

UMAYYAD EPISTOLOGRAPHY,
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE
COMPOSITIONS ASCRIBED TO
‘ABD AL-HAMĪD AL-KĀTĪB

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) It has been found that the Umayyad chancery format consists of (a) introductory formulae: the basmala, the inside address (al-'unwān), the salām, the tahmīd, and ammā ba'd; (b) concluding formulae: in sha' Allāh (if God wills), repeating the formula of salām with the definite article "al", the name of the scribe, and the date.

(2) It has been noticed that the records of Kharāj in the conquered countries used to be written in Arabic, while the demand letters issued from the bureau of Kharāj were

written in Persian, Greek, and Coptic until the reign of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān who ordered his secretaries to write them in Arabic.

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

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INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To demonstrate the bias of anti-Umayyad sources, it will be useful to analyze a letter said to be sent from Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya to his governor at Medina with respect to acknowledging the baī'a from Husain b. 'Alī, Ibn al-Zubair, and Ibn 'Umar. This letter has been chosen from the third group of sources (historical and biographical).

FROM YAZĪD B. MU‘ĀWIYA TO HIS GOVERNOR AT MEDĪNA

The versions of the letter:

(1) Ibn Sa‘d (230/844):

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

وكتب إليه في صحيفة كأنها أذن الفارة : أما بعد فخذ حدينا وعبد الله بن عمر وعبد الله بن الزبير بالبيعة أخذنا شديداً ليست فيه رخصة حتى يبايعوا والسلام .

(2) Ibn Qutaiba (276/889):

After he mentioned the death of Mu‘āwiya, he said: "Acknowledge the baī‘a to us from our people and our men with you, gladly and willingly. The first of our people and relations who should pay the baī‘a are al-Ḥusain, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās, ‘Abd Allān b. al-Zubair, and ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far. Let them swear all the necessary oaths, covenant alms on their property, except the tithe (ushr), liberty for their slaves, divorce of their wives, and firmness and fulfillment in what they acknowledge of their baī‘a. There is no strength save in God, and peace." (2)

فبايع لنا قومنا ومن قبلك من رجالنا بيعة منشرة بها صدوركم طيبة عليها أنفسكم . وليكن اول من يبايعك من قومنا وأهلنا الحسين وعبد الله بن عمر وعبد الله بن عباس وعبد الله بن الزبير وعبد الله بن جعفر ويحلفون على ذلك بجميع الايمان اللازمة ويحلفون بصدقة اموالهم غير عشرها وجزية رقيقهم وطلاق نسائهم بالثبات على الوفاء بما يعطون من بيعتهم ولا قوة الا بالله والسلام .

(3) Balādhurī (279/892) and Tabarī (310/922):

On the authority of Abū Mikhnaf and 'Awāna and others who said that Yazīd sent a letter to his governor in a piece of paper like a mouse's ear, which reads: "There after, obtain the bai'a from al-Ḥusain, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair by vigorous means allowing neither compromise nor leniency till they acknowledge the bai'a, and peace". (3)

وكتب إليه في صحيفة كأنها أذن فأرة :

أما بعد ، فخذ حُسَيْنًا وعبد الله بن عمر وعبد الله بن الزبير بالبيعة
أخذاً شديداً ليست فيه رخصة حتى يبايعوا ؛ والسلام .

(4) Al-Dīnawarī (282/995):

Dīnawarī mentioned that Yazīd sent a letter to his governor to obtain the bai'a from Ḥusain, Ibn 'Umar, Ibn al-Zubair, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr without relating the text of the letter (4).

(5) Ya'qūbī (283/896):

Yazīd sent a letter to his governor at Medīna which reads: "In receiving my letter, bring al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair and obtain the bai'a from them to me. If they refuse, sever their necks and send me their heads. Obtain the bai'a from the people as well, and execute every one who refuses to do so, and including al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair, and peace. " (5)

كتب إلى الوليد بن عتبة بن أبي سفيان وعواملة المدينة: إذا
أنا لكتابي هذا فأحضر الحسين بن عليّ وعبد الله بن الزبير
فخذها بالبيعة لي فان امتنعاً فأضرب أعناقهما وأبعث لي برؤوسهما.
وخذ الناس بالبيعة فمن امتنع فأنفذ فيه الحكم وفي الحسين بن
عليّ وعبد الله بن الزبير والسلام؛

ANALYSIS AND COMMENTARY

I - The size of the letter:

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

II - The format of the letter:

Balādhurī, Ṭabarī, and Ibn Qutaiba begin the letter with the phrase "ammā ba'd", while Ibn Sa'd and Ya'qūbī omit this phrase.

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

III - The language and style:

(a) The style in the version of Ibn Qutaiba is rhymed and each sentence divides into two carefully balanced members with a little monotony, e.g.,
فبايع لنا قومنا، ومن قبلك
من رجالنا، بيعة منسومة بها صدوركم، طيبة عليها أنفسكم .

This parallel diction was widely used by the 'Abbāsīd writers (10), not by the Umayyad secretariat, for the Arabic papyri, which have come down to us from the Umayyad period, are free completely of this phenomenon. Besides,

it seems that the early authors disliked rhymed letters and considered that style to be a kind of disparagement for the addressee (11). In the other versions, this style is absent and the language is very simple.

(b) It may be noticed that the version of Ya'qūbī exhibits confusion in its construction. For example, he says "وَأَخَذَ النَّاسَ بِالْبَيْعَةِ ، فَمَنْ أَمْتَنَحَ فَأَنْفِذْ فِيهِ الْحُكْمَ ، وَفِيهِ الْحُسَيْنُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ وَعَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ الزُّبَيْرِ" Since he had mentioned these two persons, there is no need to mention them again unless he wished to insist that his governor execute them, and in this case, he could have written after the word al-hukm "I would like to assure you, with respect to Ḥusain and Ibn al-Zubair, that their punishment is imperative in case of their refusal to acknowledge the ba'ia" "وَأُورِدُ أَنَّهُ أُوكِرُ لَكَ بِأَنَّ عِقَابَ الْحُسَيْنِ وَابْنِ الزُّبَيْرِ لِاسْتِمْسَاقِهِمْ إِلَى أَهْلِهَا رِضْوَانًا بِالْبَيْعَةِ" It might be understood of the statement "wa fi al-Husain b. 'Alī wa 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair" that the governor should execute them without mentioning any cause, and hence that he need not mention them at the beginning of the letter as well.

(c) The formula of the ba'ia differs widely from one version to another. The formula of Ibn Sa'd stresses kindness and good treatment. There is no violence in the formula of Ibn Qutaiba, nay Yazīd ordered his governor to deal gently with the people and the persons mentioned in the letter. But what attracts one's attention in this formula are the oaths in acknowledging the ba'ia, for these oaths were characteristic of the 'Abbāsīd period, not the Umayyad period (12). The formula of the ba'ia in the Umayyad period is illustrated in the letter of Ibn 'Umar to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān which reads: "I avow myself (to be) a listener and

obedient to you in the way of God and His Apostle" (uqirru laka bi al-sam'ī wa al-tā'a 'alā sunnat Allāh wa Rasūlih) (13)

In the formula of Balādhurī, Ṭabarī, and Ibn al-Athīr, the threat is obvious in the statement "akhdhan shadīdan laisat fihi rukhsatun walā hawāda", while Ya'qūbī threatens killing in case of their refusal to acknowledge the ba'ā "fa in imtana'ā fadrib a'nāqahumā wab'ath lī biru'ūsihimā." I do not see the need for execution to obtain the ba'ā, for the ba'ā in Islamic law can be obtained by three to five men of ahl al-hall wal'aqd (authorities) or an appointment by the former caliph (14). Hence, Yazīd was legal caliph according to his appointment by Mu'āwiya and the selection by ahl al-hall wal'aqd as well (15).

IV - The persons in the letter:

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

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

Al-Husain:

Some reports indicate that Ḥusain acknowledged his ba'ā to Yazīd then he formulated an independent judgement (ijtahada) and renounced his ba'ā, for example, (a) when Ḥusain decided to leave Mecca for Kūfa, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, one of the companions of the Prophet, advised him not to do so and said to him, "Fear God yourself, and stay at home,

and do not rebel against your Imām" (16). He would not have said "your Imām" if he (Ḥusain) had not acknowledged his baia, while the persons who advised Ḥusain not to go out used the word "takhruj", which possibly means here "rebel against the caliph".

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

<p>بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَ حُسَيْنِ اللَّهِ وَالرَّحِمِ عَهْدُ اللَّهِ وَمَا تَوْفِيقِي إِلَيْهِ</p>	<p>أَبْلَغُ قُرَيْشًا، عَلَى نَأْيِ الْمَرَابِجِ، وَمَوْقِفَةٍ بِفِنَاءِ الْبَيْتِ أَنْشُدُهُ</p>
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It is possible to understand his saying "عَهْدُ اللَّهِ"

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

Ibn 'Umar:

(a) Bukhārī said that Ibn 'Umar acknowledged the baia to Yazid according to his sister's advice, Ḥafsa the

Prophet's wife, who said to her brother, "join them, they are waiting for you (Mu'āwiyā and the people who were acknowledging the baī'a), I am afraid that your refusal to join them will cause disunion" (18).

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

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

Ibn al-Zubair:

The attitude of Ibn al-Zubair is a little ambiguous in this case. Most of the reports with regard to his baī'a are contradictory and concentrate on his escape and taking refuge in the Ka'ba until the death of Yazīd (21). In these reports there is an account related by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih saying that Mu'āwiyā asked Ibn al-Zubair to express his opinion

of Yazīd's baia. Ibn al-Zubair advised Mu'āwiya to think deeply before this decision was carried out. His exact words were: " ... do look before you step forward, and do think before you regret" (unzur qabla an tataqaddam wa tafakkar qabla an tandam) (22). This reply of Ibn al-Zubair does not show clearly whether he acknowledged his baia or not, and also does not show that he refused Yazīd as caliph.

Ibn 'Abbās:

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

'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far:

It seems that Ibn Ja'far acknowledged his baia to Yazīd, for he enjoyed a good relationship with him according to the version of Balādhurī, who reported that Yazīd awarded Ibn Ja'far an enormous sum of money which delighted him and he replied to Yazīd, "Oh, could my father and my mother but be

your ransom" (fidāka abī wa ummī) (24). Ibn Ja'far also enjoyed good relations with 'Amr b. Sa'id, the governor of Medina after the deposition of Walid b. 'Utba, for he said to him, "write a letter to Husain, give him an assurance of protection, promise him that you will treat him with respect and goodness, and ask him to come back, may be he will be put at ease by your letter and come back". 'Amr b. Sa'id said to Ibn Ja'far, "write whatever you wish and give it to me to seal" (25). This must mean that 'Amr trusted Ibn Ja'far. On the other hand, Ibn Ja'far himself wrote a letter to Husain advising him not to go to Kufa and warning him of Kufans (26).

'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr:

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

CONCLUSION

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

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

(1) The confusion and the contradictions of the text of the letter in the transmitted versions.

of Yazīd's baīa. Ibn al-Zubair advised Mu'āwiya to think deeply before this decision was carried out. His exact words were: " ... do look before you step forward, and do think before you regret" (unzur qabla an tataqaddam wa tafakkar qabla an tandam) (22). This reply of Ibn al-Zubair does not show clearly whether he acknowledged his baīa or not, and also does not show that he refused Yazīd as caliph.

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(2) The difference in the number of persons mentioned in the letter who should acknowledge the baia'.

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

(4) The positive attitudes of the persons mentioned in the letter toward Yazīd and his baia', which contradict the text of the letter.

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

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

NOTES

1. Ibn Kathir, Bidāya, vol. VIII, p. 162, based on the version of Ibn Sa'd.
2. Ibn Qutaiba, Imāma, vol. I, p. 168.
3. Balādhurī, Ansāb, vol. IV, part II, p. 12; Ṭabarī, vol. V, p. 338; c.f. Kāmil, vol. IV, p. 9; Bidāya, vol. VIII, pp. 146-47.
4. Dīnawarī, p. 240.
5. Ya'qūbī, vol. II, p. 287.
6. Kāmil, vol. I, p. 9.
7. See Qalqashandī, vol. III, pp. 49, 53 and vol. VI, pp. 189, 194-95; Ṣūlī, Adab al-kuttāb, p. 148; Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, vol. V, p. 296.
8. *Ibid.*; cf. Baghdādī, Kitāb al-kuttāb, p. 129; Baṭalyūsī, Iqtidāb, p. 29.
9. See for example the letters of Qurra b. Sharīk to Basīl, the Administrator of Ashqāuh, in Grohmann, Arabic Papyri, vol. III, pp. 3-55.
10. See Jahīz, Akhlāq al-Kuttāb, p. 42.
11. Qalqashandī, vol. VI, p. 307; cf. Sinā'atayn, p. 159; see below.
12. Jahshiyārī, p. 104; Wafayāt, vol. II, p. 152.
13. Muwatta', p. 696, no. ; Muṣannaf, vol. VI., p. 6; Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīh, vol. IX, p. 139f; Abū Dāūd, vol. III, p. 351.
14. Māwardī, Aḥkām, p. 6f.; 'Awāṣim, p. 166.
15. Ṭabarī, vol. V, p. 301; 'Awāṣim, p. 166; Bidāya, vol. VII, p. 146; Muqaddima, vol. II, p. 544, 553; Ansāb, vol. IV, p. 4.
16. Bidāya, vol. VIII, p. 163.
17. *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, p. 164.
18. Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīh, vol. V., p. 140.
19. *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 103.
20. Bidāya, vol. VIII, p. 163; cf. Ansāb, vol. III, p. 163; 'Awāṣim, p. 168.
21. See Khayyāt, vol. I, p. 323; 'Asākir, Tārīkh, vol. VII, p. 409; Kāzarūnī, p. 86.

22. Iqd, vol. IV, p. 368f.
23. Ansāb, vol. IV, p. 4.
24. Ibid., p. 3.
25. Ṭabari, vol. V, p. 388.
26. Ibid., vol. V, p. 383, 387; Bidayā, vol. VIII, p. 163.
27. Ibid., vol. VIII, p. 88.

FROM 'UMAR B. 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ TO ḤAYYĀN B. ZURAIQ

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

The version of the letter:

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

٥٩٦ - عن زُرَيْقِ بْنِ حَيَّانَ، وَكَانَ زُرَيْقٌ عَلَى جَوَائِزِ مِصْرَ فِي زَمَانِ
لُؤَيْبِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ وَسُلَيْمَانَ وَعُمَرَ بْنَ عَبْدِ الْعَزِيزِ. فَذَكَرَ أَنَّ عُمَرَ بْنَ
عَبْدِ الْعَزِيزِ كَتَبَ إِلَيْهِ أَنْ انْظُرْ مِنْ مَرَّ بِكَ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ، فَخُذْ مِمَّا ظَهَرَ مِنْ
أَمْوَالِهِمْ مَا يُدِيرُونَ مِنَ التُّجَارَاتِ، مِنْ كُلِّ أَرْبَعِينَ دِينَارًا دِينَارًا، فَمَا
نَقَصَ فَيَحْسَبِ ذَلِكَ حَتَّى يَبْلُغَ عَشْرِينَ دِينَارًا؛ فَإِنْ نَقَصَتْ ثُلُثُ دِينَارٍ
فَدَعُوهَا وَلَا تَأْخُذْ مِنْهَا شَيْئًا، وَمَنْ مَرَّ بِكَ مِنْ أَهْلِ الذَّمِّ فَخُذْ مِمَّا يُدِيرُونَ
مِنَ التُّجَارَاتِ مِنْ كُلِّ عَشْرِينَ دِينَارًا دِينَارًا، فَمَا نَقَصَ فَيَحْسَبِ ذَلِكَ
حَتَّى يَبْلُغَ عَشْرَةَ دِينَارٍ، فَإِنْ نَقَصَتْ ثُلُثُ دِينَارٍ فَدَعُوهَا وَلَا تَأْخُذْ مِنْهَا
شَيْئًا، وَاسْتَبْ نَهْمُ بِنَا تَأْخُذُ مِنْهُمْ كِتَابًا إِلَى مِثْلِهِ مِنَ الْحَوْلِ،

ANALYSIS AND COMMENTARY

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

The post:

Mālik b. Anas (179/795) and Abū 'Ubaid al-Qāsim b. Sallām (224/838) did not explain the nature of the post mentioned in the letter, but merely said, "He was the controller of passage in Egypt (wa kār 'alā jawāz Misr)."¹ But Abū Yūsuf (182/798) declared that Ḥayyān b. Zuraiq was appointed over custom duties in Egypt (wa kār 'alā maks Misr), i.e., (sāhib maks) (2).

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

Because of these different meanings later authors often misinterpreted the data. Moreover, they attributed some traditions to the Prophet concerning maks and 'ushr, e.g., "the custom duty collector would not enter Paradise"

" لا يدخل الجنة صاحب مكس (5). The narrator of this tradition commented, "he means the collector of tithe ('ushr) (6). It is also asserted that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar said, "the custom duty collector would not be questions about anything

he would be taken and thrown into Hell-Fire."

(7) رَأَى صَاحِبَ الْمَكْسِ لَا يُسْأَلُ عَنْ شَيْءٍ، يُؤْخَذُ مِمَّا هُوَ قَرِيبٌ مِنْ بَيْتِ النَّارِ

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

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

(10) مَهْلًا يَا خَالِدُ، لَقَدْ نَابَتْ تَوْبَةً لَوْ تَابَهَا صَاحِبُ مَكْسٍ لَغُفِرَ لَهُ

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

(11) وَاللَّهِ الْعُسُورُ عَلَى الْيَهُودِ وَالنَّصَارَى، وَلَيْسَ عَلَى الْمُسْلِمِينَ عُسُورٌ

It seems that these traditions were formulated late in the ‘Abbāsīd period when the post of customs duties collector became detestable for its connection with injustice as it had been in the pre-Islamic period. There is a verse attributed to a pre-Islamic poet called Jābir b. Ḥunayy, referring to that which reads: "You should pay tribute at each market in Irāq and you should pay dirham as a maks for everything you sell" (12). It is very likely that the Prophet detested, if the reported traditions are authentic, this kind of maks. Therefore, Abū Yūsuf advised Rashīd to entrust the collection of customs duties to honest and god-fearing officials with clear orders forbidding them to wrong the subjects by collecting from them more than they owed (13).

EXCURSUS: THE HISTORY OF MAKS IN ISLAM (14)

Abū Yūsuf reported that Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī wrote to 'Umar I that Muslim merchants were charged the tithe (ushr) when entering the enemy territory (dār al-Harb). Thereupon, 'Umar I instructed him to collect the same duty from Ḥarbī merchants, a half of tithe and from Muslims a quarter of tithe (15). Abū Yūsuf also reported on the authority of Anas ibn Mālik who said: "Umar b. al-Khaṭṭab appointed me as customs duties collector and instructed me in writing to collect from Muslims a quarter of tithe from the value of their merchandise, from Dhimmis a half tithe, and from Ḥarbīs the tithe in full" (16). Another version says that the people of Manbij--a Ḥarbī country near Aleppo--wrote to 'Umar I: "Allow us to enter and trade in your territory, and you have the right to charge us the tithe". 'Umar I consulted the Prophet's Companions who advised him to allow them. Those were the first Ḥarbī traders who paid the tithe (17).

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

As for the Persian Empire, Christensen mentioned that the Persians used to collect customs duties from the Roman merchants (20). The rate of customs duties was 20 - 30 per cent (21).

The word maks was mentioned for the first time in two letters of the Arabic Papyri, dated 91/709, sent from Qurrah ibn Sharīk to Basīl, the administrator of Ashqauh. In the first letter he says: ". . . and write me a list of what every merchant carried when he left your province. Order them to sell the food at al-Fustāt, for I have ordered the custom duty collector to appraise what they have brought" (22)

... وَأَكْتُبُ إِلَيْكَ مَعَ كُلِّ تَاجِرٍ لِقَدْرِهِ مِمَّنْ قَبْلِكَ مَا كَمَلَ مِنْهُ يَتَقَبَّلُ. ثُمَّ
مُرَّهُمْ فَلْيَبِيعُوهُ بِالْفُسْطَاطِ، فَإِنَّهُ قَدْ أَمَرْتُ صَاحِبَ الْمَكْسِ أَنْ يَعْلَمَ مَا يَعْرِضُونَ بِهِ مِنْ ذَلِكِ.

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

... إِلَى الْفُسْطَاطِ؛ فَإِنَّهُ قَدْ وَضَعْتُهُ عَنْهُمْ مَكْسَهُ، فَلْيَبِيعُوهُ بِالْفُسْطَاطِ.
وَيَجِبُ ذَلِكَ، فَإِنَّهُ خَفِضْتُ غَلْرَ الطَّعَامِ بِالْفُسْطَاطِ، وَإِنَّهُ
وَإِذَا وَضَعْتُهُ لِلتَّجَارِ مَكْسَهُمْ أَصَابُوا رِيحًا حَسَنًا . . .

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

The content:

(a) The taxable value:

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

they should pay half the tithe as maks (25).

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

The receipts:

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

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

It seems that these two letters were formulated in the 'Abbāsīd period, for 'Umar II had followed his ancestor 'Umar I and Umayyad caliphs in this system. Besides, there

are two kinds of taxes mentioned in the first letter, al-fidya and al-mā'ida, which were not levied in the Umayyad period according to the Arabic papyri and the early works.

CONCLUSION

This argument may be concluded by the followed points:

(a) The post of "jawāz Miṣr" mentioned in the letter coincides completely with the post of ṣāhib al-maks attested in the Arabic papyri.

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

(c) Maks was levied on ambulant merchants.

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

(e) The detestation of maks emerged due to the connotation of injustice. Possibly, this connotation induced Mālik b. Anas to say "jawāz Miṣr" instead of "ṣāhib maks".

Finally, I would incline to accept this letter as authentic and as representative of Umayyad chancery style.

ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) It has been found that the Umayyad chancery format consists of (a) introductory formulae: the basmala, the inside address (al-'unwān), the salām, the tahmīd, and ammā ba'd; (b) concluding formulae: in sha' Allāh (if God wills), repeating the formula of salām with the definite article "al", the name of the scribe, and the date.

(2) It has been noticed that the records of Kharāj in the conquered countries used to be written in Arabic, while the demand letters issued from the bureau of Kharāj were

written in Persian, Greek, and Coptic until the reign of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān who ordered his secretaries to write them in Arabic.

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

NOTES

1. Muwatta', p. 170, no. 596, ch. zakāt al-urūd; Kharāj, Būlāq, p. 79, Salafiyyah, p. 137; Amwāl, p. 576, no. 1164 and no. 1661; Ibn al-Qayyim, Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah, vol. I, p. 156 (the second part of the letter only).
2. Kharāj, Sal. p. 136.
3. Lisān (s.v. makasa and 'ashara).
4. Ibid.; Fairūzabādī, Qāmūs (s.v. makasa).
5. Abū Dāūd, vol. III, p. 349, no. 2937.
6. Ibid.
7. Amwāl, no. 1626.
8. Ibid., no. 1631.
9. Abū Dāūd, vol. III, p. 349, no. 2937.
10. Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ, k. al-ḥudūd, 23, vol. V, p. 120.
11. Abū Dāūd, vol. III, p. 435, no. 3046.
12. Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, p. 211, no. 42; in Lisān (s.v. makasa) it is mentioned in interrogative form.
13. Kharāj, Sal. p. 132
14. I am dealing here with the history of maks in Islam only. For its etymology and more details see Ben Shemesh, Taxation in Islam, p. 24; Björkman, E.I., vol. III, part I, p. 191; Grohmann, Arabic Papyri, vol. III, p. 9f; Gibb, The Fiscal rescript of 'Umar II, Arabica, II, pp. 1-16; Qalqashandī, vol. III, p. 463, 468ff; Maqrizī, Khitāt, vol. II, p. 80f.
15. Kharāj, p. 135, cf. Ibn Ādam, Kharāj, p. 173.
16. Kharāj, p. 135.
17. Ibid., p. 135.
18. Baynes, The Byzantine Empire, pp. 127-28.
19. Baynes and Moss, Byzantium, p. 83. About the Roman Empire customs duties, see, Bell, Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest, p. 51.
20. Irān Dār Zāmān ī Sāsāniyān, p. 146.
21. Olmstead, History of the Persian Empire, p. 70.

22. Becker, PSR, vol. I, p. 62.
23. Grohmann, Arabic Papyri, vol. III, p. 8.
24. See, Muwatta', p. 190, no. 622; Amwāl, no. 1660; Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah, vol. I, p. 167.
25. See, Amwāl, no. 1649, 1653, 1654; Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah, vol. I, p. 140, 141, 143.
26. Kharāj, p. 133; Amwāl, no. 1673.
27. Amwāl, no. 1674
28. Ibid., no. 1682-83; Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah, vol. I, p. 158ff.
29. Amwāl, no. 1628; Tabaqāt, V, p. 283; Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah, vol. I, p. 150.
30. Amwāl, no. 1629; Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah, vol. I, p. 151.

CHAPTER ONE

THE Umayyad Chancery

I - Administrative expansion:

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

II - Orthography and diacritics:

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

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

There is an assumption, adopted by early and modern authors, that the records of kharāj in the conquered countries were written in Persian, Greek, and Coptic (5). This situation is supposed to have continued until the reign of 'Abd al-Malik who (different reasons are adduced) ordered his secretary Sulaimān b. Sa'ad to introduce the use of Arabic in the

bureau of Syria (6). Ḥajjāj, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik, and Naṣr b. Sayyār did so (7). However, it may be useful to review the early versions of this story in order to throw more light upon it.

The Bureau of Syria

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

The Bureau of Irāq

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

from Persian to Arabic (12).

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

b - Abū Yūsuf in his kitāb al-kharāj reported that 'Umar I sent 'Uthmān b. Ḥanīf to survey the land of Sawād and to levy kharāj on it (16). Thus 'Uthmān was the first official appointed over this post which was called land survey (misāhat al-aradīn) (17). This post used to be entrusted to the

jurisprudents or to the governors together with the Ṣalāt (prayer) (18). Caliphs would send auditors to check the records, for instance, Mu'āwiyā wrote to the judge Sulaim b. 'Ātar in Egypt to audit the records of kharāj and to report to the official of the bureau (19). Ḥajjāj himself used to audit the records of Irāq as well (20). It would not have been possible for Sulaim and Ḥajjāj to audit the records of kharāj if they were not written in Arabic.

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

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

As for communications and tax demands, it would have been sensible to keep the records in Arabic and to translate the original letters issued by the bureau of kharāj into other languages for the non-Muslim officials, who did not

know Arabic. And this explains the Greek and Coptic writing on the papyri which have been discovered in Egypt. To be sure of this point I consulted the Arabic papyri themselves. I have found at the end of some letters so and so has written (it) and so and so has translated (it) (24) (kataba fulān wa nasakha fulān). According to the Arabic lexicons, the word "nasakha" meant in this context "tarjama" (translated) (25). Moreover, I have found that some of Qurra's letters written in Arabic and those which were written in Greek are identical (26). If the people of Ashqau had not burnt many of the discovered documents, it would be very possible to find more such identical letters.

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

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

NOTES

1. See Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, the introduction. See also lists of the scribes in Jahshiyārī, p. 24ff; Khayyāt, vol. I, pp. 276-395, 418, vol. II, pp. 468, 486, 545; 'Iqd, vol. IV, p. 164-65.
2. Ṣūlī, p. 57, 'Iqd, vol. IV, p. 173; Mudabbir, Risāla al-'Adhrā', p. 25.
3. Ṣūlī, p. 58; al-Rāghib, Muḥādarāt, vol. I, p. 102.
4. Munajjid, Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-Khatt, p. 127f; cf. Asad, Maṣādir al-Shi'r, p. 40f. For more details about orthography and diacritics, see, Abbott, SALP, vol. III, p. 3.
5. See for example, Ḥittī, Islam, p. 78; Dūrī, 'Abd al-'Azīz, E.I., 2nd., Dīwān, vol. II, p. 323; Ḥassan, Islam, p. 429.
6. Balādhurī, Futūḥ, vol. I, p. 230; 'Iqd, vol. IV, p. 169f; Jahshiyārī, p. 40; Ṣūlī, p. 192f; Nuwairī, vol. VIII, p. 199; Māwardī, Aḥkām, p. 202.
7. Māwardī, Aḥkām, p. 202; Ṣūlī, p. 192; Jahshiyārī, p. 38 and 67; Kindī, Wulāt Miṣr, p. 80; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ Miṣr, p. 122.
8. Futūḥ, vol. I, p. 230.
9. 'Iqd, vol. IV, p. 169f; cf. Jahshiyārī, p. 40; Ṣūlī, p. 192f.
10. Futūḥ, vol. II, p. 368.
11. Ibn al-Faqīh, Kitāb al-Buldān, p. 10.
12. 'Iqd, vol. IV, p. 170.
13. Jahshiyārī, p. 38; Ṣūlī, p. 192.
14. Khayyāt, vol. I, p. 395.
15. Ibid, vol. I, p. 411.
16. Kharāj, Sal. p. 26.
17. Ibid., p. 36.
18. Futūḥ Miṣr, p. 240; Kindī, Wulāt Miṣr, pp. 33, 35, 37, 44, 54, 47, 49, 61, 70, 84, 86; cf. Māwardī, Aḥkām, p. 152.
19. Kindī, Wulāt Miṣr, p. 9.

20. Baghdādī, Taqyīd, p. 140.
21. See, Qur'ān 2:282; Qur'ān 10:5; Qur'ān 17:12.
22. Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-Imān, b. 65, p. 91; Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-Jihād, b. 181, kitābat al-imām linnās.
23. For the development of the Arabic numerals, see, Diringer, The Story of the Alpha Beth, p. 275.
24. Grohmann, Arabic Papyri, vol. III, p. 31, no. 154; p. 33, no. 155.
25. Lisān, s.v. Nasakha; cf. Kindī, Wulāt Misr, p. 80.
26. Bell, Papyri, no. 1408; cf. Becker, PAF, no. IX, p. 88.
27. Abbott, Kurrah Papyri, p. 12.
28. Ibid, p. 12.

IV - EPISTOLARY FORMAT

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

Introductory formulae:

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

They so disapproved of every writing without the Basmala that Sa'īd b. Jubair said, "a letter is unusable unless it begins with the name of God " (4). With respect to writing the Basmala, it is related that the letter (sīn) in the word "bism" should be written with teeth like this " س". Zaid b. Thābit used to rub it out if it was written without teeth (5). The letter "bā" should be a little upright to

indicate the omitted "alif" like this " **ب** ", and it should not be extended before the "sīn". The extending should be after the sīn like this " **بس** " (6). It is also preferred to extend the letter "hā'" of the word "Rahmān" like this " **الرحمن** " (7).

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

" **بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ** .

(b) The inside address (al-'Unwān):

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

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

It was the ancient practice in general addresses to mention, first, the name of the sender then the name of the addressee (12). The second formula in the Rāshidūn and Umayyad periods is "to so and so from so and so". Khālīd b. al-Walīd used to write to the Prophet "to Muḥammad the Apostle of God from Khālīd b. Walīd." (13)

In writing to the caliphs, in the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsīd periods, the address should begin with the name of the caliph and his title, i.e., the Commander of the Faithful (Amīr al-Mu'minīn), then the name of the sender (14). It is found that the Prophet used to write sometimes "this is a letter (kitāb) from Muḥammad the Messenger of God to so and so) (هذا كتاب من محمد رسول الله) (15).

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

(c) Al-Salām (peace be upon you):

In the Rāshīdūn, Umayyad, and ʿAbbāsīd periods, Salām used to be written after the address as a solution to court the friendship of the addressee (19). To Muslims, the formula of Salām is without definite article, "peace be upon you" (سلام عليك) (20). To non-Muslims the formula is "peace be upon him who follows the guidance" (سلام على من اتبع الهدى) (21).

(d) Al-Tahmīd (praise be to God):

The formula of Tahmīd to Muslims is "I praise you

God, besides whom there is no god" (فِي أَيِّ أَحَدٍ أُعْبَدُ إِلَّاهُ) (فِي أَيِّ أَحَدٍ أُعْبَدُ إِلَّاهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ)

(22). To non-Muslims, "I praise God, besides whom there is no god" without mentioning the phrase "unto you"

(23). (فِي أَيِّ أَحَدٍ أُعْبَدُ إِلَّاهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ)

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

(e) Ammā ba'd (thereafter):

It comes directly after the Tahmīd. It is said that the first to use Ammā ba'd was Qiss b. Sā'ida (26) while Ṭabarī mentioned that the Prophet Dāūd (David) was the first to say Ammā ba'd. (27). However, we have not any authentic document either from Qiss or from the Prophet Dāūd to reach a decision. But, on the other hand, the letters from the Prophet Muḥammad in literary transmission demonstrate that he used to write it after Tahmīd. The Rāshidūn caliphs, Umayyads, and 'Abbāsīds did so (28). Customarily, it is to be written directly after the first Salām before Tahmīd (29). Bukhārī mentions that it might be written after the Basmala, while Qalqashandī mentions that many letters used to begin with Ammā ba'd without the Basmala according to some letters related without Isnād (the chain of narrators) and full format (31). In the Arabic papyri, Ammā ba'd comes usually after Tahmīd (32).

As for its meaning, Ibn Durustuwaih mentioned that it means "after praising and thanking God, it is so and so" (33). Its complement is usually introduced by the particle /fa/ (34).

Concluding formulae:

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

(d) The date:

It is important to examine the sources with regard to the dating of the letter (39). Who established the date in Islamic chancery procedure was an object of controversy between the early authors, some asserting that it was 'Umar I (40). According to several documents related to the era of the Prophet and his first successor Abū Bakr, it seems that the Prophet was the first who established the date (41).

The date has two formulas (a) dating according to the fulfilled days of the month such as "it is written on the first day of the month"; (b) dating according to the remaining days of the month such as "it is written three days before the end of the month (42). It might be noticed that the date in the Arabic papyri is mostly written without mentioning the days, thus "it is written in Shawwāl of the year so and so" (43).

NOTES

1. Björkman, Diplomatic, E.I., vol. II, p. 301f.
2. Jahshiyārī, p. 14; Ibn Durustawaih, Kitāb al-Kuttāb, p. 129; Qalqashandī, vol. VI, p. 219; Ṣūlī, p. 31; ‘Iqd, vol. IV, p. 158.
3. Bukhārī, Adab, p. 383; Māwardī, Adab al-Qādī, vol. II, p. 91; ‘Askarī, Awā’il, vol. I, p. 140.
4. Qalqashandī, vol. VI, p. 219ff.
5. Ibid, vol. VI, p. 221; Rāghib, Muḥādarāt, vol. I., p. 102.
6. Qalqashandī, vol. VI, p. 221.
7. Ibid., vol. VI, p. 222; cf. Moritz, Arabic Palaeography, plate, 106.
8. Qalqashandī, vol. VI, p. 224; Nahḥās, “Sinā‘at al-Kuttāb,” Maurid, vol. II, p. 197.
9. Awā’il, vol. I, p. 80.
10. Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīh, Būlāq, bāb bad’ al-waḥy; Abū Daūd, vol. V, p. 348, kitāb al-adab, p. 128, no. 5136; Bukhārī, Adab, p. 383.
11. Ṣūlī, p. 144; Awā’il, vol. I, p. 88; Nahḥās, op. cit. p. 196.
12. Rusūm, p. 104.
13. Māwardī, Adab al-Qādī, vol. II, p. 147.
14. Rusūm, p. 104; cf. Nahḥās, op. cit. p. 196; Bukhārī, Adab, p. 382ff; Jahshiyārī, p. 25; Muwatta’, p. 696.
15. Qalqashandī, vol. VI, p. 333; see his letter to ‘Abd al-Qais in Wathā’iq, p. 95; cf. the letter of Qurrah to the people of Shubra in Grohmann, Arabic Papyri, vol. III, pp. 48, 51, 53, 54.
16. Rusūm, p. 104; Burhān, p. 337.
17. See for example the letter of Qurrah to Basīl, Grohmann, Arabic Papyri, vol. III, p. 19; Becker, NAPF, p. 257.
18. Nahḥās, op. cit., p. 196; Qalqashandī, vol. VI, p. 351.
19. Qalqashandī, vol. VI, pp. 229, 366.

20. Ṣinā'atain, p. 159; Qalqashandī, vol. VI, p. 320; Rusūm, p. 107.
21. Bukhārī, Adab, p. 379.
22. Qalqashandī, vol. VI, p. 225; Kalā'ī, Ṣan'at al-Kalām, p. 59; Burhān, p. 373; Ṣūlī, p. 40; cf. Grohmann, From the World of Arabic Papyri, p. 132.
23. See the letters of Qurrah in Grohmann, Arabic Papyri, vol. III, pp. 3-32.
24. Ṣūlī, p. 40.
25. See below.
26. Rusūm, p. 106; Āskarī, Awā'il, vol. I, p. 88.
27. Ṭabarī, vol. VI, p. 179.
28. Ṣūlī, p. 38; Ṣinā'atain, p. 159.
29. Qalqashandī, vol. VI, p. 225.
30. Bukhārī, Adab, p. 383.
31. Qalqashandī, vol. VI, p. 389.
32. See note 23 above.
33. Rusūm, p. 106; Durustuwaih, p. 131.
34. Durustuwaih, p. 131; Qalqashandī, vol. VI, p. 231.
35. Rusūm, p. 106; cf. note 23 above.
36. Rusūm, p. 107; Durustuwaih, p. 129.
37. Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ, bad'al waḥy, vol. VIII, p. 105; Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ, no. 32; cf. note 23 above.
38. 'Iqd, vol. IV, p. 159; cf. Mudabbir, Risāla, p. 26; Ṣūlī, p. 184.
39. Ṣūlī, p. 179f; Jahshiyārī, p. 20; Shamārīkh, p. 5f.
40. Jahshiyārī, p. 20; Shamārīkh, p. 4f; cf. Hamīdullāh, Wathā'iq, pp. 58, 251, 290; Balādhurī, Futūḥ, vol. I, p. 146f.
41. See the formula of the date in 'Iqd, vol. IV, p. 159; Ṣūlī, p. 182; Shamārīkh, p. 9; Mudabbir, p. 26.
42. Grohmann, Arabic Papyri, vol. III, pp. 6, 8 and Einführung, pp. 223-25, Chronologie, pp. 19-23.

CHAPTER TWO

SPECIMENS OF CHANCERY PRACTICE

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

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

ARABIC AND GREEK POPYRI:

The Arabic and Greek popyri deserve special attention for the following reasons: (a) They throw some light on Umayyad chancery practice undistorted by the prejudices of historians (2). (b) They are official documents sent almost entirely by Qurra b. Sharik who was the governor of Egypt from 90/709 - 96/714 (3). (c) They are almost certainly authentic though not necessarily originals (4). (d) They are very important with respect to epistolary format and style, for they coincide completely with the theoretical modes mentioned in the first chapter: each letter consists

of the introductory formulae (al-Basmala, al-'Unwān, al-Tahmīd, and Ammā ba'd), and the concluding formulae as well (In Shā'a Allāh, al-Salām, the name of the scribe and the date of letter). Thus, these letters give a reliable impression of chancery practice, unlike those transmitted in literature where this format does not appear clearly. As for the style, it is unrhymed and unstilted. With the exception of some words, the language is easy and straightforward (5).

1 - FROM QURRA B. SHARĪK TO BASĪL

(Concerning intrusion into a private dwelling)

- 1 - In the name of God, / the Compassionate, the Merciful.
- 2 - From Qurra b. / Sharīk to Basīl, the pagarch of
- 3 - Ashqau/. I praise God, besides whom
- 4 - there is no god. /
- 5 - Now then /, Dāūd b. Badā (?) (6) told me
- 6 - that the headman / (māzūt) of his village unjustly intruded into his place
- 7 - on the pretext / of recovering property and effects.
- 8 - On receiving /this letter, /
- 9 - bring them together. If what
- 10- I have been / told was true, insure
- 11- him his right, / and do not treat him unjustly.
- 12- And, expel / the headman forcibly from
- 13- the houses / of the peasants.
- 14- And peace / be upon him who follows the right guidance.
- 15- And al-Ṣalt b. Mas'ūd /has written (it) /
- 16- in the month of R/amaḍān of the year ninety (Jul.-Aug. 709).

1 بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
2 مِنْ قُرَّةِ بِنِ شَرِیْكِ اِلَى بَسِیْلِ حَكْبِ
3 اَشْقُوْدَ ذِی الْاَبْنِیِّ اَحْمَدَ اللّٰهَ الَّذِی
4 لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا هُوَ
5 اَمَّا بَعْدُ فَاِنَّ دَاوُدَ بِنَ بَدَا [.] اَخْبَرَنِیْ
6 اَنْ مَزُوْدًا قَرِیْبَةً دَخَلَ بَیْتَهُ
7 بِاَسْمَاءِ اَبَابٍ لَهٗ وَمَتَاعٍ ظَلْمًا
8 بِغَیْرِ حَقِّیْ فَاِذَا جَاءَكَ كَتَبِیْ
9 عِذَا فَاِجْمَعْ بَیْنَهُمَا فَاِنْ كَانَ
10 مَا اِذْ بَرَنِیْ حَقًّا فَاسْتَخْرِجْ
11 لَهٗ حَقَّهٗ وَلَا تَظْلِمَنَّ عِبْدَكَ
12 وَاَدْحَسِرْ الْمَزُوْدَ عَنْ
13 بَیْتِیْ اِلَّا اَنْبَاطًا دَحْرًا شَدِیْدًا
14 وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَیْ مَنْ اَتَّبَعَ الْهَدٰی
15 وَكَتَبْتُ اِلَیْكَ یَوْمَ مَسْعُوْدٍ
16 فِی رَمَضَانَ سَنَةِ تِسْعِیْنَ

Becker, PAF, p. 74f.

COMMENTARY

This letter broaches an important problem concerning the security and protection of the public against the aggression of headmen of the villages. In this case Dāūd b. Badā (?) made a complaint against the headman of his village who intruded into his place. Qurra instructed Basīl to investigate the complaint according to Islamic law (7) by asking Dāūd to substantiate his allegation. This rule does not appear clearly in this case, but it is well illustrated in other letters (8). If the plaintiff did so, the administrator should insure him his right. The most important thing in this case is the order from Qurra to Basīl to avoid injustice, for the plaintiff was one of the peasants (anbāt), while the defendant was the headman of the village. Hence,

Qurra was very strict with respect to the conduct of the village headmen.

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

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

affairs in a small village, or for the pagarch who was entrusted with the administrative affairs in a big district like Ashqau.

NOTES

1. See for example, Jamhara , vol. II, p. 272, no. 316; p. 303, no. 398; p. 307, no. 407; p. 309, no. 408.
2. For details see, Jeffery in his review of the Qurra papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute, by Abbott, in The Muslim World, vol. XX, 1940, pp. 189-191.
3. Ibid, p. 190
4. It is mentioned in one of the Greek papyri letters no. 134 that Qurra ordered Basīl to read his letter to all the people of the district and to charge them to write a copy of it to each place and to publish it in their churches. Accordingly, it might be that these letters are not the the original ones, though they are still, of course, authentic. (H.I. Bell, "Translations of the Greek Aphrodito papyri in the British Museum", Der Islam, 1911, vol. II, p. 275.)
5. See below, the commentary.
6. The remnant of the last letter of this name may not suit "Baddā" suggested by Becker (PAF, p. 75). The remnant of the last letter could be read (س), and thus the full name could be (Badās) or (Baddās).
7. See the letter of 'Umar I to Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī concerning jurisdiction and the functions of the judge in Jamhara, vol. I., p.
8. See for example, Grohmann, Arabic papyri, vol. III, p. 34, no. 155; Becker, NAPF, p. 260, no. VIII.
9. See for anbat, Lisan, s.v. nabata; Grohmann, Arabic Papyri, vol. III, p. 32; Becker, PAF, p. 74, no. I, p. 77, no. II; NAPF, p. 260, no. VIII.
10. Abbott, Qurra Papyri, p. 63f; Ibn Taghrībardī, al-Nujūm al-Zāhira, Lieden, 1851, vol. I, p. 242; 'Adawī, MTM, vol. XI, p. 53.
11. Grohmann, Arabic Papyri, vol. III, p. 32; Becker, PSR, vol. I, p. 92, 94.
12. Grohmann, Arabic Papyri, vol. III, p. 18; Becker, PAF, p. 76, no. II; 'Adawī, MTM, vol. XI, p. 58.
13. Becker, PAF, p. 76; PSR, vol. I, p. 78, 94.

2 - FROM QURRA TO BASĪL CONCERNING POLL-TAX COLLECTION

1 - In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful/

2 - /From Qurra b. Sharīk to Basīl/

3 - /pagarch of Ashqau. I praise/

4 - /God, besides whom there is no/

5 - god. Now then, A

6 - 1 - Qāsim b. Sayyār the post-

7 - master, reported to me

8 - that you dealt harshly with some of the villages

9 - in your district on account of what is

10- due from them of the poll-tax. On

11- receiving this letter,

12- do not bother any

13- of them on any account until I instruct

14- you with respect to them, if God

15- will. And peace be

16- upon him who follows

17- the right guidance. And Muslim has written (it)

18- in the month of Rabi' I

19- of the year ninety one (Jan.-Feb. 710).

- ١ [بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم]
- ٢ [من قرة بن شريك الى بسيل]
- ٣ [صحب اشقوه فاني احمد]
- ٤ [الله الذي [لا] [ا] له الا]
- ٥ هو اما بعد فان ا
- ٦ لقاسم بن سيار صا
- ٧ حب البريد ذكر لي
- ٨ انك اخذت قر
- ٩ ا في ارضك بالذي
- ١٠ عليهم من الجزية فاذا
- ١١ جاك كتي هذا
- ١٢ فلا تعترضن احدا
- ١٣ منهم بشاي حتى احدث
- ١٤ اليك فيهم ان شا
- ١٥ الله و السلم
- ١٦ على من اتبع
- ١٧ الهدى وكتب مسلم
- ١٨ في شهر ربيع الأول
- ١٩ سنة احدى وتسعين

COMMENTARY

The content of this letter consists of two important problems: (a) the functions of the postmaster (ṣāhib al-barīd) in the Umayyad period. (b) The method of collecting and assessing poll-tax.

(a) - The functions of the postmaster:

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

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

It is not mentioned in the letter what kind of punishment Basīl inflicted on the villages, but merely that Qurra ordered him to stop, promising to send a letter including his instructions with respect to them. Unfortunately, this complementary letter has not been preserved, but there is a letter amongst the Greek papyri that could be considered as a complementary letter to the Arabic one, for the Greek letter deals with the same subject and contains detailed instructions with respect to the collecting and assessment of the poll-tax. According to the Greek letter, Qurra instructed Basīl to fear God and preserve justice and equity in the assessment of the quota

imposed upon the people. Qurra also ordered Basīl to send him a register containing particulars as to the amount assigned to each person, showing the name and patronymic and place of residence of those who assessed the said tax. Moreover, Qurra warned Basīl not to cheat the people of his district in the matter of tax distributed by him (Basīl), nor to show any preference or antipathy to any one in the assessment of the said tax, but to treat each with justice and assess him according to his means (4).

Therefore, the statement "أَخَذتَ قَرِيَّ (قُرَى) فِي أَرْضِكَ بِالَّذِي عَلَيْهِمُ مِنَ الْجَزْيَةِ" could be understood that Basīl afflicted the villages by showing antipathy to them with respect to the amount of assessment. His warning to Basīl reads: "if we find that the assessors have assessed any one too lightly through partiality or too heavily through antipathy, we shall requite them both in their persons and in their estates by God's command (5). On the other hand, Grohmann suggests that the term "akhadhta" means "fined" (6).

NOTES

1. Concerning this name, Grohmann mentions that the remnants of letters at the beginning of the line do not suit (al-Walīd) suggested by Becker. The name is surely to be read (al-Qāsim b. Sayyār). See, Grohmann, Arabic Papyri, vol. III, p. 28, no. 153; c.f. Becker, NAPF, p. 259, no. VI.
2. For more details see, Qudāma, al-Kharāj wa Ṣanʿat al-kitāba, p. 48; Qalqashandi, vol. XIV, p. 369; Saʿdāwī, Barīd; Margoliouth, Catalogue, p. 29.
3. Al-Kharāj wa Ṣanʿat al-Kitāba, p. 48.
4. Bell, Papyri, no. 1345, no. 1356.
5. Ibid., no. 1345.
6. Grohmann, Arabic Papyri, vol. III, p. 29.

3 - FROM QURRA TO BASĪL CONCERNING THE JĀLIYA

- 1 - /In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful./
- 2 - /From Qurra b. Sharik/
- 3 - /t/o /Basīl, pagar/ch /of Ashqau. I/
- 4 - praise God, besides whom there /is no
- 5 - god./
- 6 - Now then, Hishām b. ‘Uma/r/ (1)
- 7 - reported to me, in writing,
- 8 - that some of the people in his district have emigrated
to yours.
- 9 - I have instructed
- 10- the factors
- 11- not to give shelter to an emigrated person. On
- 12- receiving this letter,
- 13- return his
- 14- emigrants to him.
- 15- I do not wish to hear again that you have sent back
his messengers
- 16- or that he has written
- 17- complaints against you to me. And peace be
- 18- upon him who follows the right guidance. And Yazīd
- 19- has written (it) in Jumādā II
- 20- of the year ninety one (Apr - May 710)

- ١ [بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم]
- ٢ [من قرة بن شريك]
- ٣ [ال] [بسبب] [اشقوه فاني ا]
- ٤ حمد الله الذي لا [اله الا]
- ٥ هو
- ٦ اما بعد فان هشام بن عمه [ر]
- ٧ كتب الى يذكر
- ٨ جالية له بارضك
- ٩ وقد تقدمت ال[ى]
- ١٠ العيال وكتبت اليهم
- ١١ الا يور جاليا فاذا
- ١٢ جاك كتبي هذا
- ١٣ فادفع اليه ما كان
- ١٤ له بارضك من جاليته
- ١٥ ولا أعرفن ما رددت
- ١٦ رسله او كتب الى
- ١٧ يشتيك والسلم
- ١٨ على من اتبع الهدى وكتب
- ١٩ يزيد في جمادى الاخره
- ٢٠ سنة احدى وتسعين

COMMENTARY

It is a serious problem which this letter deals with, and it was common in the Umayyad period, both in Egypt and Irāq as well. This problem is the jāliya (pl. jawālī), those people who used to emigrate from their villages to other places. Hence, it might be useful to expound the meaning of jāliya. Grohmann, Becker, and Bell suggest that jāliya means fugitives (1), though the term jāliya in this letter does not indicate the sense of fugitives, who usually run away from injustice, danger, slavery and possibly from taxes. According to the Arabic lexicon, jāliya has two meanings: (a) the persons who emigrated from their homes; (b) The Dhimmis who were forced to emigrate from their homes by 'Umar I. Then it was applied to the Dhimmis who used to pay poll-tax, though they have not emigrated from their homes. You say: "so and so was employed as a collector of the poll-tax" (أَسْتَعْمَلَ فُلَانٌ عَلَى الْجَالِيَةِ) (أَيْ عَلَى هِزْبَةٍ أَوْ هَلِ الذَّمَّةُ) (2). According to that, jāliya may refer to the emigrant peasants (including Muslims and Dhimmis) who, for some reason, had emigrated their districts. However, the question is, why did they emigrate from their districts? Tritton suggests that one of the main reasons was burden of taxation (3). This suggestion could be convincing, but could they, by emigrating their districts, evade paying taxes? It seems difficult for these jāliya to evade paying the taxes, for Qurra instructed Basīl to make a register of these jāliya, specifying the name and patronymic of each, the place of his origin, the district and pagarchy to which he emigrated, and the amount of each man's property, both personal and

real (4). Besides, it is mentioned through these papyri that Qurra, several times, instructed Basīl to fear God in the assessment of taxes as aforementioned (5). On the other hand, some Greek papyri, dealing with this problem, mentioned that some of the emigrants were allowed to remain where they settled on condition of contributing (to the tax) (6).

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

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

NOTES.

1. If the term jāliya refers to the emigrant peasants, Hishām b. 'Umar could be an ordinary administrator, but otherwise, if the term refers to the Dhimmis, Hishām could be an official employed as a collector of the poll-tax.
2. Grohmann, Arabic Papyri, vol. III, p. 26, no. 151; Becker, NAPF, p. 258, no. V; Bell, "Aphrodito Papyri", JHS, vol. XXVIII, 1908, p. 107f.
3. Lisān, s.v. jalaya.
4. Tritton, The Caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects, p. 134; c.f. Abbott, Kurra papyri, p. 97f; Dennett, Conversion, p. 110f.
5. Bell, Papyri, no. 1343, 1345.
6. Ibid., no. 1356. See also above, the commentary on the previous letter.
7. Ibid., no. 1333, 1343.
8. Bell, Aphrodito Papyri, p. 107.
9. Abbott, Kurra Papyri, p. 97.
10. See for example, Ṭabari, vol. VI, p. 381; Balādhuri, Ansāb, vol. II, p. 336; 'Amad, Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, p. 466ff.; al-Ma'ādidi, Wāsīt fī al-'Asr al-Umawī, p. 393f.

INSHĀ', ADAB, AND BALĀGHA:

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

1 - FROM ḤAJJĀJ TO QUTAIBA B. MUSLIM

(Concerning the public welfare)

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

”إِذَا أُرِفَ خَرَايُجُكَ فَانظِرْ لِرَعِيَّتِكَ فِي مَصَالِحِهَا ،
فَبَيَّتُ الْمَالُ أَشَدَّ أَضْطِرَاعًا بِذَلِكَ مِنَ الْأَرْمَلَةِ وَالْيَتِيمِ وَذِي الْعِيْلَةِ“

'Iqd, vol. IV, p. 218.

COMMENTARY

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

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

NOTES

1. See for example, Māwardī, Aḥkām, p. 149; 'Iqd, vol. IV, p. 218; Balādhuri, Ansāb, vol. VII, p. 23; Ṭabarī, vol. VI, p. 569; Ya'qūbī, vol. II, p. 291; c.f. Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, pp. 279, 285f.
2. Ibn 'Asākir, Tārīkh, vol. VII, p. 152; Jāhiz, Bayān, vol. II, p. 162.
3. Aṣfahānī, Muḥādarāt, vol. I, p. 276.
4. Ibn Rusta, al-A'lāq al-nafīsa.

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

(Concerning the poet 'Adī b. al-Riqā')

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

لما ولي سليمان بن عبد الملك كتب إلى عامله بالأردن: أجمع يدي على بن
الرقاع إلى عنقه وابث به إلى علي قتب بلا وطاء ، ووكّل به من ينخس به

'Iqd, vol. II, p. 178

COMMENTARY

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

مَعَاذَ رَبِّي أَنْ نَبْقَى وَنَفْقَدَا
وَأَنْ نَكُونَ لِرَاعٍ بَعْدَهُ تَبَعًا

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

shepherd."''

مَعَاذَ رَبِّي أَنْ نَبْصِيَ وَنَفْقِدَهُمْ وَأَنْ نَكُونَ لِرَاعٍ بَعْدَهُمْ تَبَعًا

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

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

NOTES

1. ‘Iqd, vol. II, p. 178.
2. Aghānī, vol. IX, p. 307; c.f. Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi‘r wal-Shu‘arā, vol. II, p. 618; Daif, al-‘Asr al-Islāmi, p. 343.
3. Al-A‘lām, vol. V, p. 10.
4. See the sources in note 2.

3 - FROM QUTAIBA B. MUSLIM TO SULAIMĀN B. 'ABD AL-MALIK

(Concerning the deposition of Sulaimān)

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

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

المدني قال : لما بلغ قتيبة بن مسلم أن سليمان يريد عزله عن خراسان واستعمال يزيد بن المهلب كتب اليه ثلاث صحائف ، وقال للرسول : ادفع اليه هذه ، فان دفعها

الي يزيد فدفع اليه هذه . فان شقني عند قراءتها فدفع اليه الثالثة . فلما صار اليه الرسول دفع اليه الكتاب الأول وفيه : يا أمير المؤمنين ، إن من بلائي في طاعة أبيك وطاعتك وطاعة أخيك كيت وكيت .^{٤٤} فدفع كتابه الي يزيد فأعطاه الرسول الكتاب الثاني وفيه : يا أمير المؤمنين . تأمن ابن دحمة على أسرارك ولم يكن أبوه يأمنه على أمهات أولاده !^{٤٥} فشم قتيبة . فدفع اليه الرسول الكتاب الثالث وفيه : من قتيبة بن مسلم الي سليمان ابن عبد الملك . سلام على من اتبع الهدى أما بعد فواته لأوثقن لك أخية لا يترعها المنهر الأرين .^{٤٦} قال سليمان : عجلنا على قتيبة . يا غلام ، جدد له عهده على خراسان .

Ibn Qutaiba, 'Uyūn al-Akhbār, vol. I, pp. 196f.

COMMENTARY

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

Ṭabarī mentions two different versions of this story. The first is related on the authority of Madā'ini, who asserted that Qutaiba wrote to Sulaimān a letter congratulating him on his accession, consoling him for the death of Walīd, and enumerating his services as evidence of his stringent obedience to 'Abd al-Malik and Walīd, and that he will be obedient to Sulaimān provided that he

has not discharged him from his post. In the second letter, Qutaiba reminded Sulaimān that he had conquered much territory and caused such harm to his enemies, that the foreign rulers both revered and feared him. In addition to that, Qutaiba disparaged Muhallab and his family and threatened Sulaimān that he will depose him if he has appointed Yazīd b. al-Muhallab over Khurāsān. The third letter, as Madā'inī claimed, involved the deposition of Sulaimān (2).

The second version is related on the authority of Abū 'Ubaida Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā who asserted that Qutaiba, in his first letter to Sulaimān, tried to create enmity and hatred between Sulaimān and Yazīd by mentioning that Yazīd was perfidious, infidel, and ungrateful, while he praised him in the second letter. In the third letter he said: "If you do not confirm me in my position and give me safe conduct, I will discard you and dispose of you like an old shoe, and bring a full-scale insurrection against you(3).

« لَئِن لَّمْ تُقَرِّبْ عَلَيَّ مَا كُنْتُ عَلَيْهِ ، وَتَوْفَّقَنِي لِذِي الْفُلَيْسَةِ فَخَلَعُ النِّعْلَ ،
وَلَا مَلَأْتُهَا عَلَيْكَ خَيْلًا وَرَجُلًا »

It is noticeable that the version of Madā'inī in Tabarī is related without mentioning the text of letters. Yet, the content differs widely from the version of Mada'ini as transmitted elsewhere. Abū 'Ubaida in Tabarī merely mentioned the text of the third letter which is widely different from the third letter mentioned in 'Uyūn al-akhbār for instance. Thus, it is easy for the truth to disappear amidst these contradictory versions. Now, the question is did Qutaiba, really, write these letters to Sulaimān? Are these letters authentic or forged? To find an answer

to these questions, it may be useful to follow the story from its very beginning.

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

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

(d) Moreover, the three letters have a proleptic touch, i.e., they were written according to the attitude of Sulaimān towards Qutaiba. This proleptic character may indicate the inauthenticity of these letters. Therefore, it may be useful to discuss the content of the three letters.

Qutaiba, in the first letter, addressed Sulaimān using his official title "Commander of the Faithful". After that he reminded him of his services and obedience to the family of 'Abd al-Malik using the phrase "such and such" (kaita wa kait), which may not be acceptable in an official letter, for he should mention in detail these services.

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

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

Finally, Qutaiba could have rebelled against Sulaimān and have been killed for that by his army as Madā'inī mentioned (10). It also seems probable that Qutaiba sent a

letter or letters to Sulaiman, but surely not these letters. Therefore, according to the above-mentioned argument, it is hardly possible to accept these letters as authentic, and as specimens of Umayyad chancery practice.

NOTES

1. Ṭabari, vol. VI, p. 506.
2. Ibid., p. 507.
3. Ibid., p. 508.
4. Ibid., p. 500ff.
5. See for example, Ṭabari, col. VI, p. 196; and see below.
6. Ṭabari, vol. VI, p. 508.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Bidayā, vol. IX, p. 43.
10. Ṭabari, vol. VI, p. 508ff.

4 - FROM 'UMAR B. 'ABD AL-AZĪZ TO THE AMSĀR

(GARRISON CITIES)

(Concerning the consumption of nabīdh = intoxicants)

After Ibn 'Abd Rabbih discussed the difference between wine and nabīdh (infusion), he mentioned the letter of 'Umar II to the garrison cities with regard to nabīdh which reads (1): "Now then, the people have so become accustomed to the forbidden drink that they became imprudent and mindless. Due to that, killing and adultery are lawful. Some of those who used to drink of that forbidden drink said, 'we have drunk ṭilā' (expressed juice of grapes cooked until the quantity of two-thirds has gone by evaporation), so there is no objection to drink it'. Upon my life, there is an objection with respect to what God has forbidden. The sawīq (a kind of mush made of wheat or barley), raisins and date, which are lawful, are the alternative drinks. But as for nabīdh (infusion) of honey, date and raisins, they should be infused in waterskins which are free from pitch and should be drunk before they become intoxicating (i.e., as long as they are sweet), for it has come to my knowledge that the Prophet forbade drinking of what have been infused in clay jars, dubbā' (the empty skin of a gourd), and containers lined with pitch. He said: "All drinks that intoxicate are unlawful to drink". Therefore, dispense with the forbidden drinks and you can drink the permissible ones.

"I have forbidden you to drink wine and the like-- such as ṭilā', drinks that infused in clay jars, dubbā'

and the pitch-lined containers--and every intoxicating drink which constitutes proof (of transgression) against you. Therefore, it is good for those who obey the orders, and we will punish those who publicly disobey. And God will punish those who hide from us, for He watches over all things. And those who hide from us, surely God is the Strongest in might and the Strongest in chastisement."

رسالة عمر بن عبد العزيز إلى أهل
الامصار في الانبذة ﴿ أما بعد فإن الناس كان منهم في هذا الشراب المحرم أمر ساءت أهل
فيه رغبة كثير منهم حتى سفوا آلامهم وأذهب عقولهم فاستعمل به الدم الحرام وفرج آمت
المراثر وإن دجا لآمتهم من بهيب ذلك الشراب يقولون شرنا طلاء فلا بأس علينا بخرج
في شربه ولعمري ان فيما قرأت مما حرم الله بأسا وان في الأشربة التي أحبل الله من لبننا
العسل والسويق والنبيد من الزبيب والتمر لمندوحسة عن الأشربة الحرام غير ان كل من
ما سكا ان من نبيد العسل والتمر والزبيب فلا يند الا في أسقية الا دم التي لازفت فيها بل
ولا يشرب منها ما يسكر فإنه بلغنا ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم نهى عن شرب ما يجعل فيها
في الجرار والديباء والظروف المزينة وقال كل مسكر حرام فاستغنوا عما أهل لكم مما حرم الله
عليكم وقد أردت بالذي شهيت عنه من شرب الخمر وما صارع الخمر من الطلاء وما يجعل في حرم
الديباء والجرار والظروف المزينة وكل مسكر اتخذ الحجة عليكم فمن يطع منكم فهو خير له من
ومن يخالف إلى ما نهى عنه تعاقبه على العلانية ويكفينا الله ما أمر فإنه على كل شيء رقيب
ومن استخفى بذلك عفا فإن الله أشد بأسا وأشد تكديلا ﴿
ومن استخفى بذلك عفا فإن الله أشد بأسا وأشد تكديلا ﴿

COMMENTARY

This letter deals with a serious controversial problem concerning tilā' and nabīdh, so it may be useful to explain their exact meaning.

Al-Tilā':

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

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

In this letter, 'Umar II did not tell us what is the nature of the forbidden tilā', but, fortunately, there is another letter from 'Umar II to the people of Baṣra which reads: "Do not drink tilā' until its two-thirds has gone, and one third has remained, and every drink

that intoxicates is unlawful to drink." This brief letter could be the genuine one that was sent by 'Umar II and the rest of the letter may have been interpolated by the fukahā'. Besides, this brief letter contradicts the version of 'Iqd where 'Umar II regarded tilā' as a wine without mentioning its cooking. But otherwise, if it is not cooked until the quantity of two-thirds has gone by evaporation, it will be intoxicating and, in this case, it is forbidden as 'Umar II mentioned.

Al-Nabīdh:

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

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

Nabīdh is always mentioned together with special

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

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

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

NOTES

1. I had to use this edition of Iqd because this letter of 'Umar II is not mentioned in the other edition mentioned in the second group of my sources.
2. Muwatta', p. 610, no. 1543.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, Sirat 'Umar, p. 97f.
5. Nasā'ī, Sunan, vol. II, p. 326.
6. Lisān, s.v. nabadha; Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ, vol. VI, p. 232.
7. Bukhārī, vol. VI, p. 232f; Nasā'ī, vol. II, p. 327.
8. Musnad, vol. I, p. 369; See the opinion of 'Umar I in Muwatta', p. 644, no. 1611.
9. Nasā'ī, vol. II, p. 329.
10. Ibid.
11. Tabaqāt, vol. V, p. 276.
12. Nasā'ī, vol. II, p. 327.
13. Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ, vol. VI, p. 231; Nasā'ī, vol. II, p. 327; Muwatta', p. 608, no. 1534; Musannaf, vol. IX, p. 199.
14. Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ, vol. VI, p. 231f; Nasā'ī, vol. II, p. 327; Tirmidhī, vol. V, p. 608f.
15. Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ, vol. VI, p. 231f; Muwatta', p. 324, no. 1042; Nasā'ī, vol. II, p. 329.
16. The version of Ibn Jauzī of this letter ended with Salām, see, Manāqib 'Umar II, p. 66.

5 - FROM HISHĀM B. ʿABD AL-MALIK TO HIS BROTHER MASLAMA

(Concerning purging the army of corruption)

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

وكتب الى مسلمة بن عبد الملك: ^{طهر}
عسكرك من أهل الفساد فإن الله لا يصلاح عمل المفسدين

Thaʿālibī, al-Iʿjāz wal-Ījāz, p. 73.

COMMENTARY

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

It seems that Hishām did not mention what kind of corruption because the context here was well known to both of them. According to the Arabic lexicon, the term fasād (corruption) could be applied to several things e.g., (a) opposite to goodness, piety and probity; (b) evil deeds and sins; (c) accepting a bribe. Thus, corruption in this letter could be applied to one of these meanings or to all of them (3).

On the other hand, Tha'ālibī transmitted this letter in his book because it involves pithy sayings in a few words, but this need not indicate its authenticity, for the early sources did not mention it. On the other hand, there is no objection to accepting it as authentic.

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

NOTES

1. See for example, Ṭabari, vol. VI, pp. 181, 426, 429, 530ff.
2. Qur'ān, 10:81
3. For more details concerning fasād, see Ṭabari, Tafsīr, vol. I, p. 97; Qurṭubī, al-Jāmi' li Aḥkām al-Qur'ān, vol. I, p. 202, vol. VII, pp. 226, 248; Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr, vol. II, p. 48.
4. Kātib, Burhān, p. 350f; Qalqashandī, vol. VI, p. 306.

THE HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS:

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

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

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

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

وَكَتَبَ عَبْدُ الْمَلِكِ إِلَى بِيْشْرِ بْنِ مَرْوَانَ :
”أَمَّا بَعْدُ . فَإِنِّي قَدْ كَتَبْتُ إِلَى خَالِدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ أَمْرُهُ بِالنَّهْضِ إِلَى
الْخَوَارِجِ : فَسَرِّحْ إِلَيْهِ خَمْسَةَ آلَافِ رَجُلٍ . وَابْعَثْ عَلَيْهِمْ رَجُلًا مِنْ قِبَلِكَ
تَرْضَاهُ ، فَإِذَا قَضَوْا غَزَاتِهِمْ تِلْكَ صَرَفْتَهُمْ إِلَى الرَّيِّ فَتَاتَلَكُوا عَدُوَّهُمْ ،
وَكَانُوا فِي مَسَالِحِهِمْ ، وَجَبَّوْا فِيهِمْ حَتَّى تَأْتِيَ أَيَّامَ عَقَبَتِهِمْ فَتُحَقِّقُهُمْ (١٧)
وَتَبْعُثَ آخِرِينَ مَكَانِهِمْ .“

COMMENTARY

Ṭabarī reported that the warfare between Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, under the command of Ibn al-Zubair, and the Azariqa, one of the khārijites' sects, lasted several years (66/686 - 72/691) (3). When Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubair was killed (72/691), 'Abd al-Malik appointed his brother Bishr over Kūfa. Bishr sent an army under the command of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd Allāh b. Asīd, the brother of Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh, to fight the Azāriqa who badly defeated the army (4). Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh, the governor of Baṣra at the time, reported to 'Abd al-Malik upon the defeat, seeking his advice (5).

Because of not sending Muhallab to fight against the Azāriqa, 'Abd al-Malik, in his letter to Khālid, called him a fool and ordered him to consult Muhallab promising to write to his brother Bishr to reinforce his army by sending men from Kūfa (6). Fulfilling his promise, 'Abd al-Malik wrote to his brother Bishr the letter in question. With respect to this case, it is worth mentioning that Wellhausen assumed that 'Abd al-Malik, after the defeat of Khālid's brother, deposed Khālid and gave his brother Bishr control over Baṣra in addition to Kūfa (7), while Ṭabarī mentioned that Bishr was given the control over Kūfa in 74/693, i.e., two years after the date of these events (8). On the other hand, the letters between 'Abd al-Malik, Khālid, and Bishr, if they are authentic, indicate that there was a kind of cooperation between Khālid and Bishr b. Marwān in order to put an end to the Azāriqa (9). Bishr, carrying out his brother's order, enlisted five

thousand men under the command of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Al-Ash'ath (10) and instructed him to go to Rayy after accomplishing his raid giving him control over it(11).

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

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

NOTES

1. See for example, Dhahabī, Mughnī, vol. I, p. 35, no. 250; vol. II, p. 449, no. 4282, p. 502, no. 4840; c.f. Dixon, The Umayyad caliphate, p. 6.
2. See below the letter of Hishām to Yūsuf b. ‘Umar concerning Zaid b. ‘Alī.
3. Ṭabarī, vol. XI, p. 168.
4. Ibid., p. 168f.
5. Ibid., p. 170.
6. Ibid., p. 171.
7. J. Wellhausen, Religio-Political, p. 62.
8. Ṭabarī, vol. XI, p. 195.
9. Ibid., p. 170ff.
10. Wellhausen mentioned that the commander was ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf; see Religio-Political, p. 62.
11. Ṭabarī, vol. XI, p. 171.
12. Ibid., p. 173
13. The limited period was estimated at four to twelve months, see, Ṣāliḥ, Nuzum, p. 497; Abū Dāūd, vol. III, p. 364, no. 2960.
14. Kharāj, pp. 115, 117; Ṭabarī, vol. IV, p. 204; Musnad, vol. I, p. 287, no. 286; Baiḥaqī, vol. IX, p. 29; c.f. Kāmil, vol. II, p. 308, where he mentioned that it is Abū Bakr who created that system.

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

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

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

وكتب إلى عبد الملك :

”أما بعد : فإن جند أمير المؤمنين الذين بسجستان أصيبوا فلم

يتج منهم إلا القليل . وقد اجترأ العدو بالذي أصابه على أهل الإسلام

فدخلوا بلادهم : وغلبوا على حصونهم وقصورهم ، وقد أردت أن أوجه إليهم

جنداً كثيراً من أهل المصيرين . فأحييت أن أستطلع رأي أمير المؤمنين في

ذلك : فإن رأيت لي بعنة ذلك الجند أمضيت . وإن لم ير ذلك فإن

أمير المؤمنين أراي بجنده ، مع أني أتخوف إن لم يأت رتبيل ومن معه من

المشركين جنداً كثيراً عاجلاً أن يستولوا على ذلك الفرج كنه ؟

COMMENTARY

This letter is a brief military report with respect to what happened to the Muslims in a battle between them and Rutbīl's army. The details of the battle are related by Ṭabarī as follows: Ḥajjāj appointed 'Ubaid Allāh b. Abī Bakra over Sijistān in 78/697. In 79/698, Ḥajjāj instructed 'Ubaid Allāh to invade Rutbīl's territory. After achieving some victory and obtaining some spoils, the Islamic army found itself besieged by the Turks. Thus, 'Ubaid Allāh found himself in so weak a position that he was forced to make peace with Rutbīl and to pay him 700 thousand dirhams. But Shuraiḥ b. Ḥānī', the leader of the Kūfan troops, rejected this peace and continued fighting until most of the army was killed (1). Since Shuraiḥ was followed merely by the Kūfans, or only a few men as Ibn Kathīr mentioned (2), it is puzzling that most of the Umayyad army was killed. On the other hand, it is not related that the Baṣrans followed Shuraiḥ, and in this case, they must have survived. Thus, because of the illogicality and ambiguity of the versions with respect to this battle, one inclines to be reluctant in accepting this account of the peace with Rutbīl.

However, according to the letter of Ḥajjāj, most of the Umayyad army was killed and Ḥajjāj had to report that to 'Abd al-Malik, recommending the dispatch of a massive army against Rutbīl. 'Abd al-Malik gave Ḥajjāj the permission to send that army under the command of a man to be chosen by Ḥajjāj (3).

It is worth mentioning that this letter indicates that sending an army to the battle field was the responsibility of the caliph himself, though the governor,

particularly Ḥajjāj, had complete authority over his district. In fact, Ḥajjāj did not merely consult ‘Abd al-Malik about the matter, but he expressed his own opinion, and forcibly, which must illustrate his distinguished position in the Umayyad era.

NOTES

1. Ṭabari, vol. VI, p. 323f.
2. Ibn Kathīr, Bidāya, vol. IX, p. 29.
3. Balādhurī, Ansāb, vol. XI, p. 318.

3 - FROM 'ABD AL-MALIK TO ḤAJJĀJ

(Concerning rebuilding the Ka'ba)

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

فكتب (١) إلى عبد
الملك بن مروان أن ابن الزبير زاد في البيت ما ليس منه ، وأحدث فيه باباً
آخر فكتب إليه يستأذنه في رد البيت على ما كان عليه في الجاهلية (٢) .
فكتب إليه عبد الملك بن مروان أن سد بابها الغربي ، الذي كان فتح ابن
الزبير ، وأهدم ما كان زاد فيها من الحجر ، وأكسبها به على ما كانت
عليه .

Azraqī, Akhbār Makka
vol. I, p. 210

COMMENTARY

According to the Qur'an, the Prophet Ibrāhīm and his son Ismā'īl were commanded by God to raise the foundations of the Ka'ba (1). Neither the Qur'an nor the traditions mention the length of its sides or the height. The Ka'ba was rebuilt in the pre-Islamic times when the Prophet Muḥammad (before his prophethood) placed the Black Stone in its position with his own hands (2). At that time, the early sources mentioned that the length of its sides were 40 x 35 feet, and the height was 50 feet (3). In 64/683 a fire broke out in the Ka'ba causing great damage to it (4). Due to that, Ibn al-Zubair demolished the Ka'ba and rebuilt it. Concerning this, there is a tradition

attributed to the Prophet which says that he had the intention to demolish the Ka'ba and rebuild it on the foundations of the Prophet Ibrāhīm, but the very recent conversion of the Meccans prevented him from undertaking such an innovation. According to that, Ibn al-Zubair included the Ḥijr in the building and added a new door on the west (5). Afterwards, when Ḥajjāj was appointed over Mecca, he reported to 'Abd al-Malik upon the action of Ibn al-Zubair asking him for permission to demolish what Ibn al-Zubair had done and to rebuild the Ka'ba on the foundations of Quraish. Executing the order of 'Abd al-Malik, Ḥajjāj walled up the western door and demolished six cubits (9 - 11 feet) and one single span (9 in.) of what adjoins the Ḥijr, i.e., he separated the Ḥijr from the Ka'ba. The demolished stones were used in filling the pits left outside the Ka'ba (6).

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

It may not be easy to answer accurately such questions, but it does not mean that one should not endeavor to find a reasonable solution to this problem. Therefore, it might be useful to examine the traditions that are attributed to the Prophet with respect to rebuilding the Ka'ba.

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

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

(c) The foundations of the Prophet Ibrāhīm is an ambiguous notion, for it is not mentioned in these traditions what the original shape of Ka'ba was. Azraqī mentioned that the Prophet Ibrāhīm built the Hījr near the building of the Ka'ba as an arbor where the sheep of his son Ismā'īl

used to be stabled (7), which means that the Hijr was not included in the building. Azraqī also mentioned that the Prophet Ibrāhīm made the length of the Ka'ba 32 cubits (48 feet), the width 22 cubits (33 feet), and the height 9 cubits (12 feet) (8). Moreover, he assumed that Ibn al-Zubair built the Ka'ba according to the measuring of the Prophet Ibrāhīm (9). But Azraqī himself mentioned that Ibn al-Zubair added to the height of the Ka'ba 9 cubits (12 feet) and so the total height became 27 cubits (40.5 feet) (10), while other sources mentioned that Quraish made the height 20 cubits (30 feet). Thus, Ibn al-Zubair added 7 cubits (10.5 feet) (11).

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

(2) It is assumed that 'Abd al-Malik had a talk with al-Hārith b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Rabi'a who claimed that he heard 'Ā'isha telling Ibn al-Zubair that the Prophet was intending to demolish the Ka'ba and rebuild it on the foundations of the Prophet Ibrāhīm. On hearing that, 'Abd al-Malik showed great repentance and said: "I wished I had left what he had done" (13). It seems that this report was related to support the authenticity of the traditions and to prove that Ibn al-Zubair was right,

while 'Abd al-Malik and Ḥajjāj were wrong. It is worth mentioning, in this connection, that 'Abd al-Malik was one of the four specialists of Islamic law in Medīna (14), which means that he must have been aware of such details. On the other hand, there is a tradition attributed to the Prophet on the authority of 'Ā'isha through al-Aswad b. Yazīd al-Nakhī, one of the Kūfan narrators, indicating that Ibn al-Zubair knew about the tradition of building the Ka'ba from al-Aswad not from his aunt 'Ā'isha directly (15).

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

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

(5) This individual judgement is also demonstrated clearly in the speech of Ibn al-Zubair himself when he said to the Meccans: "O people, advise me about the Ka'ba. Should I demolish it and then rebuild it, or should I repair whatever

has been damaged?" Ibn 'Abbās advised him to repair whatever had been damaged. But Ibn al-Zubair, after asking God for proper guidance in this problem, decided to demolish the Ka'ba and rebuilt it (17). This individual judgement of Ibn al-Zubair induced Ḥajjāj to write to 'Abd al-Malik telling him that Ibn al-Zubair built the Ka'ba after he had consulted reliable people (18). 'Abd al-Malik ordered Ḥajjāj to leave untouched what had been added to the length, but as for the Ḥijr, it should be rebuilt on its previous foundations (19).

NOTES

1. Qur'ān 2:127.
2. Azraqī, Akhbār Makka, vol. I, p. 157; Sira, vol. I, p. 182.
3. Azraqī, Akhbār Makka, vol. I, p. 206; Sirā, vol. I, p. 184; Ibn Hajar, Fath, vol. III, p. 345; c.f. I.E., vol. II, p. 584.
4. I am not dealing here with the causes of fire, for that, see Ṭabarī, vol. V., p. 498f; Azraqī, Akhbār Makka, vol. I, pp. 196-200; Khayyāt, vol. I, p. 318.
5. See Musnad, vol. VI, pp. 57, 113; Muwatta', p. 250, no. 810; Muslim, vol. II, p. 97; Bukhari, Sahih, vol. I, Kitāb al-'ilm, bāb 48.
6. See Batānūnī, al-Rihla al-Hijāzziyya, p. 104; Nahrawānī, I'lām, p. 83.
7. Azraqī, Akhbār Makka, vol. I, p. 64f.
8. Ibid., p. 64.
9. Ibid., p. 66.
10. Ibid., p. 209; c.f. the sources in note 3 above.
11. See Fath, vol. III, pp. 346-51.
12. See also, Khayyāt, vol. I, p. 345f; Nahrawānī, I'lām, p. 83.
13. Azraqī, Akhbār Makka, vol. I, p. 113; Muslim, vol. II, p. 99f.
14. Balādhruī, Ansāb, vol. XI, p. 163; Ibn Kathīr, Bidāya, vol. IX, p. 62.
15. Fath, vol. I, p. 181.
16. Ibid., vol. III, p. 153
17. Muslim, vol. IX, p. 98.
18. Ibid., p. 99.
19. Ibid., p. 99.

4 - FROM HISHĀM B. ʿABD AL-MALIK TO YŪSUF B. ʿUMAR

(Concerning the rebellion of Zaid b. ʿAlī)

Ṭabari reported that Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik wrote to Yūsuf b. ʿUmar with respect to Zaid b. ʿAlī: "Now then, you know that the Kūfans love the people of the Prophet's family and put them in a situation where they ought not to be, that they (the Kūfans) made incumbent upon themselves to be obedient to them, that the laws of their religion are based upon them, and that they ascribed to them the knowledge of what is existing to the extent that they induced them, seeking the disunion of the community, to rise in a rebellion. And Zaid b. ʿAlī has come to the Commander of the Faithful with a lawsuit against ʿUmar b. al-Walīd. The Commander of the Faithful adjudicated between them, finding him (Zaid) a man argumentative, rhetorical, capable of embellishing and falsifying speech, and completely winning men to his side by the sweetness of his tongue and the multiplicity of his arguments. Therefore, send him promptly to Ḥijāz and do not let him stay in your district, for if the people lent him their ears to fill them with the softness and sweetness of his speech, together with his kinship to the Prophet, he would find them well disposed towards him, their hearts would not tarry in supporting him, their minds would not be tranquil, and their religions (laws) would not be protected. Dealing intolerantly with him would cause harm to him, but sending him out (of Kūfa) unharmed-- for the safety of the community, sparing their blood, and security from disunion--is preferable to me than shedding their blood, than disunity of their community, and cutting off their posterity.

For the community is the strong tie (pact) of God and His true religion and His firm. Therefore, call for the nobles of your district and threaten that you will inflict punishment on their bodies and confiscate their properties. Doing such will make those with a contract or covenant tardy to support him. And, thus, he will not find anybody to rebel with him but the rabble and the people of Sawād and those oppressed by poverty seeking division in mutiny. Such people worship Iblīs (the Devil) and he enslaves them. Therefore, you have to threaten them, whip them, unsheath your sword against them, and frighten the noble men before the middle classes, and frighten the middle classes before the lowly people (riffraff).

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

The Commander of the Faithful would like to be excused as to Zaid after he gave him his right. Thus, he has no right to claim that he was treated unjustly with respect to his portion of fai' or his relatives' rights, except what the Commander of the Faithful was afraid of, e.g., inducing the lowly people to do what may make them more miserable and abject. Moreover, it is bitter for them while it is more noble and easier for the Commander of the

Faithful to protect and defend the religion. For he does not wish to see in his nation a condition of inequality that would be a warning example and a cause of destruction, but he always gives a respite, deals gently for the sake of guidance, keeps them from fears, leads them to the paths of guidance, and preserves them from dangers as the sympathetic father guards his sons and the kind shepherd cares for his flock. So know that your proof to them that makes you deserve the support of God, in the event of their stubbornness, is satisfying their ambitions, giving their children benefits, and prohibiting your soldiers from entering the privacy of their homes. Therefore, seize the opportunity of God's pleasure with regard to what you are going to do, for surely there is no sin that hastens the punishment (of God) but injustice. For the devil has ensnared them and urged and led them to it. And safety for him who abandons injustice is closer. The Commander of the Faithful seeks the help of God against them and others, asks his God and Lord to refine (straighten) what has been corrupted of them and to hasten them to salvation and success, for surely He hears and is near."

وذكر عن هشام بن عبد الملك ، أنه كتب إلى يوسف بن عمر في أمر زيد بن علي^(٥) : أما بعد فقد علمت بحال أهل الكوفة في حبسهم أهل هذا البيت ، ووضعهم إياهم في غير مواضعهم ؛ لأنهم افترضوا على أنفسهم طاعتهم ، ووظفوا^(٦) عليهم شرائع دينهم ، ونحلوه^(٧) علم ما هو كائن ؛ حتى حملوهم من تفريق الجماعة على حال استخفؤهم فيها إلى الخروج ، وقد قدم زيد بن علي^(٨) على أمير المؤمنين في خصومة عمر بن الوليد ، ففصل أمير المؤمنين بينهما ، ورأى رجلاً جده لا لسيناً خليقاً بتهويبه الكلام وصوغه ، واجترار الرجال بحلاوة لسانه ، وبكثرة مخارجه في حججه ، وما يدل به عند لئد^(٩) الخصاص من السطوة على الخصم بالقوة الحادة لنيل الفلاح^(١٠) ؛ فعجل إشخاصه إلى الحجاز ، ولا تخله والمقام قبيلك ؛ فإنه إن أعاره التوم أسماعتهم فحشاشا من ليين لفظه ، وحلاوة منطقته ، مع ما يدل به من القرابة برسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ، وجداهم ميثلاً إليه ؛ غير متمثلة قلوبهم ولا ساكنة أحلامهم ، ولا مصونة عندهم أديانهم ؛ وبعض التحامل عليه فيه أذى له ، وإخراجه وتركه مع السلامة للجميع والحقن للدماء والأمن للفرقة أحب إلى من أمر فيه سفك دمائهم ، وانتشار^(١١) كلمتهم وقطع نسائهم ؛ والجماعة حصيل الله المتين ، ودين الله القويم وعروته الوثقى ؛ فادع إليك أشرف أهل المصر ، وأوعدهم العقوبة في الأبخار^(١٢) ، واستصفاء^(١٣) الأموال ؛ فإن من له عقد أو عهد منهم سيمطى عنه ، ولا يخف معه إلا الرعاع وأهل السواد ومن تنهضه الحاجة ؛ استلذاذاً للفتنة ؛ وأولئك ممن يستعبد إبليس ؛ وهو يستعبدهم . فبادهم^(١٤) بالوعيد . وأعرضهم بسوطيك^(١٥) ، وجرّد فيهم سيفك ، وأخف الأشراف قبل الأوساط ، والأوساط قبل السفلة . واعلم أنك قائم على باب ألئمة ، وداع إلى طاعة ، وحاض على جماعة ، ومشمّر لدين الله ؛ فلا تستوحش لكثرتهم ، واجعل معقلاتك الذي تأوى إليه ، وصنوك^(١٦) الذي تخرج منه الثقة برّبك ، والغضب لدينك ، والمحاماة عن الجماعة ، ومناصبه من أراد كسّر هذا الباب الذي أمرهم الله بالدخول فيه ، والتشاح^(١٧) عليه ؛ فإن أمير المؤمنين قد أعذر إليه وقضى من ذماده^(١٨) ، فليس له منزى^(١٩) إلى ادعاء حتى هو له ظالمته من نصيب نفسه ، أو فيء ، أو صلة لدى قربي ، إلا الذي يخاف أمير المؤمنين من حتمل بادرة السفلة على الذي عسى أن يكونوا به أشقى وأضل ؛ ولهم أمر ، ولأمر المؤمنين أعز وأسهل إلى حياطة الدين والذب عنه ، فإنه لا يجب أن يرى في أمته حالاً متفاوتاً نكالا^(٢٠) طم مفنياً ؛ فهو يستديم النظرة ، ويتأتى للرشاد ، ويحتملهم على المخاوف ، ويستجرهم إلى

المراشد ، ويعمل بهم عن الميراثك ؛ فعمل الوالد الشفيق على ولده ، والرأعي
الخبير على رعيته .

واعلم أن من حجّتك عليهم في استحقاق نصر الله لك عند معاندتهم
توفيتك أطماعهم ، وأعطية ذريتهم ؛ ونهيك سبندك أن ينزلوا حرمةهم
ودورهم ؛ فانتبهز رضا الله فيما أنت بسبيله ؛ فإنه ليس ذنبٌ أسرع تعجيل
عقوبة من بغى ؛ وقد أوقعهم الشيطان ، ودلائهم فيه ، ردلتهم عليه ؛ والعصمة
بتارك البغي أولى ؛ فأمر المؤمنين يستعين الله عليهم وعلى غيرهم من رعيته ،
ويسأل إلهه وولاه ووليته أن يصلح منهم ما كان فاسداً ، وأن يسرع بهم إلى
النجاة والنسور ؛ إنه سميع قريب .

Ṭabarī, vol. VII, p. 170

COMMENTARY

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

(a) The version of Haitham b. 'Adī, who assumed that Zaid b. 'Alī, Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and Dāūd b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās came to Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī during his governorship over Irāq where he compensated (أَجَازَهُمْ) them and returned to Medīna. When Yūsuf b. 'Umar was appointed over Kūfa, he reported to Hishām telling him that Khālīd bought land from Zaid then he returned it to him. When Hishām investigated the case, they admitted that they had a compensation, but they denied everything about the land. Hishām believed them on their oath (1).

(b) The version of Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf, who claimed that Yazīd b. Khālīd

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

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

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

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

In fact, none of these versions indicates that Zaid decided to rebel against Hishām except possibly the version of setting Irāq on fire. Besides, these reasons, both logically and historically, may not be acceptable as motives to a rebellion, for it is noticeable that the claim of money against Zaid and his friends is based on a false assumption probably fabricated by the narrators. However, it is reported that Zaid rebelled against Hishām. If in fact he did, which is difficult to prove, according

to the contradictory material available, he might have done that for some other reason which, unfortunately, is not mentioned in the historical works available to us. It may be useful to examine the content of the letter.

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

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

Secondly, to avoid all these troubles with such opponents, and to gain the support of God against them, Hishām instructed Yūsuf to give them their rights, to give their children benefits, prohibit his soldiers from entering their homes, and particularly, to be fair with them. Fulfilling this policy, Hishām gave Zaid and his relatives their rights.

In this light, Zaid could have no reason to rebel against Hishām. However, it seems that this letter was formulated by pro-Umayyad theologians but, simultaneously, not anti-Zaidite.

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

NOTES

1. Ṭabarī, vol. VII, p. 160.

2. Ibid., p. 162.

3. Ibid., p. 162.

4. Ibid., p. 162f.

5. See, for example:

فَعَجَّلَ بِإِسْتِخَامِهِ إِلَيْكَ الْحَبَازَ ، وَلَا تُخَلِّهِ وَأُطْقَامَ قَبْلَكَ ؛
فِيَانَهُ لَرَنَ أُمَارَةَ الْقَوْمِ أَسْمَاعُهُمْ فَحَسَّاهَا مِنْ لِيْنِ لَفِظِهِ ، وَمَلَاوَةِ
مَنْطِقِهِ ... وَهَدَّاهُمْ مَسِيلًا وَإِلَيْهِ ، غَيْرَ مُتَّئِدَةٍ قُلُوبِهِمْ ، وَلَا سَاكِنَةَ أُمَّلَانِهِمْ ،
وَلَا مَصُونَةَ عِنْدَهُمْ أَدْيَانِهِمْ ...

6. Ṭabarī, vol. VII, p. 166; Wellhausen, Religio-Political, p. 162.

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

5 - FROM 'ĪSĀ B. ABĪ 'ATĀ'

TO THE TREASURERS OF THE EXCHEQUER

(Concerning the salary of judge 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sālīm)

Kindī reported that he found at the chancery of Banū Umayya (in Egypt) a receipt related to the reign of Marwān b. Muḥammad, the last Umayyad caliph, which reads: "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. From 'Īsā b. Abī 'Aṭā' to the treasurers. Pay judge 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sālīm his salary 20 dinars for the months of Rabi' I and Rabi' II of the year 131/748, and write a receipt for that. (It was) written on Wednesday the first night of the month of Rabi' I in the year 131/748".

قال أهل أبي سالم الجيشاني يقولون أنهم من معافر وفيها وجدت في ديوان بنى أمية براءة زمن مروان بن محمد فيها بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من عيسى بن أبي عطاء إلى خزان بيت المال فاعطوا عبد الرحمن بن سالم القاضي رزقه لشهر ربيع الأول وربيع الآخر سنة إحدى وثلاثين 15 ومائة عشرين ديناراً واكتبوا بذلك البراءة وكتب يوم الأربعاء ليلة خلت من ربيع الأول سنة إحدى وثلاثين ومائة *

Kindī, Quḍāt Misr, p. 46.

COMMENTARY

Despite the fact that this letter is preserved in a literary work, it comes fairly close to the formulae of the Arabic papyri which means that it might be authentic, and in this case, there is no objection to accept it as a specimen of Umayyad chancery practice. Its importance could be due to the following points: (a) Kindī mentioned that he found this letter at the Umayyad chancery in Egypt which

indicates that he copied it himself. It also indicates that material from the Umayyad chancery was preserved at the time of Kindī (350/961). (b) It illustrates one aspect of the financial system that was effective in the Umayyad period, namely the payment of salaries to officials, who used to be paid in advance for two months. But it is astonishing to find that judge 'Abd al-Raḥmān was paid merely 20 dinars for two months, while it is elsewhere reported that a judge was paid around 16 dinars or 500 dirhams per month (1). Kindī, perhaps, made a mistake when he copied the letter, i.e, he might had read 20 instead of forty. (c) Since the word (خَزَان) is not voweled, it could be read (khazzān sing). or (khuzzān pl.). If it is khuzzān, it indicates that there were more than one khāzin (treasurer) in the Egyptian treasury, a possible sign of the importance and size of treasury, and the complexity of the administrative system in Egypt at the end of the Umayyad period.

NOTES

1. See for example, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, Futūh Misr, p. 235; Kindī, Qudāt Misr, p. 15; Tabaqāt, vol. VI, p. 95.

HADĪTH AND FIQH WORKS:

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

1 - FROM MU'AWIYA TO MARWAN B. AL-HAKAM

(Concerning homicide by a mad man)

Mālik b. Anas, on the authority of Yahyā b. Sa'id, reported that Marwān b. al-Ḥakam wrote to Mu'āwīya b. Abī Sufyān informing him that he was brought a man convicted of homicide. Mu'āwīya wrote to him: "Let him pay blood money for that, and do not retaliate against him, for

there is no talio upon a mad man."

١٥٤٩ - عن يحيى بن سعيد: أَنَّ مَرَوَانَ بْنَ الْحَكَمِ كَتَبَ إِلَى
مُعَاوِيَةَ بْنِ أَبِي سُفْيَانَ: أَنَّهُ أُتِيَ بِمَجْنُونٍ قَتَلَ رَجُلًا، فَكَتَبَ إِلَيْهِ مُعَاوِيَةُ،
أَنْ أَعْقِلْهُ، وَلَا تُقَدِّمْنَاهُ؛ فَإِنَّهُ لَيْسَ عَلَى مَجْنُونٍ قَوْدٌ.

Mālik b. Anas, Muwatta', p. 612.

COMMENTARY

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

NOTES

1. See for example, Schacht, Origins, pp. 192, 207; Mālik b. Anas, Muwatta' in the recension of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī; Muṣannaf, vol. VII, p. 392; Dārimī, vol. I, p. 114.
2. Muwatta', p. 613; no. 1551; Muṣannaf, vol. X, p. 70, no. 18391.
3. Muṣannaf, vol. X, p. 70, no. 18392. For more details, see Muṣannaf, vol. X, p. 69f, no. 18389, 18390, 18394; Schacht, Origins, pp. 208f, 308f.

2 - FROM ZAID B. THĀBIT TO MU'ĀWIYA B. ABĪ SUFYĀN

(Concerning the legal inheritance of a grandfather)

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

١٠٨٤ - عن يحيى بن سعيد: أنه بلغه أن معاوية بن أبي سفيان كتب إلى زيد بن ثابت يسأله عن الجد. فكتب إليه زيد بن ثابت: إنك كتبت إلي تسألني عن الجد، والله أعلم، وذلك مما لم يكن يقضي فيه إلا الأمراء، يعني الخلفاء، وقد حصرت الخلفيتين قبلك يعطيهما الثلثان مع الأب والجد، والثلث مع الإثنين، فإن كثرت الإخوة لم ينقصوه من الثلث.

Muwatta', p. 344, no. 1084.

COMMENTARY

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

interpolated words and phrases that made the letter longer than it is in the version of Muwatta' (1).

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

And now, how did the companions of the Prophet and the fukahā' deal with the portion of the grandfather from the inheritance of his grandson? According to the above-mentioned legal decision (fatwā) of Zaid b. Thābit, the two caliphs, 'Umar I and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (2) used to give the grandfather half the inheritance if the deceased grandson had one brother and one third if he had two brothers or more. On the other hand, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and Ibn 'Abbās regarded the grandfather as the father, which means that he should be given one sixth of the inheritance (3), while 'Umar I used to give him one sixth if he had a son (4). But if the grandson had six brothers, the grandfather should be given one sixth or one seventh according to a legal decision made by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (5). 'Alī himself, according to another version, used to give the grandfather one third, while 'Umar I used to give him one sixth, then 'Umar decided to give him one third after he consulted 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Zaid b. Thābit, and Ibn 'Abbās (6). It is attributed to the Prophet that he gave the grandfather one sixth without mentioning who shared the inheritance with him (7). But, according to another version, the Prophet gave him one third (8).

However, this complicated problem seems to be a matter of individual judgement (ijtihād), for (a) we do not have a definite report from the Qur'ān or Ḥadīth with regard to the portion of the grandfather. (b) It seems that the portion of the grandfather depends on those who would share the inheritance with him (9). But, on the other hand, the fatwā of Zaid was adopted by Shāfi'ī, Mālik b. Anas, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Abū Yūsuf, Thaurī, Awzā'ī, and the majority (jumhūr) of the fuqahā' (10).

NOTES

1. See, for example, ” رَأَيْتُ مِنْ نَحْوِ قَسَمِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ”
- يعني عمر رضي الله عنه « و » بين الجد والجدوة من
اللب إذا كانه أمًا واحدًا ذكرًا .
Baihaqī, vol. VI, p. 248.
2. The phrase "two caliphs" here is applied to 'Umar I and 'Uthmān because Abū Bakr had a different attitude; see for that, Muwatta', p. 344, no. 1086; Baihaqī, vol. VI, p. 247f.
3. Fath, vol. XII, p. 14.
4. Ibid., p. 16.
5. Baihaqī, vol. VI, p. 249.
6. See their opinions in Musannaf, vol. X, p. 266, no. 19058, 19059.
7. Baihaqī, vol. VI, p. 248; Abū Dāūd, vol. III, p. 318, no. 2897.
8. Abū Dāūd, vol. III, p. 318, no. 2896.
9. For more details, see, Shacht, Origins, pp. 66, 212f; Muwatta', p. 344ff; Fath, vol. XII, pp. 12-18; Baihiqi, vol. VI, pp. 247ff; Baillie, Muhammadan Law, p. 37; Rumsey, Sirājjīyya, p. 40f.

3 - FROM 'ABD AL-MALIK B. MARWĀN TO THE GOVERNOR OF MECCA

(Concerning the Mukātab)

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

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

١٤٨٥ - عن حميد بن قيس المكي: أن مكاتباً كان لابن المتوكل -
ملك بمكة وترك عليه بقية من كتابته وديوناً للناس، وترك ابنته، فأشكَلَ
على عامل مكة القضاء فيه، فكتب إلى عبد الملك بن مروان يسأله عن
ذلك، فكتب إليه عبد الملك: أن ابدأ بديون الناس، ثم اقض ما بقي
من كتابته: ثم اقسّم ما بقي من ماله بين ابنته ومولاه.

COMMENTARY

The mukātab (a slave who makes a written contract with his master that he should pay a certain sum as the price of his freedom) in Islamic law is a complicated and controversial problem, for it has several aspects and conditions (1). This letter deals with part of these concerning his inheritance, his heirs, and his debt. In addition to the version of Muwatta', there is another version of this letter related in Musannaf on the authority of Ibn Juraij who said that 'Abbād, the mawlā (slave) of Mutawakkil, died during his mukātaba. He had paid half the agreed money. He left a free-born daughter and a considerable sum of money. 'Abd al-Malik instructed his governor to complete what was left of his contract and to divide what remained of his inheritance between his daughter and his mawālī (2)".

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

taking into account that the mukātab has usually only one master, the version of Muwatta' is rather more acceptable.

However, there are three views with respect to the inheritance of mukātab, (a) if the mukātab has died and left some portion of the contract outstanding and also has free-born sons and daughters (walad pl.), what is left of his contract should be paid, and what remains of his estate should be given to his sons and daughters (3).

(b) Ibn 'Umar suggests that the remainder of the inheritance should be given to the master (4). (c) According to this letter, 'Abd al-Malik suggests that the remainder of the inheritance, after payment of the contract and other outstanding debts, should be divided between the sons and daughters (the daughter in this case) and the master. On the other hand, it is related that 'Abd al-Malik, in a different case, awarded the remainder of the estate to the free-born sons and daughters (5).

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

NOTES

1. For more details, see Schacht, Origins, p. 279f; Musannaf, vol. VIII, p. 391ff; Muwatta, p. 560ff.
2. Musannaf, vol. VIII, p. 392, no. 15659.
3. Ibid., p. 391, no. 15654.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 392, no. 15657, p. 393f, no. 15664, no. 15665.
6. See the sources in note 1.

4 - FROM ZIYĀD B. ABĪ SUFYĀN TO 'Ā'ISHA
(Concerning hadī)

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

٧٥٨ - عن عمرة بنت عبد الرحمن: أنها أخبرته، أن زياد بن أبي سفيان كتب إلى عائشة زوج النبي ﷺ: أن عبد الله بن عباس قال: من أهدى هدنيا حرم علي ما يحرم على الحاج حتى يشجر الهدى، وقد بعثت بهديي، فاكْتُبِي إليَّ بأمرِك، أو مُرِي صاحب الهدى. قالت عمرة: قلت عائشة: نيس كما قال ابن عباس، أنا قلدت فلانة هدي رسول الله ﷺ بيدي، ثم قلدها رسول الله ﷺ بيده، ثم بعث بها رسول الله ﷺ مع أبي، فلم يحرم على رسول الله ﷺ شيء أحلله الله له حتى نحجر الهدى.

Muwatta', p. 233, no. 758.

COMMENTARY

This letter involves two different views with respect to the hadī (offering animals to the Ka'ba or Mecca):

(a) the opinion of Ibn 'Abbās who suggested that a person who does not intend to go to Mecca for pilgrimage but wishes to send his hadī, is not allowed to do the things that are not allowed for a pilgrim to do. (1). Unfortunately, this opinion of Ibn 'Abbās is unjustified, for the reports neglected to mention the traditions, if such there are, according to which Ibn 'Abbās made his legal decision.

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

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

NOTES

1. For things that are not allowed a pilgrim, see Shaibānī, Muwatta', pp. 143, 147, 149.
2. See for example, Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ, Būlaq, vol. II, p. 167f; Abū Dāūd, vol. II, p. 365, no. 1757, p. 366, no. 1758; Shaibānī, Muwatta', p. 139.
3. Baihaqī, vol. V, p. 234.

5 - FROM 'UMAR B. 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ TO ABŪ BAKR B. MUḤAMMAD B. ḤAZM

(Concerning writing down the traditions)

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

٩٣٦ - أخبرنا مالك، أخبرنا يحيى بن سعيد، أن عمر بن عبد العزيز كتب إلى أبي بكر
ابن عمرو بن حزم: أن انظر ما كان من حديث رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أو سنته أو حديث
عمر أو نحوه فاكتبه لي، فإنني قد خفت دُروس العلم وذهاب العلماء.

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

COMMENTARY

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

For the content of the letter, it involves three orders to be executed: Recording the Hadīth of the Prophet, his

Sunna, and the hadīth of 'Umar.

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

(b) The formula "look for what there is of the Hadīth of the Apostle of God" is applied to the whole Hadīth of the Prophet not to some of it. The version of Dārimī and Bukhārī of this letter may support this view. The version of Dārimī (255/868) says: "write down for me what is regarded as authentic of the Hadīth of the Apostle of God" (9), while the version of Bukhārī (256/869) reads: ". . . and do

not accept but the Ḥadīth of the Apostle of God" (10). The letters of 'Umar II to the people of Medīna and to the provinces, where he ordered them to write down the traditions, may support this view as well (11).

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

Before concluding this argument, there is still another point to be explained: 'Umar II requested from Abū Bakr to write for him the ḥadīth of 'Umar, or 'Amra according to the

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

« وَأَكْتُبُ رَأْيِي الْحَدِيثَ الَّذِي حَدَّثَنِي عَنْ عُمَرَ عَنْ عَائِشَةَ » .

NOTES

1. Abbott, SALP, vol. II, pp. 7-11.
2. Ibid., pp. 12-19.
3. Ibid, pp. 12, 22-26.
4. Ibid, p. 26; Guillaume, The Tradition of Islam, p. 19; Goldziher, Muslim Studies, vol. II, p. 195.
5. Abbott, SALP, vol. II, p. 26f.
6. Ibid., p. 29.
7. Ibid., p. 29f.
8. See Harley, JASB, vol. XX, p. 441.
9. Dārimī, p. 126.
10. Fath, Kitāb al-‘ilm, vol. I, p. 157.
11. See for that, Fath, vol. I, p. 157; Baghdādī, Taqyīd, p. 106.
12. See, Khaṭīb, al-Sunna Qabl al-Tadwīn, Cairo, 1963, pp. 16-18; c.f. Goldziher, Muslim Studies, vol. II, pp. 2-17, pp. 25ff.
13. Abbott, op. cit., p. 27
14. Ibid., pp. 27-29.
15. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, jāmi‘ bayān, vol. I, pp. 91f.
16. Al-Sunna Qabl al-Tadwīn, pp. 17f.
17. Ṭabaqāt, vol. II, p. 134; Baghdādī, Taqyīd, p. 106.
18. See Ḥilya, vol. V, p. 284; Wafayāt
19. See the letter above; c.f. Abbott, SALP, vol. II, p. 30.

CONCLUSION

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

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

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

(b) The format of the Umayyad letters has been illus-

trated, according to the Arabic papyri and the technical literary works (2), as follows:

I - Introductory formulae which consists of the Basmala, the inside address (al-'Unwān), the Salām, the Tahmīd, and Ammā ba'd.

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

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

(c) The style:

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

Since the letters of the Arabic papyri and the Ḥadīth and Fiqh sources are free of rhetorical figures such as rhyme, ornatus (badi'), madhhab kalāmī, . . . etc., some doubt might be cast on the authenticity of the letters in the rhetorical and ornamented style. Thus, it may be useful

to mention here the view of the early authors on rhyme, one of the rhetorical figures.

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

the rank of the addressee, and that it is to be restricted to some, and not all letters as has been mentioned (10).

(d) The language:

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

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

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

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

(f) Verbosity and Brevity:

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

NOTES

1. 'Askarī, Awā'il, vol. I, p. 88.
2. See chapter 1.
3. See above, pp. 41, 43.
4. Jāhīz, Bayān, vol. I, p. 189f.
5. Ṣinā'atain, p. 261.
6. Nawawī, Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn, vol. II, p. 907; for the traditions of the Prophet concerning rhyme, see Abū Dāūd, vol. IV, p. 696, no. 4568; p. 700, no. 4574.
7. Jāhīz, Bayān, vol. I, p. 290.
8. See for example the letters of Abū Bakr and 'Umar I in Jamhara, vol. I, pp. 128-130, 204-206.
9. Ṣinā'atain, p. 159.
10. See above, p. 14.
11. Qalqashandī, vol. VI, p. 297.
12. Tuhfat al-wuzara, p. 113.
13. Kāzarūnī, p. 106.
14. Grohmann, From the World of Arabic Papyri, p. 94.
15. See Kātib, Burhān, p. 350f; c.f.
16. See for example, ch. II, pp. 62, 65, 81, 102f.

CHAPTER THREE

‘ABD AL-ḤAMĪD AL-KĀTĪB

I. Biography

Name and descent:

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

For his clientage, on the other hand, it is said that he was the client of al-‘Alā’ b. Wahb al-‘Āmirī in particular or the client of Banū ‘Āmir in general (5). But Balādhurī and Iṣṭakhrī mention that he was the client of Banū Umayya (6). These contrasting and contradictory versions concerning his descent and clientage induce one to investigate his origins. Balādhurī mentions that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd was a native of Ḥadīthat al-Nūra, near al-Anbār (known as Ḥadīthat al-Furāt) (7) while Ibn al-Nadīm suggests that he was from Syria (8). According to ‘Askarī and Iṣṭakhrī, he was a native of Persia (9). It is quite easy for the truth to vanish amongst such contradictory reports, so that the question might be asked:

For what reason were these reports related about a famous figure such as 'Abd al-Ḥamīd? It may not be easy to find a logical answer to such a question, but otherwise these reports could indicate (a) that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was an invented figure, as some orientalists have said (10), that every political or cultural party in the 'Abbasid period wished him to be one of them; for example, 'Askarī boasts that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was an intelligent Persian, while Ibn al-Nadīm tries to portray him in a different light (11); (b) that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was a real person but that the authors of the third and fourth (ninth and tenth) centuries did not know anything about him, which encouraged them to fabricate his descent, origin, clientage, and his career according to their political, sectarian, or racial tendencies.

His profession:

Most of the reports agree that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was at first an itinerant pedagogue, who became a secretary at Marwān's chancery (12), but otherwise they disagree on the time of his employment by Marwān. Balādhurī, for instance, mentions that Sālīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the secretary of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, attached 'Abd al-Ḥamīd to Marwān II when the latter was appointed over Armenia (114/732). The word "ḍamma" (attached) in the report indicates that Sālīm was authorized to appoint 'Abd al-Ḥamīd or other secretaries to Hishām's and Marwān's chanceries, which may contradict a report mentioned by Jāḥiẓ (13). Supposing that Sālīm was authorized to do so, he should, first of all, attach 'Abd al-Ḥamīd to Hishām's chancery in order to learn the practice of chancery writing, after which he could be

assigned to any chancery. According to another version, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was employed as a secretary to several of the Umayyad caliphs such as 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, and, since that time, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd continued to be a secretary at the Umayyad chancery until the reign of Marwān II (14). On the other hand, Jahshiyārī suggests that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was the minister of Marwān II when the latter became caliph (15). However difficult it is to say which of these versions is the most likely, apparently 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was the secretary of Marwān II.

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

The end of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd:

Balādhurī mentions two different versions of the end of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd: (a) It is asserted that Marwān II, when he realized that he was to be killed, said to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, "They (the 'Abbāsids) are in need of you, so you ought to ask them for protection, for you might be useful to me in my life or to look after my family after my death." 'Abd al-Ḥamīd replied, "My loyalty is to be kept in secret! My perfidy is to be announced! Who would find me an excuse whose utterance is acceptable to people?"

أُسْرُوفَاءٌ ثُمَّ أُظْهِرْ غَدْرَهُ
فَعَنْ لِيهِ بَعْدَ يُوَسِّعُ النَّاسَ ظَاهِرُهُ؟

Then he added: "O Commander of the Faithful, what you ask me to do is the best for you and the worst for me, but otherwise I can be patient until God has granted you his victory, or I would like to be killed with you." Then he was arrested, jailed, and killed (19).

« يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ، إِنَّ الَّذِي أَمَرْتَنِي بِهِ أَنْفَعُ الْأُمَرَاءِ لَكَ وَأَقْبَحُهُمَا لِي ، وَكَئِنِّي أَصْبِرُ حَتَّى يَفْتَحَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْكَ أَوْ أُقْتَلَ مَعَكَ . »

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

« وَبِحَاكُمُ ، إِنَّا خُطَبَاءُ كُلِّ دَوْلَةٍ . »

(c) Ya'qūbī merely mentions that 'Abd al-Hamīd stayed on in Egypt and hid until he was discovered by Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī, the 'Abbāsīd governor (21).

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

(e) Tha'ālibī asserts that 'Abd al-Hamīd, al-Balabakkī al-mu'adhḥin (announcer of the hour of prayer), and Salām al-hādī (cameleer) were brought to Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr who was about to kill them, but he spared the life of Salām and al-Balabakkī because of their nice voices. 'Abd al-Hamīd

said: "O Commander of the Faithful, spare my life for I am unique in writing and rhetoric."

« يا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، اسْتَبَقَنِي فِرَائِي فَرَدُّ الزَّوَانِ فِي الْكُتَابَةِ وَالْبِرَاقَةِ » .

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

« مَا أَعْرَفَنِي بِكَ، أَنْتَ الَّذِي فَعَلْتَ بِنَا الدَّفَاعِيلَ وَعَمَلْتَ لَنَا الدَّرَاهِي » .

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

(f) Ibn Khallikān is the only one to mention that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd shared with Marwān his fate at Būṣīr in 13 Dhul Ḥijja 132/23 July 750 (24).

Commentary on these versions:

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

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

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

(d) It is related that he wrote his last letter to his family, who was at Raqqa at that time, when he was in Palestine

with Marwān (25). This may not coincide with the version which says that his descendants continued to live in Egypt under the name of Banū al-Muhājir (the son of the emigrant) and furnished secretaries to Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn unless they emigrated after his death (26). But the term "al-muhājir" indicates that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd himself willingly emigrated with his family, which may indicate, if it is true, that he was not killed but managed to survive.

(e) If we accept the version of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd before al-Manṣūr, it means that he was killed during the reign of Manṣūr, not Saffāḥ, for there is no indication that he was brought to Manṣūr during the reign of his brother Saffāḥ. On the other, hand, this version contradicts that of Jahshiyārī who asserts that Manṣūr used to say: "The Umayyads achieved supremacy over us by means of Ḥajjāj, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, and al-Muʿadhdhin al-Bālabakī" (27). This version, if it is true, may indicate that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was killed on the battle field together with Marwān, which is very likely, for it is a little puzzling that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was killed later, while Muṣāb b. al-Rabīʿ al-Khathʿamī, one of Marwān's secretaries, was not killed by the ʿAbbāsids after the defeat of Marwān at the battle of Zāb, but they offered him protection according to his wish (28).

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

NOTES

1. Khayyāt, vol. II, p. 622; Bayān, vol. I, p. 208; Ansāb, part III, p. 163; Ya'qūbī, vol. II, p. 415.
2. 'Iqd, vol. IV, p. 496; Wafayāt, vol. III, p. 228; Sarḥ, p. 237; Bidāya, vol. X, p. 55.
3. Mas'ūdi, Tanbih, p. 284.
4. Abbott, SALP, vol. III, p. 123.
5. Ṭabari, vol. VI, p. 182; Jahshiyārī, p. 72; 'Iqd, vol. IV, p. 496; Wafayāt, vol. III, p. 228; Bidāya, vol. X, p. 55.
6. Ansāb, III, p.163; Masālik, p. 88.
7. Ansāb, III, p. 163; For Ḥadīth al-Nūra see, Yaqūt al-Ḥamawī, Mu'jam al-Buldān, vol. III, p. 253.
8. Fihrist, p. 170.
9. Masālik, p. 88; Sinā'atain, p. 69 and see below.
10. Mubārak, Zakī, al-Nathr al-Fannī, vol. I, p. 60.
11. See below.
12. See Jāhiz, Akhlāq al-Kuttāb, p. 47; Bayān, vol. I, p. 251; Fihrist, p. 170; Tha'ālibī, Thimār, p. 155; 'Iqd, vol. IV, p. 469.
13. See below for the view of Jāhiz with regard to Sālim.
14. 'Iqd, vol. IV, p. 164.
15. Jahshiyārī, p. 83.
16. Khayyāt, vol. II, p. 622.
17. Ṭabari, vol. VI, p. 182.
18. Kazarūnī, p. 106. For Marwān's secretaries at the correspondence bureau, see the list of al-'Alī (Sāliḥ Aḥmad) in Majallat Abḥāth, 1966, vol. XIX, p. 66.
19. Ansāb, III, p. 163.
20. Ibid., p. 163f.
21. Ya'qūbī, vol. II, p. 415.
22. Jahshiyārī, p. 80; cf. Ṣarḥ, p. 238.
23. Tha'ālibī, Thimār, p. 157f.

24. Wafayāt, vol. III, p. 229.
25. Jahshiyārī, p. 72.
26. Ibid., p. 82
27. Ibid., p. 81.
28. Ṭabari, vol. VII; cf. Jahshiyārī, p. 80 where he mentioned that Makhlad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith, one of Marwān's secretaries, became the secretary of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās.

II. The Culture of 'Abd al-Hamīd:

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

Persian Culture:

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

« أَلَا تَرَى أَنَّ عَبْدَ الْمُحَمَّدِ الطَّائِبِ اسْتَخْرَجَ أُسْلُفَ الْكَلِمَةِ الَّتِي رَسَمَهَا لِنَبِيِّهِ مِنْ
اللُّغَةِ الْفَارِسِيَّةِ فَحَوَّلَهَا إِلَى اللُّغَةِ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ »

This assumption indicates two important problems:

(a) that 'Abd al-Hamīd mastered Persian; (b) that he extracted the models of writing from Persian. The first part of this assumption might be difficult to be acceptable as incontestable fact, for it is well known that Pehlevi was the official language in Persia before Islam, and that it was restricted to statesmen and clergy (4). In the seventh century Pehlevi started to disappear and the spread of Arabic became inevitable, for it was used by officials in their communications, by the learned in their books on law and theology, and by all Muslims in their worship (5). Pehlevi disappeared because of its difficulty and complexity (alphabetically and orthographically), such that it required commentary to be understood by the Persians themselves as

Iṣṭakhrī mentioned (6). Furthermore, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd was born and bred in the Umayyad period (i.e., roughly fifty years after the desuetude of Pehlevi). It is true that the Zoroastrian priesthood continued to write in Pehlevi even after the rise of Islam (7), but it was limited to the recording and transmission of its sacred scripture (8), and was not employed amongst the Persians who embraced Islam.

It might be objected that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, who was a friend of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, knew Pehlevi and translated from its literature several works into Arabic, so why should ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd also not have known Pehlevi? It is worth recording that the only source of this information is the Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadīm who lived in the fourth (tenth) century when such Persian states as those of the Samānids and Ṣaffārids originated at the eastern side of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate (9). These states were so racially prejudiced against the Arabs that they employed at their courts only Persians (10). They encouraged the authors to write books and treatises defaming and disparaging the Arabs. The Fihrist lists many such books (11). Therefore, to deal with the material of the Fihrist, great caution is required, for it seems that Ibn al-Nadīm, as a Persian and Shī‘ite, wished to participate in the conflict (Shu‘ūbiyya) between Arabs and Persians at that time (12) by attributing many works to Persians, such as Ibn al-Muqaffa‘. On the other hand, though Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was taught by Arabs (13), it is likely that he knew Pehlevi for he remained a non-Muslim, probably a Zoroastrian or a Manichaeen, until the ‘Abbāsīd period when he converted to Islam (14). But it is a little

puzzling that these Pehlevi texts which Ibn al-Muqaffa⁶ translated into Arabic were lost, together with their Arabic translations. For example, the Pehlevi text of the letter of Tansar, which was translated by Ibn al-Muqaffa⁶, was lost, but in the seventh (thirteenth) century it is said that Ibn Isfandiar translated the Arabic text into modern Persian, and that the Arabic translation disappeared while the modern Persian translation survived. This letter of Tansar, allegedly translated from Pehlevi is full of Islamic thoughts (15), which may indicate that it either was composed during the Islamic period or that the copyist made some modification in the text in order to be acceptable to the Muslims. But it does not mean that one should deny that some Pehlevi texts have in fact been preserved (16).

Despite the aforesaid observations, if we accept the version that ⁶Abd al-Ḥamīd was a Persian native, it is very likely that he knew Persian at least through his intercourse with Persians.

Before discussing the assumption that ⁶Abd al-Ḥamīd extracted the models of writing from Persian, I would like to state here that it is not the aim of this research to deny the existence of Persian literature which had flourished hundreds of years before Islam, but, unfortunately, what has been preserved of Persian literature is not a large amount such as many modern languages, or some languages of ancient centres of civilization such as India, China, or Greece can demonstrate (17). The materials, apart from the religious texts, remained scanty till, in the tenth Christian century, the vivid literature of medieval Persia began (18).

Moreover, we do not have specimens of Persian chancery practice to make a comparison between the style of these specimens and the style of the letters attributed to 'Abd al-Hamīd. It might be said that at most there were several works of Persian literature available to the Muslims in the first and second (seventh and eighth) centuries before they disappeared (19).

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

Supporting his view with regard to the Persian models, 'Askarī asserts again that the translation of Persian speeches and letters is in the mode (style) of Arabs' oratory and letters (23).

« وَبِذَلِكَ عَلَى هَذَا أَيْضًا أَنَّ تَرَاجِمَ خُطَبِ الْفَرَسِ وَرِثَائِهِمْ هِيَ عَلَى نَمَطِ خُطَبِ الْعَرَبِ وَرِثَائِهَا »

This statement could be understood to mean that the translator(s) of those letters and speeches took into account that the translation should be changed to suit the Arabic style (i.e., those letters and speeches were adapted from Persian), which must mean that the Arabs had their own models. as has been mentioned (24). It may be worth mentioning that Persian prose, as Arberry suggests, started in a humble,

almost apologetic manner, as if conscious of the superior strength and suppleness of the Arabic which Persian scholars preferred (25). It is reported that the earliest surviving examples of Persian prose were in fact translations from Arabic, particularly the history of Ṭabarī (26). And Bahā' al-Dīn al-Baghdādī mentioned that the Persian authors were so admiring of Arabic letters that they followed their model (27). Hence, taking into account the large epistolary heritage of the Arabs since the reign of the Prophet down to the reign of Marwān II, it is puzzling in fact to read that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ignored this heritage and borrowed from the Persian models.

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

Finally, I would like to say that no one could deny the cultural exchange between Persian and Arabic even before

Islam. Due to that, it was expected to find some Persian letters, apart from the question of their authenticity, at the time of 'Askarī. But, on the other hand, it is unfair to claim that Arabic borrowed its models of literary composition from Persian while it had its own models, as has been mentioned.

Greek Culture:

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

Sālim and Greek:

Ibn al-Nadīm is the only one to assume that Sālim translated (or copied) from the letters of Aristotle to Alexander: "And it was translated for him and he made correction". (34)

« وَقَدْ نُقِلَ مِنْ رَسَائِلِ أَرِسْطَاطَيْسِ إِلَى الْإِسْكَانْدَرِ، وَنُقِلَ لَهُ وَأُضِلَّ هُوَ. »

If Ibn al-Nadim means by "naqala min" translated, it must mean that Sālīm knew Greek. But the other phrase, "wa nuqila lah" indicates that he did not know Greek, or, as Ihsān 'Abbās says, he was too busy to translate himself. (35) Due to that confusion, 'Abbās suggests that the statement should be read "naqala . . . or nuqila lah" (36). But we cannot ignore the preposition "min" as 'Abbās did, for the phrase "naqala min" may indicate that Sālīm did not translate those letters but he adapted or copied some ideas from them, and in this case, there is no confusion in the statement. However, the question remains: Did Sālīm know Greek? 'Abbās suggests that probably he did not know Greek or Syriac (37). But, since we have no evidence to prove that, it may not be easy to answer this question; otherwise, the statement of Fihrist may be unacceptable for (a) the style of these attributed letters to Aristotle is closer to the 'Abbāsīd style than the Umayyad style described in chapter one. (b) Shaikhū mentioned that some of these letters were translated by Yūḥannā al-Biṭrīq at the time of Ma'mūn (198-218/813-833), who was the first caliph to send a mission to the Byzantine Emperor asking for permission to translate the Greek books into Arabic (38). On the other hand, 'Abbās regards what Sālīm had done as an early attempt at translation (39). Supporting his view, 'Abbās mentions the assertion of Ma'sūdī that he saw in 303/915 at Iṣṭakhr a book, which was translated for Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik in 113/731, recording much Persian knowledge and history of Persian kings (40). This assertion could be true, but we have to be cautious in accepting such reports, for most of the historical data in

the fourth (tenth) century was written under the influence of racial prejudice (= Shu'ūbiyya) no matter whether it was written by Arabs or Persians, to prove that one race was superior to the other.

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

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

The Military Influence:

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

« ثُمَّ وَلِّ عَلَى كُلِّ مِئَةِ رَجُلٍ مِنْهُمْ رَجُلًا مِنْ أَهْلِ خَائِنَتِكَ وَنُصَائِحَتِكَ »

Shawqī Daif suggests that this statement does not prove that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was influenced by Greek culture, for the Arabs at that time were fighting Byzantines, and could easily

have become acquainted with their military organization (46), while 'Abbās suggests that this system was a general military rule and could not be regarded as a distinctive mark to any nation (47). In addition to that, it may be useful to mention some important points:

(a) Greek and Byzantine military organization differed in many respects from Umayyad military organization (48). (b) There was not a military unit of one hundred men in the Byzantine army at the time of the Umayyads (49). (c) The most important thing in this case is that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, in his letter to the son of Marwān II did not say that this unit of one hundred men was part of the fighting army, but, in fact, he instructed the son of Marwān to select some courageous, experienced, sturdy, and stern horsemen as reserve(s) (50).

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

The Circumstantial Phrase:

Because of circumstantial phrase in the attributed letters to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Ḥusain assumes that he was influenced by Greek culture, for such phraseology is a characteristic of Greek literature (53). Daif supported this view first, then withdrew his support to say that circumstantial phraseology is an Arabic literary characteristic

and was used in the Qur'ān (54). With respect to this problem, it is worth mentioning that Ḥusain himself says that Arabs did not translate one single work of Greek literature (55). Thus, how would it be possible for 'Abd al-Ḥamīd to be influenced by Greek culture, at least according to the points mentioned by Ḥusain?

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

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

Arabic Culture:

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

It could be true that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was influenced by the speech of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, but it is a little puzzling that he ignored the Qur'ān and the authentic traditions,

for they are more rhetorical than the speech of 'Alī. It is notable that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, in his letter to the secretaries with regard to their required qualifications, does not mention the speech of 'Alī, while the knowledge of the Qur'ān is mentioned (58).

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

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

in effect which hits upon virgin meaning" (64).

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

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

'Abd al-Ḥamīd as a calligrapher:

To make 'Abd al-Ḥamīd a perfect secretary, the early authors assert that he said to Ibrāhīm b. Jabala, whose script was bad, "do you wish your script to be good?" Ibrāhīm said, "yes." 'Abd al-Ḥamīd said, "then lengthen

the jilfa of the pen to make it good, and nib the point obliquely and to the right." (70) From this statement, Abbott assumes that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd played a basic role in the evolution of Arabic script (71). Tawḥīdī attributed this statement to Ibn Muqla, which is more likely than to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (72). Apart from that, this statement need not necessarily be regarded as evidence that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd played such a role.

'Abd al-Ḥamīd as a poet:

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

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

In another respect, it is claimed that Marwān II, when he was presented a black slave, ordered 'Abd al-Ḥamīd to write a rough and abusive letter to the leader who presented the slave. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd wrote a long letter, which Marwān disliked, so he took the letter from him and wrote:

"If you had known a numeral less than one and a colour worse than black, you would send it" (77). Though

this report might be false, it suggests that Marwān II, in this particular case, disliked long letters, which may indicate that verbosity or brevity depended on the subject itself.

NOTES

1. Ṭahā Ḥusain, Ḥadīth al-Shi'ar, p. 42ff; Daif, al-Fann Wamadhāhibuh, p. 39ff; 'Abbās, Malāmiḥ, pp. 99, 109.
2. Shak'a, al-Adab fi Maukib al-Ḥadāra, p. 223f.
3. Sinā'atain, p. 69, and Ma'ānī, vol. II, p. 89.
4. Levy, Persian Literature, p. 11f; Āl 'Alī, Durūs, p. 18.
5. Levy, p. 12; cf. al-Tūnǰī, Muhammad, al-Majmū'a al-Fārisiyya, p. 50.
6. Masālik, p. 83; Levy, p. 11f; Tūnǰī, op. cit., p. 50; Bailey, Legacy, p. 190.
7. Arberrry, Legacy, p. 199; cf. Masālik, p. 83.
8. Arberrry, Legacy, p. 199.
9. Levy, Introduction, pp. 23ff; Sibā'ī, al-Luḡha al-Fārisiyya, p. 6f; Bailey, Legacy, p. 191.
10. See the sources in note 9; Mahnā, Dirasāt fi al-Adab, p. 217.
11. Fihrist, pp. 79-81.
12. See Goldziher, Muslim Studies, vol. I, pp. 137-42.
13. Jāḥiẓ, Kitāb al-Mu'allimīn, p. 79; Ansāb, III, p. 218.
14. Ansāb, III, p. 218.
15. Tansar (Persian text), JA, tome, III, pp. 206, 207ff, 212ff, 215f, 223ff, 232, 239f; cf. Tansar (Arabic text), pp. 24ff, 31f, 35f, 41, 44, 49, 54f.
16. Browne, Literary History, p. 7; Levy, Persian Language, p. 10; Amin, Qīssat al-Adab, vol. I, p. 77f; Tūnǰī, op. cit., p. 50; Miṣrī, Ṣilāt, p. 117.
17. Bailey, Legacy, p. 174.
18. Ibid.
19. See the sources in note 16.
20. Ibn Maskawaih, al-Ḥikma al-khālida, the introduction, p. 32.
21. See the sources in note 15 above; Maskawaih, Ḥikma, pp. 45, 56, 58; 'Ahd Ardashīr, pp. 49, 82ff, 87, 93f.

22. ‘Ahd Ardashīr, p. 109.
23. Ma‘ānī, vol. II, p. 89.
24. See Chapter 1.
25. Arberry, Legacy, p. 218.
26. Levy, Introduction, p. 28; Browne, Literary History, vol. I, p. 11; Taqī Bahār, Sabk shināsi, vol. I, p. 283, and vol. II, p. g.
27. Ḥūfī, p. 170 based on al-Tawassul ilā al-Tarassul, by Baghdādi, Bahā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad.
28. Bayān, vol. II, p. 29.
29. Isfahānī, Tārīkh Siniyy Mulūk al-Ard, p. 9f.
30. Tansar (Persian text), p. 212f; Arabic text, p. 32f.
31. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Mathal al-Sā’ir, vol. I, p. 311.
32. Nusrat al-Thā’ir, p. 183f.
33. Hadīth al-Shīr, pp. 42ff; cf. Malāmiḥ, p. 99f.
34. Fihrist, p. 171.
35. Malāmiḥ, p. 100.
36. Ibid., p. 100.
37. Ibid., p. 100.
38. Fihrist, p. 339; Badawī, al-‘Usūl al-Yūnāniyya, intro., p. 6.
39. Malāmiḥ, p. 100.
40. Tanbih, p. 106.
41. Sirr al-Asrār, in al-‘Usūl al-Yūnāniyya, pp. 70, 149.
42. Grignaschi, "Rasā’il Aristatalisa", BEO, tome, xix, pp. 24ff; Malāmiḥ, p. 101.
43. Malāmiḥ, p. 101.
44. See the sources in note 42 above.
45. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 451.
46. Al-‘Asr al-Islāmī, p. 477.
47. Malāmiḥ, p. 109.

48. See for Byzantine military organization, Runciman, Byzantine Civilization, p. 139f; Kremer, Orient Under the Caliphs, p. 354f; Oman, Art of War, vol. I, pp. 171ff, 196ff; For Arab military organization, see, Runciman, op. cit., p. 144; 'Uthmān, al-Hudūd al-Islāmiyya, vol. II, p. 283; 'Aun, al-Fann al-Ḥarbī, p. 115.
49. See the sources in note 48 above.
50. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 450f.
51. Malāmiḥ, pp. 106-109; cf. Jamhara, vol. II, pp. 428-33; 'Amiri, Saf'āda, p. 332f.
52. See Waqidī, Maghāzī, vol. II, pp. 457-59, 460-489; Jamhara, vol. I, p. 234f.
53. Ḥadīth al-Shi'r, p. 44.
54. Al-Fann wa Madhāhibuh, p. 41; al-'Asr al-Islāmī, p. 477.
55. Al-Taujīh al-Adabī, p. 198.
56. Ishāq b. Hunain, al-Akhlāq, p. 12f; Manṣūr, al-Fann al-Shi'rī, p. 118.
57. Shak'a, op. cit., vol. II, p. 224; Jahshiyārī, p. 82.
58. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 456.
59. Baghdādī, Kitāb al-Kuttāb, p. 149
60. Ṭabarī, vol. VI, p. 182.
61. 'Iqd, vol. IV, p. 165; Baghdādī, Kitāb al-Kuttāb, p. 149; Tanbih, p. 284.
62. Fihrist, p. 170.
63. Wafayāt, vol. III, p. 228.
64. Thamarāt, p. 335.
65. Maqdisī, Funūn, p. 227.
66. 'Arūdī, Chahar Maqāla, p. 14.
67. See, Ḥalabī, Ḥusn al-Tawassul, pp. 30, 325f.
68. Tha'ālibī, Tuḥfat al-Wuzarā', p. 113f.
69. Kāzarūnī, p. 106; Ibn al-Dībājī, Rasā'il 'an al-Ḥarb wal-Salām.

70. ‘Iqd, vol. IV, p. 196; Sarḥ, p. 239; in Kitāb al-Kuttāb this phrase was addressed to Raghbān al-Ḥimṣī, p. 147; in Tārīkh Baghdād, vol. V, p. 216f, it was addressed to Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, the secretary of Ma'mūn.
71. Abbott, SALP, vol. III, p. 10.
72. Risālat al-khatt, p. 27.
73. Bayān, vol. I, p. 208. For his verse, see, Ṭabari, vol. VI, p. 182; Sarḥ, p. 241; Kitāb al-Kuttāb, p. 148.
74. Tuḥfat al-Wuzarā', p. 139.
75. Akhlāq al-Kuttāb, p. 47.
76. Bayān, vol. I, p. 28, 251; cf. Jahshiyārī, p. 83.
77. ‘Iqd, vol. IV, p. 156; in Sarḥ, it is said that 'Abd al-Ḥamid wrote this letter, p. 239.

III: The Style of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd as a scribe at Marwan's chancery:

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

Commentary on these statements:

(a) Since authentic specimens of Persian letters are not available as has been mentioned, it may not be easy to state that lengthening the letters was borrowed from Persians. It is worth recording that Jamshīd the Persian king, as Maskawaih mentions, advised his secretary not to write in verbose style (7). Even in the 'Abbāsīd period, where

Persian culture flourished, verbosity was undesirable in chancery letters, for Ja'far b. Yaḥyā advised his secretaries to make their letters concise (8).

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

(c) It is astonishing that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd should borrow lengthening of the tahmīd from Persian, for (1) tahmīd is an Islamic monotheist concept, originally articulated in and borrowed from Arabic into Persian to indicate the same sense. (2) Quite apart from the question of the authenticity of the available Persian letters, the formula of tahmīd does not appear in them (12).

(d) According to the assertion that the style of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was adopted by the secretaries who came after him, it would be logical to find his style in the chancery letters of Marwān's secretaries or in the letters of the early 'Abbāsīd caliphate. Unfortunately, such a style does not appear either in the Arabic papyri from the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods or in letters transmitted in literary sources (13).

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

(f) Finally, since it seems difficult to find authentic specimens of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's composition, his style remains a controversial problem, but I would incline to presume that his style, as a chancery scribe, would not be different from the style of other Umayyad chancery scribes, for first, the style of the Arabic papyri from the reign of Marwān II and the early 'Abbāsīd caliphate coincides almost with that in the letters of Qurra b. Sharīk (14). Secondly, since the chancery letters at that time were serving practical purposes, they should be written in a simple, unstilted, and homely style in order to be comprehensible. Thirdly, supposing that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd introduced some evolution into the style of chancery composition, such an evolution would have been achieved by phases, for literary style needs often a long period to be accomplished, which may explain the continuity of writing the chancery letters in the early 'Abbāsīd caliphate (up to the

reign of Rashīd) in the same style of the Umayyad chancery. Since the reign of Rashīd (170-192/786-809), a new style began to evolve gradually under the influence of the Persian and Greek cultures resulting from the movement of translation from those literatures. This new style was almost achieved during the reign of Ma'mūn at the hands of Sahl b. Hārūn, Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, 'Amr b. Mas'ada, and Jāḥiẓ. The styles of these prominent figures are very close, nay they are almost identical (15). Unfortunately, there is no point of similarity between the style of the letters ascribed to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and that of the letters from Marwān's II reign.

IV: The letters ascribed to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd:

The preserved letters ascribed to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd could be classified into two groups: first, the published group which involves fourteen chancery and personal (private) letters and four taḥmīds (16). Secondly, the manuscript group which has been transmitted by a late author called Balawī (559/1164?) in his work al-ʿAtā' al-Jazīl fi Kashf Ghitā' al-Tarsīl (17). This group involves fourteen chancery and personal letters, of which none is known to us except for one letter to his brother (18). Submitting the letters to the latter group to editing and discussion is rather important to such a study, but unfortunately, the idea has been abandoned for the following reasons: first, the manuscript is so damaged as to be scarcely legible. Secondly, taking into consideration that early authors did not transmit these letters, it might be expected that Balawī, as a late author, would mention his source(s) or at the least, the chain of transmitters in order to check his authorities.

But since he did not do so, some doubt may be cast on the authenticity of such letters. Thirdly, the confusion in the historical data of these letters, particularly the names of persons, may support the doubt cast on their authenticity. For example, one of these letters asserts that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd sent a letter to Ibn Hubaira concerning 'Amr b. Sa'īd who had been insulted by the latter (19). It is worth recording that there was no one of Marwān's relatives called 'Amr. b. Sa'īd but one who was alleged to have been killed by 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān in 69/688 (20). On the other hand, it is asserted that Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik ordered his secretary Sālim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān to write a letter to Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī scolding him because he insulted 'Amr. b. Sa'īd (21).

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

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

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

Historical background:

Since the letter concerns al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Shaibānī and his rebellion against Marwān II, it will be useful to throw some light on this event.

Ṭabarī, on the authority of Abū 'Ubaida, mentions that the accession of Marwān II was in 15 Ṣafar, 127/7 Dec. 744. In Rajab of this year (14 April, 745), Ḍaḥḥāk conquered Kūfa after a challenging battle between him and the two governors of Irāq, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar II and Sa'īd b. al-Naḍr al-Ḥarashī, who took refuge in Wāsiṭ after their defeat. Ḍaḥḥāk pursued them and the fight continued until the end of Shawwāl, 127/745 when Ibn 'Umar acknowledged his ba'ia to Ḍaḥḥāk who in Dhul-Qa'da set out to Mauṣil and captured it (22). Makhlaḍ b. Muḥammad, on the authority of 'Abd al-Wahhāb, mentions that Ḍaḥḥāk set out to Mauṣil after twenty months of his departure to it (23). Unfortunately, the exact date of his departure was unknown, but supposing that he rebelled in Rajab 127 (April, 745), his return to Mauṣil should be in Ṣafar 129/Oct. 746, which contradicts the version that he was killed in 128/745 (24). It might be notable that this version contradicts itself, for 'Abd al-Wahhāb mentions that the news of Ḍaḥḥāk's victory came to the knowledge of Marwān when he was besieging Ḥimṣ (25). It is related that the population of Ḥimṣ rebelled against Marwān for the first time after three months of acknowledging their ba'ia to him (i.e., in Jumādā I, 127/Feb. 745). The campaign of Marwān against Ḥimṣ ended in Dhul-Qa'da, 127/Aug. 745 (26). The second rebellion of Ḥimṣ started at the beginning of the year 128/745 when Sulaimān b. Hishām took refuge in it. The siege lasted ten months (from Muḥarram to Dhul-Qa'da 128/Aug. 746) (27). Thus, the return of Ḍaḥḥāk to Mauṣil might have happened before ending the siege of Ḥimṣ in Dhul-Qa'da 128/746.

On the other hand, the version of Abū Mikhnaf says that Ḍaḥḥāk, after he made peace with Ibn 'Umar, set out

to fight Marwān at Kafar Tūthā where he was killed in 128/746 (28).

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

his son to recall Ibn Hubaira for fighting Ḍaḥḥāk. Thus, we know that a letter was sent from Marwān to his son concerning Ḍaḥḥāk and his rebellion. But is it the same letter as that analysed in the following pages? It is difficult to answer such a question before discussing the letter which is said to have been sent from ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd to the son of Marwān.

COMMENTARY ON THE LETTER

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

Format:

(a) Due to the fact that this letter is very long, it is important to know the primary source of Ṭaifūr, for it is very difficult for any one to transmit such a long letter orally especially if we know that there was a long period between the date of the letter (129/746) and the time of Ṭaifūr. Supposing that Ṭaifūr found the letter at the Umayyad chancery, he should, in this case, have mentioned it, as Kindī did when he found the letter of ‘Isā b. Abī ‘Aṭā’ at the Umayyad chancery in Egypt (34). Unfortunately, Ṭaifūr does not mention either his source or the chain of his transmitters. If the letter surely

had been copied from the Umayyad chancery, it would be very close to the Arabic papyri related to the Umayyad period, or it would, at least, indicate some of the changes in the style of Umayyad composition introduced by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd as is asserted. For example, this letter is free completely of the long tahmid of which it is asserted that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was the innovator.

(b) It is notable that the formula of the Salām at the end of the letter, " **وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَيْكُمْ وَرَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ وَبَرَكَاتُهُ** " contradicts that mentioned in the first chapter which is, " **وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَى** " to the Muslims and " **من آتبع الهدى** " to the non-Muslims, without mentioning the phrase " **ورحمة الله وبركاته** " (35). It is worth noting that the formula " **وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَيْكُمْ وَرَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ وَبَرَكَاتُهُ** " was employed by the secretaries of the 'Abbāsīd period, especially at the time of Ma'mūn (36).

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

(d) With regard to the style of the letter, it could

be said that it is that of the mutarassilūn in the 'Abbāsīd period: stilted, with parallelism, ornamented, verbose, philosophical, and full of rhetorical devices particularly madhhab kalāmī and rhyme (38). The language in general is difficult and exotic.

On the other hand, it is astonishing that the style of this letter together with the other letters ascribed to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd is very close to the style of Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, 'Amr b. Mas'ada, and Ghassān b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (not the son of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd), so that one could hardly distinguish one from another (39). Such a phenomenon raises the question: does it mean that all of these secretaries adopted the style of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd literally? Or does it mean that some one in the third/fourth (ninth/tenth) centuries composed these letters and attributed them to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd in order to get them circulated? In fact, it was not unusual for the 'Abbāsīd secretaries to adopt the style of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, but it is notable that this letter together with the other letters ascribed to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, both the published and the manuscript, are full of a specific rhetorical device, namely madhhab kalāmī, which was very common in the style of the third and fourth (ninth and tenth) centuries under the influence of the Mu'tazilites, especially after Ma'mūn adopted their doctrine (40). Due to that, it might be expected to find such a style in the letters of Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, 'Amr. b. Mas'ada, the secretaries of Ma'mūn, Ghassān b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, and Jāḥiẓ. It may be worth mentioning that although madhhab kalāmī is found in the Qur'ān, it was Jāḥiẓ who employed it widely in his letters and works, so that Ibn al-Mu'tazz

ascribed it to him (41). On the other hand, the points of similarity between the style of Jāhiz and the style of this letter induce one to ask: did Jāhiz compose this letter and ascribe it to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd? In fact, it is Jāhiz who inspired us with such a question, for he tells us that he used to compose letters, books and treatises and ascribe them to the preceding writers in order to get them circulated (42). Despite that, it seems difficult to prove, for there were other secretaries such as Aḥmad b. Yūsuf and 'Amr b. Mas'ada capable of composing such a letter in such a style. Hence, I would incline to regard this style as 'Abbāsīd, for madhhab kalāmī was widely employed in the theological arguments under the influence of Greek logic and philosophy (43).

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

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

The Content:

The Introduction:

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

« أَمَا بَعْدَ ، فَإِنَّ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ - عِنْدَنَا أَعْتَزَمَ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ تَوْجِيهِكَ إِلَى »

عَدُوَّ اللَّهِ ، الْجَلْفِ الْجَامِعِ الْأَعْرَابِيِّ ، الْمَتَسَلِّعِ نِيْهِيرَةَ الْجِهَالَةِ ،
وُظْلَامِ الْفِتْنَةِ ، وَمِهْرَاوِي الرَّهْلَكَةِ ، وَرِعَاعِيهِ الَّذِينَ عَالُوا مِنْ
أَرْضِيهِ لِلَّهِ فُسَادًا ، وَأَنْتَهَكُوا حُرْمَتَ الْإِسْلَامِ اسْتِخْفَافًا ،
وَبَدَّلُوا نِعَمَ اللَّهِ كُفْرًا ، وَأَسْتَحَلُّوا لِإِمَاءِ أَهْلِ سَلِيمِ
(46). جِهْرًا

It is not the aim of this study to demonstrate whether the son of Marwān was qualified to lead a campaign against the Khārijites or not, but otherwise, it may be worth recording here some critical notes:

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

(b) The letter says that God had chosen ‘Abd Allāh b. Marwān to be the crown prince (waliyy al-ahd):

وَبِإِنْ كُنْتُمْ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ - مِنْ رَيْنِ اللَّهِ وَخِلَافَتِهِ بَيْنَ أَصْطَنْعَلِ
(49). اللَّهُ لَوْلَايَةِ الْعَهْدِ . . .

It is worth recording that the statement, "أَصْطَنْعَلِ اللَّهُ" involves two terms not in use in the Umayyad period: the first one is "أَصْطَنْعَلِ", which alludes to a political theory, adopted by the Abbāsīd

caliphs, that the caliph was regarded as a deputy for God " خَلِيفَةُ اللَّهِ " (50). Officially, Ma'mūn was the first 'Abbāsīd caliph to be titled " خَلِيفَةُ اللَّهِ " (51). It might be protested that this title was used before the 'Abbāsīd period, and that Ḥassān b. Thābit, in his elegy on 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, mentions that he was God's caliph (52). It is worth recording that the elegy of Ḥassān has a political tendency, for he accuses 'Alī b. Abī Tālib that he was an accessory to killing 'Uthmān, which might be difficult to prove. Several sources mention that 'Alī was not an accessory to killing 'Uthmān (53). Therefore, much caution is required in dealing with such data. On the other hand, trying to prove that the title " خَلِيفَةُ اللَّهِ " was approved by the Umayyads, Watt and Lambton give some evidence which is not convincing (54). Since the use of this title was resisted by the scholars (ulāma) in the 'Abbāsīd period, as Lambton mentions, it was more likely to have been resisted by the Companions of the Prophet in the Umayyad period. The second term is " وَلِيَّ الْعَهْدِ " (crown prince) which was given for the first time, according to a mintage dating in 164/780, to Mūsā al-Hādī, the son of Mahdī (55). Until that time they used to call the son of the caliph who was nominated to be the crown prince "the son of the Commander of the Faithful" (أَبْنُ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ) (56).

(c) The introduction stresses a controversial problem in Islamic theology which is that knowledge could be obtained by study, patience, and comprehension not by inspiration or self-teaching lest the educator be regarded as God who is the only one to know the unseen (57).

ولو كانت المؤثر بوزن أخذوا العلم من عند أنفسهم، ولقنوه
الهايات من تلقائهم، ولم يتعلموا شيئاً من عند غيرهم، لخلطنا هم علم
الغيب، ووصفنا هم بمنزلة هؤلاء القوم المسنأثر بعلم الغيب عنهم . . .

It is noticeable that the majority of the terms in this statement are theological which may indicate the influence of Greek philosophy.

Part One: General Conduct and Ceremonial

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

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

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

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

its muhkam and contemplating its mutashābih:

(60). ... نَاطِرًا فِي مُحْكَمِهِ ، وَتَتَفَهَّمَهُ مُتَفَكِّرًا فِي مُتَشَابِهِهِ ...

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

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

وَأَعْلَمُ أَنَّ أُقْوَامًا سَيَسْرِعُونَ إِلَيْكَ بِالسَّعَايَةِ وَيَأْتُونَكَ
مِن قَبْلِ النَّصِيحَةِ ... وَلَيْكِن صَاهِبُ شَرْطِكَ ، وَمَنْ أُعْجِبْتَ
أَنْ يَتَوَلَّى ذَلِكَ مِنْ قَوْمِكَ ، إِلَيْهِ بِإِنْهَاؤُ ذَلِكَ . وَهُوَ
الْمَنْصُوبُ لِلدَّوْلَةِ ، وَالْمَسْتَمْعُ لِلدَّعَاوِيلِهِمْ ، وَالْفَاعِلُ
عَنْ نَهْيِ أَهْلِهِمْ ، ثُمَّ لِيُنْصَحَ ذَلِكَ إِلَيْكَ عَلَى مَا يُرْفَعُ إِلَيْهِ
مِنْهُ ، لِتَأْمُرَهُ بِأَمْرِكَ فِيهِ ، وَلْتَقِفَهُ عَلَى رَأْيِكَ ... (63).

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

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

تَمَّ وَإِيَّاكَ أَنْ يَصِلَ إِلَيْكَ أَحَدٌ مِنْ مُنْدِيكَ
وَمُهَلِّسَاتِكَ وَمُهَاسِنَاتِكَ وَبَطَانَتِكَ بِمَسْأَلَةٍ يَكْشِفُهَا
لَكَ، أَوْ مَاجِيَةٍ يَبْدَهُكَ بِطَلِبِهَا، هَتَّى يَرْفَعَهَا
قَبْلَ ذَلِكَ إِلَيَّ كَمَا تَبِكُ الَّذِي أُهَدَفْتَهُ لَذَلِكَ ...
وَبِأَنَّ كَرِهْتُمْ قَضَاءَ مَا جِئْتُمْ بِهِ، وَأَهْبَيْتُمْ رَدَّهُ عَنْ طَلِبَتِهِ،
وَتَقَلَّ عَلَيْكَ رَاجِعَاتُهَا إِلَيْهَا، وَرَاسِعَاتُهَا، أَمَرْتُ
كَاتِبَكَ فَصَفَعَهُ عَنْهَا، وَمَنَعَهُ مِنْ مَوَاجِعَتِكَ بِهَا ...

It was also the duty of the secretary, as the letter says, to report to the governor upon the arrival of delegations and the messengers:

وَكَذَلِكَ فَلْيَكُنْ رَأْيُكَ وَأَمْرُكَ فَيَمْنَعُ طَرُقَ عَيْدِكَ مِنَ
الْوُفُودِ، وَأَتَاكَ مِنَ الرُّسُلِ، فَلَا يَصِلَانِ أَحَدٌ مِنْهُمَ إِلَيْكَ
بَعْدَ وَصُولِ عَامِهِ إِلَيْكَ ... فَإِنْ رَهَلَ إِلَيْكَ أَحَدٌ مِنْهُمْ
فَكَلِّمْكَ بِخِلَافِ مَا أَنْزَلَ إِلَيْكَ كَاتِبُكَ ... (67).

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

... رَفَعْتَهُ عَنْكَ رَفْعًا جَمِيلًا، وَمَنَعْتَهُ
جَوَابَكَ سَنَعًا وَدَيْعًا، ثُمَّ أَمَرْتُ مَاجِيَتَكَ بِرُطُوبِ
الْحِفْوَءِ لَهُ، وَالْعِظْمَةِ عَلَيْهِ، وَمَنَعْتَهُ مِنَ الْوُصُولِ
إِلَيْكَ ... (68).

Though the scribe had a special position in the Umayyad period, he had not to deal with submitting reports to the caliph or receiving messengers or delegations, for dealing with submitting reports was the function of the minister in the 'Abbāsid period who used to be chosen from the secretaries (69). With regard to receiving the messengers and the delegations, it was the duty of the chamberlain (hājib) not the secretary (70).

(e) This general advice and instruction could be sent to any crown prince at any time except during war. It seems that there was indeed a kind of competition in the third and fourth (ninth and tenth) centuries between those of Persian culture and of Greek culture, as Badawī has said, so that every party tried to participate in this competition by composing such advice and instruction. For example, Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, the secretary of Ma'mūn, mentions in his work "al-Uhūd al-Yunāniyya" three commitments: from a king to his son, from a minister to his son, and from a common man to his son (71).

Part Two: Military Rules

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

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

(b) The crown prince was advised not to open hostilities before trying to persuade his enemy to return to the community and obedience to the caliph:

وَأَبْدَأَ بِالْإِعْذَارِ لِذَلِكَ عُدُّوكَ ، وَالذَّمَّ لِذَلِكَ لَهُمْ
لِذَلِكَ مُرَاجَعَةَ الطَّاعَةِ ، وَأَمْرَ الْجَمَاعَةِ ، وَعِزًّا
الْأُلْفَةِ ، أَخَذًا بِالْحُجَّةِ عَلَيْهِمْ ، مُتَقَدِّمًا
بِإِذْنِهِمْ لَهُمْ ، بِإِطْمَأْنَانِكَ لِمَنْ لَجَأَ إِلَيْكَ
مِنْهُمْ ، دَاعِيًا لَهُمْ بِاللِّينِ لِفِطْرِكَ ...

(75)

Such general military procedure could be followed in any case of warfare except the case of Dahhāk who had a firm intention of rebelling against Marwān II in order to eliminate the Umayyad regime. In fact, he conquered some garrisons as has been mentioned in the historical background. If he had not been killed, he would not have stopped fighting the Umayyads. On the other hand, the son of Marwān was ordered to prevent Dahhāk from conquering the midland of Jazīra, not to court his friendship.

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

وَأَمْذَرُ أَنْ تَكُنَ مَبَاشِرَةً عَنْهُمْ (الطَّلُوعِ)
وَأَنْتَعَاهُمْ إِلَى أَهْلِيهِمْ أَوْ كَتَابِكَ ... (76).

It might be well known that it was not the duty of the Umayyad secretary to choose and review the vanguards, for it was the duty of the 'Abbāsid minister (wazīr) (77).

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

... مُتَفَرِّقِينَ فِيهِمْ كَرْدُوسًا كَرْدُوسًا ... (78).

Once again the tarassul and verbosity cause some confusion in the text, for the writer, after fourteen pages, mentions another method of fighting namely the "ranks" (sufūf).

It is worth recording that Marwān used to fight according to the rank rule, but after the death of Dahhāk, he used the cohort rule (79).

(e) Sequestration of property may not be regarded as an Umayyad phenomenon because of its close connection to the 'Abbāsīd ministry system. It was distinctive for the 'Abbāsīd period so that they originated a new bureau called the bureau of sequestration, for it became a main source of revenue (80).

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

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

... فَإِذَا غَرَبَتِ الشَّمْسُ ، وَوَجِبَتْ نَوْرُهَا ، أُخْرِجِ
إِلَيْهِمْ صَاهِبُ تَعَبَتِكَ أَيْدِيَهُمْ ، عَسَسًا بِاللَّيْلِ مِنْ
أَقْرَبَ مِنْ مَوَاضِعِ رِبَاتِي النَّهَارِ ... (81)

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

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

وَرَأَى أُسْتَطَعَتْ أَنْ تَكُونَ أَنْتَ الْمَبَايِرَ لِتَعْبَتِي جُنْدِكَ ،
وَوَضَعِيهِمْ مَوَاضِعَهُمْ مِنْ رَايَاتِكَ ... عَلَى التَّعْبَتِ الَّتِي
أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَأَصْفِيكَ فَوَافِرُ كِتَابِهِ هَذَا ، فَاغْفِرْ لِي يَا سَيِّدَ الْوَالِدِ الْوَالِدِ . (84)

Unfortunately, such description of mobilization is missing from the end of the letter.

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

On the other hand, some of the military rules in this letter are also identical with those in the works of Aḥmad b. Yūsuf "al-Uhūd al-Yūnāniyya", Yūḥannā al-Biṭriq "Sirr al-Asrār", and 'Amirī "al-Sa'āda wal-Is'ād" (88). It may not be easy to accept the assumption that these authors copied from this letter, for first, "Sirr al-Asrār" was translated at the time of Ma'mūn (i.e., after the death of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd). Secondly, the works of Aḥmad b. Yūsuf

and 'Amirī were extracted from the Greek books as their authors claim (89). None of them mentions that he consulted the letter of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd when he composed his book. However, it may be difficult to reach a decision with regard to this problem, but otherwise, I would incline to be reluctant in accepting this letter as authentic and as a specimen of Umayyad chancery practice. A letter may have been sent from Marwān II to his son, but certainly it was not this one.

2 - FROM 'ABD AL-ḤAMĪD TO THE SECRETARIES

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

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

(a) The phrase "craft of secretaryship" (sinā'at al-kitāba) indicates the development of secretaryship in the 'Abbāsīd period where it became an independent craft (91). The secretaries were also almost independent, so that they would be regarded as members of a clerical guild, while

the secretaryship in the Umayyad period was restricted to practical purposes as has been mentioned. (b) Mentioning the rank of the secretaries, the writer says:

فِيَا لَلَّهِ - عَزَّ وَجَلَّ - جَعَلَ النَّاسَ بَعْدَ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ ،
وَمِنَ بَعْدِ الْمُلُوكِ الْمَلِكِينَ أَحْسَنًا ... فَجَعَلَكُمْ
مَعَشَرَ الْكُتَّابِ فِي أَسْرَفِ الْجَرَاتِ ... وَبِصَالِحِكُمْ
يُصَالِحُ اللَّهُ لِلْخَلْعِ سُلْطَانَهُمْ ... لِأَسْتَعِينِي الْمَلِكُ مِنْكُمْ ...
فَمَوْعِدِكُمْ مِنَ الْمُلُوكِ ... (92)

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

(c) The secretaries in the Umayyad period did not reach the rank of minister as did their colleagues in the 'Abbāsīd period, for the Umayyad caliphs refused their secretaries that title (96), while in the 'Abbāsīd period, the best of the secretaries used to be addressed as ministers (97). Furthermore, the secretary was given such

authority that he issued documents freely, and put his own signature to them at the end (98). Thus, the characteristics and functions of the secretaries mentioned in the letter might not be applied to the Umayyad secretaries, for (1) advising the secretaries, the writer says:

فَإِذَا وُلِّيَ الرَّجُلُ مِنْكُمْ ، أَوْ صَبَّرَ رَأْيَهُ مِنْ أَمْرِ
فَلْيَقِ اللَّهَ وَعِيَالَهُ أَمْرًا ، فَلْيُرَاقِبِ اللَّهَ - عَزَّ وَجَلَّ -
وَلْيُؤَمِّرْ طَاعَتَهُ ، وَلْيَكُنْ عَلَيْهِ الضَّعِيفُ رَفِيقًا ،
وَالنَّظَامُ مُنْصِفًا ، ... ثُمَّ لْيَكُنْ بِالْعَدْلِ حَاطِمًا ،
وَاللِّسَانُ مَكْرَمًا ، وَاللِّفْظُ مَوْفِرًا ، وَاللِّبَاسُ دَرَعًا مَرَامًا ،
وَاللِّعِينَةُ مُتَأَلِّفًا ، وَعَيْنُ رَأْيِهِمْ مُتَخَلِّفًا ، وَلْيَكُنْ فِي مَجْلِسِهِ مُوَاضِعًا
حَلِيمًا ، وَفِي سَبَلَتِهِ فَرَاهِمًا ، وَاسْتِقْضَاءِ حُقُوقِهِ رَفِيقًا . (99)

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

وَلَا يُجَاوِزَنَّ الرَّجُلُ مِنْكُمْ - فِي هَيْئَةِ مَجْلِسِهِ
وَمَلْبَسِهِ وَمَرْكَبِهِ ، وَمَطْعَمِهِ وَمَشْرَبِهِ ، وَبَيْتِهِ
وَعَدْوِهِ ، وَغَيْرِ ذَلِكَ مِنْ فَنُونِ أَمْرِهِ - قَدْرَ حَقِّهِ ... (101)

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

to be hesitant where hesitation is needed . . . etc.:

فَإِنَّ الْكَاتِبَ يَحْتَاجُ مِنْ نَفْسِهِ ، وَحَيْثُ جُ مِّنْهُ
صَاحِبُهُ الَّذِي يَتَوَقَّعُ بِهِ فِي مِرَاتِمَاتِهِ أُمُورِهِ :
أَنْ يَكُونَ هَلِيمًا فِي مَوْضِعِ الْحَلْمِ ، فَهَيِّمًا فِي
مَوْضِعِ الْحُكْمِ ، مَقْدَامًا فِي مَوْضِعِ الْإِقْدَامِ ، مَحْجَمًا
فِي مَوْضِعِ الْإِحْجَامِ ، مُؤْتَرًّا لِلْعَفَافِ
وَالْعَدْلِ وَالِإِضَافِ . . . (103)

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

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

وَرَأَى نَبَا الرِّمَانِ بِرَجُلٍ مِنْكُمْ . . .
أَلَّا فَاعْنُوا - رَحِمَكُمُ اللَّهُ - فِي النَّظَرِ ، وَأَعْمَلُوا
فِيهِ مَا أَمْكَنَكُمْ مِنَ الرَّوِيحِ وَالْفِكْرِ ، تَأْمَنُوا بِأَرْزَنِ
اللَّهِ مِمَّنْ صَحِبْتُمُوهُ النَّبُوَّةَ وَالْإِسْتِقَالَ وَالْحِفْوَةَ ،
وَيَصِيرُ مِنْكُمْ إِلَى الْمَوَافَقَةِ ، وَيَصِيرُونَ مِنْكُمْ إِلَى الْمَوَاضَاةِ . . . (106)

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

فَإِنَّ الْكَاتِبَ يَحْتَاجُ مِنْ نَفْسِهِ ، وَحَيْثُ جُ مِّنْهُ صَاحِبُهُ . . .
وَلَا ذَا صَحْبٍ أُهْدِيكَ رَجُلًا . . .
وَالْكَاتِبُ أَوْلَى بِالرَّفْعِ بِصَاحِبِهِ . . . (107)

Then he advises the secretary to be an expert groom--like one who knows how to deal with his animal in order to know how to deal with his caliph:

وإذا صِيبَ أهدكم رهلاً ، فليختره خلائقكم ...
وقد علمتم أن سائس البهيمة ، إذا كان بصيراً
بسياسيتها ، ألتصن معرفة أخذ قيرها ...
والطاب ... أولى بالرفق بصاحبه
ومداراته وتقوم أوره من سائس
البهيمة

(108)

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

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

فتنافسوا يامعسر الكتاب من صنوف الأداب ،
وتفقهوا في الدين ، وأبدؤوا بعلم كتاب الله
- عز وجل - والفرائض ، ثم العربية فإنها تقايف
السننكم ، ثم أجيدوا الخط فإنه هبة كسبكم ،
وأروا الأستار ، وأعرفوا غريبها ومعانيها ، وأيام العرب
والعجم وأهاريها وسيرها ، فإن ذلك معين لكم على ما تسموا
إليه همكم . ولا تصيغوا النظر في الحساب فإنه قوام كتاب الخراج .

(111)

It needs hardly be said that the scribes in the Umayyad period were chosen from those who were well acquainted with

Arabic and rhetoric. Thus, such calling for competition between the secretaries could be regarded as an indication of the fact that the language of secretaries had become corrupt in the 'Abbāsīd period, so that they were not capable of writing in a fine style (112). This situation induced Ibn Qutaiba, Ibn al-Mudabbir, and Ṣūlī to compose books dealing with the rules of chancery writing, epistolary format, subjects to be learned, grammatical instructions, and calligraphy (113). It is also puzzling that the secretaries were advised to be acquainted with both Arab and non-Arab political and historical events (ayyām al-'Arab wal-'Ajam), for the Umayyad secretaries were not in need of such themes in their chancery writing, while the 'Abbāsīd secretaries were in need of it, particularly those who were ambitious to be ministers. The statement

“ فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ مُعِينٌ عَلَى مَا تَسْتَمُوا إِلَيْهِ هَمَمِكُمْ ... ”

(it will be helpful to you in your ambition) may support this view, for the minister was in need of such a subject, and indeed could learn much from it.

(g) Finally, it is notable that the letter includes such invocations (ad'īya) as “ حَفِظَاكُمْ اللَّهُ ” and “ تَوَلَّانا اللَّهُ وَوَيْتَاكُمْ ” for instance (114). Such invocations had been widely used in the 'Abbāsīd chancery practice since the reign of Rashīd (115).

However, according to the aforesaid argument, though it is not easy to reach a final decision with regard to such a problem, I would incline to consider this letter together with the others ascribed to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd representative of 'Abbāsīd prose not the Umayyad. Owing to this assumption, these letters would not be appropriate for studying

Umayyad chancery practice and its stylistic characteristics. They also would not be appropriate for studying the style of 'Abd al-Hamīd and his development of the Umayyad chancery if he did so.

NOTES

1. Murūj, vol. III, p. 263; Wafayāt, vol. III, p. 228; Sarḥ, p. 238; Qalqashandī, vol. VI, p. 391.
2. Fihrist, p. 170.
3. Gibb, E.I., vol. I, p. 65; M. Lang, A Guide to Eastern Literature, p. 30; c.f. M. Kurd 'Alī, "Abd al-Ḥamid al-Kātib", MMI, vol. 9, p. 520, and Umarā' al-Bayān, p. 11f; Mardam, "Abd al-Ḥamid al-Kātib", MMI, vol. 14, p. 395; Farrūkh, Tārīkh al-Adab, vol. I, p. 725; Hūfi, Adab al-Siyāsa, p. 563; Daif, al-ʿAsr al-Islāmi, p. 479.
4. Hijāb, Rawā'i' al-Adab, p. 271
5. Badawī, al-Buḥturī, p. 21
6. Maqdisī, Tatawur al-Asālīb al-Nathriyya, p. 151.
7. al-Ḥikma al-Khālida, p. 65.
8. Bayān, vol. I, p. 115; Sinā'atayn, p. 173.
9. See p. 42 above.
10. See for example the tahmīds of Ahmad b. Yūsuf in al-Manthūr wal-Manzūm, fol. 102-104; Jamhara, vol. III, pp. 397-99.
11. Manthūr, fol. 104; Jamhara, vol. II, p. 469.
12. See for example Tansar, introduction, p. 205 (Persian text), and p. 24 (Arabic text).
13. See for example, Margoliouth, Catalogue, p. 28f; Grohmann, From the World of Arabic Papyri, p. 132f; c.f. Akhbar al-Daula al-Abbasiyya, pp. 305-11; the letter of Marwān II to the population of Damascus in Azdī, Tārīkh al-Mausil, p. 65; see also his letter to the population of Egypt, in, Kindī, Wulāt Miṣr, p. 217f.
14. See above pp. 47-58, c.f. the sources in note 13 above.
15. See Jamhara, vol. III, pp. 113, 120, 375, 377, 433, 460, 471, 511, and vol. IV, pp. 46-57.
16. Jamhara, vol. II, pp. 370-75, 406-474, 486f.
17. Balawī, al-ʿAtā' al-Jazīl, fols. 22, 55, 19, 121-125. I have the intention to edit and publish these letters in a separate book about 'Abd al-Ḥamid.
18. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 468.
19. Balawī, fol. 22.

20. Ṭabarī, vol. VI, pp. 140-45; Bidāya, vol. VIII, p. 307.
21. Ṭabarī, vol. VII, pp. 143-45.
22. Balawī, fol. 121; Ṭabarī, vol. VII, p. 327.
23. Ibid., p. 345.
24. Khayyāt, vol. II, p. 573; Ṭabarī, vol. VII, p. 344; Azdī, Tārīkh, p. 71; Kāmil, vol. V, p. 266; Bidāya, vol. X, p. 28.
25. Ṭabarī, vol. VII, p. 345.
26. Bidāya, vol. X, p. 23; Ṭabarī, vol. VII, p. 327.
27. Bidāya, vol. X, p. 25
28. Ṭabarī, vol. VII, p. 345; Azdī, p. 70.
29. Azdī, p. 69; Ṭabarī, vol. VII, p. 345; Khayyāt, vol. II, p. 573.
30. Dennett, Marwān b. Muḥammad, p. 258 based on Ansāb.
31. Ibid.
32. Manthūr, fol. 77-85; Jamhara, vol. II, pp. 404-55.
33. Qalqashandī, vol. 10, p. 195.
34. See p. 89 above.
35. See p. 38 above.
36. See the letter of Aḥmad b. Yūsuf (al-Khamīs) in Jamhara, vol. III, p. 377; Rifa'ī, Asr al-Ma'mūn, vol. III, p. 37.
37. See p. 43 above.
38. See for example, Jamhara, p. 407:

ولولا ما أمر الله تعاف به كذا عليه ، ونقدت
فيه الحكماء ، أمرين به : من تقديم العظة ، والتذكير
لأهل المعرفة ، وكانوا أولي سابقية في الفضل ، وفيها
في العلم ، لا عتمد أمير المؤمنين منذ على اصطناع الله لإيالي ..
39. See the letters of those secretaries in Jamhara, vol. III, pp. 113-512.
40. Bidāya, vol. X, p. 272; Asr al-Ma'mūn, vol. III, p. 5.
41. A. Ibn al-Mu'tazz, al-Badī, p. 53: for more details with regard to M.K., see, Wansbrough, "A Note on Arabic

rhetoric", pp. 55-63, and "Arabic Rhetoric and Qur'anic Exegesis", pp. 469-85.

42. Rasā'il al-Jāhiz, "Ma bain al-'Adāwa wal-Ḥasad", p. 350f.
43. Shalḥat al-Yasū'ī, al-Naz'a al-Kalāmiyya, p. 174f.
44. See pp. 84, 125 above; the letter of Marwān II to the population of Egypt, in Kindī, Wulāt Misr, p. 217f.
45. Ṣūlī, p. 150.
46. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 406.
47. See for example the letter of 'Abd al-Malik to his brother, p. 84 above and the letter of Hajjāj concerning Rutbīl, p. 88 above.
48. Al-'Uhūd al-Yūnāniyya, p. 23.
49. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 406f.
50. Bāshā, al-Alqāb al-Islāmiyya, pp. 59, 276f; cf. the letter of Ma'mūn to Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, in 'Asr al-Ma'mun, vol. III, p. 7.
51. Al-Alqāb al-Islāmiyya, p. 278.
52. Ḥassān b. Thābit, Dīwān, vol. I, p. 96.
53. See for example, 'Awāsim, p. 97; Ansāb, vol. V, p. 99ff; 'Iqd, vol. IV, p. 302.
54. Watt, "God's Caliph", Iran and Islam, pp. 565-74; Lambton, "Khalifa", E.I., vol. IV, pp. 947-59; cf. Margoliouth, "The Sense of the Title Khalifa", A Volume of Oriental Studies, pp. 322-328.
55. Ibid., p. 543.
56. Ibid., p. 197.
57. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 407; for this problem, see, 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Uṣūl al-Khamsa, p. 67.
58. Lisān, s.v. ḥakama; cf. Tūmī al-Shaibānī, Muqaddima fī al-Falsafa, pp. 17ff.
59. Ashārī, Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn, vol. II, pp. 8-13.; al-Mubashshir b. Fātik, Mukhtār al-Hikam, pp. 27, 199, 207.
60. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 409.
61. See for example, 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Uṣūl al-Khamsa, p. 599; Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn, vol. I, p. 239f; cf. Shalḥat, al-Naz'a al-Kalāmiyya, p. 21; for more details about Muḥkam and Mutashābih, see Wansbrough, Qur'anic Studies, pp. 149-57.

62. Al-Uhūd al-Yūnaniyya, p. 26.
63. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 415.
64. Muqaddima, vol. II, p. 625; Ma'ādiqī, Wāsiṭ fi al-Asr al-Umawī, p. 271; Khammāsh, al-Idāra fi al-Asr al-Umawī, pp. 316-19.
65. Al-Idāra fi al-Asr al-Umawī, p. 317.
66. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 417.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid., p. 418.
69. Mas'ūdī, Tanbih, p. 294; Muqaddima, vol. II, p. 605; see below.
70. See for example, Sourdél, "Hājib", E.I., vol. III, p. 45; S. Ṣāliḥ, Nuzum, p. 306f; Qalqashandī, vol. V, p. 449; Rusūm, pp. 71-79; Rasā'il al-Jāhiz, "Min Kitāb al-Hājib", p. 159f.
71. Al-Uhūd al-Yūnaniyya, pp. 5-64.
72. See p. 151 above.
73. 'Abbās, Malāmiḥ, p. 105; Daif, al-Asr al-Islāmī, p. 477.
74. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 426.
75. Ibid., p. 426f.
76. Ibid., p. 438.
77. Muqaddima, vol. II, pp. 605ff; Ḥasan, al-Nuzum al-Islāmiyya, p. 146; T.S. al-Yūzbakī, al-Wizāra, pp. 45-51, 84; Māwardī, Qawānīn al-Wizāra, pp. 173ff.
78. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 440.
79. Kāmil, vol. II, p. 200; Ṭabarī, vol. VII, p. 349; 'Aūn, al-Fann al-Ḥarbi, p. 225; Kremer, Orient Under the Caliphs, p. 323.
80. Ṣābi, Tuhfat al-Umarā'; Asr al-Ma'mūn, vol. I, p. 312f.
81. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 446.
82. Al-Fann al-Ḥarbi, p. 168; Lisān, s.v. dabba; Maḥmūd, al-Ḥarb 'ind al-'Arab, pp. 78ff.
83. Harthamī, Mukhtasar, p. 26.
84. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 455.
85. See Jamhara, vol. II, pp. 429, 431, 432, 442, 444, 445, 446, 447, 449; cf. Harthamī, pp. 19, 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, 32, 48.

86. See Fihrist, p. 437; and cf. the introduction of the editor, p. 8f. In fact I could not find any information with regard to Harthamī.
87. Harthamī, p. 11; for works of predecessors, see, C. Becker, "Turāth al-Awā'il, in al-Turāth al-Yūnānī, p. 3f; and Goldziher, "Mauqif Ahl al-Sunna", in al-Turāth al-Yūnānī, p. 123f.
88. Al-Uhūd al-Yūnāniyya, p. 31; Sirr al-Asrār, pp. 149-51; al-Sa'āda wal-Is'ād, p. 329f.
89. See for example the title of al-Uhūd al-Yūnāniyya and the introduction of al-Sa'āda wal-Is'ād, p. 4f.
90. Ibn al-Mudabbir, al-Risāla al-Adhrā', pp. 15, 25f.
91. Muqqadima, vol. II, p. 605.
92. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 456.
93. For the title of king, see, Qalqashandī, vol. V, p. 447; al-Alqāb al-Islāmiyya, pp. 497, 498, 504.
94. Qalqashandī, vol. V., p. 447.
95. Ibid.
96. Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 294.
97. Ibid.; Tuḥfat al-Umarā', p. 348.
98. Muqaddima, vol. II, p. 605f.
99. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 458.
100. See the sources in note 70 above.
101. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 459.
102. Yūzbakī, Wizāra, p. 45.
103. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 456.
104. See Yūzbakī, Wizāra, pp. 34-40.
105. Ibid., pp. 78-83.
106. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 457f.
107. Jamhara, vol. II, pp. 456-58.
108. Ibid., p. 458.
109. About this era see, Yūzbakī, Wizāra, p. 120.
110. Ibid., p. 127.
111. Jamhara, vol. II, p. 456.

112. Ibn Qutaiba, Adab al-Kātib, p. 2f.

113. Ibid., p. 6f.

114. Jamhara, vol. II, pp. 455-60.

115. ṣūlī, p. 150-53.

وينكشف عنك المرءُ ، فإن شئت فمير ، وإن شئت فقتر ، ولا أرى الإقامة لك إلا
رَبِّتْ أَنْ بَاتِيكَ مَا أُوْعِدُكَ [فإني وإياك كالزجاجة والحجر : إن وقع عليها رَضًا ،
وإن وقعت عليه فضَّها^(١)] فآتمر أمرك ، فإنك غير مُكذَّب ، ولا ناكص^(٢) ،
والسلام .
(اختيار المنظوم والنثور ١٣ : ٤٢٠ ، ونثر الدرر ٣ : ٢٥٦)

٥٥ - رسالة عبد الحميد بن يحيى الكاتب عن مروان إلى ابنه عبد الله بن مروان

وكتب عبد الحميد بن يحيى الكاتب عن مروان بن محمد إلى ابنه عبد الله بن
مروان ، حين وجهه لمحاربة الضحاك بن قيس الشيباني الخارجي^(٣) :

« أما بعد ، فإن أمير المؤمنين - عند ما أعتزم عليه ، من توجيهك إلى عدو الله
الْخَلْفِ الْجَافِي الْأَعْرَابِي الْمَسْكَمِ^(٤) فِي حَيْرَةِ الْجَهْلَاءِ ، وَظَلَمِ الْفِتْنَةَ ، وَمَهَاوِي الْمَلَكَاتِ ،
وَرَعَايَةِ الَّذِينَ عَاتَوْا^(٥) فِي أَرْضِ اللَّهِ فساداً ، وَاَتَهَكَّوْا حُرْمَةَ الْإِسْلَامِ اسْتِخْفَافًا ، وَبَدَّلُوا
نِعْمَ اللَّهِ كَفْرًا ، وَاسْتَحَلُّوا دِمَاءَ أَهْلِ سَيْمِهِ جَهْلًا - أَحَبَّ أَنْ يَقْعَدَ إِلَيْكَ فِي لَطَائِفِ^(٦)
أُمُورِكَ ، وَعَوَامِّ شَتُونِكَ ، وَدَخَائِلِ أَحْوَالِكَ ، وَمُضْطَرَفِ^(٧) تَفْئِكَ ، عَهْدًا بِمَحْمَلِكَ
فِيهِ أَدَبُهُ ، وَيَشْرَعَ لَكَ بِهِ عِظْتَهُ ، وَإِنْ كُنْتَ - وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ - مِنْ دِينِ اللَّهِ وَخِلَافَتِهِ

(١) لم يرد في نثر الدرر من هذه الرسالة إلا ما بين القوسين .

(٢) نكص عن الأمر : أحجم ورجع .

(٣) خرج الضحاك سنة ١٢٧ هـ وغلب على الكوفة ، ثم استولى على الموصل وكورها سنة ١٢٨ هـ ،
وبلغ مروان خبره وهو محاصر حصن مشغل بقتال أهلها ، فكتب إلى ابنه عبد الله وهو خليفته بالجزيرة ،
بأمره أن يسير فيمن معه إلى نصيبين ليثقل الضحاك عن توسط الجزيرة ، فشخص عبد الله إلى نصيبين وهو
في نحو من سبعة آلاف أو ثمانية ، وسار إليه الضحاك من الموصل فقاتله ، فلم يكن لعبد الله قوة لكثرة
من مع الضحاك ، إذ قيل إنه كان في عشرين ومائة ألف ، ثم إن مروان سار إليه فالتقى بأرض كفرتونا
من أعمال ماردين فقاتله ، وأحدقت بهم خيول مروان فألحوا عليهم حتى قتلهم ، وبعث مروان برأس
الضحاك إلى مدائن الجزيرة فطيف به فيها - انظر تاريخ الطبري ٩ : ٧٦ .

(٤) تسكم : مشى مشياً متعسفاً ، وتهادى في الباطل . (٥) أفسدوا .

(٦) جمع لطيف وهو الدقيق ، لطف ككرم صنودق .

(٧) اضطرب ، تصرف في طلب الكسب . وفي المنظوم والنثور « مضطرب » من اضطرب : أي

تحرك وهو افتعل من ضرب في الأرض : إذا خرج تاجراً أو غازياً ، أو صار فيها في ابتغاء الرزق .

بمحيث اصطنعتك^(١) الله لولاية العهد ، مخصّصاً لك بذلك دون حُمتك^(٢) وبنى أهلك .
ولولا ما أمر الله تعالى به دالاً عليه ، وتقدّمت فيه الحكمة أمرين به : من تقديم
العظة ، والتذكير لأهل المعرفة ، وإن كانوا أولى سابقية في الفضل ، وخصيصاً في العلم^(٣)
لاعتقاد أمير المؤمنين منك على اصطناع الله إياك ، وتفضيله لك بما رآك أهله في محلك
من أمير المؤمنين ، وسبقك إلى رغائب أخلاقه ، وانتزاعك محمود شيمه ، واستيلائك
على مشايبه تدبيره .

ولو كان المؤدّبون أخذوا العلم من عند أنفسهم ، ولقنوه إلهاماً من تلقائهم ، ولم
يتعلّموا شيئاً من عند غيرهم ، لنحلّناهم^(٤) علم الغيب ، ووضعناهم بمنزلة خالقهم^(٥)
المستأثر بعلم الغيب عنهم بوحدايته وفراديته في إلهيته ، احتجاباً بما منهم لتعقب
في حكمه ، وثبتت في سلطانه ، وتنفيذ إرادته على سابق مشيئته ، ولكن العالم
الموفق للخير ، المخصوص بالفضل ، المحبّب بمزية العلم وصفوته ، أدركه معاناً عليه بأظف
بحته ، وإذلال كنفه ، وحيّة فهمه ، وهجر سأمته .

وقد تقدّم أمير المؤمنين إليك ، آخذاً بالحجة عليك ، مؤدّياً حق الله الواجب عليه
في إرشادك وقضاء حقتك ، وما ينظر به الوالد اللعني الشفيق لولده ، وأمير المؤمنين
يرجو أن ينزّهك الله عن كل قبيح يهش^(٦) له طمع ، وأن يعصمك من كل مكروه
حاق بأحد ، وأن يحصنك من كل آفة استولت على أمرى في دين أو خلق ، وأن يبلغه

(١) أي اختارك . (٢) اللعنة : القرابة .

(٣) في المنظوم والمنثور (بعد إصلاح ما فيه) : « ولولا ما أمر الله به دالاً عليه بتقدمة المعرفة لمن
كانوا أولى سابقة في الدين وخصيصي في العلم » وخصه بالشيء خصاً (بالفتح) وخصوصاً وخصوصية (بالفتح
والضم) وخصيصي (بالكسر والقصر و«د » وخصية (بالفتح والتشديد) ونخصه : فضله .

(٤) أي لنسبنا إليهم . (٥) في صنيح الأعشى : « ووضعناهم بمنزلة قصر بها عنهم خالقهم
المستأثر بعلم الغيب عنهم بوحدايته في فراديته وسابق لا هويتته » .

(٦) هش (من بابي تعب وضرب) هشاشة وهشاشا : إذا خف إليه وارتاح له ونشط ، وهو به
هش بش ، والطمع : الطامع .

فيك أحسن ما لم يزل يُعوّده ويُرِيه من آمارِ نعمةِ الله عليك ، ساميةً بك إلى ذُرْوَةِ الشرف ، مُتَبَحِّجَةً^(١) بك بسطةِ الكرم ، لائحةً بك في أزهرِ معالي الأدب ، مُورِثَةً لك أنفَسَ ذخائرِ العزِّ ، والله يستخيفُ عليك أمير المؤمنين ، ويسألُ حياطتَكَ ، وأن يعصمَكَ من زَيْغِ الهوى ، ويحضركَ داعيَ التوفيق ، مُعَانًا على الإرشاد فيه ، فإنه لا يُعين على الخير ، ولا يوفق له إلا هو .

اعلم أن للحكمة مسالكَ تُفصِي مَضَائِقَ أوائلها - بمن أمها صالحا ، وركب أخطارها^(٢) فاصداً إلى سعة عاقبتها ، وأمن سرحها^(٣) ، وشرف عزها ، وأنها لا تعارُ بِسُخْفِ الخفة ، ولا تُنشأ بتفريط الغفلة ، ولا يُتعدى فيها بامرئٍ حدّه^(٤) ، وربما أظهرت بسطةَ التي مستور العيب ، وقد تلقنتك أخلاقُ الحكمة من كل جهة بفضلها ، من غير تعبِ البحث في طلبها ، ولا تطاولٍ لِنَالِ ذروتها^(٥) ، بل تأملت^(٦) منها أكرم تبعاتها ، واستخلصت منها أعتق^(٧) جواهرها ، ثم سموت^(٨) إلى لُباب مُصاصها ، وأحرزت منفس^(٩) ذخايرها ، فافتعد^(١٠) ما أحرزت ، ونافس فيما أصبت .

(١) تبجج : تمكن في المقام والمحلل ، وتبجج الدار : توسعها . وفي المنظوم والمنتثور « ومنججة لك بسطة الكرم » .

(٢) في المنظوم والمنتثور : « وركب أخطارها » .

(٣) السرح : فناء الدار . (٤) وفي المنظوم والمنتثور : « وأنها لا تعاف سُخْفِ الخفة ، ولا تنسى بتفريط الغفلة ، ولا يتعدى فيها بأمن حد وهو تحريف » .

(٥) في المنظوم والمنتثور « ولا متطاول النال لذروتها » وفي صبح الأعشى « ولا متطاول لناولة ذروتها » وقد ضبط « متطاول » بكسر الواو بصيغة اسم الفاعل ، والأنسب أن يكون بفتح الواو على أنه مصدر ميمي ، لمعطفه على مصدر وهو « تعب » وربما كان الأصل « ولا تطاول » بصيغة المصدر كما أوردته . (٦) تأمل المسال : اكتسبه . والنيم : شجر تتخذ منه القسي ، وتتخذ من أغصانه السهام ، الواحدة نيمعة . وفي المنظوم والمنتثور « أكرم معانيها » .

(٧) من العتق بالكسر ، وهو الكرم والجمال .

(٨) في المنظوم والمنتثور « ثم شمزت » ، ولباب كل شيء وله بالضم : خالصه ، والمصاص : خالص كل شيء أيضا . (٩) نفس الشيء - بالضم فهو نفيس ونافس : رفع وصار مرغوبا فيه ، وأنفس فهو منفس : صار نفيسا ، وأمر منفوس فيه : أي مرغوب فيه .

(١٠) افتعد الدابة : ركبها ، والمعنى تمسك به واحرس عليه .

واعلم أن احتواءك على ذلك ، وَسَبِّكَ إِلَيْهِ بِإِخْلَاصٍ تَقْوَى اللَّهِ فِي جَمِيعِ أُمُورِكَ مُؤَثِّرًا بِهَا ، وَإِضْمَارِ طَاعَتِهِ مُنْطَوِيًا عَلَيْهَا^(١) ، وَإِعْظَامِ مَا أَنْعَمَ اللَّهُ بِهِ عَلَيْكَ شَاكِرًا لَهُ ، مُرْتَبِطًا فِيهِ لِلْمَزِيدِ ، بِحُسْنِ الْحَيَاةِ لَهُ ، وَالذَّبِّ عَنْهُ مِنْ أَنْ تَدْخُلَكَ مِنْهُ سَامَةٌ مَلَالٍ ، أَوْ غَفْلَةٌ ضَيَاعٍ ، أَوْ سِنَةٌ تَهَاوُنٍ ، أَوْ جَهَالَةٌ مَعْرِفَةٍ ، فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ أَحَقُّ مَا بُدِيَ بِهِ وَنُظِرَ فِيهِ ، مَعْتَمِدًا عَلَيْهِ بِالْقُوَّةِ وَالْآلَةِ وَالْمُدَّةِ ، وَالْإِنْفِرَادِ بِهِ مِنَ الْأَصْحَابِ وَالْحَامَةِ^(٢) ، فَتَمَسَّكَ بِهِ لِاجْتِمَاعِ إِلَيْهِ ، وَاعْتِمَادِ عَلَيْهِ مُؤَثِّرًا لَهُ ، وَالتَّجِيُّ إِلَى كَنْفِهِ مُتَحَيِّرًا إِلَيْهِ^(٣) ، فَإِنَّهُ أْبْلَغُ مَا طُلِبَ بِهِ رِضَا اللَّهِ ، وَأَنْجَحُهُ مَسْأَلَةٌ ، وَأَجْرَلُهُ ثَوَابًا ، وَأَعْوَدُهُ نِعْمًا^(٤) ، وَأَعْتَمَهُ صِلَاحًا ، أَرشِدَكَ اللَّهُ لِحُظَّتِكَ ، وَفَهَّمَكَ سَدَادَهُ ، وَأَخَذَ بِقَلْبِكَ إِلَى مَحْمُودِهِ .

ثم اجعل لله في كل صباح يُنْعِمُ عَلَيْكَ بِبُلُوغِهِ ، وَيَظْهَرُ مِنْكَ السَّلَامَةُ فِي إِشْرَاقِهِ ، مِنْ نَفْسِكَ نَصِيبًا تَجْعَلُهُ لِلَّهِ ، شَاكِرًا عَلَى إِبْلَاغِهِ إِيَّاكَ يَوْمَكَ ذَلِكَ بِصِحَّةِ جَوْرَاحٍ ، وَعَافِيَةِ بَدَنِ . وَسُبُوغِ^(٥) نِعْمٍ ، وَظُهُورِ كَرَامَةٍ ، وَأَنْ تَقْرَأَ فِيهِ مِنْ كِتَابِ اللَّهِ عِزَّ وَجَلَّ جِزْمًا تُرَدُّدَ رَأْيِكَ فِي آيِهِ^(٦) ، وَتُزَيِّنَ^(٧) لَفْظَكَ بِقِرَاءَتِهِ ، وَتُحَضِّرَهُ عَقْلَكَ نَاطِرًا فِي مُحْكَمِهِ ، وَتَتَفَهَّمَهُ مُتَفَكِّرًا فِي مُتَشَابِهِهِ ، فَإِنَّ فِي الْقُرْآنِ شِفَاءَ الْقُلُوبِ مِنْ أَمْرَاضِهَا ، وَجِلَاءَ وَسَاوِسِ الشَّيْطَانِ وَسَفَاسِفِهِ^(٨) ، وَضِيَاءَ مَعَالِمِ النُّورِ - تَبَيَّنَا لِلكُلِّ شَيْءٍ وَهَدَى وَرَحْمَةً لِقَوْمٍ يُؤْمِنُونَ .

ثم تعهد نفسك بمجاهدة هواك ، فإنه مغلق الحسنة ، ومفتاح السيئات ، وخصم العقل .

- (١) وفي المنظوم والمنثور « واصطبار طاعته » .
- (٢) الحامة : خاصة الرجل من أهله وولده .
- (٣) وفي المنظوم والمنثور « والتجى إلى كنفه متحرزا به » .
- (٤) وفيه « وأعوذه سعيًا » ويقال هذا أعوذ : أى أنفع ، والعائدة : المنفعة .
- (٥) أى اتساعها .
- (٦) أى جمع آية ، وفي المنظوم والمنثور « فى أدبه » .
- (٧) وفى صبح الأعشى « وترتل » والأولى أنسب .
- (٨) السفاسف بالفتح : الردىء من كل شىء ، وفى صبح الأعشى « وصصاصه » ، وفى هامشه : « جمع صمصم » بالفتح ، وهو طائر يصيد الجنادب ، شبه وسوسة الشيطان به ، والرواية الأولى أظهر .

واعلم أن كل أهوائك^(١) لك عدوٌّ يحاولُ هلكتك ، ويمعرضُ غفلتك ، لأنها خدع إبليس ، وحبائل^(٢) مكره ، ومصائدُ مكيدته ، فاحذرْها مُجانبًا لها ، وتوقها مُحتسبًا منها ، واستعذ بالله عز وجل من شرها ، واجهدْها إذا تناصرتُ عليك ، بعزم صادق لا ونيّة^(٣) فيه ، وحزمٍ نافذٍ لا مثنويّة^(٤) لرأيك بمد إصداره عليك ، وصدقٍ غالبٍ لا مطمعٍ في تكذيبه ، ومضاعةٍ صارمة لا أناة^(٥) معها ، ونيةٍ صحيحةٍ لا خلجةٍ شكٍ فيها ، فإن ذلك ظهري^(٦) صدقٍ لك على ردها عنك ، وقمها دون ما تتطلع إليه منك ، وهي واقية لك سخطة ربك ، داعية إليك رضا العامة عنك ، ساترة عليك عيب من دونك ، فازدق بها متجليًا^(٧) ، وأصب بأخلاقك مواضعها الحميدة منها ، وتوق عليها الآفة التي تقتطعك عن بلوغها. وتقصّر بك دون شأوها^(٨) ، فإن المثنوية^(٩) إنما اشتدت مستضمية^(١٠) وقدحت باهظة أهل الطلب لأخلاق أهل الكرم ، المنتجلين سمو القدر ، بجمالة مواضع ذم الأخلاق ومحوها ، حتى فرط أهل التقصير في بعض أمورهم ، فدخلت عليهم الآفات من جهات أمينوها ، فسيبوا إلى التفريط ، ورضوا بذل المنزل ، فأقاموا به جاهلين بموضع الفضل ، عَمِين^(١١) عن درج الشرف ، ساقطين دون منزلة أهل الحجا ، فاول بلوغ غاياتها مُحَرِّزًا لها بسبق الطلب

(١) في المنظوم والمنثور « كل أعدائك » وهو تحريف .

(٢) في صبح الأعشى « وخوائل مكره » أي وخوادع ، من الختل وهو الخداع .

(٣) يقال : افعل ذلك بلاونية : أي بلا توان .

(٤) يقال : حلف فلان يمينا ليس فيها مثنوية ولا ثنيا « بالضم » ولا ثنوي « بالفتح » ولا ثنية

« كبقية » أي استثناء . (٥) أي لا تؤدده فيها ، تأتي في الأمر ، تمكث ولم يعجل ، والاسم منه

أناة ، واخلجة : اسم من تخالج في صدرى منه شيء أي شككت فيه ، وأصل الاخلجاج الحركة والاضطراب

(٦) أصل ذلك البعير الظهري : وهو العدة للحاجة إن احتجج إليه ، نسب إلى الظهر على غير قياس .

(٧) وفي المنظوم والمنثور « ملتصقا » .

(٨) الشأو : الغاية ، وفي المنظوم والمنثور « ساميها » .

(٩) من قوله « فإن المثنوية . . . » إلى قوله « أهل الحجا » ساقط من المنظوم والمنثور .

(١٠) استصعب الأمر : صار صعبا ، وفنحه الأمر : أنقله ، وكبدا بهظه .

(١١) من العمه بالتحريك ، وهو التحريك ، وهو التحير والتردد .

إلى إصابة للموضع ، مُحَصَّنًا أعمالك من العُجْب ، فإنه رأسُ الهَوَمَى ، وأولُ العَوَابَةِ ،
وَمَقَادِ الْمَلَكَةِ ، حارساً أخلاقك من الآفات المتصلة بِمَسَاوِي العادات وذمِّمِ إِيَارَهَا^(١) ،
من حيثُ أنتِ العَفْلَةُ ، وانفِصِرِ الصِّيَاعُ ، وَدَخَلَ الوَهْنُ ، فتَوَقَّ غُلُوبَ^(٢) الآفاتِ
على عقلك ، فإن شواهدَ الحقِّ ستُظهِرُ بِأماراتها تصديقَ رأيك عند ذوى النُهَى ، وحالِ
الرأى وفحصِ النظر ، فاجتنبِ لنفسك محمودَ الذِّكْرِ ، وباقِي لِسَانِ الصِّدِّقِ ، بِالْحَذَرِ
لما تقدَّم إليك فيه أميرُ المؤمنين ، متحرِّراً من دُخُولِ الآفاتِ عليك ، من حيثُ
أَمْنُكَ وَقَلَّةُ نِقْمَتِكَ بِمُحْكَمِهَا .

من ذلك أن تملكَ أمورك بالقصد ، وتُدَارِي جُنْدَكَ بِالإِحْسَانِ ، وتصون سِرِّكَ
بِالِكَيْفِيَّةِ ، وتُدَاوِي حِقْدَكَ بِالْإِنصَافِ ، وتذَلَّلْ نَفْسَكَ بِالْعَدْلِ ، وتحصِّن عيوبك بتقويمِ
أودِكَ^(٣) ، وتمنع عقلك من دُخُولِ الآفاتِ عليه بالعُجْبِ المُرْدِي ، وَأَنَاكَ فَوْقَهَا
المَلَالِ وَقَوْتَ العملِ ، وَمَضَاءَ تَكْ^(٤) فدرِّعها رَوِيَّةَ النظرِ وَأَكْنَفْهَا بِأَنَاةِ الحِلمِ ،
وخلواتك فاحرُسها من العَفْلَةِ واعتمادِ الراحة ، وَصَمِّتْكَ فإنفِ عنه عِيَّ اللفظِ ، وَخَفِّ
فيه سُوءَ القَالَةِ^(٥) واستماعك فأزعه حُسنَ التفهيمِ ، وقوِّه بِإثْمَادِ الفِكرِ ، وعطاءك
فامهِّدْ له^(٦) بِيُوتَاتِ الشرفِ وذوى الحَسَبِ ، وتحرِّزْ فيه من السَّرْفِ واستطالَّةِ
البِدْخِ^(٧) وامتنانِ الصَّنِيعَةِ ، وحياءك فامنِّعه من الخَجَلِ وَبِلَادَةِ الحِصْرِ^(٨) ، وحِلْمِكَ
فزعه^(٩) عن التهاونِ ، وَأَحْضِرْهُ قوَّةَ الشَّكِيمَةِ ، وعقوبتك فقصر بها عن الإفراطِ ،
وتعمِّدْ بها أهلَ الاستحقاقِ ، وَعَفْوِكَ فلا تُدْخِلْهُ تعطيلَ الحُتُوقِ ، وخذ به واجبَ

(١) وفي صبح الأعشى : المتصلة بمساوى الألقاب وذمِّمِ تنابزها « والتنازير . والتعابير والتداعى
بالأبناز ، ومى الألقاب جمع نبز بالتحريك وهو اللقب .
(٢) لم يرد هذا المصدر في كتب اللغة ، (٣) الأود : الاعوجاج .
(٤) في المنثور والنظوم « ومصابك » وهو تحريف .
(٥) القول في الخير ، والقال والقبل والقالة في الشر .
(٦) من مهد المهدي للعبى إذا هياه وبسطه ، والمعنى : فضعه في بيوتات الشرف .
(٧) الكبير . (٨) العي . (٩) وزعه : كوضعه : كفه ، والشكيمة : الأنفة .

المفترض ، وأقيم به أودّ الدين ، واستثناسك فامنع منه البداء وسوء المناقشة (١) ،
وتعهدك أمورك فحده أوقانا ، وقدره ساعات لا تستفرغ قوتك ، ولا تستدعي
سأمتك ، وعز ماتك فانف عنها عجلة الرأي وبجاجة الإقدام ، وفرحاتك فاشكمنها (٢)
عن البطر ، وقيدها عن الزهو ، ورؤعاتك فحطها من دهش الرأي واستسلام
الخصوع ، وحذراتك فاصر فيها عن الجبن ، واعمد بها للحزم ، ورجاءك فقيده بخوف
الفائت ، وامنعه من أمن الطلب .

هذه جوامع خلال ، دخال النقص منها واصل إلى العقل بلطائف أبنه ،
وتصاريف حويله (٣) ، فأحكمنها عارفا بها ، وتقدم في الحفظ لها ، معتزما على
الأخذ بمراشدها ، والاتباء منها إلى حيث بلغت بك عظة أمير المؤمنين وأدبه
إن شاء الله .

ثم لتكن بطانتك وجلسائك في خلواتك ، ودخلائك في سيرك ، أهل الفقه
والورع من خاصة أهل بيتك ، وعامة قوادك ممن قد حنكته السن بتصاريف الأمور
وحببته فصالحا بين فراسن (٤) البزل منها ، وقلبتهم الأمور في فنونها ، وركب
أطوارها ، عارفا بمحاسن الأمور ، ومواضع الرأي ، وعين المشورة ، مأمون
النصيحة ، مطويي الضمير على الطاعة .

(١) بذو الرجل وثلك بذاء وبذاءة : سفه وأخس في منطقته ، وثافته : جالسه ، وفي صيغ الأعرى
« وسوء المناقشة » قلت فلانا بالكلام : آذاه .

(٢) شكم الفرس كنصر : وضع الشكيمة في فيه ، والشكيمة من اللجام : الحديدية المعترضة في فم
الفرس ، والمعنى فامنعها .

(٣) الأبن جمع أبنه بالضم : وهي العيب ، والحويل والحول كشمس وعنب : الحيلة والاحتيال ،
وفي المظلوم والمنثور : « هذه جوامع دخال النقص » .

(٤) فراسن جمع فرسن كزبرج ، والفرسن للبعير كالحافر للدابة ، والبازل : الجمل في تاسع سنه
(وليس بعده سن تسمى) وجمعه بزل ككتب وركم وبوازل ، والبازل أيضا : الرجل الكامل في تجربة ،
والفصال جمع فصيل : وهو ولد الناقة إذا فصل عن أمه .

ثم أحضِرهم من نفسك وَقَاراً يَسْتَدْعِي لَكَ مِنْهُمْ الْهَيْبَةَ ، واستثناسا يَعْطِفُ إِلَيْكَ مِنْهُمْ الْمَوَدَّةَ ، وإِنْصَاتَانَا^(١) يَفْلُئُ إِفَاضَتَهُمْ عِنْدَكَ بِمَا تَكْرَهُ أَنْ يُنْشَرَ عِنْدَكَ مِنْ سَخَافَةِ الرَّأْيِ ، وِضْيَاعِ الْحَزْمِ ، وَلَا يَفْلِيحَنَّ عَلَيْكَ هَوَاكَ فَيَصْرِفَكَ عَنِ الرَّأْيِ ، وَيَقْتَطِعَكَ دُونَ الْفِكْرِ .

وَتَعَلَّمْ أَنَّكَ وَإِنْ خَلَوْتَ بِسَرٍّ ، فَالْقِيَتَ دُونَهُ سُتُورُكَ ، وَأَغْلَقْتَ عَلَيْهِ أَبْوَابَكَ ، فَذَلِكَ لَا مَحَالَةَ مَكْشُوفٌ لِلْعَامَّةِ ، ظَاهِرٌ عِنْدَكَ - وَإِنْ اسْتَرْتِ بِرُبَّمَا وَلَعَلَّ ، وَمَا أَرَى إِذَاعَةَ ذَلِكَ وَأَعْلَمُ^(٢) - بِمَا يَرُونَ مِنْ حَالَاتٍ مَنْ يَنْقَطِعُ بِهِ فِي تِلْكَ الْمَوَاطِنِ ، فَتَقَدَّمَ فِي إِحْكَامِ ذَلِكَ مِنْ نَفْسِكَ وَسَدَّ خَلَايَاكَ عِنْدَكَ ، فَإِنَّهُ لَيْسَ أَحَدٌ أَسْرَعَ إِلَيْهِ سُوءَ الْقَالَةِ ، وَلَغَطُ الْعَامَّةِ بِخَيْرٍ أَوْ شَرٍّ ، مِمَّنْ كَانَ فِي مِثْلِ حَالِكَ وَمَكَانِكَ الَّذِي أَصْبَحْتَ بِهِ مِنْ دِينِ اللَّهِ ، وَالْأَمَلِ الْمَرْجُوِّ الْمُنْتَظَرِ فِيكَ ، وَإِيَّاكَ أَنْ يُعْمِرَ^(٣) فِيكَ أَحَدٌ مِنْ حَامَتِكَ وَيَطَانَةَ خِدْمِكَ بَضْعَةً يَجِدُ بِهَا مَسَاغًا إِلَى النُّطْقِ عِنْدَكَ بِمَا لَا يَفْتَرِ لُكَّ عَيْبِهِ ، وَلَا تَخْلُو مِنْ لَأَمَّتِهِ ، وَلَا تَأْمَنُ سُوءَ الْأَخْدُوتِ فِيهِ ، وَلَا يَرْخُصُ سُوءَ الْقَالَةِ بِهِ إِنْ نَجَّمَ ظَاهِرًا وَعَلَنَ بَادِيًا^(٤) ، وَلَنْ يَجْتَرِثُوا عَلَى تِلْكَ عِنْدَكَ إِلَّا أَنْ يَرَوْا مِنْكَ إِصْفَاءً إِلَيْهَا ، وَقَبُولًا لَهَا ، وَتَرْخِيصًا لَهُمْ فِي الْإِفَاضَةِ بِهَا .

ثُمَّ إِيَّاكَ أَنْ يُفَاضَ عِنْدَكَ بِشَيْءٍ مِنَ الْفُكَاهَاتِ وَالْحِكَايَاتِ وَالْمُزَاحِ وَالْمُضَاحِكِ الَّتِي يَسْتَخِفُّ بِهَا أَهْلُ الْبِطَالَةِ ، وَيَسْرَعُ نَحْوَهَا ذَوُو الْجَهَالَةِ ، وَيَجِدُ فِيهَا أَهْلُ الْحَسَدِ مَقَالًا لَعِيْبٍ يُدْعَوْنَهُ^(٥) ، وَلَطْعَنٍ فِي حَقِّ يَجْحَدُونَهُ ، مَعَ مَا فِي ذَلِكَ مِنْ نَقْصِ الرَّأْيِ ، وَدَرَنِ الْعَرِضِ ، وَهَدْمِ الشَّرْفِ ، وَتَأْتِيلِ^(٦) الْعَفْطَةِ ، وَقُوَّةِ طِبَاعِ السُّوءِ الْكَامِنَةِ

(١) وفي المنظوم والمنثور « وإِنْصَاتَانَا يَفْلُئُ إِفَاضَتَهُمْ لَكَ مِنْهُمْ الْهَيْبَةَ ، وَاسْتِثْنَاءًا يَعْطِفُ عَلَيْكَ . الخ » .

(٢) أرى بالضم أى أظن ، وأعلم معطوف عليه أى وما أعلم . والمعنى وإن استترت وراء

هذه الألفاظ . (٣) أعجز في فلان : عابه وصغره ، واعتزله طعن عليه أيضا .

(٤) نجم كنصر : ظهر ، وعان كنصر وضرب وكرم وفرح : ظهر أيضا .

(٥) وفي المنظوم والمنثور « يدعونه » . (٦) أى تأصيل وتمكين ، والحجر الصلد : أى

الصلب الأملس .

في بني آدم كُمُونَ النَّارِ في الحجر الصلْدِ ، فإذا قُدِحَ لَاحَ شَرَرُهُ ، وتَلَهَّبَ وَمِيضُهُ
وَوَقَدَ تَصَرُّمُهُ ، وليست في أحد ، أقوى سَطْوَةً ، وأظهرَ تَوَقُّدًا ، وأعلى كُمُونًا ،
وأَسْرَعَ إليه بالعَيْبِ ، وتَطَرَّقِي الشَّيْنِ ، منها لمن كان في مِثْلِ سِنَّكَ من أَغْفَالٍ (١)
الرجال وذوى العُنُقُونِ في الحداثة ، الذين لم تقع عليهم سِمَاتُ الأُمُور ، ناطقًا عليهم
لأحْمُهَا ، ظاهرًا عليهم وَشُمُهَا ، ولم تَمَحَضْهُمْ (٢) شَهَامَتِهَا ، مُظْهِرَةً لِعَامَةِ فَضْلِهِمْ ، مُذْبِعةً
حُسْنَ الذِّكْرِ عَنْهُمْ ، ولم يبلغ بهم الصَّيْتُ في الحُنُكَةِ مَسْتَمًا (٣) يَدْفَعُونَ به عن
أنفُسِهِمْ نَوَاطِقَ السُّنَنِ أَهْلِ البَغْيِ ، وموادَّ أَبْصَارِ أَهْلِ الحَسَدِ .

ثم تعهد من نفسك لطيف عيب لازم لكثير من أهل السلطان والقدرة من
إِبْطَارِ الدَّرْعِ (٤) ونَحْوَةِ الشرف والتَّيْبِ وَعَيْبِ الصَّلْفِ ، فإنها تُسْرِعُ بهم إلى فساد
رأيهم ، وتهجين (٥) عقولهم في مواطنَ حَجَمَةٍ ، وأَنْحَاءِ مَضْطَرِيفَةٍ ، منها قِلَّةُ اقْتِدَارِهِمْ
على ضبط أنفسهم في مواكبهم ومسائرهم العامَّةِ ، فمن مُقَلِّلٍ شَخْصَهُ بِكثْرَةِ الِاتِّفَاتِ
عن يمينه وشماله ، تَزْدَهِيهِ الخِلْفَةُ ، وَيُبْطِرُهُ إِجْلَابُ (٦) الرجالِ حَوْلَهُ ، ومن مُقْبِلٍ في
مَوَكِبِهِ على مُدَاعَبَةِ مُسَائِرِهِ بِالْمُفَاكِرَةِ (٧) له والتضاحك إليه ، والإيجاف (٨) في السير
مَرِحًا ، وتحريكِ الجوارحِ مَدْمَرًا ، يَحَالُ أن ذلك أَسْرَعُ له وَأَحْتُ (٩) لِمَطْيَبَتِهِ ،

(١) أغفال جمع غفل كقفل وهو من لم يجرب الأمور ، وعنفوان الشباب : أوله .

(٢) من محضه الود وأحضه : أي أخلصه .

(٣) في المنظوم والمنثور « ولم يبلغ بهم الصمت في الحركة مستمان » وهو تحريف ، والصلف :
مجاوزه قدر الظرف والادعاء فوق ذلك تكبرًا ،

(٤) في المنظوم والمنثور « من أبطار الدرع » وفي صبح الأعشى « من أبطال الدرع » وفي مفتاح
الأنسكار « من أبطال البع » وأرى أن ذلك تحريف ، والصراب « من إبطار الدرع » ومعناه من
الدرع : أي القوة المبصرة : أي الداعية إلى البصر ، كما يدل عليه سياق الكلام .

(٥) التهجين : التقيح .

(٦) الجلب والجلبة بالتحريك : اختلاط الأصوات ، وقد جلبوا كنههم وضرب وأجلبوا وجلبوا .

(٧) في المنظوم والمنثور « بالمصاحبة له » والأولى أنسب وأولى .

(٨) وجف الفرس : عدا ، وأوجفه : أعداه ، والمرح بالتحريك : شدة الفرح والنشاط ، وفي

المنظوم والمنثور « مبرجا » . (٩) وفيه « وأخف » .

فَلْتَحَسُنْ فِي ذَلِكَ هَيْئَتِكَ ، وَلْتَجْمَلْ فِيهِ دَعْوَتَكَ ^(١) ، وَتَقْبَلْ عَلَى مُسَائِرِكَ ^(٢) إِقْبَالَكَ ،
إِلَّا وَأَنْتَ مُطَّرِقُ النَّظَرِ ، غَيْرَ مُلْتَمِفٍ إِلَى مَحَدِّثٍ ، وَلَا مُقْبِلٍ عَلَيْهِ بِوَجْهِكَ فِي مَوَكِبِكَ
لِحَادِثَتِهِ ، وَلَا مُوَجِّفٍ ^(٣) فِي السَّيْرِ ، مُتَمَلِّقٍ لِحَوَارِحِكَ بِالتَّخْرِيكِ وَالِاسْتِنْهَاضِ ،
فَإِنْ حُسْنَ مَسِيرَةِ الْوَالِي وَاتِّدَاعَهُ ^(٤) فِي تِلْكَ الْحَالَةِ دَلِيلٌ عَلَى كَثِيرٍ مِنْ غُيُوبِ أَمْرِهِ
وَمُسْتَقَرِّ أَحْوَالِهِ .

وَاعْلَمْ أَنَّ أَقْوَامًا سَيُسْرِعُونَ إِلَيْكَ بِالسَّعَايَةِ ، وَيَأْتُونَكَ مِنْ قِبَلِ النَّصِيحَةِ ^(٥) ،
وَيَسْتَمِيلُونَكَ بِإِظْهَارِ الشَّقَقَةِ ، وَيَسْتَدْعُونَكَ بِالْإِعْرَافِ وَالشُّبْهَةِ ، وَيُؤْطِئُونَكَ عِشْوَةَ ^(٦)
الْحَيْرَةِ ، لِيَجْعَلُوكَ لَهُمْ ذَرِيعَةً إِلَى اسْتِنْكَالِ الْعَامَةِ ، بِمَوْضِعِهِمْ مِنْكَ فِي التَّقْبُولِ مِنْهُمْ ،
وَالْتَصْدِيقِ لَهُمْ عَلَى مَنْ قَرَفُوهُ ^(٧) بِتَهْمَةٍ ، أَوْ أَسْرَعُوا بِكَ فِي أَمْرِهِ إِلَى الظَّنِّ ، فَلَا
بَصَلَانَ إِلَى مَشَافِهَتِكَ سَاعٍ بِشُبْهَةٍ ، وَلَا مَمْرُوفٍ بِتَهْمَةٍ ، وَلَا مَنْسُوبٍ إِلَى بِدْعَةٍ ،
فَيَعْرِضُكَ لِإِبْتَاغِ ^(٨) دِينِكَ ، وَيَحْمِلُكَ عَلَى رِعْيَتِكَ بِمَا لَاحِقِيْمَةٌ لَهُ عِنْدَكَ ، وَيُبْحِمُكَ ^(٩)
أَعْرَاضَ قَوْمٍ لِأَعْلِمَ لَكَ بِدَخْلِهِمْ ، إِلَّا بِمَا أَقْدَمَ بِهِ عَلَيْهِمْ سَاعِيًّا ، وَأُظْهِرَ لَكَ مِنْهُمْ
مَنْتَصِحًا .

وَلِيَكُنْ صَاحِبَ شُرْطَتِكَ ، وَمَنْ أَحْبَبْتَ أَنْ يَقْوَى ذَلِكَ مِنْ قُوَادِكَ ، إِلَيْهِ
إِنْهَاءٌ ^(١٠) ذَلِكَ ، وَهُوَ الْمَنْصُوبُ لِأَوْلِيَّتِكَ ، وَالْمَسْتَمْعُ لِأَقْوَابِهِمْ ، وَالْفَاحِصُ عَنْ
نِصَاحِهِمْ ، ثُمَّ لِيُنْذِرْ ذَلِكَ إِلَيْكَ عَلَى مَا يُرْفَعُ إِلَيْهِ مِنْهُ ، لِتَأْمُرَهُ بِأَمْرِكَ فِيهِ ، وَتَقْفَهُ عَلَى

(١) وفيه « ولتعمل فيه رعيتك » وهو تحريف . (٢) وفيه « على مسائلك » .
(٣) وفيه « ولا تخفف » . (٤) الانتداع : السكون والاستقرار . وفي المنظوم والمنثور
« وابتداعه » وهو تحريف . (٥) وفي صبح الأعشى « ويأتونك على وجه النصيحة » .
(٦) العشوة مثلث العين : ركوب الأمر على غير بيان ، وهو يستأكل الضمياء : أي يأخذ أموالهم .
(٧) قرفه كضربه : اتهمه ، والظنة : التهمة . (٨) أوتغ دينه بالإثم لإبتاغ : أفسده ، وفي
المنظوم والمنثور « فيعرضك لإبباع دينك » .
(٩) ألمه : أطمعه اللحم . ودخل الرجل بالكسر والفتح : نيته ومذهبه ، والدخل بالفتح
ويحرك : العيب والريبة .
(١٠) وفي صبح الأعشى : « وليكن صاحب شرطتك المتولى لإنهاء ذلك المنسوب لأولئك ... »

رأيتك ، من غير أن يظهر ذلك للامة ؛ فإن كان صواباً نالتك حظوته^(١) ،
وإن كان خطأ أقدم به عليك جاهل ، أو قرظة سعى بها كاذب ، فنالت الساعي^(٢)
منها أو المظلوم عقوبة ، وبدر^(٣) من واليك إليه نكال ، لم يعصب ذلك الخطأ بك ،
ولم تُنسب إلى تفریط ، وخلوت من موضع الدم فيه^(٤) ، مُحضراً إليه ذمتك
وصواب رأيك .

وتقدم إلى من تولى ذلك الأمر وتعتمد عليه فيه ، أن لا يُقدم على شيء ناظراً
فيه ، ولا يحاول أخذ أحد طارقاله ، ولا يعاقب أحداً منكلاً به ، ولا يخلّي سبيل
أحد صالحاً منه ، لإسحار^(٥) براءته ، ورحمة طريقته ، حتى يرفع إليك أمره ، وينهى
إليك قضيته ، على جهة الصدق ، ومنحى الحق ، وبقين الخبر ، فإن رأيت عليه سبيلاً
لمحبس^(٦) ؛ أو مجازاً للعقوبة ، أمرته بتولى ذلك من غير إدخاله عليك ، ولا مشافهة
لك منه ، فكان المتولى لذلك ، ولم يجوز على يدك مكروه رأى ، ولا غلظة عقوبة ،
وإن وجدت إلى العفو عنه سبيلاً ، أو كان مما قُرف به خلياً ، كنت أنت المتولى
للإنعام عليه بتخايبه سبيله ، والصفح عنه بإطلاق أمره ، فتوليت أجر ذلك
واستحقت ذخره ، وأنطقت لسانه بشكرك ، وطوّقت قومه حمدك ؛ وأوجبت عليهم
حَقَّك ؛ فقرنت بين خصلتين ، وأحرزت حظوتين : ثواب الله في الآخرة^(٧) ، ومحمود
الذكر في العاجلة .

(١) وفيه « نالتك خيرته » . (٢) وفي المنظوم والمنثور « نالت الباغي منها » .

(٣) بدر أى سبق ، ولم يعصب : أى لم يقرن ولم يلبس .

(٤) بعد هذا في المنظوم والمنثور « فافهم ذلك وتقدم إلى من تولى فلا يقدم على شيء ... الخ » .

(٥) أى لوضوح براءته ، من أسحر الرجل إذا برز إلى الصحراء ، وفي حديث علي « فأسحر لعنوك »

وامض على بصيرتك ، أى كن من أمره على أمر واضح منكشف .

(٦) أى لمحبس وهو مصدر ميمي .

(٧) وفي المنظوم والمنثور « فتوليت أجر ذلك وذخره وطلق لسانه بشكرك فقرنت خصلتين :

جواب الله - الخ » .

نم إياك وأن يصل إليك أحد من جُنْدِكَ وجُلَسَائِكَ وخاصَّتِكَ وِبَطَانَتِكَ بِمَسْأَلَةٍ
يَكْشِفُهَا لَكَ ، أَوْ حَاجَةٍ يَبْدُئُهَا بِكَ (١) بِطَلَبِهَا ، حَتَّى يَرْفَعَهَا قَبْلَ ذَلِكَ إِلَى كَاتِبِكَ الَّذِي
أَهْدَفْتَهُ (٢) لِذَلِكَ ، وَنَصَبْتَهُ لَهُ ، فَيَعْرِضُهَا عَلَيْكَ ، مُنْهِيًا لَهَا عَلَى جِهَةِ الْعَبْدِ عِنْدَهَا ،
وَتَسْكُونُ عَلَى مَعْرِفَةٍ مِنْ قَدْرِهَا ، فَإِنْ أُرِدْتَ إِسْعَافَهُ بِهَا ، وَنَجَاحَ مَا سَأَلَ مِنْهَا ،
أُذِنْتَ لَهُ فِي طَلَبِهَا ، بِاسِطِّطَالِهِ كَمَنْفَعِكَ ، مُعْتَبِلًا عَلَيْهِ بِوَجْهِكَ ، مَعَ ظَهُورِ سُرُورِكَ بِمَا
سَأَلَكَ ، وَفُسْحَةِ رَأْيٍ ، وَبَسْطَةِ ذَرْعٍ ، وَطَيْبِ نَفْسٍ ، وَإِنْ كَرِهْتَ قَضَاءَ حَاجَتِهِ ،
وَأَحْبَبْتَ رَدَّهُ عَنْ طَلَبَتِهِ (٣) ، وَثَقُلَ عَلَيْكَ إِجَابَتُهُ إِلَيْهَا وَإِسْعَافُهُ بِهَا ، أَمَرْتَ كَاتِبَتِكَ
فَصَفَحَهُ (٤) عِنْدَهَا ، وَمَنَعَهُ مِنْ مُوَاجَهَتِكَ بِهَا ، خَفَّتْ عَلَيْكَ فِي ذَلِكَ الْمُثُونَةُ ، وَحَسُنَ لَكَ
الذِّكْرُ ، وَلَمْ يُنْشَرْ عَنكَ تَجْهِمٌ (٥) الرَّدِّ ، وَيُنْثَلَكُ سِوَهُ الْقَالَةِ فِي الْمَنْعِ ، وَحِيلَ عَلَى كَاتِبِكَ
فِي ذَلِكَ لِأَمْتَةٍ (٦) أَنْتَ مِنْهَا بَرِيءٌ السَّاحَةِ .

وَكَذَلِكَ فَلْيَكُنْ رَأْيُكَ وَأَمْرُكَ فِيمَنْ طَرَأَ عَلَيْكَ مِنَ الْوُفُودِ ، وَأَتَاكَ مِنَ الرُّسُلِ ،
فَلَا يَصِلَنَّ أَحَدٌ مِنْهُمْ إِلَّا بَعْدَ وُصُولِ عِلْمِهِ إِلَيْكَ ، وَعِلْمٍ مَا قَدِمَ لَهُ عَلَيْكَ ، وَجِهَةٍ مَا هُوَ
مَكَلَّمُكَ بِهِ ، وَقَدْرِ مَا هُوَ سَائِلُكَ إِيَّاهُ إِذَا هُوَ وَصَلَ إِلَيْكَ ، فَأَصْدَرْتَ رَأْيَكَ فِي حَوَائِجِهِ (٧)
وَأَجَلْتَ فِكْرَكَ فِي أَمْرِهِ ، وَاخْتَرْتَ مُعْتَزِمًا عَلَى إِرَادَتِكَ فِي جَوَابِهِ (٨) ، وَأَنْفَذْتَ
مَهْدُورَ رَوِيَّتِكَ فِي مَرْجُوعِ مَسْأَلَتِهِ ، قَبْلَ دُخُولِهِ عَلَيْكَ ، وَعِلْمِهِ بِوُصُولِ حَالِهِ
إِلَيْكَ ، فَرَفَعْتَ عَنكَ مَثُونَةَ الْبَدِيهَةِ ، وَأَرخَيْتَ عَنِ نَفْسِكَ خِنَاقَ (٩) الرُّوْبِيَّةِ ،
وَأَقْدَمْتَ عَلَى رَدِّ جَوَابِهِ بَعْدَ النَّظَرِ وَإِجَالَةِ الْفِكْرِ فِيهِ ، فَإِنْ دَخَلَ إِلَيْكَ أَحَدٌ

(١) بَدَاهُ بِالْأَمْرِ كَمَنْعِهِ : اسْتَقْبَلَهُ بِهِ مَفْاجَأَةً . (٢) أَرَادَ : نَصَبْتَهُ كَالْمَنْدُوبِ .

(٣) الطَّلِبَةُ : مَا طَلَبْتَهُ . (٤) صَفَحَ السَّائِلَ وَأَصْفَحَهُ : رَدَّهُ .

(٥) تَجْهِمُهُ وَتَجْهِيمُهُ لَهُ : اسْتَقْبَلَهُ بِوَجْهِهِ كَرِيهًا ، وَهَذِهِ الْجُمْلَةُ وَمَا بَعْدَهَا سَاقِطَةٌ مِنَ الْمَنْظُومِ وَالْمَنْشُورِ .

(٦) اللَّامَةُ : اللَّوْمُ .

(٧) فِي الْمَنْظُومِ وَالْمَنْشُورِ « فِي جَوَابِهِ » . (٨) هَذِهِ الْجُمْلَةُ سَاقِطَةٌ مِنَ الْمَنْظُومِ وَالْمَنْشُورِ .

(٩) الْخِنَاقُ : الْحَبْلُ يَخْنُقُ بِهِ .

منهم فكلامك بخلاف ما انتهى إلى كاتيك ، وطوى عنه حاجته قبلك ، دفعته عنك دفعاً جميلاً ، ومنعته جوابك منعاً وديعاً^(١) ، ثم أمرت حاجبك بإظهار الجفوة له والغلظة عليه ، ومنعه من الوصول إليك ، فإن ضبطك لذلك مما يحكم لك تلك الأسباب ، صارفاً عنك مئوتها ، ومسهلاً عليك مستصعبها^(٢) ، إن شاء الله .

احذر تضييع رأيك ، وإهلاك أدبك في مسالك الرضا والغضب ، واعتوارها^(٣) إياك ، فلا يزد هيبتك إفراط عجب تستخدمك رواثعه^(٤) ، ويستهبوك منظره ، ولا يدرك منك ذلك خطأ ونزق خيفة مكروه إن حل بك أو حادث إن طرأ عليك ، وليكن لك من نفسك ظمري ملجأ تتحرز به من آفات الردى ، وتستعده^(٥) في مهم نازل ، وتتعتب به أمورك في التدبير ، فإن احتجت إلى مادة من عقلك ، وروية من فكرك ، أو انبساط من منطقتك ، كان أنحيازك إلى ظهرك مُزداداً مما أحببت الامتياح منه^(٦) والامتيار ، وإن استدبرت^(٧) من أمورك بوادٍ جهل ، أو مضى زلل ، أو معاندة حق ، أو خطل تدبير ، كان ما احتجنت^(٨) من رأيك عذرا لك عند نفسك ، وظهريا قوياً على رد ما كرهت ، وتخفيفاً لمؤنة الباغين عليك في التالة وانتشار الذكر ، وحصنا من غلوب الآفات عليك ، واستعلائها على أخلاقك .

وامنع أهل بطانتك وخاصة خدمك وعمامة رعيتك من استباحام^(٩) أعراض

(١) في المنظوم والمنثور « منعاً ودفعاً » .

(٢) هذه الجملة ساقطة من المنظوم والمنثور . (٣) أى تداولها .

(٤) جمع رائع ، من راعه الشيء إذا أعجبه ، واستهواه ، استماله .

(٥) استعده فلانا من نفسه : ضمنه حوادث نفسه ، وفي صبح الأعشى « وتتعده » وفي كتب

اللغة : اعتضد به : استعان به ، أقول والاستعضاد كالاستماعة : أى تتخذ عضداً لك .

(٦) امتاح : استقى ، وامتار لأهله : جلب لهم الميرة بالكسر أى الطعام .

(٧) هكذا في الأصول التي نقلت منها ، ولعل صوابه « أدبرت » بمعنى وقعت ولا يستطيع تلافيها ،

ويستأنس لذلك بقوله بعد « أو مضى زلل » أو صوابه ابتدرت أى ابتدرتك بوادٍ جهل ، وابتدره الأمر

عاجله ، والبادرة : ما يبدر من حدثك في الغضب من قول أو فعل .

(٨) من احتجنت المال : أى ضمه واحتواه . (٩) معناه أكل لحومهم بالقبية ، وفي كتب اللغة

استباحم الطريقة : تبعها ، واستباحم الطريق : ركب أو سعه واتبعه .

الناس عندك بالغبية ، والتقرب إليك بالسعاية ، والإغراء من بعض ببعض ، والنميمة إليك بشيء من أحوالهم المستقرة عنك ، أو التحميل لك على أحد منهم بوجه النصيحة ومذهب الشفقة ، فإن ذلك أبلغ بك سُموا إلى منال الشرف ، وأعون لك على محمود الذكر ، وأطلق لعنان الفضل ، في جزالة الرأي ، وشرف الهمة ، وقوة العدير .
وأملك نفسك عن الانبساط في الضحك والانفهاق^(١) ، وعن القُطوب بإظهار الغضب وتنحله ، فإن ذلك ضعف عن ملك سورة^(٢) الجهل ، وخروج من اتحال أمم الفضل ، وليكن ضحكك تديبا أو كثيرا^(٣) في أحيان ذلك وأوقاته ، وعند كل راحة مستخف مطرب^(٤) ، وقطوبك إطرافا في مواضع ذلك وأحواله ، بلا عجلة إلى اللسطة ، ولا إسراع إلى الطيرة ، دون أن يكنفها روية الحلم ، وتملك عليها بادرة الجهل .

إذا كفت في مجلس مملك وحيث حضور العامة مجاسك ، وإياك والرمي ببصرك إلى خاص من قوادك ، أو ذى أثره^(٥) عندك من حشمك ، وليكن نظرك مقسوما في الجميع ، وإعارتك^(٦) سمعك ذا الحديث بدعة هادئة ووقار حسن ، وحضور فهم مستجمع ، وقلة تضجر بالحدث ، ثم لا يبرح وجهك إلى بعض قوادك وحرصك متوجها بنظر ركين ، وتفقد محض ، فإن وجهك إليك أحد منهم نظره محذقا^(٧) ، أو رماك ببصره مباحا ، فاخضع عنه إطرافا جيلا باتداع^(٨) وسكون ، وإياك والتسرع في الإطراق ، والخفة في تصريف النظر ، والإلحاح على من تصد إليك في مخاطبته إياك رامقا بنظره .

(١) انفهق القى : اتسم ، وقطب كضرب قطبا وقطوبا . زوى ما بين عينيه وكبح كقطب ، واتحل قول غيره وتنحل : ادعاه لنفسه . (٢) ملك مثلك اليم مصدر ملك ، وسورة الجهل : حدثه . (٣) كثير عن أسنانه كضرب كثيرا : أبدى ، يكون في الضحك وغيره ، وفي المنظوم والنشور « أو كبرا » وهو تحريف .

(٤) وفيه « وعند كل رأى ملين ومستخف مطرب » وهو تحريف .

(٥) ذى أثره بالضم والكسر وأثره بالتحريك : أى من اختصصته بفضلك وقدمته .

(٦) أعاره سمعه : أصفى إليه ، وفي صبح الأعشى ومفتاح الأفكار « وإراعتك » وهو تحريف .

(٧) حذق إليه بالنظر : شدد النظر إليه ، وفي المنظوم والنشور « محذقا » .

(٨) وفيه « بإبداع » وهو تحريف .

وأعلم أن تصفحك وجوه جلسائك ، وتفقدك مجالس قوادك^(١) ، من قوة التدبير ، وشهامة القلب ، وذكاء الفطنة ، وانتباه السنّة ، ففقد ذلك عارفاً بمن حضرَكَ وغاب عنك ، عالماً بمواضعهم من مجلسك ، ثم أعدّ بهم عن ذلك ، سائلاً لهم عن أشغالهم التي منعتهم من حضور مجلسك ، وعاقبتهم بالتخلف عنك إن شاء الله .

إن كان أحد من حشمك وأعاونك يتفق منه بغيب ضميم ، وتعرف منه لين طاعة ، وتشرف منه على صحبة رأى ، وتأمّنه على مشورتك ، وإياك والإقبال عليه في كل حادث يرد عليك ، والتوجه نحوه بنظرك عند طوارق ذلك ، وأن نريه أو أحداً من أهل مجلسك أن بك إليه حاجة موحشة ، وأن ليس بك عنه غي في التدبير ، أو أنك لا تقضى دونه رأياً ، إشرافاً كما منك له في رويتك ، وإدخالاً منك له في مشورتك واضطراباً منك إلى رأيه في الأمر بعروك^(٢) ، فإن ذلك من دخائل العيوب التي ينتشر بها سوء القالة عن نظرائك ، فانفها عن نفسك خائفاً لا اعتلاقها^(٣) ذكرك ، واحجبها عن رويتك ، قاطعاً أطاع أوليائك عن مثلها عندك ، أو غلبوهم عليها منك . وأعلم أن المشورة موضع الخلوة وانفراد النظر ، ولكل^(٤) أمر غاية تحيط بمحدوده وتجمع معاملة ، فابغها محرزاً لها ، ورُمها طالباً لنيلها^(٥) ، وإياك والقصور عن غايتها ، أو المعجز عن دركها ، أو التفريط في طلبها إن شاء الله تعالى .

إياك والإغرام^(٦) بكثرة السؤال عن حديث مما أعجبك ، أو أمر مما أزدهاك ، أو القطع لحديث من أرادك بحديثه حتى تنقضه عليه بالخوض في غيره ، أو النسالة عما ليس منه ، فإن ذلك عند العامة منسوب إلى سوء الفهم ، وقصر الأدب عن تناول

(١) وفي المنظوم والمنثور « وأعلم أن تصفحك وجوه قوادك ، من قوة التدبير ، وشهامة القلب ، فتفقد ذلك ... » . (٢) أي يمترك وينزل بك ، وفي المنظوم والمنثور « واضطراباً إلى رأيه » .

(٣) اعتلقه : تعلق به ، وفي المنظوم والمنثور « لا اعتقاها ذكرك » .

(٤) هذه الجملة ساقطة من المنظوم والمنثور . (٥) فيه « طالباً لسانها ، وإياك والقصور عن غايتها

والإفراط في طلبها » . (٦) أغرم بالشيء : أولم به .

محاسن الأمور والمعرفة بمساوئها، ولكن أنصت لحدّثك، وأرعو سمعك، حتى يعلم
أنك قد فهمت حديثه، وأحطت معرفة بقوله، فإن أردت إجابته فعن معرفة بحاجته
وبعد عام بطلته، وإلا كنت عند انقضاء كلامه كالتعلّل^(١) من حديثه بالتبسّم
والإغضاء، فأجزى^(٢) عليك الجواب، وقطع عنك السنّ القتب .

إياك وأن يظهر منك تبرّم بطول مجلسك، وتضجّر ممّن حفرّك، وعليك
بالثبّت عند سورة الغضب، وسحّية الأنف، وملاّل الصبر في الأمر تستعجل به،
واعمل تأمّر يا نفاذه، فإن ذلك سُخِّفَ شأن^(٣)، وخفة مُردية، وجهالة بادية، وعليك
بثبوت المنطق، ووقار المجلس، وسكون الريح، والرفض لحشو الكلام، والترك
لفضوله، والإغرام^(٤) بالزيادات في منطقتك، والترديد للفظك من نحو: اسمع، وافهم
عنى، ويا هناه^(٥)، وألا ترى. أو ما يلهج به من هذه الفضول المقصّرة بأهل العقل،
الشائنة لذوى الحجا في المنطق^(٦)، المنسوبة إليهم بالعنى، المُردية لهم في الذّكر .

وخصال من معاييب الملوك، والشوقة عنها غميمة النظر^(٧) إلا من عرفها من
أهل الأدب، وقامًا حامل لها، مضطّلع^(٨) بها، صابر على ثقلها، آخذ لنفسه

(١) في صبح الأمشى « كالتعجب » .

(٢) مسهل عن أجزاء : أى أغنى .

(٣) في المنظوم والمنثور « سخف سائر » .

(٤) معطوف على فضوله : أى وعليك بالترك للإغرام بالزيادات الخ » .

(٥) هن : كلمة يكفى بها عن اسم الإنسان، فإذا ناديت مذكرا بغير التصريح باسمه قلت : يا هن
أقبل، ولك أن تدخل فيه الهاء فتقول يا هنه (بفتح النون وسكون الهاء) كما تقول له وماليه، ولك
أن تشمع الحركة فتولد الألف فتقول يا هناه أقبل (وتزاد الألف والهاء في آخره في النداء خاصة) وهذه
الهاء تصيرتاء في الوصل، وتضم على تقدير أنها آخر الإسم وتكسر لاجتماع الساكنين، ولك أن تقول يا هناه
أقبل بها مضمومة، وفي المنظوم والمنثور « من نحو اسمع أو اعجل أو ألا ترى » .

(٦) هذه الجملة ساقطة من المنظوم والمنثور .

(٧) فيه « والشوقة عيها عند النظر » وهو تحريف .

(٨) أى قوى على احتمالها، والثقل: الحمل الثقيل .

بجوامعها ، فانفها عن نفسك بالتحفظ منها ، واملك عليها اعتيادك^(١) إياها معتذيا بها ،
منها كثرة التنخم والتبصق والتنخع والثؤباء والتعطى والجشاء وتحريرك للقدم وتمييض
الأصابع والعبث بالوجه واللحية والشارب والمخضرة وذؤابة السيف ، والإياض
بالنظر والإشارة بالطرف إلى أحد من خدمك بأمر إن أردته ، والسرار في مجلسك ،
والاستعجال في طعمك وشربك ، وليكن طعمك متدعا^(٢) ، وشربك أناسا ، وجرعك
مصا ، وإياك والتسرع إلى الأيمان فيما صغر أو كبر من الأمور ، والشتمية بقول :
يا هناه^(٣) ، أو الغميرة^(٤) لأحد من خدمك وخاصتك ، بتسويفهم مقارفة الفسوق
بمحث محضرك أو دارك وفناؤك ، فإن ذلك كله مما يقبح ذكره ، ويسوء موقع القول
فيه ، وتحمّل عليك معاييه ، وبنالك شينه ، وبنشر عنك سوء نبيه ، فاعرف ذلك
متوقيا له ، واحذرهُ مجانبيا لسوء عاقبته .

استكثر من فوائد الخير ، فإنها تدر المخدمة ، وتقبل العثرة ، واصطبر على
كظم الغيظ ، فإنه يورث الراحة^(٥) ، ويؤمن الساحة ، وتمهد العامة بمعرفة دخالهم ،
وتبطن^(٦) أحوالهم ، واستشارة دقاتهم ، حتى تسكون منها على مرأى العين ، ويقين
الخبرة ، فتنبش عديهم ، وتجبر كبيرهم ، وتقيم أودهم ، وتعلم جاهلهم ، وتستصيح

(١) في المنظوم والمنثور « واملك عنها اعتيادك معيا بها بكثرة التنخم والتبصق والتنخع والثؤباء
والجشاء والتعطى وتمييض الأصابع وتحريركها والعبث باللحية والشارب... الخ » وتنخم : دفع بشيء من صدره
أو أنفه ، وبصق وبسق وبزق واحد ، والبصاق والبساق والبزاق كذلك ، وتنخم : رمى نخامته والنخامة
والنخاعة بالضم : ما يخرج من الصدر أو من الحيشوم ، والثؤباء : الثؤب ، قال مصحح القاموس :
وقال صاحب المبرز عن ابن مسجل « أنه يقال ثؤباء بالضم فالسكون ، نقله الفهرى وغيره ، وهو غريب »
وابشاء : اسم من النجش وهو نفس العدة ، وفي كتب اللغة : أفض أصابعه : ضرب بها لتصوت ، أقول :
واقض المضعف كأنقض المهموز ، والمخضرة : عصا صغيرة يشير بها الملك إذا خاطب ، وذؤابة السيف :
علاقة قائمة ، وأومض : سارق النظر وأشار لإشارة خفية ، والسرار : السارة ، وضعه كسمعه طعاما وضامما .

(٢) وفي المنظوم والمنثور « مبتدعا » وهو تحريف .

(٣) في صبح الأعشى « يقول : يابن الهناة » وفي المنظوم والمنثور « يابن الهنية » .

(٤) معناها هنا الإطعام ، يقال في هذا الأمر غميرة ومعز : أى مضمم (أو مطعن أيضا) .

(٥) في المنظوم والمنثور « يورث العز » . (٦) فيه « وينظر أحوالهم » .

طاسيدهم ، فإن ذلك من نعمك بهم يُورثك العِزَّةَ ، ويقدمك في الفضل ، ويُبقي لك
إِسَانَ صِدْقٍ فِي الْعَاقِبَةِ^(١) ، ويُحَرِّزُ لَكَ ثَوَابَ الْآخِرَةِ ، ويردُّ عليك عَوَاطِفَهُمُ الْمُسْتَنْفِرَةَ
منك ، وقلوبهم المتنجِّية^(٢) عنك .

قِس^(٣) بين منازل أهل الفضل في الدين والحجاء والرأى والعقل والتدبير والصِّبَةِ
في العامة ، وبين منازل أهل النقص في طبقات الفضل وأحواله ، والخلولِ عند مُبَاهَاةِ
النسب^(٤) ، وانظر بصُحْبَةِ أَيُّهِمْ تَنَالُ من مودته الجميل ، وتستجمع لك أقاويل العامة
على التفضيل ، وتبلغُ درجة الشرف في أحوالك المتصرِّفة بك ، فاعتمد عليهم مُدْخِلًا
لهم في أمرك ، وآثِرهم بمجالستك لهم مستمعاً منهم ، وإياك وتضييعهم مُعْرِطًا ،
وإيهاهم مُضِيئًا .

هذه جوامعُ خِصَالٍ قَدْ لَخَّصَهَا لَكَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مَنْسَرًا ، وجمع لك شَوَاهِدًا^(٥)
مُبَيِّنًا ، وأهداها إليك مُرَشِدًا ، فقف عند أوامرها ، وتناهَ عن زواجرها ، وثبتتْ
في مجامعها ، وخذ بيوثائقِ عراها ، تسلِّمْ من معَاظِبِ الرَّدَى ، رتنلْ أنفَسَ الحُظُوظِ ،
ورغيب^(٦) الشرف ، وأعلى دَرَجِ الدُّكْرِ ، وتوئَلْ سَطْوَةَ العِزِّ^(٧) ، والله يسألُ لك
أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ حُسْنَ الإِرشَادِ ، وتتابع المزيِّد ، وبلوغ الأمل ، وأن يجعل عاقبة ذلك
بِكَ إِلَى غِيبَةِ يَسْوَعُكَ إِيَّاهَا ، وعافية يُحِلُّكَ أَكْنَافَهَا ، ونعمة يُلْهِمُكَ شُكْرَهَا ، فإنه
الرفيقُ للخير ، والمعين على الإِرشَادِ ، منه تمامُ الصالحات ، وهو مؤتقِ الحسنات ، عنده
منازيعُ الخَيْرِ وبيده الملك ، وهو على كل شيء قدير .

(١) فيه « في العامة » . (٢) فيه « المستنجية » . (٣) فيه « بين » .
(٤) فيه « والجمود عند مناها بأهل الحسب ونظر فصيحة أهم تال مودة الجميع » والعبارة محرفة .
(٥) فيه « شواهدا » والأولى أصح وأنب لقوله « مؤلفاً » .
(٦) فيه « ومزية الشرف » والرغيب : المرغوب فيه .
(٧) وردت هذه الجملة في صبح الأعشى ، هكذا « وتائل سطر العز » مع علامة توقف ، وقد
صلحتها كما ترى ، وأثله : أصله وقواه .

فإذا أفضيت نحو عدوك ، واعتزمت على لقائهم ، وأخذت أهبة قتالهم ، فاجعل
دِعَامَتَكَ التي تلجأ إليها ، ووثقتك التي تأملُ النجاة بها ، ورُكْنَكَ الذي ترتجى به
مناة الظنير ، وتكتهف^(١) به لمالئ الحذر ، تقوى الله عز وجل ، مستشعراً لها
بمراقبته ، والاعتصام بطاعته ، متبعا لأمره ، محتذبا لسخطه ، محتذيا سنته ، والتوقفا
لمعاصيه في تعطيل حدوده ، وتعدي شرائعه ، متوكلا عليه فيما صمدت^(٢) له ، واثقا بنصره
فيما توجهت نحوه ، متبرئا من الحول والقوة فيما نالك من ظفر ، وتلقاك من عز ،
راغبا فيما أهاب^(٣) بك أمير المؤمنين إليه من فضل الجهاد ، ورعى بك إليه ، محمود الصبر
فيه عند الله عز وجل من قتال عدو الله للمسلمين ، أكلبه^(٤) عليهم ، وأظهره عداوة
كهم ، وأفدحه نقلا لعامتهم ، وآخذه برقبهم^(٥) ، وأعلاه عليهم بغيا ، وأظهره فيهم
فسقا وجورا ، وأشدّه على فيهم الذي أصاره الله لهم^(٦) وفتح عليهم مثنونة وكلا^(٧)
والله المستعان عليهم ، والمستنصر على جماعتهم ، عليه يتوكل أمير المؤمنين ، وإياه
يستصرخ عليهم ، وإليه يفوض أمره ، وكفى بالله وليا وناصرا ومعينا ، وهو
القوى العزيز .

ثم خذ من معك من تبتاعك^(٨) وجندك بكف ممرتهم ، ورد مشتعل
جورهم^(٩) ، وإحكام خللهم ، وضمت مندشر قواصمهم ، ولم شعث أطرافهم ،

(١) معناه : وتحصن به ، واشتقاقه من الكهف وهو الوزر والملجأ ، يقال : فلان كهف أهابه
أى ملجأ لهم . (٢) صمده وصدد إليه قصده ، ومنه الصمد بالتحريك : أى السيد الذى يصمد
إليه فى الحوائج .

(٣) أهاب به : دعاه ، من أهاب بالإبل ، إذا دعاها بقوله : هاب هاب .

(٤) أى أشدهم عليه وآذاهم له يقال : كلب الدهر كفرح كلبا بالتحريك : إذا ألح عليهم ، واشتد ،
وكلب الشئ : اشتد أيضا ، ودفعت عنك كلب فلان : أى شره وأذاه .

(٥) الرق بالكسر : جبل فيه عدة عرى تشد به الجهم ، كل عروذريقة بالكسر والفتح .

(٦) فى المنظوم والمنثور « أصاده الله لهم مثنونة » وما بعد ذلك ساقط .

(٧) الكر : الثقل .

(٨) تباع جمع تابع ، وفى المنظوم والمنثور « من تباعك » .

(٩) فى صبح الأعشى « ورد مشتعل جهلهم ، وإحكام ضياع عملهم » .

وخذهم^(١) بمن مروا به من أهل ذمتك وملتك بحسن السيرة، وعفة الطعنة، وكذعة الوقار، وهدي الدعة، وجمام^(٢) النفس، مُحْكماً ذلك منهم، متفقداً لهم فيه تفقدك إياه من نفسك .

ثم اصمد^(٣) لعدوك المسمى بالإسلام خارجاً من جماعة أهله، المتحل ولاية الدين مستجلاً لدماء أوليائه، طاعيناً عليهم، راغباً عن سذنتهم، مفارقاً لشرائعهم، يبتغيهم الفوائل، وينصب^(٤) لهم السكايد، أضرَمُ حنذاً عليهم، وأرصدُ عداوةً لهم، وأطلبُ لغرات فرصهم من الأثرك^(٥) وأمم الشرك وطواغيت الملل، يدعو إلى المعصية والفرقة والمروق من دين الله إلى الفتنة، مخترباً بهواه الأديين المنتحلة، والبدع المتفرقة، خساراً وتخسيراً، وضللاً وإضلالاً، بغير هدى من الله ولا بيان، ساء ما كتبت يداه، وما الله بظلام للعبيد، وساء ما سوت له نفسه الأماراة بالسوء، والله من ورائه بالمرصاد، وسيعلم الذين ظلموا أي منقلب ينقلبون .

حصن^(٦) جندك، واشكم نفسك بطاعة الله في مجاهدة أعدائه، وارحُ نصره، وتنجز موعوده، متقدماً في طلب ثوابه على جهادهم، معتزماً في ابتغاء الوسيلة إليه على لقاؤهم، فإن طاعتك إياه فيهم، ومراقبتك له، ورجاءك نصره، مسهل لك وعوره^(٧)، وعاصمك من كل سببة^(٨)، ومنجيك من كل هوة، وناعشك^(٩) من كل صرعة، ومقيلك من كل كبوة، وداري^(١٠) عنك كل شبهة، ومذهب عنك لطفة

(١) فيه « وتقيدهم عن مروا به » . (٢) فيه « وجمام المستجم » والجمام : الراحة، إوجم ماؤه واستجم : كثر واجتمع . (٣) ورد هذا الفعل في لسان العرب من باب ضرب ، وفي مختار الصحاح من باب نصر . (٤) وهذا الفعل أيضاً ورد في اللسان ومختار الصحاح والمصباح من باب ضرب وفي القاموس « ونصبه المرض ينصبه بالسكسر : أوجمه ، والنصب وضعه ورفعته » وعلى هامشه « أي وانصب الشيء من باب كتب فليس من باب ما قبله » قاله الشيخ نصر ، فتأمل . (٥) وفي المنظوم والنثور « وأرصد عداوة لهم من الترك . الخ » . (٦) في المنظوم والنثور « حص جندك » . (٧) وفيه « وعوره » وهو تحريف . (٨) وفيه « سيئة » . (٩) يقال : نعته الله كنعته وأنعمه ونعته : أي رفعه . (١٠) أي دافع .

كل شك ، ومُتَوِّبِك بكل أيدٍ^(١) ومَكِيدَةٍ ، ومُعِزِّكَ في كل مُعْتَرِكٍ^(٢) قتال ، وموَيْدِكَ في كل مَجْمَعٍ لِقَاءٍ ، وَكَالِوَيْدِكَ عند كل فِتْنَةٍ مُعْشِيَةٍ^(٣) ، وحافظك^(٤) من كل شبهة مُرَدِّيَةٍ ، وَاللَّهُ وَلِيُّكَ وَوَلِيُّ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فِيكَ ، وَالْمُسْتَخَلَفُ عَلَى جَنْدِكَ وَمَنْ مَعَكَ^(٥) .

اعلم أن الظفر ظفران : أحدهما - وهو أعمُّ منفعةً ، وأبلغُ في حُسنِ الذِكرِ قِلةً ، وأحوطُهُ سلامةً وأتمُّه عافيةً ، وأعودُهُ^(٦) عاقبةً ، وأحسنُ في الأمورِ مَوْرِدًا ، وأعلاهُ في الفضلِ^(٧) شرفًا ، وأصحُّهُ في الروبَةِ^(٨) حَزْمًا ، وَأَسْمَلُهُ عند العامة مَصْدَرًا - ما نِيلَ بِسلامةِ الجنودِ ، وَحُصْنِ الخِيَلِ ، وَلُطْفِ المَسْكِينَةِ ، وَبِحُسْنِ النِّقِيَةِ^(٩) ، واستنزالِ طاعةِ ذوى الصَّدُوفِ^(١٠) ، بغيرِ إخطارِ^(١١) الجيوشِ في وَقْدَةِ سَجَرَةِ الحَرْبِ ، وَمَنْزِلَةِ^(١٢) الفُرْسَانِ في مُعْتَرِكِ المَوْتِ ، وَإِنْ سَاعَدَكَ الحَلْطُ ، وَنَالَكَ مَرْبِيَةَ السَّعَادَةِ في الشَّرَفِ ، فَتَنِي مُخَاطَرَةَ التَّيْفِ مَكْرُوهِ المِصَائِبِ ، وَعِضَاضِ السِّيُوفِ ، وَأَلَمِ الجِرَاحِ ، وَقِصَاصِ الحُرُوبِ وَسَجَّالِهَا^(١٣) بِمَقَاوِرِ أبطالها ، على أنك لا تدري لأىِّ الفريقين

(١) الأيد : القوة ، آديئيد : اشتد وقوى .

(٢) هذه الجملة ساقطة من المنظوم والمنثور .

(٣) وهذه أيضاً ، وكلاهُ كنعته كلاً بالفتح وكلامه وكلاء بالكسر : حرسه وحفظه ، ومنشية أى منظية للأبصار ، يقال غشى الله على بصره وأغشى ، ومنه قوله تعالى : (فَأَغْشَيْنَا لَهُمْ فَهْمَهُمْ لَأَيُّبُصِرُونَ) أى (منسية) بالنسين من أغشى الليل إذا أظلم : أى فتنة مدلّمة سوداء ، أو هى « معشية » بالعين أى تعشى البصر فلا يهتدى إلى طريق الخلاص منها .

(٤) وفى صبح الأعشى « وحائطك » أى سننك .

(٥) هذه الجملة ساقطة من المنظوم والمنثور . (٦) هذه ساقطة من صبح الأعشى .

(٧) ساقطة من المنظوم والمنثور . (٨) فى المنظوم والمنثور « فى الزواية » « وأسبله » وهو

تحريف . (٩) النقيية : النفس . (١٠) ساقطة فى المنظوم والمنثور ، وصدف عنه : أعرض .

(١١) معناه لإيقاعهم فى الخطر .

(١٢) فى صبح الأعشى « ومبارزة » وفيه « وإن ساعدتك ضلوق الظفر » والظاهر أنه « وإن

ساعدك » بدون تاء التأنيث ، والظلوق معناه الانطلاق ، يقال : أطلقت الناقة فطلقت أى حل عقابها ، وأطلقت الإبل إلى الماء حتى طلقت (كنصر) طلقاً وطلوقاً أى توجهت إلى الماء .

(١٣) يقال : أخرج بينهم سجال : أى نصرتها متداولة بينهم ، وأصلها من السجل بالفتح وهو الدلو

الغضبية مملوءة : أى سجل منها على هؤلاء وآخر على هؤلاء ، والمقاورة مفاعلة من الإغارة ، وفى حديث قيس بن عاصم « كنت أغاورهم فى الجاهلية » أى أغير عليهم ويغيرون على ، وتقاور القوم : أغار بعضهم على بعض .

يكون الظفرُ في البديهة ، ومن المغلوبُ بالدولة^(١) ؟ ولعلك أن تكون المطلوبَ بالتحصيل ، فحاول إصابة أبلههما في سلامة جُندك ورعيّتك ، وأشهرهما صيتا في بدو تدبيرك ورأيك^(٢) ، وأجمعهما لألفة ووليّك وعدوك ، وأعوّزهما على صلاح رعيّتك وأهلِ ملتك ، وأقواهما شكيمةً في حزمك ، وأبعدهما من وضمّ عزّمك ، وأعلّتهما بزمام النجاة في آخرتك^(٣) ، وأجزّلها ثوابا عند ربك ، وابدأ بالإعذار إلى عدوك ، والدعاء لهم إلى مراجعة الطاعة ، وأمر الجماعة ، وعزّ^(٤) الألفة ، آخذا بالحجة عليهم ، متقدما بالإندار لهم ، باسماً أمانك لمن لجأ إليك منهم ، داعياً لهم باللين لفظك^(٥) ، وألطف حيّلك ، متعطفاً برأفتك عليهم ، مترقفاً بهم في دعائك ، ومشفقاً عليهم من غلبة الغواية لهم ، وإحاطة الملسكة بهم ، مُنفذاً رسالك إليهم بعد الإندار ، تعدّهم إعطاء كل رغبة يهش إليها طمعهم في موافقة الحق ، وبسط كل أمان سألوه لأنفسهم ومن معهم ومن تبعهم ، موطناً نفسك فيما تبسط لهم من ذلك على الوفاء بوعدك ، والصبر على ما أعطيتهم من وثائق عهدك ، قابلاً توبة نازعهم^(٦) عن الضلالة ، ومراجعة سيئهم إلى الطاعة ، مُرصداً للمُنحاز إلى فئة المسلمين وجماعتهم إجابةً إلى ما دعوته إليه ، وبصّرتة إياه من حثك وطاعتك ، بفضل المنزلة ، وإكرام النشور ، وتشريف الجاه^(٧) وليظهره من أترك عليه وإحسانك إليه ما يرغب في مثله الصادفُ عنك ، المُصيرُ على خلافك ومعصيتك ، ويدعو إلى الاعتلاق بحبل النجاة ، وما هو أملك به في الاعتصام عاجلاً ، وأنجى له من العقاب آجلاً ، وأحوط على دينه ومهجته بدءاً وعاقبةً ، فإن ذلك مما تستدعي به من الله عز وجل نصرته عليهم ، وتعزّيد^(٨) به في تقدمة الحجّة إليهم ، مُعذراً ومُنذراً إن شاء الله .

(١) الدولة في الحرب أن تدمر إحدى القشتين على الأخرى ، يقان : كانت لنا عليهم الدولة : أي الغلبة والنصرة . (٢) وفي المنظوم والنشور « في بدو رأيك » . (٣) ساقطة من المنظوم والنشور . (٤) فيه « وعزى الألفة » . (٥) فيه « لفظك » . (٦) نزع عن الأمر : كلف . (٧) وفيه « الحال » . (٨) فيه « وتعتصم » .

ثم أذك^(١) عيونك على عدوك ، مُتَطَلِّعًا لِعِلْمِ أحوالهم التي يتقلبون فيها ، ومنازلهم التي هم بها ، ومطامعهم التي قد مددوا أعناقهم نحوها ، وأى الأمور أذعن لهم إلى الصلح ، وأقودها ليرضاهم إلى العافية ، وأسهلها لاستنزال طاعتهم^(٢) ، ومن أى الوجوه مآثم .
أمن قبل الشدة والمنافرة والمكيدة والمباعدة والإرهاب والإبعاد ، أو الترغيب والإطعام؟
متنبها^(٣) في أمرك ، متخيرا في رويتك ، مستمكنا من رأيك ، مستشيرا لذوى النصيحة ،
الذين قد حنكتم السن ، وخبطتم التجربة^(٤) ، ونجدتهم^(٥) الحروب ، مُدَشِّرًا^(٦)
في حربك ، آخذًا بالحزم في سوء الظن ، مُعِدًّا للحذر ، محتسبا من الغيرة ، كأنك
- في مسيرك كله ونزولك أجمع^(٧) - مُواقِفٌ لعدوك رأى عين ، تنتظر حملاتهم ،
وتتخوف كراتهم^(٨) ، مُعِدًّا أقوى مكيدك ، وأوهب عتادك^(٩) ، وأنكأ جدك ،
وأجد تسميرك ، معظما أمر عدوك لأعظم مما بئدك ، حذرا يكاد يفترط ، لتمد له من
الاحتراس عظاما ، ومن للمكيدة قويا ، من غير أن يفتأ^(١٠) ذلك عن إحكام أمورك ،
وتدبير رأيك ، وإصدار رويتك ، والتأهب لما يحزبك^(١١) ، مصفرا له بعد استشعار
الحذر ، واضطمار^(١٢) الحزم ، وإعمال الروية ، وإعداد الأهبة ، فإن ألفت عدوك كليل

(١) أذكى عليه العيون أرسل عليه الطلائع .

(٢) هذه ساقطة من المنظوم والمنتور . (٣) فيه « مستنا » وهو تحريف .

(٤) فيه « الذين قد حنكتم التجربة » . وحنكته السن : أحكته التجارب .

(٥) رجل منجد : جرب الأمور وعرفها وأحكمها .

(٦) تشزن للرمى والأمر : استعد له ، وتشزن له : انتصب له في الحصومة وغيرها .

(٧) في المنظوم والمنتور « كأنك منزل كله ومنازلك جمع » وهو تحريف .

(٨) فيه « غاراتهم » .

(٩) العتاد : العدة ، ونكأ العدو ونكاه ونكى فيه نكابة : قتل وجرح ، وفي المنظوم والمنتور
« معدا أقوى مكيدتك ، وأجد تسميرك ، وأرهب عتادك ، معظما لأمر عدوك لأكثرهما . . . بفرط
تبعه له من الاحتراس عظاما من المكيدة قويا من غير . . . الخ » وهو تحريف .

(١٠) فتأه : سكنه وكسره ، وفتأ القدرة : سكن غليانها .

(١١) حزبه الأمر : اشتد عليه ، وفي المنظوم والمنتور « والتأهب لحربك مصغ له » وهو تحريف

(١٢) افتعال من الإضمار ، وفي المنظوم والمنتور « واطمان الحزم » .

الحدِّ ، وقم الحزم^(١) ، نَضِيض^(٢) الوَفْر ، لم يضرَّك ما اعتدَدتَ له من قوة ، وأخذت له من حزم ، ولم يزدك ذلك إلا جُرأةً عليه ، وتمرُّعا إلى لقاءه ، وإن ألفتته متوقِّد الجُمُر^(٣) مستكثف الجَمْع ، قَوَى التَّبَع ، مُسْتَعْلَى سَوْرَةِ السَّجَلِ ، مَعَهُ من أعوان الفتنَةِ وَتَبَعَ إبليسَ من يُوقِدُ لَهَبَ الفتنَةِ مسعِّرا ، ويتقدم إلى لقاء أبطالها متسرِّعا ، كدتَ لِأَخْذِكَ بالحزم ، واستعدادك بالقوة ، غيرَ مُهَيِّنِ الجند ، ولا مفرِّطٍ في الرأى ، ولا متلَهِّفٍ على إضاعة تدبير ، ولا محتاجٍ إلى الإعداد ، ومجَلَّةِ التَّأَهُبِ مبادرةً تُدهِّشك ، وخوفاً يُقلِّمُك ، ومتى تغتَرَّ بِترقيقِ المرقِّين^(٤) ، وتأخذ بالهُوَيْسِيِّ في أمر عدوك لتصغيرِ المصغرين ، يفتشِرَ عليك رأيك ، ويكون فيه انتقاص^(٥) أمرِك ، ووهنٌ تدبيرِك ، وإهمالُ الحزم في جندك ، وتضييعُ له ، وَهُوَ مِمَّا يَمُكِّنُ الإصحار ، رَحْبُ المَطْلَبِ ، قَوَى العِصْمَةِ ، فسبح المضطرب ، مع ما يدخلُ رعيَّتِك من الاغترار والغفلة عن إحكام أحراسهم^(٦) ، وضبطِ مراكرهم ، لما يروُن فيه من استنمامتِك^(٧) إلى الغرَّة ، ورُكُونك إلى الأمن ، وتهاؤنك بالتدبير ، فيعود ذلك عليك في انتشار الأطراف ، وضياح الأحكام ، ودُخولِ الوهن ، بما لا يُستقالُ محذوره ، ولا يُدْفَعُ مخوفه .

احفظ من عُيونك وجواسيسك ما يأتونك به من أخبار عدوك ، وإياك ومعاقبة أحدٍ منهم على خبر إن أتاك به اتهمته فيه ، أو سوأت به ظنا ، وأتاك غيره بخلافه ، أو أن تكذبه فيه فترده عليه ، ولعله أن يكون قد محضك النصيحة وصدقك الخبر ،

(١) وقم مصدر بمعنى المفعول أى موقوف الحزم أى مقهوره، من وقم الدابة إذا جذب عنانها لتكف، ووقه : قهره وكسره وأذله ، وق المنظوم والمنثور « وقم النجوم » وهو تحريف .
(٢) نضيض : قليل ، يقال : رجل نضيض اللحم أى قليله ، ونض الماء كضرب : سال قليلا قليلا أو خرج رنحعا ، والنضيض : الماء القليل ، والوفر من المال والتساع : الكثير الواسع ، أى قليل العدة .

(٣) في صبح الأعشى « متوقد الحرب » .

(٤) رفته وأرقة : ضد غلظه أى جملة رقيقا ضئيلا ، وفي المنظوم والمنثور « متى نزم على ترفيق التوقير » وهو تحريف .

(٥) الانتقاص : الانتكاث . (٦) فيه « عن إحكام أسرارهم » .

(٧) استنمام إليه : سكن واطمان .

وكذّبتك الأول، أو خرج جاسوسك الأول متقدماً قبل وصول هذا من عند عدوك .
وقد أبرموا لك أمراً، وحاولوا لك مَكِيدَةً، وأرادوا^(١) منك غِرَّةً، فازدَلَفُوا^(٢)
إليك في الأُهْبَةِ، ثم انتقض بهم رأيهم، واختلف عنهم جماعتهم، فأوردوا^(٣) رأياً،
وأحدثوا مَكِيدَةً، وأظهروا قُوَّةً، وضربوا مَوْعِدًا، وأمّوا مَسَدًا كَالِدَدِ^(٤) أُنَامٍ،
أو قُوَّةً حَدَثَتْ لَهُمْ، أو بصيرة في ضلالة شغلتهم، فالأحوال بهم متنقلة في الساعات،
وطوّارق الحادثات، ولكن البضيم^(٥) جميعاً على الانتصاح، وأرضخ لهم المطامع^(٦)
فإنك لن تسقميدهم بمقاتلها، وعديم جزالة المناوب^(٧) في غير ما استنامة منك إلى ترقيتهم
أمر عدوك، والاعتذار إلى ما يأتونك^(٨) به، دون أن تعمل رويك في الأخذ بالحزم،
والاستكثار من العدة، واجعلهم أوثق من تقدر عليه، وآمن من تسكن إلى
ناحيته، ليكون ما يُبرم عدوك في كل يوم وليلة عندك، إن استطعت ذلك،
فتنقض عليهم برأيك وتدبيرك ما أبرموا^(٩)، وتأتيهم من حيث أمِنُوا^(١٠) وتأخذ لهم
أُهْبَةً ما عليه أقدموا^(١١)، وتستمد لهم بمثل ما حذروا.

واعلم أن جواسيسك وعيونك ربما صدقوك، وربما غشوك، وربما كانوا لك
وعليك، فنصحوا لك وغشوا عدوك، وغشوك ونصحوا عدوك، وكثيراً ما يصدّقونك
ويصدّقونه، فلا تبدرن منك قرطة عقوبة إلى أحد منهم، ولا تعجل بسوء الظن

(١) فيه « وازدادوا » وهو تحريف .

(٢) أي اقتربوا وتقدموا، ومثل هذه الجملة في المنظوم والمنتور « وإن دفنوا إليك في الأمر » وصوابه

« واندفعوا » . (٣) في صيغ الأعيى « فأرادوا » .

(٤) في المنظوم والمنتور « لعدد » .

(٥) أي خالطهم وعاملهم والضمير للجواسيس . لابسه : خالطه .

(٦) رضخ له من ماله : أعطاه ، والرضيخة : العطية ، وقيل : العطية المقاربة . وقيل القليلة ، وفي

المنظوم والمنتور « وأن صح لهم المطامع » وهو تحريف .

(٧) جمع مثوبة بالفتح وهي الثواب .

(٨) وفيه « والاعتذار بما لم يأتوك به » .

(٩) وفيه « ما لم يرموا » ورم الشيء : كنصر وضرب : أصله .

(١٠) فيه « من حيث أقدموا » . (١١) ساقطة من المنظوم والمنتور .

إلى من اتهمته على ذلك ، واستنزِل نصائحهم بالمِياحة والمِنالة^(١) ، وابسط من آمالهم فيك ، من غير أن تُرى أحداً منهم أنك أخذت من قوله أخذَ العامل به والمقبح له ، أو عملت على رأيه عملَ الصادرِ عنه ، أو ردّدتَه عليه ردَّ المكذّب به ، المتهم له ، المستخفّ بما أتاك منه فتفسدَ بذلك نصيحته ، وتستدعي غشه ، وتجترّ عداوته ، واحذر أن يُمرّفوا في عسكريك ، أو يشار إليهم بالأصابع . وليكن منزِلهم على كاتب رسالتك . وأمين ميرّك . ويكون هو الموجه لهم . والمدخلُ عليك من أردت مُشاقفته منهم .

واعلم أن لعدوّك في عسكريك عيوناً راصدة . وجواسيسَ كامنة^(٢) . وأنه لن يقع رأيه عن مكيدتك بمثل ما تكايد^(٣) به ، ويحتمل لك كاحتيالك له . ويُعدّ لك كإعدادك له فيما تراوله منه . ويحاولك كحاولتك إياه فيما تقارعه عنه^(٤) . فاخذر أن يشهر رجل من جواسيسك في عسكريك . فيبلغ ذلك عدوّك . ويعرف موضعه . فيعدّ له المراصد . ويحتمل له بالكايد ، فإن ظنير به فأظهر عقوبته . كسرّ ذلك ثقاتِ عيونك وخذلهم^(٥) عن تطلب الأخبار من معادنها . واستقصائها من عيونها واستعدادها اجتنائها من بناييمها^(٦) . حتى بصيروا إلى أخذها مما عرض^(٧) من غير الثقة ولا المعاينة لفظاً لها^(٨) بالأخبار الكاذبة . والأحاديث المرّجفة .

واحذر أن يعرفَ بعضُ عيونك بعضاً ، فإنك لا تأمنُ تواطؤهم عليك ، وممالأتهم^(٩)

- (١) المياحة والميح : الإغواء ، وفعله كضرب ، وهذه الجملة ساقطة من المنظوم والنثور .
- (٢) وفي صبح الأعشى « متجسّسة » .
- (٣) وفي المنظوم والنثور « وأن رأيه في مكيدتك مثل ماتكايد به » .
- (٤) المفارقة . المضاربة ، ومن قوله « فيما تراوله منه ... » إلى قوله « تقارعه عنه » ساقط في المنظوم والنثور .
- (٥) وفيه « وحوله » وصوراه « وحولهم » .
- (٦) وهذه الجملة ساقطة منه . (٧) فيه « عن عرض » .
- (٨) فيه « ولا معاينة لفظاً لها » وهو تحريف .
- (٩) مالا : شايبه وساعده

عدوك ، واجتماعهم على غشك ، وتطابقتهم على كذبك ، وإضغاثهم^(١) على خيانتك ، وأن يورط بعضهم بعضاً عند عدوك ، فأحكيم أمرهم فإنهم رأس مكيدتك ، وقوام تدبيرك ، وعليهم مدار حركك ، وهو أول ظفرك ، فاعمل على حسب ذلك ، وحيث رجائك^(٢) به ، تنل أملاك من عدوك ، وقوتك هلى قتاله ، واحتياالك لإصابة غيراته^(٣) وانتهاز فرصه إن شاء الله .

فإذا أحكمت ذلك وتقدمت في إتيانه ، واستظهرت بالله وعونه ، فوّل شرطتك وأمر عسكرك أوثق قوادك عندك ، وأظهرهم^(٤) نصيحة ، وأقدم بصيرة في طاعتك ، وأقوام شكيمة في أمرك ، وأمضاهم صريمة^(٥) ، وأصدقتهم عفافاً ، وأجزأهم غناء^(٦) ، وأكفاهم أمانة ، وأحسهم ضميراً ، وأرضاهم في العامة ديناً ، وأحدهم عند الجماعة^(٧) خلقاً ، وأعظفهم على كآفتهم رافة ، وأحسنهم لهم نظراً ، وأشدّهم في دين الله وحقه صلابة ، ثم فوض إليه مقولاً له ، وابسط من أمله ، مظهرًا عنه الرضا ، حامداً منه الابتلاء ، وليكن علماً بما كرز الجنود ، بصيراً بتقدم المنازل ، مجرباً ، ذارياً وتجربة وحزم في المكيدة ، له نباهة في الذكر ، وصيت في الولاية ، معروف البيت ، مشهور الحسب ، وتقدم إليه في ضبط معسكره ، وإذكاء أحراسه في آناء ليله ونهاره ، ثم حدّره أن يكون منه إذن جنوده في الانتشار والاضطراب والتقدم لطلائعك^(٨) ، فتصّاب لهم غيرة يجترئ بها عدوك عليك ، ويسرع إقداماً إليك ، ويكسّر من إبادك^(٩) جنودك ،

(١) أصفقوا عليه : أطبقوا واجتمعوا .

(٢) في المنظوم والشور « وجنب رجاءك به نيل أملاك » وهو تحريف .

(٣) هذه ساقطة منه . (٤) فيه « وآمنهم نصيحة ، وأقدمهم بصيرة » . (٥) الصريمة المزينة .

(٦) يقال : أجزأت عنك جزاً فلان وجزأته بفتح الميم وتضم فيها ، وأغنيت عنك غناه بفتح الهمزة وفتحها ، وأغنيته بفتح الميم وتضم فيها : أي كفيت كفايته .

(٧) وفيه « وأرضاهم صبراً . وأحدهم خلقاً ، وأعظفهم على جماعتهم رافة » .

(٨) فيه « لطلائع » وهو تحريف .

(٩) وفيه « من أفئدة جنودك » والإياد ككتاب : ما أيد به من شيء أي قوى ، والمغسل

والكتف الجبل الحصين .

ويؤهين من قوتهم ، فإن إصابة^(١) عدوك الرجل الواحد من جنك وعبيدك مطيع لهم فيك ، مقوتهم على شحذ أتباعهم عليك ، وتصغيرهم أمرك ، وتوهينهم تدبيرك ، فحذرهم ذلك وتقدم إليه فيه ، ولا يكون منه إفراط في التضيق عليهم ، والحصر لهم ، فيقتهم أزله^(٢) ، ويشملهم ضنكك ، ويسوء عليه حالهم^(٣) ، وتشد به المؤنة عليهم ، وتخبث له ظنونهم ، وليكن موضع إنزاله إياهم ضاماً لجماعتهم ، مستديراً بهم جامعا لهم^(٤) ، ولا يكون منبسطا منتشرا متبديدا ، فيشق ذلك على أصحاب الأحراس ، وتكون فيه النهزة^(٥) للعدو ، والبعد من المادة ، إن طرقت طارق في فجآت الليل وبغائنه ، وأوعز إليه في أحراسه ، وتقدم^(٦) إليه فيهم كأشد التقدّم ، وأبلغ الإيعاز ، ومرة فليؤك عليهم رجلا ركيئا مجربا جرى الإقدام ذاكي^(٧) الصرامة ، جلد الجوارح ، بصيرا بمواضع أحراسه . غير مصانع ولا مشفع للناس في التنجى إلى الرفاهية والسعة . وتقدم العسكر أو التأخر عنه . فإن ذلك بما يضمف الوالى ويؤهنه . لا ستنامته إلى من ولأه ذلك . وأمنه به على جيشه .

واعلم أن مواضع الأحراس من معسكرك . ومكانها من جنك . بحيث الغناه والرد عليهم ، والحفظ لهم . والسكلاء لمن بقتهم طارقا . أو أرادهم مخائلا . ومرأصدها المنسل منها . والآبق^(٨) من أرقائهم وأعبدهم . وحفظها من العيون والجواسيس من عدوهم . واحذر أن تضرب على يديه أو تشكمه عن الصرامة . بمؤامرتك^(٩) في كل

(١) في صبح الأعشى « فإن الصوت في إصابة عدوك الرجل .. الخ » .

(٢) الأزل : الضيق والشدة . (٣) وفي صبح الأعشى « وتسوء عليهم حاله » .

(٤) في المنظوم والنثور « مستديرا ضاماً جامعا ، ولا يكون منتشرا متبديدا » .

(٥) النهزة : الفرصة .

(٦) من هنا إلى قوله « وأبلغ الإيعاز » ساقط من المنظوم والنثور .

(٧) أى مشتمل . من ذكت النار إذا اشتد لها ، وفي المنظوم والنثور « زكى الصرامة »

وهو تحريف . (٨) الآبق : الهارب .

(٩) المؤامرة : المشاورة . وفي المنظوم والنثور « على الصرامة لمواصرتك » وهو تحريف .

(٢٨ - جبهة رسائل العرب - ثان)

أمرٍ حادثٍ وطارئٍ . إلا في المهمِّ النازل والحدِّث العام . فإنك إذا فعلت ذلك به ، دعوتَه إلى نصحك . واستوليت على محضٍ^(١) ضميره في طاعتك . وأجهدتَ نفسه في ترتيبك^(٢) . وأعملَ رأيه في بلوغ موافقتك وإعانتك^(٣) . وكان ثقتك ورداًك^(٤) وقوتك ودعائمك . وتفرغت أنت لمساكيدة عدوك . مُريحاً نفسك من همِّ ذلك والعناية به . مُلقياً عنك مؤونةً باهظةً . وكُلِّفَ^(٥) فادحةً . إن شاء الله .

ثم اعلم أن القضاء من الله بـمكانٍ ليس به شيء من الأحكام . ولا بمثل^(٦) محله أحد من الولاية . لما يجرى على يديه من مَقَالِيظِ الأحكام وتجاري الحدود . فليكن مَنْ تولى القضاء في عسكرك من ذوى الخَيْرِ في القناعة والعفاف والنزاهة والفهم والوقار والعصمة والورع . والبصير بوجوه القضايا ومواقفها . قد حنَّكتَه السن . وأيدته^(٧) التجربة . وأحكمتَه الأمور . ممن لا يتصنع للولاية . ويستمدُّ للفهزة ويجترئ على الحيازة في الحكم . والمداهنة في القضاء . عدل الأمانة . عفيف الطعنة^(٨) . حسن الإنصاف^(٩) . فهم القلب . ورع الضمير . متخشع السمْت^(١٠) . بادئ^(١١) الوقار . مُحْتَسِباً^(١٢) للخير . ثم أجر عليه ما يكفيه ويسعه ويصلِّحه ، وفرَّغ له لما سخطته وأعنه على ما وليته ، فإنك قد عرَّمتَه هَلَكَةَ الدنْيَا وبَوَارِ^(١٣) الآخرة ، أو شرفِ العاجلة وخطوة الآجلة ، إن حسَّلتَ نيته ، وصدقتَ رويته ، وصحَّتْ سريرته ، وساطَ حُكْمُ الله على رعيته ، مُطلقاً عِنَانَهُ^(١٤) ، منفذاً قضاء الله في خلقه ؛ عاملاً بسنته في شرائعه ، آخذاً بمُدُوده

(١) في صبيح الأعشى « على حصول ضميره » .

(٢) في الأصل : « ترتيبك » . (٣) هذه الجملة ساقطة من المنظوم والمنثور .

(٤) الردء : العون ، وفيه « وزنك » .

(٥) فيه « وسلفة » وهو تحريف . (٦) فيه « بثله » . (٧) أى قوته .

(٨) الضممة : التأكلة . (٩) وفي صبيح الأعشى « الإنصاف » .

(١٠) السمْت : هيئة أهل الخير . (١١) في المنظوم والمنثور « هادى الوقار » .

(١٢) احتسب به أجراً عند الله ؛ اعنده ينوب به وجه الله .

(١٣) في المنظوم والمنثور « وثواب الآخرة » وهو تحريف .

(١٤) ساقطة من المنظوم والمنثور .

وفرائضه ، واعلم أنه من جُنْدِكَ وَمُعَسْكَرِكَ بِحَيْثُ وَلَايَتُكَ وفي الموضعِ الجاريةِ
أحكامُهُ^(١) عليهم ، النافذةُ أَفْضَيْتُهُ بينهم ، فأعرِفَ مَنْ تولى ذلك وتُسْنِدُهُ إليه
إن شاء الله .

ثم تقدّم في طلائعك ، فإنها أولُ مكيدتك ، ورأسُ حربِك ، ودِعامَةُ أمرِك ،
فانتخب لها من كل قَادَةِ وَصْحَابَةِ : رجالًا ذوى تَجْدَةِ وبأس ، وصِرَامَةِ وَخُبْرَةِ ،
حِمَاةً كُفَاءً ، قد صَلَّوْا^(٢) بالحرب ، وتذاوقوا سِجَا لَهَا ، وشَرِبُوا مِرَارَ كُثُوسِهَا ، وتَجَرَّعُوا
غُصَصَ دِرَّتِهَا^(٣) وَزَبْتِهَا^(٤) بتكرار عواطفها ، وحملتهم على أصعب مَرَا كِبِهَا ،
وذَلَّتْهُمْ بِتَقَافٍ أَوْدِهَا^(٥) ، ثم انتَقَمِمْ^(٦) على ذَنبِكَ ، وَاَعْرِضْ كُرَاعِهِمْ^(٧) بِنَفْسِكَ ،
وتوخَّ في انتقائِك ظُهورَ الجِلْدِ ، وشَهَامَةَ الخُلُقِ ، وَكَمَالَ الآلَةِ^(٨) ، وإيَّاكَ أَنْ تَقْبَلَ
من دوابهم إلا إناث الخيول مَهْلُوبَةً^(٩) ، فإنها أسرع طلباً وأنجى مَهْرَبًا ، وألين
مَعْطَفًا^(١٠) ، وأبمد في اللُحُوقِ غَايَةً ، وَأَصْبِرْ في معتركِ الأبطال إِفْدَامًا ، وَخُذْهُمْ^(١١) من
السلاح بأبدان الدُرُوعِ ، مازِيَةً الحَديدِ ، شَاكَّةً^(١٢) النَّسِجِ ، معقاربة الخَلِيقِ ، متلاحمة
المساميرِ وَأَسْوِقِ الحَديدِ ، مُموَّهَةً الرُّكْبِ ، مُحْكَمَةَ الطَّبِيعِ^(١٣) ، خفيفة الصَّوْغِ ،

(١) في صبح الأمتى « بحيث ولايتك ، الجارية أحكامه الخ » .

(٢) صلى النار وبها : قاسى حرها . (٣) الدرة : اللبن .

(٤) أى دفعتهم ، وفي المنظوم والمنثور « وزنتهم بتكرارها » .

(٥) هذه الجملة ساقطة منه ، والتفاف : ماتسوى به الرماح .

(٦) فيه « ثم اتبعهم » وهو تحريف . (٧) الكراع . اسم يجمع الخيل .

(٨) فيه « وسماحة الخلق » وفيه أيضا « وجمال الآلة » .

(٩) الأهل : الذئب المنقطع ، والذى لاشعر عليه (والكثير الشعر ، ضد) .

(١٠) ساقطة من المنظوم والمنثور .

(١١) في المنظوم والمنثور « ونجذهم » وهو تحريف ، والأبدان جمع بدن بالتحريك : وهو الدرع
من الزرد ، قيل هى الدرع القصيرة على قدر الجسد ، وقيل هى الدرع عامة ، والإضافة فيه على حد
« حق اليقين ، وحب الحصيد » من إضافة الشيء إلى ما يبعثه لاختلاف اللغتين ، والمأذى والمأذية :
الدرع اللينة السهلة .

(١٢) الشك : الاتصال واللصوق ، والمعنى محكمة النسج ، والحلق بكسر الحاء وفتحها : جمع حلقة بالفتح
وتسكين اللام ، وأسوق جمع ساق . (١٣) من طبع السيف والدرم : أى عملهما .

وَسَوَاعِدَ طَبْعِهَا هِنْدِيٌّ . وَصَوْنُهَا فَارِسِيٌّ . رَفَاقُ الْمَعَاطِفِ بِأَكْفٍ وَاقِيَةٌ (١) ، وَعَمَلُ
مُحْكَمٍ ، وَيَلْقَى (٢) الْبَيْضَ مُذْهَبَةً وَمُجْرَدَةً ، فَارِسِيَّةَ الصَّوْغِ ، خَالِصَةَ الْجَوْهَرِ ، سَابِقَةَ (٣)
الْمَلْبَسِ ، وَاقِيَةَ الْجُنَيْنِ (٤) ، مُسْتَدِيرَةَ الطَّمْعِ ، مُبْهِمَةَ السَّرْدِ (٥) ، وَاقِيَةَ الْوِزْنِ ، كَثْرِيكَ (٦)
النِّعَامِ فِي الصَّنْعَةِ ، وَاسْتِدَارَةَ التَّقْيِيبِ ، وَاسْتَوَاءَ الصَّوْغِ (٧) مُعَلِّمَةً بِأَصْنَافِ الْحَرِيرِ وَأَلْوَانِ
الصَّبْغِ ، فَإِنِهَا أَهْيَبُ لِعَدُوِّهِمْ ، وَأَفْتٌ (٨) لِأَعْضَادِ مَنْ لِقِيَهُمْ ، وَالْمُعَلِّمُ (٩) مَخْشِيُّ مَحْذُورِ
لَهُ بَدِيهَةٌ رَادِعَةٌ (١٠) ، وَهَيِّبَةٌ هَائِلَةٌ (١١) ، مَعَهُمُ السِّيُوفُ الْهِنْدِيَّةُ ، وَذِكُورُ (١٢) الْبَيْضِ
الْيَمَانِيَّةِ ، رَفَاقُ الشَّفَرَاتِ ، مَسْمُومَةٌ الشَّحْذِ غَيْرُ كَلِيلَةِ الْحَدِّ (١٣) ، مُشَطَّبَةٌ الضَّرَائِبِ (١٤) ،
مَعْتَدَلَةُ الْجَوَاهِرِ ، صَافِيَةُ الصَّفَائِحِ ، لَمْ يَدْخُلْهَا وَهْنُ الطَّمْعِ ، وَلَا عَابَهَا أَمْتُ (١٥) الصَّوْغِ ،

(١) فِي صَبْحِ الْأَعْشَى « وَاقِيَةٌ » .

(٢) الْيَلْقَى : الْأَبْيَضُ مِنْ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ ، وَالْبَيْضَةُ مِنَ السَّلَاحِ سَمِيَتْ بِذَلِكَ لِأَنَّهَا عَلَى شَكْلِ بَيْضَةِ النِّعَامِ ،
وَفِي صَبْحِ الْأَعْشَى « وَيَلْقَى الْبَيْضَ » وَالْيَلْقَى كَجَمْفَرٍ : الْقِيَاءُ ، وَالْأَوَّلَى أَنْسَبُ .
(٣) دَرَعٌ سَابِقَةٌ : تَامَةٌ طَوِيلَةٌ .

(٤) الْجُنَيْنُ : جَمْعُ جَنَّةٍ بِالضَّمِّ ، وَهِيَ مَا اسْتَتَرَتْ بِهِ مِنْ سِلَاحٍ ، وَفِي الْمَنْظُومِ وَالْمَنْثُورِ « وَاقِيَةُ الْبَيْنِ »
(٥) سَرْدُ الدَّرَعِ : نَسْجُهَا ، وَهُوَ تَدَاخُلُ الْحَلْقِ بَعْضُهَا فِي بَعْضٍ . وَالْمَبْهُمُ : الْمَصْمُوتُ .
(٦) التَّرِيكَ وَالتَّرَائِكُ : جَمْعُ تَرِيكَةٍ كَسْفِينَةٍ ، وَهِيَ الْبَيْضَةُ بِمَدِّ أَنْ يَخْرُجَ مِنْهَا الْفَرَسُ ، أَوْ يَخْرُجَ مِنَ الْبَيْضِ
(٧) قَوْلُهُ « وَاسْتِدَارَةُ التَّقْيِيبِ ، وَاسْتَوَاءُ الصَّوْغِ » سَاقِطٌ مِنَ الْمَنْظُومِ وَالْمَنْثُورِ .
(٨) فَتٌ فِي سَاعِدِهِ وَفِي عَضُدِهِ : أَعْضَفُهُ .
(٩) أَعْلَمُ الْفَرَسِ : عَلِقَ عَلَيْهَا صَوْفًا مَلُونًا فِي الْحَرْبِ ، وَأَعْلَمَ نَفْسَهُ . وَسَمَّيَا بِسِمَى الْحَرْبِ كَعَلَمِهَا
(١٠) فِي الْمَنْظُومِ وَالْمَنْثُورِ « وَادِعَةٌ » وَهُوَ تَحْرِيفٌ .
(١١) هَذِهِ سَاقِطَةٌ مِنْهُ .

(١٢) الذِّكْرُ بِالتَّحْرِيكِ : أَيْبِسُ الْحَدِيدِ وَأَجُودُهُ . وَالشَّفْرَةُ : حَدُّ السِّيفِ .
(١٣) فِي الْمَنْظُومِ وَالْمَنْثُورِ « مَسْمُومَةُ الشَّحْذِ ، غَيْرُ كَلِيلَةِ الْحَدِّ » وَفِي صَبْحِ الْأَعْشَى وَمِفْتَاحِ الْأَنْفِكَارِ
« مَسْمُومَةُ الشَّحْذِ » فَقَطْ ، وَأَرَاهُ مَحْرَفًا ، وَصَوَابُهُ كَمَا أَوْرَدْتَهُ وَسَتَتَكَرَّرُ الْأَوَّلَى فِي أَوَاخِرِ الرِّسَالَةِ وَشَحْذِ
السُّكَيْنِ : أَحَدًا هَا .

(١٤) سِيفٌ مَشْطَبٌ وَمَشْطُوبٌ : فِيهِ شَطْبٌ ، وَشَطْبُ السِّيفِ بَضْمُ الشَّيْنِ وَالطَّاءُ وَفَتْحُهَا وَشَطُوبُهُ :
طَرَائِقُهُ الَّتِي فِي مَنْتِهِ ، جَمْعُ شَطْبَةٍ كَافَّةٍ وَهَمْزَةٌ وَرَفْعَةٌ ، وَالضَّرَائِبُ جَمْعُ ضَرْبِيَّةٍ : وَهِيَ مَا ضَرْبَتْهُ بِالسِّيفِ
وَرَبَّهَا سَمِيَ السِّيفُ نَفْسَهُ ضَرْبِيَّةً وَهُوَ الْمُرَادُ هُنَا .

(١٥) الْأَمْتُ : الضَّمْفُ وَالْوَهْنُ وَالْمَوْجُ وَالْإِخْتِلَافُ فِي الشَّيْءِ .

ولا شانها خفة الوزن ، ولا فدح حاملها بهور^(١) الثقل ، قد أشرعوا لذن القنا^(٢) ،
طوال المهادي ؛ مقومات الأود^(٣) ، زرق الأسمنة ، مستوية الثعالب^(٤) ، وميضها
متوقد ؛ وسنخها^(٥) متلعب ، معاقص عقدها منحوتة^(٦) ، وووصوم^(٧) أودها مقومة ،
وأجاسها مختلفة ، وكعوبها جعدة^(٨) ، وعقدوها حبيكة^(٩) ، شطبة الأسنان^(١٠) ، مُحكمة
الجللاء^(١١) ، مموهة الأطراف ، مستحدة الجنبات ، دقاق الأطراف ، ليس فيها التواء
أود ، ولا أمت وضم ؛ ولا بها مسقط عيب ، ولا عنها وقوع أمنيّة ، مستعقبي^(١٢)
كنائن النبل وقسي الشوحط والننعب ، أعرابية التعقيب^(١٣) ، روميّة النصول ، مسمومة

- (١) فدحه : أنقله ، والبهور والبهر بالفتح : التكليف فوق الطاقة .
(٢) شرع الرمح وأشرعه : سده ، والقنا : الرماح ، جمع قناة ، ولدن بالضم جمع لدن بالفتح :
وهو اللين من كل شيء ، والمهادية من كل شيء - أوله وما تقدم منه ، والمهادية والمهادي : العنق لأنها
تقدم على البدن ، والجمع هواد . (٣) ساقطة من المنظوم والنثور .
(٤) جمع تلعب : وهو طرف الرمح الداخل في جبة السنان .
(٥) سنخ النصل : الحديدية التي تدخل في رأس السهم ، وفي المنظوم والنثور ومفتاح الأفكار
« وشجدها متلعب » .
(٦) معاقص ، جمع معقص كمنزل ، اسم مكان من العقص ، وأصله : لالشعر وإدخال أطرافه في أصوله ،
والعني أن عقدها مستوية بحكمة البري ، بدليل قوله بعد « وووصوم أودها مقومة » (وأما تفسيرها بأنها
جمع معقص كمنبر : وهو السهم المعوج ، وما ينكسر فصلة فيبقى سنخه في السهم فيخرج ويضرب حتى
يطول ، فلا يستقيم به المعنى) .
(٧) ووصوم : جمع ووصم بالفتح ، وهو العقدة في العود والعيب .
(٨) كموب : جمع كعب بالفتح ، وهو من القصب ، والقنا : الأنبوبة بين العقدتين ، وقيل هو عقدة
ما بين الأنبوبين ، وجمدة : أي قوية نتيحة ، يقال ناقة جمدة : أي مجتمعة الخلق شديدة ورجل جمدة :
أي مجتمع شديد .
(٩) الحبيكة : الحبل يشد به على الوسط ، والمعنى على التشبيه أي وعقدتها بحكمة قوية ، أو هي
حبيكة من الحبل وهو الشد والإحكام وتحسين أثر الصنعة في الثوب ، حبكة كمنصر وضرب فهو
حبيك ومحبوك .
(١٠) أي طويلة . الشطب من الرجال والنخيل : الطويل الحسن الخلق ، وفي مفتاح الأفكار « سبطة »
أي طويلة أيضا . (١١) هذه ساقطة من صبح الأعشى .
(١٢) استعقبه واحتقبه : اختلعه ، والكنائن : جمع كنانة بالكسر ، وهي جمعة السهام بفتح الجيم ،
والشوحط : شجر تتخذ منه القسي ، أو ضرب من النبع ، والننعب : شجر تتخذ منه القسي أيضا ،
وتتخذ من أغصانه السهام .
(١٣) العقب بالتحريك : العصب الذي تعمل منه الأوتار ، وعقب السهم والقوس عقبا بالفتح : لوى
شيئا من العقب عليه .

للصَّوْغِ ، ولتسكن سهاؤها على تخمس قَبَضَاتِ سِوَى النُّصُولِ^(١) ، فإنها أبلغ في الغاية ،
وأنفذ في الدروع ، وأشك^(٢) في الحديد ، سامطين حقايبهم على مُتُونِ خِيُولِهِمْ ، مستخفين
من الآلة والأمتعة والزاد ، إلا ما لا غناء بهم عنه .

واحذر أن تكِلَ مباشرة عَرَضِهِمْ وانتخابهم إلى أحد من أعوانك أو كتائبك
فإنك إن وكتلته إليهم أضعت مواضع الحزم ، وفرطت حيث الرأي ، ووقفت دون
عزم الروية^(٣) ، ودخل عمالك ضياع الوهن ، وخلص إليك عيب الحباة ، وناله فساد
المداهنة ، وغلب عليه من لا يصلح أن يكون طليمة للمسلمين ، ولا عدة ولا حصنا
يدرون به ، ويكتفون بموضعه^(٤) . واعلم أن الطلائع حصون المسلمين وعيونهم ،
وهم أول مكيدتك ، وعروة أمرك ، وزمام حربك ، فليكن اعتناؤك بهم وانتقاؤك
إياهم^(٥) بحيث هم من مهم عمالك ، ومكيدة حربك ، ثم انتخب للولاية عليهم رجلا
بعيد الصوت^(٦) ، مشهور الاسم ، ظاهر الفضل^(٧) ، نبية الذكر ، له في العدو وقعات
معروفة ، وأيام طوال وصولات متدلمات ، قد عرفت نيكابته ، وحذرت
شوكته ، وهيب صوته ، وتُنكَّب لقاؤه ، أمين السريرة ، ناصح الجيب^(٨) ،
قد بلوت منه ما يسكنك إلى ناحيته ، من لين الطاعة^(٩) ، وخالص المودة ، ورنكابة^(١٠)
الصرامة ، وغلوب الشبهة ، واستجماع القوة ، وحصافة التدبير ، ثم تقدم إليه في حسن

(١) من قوله « مسمومة إلى سوى النصول » ساقط من المنظوم والمنثور .

(٢) أي أدخل ، وسقط الشيء كضرب ونصر : علقه .

(٣) في المنظوم والمنثور « دون الحزم » . (٤) فيه « ويكتفون » .

(٥) هذه ساقطة منه . (٦) الصوت والصيت والصات : الذكر الحسن .

(٧) فيه « مشهور الفضل » .

(٨) الجيب : طوق القبيص ، وفلان ناصح الجيب يعني بذلك قلبه وصدره : أي أمين ، وفيه

« ناصح الغيب » . (٩) فيه « من لين طباعه » .

(١٠) في صبح الأمشى « وركانة الصرامة » وركن إليه ركونا وركانة : سكن إليه ومال والمعنى

يركن إليه في الشدة .

سياستهم ، واستنزال طاعتهم ، واجتلاب مودتهم ، واستعذاب^(١) ضمايرهم ، وأجر عليهم وعليه أرزاقاً تَسْعُهُمْ ، وتمد من أطعاهم ، سوى أرزاقهم في العامة ، فإن ذلك من الفتوة لك عليهم ، والاستنامة إلى ما قبلهم .

واعلم أنهم في أهمّ الأما كن لك ، وأعظمها غناءً عنك وعن معك ، وأقربها كبتاً لمُحَادِّثِكَ ، وأشجهاها غيظاً لِعَدُوِّكَ^(٢) ، وَمَنْ يَكُنْ فِي الثِّقَةِ ، وَالجَلْدِ ، وَالْبَأْسِ ، وَالطَّاعَةِ ، وَالْقُوَّةِ ، وَالنَّصِيحَةِ ، وَالْعُدَّةِ وَالنَّجْدَةِ ، حَيْثُ وَصَفَ لَكَ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَأَمْرَكَ^(٣) بِدِ ، يَضَعُ عَنْكَ مَبُوءَةَ الْهَمِّ ، وَيُرْخِ مِنْ خِيَانَتِكَ^(٤) رَوْعَ الْخَوْفِ ، وَتَلْتَجِيْ إِلَى أَمْرِ مَنِيْعٍ^(٥) ، وَظَهَرَ قُوَى ، وَرَأَى حَازِمًا ، تَأْمَنُ بِهِ لِحَاجَاتِ عَدُوِّكَ ، وَغِرَاتِ بَفْتَاتِهِمْ ، وَطَوَارِقِ أَحْدَاثِهِمْ^(٦) ، وَيَصِيرُ إِلَيْكَ عِلْمُ أَحْوَالِهِمْ وَمَتَقَدِّمَاتِ خِيُولِهِمْ ، فَانْتَخِيْبُهُمْ رَأْيَ عَيْنٍ ، وَقُوَّاهُمْ بِمَا يُصْلِحُهُمْ مِنَ الْمَنَالَاتِ وَالْأَطْعَامِ وَالْأَرْزَاقِ ، وَاجْعَلْهُمْ مِنْكَ بِالْمَنْزِلِ الَّذِي هُمْ بِهِ مِنْ مَحَارِزِ عِلَاقَتِكَ^(٧) ، وَحَصَانَةِ كَهْفُوكَ ، وَقُوَّةِ سَيَّارَةِ عَسْكَرِكَ .

وإياك أن تُدْخِلَ فِيهِمْ أَحَدًا بِشَفَاعَةٍ ، أَوْ تَحْتَمِلَهُ عَلَى هَوَادَةٍ ، أَوْ تَقَدِّمَهُ لِأَثْرَةٍ ، أَوْ أَنْ يَكُونَ مَعَ أَحَدٍ مِنْهُمْ بِغَلِّ نَفْلٍ^(٨) ، أَوْ فَضْلٍ مِنْ ظَهْرٍ ، أَوْ ثَقَلٍ فَادِحٍ ، فَتَشْتَدَّ عَلَيْهِمْ مَبُوءَةُ أَنْفُسِهِمْ ، وَيَدْخُلُهُمْ كَلَالُ السَّامَةِ فِيمَا يَمَاجُونَ مِنْ أَتْقَالِهِمْ ، وَيَسْتَفْلُونَ بِهِ عَنْ عَدُوِّهِمْ ، إِنْ دَهَمَهُمْ مِنْهُ رَائِعٌ^(٩) ، أَوْ فَجَأَهُمْ مِنْهُ طَلِيْعَةٌ ، فَتَفْقَدَ ذَلِكَ مُحْكِمًا لَهُ ،

(١) من استعذب القوم ما هم: إذا استقوه عذبا ، والمعنى استماتة ضمائرهم واستهواؤها ، وفي المنظوم والمنثور « واستعداد » وهو تحريف .

(٢) في المنظوم والمنثور « وأقربها كبتا ، وأشجى لعدوك » وفيها تحريف .

(٣) وفيه « ومنى يكون في البأس والثقة والجلد والطاعة والقوة والنصيحة حيث وصفت لك وأمرت لك

به تضع عنك ... الخ » . (٤) الخناق بالكسر والضم : الخلق .

(٥) فيه « إلى أمر متين » « وأمر حازم » . (٦) قوله « وغرات بفتاتهم ، وطوارق في أحداثهم »

ساقط من المنظوم والمنثور . (٧) وحرزه : حفظه ، أو هو لإبدال الأصل حرسه .

(٨) النفل والنافلة : الزيادة ، كذلك ، والنقل : متاع المسافر . (٩) أى أمر رائع .

وَتَقَدَّمَ فِيهِ آخِذًا بِالْحِزْمِ فِي إِمِضَائِهِ ، أُرْشِدَكَ اللَّهُ لِإِصَابَةِ الْحِظِّ ، وَوَقَفَكَ لِيُثْمِنَ التَّدْيِيرَ ،
وَقَصَدَ بِكَ لِأَسْهَلِ الرَّأْيِ وَأَعْوَدِهِ نَفْعًا فِي الْعَاجِلِ وَالْآجِلِ ، وَأَكْبَتَهُ لِعُدُوكِ وَأَشْبَهَاهُمْ
هُمْ ، وَأَرْدَعَهُ لِعَادِيَتِهِمْ ^(١) .

وَأَنَّ دَرَجَةَ ^(٢) عَسْكَرِكَ وَإِخْرَاجَ أَهْلِهِ إِلَى مَصَافِّهِمْ وَمَرَاكِزِهِمْ رَجُلًا مِنْ أَهْلِ
بِيَوَاتِ الشَّرَفِ ، مُحَمَّدَ الْخُبْرَةِ ، مَعْرُوفَ النَّجْدَةِ . ذَا سَيْنٍ وَتَجْرِبَةٍ ، لَيْسَ الطَّلَاعَةَ ، قَدِيمِ
النَّصِيحَةِ ، مَأْمُونِ السَّرِيرَةِ ، لَهُ بَصِيرَةٌ فِي الْحَقِّ نَافِذَةٌ تَقَدَّمَهُ ، وَنِيَّةٌ صَادِقَةٌ عَنِ
الإِدْهَانِ ^(٣) تَحْجِزُهُ ، وَأَضْمَمُ إِلَيْهِ عِدَّةٌ تَقَرُّ مِنْ ثِقَاتِ جَنْدِكَ وَذَوِي أَسْنَانِهِمْ يَكُونُونَ
شُرْطَةً مَعَهُ ، ثُمَّ تَقَدَّمُ إِلَيْهِ فِي إِخْرَاجِ الْمَصَافِّ ، وَإِقَامَةِ الْأَحْرَاسِ ، وَإِذْكَاءِ الْعَيْونِ ،
وَحَفْظِ الْأَطْرَافِ ، وَشِدَّةِ الْحَذَرِ ، وَمُرَّةِ فَلَاحِ الْقُوَادِ بِأَنْفُسِهِمْ مَعَ أَصْحَابِهِمْ فِي مَصَافِّهِمْ ،
كُلِّ قَائِدٍ يَلْزَأُ مَوْضِعَهُ ، وَحَيْثُ مَنَزَلُهُ ، قَدْ شُدَّ ^(٤) مَا بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ صَاحِبِهِ بِالرَّمَاكِ ^(٥)
شَارِعَةً ، وَانْتَرَأَسَ مَوْضُوعَهُ ^(٦) وَالرَّجَالَ رَاصِدَةً ، ذَا كِيَّةِ الْأَحْرَاسِ ، وَجِلَّةِ الرَّوْعِ ،
خَائِفَةً طَوَارِقَ الْعُدُوِّ وَبَيَّاتَهُ ^(٧) ، ثُمَّ مُرَّةِ فَلَاحِ قَائِدًا فِي أَصْحَابِهِ أَوْ عِدَّةٍ
مِنْهُمْ إِنْ كَانُوا كَثِيرًا ، عَلَى غَلُوقِ ^(٨) أَوْ غُلُوقِ مَن عَسْكَرِكَ ، مِنْتَبِذًا ^(٩) عَنْكَ ،
مُحِيطًا بِمَنْزِلِكَ ، ذَا كِيَّةِ أَحْرَاسِهِ ، فَلِقَّةِ التَّرْدُّدِ ، مُفْرِطَةَ الْحَذَرِ ، مُعِدَّةً لِلرَّوْعِ ،
مَتَاهِبَةً لِلْقِتَالِ ، آخِذَةً عَلَى أَطْرَافِ الْعَسْكَرِ وَنَوَاحِيهِ ، مَتَفَرِّقِينَ فِي اخْتِلَافِهِمْ كُرْدُوسًا
كُرْدُوسًا ^(١٠) ، يَسْتَقْبِلُ بَعْضُهُمْ بَعْضًا فِي الْاِخْتِلَافِ ، وَيَسْكَسَعُ تَالِيًا ^(١١) مُتَقَدِّمًا فِي التَّرْدُّدِ

(١) من قوله « وقصد بك ... إلى قوله وأردعه لعاديتهم » ساقط من المنظوم والمنثور .
(٢) دراجة عسكر كقولهم قبل «سيارة عسكر» من درج كنصر: أي مشى، والمصاف جمع مصف وهو
موضع الصف . (٣) الإدهان: الفس والمظهار خلاف ما يضر . (٤) في المنظوم والمنثور «قد سد»
(٥) شرعت الرماح كقطع: تسدت، فهي شارعة وشوارع، وشرعها وأشرعها فهي مشروعة
ومشرعة . (٦) وضن الشيء كوعد فهو موضون ووضين: ثني بعضه على بعض وضاعفه ونضده .
(٧) بيت العدو: أوقع بهم ليلا . (٨) الغلوة: رمية سهم أبعد ما يقدر عليه « قيل هي ثلثائة
ذراع إلى أربعائة . (٩) قوله « منتبذا عنك » ساقط من المنظوم والمنثور وانتبذ عنه: تنحى .
(١٠) الكرديوس: القطعة العظيمة من الخيل، وكرديوس القائد خيله: جعلها كتيبة كتيبة .
(١١) كسعه كنعته: ضرب دبره يده أو بصدر قدمه .

وَاجْعَلْ ذَلِكَ بَيْنَ قِوَادِكَ وَأَهْلِ عَسْكَرِكَ نُوبًا مَعْرُوفَةً ، وَحِصَصًا مَفْرُوضَةً ، لِأَنْعَمَ (١)
مِنْهَا مُزْدَلِفًا مِنْكَ بِمُودَّةٍ ، وَلَا تَتَحَامَلْ فِيهِ عَلَى أَحَدٍ بِمَوْجِدَةٍ ، إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى .

فَوُضَّ إِلَى أَمْرَاءِ أَجْنَادِكَ وَقِوَادِ خَيْلِكَ أُمُورًا أُحْمَاهِبَهُمْ ، وَالْأَخَذَ عَلَى قَافِيَةٍ (٢)
أَيْدِيهِمْ ، رِيَاضَةً مِنْكَ لَهُمْ عَلَى السَّمْعِ وَالطَّاعَةِ لِأَمْرَائِهِمْ ، وَالِانْبَاعِ لِأَمْرِهِمْ ، وَالْوَقُوفِ
عِنْدَ نَهْيِهِمْ ، وَتَقَدَّمَ إِلَى أَمْرَاءِ الْأَجْنَادِ فِي النُّوَابِ الَّتِي أَلْزَمْتَهُمْ إِيَّاهَا ، وَالْأَعْمَالَ الَّتِي
اسْتَنْجَدْتَهُمْ لَهَا ، وَالْأَسْلِحَةَ وَالسُّكْرَاعَ الَّتِي كَتَبْتَهُمْ عَلَيْهَا ، وَاحْتَذَرَ اعْتِلَالَ أَحَدٍ مِنْ
قِوَادِكَ عَلَيْكَ بِمَا يَحْتَوِلُ بَيْنَكَ وَبَيْنَ تَأْدِيبِ جُنْدِكَ ، وَتَقْوِيمِهِمْ لِطَاعَتِكَ ، وَتَقْعَمُهُمْ عَنِ
الْإِخْلَالِ بِمِرَاكِرِهِمْ لَشَيْءٍ مِمَّا وَكَّلُوا بِهِ مِنْ أَعْمَالِهِمْ ، فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ مَفْسُدَةٌ لِلْجُنْدِ ، مَفْشَاةٌ
لِلْقِوَادِ عَنِ الْجِدِّ وَالِإِيثَارِ لِلْمَنَاصِحَةِ (٣) ، وَالتَّغَدُّمِ فِي الْأَحْكَامِ .

وَأَعْلَمُ أَنَّ فِي اسْتِخْفَافِهِمْ بِقِوَادِهِمْ ، وَتَضْيِيعِهِمْ أَمْرًا رُؤْسَائِهِمْ ، دَخُولًا لِلضِّيَاعِ عَلَى
أَعْمَالِكَ ، وَاسْتِخْفَافًا بِأَمْرِكَ الَّذِي يَأْتَمِرُونَ بِهِ ، وَرَأْيِكَ الَّذِي نَزَّتْهُ ، وَأَوْعِزُّ إِلَى
الْقِوَادِ أَنْ لَا يَقْدِمَ أَحَدٌ مِنْهُمْ عَلَى عَقُوبَةِ أَحَدٍ مِنْ أَحْبَابِهِ إِلَّا عَقُوبَةً تَأْدِيبَ وَتَقْوِيمَ
مَثِيلٍ ، وَتَنْتِيفَ أَوْدٍ ، فَأَمَّا عَقُوبَةٌ تَبْلُغُ تَلْفَ الْمُهْجِ وَإِقَامَةٌ حَدٍّ فِي قَطْعٍ ، أَوْ إِفْرَاطٌ
فِي ضَرْبٍ ، أَوْ أَخْذٌ مَالٍ ، أَوْ عَقُوبَةٌ فِي شَعْرٍ (٤) ، فَلَا يَلِيقَنَّ ذَلِكَ مِنْ جُنْدِكَ أَحَدًا
غَيْرُكَ ، أَوْ صَاحِبِ شُرْطَتِكَ ، بِأَمْرِكَ ، وَعَنْ رَأْيِكَ ، وَإِذْنِكَ ، وَمَتَى لَمْ تَذَلِّ الْجُنْدَ
لِقِوَادِهِمْ؟ وَتَضْرِعِهِمْ (٥) لِأَمْرَائِهِمْ، تُوجِبُ عَلَيْكَ لَهُمُ الْحُجَّةَ بِتَضْيِيعِهِمْ - إِنْ كَانَ مِنْهُمْ -
لِأَمْرِكَ ، أَوْ خَلَلٍ - إِنْ تَهَاوَنُوا بِهِ - مِنْ عَمَلِكَ ، أَوْ عَجْزٍ - إِنْ فَرَّطَ مِنْهُمْ - فِي شَيْءٍ
وَكَتَلْتَهُمْ بِهِ أَوْ أَسْنَدْتَهُ إِلَيْهِمْ ، وَلَا تَجِدُ إِلَى الْإِقْدَامِ عَلَيْهِمْ بِاللَّوْمِ وَعَضِّ الْعُقُوبَةِ سَجَازًا

(١) أى لا تخجل ، وفى المنظوم والمنثور « لا يمد منه » وهو تحريف .

(٢) قافية الرأس : مؤخره ، وقيل وسطه ، وقافية كل شيء آخره ، ومنه قافية بيت الشعر .

(٣) مفشاة : مفعلة من فشاها إذا سكنه وكسره ، وفشا القدر : سكن غلبانها ، وفى المنظوم والمنثور

« فإن ذلك مفسدة للجند ، معى للقواد عن الجند والمناصحة » ومعنى : معجز .

(٤) أى جلد على شعر الجسد ، وفى المنظوم والمنثور « فى سفر » وهو تحريف .

(٥) أى تذلل .

تصل به إلى تعنيفهم ، بتفريطك في تدليل أصحابهم لهم ، وإفسادك إياهم وعليهم ، فانظر في ذلك نظراً مُحْكَمًا ، وتقدّم فيه برقتك تقدّمًا بليغًا، وإياك أن يدخُلَ حزمك وهن ، أو يشوب عزمك إيثار ، أو يخلط رأبك ضياع ، والله يستودع أمير المؤمنين نفسك ودينك^(١) .

إذا كنتَ من عدوك كَلَى مسافة دانية ، وسنن^(٢) لقاء مُختصر ، وكان من عسرك مُقْتَرِبًا ، قد شامت^(٣) طلائعك مُقدّماتِ ضلّالته ، وحمّة فتنته ، فتأهبْ أهبةَ المفاجِز ، وأعدّ إعدادَ الخدِر ، وكتبْ خيولك ، وعبّ جنودك ، وإياك والمسيرَ إلا في مقدّمة وميمنة وميسرة وساقة^(٤) ، قد شهروا الأسلحة ، ونشروا البنود^(٥) والأعلام ، وعرفَ جنودك مرا كزهم سائرٍ تحت ألويتهم ، قد أخذوا أهبة القتال ، واستعدوا للقاء ، مُلتجئين^(٦) إلى مواقعهم ، عارفين بمواضعهم في مسيرهم ومعسكرهم ، وليكن ترحلهم وتنزلهم على رأيهم وأعلامهم ومرا كزهم ، قد عرفَ كلُّ قائد منهم أصحابه مواقعهم ، من اليمين والميسرة والقلب والساقة والعليمة ، لازمين لها ، غير مُخلين بما استنجدتهم له ، ولا متهاونين بما أهبتَ بهم إليه ، حتى تكون عساكرك في كلّ منزل تصل إليه ، ومسافة تجتازها^(٧) ، كأنها عسكر واحد في اجتماعها على العدو وأخذها بالحزم ، ومسيرها على راياتها ، ونزولها على مرا كزها ، ومعرفتها بمواضعها ، إن أضلت دابة موضعهما ، عرفَ أهلُ العسكر : من أي المرا كز هي ؟ ومن صاحبها ؟ وفي أي الحل حلوه منها ؟ فرمّدت إليه هداية معرفة بسمتِ صاحب قيادتها^(٨) ، فإن

(١) في المنظوم والنتور « وإياك أن يدخل حزمك وهن أو عزمك أمارا من رأيك ضياع والله استودع ديننا في نفسك » وهو تحريف . (٢) السنن : الطريق .
(٣) نظرت ، وأصله من شام البرق : إذا نظر إليه أين يقصد وأين يخطر .
(٤) الساقة : مؤخرة الجيش . (٥) البنود جمع بند بالفتح وهو العلم الكبير .
(٦) في المنظوم والنتور « ملجئ » وهو تحريف .
(٧) في صبح الأعشى والمنظوم والنتور « تختارها » وهو تصحيف ، وفي مفتاح الأفكار « ومفازة تجتازها » . (٨) وفي المنظوم والنتور « هداية ومعرفة ونسبة قيادة صاحبها » .

تقدّمك في ذلك ، وإحكامك له ، طارحاً عن جندك مَثُونَةَ الطَّلَبِ ؛ وعناية المعرفة ، وابتغاء الضلالة .

ثم اجعل كلّ ساقَتِكَ أوثقَ أهلِ عسكَرك في نَفْسِكَ صَرَامَةً وَنَفَاذاً ، وورِضاً في العامّة ، وإنصافاً من نفسه للرعية ، وأخذاً بالحق في المَعْدَلَةِ ، مستشعراً تقوى الله وطاعته ، آخِذاً بِهَدْيِكَ وَأَدَبِكَ ، واقفاً عند أمرِكَ ونهيكَ ، مُتَمَرِّماً على مناصحتِكَ وتزيينِكَ ، نظيراً لك في الحال ، وشبيهاً بك في الشَّرَفِ ، وَعَدِيلاً في الموضع ، ومقارِبا في الصَّيْتِ (١) ، ثم أكَثِفْ (٢) معه الجَمْعَ ، وأيِّدْهُ بالقُوَّةِ ، وقوِّهِ بالظُّهْرِ ، وأعِضْهُ بالأموال ، واعمِدْهُ (٣) بالسلاح ، ومزِّهْهُ بالعطف على ذوى الضعف من جندك ، ومن أَرْحَفَتْ (٤) به دابته ، وأصابته نَكْبَةٌ من مَرَضٍ أو رُجُلَةٍ (٥) أو آفَةٍ ، من غير أن يَأْذِنَ لأحد منهم في التَّنَحِّي عن عسكِرِهِ ، أو التَّخَلُّفَ بعد ترحُّلِهِ ، إلا لمَجْهُودٍ سَقَمَا ، أو لمَطْرُوقٍ بِآفَةٍ جَانِحَةٍ ، ثم تَقَدَّمْ إليه مَحْذَرًا ، ومزِّهْهُ زَاجِرًا ، وانْهَهِ مُغْلِظًا ، في الشَّدَةِ عَلَى مَنْ مَرَّ بِهِ مُنْصَرَفًا عن مَعْسُوكِكَ من جندك بِغَيْرِ جَوَازِكَ ، شَادًا لَهُمْ أُسْرًا ، ومُوقِرَهُمْ (٦) حديدًا ، ومَمَاقِرَهُمْ مُوجِعًا ، ومُوجِّهَهُمْ إِلَيْكَ فَتَنَّهُمْ كَهَمَّ (٧) عَقُوبَةٍ ، وتَجَعَّلَهُمْ لغيرهم من جندك عِظَةً .

واعلم أنه إن لم يكن بذلك الموضع مَنْ تَسْكُنُ إليه ، واثقا بنصيحتِهِ ، عَارِفًا ببصيرتِهِ (٨) ، قد بَلَّوَتْ مِنْهُ أَمَانَةً تَسْكِنُكَ إليه ، وصرامةً تُؤَمِّنُكَ مَهَانَتَهُ ، ونَفَاذًا في أمرِكَ يُرْخِي عَنْكَ خِيفَةَ الخُوفِ في إِضَاعَتِهِ ، لم يَأْمَنَ أمير المؤمنين نَسَلًا الجند عنك

(١) في صبح الأعشى « في السب » والأولى أنسب .

(٢) أى اجمله كثيفا ، وفي المنظوم والمنثور « اكثف » وهو تحريف .

(٣) عمدته كضرب : أقامه بهياد : أى قوه بالسلاح ، وفي المنظوم والمنثور « واغمره » .

(٤) أرخفت البعير : أعيا ، وفيه « ومن رخفت » ورخفت الحجين كضمر وفرح وكرم : استرخى

(٥) رَجُلُ الرَّجْلِ كَفَرِحَ فَهُوَ رَاجِلٌ وَرَجْلَانٌ : إذا لم يكن له ظهر يركبه .

(٦) أوقره : أنقله .

(٧) نهك عقوبة كسمعه وأنهك : بالغ في هفويته . (٨) هذه ساقطة من صبح الأعشى .

هُمْ ، وَأَعْرَنَ الظَّهِيرَ^(١) عَلَى عَدُوهِمْ ، إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ .
لِيَكُنْ رَحِيلُكَ لِإِبَانًا^(٢) وَاحِدًا ، وَوَقْتًا مَعْلُومًا ، لِتَخِفَ الْمِثْوَةُ بِذَلِكَ عَلَى جُنْدِكَ ،
وَيَعْلَمُوا أَوَّانَ رَحِيلِهِمْ ، فَيَقْدَمُوا فِيمَا يَرِيدُونَ مِنْ مَعَالِجَةِ أَطْعَمَتِهِمْ ، وَأَعْلَافِ دَوَابِّهِمْ ،
وَتَسْكُنَ أَفْئِدَتُهُمْ إِلَى الْوَقْتِ الَّذِي وَقَفُوا عَلَيْهِ . وَيَطْمَئِنُّ ذُووُ الرِّأْيِ^(٣) إِلَى إِبَانِ الرَّحِيلِ
وَمَتَى يَكُنْ رَحِيلُكَ مُخْتَلِفًا ، تَعْظُمُ الْمِثْوَةُ عَلَيْكَ وَعَلَى جُنْدِكَ ، وَيُخْلَوُا بِمِرَاكِرِهِمْ^(٤) ،
وَلَا يَزَالُ ذُووُ السَّفَةِ وَالنَّرْقِ يَتَرَحَّلُونَ بِالْإِرْجَافِ^(٥) ، وَيَنْزِلُونَ بِالنُّوْمِ ، حَتَّى لَا يَنْتَفِعَ
ذُووُ الرِّأْيِ بِنَوْمٍ وَلَا طَسًا نَيْدَةً .

إِيَّاكَ أَنْ تُظْهِرَ اسْتِقْلَالَ ، أَوْ تَنَادَى^(٦) بِرَحِيلٍ مِنْ مَنَزِلٍ تَسْكُونُ فِيهِ ، حَتَّى تَأْمَرَ
صَاحِبَ تَعْبِيَّتِكَ بِالْوُقُوفِ بِأَصْحَابِهِ عَلَى مَعْسَرِكَ ، أَخْذًا بِفَوْهَةِ جَنْبَتَيْهِ^(٧) بِأَسْلِحَتِهِمْ ،
عُدَّةً لِأَمْرٍ إِنْ حَضَرَ ، أَوْ مَفَاجَأَةٍ مِنْ طَلِيعَةٍ لَلْعَدُوِّ إِنْ رَأَتْ مِنْكُمْ نُهْرَةً ، أَوْ لَمَحَتْ عِنْدَكُمْ
غِرَّةً ، ثُمَّ مَرُّ النَّاسِ بِالرَّحِيلِ ، وَخَيْلِكَ وَاقِفَةً ، وَأَهْبِيَّتِكَ مُعَدَّةً ، وَجَنْتِكَ وَاقِيَةً ، حَتَّى
إِذَا اسْتَقْلَمْتَ^(٨) مِنْ مَعْسَرِكَ ، وَتَوَجَّهْتُمْ مِنْ مَنَزِلِكُمْ ، سَرْتُمْ عَلَى تَعْبِيَّتِكُمْ ، بِسَكُونٍ
رِيحٍ ، وَهَدُوءٍ وَحَمَلَةٍ ، وَحُسْنِ دَعَاةٍ .

فَإِذَا انْتَهَيْتَ إِلَى مَنَهْلٍ أَرَدْتَ نَزْوَلَهُ ، أَوْ هَمَمْتَ بِالْمَعْسَرِ بِهِ ، فَيَاكَ وَنَزْوَلَهُ إِلَّا بَعْدَ
الْعِلْمِ بِأَهْلِهِ ، وَالْمَعْرِفَةِ بِمِرَاقِفِهِ ، وَمَرُّ صَاحِبِ طَلِيعَتِكَ أَنْ يَعْرِفَ^(٩) لَكَ أَحْوَالَهُ ، وَيَسْتَشِيرَ
لَكَ عِلْمَ دَفِينِهِ ، وَيَسْتَشِيرَ عِلْمَ أُمُورِهِ ، ثُمَّ يُنْمِيهَا إِلَيْكَ عَلَى مَا صَارَتْ إِلَيْهِ لِتَعْلَمَ : كَيْفَ
احْتِمَالُهُ لِمَعْسَرِكَ ؟ وَكَيْفَ مَاؤُهُ وَأَعْلَافُهُ^(١٠) ، وَكَيْفَ مَوْضِعُ عَسْكَرِكَ مِنْهُ ؟ وَهَلْ لَكَ

(١) فِي صَبِيحِ الْأَعْمَى « وَأَعْرَنَ الظَّهِيرِ » وَقَدْ تَقَدَّمَ مَعْنَاهُ .

(٢) أَيْ وَقْتًا . (٣) فِي الْمَنْظُومِ وَالْمَنْشُورِ « ذُووُ ... إِبَانِ الرَّحِيلِ » .

(٤) هَذِهِ الْجُمْلَةُ سَاقِطَةٌ مِنْ صَبِيحِ الْأَعْمَى .

(٥) النَّرْقُ : الطَّلِيشُ وَالْحَفْقَةُ ، وَأَرْجَفَ الْقَوْمُ فِي الشَّيْءِ وَبِهِ إِرْجَافًا : أَكْثَرُوا مِنَ الْأَخْبَارِ السَّيِّئَةِ
وَاخْتِلَاقِ الْأَقْوَالِ السَّكَاذِبَةِ حَتَّى يَضْطَرُّبُ النَّاسَ مِنْهَا (٦) فِي الْمَنْظُومِ وَالْمَنْشُورِ « إِيَّاكَ أَنْ تَنَادَى » .

(٧) فِي صَبِيحِ الْأَعْمَى « أَخْذًا بِجَنْبَتَيْ فَوْهَتِهِ » . (٨) اسْتَقْلَمَ الْقَوْمُ : ذَهَبُوا وَارْتَحَلُوا .

(٩) فِي الْمَنْظُومِ وَالْمَنْشُورِ « إِلَّا بَعْدَ الْعِلْمِ أَنْ يَعْرِفَ لَكَ أَحْوَالَهُ أَوْ يَسِيرَ عِلْمَ دَفِينِهِ » .

(١٠) فِيهِ « وَكَيْفَ مَاؤُهُ وَأَعْلَافُهُ » وَهُوَ تَحْرِيفٌ .

- إن أردت مقاماً به ، أو مطاولةً عدوك ومكابدته فيه - قوةً تحمّلك ، ومددٌ يأتيه . فإنك إن لم تفعل ذلك لم تأمن أن تهجم على منزل يعجزك ويزعجك منه ضيق مكانه ، وقلة مياهه ، وانقطاع موائده ، إن أردت بعدوك مكيدة ، أو احتجت من أمرهم إلى مطاولة ، فإن ارتحلت منه كنت غرضاً لعدوك ؛ ولم تجد إلى المحاربة والأخطار سبيلاً ، وإن أقت به أقت على مشقة وحصر ، وفي أزل وضيق ، فأعرف ذلك وتقدم فيه .

فإذا أردت نزولاً أمرت صاحب الخيل التي وكّلت بالناس^(١) ، فوقفت خيله ، متتخية من معسكرك ، عُدّةً لأمرٍ إن غالك^(٢) ، ومفزعةً لبديهة إن راعتك ، فقد أمنت بحمد الله وقوته^(٣) فيجأة عدوك ، وعرفت موقعها من حِرزك^(٤) ، حتى يأخذ الناس منازلهم ، وتوضع الأتقال مواضعها ، ويأتيك خبر طلائعك ، وتخرج دبابتك^(٥) من معسكرك دراجةً ودباباً^(٦) محيطين بمعسكرك ، وعُدّةً لك إن احتجت إليهم ؛ وليكن دباب جندك أهل جلد وقوة ، قائداً أو اثنين أو ثلاثة بأصحابهم ، في كل ليلة ويوم ، نوباً بينهم ، فإذا غربت الشمس ، ووجب^(٧) نورها ، أخرج إليهم صاحب تعبنتك أبدأهم ، عسّاً بالليل في أقرب من مواضع دبابي النهار ، يتعاور ذلك قوادك جميعاً ، بلا محاباة لأحد منهم فيه ولا إدهان إن شاء الله .

إياك أن يكون منزلك إلا في خندق وحِصنٍ تأمن به بيّات عدوك ، وتستقيم فيه إلى الحزم من مكيدتك ، إذا وضعت الأتقال ، وحطت أبنية أهل العسكر ، لم يُمدد طنب^(٨) ، ولم يرفع خيأ ، ولم ينصب بناء ، حتى تقطع لسلك قائد ذرعاً معلوماً من

(١) في المنظوم والمنتور « التي رحلت الناس » .

(٢) فيه « إن راهك » . (٣) فيه قد أمنت بإذن الله وحوله . (٤) فيه « من حربك » .

(٥) المراد بالدبابه هنا . الجماعة التي تدب حول الجيش لحراسته ، من دب كضرب لإذامشي على هيئته

وقد تقدم في هذه الرسالة نظيرها وهي سيارة من سار ، ودراجة من درج ، وليس المراد بها الآلة التي تتخذ للحروب فتدفع في أصل الحصن فينبون وهم في جوفها ، كما فسرت بذلك .

(٦) دبابا : جمع داب كعذال جمع عاذل . (٧) غاب .

(٨) وفيه « لم يمد خيأ ولم تنصب بناء » والطنب : جبل طويل يشد به سرادق البيت .

الأرض بتدر أصحابه ، فيحتفروه عليهم خندقا ، يُطيفونه بعد ذلك بِخَنَادِقِ الْحَسَكِ^(١) ،
طارحين لها دون اشتجار الرماح^(٢) ، وَنَصَبِ التَّرْسَةِ ، لها بابان قد وَكَّتَ بِحِفْظِ كُلِّ
باب منهما رجلا من قوادك ، في مائة رجل من أصحابه ، فإذا فُرِغَ من الخندق كان دانك
القائدان بمن معهما من أصحابهما أهل ذلك المركز ، وموضع تلك الخيل ، وكانوا هم البوابين
والأحراسَ لَدَيْكَ الموضعين^(٣) ، قد كَفَرَهَا وضبطوها ، وَأَعْفُوا من أعمال العسكر
ومكروهه غيرهما .

واعلم أنك إذا كنت على خندق أمنت^(٤) بإذن الله وقوته طوارقِ عدوك وَبَعَثْتَهُمْ ،
فإن راموا تلك منك ، كنت قد أَحَكَمْتَ ذلك وأخذت بالحزم فيه ، وتقدمت
في الإعداد له ، ورفقتَ بِخَوْفِ الفَتَقِ منه ، وإن تكن العاقبة^(٥) استحققت
سَمَدَ الله عليها ، وارتبطت شكره بها ، ولم يَضُرُّكَ أَخْذُكَ بالحزم ، لأن كل
كُلْفَةٍ وَنَصَبٍ وَمَثُونَةٍ إِنْفَاقٍ وَمَشَقَّةٍ عَمَلٍ ، مع السَّلامَةِ ، غُنْمٌ وغير خَطَرٍ بالعاقبة ،
إن شاء الله .

فإن ابتليت ببياتِ عدوك ، أو طَرَقَكَ رائعا^(٦) في ليلك ، فَدَلِّكُفِكَ حَذِرًا مُعِيدًا
مشمرا عن ساقك ، حاسرا عن ذراعك ، مُدَمِّسِرًا للحربك ، قد تقدمت دَرَجَاتِكَ

(١) المسك : نبات له شوك صلب ، ويعمل من الحديد أداة للحرب على مثال شوكه فيلقى حول
العسكر ، ويسمى باسمه (وهذا هو المراد هنا) أى الأسلاك الشائكة .

(٢) اشتجار الرماح : تشابكها في الطعام .

(٣) في المنظوم والمنتور بعد ذلك « فدانى الرفاهة والسمة وتقدم العسكر أو التأخر عنه ، فإن ذلك
مما يضعف الوالى ويوهنه لاستنামته إلى من ولاء ذلك ، وأمنه به على جيشه » وفى أول العبارة تحريف
وقد تقدمت فى صفحة ٤٣٣ وموضعها هنالك ، وقوله « قد كفوها ... إلى غيرها » ساقط منه .

(٤) فيه « واعلم أنك إذ ... أمنت بإذن الله طوارق ... » .

(٥) من قوله « وإن تكن العاقبة ... إلى بالعاقبة » ساقط من المنظوم والمنتور ، وفى افتتاح
الأفكار « استحقبت » بالباء أى احتملت ، وفى صبح الأعشى « استحققت » .

(٦) أى مفزعا لك ، من راعه إذا أفزعه ، وفى المنظوم والمنتور « أو طرقت رائعا فى ... حذرا
معدا مشمرا عن ساقك مشمرا للحربك » وفيها قس وتحريف .

إلى مواضعها ، على ما وصف^(١) لك أمير المؤمنين ودبابتك في أوقاتها التي قَدَّرَ لك ، وطلائعك حيث أَمَرَكَ ، وجُنْدُكَ على ما عبَّأَ لك ، قد خَطَرْتَ عليهم بنفسيك ، وتقدَّمتَ إلى جندك إن طَرَقَهُم طَارِقٌ ، أو فَاجَأَهُم عَدُوٌّ ، أَلَّا يَتَكَلَّمُ أَحَدٌ مِنْهُمْ رَافِعًا صَوْتَهُ بِالتَّكْبِيرِ ، مُعْرِقًا فِي الإِجْلَابِ ، مُعَلِّنًا بِالإِرْهَابِ لِأَهْلِ^(٢) النَّاحِيَةِ الَّتِي يَقَعُ بِهَا الْعَدُوُّ طَارِقًا ، وَلِيُشْرِعُوا رِمَاحَهُمْ مَادِّينَ^(٣) لَهَا فِي وَجُوهِهِمْ ، وَيَرَشُقُونَهُمْ بِالنَّبْلِ مُكْتَتِينَ^(٤) بِرِئْسَتِهِمْ ، لِأَزْمَنِ لِرَاكِزِهِمْ ، غَيْرِ مُزِيلِي^(٥) قَدَمٍ عَنْ مَوْضِعِهَا ، وَلَا مُتَجَاوِزِينَ^(٦) إِلَى غَيْرِ مَرَكِزِهِمْ ، وَلِيُكَبِّرُوا ثَلَاثَ تَسْكِيهَاتٍ مُتَوَالِيَاتٍ ، وَسَائِرُ الْجُنْدِ هَادُونَ ، لِتَعْرِفَ مَوْضِعَ^(٧) عَدُوِّكَ مِنْ مَعْسُوكِ ، فَتَمِيدَ أَهْلُ تِلْكَ النَّاحِيَةِ بِالرِّجَالِ مِنْ أَعْوَانِكَ وَشَرِطَتِكَ ، وَمَنْ ائْتَمَّ بِتِلْكَ عُدَّةً لِلشَّدَائِدِ بِمَحْضَرَتِكَ ، وَتَدَسَّ إِلَيْهِمُ النَّشَابَ وَالرَّمَاحَ .

وَإِيَّاكَ أَنْ يَشْهَرُوا سَيْفًا يَتَجَالَدُونَ بِهِ ، وَتَقَدَّمَ إِلَيْهِمْ أَنْ لَا يَكُونَ قِتَالُهُمْ فِي تِلْكَ الْمَوَاضِعِ لِمَنْ طَرَقَهُمْ إِلَّا بِالرَّمَاحِ ، مُسْنِدِينَ لَهَا إِلَى صُدُورِهِمْ ، وَالنَّشَابِ رَاشِقِينَ بِهِ وَجُوهِهِمْ ، قَدْ أَلْبَدُوا^(٨) بِالتَّرْسَةِ ، وَاسْتَجَنُّوا بِالتَّبْيِضِ ، وَأَلْقَوْا عَلَيْهِمْ سَوَابِغَ الدَّرُوعِ وَجِبَابِ اللَّحْشِ ، فَإِنْ صَدَّ الْعَدُوُّ عَنْهُمْ حَامِلِينَ عَلَى نَاحِيَةِ أُخْرَى ، كَبَّرَ أَهْلُ تِلْكَ النَّاحِيَةِ الَّتِي يَقَعُ فِيهَا كِفْعَلُ النَّاحِيَةِ الْأُولَى^(٩) ، وَبَقِيَّةُ الْعَسْكَرِ سُكُوتٌ ، وَالنَّاحِيَةُ الَّتِي صَدَّ عَنْهَا الْعَدُوُّ لِأَزْمَةِ لِرَاكِزِهَا مُنْتَهِقَةٌ الْهَدْوِ ، سَاكِنَةٌ الرِّيحِ^(١٠) ، ثُمَّ عَمِلَتْ فِي تَقْوِيَتِهِمْ وَإِمْدَادِهِمْ بِمِثْلِ صَنِيْعِكَ بِإِخْوَانِهِمْ .

(١) فيه « على ما وصفت لك ... التي قدرت لك » وفيها تقم .

(٢) فيه « مفروا في إجلاب ، ملنا للإرهاب إلا أهل الناحية » وهو تحريف .

(٣) في صبح الأعشى « ناشين بها » .

(٤) في المنظوم والمنتور « ملدين » وفي صبح الأعشى « مكنتين بأترستهم وفي « هامته » قال ابن السكيت لا يقال أترسة وزان أرغفة ، وإنما جمع الترس ترسة وتروس وتراس وربما قيل أتراس .

(٥) قوله « غير مزيلي ... » ساقط من المنظوم والمنتور . (٦) فيه « ولا منجازين » .

(٧) قوله « لتعرف موضع ... » ساقط منه . (٨) أي لصقوا بها .

(٩) فيه « كبر أهل تلك الناحية الأولى » . (١٠) قوله « منتطقة ... إلى الريح » ساقط منه .

وإياك أن تُحمِد نارَ رِواقتك^(١) ، وإذا وقع العدى في معسكرك ، فأججها ساعرا لها ، وأوقد لها حطبا جزلا ، يرف بها أهل المعسكر مكانك وموضع رواقك ، فيسكن نافر قلوبهم ، ويقوى واهن قوتهم ، ويشدد منخذي ظهورهم ، ولا يرجعون بك الظنون ، ويعلمون لك آراء السوء ، ويرجعون بك آراء الخوف^(٢) ، وذلك من فعلك راد عدوك بغيظه ، لم يستقل منك ظفرا^(٣) ، ولم يبلغ من نكابتك سرورا إن شاء الله .

فإن انصرف عنك عدوك ، وتكلى عن الإصابة من جنك ، وكانت بخيلك قوة على طلبه ، أو كانت لك من فرسانك خيل معدة ، وكتيبة منتخبة ، وقدرت أن تركب بهم أكساءهم^(٤) ، وتحملهم على سنانهم ، فأجمعهم جريدة^(٥) خيل عليها الثقات من فرسانك ، وأولو النجدة من حمانك ، فإنك ترهق^(٦) عدوك ، وقد أمن بيانتك ، وشغل بكلاله عن التحرز منك ، والأخذ بأبواب معسكره ، والضبط لمحارسه عليك موهنة حماهم ، كغبة^(٧) أبطالهم . لما ألقواكم عليه من التشمير والجدا قد عقر^(٨) الله فيهم . وأصاب منهم ؛ وجرح من مقاتلتهم ، وكسر من أمانهم ضالاهم ورد من مستعلى جماعهم .

وتقدم إلى من توجهه في طلبهم ، وتنبهه أكساءهم ، أن يكونوا وهم في سكون الريح ، وقلة الرفث^(٩) ، وكثرة النسيح والتهليل ، واصنصنصار الله عز وجل بقلوبهم

(١) الرواق : بيت كالفساطح .

(٢) في المنظوم والمنثور « ولا يرجعون بك بالظنون ، ويعلمون لك آراء السوء ، وذلك من

فعلك . . . الخ » .

(٣) فيه « ولم يستقل منك بظفر » ويقال : استقل غربه : أى كسره .

(٤) الأكساء : الأذبار جمع كساء بالضم ، وكساء كل شيء : مؤخره .

(٥) الجريدة : خيل لارجاله فيها . (٦) أرهقه عسرا : كلفه إياه ، وحمله على مالا يطيقه .

(٧) وصف من اللئوب ، وهو التعب والإعباء .

(٨) عقر البعير : ضرب قوائمه بالسيب وهو قائم ، والمعنى قد اندحروا وهزموا .

(٩) الرفث : الفحش .

وَأَسْتَمِعُ سِرًّا وَجَهْرًا ، بَلَا لَجَبٍ ضَجَّةً ، وَلَا ارْتِفَاعَ ضَوْضَاءَ ، دُونَ أَنْ يَرِدُوا عَلَيَّ
مَطْلَبِهِمْ ، وَيَنْتَهِزُوا فُرُوسَهُمْ ، ثُمَّ لَيْشْتَهْرُوا السَّلَاحَ ، وَيَنْتَهَضُوا السُّيُوفَ ، فَإِنَّ كَمَا
هَيْبَةً رَائِعَةً ، وَبِدِيهَةً مَخُوفَةً ، لَا يَقُومُ لَهَا فِي بُهْمَةٍ (١) اللَّيْلَ وَحِنْدِسِهِ إِلَّا الْبَطْلُ الْحَارِبُ ،
وَذُو الْبَصِيرَةِ الْحَامِي ، وَالْمُسْتَمِيتُ الْقَاتِلُ ، وَقَلِيلٌ مَا هُمْ عِنْدَ تِلْكَ الْحِمِيَّةِ ، وَفِي ذَلِكَ
الْمَوْضِعِ (٢) .

ليكن أول ما تتقدم به في التهيؤ لعدوك، والاستعداد للقائه، انتخاؤك من فرسان
عسكرك، وحماة جندك، ذوى البأس والحنكة، والجلاد (٣)، والصرامة ممن قد اعتاد
طراد الكماة (٤)، وكشش (٥) عن ناجذيه في الحرب، وقام على ساق في منازلة الأقران،
ثقف الفروسية (٦)، مستجمع القوة، مستحصد المريرة (٧) صبوراً على أهوال الليل،
عارفاً بمناهي الفرص، لم تتمهته (٨) الحنكة ضعفاً، ولا بلغت به السن كلالاً (٩)
ولا أسكرته غيرة الخلدانة جهلاً، ولا أبطرته نجدة الأغمار (١٠) صلفاً، جريئاً على
مخاطرة التلف، مُتقدماً على أذراع الموت، مكابراً المرهوب (١١) الهول، متحماً مخشى
الحقوف، خائضاً غمرات المهالك، برأى يؤيده الحزم وثية لا يخالجها الشك، وأهواء
مجتمعة، وقلوب مؤتلفة (١٢)، عارفين بفضل الطاعة وعزها وشرفها، وحيث محل أهلها
من التأييد والظفر والتحكين، ثم اعرضهم رأى عيّن على كراعهم وأسلحتهم،
ولتكن دوابهم إناث عتاق الخيل، وأسلحتهم سوا بغير الدروع وكمال آلة الحرب،

(١) البهمة : السواد ، والحنديس : الظلمة والليل المظلم .

(٢) في المنظوم والمنثور « عند تلك المواضع » .

(٣) فيه « واجد » . (٤) الكماة جمع كمي كفتى . وهو الشجاع : المتكفي في سلاحه : أى

المتغطى المستر بالدرع والبيضة . (٥) الناجذ : أقصى الأضراس ، وكشش عن أسنانه : أبدي .

(٦) فيه « سقنا القراصة » وهو تحريف .

(٧) المريرة : العزيمة ، وأصلها الحبل الشديد القتل ، واستحصد الحبل : استحجم .

(٨) أمهنة : أضعفه . (٩) فيه « دلالة » .

(١٠) الأغمار . جمع غمر كشمس وقل وسبب وكنتف ، وهو من لم يجرب الأمور ، ومفمر أيضاً

كعظم . (١١) وفي صبح الأعشى « لميبب » .

(١٢) وفي المنظوم والمنثور « موسعة » .

متقلدين سيوفهم المستخلصة من جيد الجواهر وصافي الحديد ، المتخيرة من معادن الأجناس ، هندية الحديد أو تبتية^(١) ، يمانية الطبع ، رفاق المضارب ، مسمومة^(٢) الشخذ ، مشطبة الضريبة ، ملبدين بالترسة الفارسية . صينية التعقيب ، معلمة ، المقابض يخلق الحديد ، أنحاؤها مربعة ، ونحارزها بالتجليد مضاعفة ، ونحملها^(٣) مستخف ، وكنائن النبل وجماب القمي قد استحقبوها ، وقسي الشريان^(٤) والنبع ، أعرابية الصنعة ، مختلفة الأجناس ، محكمة العمل ، مقومة التثقيف^(٥) ، ونصول النبل مسمومة ، وعملها مصصى^(٦) ، وترز كيهها عراقي ، وترز يدشها بدوي ، مختلفة الصوغ في الطبع ، شتى الأعمال في التشطيب والتجنيح والاستدارة^(٧) ، ولتسكن الفارسية مقلوبة المقابض ، منبسطة السية^(٨) مهلة الانعطاف ، مقربة الانحناء ، ممكنة الرمي ، واسعة الأسمم ، قرصها^(٩) مهلة الورود ، ومعاطفها غير مقربة^(١٠) المواتاة .

ثم ول على كل هائة رجل منهم رجلا من أهل خاصتك وثقاتك ونصحاتك ، له صيت في الرياسة ، وقدم في السابقة ، وأولية في المشايعة^(١١) ، وتقدم إليه في ضبطهم وكف معرتهم^(١٢) ، واستنزال نصائحهم ، واستعداد طاعتهم ، واستخلاص ضمايرهم ، وتعاهد كراعتهم وأسلحتهم ، مغميا لهم من النوائب التي تلزم أهل العسكر وعامة

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- (١) نسبة إلى التبت ، وهي الجزء الجنوبي الغربي من الصين ، وهذه الكلمة ساقطة من صبح الأهمى ، وفي المنظوم والمنثور « أو بتنية » وهو تحريف .
(٢) وفيه « مشوية » وهو تحريف . (٣) الحمل : علاقة السيف .
(٤) الشريان بالفتح ويكسر : شجر للقمي .
(٥) هذه ساقطة من المنظوم والمنثور . (٦) وهذه أيضا ساقطة منه ، والمنبصة : بلد بالشام .
(٧) وفيه « في التشطيب والاستراة » وفيها نقص وتحريف .
(٨) سية القوس : معطف من طرفيها ، وفيه « السنة » .
(٩) الفرض : جمع فرضة كفرصة ، والفرضة من النهر : ثلثة يستقى منها ، ومن البحر : محط السفن :
(١٠) فيه « معنوية » وهو تحريف .
(١١) من قوله « له صيت - لك في المشايعة » ساقط منه .
(١٢) وهذه الكلمة أيضا ساقطة منه .

جندك ، واجعلهم عُدَّةً لِأَمْرٍ إِنْ حَزَبَكَ^(١) أَوْ طَارِقٍ إِنْ أَتَاكَ^(٢) . وَمُرِّمٌ أَنْ يَكُونُوا عَلَى أَهْبَةِ مَعْدَةٍ ، وَحَذَرٍ نَافٍ لِسِنَةِ الْغَفْلَةِ عَنْهُمْ^(٣) ، فَإِنَّكَ لَا تَدْرِي : أَىَّ السَّاعَاتِ مِنْ لَيْلِكَ وَنَهَارِكَ تَكُونُ إِلَيْهِمْ حَاجَتُكَ؟ فَلْيَكُونُوا كَرَجُلٍ وَاحِدٍ فِي التَّشْمِيرِ وَالتَّرَادُفِ^(٤) وَسُرْعَةِ الإِجَابَةِ فَإِنَّكَ عَسَيْتَ أَنْ لَا تَجِدَ عِنْدَ جَمَاعَةِ جِنْدِكَ فِي مِثْلِ تِلْكَ الرَّوْعَةِ وَالمَبَاغَةِ - إِنْ اِحْتَجْتَ إِلَى ذَلِكَ مِنْهُمْ - مَعُونَةً كَافِيَةً . وَلَا أَهْبَةَ مَعْدَةٍ . بَلْ ذَلِكَ كَذَلِكَ . فَلْيَكُنْ هُوَ لَاءَ الْقَوْمِ الَّذِينَ تَنْتَخِبُ عِدَّتَكَ . وَقَوَّتَكَ . بُعُوثًا قَدْ وَظَّفْتُمَا^(٥) عَلَى الْقَوَادِ الَّذِينَ وَأَيَّتِهِمْ أُمُورِهِمْ . فَسَمَّيْتَ أَوْلَا . وَثَانِيَا . وَثَالِثًا . وَرَابِعًا . وَخَامِسًا إِلَى عَشْرَةٍ : فَإِنْ اكِتَمَيْتَ فِيمَا يَبْدَهُكَ وَيَطْرُقُكَ بِيَمِينِكَ وَاحِدًا . كَانَ مُعَدًّا لِمُتَحَيِّجٍ إِلَى اِنتِخَابِهِمْ^(٦) فِي سَاعَتِكَ تِلْكَ . فَتَقَطَّعَ البَعْثَ عَلَيْهِمْ عِنْدَ مَا يُرْهِقُكَ . وَإِنْ اِحْتَجْتَ إِلَى اِثْنَيْنِ أَوْ ثَلَاثَةِ وَجَيْتَ مِنْهُمْ إِمْرَادَكَ أَوْ مَا تَرَى قَوَّتَكَ^(٧) . إِنْ شَاءَ اللهُ .

وَكُلٌّ بِخَزَائِنِكَ وَدَوَاوِينِكَ رَجُلًا نَاصِحًا أَمِينًا^(٨) ذَا وَرَعٍ حَاجِزٍ . وَدِينٍ فَاضِلٍ . وَطَاعَةٍ خَالِصَةٍ . وَأَمَانَةٍ صَادِقَةٍ^(٩) . وَاجْعَلْ مَعَهُ خِيَلًا يَكُونُ مَسِيرُهَا وَمَنْزِلُهَا وَتَرْحُلُهَا مَعَ خَزَائِنِكَ وَحَوْلُهَا . وَتَقْدِّمُ إِلَيْهِ فِي حِفْظِهَا . وَالتَّوَقُّفِ^(١٠) عَلَيْهَا . وَاتِّهَامِ كُلِّ مَنْ تُسْفِدُ إِلَيْهِ شَيْئًا مِنْهَا عَلَى إِضَاعَتِهِ وَالتَّهَاؤُنِ بِهِ ، وَالشَّدَةِ عَلَى مَنْ دَنَا مِنْهَا فِي مَسِيرٍ ، أَوْ ضَامَمًا فِي مَنْزِلٍ ، أَوْ خَالَطَهَا فِي مَنَهَلٍ^(١١) ، وَلْيَكُنْ عَامَّةُ الجِنْدِ وَالجَيْشِ - إِلاَّ مَنْ اسْتَتَخَلَصَتْ^(١٢) الْمَسِيرَ مَعَهَا - مُتَنَجِّحِينَ عَنْهَا ، مُجَارِبِينَ لَهَا فِي الْمَسِيرِ وَالمَنْزِلِ ، فَإِنَّهُمَا كَانَتَا

(١) فِيهِ « إِنْ فَاجَأَكَ » وَحِزْبُهُ الأَمْرُ : اِشْتَدَّ عَلَيْهِ .

(٢) فِيهِ « أَوْ طَارِقٍ بَيْنَكَ » . (٣) فِيهِ « وَحَذَرِهِمْ ، فَإِنَّكَ لَا تَدْرِي ... » .

(٤) فِيهِ « وَالتَّرَادُفِ » وَهُوَ تَحْرِيفٌ .

(٥) فِيهِ مَحَلُّ قَوْلِهِ « فَلْيَكُنْ هُوَ لَاءَ الْقَوْمِ الَّذِينَ تَنْتَخِبُ عِدَّتَكَ » فَادَّكَّرَهَا وَلى الدِّينِ نَبِيْحَتَ عِدَّتِكَ وَقَوَّتِكَ

تَقْوِيَا قَدْ قَطَعْتُمَا عَلَى الْقَوَادِ » وَهُوَ تَحْرِيفٌ .

(٦) فِيهِ « اِمْتَحَانُهُمْ فِي سَاعَتِهِمْ » وَهُوَ تَحْرِيفٌ .

(٧) هَذِهِ الْجُمْلَةُ سَاقِطَةٌ مِنْهُ . (٨) فِيهِ « رَجُلًا أَمِينًا صَالِحًا » .

(٩) قَوْلُهُ « وَطَاعَةٍ ... إِلَى صَادِقَةٍ » سَاقِطَةٌ مِنْهُ .

(١٠) فِيهِ « وَالتَّوَقُّفِ عَلَيْهَا وَاتِّهَامِ مَنْ يَسْنَدُ إِلَيْهِ شَيْئًا مِنْهَا » .

(١١) هَذِهِ الْجُمْلَةُ سَاقِطَةٌ مِنْهُ . (١٢) فِيهِ « اسْتَتَخَلَصَتْ » .

الجلولة ، وحدثت الفرقة ، فإن لم يكن للغزائن بمن يؤكلها أهل حفظ لها وذبح عنها . وحيطة دونها . وقوة على من أراد انتهاجها^(١) . أسرع الجند إليها . وتداعوا نحوها . حتى يكاد يترامى ذلك بهم إلى انتهاج العسكر . واضطراب الفتنة ، فإن أهل الفتن وسوء السيرة كثير ، وإنما همتهم الشر ، فأياك وأن يكون لأحد في خزائنك ودواوينك وبيوت أموالك مطمع . أو يجد سبيلا إلى اغتيالها ومرزنتها^(٢) ، إن شاء الله .

أعلم أن أحسن مكيدتك أثرا في العامة . وأبعدها صيننا في حسن القالة . ما نلت الظفر فيه بحزم الروية . وحسن السيرة^(٣) ، ولطف الحيلة ، فلتكن رويتك في ذلك وحرصك على إصابته بالحيل ، لا بالقتال وأخطار التلف ، وادسُّس إلى عدوك ، وكنب رءوسهم وقادتهم ، وعدم المنالآت ، ومنهم الولايات ، وسوء غمهم التراث^(٤) وضع عنهم الإحن^(٥) ، واقطع أعناقهم بالمطامع ، واستندهم بالمشاوب^(٦) واملأ قلوبهم بالترهيب ، إن أمكنتك منهم الدوائر ، وأصارتهم^(٧) إليك الرواجع وادعهم إلى الوثوب بصاحبهم أو اعتزله إن لم يكن لهم بالوثوب عليه طاقة ، ولا عليك^(٨) أن تطرح إلى بعضهم كتبها كأنها جوابات كتب لهم إليك ، وتكتب على ألسنتهم كتباً إليك تدفعها إليهم ، وتحمّل بها صاحبهم عليهم ، وتُنزِلهم عنده بمنزلة التهمة ومحل الظنة^(٩) فلعل مكيدتك في ذلك أن يكون فيها افتراق كلمتهم ، وتشتيت جماعتهم ، وإحن^(١٠) قلوبهم ، وسوء الظن من واليهم بهم ، فيؤحشهم منه خوفهم

(١) من قوله « وحيطة ... إلى انتهاجها » ساقط منه .

(٢) فيه « ومريتها » ورزاه ماله كجعل وعلم رزاه ومرزقة . أصاب منه شيئا .

(٣) فيه « بحسن الروية وحسن التدبير » .

(٤) فيه « التراب » وهو تصحيف .

(٥) الإحن: جمع إحنة بالكسر : وهي الحقد . (٦) هذه الجملة ساقطة منه .

(٧) فيه « وأصارتهم » وهو تصحيف .

(٨) أي ولا حرج عليك . (٩) ومحل الظنة « ساقط منه .

(١٠) فيه « واحش » وهو تحريف .

إياه على أنفسهم إذا أبقوا باتهامه^(١) إياهم، فإن بسط يده بقتلهم، وأولغ سيفه في دمائهم، وأسرع الوثوبَ بهم، أشعرهم جميعا الخوفَ، وشملهم الرعبُ ودعاهم إليك الحرب، فتهافتوا نحوك بالنصيحة، وأمّوك بالطلب^(٢) وإن كان متأقيا محملا، رجوت أن تستبيلَ إليك بعضهم، وتستدعى بالطمع ذوى الشرِّ^(٣) منهم، وتنال بذلك ما تحبُّ من أخبارهم إن شاء الله .

إذا تدانى الصمَّان، وتواقف الجمعان، واحتضرت الحرب، وعبأت أصحابك لقتال عدوهم، فأكثر من قول: لا حولَ ولا قوةَ إلا بالله، والتوكل على الله عز وجل، والتفويض إليه، ومسألتِه توفيقك وإرشادك، وأن يعزم لك على الرشد المنجى^(٤)، والعصمة الكائنة، والحياطة الشاملة .

ومرُّ جنك بالصمت وقلة التلفت عند المصاولة^(٥)، وكثرة التكبير في نفوسهم، والنسيح بضائرهم، وألا يُظهروا تكبيرا إلا في الكرات والحمالات، وعند كل زلعة يزدلفونها، فأما وهم وقوف فإن ذلك من الفشل والجبن وليذكروا الله في أنفسهم، ويسألوه نصرهم وإعزازهم^(٦) وليكثروا من قول: لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم، حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل، اللهم انصرنا على عدوك وعدونا الباغى، واكفنا شوكته المستعدة، وأيدنا بملائكتك الغالبين، وأعصنا بعونك من الفشل والعجز، إنك أرحم الراحمين .

وليسكن في عسكريك مكبرون بالليل والنهار قبل المواقفة، وقوم موقوفون^(٧) يحضونهم على القتال، ويحرضونهم على عدوهم، ويصفون لهم منازل الشهداء وثوابهم

(١) فيه « بأنها منايام » وهو تحريف .

(٢) هذه الجملة ساقطة منه . (٣) فيه « ذوى الشر » وهو تحريف .

(٤) هذه الكلمة ساقطة منه، وفيه « والمبيلة » وهو تحريف .

(٥) فيه « وقلة التلفت إلى المشارة » . (٦) قوله « وليذكروا... لي وإعزازهم » ساقط منه .

(٧) فيه « قبل المواقفة يطوفون عليهم يحضونهم » .

- ٤٥٥ -

ويذكرونهم الجنة ودرجاتها ، ونعيم أهلها^(١) وسكانها ، ويقولون : اذكروا الله
يذكركم ، واستنصروه ينصركم ، والتجئوا إليه يمتنعكم^(٢) ، وإن استطعت أن
تكون أنت المباير لتعبئة جندك ، ووضعتهم مواضعهم من راياتك^(٣) ، ومعك رجال
من ثقات فرسانك ذوو سنن وتجربة وتجدة على التعبئة التي أمير المؤمنين واصفها لك
في آخر كتابه هذا فافعل إن شاء الله تعالى .

أيّدك الله بالنصر ، وغلب لك على القوة ، وأعانك على الرشد ، وعصمك من
الزلغ ، وأوجب لمن استشهد^(٤) معك ثواب الشهداء ، ومنازل الأصفياء ، والسلام
عليك ورحمة الله وبركاته .

وكتب سنة تسع وعشرين ومائة^(٥) .

« اختيار المنظوم والمنثور ١٢ : ٢٠١ ، وصبح الأعشى ١٠ : ١٩٥ ، ومفتاح الأفكار ص ٢٣٠ »

٥٠٦ - رسالة عبد الحميد إلى الكتاب

وكتب عبد الحميد رسالة إلى الكتاب يوصيهم فيها ، قال :
« أما بعد ، حمّظكم الله يا أهل صناعة الكتابة ، وحاطكم ووقّكم وأرشدكم ،
حَإِنَ اللهُ عز وجل جعلَ النَّاسَ بعد الأنبياء والمرسلين ، صلواتُ اللهُ وسلامه عليهم أجمعين ،
ومن بعد الملوك المكرّمين ، أصنافاً ، وإن كانوا في الحقيقة سواءً ، وصرّفهم في صنوف
الصناعات وضرّوب المحاولات ، إلى أسباب معاشهم ^(١) ، وأبواب أرزاقهم ، فجعلكم
معشر الكتاب في أشرف الجهات ، أهل الأدب والرّومة ^(٢) والعلم والرّواية ^(٣) ،

(١) فيه « ويذكرونهم الجنة ورخاء أهلها وسكانها » . (٢) هذه الجملة ساقطة منه .

(٣) في صبح الأعشى « من رأيك » وهو تحريف .

(٤) استشهد بالبناء للجبول : قتل في سبيل الله .

(٥) قدمنا في أول هذه الرسالة أن قتال عبد الله بن مروان وأبيه مع الضحاك بن قيس كان

سنة ١٢٨ هـ . وقال الطبري : وقيل إن الضحاك لما قتل سنة ٢٢٩ هـ - انظر تاريخ الطبري ٦ : ٤٧

(٦) في مقدمة ابن خلدون « معاشهم » . (٧) فيها « المروءات » .

(٨) فيها « الرزانة » .

بكم تنظيماً للخلافة محاسبتها ، وتستقيم أمورها ، وبنصائحكم بصلاح الله للخلاق سلاطنتهم
وتعمر بلادهم^(١) ، لا يستغنى الملك عنكم ، ولا يوجد كافٍ إلا منكم ، فتوقعكم
من الملوك موقع أسماءهم التي بها يسمعون ، وأبصارهم التي بها يبصرون ، وألسنتهم
التي بها ينطقون ، وأيديهم التي بها يبتطشون ، فأمتعكم الله بما خصكم من فضل
صناعتكم ، ولا نزع عنكم ما أضافه^(٢) من النعمة عليكم .

وليس أحدٌ من أهل الصناعات كلها ، أحوج إلى أجماع خيال الخبير المحموده ،
وخصال الفضل المذكورة المدودة ، منكم أيها الكتاب إذا كنتم على ما يأتي في
هذا الكتاب من صفتكم ، فإن الكتاب يحتاج من نفسه ، ويحتاج منه صاحبه الذي
يشق به في مهمات أموره . أن يكون حليماً في موضع الحلم ، فهِماً في موضع الحكيم ،
مقدّماً في موضع الإقدام ، محجّماً في موضع الإحجام ، مؤثراً للعفاف ، والعدل
والإنصاف ، كفوماً للأسرار ، وفيّاً عند الشدائد ، عالماً بما يأتي من النوازل ، يضع
الأمور مواضعها ، والطوازيق أما كتبها ، قد نظر في كل فن من فنون العلم فأحكمه
فإن لم يحكمه أخذ منه بمقدار ما يكتب في به ، يعرف بفريرة عقله ، وحسن أدبه ، وفضل
تجربته ، ما يرد عليه قبل وروده ، وعاقبة ما يصدر عنه قبل صدوره ، فيعد لكل
أمر عدته وعتاده^(٣) ، ويهيئ لكل وجه هيئته وعادته .

فتنافسوا يا معشر الكتاب ، في صنوف الآداب ، وتفقهوا في الدين ؛ وابدؤوا
بعلم كتاب الله عز وجل والفرائض ، ثم العربية ، فإنها ثقاف^(٤) ألسنتكم ، ثم أجدوا
الخط ؛ فإنه حلية كتبكم ، وازودوا الأشعار ، واعرفوا غريبها ومعانيها ، وأيام العرب
والعجم ، وأحاديثها وسيرها ، فإن ذلك معين لكم على ما تسموا إليه هممكم ، ولا
تضيّعوا النظر في الحساب ، فإنه قوام كتاب الخراج ، وارغبوا بأنفسكم عن المطامع :

(١) فيها « بلدانهم » . (٢) أسفه .

(٣) العتاد : العدة . (٤) الثقاف في الأصل : مانسوى به الرماح .

سَدِّهَا^(١) وِدَانِهَا ، وَسَفْسَافِ^(٢) الْأُمُورِ وَمَحَاقِرِهَا ، فَإِنهَا مَذَلَّةٌ لِلرَّقَابِ ، مَفْسَدَةٌ
لِلْكِتَابِ ، وَنَزْهُوا صِنَاعَتِكُمْ عَنِ الدَّنَائَاتِ^(٣) ، وَارْبُتُوا^(٤) بِأَنْفُسِكُمْ عَنِ السَّعَايَةِ
وَالنَّمِيمَةِ ، وَمَا فِيهِ أَهْلُ الْجَهَالَاتِ ، وَإِيَّاكُمْ وَالْكِبْرَ وَالصَّلَفَ^(٥) وَالْعِظَمَةَ ، فَإِنهَا عِدَاوَةٌ
مُجْتَلِبَةٌ مِنْ غَيْرِ إِحْنَةٍ ، وَتَحَابُّوا فِي اللَّهِ عِزَّ وَجَلَّ فِي صِنَاعَتِكُمْ ، وَتَوَاصَوْا عَلَيْهَا بِالَّذِي
هُوَ أَلْيَقُ بِأَهْلِ الْفَضْلِ وَالْعَدْلِ وَالنَّبْلِ مِنْ سَلَفِكُمْ .

وَإِن نَبَأَ الزَّمَانَ بِرَجُلٍ مِنْكُمْ فَاعْظَمُوا عَلَيْهِ وَوَأَسُّوهُ ، حَتَّى يَرْجِعَ إِلَيْهِ حَالَهُ ،
وَيُثُوبَ^(٦) إِلَيْهِ أَمْرَهُ ، وَإِن أَعْدَى أَحَدِكُمْ الْكِبْرَ عَنْ مَكْسَبِهِ وَلِقَاءِ إِخْوَانِهِ . فزُورُوا
وَعِظَمُوا ، وَشَاوِرُوا ، وَاسْتَظْهِرُوا^(٧) بِفَضْلِ تَجْرِبَتِهِ ، وَقَدِّمُوا^(٨) مَعْرِفَتَهُ ، وَلْيَكُنِ
الرَّجُلُ مِنْكُمْ عَلَى مَنْ اصْطَنَعَهُ وَاسْتَظْهِرَ بِهِ لِيَوْمِ حَاجَتِهِ إِلَيْهِ ، أَحْفَظَ^(٩) مِنْهُ عَلَى وَلَدِهِ
وَأَخِيهِ ، فَإِن عَرَضَتْ فِي الشَّغْلِ كَمَمَةٌ ، فَلَا يُضَيِّفُهَا^(١٠) إِلَّا إِلَى صَاحِبِهَا ، وَإِن عَرَضَتْ
مَذَمَّةٌ فَلْيَحْمِلْهَا هُوَ مِنْ دُونِهِ ، وَلْيَحْذَرْ السَّقَطَةَ وَالزَّلَّةَ ، وَالْمَلَلَ عِنْدَ تَغْيِيرِ الْحَالِ .
فَإِن الْعَيْبَ إِلَيْكُمْ مَعْشَرَ الْكِتَابِ . أَمْرِعُ مِنْهُ إِلَى الْفِرَاءِ . وَهُوَ لَكُمْ أَفْسَدُ
مِنْهُ لَهَا .

فَقَدْ عَلِمْتُمْ أَنَّ الرَّجُلَ مِنْكُمْ إِذَا صَحَّيْتُمُ الرَّجُلَ^(١١) يَبْذُلُ لَهُ مِنْ نَفْسِهِ مَا يَجِبُ لَهُ عَلَيْهِ
مِنْ حَقِّهِ . فَوَاجِبٌ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ يَعْتَقِدَ لَهُ مِنْ وَقَائِهِ وَشُكْرِهِ . وَاحْتِمَالُهُ وَصَبْرُهُ^(١٢) . وَنَصِيحَتُهُ
وَكَتْمَانُ سِرِّهِ ، وَتَدْبِيرُ أَمْرِهِ ، مَا هُوَ جَزَاءُ لِحَقِّهِ ، وَيَصْدَقُ ذَلِكَ بِفِعَالِهِ^(١٣) عِنْدَ الْحَاجَةِ إِلَيْهِ ،
وَالِاضْطِرَارِ إِلَى مَالِدِهِ .

فَاسْتَشِيرُوا ذُلُكُمْ - وَفَقِّمُوا اللَّهَ - مِنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ فِي حَالَةِ الرِّخَاءِ وَالشَّدَةِ ، وَالْحِرْمَانِ
وَالْمُؤَاسَاةِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ ، وَالسَّرَّاءِ وَالضَّرَّاءِ ، فَتَنْعَمْتَ الشَّيْمَةَ هَذِهِ لِمَنْ وَرِثَمَ بِهَا ، مِنْ أَهْلِ

- | | |
|--------|---|
| (١) | أى رفيفها . |
| (٢) | الردىء من كل شئء . |
| (٣) | في المقدمة «الدناوة» . |
| (٤) | ربأ: علا وارتفع . (٥) فيها «والسخط» . |
| (٦) | يرجع . (٧) تقووا . |
| (٨) | فيها «وقديم» . (٩) فيها «أحوط» . |
| (١٠) | فيها «فلا بصرفها» . |
| (١١) | فيها «إذا صحبه من يبذل له» . |
| (١٢) | فيها «وخيره» . |
| (١٣) | فيها «تبأ له» وهو تحريف . |

هذه الصناعة الشريفة ، فإذا وُلِّيَ الرجلُ منكم ، أو بُصِّرَ إليه من أمر خَلْقِ الله وعياله أمرٌ ، فليراقبَ الله عز وجل ، وليؤثِرْ طاعته وليسكن على الضعيف رفيقا ، وللمظلوم مُنصِفاً ، فإن أخلقَ عيالُ الله ، وأحبَّهم إليه أرفقَهم بعياله ، ثم ليسكن بالعدل حاكماً ، وللأشراف مُكْرِماً ، وللأفنى مُوقِّراً ، وللبلاد عامراً وللرعية متألِّفاً ، وعن إيدائهم متخلفاً ، وليسكن في مجاسه متواضعاً حلماً ، وفي سِجِّلاتِ خراجه وأستقضاء حقوقه رفيقا ، وإذا صحِّبَ أحدُكم رجلاً فليختبر خلاقته ، فإذا عرَفَ حسنَها وقبيحَها ، أعانه على ما يوافقُه من الحسن ، وأحتال لهصرفه عما يهواه من القبيح ، بألطف حيلة وأجمل وسيلة ، وقد علمتم أن سائس البهيمة إذا كان بصيراً بسياستها ، التمس معرفة أخلاقها ، فإن كانت رُمُوحاً^(١) لم يهيجها إذا رَكِبَها ، وإن كانت شَبُوباً^(٢) أتقأها من قبَل يديها ، وإن خاف منها شُرُوداً توقأها من ناحية رأسها ، وإن كانت حَرُوناً قَع برفق هواها في طريقها ، فإن استمرت عطفها يسيراً ، فَيَسَّسَ له قيادها ، وفي هذا الوصف من السياسة دلائل لمن سأس الناس وعاملهم ، وجربهم^(٣) وداخلهم .

والكاتب بفضل أدبه ، وشريف صنعته ، ولطيف حيلته ومعاملته لمن يحاورُه من الناس وينظره ، ويقهِّمُ عنه أو يخاف سَطْوَتَه ، أو لى بالرِّفق بصاحبِه ، ومداراته ، وتقوم أودُه ، من سائس البهيمة التي لا تُحير^(٤) جواباً ، ولا تعرِّف صواباً ، ولا تفهم خطاباً ، إلا بقدر ما يُصيرها إليه صاحبها الرأكب عليها ، أَلَا فَأَمِينُوا^(٥) - رحمك الله - في النظر ، وأعملوا فيه ما أمكنكم من الروية والفسكر ، تأمنوا^(٦) بإذن الله ممن صحبتموه النبوة ، والاستئقال والجفوة ، وبصير منكم إلى الموافقة ، وتصيروا منه إلى المواخاة والشفقة ، إن شاء الله تعالى .

(١) رجع الفرس كجع : رفسه . (٢) شب الفرس كضرب ونصر: رفع يديه ، وفي المقدمة « من بين يديها » . (٣) وفي صبح الأعشى « وخدمهم » . (٤) أي لا ترد . (٥) فيها « فارقوا » . (٦) تأمنوا : مجزوم في جواب الأمر : أو بعبارة أخرى جواب لشرط محذوف مع فعل الشرط أي « إن تعملوا ... تأمنوا » ومن ثم يجوز في « وبصير » ثلاثة أوجه : الجزم بالنصب والرفع كما هو مشهور ، فقول بعضهم : « ولعل ثبوت الياء قبل الراء من زيادة الناسخ » مردود .

ولا يجاوزنَّ الرجل منكم - في هيئة مجامه ، وملبسه ومره كبه ، ومطعمه ومشربه ،
وبنائه^(١) ، وخدمه ، وغير ذلك من فنون أمره - قدره حقه ، فإنكم - مع ما فضلكم
الله به من شرف صنعكم - خدمة لا تُحمَلون في خدمتكم على التقصير ، وحفظه لا تُحتمل
منكم أفعال التضییع والتبذیر ، واستعينوا على عفافكم بالقصد في كل ما ذكرته لكم ،
وقصصته عليكم ، واحذروا متالف السرف ، وسوء عاقبة الترف ، فإنهما يُعقبان الفقر ،
ويُدلَّان الرقاب ، ويفضحان أهلها ، ولا سيما الكتاب وأرباب الآداب ، وللأمور
أشباه ، وبعضها دليل على بعض ، فاستدلُّوا على مؤتلف^(٢) أعمالكم ، بما سبقت
إليه تجربتكم ، ثم أسلكوا من مسالك التدبير أوضَحها بحجة ، وأصدقها حجة ،
وأحمدها عاقبة .

وأعلموا أن للتدبير آفةً مُتلفة ، وهي الوصف الشاغل لصاحبه عن إنفاذ عمله
ورؤيته^(٣) ، فليَقصد الرجل منكم في مجلسه قصد الكافي من منطته ، وليؤجز في ابتدائه
وجوابه ، وليأخذ بمجامع حججه ، فإن ذلك مصلحة لفعله ، ومدفعة للتشاغل عن
إكثاره ، وليضرع إلى الله في صلة توفيقه ، وإمداده بتسديده ، مخافة وقوعه في الغلط
المضرب ببدنه وعقله وأدبه ، فإنه إن ظن منكم ظاناً ، أو قال قائل : إن الذي برز من
جميل صنعته ، وقوة حركته ، إنما هو بفضل حيلته ، وحسن تدبيره ، فقد تعرض
بظنه^(٤) أو مقالته إلى أن يكذبه الله عز وجل إلى نفسه ، فيصير منها إلى غير كافي ،
وذلك على من تأمله غير خاف .

ولا يقل أحد منكم إنه أبصر بالأمور ، وأنحل لعب التدبير ، من مراقبه
في صناعته ، ومُصاحبه في خدمته ، فإن أعقل الرجلين عند ذوى الألباب ، من رعى

(١) قد يكون المراد به مسكنه الذي يبنيه ، وقد يكون المراد زفاهه ، من بنى على أهله وبها بناء .

وايتى : زفها .

(٢) مبتدأ . (٣) فيها « علمه ورؤيته » . (٤) فيها « بحسن ظنه » .

بالعُجْبِ وراء ظهره ، ورأى أن صاحبه أعقلُ منه ، وأحمد^(١) في طريقته ، وعلى كل واحد من الفريقين أن يعرف فضل نعم الله جل ثناؤه ، من غير اغترارٍ برأيه ، ولا تزكية لنفسه ، ولا تكاثرٍ على أخيه أو نظيره ، وصاحبه وعشيرته ، وحمدُ الله واجب على الجميع ، وذلك بالتواضع لعظمته ، والتذلل لِعِزَّتِهِ ، والتحدث بنعمته .

وأنا أتول في كتابي هذا ما سبق به المثل : « من يلزم النصيحة^(٢) يلزمه العمل » وهو جوهر هذا الكتاب ، وغرّة كلامه ، بعد الذي فيه من ذكر الله عز وجل ، فلذلك جعلته آخره ، وتممته به ، تولانا الله وإياكم يا معشر الطلبة والكتّبة ، بما يتولى به من سبق علمه بإسعاده وإرشاده ، فإن ذلك إليه وبيده ، والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته .

(صبح الأعشى ١ : ٨٥ ، ومقدمة ابن خلدون ص ٢٧٥ ، وكتاب الوزراء والكتاب ص ٧٠)

٥٠٧ - رسالة عبد الحميد في الشطرنج

« أما بعد : فإن الله شرع دينه بإنهاج^(٣) سبيله ، وإيضاح معالمه بإظهار فرائضه ، وبعث رسله إلى خلقه دلالة لهم على ربوبيته ، واحتجاجاً عليهم برسالاته ، وتقدماً إليهم بإنذاره ووَعِيدِهِ ، لِيَهْتَدِيَ مَنْ هَلَكَ عَنْ بَيْتِنَا وَيَحْيَا مَنْ حَيَّ عَنْ بَيْتِنَا ، ثم ختم بنبيه صلى الله عليه وسلم وحْيِهِ ، ووقفى به رسله ، وأبتهته لإحياء دينه المدارس^(٤) ، مرتضياً له على حين أنظمت الأعلام مخفية ، وتشتت الشبل متفرقة ، وَعَفَّت آثار الدين دارسة ، وسطع رهج^(٥) الفتن ، واعتلى قتام الظلم ، واستشهد^(٦) »

(١) فيها « وأجل » (٢) في نسخة من صبح الأعشى « الصحة » وذكر الجاحظ في البيان والتميين (٢ : ٤٦) قال : ومن كلام الأحنف السائر في أيدي الناس « اليم للصحة يلزمك العمل » .
(٣) أنهج : أوضح (ووضح أيضا) وكذا نهج كنعن تستعمل بالمعنيين .
(٤) درس الأثر كدخول : عفا واحي . (٥) الرمح بالفتح والتحرير : تغبار ، وكذا القتام (٦) في كتب اللغة : نهد الرجل : نهض ، وليس فيها الصيغة المزيدة .

ABBREVIATIONS

AJSLL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature

BEO = Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales

BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

EI = Encyclopaedia of Islam

JA = Journal Asiatique

JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies

MMI = Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmi

MTM = Al-Majallah al-Tārikhiyya al-Misriyyah

NAPS = Neue Arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes

PAS = Arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes

PSR = Papyri Schott-Reinhardt

SALP = Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri

ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie

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