

THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF ARABIC  
PROSE UNDER THE UMAYYADS (661-750 A.D.)

A THESIS SUBMITTED  
TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CHITTAGONG  
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN ARABIC,  
1989.

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## II

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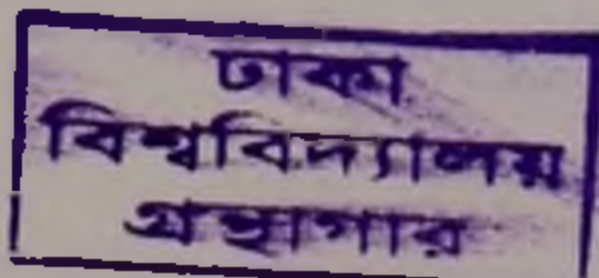
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A note on transliteration of Arabic words.

The following system has been used for Arabic :

ا = a

ب = b

ت = t

ث = th

ج = j

ح = ḥ

خ = kh

د = d

ذ = dh

ر = r

ز = z

س = s

ش = sh

ص = ṣ

ض = ḍ

ط = ṭ

ظ = ḏ

ع = ʿ

غ = gh

ف = f

ق = q

ك = k

ل = l

م = m

ن = n

و = w

ه = h

ي = y

ى = y

Short Vowels = a, i, u.

Long Vowels = ā, ī, ū.

Diphthong = aw, ay.

أ = ah

أ = at (in Construct form)

ال = al-

ال = ,l- (in Construct form)



ABBREVIATIONS.

- ✓ **Aghānī** : Kitāb al-Aghānī by Abū al-Faraj al-Isfihānī, Cairo, n.d. af
- A'lām** : al-A'lām by Khair al-Dīn Zirkilī, Cairo, 1927-28 H.
- Amālī** : al-Amālī by Abū 'Alī al-Qalī, Egypt, 1975.
- Ansāb** : Ansāb al-Ashraf by al-Balādhurī, Beirut, 1974.
- Bāqillānī** : I'jāz al-Qur'an by al-Bāqillānī, on the margin of al-Itqān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'an, Cairo, 1364 H.
- Fihrist** : al-Fihrist by Ibn al-Nadīm, Halle, 1872.
- F. Sezgin** : Tārīkh al-Turāth al-'Arabī by Fuat Sezgin, translated into Arabic by Maḥmūd Fahmī Hijāzī, Saudia, 1983.
- Gibb** : Arabic Literature by H.A.R., Gibb, Oxford, 1926.
- Hitti** : History of the Arabs by P.K.Hitti, London, 1953.
- Huart** : Arabic Literature by C. Huart, London, 1903.
- Hughes** : Dictionary of Islām by T.P. Hughes, Lahore, 1964.
- Isābah** : al-Isābah fī Tamyiz al-Ṣahābah by Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, Cairo, 1328 H.
- Īdāh** : Min Kitāb Īdāh al-Maknūn fī al-Dhayl 'alā Kashf al-Zunūn 'an Asāmi l-Kutub wa-'l-Funūn, Baghdad, n.d.
- al-Itqān** : al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'an by al-Sayūtī, Cairo, 1368 H.
- Jāhiz** : al-Bayān wa-'l-Tabyīn by al-Jāhiz, Egypt, 1975.
- Kashf al-Zunūn** : Kashf al-Zunūn an Asāmi 'l-Kutub wa-'l-Funūn by Ḥājji Khalifah, Beirut, n.d.



## VI

- Ṭabaqāt** : Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā by Ibn Saʿd, Beirut, 1957.
- Tahdhīb Ibn ʿAsākir** : Tahdhīb Tārīkh Dimashq al-Kabīr, by Ibn ʿAsākir, Beirut, 1979.
- Tahdhīb** : Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Hyderabad, 1327 H.
- ʿUyūn al-Akḥbār** : Kitāb ʿUyūn al-Akḥbār by Ibn Qutaybah, Beirut, 1925.
- Wafayāt al-Aʿyān** : Wafayāt al-Aʿyān wa anbāʾ abnāʾ al-Zāman, Egypt, 1949.
- Zahr al-Adāb** : Zahr al-Adāb wa Thamar al-Albāb by Abū Ishāq al-Ḥusrī, Egypt, 1321 H.



- al-Kāmil : Kitāb al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh by Ibn al-Athīr, Egypt, 1301 H.
- Mizān al-I'tidāl : Mizān al-I'tidāl fī Naqd al-Rijāl, by al-Dhahabī, Pakistan, 1973.
- Mas'ūdī : Marūj al-Dhahab by al-Mas'ūdī, Beirut, 1966.
- M.H. Dhahabī : al-Tafsīr wa-'l-Mufasssirūn by Muḥammad Husayn al-Dhahabī, Egypt, 1976.
- M.M. Abū Zahu : al-Ḥadīth wa-'l-Muhaddithūn, by Muḥammad Muḥammad Abū Zahu, Beirut, 1984.
- Muṣṭafā Sādiq : Tārīkh al-Adāb al-'Arabī by Muṣṭafā Sādiq al-Rāfi, Beirut, 1974.
- Mubarrad : al-Kāmil by al-Mubarrad, Egypt, 1931.
- Nicholson : A Literary History of the Arabs by R.A. Nicholson, Cambridge, 1966.
- Nuzhah : Nuzhat al-Alibbā by Ibn al-Anbarī, Egypt, 1294 H.
- Qalqashandī : Subḥ al-A 'shā by al-Qalqashandī, Cairo, 1916.
- al-Ṣaḥīḥ : al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ by al-Bukhārī, Delhi, n.d.
- Shadhrāt al-Dhahab : Shadhrāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār man dhahab by Ibn al-'Imad, Beirut, n.d.
- Sharif al-Radi : Nahaj al-Balaghah by al-Sharif al-Radi, Egypt, n.d.
- Tādrīb : Tadrīb al-Rāwiby al-Sayūṭī, Madinah, 1972.
- Ṭabarī : Tārīkh al-Umam wa-'l-Mulūk by al-Ṭabarī, Riyād, 1979.
- Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar wa Diwān al-Mubtadā' wa-'l-Khabr fī Ayyām al-'Arab wa-'l-'Ajam wa-'l-Barbar wa man 'āsarahum min dhawī 'l-Sultān al-akbar, Beirut, 1979.



## VII

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CHAPTER - I : SOURCES.(A) LOST SOURCES.A survey of the lost sources of Arabic prose under the Umayyads.

With a view to assessing the development of Arabic prose under the Umayyads, a proper survey of Arabic prose is of prime importance. This survey will undoubtedly throw a fresh light on the literary activities under the Umayyads on the one hand, and on the other, it will remove the misconception that the preservation of Islamic sciences in black and white was started in the Abbasid period. As a matter of fact, many books and booklets, treatises and essays were composed during the Umayyad period but most of them were perished either owing to Abbasid's devastation or for some other reasons and only a few survived.<sup>1</sup> This survey will also disclose the fact that some other branches of Arabic prose of paramount importance were cultivated during the Umayyad period.

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1. Ahmad Amin, Fajr al-Islam, p.169.



Kitāb ikhtilāfāt maṣāhif al-Shām, wa-'l-Hijāz wa-'l-Iraq by 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir ibn Yazīd (d. 118/736) who was a successor of the first generation. He was one of the seven qurrā' and senior most among them by age. He is also credited to have composed Kitāb al-maqtū' wa-'l-mawsūl fī al-Qur'ān<sup>1</sup>.

Ikhtiyār fī al-qirā'ah 'alā madhhab al-'Arabiyyah<sup>2</sup> by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān (d.123/740) who was a teacher of 'Isā ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī.

Ikhtiyār fī al-qirā'ah 'alā qiyās al-'Arabiyyah by 'Isā ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī (d. 149/766) who was a Basrite grammarian and is said to have composed seventy books. His al-Jāmi' and al-Kāmil were two very famous Arabic grammars. al-Radd 'alā al-Qadriyyah was also one of his compositions.<sup>3</sup>

Kitāb al-'adad and Kitāb fī al-hijā al-maṣāhif by Abū 'Amr Yaḥyā ibn Hārith (d.145/762) who devoted himself to the philological study of the Qur'ān.<sup>4</sup>

Kitāb al-'adad by 'Āsim ibn al-I'jāj al-Jahdarī (d.128/745) who read the Qur'ān under Yaḥyā ibn Ya'mūr and Naṣr ibn 'Āsim.<sup>5</sup>

- 
1. Ibn Nadīm, Fihrist, p.36; F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part, i, p.25; Ibn Abī Hātim, Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa-'l-ta'dīl, vol.ii, part ii, pp.122-23; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhīb, v, p.274; Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, vol.iii, p.3; Zirkili, Alām, vol.iv, p.228; Dhahabī, Mizān al-i'tidāl, ii, p.449.
  2. F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part i, p.23.
  3. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-a'yān, iii, pp.254-55; F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol. i, part iv, p.4.
  4. Ibn Nadīm, Fihrist, pp.135-36; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhīb, xi, pp.193-94; Ibn Abī Hātim, Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa-'l-ta'dīl, vol.iv, part, ii, pp.135-36.
  5. Ibn Nadīm, Fihrist, p.37; F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part i, p.22.



al-Waqūf by Shaybah ibn Niṣāh (d.130/747) who was a phonetician and a muḥaddith. He narrated ḥadīth from many distinguished teachers.<sup>1</sup>

Tafsīr or Kitāb 'Abbās, Kitāb 'Abbās fī al-'adad al-madani al-awwāl and al-Sahīfah by 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās (d.68/687) who was one of the greatest scholars of the first generation and was the father of Qur'ānic exegesis.<sup>2</sup>

al-Tafsīr by Rufay' ibn Mihrān better known as Abū al-'Āliyah Riyāhī (d. 92/710) who was one of the earlier exegetes of the Qur'ān.<sup>3</sup>

al-Tafsīr by 'Atā' ibn Abī Rabāh<sup>4</sup> (d.114/732) who was one of the distinguished disciples of ibn 'Abbās. He was a famous muftī and muḥaddith in Makkah. Tabarī incorporated it in his work.

- 
1. F. Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī*, vol.i, part i, p.22.
  2. Hājji Khalifah, *Kashf al-zunūn*, vol.i, p.438; Ibn Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p.33; F. Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī*, vol.i, part i, p.66; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, vol.v, p.293.
  3. Hājji Khalifah, *Kashf al-zunūn*, vol.i, p.44; Sa'īd Ahmad, *al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyyah*, Pakistan, vol.i, p.91, December, 1969; R. Blacher, *Encyclopaedia, Islām*, Vol.i, p.104; M.H. Dhahabī, *al-Tafsīr wa'l-Mufasssirūn*, i, p.115.
  4. Hājji Khalifah, *Kashf al-zunūn*, vol.i, p.453; I.P. Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'ārifīn*, vol.i, p.664; F. Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī*, vol.i, part i, p.72.



al-Tafsīr by 'Aṭā' ibn Dinār (d.126/744) who narrated it from Sa'īd ibn Jubayr.<sup>1</sup>

al-Tafsīr by Sa'īd ibn Jubayr (d.95/714) an Abyssinian by origin, who made his marks as an eminent faqīh in al-Kūfah and had the opportunity to be the disciple of both ibn 'Abbās and ibn 'Umar.<sup>2</sup> Many exegetes of second century Hijrah incorporated it in their works.<sup>3</sup>

al-Tafsīr by Daḥḥāk ibn Muzāhim (d.105/723) who was one of the successors. Ṭabarī incorporated some extracts of it directly from the original and sometime from other sources.<sup>4</sup>

al-Tafsīr by al-Ḥasan ibn Abi al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.110/728) who was born and brought up in Madīnah. Innumerable comments were made by his contemporary scholars on his piety, trustworthiness and reliability. Ḥasan's other lost works are Kitāb al-ikhlās, al-Qirā'ah, Nuzūl al-Qur'ān and Kitāb fi al-'adad.<sup>5</sup>

al-Tafsīr by Qatādah ibn Di'āmah (d.118/736) a muḥaddith who had vast knowledge in poetry, the Days of the 'Arab, in genealogy and above all, had a great command on Arabic language.<sup>6</sup>

'Awāshir al-Qur'ān is his another lost work.<sup>7</sup>

- 
1. Ḥājji Khalīfah, Kashf al-zunūn, vol.i, p.453; F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part i, p.77.
  2. Ibn Nadīm, Fihrist, p.34; F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part i, p.71.
  3. F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part i, pp.69-70.
  4. Ḥājji Khālīfah, Kashf al-zunūn, vol.i, p.452; F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part i, p.72.
  5. Ibn Nadīm, Fihrist, pp. 37-38.
  6. Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-udabā', xvii, pp.8-10.
  7. Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, vol.vii, p.273.



al-Tafsīr by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ka'b al-Qurẓī<sup>1</sup>  
(d.118/736) who was an eminent muḥaddith.

al-Tafsīr by 'Ikramah ibn 'Abd Allāh (d.105/723) a slave of ibn 'Abbās, who was an Abissinian by origin. Ibn 'Abbās enchained his legs with a heavy fetter to teach him the Qur'an and Sunnah. He spent forty years in the pursuit of learning Nuzūl al-Qur'an is his another lost work.<sup>2</sup>

al-Tafsīr by Ismā'il ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Suddī who was a Hijāzī by origin but lived in al-Kūfah. He was a muḥaddith having profound knowledge in tafsīr, maghāzī and Sīrah literature. His tafsīr was the most comprehensive one which covered the whole Qur'an. Almost all the exegetes of the subsequent period incorporated his tafsīr in their works. So, reproduction by collection is possible.<sup>3</sup>

al-Tafsīr by 'Atīyah ibn Sa'd (d. 111/729) who was a muḥaddith. But al-Kalbī counted him more as an authority on tafsīr. al-Ṭabarī incorporated it in his tafsīr in 1560 places.<sup>4</sup>

1. Hājji Khalīfah, Kashf al-zunūn, vol.i, p.457; F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol. i, part i, p.76.

2. Ibn Nadīm, Fihrist, p.44; Hājji Khālīfah, Kashf al-zunūn, vol.i, p.453; I.P.Baghdādī, Hadiyyat al-'ārifīn, vol.i, p.666g

3. Ibn Nadīm, Fihrist, p.33; Zirkīlī, A'lām, vol,i, p.31.

4. F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part i, p.73.



al-Tafsir by Zayd ibn Aslam al-‘Adawānī (d. 136/753) who was born and brought up in Madīnah. He devoted himself to the study of fiqh and tafsir. His tafsir was narrated by his son ‘Abd al-Rahmān who based his own tafsir on it. Tabarī incorporated a part of it in his work.<sup>1</sup>

al-Tafsir by Jābir ibn Yazīd ibn al-Hārith al-Ju‘fī (d.127/745) who figured as one of the fuḥhā’ of the Shī‘ites in al-Kūfah. His other works are Kitāb al-Nawādir, Kitāb al-Fadā’il, Kitāb al-Jamāl, Kitāb al-Siffin, Kitāb al-Nahrawān, Kitāb maqtal Amir al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī and Kitāb maqtal al-Husayn.<sup>2</sup>

al-Tafsir by Wahb ibn Munabbih ibn Kāmil (d.114/732) who was known as a story-teller. His fore-fathers were Persian Jews but he was born as muslim. Kitāb al-mulūk al-mutawajjah min Ḥimyar wa akhbāruhum wa qubūruhum wa ash ‘āruhum; Kitāb al-Mub-tadā’; Kitāb al-Maghāzī ; Hikmah; Futūh al-Bilād; Hikmah Luqmān; Maw‘izah; Kitāb Zabūr Dā‘ūd and Kitāb al-Qadr are also his books.<sup>3</sup>

- 
1. Zirkīlī, A ‘lām, vol.iii, p.95.
  2. I.P.Baghdādī, Idāh, vol.i, p.304; vol.ii, pp.309,319, 384,540. ibid, Hadiyyat al-‘arifīn, vol.i, pp.24,249 ; F,Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-‘arabī, vol.i, part ii, p.126.
  3. Hājjī Khalīfah, Kashf al-ẓunūn, vol.i, p.461; I.P.Baghdādī, Hadiyyat al-‘arifīn, vol.ii, p.501; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-a‘yān, v, p.88; Horovitz, The earliest biographies of the prophet and their authors, Islāmic Culture, 1927-28, pp.556-67; F, Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-‘arabī, vol.i, part ii, p.124.



al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Ṣādiqah<sup>1</sup> by ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ (d. 65/684) who was one of those persons who knew how to read and write in the Jāhiliyyah period when a few was gifted with such an ability . al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Yarmukiyyah<sup>2</sup> is also his work.

al-Ṣaḥīfah by Samurah ibn Jundab (d. 60/679) who lived in al-Baṣrah and after the death of his father went to Madīnah where he passed the rest of his life. He is also credited to have composed Risālah ilā ibnih<sup>3</sup>.

al-Ṣaḥīfah by ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn ‘Umar (d.147/764) who was one of the seven fuqḥā’ and savants of Madīnah. He was a muḥaddith of great reputation.<sup>4</sup>

al-Ṣaḥīfah by Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh (d.78/697) who became known as imām and muftī. He was one of the seventy Ansārs who witnessed the second al-‘Aqbah to invite the prophet to visit Madīnah.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Manāẓir Aḥsan Ghilāni , Tadwīn-e-Hadīth, pp.58-59; F. Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-‘arabī, vol.i, part i, pp.153-54.
  2. Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh The earliest extant work on the hadīth, p.37.
  3. F. Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-‘arabī, vol.i, part i, p.154.
  4. ibid, p.163.
  5. ibid, pp.154-55; S. ‘Alī Razā Naqbī, Islāmīc Studies, Pakistan, No.2, vol.xix, p.126, Summar, 1980.



Kitāb al-Amthāl by 'Abid ibn Sharyā al-Jurhumī (d. around 67/686) a south Arabian who distinguished himself as a storyteller in the court of the first Umayyad Caliph Mu'awiyah who questioned him concerning the ancient traditions, the kings of the Arabs and non-Arabs, the causes of the confusion of the languages and the history of the dispersion of mankind in the various countries of the world. His other work is Kitāb al-Mulūk wa akhbār al-maḍyīn.<sup>1</sup>

Kitāb al-Amthāl by Suhār ibn al-'Abbās or 'Ayyāsh ibn Sharāhīl al-'Abadī (d. around 40/660) a kharijite who figured as a genealogist and an orator during the Umayyad period. He was a muḥaddith also. His another composition is Kitāb fi al-nasāb.<sup>2</sup>

Kitāb al-Amthāl by Nakhkhār ibn Aws al-'Udhri (d. 60/680) who, in opinion of al-Kalbī, was the greatest genealogist of the Arabs.<sup>3</sup>

Kitāb al-Amthāl by Abū Kilābah Waraqā' ibn al-Ash'ar who was one of the famous genealogists and orators.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibn Nadīm, Fihrist, p.89; I.P. Baghdādī, Hadiyyat al-'ārifīn, vol.i, p.645, Idāh, vol.ii, p.272; Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-udabā', xii, p.72; F.Rosenthal, Encyclopaedia, Islām, vol.iii, p.937; Brockelmann, Geschichte, Der Arabischen, Litteratur, p.63; Hitti, History of the Arabs, p.244.

2. Ibn Nadīm, Fihrist, p.90 ; F. Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part ii, pp.33-34.

3. F. Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part,ii, p.95.

4. ibid, vol.i, part ii, p.37.



Kitāb al-Amthāl by 'Ilāqah ibn Kursum a contemporary of Yazid ibn Mu'āwiyah may also be mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

al-Tashjir by Daghfal ibn Hanzalah al-Sadūsī who was a great genealogist, an orator and above all, a proverbial figure in the history of genealogy.<sup>2</sup>

Kitāb al-Bāqir by Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir (d.114 /732) who was one of the twelve imāms of Imāmiyyah sect. He was a great muḥaddith. For his vast knowledge in Islāmic Sciences, he was called al-Bāqir.<sup>3</sup>

al-Mathālib by Ziyād ibn Abīh (d.53/673) who was one of the ablest and the most famous of the Umayyad governors.<sup>4</sup>

al-Sīrah<sup>5</sup> by Sa'īd ibn Sa'd who was one of the companions of the prophet. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and Ṭabarī incorporated some extracts of it in their works. Ṭabarī took the texts from Abu 'Awānah who narrated them on the method of الرجادة.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Brockelmann, Geschichte, vol.i, p.66; Ibn Nadīm, Fihrist, p.90.

2. F. Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part ii, p.41; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn, i, p.47; Sayūṭī, Muzhir, ii, p.504; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-akhbār, vol.ii, p.118.

3. Ibn Nadīm, Fihrist, p.33.

4. ibid, p.89.

5. F. Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part ii, p.65.

6. Sayūṭī, Tadrīb, ii, pp.61-62.



Kitāb al-Ansāb by Mathjūr ibn Ghaylān al-Ḍabbī (d.85/705) who was an orator as well as a distinguished genealogist. He had a very high position among the aristocrats of al-Basrah.<sup>1</sup>

Kitāb al-Ansāb by Zayd ibn al-Kayyes al-Namerī who, according to Fuat Sezgin was alive during the Umayyad period and figured as one of the four genealogists.<sup>2</sup>

Kitāb al-Maghāzī by Sahl ibn Abi Hathmah (d.41/661) who was an author whose grandson Muḥammad ibn Yahyā had a copy of his Maghāzī.<sup>3</sup>

al-Sirah by Sa'īd ibn al-Mussayab (d. 94/713) who was a genealogist, a biographer, a muḥaddith and above all, an eminent faqīh.<sup>4</sup>

Kitāb al-Maghāzī by Abū Ishāq 'Amr ibn 'Abd Allāh (d.128/745) who lived in al-Kūfah and transmitted ḥadīths from thirty eight companions of the prophet. Kitāb al-Futūh was his another lost book.<sup>5</sup>

al-Maghāzī by Abū 'Amr 'Āmir ibn Sharāḥīl al-Sha'bī (d.130/721) who was brought up in al-Kūfah where he attended the study circles of very highly qualified teachers. al-Sha'bī is also credited to have composed al-Farā'id wa'l-jirāḥāt, al-Kifāyah fī al-'ibādah wa'l-tā'ah,<sup>6</sup> al-Futūh<sup>7</sup> and Kitāb al-Shurā wa maqṭal 'Uthmān.<sup>8</sup>

1. F. Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī*, vol.i, part ii, p.39.

2. *ibid*, p.39.

3. *ibid*, p.66.

4. *ibid*, p.67-68.

5. *ibid*, p.79.

6. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.xii, pp.230-32.

7. Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, i, p.80.

8. F. Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī*, vol.i, part ii, p.69.



Kitāb al-Maghāzī by Abān ibn 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (d.86/706)

who passed an eventful political life for a long period.<sup>1</sup>

al-Maghāzī by 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awām (d.93/712) who

had a blood connection with some very high aristocrats of the Quraysh. He was a great muḥaddith who narrated hadīths from more than fifty teachers.<sup>2</sup>

al-Maghāzī by Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d.124/741)

who attended the study circles of the distinguished teachers and gathered most valuable information from more than sixty scholars.

He soon became known as imām, ḥāfiẓ and faqīh and above all, figured as one of the jurisconsults of Islāmic laws. His other works are al-Sīrah ; Nasb Quraysh, Mashāhid al-Nabī.<sup>3</sup>

al-Sīrah by Ya'qūb ibn 'Utbah ibn al-Mughīrah (d.128/745) who was one of the fuḥhā' of Madīnah.<sup>4</sup>

al-Maghāzī by 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr (d.130/747) who was a historian as well as a muḥaddith in Madīnah.<sup>5</sup>

al-Maghāzī by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Nawfal (d.131/748) who was fortunate to be the grandson of one of those persons who migrated to Abyssinia.<sup>6</sup>

Kitāb al-Maghāzī by Abū Mu'tamir Sulaymān ibn Tarkhān (d.143/760) who was an eminent muḥaddith.<sup>7</sup>

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1. F. Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol. i, part ii, p. 69.
  2. Ḥājjī Khalīfah, Kashf al-zunūn, vol. ii, p. 1747; Shawqī Dayf, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'arabī, i, p. 159.
  3. F. Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol. i, part ii, pp. 77-79; Ḥājjī Khalīfah, Kashf al-zunūn, vol. ii, p. 1747; Horovitz, The earliest viographies of the prophet and their authors (Urdu trans.), p. 81.
  4. F. Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol. i, part ii, p. 80.
  5. ibid, p. 80.
  6. ibid, p. 82.
  7. ibid, pp. 83-84.



al-Maghāzī by Yazīd ibn Rumān (d.130/747) who was a muḥaddith of a great fame.<sup>1</sup>

Kitāb al-Maghāzī by Abū Muḥammad Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah (d.141/758) who narrated ḥadīths from many prominent teachers and was one of the most favourite students of al-Zuhri.<sup>2</sup>

Kitāb al-Tārīkh by ‘Awānah ibn al-Hakam al-Kalbi (d.147/764) who was born and brought up in al-Kūfah. He made his marks as historian. He is said to have composed Sīrah Mu‘āwiyah wa banī Umayyah.<sup>3</sup>

Futūḥ Miṣr by Abū Qabīl Huayyi ibn Hānī ibn Nadr al-Ma‘āferī al-Misrī (d. 128/745) who was one of the earliest historians.<sup>4</sup>

Tārīkh Miṣr by Abū Rijā’ Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb al-Azdī (d.128/745) who was a muḥaddith and as well as a faqīh and narrated ḥadīth from more than thirty teachers.<sup>5</sup>

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1. F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-‘arabī, vol.i, part ii, p.81.
  2. ibid, p.85; Hājji Khalīfah, Kashf al-ẓunūn, vol.ii, p.1747.
  3. Ibn Nadīm, Fihrist, p.91.
  4. F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-‘arabī, vol.i, part ii, p.195.
  5. ibid, p.196.



Thirty two or thirty three treatises are said to have been composed by Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ ibn Yahyā al-Azdi (d.157/774). Following are his treatises which are lost :

Kitāb al-Riddah ; Kitāb futūḥ al-Shām; Kitāb futūḥ al-ʿIrāq ;  
Kitāb al-Jamal ; Kitāb al-Nahrawān wa-ʿl-Khawārij ; Kitāb  
al-Khrrit wa banī Najiah; Kitāb maqtal ʿAlī; Kitāb maqtal Hujr  
ibn ʿAdī; Kitāb maqtal Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr wa-ʿl-Ashtar wa Muḥa-  
mmad ibn Hudhayfah; Kitāb al-Shūrā wa maqtal ʿUthmān; Kitāb  
Mustawrid ibn ʿUllafah; Kitāb wafāt Muʿāwiyah wa wilayah ibnih.  
Yazīd wa waqiʿah al-Ḥarrah wa hiṣār ibn al-Zubayr; Kitāb Mukhtār  
ibn Abī ʿUbayd; Kitāb Sulaymān ibn Ṣurd wa ʿAyn al-wardah ; Kitāb  
marj Rāhat wa bayʿah Marwān wa maqtal al-Daḥḥāk ibn Qays; Kitāb  
Masʿab wa wilāyatuh al-ʿIrāq; Kitāb maqtal ʿAbd Allāh ibn  
al-Zubayr; Kitāb maqtal Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀs; Kitāb Ḥadīth Bakhamra  
wa maqtal ibn Ash ʿath; Kitāb Bilāl al-khārijī; Kitāb Najadah  
Abī Qubayl; Kitāb Ḥadīth al-Azariqah; Kitāb Ḥadīth Rustuqbadh;  
Kitāb Shābib al-khārijī wa Sālih ibn Musarriḥ; Kitāb Muṭarrif  
ibn Mughīrah; Kitāb Dayr al-Jamājim wa Khalāʿ ibn Ash ʿath;  
Kitāb Yazīd ibn Muhallab wa maqtaluh bi ʿl-ʿAqar; Kitāb Khālīd ibn  
ʿAbd Allāh al-Qasrī wa Yūsuf ibn ʿUmar wa mawt Hishām wa Wilāyah  
Walīd; Kitāb Yahyā; Kitāb al-Daḥḥāk al-khārijī; Sirat al-Husayn;  
Kitāb al-Maʿamarī; and Kitāb al-Akḥbār<sup>1</sup>.

1. H.A.R. Gibb, Encyclopaedia, Islām, vol.i, p.14 ; Ibn Nadīm, Fihrist, p.93; Hurat, Arabic literature, p.61. ; F. Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-ʿarabī, vol.i, part ii, pp.29-39 ; Bockelmann, (Arabic trans.), Vol.iii, p.36.



Tārīkh Miṣr by Abū 'Abd al-Karīm al-Hārith ibn Yazīd al-Hādrāmī al-Miṣrī (d.130/747) who was a muḥaddith and historian . Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam and 'Umar al-Kindī incorporated some extracts of this book in their works.<sup>1</sup>

Tārīkh Miṣr by Abū Bakr 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Ja'far al-Miṣrī (d.135/752) who was a historian and one of the jurisconsults of Islāmic laws in Egypt. He was a muḥaddith also.<sup>2</sup>

Tārīkh Miṣr by 'Amr ibn al-Hārith ibn Ya'qūb (d.147/764) who was not only a historian but also a rhapsodist and a muftī in Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

al-Maghāzī by Sharjīl ibn Sa'd (d.123/740) who belonged to the Madinah School of historians. He was a muḥaddith too.<sup>4</sup>

Kitāb fī Thābit Quṭnah wa- 'l-Hajiz al-Azdi by Abū 'Umar Dhar ibn 'Abd Allāh a story-teller and a muḥaddith who died in the early part of the second century Hijrah.<sup>5</sup>

Kitāb Hammād by Abū al-Qāsim Hammād ibn Sabūr (d.arround 155/771) known as Hammād al-Rāwiyah who was one of the most eminent and celebrated folklorists.<sup>6</sup>

Kitāb Mujarrad Yūnus<sup>7</sup> by Yūnus ibn Sulaymān ibn Kurd (d.135/752) who was born in Madinah and made trade-journey to Syria. He was the first Arab author composed books on songs. His other works are Kitāb al-Qiyān and Kitāb al-Nagham.

1. F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'Arabī, vol.i, part ii, p.197.

2. *ibid*, p.198.

3. *ibid*, p.198.

4. *ibid*, p.72.

5. *ibid*, p.256.

6. *ibid*, vol.i, part iii, p.259.

7. *ibid*, vol. i, part ii, p.256; Ibn Nadīm, Fihrist, p.145.



Diwān al-Aghānī by Yaḥyā ibn al-Hakam ibn Maymūn who was an expert in music and was a singer in the royal court of Walīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik. He was alive up to the Caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd. It is said that he was the master of modulation of voice ( الهمزج ). Abū al-Faraj al-Isfihānī made the use of this book.<sup>1</sup>

Kitāb al-Farā’id by Zayd ibn Thābit (d.45/665) who was a companion of the prophet. His other works are Risālah fī al-Farā’id and Kitāb al-Diyyāt<sup>2</sup>.

al-Farā’id by Qabīṣah ibn Ḍhuwayb (d.86/705) who was a famous muḥaddith and jurisconsult in Madīnah.<sup>3</sup>

Kitāb al-Sunan fī al-Fiqh by Makhūl ibn Abī Muslim al-Shurāb (d.arround 112 / 730) who was a muḥaddith and as well as a jurisconsult. His other works are Masā’il fī al-Fiqh and Kitāb al-Hajj.<sup>4</sup>

Tafsīr ‘alā Farā’id Zayd ibn Thābit by Abū Zinād ‘Abd Allāh ibn Dhakwān (d. 131/748) who was a noted jurisconsult, a historian and as well as a muḥaddith in Madīnah.<sup>5</sup>

Kitāb al-Farā’id by Ayūb ibn Abī Tamimah Kaysān al-Sakhtiyānī (d.130/748) who was a seccessor. He was a leader of jurisconsults of his time.<sup>6</sup>

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1. F. Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-‘arabī, vol.i, part ii, p.261; Aghāhī, vi, pp.64-68.
  2. ibid, vol.i, part iii, p.16; Jamīla Shawkat, Islāmīc Studies, Pakistan, Autumn, No.3, Vol.xxiv, pp.357-58.
  3. F. Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-‘arabī, vol.i, part iii, p.18.
  4. ibid, p.20; Ibn Nadīm, Fihrist, p.227.
  5. ibid, pp.21-22.
  6. I.P. Baghdādī, Hadiyyat al-‘ārifīn, vol.i, p.228.



Kitāb al-Farā'id by Mughīrah ibn Maq̄sam (d.136/753) who figured as a jurisconsult and muḥaddith.<sup>1</sup>

al-Radd 'alā al-Qadrīyyah by 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (d.101/720) who was the noblest and the most pious of the Umayyad Caliphs.<sup>2</sup>

Kitāb al-Irjā' by al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib (d.100/718) who was one of the Hāshimite intelligensia and was the first to speak about the doctrine of Irjā' or postponement. He also composed Kitāb al-Radd 'alā al-Qadrīyyah.<sup>3</sup>

al-Radd 'alā al-Qadrīyyah by 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd (d.144/761) who attended the study circle of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. His other work is Kitāb al-Tafsīr.<sup>4</sup>

Kitāb al-Radd 'alā al-Qadrīyyah by Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā (d.154/771) who was a famous folklorist, a philologist and a grammarian of Baṣrah School. His other works are Kitāb al-Qirā'ah and Kitāb al-Waqf wa-l-Ibtidā'.<sup>5</sup>

Kitāb al-Radd 'alā al-Qadrīyyah<sup>6</sup> by Yaḥyā ibn Ya'mūr al-'Adwānī (d.89/707) who was a successor and a grammarian of Baṣrah School. His another work is Kitāb al-Qirā'ah.<sup>7</sup> Risālah fī dhamm 'alā al-Qadrīyyah<sup>8</sup> by Zālim ibn 'Amr ibn Zālim better known as Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī (d.69/688) who is said to be the first to write a treatise on Arabic grammar or at least framed some rules in Arabic grammar.<sup>9</sup>

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1. F. Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī*, vol.i, part iii, p.8.
  2. *ibid*, p.15.
  3. *ibid*, vol. i, part iv, p.16.
  4. Ibn Khallikān, *Wāfayāt al-'ayān*, iii, p.132.
  5. F. Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī*, vol.i, part i, p.22; Ibn Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p.35.
  6. F. Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī*, vol.i, part iv, p.4.
  7. *ibid*, vol.i, part i, p.22.
  8. *ibid*, vol.i, part iv, pp. 3-4.
  9. M.Z. Siddiqī, *Studies in Islām*, vol. v, p:197, 1969.



Kitāb al-Radd 'alā Qadriyyah by 'Abd Allāh ibn Ishāq

(d.117/735) who studied Arabic grammar under some grammarians of phenomenal reputation.<sup>1</sup>

Kitāb al-Manzilah bayna 'l-manzilatayn by Wāsil ibn 'Aṭā'

al-gazzāl (d.131/748) who was born in Madinah and lived in

Basrah where he attended the study circle of al-Ḥasan al-Basrī.

He was a dogmatic theologian and highly eloquent who avoided the

use of Rā' in talking and in orations as he suffered from fault

of pronunciation. His other works are Kitāb ma'āni al-Qur'ān;

Kitāb al-Tawbah ; Kitāb al-Khuṭab fī al-Tawhīd wa-'l-Adal;

Kitāb al-Sabīl fī Ma'rifat al-haqq ; Kitāb mā jarā baynah

wa bayna 'Umar ibn 'Ubayd; Kitāb aṣnāf al-Murj'iah; al-Khuṭbah

al-latī akhrajā minhā al-Rā' and Kitāb alf mas'lah fī al-Radd

'alā Mānawiyyah<sup>2</sup>.

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1. F. Sezgin , Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part,iv,p.4.

2. ibid, p.19; I.P. Baghdādī, Hadiyyat al-'ārifīn, vol.ii,p.499.



Ibdāl al-Adawiyyah , diqquhā īqāu'ha wa idhābuha by Tayādhuq

al-Hakīm (d. 90/707) who was a famous physian of the Umayyad period. He was also a personal physician of al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf. His other work is Kitāb Kanash Kabīr.<sup>1</sup>

Kitāb Qawā al-aṭ'imah wa manafi'ihā wa maḍarrihā by Masarjawiha

who was a Syrian Jew. He translated the book of Ahran al-Qus ibn 'Ayn into Arabic during the time of Marwān. His other work is Kitāb Qawā al-Aqāqir wa manāfi'ihā wa maḍarrihā.<sup>2</sup>

al-Sirr al-Badi' fī fakk ramz al-muni' fī 'ilm al-Kāf by the

Umayyad prince Khālid ibn Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah (d.85/704) who was known as the philosopher of the Quraysh. His other works

are Kitāb al-Harārāt ; Kitāb al-Ṣaḥifah al-Ṣaghīr; Kitāb

al-Ṣaḥifah al-Kabīr; Maqālah Miryānas al-Rabīb fī al-Kimiyyah;

Waṣiyatuh ilā ibnih. fī al-ṣun'ah and Kitāb al-Raḥmah fī

al-Kimiyyah.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ibn Nadīm, Fihrist, p.303.

2. Aḥmad Amīn, Fajr al-Islām, p.163.

3. Ibn Nadīm, Fihrist, p.354; Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-udabā', xi,p.42;  
I.P. Baghdādī, Hadiyyat al-'ārifīn, vol.i,p.343.



Kitāb akhbār Rabī'ah wa ansābihā by Kharāsh ibn Ismā'il  
(d. around 120/738) who was a genealogist.<sup>1</sup>

Qiṣṣat Tubba' wa Ash'āruh by Yazīd ibn Rabī'ah ibn Muffarigh  
(d. 68/688) who was a poet, born at Tabālah but settled in  
al-Baṣrah.<sup>2</sup>

al-Nāsikh wa- al-mansūkh by 'Atā' ibn Abī Muslim Maysarah  
al-Khurāsānī ( d. 135/759) who was one of great savants of  
Islām. He was a muḥaddith and as well as an exegete of the  
Qur'an.<sup>3</sup>

Kitāb al-Wāḥidah by Khālid ibn Salmah ibn al-Āṣ (d.132/750)  
who was Hijāzī by origin and Kūfī by settlement. He was a  
Muḥaddith. When the Abbasids started their propaganda, he  
fled away from Kūfah and took shelter in Wāsit.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibn Nadīm, Fihrist, p.108; I.P. Baghdādī, Hadiyyat al-ārifīn, vol.i, p.344; F.Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part ii, p.28.
  2. Shawqī Dayf, Tārīkh al-Adāb al-'arabī, ii, p.455.
  3. F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part i, p.79.
  4. ibid, vol.i, part ii, p.35.



(B) EXTANT SOURCES .

A survey of the extant sources of Arabic prose under the Umayyads.

In this survey efforts are made to record, as far as possible, the sources of prose under the Umayyads, which are extant in the forms of manuscripts, publications or reproductions by the subsequent authors with recension or without. This survey will also contain the pieces of prose like Khutbahs, Rasā'il, Hikam, (wise-sayings) humours, elegies, admonitions, Waṣayā, Maqālāt, Hiwār and Tawqī'āt which are extant in the earlier works of classical authors and later sources.



Jam' 'Āsim<sup>1</sup> by 'Āsim ibn Abī al-Najūd Bahdalah (d.127/745) who was born and brought up in al-Kūfah and distinguished himself as a leader in the field of philological study of the Qur'ān<sup>2</sup>.

The works of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās :

Masā'il Nāfi' ibn Azraq<sup>3</sup> This manuscript contains the questions put to 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās<sup>4</sup> by the Kharijite leader Nāfi' ibn Azraq (d.65/685) about the meaning of two hundred difficult words of the Qur'ān . It also contains the answers given by 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās with explanation supported by the evidences of usages in ancient Arabic Poetry. Some extracts of this book have reached us through the Kitāb al-Kāmil by Mubarrad and al-Itqān by Sayūfī.<sup>6</sup>

al-Lughāt fī al-Qur'ān<sup>7</sup>. It is narrated by 'Abd Allāh ibn Husayn ibn Hasnūn al-muqrī (d.386/936). Silāh al-Dīn al-Manjad published it in 1946 in Cairo. The recension of it is made by Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Muzaffar.<sup>8</sup>

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1. F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part i, p.27.
  2. Mss:Cester Beatty 4693 (Foll 1-69, 10 century Hijrah)
  3. F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part i, pp.67-68.
  4. Mss: al-Zāhiriyyah, general, 3849 (Foll 108a - 119b, 4 century Hijrah); 'Izzah Hasan 425/1, Tal'at, Majmū' 266 (Foll 1-33); Makhtuṭ Hadīth al-Tadwīn - Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, Majmū' 166 (Foll 132a-143b, 1205 Hijrah); Berlin 683 (Foll 93-101, 1060 Hijrah). In Berlin the title is Gharīb al-Qur'ān .
  5. For his life see the present thesis, p.3
  6. al-Kāmil, iii, pp.222-31 ; al-Itqān, i, pp.115-33.
  7. F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part i, pp.66-69.
  8. Mss: As ad 91/3 (Foll 104a-112b, 949 Hijrah); Cester Beatty 4263 (Foll 9, 875 Hijrah).



Musnad.<sup>1</sup> It is collected by some anonymous author.

Kahawās ba'd ad'iyah<sup>2</sup>.

Du'ā' Suryānī. It was published in Mysore in 1870 A.D.,  
1897 A.D.

Qissat al-Isrā' wa-l-Mi'rāj. It was published in Damascus  
in 1314 A.H.

Ḥadith al-Mi'rāj<sup>3</sup>. Muḥammad ibn Ishāq is said to have collected  
it.

Gharib al-Qur'an.<sup>4</sup> 'Atā' ibn Abī Rabāḥ (d.114/732) made the  
recension of it.

Tafsīr. Many books named as Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās have reached us.  
Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī made the recension of most of  
them. Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Fīrozabādī  
(d.817/1415) collected many pages of the said tafsīr. He named  
it Tadwīn al-maqbas min tafsīr ibn 'Abbās. Bulāq published it in  
1863 A.D., 1866 A.D., 1873 A.D., 1875 A.D. It was published in  
Cairo in 1302 A.H., 1316 A.H., 1332 A.H., 1973 A.D. and 1960 A.D.

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1. F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol. i, part i, pp. 66-69.;  
Mss: Sarāy Madīnah 291/1 (Foll 228, 10 century Hijrah).
  2. Mss: Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris 1224 (Foll 28-79,  
11 century Hijrah).
  3. Mss: Cester Beatty 4228 (Foll 9, 11 century Hijrah).
  4. Mss: 'Atīf Efendi 2815/8 (Foll 102a-107a, 8 century  
Hijrah).



The work of Mujāhid ibn Jabr :

al-Tafsīr<sup>1</sup> by Mujāhid ibn Jabr (d.104/722) who was one of the exegetes of the Qur'ān. He was a great muḥaddith who narrated hadīth from about fifty teachers. This tafsīr has reached us on the authority of 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Najīh (d.131/748).

The works of Qatādah ibn Di'āmāh<sup>2</sup> :

Kitāb Nāsikh wa-'l-mansūkh fi Kitāb Allāh<sup>3</sup>,

Kitāb al-Manāsikh<sup>4</sup>. Abī 'Arūbah (d.156/773) narrated it ; al-Tafsīr. Some extracts of this tafsīr and some Hikam of the author are extant in the work of Abū Nu'aym<sup>5</sup>.

The work of 'Aṭā' ibn Abī Rabāh<sup>6</sup> :

Gharib al-Qur'ān<sup>7</sup>.

The works of 'Aṭā' ibn Muslim Maysarah al-Khurāsani<sup>8</sup> :

al-Tafsīr<sup>9</sup>.

Some texts of the author are preserved by Abū Nu'aym<sup>10</sup>.

1. F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol. i, part i, p. 71; Mss: Cairo Tafsīr 1075 (Foll 95, 544 century Hijrah).
2. For his life see the present thesis, p. 4.
3. ibid, p. 75; Mss: al-Zāhiriyyah 7899 (foll 65-67).
4. Mss: al-Zāhiriyyah Majmū' 41/12 (First part).
5. Ḥilyat al-awliyā', ii, pp. 339-44.
6. For his life see the present thesis, p. 3.
7. Mss: 'Ātif 2815/8 (Foll 102a-107a, 8 century Hijrah)
8. See his life, the present thesis, p. 12.
9. Mss: Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyyah Majmū' 95 (Foll 126a-132a, 5 century Hijrah); Sarāy Aḥmad 3rd 310 (Foll 6).
10. Ḥilyat al-awliyā', v, pp. 194-95.



The work of Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī :

al-Tafsīr by Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī (d.146/764) who was one of the genealogists, historians and exegetes of the Qur'ān.<sup>1</sup>

1. F. Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-turāth al-ʿarabī*, vol. i, part i, pp. 80-81; Mss: Ayā Sofya 113 (Foll. 224, 10 century Hijrah); Ayā Sofya, 114 (Foll. 351, 1109 Hijrah), 115 (Foll. 485, 1152 Hijrah); 116 (Foll. 196, 1139 Hijrah) 117, (Foll. 184, 1144 Hijrah); 118 (Foll. 357, 1140 Hijrah); Shahīd 'Alī (Foll. 77, 885 Hijrah); Vehbi 100 (Foll. 276, 1100 Hijrah); Sarāy Rifān 116 (Foll. 352, 1100 Hijrah); Sarāy Khazinat : al-Amanah 588 (Foll. 276, 1200 Hijrah); Sarāy Aḥmad 3rd. 12 (Foll. 363, 1107 Hijrah); Fihras i/437, 589 (Foll. 424, 1200 Hijrah); Dāmād Ibrāhīm 49 (Foll. 339, 1100 Hijrah); Fayḍ Allāh 43 (Foll. 375, 1100 Hijrah); Noro Osmānia 168 (Foll. 275, 1160 Hijrah); 169 (Foll. 296, 1162 Hijrah); 170 (Foll. 429, 1159 Hijrah); 172 (Foll. 375, 1165 Hijrah); 174 (Foll. 331, 1194 Hijrah); 175 (Foll. 403, 1163 Hijrah); 176 (Foll. 321, 1100 Hijrah); 177 (Foll. 372, 1163 Hijrah); 178 (Foll. 391, 1165 Hijrah); 179 (Foll. 366, 1100 Hijrah); 180 (Foll. 417, 1160 Hijrah); 181 (Foll. 343, 1165 Hijrah); 182 (Foll. 341, 1100 Hijrah); 183 (Foll. 270, 1100 Hijrah); Kaprūlū 2/16 (Foll. 400, 1100 Hijrah); Fātiḥ 173 (Foll. 365, 1163 Hijrah); 174 (Foll. 342, 1100 Hijrah); 175 (Foll. 335, 1100 Hijrah); Atif 88 (Foll. 341, 1000 Hijrah); Rāghib 46 (Foll. 375, 1161 Hijrah); 47 (Foll. 419, 1200 Hijrah); Bāyazīd 563 (Foll. 307, 1171 Hijrah); Ḥamīdiyyah 39 (Foll. 367, 1162 Hijrah); 40 (Foll. 339, 1100 Hijrah); Sālim Aghā 45 (Foll. 354, 1167 Hijrah); Istanbul University Library, 752 (Foll. 331, 1165 Hijrah); Waliuddīn 94 (Foll. 243, 1175 Hijrah); al-Zāhiriyyah, Tafsīr 144 (Foll. 270); Cester Beatty 4224 (Foll. 255, 1159 Hijrah), 5465 (Foll. 356, 1158 Hijrah); al-Awqāf, Baghdād 2122 (see Tals 22); Bankibur 18/2/1-2 No. 1322 (Foll. 368, 1165 Hijrah); 1323 (Foll. 389, 1100 Hijrah).



The work of Nubayṭ ibn Sharīṭ :

al-Ḥadīth<sup>1</sup> by Nubayṭ ibn Sharīṭ who was a muḥaddith. This book is narrated by Abū Ḥafṣ Aḥmad ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Nubayṭ ibn Sharīṭ (d.282/900).

The work of al-Ashaja :

Ṣaḥīfah al-Ashaja 'an 'Alī al-Martuḍā by al-Ashaja who was born during the Caliphate of Abū Bakr and later on he became a fleg-bearer of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. Fuat Sezgīn has treated him as an author of the Umayyad period.<sup>2</sup>

The work of Khirāsh ibn 'Abd Allāh:

Ṣaḥīfah Khīrash 'an Anas ibn Mālik. It is a work of Khīrash who was a slave of Anas ibn Mālik.<sup>3</sup>

The work of Hammām ibn Munabbih :

Ṣaḥīfah Hammām by Hammām ibn Munabbih (d.131/749) who was a muḥaddith. It was published by Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh.<sup>4</sup>

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1. F.Sezgīn, *Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabi*, vol.i, part i, pp.155-56; Mss: al-Zāhiriyyah Ḥadīth 279 (page 156 Foll.13,667 Hijrah); Cairo (ii) 1/108 Ḥadīth 1558 (Foll.71-82)
  2. *ibid*, p.156; Mss: Shahīd 'Alī 539 (Foll.125a-128b,599 Hijrah); Cairo(ii) 2/1.5 Ḥadīth 1920 in *Majmū'ah*.
  3. *ibid*, pp.156-57; Mss: Shahīd 'Alī 539 (Foll.128b-132a, 599. Hijrah); Berlin, 1532 (Foll.58-59).
  4. Mss: Berlin 1384 (Foll.54-60; 1100 Hijrah); al-Zāhiriyyah *Majmū'* 25/2 (Foll.7a-16b, 6 century Hijrah); Shahīd 'Alī 539 (Foll.106a-114b, 599 Hijrah).



The work of Abū al-Zubayr :

Aḥādīth Abī al-Zubayr ‘an ghayr Jābir by Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Tadrūs known as Abū al-Zubayr who was a muḥaddith. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja‘far (d.369/979) collected these ḥadīths which Abū al-Zubayr (d.126/743) collected and transmitted from the teacher other than Jābir.<sup>1</sup>

The work of al-Zubayr ibn ‘Adī:

Ḥadīth by Abū al-Zubayr ibn ‘Adī (d.131/748) who was a muḥaddith and a qādī at-Rāy.<sup>2</sup>

The work of Abū al-‘Ushārā’ al-Dāramī:

Ḥadīth by ‘Usāmah ibn Mālik Or ‘Utārid ibn Bakr known as Abū ‘Ushārā’ al-Dāramī, who was a muḥaddith.<sup>3</sup>

The work of Zayd ibn Abī Anīṣah :

Ḥadīth by Zayd ibn Abī Anīṣah (d.125/742) who was a muḥaddith.<sup>4</sup>

The work of Ayūb ibn Abi Tamimah Kaysān

al-Sakhtiyāni.<sup>5</sup>

Aḥādīth.<sup>6</sup> It is a recension made by Abū Ishāq Ismā‘īl ibn Ishāq (d.282/895).

1. F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-‘arabī, vol.i, part i, pp.158-59; Mss: al-Zāhiriyyah Majmū‘ 53-3 (Foll.9a-26b, 7 century Hijrah).
2. ibid, p.159; Mss: al-Zāhiriyyah Majmū‘ 24 (Foll.74a-81a, 6 century Hijrah); 78-4 (First part, Foll.51a-58a, 6 century Hijrah).
3. ibid, p.159; Mss: al-Zāhiriyyah, Majmū‘ 2/25 (Foll.2a-6b, 7 century Hijrah).
4. ibid, p.160; Mss: al-Zāhiriyyah, Majmū‘ 20/2 (Foll.21a-36a, 7 century Hijrah)
5. see his life, the present thesis, p.15
6. ibid, pp.160-61; Mss: al-Zāhiriyyah, Majmū‘ 4/2 (Foll.34a-48b.640 A.H.)



The work of Yūnus ibn 'Ubayd :

Aḥādīth by Wūnus ibn 'Ubayd (d.139/756) who was a Baṣrī by origin and distinguished himself as a muḥaddith.<sup>1</sup>

The work of Burayd ibn 'Abd Allāh :

Musnad Burayd. It is a book by Burayd, a grand son of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī. Abū al-Hasan al-Dār Qutnī incorporated forty ḥadīths from Musnad Burayd in his work.<sup>2</sup>

The work of Hishām ibn 'Urwah :

al-'Awālī min Ḥadīth Hishām ibn 'Urwah by Hishām ibn 'Urwah (d. 146/763) who was a renowned muḥaddith.<sup>3</sup>

The work of Humayd al-Tawīl :

Ṣaḥīfah Ḥumayd al-Tawīl 'an Anas. It is a Ṣaḥīfah by Ḥumayd ibn Abī Ḥumayd al-Tawīl (d.142/759) who was a Baṣrite by origin and figured as a muḥaddith.<sup>4</sup>

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1. F.Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part i, p.161; Mss: al-Zāhiriyyah 103, Majmū' (Foll.139a-151b, 8 century Hijrah).
  2. Ibid, p.162; Mss: Shahīd 'Alī 541 (Foll.136a-174a, 919 Hijrah).
  3. Ibid, p.162; Mss: al-Zāhiriyyah Majmū' 61 ( Foll.179a-194b, 7 century Hijrah).
  4. Ibid, p.163; Mss: Shahīd 'Alī 539 (Foll.122b-124a, 599 Hijrah).



The work of 'Ubayd ibn 'Umar :

Juz'min Ḥadīth 'Ubayd Allāh. It is a collection of ḥadīth by 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Umar who was a **successor.**<sup>1</sup>

The work of 'Abīd ibn Sharyā :

Kitāb fī akhbār al-Yaman wa ash'ārihā wa ansābihā<sup>2</sup>

This book was published by Freitz Krankow as a supplement to Kitāb al-Tijān by Ibn Hishām in Hyderabad in 1347 A.H.

The work of Daghfal ibn Ḥanzalah . al-Shaybānī:<sup>3</sup>

Kitāb al-Tazāfur wa 'l-tanāsur.<sup>4</sup> It was published in Istanbūl in 1302 A.H. ; al-Sirah 'an Daghfal al-Shaybānī.<sup>5</sup>

The works of Muḥammad ibn Muslim  
ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī : 6

al-Nasikh wa 'l-mansūkh fī al-Qur'ān. It's recension is made by al-Lummi ; Aḥādīth<sup>7</sup> ; Tanzīl al-Qur'ān. It was edited by Ṣilāh al-Dīn al-Manjad in Beirut, 1963 A.D. ; Asnān al-Khulāfā'<sup>8</sup>. It is incorporated by Tabarī.

1. F.Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part i, p.164; Mss: al-Zāhiriyyah Majmū'105 (Foll.135a-151, 576 Hijrah).
2. ibid, vol.i, part ii, pp.32-33; Mss: British Museum Supplement 578; Makhtūtāt Sharqiyyah 2901/2 (Foll.111-181, 1031 Hijrah).
3. See his life, the present thesis, p.9
4. F.Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part ii, pp.41-42.
5. Mss: Amrosiana Kabrūtī, Main 3 (Foll.1b-64a, 549 Hijrah).
6. See present thesis, p.11; Mss: Bāyazid 445 (Foll.16, 7 century Hijrah).
7. Mss: Leipzig 320/2 (Foll.41a-123b, 454 Hijrah).
8. F.Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part ii, p.78.



The work of Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah :

Kitāb al-Maghāzī.<sup>1</sup> The original was lost. But some extracts in the form of recension by Yūsuf ibn Muhammad (d.789/1387) have reached us.

The work of 'Abd Allāh ibn Sālim :

Four books by 'Abd Allāh ibn Sālim (d.43/663) who was a Jew and embraced Islām after the prophet migrated to Madīnah, have reached us.

Masā'il.<sup>2</sup> This book contains the questions which the author put to the prophet. It was published in Cairo in 1867 A.D.;

Kutayb.<sup>3</sup> It contains magic.

Kitāb Waṣf .<sup>4</sup> It contains the ḥadīth of the prophet;

Marwiyāt an asfār Dāniyāl.<sup>5</sup>

The work of Sulaymān ibn Qays al-Hilālī:

Kitāb al-Aṣl<sup>6</sup> by Sulaymān ibn Qays al-Hilālī (d.95/714) who was one of the partizans of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib. It is said that it was the first book of the Shī'ites on their fiqh. It was published in al-Najaf in 1326 A.H.

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1. Mss: Berlin 1554 (Foll.74-77, 782 Hijrah).
  2. F.Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part ii, p.121.
  3. Mss: Paris 2954 (Foll. 113-116, 590 Hijrah).
  4. Mss: Escorial No.1194.
  5. Mss: Berlin 6159.
  6. F.Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part iii, p.262; Mss: Mashad 5/150-151; Akhbār 672 (Foll.108); Law College, Tehran University Fihras 420 No.178c ( Foll.69-131) D(Foll.74); Tehran University Library 9/883 No.2200 (Foll.239).



The works of Zayn al-‘Abidīn ‘Alī ibn Husayn :

Seven books are extant composed by Zayn al-‘Abī dīn, the only descendant of al-Husayn ibn ‘Alī, who survived in the tragedy of Karbala . He was a great muḥaddith.

Risalat al-Huqūq<sup>1</sup> It has reached us through Kitāb al-Khiṣāl by Ibn Babuwayah al-Qumī (d.381/991). The texts of the book are also there in Kitāb A‘yān al-Shi‘ah by al-‘Amilī,

al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah or al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah.<sup>2</sup> It is a collection of invocations attributed to Zayn al-‘Abidīn. As it was collected by his followers, it's language is variant ;

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1. F.Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-‘arabī, vol.i,part iii,pp.262-66.
  2. ibid, pp.262-66; Mss: Paris 1174(Foll.173, 10 century Hijrah); 175 (Foll.174, 10 century Hijrah); British Museum Supplement 247 Makḥṭūṭāt Sharqiyyah 3954(Foll.271, 1085 Hijrah); Manchester 545 (Foll.159, 12 century Hijrah); Heidelberg 242(Foll.186, 1096 Hijrah); Berlin 3769 (Foll.230,1081 Hijrah); 3770(Foll.144, 1298 Hijrah); Vitikan Vida 457(Foll.165); Amrosiana 309D (Foll.75, 1082 Hijrah); Saib, Ankara 1280 (603 Hijrah); Saray Aḥmad 3rd 1419/12 (Foll.82a-86b); Ayāsofya 1946(Foll.123,698 Hijrah); Cambridge Makḥṭūṭāt Sharqiyyah, 1048/9(Foll.113,12 century Hijrah); Yale 378 (Foll.150,12 century Hijrah); Municipality, Alexandria 2/7 No.2164(1100 Hijrah); Bengal 988 (Foll.96, 1079 Hijrah).



al-Munājāt<sup>1</sup>; al-Maw'izah<sup>2</sup>; al-Tadhkirah<sup>3</sup>; Hirz<sup>4</sup>; and al-Ṣahīfah. It has reached us through al-Kāfī by al-Kulīnī, vol.viii,pp.14-17.

The works of Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā a historian:

Maq̄tal al-Ḥusayn<sup>5</sup>. It was published in al-Najaf in 1343 A.H. ;  
Kh̄abr al-Mukhtār wa Ibn Ziyād<sup>6</sup> ; Sīrat al-Ḥusayn<sup>7</sup> ; Kitāb Ṣiffīn<sup>8</sup> ;  
Kitāb al-gharāt<sup>9</sup> and Risālah<sup>10</sup> .

The work of Asad ibn Mūsā :

Kitāb al-Zuhd by Asad ibn Mūsā (d.131/749) who was a historian as well as a muḥaddith. It is the oldest relic of the science of hadīth collection.<sup>11</sup>

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1. Mss: Kaprūlū 1602/3 (Foll.72-91); Ḥājjī Maḥmūd, Istanbūl 4233 (Foll.8-9).
  2. Mss: al-Fātiḥ 4445/5 (Foll.177-185).
  3. Mss: Ḥājjī Maḥmūd, Istanbūl 3738(Foll.11, 1307 Hijrah); Ashir 415/11 (Foll.62-66).
  4. Mss: Ayāsofya 3324 (Foll.47-64, 11 century Hijrah).
  5. Mss: Berlin 9031(Foll.1b-83b, 1840 A.D.); 9032 (Foll.77a-139a, 1224 Hijrah); Gotha 1838 (Foll.1-82, 998 Hijrah); Berlin 9036 (Foll.1b-19a, 1009 Hijrah); Leiden 909/2(Foll.38a-145,995 Hijrah); Amrosiana 233 (Foll.82); Mishkat Tehran University 3/2/1545 No.684 (Foll.254, 1149 Hijrah); al-Zāhiriyyah General 3303 (Foll.71, 9 century Hijrah).
  6. Mss: Berlin 939 (Foll.1a-38b, 1840 A.D.); Leiden 909/3(Foll.145-197); Gotha 1388 (Foll. 82-123, 998 Hijrah).
  7. Mss: Berlin 9033 (Foll.181b-251a); Amrosiana 310D (Foll.75, 13 century Hijrah).
  8. Mss: Ankara 5418 (Foll.1a-128b, 7 century Hijrah).
  9. Mss: Sāib Ankara (Foll.129a-202b, 6 century Hijrah).
  10. Mss: Maktabah Mālik, Tehran 2520, 1276 Hijrah.
  11. L.E. Goodman, Arabic Literature to the end of the Umayyad period, p.479; Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs, p.247.



The works of Ja'far al-Şādiq :

Thirty books are said to be the compositions of Ja'far al-Şādiq ibn Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d.148/765) who was a great scholar and was regarded by the Shi'ites as the sixth imām.

Miṣbāḥ al-Sharī'ah wa Miftāḥ al-Ḥaqīqah.<sup>1</sup> It was printed in Stone-plate in Delhi in 1856 A.D., in Tabriz in 1278 A.H. . . and in Tehran in 1314 A.H.<sup>2</sup>; Tafsīr al-Qur'ān<sup>3</sup>; Kitāb al-Jafr;<sup>4</sup> Ikhtilāj al-a'qā'<sup>5</sup> Hayākal al-Nūr ;<sup>6</sup>

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1. Mss: British Museum, Supplement 226 Makḥṭūṭāt Sharqīyyah 3958 (Foll.46, 10 century Hijrah); Amrosiana 186(Foll.150a-174a, 651 Hijrah); Mashad 5/169-170, Akhbar 711(Foll.52,1055 Hijrah); 712 (Foll.78, 1066 Hijrah); 713 (Foll.10); 714(Foll.22);Usmania University Library, Hyderabad 439(Foll.74, 11 century Hijrah); Cairo, Supplement 3/76 No.2/1990B (Foll.103-140,1287 Hijrah); Mashad Akhbār (Foll.82-86, 1061 Hijrah); Indian Library 2193 (Foll 130-153, 12 century Hijrah).
  2. F.Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i,part iii,p.269.
  3. Mss: Bankipore 18/143 No.1460(Foll.233, 12 century Hijrah); Bihar 13 (Foll.309, 1019 Hijrah); Nafiz 65 (Foll.150,12 century Hijrah); Cester Beatty 5252 (Foll.137,10 century Hijrah); Aligar 2976 iii/28 (Foll.138).
  4. British Museum 426 .. 7473/10, (639 Hijrah); Municipality, Alexandria 1125/7(1184 Hijrah); Talāt, Cairo Majmu 442; Jār Allāh 1534/1(Foll.36,678 Hijrah); Kaprulu 946/2 (Foll.116-122).
  5. Mss: Berlin 4259 (Foll.120-141, 1856 Hijrah); Gotha 1472(Foll.9 short); Sarāy Aḥmed 3rd.3466 (Foll.64-66,693 Hijrah); Kastamanu 2997/2 (Foll.4, 954 Hijrah); Talat, Cairo, Majmu 16, 395,402, 587.
  6. Mss: Paris 4945(Foll.34-99, 10 century Hijrah); 3239(Foll.118).



Manāfi' Sūwar al-Qur'ān<sup>1</sup>; Asrār al-Wahī<sup>2</sup>; Khawās al-Qur'ān  
al-'aẓīm<sup>3</sup>; Kitāb al-Tawhīd wa 'l-ihliljah<sup>4</sup>; As'ilat al-Nabī<sup>5</sup>;  
Manāẓirat al-Ṣādiq fī al-tafḍīl bayna Abī Bakr wa 'Alī<sup>6</sup>. A recen-  
sion of it was made by 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad al-Bukhārī<sup>7</sup>;  
al-Ad'iyā' al-Uṣbu'iyah<sup>8</sup>; Du'ā'<sup>9</sup>; Du'ā' al-jawshan<sup>10</sup>; Kitāb  
al-Sirah<sup>11</sup>; Hirz<sup>12</sup>; Risālat al-Wasāyā wa 'l-Fuṣūl<sup>13</sup>; J. Ruska  
published it in 1924 with German translation Risālat fī al-Kimīyā<sup>14</sup>;  
Ta'rīf tadbīr al-hajar<sup>15</sup>; Risālat fī al-Iksīr<sup>16</sup>; al-Adillah 'alā  
al-Khalq wa 'l-tadbīr<sup>17</sup>; Risālat fī faḍal al-hajar wa 'l-mawsay<sup>18</sup>;

1. Mss: Gotha 1256 (Foll. 39-43); Vitakan Vita, 1014/4 (Foll. 220-222, 793 Hijrah); Fatih 650/1 (Foll. 65, 11 century Hijrah); Ayāsofya 1870/8; Vehvi 699/4 (Foll. 203-205); al-Sulaymiyyah, Jordan, 930/1 (Foll. 1a-19a), Talāt Cairo Majmū' 392; Rivan 2024/1 (Foll. 1-32, 1098 Hijrah).
2. Mss: Hamidiyah 381/5 (Foll. 37a-81b, 10 century Hijrah); Hasan Hasnī, Istanbūl 249/4 (Foll. 74a-80b, 11 century Hijrah).
3. Mss: Berlin 4154 (Foll. 33-42, around 1000 century Hijrah); al-Zāhiriyyah 7365 (Foll. 20-32, 10 century Hijrah).
4. Mss: Mashad 5/30-31 No. 392-396 (Five manuscripts); 54-55 No. 445-449 (Three manuscripts); Sala Raznak 148/2 (Foll. 44-69)
5. Mss: Cairo Supplement 1/48 No. 21258 (Foll. 109-142, 1069 Hijrah).
6. Mss: al-Zāhiriyyah Majmū' 111/15 (Foll. 227-235, 588 Hijrah).
7. Mss: Shahīd 'Alī 3763/12 (Foll. 152a-156b, 669 Hijrah).
8. F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol. i, part iii, pp. 269-72; Mss: Noro Osmānia 295/1 (Foll. 1-114, 916 Hijrah).
9. Mss: Paris 1224 (Foll. 1-15, 10 century Hijrah).
10. Mss: Paris 1216/3 (Foll. 1-2, 11 century Hijrah); 1913 (Foll. 207-213, 1004 Hijrah).
11. Mss: Paris 1449 (Foll. 80-182, 1206 Hijrah).
12. Mss: Ayāsofya 3324/9.
13. Mss: Noro Osmānia 3634/1 (Foll. 1-17b, 887 Hijrah); Gotha 1292 (Foll. 31).
14. Mss: National Library, Tunisia 3735/1 (1249 Hijrah).
15. Mss: Sāib Ankara 3116 (Foll. 233-236).
16. Mss: General Library Burasta 813 (Foll. 77a-79a, 9 century Hijrah).
17. Mss: Bengal 857 (Foll. 72, 12 century Hijrah).
18. Mss: Municipality, Alexandria 2930.



Ikhtiyārāt al-āyyām wa ʿl-shuhūr<sup>1</sup>; Maḥmūdāt al-āyyām wa madhmūmatuhā  
wa mutawassitātuhā fī aḥwāl min kulli shr<sup>2</sup>; Jadūl fī madhhab al-sinīn  
wa ʿl-shuhūr wa ʿl-āyyām<sup>3</sup>; al-Qurʾāh<sup>4</sup>; Risālat al-fāʾl<sup>5</sup>; Sirāj  
al-zulmah fī ṭibb al-aʾi mmah<sup>6</sup>; al-Silk al-Nādir fī ʿilm al-awāʾil  
wa ʿl-awākhir<sup>7</sup>; Mulḥimah<sup>8</sup>.

1. Mss: Bāyazīd 7882/1 (Foll.36, 924 Hijrah); As ad 3554/3 (Foll.19); Berlin 5903/2 (Foll.19-20; 1251 Hijrah); Paris 1224 (Foll.79-85, 11 century Hijrah); Leiden, Makḥṭūtāt Sharqiyyāh 7525 (Foll.85-89).
2. Mss: Sarāy Aḥmad 3rd 1177/3 (Foll 211-214, 8 century Hijrah).
3. Mss: Leiden 1048 (Foll.77-85).
4. Mss: Ayāsofya 1999/1 (Foll.1-17, 907 Hijrah); Paris 2638/1 (Foll.1-15, 9 century Hijrah); 2638 (Foll.1-15, 10 century Hijrah); 2639 (Foll.1-13, 1041 Hijrah); 2758 (Foll.120-128, 1015 Hijrah); 6297 (Foll. 24, 11 century Hijrah); Garrett 929 (Foll.5); Talat, Cairo Majmūʿ 604 (Foll.105b-117a, 12 century Hijrah).
5. Mss: Pertev Pasha 626/13, Rashīd 538/2 (Foll.115a-116a, 6 century Hijrah); Kastamanu 2997/3 (Foll.9, 954 Hijrah); Corum 3110/3 (Foll.5); Gotha 73 (Foll.29-30); Aligar 297672/6 (Foll.61).
6. Mss: Vehbi 1488/4 (Foll. 43b-62b, 1058 Hijrah); Cairo Supplement 1/357 No.19113 (Foll. 79-156, 1074 Hijrah).
7. Mss: Cester Beatty 3223 (Foll.99-114, 1003 Hijrah).
8. Mss: Gotha 78 (Foll.6.).



The works of Zayd ibn Ali ibn Husayn ibn Ali :

Eleven books are said to have been composed by Zayd ibn Ali who was born in 79/600 and was killed in a civil war in the year 122/740. He attended the study circle of Wasil ibn Ata . He was a great scholar and one of the orators of Banu Hashim. Tafsir Gharib al-Qur'an<sup>1</sup>; Qirā'ah<sup>2</sup> ; al-Radd 'alā al-Murji'ah<sup>3</sup>; Majmū' al-Fiqh<sup>4</sup> , published in Cairo, in 1937 A.D., 1339 A.H. and 1928 A.D. 1931 A.D.; Risālat ithbāt waṣiyah Amīr al-Mu'minīn wa ithbāt imāmatih wa a'imamah al-Ḥasan wa al-Ḥusayn wa dhurriyatihima<sup>5</sup>; Tathbīt al-imāmah<sup>6</sup>; Manāsik al-Ḥajj wa ahkamuh<sup>7</sup>; Kitāb al-Safwah<sup>8</sup>; Risālat fī huquq Allāh<sup>9</sup>; Risālat fī ajuhah Zayd ibn 'Alī<sup>10</sup>; Risālat fī al-imāmah ilā Wāsil ibn 'Atā'<sup>11</sup> , are his books.

1. F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol. i, part iii, pp. 322-26; Mss: Berlin 10237 (Foll. 27-79, 850 Hijrah); Ṣan'ā Tarīkh 582 (Foll. 140); Yale 417 (Foll. 1-176, 11 century Hijrah).
2. Mss: Ambrosiana, 289.
3. Mss: Berlin No. 10265 (Foll. 1-116, around 850 Hijrah).
4. Mss: Ambrosiana 212 (Foll. 109a-150a, 1307 Hijrah); Vida 1027 (Foll. 127-129, 1332 Hijrah); 1163 (Foll. 107, 11 century Hijrah); 1368 (Foll. 73-92, 11 century Hijrah); Hamburg No. 2 Eastern Studies; Rampore 1/246, Fiqh 518; Ambrosiana D. 266 (Foll. 142a-176b, 1052 Hijrah).
5. Berlin 9681 (Foll. 16b-19b, 850 Hijrah).
6. Mss: British Museum Supplement 336 Makhtūṭāt Sharqiyyah 3971 (Foll. 25-28, 1215 Hijrah); Ambrosiana 748 (Foll. 78a-188b, 1035 Hijrah).
7. Mss: Berlin, 10360 (Foll. 4b-8a, 850 Hijrah); Ambrosiana 143 (Foll. 279-281b, 1100 Hijrah).
8. Mss: British Museum Supplement 203 Makhtūṭāt Sharqiyyah 3977 (Foll. 2b-18b, 1019 Hijrah).
9. Mss: Vitakan Vida 1028 (Foll. 130-131, 1332 Hijrah); Vehbi 457/3 (Foll. 78b-81a, 10 century Hijrah).
10. Mss: Vehbi 457 (Foll. 81b-84b, 10 century Hijrah).
11. Mss: Vehbi 457/2 (Foll. 77b-78b, 10 century Hijrah).



The works of al-Ḥasan ibn Abi al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī<sup>1</sup>:

al-Qirā'ah<sup>2</sup>. It has reached us through Ittihāf fudalā' al-bashar by Ahmad ibn Muḥammad (d.1117/1705); Risālat fi al-qadr<sup>3</sup>. Ritter published it ; Fadā'il Makkah<sup>4</sup> ;

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1. See his life, the present thesis, p.4 ( See Supra p.4)
  2. F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol. i, part iv, p.11.
  3. Ibid, p.11; Mss: Ayāsofya 3998/2 (Foll.13,882 Hijrah); Kaprūlū 1589/39 (Foll.428-431); Salim Agha 584/4 (Foll.51-59).
  4. Ibid, p.11; Mss: Leiden 940 (Foll 31, 1009 Hijrah); Makhtūtāt Sharqiyyah 7173/2 (Foll.5-10); Makhtūtāt Sharqiyyah 7173/8 (Foll.52-57); Berlin 6064 (Foll.13-22, around 1000 Hijrah); Paris 2250 (Foll.1/21, 11 century Hijrah); Kaprūlū 1603 (Foll.1-10, 739 Hijrah); Vehbi 1142/1 (Foll.1-9a, 1150 Hijrah); Ayāsofya 1849 (Foll.23, 9 century Hijrah); 2152/2 (Foll.65b-73a, 10 century Hijrah); al-Zāhiriyyah Majmū' 33/1; Nabūli 38 (Foll.17, 1026 Hijrah); Shahid 'Alī 2822 (Foll.14a-19b, 6 century Hijrah); 'Ātif 1067/2 (Foll.28-33, 850 Hijrah); Hājji Mahmūd 1874 (Foll.1b-15a, 11 century Hijrah); 1997/6 (Foll.36b-40a, 1209 Hijrah); 2134/4 (Foll.44-51, 1031 Hijrah); 3957/2 (Foll.140b-149b, 13 century Hijrah); Istanbul University Library 6285 (Foll.10, 1244 Hijrah); Hafid 452/9 (Foll.66b-70b, 1071 Hijrah); Rashid 1050/10 (Foll.67-70, 1079 Hijrah); Rustum Pasha 186/7 (Foll.120b-130b, 1200 Hijrah); Waliuddin 804/9 (Foll.147b-153b, 1043 Hijrah); 813/1 (Foll.1-11b, 9 century Hijrah); As ad 3643/18 (Foll.71b-90a, 11 century Hijrah); Paris 1913 (Foll.189b-192b, 1004 Hijrah); al-Zāhiriyyah, Tārīkh 35 (Foll.140-143); Municipal Library, Alexandria, 188c (Foll.11, 11 century Hijrah); Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, Taṣawwuf 3602 C (Foll.199-209); Hyderabad Osmania University 1102 (Foll.9); Rampore 3609 (Foll.8, 1054 Hijrah); Bengal 158 (Foll.8, 1126 Hijrah), 159 (Foll.4-8, 1270 Hijrah).



Farā'id or Arba' wa khamsūn farīdah<sup>1</sup>; Risālat fī al-takālīf<sup>2</sup>;  
Shurūṭ al-Imāmah<sup>3</sup>; Wasīyat al-Nabī li Abī Hurayrah<sup>4</sup>; al-Istighfārāt  
al-Munqidhah min al-nār<sup>5</sup>. It is collected by an anonymous author;  
al-'Asmā' al-Idrīsīyyah<sup>6</sup>; al-Aḥādīth al-Mutafarraḡah<sup>7</sup>.

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1. F. Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī*, vol. i, part iv, p. 12; Mss: Ās'ad Efendī 1641 (Foll. 197b-209b, 11 century Hijrah); Vehbi 597 (Foll. 1-9, 1157 Hijrah); Istanbul University Library 3783/1, (Foll. 1-10a, 11 century Hijrah); al-Sulaymāniyyah 1039/1 (Foll. 40, 8 century Hijrah); Sarāy Aḡmad 3rd 1214/1 (Foll. 1a-44b, 9 century Hijrah); 'Āṭif 2817/26 (Foll. 59-61); 2829/2 (Foll. 3a-9b, 10 century Hijrah); Muḡammad Bukhārī 202/2 (Foll. 12b-34b, 13 century Hijrah); Ibrāhīm Efendī 425/4 (Foll. 42-46, 12 century Hijrah); 494/7 (Foll. 54-92, 11 century Hijrah); 854/10 (Foll. 36-38, 1169 Hijrah); Waliuddīn 1355/9 (Foll. 151-152, 1105 Hijrah); Paris 780/1 (Foll. 1-15, 1120 Hijrah); 4662/11 (Foll. 358-376, 11 century Hijrah).
  2. F. Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī*, vol. i, part iv, p. 13; Mss: Municipal Library, Alexandria 3658/9C (Foll. 14, 1160 Hijrah).
  3. Ibid, p. 13; Mss: Taymūr Majmū' 177/8 (Foll. 117-120, 969 Hijrah)?
  4. Mss: 'Āshir Efendī, 455/2 (Foll. 17, 1167 Hijrah); Rashīd 129/2 (Foll. 10a-37b, 11 century Hijrah).
  5. Ibid, p. 13; Mss: Qāsid jī zādah 721/2 (Foll. 14b-21b, 1206 Hijrah).
  6. Ibid, p. 13; Mss: Municipal Library, Alexandria 3909/2C (Foll. 6, 10 century Hijrah).
  7. Ibid, p. 14; Mss: Ayāsofya 533 (Foll. 25, 11 century Hijrah).



The Khutbahs of Mu'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan<sup>1</sup> (d.60/680) .

The Khutbahs of al-Hasan ibn 'Ali<sup>2</sup> (d.50/670).

The Khutbahs of al-Husayn ibn 'Ali<sup>3</sup> (d.61/680).

1. Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imamah wa-'l-siyasah, i pp.103-04,171-72,174, 176-77, 185-90; 'Uyun al-Akhbar, vol.i, pp.5-6, 290; vol.ii,p.237; Sayuti, Tarih al-Khulafa', pp.196-97,206; Tabari, Tarih,v,p.243; vi,pp.3,54-56,141,180; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil,iii,pp.16,144,146, 179,237,254-56; vi,pp.2-3; Ibn Kathir, al-Bidayah wa-'l-nihayah, vol.iv, part vii, pp.141,257,260; vol.iv,part viii,pp.80,115,127-29, 132, 134; Ibn Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farid, ii,pp.119,139-42,246,249; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn,ii,pp.59,131;iv,p.71;Sharif al-Radi, Nahaj al-Balaghah, i, pp.73-74; Baqillani, I'jaz al-Qur'an, p.197; Ibn Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh,iv,pp.164,236,248-50,254-55; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, iv,p.111; Mas'udi, Maruj al-Dhahab iii,p.17; Ibn'Asakir, Tahdhīb, vi, pp.217, 426-27; vii,p.254; Qalshandi, Subh al- A'shā, i,pp.215-16; Hasan Zayyat, Tarih al- Adab al-'Arabi, p.201; al-Qali, Amali, ii,p.345; 'Abd al-Haq Dehlawi, Mā thabata bi 'l-Sunnah, p.262; Ahmad Zakī Safwat, Jamharat khutab al-'Arab,ii, pp.14,365.
2. Tabari, Tarih, vi, pp.91-95; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farid, ii, pp.115,244; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kāmil, iii, pp.203,205,6; Ibn Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh, iv, pp.145-46, 148,154,157,163; Mas'udi, Maruj al-Dhahab, ii, p.431; Ibn 'Asakir, Tahdhīb, iv,pp.222-23, 227; Qalqashandi, Subh al- A'shā, i, p.215; Ibn Kathir al-Bidayah wa-'l-nihayah, vol.iv, part viii,p.42; vol.v, part ix, p.18; Yaqut , Mu'jam al-buldān, vol.ii,p.91; Ibn Qutaybah al-Imamah wa-'l-siyasah, i, pp.162,164;Uyun al-Akhbar, vol.ii,p.172.
3. Tabari, Tarih, vi, pp.228-29, 238, 242; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kāmil, iv, pp.24-25, 29-32; Ibn Kathir, al-Bidayah wa-'l-nihayah,vol.iv, part viii,pp.176;179;188; Ibn Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh,v,pp.18,24,131, 135,137,169-70,212-13; Ibn 'Asakir, Tahdhīb, iv, pp.236-37; Abu Ishāq al-Husri, Zahr al-Adāb, i,pp.69-70; Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imamah wa-'l-siyasah, i , pp.186-87; Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliya',ii,p.39.



The Khutbahs of al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf<sup>1</sup> (d.95/673).

The Khutbahs of al-Mukhtār ibn Abi 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī<sup>2</sup> (d.67/687).

The Khutbahs of Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī<sup>3</sup> (d.126/743).

1. Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, iv, pp.53-54, 56, 58-59, 63, 71-72, 74, 76, 85; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part.viii, pp.131-32, 329; vol.v, part ix, pp.8-9, 17-19, 122-24, 128-29, 131, 137; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, pp.152-54; iii, pp.17-18; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, p.273; vii, pp.25, 125, 132, 138; Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp.212-13, 243, 245, 248, 251; Abū Ishāq al-Husrī, Zahr al-Adāb, i, p.162; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, p.387; ii, pp.137-40, 307; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhbār, vol.ii, pp.243-45, 247, 251; al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah, i, pp.38-39; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp.127, 136, 143, 146; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, i, pp.160, 270, 380; ii, p.65; Ḥasan Zayyāt, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, p.194; Qalqashandī, Subḥ al-A'shā, i, p.220; Naqūlā al-Khaṭabah, p.227; Ahmad Zakī Safwat, Jamharat khutab al-'Arab, ii, pp.287-88, 295, 301.
2. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp.61-66, 97-98, 108, 112-13, 135-36, 147; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, pp.85, 105-06, 127; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, pp.75-76, 93, 96, 113-15, 119, 132, 140, 187, 194; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part.viii, pp.255, 273, 277, 279; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, iii, p.267.
3. Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, v, pp.71-72; al-Qālī, Amālī, i, p.144; Qalqashandī, Subḥ al-A'shā, i, p.223; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhbār, vol.ii, pp.246-47; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, pp.127, 143, 158; iii, p.11; Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, viii, pp.80-81; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v, p.266; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.v, part x, p.19.



The Khutbahs of Ziyād ibn Abih<sup>1</sup> (d.53/673).

The Khutbahs of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād<sup>2</sup> (d. 67/686).

The Khutbahs of Aḥnaf ibn Qays<sup>3</sup> (d.72/691).

The Khutbahs of Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Hanafīyyah<sup>4</sup> (d. 80/700).

1. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vi, pp.97,124,131,142-44,146; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kamīl, iii, pp.224,226,238; Ibn 'Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh, iv, pp.166-71; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, pp.150-51; iii, p.3; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.3; al-Qālī Dhayl al-Amālī, p.206; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, p.259; ii, pp.61-65, 145; Qalqashandī, Subḥ al-'Ashā, i, p.216; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol.i, p.331; vol.ii, p.241; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part viii, pp.29,51; Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat khutab al-'Arab, ii, pp.267-74, 364.
2. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vi, pp.200-201, 203,207,210,221,263; vii, pp.18, 20,30; Ibn al-Athīr al-Kamīl, iv, pp.11-12,16,43,65; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part viii, p.158; Ibn 'Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh, v, pp.64,67,85-86,90; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.140; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, p.130; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.84; Naqūlā, al-Khaṭabah, p.221; Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah, ii, pp.19-20; Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, vol. iv, p.492.
3. Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l siyāsah, i, pp.17,68,169,171,222-23; 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol.i, p.211; vol.ii, p.230; Ibn 'Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh, iv, p.232; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part viii, pp.80,228,262; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, pp.118,248; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l tabyīn, ii, pp.93,144; Abū Ishāq al-Huṣrī, Zahr al-Adāb, i, pp.58-59; al-Qālī, Amālī, ii, pp.24,47; Ibn 'Asākīr, Tahdhīb, vii, pp.14-15,20-21; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp.27-28; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayat al-a'yān, ii, p.186; Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.32, Naqūlā, al-Khaṭabah, p.218
4. Ibn 'Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, pp.92,235,238-39,242-44; Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.97; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.80; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.v, part ix, p.38.



The Khutbahs of 'Abd Allāh ibn Muṭi<sup>1</sup> (d.73/692).

The Khutbahs of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr<sup>2</sup> (d.73/692).

The Khutbahs of Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah<sup>3</sup> (d.64/684).

The Khutbahs of Abū Ḥamjah al-Shārī<sup>4</sup> (d.130/748).

The Khutbahs of Qutaybah ibn Muṣlīm<sup>5</sup> (d.96/715).

The Khutbahs of al-Ḥasan ibn Abī al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī<sup>6</sup>.

1. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp.95, 106, 108; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kamīl, iv, pp.104, 111, Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, p.113.
2. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vi, pp.273-74; vii, pp.56, 190, 204; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kamīl, iv, pp.50-51, 82, 163, 193; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part viii, pp.219, 322-23, 226, 231; Aghānī, xvii, p.167; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, pp.150, 269, 271; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhbār, vol.ii, p.240; al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah, i, pp.173, 189-90; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp.77, 81, 112; al-Qālī, Amālī, i, p.334; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, pp.380, 406; ii, p.95; Ibn 'Asākīr, Tahdhīb, vii, pp.12, 400, 403, 405; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, v, pp.277-78, 288; vi, pp.134-35; Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliā', i, p.377.
3. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, pp.142, 250; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.65; Ibn Qataybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhbār, vol.ii, p.238; al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah, ii, p.9; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, v, pp.6, 8; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part viii, p.143.
4. Aghānī, xx, pp.103-05, 110; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, pp.151-62; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, pp.121-22, Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, ix, pp.107-08, 110.
5. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, viii, pp.85, 87, 105; ix, p.59; Jāhiz al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, pp.132-33; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.155; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vii, pp.217, 238, 253, 261, 264-65; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhbār, vol.i, p.141.
6. Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhbār, vol.ii, p.344; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, iii, pp.132-37; Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliā', ii, pp.140-43, 145-46, 157-58; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, viii, p.13; Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, viii, p.153.



The Khutbahs of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās<sup>1</sup> (d.86/687).

The Khutbahs of Sa'sa'ah ibn Shūhān<sup>2</sup> (d.60/680).

The Khutbahs of Dahhāk ibn Qays al-Fehrī<sup>3</sup> (d.65/684).

The Khutbahs of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān<sup>4</sup> (d.86/705).

The Khutbahs of Muhallab ibn Abī Šufrah<sup>5</sup> (d.83/702).

1. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.269; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.81; Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah, i, p.172; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iii, p.172; Ibn Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vol.vi, pp.251-52; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, pp.300-301; al-Nasā'ī, Sunan, i, pp.334, 338.
2. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vi, p.106; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iii, p.216; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-Iqd al-Farīd, ii, pp.56-57; Ibn Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh, iv, pp.11-12; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, vi, p.426.
3. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vi, p.182; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, p.4; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.250; Ibn Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vol.iv, p.267; Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah, i, pp.166, 169; Ahmad Zakī, Šafwat, Jamharat khutab al-'Arab, ii, pp.278-79.
4. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp.80, 189; viii, p.10; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, pp.91, 160, 251; Ibn Kathīr al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part, viii, pp.316-17; vol.v, part ix, p.64; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp.121-22; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-Iqd al-Farīd, ii, pp.142, 263; Sayūṭī, Tārīkh al-Khulafā', p.218; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, p.245; Qalqashandī, Subh al-'Ashā, i, p.218; al-Qālī, Amālī, i, p.33; Ibn Atham Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, pp.236, 271; vii, pp.1-2, 167-70; Jurjī Zaydān, Tārīkh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī, i, p.85.
5. Ibn Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, pp.12-13, 16, 30-31, 35, 186, 310, 320; vii, pp. 17, 28, 36, 38, 55, 64-65, 68, 71, 77; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, iii, pp.315, 319, 334; Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.88.



The Khutbahs of 'Amr ibn Sa'īd al-aṣḥdaq<sup>1</sup> (d.70/690).

The Khutbahs of Mustawrid ibn 'Ullafah<sup>2</sup> (d.43/663).

The Khutbahs of Quṭrī ibn al-Fujārah (d.78/697).

The Khutbahs of Sulaymān ibn Ṣurd<sup>4</sup> (d.65/684).

The Khutbahs of Sālih ibn al-Muḥarriḥ<sup>5</sup> (d.76/695).

The Khutbahs of al-Musyyab ibn Nakhbah<sup>6</sup> (d.65/684).

The Khutbahs of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath<sup>7</sup> (d.85/704).

The Khutbahs of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz<sup>8</sup> (d.101/720).

1. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, pp.157, 248; Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.176; al-Qālī, Amālī, ii, p.85; Ibn 'Atham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, iv, p.231; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn, al-Akhbār, vol.i, p.95; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, vii, p.411.
2. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vi, pp.110-111, Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, iii, pp.236-37.
3. Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, pp.126-29; Qalqashandī, Subḥ al-Ashā, i, pp.223-25; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.160; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn, al-Akhbār, vol.ii, p.250; Sharīf al-Raḍī, Nahaj al-Balāghah, i, pp.216-19; Ibn 'Atham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vi, pp.27, 298, 321.
4. Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah, i, p.163; Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vi, p.197; vii, pp.48-49, 67-70, 74; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, pp.79, 89; Ibn 'Atham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ v, p.45; vi, pp.49-50, 60, 66, 82; Ibn Kathīr al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part viii, p.252; Shawqī Dayf, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, ii, p.415.
5. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp.218-20; Ahmad Zakī Safwat, Jamharat khutab al-'Arab, ii, pp.459, 461.
6. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp.48-54; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, pp.78, 81; Ibn 'Atham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, iv, pp.164-65; vi, p.48.
7. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, viii, pp.4, 8, 11, 16; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, pp.220, 222-23, 227-28, 234-35; Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, pp.16, 155; Ibn 'Atham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vii, pp.139-40; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, i, p.272; Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliā', vii, p.149.
8. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, viii, pp.61, 140-41; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v, p.30; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.v, part ix, pp.71, 198-200, 212-13, 217-18; Ibn al-Jawzī, Sirat 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, pp.53, 56, 196, 188, 201, 204-05, 207, 210, 212-13, 217, 221-22; Mas'ūdi, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp.184-85; al-Qālī, Amālī, ii, p.113; Jāḥiẓ al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, pp.120, 341; iii, p.142; Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliā', v, pp.266-67, 287-88, 291-92, 294-95, 298-99, 302; Aghānī, viii, p.152; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhbār, vol.ii, p.246; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, pp.143-44, 279; Ssyūṭī, Tārīkh al-Khulafā', p.241; Ibn Shakir, Fawāt al-Wafayāt, ii, p.208; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, i, p.157; iv, p.108.



The Khutbahs of al-Ḥur ibn Yazīd<sup>1</sup> (d.61/680), Dinār<sup>2</sup> (d.63/682),  
Rafa'ah ibn Ṣhaddād<sup>3</sup> (d.66/685), Rawḥ ibn Zinbā'c<sup>4</sup> (d.84/703),  
Zā'idah ibn Qudāmah<sup>5</sup> (d.76/795), Saḥbān ibn Zufr al-Wā'ilī<sup>6</sup> (d.54/674),  
Shabīb ibn Yazīd al-khārijī<sup>7</sup> (d.77/696), Muṭarrif ibn al-Mughīrah<sup>8</sup>  
(d.77/696), 'Utbah ibn Abī Sufyān<sup>9</sup> (d.44/664), Sibrah ibn Shaymān<sup>10</sup>  
(d.after 40/660), Ma'qal ibn Qays<sup>11</sup> (d.43/663), 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ<sup>12</sup>  
(d.43/664), Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī<sup>13</sup> (d.44/665), Maṣqalah ibn Ḥubayrah<sup>14</sup>  
(d.50/670).

1. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vi, p.245; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iv, p.33; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part viii, pp.180-81.
2. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, iv, p.245.
3. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.48; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iv, p.79; Ibn Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, p.49.
4. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.38; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iv, p.73; Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, p.392; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.83.
5. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, iii, p.238; Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat Khutab al-'Arab, ii, p.462.
6. Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat Khutab al-'Arab, ii, p.482.
7. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.246; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.v, part ix, p.18; Shawqī Dayf, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, ii, pp.412-13.
8. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp.259, 262.
9. Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat, Khutab al-'Arab, ii, p.22; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, pp.158-60; Qalqashandī, Subh al-'Ashā, i, p.216; al-Qālī, Amālī, i, pp.284, 289; Mubarrad, al-Kāmīl, vi, pp.109-10; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhbār, vol.ii, p.239; Ibn Hajar, Usd al-Ghābah, viii, p.361; Abū Ishāq al-Ḥuṣrī, Zahr al-Adāb, ii, p.107; Ibn Manzūr, Lisān al-'Arab, vi, p.68.
10. Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, p.300; Zirkīlī, A'lām, vol.iii, p.286.
11. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vi, pp.111-12.
12. Ibn Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh, iv, pp.30-31, 164, Ṭabarī Tārīkh, iv, p.40; Ibn al-Athīr al-Kāmīl, iii, p.168; Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat Khutab al-'Arab, ii, p.21.
13. Ibn Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh, iv, p.30; Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vi, pp.39-40; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iii, pp.114, 168.
14. al-Qālī, Amālī, ii, pp.345-46.



The Khutbahs of al-Hakam ibn 'Amr<sup>1</sup> (d.50/670), Hujr ibn 'Adi<sup>2</sup> (d.51/671),  
 Qutham ibn 'Abbās<sup>3</sup> (d.57/677), Yazīd ibn Shajrah<sup>4</sup> (d.58/678), Sa'īd  
 ibn al-'Āṣ<sup>5</sup> (d.59/679), Qays ibn Sa'd<sup>6</sup> (d.60/680), 'Abd Allāh ibn  
 Baqtar<sup>7</sup> (d.60/680), Walīd ibn 'Uqbah<sup>8</sup> (d.61/681), al-Mundhīr ibn Jārūd<sup>9</sup>  
 (d. 61/681), 'Abd Allāh ibn Hanzalah<sup>10</sup> (d.63/683), Muṣlīm ibn 'Uqbah<sup>11</sup>  
 (d.63/683), Mu'āwiyah ibn Yazīd<sup>12</sup> (d.64/684), Walīd ibn 'Utbah<sup>13</sup>  
 (d.64/684), Nāfi' ibn Azraq<sup>14</sup> (d.65/685), 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'idah  
 al-Fazārī<sup>15</sup> (d.65/685), Marwān ibn al-Hakam<sup>16</sup> (d.65/685), Nu'mān ibn  
 Bashīr<sup>17</sup> (d.65/685).

1. Ibn 'Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh, iv, pp.200-201.
2. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vi, p.142.
3. Ibn 'Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh, iv, p.40.
4. Ibid, iv, pp.42-43.
5. Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part viii, p.86; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhār, vol.iii, p.180.
6. Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.17; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.121.
7. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vi, p.226.
8. Ibid, vii, p.176.
9. Ibn 'Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh, iv, p.12.
10. Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah, i, p.210; Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.10; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, pp.58-59.
11. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp.9-10; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, p.58.
12. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.43; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, p.64; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part viii, pp.237-38; Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah, ii, p.19.
13. Ibn 'Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh, v, p.19.
14. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp.55-57; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, p.81.
15. Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah, i, p.168.
16. Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah, i, p.176; Sayūṭī, Tārīkh al-Khulāfā', p.203; Ibn 'Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh, iv, p.233.
17. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vi, p.199; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, p.11, Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part viii, p.152; Ibn 'Atham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vol.v, pp.57-58; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, p.26, ii, p.158; al-Maydānī, Majma' al-Amthāl, ii, p.72; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhār, vol.ii, p.12.



Khutbahs of Yazid ibn Anas<sup>1</sup> (d.66/686), 'Umar ibn Sa'd<sup>2</sup> (d.66/686),  
Natil ibn Qays<sup>3</sup> (d.66/686), 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Hur<sup>4</sup> (d.68/688), Yazid  
ibn al-Hārith<sup>5</sup> (d.68/688), 'Abd Allāh ibn Yazid<sup>6</sup> (d.70/690), Shabath  
ibn Rabī<sup>7</sup> (d.70/690), Maṣ'āb ibn al-Zubayr<sup>8</sup> (d.70/690), 'Abd Allāh ibn  
Khāzīm<sup>9</sup> (d.72/692), Zuhayr ibn Dhuayb<sup>10</sup>, 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Mikhnaf<sup>11</sup>  
(d.75/695), 'Ubaydah ibn Hilāl al-Yashkarī<sup>12</sup> (d.77/697), 'Itāb ibn  
Waraqā<sup>13</sup> (d.77/697), Ka'b ibn Mi'dān<sup>14</sup> (d.80/700), 'Abd Allāh ibn  
Ja'far<sup>15</sup> (d.80/700), al-Hārith ibn 'Abd Allāh<sup>16</sup> (d.80/700), 'Abd Allāh  
ibn Shaddād<sup>17</sup> (d.81/701) and Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik<sup>18</sup> (d.99/717).

1. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp.104-05; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iv, p.109.
2. Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. iv, part viii, p.170.
3. Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, vii, p.31.
4. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.170; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iv, p.143; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, pp.217-19, 231.
5. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.30.
6. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp.53-54, 69; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iv, pp.80-81; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. iv, part, viii, p.248.
7. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, 116.
8. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp.146; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, pp.299-300; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.158; Ibn al-Athīr al-Kāmīl, iv, pp.121, 131; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, pp.39, 219; Naqūlā, al-Khaṭabah, p.227.
9. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vi, p.121.
10. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iv, p.125; He is a contemporary of 'Abd Allāh ibn Khāzīm.
11. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp.116-17; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, p.147.
12. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.56; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iv, p.82; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, p.321.
13. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp.146-47, 246; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iv, p.140; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, p.244.
14. Mubarrad, al-Kāmīl, iii, pp.403-04; Aghānī, xiii, p.55.
15. Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah, i, p.173.
16. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, pp.10-11, 13.
17. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, p.262.
18. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.143; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhbār, vol. ii, p.247; Jāhiz al-Bayān wa-'l-Tabyīn, i, p.304; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. v, part ix, p.179; Ibn Burhān, Sirat al-Halabiyyah, i, p.295; Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliā', i, p.295.



The Khutbahs of Sa'īd ibn Firūz<sup>1</sup> (d.82/702), 'Umar ibn 'Ubayd Allāh<sup>2</sup> (d.82/702), Jabalah ibn Zuhr<sup>3</sup> (d.83/703), 'Amr ibn Hurayth<sup>4</sup> (d.85/705), Busr ibn Abī Artāt<sup>5</sup> (d.86/706), Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Jadali<sup>6</sup> (d.88/708), Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik<sup>7</sup> (d.96/716), Abū al-Tufayl 'Amir ibn Wāthilah al-Kinānī<sup>8</sup> (d.100/718), 'Abd Allāh ibn Hammām<sup>9</sup> (d.100/718), Makhlad ibn Yazīd<sup>10</sup> (d.100/718), Marwān ibn al-Muhallab<sup>11</sup> (d.102/720), Adī ibn Artāt<sup>12</sup> (d.102/720), Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab<sup>13</sup> (d.102/720), Tāriq ibn Ziyād<sup>14</sup> (d.102/720), 'Amir al-Sha'bi<sup>15</sup> (d.103/721), and 'Umar ibn Yazīd<sup>16</sup> (d.109/727).

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, p.231.
  2. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, p.46.
  3. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, p.231.
  4. Tabarī, Tārīkh, viii, p.30.
  5. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vi, p.96; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iii, p.194; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, iv, pp.56-58, 61-63.
  6. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, p.134.
  7. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.142; Tabarī, Tārīkh, viii, p.59; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, p.251; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, pp.292, 409; ii, p.204; Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah, ii, p.58.
  8. Tabarī, Tārīkh, viii, p.8; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, p.224; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, p.128.
  9. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.250; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, p.132, Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.53.
  10. Tabarī, Tārīkh, viii, p.132; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v, p.23.
  11. Tabarī, Tārīkh, viii, pp.153-54; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v, p.38; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, viii, p.13.
  12. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, viii, p.4.
  13. Tabarī, Tārīkh, viii, pp.74, 152; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.v, part ix, p.79; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, pp.292-93, 410; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, pp.155-56; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp.199-200.
  14. Ahmad Zakī, Safwat, Jamharat Khutab al-'Arab, ii, p.314; Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah, ii, p.74.
  15. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, p.231.
  16. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vii, pp.314-16.



The Khutbahs of al-Jarrāh ibn 'Abd Allāh<sup>1</sup> (d.112/730), Sa'id ibn 'Amr<sup>2</sup> (d.112/730), Maslamah ibn 'Abd al-Nalīk<sup>3</sup> (d.120/738), Huraym ibn Abī Tahmah<sup>4</sup> (d.120/738), Zayd ibn 'Alī ibn Husayn<sup>5</sup> (d.122/740), Yahyā ibn Yazīd ibn 'Alī<sup>6</sup> (d.125/743), al-Kumayt ibn Zayd<sup>7</sup> (d.126/744), Yūsuf ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī<sup>8</sup> (d.127/745), 'Abd Allāh ibn Yahyā<sup>9</sup> (d.130/748), Wāsil ibn 'Atā'<sup>10</sup> (d.131/748), Qaṭabah ibn Shabīb<sup>11</sup> (d. 132/750), Hassan ibn Mālik<sup>12</sup> (d.150/767), 'Uthmān ibn Hyyān al-Murri<sup>13</sup> (d.150/767), Hywah ibn Shurayh al-Kilā'ī<sup>14</sup> (d.158/757),

1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v, p.24.
2. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, viii, pp.46-54.
3. ibid, vii, pp.187, 303-04.
4. ibid, vii, pp.227, 314-16.
5. ibid, viii, pp.119-20.
6. ibid, viii, p.132.
7. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, p.154; Aghāni, xiv, p.113; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, viii, pp. 99-92.
8. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, viii, pp.123-24; Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.278; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.158; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn, ii, p.143.
9. Aghāni, xx, p. 98.
10. Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat knuṭab al-'Arab, ii, p.501-03.
11. Tabarī, Tārīkh, ix, p.106; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v, p.184; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, viii, pp.170-71.
12. Tabarī Tārīkh, vii, p.38.
13. ibid, viii, p.92.
14. Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, vii, p.31.



1 2

The Khutbahs of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtār, Hayyān ibn Zubyān al-Sulamī,  
Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Talhah,<sup>3</sup> Thawr ibn Ma'n al-Sulamī,<sup>4</sup> Jāmi' al-  
Muḥāribī<sup>5</sup>, Hanzalah ibn Sa'd<sup>6</sup>, Khālīd ibn Sa'd ibn Nufayl<sup>7</sup>, Zuhayr  
ibn al-Qayn al-Bajali<sup>8</sup>, al-Zubayr ibn 'Alī<sup>9</sup>, al-Sa'ib ibn Malik al-  
Ash arī<sup>10</sup>, Sa'd ibn Hudhayfah ibn al-Yamān<sup>11</sup>, Sa'id ibn Majalid<sup>12</sup>,  
Shaddad ibn Aws al-Ta'i<sup>13</sup>, Sakhir ibn Hudhayfah,<sup>14</sup> Darar ibn Hamjah  
al-Sada i,<sup>15</sup> 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī,<sup>16</sup> and 'Abd Allāh  
ibn Isam al-Ash arī<sup>17</sup> . \*

1. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp.83,107,143; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iv, p.11; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, pp.11,179; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part viii, pp.281-82.
2. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vi, pp.99,172-73.
3. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.54; Ibn Kathīr, al-Kāmīl, iv, p.81; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part viii, p.248.
4. Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah, i, p.167.
5. Jāhīz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, pp.135-37; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.151; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn, al-Akhhbār, vol.ii, p.212.
6. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vi, p.254.
7. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.49; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iv, p.79.
8. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vi, pp.243-44; Ibn al-Athīr al-Kāmīl, iv, p.32; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part viii, p.180.
9. Mubarrad, al-Kāmīl, iii, p.330; Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat khutab al-'Arab, ii, p.45.
10. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.75; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iv, p.104; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, pp.88,108-09.
11. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.75; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iv, pp.50-51.
12. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.229.
13. Jāhīz, al-Bayān wa-'l-Tabyīn, iv, p.69; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn, al-Akhhbār, vol.i, pp.55-56.
14. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.67.
15. al-Qālī, Amālī, ii, p.165; Mas'ūdi, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.16; Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jumharat khutab al-'Arab, ii, p.374.
16. Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah, i, pp.167,170.
17. ibid, p.68. \* The life of the above khatībs is not traceable but the sources confirm that they were contemporary to the Umayyads.



The Khuṭbahs of ‘Afīr ibn Zur‘ah ibn ‘Āmir<sup>1</sup>, Yazīd ibn Ḥabīb al-Murādī<sup>2</sup>, Farwah ibn al-Mundhir al-Ghassānī<sup>3</sup>, Ḍarār ibn Ḍumrah al-Kinānī<sup>4</sup>, Shaddād ibn Asad al-Bajāli<sup>5</sup>, Yazīd ibn al-Muqanna‘<sup>6</sup>, ‘Aṭā’ ibn Abī Ṣayfī<sup>7</sup>, ‘Āsim ibn Abī Ṣayfī<sup>8</sup>, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Māzan<sup>9</sup>, ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Shurayḥ<sup>10</sup>, Qays ibn Mashar<sup>11</sup>, ‘Abīs ibn Abī Shabīb<sup>12</sup>, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Hānī<sup>13</sup>, Salmah ibn ‘Abd Allāh<sup>14</sup>, al-Ghaḍbān ibn al-Qaba‘tharī<sup>15</sup>, ‘Abd al-Mu‘min ibn Shabath<sup>16</sup>, al-Nu‘man ibn Sufyān al-Rāsibī<sup>17</sup>, Kathīr ibn Shihāb<sup>18</sup>, ‘Amr ibn Misma‘<sup>19</sup>, and Waraqā’ ibn ‘Āmir<sup>20</sup>. \*

1. Ibn ‘Āsākir, *Tahdhīb*, vii, p.31.
2. *ibid*, vii, p.31.
3. *ibid*, vii, pp.31-32.
4. Ibn ‘Āsākir, *Tahdhīb*, vii, pp.38-39; Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilyat al-awliā’*, i, pp.84-85.
5. Ibn A‘tham, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*, iv, p.34.
6. Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa-’l-siyāsah*, i, p.171; Jāḥiz, *al-Bayān wa-’l-tabyīn*, i, p.300; Ibn A‘tham, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*, iv, p.231.
7. Jāḥiz, *al-Bayān wa-’l-tabyīn*, ii, p.191; Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-A‘shā*, ix, p.278; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, ii, pp.35-36.
8. Mas‘ūdī, *Marūj al-Dhahab*, iii, p.65.
9. *ibid*, iii, pp.65-66.
10. Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vii, pp.96-97.
11. Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vi, p.224; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, iv, p.21; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-’l-nihāyah*, vol. iv, part viii, p.168.
12. Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vi, p.199; Ibn A‘tham, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*, v, pp.65-67.
13. Ibn A‘tham, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*, vi, p.127.
14. *ibid*, vii, p.125.
15. Mas‘ūdī, *Marūj al-Dhahab*, iii, p.149.
16. Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, viii, p.8; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, iv, p.224.
17. Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, viii, p.24.
18. Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vi, p.208; Ibn A‘tham, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*, v, p.87.
19. Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vii, p.30.
20. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-’l-nihāyah*, vol. iv, part viii, p.269.

\* The life of the above Khatibs is not traceable but the sources confirm that they were contemporary to the Umayyads.



The Khutbahs of Waqī' ibn Ḥassān<sup>1</sup>, 'Abd Allāh ibn Salār al-Ḥamdānī<sup>2</sup>,  
 Muḥammad ibn Bashr al-Shakirī<sup>3</sup>, al-Ḥārīth ibn Abī Rabi'ah<sup>4</sup>, Mu'ādh  
 ibn Hānī<sup>5</sup>, 'Abd Allāh ibn Wāl al-Tamīmī<sup>6</sup>, Musāfir ibn Sa'id<sup>7</sup>,  
 al-Ḥārīth ibn Khazār<sup>8</sup>, Silqat ibn 'Amr<sup>9</sup>, 'Itrīs ibn 'Urqūb<sup>10</sup>,  
 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Murri<sup>11</sup>, 'Amr al-Qinā<sup>12</sup>, 'Abd Rabbih al-  
 kabīr<sup>13</sup>, al-Salat ibn Murrah al-'Ayādī<sup>14</sup>, al-Zubayr ibn Māhūr<sup>15</sup>,  
 Muḥammad ibn Muslim al-Bahīlī<sup>16</sup>, Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd<sup>17</sup>, 'Abd Allāh  
 ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Aḥtam<sup>18</sup>, Waqī' ibn Abī Ṣūd<sup>19</sup>, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-  
 Hanzal al-Tā'ī<sup>20</sup> and Mu'ādh ibn Juyīn<sup>21</sup>. \*

1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v, p. 8; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, p. 236.
2. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vi, p. 239.
3. Ibid, vi, pp. 239-40.
4. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p. 166.
5. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vi, pp. 126-27, 129, 246.
6. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p. 54.
7. ibid, vii, p. 157.
8. al-Maydānī, Majma' al-Amthāl, ii, p. 208.
9. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vii, p. 66.
10. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vi, p. 173.
11. ibid, vii, p. 52.
12. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vi, p. 322.
13. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vi, p. 321; vii, pp. 63-64, 67, 321; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, p. 214.
14. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vii, p. 55.
15. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p. 163.
16. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vii, p. 316.
17. Jāhiz, al-Bayān, wa -'l-tabyīn, i, p. 404.
18. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, p. 118; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p. 143; Ibn al-Jawzī, Sirat 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, p. 136; Ibn 'Āsākir, Tahdhīb, vii, pp. 307-08.
19. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vii, pp. 277, 313-15.
20. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p. 51.
21. ibid, vii, pp. 100, 173. \*The life of the above Khaṭībs is not traceable, but the sources confirm that they were contemporary to the Umayyads.



The Khutbahs of Firūz ibn Husayn<sup>1</sup>, Bukayr ibn Ḥarūn<sup>2</sup>, Khālid ibn ‘Abd Allāh<sup>3</sup>, Muslim ibn ‘Abīs<sup>4</sup>, Bujayr ibn ‘Abd Allāh<sup>5</sup>, Ghaylān ibn Muslimah<sup>6</sup>, Abū al-Rawāgh<sup>7</sup>, al-Warrād<sup>8</sup>, ‘Adī ibn Hātim<sup>9</sup>, Umm Kulthūm bint ‘Alī<sup>10</sup>, Farqhanah bint Aws<sup>11</sup>, Sowdah bint ‘Ammārah<sup>12</sup>, Umm Sinān bint Khaythanah<sup>13</sup>, Dāramiyyah al-Junfiyyah<sup>14</sup>, Bikarah al-Hilāliyyah<sup>15</sup>, Barā’ bint Ṣafwān<sup>16</sup>, \* ‘A’ishah bint Abī Bakr<sup>17</sup> (d.58/678), Zaynab bint ‘Alī<sup>18</sup> (d.62/682), Arwah bint al-Hārith<sup>19</sup> (d.50/670).

1. Ibn Al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, p.236.
2. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp.266-67.
3. Ibn A‘tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, p.299.
4. Mubrrad, al-Kāmil, iii, p.294.
5. Ibn A‘tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, pp.198-99.
6. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-’l-tabyīn, ii, pp.191-92.
7. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vi, pp.111-12.
8. ibid, vi, p.109.
9. Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat Khutab al-‘Arab, ii, pp.9-10.
10. ibid, ii, pp.134-36.
11. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-’l-tabyīn, ii, p.302.
12. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, i, p.129; Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat khutab al-‘Arab, ii, pp.375-77.
13. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, i, p.131; Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ al-A‘sha, i, p.257.
14. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.132.
15. ibid, i, p.13.
16. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ al-A‘shā, i, p.261. \* The life of the above **Khatībs** is not traceable but the sources confirm that they were contemporary to the Umayyads.
17. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, v, p.165; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iii, pp.102, 105-06; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-’l-tabyīn, ii, p.302; Ibn A‘tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, iv, p.237; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.156.
18. Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat khutab al-‘Arab, ii, pp.136-39.
19. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, i, p.134.



The Rasā'il of Mu'āwiyah ibn Abi Sufyān<sup>1</sup>.

The Rasā'il of al-Hasan ibn 'Alī<sup>2</sup>.

The Rasā'il of al-Husayn ibn 'Alī<sup>3</sup>.

The Rasā'il of Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah<sup>4</sup>.

1. Abū Ishāq al-Huṣrī, Zahr al-Adāb, i, p.72; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, iv, pp.152,169-70,172; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, vi, pp.15,26; ii, pp.201,233,235,248; iii, p.5; Tabarī, Tārīkh, v, pp.228-29; vi, pp.92,96,98,102-03,143,148,153,155,164; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iii, pp.136,210-211,240; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, iv, p.330; v, pp.413,422; vii, p.111; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, pp.87,210,299,303,311; Sayūṭī, Tārīkh al-khulafā', p.202; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. iv, part viii, pp.51,119,139,162; Aghānī, xvi, p.10; xviii, p.162; Ibn Qutabah, al-Imamah wa-'l-siyasah, i, pp.95,99,102,109,113,139-40,178,179,182; Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, p.227; Mubarrad, al-Kāmīl, i, p.326; ii, p.117; iii, 208; Mas'ūdi, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp.12-13,16; Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ al-A'shā, vi, p.387; Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliā', ii, p.90; 'Abd al-Hāq Dehlawī, Mā tha-bata bi 'l-Sunnah, p.263; Ibn 'Abd Allāh, Akḥbār Makkah, ii, p.13; Ibn Manzūr, Lisān al-'Arab, vi, p.4; vii, p.16; Ahmad Zakī Safwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp.10-13,15-18,21-22,24-26,31-35,38-40,51.
2. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, iv, pp.151,156-60; Tabarī, Tārīkh, vi, pp.92-93; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iii, p.208; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, iii, p.5; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, p.299; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, v, p.422; Ahmad Zakī Safwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp.10,14-15,18-19,26-27.
3. Abū Ishāq al-Huṣrī, Zahr al-Adāb, i, p.72; Tabarī, Tārīkh, vi, pp.197-98,200,219,223; Ahmad Zakī Safwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp.24-25; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, vi, p.10; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. iv, part viii, pp.162-64,168,187-88; Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imamah wa-'l-siyasah, i, pp.180-81; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, iv, p.33; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, v, pp.51-52,55,116-17,119.
4. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vi, pp.88,200,215; vii, p.59; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, v, pp.10,26,61-62,109,256; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. iv, part viii, pp.146,152,165; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, iv, pp.333,335; Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ al-A'shā, vi, p.39; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, p.256; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, p.202.



The Rasā'il of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān.<sup>1</sup>

The Rasā'il of Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>2</sup>

The Rasā'il of Sulaymān ibn 'Abd Malik.<sup>3</sup>

1. Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-l-sīyāsah, ii, pp. 31, 51, 54, 56, 59, 64-65, 69; 'Uyūn al-Akhhbār, vol. iv, p. 97; Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp. 158, 193-94, 207, 226; viii, pp. 3-4, 42, 44, 54-56; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa l-tabyīn, i, p. 386; iv, p. 87; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, ii, pp. 102, 116-17, 119-20, 123, 131, 134, 139, 169-70; Mubarrad, al-Kāmīl, i, p. 382; iii, pp. 361-62; Aḥmad Zakī, Safwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp. 136, 152, 198, 201, 205, 211; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp. 120-21, 151; ii, pp. 255, 262-63; iii, pp. 8-10, 15, 17, 20; Aghānī, xiii, p. 58; al-Qālī, Amālī, i, p. 37; Dhayl al-Amālī, p. 80; Ibn Khallikān, Wāfayāt al-a'yān, ii, p. 119; v, pp. 331-32; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iv, p. 242; Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ al-A'shā, vi, pp. 389-90; al-Maydānī, Majma' al-amthāl, ii, p. 185; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, iv, pp. 64, 70, 77-78; v, pp. 341-42; vii, p. 147; Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, vol. ii, p. 324; Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-buldān, p. 61; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. iv, part viii, p. 271, vol. v, part ix, pp. 38-39, 58-60, 65, 106, 124, 126-27, 134, 153; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vi, pp. 201, 240-41, 243, 274, 281-82, 285-86, 303, 313-14; vii, pp. 10, 137, 164.
2. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, viii, pp. 65-66, 73, 90, 96; Ibn Khallikān, Wāfayāt al-a'yān, v, pp. 335-36; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. v, part ix, p. 78; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, viii, pp. 214, 250; Mubarrad, al-Kāmīl, ii, p. 110; Aḥmad Zakī Safwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, p. 254; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp. 165, 208; Ibn Qutaybah 'Uyūn al-Akhhbār, vol. i, p. 199; al-Imāmah wa-'l-sīyāsah, ii, p. 82; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, p. 160; Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, vol. iii, p. 227.
3. Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-sīyāsah, ii, pp. 92-94, 114-15; 'Uyūn al-Akhhbār, vol. i, p. 162; Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, viii, pp. 73, 129; Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ al-A'shā, ix, p. 36; Ibn Khallikān, Wāfayāt al-a'yān, v, pp. 335-36; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. v, part ix, pp. 78-79, 182; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vii, p. 213; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p. 165; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, p. 152; iii, p. 16; al-'Ab Lewis Shaikhu al-isū'ī, Majānī al-Adab, iii, p. 208.



The Rasā'il of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf<sup>1</sup>.

The Rasā'il of Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Ḥanafīyyah<sup>2</sup>.

The Rasā'il of Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik<sup>3</sup>.

1. Ahmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp. 140, 146, 148, 150-51, 163, 165, 170-71, 173-78, 201, 216, 223, 244, 266, 348; Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyārah, ii, pp. 40, 54, 60; 'Uyūn al-Akhbār, vol. i, pp. 10, 101; vol. iii, pp. 174, 205, 322; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, i, p. 180; ii, p. 110; iii, pp. 368, 370, 373, 377, 379, 395, 405; Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp. 215, 218, 225, 231, 238-39, 243-44, 249, 256, 264-68, 270, 274, 282; viii, pp. 3, 8, 16, 31, 40, 42-44, 55, 60, 67, 73, 90, 92, 94; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, pp. 200, 220, 223, 242-43; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp. 112, 117, 119, 132, 134-35, 169; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vi, pp. 281-82, 285; vii, pp. 14-15, 18, 21, 26, 76, 86, 100, 156, 165, 199, 211, 213, 222, 228, 239, 247-48, 287; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp. 8, 17; iii, pp. 1-10, 13, 15-17, 20; Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-buldān, pp. 188, 425; Jāhīz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, pp. 387, 397; ii, pp. 103, 310-11; iv, p. 8; Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ al-A'shā, vi, pp. 478-80, 559; Aghānī, xvi, p. 41; xviii, p. 119; Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, vol. v, p. 348; Ibn Khallikān, Wāfayāt al-a'yān, i, p. 348; v, p. 331; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. v, part ix, pp. 35, 39, 41, 53, 61, 88; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, iv, pp. 70-71.
2. Abū Ishāq al-Ḥuṣrī, Zahr al-Adāb, p. 71; Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp. 135, 153; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. iv, part viii, p. 277; vol. v, part ix, pp. 38-39; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p. 262; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vi, pp. 96-97, 125, 131, 244, 283-85; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p. 116; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, iii, p. 267.
3. Aghānī, v, p. 158; Ibn Khallikān, Wāfayāt al-a'yān, i, p. 449; ii, p. 7; vi, pp. 99, 102; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, iv, pp. 121-25; Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, viii, pp. 250-51, 253, 258, 261, 265-66, 280, 285-86, 290-91; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, viii, pp. 43, 54-60, 109, 124; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp. 202, 210; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. v, part ix, pp. 232, 331.



The Rasā'il of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās<sup>1</sup>.

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The Rasā'il of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr<sup>2</sup>.

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The Rasā'il of Ziyād ibn Abih<sup>3</sup>.

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The Rasā'il of Mas'ab ibn al-Zubayr<sup>4</sup>.

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The Rasā'il of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād<sup>5</sup>.

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1. Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp. 8-9, 21-22, 28; Ibn 'Abd, Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, p. 9; ii, pp. 224, 243-44; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, p. 14; al-Imāmah wa-l-sīyāsah, i, pp. 111-13, 179-80; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, iv, pp. 75, 149-50; vi, pp. 240-41; Aghānī, xviii, p. 162; Abū Yūsuf, Kitāb al-Kharāj, p. 22; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, iv, p. 334; vii, p. 372. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iii, p. 197; Tabarī, Tārīkh, vi, p. 82. Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah, vol. iv, part viii, p. 164; al-Nasā'i, Sunan, ii, p. 177.
2. Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp. 50-51, 226-27; Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp. 3, 76, 134; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah, vol. iv, part viii, pp. 272, 344; Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-l-sīyāsah, ii, pp. 18, 25; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vi, pp. 4, 117, 125; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p. 99; Abū Nu'āym, Hilyat al-awliā', p. 336.
3. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vi, pp. 96, 103, 141, 152-53, 162; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iii, pp. 210, 237, 248; Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp. 32-33, 35-36, 38-40; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp. 15, 19, 26; iii, p. 5; Jāḥiz, al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn, ii, pp. 249, 296-97; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, p. 227; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah, vol. iv, part viii, pp. 62, 86, 139; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, v, pp. 422, 424; Sayūṭī, Tārīkh al-Khulāfā', p. 202.
4. Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, iii, pp. 333-34, 339; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p. 99; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vi, pp. 40, 185, 200-201, 204, 221.
5. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vi, pp. 214-15, 232, 234, 236; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, v, pp. 107-08, 136, 150, 159, 162, 166; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, pp. 26, 28; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah, vol. iv, part viii, p. 175; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p. 84.



The Rasā'il of al-Muhallab ibn Abī Şufrah<sup>1</sup>.

The Rasā'il of Yazid ibn al-Mahallab<sup>2</sup>.

The Rasā'il of Mukhtār ibn Abī 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī<sup>3</sup>.

The Rasā'il of Qutaybah ibn Muslim<sup>4</sup>.

The Rasā'il of al-Hasan al-Başri<sup>5</sup>.

1. Mubarrad, al-Kāmīl, iii, pp. 168, 315, 328, 370, 373-74, 377, 382, 395, 404; Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp. 89, 269-70; viii, pp. 10, 18; Ahmad Zakī Şafwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp. 145-46, 148, 150, 164, 195; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, pp. 29, 40; vii, pp. 14-15, 17-18, 21, 72-73; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhbār, vol. i, p. 71; Qalqashandī, Şubh al-A'shā, vi, p. 559; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa 'l-nihāyah, vol. v, part ix, p. 36; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p. 126.
2. Tabarī, Tārīkh, viii, pp. 39, 42, 125; Mubarrad, al-Kāmīl, i, pp. 10, 279; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, p. 377; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iv, p. 242; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vii, pp. 297, 322; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa -'l-nihāyah, vol. v, part ix, p. 191; Ibn Manzūr, Lisān al-'Arab, vii, p. 137; Ibn 'Aḥbarī, Nuzhah, p. 21.
3. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp. 93, 99, 101, 113, 126-27, 131-35; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. iv, part viii, pp. 255, 264, 272, 274-77; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iv, p. 84; Mubarrad, al-Kāmīl, iii, p. 265; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, pp. 76, 122-24, 132, 137-38, 141, 148, 173, 184.
4. Ahmad Zakī Şafwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp. 201-02, 245; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhbār, vol. i, p. 197; ii, p. 174; Tabarī, Tārīkh, viii, p. 103; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p. 275; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vii, pp. 216, 257-58.
5. Ibn al-Jawzī, Sīrat 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, pp. 221, 224-26; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. v, part ix, p. 269; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, p. 70; Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliā', ii, pp. 134-38; v, pp. 305, 307; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp. 12, 300; ii, p. 33; al-Qālī, Amālī, ii, p. 51; Ahmad Zakī Şafwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp. 233-34, 324-26, 329-34.



The Rasā'il of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz<sup>1</sup> .

The Rasā'il of Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr<sup>2</sup> .

The Rasā'il of Walid ibn Yazid<sup>3</sup> (d.126/744).

The Rasā'il of Yūsuf ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafi<sup>4</sup> .

The Rasā'il of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ash'ath<sup>5</sup> .

1. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Sīrat 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz*, pp.36,54,68,72,76-78, 81,83,85,87-88, 90-91,94-95,97-103,110,113-14,202,204,208,212, 215,218,222,236,257,259,268,277-78; Ahmad Zakī Ṣafwat, *Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab*, ii, pp.295-96,317-18,330; Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, pp.93,124,129,137-38,141-42,147,162,189-90,198; Abū Nu'āym, *Hilyat al-awliā'*, v, pp.34-35,266-68,270,274-75,277-79, 284,286,293,304-09,311-12,325-26,338,345-53; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, i, pp.11,14,40,300; ii, pp.35,279; iii, p.337; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah*, vol. iv, part viii, pp.188-89; vol. v, part ix, pp.136,201,207,216-18,232,273; Makhtasar tafsīr, ii, p.135; iii, p.113; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, pp.56,69,84,88,227, 344,415; Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, vol. i, pp.13,44,53,57,79, 258; vol. ii, pp.112,115; Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'ṣhā*, vi, p.39; Mubarrad, *al-Kāmīl*, ii, pp.52,213; Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, viii, pp.134-35, 138-39; al-Qālī, *Amālī*, ii, p.51; Mas'ūdī, *Marūj al-Dhahab*, iii, pp.184,186,284-85; Jāhiz, *al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn*, i, p.100; ii, pp. 192,280; iv, p.88; Ibn A'tham, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*, vii, pp.308,311; Sayūṭī, *Tārīkh al-Khulāfā'*, pp.232,245,247; Aghānī, viii, p. 151; al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-Amthāl*, i, p.267; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, vol. i, p.434; vol. v, p.321; al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, i, pp.6,20; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. viii, p.480; F. Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī*, vol. i, part i, pp.120-21; Muṣṭafā Sādiq, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-'arabī*, i, p.277.
2. Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah*, ii, pp.64,70,73, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, vol. iii, p.227; vol. v, pp.80-82.
3. Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, viii, pp.290,294-97,301; ix, p.4; Ibn Khallikān, *Wāfayāt al-a'yān*, vi, p.107; Aghānī, ii, p.63; vi, p.124.
4. Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, viii, pp.258,261, 279-80,294; ix, p.18; Ibn Khallikān, *Wāfayāt al-a'yān*, vi, p.103; Ibn A'tham, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*, iii, pp.126-27.
5. Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah*, ii, pp.37-38; Ibn A'tham, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*, vii, pp.116,128-29,156.



The Rasā'il of 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Marwān<sup>1</sup> (d.85/704), Marwān ibn Muhammad<sup>2</sup> (d.132/750), Dahhāk ibn Qays<sup>3</sup>, Qays ibn Sa'd<sup>4</sup> (d.60/680), 'Alī ibn Husayn<sup>5</sup> (d.61/681), 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Hārith<sup>6</sup> (d.84/703), al-Hārith ibn 'Abd Allāh<sup>7</sup> (d.80/700), 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar<sup>8</sup>, 'Amr ibn al-'Ās<sup>9</sup> (d.43/664), 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr<sup>10</sup>, 'Umar ibn 'Ubayd Allāh<sup>11</sup> (d.82/701) and 'Uthmān ibn Qaṭn<sup>12</sup> (d.76/696) .

1. Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-sīyāsah, ii, pp.64-65; Tabarī, Tārīkh, viii, p.54.
2. Tabarī, Tārīkh, viii, p.293; ix, pp.7, 34, 92; Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp.404-06; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.297; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.v, part ix, p.32; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, viii, p.77.
3. Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part viii, p.242; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, v, p.1.
4. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.265; Mubarrad, al-Kāmīl, viii, p.117; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp.16-17.
5. Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.v, part ix, p.106.
6. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, p.304.
7. *ibid*, vi, pp.11-12.
8. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp.59, 93; Qalqashandī, Subḥ al-A'shā, vi, p.480; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part viii, p.264; vol.v, part ix, p.63.
9. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.201.
10. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vi, p.304.
11. Mubarrad, al-Kāmīl, iii, p.337.
12. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.239.



The Rasā'il of 'Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd<sup>1</sup> (d.70/690), 'Amr ibn Sa'id<sup>2</sup> (d.70/690), 'Adī ibn Artāt<sup>3</sup>, Hammād al-Rāwīyah,<sup>4</sup> Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah,<sup>5</sup> (d.42/662), Ahnaf ibn Qays<sup>6</sup>, al-Hārīth al-Kadhdhāb ibn Sa'id<sup>7</sup> (d.69/688), Mutarrāf ibn al-Mughīrah<sup>8</sup> (d.77/696), 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Sa'id<sup>9</sup> (d. 66/686), 'Amr ibn Hurayth<sup>10</sup> (d.85/704), Shurayḥ ibn Ḥānī<sup>11</sup> (d.78/697), Shabath ibn Rab'ī<sup>12</sup>, Ṣa'sa'ah ibn Sūḥān<sup>13</sup>, Sa'id ibn al-'As<sup>14</sup> (d.59/679), 'Ayūb ibn al-Qariyyah<sup>15</sup> (d.84/703), Zur ibn Ḥabish<sup>16</sup> (d.83/702), Musawwar ibn Makhramah<sup>17</sup> (d.64/683) and 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr<sup>18</sup>.

1. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.71; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vi, p.71.
2. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vi, p.219; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. iv, part viii, p.164; Jāḥiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, iv, p.87; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.102.
3. Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, vol. v, p.321; Ibn al-Jawzī, Sīrat 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, pp.83, 99, 237; Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliā', vi, pp.293, 305; Abū Yūsuf, Kitāb al-Khārāj, p.129; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vii, p.212.
4. Aghānī, v, p.161.
5. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, iv, p.26.
6. Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, vii, p.23.
7. Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. v, part ix, p.27; Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, vol. ii, p.323.
8. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp.246, 249, 263, Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp.186-87.
9. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.113.
10. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.208; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. iv, part viii, p.53; vol. v, part ix, p.3.
11. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vi, p.152; Aghānī, xvi, p.8.
12. Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. iv, part viii, p.150.
13. Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp.37-38.
14. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vi, p.165; Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah, i, pp.177, 182.
15. Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah, ii, pp.37-38.
16. Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. v, part ix, p.66.
17. ibid, vol. iv, part viii, p.163.
18. Aḥmad Zakī Safwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, p.254.



The Rasā'il of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far<sup>1</sup> (d.80/700), Muslim ibn 'Aqīl<sup>2</sup> (d.60/680), Wahb ibn Munabbih<sup>3</sup>, Muhammad ibn Ka'b<sup>4</sup> (117/737), Anas ibn Mālik<sup>5</sup> (d.93/712), Khālid ibn 'Itāb<sup>6</sup> (d.77/694), Sulaymān ibn Hishām<sup>7</sup> (d.132/750), 'Ā'ishah . bint Abī Bark<sup>8</sup>, Marwān ibn Muhammad<sup>9</sup> (d.132/750), Tāriq ibn Ziyād<sup>10</sup> (102/720), Marwān ibn al-Hakam<sup>11</sup> (d.65/685), Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī<sup>12</sup>, Ashras ibn 'Ubayd Allāh<sup>13</sup> (d.112/730), Muslim ibn 'Uqbah<sup>14</sup>, Hishām ibn Ismā'il<sup>15</sup> (d.87/704), Bishr ibn Marwān<sup>16</sup> (d. 75/694), Shurayh ibn al-Hārith<sup>17</sup> (d.87/697), Abū Hamjah Salmah ibn Dīnār al-a'raj<sup>18</sup> (d.140/757), 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Hur<sup>19</sup> (d.68/687), Zālim ibn 'Amr Abū al-Aswad al-Duw'alī<sup>20</sup> (d.69/688).

1. Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah*, i, p.180; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vi, p.219; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, iv, p.7; Ibn A'tham, *Kitāb al-Futūh*, v, p.115.
2. Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vi, pp.198, 211; Ibn A'tham, *Kitāb al-Futūh*, v, pp.54, 77.
3. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Sīrat 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz*, p.85; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah*, vol.v, part ix, p.291.
4. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah*, vol.v, part ix, p.258.
5. *Ibid*, vol.v, part ix, p.133.
6. Aghānī, xvi, p.41.
7. Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, viii, p.285.
8. Jāhiz, *al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn*, ii, p.303; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, ii, p.277.
9. Aḥmad Zakī, *Ṣafwat*, *Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab*, ii, pp.364-65.
10. Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah*, ii, pp.63, 74.
11. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah*, vol.iv, part viii, pp.163, 165; Ibn A'tham, *Kitāb al-Futūh*, v, pp.114-15.
12. Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vii, pp.193-94, 208.
13. *Ibid*, viii, p.196.
14. Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah*, i, pp.117-18.
15. Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, viii, p.56; Ibn Khallikān, *Wāfayāt al-A'yān*, ii, p.119.
16. Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, *Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab*, ii, p.234; Ibn A'tham, *Kitāb al-Futūh*, vi, p.315.
17. Abū Ishāq al-Husrī, *Zahr al-Adāb*, iii, p.337.
18. Mas'ūdī, *Marūj al-Dhahab*, iii, p.186; Ibn 'Asākīr, *Tahdhīb*, vi, pp.234-36, Abū Nu'āym, *Hilyat*, *al-awliā'*, iii, pp.237, 246-49.
19. Ibn A'tham, *Kitāb al-Futūh*, vi, p.221.
20. *Ibid*, iv, p.74.



The Rasā'il of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Husayn<sup>1</sup> (d.85/705), Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah<sup>2</sup>, Busr ibn Abī Artāt<sup>3</sup>, al-Muthannā ibn Muḥarribah<sup>4</sup> (d.67/686), Mustawrid ibn 'Ullafah<sup>5</sup>, Najadah ibn 'Amīr<sup>6</sup> (d.101/719), Shabid ibn Yazīd<sup>7</sup> (d.77/694), Qutrī ibn Fujā'ah<sup>8</sup>, Sulaymān ibn Surd<sup>9</sup>, Ṣāliḥ ib al-Mussariḥ<sup>10</sup>, Nāfi' ibn Azraq<sup>11</sup>, Rifā'ah ibn Shaddād<sup>12</sup>, Manṣūr ibn Jamhūr<sup>13</sup> (d.133/751), Tā'ūs ibn Kaysān<sup>14</sup> (d.106/724), Salīm ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar<sup>15</sup> (d.106/725), 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān<sup>16</sup> (d.115/733), Maslamah ibn 'Abd al-Malik<sup>17</sup> (d.120/738), Jarrāḥ ibn 'Abd Allāh<sup>18</sup>.

1. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vii, p.129.
2. Ibn A'tham, al-Futūḥ, vii, p.281; Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-buldān, p.363.
3. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vi, p.96; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmīl, iii, p.21; Ibn Kathīr al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part viii, p.22.
4. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.51.
5. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vi, p.109; Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāсах, i, pp.217-18.
6. Mubarrad, al-Kāmīl, iii, pp.286-87; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part viii, p.215.
7. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.219.
8. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, p.310.
9. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp.49, 72.
10. ibid, vii, p.219.
11. Mubarrad, al-Kāmīl, iii, pp.289-91, 387-89; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, p.214.
12. Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.iv, part viii, p.264.
13. Tabarī, Tārīkh, ix, p.28.
14. Ibn al-Jawzī, Sirat 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Azīz, p.126; Ibn Khallikān, Wāfayāt al-a'yān, ii, p.194; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.186.
15. Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.v, part ix, p.215; Ibn al-Jawzī, Sirat 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, p.127; Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliā', ii, p.194.
16. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.279.
17. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vii, pp.300, 302, 304.
18. Tabarī, Tārīkh, viii, p.134; Ibn al-Jawzī, Sirat 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, p.96.



The Rasā'il of 'Abd Allāh ibn Mu'āwiyah<sup>1</sup> (d.129/746), Farajdaq<sup>2</sup> (d.110/728), Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik<sup>3</sup> (d.105/724), Yazīd ibn Walīd<sup>4</sup> (d.126/744), Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad<sup>5</sup> (d.131/749), Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī<sup>6</sup> (d.137/755), Ghaylān ibn Muslim al-Qadrī<sup>7</sup> (d.105/723), Umm Salmah<sup>8</sup> (d.62/681), Naṣr ibn Sayyār<sup>9</sup> (d.131/749) and 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Yahyā al-Kātib<sup>10</sup> (d.132/750).

1. Jāhīz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, p.85; Abū Ishāq al-Huṣrī, Zahr al-Adab, i, p.98; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.194; Aghānī, xi, p.71; Ḥasan Zayyāt, Tārīkh Adab al-'Arabī, p.303.
2. Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.166.
3. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, pp.281-82; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.202; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.v, part ix, p.232.
4. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, ix, pp.31, 43; Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ al-A'shā, vi, p.391; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhbār, vol.i, p.197; Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-buldān, p.363; Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, vol.v, p.315.
5. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, ix, pp.75, 82; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.v, part x, p.28.
6. ibid, ix, pp.84, 98; part x, p.32.
7. Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat, Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, p.336.
8. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, pp.227, 246.
9. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, ix, p.111; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, viii, pp.157-58, 163; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol.v, part x, p.33.
10. Aḥmad Zakī, Ṣafwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp.371-75, 406-74, 486-87; Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ al-A'shā, i, p.89; Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, vol.i, pp.206-09; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-a'yān, ii, p.395; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.165; Aghānī, v, p.161.



The Rasā'il of Jazl ibn Sa'id,<sup>1</sup> al-Hakam ibn 'Amr<sup>2</sup>, 'Amr ibn Sa'id<sup>3</sup>  
 'Āsim ibn 'Abd Allāh<sup>4</sup>, Sa'id ibn Hudhayfah<sup>5</sup>, Sālīm 'Abū al-a'lā,<sup>6</sup>  
 Sufyān ibn Abī al-'āliyah<sup>7</sup>, Barā' ibn Qabīṣah<sup>8</sup>, Waqī' ibn Abī Ṣūd<sup>9</sup>,  
 Khālīd ibn Abān<sup>10</sup>, al-Hārīth ibn 'Ubayd Allāh<sup>11</sup>, Hayyān ibn Shurayh<sup>12</sup>  
 'Iqāl ibn Shibah<sup>13</sup>, 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim<sup>14</sup>, 'Abd, 'Azīz ibn Warrāq<sup>15</sup>,  
 'Umar ibn Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik<sup>16</sup>, Manṣūr ibn 'Umar<sup>17</sup> and Yazīd ibn  
 'Asīm.<sup>18</sup> \*

1. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.231.
2. Aḥmad Zakī Safwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp.40-41.
3. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, iv, pp.234-35.
4. ibid, viii, p.222.
5. ibid, vii, p.51.
6. Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp.369-70.
7. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.225.
8. ibid, vii, p.264.
9. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vii, p.281; Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-buldān, p.363.
10. Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-siyāsah, ii, pp.59-60.
11. Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, viii, p.329; Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, viii, p.89.
12. Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, p.295.
13. ibid, ii, p.357.
14. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vi, p.199.
15. al-Qālī, Amālī, ii, p.206.
16. Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, iv, p.88.
17. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, ix, p.43.
18. Abū Nu'aym, Ḥilyat al-awliā', iv, p.98.

\* The life of the above kaṭībs is not traceable, but the sources confirm that they were the contemporary to the Umayyads.



The sayings attributed to Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān<sup>1</sup>

The sayings attributed to al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī<sup>2</sup>

The sayings attributed to al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī<sup>3</sup>.

1. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-ḥ-tabyīn, i, pp.93, 259, 275, 300; ii, pp.59, 81, 84, 87, 89, 92, 94, 108, 115, 131, 156, 256-60, 299, 303, 311, 326-27; iii, pp.154, 167, 213, 300; iv, pp.81-82; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, pp.10, 14, 30, 40, 90, 99, 163, 169, 196, 213-14, 221, 223-24, 227, 229-31, 267, 269-80, 283-84, 290, 295-300, 318, 332; vol. ii, pp.45, 172, 174, 197, 203, 206, 210-12, 305; vol. iii, pp.40-41, 46, 180-81, 228; vol. iv, pp.10, 94; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, vi, pp.133-34, 218, 427; vii, pp.107, 109, 402; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp.15, 17-18, 22, 26, 118, 144, 150, 156, 169, 171, 174, 180, 187-88, 201, 239, 254, 274-76, 344; ii, pp.4, 8, 38, 40-41, 44, 97, 110-16, 118, 120, 125-26, 129, 140-41, 145, 213, 238, 240, 245-49; iii, p.5; al-Qālī, Amālī, i, pp.103-04, 198, 253, 325, 334; ii, pp.29-30, 103-04; Mas'udī, Marūj al-Dhahab, ii, pp.4, 388; iii, pp.4-5, 8-10, 22-23, 40-41, 43; Abu Ishaq al-Ḥusrī, Zahr al-Adab, i, pp.56, 61; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-ḥ-nihāyah, vol. iv, part viii, pp.53, 115, 162, 229-30; Mubarrad, al-Kamil, i, pp.47, 65, 236; ii, pp.110, 210, 310; iii, p.278; Ahmad Zaki, Safwat, Jamharat khutab al-'Arab, ii, pp.165-68; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, iv, pp.14-15, 39, 256-58; Yaqūt, Mujam al-buldān, vol. i, p.47; vol. iii, p.286; vol. iv, p.12; al-Maydanī, Majma' al-Amthāl, ii, p.225.
2. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-ḥ-tabyīn, ii, pp.93, 197; iv, p.61; Abū Ishāq al-Ḥusrī, Zahr al-Adab, i, pp.68-69; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, p.196; vol. ii, p.355; vol. iii, pp.3, 140; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, p.68; ii, pp.6, 115-16; Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliā, ii, p.36.
3. Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. ii, pp.314-15; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, p.65; Abū Ishāq al-Ḥusrī, Zahr al-Adab, i, pp.69, 79, 83; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, v, pp.33-34.



The sayings attributed to 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās<sup>1</sup>.

The sayings attributed to 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr<sup>2</sup>.

The sayings attributed to 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān<sup>3</sup>.

1. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-ḥl-tabyīn, i, pp. 84-85, 123, 157, 264, 331, 398, 404; ii, pp. 263, 300-001; iii, pp. 113, 122, 257, 266, 291; iv, pp. 71-72, 76; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, pp. 6, 14, 19, 37, 76, 110, 146, 215, 269, 306-08; vol. ii, pp. 25-26, 122, 125, 128, 138, 180, 210; vol. iii, pp. 7, 36, 51, 165, 175-78, 187; vol. iv, p. 117; al-Imāmah wa-ḥl-siyāsah, i, p. 175; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp. 7, 9, 37, 163, 166, 181, 189, 193, 230, 234, 245, 254, 296, 314, 348; ii, pp. 45, 85, 99, 111-13, 245; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, vii, p. 402; Tabarī, Tārīkh, vi, pp. 216-17; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, pp. 19-20; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, ii, pp. 43-44, 50-53, 368, 390; iii, pp. 54-55, 81, 101; Ahmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat Khutab al-'Arab, ii, pp. 114-20; Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliā', i, pp. 321, 325-26; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, i, p. 138; ii, pp. 126, 238, 285; Ibn A'ṭham, Kitāb al-Futūh, iv, pp. 91-94, vi, pp. 248-50, 252; Yāqūt Mu'jam al-buldān, vol. iv, p. 463; al-Maydānī, Majma' al-Amthāl, ii, p. 455; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-ḥl-nihāyah, vol. iv, part viii, p. 159; al-Qālī, Amālī, ii, p. 55; Ibn al-'Imād, Shadhrāt al-Dhahab, i, p. 54.
2. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-ḥl-tabyīn, i, pp. ~~300-001~~, 380; ii, pp. 90, 95; iv, p. 91; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp. 37, 65, 213; ii, pp. 113-14, 247-48; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, pp. 11-12, 34; vol. ii, pp. 13, 249, 270-71, 277; vol. iii, p. 12; vol. iv, p. 3; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, vii, pp. 55, 400, 417-19, 423; Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p. 202; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, pp. 171-72; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-ḥl-nihāyah, vol. iv, part viii, p. 330; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, iii, p. 278; Aghānī, xxi, p. 94; Ahmad Zakī, Ṣafwat, Jamharat Khutab al-'Arab, ii, pp. 119-20; Ibn A'ṭham, Kitāb al-Fatūh, vi, pp. 274-75.
3. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-ḥl-tabyīn, i, pp. 60, 111, 138, 265, 286, 305, 326, 346, 386-88, ii, pp. 69, 81, 89, 205, 216, 221, 244-45; iii, pp. 119, 191, 225; iv, pp. 75, 89; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, pp. 9-10, 44, 65, 71, 103, 202, 227, 258, 267, 319-20; vol. ii, pp. 8, 23, 167, 171, 184, 215, 258, 263, 302; Vol. iii, pp. 7, 74, 116, 120, 129; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp. 9, 12, 15, 25, 41, 139, 150, 165, 167, 169, 179-81, 192, 221, 223, 227, 240, 258, 263, 302; ii, pp. 7, 74, 116, 120, 129; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp. 92, 117-18; Ahmad Zakī Ṣafwat, khutab al-'Arab, ii, p. 503; Abū Ishāq al-Husrī, Zahr al-Adāb, i, p. 228; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, i, pp. 47, 74, 131; al-Maydānī, Majma' al-Amthāl, ii, p. 222; al-Qālī, Amālī, i, p. 72; ii, pp. 53, 176-77.



The sayings attributed to al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf<sup>1</sup>

The sayings attributed to Walīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik<sup>2</sup>

The sayings attributed to Sulaymān ibn ‘Abd al-Malik<sup>3</sup>

The sayings attributed to Ziyād ibn Abih<sup>4</sup>.

1. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-’l-tabyīn, i, pp. 259-60, 262, 350, 385-86, ii, pp. 82, 103, 137, 146, 148-49, 179; iii, p. 60; iv, pp. 98-99; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp. 122, 144, 149-52, 189, 197, 240; ii, pp. 76, 101, 117-18, 125, 151; Ibn ‘Asākir, Tahdhīb, iv, p. 71; vii, pp. 418-20, 423; Masūdi, Marūj al-Dhahab, ii, p. 85; iii, pp. 93, 136, 152, 172, 230, 265; Aghānī, xiii, p. 55; Abū Ishāq al-Huṣri Zahr al-Adāb, ii, pp. 85-86; iii, pp. 93, 230, 265; Ibn Qutaybah, ‘Uyūn al-Akhhār, vol. i, pp. 10, 16, 98, 102-03, 144, 169-71, 220; vol. ii, pp. 8, 57-58, 66, 210-12, 366; vol. iii, pp. 104-05, 197, 205; vol. iv, pp. 30, 80; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, i, pp. 125, 161; iii, pp. 158, 161; Ibn A‘tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vii, pp. 161-163; Abū Nu‘aym, Hilyat al-awliā’, iv, p. 293; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, al-a‘yān, ii, p. 114; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kāmil, iv, p. 238; Tabarī, Tārīkh, viii, p. 38; Yāqūt, Muḥam al-buldān, vol. i, p. 74; vol. iv, p. 492; al-Maydānī, Majma‘ al-Amthāl, ii, pp. 76, 185, 332, 355; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-’l-nihāyah, vol. v, part ix, p. 139; al-Qālī Amālī, i, p. 116; ii, p. 125; Balādhurī, Ansāb, ii, p. 311.
2. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-’l-tabyīn, ii, pp. 203, 206; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp. 192, 327; Ibn Qutaybah, ‘Uyūn al-Akhhār, vol. i, p. 166; vol. ii, pp. 21, 263; Mas‘ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p. 158.
3. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-’l-tabyīn, i, pp. 35, 395; ii, pp. 89, 217, 238; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp. 150, 152; ii, pp. 120, 126; Ibn Qutaybah, ‘Uyūn al-Akhhār, vol. i, pp. 103, 106, 162, 308, 330; vol. ii, pp. 27, 48, 147, 174, 337; vol. iii, pp. 165, 329; vol. iv, p. 107; Ibn ‘Asākir, Tahdhīb, vi, pp. 437-38; vii, p. 325; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, i, p. 236; ii, p. 170; iii, p. 177; Masūdi, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp. 177-79, 181.
4. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-’l-tabyīn, i, pp. 75, 395; ii, pp. 81, 84, 95, 114, 155, 200, 222, 256, 301, 320, 394; iii, p. 240; Ibn Qutaybah ‘Uyūn al-Akhhār, vol. i, pp. 5, 10, 19, 29, 55, 70, 216, 229, 251-52, 264, 280, 331; vol. ii, pp. 125, 159, 201-02, 207; vol. iii, pp. 126, 128, 244; vol. iv, p. 7; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp. 23, 26, 41, 181, 224, 235; Abū Ishāq al-Huṣri, Zahr al-Adāb, i, p. 238; Ahmad Zakī, Safwat, Jamharat khutab al-‘Arab, ii, p. 105; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, i, p. 269; al-Qālī, Amālī, i, p. 91.



The sayings attributed to Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Malik<sup>1</sup>.

The sayings attributed to ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz<sup>2</sup>.

The sayings attributed to al-Hasan al-Basri<sup>3</sup>.

1. Mas‘ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp. 206, 209-210; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-‘l-tabyīn, i, p. 335; ii, pp. 194, 239; iii, p. 127; iv, p. 118; Ibn Qutaybah, ‘Uyūn al-Akhhbār, vol. i, pp. 24, 212-13, 267, 310, 354; vol. ii, pp. 39-40; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp. 124, 206, 342; al-Maydānī, Majma‘ al-Amthāl, ii, p. 407.
2. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-‘l-tabyīn, i, pp. 174, 211, 255, 258, 350, 368, 396, 398; ii, pp. 35, 76, 91, 150, 164, 192, 211, 289, 311, 341; iii, pp. 126, 130, 142, 167, 197, 240, 246, 281, 285-86; iv, p. 88; Ibn Qutaybah, ‘Uyūn al-Akhhbār, vol. i, pp. 9, 13, 53, 57, 60, 73, 91, 122-23, 126, 231, 258, 264, 288-91, 301, 307; vol. ii, pp. 18, 40, 112, 115, 152, 179, 302, 312, 352, 366; vol. iii, pp. 57, 235; vol. iv, p. 74; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp. 11, 14, 27, 40, 123-24, 129, 156, 178, 216, 230, 240, 289-90, 314; ii, pp. 3, 8, 36, 76, 280; Abū Ishāq al-Husri, Zahr al-Adāb, i, pp. 9, 45-46; Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-buldān, vol. iii, p. 274; al-Maydānī, Majma‘ al-Amthāl, ii, pp. 286, 454; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, i, pp. 109, 150, 157, 210, 237, 302; Ibn ‘Asākir, Tahdhīb, vi, pp. 47-48, 55, 108-09, 219, 371, 410; vii, p. 130; al-Qālī, Amālī, ii, p. 42; Abū Yūsuf, Kitāb al-Kharāj, pp. 11, 17-18; Mas‘ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp. 180, 184-85, 187, 190-92; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v, p. 17; Tabarī, Tārīkh, viii, p. 131; Ibn al-Jawzī, Širat ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, pp. 77, 264; Abū Nu‘aym, Hilyat al-awliā’, v, pp. 261, 264, 267, 271-72, 277, 281-82, 288-90, 331, 333-34, 341.
3. Jāhiz al-Bayān wa-‘l-tabyīn, i, pp. 85, 172, 242, 246; ii, pp. 66, 70, 80, 96, 108; iii, pp. 123, 130, 132-37, 140, 143-47, 155-57, 163-64, 167, 170; iv, p. 29; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp. 13, 20, 27, 81, 164-65, 167-68, 170, 172-74, 188-89, 193, 198, 205, 223, 240, 297, 299, 315, 319, 321, 330, 332, 334, 340; ii, pp. 6, 8; Ibn Qutaybah, ‘Uyūn al-Akhhbār, vol. i, pp. 2, 104, 136, 244, 247, 272, 275, 278, 287, 295, 339; ii, pp. 4, 9, 13, 15, 122-25, 132-33, 137, 173, 245, 294, 300, 323, 340-44, 361, 370-72; vol. iii, pp. 9, 68, 93, 175, 180, 203, 207, 219, 234; vol. iv, pp. 17, 73, 116-17; Ibn ‘Asākir, Tahdhīb, iv, pp. 78-80, 85; Abū Ishāq al-Husri, Zahr al-Adāb, i, pp. 64, 170, 200; al-Maydānī, Majma‘ al-Amthāl, ii, p. 457; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, i, pp. 98-99, 116, 119, 159, 209; ii, p. 44; al-Qālī, Amālī, ii, pp. 33-34, 341; Abū Nu‘aym, Hilyat al-awliā’, viii, pp. 145, 151, 159; Mas‘ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p. 201; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-‘l-nihāyah, vol. v, part ix, p. 266.



The sayings attributed to Aḥnaf ibn Qays<sup>1</sup>.

The sayings attributed to Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān<sup>2</sup> (d.133/750).

The sayings attributed to Salmah ibn Dinār or Abū Hazam al-a'raj<sup>3</sup>.

The sayings attributed to Muṭarrāf ibn 'Abd Allāh<sup>4</sup>.

1. Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, pp.53-54, 211, 257, 274; ii, pp.43, 65, 72, 76, 87-88, 93-94, 135, 144, 149, 176, 193-94, 199-200, 244, 344; iii, p.98; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, pp.23, 73, 102, 156, 172, 177-78, 180, 186, 188, 193, 211, 217, 221, 225-27, 229-30, 272, 283-84, 286-87, 295, 306, 317, 331; vol. iii, pp.4, 35, 92, 136, 197, 220; vol. iv, p.94; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp.29-31, 164, 177-80, 185, 192; Abū Ishāq al-Ḥuṣrī, Zahr al-Adāb, i, pp.63-64; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.331; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, vii, pp.22-27; al-Maydānī, Majma' al-Amthāl, i, p.220; ii, pp.29, 184; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. iv, part viii, p.327; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, i, pp.47-48, 127, 157, 175, 179; ii, pp.155, 310; Ibn Khallikān, Wāfayāt al-a'yān, ii, p.187; Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat Khutab al-'Arab, ii, pp.358, 360-61; al-Qālī, Amālī, i, pp. 178-79.
2. Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, pp.74, 170, 173, 336, 339, 345, 352-53; ii, pp.93, 250, 297; iii, pp.364, 374; iv, p.92; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp.5, 72, 133, 165, 167, 176-77, 181, 190, 301, 340; ii, pp.123-24, 126, 367; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, pp.24, 97, 161, 217, 225, 228, 316; vol. ii, pp.120, 169, 331, 341-42; vol. iii, pp.17, 73, 119, 134, 231; vol. iv, pp.4, 14, 23, 127; Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, vol. i, pp.77, 438; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.261; Abū Ishāq al-Ḥuṣrī, Zahr al-Adāb, ii, pp.85, 263, iii, pp.190, 347; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, v, pp.56-57, 65, 67; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, ii, pp.20, 167; iii, p.342; iv, p.112; al-Qālī Amālī, ii, p.125; Aghānī, ii, pp.33; vii, p.69.
3. Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, pp.127-28, 129, 142, 152, 160, 164, 191, 273; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, pp.2, 227; vol. ii, pp.286, 331, 360-61, 370-71, 373; vol. iii, pp.113, 183, 188; vol. iv, pp.29, 129; al-Imāmah wa-'l-sīyāṣah, ii, pp.105-010; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, vi, pp.119-20, 225-30; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp.5, 11, 73, 306; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.178; Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliā', iii, pp.230-46.
4. Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, pp.137, 179, 307, 327-28; vol. ii, p.289; vol. iii, pp.101, 152-53, 187; Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, p.103; iii, pp.152-53, 172, 174, 182; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp.181, 236; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp.186-87; Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliā', ii, p.198.



The sayings attributed to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah<sup>1</sup>; Maslamah ibn 'Abd Malik<sup>2</sup>; Sa'id ibn al-'Āṣ<sup>3</sup>; 'Amr ibn Sa'id al-Ashdaq<sup>4</sup>; Muhallab ibn Abi Sufrah<sup>5</sup>; Shurayḥ ibn al-Hārith al-Qādī<sup>6</sup>; Muhammad ibn Ka'b al-Qurẓī<sup>7</sup>; Khālīd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī<sup>8</sup>; Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab<sup>9</sup>; 'Umar ibn Hubayrah<sup>10</sup> and Rawḥ ibn Zinhāh<sup>11</sup>.

1. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, p.172; ii, p.151; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, pp.110, 202, 261; vol. ii, p.238; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, p.6; ii, p.253; Aḥmad Zakī Safwat, Jamharat khutab al-'Arab, ii, p.108; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.67.
2. Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, pp.160, 172, 174, 296; vol. ii, pp.44, 158; vol. iv, p.9; Jāhiz al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, pp.207, 344; ii, pp.79, 99, 169, 219, 240; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, p.38; ii, p.123.
3. Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, p.337; vol. ii, p.175; vol. iii, p.180, 190; vol. iv, 17; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, p.84.
4. ibid, ii, p.242.
5. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp.38, 161-62, 224, 238; Abū Ishāq al-Huṣrī, Zahr al-Adāb, i, p.238; Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vii, pp.77, 119-21; Jāhiz al-Bayan wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, pp.66, 188, 248, 315-16; iii, 205; Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, i, pp.176, 236, 269; ii, pp.169, 314; Tabarī, Tārīkh, viii, p.19; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, i, pp.176, 236, 269; ii, pp.169, 314; iv, p.230; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-a'yān, iv, p.435; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.169; al-Qālī, Amālī, i, p.314.
6. Ibn Qataybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, pp.66, 74, 246, 317; vol. iii, pp.169, 190; Ibn 'Āsākir, Tahdhīb, vi, pp.310, 312-14; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp.27-28, 97, 225, 246, 257; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, p.163; ii, p.203; iii, p.130, iv, p.98; Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliā', iv, p.134.
7. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, pp.290, 300; iii, pp.143, 170; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, pp.201, 264; vol. ii, pp.14, 343, 370; vol. iii, p.14; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, p.14.
8. Jāhiz, al-Bayān, wa-'l-tabyīn, i, p.195; ii, p.201; Ibn Qataybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, pp.84, 92, 254, 256; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp.14, 137, 144; ii, pp.117, 121; Ibn 'Āsākir, Tahdhīb, v, pp.71, 81-82; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp.120, 179.
9. Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, pp.82, 236; vol. ii, p.368; vol. iii, p.130; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, pp.292, 297, 377; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, p.93; Aḥmad Zakī Safwat, jamharat khutab al-'Arab, ii, pp.318-19; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp.199-200.
10. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, pp.99, 271, 393; ii, p.188; iii, p.269; Abū Ishāq al-Huṣrī, Zahr al-Adāb, i, p.180; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, pp.18, 31, 174, 225-26; vol. iii, p.140; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.201.
11. Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, p.102; vol. ii, p.8; Jāhiz al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, pp.358, 392; Ibn 'Āsākir, Tahdhīb, v, pp.341-42; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp.7-8; Abū Ishāq al-Huṣrī, Zahr al-Adāb, ii, p.94.



The sayings attributed to ‘Amr ibn al-‘As<sup>1</sup>; Muhammad ibn ‘Ali al-Hanafiyah<sup>2</sup>; ‘Ali ibn al-Husayn<sup>3</sup>; Sa’sa‘ ibn Sūhān<sup>4</sup>; Anas ibn Mālik<sup>5</sup>; Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri<sup>6</sup>; ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād<sup>7</sup>; ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar<sup>8</sup>; Ghaylān al-Qadri<sup>9</sup>; Daghfal ibn Hanzalah<sup>10</sup>.

1. Ibn Qutaybah, ‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, pp. 40, 70, 136, 163, 169, 284, 307, 309, 318; vol. ii, pp. 172, 215, 310; vol. iii, pp. 49, 99, 219; Jāhiz al-Bayān wa-‘l-tabyīn, i, p. 409; ii, pp. 39, 81, 113, 285, 298, 301-03; iii, p. 301; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp. 9, 11, 18, 21, 171, 173, 176, 226, 252; ii, pp. 4, 112-13, 115; Mas‘ūdī Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp. 9-10, 18, 20, 23, 168; al-Maydānī, Majma‘ al-Amthāl, i, p. 298; Abū Ishāq al-Husri, Zahr al-Adāb, i, p. 63; Ahmad Zaki Safwat, Jamhar al-khutab al-‘Arab, ii, pp. 167-68, 102.
2. Abū Ishāq al-Husri, Zahr al-Adāb, i, pp. 69-71; Mas‘ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, ii, pp. 428-29; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p. 7; Tabari, Tārīkh, vi, pp. 190-91; Ibn ‘Asākir, Tahdhīb, vii, p. 417.
3. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-‘l-tabyīn, i, p. 84; ii, p. 76; Ibn Qutaybah, ‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, p. 275; vol. ii, pp. 331, 334; vol. iii, p. 97; vol. iv, p. 8; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp. 160-61, 301, 309; ii, p. 34; Abū Ishāq al-Husri, Zahr al-Adāb, i, p. 74.
4. Mas‘ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp. 37, 39, 41-47; at-Qālī, Amālī, i, p. 306; iii, p. 252; Ibn Qutaybah, ‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. ii, p. 173; vol. iii, p. 21; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-‘l-tabyīn, i, pp. 133, 393; ii, p. 181; Ibn ‘Asākir, Tahdhīb, vi, pp. 426-29; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, i, p. 71; ii, p. 247.
5. Ibn Qutaybah, ‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. ii, p. 316; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-‘l-tabyīn, iii, p. 128.
6. ibid, vol. i, p. 213; vol. ii, pp. 179, 225; vol. iii, p. 149; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-‘l-tabyīn, i, p. 104; ii, p. 177; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp. 20, 73, 140, 167-68, 205, 310.
7. ibid, vol. i, pp. 145, 168; vol. ii, pp. 44, 258; i, pp. 134-35, 315; ii, pp. 68-69, 130; iv, p. 18; i, pp. 150, 266.
8. Ibn Qutaybah, ‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. i, p. 137; vol. ii, pp. 23, 130, 362; vol. iii, pp. 34, 140, 146, 231; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-‘l-tabyīn, i, p. 97; ii, pp. 26-27; iii, p. 150; Ibn ‘Asākir, Tahdhīb, vii, pp. 419, 424; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp. 4, 180, 202.
9. Ibn Qutaybah, ‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. ii, pp. 345-46; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p. 176.
10. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-‘l-tabyīn, i, pp. 121, 247, 273; ii, p. 80; Ibn Qutaybah, ‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār, vol. ii, p. 74; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, i, p. 163; ii, p. 43; Ibn ‘Asākir, Tahdhīb, v, p. 249.



The sayings attributed to Zayd ibn 'Alī ibn al-Musayn<sup>1</sup> (d.122/740);

Rajā' ibn Haywah<sup>2</sup>; 'Amir ibn 'Abd Allāh<sup>3</sup> (d.55/675); Qutaybah ibn

Muslim<sup>4</sup>; Mālik ibn Dīnār<sup>5</sup> (d.123/741); 'Amir al-Sha'bi<sup>6</sup>; Wahb ibn

Munabbih<sup>7</sup>; Bilāl ibn Abī Burdah<sup>8</sup> (d.126/744); al-Mughirah ibn Shu'bah<sup>9</sup>.

1. Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhār, vol.i, p.291; vol.iii, p.92; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn, i, pp.301-10, 353; iii, p.168; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, p.226; ii, p.120.
2. Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliā', v, p.171; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn, ii, p.107; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhār, vol.i, pp.102, 264; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, v, pp.317-18; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, p.155.
3. Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliā', ii, pp.89-94.
4. Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.120; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhār, vol.i, pp.iii, 123-24, 141, 258, 301; vol.ii, p.15; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn, ii, pp.108, 175; iii, p.273; Ahmad Zakī Safwat, Jamharat Khutab al-'Arab, ii, pp.312-13.
5. Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliā', ii, pp.358, 366, 380, 384; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhār, vol.ii, pp.125, 127, 178, 289, 296, 359, 369; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn, i, pp.120, 394; ii, p.193; iii, pp.131, 160; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp.165, 167.
6. Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliā', iv, pp.311-328; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhār, vol.i, pp.16, 19, 104, 212, 275, 279, 283, 308, 314-15; vol.ii, pp.20, 37, 54, 60, 130; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn, i, pp.242, 297, 305; .ii, pp.66, 199; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp.135, 151, 155, 165, 168, 235, 240; ii, pp.38, 78, 124; iii, p.12; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, vii, pp.146-49, 154, 157; Abū Ishāq al-Husri, Zahr al-Adāb, i, p.65; Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, p.145.
7. Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliā', iv, pp.34, 37, 43, 46; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhār, vol.i, pp.275-76; vol.ii, pp.260, 270, 272, 275, 281, 328; vol.iii, pp.21, 179, 284; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp.4, 297-98, 334.
8. Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhār, vol.i, pp.80, 125, 141, 318; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn, i, p.397; ii, pp.164, 166, 218; iii, p.209; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.121; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, iii, pp.222-24.
9. al-Maydānī, Majma' al-Amthāl, ii, p.456; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhār, vol.i, p.280; vol.ii, p.200; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, pp.26, 83, 171; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn, i, p.86; ii, p.83; iii, pp.214, 280; Ahmad Zakī Safwat, Jamharat Khutab al-'Arab, ii, p.107.



The sayings attributed to Abū al-Aswad al-Duʿalī<sup>1</sup>; Qāṭif Aḡās<sup>2</sup>  
 (d. 111/742); ʿAyūb ibn al-Jarīyyah<sup>3</sup>; al-Farāḡīq<sup>4</sup>; ʿAyūb al-Sakhtī-  
 yānī<sup>5</sup>; ʿAqīl ibn Abī Ḥalīb<sup>6</sup>; ʿĀʾishah bint Abī Bakr<sup>7</sup>; Masʿūd ibn  
 al-Dubayr<sup>8</sup>; ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥārith<sup>9</sup> (d. 84/703); Rabīʿ ibn Khay-  
 tham<sup>10</sup> (d. 63/684); Abū Muslim al-Shawlānī<sup>11</sup> (d. 62/682) and Mawraq  
 ibn Shamsah al-ʿAjali<sup>12</sup> (d. 100/720).

1. al-Qāṭif, *Amālī*, ii, p. 15; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, i, pp. 164, 143, 196; Ibn Qutaybah, *ʿUyūn al-Akhhār*, vol. i, pp. 300, 332; vol. ii, pp. 25, 31, 158, 164-65; vol. iii, pp. 68, 228; vol. iv, p. 122; Jāhiz, *al-Bayān wa-ʿl-tabyīn*, i, p. 379; ii, pp. 72, 82; iii, p. 100; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, vii, pp. 108-09, 111-13, 115-17.
2. Ibn Qutaybah, *ʿUyūn al-Akhhār*, vol. i, pp. 17, 69, 71, 74, 102, 225, 275; vol. ii, p. 143; vol. iii, p. 30; Jāhiz, *al-Bayān wa-ʿl-tabyīn*, i, pp. 98-102; ii, p. 195; iv, p. 91; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, i, p. 18; ii, p. 247; Abū Ishāq al-Ḥusri, *Zahr al-Adīb*, i, p. 181; *al-Mawḍiʿ*, *Majmaʿ al-Amthāl*, ii, p. 73.
3. Abū Ishāq al-Ḥusri, *Zahr al-Adīb*, p. 86.
4. Fāṭif, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, vol. v, p. 17; al-Qāṭif, *Amālī*, ii, p. 262; Ibn Qutaybah, *ʿUyūn al-Akhhār*, vol. i, pp. 157, 175; vol. ii, pp. 124, 128.
5. Ibn Qutaybah, *ʿUyūn al-Akhhār*, vol. ii, p. 102; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliāʾ*, iii, pp. 5-10.
6. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, ii, p. 110; Jāhiz, *al-Bayān wa-ʿl-tabyīn*, ii, pp. 324-27; Masʿūdī, *Marūj al-Dhahab*, iii, pp. 36-37.
7. Ibn Qutaybah, *ʿUyūn al-Akhhār*, vol. i, pp. 108, 141, 202, 204; vol. ii, pp. 278, 313-14; vol. iii, p. 23; vol. iv, pp. 1, 20, 55, 102; Jāhiz, *al-Bayān wa-ʿl-tabyīn*, i, pp. 18, 28; ii, pp. 67, 99, 294-95, 298, 302-03; iii, p. 1; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, i, pp. 20, 232; ii, pp. 3, 7, 27; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliāʾ*, ii, p. 43.
8. Abū Ishāq al-Ḥusri, *Zahr al-Adīb*, i, p. 63; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, i, p. 150; Jāhiz, *al-Bayān wa-ʿl-tabyīn*, iii, p. 96.
9. Masʿūdī, *Marūj al-Dhahab*, iii, pp. 168-69.
10. Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliāʾ*, ii, pp. 1-6-12.
11. *ibid.*, ii, pp. 113-29.
12. *ibid.*, ii, pp. 234-36.



The Tawqi'āt.

Some small sentences but highly significant, written by the Caliph or by his representatives in the lower part of the letters as comments, are called tawqi'āt. Some tawqi'āt of the Umayyad period have reached us.<sup>1</sup>

The specimen of tawqi'āt .

Some tawqi'āt of Mu'āwiyah ibn Abi Sufyān :

- ( ١ ) بيت اسية في الجاهلية أشرف من بيت حبيب في الإسلام، فأنت تراه .
- ( ٢ ) عشن رهياً ترعجياً .
- ( ٣ ) إن أبا سفيان وأبا الفضل كانا في الجاهلية في مسلخ واحد، وذلك حلف للإجماله  
سوء رأيك -
- ( ٤ ) ليت طول حلمنا عندك لا يدعوه جهل غيرنا إليك -

Some tawqi'āt of Ziyād ibn Abih :

- ( ١ ) قد كنت على الذنار، وإخالك ذاعراً -
- ( ٢ ) استر بعض دينك ببعض، وإلا ذهب كله -
- ( ٣ ) أمط الحدود عن ذوى المروءات -
- ( ٤ ) من أماله الباطل قوته الحق -
- ( ٥ ) رجا كان عقوق الولد من سوء تاديب الوالد -
- ( ٦ ) لك في مال الله نصيب أنت آخذة -
- ( ٧ ) الثائب من الذنب كن لا ذنب له -

1. Ahmad Zaki Safwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp. 491-504.



## CHAPTER - XI

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Prose is a speech outcome of intelligence and perception<sup>1</sup>. It is a main vehicle of thoughts and culture. It is a very powerful and wide-ranging medium. Arts and science, civilizations and technologies, in a word the finest fruits of human exploration are preserved in prose. It is an easier medium of communication. The intellectuals deposit their accumulated thoughts and ideas mainly in prose literature. It is also a medium of major disciplines. In preserving the history and civilization of any nation prose plays more momentous role than poetry.

Now Arabic prose is also the main vehicle of 'Arab thoughts and culture. In proper conotation it is the vehicle of thoughts and culture of those who speak and write Arabic irrespective of their ethnological consideration. Their history, their civilization, their way of life and thinking, their religion, their mental gymnastics, their philosophy of life - all are stored in the repository of Arabic prose literature. Quite naturally the prose literature of the Umayyad period contains 'Arab thoughts and culture and that of Islām too in its formative stage for ninety years. Because the Umayyad ruled <sup>over</sup> ~~over~~ a vast expanse of the then civilized world from 661 to 750 A.D.

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1. Aḥmad Shāyḅ, Uṣūl al-Naqd al-‘Arabī, p.328.



As a student of Arabic literature, the present writer has always been pestered with some pertinent questions when he has gone through the accounts given by the great Arabists about the prose literature of the Umayyad period. For example Nicholson remarks, "Concerning the prose writers of the period we can make only a few general observations, in as much as their works have entirely been lost".<sup>1</sup> What about other branches of prose literature like Khutbahs, rasā'il and other forms? And what were their type, kind, bulk and volume of the extant prose literature of this period if any? Similarly no Arabist has yet presented a distinct picture of prose legacy of the Umayyad period. Even no survey has been made on the sources that are lost. In the midst of these questions a note of expectance was echoed in the writings of H.A.R. Gibb while he remarked, "There still remains an enormous mass of material, however, much of which, existing only in scattered manuscripts, has not yet been fully examined or made generally available".<sup>2</sup> His remark is indeed pertinent. Ahmad Amin, a modern writer, who has dealt with Arabic prose of the Umayyad period on a larger scale, made no satisfactory discussion on the prose literature under the Umayyads. He has also in a very peremptory manner said, "Excepting very few books composed during the Umayyad period, no book has reached us".<sup>3</sup> And the list of the survived works of the period given by him is very scanty.

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1. A Literary History of the 'Arabs, p.246.

2. Arabic Literature, p.6.

3. Fajr al-Islām, p.169.



In the Literary History of the Arabs, Nicholson has glimpsed of very few historians flourished during the Umayyad period. He has mentioned their works but he has not touched the oratorical and epistolary prose which flourished to a great extent during the Umayyad period.

Goldziher in his short History of Classical Arabic literature has compressed the account of the Umayyad period to the maximum extent. He has mentioned the literary activities of some folklorists of the period. That whatever may be the nature of the works on Alchemy by Khālid ibn Yazid, mentioned by Huart, is totally ignored by Goldziher even when he dwelt upon the Arab cultivation of Alchemy. Moreover, he had a wrong notion about the development of hadith literature of the period. He hazarded conjecture that the reckless fabrication of hadith by the politico-religious factions of the Umayyad period had adverse effect upon the preservation of the hadith in writing. This idea about hadith is wrong. This is why he failed to take due cognizance of the hadith literature which was most widely cultivated during the Umayyad period. Huart's Arabic Literature though informative is also inexhaustive. Moreover, the present writer cannot agree with him on the point "that the theological works of those days have not come down to us".<sup>1</sup> In fact some theological works in manuscripts by al-Hasan al-Basri have reached.

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1. Arabic Literature, p.62.



In A History of Arabic Literature, Umayyad period, the author K.A. Fariq has tried his best to refute the age-long idea that the early Islāmic period produced nothing but poetry. He has mentioned many prose-writers of the Umayyad period along with their works. But he afforded more space for the authors rather than their works. Moreover, his accounts about metamorphosis in the texts of the prose of the period are too extreme to be founded.

Tadwin-e-Hadith by Sayyad Manāzir Ahsan Ghalanī is one of the most informative sources on the development of ḥadīth literature. He has not only refuted those orientalist who have cast their doubts about the genuineness of ḥadīth literature but he has also discussed in detail the different stages through which the ḥadīth literature passed its earlier period.

Similarly al-Sunnah wā makanatuha fi l-tashrī' l-Islāmi by Dr. Muṣṭafā al-Sabā'ī is by far the better source on the development of ḥadīth literature. He has very strongly refuted the standpoint of both Goldziher and Aḥmad Amīn about the fabrication of ḥadīth and its authenticity.

"The Earliest Extent Work On The Ḥadīth" by Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh is a publication of Ṣaḥīfah of Hammām ibn Munabbih. In the introduction of this treatise, the author has given most important and valuable information about some Ṣaḥīfahs of the early period. He has also discussed the history of the compilation of Ṣaḥīfah literature.



**al-Tafsīr wa-ʿl-mufasssīrūn** by Dr. Muḥammad Husayn al-Dhahabī is one of the best works on the history of tafsīr literature. He has given most interesting information about the wide cultivation of tafsīr literature during the Umayyad period.

Jurjī Zaydān's accounts in his **Tārīkh al-Lughah al-ʿArabiyyah** and those of Ḥasan Ziyḡāt in his **Tārīkh al-Adab al-ʿArabī** are very much sketchy and full of outdated ideas in some respects.

**Tārīkh al-Adab al-ʿArabī** by Dr. Shawqī Dayf is by far the best book. He has discussed in it the development of almost all the forms of Arabic prose literature of the Umayyad period. His ideas are far advanced than those of Aḥmad Amin, Jurjī Zaydān and Ḥasan Ziyḡāt. But there is no discussion about the Hikam, literary pronouncements (maqālāt) and some other prose forms of the Umayyad period. He has afforded more space for ʿAbd al-Ḥamid al-Kātib but very little space for other official and private rasā'il of the period. Nor did he thoroughly discuss the literary merits and demerits of the Khatbahs and rasā'il of the period.

The **Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and their Authors** by Professor Joseph Horowitz in German language, translated into English by Muḥammad Marmaduke Pickthall, is a very important as well as a highly informative work on the development of Arabic historiography. He has given most valuable information while he writes, "The riwāyāt of the historical materials, preserved in the Umayyad period are the specimen of the oldest Arabic prose literature"<sup>1</sup>. Though not exhaustive, the information of historical materials in this article is enough.

1. **The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and their authors**, published in **Islāmic Culture**, 1928, p.548.



Recently the Cambridge University has published the Arabic Literature to the end of the Umayyad period. In this book the Arabic literature that flourished up to the Umayyad period is reviewed in detail. But a systematic treatment of the evolution of different branches of Arabic prose of the Umayyad period is conspicuously absent in it. Only some rasā'il of 'Abd al-Hamīd al-Kaṭīb are evaluated but other rasā'il are ignored as unimportant and insignificant. The discussion on Khutbahs is sketchy as well.

Each and every source mentioned above is incomprehensive and inadequate to give a full and distinct picture of the growth and development of Arabic prose under the Umayyad. The present writer has, therefore, intended to do the present work which is designed and expected to give a clear but distinct vista of the same. He has tried his best to find out the answers to the questions which he has posed to advert. But it is a herculian task to collect the pieces of the prose of this period, lying scattered in the pages of the classical works. The main problem lies in the fact that no contemporary source is available.

In addition, personal predilection is also responsible for selecting the present subject of study.

As in other literature, no period of Arabic literature can be conceived in isolation. In the process of growth and development of any literature, the preceeding period paves the way and in this process the past can never be past and ignored. So with a view to showing the comparative picture of the growth and development, of prose literature under the Umayyads, a cursory view of the prose literature of the Prophet's period and



that of his four Caliphs is also made and the different forms developed therein are examined and evaluated as well.

As for the Umayyad period with which the present thesis is mainly concerned, the present writer has tried his best to bring under purview the lost and extant prose viz, the works composed during this period but lost, the works extant in the forms of manuscripts, publication, reproduction, works incorporated in the later works, the extant Khutbahs, rasā'il, hikam, (wise-saying) conversations, waṣāyā, rathāyā, other literary pronouncements (منازل) and tawqī'āt (توقيعات).

A substantial number of Khutbahs, rasā'il and other forms are collected, examined and evaluated. Their bulk and volume are determined.

The authenticity of the pieces of the Umayyad prose which are preserved in the earlier sources is examined by comparing them with some extant pieces of the Umayyad prose which are published. As for example, the compactness in texture, depth in thought, grammatical precision, robustness in expression, domination of trilateral words, natural flow and absence of linguistic ornaments excepting those of 'Abd Hamīd al-Kātib are equally found in the pieces which are preserved in the earlier sources and in the language of the books and risālah published like Kitāb fī akhbār al-yaman wa ash'ārihā wa ansābihā by 'Abīd ibn Sharyā, published by Freitz Krankow as a supplement to Kitāb al-Tījān by Ibn Hishām, Tanzil al-Qur'an by Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, published by Ṣilāh al-Dīn al-Manjad in Beirut, Masā'il by 'Abd Allāh ibn Sālim, published in Cairo and risālah fī al-Qadr by al-Hasan al-Basri, published by H. Ritter.



Yet the fact remains that some sort of metamorphosis in the form of omission, insertion and the like took place in the texts of the Umayyad prose during the process of transmission as well as in the hands of the Copyists. But undoubtedly in major cases the original texture, and dictions are retained.

Furthermore, that the inclusion of different forms of the Umayyad prose in the works of the great classical authors like Jāhiz, Mubarrad, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, Ibn Qutaybah, Tabarī and Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī and their acceptance of those forms as Umayyad prose bear the testimony that the Umayyad prose has retained its originality at least in major features. As a matter of fact the pieces of the Umayyad prose were contemporary written materials which were included by the later authors in their works. There is no cogent reason to believe that the Umayyad prose was orally preserved. There was no dearth of Kātibis nor was there any want of materials for writings; Papyrus was used in large measures in maintaining official registers during the Umayyad period.

Besides, sufficient internal evidences are there in the texts themselves. In almost all the rasā'il minus those of 'Abd al-Hamid of later Umayyad period, no traces of effort to introduce the figures of speeches, synonyms, antonyms, rhymes, matching phrases and all other devices of 'ilm al-badī', the characteristic features of Abbasid prose, are detected. If the letter addressed to 'Isā ibn Mūsā by the Abbasid Caliph al-Mansūr and the former's reply to the letter, preserved by Tabarī<sup>1</sup> are compared with any letter of the early Umayyad period, the difference in prose style will easily be understood.

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1. Tārīkh, IX, pp.269-71.



Similarly the Khutbah of al-Mansūr, preserved by Ibn Qutaybah and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih<sup>1</sup> may be compared with any khutbah of Umayyad Caliph to see the linguistic difference and other devices. The texture of the Umayyad rasā'il and Khutbahs is compact, precise, marked by natural flow with trilateral words predominating, whereas the Abbasid rasā'il and Khutbahs are marked by abundant use of linguistic ornaments which were introduced into Arabic language through Greek and Persian influence during Abbasid period.

That the Umayyad prose did not suffer <sup>through</sup> thorough metamorphosis is also proved by the remarks given by professor Horowitz while he writes, "The riwāyāt of historical materials, preserved in the Umayyad period, are the specimen of the oldest Arabic prose literature."<sup>2</sup>

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1. 'Uyūn al-Akhbār, Vol. II, p. 253; al-'Iqd al-Farīd, II, p. 148.

2. The earliest biographies of the prophet and their authors, published in Islamic Culture, 1928, p. 548.

Wrong?  
reference



### CHAPTER - III

#### A cursory view of Arabic prose prior to Umayyad period.

For clear understanding of the growth and development of Arabic prose under the Umayyads, a cursory view of Arabic prose prior to Umayyad period is of prime necessity. Arabic prose passed through different stages during its growth and development upto the Umayyad period. During Jāhiliyyah period, it developed in the form of evening tales (Samar) told under the nomad's tents, stories which were carried from place to place by the professional story-tellers such as Nadr ibn al-Hārīth of Makkah, the recitals of 'Arab Days (al-Ayyām), proverbs, wise-sayings, admonitory pronouncements, rasā'il, khutbahs and the rhyme prose of the sooth-sayers. As the art of writing was in a crude and primitive form and very few 'Arabs were conversant with that art in the Jāhiliyyah period, these forms of Arabic prose retained their existence altogether in oral tradition. Undoubtedly these prose forms were quite bulky and abundant, but the 'Arab rhapsodists and philologists of the later period paid little attention to preserve them. As a result only those forms memorized by the common people for their brevity and other literary merits have come down to us.

Arabic prose of this period is characterized by simplicity, naturalness, lucidity, succinctness and portrayal of Beduin environment without slight traces of exaggeration in expression. Sometime, of course, on account of frequent usages of proverbs the link between the sentences becomes loose and unintelligible.<sup>1</sup>

The period of the Prophet and that of his four Caliphs is a turning point in the growth and development of Arabic prose literature. During this period Arabic prose made

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1. Ahmad Hasan Zayyāt, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī (Urdu trans.) p.63.



a great stride. What is most surprising is that the period between the advent of Islam and that of Ali, is the shortest ever recorded in the history of mankind, in which Arabic language blazed forth into a most polished literature both in texture and concepts. The educational policy adopted by the prophet of Islām and that policy followed by his four Caliphs on the one hand, the Qur'ān and the hadīth on the other were responsible for this sudden progress. It is said that at the time of the advent of Islām only seventeen persons of Makkah knew how to read and write and the number of such persons was even smaller in Madīnah. To fill up this intellectual vacuum, the Prophet of Islām declared his policy for mass education saying, "Acquisition of learning is obligatory on both male and female muslim (طلب العلم فريضة على كل مسلم ومسلمة)

Having this mass education in view, the Prophet of Islam took some practical measures. At the very initial stage of his mission, he arranged that whenever the verses and the chapters of the Qur'ān were revealed, they were committed to writing. A bureau of amanuenses was appointed by him to transcribe the Divine commandments which received from him a great measure of attention. The Prophet of Islām paid so much attention to the spread of writing that he fixed ransom for the Captives of Badr that among them who knew how to read and write should each teach ten muslim boys the art of writing.

After arrival at the City of Madīnah, the first task undertaken by the Prophet for mass education in a larger scale was the construction of the mosque, later called Masjīd al-Nabi. In one part of it a thatched platform (suffah) was erected. This thatched Platform was the first residential University of Islām. Here the Prophet was the guide



under whose direct supervision and guidance teachers appointed by him would teach the students the tenets of Islām. 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'īd ibn al-Ās was one such instructor in this University for teaching the art of writing. He was an expert calligraphist and passed for a Kātib even in the Jāhiliyyah period. Here the whole time students whose number varied from 70 to 80 normally would receive their lessons together with non-residential students both making the number four hundred and even sometime the number swelled still more when foreign visitors came to Madinah. This University produced a galaxy of scholars under whose initiative Arabic prose thrived immeasurably. Last but not least, was the step undertaken by the Prophet for the commissioning of qurrā' (Qur'ān teachers) to different muslim tribes living throughout the length and breadth of Islāmic State, who needed more than anything the Qur'ānic knowledge. These qurrā' held study circles at Makkah, Madinah, Tā'if, Ṣan'ā and Baḥrayn. In Madinah for teaching the boys nine schools were started in the nine mosques.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly the literary drive launched by the Prophet was followed by his four Caliphs with more vigour and enthusiasm. With the expansion of Islām outside the frontiers of Arabia during the time of the four Caliphs, the field became far wider. The governors, generals, accountants, secretaries, jurists and qurrā' were in great demand. So, the study circles arranged and held in prophet's time were developed further and new ones were started either by the order of the Caliphs or on private initiative at the capital cities of the conquered lands. al-Basrah, al-Kūfah, Homs, Damascus and al-Fustāt became such centres where study circles worked most successfully.

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1. A. Raḥim, Ḥadīth Sankalanir itihāsh, p.218.



Three new major forms of Arabic prose came into being during this period like the Qur'ān, the ḥadīth and the history. Of the three, the Qur'ān and the ḥadīth stand out as the two great landmarks in the Arabic prose literature as a whole. Arabic prose particularly the Qur'ān and the ḥadīth became the most effective instrument which was best utilized by the young Islām in the propagation of its<sup>o</sup> faith and all other practical purposes. The Qur'ān and the ḥadīth have not only made Arabic prose ever richest but they have also most tremendously expanded the frontiers of human knowledge.

The Qur'ān, the great literary monument in Arabic prose is the first book of prose in Arabic and the most widely studied book ever-written.<sup>1</sup> Its language, its texture and concepts are unique. According to C. Rabin its language stands somewhere between poetical standard Koine and the Hizājī dialect.<sup>2</sup> In the earlier surahs predominance of a poetical element, a deep appreciation of the beauty of natural objects, denunciation of woe and punishment and the brevity in extreme form are the main features. In these surahs the same style of the rhyme prose reappears.<sup>3</sup> In the surahs of Makkah the style was grave, earnest and rhetorical. In Madinah the Prophet appears as a practical man of politics, a legislator and an administrator. Here enthusiasm is less fierce, the preacher is giving place to the law

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1. R.B. Se / M.A.G, Encyclopaedia, Britannica, vol.i,p.1043; Charles Pellat, The World of Islam, p.142.
  2. R. Paret, Cambridge History of Arabic Literature, p.196; W.E. Mulligan, Encyclopaedia, Islam, vol.i,p.566
  3. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, vol.i,p.671



giver and statesman. It's style is now plain and simple.<sup>1</sup> "It's style is rhythmical and rhetorical", says Professor Hitti.<sup>2</sup> About the opening chapters of the Qur'ān Khawaja Kamaluddin says, "What a wonderful piece of literary composition ! What a miracle in language !" <sup>3</sup> "In it's style there is no excess and no superfluity; the words are in due proportion to their meanings".<sup>4</sup> The arrangement of surahs is not preposterous as Nicholson remarks. Sayūṭī has precisely arranged them in chronological order.<sup>5</sup> Sir William Muir has very successfully arranged them into six periods.<sup>6</sup> In a word, the major beauty and force of it's style lies, in great measures, in it's rhyme and rhetoric and in the cadence and sweep.

There is no book in the world which has exerted so much influence on any literature as the Qur'ān did on Arabic literature. According A.H.R.Gibb, "The influence of the Qur'ān on the development of Arabic literature has been incalculable".<sup>7</sup> The first and the foremost influence is that , that the Qur'ān by its very existence has fixed once for all the classical form of Arabic prose. The classical prose continues it's march never deviating from the model fixed by the Qur'ān . The early Islāmic prose literature was indeed nothing but the echoes of the Qur'ān in the form and style. The Qur'ānic texts became the foundation of the Arabic humanities and classics.<sup>8</sup> The

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1. Tomas Patrick Hughes, Dictionary of Islām, p.493

2. History of the Arabs, p.127

3. Islāmic Review, January and February, p.32, 1933.

4. Shawqī Dayf, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, vol.ii, p.33

5. Itqan, i, p.6

6. Tomas Patrick Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, p.493

7. Arabic Literature, p.26

8. Charles Pellat, The world of Islām, p.142.



existence of literary Arabic also owes much to the Qur'ān. Nay, the very development of Arabic prose began with the revelation of the Qur'ān. The Holy Book by its excellence became the most authentic model for literary usages. It brought about a revolution in the life of the poetically minded Arabs who now gave more attention to the life, belief and practical philosophy enunciated by Islām. In fact, the Qur'ān has been a source of the development of Arabic language and literature.<sup>1</sup> The Arabic writers, the orators and the scribes began seeking relevance in the Qur'ān. It has become a literary guide and a linguistic authority for literary Arab celebrities of all ages. Again a section of Muslim devouts address themselves to the learning of the Qur'ān and pondering on the beauty of its style. "Its rhymed prose has set the standard which almost every conservative Arabic writer of even to-day strives to emulate".<sup>2</sup> In a word, the Qur'ān has exerted such a tremendous influence on the Arabic literary language that it has turned Arabic into a language of legislation and religious and moral guidance.

Another most vital influence of the Qur'ān as suggested by Dr. Shawqī Dayf is that, that it has lessened the gap among the different Arabic dialects. It has unified all Arabic speaking people on the dialect of the Quraysh<sup>3</sup>. The Muslim Arabs irrespective of North and South carried the Qur'ān with them. It helped developing the language of the Quraysh into a standard language. Ultimately a class of Qur'rā' (Qur'ān reciters) came into existence and they carried the language of the Qur'ān to the nook and corner of the Arabian peninsula.

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1. Shawqī Dayf, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabi, ii, p.31.
  2. Hitti, History of the Arabs, p.127
  3. Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabi, ii, p.31.



The Qur'ān has made the Arabic language free from the usages of unfamiliar and archaic words and expressions.<sup>1</sup> The study of the **secrets** of the Qur'ānic eloquence (i'jāz) has given Arabic literary criticism a **special** approach and a wealth of material.<sup>2</sup>

The Qur'ānic style, which has influenced Arabic literature in all stages of development, is neither preceded nor is it followed by any better style.<sup>3</sup>

In connection with its influence on the Khutbahs, al-Jāhiz says, "The insertion of the verses of the Qur'ān in the Khutbahs of general assemblies and in those of the Fridays and 'Īd ceremonies was liked and favoured by the 'Arabs as this sort of insertion makes the Khutbahs bright, grave, subtle and easy".<sup>4</sup> Finally, it is due to the Qur'ān that Arabic became the sacred language of the whole muslim world. All islāmic sciences are germinated in the Qur'ān.<sup>5</sup>

The words, the deeds and the tacit approvals attributed to the prophet Muḥammad are called ḥadīth. It includes the whole range of his private and public life. His behests, his religious and social practices, his general dealings with man and women, his diplomacy as a statesman, his wars, agreements, documents and correspondence all are denoted by the word ḥadīth.

The Prophet lived among his companions who liked to accompany him all the times. They would long earnestly to listen to what he said, and to see what he did and what he approved. If regular

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1. Shawqī Dayf, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, ii, p.33

2. Encyclopaedia, Islām, vol.i, p.567.

3. Shawqī Dayf, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, ii, p.34.

4. al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, p.118

5. Sayūṭī, al-Itqān, i, p.128



attendance in the Prophet's meeting was not possible for any one, he would divide the days by turn with some one else. "Umar ibn al-Khattāb saīd, "I and a neighbour of mine from the Ansārs would be present before the Prophet by turn. When I attended, I would inform him of all that I saw and heard on that day and he would do the same in his turn". And those who lived in distant places, would try to record his sayings, doings and approval at random without differentiating the Prophet's pronouncements from those of revealed words and expressions. To eliminate any possibility of mixing the words of Allāh with those of the Prophet, a careful step was taken by the Prophet who debarred his companions from recording his ḥadīth en masse. Yet 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, another Ansār, Abū Rāfi' a freed slave of the Prophet, and Anas ibn Malik were granted special permission by the prophet to record his ḥadīth. They had their collection of Ḥadīth in the book form<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, 'Amr ibn Ḥaṣm, governor of Yemen appointed by the Prophet received instructions from him regarding the administrative policy to be followed. He collected 21 such documents and compiled them into a book form. These documents are extant in the publication by a Syrian scholar Ibn Ṭulūn.<sup>2</sup> But later on, when the companions of the Prophet became matured to distinguish between the style of the Qur'ān and that of ḥadīth, a general permission was accorded to those experts.

In addition, the Prophet himself left for his Ummah a considerable number of prose materials in the form of Madīnah constitution, letters-patent granting right over lands, letters of proselytism inviting the kings and the rulers to embrace Islam, the instructions

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1. Manāẓir Ahsan Ghilani, Tadwin-e-Ḥadīth, pp.266-67; Muḥammad Hamīd Allāh, The extant work on the Ḥadīth, pp.34-40.



to the governors, rules of administration and tariffs of taxes and transcription of his Khutbah for Abū Shah. This is a short picture of how ḥadīth was cultivated in writing during the time of the Prophet.

In the Qur'ān, there are the words and expressions which require interpretation. This need was also satisfied by explanations given by the Prophet. Again solutions of the problems not covered by the Qur'ān, were also given by the Prophet. Thus a corpus of ḥadīth was evolved by the necessities during the time of the Prophet.

During the time of the four Caliphs the cultivation of ḥadīth was widely but firmly started. After the demise of the Prophet his companions were inspired for the transmission of ḥadīth by the commandment of the Prophet "May Allah make prosper the man who listens to my pronouncement, preserves it and thereafter transmits it as exactly as he hears as many a transmitter preserves more than one who hears. Beware ! from among you, who is present, should transmit to one who is absent."

(نص الله إمرأ سمع بعالي فحفظها ووعاها فأرادها كما سمعها، ورب مبلغ أوعى من سامع إلا  
يلبغ الشاهد منكم الغائب)

They were equally careful in a stern measure of another ḥadīth -

"Suffice it say for a man to pass for a liar to narrate whatever, he hears."

(كفى بالمرء كذبا أن يحدث بكل ما سمع)

These two ḥadīths were the main source both for **inspiration** and care in the transmission of ḥadīth by the companions most of them now settled in the far off lands when the frontiers of the Islāmic state extensively extended. During this period the successors (tabi'ūn) used to make journey to meet the companions in quest of information about the details of the Prophet's life.<sup>1</sup>

1. Muṣṭafā al-Sabā'ī, al-Sunnah wa makanatuhā fī al-tashrī' al-Islāmī, p. 82.



On the basis of the contents of the said hadiths, the attitudes of the companions as to the transmission of hadith were divided into two sharp divisions. Being extremely inspired by the former hadith, one group of the companions became profuse (Mukaththirun) in narration and another group became careful and critical who narrated a fewer hadith (Muqallilun). They paid much attention to the later hadith.

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However, in al-'Irāq, Syria, Persia and Egypt study circles were held by the competent companions appointed by the Caliphs primarily as qurrā' (Qur'ān teachers) and fughā' (the legal guides) who needed to have recourse to quote hadiths to explain the obscure words, expressions and glossaries of the Qur'ān and also to give solutions not covered by the Qur'ān of the problems they faced. Again many companions performed this role in their private capacities by holding study circles in the mosques of the capital cities, largely attended by the local audience and also by those who made journey from distant parts of the countries in pursuit of learning in Islāmic tenets. In their lectures hadith predominated and a sort of special sanctity was attached to the cultivation of hadith. The transmitters of hadith were highly esteemed by the people and transmission itself became extremely honourable vocation in the eyes of the people. The muhaddiths acted as lawyers and jurists exercised great influence on common people, aristocrats, men of letters and of administration. As time passed on their honour and influence increased.

That Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the first two Caliphs did not accept a hadith narrated by one rāwī {narrator} until and unless it was



confirmed by another narrator, Abū Bakr's burning of 500 ḥadīths almost equal <sup>to</sup> those of marfū' ḥadīths of Muwaṭṭā' by Mālik in number, which he collected and compiled into a book and 'Umar's intention to compile ḥadīth under state supervision and later on giving up such an idea relying simply on the result of his istikharah was the expression of their unfavourable attitudes, their aversion and reluctance towards the cultivation of ḥadīth - a comment quite ~~reverse~~ the fact. Abū Bakr and 'Umar's demand for the second rāwī was in some solitary cases adopted for more confirmation. Generalization of their unfavourable attitudes from those cases is wrong as they accepted the ḥadīths narrated by one rāwī on a good number of occasions<sup>1</sup>. That the reason of Abū Bakr's burning of his collection of 500 ḥadīths was not due to his aversion to cultivation of ḥadīth but for what reason he did it, is expressed by him to his daughter 'A'ishah to whom he deposited the said compilation and after passing a night in complete unrest, in the morning he demanded the copy from her and when she brought, he set it to fire. On being asked by his daughter, he replied, "I am afraid, I may die and then remains this copy in which there will be ḥadīths from a man whom I confided and believed while he is not so as he narrated, but I narrated it, so it will not be legal".<sup>2</sup>

(خَشِيتُ أَنْ أَمُوتَ وَهِيَ عِنْدِي فَيَكُونُ فِيهَا أَحَادِيثٌ عَنْ رَجُلٍ قَدْ اسْتَمْنَيْتُهُ وَتَقَدَّرَ لِي لَمْ يَلِنِ  
كَمَا حَدَّثَنِي فَأَكُونُ قَدْ تَقَدَّرَ ذَلِكَ فَجَعَلْتُهَا لَا يَصِحُّ)

1. Muṣṭafā al-Sabā'ī, al-Sunnah wa Makanatuha fī al-tashrī' al-Islāmī, pp. 79-

2. Manāzir Aḥsan Ghilānī, Tadwin-e-ḥadīth, pp. 280-81.



As a matter of fact, he was afraid, lest his compilation, which fell in the category of al-ahādith al-ahād (الأحاديث الأحاد) should be narrated after his death by the people who may commit some sort of mistakes yet those hadiths will be attributed to the Prophet. Thus by burning he renewed the practice of the Prophet not to make publicity of the al-ahādith al-ahād which have no connection with the fundamentals of Islām.<sup>1</sup> That his demand for second narrator in al-ahādith al-ahād, though not his general practice, and also followed by 'Umar, is the indicative of the fact that it should be done if need arises for more confirmation in particular cases.

According to Ibn al-Jawzī, the number of hadith narrated by 'Umar is five hundred. There is no doubt that this number is along with the repetition of the whole chains. But Abū Nu'aym counted them two hundred minus repetition. Shah Wallī Allāh regarded 'Umar as one of the profuse (mukaththirūn) narrators. So, how, then, adverse attitude to the transmission of hadith be attributed, as K.A.Fariq and others suggested, to 'Umar who himself narrated not one or two hadiths but as many as two hundred.<sup>2</sup>

That the riwāyāt that 'Umar arrested Ibn Mas'ūd, Abū al-Dardā' and Abū Dhar for narrating hadith profusely, does not seem to be tenable as these riwāyāt are narrated by Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān from 'Umar while Ibrāhīm did not meet 'Umar.<sup>3</sup>

Though 'Uthmān had a good number of hadith, preserved by remembrance, not for discouraging attitude to transmission of hadith he abstained from narrating them but what reason debarred him is expressed by him.

1. Manāzir Aḥsan Ghilānī, Tadwīn-e-ḥadith, p.279.

2. Ibid. pp.340-41.

3. Muṣṭafā al-Sabā'ī, al-Sunnah wa makanatuhā fī al-tashrī' al-Islāmī, pp.65-66.



2f " My reluctance to transmit the ḥadīth" he declared, "is not due to the fact that I remember fewer than you; but is due to the fact that I have heard the Prophet say that any one who attributes to him what he had not said would be burnt in the fire of Hell".

ما يمنعني أن أحدث عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أن لا أكون أوعى أصحابه عنه  
ولكن أشهد لسمعته يقول من قال علي ما لم أقل فليتبوأ مقعده من النار -

It is not that 'Uthman had no confidence in his memory but he also like his predecessors, did not want that at ḥadīth al-ahād should not be widely circulated and narrated from him by the people who might make some sort of mistakes for which he also would be held responsible.

As for 'Alī there are numerous reports that he also possessed certain written documents, which he rolled up and kept always with him attached to his sword. But as for his attitude towards transmission there is a report that he would not accept a ḥadīth from a single narrator without compelling him to swear. As his period was highly turbulent, he might have recourse to swearing when he could not confide in some particular cases, but we have evidence to the effect that he accepted like his predecessor, the riwāyah of al-Miqdād ibn al-Aswad without swearing<sup>1</sup>. So, attribution of unfavourable attitudes in ḥadīth narration to any to one of al-Khulafā' al-Rashidūn is not at all justified.

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1. Muṣṭafā al-Sabā'ī, al-Sunnah wa makanatuhā fi tashrīḥ al-Islāmī, p.72.



Two more important components of hadith literature are the rasā'il and Khuṭbahs of the Prophet. His rasā'il or his written materials whatever might be called, are of two genres - documents and general correspondence. The former are the corpora of stipulations of treaties, agreements, grant of human rights, land-grants and allowance of protection and security, extended to particular classes. The latter comprises the whole range of his correspondence which he issued to invite the foreign kings and rulers to embrace Islām, like letters to Heraclius, the Muqawqis of Alexandria and Egypt, the Negus of Abyssinia, Chosroes, the Ghassānid governor of Damascus, the Christian governor of Yamamah and many others, and to inform his provincial administrators of his policy about taxes and teaching people Islāmic tenets. About four dozens of such written materials of the Prophet are extant in the earlier sources.<sup>1</sup> Similarly more than two dozen of his Khuṭbahs are preserved.<sup>2</sup>

Of the rasā'il of four Caliphs, about seven dozen ascribed to Abū Bakr, thirty-five dozens the largest number, are attributed to 'Umar, six dozen to 'Uthman and seven dozen to 'Alī. Besides, the rasā'il of generals, tribal chiefs, political rivals and partisans of this period are also preserved. The Khuṭbahs of the Caliphs, and those of the generals, and other administrators and political rivals far exceed the rasā'il.

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1. See Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, by Aḥmad Zakī Safwat ; al-Wathā'iq al-Siyāsīyyah by Moḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh.

2. See Jahmharat Khutub al-'Arab, i, by Aḥmad Zakī; al-Nasā'i, Ibn Majah and Majma' al-Amthāl by Maydānī.



The pre-Islamic practice of the commencement of the documents and agreements was with the Phrase Bismika Allahumma ( بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ). This practice was given up by the Prophet in the Madinah constitution. Once only on account of the insistence of the Quraysh in the treaty of Hudaybiyyah, the old practice was given consent to be followed. Commencement with basmalah became the Islamic model. Salamun 'alaika or alaikum either in the beginning or in the end, if the addressee was Muslim, and Salamun 'alā man ittaba' al-hudā if the addressee was non-muslim, was a new model developed. The language and style of the corpora of rasā'il of the Prophet is generally characterized as brief, laconic and succinct - an Arabian Arabic. But his letter to Tamim al-Dari, granting him land is couched in antique Arabian language. Being influenced by the language and style of the Prophet's rasā'il, the rasā'il of the four Caliphs, became the fair representative of the epistolary style of their period. In language and style, though not with equal par with those of the Prophet, the rasā'il of the four Caliphs are also couched in clear, direct and unaffected style. But the rasā'il of the fourth Caliph 'Ali substantially differ from those of his predecessors. His are the highly rhetorical, figurative and rhymed. 'Umar's letter to Abū Mūsa al-Ash'arī on qadā is very important as far<sup>as</sup> the laying of the administrative principle of judicial procedure of Islamic law is concerned.<sup>1</sup> That the rasā'il of the Prophet and those of his four Caliph are a tremendous contribution to the development of Arabic prose is beyond all questions. ??

1. Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, i, pp.12-13; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn, ii, p.49; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, p.27; Qalqashandī, Subh al-A'sha, x, p.193, Bāqillanī I'jāz al-Qur'ān, pp.188-89.



A considerable number of Khuṭbahs in the form of declamation homilies, repartees, Waṣāyā of the Prophet, his four Caliphs and others are extant.

Though in general structure, the Khuṭbahs of this period have some resemblance with those of the Jāhiliyyah period, yet the Islāmic Khuṭbahs of this early period are characterized by some new features. Unlike those of the Jāhiliyyah period, these Khuṭbahs commence with Hamdalah (the praise and glorification of Allāh.) Many new phrases, new words with new shades of meaning are added. The conventional common use of saǰ' (rhyme) of the Jāhiliyyah period, though not entirely abandoned, minimised to a great extent. The insertion of the Qur'ānic verses like a very fine literary embroidery work of fine taste, both in the texture and concepts, has beautified in great measures, the Khuṭbahs of this period. The arrangement of words and thoughts, introduction and finished epilogue of the Khuṭbah of this period has set the model for the Umayyad Khaṭībs whose contribution to Khuṭbah literature is yet unsurpassed.

The Prophet delivered his Khuṭbahs in the language par excellent and almost paraphrased picture of the Qur'ānic verses. He applied different styles suited to level of perception of his audience.<sup>1</sup>

Superfine in texture, gist of the Qur'ānic themes and the language characterized by succinctness, laconism, lucidity and above all, inspired with Prophetic fervour with dramatic approach in the Khuṭbah of al-Wadā', his Khuṭbahs became model for all time to come.

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Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī became more acquainted with Qur'ānic expressions and the expressions of the Prophet as well, on account of their extreme adherence to both, consequent upon of which they ascended the highest peak of eloquence and their minds were also stired up by the depth of the thoughts of the Qur'ān and ḥadīth. So their Khuṭbahs have acquired the status in literary merits whit below those of the Prophet. **The generals, tribal chiefs and other khatibs followed the** suit of the first three Caliphs in their Khuṭbahs. The Khuṭbahs of the first three Caliphs and other Khatībs excepting some of 'A'ishah, which are hard both in words and construction, are laconic, lucid, natural, spontaneous and above all, free from unfamiliar words and expressions and preposterous arrangement. The Khatābhs of 'Alī particularly his harangues exchanged with the Mu'āwiyah during the civil war culminated in the confrontation of Ṣiffīn, are highly rhetorical and figurative. Expunging the possibility of metamorphosis in such rhetorical expressions of 'Alī, acceptance of all of his pronouncements as truly his words in toto, strains credulity, yet that a comment like this that all of his khuṭbahs and all other writings are the works of the later hands is equally absurd and unfounded.

Another new form that evolved during this period is the historical prose. A large number of Qur'ānic texts and also of ḥadīth contains historical elements. To ascertain the exact and accurate contents of historical allusions of the Qur'ān and ḥadīth, a historical study went simultaneously with the study of Qur'ānic sciences — tafsīr, ḥadīth and fiqh. Two branches of historical study developed during this period. One was confined within the fold of ḥadīth literature. For another branch the Arabic word Qaṣaṣ is used. The ḥadīth based history contains the activities of the prophet and his



companions and what they did in the spheres of worship, in the affairs of Shari'ah in connection with public transaction, civil crimes, their admonitions and guidance of historical interest. The hadiths related to the life of the Prophet in Makkah, his migration to Madinah, his life in Madinah, his wars and treaties etc, the activities of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī and the description of their conquests - all came under the purview of hadith literature. The genealogy of the companions and the part they played in teaching and preaching Islām were the themes of historical pursuit of learning of this period. Among some companions of the Prophet, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar became very famous for transmitting those sorts of hadiths which later on became the sources in the compilation of Maghāzī and Sīrah literature.<sup>1</sup>

A legendary type of historical study was first started by Tamīm al-Dārī who being refused permission by 'Umar to tell stories in the mosque of Madinah, sought permission from 'Uthmān who accorded it to do so for two days a week in the mosque of the Prophet in Madinah.<sup>2</sup>

This Tamīm al-Dārī is the authority who narrated the history of al-Jassāsah wa-'l-Dajjāl ( الجساسة والدجال ) to the Prophet. It is said that this type of historians who narrated things mixing the truth with untruth became predominant in the mosques whom 'Alī ibn

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1. Ahmad Amīn, Fajr al-Islām, pp.157-58. ?

2. Ibid, 158.



Abī Ṭālib ousted from the mosques excepting al-Ḥasan al-Basri whose fidelity was beyond question.

Among many others, 'Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib is said to be the authority on the Arab genealogy, battles and social life of the early Arabs. Sulaymān ibn 'Iṭr was one of those Qassās. Ka'b al-Ahbār and Wahb ibn Munabbih figured most among them. Much of their texts are preserved in the classical sources. Many Jewish-Christian legendary elements have crept into the history of Islām through them.



## CHAPTER - IV

The Rasā'il

With the expansion of the Arab Empire, the Arabicization of official records by 'Abd al-Malik, Sālim's entry into Hishām's Diwān al-Rasā'il, 'Abd al-Hamid's appointment as its head, the development of trade and commerce and the emergence of politico-religious factions - all accelerated the development of rasā'il in both official and private sectors during the Umayyad period. The Shi'ites, the Khārijites and the Zubayrites made correspondence among themselves, with the Umayyad rulers and vice versa, the Umayyad rulers replied them and at times when need arose, they themselves initiated correspondence with the leaders of those factions. The Umayyad rulers issued directives and official edicts to their governors. These directives took vigorous shape when Ibn al-Ash'ath revolted against 'Abd al-Malik who frequently wrote rasā'il to al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf to subdue the rebellion. Similarly when Daḥḥāk ibn Qays revolted against Marwān (ii) 'Abd al-Hamid composed his classic risālah addressed to the crown prince 'Abd Allāh.

The circumstances stated above will justify if any one hazards conjecture that the rasā'il of the Umayyad period were some thousands. But the time has swept a brush over them and only a **corpus** of eight hundred fifty rasā'il have been recorded.



The forms of rasā'il developed in the period

Five types of forms of rasā'il are developed :-

1. Some rasā'il are prefaced with "basmalah", followed by the name of the writer and addressee, followed by "Salamun 'alaika or Salamun 'alaikum", followed by "ammā ba'd" and then comes the **content**.
2. Some rasā'il, normally the rasā'il of the Caliphs and the governors addressed to their subordinates are started without "basmalah" but with "ammā ba'd", followed by the content and are ended sometime with Salām and sometime without.
3. There are rasā'il which are started without "basmalah" but with "min'abd Allāh", followed by "amīr al-Mu'minin", followed by the name of the Caliph and the addressee and again "Salām" sometime comes first and sometime comes last.
4. There are rasā'il which are started with "min'abd Allah", followed by "amīr al-Mu'minin", followed by "Salamun 'alaika", followed by "fa innī aḥmadu Allāh al-ladhī lā ilāh illa hu", followed by "ammā ba'd", and followed by the content.
5. If the addressee is unbeliever, the salutation takes the form of "Salamun 'alā man itta ba' al-hūdā", or "Salamun 'alā man aqarra bi 'l-haqq wa amāla bih", followed by "amma ba'd". Next comes the content.



### The kinds of rasā'il developed .

According to broad base division, all the rasā'il developed in the period ~~fall~~ into four categories - political (al-siyāsiyyah), religious or admonitory (al-wa'ziyyah), literary (al-ilmīyyah or al-adabiyyah) and personal rasā'il (al-shakhsiyyah). The political rasā'il are greater in number. The situation referred to above, is responsible for the greater number of political rasā'il . Along with the increased number of Political rasā'il, admonitory or sermon rasā'il began their march in less abundance. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is a pionier in this branch. 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, Ghaylān al-Dīmashqī and Abū Ḥazam al-'Arāj followed his suit. Under the hands of 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Katīb, literary rasā'il reached their perfection. Last but not least, are the personal rasā'il developed with their different branches, like congratulatory, intercessional and advisory rasā'il, etc.



The characteristic features of the rasā'il.

The rasā'il developed under the Umayyad are characterized by some features :-

1. More use of poems in the rasā'il.

In the rasā'il of the earlier period, the use of poems was relatively rare. But the use of poems in the rasā'il increased during the Umayyad period.<sup>1</sup>

2. Short size.

Excepting some rasā'il of 'Abd al-Ḥamid, those of al-Ḥasan al-Basrī and of Abū Ḥazam al-A'raj, most of the rasā'il of this period are short. Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik was the first Umayyad Caliph who liked long rasā'il (ṭumār). He said, "My rasā'il addressed to others, and the rasā'il addressed to me by others, should be opposite to the practice earlier done". Following his order, the writers, henceforth, began lengthening their rasā'il. This is why 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz again issued state order to the Kuttāb to draft shorter rasā'il.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ahmad Zakī Safwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, vol.ii, pp.12,17, 36,39,56,58,106,127,153-55,157,179,184,191,198-200,202,231-32, 234,247,252-53,255-56.

2. Shawqī Dayf, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, ii, p.470; Zakī al-Dīn Muḥammad, al-Inshā' al-'Asrī, p.171.



3. Rare use of Qur'anic verses.

With the exception of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, the Umayyad Caliphs were more secular. So their rasā'il are marked more by the absence of the verses of the Qur'an than by anything. The rasā'il of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, those of 'Abd al-Hamid, al-Ḥasan **al-Basri** and Abū Hazam al-āraj are exceptions. The later mentioned may be termed as sermon-writers

4. Simple, natural and unstudied style.

The style of the rasā'il before Sālim introduced a new style was simple, natural, unstudied and sparing in words. The earlier rasā'il are characterized by the absence of strange and unfamiliar words, loquacity and verbosity. Their approach was direct.

5. Ornate, verbose, rhetorical and increase in the praise (taḥmīd) of Allāh and of the Caliphs in the later Umayyad Period.

Sālim, a moula of the Umayyad prince 'Anbasah ibn 'Abd al-Malik and later secretary of Diwān al-Rasā'il at the court of Hishām, introduced a new style which was popularized and perfected by 'Abd al-Hamid al-kātib. His style was characterized by ornamentations, verbosity and by the rhetorical devices. The taḥmīdāt have been increased by him. He used taḥmīd in the beginning and in the middle as the situations demanded.



6. Introduction of Caliph in the third person.

The later Umayyad Caliphs gave up the earlier practice of dictating their rasā'il to their scribes when Diwān al-Rasā'il was developed. Henceforth the rasā'il were composed by their secretaries (kuttāb) who presented the drafts before the Caliphs for their endorsement and signature. So, the use of pronoun in the first person was given up and the pronoun was used in the third person writing "balagha amir al-mu'minina kitābuka".<sup>1</sup>

7. Frequent use of quadrilateral words instead of trilateral ones.

Some rasā'il of 'Abd al-Ḥamid are the best specimen in which he drifted from trilateral words to quadrilateral ones.<sup>2</sup>

8. More use of parallelism, balancing and matching words and phrases and synonyms.

'Abd al-Ḥamid made the best use of parallelism, rhyme words and phrases and synonyms to achieve the acoustic effect. Here he again was influenced by al-Ḥasan al-Basrī and Wāsil ibn 'Atā'.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Shawqī Dayf, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, ii, p.471.

2. Aḥmad Zakī Safwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp.406-55.

3. Shawqī Dayf, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, ii, p.477; J.D.Latham, Arabic Literature to the end of the Umayyad period, p.164.



9. The use of long and complex sentences.

The structural patterns of some rasā'il of 'Abd al-Hamid are characterized by the use of long and complex sentences. In the risālah which he composed in the language of Marwān to his son ~~And~~ Allāh, he let the risālah stem into different branches in long and complex sentences in which he was extremely prodigal. Here he might have been influenced by the Persian rasā'il.

10. Mention of material benefit conferred on by Islām.

'Abd al-Hamid mentioned many material benefits conferred on by Islām in his risālah.

11. Display of writer's skill.

'Abd al-Hamid displayed his command on Arabic languages, its vocabulary, his knowledge of the Qur'an quoting its verses very frequently in and out of relevance, his loyalty to the Caliph, and displayed his imaginative and creative talents.



al-Hasan ibn 'Ali's rasā'il

Only eight rasā'il of al-Hasan ibn 'Alī have come down to us. There is coherence in the arrangement of contents in his rasā'il. His approach is that of a politician stressing on the exaction of rights, showing the sense of tolerance and once and for all, he applies the technique of a preacher using saj' (rhyme) in one risālah.<sup>1</sup> As per vocabulary, his rasā'il are free from the use of strange and unfamiliar words. In length his rasā'il are disparate. Some are brief and some are very brief but all are lucid and acoustic in effect. His ~~is~~ is the simple and straightforward style.

al-Husayn ibn 'Ali's rasā'il

Twelve rasā'il by al-Husayn ibn 'Alī have been preserved. They are informative and interesting, expressed with clarity, dignity and precision. They are orderly in thought, free from obscure words and expressions and above all, marked with the objectivity of his mission. His method was persuasive in gaining political support from the Irāqians. Though not very apparently but in perceptive manner he shows the gestures of an orator as preacher in some of his rasā'il<sup>2</sup> which have exceeding acoustic effect.

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1. Ahmad Zakī Şafwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, p.12.

2. Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, iv, p.333; Tabarī, Tārīkh, vi, pp.200,219; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, p.10.



Sulaymān ibn Surd's rasā'il

Earlier sources have preserved only two rasā'il by Sulaymān ibn Surd who was one of the famous leaders of tawwābīn. The sentence structure in one risālah is fairly built with finer touches of rhyme and cadence<sup>1</sup> and another has been made flowery with a long but very appropriate quotation from the Qur'an. Both are marked with clarity, lucidity, animation, felicity, not suffering from abstruse thoughts. With all the style and the fervour of the preacher he exploits all the time-honoured devices of oratory and pulpit eloquence in his rasā'il.

al-Mukhtār ibn Abū'Ubayd al-Thaqafī's rasā'il

To the scanty stock of the surviving rasā'il of the Umayyad period, Mukhtār's contribution is only by twenty rasā'il. In all of his rasā'il excepting one<sup>2</sup> in which an excellent use of rhyme and cadence shown, his sentences are lucid, concise and pointed. His pen remains in plain, natural and unstudied style. In the propagation of his views he was not sentimental at all. Without any hesitation he forged a risālah on behalf of Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Ḥanafīyyah.

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1. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.49.

2. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.265.



'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr's rasā'il

Thirteen rasā'il of different kinds by 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr have been preserved.

As a man of practical politics he does not have recourse to embellish his rasā'il with the beauties of rhyme and cadence. Rather his close and honest observation of life and manners is transcendently expressed in his homely style. His dignified personality and his vigour find their expression in his pure dictions and concise expression. His writing goes straight to the hearts of the readers.

Najadah ibn 'Āmir's rasā'il

Najadah ibn 'Āmir a Khārijite leader has one<sup>1</sup> surviving risālah at his credit. In it he presented his religious cults in sweet and unforced simplicity, attacking at the same time the concepts of his opponent Nāfi' ibn Azraq who was once his co-believer of the same Khārijite doctrines and later on differed. His risālah consists of two paragraphs. One is frequently punctuated by the most appropriate Qurānic verses and another being full of strong and sonorous sentences has all the uncommon appeals to arrest the attention of the readers. It resembles the sermon-risālah in contents.

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1. Aḥmad Zakī Safwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp.91-92.



Nāfi' ibn Azraq's rasā'il

Nāfi' ibn Azraq has only three rasā'il. In one<sup>1</sup> risālah he simply refutes the charges of Najadah ibn 'Āmir, not by the force of any cogent reason but by the verses of the Qur'ān, punctuated by his simple, lucid but very brief sentences beautified by a slight touch of rhyme in the start and in the end.

2

The second risālah addressed to the Khārijites of Baṣrah is more vivid as a sermon than as a risālah. In the beginning he makes remonstrance against tyranny. In the end he expounds the futility of worldly life. He intends to win the hearts of the addressees. So, he approaches them more in the manner of an orator using concise, clear and impressive sentences ornamented with rhyme and cadence.

The third<sup>3</sup> risālah abounds in the Qur'ānic verses with which he charges 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr and equally lays stress on logical arguments in an unstudied style to follow him.

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1. Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp.93-94.

2. ibid, pp.95-96.

3. ibid, pp.96-97.



### Mu'āwiyah's rasā'il

Seventy one rasā'il of Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Abī Sufyān have survived. In his rasā'il we find him a high ranking politician, a diplomat a poet, a witty replier, a cogent reasoner, a skilled orator, a first rate moralist, a ruthless but strong and efficient administrator and finally an affectionate and strict father.

His rasā'il are disparate in length but are characterized by unity of thought, precision, felicity, use of emphatic and proverbial phrases, logical arguments tuned with convincing familiar dictions, humours, taunting expressions and educative admonitions. In some rasā'il<sup>1</sup> he appears more as an orator than as a risālah writer. He exploits all the devices of a pulpit oratory in those rasā'il. When emotion rises he goes up and uses harder words.<sup>2</sup>

### Ziyād ibn Abih's rasā'il

Sixteen rasā'il of disparate length by Ziyād ibn Abih are added to the corpus of the extant rasā'il of the Umayyad period.

As reveals from his rasā'il he combines in himself a keen sense of self-respect, a strong ego, a sharp common sense a highly impressive personality and an admirable character. But he becomes indecent to some extent when he is plunged in horror of emotion.<sup>3</sup>

He uses similes. His style is entirely direct and clear. He uses the copious and expressive vocabulary in the short but lucid sentences. He communicates his ideas in a hard self-confident manner plumbing deeper level of human experience.

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1. Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp.16-17, 34, 54-55.  
 2. ibid, pp.66-68.  
 3. ibid, pp.32-33, 38-39.



'Abd al-Malik's rasā'il

Eighty rasā'il of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān have come down to us. They are disparate in length. Some are very short and even consisting of one word<sup>1</sup>; some are medium and yet one or two are a bit longer. As it has become evident from his rasā'il he plays many parts : a part of politician and diplomat, very strict administrator, commander-in-chief, benevolent and sympathetic monarch, poet, a kindhearted father and brother, and above all, a sermon giver.

The manners of his style in his rasā'il bear the stamp of his genius and versatility. They are characterized by brevity, sweetness, clarity, naturalness, elevated diction and bare baldness.

His mental gymnastics, his passion for upholding the truth, his command on vocabularies and the use of similes and proverbial expressions make his rasā'il admirably expressive and effective.

Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik's rasā'il

Twenty seven rasā'il of Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik are extant. Hishām as revealed in his rasā'il is a man of high dignity, clear sensibility, chivalrous spirit, strict administration and man of firm faith in Allāh. A glance at Hishām's long rasā'il gives us an idea that there was start of slight epistolary form. Long sentences having massive strength of their own, constructed with simple vocabularies, are really very attractive for their easy and unaffected grace. His style deserves to be called an excellent middle style - a fresh and highly interesting style of his own. Of course the credit of inventing this middle style does not go to Hishām himself rather it goes to his secretary Sālim who was the head of his chancery.

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1. Ahmad Zaki Safwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, p.206.



al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf's rasā'il

To the corpus of the extent rasā'il of the Umayyad period al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf makes great contribution by his one hundred and fifteen rasā'il of different size ranging from one word<sup>1</sup> to some paragraphs.

Here in his rasā'il the fine flower of al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf's genius is in full bloom. His rasā'il give us his portrait as a man of uncommon administrative ability. He is highly scrupulous, inspired egoist, a skilled war-strategist and above all, a strong and sincere adherent to the Umayyads.

His intensity of emotion, depth of psychological insight and high manner of style stand supreme in his composition. They being imbued with emotion shine with clear flame. His politics as expressed in his rasā'il is not mere utterance. Rather he possesses the most sensitive mind alive to the degradation of his people and so he takes befitting measures as such and even he does not hesitate to compare Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who was then a heir-apparent, to a dot which may exist if he (al-Hajjāj) so wishes and may also be blotted out if he so desires.<sup>2</sup>

His rasā'il are characterized by clarity, simplicity and precision. A perfect balance is maintained between his thoughts and expressions. In witchery of language he is very fine in his description of drought and after-effect of rain.<sup>3</sup> In it he uses as many as five words for rain, two for air and two for the cloud.

Metaphors, similes, proverbial expression and rhyme and cadence are there in some of his rasā'il.<sup>4</sup>

In one risālah his expressive prayer for the well-being of the Caliph emits the flavour of flattery and the style becomes verbose.<sup>5</sup> He copied some expressions of Ziyād<sup>6</sup> with slight change here and there.

1. Ahmad Zaki Safwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, p. 207.  
 2. Shawqī Dayf, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, ii, pp. 460-61.  
 3. Ibid, pp. 463-64.  
 4. Ahmad Zaki Safwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab, ii, pp. 207, 217, 237.  
 5. Ibid, pp. 216-17.  
 6. Ibid, 140, 145.



al-Hasan al-Basri's rasā'il

Seventeen rasā'il, types in themselves and pure sermons, by al-Hasan al-Basri, the most eminent figure among the preachers of all time, have made rich the corpus of the extant rasā'il of the Umayyad period.

His rasā'il alone bear the testimony of his literary aptitudes and of his aesthetic sense. In his rasā'il he appears as ascetic who advocates very plainly the renunciation of the pleasures of this world for those of the world to come. Through his rasā'il he is identified as the most brilliant preacher. His rasā'il, most of which addressed to 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz the most ascetic Caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, rotate round the singular theme asceticism. They are stereotyped in contents and their tone is saturnine yet they are varied in the witchery of language and characterized by brevity, clarity, precision and sonorous effect. The balance between his language and thought was so much effective and penetrating that 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz could not but shed tears after reading them as they all showed a true sympathy with humanity at large.

The simplicity and volubility of his rasā'il, the use of emphatic sentences althrough, rhyme and cadence, the repetition of vocative case, parallelism, the frequent use of Qurānic verses and the use of ḥāl ( حال ) - all have exercised great influence on the subsequent master hands particularly on 'Abd al-Hamid al-Katib.



Hasan's sermon - rasā'il contain ideas, images and expressions of the Qur'an and ḥadīth. To what extent a risālah in Arabic may be precise and beautiful in linguistic consideration, the following examples from Hasan's rasā'il may be cited :<sup>1</sup>

كتب الحسن البصري إلى عمر بن عبد العزيز :  
 أما بعد ! يا أمير المؤمنين ، فإن طول البقاء إلى فناء ، فخذ من فنائك الذي لا يبقى لبقائك  
 الذي لا يبقى ، والسلام

كتب الحسن البصري إلى عمر بن عبد العزيز :  
 سلام عليك أما بعد : فانك بالدينا لم تكن وبالآخرة لم تزل -

His rasā'il are disparate in length. The longest one is composed in reply to, according to some source,<sup>2</sup> al-Hajjaj's query about "al-qadr" and according to some other source<sup>3</sup>, in reply to 'Abd al-Malik's query about it. In this risālah he expounds the doctrine of "al-qadr" in the light of the Qur'an. The Qur'anic verses exceedingly abound in it. Here he figures as the most eminent exponent of the theory of al-qadr. His epigrammatic expressions in this tract are full of wit and penetrating observation. He proceeds in the development of his ideas quite discursively.

1. Ibn al-Jawzī, Sirāt 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, p.126.

2. Aḥmad Zakī Şafwat, Jamharat Rasā'il al-'Arab ,ii,pp.233-34.

3. H. Ritter, Studien Zur Geshichte Islamischan, p.67.



'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz's rasā'il

One hundred and forty two rasā'il of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz are preserved and incorporated into the histories, belles-lettres, anthologies and in the treatises of taxation. Most of them are official edicts and missives. They have enriched the slender corpus of the extant rasā'il of the Umayyad period.

The portrait of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz as a whole man is manifested in his rasā'il. These rasā'il are the product of his literary genius, political and religious sagacity, piety and confidence in Allāh, psychological insight, sympathy for the distressed, knowledge in jurisprudence and other Islāmic sciences, sense of handling the disciplinary problems with iron hands and above all, his God-fearingness. Most of these rasā'il are addressed to the provincial governors in whose hands the execution of the contents are expected.

In size and contents his rasā'il are of two kinds. Most of them are brief and precise. A few are long. The brief ones are generally official edicts. They contain fiscal rescripts, principles of jurisprudence, his policy for the propagation of Islām, nullification of earlier practices of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, expulsion of the Qadrites, consultation with al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī about sunnah, dictation to some governors to observe behavioural code, to discharge their duties, to take steps against innovation, to administer justice on the basis of Sunnah, to refrain from killing the women, children and prisoners of war, to adopt the golden mean in their actions, to make the nib of their pens finer and to make the lines of their writings closer, to collect ḥadīths and commit them to writing, to build a mosque for the maternal uncle of the prophet projecting on moderate economy, to distribute the income of



the Fadak among the distressed, to grant money for the jurisconsults and muḥaddiths, not to allow any house in Makkah be rented and to redress the grievances of the people. He writes to one governor that the pillars of Islām are four, viz. the governor, the qāḍī, the treasurer and the Caliph. He prohibits drinking wine. He gives guideline to the tutor of his children and makes request to Sālim ibn ‘Abd Allāh to send him the books of ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb as he intends to mould his Caliphate on the model of ‘Umar.

The long ones are sermons in nutshell. Of them one<sup>1</sup> is addressed to a soldier; one<sup>2</sup> to a group of Khārijites; one<sup>3</sup> to those who deny qadr (destiny); one<sup>4</sup> to pilgrimes; one to his<sup>5</sup> son; one<sup>6</sup> in reply to ‘Umar ibn Walid and one<sup>7</sup> on the death of his son.

The theme and the mood of his rasā’il are variant. But there lies unity of form and style. He cancelled the order of Walid to make the rasā’il longer and gave a fresh order to make them brief and terse. His rasā’il with the exception of a few, are laconic and succinct. The official edicts, where only communication is aimed at, are very terse, vivid and homely. In the longer sermon rasā’il, where psychological insight works more, and where minds are ought to be touched and stired up, he uses rhyme and cadence. Emphatic sentences,

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1. Abū Nu‘aym, Ḥilyat al-awliā’, v, pp.278-79.

2. ibid, v, pp.309-11

3. ibid, v, pp.346-53

4. Ibn al-Jawzi, Sīrat ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, p.72.

5. ibid, p.259.

6. Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān wa-’l-tabyīn, iv, p.88.

7. Ibn al-Jawzi, Sīrat ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, p.268.



frequently punctuated by the verses of the Qur'ān, are used. Here he exploits all the devices of a good orator. Like in those of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, a tone of asceticism is echoed but is not teasing. Undoubtedly these sermon-rasā'il of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz is a complement to the sermon-prose literature which are bulkier than any branch of the Umayyad prose.

His credit lies more in keeping balance between his mental images and the use of simple dictions which in the main part, are responsible for so much euphonic effects.



'Abd al-Ḥamid's rasā'il

'Abd al-Ḥamid's rasā'il, according to a report, contain one thousand folios. Of the heavy corpus of his rasā'il only twenty are extant. The total folios will not exceed sixty. Six are formal and the rest are chancery and private rasā'il.

The credit of making the ornate prose popular and perfect goes to 'Abd al-Ḥamid a travelling padagogue of Persian origin, initially an apprentice in the school of Sālim Abū al-'alā, a product therefrom as graduate and finally a secretary of Marwān after his accession to the Caliphate.

Among his surviving rasā'il some are very important and highly significant. Of all his rasā'il, his risālah to the secretaries (al-kuttāb) is by far the most famous. In the opening lines he addresses himself in explaining the motivation of it's composition. What code of conduct required for the man of position and honour is delineated in it. The dignity and honour which he aspires for himself, he encourages the secretaries to attain them. Men are created by Allāh with different potentialities and as par their intelligence quotient they are placed in different occupations by which they may earn their livelihood. Allāh the Supreme appreciator of the men of culture and learning has placed the secretaries in the noblest of professions. Their counsels are needed by the people to govern them. The Caliph cannot go without them and even no state function can be effectively performed without the active help of the secretaries. Adaptibility, initiative, sense of situations, modesty, impartiality, sense of justice, reticence and discretion, devotion to duty, unfaltering loyalty, foresight, intelligence, liberal education and



experience, knowledge of the Qur'ān and religious obligations, perfect knowledge in Arabic, good hand-writing, poetry, literary versatility, experience in the battle techniques of the 'Arabs and non-'Arabs, mathematical knowledge, devotion to colleagues, respect and consultation of the old experienced hands by the junior, sympathetic behaviour among the colleagues, eschewing too much emotion, backbiting and haughtiness - are prescribed by him as some most essential qualities that make good secretaries. What is most needed by them is to be mindful of Allāh and His creatures. Most essentials in negative side are the avoidance of extravagance, luxury and excess in material aspect of daily life.

The longest and the most elaborate of 'Abd al-Hamīd's rasā'il is the one which he composed in the capacity of chief secretary addressing the crown prince 'Abd Allāh ibn Marwān in the name of the Caliph to guide and advise the prince in the situation when the militant Khārijite movement under the leadership of Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays made spectacular progress in the year 127/745 so much so that the immediate threat to the Caliphate was apprehended.

The opening paragraph is a prelude in which he expounds the motivation of it's composition. He explains the reasons why the Caliph has selected the prince; what damage the enemy was doing in the land and what imposition the Caliph wants to lay on the personal character of his son who is chosen by Allāh for heirdom.



Three subject matters come thereafter with series of details. He prescribes for the prince a code of conduct when he will act as the commander-in-chief of the army ; how he will have to behave with himself, with his colleagues and with the generals. He also prescribes for him a political code for facing the enemy and using intelligence service. Here he dwells on the qualities of the generals. Organization of army was the last subject. Before his march the prince should arrange his army into five clear divisions - the advance guards, the centre, rear and two wings. When the prince will meet the enemy in the battlefield he will divide the army into units. Each unit will consist of one hundred under the control of a general possessing the quality of chivalry and manliness. The coffer ( خازن ) under the control of some pious officers should accompany the prince. But a detachment of horse should be there for the protection of the coffer.

If need arises, the prince is advised to have recourse to propaganda, subversion, assassination of the leaders of the enemy , to make correspondence with them and even to offer them the promises of gifts and governorship as war tactics. Fear of Allāh and reliance on Him in all stages is a necessity.

A provincial governor is addressed in another risālah to impose restriction on playing chess which distracts even the most pious men from their religious duties. For the players of chess, punishment by imprisonment or cancelling their names from pay and ration-registers is prescribed in it.



His risālah on a hunt is addressed to the Caliph. Here he gives a nice picture of a hunting. He describes how he and his partners started riding on the good-bred horses with hounds and hawks. He also describes the scene when it rained heavily and when rain stopped.

So far generalization of the theme of friendship is concerned, his risālah on it is a nice piece. In his concept friendship should be based on the true taqwā and its pillars be laid on the foundation of doing good to others. Its structure be raised on real alliance. Sweet and decent behaviour should strengthen it. Love makes friendship sweet. By friendship minds become closer and mental gymnastics become sound. People get pleasure in making friendship when the firm tie of purity manifests itself and all hidden beauties of it become exposed to them. In it he expresses his worries over the anxiety of Marwān his master who was occupied in fig-hunting with the Turks.

Two rasā'il of condolence are also added to his credit. One is addressed to Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik on behalf of Marwān on the death of a concubine of Hishām. 'Abd al-Ḥamid on behalf of Marwān writes that Allāh has provided the Caliph with a beloved for a fixed time and the time is over, and the beloved is taken away. Allāh has bestowed the Caliph with ability to give thanks to Him when she was alive and bestowed ability to forbear when she has died.

The second is also addressed to Hishām on behalf of Marwān on the death of Hishām's son. 'Abd al-Ḥamid writes that giving thanks to Allāh for His blessings, forbearing on the falling of calamity and discharge of duties in all conditions are essential. Thanks for blessings brings on increased blessings and forbearance on calamity brings on reward.



One personal risālah of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd has survived. It is addressed to his brother. He informs his brother of the birth of his first son whom he considers a special blessing of Allāh on him. He aspires that the son will live after his death as his reminiscent who will include him in his prayer and be an intercessor to Allāh for him in his ṣalāt, ḥajj and in all other places of worship. He also informs the extent of his exuberance of soft feeling when he casts his eyes on the son. He prays to Allāh to bestow the son with brilliance and to keep him secure as He well-guarded him in his mother's womb.

His rasā'il are disparate in length. In the shortest one the niggard 'āmil presented Marwān a black slave is censured and the longest is the preceptive risālah addressed to the crown prince 'Abd Allāh. In all of his rasā'il his moods and contents are well balanced. Within the limited and slender corpus of his surviving rasā'il he appears in different pictures. He is a good chancery tutor, a courtier, a muslim moralist, an advisor, an admonitory preacher, a brilliant doxologist, an eminent orator, a youthful hunter, a lyrical prose-poet, an expert in war techniques, a master of propaganda and finally a good composer of personal, congratulatory, preceptive, condolence and intercessional rasā'il. As for his style, some rasā'il are less ornate and most of them are highly ornate. Being inspired by literary purpose, he aims at something other than straightforward communication and brevity, his manner of writing is verbose and diffuse. He does not stick to anything inflexible. As his themes are variant, and as he lays more stress on euphonic effect, emphasis and use of circumstantial clauses ( حال ), he modifies the grammatical order of words and allows his prose expand and contract, rise and fall as the circumstances demand. In most of his rasā'il he appears



more as an orator than as a writer. He exploits all the devices of al-khatabah. To him harmony of sound is as important as the clarity of expression and arrangement.

Of all the beauties of 'Abd al-Hamīds style, his use of parallelism in all forms stands supreme. The acoustic effects he desires are achieved by the balance of sentences and phrases, repetition of words, alliterations, assonences, the use of metrical rhymes, well-arranged recurrence of accents and pauses, correct distribution of strong and weak beats and syllables and the balance between thought and expression. In the risālah of hunt and in the rasā'il of doxologies, sonority, aesthetic beauties and all other rhetorical devices in which the Arabs get delight are not eschewed at all by him.

In vocabulary and in all other morphological and lexical considerations, his rasā'il are characterized by relatively few rare terms and expressions. Of course, there are some strange and unfamiliar words in the risālah of hunt. The nature of the piece, perhaps, so demands. His rasā'il are also characterized by the use of vivid metaphors which are used to stir up imagination. He uses sonorous and persuasive words to rouse emotion. He does have recourse to subtle expressions together with concision and compression of thoughts and words, emphasis and skillfulness of repetition to avoid monotony. To create diversity in themes and images, he uses parallelism. But whatever stress he lays on the style and artistic finishing in his rasā'il, he never allows the contents to be subordinate to style and sound to sense. Only in his risālah of friendship content becomes subordinate to form.



Two classic rasā'il by him, one addressed to the secretaries another to the crown prince, are the master-pieces of Arabic literature. The former is lighter, less complex and less **elaborate** but easily digested and understood. The latter is more solemn and imposing having broader and deeper ideas. But both of them are near each other **in style**. The same hand is easily detected. In both of them the intensity of feeling and brilliance of conception are one and the same. They are the work of the real artist. They are the embodiment of finer artistic compositions reaching the height of perfection. His risālah to the secretaries is a literary risālah in the truest sense of the term.

'Abd al-Hamid's sources of inspiration needs to be explored. It is really difficult to understand that how his rasā'il so suddenly bloom in somewhat misty landscape of early Arabic literature.

He lays stress on noble birth as prerequisite for a royal entourage, for the bestwal of favours and for the position of leadership in the army. Wisdom born of experience, prudence and observation, the court ethics, protocol and administrative practices are also stressed by him. These are definitely the attributes of pre-Islamic Persian Sasānian heirarchy.

Tahā Husayn, himself master of Arabic style and Sir Hamilton Gibb suggest some Greek influence. According to them Abd al-Hamid's reliance on long circumstantial ( الذات ) clauses to define, clarify and qualify is the influence of Greek style. The division of h.s and thought into clear compartment<sup>and</sup> the techniques of military organization are the Greek - Roman practices. Military unit consisting of



one hundred is classical. But the arguments to encounter the said arguments cannot be dismissed in a straightway. It is evident that he was not influenced directly by Greek culture. Rather he was influenced through his teacher Sālim Abū al-ʿalā who translated Greek materials into Arabic. There is no doubt that ʿAbd al-Hamīd was more influenced by Persian than Greek culture.<sup>1</sup> As to the influence in his hunt risālah there are two opinions. One<sup>2</sup> Arab scholar maintains that the presentation in such a manner is foreign to the Arab traditions. It is, therefore, Persian in nature. On the other hand another opines that such pictures are there in the poetry of Zuhayr and Imruʿ l-Qays.

It is needless to say that his influence Greek or Persian does not appeal more to the ʿArab personality than that of his style and language. Whenever any ʿArab scholar pays attention to the language and style of ʿAbd al-Hamīd, their minds are not drawn to the influence of Greek or Persian, rather they instantly recollect the style of the Qurʾān and the rhetoric of the preachers or that of any politician as al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf. So it is clear that the Arabic rhetoric inspired both the form and function of his rasāʾil. In this respect he did not invent anything new. But he made the best use of the art of rhetoric already practised. In the case of long tahmidāt he was influenced by Wāsil ibn ʿAṭā.<sup>3</sup> The uses of long circumstantial clauses are many in the Qurʾān.<sup>4</sup> His solemn, stately and elevated moods are the echoes of the Qurʾānic style. There is nothing foreign to Arab tradition.

1. Shawqī Dayf, Tārīkh al-Adab al-ʿArabī, ii, p.477.

2. J.D. Latham, Arabic Literature to the end of the Umayyad period, p.178.

3. Shawqī Dayf, Tārīkh al-Adab al-ʿArabī, i, p.474.

4. ibid, p.477.



## CHAPTER - V

The KhutbahsThe Origin and development of Khutbah

Khutbah is a kind of speech where the speaker aims at making impression on the public both through hearing and the sight.<sup>1</sup>

الخطبة ضرب من الكلام يراد به التأثير في الجمهور من طريق السمع والبصر -

It is said that the origin of khutbah is as old as the progress of human speech. It achieved perfection in Greece and Rome.<sup>2</sup> As to the development of khutbah in Arabia, Jāhiz overestimated the contribution of the Arabs to it. He said that the Arabs made greater contribution to **khutbah** than that of any other nations including the Persians and the Greeks. There is no doubt that the Arab contribution to it is far greater than that of the Persians. But his observation that the Arabs have surpassed the Greeks in it, is not based on fact.

The khutbah is the earliest known form of prose in Arabic.<sup>3</sup> During the Umayyad period, it developed to a great extent. The conquests, the change of authority from khilafah to kingdom, the tripartite rivalry for Khilafah among the Umayyads, the Zubayrites and the 'Alawis and the emergence of various politico-religious factions tremendously accelerated the growth and the development of khutbah in this period.

1. Naqūlā, al-Khaṭabah, p.5.

2. Sir Paul Harvey, The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature, p.400; J.B.Bury, History of Greece, pp.181-88; André Bonnard, Greek Civilization, translated by A. Lytton Sells, pp.13, 157, 202, 210; Cassell, Encyclopaedia of Literature, vol.ii, p.1495.

3. The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature to the end of the Umayyad period, p.117.



The khuṭbah became the strategic instrument for political purpose. It also became very effective instrument for the propagation of factional doctrines. The generals needed it more in the battle fields to sustain the mental stamina of muslim soldiers. Again the khuṭbahs of Wafūd and Qassās were on the increase. With the expansion of the Muslim empire, the Khuṭbahs on pulpits on Jum'ah and 'Īd days spread in the length and breadth of the Caliphate.

The Khārijites made greater contribution to it. But as the narrators considered the sect irreligious, their khuṭbahs were not preserved. The Khārijites themselves were not interested in recording them. So, very few of their khuṭbahs are extant. In a word, as a result of political struggle and religious disputes Khuṭbah literature was widely cultivated during this period and it reached a height never surpassed in later times.<sup>1</sup>

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1. The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature to the end of the Umayyad Period, p.334.



The types of Khuṭbahs developed during the Umayyad Period.

On the broad base, four types of khuṭbahs were developed in this period. They are Khuṭab al-Tathbīt, ( خطب التثبيت ) Khuṭab al-Mashwarah, ( خطب المشورة ) Khuṭab al-Mashajarah, ( خطب المشاجرة ) and Khuṭab al-Wa'zah ( خطب الوعظة ) or otherwise known as Khuṭab al-Nawadī al-Ilmiyyah ( خطب النوارى العلمية ).

In Khuṭab al-Tathbīt, the khaṭīb attempts to praise a quality of a man which he possesses or he speaks ill of any evils or the man who commits evils. It is divided into six sub-divisions. Khuṭab al-Thana', ( خطب الثناء ) Khuṭab al-Dhamm, ( خطب الذم ) Khuṭab al-Ta'bīn, ( خطب التابين ) Khuṭab al-Tahānī, ( خطب التهانى ) Khuṭab al-Shukr ( خطب الشكر ) and Khuṭabah al-Ta'ziyah ( خطبة التعزية ).

In the Khuṭbat al-Thana', the Khaṭīb normally admires a great man. Yazīd ibn Mū'awiyah is credited to have delivered such a khuṭbah.<sup>1</sup> In the khuṭbat al-Dhamm, the Khaṭīb condemns the bad character of some one. Condemning the Irāqians, Mū'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān delivered such a khuṭbah.<sup>2</sup> In the khuṭbat al-Ta'bīn, the Khaṭīb presents the noble and generous activities of the deceased persons. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Ḥanafīyyah gave a khuṭbah elaborating the greatness of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī.<sup>3</sup>

1. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.142.

2. ibid, ii, p.140.

3. Abū Ishāq al-Ḥuṣrī, Zahr al-Adab, i, p.69.



In the *khutbah al-Ta'ziyah*, the *Khatib* consoles a person bereaved of his kith and kin. *'Abd Allāh ibn Hammām* consoles *Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah* after *Mu'āwiyah's* death<sup>1</sup>. In the *khutbah al-Tahānī*, the *khatib* congratulates any one who renders yeoman's service to the community or to any individual. *Ghaylān ibn Maslamah* gave one such *khutbah* congratulating *Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik*.<sup>2</sup> In the *khutbah al-Shukr*, the *khatib* gives thanks to a person who renders any act of goodness to the *Khatib* or to any other else.<sup>3</sup>

In the *Khutab al-Mashwarah*, the *Khatib* urges and induces his hearers to perform or to avoid a particular thing. It is subdivided into seven types. *Khutab al-Siyārah*, ( *خطبة السياسة* ) *Khutab al-'Askar*, ( *خطبة العسكر* ) *khutab al-Tahrid*, ( *خطبة التحريض* ) *Khutab al-Taqrī* ( *خطبة التقرير* ) *Khutab al-Talab*, ( *خطبة الطلب* ) *Khutab al-Wasāt* ( *خطبة الرصاة* ) and *khutab al-Shafa'ah* ( *خطبة الشفاعة* ) .

In the *khutbat al-Siyārah* the *khatib* belonging to the party in power or to the opposition urges the hearers to take up or to avoid a course of action giving emphasis on the fact that he has an eye to their interest. Major *khutbahs* of this period fall into this category.

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1. *Abū Ishāq al-Husri*, *Zahr al-Adāb*, i, p.61.

2. *Jāhiz*, *al-Bayān wa'l-tabyīn*, ii, pp.191-92.

3. *Abū Ishāq al-Husri*, *Zahr al-Adāb*, iii, p.167.



In the *khutbat al-‘Ashkar*, the generals encourage the soldiers to face the enemies vigorously or to sustain their mental strength to fight with their opponents with their utmost ability. A good number of this type of *khutbahs* are extant. The best one is attributed to *Tāriq ibn Ziyād*.<sup>1</sup>

In the *khutbat al-Taḥrīd*, the central point of the *khaṭīb* is to instigate the audience to deal a dead blow to the enemies or to prevent the audience from doing any undesirable act. The *khutbah* of *Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar* is one of the best examples of it.<sup>2</sup>

In the *khutbat al-Taqrī‘*, the *khaṭīb* scolds, rebukes and threatens the audience to bring them back to the fold of obedience and discipline. *al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf* is credited to have delivered such *khutbahs* of highly literary importance.<sup>3</sup>

In the *khutbat al-Talab*, the *khaṭīb* seeks any gift or blessing. *Ahnaf ibn Qays* made such a *khutbah*.<sup>4</sup>

In *khutbat al-Waṣīyah*, the *khaṭīb* commands some particular person or persons to discharge some obligation to others. *Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Ās* delivered a *khutbah* of this type.<sup>5</sup>

In the *khutbat al-Shafa‘ah*, the *khaṭīb* prays for forgiveness of any offence. The *khutbah* delivered by *‘Āmir al-Sha‘bī* is one of the best examples.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa-l-siyāsah*, ii, p.74; *al-Āb Shaikhu al-Īsū‘ī*, *‘Ilm al-Khatabah*, p.180.
  2. Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vii, p.107; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, iv, p.110.
  3. Ahmad Zakī Ṣafwat, *Jamharat Khutab al-‘Arab*, ii, pp.235, 288-95.
  4. *ibid*, ii, p.364.
  5. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihayah*, vol.iv, part viii, pp. 85-87.
  6. Mas‘ūdī, *Marūj al-Dhahab*, iii, p.145.



In the khutbat al-Mashājarah, the khatib pleads the case in offensive or defensive sides, in any court. 'Adī ibn Artāt pleaded his case in the court of qadi Shurayh.<sup>1</sup>

In the khutbat al-Wa'zah, the khatib gives sermons and moral lessons. Many khatibs of this type flourished during this period. But al-Hasan al-Basri was the pioneer.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to above mentioned khutbahs, the khutbahs of Wafud and Wafidat also developed in this period. Deligates from different parts of the Caliphate would come to Damascus or to the provincial Head quarters to present their grievances to the Caliphs or to the governors for their proper redress. Mahafil, which technically called al-Maqāmat would be held where the deligates of different tribes got together and competition of delivering khutbahs would take place. Women deligates would also participate in it.<sup>3</sup>

Ceremonial khutbahs of marriage ( نکاح ) also were on the increase in this period.

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1. Ibn Khallikān, Wāfayat al-a'yān, ii, p.167.

2. Goldziher, A Short History of Classical Arabic Literature, p.55.

3. Shawqī Dayf, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabi, ii, pp.407-08.



The forms of khuṭbahs of the Umayyad period.

Generally the Umayyad khuṭbah commences with Hamd (the glorification of Allāh ) and Thanā' (the praise of the Prophet). Of course, there are exceptions. The general practice is the use of Faṣl al-Khiṭāb ( فصل الخطاب ) . It is the use of the word Amma Ba'd ( أمّا بعد ) after Hamd and before the start of subject matter. There is also exception in it. Some Khatībs start just with the word of address. ( أيها الناس ) or with the imperative mood ( صيغة الأمر والنهي ) . The above mentioned formula is termed as muqaddamat al-khuṭbah ( مقدمة الخطبة ) .

The second form is called Ithbāt ( إثبات ) . It is the proposition of the Khatīb with proofs and arguments. It is of two kinds. al-Ithbāt al-Ijābī ( الإثبات الإيجابي ) and al-Ithbāt al-Salbī ( الإثبات السلبي ) . In the former, the khatīb explains his proposition with positive reasons. In the latter the khatīb refutes and nullifies the arguments of his antagonist. The former is technically called al-Tibyān ( التبيين ) and the latter is called al-Tanfīd ( التنفيذ ) . The most distinguished and accomplished khatībs of this period like Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, al-Ḥajjāj ibn yūsuf, Ziyād ibn Abih and 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād used above formula in their khuṭbahs.



The third form of *khutbah* is *al-Khitām* ( الختام ). It is the last part of the speech of the *khaṭīb*. In it he strikes most the ears of the audience. It has two parts. In the first part the *khaṭīb* gives the gist of what he explains in details in the midst of his *khutbah*. In the second part, he stirs up the emotion of the audience to make his *khutbah* most effective in their minds. Some *Khutbahs* of *al-Ḥajjaj ibn Yūsuf* contain both the parts.<sup>1</sup> Of course, the first part is absent in the *khutbahs* of many *khaṭībs* of this period. But the second part is conspicuously present in almost all the *khutbahs* of the Umayyad period.

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1. Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-A'shā*, i, p. 223.



The features of the khutbahs of the Umayyad period.

1. More use of poems in the khutbah.

The earlier khutbahs particularly those of the prophet and of his four Caliphs contained very few pieces of poetry. During the Umayyad period, the poetry got back its dominating position on which Islām imposed some sort of restriction not on all poems but on the poems of indecent import and implication. So, the khatibs of this period, as the time and circumstances demanded, did not miss the opportunity to arrest the attention of their audience by quoting poems in their khutbahs.

2. Varieties of subject matters.

The subject matters of earlier khutbahs were limited. The emergence of various religious sects, the rise of political factions, the conquests and expansion of Muslim empire - all resulted in multi-dimensional spread of subject matters of the khutbahs of the Umayyad period. Similarly types of Khutbahs also became diversified.

3. Insertion of the Qur'anic verses increased.

Khutbah became very effective instrument for the propagation of both political and religious cults during this period. Both the Umayyads and their opponents and various religious sects quoted the verses of the Qur'an in their khutbahs in support of their arguments and also to arouse the emotion of the audience and thereby almost all the khatibs exploited the religious sentiment of the people.



4. The number of harangues ( الخطب الطوال ) increased

The khuṭbahs were short in the earlier period in most cases. But during the Umayyad period, the number of harangues increased.

5. A good number of khuṭbahs partly preserved.

From the internal evidences, it becomes **apparent** that in many cases, only parts of khuṭbahs are preserved. The sources start with the word qāla fī khuṭbatih ( قال في خطبته ) and then narrate one or two sentences. These are not definitely the whole khuṭbah.

6. Over-lapping took place in some Khuṭbahs.

It becomes clear, if some khuṭbahs are compared, that the preservers have intermingled some part of some khuṭbahs into some other else.

7. Metamorphosis took place.

It is quite **apparent** that in some famous khuṭbahs of the period, there are omissions, **insertions** and the like.

8. Ascetic tone in the khuṭbah.

Ascetic tone has become very much manifested in the khuṭbahs of some khaṭībs who introduced mystic elements in Arabic literature.

9. Tadwīn al-khuṭbah.

Manyn of the khuṭbahs of this period, particularly those of the Caliphs and nobilities became mudawwanah (recorded)<sup>1</sup>.

10. Perfection in khuṭbah.

Khuṭbah literature reached in it's perfection during the Umayyad period.

11. Evolution of al-khuṭab al-Jadaliyyah ( الخطب الجدلية )  
During this period this new type of Khuṭbah evolved.

1. Shawqī Dayf, Kh al-Adab al-'Arabi, ii, pp. 455-56.



The contents of the Khutbahs of the Umayyad period.

The contents of the khutbahs of the Umayyad period developed in corresponding development of various types of khutbahs. In the political khutbahs, the Umayyads and their governors expressed their views with extreme assertiveness that the **khilafah** was the exclusive right of the Umayyads and Allāh has selected them to rule the Arabs and the muslims in accordance with the dictates of Shari'ah. In advocating this idea, they scold, rebuke, threaten and sometime persuade their audience to exact obedience from them.

The khārijites expressed their view in their khutbahs that the right to khilafah was common to all muslims and the Umayyads were usurpers. The selection of the Caliphs should be based on the principle of taqwā ( تَقْوَى ).

Similarly the Shi'ites asserted their views in their khutbahs that the khilafah was the right of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib and his descendants. Those among them who withdrew their support from **al-Husayn** ibn 'Alī in Karbalā became known as repentant and later on under the leadership of Sulaymān ibn Surd plead their theory of retaliation in their khutbahs.



'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zabayr and his supporters were inviting the people through their khutbahs to support their cause in shifting the capital from Damascus to al-Hijāz and to choose one senior member of the Quraysh as their Caliph, not any one **from** the Umayyads who shifted the capital of khilafah to Damascus and became dependent on the support of the Syrians of Yemenite origin.

The contents of the most of the sermon khutbahs are ascetic in nature. There is little reference to worldly affairs. In this type of khutbahs, the preachers constantly remind their listeners of **death**, life after death, the fear of Allāh, the terrors of the Day of Judgement, rewarding of the pious acts and punishment of the **wrongdoings and** warning against committing sins. The audience are urged by the **khatibs** to devote themselves solely to the services of **Allāh** and to renounce the pleasures of this world for those of the world to come. The contents of the khutbahs of **marriage** ceremony are similar to those of the sermon khutbahs.

In the khutbahs of the Wafūd and Wafidāt, the khatibs present their **grievances** to the Caliphs and their governors.

To fight with the enemies tooth and nail was the concepts of the khutbahs delivered by the generals in the battle fields .



Mu'āwiyah ibn Abi Sufyān as a khaṭīb.

He delivered two kinds of khutbahs. One kind was purely political and the other was sermon. In the first kind of khutbahs, he threatens as well as inspires the audience. In the second kind he asks the listeners to belittle and renounce the comforts of the worldly life.

One of his best political khutbahs, is the one which he delivered in the year of al-Jama'ah ( عام الجماعة ). Jāhiz has preserved one of his best sermon khutbahs.<sup>1</sup> But he gave out his opinion that it was 'Ali's khutbah as the linguistic and the conceptual aspects resemble those of the 'Ali's khutbahs. But it is a wonder that how a scholar like Jāhiz could forget that Mu'āwiyah was one of the amanuenses of the revelations of the Qur'ān and one of the great companions of the Prophet.<sup>2</sup>

In both the kinds of his khutbahs, his creative imagination,<sup>3</sup> ( الإيجاد أو الخيال الإبتكاري ) his arrangement, ( التسييق ) his introduction ( مطلع ) his statement and proof, ( الأنبات ) his epilogue, ( التمام ) his explanation, ( التعبير ) his use of appropriate simple dictions, easy weaving of sentences and his success of arousing the emotion ( العاطفة ) of the listeners - all have made his khutbahs a monumental prose work of this period.

1. al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, p.59.

2. Shawqī Dayf, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, ii, p.419.

3. Ahmad al-Shayb, Uṣūl al-Naqd al-'Arabī, p.214.



Moreover, his khutbahs are free from rare, compound and invented words. He does not suffer from repetition of words in speech, ( التبع ) stammering in the letter al-Tā ( التبع ), stammering in the letter al-Fā' ( الفاء ) fault of pronunciation ( اللغاة ), over-lapping of sentences, ( اللف ) difficulty in speech, ( الحسنة ) ambiguity, ( الحكمة ) loquacity, ( الخطل ) loose construction, ( الخف ) nonsense, ( العجز والحذر ) foolish talk ( الحذيان ) and compound speech ( تخليط ). Rather his khutbahs are simple and clear ( الجزل ) and his answer during speech was silencing ( مضم ) .

#### Yazid ibn Mu'āwiyah as a khatib

Of the four collected khutbahs of Yazid ibn Mu'āwiyah, one is consolatory, ( خطبة التعزية ) one is sermon and two are political. He consoles his mind to get rid of the pangs of grief he suffers from the death of his father. He declares with all emphasis that his father was junior to those who had died before him and senior to those who are alive. In the sermon he used the same introduction which the prophet used in the khutbah of al-Wadā' ( خطبة الوداع ) with slight modification. It is an extraordinary sermon in which he urges his listeners to live a pious life based on taqwā ( تقوى ). In his political khutbahs, he addresses the Syrians. In one he announces good news for them together with warning. In the second khutbah he expresses his determination to deal very seriously with the people of Madīnah who ousted the Umayyads from there.



All the four khuṭbahs are short in size. With a nice introduction the **statement** and proof, ( الآيات ) the use of simple but lucid and words, the insertion of the verses of the Qur'an, his only sermon has become one of the master pieces of Arabic literature. In all the khuṭbahs, he proves himself to have possessed prudence, virtue and good will. He proves his tact and judgement in arousing the emotion of his hearers by adopting a nice style of his own. His khuṭbahs are free from uncertainties of punctuation, zeugma, parenthesis and unfamiliar words and expressions.

'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān as a khatīb.

'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān is credited to have delivered four types of khuṭbahs - political, military, sermon and intercessional. As the aim of political khuṭbahs was to exact obedience, they are replete with threats and intimidation. In one of them, he narrates a story in which he uses beautiful similes and comparison.<sup>1</sup> One of the best pieces of his political khuṭbahs is the one which he delivers in al-Kūfah after Maṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr is killed.<sup>2</sup> He figures most as a khatīb in a military khuṭbah he delivers against the king of Rome.<sup>3</sup>

The personality and determination of 'Abd al-Malik, his creative imagination, his force of arguments, his analysis of facts and above all, his nice epilogue have found their fullest expression in his khuṭbahs in which he uses neither the languages of the bazārs nor does he use highly sophisticated words and expressions. Rather his words are simple, clear and lucid in full conformity with what he means.

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1. Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp.121-22.

2. al-Qālī, Amālī, i, p.33.

3. Ibn A'tham, Kitāb al-Futūh, vii, p.168.



al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī as a Khaṭīb.

Of the twenty khutbahs of al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, one is a sermon, one is a military, ( الخطبة العسكرية ) some are khutab al-Taqrī' ( التقرّيع ) and the rest are political. Each one has its striking feature. He has woven the fabric of his sermon with maximum use of Qur'anic verses. His khutab al-Taqrī' are replete with severe lashing words and the military khutbah is full of encouraging and energy-evoking dictions. Keeping balance between his mental images and simple but lucid expression is the beauty of his style.

al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī as a khaṭīb

Of the fifteen khutbahs delivered by al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, one is sermon, very terse, highly admonitory and ascetic in nature, one is a Nasīhah, ( نصيحة ) one is Rathā' ( رثاء ) one is a long taqrī' ( تقرّيع ) and the rest are political which give us a clear portrait of the treacherous Irāqian character.

His expression has naturalness and his style is so polished that it reflects deep feelings. Unlike his brother al-Ḥasan, he is more vocal against the tyranny of the Umayyads. Precision, simplicity, the use of aliteration and delicate wit are the striking features of his style. The verses of the Qur'ān along with hadiths are abundantly used in his khutbahs.



Ziyād ibn Abih as a Khaṭīb.

Ziyād ibn Abih is credited to have delivered fifteen khuṭbahs of which one is really a harangue and the remaining are the shorter but expressive.<sup>1</sup> This harangue, according to some, is called al-Batrā (البتراء) for it's being devoid of Ḥamd (حمدا) and Thanā' (ثناء). However, the use of appropriate words, though all are not simple, the use of assonances, similes and full-blown metaphors, the coherence between words and thoughts, the rhetorical forms and attractive contents - all have made the khuṭbah so significant that 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥtam stood up and said, "You are gifted with al-Ḥikmah (الحكمة) and Faṣl al-khitāb (فصل الخطاب). But this khuṭbah has suffered a serious type of metamorphosis in the form of additions, (إضافات) subtraction, (الحذف) and precedence and succession (التقديم والتأخير) in the hands of the rhapsodists and copyists.

'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād as a khaṭīb.

Of the sixteen khuṭbahs of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, two are the parts of some whole khuṭbahs and the rest are short Khuṭbahs excepting one harangue. All his khuṭbahs are political in nature.

His felicity of expression, his choice of pure and simple dictions, introduction and arrangement and epilogue-all have made his khuṭbahs most effective in arousing the emotion of the listeners.

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1. al-Āb Lewis Shaikhu al-Īsū'ī, Kitāb al-Inshā', p.188.



But in one khutbah, he uses a bit difficult words,<sup>1</sup> but there is no word-tracery. Whatever may mar his career as a gifted khatib is his defect of stammering for which he cannot, perhaps, pronounce the letter al-qāf ( أَلْقَاف ). He pronounces it al-kāf ( أَلْكَاف )<sup>2</sup> whereas there are many qāfs in his extant khutbahs.

Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik as a Khatib.

Of the six collected khutbahs of walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik, three are consolatory and the remaining are political ones in which he declares his policy matters expressing one and the same idea by the use of different words which are more or less synonyms. For the mood of persuasion, the repetition of one word in one of his khutbahs, instead of making it annoying, has made it more lucid and pleasant.<sup>3</sup>

Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik as a Khatib.

Among the five collected khutbahs of Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik, three are the parts of khutbahs and the two are whole. But all are sermons. He urges the audience to follow the dictates of the Qur'ān. The use of circumstantial clause ( أَلْحَال ) in frequent intervals in one of his khutbahs, has really made it a type in itself.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.140.

2. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyin, i, pp.72

3. Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-'l-Siyāsah, ii, p.58.

4. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.143.



al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf as a khatīb.

Among the fifty four collected khutbahs of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, one of the most gifted khatībs of the Umayyad era, four are purely sermons, a few are military and most of them are political ones belonging to the *Khutab al-Taqrī'* ( *خطب التقریح* ).

The vigour, the directness avoiding similes and metaphors, pleasing conciseness and the uncommon echo of religious import in the balanced sentences have made his sermons so highly brisk, convincing and animated that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī had remarked, "Don't you all wonder over the speeches of this debauch who ascends the stairs of the pulpit, speaks like the prophets and thereafter he descends from the pulpit and exceeds all bounds in doing evils ; he yields to Allāh in words but disobeys Him by his deeds ?"

Among his *khutab al-Taqrī'* ( *خطب التقریح* ), his first khutbah in the mosque in al-Kūfah as a new governor, the second one in the mosque in al-Baṣrah, the third given after the battle of Dayr al-Jamājam are the best representative of his style. "The most famous of all the speeches of the Umayyad age is the excoriating khutbah pronounced in al-Kūfah by Ḥajjāj hearing the cry "God is great" (Allāh Akbar) in the market.<sup>1</sup>

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1. R.B. Sergeant, Cambridge History of Arabic Literature to the end of the Umayyad period, p.119 .



His dramatic appearance covering his face with a turban, thereafter hearing some bad remarks, unveiling his face, starting the khutbah in the mosque in al-Kūfah reciting a piece of poetry,

أنا ابن جلا وطلاع الثنايا + متى أضحى العامة تعرفوني -

the use of similes, metaphors, proverbs, allegories, his insight in the choice of most penetrating and highly but elegant words most suited to the Irāqian turbulent character, the use of flowery phrases, his realistic approach and his nice introduction and concluding epilogue - all bear the testimony that he had a consummate skill in oratory. His wit and tact and experience in psychology **have paved the way** how he could utilise his khutbahs as an **instrument** for practical politics. Harmony between his images and dictions is solely responsible for so much acoustic effect in his khutbahs.



‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr as a khaṭīb.

Out of the twenty three collected khuṭbahs of ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, three<sup>1</sup> are the khuṭbahs of censure, ( خطب الذم ) one is eulogistic<sup>2</sup>, ( الخطبة السنائية ) one<sup>3</sup> is consolatory, ( خطبة التعزية ) three are military<sup>4</sup>, ( عسكرية ) three are short-sized sermons<sup>5</sup> and the rest are political.

In the khuṭbahs of censure, his language is highly pinching and yet to make it more damaging he took to allusions, metaphors and the verses of the Qur’ān. In the eulogistic khuṭbah in which he praised his brother Maṣ‘ab, his sentences with series of adjectives are packed full with meanings of considerable beauty. He is at his best as a gifted khaṭīb in his consolatory khuṭbah which he delivered when the tidings of the death of Maṣ‘ab reached him. This khuṭbah is characterized with ease, lucidity, force and metaphors of decent implications.

In one of his military khuṭbahs, there is heavy use of metaphors of deep sense but not exceeding the limits of intelligibility. In the political khuṭbahs, his approach is bold and the language he uses is in full compatibility with his images. He proves himself more as a man of practical politics than as a preacher. In dealing with Mu‘āwiyah he proves his ability with fertile political insight and is capable of carrying his ideas to fruition.

1. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih , al-‘Iqd al-Farid, ii,p.269.

2. al-Qāli, Amāli, i,p.334.

3. Aḥmad Zaki Safwat, Jamharat khuṭab al-‘Arab,ii,pp.175-77.

4. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih al-‘Iqd al-Farid, ii,p.271.

5. Ibn A‘tham , Kitāb al-Futūḥ, v,p.288.



Maṣ'ab ibn Zubayr as a khaṭīb.

Of the three political khutbahs of Maṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr, one is unique.<sup>1</sup> He is alone credited to deliver a complete khutbah with the verses of the Holy Qur'ān in al-Basrah where he was appointed governor by the Caliph 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr.

After formal introduction with Hamd and Thanā', he reads out the verses of the Qur'ān which denote how Pharaoh tortured the Egyptians and he gives signs with his hands to Syria. He reads out another verse which denotes how Allāh raised the status of those who once were weak but Allāh made them the leaders of the world. Maṣ'ab now gives signs with his hands towards al-Ḥijāz which is the capital of khilafah under his brother. Finally he reads out another verse where there was mention of Pharaoh and Hāmān and their soldiers. This time he moves his hand towards al-'Irāq.

9 Ibn A'tham has preserved two political khutbahs of Maṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr<sup>2</sup>. Persuasion and threat mixed together in them, have made them most apposite to the unruly Irāqian character. They are apparently sermonic but in spirit highly abusive. His simple dictions are quite in harmony with his wit.

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1. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l tabyīn, ii, pp.299-300; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.158; Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p.146; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, iv, p.131.

2. Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vi, pp.39, 219.



‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abbās as a khaṭīb.

‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abbās one of the luminaries of Islām and the father of the Qur’ānic exegesis, also figures as one of the gifted khaṭībs. Out of his six khutbahs one<sup>1</sup> is eulogy, two<sup>2</sup> are khutbahs of censure and the remaining are political.<sup>3</sup>

In the eulogy he praises the Hāshimites in measured language enumerating their contribution to society and since it is a **repartee** to ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr who censured the Hāshimites, his language in that part is **piercing** and reproachable but he does not exceed the bounds of decency nor does he do away with possibility of rapprochement and reconciliation with him.

In his political khutbahs, his language is highly polite. His khutbahs are characterized by preciseness and clarity. Decent introduction, arrangement of statement, nice epilogue and balanced sentences have **created** extreme acoustic effects.

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1. Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat Khutab al-‘Arab, ii, pp.120-23.
  2. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, ii, pp.112, 269.
  3. Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa-’l-Siyāsah, i, p.172; Ibn al-Athīr al-Kāmil, iii, p.172; Ibn A‘tham, Kitāb al-Futūḥ, vi, p.252.



al-Mukhtār ibn Abī 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī as a khaṭīb.

Though a slight trace of sermonic touch is there in his eighteen khuṭbahs, they are all political in substance.

The rhyme and cadence he adopted in one<sup>1</sup> of his khuṭbahs bears the stamp of his magic of the delicate word tracery. That untruth can be made truth only by the force of linguistic capability is undoubtedly applicable to al-Mukhtār who, by his rhymed sentences together with clear, lucid, direct, rhythmic dictions, good introduction and artistic ending, can create an air which convinces his audience that he has grim realism and consciousness of pity, though paradoxical in nature, for the descendants of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib. Rhythmical rhyme is the main feature of his style.

Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī as a khaṭīb.

Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī is one of the gifted khaṭībs produced by Islām. Of his ten khuṭbahs, six are sermons and four are political in which he advocates the Umayyad cause in the name of national unity. There is parity in his khuṭbahs. All are short in size.

Though once he suffered from faltering in speech, there was no loss of his fame as khaṭīb. In his khuṭbahs he proves his good command on a vast stock of vocabularies.

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1. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, pp. 65-66.



Among his six sermons, two are typical. One is about good conduct and another is philosophical dealing with the greatness of almighty Allāh.

Clearness, use of concise sentences of massive strength of their own and directness avoiding the use of similes, metaphors and all other linguistic ornaments were the main features of his style.

Qutaybah ibn Muslim as a Khaṭīb.

Of his ten khutbahs, four are military and the rest are called khutab al-Thawrān ( خطب الثوران ) which he delivers against the Umayyads when he revolts. In the military khutbahs he successfully infuses the life-giving force, and the vitalizing energy and spirit of sacrifice into the minds of the Muslim warriors. His language is most powerful, solid and smooth. The insertion of the verses of the Qur'ān consisting of **spirit** of Jihād at quick intervals was his genial dexterity with which he beautifies, in great measure, both the forms and contents of his khutbahs.

In a harangue, in which he explains the reasons of his rebellion and rebukes those who do not give him support, the use of simple but lashing words is at par with his anger and hatred he cherishes against the Umayyads.



Tāriq ibn Ziyād as a khatīb.

Tāriq ibn Ziyād who conquered Spain has left a very famous khutbah delivered after burning the ships which carried his soldiers to the island.

It is one of a few best pieces of military khutbahs ever delivered during the Umayyad period. The charming introduction, the dramatic approach, the art he applied to arrest the attention and wax and sustain the mental stamina of his soldiers by mentioning the delicate women having deep-black and deep-white eyes ( أحور الحسان ), the use of vivacious words in **balanced sentences**, his wit and strategy all appeal even to the worst instinct of his listeners.

'Utbah ibn Abī Sufyān as a Khatīb.

Out of the eight khutbahs of 'Utbah ibn Abī Sufyān, seven are khutab al-Taqrī' ( خطب التقرير ) in which he scolds and threatens the audience. One belongs to khutab al-Shafa'ah ( خطب الشفاعة ). There is a rhyme in one of his khutbahs.<sup>1</sup> The grim mood of anger and wrath is widely spread in his Khutab al-Taqrī' in which grace of simplicity, briskness and lucidity have tempered the lashing attitude of the Khatīb.

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1. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ al-ʿAshā, vol. i, p. 216.



'Amr ibn Sa'id al-Ashdaq as a khatib.

Four full and one part of khutbah of 'Amr ibn Sa'id al-Ashdaq are extant. He was a gifted khatib and was called al-Ashdaq for his eloquence.

Putting on a red silk cloak, a red wrapper having a red turban on his head and closing his eyes, he sat on the pulpit of the mosque of Madinah. Seeing the people casting their eyes towards him quite curiously for his peculiar dress, he begins speaking with a apparent pose of a humorist, but the temper he shows is highly priggish. The dictions he uses are in full harmony with his images.

The construction of sentences of the Khutbah he delivers in Makkah is, undoubtedly, a bit harder and the repetition of same sentences, instead of making it **verbose** and loose, makes it more convincing and conclusive. He is at his best in this khutbah.<sup>1</sup> In the khutbah which he delivers when he gets upper hand in Damascus, a sort of moral and pious tone is echoed. **Precisely**, the introduction, the statement and proof and excellent finishing prove that he has infallible insight to coin appropriate words of pleasing grace and acoustic effect.

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1. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-Iqd al-Farid, ii, p.157.



Aḥnaf ibn Qays as a khaṭīb

Sixteen khutbahs of three types - political, khutab al-Tālab ( خطب الطلب ) and sermons of different size by Aḥnaf ibn Qays are extant. His **versatility**, wit, boldness and linguistic command **are** reflected in his khutbahs. One sermon on a moral topic is a great contribution by him to moral literature. It is a very fine combination of a good number of wise-sayings.<sup>1</sup>

In his **kuṭbat al-Tālab** rhyme is adopted to arouse emotion.<sup>2</sup> Nice introduction, brilliant arrangement of statement and proof, the skill in finishing, direct approach in clear and lucid dictions and above all, avoidance of similes, metaphors and allegories are the main beauties of his khutbahs.

Muhallab ibn Abī Sufrah as a khaṭīb.

Muhallab ibn Abī Sufrah was the only general who fought along with his all sons against the Azraqites for a long period. He is more famous for his al-Khutab al-‘Askariyyah and they are twenty in number. He was one of the military personalities and his experience as a general has made him one of the most effective khaṭībs of the war fields. The horrors of war have made him realistic in the deliberation of his ideas without emotion. His khutbahs illustrate so well his fondness for fighting dauntlessly and there is no exposure of irritation and passion of his mental gymnastics. As time is the most countable aspect in war period, his khutbahs are seldom long. They are highly terse, their language was vivid, racy, direct, expressive and eloquent. Packing with metaphors and imageries is absent in them.

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1. al-Qālī, Amālī, ii, p.24; Ibn ‘Asākir, Tahdhib, vii, p.21.

2. Abū Ishaq al-Husri, Zahr al-Adab, i, p.57.



Quṭrī ibn al-Fujā'ah as a khaṭīb.

Only one khuṭbah sermonic in nature and woven in a very brilliant texture by Quṭrī ibn al-Fujā'ah is extant. The rhyme, the excellent portrayal, the use of synonyms, elegant expressions with series of adjectives, simplicity, clearness, grace and eloquence, appropriate insertion of the verses of the Qur'ān as proofs in support of his ascetic views about the renunciation of the worldly comforts and pleasures and conformity between his dictions and images- all have got together to make his sermon most effective and assertive. His style is direct and flowery. Metaphors and figures of speech are absent.

Abū Hamzah al-Shāri as a khaṭīb.

Seven khuṭbahs delivered against the despotic rule of the Umayyads by al-Mukhtār ibn 'Awf better known as Abū Hamzah al-Shāri, are extant. Of his khuṭbahs one is sermon<sup>1</sup> and the remaining are political. He is at his best in his harangue which he delivered either in Madinah or in Makkah<sup>2</sup>. In this khuṭbah, he praises Abū Bakr and 'Umar and accuses 'Uthman and all other Umayyads. His criticism about Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah and Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik in it is very scathing. He gives a vivid picture of the Khārijites, their concepts, their God-fearingness, the renunciation of worldly pleasures, their spirit of Jihād and their preparedness for martyrdom.

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1. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh ix, p.108.

2. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, pp.121-22; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ii, p.161.



His khuṭbahs are characterized by all the features of the Khārijite khuṭbahs. Inspiration towards acts of piety and stern and strong protest against the activities of the Umayyads are the predominating aspect of his khuṭbahs. Simplicity, natural flow, the use of more pinching even sharper words than the swords, his arguments in favour of the khārijite doctrines and their services to Islām, expressed in sweet, clear and eloquent manner and use of some similes here and there- all go together to make his khuṭbahs the best models for the khārijite khuṭbahs.

Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā' as a khaṭīb.

One khuṭbah of Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā' the founder of the Mu'tazilite doctrines has come down to us.<sup>1</sup> He could not pronounce the Arabic letter al-Rā' ( الراء ) so he avoids the use of al-Rā' in his khuṭbah. In this respect it is a peculiar khuṭbah in Arabic literature. He starts it with an exhaustive prelude containing Ḥamd and Thanā'. To arrest the attention and to arouse the emotion of the listeners, he adopts the blending of rhyme and free style construction. Brevity, elegance, balanced sentences, insertion of Qur'anic verses and avoidance of metaphors and artificial embellishment are the main features of his style.

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1. Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Jamharat khuṭab al-'Arab, ii, pp. 501-03.



'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz as a khatib.

Of the forty Khuṭbahs by 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, excepting two all are sermons. All are short in size. Only two are harangues<sup>1</sup> which may be included in the master pieces of sermon literature in Arabic language.

The introduction, the arrangement of statement and proof together with analysis and finishing epilogue, choice of simple dictions - all bear the testimony that his khuṭbahs are the product of his creative imagination. Though he was not the most accomplished khatib of the Umayyad period, he was undoubtedly one of those first rate khatibs whom Umayyad period produced. Unlike other Umayyad rulers, he appears in his khuṭbahs more as a preacher than as a ruler. His approach was like that of a religious guide. It has become evident from his khuṭbahs that he was anti-secularization of Khilafah.

His was a peculiar style. His language was forceful, extremely expressive and convincing with the economy of words. His dictions are at quite par with the picture of his mind which was terrified all the time by fear of Allāh. The use of simple but clear words in balanced constructions, have made his khuṭbahs a compressed vivid statement of highly original image.

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1. Ibn al-Jawjī, Sirat 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, pp.53,210.



al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī as a khaṭīb.

Seventeen khutbahs of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī a pioneer in sermon literature in Arabic have come down to us. The most striking feature of his sermons is that they abound in his emotional appeal to the listeners to fear Allāh, renounce the pleasure of this world and to earn what will come to their service in the world hereafter. In his khatbahs he appears as a professed preacher, an embodiment of religious earnestness and highly ascetic in thoughts. In sermons he is **seldom** surpassed by any since his days.

The simplicity in language, his skill in the construction of sentences, the analysis of propositions, authentication of what he claims with the verses of the Qur'ān, clarity and preciseness - all have got together to make his sermons a monumental prose work in Arabic literature.

al-Sayyedah 'Ā'ishah as a khaṭīb. ?

Of five khutbahs of al-Sayyedah 'Ā'ishah, four political and one consolatory are extant in the earlier sources. No feminine tone is echoed in the khutbahs. Rather her khutbahs may be cited as examples in support of the doctrine of feminism. In felicity of expression, in using sharp but effective language with high euphonic effect, and in painting a true picture of her mind in simple and vigorous tone, her style is quite manly and time honoured.



al-Sayyedah Umm Kulthūm bint 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib as a khaṭīb.

A short-sized khuṭbah of very high standard attributed to have been delivered by al-Sayyedah Umma Kulthūm bint 'Alī, has come down to us. It is a khuṭbah of Taqrīf (scolding) beautified by the appropriate verses of the Qur'an. Her style lies in weaving a simple fabric with a bit difficult words given equal weight on both dictions and imports.



CHAPTER - VIThe Maqālāt.

Like other branches of Arabic Prose, the maqālāt under the Umayyads constitute a very important branch of Arabic prose. On account of their literary values and merits, they were preserved in the works of the early historians, belles-lettres and litterateurs.

The testaments (waṣāyā) of famous men, their occasional pronouncements, conversations, admonitions and advices all combined together are called maqālāt. The extent of the evolution of the social culture of the Umayyad period, the socio-political ethics which governed the life of the people, their thought and their way of life are mirrored through these maqālāt. These maqālāt cannot be conceived in isolation. Rather every maqālah is intimately connected with a social background and associated with any incident of life. Of all the types of maqālāt, our interest is concentrated only on those pieces which possess literary merits. As exact translation of those pieces is hardly possible, some of them are quoted in original and their features and styles are shown.

Some specimen of the maqālāt of Mu'āwiyah ibn Abi Sufyān.

Mu'āwiyah's maqālāt in different forms are important for their literary values. Many conversations of Mu'āwiyah are preserved by the litterateurs like Jāhiz, Ibn Qutaybah and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih. Their very incorporation of those pieces in their works indicates that those pieces have literary merits in them.



Here is a conversation<sup>1</sup> of Mu'āwiyah with Ṣuhār al-'Abadī :

قال ابن العربي: قال معاوية بن أبي سفيان لصحار بن عياش العبدى: ما هذه البلاغة فيكم؟ قال  
شيء يجيش به صدرنا فتعده على السنن. فقال رجل من عرض القوم (أى عامتهم) يا أمير المؤمنين  
فولاء بالبر والرب أبصر منكم بالخطب. فقال له صحار: أجل والله إنا نعلم أن الريح لتلقح وأن  
البرد يعطد وأن القمر ليصنعه وأن الحر ليشفجه، قال له معاوية: ما تعدون البلاغة فيكم؟ قال:  
الإيجاز. قال له معاوية: وما الإيجاز؟ قال صحار: أن يجيب فلا تبطئ وتقول فلا تخطئ. فقال له  
معاوية: أو كذا تقول يا صحار؟ قال صحار: أظن يا أمير المؤمنين ألا تبطئ ولا تخطئ.

From rhetorical point of view, the above conversation has immense value. That Ṣuhār's definition of Balāghah by i'jāz - to answer quickly without committing any mistake is important as the term balāghah signified in those days is not what we conceive to-day. Moreover, it was connected with the oral tradition as the word *جيب* denotes. To-day balāghah whatever it means it is connected with both oral and written materials. Hence the concepts of rhetoric may change from time to time.

From the scientific and lexical point of view, Ṣuhār's contribution is not less important. In the whole process, as Ṣuhār says, from the beginning of germination of fruit-seeds to the state of ripeness of the fruits, four natural phenomena are involved. The wind helps in germinating, ( لفتح بالريح ) water ( البرد ) helps in the process of its growth, ( صبح ) the moon helps in making the fruits to mature ( عقد ) and the heat of the sun helps in making the fruits completely ripe ( نبع ). So the four words - *فتح*, *عقد*, *صبح* and *نبع* are the lexical properties in the passage. In this conversation Ṣuhār is more active than Mu'āwiyah who only put the questions to elicit answers from Ṣuhār. As per linguistic style the piece is precise, vivid and it has much acoustic effect.

1. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, i, p.96; Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhbār, Vol.ii, p.172; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-Iqd al-Farīd, i, p.174.



Here is another<sup>1</sup> conversation of Mu'āwiyah which is very interesting from literary point of view :

ربيعه بن عيسى وفد على معاوية فقال له معاوية: ما جئتك؟ قال: زوجني ابنتك. قال: قال: راسقوا ابن عيسى عسلاً. فأعاد عليه فأعاد عليه الحسل ثلاثاً فتركه وقد كاد ينفذ بطنه قال: فأستعملني على خراسان. قال: زياد أعلم بخورة. قال: فأستعملني على شرطة البصرة. قال: زياد أعلم بشرطته. قال فأكسني قطيفة أو قال: هب لي مائة ألف جذع للداري. قال: وأين دارك؟ قال: بالبصرة. قال: كم زرعها؟ قال: فرسخان في فرسخين. قال: فدارك بالبصرة أو البصرة في دارك -

Literature is not but a real picture of the society. And the society is a vast ocean into which tribulates flow from different sides. Right from a sovereign down to a fool, every one plays a particular role in the multidimensional aspect of it. Here some one laughs, some one weeps, and some one jests and humours. So, jesting and humours are also the essential elements of literature. Here Mu'āwiyah plays the part of a jester and leaving his gravity aside makes life enjoyable. For precision, lucidity and brilliance of construction this piece is a type in itself.

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1. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn, ii, pp. 259-60.



The admonition of al-Hasan ibn 'Ali .

Here is a one<sup>1</sup> of the best pieces of admonitions by al-Hasan ibn 'Ali on the renunciation of the worldly pleasures :

قال الحسن بن علي: ألا أخبركم عن صديق كان لي من أعظم الناس في عيني، وكان رأس ما عظم به في عيني صغر الدنيا في عينه، كان خارجاً من سلطان بطنه فلا يتشمق ما لا يحل ولا يكتز إذا وجد، وكان خارجاً من سلطان الجمالة فلا يمد يداً إلا على ثقة لمنفعة، كان لا يشكى ولا يتبرم، كان أكثر صبراً صامتاً، فإذا قال بد القائلين، كان ضعيفاً مستضعفاً فإذا جاد الجِدَّ فهو اللبث عادياً، كان إذا جامع العلماء على أن يسمع أحسن منه على أن يقول، كان إذا غلب على الكلام لم يغلب على السكوت، كان لا يقول ما يفعل ويفعل ما لا يقول، كان إذا عرض له أمران لا يدري أيهما أقرب إلى الحق نظر أقربهما من ههنا فخالقه، كان لا يلوم أحداً على ما قد يقع العذر في مثله -

In this admonition al-Hasan ibn 'Ali hazards a conjecture about a friend who is considered by him as one of the great men. For aught he is considered great in his eyes is the fact that the world is belittled in his eyes (his friend's eyes) . He is away from the control of his belly, hence he does not crave for what is illegal, nor does he lay by something when he gets . And he is away from the control of ignorance. So, he does not extend his hands until he is sure that it will bring on some benefits. He neither doubts nor does he become restless ; he remains silent all the times, but when he talks, he gets upper hands over all the speakers. He is humble and polite, but when need arises , he is a tiger honouring no limit. When he agrees with the learned people on any point, he is more covetous to listen than to make any comment.

1. Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-akhbār, vol.ii, p.355.



When he is overcome in speaking, he is not overcome in keeping silent. He does not speak out what he does and he does what he does not speak out. When he is confronted by two things knowing not which of the two is nearer to the truth, he gives thought and which he finds nearer to his whims and caprice he opposes it. He does not rebuke any one for any such fault where excuse is accepted.

Here an ocean of thought is compressed into a well only by his skill in arranging his thought and expression harmoniously in simple, inornate and straightforward style. The balance between the sentences and his ideas with simple dictions have made the whole passage exquisitely attractive and charming in respect of literary merits.

A maqālah of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī.

Here is one<sup>1</sup> of the best pieces of elegies uttered by al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī by the side of the sepulcher of his elder brother al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī :

قال الحسين بن عليّ عند قبر أخيه الحسن عليهما السلام: رحلت الله أبا محمد! إن كنت لتناصر الحق مظانّه، وتوثر الله عندنا احسن الباطل في مواطن التقيّه بحسن الرويّة، وتستشف جليل معاطم الدنيا لعين لها حاقرة، وتفيض عليهما يد الطامسة الأطراف، نقيّة الأسرة، وتردع بادرّة غرب أعدائك بأيسر المونة عليك ولاغزو وأنت سلالة النبوة، ورضيع لبان الحكمة فإلى روح وريحان وجنة نعيم. أعظم الله لنا ولكم الأجر عليه، ووهب لنا ولكم السلوة وحسن الأسنى عنده -

1. Qutaybah, 'Uyun al-Akḥbār, vol.ii, p.314.



In a very precise but with appropriate didctions, and well-woven balanced sentences, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī has proved his worth as one of the best elegists of his time. His approach is more akin to that of khaṭīb. His success lies in depicting the true picture of the character of his brother without any exaggeration.

The maqālāt of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās.

A pretty good number of the maqālāt of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās is preserved.

Here is one<sup>1</sup> of the most polished pieces of his utterances :

سئل ابن عباس عن الخائفين لله فقال: هم الذين صدقوا الله في مخافة وعبداءة فلو جهم بالخوف  
فرحة وأعينهم على أنفسهم بالية ودموعهم على خلد ودهم جارية، يقولون كيف نفرح والموت من  
ورادنا والقبور من أماننا والقيامة مرعدنا وعلى جهنم طريقتنا وبين يدي ربنا موقنا -

It is a very terse but extremely lively sermon on asceticism. Rhyme and cadence, simplicity and resultant euphonic effect have made it excellent piece about God-fearingness. It appeals to the hearts of the people straight.

Here is another<sup>2</sup> maqālah of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās :

قال له معاوية: ما تقول في أبي بكر؟ قال: رحم الله أبا بكر، كان والله للقرآن آلياً وعن  
المنكرات ناهياً، وبدنيه عازماً، ومن الله خائفاً، وعن الشبهات زاجراً، وبالليل قائماً، و  
بالتفصيص ما فاق أصحابه ورعاً وكفاهاً وسادهم زهداً وعفافاً، فغضب الله على من أبغضه  
وطعن عليه -

1. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, p. 314.

2. Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, iii, pp. 50-51.



From literary point of view, ~~this maqalah~~ is also important.

In spite of the fact that the two maqālāt mentioned above are preserved in two different sources, their style is the one and the same. That the same brain has worked in both the utterances can be easily detected. It is also terse, lucid and beautified with rhyme and cadence. For the use of circumstantial words ( *أحوال* ) the two pieces have the same acoustic effects.

Here is an admonition by 'Abd Allāh ibn Abbas<sup>1</sup>:

لما أجمع الحسين بن علي رضي الله عنه المسير إلى الكوفة، أتاه عبد الله بن عباس فقال: يا بن عم، إنك قد أرحب الناس أنت سائر إلى العراق، فبين لي ما أنت صانع؟ قال: إني قد أجهت المسير في أحد يومين إن شاء الله تعالى. فقال له ابن عباس: فإني أعيذك بالله من ذلك، أخبرني رمتك الله أتسير إلى قوم قد قتلوا أميرهم، وضبطوا بلادهم، ونفوا عدوهم؟ فإن كانوا قد فعلوا ذلك خسر إليهم، وإن كانوا إنما دعوك إليهم وأمروهم عليهم قاهر لهم وعماله تجي بلادهم فانهم إنما دعوك إلى الحرب والقتال ولا آمن عليك أن يغررك ويكذبوك ويخانوكم ويخذلوكم وأن يستنقروا إليك فيكونوا أشد الناس إليك.

Here in this passage 'Abd Allāh ibn Abbas envisages a different style. As communication of ideas was aimed at and there <sup>was</sup> no question of arousing emotion among his listeners, rhyme and cadence is eschewed. He could speak in two styles as circumstances demanded - rhyme style and without rhyme.

1. Tabarī, Tārīkh, vi, p.216.



The maqālāt of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr.

A good number of maqālāt of 'Abd ibn al-Zubayr have reached us. Here is one<sup>1</sup> of them :

ذکر معاویة لابن الزبیر بیعة یزید فقال ابن الزبیر :  
إني أناريك ولا أناجيک، إن أخاك من صدقتك، فانظر قبل أن تقدم وتفكر قبل أن  
تندم، فإن النظر قبل التقدم والتفكر قبل الندم -

It is a specimen of how a statement can be economized in words with proverbial construction. It's weaving and import are equally weighty in literary briskness and simplicity. Rhyme has added to it's beauty.

Here is another<sup>1</sup> prose narrative of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr :

دخل ابن الزبير على أمه بنت أبي بكر، في اليوم الذي قتل فيه، وقد رأى الناس ما رأى من  
هذا لا نهم فقال يا أمه، خذ لى الناس حتى ولدى وأهلى فلم يبق معى إلا اليسير من ليس عندك  
من الدخ أكثر من صبر ساعة، والقوم يعطونى ما أردت من الدنيا، فما رأيك؟ فقالت أنت والله  
يا بنى أعلم بنفسك فدنا منها وقبل رأسها وقال بهذا والله رأى، والذي قمت به داعياً إلى يومى هذا،  
ما ركنت إلى الدنيا ولا أحببت الحياة فيها، وما دعانى إلى الخروج إلا الغضب لله أن تستحل حرمه، ولكنى  
أحببت أن أعلم رأيك، فزدتنى بصيرة مع بصيرتى، فانظري يا أمه فإني مقتول من يومى هذا،  
فلا هيشة حزنتك، وسلمى لأمر الله، فإلى إبتك لم يعتمد إتيان منكرو ولا عمل بفاحشة، ولم يحرفى حكم  
الله ولا يعدر فى أمان، ولم يعتمد ظلم مسلم ولا معاهد ولم يبلغنى ظلم عن عمالى فرضيت به، بل أنكرت،  
ولم يكن شئى آثر عندى من رضا ربى، اللهم إني لا أقول هذا تزكية منى لنفسى أنت أعلم بى ولكنى  
أقوله لأتى لتسوعنى -

1. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabayīn, i, p. 301.

2. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vii, p. 202; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, vii, pp. 418-19;  
Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-'l-nihāyah, vol. iv, Part viii, p. 33.



This passage of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr is preserved in may early sources without any difference in the texts even in iota.

This is the specimen of his text which is balanced harmoniously between his images and expressions. Here the excellent character of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr is manifested through animated, noble and restrained manner. No emotion has any room in it. The hard real images are communicated. Eschewing of rhyme and cadence is, therefore, the literary strength of this piece.

The maqālāt of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz.

Many literary pieces of the maqālāt of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz are preserved.

Here is a maqālah<sup>1</sup> which is important in lexical point of view :  
 عن ركين الراجر قال : أتيت عمر بن عبد العزيز بعد ما استخلف استخراجه و وعدا وكان  
 وعدنيه وعودا الى المدينة ، فقال لي : يا ركين ، إن لي نفسا تواقه لم تزل تتوق الى الإمارة ،  
 فلما نلتها آقت الى الخلافة ، فلما نلتها آقت الى الجنة ومارزأت من أموال المسلمين شيئا ،  
 وما عندي ألفارصم ، فاخترأجهما سئت .

There is a nice scheme of verbal inflexion of the word *tawq* ( تَوَقَّ ) in different shades, with repetition which instead of making the paragraph verbose and teasing, has increased it's acoustic effect. It is an excellent specimen of very terse but lucid and highly animated prose form.

1. Ibn Qutaybah , 'Uyūn al-Akhhbār, vol.i,p.231.



Here is another<sup>1</sup> passage by 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz whose ascetic ideas are best expressed in it :

عن محمد بن كعب القرظي قال: دخلت على عمر بن عبد العزيز في مرضه الذي مات فيه فجلت  
أحد النظر إليه فقال لي: يا ابن كعب، مالك تحمد النظر إلي؟ قلت لم تخل من جسدي، وتغير  
من لونك قال: فكيف لو رأيتني بعد ثلاثة في قبري وقد سألت حد قماي على وجنتي وإبتدأ  
فهي وأنفي صديداً ودورا، كنت والله أشد نكرة لي -

It is a fine exposition of how 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz lays stress on the life hereafter . Here is a very deep picture about ascetic life for which he was so renowned. Simplicity and precision are the characteristic features of his style in it.

#### The maqālāt of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

Many short but highly instructive pieces of the maqālāt of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī are preserved.

Here is an extract<sup>2</sup> brought in to see his prose style in oral materials :

قال الحسن: قراء القرآن ثلاثة: رجل اتخذها بضاعة ينقله من مصر إلى مصر يطلب به ما  
عنده الناس، وقوم حفظوا حروفه، وصيغوا أحاديده، واستدروا به الولاية، وإسطلوا به  
على أهل بلادهم، وقد كثرت الله هذا الضرب في حملة القرآن لاكثرهم الله. ورجل قرأ القرآن فبدأ  
بما يعلم من دوا القرآن فوضعه على دار قلبه، فسهر ليله وهملت عيناه، تسربلوا الخشوع، وارتدوا  
بالحزن وركبوا في محاربيهم وجنوا في براسمهم فبهم يسوق الله الغيث وينزل النصر، ويرفع البلاد  
وانته لهذا الضرب في حملة القرآن من الكبريت الأحمر -

1. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn, ii, p.35.

2. Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhbār, vol.ii, pp.132-33; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, p.170.



It is one of the best shorter pieces of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Here he gives a bright description of the three categories of Qur'ān recitors. The first two are worthless and the third is noble but their number is very few.

The didactic piety of al-Ḥasan al-Basri is more apparent in it than his mere criticism. The passage illustrates his style in using unconstrained sentences in moralizing topics to which he is extremely prone.

Here is another<sup>1</sup> prose narrative of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri where he adopts a different style :

عنيسة القطان قال: سمعت الحسن وقال له رجل: بلغنا أنك تقول: لو كان علي بالمدينة يأكل من خشفها كان خيراً له مما صنع. فقال له الحسن: يالكح، أما والله لقد فقدتوه سحماً من مرامى الله، غير سؤوم لأمر الله، ولا سرقة لمال الله، أعطى القرآن عزاءه فيما عليه وله فاعل حلاله وحرم حرامه، حتى أوردته ذلك رياضاً مرتفعة وحادائق مغدقة ذلك علي بن أبي طالب يالكح -

In this passage every line contains solemn grandeur. The weight and power of emotion, the tremendous conviction and stern immobility of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī have been pervasive in the whole passage. Purity of language, striking lucidity, clarity and the use of rhyme are perfectly there. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī seems to have been flexible in his style. His way of taking the man to task is not at all indecent. Luka' (لكح) means a little foolish boy. It implies affection mixed with a sort of uneasiness.

1. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn, ii, p.108; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, i, p.167.



The maqālāt of Abū Hazam al- arāj.

The solemn tone of asceticism of Abū Hazam al- arāj is best manifested in his short maqālāt.

1

Here is one of them :

قال ابو حازم: الدنيا غرت اقواما فعلوا فيها بغير الحق، فلما جادهم الموت خلفوا ما لهم لمن لا يحمدهم،  
وصاروا الى من يعدرهم. وقد خلفنا بعدهم فينبغي لنا ان ننظر الى الذي كرهنا منهم فتجنبه،  
والذي غبطناهم به فنستعمله -

Abū Hazam's entire prose narratives are packed full with ascetic sermons. In concepts his highly instructive ideas expressed in terse but lucid language adorned with some touch of rhyme, are the main features of this piece.

Here is another<sup>2</sup> most valuable and philosophical sermon by Abū Hazam al- arāj :

قال ابو حازم: وجدت الدنيا شيئين شيئا مولى لن اعجله دون اجله ولو طلبته بقوة السموات و  
الأرض، وشيئا هو لغيري أنه فيما مضى ولا أنه فيما بقى. يمنع الذي لى من غيرى، كما يمنع الذي لغيري  
منى، ففي أى هذين أضى عمري، وأهلك نفسي؟

He says, "I have got two things in this world. One is for me which I shall never get except in it's fixed time even if I seek it with the might of the skies and the earth. The second is for the one other than me. In the past I got it not, nor shall I get it in future. What is for me is saved from the other as what is for other is saved from me. Then for which of the two shall I reduce my life and destroy my soul"?

1. Jāhiz, al-Bayān wal- 'l- tabyin, iii, pp. 127-28.

2. ibid, ii, p. 139.



Perhaps no one could define destiny in such a brief manner with such a philosophical insight. The whole material would is under the strict control of destiny. No one has any hand and power to make things happen before fixed time. The destiny of any one cannot be whimsically disturbed by some other else. A broad and very deep idea is expressed in an extreme compressed structure of a few sentences framed with words of high euphonic effect.

A maqālah of Khālid ibn Safwān.

The maqālah<sup>1</sup> of Khālid ibn Safwān, taken here, is of immense literary value as it illustrates the comparative literary position of the three representative poets of the Umayyad period:

فقال هشام لخالد بن صفوان: صف لنا جبرين والفرزدق والأخطل وابن الأعمش فقال صفوان: أما أعظمهم فخراً، وأبعدهم ذكراً، وأحسنهم عذراً وأشدهم ميلاً وأيسرهم مثلاً وأقلمهم غزلاً وأحلامهم عللاً، الطامي إذا زخر، والمهامي إذا زار والسامي إذا خطر الذي إن صدر قال وإن خطر صال الفصيح اللسان الطويل العنان فالفرزدق وأما أحسنهم نعتاً وأمدحهم نبياً وأقلمهم فوناً الذي إن عجا وضع وإن مدح ربح فالأخطل. وأما أغزرهم بحراً وأرقهم شعراً وأهتكم لعدوهم ستر الأغر الأبلق الذي إن طلب لم يسبق وإن طلب لم يلحق فخيرهم وكلمهم ذكي الغوار، ربيع العمار، وأرى الزناد فقال له سلمة بن عبد الملك ما سمعنا بمثلك يا خالد في الأولين ولا رأينا في الآخرين وأشهد أنك أحسنهم وصفاً وأليهم عطاءً وأعظمهم مقالاً وأكرمهم فعلاً فقال خالد: أتم الله عليكم نعمة وأجزل لديكم قسمة وأنس بكم الغربة وفرح بكم الكربة وأنت والله ما علمت أيتها الأمير كريم الغراس عالم بالناس جوازهم المحل بهمام عند البذل طيم عند الطيش في ذروة قرين ولباب عبد شمس ويومك خير من أمس. فضحك هشام وقال: ما رأيت كتحلفك يا ابن صفوان في مدح هؤلاء ووصفهم حتى أرضيتهم جميعاً وسلمت منهم.

1. Aghāni, vii, p. 69.



The whole piece speaks of the fact that Khālid ibn Ṣafwan had keen interest in poetry and had also literary taste to analyse the personality and the **depth of** the great poets of his time. Khālid ibn Ṣafwan, instead of creating a big gap among them, attempts to give such a picture in which they are brought almost closer to one another with slight difference and that is very subtle. A note of pleasing the trio is sounded in it. After giving series of adjective for each poet to show their difference in their poetic faculties and their personal idiosyncrasies, he brings them at par in sharp mental gymnastics, ( ذكى الغوار ) in aristocracy ( رضى العمار ) and in success ( أرى الزناد ).

Khālid's style is marked by **witchery** of language in which rhyme and cadence, the adjectival expressions and circumstantial words ( حال ) stand supreme.

A maqālah of Muṭarrāf ibn 'Abd Allāh.

Here is a specimen<sup>1</sup> of the maqālāt by Muṭarrāf ibn 'Abd Allāh.

كان مطرف يقول: اللهم انى اعوز بك من شر السلطان، ومن شر ما تجرى به اقلامهم  
واعوز بك ان اقول قولاً حقا فيه رضاك التمس به احدا سواك، واعوز بك ان  
اتزين للناس بشئ يثني، واعوز بك ان اكون عبداً لاحد من خلقك، واعوز بك  
ان يكون احد من خلقك اسعد بما علمتني منى، واعوز بك ان استخيت بعصية  
لك من ضرة يصيبنى -

1. Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhhbār, vol. ii, p. 289.



It is one of the most notable **pieces** of Arabic prose in which frequency of repetition is in its extreme form, yet neither its words nor its contents are teasing and unpleasant. Rather by repetition the paragraph has become more elegant and sonorous.

A maqālah of Shurayh al-Qādi.

Here is a nice description of grasshopper<sup>1</sup>

سئل شريح القاضي عن الجراد فقال: قَبَّحَ اللهُ الجرادَ فيمَا خلقه سبعَ جيا برة، عنقها  
عنق ثور، صدرها صدر أسد و جناحها جناح نسر، ورجلاها رجلا جمل، وزنبها ذنب  
حية و بطنها بطن عقرب -

In this passage the ideas and words are in parallel progress. One single frame of sentences with repetition of the pronoun ha (ها) has made it highly sparing.

A maqālah of Ka'b al-Qurzi.

Here is one<sup>2</sup> of the best pieces of Sermons:

قال كعب القرظي بين يدي عمر بن عبد العزيز: إنما الدنيا سوق من الأسواق فمخها خرج  
الناس بما ينفعهم و بما يضرهم، وكم من قوم قد غرهم مثل الذي أصبحنا فيه حتى أتاهم الموت  
فاستوعبهم فخرجوا من الدنيا مملين لم يأخذوا لما أحبوا أعداءه ولا باكرهوا الجنة و أقسمتم ما  
جمعوا من لم يحملهم و صاروا إلى من لا يعذرهم. فانظر الذي تحب أن يكون معك إذا  
قدمت، فقد ملك بين يديك حتى تخرج إليه، وانظر الذي تتركه أن يكون معك إذا  
قدمت، فابتغ به البدل حيث يجوز البدل، ولا تذهبن إلى سلعة قد بارت على غيرك  
ترجوا جوارها عندك يا أمير المؤمنين افتح الأبواب، و سعلل المحاب و انصر المظلوم -

1. Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdīb, vi, p. 314.

2. Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhbār, vol. ii, p. 343.



The religious fervour and puritan strain with ascetic tone inspire the whole passage. Similes, rhyme to some extent and an appeal to psychological insight make the contents run deeper. The mood and expression of Ka'b al-Qurẓī resemble those of a khatib. His appeal is thoughtful rather than emotional. His firm conviction in moral ethics supplies him full energy and courage to put his ideas even before the Caliph in such forceful but lucid and homely language. To him the worth of this world is not more than that of a bazār from which the people go out with profit and loss. He advises the Caliph to keep his doors open, to make the curtain easy and to help the tortured.

The similar stylistic and conceptual features of other branches of the prose forms of the Umayyad period continue in the maqālāt also. Like the rasā'il and khutbahs the maqālāt are also multi-dimensional in contents and inornate in style in the earlier period. When the communication of ideas was the motive the style was straightforward, precise, succinct, unstudied and natural. But sometime when, need arose, the use of rhyme and cadence was not eschewed. As in the case of the rasā'il of the later Umayyad period, the ornate and the rhyme style began persisting in the maqālāt also when extra motive of stirring up of emotion was at work. The passage<sup>1</sup>, in which Khālīd ibn Saḳwān gives the vivid picture of the three representative poets of the Umayyad period, is the glaring instance of the heavier rhyme style introduced in his maqālah for the same ~~purpose~~<sup>to</sup> make the ideas run deeper into the hearts as 'Abd al-Hamīd did it in some of his important rasā'il. So, to assume that 'Abd al-Hamīd started his ornate style suddenly in the vacuum without being internally influenced by any one is a sheer credulity.

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1. Aghānī, vii, p. 69.



## CHAPTER - VII.

al-Hikam (The wise-sayings).

Short sentences of colossal literary , ethical, historical and philosophical implications are called al-Hikam (The wise-sayings).

Inasmuch as they are preserved in the sources in a sporadic manner, a survey has been made to locate them. Though their forms are thin and condensed, their meanings are bulkier and highly significant. There are some small sentences which, if amplified, may develop into full-fledged essays. Since the illustration of their literary and other values is of prime importance, their characteristic features related to their style and contents are to be assessed.

The Hikam of Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān.

Here are some wise-sayings of Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān :

- (١) فخر سليم مولى زياد بن زياد عند معاوية فقال معاوية : أسكت ، فوالله ما أدرك صاحبك شيئاً بسيفه إلا قد أدركت أكثر منه بساني
- (٢) قال معاوية للنخار بن أوس العذري : أبغى محمداً فقال : أو معى يا أمير المؤمنين ؟ قال : نعم ، أستريح منك إليه ومنه إليك .
- (٣) قال عمرو بن العاص لمعاوية : من أصبر الناس ؟ قال : من كان رأيه راداً لهواه .
- (٤) قال معاوية : ما رأيت سرفاقط إلا دأبى جنبه حق مضجع .
- (٥) قال : إني لأستحي أن أظلم من لا يجد على ناصر إلا الله .
- (٦) قال : لا ينبغي أن يكون المعاشي غير جواد ، ولا الأموي غير حليم ، ولا الزبيرى غير شجاع والمخزومي غير نياح .
- (٧) قال : ثلاث من السوء : الصلح ، وإن دعاك البطن ، وترك الإفراط في العيرة .



- (٨) قال: إني لأكره البكارة في السيد وأحب أن يكون عاقلاً متخافلاً -
- (٩) قال لعمر بن العاص حين نظر معسكر علي عليه السلام: من طلب عظيمًا خاطر لجظمته -
- (١٠) أغلظ رجل لمعاوية فحلم عنه، فقيل له: تحلم عن نفذا؛ فقال: إني لا أحول بين الناس وبين السننهم ما لم يحولوا بيننا وبين سلطاننا -
- (١١) نظر معاوية إلى ابنه يزيد وهو يضرب غلاماً له، فقال: أتغيب أربك بأربه؟
- (١٢) قال: كل الناس أستطيع أن أرضيه إلا حاسداً نعمة فإنه لا يرضيه إلا زوالها -
- (١٣) قال: أفضل أعطى الرجل العقل والحلم -
- (١٤) قال: إصلاح ما يدك أسلم من طلب ما في أيدي الناس -
- (١٥) قال: العقل مكيال ثلاثة فطنة وثلثاه تغافل -
- (١٦) قال: لو أن بيني وبين الناس شعرة ما انقطعت أبداً - قيل له: وكيف ذلك؟ قال: كنت إذ أمددها أرضيتها وإذا أرضوها ممدتها -

On the categorical basis, Mu'āwiyah's wise-sayings are of two kinds → of personal and general implications. In some of them he refers to his tact which he personally adopts for greater benefit. The second kind consists of universal truth and has acquired proverbial status.

In forms they are characterized by precision. As emotion has little room in their background, the rhyme is absolutely absent in them. As they are varied in their backgrounds, their contents are also varied. In weaving these small sentences his style is simple and natural.



The Hikam of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz.

A good number of wise-sayings attributed to 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz are extant. Here are a few of them :

- ( ١ ) قال : ما قرن شيئاً إلى شيءٍ أفضل من حلم إلى علم ومن عجز إلى قدرة .
- ( ٢ ) قال : من قال لا أرى فقد أحرز نصف العلم لأن الذي له علم نفسه هذه القوة قد رتبنا على جودة الثبوت وكثرة الطلب وقوة المنية .
- ( ٣ ) قال : من جعل دينه عرضاً للخسومات أكثر التفتت .
- ( ٤ ) قال : إذا كان في القاضى خمس خصال فقد كمل : علم ما كان قبله نزاهة في الطبع ، حلم في الخصم ، وإقتدار بالأئمة ، وسأورة أهل الرأي .
- ( ٥ ) قال : ما قوم أسبه بالسلف من الأعراب لولا إجماعهم .
- ( ٦ ) قال : خصلتان لا تعد بأنك من الجاهل : كثرة الإنتفات وسرعة الجواب .
- ( ٧ ) سمع عمر بن عبد العزيز رجلاً ينادى رجلاً : يا أبا عمير ، فقال : لو كاف له عقل كفاه أحدهما .
- ( ٨ ) قال عمر بن عبد العزيز لرجل أحسن في طلب حاجة وياتى لها بكلام وجيز ومنطق حسن هذا والله السحر للحلال .
- ( ٩ ) الصلاة تبلغك نصف الطريق ، والصوم يبلغك باب الملك ، والصدقة تدخلك عليه .
- ( ١٠ ) قال : إنما الجزع قبل المصيبة فإذا دعت فأتته عما أمالك .
- ( ١١ ) قال : إذا أتاك الخصم وقد فقئت عينه فلا تحكم له حتى يأتى خصمه فلعله قد فقئت عيناه جميعاً .
- ( ١٢ ) قال : ما الجزع فيما لا بد منه ، وما الطمع فيما لا يرجى فلا تكن ممن يلعن إبليس في العلانية ويواليه في السر .

No philosophical and conjectural ideas are there in the wise-sayings of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz . All are of practical implications of sermonic nature. Every wise-saying may be the head line of a most extensive sermon. No unfamiliar and obscure words are there in them. They are brief simple and they have natural flow.



The Hikam of al-Hasan al-Basri.

Early sources preserved a good number of the wise-sayings of al-Hasan al-Basri.

Here are some of them :

- ( ١ ) قال الحسن البصري : لسان العاقل من وراء قلبه ، فإذا أراد الكلام تفكر فإن كان له قال ، فإن كان عليه سكت ، وقلب الجاهل من وراء لسانه ، فإن صم بالكلام تعلم به له أو عليه .
- ( ٢ ) يكون الرجل عابداً أو لا يكون عاقلاً ، ويكون عابداً عاقلاً ولا يكون عاملاً ، وكان مسلم بن يسار عاقلاً عاملاً وعابداً .
- ( ٣ ) قال رجل للحسن : إني أكره الموت فقال الحسن : ذاك إنك أخرت مالك ولو قدمته لسرتك أن تلحق به .
- ( ٤ ) التقدير نصف الكسب ، والتودد نصف العقل ، وحسن طلب الحاجة نصف العلم .
- ( ٥ ) لا تزول قدما ابن آدم حتى يسأل عن ثلاث شبابيه فيما أبلاه ، وعمره فيما أفناه ، وماله من أين كسابه وفيما أنفقته .
- ( ٦ ) قتل الناقة رجل ، ولكن الله عم القوم بالعذاب ، لأنهم عموه بالرضا .
- ( ٧ ) من أيقن بالخلف جاد بالعطية .
- ( ٨ ) ما أطل عبد الأمل إلا أساء العمل .
- ( ٩ ) إذا سرتك أن تنظر إلى الدنيا بعدت فأنظر إليها بعد غيرك .
- ( ١٠ ) ليس الإيمان بالتعلمي والتمني ، ولكن ما وقر في القلوب وصدقته الأعمال .
- ( ١١ ) من خاف الله أخاف الله منه كل شيء ، ومن خاف الناس أخافه الله من كل شيء .
- ( ١٢ ) ما أعطى من الدنيا شيئاً إلا قيل له خذها ومثله من الحرص .



- (١٣) يا ابن آدم، إنما أنت عابد، فإذا مضى يوم فقد مضى بعضك .
- (١٤) يا ابن آدم، إن كان يخنيتك من الدنيا ما يكفيك خادتي ما فيها يخنيتك .
- (١٥) قال الحسن للمغيرة بن محارث: إن من خوفك حتى تلقى الأمن خير لك عن أمنك حتى تلقى الخوف .
- (١٦) إنكم لا تنالون ما تحبون، إلا بترك ما تشتهون، ولا تداركون ما تؤملون بالصبر على ما تكرهون .
- (١٧) يا ابن آدم، تشارك ضيفك، فأحسن إليه، فإنك إن أحسنت إليه ارتحل بحدك وإن أسأت إليه ارتحل بذنبك وكذلك ليلاك .
- (١٨) إنا والله ما خلقنا للفناء، وإنما خلقنا للبقاء، وإنما ننقل من دار إلى دار .
- (١٩) إن المستمع يرق على قدر رقة القائل .
- (٢٠) أربعة من الإسلام إلى السلطان الحكم والنفي والجمعة والجماد .
- (٢١) إذا أردتم أن تعلموا من أين أصاب المال فانظروا فيما ينفقه فإن الجيب ينفق سرًا .
- (٢٢) ذم الرجل نفسه في العلانية مدح لها في السر .
- (٢٣) لو كان للناس جميعاً عقول لخربت الدنيا .
- (٢٤) طلب العلم في الصغر كالنقش في الحجر، وطلب العلم في الكبر كالنقش على الماء .
- (٢٥) ما ملح رجل همي قومه .
- (٢٦) لا دين إلا بهرمة .
- (٢٧) من استتر عن الطلب بالحياء لبس للمجمل سر باله، فقطعوا سراويل الحياء، فانه من روق وجهه روق علمه .
- (٢٨) إني وجدت العلم بين الحياء والستر .
- (٢٩) ما أحسن الرجل ناطقًا عاملًا مستمعًا داعيًا وواعيًا عاملًا .
- (٣٠) الرجال ثلاثة: رجل بنفسه، ورجل بلسانه، ورجل بماله .



(٣١) نعم الله أكثر من أن يشكر، إلا ما أعان عليه وذنوب بني آدم أكثر من أن يسلم إلا ما عفا الله عنه .

(٣٢) المؤمن لا يحيف على من يبغض، ولا يأثم فيما يحب .

(٣٣) حسن السؤال نصف العلم، ومداراة الناس نصف العقل، والعقد في المعيشة نصف المؤنة .

(٣٤) لأن أقصى حاجة لأخ، أحب إلى من إعتكف سنه .

(٣٥) مر الحسن برجل يقرب رفقاً فقال له: أتحب درهمك؟ قال نعم، قال الحسن: أما أنه ليس لك حتى يخرج من يدك .

(٣٦) إن ابن آدم أسير الجوع صريع الشبع .

(٣٧) أعلم علمان، علم في القلب، وذلك العلم النافع، وعلم في اللسان، فذاك حجة الله على عباده .

(٣٨) الرجل ثلاثة: فرجل كالغذاء لا يستغنى عنه، ورجل كالدار لا يحتاج إليه إلا حيناً بعد حين، ورجل كالدار لا يحتاج إليه أبداً .

(٣٩) ما رأيت ظالماً أشبه بمظلوم من حاسده، نفس دائم وحزن لازم وغم لا ينقل .

(٤٠) أصل الشر وفروعه ستة فأصول الثلاثة الحسد والحرص وحب الدنيا والفروع كذلك: حب الرياسة حب الثناء وحب الفخر .

(٤١) التواضع أن تخرج من بيتك فلا تلتقي أحداً إلا رأيت له الفضل عليك .

(٤٢) مجالسة الرجل من غير عن سئل عن اسمه واسم أبيه مجالسته التوكى .

(٤٣) عجبا لمن خاف العقاب ولم يكف، ولمن رجا الثواب ولم يعمل .

(٤٤) بادروا في العمل الصالح قبل حلول الأجل فإن لكم ما أمضيتم لا ما بقيتم .

(٤٥) من كان قوياً فليعتمد على قوته في طاعة الله وإن كان ضعيفاً فليكف عن معاصي الله .



The wise-sayings of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī are the products of his devotion to religion . Unlike his other prose forms where ascetic ideas predominated , in his wise-sayings those ascetic ideas receded to the background and the religious , ethical, social and philosophical ideas came to the fore. However the inner spirit in all of them is sermonic. They are all marked by his depth and spontaneity of feeling, the originality of thought and fair display of unity of language. In all of them, his delicate philosophical insight and spiritual bend of mind were the source of inspiration.

Precision, clarity, simplicity and euphony are pervasive. No abstruse words and expressions are there.

#### The Ḥikan of Ahnaf ibn Qays.

Ahnaf ibn Qays left a good number of wise-sayings for the posterity.

Here are a few of them :

- قال الأحنف بن قيس :
- ( ١ ) السُّور مع السَّواد -
  - ( ٢ ) أسرع الناس إلى الفتنَة أقلهم حياء من الفرار -
  - ( ٣ ) من لم يصبر على كلمة سمع كلمات -
  - ( ٤ ) استجيدوا النعال فانها خلاخيل الرجال -
  - ( ٥ ) ألزم الصحة يلزمك العمل -
  - ( ٦ ) لا مروءة للكذوب ، ولا سؤر لبخيل ، ولا ورج لسئى الخلق -
  - ( ٧ ) لأن أدعى من بعيد ، أحب إلي من أن أقصى من قريب -
  - ( ٨ ) ربه معلوم لا ذنب له -



- (٩) إن الصدق أحياناً معجزة -
- (١٠) الكامل من عدت صفواته -
- (١١) رب غيظ قد تجرته مخافة من عواشه منه -
- (١٢) أصبت الحلم أنصرتي من الرجال -
- (١٣) ما جلست مجلساً فحفت أن أقام عنه لغيري -
- (١٤) العفة والمحفة هي المروءة -
- (١٥) إن الثقة لا يبلغ -
- (١٦) قال لابنه: إتحذ الكذب كنزاً أئ لا تخرجه -
- (١٧) إثنان لا يجمعان أبداً الكذب والمروءة -
- (١٨) كاد العلماء أن يكونوا أرباباً، وكل عز لم يوكده بعلم فإلى ذل يصبر -
- (١٩) عجبت لمن جرى في مجرى البول مرتين كيف يتكبر -
- (٢٠) أطيب المجالس ما سافر فيه البصر وارتدع فيه البدن -
- (٢١) حفف الرجل مخبوء تحت لسانه -
- (٢٢) لا صدق لمول ولا وفاء لكذوب ولا راحة لحسود، ولا مروءة لبخيل ولا سودة لسئ الخلق -
- (٢٣) خير الإخوان من استغنى عنه لم يردك في المودة وإن احتجت إليه لم ينقص منها وإن عثرت عفاك وإن احتجت إلى مؤنته رندك -
- (٢٤) ثلاثة لا يتصفون من ثلاثة: شريف من دني، وبر من فاجر، وحليم من أحمق -
- (٢٥) إن الداء الذي أعبأ الأطباء اللسان البذي والفعل الردي -
- (٢٦) المروءة هي كتمان السر والتباعد عن الشر -
- (٢٧) قال له رجل: دلتني على أحمد عاقبة فقال له: خالق الناس مخلوق حسن، وكف عن الصبيح -
- (٢٨) أتعقل خير قرين والأرب خير ميثاق والتوفيق خير رفيق -
- (٢٩) رأس الأرب آله المنطق، ولا خير في قول إلا بفعل ولا منظر إلا بخبر، ولا في مال إلا بجد، ولا في صدق إلا بوفاء ولا في فقه إلا في ورع ولا في صداقة إلا بسنية ولا في حياة إلا بصحة -



- (٣٠) ما خان شريف، ولا كذب عاقل، ولا إغتاب مؤمن -
- (٣١) ثلاثة ليس فيها انتظار، الجنازة إذا وجدت من يحملها، والأيم إذا أصبت لهما كفوا،  
والضيف إذا نزل لم تنتظره الكلفة -
- (٣٢) علم علمك من يحفل وتعلم ممن يعلم، فازا فعلت ذلك علمت ما جمعت وحفظت  
ما علمت -
- (٣٣) أبدل لصديقك مالك ومعرفتك وحسن محضرتك، وللعامه تحييتك وسلامتك
- (٣٤) إياك والغضب فإنه محكمة لقوار الخليم -
- (٣٥) ينبغي للعاقل أن يتوخى بالمعروف أهل الرقاد -
- (٣٦) ما مضى من الدنيا فحلم، وما بقى منها فأمانى -
- (٣٧) لا تطلع الناس على سررك يصلح شأنك -
- (٣٨) أحي معرفتك بأمانه ذكره -
- (٣٩) الكبير أكبر عقلًا ولكنه أشغل قلبًا -

The contents of the wise-sayings of Aḥnaf ibn Qays are miscellaneous. All shades of human feelings and realities of life are sketched in them. They are outcome of his experience about human life. It seems that Aḥnaf likes to theorize some concepts of general interest. His method is to seize upon the appropriate details of human character. An intensive in sight is the source of his inspiration. His style is simple and natural.



The Hikam of Khālid ibn Ṣafwān.

Khālid ibn Ṣafwān contributed to Arabic prose by his wise-sayings.

Here are some of them :

قال :

- ( ١ ) إتقوا مما سبق الضعفاء -
- ( ٢ ) ما إلا انسان لولا اللسان إلا صورة ممثلة أو بجمية محملة -
- ( ٣ ) سئل خالد بن صفران عن الأحنف بما ساد ، فقال : بفضل سلطانه على نفسه -
- ( ٤ ) قال : كان الأحنف يفر من الشرف والشرف يتبعه -
- ( ٥ ) قيل لخالد : أئى اخوانك أحب إليك ؟ قال : الذى يغفر لى ويقبل على ،  
وليسه ظلى -
- ( ٦ ) فوت الحاجة خير من طلبها إلى غير أهلها ، وأشد المصيبة سوء الخلف منها -
- ( ٧ ) من تزوج فليتزوجها عزيرة فى قومها ، ذليلة فى نفسها ، وأرعبها الغنى وأزلكها الفقر حصانا  
من بارها ، ما جنته على زوجها -
- ( ٨ ) ثلاثة لا يعرفون إلا فى ثلاثة : مواضع الحليم عن الغضب ، والصديق عند النائبة ،  
والشجاع عند اللقاء -
- ( ٩ ) إذا سأل الوالى رجلاً غيرك فلا تكن أنت المجيب فإن ذلك خفة السائل المسؤل -
- ( ١٠ ) أبدل لصدقتك مالك ، ولحرفتك بشرتك وحميتك وللعامه رندك و  
حسن محفرك ، ولعدوك عدلك وامنن بديتك وعرضك عن كل أحد -
- ( ١١ ) استصغر الكثير فى المنفعة واستعظم الصغير فى ركوب المضرة -
- ( ١٢ ) لولا المروة تشد موتها و يتقل حلمها ما ترك اللئام للكرام منها -
- ( ١٣ ) أدلى الناس بالعفو أقد رهم على العبد ، وانقص الناس عقلاً من ظلم من موردونه -



The wise-sayings of Khālid ibn Safwān are important not only for their simple, lucid and clear dictions, but also for their variety of contents and instructive outlook which worked behind them. Many of them seem to have been derived from his introspection.

The Hikam of 'Amir al-Sha'bi.

Here are some important wise-sayings of 'Amir al-Sha'bi :

- قال :
- ( ١ ) إتقوا الفاجر من العلماء ، والجاهل من المتعبدين ، فإنهما أفة كل مفتون .
- ( ٢ ) زين العلم بحلم أهله -
- ( ٣ ) أفة المودة خلف الموعدا -
- ( ٤ ) إنما كان يطلب هذا العلم من اجتمعت فيه خصلتان : العقل والنسك ، فان كان ناسكا ولم يكن عاقلا -
- ( ٥ ) الرجال ثلاثة ، رجل ، نصف رجل ، ولا شيء ، فأما الرجل التام فمن له رأى وهو يستشير و أما نصف الرجل فهو الذى لا رأى له ولكنه يستشير ، وأما الذى لا شيء فهو الذى لا رأى له ولا يستشير -
- ( ٦ ) لا تستبدلن صدقاً قديماً بصدق حديث فإنه لا ينصحك -
- ( ٧ ) عيادة حمقى القراء أشد على أهل المريض من مريضهم ، يجيئون فى غير حين عيادة ويطيلون المجلس حتى يضر العليل وأهله -

In his wise-sayings al-Sha'bi seems to have been aware of the decaying society to which he reacts. His deep penetration into diagnosing social diseases is really praise-worthy. His style is simple and natural.



The Hikam are in more original forms and metamorphosis if supposed to take place, is quite negligible. Because their brief and laconic structure and even, in no less measure, their deep and attractive contents are responsible for their preservation in original forms.

These wise-sayings are more important for the simple reason that the ethical picture of the then society is betrayed more transcendently through them. The Hikam are not the utterances of the laities, but they are the fruits of the brain of the cultured few who always keep their vigilant eyes over all the occurrences in the society irrespective of their magnitudes. So, the opinions and the judgement accruing from these wise-sayings are extremely objective. In linguistic consideration, they are model for brevity, simplicity and euphony. Conceptually they are fine and subtle beyond all measures.



## CHAPTER - VIII.

Arabic prose related to Religious and Secular sciences

The survey of the lost and extant sources of the Umayyad period, indicates that there developed the religious and secular sciences. In the field of religious sciences, books were composed on the Qur'ānic exegesis, the recitation of the Qur'ān (Qirā'ah), ḥadīth, jurisprudence, history and maghāzī. Similarly books were also composed on secular sciences namely medicine, music and Alchemy. The Qur'ān was the source of all religious sciences and human necessity was the source of secular sciences. And Arabic prose was, in the main, the medium of both the sciences.

The Qur'ānic verses, their Qira'ah and exegesis.

The earlier compositions were on the division of the verses of the Qur'ān, its phonics and punctuation, its number of verses and its exegesis.

In the science of division of the verses of the Qur'ān, Qatādah ibn Di'āmah was a pioneer. His "Awāshir al-Qur'ān" was the first book on this topic.<sup>1</sup> "Ajzā' thalāthah wa mi'ah wa sittūn" by 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd was also an earlier composition on the same topic.<sup>2</sup> On the phonics of the Qur'ān, "Kitāb fī al-qirā'ah" by Yaḥyā ibn Ya'mūr, "Ikhtilāfat Masāḥif al-Shām wa al-Hijāz wa al-'Irāq" by 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir and "al-Jam'" by 'Āsim are the pioneer works.<sup>3</sup>

On the punctuation of the Qur'ānic verses, "Kitāb al-maqtū' wa al-Mawsūl" by 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir, "Kitāb al-waqūf" by Shibah ibn Niṣāh and "Kitāb al-waqf wa al-ibtidā'" by Abū 'Amr ibn al-'alā are the earliest compositions on the subject.<sup>4</sup>

1. F. Sezgin, *Tā rīkh al-turāth al-'arabī*, vol. i, part-i, p. 21.

2. *ibid*, p. 21.

3. *Ibid*, p. 22.

4. *Ibid*, p. 22.



On the number of the verses of the Qur'an, al-Hasan al-Basri, and 'Ashim al-Jahdari each is credited to have composed "Kitab al-'Adad".<sup>1</sup> Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman composed "al-Ikhtiyar 'ala madhhab al-'Arabiyyah" which contains rules of grammar concerning the recitation of the Qur'an.<sup>2</sup>

Tafsir or exegesis of the Qur'an was widely cultivated during the Umayyad period. As a matter of fact tafsir was begun by the prophet and his companions. Sayuti claims that he composed a book "Tarjuman al-Qur'an" which contains over ten thousand hadiths related to tafsir.<sup>3</sup> But it became more extensive and wide during the Umayyad period. Among the most celebrated exegetes, Ibn 'Abbas was the greatest.<sup>4</sup> In this period tafsir became more voluminous by the entry of the narratives of the Jews and Christians. Wahb ibn Munabbih incorporated many Jewish and Christian narratives into tafsir literature. It is said that he was the first author who composed books on Islam.<sup>5</sup>

Those who distinguished themselves as the authors of tafsir literature during the Umayyad period are Ibn 'Abbas, Sa'id ibn Jubayr, Mujahid ibn Jabr, al-Dahhak ibn Muzahim, al-Hasan al-Basri, 'Atiyah ibn Sa'd, 'Ata' ibn Abi Rabah, Qatadah ibn Di'amah, 'Ata' ibn Dinar, al-Suddi, 'Ata' ibn Abi Muslim, Rabi' ibn Anas, al-Sayab al-Kalbi and Sibl ibn 'Ubad.

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1. F. Sezgin, *Tarih al-turath al-'arabi*, vol. i. part. i, p. 22.

2. *ibid.*, p. 23.

3. Sayuti, *al-Itqan*, ii, p. 184.

4. Ahmad Amin, *Fajr al-Islam*, p. 202.

5. *ibid.*, p. 205.



### The Ḥadīth .

Of all the disciplines, the ḥadīth was most widely cultivated during the Umayyad period. In the process of development, the ḥadīth has passed three stages. These stages are the stages of al-kitabah, al-tadwīn and al-taṣnīf. In the stage of al-kitabah the ḥadīths were written down in such parts which by no definition can be called "al-kitāb". Any such single part is called "al-Ṣaḥīfah" or "Juzūn". Scattered written materials collected together is called "tadwīn". Compilation on the chapter-wise arrangement is called "taṣnīf". "Kitabat al-Ḥadīth" was begun in the life time of the prophet and his companions and in the early period of the successors. "Tadwīn al-Ḥadīth" was started in the last quarter of the first century Hijrah and in the first quarter of the second century Hijrah and "Taṣnīf al-Ḥadīth" was begun from 125 Hijrah. Four schools of ḥadīth literature grew up during the Umayyad period. The School of al-Ḥijāz, the School of al-Irāq, the School of al-Shām and the School of Miṣr.<sup>1</sup> According to Abū Tālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996) "tadwīn" was begun in between 125 and 130 Hijrah.<sup>2</sup> Abū Bakr ibn Ḥazm and his contemporary Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī were the pioneers in "Tadwīn".<sup>3</sup>

However, some such tadwīns and taṣnīfs of the Umayyad period have reached us either directly in the forms of manuscripts or published materials or through incorporation in the subsequent works.<sup>4</sup>

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1. M.M. Abū Zahu, al-Ḥadīth wa-ḥal-muḥaddithūn, pp.101-07.

2. F. Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-ʿarabi, vol.i, part,i, p.121.

3. Shawqī Dayf, al-Bahath al-Adabi, p.146; M.M. Abū Zahu, al-Ḥadīth wa-ḥal-muḥaddithūn, pp.128,175.

4. see the Survey of the extant sources.



### The 'Aqā'id.

Many factions sprang up in the first century of Islām. Originally these factions were more or less associated with politics, but latter on they developed some religious cults of their own. The Umayyad regime was about to be beset by the current and corsscurrent of heterodox beliefs and doctrines.

Out of the political struggle between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, the Kharijites, once the supporters of 'Alī in the battle of Şiffīn, emerged as a political party against 'Alī and subsequently developed some religious cults of their own.<sup>1</sup> Similarly the partizans of 'Alī emerged as Shi'ites. They believed that under the divine command, Moḥammad nominated 'Alī for the Caliphate and after him only his male progeny from Fātimah, the prophet's daughter has the right to rule as Caliph. But Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān usurped the power and debarred 'Alī from his rightful claim. Similarly Mu'āwiyah was also a usurper.<sup>2</sup>

For political aggrandizement or so, the khārijites declared the Shi'ites and the Umayyads as infidels, and vice versa, the Umayyads and the Shi'ites called them renegades. To stop this hostility and to establish reconciliation one section of muḥaddiths developed a doctrine of 'Irjā' or postponement. They believed that the man who commits great sins remains muslim, provided that he has belief in Allāh and apostolic ordinances.

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1. Aḥmad Amīn, Fajr al-Islām, pp.256-65.

2. ibid, pp.266-78.



By his sins he has been exposed to punishment to be given by Allāh. The proper course is to postpone judgement on him to be infidel.<sup>1</sup> Those who believed in this theory became known as "Murjites".

Again a section of traditionists having being influenced by the Christians, <sup>and</sup> Jews / the Zorostrians of the occupied lands, or being influenced by the discussion with the new muslim converts from Christianity, Judaism and Zorostrianisms, emerged as the "Qadrites". They believed that human will is free and man would be held responsible to Allāh for his acts. As opposed to this doctrine of Qadr, Jahm ibn Safwān developed a doctrine of "Jabr" or determinism. He believed that human will was determined. Those who believed in this doctrine became known as "Jobrites".<sup>1</sup>

Maqātil ibn Sulaymān a famous traditionist established a doctrine of "Tashbih". He believed that Allāh has physical resemblance with human beings as He attributed Himself in the Qufān as "Samīr" "Baṣīr" and "Alīm" etc which are peculiar to human beings. To oppose this, Jahm ibn Safwān developed a doctrine of "Ta'tīl" ( تعطيل ) that Allāh has no physical resemblance with human beings. ???

Again from among the factions some competent members having command on rhetoric, debate and rudiments of logic came forward to defend their beliefs in particular and those of Islām in general with the force of their dialogue, discussion and debate. They became known as "Mutakallimūn".

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1. Ahmad Amin Fajr al-Islām, pp.279-82.

2. *ibid*, pp.282-301.



Wāsil ibn 'Atā' a favourite student of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī introduced a doctrine. It is "al-Manzilah bayna'l-Manzilatayn". It was just a reaction to a decision given by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī about a man who violated a Qur'ānic law. In his opinions he was not better than "munāfiq", notwithstanding remained a muslim. To Wāsil he was neither a muslim nor a Kāfir but his position is inbetween. Those who believed in this doctrine became known as "Nu'tazilites".

During these politico-religious feuds, it was quite natural that the exponents of different doctrines and cults surely composed books and booklets in support of their own belief or in refutation of the doctrines of their opponents.

Why these books are not extant? One of the possible answer may be that the ~~attitudes~~ of the Sunnite traditionists and doctors were not favourable to these sorts of writings. Many Sunnite traditionists were sympathetic to the Umayyad rule only for the sake of peace and tranquility in the Islāmic society. They might advise the Umayyad rulers to crush those heterodox beliefs which were surely very injurious to Islāmic solidarity at least in beliefs and concepts. Books on less objectionable subjects such as "al-Kalām" "al-I'tizāl" and books composed in refutation of the Qadrite doctrines were spared.



On the refutation of Qadrite doctrines more books were composed during the Umayyad period. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī (d.429/1037) has supplied us a most valuable information about this sort of books. He has mentioned Abū al-Aswad al-Du'īlī (d.69/688) as the author of "Risālah fī dhamm al-Qadriyyah" and it is said that he was the first author on the subject. al-Baghdādī also mentions "al-Radd 'alā al-Qadriyyah" by 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz and described it to be an eloquent risālah.

"al-Radd 'alā al-Qadriyyah" by Zayd ibn 'Alī (d.122/740)  
 "al-Radd al-Qadriyyah" by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.110/728), three  
 Radd 'alā al-Khāwarij wa al-Rafidah" by Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d.164/763),  
 one "Radd" by al-Sh'abī (d.103/721), one "Radd" by Ibn Shihāb  
 al-Zuhrī (d.124/732), one "Radd 'alā al-Qadriyyah wa'l-Mu'tazilah  
 by Yaḥyā ibn Y'amūr (d.89/707), one "Radd" by Abū Ishāq al-Ḥadramī  
 (d.117/735), one "Radd" by 'Isā ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī, one "Radd"  
 by Abū 'Amr ibn al-'alā are also mentioned by al-Baghdādī.<sup>1</sup>  
 Sezgīn has mentioned one more "Rad" by al-Ḥasan ibn Moḥammad  
 ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib (d.99/717)<sup>2</sup>. "al-Qadr" was com-  
 posed by Wahb ibn Munabbih (d.110/728) who later repented.<sup>3</sup>

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1. F. Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol. i, part iv, p.4.

2. ibid, p.4.

3. Horowitz, The Earliest biographies of the prophet and their authors, Islāmic Culture, 1928, p.557.



### The Fiqh

The date of the development of fiqh literature goes back to pre Islāmic age. Islām has endorsed some legal practices of the Jāhiliyah period. The practice of allowing fifty persons from the tribe of a murderer to swear that their man has not killed the man of whom the murderer is accused. This practice was endorsed by the prophet.<sup>1</sup> The real foundation of legal matters was laid after Hijrah. In Madinah the Qur'ān revealed for the solution of the problem, the prophet faced. Sometime his saying and doing or his endorsement became laws. The Qur'ān and Hadīth were the foundation in the life time of the Prophet.

In the Rāshidah period the boundaries of Islāmic lands were expanded and new problems arose in new situations. The Caliph first resorted to the Qur'ān and ḥadīth. When they found no solution of the problem in the Qur'ān and ḥadīth, they resorted to their own judgements and their governors followed the same method.

In the Umayyad period, the Qur'ān, the ḥadīth, the judgements of the top companions and successors became the source of law. But the Umayyad Caliphs and their governors made no effort to frame a corpus of civil and criminal laws. Only 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz was an exception. But in private Schools of law and in the study circles held by the experts, Islāmic law made a great stride.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ahmad Amin, Fajr al-Islām, p.227.

2. ibid, p.248.



Though the Umayyad Caliphs and governors had no formal council of legal advisors and they ruled the country at their caprice or at the advice of the their confidants, prominent figures like Qabīṣah ibn Dhūayb (d.86/705) Rajā' ibn Ḥaywah and ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī were attracted to the Umayyad Courts. In the last part of the 'Umayyad period two imāms Abū Ḥanifah and Mālik ibn Anas appeared on the arena of Islāmic law.

Besides the Sunnite laws, two new forms of law evolved. These were Khārijite and Shi'ites laws. The Khārijite developed their laws mainly on their "ijtihād" and on the text of the Qur'an which they interpreted in conformity with their beliefs. The Shi'ites formulated their laws from the Qur'an and ḥadīth and also from the behests and precedents of 'Alī.

In the situation stated above, it was quite evident and natural that the Sunnites and other factions composed books on their respective fiqh in Arabic prose. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziah said that the students of Ibn Mas'ūd wrote down his fatawā<sup>1</sup>. Goldziher said that 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr burnt his books on fiqh on the Day of al-Ḥarurah. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziah also said that the "fatawa" of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī were in three volumes and those of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī were in seven volumes.<sup>2</sup>

"Kitāb al-Sunnan fī al-fiqh", "al-Masā'il fī al-fiqh" and "Kitāb al-Ḥajj" were the earliest books on fiqh by Makhūl ibn Abi Muslim al-Shurab (d.116/738)<sup>3</sup>.

1. Shawqī Dayf, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, vol.ii, p.453.

2. F. Sezgin, Tārīkh al-Ḥurāth al-'Arabī, vol.i, part iii, p.8.

3. ibd., p.8.



Besides these books "Kitāb al-Farā'id", "Risālah fī al-Farā'id" "Kitāb al-Diyāt" by Zayd ibn Thābit, al-Farā'id" by Qabīṣah which he narrated from Zayd ibn Thābit may be mentioned. It is most likely that Abū Ḥanīfah (d.150/767) composed some books. But the books generally attributed to him are the books composed by his disciples. Sezgīn opines that only "Risālah ila 'Uthman al-Battī" is the genuine composition of Abū Ḥanīfah.<sup>1</sup>

Sulaym ibn Qays, Zayn al-'Abidīn, Imām al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq composed books on Imamiyyah fiqh. "Majmū' al-fiqh", "Tathbīt al-Imāmah", "Manāsik al-Ḥajj wa Akkamuh", "Kitāb al-Ṣafwāh", "Risālah fī Huquq Allāh" and "Risālah fī Ajubah" are by Zayd ibn 'Alī. "Risalah fī al-Imāmah ila Wāṣil ibn 'Atā' is also his composition on Zaydiyyah fiqh.

Of the books on fiqh of this period, only four books of the history of fiqh have reached us. They are "Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays al-Hilālī", "Kitāb al-Manāsik" by Qatādah, "Kitāb Manāsik al-Ḥajj wa adabuh" and "Kitāb al-Majmū' by Zayd ibn 'Alī."<sup>2</sup>

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1. F. Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part iv, p.32.

2. ibid, p.10.



### The History and Maghāzi

History was also widely cultivated during the Umayyad period. There developed some schools of historians. Makkah and Madinah schools in al-Hijāz, Baṣrah and Kūfah schools in al- 'Irāq, Damascus and Hims schools in Syria and the school of Fustāṭ in Egypt may be mentioned. The study of history in Makkah and Madinah schools was more objective than that of the rest.

The historians of the Umayyad period mainly collected the materials connected with the life of the Prophet. Abān ibn 'Uthmān was one of the earliest historians who collected such historical materials. His collection was not a kitāb but bore the character of Ṣaḥīfah.<sup>1</sup> But according to some source he was one of the earliest authors who composed maghāzī<sup>2</sup>. Horowitz says that 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr not only transmitted to his disciples the accounts he had collected<sup>in</sup> the name of the authorities from whom he had obtained them, but also imparted written instruction on the events of early Islāmic history. A number of such written materials have come down to us in the pages of Ibn Ishāq, Wāqīdī and Ṭabarī. Horowitz also said that the writings of 'Urwah were the oldest monument of Arabic historical prose.<sup>3</sup>

In connection with cultivation of historical studies of the period, "Kitāb al-Maghāzī" by Sa'īd ibn Sa'd, "al-Maghāzī" by his son Sharāḥīl, "Kitāb al-Futūḥ" by Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab, "Maghāzi" by 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Kāb, "al-Maghāzī", "al-Farā'id wa-l-Jirahāt", "Kitāb

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1. Horowitz, The Earliest biographies of the Prophet and their authors, Islamic Culture, 1928, p.539.

2. F. Sezgīn, Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī, vol.i, part-III, p.70.

3. Horowitz, The Earliest biographies of the Prophet and their authors Islamic Culture, 1928, p.550.



al-Futūh", "Kitāb al-Shura wa maqtal 'Uthmān" by al-Sha'bi, "al-Maghāzī", "Nasb Quraysh" and "Asnān al-khulafa" by al-Zuhri, "al-Sīrah" by Ya'qūb ibn 'Utbah, "al-Maghāzī" by 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr, "al-Maghāzī" by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, "Kitāb al-Maghāzī" by Sulaymān ibn Tarkhān, and "al-Maghāzī" by Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah may be mentioned.

Some histories of general nature were also composed. "Kitāb al-Mulūk al-Mutawwajah min Himiyar wa akhbaruhum was quburuhum", "Kitāb al-Muhtadā' and Futūh al-Bilād" by Wahb ibn Munabbih may be mentioned. Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ ibn Yahyā and 'Awānah ibn al-Hakam also contributed to this part of history.

#### The Amthāl and Adab.

Many books on Amthāl and Adab consisting of stories, proverbs, and wise-saying were composed during this period to entertain, reform and discipline. "Kitāb al-Amthāl" by 'Abīd ibn Sharyā, "Kitāb al-Amthāl" by Ṣuḥār al-'Abadi, "al-adab al-Ṣaghir", "al-adab al-kabīr" and "Kalilā wa Dimnā" by Ibn al-Muqaffa' - a makaddaram writer, may be mentioned.

#### The Secular Sciences.

Yūnus al-Kātib composed a book on music. Tayādhuq al-Hākim composed a book on medicine. Khālīd ibn Yazīd composed books on al-Khemy. Masarjawiah a doctor of medicine made the translation of Kitāb Ahran al-Qus fī al-ṭibb for 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. He also composed "Kitāb Qawā al-aṭ'imah wa manafi' hā wa maḍarrihā"<sup>1</sup> and "Kitāb qawā al-aqāqir wa manafi' hā wa maḍarrihā"<sup>1</sup>.

1. Ahmad Amin, Fajr al-Islām, p.163.



CHAPTER - IX.C O N C L U S I O N .

In the recent past, it was impossible to visualize the actual position and the existence of the Umayyad prose. It was also presumed that the literary art of the Umayyads was predominantly poetic. But the present thesis reveals that the Umayyad prose, though not colossal, was undoubtedly bulkier in size than what was conceived of it. Further more, the Umayyad prose not only laid the foundation of the long literary tradition of the Abbasid prose, but it also played most vital and important role during the Umayyad period itself.

**From the follow** up made in this thesis, it has become clear that a considerable number of books, treatises and tracts were composed during the Umayyad period. The lost books discovered so far amount to one hundred and seventy eight and the number of the extant ones is one hundred and nine.<sup>1</sup> But this number cannot be considered as exhaustive. Because further query may increase the number of the books which, in every possibility, have remained as yet to be traced out. There are hundred and thousand manuscripts lying uncatalogued in Turkey and other Muslim Countries.

The Contemporary Sources .

The Qur'ān was, in the main, the source of inspiration for the authors of the Umayyad period. The study of the Qur'ānic Sciences like Qirā'ah, its phonics and its exegesis attracted a large number of scholars of the Umayyad period.

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1. See the present thesis, pp.2-37.



With a view to understanding the Qur'ān thoroughly and also for having information about the life and activities of the Prophet, the Umayyad scholars also were in great need to study the ḥadīth in parallel lines . So, in their study circles, these two disciplines were predominant. The muḥaddiths, the exegetes and the historians delivered their lectures from the copies they maintained. Some time they would compare their lectures with their original copies if there was any confusion. These copies might have been veritable books or booklets.

The Umayyad period witnessed a sudden outburst of intellectual activities . Different factions holding heterodox doctrines and opinions evolved. The supporters of doctrines of al-Qadr, al-Jabr, al-I'tizāl, al-Tashbih and al-Ta'tīl all rushed in with arguments in their favour. It was quite natural that the supporters and the partisans of every faction were in great need to circulate their views and doctrines with full of life and vigour to the people. The titles listed in the sources<sup>1</sup> as "al-Qadr" and al-Radd 'alā al-Qadr" suggest that one of the means of their propaganda work was the composition of books and booklets which were in circulation at least for some time during the Umayyad period. There is no doubt that the current and crosscurrent of these heterodox doctrines inevitably produced quite a good number of books.

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1. See the Present thesis, pp.16-17.



In addition, though the Umayyad rulers excepting 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz did not patronize the growth of sciences most needed by the Islāmic Society, the scholars devoted themselves to the study of those sciences of their own accord. They laid great stress on the cultivation of tafsīr, ḥadīth, farā'id, fiqh and sirah and maghāzī literature. The result of **this** all-round situation was the production of huge books and tracts on those subjects. That the story of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri that his house was filled up to the ceiling and his wife preferred three co-wives to those books, and that 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr burnt his books on fiqh on the Day of al-Ḥarurah substantiate the above proposition. More sound arguments may be put forward from the sources of present thesis.<sup>1</sup>

But the lost books, as shown above, outnumber the extant ones. Many factors may quite reasonably be guessed for this loss. The Abbasids whose establishment of Khilafah was mainly based on the anti-Umayyad movement, most likely could not tolerate at least any such works wherein they got any sort of support to the Umayyads. The Sunnites quite naturally could not easily accommodate themselves with new creeds which, in their consideration, might jeopardize the interest of the solidarity of Islāmic society. Similarly the factional zealots most likely tried to overcome their opponents by destroying their books. Only the books of those authors who were less involved in religious feuds like the Shi'ites and Mu'tazilites were spared.

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1. See the present thesis, pp.2-37.



Again there were authors who thought that their books might bring on disaster on them, they concealed their works which even did not see the light of the day.

### The Rasā'il.

One of the great legacies of the Umayyads was their rasā'il. If the rasā'il, collected in the present thesis, put together, they would form a big Diwān.<sup>1</sup> So far the Umayyad rasā'il were not given their due treatment. Only 'Abd al-Ḥamid's rasā'il are thoroughly discussed and evaluated by many scholars. There is no doubt that 'Abd al-Ḥamid developed a style which is named after him. But it will be contradictory to conclude that 'Abd al-Ḥamid was not influenced internally by the style of any early scholars. The present thesis discloses that some traces of his ornate style are also found in the style of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Wāṣil ibn 'Atā' and Khālid ibn Safwān.<sup>1</sup>

Efforts are also made in this thesis to evaluate the most important rasā'il of some other distinguished rasā'il-writers of the period on the selective method. For example the rasā'il of Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, Ziyād ibn Abih, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik, al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz along with some others else are critically evaluated. Their craftsmanship and maintenance of mental equilibrium in arranging their images in balanced sentences in simple words running deeper into the hearts of the addressees have set the model for their contemporaries. That no writer can sever his literary connection from his predecessors and cannot ignore the past is proved by the fact that

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1. See the present thesis, pp. 117, 129, 176.



'Abd al-Ḥamid, who really deserves a lofty position among the luminaries produced in the Umayyad period, could not totally avoid the style adopted by those earlier rasā'il -writers.

That the Umayyad rasā'il developed in multi-dimensional aspects with special features are also proved in the present thesis. In the four kinds of rasā'il, five forms are developed. All the rasā'il are characterized by as many as eleven special features.<sup>1</sup>

Two kinds of style are developed in the rasā'il of the Umayyad period. One is simple, unstudied, laconic and natural and the other is ornate, artistic and verbose. The first style continued up to the time of Sālim Abū al-'alā, principal secretary in the Diwān al Rasā'il of Hishām. To say that rhyme was completely eschewed in the former style is wrong. It is true that there was no unnecessary use of rhyme which makes the composition verbose. The pre-Islāmic rhyme of the sooth-sayers reduced to some extent during the period of the prophet and that of his four Caliphs, was reduced to the extent possible during the Umayyad period. Yet where and when emotion was to be stirred up, rhyme was used in a required measures.

The introduction of ornate style in the rasā'il of the later Umayyad period was made by Sālim but for it's perfection 'Abd al-Ḥamid's brain and hands were solely responsible. His rasā'il really deserve very high position so far his art, his conscious literary purpose, his display of imaginative and creative talents, euphony of his language, clarity of concepts and aptness of his style are

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1. See the present thesis, pp.103-09.



concerned. But yet the beauties of his rasā'il are marred sometime by his verbosity. The great contribution of 'Abd al-Hamīd lies in the fact that his influence and stamp continued for a long period. Following his suit Ibn al-Muqaffa' and many others of the Abbasid period became famous far and wide for their artistic literary style.

Although attaching so much credit to 'Abd al-Hamīd for the perfection of literary style, the fact remains that before 'Abd al-Hamīd Arabic prose was definitely developed so much so that 'Abd al-Malik could make it state language and transform all official records into Arabic from Greek, Syriac and Pehlavi languages. In the vacuum he could not make overnight Arabic prose so standard as to become fit to be state language.

So, the rasā'il collected in the present thesis<sup>1</sup> had positive contribution to the growth and development of rasā'il literature of the Umayyad period.

#### The Khutbahs .

Of all the branches of Arabic prose, the greatest contribution of the Umayyads was in the branch of Khutbah literature (oratorical literature) . In it the Umayyad Khatibs are yet unsurpassed.

The khutbahs collected in this thesis, if put together, will definitely form a more voluminous Diwān than that of any other prose forms of the Umayyad period.<sup>2</sup> With the expansion of the Umayyad empire, the field of khutbah became wider. Jihād on the one hand, and the factional feuds on the other became responsible for

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1. See the present thesis, pp.53-64.

2. *ibid*, pp.31-52.



so much spread of khutbah literature. The ascetic attitudes of some outstanding figures of the Umayyad period are also responsible for the development of the khutbahs consisting purely of ascetic contents. It is needless to say that in the field of Jihād, the supply of arms and the khutbahs were the greatest instruments for the commanders to sustain the mental stamina of the Umayyad soldiers. Similarly in the factional feuds, the first and the foremost instrument for the zealots to arrest the attention of the mass to their creeds was the khutbah. So, in this wider background and heart-throbbing situation both outside the empire in the battlefield and within the empire for factional feuds, the khutbah expanded its dimension in a greater measure than in any period. As the khatibs became spokesmen, the khatibs of all rank timely exploited the sentiment of their audience by their nice approach and linguistic skills. What the khatibs cared most, was to arouse the emotion of their listeners. For this purpose the khatibs always delivered their khutbahs suited to the level of the perception of their audience. Nothing more and nothing less was uttered by the khatibs of the Umayyad period. Their approach was mild and **stern** as the situations demanded. Their language was always at par with **their** images. Excepting some khutbahs most of them are characterized by the impact of the Qurānic verses, simplicity, brevity and euphony. No abstruse words and expressions are there in the Umayyad khutbahs. Here also rhyme was used if need arose.



In the present thesis, most of the renowned Khaṭībs of the Umayyad period are evaluated on the selective methods. Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, Ziyād ibn Abih, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn -Ziyād, al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, 'Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr, Mas'ab ibn Zubayr, Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā, 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz and others made unique contribution to Arabic prose literature by their khuṭbahs<sup>1</sup>. Efforts are also made in this thesis to determine the kinds, forms, contents, features and style of the khuṭbahs of the Umayyad period.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Maqālāt and the Ḥikam.

The maqālāt and the ḥikam collected in the present thesis also constitute an important branch of prose literature of the Umayyad period. In the collection the maqālāt and the ḥikam are put together, but their evaluation are separately done in the thesis. It is very interesting to note here that these maqālāt have resemblance with other prose legacies of the Umayyad period. As for example the utterances of Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān have resemblance with the rasā'il of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd in the use of the rhyme and cadence and also in some other ornaments.<sup>3</sup> Similarly the style of Abū Ḥāzam al-a'raj in his risālah and his maqālāt is the same. The mood, the sermonic ascetic tone and euphony are the same in his written materials and utterances (maqālāt)<sup>4</sup>. So the degree of metamorphosis, if any, is the same both in the rasā'il and maqālāt of the period.

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1. See the present thesis, pp.142-62.

2. *ibid*, pp.132-41.

3. Aḥmad Zakī, Ṣafwat, Jamharat Khuṭab al-'Arab, ii, pp.402, 424, 427.

4. Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, vi, pp.224-26; Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn, iii, pp.127-28.



The early sources preserved them for their literary merits. They, like other branches, betray the same stylistic features of the Umayyad period. In most of them the sayers pose more as Khatibs than as ordinary men. The socio-political ethics are best mirrored through them. In the present thesis some are evaluated on the selective methods.<sup>1</sup> Their lexical elements are appreciated. As they are maqalat, the Qur'anic verses are comparatively absent in them. The depth of thoughts, simplicity in construction and the usual euphony are the literary key points in them. They are trimmed, sparing and free from obscure words and expressions.

Last but not least, are the Hikam which are collected in this thesis for the most significant part they play in literature as models of key sentences, terse in construction but vast in meanings. They are not the whimsical and silly utterances of the laities, rather they are the thoughtful talks of the cultured few who cast their vigilant eyes over all the occurrences of the society irrespective of their magnitudes. These Hikam (wise-sayings) are more pregnant with imports mainly associated with hard realities of life. There are ideas of practical philosophy also. As the meanings are more important in them than the mere talks, no room is there for word tracery and other linguistic ornaments. They are so terse that most of them consists of one or two sentences only. In the present thesis their literary merits are examined on the selective methods. Basically the sentence patterns are not isolated.<sup>2</sup> They also bear the literary features of all other branches of the Umayyad prose. But in brevity they occupy the peak-position. They are the results of the masterhands who observe things deeply and minutely. For the subtle and significant meanings they are called al-Hikam (wise-sayings).

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1. See the present thesis, pp.163-78.

2. ibid, pp.179-90.



## The Religious and Secular Sciences.

The present thesis reveals that the Arabic prose was the medium of instruction in different schools of study during the Umayyad period. Arabic prose **related** to religious and secular sciences made a great stride during this period. Without state patronization, four main schools grew up. Tafsīr, ḥadīth, fiqh, sirah and maghāzī or history, Arabic grammar and Arabic literature were taught and cultivated in those schools. It is not known whether any school was there for the cultivation of secular sciences like medicine, music and Alchemy. But the books on music by Yūnus al-kātib and books on Alchemy by Khālīd ibn Yazīd and book on medicine by Tayādhyaq al-Hakīm indicate that somehow or other those sciences were also cultivated.

Among the schools of al-Hijāz, al-Iraq, al-Shām and Egypt, the Madīnah school figured most. Most of the learned people settled there to reap the fruits of Islām from direct contact with the Prophet. In those schools study circles were held and lessons were imparted to the largely attended gathering by the great teachers who had written materials with them.

### The Makkah School.

‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abbās started his career as a great teacher in Baṣrah School. For certain period he taught in Madīnah School. Finally he became very famous as teacher in Makkah school where he held his study circle in Bayt Allāh. Here his class was largely attended by the students to whom he imparted extensive lessons on tafsīr, ḥadīth, fiqh and Arabic literature, Mujāhid ibn Jabr,



'Aṭā' ibn Abī Rabāḥ and Ṭā'ūs ibn Kaysān were the most distinguished products of this school. 'Aṭā' and Ṭā'ūs also held study circles of their own.

#### The Madīnah School.

It was the most famous and productive school where Zayd ibn Thābit and 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar were the great instructors. Sa'īd ibn al-Mussayab, 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr and Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī a great author of the Umayyad period were the products of Madinah school of learning and culture.

#### The School of al-'Irāq.

Two parallel schools grew up in al-'Irāq, one in al-Kūfah and another in al-Baṣrah. Sa'īd ibn Jubayr was a great pedent and pedagogue in Baṣrah School. He delivered his lectures on the exegesis of the Qur'ān and narrated ḥadīths. Among the products of this school, 'Ulqamah, al-Aswad, Masrūq, 'Ubaydah, al-Ḥārīth ibn Qays, 'Amr ibn Sharāhīl, Shurayḥ, al-Sha'bī, al-Nakh'ī and Abū Hanifah were the most learned and distinguished figures. In the school of al-Baṣrah, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and Anas ibn Mālik delivered lectures on the exegesis of the Qur'ān, ḥadīth and fiqh. Among it's products, al-Ḥasan al-Basrī and Ibn Sirīn were the most prominent scholars.



### The School of al-Shām .

Mu'ādh ibn Jabl, 'Ubadah ibn al-Sāmit and Abū al-Dardā' were the most leading teachers in this school. Abū Idrīs al-Khawlāni, Makhūl al-Dimashqī, 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, Rajā' ibn Haywah and the great imām 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Awzā'ī, a contemporary of Mālik ibn Anas and Abū Hanifah were the most renowned products of the Shām School.

### The School of Egypt.

It was headed by 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Ās who collected ḥadīth and named his collection "al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sādiqah". Yazīd ibn Ḥabīb, Ja'far ibn Rabī'ah and 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far were the great meritorious students of this school .

So , the all-round efforts made to impart education on religious sciences, as stated above, undoubtedly produced a galaxy of scholars in all cadres. The muḥaddiths, the exegetes, the faqihs, the historians, the khatībs, the rasā'il-writers and the great authors were produced by those schools. And in the hands of those scholars Arabic prose made a great stride during the Umayyad period.



In the continuous development of Arabic prose during the Umayyad period, the Arabic prose prior to Umayyad period had a share in it. No Umayyad writer or Khatib could start from vacuum. So, efforts are also made in the present thesis to give a short picture of Arabic prose prior to Umayyad period. It has been examined how Arabic prose passed through different stages from pre-Islamic period to Umayyad period. What new forms developed during the period of the prophet and that of his four Caliphs are also traced out. The Qur'an and the hadith and their influence on Arabic prose are discussed in brief. The khutbahs and the rasā'il of the prophet and those of his four Caliphs are shortly evaluated.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See the present thesis, pp.80-102.



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