَمَوَّدِ الْحَرْبِ،
(٤) رَفَقَةَ وَأَرْجَا، مَنْ عَلِيْهِ أَيْ جَمِيلُ رَفِقَا تَشِيْيًا، وَقِلَ الْمَلَكِ وَالْقُنْوُ، وَمَنْ تَعْزُ مَثْقَلَهُ عَلَى تَرْفِيقِ النَّوْقِ، وَهُوَّ مَحْرِفٍ.
(٥) الْإِسْتِفْنَانُ، الْإِسْتِفْنَانُ، (٦) فِيِّهِ وَهُوَ إِلَى إِلَزَامِ أَحْرَامِهِ،
(٧) الْأَنْسَاقِ، الْأَنْسَاقِ.
وكذك بك الأول، أو خرج جاسوسك الأول مقتدا قبل وصول هذا من عند عدوك، وقد أرادوا لك أمرك، وحاولوا لك مكيدة، وأرادوا (1) منك غيره، فدارفوا (2) عليك في الأية، ثم ائتم بهم رأيهم، واجتمع عليهم جهانهم، فأودوا (3) رأيا، وأدحوا مكيدة، وأظهروا فرصة، وضربوا موعدا، وأتوا مسالكة في (4) أثام، أو قوت حديثكم، أو بصرة في ضالة شنامه، فالأحوال بهم متنقلة في الساعات، وطراز الحداثات، ولكن أنتهم (5) جهما على الانتقاص، وأرضهم لهم الفاعليات (6) فإنك لن تستغلهم بمتلكها، وعدهم جحاية الثواب في غير ما استناءه منك إلى توقعهم أمر عدوك، والاعتزاز إلى ما يأتيك (8) له، دون أن تعمل روبيك في الأخذ بالحزم، والاستكمار من الدعوة، واعلم أنه من تقدر عليه، آمن من تشكك (7) في نعمة، ليكون ما يبرع عدوك في كل يوم وليلة عندك، فإن استطعت ذلك فتنقص عليه بأبيك وتدبرك ما ابرموا (9)، وتأتين من حيث أموروا (10) وأخذ كم أهبة ما عليه أقدموه (11)، وتستمد هم ممثل ما حذرنا.

وعلم أن جواسيسك وعبرنك ربما سدنوك، وربما عشوك، وربما كانوا لك وعليك، فنصموا لك وغشوا عدوك، وغشوك ونصموا عدوك، وكثيرا ما أصدقونك و서비스ونه، فلا تبددن منك مكيدة عقبية إلى أحد منهم، ولا أجل جو بسو الظن

(1) في د واارادوا هو تحرير (2) أي أثاروا وقدموا، وعلى هذه الجملة في النظم والمتنور "والدفوا عليك في الأمر" وصاحبه (3) وداندوا (4) في النظم والمتنور "دفدا" (5) أي خاطئهم واعلامهم، والضجيج للجوااسيس، لا يشبه خاطئه (6) رضي له من ماه، أعينه، وراضها: العقل، وقيل: العقل القاري، وقيل الكلية، وقيل: العقل (7) جم ميموبة بالتحج، ونهذ التواب (8) فيه و الاختراق بعاب بأيوك به (9) فيه و ملم برموا رم الدي: كنسر وضرب: أصله (10) فيه و من حيث أقدموا (11) سائفة من النظم والمتنور
إلى من أثمر على ذلك، واستدعي نصائحهم بالسرعة واللطف(1)، وابن حمل من أهلهم
فيك، من غير أن تزود أحدًا منهم أنك أخذت من قولك أحدًا العامل به والمحرر له،
or علّّم على رأيك عمل الصادق عنه، أو ركّز عليه رد السككن مثله، لابنهم،
المستفيح بنا أنك منه فقيرًا بذلك نصيحته، ونستدي غشية، ومجتمعة عدوانة،
وأحد أن تعرفوا في مسكرك، أو يشار إليهم بالأعمال. والكين منزلكم على كاب
رسالتك. وأمين سرك. وبكون هو الموظف لهم. والدثل على عليك من أردت
مشافته منهم.
وأعلم أن ليدوزك في مسكرك عيونًا راعدة، وجوايس كامنة(2). وأنه لن يع
رآيك عين مكيدة مثل ما تكاذبه(3) به، وخبأ لك كاحتالك له. وعند لك
كإدراكِكِ فيها تزاول منه. ويخاطلك كحاولتك إياه فيها تقارع عنه(4). فاحذر أن
يضعب رجل من جواسيسكم في مسكرك. فيتبين ذلك عدوكم. وعرف موعده. فيه
الأمر. وطلب له بالسكينة، فإن ظفر به فأظهر عقوله. كسر ذلك ثقانتك عيونك
وأخذهم(5) عن نطلب الأخبار من ماريتيها. واستقصاها من عيونها واست즈داب
اجتهالها من يتجابها(6). حتى يصبروا إلى أخرها ما عرض(7) من غير الثقة ولا المعاينة
قاطعا لها(8) بالأخبار السكينية. والأحاديث المريرة.
وأحد أن يعرف بعض عيونك بعضًا، فإنك لانتم مواظم عاليك، ومعالاهم(9).

(1) الباحة والمحج: الإعطاء، ولغة كفررب، وهذه الجمل ساقطة من المعلوم والمثير.
(2) وفي مبج الأفعى: منسية،
(3) وفي الظلم والمحتر: وأن رأيك في مكيدة مثل مكيدة به،
(4) السجارة: الشرارة، ومن قولك في تزوال منه... إلى قوله: تقارع عنه ساطق في
المعلوم والمحتر.
(5) وليه وحوله: وعوبه وحوله.
(6) وهذه الجمل ساقطة منه.
(7) فيه: من عرض.
(8) فيه: ولا معانية لهذا، وهو تعرية.
(9) مالته: شابه وساعده.
عدوّالك، واجتاههم على غشّيك، ونطّالهم على كذبك، وإصابتهم(1) على صحتك،
وأن يمرّ ببعضهم ببعض عند عدوّك، فأحكي أمّرهم فإنّهم رأسك مكيدك، وقام تديرك،
وعلى مدار حركك، وهو أول ظرك، فغفل على حسب ذلك، وحيث رجاولك(2) به، تعلّ أمالك من عدوّك، وقوّنتك على قيالك، واحتالك لإصابة غزّانه.
وانتباز قرّصه إين شاء الله.
إذا أحكمت ذلك وتقدمت في إفتك، واستظهرت الله وعهده، فول سرّطلك
وأمر عسكرك أوقف قوارئك عندك، وأظهرهم(1) صيتهم، وأظلم بهم في طائفتك،
 وأقوم شكيك في أمرك، وأمصاك سرية(3)، وأصدقتهم عفافا، وأحزم غناء(4)،
وأكشفهم أمانة، وأصمم شتيرا، وأرضئكم في العامة دينا، وأحسن عند الجماهير(5) خلقا،
وأScrollPaneهم على كفتك رأفة، وأحسنهم لهما نفازا، وأشدّهم في ذات الله و/database/tables/221
لا يكون من نبضه من قوه، فإن إصابة(١) غيرهم من الرجال الواحد من جندهم وعبيدك مطيعين لهم فيك، مقره لهم على سمع أذاعهم عليه، وصم يهم أميرك، وتوحدهم بديرك، غادرهم ذلك وتقدم إلى فمه، ولا يكون منه إفراغ في التقيد عليهم، والحض لا لهم، قيامهم آخره(٢)، ويشملهم شمسك، وبوس عليه حامل(٣)، وتشتده به اللون عليه، وتحيت له ظنهم، ولكن موضع إزاله إياهم ضيًا جاعتهم، مستديرا بهم جاما له(٤)، ولا يكون مصينا مستثنا متدنًا، ففي ذلك على أصحاب الأحاسيس، وسكن في آلهته(٥) للعدو، والبند من الناقة، إن طرق طرق في قبائل الليلى ونفانتها، وأويم إليه في أحراسه، وتقى(٦) إليه فيه كأهده التقدم، وأبلغ الإياب، ومره قبولاً عليهم رجلاً رجلاً تجربة جرباً الإفراط ذك(٧) الصراطة، جبل الجوارح، بصرًا بوضوح أحراسه. غير مصانع ولا مشبع. قناع في التنبي إلى الرفاهية والسفة. وتقى في العسكر أو التأخر عنهم. فإن ذلك مما يضعه الولاء ويوهيه. لإجتنابه إلى من ولاه ذلك. وأذون به على جبهته.

واعلم أن مواضع الأحاسيس عن مسكرك، ومكانها من جندهك، بحيث النعام والرد علية، والجناح لهم. والكلاهة لمن بئسهم طرف، أو أرادهم محالي، ومرءيدها المنتمية منها. والآيات(٨) من أرقهم وأعدهم. وحَضَّهم من الهم ولجاً، من عدوهم. واحذر أن نصرب على يده أو تشكنه عن الصراطة. بومرتك(٩) في كل

(١) في صبح الذي في الصوت في إصابة عدوك الرجل... الج
(٢) الأز: الراضي والشده.. (٣) في صبح الأز.. ونسوب علبة حاله.
(٤) في اليوم والليلة، مستديرا ضامًا جامعًا. ولا يكون منثراً تنداً
(٥) النزدة: الفرض
(٦) من هنا إلى قوله.. وأبلغ الإياب.. سافقت من أنظمة والنور.
(٧) أي مشتعل. من ذلك النار إذا استحضثها.. وفي النزدة والنور زكي الصراطة.
(٨) نور: الحارب
(٩) المؤرخة: المشاورة.. وفي النزدة والنور على الصراطة لومسركي.. وهو ترميز.
أمر حادثٌ وطاريٌّ. إلا في اليوم النازل ولحظت العام، فإنك إذا فصلت ذلك به،
دُعْوته إلى نصحك. وأستوليت على محض (1) خباير في طاعةك. وأجدهم نفق في
ترنيتك (2). وأعمر رأيه في بلغ موقفكَ وذاتك (3). وكان نَقْل وردّاك
وقبل وعَدْتَكَ. وصرفت أنك لسكينة عدوك. مِّرْحا نَفْسَكَ من ذلك والعبارة به.
ماتي عنك مواية باهظة. و‌كلة (4). فأعتقدته. إن شاء الله.

ثم أعلم أن القضاء من الله يحكم ليس به شيء من الأحكام. ولا يَمِّل (5) مُحل أحد
من الولاية. لما ينظر عل يده من متاكيد الأحكام وتباعي الحقد. فليزن من
نَعْلِي القضاء في عسكر من ذوى الجري في القناعة والمغاف والنزاهة والفهم والوقار
والصمصة والوزاع. وأنصر بووجه القضاء ومُرَوَّجها. قد حطحته السن. وأبدته
العُرَفِيّة. وأحكمَت الأمور. فمن لا تصغّ للولاية. ويستمد قُصْرُه ويجرّى على الحياة
في الحكم. والدعاية في القضاء. عدل الأمانة. عنيف الطمعة (6). حسن الإنصاف (7).
قصه عنّا. وعرَّض الخير. متنحن السُّكَّة (8). نَبَيّت (9) الوقَار. مُحبِّب (10) أنغامه.
ثم أجر عليه ما كفّته وَجَّهْته وَبِسْمِهِه، وفرغ منه لما حجته وأعنه قال ما وليته، فإنك
قد عرضته بِهِ لَسْكِرَة الدنيا وِبَوْار (11) الآخرة. أو شرف العالمة وَخَطْوَة الآجِل. إن
حسمت جميعه. وصدفت رويته، وicie سيرته، وسطّ حكم الله على رعاه،
مطأطة عينته (12). من هذا قضاء الله في خلقه! كاملًا بسنته في شرائه. أخذاً بحدوده

(1) في صبح الأمسي على عصول ضيّه.
(2) في الأصل: ترنيتى.
(3) هذه الجملة ساقطة من النطوم والثور.
(4) بالله، وَقَدْ وَرَّدْتُكَ.
(5) فِي وَسْلَةٍ وَهُوَ تَحْرِيرٌ.
(6) فِي «بَنَالَه».
(7) أي فُوْهَ.\n(8) الشمعة: الناقة.
(9) وفي صبح الأمسي الإنصاف.
(10) التنزيم: هيئة أهل الجهر.
(11) في النطوم والثور: هادي الوقار.
(12) إنَّما أَحْبَب بِهِ أَحْبَرًا عَلَى الله: أَعْنَبَهُ يَدَى بِهِ وَجَهَهُ اللَّه.
(13) بالنطوم والثور: وتَوَارَ الأَخْرَةِ. وهو تحريف.
(14) ساقطة من النطوم والثور.
وفرائهم، واعلم أنك جلدك ومشربك بريح. ولا تنسى وفي الموضع الخارج
أحكامك(1) عليهم، النافذ أفضتهم بينهم، فاعرف من بينه الذين وثبوا إليه
إن شاء الله.

ثم تقتمن في طلائعك إذا أول مكيدتك، ورأس حريق، وديعة أمرك،
فانتخب لها من كل قادة وكبابة: رجاءاً ذوى جادة وأس، وسراة وخبر،
حامة كفالة، قد سند(2) بالجرب، وتداووا سيجأها، وشربوا كحورها، وجرعوا
غصًا درهمها(3) ورثُبهم(4) بيكرار مواطنها، وحملتهم على أسما مرا كبدًا،
وذلتهم ينافو أوزا(5)؛ ثم اتقهم(6) على دينك، وأعرض اعتراعهم(7) بنفسك،
وتخرج في انفاعات ظهر الجلد، وشجاعة القلّين، ومال الآلة(8)، وإليك أن تقبل
من دواهم إلا إناث الخيول مهومة(9)؛ فإنها أسرع طالب وأمحم مربو، وألين
متعة(10)، وأبعد في البحوق غاية، وأصفر في معترك الأبطال إقدامًا، وخدهم(11)
السلاح بأبدان العدو، ما زيت البريد، شاهورة(12) النجح، متقارة الجلّ، متلاعجة
للس�建 وأسوق الفيديد، موعقة الركاب، محكمة الطبع(13)، خفيفة الصوغ،

(1) في صبح الأفري: «بيعت ولاينك، الجارية لامك، الغد».
(2) من المر وابها: فاص حكماً.
(3) أي دمدبهم، وفي النظوم والمنصور وزيهم زبكنارها.
(4) هذه الجلالة سافقة منه، والفاتح: مايكونا في النبراح.
(5) فيه: «ثم أنتمهم» وهو تكريس: (7) السكر، اسم يجمع المثل.
(6) فيه: «حماة المهاج» فيه أيضاً: وفال الآلة.
(7) فيه: «حماة المهاج» فيه أيضاً: وفال الآلة.
(8) فيه: «حماة المهاج» فيه أيضاً: وفال الآلة.
(9) الاحلب: النم التقطم، والذى لا شعر عليه وكم يشعر، ضع.
(10) سافرة من النظوم والمنصور.
(11) في النظوم والمنصور: «ويعده» وهو خرج، والأبدان جم يعن بابك: وهو الدروع من الزيت، قبل دفعه الفصيرة على ، وقيل هو الدروع عامة، وإلا يس لعله حدد.
(12) مصراً، وحص الهامد، من إضا ونها إلى مبتعه لا اختلاف النفع، ومن الزيت والمالية.
(13) النجح: الأئتم والقصور، والمنطقة النجح، واللهم بكسر الها وفتحها: وحلفة بالفتح
وسكن الملم، وأسوق حم ساق. (14) من طبع السين والدروهم: أي عمهم.
وسوّعَ  طُبُعُها هِيَدْيَةً . وصُوْفُهُ فَارْسِيٌّ . رَقَاقُ الْمَأْمُوفِ يَكْفِيُّ وَافِقِ (١) ، وَهَلَّّهُ لَخَمْسَةً ، وَلِيْثَ (٢) الْبَيْنِ الْمُدْمِعَةَ وَالمُتْنَحِرةَ ، فَارْسِيَةَ الصُّوْفَهُ ، خَالَصَةَ الجُوهر ، سَابِعَةً (٣) لللِبَسِ ، وَافِقِ الْمَجْبِنِ (٤) ، مِسْتِدِرةَ الطُّبيِّعَ ، مُتَمْهِيَّةَ السِّرْدِ (٥) فَارْسِيَةَ الْوَزْنِ كَثِرُكِ النَّامِ خِلْقَ الْقَصْمَةَ ، وَإِسْتِدَارَةَ الْتَّقْبِيبَ ، وَاسْتِوَاءَ الصُّوْفَ (٦) مُتَلَّهَّةَ بِأصْنَافِ الْجُربَ وَأَوَانِ الصُّبْحِ ، إِنَّهُ أَهْبَبَ أَلَفَهُ ، وَأَفْتَ (٧) لِأُعَضَادَ مِنْ لِيَمُّهُ ، وَأَمْلَى (٨) عَشِيَّةَ مَكَّنُ بِذَكْرِ الْحُسْبَةَ رَادِعَةً (٩) ، وَقَبْلَةَ هَادِئَةً (١٠) مُمْلُوءَةَ السِّبْعَةَ الْهَنْدِيَةَ ، وَذَكَرُ (١١) الْبِضَمَ الأَبَانِيَّةَ ، وَقَبْلَةَ الْبَرَّاتِ ، مِسْتُوَةَ الْمَنْذَعِ غَيْرَ كُلِّيَّةَ الْحُذُذِ (١٢) . مُشْتَقَّةَ الْضَّرَّابَ (١٣) مَعْتَدَلَةَ الْجُؤِوْرِ صَافِيةَ الْصَّافِعِ ، مِدَّدُهَا وَهُمْنَ الطَّيْحِ ، وَلَا عَابَّا أُمُّ (١٤) الصُّوْفَ ،

١٥ (١) فِي صَحِبِ الْأَعْمَيْيِ وَأَبَيْنِ
(٢) الْبَيْنِ مِنْ كُلِّ شِوَاءِ الْبَيْنِ سَيْتُ بَيْنَا لَأَنَا عَلَى شَكَّرِ بَيْعَةِ الْعَامِ
(٣) فِي صَحِبِ الْأَعْمَيْيِ وَوَقَّعَ الْبَيْنِ وَالْبَيْنِ كَكُلُّ هُمَّ عِنْصِرِ الأَوْلِيَاءِ
(٤) دِرْعَ سَائِبَةَ : تَأْمَةِ طَوْيَةِ
(٥) لَحْجُ : جَمَّةٌ ْبَالْقَمَ ، وَهُوَ مَا أَسْتَرَتْهُ مِنْ سَلاَحِ هُوَ فيُفَرَّقُ الْمَهْلِ الْمِلْكِ الْبَيْنِ
(٦) سَرْدُ الْمَهْلِ : نَسَبُهُ ، وَهُوَ تَدَاخِلُ الْمَلْكِ بَيْسَهُ في بَيْسِهِ ، وَالْبَيْنِ : الْمَهْلِ
(٧) أَرْيَكَ وَالْتَرَكَ : جَمْعُ تَرَكَةٍ كَفُنَّةٍ ، وَهُوَ الْبَيْنِ بُعْدَ أنْ يُخْرِجُهُ هُنَا الْفَرُّ ، أُوْجُسُ بِالْعَامِ
(٨) لَكَهُ وَإِسْتِدَارَةُ الْقَتْبِ ، وَأَسْتِوَاءُ الصُّوْفَ حَسَّانُ مِنْ الْمَهْلِ الْمِلْكِ الْبَيْنِ
(٩) فِي سَائِبَةَ وَأَهْبَبُهُ ؛ أَصْحَابُهُ
(١٠) أَعْلَمُ الْفَرَّ : عَلَى هُمَا صَوْفُ عَلَا في الْحُذُذِ وَأَعْلَمُ نَفْسِهِ وَحْيَةُ الْحُذُذِ هُمَا يَسْبِيِّ الحَرُبِ كُلَّهُمَا
(١١) فِي نَطْوَةِ الْمِلْكِ الْمِلْكِ وَأَهْبَبُهُ ؛ هُوَ كَحْلِفُ
(١٢) هَذِهِ سَائِبَةَ مَنَاءِ
(١٣) الْذِّكَرُ بِالْتَّرَكَ : أَيْسَ الْمَهْدِيِّ وَأَوْلِيُّهُ وَالْشَّفَّةُ : حَدُّ الْبَيْنِ
(١٤) فِي نَطْوَةِ الْمِلْكِ الْمِلْكِ وَأَهْبَبُهُ ؛ كُلِّيَّةُ الْحُذُذِ وَفِي صَحِبِ الْأَعْمَيْيِ وَإِسْتِدَارَةُ الْأَمْسَارِ
(١٥) مَسْتُوَةَ الْمَنْذَعِ : فَظُّ ، وَأَرَاءُ عَرَفَا ، وَصَوْفُهَا كَأَوْرُهُ عَلَى أُوْجُسِ الرِّسَالَةِ وَمَسْتُوَةَ الْكِفِّ : أَحْدَهَا
ولا شا ها ج حا الوزن، ولا شا حا حا النقل، قد أَسْرَعْوا لِدُنْ أَنْثا;
طَوَالَ الْحَوَادِيَّاتُ الْأَوْرَدَ (١)، تُرَقُّ الأَنطَاَّ، مُسْتَوَّةُ الْعَمَّالِبِ (٢)، وضَعُّها
مُتَّوَقَّطةً، وسِّنْهَا (٣) مِتَلْهَبٌ، مَّأَسِيسٌ عَنْدُهَا مَتَحَوَّلٌ، وْوُقْمُ (٤) أَوْدُها مَتَحْوَلٌ;
وَأَحْيَاها مَتَلْهَبٌةً، وَمُتَّوَقَّتهَا جَآءَهَا، وَعَدُّهَا سَبِيَّةً (٥)، شَطِئُ الْأَسْنَادِ (٦)، تُعَدَّكِهَا
الْجَلَّاءَ (٧)، مِرْكَةُ الْأَطْرَافِ، مُسْتَجِبَةُ الْجَبِّيَّاتِ، وَقَائِلَ الْأَطْرَافِ، لِيِنَّهَا الْبَيْعُ;
أَوْرُدٌ، وَلَا أَمْتَ طَمَّ، وَلَا بِهَا سَمَتْ غَيْبٍ، وَلَا عَنْهَا فُوْقُ أَمْثَيْلَةٍ مُسْتَحِقَّي (٨)
كُتَابُ الْمُلْبِرِيٰ الْخَمْشُ وَالْبَيْعُ، أَهْرَابِيَةُ الْعَلْبَيْبِ (٩)، رُؤْمَيْةُ الْمُطْلَبِ، مَسْمَوَّةٌ
(١) فَسِحْهُ: أَتْلَهُ، وَالْبَيْوِرُ وَالْبَيِّنُ عَلَى الْتَفُجْ: الْمَكْفَّيَةُ فِوْقَ الْطَّافَةَ.
(٢) شَرُّعُ الْمَحْرُ وَالْمَحْضُ: صَدِيدُ، وَالنَّاَّ: الرَّمَاحُ، قَالَ نَأْمَرْ، وَلَمْ بَيْنِيَ وَمَنْ لَنَدْتَ الْتَفُجَ;
وَهُوَ الْإِنْدُ من كُلِّ شَيْءٍ، وَالْحَادِيَةُ مِن كُلِّ شَيْءٍ أَوْلُهُ وَمَا تَقْدِمُهُ مَن، الْحَادِيَةُ وَالْمَدَايُ:
الْمَدَايَّ لِأَنْتَهَا تَقْدِمُ عِلَيْنَ، وَالْحَجَّ جَوَادٌ. (٣) مَنْفَعَةُ مِنْ الْمُتْحَاذِي، وَالْفِيْوَرُ.
(٤) جَعَلَ: وَهُوَ طَرْفُ الْمَحْرُ الدَّاخِلِ لِجَبَةِ النَّسَبِ;
(٥) سَّنِحُ الْنَّسَبِ: الْمَدِيْنَةُ الَّتِي تَأْتِهِ فِي رَأْيِ السَّمَعِ، وَقَبْلَ الْمَطْلَبِ وَالْمَيْتِوَرُ، مَفْتَاحُ الْأَكْسَارِ
وَشَعْرُهُ مَلْبَبٌ
(٦) مَعْصَى: جَعَلَ مَعْصَى كَنْزُ لِإِسْمِ مَكَانِ الْعَقِبِ، وَأَوْلُهُ، ذَا الْقُمُرِ، وَتَخْرُجُ أَطْرَافُهُ فِي أَوْلِهِ;
وَلَمْ يُقَدِّسُ مَعْصَى بَعْثُهُ الْبَعْثُ، يُلْيِبُ فُوْلَهُ بَعْثٌ وْوُصُوْقُ أَوْدُها مَوْمَعَةً، (٧) وَأَنَّا نُقْصُهُ بِأَنْتَهَا
جَعَلَ مَعْصَى كَنْزُ: وَهُوَ السَّمَعُ، وَجَعَلَ السَّمَعُ عِرْجُ الطَّفْلِ وَبَضِبْرِ حَيْلِ;
يَطْفُلُ، فَلَا يُقَرِّبُهُ المَعْيِ.
(٨) وُصُوْمُ: جَعَلَ وَصْوَمُ، وَهُوَ الْمَقْدَدُ فِي الْوَمٌّ وَالْحَيْبِ.
(٩) كَوْمُ: جَعَلَ كَوْمًا بَيْنَ الْمَطْلَبِ، وَهُوَ مِنْ الْقَصَبِ وَالنَّاَّ: الأَنْبُوْعِ بَيْنَ الْمَدِينَيْنِ، وَقِبْلُ الْمَعْدَدُ;
مَايِنْ أَنْبُوْعُ، وَجَعَلَ: أَيْ قَوْيَةٍ مَتَحَوَّلَ، يَقَالُ نَأْمَرُ جَعَلَهَا: أَيْ مَجْمُوعَةُ النَّقَلِ مَشْهُرَةُ، وَرَجِلْ جَعَلَ,
أَيْ عَمْرُ شَجَبُ. (١٠) مَلْبِسَةُ: الْحَيْلَ يَدَهُ عَلَى الْعَرَضِ وَإِلْمِيَ عَلَى الْتَشْيِرِ: أَيْ عَنْهَا حَكْبَةُ، أَوْ عَنْهَا حَكْبَةُ، أَوْ هَا حَيَّـبُ كَوْنَ، وَهُوَ الْمَدِ، وَالْأَهْلَاءُ، وَخَبَسُ أَثْرَ الصَّنَاهِفِ فِي الْثَّيْبِ، حَيَبِ كَثِبْرٍ وَضَرْبِ قُهْ،
حَيَبِ، وَضَرْبٍ قُهْ.
(١١) أَيْ طَوْلُ: جَعَلَ عُلْوَهُ وَشَبَّ: الْتَفْلِيْلُ، مَعْنَى العَلْبَيْبِ، أَيْ بَيْنَ الشَّيْءِ، وَهُوَ جَمِعُ تَفْلِيْلِهُ، وَشَبِّهَهُ. (١٢) أَيْ طَوْلُ: جَعَلَ عُلْوَهُ وَشَبَّ: الْتَفْلِيْلُ، مَعْنَى العَلْبَيْبِ، أَيْ بَيْنَ الشَّيْءِ، وَهُوَ جَمِعُ تَفْلِيْلِهُ، وَشَبِّهَهُ. (١٣) الْعَيْنُ عَلَى الْتَفْلِيْلِ: اخْتِلَافُ الْعُمَّانِ: الْعُمَّانُ الَّذِي يَعْلَمُ مَنَهُ الْأَوْذَارِ، وَعَنْبَ السَّمَعِ وَالْفُوْقٌ عَلَيْهِ الْتَفْلِيْلُ: لَوْ
للصوت، وليكن مهتمًا على خمسة مبصرين وسوي النصوص، فإنها أبلغ في النهاية، ونقد في الدروج، وأشك في الحديث، سامعين حقيقةهم على مون خيولهم، مستفيدين من الآلة والأمنة والزارد، إلا ما لا ظن به علّه.

واحذر أن تكون مباشرةً عرضهم وانتفاعهم إلى أحد من أعوانك أو كتبتهم، فإنك إن وقعت إليهم أصدأ موضوع الحزن، وفجّرت حيث الرأى، ووقعت دون عزم الروية(3)، ودخل عملك ضاغِر الأغنام، وخلص إليك عيبُ أهلِها، وناله فشدُ الداهمة، وغلب عليه من لا يصح أن يكون طلبًا للسنين، ولا عذبة ولا حصنًا يدعون به، وينتهكون بوضعه(4). وأعلم أن الطالب حصن السنين وسيعونهم، وهم أول بكثرك، وعروة أمرك، وزمام حرتك، فلبن اعتناك به وانتفاك إياه(5) بحيث يس من مهمُ عملك، وكبرت حرتك، ثم انتخب للولاية عليهم رجلا بعد الصوت(6)، مهرب الأمع، ظاهر الفضل(7)، نية الذكر، له في المدعو وقائع معروفات، وأبي طوال وصولات متتالية، قد عُرَفَت نسبته، وحُذرت شوكته، ورغب صوته، ونُسبت إلقاؤه، أمين النصرة، ناصح الجلب(8)، قد بُوِّيت منه ما يشتكك إلى ناحيته، من ابن الطاعة(9)، والخلاص الموعد، وريبكة الصراماء، وطغوب الشهامة، واستجاع القوة، وحَسبَة التقدير، فهم تقدَّم إليه في حسن.

(1) من قوله: مسومة إلى سوى النصوص، ساطع من النظوم والمتنور.
(2) أي أحقلاً، وحَطب الغي، كَضرع وصرع: علّه.
(3) في النظوم والمتنور دون الخزام.(4) فيه ويكتبون.
(5) هذه ساطعة منه.
(6) الصوت والمعتذى والمات: الذكر الحسن.
(7) فيه مهرب الأمع.
(8) الجلب: طوي الفيض، ولسان ناصح الجلب يعني بذلك قلب وصبر: أي أمن، وفيه.
(9) في من ابن الطاعة.
(10) في محاسبة: وركان الصراماء وركان إليه ركونا وركانة: سكن إليه ومال ومل ويكن إليه في الدنيا.
سياستهم، واستغلال طاعتهم، واجتلاز مودتهم، واستذاب (1) شجاعتهم، وأجل عليهم وعليه أراواك نعمهم، ومد من أطاعتهم، سوي أرياقهم في العامة، فإن ذلك من القوة لك عليهم، والاستغلال إلى ما قيلهم.
وعل أناهم في أمر الأمة كن ذلك، وأعظم فانشأ عندنا، وصنعن مملك، واقتمها كناب لمحالك، وأشجعوا غيظًا إعدوك (2)، ومن يكن في الفئة، والكلد، والبأس، والتاعة، والقوة، والنصيبة، والعدة، والنقدة، حيث وضف لك أمر المؤمنين، والمراد (3) إن، يضع عنك مثونه الهام، ويرجع من خناقة (4) روع الخوف، ولتجي إلى أمر صانع (5)، وظهر قوي، وأرى حازم، نحن به جفت عدوك، وغرارائ، فنفعهم، وطراران أحلامهم (6)، وصبر فيك علمهم، ونقداتهم خبره، فتشهد تأثرين، ووقوع بما يصحلهم من النيات والأطارات والأزراق، واجله ما في الخازل الذي هم من خرار علاقك (7). وحقيمة كيسه، وقوة سبارة عسكرك، واعله أن يدخل فيهم أحدك بشاعة، أو يعممه على موازنة، أو تقدجه لأثره، أو أن يكون ابن أحد منهم بخيل نقل (8)، أو فصيل من فهير، أو نقل فاحذ، فتشده عليهم مثونه أرضهم، ويدخلهم كلال الكامة، فيما يسالمون من أثائهم، ويشغلون به عن عدوهم، إن دفعهم منه راع (9)، أو فجاه منهم طليعة، فتفقد ذلك محبكة له،

(1) من استنذب القوم ماهمه: إذا استقى عدبا، وانعى استيضا، ضارب، واستهواها، في المنظوم، والثور واستعداد، وهو تفريف.
(2) في المنظم والثور، واعدها أنها، وأشجع لمدركون، وهم تفريف.
(3) فيه هو من يكون في الباس، والترك، والمثل، والقوة، والنصيبة حيث وضف لك وأمرتك به تضع علك معنا الحلف.
(4) الخلق بالسكن، والنم: الخلق.
(5) فيه إلى أمر مينه: وامر حازم.
(6) قولا، وغرارائ بنائهم، وطوارئ في أحاديثهم،
(7) فعالي من المنظم والثور، وحزرهم: حقيقة، أو هو إندب والأمل حريص.
(8) الفن وال👨‍👩‍👧‍👦: الزيادة، كذلك، والفن: متاغ الماء.
(9) أي أمر راع.
وَتَقَدَّمَ فِيهِ أَخْذًا بِالْهَزْمِ فِي إِدْخَالِهِ، آرَّضَ اللَّهُ لِإِصْلَاحِ الْحَظَّ، وَقَدْ قَلِلَ فِيهِ لِثُمَّ الْتَدْيِرِ،
وَقَدَّمَ بِكَ لِأَمِينِ الرَّأْيِ وَأَعْجَبَهُ فِي نَفْسِهِ فِي الْحَالِ وَالْجَلِّ، وَأَكْبَرَهُ لِمَدْوَكَ وَأَشْجَرَةَ
هَمَّ، وَأَرَّضَهُ لِفَوْرِهِ (11)．

وَنَ دَرَجَةٌ (1) عَسْرُكَ وَإِخْرَاجُ أَهْلِهِ إِلَى مُصَاصَمٍ وَوْرَا كِرَمِ رَجُلٍ مِن أَهْلِ
بُونَاتِ الْشَّرْفِ، صَوْحَ الْيَمِّرِ، مُعَرَْفَ الْمَجَالِدةِ، ذَا سِنِّ وَجَرَبِهِ، إِنَّ الْطَّنَّةَ، قَدِيمَ
الصِّيَأَةِ، مُأْمَنَّ السَّرَّةِ، لَهُ بِصَيَّةٌ فِي الْحَقِّ نَافَذَةٍ تُقِيمَهُ، وَنَبِيَّةٌ صَادِقَةٌ عَن
الإِدْهَانِ (3) تَجْهُزُهُ، وَأَصِيبُهُ إِلَى عَدَّةٍ فَقْرٍ مِنْ مِثَابٍ، حَلْكُ وَذَوْيَ أَسْمَاثِهِ يَكُونُونُ
سُرَمَةً مَعَهُ، تُقَدِّمُ إِلَيْهِ فِي إِخْرَاجِ المِصَاصَمِ، وَإِقَامَةِ الْأَحْرَاسِ، وَإِذَا كَانَ الْعِبَاحُ،
وَحَفْظُ الأَطْرَافِ، وَشَدَةُ الْحَذَرِ، وَمَزْوَجُةُ الْفُقُوْسُ بِأَنْبِسِهِمْ بِمَحَافِظٍ فِي مَصَاصَمَهُ،
كُلُّ أَفْلَدٍ إِلَى موْضُوعَهُ، وَهُدُّثُ مَعْلُوَّ، قِدْ شَدَّ (2) مَعْلُوَّ، وَمَا بِهِ وَبِنَ صَابِحَ بَالْرَمَاحِ
شَرَعَةٍ، وَالْقَرْأَاتِ مَوْضُوعَةٌ (1) وَالْجَالِ رَاصِدَةٌ، ذَا كِيْكَةَ الْأَحْرَاسِ، وَجَالَةٌ الْرَّوْعِ,
خَالِفَةٌ طَوْرٍ الْعِدَوُّ وَبِيَانَةٌ (11)؛ تَمَّ مُرْحُبُ جِلْدُ كُلِّ لِيْلَةٍ فَائِداً فِي أَحْسَابٍ أَوْ يَدَدٍ،
مَنْهُ إِنْ كَانَ كَسَّادًا، عَلَى غُذَّاءٍ (10) أَوْ غَلْفَاتٍ مِنْ عَسْرُكَ، مَنْتَبِقَ (11) عِنْكَ،
مَجِبَانُ بِمُنْزُولِهِ، ذَا كِيْكَةَ أَحْرَاسِ، قِيَامَةِ الْبَرُّدِ، مُمْرَأَةُ الْحَذَرِ، مُنْتَدِبَةٌ لِلْخَالِ، أَخْذَةٌ عَلَى أَطْرَافِ الْعِبَاحِ كُنْتُهُ،
مَتْفَقِينَ فِي إِخْتِلاَفِهِمْ كُرِّودُ سَا (11)، يَسْتَقِبُ بِعِضْبِهِ بَعْضًا فِي الْإِخْتَلاَفِ وَيَسْكِنُ نَالٍ (11) مَنْتَدِبَ مَا فِي الْتَرْدُدِ
(1) مِنْ فُؤُدَّ وَفُؤُدَّ بِكَ إِلَى فُؤُودِ أَوْرَدَهُ وَأَلْدَهُ هُمْ، سَائِقَةٌ مِنْ النَّظَومِ وَالْمُتَنَوْرِ.
(2) دِراْجَةٌ عَسْرُكَ كُلْ فِي عَسْرَكِ فِي مِسْأَبِ عَسْرَكِ دَجْمَ دَجْمٍ كَنَّصَرَ بِأَنْ، وَالْقَلَافُ جُمُعُ مَصَفَّ وَهُوَ
مُوْضَعُ الدُّفْعِ، (3) الإِدْهَانُ: الْقَطَّرُ وَالْأَطْبَارُ خَلَائِطُ مَيْدَان، (4) فِي الْبَلَوَ، وَالْمَتْنَوْرُ (5) مَدْعَةً
(5) شَرْحُ الْرَّماحِ كُلْ فِيْ: ظَلَّتْ فِيْ شَرْحَةٍ وَشَوْارَعٍ، وَشَرْحَهَا وَأَلْدَهَا فِيْ مَسْحُورَةٍ
وَمُعَرَْفَةٍ، (6) وَمِنْ الطَّيْرِ إِلَيْهِ كُوْدُ لِجُمُعٍ وَوْضُوعٍ ثَيْسُ مَعْلُو وَقَّعُهُ عَلَى مِنْهُ وَقَبْعُهُ وَنَضْدُهُ،
(7) بِيْتُ الدِّمُ: أَوْفُقُ بِهِ لِيْلَةٍ (8) اللَّفْوَةُ: رُمْبِيْهِ أَحَدُ مَالِيْدُ عَلِيْهِ فِيْ قِبْلَةٍ لَّفْوَةٍ
دِراْجُ إِلَى أَرْبَاصَةٍ، (9) كَلَوْلَةٌ مَّنْبَذًا عِنْكَ سَاءَتْ مِنْ النَّظَومِ وَالْمُتَنَوْرِ وَأَلْدَهُ عَنْهُ، ثُنِّيَّ.
(10) النِّكْرُوْدُ: الْقَطَّرُ الطَّفِيْلُ مِنْ المِكْلَةِ، وَكَرَسُ الْقَالَ عَلَهُ: جَلِيلَةَ كِتَابٍ كَتِبَةٍ
(11) كَمْ كَنَّهُ: ضَرُّ إِذَا مَنْ وَبَصَرُهُ قَدَمَهُ.
وأجبل ذلك بين قوادك وأهل عسكرك نواعاً معرفة، سهولة مفرودة، لانفرُ
منها مزدَّقة لك بمودة، ولا تجاهل في عقر أحلامك، إن شاء الله تعالى.
قرض إلى أمراء أجانب وقرر خلك أمرَّ أحقابك، والأخذ على قافية
أبديهم، رياضة ملكهم على السمع والطاعة لأمرائهم، والانبعاث لأمرهم، والوقوف
عند نهم، وقدَّم إلى أمراء الأجانب في النواحي التي أزرعتهم إياها، والأعمال التي
استنجدتهم لها، والسلطة والكرع التي كفحتهم عليها، وأخذت عتلال أحد من
قوادك عليك بما يحمل بينك وبين تأديبك جندك، وقومهم طاعتك، وقومهم عن
الإخلال بما كرهم لنا، مما وَكَّلوا به من أعمالهم، فإن ذلك مفسدة للجند، مفسدة
للفقدان عن الجند والخُثار للناشئة)، والتقدم في الأحكام.
وأعلم أن في استخافةهم يَكُون دمهم، وضياعهم أمر رؤسائهم، دخولاً لضياع على
أعمالك، واستخافا بأمرك الذي يأْخر بك، ورأيك الذي يبكي، وأَعزِّ إلى
القواد أن لا يُقدِّم أحد منهم على موقعة أحدهم من أمهامه إلاَّ إِلَّهَ موقعة تأديبك وتنويم
ميون، وتلقيف أود، فأما عقوبة تَبُّلعُ ثَلْثُ المهج، وإقامة حكمة في قطع، أو إطاف
في ضرب، أو أخذ مال، أو عقوبة في شمر (١)، فلا يَزِيد ذلك من جندك أحد
غيرك، أو صاحب شُرْطك، بأمرك، ومن رأيك، وإذاك، وعُي لم يُقدِّم للجند
قواده؟ ونَضِعْ لهم عقوبة تصديق - إن كان منهم لأمك، أو خطير - إن شاؤوا به من عقلك، أو غظير - إن فرط منهم - في شيء
وكتمُّه بمثلة أعمالهم، ولا جُدُر إلى الإقدام عليهم باللوم وضعت عقوبة كُجُرُاء

(١). أي لأخلك، وفي المظوم والتوثير. لا يئذ من ه، وهو تحريف.
(٢). قافية الرأس: مؤخره، وقيل وسطه، وقافية كل شيء آخره، ومنه قافية بين الشعر.
(٤). قانون ذلك مفسدة للجند، يعني قواده من الجند والطاعة، ومنه: معجز.
(٥). أي جدل على شعر الجند، وفي المظوم والتوثير. في سفر وهو تحريف.
(٦). أي تذكار.
تعلن إلى تنفيذهم بغير قنبلة في نخيل أصحابهم، وإنسان إياكم عليك وعليهم،
فالعذر في ذلك نظرًاًا بحذرك، وتقدم فيه غير أنك تقدّم بالغاء، إياك أن يدخل حزبكم
وهن، أو يشوب حزبك إياك، أو يخلق رأيك ضباعًا، والله ي ستودع أمر المؤمنين
نفسك ورينك (1) 

إذا كنت من عور يك في مسافة دانية، وستن (2) لنا حُصص، وكان من
عسكرك مُقرّبًا، قد شاتت (3) ملتملك مجدًا ضرابه، وحماية فتحته، فتأهب
أمحتك الماجز، وأعد أعداد الدمار، وكتب خيولك، وعمج جنودك، وإياك ومسير
إلى في ممَّدة وستيفة وسائرة وسائرة (4) ، فقد شهروا الأسفلة، ونشروا البیود (5)
والأمان، وعزر جنده، ما كرمهم سأرين تحت ألوتهم، قد أخذوا أمه القتال،
واستدعوا لقاء، ملتمتين (6) إلى مواقعهم، عارفن بمضامين في مسيرهم وعسكرهم،
ولكن تؤلفهم ونرزهم على رأيهم وأعلامهم ومرام كرمهم، قد عرفتك كل قائد منهم
أصحابه مواقعهم، من السجدة والمسير والقلب والساقة والطيفة، لا يمينها لها، غير
منذن ما استنجدتBethem له، ولا منهاينا بما أعطيت بهم إليه، حتى تسكون هذا كرك
في كل ممَّدة صل إليه، ومسافة تجاذبه (7) ، كانوا عسكرك واحد في اجتماعها على العدو
وأخذه بالحزم، وسيرة على رأسها، ونزعها على مرادكها، ومعرفتها بمضامينها،
إذا أصببت دابة موضعها، عرف أهل العسكر: من أى الآراك كه؟ ومن صاحبها؟
وفى أي الخل حلوه منها؟ فركى إلى هداية معروفة يُستم صاحب قيادتها (8) ، فإن

(1) في النظم والنثر، ولئن أن يدخل حزبكم واهن أو عزمك أمارا من رأيك ضbagai، والله
استودع دينا في نفسك وهو حُر ز في (2) السنن: الطريق.
(3) نظرت، وأصل من شام البرق: إذا نظر إليه ابن يصد وأي بن بطر.
(4) السألة: مؤثر الجبه، (5) البنغ بن بانف بمث أو المجم الكبیر,
(6) في المنظوم والنثر معين وهو حَر ز.
(7) في صح الأشياء والنظم والنشر عنهم، وهو تصريف، وفي مناقش الأحكام ومفازة
تجازها، (8) وفي المنظوم والنثر هدایة ومرهبة ونصبة صاحبها.
تعدّم في ذلك، وإحكامك له، طارح عن جندك مسؤولية الطلب، وعناية المعرفة، وابتعاد الضالة.

ثم اجل للسائق أوّن أهل عسكرك في نفس السرامة وباذا، ورساء في الماء، وإضافا من نفسه لرعيه، وأخذًا بالحق في المذلة، مستشيرًا تقوى الله وطاعة، آنذاك بجيده وأدبك، وافقًا عند أمرك ونهيك، مいただいて من احتملك وترنينك، نظرا لك في الحال، وشيها بك في الصرف، وعديلا في الوضع، ومقاربا في الصبر، ثم أكيفه(٧) ممه التجمع، وأيديه بالضوء، وقلبه بالظهر، وأبنه بالأموال، واعيده(٨) بالسلاح، ومزمز بالعطف على ذوى الضم من جندك، ومن أزقته(٥) به دابة، وأصابته سكينة من مرض أو رجوعه(٤) أو آفة، مرّ غير أن يأخذ لأحد منهم في التنجي من عسكره، أو التخطف بعد مزنه، إلا لمجهود سنأو، أو لمطروق بالحاجة جاهل، ثم تقدم إله حذرا، ومزمز زاحرا، وأسبب مُلتها في الشدة على من تزامعه من عسكرك من جندك بZIP جوالك، شاهدًا لهم آخرًا، ومقدمهم(٩) حديثا، ومواقفهم موجعًا، وموجزهم إليك فتنينكهم(٨) عقوبة، وتحملهم لعشر من جندك عطاء.

وأعلم أنه إن لم يكن بذلك الوضع من تسكن إليه، واقتنا بنصبته، عارفا بصيرته(٨)، فقد بلوت منه أمانة تسكنك إليه، وسرعة تنوينك شبتة، وناذا في أمرك بزيج هناك خناق الحروف في إيضاهه، لم أمن أمر المؤمنين نسل الجند عفك.

(١) في بح الأمعى في السب، والأول أispens.
(٢) أي أجمل كتبنا، وفي المنظر والمنثور، أكيف، وهو تعرّف.
(٣) عده كمسرب، إلقانه بعاده، أي فوقي بالسلاح، وفي المنظر والمنثور، وأخره.
(٤) أزجت البصره: أعما، وفية، ومن رفح، ونخف الخين كسفر وفرج وكرام، استرض.
(٥) رجل الرجل كفرج فهو راجل ورجلان، إذا لم يكن له ظهر يزكيه.
(٦) أوقوة: أُلغم.
(٧) عقوبة كمسمع وأسيكك: بالله في هفوتته.
(٨) هذه سادة من بح الأمعى.
هم، وأعون الظاهر (1) على عدوه، فإن شاء الله ليكن رحيلك إبانا (2) وحيدا، ووَقَتًا ملَّا وَقَةً، لَّيْخِفْ الثورَةُ بِذَلِكَ عَلَى جَنَّاك، ومِنَ مَّأْمَآرِهِم، وَكَنَّهُمَا أَنْقَدُهُمَا إِلَى الْبَقَارَةِ، وَقَرَأْنَا عَلَى هَذَا، وَبَعَدَنَا ذَرَعَ الرَّأْيِ (3) إِلَى إِبَانَ الرَّحِيلِ، وَمِنْهُ مْلَكَ مِنْهَا، تَعْمَلُ الْمُؤِنَّةُ عَلَى وَقَتِّكَ جَنَّاكَ، وَهُمْ بِهَا كَذَا كَرَمُهُ (4) لَوْ يَزَالُ ذَوَّ الْقُرْآنِ يَتَرْحَلُونَ إِلَى الْجَنَّةِ (5)، وَيَنْزَلُونَ بَيْنَهُمْ، حَتِّى لَا يَنْفَعْ ذُو رَأْيِ بَنْوَ وَلَا طَنْسًا نِيَّةً.

إِلاَّ أَنْ يُظْهِرَ الْمُتَقَلَّلَ، أوْ تَنَادِيَ (6) بَرْحِيلَ مِنْ مَّلْزِلِهِمْ تُكُونُ فِيهِ حَتِّى تَأْمَرَ صاحِبُ مَيْتَكَ بِالْقَوْفِ بِأَحْسَابِهِ عَلَى مَعْسَرِكَ، أُخْذًا بِفَوْهَةٍ جَبَنِيَّةٍ (7) بَنَأَمِحٍ، وَعَدَّةَ لَأَمْرِ إِنْ حَضَرَّ، أوْ مَفَاحِيْثٍ مِنْ طُيْلَةٍ عِنْدَ إِبَانَاتِ مَسْكِنِهِ، أَوْ كَحَّلَتْ عَنْدُكَ غَرَّةً، ثُمَّ مُرَ الْأَسَنَّ بِالْرَّحِيلِ، وَخَذَكَ وَاقِعًا، وَأَهْيَكَ مُعَدْدًا، وَجَنَّاكَ وَاقِعًا، حَتِّى إِذَا استَقَلَّلَ (8) مِنْ مَعْسَرِكَ، وَتَوَجَّهَ مِنْ مَّلْزِلِكَ، سَهِيمَ عَلَى تَمْيِدِكَ، يَسْكُنُ رَجِحُ وَهُدْوُ هَُرْمَة، وَجَسْنُ دَعَةً.

إِذَا اتَّهَبَتْ إِلَى مَنْهَلٍ أَرَدَتْ تُرْدُهُ، أوْ كَمَتْ بِالْمَعْسَرِ بِهَا، فإِلاَّ تَنِزُّلُهُ إِلَا بَعْدَ الْمَلَأِ بِهَا، وَالْمَعْرُوفَ بِمَزَاقَهُ، وَمُرُّ صاحِبُ وَطْيَتْكَ أُنْبِرُ إِلَى أَحْوَالِهِ، وَيَسْتَبْنِلُ لَكَ عَلَى دَفْنِهِ، وَيَسْتَبْنِلُ عَلَى أَمْوَاهُ. ثُمَّ يَبْنِيَهَا إِلَيْكَ إِلَى ما صَارَتْ إِلَيْهِ لَعَلَّكَ أَتَجَالِلُ عَلَى مَعْسَرِكَ؟ أَوْ كَيْفَ مَالَهُ وَأَهْلَهُ (9)?، كَيْفَ مَوْضُوعُ عَسَكْرِكَ مِنْهُ؟ وَهَلْ لَكَ 

(1) فِي صَحِّ الأَعْيُنِ، وَأَعْوَانَ الظَّاهِرِ، وَقَدْ تَقُوَّمَ مَنَاءً.
(2) أَيْ، وَقَتَّاً.
(3) فِي النَّظَارِمِ وَالنَّطُورِ. . . ذَوَّاً ... إِبَانَ الرَّحِيلِ.
(4) هَذِهِ الجَلَّةُ سَاَقُطَةُ صَحِّ الأَعْيُنِ.
(5) النَّظَارَةُ: الْمَلَأُ، وَالْفَهْرُ، وَأَرْجَفُ النَّطُورُ بِهِ. وَهَبْ إِرْجَافًا، وَأَكْبَرُوا مِنَ الْعُمْـٌـلَيْنِ السِّبْيَةِ.
(6) إِلَى مَنْهَلٍ أَرَدَتْ تُرْدُهُ، أوْ كَمَتْ بِالْمَعْسَرِ بِهَا، فإِلاَّ تَنِزُّلُهُ إِلَا بَعْدَ الْمَلَأِ بِهَا.
(7) هَذِهِ عَجْلَةُ خَبْرٌٍ مِنْ صَحِّ الأَعْيُنِ.
(8) فِي النَّظَارَةِ، وَأَكْبَرُوا مِنَ الْعُمْـٌـلَيْنِ السِّبْيَةِ.
(9) فِي النَّظَارَةِ، وَأَكْبَرُوا مِنَ الْعُمْـٌـلَيْنِ السِّبْيَةِ، وَهَبْ إِرْجَافًا، وَأَكْبَرُوا مِنَ الْعُمْـٌـلَيْنِ السِّبْيَةِ.
(10) هَزُّ وَأَعْوَانَهُ، وَأَهْلَهُ، وَهُوَ تَعْرِضُ.
- إن أردت ماقاما به، أو مطأرة عدوك، ونكبت فيه، فقوّة تعملك، ومدّك بأيديك.
- فإناك لم تحصل ذلك لم تأمن أن تهجم على منزل يعمرك ويزيدك منه ضيق مكانته، وقلة مياهه، والمطاعم، ولم تتصل من أمره إلى مطأرة، وإن ارتحلت منه كنت غيرا لعدوك، لم تبت إلى الحارعة والأنهار، صديك.
- وإن أفقت به أفت على مشقة وحصار، وفي أزر وفاص، فاعرف ذلك وتنتم فيه.
- فإذا أردت نزولا، أمرت صاحب الجليل التي وقعت بالناس (1)، وقفت خيله، وتتهيّب من معسكرك، عدوة لأمر، إن قالك (2)، ومغزوع البحرة إن راغبك، قد أُنست.
- ومحمد الله وقعه (3)، فجأة عدوك، وعرفت موقعها من حرّك (4)، حتى بأخذ الناس منازلهم، وتوسع الأهل مواسمه، وأتبتني خبر طلاءكم، وخرج دِبَّانتك (5) من معسكرك، فراعَة ودبَّاب (6)، مهتنئين بعسكرك، وهب الله لك أن تهزمهم، وليكن دُباب جسدك أهل جليل رقعة، فائدا أو اتين أو ثلاثة بأصحابهم، في كل ليلة.
- ويوم نبتهم، فإنّه غربت الشمس، ووجّب (7) نورها، أحوج السامح، صاحب نبمك أبدالهم، عاصم بالليل في أقوية من مواضع ذُباب النهر، يتعاور ذلك قوادك.
- جمعاً، بلا حياة لأحد منهم فيه، ولا إهدان إن شاء الله.
- إن أردت أن يكون نزولاً إلا في خندق، وحسن نتائجته في بيات عدوك، وتتفنّي فيه إلى الحزم من مكيدك، إذا وضعت الأهل، وتحت أبنية أهل المعسكر، لم يمدد طنّب (8)، ولم يتبع جيه، ولم يتبع بناء، حتى نقطع لكنه قادرٌ على معلوما من

(1) في المنظم والمثور «التي رحل الناس»
(2) فيه فإنهم راحتك، (3) فيه قد أنت إذا الله وحوله، (4) فيه ٥ من حرّك
(5) في المعبد الدينية هنالك، الجماعة التي نجد حول الجماع، إلّا إلّا إذا استلم على هيئة
(6) من هذه الرسالة رفيعها في سبارة من سام، وإراجا من نثر، ولا الشيء بها الأثرة التي
(7) إلى الجموح تقدم في أهل المعتين، وهم في جرحها، كما قُتلت بذلك.
(8) فيه ٧ يد عبا، ونصح بناء، والطيب: حبل طويل يدّي به مرادج البيت.
الأرض يقدر أصحابه، فيحتقره عليهم خندقًا، يطيغون به بعد ذلك مخادع الخندق (1)، طارحين له دون استbaar الرماح (2)، ونصب القرية، لها بابل قد وستت خافر كل باب منها رجلا من قواذك، في ماء رجل من أصحابه، فإنما فرغ من الخندق كان ذلك الناقدان بين معهما من أصحابها أهل ذلك المركز، وموضع تلك الخيل، وكانوا أهل البوابين والأحراس الذين يوضعونى (3)، قد كورها وضطموها، وأغرى من أعمال العسكر، و كرموها غير حما.

وعلت أبا إذا كنت على جند أهنت (4) فإن الله وقوته طوارئ عدوك وغفارهم، فإن رمموا تلك ملك، كنت قد أسكت ذلك وأخذت بالزم فيه، وتنبت في الإعداد له، ورتبت مخوف الفتي منه، وإبن سنن العافية (5) استحقبته خدع الله عليها، وارتبت شكره بها، ولم يسرف أخذ بالزم، لأن كل كلفة ونصب ومضايق إفراز ومضيق عملي، مع سلامًا ، عزم وعمر حك واتصاله، إن شاء الله.

إذا باتت بببات عدوك، أو طرفك راعا (6) في ليلك، قلبيك خذرا معدا مشترًا عن ساقك، حاريا عن ذراعك، مشرحا لحريبك، قد تقدمت دراجتجك

(1) المسك: نبات له شوك سل، وجعل من المديد أداة للحرب على جمل شرك فايق حول العسكر، وينسج به. وهذا هو المراد هنا أي الأسلحة الكارهة.
(2) استيار الرماح: نسجها في الطائر.
(3) في المنظوم والثور بعد ذلك فقد الرفاعة والنسمة ونقد السكر، أو الأطراف منه، فإن ذلك ما يضف ح كامل غيره لاستناء إلى من ولاه ذلك، وأنه يظهر علي بنده في أول البارزة تزيف، وقد تدفته في مسحة 43 ووضمها هناك، وقوله فسؤلها ... إلى غيرها» سائل منه.
(4) فيه وعلم أبا إذا ... أمت إذن الله طوارئ ...
(5) من قوله وإن سنن العافية ... إلى بانجية» ساقط من المنظوم والثور، وفي مفتاح الأنفك» استحبته بالله، أي أحكمت في مسح الأخشي استحبته.
(6) أي منفه لك، من راعه إذا أعزه، فنفس الطور والثور، أو طرفك راعا في ... حفاء
معدا مشترا عن ساقك صنرا لحريبك، وفيها نفس وخير.
إلى مواضيعها، على ما وصفته (1) لك أمير المؤمنين ودباؤك في أوقاتها التي فَضَّلتك، وطلالُكُ حيثُ أمركُ، وذُللك على ما عَظِمَتِه، قد خُطرت عليه بنسبك، وتقدمت إلى جندك إن طُرُقهم طارقًا، أو فاجأهم عدو، ألا يَبِسَكُمُ أحد منهم رافع صوته بالتكبير، مُستَرقا في الإجلاب، مُستَيظًا بالإرهاب لأهل (2) الناحية التي يقع بها العدو طارقًا، وليَبِسُوا ما يafiaهم ماذِين (3) لها في جوُوههم، وزيَّاقَتُهم بالنُبل مَكَتِّبُين (4) يَبِسُكُمَا، لا يَسِيرُوا كرامهم، غير مَزّيل (5) ثُمَّ من موضعهم، ولا مُتجاوزين إلى غير مرَكِّمهن، وليكيرَوا ثلاث تَكبيرات مَنوَالات، وسائر الجند هادُون لَتَرْفِلْ موضع (6) عدوك من مَسَكِّرك، فَقُدْ أهل تلك الناحية بالرجال من أبنائك وشتراكك، وَمَن انتفعَت قبل ذلِك عدُدُ الشداذ بمَسِركك، وتَدَّعُ إلىهم الشَتَاب والإِiates. 
والراكين أن يَتَسَلَّوا انفسا يحلفون به، وَتَنْتَفِعُون إليهم أن لا يكونون قتالهم في تلك المواقع لن طربهم إلا بِالرَمَاح، مُستَيظًا لها إلى صدورهم، وَلِلشاَتِ رُفَضَين به وجههم، قد أَنْبَدَوا (8) بالترَسْم، وأُسِطْبَوا بالتبينة، وأِلْقَوا عليهم سواهُ الفَدْوَع، وِجِبَابُ التَّمْشَو، فإن صَمَّ عدوك عَمِهم حاملين على ناحية أخرى، كَبِير أهل تلك الناحية التي يَقع فيها كَفع الناحية الأولي (9)، وبَنيَة العصْر مسَكَّونَ، الناحية التي صَدَّها العدو لدوالما لَمْ يَركَها مَنْطَقَةُ الهدو، ساَكِنة الرَّيح (10)، ثمّ عَلِيَت في تقويَتِه وِإِيَادةَه بِمِثل صَنيعَه بإخوئينهم.
وإليك أن تُحمد نارٍ وآفاقٍ، وإذا وقع العدو في مسركوك، فأُجريها ساعدًا، لها، وأفقدها حليًا جزلاً، سرانها عده من الكرنك، مكونة ووضع رواقك، فِسْكِكَ ناهز فورهم، وبَنَوَى واهن قومهم، ويشدّ منهّن غرفه، ولا يزعمون بك الطائر، ويجمعون لك آراء السوء، ويُجوَون بك آنان الطوف، وذلك من فلكٍ، رَّأِد عدوكم يَضِيّه، لم يستطعْ منهكُن فلزاً، ولم يبلغ من نكَّاكَن سررُوا إِن شاء الله.

فإن انصرف عنك عدوُكّ، وتكبل عن الإصابة من جنك، وَكَانَت بِخِيلك قوَّةٌ على طلبك، أو كانت لك من فرسانك خيلٌ معْدِدًا، وَكُبْبَةٌ مَنْتَجَبَة، وقدَّرتُ أن تركب بهم اسْتِصْبَامَهُم، وَتَحْيَّبُهم على سُكْنِهِم، فأحببهم جمِيعًا، على يده من فرسانك، وارْوَ النجدة من حانك، فإنك تزهق، وقد أمنّوك بِبناك، وَشُيِّب بكُلّك عَن النُّحرَزْ منك، والأخير بأبواب مَسْكِنك، وَالضِّغْمِ يَحْلِك مُكْوَّة جَانِبِهِم، أيّبَهُم، لَمْ أَلْقَوْكُم عَيْنَهِ النَّشِمَر والجَدَ يَقُدُّرُهُ (٨) الله فَيَمِينه، وأصاب منهم وَجُرح من مُجَاهِزِهِم، وَكَاّرَّ من أَمَانٍ ضَلاِّم وَزَدَّ من مستمع جَماحِهِم.

وَقُلْتِ إِلَى من توجِّه في طلبك، وتَدْعِي أَكَسَامك، أن يكونوا وَمَّ في سَكْنَوْنُهُ، وَقَلَّة الرَّفَقُ (٩)، وَكَثِيرَة النَّسْبَة والِتَّالِي، وَلَسْتُعِالِدَ الله عَزَّ وَجَلَّ بَقِيَّهِم}

(١) الرواق: بيت كَالْفِضَالِط
(٢) في المنفوذ والمَنْثور، ولا يُرِجُونَ نَيْك بالطائر، ويَجِيبُونَ لك آراء السوء، وذلك من
ملك ...
(٣) في: ولم يستحلّ منك بطلفر ويقال: استقلّ غربه، أي كسره
(٤) الأكاء: الأدوار جمُكره بالضم، وكسره كل شيء مؤتهر
(٥) الجردة: خيل لراجعَةِ فيها
(٦) أُرمِهُمُ عِرَاءاً: كلهَهُ إِياء، وَرِحَلهُ عَلَى مَالـِهِ
(٧) وَفَنُقِّيَتْمُوهَا، وَهُوَ إِلَّا أَنْ أُهْلُهُمْ
(٨) عَرَبُ الْيَبَرِ: ضَرَبُ فُؤَاعِه بِالسَّيْف، وَهُوَ قَامُ، وَالنَّسيّ قد انْدَرْحوا وَهَزْموا
(٩) الْرَّفَقُ: العقُب
ولأسلمهم يرا ويهوا، بل تلبب ضجة، ولا ارتفاع ضوضاء، دون أن يرددوا على مطابقهم، وبني توزعوا فرضهم، فهم ليشتهرنا السؤف، وينتعدوا السيرف، فإن ها البداية، وبئسها شوكة، لا يفوم لها في بقية (2) الليل وحيدة إلا البطل الخاص، وذو البصر المحسن، والمستبشر القاتل، وقيل ماهم عند تلك الحملة، وفي ذلك الموضوع (3).

ليكن أول ما تقدم يد في التهوي لمدوك، والاستعداد للقتال، اتخاذ من فرسان عسكرك، وحالة جدك، ذو اليأس والحنكة، والخشية (2)، والشرامة من قد اعتاد طراة الكاكي (4)، وكسنك (5) من ناحية في الحرب، وقام على ساق في منازلة الأقوى، تثبت الفردوسية (1)، مستجمع القوة، متحصى المبرة (7) صنوا على أهوال الليل، عارقا بواتم الفرصة لم يغمد (8) الحملة طفغا، ولا بلغته (9) الحملة ضعفا، ولا بلغته (10) الحملة ضعفا، ولا بلغته (11) الحملة ضعفا، ولا بلغته (12) الحملة ضعفا، ولا بلغته (13) الحملة ضعفا.

لاترك الله غرزة الخلدانة جبالا، ولا أطير نور نجدة الأغوار (11) صفا، جريتا على مخاطرة النفاس، متنما على أذاع العزة، مكابر (14) الهوى، مفتاحا خفايا الحفوف، خاصى غزوات الممالك، برأي يزيد الحزم، وثبتة لزعجها الشك، وأهواء مجتمعة، وقلوب موثنة (15)، عارفين بفضل الطاعة وترزها وشرفها، وحيث محل أهلها من التألف والمظاهر، هم STREAMS رأى عينين على كراهم وأسلجهم، ولنكذ دوابهم أبناء يعاق الخليل، وأسلجتهم سوف يرفع الدروع وكمال آلة الحارب.

(1) البينة: السوان، والحنا: اللفة، والليل المظلم.
(2) في النظام والنشر عند تلك الواسط.
(3) فيه واجد، (4) الكاكي حم كم، وهو الشجاع: المسكك في سلاحه: أي المنظور المشتر بالدرع واللبية. (5) الناجح: أقصى الأمور، وكسير عن أسانته أبدًا.
(6) فيه سمنع الفرصة، وهو تحرير.
(7) المريرة: المفرزة، وأصلها الميل الشديد الفلل، واستحصاد الميل: استحكم.
(8) أمنية: استمع. (9) فيه للازل. (10) الأغار: جمع غمر كسم وقيل وساب وكيف، وهو من لم يجر، نور الأمور، ومنصر أيضًا.
(11) فيه وثيم، وثلث في الأغوار.
(12) فيه STREAMS. (13) في النظام والنشر. (14) موضعة.
من المثير الانتباه، وهي الجزء الجنوبي الشرقي من الصنف، وهذه الكلمة ساكنة من صبح الأحمر،
وفي النظم والشيوخ، هو تجريب (2)، وهي منصة (3) وهو تجريب. (4) الجنح: علاقة السيف.
(8) وله في التخطيط والاستقراء، فيه نفس وترجم (9) سيا الفئات: مافئات من طرقها، وله في السنة.
(10) الفرض: جمع فرصة كفرصة، والفرصة من الأمر: لأنه يستنفها، ومن البحر: عطف السنن.
(11) من قوله: له سيت - إلى في الشباكة، ساقفة منها. (12) وهذه الكلمة أيضاً ساكنة منه.
جندك، واجعلهم عدَّة لأمرٍ إنْ حَزِّلَك(1) أو طارقٌ إنْ أتاك(2) . وَمُرَّمَّم أن يكونوا
على أَهْبَةٍ مَعْدَةٍ ِ، وَخَتَّمَ نَافِرٌ لِسِيْبَةٍ مَصْلَةٍ عَمْهُم(3) ِ، فَإنْكَ لاندَرِي ِ: أَيَّ الساعِتَاتِ مِن
لِيلكَ وَنِتَاركَ تَكُونُ إِلَيْهِمْ حَاجَتَكَ؟ فَليُسَكَّنوا كَرْجٌ وَاَحَدُ فِي التَّشَيِّرِ وَالْبَرَافِ(4) ِ،
وَسَرَعةُ الإِجَابَةِ إِنْكَ عَسِيَّتَ أَنْ تُنَبِّئَكَ عَنْ جَمَاعَةٍ جَنْدِكَ فِي مِلْكَ تلكُ الرُّوْقَةِ وَالْمَبِاغَةِ
يَسَانَ هَكَذاكَ إِلَى ذلِكَ مَنِّكَ ِ- مَعْوَةٍ كَافِيةٍ ِ. وَلَا أَهْبَةٍ مَعْدَةٍ ِ، بِذَلِكَ كَذاكَ.
فَلِيَكَن هَؤُلاء لَقَومٌ الَّذينَ يَتَخَبِّبُونَ عَلَيْهِمْ ِ. وَقَوْنُكَ. وَبِمَا تَقَدَّمُتْ(5) ِ، فَلِلْوَادِ
الذينِ وَلِيَهُمْ أمُورُهُم ِ. فَسَقَنْتُ أَوَّلَا ِ. وَثَانِيَا ِ. وَتَالَا ِ. وَزَلاَهَا ِ. وَواَلَا ِ. وَجَامِسًا إِلَى عَشْرَةِ
فَإِنَّ اكْتَنَتْ فِيهَا بِيِدٍّ هَكَّأً ِ، وَيَبْتَرْكُنَّ بِبَيْتٍ وَاحِدٍ ِ. كَانَ مُمَّدَّدَ لَيَنْتَجِهُ إِلَى انتِخَابِهِم،
فِي سَاعِتَائِهِم ِ، فَقِطَعَ الْبُعْثَ أَلْمِهِمْ عَنْدَ ما يُرِيدُونَهُمْ ِ، إِنَّ انتَجَهَ إِلَى اثْنَىَنِ أو تَلَانِةٍ.
وِجَبَتْ مَنْهُمْ إِرَادَكَ أَوْ مَانِرَى قُوَّاتِكَ (6) ِ، إِن شاءٌ اللهُ ِ.
وَكَلْلِّ مَجَّرَانِكَ وَدوَارِنِكَ رَجَلُ نَاسِحٍ أَمِيناً ِ(8) ِ، ذَوّرُ حَاجِزٍ ِ، وَدِين فَاضِل.
وَطَاعَةٍ خَالِصَةٍ ِ. وَأَمَانَةٍ صَادِقَةٍ ِ، وَاجْعِلْ مَعَهُ خَيْلًا يَكُونُ مَسْمُوعًا وَمَنْزِلًا وَتَرْحَلُهُا
بِخَزَانِكَ وَحُوْلَا ِ، وَتَقَدْمِ إِلَيْهِ فِي حَظْنِهَا ِ، وَالْوَقُوفُ (11) ِ، عَلَيْهَا ِ، دَائِنِهَا كُلَّ ِ، مِن
تَبْشِيرٍ إِلَى شَيْخِهَا مَنْهُ إِلَى إِذْهَابِهِ، وَالْتِبْنَىٍ عَلَى مِن دَا مِنْهَا فِي سَيْرِهِ ِ،
أَو ضَامِمٍ فِي بِلْدَ، أَوْ خَالِطَهَا فِي وَهَلِّ ِ(11) ِ، وَلِيَكَنَّ عَالِمَةُ الجَنْدِ وَالجَمِيعٍ ِ، إِلاًَ إِنَّهَا ِ،
أَسْتَخْلَّصَتْ (12) ِ، إِلَى مَسْرِعَةِ هَا مَنْجَجٍ عَنْهَا ِ، مَجَازِينُ لَهَا فِي السَّيْرِ وَالْبِلْدِ، إِنَّهِ يَمَا كَانَ

(1) فَإِنْ هُوَ نَفَأَلُكَ ِ، وَحِزْبُ الْأَمْرِ ِ: اَسْتُعَلِهِ.
(2) فَإِنْ هُوَ ِ، وَإِنْ تَأَلَّكَ ِ، (3) فِي ِ، وَحَدِيرُهُ، فإِنْكَ لاندَرَيِّ، ِ،
(4) فِي ِ، وَوَالْدِرَفَ ِ، وَهُوَ كَرِيفَ.
(5) فِيْهِ مُعَلَّفُهُ ِ، فَلِيْسَكَنُ ِ، إِلَى قَدْ وَلُغَتْنَهَا ِ، فَفَاذَكَرا ِ، وَلِلَّذينَ بَحَثُ عَدِيدُهُ وَقَوْنُكَ
تَنْوَى ِ، قُطْعَةِ عَلَى الْوَادِ ِ، وَهُوَ كَرِيفَ.
(6) فَإِنْ هُوَ كَرِيْفُهُ ِ، وَهُوَ كَرِيفَ ِ.
(7) هَذِهْ أَجْلِهُ مَسْأِلَةُ مِنْهَا ِ، (8) فِي ِ، وَجَلاَ، أَبْنِا صَالِحًا ِ،
(9) قُوَّة ِ، وَطَاعَةٍ ِ، إِلَى مَسْأِلَةٍ مِنْهَا ِ،
(10) فِيْهِ وَالْوَقُولُ عَلَيْهِ وَالْهَامِ مَنْ يَبْنُ إِلَى شَيْخِهَا مَنْهَا ِ،
(11) هَذِهْ أَجْلِهُ مَسْأِلَةُ مِنْهَا ِ، (12) فِيْهِ اسْتُعَلِهِ ِ.
الجولة، وحَدَّثت النزعة، فإن لا يَكَن للحَرَائِن يَمِين يَوْمَ كُلِّها أَهْلّ، حَفْظُهُم وَدَبْبٌ
عنهم، وَحِيَابَةُ دُونه. دُوَرُهُ على من أرادَتُهُم(1). أُصِرَعَ الجَمْهُورُ إِلَيْها، وَتَدَاعِبَ
نحوها، وَكَانَ بَشَرِيَّةً ذَلِكَ بِهِم إِلَى اسْتِياءِ العسكر. وَاضْرِابُ الفَتْنَ، فإن أَهْل
النَّفْق وَسُوءُ السُّبْط كَثِير، وَإِنْما هَمُهم الشر، فإِلاَّ وَأَنّهم يَكُونُ لَأَقِمْ في خُرَائِن
وَدوَادُكَ وَبيَوْتُكَ أَموالك مَطْعُ، أَوْ يَجِد سَبيلاً إِلَى أَطْلِعِّها وَخَزَمْكِهَا(3)
إِن شَاءَ الله.
أَعْلَم أن أَحْمَن كَمْ يَدُك أَمْرًا في الْعَالِمة، وأَبّدًا صَيْبَيْنٌ في حِسْنِ القَالَة. مَا لِك
الظَّرْفُ فِي حَرَائِن الرُّوَى، وِحْسِ السُّبْط(3)، وَلَطْفُ الْحِلَايَة، فَلِكَنْ رَوْيَتِكَ فِي ذَلِك
وَحَرَصْكَ عَلَى إِصَافَتِه بِالْحِلَايَة، لَا بَقَالَةَ وَأَخْتَارَ الْخَافَ، وَأَدْسَنَ إِلَى مَيْدَان، كَانَبُ
رَوْيَتِكَ وَفَادِهُم، وَيُحْمُّهُم لِنَفَارَاتِهِ، وَسَامِعِهِ الْوَلَايَاتِ، وَسَوْعُهُمُ الْثَّرَاءَ(4)
وَضَعُ هُمُ الْإِحْنَ(5)، وَأَقَلَّ أَعْطَاهُم بِالْكَتِب، وَأَعْدَفُهُم بِالْقُوَّةِ (6) وَأَلْمَلَا قَلْبِهِم
بِالْيَوْمِ، فَإِنَّكَ طَفِقْتُ بِهِمَ الْدُّوَائِرَ، وَأَصَارَهُمْ (1) إِلَى الرَّوَايَة وَأَعْدَهُمْ إِلَى
الْوُلُوب بِصَاحِبِهِ أَوْ اعْتَزَّهُ إِن لم يَكُن لهِ الوَلُوبُ حِيْهِ عَاَثِقَةً، وَلا عَليْكَ(8) أَن
تَشْرَكَ إِلَى بَعْضِ هَٰذَا كَسَبَّا كَأَنَّهَا حَوَاطَاتْ كَبِيرَةٌ كَبِيرَةٌ لِكَيْلَ، وَتَسْكَبَ عَلَى أَنْفُهِمْ
kَبِيرَا كَيْلَ تَدْفَعُهَا إِلَيْكَ، وَتَحْمِلُ بِهَا صَاحِبَهُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ، وَتَسْتَنْعُهُم عَنْهَا بِمَنْذَرَةِ التَّيْمَة
وَجَلْلَةِ (8) فَلِلَّكَ مَضِكَاتِكَ فِي ذَلِكَ أَنْ يَكُونُ فِي اسْتِياءِ كُلِّهِمْ، وَتَشْتَيْنُ
جَعَالِهِمْ، وَإِيَّاهُ(12) كَقُورِهِمْ، وَسُوءُ الْقَنْفَ من وَالْبِيْمَ ثَبِيم، فِي وَحْشِهِمْ مِنْ خُوْفِهِمْ

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(1) من قوله: وَحَيَائَةٌ ... إِلَى اسْتِياءِهَا سَافِطَ مِنْهِ.
(2) فيه: وَمَرْبِيْهَا وَبِرَاءَ مَالِهِ بِكَبْلِ وَعْلِ زُوْرَاء وَمَرْزِيَّة. أَصَابَهُ مِنْهَا.
(3) فيه: وَبِحْسِ الرُّوَى وَحَنْ النَّديَرَ.
(4) فيه: النَّادِر. وهو تَصْحِيف.
(5) الإِحْنَ: إِعْلَةٌ بِالْكَسِر. وهو المَلَكَ.
(6) هذهُ الجَلَاة سَافِطَ مِنْهِ.
(7) فيه: وَأَصَارَهُمْ وهو تَصْحِيف.
(8) أي: وَلَا حَجِر عَابِي.
إلا إذا نفعتهم إذا أتينا باتهم (1) إياهم، فإن تبَّعد الده، شفّه وسبّه، وأسرع الوُفْه لبهم، أُسلُفُ جمعاً الخوف وشُكِّلُهم بعبد، أَمْكُرَ الْجَلِبَة، فَهَبّاكُم نُورُكَ بِالنَّصِبِّ، وأَمْكُرَ بالجَلِبَة، (2) وإن كان مَنْ يَنَى مَعْلَه، رجوت أن تُشَيّبهً إِلَيْكَ بِنَفْسِه، وَتَسْتَعِلَ بالطَّعِّ ذَوْيَ الْشَّرْوَى (3) مَنْه، وَتَبَيَّنَ بِذَلِكَ ما عُبْرٌ مِّنَ أَخْبَرِهِنَّ إِن شاء الله.

إلا إذا ندائي الْجَلِبَة، وَتَوَقّفُ الْجَلِبَة، وَحَيَّاتُ أَصْحَابِك "لِتَتَالِعُهُمْ، أَكْثَرُ مِنْ قُولٍ، لَا حَوْلٌ لَا قَوْرَةٌ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ وَالْقُوَّةُ عَلَى أَحَدٍ عَزَّ وَجَلٍّ، وَالْقُوَّةُ إِلَيْهِ، وَسَأْلَاهُ توْفِيقَهُ وَإِرْشَادَهُ، وَأَنْ يَزِّعُ لَكَ عَلَى الرُّسُدِ النَّجِيِّ (4)، وَالْمَسْتَمَعَةُ السَّكِيَّةِ، وَالْجَبَاهةُ الْشَّامِلَةُ، وَمَعْنَىِّ جَنَّكَ بِالْحَائِضَةٍ وَقِيلَ الفَتْحَ عَلَى الْمَعَاوِلِ (5)، وَكَنْ تَكَبَّرُ كِنْتَ في نَفْوِهِمْ، والْبِيْنَيَّ بَصْرَهُمْ، وَأَنَّا بِقُولٍٍ نَكِيرُهُمْ إِلَى الْكَبَرَةِ وَالْمُتَّلَقَةِ، وَعَدَّ كُلِّ ذِلِّقَةٍ يُرْهَبُونَهَا، فَأَمَّامُهُمْ وَقُوَّةٍ، فَإِن ذَلِّلَهُمْ الْفَيْضُ والْجَبَحُ وَلَيْدُ كُرَاهُ الْلَّهُ أَنْ تَصِبُّهُمْ، وِسَأْلَهُ نَكِيرُهُمْ وَإِعْزَازُهُمْ (6) وَلَسْكُرُوهُمْ مِنْ قُولٍ: لَا حَوْلٌ لَا قَوْرَةٌ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ الْجَلِبَة، حَسَنَانِي اللَّهِ وَنَفْسُ الْوَكِيلِ، أَثْمَيْنَا عَلَى عِدْوَةٍ وَعَدُونَا الْبَلَاغِ، وَأُخَذْتُنَا جَوْهَرُهُ الْمُسْتَدِّيَّةِ، وَأَتَيْنَا بِالْمَكَّةِ الْقُطِّيَّةِ، وَأُعْمَلْنَا بِعَوْنُهُ مِنْ النَّقِيَّ النَّجِيَّ، إِنَّ أَرْحَمَ الرَّاحِمِينِ (7)

وَلَيْسَنُنَّ في عسَكَرِكِ مُكَٰرِنَّ بِاللَّيْلِ وَالْقَهَرُ قَبْلَ الْمَوَاقِهَةِ، وَقُومُ مُؤَقِّفُونْ (9) يَحْضُوُّهُمْ عَلَى الْقَتَالِ، وَيُخْرُجُوهُمْ عَلَى عَدْوَهُمْ وَيَقِيِّنُوهُمْ هُمْ مَنْازِلُ الشَّهَابِ، وَتوَبُّهُمْ
وبدكرونهم الجنة ودرجاتها، وقيم أهلها(1) ومكانها، ويتولون: اذكروا الله
سيدكم، واستمعوه بنصركم، والجئوا إليه كيتمكم(2)، وإن استطعت أن
تكونت دائمًا الباقر لأمة جندهم وراضيهم موضوعهم من ربانكم(3) ومملك رجال
عن ثقات فرسانك ذوو سن وبربرية وشهداء على النعمة التي أمير المؤمنين واصفها لك
في آخر كتابه هذا فأفعال إن شاء الله تعالى
أبِدِّك الله بالنصر، وغَلِبْك الله على القوة، وأعانك على الرشد، وخصبتك من
الزَّبَغ، وأوِبِبٌ بين انتشدا(4) ملك ثواب الشهداء، ومنازل الأفراح، والسلام
عليك ورحمة الله وبركاته(5) .
وكُبِّر سنة نعم وعشترين ومائة(6).
رسالة عبد الحميد إلى الكتاب

وكتب عبد الحميد رسالة إلى الكتاب يوصيهم فيها، قال:

«أما بعد، فปลูก<div>- 245 -</div>عظكم الله يا أهل صناعة الكتابة، وحازكم ووفقكم وأرشدكم، فإن الله ميز جمل الناس بعد الأنبياء والرسلين، صلى الله وسلم عليه أجمعين، ومن بعد الملك السكرين، أصنافا، وإن كانوا في الحقيقة سواء، وصرفهم في صنوف الصناعات وضرب الحجازات، إلى أسباب مما يشبه (1)، وأبواب أزواجهم، فجعلهم مشاه الكتاب في أشر الجهات، أهل الأدب والروعة (2)، والثبور والرواية (3)».

(1) فيها، ويذكرونهم بالله ورحمة أهلها وسكانها.
(2) هذه الجملة ساقطة منه.
(3) في مسج الأمين من رأيك، وهو تهيئة.
(4) استثنى بالله للجبول: تلقي سبيل الله.
(5) قدمنا في أول هذه الرسالة أن تقلل عبد الله بن مروان وأبيهم المحكى بن قيس كان سنة 128 هـ. وقال الراوي: وقيل إن المحكى إذا تقل سنة 129 هـ - أثنا عشر سنة. (6) فيها، والروى، (7) فيها، والرواية.
(8) فيها، والرواية.
بكم تنظتم للخلافة محاسبةً، وينظم أمرها، وتبصكم بسلع الله لل الخليق سلطانكم، وتعمرن بلادهم (1)، لا يستغنى أهلك عنكم، ولا يوجد فك إلا منكم، ممّا تمكّن من الملك خوّّامهم التي بها يكتمون، وأبصارهم التي بها ينفيون، وانتيم الذين بها يرعنون، وأيديهم الذين بها ينفخون، فمّا تمكّن الله بما خصّصه من فضل صناعكم، ولا زع الشم ما أضاء(2) من النعم عليكم.

وليس أحد من أهل الصناعات كلهَا، أحوج إلى أجاع خلق الخير المحبوكة، وخصال النضال المذكورة المدودة، منكم أنّكم الكتاب إذا كنت على ما يأتي في هذا الكتاب، فإنَّ الكتاب من منهجه، وينحت من نفسه، وينحت منه صاحبه أن ينقي به في مهام أمره. أن يكون هنا في وقوع الحق، فيما في موضوع الحكم، متفائل في موضوع الإقناع، يحذام في موضوع الإيجاب، مؤرخًا للعافر، وظلل بالإنسلاج، كثمة للأمرار، وفَّي عند الصدائد، فِئا بما يأتي من النوازل، ينقي الأمور موضحًاها، والطوارق، أما كتبهة قد نظر في كل فن من فنون العلم فأحسه، فإن لم يحده أخذ منه بقدر ما يكتفي به، يعرف بفرزته عقله، وحُسن أدبه، وفضل نجومته، ما يزيد عليه قبل وراءه، وعائبه ما يصرف عنه قبل صدوره، ففيه لكل أمر إعادة وعتادة (3)، ومحتي للكلة وحِيّة وغداه.

فتفانيوا باعتمر الكتب، في صنوف الآداب، وتفهّوا في الدين؛ وابدؤوا بعلم كتاب الله عز وجل والفاطر، ثم العربية، ثم النُّشف، ثم أبدوا الخط؛ فإن حال حنَّية كتبكم، وأرزوكم الأشعار، وأهِّروا غرببكم وعنايتكم، وأيام العرب والعجم، وأحاديثهم وسيرها، فمن ذلك مهّينِ للكانه ماتذوا إليه مهتمكم، ولا تضيعوا النظر في الحجاب، فإنه يقوم كتاب الخراج، وارغوا بأفسكم عن المطاعم:

(1) فيها بلادهم (2) أدبيهم . (3) الفناء: الغداء . (4) التفاو في الأصل: مابوبيه الرماج .
سندتاهما ودربها، وطمسا (3) الأموار ومحترقها، فإنها مفيدة للكتاب، وترهبها صناعكم عن الديناءات (4)، ورحبوا (5) بأسلكم عن السماة والشمسة، وما فيه أهل الجهالات، وإياكم والطهر والصفاف (6) والتعليمة، فإنها عذابة مجتهدة من غير إجابة، وتحبوا في الله عز وجل في صناعكم، وتروصوا عليها بالذي
هو أبيق بأهل الفضل والمعدل والحنف من سنفسكم.

ولم نبأ الزمان برجل منكم فاعظا عليه وواسوها، حتى يرجع إليه حائف، ويبوض (1) إليه أمره، وإن أعبد أحدكم الكبّر عن كمته وقائه إخوانه، فزوروه وعزموه، وشاوروه، واستظهروا (7) بفضل حريته، وقديم (8) معرفته، ول يكن الرجل منكم على من اصطمع واستظهر به ليوم حاجته إليه، احتفظ (9) منه على وله وأخيه، فإن عرضت في الشغل محبة، فلا عصيفها (10) إلا إلى صاحبه، وإن عرضت مقدمة ففي جمعها هو من دوته، ولا يعذر النافعة والزادة، والملل عند تغير الحال، فإن العيش إليكم ممطر للكتاب. أسرع منه إلى الفراء. وهو لكم أفضله من لها.

فقد علم أن الرجل منكم إذا كفاحا الرجل (11) كيذل له من نفسه ما يحب له عليه من حنظلا، فواجب عليه أن يعتقد له من وقته وشكوره، واحتفاله وصورته (12)، ونصحته وكباني سره، وتدبير أمره، ماعدو جراء حلقه، ويدل ذلك بنعاتهم (13) عند الحاجة إليه، والاضطراب إلى مالدهم.

فاستشروا والذلكم. وفطمس الله - من أنفسكم - في حالة الزكاة، والشدة، والحرمان، والوراشة والإحسان، والسراي، والضراء، فتمتعت الشيمة هذه من ورد بها، من أهل

(1) أيا ريفها.
(2) الردي من كل شيء.
(3) ريا في الحمئة (4) رواها: علا وأريفع. (5) فيها: وعبادها.
(12) فيها: وآنت. (13) فيها: فاقا لها وهو محرف.
هذه الصناعة الشريفة، فإذا وَلَّى الرجل منسك، أو صَبَر إليه من أمر خُلُق الله وعيَّاه
أمره، فليَرَبَّ أُمر عَرَج، وليَوْفِق طاعته وليكون على الصمغ رقيقًا، والظلم
مَعَصية، فإن أعقل عِزَال الله، وأحلهم إليه أرفقهم بمعيَّاه، ثم ليكون بالدل حاكبا،
واللأشراف مُكرَّماً، وفَنَّ مُوفرًا، وللبلاد عامراً، وله زعامة مثالية، وعن إبداعهم
متعدلًا، وليكون في مجاهد متواضعاً، وفي سُجلات خُرَابه وأستضاء حققه رقيقًا،
وإذا حمَّب أحدهم رجلاً فليُنفَّذ خلائمه، فإذا عُرف حَسَبها وقبيدها، أعانه على
ما يوافقه من أَلَهْ Buyer، وأحتال لعُرفه عما تُهاوَه من النَّشح، بألف حيلة وأجل
وسيلة، وقد علم أن سائس البهيمة إذا كان صَبَرًا بسيطًا، التمس معرفة خلافها،
فإن كانت زعى((1)) لَم يَمَّثَّها إذا رَكِبها، وإن كانت شِيَابًا((2)) أَتَفَّها من يِتَّل
يديها، وإن خاف منها شُرودها نوافها من ناحية رأسها، وإن كانت حَرَّوُتُها تفعُّ برقق
هواها في طريقها، فإن استمرت تتعلق بِسيرًا، فِيَثَّبُه لِقِيَّاه، وفي هذا الوصف من
السياسة دلائل لن ساء الناس وعَالِمهم، وجرِّهم((3)) ودخَلهم.

والكاتب يفضِّل أده، وشريف صنعته، وليْفَجمه حيَّته وعَاملته من يَُحاوِهُ من
الناس ويناظره، ويتهم عنه أو يجاه سّطُوره، أولى بِالْقُتِّيَّة بِصَبَحْه، وماراته،
وتقرير أوده، من سرِّس البهيمة التي لا يُحِرمها((4)) جواحه ولا تَعْرَف صوافه، ولا تَفْقِيم
خطابه، إلا بَقَدما يُصِّبها إليه صاحبها الرايا عليهم، أَلا أَفْقَمْ عِنْه((5))، رَحْمَ الله
في النظر، وأُحْبَبْناهَا ما أَفْكِسَكُهَا من أَلْوَيْةٍ وتَفْكر، ثَانِيَنا((6)) أَنَّ الله
مَن جَنَّتوهِ الْبِهِمَة، وَالْبَعْضَ وَالْأَخْرَى، وَيِصْرَعْ مَنْكَرَهُ إِلَى الْنُؤْخَة.
والشَفَقَة، إن شاء الله تعالى.

(1) رَعِيَ النُّوفُك كَمِن رَفعه. (2) شَيَابُ النُّوفُك كِمْرِب ونَصْرٌ بِديه، وَقِدِمْه.
(3) مِن بَنِي بَنيهِ. ((4)) فِي صَحِب الأَعْمَى وَخَيَّمِهِ. ((5)) أَيَّ لا تَرخَي.
(6) تَقَامَوْا لَبِيْنَهُمْ. (1) فِيْهَا وَلَا أُمِلَهَا. (6) نُتِحَمُّ مِنْ جِوَابِ الأَمْر، أَوْ بِبَيَاضِ أَخْرِيِّ جِوَابَ لِنَسْب
عَدْرَهُم بِمَعْنَى الشَّرْطَ أَيْ. ((7)) إِنْ تُغِبًَا تَأْمَنْوا وَمُنْ تَجُوزَ فِي وَيِسَرٍّ ثَانِيَةً أَوْجَه؛ أَبُرَّ.
والنصب والرفع كَأَنْ موْدَع، فِيْلِي بِعَضْهِمْ: ((8)) وَلَكَ بِبَعْضِهِ بِذَلِكَ الرَّأَفِ زَٰيَةَ النَّاسِخ، مَرَّدٌ.
248 - 248 -
ولا يجاوزون أرجل منكم في هيئة مجلسه، وملبسه ومرزه كله، ومظفته ومشربه، وينازه(1)، وخدمه، وغير ذلك من فنون أمره قدر حقه، فإنكم مع ما فضلكم الله به من شرف صنعكم. خدمة لا تعمليون في خدمتكم على التصوير، وحفظت اللائمة منكما أفعال التضبيع والتدبير، واستعينوا على عفافكم بالقصد في كل ما كنتم لحكم وقصضته عليكم، واحذروا متالي السرفر، وسواء عاقبة السرفر، فإنها يعفان الفقر، وبدلاء الرفاق، وينضجان أهلها، ولا سيا الكتب وأرباب الآداب، والألامور أشده، وبعضها دليل على بعض، فاستدلوا على مؤمنف(2) أعمالكما، بما سببتم إلى التجربة، ثم أسلكو من مسائل التدبير أوضحها محجحة، وأصلوها محجة، وأحمدها عاقبة.

واعلموا أن التدبير آفة مقتلة، وهي الوصف الشاغل لصاحبه عين إفاذ عمله ورؤيته(3)، فليست الرجل منكم في مجلسه قصد الخالف من منطقته، ولويج في بذاته وجوابه، ولأخذ بمجمع حجته، فإن ذلك مصلحة للفعلة، ومدفعة للتشاغل عن لكره، وأيضاع إلى الله في صلة توقيقه، وإمداده بمسديبه، شفاعة ووقوعه في الفعل العجز ببده وعطلة وأدبه، فإنه إن ظن ملك ظان، أو قال قابل: إن الذي برز من جليل صحته، وقوة حركته، إما هو بفضل جهيلته، وحسن تديبره، فقد تعرض جهله(4) أو مقالته إلى أن يسكي الله عز وجل إلى نفسه، فيصير منها إلى غير كاف، وذلك على من تأمل غير خاف.

ولا يقل أحد منكم إنه أبصر بالامور، وأحمي ليبه التدبير، من مليئته في صنعته، ومصاحبه في خدمته، فإن أعلمن الرجليين عند ذوي الألباب، من رمي

(1) قد يكون المراد به وسكان الذي بنيته، وقد يكون المراد زاقته، من بي على أهله وبيا بناء.
(2) متدا. (3) فيها علمه ورويته. (4) فيها 4 يسن نظره.
بالعجب وراء ظهره، ورأى أن صاحبه أغلقه عن حبه، وأخذ(1) في طريقه، وعلى كل واحد من الفريقين أن يوفر فضل نعم الله جل ثناؤه من غير اعتبار بأياء، ولا تركيبة لنفسه، ولا تكاء على أخيه أو نظره، وصاحب وشبيهه، وحَدّ الله واجب على الجميع، وذلك بالتواضع لظنه، والتعال إيمانه، والتحلل بنعمه.

وأما أقول في كتابي هذا ما سبق به المثل: "من يلزم النضجية(2) يلزم العمل" وهو جوهر هذا الكتاب، وفرحة كلامه، بعد الذي فيه من ذكر الله عز وجل، فلذلك جعلته آخره، وطّمته به، تولانا الله وإياكما بعشر الطيبة والكثرة، بما يتوالى به من سباق عمة بإسعاده وإرشاده، فإن ذلك إليه وبدله، والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته". (3)

(3) إصح الأغنى 65، ومنه: إن خذلون من 275، وكتاب الوزراء والكتاب س 70.

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أما بعد: فإن الله شرع دينه بالهجرة(3) سببها، وإيضاح معانيه بإظهار فرازته، وثبت رسله إلى خلفه دلالةً لهم على رتبته، واحتفاجاً عليهم برسالاته، وقدمنا إليه يا نذاره ووعده، يمكِّنك من ما أتتهه بعينه وعيباه من حك أتيناه، ثم حرم به صلى الله عليه وسلم وحَبْه، وفقهه ورسالة، ودعا إخراً دينه الآدارس(4)، مراعياً له على حين أنفست الأفكار ونحناه، وتشتت السبل متفرقة، وعشقائنا دينه دارسة، وسمع رجع(5) الفعل، واعتط فقام العلم، واستهد(6)

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(1) فيها ٥ وأعمال، (2) في قصة من معه الأغنى "الصيدة"، وذلك الجهد في البيان والتبينه.
(3) إصح الأغنى ٤٣، قال: ومن كلام الأخرين الساحر في أيدي الناس "نرم الصعبة بأدمك العمل".
(4) ألف خطوط (وضع أيضاً) وكذا نهيم كتب استمال بالعينين.
(5) درس الأثر كالدليل: فعا واعي، (6) الرجع ينفع وبالتمييز: اتباهر، وكذا القناع.
(6) في كتاب العلم: ندب الرجل: ندب، وليس فيها الصيافة المديدة.
ABBREVIATIONS

AJSLL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature
BEO = Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales
BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
EI = Encyclopaedia of Islam
JA = Journal Asiatique
JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies
MMI = Majallat al-Majma‘ al-‘Ilmi
MTM = Al-Majallah al-Tarihyya al-Misriyyah
NAPS = Neue Arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes
PAS = Arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes
PSR = Papyri Schott-Reinhardt
SALP = Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri
ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
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