

THE WASHY AL-HULAL OF ABŪ L-'ABBĀS AL-LABLĪ;
A CRITICAL EDITION WITH AN INTRODUCTORY STUDY

BY

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the Ṣūfī movement
and the Ṣūfīs themselves, in particular
my father

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I should like to thank all those from whom I have learnt, especially al-Faqīh Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭayyib who taught me the Qur'ān, and ash-Shaykh Aḥmad al-'Āqib, ash-Shaykh Ibrāhīm Abū an-Nūr and Professor ash-Shaykh Muḥammad al-'Ibīd Waqī' Allāh who taught me Arabic grammar. I am in addition deeply indebted to my supervisor, Dr. Michael V. McDonald, for his invaluable assistance and patience throughout the writing of the thesis. Without his help and guidance I am sure I should never have completed it. Nor will I ever forget the kindness and moral support of the secretary Miss Irene Crawford, or of Dr. Dona Straley who typed the draft and Mrs. Mona Bennett who typed the final copy. Finally, of course, there is the Islamic University of Omdurman who gave me the opportunity of carrying out this research project, and provided the necessary funding.

Abstract

This thesis consists of an annotated reconstruction of a manuscript of al-Labli's Washy al-Ḥulal and an introductory volume. The introduction falls into three main sections, the first being a study of the Andalusian grammatical tradition. The main conclusions here are as follows:

1. The analysis of Arabic grammar up to the 13th century AD confirms the view that the school of Baṣra relied on Samā'.
2. This analysis also confirms that the school of Kūfa relied on analogy.
3. As regards the so-called Baghdādī school, the work shows that it cannot in fact be considered a school because it does not have an identifiable methodology, and is based on the Kūfan and Baṣran schools without any underlying philosophy.
4. As regards the so-called Andalusī school:
 - (i) It is concluded that there is none, for like the Baghdādī school it has no underlying philosophy. This view is based on an examination of 'Andalusian' grammar which appears to confirm that it made no original or distinctive contribution to grammar, but borrowed without any underlying methodology.
 - (ii) In the writings of Ibn Maḍā', it is found that as regards the 'Āmil', Ibn Maḍā' does not make clear the logical basis on which he, the speaker, selects different inflexions. In other words, the 'Āmil' is not the verb itself but is a sort of Majāz (metaphor). As regards

Taqdīr and Ta'wīl, it is agreed that while overuse is self-defeating, they are essential for the understanding of certain texts. As far as causality is concerned, the view of other commentators is confirmed, namely, that as a universal phenomenon, it must apply to language as well.

Secondly, the life and works of az-Zajjājī are studied, with particular reference to Al-Jumal, whose verses were the subject of al-Lablī's commentary in Washy al-Ḥulal.

The third section is a study of al-Lablī. In order to place him in a historical context, the political, social and intellectual climate of al-Andalus up to the 13th century AD is examined. The general conclusion is that in spite of considerable unrest, al-Andalus continued to make cultural progress. Following this, there is an examination of scholars of al-Andalus, who were teachers of al-Lablī, and of others from Damascus and Cairo. A study of al-Lablī's students and works follows this. Only three works, including Washy al-Ḥulal survive. Particular attention is also paid to Bughyat al-Āmāl, where considerable numbers of mistakes are found in the published edition. The discussion of Washy al-Ḥulal indicates that al-Lablī took a critical approach to former scholars, but appears to have had no original ideas himself. Unfortunately he also sometimes copies without acknowledging sources, and occasionally gives a faulty attribution. Nevertheless, he is an excellent commentator and was an influential teacher.

The major part of the thesis is a reconstruction of a unique

manuscript of Washy al-Hulal including:

- (i) correction of spelling and grammar
- (ii) inflexional signs
- (iii) references
- (iv) quotations unacknowledged by al-Lablī
- (v) correction of other faults made by scribes
- (vi) numbering of pages
- (vii) detailed indices.

Transliteration

The system used for transliterating Arabic is that used by the Department of Arabic at Edinburgh University.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Al-Ashmūnī Manhaj as-Sālik fī l-Kalām 'alā Alfiyyat
Ibn Mālik Sharḥ al-Ashmūnī
- 'Aṣr al-Murābiṭīn 'Inān, 'Aṣr al-Murābiṭīn wa-l-Muwaḥḥidīn
fī l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus
- Al-'Aynī Al-Maqāṣid an-Naḥwiyya - Sharḥ shawāhid
al-Kāfiya
- Al-Faḥḥām 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maymanī ar-Rajakūtī,
Majallat al-Luḡha al-'Arabiyya, Damascus
vol.54, 1979, pp. 236, 279.
- Bughyat al-Āmāl Al-Lablī, Bughyat al-Āmāl fī Ma'rifat an-Nuṭq
bi-Jamī' Mustaqbalāt al-Af'āl
- Bughyat al-Mutalammis Aḍ-Ḍabbī, Bughyat al-Mutalammis fī Tārikh
Rijāl Ahl al-Andalus
- Al-Fihrist Ibn an-Nadīm, Kitāb al-Fihrist li-n-Nadīm
Kitāb al-Fihrist fī Akhbār al-'Ulamā' al-
Muṣannifīn min al-Qudamā' wa-l-Muḥdathīn
wa-Asmā' Kutubihim
- GAL Brockelmann, Geschichte Der Arabischen
Litteratur

- Al-Ham' As-Suyūṭī, Ham' al-Hawāmi' Sharḥ Jam' al-Jawāmi'
- Ibn 'Ashūr "Tuḥfat al-Majd aṣ-Ṣarīḥ fī Sharḥ Kitāb al-Faṣīḥ". Majallat al-Majma' al-'ilmī al-'Arabī, Damascus, vol.37, 1962, pp.199, 206
- Ibn 'Ashūr "Takmila" "Takmila wa Taqfiya li-t-Ta'rīf bi-Kitāb Tuḥfat al-Majd aṣ-Ṣarīḥ wa-Ṣāhibuh wa-Aṣluḥ" Majallat al-Majma' al-'ilmī al-'Arabī, Damascus, vol.37, 1962, pp.692, 5
- Ibn Khaldūn Al-'Ibar wa-Diwān al-Mubtada' wa-l-Khabar
- Ibn an-Naḥḥās Sharḥ Abyāt Sibawayhi
- Ibn ash-Shajari Amālī ash-Shajari
- Ibn as-Sīd Al-Ḥulal fī Sharḥ Abyāt al-Jumal
- Ibn as-Sirāfī Sharḥ Abyāt Sibawayhi
- Ibn Ya'īsh Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal
- Al-Īdāḥ Az-Zajjājī, Al-Īdāḥ fī 'Ilal an-Naḥw
- Al-Inṣāf Ibn al-Anbārī, Al-Inṣāf fī Masā'il al-Khilāf

- Al-Khizāna Khizānat al-Adab wa-lubb lubāb Lisān al-‘Arab
- Al-Lablī Bughyat al-‘Amāl fī Ma‘rifat Mustaqbalāt
al-Af‘āl
- Al-Lisān Ibn Manzūr, Lisān al-‘Arab
- Al-Mawsū‘a Bin ‘Abd Allāh, Al-Mawsū‘a al-‘Arabiyya
li-l-A‘lām al-Bashariyya
- Al-Maymanī "Tuḥfat al-Majd aṣ-Ṣariḥ fī Sharḥ Kitāb
al-Faṣīḥ" Majallat al-Majma‘ al-‘ilmī
al-‘Arabī, Damascus, vol.35 1960, pp.541-545
- Al-Maymanī "Ḥawl" "Ḥawl Nuskhāt Sharḥ Abī Ja‘far al-Lablī ‘alā
l-Faṣīḥ" Majallat al-Majma‘ al-‘ilmī al-‘Arabī,
Damascus, vol.37, 1962, pp.517, 521
- Al-Muqtabas Ibn Ḥayyān, Al-Muqtabas min Anbā’ Ahl
al-Andalus
- Al-Mu‘jib Al-Marrākushī, Al-Mu‘jib fī Talkiṣ Akhbār
al-Maghrib
- Al-Mu‘nis Ibn Abī Dīnār, Al-Mu‘nis fī Akhbār Ifriqiyyā
wa-Tūnus
- Shajarat an-Nūr Muḥammad Makhlūf, Shajarat an-Nūr az-Zakiyya
fī Ṭabaqāt al-Mālikiyya

- Ash-Shantamarī Tahṣīl 'Ayn adh-Dhahab min Ma'dan Jawhar al-Adab fī 'Ilm Majāzāt al-'Arab
- Sibawayhi Kitāb Sibawayhi
- As-Sulūk Al-Maqrizī, Kitāb as-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Muluk
- At-Tanūkhī "Kitab al-Ibdāl wa-l-Mu'āqaba wa-n-Nazā'ir"
Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī,
Damascus, vol.37, 1962, pp.240, 251.
- At-Taṣrīh Al-Azharī, Sharḥ at-Taṣrīh 'alā at-Tawḍīh
- 'Unwān ad-Dirāya Al-Ghubrīnī 'Unwān ad-Dirāya fīman 'Urifa min al-'Ulamā' fī l-Mi'a as-Sābi'a bi-Bijāya
- Washy al-Ḥulal Al-Lablī, Washy al-Ḥulal fī Sharḥ Abyāt al-Jumal

FOREWORD

The revival of the literary heritage of the Arab nation has now become an important task, carried out by all the Arabs in their respective countries with due encouragement in order to reunify it after long dispersion.

A good number of scholars in Islamic and Arabic Studies have become active in researching and editing this heritage. As a result, the Arabic library has been enriched by the addition of many basic works on various literary and scientific subjects.

There is no doubt that the task of reviving the Arabic literary heritage is an indispensable though difficult one. We ought not to freeze our heritage or limit ourselves to it alone. It should be a link between our present and past. We should also extract from that heritage everything favourable for our cultural revival and expected future. It also reveals for us the achievements of our ancestors, thus increasing our self-confidence and aspiration for a worthy place among awakening nations. It also strengthens the traditional ties between the Arabs and unifies their feelings towards their common causes and problems. However small my own contribution to this general national enterprise may be, I hope that it may be of some significance in its field.

My task has been to carry out research into the Washy al-Hulal fī Sharḥ Abyāt al-Jumal of Ṣadr ad-Dīn ash-Shayk Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī b. Ya'qūb al-Fihri al-Lablī. This has proved a difficult and at times

onerous undertaking but it is hoped that some measure of success has been achieved in attaining this objective, and that the result will be of value to scholars working in this field.

The thesis is divided into two parts consisting of an annotated edition of the text in two volumes with critical apparatus indices etc., and an introductory volume. This introduction falls into three main sections dealing respectively with the grammatical tradition of Islamic Spain up to and including the seventh century A.H. (thirteenth century A.D.), the life and works of az-Zajjājī, the verses quoted in whose Jumal are the subject of al-Lablī's commentary and the life and works of al-Lablī himself. This is followed by a detailed study of the Washy al-Ḥulal and a bibliography.

Since the subject of this study is the grammatical work of an Andalusī scholar, it has been considered appropriate to introduce the subject by examining the various grammatical schools and the differences in their methodology. The study is therefore introduced by a brief comment on the grammatical school of Baṣra which, it has been shown, depended on Samā', then the Kūfan school is examined and seen to rely on analogy, even though the latter may be contradicted by Samā'. It has been seen that these two deserve to be called schools in view of the basic difference in their methodology. As for the so called Baghdādī School, it has been found that, in fact, it is no more than an amalgam of the Kūfan and Baṣran schools, with no underlying philosophy. The position maintained in this introduction is that the fact that some grammarians borrowed from both schools does not justify the term 'school' being granted to them since it is

only reasonable to regard such borrowing as constituting a school if it is based on an identifiable methodology which is systematically followed through.

Secondly, the so called Andalusī school is discussed. The history of grammatical studies in Al-Andalus is reviewed. It is pointed out that these studies began with the study of literary texts, particularly the Qur'ān, but that the scientific study of grammar in Al-Andalus was begun by Jūdī b. 'Uthmān (198/813) who was a scholar of both Kūfan and Baṣran grammar. It is seen that there is no ground for the claim that in Al-Andalus, Kūfan grammar was introduced first; in fact, both schools came to be known at the same time.

Next, an attempt is made to show the development which the introduction of the Kitāb of Sībawayhi brought about. The scholars who commented on it, explained it or memorized it, are all mentioned. Those who criticized it are mentioned as well as those who defended it.

It is found that about 40 books on Sībawayhi were compiled in Al-Andalus compared to only 25 in Iraq and no more than 4 in Egypt. It is also found that any claim for the existence of an Andalusī school is groundless and that no difference can be shown between the Baghdādī way of borrowing and that of the Andalusīs. It is clear that if the name can be justified for any of these, each country deserves the name of a school on the same basis.

Further biographical notes are given about the Andalusī scholars

together with some of their grammatical views. Among these, it is found that Ibn Mālik was very prominent during the 7th century in having enriched grammatical studies. He is shown to have been inclined to Kūfan grammar and also to have been of the opinion that Ḥadīth could be used as evidence whereas Abū Ḥayyān believed that since Ḥadīth was not quoted literally, it was not to be used for grammatical evidence.

The efforts of Andalusī scholars are then summarized in seven points. This is followed by an assessment of Ibn Maḍā' and his theory expounded in his Ar-Radd 'alā n-Nuḥāt which is based on refuting the concepts of 'Āmil, Taqdīr (assumption) and Ta'wīl (paraphrase). It is explained that attributing the effect to the 'Āmil is only a kind of Majāz (metaphor). Even if we concede to Ibn Maḍā' that the speaker is the person who is responsible for the different inflexions, it still remains to be explained on what logical basis every speaker does so.

As for Taqdīr and Ta'wīl, it is noted that although over-use of these notions is self-defeating, certain texts can hardly be understood without some Taqdīr and Ta'wīl. Next, the problem of causality ('illa) is discussed and it is found that in grammar as well as in all other disciplines some degree of causality is essential. It is seen that although his book Ar-Radd 'alā n-Nuḥāt was received at first with great enthusiasm among scholars of language and literature when a modern edition appeared, it soon became clear that his views were open to great criticism.

This is followed by a discussion of Az-Zajjājī, the author of al-Jumal, whose shawāhid were the central theme of al-Lablī's study. Az-Zajjājī's teachers and students are mentioned as well as his compilations. The latter are examined individually with reference to their content and the availability of each in manuscript or book form. It is found that of his 18 books five have been edited, seven are known to be extant but six are lost. Afterwards, especial attention is given to his book al-Jumal in view of its importance and fame. The book, understandably, received great attention as it is simple and uncomplicated by grammatical controversies. No wonder, then, that 120 commentaries were written on it.

Next I have studied the political, social and intellectual life of al-Andalus up to the seventh century of the Hijra (corresponding to the 13th century A.D.) in order to explain the background and heritage of scholars who lived in that period. The political life of that era was very turbulent because of the movement towards the Spanish recovery of al-Andalus. The period concerned could be dated from the battle of al-'Iqāb (Las Navas de Tolosa) in 609A.H./1212 A.D. This led to the deterioration of social life, which has been studied both before the battle of al-'Iqāb and after, with the aim of clarifying the picture. In studying the intellectual life, I have come to the conclusion that despite the upheavals, al-Andalus continued to make cultural progress.

This is followed by a biography of al-Lablī, investigating his name, agnomen, descent, date of birth and month of death and his home town of Labla (Niebla), mentioning its geographic location

and its distinctive features. I have pointed out that al-Lablī did not spend all his life there and have suggested that it is most probable that his journey from Labla may be dated to the year 655/1257 after the Spaniards had captured his home town. I have then mentioned al-Lablī's journey to the East, enumerating the countries he has visited and the welcome he received. I have also mentioned his teachers, their lives, works and students in a similar way.

I have listed al-Lablī's works, giving particular attention to his Bughyat al-Āmāl and drawing attention to the deficiencies in the printed edition, and to the existence of a contemporary copy written one year before the death of al-Lablī, and to the Tuhfat al-Majd, which al-Maymanī proposed to edit but died before completing his plan. The rest of al-Lablī's works have not reached us, constituting, thus, a loss for the Arabic library. One of these works is al-Imlā' 'alā al-Jumal, which has been mentioned in Washy al-Hulal several times but is not referred to in other sources.

I have dedicated one chapter to a study of Washy al-Hulal and pointed out that studies of this kind were not limited to grammar and its evidence but included philology, singing and rhetoric as well as other branches of knowledge. Al-Lablī did not take the doctrines of preceding scholars for granted. He had a critical approach and has expressed his own views in respect of many problems. I have outlined his method of commentary on the shāhid, (evidence), which he has divided into three parts: language, meaning and inflection. He always gives the names of poets and mentions any possible disagreement on the authorship of some verses. However, I have pointed out that

he copies, sometimes, other scholars without a due reference to them, while misattributing quotations in other cases.

The manuscript which is the basis of the present research is unique and contains many errors, which an attempt has been made to rectify. Some account has been given of the manuscript, together with a statement of the date when it was copied, the owner and the person in whose library it was originally kept.

CHAPTER I

GRAMMATICAL STUDIES IN ISLAMIC SPAIN

It has become a common practice in modern times, no doubt under European influence, to use the term madrasa (or school) in place of madhhab, and so people speak of the Baṣran school of grammar, or the Kūfan school of grammar and so forth. This raises the question as to whether the term madrasa, having superseded the term madhhab, has any different meaning. The term originally refers to a body of 'ulamā' who issued their proceedings according to certain established sources and specific methodologies, so that we can speak of a Mālikī madhhab in jurisprudence, an Ash'arī madhhab in kalām, and so forth. However, the implications of the term madhhab became so extended as to include every group of thinkers who possess some common characteristics regardless of the field, for example literature or fine arts and it came to be applied quite early on to the rival groups of grammarians based in Baṣra and Kūfa. When we come to consider the way in which modern Arab writers on grammar use the term madrasa, we are forced to the conclusion that the latter term is used purely as a synonym for the earlier madhhab. In this they do no more than follow Flügel who employed the term Schule as long ago as 1862.⁽¹⁾ We follow this practice in the present discussion, but it should be borne in mind that the word "school" is not used in the technical sense that it has, for example, in modern linguistics.

Shawqī Dayf in his Al-Madāris an-Nahwiyya has posited the

1. G.L. Flügel, Die Grammatischen Schulen des Araber, Leipzig 1862.

existence of no fewer than five schools of Arab grammarians; the Baṣran, the Kūfan, the Baghdādī, the Andalusī and the Egyptian. However, a careful study of Shawqī Dayf's arguments would suggest strongly that the term "school", as defined above, can be applied only to the Baṣrans and Kūfans. The only distinctive feature of the other groups of grammarians is the geographical area in which they were brought up or worked. The material used and the classifications adopted by these grammarians derive from either the Baṣran or Kūfan school of grammar, and the views which are attributed to these other schools can be directly traced back to Baṣran or Kūfan origins. Baṣra and Kūfa can be singled out as being original, because grammar did in fact originate there, or more accurately it had its origins first in Baṣra and later on in the Kūfan school and developed through the efforts of Sībawayhi (Baṣran) and of al-Kisā'ī (Kūfan). The Kūfan school was to develop its own distinct methodology and framework of reference. The most reliable view is that grammar was founded by Abū l-Aswad al-Du'alī⁽¹⁾ (d. 69/688). As for Kūfan grammar, it began about the middle of the second century.

As mentioned above, Kūfan grammar had its origin in the Baṣran school when al-Kisā'ī departed from Kūfa to study grammar at Baṣra under al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad and Yūnus b. Ḥabīb and studied the book of Sībawayhi⁽²⁾ under al-Akhfash. It is worth mentioning that the foundation of the Kūfan school is also attributed in part to al-Farrā', but his role was a minor one in comparison to that of

1. 'Alī an-Najdī Nāṣif, Abū l-Aswad ad-Du'alī, p.149.
2. Az-Zabīdī, Ṭabaqāt an-Nahwiyyīn, p.138

al-Kisā'ī since he did not depart from the book of Sībawayhi.⁽¹⁾
The most important differences between these two schools of grammar can be summarized as follows.

The pioneers of the Baṣran school used to abide by strict rules of investigation. When establishing a grammatical principle they appealed to no source other than the nomadic beduin who lived away from urban settlements, so as to guard against the possibility of external distorting influences. They therefore drew their evidence from the tribes of Qays, Tamīm and Asad and parts of Ṭayyi' and Kināna, but refused to accept residents of areas adjoining or other regions, like Lakhm and Judhām.⁽²⁾ A good example to illustrate this strictness is that of Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā'; it is reported of al-Aṣma'ī that he said, "I have listened to Abū 'Amr for ten years, and never heard him appealing to an Islamic verse",⁽³⁾ for Abū 'Amr considered Islamic poets an unacceptable authority for knowledge about the pure language because Islam combined Arabs and non-Arabs of different countries, which would possibly introduce distorting influences into their poetry.

On the other hand, the scholars of Kūfa adopt a less strict strategy in their investigations, and they did not refrain from appealing to incomplete or fragmentary evidence; that is why there is a marked tendency towards generating rules and sub-rules.⁽⁴⁾ For

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1. Abū-ṭ-Ṭayyīb, Marātib an-Naḥwiyyīn, p.86, Ṭabaqāt an-Naḥwiyyīn, p.143.
 2. As-Suyūṭī, Al-Muzhir, vol.I, p.211.
 3. Ṭabaqāt an-Naḥwiyyīn, p.33.
 4. As-Suyūṭī, Ham' al-Hawāmi', vol.I, p.45.

example, they adduce evidence for the possibility of putting the subject (fā'il) before the verb (fi'l) by appealing to the verses of az-Zabbā':

mā li- 'l-jimāli mashyuhā wa'idā
ajandalan yaḥmilna am ḥadīdā⁽¹⁾

their argument being that the word mashyuhā is the fā'il and that wa'idā is here a verb, used as such for emphasis (mubālagha). It is perhaps a good indication of the way that our thinking is influenced by the Baṣran approach that the above explanation strikes the reader as perverse. The Baṣrans would say that mashyuhā is a mubtada' whose khobar has been suppressed and that wa'idā is a ḥāl which takes the place of a khobar, the sense of the verse thus being mā li-l-jimāli mashyuhā yaḥzaru wa'idā. In this way they interpreted all uncommon and isolated evidence, and when they failed to make it accord to their generally accepted rules they considered such evidence as anomalous and ineligible for analogical argument. Hence they justified deduction only on the basis of the more widespread and generally accepted evidence which as such is more representative and reliable in the development of grammatical rules. The traces of this approach are recurrent in the book of Sībawayhi where he continually draws attention to artificial and unreliable evidence.⁽²⁾ It is possible that Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' was the pioneer of this

1. Al-Ashmūnī, Manhaj as-Sālik (Sharḥ), vol.2, p.105; Al-'Aynī, Al-Maqāsid an-Nahwiyya, vol.2, p.448; Al-Azharī, at-Tasriḥ, vol.1, p.271.
2. Al-Kitāb, vol.I, pp.336, 337.

approach; one day he was asked whether the rules which he had laid down included all the speech of the Arabs. He said, "No." Then he was asked how he would regard his differences with other Arabs who were true authorities. He replied that he would base his work on the most common, and consider differences of other Arabs as dialects. (1)

Probably the main reason for the Kūfāns' satisfaction with less solidly grounded evidence was that they had been more concerned with the study of the Qur'ān than the Baṣrans, and this made them more cautious in the use of logical appraisal and interpretation of texts, even if the texts were works of poets. The Kūfan readiness to use analogy on the basis of a single, perhaps doubtful, example is responsible for the main drawback of their system, in which they accept both the uncommon and the more common, and so build up a massive structure for grammar with too many branches.

The Baṣrans on the other hand were more restrained in their use of analogy; although they use it regularly, they will always prefer evidence taken direct from Beduin informants (samā') where this is available. The main weakness of their approach is their excessive use of interpretation (ta'wīl) which at times leads to forced and far-fetched interpretations where a more straightforward interpretation would be sufficient.

The Baṣrans used to rely more on samā' than on analogy whereas

1. Ṭabaqāt an-Nahwiyyīn, p.34.

the Kūfans accepted analogy when it was contradicted by samā'. Thus we see Kūfans absolutely prohibiting the precedence of the predicate over the inchoative, so that the implied pronoun of the predicate should not precede the inchoative. Considering the example the phrase Qā'imun Zaydun, they assume that there is a pronoun connected with Qā'imun referring to Zaydun, and as the pronoun cannot precede Zaydun when in a sentence of this kind they deny that such an expression is good Arabic, and refuse to accept it even though they have samā' for it. In the view of other grammarians, qā'imun is to be regarded as an inverted predicate of the type found in the well-established proverb fī baytihi yu'tā 'l-ḥakam whose original structure should be al-ḥakamu yu'tā fī baytihi. Thus it can be said that Baṣran grammar had its basic foundation and methodology which were different from those of the Kūfans and we can securely conclude that grammar had two schools, one at Baṣra and another at Kūfa.⁽²⁾ We now turn to the question of the so-called Baghdādī school.

It is worth mentioning that grammar reached a stage of maturity and that its structure had been more or less established by the efforts of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad and Sībawayhi at the end of the second century. Hence the latecomers of the third century did not find much to add either to the Baṣran or the Kūfan schools. They merely concentrated on thoroughly studying the findings of these two schools,

1. Al-Insāf, vol.1, p.65
2. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sayyid, Madrasat al-Baṣra an-Naḥwiyya, pp.154, 164, and Shawqī Dayf, Al-Madāris an-Naḥwiyya, p.159.

reporting the agreements and differences within their books without adhering to a particular approach. Compilation and selection were the rule, each with his relative inclination towards either of the two schools, some taking equal shares of each school while others took more from the Baṣrans, which has had a higher rate of circulation than the Kūfan school throughout history. It is not justifiable to consider such a mixture an independent school having its own approach and methodology. They are exactly like those who study the debates between Sibawayhi and al-Kisā'ī, when the most they could do was to compile the works of these two men, subjecting them to a critical review. There seem to be no valid reasons for proposing the existence of a so-called Baghdādī school of grammar, for there is no difference between the grammar which was taught there and that taught anywhere else, and it has been based only on a process of compilation and selection with no single underlying philosophy.

It now remains to ask about the source of the nomenclature which speaks of the Baghdādī and the other two alleged schools. It seems that this habit of referring to a Baghdādī school originated with some grammarians who are described in their classification as Baghdādī, and this has presumably been taken by the multi-school advocates to mean the existence of a Baghdādī school side by side with the Baṣran and Kūfan schools, and by analogy they started to speak of an Egyptian or Andalusī school without identifying any real differences between them.

We may also ask who these Baghdādīs are to whom reference is usually made. They are a group of Kūfans who moved to Baghdād and

and settled there and who were engaged in the instruction and education of caliphs' sons and those of the other notables, attending their gatherings and receiving their gifts, while another group remained in Kūfa due to their own circumstances. ~~and~~ other hand . the Baṣrans did not win the same magnanimity from the caliphs which their Kūfan rivals did, for the simple reason that Kūfa was nearer to Baghdād, and so the Kūfans were the first to move there, and moreover it had some pleasant associations for the 'Abbāsīd dynasty; in it was first made allegiance to as-Saffāh, and for some time it remained the capital of the state. As for Baṣra, it witnessed the rise of Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, who claimed the caliphate for his brother Muhammad, a member of the Ahl al-Bayt (the family of the Prophet) and he was supported by a great number of the Baṣrans so that it fell completely under his command together with the regions of Wāsiṭ and Ahwāz⁽¹⁾ and for this reason Baṣra was regarded with some disfavour almost from the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd period. From the above it follows that the Kūfan grammarians had virtually two different centres, some of them being related to Baghdād and others to Kūfa, and this has led some authorities to differentiate between the settlers in Baghdād, whom they called Baghdādīs, and those in Kūfa. Evidence for this is formed in many anecdotes. For example, Al-Akhfash said about Sībawayhi when the latter left Baghdād after his debate with al-Kisā'i, "He invited me, so I came to him and he informed me about his story with the Baghdādī."⁽²⁾ Who is the Baghdādī referred to?

1. Muḥammad al-Khuḍarī, Muḥādarāt Tārīkh al-Umam al-Islāmiyya, pp. 31,76.
2. Ṭabaqāt an-Nahwiyyīn, p.71.

It can only be al-Kisā'i, the shaykh of Kūfan grammarians.

Al-Mubarrid said, "I could not see any better book of the Baghdādīs than that of Ya'qūb b. as-Sikkīt in logic"⁽¹⁾; Ibn as-Sikkīt was a Kūfan.⁽²⁾

Ibn Jinnī said, "If anybody claims that the inchoative is in the nominative because of the dhikr (i.e. pronoun) which refers to it, I would say 'this is the Kūfan saying.'" Then he repeats the same sentence elsewhere saying, "Baghdādīs say, 'The noun is in the nominative because of the dhikr which refers to it.'" meaning by Baghdādīs Kūfan grammarians.⁽³⁾

Moreover, according to Ibn Jinnī the doctrine of the Kūfans is that the second letter of every word which contains a guttural (ḥalqī) letter may be vocalised with a fatha even though there is no samā', as with baḥr and baḥar.⁽⁴⁾ He later returns to this point saying,

"We have mentioned above the giving of a fatha to the guttural letter when it is originally quiescent and when it follows a fatha, and have mentioned the difference between our opinion and that of the Baghdādīs

1. Wafayāt al-A'yān, vol.1, p.310.
2. Ibn an-Nadīm, Al-Fihrist, p.79.
3. Ibn Jinnī, Al-Khaṣā'is, vol.1, p.199.
4. Ibn Jinnī, Al-Muhtasab, vol.1. p.84.

on this point. I follow their view on this point and do not follow the view of our friends."⁽¹⁾

By comparing the above two remarks, it appears that the Baghdādīs of whom Ibn Jinnī speaks are in fact Kūfans.

Thus we seem justified in saying that there are only two schools of grammar, Baṣran and Kūfan. As for the rest, they are not eligible to be called schools but merely indicate a region for reference. Hence it is possible to speak of grammar in Baghdād, or to speak of its 'ulamā', or to speak of the grammarians of Andalus or Egyptian grammarians, and so forth.

Grammar in Andalus

Little is known of the beginning of the study of grammar in al-Andalus. It is reasonable to assume that the same factors which provided the impetus for the development of grammatical studies in Baṣra and Kūfa - the need to understand the meaning of the Qur'ān, particularly in the light of legal and doctrinal controversies, and the need to preserve the language from corruption in a milieu in which non-Arabic speakers were numerically predominant - were equally present in Islamic Spain. In addition, the relative isolation of al-Andalus from the major intellectual centres of the Islamic world can only have served to strengthen the need for the development of a local tradition of scholarship.

1. Al-Muḥtasab, vol.2, p.166.

To quote Aḥmad Amīn,

"The study of grammar started in Andalusia, as in the East, as casual comments on selected words and phrases and explanatory notes on semantic or grammatical problems; examples of this are to be found in Mubarrid's al-Kāmil and al-Qālī's Amālī. Then certain grammatical problems were tackled individually as in the case of Qālī's⁽¹⁾ work on the verbs fa'altu and af'altu and the Maḡṣūr and the Mamdūd. Likewise, Ibn al-Qūṭiyya⁽²⁾ wrote a book on af'āl. Later when the books of al-Kisā'ī and Sībawayhi were introduced in Andalusia, the scholars in Andalusia started to compile books on grammar as a wholesome discipline which comprises various chapters."⁽³⁾

Shawqī Ḍayf observes:

"As the Umayyad dynasty flourished in Andalusia, a class of teachers (Mu'addibūn) appeared and they started to teach young people in Cordoba and other cities the rules

1. Ismā'īl ibn al-Qāsim, died 356/966, as-Suyūṭī, Buḡhyat al-Wu'āt, vol.I, p.453.
2. Muḥammad ibn 'Umar, died 367/977, *ibid.*, vol.I, p.»98.
3. Aḥmad Amīn, Zuhr al-Islām, vol.III, p.91.

of the Arabic language through studying and discussing literary texts. The motive was mainly to preserve the Qur'ān and maintain the standards of correct recitation. Hence the great majority of these scholars were reciters of the Qur'ān, who usually visited the East and brought back with them all the rules of recitation just as they used to teach the various rules of Arabic."⁽¹⁾

The same view is expressed by Sa'īd al-Afghānī:

"The study of grammar in Andalusia followed similar steps to those followed in the East. The scholars started by teaching literary texts where their study normally involved lexicography, literature, syntax, morphology and also Qur'ān and Tradition. Gradually the different disciplines started to branch out and take independent shape."⁽²⁾

Khadija al-Ḥadīthī also supports this view:

"The grammarians of Andalusia were usually from among the reciters of Qur'ān and the

1. Al-Madāris al-Nahwiyya, p.288.
2. Sa'īd al-Afghānī, Nazarāt fī l-Lugha 'inda Ibn Ḥazm, pp. 9, 10.

jurists and the Mu'addibūn. They did not possess any distinguishing marks."⁽¹⁾

As for the various stages which the study of grammar went through, Amīn as-Sayyid notes that there were altogether three stages: first, the formulation and gathering of the rules; this stage lasted from the conquest of Andalusia to the 11th century/5th Hijra century. The second stage was the golden age of grammar which was during the 12th and 13th centuries (sixth and seventh Hijra centuries). Finally came the stage of disintegration.⁽²⁾ It seems that he refers by this final stage to the mass emigration of scholars from Andalusia.

The scientific study of grammar in al-Andalus started with Jūdī b. 'Uthmān al-'Absī who died in 198/813. He set out to the east and attended the teachings of al-Kisā'ī, and ar-Riyāshī, and it is reported that Jūdī wrote a book of grammar and that he took al-Kisā'ī's book home with him.⁽³⁾

It may be noted that we do not find any source who mentions the name of the above book or that Jūdī combined the Baṣran and Kūfan grammars. Nevertheless al-Kisā'ī is the pioneer of the Kūfan school, but ar-Riyāshī studied with al-Mubarrid and Ibn Durayd and read the

1. Khadīja al-Ḥadīthī, Abū Ḥayyān an-Nahwī, p.313.
2. Amīn as-Sayyid, Al-Ittijāhat an-Nahwiyya fī l-Andalus (thesis), p. 220.
3. Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol.I, p.490.

book of Sībawayhi under al-Māzinī.⁽¹⁾ Perhaps what had led to the belief that al-Andalus paid more attention at first to Kūfan grammar than to Baṣran was the fact that Jūdī took al-Kisā'i's book with him to al-Andalus.⁽²⁾ However, this belief does not stand examination. Why otherwise should Jūdī have studied grammar under a Kūfan and a Baṣran when he could have dispensed with one of them? Thus, we can claim that al-Andalus took care of both schools at the same time and that Jūdī b. 'Uthmān was the first pioneer.

The study of grammar continued to flourish in al-Andalus, and entered upon its next stage of development with the appearance of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Afshīn (d.300/921), who was devoted to literature and history. He did not satisfy himself with studying in al-Andalus but travelled to the east and visited Egypt where he found Aḥmad b. Ja'far ad-Daynūrī who was an outstanding grammarian. Al-Afshīn read the book of Sībawayhi under this man who himself read it under al-Māzinī.⁽³⁾ Among al-Afshīn's works, none of which unfortunately are extant, are Ṭabaqāt al-Kuttāb and Shawāhid al-Ḥukm. We do not know when the Kitāb Sībawayhi entered al-Andalus. Jūdī and, as seen above, al-Afshīn had studied it in the East. We are told, however, that as soon as the book of Sībawayhi entered al-Andalus and people heard about it they were very much impressed by the precision of its style, its method of presentation and its

1. Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol.II, p.27.
2. Al-Madāris an-Nahwiyya, p.289.
3. Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol.I, p.252.

richness. So they kept studying it over and reciting it. (1)

Among those who interpreted the book of Sībawayhi or used it as a basis for argument are Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan az-Zubaydī al-Ishbīlī (d. 379/989 in some reports) Aḥmad b. Ibbān al-Andalusī (d. 382/992), Abū Naṣr Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Qurṭubī (d. 401/1010), Yūsuf b. Sulaymān ash-Shantamarī known as al-A'lam (d. 476/1083), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad known as Ibn al-Bādhsh (d. 528/1133), Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd al-Khishnī al-Andalusī (d. 544/1149), Muḥmaddam b. Aḥmad b. Hishām al-Lakhmī as-Sabtī (d. 557/1161 or after) and Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad known as Ibn Kharūf al-Andalusī (d. approx. 609/1212).

Among those who either criticized it or defended it are Abū al-Ḥasan Sulaymān b. Muḥammad al-Mālaqī known as Ibn aḡ-Ṭarāwa (d. 528/1133) and Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Maḥmūd al-Ishbīlī known as Ibn aḡ-Dā'i', (d. 680/1281). Among those who abstracted its rules was Abū Ḥayyān Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344). There are others who went beyond studying the book and analyzing it, by committing it to memory, like Abū al-Qāsim Ibrāhīm b. 'Uthmān al-Qayrawānī (d. 346/1345), Abū al-Qāsim Khalaf b. Yūnus al-Andalusī ash-Shantarīnī (d. 532/1137), Abū 'Amir b. 'Abdullāh b. Yaḥyā al-Ishbīlī (d. about 556/1160) and Muḥammad b. Ḥajjāj al-Ishbīlī, who was known as Ibn al-Muṭrifī (d. about 706/1306).

1. 'Alī an-Najdī Nāṣif, Sībawayhi Imām an-Nuhāt, p.192.

Sībawayhi's book effected a grammatical renaissance in al-Andalus and its Maghrib neighbours. It was more appreciated by the 'ulamā' in those regions than anywhere else. If one refers to Bughyat al-Wu'āt and Kashf az-Zunūn, tracing the different studies related to Sībawayhi, he will find that al-Andalus and its neighbourhood had the greatest share, forty in all, and al-'Irāq had about twenty-five, while Egypt had only four. This contrast is not really strange, because the centre of the khilāfa had been the east and it was the target of most migration. In the west there was another Arabian rival state with its own civilization.⁽¹⁾ Hence, the race was confined to these two states, and al-Andalus had the greater share. It would be worthwhile to introduce some of the pioneers of Arabic who enriched both linguistics and grammar, but they would certainly outnumber the capacity of this review. We shall, however, in chronological order, select those whose reputation was especially great:

1. Ar-Rabbāhī, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abd as-Salām al-Azdī.⁽²⁾

His origin is from Jayyān. He was renowned for his inferential precision and analogical skill. He travelled to the East, and learned from Ibn al-A'rābī and others. He was also entrusted with the education of al-Mughīra b. an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh. He studied the book of Sībawayhi, reading and interpreting it to his students. He died in 353/964.

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1. Sībawayhi Imām an-Nuḥāt, pp.192-193.
 2. Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol.L, p.262.

2. Al-A'lam, Yūsuf b. Sulaymān ash-Shantamārī.⁽¹⁾ He was knowledgeable in language, and the art of orthography. He taught Sībawayhi's book on the authority of Ibn al-Aflīfī, and recited it to his students in a simplified way. He interpreted the Jumal of az-Zajjājī, and the six dīwāns of the Jāhili poets Imru' al-Qays, Zuhayr, an-Nābigha, 'Alqama, Tarafa and 'Antara. He died in the year 476/1083.

3. Ibn Sīda, 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sīda.⁽²⁾ He was a competent linguist, and a famous grammarian, fond of reporting poetry. He is the author of two major lexicons, al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ and al-Muḥkam. The former was arranged according to meanings, and the latter in alphabetical order. He interpreted the Kitāb Sībawayhi and the Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq of Ibn as-Sikkīt and al-Ḥamāsa. He died in the year 458/1065.

4. Ibn Maḍā', Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad.⁽³⁾ He learned from 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, who was known as Ibn ar-Rammāk. The latter was also an authority on the Book of Sībawayhi and taught it to Ibn al-Maḍā' who studied under him other books of grammar and language, as did many others. Some of his books are Tanzīh al-Qur'ān 'ammā lā Yaliq bi-l-Bayān, and in grammar al-Mashriq and ar-Radd 'alā an-Nahāt. The latter is the best known of his books to which we shall refer shortly.

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1. Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol.II, p.356.
 2. Ibid., vol.II, p.143.
 3. Ibid., vol.I, p.323.

5. Ibn Kharūf, 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Andalusī.⁽¹⁾ He was renowned for his careful scholarship and made some contributions to the science of uṣūl. He taught grammar in different countries. He learned from Ibn Ṭāhir, and interpreted the Kitāb Sībawayhi and the Jumal of az-Zajjājī, and was the author of another book, al-Farā'id. He was involved in debates with as-Suhaylī. He died in 609/1212.
6. Ash-Shalawbīn. He was 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Ishbīlī.⁽²⁾ He was the leading authority of his time on Arabic. He learned from as-Suhaylī and Ibn Bashkuwāl. He had a wide-spread fame which attracted students towards him. In fact most of the educated Andalusīs learned from him, either directly or indirectly. He composed his book at-Tawṭi'a in grammar, commented upon Sībawayhi's Book and produced two interpretations of the Juzūliyya of al-Juzūlī. He died in the year 640/1242.
7. Ibn 'Uṣfūr, 'Alī b. Mu'min b. Muḥammad al-Ishbīlī.⁽³⁾ He was the major authority on Arabic in his time in al-Andalus. He learned from ad-Dabbāj and ash-Shalawbīn. He taught in different countries and was known for his patience and persistence in research. He restricted his studies entirely to grammar. His writings include al-Muntī' fi-t-Taṣrīf, Sharḥ al-Juzūliyya of al-Juzūlī, three commentaries on al-Jumal

1. Buḡhyat al-Wu'āt, vol.II, p.203.
2. Ibid., vol.II, p.224.
3. Ibid., vol.II, p.210.

and Mukhtaṣar al-Muḥtasab. He died in 669/1270.

8. Ibn Mālik, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik aṭ-Ṭa'i al-Jayyānī;⁽¹⁾ he was the undisputed leading grammarian of the seventh century. He learned from as-Sakhāwī at Damascus, and from al-Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ and others. He composed a large number of works on grammar and language which stimulated comment and interpretations by other 'ulamā'. Among these are al-Kāfiya ash-Shāfiya, and its summary which is contained in al-Alfiyya, Tashīl al-Fawā'id wa Takmil al-Maqāsid, Shawāhid at-Tawdīḥ, at-Taṣḥīḥ li-Mushkilāt al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ and I'rāb Mushkil al-Bukhārī. He died in 672/1273. Ibn Mālik is well known for his appeals to Hadīth in his grammar, and seems inclined towards the Kūfan school, as is reflected in his derived rules.

9. Ibn aḍ-Ḍā'i', 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ishbīlī;⁽²⁾ he studied under ash-Shalawbīn and interpreted the Book of Sībawayhi in a manner combining the interpretation of as-Sīrāfī and Ibn Kharūf in its precision. He provided a commentary to the book al-Idāḥ by al-Fārisī. He defended the books of Sībawayhi and al-Fārisī against the objections of Ibn aṭ-Ṭarāwa. He similarly defended az-Zajjājī against the objections of al-Baṭalyawsī. He died in the year 680/1281.

10. Abū Ḥayyān, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī b. Ḥayyān,⁽³⁾ the greatest

1. Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol.I, p.130.
2. Ibid., vol.II, p.204.
3. Ibid., vol.I, p.280.

scholar of his time, and the most famous in grammar, language, interpretation of the Qur'ān, Ḥadīth, recitation, history and literature. He studied the Qur'ān under Abū Ja'far b. aṭ-Ṭabbā' and Arabic under Ibn an-Nahḥās in Egypt. Abū Ḥayyān did not appeal to Ḥadīth as evidence for two reasons:

i) Traditions were not narrated from the Prophet verbally, but only reported in paraphrase. (1)

ii) The earlier scholars did not use it as an authority. (2)

Among his works are at-Tadhil wa-t-Takmil, Sharḥ at-Tashil, Muṭawwal al-Irtishāf and its summar Tajrīd Ahkām Sibawayhi, al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ and its simplified version an-Nahr al-Mādd.

He died in 745/1344. He was influenced in his grammatical opinions by the doctrine of the Zāhiri school of fiqh, and as a result tends to become annoyed by disputes over purely abstract problems which do not directly affect language, such as the theoretical basis for the use of the various cases in Arabic. As regards this type of problem he used to say, "But this controversy is superfluous." (3)

We may sum up the various activities of the Andalusī 'ulamā'' under the following headings:

1. The preparation of simplified versions of the massive basis works of reference in language and grammar, e.g. the summary

1. Al-Baghdādī, Al-Khizāna, vol.I, p.5.
2. Ibid.
3. Al-Ham', vol.I, p.93.

by az-Zubaydī of the Kitāb al-‘Ayn, attributed to al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, and the abstracts by Abū Ḥayyān of the Kitāb Sibawayhi.

2. The composition of new works on naḥw and ṣarf, like al-Mumti‘ fī-ṣ-Ṣarf of Ibn ‘Uṣfūr and the Taṣrīf al-Af‘āl of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya.
3. The preparation of commentaries on certain grammar books, e.g. the commentary of al-A‘lam on the Kitāb al-Jumal of az-Zajjājī and that of Ibn aḍ-Ḍā‘i‘ on the Book of Sibawayhi.
4. Recording and collecting poetry, like the collection by al-A‘lam of the work of six Jāhiliī poets.
5. The annotation of texts, like ash-Shalawbīn’s work on the Book of Sibawayhi.
6. The putting of grammatical rules into verse to simplify its exposition, like al-Kāfiya ash-Shāfiya and its summary which is known as the Alfiyya of Ibn Mālik.
7. The teaching of grammar and language in both East and West.⁽¹⁾

Ibn Maḍā’ and the Zāhiriī school

We cannot conclude this brief survey of grammar in al-Andalus without making some reference to a noteworthy feature of Spanish

1. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ‘Atīq, Al-Madkhal ilā ‘Ilm an-Naḥw, pp.163-4

intellectual life of this period, the Zāhiri school of fiqh, which had considerable influence on certain grammarians, notably Ibn Maḍā'. This school was established in Baghdād by Dā'ūd b. 'Alī (born 200/815, d. 270/883) assisted by his son.⁽¹⁾ It based its opinions in jurisprudence on the most literal interpretation of Qur'ān and Ḥadīth without paraphrase or assumption. In al-Andalus this school was propagated by Ibn Ḥazm who achieved considerable success among his students despite the arguments of his opponents. Zāhirite views achieved considerable currency in al-Andalus. Abū Ḥayyān describes the power of this school and its influence on its followers, saying, "It is impossible for a believer in the Zāhiri school to be ~~recent~~."⁽²⁾ The school continued to be prominent under the al-Muwaḥḥidūn.

Ibn Maḍā' was one of its greatest 'ulamā'. He was honoured by the state and was appointed qāḍī of Fez by the Muwaḥḥid caliph Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Mu'min, and by his son Ya'qūb.⁽³⁾

The doctrine of taking the immediate interpretation of Qur'ān and Ḥadīth is motivated by the veneration of these texts and apprehension of handling them by paraphrase or assumption.

Although this may be appropriate to Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, the extension of this doctrine to texts of prose or poetry is questionable.

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1. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Tārīkh Baghdād, vol.8, p.369.
 2. Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol.I, p.281.
 3. Ibn Maḍā', Ar-Radd 'alā an-Nuḥāt, pp. 6, 11, ed. by Shawqī Deyf. Ibid., pp. 5, 11, ed. A. Al-Bannā'.

The latter cannot be assigned a similar degree of veneration and it is perhaps difficult to see why they should be kept away from paraphrase and assumption. (ta'wīl wa-taqdīr). Nevertheless, this is the approach which Ibn Maḍā' applies to the study of grammar.

Let us now look into the problems of paraphrase and assumption, causation and the problem of the agent ('āmil) as treated by Ibn Maḍā' and other grammarians. It may perhaps be admitted that ta'wīl and taqdīr are sometimes made excessive use of by Arab grammarians to the extent that they render grammatical arguments meaningless. On the other hand, however, the Arabs were known for their wit and sometimes for their reliance on hints, incomplete remarks and omitted words, leaving other associations and circumstances to supplement the intentions or implications of the text. Thus, Ibn Hishām produced in the fifth chapter of his book al-Mughnī forty-six types of omission.⁽¹⁾ It would be illogical for the critic to be allowed to describe his own subjective vision of the artistic nature of a given text, while the grammarian is deprived of the right of pointing out the hidden and the omitted. The basis of grammatical analysis is essentially thought, observation and deduction. There are many examples in Arabic style where the true sense cannot be realised without appeal to paraphrase and assumption. Indeed, Ibn Maḍā' himself is forced to admit that taqdīr is indispensable in certain contexts. In general, however,⁽²⁾ his approach is to reject ta'wīl and taqdīr. Furthermore, Ibn Maḍā'

1. Ibn Hishām, Al-Mughnī, vol.2, p.160.

2. Ar-Radd 'alā an-Nuḥāt, pp. 88-90. ed. Sawqī Ḍayf.

Ibid., p.71, ed. A. Al-Banna'.

rejects the whole theory of Al'īl al-an-nahwiyya i.e. the theoretical explanations of why a certain case or mood is used in a given syntactical context rather than another. In this Ibn Madā' ranges himself with those who would argue for the irrelevance of 'awāmil as having been artificially constructed by grammarians. The indigenious Arab, it is argued, speaks correctly without knowing the 'awāmil and the grammatical reasons. In reply to this line of reasoning it may be objected that this is a correct proposition but it is an incomplete expression of fact because the Arab was not used to speaking without systematic rules and restraints. It is not only for grammatical structures but the same principle of causality applies to other disciplines of life. Every phenomenon in the world is subject to inevitable laws laid by the Creator. The avoidance of these laws leads to disorder and defectiveness. The law which the Arab unintentionally followed in his speech was that of natural sense of language.

Thus the search for causality is surely not void in itself, but what may be faulty in the process is the obsession with multiple reasoning, with a first class of reasoning, a second, a third, and so on. An example of this is when they say ayna is uninflected because semantically it is similar to hamza, used as interrogative, and similar to the conditional in when used as a conditional particle. The uninflectedness is expressed by a vowel in order to avoid the coming together of two quiescents (the yā and the na). Fatha is used on na in preference to damma and kasra⁽¹⁾ for its

1. Al-Ashmūnī, vol.1, pp.58-59.

softness.

This kind of reasoning is a sort of intellectual luxury which might have a place other than in grammar, where it may be dismissed as a useless nonsense both stylistically and theoretically.

Ibn Maḍā's approach to the theory of the 'āmil agrees with that of Ibn Jinnī . The governing factor is the speaker himself and not a syntactical feature. Ibn Jinnī explains his theory in the following example:

"When we say 'ḍaraba Sa'īdun Ja'faran', ḍaraba does not effect in fact any action. It is just a collection of sounds, ḍād, rā' and bā' assembled in accordance with the pattern fa'ala. Thus, as sounds, action could not be attributed to them. The grammarians distinguish two types of operatives, literal and logical, in order to demonstrate, for pedagogical reasons, that action is referred to the verb that expresses it."⁽¹⁾

The appearance in 1947 of an edition of ar-Radd 'alā n-Nuhāt has given rise to considerable activity among scholars and writers in the Arabic language.

1. Al-Khaṣā'is, vol.1, pp.108-9

Aḥmad Amīn praised the book and described its influence on grammar in these words:

"It was honour enough that he destroyed even if he did not build. Grammar needed a new hand to build a new structure after the demolition of the old."⁽¹⁾

He also adds:

"It is regrettable that people have not followed Ibn Maḍā's ideas and that soon they went back to Sibawayhi's grammar."⁽²⁾

A superficial reading of Amīn's words may lead us to the belief that he has carefully studied ar-Radd 'alā n-Nuḥāt in combination with one of the basic texts on grammar, and that he was thus able to see how the pickaxes of destruction in ar-Radd were demolishing the edifice of grammar, one wall after another, until nothing was left of Sibawayhi and al-Khalīl's grammar. Upon a careful re-reading of Amīn's words it becomes clear that he has not read the book and that he may have uncritically heard or read a passing phrase about it and formed his views on such a flimsy basis. Had Amīn read the book, he would have found nothing in it concerning the core of grammar, merely that it was critical of various

1. Zuhr al-Islām, vol.3, p.96.

2. Ibid., vol.3, p.97.

techniques which open the way for multiple interpretations. In no way does he deny the existence of grammar as such.

We may also ask what the speed with which people returned, as Amīn rightly noticed, to Sībawayhi means. Does not this fact indicate that they did not view Ibn Maḍā'ī's work as an alternative and that its sole contribution was that of substituting one terminology for another in matters concerning formal aspects of grammar? How was it possible for Ibn Maḍā'ī and his followers to destroy grammar which was the first discipline the Arabs knew after Islam and which they closely related to their study of the Qur'ān, with many scholars learning and contributing until grammar grew into an honoured science? It is possible to see how some people may be critical of it, but any effort to destroy it is futile.

The second group which showed enthusiasm for the appearance of ar-Radd 'alā n-Nuḥāt was made up of academic students of grammar and related subjects. They found in it an unprecedented novelty, and in some cases were perhaps over-enthusiastic and did not limit themselves to a dispassionate criticism of grammar and grammarians, but went on to denounce them and accuse them of spoiling language and complicating grammar by adding to it arbitrary and forced concepts which have no roots in the language.

This tendency has receded now and those who have been over-critical of grammarians have perhaps realised the unfairness of their position. They have seen that Ibn Maḍā'ī's theses also are open to criticism and refutation, taking into account the fact that

his motives may not have been pure and that he may have wanted to please the Sultan who favoured him and offered him hospitality.

Ibn Kharūf made a reply to Ibn Maḍā' 's book in a monograph called Tanzīh A'immat an-Nahw 'ammā Nusiba ilayhim min al-Khaṭa' wa-s-Sahw. When Ibn Maḍā' heard of this he was angered and said, "I do not mind the big goats. Why should I care about "Abnā' al-Khurfān" (lit., lambs)." (1)

This remark seems incompatible with the status of Ibn Maḍā' as a judge and a great scholar. In addition, it manifests a degree of arrogance by ridiculing Ibn Kharūf for his name, a matter in which he had no choice.

1. Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol.1, p.323.

CHAPTER II

AZ-ZAJJĀJĪ; HIS LIFE AND WORKS

His full name is Abū-l-Qāsim ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ishāq az-Zajjājī;⁽¹⁾ and the name az-Zajjājī is derived from that of his teacher Ibrāhīm az-Zajjāj who died in 311/923⁽²⁾ and was a glass maker, hence his name. Az-Zajjājī came originally from Ṣayramah, a village near Nihāwand between al-Jibāl and Khūzistān. He went to Baghdād and became a student of Abū Ishāq under whom he studied grammar. Later on, he moved to Syria and stayed in Aleppo for some time, after which he travelled to Damascus where he wrote and taught using the knowledge he gained from his teachers, among whom were az-Zajjāj, Naftawayhi, Ibn Durayd, Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī, al-Akhfash aṣ-Ṣaghīr and others. Many people have benefited from him; to mention but a few of these, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥalabī, Abū Bakr b. Salama, Ibn Sharam the grammarian, Ibn Qudāma al-Kātib and others.

He left Damascus in the company of the Ikhshīdīd governor Ibn al-Ḥārith and made for Ṭabariyya in northern Palestine. There he

1. See al-Qifṭī, Inbāh ar-Ruwāt, vol.2, p.160; Bughyat al-Wu‘āt, vol.2, p.77; Ibn al-‘Imād, Shadharāt adh-Dhahab, vol.2, p.379; Wafayāt al-A‘yān, vol.1, p.389; Al-Jumal, pp.5 - 15; Kashf az-Zunūn, pp.48, 210, 603, 947, 1397, 1535, 1625; An-Nujūm az-Zāhira, vol.3, p.302; As-Sam‘ānī, Al-Ansāb, p.272; Kaḥḥāla, Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifin, vol. , pp.124-5; Az-Zajjājī, Al-Idāh fi ‘ilal an-Naḥw, ed. al-Māzinī, p.1, ff; At-Tanūkhi, K. al-Ibdāl, p.240 ff.
2. Bughyāt al-Wu‘āt, vol.1, pp.411 - 413.

continued to write and teach until he died in the year 337/948 (339/950 and 340/951 are also mentioned as possible dates of his death).

According to all our sources az-Zajjājī had a wide range of knowledge and he tells us in his al-Idāh fī 'Ilal al-Nahw⁽¹⁾ that he had mastered several languages, without however identifying them.

In his grammatical teaching, az-Zajjājī followed the school of Baṣra, although like most scholars he had a good knowledge of both grammatical schools.

It is somewhat surprising to discover al-Fārisī's view of az-Zajjājī. After examining grammatical theories attributed to az-Zajjājī and brought to Irāq by his students, al-Fārisī used to say, "Had az-Zajjājī been present with us, he would have been ashamed".⁽²⁾ Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī did not think of az-Zajjājī as being of his stature. It would have been better for al-Fārisī to withhold such views, for he was a friend of az-Zajjājī and one might suppose that friendship imposes certain obligations. In any case, al-Fārisī's view does not reflect, in any way, az-Zajjājī's stature. One should remember, after all, that both these scholars were contemporary with each other and as Māzin al-Mubārak, the editor of the Idāh, says: "Al-Fārisī's view is quite understandable in terms of professional competition, and insistence on being the front runner

1. Al-Idāh fī 'Ilal al-Nahw, p.45.
2. Inbāh ar-Ruwāt, vol.2, p.160; Ibn al-Anbārī, Nuzhat al-Alibbā', p.379.

in his field".⁽¹⁾

Al-Fārisī was used to expressing such views concerning his friends and fellow scholars. He expressed similar views on Abū l-Ḥasan ar-Rummānī, as well as Ibn al-Khayyāṭ, Ibn Khālawayh and as-Sīrāfī.⁽²⁾

In any case az-Zajjājī's writings are convincing evidence of his scholarly mastery and contribution to knowledge. It is most regrettable that most of his works are lost to scholarship. Only nine of his books have survived, of which five have been edited and printed.

The following is a brief survey of his works:

1. Al-Jumal, which will be treated in greater detail below.
2. Al-Amālī, a collection of his lectures. This work appears to have existed in several versions, of which apparently the shortest (ṣuḡhrā) was printed in Egypt in 1324/1906 ed. by Aḥmad b. al-Amīn ash-Shinqīṭī.
3. Al-Īdāh fī 'Ilal an-Naḥw, edited by Māzin al-Mubārak and published by Dār al-'Urūba, 1959.

1. Al-Īdāh, p.2.
2. Ibid., p.2.

4. Kitāb Ma'ānī l-Ḥurūf, attributed to az-Zajjājī by Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī. The name is given by Brockelmann as Ḥurūf al-Ma'ānī. It was printed in Egypt in 1325/1906 in the series aṭ-Ṭuraf al-Adabiyya.
5. Kitāb al-Abdāl wa-l-Mu'āqaba wa-n-Nazā'ir, edited by 'Izz ad-Dīn at-Tanūkhī. According to Māzin al-Mubārak the original manuscript is in Istanbul; there is a photo-copy in the Institute of Manuscripts, Tunis, (no.356) and another in the University of Cairo collection (no. 22967).
6. Mukhtaṣar az-Zāhir, which is on the semantics of everyday language. This is an abridgement and explanation of a work by Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī. The book exists in manuscript form in the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya (557 lugha), written in 620 A.H.
7. Ishtiqaq Asmā' Allāh al-Ḥusnā. Exists in manuscript in the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya (3 shīn lugha).
8. Kitāb al-Lāmāt, in which he gave an account of the distribution of the particle li in the Qur'ān and elsewhere. A manuscript of this work exists in Istanbul and a photo-copy in the Institute of Manuscript, Tunis, no.793.
9. Sharḥ Muqaddimat Adab al-Kātib, in which he concentrated on the language, the grammar and inflection in this ~~book~~ .. A manuscript exists in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya (39 shīn Adab).

The following works are no longer extant:

10. Sharḥ Kitāb al-Alif wa-l-Lām li-l-Māzinī. (1)
11. Risāla fī Bayan al-As'ila al-Wārīda 'alā l-Basmala, Wa'jwibatihā. (2)
12. Gharā'ib Majālis an-Naḥwiyyīn az-Za'ida 'alā taṣnīf al-Muṣannifīn. (3)
13. Al-Mukhtara' fī l-Qawāfī. (4)
14. Kitāb al-Hijā'. (5)
15. Kitāb al-Majmū' fī Ma'rifat Anwā' ash-Shi'r wa-Qawāfīh. (6)
16. Sharḥ Risālat Sibawayhi. (7)
17. Al-Adhkār bi-l-Masā'il al-Fiqhiyya. (8)
18. Masā'il Mutafarrīqa, (9) answering eleven questions which were put to him.

1. Al-Īdāḥ, p.7; At-Tanūkhī, p.247.
2. GAL, SI, p.171; Al-Īdāḥ, p.8; At-Tanūkhī, p.248.
3. GAL, SI, p.171; Al-Īdāḥ, p.8; At-Tanūkhī, p.248.
4. Kashf az-Zunūn, p.1625; Al-Īdāḥ, p.6, At-Tanūkhī, p.248.
5. Al-Jumal, pp.10-291; Al-Īdāḥ, p.7; At-Tanūkhī, p.248.
6. Al-Īdāḥ, p.7; At-Tanūkhī, p.248.
7. Al-Īdāḥ, p.7; At-Tanūkhī, p.248.
8. Al-Īdāḥ, p.8; At-Tanūkhī, p.248.
9. As-Suyūṭī, Al-Ashbāh wa-n-Nazā'ir, vol.3, p.48; Al-Īdāḥ, p.8; At-Tanūkhī, p.248.

The most famous of az-Zajjājī's books is, beyond doubt, Kitāb al-Jumal, which was written in Mecca. It is related that az-Zajjājī always purified his body before attending to writing the book's chapters, and used to go round the Ka'ba seven times praying and asking God's forgiveness and to make his book beneficial to people. His prayers were answered. This book became a reference book for all scholars of the Arabic language until it was superseded by al-Luma' by Ibn Jinnī and al-Īdāh by Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī. The scholars of al-Maghrib became particularly fond of it to the extent of writing some one hundred and twenty commentaries.⁽¹⁾

Ibn as-Sīd comments:

"I swear by my life that this book has reached every possible horizon of success. The author has followed a neat plan of eliminating the unnecessary and epitomizing the lengthy."⁽²⁾

Al-Lablī has pointed out that scholars have widely used, studied and memorised it.⁽³⁾ The only criticism made of the book was that of the length at which examples were given. Māzin al-Mubārak

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1. Shadharāt adh-Dhahab, vol.2, p.357; Al-Yāfi'ī, Mir'āt al-Jinān, vol.2, p.332.
 2. Ibn as-Sīd, Iṣlāḥ al-Khalal al-Wāqi' fi l-Jumal, F A.7
 3. Washy al-Ḥulal, F 2A.

says:

"It is probable that later critics have voiced this criticism comparing the book with the writings of earlier grammarians. The criticism is unjust. A good side of the book is the clarity of its examples, a quality which is rare in the writings of earlier grammarians.⁽¹⁾ In addition, Kitāb al-Jumal was the reference book in grammar for a considerable time."⁽²⁾

It is difficult not to agree with this judgement.

Kitāb al-Jumal is in two versions, a long and a short one. Most commentaries were made on the long version. One of those who commented on the shorter version was Ibn Bābshādh, who wrote a comparative work on the two versions.⁽³⁾

Al-Jumal is concerned with grammatical and inflectional problems. It includes also two chapters on spelling and writing. Az-Zajjājī added some research in phonetics concerning problems of imāla and idghām and voiced and unvoiced letters. He devoted one chapter to questions of poetic licence. The book was edited and published in 1946 by Shaykh Ibn Abī Shanab (Ben Cheneb) with the

- "Az-Zajjājī" -----
1. Māzin al-Mubāarak, Ḥayātuh wa-Āthāruh", Majallat al-Majma' al-‘Ilmī al-‘Arabī, vol.34, p.433. 1959.
 2. Inbāh ar-Ruwāt, vol.2, p.161.
 3. Al-Jumal, p.14.

financial backing of the Arts Department in Algeria. It was reprinted again in 1957 on the basis of the first edition, in Paris. In the closing pages of this reprint it is mentioned that the German orientalist, Johannes Wolff, published in Leipzig in 1904 a paper in which he gave an account of Kitāb al-Jumal and translated into German the first 64 evidences.⁽¹⁾

It has been mentioned earlier that the commentaries on al-Jumal reached 120 in all.⁽²⁾ This, no doubt, was due to its impact and deserved fame. Besides its academic merits, it was distinguishable for its simple language. It is noticeable that most commentators on al-Jumal were from al-Andalus and the Maghrib.

The commentaries were made by teachers of grammar and were executed by, very often, representatives of the same school led by a competitive spirit. One example of this is the nine commentaries written by students of ash-Shalawbīn. Not all the commentaries were sympathetic to al-Jumal. Some, in fact, were written in order to defame it and refute its theories. This explains the reason for al-Jumal's wide circulation, and with this I end my account of az-Zajjājī's al-Jumal.

1. Al-Jumal, p.383.

A check through bibliographical sources reveals no such name or article; possibly Ben Cheneb's memory was at fault here.

2. See above, p.41.

CHAPTER III

ISLAMIC SPAIN IN THE TIME OF AL-LABLĪ

The life of al-Lablī coincided with one of the most dramatic and catastrophic periods in the history of Islamic Spain. In 613/1217 when he was born in the small town of Labla,⁽¹⁾ half-way⁽²⁾ between Seville and Huelva, the dynasty of Almohades (al-Muwahhīdūn) was still in control of the major part of the Iberian peninsula. When al-Lablī died in exile in Tunis, in 691/1291, the small kingdom of Granada was all that remained of Islamic al-Andalus.

The process of the disintegration of Almohad rule in Spain can be said to have begun in earnest four years before the birth of al-Lablī, when the army of Alfonso VIII of Castile, including forces from Leon, Navarre and Aragon and crusaders from elsewhere in Europe, destroyed the Almohad army at Las Navas de Tolosa and permanently altered the balance of power in Spain (609/1212).⁽³⁾ In the following year the Almohad caliph, Muḥammad an-Nāṣir, the

1. Muḥammad Makhlūf, Shajarat an-Nūr az-Zakiyya, p.198; Ibn Farḥūn, Ad-Dībāj al-Mudhahhab, p.80; Ibn 'Āshūr, p.200; J. Mājid, p.9.
2. Ibn Ḥayyān, Al-Muqtabas, p.626; Al-Ḥimyarī, Ar-Rawḍ al-Mi'tār, pp.507-8; Al-Ḥimyarī, Ṣifat Jazīrat al-Andalus, pp.168-9.
3. 'Inān, Nihāyat al-Andalus, p.20; Shajarat an-Nūr, p.138; Al-Marrākushī, Al-Mu'jib, pp.401-402; Ar-Rawḍ al-Mi'tār, pp.507-8; Ṣifat Jazīrat al-Andalus, pp.168-9.

son of Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr, reorganised his forces intending to fight the Christians, but he died in the same year, 610/1213.⁽¹⁾ From that time the Muwahhidūn started to lose ground rapidly. The destiny of al-Andalus became shaky, and Christian Spain started to flourish. In a short period of time the great Andalusī centres of power collapsed and fell into the hands of the Christians; Cordoba (633/1236), Valencia (636/1238), Murcia (641/1244), Játiva and Denia (644/1246), and then Seville (646/1248). Thus the great majority of the leading cities of al-Andalus were captured by Christian Spain within no more than ten years.⁽²⁾

Al-Lablī's home town of Labla was captured by Alfonso X in 655/1257⁽³⁾ and it is at this time that he seems to have left his homeland for North Africa.⁽⁴⁾ There is therefore little point in considering the history of Islamic Spain beyond this point in so far as it affects our author. From the military point of view it will be seen that the earlier period of al-Lablī's life was one of near-continuous warfare with all the disruption to normal life which this entails. The consequences of this to social life in al-Andalus during this period will be considered below.

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1. Nihāyat al-Andalus, pp.20; 37; 75-86; 130; 455. Duwal at-Tawāif, p.40 ff.
 2. Nihāyat al-Andalus, pp.20-1.
 3. Ibid., p.20.
 4. Ibn 'Ashūr, p.201; J. Mājid, p.9.

Social Life in al-Andalus

It is indisputable that the deterioration of political life at the beginning of the seventh century adversely affected the social life. This became clear when we compare the state of the country before and after the battle of al-'Iqāb (Las Navas de Tolosa) (609/1212).⁽¹⁾

Written historical sources give us a general picture. Before the battle, a great deal of building, organisation and reforms had been taking place. Arts received special attention, mosques were erected, such as that of Seville with its great minaret, and many edifices distinguished for their artistic beauty were built. Industry, commerce and especially agriculture flourished; new methods were employed in agriculture and a variety of ~~species~~ were introduced. Fruits were widely cultivated especially in Valencia and Seville. Military and civil industries, especially textiles, leather and paper were advanced⁽²⁾ and the ports of al-Andalus, like Valencia, Denia, Seville, Almeria and Malaga became among the biggest centres for foreign trade.

Following the battle of al-'Iqāb (Las Navas de Tolosa) which preceded al-Lablī's birth by four years, life changed. The significance and influence of the al-Muwahhīdūn weakened in both

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1. Al-Muqtabas, p.626; Ar-Rawḍ al-Mi'tār, pp.507-8; Ṣifat Jazīrat al-Andalus, p.168-9; Mu'jam al-Buldān, vol.7, p.319.
 2. Nihāyat al-Andalus, pp.438-440; Shajarat an-Nūr, p.140 ff.

al-Maghrib and al-Andalus, and revolts erupted in most Andalusī regions. The triumphant parties competed in looting the wealth of the vanquished state. Al-Andalus became preoccupied with its ordeal and turned to a continuing jihād against the attackers. The peace-time industries shrank, and the role of literature and the arts diminished.⁽¹⁾ Al-Lablī, together with many others, emigrated to the Ḥafṣid realms in Tunisia,⁽²⁾ which became the refuge for Muslim refugees from al-Maghrib and al-Andalus. Tunisia was, for the newcomers, a beautiful, friendly country. They added to its buildings and gardens and it became one of the most flourishing towns on the North African coast.⁽³⁾ There, al-Lablī had a very high social status, as is shown by his contacts with great scholars and the dedication of his book Washy al-Ḥulal to the caliph al-Mustānṣir bī-llāh Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Zakariyyā Yaḥyā (d. 675/1276).⁽⁴⁾

1. Nihāyat al-Andalus, p.439.
2. Ibn ‘Ashūr, p.201; J. Mājid, p.9.
3. Ibn Abī Dinār, Al-Mu’nis, p.7; Ar-Rawḍ al-Mi’tār, p.143 ff.
4. For biographical details of al-Mustanṣir see Ibn Khaldūn, vol.6, pp.280-96; Ibn Taghrī-Birdī, Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi, F.A; Al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ al-A’shā, vol.5, p.127; Wafayāt al-A’yān, vol.2, pp.632-33; Shajarat an-Nūr, p.138; Shadharāt adh-Dhahab, vol.5, p.94; al-Maqqarī, Nafḥ at-Ṭib, vol.2, p.407; Al-Mu’nis, pp.134-7; As-Sulūk, pp.634-635; Ṣifat Jazīrat al-Andalus, pp.168-9.

The Intellectual Life

The increased wars in al-Andalus did not lead to a halt in the intellectual movement. Indeed it grew and flourished during this period because the rulers of the country, despite the differences between their regimes, were very keen on reviving the intellectual life of the country and raising its level to that of the Eastern states. Thus, rulers tempted and gathered scientists and poets and were very generous in rewarding them so as to strengthen and increase the authority of their regimes. Many books were dedicated to kings, as well as poems of praise. The picture of intellectual life and the degree of flourishing and growth it achieved can be made clearer by the following statistics.

The number of biographies of Islamic scholars mentioned by as-Suyūṭī in his book Bughyat al-Wu'āt amounts to 2450 for the whole of the Islamic world. The biographies of Andalusī scholars alone reach 712 of whom a substantial proportion belonged to the period of the al-Muwaḥḥidūn. This means that the Andalusī scholars constitute one-third of the scholarly community of the entire Islamic world. This is despite the small size and population of al-Andalus relative to other countries. (1)

It is true that as-Ṣuyūṭī gives in the-Bughya only the biographies of grammarians and linguists. It would have been valuable to have a fuller statistical account including all Islamic

1. Naẓarāt fī l-Luġha, pp.10-11.

scholars in all fields of knowledge. However, the number of Andalusī scholars given in al-Bughyat provides a good numerical picture of their strength compared to other Islamic countries. This fact may be explained by the spirit of competition which prevailed in al-Andalus, leading to enthusiasm, vitality and activity. The quality of scholarly works in al-Andalus was not any worse than that in the East. The scholars of al-Andalus did not satisfy themselves by staying inside the boundaries of their countries. Rather, they would very often visit the capital of the East and meet their scholars, thus leading to mutual benefits in all fields of science.

Hence it is worthwhile to elaborate further on the intellectual life which forms the background of al-Lablī's scientific life. For this reason, I shall introduce below some scholars who achieved wide fame in their works. I shall mention after that the names of other scholars who favourably contributed to the enrichment of intellectual life, making the various sides of the picture clearer.

I shall not limit my list to the scholars of the seventh century; for al-Lablī, like others, was not inspired by his contemporary scholars alone, but also by those belonging to earlier centuries. It is true that the influence of his contemporaries on him was direct compared with the indirect influence of earlier scholars. However, such indirect influence could sometimes surpass the direct influence.

It is a difficult task to make up one's mind on how to select a representative list of these scholars, who are to be introduced and who are to be left, because of the abundance of names from all fields of knowledge. Our choice of names does not mean, therefore, that those names omitted are any less significant. I start by introducing three names who came to attain a historical significance not only in al-Andalus but world-wide. They were not primarily Arabic linguists, but their genius makes a study of them necessary for anyone investigating intellectual life in al-Andalus. An additional reason for listing them is the fact that the nature of education in past times was general and not specialized. This, of course, explains the fame of many scholars in many branches of science. These three scholars represent three different scientific environments:

1. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr. (Abū 'Amr Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad) d. 463/1070. He was an imām, scholar of Ḥadīth and a brilliant Hāfiẓ. He was given the title "the reciter of the West" compared with that of al-Khaṭīb at-Tabrīzī, "Hāfiẓ al-Mashriq". His fame has spread outside al-Maghrib, pervading the Eastern Islamic world, and became known and esteemed by Mashriqī scholars.

He wrote many books in various sciences. The most famous of

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1. Nafḥ at-Ṭib, vol.5, pp. 172-3; Ibn Bashkuwāl, Aṣ-Ṣila, vol. 2, pp. 677, 679; Aḍ-Ḍabbī, Bughyat al-Mutalammis, p.489; Aṣ-Ṣila, vol.2, p.677; Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin, vol. 13, p.315.

these are:

- (a) Al-Bayān ‘an Tilāwat al-Ḥur’ān
- (b) At-Tajwīd, wa-l-Madkhal ilā ‘Ilm al-Ḥur’ān bi-t-Taḥdīd
- (c) At-Tamhīd li-mā fī l-Muwatṭa’ min al-Ma‘ānī wa-l-Asānīd
- (d) Al-Istidhkār li-Madhāhib Fuqahā’ al-Amsār
- (e) Al-Istī‘āb fī Ma‘rifat al-Aṣḥāb

2. Ibn Ḥazm. (Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa‘īd)⁽¹⁾

d. 407/1074. He was both an outstanding scholar and a first class literary figure. At first he was a Mālikite, like most jurists of al-Andalus. He later became a Ḥāhirite and struggled hard to spread this doctrine without being prevented or weakened by the stratagems and opposition of his opponents, and he won many followers.

The most famous of his books are the following:

- (a) Al-Ibtāl, including a detailed exposition of the Ḥāhiri doctrine.
- (b) Al-Muḥallā, a discussion of the principles of the doctrine of al-Imām ash-Shāfi‘ī.
- (c) Al-Fiṣal fī l-Aḥwā’ wa-n-Niḥal, a critical historical account of religions, sects and various doctrines.

1. Nafḥ at-Ṭīb, vol.2, pp. 283-9; Shahjarat an-Nūr, p. 119; Wafayāt al-Ā’yān, vol. 1, p. 428; Bughyat al-Mutalammis, pp. 415-8; Aṣ-Ṣila, vol. 2, pp.415-7; Al-Mu‘jib, pp. 93-7; Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-‘Udabā’, vol. 7, pp.16-7.



3. Ibn Rushd, (Abū l-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad)⁽¹⁾ d. 509/1198, the great Arabic philosopher. He was a doctor, a scholar and a philosopher and wrote many works on various subjects. Among them are the following:

- (a) At-Taḥṣīl, in which he gave an account of the disagreements between the learned Ṣaḥāba, their followers and students.
- (b) Bidayat al-Mujtahid. ~~at Mujtahid wa-Nihayat al-Muqtasid on Fiqh~~
- (c) Sharḥ al-Urjūza, in medicine.
- (d) Tahāfut at-Tahāfut. In it he replies to al-Ghazālī's Tahāfut al-Falāsifa.

It may be appropriate now to introduce some linguists and grammarians.

(2)

1. Ibn Sīda, (Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl). He was a famous and an outstanding linguist and grammarian. He is the author of the two great dictionaries: al-Mukhaṣṣas, arranged according to the meaning of words, and al-Muḥkam, arranged in alphabetical order. He wrote expositions of Sībawayhi's Kitāb

1. Shahjarat an-Nūr, p. 129; Bughyat al-Mutalammis, p. 51; Al-Mu'jib, pp. 314-6, 384-5; Aṣ-Ṣila, vol. 2, pp.576-7; Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin, vol. 8, p.228.
2. Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol. 2, p.143; Inbāh ar-Ruwāt, vol. 2, p.225; Mu'jam al-Mū'allifin, vol. 7, p. 17; Mu'jam al-'Udabā', vol. 5, pp.84-6; Bughyat al-Mutalammis, p.418.

and Ibn as-Sarrāj's Uṣūl. He died in the year 458/1066.

2. Ibn Maḍā'.⁽¹⁾ (Aḥmad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad).

He was the author of a large number of books on grammar, language, and literature. Some of his books on grammar are: al-Mushriq and ar-Radd 'alā n-Nuḥāt, which is his most famous book and has been discussed in some detail at the end of the previous chapter. Ibn Kharūf made a reply to his criticism of grammarians in his Tanzih A'immat an-Naḥw 'ammā Nusiba ilayhim min al-Khaṭa' wa-s-Sahw. Ibn Maḍā' died in the year 592/1195.

3. Ash-Shalawbīn.⁽²⁾ ('Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar). He was

the authority of his time on the Arabic language. He wrote at-Tawṭi'a on grammar, two expositions of al-Juzūliyya of al-Juzūlī and a commentary on Sibawayhi. He died in the year 456/1064.

4. Ibn 'Uṣfūr.⁽³⁾ ('Alī b. Mu'min b. Muḥammad), a famous

authority of his time on Arabic. He was very studious and well-educated. He wrote a number of books on grammar and inflection, including al-Muqarrab on grammar and al-Mumti' on inflection. He also wrote three expositions of az-Zajjājī's al-Jumal and one

1. Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol. 1, p. 323; Al-Mu'jib, pp. 320-339; Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn, vol. 1, p.262.
2. Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol. 2, p. 224; Inbāh ar-Ruwāt, vol. 2, p.332; Ar-Radd 'alā an-Nuḥāt, ed. Shawqī Dayf, p.1f; Ibid., ed. A. Al-Bannā', p.5ff.
3. Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol.2, p.210; Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn, vol.7, p.251.

exposition of al-Juzūliyya of al-Juzūlī. He died in the year 669/1270.

5. Ibn Mālik.⁽¹⁾ (Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Mālik), the most famous grammarian of the seventh century. He wrote many important works on language and grammar and they had a wide circulation and acquired a good reputation. Many expositions and commentaries were written on his works. The best-known of his works is generally known as the Alfiyya; others are Tashīl al-Fawā'id wa-Takmil al-Maqāsid, Shawāhid at-Tawḍīḥ wa-t-Taḥḥīl li-Mushkilāt al-Jāmi‘ aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ. He also wrote a poem on verbs, Lāmiyyat al-Af‘al. He died in the year 672/1273.

6. Ibn aḍ-Ḍā‘i‘. (‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī).⁽²⁾ He was a companion of ash-Shalawbīn and surpassed all his rivals. He wrote an exposition of Sībawayhi combining the two expositions of as-Sirāfī and Ibn Kharūf in a brilliant abridgement. He also commented on the Kitāb al-Idāḥ of al-Fārisī and made a reply to the criticisms by Ibn aṭ-Ṭarāwa of Sībawayhi and al-Fārisī. He died in 685/1286.

Among other grammarians who may be mentioned more briefly are the following:

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1. Bughyat al-Wu‘āt, vol. 1, p.130; Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn, vol.10, p.134.
 2. Bughyat al-Wu‘āt, vol.2, p.204; Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn, vol.7, p.224.

1. Ibn aṭ-Ṭarāwa.⁽¹⁾ (Sulaymān b. Muḥammad), a well-known grammarian and literary figure. He died in 528/1133.

2. Ibn Kharūf.⁽²⁾ (‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī), a famous grammarian whose writings are distinguished by precision and vigour. He died in 609/1212.

3. Al-Khadrāwi.⁽³⁾ (Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Hishām), a great scholar of Arabic. He died in 646/1248.

4. Ibn Abī r-Rabī‘.⁽⁴⁾ (‘Ubayd Allāh b. Aḥmad). He wrote expositions of basic texts on grammar and died in the year 688/1289.

This brief review of al-Lablī's period reveals the degree of profusion in science, at a time when public life was disturbed and impoverished.

1. Bughyat al-Wu‘āt, vol. 2, p.602; Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn, vol. 4, p. 274.
2. Bughyat al-Wu‘āt, vol. 2, p.203; Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn, vol. 7, p. 221.
3. Bughyat al-Wu‘āt, vol. 2, p.267.
4. Bughyat al-Wu‘āt, vol. 2, p. 105; Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn, vol. 6, p.236.

CHAPTER IV

AL-LABLĪ; HIS LIFE, TEACHERS, STUDENTS AND WORKS

Al-Lablī's honorific titles are given as Abū al-'Abbas, Abū Ja'far ash-Shaykh al-Imam, the Qur'ān reader, the jurist, the grammarian and the historian. His name was Aḥmad b. Abī Hajjāj Yūsuf b. 'Alī b. Ya'qūb al-Fihri. (1) This latter name ^{referred} to the tribe of Fihri b. Mālik, from whom al-Lablī traced his descent. During his residence in the East he was given the title Ṣadr ad-Dīn; al-Maymanī asserts that he assumed this title himself after his departure for Egypt and Syria, but he provides no evidence for this claim, which would appear to be groundless. In the Kashf az-Zunūn, he is given the name Shihāb ad-Dīn, which is not found elsewhere. Different versions of his name and descent are given by other

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1. Bughyat al-Āmāl, F.1, A.2, A; Washy al-Ḥulal, F.1.A.2.A; Al-'Abdarī, Ar-Riḥla al-Maghribiyya, p.43; Nafḥ-at-Ṭīb, vol. 2, p.456; Shajarat an-Nūr, p.198; Ad-Dibāj al-Mudhahhab, p.80; Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol. 1, pp.402-3; Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn, vol. 2, p.212; Kashf az-Zunūn, pp. 247, 251, 1273, 1674; Ismā'il al-Baghdādī, Idāḥ al-Maknūn, vol. 1, pp.102, 578; Al-Ghu brīnī, 'Unwān ad-Dirāya, p.300; Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn, vol. 1, p.300; Al-A'lām, vol. 1, p.266; Rawḍāt al-Jannāt, vol. 1, p.306; Al-Mawsū'a al-Maghribiyya, vol. 3, pp.158-9; GAL, vol. 1, p.567, vol. 3, p.638; Al-Maymanī, p.541; Ibn 'Ashūr, pp. 199-200; J. Mājid, pp. 9-11.

sources; ⁽¹⁾ however we have followed the version contained in the oldest manuscript of Bughyat al-Āmāl which was written in al-Lablī's lifetime, checked with the author's copy and has some corrections to al-Lablī's descent.

The name al-Lablī is derived from his home town of Labla (modern Niebla), a town which is often referred to as Labla al-Ḥamrā' ⁽²⁾ from the colour of its walls and of the river on which it stands,

1. The main variants are as follows:

(i) Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī (Ad-Dībāj al-Mudhahhab, p.80; Shajarat an-Nūr, p.198)

(ii) Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf (Washy al-Ḥulal, f 1-2; Al-Maymanī, p.541; Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol. 1, pp.402-3; Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin, vol. 1, p.306; Ḥadiyyat l-'Ārifīn, vol.1, p.99; Rawḍāt al-Jannāt, vol.1, p.306; Al-A'lām, vol. 1, p.260)

(iii) Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī b. Ya'qūb (Bughyat al-Āmāl)

(iv) Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb b. 'Alī (Ja'far Mājid p.109; Ibn 'Ashūr, pp. 199-206)

(v) Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb (Al-Mawsū'a al-Maghribiyya, vol. 3, p.158)

(vi) Aḥmad b. Yūsuf (Nafḥ at-Tīb, vol. 2, p.406).

2. Mu'jam al-Buldān, vol. 7, p.319; Al-Muqtabas, p.626; ar-Rawḍ al-Mi'tār, pp.507-8; Sifat Jazīrat al-Andalus, pp.168-9;

'Inān, Duwal at-Ṭawā'if, pp.40, 43; E. Levi-Provençal, "Niebla" in EI¹, III, pp.907-8.

the modern Rio Tinto, or Red River. The town lies to the west of Seville and a short distance north-east of the sea port of Huelva (Walba). It is described by Arab geographers as being an old town containing three springs of water and having a wall into which were set three ancient statues, and which was restored in the twelfth century by the al-Muwahhidūn and is still preserved, and a bridge which connected Labla with other towns. There was considerable commercial activity spread over several markets; the surrounding area was rich in olives, fruit and vegetables and the town benefited from the existence of rich mineral deposits along the upper reaches of the Rio Tinto.

The Arabs conquered Labla in 94/713 and it was settled by the tribe of 'Ubād b. Mu'taḍid. During the Ṭā'ifa period control of the town was seized by Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Yaḥṣī, who is also known as al-Lablī, who secured the allegiance of its people in 414/1023. He died in 434/1042 having named his brother Muḥammad as his successor. However, Muḥammad was not able to withstand the constant invasions and raids of al-Mu'taḍid, the ruler of Seville. The encroachments of al-Mu'taḍid brought Muḥammad's ally Ibn al-Afṭas, the ruler of Badajoz, into conflict with Seville, but after several severe battles Ibn al-Afṭas himself was defeated. Thus Labla eventually fell into the hands of al-Mu'taḍid, and as a result came under the influence of the scientific and cultural life of the 'Abbādī capital. However, it did not enjoy peace for long, as it was inevitably drawn into the turbulent events of the succeeding years. It remained under the rule of the al-Murābiṭūn and after them the al-Muwahhidūn until it was invaded and finally taken by

Alfonso X in 655/1257.⁽¹⁾

This is a brief synopsis of the history of Labla al-Ḥamrā' where al-Lablī grew up. However, he did not spend the whole of his life there, and our references cannot tell us when he left, although it is known that he departed towards Tunis. Ibn 'Āshūr says that he does not know his date of arrival in Tunis.

"It seems that he had emigrated to Tunis when the Spanish conquered Labla in 634/1236, while Seville fell in the middle of the seventh century and the Sevillians emigrated to Tunis due to their historical connection with Tunis. The latter connection had been due to the rule of Abū Ḥafṣ, al-Ḥintātī, the grandfather of the Ḥafṣids, as governor of Seville and the Arabs of al-Andalus for 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī (the al-Muwahḥid ruler); then was succeeded by his son 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Ḥafṣ, and later by another son, Abū Zakariyyā. It is also known that the time of al-Lablī's settling in Tunis coincided with the reign of the well-known second Sultan, 'Umar b. al-Wāthiq al-Ḥafṣī."⁽²⁾

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1. Nihāyat al-Andalus, p.20.
 2. Ibn 'Āshūr, p.201. For further information on Abū l-Ḥafṣ 'Umar see Ibn Khaldūn, vol.6, pp.305-11; Al-Mu'nis, p.140.

This is the opinion of Ibn 'Ashūr with which we may agree except for his estimated date for the conquering of Labla in 634/1236. The most reliable date is 655/1257, a date which is given by all the main sources. Presumably, al-Lablī departed from Labla in the midst of these events. Al-Maqqarī says that al-Lablī taught his students in al-Andalus, and then he departed to al-'Udwa, and he resided at Bijāya and taught lessons in it, and then departed to the East for the pilgrimage. Then later he returned to Tunis and occupied himself with teaching till his death. These sources do not tell us the date of his departure to Mecca, but they tell us that he visited Egypt and Damascus. I believe that this last event was probably between 655/1257 and 660/1261 because that was the time when 'Izz ad-Dīn b. 'Abd as-Salām died, his teacher

in Cairo died. It is reported that al-Lablī presented his book Bughyat al-Āmāl fī Ma'rifat an-Nuṭq bi-Jāmi' Mustaqbalāt al-Af'āl, to his teacher 'Izz ad-Dīn. The latter book was edited by Ja'far Mājid in the year 1972 although he changed the title of the book, a matter which will be discussed in more detail while commenting on the books of al-Lablī.

In Cairo al-Lablī met the Egyptian judge Muḥammad b. 'Alī Taqī ad-Dīn, who is known as Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd. The latter, who was a jurist and grammarian, welcomed al-Lablī, saying "Khayra Maqdam". Then after a while he asked him about the reason for the fatha on the letter "rā'" in "Khayra Maqdam". Al-Lablī answered that it was due to the unrestricted object (maf'ūl muṭlaq) whose verb did not appear. He added that Sibawayhi mentioned this case in his book, and al-Lablī recited the whole section on the case for he had most

of the book by heart. Then the Egyptian judge admired his abilities, and welcomed him warmly. We could easily judge the strong influence of Sibawayhi's book on al-Lablī by this incident, and it had the same influence on other Andalusī scholars of his time. (1)

However, our available sources do not inform us about the period which al-Lablī spent in Cairo, or the specific time when he went there. We are inclined, however, to put it approximately at 660/1261, on the basis of the date of the death of his teacher 'Izz ad-Dīn 'Abd as-Salām. We are also inclined to put the date of his departure from Cairo between 660-675/1261-1276. This is because we have had evidence that al-Lablī presented his book Washy al-Ḥulal to the Ḥafṣid Caliph Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Amīr Abū Zakariyyā, who began his rule in 647/1249 and died in 675/1276. Al-Lablī mentioned in the preface of his book that he presented the book to the caliph after the latter received the oath of allegiance from Mecca. It is known that this allegiance was given in 659/1260 when the Meccans delegated Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Barṭala, who recited in front of the caliph a poem composed by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Sab'in, the famous ṣūfī:

Rejoice, O Amīr of the faithful, in a pledge
which has come to you with acceptance and
happiness.

When the mother of villages (Mecca) comes
forward obediently, then the sons should

1. Sibawayhi Imām an-Nuḥāt, pp.192-3.

piously be obedient.⁽¹⁾

It is also reported by Ibn Rushayd, a student of al-Lablī, that he met al-Lablī at Cairo in 684/1282, and this implies that al-Lablī returned to Cairo once again. Besides, al-'Abdarī⁽²⁾ reported that he had met al-Lablī in Tunis and learned from him language and jurisprudence; and he reports that al-Lablī departed long ago to the East. It is known that al-'Abdarī passed through Tunis in 688/1289. Thus we understand that al-Lablī returned to Tunis before 688/1289, and this "long time ago" used by al-'Abdarī to describe al-Lablī's journey to the East, refers to a year before 675/1276 because we have shown that al-Lablī had been in Tunis during 660-675/1261-1276, e.g. between the dates of the allegiance of Mecca to the Caliph and the death of the Caliph, and that he had left before the Caliph died.

However, it seems most probable that the length of stay of al-Lablī in Cairo, Damascus and Mecca was not long although he met several of his teachers there. But he had been a great teacher himself before his journey to the East,⁽³⁾ a man with a distinguished social status, and connections with other scholars, and devoted students. Such a man with so many obligations is very unlikely to stay away from his home town for a very long period of

1. Shajarat an-Nūr, p.144.
2. Ar-Rihla al-Maghribiyya, p.43; Al-Maymanī "Hawl", p.518;
J. Mājid, p.9.
3. 'Unwān ad-Dirāya, p.300.

time. As for the teachers whom he joined during his journey, he used them for revision and refinement of his knowledge as well as gaining the honour of being ~~associated with~~ since at that time scholars speak of such relationships with pride.

As regards his teachers, al-Lablī had been greatly influenced by his teacher ash-Shalawbīn 'Umar b. Muḥammad. There is no better evidence for this than the story narrated by Ibn 'Ulwān on the authority of his father . . . which he copied from his father's written manuscript. The gist of this story is that the students of Abū Ja'far al-Lablī recited to him the verse of Imru' al-Qays:

Ḥayyi l-ḥamūla jānibi l-ghazli
idh lā yulā'imu shakluhā shakli⁽¹⁾

Give a farewell greeting to the camel-borne
girl beside al-Ghazl since her shape
(morals) does not suit mine.

He then asked his students what was the regent ('āmil) in the adverb of time "idh" and they offered different answers. He told them that this verse had been recited to his teacher ash-Shalawbīn who was asked the same question. But ash-Shalawbīn abstained from giving the answer and directed them to Ibn 'Uṣfūr, referring to him as "the ignorant". At that time Ibn 'Uṣfūr, who used to be a student of ash-Shalawbīn, had made himself independent and formed

1. Dīwān Imri' al-Qays, p.236; Nafḥ at-Ṭib, vol.2, p.408.

his own circle. Al-Lablī continued saying that they were so impressed by the abstruse grammatical problems which Ibn 'Uṣfūr discussed in his big circle, that they did not dare to ask the question. Then they returned to their teacher ash-Shalawbīn who forgot to enquire about the outcome, until he was reminded by the verse of an-Nābigha:

fa-'addi 'ammā tarā idh lā irtijā'a lahu⁽¹⁾

ignore what you have seen since it cannot
return

and enquired about Ibn 'Uṣfūr's answer to their question. When they told him that they were too impressed by Ibn 'Uṣfūr he refused to give the answer. In the same way, al-Lablī told his students that he would not answer the question, and they should find it out by themselves. The story continues until one student of Ibn Abī r-Rabī', who himself was a student of ash-Shalawbīn, told them that the word idh performed the function of the lām al-'illa in indicating the reason for which a thing is done, and that this is illustrated by the following āya from the Qur'ān: idh nusawwikum bi-rabbi l-'ālamīn (Sūrat 97).⁽²⁾

This interesting story shows the extent of al-Lablī's adherence to his teacher's footsteps; al-Lablī used to abide in

1. Nafḥ at-Ṭīb, vol.2, p.408.
2. Sūrat ash-Shu'arā 97.

his teaching by his teacher's methodology. This story also shows the honesty of al-Lablī when he appreciated the merit of Ibn 'Uṣfūr.

We end this brief account of al-Lablī's life by recording that he died at the beginning of Muḥarram 691/1291, and was buried at his own house in Tunis. According to the earliest sources al-Lablī was born in 613/1216 but this is at variance with the estimate of al-Suyūṭī, who put it at 623/1226 in al-Bughya⁽¹⁾ and later the same error has since been repeated elsewhere.

Al-Lablī's Teachers

Al-Lablī studied under the authority of notable scholars, most of them from al-Andalus, while some were from North Africa, Damascus and Cairo.

1. The greatest of his teachers was ash-Shalawbīn ('Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar Abū 'Alī al-Ishbīlī al-Azdī, well known as ash-Shalawbīn)⁽²⁾ who was born in 562/1166. He was the undisputed greatest authority on Arabic at his time. He studied under as-Suhaylī and al-Juzūlī and Ibn Kharūf, and a handful of his students were outstanding grammarians like Ibn 'Uṣfūr, Ibn Ishāq al-Tilimsānī and Ibn al-Abbār. Al-Lablī joined this teacher at

1. Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol. 1, p.403.
2. Ad-Dibāj al-Mudhahhab, pp.185-6; Shajarat an-Nūr, p.82; Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol.2, p.224; Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn, vol.7, p.316; Wafayāt al-A'yān, vol.1, p.482; Ibn 'Āshūr, p.200; Al-Maymanī, p.541; J. Mājid, p.10.

Seville, where ash-Shalawbīn taught grammar for about sixty years. This great teacher did not limit himself to teaching alone, but was the author of several books, including Ta'liq 'alā Kitāb Sibawayhi, Ta'liq 'alā Mufaṣṣal az-Zamakhsharī, the books at-Tawṭi'a and al-Qawānīn on grammar, and Sharḥayn 'alā l-Juzūliyya of al-Juzūlī. He died in 645/1247.

2. Ad-Dabbāj, ('Alī b. Jābir b. 'Alī al-Imām Abū l-Ḥasan ad-Dabbāj al-Ishbīlī al-Lakhmī)⁽¹⁾ the grammarian, the great reciter, a student of Ibn Kharūf. He learned the Qur'ān under the authority of 'Alī b. Bakr. He was an outstanding scholar of grammar for about fifty years, and taught al-Lablī in Seville. He died as a result of the mental and emotional distress caused by the conquest of Seville by the Christians and the consequent ^{ringing} of church bells and the silencing of the adhān, which led to his death in Sha'bān, 646/1248.

3. Ibn al-'Aṭṭār,⁽²⁾ (Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qaysī Abū 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Aṭṭār al-Qurṭubī al-Azdī al-Maghribī). He was a poet with a beautiful style and fine expressions. As-Suyūṭī says

1. See Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol.2, p.153; Ibn 'Ashūr, p.200; Ja'far Mājid, p.10; Shajarāt adh-Dhahab, vol.5, pp.235-6.
2. See Nafḥ at-Ṭib, vol.2, pp.324-25; Fawāt al-Wafayāt, vol.2, p.493; Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol. 1, p.493; Ibn 'Ashūr, p.200; Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn, vol. 10, p.237.

about him that he was a companion of Ibn Abī Rafīqa and al-Lablī, and it seemed that al-Lablī adhered to him for a considerable period of time. Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār died in 707/1307.

4. Ibn Lubb ash-Shāṭibī⁽¹⁾ (Muḥammad b. Lubb b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Khayra Abū ‘Abd Allāh ash-Shāṭibī). He was a student of some scholars from the West. He studied Arabic, and taught it in his home country and in Cairo. He was known for his aphorisms, such as "pre-occupation with *time which is yet to come is waste of present time*". He died in approximately 640/1242.

5. Ibn Surāqa,⁽²⁾ (Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. Surāqa) known by the kunyas Abū ‘Abd Allāh and Abū l-Qāsim and Abū Bakr, and given the title Muḥyī ad-Dīn. He belongs to the Mālikī school of jurisprudence. He was born at Shāṭiba (Jativa) in 552/1157. He was conversant in jurisprudence, a sūfi and a poet. He was a student of Abū l-Qāsim b. Baqī. He went to Baghdād and attended the teachings of Ibn Jawālīqī, and ash-Shaykh Abū Ḥafṣ al-Harawī and Abū Ṭālib al-Quṭbī and Abū Ḥafṣ ad-Dīnawarī. He became the head of the Bihādiyya school of Ḥadīth at Aleppo and

1. See Nafḥ at-Ṭib, vol.2, p.268; Bughyat al-Wu‘āt, vol.1, p.216; Ibn ‘Ashūr, op. cit.; Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn, vol.11, pp.176-7.
2. See Nafḥ at-Ṭib, vol.2, p.270ff; Fawāt al-Wafayāt, vol.2, p. 306; Shadharāt adh-Dhahab, vol.5, p.310; Al-A‘lām, vol. 2, p.217; Hadiyyat al-‘Arifīn, vol.3, pp.127-8; An-Nujūm az-Zāhira, vol.6, p.216; Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn, vol.11, p.176; Ibn ‘Ashūr, p.200.

then came to Egypt and became head of the Kāmili school of Ḥadīth in Cairo after the death of ash-Shaykh Ibn Suhayl al-Qaṣrī in the year 642/1244. Among his writings were I'jāz al-Qur'ān and al-Ḥiyalash-Shar'iyya, and Sharḥ al-Kāfi fī al-Farā'id and Kitāb al-A'dād, in which he studied the significance of numbers in the Qur'ān and in jurisprudence. He was a teacher of al-Lablī in Cairo. He died in 662/1263 (or 663/1264) and he was buried beside the hill of al-Muqaṭṭam.

6. Ibn Raḥmūn⁽¹⁾ ('Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abū l-Qāsim b. Raḥmān al-Maṣmūdī). He was a student of Ibn Kharūf, was renowned for his eloquence, and was fond of collecting books, especially on grammar. He taught the book of Sibawayhi. Al-Lablī became a student of his at Sabta (Ceuta). He died in 649/1251.

7. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Khusrawshāhī⁽²⁾ ('Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Isā b. 'Ammuwayh Abū Muḥammad Shams ad-Dīn). His origin was from Khusrawshāh, a village of Tibrīz about 6 miles away from it. He was a scholar of kalām, and well-established in the science of uṣūl, philosophy and jurisprudence. He stayed in Damascus and Karak with al-Mālik an-Nāṣir b. Dā'ūd for many years. His writings include

1. Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol. 2, p.86; Ibn 'Ashūr, p.200;

J. Mājid, p.10.

2. An-Nujūm az-Zāhira, vol.7, p.30; Al-A'lām, vol.4, p.59; Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin, vol.5, p.103; Hadiyyat al-'Arifin, vol.1, p.506; Kashf az-Zunūn, p.1055; Ibn 'Ashūr, p.201.

Ikhtisār al-Muhaddhab on Shāfi'ī jurisprudence, and Ikhtisār ash-Shifā', an abridgement of Ibn Sīnā's work, and Talkhīs al-Āyāt al-Qur'āniyya li-l-Fakhr al-Rāzī. He was a teacher of al-Lablī in Damascus. He was born in 580/1184 and died in 652/1254.

8. Al-'Izz b. 'Abd al-Salām⁽¹⁾ ('Izz ad-Dīn Shaykh al-Islām Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Azīz b. 'Abd al-Salām b. Abū l-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan). He resided in Sulmā and Damascus and Egypt and belonged to the Shāfi'ī school of jurisprudence. He was born in 577 (or 578/1181-2) and studied under a number of great scholars. He developed his abilities in jurisprudence, uṣūl and other religious sciences like Ḥadīth, tafsīr and differences of opinions in jurisprudence. He surpassed his rivals, and attained the competence of ijtihād, the ability to issue a fatwā without copying others. He was a teacher of other great scholars like ad-Dimyāṭī and Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd, who conferred upon him the nickname of Sultān al-'Ulamā'. 'Izz al-Dīn stayed in Baghdad some months, preaching and occupying the post of imām at one of the mosques, and later held a judiciary post in Egypt. He was an adherent of Ṣūfī circles and was fond of their rhythms and rituals. Al-Lablī presented to him his book Bughyat al-Āmāl about which we shall talk later on. He died in Egypt in 660/1261 in Jumādā al-Ūlā.

1. Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin, vol. 5, p.249; Hadiyyat al-'Ārifin, vol. 1, p.580; Shajarāt adh-Dhahab, vol. 5, pp.301-2; Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyya, vol.8, p.219; Ibn 'Ashūr, p.203.

9. Al-A'lam al-Baṭalyawṣī⁽¹⁾ (Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Abū Ishāq al-Baṭalyawṣī). He was a native of Badajoz in Al-Andalus, and was known as al-A'lam, but is not to be confused with ash-Shantamarī who was known as Yūsuf b. Sulaymān. He was a benevolent man, fond of literature and he wrote some books on grammar and literary subjects, e.g., Ādāb Ahl Baṭalyaws and commentaries on the Īdāh of al-Fārisī and az-Zajjājī's Jumal, the Kāmil of al-Mubarrid, the Amālī of al-Qālī, al-Jam' bayn al-Ṣiḥāh by al-Jawharī and al-Gharīb al-Muṣannaf by ash-Shaybānī. It is worth noting that ibn 'Āshūr mentions in his article that al-Lablī studied under al-A'lam and al-Baṭalyawṣī, apparently under the impression that these are two different people.

Al-Lablī also studied under other scholars well-known in their time for whom available references do not provide us with biographies. These were:

10. Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Fandūlayībī.⁽²⁾ He was al-Lablī's teacher in Labla.

11. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Ḥimyarī al-Balāṭī.⁽³⁾ He was al-Lablī's teacher in Tunis.

1. Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol.1, p.422, where his name is given as Ibrāhīm b. Qāsim; al-A'lām, vol.1, p.60; Ibn 'Āshūr, p.201; J. Mājid, p.10.
2. Ibn 'Āshūr, pp.200-1; J. Mājid, p.10.
3. Ibn 'Āshūr, pp.200-1; J. Mājid, p.10.

12. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Qaysī.⁽¹⁾ He taught al-Lablī in Ceuta.

13. Sharaf ad-Dīn b. Abī l-Faḍl al-Mursī.⁽²⁾ He was al-Lablī's teacher in Alexandria.

14. Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Fihri al-Tilimsānī.⁽³⁾ He taught al-Lablī in Egypt.

15. Nāṣir ad-Dīn b. Abī l-Futūḥ b. Nāhiḍ al-Miṣri.⁽⁴⁾ He was also his teacher in Egypt.

16. Al-Ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Mundhirī.⁽⁵⁾ He also taught al-Lablī in Egypt.

17. Al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm ad-Diriblī.⁽⁶⁾ He was his teacher in Damascus.

Students of al-Lablī

Besides the above teachers, al-Lablī had his own students who were very devoted to him. Al-Maqqarī says of him in his Nafh at-Ṭīb that he had a capacity for simple expressions in teaching his books, and that he was knowledgeable with many writings of his own. Thus he was capable of producing such outstanding scholars

1-6. Ibn 'Ashūr, pp.200-1; J. Mājid, p.10.

as Abū Ḥayyān to whom we shall refer later.

1. Muḥammad b. 'Umar⁽¹⁾ who was descended from Rushayd al-Fihri as-Sabtī, had the titles Abū 'Abd Allāh and Muḥibb ad-Dīn and is generally known as Ibn Rushayd. He was a scholar of the Arabic language, lexicography and prosody and also of Ḥadīth. He was a scholar in various readings of the Qur'ān and was knowledgeable in history. He had other famous teachers in Egypt, Syria, Mecca and Madina. He mentioned them in the record of his journey which he called Mil' al-'Ayba fīmā Jumi'a bi-Ṭūl al-Ghayba fī r-Riḥla ilā Makka wa-Ṭayba. This book was written in six volumes, containing a discussion of many different branches of knowledge. He also wrote Talkhīṣ al-Qawānīn fī n-Naḥw and Sharḥ al-Tajnīs li-Ḥāzim. He was a teacher in Granada of different subjects, and was khatīb and imām in the Mosque. It is Ibn Rushayd who tells us that al-Lablī was in Cairo in 684/1387. He was born in Ceuta in 607/1210 and died in Fez in 721/1321.

2. Ibn Jābir al-Wādī-Āshī Shams ad-Dīn Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muḥammad b. Imām al-Muḥaddith Mu'īn ad-Dīn b. Jābir al-Qaysī.⁽²⁾ He is described as humorous, a great traveller and conversant in the traditions of the Prophet. His origin was Wādī Āsh (Guadix), a

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1. Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn, vol.11, p.94; Kashf az-Zunūn, pp.835-1813; Al-Maymanī, "Hawl" 518; J. Mājid, p.9; Ad-Dībāj al-Mudhahhab, p.310; Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol. 1, pp.199-200; Al-A'lām, vol.7, p.205.
 2. Nafḥ at-Ṭīb, vol.7, p.125 ff; Al-A'lām, vol.6, p.293; Ibn 'Āshūr, p.201; J. Mājid, p.10.

town in al-Andalus close to Granada. He was also a ~~philologist~~ and a well-known poet. He was a teacher of Lisān ad-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb and 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Khaldūn. He was a teacher in Fez and in the region of Constantine and Bijāya, and outside al-Mahdiyya and Tilimsān. He also studied in Egypt. He had a voluminous dīwān of poetry, other useful commentaries, including some on the books of Mālikī jurisprudence. He was born in the year 667/1268 and died in 779/1377.

3. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Abdarī⁽¹⁾ al-Ḥāmī.⁽²⁾ He is originally from Valencia. Among the titles given to him are the Imām, the brilliant, the learned, the transmitter of tradition and the traveller and the eloquent writer. He made his most famous journey for the pilgrimage in the year 688/1289. He started from Ḥāma or Ḥāḥa through Bāja, Tunisia, al-Qayrawān, Cairo and other cities where he both taught and learned and met remarkable people such as Abū Zayd ad-Dabbāgh in Qayrawān who awarded him an ijāza and al-Labīdī in Tunisia and Abū 'Alī aṭ-Ṭablī in Bāja; the latter taught him al-Muqarrab by Ibn 'Uṣfūr. He studied language and jurisprudence under al-Lablī as he reported in his journey. He also informs us that he met al-Lablī in Tunis in 688/1289 and reports that al-Lablī went to Mecca for the

1. Ar-Rihla al-Maghribiyya, p.43; Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin, vol.11 p.224; Shajarat an-Nūr, p.217; J. Mājid, p.6
2. Alternatively al-Ḥaḥī, referring to Ḥāḥa which is in the west of Morocco near Azmūr; also called al-Ḥihī as in Fihris al-Fahāris.

pilgrimage "a long time ago" and then visited the East and Cairo. As regards the dates of his birth and death we have no specific information. Among his compilations are Ar-Rihla al-Maghribiyya and al-Fahrassa and also some poems.

4. Another student of al-Lablī was Abū Ḥayyān⁽¹⁾ - Athīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Gharnāṭī al-Jayyānī al-Andalusī. He was the greatest grammarian who emerged in al-Andalus after Ibn Mālik, nicknamed Amīr al-Mu'minīn in grammar. He was also a commentator on the Qur'ān, conversant in the Prophet's traditions, and history. He was born in 654/1256 and he first departed from al-Andalus in 679/1280 due to a misunderstanding between him and his teacher Abū Ja'far b. Ibrāhīm. He was accompanied by other people. He belonged to the Zāhirite school and as a result there was a friendship between him and Ibn Maḍā'. But he abandoned this school for the Shāfi'ī school, even though he had previously stated that it was impossible for a Zāhirite believer to ~~abandon~~ his doctrines. He was a student of famous teachers, and he settled in Cairo after his departure from al-Andalus in the same year, 679/1280. As a teacher he produced a whole generation of grammarians in Cairo, including Ibn 'Aqīl and Ibn Abī l-Qāsim. He was the author of various writings, including Sharḥ Kitāb Sibawayhi, al-Mumti' fī t-Taṣrīf and Sharḥ al-Muḡarrab fī n-Naḥw li-Ibn 'Uṣfūr. He wrote three commentaries on at-Tashīl by Ibn Mālik, and Manhaj as-Sālik

1. Nafḥ at-Tīb, vol.3, p.290ff; Shajarat an-Nūr, p.212; Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol.1, p.280; Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn, vol.12 Ibn 'Ashūr, p.201.

on the Alfiyya of Ibn Mālik. He also wrote al-Irtishāf in six volumes, which he abridged in two volumes. Of this book as-Suyūṭī says that these two volumes were the most comprehensive reference works on grammar, and that he thus relied on them in his book Jam' al-Jawāmi'. He died in 745/1344.

Works of al-Lablī

Al-Lablī was the author of thirteen works of which we have any knowledge, the majority dealing with grammar although some seem to have been concerned with other topics. Of the following list, only three are known to have survived. The works are arranged in apparent order of composition.

1. Tuhfat al-Majd as-Ṣarīḥ fī Sharḥ Kitāb al-Faṣīḥ⁽¹⁾

This is a commentary on the Kitāb al-Faṣīḥ, a grammatical work attributed to the third-century scholar Tha'lab.⁽²⁾ This commentary has been widely praised by later sources. Al-Maqqarī, for example, states that the book does not contain any violation of the speech of the Arabs⁽³⁾ while Ḥājjī Khalīfa, quoting Ibn

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1. See^{p.56}/above, al-Lablī's biography and al-Faḥḥām, p.236ff.
 2. This attribution is by no means certain; other scholars have attributed it variously to Ibn al-Sikkīt, Ibn al-'Arabī and al-Farrā'. See Kashf az-Zunūn, 1272; Ibn 'Ashūr, p.201; Al-Maymanī "Ḥawl", p.517ff.
 3. Nafḥ at-Tīb, vol.2, p.407.

al-Ḥannā'ī, states that it is a work unique in its execution and the abundance of its benefits.⁽¹⁾ The modern scholar al-Maymanī claims that it approaches the level of perfection⁽²⁾.

The first volume of this work exists in manuscript form in the Dār al-Kutub in Tunis (Lugha, 20). This manuscript is of modern date, having been copied by Muḥammad ash-Shinqīṭi who died in 1906. We do not know from what manuscript this copy was taken, but it seems entirely possible that it is identical with the manuscript referred to below, which eventually found its way into al-Maymanī's possession. The second volume is unfortunately missing. In addition, Maymanī states that he has discovered a complete copy of the work, written in Maghribī handwriting in two massive volumes, the first one copied from the original of al-Lablī in 241 folios, and the second possibly in his own writing and consisting of 247 folios, both with the signature of al-Lablī. He states his intention of preparing the work for publication, but unfortunately he died before he could do this.⁽³⁾

The present author has not been able to consult this manuscript, or to discover further details about it. It seems to have come into al-Maymanī's possession in about 1962, in which year he mentions it as a recent acquisition in his article on al-Lablī.⁽⁴⁾

1. Kashf az-Zunūn, p.1273.
2. Al-Maymanī "Ḥawl", p.518ff.
3. Al-Fahḥām, p.236ff.
4. Al-Maymanī "Ḥawl", p.541.

The book was written, according to al-Lablī, at the request of the minister Abū Bakr b. al-Wazīr Abī l-Ḥasan, for presentation to one Abū l-Qāsim b. Dhī l-Wizāratayn Abī 'Alī. Ibn 'Ashūr suggests that the men may be related, and have served the rulers of Seville during the Almohade period.⁽¹⁾

According to some sources⁽²⁾ al-Lablī wrote another commentary on the Kitāb al-Faṣīḥ, which is specifically described by Ibn Jābir as being an abridgement (mukhtaṣar) of the above. Additional confirmation of the existence of this abridgement is provided by Ibn 'Ashūr who quotes an anecdote given by Muḥammad b. 'Arafa at-Tūnusī (d. 803/1400) in which al-Lablī is portrayed as demanding a comparison of the Muqarrab of Ibn 'Uṣfūr and his own sharḥ al-Mujmal. Ibn 'Ashūr suggests that this Mujmal may be identical with the mukhtaṣar mentioned above; the hypothesis is an attractive one, even if it cannot be proved.⁽³⁾

It may finally be mentioned that Ibn Farḥūn refers to a work whose title he gives as Lubāb Tuḥfat al-Majd⁽⁴⁾; this may also refer to the above abridgement or merely be a corruption of the title of the original work.

1. Ibn 'Ashūr, p.204.
2. The Washy al-Ḥulal actually refers to a commentary on the shawāhid of Kitāb al-Faṣīḥ, but this seems to be an error on the part of the scribe in this passage.
3. Ibn 'Ashūr, "Takmila", pp.692, ff.
4. Ad-Dībāj al-Mudhahhab, p.81.

2. Bughyat al-Āmāl fī Maʿrifat an-Nuṭq bi-Jamīʿ Mustaqbalāt al-Afʿāl⁽¹⁾

This work is known in two manuscripts and has been edited on the basis of ~~one of them~~ by Jaʿfar Mājid.

The older manuscript is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna (Bankipore), XX, 2104.⁽²⁾ This copy is written in large clear handwriting and consists of 71 folios each containing 13 lines. It was completed on Monday, 22 Ramaḍān, 690/1290 by Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, and contains a note that it has been checked against the original. Al-Lablī died in Muḥarram 691/1291 and the manuscript is thus contemporary. The title of the work is in the form quoted above, and clearly is the most authentic.

The second manuscript is preserved in the Arab League Collection, Tunis (N. 10420). It consists of 92 folios with 11 lines to the page. It is written in an eastern hand with marginal notes with section headings written in red.⁽³⁾ The name of the scribe and the date of completion are unknown. This copy contains many errors and lacunae, and is much inferior to the Bankipore manuscript which it would seem to be later. The title is given as Bughyat al-Āmāl fī Maʿrifat Mustaqbalāt al-Afʿāl.

1. See p.56 above, al-Lablī's biography.

2. GAL. vol.3, p.967.

3. Jaʿfar Mājid, p.15.

The Tunis manuscript was used as the basis of a printed edition by Ja'far Mājid (Tunis, 1972). The editor was aware of the existence of the first manuscript but did not utilise it. This edition unfortunately suffers from a number of deficiencies which may be summarised as follows.

1. All existing sources for the study of al-Lablī's biography have not been consulted. Examples of works not consulted are the Shajarat an-Nūr az-Zakiyya and among modern works Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin, al-Mawsū'a al-Maghribiyya and Rawḍāt al-Jannāt.

2. He does not make full use of such sources as he has consulted. In particular, he does not mention the laqab of al-Lablī, Shihāb ad-Dīn, which is mentioned in Kashf az-Zunūn. He does not mention the kunya of al-Lablī's father, Abū l-Ḥajjāj, which has been mentioned in ad-Dībāj al-Mudhahhab. Moreover, he does not mention the month, Muḥarram, of al-Lablī's death, which is mentioned in Bughyat al-Wu'āt.

3. He does not point out the differences in the various versions of his family ancestry; see page 57 of this study.

4. He is not successful in giving the correct title of the manuscript which he edited despite the severe criticism which he directs at other writers on this point, assuming that the only discrepancies here are related to the division of its title. He does not mention the revisions which influenced the main title of the manuscript (see below). We have adopted in our study the

original title of the copy which was written during the lifetime of al-Lablī and was checked with the original. The title chosen by Ja'far Mājid was that of the Tunis manuscript.

5. He accuses Brockelmann of having used no source but Bughyat al-Wu'āt. This is not justified, since Bughyat al-Wu'āt gives the title of the book in a distorted form, and makes one book into two. Brockelmann gives the correct title of the book and indicates where it is to be found.

6. He distorts the story reported in Nafh at-Tib and other sources about the dialogue between al-Lablī and Abū l-Ḥasan Ḥāzim b. Ḥāzim the critic of Washy al-Ḥulal. He portrays al-Lablī as commanding his critic to be firm and fair. However, the true story is that he requested from Abū l-Ḥasan that he should overlook the weak points, but the latter insisted on being fair and firm. This point is clearly shown in Nafh at-Tib,⁽¹⁾ the book which Ja'far Mājid used.

7. He acknowledges that al-Lablī utilized all the sources which the latter listed in Tuhfat al-Majid, about a hundred books. However, we do not see these references listed by Ja'far Mājid in his edition of Bughyat al-Āmāl. Indeed we find that he gives only 31 Arabic references, containing 16 biographical books not directly related to the theme of his study, and three other books written after al-Lablī's death.

1. Vol.2, p.406.

8. Ja'far Mājid lists the books mentioned in Bughyat al-Āmāl by name, 19 books in all, but he uses only one reference from them.

9. The limited number of his footnotes indicates that he concentrated simply on the printing of the manuscript. As a result his edition contains missing words and blank spaces. This is a serious limitation since the task of the editor should be the insertion of appropriate words which he must explain in his footnotes, so as to facilitate reading it.

10. He promises in his book to speak about three stages in al-Lablī's life: the Andalusī, the western and the eastern, but he does not fulfil this promise.

11. He perpetuates the common error that Ibn Kharūf had been a teacher of al-Lablī. This is contradictory of him since he also admits that al-Lablī was born in the year 613/1216, while Ibn Kharūf died in 609/1212.

12, 13, 14. He lists the names of al-Lablī's teachers and students without briefly describing their biographies. Similarly, he lists al-Lablī's books without commenting on their contents, or even specifying the whereabouts of such of these as have survived.

15. He declares that al-Lablī departed from Labla in 654/1257 to the West. He should have pointed out that this was a rough approximation made on the basis of the events and the entry of Alfonso X into Labla.

16. He remarks that although the Bughyat was less famous than Tuhfat al-Majd, it has not been ignored by the commentators. This is a misleading remark. If he means that the book had been commented on, this is not supported by the facts, and he produces no evidence for this in his biographical references. If he means that commentators did not ^{refrain from} referring to it, this is also not the truth. It ~~was~~ ^{only} referred to by az-Zabīdī in his book Tāj al-'Arūs, and then only once to the best of our knowledge, and according to him, az-Zabīdī himself was only a linguist and not a commentator. This observation is only intended to draw attention to an inaccuracy in Ja'far's edition, not to belittle the Bughyat al-Āmāl itself.

17. He confuses two different personalities in al-Lablī's life, namely his teacher 'Izz ad-Dīn b. 'Abd as-Salām, to whom he presented the Bughyat al-Āmāl after he had studied under him in Cairo, and his student Ibn Rushayd, who met him in Cairo in 684/1286. Ja'far Mājid remarks that al-Lablī presented Bughyat al-Āmāl to 'Izz ad-Dīn b. 'Abd as-Salām whom he met in Cairo in 684/1285, and therefore the book had been written between 684-691/1285-1292 in Tunis, which is an incorrect statement. He appears to be thinking about al-Lablī's student while speaking about the teacher.

Nevertheless, he correctly reports al-Maymanī's statement that Ibn Rushayd met al-Lablī in Cairo in 684/1285. Moreover, al-Lablī presented his book to 'Izz ad-Dīn during the life of the latter, who passed away in 660/1261. Al-Lablī wrote this book in Cairo and not in Tunis while he was with his teacher. Thus he wrote the book

between 655/1257, the time of the fall of Labla, and 660/1261, the time of his teacher's death.

Although Ja'far Mājid's work is thus open to criticism upon several points, this should in no way detract from the valuable service which he performed for the study of Arabic grammar, of the Arab cultural heritage and for al-Lablī himself.

The subject-matter of the book can perhaps best be summed up in the following paraphrase of al-Lablī's own words:

"Determining the vowel of the second letter in the imperfect verb (muḍāri'). The book is divided into two parts: one part is devoted to the three-letter verb while the other deals with verbs that have more letters: four, five or six. The book ends up with two sections: one on how to pronounce the passive verb and another on the vocalisation of the prefixes of the imperfect."

It may finally be remarked that the title of this work is given in a large number of difference forms by our sources. In order to avoid confusion it may be useful to give a list of these distorted titles here:

1. Bughyat al-A'māl bi Ma'rifat an-Nuṭq bi-Jamī' Mustaqbalāt al-Af'āl⁽¹⁾
2. Bughyat al-Āmāl fī n-Nuṭq bi-Jamī' Mustaqbalāt al-Af'āl⁽²⁾
3. Bughyat al-Āmāl bi-Ma'rifat an-Nuṭq bi-Jamī' Mustaqbalāt al-Af'āl fī l-Lughā⁽³⁾
4. Bughyat al-Āmāl fī Ma'rifat Mustaqbal al-Af'āl⁽⁴⁾

There are others who split it into two books, as follows:

- 5.a al-Āmāl bi-Ma'rifat an-Nuṭq bi-Jamī' Mustaqbalāt al-Af'āl
b al-Bughya fī l-Lughā⁽⁵⁾
- 6.a al-Bughya fī l-Lughā
b Mustaqbalāt al-Af'āl⁽⁶⁾
- 7.a al-Bughya
b Mustaqbalāt al-Af'āl⁽⁷⁾

1. Kashf az-Zunūn, p.247.
2. Ibn 'Āshūr, p.201.
3. Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn, vol.1, p.100.
4. The Arab League Collection, Tunis, No.10420, ed. by J. Mājid.
5. Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn, vol.2, p.213.
6. Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol.1, p.403; Kashf az-Zunūn, pp.251, 1674.
7. Rawdāt al-Jannāt, vol.1, p.306; Al-A'lām, vol.1, p.260.

3. Washy al-Ḥulal fī Sharḥ Abyāt al-Jumal

This work is the subject of the present study and edition, which will be studied in detail below.

4. Al-Imlā' 'alā Kitāb al-Jumal

This book has not been mentioned in the current bibliographies which study al-Lablī's life. However, this book is mentioned by al-Lablī himself in his book Washy al-Ḥulal⁽¹⁾ as a commentary on the book of Sharḥ al-Jumal. It was al-Lablī's practice, when he handled a book, to comment on its text and its shawāhid. This work is not extant.

5. A commentary on the Adab al-Kātib of Ibn Qutayba (213/828 - 276/889).

The most important of the commentaries on this work is Al-Iqtidāb fī Adab al-Kuttāb by Ibn As-Sīd who died in 421/1030. He commented on the introduction of the book, and listed in his interpretation the classes of writers and their requirements. Then he critically commented on its finer points and then he interpreted its poetic evidence. Some scholars have been contented ~~with~~ interpretation of its introduction, like az-Zajjājī who died in 339/950. Others provided a comprehensive commentary of the book, like al-Jawālīqī, who died in 539/1144 while others interpreted its

1. See pp. 22, 23, 216, 245, 249, 283, 318, 386.

poetic evidence alone, like Aḥmad Khāziri who died in 338/949.

The only reference to the existence of such a work by al-Lablī is contained in the Khizānat al-Adab.⁽¹⁾ It is regrettable that this commentary has been lost to Arabic literature, and has been ignored in all bibliographies. The only idea which we can form of the nature of this lost book must be based on the Adab al-Kātib itself and other commentaries which are preserved, a method which must apply to the other lost works of al-Lablī.

6. Al-Baghdādī also refers in the Khizānat al-Adab⁽²⁾ to a commentary on the verses of the Adab al-Kātib by al-Lablī. However an anonymous note in the margin of the Khizāna speculates that the name of al-Lablī may be an error for an-Nīlī. However, no such name as an-Nīlī is to be found in any of the bibliographical sources and we may well doubt the existence of such a person. Thus there is no reason to doubt the book's attribution; moreover, if we accept that al-Lablī composed a commentary on the text of the Adab al-Kātib it is not unlikely that he should have composed a commentary on its shawāhid. Both Ibn 'Āshūr and Ja'far Mājid accept the authenticity of this last work.

7. Al-Lablī wrote another commentary on Iṣlāḥ al-Mantiq by Ibn as-Sikkīt (b. 186/802, d. 244/838).

1. Khizānat al-Adab, vol. 1, p.11.

2. Ibid.

Ibn as-Sikkīt wrote this book to redress mistakes in spoken Arabic. He lists the words which had the same form but different meanings, or different forms but the same meanings, or more than one meaning or pronunciation. He also discusses weak and strong verbs, and errors in the use of hamza and shadda among the common people. It has also been commented upon by Abū Manṣūr al-Azharī (d. 370/980) and Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Marīsī (d. 460/1067). Its verses were interpreted by Abū Muḥammad al-Sirāfī (d. 385/995). The subject matter of the book was rearranged in alphabetical order by ash-Shaykh Abū l-Baqā' al-'Ukburī (d. 616/1219). It was also checked and improved by Abū 'Alī an-Nīsābūrī (d. 442/1050). It has been summarized by Abū l-Makārim 'Alī (d. 561/1165).⁽¹⁾ Finally, the two scholars Aḥmad Shākir and 'Abd as-Salām Hārūn made a critical edition of the book which was published by Dār al-Ma'ārif, Cairo, (2nd ed. 1949).

Unfortunately, al-Lablī's contribution to the interpretation of the book has been lost, and it was only mentioned by al-Baghdādī in Khizānat al-Adab.⁽²⁾

8. A work variously known as (a) Raf' al-Talbīs 'an Ḥaqīqat al-Tajnis⁽³⁾, (b) Raf' al-Talbīs 'alā Ḥaqīqat al-Tajnis⁽⁴⁾,

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1. Kashf az-Zunūn, p.108.
 2. Khizānat al-Adab, vol. 1, p.11.
 3. Ad-Dibāj al-Mudhahhab, p.81.
 4. Shajarat an-Nūr, p.198.

- (c) Rif'at al-Talbīs 'an Ḥaqīqat al-Tajnīs,⁽¹⁾ (d) Raf' al-Talbīs 'an Ma'rifat al-Tajnīs,⁽²⁾ (e) Raf' al-Talbīs fī Ma'rifat al-Tajnīs⁽³⁾ (f) al-Tajnīs⁽⁴⁾.

The title of the book, which is also lost, tells us that it is concerned with the science of rhetoric.

9. 'Aqīdat al-Mu'min fī 'Ilm al-Kalām.⁽⁵⁾

This book is also called by some writers al-'Aqīda al-Fihriyya,⁽⁶⁾ or 'Aqīda fī 'Ilm al-Kalām.⁽⁷⁾ Others declare that it was just a poem (Urjūza).⁽⁸⁾ Ja'far Mājid remarked that this book was always considered to be identical with another lost work known as al-Adhkār.⁽⁹⁾ However, this is contradicted by the 'Unwān ad-Dirāya⁽¹⁰⁾ which refers to these as two separate works. We know nothing of the contents of either of these books beyond what may be inferred from the titles.

1. J. Mājid, p.11.
2. Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn, vol. 1, p.100.
3. Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn, vol.1, p.213.
4. Nafh at-Ṭīb, vol.2, p.407.
5. Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn, vol. 1, p.100; J. Mājid, p.11.
6. Ad-Dībāj al-Mudhahhab, p.81; Shajarat an-Nūr, p.198.
7. Nafh at-Ṭīb, vol.2, p.407; 'Unwān ad-Dirāya, p.301.
8. Al-Mawsū'a al-Maghribiyya, vol.3, p.159.
9. J. Mājid, p.11.
10. 'Unwān ad-Dirāya, p.300.

10. Al-Lablī wrote a Fahrasa (i.e. academic record) of his teachers, called by some people Barnāmajān,⁽¹⁾ in which he gives his teachers' names.

11. Al-I'lām bi-Hudūd Qawā'id al-Kalām,⁽²⁾ sometimes called al-I'lām bi-Hudūd Qawā'id al-Kalām fī al-Mantiq.⁽³⁾ In this book he tackled the three components of speech: the noun, the verb and the preposition.

12. Al-Lablī wrote another book on morphology which resembled al-Mumti' fī s-Şarf by Ibn 'Uşfūr, according to as-Suyūṭī in Bughyat al-Wu'āt.⁽⁴⁾

13. Al-Karam wa-s-Şafh wa-l-Ghufrān wa-l-'Afw. In some reports he is said to have summarized ^{this book} in a small booklet, while in others it is said to have been summarized in a small volume by someone else.⁽⁵⁾

These are the 13 known works of al-Lablī of which only three have come down to us; Washy al-Hulal, Bughyat al-Āmāl and Tuḥfat al-Majd.

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1. Al-Mawsū'a al-Maghribiyya, vol.3, p.159; J. Mājid, p.11.
 2. Nafh at-Ṭib, vol.2, p.407.
 3. Hadiyyat al-'Ārifin, vol. 1, p.100; Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin, vol. 2, p.213.
 4. Vol. 1, p.403.
 5. Ibn 'Āshūr, p.201.

CHAPTER V

AN EDITION AND CRITICAL STUDY OF THE BOOK OF

WASHY AL-ḤULAL FĪ SHARḤ ABYĀT AL-JUMAL

Washy al-Ḥulal is based on the evidence quoted by az-Zajjājī in his book, al-Jumal. It is not only in grammar that scholars compiled books on the study of what is called shawāhid; for such books were written in jurisprudence as well as in rhetoric and singing. Examples of these are al-Istidhkār by Abū 'Umar Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Barr in comparative jurisprudence, Ma'āhid at-Tanṣīṣ fī Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Talkhīṣ by 'Abd ar-Raḥīm Aḥmad al-'Abbādī in rhetoric and al-Aghānī, which is based on a hundred songs chosen for ar-Rashīd. Many books on grammar and morphology were written which vary in subject and quality but are similar in method. Al-Mubarrid, az-Zajjāj, Ibn an-Naḥḥās, Ibn as-Sirāfī, al-A'lam and az-Zamakhsharī all wrote books on the shawāhid of Sībawayhi, and 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī wrote his Khizānat al-Adab based on the shawāhid of al-Kāfiya on grammar, and ash-Shāfiya, on morphology of ar-Raḍī.

Turning to the shawāhid of the Jumal, we find that commentaries written on them by, among others, al-A'lam ash-Shantamarī, Ibn as-Sid al-Baṭalyawsī, Ibn Hishām, the author of al-Mughnī, and finally al-Lablī himself.

The method used by all of these scholars is first to cite the shāhid quoted by the writer to support a certain rule or argument, and then to discuss the quotation and give a brief commentary on

the author. The author of Washy al-Ḥulal follows this same method in discussing the shawāhid of al-Jumal.

The title Washy al-Ḥulal literally means "The adornment of clothes". Washy is the verbal noun from washā which means "adorn", and ḥulal means "clothes". It seems that al-Lablī noticed that Ibn as-Sīd called his books al-Ḥulal and wanted to hint at the need of these ḥulal or robes for colourful adornments, hence the name Washy al-Ḥulal. But the author was careful enough to indicate that the book was no mere decoration but *to paraphrase and summarise his words he claims*.

There is no verse that I left without clarifying its meaning, analysing its syntax, and revealing its complexities. Many a verse I relate to its composer which hitherto was left unrelated, and many a story I select and add the like of this which contains uncountable commentaries, explanations and references. I have not been discouraged from compiling this book by the numerous books written on al-Jumal, since the authors of these books have only written commentaries but left many problems unsolved.⁽¹⁾

This is but one example of many things the author writes in praise of his own book.

1. Washy al-Ḥulal, F 2.A.

In fact the book is very valuable as it sums up many preceding books on the subject and the author is a remarkable person in his field, being the teacher of Abū Ḥayyān, and Lisān ad-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb, who was the teacher of Ibn Khaldūn.

Al-Lablī wrote this book for the Berber caliph al-Mustanṣir, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Hintātī⁽¹⁾. Al-Mustanṣir was a king of great ambition and power who dominated Tunisia after the death of his father in 647/1249. He then ruled after killing his uncle and a group of Kharijites. He was a notable scholar, known as a poet and with an inclination towards the traditionalists. To this man al-Lablī dedicated his book, having before that composed in his praise some poetry and prose, describing him as the real hope for the whole Islamic community. He was the first among the Ḥafṣī family to adopt a caliphal title, and was finally made Caliph when the bay'a was made to him in Mecca. ~~He was sent from~~ ~~Mecca~~ He ruled over the lands that were under his father's rule, namely the regions of Bijāya and Constantine in addition to Tunis, and also conquered Algiers. He finally died in the year 675/1275, his reign having lasted for 28 years, five months and 11 days. Al-Lablī also praised the father of this caliph saying: "The merit of my book over other books is as remarkable as the

1. Washy al-Ḥulal, F 2.B; Ibn Khaldūn, vol.1, pp.280-96;
As-Sulūk, pp.634-5; Shajarat adh-Dhahab, vol. 5, p.349;
Subḥ al-A'shā, vol. 5, p.127; Al-Mu'nis, p.143 ff;
Nafḥ at-Ṭīb, vol. 2, p.407; Shajarat an-Nūr, p.144.

merit of the great exalted Amir Abū Zakariyyā over all princes, the earlier ones and the later ones."⁽¹⁾

The name of this prince was Abū Zakariyyā, Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Wahīd.⁽²⁾ His father was employed by the family of 'Abd al-Mu'min in Africa; he revolted against his brother Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, entered Tunisia in Rajab 625/1227 and conquered Constantine and Bijāya in 626/1228 which he captured from the family of 'Abd al-Mu'min, and then extended his rule to Ṭilimsān which he also took from them, and the people of al-Andalus pledged allegiance to him. He used to look after affairs by himself and trust nobody. Ibn al-Abbār recited his famous sīniyya poem before him. The poem begins:

Save al-Andalus with your horses - (i.e. soldiers)
the horses of God,
The way to save it has indeed been lost.
Give it the victory it yearns for,
For only from you the pride of victory may
be sought.

It is a long poem cited in Nafḥ at-Ṭīb.⁽³⁾

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1. Washy al-Ḥulal, F 2,A.
 2. Ibid., F.2,A. Al-Manhal as-Ṣāfi, p.291; Ibn Khaldūn, vol.6, Al-Mu'jib, p.406; Shadharāt adh-Dhahab, vol.5, p.349; Subḥ al A'shā, vol.5, p.127; Shajarat an-Nūr, p.138ff; Al-Mu'nis, pp.132-4; Fawāt al-Wafayāt, vol.2, pp.632-3; Al-A'lām, vol.9, p.193.
 3. Nafḥ at-Ṭīb, vol.6, p.200; Ibn Khaldūn, vol.6, p.283ff; Shajarat an-Nūr, p.140; Naf. at-Ṭīb, vol.2, p.407; Shadharāt adh-Dhahab, vol.5, p.387; Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol.1, pp.491-2.

When the caliph al-Mustansir received the book of Washy al-Ḥulal, he handed it over to Abū l-Ḥasan Ḥāzim b. Ḥāzim the grammarian, nicknamed al-Anṣārī al-Qarṭājannī,⁽¹⁾ who composed a poem in praise of al-Mustansir when he came to Tunisia.

The story goes that after the prince had handed the book over to the latter, asking him to make a critical appraisal of it, it happened that al-Lablī visited the grammarian and found his own book lying open in his hand. Al-Lablī then quoted the verse: "The approving eye is not capable of seeking faults".⁽²⁾ He was obviously hinting to his friend to be kind and hide any mistakes he might find. But his friend was keen to protect the integrity of his scholarship and answered: "Abū Ja'far, you are my master and my brother but this is the king's command [referring to al-Mustansir] and it can only be borne honestly and without bias." Al-Lablī then requested him to show him what the mistakes were, which he did. Al-Lablī then omitted or corrected those mistakes.⁽³⁾

Al-Lablī was indeed fortunate in that he found somebody to revise and correct his Washy al-Ḥulal just as had been the case with the Jumal with which it is so intimately related. Al-Lablī was so fond of his book that he wrote: "If any scholar who has high taste in bayān and great command of the language reads my book, it

1. Nafḥ at-Ṭib, vol. 2, p.407; Bughyat al-Wu'āt, vol.1, p.491; Shadharāt adh-Dhahab, vol.5, pp.378, 388.
2. Nafḥ at-Ṭib, vol.2, p.407.
3. Nafḥ at-Ṭib, vol.2, p.407; Shajarat an-Nūr, p.198.

immediately becomes clear to them that it is by far better than all the books in the subject. It is so evident that it hardly needs evidence".⁽¹⁾ He then quotes al-Mutanabbī: "How can anything be valid in the mind if Daylight needed evidence?"⁽²⁾ Nevertheless the virtue of al-Lablī is that he accepted criticism and opened his heart for it - a spirit only found with real scholars.

The method of al-Lablī in citing his shawāhid is as follows:

First, he quotes az-Zajjājī, saying; "Az-Zajjājī cites in such and such chapter ..." then he writes: "Aḥmad [meaning himself] comments, may Allāh be graceful to him", and this expression does not change throughout the book. He follows this by referring the quotation to the author explaining where there is uncertainty about the author. Next he narrates a certain amount of information about the author - the amount varies from a few words to, on occasion, more than a page. He sometimes quotes other verses from the same poem in which the verse occurs. Then he moves to explaining the quotation itself, treating it under three headings: language, meaning and grammatical analysis (i'rāb). In the first category, language, he deals with the vocabulary, treating each lexical item elaborately. He vowels the words and discusses the different possible readings. When discussing meaning, he simply explains the meaning of the verse. In the section on grammatical analysis he begins by stating the rule which az-Zajjājī has provided the quotation to illustrate. He then analyses it grammatically in an adequate way, pointing out the

1. Washy al-Ḥulal, F 2,A.
2. Dīwān al-Mutanabbī with al-'Ukburī's Commentary, vol.2, p.76.

regents ('awāmil), the inflexion (i'rāb) and explaining all the different opinions on the questions involved. In his analysis he not only provides the kind of analysis that corresponds to the obvious meaning but also discusses all possibilities, even remote and far-fetched ideas. Every now and then al-Lablī also digresses into a discussion of metre. In discussing the different opinions in grammar, al-Lablī is normally controversial and bold in refuting the arguments of scholars with whom he does not agree - even great scholars like Ibn Hishām (p.207), or Ibn Kaysān (p.224), finding their arguments weak. He even finds faults in Ibn Hishām's quotation of Sībawayhi and refers to al-Kitāb (p.223). He shows a scholar's refraining from bias in these discussions as, for example, on p.44, where ash-Shalawbīn argues against Ibn Hishām and al-Lablī does not support his teacher blindly, but argues that if Ibn Hishām meant so and so, he is wrong, but if he meant so and so, he is right. The story is too long to be quoted here. Similarly, he quotes a discussion in which the teacher of his teacher ash-Shalawbīn expresses an opinion and alleges that Ibn Hishām did not understand what Abū l-Ḥasan al-Akhḍar means (p.179). Like all other grammarians, he has great regard for Sībawayhi but he still prefers another opinion over that of Sībawayhi in a certain question (p.62). On other points he criticizes az-Zajjājī as in the verse,

Mu'āwiyatu innanā basharun fa-sjah
fa-lasnā bi-l-jibāli wa-lā l-ḥadīdā

There he feels that the verse should be quoted in the chapter about kāna rather than ^{in that about as} the conjunction^{as} az-Zajjājī has done (pp.105, 106).

Similarly, concerning quotation No.161 (p.493), he points out that az-Zajjājī should classify the verse as an exception to the weak verb rather than an exception to assimilation.

Generally speaking, al-Lablī's views show him to be inclined towards the Baṣrī school of grammar. He says for example that Tamyīz may only be indefinite, (p.26). Also he writes that the ism al-fā'il does not have the sense of the perfect (mādī); this view is opposed to that of al-Kisā'ī and his school (p.168).

It may be noted that al-Lablī copies in various places in his book from other scholars without referring to their books. However, he criticizes others strongly for doing so. For example, on p.14 he claims that "az-Zamakhsharī copies from Ibn as-Sirāfī without giving references, thus making it seem as if the quotation is his own." Subsequently, in various parts of his book, al-Lablī himself copies a total of about 61 lines from Ibn as-Sirāfī and gives no references. (1)

From Ibn as-Sīd, he copies a total of nine scattered lines; some from Iṣlāḥ al-Khalal, some from al-Ḥulal fī Sharḥ Abyāt al-Jumal. (2)

From al-A'lam al-Shantamarī he copies a total of 14 lines

1. See p.240 fn.3, p.323 fn.1, p.345 fn.6, pp.401-2 fn.3, p.407 fn.1, p.467 fn.2, p.469 fn.4, p.470 fn.5, p.491 fn.1.
2. See p.245 fn.6, p.333 fn.2.

scattered ^{throughout} his book. (1) From al-Lakhmī he copies four lines (2), while from Ibn Yas'ūn he copies four lines (3). In all these quotations he gives no reference at all.

Apart from this he also refers a quotation mistakenly to Ibn as-Sirāfī which rightly belongs to Ibn Muḥammad al-A'rābī (4). Similarly, he refers a statement to Ibn as-Sīd which really belongs to Ibn as-Sirāfī. (5)

In two cases (pp. 104, 485) he discusses a problem very briefly, saying he has discussed it at length in a different book. In the latter case he names the book as his Bughyat al-Āmāl.

Sometimes he delays the discussion of a problem for a later chapter, but in the chapter refers it to another book (pp. 316, 318).

At the end of discussing each shāhid, al-Lablī concludes the discussion with such expressions as "God knows better" or "May God grant success". This generally is al-Lablī's method, although he does not follow it rigidly, for sometimes, especially towards the end of the book, he frequently writes that there is nothing that needs explanation in the verse. He also becomes more selective of the words and expression subjected to grammatical analysis which

1. See pp.364-65 fn.1, p.466 fn.3, p.468 fn.1, p.469 fn.6, p.484 fn.3, p.485 fn.1.
2. See p.422 fn.3 and p.499 fn.3.
3. p.456 fn.1.
4. See p.253 fn.2.
5. P.234 fn.1.

are clear and straightforward but occasionally repetitive. This repetition may be due to his being keen to clarify his point.

Washy al-Hulal is a good example of books written on the shawāhid in Arabic. While its material is not particularly original, it is clearly expressed, containing much interesting material including anecdotes, amusing literary passages, and various grammatical and literary observations, and reflects the breadth of his scholarship. The reader, therefore, moves on from one theme to another, gaining knowledge and yet avoiding boredom.

Al-Lablī refers to a great number of the famous scholars of grammar, for example al-Khalīl, Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā', Sibawayhi, al-Mubarrid, al-Fārisī, az-Zajjājī, Ibn as-Sirāfi, al-A'lam, Ḥāzim b. Abī Ḥāzim and Ibn Hishām al-Sabtī. Similarly, al-Lablī's books ~~are~~ referred to by certain later sources. Az-Zabīdī quotes him in Tāj al-'Arūs under the item qarqar⁽¹⁾, where the story of Abū Khirāsh al-Hudhalī is quoted from Bughyat al-Āmāl (p.93) and al-Baghdādī in the introduction of Khizānat al-Adab mentions that he has read the commentary of Adab al-Kātib by al-Lablī and the Sharḥ Abyāt Adab al-Kātib also, as well as Sharḥ Iṣlāḥ al-Mantiq and various others.

There is only one extant manuscript of the book (Dār al-Kutub, Khuṣūṣiyya 3 Naḥw sh. 'Umīmiyya 42748). It consists of 67 folios, and each page has 33 lines, the average number of words in a line

1. Tāj al-'Arūs 2, 557; 3, 491.

being 16. It is written in a fully vocalised Maghribī script in a poor hand which is difficult to read. Apart from the bad handwriting, the manuscript is full of mistakes in grammar and spelling, with words and phrases omitted and others added in an arbitrary manner. The manuscript consists of two parts; the first one ends on the first page of f.34, where it is concluded with the statement "success comes from God, may His name be exalted. Here ends the first part of Sharḥ Abyāt al-Jumal, praise be to God, Lord of all beings." There is a correction on the margin which reads min Washy al-Ḥulal to be placed between fi and Sharḥ in the expression al-juz' al-awwal fi Sharḥ. The sentence should therefore be: min Washy al-Ḥulal fī Sharḥ Abyāt al-Jumal. The second part being on the second page of f.34, where the author says: It is recited on the chapter of subjects (agents) and objects which have the same effect upon one another.

The verses are written in red ink as are some words which are to be explained and headings for shawāhid such as "language", "meaning" and "i'rāb". The introductory expression "he said may God be graceful to him" is also written in red. Some margins have a few slight but sometimes significant corrections.

It seems most probable that the whole is written by one scribe and is copied from another manuscript. The text is concluded with the following paragraph:

The book is completed, praise be to God, with His aid and support, praise be to God the Lord of all

beings. May God bless and grant peace to our prophet the seal of prophets and leader of messengers. It ~~was~~ completed on Thursday morning the 7th of Muḥarram of the year 857/1453 [244 years after the death of the author].

It ~~was~~ written for his own sake and for the sake of whoever God wills after him, by the humble servant who confesses his own sins and is most in need of God's mercy, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibrāhīm as-Sinhājī known as 'Arrāf ... (1)

This is followed by a succession of names of owners of the book.

This scribe has also irrelevantly inserted (p.231) two verses in connection with the Arabs' method of replying to insults.

The first page of the book contains in a modern hand the name of the author and that of the book and the owner whose collection passed later to the Dār al-Kutub. The latter is Muḥammad Maḥmūd b. at-Talāmīd at-Tirkizī ash-Shinqīṭī, who was a poet, a man of letters and a scholar of language. He was born in Shinqīṭ (Mauritania) and stayed in Egypt and Mecca for some time. He was sent by the Ottoman government to Spain in order to examine the manuscripts available there. On his return he resigned from office and his notes were neglected. He nevertheless wrote a number of useful books.

1. Washy al-Ḥulal, F 67, B.

He died in the year 1322/1904 in Cairo.⁽¹⁾ The manuscript contains a reference to the date when he came to own it (the end of Ramaḍān 1282/1865), and the place is al-Madīna. He also writes, "The book has been donated as an endowment for the heirs of the owner according to their legal succession of inheritance. Whoever changes it will bear the sin for it." There is also mentioned the name of Ibn Qādir ash-Sharīf, who records the shahāda and other pious sentiments. I have not been able to find a biography of this person. It finally contains the stamp of Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya (al-Kutubkhāna al-Khidaywiyya al-Miṣriyya).

1. Al-A'lām, 7, p.311.

THE TEXT OF THE WASHY AL-HULAL

As mentioned above, the Washy al-Hulal exists in a unique manuscript which is unfortunately in a far from satisfactory condition, containing a large number of lacunae and omissions, arbitrary additions of words and phrases, and mistakes in grammar and spelling. The poor condition of the text and the fact that no other manuscripts are available for comparison has made the editor's task in attempting to reconstruct the original particularly difficult. The method adopted in dealing with this manuscript has been as follows.

First, to rewrite the text correcting all the grammatical and spelling mistakes, filling the gaps that have occurred in the text, presumably through the faults of the scribes who copied it. Wherever possible, the missing word or sentence has been provided, bearing in mind that the text is not in the author's own script, for if it were one would be tempted to leave it as it is, since it would be indicative of the author's education. However, adequate reference has been given in the ^{introduction} to any addition or changes made.

Second, to add the inflexional signs where necessary and explain words or phrases where need be.

Third, to give references of Qur'ānic verses and quotations from poetry and other sources, referring to sources if they have not been mentioned in the text.

Fourth, to point out quotations from other sources which al-Lablī failed to indicate as quotations.

Fifth, to indicate in the ^{apparatus} a.g. all the faults that the scribe has made and the gaps he has left - a task made ^{difficult} necessary by lack of linguistic knowledge on the part of the scribe.

Sixth, to give the page number of the manuscript in the margin of the edition for easy reference.

Seventh, to provide detailed indices divided into:

- a) One for Qur'ānic verses, arranged in the order of sūras; where there is more than one verse from the sūra, these are arranged in the order of the Qur'ān.
- b) One for traditions; because these are only a few, I have arranged them in the order in which they appear in the manuscript.
- c) Verses of poetry arranged in the alphabetical order of their rhymes.
- d) Proper names arranged in alphabetical order.
- e) Nations, tribes, groups and sects.
- f) Places and towns, etc.
- g) Chapters.
- h) Sources and Bibliography.

All these are in alphabetical order; it is to be hoped that they will be found worth the effort that has gone into their preparation.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Introductory section.

In the introductory section an examination of Arabic grammar up to the 13th century AD concludes, as have other commentators, that (i) the schools of Baṣra and Kūfa may properly be regarded as schools, (ii) the school of Baṣra placed greater reliance on Samā' and (iii) the school of Kūfa relied to a greater extent on analogy.

As far as the so-called Baghdādī school is concerned however, there would not appear to be any evidence that it can likewise be considered a school. The reason for this is that the grammarians concerned simply borrowed from the two schools mentioned above, but without any systematic approach. There was thus no identifiable methodology or underlying philosophy.

The subsequent discussion of the so-called Andalusī school concludes similarly that there was no such school. It is shown that grammatical studies here were based originally on the Qur'ān in particular, and that Jūdī b. 'Uthmān, who began scientific grammatical work in Spain, was a scholar of both the Baṣran and Kūfan schools. Moreover, there would seem to be no evidence that Kūfan grammar was introduced here before Baṣran; both schools would appear to have gained currency at the same time.

A discussion then follows of the Kitāb Sibawayhi with an attempt to show the development that took place after its introduction

into al-Andalus.

Next, there is further biographical and grammatical study of other Andalusī scholars. A particularly interesting scholar is Ibn Maḍā' who, in his discussion of the 'Āmil', rejects the traditional explanations for the existence and use of inflexions in Arabic and claims that the speaker himself selects the different inflexions. He fails, however, to supply a logical basis upon which such a choice might be made. We might in fact argue that the 'Āmil' is not the verb itself but is a sort of majāz (metaphor). As regards Tagdīr and Ta'wīl, it is agreed that overuse is self-defeating, but that they are essential for the understanding of certain texts. Where causality is concerned, the opinion of other commentators is again confirmed, namely that since it is a universal phenomenon, it must apply to language as well.

The second section of the introductory section is devoted to the life and works of az-Zajjājī. His students and teachers are mentioned, and special attention is given to al-Jumal. This is because his verses were the subject of al-Lablī's commentary in Washy al-Ḥulal.

The final section concentrates on al-Lablī. The political, social and intellectual climate of al-Andalus up to the 13th century A.D. is examined so that al-Lablī can be placed in his historical context. It is generally concluded here that in spite of the considerable degree of unrest in the period, al-Andalus continued to make cultural progress. Other scholars from al-Andalus who were

teachers of al-Lablī are then discussed, and additional ones from Damascus and Cairo. A study of al-Lablī's life, works and students follows this. It is pointed out that he did not spend all his life in his home town of Labla and it is suggested that he left it after the Spanish conquest in 655/1257. Only three works of al-Lablī survive, including Washy al-Ḥulal. Particular attention is given to Bughyat al-Āmāl where a considerable number of errors are found in the published edition. In the discussion of Washy al-Ḥulal it is stated that al-Lablī took a critical approach to former scholars, but he does not appear to have had any original ideas himself. An outline of his commentary on the shawāhid is given with its tripartite division into language, meaning and inflexion. On the negative side, it would appear that he is sometimes guilty of copying without acknowledging sources, and that he occasionally gives a faulty attribution. In spite of all this however, he proves an excellent commentator and was an influential teacher.

2. The major part of the thesis is a reconstruction of a unique manuscript of Washy al-Ḥulal which includes:

- (i) correction of spelling and grammatical errors deriving from scribes' limited knowledge of the language
- (ii) the addition of inflexional signs
- (iii) references
- (iv) indication of quotations unacknowledged by al-Lablī
- (v) correction of other errors made by the scribes
- (vi) numbering of the pages
- (vii) detailed indices.

3. Recommendation for future research work.

Since only two works of al-Lablī survive in addition to Washy al-Ḥulal, it would be of interest to edit these manuscripts. Firstly, Tuhfat al-Majd aṣ-Ṣarīḥ fī Sharḥ Kitāb al-Fasīḥ, because al-Maymanī died before he was able to start work on it. Secondly, Bughyat al-Āmāl fī Maʿrifat an-Nuṭq bi Jamīʿ Mustaqbalāt al-Afʿāl. This is because an original manuscript has been discovered which has none of the errors in the manuscript already worked on.

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الحمد لله رب العالمين
والصلاة والسلام على
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين
الطاهرين

الحمد لله الذي جعل في القرآن الكريم
موجعا للقلوب والنفوس على من
هو عليه الصلاة والسلام
على من عليه الصلاة والسلام

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أولهم الصديق أبو بكر
والشاعر أبو طالب
وهو الملقب بالرسول
والصالحين

عمر بن الخطاب
٤٧٤٨



