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KHĀLID IBN ṢAFWĀN — THE MAN AND THE  
LEGEND

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## PREFACE

The need for special studies of the oral prose in the Umayyad period should be self-evident. Any understanding of the development of Arabic prose has to take full account of this literature despite the obvious difficulties and perils involved in studying originally oral texts which were written down at least half a century later and were often preserved only in much later anthologies.

The task of compiling a corpus of texts ascribed to an Umayyad *khaṭīb* is difficult<sup>1</sup>, and the results have to be taken with the proverbial pinch of salt, as prose passages were transmitted much less faithfully than, e.g., the pre-Islamic poetry, where the transmitters at least endeavoured to pass on the *textus receptus*. Yet a comprehensive history of early Arabic literature can only be written when the corpus of several of these early orators has been collected and analyzed<sup>2</sup>.

The present work offers a collection of all the extant fragments by and about Khālid ibn Ṣafwān in translation, a selection of these in the original, as well as a short study of this great orator of the early 700s and his art. Probably no work was *written* by Khālid—at least no such works have been preserved, nor are there any mentions of such in the Mediaeval literature<sup>3</sup>—but his sermons and dicta were collected by 9th and 10th century writers from the oral tradition—and possibly from scattered written records—and inserted in their collections which enables us to have a perspective on Umayyad oral prose, even though the view may be somewhat distorted by ‘Abbāsīd spectacles.

## NAME AND GENEALOGY. FAMILY

Khālid ibn Ṣafwān came from a famous and well-to-do<sup>4</sup> Baṣran family of orators. His great-grandfather was the *mukhaḍram* poet ‘Amr ibn al-Ahtam,<sup>5</sup> whose poems

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pellat, *Le Milieu Baṣrien*, p. vii: “Il serait déjà difficile ... de reconstruire partiellement l’oeuvre orale d’un seul de ces maîtres des I<sup>er</sup> et II<sup>e</sup> siècles qui ont joué un rôle si prépondérant dans l’évolution de la culture arabe ...”

<sup>2</sup> Little work has been done in this field. One may mention in this connection the collection of the Ash‘ab anecdotes by F. Rosenthal (*Humor in Early Islam*) and the work of Marzolph on Buhlūl (*Der weise Narr Buhlūl*) although their predominantly comic and folkloristic character naturally separates them from the subject of the present study. The collection of the letters of ‘Abdalḥamīd al-Kātib by Iḥsān ‘Abbās is also valuable, though these texts are of an oral, not written character. A desideratum would be the collection of *khuṭbas* and stories of Khālid ibn Ṣafwān’s nephew, Shabīb ibn Shayba about whom there seems to be even more material preserved in the anthologies than about Khālid himself.

<sup>3</sup> In fact there is only one unequivocal reference to writing in the Khālid corpus (no. 74), which is in a clear contrast to, e.g., the texts of ‘Abdalḥamīd al-Kātib in whose letters, and even fragments, writing is given a place of honour among human skills and explicit reference to it is very common. In the Umayyad period, *kitāba* and *khaṭāba* were two clearly distinct fields.

<sup>4</sup> For Khālid’s possessions in Baṣra, see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 369.

<sup>5</sup> On whom, see, e.g., Blachère, *Histoire*, p. 260. There is also a scandalous story about the parentage of al-Ahtam, which makes him the son of a Ḥīran farmer adopted by Suwayy ibn Sinān who is usually taken as his biological father, see Ibn Rustah, *al-A‘lāq an-nafīsa*, p. 206.

have been preserved in several anthologies as well as in lexicographical works as *shāhids*.

Most sources are unanimous about the following genealogy: Khālid ibn Ṣafwān ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-Ahtam Abū Ṣafwān at-Tamīmī al-Minqarī al-Ahtamī al-Baṣrī<sup>6</sup>. Ibn Qutayba, who is sometimes less than satisfactory in his information, identifies (K. ash-Shiʿr waʿsh-shuʿarāʾ, p. 402; Maʿārif, p. 403-404) Khālid's grandfather ʿAbdallāh as the brother, not son, of ʿAmr ibn al-Ahtam, but this is probably a simple mistake.

Yāqūt, Irshād IV:160-165 seems to be the only source where we find an exact date for Khālid's death, viz. 135 (= 752 A.D.).

The whole family of al-Ahtam was famous for their talents in oratory<sup>7</sup>. The most famous of them, in addition to Khālid, was his cousin and younger contemporary Shabīb ibn Shayba, who is called in Yāqūt, Irshād IV:260 "*ṣāhib Khālid ibn Ṣafwān*"<sup>8</sup>. In Ibn ʿAbdrabbih, al-ʿIqd al-farīd III:346-347, Khālid is called Khālid ibn Ṣafwān ibn ʿAmr ibn al-Ahtam, and Shabīb is given as Shabīb ibn Shayba ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-Ahtam, which would make Khālid the cousin of Shabīb's father, not Shabīb himself. A brother of Khālid ibn Ṣafwān (Nuʿaym ibn Ṣafwān) was lampooned by al-Farazdaq (Dīwān I:172)<sup>9</sup>.

## FAME AS SPEAKER

Khālid enjoyed an important position during the reigns of several Umayyad—and one ʿAbbāsīd—Caliphs; in the stories we meet him in the Caliphal courts from ʿUmar ibn ʿAbdalʿazīz (reigned 717-720) to Abū'l-ʿAbbās as-Saffāḥ (r. 749-754)<sup>10</sup>, as well as in the entourage of several high Umayyad officials.

In the early ʿAbbāsīd period when the written artistic prose actually developed, his sayings and stories about him were eagerly collected and committed to writing. Besides the evidence given in the great number of citations in these works<sup>11</sup>, there seems to have been two monographs about Khālid ibn Ṣafwān in circulation in the ninth and the tenth century: in his Fihrist<sup>12</sup> an-Nadīm mentions monographs by al-

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Ibn Kalbī, Ġamhara, p. 76; aṣ-Ṣafadī, Wāfi XIII:254-255; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt III:12 and VI:182; Yāqūt, Irshād IV:160-165. Al-Ahtam's other name was Sinān—for the story about how he came to be called al-Ahtam, see no. 1—and he was ibn Sumayy ibn Sinān ibn Khālid ibn Minqar ibn ʿUbayd ibn al-Hārith (= Muqāʿis) ibn ʿAmr ibn Kaʿb ibn Saʿd ibn Zayd-Manāt ibn Tamīm, see the above-mentioned sources and Ibn Ḥazm, Ġamharat ansāb al-ʿArab, pp. 216-217.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. al-Ḥuṣrī, Zahr al-ādāb, p. 39; al-Ġāḥiẓ, Bayān I:368-369. Al-Ġāḥiẓ, Bayān I:75, mentions the whole tribe Tamīm (together with Iyād) as specially talented in oratory.

<sup>8</sup> See Index, ṣub Shabīb, Werkmeister, Quellenuntersuchungen, p. 385 (where "about 170/768" is given as the year of his death), and, e.g., al-Ḥuṣrī, Zahr al-ādāb, p. 953 where Khālid is considered the greater of the two. A collection of Shabīb's fragments is found also in al-Ġāḥiẓ, Bayān I:365-366.

<sup>9</sup> Probably the same as the Ibn Ṣafwān mentioned in al-Mubarrad, Kāmil IV:28 (al-Farazdaq, Dīwān I:422 reads *ibn khinzīr* instead).

<sup>10</sup> See Index.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. al-Mubarrad, Kāmil II:42-44 gives a substantial selection of his stories.

Ğulūdī (d. 941/2) and al-Madā'inī (d. 830/831), both of which have later been lost, though the names of these two compilers are sometimes found in the *isnāds* of Khālid stories<sup>13</sup>.—It seems that at least the monograph of al-Madā'inī mostly contained stories about Khālid's *mufākharas*<sup>14</sup>, see Index of isnāds.

A further testimony to his fame is that the philologists accepted him as an authority and quoted his sayings side by side with *shāhid* verses as testimonies of correct usage. Thus many of his sayings have been codified in the great dictionaries (see no.s 25, 30, 32-34), and he was frequently quoted in other philological works. Abū Tammām used him as a proverbial speaker referring to "*balāghat Khālid*"<sup>15</sup>. His fame continued well into the ninth and tenth centuries when his sayings found their way into several of the leading collections.

Besides his fame as an orator, Khālid was notorious as being one of the great misers in Arabic literary circles.

## THE ART OF KHĀLID IBN ŞAFWĀN

As the collection of the Khālid stories is not based on a single old work nor on any works written in the 8th century, and the stories have obviously lived in an oral tradition during the 8th century, it is naturally difficult to give any details about Khālid's style without bearing in mind that we do not actually have any authentic corpus of Khālidiana. Still, there is no reason to suppose that the whole corpus was a later forgery; it may have been developed in the 9th century when the adab authors still felt free to manipulate their material<sup>16</sup>, and it may have received an 'Abbāsīd touch, but the core of the best documented Khālid stories very probably stems from Khālid himself. An analysis of these stories will illuminate the otherwise poorly attested (oral) prose of the Umayyad period.

If we exclude the *bukhl* stories and other anecdotes in which Khālid is a character rather than the author, we see that the anecdotes can roughly be divided into two groups; those which consist of a short *nukta*, witty saying and those where Khālid uses his oratory talent more profusely in long speeches. *Nukta* is the all-time favour-

<sup>12</sup> P. 151 and 167, translated by Dodge, p. 226 and 252. Khālid is also mentioned as an orator in *Fihrist*, p. 181 (=tr. Dodge, p. 273). Al-Madā'inī's monograph is also mentioned in Yāqūt, *Irshād* V:317, and aṣ-Şafadī, *al-Wāfi* XXII:46 l. 9.

<sup>13</sup> See Index of isnāds.

<sup>14</sup> Khālid's long stories are also mentioned in, e.g., K. al-Aghānī III:60-61 ("Wāşil ibn 'Aṭā's *khutba* is [even] longer than those of Khālid ibn Şafwān and Shabīb ibn Shayba"); al-Ḥuşrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, pp. 33-34 (*lam adhab fī hādhā l-ikhtiyāri ilā muṭawwalāti l-akhbāri ka-aḥādīthi Şa'ş'a ibn Şūḥān wa-Khālid ibn Şafwān*).

<sup>15</sup> At-Tibrīzī, *Sharḥ Dīwān Abī Tammām* I:403. He is mentioned as a proverbial speaker also in, e.g., al-Ġāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* I:91; al-Ġāḥiẓ, *Bayān* I:43-44 (a verse by Bashshār ibn Burd = *Dīwān* IV:52-53 and Yāqūt, *Irshād* VII:223); Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, p. 222; al-Ġāḥiẓ, *Bayān* I:51-52 (verses by Şafwān al-Anşārī, mentioned together with Shabīb [ibn Shayba]).

<sup>16</sup> See my *Unity and Variation*, and below.

ite of Arabic prose literature, and it consists of a witty reply in a few words, being similar to a punchline. It is very prone to misattributions—the favourite method of the *adab* writers was to put words in the mouth of a character who *could* have said so—but many short witticisms may also have been faithfully attributed to their original inventor.<sup>17</sup> The *nuktas* are usually improvised or are at least given as if they had been improvised (cf. no. 113).

## PARALLELISM AND USE OF *sağ̃*<sup>c</sup>

As in most Umayyad prose works, *sağ̃*<sup>c</sup> plays only a minor rôle in the Khālidian corpus whereas parallelism is amply used<sup>18</sup>. Khālid does use occasional rhymes in his prose. Most often this seems to happen in his longer, probably more official sermons, but even these are usually mainly unrhymed, so that he rarely uses rhymes in two consecutive phrases. As it is very possible that later compilers have added cases of rhymes into Khālid's speeches<sup>19</sup>, but rather improbable that they should have dropped any rhymed passages, which were later more favoured, the picture one gets from the Khālid fragments possibly even somewhat exaggerates his use of rhymes<sup>20</sup>.

In the longer speeches Khālid makes a moderate use of rhymed prose<sup>21</sup>, but even some fine and detailed descriptive passages are almost completely unrhymed (cf. no. 91 and no. 138 beginning). It is rare that we find passages such as in no. 50:

*aṭ-ṭāmī idhā zakhar / wa'l-ḥāmī idhā za'ar / wa's-sāmī idhā khaṭar // aghzaruhum  
baḥran / wa-araquhum shi'ran / wa-ahtakuhum li-'adūwihī sitran*<sup>22</sup> // ḥalīmun  
'inda ṭ-ṭaysh / fī dharwati Quraysh // wa-lubābi 'Abdshams / wa-yawmuka

<sup>17</sup> In this way, the *nukta* resembles the Persian *rubā'ī* or the Arabic *mathal* verses where the question of attribution is even more tangled than in other genres.

<sup>18</sup> For discussions of parallelism and the term *sağ̃*<sup>c</sup>, see, e.g., Horst, *Besondere Formen der Kunstprosa*, pp. 221-227, and Beeston, *The role of parallelism*, pp. 180-185.

<sup>19</sup> And in selecting his maxims have favoured his rhymed maxims.

<sup>20</sup> I have elsewhere shown this concerning no. 126, see my *Unity and variation*, pp. 156-163. In no. 126, especially al-Bayhaqī favours a heavily ornated prose alien to the style of Khālid. Cf., e.g., the following passages from al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūğ adh-dhahab* (M) and al-Bayhaqī's *al-Maḥāsīn wa'l-masāwī* (B) where all the evidence points to the conclusion that M is closer to the original: *anna 'indaka rayḥānatan mina r-rayāḥīn* (M)—*'indaka rayḥānatu r-rayāḥīn wa-sayyidatu nisā'i l-'ālamīn* (B); *inna aḥadahum lam yakun 'indahū mina n-nisā'i aktharu min wāḥidatin illā kāna fī l-ḡahd* (M)—*wa-lam yağma' rağulun bayna mra'atayn illā kāna bayna ḡamratayn tuḥriquhu wāḥidatun bi-nārihā wa-talḥaquhā ukhrā bi-sharārihā* (B; a passage found also in al-Azdī's *Ḥikāyat Abī'l-Qāsim*, p. 73).—Other probable cases of added rhymes can be found in the variant versions of, e.g., no. 16 where we have in one variant *l-ḥadīd—l-ḡandal—l-mirḡal* as against *l-khardal—l-mirdal—l-ḡandal* in another. The variation in no. 151 is also very interesting; we find in one version very rhythmic *sağ̃*<sup>c</sup> (no. 151a: *yā 'ayyār kam ta'īr / wa-kam taṭūfu wa-taṭīr*), in another fullscale parallelism without rhymes (no. 151b: *ammā wa-llāhi la-ṭālamā agharta fī l-bilād / wa-anḡadta // wa'llāhi la-uṭlanna ḡağ̃'ataka / wa-la-udīmanna ṣar'ataka*) and in one a rather meagre parallelism (no. 151c: *ṭālamā sirta fī l-bilād. ammā wa-llāhi la-uṭlanna ḥabsaka wa-la-udīmanna labthaka*).

<sup>21</sup> In this Khālid is conforming absolutele with the *khuṭbas* of the Umayyad period, cf., e.g., the *khuṭbas* given in the beginning of vol. IV of Ibn 'Abdrabbih, al-'Iqd al-farīd, or the *khuṭbas* of 'Alī—which naturally are of dubious authenticity—in Nahğ al-balāgha.

<sup>22</sup> Note here the use of a longer last member, typical to, e.g., al-Hamadhānī.

*khayrun min ams //*

— Here one could also draw attention to the use of mechanical rhyme without semantic parallelism at the end.

Other good examples of Khālid's lack of rhyme—if we take a 10th century standpoint—are found, e.g., in no. 28, 53, 55, 66 (not counting the obviously fortuitous rhyme *li'ām—kirām*), 70, 112 (first part), and 116, all of which would have been inconceivable according to later standards, and could not have been written by writers such as ath-Tha'ālibī or al-Ma'arrī.

In other cases the rhyming seems to be accidental and caused by the morphological structure of Arabic (e.g. no. 26). In some cases, e.g. no. 97, Khālid mixes rhymed with unrhymed material in a very similar way as al-Hamadhānī in his *maqāmas*<sup>23</sup>.

Rhymed prose is found in several passages, of which one may mention no. 25 (rhyme and full parallelism: *ṭarufat ma'ānīhi / wa-sharufat mabānīhi*), 33<sup>24</sup>, 46, 67, and 110.

The use of unrhymed, often rhythmical parallelism is very common in his maxims<sup>25</sup>, where we find both synonymous parallelism (A B / A' B'; e.g. no. 29 *kāna yamla'u l-'ayna ḡamālan wa'l-udhna bayānan*) and contrasting parallelism (A B / -A -B, e.g. no. 15 *anbatathu ṭ-ṭā'a wa-ḥaṣadathu l-ma'ṣiya*).

One particular feature which seems to be typical of Khālid, though it is naturally sometimes found with other writers, is his predilection for a tripartite structure in his maxims. Examples of this may be found in no. 13, 16a, 19, 25, 26, 27, 32, 36, 44, 50, 51, 55, 71, 83, 110a, 112, 127 and 133. Even though one could in every item argue that the uncertain textual tradition makes it a perilous business to draw any conclusions, the cumulative evidence of these cases can hardly be discounted.

The position of Khālid and other Umayyad speakers and writers in the development of later heavily ornate *saḡ'* which is found with almost all authors beginning from the late 9th century, is not without interest. Their use of unrhymed—or only occasionally rhymed—parallelism is as far from the later *saḡ'* as it is from the *saḡ'* of the *kāhins* and of the earlier parts of the Qur'ān. Also the Bedouin lore of the Umayyad and early 'Abbasid period is full of very complicated *saḡ'* similar to that of the *kāhins*; as an example one may mention the dicta of Hind bint al-Khuss<sup>26</sup>, which seem to stem from the period roughly contemporary with Khālid<sup>27</sup>. In these, it is not

<sup>23</sup> It should be mentioned that contrary to the often repeated claim, the Hamadhānian *maqāma* is not rhymed throughout, but is built on the variation of rhymed and unrhymed passages.

<sup>24</sup> In this saying Khālid even seems to have modified the first word to get a suitable rhyme, as the standard form is *darmaq* (instead of *darmaḡ*, see Lisān al-'arab IV:338), though as there is much fluctuation in the representation of the early New Persian/late Middle Persian suffix *-ag*, one cannot press this point too far.

<sup>25</sup> This type of unrhymed parallelism is also very much used by Ibn al-Muqaffa' in his *al-Adab al-kabīr*, in which one can find cases of it on almost every page. For an analysis of his style, see Latham, *The beginnings of Arabic prose literature*, pp. 174-177.

<sup>26</sup> Of which the present writer is preparing an extensive collection.

<sup>27</sup> Bint al-Khuss is naturally herself a legendary character of greater antiquity, but it seems to me obvious that the stories themselves have been fabricated mainly during the Umayyad period.

common to meet many unrhymed passages (though examples of such may be found in, e.g., al-Qālī, al-Amālī II:257) and the dicta are usually of the same type as her answer about which camels are best: “*as-sibaḥlu r-riḥlaḥ r-rāḥilatu l-faḥl*” (e.g. al-Qālī, al-Amālī II:218)<sup>28</sup>. It may not be too far-fetched to describe the later *saḡ*<sup>c</sup> as a contamination of the well balanced and carefully meditated Umayyad parallelism with this early revelry of rhymes.

## GENRES

The basic genres of Khālid are the short maxim and the longer *khuṭba*, ‘oration’. Within this framework, the favorite genre of Khālid was obviously the *mufākhara*, which in this period consists of two or more *khuṭbas* by two or more speakers describing the merits of one’s own (or the patron’s) tribe/city etc. and blaming that of the others. This genre was well known in pre-Islamic times, and it later developed into a written diatribe and was contaminated with the *munāzara*, which is probably of Iranian origin<sup>29</sup> in the Arabic literature<sup>30</sup>. In the Khālid fragments, we find *mufā-kharas* between South and North Arabic tribes as well as between Baṣra and Kūfa (see no’s 108-124).

Closely related with the *mufākhara* is the *maḥāsin wa’l-masāwī* -literature<sup>31</sup>, the listing of the good and bad qualities of a given subject. This genre was fully developed, among others, by al-Ġāḥiẓ and al-Bayhaqī, both of whom wrote a monograph on the subject, but it is already well attested in the Khālid fragments (no’s 154-155<sup>32</sup>). Other genres attested in the corpus are *definitiones* (e.g. no. 17), a genre developed to its perfection by the 14th century Persian comic writer, ‘Obeyd-e Zākānī<sup>33</sup>, political maxims which bear a close resemblance to the Fürstenspiegel (e.g. no. 86-88) etc.

vious that the stories themselves have been fabricated mainly during the Umayyad period.

- <sup>28</sup> Although a solitary case, one may mention that in the al-Bayhaqī version of no. 126 (126b) al-Bayhaqī once uses the favourite method of the Bedouin dicta to make the answer rhyme with the question (Caliph: *waylaka, a-tasta ‘milu l-kadhib?* Khālid: *fa-ma ‘a s-suyūfi la ‘ib!*), cf. e.g. al-Qālī, Dhayl al-Amālī, p. 107: *qāla: a-ra’aytiki l-ḡadha?* *qālat: lā yaḍribu wa-lā yada*, and passim in the Ibnat al-Khuss corpus.
- <sup>29</sup> An autochthonous origin has often been preferred, most recently by Mattock in Reinink & Vanstiphout, Dispute poems, pp. 153-163, but despite his arguments, I find it improbable that two very similar genres, which share common details, could have originated in two geographically and chronologically adjacent cultures without being genetically related. This naturally does not exclude the fact that the old Arabic *mufākhara* tradition did influence the Iranian *munāzara* tradition.
- <sup>30</sup> *Munāzara* originally comes from the Mesopotamian culture, where several pieces were written both in Sumerian and in Akkadian (see Lambert, Babylonian wisdom literature, pp. 150-212). The Arabic genre was preliminarily studied by Wagner in his pioneering Rangstreitdichtung, but it merits a more profound study which takes full account of all the extant *munāzaras* which have been published since the work of Wagner. The genre in the Ancient and Mediaeval Near East has lately been the subject of a symposium, the papers of which have been published (Reinink & Vanstiphout, eds., Dispute poems and dialogues).
- <sup>31</sup> Studied by Geries, Un genre littéraire arabe.
- <sup>32</sup> Also in no. 112, which seems to be an extension of no. 110.
- <sup>33</sup> Most recently discussed in Sprachman, Persian satire, pp. 227-234.

There are also some lists and elaborated descriptions, especially in the *mufākharas* (e.g. no. 124) which came into vogue later (in, e.g., al-Azdī's *Ḥikāyat Abī'l-Qāsim*, there are several such lists).

## THE ELOQUENCE OF KHĀLID

The contemporary and later testimonies are unanimous in attributing great eloquence to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān yet none of these statements clearly defines what is meant by 'eloquence' (*balāgha*). His contemporaries have, e.g., both emphasized his ability to remember a vast collection of stories from the earlier days of the Arabs (e.g., no. 4, 104<sup>34</sup>) as well as his ability to extemporize (no. 3). Also the coherence of his speeches is often admired (no. 5, 11). What is more surprising is the claim sometimes made that Khālid made grammatical mistakes (*lahn*) (no. 5, 104). The technical refinery, which later became the essence of *balāgha*, is less emphasized, though it is sometimes mentioned (no. 11).

Khālid is also shown himself defining eloquence in several stories. Even though these maxims are meant less to build a coherent theoretical structure than to display the wit of the speaker, they merit a short study of their own as they may give us a hint—if we accept their attribution—of how Khālid as an 8th century orator viewed his profession.

Perhaps the most memorable of his statements on *balāgha* comes in no. 19, in which Khālid very emphatically insists that true eloquence is a total way of life: to be eloquent means to be *always* eloquent.<sup>35</sup> In this story (as also in no. 20) Khālid sees eloquence more as a quality to be acquired by training than as an innate gift. Fully absorbed eloquence is also seen in no. 83, which at the same time shows that the 'how' was more important than the 'what'<sup>36</sup>.

In no. 25, a story going back to an early philological authority (Ibn al-A'arābī) and thus presumably more or less authentic, Khālid's definition of eloquent speech rests on three traits: novel meaning (cf. also no. 65), noble (i.e. high style) words, and the value of entertaining a (learned) audience. Even more important is no. 28. When we exclude the verbal ornaments from this fragment, we get a picture of easy flowing eloquence

<sup>34</sup> See also Yāqūt, *Irshād* IV:160 (*kāna rāwiyatan li'l-akhbār*). In Ibn Qutayba, 'Uyūn al-akhbār I:282-283 a story about Shabīb ibn Rib'ī is told on the authority of Khālid, but as it does not endeavour to be repeated in his *ipsissima verba*, I have not included it in the translations.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn al-Muqaffa', *al-Adab al-kabīr*, pp. 122-123, was of a contrary opinion and cautioned that one should not be too eloquent among people who themselves are not eloquent.

<sup>36</sup> The same situation in late Mediaeval European literature is lucidly described by Sturcker, *Don Juan Manuel*, p. 69: "He [Don Juan] wishes to receive credit for those original hues and shades added in his retelling of these tales [of El Conde Lucanor]; he is of course aware that the bare narratives themselves, and even the historical anecdotes that he is fond of reshaping, may be quite familiar in many cases to both educated and uneducated in the fourteenth century. It is the "how", not the "what", that matters most. Don Juan thinks of his book as an original work; it is original, in the sense that this adjective has in the fourteenth century."—*Mutatis mutandis*, this passage also describes Khālid to the point.



in pure Bedouin style (this is taken as an ideal also in no. 39), a dignified manner in giving a speech, and a predilection for brevity with avoidance of unnecessary lengthening.

Brevity is also—usually—recommended by him; in no. 20 this is only implied (Khālid gives long speeches only when brief ones will not do), but in other places it is stated directly. In no. 21, Khālid criticizes verbosity, and in no. 43 the laconic *khutba* of Thābit Quṭna is admired by Khālid. One also feels obliged to admire the laconic tone in no. 98 though here one hesitates as to which of the two men is the more eloquent.

The intentional use of rare words seems to be missing from the Khālidian corpus: Khālid uses a very ornate vocabulary in some stories but only very rarely the antiquarian vocabulary which was often used in contemporary poetry<sup>37</sup>. One of the few instances where Khālid—if the story is authentic—seems to use artificial vocabulary is no. 34, where one cannot avoid a certain scepticism as to the reality of words like *qubāqib* and *muqabqib* which are more characteristic of a philologist like al-Aṣmaʿī than to Khālid.

Although the *badīʿ* style is alien to the shorter aphorisms and sayings of Khālid, it is sometimes found in the longer stories (the authenticity of whose wording is highly dubious), and even drawn to extremities in no. 118 and 119<sup>38</sup>.

Closely connected with the description of eloquence, is the recurring motive of human value being tied up with eloquence and learning. (e.g. no. 24). In some stories (no. 26, 27, 64) Khālid is even seen as a member of the élite hating the common people. Some of the Khālid stories show a religious undertone, e.g. no. 23 in which Khālid admires a saying by the famous mystic al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

## THE ANECDOTE ABOUT KHĀLID AND UMM SALAMA (NO. 126)

It is a well-known fact that the Arabs did not write many other long prose narratives in the Middle Ages than semipopular stories and fairytales—the most famous collection of these naturally being the Thousand and One Nights—and the *maqāmas*<sup>39</sup>. Yet within the anecdotal literature, especially in the large *adab* encyclopaedias there are some long anecdotes which at their best come close to the Italian 14th century *novella*. Of these long anecdotes one is found in the Khālid corpus (no. 126)<sup>40</sup>. As this story is one of the masterpieces of Mediaeval Arabic prose narratives, it deserves to be discussed in detail here.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Similarly, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ very rarely uses uncommon words, see Latham, *The beginnings of Arabic prose literature*, p. 176.

<sup>38</sup> The figura etymologica is also used in no. 126 (*ḍarra*—*ḌRR*), but this is a very commonly repeated misogynous pun.

<sup>39</sup> Only the *maqāmas* of al-Hamadhānī and those following him show any narrative qualities, whereas in the *maqāma Ḥarīrīya* the narrative side has given way to the ornamentation.

<sup>40</sup> This anecdote has been earlier analyzed by the present author in *Marhaba* 1989, pp. 23-28 (in Finnish, with a short English summary). See also my *Unity and Variation*.

<sup>41</sup> See also my notes to the translation of no. 126.

The excellence of the story does not depend on the masterful prose put in the mouth of Khālid—though in fact rather freely moulded by the later redactors—but on the skillfully structured narration. It shares features with the *al-mahāsīn wa'l-masāwī* genre (the two speeches by Khālid), and its basic structure fits the scheme of *al-farağ ba'ḍa sh-shidda* literature.

Perhaps the most impressive feature of the story (especially in the version of al-Mas'ūdī) is the consistently drawn characters, whose action is psychologically motivated throughout, a rarity in Mediaeval Arabic prose literature. Khālid is seen as a courtier eager to win the special favour of the Caliph, but quite ready to be a turncoat when something goes wrong. Umm Salama, the Caliph's wife, is a powerful lady, similar to Lady Zubayda in the Hārūn stories, who dominates her husband, and the reversal of the rôles is completed by the mild and sheepish<sup>42</sup> Caliph<sup>43</sup>. Umm Salama takes the rôle of the patron who is angered by a slip of the tongue or an unwise counsel (*hafwa*) but appeased by a witty answer, a very common structure in Arabic literature. This change of rôles is not unusual in Arabic literature; a very similar situation is found in a short anecdote<sup>44</sup> about al-Aḥnaf, Mu'āwiya and Fākhita bint Qaraza, and here, too, the clever courtier does not hesitate to take the winner's side.

It seems that al-Mas'ūdī has taken great care even with the details of the story. One may mention, e.g., the fact that after his first speech, Khālid leaves satisfied with himself and waits for the Caliph's servants to bring him a sumptuous gift. Instead, the servants of Umm Salama come, but what is not underlined, but left for the reader to notice, is that *the servants of the Caliph actually never come*; the weak Caliph, despite the impression made by Khālid's speech, does not have the energy to reward him—but in the end, Umm Salama does not delay in rewarding the orator when he wisely enough defects from the Caliph and changes to her side<sup>45</sup>.

The structure of the story is clearly symmetrical, if not cyclic<sup>46</sup>, with the three day absence of Khālid as the turning point:

<sup>42</sup> Note that Abū'l-'Abbās has been "sometimes portrayed as a rather nondescript character, even a weakling" in historical sources (Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, p. 128).

<sup>43</sup> It should be noted that most of the Caliph's lines begin with weak exclamations; out of his eleven lines (in al-Mas'ūdī's version), nine begin with exclamations (*wayḥaka* three times; *subḥāna llāh; bari'tu ...; waylaka* twice; *mā laka, qātalaka llāh*). Even the verbs used by him are usually intransitive and have a passive flavour (*mā ṣakka masāmi'ī; sami'tu; waqa'a minnī mawqi'an; lam yakhriq masāmi'ī*). Umm Salama's lines go directly to the point, and she uses pervasive questions, sovereign commands and definitive statements (*la-unkiruka; hal ḥadatha?; fa-mā qulta?; sadaqta; ghayyara wa-baddala wa-naṭaqa*). Khālid is distinguished by his use of static nominal clauses—which by their nature do not express *change*, but describe a situation—not only in his initial speech, but also during the final dialogue if we exclude the introductory clauses (*akhbartuka* etc.). An interesting detail is that the use of verbs in his lines seem to correlate with negative feelings (*qad mallakta nafsaka; in mariḍat ...; anna l-'araba shtaqqat-i sma ḍ-ḍarr ...; taghlī; yushayyibnahu ...*).

<sup>44</sup> Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziya, *K. Akhbār an-nisā'*, pp. 185-186.

<sup>45</sup> Note also the use of the ambivalent "*wa-turīdu an taqtulani*", discussed in the notes to the translation.

<sup>46</sup> Note that the cyclic character of the story is rather loose, and there is no need to force it into a rigorous system, as is regrettably often done in studies of Arabic literature.

Khālid meets the Caliph.	Khālid meets the Caliph.
Khālid makes his first speech to please the Caliph	Khālid makes his second speech <sup>47</sup> to please Umm Salama.
Khālid returns to his house expecting to receive a gift from the Caliph.	Khālid returns to his house in a peaceful frame of mind.
Nothing comes from the Caliph <sup>48</sup> , but a punishment comes from Umm Salama.	Umm Salama's gift arrives. No punishment from the Caliph. <sup>49</sup>

The first set of events creates the tension, and the second resolves it and equilibrium is reached again.

The end of the anecdote is carefully planned so that Khālid is simultaneously speaking to Umm Salama and to Abū'l-ʿAbbās, without the latter noticing this double aim. The situation is shown in the following table:

Khālid	the Caliph	Umm Salama/reader
"I was sick."	He had a flu or something.	He was beaten.
Khālid's 2nd speech. <i>wa-turīdu an taqtulani?</i> <sup>50</sup>	He lies. "Do you want to kill me?"	He apologizes. "Do you want her to kill me?"

The device of creating comic tension by repeating a story in a completely different and even diametrically reversed form is found also elsewhere in the comic stories. It is closely related to the *al-maḥāsīn wa'l-masāwī* genre (cf. above). In a very similar form it is found in a widely attested story about the Bedouin who first tells happy news about his host's home in order to get a lunch, but when his wishes are frustrated, he repeats the story loading it with calamities surpassing each other<sup>51</sup>.

An interesting question which cannot be discussed here in detail, is how the meaning of a speech, saying or tale is influenced by its context: traditional misogynic elements in Khālid's second speech get a fresh meaning when they are used to appease the enraged first wife. The same question is also vital in the analysis of, e.g., the novellistic tales in Śukasaptati, the several Ṭūṭī-nāmas, *Disciplina Clericalis* and the Decameron.

## THE COMIC STORIES—KHĀLID AS A CHARACTER

Probably the group of stories<sup>52</sup> which show Khālid ibn Ṣafwān as a prototypical *bakhīl*, 'miser' are among the stories which are furthest alienated from the historical

<sup>47</sup> Technically changed to dialogue by the exclamations of the Caliph.

<sup>48</sup> Implied in the text.

<sup>49</sup> Implied in the text.

<sup>50</sup> Discussed in the notes to the translation.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. e.g. al-Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf* I:258; an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* 3:300-302. The story is also internationally known, see e.g., Aarne—Thompson, no. 2040 ("The Climax of Horrors") and Schwarzbaum, *Sefarad* 22, pp. 321-328.

<sup>52</sup> No's 142-157 and no's 40, 134.

character. The historical evidence seems to imply that in reality Khālid was not indeed among the most generous people of his age, but the picture given in the *bakhīl* stories is clearly exaggerated to fit the image of *bakhīl* in the comic literature. Among other stories he is sometimes seen as more generous, cf. especially no. 84.

The most important types of *bakhīl* anecdotes<sup>53</sup> are found in the Khālidian corpus, viz. the Object Anecdote (no. 151), the Hospitality Anecdote (no. 143, 148, 149, 150) and the Preaching Anecdote (no. 144, 145, 152, 153), although they are not quite so schematically arranged as the “pure” *bakhīl* anecdotes in the *bukhalā'* monographs.

## WRITERS AND THEIR MATERIAL

As I have shown elsewhere<sup>54</sup>, the Mediaeval Arabic writers felt, especially until about 1000<sup>55</sup>, comparatively free to adapt and reform their material, changing the wording of the stories to their own liking. In the Khālidian corpus this is often manifested when we compare the variant versions with each other (cf. below). The material obviously circulated as independent micro-units in the 8th and probably 9th century. The invariable elements mostly consisted of only a few lines, e.g., the *nukta* of the story and a general idea of the setting (Baṣra; Umayyad court), and the compilers were free to add details to this skeleton answering questions such as: in what situation and to whom Khālid could have said this? What might have happened earlier (the cause of the response)? etc.<sup>56</sup>

When one goes into the details of these changes, one notes that the characters of the stories may be changed. In no. 126—which, though, is very atypical of the Khālidian corpus—the main characters (Khālid ibn Ṣafwān, Abū'l-ʿAbbās as-Saffāh and Umm Salama) are in some later as well as popular versions changed to the then better known Abū Nuwās, Hārūn ar-Rashīd and the formidable Lady Zubayda. More characteristic is the variation in stories no. 48 and 49 together with the references given in the notes thereto, where we find the following pairs:

<i>dumbfounded</i>	<i>satirist</i>
Abū Nukhayla	Khālid
Khālid	al-Farazdaq
al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī	al-Farazdaq

The same phenomenon is also found in the attribution of anonymous stories to known

<sup>53</sup> Cf. F. Malti-Douglas, *Structures of Avarice*, esp. pp. 67-89.

<sup>54</sup> Hämeen-Anttila, *Unity and Variation*.

<sup>55</sup> And always in popular literature.

<sup>56</sup> One cannot escape the feeling that in this respect both Arabic studies and, e.g., New Testament source studies could well profit from each other. Even though Khālid had a markedly different status than Jesus, and his words were less faithfully transmitted than Jesus', it seems to me probable that the “Sayings collection” of Jesus, which circulated at approximately the same time before being finally codified as the Khālid stories did, were modified largely under the same premises as the Khālidian corpus, although one should not press the comparison too far.

persons, and vice versa, although in such cases it is often difficult if not impossible to say in which direction the change has happened.

Even the *nukta* is not free from being changed and elaborated or shortened. Often the change consists of adding new rhyming members<sup>57</sup>, or of changing the place of the phrases in the saying (e.g. no. 53 *dīnuka li-ma‘ādika wa-dirhamuka li-ma‘āshika* vs. *dirhamuka li-ma‘āshika wa-dīnuka li-ma‘ādika*).

## KHĀLID IBN ṢAFWĀN, THE POET

There are some references in the literature to a poet Khālid ibn Ṣafwān al-Qannāṣ, mainly to his *nūnīya*, also known as *al-‘Arūs*<sup>58</sup>. There is also one verse attributed to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān in al-Marzubānī, Muwashshaḥ, p. 232, but the verse is more often found as anonymous<sup>59</sup>.

The identity of this little known poet has been discussed in passing by several eminent scholars. Brockelmann, in his GAL S I:93 identifies him with our Khālid, Blachère bluntly denies this identification without giving any other reasons for this except for the fact that the name al-Qannāṣ is never used when speaking about the orator (Histoire, p. 511). Al-Maymanī (Ṭarā‘if, p. 102) implicitly treats them as two different persons as he mentions he had not found anything about Khālid ibn Ṣafwān al-Qannāṣ in his sources, though the orator must have been familiar to him. Ullmann, Raḡaz, p. 48, and Pellat (EI<sup>2</sup> art. Khālid b. Ṣafwān) refute the identification. Sezgin (GAS II:462-463) discusses the identity and hesitatingly suggests that they were one and the same person basing himself mainly on two facts, viz.:

1. Khālid ibn Ṣafwān the orator is also mentioned as a poet in al-Marzubānī’s Muqtabas (p. 146-147).

2. The poet al-Qannāṣ seems to be a *muḥdath* poet—he is mentioned in Ibn al-Mu‘tazz’s Ṭabaqāt, p. 325-326, though unluckily in a very uninformative article—and thus later than the conjectural date 709 originally given for his death by Ahlwardt, and rather uncritically followed by others (see references in GAS II:463).

The passage in Muqtabas, p. 146-147 (= no. 150) is a rather weak basis for labeling Khālid as a poet. In fact, the passage reads:

“al-Aṣma‘ī said: The misers of the Arabs are the following four, all of them poets [sic!]: al-Ḥuṭay‘a, Ḥumayd al-Arqaṭ as-Sa‘dī, Abū‘l-Aswad ad-Du‘alī and Khālid ibn Ṣafwān at-Tamīmī”

Although this passage, logically speaking, identifies him as a poet, the identification is much weakened by being applied to all these misers, not specifically to Khālid. This seems to be the only instance when the orator is also mentioned as a poet. Furthermore it does not identify him with al-Qannāṣ.

Against the identification we may give the following facts:

<sup>57</sup> Cf. above.

<sup>58</sup> Edited by al-Maymanī in his Ṭarā‘if al-adabīya, pp. 102-114.

<sup>59</sup> See al-Ġurḡānī, Asrār al-balāgha/Ritter, p. 131.

1. The orator is never called al-Qannāṣ, although the poet is often given simply as Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān without further names.

2. The anecdotes are astonishingly unaware of any poetic talents of the orator: in no. 76 and 136 Khālīd seems to be quoting a verse of his own—at least they are not indicated as being by someone else—but in both cases the verses are in comic stories and they hardly qualify him as a poet. In no. 42 there is a verse maxim. In al-Mubarrad, al-Kāmil II:44<sup>60</sup> it is explicitly said that he did not write poetry (*lam yakun yaqūlu sh-shi‘r*).

To this we may add that the sources know a Khālīd al-Qannāṣ, author of some *muzdawij* poems<sup>61</sup>. The full name of this obscure poet is, according to aṣ-Ṣafadī’s al-Wāfi XIII:247: “Khālīd ibn Abān Abū’l-Haytham al-kātib ash-shā‘ir al-Anbārī, kāna yu‘rafu bi’l-Qannāṣ.” Although no dates are given in the article, the poet obviously belongs to the 9th century, and is definitely not earlier than the late 8th century<sup>62</sup>. In comparison with this, the probable date of Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān al-Qannāṣ comes very close: the ‘*Arūs* shows all signs of being considerably later than the conjecture of Ahlwardt (cf. above). Besides being a formidable philological tour de force (e.g. v. 4: *ağashshu mughlantıqun mughdawdıqun ghadıqun / muhrawrıqun wadıqun mushanfirun dānī*)<sup>63</sup> it shows, among other things, a strong predilection for internal rhyme<sup>64</sup>, beginning with v. 14 (onward from which we have the scheme BBBA // CCCA // DDDA), among the earliest users of which was Abū Nuwās (e.g. Dīwān III:248 l. 6: *fī bayti kāfiratin bi’l-khamri tāğiratin / shamṭā’a fāğiratin ta‘tazzu bi’l-wālī*)<sup>65</sup>, though in his poems it is nowhere used so rigorously as in the ‘*Arūs*, which may be seen as implying that the ‘*Arūs* is later than the poems of Abū Nuwās. This, further, implies that Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān al-Qannāṣ lived more than half a century later than Khālīd the Orator.

I think it is very probable that Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān al-Qannāṣ is the same person as Khālīd ibn Abān al-Qannāṣ and that he belongs to the 9th century and is thus definitely not the same man as Khālīd the Orator. Whether all the stray verses found in literature and attributed to Khālīd al-Qannāṣ/Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān/Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān al-Qannāṣ are to be attributed to him, must naturally be left open in our present state of knowledge, but it seems inadvisable to attribute any to Khālīd the Orator, unless the text says so directly.

<sup>60</sup> No. 49. There are some noteworthy variants in the names of the characters in this story, see the notes to the translation.

<sup>61</sup> See Ullmann, Rağaz, pp. 46-48, with reference to Grünebaum’s article On the Origin and early development of Arabic *muzdawij* poetry. INES 3, 1944, pp. 9-13.

<sup>62</sup> Aṣ-Ṣafadī quotes Ibn al-Ğarrāh and al-Ğahshiyārī, both belonging to the first half of the tenth century. The *ṭardīyāt* genre developed in the first half of the 8th century, and, if aṣ-Ṣafadī is correct in ascribing to al-Qannāṣ a *ṭardīya* of 1000 (sic) *rağaz* verses (al-Wāfi XIII:247), he must be dated to about 800 or later, as these extravaganzas were not in mode before that time.

<sup>63</sup> Note that the 1000-verse *ṭardīya* of Khālīd ibn Abān al-Qannāṣ (see the preceding note) must have been a very similar tour de force.

<sup>64</sup> Note that Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān al-Qannāṣ was credited with an early *muzdawij* poem, cf. above.

<sup>65</sup> Good examples of an internal rhyme are often found in the Dīwān, especially, but not only, in the *khamrīyāt*, e.g. III:320 l. 3-7.

## ON THE PRINCIPLES OF TRANSLATION

Ideally the translations have been made from an old and coherent version. When these two aspects did not coincide, I have preferred readability to age. Minor variants of the same story are given in the notes, but when the differences are great, they have been independently translated.

The texts have been grouped into chapters (1. The man; 2. The eloquence of Khālid; 3. Khālid and the ruling class; 4. Mufākhara; 5. Khālid and women; 6. Khālid on animals; 7. The miser) according to their contents, although naturally in a few cases a story could have been classified under several of these headings. The texts are thus given in a roughly descending order of historicity, beginning with the historical material of chapter 1, to the comical—and presumably ahistorical—*bakhīl*-stories in chapter 7, although such an order has not been pressed too far.

The notes on the translations also include references to similar stories and maxims attributed to characters other than Khālid ibn Ṣafwān. Some notes have been added for the benefit of the non-Arabist reader, which may be superfluous for the Arabist.

## ON THE ARABIC TEXT

The Arabic text given in the Appendix is a selection of the Khālid stories. It includes all the texts which illuminate the eloquence of Khālid, and will thus serve as a quick reference for the study of Khālidian—and late Umayyad—style. Some texts have been abbreviated when they contain longer passages not relevant for this purpose, but this shortening has always been indicated by (...) except in the case of *isnāds*, which I have systematically excluded.

When the wording of two or more variant stories differs considerably, all the variants have been given independently, and numbered with the same number and a letter (a, b, c, d). When there are only minor variants in two or more sources, the most important of these have been added as a text critical apparatus, but it should be emphasized that these notes are selective.

The numbering of the stories follows that of the translations. Those stories whose original is given are marked in the translation with an asterisk (e.g. 13\*). The indication of the source in the Arabic text should be self evident to the specialist reader. If not, the reader is kindly asked to refer to the English part.

## Khālid ibn Ṣafwān The Man and the Legend

### THE TRANSLATION OF THE FRAGMENTS

#### 1. The man

1] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān. His name is Khālid ibn Ṣafwān ibn ʿAbdallāh [ibn ʿAmr]<sup>66</sup> ibn al-Ahtam. Al-Ahtam's real name was Sinān ibn Sumayy ibn Sinān ibn Khālid ibn Minqar ibn ʿUbayd ibn Tamīm. Sinān got the nickname al-Ahtam ['Toothless'] because Qays ibn ʿĀṣim al-Minqarī hit him with an arrow and broke his foreteeth<sup>67</sup>. Ṣafwān, the father of Khālid, acted as the head of banī Tamīm during the days of Masʿūd. He was an orator, and al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī] was a witness to his will when he died. He left an inheritance of 120,000 dirhams and said: "I prepared them for the vicissitudes of time, the roughness of the ruler and the vainglory of the family." Al-Ḥasan said to this: "And now you are leaving them to inheritors who will not praise you and you yourself are going to the One who will not forgive you."<sup>68</sup> He died in Baṣra, and his son Khālid lived until he attained the reign of Abū'l-ʿAbbās and became his companion. Khālid was an eloquent and good speaker, but a miser and famous for his many divorces. (...) The orator Shabīb ibn Shayba was his relative.

(Ibn Qutayba, Maʿārif, pp. 403-404)

2] Among the orators was ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿUrwa ibn az-Zubayr. They say that Khālid ibn Ṣafwān used to be compared with him. I have not heard of anyone as eloquent as Khālid ibn Ṣafwān and Shabīb ibn Shayba. People have memorized their words which circulate on the tongues of the people, and I have not heard that anybody would have claimed a single word of theirs as half-breed<sup>69</sup>.

(al-Ġāhiz, al-Bayān I:333)

3] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān never forgot what he had said earlier and he remembered all his previous speeches. Makkī ibn Suwāda has described him thus:

"He knows how to reveal words, is well trained,  
and remembers what he earlier said, word by word.  
He surpasses the select men in all assemblies by far,  
though it be the orator Saḥbān or Daghfal.  
When he begins to improvise, you see the other speakers  
as if they were male bustards who see a hawk."

(...) He was bald, and there is a book of his speeches which circulates in the bookshops.

(al-Ġāhiz, Bayān I:354-355)<sup>70</sup>

<sup>66</sup> This is missing in Ibn Qutayba's text but present in almost all other genealogies, see above.

<sup>67</sup> There is also another story about his nickname, see e.g. al-Ḥuṣrī, Zahr al-ādāb, p. 39.

<sup>68</sup> A very similar story about al-Ḥasan and ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Ahtam is found in Ibn ʿAbdrabbih, al-ʿIqd al-farīd III:148-149 and III:212.

<sup>69</sup> I.e. unclassical Arabic.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. al-Ḥuṣrī, Zahr al-ādāb, p. 954.



4] Khālid knew many stories about Islamic times and the battles against rebels, stories about Caliphs and traditionists and everything which the literary world deals with.

(Zahr al-ādāb, p. 954)

5] Among the eloquent speakers who made grammatical mistakes are Khālid ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī, Khālid ibn Ṣafwān al-Ahtamī and ʿIsā ibn al-Mudawwar.

(al-Ġāhiz, Bayān II:223)<sup>71</sup>

## 2. The eloquence of Khālid

6] Iyās ibn Muʿāwiya al-Muzanī Abū Wāthila – who was a witty and outstandingly wise man – said to Khālid: “We should not attend the same meeting.” “Why so, Abū Wāthila?”, asked Khālid, and he replied: “Because you don’t like to be quiet, and I don’t want to listen others!”

(al-Mubarrad, al-Kāmil II:44)<sup>72</sup>

7] The relations between Khālid ibn Ṣafwān and Shabīb ibn Shayba were such as to lead to discord caused by competing and mutual envy. They had an identical trade and they were relatives and neighbours. It was commonly said: “If it were not that they are the most gentle men of Tamīm, they would fight like a leopard and a lion.”

(al-Ġāhiz, Bayān I:68)

8] Shabīb ibn Shayba said to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān: “I know something which when two people meet each other and both have it, there will always be a successful outcome.” “What is it?”, asked Khālid, and Shabīb continued: “Reason, because a judicious man never asks anything which is not appropriate, and never denies anything which is possible.” To this Khālid said: “You have announced me my own death, for we belong to a family where one never dies before seeing his successor.”

(Ibn ʿAbdrabbih, al-ʿIqd al-farīd II:251)<sup>73</sup>

9] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān al-Minqarī heard Shabīb ibn Shayba, who was his relative, give a speech and said: “Young man, your excellence in your speech has announced me my own death, for we belong to a family where one never dies before seeing his successor.”

(Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt VI:24)<sup>74</sup>

10\*] Shabīb ibn Shayba said of Khālid ibn Ṣafwān: “He is a man who does not have secret friends nor open enemies.”—This is a saying the value of which is understood only by eloquent people.

(Ibn ʿAbdrabbih, al-ʿIqd al-farīd II:270)<sup>75</sup>

<sup>71</sup> In Ibn ʿAbdrabbih, al-ʿIqd al-farīd III:415 Khālid’s father Ṣafwān is called a laḥḥān, but this may be a mistake for Khālid ibn Ṣafwān. In al-ʿIqd al-farīd II:478 Abū ʿUbayda is quoted referring to the laḥn of Khālid, Khāqān, al-Faḥī ibn Khāqān and al-Walīd ibn ʿAbdalmalik.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. ar-Raghīb, al-Muḥāḍarāt I:69; al-Ḥuṣrī, Zahr al-ādāb, p. 199 (about Abū Wāthila and Ibn Shubruma).

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Ibn Qutayba, ʿUyūn al-akḥbār III:135.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. the long story about Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī, where Abū Tammām refers to this story when listening to al-Buḥturī, see al-Aghānī XVIII:175; Shurūḥ Saqt az-zand, p. 1348.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Ibn ʿAbdrabbih, al-ʿIqd al-farīd II:337 and III:105; Ibn Qutayba, ʿUyūn al-akḥbār III:84; al-Ġāhiz, Ḥayawān V:592; al-Ġāhiz, Bayān I:69 and I:354-355; al-Ḥuṣrī, Zahr al-ādāb, p. 953; Ibn abī l-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ Nahḡ al-balāgha V:500; al-ʿAskarī, Ṣināʿatayn, p. 310; see also Werkmeister, Quellenunter-

11] Shabīb ibn Shayba used to say: "I have never seen a speaker who has better memorized what he had composed nor remembered what he had said earlier than Khālid ibn Ṣafwān. He filled his compositions with metaphors which seemed impossible to come out, but then he undid the metaphors into clear words which were lucid and well explained. The listener did not understand what he was aiming at until Khālid had come to the end."

(al-‘Askarī, K. aṣ-Ṣinā‘atayn II:442)<sup>76</sup>

12] Khālid was a man of many slips and he did not stop to think about what he said.

(Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt III:12)

13\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "Travelling consists of three stages: first, decision; second, equipment; third, departure. The most difficult of these is the decision."

(al-‘Ābī, Nathr ad-durr IV:154)

14\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "Whoever does not have a mount, his mounts are of various kinds."

(al-‘Ābī, Nathr ad-durr IV:165)

15\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān passed by a man who had been crucified on the order of the Caliph, and said: "Now, here is a man who was cultivated by obedience and harvested by disobedience!"

(Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, al-‘Iqd al-farīd II:269)

16\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān used to hate jesting. He said: "People use to afflict their friend and to strike him with something more severe than iron and harder than rock and to pour on him something hotter than the water in a boiling cauldron, only to say: 'Oh, I just made fun of you!'"

(al-‘Ābī, Nathr ad-durr IV:181)<sup>77</sup>

17\*] Jests are the insults of the stupid. This was said by Khālid ibn Ṣafwān.

(az-Zamakhsharī, Mustaqṣā I:346)

18] (From Abū Tāhir:)<sup>78</sup> Once Khālid ibn Ṣafwān entered the public bath, and there was a man who wanted to give a show of his eloquence to him, and said to his son: "O my son, begin by washing your hands (*bi-yadāka*), and second your feet (*wa-thanni bi-riġlāka*)." Then he turned to Khālid and said: "Abū Ṣafwān, this is the language of men who have already passed away", but Khālid replied: "This is the language of men who have never been created by Allāh!"

(al-‘Ābī, Nathr ad-durr V:270)<sup>79</sup>

suchungen, p. 81.—There is much uncertainty in the versions whether these words were said by Shabīb of Khālid or vice versa.

<sup>76</sup> In a group of Shabīb stories (beginning in II:438).

<sup>77</sup> Cf. al-Ḥuṣrī, Zahr al-ādāb, p. 522 (some variants); ar-Raghīb, al-Muḥāḍarāt I:283, adds two verses ("I have a friend who always hurts me with his tongue // and is always striving at dishonouring me—just in jest") but they are obviously an additional comment by ar-Raghīb, not part of the Khālid story.

<sup>78</sup> From Ibn al-Ġawzī, Akhbār al-ḥamqā, p. 119.

<sup>79</sup> The same story is told of al-Aṣma‘ī in a slightly different form in, e.g., Ibn abī ‘Awn, al-Aġwiba al-muskita, p. 224:

A man said to his servant: "Help me by hand (read: *bi-yadāya*) that I may stand up." Then he turned towards al-Aṣma‘ī and said: "This is the language of men who have already passed away", but al-

19\*] Khālid used to say: "You will not be truly eloquent until you address your black slave girl during a dark night in an urgent matter in the same way as you speak at the assembly of your people. Verily, the tongue is a member which you have to train and if you neglect it, it will languish, just as you strengthen your hand by exercise, your body by lifting up stones and other things and your feet, with which you can walk, if you have accustomed them to walking."  
(al-Mubarrad, al-Kāmil II:20)<sup>80</sup>

20\*] Someone said to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān: "You speak too long." He replied: "I give long speeches only for two reasons: either when speaking briefly is not enough, or when I exercise my tongue, for bridling your tongue will make you tongue-tied."  
(al-Mubarrad, al-Kāmil II:20)<sup>81</sup>

21\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān heard somebody give a speech and lengthen it, and said: "Know, God bless you, that eloquence does not consist of a nimble tongue and lots of nonsense; it consists of attaining to the meaning and aiming at the point." The man answered: "Abū Ṣafwān, my most serious crime seems to be that I have the same profession as you!"  
(Ibn 'Abdrabbih, al-'Iqd al-farīd II:261)<sup>82</sup>

22] It is told that Khālid ibn Ṣafwān was speaking of something when a Medinese answered him with eloquence he did not expect to find in him. When the argument was prolonged, Khālid began to attack him, and the Medinese said: "Abū Ṣafwān, my only fault seems to be that I have the same profession as you!"  
(al-Ġāhiz, Bayān I:199)

23] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān was asked: "Who is the most eloquent man?", and he replied: "Al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī] because he said: 'Death has disgraced the earthly life.'  
(al-Ābī, Nathr ad-durr VII:113)<sup>83</sup>

24\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "What is a man without his tongue except a camel erring without a master, a beast running loose, or a painted picture."  
(al-Ġāhiz, R. fī ṣinā'at al-quwwād I:260)<sup>84</sup>

25\*] From Ibn al-A'rabī: Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "The best speech is this: its meaning is novel, its building stones are noble, and it entertains the listener."  
(Lisān al-'arab VIII:145)

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Aṣma'ī replied: "This is the language of men who have never been created by Allāh!"  
In Ibn al-Ġawzī, Akhbār al-ḥamqā, p. 119, this version is told of Khālid. The wrong, mostly hypercorrect, use of the dual nominative is a favourite target of many anecdotes. Ar-Raghīb collects several *lahn*-stories, some of which show the wrong use of the du. nom., in al-Muḥāḍarāt I:66-67 (e.g. *iftah 'aynāka wa-ḥarrīk shafatāka*).

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Ibn 'Abdrabbih, al-'Iqd al-farīd II:269-270.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Ibn 'Abdrabbih, al-'Iqd al-farīd II:269.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Ibn 'Abdrabbih, al-'Iqd al-farīd IV:190; al-Bayhaqī, Maḥāsin, p. 427.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Ibn abī'l-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ Nahḡ al-balāgha V:489 (".. if somebody said that because of this maxim al-Ḥasan is the most eloquent man, he would not err"). The maxim is found, e.g., in ar-Raghīb, al-Muḥāḍarāt IV:483.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. al-Ġāhiz, Bayān I:195 and I:366; al-Ġurḡānī, Asrār al-balāgha/Ritter, pp. 18-19.

26\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "There are three kinds of men: scholars, orators and men of letters. Besides these, there is the rirraff which causes prices to rise, crowds the marketplaces and spoils the water."

(Ibn 'Abdrabbih, al-'Iqd al-farīd II:293)

27\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "People are different.<sup>85</sup> Some of them are like dogs, always growling at others, some like pigs, always dirty and soiled, and some like monkeys, always laughing to themselves."

(ar-Raghīb, al-Muḥāḍarāt I:280)

28\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān extolled somebody and said: "He was an exquisite speaker with abundant words, his tongue was a Bedouin tongue, he was calm in his gestures, subtle in his allusions, with a fine character, most elegant and silent though he knew how to speak. He cured the mange and treated sores, he made little fuss and he hit the point, he grew not weary in his manliness, nor did he talk idle words, and he did not follow but was followed 'as if he were a roadmark with a fire on its top'<sup>86</sup>."

(Ibn 'Abdrabbih, al-'Iqd al-farīd II:136)<sup>87</sup>

29\*] [Al-Qālī] said: Abū Bakr told me: Abū Ḥātim told me: al-Aṣma'ī told us from al-'Alā' ibn al-Faḍl ibn 'Abdalmalik: Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said to a young man: "God bless your deceased father, for he used to fill the eye with his beauty and the ear with his eloquence!"

(al-Qālī, al-Amālī II:172)<sup>88</sup>

30\*] 'Waṣma' means a blemish in speech. This is the meaning in Khālid's words to someone: "God bless your father! I never saw a man more sedate in gushing forth his words, nor a well deeper than his nor anyone better in grasping the tail of an argument nor more discerning of blemishes and faults in speech as him!"

(Lisān al-'arab XV:320)<sup>89</sup>

31\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān was asked: "What is eloquence?" He answered: "Attaining to the meaning and aiming at the point."

(Ibn Rashīq, 'Umda I:245)<sup>90</sup>

32\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān described dates: "They are a gift to old people, a pacifier to babes and Mary's food after Jesus' birth."—In this he used the infinitive (*takhrisa*) as a noun.

(Lisān al-'arab IV:60)<sup>91</sup>

33\*] It is told that Khālid ibn Ṣafwān described a dirham: "It gives fine bread to eat and soft clothes to wear (*yuf'imu d-darmaq wa-yaksū n-narmaq*)."<sup>92</sup>

(Lisān al-'arab IV:338)<sup>93</sup>

<sup>85</sup> *An-nās akhyāf* is an often quoted proverb, see, e.g., al-Maydānī, Maḡma' al-amthāl III:394, and it is also used, e.g., by 'Abdalḥamīd al-Kātib (*rasā'il*, p. 289, no. 39).

<sup>86</sup> The verse is by al-Khansā', see her *Dīwān*, p. 40.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Ibn 'Abdrabbih, al-'Iqd al-farīd II:220-221; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, p. 916 (somewhat extended).

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *K. al-Badī'*, p. 6; Ibn Qutayba, 'Uyūn al-akhbār II:185.

<sup>89</sup> Also referred to in *Lisān al-'arab* I:52.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. also no. 21.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Ibn Durayd, *Ġamhara*, p. 584 (attributed to *raḡul min al-'arab*, and with slight differences).

<sup>92</sup> The text continues with a linguistic note that he changed the *kāf* in *darmaq* to *qāf*.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-lughā* IX:412; aṣ-Ṣaghānī, *Takmila* V:48b; Ibn Qutayba, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*

34\*] It is told that Khālid ibn Ṣafwān once said to his son: “You will not prosper this year, nor the following, nor the next, nor after that nor in the fifth year (*lā tufliḥu l-‘āma wa-lā qābila wa-lā qābba wa-lā qubāqiba wa-lā muqabqiba*).”—Ibn Barrī added from Ibn Sīda after this Khālid story: “Note the use of *qābb* in this sense.” Ibn Sīda said in his version: “Each of these words means the next following year, one after another”, and added: “According to al-Aṣma‘ī, the Bedouins do not use specific words for subsequent years.”

(Lisān al-‘arab XI:8)<sup>94</sup>

35\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān used to say: “To accept the slanderer’s words is even worse than slandering itself, because slandering is to point to evil but accepting it is to give permission to it. The one who points to something is not as bad as the one who accepts and gives permission.”

(at-Tawḥīdī, *Imtā‘* II:120)

36\*] Hishām ibn ‘Abdalmalik asked Khālid ibn Ṣafwān: “How did al-Aḥnaf attain his position among you?” Khālid replied: “I shall tell you one, two or three of his characteristics.” “What is the one characteristic?”, asked Hishām, and Khālid said: “He was most severe towards himself among people.” “Tell me now the two characteristics”, said Hishām, and Khālid said: “He was guarded against bad and loaded with good.” “And the three?” “He was not ignorant, nor unjust nor avaricious”, answered Khālid.

(Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, *al-‘Iqd al-farīd* II:278)

37\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān was asked why al-Aḥnaf became the lord of his tribe, and he said: “Because of his excellent control of himself.”

(Ibn Qutayba, *‘Uyūn al-akḥbār* I:327)<sup>95</sup>

38\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: “Al-Aḥnaf used to run away from glory, but glory was following him.”

(Ibn Qutayba, *‘Uyūn al-akḥbār* I:331)<sup>96</sup>

39\*] A Minqarī said: Once Khālid ibn Ṣafwān spoke on some matter in a way people had never heard the like of. Then a shabby, barefoot Bedouin happened to pass by and answered Khālid in a way that I wished I had died before hearing it. When Khālid saw what had happened to him, he said to me: “Woe to you! How could we keep up with them, while we only imitate them, or how could we beat them in a race, while we only follow the way they lead?” I said to him: “Abū Ṣafwān, I won’t blame you for the first, nor will I stop praising for the latter!”

(Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, *al-‘Iqd al-farīd* III:418)<sup>97</sup>

I:74; az-Zamakhsharī, *al-Fā‘iq* I:422.—There is a variant version with *yarmaq* (explained as equivalent to *yalmaq*) instead of *narmaq*, see Lisān al-‘arab XV:444; al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-lughā* IX:412.

<sup>94</sup> This is a stock piece in lexicographical literature, see e.g. al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ, s.v. QBB; Ibn Durayd *Ġamhara*, p. 176 and 1212; *Tahdhīb al-lughā* VIII:299; *Takmila* I:234; K. *al-‘Ayn* V:29. See also Kraemer, *Legajo-Studien*, p. 281 note 1.

<sup>95</sup> The questions about how al-Aḥnaf attained his position are almost a topos in Arabic literature (e.g. Ibn al-Farḍī, K. *al-Alqāb*, pp. 13-14).

<sup>96</sup> Cf. aṣ-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* XVI:357.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. al-Ġāhiz, *Bayān* I:199-200.

40\*] A Bedouin heard Khālid ibn Ṣafwān give a speech and said: “How come this man is not the lord of his people despite his eloquence?” Khālid replied: “Because I won’t give my wealth to people and because I hate the sword.”

(al-Ābī, *Nathr ad-durr* IV:184)

41\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān was asked about a son of his and he said: “He spares me from the business of this world and gives me time to concern myself with the Otherworld.”

(al-Ābī, *Nathr ad-durr* IV:196)

42] Yūnus<sup>98</sup> said: Once we went to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān to console him on the death of his son. When we arrived he was just quoting this verse:

“It has made me easier to bear this pain because I know  
that I shall join him in his abode today or tomorrow.”

(al-Marzubānī, *Nūr al-qabas*, p. 53)

43\*] Ibrāhīm ibn Ayyūb has told me: ‘Abdallāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutayba has told me as well as ‘Alī ibn Sulaymān al-Akhfash: Muḥammad ibn Yazīd has told us: Thābit Quṭna had been appointed as a governor to some county in Khurāsān. When he ascended the pulpit the first Friday, he wished to give a speech but found himself dumb-founded and unable to speak. Then he said: “God will give facility after difficulty<sup>99</sup> and eloquence after stammering. You need an emir ready to act more than one ready to speak:

Though I be not a great orator among you,

I really can express myself with my sword when the battle rages!”

This speech of his came to the ears of Khālid ibn Ṣafwān—or according to others al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays—and he said: “By God, never has the pulpit been ascended to by anyone more eloquent than he with these words. If any oration could move me with its beauty from my native town to visit the orator, this speech would have done it.”—This is more in accordance with Khālid ibn Ṣafwān’s style than al-Aḥnaf’s.

(K. al-Aghānī XIII:51)<sup>100</sup>

44\*] Somebody said to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān: “I like you!”, and he replied: “Why should you not: I am neither your neighbour, nor your brother nor cousin” – With this he meant that the closer you are to somebody, the more you envy him.

(Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, *al-‘Iqd al-farīd* II:327)

45\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: “There are four things which one cannot hope from me: a loan, religious duties, and any goods (*al-qarḍ wa’l-farḍ wa’l-‘arḍ*) or that I would trouble myself in someone else’s business.” He was asked: “What use can you then be

<sup>98</sup> Identified in p. 51 l. 16.

<sup>99</sup> Qur. 65:7.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. *Khizānat al-adab* IX:578-579. There is a more widely known version of this *khutba* with no mention of Khālid, see, e.g., Ibn Qutayba, *K. ash-Shi‘r wa’sh-shu‘arā’*, pp. 400-401, where the end goes: They said: “Had you recited this verse when still in the pulpit, you would have been the best of orators!” Cf. also Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, *al-‘Iqd al-farīd* IV:147-148. A similar *khutba* has also been attributed to ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān, cf., e.g., *ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā*, *al-Amālī* II:103.

to anyone, Abū Ṣafwān?" He replied: "Cool water and words which are unheard of earlier."

(Ibn Qutayba, Ma'ārif, p. 206)

46\*] I read to Abū 'Umar: Abū'l-'Abbās has told us from Ibn al-A'rābī<sup>101</sup>: Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "By God, every new day only increases our preference for this world to the other; yet each time it leaves us anew and deserts us again!"

(al-Qālī, Amālī II:197)

47\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān was asked: "Whom do you love better: your brother or your friend?" He answered: "If my brother were not also my friend, I would not like him at all!"

(al-Washshā', al-Muwashshā', p. 41)

48\*] (Ḥabīb ibn Naṣr al-Muhallabī has told me)<sup>102</sup> from 'Umar ibn Shabba: ar-Ra'ī<sup>103</sup> ibn al-Khaṭṭāb has told me: Abū Nukhayla built a house and Khālid ibn Ṣafwān happened to pass by. Abū Nukhayla said to him: "Abū Ṣafwān, what do you think of my new house?" Khālid replied: "I think that you are importunate when you ask about it, and I think you have wasted your money in it extravagantly. Then you stretch one of your hands out asking something, and fill the other with excrement saying: 'Either put something in my hand or otherwise I smear you with excrement.'<sup>104</sup>" Then Khālid turned away and left him. Somebody said to Abū Nukhayla: "Why don't you lampoon him in your poems?", but he replied: "By Jove, then he would go riding around with his mule attending every party in Baṣra and describing my house with blemishes!"

(Yāqūt, Irshād IV:161)<sup>105</sup>

49] Khālid did not use to compose poems. It is told that once he had promised al-Farazdaq something and had been slow to fulfill his promise for he was a miser. Al-Farazdaq happened to pass by and he threatened him, but Khālid did not say anything until al-Farazdaq had gone. Then he turned to his friends saying: "This man has stretched one of his hands out asking for something and filled the other with excrement saying: 'Either you fill my hand or I smear you with excrement.'"

(al-Mubarrad, al-Kāmil II:44)<sup>106</sup>

<sup>101</sup> This *isnād* is given to the preceding piece, and is only referred to in the present anecdote as "*bi-hādhā l-isnād*".

<sup>102</sup> From K. al-Aghānī XVIII:141.

<sup>103</sup> Az-Za'ī in Tha'lab, Maḡālis, p. 416.

<sup>104</sup> I.e. by threatening with a biting satire.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. K. al-Aghānī XVIII:141; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ṭabaqāt, pp. 62-63 (Abū Ishāq an-Nawfalī has told: Abū Nukhayla built a house on land which he had bought. Then he came to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān and said: "I want you to come along and see what I have built." Khālid consented, and when they came in, Abū Nukhayla asked: "Now what do you think, Abū Ṣafwān?" He replied: "If I tell you the truth, you'll be angry with me!" "Not me!", said Abū Nukhayla, and Khālid—who was a most eloquent man—said: "I think that you are importunate when you ask about it and that you have extravagantly wasted your money. Then you stretch out one of your hands asking something, and fill the other with excrement saying: 'Either put something in my hand or otherwise I smear you with excrement.'"—Abū Nukhayla was put to shame and did not reply); Tha'lab Maḡālis, p. 416 (here the last phrase goes: "... and he would attend meetings for a whole year describing my nose without repeating a word twice").

<sup>106</sup> Cf. ar-Raghīb, al-Muḥāḍarāt I:80 (characters: al-Farazdaq and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī).

50\*] My uncle has told me: al-Karānī told us: al-‘Umrī told us from al-‘Utbī: Hishām ibn ‘Abdalmalik, who was then the Emir, said to Sabba ibn ‘Iqāl in the presence of Ğarīr, al-Farazdaq and al-Akhṭal: “Wouldn’t you speak about these who have torn their reputations, shattered their decency and incited their tribes in a business where there is no good, no godliness and no profit! Which one of them is the best poet?” Sabba replied: “Ğarīr ladles from the sea, al-Farazdaq chisels from the rock, and al-Akhṭal excels in *madḥ* and *fakhr*<sup>107</sup>.” Hishām burst out: “You have told us nothing useful!”, but Sabba defended himself: “I have nothing more than what I have said.” Hishām turned to Khālid and said: “Describe them for us, Ibn al-Ahtam!”

Khālid said: “The greatest of them in *fakhr*, whose fame goes the furthest, who is the best in apologizing, the strongest in his desire, the least in *ghazal*<sup>108</sup>, and who presents the sweetest pretexts, who overflows in his boasts, flares in his rage and is lofty in his pomp, speaks verse when he roars, and assaults when he parades, who uses correct language and gives free vent to his imagination—this is al-Farazdaq.

Best of them in description, whose verses are most panegyric and who makes the fewest slips, and when he lampoons, he debases, but when he lauds, he raises to the skies—this is al-Akhṭal.

But the most abundant and the most delicate, who tears to pieces the fame of his enemies, the noble and well known, who attains when he chases, and who is not caught when he is chased—this is Ğarīr. Yet all of them are pure-hearted, noble statured, and sparkling firebrands.”

Maslama ibn ‘Abdalmalik said to Khālid: “Never have we heard of anyone like you, Khālid, among the Ancients, nor seen among the Moderns. I stand witness that you are better in description than these three poets, that you have a more subtle sentiment and that you speak more chastely, and that your actions are more noble.”

Khālid replied: “May God grant his favours to you and may He shower His gifts upon you abundantly! May He make an exile a home with your presence and may He dispel all anxieties with you! You, by God, oh Emir, you are of noble mind, discerning of people, generous at the time of famine, you smile when you give, you are mild even when angered. You stand at the top of Quraysh, you are the sap of ‘Abdshams, and your present day is even better than your yesterday!”

Hishām burst out laughing and said: “I have never seen anyone guard himself, Ibn Ṣafwān, better than you did in lauding and describing them. You made them all content and came unharmed from them<sup>109</sup>.”

(K. al-Aghānī VII:73)<sup>110</sup>

51\*] (...) <sup>111</sup>. Maslama said: “Then describe us the ten poets.” “That is easily done”, answered Khālid, “The best of them in *nasīb*<sup>112</sup> and flirting and the heaviest in in-

<sup>107</sup> Panegyric poems which either praise the patron (*madḥ*) or the poet himself (*fakhr*) or their tribe etc.

<sup>108</sup> Love poetry.

<sup>109</sup> I read with al-Ḥuṣrī *salimta minhum*.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Yāqūt, *Irshād* IV:160-161; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, pp. 688-689.

<sup>111</sup> The passage begins with the same description of al-Farazdaq, Ğarīr and al-Akhṭal as in no. 50. Maslama ibn ‘Abdalmalik is here given throughout instead of his brother, the Caliph Hishām ibn ‘Abdalmalik.



citing is Imru'ulqays. The bravest of them in his words, the noblest in his lineage and the most generous in his deeds is Zuhayr. The preponderant in his words, the noblest in position and the most illustrious in his battles is Aws ibn Ḥaḡar. The purest in his language, who builds his poems most solidly and the readiest to obey is an-Nābigha. The best in describing a chase of animals, the most effective in his cunning and the proudest in carrying his chains is 'Adī ibn Zayd. The best in describing arms, divination arrows and fierce battles is Ibn Muqbil. The best in describing noble lords<sup>113</sup> and the one who has earned hundreds and the best of all in eulogy is al-Ḥuṭay'a. The most biting satirist with the easy flowing words and the best in producing maxims is Ṭarafa. The most chaste of them as to wine, and the most inciting to war and the most truthful is Salāma ibn Ġandal.

(al-Bayhaqī, Maḡāsin, p. 458-459)

52\*] Muḡammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Durayd has told us: Abū 'Uthmān al-Ushnāndānī has told us from at-Tawwazī from Abū 'Ubayda from Yūnus: Somebody said to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān: "'Abda ibn aṭ-Ṭabīb did not master invective poetry." Khālid replied: "Don't say so, for by Jove, he did not refrain from it because of incapability, but because he felt himself to be above that, and he thought it base, so he thought it noble and manly to neglect it. He said:

The most insolent in finding faults in men  
behind their backs is, methinks, the faulty."

(al-Aghānī XVIII:165)<sup>114</sup>

53\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said to his son: "My son, I counsel you in two things, and as long as you keep them, you will be safe: your money for your subsistence and your religion for the hereafter."

(Ibn 'Abdrabbih, al-'Iqd al-farīd III:29)<sup>115</sup>

54\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān admonished his son: "Be outwardly as well off as possible, and be inwardly as little attached to this world as possible and leave those secret deeds which would not fit you publicly."

(Ibn 'Abdrabbih, al-'Iqd al-farīd III:153)<sup>116</sup>

55\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "It is not proper to give anything to ignorant, ignoble or foolish people. The ignorant do not understand your kindness and are not grateful to you, the ignoble are a salty land which does not produce crop, and the fool say: 'He gave it to me because he was afraid of my tongue'."

(al-Ābī, Nathr ad-durr IV:189)

56\*] Beware your eye for it betrays you more easily than your tongue. This was said by Khālid ibn Ṣafwān.

(al-Maydānī, Maḡma' I:362)

57\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "The one who should more than anyone else forgive is the one who is capable of punishing, and the most stupid man of all is he who wrongs

<sup>112</sup> The erotic prelude of a longer poem.

<sup>113</sup> I read *as-sayyidīn*.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Yāqūt, Irshād IV:161.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. ar-Raghīb, al-Muḡāḡarāt II:491.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Ġa'far ibn Shamsalkhilāfa, K. al-adab, p. 13.

the one who is below him.”

(Yāqūt, Irshād IV:165)

58\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: “Beware the mangonels of the poor!”—meaning the prayers. He also said: “Only the prayers of the sincere or the wronged are answered!”

(al-Ġāḥiẓ, Bayān III:234)<sup>117</sup>

59\*] Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Durayd has told us: ‘Abdalawwal ibn Murayd has told us: Ibn abī Suwayya has told us from al-‘Alā’ ibn Ġarīr: Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: “The great are debased when they are after their personal benefit, and the lowly are glorified when they plunge into dangers.”

(al-‘Askarī, al-Maṣūn fī l-adab, p. 130-131)<sup>118</sup>

60\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: “Do not ask anything at the wrong time or from the wrong person and do not ask for what does not suit you, for then you will be prone to be denied what you ask.”

(Ibn Qutayba, ‘Uyūn al-akḥbār III:135)<sup>119</sup>

61\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: “It is better to miss what one pursues than to ask it of persons not worthy of asking, and worse than a calamity is its bad consequence.”<sup>120</sup>

(Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, al-‘Iqd al-farīd I:241)<sup>121</sup>

62\*] And he<sup>122</sup> said: “The key for attaining one’s wish is to be patient even if one has to wait a long time, and the lock for it is to become lazy before reaching it.”

(Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, al-‘Iqd al-farīd I:241)

63\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān was asked: “How can you stand your shabby old clothes?” He answered: “There is many a friend you have grown weary of but whom you cannot leave.”

(Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, al-‘Iqd al-farīd III:210)<sup>123</sup>

64\*] Somebody asked Khālid ibn Ṣafwān: “How come when I hear you telling each other stories, studying traditions together and reciting poems, I always fall asleep?” He replied: “Because you are a donkey in man’s clothes.”

(al-Ġāḥiẓ, Bayān I:195-196)<sup>124</sup>

65\*] When he was asked: “Are you never bored with stories<sup>125</sup>?”, Khālid ibn Ṣafwān answered: “One gets bored with old ones only.”

(at-Tawḥīdī, al-Imtā‘ II:24)<sup>126</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Cf. al-Ġāḥiẓ, al-Bayān I:366.

<sup>118</sup> In the same work Ibn abī Suwayya (p. 182) and al-‘Alā’ ibn Ġarīr (p. 209) are found in the *isnāds* of al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays stories.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, al-‘Iqd al-farīd I:241 (differs); Yāqūt, Irshād IV:165; Ibn abī l-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ Nahḡ al-balāgha V:377.

<sup>120</sup> The importance of not asking lowly people is a favoured topos in Middle Eastern maxims, cf., e.g., Sa‘dī, Gulistān, p. 95ff.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Ibn Qutayba, ‘Uyūn al-akḥbār III:150.

<sup>122</sup> This seems to refer to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān who was mentioned immediately above.

<sup>123</sup> The same story is told about Abū l-Aswad ad-Du‘alī in a slightly longer form in ar-Raghīb, al-Muḥāḍarāt IV:367.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Ibn Qutayba, ‘Uyūn al-akḥbār II:136.

<sup>125</sup> In Arabic *ḥadīth*, ‘new’, cf. Italian novella, English novel.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. at-Tawḥīdī, al-Imtā‘ II:23 (this passage is also discussed in D. Gutas, Greek wisdom literature,

66\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān has said: “If the burden of virtue (*murū’a*) were not heavy and to carry it laborious, base people would not have left any of it to the noble ones, but as it is heavy to bear and laborious to carry, the base have abandoned it and the noble taken it to themselves.”  
(al-Washshā’, al-Muwashshā, p. 51)<sup>127</sup>

67\*] Somebody said to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān: “Welcome!”, and he answered: “May your valley be spacious and your company noble!”  
(ar-Raghīb, al-Muḥāḍarāt II:406)

68\*] It is told that when Sufyān [ibn Mu‘āwiya ibn Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab] was appointed governor he summoned Khālid ibn Ṣafwān who had, like him, lost a son in war. Sufyān said: “Console me!” Khālid replied: “You and me, we are like the wailing woman who said:

Help me, oh sisters – yet woe to me and to you!”

Sufyān grew angry and said: “Now you have revived my sorrow!”, but Khālid said: “May it console you in your pain that you, too, will not remain!”

(al-Balādhurī, Ansāb III:178)

69] Yaḥyā ibn Sa‘īd al-Umawī said: I heard al-A‘mash say to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān: “I know that your house is known only because of my fame so that people say: it’s near al-A‘mash’ house.” “Yes”, said Khālid, “so they also call places by the names of famous cuppers.”<sup>128</sup>  
(Ibn Qutayba, ‘Uyūn al-akhbār II:232)

70\*] When Khālid ibn Ṣafwān was asked about al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, he said: “More than anybody else’s his public character resembled his secret character and vice versa, and more than anybody else he himself observed what he ordered others to do. What a man he was! He did not need the material wealth in the possession of others, while others needed the spiritual wealth in his possession.”

(Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, al-‘Iqd al-farīd II:230)

71\*] The late Abū Bakr ibn al-Anbārī has told us: Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā an-Naḥwī has told us: ‘Abdallāh ibn Shabīb has told us: Shabīb ibn Shayba<sup>129</sup> said to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān: “Whom of your friends do you like most?” Khālid answered: “The one who repairs the damages inflicted upon me, forgives my mistakes and accepts my apologies.”

(al-Qālī, al-Amālī I:195)<sup>130</sup>

pp. 459-460). Cf. also Ibn Buṭlān, The Physician’s dinner party (ed. F. Klein-Franke. Wiesbaden 1985), p. 25 (“a *ḥadīth* is always, as its name tells, new”).

<sup>127</sup> Cf. ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, al-Amālī II:262 (where erroneously *mar’a* for *murū’a*).

<sup>128</sup> The translation of the end is free because the text of ‘Uyūn al-akhbār is here corrupt and reads: “*ṣadaqta: mithla ḥammāmi ‘Antara wa-yuqālu: Wardān wa-Bayṭār ḥayyān*” (the last word has been bracketed by the editor). The references are to several places in Kūfa, viz. places known by the name of ‘*Antara al-ḥaḡḡām*’ (‘A. the Cupper) and his colleagues *Rawwās* (text: *Wardān*) and *Bayṭār-ḥayyān*, see al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-buldān, p. 282, all places known by the name of lowly people. As al-A‘mash was a Kūfan scholar and the references are to Kūfan places, it seems possible that the scene is set in Kūfa, and the attribution to Khālid is thus somewhat uncertain, as the overwhelming majority of his stories are situated in his native Baṣra.

<sup>129</sup> Text reads *Shabba*.

72\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "Be generous with your money to your friends, with your happy countenance and a polite greeting to your acquaintances, with your help and friendly presence to common people and with your justness to your enemy, but be stingy with your religion and your reputation to all and sundry." (Yāqūt, *Irshād* IV:165)<sup>131</sup>

73\*] Abū Bakr has told us: al-ʿUklī told us from his father: ʿAbdalmalik once asked al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ what faults he had. Al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ hesitated but the Caliph was adamant, and finally al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ said: "I am sharp, envious, spiteful, obstinate and hard." When he heard this Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "He has ascribed to himself every possible evil and deviated from all good. He has eagerly blamed himself, shown his character's vile-ness, and given decisive witness that he exceeds in unbelief and has left the shelter of his Lord and become very much like the devil who has misguided him."

(al-Qālī, *Amālī* II:111)<sup>132</sup>

74\*]<sup>133</sup> Ṣāliḥ ibn Shaykh ibn ʿAmīra ibn Ḥayyān ibn Surāqa al-Asdī fell seriously ill in early 217. Ibrāhīm al-Mahdī has told the following story: I came to see him and found him somewhat recovered. We began talking and among other subjects we spoke about his grandfather ʿAmīra, one of whose full-brothers had died. He had left no heir, so it was very heavy to ʿAmīra, but then one of his brother's concubines was found to be pregnant by him. She gave birth to a baby girl after the father's death. ʿAmīra was relieved of some of his grief, and she moved to his house with the baby. He gave the baby precedence over his own children, girls as well as boys, until she grew up. Then he wished to find her a suitable husband. Whenever somebody asked her hand from him, he took the trouble to make a thorough investigation as to the suitor's family and his character.

One who asked her hand was a nephew of Khālid ibn Ṣafwān ibn al-Ahtam at-Tamīmī. ʿAmīra knew the family of the young man so he said to him: "Young man, as to your family, I know it and need not investigate it: you are fully equal with my brother's daughter in noble descent. Yet I shall not marry her to anybody until I know his character. If you can stay with me in my house for a year, I shall get to know your character during this time as I have got to know others before you. Be welcome! But if you cannot, you may return to your family: we have given orders to have everything ready for you and have all that you may need carried to you." The young man chose to stay.

Ṣāliḥ ibn Shaykh continued: My father said that grandfather had told him that every night he got contradictory evidence of the youth's character: somebody described him as nicely as possible, another as badly as possible. The contradictions in the reports forced him to disbelieve all of them, so he wrote to Khālid: "Salutations!

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Ibn Qutayba, ʿUyūn al-akhbār III:23; al-Washshā, al-Muwashshā, p. 33 (differs); al-Mubarrad, al-Kāmil II:167; al-ʿAbī, *Nathr ad-durr* IV:170 (differs).

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, al-Adab al-kabīr, p. 65 (slight variants, no mention of Khālid).

<sup>132</sup> Cf. also Ibn ʿAbdrabbih, al-ʿIqd al-farīd II:324 l. 4ff.

<sup>133</sup> There are some mistakes in the text, but they have been corrected in the translation without a further note.

Your nephew came to ask the hand of my nephew. If his character is in harmony with his descent, he will be a good husband for her and it will be a pleasure for me to write the marriage contract. If you would kindly give me your opinion of what to do with your nephew, I would greatly appreciate it: the one who is asked for opinion is the one who is trusted. Write what you think about this, by God's permission."

Khālid replied: "I have received your letter and read it. The father of my nephew had a most pleasing character but he was very ugly. He was most forgiving when he was mistreated and very generous, but he was plagued by his ugly appearance and his foul outlook. My nephew's mother, on the other hand, was the most beautiful of all God's creatures but had a very bad character and was most avaricious and stupid; I have never seen anyone more stupid. Now my nephew inherited all the bad features of both his parents, but nothing of their good features. If you want to marry your nephew to him despite of what I have told about him, go ahead. If you do not want, I wish to God that your nephew will find a good spouse."

When he had read the letter my grandfather gave orders to serve the youth a good meal and to give him a swift camel, and he appointed someone to see him off Kūfa.

— Ibrāhīm said: I found the story pleasing, so I memorized it.

(Ibn al-Qifī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā'*, pp. 389-390)<sup>134</sup>

75] Someone said to Khālid: "Your father was ugly, yet gentle, and your mother was beautiful, but frivolous. Poor you, you have combined the bad characteristics of both your parents!"

(al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, p. 1079)<sup>135</sup>

76\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān saw an ignoble young man whose parents had been noble, and said:

"Let people not wonder at you and your parents:  
dross from silver, there is nothing to be wondered."

(ar-Raghīb, *al-Muḥāḍarāt* I:337)

77] One of the famous misers was Hishām ibn ʿAbdalmalik. Khālid ibn Ṣafwān has told: Once I came to Hishām and entertained him with my witticisms. At the end he said: "Now, what do you want?" I said: "Oh Commander of the Believers, I wish to have an increase of ten dinars in my allowance." He was silent for a while and then said: "Why? What for? How? Is it for a pious purpose, or for something you have suffered for the sake of the Commander of the Believers? Oh no, Ibn Ṣafwān! If it were so, everybody would be asking, and the treasure house would not stand it." I said to him: "God bless you, oh Commander of the Believers, and guide you! You are, by Jove, just like the Khuzaʿite<sup>136</sup> said:

When the bonds of kinship or those of friendship  
do not oblige you to give,

<sup>134</sup> Cf. also the 11th century Persian translation Qeḏī, *Tārīkh ol-ḥokamā'*, pp. 525-526.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. a story told about a Bedouin in Ibn ʿAbdrabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* III:472. Elsewhere similar stories are told about, e.g., ʿUmāra ibn ʿUqayl (see Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbā'*, p. 108), and in Western anecdotes, e.g., about Mark Twain and about Albert Einstein.

<sup>136</sup> Reference is to Kuthayyir ʿAzza.

you refuse, but refusing is sometimes but discretion and strength.

Only those worth it may have their share of your wealth.”

Later he was asked: “Why on earth did you make avarice beautiful in his eyes?” “I hoped”, he answered, “that he would also turn others down, so that the number of those who blame him would grow!”

(Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, al-‘Iqd al-farīd VI:175-176)<sup>137</sup>

78] Once Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān met al-Farazdaq whom he used to make fun of. Now, al-Farazdaq was ugly, so Khālīd said to him: “Abū Firās, you really are not the one whom ‘they praised and cut their hands’<sup>138</sup>.” Al-Farazdaq replied: “And you, Abū Ṣafwān, are not the one about whom the girl said to his father: ‘Hire him, for the best to be hired is the strong and reliable’<sup>139</sup>.”

(Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, al-‘Iqd al-farīd IV:42)<sup>140</sup>

79] Al-Aṣma‘ī has told: Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān married his slave to his slave girl, and the slave asked: “Could you call people together and make a speech?” Khālīd replied: “You call them!” The slave called them, and when the guests had arrived, Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān gave his speech: “Allāh is too majestic and exulted to be mentioned in the marriage of these two dogs, so I just make you witness that I have herewith married this whore to this son-of-a-bitch!”

(Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, al-‘Iqd al-farīd IV:151)<sup>141</sup>

80\*] Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān said: “The whole night I stayed awake making wishes until I filled the green sea with red gold. Yet I realized that what was enough, was two loaves of bread, two jugs of water and two old rags<sup>142</sup>.”

(Ibn Qutayba, ‘Uyūn al-akhbār II:396)<sup>143</sup>

81\*] Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān met Thābit al-Banānī and Muḥammad ibn Wāsi‘ at the door of some king and said: “What brings you here? You are not driven here except for your misfortune. Likewise, we join you for our happiness.”

(Ibn abī ‘Awn, al-Aḡwiba al-muskita, no. 469)

82\*] Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān said: “Be honest in little matters even though they might bring you some harm, so that you can lie in the great matters which will profit you.”

(ar-Raghīb, al-Muḥāḍarāt I:122)

<sup>137</sup> Cf. also no. 101.

<sup>138</sup> Qur. 12:31. This is a reference to Joseph, the male paragon of beauty.

<sup>139</sup> Qur. 28:26, referring to Moses.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Ibn Qutayba, K. ash-Shi‘r, p. 293; Ibn Qutayba, ‘Uyūn al-akhbār I:435; al-Marzubānī, Nūr al-qabas, p. 204; Ibn abī ‘Awn, al-Aḡwiba al-muskita, no. 109; at-Tawḥīdī, al-Imtā‘ III:168; ar-Raghīb, al-Muḥāḍarāt III:283.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. al-Ġāḥiẓ, al-Bayān II:254.

<sup>142</sup> The ‘two old rags’ is a topos which is used, e.g., in the poem by Mu‘āwiya on his death bed (e.g. Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, al-‘Iqd al-farīd III:232): “Would that I had not been given the kingdom for a moment .. and had been a man of two old rags and a morsel of food ..”. In the maqāmas of al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī, the man in rags (*ṭimrān*, *aṭmār*) is frequently mentioned.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. al-Ġāḥiẓ, Bayān III:147; al-Ābī, Nathr ad-durr VII:134; Ibn abī'l-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ Nahḡ al-balāgha II:423.

83\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "When I hear a story, I will not pass it forward before seasoning and flavouring it." He also said: "I hear a bare story and I clothe it, and I hear a featherless story and add the feathers to it."

(ar-Raghīb, al-Muḥāḍarāt I:123)

84] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān asked ʿAmr ibn ʿUbayd: "Why don't you accept money from me so that you could pay your debts, if you have some, and give presents to your relatives?" ʿAmr answered: "As to debts, I have none, and as to presents to relatives, they are not incumbent on me, and I cannot afford them, for that matter." "But why don't you accept money from me?", asked Khālid, and ʿAmr replied: "I don't want to accept money because no one has ever accepted anything without having been debased in front of the donor, and I do not want to be debased in front of you."

(ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, al-Amālī I:170)

85\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "I am sometimes so weary of everything that I am disgusted even with myself to the limit that I wish that my head were taken from me and would be returned to me only once a week!"

(ar-Raghīb, al-Muḥāḍarāt I:280)

### 3. Khālid and the ruling class

#### 3a. General<sup>144</sup>

86\*] One of Khālid ibn Ṣafwān's maxims was: "If a prince makes you his brother, take him as your lord; do not let excessive familiarity cause you to act heedlessly or to be negligent."

(Yāqūt, Irshād IV:165)<sup>145</sup>

87\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "Whosoever accompanies a prince with veracity and sincere advice has more enemies than he who accompanies him with deceit and falseness, for he is hated and envied by both the prince's enemies and his friends; his friends compete with him in attaining higher positions and his enemies hate him for his sincere advice."

(Ibn ʿAbdrabbih, al-ʿIqd al-farīd I:11)<sup>146</sup>

88\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "Do not attach yourself to a ruler before you have trained yourself. Join them, if you can take care of what they have given you to accomplish, if you are trustworthy when they trust you, if you are cautious when they allow you to come nearer, if you are humble when they are harsh to you, if you are content when they irritate you, and when you teach them, you do it so that it seems that it is you who is learning from them, and when you refine their manners, you do it so that it seems that they are refining your manners. Otherwise, you had better stay as far

<sup>144</sup> In this chapter, there are several fragments which are also found in Ibn al-Muqaffa's al-Adab al-kabīr (see notes to the individual stories). It seems possible that their attribution to Khālid is erroneous, but this is by no means sure. It is also conceivable that Ibn al-Muqaffa has borrowed material from his equally famous older contemporary, or that this has been done by later redactors of his work. Whatever the case is, it must be admitted that these passages well fit their context in Ibn al-Muqaffa's work.

<sup>145</sup> Almost identical with Ibn al-Muqaffa, al-Adab al-kabīr, p. 35 (where the order of the phrases is reversed).

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Ḡaʿfar ibn Shamsalkhilāfa, K. al-Adab, p. 29; Ibn al-Muqaffa, al-Adab al-kabīr, pp. 44-45.

from them as possible, and beware of them as much as you can!"

(Ĝa‘far ibn Shamsalkhilāfa, K. al-Adab, p. 29)<sup>147</sup>

### 3b. Khālid and ‘Umar ibn ‘Abdal‘azīz

89\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān consoled ‘Umar ibn ‘Abdal‘azīz and at the same time congratulated him for the caliphate saying: "Praise be to God that He blessed the people through you and praise to Him that He has been merciful to the people by raising your dynasty and has protected them through your Caliphate and given them an example in the calamity that has fallen on you, and put yourself as a model for them."

(al-Ḥuṣṣī, Zahr al-ādāb, p. 1079)

90\*] The Eloquent Arab: Khālid ibn Ṣafwān ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Amr ibn al-Ahtam Abū Ṣafwān at-Tamīmī al-Minqarī al-Ahtamī al-Baṣrī, one of the eloquent Arabs. He took part in delegations to ‘Umar ibn ‘Abdal‘azīz and Hishām and preached to both. He said: "I have sworn to God that I shall not be with a king in private without reminding him of God." Ad-Dāraqūṭnī said: "He was a great transmitter of stories." (...) Once he came to ‘Umar ibn ‘Abdal‘azīz who said to him: "Admonish me, Khālid." He replied: "It does not please God that anyone were above you, so take care that no one be more laudable than you." ‘Umar wept until he fainted. When he recovered he said: "Oh Khālid, He really is not pleased to see anyone above me, so I shall verily fear Him and beware of Him. I shall verily look forward to Him and love Him. I shall thank Him and praise Him; to this I shall earnestly strive to the utmost limits of my abilities. I shall also strive towards being just, impartial and ascetic towards this transitory world because it will vanish. I shall also strive, until I meet God, in hope for the Other world because it is lasting. Perhaps I shall be among those who are saved and who will win." Then he wept until he fainted again.

(aṣ-Ṣafadī, Wāfi XIII:254-255)<sup>148</sup>

### 3c. Khālid and Hishām ibn ‘Abdalmalik

91\*] (I have been told the story of this king by Ĝa‘far ibn Muḥammad al-Faryābī and Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdal‘azīz ibn al-Ĝa‘d al-Washshā’. Both of them said: Ishāq ibn al-Bahlūl al-Anbārī has told us: My father al-Bahlūl ibn Ḥassān at-Tanūkhī has told me: Ishāq ibn Ziyād, from banī Sāma ibn Lu‘ayy has told me from Shabīb ibn Shayba)<sup>149</sup>: Khālid ibn Ṣafwān has said: I went to Hishām in a delegation and found him enjoying freshly pressed olive oil—that happened in a year when the spring rains had begun early and been followed by other rains, the earth had taken its embellished robe which looked just as if carpets and Egyptian clothes had been spread everywhere. The soil smelled like camphor, and if a piece of steak had been put on it, it would not have

<sup>147</sup>Cf. Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, al-Adab al-kabīr, pp. 60-62.

<sup>148</sup>In al-Ĝāḥiz, Bayān II:119-122, Khālid instead reports a long sermon by ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Ahtam to ‘Umar ibn ‘Abdal‘azīz, obviously on the occasion of his ascent on the throne. According to a note in the edition of Bayān (II:119) the sermon is attributed to Khālid himself in Sirat ‘Umar ibn ‘Abdal‘azīz.

<sup>149</sup>The isnād is taken from K. al-Aghānī II:35.



became dusty. Silken tents, which Yūsuf ibn ʿUmar had sent to him from Yemen, had been erected for him, glittering like pure gold.

He sent for me and I came to him and stayed standing without saying anything until he looked at me as if he were waiting for me to speak<sup>150</sup>, so I said: "Oh Commander of the Believers, may God make His blessings perfect to you and may He protect you from all adversities! With this meeting God has embellished my name and made my fame scented, since He has allowed me to see the face of the Commander of the Believers. I cannot see anything more suitable for this meeting than to remind the Commander of the Believers of the exceeding grace of God towards him, so that he may thank God for what He has given. Nothing is here more appropriate than a story of an ancient Persian king. If the Caliph gives me permission, I shall tell him the story." "Go ahead", said the Caliph, and Khālid began:

A Persian king combined in himself the vigour of youth, soundness of character, wideness of domination and copiousness of wealth. This all happened in Khawarnaq. Once he looked out of a window and said to those who were present: "Have you ever heard of anybody who has been given as much as I have been given?" One of the learned and wise men said: "If you allow me I shall speak." "Say what you want", said the king, and he asked: "What do you think of all this that you have? Is it permanent, or will it vanish? Is it something that belonged to others before you, and they lost it before it came to you, and similarly it will vanish from you?" "Surely", said the king, "it is something that belonged to others, vanished from them before it came to me, and that likewise it will vanish from me." "So you are happy with something the bliss of which will soon be gone and the consequences of which will remain. You are in this bliss but a short while and you will be pledged to it for a long time." The king wept and cried: "Where can I escape?" "There are two possibilities", answered the man, "either you stay in your kingship and use your power in obedience of your Lord, or you throw a coarse cloth on your shoulders and go to the mountains to serve there your Lord until your time is full." "What is my part if I do so?", asked the king, and he replied: "A life which will never end in death, a youth which will never vanish, a health which will never break down and a new reign which will never come to close." The king went to the mountains and stayed there until his death.

Then I recited to Hishām the following verses of ʿAdī ibn Zayd:

Think of the lord of Khawarnaq who woke up one day  
—and we should think of the guidance—  
and was delighted by his wealth, the width of his reign  
and the sea before him and Sadīr.

Then he repented in his heart and said:

"What bliss is there for a being bound to death?"

Having heard this Hishām burst in tears, rose and went to his private rooms. His chamberlain said to me: "You have earned yourself a bad wage. The Commander of the Believers summoned you to tell stories and to entertain him. You know that he is ill, and now you have done nothing less than announce his very death to him!"

<sup>150</sup> This belongs to the normal court etiquette as described in, e.g., pseudo-al-Ġāhiz, K. at-Tāğ.

For several days I was anticipating a punishment but then his chamberlain came to me saying: "The Caliph has given you a present and has given you permission to leave."

(Ibn Qutayba, 'Uyūn al-akhbār II:368-370)<sup>151</sup>

92] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: I accompanied Yūsuf ibn 'Umar to Hishām ibn 'Abdalmalik. I came to him when he had just set out in the company of his relatives and servants and the tents had been pitched out for him in the open. When the people sat down I stepped afore and waited looking at him. When he had noticed me, I said to him: "Oh Commander of the Believers, may God make his blessings perfect upon you and may He ordain your Caliphate to be full of justice and may He not mix your happiness with any misfortunes! Oh Commander of the Believers, I wish to give you a very good counsel from the stories of ancient kings."

Hishām sat up—he had been reclining on the bed—and said: "Speak up, Ibn Ṣafwān", and I said: "Oh Commander of the Believers, a king before you set out in a time before your time to this very place and said to his companions: 'Have you ever heard of anybody who has been given as much as I have been given?' There was a learned and wise man who guided to the Truth and followed the path of God. He said: 'Your majesty, you have asked a formidable question. Do you give me permission to answer?' 'Answer', said the king, and he said: 'Do you think that what you have will vanish?' 'Yes it will', answered the king, and the man continued: 'Why do you then admire something which you possess but a short while, but about which you will be asked for a long time and you will be pledged to it?' 'Where can I escape and what should I strive for?', asked the king, and he replied: 'Either you stay in your kingship and use your power in obedience of God or you clothe yourself with an old cloth and serve your Lord until your time comes. I shall come back to you next morning'."

Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "Early next morning there was a knock at his door, and he saw that the king had renounced his crown and was ready to roam in God's country. All this had been caused by his impressive exhortation."

Hishām ibn 'Abdalmalik wept bitterly until his beard was all moist. He ordered his luxurious clothes to be taken away and he stayed in his castle. His servants and clients came to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān and complained: "Why did you do this to the Caliph? You have spoiled his pleasant life and disturbed his peace!"

(Alf Layla wa-layla I:324-325)

### 3d. Khālid and Abū'l-'Abbāb as-Saffāh

93] One of the speakers famous among the ordinary people and highly valued among the connoisseurs is Khālid ibn Ṣafwān al-Ahtamī. It is generally claimed that he was in the court of the Caliph Abū'l-'Abbās and that he was an honoured companion in his evening sessions.

(al-Ġāhiz, al-Bayān I:353-354)<sup>152</sup>

<sup>151</sup> Cf. K. al-Aghānī II:35-37 (with variants); Yāqūt, Irshād IV:161-164 (with variants). The story, though much more elaborate, is reminiscent of a much favoured short *nukta* in both Persian and Arabic literature, see Marzolph, Buhlül, no. 98; al-Balādhurī, Ansāb III:160 (Abū'l-'Abbās and Umm Salama); Saleman—Shukovski, Persische Grammatik, p. 50\* (Khusraw and Shīrīn).

94\*] Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī told from Abū Muḥammad al-Maghribī: Abū'l-ʿAbbās said to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān when his men had arrested Sulaymān ibn Ḥabīb: "Do you know that he was captured in a well?" Khālid replied: "Now this is what you call: he came out walzing and got in the bird cage."  
(al-Balādhurī, Ansāb III:167)

95\*] Abū Masʿūd al-Kūfī has told me from ʿAbdalḡabbār al-Kātib: Khālid ibn Ṣafwān entered into the presence of Caliph Abū'l-ʿAbbās and said to him: "You have become the Caliph, and you are worthy of the Caliphate and the right man for it. You have guarded the right in its pastures and led it to its watering places. You have given everybody his due with your attention and righteousness and your presence as if you belonged to none or to all and sundry." This speech pleased the Caliph who gave him a present.  
(al-Balādhurī, Ansāb III:167)

96\*] Abū ʿAbdallāh Niṭṭawayhi has told us: Abū'l-ʿAbbās Aḡmad ibn Yaḡyā has told from Ḥammād ibn Ishāq from his father: My uncle Ṣabbāḡ ibn Khāqān has told me: Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said to a governor: "You have come and given to everybody his due with your presence and your generosity as if you belonged to none or to all and sundry."  
(al-Qālī, al-Amālī I:213)<sup>153</sup>

### 3e. Khālid and Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab<sup>154</sup>

97\*] It is told that Khālid ibn Ṣafwān came to Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab when he was having his lunch. Yazīd asked Khālid to join him, but he replied: "May God bless the Emir! I have once eaten a meal I shall never forget!" "What did you eat, then?", asked Yazīd, and Khālid answered: "I came to my estate at the time when palms were planted and fields were sown. I walked around until the sun was at its hottest, and I made up my mind to retire for some rest. I went to a cool room of mine in a garden. Its gates were open and it had been sprinkled with water and paved with fresh flowers: sweet basils, perfume scented jasmīnes, blossoming daisies, fresh roses! Then I was brought rice bread which was just like pieces of carnelian, *bunnī* fish, which have a white stomach, blue eyes, black sides, wide belly, thick neck. Thereto I had some seeds and different sorts of vinegar, mury and legumes. Then I was brought fresh, yellow dates, perfect with no blemishes, which were not worn in base hands nor bruised in the greengrocers measure. Then I leaned back, eating now from this, now from that." Yazīd said: "Ibn Ṣafwān, a measure of your words is better than a thousand measures of corn!"  
(al-Mubarrad, Kāmil IV:112-113)<sup>155</sup>

<sup>152</sup> Cf. also al-Ġāḡiḡ, al-Bayān I:368-369.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. Ibn ʿAbdrabbih, al-ʿIqd al-farīd II:135; Ibn Qutayba, ʿUyūn al-akḡbār I:172; al-Ḥuṣrī, Zahr al-ādāb, p. 916 and p. 1079; ar-Raḡhib, al-Muḡāḡarāt I:195.

<sup>154</sup> A *kuḡḡba* by Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab related on the authority of Khālid in al-Ġāḡiḡ, al-Bayān I:310-311, is not included in the translations.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. al-ʿĀbī, Nathr ad-durr VI:42; al-ʿAskarī, Dīwān al-maʿānī I:291-292 (with an *isnād*: al-ʿAskarī < Abū Aḡmad < al-Ġulūdī < Muḡammad ibn Zakarīyā < Maḡdī ibn Sābiq < Shabīb); Lisān al-ʿarab VI:391; Tahdhīb al-luḡa IX:399 (only *samsaq* = *yāsīmīn*).

98\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said to Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab: "I never saw the rust of helmet nor the fragrance of ambre fit anyone as aptly as you." Yazīd answered: "What do you want?," and Khālid said: "There is a nephew of mine in your prison." "He'll be home before you", said Yazīd.

(Ibn abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahḡ al-balāgha* V:689)

### 3f. Khālid and Sulaymān ibn 'Alī

99] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān was one of those who say what first comes to their mind. It is told that Sulaymān ibn 'Alī asked him a question concerning his two sons Ġa'far and Muḥammad: "How would you praise being their neighbour, Abū Ṣafwān?" Khālid replied:

"Abū Mālik and Ibn Burthun are her neighbours:  
what lowly and paltry neighbours she has!"

— Commentary to his saying: Abū Mālik: Correct is Abū Nāfi', who was a client of 'Abdarrahmān ibn Abī Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq. —

This is how he lost Sulaymān's favour. Sulaymān was a most gentle and generous man, and he was the uncle of the Caliph al-Manṣūr and at the time the governor of Baṣra. The verse which Khālid quoted is from a poem of Yazīd ibn Mufarrigh al-Ḥimyarī.

(al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil* II:43-44)<sup>156</sup>

### 3g. Khālid and Khālid ibn 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī

100] It is found in the stories of Khālid ibn Ṣafwān that he told: Once when I came to Hishām ibn 'Abdalmalik<sup>157</sup> he asked me to come nearer until I was the closest to him. Then he sighed heavily and said: "Khālid, there was another Khālid who used to sit in your present place, and I was even more eager to listen to him than to you." I realized that he was speaking about Khālid ibn 'Abdallāh [al-Qasrī], so I said: "Commander of the Believers, why do you not take him back?," but he replied: "Khālid took liberties and wearied me with them; he troubled me and made me exhausted. After all this, he did not leave me way to retreat by not asking from me anything." I said: "Oh Commander of the Believers, then forgiving is even more appropriate!", but the Caliph said: "No!

When my soul turns away from something  
it will never turn back to it!"

(Ibn Qutayba, *'Uyūn al-akhbār* I:78)<sup>158</sup>

101] We have been told by Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib from Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā aṣ-Ṣūlī. He said: We have been told by 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Munaḡḡim from Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ġābir al-Balādhurī from al-Haytham ibn 'Adī who said:

Khālid ibn Ṣafwān al-Ahtamī once entered into the presence of Hishām ibn

<sup>156</sup> Cf. aṣ-Ṣābi', *Hafawāt*, p. 319; ar-Raghīb, *al-Muḥāḍarāt* I:272; also Ibn abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahḡ al-balāgha* V:9.

<sup>157</sup> Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *al-'Iqd al-farīd* IV:446 adds: "after he had grown angry with Khālid ibn 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī and given him into the hands of his governor of Iraq, Yūsuf ibn 'Umar".

<sup>158</sup> Cf. Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *al-'Iqd al-farīd* IV:446; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, p. 874; al-Ābī, *Nathr ad-durr* III: 63-64.

‘Abdalmalik. This happened after Hishām had discharged Khālid ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī. Khālid has related himself:

I found him sitting on a chair erected in a pool with his feet immersed in water to his ankles. He ordered another chair to be brought, and I sat down. Hishām said to me: “Khālid, there was another Khālid who used to sit where you are sitting now, and he was closer to my heart and more loved by me than you are!”

I said: “Oh Commander of the Believers, your mercy is wide enough for him. Why don’t you forgive his crimes?” He answered: “Khālid, this Khālid took liberties and wearied me with them; he troubled me and made me exhausted. After all this, he did not leave me a way to retreat nor to return.” Then he continued: “Shall I tell you about him, Ibn Ṣafwān?” “Please”, said I, and he continued: “He never asked me anything after having returned from Iraq, so as to force me to take the initiative!” I said: “Oh Commander of the Believers, then forgiving is even more appropriate!”, but the Caliph said: “No!

When my soul turns away from something  
it will never turn back to it!”

Then Hishām asked what I wanted, and I said: “Oh Commander of the Believers, I wish to have an increase of ten dinars in my allowance.” He was silent for a while and then said: “Why? What for? How? Is it for a pious purpose, or for something you have suffered for the sake of the Commander of the Believers? Oh no, Ibn Ṣafwān! If it were so, everybody would be asking, and the treasure house would not stand it.” I said to him: “God bless you, oh Commander of the Believers, and guide you! You are, by Jove, just like the Khuza‘ite<sup>159</sup> said:

When the bonds of kinship or those of friendship  
do not oblige you to give,  
you refuse, but refusing is sometimes but discretion and strength.

Only those worth it may have their share of your wealth.”

When Khālid later came back to Baṣra, he was asked: “Why on earth did you make avarice beautiful in his eyes?” “I hoped”, he answered, “that he would also turn others down, so that the number of those who blame him would grow!”<sup>160</sup>

(ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, al-Amālī II:261-262)

102] Al-Madā’inī has told: Shabīb ibn Shayba told me from Khālid ibn Ṣafwān ibn al-Ahtam: Khālid ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī did not cease to act in Iraq until Hishām discharged him of his office, punished him and killed his son Yazīd ibn Khālid. I saw him tied with a rope to his feet and children were leading him on. One day I came to Hishām and spoke with him a long time until he sighed and said: “Khālid, there used to be another Khālid whose presence was dearer to me and whose speech was more pleasant to me than yours.” He meant Khālid al-Qasrī with this.

I used the opportunity and wished to intervene on his behalf so that he would own me a favour, so I said: “Oh Commander of the Believers, why don’t you take him back

<sup>159</sup> Reference is to Kuthayyir ‘Azza.

<sup>160</sup> For the last part of the story, see no. 77.

into your favour? Surely you have taught him the lesson for exceeding his boundaries.” He answered: “Oh no! He took liberties and wearied me with them; he troubled me and made me exhausted. He went too far in his doings, and we have gone far in punishing him. The hide has been spoilt by worms, the wound has festered, and the flood has reached the hills and the belt has passed beyond the teats<sup>161</sup>. There is no good left in him and there is no way for him to return to office. Continue with your stories!”

(K. al-Aghānī XIX:63)

103\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: “That son of a Christian mother has renounced and left all decency” – referring to Khālid ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī.

(Ibn Durayd, al-Ġamhara, p. 482)<sup>162</sup>

### 3h. Khālid and Bilāl ibn abī Burda

104] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān used to enter into the presence of Bilāl ibn abī Burda to entertain him with stories, but he was in the habit of making grammatical mistakes, until Bilāl was exasperated and once said to him: “Do you come to tell me stories about Caliphs making mistakes fit for water carrying old hags?” At-Tawwazī has said: After this Khālid ibn Ṣafwān started attending lectures in the mosque to learn correct Arabic. Later he became blind, and he used to ask when the retinue of Bilāl passed by: “Who is there?” When he was told it was the Emir, he said:

“A summer cloud which shall soon dissolve!”

This was told to Bilāl, who made somebody sit beside Khālid to inform him when he would say so next time. Then he went by, and Khālid said what he used to. This was now told to Bilāl who came closer to Khālid and said: “By Jove, it won’t dissolve until you have tasted its hailstorm!” So Bilāl ordered him to be given two hundred strokes, or as some say, he ordered his belly to be trampled underfoot.

(al-Mubarrad, al-Kāmil II:42-43)<sup>163</sup>

105\*] Abū ‘Ubayda told: Khālid ibn Ṣafwān had a lawsuit with somebody and Bilāl ibn Burda judged in favour of the other man. Khālid rose muttering:

“A summer cloud which shall soon dissolve!”

Bilāl said: “By Jove, it won’t dissolve until you have tasted its hailstorm!”, and he

<sup>161</sup> See al-Maydānī, Maġma‘ al-amthāl I:295 (*ġāwaza l-ḥizāmu t-tubyayn*).

<sup>162</sup> Cf. also tahdhīb of Ibn as-Sikkīt, K. al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl, p. 29. The Christian mother of Khālid al-Qasrī was a favorite target for lampoonists, see, e.g., al-Farazdaq, Dīwān I:160 (“Tell the Commander of the Believers this message: Be quick, may God guide you, and dismiss Khālid [al-Qasrī]. // He has built a church with its crucifix for his mother and destroyed the mosques for he hates the prayer”).

<sup>163</sup> Cf. aṣ-Ṣābi‘, al-Hafawāt, pp. 318-319; al-Ābī, Nathr ad-durr V:274; Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, al-‘Iqd al-farīd IV:36; aṣ-Ṣafadī, al-Wāfi X:279 (art. Bilāl ibn abī Burda). Similar stories are told about Ibn Shubruma and Bilāl in e.g. Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, al-‘Iqd al-farīd III:176 and II:204; ath-Tha‘ālibī, Thimār al-qulūb, p. 653; Ibn Qutayba, ‘Uyūn al-akhbār I:120 (Ibn Shubruma and Tāriq, the police chief of Khālid ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī); al-Ġurġānī, Muntakhab, pp. 303-304 (Ibn Shubruma and Tāriq, the police chief of Khālid ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī); ‘Abdalqādir al-Baghdādī, Ḥāshiya I:475 (Ibn Shubruma and Tāriq, the police chief of Khālid ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī). The verse is also quoted in Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt III:11.—For a discussion of the verse, see Müller, Kritische Untersuchungen, pp. 85-89 (attributed to ‘Imrān ibn Ḥiṭṭān).

ordered Khālid to be imprisoned. Khālid protested: "On what charge do you imprison me? By God, I have not committed any crime nor acted perfidiously!" Bilāl answered: "A silent door, heavy chains and a custodian called Ḥafṣ<sup>164</sup> will answer you!"

(Ibn Qutayba, 'Uyūn al-akhbār I:150)<sup>165</sup>

106\*] Abū'l-Mundhir Hishām ibn Muḥammad as-Sā'ib al-Kalbī has told: Bilāl ibn Burda was steadfast in the tribulations that befell him. Once Yūsuf ibn 'Umar brought him in chains for some matter when they were in Ḥīra. Khālid ibn Ṣafwān rose and said to Yūsuf: "O Emir, that God's enemy Bilāl had me flogged and imprisoned, although I did not stray from the orthodox nor renounce obedience in any way." Then he turned to Bilāl and said: "Praise be to God who ended your rule and demolished your support, ended your beauty and changed your condition. By God, you were eager to withdraw from people, you despised the nobles and showed strong 'aṣabīya<sup>166</sup>." Bilāl replied: "Khālid, you have dared to attack me only because of three things that are for you and against me: there is an Emir who favours you and turns his back on me; you are free and I am a prisoner; you are in your country, I am a stranger here." By this he silenced Khālid. [It is said that the Ahtam family was some riffraff that entered banī Minqar and traced their affiliation to it]<sup>167</sup>.

The reason for the flogging of Khālid by Bilāl during his rule was that once Bilāl rode in his retinue by Khālid who said:

"A summer cloud which shall soon dissolve!"

Bilāl heard this and said: "By Jove, it won't dissolve until you have tasted its hail-storm!" Then he flogged and imprisoned him.

(al-Ḥuṣrī, Zahr al-ādāb, p. 935)<sup>168</sup>

107] Khālid used to come to Bilāl during his governorship and his might, but he slandered him behind his back saying: "There is no more religious feeling in the heart of Bilāl than there are jewels in the house of Abū'z-Zard al-Ḥanafī." — This was a very poor man<sup>169</sup>.

(Ibn 'Abdrabbih, al-'Iqd al-farīd IV:36)

#### 4. Mufākharā

108] As-Saffāḥ was keen on listening to discussions, *mufākharas* between Arabs from Nizār and Yemen and stories about them. Khālid ibn Ṣafwān and people from Qaḥṭān had many fine stories, *mufākharas*, drinking scenes and evening talks with him, and I have discussed them extensively selecting the best stories in my books

<sup>164</sup> This is either an obscure reference to a person unknown at least to me or from ḥafṣ = bayt ṣaghīr (see, e.g., Lisān al-'arab, s.v.), i.e. "a custodian called tiny cell".

<sup>165</sup> Cf. al-Ābī, Nathr ad-durr V:152.

<sup>166</sup> Partisan fanaticism.

<sup>167</sup> Addition from some manuscripts of Zahr al-ādāb. Al-Mubarrad, Kāmil III:342-343 reads here even more explicitly: "This he said because it is said that the Ahtam family originated from Ḥīra, and that they were riffraff who entered banī Minqar from Byzantium." See also Ibn Rustah, al-A'lāq an-nafīsa, p. 206.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. al-Mubarrad, Kāmil III:342-343.

<sup>169</sup> Probably identical with Abū'l-Muzarrid, Ibn 'Abdrabbih, al-'Iqd al-farīd IV:53.

*Akhbār az-zamān* and *al-Awsaḥ*<sup>170</sup> so that it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

(al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūğ adh-dhahab* §2350)

109\*] Al-Abrash al-Kalbī said to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān when they were in the presence of Hishām ibn ‘Abdalmalik: “Let us vie in glory.” Khālid asked him to begin, and al-Abrash said: “To us belongs one fourth of the Temple”—with this he meant the Yemeni Corner of Ka‘ba—“and Ḥātim Ṭayyi’ and al-Muhallab ibn abī Ṣufra belonged to us.” Khālid replied: “The Prophet who was sent to the people belonged to us, and the Holy Book was sent down to us and the Caliph, to whom one attaches his hopes, belongs to us.” Al-Abrash said: “I shall never again vie in the glory with a Muḍarī.”

(Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, *al-‘Iqd al-farīd* III:330)<sup>171</sup>

110\*] There came to Abū’l-‘Abbās people from Yemen, from the tribe Ka‘b, relatives from his mother’s side. They took great pride in themselves in front of him quoting their ancient and modern deeds until Abū’l-‘Abbās said to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān: “Answer them!” Khālid opposed: “But they are the Caliph’s maternal uncles!” The Caliph definitely ordered him to speak, and Khālid obeyed: “Oh Commander of the Believers, what could I say to a people, who are either weavers of cloaks, trainers of monkeys<sup>172</sup>, [riders of asses]<sup>173</sup> or tanners of hides? A hoopoe led the way to them, a woman ruled them, and a rat drowned them?”—This left no arguments to them.

(Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, *al-‘Iqd al-farīd* III:330)<sup>174</sup>

111] Some members of Qaḥṭān boasted in the *mağlis* of as-Saffāḥ of the virtues of Himyarite Qaḥṭān and Kahlān on Nizār. Khālid ibn Ṣafwān and other people from Nizār ibn Ma‘add silently listened to this out of reverence to as-Saffāḥ, since Qaḥṭān were his maternal relatives. Then as-Saffāḥ said to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān: “Don’t you say anything although Qaḥṭān have overflowed you with their glory and beaten you with their ancient virtues?” Khālid answered: “What could I say to a people all of whom are either tanners of hides, weavers of cloaks, trainers of monkeys or riders of asses? A

<sup>170</sup> Both works have been lost.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, *al-‘Iqd al-farīd* IV:46.

<sup>172</sup> About monkeys and Yemen, see also ad-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* II:201 (“The Yemenis teach their monkeys to serve them so that a butcher or a greengrocer may teach his monkey to take care of the shop until its master has returned from his errands”) and ath-Tha‘ālibī, *Kināyāt*, p. 32 (“If a man is ugly and repulsive, one may allude to this saying that he has relatives in Yemen – for there are many monkeys there”).

<sup>173</sup> This phrase is missing from *al-‘Iqd* but it is found in the majority of other sources, e.g. al-Ġāḥiẓ, *Bayān* I:353-354.

<sup>174</sup> Cf. Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, *al-‘Iqd al-farīd* IV:46; ath-Tha‘ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, p. 412 (Khālid and an anonymous Yamanī in front of al-Mahdī [sic]); al-Ġāḥiẓ, *Bayān* I:353-354 (some people from Balḥārith ibn Ka‘b); al-Ġāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān* VI:152 (Khālid, a Yamanī in front of al-Mahdī); Yāqūt, *Mu‘ğam al-buldān* IV:387 (Khālid and a Yamanī in front of Abū’l-‘Abbās as-Saffāḥ); Yāqūt, *Mu‘ğam al-buldān* IV:1036 (Khālid and Ibrāhīm ibn Makhrama in front of as-Saffāḥ); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* III:166-167; Ibn Qutayba, *‘Uyūn al-akhbār* I:317 (someone from Balḥārith). Cf. also al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abī’l-Qāsim*, p. 120 (“O you more lowly than a weaver of cloaks, tanner, rider of monkeys and leader of asses” – though one should obviously emend this to: *rākiḥ ‘ard wa-sā’is qird*, as in the Khālid story) and p. 140, last two lines.



rat drowned them, a woman ruled them, and a hoopoe led the way to them." Then he went on to rebuke them until he came to the story of how the Ethiopians ruled them and the Persians enslaved them as we have earlier told.

(al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūğ adh-dhahab* § 1257)

112\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān at-Tamīmī entered into the presence of as-Saffāh when his maternal relatives from banī l-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b were with him. As-Saffāh said: "What do you say about my maternal uncles?" Khālid answered: "They are the crown of all nobility, the trunk of glory and the seedling of generosity. They have noble qualities which are not combined in any other people: they have the greatest aspirations, the noblest character, the best manners, they are the most loyal in keeping their trust and they have the greatest ambitions. They are the firebrand in war, the support in drought and the head in all misadventures when the others are but a tail." As-Saffāh said: "You described them finely, Abū Ṣafwān!"

Then his maternal relatives went on to boast of themselves, and as-Saffāh resented it for the sake of his paternal relatives, and turned to Khālid: "What? Do you hear this boasting going on, Khālid?" Khālid said: "Should I speak against the maternal uncles of the Caliph?" "Do it", said as-Saffāh, "for you belong to the Caliph's paternal relatives!" Khālid said: "But how on earth could I vie in glory with a people, who are either weavers of cloaks, trainers of monkeys, tanners of hides or riders of asses. A hoopoe led the way to them, a rat drowned them and a woman ruled them." The face of as-Saffāh began to shine and he laughed.

(al-Ābī, *Nathr ad-durr* VI:37-38)<sup>175</sup>

113] If Khālid had premeditated this speech and prepared it before, then he was a fine composer and an excellent transmitter with a good memory, but if it was something he composed *ex tempore* when he was set afoot, then he has no equal in the whole world. If you look at this speech, you will find it pleasant and satisfactory, full of great and important meaning. If the Yemeni would have spoken with the tongue of Ṣaḥbān Wā'il for a whole year, and then this had been put before him, he would not have had any argument for his case.

(al-Ġāḥiẓ, *Bayān* I:354)

114] Yamūt ibn al-Muzarra' said: I heard my uncle al-Ġāḥiẓ mention this speech of Khālid and say: "By Jove, had he pondered for a whole year upon all their faults and how to condense them in a few words of blame after his refined eulogy, it would not have been too much. How then, when he spoke *ex tempore* without premeditation!" This is the recension of the story by aṣ-Ṣūlī. There is also a longer version which need not concern us here.

(Zahr al-ādāb, pp. 872-873)

115\*] Al-Madā'inī told: Abū'l-Abbās as-Saffāh, the father of Caliphs, was fond of disputations. One night he was in the company of Ibrāhīm ibn Makhrama al-Kindī, some people from Balḥārith ibn Ka'b who were his maternal relatives, and Khālid ibn Ṣafwān. They plunged into discussion speaking among other things of Muḍar and

<sup>175</sup> Cf. al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, pp. 872-873 and p. 1079; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* III:167 (only the first part, told on the authority of al-Madā'inī).

Yemen. Ibrāhīm said: "Oh Commander of the Believers, the Yemenites are the Arabs to whom the whole world is subservient, and they have ever been kings, lords and viziers of kings. From them have come the Nu‘māns, Mundhirs and Qābūs'. To them belong the grasper of the sea<sup>176</sup>, the one protected by the bees<sup>177</sup> and the one washed by the angels<sup>178</sup>. To them belong the one at whose death the Throne quaked<sup>179</sup> and the one who spoke to the wolf<sup>180</sup>. To them belong the lofty, the conqueror and the spearman as well the possessor of the city of poetry as well as its gate<sup>181</sup>, and the one who had the locks of fidelity as well as its keys<sup>182</sup>. To them belongs the noble uncle, lord of calamities and peace<sup>183</sup>. Everything important is attributed to them, every exquisite horse, every sharp sword, every firm armour, every well-guarded garb and every sheltered pearl. They are the real Arabs: others are but their imitators."

Abū'l-‘Abbās said: "I do not think the Tamīmī here will be content with your words. What do you say, Khālid?" Khālid replied: "If you allow me to speak, I shall say something." "Go ahead and be not afraid of anybody", commanded the Caliph, and Khālid began: "The rusher without knowledge was mistaken and he spoke without hitting the target. How could a people whose language is not beautiful nor correct, have all this? They have no argument which would have been sent down to them in a book, nor in the *sunna* of a prophet. As to their relation to us, they have two possibilities: either they disobey our rule and are killed, or they stray from our aims and they are all consumed.

They boast with their Nu‘māns, Mundhirs and Qābūs' and others who are yet to come, but we can boast with the best of the mankind, the noblest of the noble, Muḥammad, upon whom be peace! Both we and they own gratitude to God for him. They are his followers: by him are they known and through him respected. The Chosen Prophet comes from amongst us as well as the accepted Caliph. To us belong the prospering Temple, the holy sights, Zamzam, the Place of Abraham, the valley of Mecca, and other uncountable glories. No-one equals us and no-one can attain us with his words. To us belong aṣ-Ṣiddīq<sup>184</sup>, al-Fārūq<sup>185</sup>, Dhū'n-Nūrayn<sup>186</sup>, al-Walī<sup>187</sup> and the two grandchildren<sup>188</sup> as well as God's Lion<sup>189</sup>, Dhū'l-Ġanāḥayn<sup>190</sup> and God's

<sup>176</sup> Qur. 18:79.

<sup>177</sup> ‘Āṣim ibn Thābit ibn abī'l-Aqlaḥ. For the legend about him, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, p. 639 = Guillaume, *Life*, p. 427.

<sup>178</sup> Ḥanzala ibn abī ‘Āmir, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, p. 568 = Guillaume, *Life*, pp. 377-378.

<sup>179</sup> Sa‘d ibn Mu‘ādh, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, p. 698 = Guillaume, *Life*, p. 468.

<sup>180</sup> Uhbān ibn ‘Iyādh, see ath-Tha‘ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, p. 386.

<sup>181</sup> Imru‘ulqays.

<sup>182</sup> As-Samaw‘al ibn ‘Ādiyā.

<sup>183</sup> Ziyād ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥārithī.

<sup>184</sup> Abū Bakr.

<sup>185</sup> ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.

<sup>186</sup> ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān.

<sup>187</sup> ‘Alī ibn abī Ṭālib.

<sup>188</sup> As-sibtān, i.e. al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, the Prophet's grandchildren.

<sup>189</sup> Ḥamza ibn ‘Abdalmuṭṭalib.

sword<sup>191</sup>. Through us they came to know the religion and through us the certainty came to them. Whoever competes with us, we shall vie with him, and whoever attacks us, we destroy him.”

Having said this Khālid turned to Ibrāhīm and asked: “Do you know the language of your people well?” “Yes I do”, he replied, and Khālid began asking: “How do you call an eye?” “*Ġaḥma*<sup>192</sup>”, answered Ibrāhīm.

— “What about a tooth?”

— “*Maydhar*.”

— “Well, what is the name of ear?”

— “*Ṣinnāra*<sup>193</sup>.”

— “And fingers?”

— “*Shanātir*<sup>194</sup>.”

— “What about beard?”

— “*Zubb*<sup>195</sup>.”

— “And do you call a wolf?”

— “*Kuta*<sup>196</sup>.”

“Well now”, said Khālid, “do you know the language of God’s Book well?” “Yes I do”, replied Ibrāhīm, and Khālid said: “God, He is Lofty and Exalted, says: ‘We have sent it down as an Arabic Qur’ān<sup>197</sup>, and He says: ‘in clear Arabic tongue<sup>198</sup>, and: ‘We have not sent any prophet except speaking the tongue of his people<sup>199</sup>. So we are the Arabs, and the Qur’ān was sent to us in our language. Don’t you see how God, He is Lofty and Exalted, says: “an eye for an eye, an ear for an ear, a tooth for a tooth<sup>200</sup>” (*al-‘ayn bi’l-‘ayn, wa’l-udhn bi’l-udhn wa’s-sinn bi’s-sinn*), and He does not say: “a *ḡaḥma* for a *ḡaḥma*, a *ṣinnāra* for a *ṣinnāra* and a *maydhar* for a *maydhar*.” He also says: “They put their fingers in their ears<sup>201</sup>” (*ḡa‘alū<sup>202</sup> aṣābi‘ahum fī ādhānīhim*), not: “their *shanātir* in their *ṣinnārāt*.” He also says: “Take me not by the beard (*liḥyatī*)<sup>203</sup>”, and not: “Take me not by the *zubb*<sup>204</sup>.” Then He says: “a wolf (*dhi’b*)

<sup>190</sup> Ḡa‘far ibn abī Ṭālib.

<sup>191</sup> Khālid ibn al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīra.

<sup>192</sup> See Al-Selwi, Jemenitische Wörter, p. 57.

<sup>193</sup> See Lisān al-‘Arab VII:419 (*ṣinnāra*).

<sup>194</sup> Sg. shuntur, see Al-Selwi, Jemenitische Wörter, pp. 125-126.

<sup>195</sup> Lisān al-‘Arab VI:8.

<sup>196</sup> Lisān al-‘Arab XII:27.

<sup>197</sup> Qur. 12:2.

<sup>198</sup> Qur. 26:195.

<sup>199</sup> Qur. 14:4.

<sup>200</sup> Qur. 5:45. The passage goes in fact: “A life for a life, an eye for an eye, a nose for a nose, an ear for an ear, a tooth for a tooth, and for wounds retaliation” (Arberry).

<sup>201</sup> Qur. 2:19.

<sup>202</sup> In the Qur’ānic text *yaḡ‘alūna*.

<sup>203</sup> Qur. 20:94.

<sup>204</sup> For a non-Arabist reader one may explain that part of the joke is that *zubb* means in standard Arabic ‘penis’, which makes the passage somewhat uncouth. The point was tacitly overlooked by Ibn Fāris who tells a similar story in his *aṣ-Ṣāhibī*, p. 55, and says cursorily: “They use another word for *liḥya*”.

ate him<sup>205</sup>, not: “a *kuta* ‘ate him.”

Then Khālid said: “I shall ask you about four things, and God will not leave you an escape from them: either you accept them, and you are beaten, or you deny them, and you become an infidel.” “What are they?”, asked Ibrāhīm, and Khālid said: “Is the Prophet from us or from you?”

— “From you.”

— “Was the Qur’ān sent to us or to you?”

— “To you.”

— “Does the Temple belong to us or to you?”

— “To you.”

— “Does the minbar belong to us or to you?”

— “To you.”

“Then go”, said Khālid, “after these four things, you may have whatever you want.”

So Khālid beat Ibrāhīm, and Abū’l-‘Abbās paid his respect to Khālid and awarded them both. Khālid rose saying: “You are simply either trainers of monkeys, tanners of hides or weavers of cloth. A woman ruled you, a rat made you drown, and a hoopoe led the way to you.”

(Ibn al-Faqīh, K. al-Buldān, pp. 39-41)<sup>206</sup>

116\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: “I have never seen another place like al-Ubulla, with its short distances, sweet waters, and tame mounts. It is most profitable for the merchant and most secluded for the worshipper.”

(al-Ġāhiz, al-Bayān II:306)<sup>207</sup>

117] Al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī al-Ḥirmāzī has told from al-‘Utbī and others: Abū’l-‘Abbās used to say: “If I want to know about Ḥiḡāz and Tihāma, there is Sa‘īd ibn ‘Amr ibn al-Ghasīl al-Anṣārī; if I want to know about Tamīm and Persian and foreign lore, there is Khālid ibn Ṣafwān; and if I want to know about this world and the Other, about ḡinnīs and men, there is Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī.” These were his nightly companions and his story-tellers.

(al-Balādhurī, Ansāb III:160)

118\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said to a man who belonged to banī ‘Abdaddār whom he had heard boasting of his relationship with Quraysh: “You have been destroyed by Hāshim and hit on head by Umayya, pierced by Makhzūm and overcome by Ġumḡ, and hit by the arrows of Sahn. You yourself are the slave of Quraysh opening the doors when they are closed and closing the doors when they are open!”

(Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, al-‘Iqd al-farīd IV:39)<sup>208</sup>

119\*] A Qurashī asked Khālid ibn Ṣafwān: “What is your name?” He answered: “Khālid ibn Ṣafwān ibn al-Ahtam.” The man said: “Your name is all lie: No one has

<sup>205</sup> Qur. 12:17.

<sup>206</sup> The edition contains useful notes taken from the marginal notes in the manuscript.

<sup>207</sup> Cf. Ibn Qutayba, ‘Uyūn al-akḡbār I:322; Yāqūt, Mu‘ḡam al-buldān I:97.

<sup>208</sup> Cf. al-Ġāhiz, Bayān I:351-352 (with some variants). The whole story is based on the figura etymologica (*hashamatka Hāshim; ammatka Umayya; khazamatka Makhzūm; ḡamaḡatka Ġumḡ; sahamatka Sahn*). ‘Abdaddār means ‘door slave’.

been given eternal life<sup>209</sup>. Your father was *ṣafwān*, a block of stone, and your grandfather was *ahtam*, toothless, but sound is better than toothless." "From which section of Quraysh are you then?", asked Khālid, and the man replied: "From the clan 'Abd-addār." "And the like of you insults Tamīm in its glory and ancestry!", exclaimed Khālid, "You have been destroyed by Hāshim and hit on head by Umayya, overcome by Ğumḥ, pierced by Makhzūm and driven away by Quṣayy! Quraysh has set you as their doorslave in the most disgraceful position: you open the door, when they come in, and close it when they leave. Even the Prophet of God has said: 'A man with two faces, has none at all in front of God.'" (al-'Askarī, *Ṣinā'atayn*, p. 323)<sup>210</sup>

120] Al-Madā'inī told<sup>211</sup>: One evening the people of Iraq were chatting together with Yazīd ibn Hubayra. Yazīd asked them: "Tell me which has the better fruit, Kūfa or Baṣra?" Khālid replied: "Ours are the best, oh Emir, for we have *azādh* and *ma'qilī* dates and such and such." 'Abdarraḥmān ibn Bashīr al-Īǧlī countered him saying: "Oh Emir, I am sure that you have picked the best of fruits to be sent to the Commander of the Believers." "Yes, we have", answered Yazīd, and 'Abdarraḥmān went forth: "Then we shall be content with your judgement, be it against us or for us. Which fresh dates do you send him?" "*Mushān* dates", answered Yazīd, and 'Abdarraḥmān said: "There is not a single *mushān* date in Baṣra. What else?" "*Sābirī*", he said, and 'Abdarraḥmān answered: "Nor are they found in Baṣra." Now Khālid ibn Ṣafwān interrupted: "Oh we do have them, although not many."

Then 'Abdarraḥmān continued: "Which dried dates do you send him?", and Yazīd replied: "*Narsiyān*", to which 'Abdarraḥmān: "There are none in Baṣra. Then what?" "*Hayrūnazādh*", he replied, and 'Abdarraḥmān said: "Neither are those found in Baṣra. Which hard and tough dates do you send to him?" Yazīd replied: "'*Anbar* dates", and 'Abdarraḥmān said: "Nor are they found in Baṣra."

Now Ibn Hubayra turned to Khālid and said: "Now he has claimed four things against you, and you have taken part in only one and left to him all four. I think he has beaten you." (Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn al-akhbār* I:321)<sup>212</sup>

121\*] Al-Minqarī has told from Muḥammad ibn abī's-Sarī from Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn as-Sā'ib from Abī 'Abdallāh an-Nakha'ī: When he had won the battle of Dayr al-Ğumāǧim, al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ came to 'Abdalmalik with a delegation of nobles from the both towns of Iraq. He came to the Caliph with his retinue and one day they began to speak of different places. Muḥammad ibn 'Umayr ibn 'Uṯārid said: "May God bless the Commander of the Believers! Kūfa is cooler than Baṣra with its heat and

<sup>209</sup> *Khālid* = eternal.

<sup>210</sup> Cf. ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, al-Amālī I:295, which contains variants in the first part of the anecdote (the speech of the 'Abdarī). The 'Abdarī connects *Khālid* with Qur. 47:15 ("like one who is eternally—*khālid*—in the Fire") and *ṣafwān* with Qur. 2:264 ("like a rock on which there is soil").

<sup>211</sup> I have added this from Ibn al-Faqīh, K. al-Buldān, p. 175. Al-Madā'inī was the compiler of one of the two Khālid collections (see above) but this anecdote could as well come, e.g., from his lost K. Mufākharāt ahl al-Baṣra wa'l-Kūfa, see, e.g., aṣ-Ṣafadī, al-Wāfi XXII:47 l. 3.

<sup>212</sup> Cf. Ibn al-Faqīh, K. al-Buldān, pp. 175-176.

depth but warmer than Syria with its plagues and cold. It lies near the Euphrates, so its water is fresh and its fruit tasty." Khālid ibn Ṣafwān argued against him: "May God bless the Commander of the Believers! Our population is larger and we answer more quickly to call-up<sup>213</sup>. We have more sugar, ivory and teak<sup>214</sup>. Our water is clear and fresh. From us come only leaders, commanders and illustrious men."

Al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ said: "God bless the Commander of the Believers! I know both towns and have been in both." The Caliph said to him: "Give your verdict, for we trust you!" Al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ said: "Baṣra is a grey and stinking old hag who has every possible jewel and ornament, but Kūfa is a beautiful young girl who has no jewels nor ornaments." 'Abdalmalik said: "Kūfa has taken the first rank over Baṣra!" (al-Mas'ūdī, Murūḡ §2102)

122\*] Khālid was asked about Kūfa [and Baṣra] and he said: "Our fields are of reed and our rivers are wonderful, our fruit are fresh dates and our soil is pure gold." Al-Aḥnaf replied: "But our raids range further, our seaside is broader and our land is healthier." Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī said: "But we have more teak, ivory and silk, more tax income and a roaring sea."

(Ibn Qutayba, 'Uyūn al-akhbār I:317)

123\*] Al-Aḥnaf said: "Our land is healthier, we have a wider seaside and our raids range further." Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "But we have more teak, ivory and silk, more tax income and a roaring sea." He also said: "Our fields are of reed and our rivers are wonderful, our fruit are fresh dates and our soil is pure gold."<sup>215</sup>

(ar-Raḡhib, al-Muḥāḍarāt IV:592)<sup>216</sup>

124\*] Al-Madā'inī has said: Khālid ibn Ṣafwān was in a delegation sent to 'Abdalmalik ibn Marwān. It happened that there was at the same time delegations from all the main cities. Maslama had bought some new villages and he asked 'Abdalmalik to be allowed to take the delegations there with him. 'Abdalmalik gave his permission, and when Maslama saw the villages, he was very pleased with them. He turned to the delegation from Mecca and asked: "You Meccans, do you have such villages?" "No", they answered, "but we have the sanctuary of God which is the *qibla* of all muslims."

Then he turned to the delegation from Medina and asked: "Do you Medinese have anything like this?" They answered: "No, but we have the grave of the Prophet who was sent by God." Then he turned to the delegation from Kūfa and asked: "Do you have such villages?" "No", they replied, "but we are the bearers of the reading tradition of the Book of God which He has sent down." Then he turned to the delegation of Baṣra and asked: "You Baṣrans, do you have such villages?" Khālid ibn Ṣafwān stepped up and said: "God bless the Emir, these have given witness against their own countries, but if there had been with you somebody who really knew their countries,

<sup>213</sup> I read *barīya*—*sarīya*, even though no. 122 implies the reading *barīya*.

<sup>214</sup> Al-Ġāḥiz, Ḥayawān VII:232, quotes "naḥnu aktharu minkum 'āḡan wa-sāḡan wa-dībāḡan wa-kharāḡan" ('we have more ivory and teak, silk and tax product than you') and attributes it either to al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays, Khālid ibn Ṣafwān or Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī.

<sup>215</sup> I prefer the reading of no. 122, i.e. *manābit* (for *miyāh*), *thimār* (for *samā'*) and *baḥrīya* (for *ḥurrīya*). Cf. no. 121 and 122.

<sup>216</sup> Cf. al-Ġāḥiz, Bayān II:90 with variants.

he would have defended them.”

“Well”, said Maslama, “can you say more about your country than they did about theirs?” “Yes”, replied Khālid, “may God bless the Emir! I shall describe our country to you!” “Go ahead”, said Maslama, and Khālid went forth: “When our hunters and fishermen come together, one brings *shabbūt* and *shīm* fishes, the other gazelles and ostriches. Thereto we have more teak and ivory, silk and brocade, swift horses and coquettish virgins than anyone. Our houses are built from gold, and our river is wonderful: first it waters fresh dates, then grapes and finally sugar cane. Dates we get straight from the date palms as you get olive oil directly from olive groves: these from their boughs, those from their twigs, these in their time, those at their period. The dates come from palms deeply rooted in soil, give food from amidst barrenness and are fecundated by males. They produce big and heavy flowers.—In one recension: They produce flowers which look as if they were full of napkins.<sup>217</sup>—They smile with their silver twigs ornated with white pearls, then change to pure gold ornated with green emeralds. Then they become honey, suspended in the air without waterskins or jugs, far from the dust, tasting like liquid honey. Finally they go to the pockets of our men who dispel poverty by means of the dates.

Our wonderous river is then like this: it comes to us when we need it, but withdraws when we are satiated. We get water from it while we are fast asleep. It has floods and risings, but we do not need dams to protect us nor doors to be locked in front of it. We are not competing with each other because of its scantiness, nor is it ever withheld from us for any reason.

As to our golden houses, we receive payments from other people every year and every month. We receive them at their proper time, and God saves them from all calamities, and we use them to aspire to His favour.”

“How come”, asked Maslama, “you have all this, Ibn Ṣafwān, since you have not taken it by arms nor been the first there?” Khālid replied: “It is a legacy from our fathers and we cultivate it for the sake of our children. The Lord of Heaven defends it for us, and we are just like Ma‘n ibn Aws put it<sup>218</sup>:

When the sea of Khindif boils  
and its waves hit each other  
whatever goods it brings forth,  
it is our inheritance since the olden days.  
We, for our part, give it to our sons when we die  
as we ourselves once inherited it.”

(Yāqūt, Mu‘ğam al-buldān I:649-650/Ibn al-Faqīh, K. al-Buldān, pp. 121-122)<sup>219</sup>

<sup>217</sup> This is also the reading given in Ibn al-Faqīh, K. al-Buldān, p. 121.

<sup>218</sup> See also al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-buldān, p. 366.

<sup>219</sup> I have here a composite version from these two sources. Cf. also Ibn al-Faqīh, K. al-Buldān, p. 192.

### 5. Khālid and women

125] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "I have never had as nice an evening as when I had divorced my wives, and returned to the house where the curtains had been taken down and the furniture transported. One of my ex-wives sent my daughter to me with a basket full of food, and the other sent bedclothes for me to sleep in."

(Ibn Qutayba, 'Uyūn al-akhbār IV:123)<sup>220</sup>

126\*] One day during Abū'l-ʿAbbās as-Saffāh's Caliphate, Khālid ibn Ṣafwān was alone with him and said: "Oh Commander of the Believers, I have thought about you and the extent of your power. Yet you have given yourself to a single woman<sup>221</sup> and confined yourself to her. If she is sick, you have to be sick with her, and if she is away<sup>222</sup>, you are yourself away. You have prohibited yourself the pleasures of trying other girls, getting to know them and enjoying whatever you want of them. Know, oh Commander of the Believers, that among them there are the young and delicate with lofty stature, the tender and white, the dark emancipated, the brown slave, the Berber with her heavy buttocks, the half-breed Medinese who charms you with her conversation and whom you can enjoy in privacy, too. And what about the free-born girls, oh Commander of the Believers! To look at them and to speak with them! Oh Commander of the Believers, if you would but see the tall white, the brown, the red-lipped, the blond, the one with heavy buttocks! And the half-breed Baṣrans and Kūfans who have sweet tongues, slender bodies and slim waists, golden curls, painted eyes and cup-shaped breasts! Their fine clothes, jewels and shapes! Now, there is something for you to see!" In this way Khālid excelled in description and went on and on with his sweet words and his well-known eloquence.

When Khālid had finished the Caliph said: "Woe to you, Khālid, by God, I have never heard anything as beautiful as what you just said. Repeat your speech<sup>223</sup>; it has affected me indeed!" Khālid repeated his speech even more beautifully than the first time. Then he departed. Abū'l-ʿAbbās was still pondering upon what he had heard when his wife, Umm Salama, entered. When she saw him deep in thought and looking worried<sup>224</sup>, she said: "You look strange, oh Commander of the Believers: has something bad happened or have you heard a worrying report?" "Nothing of that sort", he answered, and she asked: "Well, what is it then?" Abū'l-ʿAbbās tried to change the subject, but she kept asking him until he had to tell her what Khālid had spoken about.

<sup>220</sup> Cf. Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawzīya, K. Akhbār an-nisā', p. 79; Ibn Qutayba, Ma'ārif, pp. 403-404.

<sup>221</sup> According to a well-known story, Abū'l-ʿAbbās had promised her wife not to re-marry nor to take concubines, see al-Mas'ūdī, Murūğ adh-dhab § 2326. The beginning of the scene somewhat resembles the situation in Qur. 66:1.

<sup>222</sup> Var. "menstruates". The word *ḥādat* was considered improper when addressing a king, see ath-Tha'ālibī, Yaṭimat ad-dahr I:167.

<sup>223</sup> The repeating of special witticism to the caliph is a topos found sometimes in similar contexts, cf. eg. Ibn 'Abdrabbih, al-'Iqd al-farīd III:211 l. 2.

<sup>224</sup> In the version of al-Bayhaqī, we have a very vivid picture of the Caliph "tapping the inkwell in front of him with his pen", obviously totally absorbed in the thoughts implanted to him by Khālid. Was he even thinking of writing to his agents to procure the girls which his loquacious courtier had described to him?



“And what did you say to that son-of-a-bitch!”, she cried, but he said: “By God, the man is giving me counsel and you scold him?!” Umm Salama left furious and sent Khālid some<sup>225</sup> of her Bukharan slaves armed with clubs<sup>226</sup> with orders not to leave a single member of his unbroken or sound.

Khālid himself said: So I left the Caliph and headed homewards. I was glad with the effect my speech had had on the Caliph. I did not doubt a bit that his gift would soon reach me. It did not take a long time until these<sup>227</sup> Bukharans came to me when I was sitting by my doorway. When I saw them draw near, I was positive about the present and the gift. Then they stopped in front of me and asked about me. “I’m Khālid”, I said, but then one of them dashed towards me with the club he had with him. When I saw him coming I jumped up, entered my house and locked the doors behind. I then remained underground for some time without going out. It passed my mind that the men might have come from Umm Salama.

Meanwhile, Abū'l-‘Abbās kept asking for me urgently. I knew nothing about it until one day people rushed in and said: “Answer to the Commander of the Believers!” I was sure I was going to die! Still, I mounted and rode, being all jelly and no bones! I had not yet come to the palace when several messengers came across in the way. So I entered to him and found him alone, so I calmed down a little. I greeted him, and he beckoned me to sit down. I looked around and saw behind me a door with curtains drawn over it and I noticed some movement behind it.

So Abū'l-‘Abbās said to me: “Khālid, I have not seen you for three days.” “I was sick, oh Commander of the Believers”, I replied, and he continued: “Woe upon you, Khālid, last time you described women and slave-girls to me in a way I have never heard a speech more beautiful. Now repeat your words to me!” “It is a pleasure, oh Commander of the Believers”, I replied, “I told you that the Arabs of the olden days derived the word ‘*ḍarra*’, second wife, from ‘*ḍarr*’, damage<sup>228</sup>. None of them had another wife without being in trouble.” “What!”, he cried, “that wasn’t what you said!” “Oh yes it was, oh Commander of the Believers”, I argued, “Moreover, I told you that three wives are like the three stones on which the cauldron boils, and you, too<sup>229</sup>!” Abū'l-‘Abbās exclaimed: “May I be absolved from my relationship with the Messenger of God, if I ever heard you say anything like that!”

I continued: “Yes, and I told you that four wives are the sum of all evil combined for their husband: they turn his hair grey and make him senile and sick.” Abū'l-‘Abbās

<sup>225</sup> The version of al-Bayhaqī has here a truly Gargantuan number of one hundred.

<sup>226</sup> *Kāfir-kūbāt*.

<sup>227</sup> The text has *ulā'ika l-bukhārīya* (‘the above mentioned Bukharans’): the point of view technique with all its fineries was alien to the Mediaeval Arabs.

<sup>228</sup> The problems inherent in taking a second wife were often described in literature, and the *ḡinās* between *ḍarrat*- and *ḌRR* was often noticed, e.g., al-Qālī, al-Amālī II:35-36; Ibn ‘Abdrabbih, al-‘Iqd al-farīd III:172 l. 2-3; at-Tawhīdī, al-Imtā‘ I:15. This scene is also reminiscent of a Bedouin saying in ar-Raghīb, al-Muḥāḍarāt III:202 which furthermore ends with words similar to our no. 80. It seems probable that this story is a contamination of these two Khālid stories. For misogynic literature in general, see also my *Sa‘dī—A Misogynist?* Studia Orientalia 64, 1988, pp. 169-175.

<sup>229</sup> The phrase “*taghlī ‘alayhinna*” is ambivalent in Arabic (‘it boils’—‘you boil’).

cried: "Woe to you! By God, I have never heard this from either you or anybody else before this moment." I said: "Yes you have, by God!" "Do you call me a liar?", he roared, but I said: "And you, do you want me to die, oh Commander of the Believers?"<sup>230</sup> "Go on", he grumbled, and I said: "Then I told you that virgin slavegirls are no more than men without the pair of testicles."

Then I heard laughter from behind the curtain, so I continued: "Yes, and I told you also that the tribe Makhzūm is the flower of Quraysh and that you have with you the flower of these flowers<sup>231</sup>. Still, your eye covets free-born women and slave-girls thereto!" Then a voice came from behind the curtain: "You have said the truth, dear uncle, and been true. So you told the Commander of the Believers, but he altered your words and changed them and put words in your mouth!" Abū'l-'Abbās said instead: "What's the matter with you, may God kill you and put you to shame!"<sup>232</sup>

I left him, and went out being sure that I was saved. It was but a moment until the messengers of Umm Salama came to me bringing ten thousand dirhams, a wardrobe, a horse and a slave for me.<sup>233</sup>

(al-Mas'ūdī, Murūğ adh-dhahab §2327-2330)<sup>234</sup>

127\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said to a Bāhilī and congratulated him on his marriage: "May it be with good luck and many blessings, much movement and a victory in the battle-field!"

(ar-Raghīb, al-Muḥāḍarāt III:213)

<sup>230</sup> This phrase of Khālid is ingeniously ambivalent in Arabic: in "*wa-turīdu an taqtulanī*" *taqtulanī* may as well be 2nd person masculine ("do you want to kill me") as 3rd person feminine ("Do you want her to kill me"). This may also be an allusion to Qur. 28:19.

<sup>231</sup> The metaphor *rayḥān* (fragrant basil) for women is very common, cf. e.g. ath-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, p. 270; al-Ġurġānī, *al-Muntakhab*, p. 17; Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *al-'Iqd al-farīd* III:79 l. 14-15, III:158 l. 8 (< 'Alī ibn abī Ṭālib). Banū Makhzūm are in fact called the *rayḥān* of the Quraysh, e.g. in ath-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, p. 298, and Ibn abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahğ al-balāgha* V:395 (+ commentary until p. 411). The Prophet's wife Umm Salama also belonged to Makhzūm (see, e.g., Ibn abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahğ al-balāgha* V:409).

<sup>232</sup> These formulae are used as formulae of admiration, see, e.g., as-Suyūfī, *al-Muzhir* I:331.

<sup>233</sup> These were the usual gifts sent by the magnates, cf., e.g., az-Zağğāğī, *al-Mağālis*, pp. 54-55 (a story which contains other similarities with the present stories).

<sup>234</sup> Cf. al-Bayhaqī, *al-Maḥāsīn*, pp. 420-422; Ibn Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābi', *al-Hafawāt*, pp. 101-105; Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ qaṣīdat Ibn 'Abdūn*, pp. 216-218; Ibn al-Ġawzī, *K. al-Adhkiyā*, pp. 116-117; al-Itlīdī, *I'lām an-nās*, pp. 46-48; ash-Shirwānī, *Nafḥat al-Yaman*, pp. 64-66; Ibrāhīm al-Aḥḍab, *Dhayl Thamarāt al-awraq* II:292-296. The story is translated in Weisweiler, *Arabesken der Liebe*, no. 67. The story is referred to also in at-Tibrīzī, *Sharḥ Dīwān Abī Tammām* I:403 (*wa-ḥadīthuhu mashhūrūn ma'a Umm Salama imra'ati Abī'l-'Abbās*), and Abū'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, *R. aṣ-Ṣāhil wa'sh-shāhiğ*, p. 360. The anecdote has been discussed by the present writer in: H. Palva—Kn.S. Vikør (eds.), *The Middle East – Unity and Diversity. Nordic Proceedings in Asian Studies*, no. 5, 1993, pp. 153-164. See also Marzolph, *Arabia Ridens* II:104-105, no. 420 (I have been unable to locate Marzolph's reference to ad-Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, which seems to be erroneous). The same story is later told about Hārūn ar-Rashīd, Lady Zubayda and Abū Nuwās in several popular Nawādir Abī Nuwās collections, viz. *Nawādir Abī Nuwās. Silsilat "aḍ-ḍahikūn"*, Bayrūt s.a., pp. 33-40; *Nawādir Abī Nuwās*, Bayrūt s.a., pp. 3-6; *Dīwān Abī Nuwās, Ḥayātuhu, tārikhu, nawādiruhu, shī'ruhu*. Dār al-Kutub al-'ilmīya. Bayrūt s.a., pp. 21-27; Ingrams, *Abu Nuwas*, pp. 36-38. A popular story with some similar features may be found, e.g., in Bushnaq, *Arab folktales*, p. 274 = Ingrams, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.—For another story of a contest between the Caliph and Umm Salama, see, e.g., ath-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, pp. 201-202 (with 'Umāra ibn Ḥamza).

128\*] I have heard from Khālid ibn Ṣafwān that he said: "Whoever wants to marry, let him marry a woman who takes pride in her people, but is herself humble, whom wealth has refined and poverty subdued, who is chaste with her neighbour but without inhibitions towards her husband."  
(Ibn Qutayba, 'Uyūn al-akhbār IV:6)

129\*] Abū'l-ʿAbbās said to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān: "Khālid, people speak a lot of women, but which of them do you like best?" Khālid replied: "Oh Commander of the Believers, I like best the one who is not too weak and young nor too old and decrepit. As to her beauty I am satisfied if she is dark as a coal from afar, pretty when nearby, a twig from above, a sandhill from below. She shall have been nurtured in wealth, but poverty shall have befallen her, so that wealth has edified her and poverty made her humble. She shall not poke fun at your absence: she should be unrestrained towards her husband, but chaste towards her neighbours. When there are only the two of us, we belong to this world, but when we are separated, we act as the people of the other world."  
(al-ʿAbī, Nathr ad-durr VI:48)<sup>235</sup>

130\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān saw a crowd in the Mosque of Baṣra and asked: "What's up?" Someone replied: "There is a matchmaker here who procures women." Khālid came to her and said: "Get me a woman!" "Describe her to me", she said, and Khālid said: "I want her to be either a virgin like a widow, or a widow like a virgin, sweet when nearby, like a dark coal from afar. She shall have been wealthy, but poverty shall have befallen her, so that she has the good breeding of wealth and the humbleness of need. When there are only the two of us, we belong to this world, but when we are separated, we act as the people of the other world." She<sup>236</sup> said: "I have one for you!" "Where might she be?", asked Khālid, and she replied: "In *the noblest companion of the Paradise*<sup>237</sup>. Strive for her!"  
(Ibn 'Abdrabbih, al-'Iqd al-farīd VI:107)<sup>238</sup>

131\*] With the previous *isnād*<sup>239</sup> from al-Madā'inī: Ḥafṣ ibn Mu'āwiya ibn 'Amr al-Ghallābī has told: I said to Khālid: "I would not want to see you, one of the wealthiest men of Baṣra, die, whilst only slave-girls would be crying for you." Khālid answered: "Get me a woman!" "Describe her to me, and I shall get her for you", he said, and Khālid said: "I want her to be either a virgin like a widow, or a widow like a virgin, not too weak and young nor too old and decrepit. She must not have been earlier long married so that she would yearn for her husband, nor should she have been widowed for too long a time, so that she would have become too impudent<sup>240</sup>. She shall have

<sup>235</sup> Cf. Ibn 'Abdrabbih, al-'Iqd al-farīd VI:107 (less elaborate).

<sup>236</sup> Text: *qāla*, as also later, and earlier in Khālid's first line *ibghinī*. These are a clear hint that the story was originally about a *dallāl*, male matchmaker, as in Ibn Qutayba, 'Uyūn al-akhbār IV:6-7, or about some friend of Khālid as in no. 131. The editor of 'Uyūn identifies him (in note 9) with Dallāl (for whom, see Aghānī IV:59ff.), but we do not seem to have any evidence that he was active both in Baṣra as well as Medina.

<sup>237</sup> From a *ḥadīth*, see e.g. Lane s.v. *rafiq*.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. Marzolph, Arabia Ridens II:95, no. 380.

<sup>239</sup> See no. 101.

<sup>240</sup> I read *lam taqirra fa-tahnuna wa-lam tufat fa-tamḡun*.

been nurtured in wealth, but poverty shall have befallen her, so that wealth has edified her and poverty made her humble. About her beauty I am satisfied if she is dark as a coal from afar, pretty when nearby. Of her noble lineage I am content with her being in the middle of her people. She shall be content with the legal part from me, and if I live, I shall honour her, and if I die, I shall bequeath to her. She should not raise her head to look at the sky nor sink her eyes to the earth." I said: "Abū Ṣafwān, people have been searching for such a woman for a very long time without ever finding one!"

(ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, al-Amālī II:262)<sup>241</sup>

132] [Al-Qālī] said: Abū 'Uthmān told us: Khālid ibn Ṣafwān and some other people from Tamīm sat together in the mosque of Baṣra relating stories to each other about women when a Bedouin from the banī 'Anbar joined them and said: "I have composed a poem. Listen to it:

I shall give all women a gift which will satisfy  
both those of them who are absent and those who are present.  
When you meet a ten-year old girl, you will find her  
little generous to a brave man.  
He showers gifts on her, but she refuses  
and beats her cheeks when he asks her for more.  
But I prefer a twenty-year old;  
in her I take pleasure and her I want.  
A thirty-year old is the best you can think:  
she has not yet grown old and her wood is still verdant.  
The husband of a forty-year old is in constant bliss;  
the best of women are the free ladies and the bashful virgins.  
In a fifty-year old there are still some benefits;  
she is a delight to one who can profit from her.  
A sixty-year old has become keen on money and islām,  
and she is of tough wood.  
If you ever happen to meet a seventy-year old,  
say: 'What a misfortune!', and she will ask for more.  
An eighty-year old is all senile  
from barren old age and she is tottering.  
A ninety-year old is a calamity to all men,  
and she thinks all and sundry her servants.  
But if she attains one hundred, you will find her  
decrepit and of lowly stature."

When he heard the poem, Khālid exclaimed: "God bless you! You have spoken out what we have in our mind!"

(al-Qālī, Dhayl al-Amālī, p. 33-34)<sup>242</sup>

<sup>241</sup> Cf. Ibn Qutayba, 'Uyūn al-akhbār IV:6-7.

<sup>242</sup> The text is somewhat corrupt. A better version of the poem (attributed to Ḍamra ibn Ḍamra) is found in al-Bakrī, Simṭ al-la'āl III:18-19.

133\*] One day Khālid ibn Ṣafwān's wife said to him: "How beautiful you are!" He answered: "How can you say that; I do not have the pillar of beauty nor its robe nor burnoose!?" She asked what he meant by this and Khālid explained: "The pillar of beauty is the length of stature, yet I am short. Its robe is fairness, yet I am not fair, and its burnoose is jet black hair, yet I am bald. You should have said: 'How sweet you are and how charming.' That would have been more appropriate!"

(Ibn Qutayba, 'Uyūn al-akhbār IV:23-24)<sup>243</sup>

134\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān proposed to a woman saying: "I am Khālid ibn Ṣafwān, and you know my merit and have heard of my great wealth. Thereto I have characteristics which I shall make clear to you, so that you can either accept my proposal or reject it." "Tell me", she said, and Khālid spoke: "When a free-born woman comes near to me, she makes me bored, but if she stays aloof, she irritates me. My wife has no way to my dirhams and dīnārs. In addition, there come moments when I am so bad tempered that if I had my head in my hands, I would throw it away!" Having heard this she replied: "I see what you mean and have paid heed to your words. You have, by God, features which I could not stand even if I should marry you to a daughter of the Devil. Return, may God have mercy on you!"

(Ibn Qutayba, 'Uyūn al-akhbār IV:16)<sup>244</sup>

135\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "The world is but a temporary provision, and the best part of it is to have a chaste wife."

(ar-Raghīb, al-Muḥāḍarāt III:202)

136\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said:

"If you think of marrying, then take a wife  
with shining teeth and big, wide eyes."

(al-Ibshīhī, al-Mustatraf II:293)

## 6. Khālid on animals

137\*] Sulaymān ibn 'Alī said to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān when he saw him riding a donkey: "What is this, Abū Ṣafwān?" He replied: "God bless the Emir! May I tell you about different mounts?" "Do so!", said Sulaymān, and Khālid continued: "The camels are good for carrying and transporting, mules for travels and weighty loads, racers for pursuit and escape, half-breed horses for elegance and steady going, but donkeys are good for riding slowly and gently."

(al-Ġāḥiẓ, K. al-Bighāl II:138-139)<sup>245</sup>

<sup>243</sup> Cf. al-Ġāḥiẓ, Bayān I:355; ath-Tha'ālibī, Thimār al-qulūb, p. 600; Ibn 'Abdrabbih, al-'Iqd al-farīd VI:116; al-Ḥuṣṣī, Zahr al-ādāb, pp. 953-954; ar-Raghīb, al-Muḥāḍarāt III:281, all with slight differences.

<sup>244</sup> Cf. Ibn abī 'Awn, al-Aġwiba al-muskita, no. 286.

<sup>245</sup> Cf. at-Tawḥīdī, al-Imtā' III:60 (differs). Al-Ġāḥiẓ, K. al-Bighāl II:137 (> an-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-arab X:86) also relates the following story about Khālid's father: Ṣafwān ibn 'Abdallāh ibn al-Ahtam said to 'Abdarrāḥmān ibn 'Abbās ibn Rabī'a ibn al-Hārith ibn al-Muṭṭalib who used to ride a mule: "Why do you ride this animal on which you cannot take your revenge and which does not save you when you have to escape?" He replied: "It is below the arrogance of horses and above the lowliness of donkeys. The middle way is always the best." Ṣafwān said: "First we teach them, and then when they have learned their lessons, we learn from them!"

138\*] Ḥamza has told: al-Faḍl ibn ʿAlī ar-Raqāshī and Khālid ibn Ṣafwān preferred donkeys to horses as their mounts and they both held Abū Sayyāra as their model. [...]

Once a noble man from Baṣra met Khālid while the latter was riding his donkey. He said: "What mount is this?" Khālid replied: "Onager of the race of al-Kudād with its desert-coloured trousers and sturdy legs and tough skin. It carries the burden and attains the highest mountain passes. It rarely has maladies and is easily cured. Riding it prevents me from being a tyrant in the land or one of the malefactors<sup>246</sup>. If the donkey did not have these benefits, Abū Sayyāra would not have ridden his donkey for forty years."

A Bedouin heard his words and argued against him saying: "If you hold it back, it puts forth its yard, and if you let it go freely, it turns back. It produces lots of dung but is of little help. It is quick to come to rest but slow in raids. You cannot use it for blood money nor for a dowry nor can it be milked." (ath-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, pp. 369-370)<sup>247</sup>

139] Once Khālid ibn Ṣafwān came to ʿAlī ibn al-Ġahm ibn abī Ḥudhayfa when he was about to go riding. A donkey was brought to Ibn abī Ḥudhayfa, but Khālid said: "Don't you know that an ass is a shame (*al-ʿayru ʿār*) and a donkey a disgrace: it has an ugly voice<sup>248</sup> and is unpleasantly lazy<sup>249</sup>. It slips on shallow ground and tumbles in mud. It is not like a stallion for riding nor a mount for carrying baggage. Its rider is loathed and his fellow traveller is above him." Ibn abī Ḥudhayfa was repelled from riding a donkey, so he dismounted and took a horse. The donkey was given to Khālid who mounted it. Ibn abī Ḥudhayfa exclaimed: "Woe to you, Khālid! Do you forbid something but do it yourself?" Khālid replied: "May God bless you? Don't you know that an ass is from the offspring of al-Kurbāl<sup>250</sup> and it has shining trousers. Its legs are animated and it carries men and attains the mountain passes. Riding it prevents me from being a stubborn tyrant<sup>251</sup>. If I did not know my place I would go astray and would not be among those who are guided."<sup>252</sup> (al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, pp. 983-984)<sup>253</sup>

140] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān said: "The donkey is the worst of mounts: If you let it go freely, it turns back, and if you hold it back, it puts forth its yard. It is of little help but produces lots of dung. It is slow to attack but fast to flee. You cannot use it for a dowry nor for blood money."<sup>254</sup> (al-ʿAdawī, *Anwār* I:351)<sup>255</sup>

<sup>246</sup> A clear allusion to the Qurʾān, though not to any specific verse.

<sup>247</sup> Cf. al-Maydānī, *Maḡmaʿ al-amthāl* II:245; Ḥamza, *ad-Durra al-fākhira* I:271-272; Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* I:250-251.

<sup>248</sup> Allusion to the Qurʾān 31:19: *inna ankara l-aṣwāti la-ṣawtu l-ḥamīr* 'the most hideous of voices is the ass's' (Arberry).

<sup>249</sup> Cf. the saying: *asma ʿu ṣawtan wa-arā fawtan* (Lane, s.v. *fawt*).

<sup>250</sup> Better variant is *banāt al-Kudād* (cf. no. 138) which is widely attested, e.g., in a verse by al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān*, p. 158. See also *Lisān al-ʿArab* IV:432a and XII:44b.

<sup>251</sup> Allusion to the Qurʾān.

<sup>252</sup> Allusion to the Qurʾān.

<sup>253</sup> Cf. ar-Raghīb, *al-Muḥāḍarāt* IV:634; al-Maydānī, *Maḡmaʿ al-amthāl* II:246.

<sup>254</sup> The camel is often lauded for the two last mentioned qualities, see, e.g., al-Qālī, *Dhayl al-Amālī*, p. 107.

<sup>255</sup> This story is usually attributed to "a Bedouin", see no. 138.

141] Muḥammad has told us: Abū'l-ʿAbbās has told us: Once Khālid ibn Ṣafwān was riding in the company of some of his friends when bad weather suddenly started. Khālid rode a donkey, and said: "Do you not know that the one who rides a short stepped animal is the prince among his fellow travellers?" So they rode at his pace. The next day, on the other hand, he rode a nimble horse when bad weather suddenly started. He rode quickly afore, and his friends said to him: "Abū Ṣafwān, how aptly you spoke yesterday!", but he answered: "Why on earth would we then pay high prices for good horses?!"

(Thaʿlab, Maḡālis, pp. 28-29)<sup>256</sup>

### 7. The Miser

142] Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbdalmalik at-Taʿrīkhī said: If I were not particularly reluctant to blame learned men, I could tell stories about Thaʿlab and al-Mubarrad which would show even greater avaricity than the stories about Muḥammad ibn al-Ġahmī al-Barmakī, al-Kindī, Khālid ibn Ṣafwān and al-Aṣmaʿī.

(az-Zubaydī, Ṭabaqāt an-naḥwīyīn, p. 107)

143] A servant brought Khālid ibn Ṣafwān a tray full of plums—either it was a present or he was bringing it from the garden. When he placed it in front of him, Khālid said: "I would offer you one if I did not know you have already eaten some of them."

(al-Ġāhiz, K. al-Bukhalāʾ, p. 210)

144\*] It is told that somebody begged money from Khālid ibn Ṣafwān and that he gave the beggar a dirham. The beggar looked down on it, and Khālid said: "You stupid man! One dirham is a tenth part of ten, ten is a tenth part of one hundred, a hundred is a tenth part of one thousand, and a thousand is a tenth part of ten thousand! Can't you see how a single dirham grows to the amount of the blood money of a muslim!"

(al-Ġāhiz, K. al-Bukhalāʾ, pp. 214-215)<sup>257</sup>

145\*] A Tamīmī asked Khālid for money, and he gave him one *dānaq*. The Tamīmī exclaimed: "Good God, you give a man like me one single *dānaq*!" Khālid replied: "If every Tamīmī would give you as much as I have given, you would be a wealthy man."

(ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḏā, al-Amālī II:262)

<sup>256</sup> A similar story has been told of Shabīb ibn Shayba in Taʿrīkh Baghdād IX:274 (cf. also Ibn Khallikān, al-Wafayāt II:459): (*isnād*: < Ubaydallāh ibn ʿUmar < his father < ʿAbdallāh ibn Sulaymān < ʿAlī ibn Khashram < ʿIsā ibn Yūnus < Shabīb ibn Shayba) I was travelling in the retinue of the Caliph Abū Ġaʿfar and I said: "Oh Commander of the Believers, ride slowly because I am your prince". "What!", he exclaimed, "my prince?" "Yes", I replied, "I have been told by Muʿāwiya ibn Qurra that the Prophet of God has said: 'He who rides a short stepped animal is the prince among his fellow travellers.'" Abū Ġaʿfar said: "Give him a horse, it's easier to us than to see him take princely airs with us".—There is also a somewhat similar Khwāḡa Naṣraddīn story, see, e.g., T. Yaḡan, Stories of the Hodja, pp. 75-76.

<sup>257</sup> Cf. ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḏā, al-Amālī II:262; Ibn Durayd, Ġamhara, p. 710 (anonymous). In al-Bayān II:207 al-Ġāhiz gives another version of the same anecdote which there begins: A man asked another: "Give me a tiny little dirham [*hab lī durayhiman*]!" He answered: "What! Do you put it in the diminutive? You have put a great thing into the diminutive! One dirham is a tenth part" etc.

146\*] Khālid used to say: "By Jove, I have never spent a dirham with delight except for knocking at the door of the Paradise<sup>258</sup> or for buying bananas!"

(ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, al-Amālī II:262)

147\*] Khālid said: "I would rather have a son who loves wine than one who loves a good steak, because if he is after a steak, he'll always find one, but he would not always find wine."

(ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, al-Amālī II:263)

148] It is told that Dhirā<sup>ʿ</sup> adh-Dhirā<sup>ʿ</sup> was with Khālid ibn Ṣafwān and the servants served Khālid a chicken but gave him only some olives. When Dhirā<sup>ʿ</sup> began to stare at the chicken Khālid said: "It looks as if you were concerned with it." "Why shouldn't I be", exclaimed Dhirā<sup>ʿ</sup>, and Khālid replied: "But then we would have equal shares of my property!"

(al-Ġāhiz, K. al-Bukhalā', p. 216)

149] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān was a miser. Dhāri<sup>ʿ</sup>, a man from Baṣra told the following story about him: Khālid invited me and I divided a property for him and set his accounts in order. When it was noon he ordered lunch to be served. The servants brought him a chicken but to me they brought olives and onion. Khālid asked me: "Would you like to have some of this chicken?" "It wouldn't hurt you if I did", said I, but he replied: "If you and I had equal shares in my property, what use would it be for me that I own it?"

(al-Ābī, Nathr ad-durr III:278)

150] Al-Aṣma<sup>ʿī</sup> said: The misers of the Arabs are the following four, all of them poets [sic!]: al-Ḥuṭay'a, Ḥumayd al-Arqaṭ as-Sa<sup>ʿ</sup>dī, Abū'l-Aswad ad-Du'alī and Khālid ibn Ṣafwān at-Tamīmī (...). And as for Khālid ibn Ṣafwān: Once he fell ill and the doctor ordered him to have a young chicken for lunch. Khālid said: "Now, what do you speak of chickens for", but the doctor was adamant. At the end Khālid bought a chicken. When he was eating it, a Qurashī happened to call on him. Khālid got afraid that the man would like to eat with him so he hastened to say: "I'm having half of this chicken for lunch and the other half for supper." Then he recited:

"You fool the vicious ever-changing fate;  
who cannot provide for himself by fooling it, is no wise man."

The Qurashī left him saying:

"As an old man I learned how to make one's life a misery,  
when Khālid had maltreated me with his avarice."

(al-Marzubānī, Nūr al-qabas, pp. 146-147)<sup>259</sup>

151\*] It is said that the misers of the Arabs are the following four: al-Ḥuṭay'a, Ḥumayd al-Arqaṭ, Abū'l-Aswad ad-Du'alī and Khālid ibn Ṣafwān (...). And as to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān: He used to address a dirham when he got one: "O vagrant, for how long have you been travelling far and wide (*yā ʿayyār kam ta<sup>ʿ</sup>īr wa-kam taṭūfu wa-taṭīr*)! I shall set you free from your toil!" Then he would open a chest and lock the dirham in.

<sup>258</sup> I.e. for pious purposes.

<sup>259</sup> Cf. al-Aghānī II:46; Yāqūt, Irshād IV:155 and IV:164.



When he was asked: "Why do you not spend money though you have a vast fortune?" He replied: "Time is vaster than my fortune."  
(al-Ibshīhī, *Mustatraf* I:252)<sup>260</sup>

152\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān was asked: "Why do you not spend money though you have a vast fortune?" He replied: "Time is vaster than my fortune." They said to him: "It looks as if you would expect to live to the very end of the time!", and he answered: "Nay, I am afraid of not dying at its beginning!"  
(Ibn 'Abdrabbih, al-'Iqd al-farīd VI:197)<sup>261</sup>

153\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān ibn al-Ahtam was asked: "How is your son?" and he replied: "He is the lord of the young men of his people both in wit and *adab*." "How much do you give him a month?", someone asked, and Khālid replied: "Thirty dirhams." "What!", exclaimed the asker, "What can he do with mere thirty dirhams? Why would not you raise his allowance; you yourself get thirty thousand dirhams from your estates?" Khālid replied: "Even the thirty dirhams are more perilous to my wealth than moths to wool in summer time (*as-sūs fī ṣ-ṣūf fī ṣ-ṣayf*)."  
— When his words were told to al-Ḥasan (al-Baṣrī), he said: "I stand witness that Khālid is a trueborn Tamīmī!". Al-Ḥasan said this because the Tamīm are famous for their avarice and greed.  
(al-Maydānī, *Mağma' al-amthāl* I:149)<sup>262</sup>

154\*] Khālid ibn Ṣafwān once said to his maid: "Maid, bring me some cheese, for it gives a good appetite and enhances the stomach. It was called one of the sour foods of the Bedouins!" The girl answered: "But we don't have any!", and Khālid said: "Why didn't you tell me in the first place! Well, in any way, it is bad for teeth, it overpowers the stomach and is the food of Christians and Jews!" (—His friends asked him: "Which of the two shall we quote from you?" "The former", he answered, "if there is cheese; the latter if there is none.")<sup>263</sup>  
(Ibn Qutayba, 'Uyūn al-akhbār III:254)<sup>264</sup>

155\*] It had been said earlier, in the article on Ḥumayd al-Arqaṭ, that according to Abū 'Ubayda, Khālid ibn Ṣafwān was, despite his excellence and sublimity, one of

<sup>260</sup> The same story is found in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *K. al-Bukhalā'* (see F. Malti-Douglas, *Structures of avarice*, p. 91), whence it is taken to an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* III:297+300. Cf. also az-Zamakhsharī, *al-Fā'iḳ* II:144; ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Amālī* II:262; Shurūḥ Saqṭ az-zand, p. 482.

<sup>261</sup> Cf. Ibn Qutayba, 'Uyūn al-akhbār II:40 and Ibn abī 'Awn, *al-Ağwiba al-muskīta*, no. 552; aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī XIII*:254-255; ar-Raghīb, *al-Muḥāḍarāt* II:606; Marzolph, *Arabia Ridens* II:43 (no. 160). A contrary story about a rich man who wasted his fortune believing that he would die before his wealth would be exhausted and was reduced to poverty, is found, e.g., in the *Cento novelle antiche*, see E. Storer, *Novellino*, pp. 94-95.

<sup>262</sup> Cf. ath-Tha'ālībī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, p. 679; al-Ābī, *Nathr ad-durr* III:290; az-Zamakhsharī, *Mustaqṣā* I:6. In Ibn Durayd, *al-Ġamhara*, p. 83, the same story is told of a Bedouin. For the proverb *āka' mina s-sūs* etc. (and similar expressions), see also al-Ābī, *Nathr ad-durr* VI:192; Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī, *ad-Durra al-fākhira* I:328; al-Maydānī, *Mağma' al-amthāl* II:462; al-Ġurġānī, *al-Muntakhab*, p. 409; K. al-'Ayn II:231-232; al-Hamadhānī, *Rasā'il*, p. 394 = *Maqāmāt*, pp. 317-318; ath-Tha'ālībī, *Yatīmat ad-dahr* I:342 l. -3 (in a poem by Abū'l-Qāsim al-Wāsānī) and IV:203 l. -7.

<sup>263</sup> The end has been translated from ar-Raghīb, *al-Muḥāḍarāt* II:616.

<sup>264</sup> Cf. ar-Raghīb, *al-Muḥāḍarāt* II:616; al-Ġāḥiz, *Bayān* I:406 where this story is alluded to but not told. The same story (with a courtisan, Maḥmūd of Ghazna and egg plant as the *dramatis personae*) is told in *Laṭīfe o-zarīfe* (in Saleman—Shukovski, *Persische Grammatik*, p. 52\*).

the four misers of the Arabs. It is told that when he once was eating bread and cheese, a Bedouin saw him and saluted. Khālid said to him: "Please join me in some bread and cheese, for it is one of the sour foods of the Bedouins and it makes the food go down easily and enhances the appetite. Moreover it is delightful to drink something after having had some cheese." The Bedouin sat down, and they ate until there was nothing left. Then Khālid said to his maid: "Maid, give us more bread and cheese!" The maid answered: "But there is no more left." Khālid said then: "Thank God who turned its harmful effects from us and protected us from its burden! By Jove, it is harmful for the teeth, makes the throat rough, swells in the stomach and makes the excrement hard." To this the Bedouin said: "By God, I have never heard of blame coming so quickly after the praise!"

(Yāqūt, *Irshād* IV:164-165)

156\*] Khālid used to say: "He who has enough money is neither rich nor poor, because if misfortune befalls him, it will ruin his sufficiency. He who has less than enough, is poor, and who has more, is rich."

(ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Amālī* II:263)

157\*] Khālid used to say: "It is better to have a neighbour who you fear may break into your house than to have a merchant as your neighbour, because the latter will always be ready to lend you money and to write a promissory note."

(ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Amālī* II:263)<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>265</sup> Stories attributed to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān which I have not been able to include in the present study are found in: at-Tanūkhī, ‘Unwān al-ḥikma, 104a-105a (reference in Fāhdrieh, *A propos d'une compilation de la sagesse arabe*, p. 248). The story in al-Ābī, *Nathr ad-durr* VI:45, is wrongly attributed in the index to Khālid ibn Ṣafwān.

<sup>266</sup> The relatives of Khālid have been included only selectively when they are not named in the anecdotes. Poets whose verses are quoted in the stories have been included in the index only if they have been identified in the stories. For the personal names in the isnāds, see Index of isnāds. When the last link of the isnād takes part in the action, he is listed in both indices.—An asterisk after the number refers to the notes of the story.

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١٦ج] قال خالد بن صفوان: رماني بأصلب من الجنديل ونشقني بأحرّ من الخردل ثمّ قال:  
إنّي أمازحك!

(الرغيب، محاضرات الأدباء ١: ٢٨٢)

١٧] المزاح سباب النوكي.

(الزمخشري، مستقصى الأمثال ١: ٢٤٦)

١٩] كان خالد يقول: لا تكون بليغا حتى تكلم أمتك السوداء في الليلة الظلماء في الحاجة المهمة بما تتكلم به في نادي قومك فإنما اللسان عضو إذا مرّته مرّن وإذا (١) أهملته خار (١) كاليد التي تخشّنها بالممارسة والبدن الذي تقويه برفع الحجر وما أشبهه والرجل إذا عودت المشي مشت.

(المبرد، الكامل ٢: ٢٠٠)

(١)...(١): (العقد الفريد ٢: ٢٧٠): تركته لكن.

٢٠] قال رجل لخالد بن صفوان: إنك لتكثر. فقال: أكثر لضربين، أحدهما فيما لا تغني فيه القلّة والآخر لتمرين اللسان فإن حبسه يورث العقلة.

(المبرد، الكامل ٢: ٢٠٠)

٢١] سمع خالد بن صفوان رجلا يتكلم ويكثر فقال: اعلم رحمك الله أن البلاغة ليست بخفّة اللسان وكثرة الهذيان ولكنها بإصابة المعنى والقصد إلى الحجّة (..)

(العقد الفريد ٢: ٢٦١)

٢٤] قال خالد بن صفوان: ما الإنسان لولا اللسان إلا ضالّة مهملة أو بهيمة مرسلّة أو صورة ممثلة.

(الجاحظ، رسالة في صناعة القواد ١: ٢٦٠)





(ဇက် ၂၃၇၁)

ဧည့် ချာ : ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ

၀၃] ဧည့် ချာ : ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ

(ဇက် ၂၃၇၂)

ဧည့် ချာ : ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ  
ဧည့် ချာ : ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ  
ဧည့် ချာ : ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ  
ဧည့် ချာ : ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ

(ဇက် ၂၃၇၃)

ဧည့် ချာ : ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ

(ဇက် ၂၃၇၄)

ဧည့် ချာ : ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ

(ဇက် ၂၃၇၅)

ဧည့် ချာ : ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ  
ဧည့် ချာ : ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ  
ဧည့် ချာ : ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ  
ဧည့် ချာ : ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ

(ဇက် ၂၃၇၆)

ဧည့် ချာ : ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ  
ဧည့် ချာ : ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ ဟိန္ဒူ

٤١] سنل خالد بن صفوان عن ابن له فقال: كفاني أمر دنيائي وفرغني لأمر آخرتي.  
(نثر الدر ٤: ١٩٦)

٤٢] كان ثابت قطنه ولي عملا من أعمال خراسان فلما صعد المنبر يوم الجمعة رام الكلام فتعذر عليه وحصر فقال: سيجعل الله بعد عسر يسرا وبعد عي بيانا وأنتم إلى أمير فعّال أحوج منكم إلى أمير قوأل  
والا أكن فيكم خطيبا فإنني \* بسيفي إذا جدّ الوغى لخطيب  
فبلغت كلماته خالد بن صفوان (..) فقال: والله ما علا ذلك المنبر أخطب منه في كلماته هذه ولو أن كلاما استخفني من بلادي إلى قائله استحسانا له لأخرجتني هذه الكلمات إلى قائلها (..) (الآغاني ١٢: ٥١)

٤٤] قال رجل لخالد بن صفوان: إنّي أحبّك. قال: وما يمنعك من ذلك ولست لك بجار ولا أخ ولا ابن عمّ (..) (العقد الفريد ٢: ٢٢٧)

٤٥] وهو القائل: أربع لا يطمع فيهنّ عندي: القرض والفرض والعرض (١) وأن اسعى مع احد في حاجة. قيل له: وما يصنع بك بعد هذا ياأبا صفوان؟ فقال: الماء البارد وحديث لا ينادى وليده.

(ابن قتيبة، المعارف، ص ٢٠٦)

(١): في بعض النسخ: الهرس.

٤٦] قال خالد بن صفوان: والله ما يأتي علينا يوم إلا ونحن نوثر الدنيا على ما سواها وما تزداد لنا إلا تخليا وعنا إلا توليا.  
(القالى، الامالى ٢: ١٩٧)



٤٧] قيل لخالـد بن صفوان: أخوك أحب إليك أم صديقك؟ فقال: إن أخي إذا كان غير صديق لم أحبّه.

(الموشى، ص ٤١)

٤٨] مرّ خالد بن صفوان بأبي نخيلة الشاعر الراجز وقد بنى دارا فقال له ابو نخيلة: يا ابا صفوان كيف ترى دارى؟ قال: رأيتك سألت فيها إلحافا وأنفقت ما جمعت لها إسرافا. جعلت إحدى يديك سطحا وملأت الأخرى سلحا فقلت: من وضع في سطحي وإلا ملأته بسلحي. ثم ولّى وتركه فقيل له: ألا تهجوه؟ فقال: إذن والله يركب بغلته ويطوف في مجالس البصرة ويصف أبنيتي بما يعيبها.

(ياقوت، إرشاد الأريب ٤: ١٦١)

٥٠] (..) قال [خالد]: أما أعظمهم فخرا وأبعدهم ذكرا وأحسنهم عذرا وأشدّهم ميلا وأقلّهم غزلا وأحلامهم علا الطامي إذا زخر والحامي إذا زار والسامي إذا خطر الذي إن هدر قال وإن خطر صال الفصيح اللسان الطويل العنان فالفرزدق. وأما أحسنهم نعتا وأمدحهم بيتا وأقلّهم فوتا الذي إن هجا وضع وإن مدح رفع فالأخطل. وأما أغزرهم بحرا وأرقّهم شعرا وأهتكمهم لعدوّه ستر الأغرّ الأبلق الذي إن طلب لم يسبق وإن طُلب لم يلحق فجرير. وكلهم ذكي الفؤاد رفيع العماد واري الزناد.

فقال له مسلمة بن عبد الملك: ما سمعنا بمثلك يا خالد في الأوّلين ولا رأينا في الآخرين! وأشهد أنك أحسنهم وصفا والينهم عطفا وأعفّهم مقالا وأكرمهم فعالا. فقال خالد: أتمّ الله عليكم نعمه وأجزل لديكم قسمه وأنس بكم الغربية وفرج بكم الكربة وأنت والله ما علمت أيها الأمير كريم الغراس عالم بالناس جواد في المحل بسام عند البذل حليم عند الطيش في ذروة قریش ولباب عبد شمس ويومك خير من امس. فضحك هشام وقال: ما رأيت كتحلّصك يا ابن صفوان في مدح هؤلاء ووصفهم حتى أرضيتهم جميعا وسلمت عليهم.

(الأغاني ٧: ٧٣)





٥٩] قال خالد بن صفوان: استصغَرَ الكبير في طلب المنفعة واستعظم الصغير في ركوب المضرة.  
(العسكري، المصون في الادب، ص ١٢٠-١٢١)

٦٠] قال خالد بن صفوان: لا تطلبوا الحوائج في غير حينها ولا تطلبوها إلى غير اهلها ولا تطلبوا ما لستم له بأهل فتكونوا للمنع خلقاء (١).  
(عيون الاخبار ٣: ١٢٥)  
(١): (ياقوت، إرشاد الاريب ٤: ١٦٥): اهلا.

٦٠] قال خالد بن صفوان: لا تطلبوا الحوائج في غير حينها ولا تطلبوها من غير اهلها فإن الحوائج تطلب بالرجاء وتدرك بالقضاء.  
(العقد الفريد ١: ٢٤١)

٦١] قال خالد بن صفوان: فوت الحاجة خير من طلبها إلى غير اهلها وأشدّ من المصيبة سوء الخلف منها.  
(العقد الفريد ١: ٢٤١)

٦٢] قال [خالد]: مفتاح نجح الحاجة الصبر على طول المدّة ومغلاقها اعتراض الكسل دونها.  
(العقد الفريد ١: ٢٤١)

٦٣] قيل لخالد بن صفوان: ما أصبرك على هذا الثوب الخلق! قال: ربّ مملول لا يستطاع فراقه.  
(العقد الفريد ٣: ٢١٠)

٦٤] قال رجل لخالد بن صفوان: ما لي إذا رأيتمكم تتذاكرون الأخبار وتتدارسون الآثار وتتناشدون الأشعار وقع عليّ النوم؟ قال: لأنك حمار في مسلخ إنسان!  
(الجاحظ، البيان ١: ١٩٥-١٩٦)

(||အဗ္ဗာ||၁:၁၂၂)

||အဗ္ဗာ|| မိ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏

၀၈] မိ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏

(||အဗ္ဗာ||၁:၇၈၁)

၇၉]

၀၉] မိ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏

||အဗ္ဗာ||၁:၇၈၁

၀၉] မိ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏

၀၉] မိ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏

(||အဗ္ဗာ||၁:၆၀၃)

၀၉] မိ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏

(၁): (||အဗ္ဗာ||၁:၆၀၃)

(||အဗ္ဗာ||၁:၆၀၃)

၀၉] မိ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏

၀၉] မိ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏

(||အဗ္ဗာ||၁:၆၀၃)

၀၉] မိ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏

၀၉] မိ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏

(||အဗ္ဗာ||၁:၆၀၃)

၀၉] မိ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏ ငါ့၏

١٧١] قال شبيب بن شيبة لخالد بن صفوان: من أحبّ إخوانك إليك؟ قال: من سدّ خللي  
وغفر زلي وقبل علي.

(القالى، الامالى ١: ١٩٥)

٧١ب] قيل لخالد بن صفوان: أيّ إخوانك أحبّ إليك؟ قال: الذي يغفر زلي ويقبل علي  
ويسدّ خللي.

(عيون الاخبار ٢: ٢٢٢)

٧١ج] قيل لخالد بن صفوان: أيّ إخوانك أوجب عليك حقاً؟ فقال: الذي يسدّ خلتي ويغفر  
زلتي ويقبل عثرتي.

(الموشى، ص ٢٢)

٥٧١] قال خالد بن صفوان: أنا لا أصادق إلا من يغفر زلي ويسدّ خللي ويقبل علي.

(نثر الدر ٤: ١٧٠)

٧٢] قال [خالد]: ابذل لصديقك مالك ولمعرفتك بشرك وتحيّتك وللعامّة رفدك وحسن  
محضرك ولعدوك عدلك واضنن بدينك وعرضك عن كلّ أحد.

(ياقوت، إرشاد الأريب ٤: ١٦٥)

٧٢] سأل عبد الملك الحجاج عن عيبه فتلكأ عليه فأبى إلا أن يخبره. فقال: أنا حديد حسود  
حقوق لجوج ذو قسوة. فبلغ هذا الكلام خالد بن صفوان فقال: لقد انتحل الشرّ بحذافيره  
والمروق من جميع الخير بزوبره ولقد تأنق في ذمّ نفسه وتجوّد في الدلالة على لؤم طبعه وفي  
إقامة البرهان على إفراط كفره والخروج من كنف ربّه وشدة المشاكلة لشيطنه الذي أغواه.

(القالى، الامالى ٢: ١١١)

[٧٤] (..) فكتب إليه خالد: قد فهمت كتابك. كان ابو ابن عمي هذا أحسن أهلي خلقا وأسمجهم خلقا وأحسنهم عن أساء به صفحا وأسخاهم كفاً إلا أنه كان مبتلى بالدمامة وسماجة الخلق وكانت أمه من أحسن خلق الله وجهها إلا أنها كانت من سوء الخلق والبخل وقلة العقل على ما لا أعرف أحداً على مثله وابن عمي هذا فقد تقبل من أبويه مساويهما ولم يتقبل شيئا من محاسنهما فإن رغبت في تزويجه على ما شرحت لك من خبره فأنت وذلك وإن كرهت رجوت الله أن يخيّر لبنت أختينا إن شاء الله (..)

(ابن القفطي، تاريخ الحكماء، ص ٣٨٩-٣٩٠)

[٧٦] نظر خالد بن صفوان إلى لنيم النفس كريم الأبوين فقال:  
فلا يعجبني الناس منك ومنهما \* فما خبت من فضة بعجيب  
(الرغيب، محاضرات الادباء ١: ٢٢٧)

[٨٠] قال خالد بن صفوان: بتّ أتمنى ليلتي كلها فكبست البحر الأخضر بالذهب الأحمر فإذا الذي يكفيني من ذاك رغيغان وكوزان وطمران.  
(عيون الاخبار ٢: ٢٩٦)

[٨١] لقي خالد بن صفوان ثابت البناني ومحمد بن واسع عند باب بعض السلاطين فقال: ما جاء بكم إلينا فإنه لا يجيء بكم إلا الشقاء ولا تُدخل واحداً منّا فيكم إلا السعادة.  
(ابن ابي عون، الاجوبة المسكتة، رقم ٤٦٩)

[٨٢] قال خالد بن صفوان: اصدق في صغار مل يضرك ليجوز لك الكذب في كبار ما ينفعك.  
(الرغيب، محاضرات الادباء ١: ١٢٢)

[٨٣] قال خالد بن صفوان: إنّي لا أسمع الحديث فلا أحدث به حتى أتوبله وأفلله وأسعته.  
وقال: إنّي لأسمع الحديث مجرداً فأكسوه وممرطاً فأريشه.  
(الرغيب، محاضرات الادباء ١: ١٢٣)

(11) אהרן כהן ואלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו ואלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו  
אלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו: אהרן ואלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו (11) 106

(1106 אהרן ואלה שמות בניו)

אמר

אמר ואלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו: אהרן ואלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו  
אלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו: אהרן ואלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו (1107) 107

(1107 אהרן ואלה שמות בניו)

אמר

אמר ואלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו: אהרן ואלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו  
אלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו: אהרן ואלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו (1108) 108

(1108 אהרן ואלה שמות בניו)

אמר ואלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו: אהרן ואלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו

אלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו: אהרן ואלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו

אלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו: אהרן ואלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו (1109) 109

(1109 אהרן ואלה שמות בניו)

אמר

אמר ואלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו: אהרן ואלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו  
אלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו: אהרן ואלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו (1110) 110

(1110 אהרן ואלה שמות בניו)

אמר

אמר ואלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו: אהרן ואלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו  
אלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו: אהרן ואלה שמות בניו אשר יצאו ממנו (1111) 111



٩١] قال خالد: وفدت عليه [أي على هشام بن عبد الملك] فوجدته قد بدأ يشرب الدهن وذلك في عام باكر وسميّه وتتابع وليّه وأخذت الأرض زخرفها فهي كالزرايبي المبتوثة والقباطي المنشورة وثرها كالكاפור لو وضعت به بضعة [أو] لم تتربّ وقد ضربت له سرادقات حبر بعث بها إليه يوسف بن عمر من اليمن تتلألاً كالعقيان فأرسل إليّ فدخلت عليه ولم أزل واقفا ثمّ نظر إليّ كالمستنطق لي فقلت: يا امير المؤمنين أتمّ الله عليك نعمه ودفع عنك نقمه هذا مقام زين الله به ذكري وأطاب به نشري إذ أراني وجه أمير المؤمنين ولا أرى لمقامي هذا شيئاً هو أفضل من أن أنبّه امير المؤمنين لفضل نعمة الله عليه ليحمد الله على ما اعطاه ولا شيء أحضر من حديث سلف لملك من ملوك العجم إن أذن لي فيه حديثه به. قال: هات.

قلت: كان رجل من ملوك الأعاجم جُمع له فتاء السنّ وصحة الطباع وسعة الملك وكثرة المال وذلك بالخورنق فأشرف يوماً فنظر ما حوله فقال لمن حضره: هل علمتم أحداً أوتي مثل الذي أوتيت؟ فقال رجل من بقايا حملة الحجّة: إن أذنت لي تكلمت. فقال: قل. فقال: رأيت ما جُمع لك شيء هو لك لم يزل ولا يزول أم هو شيء كان لمن قبلك زال عنه وصار إليك وكذلك يزول عنك؟ قال: لا بل شيء كان لمن قبلي فزال عنه وصار إليّ وكذلك يزول عني. قال: فسرت بشيء تذهب لذّته وتبقى تبعته تكون فيه قليلاً وترتهن به طويلاً! فبكى وقال: أين المهرب؟ قال: إلى أحد أمرين: إمّا أن تقيم في ملكك فتعمل فيه بطاعة ربك وإمّا أن تلقي عليك أمساحاً ثمّ تلحق بجبل تعبد فيه ربك حتى يأتي عليك أجلك. قال: فما لي إذا أنا فعلت ذلك؟ قال: حياة لا تموت وشباب لا يهرم وصحة لا تسقم وملك جديد لا يبلى. فأتى جبلاً فكان فيه حتى مات.

وأنشده قول عبدي بن زيد:

وتفكر ربّ الخورنق إذ أصبح يوماً وللهدي تفكيرُ

سرّه حاله وكثرة ما يملك والبحر معرضاً والسدير

فارعوى قلبه فقال وما غبطة حيّ إلى الممات يصير؟

فبكى هشام وقام ودخل فقال لي حاجبه: لقد كسبت نفسك شراً دعاك امير المؤمنين لتحدّثه وتلهيه وقد عرفت علته فما زدت على أن نعت إليه نفسه. فأقمت أياماً أتوقع الشرّ ثمّ أتاني

حاجبه فقال: قد أمر لك بجائزة وأن لك الانصراف.

(عيون الاخبار ٢: ٢٦٨-٢٧٠)

١٩٤] قال ابو العباس لخالد بن صفوان حين أخذ سليمان بن حبيب: أشعرت أن سليمان أخذ من بنر؟ فقال: هذا الذي خرج رقصا ودخل قفصا!

(البلاذري، الانساب ٢: ١٦٧)

١٩٥] دخل بخالد بن صفوان على ابي العباس أمير المؤمنين فقال له: لقد وليت الخلافة فكنت أهلها وموضعها رعيت الحق في مسارحه وأوردته موارده فأعطيت كلا بقسطه من نظرك وعدلك ورأيك ومجلسك حتى كأنك من كل أحد وكأنك لست من أحد. فأعجبه قوله وأمر له بمال.

(البلاذري، الانساب ٢: ١٦٧)

١٩٦] قال خالد بن صفوان لبعض الولاة: قدمت فأعطيت كلاً بقسطه من (١) وجهك وكرامتك (١) حتى كأنك لست من أحد أو حتى كأنك من كل أحد.

(القالبي، الامالي ١: ٢١٢)

(١)..(١): (العقد الفريد ٢: ١٢٥ و عيون الاخبار ١: ١٧٢): نظرك ومجلسك

وصلاتك وعداتك (عيون: عدلك). (زهر الآداب، ص ٩١٦): نظرك وصوتك وعدلك. (زهر الآداب، ص ١٠٧٩): نظرك ومجلسك في صوتك وعدلك.

١٩٦ب] قال خالد بن صفوان لبعض الولاة: جزاك الله خيرا فقد سويت بين الناس حتى كأنك من كل أحد وكأنك لست من أحد.

(الرغيب، محاضرات الادباء ١: ١٩٥)

١٩٧] يروى أن خالد بن صفوان دخل على يزيد بن المهلب وهو يتغدى فقال: ادن فكل يا ابا صفوان! فقال: أصلح الله الامير لقد أكلت أكلة لست ناسيها. قال: وما أكلت؟ قال: أتيت ضيعتي لإبّان الغراس وأوان العمارة فجلت فيها جولة حتى إذا صخدت الشمس وأزمعت

כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת צְעָדֶיךָ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ  
וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ  
וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ

(1:051) אֶתְּחִיל לְךָ

וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ

וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ  
וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ  
וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ

וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ

וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ

(173) וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ

(1) וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ

(5:176) וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ

וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ

וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ

(111-113) וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ

וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ

וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ  
וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ  
וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ  
וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ  
וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלְךָ

أزال سلطانك وهدّ أركانك وأزال جمالك وغيرَ حالك فوالله لقد كنت شديد الحجاب مستخفًا  
بالشريف مظهرًا للعصبيّة (..)

(زهر الآداب، ص ١٢٥)

١٠٩] قال الأبرش الكلبي لخالد بن صفوان: هلمّ أفاخرِك! وهما عند هشام بن عبد الملك  
فقال له خالد: قل. فقال الأبرش: لنا ربع البيت - يريد الركن اليماني - ومنّا حاتم طيّئ  
ومنّا المهلب بن أبي صفرة. قال خالد بن صفوان: منّا النبيّ المرسل وفينا الكتاب المنزل ولنا  
الخليفة المؤمل. قال الأبرش: لا فاخرت مضرياً بعدك!

(العقد الفريد ٢: ٢٢٠)

١١٠] نزل بأبي العباس قوم من اليمن من أخواله من كعب ففخروا عنده بقديمهم وحديثهم  
فقال أبو العباس لخالد بن صفوان: أجب القوم! فقال: أخوال امير المؤمنين! قال: لا بدّ أن  
تقول. قال: وما أقول لقوم يا امير المؤمنين هم بين حائك برد وسائس قرد ودابغ جلد دلّ  
عليهم هدهد وملكتهم امرأة وغرقتهم فأرة فلم تثبت لهم بعدها قائمة!

(العقد الفريد ٢: ٢٢٠)

١١٠] (..) قال [خالد]: وما أقول في قوم ليس منهم إلا دابغ جلد أو ناسج برد أو قائد  
قرد أو راكب عرد أغرقتهم فأرة وملكتهم امرأة ودلّ عليهم هدهد.

(الشعالي، ثمار القلوب، ص ٤١٢)

١١٢] دخل خالد بن صفوان التميمي على السفاح وعنده أخواله من بني الحارث بن كعب  
فقال: ما تقول في أخوالي؟ قال: هم هامة الشرف وخرطوم (١) الكرم وغرس الجود. إنّ  
فيهم لخصالا ما اجتمعت في غيرهم من قومهم. إنهم لأطولهم أمّا وأكرمهم شيما وأطيبهم (٢)  
طعما وأوفاهم ذمّا وأبعدهم همما. هم الجمرة في الحرب والرفد في الجذب والرأس في كل  
خطب وغيرهم بمنزلة العجب (..)

(نثر الدر ٦: ٢٧-٢٨)

(١): (زهر الآداب، ص ٨٧٢ وص ١٠٧٩): عرينين.

(٢): (زهر الآداب، ص ١٠٧٩): أهنأهم.

١١٥] كان ابو العباس السفاح ابو الخلفاء يعجبه منازعة الناس فحضر ذات ليلة إبراهيم بن مخزومة الكندي وناس من بلحارث بن كعب وكانوا أخواله وخالد بن صفوان فخاضوا في الحديث وتذاكروا مضر واليمن فقال إبراهيم: يا امير المؤمنين إن اليمن الذين هم العرب الذين دانت لهم الدنيا لم يزالوا ملوكا وأربابا ووزراء الملك. منهم النعمانات والمنذرات والقابوسات ومنهم غاصب البحر وحمي الدبر وغسيل الملائكة ومنهم من اهتز لموته العرش ومكلم الذئب ومنهم البذآخ والفتاح والرماح ومن له مدينة الشعر وبابها ومن له أفعال الوفاء ومفاتيحها ومنهم الخال الكريم صاحب البؤس والنعيم وليس من شيء له خطر إلا إليهم يُنسب من فرس رائع أو سيف قاطع أو درع حصينة أو حلة مصونة أو درة مكنونة وهم العرب العاربة وغيرهم متعربة.

قال ابو العباس: ما أظنّ التميمي يرضى بقولك. ثم قال: ما تقول أنت يا خالد؟ قال: إن أذنت لي في الكلام تكلمت. قال: تكلم ولا تهب. قال: أخطأ المتقحم بغير علم ونطق بغير صواب وكيف يكون ذلك لقوم ليست لهم ألسُن فصيحة ولا لغة صحيحة ولا حجة نزل بها كتاب ولا جاءت بها سنة وإنهم منا لعلى منزلتين: إن جازوا حكمننا قُتلوا وإن جاروا عن قصدنا أكلوا. يفخرون علينا بالنعمانات والمنذرات والقابوسات وغير ذلك مما سيأتي ونفخر عليهم بخير الأنام وأكرم الكرام محمد عليه السلام فله به المنة علينا وعليهم لقد كانوا أتباعه به عُرِفوا وله أكرموا فمننا البي المصطفى والخليفة المرتضى ولنا البيت المعمور والمشعر الحرام وزمزم والمقام والبطحاء معما لا يحصى من المآثر فليس يعدل بنا عادل ولا يبلغنا قول قائل ومنا الصديق والفاروق وذو النورين والولي والسبطان وأسد الله وذو الجناحين وسيف الله وبنا عرفوا الدين وأتاهم اليقين فمن زاحمنا زاحمناه ومن عادانا اصطلمناه.

ثم أقبل خالد على إبراهيم فقال: أعالم أنت بلغة قومك؟ قال: نعم. قال: فما اسم العين؟ قال: الجحمة. قال: فما اسم السن؟ قال: الميذر. قال: فما اسم الأذن؟ قال: الصنارة. قال: فما اسم الأصابع؟ قال: الشناتر. قال: فما اسم اللحية؟ قال: الزب. قال: فما اسم الذئب؟ قال: الكتع. قال: أعالم أنت بكتاب الله؟ قال: نعم. قال: فإن الله عز وجل





١٢٤] (..) قال [خالد]: (..) أصف لك بلادنا. فقال [مسلمة]: هات. قال: يندو قانصنا فيجيء هذا بالشموط والشيم ويجيء هذا بالطبي والظليم ونحن أكثر الناس عجا وساجا وخزاً وديباجا وبرذونا هملجا وخريدة مغناجا بيوتنا الذهب ونهرنا العجب أوله الرطب وأوسطه العنب وآخره القصب فأما الرطب عندنا فمن النخل في مباركه كالزيتون عندكم في منابته هذا على أفنانه كذاك عن أغصانه هذا في زمانه كذاك في إبانه من الراسخات في الوحل المطعمات في المحل الملقحات بالفحل يخرجن أسفاطاً عظاما وأوساطا ضخاما - وفي رواية: يخرجن أسفاطاً وأوساطاً كأنما مُلئت رباطاً - ثم ينفلقن عن قضبان الفضة باللؤلؤ الأبيض ثم تتبدل قضبان الذهب منظومة بالزبرجد الأخضر ثم تصير ياقوتاً أحمر وأصفر ثم تصير عسلاً في شنة من سحاء ليست بقربة ولا إناء حولها المذآب ودونها الحراب لا يقربها الذباب مرفوعة عن التراب ثم تصير ذهباً في كيسة الرجال يستعان به على العيال.

وأما نهرنا العجب فإن الماء يقبل عنقا فيفيض مندفاً فيغسل غثها ويبيدي مَبَثَّها يأتينا في أوان عطشنا ويذهب في زمان ريناً فناخذ منه حاجتنا ونحن نيام على فرشنا فيقبل الماء وله عباب وازدياد ولا يحجبنا عنه حجاب ولا تغلق دونه الأبواب ولا يتنافس فيه من قلة ولا يجبس عنا من علة.

وأما بيوتنا الذهب فإن لنا عليهم خرجاً في السنين والشهور نأخذة في أوقاته ويسلمه الله تعالى من آفاته وننقله في مرضاته. فقال له مسلمة: أتى لهم هذه يا ابن صفوان ولم تغلبوا عليها ولم تسبقوا إليها؟ فقال: ورثناها عن الآباء ونعمرها للأبناء ويدفع لنا عنها رب السماء ومثلنا فيها كما قال معن بن أوس:

إذا ما بحر خندف جاش يوماً \* يغطط موجه المتعرضينا

فمهما كان من خير فإننا \* ورثناها أوائل أولينا

وإنا مورثون كما ورثنا \* عن الآباء إن متنا بنينا

(ياقوت، معجم البلدان ١: ٦٤٩-٦٥٠)

١٢٤ب] (..) سأل هشام بن عبد الملك خالد بن صفوان عن البصرة فقال: إذا أخبرك يا أمير المؤمنين يخرج قانصان فيجيء هذا بالطير والظليم وهذا بالسلك والشبوط ونحن أكثر الناس ساجاً وعاجاً وخزاً وديباجاً وبرذونا هملجاً وجارية مغناجا بيوتنا الذهب ونهرنا العجب



أوله الرطب وآخره عطب فالنخل في مكاربه كالزيتون عندكم في منابته هو في أكامه كذاك في أغصانه ثم هو في إبانه كذاك في زمانه هن الراسخات في الوحل المطعمات في المحل الملقحات بالفحل يخرجن أسفاطا عظاما وأوساطا نظاما كأنما ملئت رباطا ثم تفتتر عن قضبان اللجين منظومة باللؤلؤ الأخضر ثم يصير ذهباً منظوما بالزبرجد الأخضر ثم يصير عسلا معلقا في الهواء ليس في قرية ولا سقاء بعيدا من التراب كالشهد المذاب ثم يصير في أكيسة الرجال فيستعان به على العيال.

وأما نهرنا العجب فإنه يقبل عند حاجتنا إليه ويدبر عند ربنا منه وله عباب لا يحجبه ولا يغلق عنا دونه حجاب.

فقال هشام: بلدكم أكرم بقاع الأرض يا أخا بني تميم.

(ابن الفقيه، كتاب البلدان، ص ١٢١-١٢٢)

[١٢٦] فلما كان ذات يوم من خلافته [يعني ابا العباس] خلا به خالد بن صفوان فقال: يا امير المؤمنين إنني فكرت في أمرك وسعة ملكك وقد ملكت نفسك امرأة واحدة واقتصرت عليها فإن مرضت مرضت معها وإن غابت غبت وحرمت نفسك التلذذ باستطراف الجواربي ومعرفة أخبار حالاتهن والتمتع بما تشتهي منهن فإن منهن يا امير المؤمنين الطويلة الغيداء وإن منهن الغضة البيضاء والعتيقة الأدماء والرقيقة السمراء والبريرية العجزاء من مولدات المدينة تفتن بمحادثها وتلتذذ بخلوتها وأين امير المؤمنين من بنات الأحرار والنظر إلى ما عندهن وحسن الحديث معهن ولو رأيت يا امير المؤمنين الطويلة البيضاء والسمراء اللعساء والصفراء العجزاء والمولدات من البصريات والكوفيات ذوات الألسن العذبة والقودود المهفهفة والأوساط المخصرة والأصداغ المزرفنة والعيون المكحلة والثدي المحققة وحسن زيهن وزينتهن وشكلهن لرأيت شيئا حسنا. وجعل خالد يجيد في الوصف ويكثر في الإطناب بحلاوة لفظه وجودة وصفه.

فلما فرغ من كلامه قال له ابو العباس: ويحك يا خالد ما صك والله مسامعي قطّ كلام أحسن مما سمعته منك! فأعد عليّ كلامك فقد وقع مني موقعا. فأعاد عليه خالد كلامه أحسن مما ابتدأه ثم انصرف وبقي ابو العباس مفكرا فيما سمع منه فدخلت عليه أم سلمة امرأته فلما رأته مفكرا مغموما قالت: إني لأنكرك يا امير المؤمنين فهل حدث أمر تكرهه أو أتاك خبر فارتعت له؟ قال: لم يكن من ذلك شيئا. قالت: فما قصّتك؟ فجعل ينزوي عنها فلم

קיימת ונמצאת בלתי נפרדת מן המציאות  
 : צורתה היא כדורית וקוטרה כמין  
 : המין הוא כדורית וקוטרה כמין  
 : המין הוא כדורית וקוטרה כמין  
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 : המין הוא כדורית וקוטרה כמין  
 : המין הוא כדורית וקוטרה כמין

وبدّل ونطق عن لسانك. فقال له ابو العباس: ما لك قاتلك الله وأخزأك وفعل بك وفعل!  
قال: فتركته وخرجت وقد أيقنت بالحياة فما شعرت إلا برسلك أم سلمة قد صاروا إليّ ومعهم  
عشرة آلاف درهم وتخت وبرذون وغلأم.

(المسعودي، مروج الذهب، رقم ٢٢٢٧-٢٢٢٠)

١٢٦ب] قال خالد بن صفوان: دخلت على أبي العباس وهو خالي المجلس فقلت: يا امير  
المؤمنين إن رأيت أن تأمر بحفظ الستر لألقي إليك شيئا أنصحك به. أو قال فيه فأمر بذلك  
فقلت: يا امير المؤمنين فكرت في هذا الأمر الذي ساقه الله إليك ومنّ به عليك فرأيتك أبعد  
الناس من لذاته وأتعب الخلق فيه. قال: وكيف ذاك يا خالد؟ قلت: باقتصارك من الدنيا  
على امرأة واحدة وتركك البيضاء المشتهاة لبياضها والخضرة التي تتراد لخضرتها والسمينة  
المشتهاة لوطائها. وذكرت الرشيقة الرخيمة والجمدة السبطة فقال: يا خالد هذا أمر ما مرّ  
بسمعي. فاستأذن في الانصراف فأذن له.

وخرجت إليه أم سلمة وهو ينكت بالقلم على دواة بين يديه فقالت: يا امير المؤمنين  
أراك مفكرا انتقض عليك عدوّ؟ قال: كلا ولكن كلام ألقاه إليّ خالد بن صفوان فيه نصيحتي.  
وشرح ذلك لها قالت: فما قلت لابن الزانية؟ قال: ينصحنى وتشتمينه! فقامت عنه وبعثت إلى  
مائة من مواليتها فقالت: لهذا اليوم اتّخذتكم وأعددتكم. أمضوا إلى خالد بن صفوان فحيث  
وجدتم خالدًا فاهووا إلى أعضائه عضوا عضوا فرضوها.

فطلّبت ومررت بقوم أحدثهم إذ أقبل القوم فدخلت في جملتهم ولجات إلى دار  
ووقعت البغلة فرضوها بالأعمدة وبقيت لا تظلّني سماء ولا تقلّني أرض. فإني جالس ذات يوم  
إذ هجم عليّ قوم فقالوا: أجب امير المؤمنين. فقلت ولا أملك من نفسي شيئا حتى دخلت عليه  
وهو في ذلك المجلس وأنا أسمع حركة من وراء الستر فقلت: أم سلمة والله. فقال: يا خالد  
من أين ترى؟ قلت: كنت في غلّة لي. ثمّ قال: الكلام الذي كنت ألقيته إليّ في بعض الأيام  
أعده عليّ. قلت: نعم يا امير المؤمنين إن العرب اشتقت اسم الضرّ من اسم الضرتين وإن  
الضرائر شرّ الذخائر والإماء آفة المنازل ولم يجمع رجل بين امرأتين إلا كان بين جمرتين  
تحرقه واحدة بناها وتلحقها أخرى بشرارها. قال: ليس هذا هو! قلت: بلى. قال: فكفّر.  
قلت: نعم يا امير المؤمنين وأخبرتلك أن الثلاث إذا اجتمعن كنّ كالأثافي المحرقة وإن الأربع

يتغايرون فلا يصبرن ويتعالين فلا يهوين وإن أُعطين لم يرضين. قال: لا والله ما هو هذا!  
قلت: يا امير المؤمنين وأخبرتكَ أن الأربع همّ ونصب وضجر وصخب إنما صاحبهن بين حاجة  
تطلب وبلية تترقب إن خلا بواحدة منهنّ خاف شرّ الباقيات وإن آثرها كنّ له أعدى من  
الحيات وأخبرتكَ أن الجوّاري رجال لا خصى لهنّ وخرق لا حياة معهنّ. قال: لا والله ما هو  
هذا.

قلت: بلى إن بني مخزوم ريحانة العرب وكنانة بيت قريش وعندك ريحانة الرياحين  
وسيدة نساء العالمين وحددثني أنك تهّم بالتزوّج فقلت لك: هيهات تضرب في حديد بارد  
ليس ذلك بكانن آخر الزمان المعايين. قال: ويك اتستعمل الكذب؟ قلت: فمع السيوف لعب؟  
قال: فاذهب فإنك أكذب العرب! قلت: فأيهما أصلح، أكذب أم تقتلني أم سلمة؟ فاستلقتني  
ضاحكا وقال: اخرج قبّحك الله. وارتفع الضحك من وراء الستر وانصرفت إلى منزلي فإذا  
خادم لأمّ سلمة ومعه خمس بدر وخمس تخوت وقال: الزم ما سمعناه منك.  
(البيهقي، المحاسن والمساوي، ص ٤٢٠-٤٢٢)

[١٢٧] قال خالد بن صفوان لرجل من باهلة: باليمن والبركة وشدة الحركة والظفر عند  
المعركة. (الرغيب، محاضرات الادباء ٢: ٢١٢)

[١٢٨] بلغني عن خالد بن صفوان أنه قال: من تزوّج امرأة فليتزوّجها عزيزة في قومها ذليلة  
في نفسها أدبها الغنى وأذلّها الفقر حصانا من جارها ماجنة على زوجها.  
(عيون الاخبار ٤: ٦)

[١٢٩] قال ابو العباس لخالد بن صفوان: يا خالد إن الناس قد أكثروا في النساء فأبي  
النساء أحبّ إليك؟ قال: يا امير المؤمنين أحبّها ليست بالضرع الصغيرة ولا بالفانية الكبيرة  
وحسبي من جمالها أن تكون فحمة من بعيد مليحة من قريب أعلاها قضيب وأسفلها كثيب  
غذيت في النعيم وأصابتها فاقة فأدبها النعيم وأذلّها الفقر لم تفتك فتمجّن الهلوك على زوجها  
الحصان من جارها إذا خلونا كنا أهل دنيا وإذا افترقنا كنا أهل آخرة.  
(نثر الدر ٦: ٤٨)



(3:11) (1)

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(6:11) (2)

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(... 006)

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(1): (1:55)

(3:11-13) (3)

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(3:1-8) (4)

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١٢٤] خطب خالد بن صفوان امرأة وقال: الشرط أن لا سبيل إلى درهم من مالي وإن تقربت مني أملتني وإن تباعدت عني أسخطتني. فوجهت إليه: والله لو كان لي كلبة ما زوجتكها على هذه الشروط!  
(ابن أبي عون، الأجوبة المسكتة، رقم ٢٨٦)

١٢٥] قال خالد بن صفوان: إنما الدنيا متاع وليس من متاعها أفضل من امرأة صالحة.  
(الرغيب، محاضرات الادباء ٢: ٢٠٢)

١٢٦] قال خالد بن صفوان:  
عليك إذا ما كنت في الناس ناكحا \* بذات الثنايا الغرّ والأعين النجل  
(الإبشيهي، المستطرف ٢: ٢٩٣)

١٢٧] قال سليمان بن علي لخالد بن صفوان ورآه على حمار: ما هذا يا ابا صفوان؟ قال: أصلح الله الامير ألا أخبرك عن المطايا؟ قال: بلى. قال: الإبل للحمل والزمل والبغال للأسفار والأثقال والخيل للطلب والهرب والبراذين للجمال والوطاءة وأما الحمير فللدبيب والمرفق.  
(الجاحظ، البغال ٢: ١٢٨-١٢٩)

١٢٧] قال خالد بن صفوان: الإبل للبعد والبغال للثقل والبراذين للجمال والدعة والحمير للحوائج والخيل للكرّ والفرّ.  
(التوحيدي، الإمتاع ٢: ٦٠)

١٢٨] (..) فأما خالد فإن بعض أشرف البصرة لقيه فرآه على حمار فقال: ما هذا المركب؟ فقال: غير من (١) أصل الكدّار [كذا في الاصل] (١) أصحر السربال محملج القوائم مفتول الأجلاد يحمل الرحلة ويبلغ العقبة ويقلّ داؤه ويخفّ داؤه ويمنعني أن أكون جبارا في الأرض أو أكون من المفسدين ولولا ما في الحمار من المنفعة لما امتطى ابو سيارة غيره أربعين سنة. فسمع كلامه أعرابي فعارضه بأن قال: الحمار إذا أوقفته أدلى وإن تركته ولى كثير الروث قليل

(1:258) , (1:258)

(1) ...  
... (1) ...

(1:261) , (1:261)

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(1:261) , (1:261)

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(1:261) , (1:261)

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... (1) ...

(1:261-262) , (1:261-262)

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... (1) ...

(1:261) , (1:261)

(1:261) , (1:261)

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... (1) ...



١٥١ب] كان خالد من أشحّ الناس وأبخلهم كان إذا أخذ جائزة أو غيرها قال للدرهم: أما والله لطلما أغرت في البلاد وأنجدت والله لأطيلنّ ضجعتك ولأديمنّ صرعتك!  
(الشريف المرتضى، الامالي ٢: ٢٦٢)

١٥١ج] كان إذا أخذ جائزته قال للدرهم: طالما سرت في البلاد أما والله لأطيلنّ حبسك ولأديمنّ لبثك (..)  
(النويري، نهاية الارب ٢: ٢٩٧)

١٥٢] قيل لخالد بن صفوان: ما لك لا تنفق فإن مالك عريض؟ قال: الدهر أعرض منه. قيل له: كأنك تؤمّل أن تعيش الدهر كله! قال: لا ولكن أخاف ألا أموت في أوله!  
(العقد الفريد ٦: ١٩٧)

١٥٣] قيل لخالد بن صفوان بن الأهم: كيف ابنك؟ فقال: سيّد فتيان قومه ظرفا وأدبا. فقيل: كم ترزقه في كل شهر؟ قال: ثلاثين درهما. فقيل: وأين يقع منه ثلاثون درهما! هلا تزيد وأنت تستغلّ ثلاثين ألفا. فقال: الثلاثون أسرع في هلاك مالي من السوس في الصوف بالصيف. فحكى كلامه للحسن فقال: أشهد أن خالدا تميمي لرشدة! (..)  
(الميداني، مجمع الامثال ١: ١٤٩)

١٥٤] قال خالد بن صفوان يوما لجاريتته: يا جارية أطعمينا جبنا فإنه يشهيّ الطعام ويهيج المعدة وهو يعدّ من حمض العرب. قالت: ما عندنا منه شيء. قال: لأعلمنك أنه والله ما علمت ليقدر في الأسنان ويستولي على البطن وأنه من طعام أهل الذمّة.  
(عيون الاخبار ٢: ٢٤٥)

١٥٥] (..) روي أنه أكل يوما خبزا وجبنا فرآه أعرابي فسلمّ عليه فقال له خالد: هلمّ إلى الخبز والجبين فإنه حمض العرب وهو يسيغ اللقمة ويفتق الشهوة وتطيب عليه الشربة. فانحطّ الأعرابي فلم يبق شيئا منهما فقال خالد: يا جارية زيدينا خبزا وجبنا. فقالت: ما بقي عندنا

