A Thesis for the Ph.D. degree.

Studies on the Writings of al-Jāḥiz

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al-Jahiz is known to every student of Islamic literature, history or society, of the classical period. His encyclopaedic writing embraces all aspects of life of Islamic society. The interest which al-Jahiz shows in the growing urban society and its manifestations is one of the first instances of its kind in Islamic literature, that has come down to us. al-Jahiz is one of the first Muslim writers who noticed the growth and development of a middle class as a result of the economic and social activities of the Islamic town. His interest in professional groups and classes, as well as his ambitions for the educated middle class in the society to take the lead, are points which are worth recording. To study him, and especially his most interesting work al-Bukhala', (Misers), in the light of society in which he lived and which he pictured, is important.

In the first chapter of this thesis, a critical study of al-Jahiz’s social works, a general survey and a discussion of the textual material and authenticity, is made.
The second chapter is a study of al-Jāḥiẓ's views and attitudes, against the backdrop of his society. Other works of al-Jāḥiẓ, as well as those of his contemporaries, are taken here into consideration.

While studying al-Jāḥiẓ's views on society, the question is asked whether al-Jāḥiẓ had any social philosophy. This point is dealt with in the third chapter of this thesis. A special reference is made to the Muʿtazilites.

The study of society would help us to understand the book of Misers, which is not only the most important work on this aspect, but also is most interesting of al-Jāḥiẓ's writing, where the author shows his talent in social and psychological analysis of the miser.

In al-Bukhālāʾ, the question of language comes in, in connection with social classes and groups. al-Jāḥiẓ's intention in recording the language of daily life as it was spoken, is discussed in the appendix, after the fourth chapter.
I wish to express my deep sense of gratitude to professor R. B. Serjeant for his able guidance and sympathetic advice, throughout the course of this study.

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INTRODUCTION

An understanding of al-Jāḥiẓ and an appreciation of his works can be reached, if he be studied in the light of the society in which he lived and which he portrayed in his works. In his works, all the social and mental trends and tensions of his time, whether bad or good, are mirrored. "If one wants to diagnose the life of the 3rd century A. H.", says Tāhā Husain, "one should not look for it in al-Buḥṭurī or 'Abū Tammām or any of the other poets, but one will find it in al-Jāḥiẓ."

al-Jāḥiẓ can be considered as one of the first Muslim writers who expressed a great interest in social problems. With his keen sense of observation, he recognized the changes that were occurring in the social fabric - changes which were the direct outcome of the active growth of an urban system of life. He was the first to notice the formation and development of a middle class as a result of the

(1) see Ḥadīth al-‘Arbi‘ā‘, vol. II., p. 130.
economic activities of the Islamic town. This being so, his comments on society deserve the closest attention. I have undertaken, in the following pages, a study of al-Jāhiz's views on the social life of his time. It is obvious that within these terms of reference, those works of his which deal specifically with society must receive particular attention, especially that most interesting book al-Bukhālā', which should not be taken simply as an independent work written merely for amusement; it should be studied in the light of the social trends of the time, on the one hand, and related to al-Jāhiz's other works, on the other.

The impact of al-Jāhiz's works on society on following generations is apparent in great writers of the 4th and 5th centuries A. H. Apart from his literary effect on writers like al-Tauhīdī and Tbn al-‘Amīd, his social works had a remarkable effect on the writings of al-Tha‘ālibī, al-Tanukhī and perhaps, al-Ḥarīrī and other Maqāmāt writers. The realistic analysis of society is one of the

(1) see al-Dūrī, Ta'rikh al-'Irāq al-'Īqtisādī, p. 108.
(2) see A. Mez, Renaissance., (English translation), p. 39; Gibb, Arabic Literature, p. 65; Tāhā Ḥusain, min Ḥadīth al-shīfīr., p. 80.
main characteristics of these writers; their interest in the life of the illiterate common people is exemplified in the way they scrutinised this life and portrayed it, closely and intentionally.

The first step, in this study, is to group together al-Jahiz's works on society. It is to be regretted that the difficulties in the way of an easy and simple grouping are many. These difficulties are dealt with in the first chapter of this thesis. The first chapter is, in fact, a general survey of the social works of al-Jahiz, a discussion of the textual material and its authenticity.

In the second chapter of this study, al-Jahiz's views and attitudes are studied in comparison with the actual life of his time, as deduced from other works of al-Jahiz's contemporaries. Other works of al-Jahiz, besides his social works, are taken into consideration here. A sociological interpretation of his views and attitudes is a most important part of my approach. The changes and, perhaps, contradictions in al-Jahiz's views are understood as being part of the changes and developments which were taking place in the
time and, ultimately, in his own life and writings.

In studying the social works of al-Jāḥiẓ, the question occurs as to whether al-Jāḥiẓ possesses any social philosophy. In studying this question, the Muṭṭazilite doctrine has to be taken into consideration. Once again, it is clear that al-Jāḥiẓ concerns himself a great deal about the position of the educated middle class of his time, in relation with the ruling power, on one hand, and the common people, on the other.

The study of social trends among different classes will be a great help in reaching an understanding of the most important social work of al-Jāḥiẓ, the book of al-Bukhālāʾ and the problem of avarice, which became a subject for literary works, could not be estimated apart from the social life of the time. Moreover, in al-Bukhālāʾ, one comes across one of the interesting phenomena which was the result of social changes and differences of cultures - the problem of language. al-Jāḥiẓ, often, stresses the point that a distinction should be made between the language of the common people and that of the élite. The attempt is
made here to see how far this was true and how far social life affected this aspect. This point is studied with a special reference to al-Bukhallā', in which al-Jāḥīẓ relates stories of various people in their own mouths. In the book, al-Jāḥīẓ himself states that he related the language of the common people as it was spoken, without trying to make it sound better, or correct its wrong grammar. If al-Jāḥīẓ was successful in fulfilling his stated intention of relating the language of the common people as it was spoken, we should be able to see clearly the difference which he took it upon himself to show.
Chapter One

AL-JĀḤIZ’S WORKS ON SOCIETY

In order to reach a good understanding of al-Jāḥiz's social views and attitudes, a study of his works, where the social aspect is the main theme of writing, is essential. The study of al-Jāḥiz's works is, unfortunately, confronted by various difficulties. The problems do not arise only from confusion made by narrators and copyists of al-Jāḥiz's works, but also from al-Jāḥiz's own methods of writing, which made this confusion an easy task.

1. Methods of al-Jāḥiz’s writing:

The confusion in al-Jāḥiz's works was, to a great extent, helped by al-Jāḥiz himself. The methods of al-Jāḥiz's writing are responsible for making interference with his works easy. One of the peculiarities of al-Jāḥiz in his writing, which he himself admits is the fact that he wrote some of his works and attributed
them to some early writers, in order that people would read them without prejudice against him, he said:

"... I may write a perfect excellent book on religion, jurisprudence or literature ... and attribute it to myself, a group of scholars then agree on calumniating it for the envy which is made in them, although they know its creativeness and cleverness ... But I may write a book which is not as good as that, in meaning and words, and publish it under another name, attributing it to a writer earlier than me, like 'Ibn al-Muqaffā' or al-Khalīl ... then the same people come to me ... to copy the book (1) and study it under me." It is not clear how far al-Jahiz went in this way, but it is interesting to see that he tends to conceal his identity, in some of his works, and mislead the reader about the authorship of the work. This characteristic is illustrated in one of al-Jahiz's treatises which has come down to us, under the title of (2) al-Qayān. The question of the authorship of this work is

(1) al-Jahiz, Fasīl mā bayn al-ʿAdāwa..., Majmūʿ (Sacy) p. 108.
(2) Yaqūt cites a book under the list of al-Jahiz's works, which he calls Kitāb al-Muqayyinīn waʾl-Ghīnāʾ waʾl-Ṣanʿa, apart from Kitāb Akhlāq al-Mughannīn, (Irshād., VI., p. 77). It seems that Kitāb al-Muqayyinīn is the same work as al-Qayān, which deals with female slave-singers (see the treatise of al-Qayān Thalāth Rasāʾil, Finkel, pp. 53-75, about the meaning of Muqayin; see also Ibn Manṣūr, Līsān, art. (Qayn)).
very interesting in revealing sides of al-Jāhiz's ways of writing. The two statements which the author makes in the opening and in the end of the treatise are most misleading and confusing to the reader. The work appears as if it were addressed by a group of narrators who encouraged the life of pleasure and indulged in it, it opens as follows: "From 'Abū Mūsa b. Išāq b. Mūsa, Muhammed b. Khālid Khudhār Khudhā, 'Abdu'llāh b. 'Ayūb b. 'Abū Samīr ... and their brethren who are enjoying happiness and preferring pleasure, pleasing themselves with female slave singers and close friends, who are ready to assist with food and kinds of drinks and who turned away from accepting anything from people... to the people of ignorance, harshness, rough nature and bad senses."

Most of the persons whom al-Jāhiz mentions above seem to have been narrators who were greatly interested in the art of singing and were attached to the singers. al-Jāhiz, however, does not leave the question of the authorship of the treatise at this point but makes another

(1) About this point, see also al-Ḥājiri, introd. al-Bukhālā, pp. 27-8.
(2) al-Jāhiz mentions about eleven names altogether, see al-Qyān, Thalāthā, Finkel, p. 53.
(3) Ibid.
(4) About these, see Isfahānī, Aghānī, vol. VII., p. 31; vol. X., p. 122; and vol. XVIII., pp. 73,85.
statement which makes it more confusing. He says at the end of it, "This treatise which we have written from the narrators is attributed to those whom we named in its opening. If it were authentic, we have fulfilled in it the narration and those who have written it are more responsible for the argument made in it. But if it were forged, it was then (put) by the intruders, because they have upheld the argument of discarding decency, and (by) the immoral ones, in order to facilitate for the Muqayinūn - the possessors of slave singers - what the Muqrifūn - those born from slave father - had done. If anyone would say that it (i.e. the treatise) has a portion of each of these three categories, and a connection (with them), he is right..." The treatise, therefore, appears as if it were copied by al-Jāhiz from the narrators whom he mentioned in the beginning. The argument in the treatise is made against all those ignorant people who knew nothing about the life of pleasure and who objected to possessing concubines and slave singers.

(1) al-Ḥājirī reads it al-Mutrafūn, i.e. the luxurious or delicate ones. (see Bukhālā' (1948) introd. p. 28).
(2) al-Qyān, Thalāth, Finkel, p. 75.
(3) Ibid. p. 54.
The reason of this method, as explained by al-Ḥājirī, has two aspects: One is that it was one of the typical artistic methods of al-Jāḥiz to write pieces and attribute them to other persons as if they were written by them, as was done by him in al-Bukhālāʾ. The other, according to al-Ḥājirī, is that al-Jāḥiz himself stated that he had attributed many of his works to other writers.

It should be pointed out, however, that, in attributing some of his works to other writers, al-Jāḥiz meant to show that people were prejudiced against his writing and, in order to make them read his works, he attributed them to earlier writers whom the public respected. In the treatise of al-Qāyān, on the other hand, the attribution is made to narrators who, according to al-Jāḥiz himself, supported the immoral life of pleasure, which was condemned by the traditional circles. On the other hand, if al-Jāḥiz wanted to appeal to these people, he need not have written the treatise in this manner. It seems more probable that al-Jāḥiz wanted to clear himself from the responsibility of the arguments made in it, as he himself stated.

(1) see p. 278 of this thesis.
(2) al-Ḥājirī, introd. al-Bukhālāʾ, pp. 27-8.
One of the characteristics of al-Jahiz's writing which makes the study of his views a difficult task, is the fact that he, very often, does not express a personal opinion on the subject he deals with, but tends to discuss the contradictory views of various people and parties. In his reference to al-Jahiz's style, al-Baqillani describes it as follows, "...Whenever he mentions one line of his own words, he would follow it by pages of other people's speech, and whenever he writes one page, he would construct a whole book of other people's sayings..." In this way, al-Jahiz was able to rid himself from a great responsibility. al-Jahiz defends himself against the criticism of his contemporaries, who accused him of being colourless and that, on the question of the Caliphate, he contradicted himself and adopted various views, saying that his intention was to discuss the different views of the Islamic sects, and not his own views. The justification al-Jahiz gives for his method, in quoting various references, is that he intended to leave the judgement to the reader, therefore, "... the

(2) al-Jahiz, al-Hayawan, vol. I., pp.11-12. This point itself would make an interesting topic of study, concerning al-Jahiz's political views.
dispute would be only between him and the evidence..."
In al-Ḥayawān, al-Jāḥiz criticises Aristotle for bearing responsibility of things without being certain about their reference. al-Jāḥiz, however, does not seem to have been trusted by the authorities of tradition; they accused him of forging tradition, for some purpose, although he does not admit that. al-Tha‘ālibī says that al-Jāḥiz was not trustful in tradition and al-Dhahabi agrees that he was one of the innovators. al-Baghdādi, on the other hand, says that tradition was related on the authority of al-Jāḥiz. 'Abu'1-‘Aynā' states that he and al-Jāḥiz, together, forged the tradition of Fadak.

al-Mas‘ūdi criticises al-Jāḥiz for writing a book on the 'Imamate of the children of al-‘Abbās, which was, according to al-Mas‘ūdi, nothing but an expression of the arguments of al-Rāwamadiya, the partisans of the ‘Abbāsids.

(2) Ibid., vol. V., p. 356.
(3) al-Dhahabi, Mizān., vol. II., p. 282.
(4) Tārikh, II., p. 213.
(6) Mas‘ūdi, Murūj, VI., p. 55.
In the book, al-Mas'ūdi says, al-Jāhiz relates the tradition of Fadak and the conversation of Fāṭima with 'Abū Bakr and her claims of the land of Fadak which was a private property of the Prophet. In the Rasā'il published by al-Sandūbī, a portion of this book has survived where the tradition is related and supported with arguments. The tradition, however, on the other hand, can be found in al-Ṭabarî on the authority of other narrators, such as al-Zuhrī, 'Urwa and 'Ā'isha herself, etc.

It is interesting, on the other hand, to see that al-Jāhiz in his turn attacks the traditionists and accuses them of being literal and bound by the obvious meaning of the text. Nevertheless, al-Jāhiz expresses in some occasions, his awareness of the criticism he was going to face. In the book of singers, which will be discussed in some details later, al-Jāhiz says: "... and we may know that many of them will exaggerate in criticism and insolence and hold and opinion different from ours,

(1) see about Fadak and how it became a property of Muḥammed, al-Ṭabarî, Tārīkh., vol. I., p. 1556 (year 6) and p. 1589 (year 7).
(2) Rasā'il., min Kitābihi fi1-ṣ-Abāsīya, pp. 300-3.
(3) Tārīkh., vol. I., p. 1825 (year 11); also see al-Ya'qūbī, vol. II., p. 573.
but what an easy thing that is for the due rights of al-Fityān..." In spite of the fact that al-Jāḥīz made more than one copy of this work, it failed to come down to us.

The reason of this attitude of al-Jāḥīz is thought to have been because al-Jāḥīz’s works were written mainly after a wish of an authority and that al-Jāḥīz was actually living on his writing. It is interesting, however, that al-Jāḥīz enjoyed a remarkable quality of producing one idea and its reverse and being, at the same time, able to defend both sides with equal interest and ability. His books on praising and condemning various groups of people stand as an example of his double-sided mind. In a quotation from al-Jāḥīz which al-Thā‘alibī has made, we find long paragraphs on praising and

(1) al-Jāḥīz, Ṭabaqāt al-Mughannīn, Majmū‘, Sacy, pp. 187-8. It would be pointed out that al-Jāḥīz uses the terms (al-Futuwwa), (al-Fityān) and (‘Alā‘at al-Futuwwa) - i.e. the instruments of al-Futuwwa! - in the treatise. see about this movement pp. of this thesis.

(2) Ibid., also pp.107-9 of this thesis.


(4) al-Jāḥīz wrote books on praising and condemning the Secretaries, copyists, drinks, etc. (Yaqūt, Irshād., VI., pp. 76 and 78.)
condemning all branches of knowledge with equal skill and interest, showing their qualities as well as their defects. This quality is one of the manifestations of the mental life of his time, the time of doubt and reason.

In spite of the fact that al-Jahiz lived on his writing and received the rewards of the Abbasid court, which would have put him in a position that he had to please those in power, but his great ambitions and hopes in the middle class, especially the Scholars and men of letters, were equally satisfied.

al-Jahiz's use of dialectical methods is suggested to have been influenced by the methods used by the Sophists. Most often, al-Jahiz argues in a

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(1) see Muqaddasî, Laṭā'if., (Cairo, 1900), pp. 18-21.
(2) see Tāhā Husain, Ḥadīth al-'Arbi'ā', vol. II., p. 136.
(3) see pp. 131-50 of this thesis. Ch. Pellat thinks that although al-Jahiz flattered the men in power, but that was only as far as the Mu'tazilite doctrine was not involved. (see R.S.O., 1952, p. 57).
rhetorical manner for the sake of argument or to display his great skill and confidence in his ability in the language. More than once, al-Jahiz claims that there was another person who involved him in the argument, in order to create another side to stand for the opposite point of view. One of his interesting works where this characteristic is clear is the treatise which he called (Fi tafqil al-baṭn 'ala' l-ẓahr) - in preference of the belly to the back, and which still remains in a MS. In this treatise, al-Jahiz claims that he received a letter from a man who preferred the back to the belly, therefore, al-Jahiz wrote this book to refute the arguments of that man. Apart from the fact that al-Jahiz touches on some delicate social problems of his time, it is evident that he plays on the words and meanings in order to support

(2) Ibid., fol. 220b, 222a.
(3) The suggestion may be made, here, that the reason that prompted al-Jahiz to write on a curious topic like this seems to have been connected to more a serious problem than what appears from the title or the way of dealing. It may have been a reaction against a tendency strong in the 'Abbasid society, the question of Sodomy which al-Jahiz deals with effectively (see on the same meaning, al-Muqaddasi, Latā'if., 1900, p. 74).
what he calls an argument. I shall quote the following paragraph as an example, where al-Jāḥiz uses the word (al-baṭn) in many different senses:

The contemporaries of al-Jāḥiz blamed him and criticised him for his useless arguments, but few of them thought of refuting them. al-Jāḥiz was, in fact, able to say what he intended through these methods. In al-Ḥayawān, al-Jāḥiz makes long arguments in preference of the dog and the cock, which he attributes to two Muʿtazilite theologians,

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(1) al-Fuṣūl., fol. 223a.

(2) The exception may be made of the book of al-Uthmāniya, which was refuted by al-Iskāfī, but which al-Jāḥiz clears himself from its responsibility (see al-Ḥayawān, I., p. 51). al-Maṣūdi mentions AbuʿIsa al-Warrāq and al-Ḥasan b. Musa al-Naḥṣi who refuted the same book of al-Uthmāniya (Murūj, VI., p. 55).

(3) see about this argument pp. 22-3 of this thesis.

and which al-Baghdādī thinks to have been useless. al-Jāhiz, however, had admirers in this art, among the later generations of writers. al-Tauḥīdī, who was a great admirer of al-Jahiz, seems to have taken further steps in this art. In his book al-Muqābasāt, which goes in a form of a dialogue between him and his master al-Sijistānī, one is reminded of Plato's dialogues.

Besides these facts, which seem to have helped a great deal in the confusion we meet with in al-Jahiz's works, another characteristic of al-Jahiz's writing seems to have made it easy for copyists and selecters of his books to confuse them. al-Jāhiz's countless digressions from the main theme of the work seem to have helped to make selections of his works easy. The biggest collection of selected chapters from al-Jahiz's works seems to be the one made by 'Ubaydullāh b. Ḥassān, of which some

(1) al-Baghdādī, al-Farq., p. 163; see also I. Friedlaender, J.A.O.S., vol. XXIX., p. 56.
(2) see Mez, Renaissance (English trans.), p. 239-40; Nicholson, A Lit. Hist. of the Arabs, p. 267.
(3) for more about this point see pp. 30 of this thesis (appreciation).
(4) Br. Mus. MS. 1129.
chapters were published under the heading of Rasā'il. (1)

Unfortunately, this collection of extracts from al-Jāḥiz's works is in most unsatisfactory condition. It contains about thirty-two chapters on different subjects, each chapter begins with the heading (بِنَبَتَةَ) i.e. from the opening of his (al-Jāḥiz's) book, followed by the title of the book.

In the following pages, a detailed study is made of the problems concerning al-Jāḥiz's works, with a special reference to the text and a close examination of the style and methods that distinguish al-Jāḥiz's writing.

(1) see Majmū', Sacy; and Rasā'il al-Jāḥiz, al-Sandūbi. The latter, does not state the original MS. There are variations and differences between the published Rasā'il and the MS. of al-Fuṣūl., by 'Ubaydullāh. (see for instance, al-Sandūbi, pp. 241-60, Br. Mus. MS., fol. 245, 291).

2. Problems in Connection with the Works:

(a) The Question of Authenticity:

i. Kitāb al-Ḥijāb

Many of the works which have come down to us under al-Ǧāḥīz's name, are still under considerable doubt. The style and method of some of these works are elements of confusion. The work known as Kitāb al-Ḥijāb has been quoted by al-Khafājī, among other excerpts from the works of al-Ǧāḥīz. It was published, with other Rasā'īl of al-Ǧāḥīz, for the first time, by al-Sandūbī, under the title (min Kitāb al-Ḥijāb). al-Sandūbī, however, remarked that he was not very happy about the work and its authenticity and that he copied it from al-Khafājī. The work, however, exists as a separate entity in a MS. In the list of al-Ǧāḥīz's works, cited by Yāqūt, there is no mention of a work under this title. On the other hand,

(1) Ṭirāz al-Majālis, pp. 72-97.
(2) Rasā'īl, (al-Sandūbī), pp. 155-86.
(3) Ibid., p. 186.
(4) al-Mūṣil, no. 265; Dāmād, no. 949; see also Ch. Pellat, Arabica, May, 1956, no. III, p. 158, no. 59.
there is no confirmation as to whether the book belonged to al-Jāḥīz or not.

The purpose of the author was to put an edifying book before the ruler in connection with the post of al-Ḥijāba. He said that he was going to criticise the former chamberlains in order that the later ones would learn a lesson. This was a typically Persian device — that is to write on subjects concerning the ruler and giving him advice. There were many such works written in — or translated into — Arabic. A work attributed to al-Jāḥīz himself under the title of Risāla fi al-Maṣād wa'l-maṣāḥ was entirely devoted to the advice of an authority, accompanied by various examples of good morals. On the other hand, the book known as Kitāb

(2) Works translated or written by Ibn al-Muqaffa' (see 'Ahmad Amin, Duḥa., vol. I., pp. 204-39).
(3) The name of the Risāla is also given as fi l-Akhlaq al-Məhmuda, and is said to have been addressed to either Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Du'ād al-Ayādī or to Muḥammad b. 'Abdul-Malik al-Zayyāt, (see Majmū', Kraus-Ḥājiri, pp. 1-39; Ch. Pellat, Arabica, p. 165, no. 96).
(4) About the great similarity between the style of this work and that of Ibn al-Muqaffa' in his ethical works, see al-Maghribī, RAAD, vol. XXI., no. XI-XII, 1946, p. 532.
al-Tāj fī 'Akhlāq al-Mulūk, which is supposed to have been written by al-Jāhiz, is still under very considerable doubt. (1)

An examination of the text of Kitāb al-Ḥijāb may assist in throwing some light on the authenticity of the work. The author discusses the class of al-Ḥujjāb (chamberlains) and the post of al-Ḥijāba which became a necessity to the rulers and governors, especially in later times. The Prophet, according to the author, did not approve of it and he advised his governors not to hide themselves from their people. The four Caliphs after him followed his example. Under the 'Umayyads the Ḥijāb was practised. The author attributes a saying to a Persian Dihqān (a local chief), who advises a governor at the time of al-Ḥajjāj, on how to deal with the common people in the question of al-Ḥijāba. The recognition of Persian advice and sayings about rulership seem more likely to have crystalised at the time when the 'Abbasids came to power.

(1) It was published and introduced by 'Ahmad Zākī Pāsha, 1914; see also Ch. Pellat, Arabica, p. 176, no. 161. (2) Rasā'il, (al-Sandūbi), p. 156.
As any of these works which deal with this form of institution, this work follows a familiar pattern. The author tries to show that there were certain qualifications for the Ḥājib. The desirable qualifications are a combination of various attributes mainly concerned with appearance, personality and wit. His position, however, may give him extreme power. He is described as one side of the king's face. Therefore, it is necessary to appoint a good Ḥājib in order to give a good impression. It is not for the well-being of the people or the public benefit, it is simply for the sake of appearance - a typical Persian conception. In the advice of Sahl b. Hārūn to al-Faḍl b. Sahl he says to him that as the Ḥājib is one of the persons important to the king, he should be smart, good looking, neat and considerate. The conception of rigidly classified society is clear - the king should order his Ḥājib "to put people according to their various degrees of importance", although, of course, he is supposed to show interest in every one of them. The author, then, quotes Persian works for certain sets of instructions concerning this institution.

(2) Ibid.
When criticising this class of people, the author is careful not to express a personal opinion. This method is one typical of al-Jāhiz's technique. The author cites examples from various authorities, on the basis of which one may understand that this class of officers were corrupted with bribes and personal interests ever since the time of the Umayyads. The complaints of people appear in the number of poems written about this class, which criticised them bitterly.

Although the work had been divided into many chapters under various headings, the author followed the same method of quoting examples and short poems without passing any personal judgement, leaving the way open to the reader to do so. One cannot fail to notice, in this connection, that the technique is one typical of al-Jāhiz. Besides, the author cites a number of examples in which the Hijaba is justified, although not for the sake of the Hajib himself, but out of fear of the ruler, or affection for him. Examples were taken from various places and times, but none of them contains anything that can be

(1) Rasā'il, (al-Sandūbī), pp. 163-85.  
(2) Ibid., pp. 185-6.
expressedly said to be inapplicable to al-Jahiz's time.

However, the evidence in favour of al-Jahiz's authorship of the work is far from conclusive.

ii. Kitab al-Tabasur bi'l-Tijara

The significance of al-Jahiz's interest in all aspects of the town life is evident in the writing of later authors who made a good use of al-Jahiz's works. One of the interesting works which has been often quoted by writers like al-Thac alibi and al-Muqaddasi, is the book of (al-Tabassur bi'l-Tijara). There is no work, however, under this title in any of al-Jahiz's lists of works. It is believed that al-Jahiz was the first Islamic

writer who paid attention to the activities of the Islamic town and wrote about its trade, as well as other aspects. This is not the only work, supposed to have been written by al-Jāhiz on this aspect of town life. The book known as Kitāb Ghishsh al-Ṣināʿāt has not come down to us but was criticised and described by al-Baghdādi as having spoiled the goods of the merchants by the way the author reveals to the public the deceits of these goods. al-Jāhiz mentions two works which seem to have some connection with the subject mentioned by al-Baghdādi. One is the work which he describes as "The Book of Plants, palm-trees, olive and grapes and the kinds of crafts and classes of trades." The other book is, according to al-Jāhiz, a description of the dealing of professional merchants, the tricks of trusts and the deceits of crafts and trades.

(1) This is given as an evidence to the authenticity of the work, see RAAD, Vol. XII., p. 321. In another article, RAAD, vol. XIII., pp. 287-95, Anstāse al-Karamali agrees on the authenticity of the work.

(2) al-Baghdādi, al-Farq., p. 163; also al-'Isfrā'īnī, al-Tabṣīrāt., p. 51; and also I. Friedlaender, J.A.O.S., vol. XXIX., (1909), p. 56.

(3) al-Ḥayawān, vol. I., p. 5.

(4) Ibid.
The work which has come down to us under the title of al-Tabaṣṣur bi' ḍ-Tiţara deals with the same problem of goods and trade. The author starts his book by relating general principles of trade, such as the law of supply and demand, competition, etc., by citing examples from various sources and different nations. His main concern, in the book, is to discuss the value of goods and how they are appreciated. Apparently, the author is not a good or experienced tradesman, and his knowledge cannot compete with the knowledge of any ordinary tradesman concerning the value of goods. The quality of goods is judged only by their appearance, and the laws of supply and demand which he puts in the opening chapter of the book are hardly taken into consideration. The unprofessional character of the work is apparent in the way the author mixes up facts concerning the value of goods with the moral values of man, he says: "... and all valuable pearls and stones, if clearer and brighter, are more valuable; all animals, whether wild or tame, if bigger and easier, are more preferable and precious; and all men, whether

noble or low, if more sensible and easier, are better..."  
The author, however, states that his book was meant to  
be a reference for all those who were interested in this  
means of earning. Moreover, it seems to have been written  
for an authority.

There is almost nothing in the book, whether its  
methods or style, that contradicts al-Jahiz's way of  
writing.

(b) Confusion in the titles of the Works:

al-Jahiz's works cannot be judged by their  
titles for the simple reason that these titles were  
countless and most confusing. The confusion does not  
come only from the fact that the titles are themselves  
misleading, but also that most of al-Jahiz's works bear  
more than one title. This is one of the problems resulting  
from the fact that al-Jahiz deals with more than one topic  
in his work and that the titles were often deduced from  

(2) Ibid., p. 326.  
(3) Ibid.
the text of the work itself. Copyists of al-Jahiz's works seem to have suggested different titles according to their different approach and understanding of the text. In the selected chapters of 'Ubaydullah b. Hassān, this confusion appears more than once. The chapter called "Istihqāq al-Imāma", for instance, is repeated again in the same MS. under the title of "Maqālat ul-Zaydiya wa'l-Rāfiḍa." (1) In editing this chapter, al-Sandūbī published with it the chapter of "Jawābāt fi'l-Imāma". The latter comes in the MS. in a separate chapter. The same chapter has been edited by Kraus-Hājirī, under the title Risāla fi Bayān madhāhib al-Shī'a. One treatise, therefore, is known by four different headings. The following works, relevant to the social study of al-Jahiz, will be discussed as examples for this type of confusion.

(2) Rasā'īl, (al-Sandūbī), pp. 241-60.
(3) al-Fuṣūl., fol. 278-291.
(4) Majmū', (Kraus-Hājirī), p. 178; see also Hirschfeld, A Volume of Oriental Studies, pp. 200-9 for a description of the MS.
i. Kitāb al-ʿArab waʾl-Mawālī

This book has been referred to by al-Ẓāhirī himself as being different from the book of al-ʿArab waʾl-ʿAjam (the Arabs and non-Arabs); al-Ẓāhirī says: "... You have blamed me for the book of al-ʿArab waʾl-ʿAjam and thought that writing about differences between the Arabs and the non-Arabs is the same thing as writing about differences between the Mawālī and the Arabs. You criticised me, (therefore), for repetitions, additions and ignorance, besides what the thing repeated has of (1) uselessness and burdening the reader." None of these two books has come down to us. Yāqūt mentions one of them under the name of Kitāb al-Taswiya bayn al-ʿArab waʾl-ʿAjam (the book of equality between the Arabs and non-Arabs). As for the other work, Yāqūt does not make any reference to it.

One may presume from the reference of al-Ẓāhirī to the two works and his defence of the idea, that there

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(1) al-Ḥayawān, vol. I., p. 5; also Ch. Pellat, Arabica, May, 1956, p. 152, nos. 22 and 23.
(2) Irshād., vol. VI., p. 77.
were two books on this topic. Al-Jahiz seems to have had in mind two different ways of dealing with the question of Arabs and non-Arabs; the first concerns them as being two different nations, and the second dealing with them in their relations with one another, being clients and masters. Al-Jahiz made another reference to the book of the Arabs and the Mawali when he said: "... and you criticised me concerning the book of al-'Arab wa'l-Mawali and thought that I have been unjust to the Mawali and (given the Arabs what does not belong to them." And another place also; "... I have written books about placing the Mawali in the proper position, good or bad, which they deserve and (placed them) in the great honour which God has bestowed upon them through the Arabs. I hope it will do justice among them and a means to their well-being." Therefore, one of the works is definitely concerned with the Arabs and al-Mawali per se.

(3) See further discussion on this point pp. 157 of this thesis.
A book under the title of al-Mawālī was quoted by 'Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, as being one of al-Jāhiz's works. 'Ibn 'Abd Rabbih was illustrating a point concerning the excellent taste of al-Jāhiz in selecting and judging poetry. The judgment of al-Jāhiz is passed on a poem by 'Abū Nuwās, the Mawla poet, al-Jāhiz describes him as "the most able of all poets and the most natural in his poetry." Apparently, the work is identical with the one al-Jāhiz mentions on the Arabs and the Mawālī.

The same book of al-Mawālī comes under another heading in the criticism of al-Baghdādi of al-Jāhiz's works, he calls it the book of Faḍl al-Mawālī 'ala'l-'Arab (Superiority of the Mawālī over the Arabs). It appears that al-Baghdādi chose a title for the same work, in order to justify his own criticism of al-Jāhiz's intentions and works.

(1) al-‘Iqd., vol. IV., p. 77.
(2) Ibid.,
(3) al-Baghdādi, al-Faqīr., p. 162.
ii. Risāla fi Waṣf al-ʿAwāmm

There is no work under the title of "fi Waṣf al-ʿAwāmm", in Yaqt's list of al-Jāhiz's works. The first author who mentions a treatise by al-Jāhiz under this name is al-Khafājī. He also quoted from the work. The most interesting point about this work is that the whole paragraph which al-Khafājī quoted and which he said was from the Risāla fi Waṣf al-ʿAwāmm, is identical with the opening chapter of the treatise "fi Naʿf al-Taṣbīh", which al-Jāhiz addressed to 'Abū'l-Walīd Muḥammad b. 'Āḥmad b. 'Abī Duʿād al-ʿAyyāḍī. This treatise has been edited by Professor Charles Pellat, with the belief that it is the treatise of "fi Naʿf al-Taṣbīh". In the list which Professor Ch. Pellat made of al-Jāhiz's works, recently, the two titles were cited as for two different works. The interesting point about al-Khafājī's quotation is that he copied exactly the same text of the Risāla fi Naʿf al-Taṣbīh, with the change of

(2) Ṭirāż., vol. II., p. 175.
(3) MS. Damad, 949; also Fuʾād Sayid, Fihris al-Makhtūtāt., vol. I., p. 473.
the word (al-Tashbīḥ) into the word (al-ʿAwāmm), and made other slight changes which may fit in better with the subject of al-ʿAwāmm. In the following passage, I give the text of the original treatise and indicate the changes etc. in al-Khafājī's quotation between rectangular brackets:

(1) Omitted.
(2) بِالله
(3) Omitted.
(4) وَمَا لَمۡ مِنۡهَا
(5) Omitted.
(6) لهُ تَمۡيُّز
(7) النَّفْلَةُ
(8) عَلَىِ اللَّهِ خَلَى
التمدح، فرع من منحة البصيرة، قال: "خالد الله من ترضيه، ولا يزال من
فيه جراحيه، وفيه حميته؛ إنا نظر إلى الظلال، وإلى دفء.
الله الذي هو البشري الذي لا تعرف الله العين! وقال الخريج (خندة ذكره يا هم
في سمه بالله ملك ملك الملائكة) [2]
من الساري تراسه، ومن ال ... خواصنا اضفرها، معارفنا
القرن تغي وله الطائر، ول... كثرها [إلى] العنا، يا شاهدا.
ون قال: حبيب بن حبيبة، قبلا هذا الناقة وحبيبة وولي وطْرُوْحها، وطْرُوْحها، وطْرُوْحها، وإن الفتيلة لن كانت معه وان المتغير من مارد، عليه. ود، وصهم، نعى
بمئة شاهد، انصر، فارضا كان لع بريتهم، هادف وطاع، مرز، واما م.

As for the rest of the two texts, while in the original text of the treatise al-Jāḥīz deals with the subject of Nafī al-Tashbīh (refuting Anthropomorphism), al-Khafājī adds the following:

It is obvious from the comparison of the two texts that al-Khafājī deliberately made all possible changes in order to make the text fit in with the title he had suggested for it. The significance of this action

(1) Omitted.
(2) al-Khafājī, Tirāz, vol. II., pp. 175 sq.
(3) The poem is by the Shī'a poet, al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyārī, (see Aghānī, vol. VII., p. 13).
of al-Khafāji's lies in the importance attached to al-Jāhiz's works on subjects pertaining to the life of the common people. One may point out, in this connection, that the text of the Risāla fi Nafī al-Tashbīh itself was easily adopted to the form found in the attributed work. The whole introduction, in fact, was on the character of the common people, how to deal with them and how to gain control over them. The rest of the original Risāla, which al-Khafāji did not mention, or quote, is on the subject of anthropomorphism. As for the occasion which prompted al-Jāhiz to discuss the common people and their behaviour at the beginning, one finds that al-Jāhiz discusses them in connection with the traditionists against whom al-Miḥna (the Inquisition) was brought, concerning the Creation of the Qur'ān. The common people supported the traditionists in the interpretation of the Qur'ān. The interest of al-Jāhiz in the common people and his attitude towards the question itself is important in this work. This may have been one of the reasons that caused the interference

(2) about this point, see pp. 17-30 of this thesis.
(3) al-Mashriq, ibid.
The with the text, /Risāla, however, is one of the most interesting works of al-Jāḥīz and is worthy of the most careful analysis. As for its connection to the subject of the common people, it is one of the most helpful in revealing a side of al-Jāḥīz's interests in the social and mental life of his time.

iii. Kitāb Sinā'āt al-Quwwād

This is another example of al-Jāḥīz's works, whose title is confusing and misleading. The treatise of Sinā'āt al-Quwwād (the arts of master craftsmen) comes down with the other treatises of al-Jāḥīz. Judging from the title and description annexed to it, the reader may think that the work was on the work and art of these leaders. The work is described in its sub-titles as follows: "A treatise by 'Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥīz on condemning the leaders and on the book of their crafts

(2) Rasā'il, (al-Sandūbī), pp. 260-6. The MS. is in the collection of Dāmād no. 949, fol. 113, under the heading of (Dhāmār al-Quwwād); (see Majmū', Kraus-Ḥājīrī, introd.), as well as other headings (see Ch. Pellat, Arabica, p. 172, no. 145.)
character and what they composed according to their natural tendencies and according to their crafts..."

It is much possible that this sub-title which describes the work, might have been added later by an interested person who found it necessary to describe it, for this description appears only in some copies of the work.

The text, however, does nothing to confirm the impression one gets from the original title of the work. al-Jāhiz, in fact, is dealing with the question of specialisation in one craft or knowledge, which may lead to a complete ignorance in other fields of knowledge. It may affect, according to this, the language of the person. al-Jāhiz cites in the mouths of various professional persons a description of one incident which was supposed to have been witnessed by them, each one in his own way, showing the effect of their craft or profession on their way of thinking and expression. His main purpose is to show the disadvantage of special discipline. At the end

(1) This sub-title is found in one edition only, see Lughat'ul-'Arab, vol. IX., pp. 26-38, (1931), edited by Dawood Chelebi.
(2) see Lughat'ul-'Arab, 1931, vol. IX., p. 26.
of the treatise, he advises the Caliph to educate his sons so that they have a general knowledge of every thing and would not be limited within a narrow field.

3. Problems in Connection with the Text:

In connection with the text, many problems are involved. Besides the fact that many of al-Jâhiḍ's works have failed to come down to us, the confusion of the surviving works constitutes one of the major problems. Some of al-Jâhiḍ's works survived only in part, although they still appear under the title of the whole original work. Other works were lost altogether and only quotations from them in other references could be found. Besides, the confusion in the text of some of the surviving works seems to arise from the fact that these works were mixed up with one another. In the following pages, a discussion of these problems, in connection with al-Jâhiḍ's social works will be made.

(1) Rasā'il (al-Sandūbī), p. 266.
(a) The surviving work being only part of the origin:

i. Risāla fi'l-Mughannīn

There are two books mentioned by Yāqūt; one under the title of "'Akhlaq al-mughannīn" and the other "al-Mughannīn wa'l-ghinha' wa'l-ṣanṣ'a". al-Sandūbī cites two works; one Kitāb al-mughannīn wa'l-ghinha' wa'l-ṣanṣ'a and the other Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-mughannīn. Professor Ch. Pellat prefers to think that Yāqūt was right and that they were two different works and one of them is on the Muqayinin, "the possessors of singing slaves." The book on al-Mughannīn is described by al-Jāhiz in the piece which has come down to us under the title of Risāla fi Ṭabaqāt al-mughannīn and this I intend to discuss, in some detail, here. Another Risāla under the title of al-Qyān which deals only with female-singers is another separate work which Yāqūt did not mention under the list of al-Jāhiz's

(1) Yāqūt, Irshād., vol. VI., p. 77.
(2) (al-Sandūbī), 'Adab., pp. 134 and 141.
(3) 'Arabica, p. 167, no. 115.
(4) see Br. Mus. MS. 1129, al-Kāmil (1323), vol. I., pp. 120-30; Majmūʿ, (Sacy), pp. 186-90; see also Ch. Pellat, 'Arabica, p. 167, no. 109.
works. It is possible that Yāqūt had this work in mind when he mentioned the book al-al-Muqayinin.

The book of Ṭabaqāt al-Mughannin seems to have been one of the books of al-Jāḥīz which throws an interesting light on professional groupings. A selected portion of this work was published under the title of Risāla. It seems to me that this piece was designed as a preface to the original work. In this preface, al-Jāḥīz delineates a complete scheme for the book itself. He does not embark upon a discussion of the subject of singers and their classes as is to be expected from the title of the book, but gives a general idea of the scope of the book, its aim, method and style. A study of this Risāla gives a useful indication of the character of Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-mughannin for which it was presumably designed as an

(1) Three Essays (Finkel, 1926), pp. 53-75.
(2) see on the meaning of al-Muqayin, ibn Manṣūr; Lisān. art. Qayn.
(3) It seems that singers were classified into classes, according to their skill and ability. The classification of singers is attributed to the time of al-Rashīd, the Abbasid Caliph who is supposed to have classified them after a Persian pattern. (see al-Jāḥīz, al-Taḥf, p. 37).
(4) see ref. no. 4 of the previous page.
introduction. This work has not survived as a separate entity although it was mentioned by Yaqūt.

In the opening chapter of the work, al-Jāhiz talks about branches of knowledge. The old philosophers, according to him, said that the origin of arts from which all sciences had derived, are four. One of these four origins is the art of melodies, its parts, syllables, divisions and themes which form a harmony. al-Jāhiz stated that he was going to give only the names of these four origins without going into the details. He proceeds, however, to discuss the history of music beginning with Islamic times. One understands that his respect and admiration for the class of singers made al-Jāhiz, as he says, devote a whole work to them. The subject of the work was, therefore, classes of singers. To avoid alteration and interference with the text, al-Jāhiz made more than one copy and these he gave to certain persons who had all of them been at some time professional singers.

(1) Irshād., vol. VI., p. 78.
(2) see Majmū‘, (al-Sacy), p. 186.
(3) Ibid., p. 187.
(4) Ibid., p. 189.
al-Jähiz was aware of the value of the book as much as he was aware of the fact that many people were going to attack him and disagree with him in the interest he showed in (1) singers.

The scheme of the book then, according to this introduction, was as follows:

(i) To classify singers according to their (a) instruments, (b) school or method of singing, (c) peculiarities, and (d) reputation.

(ii) To give each class its name accordingly.

(iii) To be concerned only with contemporary singers and particularly those who lived in Baghdad itself.

(iv) To leave a space after each chapter for new singers who might appear and had not been included or to drop those who might lose their reputation as singers, by changing their place to the class that befits them. It might be relevant to quote al-Jähiz on this point:

(1) Majmūʿ, (al-Sācy), p. 188.
"... we have left after each chapter of classification in our book a space for any addition that may occur, or supplement to be added for those who may improve their art and become higher in class or those who may lag behind to a lower class, they are to be moved to their classes accordingly. We may add those whom we have not mentioned or not known. Nobody is allowed to add or drop a name of these classes without our permission and our close examination.

(v) Not to be partial in judgement and prefer one to the other without reason.

According to al-Jahiz, the style of the book was designed so as to mix seriousness with jest, particularising with hinting. Its guiding principle was to be that of true knowledge. This work was written in the year 215 A.H. but it is, of course, possible that he wrote the introduction after completing the main work.

Here, the synopsis contained in the Risāla ends, presumably leaving the way open for the book to deal with

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(1) Majmū', (al-Sācy), p. 188.
(2) Ibid.
the subject of classes of singers.

**ii. Risāla fī'l-Wukalā'**

Of this work of al-Jahiz, no more than a few pages seem to have survived as a selection. Yaqūt mentions it under the list of al-Jahiz's works. It would have been of value to this study if it had come down to us in toto. The confusion comes in the edition of al-Jahiz's Hasā'īl made by al-Sācy. In publishing this work, al-Sācy selected less than three pages of it. In the MS. of selected essays made by 'Ubaydullah b. Ḥassān, the work contains more chapters than those published by Sācy. As for the subject and scope of the work, we can get an idea of it from the extracts which have survived.

The work, like many other works of al-Jahiz, seems to have been a refutation of another work which was written against the agents. The writer of that work, according to al-Jahiz, had not given much consideration

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(1) *Irshād.*, vol. VI., p. 76.
(2) *Majmūʿ*, pp. 170-2.
to the consequences of such a work. al-Jahiz believes that in everything there are bad as well as good qualities. One should always doubt one's own knowledge and listen to other arguments in order to avoid the danger of enemies. After considering this point, al-Jahiz blames the author, because he was unnecessarily severe in his attack, and took no pains to mask its virulence. al-Jahiz seems to have been judging the man according to the principles which he himself was very careful to follow in his own works. Besides this work, al-Jahiz blames him for other works in which he criticised other professions, such as copyists and teachers. al-Jahiz himself, however, is supposed to have written books about these professions, criticising, as well as praising them. al-Jahiz then proceeds to cite an example which shows how biased the author was: - a man who was ill was asked by his son what he fancied and he replied: "A liver of an agent." The same man gave up trade because of the bad treatment and tricks of agents. This example, according to al-Jahiz, formed the beginning of the work of the writer. However,

(2) Yāqūt, Irahd., vol. VI., p. 78.
al-Jāḥīz thinks that the author did not write for the sake of knowledge. The Risāla, as published by Sācy, ends at this point, without dealing with the subject of agents.

In the selected chapters of ‘Ubaydullāh, the refutation of al-Jāḥīz begins in a new chapter after this point. The point which al-Jāḥīz makes in his defence of this class of people is the fact that one cannot generalise his judgement on all agents, for without them, al-Jāḥīz says, no commercial activities can be carried out.

The end of this Risāla, however, does not seem to be complete, for it ends in the middle of an argument.

### iii. Risāla fi Fakhr al-Sūdān

al-Jāḥīz mentions a book under the following description: "... the book of al-Ṣuraḥā’(the pure) and al-Hujanā’(the mixed), and the boasting of the Black and the Red, and the comparison between maternal and paternal relations." al-Jāḥīz, apparently, had written it before

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(1) Br. Mus. MS., fol. 197a.
(2) Br. Mus. MS., fol. 199A.
the book of al-Ḥayawān. The question is that whether the book mentioned by al-Jāḥiz had anything to do with the work which has come down to us under the title of Kitāb Fakhr al-Sūdān 'ala'l-Bīdān.

It has been suggested by Professor Ch. Pellat that the book of Fakhr al-Sūdān is part of the whole work of al-Suraha wa'l-Hujana. The following remark of al-Jāḥiz himself confirmed this suggestion, "As for the criticism, praising and boasting of the Black and the Red, it is all collected in the book of al-Hujana' wa'l-Ṣurahā." In the book which was published under the title of Fakhr al-Sūdān, we understand, however, that al-Jāḥiz had already written the book of al-Ṣurahā' wa'l-Hujana', he said: "You have mentioned, may God save you from deceit, that you have read my book about the judgement of al-Ṣurahā' wa'l-Hujana', and the answer of the latter ones and the answer of their uncles, and that I have not mentioned in it anything about the boasting of the Black. So, I have written what I remember of their boasting". This not

(1) see Arabica, p. 95, no. 160, May-1956.
(2) The Red, according to al-Jāḥiz, seem to be the white people, such as the Romans, etc.
(4) Fakhr al-Sūdān, Majmū', (al-Sācy), p. 54.
seems contradictory to what al-Jāhiz said about this book in al-Ḥayawān. It may suggest, however, that al-Jāhiz wrote the general book on al-Ṣurahā wa'l-Hujanā and then, after he was asked to write in detail about the Black, he wrote another work on the same theme; this was the treatise of Fakhr al-Sūdān., which has come down to us. One may presume, therefore, that the book of Fakhr al-Sūdān is only part of the whole question of al-Ṣurahā wa'l-Hujanā, although it may not have been written together with the original work. Having written the two parts of the work in different times may have caused the loss of one of them.

The whole work seems to have been written according to a wish of an authority. Although al-Jāhiz attributes the argument in the treatise to the Black themselves, it is evident that al-Jāhiz wrote the book in their mouth.

(1) The methods of argument are typical of al-Jāhiz himself, (see Majmūʿ ., al-Sācy, pp. 78 sq.)
iv. Kitāb al-Nisā'

Another work which had suffered from this confusion is the book about women. al-Jāḥiz refers in many occasions to this book. In the list of al-Jāḥiz’s works cited by Yaqūt, there is a mention of two books, one on al-Nisā’ and the other on al-‘Ishq. None of the two books, however, seems to have come down to us in full. Selections from Kitāb al-Nisā’ come among the chapters collected by ‘Ubaydullah b. Hassan. A treatise under the title of Fī’l-‘Ishq wa’l-Nisā’ has been published with the Rasā’il of al-Jāḥiz, by al-Sācy. al-Sandūbī published it under the name of min Kitāb al-Nisā’.

In the list of al-Jāḥiz’s works, made by Professor Ch. Pellat, two works are cited under the titles of (fī’l-‘Ishq) and (Fāṣl mā bayn al-Rijāl wa’l-Nisā’). Professor Pellat thinks that these titles are, originally, two independent works, but

(2) Yaqūt, ‘Irshād., vol. VI., pp. 76 and 77.
(5) Rasā’il, (al-Sandūbī), pp. 266-75.
(6) Arabica, May, 1956, p. 162, no. 84.
(7) Ibid., p. 174, no. 146.
later were mixed up together. Yet, according to him too, "It is probable that the passages published with the Risāla fi'l-Ishq, under the title of al-'Ishq wa'l-Nisā', appertain to the present work (i.e. Faṣl mā bayn al-rijāl wa'l-nisā')."

The comparison between all the surviving chapters which were published under slightly different headings, shows that they are identical, except for few differences. The difference appears in the Risāla fi'l-Ishq wa'l-Nisā', published by al-Sācy, where some of the chapters which appear in the other editions are missing here. Besides, there are some differences in the order of the chapters between al-Sandūbī and al-Kāmil, which is taken from the chapters of 'Ubaydullah b. Ḥassān. It should be pointed out that in al-Sandūbī, as well as al-Sācy and al-Kāmil, the chapter on al-'Ishq is published as part of the treatise of al-Nisā'. Besides, al-Jāhiz himself states that he had dealt with the question of love in details, in the book, saying: "As we have mentioned in this book the love which

is the root of passionate love, and the passionate love of which extreme love is derived and the extreme love for which the person sets out aimlessly or dies of grief in his bed."

The confusion, however, comes from another fact. In the edition of al-Sandūbī, the whole Risāla ends with a chapter where a general description of the book is given by the author, and where he complains of his illness. According to this chapter, al-Jāhiz intended to write a book on the differences between the males and females of all animals, but found that it was better to limit it within the subject of men and women, which, according to him, was made short, in order to win the interest of the reader. In al-Kāmil, this chapter comes within the treatise, just before the chapter of al-ʿIshq, leaving the latter apart from the discussion on women. This may indicate that the selected chapters were made from two different works of al-Jāhiz; one the book of women, and

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(2) Rasāʾil, (al-Sandūbī), p. 275.
the other the book of love. This, however, is contradictory to the statement which al-Jāhīz made in the opening of the book of al-Nisā', that he dealt in it with the question of love. It may be presumed that the book of al-Nisā' is identical with the book of Farq mā bayn al-rijāl wa'l-nisā', of which only selected extracts, in the form of chapters, have come down to us. The question, however, still remains whether the book of al-Ishq is part of the work or not.

In the edition of al-Sandūbī, as well as that of al-Kāmil, one comes across chapters which have no close relevance to the subject of women. In these chapters, a discussion is made about the question of rulership and the necessity of an 'Imām. The occasion which prompted al-Jāhīz to deal with this topic may be presumed to have been the topic of the previous chapter, where al-Jāhīz talks about blood relation and its significance in the life of men, especially in the tribes. These chapters do not come in the treatise published by al-Sācy. One may

(1) see above p. 48; also Rasā'il, (al-Sandūbī), p. 266.
suggest that the fact that the work was made into selected chapters made them seem out of place.

(b) The text being in disorder:

i. Risāla fiʾl-Muʾallimin

This treatise has not been edited properly. The only published copy of it is to be found on the margin of Kitāb al-Kāmil by al-Mubarrad. al-ʿAbshīḥī says that al-Jāḥiz wrote a book on teachers, in which he quoted their jokes and anecdotes and criticised them, but that al-Jāḥiz, who happened to come across a sensible teacher, decided not to publish the book. When he discovered that the man was, after all, one of the typical teachers, whom he had criticised before, he decided to publish the book and he did so. This story may indicate that al-Jāḥiz had finally made up his mind about his attitude towards teachers


(2) see al-Mustaṭraf., 1933, vol. II., p. 242.
and that his book on them was simply a criticism of them. In Yāqūt's list of al-Jāḥiz's works, however, there is no mention of a treatise criticising teachers, and in the treatise which has come down to us, al-Jāḥiz is more inclined to praise them and defend their profession. Perhaps al-Jāḥiz wrote two works on teachers; one criticising them and the other praising them, showing an ambivalence, which is not unusual with him.

The Risālā appears in the guise of a refutation directed against a person who attacked teachers as a class and used abusive language against them. Therefore, al-Jāḥiz is trying to give them their due rights and to do them justice. The Risālā is by no means the whole work.

(1) Yāqūt, 'Irshād., vol. VI., p. 77.
(3) al-Jāḥiz wrote treatises on copyists, secretaries and wine, praising them as well as condemning. Most of these works have failed to come down to us. (see 'Irshād., vol. VI., pp. 76-8; see also my thesis.)
(4) It was believed that the only author who attacked teachers and wrote against them was Ibn Shāhīd (4th Cent. A.H.), of course, he is later than the time of al-Jāḥiz (see Zākī Mubārak, al-Nathr al-Fannī, vol. II., p. 49.)
It appears to be extracts made from the original book of (1) al-Mu‘allimīn. Quotations which were made by other writers from the book of al-Mu‘allimīn do not appear in the present treatise. The selections were put in separate chapters which vary in length. One of the chapters has under it no more than the following sentence:

"And these two poets are pre-Islamic and far from modernised (3) (4) language and safe from artificiality."

This sentence, which comes in a separate chapter, is put, immediately, after al-Jāhiẓ discusses Ibn al-Muqaffā‘ and al-Khalīl b. ‘Aḥmad, and criticises them. Apparently, the judgement has nothing to do with these two ‘Abbasid persons, a man of letters and a prosodist. It seems to have been cut off from a whole chapter on two pre-Islamic poets.

(1) Concerning the original MS., see Br. Mus. MS. 1129.
(3) see about al-Tawlid and al-Muwalladūn, E. W. Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, part VIII., p. 2967.
(5) Ibid., pp. 32-3.
As for the subject of this treatise, it is the most confused and the most lacking in unity. The author starts by talking about books and their importance. He then proceeds with the main theme of the treatise, the subject of teachers. After a general survey of teachers and their types and status, al-Jāḥiz gives his opinion about teaching of the language and the question of grammar. From the topic of teachers and teaching, we suddenly come across a chapter on the question of homosexuality (al-Liwāṭ). No doubt, the chapter is not complete and it has probably been taken from another work.

Al-Baghdādī mentions a work by al-Jāḥiz under the same title of homosexuals (al-Latā), when he criticises al-Jāḥiz. al-Thac  al-ihi, in the section which he wrote about sodomy in Khurasān relates many sayings on the authority of al-Jāḥiz. al-Jahiz’s most important position of the question, related by al-Tha‘ālibī, does not appear in the treatise of al-Jāḥiz. The next chapter of the

(2) al-Farq., p. 163.
(3) al-Tha‘ālibī, Thīmār., 1908, p. 439.
work deals with the importance of the Sultan, who is like a shepherd to his people. This chapter, together with the following one, seems completely out of place. The following chapter is on the question of trade and merchants. The reader may wonder why al-Jāḥīẓ should discuss so many topics in one work, and without any apparent connection between them. The reason perhaps, lies in the confusion caused by the selected extracts which were presented in chapter form. The confusion appears in the Risāla of merchants itself, where we find the chapter concerning teaching boys the language and grammar, which belongs to this Risāla, was annexed also to the work of merchants in one of the editions. No wonder, then, that the converse applies and we find that the chapter on merchants has been mixed up with this work as well. The comparison between the profession of merchants and the service of the Sultān goes very well with the title of the treatise on merchants.

(1) see Majmūʿ., (al-Sācy), pp. 158-60.
(2) i.e. Risāla fī madh al-Tujjār wa dhammʿamal al-Sultān.
This work, as has already been mentioned above, has been mixed up with the treatise on teachers, and in discussing it, one should consider the chapter which comes under the treatise of teachers as part of the treatise of merchants. As for the chapter which concerns teaching and which has been published with this treatise, it should go under the treatise of teachers.

As for the contents of this work, one finds once again that al-Jāḥīz was writing the work as a refutation of some other work which was written earlier. al-Jāḥīz seems to have been reluctant to condescend to a refutation of arguments of the writer, for it appears that he was obeying the wish of someone in authority. He carries on, however, with a defence of the class of merchants; he describes those who criticised merchants as "the most common and the lowest grade among the followers

(1) see above, p. 54
(3) Majmū‘. (al-Sācy), p. 155.
(4) Ibid.
of the Sultān." If they had any sense in them, according to him, or any experience and knew the results of things, they would not have attacked the merchants whose virtue was admitted by all high-ranking people. The treatise goes on with the same theme, in defending the function and status of merchants and preferring it to the service under the Sultān, which was not very safe or independent. From this al-Jahiz leads the discussion to the status of the merchants of Quraysh. All Muslims, according to him, are aware of the fact that the chosen people in whose house God had entrusted His message and whom He favoured, were merchants. All people knew their generosity, courage and patience even before Islām. Their name - al-Jahiz says - derived from their profession of dealing with money; they did not have a father by the name of Quraysh. They were the chief merchants of their time; and the Prophet himself

(2) Ibid., p. 156.
(3) see also al-Jahiz, Risāla Fīl-Auṭān., Br. Mus. MS. fol. 202a-b.
(4) see the same explanation; that the name of Quraysh is from Taqrish (or qirsh), which is connected to money or dealing with it; Ibn Manzūr, Lisān, vol. VIII., p. 225; Zahidī, Tāj., vol. IV., p. 337; also pp. thesis.
was a merchant at one stage of his life. The chapter which was put under the treatise of teachers and which concerns the same topic of discussion about the merchants of Quraysh, should fit in here. In the chapter where al-Jāhiz deals with the topic of the importance of the Sultan who is like a shepherd to his people, he also discusses merchants. In this chapter, al-Jāhiz justifies Quraysh who, although they were merchants, were not as monopolising as the merchants of al-Ḥira and al-ʿUbulla. In fact, it was their neediness which made them turn their hands to trade, but they were loved and respected by their people. Poets went to them and praised them and they were most generous and hospitable. al-Jāhiz goes on to explain other characteristics of Quraysh. It is obvious that the discussion of the chapter, which was attached to the treatise of teachers, has more to do with the treatise of merchants, especially with the chapter where al-Jāhiz

(2) Risāla fī 'al-Muʿallimīn, al-Kāmil., vol. I., p. 34.
(3) In his translation of the treatise of al-Muʿallimīn, Hirschfeld reads it al-ʿAila. (see 'A Volume of Orient. Stud.', pp. 200-9)
discusses Quraysh as merchants. Therefore, it would be presumed that the chapter belongs to this treatise. After the discussion about Quraysh, al-Jahiz goes on to make a comparison between trade and other professions, where he expresses his doubt about trade. The comparison between the profession of the merchants and that of the Sultan was made so that it would fit into the treatise of teachers, (1) where the chapter appears. The chapter ends by instructions given to teachers, to give their students the right knowledge in order to prepare them to be good rulers.

Another confusion in this treatise appears in the edition of al-Kamil, where the treatise of al-Sharib wa'l-Mashrūb comes as a chapter of the treatise of merchants. (2)

(c) The text being lost and only quotation surviving:

i. Kitāb al-Luṣūṣ

This also is one of the more significant works

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(2) al-Kāmil., vol. II., pp. 251-69.
of al-Jāḥīẓ which has failed to come down to us. Description of it in other writers and quotations from it are, therefore, of the greatest importance in understanding its nature. Fortunately, there is ample material, for the work has been quoted or described, not only by al-Jāḥīẓ himself but also by many other writers.

al-Jāḥīẓ refers to the book in al-Bukhālāʾ when he says: "You have mentioned - may God, save you - that you have read my book on (classifying the tricks of the day thieves and describing the tricks of night thieves), and that you have mended by it every weakness and fortified with it every defect and that you have improved - by what it told you of subtle tricks - what no cleverness might reach and no craft could outpass. You said that its usefulness is great and studying it is a duty." The book, however, does not seem to have been concerned with thieves only. It appears that it was linked to the large subject of the morals and the character of the common people in general, telling their stories, showing their

(1) The MS. of the work is supposed to be in al-Mūsīl, no. 265 (see Dāwood al-Chelbī, Makḥtuṭāt., p. 264, no. 16).
(2) al-Bukhālāʾ, p. 1. ¶1948.
behaviour and evincing an interest in their views and ideals. This is clear in the quotation which al-Jahiz makes from the book in al-Hayawan, where, after talking about pigeons, he says:

"... and similar to this kind of narration is what was related about Babuya, the owner of pigeons. If you heard his stories in the book of Thieves, you would know that he was far from telling lies and false stories. I have seen him and sat with him, but I have not heard this story directly from him. It was told to me by one of the chiefs of al-Basra of those who had settled down in the mosque of Muhammed b. Rughban..."

al-Jahiz goes on to relate the story of Babuya, which is concerned with the pigeons which Babuya used to keep and train. There is another paragraph in the book of al-Hayawan, which is believed, by al-Hajiri, to have been quoted from this same work on thieves. al-Jahiz, however, does not,

(1) About this mosque, see Yaqut, Mu'jam al-Buldan, vol. IV., p. 265; al-Hajiri, comments on al-Bukhalah; p. 327.
(2) al-Hayawan, vol. II., p. 156.
(3) al-Bukhalah, p. 230.
especially, refer to it as a quotation from the book of thieves.

The work known as Wasiyat‘Uthmān al-Khayyāṭ li’l-usūs, the MS. of which is supposed to be in al-Muṣīl, seems to be only part of the Wasiya, which would be translated here: "In the will of‘Uthman al-Khayyāṭ to the Shuṭṭār and the thieves: (Avoid, avoid the love of women and listening to the music of the lute and the drink (made of) cooked raisin, choose the Ḡilmān instead, for your young man (Ḡulām) is more useful to you than your own brother and more helpful than your cousin. I recommend to you the wine of dates and the music of tambourine and what the early generations used to have. Make your preserves from broad beans, and if you can afford it, the pistachio and the Basil-Royal or the Jasmine. Leave aside wearing the turban (al-‘Imāma) and wear the mask (al-Qedā) instead. The cap (al-Qalansuwa) is unbelief

(2) see above, p. 59, footnote no. 1.
(3) see about these head dresses, al-Jāhiz, al-Bayān, (edit. al-Sandūbi), vol. III., pp. 65 and 67-8.
and the boot (al-Khuff) is polytheism. Take pleasure in pigeons and romp with dogs, avoid wild sheep and playing with small falcons and gerfalcons and avoid lynx). When he reached the cock, he said: (As for the cock, he has patience, vigour, craft, good management and skill in using arms, he is as dazzling as a brave man). He said also: I advise you to play the Backgammon and leave the Chess to its people. Do not play the Backgammon except with (1) al-'^awilatayn - the two long ones. As for the amulet, it is a source of capital, its first benefit is to skill in (2) catching)." This quotation of the supposed will make it easy to understand a general idea of the nature of the work.

The supposition that the Will is only part of the whole book is also supported by another quotation which is interesting. al-Tanūkhī, who was one of the writers who showed great interest in the life and morals of the common people in the 4th century A.H., quotes the book of al-Jähiz. This quotation is most interesting in showing the way al-Jähiz dealt with the question of thieves and the way he looked at it. What makes it more important is that none of the

(1) No explanation of this term is to be found, in al-Jähiz or elsewhere in dictionaries.
(2) al-Hayawāñ, vol. II., p. 366.
(3) Analysis and details of the characteristics of this class, as gathered from al-Jähiz is made later, pp. 106-113 of this thesis.
writers who are interested in al-Jāhīz has paid any attention to it. al-Tanūkhī said, on the authority of a robber:

"Have you not heard what al-Jāhīz has said in the book of al-Lusūs, about one of them who said: (Those merchants were not exempted from the alms-tax (al-Zakāt) of people, because they withheld it and cleared themselves (from it), so it was left in their possession and thus their money for that reason was consumed while the thieves were in need of it. If the latter, therefore, took the money of the merchants, even if the merchants did not like it, it would be lawful, because the money itself should be consumed as alms-tax, and they (i.e. the thieves) have a right to take the alms-tax, whether the possessors of wealth agree or not.)

I said: That is true, al-Jāhīz did say so..."

The book, however, was attacked and criticised by many writers, who thought that it was leading to corruption. The importance of the book, however, was not limited to its own time, for it affected the literature of the following centuries. Besides its great popularity among

(1) al-Faraj., vol. II., p. 117.
(2) see criticism of al-Baghdādī, al-Farq., p. 162; al-İsfrāînî, al-Tabṣîr., pp. 50-1.
the common people, as is shown above, it seems to have enjoyed a considerable influence on the literature of the 4th and 5th centuries A.H., al-Rāghib al-İsfahānī is believed to have been influenced by al-Jāḥiz’s work on thieves, in the chapter which he wrote about theft and kinds of thieves. al-Bayhaqi, in the book of al-Maḥāsin, makes a long quotation from al-Jāḥiz about thieves, which has a direct bearing on the social study of this class. al-Bayhaqi does not mention the work from which he made the quotation, but it is apparent that it was this same work on thieves.

ii. Kitāb Ḫiyāl al-Mukaddīn

Connected to the subject of lower classes is the work on beggars and their tricks. The work, too, has not come down to us, but from the one surviving paragraph, it is clear that al-Kudya (beggary), was not only an art, but

(1) al-Rāghib, Muḥāḍarāt al-‘Udabā’, vol. II., p. 81; see also al-Ḥajirī, al-Bukhālā, p. 232.
(2) vol. III., pp. 521-3.
(3) see Ch. Pellat, Arabica, May, 1956, p. 167, no. 95.
also a profession which needed certain methods and special skill. This point, however, is dealt with, in some 
(1) detail, in the following chapter.

al-Baghdādī mentions the work, very briefly, when criticising al-Jāhīz, and says: "...and among his books......
is (his book) on the Tricks of beggars, the content of which is appropriate to him (al-Jāhīz), his profession and his
(2) family..." al-İsfār'īnī calls it Ḥiyal al-Mākirīn, which is apparently, misreading of (اِلْمُكَرِّرُ) as (اِلْمُكَرِّرُ). Quotations from al-Jāhīz on "al-Mukaddīn" were made by later authors without categorical mention of the work they
(4) were taking from. One may presume that the work in question must have been well-known to these writers. The long paragraph quoted by al-Bayhaqī from al-Jāhīz is apparently from this same work. The characteristic description of the beggar, who appears in al-Bayhaqī's quotation, is very similar to that which one comes across in the book of

(1) see pp.99-106 of this thesis.
(2) al-Farq., p. 162.
(3) al-Tabṣīr., p. 51.
(4) see for instance, al-'Abshīhī, al-Mustatraf., (1331), vol. II., p. 221.
al-Bukhalā' of al-Jahiz. The paragraph which I have translated here, is helpful in illustrating the scope of the work.

al-Bayhaqi said: "al-Jahiz said: I have heard an old chief (shaykh) of the Mukaddin, when he met with a young fellow who had been only recently practising the profession. The old man asked him about himself, and he answered: (God damn the Kudya for a profession, and damn its people, how mean and how low! So far as I know, it disgraces one's own self and humiliates men. Have you ever seen a beggar who prospered?)". He said: the old man was enraged and he turned round to the young man and said: (You there! talk no more, for you have said too much. One like you does not prosper because you have been frustrated, and you are still not experienced enough, for the Kudya has its men. So, why say all this?) Then he turned round and said: (You hear this, by God, there comes to us every useless Nabaṭeān and oft-slapped weaver and boasting coward, who talks sevens and eights. If anyone of them did not get

(1) al-Jahiz, al-Bukhalā', pp. 39-46; also pp. 263-76 of this thesis.

(2) The phrase is: (لا تهاجموا ) which indicates that he talks nonsense.
anything one day, he would start blaming the craft and condemning it. Have you not known that al-Kudja is an honourable profession and it is delightful and tasteful? The man who practises it is in everlasting happiness, for he is on the space of the whole earth. He is the vicegerent of Dhul-Qarnayn who reached the east and west. Wherever he goes, he never fears misery. He walks where he likes, obtaining the best in each town: at the time al-Nirsyan and al-Hayrun, he is in al-Kufa, at the time of large carp and sugar cane in al-Basra, at the time of al-Burni and al-Azadi, and al-Haziqi and the pomegranates in Baghdad. Oh, by God! you should have seen me as I entered a town of al-Jabal and stood in its great mosque, with a waist-wrap which I wrapped round myself, and made my turban from a fiber rope, with a stick in my hand made of oleander wood. A crowd of people gathered around me, as if I were al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf on his pulpit, while I was saying: (Oh ye folks, a man from Syria and from a town called al-Mašīşa, one of the conquerors, who were stationed (to fight) for the path

(1) These are kinds of dates, see al-Faqih al-Hamadānī, al-Buldān, (1302), p. 251
(2) Kinds of dates too.
(3) A kind of grapes.
of God, of the running soldiers (al-Rakkāda) and guards of Islam. I have taken part with my father in fourteen raids, seven in land and seven in the sea, and I have raided with the Armenian. Say: (Mercy be upon Abū'l-Ḥasan!) .... The last one with whom I fought was Yāzamān the servant, and I entered Constantinople and performed prayers in the mosque of Maslama b. 'Abdul-Malik. Whoever has heard of my name has heard, but (to him) who has not, I introduce myself - I am the son of al-Ghuzayil b. al-Rakkān al-Maṣīḥi, the well-known, the famous on all the frontiers, the fighter with the sword, the user of the lance, one of the defendants of Islam....)

The appeal of the beggar goes on in the same way. He ends his description saying: "and by God, I had hardly finished my appeal when I saw a shower of Dirhams falling on me from all sides. I left with more than a hundred Dirham." Here, the young fellow jumped on his feet and (went to him) and kissed his head and said: (You, by God, are the teacher of good. God may reward you for the sake of your brethren with all that is best.)"

This quotation leaves us in no doubt concerning

(1) see about Yāzamān, al-Ṭabarī, Tarīkh., vol. III., p. 1168, (year 220).
the subject matter and nature of the book - a romantic representation of professional begging, seemingly couched sometimes in terms of poetic flamboyance. It is a pity that nothing more can be found about this work of al-Jāḥiẓ.
Chapter Two

SOCIETY IN AL-JAHIZ'S WORKS

Part I. Social Classes

(a) Specialisation in Labour and Knowledge:

The specialisation of labour and knowledge is an outward and manifest sign of progress in any human society. This characteristic specialisation was manifest in Islamic society together with the material and intellectual activity of town life; it reached in the Abbasid town a high stage of maturity. The degree of specialisation which obtained is shown by the number of professions and in the skill of the craft trades. al-Jahiz relates a conversation between himself and a carpenter who fixed a wooden door for him with great skill and care. He did not fix the latch, however, and asked al-Jahiz to find someone who would do it with the same care in order not to spoil the whole work. al-Jahiz

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expresses his great admiration for the man because he showed that he knew what he was doing. It would seem that already the organization of labour had to be established and a tendency towards the association of craftsmen of the same profession had emerged. The organizations of labour, in fact, go back, according to Massignon, to as early as the Babylonian and Assyrian times. Christensen speaks about classes of craftsmen in Persia under the Sasanids. al-Jāḥiẓ relates stories about ʿArīf al-Karnāsīn (the chief of sweepers), who had all the sweepers of al-Karkh, the western side of Baghdaḍ, gathered around him. The conversation which takes place between him and a half-witted man shows the low level of life and knowledge of these craftsmen. There is no doubt that al-Jāḥiẓ sympathized with the class of craftsmen and it is significant that he cites them as an example of cohesive mutual sympathy particularly so in the

(2) Ch. Pellat points out that the beginning of these organizations may have started at this epoch, but he himself had no attestation for this (Ibid., p. 232).
(4) l'Iran Sous les Sasanids, (1952), pp. 92-5.
case of the market-professions, such as the butchers and small tradesmen. The occasion for this strong sympathy seems to have been the first steps that were then being taken towards the organization of labour in Islamic society, established later throughout the whole Muslim world.

The wider the field of knowledge became, the stronger the sense of specialisation grew, and this tendency is reflected also in Islamic literature. al-Jāḥiz portrays the process of specialisation in various forms and takes towards it different attitudes according to the aspects which he deals with. It is clear that al-Jāḥiz accepts specialisation of function in a society and, indeed, thinks it necessary for the life of man and social harmony.

(1) see al-Jāḥiz, Risāla fī Dhamm akhlāq al-kuttāb, Three Essays, (Finkel), p. 46.

(2) It is interesting to see that al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī who writes in the 4th cent. A.H. about al-Mutatāfīlūn - those who went to banquets without being asked or invited - gives the impression that they had an organization with a chief and special system in al-Baṣra (see K. al-Tatfīl, (1927), pp. 81-2). al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, on the other hand, talks about blood-letters (or barbers) in the city of Qumm who seem to have a kind of professional grouping [Muhādarat.], Br. Mus. MS., (add. 7305 Rich.), fol. 128a.]

al-Jāhiz, however, does not approve of the tendency where knowledge is concerned. With his intense sense of humour, al-Jāhiz presents a picture of a group of people of various professions whose knowledge he mocks at and presents as an example of the extreme narrow-mindedness of those specialised professions. In a most cynical way, al-Jāhiz produces an amusing picture of this group of people with one-track minds, whose narrow professional field affected even their language. The treatise which al-Jāhiz wrote and which is called "Sinā'āt al-quwwād", was presented to the Caliph al-Mu'tašim, advising him to teach his sons every knowledge, lest their minds be as narrow as these craftsmen, who could not express themselves beyond the verbal mannerism and expressions used in their own professions. al-Jāhiz does not by any means despise these craftsmen whose speech he represents in poems with such immense interest and skill but it is clear that he does not approve of this kind of discipline. On the contrary, al-Jāhiz set himself as the

(1) Man, according to al-Jāhiz’s argument, unlike animal, is distinguished by his ability to know more than one art or knowledge. (al-Ḥayawān, vol. II., p. 147)
(2) al-Jāhiz, Rasā'il, (Sandūbī), pp. 260-6.
example of the man of catholic and encyclopaedic knowledge. This is significant because it illustrates the lack of a sense of specialisation where the field of literature and letters is concerned. It is interesting to see that at this time, a great number of men of letters, theologians, scholars and poets lived by following professions which had nothing to do with their literary careers. Some of them, it is true, lived exclusively by their pens and al-Jähiz himself is an example of those who lived by their own writing.

(1) There was a current saying that he who wanted to be a scholar should look for one art, but to be a man of letters, he should know all sciences (see al-‘Iqd., 1940, vol. II., p. 208).

(2) Wāsil b. ‘Aṭā’, the famous theologian, was a wool-seller (see al-Bayān., (1332), vol. I., pp. 13-9), although Yaḥūt attributes his appellation (al-Ghazzāl) to the fact that he used only to sit in the market of wool (Irshād., vol. VII., p. 223). The surnames of many theologians, scholars and men of letters seem to have derived from the names of professions such as al-Khayāt al-Mu’tazili, al-Jubbā’ī, al-‘Allāf, etc. al-Jähiz, however, denies the fact that these names indicated the professions, and he wrote a special treatise on this point (al-Bayān., (1332), vol. I., p. 20).

(3) al-Jähiz received large sums of money through the dedication of his books to some of the ‘Abbasid authorities. (Yaḥūt, Irshād., vol. VI., pp. 72 and 75-6; see also Ch. Pellat, R.S.O., (1952), p. 50).
However, al-Jāḥiz's disapproval of specialisation should not be exaggerated, for he recognizes the various needs of society and the fact that these needs required various special functions. al-Jāḥiz says that God did not create anyone who is mighty enough as to satisfy all his needs himself without the help of others, therefore, "He made the kings' need in their people and the people's need in their kings..." al-Jāḥiz goes on to categorise the nature of need itself into: the need whose fulfillment is essential for living, and secondly a luxurious need for pleasure and prosperity. The amount of either of these two, according to al-Jāḥiz, depends on the amount of necessity, knowledge, depth (in thinking) and the human capacity and nature. Therefore, specialisation in function depends, according to this, on one's own capacity. al-Jāḥiz, in fact,

(1) al-Ḥayawān, vol. I., p. 44.
(2) al-Jāḥiz uses here for both (need) and (necessity) the term (al-ḥāja). The lack of accuracy is perhaps due to his literary nature which takes its freedom on the expence of his scholastic arguments.
(3) al-Ḥayawān, vol. I., p. 43.
(4) It is interesting to see this same conception of specialisation in pre-Islamic Persian literature. "It is the duty of artisans not to muddle themselves in things which they do not understand..." (see Christensen, l'Iran., p. 314, ref. to anonymous book).
discusses this point in connection with the metaphysical order and in connection with God's power and justice. His scholastic method depends here on a round-about way of argument to which he tries to give a rational colour.

It is interesting to see that al-Jāhiz, who does not encourage a special discipline in knowledge tends to apply the idea of specialisation to certain nations while discussing their characteristics. The elements of need and capacity appear as a means which help in achieving the specialisation of function or knowledge. Therefore, "the Greeks who looked into causes were not merchants or craftsmen with their own hands, neither were they people of agriculture, farming, building or planting, nor of collecting and protecting (i.e. money)..." Their specialisation, according to al-Jāhiz, became to concern themselves with creating new theories and methods of life. They were concerned with philosophy and not with practical life.

(1) al-Jāhiz proves that the need is decided according to the necessity and capacity, on one hand, but on the other hand, God limits one's own capacity within his own requirements, therefore, according to him, one is equal to the other by nature and by the creation of God. (al-Hayawan, vol. I., p. 43).

for the Chinese people, they were, according to al-Jāhiz, people of moulding and forming, melting and shaping. They had wonderful colours and cloth making. Therefore, al-Jāhiz concludes, "... the Greeks know the causes and do not practise the work, and the Chinese practise the work and do not know the reason, because the former were philosophers (1) and the latter were practitioners..." al-Jāhiz, however, fails to give the reasons for their different characters.

It would be interesting to point out that al-Jāhiz, who lived in a society where relations with China were mainly commercial and who seems to have known almost nothing about Chinese philosophy whilst Greek philosophy had made a great impression on him and on his time, generalises in giving judgement on the two nations, referring them to the crafts by which they were particularly known to him and to the Islamic world of his time. This is clear in al-Jāhiz's various references to the Chinese and to the Greeks. al-Tha'ālibi, in the 4th century A.H., follows

(2) see about this Ṣr al-Ḥayawān, vol. I., pp. 75-83; vol. V., p. 36; and vol. VII., p. 230
al-Jahiz in his idea about the Chinese people as good craftsmen.

al-Jahiz, also, is inclined to classify the characters of nations into practical and theoretical aptitudes - a point which is consistent with his analysis of social classes and types of people. al-Jahiz refers not only to the Greeks and Chinese, but also to the Arabs and the Turks. It is interesting to see how enthusiastic al-Jahiz becomes when he describes the Arabs about whom he, apparently, knew a good deal. The detailed description which I quote here is significant not only in relation to the subject of specialisation which al-Jahiz explains in his own way, but also to these explanations given by al-Jahiz which are reflections of his own society and of his personal interest and knowledge. He says:

"... and so were the Arabs; they were not merchants, craftsmen.

(1) Thimär., (1908), pp. 432-3; see also about the early trade with China and commercial relations, al-Ya‘qūbī, Tarīkh., (1883), vol. I., p. 206.

(2) al-Jahiz uses here the term (al-‘Arab), which seems to have meant the nation in general. The term (al-‘Arāb), used in other occasions is a comparative term used for the Beduin Arabs in comparison with townspeople. However, the singular of (al-‘Arab) in the treatise is used as (‘Arābī). (al-Kāmil, vol. I., p. 271). The reference may be presumed to have been to the pure Arab nation before the settlement in towns.
men, physicians, accountants or farmers as to be (considered) professional people, neither were they cultivators, for they feared the humiliation of taxes (al-Jizya). They were not people of earning and collecting or monopolizing of what they possessed and looking for the possessions of others. They did not earn their living from scales and measures, neither did they know the Dawānīq (small silver coins) or the Qarārit (the 24th part of a Dīnār), and they did not become so poor as to be pre-occupied (with their poverty) from knowledge, neither were they so rich (to an extent of) the riches which brings stupidity and the wealth which causes vanity. They never bore any humiliation which would kill their spirit and make them despise themselves; they were inhabitants of deserts and were brought up in the open air.... They have strong memories and proud souls, when they reached their limits and directed their capacities for making poetry and eloquence in speech, cultivating the language and forming speech, tracking human beings... and using the guidance of stars, etc... they reached in that (1) their best...."

This speciality of the Arabs, therefore, sprang from their environment and the nature of their life and habitat. It is significant that al-Jahiz makes his judgment on professions with a mind that had been influenced by the circumstances of his own society. Agriculture is connected in al-Jahiz's mind with the humiliation of taxes, the feeling against which was prevalent in Islamic society. The taxation system throughout the whole rule of the caliphate had been of a most unsteady nature. Professions connected with the market and trade which al-Jahiz describes in terms of "scales and measures", were common in the town, but al-Jahiz could not be justified in thinking that the Arabs did not practise them, or deal with any kind of trade. His attitude, however, reflects another fact - that is the status of these professions in the Abbasid town-life and the public feeling about them, which will be discussed soon. On another

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(1) In the 8th century A.H., 'Ibn Khaldūn shows great interest in the question of environment as an effective power on the human society and the nature of tendencies of man. 'Ibn Khaldūn does not seem to have known about al-Jahiz's interest in this, for he ignores him altogether, see Tāhā Ḥusain, Falsafat 'Ibn Khaldūn,, (1925), p. 74.

occasion al-Jāḥīz, however, admitted that Quraysh were merchants, although he defended them.

It is interesting to see that al-Jāḥīz assigns different functions to different nations; the Greeks were philosophers, the Chinese were craftsmen and practicians, the Arabs poets and men of speech, the Persians politicians and men of diplomacy and the Turks soldiers and leaders. All these different nations represent the different cultures and elements of civilisations which were absorbed by the Islamic society of al-Jāḥīz's time. It could be pointed out that al-Jāḥīz's lack of knowledge in one aspect shows itself in his judgement. He gives, for instance, the privilege of making poetry to the Arabs only, who were known to him as poets and eloquent speakers. This may indicate, too, that al-Jāḥīz knew nothing about Greek or other nations' poetry or literature. In fact, al-Jāḥīz believed that the

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(1) al-Jāḥīz, Risāla fi al-Muʿallimin, al-Kāmil., vol. I., p. 34.

(2) It should be pointed out that this treatise was written especially by al-Jāḥīz in praise of the Turks as soldiers of the Caliphate. (see al-Kāmil., vol. III., p. 267.)
Arabs were the first to make poetry and that Aristotle and Plato were "generations before the beginning of poetry among the Greeks."  

(b) The Social Status of Professions:

"With the division of labour and trades" Landtman says, "varying degrees of social estimation are assigned to the different groups of workers. One craft is valued more highly than another, and in consequence the man working at that craft enjoys greater consideration." This characteristic emerges in the Islamic town with the progress of material life and the tendency towards specialisation in function and craft. Social estimation of crafts, however, was affected by various circumstances in the Islamic town, and so varying attitudes towards crafts appeared. In spite of the fact that the craft may be indispensable, it may still be despised. The weavers were condemned in Islamic society and considered the lowest in status and morals,

(1) al-Jahiz, al-Ḥayawan, vol. I., p. 74; al-Jahiz does not seem to have known about the "Poetics" of Aristotle.  
(2) The Origin of Inequality., (1938), p. 81.
although the craft became more common and practised more in towns. A weaver in al-Kūfā once claimed to be a prophet; a crowd of people gathered round him and said: "Avoid (the wrath of) God and have fear of Him. Have you ever heard of a prophet (who is) a weaver?" He said: "You do not want your prophet but a banker." Traditions were attributed to the Prophet Muhammed against the weavers; he said to 'Ali b. 'Abī Ṭālib "Oh 'Ali, avoid the weavers, for God has taken away the blessing from their earning in this world, and they are the despised ones." All the bad deeds which were committed against the prophets are attributed to the weavers. It is interesting, however, to see how political life in the Islamic town is connected to this attitude. In current stories and legends, the weavers appear in contrast with merchants; and while the former are condemned, the latter are praised.

(2) see Lughat al-'Arab, vol. V., p. 335 (1931); also al-Rāghib, Muḥādarat., vol. II., pp. 284-5.
(3) Lughat al-'Arab, vol. V., p. 335 (1931).
(4) Ibid.
I suggest that this seems to reflect one of the characteristic attitudes of Islamic society. It is interesting to see who the actual practicians of these two crafts were. It is a truism to say that Quraysh are distinguished as merchants and that their profession is always attached to their names. Al-Jahiz himself maintains that the name of Quraysh did not derive from a name of a father of the tribe but was a description attached to their profession as merchants, from "trade and Taqrīb." As for the weavers, the Arabs of the South, and especially the Yemenites, are famous for their cloth making since pre-Islamic times.

The great conflict between the Arabs of the South and the Arabs of the North developed and took various shapes in the political life of the Islamic community. Social attitudes towards these crafts seem to reflect clearly this conflict.

(1) Ibn al-Nadīm mentions a book which attacked Quraysh as merchants. (Fihrist., Flügel- vol. I., p. 105). Al-Jahiz cites a poem taken by the Yemenites as evidence against Quraysh the merchants (Fākhīr al-Sūdān, Majmūʿ, -Sacy- pp. 57 sq.) see also Ṭabarī, vol. II., 959, a poem by Abū Nuʿām against Quraysh.


(3) see about cloth making, 'Ibn Sīda, al-Mukhāṣṣas, vol. IV., pp. 72-3; Yāqūt, Muṣjaμ-jam., (1869), vol. IV., p. 1036.
This suggestion is confirmed by the fact that the Yemenites are mentioned, and scorned, in connection with the craft of weaving. al-Jahiz relates a saying of Khalid b. Saifīn, blaming people from Balbāriḥ b. Kaʿb and criticising them before the Caliph Abū l-ʿAbbās, the first Abbasid caliph, he says: "What shall I say to people who have been either (1) weavers of Burd, or tanners of leather, trainers of monkeys or riders of donkeys; a hoopoe led to them, a rat drowned them and a woman reigned them..." This antagonism may explain to us the statement put by the false prophet, in al-Kūfah, who refers to a banker-prophet which seem to be an insinuation to Quraysh.

The lower craftsmen were never able to become wealthy enough as to be raised in social estimation, al-Jahiz says: "I have never seen a water-carrier who reached the stage of luxury and wealth, neither a brick-maker, worker in elay or cultivator, nor any other small trades(men) and

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(1) A cloth made especially in al-Yemen, see al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ, vol. IV., pp. 72-3.
(2) This is a reference to the Qur'ānic story of Solomon with the queen of Saba (see al-Bayān, (1926), vol. I., pp. 219-20). See the narration also in Yāqūt, Muʿjam, vol. IV., p. 1056, Ibn Qutayba, ‘Uyūn, vol. II., p. 217 (1920).
crafts (men). Don't you see that money often exists among secretaries, diamond traders, the sellers of adorned (cloth) and carpets and among bankers..." al-Jähiz attributes this to the fact that the great sum of money (i.e. capital) brings big profit while small sums bring only little.

al-Jähiz realises the importance of crafts in the life of the society, but reflects at the same time the social status of these crafts. Therefore, God, according to al-Jähiz, made some people choose these crafts in order to make life easy, because "... if all people were averse to the shame of weaving, we all would have been left naked and if all were averse to the hardness of building, we would have been left without shelter..." The need of society for these crafts did not prevent shame being attached to them.

Professions and crafts which bring wealth, presumably would lead to respect and high position in the society.

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(1) al-Ḥayawān, vol. IV., p. 434.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ḥujaj al-Nubuwwa, al-Kāmil., vol. II., p. 23; Rasā'il, (Sandūbī), p. 127.
(4) In another occasion, al-Jähiz indicates that the profession in itself is not to blame (see chapter III of this thesis).
"One of the chiefs of al-'Ubulla was heard saying that the poor people of al-Basra are better than those of al-'Ubulla." When he was asked why and in what way he preferred them he answered: "Because they respect the rich people more and they know their duty." al-'Ubulla was one of the important centres of trade for a long time before the foundation of al-Basra, although its importance grew less later. On the other hand, its people were described as the most poverty-stricken and savage. A story related by al-Baghdādī shows that the lowest class (al-Sifl) of al-'Ubulla were the poorest of all other towns; and their main occupation was fishing. al-Jāhiz describes its merchants as the most monopolising of all. Their attitude towards wealth and riches is one of respect and love; the poor man is not allowed to be rude to the rich, but the latter can insult the former without being blamed, otherwise the poor, according to them, will dare to punish the rich and this itself will bring destruction. Merchants, therefore, enjoyed a high position and respect

(2) see about al-'Ubulla, Yāqūt, Muṣjam., vol. I., pp. 96-8.
(3) al-Bukhalā', Br. Mus. MS., fol. 53a.
(4) Risāla fiʾl-Muʿallimin, al-Kāmil, vol. I., p. 34.
(5) al-Jāhiz, al-Bukhalā', p. 113.
in Islamic society. This, however, was not without qualification, for trade was considered shameful to the old nobility of the 'Abbasid court - although trade was not forbidden by Islam, but on the contrary encouraged. When Yahya b. Barmak intended to take part in commercial activities, a merchant advised him saying: "You are a noble man and a descendant of a noble, and trade is not your business." This, perhaps, was due to the fact that the merchants did not want the high officials and courtiers competing with them in the field of their own profit. Nevertheless, the occupation of a high office like that of a Wazir is considered higher in the estimation of society than that of a merchant. This does not obscure the fact, however, that the merchants enjoyed a great influence in the life of the Islamic town, whether economic, social or political.

(1) see art. Tidjāra, E. I.
(2) al-Jahshyāri, al-Wuzarā', p. 183; also al-Dūrī, Tārīkh., p. 112.
(3) This is confirmed by a current saying which goes as follows: "If the monarch shared with the people in their own trade they will perish and if they shared with him the (duty of) carrying arms, he will perish." (al-Dimashqī, Māḥasin., 1316, p. 41).
(4) 'Abdul-Malik al-Zayyāt, the 'Abbasid Wazir, is reported to have said: "The Commander of the Faithful has indeed lifted me from the disgrace of trade to the greatness of Wizāra," (al-Tha'libi, Kḥass., p. 5; al-Dūrī, Tārīkh., p. 112).
One of the great factors that raises the status of a man in society is his education and knowledge. This was a very important factor in the life of the Islamic community. The lack of barriers between classes in the Islamic social system, helped the individual to climb up the social ladder through his personal qualifications and merits, regardless of his origin or profession. Many theologians, poets or men of letters in Abbasid society depended merely on their qualifications to raise them in the social estimation. Wāsīl b. ‘Atā', the theologian and speaker, whom al-Jāhiz praises and respects, used to deal with wool, but distinguished himself as a theologian. Although Wāsīl was criticised and reminded of his low profession, he was a respectable man. It is interesting to see that al-Jāhiz cites a long argument as to whether Wāsīl was a wool-seller or not. It seems that some people could not accept the idea that a man with such eloquence and intellect would be of such a

(1) al-Jāhiz himself is a remarkable example of this type; in his early life he used to sell fish in the market of al-Baṣra, Sayḥan, (Yāqūt, ‘Irshād., vol. VI., p. 56 sq.)


profession, especially when it was an accepted fact that weavers and lower craftsmen were foolish and could never prosper. However, men connected with any intellectual activity were highly esteemed, even in the pre-Islamic society where the status of poets and priests was high. This continued to be so after Islam and developed with the development of knowledge and science. A literary profession was one of the accepted means of livelihood. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb is reported to have said: "The best employment among the Arabs was the verses which a man offers before proposing his need, in order to make the generous (man) hospitable or the miser kind." Poets addressed kings and princes and lived on their gifts. The importance of poetry in this respect was not less in later Islamic society; poets praised the caliphs and lived under their protection. Besides, knowledge and education were appreciated by all classes of people, although they varied in their appreciation. Eloquent speakers had great impression on the common people; they sat in the mosque, listened to orators and preachers and admired them, (1) al-Bayān,(al-Khaṭṭāb) vol. III., p. 32; also Muqaddasī, Iltā'īf, pp. 25-7 and 27-8 (1900, Cairo). (2) see al-Jāhīz, al-Bayān., vol. II., p. 225.
although they may not have been able to judge the most
(1) truly knowledgeable men. It seems that this appreciation
of the common people of eloquence on one hand, and the
impoverishment existing among the lower classes on the
other, encouraged the classes of beggars and story-tellers
to use literature as a means of beggary. The middle class
in 'Abbasid society in their turn recognized the great value
of literature and knowledge, for it was through their knowl­
dedge that they could prosper and follow the example of
the 'Abbasid aristocracy whose position was mainly dependent
(2) on their wealth. The position of this middle class was
gained through flattery and praise of the monarch and the
eminent personalities of the court - this is obvious in the
whole Arabic literature of this time. But the life of the

(1) An interesting story is related by al-'Asma'ī, the Arab
grammarians, who had an argument once with Sibawayh, the
Mawla grammarians, in the mosque of al-Baṣra. In order
to gain the sympathy of people, al-'Asma'ī, on purpose,
raised his voice to show his eloquence to the audience;
as soon as they heard his good accent, they sided with
him, although he was not on the right. (see Yāqūt,
Irshād., vol. VI., p. 87).

(2) see about this point Ch. Pellat, Le Milieu., p. 229.

(3) The story related by al-Jāhiz about Sahl b. Hārūn who
regained his threatened position through flattery and
praise, is an example of this position. al-Jāhiz relates
his speech as the highest example of eloquence. (see
individual who was attached to the court was by no means safe, it depended entirely on the mercy of the caliph who could send him at any time to his death. Nevertheless, the middle class tended to attach themselves to the court, following the example of the court aristocracy in their luxury and pleasure. Secretaries were considered next to kings in their value and position. al-İsfahani holds the opinion that all crafts are dependent on poverty, for if there was no poverty or need, people would not have worked in them, except government, trade and working as secretaries. al-Jahiz regrets the fact that in his time the rivalries among men of letters were stronger than in any other profession. The dispute among Islamic parties about leadership in matters of the faith stands as a remarkable example of the high level of intellectual activity which reached its zenith under the Caliph al-Ma'mun. It is interesting, however, to see that the profession which is most attached to knowledge, and which is expected to give the people engaged in it respect and

(1) see the story of ʿAbū ʿAyūb al-Mūryānī, (al-Nayawān, vol. II., p. 361). This man was killed by the Caliph al-Manṣūr (see Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt., vol. I., pp. 215-6; al-Abshīhī, vol. I., p. 112.)
(3) This is, evidently, similar to al-Jahiz's own explanation of the choice of men of lower professions.
value, was most despised in Islamic society. Teachers were compared in their status and foolishness to the weavers and lower craftsmen. Their social status does not by any means reflect the nature of their profession which is connected to knowledge and which is expected to be highly respected in society. The great consideration of scholars and men of letters, however, is reflected not only in the influence they had on the people and in the Abbasid court, but also in the sayings of the time. People are said to be of three categories: Scholars, men of letters and orators, as for the rest, they raise the prices, make the markets crowded and disturb the waters. al-Jāhiz's great interest in the intellectual middle class is not due only to the fact that he was one of them, but also to the great importance he attaches to reason and to the value of personal qualification and wide knowledge which are great means, in his opinion, to power and prosperity.

(1) see sayings in al-Bayān., vol. I., p. 174.
(2) This point is made clear in the discussion of this class later. al-Jāhiz gives his interesting explanation of this point. (see below, pp. 128-31)
(3) The saying is attributed to Khālid b. Safwān, see 'Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd., vol. I., p. 157.
(4) see chapter III of this thesis.
(c) The Common People and Their Occupations:

The importance of the common people in the writing of al-Jahiz appears in his great interest not only in the lower craftsmen, but also in the beggars, rogues and thieves. Beggary, in al-Jahiz's writing appears, for the first time in Arabic literature as a professional activity. The appearance of this class, however, in the social life of the Islamic town was by no means a sudden phenomenon. It is necessary before proceeding further, to discuss at this point the figure of the beggar in literature and to examine the origin of beggary in Islamic society.

al-Kudya (beggary) is naturally connected with poverty and need. This fact by itself, however, hardly explains the origin and increase of beggary in any society without considering the special circumstances obtaining in

(1) see al-Jahiz's description of the beggar, al-Bayhaqi, al-Mahasin., vol. II., p. 622-24

(2) This discussion will be of a great relevance with the character of the beggar in the book of al-Bukhari which is discussed later in Ch. IV of this thesis.
that society. It is interesting to see how close the connection was in Islamic society between social and economic conditions, and the march of political events. It is true that beggary grew out of social and economic factors, but most significantly these conditions were exacerbated to a great extent by others of political nature. The manifest sign of the power of the caliphate was its tendency towards expansion. Wars and raids against the neighbouring countries were carried out under the name of holy wars. Since 'Umayyad rule, the campaigns were directed against the Roman empire. Under the 'Abbasids, these raids continued and the frontiers were maintained and enforced. As early as the time of the Caliph al-Mahdi, the third 'Abbasid caliph, new garrison towns on the borders between the 'Abbasid and the Roman territories were established; al-Maṣīḥa and Ṭarsus were built (162 A.H.), and were considered most important in the wars against the Romans. The social and economic conditions which these


(2) Yaqūt, Mu'jam., vol. II., p. 218
continuous wars created among the inhabitants of these bordering towns stand as an illustration of the continuous suffering of the people. In 163 A.H., al-Rashīd, the son of al-Mahdī, attacked the settlers near al-Maṣīṣa and Tarsus, captured a great number of the inhabitants and the rest were sold in the markets. The inhabitants of these areas suffered from both sides, the Muslims and the Romans. The Romans, in their turn, answered these raids; in the year 190 A.H., al-Ṭabarī says: "al-Rūm reached ‘Ayn Zariba (1) - a town built by al-Rashīd - and Kanīsatul-Sawdā"; they raided and captured. The people of al-Maṣīṣa tried to save what was in their hands." In the same year, al-Rashīd paid back the raid and captured Hiraqla, destroyed it and enslaved its people. In the year 216 A.H., news reached al-Ma’mūn, the son of al-Rashīd, that the Romans attacked Tarsus and al-Maṣīṣa and he attacked them in return. The raids became more regular between the years 237-248 A.H. and more people were captured, enslaved or killed.

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(1) Yāqūt, Mu’jam., vol. III., p. 419
(2) Ibid., vol. III., p. 761
(3) Ta’rīkh., vol. III., p. 709
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid., p. 1104
(6) Ibid., pp. 1419, 1420, 1434, 1447, 1449, 1508
It would not have concerned us in the least to discuss these raids, had they not had repercussions on social life in the near territories and consequently, on Islamic town-life. These conditions of life help to explain an important fact, they explain why al-Jāḥīz chose to bring his beggar from al-Maṣīṣa and to make him appeal to the people by telling them about his great deeds and courageous past and that he took part in over 14 raids against the Romans and that he knew (1) the leaders of these raids. It is significant that these raids against the Roman empire were considered by Muslims as part of the holly war (al-Jihād). People who took part in these raids were treated with great respect by the caliphate and, indeed, by the whole Muslim world. The common people considered the leaders of these campaigns as heroes of the faith and their death meant martyrdom for the sake of religion. "When the news reached Dār al-Salām (Baghdād), Samarrā’ and the other Islamic towns of the death of ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd al-‘Aqţa’ and ‘Alī b. Yaḥya al-

(1) The names of the leaders which al-Jāḥīz’s beggar cites seem to have been of authentic historical persons. His own name is cited by al-Jāḥīz as Ibn al-Ghuzayil b. al-Rakkān al-Maṣīṣi; (al-Bayhaqī, al-Maḥāsin., vol. III., p. 622-24). A very similar name to this is cited by al-Mas‘ūdī to have taken part in these raids with the leaders whom the beggar of al-Jāḥīz himself cites, the name appears as al-‘Urayil b. Bakkār; (Mūrūj., vol. VIII., p. 73)
'Armani', says al-Ṭabarī, "who were both chief leaders of the Muslims with strong power and great deeds, it was very hard on the people and great was (the calamity of) their death, especially when the period between their deaths was so short..." The feeling of agitation was increased by the murder of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil by the Turks. "The common people in Baghdād gathered, shouting and crying for a general recruitment (Mafīr), and the Abnā' (the Khurasānī soldiers) and the Shākiriya (the Turkish soldiers) joined them, pretending that they wanted their pension... They opened the prison of Naṣr b. Malik and let free all those in it." The weak central government had no longer any control over the people, the state of chaos spread over all the country, the confidence in the caliphate was no longer valid and people themselves decided to take action. Therefore, "A group of well-to-do people from Baghdād and Samarrā' collected a big sum of money to enforce those who were rising to go to the frontier to fight the Romans..." It is significant that the common people themselves show such a

(1) Ṭabarī, Tārikh, vol. III., p. 1510. These are some of the leaders whom the beggar refers to.
(2) Ṭabarī, Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
great interest in the raids against the Romans, their sympathy being infused by their religious feeling.

Coming back to the beggar of al-Jāḥīz, it is noticed that when he stands in the mosque appealing to the people, he stresses his religious achievements as one of the defenders of Islam. He had, according to his own saying, a duel with the king of the Romans on the gate of Ṭarsūs. He does not forget to tell them that he had paid a visit to the mosque of Maslama b. 'Abdu'l-Malik in Constantinople. He boasts about his courage in killing the men and enslaving the women, a fact that was characteristic in these raids. In spite of all this courage and this heroic past, this man appears not only as a beggar but also as a chief one. Why is this so?

The conditions of life in these border territories should be taken into consideration, in order to understand al-Jāḥīz's suggestion for the origin of his beggar. Besides the fact that the people were exposed to the danger of raids, slavery and suffering in these changeable conditions, the people of these towns do not seem to have been representative of the average town-dweller. They were a mixture of unwanted
elements, whom the government wanted to get rid of, such as al-Zuṭṭ who were mainly working labourers on the land in Mesopotamia and who were under very bad conditions. After the failure of their rebellion in the Caliphate of al-Muʿṭaṣim, a great number of them were recruited and transferred to the north to ʿAyn Zariba. Soon afterwards, the Romans swept them before them. As for the Khurasānī settlers, they settled in ʿAyn Zariba as early as the Caliphate of al-Rashīd. It seems, however, that some agricultural and commercial activities flourished for a time in these territories. Besides, Yaqūt mentions a number of poets and scholars who came originally from these towns. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the inhabitants of these towns were either killed, robbed, enslaved or driven out of their homes.

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(2) al-Ṭabarī, Ibid., vol. III., p. 1168
(3) Yaqūt, Muʿjam., vol. III., p. 761
(4) Ibid. Yaqūt also mentions that al-Maṣīṣa used to export furs and that it had many gardens and a river, (vol. IV., p. 557)
(5) Ibid., vol. III., p. 761; vol. IV., p. 557
(6) Yaqūt himself was captured from Byzantine territories, when a boy, and sold as a slave in Baghdaḏ, (see art. Yaqūt, E.I.)
This became more frequent when the central government could no longer maintain its frontiers.

It is significant that al-Jāḥīz constructs a magnificent picture of all these elements epitomised in the outstanding figure of the beggar. This figure is an example of the ‘Abbasid society in its gradual social and political disintegration. At the same time, he represents the heroic spirit of the religious wars of the Islamic empire which was at the same time being reduced to poverty and decline. One may point out in this connection that in the 5th century A.H., al-Ḥarīrī, the Maqāmāt writer once again comes to choose his beggar out of the same type of conditions. It does not seem to have been a mere coincidence that al-Ḥarīrī should choose his beggar from Sarouj the Syrian town which was exposed to the raids of the Franks and the inhabitants of which were driven out and made as refugees in 494 A.H./1101 A.D. It is significant, however, that the beggar of al-Jāḥīz appears as a hero who had taken

(1) al-Sarouji is said to have met with al-Ḥarīrī in the mosque of al-Ḥaṣra and told him about the disaster that befell the city. al-Ḥarīrī describes this incident in the Maqāmā No. 48; (Assemblies, English translation, introd., p. 13)
part in the holy wars, whereas the beggar of al-Ḥarīrī was not so, he lost his home and was reduced to the utmost poverty and beggary. Nevertheless, both beggars appear as professional, skilful and crafty men. The beggar of al-Jāḥīz defends his profession and considers those who complain of beggary as good-for-nothing people, ".. if anyone of them did not earn anything one day," he says, "he would blame the craft and condemn it. Didn't you know that al-kudya (beggary) is an honourable profession and it is tasteful and delightful; its man is in everlasting happiness, for he is on the roads of the whole world and the space of all the earth.."

The universal character of al-Jāḥīz's beggar appears in the great similarity which one finds between him, whether in his attitude towards the people, the excuses he makes or the devices of his trade, and the class of vagabonds, rogues and minstrel poets who appear in England in the 16th century. A very short comparison between the characteristics of al-Jāḥīz's beggar and an Elizabethan minstrel-retainer, who was described as "not technically a vagabond", but

(1) al-Bayhaqī, al-Maḥāsin., vol. III., p. 622-24
"evidently a skilful beggar", illustrates this similarity. al-Jahiz's beggar was, above all, a dignified man whose past stands as a witness for his great deeds. Eloquence in speech was necessary for him to perform his part in public. His appearance in the mosque, however, is a characteristic of Islamic society where the mosque acts as a public place for meetings, besides its religious significance to the people. The beggar could get more sympathy from the people there. After appealing to the people, the beggar reveals his purpose saying: "... two sons of ours were captured and taken to the country of the Romans. Therefore, I ran away aimlessly accompanied by letters from the merchants, but I was robbed and here I am seeking refuge with God and with you, should you think that you are going to send back a pillar of Islam to his home."

In the 16th century England, a minstrel-retainer appears with same characteristic. He was an honest man, "respectable enough to wish to pay his debts... he gained a

(1) see Frank Aydelotte, Elizabethan Rogues., p. 46
(2) al-Bayhaqi, al-Maḥāsin., vol. III., p. 622-24
large part of his living on the road. After collecting a

good sum of money, he was attacked by thieves and robbed in

the way. He appeals to the people in poetry:

"After my robbery my memory was so decayde,

That I could neather syng nore talke, my wytts were so
dismayde,

My awdacitie was gone, and all my myrry tawke,

There is sum hear have sene me as myrry as a hawke,"

... ... ... ...

"But after all," the author says, "he thanks God it was no

worse; his patron has given him letters, friends everywhere

have contributed and he hopes present company will do the

same, so he ends:

"Desyring youe all to bear this tayle in mynde,

That I among your pursis nowe sum frendshiphe may fynde,

Every man a lyttel wold satisfy my nede,

To helpe a poor man owt off det, it ys a gracious dede"

(1) P. Aydelotte, Elizabethan Rogues., p. 47; also Wright,

Songs and Ballads, No. xlvi., p. 156-61.

It would be interesting to point out that the ceremonies

of initiation among the Elizabethan rogues as described

in Aydelotte's book (p. 29-30), are similar to those

common a group of thieves whom al-Tanukhi describes in

the 4th century A.H.; see al-Paraj., 1904, vol. II.,

p. 113.
The professional beggars, vagabonds and story-tellers had common characteristics in their privation and roaming life. The Islamic mosque, the streets and highways were the field where they made their appearance and earned their living. Sukkar, the chess-player, was the most foolish among story-tellers, al-Jāḥīz says, but the most skilful in playing chess; he used to travel earning his living (1) by chess-playing. Chess was considered the game of immoral lower classes, although, of course, it was played in the 'Abbasid court. Story-telling was a profession which needed (4) craft, skill and eloquence. However, it was not a degraded (5) profession in early Islamic times. Besides, there were many theologians, preachers and good speakers who practised story-telling. In the 4th century A.H., beggars seem to have some

(1) al-Jāḥīz, al-Ḥayawān, vol. II., p. 147

(2) see al-'Isfrā'īnī's criticism of al-Jāḥīz, al-Ṭabšīr., p. 50-51; also al-'Abshīhī, al-Mustaṭraf., 1331, vol. II., p. 214

(3) see al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj., vol. VIII., p. 311. Books were written especially about it, (Ḥājī Khalīfa, Kashf., vol. II., p. 14-30).

(4) al-Mas'ūdī, Ibid., p. 161 sq.


(6) al-Jāḥīz cites a number of respectable men who were story-tellers, al-Ḥayān., vol. I., p. 234-5.
co-operation with the story tellers. al-Kān, a type of beggars, al-Bayhaqī says, makes an agreement with the story-teller early in the evening that he would give him half, or one-third, of what he earns in order to let him ask the people.

The descriptions given by al-Jāḥiz of this class, their behaviour and morals present them in a distinguished colour different from the ordinary traditional moral of the society. According to them, poverty and suffering should be faced with courage and will. al-Jāḥiz relates that a man complained, because the youth of his time were not as courageous as they used to be, because they could not face prison without complaints and that they betrayed their friends. According to the vagabonds, robbery was not shameful, but was as good as any fighting for the sake of the faith. The man round whose instructions to thieves al-Jāḥiz’s book on thieves was written, seems to have been a well-known chief of thieves himself. The instructions and sayings related about him represent some of the characteristics of this

(1) al-Mahāsin., vol. III., p. 625. It would be suggested that the name of this beggar, al-Kān, may have been taken from his connection with story-tellers.
(2) al-Bayān., vol. III., p. 132
(3) see about this al-Ḥayawān, vol. II., p. 410
class. 'Uthman al-Khayyāt is reported by al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī to have said: "Nations are endlessly capturing each other, and they call (what they do) raids and what they take a booty. It is considered the best (means) of earning. But you, in taking the money of traitors and vile people are more excused. therefore, call yourselves conquerors (Ghuzāt), as the Kharijites called themselves (Shurāt)." The thief, according to them, was more honest than the judge who accepted bribes and took the money of orphans. They believed in certain measures of chivalry, Ibn al-Jauzī says that al-'Ayyārin say: al-Fatā does not commit adultery, does not tell lies and avoids the unlawful and is never aggressive against a woman, but, according to Ibn al-Jauzī, they do not avoid taking by force the money of people. The bond of al-Futuwwa is, however, most powerful among them. 'Uthmān al-Khayyāt says that he never robbed his neighbour

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(1) Muḥādarāt., vol. II., p. 81-4; also al-Jāhiz, al-Hayawān, vol. II., p. 410. al-Shurāt (sing. Shārīf) are the Kharijites who sell their life for their faith.

(2) al-Rāghib, Ibid.

whoever he was. In the 4th century, al-Tanūkhī describes a highway robber saying: ".. In 'Ibn Ḥamdūn, there was Futuwwa and good humour. If he robs, he does not rob the people who have a few goods, the value of which is less than one thousand (Dinars ?), and if he takes the money of those people, he would share it with them." The groups of al-Fityān and wine-drinkers were praised and known for drinking wine, poverty and little earning. al-Shuṭṭār, who were described by al-Jāḥīz, were fond of wine; "one of the Shuṭṭār may be left alone with an unexperienced young man," al-Jāḥīz says, "he would say to him: (The young man -al-Ghulām- will not be a Ṣata until he meets with a Ṣata, otherwise, he is inferior in al-Futuwwa) ", and also "he who does not drink before breakfast is inferior in al-Futuwwa and spurious among wine-drinkers." al-Jāḥīz reveals interesting

(1) al-Rāghib, Muhādrat., vol. II., p. 81-4
(2) al-Faraj., vol. II., p. 119
(4) The word (ئعس) is used in this and the following quotation too. It was explained by al-Jāḥīz that, according to al-Fityān, he who is not educated by a Ṣata is (Niks)in al-Futuwwa, (al-Ḥayawān, vol. I., p. 168)
(5) Ibid.
(6) al-Jāḥīz, al-Bukhalāʾ, 1948, p. 87
sides of the life and morals of this class of people, in various occasions. Among the advice of `Uthmān al-khayyāt to the thieves, is that they should avoid relations with women and make their friends among men, for young men are more helpful to one another. According to him, they should play with pigeons, romp with dogs and avoid playing with falcons. The cock is described as the most courageous among animals. The mention of animals in connection with the morals and behaviour of these groups of people draws the attention of the reader.

In Islamic society, dealing with pigeons appears as a practice of the lower classes. It was condemned in traditions attributed to early authorities. In the tradition which condemns playing with pigeons, the game is attributed to the people of Lot, the prophet whose story is famous in

(1) see the stories related by al-Jāhiḍ about Bābūya, the pigeon trainer, (al-Ḥayawān, vol. II., p. 157). Bābūya seems to have been one of the characters in al-Jāhiḍ's book of thieves.

(2) al-Ḥayawān, vol. II., p. 366

(3) Ibid. The cock is described like a human being. This is true on other animals in al-Ḥayawān, see vol. II., p.340.

(4) see al-Damirī, Hayāt., 1868, vol. I., p. 291. In the Qur'ān, however, it was the hoopoe who took the message of king Solomon and not the pigeons, see chapter XXVII.
connection with the habit of Sodomy which was practised by his people. Besides, playing with pigeons is supposed to cause poverty and bad luck; "he who plays with pigeons will not die until he had suffered poverty." al-Jahiz himself seems to have been trying to show the connection between dealing with pigeons, drinking wine and being from the lower classes of people; he describes a man who was an extremist Shi'a as follows: "... I have never seen a poorer man than he, yet he was a wine-drinker and a player of pigeons and he looks in his figure and shape like the chiefs of al- Ḥarbiya." Dealing with pigeons, however, was a trade. 'Abū 'Ahmad al-Tammar, the theologian, was a merchant of pigeons before he became a seller of dates. Special kinds of pigeons were used for correspondence by the government. 'Abdullah b. al-Mukhtar al-'Alawi is reported to have been appointed as a special secretary of pigeons and remained till the caliphate of al-Mustaṣim. He also made special reports about their origins. al-Futuwwa in its later development is said to

(1) see Qur'ān, chapter XI., (Hūd)
(2) al-Damiri, Hayat., vol. I., p. 293
(3) al-Jahiz, al-Hayawan, vol. III., p. 20. al-Ḥarbiya was the headquarter of the common people in the civil war against the army of al-Ma'mūn, (al-Ṭabarī, vol. II., p. 1008)
(5) see Mustafā Jawād, Lughat al-‘Arab, 1930, vol. IV., p. 241-9
have included playing with pigeons, singing, and playing other games.

al-Jahiz shows great interest in animals in connection with the social life of man. It would be pointed out that he depicts the characters of animals from the viewpoint of their moral behaviour. The pigeons are compared with the human beings in their emotions and nature. The use of animals by human beings as companions is no less significant; the dog which is a very cautious animal was used by the groups of stranglers in al-Kufa, who attacked certain quarters, spread horror and robbed the people. The use of dogs by beggars and vagabonds appears to have been common and universal. In Roman society, it seems to have had the same significance; "in antiquity," says R. Lewinsohn Morus, "and indeed until well into the middle ages, the dog was a proletarian among the domestic animals. He was the beggar's companion and in Rome he was exploited in fine style as a

(1) Mustafä Jawād, Lughat al-ʿArab, 1930, vol. IV., p. 241-9; see about Futuwwa also p. 107 of this thesis.
(2) al-Jahiz, al-Hayawan, vol. III., p. 164-9; also about the behaviour of chickens vol. II., p. 340
(3) Ibid.; also vol. II., p. 264-7
worker, while in the arena he had to fight along with wild 
(1) beasts against the gladiators.." In Persian tradition, the
dog was held in great esteem by the Zoroastrians.. The dog 
(2) was used by the shepherds to protect their sheep. It should 
be pointed out that in Islamic society, the dog was also used 
(3) by the guards of the markets to protect the goods of mer-
chants. The significance of the dog among the lower classes, 
however, does not seem to lie in his function as a protector 
(4) only, but also in its usefulness for games..

Playing with animals, such as falcons, pigeons or cocks seems to have been common games in old oriental 
societies; "the art of falconry came from India and had also 
been practised in Persia at an early date.. After the 8th 
century A.D., falconry became the rage at princely courts 
(5) and it continued to be so for a thousand years.." In the 
book of al-Ḥayawān, al-Jāḥiz relates with great interest an

(1) Animals, men and myths, p. 119
(2) Christensen, l'Iran., 1936, p. 317
(4) An indication of the dog's relation with al-Fityān is given by al-Jāḥiz, see al-Bayān., vol. III., p. 132.
(5) R. L. Morus, Animals., p. 116-9
argument between two Mu'tazilite theologians in preference of dogs and cocks. al-Jahiz was blamed for wasting his time and the time of his reader in useless arguments like this. (1) al-Jahiz makes a reference, however, to 'Abū 'Ishaq al-Naẓẓām and Ma'bad as the two Mu'tazilites who held the argument (2) between themselves. This in itself may be an indication of the interest of the time in animals in connection with social habits and new emerging social phenomena. al-Jahiz, however, attributes the interest of theologians in arguments concerning animals to a religious interest, for animals, according to him, are manifest signs of the creation of God. (3)

(d) The Middle Class and Its Importance:

In connection with this class in the 'Abbāsid society, as well as in al-Jahiz's writings, two main points should be taken into consideration; the question of education which was mainly carried out by this class, and secondly the

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(1) al-Jahiz, al-Ḥayawān, vol. I., p. 216
(2) Ibid., vol. I., p. 3
(3) Ibid., vol. II., p. 109
question of wealth as a decisive factor, and a competing power, in the life and status of this class. Therefore, my approach to this class in al-Jāhiẓ's writing is concerned with these two points.

In connection with al-Jāhiẓ's writing, that section of the middle class whose livelihood depended mainly on an educational occupation is represented in the groups of teachers and secretaries, or clerks, who seem to have occupied a great deal of al-Jāhiẓ's interest. The close connection of this class with the intellectual activities of their time is germane to the question of knowledge and education in Islamic society. Therefore, before discussing the characteristics of this class, as al-Jāhiẓ portrays them, some general discussion is necessary on this point. My discussion of the question will be made in connection with al-Jāhiẓ's views and attitudes, for it is of the utmost relevance that al-Jāhiẓ himself was a member of this class.

(1) al-Jāhiẓ wrote about four treatises on the praise and condemnation of teachers and clerks; two of these works only have come down to us, see Yaqūt, Irshād., vol. VI., p. 76 sq.; also chapter I., of this thesis.
The close connection in Islamic society of teaching with religious studies seem to have helped to make teaching a widely practised profession. Teaching, whether in the Ḥalaqāt (the circles) of the mosque or in houses and schools, was of cardinal significance in the life of Islamic community. One of the characteristic features of the growth of education and learning in the Islamic world, in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.H., was the idea of seeking for knowledge and making long journeys for the collecting of traditions. al-Jāḥiz was not a traditionist himself, but worked part of his life as a teacher, and indeed spent most of his life in teaching through his writing. He was not described later as "the Teacher of reason and literature" in vain. His fame, which reached Spain, is said to have brought him students from there who studied under him for several years. al-Jāḥiz, in fact, represents the tendency

(1) see Ahmad Shalaby, Hist. of Muslim education, p. 116
(2) see ibid. this Guillaume, The Traditions of Islam, p. 68
(3) al-Jāḥiz, in fact, was accused by traditionists as having forged traditions, see al-'Asqalānī, Lisān., vol. IV., p. 355-6; al-Baghdādī, al-Fārāq., p. 61; 'Ibn Qutayba, Mukhtalif., p. 71-3; 'Ibn 'Asākir, RAAD, vol. IX., p. 204
(4) This is said by 'Ibn al-'Amīd, Yāqūt, Tarshād., vol. VI.p.74
in Islamic education towards vast and unlimited activities which were no longer confined within the field of religion. The Greek culture, which al-Jāhiz tends to copy, did not have a regular and systematic effect on his methods. However, 'Ibn Shahīd, one of the eminent men of letters in Spain who criticised teachers bitterly, thought that al-Jāhiz did not write all he knew in the book of al-Bayān wa'l-Tabiyīn, because, according to 'Ibn Shahīd, al-Jāhiz was careful about the bestowal of knowledge upon the ungrateful people of his time. Zākī Mubārak, who does not agree with Ibn Shahīd that al-Jāhiz was concealing his knowledge, thinks that al-Jāhiz did not do that on purpose, but that it was his own idiosyncratic way of writing, the simple reason being that he wrote for himself and not for the sake of teaching people. Ibn Shahīd may be justified in thinking of al-Jāhiz in this way, because it is apparent that nothing of al-Jāhiz's works, besides al-Bayān and al-Ṭarbi‘, was known in Spain. Besides, al-Bayān does not follow a

(1) Tahā Ḥusain thinks that there is no pure Arabic rhetoric but a mixture of Greek and Persian influence is clear, especially in al-Bayān of al-Jāhiz, see introduction to Qudāmah's Naqḍ al-Nāthr, (1933), p. 9
(2) see Zākī Mubārak, al-Nāthr, vol. II., p. 48-9
(3) Ibid., p. 49
(4) Yāqūt, Irshād., vol. VI., p. 75; also al-Ṭanūkhī, Nishwār, p. 119-20.
didactic method and only specialists may appreciate it and be able to sort out the ideas from amongst numerous examples and poems. However, no one who knew al-Jāḥīz through his works would be able to ignore his concern about the knowledge of the people, and about his readers, whom he seeks to please and teach. Even so, it seems that al-Jāḥīz did not hold a very high opinion of his reader. The irregular use of scientific methods and the continuous interruption of his serious arguments by anecdotes and short stories, in order to please his reader, are evidence of his taking pains to appeal to the ordinary reader. In al-Ḥayawān, he refrained from discussing certain subjects for the simple reason that they were boring—as he himself puts it, "... another defect of this is that it is so vast and long that you would not bear it even if Mukharriq (the singer) were to sing it for you, or Zalaal play (on the lute), or Barṣūma play it (with the flute); that is why I did not discuss it".

(1) 'Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī says that although al-Bayān included numerous examples of poems, speeches and sayings, knowledge is scattered in it, see al-Sinā’atayn, (1952), p. 4-5. al-Mas‘ūdī places it first on the list, on account of its many sidedness and versatility, see Murūj, vol. IV., p. 24; also A. Mez, Renaissance, English trans., (1937), p. 240.

(2) al-Ḥayawān, vol. VI., p. 16
The quality of being teacher of the common people, which al-Jahiz enjoyed, does not mean that al-Jahiz approved of the easy knowledge of a parrot, for he detested learning by heart which would paralyse the faculty of thinking and would stifle intelligence. This, perhaps, is one of the reasons why al-Jahiz was not a good traditionist. The attitude of al-Jahiz towards knowledge and education is that of great respect. His condescension in making knowledge as easy as possible for his ordinary reader did not deprive him of the scientific mindedness of the scholar. al-Hayawan is a representative of the intellectual activities of the class of theologians of his time, but its significance does not lie in its compendious knowledge as much as in the reflection it bears of the ways of thinking among the intellectuals of al-Jahiz's time. The scientific curiosity which dominated the minds of the class of thinkers who founded Muslim scholasticism is a most interesting feature which al-Jahiz reflects and represents. Besides, al-Jahiz does not fail to portray the rivalries between educated people, showing his great concern, in doing so, about the leadership of the

(1) al-Jahiz, Risala fi'il-Mu'allimin, al-Kamil., vol. I., p. 29-30. H. Hirschfeld thinks that, in this description, al-Jahiz was alluding to his contemporary al-Kindi, the Arabic philosopher, see a Volume of Oriental Studies, (1922), p. 200-9. However, there is no justification for this belief.
common illiterate classes of the people. One can hardly be justified in thinking that al-Jahiz held back his knowledge from undeserving folk, when his attitude towards the common people was that of a teacher. "It is not lawful", al-Jahiz says, "for him who has only a little of knowledge to neglect teaching those who have less knowledge than his." The great energy of al-Jahiz in recording all his thoughts by putting them in books, seems to have been one of the reasons why al-Jahiz's works deal with almost every subject. He seems to have held the opinion that books were the best means by which one could face one's rivals in arguments, whereas in arguing with them face to face, there is the risk of quarrel and rage which may spoil the free spirit of reasoning and argument. The long paragraphs in al-Hayawan, which al-Jahiz devotes to books, defending their value, are not only indications of al-Jahiz's great interest in education through writing, but also a reflection of its value in his own time.

(1) This point is discussed at length in the 3rd chapter of this thesis.
(2) al-Jahiz, al-Hayawan, vol. VI., p. 36
(3) al-Jahiz, Ḥujaj al-nubuwwa, Rasā'il, (Sandūbī), p. 123
(4) al-Hayawan, vol. I., p. 84-5, 100; also Carra-de-Vaux, les Penseurs de l'Islam, vol. I., p. 297
Knowledge in Islamic society was highly esteemed. In current sayings of the time, reason and knowledge are put in a position even higher to that of the caliph; "Abū'l-'Aswad al-Du'allī is reported to have said; (Nothing is as valuable as learning; kings govern people and scholars govern kings)" The value of knowledge, however, depended sometimes entirely on the amount of profit that the knowledge would bring in practical life. Therefore, the practical knowledge of counting was more appreciated than writing and reading alone, because in a society where financial activities were much encouraged, and trade was a profitable profession, counting was needed for the merchants, bankers and money-dealers, etc. Counting is preferred to learning how to read and write for the people, but the kings and princes were not in need of learning it. Their essential subjects were history and arts; al-Jāḥiz reports a saying that goes as follows: "Teach the kings the knowledge of Nasab, narration and law (or jurisprudence), teach the merchants counting and writing and teach the warriors the books

(1) 'Ibn Jammā'a, Tadhkira., p. 10; also 'Aḥmad Shalaby, History of Muslim education, p. 128
(2) 'Ibn al-Taw'am is reported to have said: "Teach your son counting before reading, because it is more profitable and the costs of its learning are cheaper, al-Jāḥiz, al-Bayān., vol. II., p. 138.
of campaigns and biographies (al-Maghāzī wa'1-Siyar)."

al-Jāḥīz's attitude towards education and its systemisation is not clear enough to be attributed specifically to him, for al-Jāḥīz does not seem to express a personal opinion about this point. He attributes a system of education which recognizes two main categories of knowledge, as well as two grades of people, to some past generation, whom he calls (al-ʿAwā'il), the Ancienta, without specifying whom he is quoting. In this system, al-Jāḥīz maintains that education was of two main grades:

1. The education of a certain special class of people which consisted of all branches of knowledge, whether science, arts, sports or games, etc.

2. The education of people in general. This is planned by the first class, mentioned above. It is meant for teaching people a hand-craft by which they could earn their living, in order to become cultivators, traders, builders and tailors, etc.

(1) al-Jāḥīz, al-Bayān., vol. III., p. 211.
According to this classification, people are of two main categories; those who work with their hands in order to make their living and, secondly, those who deal with arts, sciences and skilled work, plus the knowledge of games and sports. This classification is not out of place in al-Jāhiz’s attitude towards the question of specialisation of aptitude and function among nations, which has been discussed previously. The interesting point, however, is to see how far this system agrees with the conditions of education in Islamic society itself.

Education in Islamic society grew in close connection with religious studies. Knowledge could be obtained through narration and by joining the public classes and circles, whether in the mosque or outside it. It was by no means a privilege of a certain class of people to join these classes, or to travel for the sake of knowledge. Besides, there were no restrictions on joining certain faculties. It is evident that higher positions, such as

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(1) see p. 70-82 of this thesis.
(2) It is significant that with the development of sciences, classes were limited and, later, teachers and students formed separately their guilds, especially under the Fatimids, see J. Pedersen, art. Masjidd, E. I.
(3) 'Ahmad Shalaby, Hist. of Muslim education, p. 164
that of a Wazīr or a secretary could be obtained by qualified persons who proved to be competent. The caliphs' sons, on the other hand, had their own tutors and teachers, but it is difficult, in this context, to think of a system of education being imposed by an upper class for the people to follow. Therefore, al-Jāḥiẓ can hardly be thought to have been referring to the Islamic educational system itself.

In the old Persian system of education, the boys were taught three subjects only; to ride, to shoot and to speak the truth. According to Strabo's account, their training was mainly physical. On the other hand, Artaxshir Papakin is reported to have been so "proficient in literary knowledge, riding and other arts that he was renowned throughout Pars. Bahram Gur, another Persian monarch, was taught by three teachers, various games, instructions in letters and administrative duties. It is understood that the majority of people were illiterate, but the nobility were taught in the court together with the royal princes.

(1) see for instance al-Tanūkhī, Nīshwār., p. 27-8; also 'Iṣfahānī, al-Aghānī, vol. XX., p. 46
(2) On Persian education, see L. H. Gray, art. Education, Ency. of Religion and Ethics, p. 208.
(3) see Christensen, l'Iran., (1936), p. 410-12
However, there is no evidence that the Persian system of education defines the education of the people within certain conditions, although this may be implied in the special education of the kings which should prepare them for their duties.

As for the Greek system of education, Plato, in the Republic, expresses the necessity of compulsory education. "His educational scheme", Sabine says, "falls naturally into two parts; the elementary education which includes the training of young persons up to about the age of twenty and culminates in the beginning of military service, and the higher education intended for those selected persons of both sexes, who are to be members of the two ruling classes, and extending from the age of twenty to thirty five." Although Plato maintains that education in the Republic should be compulsory, the actual system of education in the Greek society was not so. "The education of the Athenian boys, for which the family not the state was responsible, was carried on at private day-schools. It, mainly, consisted of reading and writing (Grammatics), learn-

(1) G. H. Sabine, A History of political theory, (1954), p. 64
ing and reciting epic and dramatic poetry, lyre playing and singing lyric poetry, the rudiments of arithmetic and geometry (Music) and athletic exercises (Gymnastic)... after which military service starts. After about the age of fourteen, the Athenian citizen, generally, was expected to choose the education which would fit his future career.

"The sons of the wealthy might then do as they pleased, (2) others must think of fitting themselves to earn a living."

In the Republic, which is thought to be the greatest work on education ever written, Plato is concerned, mainly, with the mental education of his Guardians. The education is supervised by the state and directed towards a single aim. Physical training is no less important for the mental life of the citizens. Above all, however, the ideal academic education which included arts and sciences is required after the age of twenty, in order to prepare the class of rulers.

(2) W. Murison, art. Education, Ency. of Religion., p. 189.
(3) This is Rousseau's saying, see Sabine, A History., p. 64.
(4) Plato, the Republic, pp. 65-78, 90.
(5) Ibid., chapter XXIII., p. 206.
If al-Jāḥīẓ had this idea in mind, he could not have been thinking of the Islamic system of education, but was, perhaps, falling under the influence of a Greek conceptual system, which was reflected not only in Plato, but also in Aristotle, whom al-Jāḥīẓ seems to know more. It is to be regretted that, because of the loss and interconfusion of his works, no clear elaboration of al-Jāḥīẓ's views on the theory of education is available.

In spite of the great respect of knowledge in Islamic society, which is reflected in the great educational activities, the social status of teachers was not always reflective of this great esteem of the society for knowledge. "The importance attached to the work of elementary teachers," Goldziher says, "is by no means reflected in his social status - the prevailing attitude of Muslim society towards the teacher of children.. is represented in Arabic literature as one of extreme disrespect. His position is on a

(2) The Republic is said to have been translated by Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq (194-260 A.H./ 809-873 A.D.), under the title of the Book of Politics (Kitāb al-Siyāsa), see al-Fihrist, vol. I., p. 247. al-Jāḥīẓ does not refer to it specifically. Ṭahā Ḥusain doubts that the Republic of Plato was known to al-Jāḥīẓ, see Ṭahā Ḥusain, Falsafat Ibn Khaldūn.
level with that of weavers, blood-letters and other despised trades..." This attitude is reflected in the great number of traditions and sayings current in Islamic society. Various explanations are given, by many scholars, of this attitude. Goldziher says that it is possible that "this deprecation of indispensable profession of teachers may be due simply to the haughtiness of the Arabic race. In passing judgment upon it, however, we must not forget that analogous features appear in the educational annals of Greece and Rome." Mez says: "It is very likely that the low status of teachers may have had its origin from Greek comedies in which the pedagogue was always a comic person." Other reasons within Islamic society are given by Lammense. In his thesis on the history of Muslim education, 'Ahmad Shalaby refers this condition to financial reasons, that is the low standard of living among the teachers, especially of children. In the sayings, current in Islamic society, the

(1) see art. Education, Ency of Religion., p. 201
(3) art. Education, Ency. of Religion., p. 202
(4) Renaissance, Arabic trans., vol. I., p. 307
(5) Mu'Zwiya., p. 361
(6) History of Muslim education, p. 134-5
pieces of bread of teachers were taken as example for the variety of things, for teachers used to live on the bread brought to them by their pupils.

In discussing teachers, al-Jāhiz distinguishes two grades, in general. In his classification, he seems to take two facts into consideration; the fact that people are mainly of two classes, common and special, and secondly the fact that knowledge of man is an essential factor in raising him up in social estimation. Therefore, al-Jāhiz classifies teachers into two categories, according to the class of students they teach and the knowledge they possess; he says: "Teachers, as I believe, are of two grades: among them are men who were raised above the teaching of children of common people to the teaching of children of the special. Some were raised from teaching children of the special to that of the children of kings themselves, who are prepared for the caliphate. How can you think that one like 'Alī b. Ḥamza al-Kisāʾī and Muḥammad al-Mustanʿīr, known as Quṭrub, and the like, could be described as fools. This saying is not true on these and the grade below them, but if you mean the teachers of village-

(1) al-Thaʿalibi, Khāṣṣ., p. 51. This characteristic among teachers, can still be noticed among village teachers.
schools (Katātīb al-Qurā'ī), there are lower as well as upper grades in every class. Therefore, they are not different in this from others. al-Jāhiḍ admits that there were fools among teachers, but those were only the teachers of the children of the lower classes. Moreover, his belief in unlimited knowledge is illustrated in his attitude here. The man of knowledge, according to al-Jāhiḍ, should be good at it and skilful, no matter how vast his knowledge is. al-Jāhiḍ attacks al-Khalil b. 'Ahmad that the latter was under the illusion that he knew every knowledge, and the result was, according to al-Jāhiḍ, that he muddled everything. This, al-Jāhiḍ says, cannot happen except to a person whom God Himself fails. The teacher who lacks creativeness is on the same level with any craftsman who is skilled only in his own field, al-Jāhiḍ says: "... the grammarian who has no great interest ('Imtā') is like the carpenter who is called to fix a door, and he is the most skilful of all people (in that), but after he finishes fixing the door, it would be said to him: Go; while the man of wide interests is wanted

(1) al-Bayān., vol. I., p. 174
(2) Risāla fī'īl-Mu'alla'mīn, Br. Mus. MS., fol. 15b-16a; also al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj., (Paris), vol. VIII., p. 431
in all cases..." The stories which al-Jāḥīz relates about the common grade of teachers are cited to show that in spite of their hard work, they had neither ambitions nor dignity in their profession. Anyone of them may learn all branches of knowledge, whether grammar, prosody, counting and reading the Qurʾān, etc., but at the same time he may be satisfied to teach with sixty Dirhams only, whereas a man with good consideration and understanding of things will refuse even thousand Dirhams. al-Jāḥīz, in fact, must have had great ambitions for the educated middle class. He thought that from amongst teachers, themselves, whose profession is dependent on their knowledge, there were people who were raised to higher positions and were attached to kings. It is from amongst teachers, al-Jāḥīz says, that one finds political leaders, judges, governors and all other high officers. They possess the gift of speech and lucid argument. It is evident that al-Jāḥīz is referring to the teachers of the upper grade, amongst whom many tutors enjoyed great influence in the ʿAbbasid court and were able even to

(1) al-Bayān., vol. I., p. 253
(2) Ibid.
(3) Risāla fīʾl-Muʿallimīn, al-Kāmil., vol. I., p. 23
influence political life. al-Jahiz is among the few Muslim writers who showed great interest in this class and was very careful in stressing their rights in the society, defending them from any prejudice. This, however, did not prevent him from admitting that there were fools among them, and from relating anecdotes and jokes on them.

al-Jahiz’s ambitions for the class of the intellectuals of his time are remarkable. It was these ambitions that made him criticise them and be severe against them too. His belief is that they should be good examples of leaders and should not disillusion the common people by their false appearance. al-Jahiz regrets the fact that the class of official clerks of his time were preoccupied with false education and appearances, following the Persian example in extravagance, so much so that they hated and despised everything Arabic, even the learning of the Qur’an, which is, according to al-Jahiz, the best example of the

(1) Instances can be shown in the following persons: Yahya al-Barmakī, the tutor of al-Rashīd, ‘Abū ‘Iyād, the tutor of al-Ma’mūn and ‘Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, see Ahmad Shalaby, Hist. of Muslim education, p. 124.
(3) al-Abshīhi, al-Mustaṭraf., (1331), vol. II., p. 216.
(4) I translate the word (Katib) into clerk, after the example of Mez, Renaissance, English trans., (1937), p. 171.
language. It seems that the clerks, who were a mixture of Arabs and non-Arabs, especially Persians, were adopting new styles, whether in manners, appearance or writing. This caused the criticism of al-Jahiz. Although the good appearance of these people is deceiving, al-Jahiz says, they are actually empty and full of conceit. As soon as they put on the costume of clerks, they feel vain and important, because they have joined the class and were going to have authority over everything. al-Jahiz points out their vanity about Persian culture, saying that as soon as anyone of them is appointed and learns a few anecdotes and sayings of Buzurgmehr, Ardashir, 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd al-Kātib or 'Ibn al-Muqaffa' and holds the book of Mazdak as a basic knowledge and Kalīla wa-Dimna his treasure, he feels as if he became


(2) see Tāhā Ḫusain, min Ḫadīth al-ṣīr', p. 37; introd. to Naqād al-nathr., Qudāma, p. 9; Ch. Pellat, R.S.O., (1952), p. 52.

(3) The clerks seem to have had their own costume and a distinguished style of dressing up and make-up, see al-Nuwayrī, Niḥāya., vol. VII., p. 12. The idle clerks seem to have had a different costume, see al-Tanūkhī, Niṣḥwār., p. 27. As for the expression which comes in al-Jahiz's text and which Finkel doubts, see Lughat al-'Arab, (1931), vol. VII., p. 620-1. It is a particular style of shaving which was taken up by the noblemen, as well as the high clerks.

capable of knowing everything. As for Islamic culture and traditional knowledge, al-Jahiz says, they despised it and put it behind their backs. They never approached the Qur'an or tried to quote it. If anyone of them tried to learn it, the rest of his class would despise him, but even if he could learn it, al-Jahiz says, it would be impossible for him to pronounce it properly. In his attack, al-Jahiz seems to reject not only the social manners of the clerks of his time, but also their school of thought which was distinguished in connection with official writing of letters and administrative works. al-Jahiz, however, did not deny the good qualities of their style, but, in fact, points that out as one of their merits. al-Jahiz's attack was not directed against individuals, but against the whole class of clerks, their culture, way of thinking and manners. al-Jahiz quotes other theologians who criticised the superficial knowledge of the clerks. The concern

(1) al-Jahiz, R. fi Dhamm., Thalath., (Finkel), p. 43.
(2) Tahâ Husain distinguishes this school of writers from the belles-lettres writers, see min Hadith al-Shi'ir., p. 37, 53-81.
(3) al-Jahiz, al-Bayan., vol. I., p. 105
of theologians about this class, as indicated by al-Jāḥiz, (1) is significant. The clerks had a great influence on the culture and the whole literature of Islamic society. Their high position in the 'Abbasid court gave them great privilege over the fields of knowledge, whether in the court or outside it. Their relation with the court, as illustrated by al-Jāḥiz, is a striking example of the conflict of the interests of the aristocracy and the rising middle class, even in matters concerning administration and culture. al-Jāḥiz says that the relation of the clerks with the caliph was very formal and strict; as soon as the caliph finished with them, he got rid of them. Away from their own field, al-Jāḥiz says, they are worth nothing, they are at the same level with the common people. Besides their own profession, they can do nothing, because it is not suitable for any of them to be anything else, after having been a clerk. They may enjoy a good influence among the special people, al-Jāḥiz says, but they hate each other. The incurable disease

(1) al-Jāḥiz relates that a group of Mu'tazilite theologians once gathered and were discussing the common people and how easily they imitate other classes and were deceived by the appearance of the clerks, and passed on them the best judgment, see R. fi Dḥamm., Thalāth., (Finkel), p. 44

(2) see al-Qalqashandī, Šuhh., vol. I., p. 146; also details in 'Ahmad ‘Amin, Duḥa., vol. I., p. 177-8.
of this class, according to al-Jāḥīz, is their greediness, especially the clerks of Diwān al-Jund. As for the common people, they respected them, because they have been deceived by their appearance, and their respect is due to the position of the clerks and not to their merits, because the common people thought that they must have deserved what they were given. al-Jāḥīz addresses the clerks personally, reminding them of their baseless knowledge. They are nothing, he says, more than the scum that fades away; "woe to them of what their hands write and woe to them of what they earn." Instead of cooperating with each other, like the craftsmen, they were busy with rivalries; "they are just like dogs in their dwellings, various people pass them and they never move, but if a dog like themselves passes them, they will all get up against him until they kill him." It is interesting that the clerks are compared to the groups of craftsmen in the market, but that, unlike the latter, they were far from being helpful to each other. If a butcher in the market announces his bankruptcy, all his market mates would sympathize with him. They would collect from their own earning to help him, until they save him, whereas the clerks are

(1) R. fT Dhamm., Thalēth., (Finkel), p. 45
(2) Ibid., p. 46
fain to eat one another. Their morals are those of the mobs, although their appearance is that of respectable decent men. All this in spite of their small number.

The fact that al-Jahiz did not remain in the office of a clerk under the Caliph al-Ma'mun, more than three days, after which he resigned, confirms his disapproval of the conditions of this post. These bad conditions were due to various facts. In the 'Abbasid times, the profession of writing became so common that a man could become a secretary after learning how to read and write. Non-Arabs, especially Persians, formed the majority of this class, after learning Arabic, but we hear that among the clerks, there were persons who could not distinguish the letter (ش) from the letter (ط). The clerks, however, enjoyed great influence and privilege in the 'Abbasid administrative life and among

(1) al-Jahiz, R. iI Dhamm., Thalath., (Finkel), p. 46
(2) Yaqut, 'Irshad., vol. VI., p. 58
(3) see the story of al-Fadl b. Marwan who used to work in the kitchen of Harthama. After learning writing, he became the secretary of the Caliph al-Rashid, see al-Tanukhi, Nishwar., pp. 27-8.
(4) see 'Ahmad 'Amin, Duha., vol. I., p. 176.
(5) see al-Qalqashandi, Subh., vol. I., p. 48; also 'Ibn Qutayba, 'Adab al-Katib., (1900), p. 7
the caliphs. Some of them acquired lands through their work
as clerks, and by receiving the gifts of the caliph. It
seems, however, that the corruption among this class was pre­
valent and there were many who entered the profession with­
out being qualified for it. Complaints were made that "the
clerks were very few, but those who called themselves clerks
were many." al-Jāḥiẓ explains the conditions of the life
of clerks and the reason why they were weak in character,
saying that although they enjoyed all this noble appearance
and fame, the clerks were, actually, the lowest in earning.
The clerks of Dīwān al-Jund earned very little compared to
what, for instance, the administrators of taxes earned.
Moreover, the clerks, according to al-Jāḥiẓ, never trusted
their time; whenever the caliph wished to throw them away,
they would have nothing more left to live on. No wonder,
then they followed crooked means, in order to flatter
the caliph, pretending that they were doing that out of
mere advice. An example is shown by al-Jāḥiẓ in the secretary

(1) The secretary of Dīwān al-Rasā'īl was the first to see
the caliph and the last to leave him, see al-Qalqashandi, Ṣubh., vol. I., p. 101; also the story of 'Amr b. Mus'īda,
al-Bayhaqī, al-Maḥāsin., vol. II., p. 447; also Ṣubh.,
vol. I., pp. 142-4.
(2) see al-Tanukhī, Nishwār., p. 28
(3) 'Abdullah al-Baghdādī, Kitāb al-Kuttāb, B.E.O., (1952),
vol. XIV., p. 150.
of al-Ma'mun, after the latter entered Baghdad. His secretary consulted him about re-organising Divan al-Jund on new bases and expelling all those undeserving people who were still receiving pension. His action caused the contempt of people and their fear that many of them stopped claiming their rights for their pension.

* * *

al-Jahiz's attitude towards knowledge and its practical utilisation in the life of the community reflects an interesting side of the development of Islamic society. His dealing with knowledge, in comparison with wealth, is a remarkable reflection of the competition in Abbasid society, between two great factors, that played a vital part in the life of the middle class, whose position depended either on wealth or intellectual qualifications. Knowledge, of course, was used as a means to attain good positions. al-Jahiz says: "Wealth and knowledge, the more they are, the more the appetite and admiration (for them) become, for the

(1) al-Jahiz, R. fi Dhamm., Thalath., (Finkel), p. 49.
intention of people is not to satisfy a need, but (they) are wanted (in order) to uproot greediness, and greediness is endless and everlasting. The long scholastic argument which al-Jahiz makes about the value of knowledge and reason, in comparison with wealth and luxury is most interesting in this respect. In his argument, it is evident that while wealth can bring nothing, when accompanied by ignorance, knowledge organizes everything and leads the way of the wealthy man to pleasure and happiness. The wealthy man who is not willing to enjoy his wealth is, according to al-Jahiz, worse than a donkey. Knowledge itself, al-Jahiz says, brings fame, for its main quality is that it makes the man active and willing to transfer it to others. The privilege of man of knowledge, relative to the man of wealth, is that the former does not fear misery, because once he finds his happiness in knowledge, he does not fear losing it, whereas the wealthy man is disturbed by the thought of losing his wealth. Besides, he cannot help guarding it and being care-

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(1) al-Jahiz, R. I Kitab al-Sirr, Majmu', (Kraus-Ḥājiri), p. 49.
(2) al-Hayān, vol. II., p. 96 sq.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
ful and worried about it.

al-Jahiz's concern about this question is, in fact, a reflection of a great competition in the society between two great powers, the power of wealth and that of knowledge. The bitterness expressed by Ibn Qutayba, a contemporary of al-Jahiz, is an illustration of the disappointment of the men of knowledge. 'Ibn Qutayba himself attacks those who learned to read and write and were satisfied with their superficial knowledge, because they were able to attain good positions. 'Ibn Qutayba's disappointment, however, is more constructive than that of al-Jahiz; he wrote a whole book for the sake of instructing the writers and showing them the way. The tendency of the time towards the appreciation of wealth is expressed in the current sayings and proverbs. al-Muqaddasi relates, on the authority of al-Tha'libī, that the people of Baghdad used to say in their proverbs: "Ignorance that supports me is better than knowledge I support", and "A handful of fortune is better

(1) al-Jahiz, al-Hayawan, vol. I., pp. 51-5, 100
(3) see 'Ibn Qutayba, Adab al-Katib, (1900), p. 7 sq.
than a load of knowledge." This also can be an expression of the disappointment of the scholars, in comparison to the men of wealth.

Wealth, naturally, is one of the means to attain good position and power in the society. The wealthy families of 'Umayyad times maintained their position under the 'Abbasids; the family of al-Muhallab b. 'Abd al-Sufra, for instance, enjoyed a good position in the 'Abbasid time. The old wealthy Persian families cooperated with the 'Abbasid aristocracy against their own people. In a society like the 'Abbasid, where the competition in all aspects of life, whether political, economic or racial, reached its zenith, the middle class could not help being money-conscious and to see the great value of wealth. The 'Abbasid poet complains, because, in spite of the educated man, he was pushed}

(1) al-La'ta'if., p. 21 sq.
(3) see al-Jâhiẓ, al-Bayan., vol. III., p. 138; also Mez, Renaissance., Arabic trans., p. 262.
(4) The common saying that the nobleman is a relative of the nobleman, illustrates this, see ʿIbn Qutayba, Kitâb al-ʿArab, al-Muqtabas, vol. IV., pp. 657-668.
(5) see ʿAḥmad ʿAmīn, Duḥa., vol. I., pp. 50-80.
into oblivion for the sake of the wealthy man. The poets, however, were willing to make poetry, in order to receive the gifts of the court. When 'Abū'l-ʿAtāḥiya, who is known as the mystic among poets, heard that al-Rashīd, the Caliph, had received the revenue of al-Kharāj and distributed it among his concubines, he was furious, but made a poem in praise of the Caliph, in order to have a share in the monev. Another poet criticises the mystics who pretended to be performing spiritual ceremonies, whereas their minds were actually preoccupied with money. al-Jāhiẓ says that the reason why a man would blame a wealthy man and criticise him for his unlawful means lies in his envy to him. The money consciousness of the middle class of the 'Abbasid society found expression in various types of activities. The life of the individual who was attached to the caliph and the court, however, cannot by any means be said to have been secured and independent. In order to prosper, the

(1) see the poem cited by al-Jāhiẓ, al-Bayān., vol. III., p. 135.
(2) 'Abū'l-ʿAtāḥiya praised poverty and criticised money-loving people, see al-Muqaddasī, al-Latā'īf., p. 39.
(5) al-Jāhiz, R. ʿil-l-Ḥāsid., Majmūʿ., (Sācy), p. 4
educated man had to attach himself to an authority, and use flattery, in order to gain the favour of the men in power. It is true that those who sought only for wealth through knowledge were despised, but the fact remains that the prosperous life was always appealing to the middle class.

Trade was one of the important means of wealth in Islamic society. Its traditional character goes back not only to early Islamic times, but also to old pre-Islamic societies. The attitude of Islam itself towards trade was that of favour, for Islam appeared in a commercial society. Islam, however, did not encourage the accumulation of wealth, although there were no drastic steps taken against it, besides the Zakāt and the prohibition of usury. The state, however, seems to have stopped being responsible for the Zakāt of money since the Caliphate of ʿUthmān, the

(1) al-Jāḥiẓ relates a story of a man who wanted to learn without the cost of learning, in order to attain more riches, al-Ḥayawān, vol. I., p. 54.
(2) see Heffening, art. Ṭidjāra, E.I.; also Ṣāliḥ A. al-ʿAlī, al-Tanzīmāt., (1955), p. 85.
(3) For the most valuable account of trade and capitalism in Islam, see Ṣāliḥ A. al-ʿAlī, al-Tanzīmāt, p. 185 sq.
Under the 'Abbasids, people seem to have tried various means to escape the payment of Zakāt. Al-Jāḥiz relates about a wealthy man, who at the time of the payment of the tax, used to pay a sum of money to a young man as a Zakāt on his money, while he makes relations with the young man. Al-Tanūkhī, in the 4th century A.H., reports, on the authority of al-Jāḥiz, that one of the highway robbers claimed that the merchants stopped paying the due Zakāt on their property, therefore, the robbers made themselves responsible for taking it by force.

Merchants formed the wealthy class in the society. The earliest wholesale merchants in Islam are believed to have been those who accompanied the Muslim armies in their campaigns, buying the booty of war and supplying the army with other things. These, however, do not seem to have formed a class in the society, until later. In the 'Abbāsid society, there were various degrees of wealth among merchants.

(1) Šāliḥ A. al-‘Alī, al-Tanzīmāt., p. 185 sq.
according to the types of trade. al-Jāḥiẓ speaks of merchants dealing in male-cats; they were either traders, intermediaries or trainers. There were also merchants of snakes, who used to import them from Sijistān for medical purposes, or to earn money by displaying them to the public. Traders in pigeons were common in ʿAbbasid society. Besides, the works of al-Jāḥiẓ reflect the high stage of activity which the economic life reached in the Islamic town, in realisation of the basic laws of commerce, although he often failed to realise their practical significance.

It would be interesting, however, to see that besides the well-developed methods of dealing, the simple kind of dealing still existed in the ʿAbbasid town. Among the lower classes, dealing by barter seems to have been predominant. al-Baghdādī, in his book about misers, relates a story about a butcher from Baghdad, who wanted to open a shop in al-Kūfā, but could not sell anything, because the people

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(2) al-Ḥayawān, vol. IV., pp. 169, 303.
(3) Ibid., vol. III., pp. 294, 297.
(4) see about this point, al-Jāḥiẓ, K. al-Tabaššur., RAAD, vol. XII., p. 326.
there wanted to barter in other kinds of food, while he refused to recognize, or accept, their method of dealing. It is interesting to point out, here, that al-Jāḥīz himself bases his recognition of money on the amount of goods it can buy. The standard of living in the Islamic town is measured by al-Jāḥīz according to the value of money and its validity, in comparison with the goods and their validity too, he says: "There is no town better for its inhabitants than a town where money is not dear and every purchase in it is possible. In Syria, the Dirār and Dirham are dear and the goods in it are cheap, because of the long distance of transport and the small number of customers, there is always a surplus in their products. Whereas, in al-'Awûtān and Baghdad and al-'Askar, the money is available, but goods are dear, because of the big number of people and the big amount of money. In al-Baṣra, money, as well as goods, are possible and so are the crafts and the payment of craftsmen." al-Jāḥīz, obviously, realises many economic facts in his judgment. The most interesting is that al-Jāḥīz seems to

attach the greatest importance to trade. It is known that al-Baṣra was, above all, a commercial centre, therefore, according to his observation, it was in al-Baṣra where money, as well as goods, besides other economic activities, were available and easy-running. al-Jāhiẓ's discussion on the value of money, in his most interesting meditation on the mutual interests of people and their social relations, is made also in connection with goods and their value. He says that a man may buy a thing for one Dirham. Had he not seen in the purchased article a quality preferred to his own Dirham, he would not have given the Dirham away. This is an example cited by al-Jāhiẓ to explain the exchange of interests among people, which makes one willing to give away what is in his hand for what is in the hands of other people, "... God is to be praised", al-Jāhiẓ says, "for making us love what is in other people's hands and making them love what we possess, in order to make life easy."

(1) al-Jāhiẓ, Ḥujaj., al-Kāmil., vol. II., p. 39. It would be pointed out, too, that al-Jāhiẓ attaches great importance to money where ruling power is concerned, see R. fi'il-Ma'ād., Majmū', (Kraus-Ḥājirī), pp. 111-12, 19.
(2) Ibid.
The class of merchants and land-owners played an important role in the 'Abbasid political life. When their interests were in conflict with the 'Abbasid court, they had either to evade it by offering a certain amount of their money or expose themselves to the danger of confiscation. One of the typical examples of the influence of this class and their interference in political events of this period is the part they played in the civil war between the two 'Abbasid Caliphs, al-'Amīn and al-Ma'mūn. In the critical moment, when the army of al-Ma'mūn was attacking Baghdad, and the street fights were going on, the merchants of the western side of Baghdad, (al-Karkh), says al-Ṭabarī, consulted one another and decided to contact Tāhir, the commander of al-Ma'mūn's army, they said: "We ought to explain our position to Tāhir and show him our innocence from helping against him." They were about to send a letter to Tāhir, when one of them suggested not to do so, lest "some of the lowest people (al-Sifla) would know about it and in this, there will be definite ruin..." and "exposing your-

(1) see Rifāʿī, 'Aṣr al-Ma'mūn, vol. I., pp. 312-3; al-Dūrī, Tārīkh., pp. 116, 249 sq.
(2) al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh., vol. II., ser.3., pp. 899-900.
selves to the war of those is greater than asking forgiveness of Tāhir, out of fear. al-'Amīn, on the other hand, was tracing the wealthy people and confis- 
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interesting point appears in the writing of the authors of the time, who were interested in these activities, which bears a reflection of this situation. al-Dimashqî, who wrote about commerce, maintains that it is essential that commercial activities should be independent from the activities of the court. al-Jâhîz, himself, wrote a whole treatise, dealing with "Praise of merchants and criticism of the function of the monarch." al-Jâhîz maintains that merchants are independent in their life, because they are independent in their own capacity to earn a living; they need not be submissive to anyone. Whereas all those connected to the court and the Sultan, al-Jâhîz says, are always clothed with humiliation and hypocrisy, besides their fear of his wrath, which may bring sudden disaster. On the other hand, al-Jâhîz admits the fact that merchants can themselves monopolise. He refuses, however, to believe that Quraysh, who were famous as being merchants, were of the same type as the merchants of al-'Ubullah. Apart from

(1) see al-'Ishâra 'ila maḥāsin al-tijâra, (1318), p. 41.
(2) see Majmû'., (Sacy), p. 155 sq.
(3) Ibid., p. 156.
being a natural thing that al-Jahiz defends the family of the prophet, following the example of the majority of Muslims, it seems that his attitude is a refutation against those who attacked Quraysh and claimed that they were niggardly and miser. al-Jahiz himself, in another occasion, cites a poem by al-Hayqatan, where the poet criticises Quraysh and their means of living and their poor country, in contrast with the fertile land of the southern part of Arabia. In spite of his effort in defending the merchants of Quraysh, however, al-Jahiz could not help expressing his doubts about the profit motive. He makes an interesting remark, in this respect, when he points out that when Quraysh tried to reconstruct the Holy Ka'ba, they avoided using the money which they earned in trade, lest the money might have been unlawful. Therefore, they financed it from their personal and their wives' property.

The question which seems to trouble al-Jahiz's

(2) al-Jahiz, R. fi Fakhr al-Sudan., Majmu', (Sacy), pp. 57-60.
(3) al-Jahiz, R. fi'l-Mu'allimin, al-Kamil., vol. I., p. 34.
mind is the position of trade amongst other professions in the Islamic town. Trade, according to al-Jahiz, is by no means secured or safe, because it depends on dealing with money and, therefore, the life of the merchant depends entirely on the turns of fortune. The Sultan, on the other hand, is safer, because he does not deal with money. It is interesting to notice that when al-Jahiz looks back to olden days, he finds himself more inclined to praise the life of those independent wealthy merchants. Yet, when he comes to consider his own time, he seems to be less certain. The Sultan is preferred in one place, because of his high position and his safe future, but is rejected in another, because subservience, gratitude and slavery are associated with him. The position of merchants varied according to these conditions too; they may be independent in their earning, but they are uncertain about their fate. This uncertainty of al-Jahiz is a reflection of the conditions of his own time. It seems it was easier for him to judge the position of Quraysh not only because they were the family of the prophet, but also because in their case, power of wealth, as well as that of rulership, were both in their own hands.

(1) al-Jahiz, R. fi'l-Mu'allimin, al-Kamil., vol. I., p. 34.
Part II. Social Problems

The Question of Inequality

The question of inequality in the ‘Abbasid society is many-sided. In the former part of this chapter, it has been dealt mainly with questions pertaining to the development of the material life. In this part, I intend to deal with the question of inequality in the ‘Abbasid society, which resulted from differences of race, nations, culture and the differences between the status of man and woman in the society.

(a) Inequality, Racial and National:

After Islam, the Arabs became a conquering nation. The combination of the two qualification (Arab) and (Muslim), together, gave the individual privileges which neither the (1) non-Arab nor the non-Muslim enjoyed. With the growing con-

(1) see, for example, "the fiscal rescript of ‘Umar II.», translated by H. A. R. Gibb, Arabica, Janvier, 1955, pp. 1-16.
tact of the Arabs and non-Arabs, the consciousness of this, distinction, whether among the Arabs or the non-Arabs, grew more powerful. The Arabs acted, as any other conquering nation, with condescension towards the non-Arab elements. Under the 'Umayyads, the Arabs formed the aristocracy who owned the land and received the profit of the conquests. The Arabic element was predominant in administration and other activities. The 'Abbasid Caliphate is believed to have been more than a mere change of dynasties; it resulted in radical changes in the social status of various elements, especially the non-Arab Persians. Much has been said about the oppressed elements under the 'Umayyads, through whose help the 'Abbasids came to power. Whether due to the freedom which the non-Arabs obtained under the 'Abbasids, or to the disappointment which the oppressed elements suffered from the new rule, the antagonism grew stronger and the racial and national feeling appeared clear and powerful. The characteristic feature of the 'Abbasid society, however, is that it was a dynamic society, which gave the opportunity to

(1) see B. Lewis, The Arabs., pp. 68-70.
various powers to meet and to clash and various interests to emerge. The question of al-Shuʿubiya, which I intend to discuss here with a special reference to al-Jâhiz, is one of the sparks which resulted from this close contact of the powerful elements.

al-Jâhiz’s reference to the national antagonism between the Arabs and Persians, under the term of al-Shuʿubiya, is one of the earliest references which has come down to us of this movement under this description. This has been suggested by 'Ahmad 'Amīn. To support his suggestion, 'Ahmad 'Amīn depends mainly on a linguistic deduction. However, al-Jâhiz may not have been the first Islamic writer who used the term, for when he first employs it, he does not explain it, presuming that his reader understood it. al-Jâhiz’s use of the term al-Shuʿubiya is applied mainly to the non-Arabs who stood against the Arabs. It is interesting,

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(1) Ḍuḥa., vol. I., p. 58.

(2) The argument is that all Islamic sects which belong to early times of Islamic history have the same form of names, such as al-Muʿtazila, al-Khawarij and al-Shiʿa, etc., whereas the later ones were distinguished by a different form, like al-Dahriya, al-Qadariya and al-Shuʿubiya, etc., (Ḍuḥa., Ibid.)

(3) al-Bayan., (al-Khatib), vol. III., pp. 3-14.

(4) Ibid.; also vol. I., p. 120.
however, to point out that al-Jahiz considers the Mawali in a different way from both, the Arabs and the 'Ajam. In fact, he represents them as being against both, he says: "... From amongst the Mawali, a group was founded and an offshoot has come out, who claim that the Mawla becomes Arabic through his bond, because the prophet said: (The Mawla of the people is one of them)." The problem which al-Jahiz deals with, here, is not the partisanship of the 'Ajam and the Arabs, but in fact, is the status of the Mawali in connection with both, the Arabs and non-Arabs. al-Jahiz finds it very hard that a Mawla should claim that he is better than his master. The Mawali, according to al-Jahiz's report, claimed that they were better than the Arabs, because of their origin in the 'Ajam, and better than the 'Ajam themselves, because of their new bond with the Arabs. al-Jahiz says that there is nothing harder than the fact that your slave claims that he is better than you, although he admits that he became good through his bond with you. The distinction made by al-Jahiz of this trend is very im-

(1) see R. Bani 'Umayya, Rasā'il, (Sandūbi), p. 299.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
important. In his attitude towards the ʿAjam and the Arabs, al-Jāhiz gives both sides their due rights and merits. As for the question of al-Šuʿūbīya, al-Jāhiz deals with it effectively. Before going into details of al-Jāhiz’s views, it would be interesting to discuss the explanation of another writer, who was a contemporary to al-Jāhiz and who wrote on the same question. ‘Ibn Qutayba, in his account of the movement, brings out interesting factors, which, according to him, were important in the question of discrimination. ‘Ibn Qutayba thinks that the lower classes of the Persian nation were most bitter against the Arabs. As for the nobility, ‘Ibn Qutayba says, they felt as relatives to one another, he says: "I have never seen in this Shuʿūbīya firmer in hostility and more trying for the Arabs than the lowest (al-Sīffā), and the common stuff (al-Hashwa), the mobs, the Nabaṭ and the sons of villagers. As for the nobility of the Persians and the people of importance and religion, they know what they have to do and what should be done for them; they think that nobility is a strong blood relation.”

(1) al-Bayān., (al-Ḵhāṭīb), vol. III., pp. 12-13. This distinction is supported by the suggestion made previously that al-Jāhiz wrote two books on the question, one dealing with them in general terms and the other in connection with the question of the Mawālī, see pp. 26 of this thesis.

'Ibn Qutayba also explains why the Persians were prejudiced against the Arabs in the fact that the lower classes among them were raised in the social ladder, through some literary merits, to a compatible degree with the nobility. Therefore, they imagined, according to him, that they were themselves noble and became partisans for their own culture by which they were raised, and despised all other cultures, whereas the original noblemen cooperated with the Arabs. According to this, the rising middle class, on whose responsibility it was to preserve the culture of the nation, were most bitter against the Arabs. 'Ibn Qutayba, however, does not speak of the Arab attitude towards the non-Arabs.

In his discussion of the arguments of the Shu'ubiya, al-Jahiz does not refer to any kind of class differences. It is understood from al-Jahiz's refutation of the argument of the non-Arabs, that the criticism was directed against the traditional culture and customs of the Arabs since pre-Islamic times, and was concentrated on the moral

(1)'Ibn Qutayba, K. al-'Arab, al-Muqtabas, (1909), vol. IV., p. 658

and intellectual aspects of their life. The criticism is directed by a standard class of one nation against the same standard of the other, it does not bear any idea of classes. al-Jahiz, in his turn, defends the culture and traditions of the Arabs, without referring to any class distinctions. His main concern was the tradition itself and not the people. al-Jahiz's great respect for knowledge seems to have been a very important factor in his attitude. His criteria of distinction depend mainly on intellectual differences, therefore, he who deserves any respect, it is through his knowledge that he would get it. In this way, al-Jahiz recognizes the merits of the Arabs, as well as the non-Arabs. The Persians, according to al-Jahiz, possessed the privilege of old traditional culture, while the Arabs possessed the gift of natural wit and intelligence. We have already seen that al-Jahiz assigns to every nation their special characteristics, by which they are distinguished from other nations.

(1) It is known, however, that the attacks took all other aspects of life, see I. Golziher, Muhammadanische Studien, vol. I., p. 154; also D. B. Macdonald, art. al-Shu'ubiyah, E.I.; 'Ahmad 'Amin, Duhaa., vol. I., pp. 50-80.

(2) al-Jahiz, al-Dayyan., vol. III., p. 3 sq.


(4) see pp. 81-2 of this thesis.
It should not be ignored, however, that al-Jahiz's attitude towards the question of Arabs and non-Arabs was criticised and suspected by his critics from both sides, the pro-Arabs and pro-'Ajam. al-Baghdādi, and al-'Isafarā'īnī, who seems to quote al-Baghdādi himself, attribute al-Jahiz's interest in the question of al-Mawāli and the Arabs to the fact that al-Jahiz himself was of a non-Arab origin and that he was prejudiced against the Arabs. 'Āḥmad 'Amin, who rejects the idea that al-Jahiz was a Shuʿubi, thinks that the book of the Mawāli was written by al-Jahiz in the mouths of the Mawāli themselves, and that al-Jahiz was simply a reporter. The loss of the book of al-Mawāli, however, opens a big gap in our knowledge about this point. As for the treatise where al-Jahiz defends the Turks as soldiers of the Caliphate, it has been maintained by 'Āḥmad 'Amin that al-Jahiz wrote it for the sake of the Caliph al-Muṭṭaṣim, therefore, al-Jahiz is to be excused for counting the merits of the Turks. It is significant, however, to see that al-Jahiz tries to achieve an important point, the im-

(1) al-Farq., p. 162; al-Tabṣīr., pp. 50-1.
portance of this work lies in the fact that it is an attempt of establishing an idea of equality through a reconciliation between all the elements which the caliphate had to employ under its own power. Whether the treatise was inspired by the Wazir of al-Mu'tasim, al-Fath b. Khāqān, as is clear in parts of it, or it expresses al-Jāḥiz's views, the fact remains that it was written in accordance with the Abbasid policy at this time. al-Jāḥiz denies that he wrote the treatise as a refutation or argument. Although the treatise was written for the Caliph al-Mu'tasim, as is clear from al-Jāḥiz himself, it does not seem to have reached him.

al-Jāḥiz's behaviour towards this question was suspected by the Arabs, as well as the non-Arabs. The latter believed that he gave too much credit to the Arabs. On the other hand, al-Jāḥiz is said to have been a great sympathiser with the Mawālī; it is reported that he used to help a Mawla, who spoke good Arabic, to find for himself an Arabic identity, and assured him he was...

(1) R. 'ila'l-Fath., Majmū', (Sacy), pp. 4-17.
(2) Ibid., p. 17.
(3) Ibid., p. 22.
Arabic genealogy and claim that he was an Arab. This behaviour may not agree with al-Jahiz’s attitude towards the Mawāli who claimed the privilege of being Arabs, as well as having the non-Arabic origin, but it is by no means strange in al-Jahiz, when one takes into consideration the fact that al-Jahiz’s appreciation of knowledge was above all other considerations, and that the question of origin and descent counted little in his judgment. al-Jahiz considered himself above the disputes of race and origin. In his letter to 'Abū'l-Walīd Muḥammad b. 'Abdād al-'Ayādī, al-Jahiz addresses him saying: "Avoid a quality which I noticed that people have ignored and lost thinking about, although it contains much evil and stirs hatred in the hearts and hostility between friends, (namely) the rivalries of descent. No wise man has ever made this mistake. Besides, human beings all have the same images, although it is accepted that there is a difference between the good and bad, beauty and ugliness, bad nature and generosity, cowardice and courage in every age and that they

(1) see Yāqūt, 'Irshād, vol. VI., p. 68. There seems to have been a number of the Mawāli who claimed Arabic descent. al-Jahiz relates about a Mawla of 'Abū Bakr al-Shaybānī who used to sit in the sun to make himself tanned to look like an Arab, see al-Ḥawām, vol. VI., p. 367.
are transferred from one nation to another, but there is no good or bad in every race of human beings per se." According to al-Jahiz, there are reasons and explanations for these differences. In his refutation of the arguments of the Shu'ubiya, al-Jahiz says: "... and if they realised the characteristics of each group and the nature of every language and the reasons of differences in gestures, means, characters and constructions and the reasons of all these things and why they invented them or adopted them, they would have saved themselves trouble, and their trouble would have been lighter for those who mixed with them." al-Jahiz's preference for Islamic culture was made, regardless of local differences or differences of race and origin. In his attack of the class of clerks, al-Jahiz criticises their partisanship to everything Persian, without much discrimination. It is true that his attitude towards Islam as a religion was suspected too, but it is clear that al-Jahiz had a great respect for Islamic culture. al-Jahiz

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(1) al-Jahiz, R. fi'l-Ma'ad., Majmu', (Kraus-Majiri), p. 29.
(3) al-Jahiz, R. fi Dhamm 'Akhlāq al-Kuttāb, (Finkel), pp. 42-6
(4) see 'Ibn 'Asākir, RAAD., (1929), vol. IX., p. 215.
attacks the Manichaeans, because their main concern in their culture was to decorate their books of religion, in order to attract the people and appeal to them, while in fact, they had no real interest in knowledge.

One of the interesting aspects of the racial problem which appears in al-Jāḥiẓ's writing is the question of negroes and white. This question may be studied in al-Jāḥiẓ's writing from two aspects: First, the social aspect, and Second, the physical and natural aspect, where the question of physical environment, in connection with differences of races, comes in. It would be pointed out, however, that al-Jāḥiẓ does not separate the two questions from one another. In the arguments which he puts in the mouth of the negroes, al-Jāḥiẓ brings out the question of environment and the adaptation of animals and human beings to it. The negroes say, according to al-Jāḥiẓ, that God has not made them black in order to punish them or deform them, but it was only the effect of their own country. For the same reason, al-Jāḥiẓ goes on, we find that many Arab

tribes were themselves dark and even their cattle and sheep. al-Jahiz's most interesting work on the social aspect of this problem is the treatise where he brings out the question of negroes and deals with their rights in the society. The question, as well as the work itself, as has already been suggested, seems to have been only part of a whole question, i.e. the question of origing and status in the society. al-Jahiz claims, as he usually does, that the arguments were put by the negroes themselves against the white. The arguments and the technique used in tracing the matter to its origin, are typical of al-Jahiz himself. al-Jahiz argues the question of colours itself and reaches the conclusion that the black colour is preferred to all other colours, whether in plants, animals or human beings. The author proceeds into more advanced argument, drawing conclusions from current sayings and traditions of Islamic origin, where black people were preferred. Unlike many

(1) al-Jahiz, R. fi Fakhr al-Sudan., Majmu', (Sacy), p. 78.
(2) Ibid., pp. 54-82.
(3) Ibid., p. 56 sq.
other defenders of negroes, al-Jahiz does not tend to find relation for the negroes with the white, in order to give them credit, but on the contrary, it is argued that the Arabs who are neither white nor red, are related to the negroes, because they are brown. The prophet was sent to all races and nations, whether Arabs or non-Arabs, and he who denies the rights of the negroes is not a good Muslim. The use of traditions attributed to the prophet is, in fact, a typical method of Islamic society at this time.

The conditions of Islamic society are taken into great account by al-Jahiz. One of the interesting arguments against those who attributed to the negroes the lack in thinking, is the following: al-Jahiz says that Islamic society did not know of the negroes, except those who were captured as slaves. Therefore, they do not represent the whole nation. The same is true with other captives such as those who were captured from India, for it is well-known that the Indians had great wisdom and skill, but those who were captured do not represent the nation. al-Jahiz's

(1) R. fi Fakhr al-Sudan., Majmu\', (Sacy), pp. 68-76.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., p. 73.
argument seems to have been directed against a common con-
ception about the mentality of the negroes, even among
some scholars.

The significance of al-Jāḥiẓ's argument of colours
and races appears in his discussion of animals, as well as
human beings, in connection with the environment. In al-
Ḥayawān, al-Jāḥiẓ pauses the question as to what reason
the differences of colours and features among races are due?.
In discussing the views of al-Dahriya, on the idea of al-
Maskh, al-Jāḥiẓ discusses their views on the question of
climate and the changes it effects on the beings, whether
human or animals. According to al-Jāḥiẓ, a branch of al-
Dahriya believed that the changes in the features and col-
ours of the creatures are due to the changes of climate: the
air changes and becomes bad, the water follows this change
and so does the soil. All these changes would gradually
affect the nature of the inhabitants. The desert of Banū
Sulaym gives a black colour to all its inhabitants, whether

(1) see about this point, later pages of this chapter.
(2) about al-Dahriya, see 'Ībn al-Jauzī, Talbīs., (1919),
p. 44; al-Khayyāṭ, al-Intiṣār., (1925), pp. 6, 17, 81, 173
human, animals or insects. The climate and the whole environment may not affect only those who are created in it, but may also change the features and colours of those who come to settle later. The Arabs, who settled in Khurasan, were changed, al-Jahiz says, in colour and complexion, which they used to have, to that of the inhabitants of the country. This example, of course, ignores the fact that, besides the effect of the environment, those new settlers mixed with the original natives and intermarried with them. The effect of the environment, according to this explanation, appears much stronger in the groups who stick to one another in one place, shutting themselves from other societies; therefore, they preserve their own features and characteristics and become distinguished from the others.

Besides what he relates on the authority of al-Dahriya, al-Jahiz seems to have made a good use of this explanation to reject the idea of inequality between negroes and white. Moreover, al-Jahiz traces the question in his

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(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., and vol. IV., p. 72.
(4) R. I. Fakhr al-Sudan, Majmu'a, (Sacy), p. 78.
own way, using experimental methods to show how the difference emerged, he says: "If you bring a hair near to the fire, it will become curly. The closer you bring it, the curlier it becomes; the nearest, it will burn." This is to explain that it was the heat that brought this effect on certain races in their features. This is true, according to al-Jahiz, on animals, as well as human beings. al-Jahiz discusses, at this point, an interesting idea about the effect of heat on the colours of creatures, he says: "If the pigeons became black, it was because they have passed the degree of ripening to the degree of burning. Equal to the black pigeons are the negroes among human beings, for their wombs have outpassed the degree of ripening to that of burning and the sun consumed their hair, so it shrank." The idea of being ripe in the womb seems, somehow, obscure. It does not seem, however, to have anything to do with inheritance, for al-Jahiz connects these differences with the heat of the sun directly. On the other hand, when the heat is weak, the complexion of the race becomes fair, as is the case of al-Sakalaiba. al-Jahiz seems

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(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., p. 244. about al-Sakalaiba, see E. Levi-Provencal, art. Sakalaiba, E.I.
to have inherited this explanation from his master, al-Nazzām. In another occasion, al-Jāhiz refers, among other things, to the relation between the race and their functions, as had been argued by al-Nazzām. Here again, we find a reference to the same theory. al-Nazzām says: "The nations who have not been ripened by their wombs and whose skin, pupil of the eye and hair differ from the standard colour, their reasoning and natural gift will ultimately follow." The significance of al-Jāhiz's explanation, however, lies in his attempt to connect the change with the environment and the heat of the sun.

The significance of al-Jāhiz's interest in this question does not lie only in the relation which his explanation has with his belief, as well as al-Nazzām's, in the idea of natural attributes of things, but also, to a great extent, in the reflection it bears of the concern of the thinkers of the time about this question. Greek thoughts and Indian astronomy and astrology seem to have

(2) According to this theory, the attributes of the substance, such as heat, cold, humidity and dryness, etc., lie in its nature; they are brought out through the various changes of environment and other circumstances, see al-Ḥayawān, vol. V., pp. 10-13.
had a great influence on Islamic thinkers in this. al-Mas'ūdi, for instance, relates an interesting explanation, attributed to Ya'qūb b. 'Ishaq al-Kindī, on the same point. The latter, according to al-Mas'ūdi, said: "... The soul is the cause of the movement of stars and is not caused by it, but it is in the nature of the soul to follow the combination (Mizāj), of the body, when it does not find anything, as is the case of the negro, whose place has become hot and the figures of astronomy have influenced him, the humidities were drawn to his upper parts and goggled his eyes, pulled down his lips and pressed flat his nose and made it big, and lifted up his head, (all because ) of the humidities' power in the upper part of his body, therefore, the combination of his brain was different from the normal standard and, thus, the soul could not have influence over him to reach perfectness. His sense of discrimination was spoiled and actions of reason were taken out of him." The connection of human existence with the movement of stars is not strange in Islamic thought. As for the conception of

(2) al-Mas'ūdi himself refers to some of these explanations, Ibid., also al-Bīrūnī, Kitāb al-Tafhīm., trans. by Wright, 1934, p. 359.
the lack of mental power among the negroes, it seems to have been held by some Greek thinkers. al-Mas'ūdī, who quotes Galen's explanation of the differences of races, says that Galen distinguished the black race by ten qualities, among which is the love of pleasure, which Galen attributes to the lack of mental reasoning.

As for the idea of the combined elements which are supposed to influence not only racial differences, but also differences among the individuals, it seems to have been known by many Islamic thinkers. al-Jāhiz himself refers to the theory of al-'Akhlāt (combination of natures), more than once. In al-Jāhiz's explanation of racial differences, all these thoughts find expression, although he avoids to a great extent, the metaphysical element and brings up his explanation to a scientific standard through his experimental approach and the interest he shows in the physical environment. It is obvious, too, that al-Jāhiz

(1) al-Mas'ūdī, Munūj', vol. I., p. 164.
(2) see, for instance, Rasā'il Ikhwan al-Ṣafā, (1928), vol. I., p. 229, vol. II., p. 32.
does not presume that the negroes are mentally defective.

(b) **The Woman and Her Status in The Society:**

**al-Ịḥiz's attitude and discussion of the subject of women is distinguished by two main characteristics:**
(i) a great deal of tolerance, and (ii) a true recognition of human nature, in connection with social life and a great appreciation of beauty, which dominates a major part of his judgment and frees him from conventional considerations.

It should be pointed out, before proceeding further, that the woman whom al-Ịḥiz discusses and portrays in connection with the ʿAbbasid social life, is not the Arab reserved woman, but the woman who appeared in the society and played an eminent role in social life, the life of art, pleasure and literature. It is true that al-Ịḥiz mentions

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(1) see about the activities of al-Jawari, Ahmad 'Amīn, Duḥa., vol. I., p. 193. al-Ịḥiz refers to the women of al-Ḥaramayn, who never used to go out, except at night, and the women of al-Miṣrāyn, who used to go out only in the day times, the reason being their fear of men and thieves, see al-Ḥayawān, vol. I., p. 303.
women who played an important part in the political life, such as Layla al-Na'iqiya, the leader of the extremists Shi'a, but the subject of this woman cannot be said to have formed a theme of any of al-Jahiz's works and the reference to her is but occasional. This is due, perhaps, to the fact that the part which the 'Abbasid woman played in political life was insignificant, compared to the activities of the woman of society. It may be also due to al-Jahiz's own interest in public life, social and literary activities.

al-Jahiz's attitude towards the question of women is not merely that of an observer or a reporter, but also of a critic. al-Jahiz tries to give explanations for some of the social phenomena. The reason why concubines had more significance in the life of society than the free women, according to al-Jahiz, is that they were free from conventions


(2) A book like al-'Ashani, by Abu'l-Faraj, is an outstanding example that illustrates the life of slave women in the 'Abbasid society and the great importance given to this aspect of woman's life.
and were allowed to do what the free woman could not do. A slave woman may be transferred among various people, while a free woman, according to al-Jābiḍ, would be despised if she gets married to more than one man. But, on the other hand, al-Jābiḍ says, in early times, the woman could get married more than once. al-Jābiḍ, however, puts the question as to what made the difference in social attitude towards the free woman and the slave, in the 'Abbasid society, which gives freedom to the latter and restricts the former, in spite of the fact that a slave woman may become a mother of a child and a wife of a caliph.

Relations, in the 'Abbasid society, were not necessarily family relations. A possessor of a number of concubines may trade in their relations with other men; ʿUṭayṭ, the singer, was seen once beating his concubines. When he

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(2) see about examples, al-Ṭafahānī, al-ʿAghānī, vols. II., p. 138; III., pp. 107, 113, 122; XVI., p. 88; XVII., pp. 93, 164; also al-Jābiḍ, Mufakharat., fol. 173b.


(4) Concubines, in the 'Abbasid society, were possessed even by Christians and Jews, see al-Jābiḍ, al-Ṭayawān, vol. IV., p. 27; also about other aspects, vol. V., pp. 467, 591.
was asked why, he complained that he could not support them, because they did not bring him any money. al-Jāḥiz says that the possessors of female slave singers encouraged them to trap rich men, so that they themselves would earn through them. Although he warns people not to make these relations, because they would bring ruin to their life, there is no evidence that al-Jāḥiz detested this class and their relations. al-Jāḥiz's interest, however, is shown in his attempt to explain the position of these female slave singers. He suggests that a woman who was brought up in a surrounding where she learns nothing but these means is apt to behave in this way, besides the fact that she is earning her living from this profession.

al-Jāḥiz's picture of the woman in the society, however, lacks the image of family life. It is true that al-Jāḥiz admits the necessity of marriage, but his reference to it is insignificant. al-Jāḥiz defends the tradition

(1) 'Ibn Qayim al-Jauziya, 'Akhbār al-Nisā', p. 130.
(2) al-Qyān, Thalāth., (Finkel), pp. 70-2.
(3) There is hardly any information about al-Jāḥiz's family life, although it is evident that he possessed a concubine, see Yaqūt, Irshad., vol. VI., pp. 75-6.
(4) al-Qyān, p. 73.
-al relations of marriage and family life on the basis that the woman, according to him, follows by nature the man and is created for him, "like a Mawla to his master". This relation, however, is ruled by a law of kindness and love for the sake of the generations to come, al-Jahiz says: ". . . was it not for the trial and test in prohibiting what was prohibited and making lawful what was made lawful and clearing the children from the doubt of being mixed up and the question of inheritance in the hands of the successors, no man would have been more rightful for a woman than the other." This argument is directed against the societies where free relations were practised without restrictions; al-Jahiz here rejects the relations among the Manichaeans. This does not mean, however, that al-Jahiz denied the existence of these relations in other societies. His explanation of this fact in pre-Islamic Arab society is interesting. He maintains that in that society, where the need was great for men to fight and take part in their wars, the need for children was also great, therefore, they ignored the fact that the child may be illegitimate.

(1) al-Qiyān, Thālāth., (Finkel), p. 55.
(2) Ibid.
The fact that the woman appeared in social life and took part in the activities of music and art, had great importance not only in social relations, but also in the artistic taste and social manners. Al-Jahiz attributes all beauty of social life and customs to the presence of women singers for whom, according to him, men put on all their make-up and good appearance. The taste of beauty, however, seems to have been greatly influenced by the system of slavery. The measures of beauty varied in the different parts of the Islamic world, according to the types of women the trade of slaves usually brought, al-Jahiz says: "The most appreciated women among the Basrians are the Indians... among the Yemenites, the Abyssinian women... among the Syrians, the Greek women..." Al-Jahiz comments on this: "and every (group of) people appreciate but their own trade and captives, except a few, who cannot be reckoned upon." The art of singing, gradually, became the speciality of women. Besides the great number of slave singers, there was a number of free women singers. Some pious Muslims did not

(2) R. fi Fakhr al-Sūdān., Majmū', (Sacy), p. 75.
(3) 'Ulayya bint al-Mahdī, the Caliph, was one of the best singers of her time, see 'Isfahānī, Aghāfī, vol. IX., pp. 83-95; also Khadija bint al-Ma'mūn was a poetess and a singer, Ibid., vol. XIV., p. 114.
approve of the idea of women singers and thought that this would lead to adultery. al-Jāhiz makes a long comparison between the songs sung by a woman and those sung by a man, preferring the female singers for the sake of beauty, saying that the natural power of love of women is stronger than the attraction of music itself, therefore, music is more beautiful from a woman.

al-Jāhiz’s great concern about the question of woman and the trouble he takes to explain her position and relations in the life of man and society seems to have been a reaction against one of the most obvious tendencies in the ‘Abbāsid social relation, the tendency towards sodomy, with which al-Jāhiz deals effectively.

In spite of the fact that Islamic society condemned this habit and the fact that the Qurʾān itself refers to it with disgust, the growth of it in the ‘Abbāsid society was

(2) al-Jāhiz, K. al-Misaʾ, Rasāʾil, (Sandubī), p. 269.
(3) Qurʾān, English trans. by Palmer, chapter XI., pp. 190-1.
strong and obvious. Its prevalence was not among a certain class of people, but among all classes whether lower, middle or upper. Its prevalence among judges, teachers, clerks and scholars was well-known to the 'Abbasid society. No secret was made of this practice, whether among old or young people. The presence of various elements in the 'Abbasid society seems to have helped a great deal, to bring the practice of this habit to the open. al-'Amin, the 'Abbasid Caliph, is said to have been one of those who exaggerated in buying the eunuchs in the 'Abbasid court. The great service which the eunuchs offered was mainly connected with the protection of the Haram, which was highly appreciated by the caliphs and the owners. It was, perhaps, one of the reasons why the eunuchs enjoyed a good position in the 'Abbasid court,

(1) This does not mean, however, that the habit did not exist before. al-Jahiz himself refers to the pre-Islamic society in connection with this practice, see R. II Fakhr al-Sudan, Majmu', (Sacy), pp. 60-1.

(2) The judge of al-Ma'mun, Yahya b. 'Aktham, see al-Mas'udi, Muruj., vol. VII., p. 43; Imam b. 'Ajrad, the tutor of al-'Amin, see al-Bayhaqi, al-Mahasin., vol. III., p. 618; 'Abu 'Ubayda, Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna, the scholar, Ibid., p. 646; Muhammad b. 'Abdul-Malik al-Zayyat, 'Isfahani, Aghani., vol. XX., p. 49.

(3) see al-Jahiz, Mufakharat., fol. 73a, b.; al-Raghib, Mubadarat., Br. Mus. MS., fol. 247b.

(4) al-Tabari, Tarikh., vol. II., ser. 3., pp. 950-1.
in spite of the fact that the status of the eunuchs generally (1) is the lowest in the society.

al-Jāḥīz writes a chapter on (al-liwat), homosexuality, where he argues the question and condemns the (2) habit. His argument is based, mainly, on religious grounds; God has prohibited many practices in the society, such as drinking wine, but He promised to recompensate His good believers by allowing them the prohibition in the next world. God, however, according to al-Jāḥīz, did not promise to compensate for this prohibition, therefore, it is unnatural, (3) abominable and hateful. It should be pointed out, however, that the mention of the Ghilmān in the Qur’ān was taken by the supporters of this practice as an argument to justify it as legal and good; God, according to them, praised the (4) Ghilmān and often referred to their beauty.

(3) Ibid., p. 31.
(4) al-Jāḥīz, Mufākharāt., fol. 165a.
The condemnation of al-Jāḥiz of this habit did not prevent him from dealing with the subject with great interest, in connection with his society. One of the interesting works on this aspect of the 'Abbasid life is the treatise where al-Jāḥiz relates a debate between the Supporter of al-Jawārī, and the Supporter of al-Ghilmān. Besides the fact that the way in which al-Jāḥiz represents the debate between the two men, on relations with men and women, is remarkably free, it is significant to notice that al-Jāḥiz makes it clear that there were people who even criticised relations with women and considered that a weakness. It was against this tendency in the society that al-Jāḥiz seems to have written his works on the subject of woman and her position in the society. The rivalries between the two sides, as represented by al-Jāḥiz, seems to have been greatly influenced by the taste and interests of the slave dealers, (al-Makhkhāṣṣūn), whose main purpose was to sell their (goods), regardless of moral considerations. al-Jāḥiz's narration of their discourse re-

(1) K. Mufakhharat al-Jawārī wa'l-Ghilmān which is in a MS. in Cairo, photographed- Dāmād, 949, see Fu'ād Sayyd, Fihrist al-Makhtutat, (1954), p. 513.
presents them as two competitors of one trade, who seek to support their interests by various means, whether through historical instances, in poetry and other facts, or through arguments deduced from the Qur’ān itself. According to the supporter of al-Ghilmān, this habit was a sign of civilization and luxury, which were not known to the wild people of the desert. Some of the poems which are cited to support the argument of the homosexuals were actually written earlier than this time, but they are interpreted to suit the arguments of their supporter.

It should be pointed out that the literary taste among poets who appreciated these relations, were greatly influenced by their practice. In poetry, the woman is described and her beauty is appreciated with descriptions that are usually applied to the Ghilmān. There are among poets, however, those who appreciated both types of beauty and had relations with both, like 'Abū Nu'ās and Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb.

(1) al-Ṭabīḥ, Mufakharāt, fol. 165a, b; fol. 170a, b.
(2) Ibid., fol. 167a, b.
(3) Ibid., fol. 165a.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid., and fol. 167b, 168a.
al-Jāhīz's explanation of this habit in the society is interesting. al-Ṭhā`ālibī, who quotes al-Jāhīz very often in his works, relates al-Jāhīz's explanation in full, in connection with the inhabitants of Khurasān, where, according to him, this habit was prevalent. al-Jāhīz attributes the reason of this practice to the fact that the people of Khurasān used to leave their homes very often, in order to join the frontiers to fight. The difficulty of travelling made them leave their wives and concubines behind and accompany only their young men to help them. Therefore, this habit grew among them and when they returned back, they could not get rid of it. al-Jāhīz proceeds by denying the prevalence of this habit among the Arabs of the desert, otherwise, according to him, it would have been mentioned in their poems. As for the few references about it in some poems, al-Jāhīz maintains that these do not refer to the pure chivalrous Arabs of the desert, but to those who lived near the towns and were mixed up with other

(1) It is believed by many Islamic writers that sodomy came originally from Khurasān with the armies, see A. Mez, Renaissance., English trans., p. 358. About Adhribayjān, see Ibn Qayim al-Jauziya, K. Akhbār al-Nisā', p. 62.
al-Jahiz's interest in this aspect of social problems seems to have influenced his writing. The treatise which al-Jahiz calls (fi Tafgil al-Batn 'ala'l-Zahr), in preference of the belly to the back, seems to have been another kind of illustration and a refutation of the same tendency in the Abbasid society.

(1) al-Thacalibi, Thimar., (1908), p. 439. al-Jahiz himself, however, relates poems which accused tribes of Kulayb, Darim, Sulaym and 'Ashja', etc. of practising this habit, see R. fi Fakhr al-Sudan., Majmu', (Sacy), pp. 60-1.

(2) Br. Mus. MS., 1129, fol. 220b-227b; also pp. 11-12.
Chapter Three

AL-JAHIZ'S SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

The civil war between the two ‘Abbasid Caliphs, al-‘Amin and al-Ma’mun, marks the beginning of a new epoch in the life of the ‘Abbasid society. The change was not only political, but also social, as well as mental. The power which the oppressed common classes were seeking for was expressed, for the first time, by the appearance of the professional groups on the platform of political life. In no other time in Islamic history we hear of the hucksters and the lower craftsmen taking such great interest in political disputes and taking part, with great enthusiasm in the political events. The Caliphate, on the other hand, was undergoing a difficult time. In spite of the fact that

(1) see al-‘Tabari, Tārīkh., vol. II., p. 872; al-Mas’udi, Murūj., vol. VI., p. 452; al-Dārī, Tārīkh., p. 68.
the activities of the common people were not under a very well organized leadership, it seems that their support was important and was, in fact, used by certain interested parties. Al-Tabari makes it clear, however, that the street fighters were actually interested mainly in looting and getting immediate benefit. A great number of them were killed in the fights.

The succession of al-Ma'mun to the Caliphate, after the death of his brother al-'Amīn, who was killed in the war, is said by the historians to be the beginning of a new glorious reign "... ushering, as it did, the palmy days of literature, science and philosophy." The rational trend was encouraged greatly by the Caliph and the dogma of 'I'tizāl was taken up by the state, for the first time, as the official rite, which was protected and supported by the Caliph himself. The traditional believers were persecuted

(1) See, for instance, about 'Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj., vol. VII., p. 62.
(2) Al-Tabari, Tārikh., vol. II., pp. 893-4.
(3) See Muir, the Caliphate, p. 508.
and the doctrine of 'I'tizāl was imposed on them by force. This change seems to have had an important connection with the development taking place, then, in the political and social conditions.

al-Ma'amūn, after the death of his brother, felt the need of justifying his position in the eyes of the whole Muslim world. The feeling of the common people was against him. The moral support was greatly needed for the prestige of the Caliphate. al-Ma'amūn, therefore, being the spiritual leader of the community, took it on his own responsibility to strengthen the faith and protect it. When he entered Baghdād, for the first time, the first thing al-Ma'amūn did was to call for a general conference for all scholars and men of religion. al-Ma'amūn is shown as the most tolerant

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(1) see about the Inquisition, (al-Mihna), of 'Āhmād b. Ḥanbal and the attitude of the common people, W. M. Patton, 'Āhmād b. Ḥanbal and al-Mihna, (1897), p. 3 sq., also Ubūn al-Jauzī, Talbis., (1340), p. 421.

(2) see about this, Ch. Pellat, R.S.O., (1952), pp. 147-67.

(3) see the story of the sailor who refused to believe that al-Ma'amūn was noble, after he had killed his own brother, Ubūn al-Jauzī, 'Akhbār al-ḏirāf, p. 48. al-Ma'amūn is said to have taken the comment with great patience.

(4) al-Baghdādí, Tarīkh., vol. VI., p. 75 sq.
Caliph in discussions concerning religion and philosophy, etc. It seems that the great freedom of thought and the favour given to the rational thinkers and the interest shown by the Caliph in such activities were a spontaneous reaction against the general trend among the lower common classes, who represented the irrational tendency in the society. It is interesting to see this characteristic manifesting itself in a great antagonism between two big parties, the Mu'tazila, presenting the rational thinking and backed by the Caliph himself, and the Traditionists, on the other hand, supported by the common people and common believers.

Al-Jahiz's part in this battle of thought was significant. The background of political and social activities of his time cannot be ignored, while analysing his thoughts. The significance of his part was not only because he was a Mu'tazilite, but also that he was a man of letters, greatly interested in all trends in the society.

It has been suggested by Carra de Vaux, that a

(1) see al-Mas'udi, Muruj., vol. VII., pp. 39-43.
philosophy or a system cannot be drawn from al-Jāḥiẓ, although one may find in him the highest point of the philosophical thinking and the most intense taste of the intellectual life. Charles Pellat, on the other hand, suggests that a special monograph of al-Jāḥiẓ's social philosophy would have been very interesting, were it not for the difficulty of lack of documents. My attempt, therefore, will be limited within one aspect of al-Jāḥiẓ's philosophy; the question of power in the society, which is relevant to the question of social classes, on one hand, and al-Jāḥiẓ's rationalisation of actual social facts, on the other. A special reference to the Muʿtazilite doctrine is essential, in this respect. al-Jāḥiẓ's remarks and observations, though individual and scattered as they may be, cannot be detached from the background of his society. This, however, did not deprive them from their genuine and universal character. The attempt which al-Jāḥiẓ makes to rationalise social facts is an interesting characteristic in his way of thinking, for although he could not ignore actual social conditions, al-Jāḥiẓ, as a Muʿtazilite, claims the right for the power of

(2) le Milieu Basrian., p. 223.
reason and rational thinking, in the life of man.

One of the interesting characteristics of the Mu'tazilite doctrine is the attempt they made to compromise between two powers; the power of reason, on one hand, and the power of divine faith, on the other. This is clear in their attempt to reorganize Islamic faith on rational principles. Their philosophy, in fact, is a most significant manifestation of the trial which Islam as a faith had to undergo in its first contact with Greek philosophy. It is not my intention to judge here their attempt and whether it was successful or not. What is more interesting is the fact that the tendency of the Mu'tazilites towards rational thinking was not an individual phenomenon. Between progress in material life, contact with new thoughts and cultures, on one hand, and the Arabic ideals and Islamic principles, on the other, a conflict emerged and the rational movement was pushed forward.

al-Jahiz's thoughts are to be appreciated, therefore, within the frame of society, and with a reference to

(1) see Albère N. Nâdir, Falsafat al-Mu'tazila, in two volumes, (1950).
The Question of Power in the Society:

In al-Jähiz's discussion, as well as in the Mu'tazilite doctrine, the faith is the starting point on which any argument is built up. This point is manifest in al-Jähiz's discussion of human society. The faith of the group is an effective factor in their life, whether as a power in social life or as a personal belief. Before going into details of the question, a distinction should be made between two types of the faith: the faith as a conscious belief and, secondly, the faith as a traditional belief. This is important in the whole system of thought of the Mu'tazilites. While the first acts, in al-Jähiz's conception of social life, as an inducing power in the life of man, the second is inherited and, therefore, is ineffective. A detailed discussion of this point is interesting in al-Jähiz's social philosophy.

In his explanation of the behaviour of groups and nations in history, al-Jähiz tries to find reasons of human
actions and behaviour in the ideals and principles of these nations, represented in their beliefs, which acted as inducing power and leading principles, which led them either to glory or deterioration. The power which lies behind their action is attributed by al-Jāḥiẓ to their faith. This power may make a turning point in the whole character of the nation. al-Jāḥiẓ's explanation of the history of nations, such as the Romans, the Turks or the Arabs, is the most interesting analysis of history ever known by any Muslim historian before him and long after him till the time of 'Ibn (1) Khaldūn. In reference to the Roman history, al-Jāḥiẓ discusses the history of wars of the Romans against the Persians. The reason why the Romans were weakened and defeated, after they had been the most powerful nation, lies, according to al-Jāḥiẓ, in the fact that they adopted Christianity, which preached the belief in peace. This belief made them abstain from fighting and, therefore, resulted in their defeat, al-Jāḥiẓ says: "We have learned that the Romans (al-Rūm), before

(1) 'Ibn Khaldūn criticises historians for being uncritical of historical events, see Ibn Khaldūn, al-Muqaddima, (1902), pp. 8-33; also Tāhā Ḥusain, Falsafat 'Ibn Khaldūn., (1925), pp. 30-50.
adopting Christianity as a faith, used to revenge themselves from the kings of Persia. Wars were continuous between them. When they discarded the belief in killing, fighting, revenge and ransom, it befell them what befalls the cowards, (to the extent), that they started fighting (as if) artificially. When this faith became part of their natures and ran into their flesh and blood, until it stood in their way, they, instead of conquering, were conquered." The same fact is applied to the Turks, who, according to al-Jāhiḍ, were defeated, because of their belief in al-Zandaqa. He says: "To the same destiny the conditions of the Toghuqghuz, of the Turks, ended, after they had been most courageous and powerful in defence and used to precede al-Khazlajiya, even though the latter were twice their number, but when they came to

(2) This term is used by Muslim theologians, mainly, in reference to the Manichaeans, see al-Jāhiḍ, al-Ḥayawān, vol. I., p. 57; also Brown, Literary Hist. of Persia, pp. 159.
(3) A tribe of the Turks who settled on the borders between China and Tibet. They were Manichaeans, see Yāqūt, Muṣjam vol. I., p. 839; vol. III., p. 448; Barthold, E.I., vol. IV., p. 902; also Ch. Pellat, in al-Tarbī', p. 42.
(4) Another tribe of the Turks. Their name comes also as al-Kharlakiya, see Yāqūt, Muṣjam., vol. I., pp. 397, 839; vol. III., pp. 449, 402; also al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj., vol. I., p. 288.
believe in the religion of al-Zandaqa, and al-Zandaqa in matters of peace and abstaining from fights, is worse than the religion of the Christians, their courage weakened." Apart from the fact that al-Jāhiẓ's approach to historical events is critical, the changes in man's history are attributed to the character of the nation, which falls under the impact of a new belief.

The changes in the society from one stage into another are attributed by al-Jāhiẓ to a similar factor, that is the belief of the society. In contrast with the above mentioned examples, one may think that al-Jāhiẓ had Islam in mind and its effect on the Arabs. al-Jāhiẓ, however, does not touch on the question of Islam directly, but discusses the religion of Quraysh before Islam as an example of the same type. The change in the tribal life of Quraysh into a settled life is due, according to al-Jāhiẓ, to the fact that Quraysh were very strict about their own religion which prohibited raids, robbery and other deeds which were practised by other tribes. This prohibition, al-Jāhiẓ says,

effected the future career of Quraysh, as well as their social customs. They abstained from raids, enslaving women and killing the female child, also they turned their hands towards trade and travelled all over the country and distin-
guished themselves as merchants. al-Jahiz goes on to say that this does not imply that Quraysh were cowards and that they abstained because of that, for they were able to fight when they wanted. On the other hand, many tribes who adopt-
ed their religion, al-Jahiz says, could not follow the same principles and the religion did not have the same influence on them.

al-Jahiz seems to realise that the reason which he gives to explain the behaviour of these groups is not universally sufficient to explain all cases. In other occasions, al-Jahiz expresses his doubts and even refutes his own arguments. Pausing the same question in al-Tarbi' wa'l-Tadwir, al-Jahiz says: "Why did men of all faiths have kingdoms and kings, except al-Zanadiqa, and why did all

(1) al-Jahiz, R. fi'l-'Auatun., Br. Mus. MS., fol. 209b. It is interesting to point out, in this connection, that in the poem which is cited by al-Jahiz as an argument against Quraysh the merchants, their career is attributed to the poor nature of their country, see R. fI Fakhr al-Sudan., Majmu', (Sacy), p. 57.
other nations kill them. Why do you think that, while we have seen al-Mazdakiya, al-Minawariya and al-Toghuzghuziya too? If you say; (It is because he in whose belief fighting is prohibited and in whose nature, force is non-existent, is defeated and enslaved), then why have the Romans not been enslaved or defeated, while no killing, fighting, dispute or defence are allowed in their religion?" al-Jāhiṣ, obviously, contradicts here the analogical argument which he used in judging the Turks and the Romans, as well as the Toghuzghuz. In another occasion, however, where al-Jāhiṣ passes judgment on the religion of al-Zanādiqa, it is maintained by him that their religion is not concerned with the affairs of man, but deals only with imaginary beings, therefore, it provides no philosophy of life. In spite of the fact that they tend to be individual, al-Jāhiṣ's remarks are genuine and interesting in historical analysis, in connection with the life of man.

Besides being a factor that gives the progress of human society its character, the faith, according to al-

Jāhiz, plays a powerful part in maintaining the solidarity of the group. It outpasses all other powers, whether that of place, time or race, etc. The example which al-Jāhiz takes to illustrate this point is interesting. al-Jāhiz cites the most strict puritanic sect among Muslims; the Khārijites, who were most idealistic and sacrificing. The faith which al-Jāhiz refers to in this connection, by the name of Dyāna (religion), is in fact, more than a religious belief. It is an idealisation of the religious belief, where the stress is laid more on its moral significance.

al-Jāhiz himself considers the Khārijites as the most sacrificing and daring group. The reason, according to him, lies in their faith, he says: "... and the obvious reason for the extreme courage among all types of the Khārijites and their priority in it, lies in their religion, for we find that their slaves, clients and their women, all, fight as they themselves do. We find also that the Sijistānī, who is Persian, as we find the Yemenite, the Bahrānī and the Khūzī, who are all Arabs, and we find the 'Ubaḍites of 'Umān,

(1) see about al-Khawārij, Suhair al-Qalamāwī, 'Adab al-Khawārij., (1945), pp. 37, 40; also G. Della Vida, art. Khārijites, E.I.
which is an Arab country, as we find the 'Ibaqites of Tahert, which is a non-Arab country, all of them are the same in fighting, courage, strong will and patience. Therefore, their qualities in courage are equal, in spite of the difference in their origin and countries. Is this not a sufficient proof that what made them all equal is their religion? (2) According to this, if the faith is strong enough in the group, it can unite people of different classes, regions and origins. The Khārijites, whom al-Jahiz cites for his example, were faithful to their principles, and indeed had severe fights with the local authorities. It would be interesting, however, to examine one point, in connection with this. If al-Jahiz admires the idealistic character of the Khārijites, is it to be presumed, then, that they were, according to him, the most deserving group of power?.

In spite of the fact that al-Jahiz gives the Khārijites all the credit of courage and will, he does not seem to be prepared to follow their example, in ignoring

(1) In the MS., it is written as (Nāhert), but Tahert is a name of two towns, old and new, in North Africa, see Yaqūt, Muṣjam., vol. I., p. 813.

(2) al-Jahiz, R. fi'l-'Awtān., Br. Mus. MS., fol. 210a, b.
facts and real conditions of Islamic society. This is clear in his attitude towards all those who claimed the right to any power, especially that of rulership, without having the means by which they can reach their aim, or the required qualifications, which would prepare them for it, he says: "... it is not up to the people themselves the question of (fulfillment of) ambitions, its strength or weakness, but ambitions lead the people to the goal, in as much as they have of means. Don't you see that the most ambitious (man) and the most willing in position among people does not think of claiming the caliphate, because that would require the lineal descent (al-Nasab), or the grounds that have been prepared for it, by (upholding) a cause, like the cause of the first Kharijites, who claimed the caliphate with religion only and without the (qualification of) descent. Therefore, if he becomes a Kharijite, the cause for his claim is made, whether he succeeds or (1) fails." Although the Kharijites have enough reason in their piety, this does not secure their success. al-Jahiz does not ignore the actual conditions of the society. This, however, should not take us into the details of the question.

of the caliphate, and the rightful 'Imām, which has but slight relevance to this thesis.

In connection with the faith and society, al-Jāḥiẓ discusses the second type of faith, which is only a traditional belief. In his discussion of the idol worships, al-Jāḥiẓ says that he does not blame those believers who were brought up to believe in these worships, for their faith is part of their traditions and inherited customs. The exaltation of people for their forefathers and their customs, according to al-Jāḥiẓ, is the reason why these customs became like worships, for "the disease of tradition and habit", al-Jāḥiẓ says, "is a disease that neither Galen nor other physicians can cure. The exaltation of the ancient and the following of the fathers and getting used to nothing else besides it, need a drastic cure." al-Jāḥiẓ maintains, however, that this does not mean that the worshippers of idols are inferior in reason or rational thinking, for it is known, according to him, that the reasoning of the Greeks, the Indians and the Pagan Arabs was above

the worships of idols and stars. It is interesting to point out, however, that, in discussing this point, al-Jāḥiẓ does not refer to any of the divine religions or cite his examples from them, his reference is made only to the worships of idols and stars.

The difference between religion as a traditional belief and as an inducing power is important in al-Jāḥiẓ's views. The religion, which is a mere unconscious belief, may not act significantly in the behaviour of man, therefore, other factors take its place, al-Jāḥiẓ says: ".. the reason may be anger, may be drink, partisanship, or the love of fame, it may be a nature like that of the cruel, the kind or the generous, etc., or it may be religion, but a man cannot reach as far as raising the sword through the power of religion in his heart only and without the help of the other reasons mentioned above, because religion is acquired and not original or natural, and its reward comes later while the reward of these qualities comes sooner."

The faith, in connection with social classes, is

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important. It will bring us to an interesting question in al-Jāḥiẓ's discussion of power; i.e. Where does power rest?

Before going into details of this question, it is essential to know the Muʿtazilite conception of faith. The true faith, according to the Muʿtazilites, goes in accordance with reason. The distinction is, therefore, important between the faith of a common believer and that of a rational man. The Muʿtazilites hold the opinion that "no one can be called a believer who does not fathom God in the way of speculation, therefore, the common people with their naive beliefs, have no part with Muslims. There can be no belief without the operation of reason. The question of Takfīr al-ʿAwamm, who shall be condemned as unworthy orthodox of the people in general", Goldziher says, "is a standing formula in the Muʿtazilite science of religion." (1)

The interesting point in al-Jāḥiẓ's attitude towards this question is his recognition of social factors

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(1) see Goldziher, Mohammed and Islam, pp. 124-5.
in connection with the faith of people. Social class and status of man are taken into consideration, while judging their beliefs. It is true that al-Jāḥiz is greatly interested in the common people, but his ambitions for the class of scholars and men of knowledge seem to have been greater.

The profession of men, according to al-Jāḥiz, may not cause as much difference in their skill as it does in their faith and reasoning: "In the farmer, craftsman, carpenter, designer, drawer, writer and accountant of any nation or any faith", al-Jāḥiz says, "you will not find much difference in their capacity and skill or wrong judgments and extreme inferiority as you find in their reason, when you test their beliefs." The character of the common people is described as being naive and far from discerning and being deep, they are "less sceptic than the special people, because they do not judge the true or untrue things, and never doubt themselves. They have nothing but mere belief or mere unbelief, they have excluded the third state

(1) This is a quotation from al-Jāḥiz made by al-Murtada in al-Munya wa'l-'Amal., see Lughat al-‘Arab, (1931), vol. III., p. 174.
of scepticism .." The position of man in the society has a great relevance to the value of his knowledge. The Wazîrs, according to al-Jâhîz, have a different knowledge from that of ordinary scholars, the caliphs from the Wazîrs, the prophets from the caliphs and the angels from the prophets, etc.

In dealing with the question of the solidarity of the groups, their morals and characters, al-Jâhîz refers, as has already been mentioned, to their faith and beliefs as inducing powers behind their actions. In contrast with this, it is interesting to see that al-Jâhîz cites lower trades as examples in solidarity in bad morals and characters. The reason of the bad morals of the lower craftsmen is sought for by al-Jâhîz in their own crafts. The example which al-Jâhîz cites is taken from the lowest crafts. He says: "You may find all foolishness, ignorance, unfulfillment of promises and cheating in the craft among the weavers. Their one characteristic in this indicates

(1) al-Jâhîz, al-Hayawan, vol. VI., p. 36.
(2) Ibid., vol. V., p. 201.
one reason. There is no other reason than their craft, for the weavers are the same everywhere, so are the slave-dealers, rag-sellers, fish-mongers, sailors and sellers of plant-fertiliser. Their first (man) is the same as their last, their old is the same as their young..." The craft, therefore, is recognized as an important factor in shaping the characteristics of the group. al-Jahiz, however, rejects here the character and moral of the lower trades, in comparison with the characters of the Kharijites. It should be pointed out, however, that al-Jahiz himself, in another occasion, cites the lower craftsmen as an example of good consideration and sympathy and solidarity, when he criticises the class of clerks. al-Jahiz wonders, in his discussions, why a profession in itself should shape the characters of man. "The means may limit (a man) to be a weaver or a money-dealer", al-Jahiz says, "If it had designed them for weaving, it should not design them to delay and cheat..."

(2) Ibid., fol. 210a-b.
The craft, or profession, of one group, according to al-Jahiz's observations, which effect their status, may have an effect on the religion which is held by them. People, al-Jahiz says, may respect a certain faith not because they know more about it, but for the simple reason that the faith may be held by men of good position in the society. The Christians, according to al-Jahiz, are liked more than the Jews in the Muslim society, because of their social status, which was decided by their profession, "from amongst them", al-Jahiz says, "are the secretaries of rulers, upholsterers of kings, physicians of noblemen, druggists and bankers. Whereas, you do not find a Jew but a tanner, a varnisher, a cupper, a butcher or a mender. Therefore, when the common people saw the Christians and the Jews like that, they thought that the religion of the Jews, among other religions, is the same as their crafts, among other crafts." Although al-Jahiz gives explanation of the attitude of the common people in these facts, this does not mean that he himself agrees with them. al-Jahiz tries

(1) al-Jahiz, R. fi'l-Radd 'ala'l-Nasara, al-Kamil, vol. II., p. 169; also Thalath., (Finkel), p. 17; see also comments and translation of excerpts by Finkel in JOAS., (1927), vol. 47,, pp. 311-34.
to find other reasons to explain the status of the Jews and Christians in Islamic society. The Jews, al-Jahiz says, did not allow intermarriages with other groups outside their own community and faith, a fact which prevented any foreign element to be mixed with them, therefore, they were avoided in the society. On the other hand, al-Jahiz discusses the old relations of Muslims, Jews and Christians, referring the reasons to their early history.

The recognition of the power of the common people is interesting in al-Jahiz’s judgment, for, in spite of the fact that he rejects their faith, their attitude is taken into great account. This point is illustrated, when al-Jahiz deals with historical facts, trying to give his own interpretations. In dealing with the question of the prophets and how a new religion starts in any society and how the new messengers draw to their side the people, al-Jahiz takes into consideration the position of two main classes in the society; a class whom he calls al-Khassa (Special or elite), and another called al-‘Amma (Common).

It is obvious that the élite are the leaders of the common, but the position of the former ones is dependent on the attitude of the latter. Therefore, in order to gain a good support, the new messenger has to appeal to the common first. al-Jāhiz maintains that the new messenger starts by appealing to the common people, through practising the same craft which is most popular among them, and which is mainly practised by their special leaders. In this way, the messenger appeals to the common and beats the élite, by showing skill in the same craft which they practise. Moses used magic, in order to divert the interest of the common people from their chiefs and rulers who used to practise magic. The same was with Jesus, at whose time "the most common practice among his people and special scholars", al-Jāhiz says, "was medicine. The common people used to exalt them. God sent him, therefore, to bring the dead to life, because their (i.e. the scholars') purpose was to cure the sick and the born-blind. and if the special class were gained in obedience and defeated by proofs, and realised the difference between the weakness

and power, and the difference between a trick and a proof, it would be more gaining over the common and they would be more inclined to have no doubt left. (1) The same question, according to al-Jahiz, was with Muhammad, who gained the hearts of the men in power and men of knowledge through eloquence and good speech, which were highly esteemed among his people. Naturally, "whenever the Special people are mentioned, the common are to follow".

It may be suggested that al-Jahiz tends to give the power and leadership in the society to the men of knowledge and scholars, in whom the power of reason is represented. As to how al-Jahiz approaches this point, it need be discussed at length, without ignoring the actual conditions of his own time. The power of reason has a special significance in al-Jahiz's discussion of the question of power in the society.

(1) al-Jahiz, R. Tl Hujaj al-nubuwwa, al-Kamil., vol. II., ll3; Rasā'il, (Sandūbi), p. 146.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
The Power of Reason:

The rational belief, according to al-Jähiz, as well as the whole Mu'tazilite doctrine, is a quality of men of knowledge and scholars. Al-Jähiz maintains that the knowledge of theology, fundamental principles, interpretation of religion and avoiding innovation and, above all, studying the arguments of reason, do not exist except among scholars. The interesting point in al-Jähiz's conception of the faith does not lie in this distinction itself, as much as in the fact that he tries to give it more a practical estimation. The importance of the rational believers is not limited within matters concerning the faith only, but the faith is only one way of confirming the position and power which the rational element should obtain in the society.

The leadership of the special class to the common is very important in al-Jähiz's social attitude and social analysis. His great ambition for the class of scholars is expressed frequently in his writing. The pos-

ition of the common people is important and their support is needed, al-Jāhiz says: "... as for the refuse of men and the lower people, they are only weapons of the leaders and productive members for the masters." The happiness of mankind, however, rests in the harmony between these two classes; "the good of the world and the perfection of life", al-Jāhiz says, "lie in the good management of the elite and the obedience of the common. It is the same as the general good and the obtaining of perfection which lie in the correct aim of the soul and the obedience of the senses, for if the soul obtained every hope and reached every aim and if it opened every mystery and stirred every concealed (matter) and the tongue did not obey it with good speech and the hand with good writing, the existence of that discovered matter and non-existence, in spite of its great importance, would be the same. Therefore, the elite are in need for the common as much as the common are in need for them."

The elite are, usually, a minority in any community.

(1) al-Jāhiz, K. al-ʿUthmāniyya, p. 18.
(2) Ibid., pp. 251-2.
"The chosen people of any time", al-Jahiz says, "whatever big their number is, are less than the common, although they are more knowledgeable..." The position of the elite is dependent on the support of the common, who are the majority. The existence of the elite, in al-Jahiz's view, is important and necessary, for "if the common knew of their religion and secular affairs what the special know, the common would become special and all distinction in knowledge and difference in ability would disappear..." The difference between people in ability and knowledge, according to al-Jahiz, is as natural as the difference between them in function, duty, choice and need, which God has designed in order to make life easy. The similarity between people equal in position, would lead, according to al-Jahiz, to competition and, ultimately, to destruction. This is true, he says, among ordinary people, as well as kings. The best man for power is distinguished, above all, by the quality of reason, al-Jahiz says: "and if it is said, what is the

(1) al-Jahiz, R. fi Istihqaq al-'Imama, Rasail, (Sandub), p. 244.
(2) al-Jahiz, K. al-Uthmaniya, p. 256.
description of the best man, we would say: It is that his strongest qualities should be his reason, then he should relate the power of reason with a power of discrimination and great amount of study, and strengthen that by good habit. If he combines to his good reason (the quality of) knowledge and to his knowledge, good control and to this, a will, he is then the one who cannot be outpassed."

(1) Reason, according to al-Jāḥiz, is the agent of God among mankind. But reason should be strengthened by knowledge and practice; "the natural gift of reason and instinctive high qualities", al-Jāḥiz says, could not reach the stage of perfection, without the help of the acquired quality of reason."

It is natural that any break in the harmony of the two classes, the élite and the common, is to be attributed to the irrational element. The common people may break their relation with the leaders, just as the senses may do with the soul in the body. al-Jāḥiz says: "The senses and the common people, although they are employed

(3) Ibid., p. 5; also al-Ḥayawān, vol. IV., p. 71. The influence of Aristotle, on this point, seems to be strong.
and managed, may stop for some reason that interferes or accident that sends them off or lack of means, like the hand, struck by paralysis or the tongue by dumbness; the soul cannot correct them and put them right, even if it may have a strong will and a good dealing and kindness. So are the common people, when they are broken loose and stirred, and when they are overcome by passion and foolishness, in spite of the good management of the elite and the carefulness of the leaders. The irrational power of body is the same as the irrational power of the society.

al-Jahiz makes a reference to the antagonism between the two powers in his own time. It is interesting to see that the helplessness of the elite in face of the common, which is expressed by al-Jahiz, is accompanied by his regret and careful hopefulness. al-Jahiz seems to be trying to cope with the principle that reason has the priority in power, on one hand, and the actual conditions of Islamic society, where the common people rebelled and rushed into action. He expresses his hope with careful consideration of their own attitude. In his letter to Muhammad b.

(1) al-Jahiz, K. al-‘Uthmaniya, p. 251.
'Āhmad b. 'Abī Du‘ād al-‘Ayādī, al-Jāhīz says: "... The common people, may God save you, were they scattered, their problem would have been much easier and the period of their rising much shorter. If they had a chief who is skilful, obeyed and with good management, and a responsible leader, then all ambitions would be abolished, the right would cease to exist and the rightful would be killed..., but as much as we fear them, we have hope in them, and as much as we avoid them, we are covetous of them." The power which lies in the impetuous character of the common people, according to al-Jāhīz, is less responsible and more destructive than other powers. This power becomes greater, when it is controlled by a leadership that directs it. al-Jāhīz relates sayings attributed to earlier authorities on this point.

'Alī b. 'Abī Ṭālib is reported to have said: "We seek refuge in God, from people who, while gathering, cannot be controlled and if scattered, cannot be recognized." Wāsil b. 'Atā' said: "They will never gather, without causing offence, but while scattered, they are more useful," Wāsil says, be-

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(1) al-Jāhīz, R. ft Nafī al-tashbīh, MS., Damad, 949., fol. 2a; see also al-Mashriq, (1953), vol. III., p. 283 sq.
cause, "the potter would go back to his work, the weaver to his weaving, the sailor to his sailing, the goldsmith to his business and every man to his work, and in all this there is benefit to Muslim (community), and help to the needy."

al-Jāḥīẓ admits the fact that the Traditionists, whom he calls the anthropomorphists, were popular among the common people, but as a Muʿtazilite, he condemns them and thinks that they have misled the people. This is natural, because al-Jāḥīẓ believes that the rightful leaders of the community were the rational believers who, according to him, are the Muʿtazilites themselves. In his discussions, this feeling is strongly expressed, he says: "...and I say and confirm this (saying) with argument and seek refuge in God from talking nonsense or not telling the truth, or saying what I do not do, I say: But for the theologians, the common folk of all nations had perished, but for the Muʿtazilites the common folk of all Muslim sects had perished." The

(1) al-Jāḥīẓ, R. fī Naḥī al-tashbīḥ, fol. 2a.
(2) Ibid.
(3) al-Jāḥīẓ, al-Nayawān, vol. IV., p. 206; see also Tritton, Muslim theology, p. 79.
right of the Mu'tazilites to leadership was deserved by
them, because, according to al-Jāḥiz, unlike other sects,
the Mu'tazilites did not imitate, but consulted the reason,
which is the rightful path to the truth. The theologians
who deserve the leadership of the people are not only those
who occupied themselves with matters of the worship and
faith, without looking into the problems which are closer
to the life and nature of people, for "the worship does not
bewilder or cause foolishness, except to those who prefer
solitude and loose contact with people and (leave) the
association with men of knowledge; that was why they became
so stupid that no chief or 'Imām will become even out of the
best worshipper among them."

It is significant to point out, however, that
there is hardly any idealisation in al-Jāḥiz's conception
of power. The philosopher king in Plato's Republic had no
significance in al-Jāḥiz's view. It is interesting that
al-Jāḥiz realises the practical side of power, it is not

abstract knowledge that makes of the scholar a man of authority. Reason should be backed by practical knowledge which enables man to deal with people; "the right man," al-Jāḥīẓ says, "is he who combines the fulfillment of the (idea of) Unity (of God) and giving natures their right function."

As for those who were respected and followed by the common people, without being qualified for leadership, al-Jāḥīẓ says, they are false scholars and are misleading the people.

al-Jāḥīẓ, however, realises the difficulty of putting the power of reason into practice. The following question is important in this connection: What will happen if the power is not in the hands of the rational believers?

This question, although in a slightly different form, was in fact, discussed by the Muṣṭazīlīṭes themselves. It is illustrated in the question put by the Muṣṭazīlīṭes: (Whether the good believer should, or should not, take action against the despotic 'Imām). Their attitudes towards the

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(2) al-Jāḥīẓ, Faṣl mā ḥabn al-‘Adāwa wa’l-ḥasād, Majmū‘., (Kraus-Ḥājirī), p. 101.
question varied according to their schools and teachings. It is interesting, in this connection, that al-Jahiz makes the distinction between the learned men and the men in power. al-Jahiz refers to former generations, where scholars, according to him, acted as the transferers of culture and responsible leaders of studies and education, he says: "There was no time in the passing generations, without the rightful scholars who read books of former generations and studied them with the men of their time. So, they were able to write books on various subjects of science and arts for their own generation and the generations to follow (in order) to become nearer to those who had grace upon them, for the knowledge which God had made in them, by which they are distinguished from the others." The scholars, here, appear in a special position in the society which, in fact, reflects clearly their actual position in the Abbasid society itself. But, according to al-Jahiz, there may appear a class of envious ignorant people who pretend to be the


(2) al-Jahiz, Faṣl mā bayn al-ʿAdāwa., Majmūʿ., (Kraus-Ḥajiri), pp. 100-1
real scholars and may "draw the hearts of the weak common people and the ignorant kings to their side, and the enemies of the real scholars support them, in order to satisfy the common people."  

(1) al-Jāhiṣ's bitterness is a justification of the Mu'tazilites' position under the 'Abbasid Caliphate. This is shown also in a private letter which al-Jāhiṣ wrote in (Condemnation of Time), and which is very similar in tone and spirit to the epistles of 'Ikwan al-Ṣafā later.

When the Mu'tazilites were enjoying the brightest period of their power, al-Jāhiṣ reflects a different attitude towards the ruling power; in some of his letters, al-Jāhiṣ maintains that the learned men, writers, poets and good speakers ought to cooperate with the men in power, while those look after the prosperity and well-being of the people. al-Jāhiṣ addresses Muḥammad b. 'Aḥmad b. 'Abī Du'ād al-'Ayādī, who was himself pro-Mu'tazilite, saying: ".. was it not for the responsibility of the community, which was invested upon you and the management of the affairs of the special and common and that being pre-occupied with

(2) al-Jāhiṣ, Rasā'īl, (Sandūbī)., pp. 310-11.
preserving their rights and protecting them, did not leave you spare strength for disputes or writing books on questions and refutations, it would have been your own duty and you would have been more rightful for this matter. However, we never spoke but in your own tongues and never followed but your example and did not gain power except through what you have lent us of your own power. Therefore, all speaking men of letters and eloquent speakers should cooperate with you, help you and support you." It is true that al-Jahiz puts the learned men, here, in a second place to those in power, but it is by no means maintained that their service is dispensible.

al-Jahiz, therefore, accepts the fact that the power of reason is not always a leading power, and the rational party are not always the most powerful and that they may be even thrown into the background for the sake of false scholars. They may have to cooperate with the ruling power for their common cause.

The emphasis laid by al-Jahiz on the power of

(1) al-Jahiz, R. fi Nafî al-tashbih, fol. 4b.
reason and the leadership of the rational minority in the society seems to have been a recognition and a confirmation of the rights of the educated middle class, represented, in al-Jāhiz's opinion, by the theologians, at his time, his own party the Mu'tazilites.

al-Jāhiz's characteristic method of thinking manifests itself most significantly in the attempt he makes to compromise between rational principles, on one hand, and social facts as they stand in the actual conditions of society, on the other. Therefore, his effort, as far as this aspect is concerned, cannot be said to have resulted in a theory or a system of philosophy, although his remarks are most significant and genuine, especially on analysis of historical and social facts. Later on, the importance of this way of thinking appears in the philosophy of history, founded by Ibn Khaldūn.
Avarice, as a subject of writing, was not initiated by al-Jāhiz, neither was he the last writer to deal with it. However, although the idea existed in the mind of Islamic society and in spite of the number of misers and their current stories, al-Jāhiz says that there were only two who cared to write on the subject. Those were Sahl b. Hārūn and 'Abū 'Abdu'l-Rahmān al-Thaurī. al-Jāhiz himself adopts the two characters into his own book. The epistle of Sahl on avarice forms the beginning of al-Jāhiz's Bukhālā. 'Abū 'Abdu'l-Rahmān al-Thaurī is one of the richest misers in the

(1) see about his life and avarice, Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt., (1838), vol. I., p. 260; also E. I.
(2) see al-Hājirī's comments, al-Bukkalā', (1948), p. 323.
(3) pp. 7-12.
book of al-Jāhiz. However, in considering this point, al-Jāhiz may have been thinking only about his own time, and those whom he came across, for 'Ibn al-Nadīm mentions a book on avarice written by al-Madā'inī. al-Jāhiz relates some of his stories on the authority of the latter, as well as on the authority of al-'Aṣmaṣi and 'Abū'Ubayda, but the number of stories he copied from them did not amount, according to him, to more than "a few tens". It should be pointed out too that many of the stories in Kitāb al-Bukhala‘ were, in fact, current in society.

Besides the short chapters which were written by various writers of all times on the question of avarice, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, in the beginning of the 5th century A.H., wrote another book on misers, to which he gave the same title

(1) al-Bukhala‘, (1948), pp. 91-100.
(2) al-Fihrist, (Flügel), vol. I., p. 104.
(3) al-Bukhala‘, (1948), p. 135.
(5) see about him, Yāqūt, 'Irshād., vol. I., p. 246.
as al-Jähiz's book, Kitāb al-Bukhālā. The main concern of the writer is to condemn avarice as irreligious and immoral, although he follows the same way as al-Jähiz's in relating anecdotes and short stories.

The question is: How did the topic grow in Islamic literature and what significance did it have in the life of people that made it a subject of literary writing?

Before going into details of this question, one cannot ignore the fact that avarice is a universal topic in literature. Long before the time of al-Jähiz, avarice appears in Greek literature. Plautus, the Greek playwright, seems to have been the first who adopted the subject into drama. His play, the Aulularia (or the pot of gold), formed a pattern for all who made the character of the miser, later, a subject of playwrighting. The basic plot and theme of Plautus's play were slightly varied by his followers. The

(1) Br. Mus. MS., no. Or.3139. The MS. is in six volumes 59 fols. It starts with traditions attributed to the Prophet, condemning avarice.

(2) Plautus was born about 255 B.C., see Paul Nixon, Plautus's works, (1910), introd., vol. I., p. 5.

(3) see H. Fielding, The Miser, introd., p. 6.
significance of gold and its effect on the morals of the miser, especially in connection with family relations, is shown by all writers. There are critics who are inclined to believe that Moliere portrays, in his famous l'Avare, the traditional French sacred notion of family life which was endangered by the material influence of gold and "whatever endangers the security of the family is to be denounced and exposed as a lesson." Moreover, it is believed that Moliere's play is, in fact, determinedly a study of avarice, although he relieved it with scenes of genuine comedy. This, however, does not change the fact that Moliere, as well as many other writers had Plautus's play as a model.

On the other hand, as early as the time of the Roman satirist Juvenal, the subject of avarice was reflected in literary writings and dealt with as a problem. Juvenal was born about the second half of the first century A.D. "at some time during the last years of Nero's reign, or shortly after his death." The details of the Roman life

(1) see B. Mathews, Moliere, his life and his works, (1910), p. 251.
(2) see A. Tilley, Moliere, (1921), pp. 201-2.
(3) The date of his birth is given between 55-72 A.D., see Juvenal, Satires, introd., by A. F. Cole.
are depicted in his satires. "Juvenal castigates with the lash of his satire", Carcopino says, "the miser who (pinches the bellies of his slaves), the gambler who flings away a fortune on a throw of the dice and (has no shirt to give a shivering slave), the coquette who loses her temper, storms and takes out her ill humour on the unoffending backs of her maids.." Juvenal treats the subject of avarice, among other subjects of the Roman life, as a serious problem which, according to him, was the responsibility of the parents towards their children, for "avarice", he says, "is not natural to children, but they acquire it by lessons, and eventually become more proficient than their teachers, the mad desire of money leads them to folly, discomfort, crime; any means will serve, so long as the end is attained, yet the end is unsatisfying and exacting.."

The subject of avarice is, therefore, universal in all literatures. This, however, does not prevent the fact that each literature has its own characteristics in this.

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(1) Juvenal, Satires, no. XIV., 126; VI., 475-84; I., 92.
(2) Ibid., no. I., 192.
(4) Juvenal, Satires, (A. F. Cole), no. XIV.
One of the most interesting explanations given of the question of avarice in Islamic literature, with a special reference to al-Jāḥīz himself, which would be discussed here with some details, is that which is given by Ṭāhā al-Ḥājirī, in the introduction of al-Jāḥīz's Bukhālā’. al-Ḥājirī attributes the reason of the great growing interest of Islamic society in the subject of avarice, mainly to political and racial disputes; that is to say the dispute between political parties, on one hand, and Arabs and non-Arabs, on the other. The ʿAbbasids attacked the ʿUmayyads and called them misers, the writers followed the desire of the rulers and dedicated their flattery to them, condemning their opponents. The non-Arabs despised the ideals of the Arab life and criticised the baseless boasting of the Arabs. A quotation of al-Ḥājirī will be interesting to show his point of view: "... On the other path stand the propagandists of the existing government and those scholars and men of letters who have put themselves at the service of the ruler and decided to follow the same road as he does. Amongst these, were the defenders and partisans of the Arab cause, like al-ʿAṣmaʾī; while certain others were more sympathetic

(1) al-Bukhālā; (1948), edited by al-Ḥājirī, introd., pp. 9-41
to the Shuʿubīya, like al-Madainī. The argument in favour of the ruling power was not far removed from the argument in favour of the Shuʿubīya; there were close links between them, even though the latter had taken on a special colour of its own... One may put al-Ḥājirī's points as follows:

1. The rejection of non-Arabs of the Arab life and morals and the refutation of the idea that the Arabs were actually as generous as they described. Works were written to praise avarice by non-Arab writers, on one hand, and refutations of these works were written by Arab writers who condemned it. This was racial, as well as political, antagonism.

2. The second reason is merely political; the disputes among parties in which writers of 'Abbasid tendencies or under 'Abbasid influence, attributed to the 'Umayyads and their governors qualities which were condemned by the Arabs and qualified them as misers.

al-Ḥājirī's interpretation is one of the most interesting explanations of this question and it is, indeed, to a certain extent, true. The clash between the Arabs and

(1) al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Bukhālāʾ, (1948), introd., p. 18.
non-Arabs, on one hand, and the 'Abbasids and the 'Umayyads, on the other, did exist and did have a great effect on the literature of the time. As to what degree of influence this antagonism had on this aspect of literature, it should not be exaggerated. Apart from the fact that it was a universal subject in literature, avarice is a question that is closely related to the life of man, in connection with his wealth and property. In order to understand this problem, therefore, one has to take social and economic development in the society into great consideration.

One of the interesting characteristics of the 'Abbasid society, which cannot be ignored, is what one may call the characteristic of money-consciousness. It is interesting to see, for instance, that a middle class man was pleased to be described as a miser, so long as the description implies, according to him, the possession of wealth. The rich miser, on the other hand, protected his wealth and

(1) see later pages of this chapter too.
(2) see al-Jāhiz, al-Bukhālā', (1948), the story of al-Qīzāmī, pp. 52-7. The same saying is attributed by al-Dimashqī to a merchant, see al-Ishāra ilā mahāsin tijārā, p. 67.
was always under the illusion that the poor people were anxious to ruin his life. al-Dārāṣī, a man with immense wealth, was asked why he hated the beggars who asked him charity; he replied: "Yes, for the majority of those whom you see, are better off than me", and "all of them, had they been able (to get hold) of my house, they would have pulled it down, and my life, they would have taken away. If I obeyed them and gave them all they asked, I would have become like them long ago." It is significant to see that al-Jāḥīz pictures the miser and the common man as two antagonistic powers, one is niggard in his wealth and the other is urging and begging. In the epistle attributed by al-Jāḥīz to 'Abūl- Fāṣ b. ʿAbdu'l-Wahhāb al-Thaqāfī, they are pictured as follows: ".. the common people never slackened in their demands, and the monopolists and misers in no way abated their own efforts, nor did they spare their ability (towards their end) and they showed no shortage of avarice and niggardness... the miser (in this respect, therefore,) is most industrious and in no way does the common man abate in his efforts. Anyone who does not resist what we have described with strong character, resolute desire and true

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(1) al-Jāḥīz, al-Bukhālā', p. 121.
As a result of the development of economic and social life in Islamic society, changes in the social structure of classes, differences and social relations emerged. Therefore, in order to understand the antagonism between various measures, it is necessary to take material progress into great consideration. The characteristic difficulty which emerged in Islamic town life and which has a great relevance to this discussion was how to bring together, and compromise between, principles and ideals of different origins; Arab ideals, Islamic principles and the new cultures and philosophies of various elements, within the frame of that material progress. Examples may be taken to illustrate this point:

In Islamic town, no doubt, wealth constituted the back-bone of economic life. Neither trade, nor any other activity could be carried out without the necessary capital. Islam, practically, did not discourage trade, although immense wealth was not approved of. Rules in Islam against the

(2) see the discussion on trade in the second chapter of this thesis pp. 143-44.
accumulation of wealth, if regarded, would have been strong enough to hinder trade on a large scale. Usury is prohibited in Islam, a fact which may have stood in the way of the business of bankers. The Zakat, although a voluntary tax, would have been another difficulty, but it gradually grew unimportant. According to the Arab ideals, prosperous men were expected to be generous and hospitable. This in itself, if followed strictly, would have caused the ruin of the capital of merchants. It was, therefore, not in the interest of the merchants, whose trade depended mainly on their own capital, to spend their money in actions of hospitality. One of the ways to escape criticism, however, was to pay the sum of the Zakat, in order to satisfy the public opinion; the saying was common that people should protect their money through the payment of the Zakat, it was said: "Protect your money by the Zakat and escape the waves of evil by means of prayers." al-Jāḥīz portrays the character of the miser, in connection with almsgiving, with intended exaggeration. He

(1) see Qur'ān, chapter II., verse 275, 276, 278; III., 130; IV., 161; XXX., 38.
(2) see, about early Islamic times, Ṣāliḥ A. al-ʿAlī, al-Tanzimat., p. 184 sq., and about Abbasid times, see al-Dūrī, Tārīkh., pp. 111-12.
talks about a miser from Khurasān who heard al-Ḥasan preaching people to spend in almsgiving and promising them the reward of God. The miser went and spent all his money, in the hope that the reward was going to be soon, but was greatly disappointed when he gained nothing. His reproach to al-Ḥasan was most bitter, he goes to the extreme of accusing the latter of robbing his money and blames himself for listening to him.

The idea of generosity was, of course, accepted by Islam; "he who can avoid the stinginess of his own self is among the winners." Islam went so far as to expect generosity even from the needy. Therefore, those who held back their money and hospitality in general, received severe attacks. In al- Başra, merchants received much criticism not only because they were rich, but because they were, unlike the merchants of Quraysh, as al-Jāḥiẓ says, not hospitable. al-Jāḥiẓ reflects the attitude of society towards the merchants, in the treatise written about them. Merchants

(1) al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Bukhaiṣ', p. 22.
(2) Qur'ān, chapter III., verse 180; IV., 37; IX., 76; also al-Iqd., vol. I., p. 263.
(3) see a chapter written by Ibn 'Abd Rabbīh on (Generosity in spite of need), al-Iqd., vol. I., pp. 273-6.
(4) Majmu', (Sacy), pp. 155-6; also Br. Mus. MS., fol. 203a sq.
were described as very niggard and miser and that no good
should be expected from them. This, however, seems to have
been met with a counter attack by the merchants themselves.
We hear of sayings attributed to the merchants of Quraysh,
justifying the attitude of merchants, that generosity was
not everything among the virtues of man; a man from Quraysh
is supposed to have said: "We Quraysh, all, do not consider
clemency and generosity an honour, but consider chastity and
protection of money a manliness."

In Islamic town, the Arabs were not the only
element who enjoyed the privilege of wealth and of running
the machinery of economic life. In fact, the non-Arabs were
running the financial activities in the town long before
Islam. The Arabs who conquered the territories did not show
much interest in the beginning, in these activities. The
Mawālī, on the other hand, were able to assert their pos­
ition through wealth and through leading these activities.
The position which they enjoyed through being rich is, there­
fore, significant. 'Abū Sa'īd al-Madā'īnī, one of the chara-

(1) see al-Muqaddasī, Yawāqīt., (1300 A.H.), p. 28; also al-
cters of al-Jāhiẓ in al-Bukhālā', who was a Mawlā, was a money-dealer in al-Baṣra and was aware of the fact that, were it not for his money, people might have insulted him.

As for the old Persian traditional families, it is clear that they preserved their rights as the upper class of people. "In Persia", 'Ibn Ḥauqal says, "there is a beautiful tradition and a custom like a virtue among them, in favouring people of old families who still inherit the posts of the Diwāns from old days till nowadays." It is also significant to see that, in 'Abbāsid town, blood relations and family ties did not have as much significance as relations of power and wealth, among townspeople, although it may have retained its character among dwellers of the desert. al-‘Āṣma‘ī relates a story about the Caliph al-Mahdī, who went on pilgrimage and came across a beduin Arab who complained to him that the father of his beloved did not want to marry him to her, because he was not of a pure Arab blood. The Caliph is said to have smiled at him and told him that all the brothers of the Caliph himself were not purely Arabs. What this story sig-

(3) see 'Ibn Qayim al-Jauziya, 'Akhbār al-Nisā', p. 121.
nifies may be more important than the authenticity it bears. Besides the idea that purity of blood grew unimportant in the 'Abbasid townlife, it may indicate too that the mixture of descent crept even into the desert. From amongst the misers of al-Jāhiz, examples can be seen where family ties meant nothing besides the importance of wealth and property. al-Dārdarīshī can be remembered again in this connection. He threatened his brother of cutting his relations with him, if the latter continued on offering his friends food and spending money, which he happened to share with him, on that. Khālawayh the beggar advises his son to save his money not out of love for him, but, as he himself puts it, out of his hatred for the judges and deceiving people.

Besides differences of classes, another differences may be taken into consideration, in this connection; it is the difference between the town and the desert. The life of privation and poverty in the desert seems to have received very little change. al-Jāhiz reports, on the authority of 'Abū'1-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī, the following incident:

(1) al-Jāhiz, al-Bukhālā', pp. 121-22.
(2) Ibid., p. 41. see also about bribery among the judges etc., al-'Abshīhi, al-Mustāṭraf., (1330 A.H.), pp. 92-4.
"After the prayers of the afternoon, in the year 153 (A. H.), I heard in the cathedral mosque of al-Baṣra a (beduin) Arab saying: We are children of the road and people whom travel on roads has weakened and people routed by a year of scarcity. Be charitable to us, for nothing is too little for the reward and no one is too rich to do without God ('s favour) and there is no chance (of acting) after death. By God, we are standing in this manner with bitter breasts and heavy hearts." The significance of this story does not lie in how much truth it bears, but rather in what it indicates. The poverty of the dwellers of the desert is often referred to by al-Jāḥiẓ in his writing. In al-Ḥayawān, al-Jāḥiẓ talks about the food of the 'Acrāb, which goes down to the meanest animals. The morals and ideals of the beduins are discussed by narrators to show how little influence Islam had on their character. Stories are related, on the other hand, about the beduins who came to town and were dazzled

(1) al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān., vol. II., p. 80.
(2) vol. III., p. 526.
(3) see stories in al-'Abshiḥī, al-Mustaṭraf., (1331), vol. II., p. 215.
by the luxury and new manners in which townspeople lived. al-Jâhiz says that there is nothing more amusing to his own taste than listening to a conversation between two beduin Arabs. The taste, as well as the way of life, of the town was different from that of the desert. Social manners and other conceptions of life, naturally, follow. This point will be discussed, at some length, in connection with the question of hospitality and table manners, later, which are important in al-Bukhalâ'.

The antagonism between morals and ideals of various groups, therefore, followed not only their political interests and racial differences, but also, and perhaps more distinctly, their status, classes and social background. One of the interesting features of Islamic literature at this time, which illustrates this clash of ideals and measures, is the literature of (Beauties and Antithesis), which tends to show the beauty of one idea, such as avarice, poverty, generosity, knowledge etc., then turns to show its defects, making judgments from two different points of

view. It may be interesting to see that one of these works, which may have been the earliest of them all, is attributed to al-Jāḥīz himself. This literature seems to illustrate a significant feature of Islamic society at this time; the fact that various cultures and philosophies were absorbed within the society and found expression through literature. It is interesting to examine an example of these differences:

The term (al-Murū'a) is one of the most difficult to define and limit. My purpose, here, is to show how different measures of town life found expression through this term. al-Jāḥīz himself gives the example to show differences between people in thinking, which, according to him, is decided by their craft and status in society; he says: "It was said to someone: What is Murū'a?; he said: Cleanliness of the body and good deeds. It was said to Mūhāmmad b. 'Imrān: What is Murū'a?; he replied: It is that you do not do anything in secret which you feel ashamed of in public. 'Abū 'Abnāf said: It is chastity and profession. 'Abū Hurayra was asked: What is Murū'a?; he said: Fear of God, good deeds


(2) Published as al-Maḥāsin wa'l-ʿAddād, Leyde (1898), also as al-Maḥāsin wa'l-Masāwī’, (1926).
and supper in the open space (i.e. hospitality)." There is no need to say that the difference between these people in defining the term does not arise from individual differences, but one finds a mixture of Islamic principles, Arab ideals and other conceptions of town life, all, reflected in these definitions.

The question of avarice and generosity received much argument and disagreement. Avarice, which was considered as economy in the opinion of some people, was, in fact, a safeguard against turns of fortune and insecurity of life, a characteristic remarkable in the 'Abbasid society of the time. Therefore, "saving what is in your own hand is better than asking charity from other people's hands." On the other hand, it is understood that deeds of charity and generosity should, ultimately, be followed by thanks and gratitude of the given person. This, however, was not universally accepted in the

Abbasid society. Among some of the lower classes, we find a tendency against this rule of morals. al-Jāḥiz tells us that among the thieves, there were those who believed that the Zakāt was an absolute right of the poor man and that they themselves deserved it. Therefore, when the merchants stopped giving it, they took it by force and justified their action as legal and right. This attitude was, naturally, against the traditional conception of gratitude. The common saying, which is even expressed in the Qur'ān, is that whoever thanks will get more. A man in al-Kūfa who was asked why he was so generous and good to people, answered that he never heard a voice or tune in nature more appealing and appreciated than the praise of a thankful person. al-Jāḥiz explains the necessity of gratitude and thanks in the fact that it is logical and rational, because, according to him, he who does not thank people will not be able to thank God, for God gives easily, but it is not the same with people, they give with difficulty, therefore, he who gives generously

(1) see al-Tanūkhī, al-Paraj., (1904), vol. II., pp. 106-7
must be thanked and praised.

In a society like the 'Abbasid at this time, full of various elements and tendencies, one is not surprised to see great disagreements and arguments about measures and ideals. The question of avarice, like many other questions, suffered the same reconsideration. It may have been used as a weapon against one party or the other, but it is by no means a result of one particular antagonism, it is the result of all these changes together.

Social Manners in Islamic Society:

Before discussing the character of the misers in al-Jahiz's Bukhala', it is interesting to consider the question of social manners, especially concerning food, table manners and hospitality, which is most relevant to the question of avarice and al-Jahiz's characters of the miser. The misers of al-Jahiz were mainly niggard in food; al-Jahiz even points out misers who preferred to give a thousand

(1) al-Jahiz, R. fi'l-Ma'add., Majmu', (Kraus-Hajiri), p. 3.
Dirham than to offer food to a guest.

The question of hospitality and table manners is one of the questions where the mixed character of Islamic society is illustrated. In al-Jahiz's picture of the miser, one is able to find a mixture of Arab ideals, Islamic principles and Persian manners, all, mixed up together. al-Jahiz produces amusing pictures of the misers by exaggerating one side of their character on the expense of the others. Exaggeration should be borne in mind as one of the characteristics of al-Jahiz's art in al-Bukhala'.

Hospitality, in old Arab society, had its conditions and qualifications, which are observed by both, the host, as well as the guest. A man, who happens to pass by a house of a friend, an acquaintance, or even a stranger, especially during the night, expects to receive a welcome and to be offered shelter and food. It is considered as good manners that the guest, who accepts the shelter, should also accept the food, without making apologies, whether he

(1) al-Jahiz, al-Bukhala', p. 136.
was full or hungry. In the miser, al-Jahiz shows a contrast of this custom. He describes an incident about a man who knocked at his friend's door, at midnight, and asked him to let him stay till morning in the passage of his door. Instead of letting him in, al-Jahiz says, "Abū Mazin pretended to be drunk and showed him that his silence was caused by drunkenness; he loosened his senses, dropped his tongue and said: drunk, by God, I am, by God, drunk." al-Jahiz's exaggeration is, apparently, intended; he says that although the man begged Abū Mazin and explained to him that he had already had his supper and was not in need of his food, the latter would not understand; he refused him and slammed the door in his face, thinking that his excuse was made clear. The quality of sheltering a man from the street is praised by Islam too. The misers failed to comply with these principles. A rich miser, in al-Bukhālā', scolds a beggar and threatens to break his leg if he went on asking him charity. The Arab ideals of hospitality were criticised and considered most impractical for towndwellers. One of the misers of

(2) al-Jahiz, al-Bukhālā', p. 33.
(3) Ibid., p. 109.
al-Jahiz, al-Harithi, condemns the poor Arabian who expects his host to kill a camel for each guest who happens to pass by him, for "if this wretched man would kill a camel for every dog that passes him," al-Harithi says, "to avoid his tongue, before one week passes, he would have to stop the passers-by, asking their charity."

People are expected to ask their friends to their houses. In al-Bukhalā', men are cited as misers not because they did not ask their friends, but because the amount of food they offered was scanty and little. It should be pointed out, however, that al-Jahiz makes exception of people whose life was scanty because they were poor. The people of al-Mazih, a place near al-Raqqa, were blamed by some people for their avarice. al-Jahiz says: "... but the people of al-Mazih are not known by avarice, although they are the worst of all people in (their) conditions (of life), so their estimation follows their life."

(1) al-Jahiz, al-Bukhalā', p. 64.  
(2) Ibid., pp. 108-9.  
(3) Ibid., al-Hajiri's comments, p. 333.  
(4) Ibid., p. 110.
Generosity requires that the amount of food should exceed the number of eaters. Bread has the priority in this.

Bread appears to have been one of the most highly esteemed types of food. al-Ghazālī explains this in the fact that life depends on it and that it helps to give strength to the worshippers. In al-Bukhārā', men are blamed because of the shortage of bread on their table. al-Jāhiz cites a man with the misers, because the bread which he offered was of the same number as the eaters, in spite of the fact that the food was carefully prepared and neatly laid down. Another miser is described as a niggard, he would rather see a person break the rules of religion than seeing him breaking the second loaf of bread. Muḥammed b. al-Mu’āmmil, one of the characters of al-Jāhiz, used to spend a lot of money on the food of his guests to make it good. al-Jāhiz, however, blames him and even talks to him personally, saying: "people consider him whose bread is little... a miser" The ground of the table should not be exposed to the eyes of eaters, but should be covered with bread. Muḥammed b. al-Mu’āmmil

(1) see 'Ihya', (al-Ḥalabi), vol. II., p. 4.
(2) al-Jāhiz, al-Bukhārā', p. 47.
(3) Ibid., p. 146.
(4) Ibid., p. 82.
replies to al-\textdaghiz's advice that he thought it better not to show the eaters too much food on the table, because that would put them off, but considered it necessary to prepare the food with care and cleanliness. In this point, one cannot fail to notice the taste of a town-dweller. It would be pointed out, on the other hand, that a man was considered miser if his food was laid down very neatly and carefully; Muways is described by one of those who used to eat with him as a miser in food, because "he used to make it and prepare it in the way of someone who does not want it to be touched."

One of the points, which shows the development of social customs according to the requirements and conditions of townlife, but was criticised in the beginning as a sign of avarice, is illustrated in the following example from al-Bukhala':

In talking about al-Thauri, one of the richest misers in al-Bukhala', al-\textdaghiz says that he was fond of eating the heads of sheep, but would never buy them except on Saturdays. al-\textdaghiz attributes this to the fact that they were more available and cheaper and the demand on them is less on this

\footnotesize{(1) al-\textdaghiz, al-Bukhala', p. 63.}
particular day. What al-Jahiz criticised in al-Thauri, however, seems to have become a prevalent habit, later, among the people in Islamic town, the reason being that in Islamic society, animals are slaughtered mostly on Friday. On Saturday, the heads of the animals are left and are, therefore, more available than other days. People became used to this later on. This habit seems to have survived, for instance, in Spain long after the Muslims' times.

Among townspeople, food is not eaten only in order to satisfy a need, but is often a way of showing off and a cause of pleasure. Historians try to refer the beginning of luxury and extravagance to the time of Mu‘awya, the first 'Umayyad Caliph. Persian manners and showing off in food were copied by the governors of Iraq since the 'Umayyad times. In al-Bukhala', al-Jahiz pictures the misers who wanted to show off in a most niggard way. One of them quarrels with his neighbours, because the latter ones took

(2) see Mez, Renaissance, (English trans., 1937), p. 395
(3) al-'Abshihii, al-Mustatraf., (1268), vol. I., p. 211.
(4) Ibid., vol. I., p. 178.
away the bones which he placed outside his own door to show people that he had eaten meat. Offering guests variety of food became a sign of luxury and hospitality. Those who made the attempt to keep up with the traditional way of life were not successful in their attempt and were also condemned as misers. al-Jahiz talks about ‘Auf b. al-Qa‘qā’, who was a pure Arab, and who used to ask his Mawlā to make enough food for all the people of the season, but not to offer more than one kind. His action was described by some people as avarice, by others as a sign of keeping with the Arab traditions and avoiding extravagance of townlife.

A man, however, is not praised for his ability in eating, although he may be praised for his ability in drinking. No Arab, al-Jahiz says in the mouth of one of his misers, boasts about his fathers as eaters, but al-Fityān and other people of drink may be praised for drinking. Roasting about drink is, naturally, against the values introduced by Islam, which prohibited it. al-Fityān in the

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(1) al-Jahiz, al-Bukhārī; see also al-Jazā‘r, Fawā‘id al-Mawā‘id, Br. Mus. MS., no. Or.6388, fol. 8b.
(2) al-Jahiz, al-Bukhārī, p. 65.
(3) Ibid., pp. 106-7.
Abbasid society, however, seem to have had their own way of life. Their social manners are described by al-Jähiz in the mouth of 'Abū Fāṭik, whom al-Jähiz calls in al-Bukhalā', Qādī'l-Fityān. 'Abū Fāṭik gives his followers of the Fityān most interesting instructions in food and table manners.

Although drink is preferred to food, a host is not supposed to suggest it to his guest. This, however, does not seem to have been out of piety or religious fear, but the reason given is that the host may be suggesting that his guest is eating too much. He who does this is considered miser. As to whether the host should make any conversation with his guest or not, it was a matter of disagreement. According to the Arab manners, al-Abshīhī says, they believe in freedom and easy manners with the guest, as well as long conversation. al-Jähiz, however, criticises a miser who used to make his guests talk and would eat all the food alone.

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(2) Ibid., p. 62.
(3) see the argument in Mez, Renaissance., p. 395.
(5) al-Jähiz, al-Bukhalā', p. 87.
Manners followed not only townlife, but also classes of people. What was approved of by the common people was not done among certain circles. al-Washsha’ discusses a number of examples of what was used by the common people and avoided by the special, even in speech and ways of addressing one another.

The Characters of al-Bukhalā':

The significance of studying al-Bukhalā’ in the light of society, lies in the fact that al-Jāḥiz depicts in it, through the character of the miser, most interesting aspects of Islamic society, enlarged and exaggerated, in order to produce amusing pictures. Unlike most writers, who wrote about avarice, al-Jāḥiz was by no means a moralist or a preacher, who condemns avarice for the sake of morals or principles. The material of his characters was selected from various elements without distinction of race or class. His aim, as he himself puts it, was to give amusement by citing the arguments of the misers and by showing their

(1) see al-Muwashsha, (1886), vol. II., pp. 129-30.
characteristics, through short stories and anecdotes. After reading the book, the reader comes out with no prejudice against one party or the other. al-Jāhiz's merit, however, does not lie in creating the characters of his misers, as much as in the fact that he re-produced them, by transferring them from mere existing characters into living ones. The lack of evidence, however, makes it difficult to find out how far these characters were actual living persons.

al-Jāhiz does not leave us in darkness as to where his characters belonged. He gives us, sometimes, details about their life, which enable us to know more about their social status and class. The way the character behaves and talks may also be helpful to show the type of avarice which al-Jāhiz intends to show. The following example shows this point. The character of Mu'ādha al-'Anbariya was discussed in the circle of the mosque. One of the men of the circle says about Mu'ādha: "This year, a cousin of hers sent her a present, an 'Udhiya -a sheep or cow sacrificed at the Muslim festival of Sacrifice ('Īd al-'Adha)- I saw her sad, dejected and thoughtful, with downcast head, and I said to her: What is the matter with you Mu'ādha? I am a widow

(1) al-Bukhalā', pp. 1-3.
woman, she said, and I have no responsible male relative and I am not used to dealing with the (slaughtering and distribution of) the meat of 'Aḏābi (pl. of 'Uḍhiya), and those who used to undertake this duty and deal with it properly, all have passed away, and I am afraid that part of this sheep might be wasted, and I do not know how to allot each piece of it to its appropriate place. I know that God has not created anything in it or in any other creature without some use." Mu'ādha's depression is caused by the fact that she did not know how to utilise the blood of the animal. We understand, however, that Mu'ādha was not a sophisticated rich woman, she was simple and poor. The whole responsibility of life rested on her shoulder, because she was a widow. Instead of pleasing her, the present had bewildered her.

In the following pages, I have made the attempt to analyse the characters of al-Jāḥiz, in al-Bukhala', in connection with their social background.

(1) al-Jāḥiz, al-Bukhala', p. 27.
i. Circles of the Mosque

The mosque in Islamic town was the centre of public life. Religious duties, as well as other public meetings, were held in the mosque. It was also a centre of literary activities and entertainment. In al-Bukhālā', the mosque of al-Baṣra, especially, is the place where al-Jāhiz meets with his characters. Besides the mosque, of course, there were the streets, markets and houses. The instance of family life and family relations, however, which were greatly affected by the avarice of misers like Harpagon, the miser of Molière, or Euclio, the miser of Plautus, for instance, has hardly any significance in al-Jāhiz's picture of the miser. al-Jāhiz's great interest in public life, on one hand, and the insignificance of family relations in Abbasid life, on the other hand, drew him far from producing that aspect of life in his picture of the miser. Family picture is overshadowed by the outside activities of man and the lack of proper family relations inside the family.

(1) see art. al-Masdjid, E.I.
(2) see, for example, al-Karīrī, Maqāmat., (1897), al-Maqāma al-Baṣriya, p. 401; also al-Jāhiz, al-Bukhālā', pp. 24-8.
The women whom al-Jahiz describes in al-Bukhalā' are either those whom he came across casually or whom he describes through other narrators.

al-Jahiz's narration of stories on the authority of al-Masjidiyun (people of the mosque), forms a big portion of his description of the misers. It would be pointed out, however, that al-Jahiz does not seem to take these people of the mosque very seriously. He seems to have sat with them from childhood, but does not seem to have much respect for their way of thinking. The circles of the mosque seem to have been the most dynamic groups in Islamic society, which contained people of all types, characters and classes. Examples from these circles will be interesting to show their characteristics.

The most interesting circle, in connection with the misers, is that which appears under the name of the Circle of al-Muṣliḥūn. In his stories, related on the authority of the

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(1) al-Bukhalā', pp. 31, 25, 27, 102-3.
(2) al-Jahiz, al-Bayan., vol., III., p. 224.
(3) al-Jahiz, al-Bukhalā', al-Hajiri's comments, pp. 270-1.
people of the mosque, al-Jahiz describes a group of people as follows:

"A group of people collected in the mosque, consisting of those who make profession of economising in living expenses and making money profitable, of those who amass money and hold on to it. This principle has become amongst them like ties of kinship which causes people to be friendly with one another and like a pact that joins people in mutual assistance. Therefore, when they met in their circles, they discussed this subject, exchanged views on it and examined all aspects of it, for the sake of gain and from pleasure in talking of it . . ."

From the stories of these people, it is understood that they collected together because of their common interest in avarice which they considered as good management. 'Islah, therefore; in their own vocabulary, has become different from what is generally understood by it. In the language, 'Islah is good action, reconciliation or reformation. al-Mušlih is "a man who does well, rightly, justly or properly, in his affairs and his actions." According to these misers, avarice is

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(3) E. Lane, Dictionary, part IV., p. 1715.
equal to 'Iṣlāḥ. One of the misers defines 'Iṣlāḥ as follows: "The first (rule of) 'Iṣlāḥ is that what has accrued to my hand should not be restored to you, so, if what has accrued to my hand was my property, then it is mine. If it was not my property, then I am more entitled to it than he who has given it into my hand. Whosoever gives something out of his hand into the hands of others, unnecessarily, has made it lawful for him to whom he has given it. Your distributing a thing is similar to making it lawful." In the 4th century, A.H., it is interesting to see also this term used with reference to the misers especially; al-Tanūkhī writes: ".. We were discussing the hardship of our time and the group of people, their hard life and their love of avarice, so that some of them call it precaution and others 'Iṣlāḥ.'" The circle of al-Muṣliḥūn is significant in al-Bukhārā'. al-Jāḥiz picks up interesting examples of misers who had close relations with this circle. The two important characters of rich misers are those of 'Abū Sa'īd al-Madā'īnī and 'Abū 'Abdu'l-Ḥamān al-Thaurā."
al-Madā'īnī is a money dealer. al-Jāḥīz describes him saying: "Abū Saʿīd al-Madā'īnī was an 'Amām (leader) in avarice amongst us in al-.Busra. He was one of the biggest and wealthiest money dealers." al-Madā'īnī used to sit in the circle of money dealers in the mosque. This circle seems to have had close relations, and many things in common, with the circle of al-Muṣliḥūn. al-Jāḥīz says that al-Madā'īnī had a circle in the mosque of al-Busra "in which the people of 'Ina (money dealing) and the misers who discussed 'Īslāḥ used to sit." al-Madā'īnī seems to have been taking a leading part in this circle; the people of the circle address him saying: "... We see that you are doing a thing which we do not know and a mistake from you is greater than a mistake from the others." He seems to have been an example for his fellow misers. al-Jāḥīz describes him as being a man of wit, reason and personality. Besides, he was a disciple, in the art of story-telling, of Khalawayh the beggar. al-Jāḥīz's portrait of al-Madā'īnī shows him spending all his life and energy in running after his money which he gave in loan to

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(1) al-Jāḥīz, al-Bukhālā', p. 124.
(2) Ibid., p. 125.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid., p. 124.
(5) Ibid., pp. 39-46.
people. His concern about his position, which he had acquired through wealth, was strengthened by the fact that he was a Mawlā. He boasts about economising and becoming rich, but his dignity in matters concerning money and dealing with people was even greater. This is illustrated in his sensitivity and touchiness about questions pertaining to wealth and money and the fact that he was a Mawlā. He prefers to lose a thousand Dirham to being reminded, even by a hint, of his avarice. Nevertheless, he defends avarice, arguing the meanest things. al-Jāḥiz's picture of al-Madā'ini reveals a keen sense of humour. The contradiction shown in his character is, apparently, intended by al-Jāḥiz and is one typical of his satire.

'Abū 'Abdu'l-Rahmān al-Thaurī, another rich miser who took part in the activities of the mosque, was one of the big land-owners in al-Baṣra. al-Jāḥiz says about him: "He used to own five hundred Jarīb ... he would not buy except in a good opportunity and (would buy) a land which is

(1) al-Jāḥiz, al-Bukhālā', p. 129.
(2) Ibid., p. 128.
known for its fertility, good position and bountiful pro-
duction." He was a miser who defended avarice in writing, as well as in speech. He used to sit in the circle of al-
Müşliḥūn and listen to their stories and advice. He also had certain views and instructions on 'Īslāh. He followed the example of this circle in avarice. The argument which he uses in advising his son in economising is said, by al-
Jāḥiẓ, to have belonged to the interpretations of story-
tellers. The character of al-Thaurī is similar, in many respects, to that of al-Madā'inī. He seems to have dealt with money banking, besides owning lands. He was clever in deceiving his customers about his wealth; he would tell them that, after his death, there would be no one to inherit him, therefore, his money all would go to the people. In this way, al-Jāḥiẓ says, people were encouraged to borrow from him.

In spite of the fact that al-Thaurī, as well as

(1) al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Bukhālā', p. 91.
(2) Ibid., p. 94.
(3) Ibid., p. 92.
(4) Ibid., p. 93.
(5) Ibid., pp. 94-95.
(6) Ibid., p. 92.
al-Madâ’ifi, had the characteristics of living misers, nothing can be confirmed as to whether they were historical persons. Their actual existence in a commercial town like al-Baṣra is by no means unlikely. al-Jâhîz, through these two characters, pictures characteristics of money-dealers, as well as land-owners. It is interesting to see, however, that al-Jâhîz shows some connection between these misers and the class of story-tellers, when he states that al-Madâ’ifi learned this art from Khâlawayh the beggar.

ii. Khâlid b. Yazîd or Khâlawayh the beggar

This is one of the most interesting characters of al-Bukhalâ’. In Khâlid b. Yazîd, al-Jâhîz seems to represent a combination of elements, collected from the lower classes of ‘Abbasid society. The doubt is great as to how far this character was a historical person, although al-Jâhîz states that the man was a Mawla of al-Mahâliba, the family of al-Muhallab b. ’Abî Ṣufra. Yâqût, who tries to give an independent short account of his life, in his biographical dictionary

seems to believe that Ḳhālawayh was a historical person. It is apparent, however, that Yāqūt himself got all his information about him from al-Bukhārā' of al-Jāhiz, for Yāqūt adds nothing besides what al-Jāhiz says about this man. In this point, I agree entirely with Tāhā al-Ḥajīrī, who suggests that the copyists of the books of al-Jāhiz must have detached the story of Ḳhālawayh from al-Bukhārā' and spread it among the people as a separate biography, as they may have done with other examples, and that Yāqūt, who happened to come across it later, thought that Ḳhālid b. Yazīd was an authentic historical person. Besides, one may bear in mind that al-Jāhiz's reproduction of actual characters in life, in the book, is one of his typical ways. In Ḳhālawayh, a combination of the characters of the beggar, vagabond and story-teller can be found.

One of the remarkable points about this man is the fact that al-Jāhiz gives him two names, neither of which is a (Kunya), nor a (Laqab). al-Jāhiz calls him Ḳhālid b. Yazīd

(2) The letter of Sahl b. Hārūn on avarice is exposed to the same doubt, see al-Jāhiz, al-Bukhārā', pp. 7-12.
(3) al-Jāhiz, al-Bukhārā', al-Ḥajīrī's comments, p. 280.
or Khalawayh the beggar. The Persian influence on the form of the name Khalawayh seems to be strong. Names ending in this way do not seem to have been common among the Arabs before. al-Jahiz, however, tries to refer this characteristic in forming names to the language of the Basrians themselves. But this seems to be only an explanation. He says in al-Hayawan that it was in the Basrian language that the form of al-Tasghir was made in this way. They would say for Fil, a name of a man, Filawayh; Amr, Amrawayh; Muhammed, Hamdawayh.

One may presume that al-Jahiz meant Khalawayh to be a Tasghir form of Khalid. The name Khalid, on the other hand, is purely Arabic. Instances show that it was popular among the lower classes. This may suggest that al-Jahiz chose it on purpose.

Khālid b. Yazīd represents two different characters: one is that of a crafty beggar, who practised all tricks of

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(1) al-Hayawan, vol. VII., p. 83.
(2) see about Khalid al-Haddād, for instance, 'Ibn al-Jauzi, Talbis., pp. 421-22; also al-Baladhuri mentions a man by the name of Khalid al-Shāhīt, Futuh., p. 369. A group under the name of al-Khulaydīya took part in the civil war between al-'Amīn al-Ma'mūn, see al-Jahiz, R. fi Manqīb al-Turk, Majmū′., (Sācy), p. 16; al-Bukhārī, (1900), pp. 43, 296.
professional beggar, and the other is that of a rich, but miserly, man. This is not strange among this class of people. Ḥājī Khalīfa, who cites a special branch of knowledge under the name of (‘Ilm al-Ḥiyal al-Sāsānīya), gives an interesting description of this class, which is true for Khālawayh himself; he says: "... and he who practises this profession would put on, in each city, the appearance which appeals to the people of that city and which they respect. At one time, they appear as jurists, other times, as preachers or noble men of the place, etc." Khalid b. Yazīd appears, at first, as a rich miser, who has all the appearance of riches and avarice. When he starts relating his story, it is made clear that he obtained his wealth through all kinds of means. According to Khālawayh, wealth can be obtained by the following means:

1. Suffering the journeys of seas (i.e. trade).
2. Being an authority (i.e. holding high position).
3. Knowing the art of Alchemy of gold and silver.

Khālawayh pretends to have tried all means in order to become rich. His boasting about the art of beggary, however, does not suggest that he belonged to the class of

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(2) al-Ǧāḥiẓ, al-Bukhārāʾ, p. 40.
merchants or officers. His boasting is that of a beggar who endured flogging and prison. His mention of the art of Alchemy is most interesting and significant.

The knowledge of Alchemy seems to have been an outlet of the dreams of needy people, a link between their hopes in wealth, on one hand, and the conditions of their life, on the other. The misers, according to al-Jahiz, seem to have spent great sums of money and part of their energy on this art, in order to satisfy their greediness. The knowledge of this art, which was, according to the common people, transmutation into gold, was attributed to mysterious figures. The first among Arab scholars, who was supposed to have dealt with this craft was Khalid b. Yazid b. Mu'awya b. 'Abi Sufyân. It is interesting to see that the dream of wealth, together with actual frustration, is attributed to him as a reason behind his intentions. Khalid b. Yazid, the 'Umayyad

(1) see about this point 'Abû'l-Qâsim al-'Irâqî, Kitâb al-
Ilm al-muktasab., p. 7; also Haj Khalîfa, Kashf., vol. II., p. 1529 sq. and p. 1020.
(2) al-Bukhârî*, p. 146.
(3) A great amount of literature was attributed to Khalid b. Yazid, but Ruska doubts the majority of these works, see E. J. Holmyard, al-Chemy, (Pelican), p. 64.
prince, was not able to obtain his wishes in political life. He did not become caliph, therefore, he directed his efforts to the art of Alchemy. Stories current about him tell us that Khalid was asked why he devoted himself to this art, and he replied: "I do not seek for that, except for the sake of enriching my friends and brethren. I looked forward to the caliphate, but it was banned from me, so, I did not find an alternative other than reaching the end of this craft, so that no one of those who have known me or whom I have known would feel the need of standing at the door of any authority, for fear or desire." This seems, in fact, to have been an expression of the spirit of the time, concerning wealth and avarice, and an illustration of the competition between the power of wealth and that of knowledge. Khalid b. Yazid is described by Ibn al-Nadim to have been generous. The connection of Khalid b. Yazid of al-Jaliz and the Umayyad prince, however, does not seem to be likely, although the legend of gold which obsessed the common people is found, illustrated in his character too. The common people seem to have attributed to Khalid b. Yazid, the prince, all the fantastic stories about Alchemy. Jābir b. Ḥayyān, one of the

(2) Ibid.
famous scholars of this art, complained from the ignorance of people who associated the idea of this science to the making of gold and riches.

The figure of Qārūn, whose knowledge Khālawayh the beggar claims to have known, is another character that is connected with the idea of wealth through the means of Alchemy. Qārūn is a Qur'ānic figure of a Hebrew origin, but stories and legends were woven around his character, trying to give an explanation of his immense wealth. The common people of any age seem to be fascinated by the idea of wealth coming from an unknown resource. The story of Qārūn has survived up till nowadays in the minds of people.

It is not clear how close the connection was between the idea of Alchemy and brigandry in Islamic society,

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(1) Haj Khalifa, Kashf., vol. II., p. 1530.
(2) al-Bukhālā‘, p. 40.
(4) Qurān, English trans., by Palmer, chapters, XI., p. 25; XXIX., p. 38; XXVII., pp. 76-82.
(5) Ibn al-Nadīm says that Qārūn guarded the money of Moses, but became powerful and God destroyed him, al-Fihrist, vol. I., p. 351.
although it is obvious that its connection to magic work and mysterious means was known to the common people. al-Кимыа was used together with magic, as well as medicine and drugs, by the beggars and vagabonds, in order to attract the attention and curiosity of their audience. Khālid b. Yazīd, the beggar, claims to have known all the mysterious means which seemed puzzling to the mind of his time. It is interesting to point out that questions which were asked by al-Jāḥīz in the book of al-Tarbi‘ wa'l-Tadwīr, and which were suggested to have been puzzling the mind of the time, appear in al-Bukhālā’ in connection with the character of Khālid b. Yazīd, who claims to know every knowledge of that kind. al-Jāḥīz’s attribution of this knowledge to Khālawayh in al-Bukhālā’ seems to be a continuation of his satire in the book of al-Tarbi‘. Magic work, on the other hand, seems to have been a common practice among beggars and story-tellers. Haj Khalīfa suggests that the book of al-Maqāmāt of al-Ḥarīrī was, in fact, a collection of symbols, related to the know-


(3) see Carra-de-vaux, les Penseures; vol. I., p. 308; also Ch. Fellat, introd. of al-Tarbi‘.
ledge of Alchemy.

Khālid b. Yazīd, obviously, belongs to the class of vagabond. When he became rich, he was careful to keep his money against the turns of fortune. His doubt about time and fortune is expressed in his advice to his son. He says about his money: ".. I have saved it for you from the temptation of (spending it on) children, women, acquisition of reputation and ostentation and from the hands of commission agents, for they are the incurable disease. I do not advise you to save it, by virtue of my love for you, but by virtue of my hatred for the Qādī. God, praise to His name, did not give the Qādīs jurisdiction over the property of the children, except to afflict the latter thereby.."

Khalawayh's character is, actually, similar to that of professional beggars and story-tellers who appeared in Islamic town. He describes himself, while he practised his profession of beggary, as follows:

"The beard long, flowing and white, the voice fruity and

(1) Kashf., vol. II., p. 1529. A reference is also made by Ḥajī Khalīfa to Kalīla wa Dimna.

(2) al-Bukhārī, p. 41. This seems to be due to the corruption prevalent among the Qādīs. The expression is common that they (eat) the money of orphans, which is entrusted in their hands.
loud, the presence good and I would be readily acceptable. If I wish to squeeze a tear from my eye, it would respond and a little kindness from people is better than great riches. During the day, I would practise my tricks and would be a night-bird (at night), or go out as foot pad, a spy or a speaker (in public). Ask the ruffians (Ṣaʿālīk) of al-Jabal about me, the brigands (Zawāqīl) of Syria, the Zuṭṭ of the marshes, the chiefs of Kurds, the rebellious Arab tribes, the murderers of Nahr Batt and the thieves of al-Qufs. Inquire from the Qīqāns of al-Qaṭar about me and ask the masked robbers and the butchers of al-Jazīra, how I fight at the time of violence, how crafty when craft is needed, the sort of person I am, in the time of skirmishing, how firm my heart is at the sight of the vanguard (of the enemy), how vigilant when I am on watch, what account I give of myself when I am brought before the authorities, how my endurance, when I am flogged and how little I am constrained, when I am imprisoned,

(1) This is a group of plunderers who appear in the civil war between the ‘Abbasid Caliphs, al-ʿAmīn and al-Maʾmūn, see al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vol. III., p. 843. It appears to me that their name may have derived from the way they wore their turbans, see the meaning of (Zawqāla) in Ibn Sīda, al-Mukḥāṣṣas, vol. IV., p. 82.

(2) about al-Zuṭṭ, see p. 100 of this thesis; also al-Balādhrī, Futūḥ, (1932), p. 166.

(3) According to al-Karmālī, they are the gypsies, al-Nawar, of Karmān, see al-Mashriq, (1902), vol. IV., p. 934.
and how bravely I walk when I am laden down with chains.

From how many a Dimās I have broken, how many a Muṭbaq I have ended up in and how many a prison I have endured.."

The boasting of Khālawayh reminds us of the morals of al-Fītyān, who were proud about their endurance and suffering.

The character of al-Jāḥīz's beggar seems to have had a great influence on the characters of beggars and vagabonds who appeared later in the literature, especially the Maqāmāt. al-Ḥarīrī's hero, also, makes his first appearance in the mosque of al-Baṣra. The characteristic feature of this literature is its close connection with the life of privation and beggary, which the beggar practices with wit, eloquence and humour. Beggary was the main occupation of Khālawayh, as well as the other Maqāmāt heroes. The feeling of dissatisfaction among this class is expressed by all these beggars. They were able and crafty, but still were presented, in their own style, as beggars. The impression they give to

(1) Dimās is the prison of al-Ḥajjāj in Wāsit. al-Muṭbaq is the prison of the 'Abbasids in Baghādād, see al-Bukhālā', p. 295.
(2) al-Bukhālā', p. 42.
(3) see about them, 'Ibn al-Jauzī, Talbīs., (1919), pp. 421-22.
their audience is always that of a lost stranger, a trick so common among all beggars.

\textbf{Khālawayh, as well as al-Saroujī,} come out of the life of beggary with good experience. al-Saroujī ends up by repenting and retiring back with a mystic feeling, which he suddenly discovers in himself in one of his assemblies in the mosque of al-Baṣra, while he is performing one of his tricks: "He wore the wool and became a leader of the rows (of prayers) and well-known mystics." al-Saroujī leaves a will to his son very similar in spirit to that of Khālawayh. The marked difference between the Māqāmat heroes and Khālawayh is that the latter never considered beggary a shameful profession, on the contrary, he finds it most delightful. With the Māqāmat heroes, one feels that the beggar was driven to be crafty and tricky, in order to appeal to the people and in order to earn his living. al-Jāhiẓ's character lives as a crafty beggar and ends up as a wealthy man, but al-Harīrī's hero lives as a crafty beggar and ends up as a mystic one.

Khālawayh was not only a beggar, but also a storyteller; he says: "If my wealth would be gone, I would sit as

\begin{itemize}
\item [1)] al-Harīrī, al-Māqāmat, (ed. Steingass), p. 405.
\item [2)] Ibid.
\end{itemize}
a story-teller, or tour around the countries, as I used to do, as a beggar..." al-Jāhīz seems to satirise the figure of story-teller, in the character of Khālawayh himself. The latter claims that he knows all about the mysteries of storytelling. The character of Tamīm al-Dārī, who was supposed to have been the first story-teller in Islam, and whose character seems to have been a fantastic idealisation of the figure of story-teller, is mentioned by Khālawayh as inferior to himself in knowledge; he says: "If Tamīm al-Dārī saw me, he would have taken from me the description of al-Rūm." The association of Khālawayh with all crafts, whether those of beggary, robbery and storytelling, reveals to us very interesting sides of the life of the lower classes in Abbadid society. It is interesting to point out that al-Jāhīz does not give as much importance to the fact that Khālawayh was a

(1) al-Jāhīz, al-Bukhālā’, p. 42.

(2) see about him the following: al-Balkhī, al-Bad‘, vol. V., p. 77; Ibn Khallikan, Wafayat., introd. by de Slane, vol. II., p. 21; al-Maqrīzī wrote a whole treatise about Tamīm al-Dārī, see al-Makki, Qūt al-qulūb, vol. I., p. 148.

About the art of storytelling, see al-‘Abshihi, al-Mustatraf., (1331), vol. I., p. 99; arts. Masdijid and Kīṣa, E.I.

miser, as to the fact that he was a crafty beggar who used all means of becoming rich. The relation of beggary with other crafts is made clear by al-Jāhiḍ. al-Bayhaqī, later, shows the relation of story-tellers with beggars more clearly, when he speaks of al-Kān, a type of beggars who had some co-operation with story-tellers.

iii. The Educated Misers

Misers in al-Bukhālā', as we have already seen, were not only those who belonged to the class of wealthy land-owners, merchants and money-dealers, like al-Thaurī or al-Madā’inī, but also to the class of beggars and story-tellers, like Khālid b. Yazīd. Besides these two types, there are misers who distinguished themselves in society, through their education and knowledge. This class is significant in al-Bukhālā' not only because they appear as misers, but also for the fact that they used their reason and eloquence to create an argument to justify avarice and defend the misers. These arguments

(1) Besides al-Bukhālā', see also Ḥujaj., al-Kāmil., (1323), vol. II., p. 37.
are used by al-Jāḥīz in al-Bukhālā’, in order to make a new art of amusement. al-Jāḥīz's interest in this class seems to be strengthened by the fact that he was in close contact with them and had personal experience with misers of this type. It is apparent that the misers of this class did not enjoy so much the possession of wealth as the consciousness of it; they were, sometime, careful about wealth which may not have existed. The representatives of this class in al-Bukhālā’ are misers from amongst theologians, including the Muṣṭazīliṭes, teachers, secretaries, physicians, etc.

The epistle of Sahl b. Hārūn, in defence of avarice, in al-Bukhālā’, stands as an example of the characteristics of this class of misers. Sahl enjoyed his position in the ‘Abbasid society through his good knowledge. He was known, however, as a niggard miser. As to whether it was Sahl himself who composed this epistle, or it was attributed to him by al-Jāḥīz, it cannot be decided with great confidence. On the other hand, if the style of the epistle can be taken as

(1) al-Jāḥīz, al-Bukhālā’, pp. 7-12; also al-‘Īqd., (Būlāq), vol. III., p. 335 sq.
a sufficient reason to decide its authenticity, one would be more inclined to think that the epistle is made by al-Jāhiz, for its great similarity, in composition, to al-Jāhiz's own style in the opening of Kitāb al-Ḥayawan. al-Ḥājirī supports the suggestion of al-Jāhiz's authorship of the Risāla by other historical facts.

The epistle of Sahl is a typical expression of the doubts and feeling of insecurity which were prevalent among the educated middle class in 'Abbāsid society, and which is also expressed by al-Jāhiz himself in most of his writings. Sahl, in the epistle, is aware of the value of money, which, so often, surpassed all other values, whether that of reason, knowledge or qualifications, etc. The following argument, from the epistle, is interesting to illustrate this point; Sahl says: "You have criticised me, when I claimed that I prefer wealth to knowledge, for it is by wealth that the scholar can be assisted and the people exist, even before the value of knowledge is known, and that the route is more en-

(2) al-Bukhalāʾ, al-Ḥājirī's comments, pp. 247-9. One of the interesting arguments is the fact that the epistle does not come except in later references. It may have been detached from al-Bukhalāʾ.
(3) see the discussion on the middle class in chapter II of this thesis, especially pp. 138-40.
titled to preference than the branch... and you said: How can you say this, when it was said to the chief wiseman and the most eminent of men of letters: Are scholars or wealthy-men more honourable?; he said: The scholars, and the reply was made: Why is it then that scholars frequent the doors of the wealthy more than the wealthy frequent the doors of scholars?; he said: Because scholars recognize the virtue of riches and the ignorance of wealthy men of the virtue of knowledge..." This is, of course, a justification of the avarice of scholars themselves too. At the same time, it is a reflection of their position in society, in comparison with the men of wealth. This argument is by no means strange in al-Jahiz's writing. The comparison between the value of knowledge and that of wealth is one of the frequent themes.

The significance which al-Jahiz attaches to the arguments of this class of misers did not deprive him from his keen sense of humour, even in connection with the most respectable theologians. His stories about 'Abu'l-Hudhayl al-Allaf, the Mustazilite theologian, are most amusing in this respect. Unlike the witty and clever character of this

(1) al-Jahiz, al-Bukhala', pp. 11-12.
class, 'Abū'l-Hudhayl is represented as a most good-hearted miser, whose avarice is natural and simple, but unintended.

al-Jāḥiẓ had nothing against 'Abū'l-Hudhayl, on the contrary, he respected him as one of the great leaders of the Muṭṭazīlites, but did not refrain from criticising him as a miser. The story of the hen, which al-Jāḥiẓ relates about him is interesting in picturing the characteristics of his avarice.

al-Jāḥiẓ says that 'Abū'l-Hudhayl presented Muways with a hen. Although that hen was not as good as what Muways usually had, the man expressed his gratitude and praised the present. al-Jāḥiẓ says, but 'Abū'l-Hudhayl insisted on reminding Muways of it; he would ask him: "And how did you find that hen, oh 'Abū 'Imrān? It was a wonder of wonders, Muways says, Do you know what kind it is, 'Abū'l-Hudhayl says, do you know what age it is?, for the hen is good (or bad) according to her kind and age. And do you know what we used to give her to make her fat, and what place we used to keep her?" al-Jāḥiẓ says that Muways used to laugh at this and everybody realised why he was laughing, except 'Abū'l-Hudhayl. In another occasion, 'Abū'l-Hudhayl boasts about his own generosity and insists on making al-Jāḥiẓ swear as a witness to

(1) al-Bukhaltā', p. 123.
what he says. al-Ǧāḥīẓ comments on this saying: "He was not satisfied to say this in my presence, but made me a witness, and was not satisfied with that until he made me swear it." (1)

Characters from amongst Muṣṭazilite theologians are discussed, in al-Bukhālā', with freedom. Qāsim al-Tammār, a Muṣṭazilite scholar, is described in al-Bukhālā', as "big eater, greedy and dirty while eating and very generous in other people's food, but niggard in his own. He used to behave like someone who never heard of decency or good behaviour, at all." al-Tammār, however, was a respectable Muṣṭazilite, with a very keen sense of humour. al-Ǧāḥīẓ complains of some low morals among those who attached themselves to theologians (al-Mutakallimūn). His picture of these misers bears a criticism of this class. After describing the character of al-Tammār, al-Ǧāḥīẓ says: "Among the stuff of theologians, there are ugly characters and there is in them a great trial to the people of theology and men

(1) al-Ǧāḥīẓ, al-Bukhālā', p. 123.
(2) Ibtd., p. 181.
(3) see about him, 'Ibn Qutayba, Mukhtalif., p. 95; also al-Ǧāḥīẓ, al-Bayān.,(1914), vol. III., p. 191; and al-Ḥayawān, vol. VI., p. 82.
of wit..." 'Ali al-'Aswārī is another respectable Mustazilite, but was very greedy and ill-mannered. His greediness is extremely bad in food. He is said, once, to have swallowed one of his teeth with the meat he was eating. He is described by al-Jāhīz as follows: "... and when he eats, his reason leaves him and his eyes protrude, he becomes intoxicated, unconscious and breathless; his face changes colour, his mouth dries up and he seems to hear nothing and see nothing..." Nevertheless, al-'Aswārī justifies his greediness with logical arguments which belong to the language of theologians.

In his picture of these misers, al-Jāhīz satirises more than one aspect of social life of Islamic society of his time. His criticism, through arguments put in the mouth of his character, is most interesting. These arguments are by no means limited within the subject of avarice, which is, however, the main theme of the book. The story of 'Asad b. Jānī is an interesting example to show this point. Through the character of this man, al-Jāhīz criticises the common mentality of the time. 'Asad b. Jānī, according to al-Jāhīz,

(1) al-Jāhīz, al-Bukhālā', p. 162.
(2) Ibid., p. 69.
(3) Ibid., p. 61.
was successful physician. He is presented not only as a miser, but also as an example of those who were victims of social prejudice. al-Jāhīz says that 'Asad was asked why he was not successful in his profession, he replied: "First of all, according to them, I am a Muslim, and before I became a physician, or even before I was born, people believed that Muslims can never be successful in medicine. My name is 'Asad and it should have been Ṣalība, Gabriel, Jonathan or Pīra. My Kunya is 'Abū'l-Hārith, when it should have been 'Abū 'Īsa, 'Abū Zakariya or 'Abū Ibrāhīm. I wear white cotton cloth, though my dress should have been black silk. My accent is Arabic, while my language should have been the (1) language of the people of Jundaysapur." al-Jāhīz's criticism is, apparently, directed against the whole conception of society. His concern about the character of Asad as a miser, hardly counts besides the picture of this man as a failure and a victim of social obsession.

The avarice of this class is closely linked up with their status in society. 'Abū 'Uyayna was a miser who earned his money through teaching. al-Jāhīz says that he

(1) al-Bukhārā', p. 90.
was addressed as follows: "... An old man of nearly a hundred, with a good income and few children and is given money for teaching."

'Abū 'Uyayna was a miser that used to beg people for small things, in order to maintain himself. This may be an illustration of the poor life of the lower grade of teachers who are said to have lived on the presents and gifts of their students.

Money consciousness and fear of the turns of fortune are characteristics that are expressed through most of the misers of this class. One of the outstanding examples of this type is the avarice of al-Ḥizāmī, who was one of the defenders of avarice. al-Ḥizāmī was a secretary of Muways and Dāwood b. 'Abī Dāwood. He seems to have tried poetry and was one of the admirers of 'Abū Nuwās. al-Jāhiz seems to have known al-Ḥizāmī personally. The niggardness of al-Ḥizāmī, as described by al-Jāhiz, is of a pleasant, but complicated,

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(1) al-Bukhālā', p. 132.
(2) see pp. 128 of this thesis; also al-Tha'ālibī, Khāṣṣ., p. 51.
(3) al-Bukhālā', p. 52.
(5) al-Bukhālā', p. 52.
nature. al-Ḥizāmī was not rich, but was not even willing to give the impression to people that he possessed any money. We understand, however, that he had more money than he needed, for he was able to lend a friend, ʿAlī al-ʿAswārī, the sum (1) of a hundred Dirham. In describing al-Ḥizāmī about this, al-Jāḥīz shows a great skill in analysing the psychology of the miser. al-Ḥizāmī regrets it very much that he had to lend one of his closest friends this money, because, according to him, his efforts to show people that he was poor and needy had all gone in vain. If his closest friends did not understand his intention, he would have to expect the worst from other people, who were only neighbours or mere acquaintance. He laments his fortune and thinks that it must have been God's intention to make him poor and that He sent these people to take his money. On the other hand, al-Ḥizāmī does not mind being described as miser, so long as the term implied that his money was left with him and not spent in action of generosity; he says: "... It will never be said: such and such a man is miser unless he is a man of wealth; give me wealth and call me whatever name you like:" al-

(1) al-Bukhara', p. 54.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., p. 55.
Hizāmī, however, was not a simple man, although al-Jāhiẓ describes him as good-hearted. His farfetched interpretation of the behaviour of people towards him is an illustration of his complicated mind. It is understood that al-Ḥizāmī was a middle class man; he was in the same circle of men as al-Jāhiẓ himself, who were in close contact with Dawood b. 'Abī Dāwood, the local governor of Kaskar. al-Ḥizāmī, amongst the others, used to receive the gifts of the Wali. al-Jāhiẓ pictures al-Ḥizāmī as a man who had no faith or confidence in any one, even those who offered him presents. al-Ḥizāmī refuses a vessel of syrup given to him by 'Ībī 'Abī Dāwood, because he thought that the man gave him this, deliberately, in order to make him poor and get rid of his company, for, according to his interpretation, consuming the syrup in various ways would cost him even more and, ultimately, lead him to poverty. al-Ḥizāmī was a miser, whose money consciousness was much more than his money.

It is regretted, however, that there are characters

(1) al-Bukhālā', p. 52.
(2) Ibid., p. 55.
(3) Ibid., pp. 56-7.
in al-Bukhalā', whose identity cannot be known for certain, al-Kindī is one of the most interesting characters among the misers of al-Jāḥiṣ. His eloquence in defence of his niggardness is an outstanding example of these clever misers. The suggestion that he was the well-known Arab philosopher is (1) by means confirmed. al-Jāḥiṣ, on the other hand, hardly says any thing about his person, although it is obvious that al-Kindī belonged to the class of proprietors. Through his character, al-Jāḥiṣ satirises conditions of habitation in the town, criticising the characters of the owners who exploit the dwellers. (2)

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(1) see al-Ḥājirī's comments, al-Bukhalā', pp. 233-5; also Ch. Pellat, le livre des Avares, (1951), p. 339.

(2) al-Bukhalā', pp. 70-81.
Appendix

LANGUAGE IN THE BOOK OF AL-BUKHALA'

al-Jāḥiẓ's interest in Islamic society and its development seems to have helped him a great deal in discovering one of the important questions, the language and its development according to social changes. The recognition of what one may call the spoken language as distinguished from the pure old Arabic is illustrated in the following classification which al-Jāḥiẓ makes of people, in connection with the language. al-Jāḥiẓ distinguishes two classes of people, where the language is concerned, al-Khaṣṣa (élite) and al-ʾĀmma (common); he says:

"... If you hear me mention the common people, I do not mean the peasants, the stuff (al-Hashwa), the craftsmen and sellers; neither do I mean the Kurds in the mountains, or inhabitants of islands in the seas, nor of other nations

(1) The term al-Hashwa is explained by 'Ibn Manẓūr as the common stuff of people, see Lisān., 1955, vol. XIV., p. 180. Besides this, the term seems to have had a significant meaning. It may have been applied in Arabia to a certain lower class of people. However, I have no attestation to the use of this very term in Arabia, although there is an interesting suggestion by R.B. Serjeant, concerning the term al-Farth, which is similar to it, see BSOAS., 1958, vol. XXI., art. Prof. A. Guilaume's Translation of the Sīrah.
(such as) al-Yabar and al-Ṭaylasān, Mūqān and Jīlān, or the negroes and similar. The nations of all the people are only four: the Arabs, the Persians, the Indians and the Romans. As for the rest, they are primitive or similar. As for the common people of our religion and language, manners and morals, they are the class whose reason and morals are above those nations, but did not reach the standard of the élite among us, although the élite vary in classes too."

al-Jāḥiz, apparently, concerns himself only with the people whose mother tongue was Arabic. The peasants and lower craftsmen seem to have been disregarded for the simple reason that the majority of them were considered by al-Jāḥiz as non-Arabs. al-Jāḥiz provides us with evidences that confirm this belief. In a story about a man sent from al-Yemāma to Banū ʻUsayd, who sent him in their turn to work as a guard of cultivation (nāṭūr), presumably in al-Sawād of ʻIrāq, the

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(1) al-Ṭaylasān are the inhabitants of al-Daylam and al-Khażar, Yāqūt, Muṣjam., vol. III., p. 571. Nothing is said about al-Yabar in Yāqūt.

(2) Mūqān and Jīlān are the inhabitants of Ṭabaristān. Jīlān is beyond Ṭabaristān. According to Yāqūt, they have no proper settlement, but scattered villages in the mountains Muṣjam., vol. I., pp. 208, 546; vol. II., p. 179; vol. IV., p. 686.


(4) The term Nāṭūr was used only among the people of al-Sawād, see al-Suyūṭī, al-Muzhir., vol. I., p. 272.
man who meets with no one but the peasants, complains saying: ".. God damn a country, where you find no Arab." In his distinction, therefore, al-Jāḥīz is referring to two classes of one nation.

This, however, does not mean that al-Jāḥīz ignores technical terms arising from differences of occupations. Whether among craftsmen or theologians, al-Jāḥīz thinks, the language falls under the effect of the special field of knowledge. al-Jāḥīz criticises good speakers and orators, whose inability to express themselves adequately may drive them to use expressions which belong to the technical use of their field of speciality.

In al-Dukhālā', this point seems to have been used deliberately, by al-Jāḥīz as part of his satire. There are theologians who used arguments and logic in matters that had nothing to do with theology or logic. al-'Aswārī uses arguments at liberty, while defending his greediness. On the

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(1) al-Jāḥīz, al-Bayān., (al-Sandūbī), vol. II., pp. 64-5.
(2) Ibid., vol. II., p. 135; also R. fī Ṣinā'āt al-quwwād, Rasā'il., (Sandūbī), pp. 260-66.
(3) al-Jāḥīz, al-Bayān., vol I., p. 106.
(4) al-Jāḥīz, al-Dukhālā', p. 61.
other hand, al-Jāḥīz talks about those who had nothing to do with logic or theology, but were fond of applying it in their conversation or narration. al-Makkī is a narrator, on whose authority al-Jāḥīz relates many of his stories. al-Makkī was fond of using these terms. He describes a miser who used to eat dates and throw the stones to his adopted child to suck what was left on them. Once he saw her "chewing a stone after she had sucked it, al-Makkī says, he shouted at her (in such a way) that it could not have been harder on him had she killed a man, while she did nothing but exchanged with him (accident) for (substance), she used to have the sweet taste of the stone, adding to it her moist saliva..." The terms (substance) and (accident) are, frequently, used by al-Makkī. In a story about the same miser, al-Makkī tells that his mother sent once to ask him for cold water, but al-ʿAnbarī sent back the maid to bring him ordinary water, in order to exchange it for cold water; al-Makkī comments: "... thus, he wanted her to give him substance for substance and accident for accident, so that his mother

(1) al-Makkī was fond of theology, but, according to al-Jāḥīz, could understand nothing in it, and could get nothing as correct as it should be. He attached himself to the Muʿtazilites in al-Baqra, see al-Ḥayawan, vol. III., pp. 325-7; vol. IV., p. 217.

(2) al-Jāḥīz, al-Bukhārī, p. 101. This is, perhaps, because the stones of dates were used to feed cows or goats, etc.
does not benefit except from the mere difference between the two accidents, which are coldness and warmth, as for the number of accidents and substances, they were to be exchanged one for the other."

‘Abū Ka‘b, another narrator, describes a miser who offered him a dessert made of rice with syrup. When the man remarks to ‘Abū Ka‘b how he was "grinding it"—i.e. with his teeth—the latter expresses his amazement, saying: "Damn it! don't you fear God?; how can I grind an indivisible entity?"

al-Jāhiz maintains that, in stories related about the common people, one should not try to correct their language or give their speech the right pronunciation. On the other hand, stories related about the Arabs should be expressed in the same way as they were spoken, with correct grammar and pronunciation, for "if you change it, by making a mistake in its grammar, or pronounce it in the way of speech of al-Muwalladūn and townspeople," al-Jāhiz says, "you would come out of that story with a great debt."

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(2) Ibid., p. 116; see also other stories of the same type, in al-Ḥayawān, vol. III., pp. 37-8.
(3) see about al-Muwalladūn, E.W. Lane, Lexicon, vol. VIII., p. 296.
(4) al-Jāhiz, al-Bayān., (Sandūbī), vol. I., p. 111.
The question to be asked is: How far is al-Jahiz justified in making this distinction and how far is this point shown in al-Bukhara.

Grammar:

There are reasons that made grammarians and philologists concern themselves about putting down rules of grammar of the language. Among these reasons is the fact that mistakes in the language became prevalent. The fear of the loss of the language of the Qur'an is said to have been one of the important reasons. Stories are often related, where the dispute between grammarians and people, about the language, is shown. With the growing contact of Arabs and non-Arabs, language, like many other aspects of life, received changes that could no longer be avoided. Grammar itself became a necessity, in order to help to speak correctly. An interesting characteristic of the language spoken by people, that shows their avoidance of grammar, is

(1) see about 'Abu'l-'Aswad al-Du'ali and the beginning of writing down grammar, al-'Isfahani, al-'Aghani, vol. XI., p. 106.

(2) see, for instance, a story about al-Kisâ'î, the grammarian, with the carpenter, Ibn al-Jauzi, Talbis., p. 77; also Yaqût, 'Irshad., vol. VI., pp. 86-7.
the tendency towards stopping at the end of the letter and neglecting the vowels of inflection (حراكات الإعراب).

This seems to have been an easy escape of grammar. This characteristic can be observed in spoken Arabic even of nowadays. Instead of saying (يارب عدنانٓا), it would be said (يارب عدنانٓا). al- Jahiz gives us examples of this tendency in language; he says: that al-Mahdi b. Muhalhil used to say "Hisham told us, with Jazm (i.e. a stop), and would say ُب, using Jazm, and say ُسان, using Jazm, for as he was not a grammarian, he found it safer to stop." In another occasion, al-Jahiz relates a story about al-Muazzam, the Mustazilite scholar. The latter was followed by a dog that frightened him. al-Muazzam says:

" إن كنت سُمِحْ ، فاذْهِبْ مِن إِلَّا لَيْكَ بَلْ بِبَيْرِي وَالْيَهِاَضِن.* (2)"

The correct form of the word (سُمِحْ), of course, would be (سُنَعَ). After relating the story, al-Jahiz says: "Do not deny my saying and narration about him with incorrect speech, in saying (إن كنت سُمِحْ) instead of (إن كنت سُنَعَ), for I think grammar spoils the anecdotes of al-Muwalladun, in the same

(1) al-Jahiz, al-Bayan., vol. II., p. 162.
(2) al-Jahiz, al-Hayawan., vol. I., p. 28.
way as the incorrect speech would spoil the sayings of al-
(1) 'A'rāb."

The spoken language seems to have taken its way in development, at this time. Various points are made by 'Ibn Qutayba, for instance, about the language of the common people, for the benefit of writers, in his instructions for secretaries and clerks.

Persian influence on the spoken language, in Iraq especially, seems to have been very strong. This influence does not appear only in the use of new words inserted from Persian in the language, but also in new forms of words. Using Persian words in Arabic, however, was not new; it goes back, al-Jāḥīz says, to olden days. The interesting point in the use of these words in 'Abbasid society is the fact that they were used mainly to express instruments and manners which are new in the life of townspeople. On the other

(2) see al-Suyūṭī, al-Muzhir, vol. I., p. 311; also 'Ibn Qutayba, Adab al-Kātib, (Leiden - 1900).
(3) see, for instance, the verb (ستخت) used in al-Dukhalā' by Khalawayh, p. 40; also RAAD (1945), vol. XX., p. 161.
(5) al-Thawālibī cites a number of these terms, see al-Suyūṭī, al-Muzhir., vol. I., p. 275, especially in food and clothes.
hand, among peasants and cultivators of land in the south of ‘Iraq, the use of foreign terms to describe things pertaining to agriculture, was quite common. The effect of Greek terms, on the other hand, on science and theology was obvious.

In al-Bukhalā’, al-Jāḥīz makes the following remark:

".. If you find, in this book, grammatical mistakes (Lahn), or words without grammatical vowels of inflection, or a word being diverted from its original use, understand, then, that we have only left that, because grammar makes this type of work hateful and would take it out of its limits, except when I relate a speech of one of the highly educated misers, and niggard scholars, like Sahl b. Hārūn and those like him."

It is clear, from al-Jāḥīz’s remark, that he made distinction between the language of common misers and that of educated ones. It is regretted, however, that in al-Bukhalā’, as it stands now, one is unable to find the distinction and mistakes, which al-Jāḥīz refers to, the reason being that the

(1) see instances in al-Bukhalā’, p. 19 ; (al-shādhurwān); p. 194: (al-Tibālya waʾl-Barānd), etc. also later pages of this chapter.

(2) al-Jāḥīz, al-Bukhalā’, p. 33.
book has been corrected and put in good and correct Arabic, regardless of what al-Jāḥīz has pointed out. In his corrections and comments on al-Bukhālā', Dāwūd al-Chelbi has referred to some of these characteristics of the book. It is interesting to see that many of the characteristics of the spoken language of the present time can be illustrated in examples from al-Bukhālā' itself. In the following examples, suggestions would be made as to how the text should have been spoken. I would point out the differences on the footnotes:

From the speech of an ordinary poor woman to 'Abūl-Qamāqim, the miser:

"وقالت إلهاء عون: دهلي، يا عبد الفاخرا، في نفاذ عونโรค دهلي، يا عبد الفاخرا."

The use of the stop seems to have become already common in the spoken language. The same characteristic is shown in the following example, from the speech of al-Thaurī:

(1) see RAAD., (1945), vol. XX.
(2) In the edition, it is وَلَا جَهَنَّ and دَهْنًا, whereas the MS. shows the text uncorrected, see al-Bukhālā', (1948), p. 112.
Another characteristic in the spoken language, which can still be observed in the spoken language, is the prolongation of the vocalization of the letter (i.e., 'Ishbā' al-ḥaraka) and pronouncing it as a letter, as illustrated in the following example:

Another type of mistakes is the following, from the speech of Muṣādha al-ʿAmbariya; she says:

al-Chelebi says: ".. al-Jahiz may be relating the speech of Muṣādha as it stands, for we see that our common people nowadays think that (المصران) is singular and (المصاً) is its plural.."

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(1) In al-Bukhālāʾ, it is (كتبًا), p. 92; also al-Chelebi, RAAD., (1945), vol. XX., p. 260.
(2) The correct way is (كتبًا) and (كتبيًّه), see al-Bukhālāʾ, p. 25; also RAAD., vol. XX., p. 66.
(3) The correct way is (كسراً), al-Bukhālāʾ, p. 28; for more examples, see al-Chelebi, RAAD., vol. XX., pp. 23, 92.
(4) Ibid., p. 67.
In al-Bukhārā', it is interesting to see that ways of expression used by the common people are still common in the spoken language. These expressions do not go under certain rules or limits, but could be recognized by their spirit or the place they are used in. The following example may illustrate this point:

A poor blind man enters the house of a miser at lunch time. The miser orders lunch for him, but the maid apologises saying that there was nothing more left. The miser says then that there were no formalities between him and the man, therefore, she can bring anything. The blind man expresses his astonishment, when he discovers that nothing more than a piece of bread was offered to him, while he expected a little more than what the man described, therefore, he says:

"Damn it! You've gone to such lengths. You've done away with all formalities, but was all the fuss you made only about this trifle?"

Another example of the common expressions among people is the following:

(1) al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Bukhārā', p. 108.
al-Jahiz tells us about a miser who refused a suggestion made by al-Jahiz to shelter him and al-Nazzam in his house at noon, until the heat of the sun had gone. al-Jahiz makes his suggestion very clear to the man, but the latter refuses that, saying:

(1)

"As to (have it) this way, by God, it can never be. Put it in the centre of your heart (i.e. believe what I say)."

The phrase is used nowadays in a slightly different way. The people say for a matter that is not supposed to be revealed to other people, but, at the same time, whose keeping secret causes the person some suffering. al-Jahiz may be using the phrase in a sarcastic way.

Another example: A miser from Merv heard al-Hasan preach people to give their money away in alms, in order to get God's reward. When the miser did not get anything, after having spent his money, he came to al-Hasan and reproached him saying:

(1) al-Bukhala', p. 32.
(Is it) good what you have done to me? You have secured for me the reward, therefore, I spent (all I have) after your promise, but to-day, after such and such a year, I am still waiting what you have promised, seeing nothing (of it), whether little or much. Is this lawful to you? Would the thief have done to me worse than this?"

There are ways of expression in the spoken language which can easily be missed, especially in writing, as in the following example:

A boy, who was a son of a miser, was asked by a man to give him food or water, but the boy refused and apologised to the man. The father expresses his astonishment and satisfaction, saying:

(1) "ما ذنبنا ؟! هذا قول فاهم ما تسمع ؟!"

"What is our fault? Who told this what you hear?!

This is said about a person, especially a child or a small boy, who is not expected to know about certain matters.

(1) al-Bukhalā’, p. 22.
(2) Ibid., p. 14. It would be interesting to see that V. Vloten reads it as follows:
Actually, it implies that "even this boy knows, although he was never told or expected to know". This meaning seems to fit the humour of al-Jahiz's story that avarice comes to this miser and his son as if by nature. The same expression is used at the present time, in the spoken language. It would be said: (هنا مِنَّكَ نَظْرَ أَنَّ) i.e. who told this or who taught him.

The conversation in al-Bukhala 'goes in the same natural way of every day life. The following passage may illustrate this point:

"إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ الْكُلُّ ذَلِكَ... بِكَذَّبُوا الْخَائِزَ وَغَلْطَتْ هَٰذَةَ وَعِيَالِهِ... لَهُمُ الْمُلْكُ وَالْإِرْثُ وَمَا كَانُوا يَعْلَمُونَ".

Indeed, by God, the cap fits. An old man of nearly a hundred, with a good income and few children and is given money

(1) al-Bukhala', p. 132.
for teaching (مَدَّةَ الْعِلْمِ) and learning is his joy and his profession, then he goes up into the middle of his house. But you have one foot in the garden, one foot amongst the cultivators of young palms, one foot in the market and one foot in al-Kallā', asking for a load of gypsum from this man and a load of baked brick from that man and a piece of teak from such and such a man and so on from another. Why all this keenness, why all this toil and why all this preoccupation? If you were a young a man with a long life before you, how would you be; or you were in debt and with lots of children (to support), how would you be? al-Jāḥiz seems to have changed very little in this passage to make it fit for writing. The repetition of the phrase (كَيْفَ لَهُمْ؟ تَكُونُ ..), while reproaching, is common in the spoken language. Then the quick-change from a question to a statement makes the whole passage very near, in spirit, to everyday conversation. Another characteristic of this paragraph is the repetition of the phrases of (وَرَجَعَ لَهُمْ .. وَرَغَبَ لَهُمْ), which expresses the preoccupation of the man, and which is used very much in the spoken language now to express the same idea.

(1) This may indicate that the man was a teacher of religious sciences or Arabic language and grammar. Ch. Pellat translates it as (qui reçoit de l'argent pour parler de science), see le livre des Avarés, (1951), p. 219.
al-Jāhiz, frequently, relates the sayings of people without making any change in them. In describing the son of Khalawayh, who was more niggardly than his father, al-Jāhiz says that people said:

(1) "He was even more extreme than his father."

In the spoken language, certain terms are used in a special way. A man, for instance, especially among villagers or reserved circles, does not call his wife by her name, if he happens to mention her before strangers. He would refer to her as (al-‘Ajūz or ‘Ajūzī), i.e. the old woman or my old woman. In al-Bukhālā’, the term occurs in the same way. A miser from the circle of al-Muṣliḥūn in the mosque refers to his wife in same way, while mentioning her to his friends in the mosque, he says:

(2) "So, I said to the old woman, why don't you cook for our family coarse flour, every day?"

(1) al-Bukhālā’, p. 44.
(2) Ibid., p. 26.
Another example of the same type is the use of the word (شَهْرَةُ)، desire or wish. In the spoken language in Iraq, the word is especially applied to a "desired dish or kind of food which is not made or found very often". People would say (نَفَذَ الْبَيْمَ شَهْرَةً)، when they decide to make it. al-Jāḥīz uses this term in the same way in al-Bukhālā’. He says about a miser, who was urged by his family to spend one Dirham to buy them something to eat:

(1) "وَأَنَّى أَهْلَكَ، يَتُّوا عَلَى هِيَ شَهْرَةً ...

Another term is the word (مُضَرْرَةُ)، green colour, which is usually used, in the spoken language for field, farm or vegetables, etc. In al-Bukhālā’, al-Jāḥīz seems to be using the word in the same sense, he says:

(2) "وَرَأَيْتُمْ أَنَّ هُمْ سَيْفُهُمُ بَلَدَةُ هُنْسُبِي بِجَلْدَ مَعَهُمْ عَلَى مَا سَبَقَ كَفْرَةً قَرْيَةِ الْمُحْرَابَ "

The slang used by lower classes of people is illustrated in al-Bukhālā’, by the language used

(1) al-Bukhālā’, p. 119.
(2) al-Ḥajirī reads (كَفْرَةٍ) for (كَفْرَةُ), Ibid., p. 14.
by Khalawayh the beggar and 'Abû Fâtik, the Qâdi of al-Fityân. The language of Khalawayh reveals the begging cant at this time. The fact that al-Jâhiz tries, at the end of Khalawayh's story, to explain the vocabulary used by him, seems to suggest that this language was, perhaps, not understood by a great number of people. In the 4th century A. H., al-Thacalibi speaks of a group of beggars known as Banû Sâsân, amongst whom the technical use of the language seems to have become common. As for the speech of 'Abû Fâtik, it is clear that the terms he used were entirely technical. One may find the terms which he uses in dictionaries, but they seem to convey different meaning.

It seems to me that the link between the spoken language of al-Jâhiz's time and that of the present time, can be traced from instances from al-Bukhalâ'. I tried, in the above mentioned examples, to find this illustration in the style and general ways of expression in the book.

(1) al-Bukhalâ', pp. 44-6.
(2) Yatîmat al-dahr, vol. III., p. 323.
the following pages, I have made the attempt to find the same characteristic in terms used by al-Jāḥiz in al-Bukhālā'. These suggestions are merely out of personal effort and, therefore, are liable to any preferrable possibility which seems more fitting. I have arranged the words according to their priority in the text of al-Bukhālā'. The edition used for the purpose is al-Ḥājirī's, (1948).


The term occurs in the story of Miryam in the circle of Al-Musliḥūn in Al-Baṣra. The Khatan of a man is he who is married to his daughter or sister. Also the man himself is a Khatan to the one who is married to his daughter (1) or sister. The word seems to have been used in early Islamic times too. It is interesting to see that the word, at the present time, is used more in the north of Iraq, especially among the people of Al-Maṣūlil, applied also to a bride-groom. The word (Nasīb) is more used in other parts of Iraq.

(1) see 'Ibn Manẓūr, Lisan., vol. XIII., p. 138.
(2) see al-Jāḥiz, al-Ḥayawan, vol. III., p. 22; also K. al-
I read (الخزيرة) al-ḥarīra for (الخزيرة) al-ḥarīra. It seems more likely that what al-Ǧāḥīz describes here is what is known in Iraq now as al-ḥarīra, which is made in the same way described above by al-Ǧāḥīz, and which is used as medicine for cough or cold. As for the word al-Ḫazīra, it is usually made with meat. al-Ǧāḥīz mentions this in another occasion. Although Arabic dictionaries do not make much difference in writing the two words, I prefer to read the above described one as al-ḥarīra, because it is still common among people, known by the same name. Besides, confusion between the two words, in writing, can easily occur.

(2) al-Bukhālā', pp. 214-5.
3. Kelek: (\text{كَلَّة}) p. 39

the text: \text{ٓبَيِّنَتُ إِلَى الْمَهْدِ ٓعِمَّةٌ وَلَكُمْ نَأْنُوُّا إِلَّا رَبَّنَآُ اَبْنَتُكُآ إِلَّا اَنْبَغَتْ وَعَرَاضَةٌ خَلِيَّةٌ... وَهُجُّنْكَوْرُيَ كَلَّةٍ...}

al-\text{مَجِيرُ} suggests, on the footnote, that the word might be read as (\text{كَلَّة}). G. Van Vloten reads it (\text{كَلَّة}).

This word is used in the speech of Khalawayh the beggar, describing a character whom he cites as an example of those who learned from his tricks and were disciples under him. The word Kelek is used in Iraq for a kind of old boats, which are used there. It is also used, metaphorically, meaning a trick or deceit; people would say: (ما يَعْبَرُ عَلَى هذَا كَلَّةٌ) i.e. this trick does not escape me or deceive me. As to whether the term here is used in its real meaning or metaphorically, it is not easy to decide. It may be suggested that the word (\text{كُرْسِيَ}) is, actually, (\text{كَرْسِي} which is a special stick used in pushing boats. The expression would become (خَرْسِيَ كَلَّةٍ)

4. al-Salāhiyāt wa'l-\text{ṣīniyāt}: (الصوْرِهِيَّات وَالْمُشْيَيَّات) p. 92

the text: \text{ٓهِيَّة} مَتَعَضِّدَتُ ٓأَلْيَامِي فِي بَيْتِهِ مِنْ إِبْنَاهِ بِالْمُعْمَيَّاتِ وَالْمُشْيَيَّاتِ}

(2) also al-Bukhalā', p. 129.
al-Ṣalāḥiya is explained as follows: "Among the common people, it is a big pot, large at the top and narrow at the bottom." This word always occurred in al-Bukhālā', accompanied by the second one. al-Ṣalāḥiya seems to be identical with what people call now al-Sarahiya or al-Ṣurafiya, which is a pot made of glass and is used for water. It is large at the bottom and narrow at the top, usually with no handle. As for the origin of the word, many conjectures have been made. As for the term al-Ṣinīya, al-Ḥajiri says no more than that it is well-known. G. Van Vloten suggests that these two pots are made of copper. al-Jāḥiẓ mentions al-Ṣinīya in another occasion, where the description suggests that it is also a pot of water or drink, but after he describes it, he says that he meant (al-Markab al-Ṣinī), although he uses the term al-Ṣinīya. It is not clear what al-Jāḥiẓ means by the latter term. We hear, too, of coloured plates called (al-Ṣinī). This confusion, perhaps, is due

(1) al-Firūzabādī, Muḥīt al-muḥīt, vol. II., p. 1199; also see Dozy, Supplement.
(2) see D. Chelebi, al-‘Āthār al-‘ārāmiya., pp. 60, 62.
(3) al-Bukhālā', p. 327.
(4) al-Bukhālā', (1900), prefàce, p. xv.
to the fact that these pots and plates were all imported from China and were all called Şini. The word Şiniya, however, is still used for tray, whatever it is made of, whether copper, glass or any kind of metal.

This word seems to have been used for the pot which was used for keeping drinking water cold. The water used to be taken from it through a hole with a small tap. The word (Muzammila) —or, as pronounced in spoken language, Mzambla—is now used for the tap only, whether it is attached to the water pot or not. Any kind of tap is called by the same name.

This seems to be a small tooth-pick made of wood.
and used for cleaning the teeth after food. It seems that it was, also one of the signs to show good manners and riches. The word َKennāt-ْ-as it is pronounced now- is used in Iraq for a certain kind of hooked needles (the same shape as a crochet), made of wood and used for knitting the fibre of palm-tree, after having been made into cord, to make knitted pieces, used usually for washing.


The word is still used in Iraq for the guard of gardens and cultivation. It may be of Aramaic origin, but Arabic dictionaries disagree about its origin. al-'Aṣmā‘ī claims that it was Arabic from the verb (تَنَظِّرُ), to see or to guard. Others claim that it became (ناََُْرُ), due to the Nabateans' pronunciation of the letter (ت) as (ن). But others say it is not Arabic. It is interesting to see that the word was, especially, used in al-Sawād of Iraq.

(1) see al-‘Azdī, Ḥikāyat., pp. 41-2.
(5) Ibid.; also al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān., vol. II., pp. 64-5.
al-Tablya wa’l-Barband: (التابليا والبربرند) p. 194.

al-Ḥājirī says: "These are two instruments, used for climbing up palm-trees; the Barband is Persian, which means a tie. As for al-Tablya, it was mentioned in the article of the scholar Fraenkel, which included some Aramaic words, that this word is taken from the Aramaic and it means the ladder which is made of ropes. Then he said that the word is not used any more in Iraq".

al-Tablya is what people call now in Iraq Tibalya. It is used for climbing up palm-trees and it is made of strong rope. The tool, as well as its name, are still used in Iraq. It is a belt woven of ropes, the centre of which is broad, and which goes round the back of the climber; the other end goes round the tree, and both ends then are fastened together. Usually, the part which goes round the tree is made of a bent piece of strong metal, fastened from both ends to the belt, so

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(1) al-Bukhālā’, al-Ḥājirī’s comments, p. 367.
that it is easy to move it on the tree. The climber leans back on the fastened belt, pushing the trunk with his feet, and moving the metal piece with his hands, upwards or downwards, on the tree.

al-Tibalya is used only for palm-trees. In Najd, it is called Karr. This, according to 'Ibn Manzūr, is the Arabic word for Tibalya. As for al-Barband, obviously it is Persian. It may be a similar type of tie. It is possible too, that both words (al-Tablya and al-Barband), are used together to indicate one tool. I am not certain whether al-Barband is still used in Iraq.

APPRECIATION

Two characteristics appear in al-Jāhiz's writing; concerning the life of Islamic town:

a) The characteristic of specialisation in labour and knowledge, which al-Jāhiz portrays and towards which he takes different attitudes, according to the field of specialisation.

b) The status of professions in society, as decided by the factor of specialisation, or other factors.

In his writing, al-Jāhiz gives great consideration to these two characteristics, concerning groups and classes in the town.

His recognition and appreciation of knowledge of man as a significant factor in his position in society, led al-Jāhiz to distinguish the educated middle class in the 'Abbasid society with the ability of leadership of the common people. The importance al-Jāhiz gives to the lower professions and common people, on the other hand, is the earliest
instance in Islamic literature that has come down to us. It is significant that al-Jāḥīz is quoted, a number of times by writers of later times, in the mouth of the common people themselves, who appear to have been well-acquainted with his writings. al-Jāḥīz's example, on the other hand, in giving the groups of professions a special place in literature, was followed by later writers, who showed the same interest in town life. In the 4th century, A. H., writers like al-Thaʿālibī or al-Tanukhī quote al-Jāḥīz in various occasions on themes pertaining to professional groups, classes and other characteristics of town life.

al-Jāḥīz's classification of people into two major classes is not the only example of its kind. In about the VIth century A. H., the same classification appears in one of the interesting writers of the time. al-Rāghib al-İṣfahānī was a theological writer of whose life nothing much is known, beyond the fact that he died about the beginning of the VIIth century A. H., (XIIth A.D.) al-Suyūṭī says that al-Rāghib was believed by many people to have been a Musta-zilite, but that this was refuted by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Kazī. In al-Rāghib's writing, the idea of two classes: al-ʿAmma

(1) al-Suyūṭī, Bughyat al-wuṣūṭ., p. 396.
(common) and al-Khaṣṣa (élite), is based on the same criteria as that of al-Jāḥīz. It is clear in al-Rāghib's classification, that knowledge and reason are given priority in distinguishing the class of al-Khaṣṣa from al-ʿĀmma. Quotation from al-Rāghib will be interesting to show this point:

"People are of two categories; élite and common. The élite is he who is specialised in knowledge, the true not the imitation, and in deeds those by which he reaches eternal Heaven, not that which limits him within earthly life. The common, if considered from the viewpoint of religious matters, are those who content themselves with imitations of knowledge and in most deeds, those which lead to worldly benefit. If considered from secular viewpoint, the élite is he who specialises in the affairs of town, the absence of which would cause a gap in one of the activities of the town. The Common is he by whose absence nothing is affected.

The reader cannot fail to see Plato's ideal of the Philosopher King in al-Rāghib's notion of the special class. It cannot be suggested, however, that al-Jāḥīz had the same idea in mind, although it is interesting that the initiatives were taken by him towards the recognition of knowledge as an important

factor in the life of society.

The question of avarice in Islamic literature was studied, in this thesis, with a special reference to society, its development, groupings and position of classes. A general comparison between Islamic literature and other universal literatures, such as the Greek and later French and English, concerning avarice, was made in order to show that writing on the subject in Islamic literature was not a unique example, therefore, it should not be attributed to political disputes, but also to social and material development. In this, I have come to the conclusion that racial struggle was not the actual reason that prompted writers to deal with this topic in literature. Studying avarice in the light of social differences and social classes seems to me to have been more essential. In al-Bukhālā', instances were taken to show different types of misers of different classes. Money-consciousness, however, can be observed, practically, in all classes, although the expression of it varied according to classes. The clash of ideals and traditions of various origins was also taken into consideration, while discussing the problem of avarice, towards which various attitudes were taken by people, according to their culture and background.
Town life and daily life of people are the theme of al-Bukhālā: The tendency of al-Jāhiz towards picturing life of people and depicting its details in simple manner, became more prevalent in Islamic literature of later times. Even the vulgar language of the common people appears in literature of the 4th century A. H. It is interesting to see one example of this type of literature. In the story of 'Abū'l-Qāsim al-Baghdādi, written by 'Abū'l-Muţahhir al-'Azdī, the author states that he related the story of the man as he himself related it, following, in doing so, the example and advice of al-Jāhiz himself. I would quote, here, al-'Azdī:

"... and this is a story about a man from Baghdād with whom I lived, for a short time, and out of whose mouth good, as well as coarse language, adequate and shameful expressions, used to come... My mind preserved them, in order to be like a record, showing the character of the Baghdādi people, in their different classes, and like a model put for their customs... I may have done as 'Abū 'Uthmān al-Jāhiz once said..."

Talking about the style and method of al-Jāḥīẓ, one cannot ignore one of the important writers, who was a great admirer of al-Jāḥīẓ ; al-Tauḥīḍī who lived about (312-402 A.H). A study of this author, with a special reference to al-Jāḥīẓ, his style, as well as his philosophy, would be interesting. The influence of al-Jāḥīẓ on al-Tauḥīḍī does not seem to have been limited within the fact that both writers were of Muʿtazilite inclinations. The influence of al-Jāḥīẓ's writing on al-Tauḥīḍī is also obvious. Besides the fact that al-Tauḥīḍī had the same characteristics in writing, such as digressions, variety of subjects, portrait making and satirical style, etc., which have been pointed out by those who studied al-Tauḥīḍī, it seems to me that one interesting characteristic that appears in al-Jāḥīẓ's writing has developed in al-Tauḥīḍī himself more strongly. The polemic style of al-Jāḥīẓ's writing seems to have developed in al-Tauḥīḍī into another form, i.e. the dialogue form. al-Tauḥīḍī tends to put his thoughts in a dialogue between two persons, one raises a point and the other makes the discussion. This also reminds us of Plato's dialogues. The

(1) see, for instance, 'Ibrāhīm Keilānī, 'Abū Ḥayyān., Beyrouth 1950, pp. 84, 94-5, 97, 98; also Tāhā Hūṣain, min Hādh al-shīr., (1957), p. 79.
most important works of al-Tauhid, that have come down to us, were written in this way. In al-Muqābasāt, as well as al-'Imtāc, al-Tauhid tends to show himself only as a reporter of a discussion, conversation, or a dialogue that took place in his presence. He may take part in the discussion or himself lead it, as in al-'Imtāc.

In the book of al-Baṣā'ir wa'l-dhakhā'ir, al-Tauhid follows the same style of al-Jahiz in the book of al-Ḥayawān, in relating anecdotes and short stories and sayings, on various subjects, without much connection. However, al-Jahiz is more definite in al-Ḥayawān about the subject matter, which is supposed to be the world of animals than al-Tauhid in al-Baṣā'ir, which is only a collection of sayings.

While al-Jahiz represents to us the polemics and disputes of parties, about theological, political and social matters, and the active part of scholars in these disputes,

(2) al-Baṣā'ir wa'l-dhakhā'ir, (1953).
al-Tauhīdī's picture, on the other hand, is more sober and deep. The philosophical side of problems is more prominent in his discussions. This is clear, for instance in al-Muqābasāt. However, being himself a copyist, al-Tauhīdī seems to have benefited from books that came into his hand. Nevertheless, this did not deprive him from the originality in writing or restyling the arguments and arranging these selections.

al-Jahiz's wit and humour, however, which saved him from many a disastrous situation, especially after the fall of the Mu'taziliites, unfortunately, was non-existent in al-Tauhīdī's character. His life was a continuous suffering. This is illustrated in his bad relations with almost all men in power of his time.

There were writers who tried al-Jahiz's methods, but were criticised of being unsuccessful. Ibn al-'Ammād is said to have been one of the great admirers of al-Jahiz.

(1) see, for instance, al-Muqābasāt, p. 162.
(2) see about his relations with al-Sāḥib b. 'Abbād and 'Ibn al-'Ammād, Yāqūt, 'Irshād., vol. V., p. 392.
He wanted to be like him, but was disillusioned about his ability, and the result was, according to al-Tauḥīdī, on the authority of Ibn Thawāba, that "... he fell far from al-Jāḥīz, near to his own self." This is, perhaps, due to the fact that there is a distinction between two schools of writers; the school of belle-lettre writers, to which al-Jāḥīz himself belongs, and the school of official writers, which goes back to the time of Ibn al-Muqaffa' and ʿAbdal-Ḥamīd al-Kātib, and to which Ibn al-ʿAmīd and al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād seem to have belonged. A special study of these two schools would be interesting.

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(1) al-Tauḥīdī, al-ʾImtāʿ, (1939), vol. I., p. 66.
(2) see details about trends of literature at this period, Ṭāhā Ḥusain, min Ḥadīth al-šiʿr., especially, pp. 54-6, 79-80, (1957).
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