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Volume v, Sections 1–2

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Al-Maqrīzī's
al-Ḥabar 'an al-bašar

Volume V, Sections 1–2:
The Arab Thieves

Critical Edition, Annotated Translation and Study by

Peter Webb



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Contents

List of Plates and Tables IX

Abbreviations X

Acknowledgements XI

Introduction 1

PART I

Study of the Arab Thieves

- 1 Outlaw Literature 9
- 2 'Arab Thieves': Establishing a Category 17
 - 2.1 *Şu'lūk/Şa'ālīk* 21
 - 2.2 *Fātīk/Futtāk* 27
 - 2.3 *Lişş/Luşūş* 29
 - 2.4 The Runners 34
 - 2.5 The Arab Ravens 47
 - 2.6 Lions and Wolves 51
 - 2.7 Thievery Semantics: Conclusions 53
- 3 Thieves and Arab History 58
 - 3.1 Outlaws and Arabness in the Third/Ninth Century 59
 - 3.2 Outlaws and Arabness in the Fourth/Tenth Century 65
 - 3.3 The Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras 68
 - 3.4 al-Maqrīzī and His *Luşūş al-'Arab* 72
- 4 Contemporary Outlaws: Criminality in al-Maqrīzī's Own World 80
- 5 Al-Maqrīzī's Manuscript: Its Conceptual, Narrative and Physical Structure 91
 - 5.1 The Thieves 92
 - 5.2 Narrative Structure 102
 - 5.2.1 *Multiple Outlaws under One Name: 'Amr of the Dog* 102
 - 5.2.2 *Anecdote Arrangement and Outlaw Personae Construction: al-Şanfará* 107
 - 5.2.3 *'Amr ibn Barrāqah and Concluding Impressions* 110
 - 5.3 The Book 112

6 The Sources	122
6.1 Dictionaries and the List of 'Arab Thieves'	125
6.2 Al-Maqrīzī's Sources: Overview	127
6.3 Al-Maqrīzī's Copying Style: Case Studies	134
6.4 Al-Maqrīzī and Outlaw Poetry: Specialised Collections	142
6.5 Sources: Conclusions	146
7 Concluding Remarks	148
Plates	151

PART 2

Critical Edition and Translation

The Holograph	161
The Translation	165
Abbreviations and Symbols	166

Text and Translation of al-Maqrīzī's al-Ḥabar 'an al-baṣar, vol. v, Sections 1–2: the Arab Thieves

Section on the Arabs' Religions before Islam	168
Section on the Arab Hussies	170
Section on the Arab Thieves	176
'Amr of the Dog	178
Ta'abbaṭa Ṣarran	192
Al-Šanfará	238
Al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah al-Sa'dī	246
Al-Muntašir	262
Awfá b. Maṭar al-Māzinī	272
'Amr b. Barrāqah	276
Al-Uḥaymir	282
Niẓām	286
Yazīd	296

Bibliography	299
List of Quoted Manuscripts	315
Index of Verses	316
Index of Names (People and Places)	318
Index of Quoted Titles in <i>al-Ḥabar ‘an al-bašar</i>	322
Index of Sources in <i>al-Ḥabar ‘an al-bašar</i>	323
Index of Glosses	324
Index of Technical Terms	326
Facsimile of MS Fatih 4340 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), fols.	
1^{a-b}, 1^{a-3}^b, 4^{*a-b}, 4^{a-9}^b, 10^{*a-b}, 10^{a-15}^b	327

Plates and Tables

Plates

- 1 Istanbul/ Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Aya Sofya 3365, p. 246 153
- 2 Istanbul/ Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Aya Sofya 3365, p. 265 154
- 3 Istanbul/ Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, MS 2926/4, fol. 123^b 155
- 4 Istanbul/ Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, MS 2926/4, fol. 135^a 156
- 5 Algiers/ Bibliothèque nationale, MS 1589, fol. 1^b 157
- 6 Algiers/ Bibliothèque nationale, MS 1589, fol. 2^a 158

Tables

- 1 The Runners 46
- 2 The Arab Ravens 50
- 3 al-Maqrīzī's Ten Thieves 93
- 4 Traits of the Thieves 95
- 5 The *Luşūş* and their Sources 129
- 6 'Amr b. Barrāqah: al-Maqrīzī and his source compared 135
- 7 Ta'abbāṭa Šarran between al-Maqrīzī and *al-Aġānī* 138
- 8 al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Sīdah 142
- 9 Sources of Elegy: *Šarḥ Aš'ār al-Huḍaliyyīn* and *al-Aġānī* 145

Abbreviations

<i>AI</i>	<i>Annales Islamologiques</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies</i>
<i>EI²</i>	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition</i> , ed. C.E. Bosworth et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2007), 11 vols.
<i>EI³</i>	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam—Three</i> , ed. Kate Fleet et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2007 ff.).
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>MSR</i>	<i>Mamlūk Studies Review</i>
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>

Acknowledgements

Were I to take a cue from the romance of outlaw hero mythopoeisis, I might like to spin tales of lonely, perilous desert nights to explain how I completed this book:

دَعَسْتُ عَلَى غَطَشٍ وَبَغْشٍ وَصَبْحَتِي سَعَارٌ وَأَزْرِيرٌ وَوَجْرٌ وَأَفْكَلٌ

I charged into the night: dark and drizzly,
My companions: hunger, cold, anxiety and fear.

AL-ŠANFARÁ, *Dirwān* 70

Indeed, there is something of a formidable personal quest in teasing a text such as the “Arab Thieves” from al-Maqrīzī’s manuscript, discovering the meanings of the archaic outlaw poems for translation, and then tackling the knotty questions about how seven-centuries’ worth of Arabic litterateurs prior to al-Maqrīzī crafted personae for the Arab Thieves, but such an enterprise cannot be brought to fulfilment in isolation. I extend great thanks to Frédéric Bauden for sharing his insights about al-Maqrīzī and the manuscripts of *al-Ḥabar ‘an al-bašar*, his second-pair of eyes that spotted errors in each successive evolutionary step of this book’s manuscript, and his extensive work to format all the disparate component pieces of this text into the edition you have before you here. I am also grateful to the anonymous reviewer for graciously offering a third pair of eyes, and for raising fresh questions that assisted further evolution of the analysis. The press at Brill are due a hearty thanks too for their support of the Bibliotheca Maqriziana which enables al-Maqrīzī’s works to be presented in such handsome editions. And lastly, most *ša‘ālīk* should be grateful for financial patrons, and I would like to thank The Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) for the generous grant of a Veni Innovative Research Scheme Award (2018–2021) for my project “Epic Pasts: Pre-Islam Through Muslim Eyes”, of which this book is amongst its first fruits.

Introduction

The book you are about to read is a compendium devoted to thieves. It was written by a medieval Egyptian historian as a chapter in a universal history of the world, and at first blush, it might seem curious that a historian, whose craft is traditionally assumed to be concerned with rulers, statecraft, wars and courtly intrigue, would deem thieves—who, in this book, are primarily small-time Arabian camel rustlers—as a subject worthy of such specific emphasis. Thinking deeper, however, we are reminded of Charles Tilly's suggestion that the very act of state making is essentially a form of organised crime,¹ and while our text dates more than half a millennium before Tilly articulated his theory, criminality has indeed left a deeper mark in literature and historiography than is often recognised. Literary traditions across the world celebrate certain thieves and tricksters, such as Robin Hood, Song Jiang, and the wily Odysseus. The historical memories of rural societies often project an outlaw as their champion,² and a state's capacity to maintain law and order in the face of challengers underpins its legitimacy in the eyes of its subjects. Moreover, Enlightenment philosophers recognised that the concept of property is one of the more fundamental human traits,³ and since property in turn begets theft, the whole sweep of history from the earliest societies to the present has witnessed an enduring battle between locking doors and breaking locks. Thieves thus belong in the study of history: writers of literature have long recognised this fact, and historians can benefit by lending their ears a little more to tales about thieves.

Since the later part of the twentieth century, scholarly attention to outlaws, crime and social disorder has been gaining momentum. Maurice Keen revealed that the long-marginalised outlaw tales of the Greenwood constituted one of the four essential themes of medieval English literature,⁴ Eric Hobsbawm inaugurated the study of bandits to evaluate the history of pre-modern agrarian

1 Tilly (1985). Tilly's observation was directed as a corrective against theorists who conceptualised the state as either a social contract or via open market models of the state, and in his view, "war risking and state making—quintessential protection rackets with the advantage of legitimacy—qualify as our largest examples of organised crime" (170).

2 Hobsbawm (2000): 34–41; he also adds the importance of studying banditry as an aspect of the "history of power" (15).

3 Foundational thinkers of Enlightenment philosophy considered this issue at length: Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, especially his *Discourse on Inequality*, are prominent and familiar examples.

4 Keen (2000): 1–2.

societies which were resisting the expansion of the state,⁵ and the ‘cultural turn’ in humanities research cleared new ground to interpret transgression and crime as part of understanding the human experience. But despite the now evident interest in globalising the study of transgression, and the avowed efforts to study outlaw heroes and social bandits as pan-human phenomena, the theorists’ engagement with criminality in the pre-modern Muslim world is remarkable for its absence. Hobsbawm’s lone forays into Middle Eastern social bandits adduced the Ottoman-era Celalis and a handful of mostly nameless Turkish robbers,⁶ and the Islamic-world examples in Graham Seal’s encyclopaedic survey of literary outlaw heroes are limited to some Turkish brigands, Javanese outlaw chiefs and Osama bin Laden.⁷ The field’s major theoretical studies thus barely cross the Bosphorus, and while Middle East specialists have broken some stimulating ground, the small quantity of their works remains out of proportion to the substantial footprint of outlaws in pre-modern Arabic and Persian literature,⁸ and the new approaches to reading outlaw literature have yet to be incorporated in the study of Arabian thieves.⁹

Our present text affords us the opportunity to add a new study of thievery from the perspective of Middle Eastern traditions. The text is a collection of ten thieves’ biographies compiled by the Mamluk-era scholar Taqī l-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī l-Maqrīzī as a chapter in his universal history, *al-Ḥabar ‘an al-bašar* (The History of Humanity) completed in 845/1442. Our volume presents, for the first time, a critical edition of al-Maqrīzī’s original Arabic,¹⁰ a translation, and intro-

5 Hobsbawm (2000): 8–17.

6 Hobsbawm (2000): 13, 21, 25. He also alludes to a Turkish bandit novel about “Slim Mehmet” of the Taurus Mountains, but analysis does not feature in Hobsbawm’s argument (37), nor does he include any studies of Middle Eastern banditry in his lengthy literature global survey on banditry (209–219).

7 Seal (2011): 26, 78–79, 101–103, 157–158. He also briefly mentions Ğuḥā (31), the clever fool of Arabic, Persian and Turkish literatures, but as a trickster figure, not as an outlaw hero.

8 Though few, studies over the past half century opened fascinating and mostly unexplored roads for scholarship: see Brinner (1963); Bosworth (1976); Malti-Douglas (1988a and 1988b); more recently, see Petry (2011), Martel-Thoumian (2012) and Cooperson (2015).

9 There is a discrete, but established set of works on Arabian outlaws, particularly in Arabic: Ḥulayyif (1959) put the subject on the map, followed by Ḥifnī (1979) and ‘Aṭwān (1997a, 1997b). The category has crossed into English-language scholarship, notably Jones (1992) and Stetkevych (1993): 87–157. In the main, these studies pre-date the maturation of outlaw studies methodology in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Arabic outlaw lore in the modern period is better established in Arabic literary circles (see Brown (1990); Larkin (1992); Ezzeldin (2014)), especially in studies of the Egyptian figure Adham al-Šarqāwī (d. 1921), but even he is not cited in the main world-wide comparative studies of banditry.

10 *Al-Ḥabar* was edited in 2013 by Ḥālid Aḥmad al-Mallā l-Suwaydī and ‘Ārif ‘Abd al-Ġanī (Beirut: al-Dār al-‘Arabiyyah li-l-Mawsū‘āt), but it is regrettably an incomplete and inac-

ductory considerations of what Arabic writers intended when they delved into outlaw lore, and why they found it so important to narrate.

Al-Maqrīzī entitled his chapter *Luṣūṣ al-ʿArab*: the “Arab Thieves”, a reference to enigmatic warriors who lived in Arabia in the century before and in the years immediately following Muḥammad’s Prophecy. In the main, their exploits consisted of small-time raids and robberies, but their memory looms large in Arabic literature, as stories about them and poems attributed to them were recorded in some of the earliest Arabic writings in late second/eighth-century Iraq, and the narratives have been continuously repeated, developed and analysed in Arabic up to the present day. The myriad literary references to the warriors bequeath them considerable celebrity in Arabic literature as salient, even iconic figures of pre-Islamic Arabian society, but the literature about them constitutes a challenging subject for scholarship. The warriors are commonly presented as a special brand of pre-Islamic Arabian belligerents, whose adventures are coloured with the flare of anti-hero outlaws, and perceptive readers will discern the hands of storytellers reshaping the ostensibly historical narratives in which the ‘Arab Thieves’ feature. Consequently, the warrior-outlaws remain figures of uncertain historicity, curious habits, unusual personae, and often outlandish legend. The many retellings of their stories have spawned a bewildering array of data that seems to erect an impenetrable thicket of narrative obscuring the ‘real men’ behind the legend, and has left at least one modern scholar in dismay at the “horrid problems”¹¹ involved in interpreting the material. Therefore, whilst the outlaw narratives’ frequent repetition in Arabic literature indicates their important function in shaping how Muslims have viewed pre-Islam, the stories have a chequered reception amongst pre-modern Arabic historians, and the narratives’ curious and inconsistent variations pose fundamental questions about what *sort* of history they are telling us. There is manifest advantage for historians of Arabia and readers of Arabic literature to grapple with the material, but it challenges scholars to ascertain the correct interpretative lens needed to yield fruitful analysis.

On the surface, al-Maqrīzī’s *Luṣūṣ al-ʿArab* betrays little of these complexities: al-Maqrīzī compiles the outlaw material with the matter-of-fact style of an Arabic *aḥbārī* historian, and presents the ‘Arab Thieves’ as a readily distinguishable sub-set of historic pre-Islamic Arabian raiders defined by shared

curate rendering of al-Maqrīzī’s text; it is discussed in Bauden (forthcoming). Our present text also includes two fragmentary chapters on pre-Islamic Arabian religion and badly-behaved pre-Islamic Arabian women, which al-Maqrīzī compiled with the ‘Arab Thieves’ chapter at the opening of volume 5 of *al-Ḥabar*.

11 Jones (1992), 1:28.

signature traits. As we shall encounter in this study, the empirical veneer of al-Maqrīzī's material begins to fray when his stories are critically interrogated against other versions in different texts, but al-Maqrīzī himself can partially disclaim liability since his role, in the main, was that of a transmitter, and many of the material's problems are traceable to inconsistencies in earlier works which al-Maqrīzī used as his sources. Nonetheless, the work does have some pernicious consequences, since *Luṣūṣ al-'Arab* participates in the construction of an archetype for pre-Islamic 'Arab Thieves', and al-Maqrīzī's insertion of the outlaw narratives as a coherent chapter in the history of Arabness bequeaths them a tangible place in the history of pre-Islamic Arabia, thereby abetting problematic assertions about the real historicity of the characters.

The apparent historicity bequeathed to the outlaw material has facilitated twentieth-century scholarly desires to interpret the stories empirically. Modern commentators accordingly have presumed that the 'Arab Thieves' constituted a distinct group of historical persons within a wild world of pre-Islam (*al-Ġāhiliyyah*), and that they were an "anarchical society" (*muġtama' fawḍawī*) that threatened the already violent world of warring Arab tribes,¹² and/or that the thieves were liminal outcasts with a "peculiar ethos" at odds with tribal senses of normality.¹³ The outlaws' purported historical existence has also been interpreted as a social phenomenon resulting from perceived economic inequality and violence imagined to be emblematic of pre-Islamic Arabia,¹⁴ and that only with the advent of Muḥammad's mission of moral reform did the thieves' "way of life [come] to an end."¹⁵ These observations are germane within a worldview that sees Islam's rise as a passage from darkness into light, but such teleology lacks both nuance and grasp of the more uneven process of Islam's early spread, and these studies gloss over the "horrid problems" inherent in the outlaw material, embracing strikingly simplified paradigms about pre-Islamic Arabian society. Moreover, the outlaw material was only first recorded some centuries after the end of the pre-Islamic *al-Ġāhiliyyah*, its original narrators were poetry specialists and storytellers, and most of it entered books of avowed historians like al-Maqrīzī relatively late in the process of transmission. If the material was shaped fundamentally by Muslims, then the stories logically reveal to us more about how Muslims constructed the *idea* of pre-Islam than they do the actual *reality* of pre-Islamic Arabia, and conclusions

12 Ḥulayyif (1959): 114.

13 Stetkevych (1993): 109.

14 Ḥulayyif (1959): 141–145; Ḥifnī (1979): 62.

15 Borg (1998): 671; see also Ismā'īl (2014–2015): 16; for the foundational discourse on Islam as moral reform, see Izutsu (2002).

about Arabia before Muḥammad derived from the material consequently rest on suspect foundations.¹⁶ It is remarkable that the ‘Arab Thieves’ literature has been so readily consumed as ‘real’ history, but this may be a function of the Arabic sources, since the methodical tenor of al-Maqrīzī’s and other pre-modern texts on the subject impart historical seriousness remarkably well. By (misre)presenting the ‘Arab Thieves’ as an unambiguous piece of Arabian history, al-Maqrīzī’s *Luṣūṣ al-‘Arab* enables us to read medieval crime stories as *prima facie* empirical fact, and herein readers are advised to exercise caution, and scholars to exercise some critical deconstruction.

Critical study of the outlaws’ identity and significance both in Arabian history and in the history of Arabic literature would reopen the case files of the ten thieves contained in al-Maqrīzī’s text along with another dozen similar characters reported elsewhere, and it would then engage with the wider processes of Muslim reconstructions of pre-Islam to situate the outlaw narratives within that cultural complex. Such an undertaking is the subject of a separate monograph that analyses outlaw narratives across a wide scope of pre-modern Arabic literature;¹⁷ the present volume focuses on the outlaws as they appear in al-Maqrīzī’s vision of history. In order to contextualise al-Maqrīzī’s material and indicate its complexities, this Study will engage source-critical issues that have been muted in previous work on the outlaw characters. Chapter 1 asks whether the stories can be read more productively if we borrow theories developed in the analysis of outlaw traditions from different cultures. Against the theoretical background, Chapters 2 and 3 introduce the main questions that loom over the ‘Arab Thieves’ in general: what words does Arabic literature use to depict them, what do those words mean, what exactly was an ‘Arab Thief’ in medieval Muslim imaginations, and how did writers fit them into history? A study of this scope cannot provide exhaustive answers to those questions, but it is hoped that it will help clarify the oft-overlooked complexities involved in researching the outlaws. Chapters 4–6 of the Study turn to al-Maqrīzī’s own narration of their stories in his *al-Ḥabar*, investigating how he produced the chapter, and what his work reveals about notions of criminality, history-telling and textual production in Mamluk Egypt.

16 Given the tremendous volume of Arabic writing about pre-Islamic Arabia, critical research into the Muslim reconstruction of *al-Ġāhiliyyah* is rather limited: for key studies, see Stetkevych (1979); Drory (1997); Hawting (1999); Webb (2014).

17 Webb (forthcoming).

PART 1

Study of the Arab Thieves



Outlaw Literature

In celebrating the memory of certain thieves, Arabic literature participates in a nearly universal literary phenomenon of fashioning ‘outlaw heroes’. The honour is difficult to obtain: the average pickpocket, horse rustler, burglar or fraudster has almost no hope of becoming the subject of literary lore and historical interest, but a handful of thieves seem to have been earmarked by literature for great posthumous careers as heroes with elaborate legends and charismatic appeal. Quite why those particular thieves become outlaw heroes, and the reasons why ostensibly establishment writers narrate bandit tales along patterns that reappear with intriguing congruences across disparate literatures across centuries and continents invokes fundamental questions about myth, the hero figure, and the functions of history and literature. These questions are the starting point of my broader-scope study, *Arabian Outlaws: Memory and Myth in the Making of Pre-Islam*; for present purposes, it is instructive to outline the seminal theoretical works in the nascent field of outlaw studies, since they have yet to be integrated into analysis of Middle Eastern criminality,¹ and a brief survey here can sketch their salient findings about the complex interplay of fact and fiction in outlaw characterisation that may inform strategies to interpret the narratives in al-Maqrīzī’s ‘Arab Thieves’ and elsewhere in Arabic literature.

First, the matters of fact. Although the world’s most famous outlaw hero by far, Robin Hood, was almost certainly not a real person,² the majority of outlaw figures memorialised in literature were actual criminals who can be identified in historical records.³ Because most outlaw tales have this real historic basis, and because the biographies of outlaw heroes across the world share remarkable parallels, Eric Hobsbawm conjectured that particular social-political conditions experienced similarly in different parts of the world must have given rise to the careers of the outlaws who became memorialised as heroes. His path-breaking work resulted in his 1969 *Social Bandits*,⁴ which argued that

1 Cooperson (2015) is a notable exception, but the article is a contribution to a wider volume on violence in Islam, and was not afforded the scope to focus on methods of reading bandit theory (see the brief comments 191–192).

2 Hobsbawm (2000): 139; Knight (2015): 42, 109.

3 Seal (2011): 6–12, 52–57.

4 He published an earlier account, *Primitive Rebels* in 1963, but the main argument traced here

when the status quo of pre-modern agrarian communities was threatened by the sudden encroachment of the modern bureaucratic state and capitalist reorganisation of the countryside, locals resisted in order to preserve the status quo. Resistance took the form of intimidation against the encroaching outsiders and their local agents, theft, and sometimes murder. These acts were seen as criminal transgressions in officialdom, but from the perspective of the peasants, they seemed more like the necessarily desperate measures needed to preserve their traditions and lifestyle. When the forces of the ‘law’ eventually caught (and usually killed) the local resistance figure, they deemed him a vile thief, but local lore converted him into a heroic martyr—a “social bandit.”⁵ Herein were the seeds for narrative expansion that would gather scattered memories into coherent outlaw hero sagas, à la Lampião, Sandor Ròsza, Salvatore Giuliano, Ned Kelly, et al. Hobsbawm reasoned that social banditry was predominantly a feature of the early-modern world, since it was the aggressive expansion of the nation state which, in Hobsbawm’s view, nurtured conditions most fertile to breed social bandits, but he also accepted that similar situations in different historical contexts had the potential to spawn analogous kinds of heroic banditry. He concluded that where a group is subject to a form of injustice, a member of that group who refuses to tolerate it will be revered, and his resistance in the form of thievery and violence will be lionised as social banditry.⁶

Social bandit narratives could thereby be read as the carriers of memories of oppression, and their abiding popularity and the regular patterns which repeat in their narrative structure across cultures lie in the human impulse to empathise with victims of powerful and tyrannical forces. The difference between a social bandit and a regular criminal would thus hinge on the fact that the social bandit represents the cause of the oppressed, and that elements of his character render him a sympathetic figure. To develop this thesis, Hobsbawm devised a checklist of the basic elements of the “noble robber” persona that distinguish him⁷ from an ordinary gangster. For instance, the noble robber is usually portrayed as unwilling to embark upon a career of criminality and

outlines the much revised thesis as it appeared in the 1969 *Social Bandits* and as reworked in Hobsbawm’s 1971 and 2000 editions.

5 Hobsbawm (2000): 19–23.

6 Hobsbawm (2000): 20–21, 141–144.

7 Hobsbawm (2000): 7, 36–41 notes that banditry is by-and-large a male dominated demographic, the limited role of women and rare cases of female banditry are noted (2000): 146–147. Blok (1989): 35–38 gives further details of female banditry based on close analysis of the eighteenth century Dutch *Bokkerrijders*; however, in literature, celebrated outlaws are almost universally male (Seal (2011): 26; Seal considers the rise in female outlaw heroes as a development of the twentieth century (2011): 148–149).

is instead 'forced' into action in the face of gross tyranny that leaves him no other choice. Once on the slippery slope of crime, the social bandit continues to maintain some dignity, either through restricting his recourse to violence, and/or by redistributing the spoils he thieved to the dispossessed members of his community.⁸

In sum, Hobsbawm postulates that social bandits have an intrinsic nobility of character and social purpose, and Hobsbawm invites historians to read bandit stories to interrogate society and uncover its injustices. He sees social protest as an essential background to the emergence of outlaw tales, elevating social bandits above quotidian criminals, whose crimes remain as mere statistics with perhaps a few lurid stories, but which lack epic heroic flavour and purpose. Hobsbawm's findings echo the earlier work of Maurice Keen, who read the proliferation of medieval English outlaw stories as expressions of discontent from oppressed peasants, interpreting the likes of Hereward the Wake, Gamelyn and Fouke Fitz Waryn as pre-modern fighters against tyranny, and precursors to social movements such as the Peasants' Revolt.⁹ Keen provides a potential to export Hobsbawm's theory into earlier periods of history, such as our present case of pre-Islamic Arabia.

Hobsbawm's thesis, however, was much debated in several key respects. He revised his book twice, and the third edition, *Bandits* (published in 2000), contains an introspective essay re-evaluating his views.¹⁰ Perhaps the most relevant critique for present purposes is the charge that Hobsbawm read too much fact into the literary narratives which he used as evidence to reconstruct the 'real history' of social bandits.¹¹ The critique brings us to the thorny issue of fiction to which we alluded at the outset of this Chapter. Bandit tales may originate with the names of real people, but their subsequent development involves expansion, reworking and often wholesale replacement of real events with idealised portrayals or pure flights of imagination. The outlaws about whom we read may share the names of real persons, but their actions often reflect the aspirations of later generations who retold the stories and projected them onto the past. It seems legitimate then to re-read many of Hobsbawm's social bandits as hollow moulds, emptied of all but sherds of their real identities and thence

8 Hobsbawm (2000): 47–48.

9 Keen first published his *Outlaws of Medieval Legend* in 1961; his argument connecting the Greenwood outlaws to peasant discontent is at pp. 3–8, 145–173 of the 2000 revised edition.

10 Hobsbawm (2000): 167–199.

11 Hobsbawm (2000): xi considerably accepts this critique, and his postscript engage in more detail, listing the various scholars who critiqued him on such grounds (167–171, 182–184).

refilled. Moreover, some of the most successful outlaw narratives achieved their fame only after they entered mainstream literature, meaning that the mature outlaw narratives no longer speak to the social concerns of agrarian groups from which they originated, but rather evolved to entertain literate audiences who forged new narratives relevant to their own socio-political concerns. The same issues critically affected Keen's interpretation of medieval English outlaw narratives: it was demonstrated that Robin Hood and other tales did not circulate amongst peasants, but instead were sung in the halls of medieval squires and gentry, decoupling them entirely from the concerns of peasant society.¹² Just as Hobsbawm began to question whether the literary accounts about bandits accurately reflect their real historical-social context, Keen reconsidered, revised his book too, and, in his words, "recanted" his earlier thesis that the English stories reflect peasant discontent.¹³

The social bandit as articulated by Hobsbawm thus seems a faulty historiographical category. Pressured agrarian societies indeed provided history with myriad bandits, but their functions as upholders of social justice and their image as high-minded protectors of the poor were likely more the result of certain literary trends, rather than actual historical social movements. Consequently, banditry tales cannot be read axiomatically as manifestations of social protest, and the study of bandit stories needs the input of literary scholars for analysis of the narratives *qua* anti-hero mythopoesis. This entails that we could more productively label those historic bandits represented in literature as "outlaw heroes", a deliberate terminological shift away from "social bandit" intended to convey the sense that the historical criminal may not have possessed the full social consciousness ascribed to him in the literature, and that the laudatory features we read about him (e.g. nobility of character, uncanny ability to evade capture, and gifts to the poor) owe much to the literary invention of a hero archetype in his name. Given the congruence of narrative elements between geographically and chronologically dispersed outlaw hero tales, Graham Seal articulated a rubric to delineate what he postulated is a universal pattern for the "outlaw hero" story.¹⁴ With an intriguing twist, Seal further postulated that specific narrative impulses arise when storytellers recount tales of outlaws, and that such impulses inexorably bend the facts in their way, gradually converting a historical criminal into an outlaw hero, equipped with the

12 For more details on the intended audience of Robin Hood stories, see the summary in Ohlgren (2000): 218. For more detailed analysis of the evolving reception of the early Robin Hood material see Holt (1960) and (1990); and Knight (2015): 17–102.

13 Keen (2000): xiii–xxx.

14 Seal (2009): 74–75.

impressive epics which caught the attention of Keen, Hobsbawm, and others. For Seal, the process of storytelling itself breeds the uniformity between narratives about different outlaws, not any underlying similarities in the 'original outlaws' social milieus.

Although there is a congruence of motifs, narrative devices and themes shared between disparate outlaw stories, Seal's efforts to articulate a global rubric are in turn critiqued as too schematic and prescriptive.¹⁵ If one may stretch a metaphor, it is probably erroneous to imagine that a Muse of bandit literature travels upon the tongues of storytellers worldwide, compelling their narratives into one general pattern. In light of the latest scholarship, it seems impossible to establish one overarching ideological consistency and narrative model for bandit tales across the globe, and undesirable too, as a totalising global lens draws attention away from the particular needs and functions of outlaw traditions in different cultures and locales. It is now the task of current scholarship to focus more directly on the local traditions, with the benefit of the past generation of scholarship which elevated the formerly marginalised tales of criminals to a worthy subject of research, and unlocked new potentials for the stories' interpretation. In general, the 'universalist' theorists demonstrated that most literatures around the world memorialise a certain, select group of characters as outlaw heroes, generating much more mythopoesis than in the case of other 'ordinary' criminals. Accordingly, historians and literary scholars need to incorporate these narratives into their research, and the accumulation of critical analysis and theoretical improvements since Keen and Hobsbawm's pioneering studies give vital tools to read the source literature.

When considering how to progress a critical reading of Arabic outlaw literature such as the present text by al-Maqrīzī, we might begin with Hobsbawm's reasoned suggestion that a key difference between an outlaw hero and a simple criminal is that the former's career is neither represented as purely anti-social, nor as entirely divorced from his society.¹⁶ Anonymous miscreants who spend furtive careers in the criminal underground will not be so readily remembered in posterity. Analysis can then proceed with a cautious acceptance of Seal and Hobsbawm's general proposition that a given outlaw hero was likely a real person whose acts were sufficiently special and/or relevant to spark memorialisation within his social context. Very quickly, fiction would enter the memorialisation process, and this is perhaps the key element that aggrandizes the stories such that they become preserved, repeated, and com-

15 Cartlidge (2016): 15–16.

16 Hobsbawm (2000): 20; he of course referred to the hero as a "social bandit".

mitted into lasting literary records. And so, the stories necessarily call to be read as hybrids of fact and fiction, “perpetually negotiat[ing] the uncertain borders between history and myth”.¹⁷ Even if their authors accept or even advocate the veracity of their accounts, we can be certain that much of the narratives—and perhaps all the really good stories—are the result of fictionalisation. The pitfalls of the ‘quest’ to find the ‘real’ Robin Hood over several centuries of English writing underscore the shortcomings inherent in the pursuit of ‘fact’, and, as Knight aptly put it, the “fetishisation” of finding the ‘original’ Robin Hood text, which misses the more valuable opportunity to understand the rich and multivalent cluster of stories that later grew around the Robin Hood idea.¹⁸

Astute readers are therefore advised to examine the transmission history of outlaw narratives, since the inevitable passage of the stories through the hands of different narrators and social contexts entails that succeeding generations of storytellers reformulated outlaw stories to correspond to their changing senses of morality, justice and social order. Outlaw narratives survive for so long as their content attracts the interest of narrators, and given the narratives’ susceptibility to fictionalisation, changing interests may change the stories significantly, and a rigorous diachronic analysis of the outlaw’s varied literary representations linked to their different contexts is crucial to unpick the layers of meaning and to resolve contradictions in the characters’ portrayals.

Outlaw stories are further distinguished as a distinct genre by virtue of their simultaneously subversive and moral purpose, which also affects reading strategies. Outlaws may not be the manifestations of nascent socialist sentiment as Keen and Hobsbawm initially believed, but they plot the careers of characters whose flaunting of the law addresses universal questions of justice, the morality of violence, and the ethical limits of imposing order. The representations of outlaw heroes tend towards morally ambivalent mixtures of good and evil, justice and injustice, whereby their anti-heroic characterisation ascribes them traits that concurrently denigrate and glorify them such that the outlaw hero cannot be wholly despised, nor altogether praised. Mirroring the outlaw hero’s ambivalent characterisation, he is also usually a liminal figure, living on the physical edges of a state or society, just as he operates on the theoretical boundaries between law and order, status quo and social change. Often, readers interpreted the literary liminality of the outlaw as evidence that the ‘real’

17 Seal (2011): 11.

18 Knight (2015): 225.

character actually lived on the margins of society:¹⁹ such an empirical interpretation usually relies on selective evidence and/or gives too much credence to later literary narratives: Hobsbawm's emphasis of their embeddedness within a social context entails that outlaw heroes were probably not so physically liminal, but rather the literature about them renders them conceptually liminal, and as heroes or villains depending on perspective. The task of readers is to interrogate the meaning of their liminality and the boundaries upon which they are represented as operating.

The shortcomings in the 'universalist' theories coupled with the under-theorised state of pre-modern Arabic outlaw storytelling conspires against the possibilities of plugging Arabic texts into theory in order to yield robust answers to our questions, but al-Maqrīzī's act of committing outlaw tales to writing in our present text does cross each of the issues considered above, and as such, the experience of other traditions can begin to guide us. Al-Maqrīzī was a Muslim, urbanite Egyptian scholar, whereas the subjects of his *Luṣūṣ al-'Arab* were pre-Islamic Bedouin Arabian outlaws. The narrator and his material thus occupy opposite worlds: how did this divide impact the function and meaning of the stories? Neither the outlaws nor their Arabian contemporaries committed any narratives to writing, but by al-Maqrīzī's day, a literary tradition of telling stories about "Arab Thieves" was six hundred years old, and had passed through the hands of narrators from Abbasid Iraq, Buyid Iran and Umayyad Iberia before arriving in the manuscripts available to al-Maqrīzī in Mamluk Egypt. What happened to the stories during this long transmission? Did their deposit in a Mamluk manuscript invoke further changes? In other writings, al-Maqrīzī broached issues of criminal behaviour and the state in his Mamluk society, and while his *al-Ḥabar* 'an *al-baṣar* into which he inserted the chapter on thieves aimed at reconstructing a laudable history of the Arabs, he nonetheless accorded 'Arab Thieves' a prominent role. Was there crossover between al-Maqrīzī's interests in contemporary criminality and his interpretation of ancient Arabian outlaws?

19 A classic study of outlaw liminality in the Arabic context is the reading of Ta'abbāṭa Ṣarān in Stetkeyvch (1993): 87–118, but the evidence adduced to prove the point and to read his poetry as the binary opposite to the heroic ideal (107–108) relies on selective use of anecdote, despite counter-evidence in other texts. Stetkeyvch's reading of al-Ṣanfarā's *Lāmiyyah* is expressly more fluid with regards to the 'truth' of the poem's ascription (1993): 125, but in the main the strategies of reading resemble earlier analysis of the English Greenwood outlaws: the historical reality is implied into the literary material, whereas the most recent scholarship of the English literature adopts a more flexible, symbolic reading of the liminal spaces of outlaw heroes in English literature (see Harlan-Haughey (2016)).

The interplays of fact and fiction, the long lines of narrative transmission, and the overarching issues of justice, thievery and community each populate the pages of al-Maqrīzī's outlaw tales just as pervasively as the strokes of his pen; and armed with the nascent theory about outlaw heroes, we now interrogate his "Arab Thieves".

‘Arab Thieves’: Establishing a Category

The blurry interplay between fact and fiction that underwrites outlaw literature is present in a most complex form in al-Maqrīzī’s *al-Luṣūṣ*. There is no *prima facie* reason to doubt that the ten outlaws whom al-Maqrīzī included in his chapter were real persons, but the details in the stories which al-Maqrīzī narrated about them indicate significant fictional expansion, and because there are no documentary sources about the outlaws from pre-Islamic Arabia, and since Muslim Arabic authors narrated their stories with considerable inconsistency,¹ the thieves’ historical identities are not readily apparent. The fact that the tales began in some historical reality means that latent traces of the original outlaws remain to inform the subsequent narratives, and perhaps influence their trajectories, and it would thus be imprudent to ignore outright all empirical questions. In our analysis, we ought to keep an eye open towards empirical history (where possible) in order to better assist the identification of the points where fictional expansion operated, but issues related to genre deepen the complexity. Expressly historiographic texts prior to al-Maqrīzī tended to disregard the ‘Arab Thieves’, whereas poetry collectors and litterateurs recorded multiple variants of outlaw stories in an unsystematic manner across disparate literary and philological texts. Outlaw history accordingly navigates both historiographical and literary worlds, and whilst the task of interpretation may seem daunting, we are at least on familiar ground, as students of outlaw heroes from other literatures witness their bandits operating between similar lines of genre and discipline too.

Our first step in understanding al-Maqrīzī’s text will address the core question underlying his material. What is an ‘Arab thief’? And, in turn, what did the category mean, and who were its members? Modern scholarship has tended to treat pre-Islamic outlaws as a cohesive category of “brigand poets” with a relatively certain membership,² but the certainty of modern writing is at manifest

1 The inconsistency of the pre-modern sources about the thieves is surprisingly muted in modern scholarship, outside the apt note in Jones (1992), 1:28 about the “horrid problems” with the material.

2 The term ‘brigand’ in this context appears to have been coined by Lyall (1918): 218 in rendering the description of Ta’abbāṭa Šarran as *liṣṣ*. The ‘brigand’ term has predominated Western scholarship, most recently manifested in Stetkevych (1993) and Jones (1992). Earlier scholars do not articulate such cohesion to this group of poets: see for example al-Ālūsī’s 1896

odds with pre-modern texts. According to my readings, no source prior to the twentieth century purported to articulate an exhaustive list of the pre-Islamic outlaws,³ and whilst many of the characters whom commentators now classify as the ‘Arab Thieves’/‘Brigand Poets’ were widely cited across pre-modern Arabic literature, there are manifold discrepancies in reporting. We encounter a range of figures whom different Arabic writers included in sundry lists of ‘thieves’, but a given character classified as a thief in one text may be either ignored or classified differently in another. Biographical details about a given thief also differ depending on the source, and a particular poem or set of adventures can be ascribed to different characters, depending on the source text consulted. Outlaw poetry is equally knotty: whilst many of the outlaws were memorialised as poets, their poetry is imperfectly recorded, allegations of Muslim-era fabrication swirl around many outlaw poems, starting with the two most famous,⁴ and figures classified as ‘outlaws’ do not usually refer to themselves in their poetry with the express terminology reserved for thieves. Thus, we have rather few ‘admissions’ of outlawry:⁵ most of the poets’ verses resemble those of ‘regular’ pre-Islamic warriors, and because we rely in the main on later Muslim-

description of al-Shanfará (2:143) which notes his raiding activities (*talaşşuş*) but also counts al-Shanfará as one of the “great Arab knights” (*fursân al-‘Arab*). It was Hūlayyif’s 1959 monograph on the *şā‘ālik* poets that established the discrete topic in Arabic, numerous monographs followed, as well as articles in Western scholarship; issues with this approach are discussed in the next section on the *şu‘lūk/şā‘ālik*.

- 3 One pre-modern writer, Abū l-Farağ al-Işfahānī (d. 356/967) did frequently reference an outlaw identity of several pre-Islamic poets via the word *şu‘lūk* in his *Kitāb al-Ağānī*. His classic work had a formative impact on the modern study of Arabic literature, and his terminology likely inspired the current impressions about outlawry in pre-Islamic Arabia. Al-Işfahānī, however, did not articulate a comprehensive list of outlaws, his references to *şu‘lūk* are scattered across the gigantic *al-Ağānī* (e.g. 3:72, 12:89, 13:178, 14:142, 20:389), and not all medieval Arabic writers followed al-Işfahānī’s interpretations.
- 4 Two long poems, the *Lāmīyyat al-‘Arab* ascribed to al-Şanfará (*Dīwān* 58–73) and the poem *Inna bi-l-şī‘b* ascribed to Ta’abbāṭa Şarran (*Dīwān* 247–250) are paradoxically at once the two most widely cited ‘outlaw poems’, and the two most commonly deemed Muslim-era forgeries. Issues over authorship have been swirling since pre-modern times, see the comments in Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, *Ṭabaqāt al-şu‘arā’* 147, al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-la‘ālī*, 2:919, Stetkevych (1993): 120–122, and § 2.3.25 in al-Maqrīzī’s *Luşūş* and the footnote accompanying the English translation.
- 5 The number of citations in poetry of the word *şu‘lūk*, for example, is limited. Questions of poetry authenticity aside, some characters now labelled as *şā‘ālik* such as Ta’abbāṭa Şarran, Ḥāğiz and two other *luşūş* from al-Maqrīzī’s chapter (al-Muntaşir and Awfā b. Maṭar) do not cite the word in poetry ascribed to them. Others use it sparingly: see ‘Urwah b. al-Ward (*Dīwān* 46, 47); al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah (*Dīwān* 94, 97); and al-Şanfará (*Dīwān* 35, 57), but the matter is yet more complex as not all of the citations of *şu‘lūk* are intended to mean outlawry, and instead reference poverty, as will be outlined in Chapter 2.1, below.

era prose to justify our classification of the characters as outlaws, we are essentially charging and convicting pre-Islamic figures as outlaws *in absentia*.

From a comparative perspective, our knowledge of Arabian outlaws at the present time of writing resembles the impressions held in mid-twentieth century scholarship about Robin Hood and his Greenwood gang: the characters are famous, but critical enquiry is only just beginning, and at this point, prudence dictates that we begin with a humble admission of the limitations of our current knowledge. The sources have not been subjected to critical diachronic analysis, and thus at this juncture we do not know precisely who the pre-Islamic outlaws were, and we do not understand how they 'fit' into the history of pre-Islamic Arabia, since it is still unclear which parts of their well-known stories are real memories of pre-Islamic adventures, and which are tales imagined by urban Muslim authors. The function of the Muslim outlaw tales is also unclear: in some cases the stories might be constructed as archetypes designed to convey a sense of disorder pervading pre-Islamic Arabia (an image known as *al-Ġāhiliyyah*), but others may have been crafted into deliberately positive objects of marvel (*'aġā'ib*), and perhaps ambivalent responses of wonder and revulsion were intended to be elicited together. The entire corpus of Arabic outlaw material calls for attention: al-Maqrīzī's *al-Luṣūṣ* constitutes but a small part of a long tradition, and our analysis need proceed from the ground up.

At the outset, there is another theoretical stumbling block to analysing pre-Islamic 'Arab Thieves' as a conceptual category since Hobsbawm's influential *Bandits* argued that Arabian Bedouin must be excluded from the realm of social banditry, on the basis that Hobsbawm considered raiding and camel stealing as so endemic to Bedouin society that a bandit cannot be meaningfully distinguished from a 'normal' Arabian warrior.⁶ If Hobsbawm is right, then the whole universe of traits that mark the character of the 'outlaw hero' would be alien to the narratives of Bedouin 'Arab Thieves', and although one might discount Hobsbawm's opinion as an egregious orientalism (since Hobsbawm did not consult Arabic or Middle Eastern material in his research, and he parrots hackneyed stereotypes about Bedouin life), his sentiment does find intriguing echoes in pre-modern Arabic literature, where, as we shall see, the conceptual lines dividing warrior contingents from robber bands were neither clearly defined nor impermeable. As a matter of history, Bedouin society may tend towards a grey area between stealing and warfare, but for the purpose of analysing outlawry in Arabic literature, a justification to continue our project does stem from the Arabic stories themselves: pre-modern Arabic writers invoked an array of terms to

6 Hobsbawm (2000): 20 refers to "raiding as the normal way of life" for Bedouin.

label characters as ‘thieves’, and, as such, they were attempting to conceptualise those characters as basically distinct from other warriors. To then understand the efforts which pre-modern Arabic writers expended to create an outlaw tradition, we should like to know what they intended their categories of ‘Thieves’ to mean and what characters they adduced as meeting the criteria. This Chapter evaluates the terminology, and in the following Chapter, we explore the treatment of the ‘Arab Thieves’ in historiographical narratives.

From the perspective of terminology, it is noteworthy that the words denoting outlaws in Arabic differ in connotation from those in European languages. The Germanic languages’ ‘outlaw’ (Old Norse *útleǵð* and *útlagi*; Old English *útlah*) as well as the Romance-language ‘bandit’ (Italian *banditto* derived from Medieval Latin *bannūre*) both express a manifest criterion of outsider-ness to label a specific sort of criminal: a fugitive banished from the community for a serious breach of the law.⁷ Another common Romance term which also entered English is ‘brigands’ (derived from Medieval Latin *briga*, Italian *brigante*): it connotes both a light-armed, irregular foot-soldier or a ruffian living by pillage and highway robbery (the convergence here is logical, as cashiered or otherwise underemployed soldiers might easily adopt a criminal lifestyle when their services were no longer required by the state).⁸ In contrast, neither the sense of ‘outcast’ nor ‘unemployed combatant’ is connoted by the Arabic terms for pre-Islamic Arabian outlaws: *ṣuʿlūk* (pl. *ṣaʿālik*), *fātik* (pl. *futtāk*), ‘*addā*’ (pl. *ʿaddāʿūn*), *ruǧlī/riǧlī* (pl. *ruǧlīyyūn*) and *liṣṣ* (pl. *luṣūṣ*), alongside various terms (detailed presently) related to wolves,⁹ lions and ravens. The semantic differ-

7 ‘Outlaw’, *OED* Second Edition (1989), 10:1021; Seal (2011): 4–6 gives further context of the term’s early history in English. There is a plurality of Norse terms preserved in a wealth of outlaw literature in the Icelandic Sagas: *útleǵð* originally meant “lying or sleeping outside” (i.e. ‘outlier’), the closely related *útlagi* specifically connoted ‘outside of the law’. It suggests a worldview whereby the conceptual boundaries of the law delineated society, and those outside of the law were physically deposited outside society (for the connection of law and outlawry, see Ahola (2014): 85–86). The Icelandic term for complete banishment was *skóggangr*, a “forest walker,” with the same evident outsider-ness intended. See Turville-Petre’s survey (1977) for detailed explanation of these terms. ‘Bandit’, *OED* Second Edition (1989), 1:924 is first attested in English in 1593 as a term specifically for outlaws in central Italy though it quickly became synonymous with highway robbing gangs of thieves. For similar comments on its Romance derivations, see Hobsbawm (2000): 12.

8 ‘Brigand’, *OED* Second Edition (1989), 2:548. It is first attested in English in 1400 in a military sense, the criminal connotation was equally early, being first attested in 1421. The Latin term for outlaw, *latrones* similarly had a dual connotation of mercenary/bodyguard and highwayman/robber (for a detailed discussion of the dual connotations and idea of banditry in the Roman world, see Grunewald (2004)).

9 The wolf metaphor to depict an outlaw does cross over with Germanic traditions: it was com-

ences between the Arabic and European vocabularies may indicate different perceptions and functions of outlawry between the Icelandic/English/Romance and Arabic traditions; here we leave detailed comparative study to a different forum, and focus purely on the Arabic terms themselves. I have refrained from translating them upfront, since none have yet been the subject of sustained analysis into precisely what they mean, whom they connote, and where they are used, and each of these questions requires careful consideration, particularly because the pre-modern Arabic sources are themselves inconsistent in their terminology. Some words are defined in competing ways, while others are used in different texts with divergent connotations, and furthermore, there is a lack of uniformity between different lists of pre-Islamic Arabian figures and the labels applied to them. Before we can legitimately speak of Arabian outlaws, bandits, brigands or thieves as a conceptual category at all, considerable work awaits us. The following sections will trace, for what appears to be the first time, both the connotations and the history of the usage of Arabic literature's terminology for pre-Islamic outlawry.

2.1 *Ṣu'lūk/Ṣa'ālīk*

The Arabic word most commonly invoked in scholarship today as the label for pre-Islamic Arabian outlaw heroes is *ṣu'lūk* (pl. *ṣa'ālīk*). Since the twentieth century, virtually all Arabic studies on Arabian outlaws contain the word in their title,¹⁰ Western scholarship follows suit,¹¹ and the sum of the past generations of writing has rendered the term *ṣu'lūk* synonymous with a fixed group of pre-Islamic figures who possessed the defining identity of being rob-

mon in Icelandic and Norwegian contexts via the words: *vargr* or *úlfr*, which adopted additional poetic meanings of 'corpse eater' (Turville-Petre (1977): 769, 777–778). Medieval English outlaws were said to "wear the wolf's head," a symbolic assertion of their banished, perhaps even sub-human legal state (Seal (2011): 5). The Arabic terms do not imply sub-human status, but rather predatory prowess, as 'normal' warrior poets also used wolf metaphors to praise themselves.

10 See, for example, Ḥulayyif (1959); Ḥifnī (1979); 'Atwān (1997a, 1997b); Ismā'īl (2014–2015). There are some exceptions, for example al-Malūḥī (n.d.) uses *luṣūṣ* in his title.

11 In Arabic, see the monographs of Ḥulayyif (1959), Muruwah (1990); the lone English-language monograph on these poets is Alan Jones, *Marāṭī and Ṣu'lūk Poetry* (1992), but there are numerous articles and studies; see, in particular, Stetkevych (1993) Chapters 3 and 4 and Nicholson (1907): 78–86, and across the shorter-length studies and other passing references, *ṣu'lūk* axiomatically and universally connotes the category of Arabian outlaw.

ber poets living apart from Arabian tribal communities.¹² Probing the meaning of *ṣu'lūk/ṣa'ālīk* is accordingly our first port of call.

The *ṣa'ālīk* have been defined as a unique group of poets whose verses constitute a “special vein of pre-Islamic poetry.”¹³ They are believed to have challenged the norms of tribal life,¹⁴ they are often depicted as a distinct social and economic group in pre-Islamic Arabia,¹⁵ and the current frequency of the term's use conjures impressions that the *ṣa'ālīk* constituted a readily identifiable and cohesive poet-type. Closer inspection of the scholarship, however, reveals incongruity and divergence. To many commentators, the *ṣa'ālīk* represent “brigand poets”:¹⁶ impoverished outcasts in remote desert wastelands who pursued lives of dogged raiding. But, conversely, others believe the *ṣa'ālīk* were Robin Hood-like outlaw heroes whose “humanity and nobility”¹⁷ contrasted the purportedly unjust pre-Islamic tribal social order. According to the first conception, the *ṣa'ālīk* were ‘liminal’ characters whose failure to fulfil tribal rites of passage rendered them pariahs,¹⁸ whereas the second camp reads them as heroes committed to redressing social wrongs and redistributing wealth.¹⁹ This heroic or anti-heroic ‘archetype’ for the *ṣa'ālīk* is a salient illustration of what Jones described as the “horrid problems”²⁰ bedevilling appraisal of these poets. Jones hints that the confusion is traceable to the Arabic primary sources

12 Ḥulayyif (1959): 55–58 and Borg (1998) articulate the standard approach; see also Kilpatrick (2003): 73 who likewise considers the *ṣa'ālīk* as unified by the “quality enabling them to keep their distance from their tribe”. Arazi, “Ṣu'lūk”, in *EI*², is more detailed and considers several possibilities, concluding that the *ṣa'ālīk* had “eventful existence” of “temerity, his solitude and the dangers he has surmounted”.

13 Jones (1992), 1:27. See also Stetkevych (1993); Jacobi, “al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt”, in *EI*², 7:308.

14 Ḥulayyif even refers to an ‘anarchical society’ (*muḡtama' fawḍawi*) in which he proposes the *ṣa'ālīk* lived apart from the pre-Islamic tribal communities (1959): 114, see 78–119 for his discussion of the tribalist, decentralised politics of the era he posited set the stage for *ṣa'ālīk* ‘society’.

15 See Ḥulayyif (1959): 55. Muruwah (1990): 34–35 and Bayhi (2006): 117–127 particularly perceive the lifestyle of the *ṣu'lūk* in terms of economic and class relations in a somewhat Marxist inspired impression of pre-Islamic society's dialectical relationship between tribal nobles and the poor.

16 Lyall (1918): 218; see also Stetkevych (1993) and Jones (1992). In Arabic scholarship, Ḥifnī (1979): 38 epitomises this view with his interpretation of *ṣa'lakah* as “a profession of aggressive violence for the purpose of robbery” [*ih̄tirāf al-sulūk al-'udwānī bi-qaṣd al-maḡnam*].

17 Muruwah (1990): 36.

18 Stetkevych (1993): 87–88.

19 Ḥulayyif (1959): 37–47, echoed in Bayhī (2006): 117, 121 and Muruwah (1990): 32–33 where they are described as ‘*aṣḥāb mabādi' raḡīḥ wa-karīmah*' (men of high and noble principles) who sought to “establish social justice and an economic balance between the people”.

20 Jones (1992), 1:28.

upon which modern scholars rely for evidence about the *ṣa'ālik*, since no comprehensive accounts of these poets or poetry anthologies were produced, and information is scattered in writings compiled between the late second/eighth and ninth/fifteenth centuries, i.e. at least 200 years after the last of the pre-Islamic *ṣa'ālik* died.²¹

The problematic primary material indeed contributes to the puzzling interpretations of the *ṣa'ālik*, but the "horrid problems" are much exacerbated by modern scholarly approaches to those sources. Writers have tacitly and pervasively adopted two hitherto unproblematized assumptions that (i) the label *ṣa'ālik* is an appropriate term to identify this group of poets; and (ii) those poets were 'real' persons whose 'true' historicity can be reconstructed. Scholars therefore hold fast to a fixed conception of *ṣa'lakah* (the way of being a *ṣu'lūk*), they apply the term *ṣu'lūk* to approximately eleven poets (who, ironically, are not consistently labelled *ṣa'ālik* in the primary sources, and who also differ somewhat from the ten poets in al-Maqrīzī's *Luṣūṣ*),²² and scholars compel those poets into correspondence with the archetypes noted above.²³ The belief that the "true nature",²⁴ "peculiar ethos"²⁵ and "original intention"²⁶ of the *ṣa'ālik* can be uncovered as a matter of empirical fact has guided research towards 'resolving' their 'true identity' which fails to distinguish between the

21 During this period, it does not appear that Arabic writers attempted an encyclopaedic biographical dictionary of *ṣa'ālik* or composed any text dedicated to this 'group'. Neither did they collect stand-alone *dīwāns* for any individual *ṣu'lūk*, with the exception of Ta'abbāṭa Šarran, 'Urwah b. al-Ward and al-Šanfará—and even these *dīwāns* only emerged in the later fourth/tenth century, i.e. rather late in the process of poetry codification.

22 Jones enumerates the eleven *ṣa'ālik* (1992), 1:27–28. Ḥifnī counts twelve pre-Islamic *ṣa'ālik*, four who straddled the rise of Islam and fourteen Muslim-era figures (1979): 112–139. Also consider Ḥulayyif (1959): 55–58, whose observation that the *ṣa'ālik* can be divided into three categories seems not to have caused him to question the *prima facie* appropriateness of the generic label. The modern tendency to label the outlaw poets *ṣa'ālik* likely stems from the prevalence of the term's usage in Abū l-Farağ al-Iṣfahānī's *al-Ağānī*: al-Iṣfahānī uses the term with a frequency that outstrips other medieval writers; the present wide use of the term elevates al-Iṣfahānī's narrative to a canonical status, whereas critical diachronic analysis of a wider body of sources would uncover the more diverse array of opinions held by medieval Arabic writers.

23 Scholars of both sides of the issue can marshal supporting evidence but need to draw focus away from counterevidence: for example reading Ta'abbāṭa Šarran as an 'anti-hero' overlook positive anecdotes about him in order to paint him as a liminal outcast, whereas advocates of the 'heroic' camp overlook the *ṣa'ālik*'s ghoulish and murderous tendencies (compare, for example Stetkevych (1993) with Bayhī (2006)).

24 Stetkevych (1993): 96.

25 Stetkevych (1993): 109.

26 Jones (1992), 1:224.

historical individual poets and their literary persona as preserved in Muslim-era literature. The outlaw literature theories outlined above, which evaluate the ambivalent nature of literary outlaw heroes, have not been consulted, and thus the crucial blurring of fact and fiction and moral ambivalence which underwrite outlaw traditions are overlooked. By focusing on fact alone, previous studies have reduced the *ṣaʿālik* to concrete and inflexible archetypes of more or less genuine historical happenings and ‘realities’ of pre-Islamic Arabian society.²⁷

At the root of modern difficulties with the *ṣaʿālik* is the absence of a diachronic analysis of pre-modern writing in the context of the wider Muslim-era discourses about pre-Islam. In looking straight through the Arabic primary texts to ‘reach’ pre-Islamic history,²⁸ scholars treat the sources as a seamless continuity and deem texts ranging from the second/eighth to ninth/fifteenth centuries as a homogeneous well of extractable data. As a result, the differences between the texts in terms of genre, scholarly agenda, date of writing and their “significance”²⁹ have been disregarded. Inasmuch as no non-textual evidence survives to illuminate the characteristics of the *ṣaʿālik*,³⁰ our knowledge of the

27 See Jones (1992), 1:224 where he tackles the ‘chronology’ of the *ṣuʿlūk* Taʿabbāṭa Ṣarran, proposing that the *Nūniyyah* poem in which Taʿabbāṭa Ṣarran’s description of killing a *ghūl* likely predates and perhaps even presages the poet’s ‘departure’ from his tribe described in the *Qāfiyyah qaṣīdah* recorded in *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*. See also Abu Khadra’s description of the circumstances of an adventure recounted in a poem attributed to Taʿabbāṭa Ṣarran which Abu Khadra matter-of-factly proposes must have been composed “some time” after the event described: Abu Khadra (1988): 315.

28 Jones accepts the difficulties of reconstructing pre-Islamic history through Islamic-era texts, particularly *al-Aḡānī*: Jones (1992), 1:224; however, his use of the term *ṣuʿlūk* to unite all the so-called *ṣaʿālik* poets and his interest in sifting fact from legend in the accounts of their lives is more empirical than source critical.

29 To borrow a term from Barthes who takes as the object of textual analysis the exploration of how a text “explodes and disseminates” (1977): 127, that is, an understanding of text as the production of *significance*, and not as a philological object which contains a ‘true’ reading awaiting discovery (ibid., 126–127, 136–137).

30 Some suggest that certain outcast poets of twentieth century Saudi Arabia parallel pre-Islamic *ṣaʿālik* (Kurpershoek (1999): 57–58; Holes (2000): 223). While poets such as al-Dindān and Nābit b. Dāfir were peripheral figures in Saudi tribal society, their poetry of bitter memories of love (al-Dindān: Kurpershoek (1999): 215–245) and pious mediations on the ravages of old age (Nābit: Kurpershoek (1999): 246–251) bear little in common with pre-Islamic *ṣaʿālik* poetry in terms of language, style or subject matter. Kurpershoek based his analogy on the outcast status of these modern poets, but to presume that such poets can ‘take us back’ to pre-Islamic Arabia romantically assumes a seamless continuity of ‘Arabian character’ and the ‘desert’ from pre-history until the discovery of oil. Instead of showing us the ancient *ṣaʿālik* or Imru’ al-Qays, I submit this approach rather equates us with Imru’ al-Qays himself, nostalgically weeping over imagined desert traces.

poets is entirely mediated through Muslim-era writings, and as the experience of scholars working with the Robin Hood material have amply demonstrated, the long pathway of narrative transmission needs close interrogation in order to yield more sensitive analysis of the stories themselves.

Turning to the Arabic material, we possess more than a dozen pre-modern Arabic lexicons which provide definitions of the outlaw terminology, and which have been rather underused to date. The earliest Arabic dictionary, al-Ḥalīl b. Aḥmad's (d. 175/791) *al-'Ayn*, the extant form of which dates between the late second/eighth and early third/ninth century,³¹ defines *ṣu'lūk* as "a group [*qawm*] who have neither camels [*māl*]³² nor means of support [*i'timād*]."³³ This definition betrays no sense of brigandage or outlawry, but rather designates a situation of poverty. Likewise, *Ġamharat al-luġah*, the fourth/tenth century dictionary of Ibn Durayd (d. 321/923), relates that "the [word's origin] is poverty (*faqr*)."³⁴ On the other hand, the slightly later lexicographer al-Ġawharī (d.c. 393/1002–1003) adds a pertinent alternative connotation in his dictionary *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*:

Ṣu'lūk means a poor person [*faqīr*]; the *ṣa'ālīk al-'Arab* were the Arab Wolves [*Du'bān al-'Arab*]; 'Urwah b. al-Ward was named "Urwah of the *Ṣa'ālīk*" because he sheltered the poor [*al-fuqarā'*] and provided for them from what he plundered [*janama*]. *Taṣa'luk* means poverty.³⁵

Although al-Ġawharī bookends his definition with two traditional equations of *ṣa'lakah* with poverty, his entry also provides the earliest extant lexicographical expression associating *ṣu'lūk* with outlawry, and even articulates a Robin Hood-esque sentiment of robbing for the poor. It is nonetheless ambivalent whether 'Urwah's *ṣa'ālīk* were merely the destitute beneficiaries of his plunder, or bandits in their own right, but al-Ġawharī's comment on 'wolves' does imply predacious thievery, and such connotations continued in later dictionaries. The fifth/eleventh century Andalusian Ibn Sīdah (d. 458/1066) defined the word *amraṭ*, a type of thief, as a "dastardly *ṣu'lūk*" (*al-mārid al-ṣu'lūk*),³⁶ and the

31 For discussion of the date and authorship of the extant version of *al-'Ayn*, see Schoeler (2006): 142–163.

32 By *māl*, the dictionary may alternatively intend a more general "livestock", or even more generically, any "property".

33 Al-Ḥalīl, *al-'Ayn*, 2:303.

34 Ibn Durayd, *Ġamharat al-luġah*, 2:1199.

35 Al-Ġawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, 4:1595–1596.

36 Ibn Sīdah, *al-Muḥaṣṣaṣ*, 1:346.

Mamluk-era Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311) repeated al-Ġawharī's definition with its predatory association, "the Arab Wolves."³⁷

Modern Arabic scholars have explored some of these definitions and the etymology of the word *ṣu'lūk*. The word is a most unusual Arabic form, and while it has been proposed that it derives from the root s-l-k (*salaka* = to travel), this theory is remote from a linguistic perspective,³⁸ and the word's origins still remain a mystery. As for the meaning of *ṣa'lakah*, Ḥifnī intends to resolve the dichotomy between poverty and outlawry by proposing that *ṣa'lakah* always had the potential of connoting both, but that its "primary meaning" was to label violent outlaws; Ismā'īl disagrees,³⁹ and in any case, pre-modern Arabic literature gives ambivalent indications. For example, writers in fourth/tenth-century Iraq and Iran summon the word *ṣu'lūk* to connote both pre-Islamic Arabian robbers⁴⁰ and violent thieves operating in outlying, little controlled areas of the Buyid realm, particularly those of Arab and Kurdish tribal identities;⁴¹ whereas Mamluk historians in Egypt such as al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Iyās (d. 930/1524) tended to use the term to designate the poor, and not those of a violent inclination.⁴² Consistent with his usage of *ṣa'ālīk* to mean 'the poor' in his other historical writings, al-Maqrīzī only infrequently cites the term in the text of this present book (§§ 2.3.20, 2.5.1, 2.8.1), and nowhere does he use the word *ṣu'lūk* as the label to demarcate his set of outlaw characters. We therefore will not further examine the word here, but given its pervasive citation in modern secondary literature and its uncertain connotation in pre-modern Arabic

37 Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, 10:456.

38 The hypothesis connecting *ṣa'laka* to the root *salaka* is proposed by Aḥmad Harīdī, as reported in Stetkevych (1993): 87. While 'travel' is semantically aligned with concepts of liminality, it is highly unlikely that *ṣa'lakah* relates to *salaka*—the difference *ṣād* vs. *sīn* may appear trivial, but native speakers do not often mix emphatics, and the presence of the *ʿayn* is a major difference. Semitic specialists would doubt the *salaka/ṣa'laka* connection (I thank Ahmad al-Jallad for sharing philological insights).

39 Ḥifnī (1979): 17–19, 38; Ismā'īl (2014–2015): 14–15.

40 Al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aġānī*, 3:72, 12:84, 13:178, 14:142, 20:384, 21:174.

41 See for examples, the letters of al-Ṣābī: *Dīwān Rasā'il*, 1:28, 33, 41, 118, 124, 388, 2:177.

42 According to my reading, al-Maqrīzī uses the word *ṣu'lūk/ṣa'ālīk* three times in his *al-Ḥiṭat*, and in each case it refers to poverty: he intends in one case the idea of 'poor ascetic' as opposed to a member of the wealthy ruling elite (1:5), and twice the *ṣa'ālīk* are mentioned alongside the *du'afā'* (the weak) as recipients of charity: i.e. intending the "weak and the poor" (2:273, 2:400). Ibn Iyās similarly uses the word as a synonym for poor (*Badā'ī' al-zuhūr*, 1.1:47, 207). The term appears only twice in Sayyid's edition of al-Maqrīzī's *Ittī'āz al-ḥunafā'*: the first (1:202) is an editorial addition, and not from al-Maqrīzī's own composition, the second (1:213) invokes *ṣa'ālīk* to describe poverty-stricken people in the Iraqi countryside whose destitution was a cause for violence during the fourth/tenth century Qarāmiṭah crisis.

literature, a more precise understanding of its use remains a desideratum in the wider field of studying criminality in Arabic literature.

With the present evidence considered, it seems that the word *ṣu'lūk/ṣa'ālīk* was not precisely defined in pre-Islamic times as a means to connote a particular set of raiders or outlaws. It originally implied poverty, with possible related insinuations of crime compelled by destitution; its axiomatic association with Arabian outlaws seems to have solidified only in the Muslim Era when some writers, such as al-İṣfahānī in the fourth/tenth century, who assumed the task of narrating and commenting upon outlaw stories gave the term more (but not completely consistent) clarity. Informed from the experience of other outlaw traditions, we can also propose that the semantic ambivalence will also stem from the positions which different writers take vis-à-vis the broad concept of pre-Islamic history and the transgressive potentials of the *ṣa'ālīk* characters. If we insist on seeking one 'Arabic literary approach' to the word's meaning, we risk obscuring the variety of voices within the source literature.⁴³ Where it appears in al-Maqrīzī's *Luṣūṣ*, I translate *ṣu'lūk* as 'desperado', to convey the sense of destitute poverty inducing desperate measures.

2.2 *Fātīk/Futtāk*

In contrast to the frequent citation of *ṣu'lūk* in modern scholarship, the term *fātīk* has received little attention,⁴⁴ yet several outlaws whom we shall encounter in al-Maqrīzī's text (§§ 2.2.2, 2.3.24, 2.10.2), and various others detailed across Arabic literature are described as being *fātīk*, and at least one prominent early Abbasid-era expert of Arabian history, Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 245/859), classified the plural *futtāk* as constitutive of a distinct group of pre-Islamic figures.⁴⁵ Ibn Ḥabīb's list does not imply that the *futtāk* acted in concert as a single

43 An instructive comparative example from the Anglo-Norman outlaw tradition is the changing persona of Eustace the Monk over two centuries of storytelling. As a historical figure, Eustace was a prominent naval commander who served both the rival French and English kings (and the English barons against King John), and was killed leading the French fleet at the Battle of Sandwich, 24 August 1217. Some authors treat his exploits as a romance with Eustace as an outlaw hero pitted against the injustices of the Duke of Boulogne; another tradition flavours his stories with references to Satan and the black arts, while later English writers forget Eustace's heroism entirely, and paint him as a diabolical enemy of England quashed with the aid of Providence in a fanciful reinterpretation of the Battle of Sandwich (see references to the different narratives in Burgess (1997)).

44 I have only found it evaluated in Ḥifnī (1979): 21–23.

45 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar* 192–212. He also enumerates an analogous group of Muslim-era

gang, but rather they represented a general belligerent/outlaw character type akin to connotation of the English ‘Greenwood Outlaws’, Balkan *Haiduks* or Brazilian *Cangaçeiros*.⁴⁶ Ibn Ḥabīb’s *futtāk*, however, are a special breed of outlaw since theft and brigandage seem to have been of but a negligible concern to them, and this is reflected in the word’s meaning. Arabic lexicons define *fātik* as one “brave and daring” (*šūǧāʿ*, *ǧarīʿ*), a headstrong man who takes actions without concern for consequences.⁴⁷ Violent “crimes” (*ǧanāyāt*) seem to be the usual “actions” into which the *fātik* plunges himself,⁴⁸ and killing can also be involved: the verb *fataka* implies striking a man down unawares, or killing in plain view,⁴⁹ and al-Ḥalīl’s *al-ʿAyn* summarises the sentiment: “a *fātik* is one who lets impulse drive his acts, even if it means killing.”⁵⁰ Likewise, a common thread linking the characters Ibn Ḥabīb enumerates is a daring, Devil-may-care attitude to authority, and a willingness to kill for one’s principles, even if it means risk of punishment.

Because the term *fātik* stresses impulsive bravery rather than strictly thievery, it could describe a range of warriors, not only outlaws,⁵¹ but Ibn Ḥabīb’s list is instructive, for his characters do appear as a special kind of warrior whose salient traits resemble outlaw heroes from other traditions. The *futtāk* are not portrayed as large-scale military leaders, rather their exploits are individual feats, and they are not depicted as being intrinsically evil, nor are they motivated to rob out of greed. Their crimes are violent yet also somewhat principled, hence their stories solicit more sympathy, admiration and excite-

futtāk (212–232). For a discussion of Ibn Ḥabīb’s interest in thematic groupings of both pre-Islamic and Muslim-era ‘Arab traits’, see Webb (2016): 260, 268.

46 For brief notes on the latter two groups, see Hobsbawm (2000): 64, 77–90.

47 Ibn Sīdah, *al-Muḥkam*, 6:775.

48 Al-Ḥalīl, *al-ʿAyn*, 5:340.

49 Ibn Sīdah, *al-Muḥkam*, 6:775; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, 8:472.

50 Al-Ḥalīl, *al-ʿAyn*, 5:340.

51 Ḥifnī (1979): 22 noted the root *f-t-k*’s wide use across pre-Islamic poetry to describe a number of figures, but his book’s premise was to define the *šaʿālīk* as a cohesive category, and as such he contended that while the word had a “general meaning” [*ʿamm*] for any brave warrior, its “specific meanings” (*ḥaṣāʾiṣ*) of headstrong action and killing were restricted to *šaʿālīk*. Arabic poetry is not so consistent, however, and he cites an example on p. 23 from ‘Amr b. Kulṭūm which shows how even an esteemed leader could use the term to describe himself. Ḥifnī nonetheless excludes ‘Amr from the killer *futtāk*, but al-Ālūsī specifically counts ‘Amr as one of the *futtāk al-ʿArab* (al-Ālūsī, *Bulūǧ al-arab*, 2:141), illustrating the difficulties in policing the boundaries of pre-modern Arabic terminology! Ḥifnī’s analysis is derived from the lexicons and poetry, and does not include Ibn Ḥabīb’s section in *al-Muḥabbar*, where only one of the *futtāk* (Taʿabbata Šarran) is included in lists of *šaʿālīk*.

ment. Given the rather neat fit with theories of outlaw heroes, it is intriguing that only one of the nine characters whom Ibn Ḥabīb’s lists as “the *futtāk* of Pre-Islam”, Ta’abbāṭa Ṣarran, appears in al-Maqrīzī’s chapter on outlaws,⁵² and my searches to date have only encountered one subsequent author who cites the *futtāk* as a distinct category of warriors/outlaws.⁵³ The word continued to be prevalent as one of an array of adjectives for various characters listed as outlaws,⁵⁴ but no lexicons include it as a term of art for a discrete group of outlaws, and so it seems Ibn Ḥabīb’s category represents a third/ninth century experiment to conceptualise a type of transgressor in pre-Islamic Arabia: the idea did not gain currency as a category, the trait of *fatk* was seen as merely one of the characteristics that an outlaw could have, and subsequent authors devised alternative methods to label the (anti-)heroic forms of pre-Islamic Arabian criminality.⁵⁵

2.3 *Liṣṣ/Luṣūṣ*

Quantitatively, one of the more pervasive terms for the celebrated Arabian outlaws in medieval sources is *liṣṣ* (pl. *luṣūṣ*). Outlaws are often labelled *luṣūṣ* in their biographies across Arabic literature, and whilst my searches have not uncovered a definitive list of the Arab *luṣūṣ*, it forms the title of al-Maqrīzī’s chapter, and likewise it constitutes the title of two of the three pre-modern monographs (now lost) about Arabian outlaws: Abū ‘Ubaydah’s (d.c. 209/824–825) *Luṣūṣ al-‘Arab*⁵⁶ and al-Sukkarī’s (d. 275/888 or 290/903) *Aṣ‘ār al-luṣūṣ*.⁵⁷

52 Ibn Ḥabīb also lists Murrah b. Ḥulayf as a *fātik*, and Murrah’s memory was associated with Ta’abbāṭa Ṣarran, but according to my searches, Murrah would not be memorialized in later literature as an outlaw on his own, rather, he appears only as an inferior sidekick to Ta’abbāṭa Ṣarran (see, e.g. al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aġānī*, 21:152, 167–171; summarized in § 2.3.19 of al-Maqrīzī’s *al-Luṣūṣ*).

53 See al-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā’*, 3:141. Like Ibn Ḥabīb’s list, from al-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī’s list of four *futtāk*, only Ta’abbāṭa Ṣarran regularly appears in the pre-modern Arabic enumerations of outlaws.

54 Al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aġānī*, 12:89, 13:177, 14:142, 21:145 marshals the word *fātik* as an adjective to describe *ṣa‘ālik*, but I have not found al-Iṣfahānī using it as a sole designator for a character type, and not all mentions of *ṣa‘ālik* in *al-Aġānī* are accompanied by *fātik* (eg. 20:389).

55 Bray (2003): 223, 226 articulates Ibn Ḥabīb’s intellectual achievements in terms of category creation and the organisation of knowledge in novel forms that helped create “a new kind of cultural memory.”

56 Yāqūt, *Muġam al-udabā’*, 5:513; Ḥāġġī Ḥalīfah, *Kaṣf al-zunūn*, 2:1550.

57 Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 1:239. The third of these now lost works, *Kitāb Su‘āt al-‘Arab* will be considered in the next section.

The textual evidence indicates that *liṣṣ* was a preferred label to articulate the concept of outlawry,⁵⁸ but its meaning as recorded in pre-modern Arabic dictionaries is also the most prosaic of all Arabic outlaw words: it connotes thief in the widest terms—‘one who steals’⁵⁹—hence the translation of al-Maqrīzī’s title *Luṣūṣ al-‘Arab* is strictly ‘The Arab Thieves’.

The straightforward meaning of *liṣṣ* implies nothing of the special characteristics conjured by ‘outlaw’ or ‘bandit’, and *liṣṣ* belies no indication of heroism or social purpose, which complicates the task of interpreting the *luṣūṣ* as a special kind of criminal anti-hero akin to the Robin Hoods, Song Jiangs and Holm Dwellers of other outlaw literary traditions. Moreover, the noun’s generalist connotation of all forms of theft is ill-suited to facilitate the distinction between an insignificant pickpocket and a brazen hero apt to become the subject of outlaw lore. It does however seem that some Arabic writers intended to delineate a special category of swashbuckling thieves when they penned works with titles such as al-Maqrīzī’s *Luṣūṣ al-‘Arab*,⁶⁰ and there are several grounds to discern how the generic word *luṣūṣ* was enabled to function as an appropriate term for the more flowery needs of literary outlaw narrative.

Initial hints emerge from the etymology of *liṣṣ*. Whilst medieval Arabic philologists universally assumed it was an ‘Arabic word’, they were mistaken: *liṣṣ* is almost certainly a loan from the Greek ληστής (*lēstēs*): a “robber, plunderer, pirate” who acquired property through violence; the related ληστικός refers to a “band of robbers”.⁶¹ ληστής was distinguished from another Greek term for thief, κλέπτης (*kleptēs*), a more subtle operator who acquires property by stealth, i.e. an everyday urban crook.⁶² By the medieval period in Arabic, *liṣṣ* had come to mean all kinds of thievery, including stealth, but at the point of its entry into Arabic via Greek in the Late Antique period, it would have car-

58 The exception to this is, intriguingly, al-Iṣfahānī’s *Kitāb al-Aǧānī*, the pre-modern text that most emphatically promotes the word *ṣa‘ālik* as the label for outlaws.

59 Al-Maqrīzī records the essence of the pre-modern dictionary definitions of *liṣṣ* in §§ 2.1.1–2.

60 The term was not used as a book title exclusively for the violent brigands, however, demonstrating how it did not wholly resist conflation with quotidian thieves. See, for example, al-Ġāhiz’s epistle about *luṣūṣ* described further below, note 71.

61 Liddel and Scott (1883): 891. Whilst the Arabic *liṣṣ* dropped the ‘τ’, it is noteworthy that the pronunciation *lašt* is attested in Arabic, suggesting an early form retaining all consonants of the Greek word; al-Maqrīzī refers to this variant in § 2.1.1. Thayer (1889): 377 adds “freebooter” and “brigand” to the definition of ληστής. The editor of al-Ġawālīqī’s *al-Mu‘arrab*, 438 also identifies ληστής as the origin of the Arabic *liṣṣ*, and notes that no pre-modern philologists recognised the connection.

62 Thayer (1889): 377 specifically contrasts the stealth of κλέπτης with the violent appropriation connoted by ληστής; see also Liddle and Scott (1883): 813.

ried its specific connotation of violent misappropriation of property. Quite why Arabic would need to borrow a Greek term for ‘robber’ is an open question; perhaps it was classified as a set crime by the Greek speaking authorities in southern Palestine and northern Arabia in the Hellenistic period, or perhaps after the Roman conquest of the Nabataeans in 106 CE—if this is true then the word would have originated as a juridical term of art which then spread into more common parlance. Alternatively, the word may have entered Arabic from Aramaic, and its passage from Greek to Aramaic could date from as early as the Seleucid period, in a similar context of Greek rule over Syria and Palestine. Whatever the specific case, the word *ληστώνης* originated in Greek and it spread into Arabian languages before Islam, as it is attested in a pre-Islamic Safaitic inscription of one Ḥmlt bn Sʿlm who called himself a *lšt*, suggestive that pre-Islamic Arabian outlaws who plundered using threats of violence were known vernacularly as *lšt* and perhaps *lš*.⁶³ The Greek loanword appears to have been marshalled to distinguish robbers and bandits from snatchers, lifters, pickpockets and others whose theft was furtive—this stealthy, non-violent kind of thief had its own Arabic word: *sāriq* (pl. *surrāq*).⁶⁴ *Lišš* at the dawn of Islam accordingly did possess a sufficiently threatening connotation to depict violent ruffians, just as brigand, heister or highway robber function in English.

The social, political and linguistic changes fostered in the early Islamic period prompted changes in thievery vocabulary. The Qurʾān 5:38 stipulates the amputation of a thief’s hand, and uses the word *sāriq*; the word *lišš* never appears in the Qurʾān. Perhaps under the influence of Qurʾānic vocabulary, *sāriq* began to converge with *lišš* by the late second/eighth century when Muslims began writing Arabic texts:⁶⁵ some philologists did maintain that a *sāriq*

63 The outlaw marked his name and title in two inscriptions, ShNGA 1 and AMSI 50. I am grateful to Ahmad al-Jallad for this reference; he reasons the word entered Safaitic either from Greek directly or via Aramaic. See his discussion and translation of the inscriptions in al-Jallad (forthcoming).

64 The specifically non-violent nature of thievery by a *sāriq* is noted in its definition in pre-modern Arabic lexicons: see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, 10:156.

65 The Qurʾānic influence on thievery terminology can be traced to the juridical matter of the Qurʾān’s injunction to amputate a thief’s hand. Since the Qurʾān only used the word *sāriq*, exegetes made efforts to expand the ambit of *sariqah* to cover all offences of theft, thus including the ambit of *lišš* within that of *sāriq* to enable the ruling to be applied equally to all kinds of thieves. The issue raised considerable debate: for those in favour of the wide application of the ruling, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ġāmiʿ al-bayān*, 6:311–312, especially *ḥadīth* 9309 and al-Ṭabarī’s own conclusion on 6:312; the related issues are examined at length in al-Qurṭubī, *al-Ġāmiʿ*, 6:104–109; the philological Qurʾān commentator al-Zamaḥṣārī specifies that a *sāriq* is technically one that steals from an “enclosure” or “safe place” (*ḥirz*), suggesting its proper ambit is the modern English law crime of burglary, inasmuch as the

was a non-aggressive thief,⁶⁶ but most dictionaries posit *liṣṣ* as a synonym for *sāriq*, expressly conflating theft by violence and artifice together.⁶⁷ For juridical efficiency, it is useful to simplify terminology so that the Qurʾānic sanction can apply evenly against all crimes of theft, hence the shift of the meaning of *liṣṣ* towards *sāriq*, and in the process, medieval Arabic philologists lost the original sense of *liṣṣ*' meaning and Greek origin. Nonetheless, the stories of pre-Islamic Arabian bandits who, in earlier times, had been labelled as *luṣūṣ* as a specific marker of their violent habits circulated in the world of Arabic storytellers who preserved the old vocabulary. Thus, when defining the word *liṣṣ* in the abstract, most third/ninth century (and later) Arabic philologists did not appear to distinguish it from the non-violent types of thievery implied by *sāriq*, but when listening to stories of violent Arabian outlaws, they would have heard only the word *liṣṣ* to categorise them. Hence *liṣṣ* retained a specialised association with violent pre-Islam in the specific narrative context of Arabian lore, even after its semantic universe broadened for other purposes. This hypothesis is supported by extant textual evidence: accordingly to my readings, the word *sāriq* is rare in the early stories of Arabian outlaw lore,⁶⁸ and likewise al-Maqrīzī only once uses the related verb *sariqa* (to steal) in his *Luṣūṣ* (§ 2.11.1).

Arabic philological texts also evidence further steps that add colour to the conception of *luṣūṣjyyah*/thievery, which could be read as devices to maintain a semantic distinction between violent robbery and quotidian theft notwithstanding the shared and generic meanings ascribed to both *liṣṣ* and *ṣāriq*. For example, Ibn Sīdah's thesaurus, *al-Muḥaṣṣaṣ*, offers possibilities to exaggerate the wickedness of a *liṣṣ* via words such as *amraṭ* and *am'at*, which he describes as a "dastardly desperado" (*al-mārid al-ṣu'lūk*) and a "treacherous destitute" (*ḥabīṭ lā shay' ma'ahu*), respectively.⁶⁹ Overall, these do not appear to have been very popular strategies for glamorizing outlawry, as the words are rare and

theft is accompanied by trespass. He does not discuss whether or not *liṣṣ* is one and the same as *sāriq* in this context (*al-Kaṣṣāf*, 1:619).

66 Ibn Manẓūr cites Ibn 'Arafah's commentary on the word *sāriq* in Qurʾān 5:38 (*Lisān al-'Arab*, 10:156). The fourth/tenth century al-Ṭa'ālibī specifies that a *ṣāriq* robs from property whereas a *liṣṣ* holds up caravans (*Fiqh al-luḡah*, 2:161), seemingly well-reflective of the pre-Islamic distinction. It is intriguing that contemporary lexicons did not emphasise this.

67 For the definition of *liṣṣ* as equivalent to *sāriq*, see Ibn Sīdah, *al-Muḥkam*, 8:269–270 and Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, 7:78.

68 Al-Rāḡib al-Iṣfahānī does use the term *sariqah* to discuss expressions about thievery and the identity of one Arabian camel thief, Ṣaybān b. Ṣihāb (*Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'*, 3:189), but he does not use the term when discussing the more celebrated outlaws whom he refers to as *ṣa'ālik* or *luṣūṣ*.

69 Ibn Sīdah, *al-Muḥaṣṣaṣ*, 1:346.

I have not found them in narratives about pre-Islamic Arabian outlaws, but *al-Muḥaṣṣaṣ* also records words synonymous with *liṣṣ*, such *ḥārib* which, it reports, originally specified a camel rustler. *Ḥārib* does appear in early poetry and twice in al-Maqrīzī's text (§ 2.10.3), and its insertion within the realm of *luṣūṣiyyah*/thievery helps add both Bedouin and raiding trajectories to the word *liṣṣ*, otherwise absent in the basic dictionary definitions.

Al-Muḥaṣṣaṣ further develops the sense of *luṣūṣiyyah*/thievery via a host of words with noteworthy connotations, including *muḥtaris*, *ḥim'* and the verb *tara'bala*. *Muḥtaris*, like *ḥārib*, invokes the desert through its meaning of a rustler of camels and sheep, and it appears in other dictionaries, such as Ibn Manẓūr's *Lisān al-'Arab* alongside *muḥtalis*, *mustalib* and *muntahib* as vocabulary connoting brazen thieves who steal what is in plain sight, expressly unlike the *sāriq* who "robs stealthily, taking precautions."⁷⁰ Again, these words add flare to the notion of *luṣūṣiyyah*, which is then further heightened via the meanings of *ḥim'* and *tara'bala*, references to the predatory action of wolves and lions, respectively. Ibn Sīdah's glosses on *luṣūṣiyyah* are self-evidently inappropriate words for pickpockets and tricksters, and rather suit an impression of outlaws. The weight of the thievery vocabulary is thus aligned with the violent, the desert and the wild, suggestive that when scholarly readers encountered a work entitled *Luṣūṣ al-'Arab*, their philological training had primed them to interpret it more as 'outlaw' than as a quotidian 'thief'.

Because al-Maqrīzī opens his *Luṣūṣ al-'Arab* with quotations from two dictionaries which each define *liṣṣ* as a *sāriq* (§§ 2.1.1–2), *liṣṣ* will be translated herein as 'thief', but we can appreciate that some of the word's pre-Islamic lustre was maintained in medieval Arabic writing. And so *liṣṣ* originated as a term for violent robbers, and whilst its meaning was diluted and dulled as it became a generic term for thievery in medieval Islam, it retained some archaic connection to desert bandits, and hence *luṣūṣ* was not an inappropriate title for a work such as al-Maqrīzī's. Nonetheless, *luṣūṣ* was clearly used throughout Muslim-era literature to describe cunning thieves in contemporary urban contexts as well,⁷¹ and hence the category of brazen pre-Islamic desert outlaws could not be articulated via the word *luṣūṣ* alone. Herein, several other labels appear in the literature alongside *luṣūṣ*, qualifying it and setting it on a definite trajectory towards the style of outlandish traits akin to the outlaw traditions of

⁷⁰ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, 10:156.

⁷¹ Consider, for example, al-Ġāḥiẓ's epistle: *Kitāb Fī ḥiyal al-luṣūṣ* "On the Stratagems of Thieves" (noted in Pellat (1984): 146), the references to wily *luṣūṣ* in al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī's *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'* (3:191–192), and the stories about cunning fourth/tenth-century burglars in al-Tanūḥī's *Nishwār al-muḥāḍarah*, 1:156–158.

other languages. Via analysis of these words we can round the study of thievery vocabulary and the creation of outlaw identity in pre-modern Arabic literature.

2.4 The Runners

A prominent means by which writers distinguished the celebrated pre-Islamic *luṣūṣ* from quotidian thieves in the medieval Muslim imagination was by attributing running prowess as one of the outlaws' central characteristics.⁷² As reported in the sources, the outlaws' running abilities were not merely advanced—they were elevated to the level of marvel: the *liṣṣ* Ta'abbāṭa Ṣarran was said to be able to outrun gazelles (which would entail sustained running of over 80 km/h),⁷³ and several others, such as al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah and Ḥāḡiz b. 'Awf (a.k.a. Ḥāḡiz al-Sarawī) reportedly could outpace horses through a night of hard running.⁷⁴ Though such fabulous accounts cross into realms of the preposterous, they are an effective device for writers seeking to distinguish the outlaws as a unique and instantly recognisable sub-set of pre-Islamic Arabian characters. In Arabic literary representations of pre-Islam, the prototypical gallant warrior rode a fine horse into battle and a sturdy camel when travelling across the desert; in contrast, a character represented as raiding on foot is axiomatically an 'irregular' warrior, and, perhaps, a poorer and ignoble one too, as there is an implication that he cannot afford horses and the associated trappings emblematic of Arabian nobility. Stereotyping a character as a 'runner' thus others him from the traditional mould of pre-Islamic raiding, it also

72 The earliest extant express connection between thievery and running prowess is in Abū Ḥātim al-Siḡistānī (d. 255/869), *Fuḥūlat al-ṣu'arā'* 121; a similar sentiment underwrites the core elements of outlaw identity as articulated by al-Iṣfahānī's (d. 356/967) *al-Aḡānī*, 20:389. Twentieth-century Arabic commentators on the pre-Islamic outlaw literature likewise accepted running as one of the outlaw's fundamental distinguishing characteristics: see Ḥulayyif (1959): 215; Ḥifnī (1979): 232.

73 If one can indulge science to gloss mythology, it is reported that Dorcas gazelle (which the now extinct Arabian gazelle was likely a sub-breed) can reach 96 km/h. Because many of the Arabian outlaws inhabited the Sarāt Mountains in west-central Arabia, we might better make the comparison with the Mountain gazelle, the top speed of which is 'only' 80 km/h! The fastest Olympic sprinters today reach speeds of just over 40 km/h in the 100 m dash.

74 The stories of running prowess are widespread in the literature; al-Maqrīzī narrates representative examples in §§ 2.3.8, 2.3.12, 2.5.10, 2.5.12 and the end of § 2.10.3. Al-Balāḡūrī 'only' compares Ta'abbāṭa Ṣarran's speed to horses (*Ansāb al-aṣrāf'*, 7.2:159). See also al-Siḡistānī, *Fuḥūlat al-ṣu'arā'* 121; Abū l-Faraḡ al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aḡānī*, 13:233, 20:389; al-Rāḡib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḡarāt al-udabā'*, 3:141 who claims that all the outlaw runners could outrun gazelles.

echoes the connotations of poverty in the word *ṣu'lūk*, and it detaches outlaw identity from 'normal' Arabian society.⁷⁵

The emphasis on foot raiding and running in the pre-modern Arabic sources parallels other literatures' anti-heroic mythopoesis since the balance erected between contradictory connotations inherent in the anti-heroes' characteristics unlocks an essential ambivalence in their portrayal. The Arabian outlaws' running both debases the 'Runners' on the one hand as liminal figures who fall short of the typical heroic/noble ideals of their society, while on the other hand, because the outlaws' running prowess is depicted as so fabulous and super-human, the characters equally become objects of positive admiration. By simultaneously distinguishing, degrading and extolling, the stories of running neatly ring-fence outlaw identity and cement a character type, and this enjoyed enduring success: twentieth-century Arabic commentators accepted running as the outlaws' fundamental distinguishing characteristic, and a virtual *sine qua non* of pre-Islamic *liṣṣ* identity.⁷⁶ The modern studies are a stark example of the remarkable acceptance of pre-modern Arabic literary tropes in modern conceptions of pre-Islamic Arabian history, and hence there is a need to test the connection between running ability and outlaw identity and explore how (and why) Arabic literature constructed that curious association.

In contrast to the seamless connection between running and outlaw identity in modern studies of the pre-Islamic *luṣūṣ*, the early layers of Arabic texts about the characters contain discrepancies that betray signs of Muslim-era manipulation of the material to accentuate running as a marker of an exclusively outlaw identity. For example, while modern commentators, accepting the outlaw-*qua*-runner archetype, maintain that outlaw poetry is distinctive for its lack of horse description,⁷⁷ a commonly cited 'Runner', al-Muntaṣir, is in fact recorded as

75 Beneath the archetypes of pre-Islamic horse-warriors, early poetry betrays that numerous warrior figures did fight on foot, and used stealth in pre-Islamic combat. The outlaw figures' reliance on their own two feet accordingly might not originally have distinguished them as liminal characters prior to substantial reworking of pre-Islamic *Arabica* archetypes in the early Muslim period, and to this point, not all early Arabic writers interpreted the Runners' lack of horses as a sign of *ṣu'lūk*-like poverty: the third/ninth century Ibn Qutaybah interpreted it as a distinguished merit of the Arabs, that they were the only race on earth to breed warriors as ferocious without horses as those with them (*Faḍl al-'Arab* § 1.10.3). Ibn Qutaybah's text was an express defence of the Arabs, and he tended to interpret any story upon which he alighted as positive evidence of Arab greatness, and hence if the horse-less Runners were intended by some as a marker of desperado destitution, Ibn Qutaybah opted for a more laudatory interpretation. His work is further considered in Chapter 3.1.

76 Ḥulayyif (1959): 215; Ḥifnī (1979): 232.

77 See Ḥulayyif (1959): 224; Ismā'īl (2014–2015): 80.

one of the “Chevaliers of the Fourths” [*fawāris al-arbāʿ*] in the fourth/tenth-century al-Qālī’s *al-Amālī*, tying his image to the more typical horsemanship traits of Arabian warriors. And the earliest source to directly connect running prowess and outlawry, Abū Ḥātim al-Siġistānī’s (d. 255/869) *Fuḥūlat al-šūʿarāʿ*, expressly excludes al-Muntašir from the list of the ‘Runners’.⁷⁸ Moreover, early texts about al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah (who would become memorialised as one of the greatest of the ‘Runners’), connect his memory to his famous steed, al-Naḥḥām,⁷⁹ and intriguingly, al-Sulayk mentions his horse in poetry ascribed to him, yet none of his poetry alludes to any sprinting at all. Thus, we only ‘know’ that al-Sulayk was one of the ‘Runners’ because later prose sources classify him as one, and because the now axiomatic association between pre-Islamic outlaw identity and running in modern scholarship prompts the presumption that al-Sulayk *must* have been a foot warrior. We can see this logic at work in Ḥulayyif’s *al-Šuʿarāʿ al-šaʿālīk fi l-ʿaṣr al-ġāhili*, where al-Sulayk’s running prowess is accepted as a matter of fact, such that Ḥulayyif proposes that al-Sulayk did refer to his running in poetry, and in order to account for the current absence of such poems in al-Sulayk’s *Dīwān*, Ḥulayyif simply proposes that the verses have been lost.⁸⁰ Ismāʿīl’s study goes even further: he notes the lack of reference to running prowess in the poetry of both al-Sulayk and another outlaw, al-Šanfarāʿ, yet suggests that a “malicious hand” [*yad ḥabīṭah*] in the past deliberately removed the verses which he presumes the poets *must* have written about their running from the poetry collections!⁸¹ There is evident circularity in such arguments: we are at risk of letting the outlaw archetype become the hegemonic guide to our interpretation of the outlaws, explaining away their actual poetry instead of subjecting the archetype to critical scrutiny.

The outlaw-runner dichotomy is further hampered by the considerable disagreement in pre-modern texts over which characters actually belong to the

78 Al-Qālī, *al-Amālī*, 1:23; al-Qālī may have been mistaken, however, since the “Chevaliers of the Fourths”—i.e. those warriors entitled to a quarter of any spoils taken during raids and wars—might intend a different lineage group (see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Maʿadd wa-l-Yaman*, 1:282; al-Bakrī, *Muġam mā istaġam*, 2:651). Abū Ḥātim al-Siġistānī, *Fuḥūlat al-šūʿarāʿ* 121, on the other hand, is unambiguous in his intent to exclude al-Muntašir from the ‘Runners’. The *Fuḥūlat al-šūʿarāʿ* is nominally cast in the voice of Abū Ḥātim al-Siġistānī’s teacher, al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828), but the work appears as a series of notes edited by Abū Ḥātim, and thus is more securely ascribable and datable to him.

79 Al-Sulayk’s horse, al-Naḥḥām, appears in Ibn al-Kalbī’s *Ansāb al-khayl*, one of the earliest extant Arabic writings to detail pre-Islamic warriors (62); al-Maqrīzī also narrates two of al-Sulayk’s poems about his horse: §§ 2.5.7–8; see notes in the Arabic text for other sources in which al-Sulayk’s horse poetry is narrated.

80 Ḥulayyif (1959): 227.

81 Ismāʿīl (2014–2015): 81.

category of the 'Runners'. Based on al-Anbārī (d. 304/916 or 305/917), Ḥifnī's survey in his *Ši'r al-ša'ālīk* states that there were three runners "faster than all others"—Ta'abbata Šarran, al-Šanfarā and 'Amr b. Barrāqah;⁸² yet if he had based his reconstruction on the opinion of Abū 'Ubaydah (d. 210/825), then the trio of the three 'Runners' would be al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah, al-Muntašir al-Bāhili and Awfā b. Maṭar.⁸³ There is no crossover between the two lists; who, then, were the Runners? How are we to reconcile the different lists? And who was responsible for advancing the belief that the pre-Islamic Arabian outlaws were all great runners? *Prima facie*, the discrepancies suggest that third/ninth century Muslim writers did not inherent one consistent enumeration of pre-Islamic 'Runners', and the relatively restrictive lists also cast doubt that fleetness of foot was initially deemed a defining characteristic of the Arabian outlaw type. Had 'Runners' been an established concept in pre-Islamic society, there should be more uniformity: we apprehend instead that Muslim-era writers gradually gave weight to the concept as a means to organise pre-Islamic history and construct identifiable groups within the pre-Islamic pantheon of heroes. To begin the pursuit of this hypothesis, it is instructive to investigate the panoply of terms which pre-modern texts marshalled, and so give a clearer sense of the inconsistencies and diachronic development of terminology over the first centuries of Arabic writing about the outlaws.

Arabic texts offer a range of vocabulary depicting the Runners, derived from three roots: r-ġ-l, s-ʿ-y, and ʿ-d-w. The most common terms encountered in pre-modern literature derive from the root r-ġ-l, which connotes 'legs/feet', and hence imparts that the characters were fleet-footed warriors who travelled and fought on foot, not, as was more usual for 'regular' pre-Islamic warriors, on camel- and horseback, respectively. The range of terminology from the root, however, is intriguing: my readings encountered six different terms, listed here with lexicographical and other sources attesting to them:

82 Ḥifnī (1979): 92. Al-Anbārī, *Šarḥ Dīwān al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 1:29–30 does not actually make it express that Ta'abbata Šarran, al-Šanfarā and 'Amr constituted the trio of the fastest Arab runners, but the story he narrates does extol their abilities.

83 Abū 'Ubaydah, *al-Dībāġ* 31–32. Ḥifnī does not name Abū 'Ubaydah's *al-Dībāġ* in his sources; Abū 'Ubaydah's list was cited in various subsequent texts as the definition for the 'Runners'; see Ibn Qutaybah, *Faḍl al-'Arab* § 1.10.3; al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-ašrāf*, 7.1:151; al-Maydānī, *Maġma' al-amṭāl*, 2:325–326. It should be noted that Abū 'Ubaydah restricted his list to three members as a rule, as he introduces his *al-Dībāġ* with the statement that the "Arabs of 'Ukāz [a market near Mecca of great cultural importance] classify matters in threes" (*al-Dībāġ* 3). Abū 'Ubaydah did, however, exceed trios if there was disagreement over the rightful members of the category, and hence he was not entirely restricted from expanding his trio of 'Runners', had he wished to reference other candidates.

- a) *Ruġlī* (Abū ‘Ubaydah, *al-Dībāġ* 31; Ibn Qutaybah, *Faḍl al-‘Arab* § 1.10.3; al-Azharī, *Tahḍīb al-luġah*, 8:315; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 11:271; al-Zabīdī, *Tāġ al-‘arūs*, 14:271)
- b) *Riġlī* (al-Zamaḥṣarī, *Asās al-balāġah* 223)
- c) *Raġālī* (al-Zabīdī, *Tāġ al-‘arūs*, 14:271)
- d) *Raġīlī* (al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 3:1340; al-Maqrīzī §§ 2.3.1, 2.6.1, 2.7.1)
- e) *Ruġaylā’* (Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Ši‘r wa-l-šu‘arā’*, 1:357; al-Zabīdī, *Tāġ al-‘arūs*, 14:271)
- f) *Riġālāt* (al-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā’*, 3:141; Ibn Manẓūr, *Muḥṭār al-Aġānī*, 5:412; al-Maqrīzī § 2.2.5)

At first blush, all appear alike, but they are in fact different words. *Riġlī* derives from *riġl* (foot), and would mean literally ‘Foot men’; *ruġlī*, on the other hand, derives from *ruġlah* (endurance in walking), and would translate as ‘The Trekkers’; it is the form preferred in the later dictionaries. *Raġīlī* seems rare: it has been called an orthographic mistake by one editor,⁸⁴ but it makes semantic sense, as the word *raġīl* is widely cited in dictionaries as ‘a well-conditioned walker’,⁸⁵ again akin to ‘Trekkers’. *Raġālī* is only attested in dictionaries, where it is said to mean either “those who run fast” or “those who raid alone on foot”.⁸⁶ According to my searches, *ruġaylā’* is attested only in one extant text and in the now (mostly) lost dictionary *al-‘Ubāb al-zāḥir* by al-Ṣaġānī (al-Zabīdī’s *Tāġ al-‘arūs* preserves the quotation from *al-‘Ubāb*): it is said to mean “those who raid on foot.” Lastly, *riġālāt* is a plural for the word ‘men’, thus implying ‘men on foot’, but presumably intending ‘men who fight on foot’, and if its limited citation can be adduced as evidence of this word’s history, it seems to have become current only in texts written after the fourth/tenth century.⁸⁷

The lexical disagreement is suggestive that various writers were attempting to articulate a term to denote the sense of ‘Foot Warriors’ or ‘Foot Raiders’ or ‘Runners on Foot’, but they were neither sure of its etymology nor its exact pronunciation, and thus several forms reflecting various estimates by writers and copyists over time came to be preserved. It is also intriguing that al-

84 See the editor’s discussion in al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 3:1340 note 3. Al-Maqrīzī’s *luṣūṣ* also includes *riġġīlī* (§§ 2.6.1, 2.7.1), and given the lack of consensus in the sources over the ‘correct’ form of the word, I am dissuaded from declaring this alternative form a ‘mistake’.

85 Al-Ḥalīl, *al-‘Ayn*, 6:103; Ibn Durayd, *Ġamharat al-luġah*, 1:464; al-Ġawharī, *al-Šihāḥ*, 4:1706; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 11:271.

86 This version may originate in the now only partially preserved dictionary of al-Ṣaġānī, *al-‘Ubāb al-zāḥir*; it is cited in al-Zabīdī, *Tāġ al-‘arūs*, 14:271. In Ibn Sīdah’s *al-Muḥkam*, 7:380, *raġlah* is said to mean “hard walking.”

87 I have not found *riġālāt* in early sources: as an example, both the Mamluk-era Ibn Manẓūr and al-Maqrīzī cite it to describe ‘Amr of the Dog, whereas the ‘Amr’s biographical entry in the fourth/tenth century al-Iṣfahānī’s *al-Aġānī* does not (22:353).

Azharī's (d. 370/980) *Tahdīb al-luġah* is the lone early dictionary to include any reference to the terminology,⁸⁸ and the words only regularly appear in dictionaries from the seventh/thirteenth century onwards, beginning with al-Ṣaġānī (d. 650/1252). The absence in the early dictionaries raises the possibility that an expression for 'Runners' was not a term originating from pre-Islamic times, as the pre-modern dictionaries were designed to record and explain archaic words, particularly those occurring in ancient poetry. Neologisms coined later by Muslims, on the other hand, could be overlooked, until, that is, the point when they became established ways of describing pre-Islamic Arabia, which appears to have happened in a concerted fashion by the seventh/thirteenth century in the case of the 'Foot Raiders' terminology.⁸⁹ I am not aware of any such 'Runner' terms appearing in pre-Islamic poetry, which thereby offers an explanation as to why the early lexicographers did not mention such terminology in their dictionaries, and taken together with the disagreement over the terms' form, the slow up-take in the lexicons prompts the sense that the term 'Runners'/'Foot Raiders' was neither a pre-Islamic word, nor was it universally imposed at one later point, but instead the concept grew organically as the characterisation of pre-Islamic outlaws was focused increasingly around ascribing them all special running powers. The three different ways in which al-Maqrīzī records the word in his *Luṣūṣ* is perhaps a function of the lack of consensus over the terminology (compare §§ 2.2.5, 2.3.1, 2.5.1).

Despite the variation in terminology, the evidence considered so far also indicates that a number of early Arabic writers were attempting to articulate a category of 'Foot Warriors', 'Foot Raiders' or 'Runners.' Although they did not settle on one cohesive label, the impetus for their memorialisation would logically derive from the material they possessed, and when considering the narrative sources, we do find that memories of men who fought on foot in pre-Islamic Arabia were circulating early in the written traditions. Texts mention characters who "raided on foot",⁹⁰ especially those living in the Sarāt Mountains of west-central Arabia.⁹¹ A sizeable quantity of poetry ascribed to the Huḍayl, one of the lineage groups who inhabited that mountainous region, was compiled in the third/ninth century by al-Sukkarī, and a survey of its poetry reveals

88 The dictionaries of al-Ḥalīl, Ibn Durayd, al-Ġawharī and Ibn Sīdah give no indication of a term of art to describe 'fast runners' or 'foot raiders'.

89 Each of the later dictionaries, al-Ṣaġānī's *al-'Ubāb*, Ibn Manẓūr's *Lisān al-'Arab* and al-Zabīdī's *Tāġ al-'arūs* provide definitions for 'Runners' lexemes.

90 For examples, Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Šīr wa-l-šū'arā*, 1:301, 357; al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-ašrāf*, 7:1151, 329, 2:115.

91 For an explicit association of the outlaws with the mountains, see al-Siġistānī, *Fuḥūlat al-šū'arā* 121.

that references to foot warriors are indeed rather common, and poets used several forms: the most frequent is *raġl*;⁹² *raġlah* and *arāġil* also appear.⁹³ In interpreting this poetry which emanates from the pre-Islamic and early Muslim eras, al-Sukkarī glosses the above terms as *raġġālah*, a commonly understood word meaning ‘infantry’ or ‘foot warriors’, but he neither indicates that the Huḍalī *raġġālah* were outlaws, nor does al-Sukkarī mention any of the specialised ‘Runner’ vocabulary enumerated above. Furthermore, the foot-raiding Huḍalī poets themselves do not cite any of the special ‘Runner’ terms listed above, and the many references to ‘foot warriors’ in the Huḍalī poetry merely specifies men who fight on foot, they do not imply great running prowess, and as such, the large body of poetry ostensibly from the very region where the ‘Runners’ operated does not give positive evidence that a group of very fast sprinters operated as bands of outlaws. The image of fabulous runners thus seems to be a Muslim-era conception grafted into memories about pre-Islamic Arabia.

Analysis of the specialised running vocabulary in other sources lends to similar conclusions that the earliest Arabic writing did not draw an axiomatic connection between ‘foot raiding’ and outlaw identity. For examples, most references to the ‘foot warriors’ in third/ninth century texts are devoid of thievery connotation: Ibn Qutaybah praises the warrior skills of the *ruġliyyūn* as a merit about which the Arabs can boast over other peoples;⁹⁴ al-Balāḍurī (d. 279/892) describes one of the ‘Runners’, al-Muntašir al-Bāhili, as ‘a nobleman’ (*šarīf*)—the opposite of a social outcast as modern scholarship assumes the outlaws were;⁹⁵ and Abū ‘Ubaydah narrates several tales about the three ‘Arab Foot Warriors’ (*Ruġliyyū l-‘Arab*) without labelling them as thieves, desperados or with other outlaw-like vocabulary.⁹⁶ Whilst the Huḍalī poetry, Abū ‘Ubaydah, and al-Balāḍurī suggest the ‘foot raiders’ led violent lives, most pre-Islamic characters in Muslim-era stories are represented as embroiled in warring, so the narratives of conflict should not necessarily be read as a specific marker of outlaw identity. What is even more significant is that the runner stories in third/ninth century texts and the references to *raġl* ‘band of foot warriors’ in the Huḍalī poetry paint scenes of groups in combat, and betray scant indication of the elements which we now consider the signature traits of the runner outlaws: raiding alone, being social outcasts, and engagement in abnormally horrific

92 Al-Sukkarī, *Šarḥ aš‘ār al-Huḍaliyyīn*, 1:282, 340, 380, 465, 2:770.

93 Al-Sukkarī, *Šarḥ aš‘ār al-Huḍaliyyīn*, 1:237, 1:275.

94 Ibn Qutaybah, *Faḍl al-‘Arab* § 1.10.3.

95 Al-Balāḍurī, *Anšab al-ašrāf*, 7.2:115; he does not use one of the ‘Runner’ or ‘Arab foot warrior’ labels, but instead reports it as a phrase: “he used to run on his two legs”.

96 Abū ‘Ubaydah, *al-Dībāġ* 31–40.

forms of violence. The even earlier writer, al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (d. between 164–170/781–787) makes it clear that al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah was “one of the great Arab knights” [*min ašadd fursān al-ʿArab*], and that he also had running prowess.⁹⁷ Amongst third/ninth century writers, only the poetry specialist Abū Ḥātim al-Siğistānī’s (d.c. 255/869) list of “Runners” specifies that they used their running ability for the purpose of thievery.⁹⁸ Taking the evidence together, the early sources suggest that some pre-Islamic warriors fought on foot, and some became memorialised as having exceptional fleetness of foot, but this feature alone does not seem to have singled them out as outlaws, except in the view of al-Siğistānī.

If we look for patterns in the early descriptions of the Runners, two further aspects emerge. Each of the earliest extant biographical references for al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah and Taʿabbaṭa Ṣarran mention their running prowess,⁹⁹ and the terminology of ‘Runners’ and ‘Arab Foot Raiders’ (*Ruğliyyū l-ʿArab*) as a label to group poets appears in disparate early writings, such as al-Siğistānī’s *Fuḥūlat al-šuʿarāʾ* and Abū ʿUbaydah’s *al-Dībāğ*,¹⁰⁰ indicating distinct intention to organise pre-Islamic characters into identifiable categories. Such efforts at categorisation are noted as signature activities of early Abbasid-era Iraqī cultural production, when writers sought to tame the vast quantities of oral records, poetry and stories from pre-Islamic Arabia and early Islam into manageable, and memorisable, categories.¹⁰¹ During the process of organising categories, two of the figures most commonly identified as foot raiders, Taʿabbaṭa Ṣarran and al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah, would also be classified as quintessential Arabian outlaws—al-Sulayk was one of the earliest characters to be called a *šuʿlūk*/desperado,¹⁰² and Taʿabbaṭa Ṣarran was early established as a *fātik*, and thus it might be the case that from these two prominent examples, subsequent Muslim-era scholars who further organised the material alighted on the unusual trait of running prowess and developed it into an increasingly generalised archetype of outlawry which

97 Al-Ḍabbī, *Amtāl al-ʿArab* 61.

98 Al-Siğistānī, *Fuḥūlat al-šuʿarāʾ* 121; he uses the verb *iḥtalasa*; association with *luṣūš* is noted above, p. 33.

99 For Taʿabbaṭa Ṣarran, see al-Siğistānī, *Fuḥūlat al-šuʿarāʾ* 121; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar* 196–197; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Šīr wa-l-šuʿarāʾ*, 1:301; al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-ašrāf*, 7.2:159. Against this trend, al-Sukkarī’s information about Taʿabbaṭa Ṣarran, derived from the lore of the Huḍayl does not depict him with any particular running prowess (*Šarḥ ašʿār al-Hudāliyyīn*, 2:834–835). For al-Sulayk, see al-Siğistānī, *Fuḥūlat al-šuʿarāʾ* 121; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Šīr wa-l-šuʿarāʾ*, 1:357; al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-ašrāf*, 7.1:151, 7.2:115.

100 Al-Siğistānī, *Fuḥūlat al-šuʿarāʾ* 121; Abū ʿUbaydah, *al-Dībāğ* 31.

101 For the role of Ibn Qutaybah and Ibn Ḥabīb in this scholarly exercise, see Bray (2003).

102 Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Šīr wa-l-šuʿarāʾ*, 1:357.

could thenceforth be extended to *any* other characters who were to be classified as pre-Islamic ‘Arab Thieves’.

The hypothesis that the category of ‘Runners’ and ‘Foot Warriors’ was an Abbasid-era Iraqi invention of the third/ninth century, and not a true relic of a group of people recognised in pre-Islamic Arabia finds further support in the sources. Firstly, the earliest extant list of the ‘Arab Foot Raiders’ (*Ruġliyyū l-‘Arab*) articulated by Abū ‘Ubaydah in the early third/ninth century is patently clear that there were three, and towards the end of that century Ibn Qutaybah repeats the same statement.¹⁰³ By the fourth/tenth century, however, other characters—such as Ta’abbata Šarran, al-Šanfará, and others were identified under the related labels, suggestive that the category was expanding.¹⁰⁴ Secondly, the inconsistent terminology for the ‘Runners’/‘Foot Raiders’ label indicates that Arabic writers did not know one ‘correct’ term, which would suggest that it was not engrained in the cultural memory of either pre-Islamic Arabia or early Islam; rather the runner archetype was constructed by several hands in the Muslim-era to explain scattered references to warriors who raided ‘on their feet’. Via the trait of running, they nudged towards creating a cohesive group that eventually became synonymous specifically with outlaws. Thirdly, the term ‘Arab’ in the label *Ruġliyyū l-‘Arab* further indicates Muslim-era coining, as third/ninth century Arabic writing exhibits manifold examples of rewriting pre-Islamic Arabian history into an ethnically ‘Arab’ guise. As has been argued elsewhere, ‘Arab’ was not a term pre-Islamic Arabians used to identify themselves, and references to ‘Arab’ as a signifier for a pan-Arabian ethnos appear to have emerged as a consequence of the maturation of the Caliphate and Muslim civilisation.¹⁰⁵ There are no authentic references in pre-Islamic poetry to ‘Arabs’, let alone to ‘Arab Runners’ or ‘Arab Foot Raiders’: ‘Arab’ as an ethnic label is exclusively found in Abbasid-era categorisations of pre-Islamic history,¹⁰⁶ and the stress on Arabness articulated within the term for ‘Foot Raiders’—the ‘Arab Foot Raiders’—mirrors this signature Abbasid-era predilection to create a cohesive sense of Arab history as an ethnically unified pre-cursor to Islam.¹⁰⁷ Together with the absence of specific terminology for outlaws on foot in pre-

103 Abū ‘Ubaydah, *al-Dibāġ* 31; Ibn Qutaybah, *Faḍl al-‘Arab* §1.10.3. See note 83 on the significance of the number three for Abū ‘Ubaydah’s text.

104 See al-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā’*, 3:141, al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aġānī*, 20:289.

105 The emergence of Arab identity in early Islam and examples of the construction of Arabness in various levels is set out in Webb (2016), particularly Chapters 3–5.

106 For the use of the word ‘Arab’ in poetry, see Webb (2016): 66–88.

107 For other examples of the creation of an ‘Arab’ identity for pre-Islamic history in the Abbasid era, see Webb (2016): 249–269.

Islamic poetry, our evidence lends to the impression that Muslim-era scholars of poetry and Arabian history were the primary party involved in creating what later became one of the archetypal traits of the pre-Islamic Arabian outlaws.

There are yet more complexities to the 'runner' and 'foot warrior' terminology in Arabic literature, since other terms were also invoked, including labels coined from the root 'd-w (to run). Al-Siġistānī's *Fuḥūlat al-šū'arā'* is perhaps the earliest extant source to report the word *al-'addā'ūn* (lit. the fast runners) as descriptive of a cohesive group. He used it to label "more than thirty" poet-warriors inhabiting the al-Sarāt Mountains in west-central Arabia,¹⁰⁸ and he names six, including Ta'abbata Šarran and al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah, all of whom were later accepted as 'Runners' and/or 'Arab Foot Raiders'. Al-Siġistānī also expressly denies that al-Sulayk was one of the "knights"/"horsemen" (*fursān*), which appears to be a rejection of what actually was a widely held opinion amongst his scholarly peers and earlier writers who identified al-Sulayk as not only a knight, but also the owner of a famous steed, al-Nahhām.¹⁰⁹ Al-Siġistānī also stressed that the *'Addā'ūn*/'Runners' were all thieves, and so it appears his list was attempting a classification of the pre-Islamic figures along different lines than the *Ruġliyyū l-'Arab*/'Arab Foot Warriors' (whom Abū 'Ubaydah cast in the mould of more nobly-intentioned warriors). Al-Siġistānī's terminology is pertinent, for his choice of *al-'Addā'ūn* differs both lexically and substantively from Abū 'Ubaydah's *Ruġliyyū l-'Arab*.¹¹⁰ Abū 'Ubaydah counted al-Sulayk, al-Muntašir and Awfā b. Maṭar as the 'Foot Warriors'/'Foot Raiders', whereas al-Siġistānī's list of 'Runners' expressly excludes al-Muntašir and is silent on Awfā. We thus stand before two rival forms of categorising the figures: the *Ruġliyyū l-'Arab* are reported as warriors who happened to have running prowess, whilst *al-'Addā'ūn* were expressly cast as sprinting outlaws. Al-Sulayk was the only figure initially shared between the two groups, but by the fourth/tenth century, more cross-over occurred: al-Sulayk was established as either a *ruġlī* or an *'addā'*, whilst al-Šanfarā could be labelled via a variant of the *ruġlī* category.¹¹¹ Both categories thus eventually drifted towards the outlawry image, as al-Maqrīzī uses terms related to *ruġlī* to label his *lušūš*/thieves, and includes all of the members of both categories under one roof, again implying shifting

108 Al-Siġistānī, *Fuḥūlat al-šū'arā'* 121.

109 See the discussion of al-Sulayk, above.

110 It is also possible that the opinions expressed by al-Siġistānī were those of his teacher, al-Ašma'ī, a contemporary of Abū 'Ubaydah (see note 78, above).

111 Al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aġānī*, 20:389; al-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥaḍarāt al-udabā'*, 3:141.

impressions about outlaw identity over time that nudged the characters identified as fast runners away from ‘normal warrior’ status to that of outlaws.

A third root that enters circulation to describe ‘Runners’ is s-‘-y, which simply means running (though not, apparently, the fastest form of sprinting),¹¹² and the derived term *al-su‘āt* (lit. ‘the Runners’) appears in literature about pre-Islamic Arabia in a definite form, suggestive again of the creation of a category for those known for their fleetness of foot. *Su‘āt* is the least frequently cited of the words for outlaws with running prowess, and my readings to date have only encountered four examples:

- a) a reference in al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898),¹¹³
- b) the term *Su‘āt al-Arab* (the Arab Runners) occurs as the title of a book ascribed to the Basran philologist and poetry specialist al-Mufaḡḡa‘ (d. 327/939 or 320/932);¹¹⁴
- c) a copy of a book entitled with the term *Su‘āt al-Arab* is listed in the Ayyubid-era Damascene Ašrafiyyah Library catalogue;¹¹⁵
- d) and *Su‘āt al-Arab* appears anecdotally in a story which Ibn al-Šaḡarī’s (d. 542/1147–1148) *al-Amālī* narrates about an interaction between the Umayyad poet al-Farazdaq and an unnamed member of the ‘Arab Runners’.¹¹⁶

As far as my readings can tell, the term is notably absent in *al-Aḡānī*, the most detailed text on the subject of pre-Islamic outlaws. Ibn Manẓūr narrates that the term *al-su‘āt* in pre-Islamic Arabia apparently meant “Peacemakers” since they “strove” to resolve conflicts (‘striving’ is a derived meaning from the same root),¹¹⁷ and so as is the case for the other ‘Runner’ terms, it is unlikely that the word *al-su‘āt* actually circulated in pre-Islamic Arabia to connote a special breed of fleet-footed outlaws. This leaves the philologist al-Mubarrad as its potential inventor. Elsewhere in *al-Kāmil*, al-Mubarrad did coin his own phrase to describe another label for outlaws—the “Arab Ravens”,¹¹⁸ and given the absence of any reference to *su‘āt* in earlier texts, he may have done the same for his runner terminology. If this was the case, then it follows that the second earliest citation of the term, the title of al-Mufaḡḡa‘’s book, was borrowed from al-Mubarrad, and this bears consideration since al-Mufaḡḡa‘ was contemporary

112 Ibn Sīdah, *al-Muḥkam*, 2:221.

113 Al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 3:1430; it appears as part of a definition for the *ruḡlī* ‘running’ term.

114 Al-Baḡhdādī, *Hadīyat al-‘arīfīn*, 2:31.

115 Hirschler (2016) number 78.

116 Ibn al-Šaḡarī, *al-Amālī*, 2:252.

117 Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-Arab*, 14:385.

118 This term is discussed in Chapter 2.5, below.

with al-Mubarrad, they both worked in Basra, and al-Mufaḡḡa' could have studied the subject under al-Mubarrad. A copy of al-Mufaḡḡa's book then found its way into the Damascene library by the sixth/twelfth century. Al-Mufaḡḡa' was a noted Shia scholar, and so was the only other writer to cite the term *Su'āt al-'Arab*, the Baghdadi philologist Ibn al-Šaḡarī, hence he may have learned the term via familiarity with al-Mufaḡḡa's work. Given the paucity of citations, the above is conjectural, but it seems likely, at least, that *su'āt* and *Su'āt al-'Arab* as a term for outlaw runners, like the *'Addā'un* and *Riḡliyyū/Ruḡliyyū/Raḡaliyyū l-'Arab* etc. terms, did not originate in pre-Islamic Arabia: they are not attested in pre-Islamic poetry itself—they were devised by Muslim-era writers to aid the categorization and ordering of scattered memories from pre-Islamic Arabia, and to create a cadre of outlaw runners.

Our texts thus bequeath the category of 'Runners'/'Arab Foot Raiders' an inconsistency at the point of the terminology's origins in third/ninth century. After the effluxion of six centuries, however, al-Maqrīzī cites running prowess as a defining attribute for most of his *luṣūṣ*, and in the twentieth century, scholars believed running was axiomatically a mark of outlaw identity. The evidence thus implies that a crucial process of anti-hero mythopoesis occurred in the first four centuries of the Muslim period whereby a body of memories of fleet-footed Arabian warriors was cultivated, exaggerated and extrapolated into a growing range of characters who were simultaneously being increasingly classified as outlaws. Such a process mirrors Seal's theory, discussed in Chapter 1, of the gradual evolution of anti-hero persona via the attribution of ambivalent, and sometimes wondrous traits. Running prowess would have been especially useful for Arabic authors, since the connotations of *liṣṣ* were too general to constitute a coherent categorisation of a distinctive pre-Islamic outlaw hero archetype; by adding fabulous running prowess to the facets of outlaw identity, however, the sense of heroic Arabian outlawry as separate from everyday thievery can become more tangible. Emphasis on running therefore had manifest advantages in enabling Muslim-era writers to construct a more cohesive and effective outlaw identity for an otherwise unwieldy cast of characters who had been the subject of various competing strands of memorialisation from the pre-Islamic period to the third/ninth century.

For ease of reference, Table 1 sets out the pre-modern sources which describe the 'Runners'/'Arab Foot Raiders': we see that no single character was unanimously defined as a 'Runner'. From the results, it emerges that al-Sulayk b. Sulakah appears most prominent, and Abū 'Ubaydah's opinion was frequently, though not universally marshalled as an authority, but further patterns are difficult to discern, mirroring the chequered history of the terminology's gradual articulation, and underlining the likelihood that medieval Muslims were the

TABLE 1 The Runners

	<i>al-Dibāğ</i> ^a	<i>Fuḥūlat al-šū'arā</i> ^b	<i>al-Šīr wa-l-šū'arā</i> ^c	<i>Faḍl al-'Arab</i> ^d	<i>Ansāb al-ašraf</i> ^e	<i>al-Kāmil</i>	<i>al-Aġāni</i> ^g	<i>Maġma' al-amīāl</i> ^h	<i>Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'</i> ⁱ	<i>Našwat al-ṭarab</i>	<i>Tāğ al-'arūs</i> ^k
Al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Al-Muntašir al-Bāhili	✓	1	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Awfā b. Maṭar	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Al-Šanfara		✓				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Ta'abbata Šarran		✓	✓		(✓)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
'Amr b. Barrāqah/Barrāq		✓				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Hāğiz al-Sarawī		✓				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
A'lam al-Hudali		✓				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Nufayl b. Barrāqah						✓					✓

a Abū 'Ubaydah, *al-Dibāğ* 31 (*Ruġlīyyū L-'Arab*).

b Al-Siġistāni, *Fuḥūlat al-šū'arā* 121 (*al-'Addā'ūn*).

c Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Šīr wa-l-šū'arā*, 1:301, 353. Ibn Qutaybah does not ascribe wondrous running process of Ta'abbata Šarran or al-Sulayk, but notes that they raided on foot. His text does not include biographies for any of the other figures listed in this table.

d Ibn Qutaybah, *Faḍl al-'Arab* § 110.3; his source is Abū 'Ubaydah and he narrates the same anecdote as in al-Balāduri, below.

e Al-Balāduri, *Ansāb al-ašraf*, 7:1151, 159. Citing Abū 'Ubaydah, al-Balāduri groups al-Sulayk, al-Muntašir and Awfā into one category, and cross references them in each of their biographies; he also comments on Ta'abbata Šarran's running prowess, but in slightly less wondrous fashion.

f Al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 3:1430 (*Riġlīyyū L-'Arab*). He mentions al-Sulayk four times in *al-Kāmil*, but intriguingly never comments on his running prowess.

g Al-Iṣfahāni, *al-Aġāni*, 13:233, 20:389.

h Al-Maydāni, *Maġma' al-amīāl*, 2:325–326. He cites the group of al-Sulayk, al-Muntašir and Awfā on the authority of Abū 'Ubaydah, and adds the others without stating his source.

i Al-Rāğib al-Iṣfahāni, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'*, 3:141.

j Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī, *Našwat al-ṭarab*, 1:434 (*al-'Addā'ūn*; he cites *al-Aġāni* as his source).

k Al-Zabīdī, *Tāğ al-'arūs*, 14:271.

l Al-Siġistāni (*Fuḥūlat al-šū'arā* 121) expressly denies that al-Muntašir was one of the *'Addā'ūn*/Runners.

inventors of the very concept of 'Runner Outlaws'. Accordingly, we face rather knotty issues when attempting to use the Arabic outlaw terminology as a means to interpret the literary outlaw figures. Al-Maqrīzī uses the terminology without expressly problematising it, and readers could mistake his confident *aḥbārī* style for well-received facts stemming from pre-Islamic Arabia, but the origins are most murky and inconsistent.

2.5 The Arab Ravens

In addition to running prowess, another prominent 'add-on' to the characteristics of a number of pre-Islamic outlaw heroes was the label 'raven' (*ḡurāb*, pl. *aḡribah*), and akin to the case of the 'Runners', a set of figures were grouped together as a defined category known as the 'Arab Ravens' (*Aḡribat al-'Arab*).¹¹⁹ The term denotes poets who were the scion of Arabian tribesmen and black Ethiopic slave mothers: the blackness of the raven alludes to the half-breed children's darker complexion. The express connection with slave/low-born mothers constitutes an ostensible status denigration, while the ominous physical form of the raven is suitably dark and anti-heroic, and thus the concept seems a fitting attribute for an outlaw hero identity and an effective means to distinguish notable pre-Islamic outlaw *luṣūṣ* from standard criminals. Al-Maqrīzī's text embeds such categorisation: he labels three of the eight pre-Islamic thieves included in his *Luṣūṣ* as "Ravens" (Ta'abbāṭa Ṣarran, al-Šanfará and al-Muntašir), and notes that a fourth, al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah was likewise born of a black slave mother (§§ 2.3.2, 2.4.2,3, 2.6.1; 2.5.1). Ḥifnī's twentieth survey of the *Ṣa'ālik* comments further, suggesting that the low status of the Arab Ravens was a reason al-Sulayk turned to a life of outlawry.¹²⁰

Also akin to the complexities of the 'Runners', the connection between the 'Raven' label and outlaw identity is inconsistent in the sources, and the category and its application to the outlaws appear even more patently to be a later Muslim-era invention. The term *Aḡribat al-'Arab* appears only to have

119 The one exception is al-Mubarrad, who, paralleling his unique use of the word *su'āt* to describe the 'Runners', labels the 'Ravens' with a different form of the plural: *Ġurāb al-'Arab* (*al-Kāmil*, 1:315, 2:601, 643).

120 Ḥulayyif (1959): 109–114 identifies the "Ravens" as those members of a socially subordinated class of pre-Islamic Arabian society, who, by virtue of their physical strength were able to use violence to resist their social standing. The discussion develops Ḥulayyif's general impression that the pre-Islamic desperado *Ṣa'ālik* emerged as a function of the economic and social unfairness of pre-Islamic Arabian society. See a similar discussion in Ḥifnī (1979): 114.

been analysed once in modern scholarship in a short article by Muḥammad Bāqir ‘Alwān: he surveys the key sources where the term is defined, and focuses on the word’s association with a particular kind of poet identity, concluding that it was originally a marker only for those children of Ethiopic mothers who were also distinguished poets.¹²¹ But since six of the seven pre-Islamic figures identified as ‘Ravens’ are also now deemed *luṣūṣ/ṣa’ālik*, the connection with outlawry in the Muslim imaginary also needs inclusion, and ‘Alwān’s findings can be expanded here.¹²²

Ağribat al-‘Arab first appears with Abū ‘Ubaydah (d. 210/825) in his *al-Dībāğ*, but he lists only three members of the group: ‘Antarah b. Šaddād, Ḥufāf b. ‘Umayr and al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah.¹²³ He also gives no indication that they were outlaws, rather Abū ‘Ubaydah’s commentary concentrates on their bravery. We have seen in the last section that al-Sulayk was considered a noble warrior by most writers contemporary with Abū ‘Ubaydah, and hence the category of ‘Ravens’ enters Arabic literature as a connotation restricted to celebrated and fierce warrior poets (as ‘Alwān concluded). A second text ascribed to Abū ‘Ubaydah, but which was redacted in the generations after his death, *al-Naqā’id*, also defines the term *Ağribat al-‘Arab*, repeating the trio mentioned above, and adding, on Ibn Ḥabīb’s (d. 245/859) authority, two further names, including al-Muntašir. Al-Muntašir, like al-Sulayk, was eventually classified as a robber and a runner, but in Abū ‘Ubaydah and Ibn Ḥabīb’s early third/ninth century milieu, texts also counted both as noble warriors, and in other texts up to the end of the third/ninth century, I have found no evidence that Ravens connoted an attribute particular to outlaw identity.¹²⁴

The term ‘Arab Ravens’ does not appear in any early lexicons, and as with the case of the ‘Runners’, the silence may indeed point to the term’s Muslim-era coining: had the word appeared in memories from pre-Islam, as opposed to being a Muslim-era category to organise pre-Islamic history, we might expect that at least one of the five extant dictionaries from the third/ninth and fourth/

121 ‘Alwān (1973): 12.

122 ‘Alwān (1973): 13 lists Ḥulayyif’s study of the *Ṣa’ālik* in his bibliography, but does not comment on the outlawry angle of the *Ağribat al-‘Arab* in his article.

123 Abū ‘Ubaydah, *al-Dībāğ* 40–41. As noted in Note 83, above, Abū ‘Ubaydah was predisposed to posit the group as a trio, but had more ‘Ravens’ been known, he might still have mentioned them.

124 Ibn Qutaybah’s *al-Šīr wa-l-Šu‘arā’* repeats Abū ‘Ubaydah’s trio of ‘Arab Ravens’ (1:357), but also defines al-Sulayk as a “desperado” (*šu‘lūk*), evidencing the shift of al-Sulayk’s personal towards outlawry. Ibn Qutaybah does not connect al-Sulayk’s half-Ethiopic origin as a particular attribute of outlawry, however, since he makes so such derogatory comments about the other two Ravens—‘Antarah and Ḥufāf (1:244, 329).

tenth centuries to have noted it. Moreover, third/ninth century texts which discuss Arabians born of black Ethiopian mothers (*abnā’ al-Ḥabašīyyāt* or *abnā’ al-Zanġīyyāt*) do not consistently use the term *aġribah* either: Ibn Ḥabīb’s *al-Muḥabbar* has a long (yet incomplete) list of 59 names of such ‘half-breeds’, and he includes Abū ‘Ubaydah’s trio, and while he lists them together consecutively, he makes no mention of ‘Ravens’ or that these three constitute a distinct sub-set.¹²⁵ Another contemporary text, al-Ġāḥiẓ’s (d. 255/869) essay *Faḥr al-Sūdān ‘alā l-Bīḍān* (The Merits of Blacks over Whites), extols the virtues of various figures of Ethiopic-origin, dwelling on Abū ‘Ubaydah’s trio in particularly laudatory terms, and yet he does not label them ‘Ravens’ either.¹²⁶ The extant texts are suggestive that the ‘Ravens’ label had rather little currency as a cultural watchword in the third/ninth century, and that, by extension, given the silence of the early lexicons, the concept was not a salient component of memories from pre-Islam.¹²⁷

And as Table 2 demonstrates, the first writer to associate the typical pre-Islamic *luṣūṣ* such as Ta’abbaṭa Šarran, al-Šanfará, Ḥāġiẓ al-Sarawī, and Maṭar b. Awfá (presumably a corruption from the more usual Awfá b. Maṭar) as all ‘Ravens’ was the fifth/eleventh century Andalusian lexicographer Ibn Sīdah in his dictionary, *al-Muḥkam*. Ibn Sīdah is silent as to his source, but it is unlikely he concocted the list himself, and there are hints, for instance from al-Maqrīẓī’s text, that earlier commentators were making claims to connect outlaws to the Raven identity.¹²⁸ We have seen in Chapter 2.4 on the ‘Runners’ that the memory of characters such as al-Sulayk and al-Muntašir were shifted from early impressions of their noble-warrior status towards greater emphasis on their identity as outlaws, and as they had both been described as ‘Arab Ravens’ since the third/ninth century, at the point when their personae were remoulded into

125 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar* 306–309; the list is incomplete as the manuscript for this part of *al-Muḥabbar* is lacunose, though the passage referring to the trio identified by Abū ‘Ubaydah is preserved, and if Ibn Ḥabīb felt that the ‘Ravens’ label was important, he should likely have referenced it.

126 Al-Ġāḥiẓ, *al-Rasā’il*, 1:192.

127 A poem ascribed to al-Walid b. ‘Uqbah reviling Ibn al-Zubayr contains the line: “We wish your mother was a crow/And that your lot be the worst of birds” (al-Ġāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, 2:205); perhaps this is an allusion to the crow as symbol for a black mother; but again, in this early poem there is no indication that Ibn al-Zubayr would thus acquire the characteristics of a bandit, rather he would simply achieve low status. Elsewhere, al-Ġāḥiẓ relates views that disparage ravens as lower class animals (*al-Ḥayawān*, 2:417), which is perhaps the root intention that the ‘Ravens’ lacked the pure nobility of a child born to a free-born mother.

128 See § 2.3.2 where the third/ninth century commentator Ibn al-A’rābī labels Ta’abbaṭa Šarran as one of the ‘Ravens’.

TABLE 2 The Arab Ravens

	<i>al-Dibāġa</i> ^a	<i>al-Naqā'id</i> ^b	<i>al-Šīr wa-l-šū'arā'</i> ^c	<i>al-Kāmil</i> ^d	<i>al-Aġāni'</i> ^e	<i>Timār al-qulūb</i> ^f	<i>al-Muḥkam</i> ^g	<i>Lisān al-'Arab</i> ^h
Pre-Islamic era								
'Antarah b. Šaddād	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Sulayk b. al-Sulakah	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Al-Muntašir al-Bāhili		✓		✓			✓	✓
Matar b. Awfā							✓	✓
Al-Šanfarā							✓	✓
Tā'abbata Šarran							✓	✓
Ĥāġiz al-Sarawī							✓	✓
Muslim era								
Ĥufāf b. 'Umayr/ b. Nadabah	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
'Abd Allāh b. Ĥāzim		✓		✓			✓	✓
Abū 'Umayr b. Ĥubāb						✓	✓	✓
'Umayr b. 'Umayr b. Ĥubāb							✓	✓
Hammām b. Muṭarrif							✓	✓
Hišām b. 'Uqbah						✓	✓	✓

a Abū Ubaydah, *al-Dibāġ* 40–41.b Abū Ubaydah, *al-Naqā'id*, 1:372.c Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Šīr wa-l-šū'arā'*, 1:244, 329, 357.d Al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 1:315, 2:601, 643.e Al-İṣfahānī, *al-Aġāni'*, 8:247.f Al-Ṭā'ilibī, *Timār al-qulūb* 159–160.g Ibn Sīdah, *al-Muḥkam*, 5:511–512.h Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, 1:646.

unequivocal outlaws, their established attribute of being half-breeds offered yet another efficacious means to distinguish the celebrated outlaws from 'ordinary' robbers. We might then suppose that writers constructing outlaw identity would begin applying this attribute to the other outlaws, explaining how the fifth/eleventh century Ibn Sīdah inherited material depicting many of the famous outlaws as 'Ravens'. Ibn Sīdah's definition was followed in the dictionaries *Lisān al-'Arab* and *Tāǧ al-'arūs*, where six of the seven pre-Islamic 'Ravens' are outlaws; al-Maqrīzī's *Luṣūṣ* includes five of them amongst his eight pre-Islamic thieves. Taking the lexicons and al-Maqrīzī together, it seems that by the ninth/fifteenth century, the category of 'Arab Raven' had become a well-accepted trait to conceptualise pre-Islamic outlawry.

2.6 Lions and Wolves

Pre-modern lexicons also describe outlaws via allusions to wolves and lions. As demonstrated in the *Ma'ānī* collections, metaphorical reference to warriors as predatory animals are neither uncommon in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry nor Muslim-era commentaries, and 'wolf'- and 'lion'-inspired vocabulary is not unique to outlaw identity, however, two particular terms have close association with outlaws and call for comment here.

The Arabic language possesses myriad names, pseudonyms and means of metaphorically alluding to lions, but when Muslim-era lexicographers recorded lion analogies descriptive of thieves, they singled out one specific term from the root r-'b-l. According to the earliest extant lexicon, al-Ḥalīl's *al-'Ayn*, the word *ri'bāl* (pl. *ra'ābīl*)¹²⁹ means: "a lion, and it is said, a wolf, or of a thief [*liṣṣ*] on account of his daring and malicious intent."¹³⁰ The central defining thrust of the word connoted the sudden violence of attack, and the impression of the lion's bold, predatory strike is repeated in subsequent dictionaries,¹³¹ hence it could equally apply to wolves, and, by further extension, to human raiders. By dubbing a thief a *ri'bāl*, lexicographers betray a sense of admiration for his audacious brutality, thereby mirroring the impressions of outlaw heroes in other traditions. The dictionaries make this explicit through their gloss of the related verb *tara'bala*: "to raid in the way a lion attacks humans, and to act

129 There was philological debate over the 'correct' plural for this word, and the confusion arises, as usual, over the *hamzah*: some preferred the plural *rayābīl* (e.g. Ibn Sīdah, *al-Muḥkam*, 10:340): for the details, see al-Zabīdī, *Tāǧ al-'arūs*, 14:259–261.

130 Al-Ḥalīl, *al-'Ayn*, 8:265.

131 See, for example, al-Ġawharī, *al-Šihāh*, 4:1703–1704.

like a lion”,¹³² to which Ibn Manẓūr added “to raid on foot, alone, without a commander [*wālī*].”¹³³ The range of pre-modern dictionaries concur that the root is applicable to the specific kind of thieves who attack with sudden aggression, who raid on foot, and who raid alone (or at least without an organised war party). As a strategy of distinction, the root is thus well-suited to articulate the anti-hero style of thief who is feared, yet simultaneously awesome in his abilities and valiant in his methods.

The earliest lexicon *al-ʿAyn* is silent on extending the allusion to connote a particular group of thieves, but by the fourth/tenth century dictionaries, the term *Raʿābil al-ʿArab* (the ‘Arab Predacious Lions’) is glossed as the label for a set of outlaws, identified by Ibn Durayd as “Awfā b. Maṭar, al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah, Taʿabbāṭa Ṣarran, al-Šanfarā b. Mālik and their ilk [*nuẓarāʿuhum*].”¹³⁴ Each of these characters appears in al-Maqrīzī’s *Luṣūṣ*, and we have encountered each in the sections above amongst the ranks of the ‘Arab Foot Raiders’, the ‘Runners’ and the ‘Arab Ravens’. Their traits—thievery, reliance on running prowess, bravery, and recourse to violence—are each incorporated into the semantic universe of *riʿbāl*, with the addition of the trait of lone predator. Ibn Durayd ascribes the coining of the term to a set category of outlaws to Abū ʿUbaydah, thereby explaining why the term is absent in *al-ʿAyn*, which was originally compiled shortly before Abū ʿUbaydah’s scholarly career began. Accordingly, it again appears that the establishment of the group ‘Arab Predacious Lions’ was the work of third/ninth-century category creation that grouped figures and homogenised their traits to yield a form of outlaw amenable to the distinction of a celebrated hero.

Curiously, whilst the ‘Arab Predacious Lions’ is both a wonderful sobriquet for outlaw heroes and encompasses apt traits to distinguish the group’s members from all other run-of-the-mill criminals, my readings to date have found only limited reference to the word in narrative sources about the outlaws,¹³⁵ and it is absent in al-Maqrīzī’s *Luṣūṣ*. At the present state of research it is unclear why the dictionaries should be in such accord on the meaning of the word and its applicability to define a specific group of outlaws, whilst the narrative sources are silent, and this remains an open question, which we hope future enquiry can resolve.

132 Al-Ġawharī, *al-Šihāh*, 4:1704.

133 Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, 11:263. The fourth/tenth century Ibn Durayd’s *Ġamharat al-luġah*, 1:328 leaves out reference to a commander, stating that they “raid on foot on their own” (*yaġzūn ʿalā arġulihim waḥdahum*).

134 Ibn Durayd, *Ġamharat al-luġah*, 1:328.

135 al-Balāḍurī does use the term; see, for example his description of al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah as a *riʿbāl* (*Ansāb al-ašrāf*, 7:1151).

The second of the predatory-themed labels for the outlaws is *Du'bān al-'Arab*—the 'Arab Wolves'. As is the case for the 'Arab Predacious Lions', the lexicons are in broad agreement that the term refers to "thieves and desperados" (*luṣūṣ, ṣa'ālik*).¹³⁶ Al-Zamaḥṣarī adds to the definition a new term: "shysters" (*ṣuttār*), a word common for Islamic-era outlaws (but not, according to my readings, for pre-Islamic), but the intention remains clear—the 'Arab Wolves' connote crims/outlaws, not ordinary warriors.¹³⁷ The expression's origin is not given, but outlaw poetry includes self-praises of raiding ability via wolf metaphors,¹³⁸ and hence the origin of the term appears rooted in a general impression that the outlaws' predatory nature lends itself to wolf comparisons.¹³⁹ It should be noted that the Arabic wolf allusion to the desperados does not carry the same precise meanings as prevalent wolf-related terminology for outlaws in Germanic languages. In the Old Norse and Old English cases, outlaws were dubbed 'wolves' or 'wearing the wolf's head' both as a marker for their vicious nature (which is aligned with the Arabic) but also because they were banished from society, and could be lawfully killed, just as it was permissible to kill wolves, and with yet an added deprecation of the outlaws' sub-human nature.¹⁴⁰ While it is tempting on a symbolic level to read the Arabic wolf analogy in a similar vein of sub-human liminality, the Arabic literature does not imply an express legal separation or a repudiation of outlaw humanity, rather the term erects an image of danger: the same thieves could, after all, be called 'Lions', and it is the threat of sudden violence that appears to be the impact desired from the Arabic labels.

2.7 Thievery Semantics: Conclusions

The panoply of Arabic terminology which describes outlaw behaviour and establishes the categories by which the celebrated outlaws of pre-Islamic Arabia could be grouped and defined provides an array of illuminating clues to assist our conceptualisation of the notion of 'Arab Thieves' and its development in Arabic literature. Close reading of the terminology's polyvalent history cautions against the common modern approach of treating 'Arab Thieves' as a set character type and/or as an actual distinct, identifiable community in

136 Al-Ġawharī, *al-Šiḥāh*, 1:125; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, 1:377.

137 Al-Zamaḥṣarī, *Asās al-balāġah* 201.

138 See, for example, al-Maqrīzī § 2.3.25.

139 Ḥifnī (1979): 20 comes to a similar conclusion.

140 Ahola (2014): 310–311.

pre-Islamic Arabia. The array of ‘outlaw characteristics’ as represented in later Arabic literature (i.e. from the fourth/tenth century onwards) are discernible in varied degrees within the earliest extant textual layers of Arabic, but not all the traits were subsumed into one tidy category *ab initio*, and not all the figures now assumed to be ‘Arab Thieves’ were so homogeneously characterised in the first centuries of Arabic writing.

The foregoing findings regarding the inconsistent terminology and identity of outlawry in Arabic literature intensify the “horrid problems” Jones described when attempting to make sense of *ṣa‘ālik* material. As he noted, the narratives pull in different directions, but as we found when probing further, it is at the level of the very terminology for outlawry that many of the issues begin. The inconsistencies in the words which early Arabic writers used to articulate concepts of outlawry evidence unsettled opinion as to how exactly outlaws were expected to behave: the absence of standardised terminology to describe outlaws naturally engenders inconsistent narrative material, and hence we should not expect the narratives to offer neat answers. A category usually needs to have a more-or-less coherent label describing it in order to function consistently, and when writers begin to conceptualise a new idea, new terminology, or new definitions for old words, will arise in tow. In the case of the ‘Arab Thieves’, different pre-modern writers seem to have advanced different terms to depict outlaws, and a primary task in revisiting the material going forward will pay closer attention to the semantics of the terminology and the ways in which different authors marshalled it.

For the third/ninth century, extant texts indicate that most of the vocabulary connected with outlawry was circulating, but not all pointed in one direction. A *fātik* did not need to thieve, a *liṣṣ* might never kill, a *ṣu‘ūk* could describe someone who had no connection with law-breaking, and a *ruġli* could connote a noble-born warrior. Trends towards grouping those words into a unified sense of pre-Islamic outlaw are visible too, but it may not be sustainable to maintain that the label *Luṣūṣ al-‘Arab* (Arab Thieves) at the outset of the third/ninth century could have meant the same as it did to al-Maqrīzī in the ninth/fifteenth century. From the earlier perspective, certain figures were known as possessing traits amenable to outlaw identity, and some were labelled with terms suggestive of outlaw status, but in order to constitute a stand-alone pre-Islamic character type, the scattered ingredients of the Arab outlaw required consolidation. Our excursus through the terminology suggests that at least three critical shifts occurred, which bridged the conceptual divide between the earliest Arabic writers’ and al-Maqrīzī’s sense of what pre-Islamic outlawry signified.

- 1) The characteristics necessary to distinguish a celebrated outlaw from both a noble warrior and an ordinary criminal needed honing and tidying.

The tropes of lone-raiding, raiding on foot, poverty, animalistic violence, and (in many cases too) half-Ethiopic slave pedigree are classic images behoving an outlaw persona, and they would eventually fill the signifier *luṣūṣ*, but those ideas had to be gathered and systematised. Each of these sentiments had origins in memories of pre-Islam, but the effort to create and define categories that processed those memories (and perhaps reshaped them to better fit the categories) stand as one of the major achievements of third/ninth century scholars. Their methods, however, were not suited for rapid unanimity: the poetry specialist Abū Ḥātim al-Siġistānī intended that the category of 'Runners'/'*addā'ūn* were also thieves; whereas Abū 'Ubaydah and those who followed his lead thought that the fleet of foot were called *ruġlīyyūn*, connoting warriors who may have also owned horses. Likewise, Abū 'Ubaydah did not intend that his trio of Ethiopic half-breed poets pursued criminal careers, but by the fifth/eleventh century, Ibn Sīdah considered that six of the most celebrated pre-Islamic outlaws shared the trait of having Ethiopic mothers. The ninth/fifteenth century al-Maqrīzī was the beneficiary of several centuries of ironing the differences away, such that he could conceptualise *luṣūṣ* as the unproblematized category which he presents in this volume.

- 2) The characters who would be classified as thieves also shifted towards more consistent identification. We sense that pre-Islamic raiders were memorialised in various guises, and that very few, if any of them exhibited the full traits of outlaw heroes across the multiple narrations of their biographies. This is to be expected in outlaw traditions: the realities of historic figures generally require remodelling to fit cultural expectations of the outlaw archetype. Accordingly, readers would need to forget (or at least downplay) the memory that al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah fought on horseback, that Ta'abbaṭa Šarran did not really have an Ethiopic mother, and that al-Muntašir al-Bāhili and Awfá b. Maṭar were not actually thieves. The process of taking a pre-Islamic warrior and turning him into a *šu'lūk* eliminated certain memories and accentuated others, and texts from the third/ninth to fourth/tenth centuries give substantial evidence as to how this happened. We have seen the convergence of different figures into the evolving outlaw categories as a matter of terminology; the narrative sources (which this introduction does not have the scope to detail) evidence such processes further at work.¹⁴¹ From the vantage of

141 For a detailed discussion of outlaws in the narrative sources, see Webb (forthcoming).

the ninth/fifteenth century, al-Maqrīzī was long-separated from the pre-systematised period of imagining the outlaws, and much of the groundwork had already been completed to define the categories of outlaws and populate them with figures, such that al-Maqrīzī could pick an array of characters from sources available to him, and present each of them as one substantially uniform category in his *Luṣūṣ*.

- 3) The identity of the outlaws was comprehensively Arabised. A significant proportion of the outlaw terminology explored above was articulated in a possessive construct with the ethnonym 'Arab': *Ağribat al-'Arab*, *Ra'ābūl al-'Arab*, *Su'āt al-'Arab*, *Ruğlīyyū l-'Arab*, *Ḍu'bān al-'Arab* and, as in the title of al-Maqrīzī's work, *Luṣūṣ al-'Arab*. The earliest dictionaries do not depict these classes of outlawry as an ethnic possessive, nor do the above terms appear in any pre-Islamic poetry, as far as my readings can tell. It thus seems secure to propose that in pre-Islamic Arabia itself, the ethnic Arabness of the outlaw categories was not express, and the categories' creation is another example of the retrospective Arabisation of memory that occurred in the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries when Muslim-era cultural producers constructed a sense of uniform Arabness and Arab history from memories of disparate communities living in the pre-Islamic Arabian Peninsula.¹⁴² The Arabness projected onto the outlaws via the new labels has further complexities, too. The characters are infrequently described as simply 'the Thieves' or 'The Foot Raiders', rather they are specified as 'Arab': the implication therefore is that the figures are not cast as part of the patrimony of the writers' own community, but are instead property of 'the Arabs', a construct of the past and the early days of Islam. In this vein, it is interesting that none of the many contemporary third/ninth and fourth/tenth century outlaws and robbers in Iraq, Syria and Arabia enter the lists which the writers constructed to detail the 'Arab Thieves'. The disjoint is significant: the sort of outlawry that the texts seek to create is one that is both ethnically distinct as Arab, and historically remote at a two-century and more remove from the writers' own context. It is also noteworthy that the same writers did not expand their outlaw stories to other nations: I have not encountered similar categorisations for 'Persian Thieves' or 'Turkish Thieves' or 'Rūm Thieves'; the outlawry of interest is restricted to that in ancient Arabia, and the image of a lone-wolf, lion-hearted, quick-footed raider is projected as a purely Arabian trait. Al-Maqrīzī inherited this ethnic lens of outlaw lore, and the cen-

¹⁴² Other examples of this phenomena are discussed in Webb (2016).

turies of continuous Arabising of the concept of thievery enabled him to seamlessly drop the outlaw stories into his *history* of the Arabs.

Whilst fourth/tenth-century conceptions of Arabness naturally extended far beyond outlawry, and whilst there were other categories of historical figures similarly grouped in possessive constructions with 'Arab',¹⁴³ there is nonetheless a considerable plurality of 'Arab' groups unified via notions of thievery and violence. The foot raiders, ravens, lions, wolves and thieves in distinctive outlaw guises together point to conscious steps afoot that elevated the trait of outlawry to a core component of how medieval Muslims could conceptualise Arabness and Arab history. The discursive role of such bandits, and the developing place of their category in narratives of Arab history are the subject of the next Chapter.

143 For an extensive list of such categories of Arabs, such as the "Arab Dependables", "Arab Benefactors", "Arab Burning Ember Tribes", "Arab Noble Houses" and "Arab Wise Men", see Abū 'Ubaydah's *al-Dībāğ*.

Thieves and Arab History

Al-Maqrīzī inserted his chapter on the ‘Arab Thieves’ in volume 5 of his *al-Ḥabar ‘an al-Bašar*. As noted in our Introduction, the work was conceived as a history of humanity from Creation to Muḥammad’s prophecy, and the aim of the book, in al-Maqrīzī’s words from his introductory preamble was to tell history from its beginnings,

such that the Arabs can be known and distinguished from all other peoples, and in order to explain how Arab society was united in the distant past, and how they afterwards split into peoples, tribes, sub-tribes, clans, and kin groups.¹

Al-Maqrīzī then elaborates that because the Prophet Muḥammad was an “Arab Prophet” and because God selected the Arabs to carry the final message of His guidance, it is further incumbent that “the Arabs’ right to be cherished, vaunted, glorified and honoured must be known.”² The tenor is thus set for a laudatory history of the Arabs, and of the six volumes of *al-Ḥabar*, part of volume 1, all of volumes 2, 3 and 4 and half of volume 5 are devoted to the history of Arabia before Islam. The ‘Arab Thieves’ chapter is the penultimate section on the Arabs. It constitutes the first substantive part of volume 5,³ and precedes the lengthy final Arab chapter on the pre-Islamic “Battle Days” (*Ayyām al-‘Arab*). The entirety of al-Maqrīzī’s Arab history discourse in *al-Ḥabar* is not

¹ Al-Maqrīzī *al-Ḥabar*, MS Aya Sofya 3362, fols. 4^b–5^a.

² Al-Maqrīzī *al-Ḥabar*, MS Aya Sofya 3362, fol. 5^a.

³ Prior to the opening of the *Lušūš* chapter, there are two short sections on the Religions of the Arabs before Islam (*dīyānāt al-‘Arab*) and the ‘Arab Hussies’ (*muḥāḥašāt al-‘Arab*), contained on one leaf of the Aya Sofya MS 3365, p. 246. The volume to which these sections rightfully belong is unclear: the chapter on the ‘Arab Thieves’ in the holograph starts with a full quire, and the leaves upon which the above two sections were written was not part of that quire. Thus, these two chapters were written separately from *al-Lušūš*, but they were bound into volume 5, presumably during al-Maqrīzī’s lifetime (the titlepage of volume 5 is signed by al-Maqrīzī’s nephew and inheritor suggestive that he inherited the volume with the two chapters included). This issue is considered further in Chapter 5.3, below. I am indebted to Frédéric Bauden for discussing this with me: his knowledge of the manuscripts was crucial in exploring this situation.

yet available in a reliable critical edition,⁴ so at present it is difficult to be precise about how the ‘Arab Thieves’ fit into his conception of the Arab past; our exploration here will accordingly posit suggestions based on the traditions of telling Arab history prior to al-Maqrīzī, and from indications that can be drawn from his treatment of the *Luṣūṣ* and the *Ayyām al-‘Arab*.

Given al-Maqrīzī’s explicit aim to present Arab history in a positive light, and the Arabs as the rightful recipients of God’s divine guidance, it seems at first blush that a chapter on thievery would be rather counterproductive. Outlaw narratives are often tinged with subaltern discourses and sentiments of resistance, all of which are ill-suited to an avowed God-fearing and thoroughly traditionist defence of Arab character and institutions,⁵ but we have noted in Chapter 1, above, that outlaw traditions in other languages can shift into establishment circles and even high literature, and if that were also the case for the ‘Arab Thieves’, the stories’ functions need not necessarily degrade the memory of the Arab people, and they could serve manifold alternative discourses. To investigate the status of the corpus further, we will ask pre-modern Arabic historiography a simple, yet crucial question: did one need to tell stories about ‘Arab Thieves’ in order to tell Arab history? I.e., from the perspective of a Muslim historian of pre-Islamic Arabia, were thieves salient characters whom the historian needed in order to memorialise the pre-Islamic Arab past?

Akin to the meanings of the terminology about outlaws explored in the previous Chapter, the answers to our present question fluctuate over time and between texts, and as is the case with a number of the complex issues raised in this volume, more detailed analysis will be the subject of a separate monograph, but salient findings across the major historiographical texts on Arabness prior to al-Maqrīzī’s day will be imparted here.

3.1 Outlaws and Arabness in the Third/Ninth Century

To begin at the earliest textual records of Arabian history in the late second/eighth and early third/ninth century, it seems that one could answer our question in the negative: the corpus of literature evidences that outlaws

4 For a justified critique of the only edition of *al-Ḥabar* published to date, see Bauden (forthcoming).

5 Al-Maqrīzī’s historical writings betray a traditionist view of the legitimacy of Caliphate (see his introduction in *al-Sulūk*, 1.1:13–22); and in his sympathies, al-Maqrīzī supports those who embodied righteous rule in the tradition of the Prophet (Cobb (2003): 78; Van Steenbergen (2016): 97).

were not originally a necessary a component of the Arab story. Consider Abū ‘Ubaydah’s *al-Dībāğ*, a compendium of sundry aspects of Arab culture, ranging from famous battles, warriors and tribal leaders to notable women, generous hosts and classifications of tribes. It may represent the widest-scope lens of how Arabness was constructed at the dawn of the third/ninth century, and it has no mention of bandits, thieves or desperados. Abū ‘Ubaydah does include stories about al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah and al-Muntašir al-Bāhili,⁶ and these same characters are identified by the ninth/fourteenth-century al-Maqrīzī as *lušūš*, but their cameos in the much earlier *al-Dībāğ* are rather glorious and there is scant hint of the outlaw lore and predacious characterisation which would later be wrapped around their memory.

A slightly later, but even more detailed discourse on Arabness, Ibn Qutaybah’s (d. 276/889) *Faḍl al-‘Arab wa-l-tanbīh ‘alā ‘ulūmihā* likewise is devoid of any mention of Arabian outlawry. Again, some of the characters whom al-Maqrīzī lists as *Lušūš* appear in *al-Faḍl*, but Ibn Qutaybah presents them as noble warriors, not liminal desperados.⁷ Ibn Qutaybah’s work was a concerted praise of Arabness in the face of those who would ridicule the Arabs, and if significant material on Arab outlawry was available to him (and some certainly was),⁸ he left it out of *al-Faḍl*. As a consequence, Ibn Qutaybah gives strong indication that when constructing a sense of Arabness for mid-third/ninth century audiences, outlaw material and camel stealing were liable to be marginalised in favour of grander constructions of the Arab past.

Al-Balāḍurī’s (d.c. 278/898) *Ansāb al-ašrāf*, the largest extant collection of Arabian genealogy compiled as an encyclopaedia of Arab nobility from pre-Islamic times to the end of the second/eighth century,⁹ offers a third window into third/ninth century outlaw memorialisation. His work includes biographies for five of al-Maqrīzī’s ten *Lušūš* characters,¹⁰ and al-Balāḍurī notes their abilities to raid on foot, the proclivity of some (e.g. al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah) to raid alone, and he recounts tales of their warring in violent terms, but each of

6 The Ravens and Runners categories are detailed (Abū ‘Ubaydah, *al-Dībāğ* 31–46), but, as noted in the discussion above, not with the indication that they constituted a form of outlawry separate from tribal warfare.

7 See Ibn Qutaybah, *Faḍl al-‘Arab* §§ 1.10.3, 2.8.24.

8 He reports on several outlaws in another of his works, *al-Ši‘r wa-l-šū‘arā’*: there he calls al-Sulayk a “desperado” (*šū‘ūk*), he mentions an encounter between Ta’abbaṭa Šarran and a ghoul, and he elaborates on the outlaw life of al-Uḥaymir (1:302, 353, 2:774–775). None of these observations crossed over into *Faḍl al-‘Arab*.

9 See Webb (2016): 268.

10 ‘Amr of the Dog (al-Balāḍurī *Ansāb al-ašrāf*², 10:196); Ta’abbaṭa Šarran (*Ansāb al-ašrāf*¹, 7.2:159–165); al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah (*Ansāb al-ašrāf*¹, 7.1:151–154); al-Muntašir (*Ansāb al-ašrāf*¹, 7.2:115–116); Awfā b. Maṭar (*Ansāb al-ašrāf*¹, 7.1:329).

the characters is counted as a member of Arabian noble lineages, and words such as *liṣṣ* (thief) and *ṣu'lūk* (desperado) are absent in the biographies. As the case with Ibn Qutaybah, al-Balāḍurī, whose intention also engages in constructing a laudatory history of the Arabs via the articulation of their long noble lineages, slanted his narratives away from hints of outlawry, and focuses instead on embedding historical figures within a biological chain of nobility.

The similar non-treatment of Arabian outlawry is also notable in the work of al-Balāḍurī's near contemporary, al-Ya'qūbī (d. 275/888 or 292/905), who wrote a universal history, *al-Tārīḥ*, the first half of which affords significant space to Arab history before Muḥammad and resembles, albeit in a shorter form, the contours of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Ḥabar*. Al-Ya'qūbī's *Tārīḥ* is silent on the matter of 'Thieves', and it makes no mention of the outlaw vocabulary at all, let alone affords a section to them. The work does include the names of Ta'abbāṭa Šarran and 'Urwah b. al-Ward, both quintessential *ṣa'ālīk* in the eyes of later literature, but al-Ya'qūbī summons them in his list of pre-Islamic Arabian poets, figures whom al-Ya'qūbī explains transmitted the communal history of the Arabs before Islam. The inclusion of Ta'abbāṭa Šarran and 'Urwah thereby brings both figures inside the putative Arab tribal system (al-Balāḍurī achieved the same end by inserting the characters in his *Ansāb al-ašrāf*), and so permits no sense that they were liminal outlaws.¹¹ Al-Ya'qūbī's history is distinguishable from Ibn Qutaybah's *Faḍl al-'Arab* and al-Balāḍurī's *Ansāb al-ašrāf* inasmuch as it lacks the express intention of lauding Arabs, and hence his silence on outlawry indicates that even from a broader perspective, tales of outlaws did not constitute standard repertoire of the third/ninth-century historians of the Arabian past.

Likewise, the earliest compendium of Arab poets, Ibn Sallām al-Ġumaḥī's (d. 231 or 232/845–846) *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-šu'arā'* is also silent on all of the figures whom scholars today call the pre-Islamic 'brigand poets'. Ibn Sallām constructed hierarchies of poets organised by their skill, his pre-Islamic section lists 74 poets,¹² and given the rather high esteem in which outlaw poetry has been held, it is rather amazing that Ibn Sallām judged not one of the outlaws as meeting his standards. He does privilege poets who composed full length *qaṣīdahs*, and many of the outlaws' extant works are shorter *qīta'*, but this criteria may be a red-herring when evaluating the outlaws' exclusion from the *Ṭabaqāt*. Poets such as Ta'abbāṭa Šarran, al-Šanfarā and 'Urwah b. al-Ward did

11 Al-Ya'qūbī, *al-Tārīkh*, 1:265 (Ta'abbāṭa Šarran), 266 ('Urwah b. al-Ward), 262 (the function and importance of poets in preserving communal knowledge).

12 Al-Ġumaḥī lists forty poets as *fuḥūl* (champion poets, lit. 'studs'), and he names a further 34 lesser poets (*Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-šu'arā'*, 1:204–296) whom he groups (primarily) by their homelands, some of the 'pre-Islamic' poets also lived into the Muslim era.

compose longer poems in traditional styles,¹³ and thus Ibn Sallām apparently had other reasons for excluding them from his list. Ibn Sallām’s detailed introduction stresses the issue of forgery as a key criteria in establishing the authentic classics of Arabic literature,¹⁴ and perhaps issues of fabrication, a common phenomenon in outlaw material across world literatures, and a specific issue for some of the most famous Arabic outlaw poems,¹⁵ curbed Ibn Sallām’s enthusiasm for the work of those figures whom scholars now count as the ‘brigand poets’. Alternatively, Ibn Sallām’s decision to list only forty *fuḥūl* (master poets) from the pre-Islamic era might have entailed that he shied away from the outlaw poets on the basis that less of their oeuvres survived compared to other great poets,¹⁶ but even this is not convincing, since Ibn Sallām notes that almost all of the poetry of Ṭarafah b. ‘Abd and ‘Abīd b. al-Abraṣ is lost, yet he still counted them in the fourth-highest tier of pre-Islamic poets.¹⁷ As yet, there seems no ready rationale to explain Ibn Sallām’s omission of *luṣūṣ* poets in his rankings and the absence of any mention, even incidental, of them in his *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣu‘arā’*.

With the classic works on Arabness from the third/ninth century silent on the issue of outlawry, we can see that it was indeed possible, and perhaps preferable to narrate Arab history without mentioning the Thieves. Digging further, however, we can find memories of outlaws in an unsystematic circu-

13 It is true that the most poems ascribed to the outlaws are short, but there are also long poems: for example, Ta‘abbāṭa Ṣarran’s *Dīvān* contains poems of 36, 31 and 27 lines (*Dīvān* poems 28, 21, 10, respectively); and ‘Urwah b. al-Ward’s contains poems of 27, 16 and 15 lines (*Dīvān* poems 3, 1 and 2 respectively). Each of these poems correspond to the general contours of *qaṣīdah* patterns, and whilst there are deviations from the norm, so most pre-Islamic poetry also deviates from the archetypal *qaṣīdah* norm: holding to the tri-partite model of Ibn Qutaybah as the standard for all pre-Islamic poetry imposes an anachronistic requirement onto poetic composition before Islam. Stetkevych (1993): 87 also considers Ta‘abbāṭa Ṣarran’s poem sufficiently long to sustain a form of *qaṣīdah*-style comparative analysis.

14 Al-Ġumahī, *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-ṣu‘arā’*, 1:4–7.

15 The forgery of outlaw material is headlined by al-Ṣanfarā’s *Lāmiyyat al-‘Arab*, a quintessential outlaw poem, and Ta‘abbāṭa Ṣarran’s *Inna bi-l-šīb*, both of which were of contested authorship, and often ascribed to Ḥalaf al-Aḥmar who is widely reported to have confessed to composing them himself. For summaries of the debate over al-Ṣanfarā’s *Lāmiyyah*, see Stetkevych (1992): 120–124; Ya‘qūb (1996): 15–22; an early reference to the forgery of Ta‘abbāṭa Ṣarran’s poem is in Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣu‘arā’* 147; see also the note in § 2.3.25 of al-Maqrīzī’s *Luṣūṣ* in this volume.

16 Al-Ġumahī, *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-ṣu‘arā’*, 1:24. He explains (1:155) that the poets whom he placed in the seventh rank were “demoted” on the basis that little of their poetry survives (*fi aṣ‘ārihim qillah*).

17 Al-Ġumahī, *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-ṣu‘arā’*, 1:26 for the comments on the losses of Ṭarafah and ‘Abīd’s poetry, and 1:137–138 for their inclusion in the fourth rank.

lation in extant poetry collections. While it is curious that Ibn Sallām excluded all reference to the outlaw poets, a treatise on Arab poets composed shortly after Ibn Sallām's *Ṭabaqāt al-šū'arā'*, Abū Ḥatīm al-Siġistānī's *Fuḥūlat al-šū'arā'*, does expressly list a group of some thirty poets who lived in the Sarāt mountains, and who followed a lifestyle of thievery (*yaḥtalisūn*).¹⁸ The early collectors of pre-Islamic poetry, such as al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (d. between 164–170/781–787) and Abū Tammām (d. 231/845 or 232/846) also give substantial voice to the outlaw poets in their collections of what they deemed high quality poetry—the poem rhyming in *qāf* by Ta'abbata Šarran which al-Maqrīzī narrates in § 2.3.13 has pride of place as the opening poem in al-Mufaḍḍal's *al-Muḥtārāt* (later known as *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*),¹⁹ and Abū Tammām's *al-Ḥamāsah* contains four poems of Ta'abbata Šarran, one by al-Šanfará, and five ascribed to 'Urwah b. al-Ward.²⁰ As alluded above, Ibn Qutaybah also paid more attention to outlawry in his book on poets' lives than he accorded the topic in his polemical *Faḍl al-'Arab* praise of Arabness.²¹

Third/ninth century poetry collectors thus appear to have engaged more closely with outlaw material than was reported in the prose and historical writings of their contemporaries, but it not sustainable to draw stark lines between poetry and history writing on this evidence alone. Third/ninth century poetry scholars had coined the phrase *Dīwān al-'Arab* (the archive of the Arabs) to articulate the central importance of poetry in constructing Arab history,²² and poetry has a substantial presence in early Arabic historiography too. Thus, the circulation of outlaw poems in poetry collections could be expected to have spilled over into prose and prosimetric historical writing to a greater extent than the extant historiographic sources evidence. Like most writings of their time, both Ibn Qutaybah and al-Balāḍurī incorporate extensive tracts of poetry in their prose works as evidence for the history and merits of the pre-Islamic Arabs. Yet, when they do venture to discuss the figures we count today as outlaws, they do not betray hints that such characters were thieves. The discrepancy in the portrayal of outlaws is unlikely a function of genre or form, but other discourses seem to have been operative.

18 Al-Siġistānī, *Fuḥūlat al-šū'arā'* 121; the details of his list of thieves are discussed above in Chapter 2.4.

19 Al-Anbārī, *Šarḥ Dīwān al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 1:22–48.

20 In al-Tabrīzī's *Šarḥ al-Ḥamāsah*, they are numbered as follows: Ta'abbata Šarran: 11, 13, 166, 273; al-Šanfará: 165; 'Urwah b. al-Ward: 146, 157, 432, 725, 766.

21 See note 8, above.

22 Heinrichs (1997): 249–256 considers the meaning of this term in detail.

Adding to the discussion, there were reportedly two²³ (now lost) books written about Arabian outlaws in the third/ninth century: Abū ‘Ubaydah’s *Luṣūṣ al-‘Arab* (The Arab Thieves)²⁴ and the poetry specialist al-Sukkari’s *Aṣ‘ār al-luṣūṣ* (Thief Poetry).²⁵ It is difficult to determine their contents, as according to my readings, neither books were cited by name as sources in subsequent writing about outlaws, and scattered references to Abū ‘Ubaydah in the chain of transmitters for outlaw stories does not entail that such stories were drawn from that particular book—Abū ‘Ubaydah was a prodigious scholar whose opinions ranged over manifold topics and were reused and amalgamated with narrations of others over the course of the third/ninth century. The impact of the books is thus just as difficult to gauge as the material they might have contained. However, it is nonetheless entirely likely that the books did physically exist since similarly titled works are listed in the Ayyubid-era Damascene Aṣrafiyyah Library catalogue, and since no later writers are recorded in biographical dictionaries or book lists as composing similar-entitled texts, it seems that the Aṣrafiyyah books were copies of al-Sukkari’s and Abū ‘Ubaydah’s works, circulating some four centuries after their original composition.²⁶ The books’ titles thus underline that it was conceptually possible for a third/ninth century writer to compose a book about thieves, and a body of characters subsumable under that label presumably existed too, yet extant prose works on Arab history uniformly tend away from outlaw stories in their narratives about pre-Islam.

Our foray into the main texts of the third/ninth century thus indicates that the term *Luṣūṣ al-‘Arab* would have signified some character type, and a body of material was circulating about them, but the extant historiographical texts evidence a predominant emphasis on portraying Arabian raiders in a different light, more befitting an image of pre-Islamic Arabia as a theatre for tribal wars, not small-time raids of marauding criminal bands. Given the absence of an extant third/ninth-century list of *luṣūṣ* or *ṣa‘ālik*, we cannot gauge which figures had the possibility of being considered outlaws, and given the shifting conceptions of what constituted outlaw traits (as explored in the last Chapter), the meaning of outlaw terminology was in flux too. Hence the term ‘Arab Thief’ seems to have yet been lacking a universal signification, and the semantic

23 Al-Ġāhiz also wrote a text entitled *Kitāb al-Luṣūṣ* (The Book of Thieves), but from what we can reconstruct of this text, it was unlikely to touch upon the topic of pre-Islamic thieves. The evidence indicating the scope of this text is examined in Webb (forthcoming).

24 Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-udabā’*, 5:513; Hāḡḡī Ḥalifah, *Kaṣf al-zunūn*, 2:1550.

25 Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 1:239.

26 Hirschler (2016): nos. 79 (*aṣ‘ār al-luṣūṣ*), 131 (*aḥbār al-luṣūṣ*) and 1650b (*aḥbār al-luṣūṣ wa-min šīr* [sic]).

shifts necessary to enable a more cohesive category of Arab thieves to coalesce around a coherent set of character traits were in an initial, formative stage during the course of the third/ninth century.

3.2 Outlaws and Arabness in the Fourth/Tenth Century

In contrast to the vague references to outlawry in the third/ninth century, fourth/tenth century texts provide pertinent evidence of shifts that would enable ‘outlaws’/‘desperados’ to achieve wider circulation as part of Arab cultural repertoire. An influential historiographical text, al-Mas‘ūdī’s (d. 346/956) *Murūǧ al-dahab*, established an important way-marker in this process with its lengthy section on world history before Muḥammad, which dwells in some detail on the early history of the Arabs. The text expands and evolves the Arabness narrative from the third/ninth-century al-Ya‘qūbī’s *Tārīkh* mentioned above, and, as has been posited elsewhere, al-Mas‘ūdī appears to be amongst the first writers to articulate a new sustained narrative that conceptualised Arab identity and history via archetypes of Bedouinism.²⁷ Previous writers had accepted the Arabs’ Arabian desert origins, yet they distinguished between ‘*arab*’ (a settled person, such as the elite of the early Muslim towns) and ‘*a‘rāb*’ (nomadic Bedouin who lived outside of the Muslim community/state), and the ‘*a‘rāb*’ were seen as second class members of Arab identity, at best.²⁸ The thrust of al-Mas‘ūdī’s construction of Arabness broke down the old barriers between ‘*arab*’ and ‘*a‘rāb*’ in favour of a single-minded focus on the Bedouin as the core of Arab origins. For example, al-Mas‘ūdī’s history of the pre-Islamic Arabs articulates an express denial that the Arabs possessed kingship like the Persians, Romans or Ethiopians, and insists instead that the Arabs were a people who deliberately rejected city life, choosing to spread into the desert where they could live mobile and free from the constraints that stem from urban-based kingdoms.²⁹ As a result, al-Mas‘ūdī’s summary of the ‘Arab nature’ was defined by the desert: his most detailed tract on Arabness is part of a chapter on ‘World

27 See Webb (2016): 324–337.

28 The denigrating of ‘*a‘rāb*’ status has been noted in numerous perceptive studies: see Athamina (1987); Leder (2005): 400–402; Binay (2006): 55–59.

29 Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūǧ al-dahab* §§ 1108–1109. In earlier sections (§§ 993–1085), al-Mas‘ūdī does follow earlier historiographic precedent (notably that of al-Ya‘qūbī’s *Tārīkh*) in detailing urban and/or at least kingly organisations of pre-Islamic Arab groups, but his longer chapter on nomadism is explicit that all Arabs and Arabness’ signature traits derive from their nomad identity, and his chapter on desert Arabness (§§ 1086–1280) is quantitatively twice as long as the ‘regal Arab history’ sections.

Nomads' (*fī dīkr al-bawādī min al-ʿArab wa-ghayrihā min al-umam*), and the specific qualities needed for wasteland survival rose to the fore of his estimation of Arab achievement.³⁰ Such a shift in conceptualising Arabness into the desert, and a "Bedouinisation of memory"³¹ primed the scene for historians to begin populating Arab history with increasing emphasis on Bedouin raiders as representatives of a putative 'original Arab character'.

The remainder of al-Masʿūdī's lengthy pre-Islamic Arab history section does not develop outlaw characters specifically, although it does mention Ta'abbāṭa Šarran and al-Šanfará together (though curiously identifying al-Šanfará as Ta'abbāṭa Šarran's uncle!), noting their interactions with the supernatural as an aspect of Arabian life before Islam,³² an evident shift from the earlier historiographical work which counted such figures as warriors and poets without such express link to a wild and frightening desert. Al-Masʿūdī's chapter thus sets some important groundwork to re-fit outlaws into the tableau of Arabian history; and contemporary with this development, a scholar of poetry and history, Abū l-Farağ al-Išfahānī (d. 356/967), made perhaps the most significant steps of any pre-modern Arabic writer to stamp outlaw identity onto Arabness. Al-Išfahānī's *al-Ağānī*, a vast compendium of poetry and anecdotes about pre-Islamic Arabians and the Arabic culture of early Islam, is the earliest extant text to narrate substantive biographical details about the outlaws *and* to label them with the uniform terminology of *šaʿālīk* (desperados) *and* to attempt some organisation, by grouping a number of them together within *al-Ağānī* in order to facilitate cohesion around the character type and for ease of reference. Al-Išfahānī explains:

... the Arab Desperados [*šaʿālīk al-ʿArab*], the Runners [*al-ʿaddāʿūn*] who could not be chased down, and who couldn't even be caught by horses when they set off running, were al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah, al-Šanfará, Ta'abbāṭa Šarran, ʿAmr b. Barrāq and Nufayl b. Barrāqah. God willing, I will narrate their stories, along with their poetry which is still sung, consecutively in this book, such that their tales can run together.³³

From my readings, this passage is the first text to list al-Sulayk, al-Šanfará and Ta'abbāṭa Šarran together as express 'desperados' (*šaʿālīk*), and to equate desperado identity with the class of the 'Runners'. *Al-Ağānī* had tremendous influence on later literature, and I suspect this passage helped canonise a con-

30 Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūǰ al-ḍahab* § 1111.

31 Webb (2016): 337–340.

32 Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūǰ al-ḍahab* §§ 1190, 1196; see also §§ 1199, 1208.

33 Al-Išfahānī, *al-Ağānī*, 20:389.

ception of *ṣaʿlakah* and established its core members. It is interesting that al-*Iṣfahānī* was not as exacting as he could have been: there are numerous characters listed as *ṣaʿālik* in the preceding volumes of *al-Aġānī*, and at least two of them, Hāġiz b. ʿAwf and Qays b. al-Ḥudādiyyah are pre-Islamic, and should have been grouped with the rest.³⁴ It might be reasonable in the case of *al-Aġānī* to count this oversight as a consequence of the vicissitudes of book writing in the pre-modern period: *al-Aġānī* is such a massive compendium that al-*Iṣfahānī* can be excused for not organising it as well as he might have liked, and perhaps he decided to pen a series of chapters on the desperados only after he had already included some unsystematically in earlier volumes.³⁵ Further analysis of *al-Aġānī* and the process of its composition is needed in modern scholarship,³⁶ but for the purposes of this study, al-*Iṣfahānī*'s passage above represents a novel and clear intention to delineate a group of outlaws and to give them due attention in an encyclopaedic work that includes extensive stories about pre-Islamic Arabia.³⁷ It seems to parallel al-Masʿūdī's interest in the wild, brave and daring Bedouin spirit as a core component of Arabness, and thus whilst I would not venture to say that these two authors invented the concept of 'Arab Thieves' and themselves hewed out a place for outlawry in Arab history, they do evidence a historical moment when Arabian outlawry could become a subject germane to a history of the Arabs. When al-Maqrīzī constructed his chapter on the 'Arab Thieves', therefore, he was thus both conceptually in debt to *al-Aġānī* for the cohesion it gave to the topic, and materially, since *al-Aġānī* (as will be detailed in Chapter 6) was also a main source for the anecdotes he compiled.

34 Al-*Iṣfahānī*, *al-Aġānī*, 13:233, 14:142.

35 Kilpatrick (2003): 267, 274 details how al-*Iṣfahānī* does group similar topics, and had some sense of common threads between related articles. She does not discuss his intention to group all the *ṣaʿālik* together, however.

36 The sole recent monograph on *al-Aġānī* is Kilpatrick (2003), and her treatment of the *ṣaʿālik* in the volume is limited. This is hardly a fault, as *al-Aġānī* offers too many facets to be discussed at once, but Kilpatrick regrettably follows the modern scholarly trends when discussing Arabian outlaws: she makes the surprising claim that the main concern of *al-Aġānī*'s treatment of them is "the quality enabling them to keep at a distance from their tribe" (2003): 73. *Al-Aġānī* makes no such sustained claims for this whatsoever: the observation seems to misread the label of the brigands as 'Runners', in that they 'ran away' from their tribe; *al-Aġānī* simply intends to describe their sprinting speed. Kilpatrick appears to have based her conception of the characters on Jones (1992), and not on *al-Aġānī* itself.

37 Al-*Iṣfahānī*'s biographies of al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah, Taʿabbaṭa Ṣarran and al-Šanfarā are substantially more detailed than any references to them in earlier texts, and in the case of al-Sulayk and Taʿabbaṭa Ṣarran, remained the most detailed biographies across pre-modern literature. The extent to which *al-Aġānī* informed later writers raises a legitimate hypothesis that *al-Aġānī* marks the essential step that made true 'outlaws' from the memories of these pre-Islamic figures.

3.3 The Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras

Before we can reach al-Maqrīzī and evaluate the contribution of his *Luṣūṣ al-ʿArab* to Arabic writing on outlawry, we will bring this brief survey of the outlaws in histories of pre-Islamic Arabia closer to al-Maqrīzī's own era via three further texts deserving specific mention.

The first of the trio is the Ayyubid-era historian, Ibn al-Aṭīr (d. 630/1233), who took a prominent step in the development of medieval Arabic historiography by including the pre-Islamic Arabian Battle Days (*Ayyām al-ʿArab*) in a world chronological history, his *al-Kāmil fī l-tārīḥ*. Previous Arabic chroniclers had omitted the Arabian battles from their histories: not all writers gave explanations for their exclusions of the material, but it seems at least two factors were at play. First, the Arabian battles lacked reliable chronologies, and thus constitute an unwieldy subject for writers of annalistic texts, and second, the Arabian tribal warring did not usually involve kingdoms, the other organising element of much previous Arabic historiography.³⁸ Whilst Ibn al-Aṭīr can thus be credited with the first integration of the pre-Islamic Arab tribal interactions into world history, his preamble notes that his narrative would concentrate on the more significant battles only, and that he “will not consider raids involving small bands, as they are many and would take too much space.”³⁹ Accordingly, there is neither mention of the outlaws nor their adventures, and when probing the details of *al-Kāmil*'s selections further, even the tribes to which the most famous outlaws' lineage is traced (the Huḍayl, al-Azd and the Fahm) are absent.⁴⁰ The implication seems that for Ibn al-Aṭīr, pre-Islamic Arab tribal history belongs within world history, but in order to qualify as ‘worthy’ Arab history, a conflict needed to be larger in scale than that which outlaw raids usually entailed. As such, Ibn al-Aṭīr's

38 Ibn al-Aṭīr notes that the lack of royal/imperial significance to the Arabian Battle Days likely excluded them from al-Ṭabarī's history (*al-Kāmil*, 1:502); Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī be-moans the lack of proper chronology amongst the pre-Islamic Arabs (*Tārīḥ sinī mulūk al-arḍ* 113–116); for discussion of further issues regarding the absence of the Battle Days in Arabic historiography after third/ninth century, see Webb (2016): 317–319.

39 Ibn al-Aṭīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1:502.

40 Ta'abbata Šarran was from the Fahm, al-Šanfarā from al-Azd and 'Amr of the Dog and a number of nameless 'Runners' were from the Huḍayl. The adventures of each, whether read as outlaw raids or small-scale tribal fighting, frequently reference the rivalries between these lineage groups too. Ibn al-Aṭīr does note the Fahm once, but in the context of their involvement in the much larger-scale conflict of multiple lineage groups at the Second Battle of al-Fiḡār (*al-Kāmil*, 1:594–595).

historiographical step forward to create space for pre-Islamic Arabia within annalistic historiography nonetheless discounted outlawry from the narrative.

The late-Ayyubid/early-Mamluk scholar Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī (d. 685/1286), who originated from Iberia, but settled in Egypt as part of the wave of migration following the instability of the Muslim Iberian polities, made his significant contribution to the study of pre-Islamic Arabness via his work *Našwat al-ṭarab fi tāriḥ ḡāhiliyyat al-ʿArab*. It is a noteworthy text for our survey since it is the earliest extant ‘monograph’ expressly devoted to the history of the Arabs before Islam. Previous texts had blended pre-Islamic and early Islamic-era stories, and none, as far as my searches can tell, marshalled the words *tāriḥ* and *al-Ġāhiliyyah* together: Ibn Saʿīd accordingly evidences the maturation of the Arab *Ġāhiliyyah* as a stand-alone historiographical category. *Našwat al-ṭarab* is a compilation of earlier texts, with particular debt to the fourth/tenth century works of al-Masʿūdī, al-Iṣfahānī and al-Ṭabarī’s *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, and while it does not include a chapter on the *Lušūš*, it affords more attention to those characters than the third/ninth century works on Arab history noted above. Ibn Saʿīd compiles independent biographical entries on al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah and ʿUrwah b. al-Ward, citing *al-Aġānī*’s identification of both as *šaʿālīk* desperados, and relates tales of their adventures from *al-Aġānī*.⁴¹ Ibn Saʿīd also mentions three other characters whom al-Maqrīzī included in his *Lušūš*: Taʿabbata Ṣarran, ʿAmr of the Dog and al-Muntašir.⁴² The latter three, however are not described as thieves/desperados, and instead Ibn Saʿīd depicts them with the more traditional tribal raiding lexicon of *ġazwah* and *ġarah*, and his discussion of al-Muntašir is brief and makes no mention of a category of ‘Runners’. Thus, *Našwat al-ṭarab* demonstrates a continued historiographical reticence to group the ‘Arab Thieves’ as a core component of Arabian history, and despite Ibn Saʿīd’s extensive literary and poetry training that distinguishes him from Ibn al-Aṭīr,⁴³ in the final analysis, the texts of both indicate that seventh/thirteenth-century historians felt that they could construct a history on pre-Islamic Arabs without salient references to outlawry in that society.

The *Našwat al-ṭarab* does nonetheless differ from the pre-fourth/tenth century historical texts inasmuch as it includes the word *šuʿlūk* in the biographies of ʿUrwah and al-Sulayk,⁴⁴ and it marshals the word once in the possessive

41 Ibn Saʿīd, *Našwat al-ṭarab*, 1:434, 2:535.

42 Ibn Saʿīd, *Našwat al-ṭarab*, 2:587–590, 1:381–390, 2:584, respectively.

43 While Ibn al-Aṭīr was a chronicler and traditionist, Ibn Saʿīd was extremely well versed in *adab*, and also compiled celebrated collections of Iberian and North African poetry, such as *al-Muġrib fi ḥulā l-Maġrib* and *al-Ġuṣūn al-yānīʿah*.

44 Ibn Saʿīd, *Našwat al-ṭarab*, 1:434, 2:535.

construct *ša'ālik al-'Arab*, which is indicative that the outlaw category which *al-Aġānī* brought to the fore had become better established terminology, though Ibn Sa'īd stops well short of using it as an organising principle in his history. The parallels between his text and al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūġ* illustrate the continuation of the Bedouinisation of Arabness as a historical paradigm, but the cultural visibility of the *ša'ālik* created by *al-Aġānī*'s detailed biographies of Ta'abbāṭa Ṣarran, al-Sulayk and other outlaws had but limited influence amongst historians. In sum, the most we can deduct from Ibn Sa'īd's treatment of the outlaws is that a nod to their existence had become appropriate, but their memory could otherwise be shunted to the margins of the wider historical narrative.

The third text in our trio of medieval works on pre-Islamic Arabica is *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, a historiographical-encyclopaedia of the Mamluk-era Egyptian al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333). Al-Nuwayrī's work is an encyclopaedia, not a chronicle, but like Ibn al-Aṭīr's *al-Kāmil*, it devotes a section to the Arab Battle Days within a volume on the history of the world before Islam, and al-Nuwayrī opens the section with a succinct, but revealing preamble regarding his rationale for rehashing the Arabian stories.⁴⁵ Although he had recent precedent in Ibn al-Aṭīr's *al-Kāmil* to justify the inclusion of the Battle Days, al-Nuwayrī evidently felt a need to justify the inclusion of pre-Islamic Arabian warring alongside the history of the great pre-Islamic kingdoms, and he does so by appealing to the timeless virtue of bravery. The chapter's introductory preamble explains:

[An Arab] once said: alongside our Muslim faith, we also have the sterling character of our pre-Islamic forbearers [*karam ahlāq ābā'inā fī l-ġāhiliyyah*]. Don't you see that although 'Antarah the pre-Islamic knight had no faith, and al-Ḥasan b. Hānī' was a Muslim, 'Antarah's virtue prevented him from engaging in what Ibn Hānī's faith could not stop him indulging ... [al-Nuwayrī said:] I will mention some of the Arab battles, to stir the heart and expel cowardice.⁴⁶

45 Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 15:259–332. It seems that al-Nuwayrī, who would have known Ibn al-Aṭīr's work, did not use his *al-Kāmil* as the model for the Arab Battle Days narratives in the *Nihāyat al-arab*, as it seems almost certain that he copied it in an abbreviated form from an 'adab encyclopaedia' of the fourth/tenth century, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's *al-'Iqd al-farīd* (see the brief discussion in Oller (2005): 235). Al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-arab* is more akin to Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's *al-'Iqd* in form, intention and material than it is to Ibn al-Aṭīr's chronicle, and I would not suggest there is direct causal connection between the inclusion of the Arab Battle Days material in both books, but a somewhat greater interest in general in the topic of the Battles does seem a facet of Ayyubid- and Mamluk-era writing, as the topic became more 'vogue' and widespread amongst historiographers than in the preceding centuries.

46 Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 15:260. He copies the Arab's anecdote from the account of the

The comparison to which the excerpt alludes is that between the pre-Islamic warrior poet ‘Antarah b. Šaddād and the Abbasid-era wine poet Abū Nuwās, and its message is clear: despite the pre-Islamic Arabians’ lack of Divine guidance, the moral fortitude they displayed in war speaks for all time, and the best of the pre-Islamic era has in fact a greater merit than the profligate depths into which some Muslims subsequently slipped. As is the case of Ibn al-Atīr’s *al-Kāmil*, the specific battle stories included in *Nihāyat al-arab* exclude outlaw tales, and thus whilst certain pre-Islamic braves are elevated to exemplars of manliness, the pre-Islamic outlaws nonetheless seem to fall short of offering constructive models for al-Nuwayrī’s own day. Despite outlawry’s absence as a stand-alone chapter in the pantheon of Arabness, however, a faint outlaw presence can be discerned in some narratives of *Nihāyat al-arab*, for example al-Nuwayrī’s account of the relations between the Sasanian monarch Qubād and the Arabians includes reference to the “Arab thieves” (*lušūš al-‘Arab*) who raided the Iraqi countryside, provoked the ire of the Sasanian administration, and prompted more vigorous Sasanian response when their Arabian ally explained his inability to control the said “Arab Thieves”.⁴⁷ The presence of such stories hints towards Mamluk-era readers’ awareness of the category of ‘Arab Thieves’ and their acceptance of the concept to articulate a distinct pattern of sub-tribal, sub-state level military action and annoyance for higher figures of authority,⁴⁸ but the thieves in the *Nihāyat al-arab* are depicted in generalities, they are faceless and nameless, and thus in the final analysis, al-Nuwayrī’s text parallels the previous texts: the scant attention to the *lušūš* is illustrative that in the impression of major medieval historians, the topic of outlawry had insufficient gravitas to circulate in the realm of history.

To return to our question posed at the outset of this Chapter, therefore, it appears that a medieval Arabic writer absolutely could tell pre-Islamic Arab history without reference to outlawry, and indeed we can be firmer: the preference was to marginalise, even to outright omit thieves from the fabric of the Arab story.

Arab Battles in Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih’s *al-Iqd al-farīd* (5:129) but the reference to strengthening the heart is al-Nuwayrī’s own composition. By arrangement of the text, he also changes the impact, since he places the narratives within the other historical chapters, whereas Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih narrated the Arab Battles at a considerable remove from his other historical material on kings in volume 3 of *al-Iqd*.

47 Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 15:149.

48 A situation rather akin to the Mamluk-era Egyptian countryside, as will be noted in Chapter 4.

3.4 Al-Maqrīzī and His *Luṣūṣ al-ʿArab*

The foregoing survey sought to highlight the salient texts of pre-modern Arabic historiography on the topic of pre-Islamic Arabia. Had our scope been widened to a broader array of genres, we would have encountered more sightings of the ‘Arab Thieves’, but our lens was narrowed to books of specific historical intent because al-Maqrīzī was himself a ‘historian’ and he inserted his stories about the ‘Arab Thieves’ into a ‘history book’, his *al-Ḥabar ‘an al-bašar*. By stressing the word ‘history’, we need exercise some circumspection since the terminology of scholarly disciplines often translates poorly over cultures and time, and al-Maqrīzī was not a ‘historian’ in the precise mould of the professors in university history departments today. Born into Mamluk Cairo, al-Maqrīzī’s education began with the Qurʾān, Prophetic *ḥadīth* and Islamic law, and his early aptitude appears to have been in *ḥadīth* studies, which prepared him for his first career as a judge and overseer of religious endowments, and his first books were on the topic of *ḥadīth*.⁴⁹ His interest in reading works on historical topics is also noted, and as al-Maqrīzī approached middle age, he began withdrawing from public service, and his attention turned increasingly to what we would identify as ‘history’, and Egypt’s history in particular.⁵⁰ Al-Maqrīzī’s education was thus broad, and the foundational pedagogy in his early education instilled the epistemological paradigms of *ḥadīth* studies, not history, but his interests during the last three decades of his life leading to his composition of *al-Ḥabar ‘an al-bašar* focused on the study of the past, the appraisal of the rise and fall of dynasties, and the historical processes that created his contemporary Burġī-Mamluk run Egypt. With such a focus in mind, al-Maqrīzī’s late output covered manifold topics and works, but there was distinct emphasis on Egypt told through the biography of Cairo in *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār fī dīkr al-ḥiṭaṭ wa-l-āṭār* (a.k.a. *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*), a biographical dictionary of Egyptians, past and present (*al-Muqaffá*), and a “trilogy”⁵¹ of books tracing the history of Egypt in chronicle format from the Muslim conquest to his present day. Moreover, of the two hundred-some works which al-Maqrīzī was said to have written, the majority were on histori-

49 For modern-era biographies of al-Maqrīzī that discuss his education and training, see Rabbat (2003): 10–11, Bauden (2014): 162–167, Sayyid (2014): 37–38; the exhaustive notes therein can direct readers to the Mamluk-era biographies about al-Maqrīzī.

50 For an overview of al-Maqrīzī’s career as a historian, see Bauden (2014). Rabbat (2012) considers al-Maqrīzī’s historiographical stance, and stresses the possible crossovers with Ibn Ḥaldūn, a view embraced by Sayyid as well (2014): 38–39, and developed earlier in Broadbridge (2003).

51 The term is borrowed from Bauden (2014): 176.

cal topics, or matters related to the political regime in Egypt,⁵² and al-Maqrīzī's specialisation in matters of the past (*tārīḥ*) was expressly commended in the biographies which his contemporaries wrote about him: al-Saḥāwī reported that it was in history that "al-Maqrīzī was famous and gained wide renown"; al-'Aynī described him as "devoted to the writing of history".⁵³

On the surface, therefore, if we are to bestow a disciplinary label on al-Maqrīzī, it seems not unreasonable to choose 'history', and when considering the material which al-Maqrīzī necessarily had to consult in order to produce his massive late works, texts written about Egypt's past stand at the fore. Al-Maqrīzī is also known to have been versed in what were, in his day, classic texts of other regions of the Muslim world, and his reading of *al-Muḡrib fī ḥulá l-Maḡrib* by Ibn Sa'īd⁵⁴ indicates familiarity with flowery and prosimetric *adab* (literary) styles, but such specialised *adab* texts were not in his primary purview, and when he began work on *al-Ḥabar 'an al-bašar*, we behold a historian absorbing the task of tracing the story of the world from Creation to the Prophet Muḥammad. In this respect, al-Maqrīzī's focus on history and lack of focused expertise in poetry is a significant issue since we have seen that the outlaw lore was primarily transmitted in the domain of poetry specialists, whereas historians and the writers of the books with which al-Maqrīzī would have been most familiar were not filled with the material he would need to compile the chapter on 'Arab Thieves'. We shall critically examine specific examples of how al-Maqrīzī the historian confronted and absorbed outlaw poetry in *al-Ḥabar* in Chapters 5 and 6, below.

The task of writing *al-Ḥabar* thus took al-Maqrīzī into new territory, and survey of the contents of the six volumes of *al-Ḥabar* reveals that his inspiration reflects the model of al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūḡ al-dahab* (and its replications, such as al-Maḡdisī's *al-Bad' wa-l-tārīḥ*) with input from the world chronicles of al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Aṭīr. *Al-Ḥabar* takes readers on a vast sweep starting from the beginning of time, and the very definition and ways to measure worldly time, and then proceeds to the creation of the corporeal world, Adam, Satan, and then kings, followed by the prominent ancient 'Yemeni Arabs' whose exploits Muslim historians had often tracked from the Tower of Babel to Muḥammad.⁵⁵

52 For a discussion of al-Maqrīzī's historical writings, see Sayyid (2014): 50–65, and Bauden (2014).

53 Al-Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, 2:22. Al-'Aynī's view is reported in al-Saḥāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk*, 1:78.

54 Al-Maqrīzī's citations from Ibn Sa'īd are discussed in Bauden (2006): 104–106, but Bauden also notes (2006): 116, that when al-Maqrīzī copied from Ibn Sa'īd, he simplified the latter's ornate *adab* style.

55 The topics listed occupy the first two volumes of *al-Ḥabar*.

The Yemeni history and subsequent section on ‘Northern Arab’ genealogical history track the model of Ibn Sa‘īd’s *Našwat al-ṭarab* which married earlier genealogical compendiums, fanciful works of Yemenite lore, sources about Mecca’s shrine and some *adab* texts too (such as *al-Aḡānī*) into a broad-ranging history of the Arabs.⁵⁶

Al-Maqrīzī’s selection of topics and their crossover with earlier (and better known) accounts of pre-Islam and pre-Islamic Arabia, enables comparative exploration, and overall we find that al-Maqrīzī’s choices for his chapter units bequeathed *al-Ḥabar* with a narrative engendering a specific sense of time. The movement of *al-Ḥabar*’s narrative is determined by the Divine Clock that ticks inexorably from Creation in the first folios of volume 1 to the preordained prophecy of Muḥammad that is imminent and felt in the last leaves of volume 6. The witnesses to the Clock’s ticking down, as presented by al-Maqrīzī between volume 1 and 6 are kings, peoples, tribes and prophets. This is a *historian’s* history: the movement of time is articulated as the story of peoples who control places, and it is the sequence of their births and deaths that enables the reader to perceive the progress of the Clock’s movement. *Al-Ḥabar* is thus a chronicle (or perhaps better phrased a ‘chronique’)—it does not flow in increments of individual years, since the Divine time from Creation to the Final Prophet was not meant for such detailed recording, but the lifeblood of *al-Ḥabar* is *χρονικά*—“matters of time.”⁵⁷

Given the trajectory of *al-Ḥabar*’s narrative, al-Maqrīzī axiomatically creates a chronologically fixed space for Arabness too. Arabness is placed as a subject apportioned its piece of Divine time, and it has constraints: the Arabs of al-Maqrīzī’s narrative have the obligation to be born, occupy territory, reproduce, and develop the identity determined for them, and they must do this in exactly the right amount of time in order for Muḥammad’s mission to be fulfilled on time. Al-Maqrīzī’s Arabness is thus in a bit of a hurry. It must travel from Babel and be ready to head all the way back, precisely in the year 12/633. And al-Maqrīzī was in somewhat of a hurry too: when it comes to discussing cultural aspects of Arabness, he has little time, and can only afford to pause for one volume (number 4) on matters such as language, desert travel, and Arab wisdom;

56 Part of volume 1 and all of volume 2 are devoted to Yemeni history, the ‘Northern Arab’ genealogies and history of Mecca’s shrine are the subjects of volume 3, while volume 4 contains a broader scope of Arabic cultural icons.

57 For this reason, *al-Ḥabar* is a chronicle in the word’s essence as connoting a book about the passage of time; but since ‘chronicle’ has acquired a new semantic thrust narrowed to historical works that take the form of annalistic register of events, I use the variant form ‘chronique’ to label *al-Ḥabar*.

by volume 5, Kronos is back, the Clock is winding down, and time marches on through the raids and wars of the Arabs, the rise and fall of their great neighbours' kingdoms over time, and finally in volume 6, the countdown of prophets from Abraham to the moment just before Muḥammad's mission began.

As such, with five of its six volumes tied to the passage of time, al-Maqrīzī's *al-Ḥabar* is quintessential history (*ta'rīḥ/tārīḥ*—lit. 'dating', thence 'history'), in contrast to the other great compendiums of pre-Islamic Arab stories (*aḥbār*) such as Abū 'Ubaydah's *al-Dībāğ*, Ibn Qutaybah's *Uyūn al-aḥbār*, al-Mubarrad's *al-Kāmil*, al-Iṣfahānī's *al-Ağānī*, al-Qālī's *al-Amālī*, al-Bakrī's *Simṭ al-la'ālī* and others. We might label these as *adab*, as a means to distinguish them from al-Maqrīzī's chronicle and other *tārīḥ*/history: the '*adab* group'⁵⁸ eschew a concern to match their narratives of pre-Islam with chronological progress—they indeed grasp that pre-Islamic Arabia was something in the past and they present it in such a light of pastness, but their texts are not trying to understand the Divine Clock. It might be best at our current state of knowledge to concede that each of the *adab* texts listed above had different intentions and disparate uses for stories about pre-Islamic Arabia, and perhaps the only matter they have in common is a disregard for the Clock and its consequences. It is upon this basis that I suggest al-Maqrīzī's approach in his *Luṣūṣ* was emphatically that of a historian (*mu'arriḥ*) and that the work's narratives can be most productively read in comparison with historical writing, and that the text therefore sits outside of the '*adab* group' of *al-Kāmil*, *al-Ağānī*, et al. Al-Maqrīzī gathered much of his material from *adab* texts, but he put the stories to a different kind of work, and while this has some shortcomings as the next Chapters will discuss, it makes *al-Ḥabar* 'an *al-baṣar* quite an achievement, too.

In the previous section, our overview of outlaws in the Ayyubid and Mamluk-era texts which narrated pre-Islamic Arabness indicated that the presence of outlaws was muffled, at best, notwithstanding the voice which the earlier *adab* text of *al-Ağānī* had given to them through the pioneering detail and cohesion of its outlaw narratives. With al-Maqrīzī's *al-Ḥabar*, the emergence of a stand-alone chapter on 'Arab Thieves' within a *tārīḥ* appears therefore to be an idea that no Arabic *historian* had ever brought to fruition, and al-Maqrīzī is deserv-

58 *Adab* is often translated as 'literature'/'literary', but it encompasses a much greater range of topics and takes manifold forms. The question of the precise meaning of *adab* seems to be the modern Arabists' riddle of the Sphinx: *adab* can include almost any form of pre-modern Arabic scholarship, but it certainly does not mean *every* form of scholarship! This essay is not intended to provide an answer for submission at the gates of this metaphorical Thebes, and I use the term *adab* as loosely as I can, though for reasons that I hope will become apparent, it is useful here to distinguish from al-Maqrīzī's historiography.

ing of distinction for its invention. We should now like to know why he hatched the plan and what he intended the section to achieve.

Answers are not forthcoming on the face of the text of ‘Arab Thieves’, since al-Maqrīzī wrote no introductory preamble, but if we work back-to-front, and start with the paragraph that immediately follows the chapter on the ‘Thieves’, the perspective may help resolve part of our question. The succeeding chapter is devoted to the Arab Battle Days,⁵⁹ which we have seen was a topic his contemporary writers (historians and others) found suitable for *tārīḥ*. But whereas Ibn al-Aṭīr felt that they belonged as part of the important events of the past, and whilst al-Nuwayrī expressed that they had value as didactic essays on virtue, al-Maqrīzī sets up his list on the battles with the following preface:

Know that the Arab wars [*hurūb*] and their raids [*ġārāt*] are so numerous that they cannot be counted, and they confound the efforts of anyone wishing to enumerate them all. So we shall relate just the famous battles of note, for their narration teaches the workings of God’s time [*ayyām Allāh*]—how His wrath rains down on people as a just desert for their deeds of wickedness [*ġazā’an lahum li-mā ġtaraḥū min al-sayyi’āt*].⁶⁰

Al-Maqrīzī’s *Ayyām al-‘Arab* chapter is not available in a critical edition to permit study at present, but al-Maqrīzī brings an explicitly opposite intention to the material when compared with al-Nuwayrī: al-Maqrīzī’s succinct introduction sets the scene for readers to interpret the innumerable battles of the Arabs before Islam as a sign of their disorderly community, their sins and their unawareness of Divine guidance.

Turning to the section of *al-Ḥabar* immediately preceding the *Luṣūṣ*, we have a brief and unusual chapter entitled The ‘Arab Hussies’ (*Mufāḥaṣāt al-‘Arab*), a reference to sexually hungry women. The precise place in which al-Maqrīzī intended for this chapter—either at the end of volume 4, or (more likely) the beginning of volume 5 (where it would directly precede the *Luṣūṣ* section) is unclear since the holograph seems to have been damaged at the transition from volumes 4 to 5. The original text for the *Mufāḥaṣāt* in al-Maqrīzī’s hand is now missing, and I suspect it was only ever included on a now lost slip of paper (*tayyārah/ruqay’ah*) which al-Maqrīzī fixed to the first quire of volume 5.⁶¹ On balance, it is likely that the chapter was intended

59 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥabar*, ms Fatih 4340, ff. 16^a–76^a.

60 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥabar*, ms Aya Sofya 3365, p. 266.

61 The rip is visible along the binding between ff. 1 and 1 of the holograph ms Fatih 4340. In the opinion of Frédéric Bauden, who has worked extensively with the entire set of

for volume 5, as its text survives in a copy of *al-Ḥabar*'s volume 5 written in 878/1473 (some thirty years after al-Maqrīzī originally completed *al-Luṣūṣ* and when the holograph was still complete). It begins with a definition of *mufāḥaṣāt*, drawn from the lexicons of Ibn Sīdah (d. 458/1066) and al-Ġawharī (d. between 393–400/1003–1009), which explains *fuḥṣ* as “rude speech and action” (*al-qabīḥ min al-qawl wa-l-fiʿl*) and “one of the forms of passion [*ġahl*] and the opposite of equanimity.”⁶² The express reference to *ġahl* is pertinent: pre-Islamic time was known as *al-Ġāhiliyyah*, an ‘Age of Passion’ and/or ‘Age of Ignorance’, (the word *ġahl* has the double connotation of wild behavior and/or the absence of knowledge). The *Mufāḥaṣāt* are accordingly axiomatically representative of *al-Ġāhiliyyah* values, and the chapter on the *Luṣūṣ* is therefore bookended by, at its outset, a chapter on badly-behaved women, and, at its close, a chapter on men condemned to interminable warfare because of their bad behaviour. Logic then dictates that al-Maqrīzī’s intention for the *Luṣūṣ* was to display their signature forms of bad behaviour too, and thereby engender an impression of Arabia on the eve of Muḥammad as a disorganized *al-Ġāhiliyyah* which could not be remedied without the act of God’s Revelation through His Prophet.

As a matter of historiographical vision, al-Maqrīzī’s *Luṣūṣ* seems to respond well to this rather straightforward analysis. Elsewhere, scholars have evaluated whether al-Maqrīzī was a “Khalidunian” historian, and whether his sense of history followed the celebrated Ibn Ḥaldūn’s model of history as an ebb and flow between florescence and decline, nomadism and urbanism, in which historical change is considered to be wrought upon the swords of people who possess martial strength (*ʿaṣabiyyah*) and who conquer and establish a great civilization (*ʿumrān*), but then inevitably become decadent and decline until they are replaced by yet a new vigorous (and usually nomadic) people who initiate the process once again.⁶³ Whether or not “Khalidunian” historiography is applicable to other of al-Maqrīzī’s histories, it seems quite inapplicable for the sections in volume 5 of *al-Ḥabar*. The Arabs of volume 5—the thieves in the *Luṣūṣ* chapter and the tribal warriors in the *Ayyām* chapter—possess the purest forms of nomadic fury and virility, and might seem well cast as potential carriers for a new civilization, but al-Maqrīzī’s express comment that

al-Ḥabar's manuscripts, the size of the now ripped-away leaf would allow for a text covering a full recto and part of the verso; whether this was the *Mufāḥaṣāt* section cannot be definitively proven (personal communication).

62 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥabar*, ms Aya Sofya 3365, p. 246.

63 The identification of al-Maqrīzī as a “Khalidunian” historian is increasingly current: see Broadbridge (2003); Rabbat (2012); Sayyid (2014): 38–39; Ron-Gilboa (2015): 27.

the Arabian Battle Days were a consequence of Divine punishment for Arab wickedness de-complicates what could potentially be a powerful and complex Khaldunian narrative. Al-Maqrīzī tells us himself that the wars were merely a facet of pre-Islamic Arab misguidedness inflicted by God as an inevitability, and it seems to follow that the ‘Arab Thieves’ are yet another manifestation of the same straightforward construct of history before Muḥammad as a state of wild imagined *al-Ġāhiliyyah*. In this same vein, *al-Ḥabar*’s volume 6 turns away from pre-Islamic Arabians to focus on tracing the history of Prophecy to the eve of Muḥammad, thereby inviting readers to see Muḥammad’s mission and the immediately following Muslim Conquests as a consequence of a prophetic march of God’s plan, not as a natural/‘Khaldunian’ outcome of *‘aṣabiyyah* incubation in Arabia.

The interpretation of al-Maqrīzī’s *Luṣūṣ* will be considered further in Chapter 5; for present purposes and from the perspective of the place of ‘Arab Thieves’ in Arab historiography, it seems that readers are not intended to construe the *Luṣūṣ* as positive exemplars of warrior virtue, rather, the generation before Muḥammad is cast as a stasis of aimless, idle violence that was awaiting Divine Guidance to re-wire the Arabs into efficacious warriors for the Muslim Conquests. Al-Maqrīzī included the thieves because they helped him populate a world of *Ġāhiliyyah* misguidedness, and herein he embraces a narrative about the pre-Islamic Arab past which was already well established in Arabic historical writing since al-Mas’ūdī in the fourth/tenth century.⁶⁴ Whilst al-Maqrīzī’s discourse is not particularly innovative, he is deserving of credit for alighting on the topic of outlaws as an efficacious way to construct an effective ‘Arab *Ġāhiliyyah*’ narrative. His selection helps generate the grand teleological tableau from Creation to Muḥammad whereby the period immediately preceding the Prophet can appear so utterly disorganised, that Divine Revelation can be projected as urgently needed. Herein it is perhaps noteworthy that none of the characters in the *Luṣūṣ* pre-date Muḥammad by more than a generation or two, and hence it is chronologically situated at the close of history’s pre-Muhammadic phrase, and from a survey of the chronologically earlier material in the first volumes of *al-Ḥabar*, there appears to be no reference to other kinds of outlaws. Thus, thanks to the ‘Arab Thieves’, al-Maqrīzī can demonstrate that the Arabs descended into the brink of chaos just at the right time: the Divine Clock of pre-Islam had nearly reached zero, and it was the precise, correct moment for those pre-Islamic Arabs to act out the full extent of the wickedness that manifests in the absence of right guidance.

64 See Webb (2016): 332–337.

Given the evident logic of al-Maqrīzī's narrative in a teleological history that anticipates prophethood, it is surprising that no historians alighted on the utility of outlaw material prior to him. Does the fact that al-Maqrīzī wrote the first historical chronicle containing references to outlaws entail that in the centuries before him, historians did not conceptualise the 'Arab Thieves' as core components of pre-Islamic society? Were the 'Thieves' the exclusive property of poetry specialists and philologists, and if so, why, and why did it take so long for outlaw tales to cross over into 'history'? Six hundred years separate Abū Ḥātim's narratives about thieves in the Sarāt Mountains and al-Maqrīzī's rehash of the material and reprojecting of outlawry as a pan-Arabian phenomenon, yet the 'Thieves' seem to be ideal *Ġāhiliyyah* characters—have we then misinterpreted what the majority of pre-modern Arabic historians imagined when they conceptualised the history of pre-Islam?

For this study of al-Maqrīzī's *Luṣūṣ*, we will need to pull back from the broad questions, but the evidence considered so far indicates that most writers of Arabic history (at least prior to al-Maqrīzī) were at least somewhat aware of pre-Islamic Arabian outlawry, but not to the extent that they deemed it an essential facet of Arab history. When modern authors analyse the material, therefore, and draw conclusions about pre-Islamic Arabian society from the outlaw stories, they are participating in a discourse which likely would have been unusual to the ears of pre-modern Arabic historians. The deeper resolution of these issues is for a different forum: for present purposes, it is hoped that our survey of outlawry in historical writing from the third/ninth century to al-Maqrīzī's ninth/fifteenth demonstrates his creativity both in marshalling outlawry in a world historical context, and for establishing the notion that 'Arab Thieves' can be a useful component in narratives of Arab history before Muḥammad.

Contemporary Outlaws: Criminality in al-Maqrīzī's Own World

Al-Maqrīzī's incorporation of 'Arab Thieves' as characters in a history of Arabia has notable correspondence with the attention he and his contemporary Mamluk-era chroniclers paid to accounts of criminality in their histories of the more recent and more local past of the Ayyubid and Mamluk regimes in Egypt and Syria. A reader of these chronicles will find ubiquitous references to criminals, brigands, social agitators and mob disorder, and al-Maqrīzī's chronicle of the history of Egypt and Syria from 567–844/1171–1441, *al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk* is an archetypal example of this interest in treating criminality as a staple element of historical narrative. A reader may then wonder if there is a connection: was al-Maqrīzī's novel idea to incorporate Arabian outlaws in pre-Islamic Arabian history a reflection of his (and his era's) general historiographical methodology to include references to crime and unrest? Would this then entail that we can better interpret *al-Luṣūṣ* if we read it in the light of Mamluk-era criminality? Guy Ron-Gilboa proposed the connection in even starker terms, wondering if the pre-Islamic outlaws in *al-Ḥabar* were intended as a "dim reminder of the pre-Islamic past [and] a shadow still lurking, still threatening the peace of the land and the souls of its people."¹

Given the widespread reference to criminality in Mamluk-era chronicles, a comprehensive survey of outlawry strays into deep and very rich material which has yet to be fully analysed. Carl Petry's 2011 monograph, *The Criminal Underworld in a Medieval Islamic Society* analyses nine chronicles and established the groundwork, which now specific surveys and integration with theories of outlaw literature can form the object of new scholarship,² but one senses that we do not yet quite understand how to interpret the references to

1 Ron-Gilboa (2015): 28.

2 In addition to Petry's study, Ibrahim's shorter article on al-Ġazarī's chronicle invites its use as an opportunity to study "subaltern classes" and the "marginal population with criminal elements" (2010): 33; these are the subject of Martel-Thoumian (2012). For an example of literary scholarship in this direction, see the work on *zağal* poetry's ostensibly subversive themes in Özkan (2013).

ostensibly transgressive and resistive themes in Mamluk-era writing, and that any inferences we can draw remain works in progress.³ The intention of this short section will restrict itself to the particular crossover of criminality in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk* and his 'Arab Thieves' in *al-Ḥabar* to consider the extent to which al-Maqrīzī's contemporary context can assist our reading of the 'Arab Thieves'.

On its face, al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk* takes an ostensible hard line against crime and sees the spread of criminality and related disorder as the dark-matter binary opposite of the state (*dawlah*). Where crime spreads, the state is receding: consider the events in 744/1343–1344:

Fayyāḍ spread much disorder (*fasād*), and his highway robbery increased, while the commander Sayf b. Faḍl was unable to drive him off and provide security for he was impotent in dealing with the Muhannā tribesmen.⁴

The link of the state's inability to control non-state actors with the rise of disorder is a standard pattern repeated throughout history, and it is by no means particular to the Mamluk era, but from the perspective of Mamluk historiography, the considerable dwelling on such state/non-state violence and the explicit connection of declining power with civil disorder is marked in al-Maqrīzī's view of political affairs, for example in his report of an event in Muḥarram 781/April 1379:

Two men of the al-Kanz were crucified and paraded about Cairo and Egypt, and then they were bisected [*wussitā*]: this was a result of the weakness of the state [*wahn al-dawlah*], since Quruṭ's⁵ arbitrary and oppressive authority had compelled the al-Kanz to rebel, and they spread such disorder that Aswān was lost to the state, and it was ruined.⁶

3 Thomas Bauer (2011) is a groundbreaking study that warns against privileging literal interpretations of Mamluk-era literature when we seek to identify the true intended effects of its ostensible messages.

4 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2.3:657. The Muhannā were a tribe of nomads who caused considerable distress to the authorities in Egypt in the mid eighth/fourteenth century. Fayyāḍ was one of their leaders.

5 Quruṭ b. 'Umar al-Turkmānī, appointed in 781/1379 as one of the heads of the *Ṭablḥānah*, those of the "Military Band House", an honour reserved for powerful military officials (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 5:72).

6 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3.1:352.

Here, al-Maqrīzī emphasises that state failures prompt disorder, and the theme is widespread not only in *al-Sulūk*,⁷ but also in other Mamluk chronicles, for example Ibn Iyās' (d.c. 930/1524) *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, composed during the collapse of Mamluk authority and the conquest of Egypt by the Ottomans in the generation after al-Maqrīzī's death, where the eclipse of Mamluk rule during the reign of al-Ġawrī (r. 906–922/1501–1516), the last effective Sultan, seems foreshadowed in repeated statements such as: "Arab predations increased, such that the Arabs practically took over the land from its tenants [*muqṭa'īm*]." ⁸ On this theme, Petry suggests that al-Maqrīzī's interest in narrating minute details of criminal activities and the punishment of transgressors in *al-Sulūk* reflects al-Maqrīzī's "impulse to blame the authorities formally charged with upholding law and order,"⁹ and there is merit in reading the historians' accounts of crime as literary expressions of dismay at the failures of the state, and a guarded critique of the Mamluk regime.¹⁰ Al-Maqrīzī wrote *al-Sulūk* when he was already withdrawn from the active scene of seeking political favours, and he seems to have kept his holograph relatively secret, and hence he could speak frankly within the text about his feelings concerning the failings of his contemporary Mamluk state.¹¹

Readers of Petry's *The Criminal Underworld* and any of the major Mamluk chronicles will find myriad examples of rioting by civilians, disaffected soldiers, and even slaves, alongside theft, murder and robbery in the streets of Cairo, alongside the violent activities of criminal gangs, and if we take the chroniclers at their word, it seems that the fourteenth and fifteenth century sky over Egypt was in a perpetual state of freefall. Readers ride endless waves of references to a "terrible day/night" (*yawm mahūl* or *laylah mahūlah*), a "most testing and severe year" (*min ankad al-sinīn wa ašaddihā*), or "extreme levels of disorder" (*fasadat al-aḥwāl ilā l-ġāyah*), and the accompanying critiques of government inaction, eloquently epitomised in one of Ibn Iyās' preferred

7 See particularly clear examples where the escalation of civil disorder is expressly pinned on the violence of the Mamluks against the civilian mob (*al-Sulūk*, 3.1:173, 352–353).

8 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, 4:51; see also 4:20, 79, 90, 193, 217, 229, 264, 353, and for earlier periods 3:119. For Ibn Iyās' similar blame of disorder on the violence of the 'Turks' against the people of Cairo, see 1.2:88–89.

9 Petry (2011): 12.

10 Petry (2011): 5–6. A direct connection is proposed in Ron-Gilboa (2015).

11 Bauden (2014): 182. Massoud's study of al-Maqrīzī's scathing opinion of the Sultan Barqūq accepts that al-Maqrīzī held dim opinions about the other Sultans too (2003): 130, and Massoud adds further nuance to considering how al-Maqrīzī's impression of Barqūq becomes more vitriolic for the second-half of Barqūq's reign.

stock phrases: “and not even two sheep butted their heads over it” (*lā yantaṭih fī [l-amr] šātān*)—i.e. nothing was done, and no one cared. One can sense, however, that the pervasive repetition of such statements erodes their actual meaning, and we might proceed with caution when interpreting the real levels of criminal activity and the intentions of the historians. They appear histrionically pessimistic, and this has been noted elsewhere, as Broadbridge proposes that al-Maqrīzī must have imagined that he and his contemporaries were witnesses to an era of decline, and that such decline manifested in the dysfunction of all arms of the state and economy,¹² and thus the details of crime, howsoever factual they may be, were serving a targeted narrative. The proposed paradigm does reflect well in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk* and his *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* which both embrace a discourse of the decline and decline of Egypt from the Fatimids to the Mamluk present, and modern interpreters are thus faced with the challenge of reading through the narrative to hazard guesses at the actual levels of criminality in al-Maqrīzī's day.

A more precise understanding of Mamluk criminality and its functions in literature is desirable to assist our present interpretation of *al-Luṣūṣ*: at present, I can identify two relevant elements that emerge with sufficient clarity from the chronicles to enable an answer to our questions relevant to *al-Luṣūṣ*.

- 1) The countryside does seem to have been increasingly under threat from nomadic groups whom al-Maqrīzī and other authors labelled as ‘Arabs’ (*‘Arab* or *‘Urbān*). The ‘Arab’ predation seems to climax after al-Maqrīzī, as Ibn Iyās detailed their disturbances very frequently, alongside his description of the nomadic attacks on Hajj pilgrims in 911/1506 that resulted in terrifying news and considerable loss of life. The challenge to Mamluk authority in territories along the Arabian Red Sea Coast prompted a strong response by Sultan al-Ġawrī, including the rebuilding and reinforcement of khans and military posts on the Hajj route to monitor Bedouin groups and protect Hajj caravans.¹³ While not yet at such a level of severity, the ‘Arab’ disturbances in al-Maqrīzī's day were nonetheless significant in Upper Egypt, the Nile Delta and Lebanon,¹⁴ and the association of these troubles with Arabness specifically is intriguing, as it invites

12 Broadbridge (2003): 234. Massoud (2003): 120, 128 considered al-Maqrīzī uniquely pessimistic about his contemporary circumstance and acutely bothered by the “end of an era” leitmotif.

13 For the narrative history of Bedouin attacks on the Hajj, see Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*, 4:89–90; for an overview of the archaeological remains of the new forts, see ‘Abd al-Malik (2013): 54–58.

14 See, for examples, al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2.3:651, 657–658, 666, 816; 3.2:574; 4.2:765.

consideration of whether parallels should be drawn between the writers' contemporary Arab raiders and their sense of Arabness *qua* the identity of Arabians before Muḥammad.

- 2) The state was also becoming increasingly impecunious, leading to a rise of disorder stemming from disgruntled soldiers and a depressed urban mob with a criminal underworld of thieves and agitators. Perhaps the presence of central authority in Cairo meant that it fared better in combating the armed gangs of organised criminals: such groups seem to have run areas of Damascus, whereas their presence in Cairo is not felt as an active operator until the end of the Mamluk era, and Cairene gangs never appear to have achieved the autonomy enjoyed by those in Damascus.¹⁵ Nonetheless, for the context of al-Maqrīzī's writing, thievery was a social phenomenon with many manifestations, and when narrating the escapades of individual robbers and gangs, historians marshalled a wide lexicon of varied terms, indicating a fertile vernacular imagination of criminality.

The connection of Mamluk-era disorder to al-Maqrīzī's *Luṣūṣ* therefore has ostensible merit, as the chronicles make it clear that Arabs and violence went together, and that crime was on the rise in the urban setting too, enabling the writers to pessimistically muse upon the spectre of urban collapse and the end of an era in seemingly Khaldunian terms. Al-Maqrīzī's interest in discussing 'Arab Thieves' would then seem as a prefiguring of the disorder spread by 'Arab' raids in his day, and in turn, the disorderly *al-Ġāhiliyyah* of the 'Arab Thieves' might be a stern metaphorical warning about the dangers faced by his current society.

Probing deeper, however, I am reluctant to wholly endorse the above conclusions. There is no doubt that al-Maqrīzī embraced a narrative of decline in his historiography: *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* seems to promote the Tulunids as a high-point of cultural creation, after which Egypt entered gradual decline, stemmed by the early Fatimids, but rapidly accelerated towards the decline of his present society. Yet, if this should be understood as a Khaldunian narrative, then we would also need to identify where the up-turn in the cycle of decline and rebirth is located, and herein such an identification is rather difficult. Ostensibly, the troublemaking *Urbān* of the chronicles embody the *ʿaṣabiyyah* and martial strength that should lead to the rise of the next vigorous power, but al-Maqrīzī's disorderly contemporary 'Arabs' are depicted as part of the same problem of general decline, and I cannot trace hints of optimism that they and

¹⁵ For discussion and comparison of the organized urban gangs in Damascus and Cairo, see Petry (2011): 27–29.

their lifestyle are interpreted as the beginnings of new vigour and *ʿumrān*/civilisation. To an extent, al-Maqrīzī does highlight the 'Arab' unrest to display the failures of the 'Turkish' (i.e. Mamluk) rule,¹⁶ but I do not read the *ʿUrbān* as heroes and/or rightful rulers of Egypt by virtue of their Arabness, rather they are enlisted to play the role of victims of misrule much like the depictions of the urban mob and even reports about the distressed nomadic Turcomans in Syria.

If there are virtuous actors in al-Maqrīzī's histories, those seem to be located on the side of the Caliphate, and more precisely pious Muslims of the deep past,¹⁷ and while al-Maqrīzī's preamble in *al-Sulūk* intends that the fall of Arabs from power (in the past) and the assumption of power over the Caliphate by non-Arabs set the scene for the faltering regimes ever since,¹⁸ neither the small bands of 'Arabs' whom al-Maqrīzī describes as preying the countryside nor the odd Bedouin raiders who were crucified, executed and displayed on the gates of Cairo are marked for any religious or ethnic merit. Their vigorous nomadic ways are separate from moral virtue, their Arabness is not the Arabness the Hashemites (relations to the Prophet and clan of the Abbasids and the Šīʿah Imams) whom al-Maqrīzī was generally supportive,¹⁹ and little seems to be hoped from the camps of the *ʿUrbān*.

On a second reading, then, the narrative of decline does not seem particularly 'Khaldunian' at all, as there is scant semblance of the waves of rise and fall in the construction of the past that are signature to Ibn Ḥaldūn's notion of historical cycles. In al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk*, to the extent that a narrative related to decline can be discerned, the fall seems perpetual, and this better corresponds with both earlier Abbasid-era historiography (a tradition inherited and digested by the Mamluk chroniclers), and the widespread Muslim eschatological worldview of the impending end of the world. The eschatology was

16 A point stressed in Massoud (2003): 129.

17 The central importance of Caliphate, embodied from the Mamluk context in the Abbasids, in al-Maqrīzī's writings is noted (Bauden (forthcoming); van Steenberg (2016): 97–101). Cobb (2003) discusses the complexities in al-Maqrīzī's views on the Caliphates, and argues, through analysis of four of al-Maqrīzī's works, that al-Maqrīzī did not follow the usual lines of (i) respecting all Caliphs, or (ii) reviling the Umayyads and supporting the Abbasids; and that al-Maqrīzī's esteem instead seems most aligned with those Caliphs who had "piety" (Cobb (2003): 78). Via a different avenue of analysis, van Steenberg also observes that "good legitimate Muslim rule" was central to al-Maqrīzī's projection of rulership in his *al-Dahab al-masbūk* (2016): 97.

18 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1.1:14–17 notes the decline of Arab power as negative landmarks in Islamic history; his description of Seljuk Turkishness, for example, is unflattering (1.1:30–31); however his impression of most 'Arab' Umayyads is fairly negative as well (1.1:13).

19 For interpretation of al-Maqrīzī's generally pro-Hashemite stance, see Cobb (2003).

recorded in early *ḥadīṭ* collections of the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries under the label *fitan* (trials/tests/apocalypse),²⁰ and the material originated in the early Muslim community which was expecting an imminent Judgment Day. Since the End of Days had not yet transpired by the close of the second/eighth century, writers adjusted their eschatological approaches into a longer-awaited endgame, but the original *fitan* material was preserved as originally articulated in *ḥadīṭ* collections, and much of it was canonised in the essential collections which constituted the basic training of scholars across the Muslim world, including the *‘ulamā’* of Mamluk Egypt, of whom al-Maqrīzī was a member. Given that al-Maqrīzī would necessarily have studied the *fitan* material as a student of *ḥadīṭ*, and given that he was also familiar with Iraqi historiography where a general decline narrative informs the major chronicles, it seems more appropriate to treat his narratives of the waning conditions in Egypt as a descendant of the watered-down millennialism of the *ḥadīṭ* corpus. The pessimism of writers in the generally failing Mamluk state accordingly appears to have been an ironic expression of optimism that the long-awaited End Days may at last be around the corner.²¹

Religiously-trained historians such as al-Maqrīzī and his peers would have found further express corroboration for their pessimism in canonical Prophetic *ḥadīṭ* as well. A series of *ḥadīṭs* ascribed to Muḥammad himself appear in the earliest and all the major collections of *ḥadīṭs* with variants on the following message:

The Prophet of God said: “the best generation (*qarn*) is that into which I was sent as a messenger, then the next, and then the third,”—God knows best if Muḥammad said the third or not—“and afterwards people will turn to eating the fat and their testimony will not be sought.”²²

20 See the myriad examples in Ibn Abi Šaybah, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, 21:23–355; and al-Marwazī, *al-Fitan*.

21 Given that al-Maqrīzī wrote the text after he had retreated from public life, his own personal detachment may have played a role in the pessimistic outlook on life, as suggested in Rabbat (2003): 18; Broadbridge (2003): 234; but al-Maqrīzī seemed to enjoy his ‘retired’ life as a scholar, and Ibn Iyās’ chronicle is thoroughly as pessimistic in my reading, and thus I prefer to interpret their negative impressions of current affairs as both a critique of the Mamluks and an echo of the deeply embedded narrative of decline across much Arabic historiography from the third/ninth century onwards.

22 Ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, no. 7124, 12:20. For the many other variants and extensive footnotes glossing the other citations of the *ḥadīṭ*, see Ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, nos. 19953, 22960, 33:173, 38:57; al-Buḥārī, *al-Šaḥīḥ*, nos. 3650, 3651; Muslim, *al-Šaḥīḥ*, no. 2534.

The debate as to whether the arc of virtue extended only to the first two, or three generations following Muḥammad was not resolved, and while on its face, the *ḥadīṭ* concerns the matter of honest testimony, it lends naturally to a comment on the trajectory of declining morality in Muslim society as a matter of history, and it was in this latter vein that Muslim scholars interpreted it. Abū Hanīfah declared that “the third generation (*qarn*) was the last generation which Muḥammad praised”,²³ and al-Maqrīzī’s contemporary, Ibn Ḥaḡar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1449), specified in his influential commentary on the *ḥadīṭ* versions narrated in al-Buḡārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* that the period which Muḥammad intended by the ‘second generation’ reached 120 AH (738 CE), the third generation reached to “the extent of 220” (835 CE), and that “matters have continued to decline ever since [*lam yazal al-amr yanquṣ ilá l-ān*].”²⁴ Herein is explicit evidence that religiously-trained scholars of the Mamluk Era were well acquainted with the narrative of decline; they encountered it in an emotive warning from the mouth of the Prophet recorded in their basic collections of *ḥadīṭs*, and they interpreted it to mean that Islam’s moral zenith was long past.

On the basis of the foregoing, there is a point of parallel (but not necessarily interrelation) between the narrative arc of *al-Sulūk* and *al-Ḥabar*’s ‘Arab Thieves’ chapter. Both books begin with a praise of Arabness, and thus invoke a traditional narrative of Muḥammad the Arab Prophet’s precedence over all other prophets, and the virtue of the Arab-Muslim community in the two-three generations succeeding Muḥammad over all other non-Arab peoples. From this non-controversial stance (in the eyes of Muslim traditionists), both texts seem to conform to a familiar teleology: (i) *al-Sulūk* narrates the inexorable decline which traditionist writers like al-Maqrīzī deemed conceptually necessary in order to explain how the perceived virtuous heights of the early Muslim community devolved into the grim reality of quotidian existence; and (ii) *al-Ḥabar* narrates how the Arabs in *al-Ġāhiliyyah* found themselves bereft of spiritual guidance and locked in strife that would only be resolved with Muḥammad’s mission. Criminality plays a role in both, inasmuch as *al-Sulūk*’s tales of disorder graphically show the level of decline in contemporary society, while *al-Ḥabar*’s outlaws highlight the contrast between wild *al-Ġāhiliyyah* and the equanimous Islam which was to replace it. As such, the parallels in criminality are in fact coincidental, more apparent than real. It was not that contemporary criminality led al-Maqrīzī to conceptualise *al-Ġāhiliyyah* as criminal too,

23 Al-Bāḡī, *al-Muntaqá*, 7:146, reporting the opinion of Abū Hanīfah.

24 Ibn Ḥaḡar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, 8:316. Ibn Ḥaḡar elaborates that “innovation” appeared after 220/835 with the works of the philosophers (*falāsifah*) and Mu’tazilites, lying then became widespread, and matters thenceforth continued to worsen.

rather the basic teleology which al-Maqrīzī embraced when narrating the story of *al-Ġāhiliyyah* for its own sake required that he populate Arabia on the eve of Muḥammad with outlaws and other scenes of disorder.

The view that al-Maqrīzī (and other Mamluk chroniclers) conceived that their contemporary outlawry was separate and distinct from that of pre-Islamic Arabia is supported lexically, too. Writers invoked separate kinds of terminology to describe the pre-Islamic and Muslim-era camps of criminals. For their contemporary Mamluk-era disorder, it is noteworthy that Mamluk historians summon the word *fitan*, and related verb *iftatana*:²⁵ these are not to be interpreted as precise harbingers of Judgment Day, but the vocabulary is borrowed from eschatological *ḥadīths* (and history of the serious conflicts between early Muslims too), suggesting that the upheaval is to be viewed both very negatively, and that it is to be passively accepted. *Fitnah* at its root connotes a 'trial by fire', particularly a test for the purity of gold,²⁶ and when used in the socio-political context of the apocalyptic *ḥadīths* and chronicles, the intention is to invoke a test of virtue: Muslim jurists generally settled on the interpretation that those who do *not* rush to fight on the advent of such *fitnah* prove themselves to be the better Muslims. The impression that devout Muslims should not involve themselves in a *fitnah* if they see one fits the historians' profile well, since they portray themselves as dismayed observers of violence, quite aloof from its raucous epicentre. Seen in this light, the historians project their contemporary disorder (*fitnah*) as not a matter about which anyone can do anything positive, and there is little anticipation of good at the end of it either: it is instead emblematic of the world's general and pervasive decline.

The pre-Islamic 'Arab Thieves', on the other hand, are not expressed as engaging in *fitnah*: this is a key lexical difference, and I suggest the absence of *fitnah* terminology in pre-Islamic narratives stems from the notion held by Mamluk historians that pre-Islamic Arabia lacked a righteous community for its inhabitants to ruin, and as such there is no logic to apply the paradigm of *fitnah qua* socially destructive force to pre-Islamic history. Imagined as living in such a different society to the Muslim milieu, the ancient Arabians appear so far removed in history from the context of al-Maqrīzī, that they can have little intertextual value for the Mamluk present. This is further underlined inasmuch as when al-Maqrīzī describes the 'Arab' leaders who despoil his contemporary countryside, there is no metaphorical language comparing them to pre-Islamic

25 See, for example, Ibn Iyās, *Bada'ī' al-zuhūr*, 3:240, 4:96, 122–123.

26 Al-Ġawharī, *al-Šiḥāh*, 6:2175.

outlaws. None of the *Urbān* leaders are described as present day Ta'abbaṭa Ṣarrans or al-Sulayks; the root word *ǧahl* is not summoned to describe them either; none of the contemporary Arab marauders run or steal camels, and none sing poetry. The Mamluk *Urbān* lack conceptual connection to the pre-Islamic *Arab* beyond the root 'r-b, and it seems therefore an untenable stretch of interpretation to read the *Luṣūṣ al-'Arab* as a deliberate act of highlighting the dangers of the present.

The disconnect between the pre-Islamic 'Arab Thieves' and the troublemakers of the Mamluk present is also emphatically underlined through what might best be termed the lexicon of criminality. There are in fact two distinct lexicons at play: the words that label the Mamluk criminals and describe their actions are separate from the words marshalled to discuss the pre-Islamic outlaws, and it is a credit to the breadth of Arabic vocabulary that there were enough words to lexically distinguish the two. As already noted, the Mamluk-era criminals engaged in *fitnah*, which was not used to describe the pre-Islamic; the Mamluk outlaws also worked *fasād* (disorder, corruption), *qaṭ' al-ṭarīq* (highway robbery) and *takbīs* (burglary). None of these words appear in narratives about the pre-Islamic bandits in collections such as al-Maqrīzī's 'Arab Thieves': their escapades are elevated somewhat by the verbs *ǧāra* and *ǧazā* (to raid, invade) and the label *fatk* (the brazen head-strong criminality and killing), words which are likewise absent in the narratives of Mamluk-era criminals. The Mamluk-era criminals also have a wealth of labels: *zu'ār*, *za'ārah*, *man-āsir* (*mansar*), *ḥarāfīš*, *uyyāq* (*'āyiq*), *awbāš*, *'ayyārūn* (*'ayyār*), *ṣuṭṭār*, *mufsidūn*, amongst others, and none of these are applied to describe pre-Islamic outlaws. As noted earlier, the word *ṣu'lūk* appears to be used in Mamluk writing predominantly as a signifier for the poor, and not for contemporary criminals, and even *liṣṣ* is surprisingly infrequent to connote Mamluk-era thieves: it appears twice in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk*,²⁷ and I have found it only once in Ibn Iyās,²⁸ whereas terms such as *mansar* and *surrāq* are more common.²⁹ If the medieval writers intended that their readers should draw a parallel between contemporary criminality and the outlaws of the pre-Islamic past, it would have behoved them to cross-reference with similar terms, but instead the two groups are lexically ring-fenced, and as such the pre-Islamic 'Arab Thieves' are intended to have a place in history which does not appear to translate directly into social com-

27 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:3:640, 3:2:702. I thank Frédéric Bauden for identifying this reference. Likewise, al-Maqrīzī uses the word only twice in *Ittī'āz al-ḥunafā'*, 1:182, 2:11, referring to Bedouin raiders and urban burglars, respectively.

28 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, 3:195.

29 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, 4:20, 39, 51, 108, 126, 296, 417.

mentary on the Mamluk present. As noted at the outset of this Chapter, our conceptions of Mamluk criminality are still under-theorised, and once it is better understood, we may need to revisit the impression of separation adduced here, but at least from the perspective of the Mamluk-era chronicles, the writers have not given readers ready tools to semantically or conceptually connect Mamluk-era thieves with outlaws of the pre-Islamic desert. And thus, as far as al-Maqrīzī's pre-Islamic Arab Thieves are concerned, they were likely intended to be read as phenomena of pre-Islam, inserted in the narrative of *al-Ḥabar* in order to enhance the sense of a passionate *al-Ġāhiliyyah*, whereas the semantics of contemporary criminals in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk* situate them in different roles as corrupters (*muḥsidūn*) and tests (*fitan*) that tear at the basis and abet the decline of what had been a righteous Muslim community.

Al-Maqrīzī's Manuscript: Its Conceptual, Narrative and Physical Structure

As the broad-lensed view of outlaws and outlawry in Arabic literature we adopted in the past Chapters both illustrated the vagaries of the rich material which al-Maqrīzī had to harness in his chapter on thieves, and enabled our study to identify al-Maqrīzī's achievement within the wider tradition of Arabic historiography in the main, it now concerns us to narrow the focus squarely upon the 15 folios of the *al-Ḥabar 'an al-bašar* holograph which constitute the *Lušūš al-'Arab* chapter. Our questions now revolve around the issue of how al-Maqrīzī incorporated the outlaw material into his historiographical chronicle and how readers might respond to his narratives. Al-Maqrīzī's working method has been the subject of close and perceptive studies by Frédéric Bauden,¹ and readers are directed there for reference; this Chapter will interrogate the representation of the 'Arab Thieves' both conceptually at the level of the chapter's narrative structure, and physically as a manuscript: the following Chapter 6 will turn to al-Maqrīzī's sources to evaluate how he represented outlawry via his selections from the Arabic literary corpus.

When read against the broad backdrop of medieval Arabic historiography, al-Maqrīzī's decision to incorporate a chapter on 'Arab Thieves' in a world history was indeed a creative step, but when shifting down into reading the text in and of itself, his project's full potential was ultimately unfulfilled. Readers of al-Maqrīzī's text will likely judge its narrative to be flat, a frank disappointment considering that the topic of swashbuckling thieves usually offers ready opportunities for exciting detail. In other literatures, outlaw stories are exciting, or at least they have flashes of good storytelling which endears the anti-hero characters to readers and establishes the material as entertaining and worthy literature. Al-Maqrīzī's *Lušūš* lacks this vitality. The shortcomings are manifest, and they accompany the reader throughout the chapter: they are thus a key component of the chapter, and they call for evaluation. It is the contention of this Chapter that the text's deficiencies will become more comprehensible upon close examination of the characters and anecdotes al-Maqrīzī selected in order to populate the field of Arab outlawry, the narrative structure he chose for

1 See Bauden (2006), (2008) and (2010).

his chapter, and the conditions of the book's composition. By seeking answers to why the chapter fails to exude the verve of outlaw storytelling, our findings reveal pertinent insight into al-Maqrīzī's intellectual paradigms and aptitudes, and the results hope to develop our understanding of the celebrated historian's scholarship at the very end of his career.

5.1 The Thieves

As noted throughout this study, pre-modern Arabic literature lacks a definitive list of the pre-Islamic 'Arab Thieves'. Whether identified as *ṣa'ālīk* or *luṣūṣ*, various pre-Islamic figures have been labelled with outlaw terminology across Arabic writing, but we have seen the considerable flux over the identity of certain figures, alongside the gradual development of the terminology itself. The vague lines of differentiation between a 'warrior' and an 'outlaw' further vexed pre-modern authors, leading them into manifold opinions which were not conclusively reconciled. As such, it is remote that al-Maqrīzī could simply consult an earlier work on 'thieves' and copy it directly, and al-Maqrīzī intimates as much in §2.1.4, where his list of the "famous thieves" is expressly non-exhaustive, and he promises to narrate just about "those whom we know."

Al-Maqrīzī's statement is honest: there was no definitive list of thieves in the literature of his time and the 'Arab Thieves' had never before been the subject of strict historiographical study, but there were thieves in pre-Islamic Arabia, some characters in Arabic literature had become famous as outlaws, and to the limits of one's knowledge, a writer could string material together from anecdotes interspersed across earlier texts. So, al-Maqrīzī faced a considerable task of distilling centuries of writing into a cohesive summary of outlawry, and to succeed, he would have to first devise a conception of 'outlawry' that would in turn enable him to (i) identify a coherent list of 'outlaws'; and then (ii) scour the earlier literature for stories in order to populate his biographies from the uncertain pool of potential candidates and narratives in the Arabic textual corpus. Sufficient material was circulating in *adab* genres, and thus it was possible—though challenging—for a historian to compile a text such as al-Maqrīzī's by widening the purview of his research from the familiar ground of historiographical chronicles to poetry, philological and other *adab* storytelling works.

Al-Maqrīzī's choice of ten figures crosses the familiar lines of uncertainty over outlaw identity and the contours of the conceptual category of 'Arab Thieves'. Not all of his chosen line-up are identified as thieves/desperados (*luṣūṣ/ṣa'ālīk*) in other texts; there are also other figures commonly labelled

TABLE 3 al-Maqrīzī's Ten Thieves

Character	Attributes
'Amr of the Dog	Pre-Islamic; very infrequently counted as a 'thief' in other sources; <i>al-Aġānī</i> calls him a "constant raider against the Fahm" but does not use the typical thief lexicon to describe him (al-Iṣfahānī, <i>al-Aġānī</i> , 22:353).
Ta'abbāṭa Šarran	Pre-Islamic; widely celebrated figure: by the fourth/tenth century, he was well established as an iconic desperado (<i>ṣu'lūk</i>).
al-Šanfará	Pre-Islamic; well-known, often labelled as a desperado; frequently paired with Ta'abbāṭa Šarran in outlaw stories.
al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah	Pre-Islamic; originally appears to have been interpreted as a warrior/raider, eventually becomes very widely-cited as a thief/desperado.
al-Muntašir al-Bāhili	Pre-Islamic; primarily remembered via a famous elegy which al-A'šá of the Bāhilah composed in al-Muntašir's memory. Disagreement in the sources as to whether he was a runner/noble warrior, or a runner/thief; biographical details are otherwise brief.
Awfá b. Maṭar al-Māzinī	Pre-Islamic; of less certain memory than those listed above, he is connected with running prowess and eventually listed as an 'Arab Raven'; the grounds for his inclusion as a 'thief' are otherwise unclear.
'Amr b. Barrāqah	Pre-Islamic; relatively obscure, but listed as a 'Runner' and associated with outlaw stories of Ta'abbāṭa Šarran and al-Šanfará (al-Iṣfahānī, <i>al-Aġānī</i> , 21:181).
al-Uḥaymir	Islamic-era; of uncertain date, appears to have lived into the early Abbasid period (Ibn Qutaybah, <i>al-Ši'r wa-l-šū'arā'</i> , 2:774–775). Known as a desperado, but infrequently mentioned (for sources, see al-Malūḥī (nd): 99–100).
Nizām	Pre-Islamic? Obscure figure, appears to be known in only one story—repeated in full by al-Maqrīzī, quoting from al-Qāḍī l-Mu'āfá's <i>al-Ġalis al-šāliḥ</i> , 1:397–403.
Yazid b. al-Šaqil	Islamic-era; very obscure figure, his tales appear only in a brief mention in al-Mubarrad's <i>al-Kāmil</i> , 1:135, and via two verses in Ibn Mañzūr's <i>Lisān al-'Arab</i> (see al-Malūḥī (nd): 19–20)

in earlier literature as thieves/desperados whom al-Maqrīzī omits; and while the majority of his characters are pre-Islamic (fitting with his intention that *al-Ḥabar* narrate Arab history before Muḥammad), he also includes two Muslim-era outlaws. Al-Maqrīzī's selection is also distinct from previous iterations of the outlaw character types: he includes all the *Ra'ābūl al-'Arab* (Predacious Lions) in his *Lušūš*, but adds other figures, whereas his list does not include all *Addā'un* (Runners). Table 3 summarises, in outline, al-Maqrīzī's thieves.

The rationale for al-Maqrīzī's decision to settle on these specific ten figures is, on its face, unclear. Outlaws such as Ta'abbāṭa Šarran, al-Šanfará and al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah would have been obvious choices for inclusion, as they were widely accepted as archetypal outlaws in Arabic literature from the fourth/tenth century onwards, but 'Amr of the Dog and Awfá b. Maṭar were more regularly remembered as 'ordinary' warriors, and Nizām is hardly noted

anywhere. Moreover, one of the most famous of the desperados from pre-Islamic lore, ‘Urwah b. al-Ward, is missing. And from the perspective of chronology, al-Maqrīzī’s decision to venture into the Islamic period with al-Uḥaymir and Yazīd b. al-Ṣaqīl is also quizzical. *Al-Ḥabar* as a whole was not intended to cross the line into Islamic history, and neither of the two Muslim-era outlaws were particularly salient within the pantheon of Muslim thieves in any event: had al-Maqrīzī wished to include Muslim-era thieves, there are numerous *ṣa’ālik* of the Umayyad and early Abbasid periods who would deserve mention too,² and biographies of many of them are included in the main sources on Arabian lore, such as *al-Aġānī*. Hence al-Maqrīzī would have been able to find sufficient poetry and prose to populate their biographies, and indeed he could have found substantially more information on these other bandits than that which exists for Yazīd b. al-Ṣaqīl and Nizām.

Taken in the round, it is difficult to ascertain *the* criteria al-Maqrīzī applied to select the figures included in his chapter, and since al-Maqrīzī wrote no preamble setting out his thoughts on outlawry, we are left guessing. Al-Maqrīzī’s opening paragraphs §§ 2.1.1–3 narrate dictionary definitions of *liṣṣ* (thief), but they merely reflect the general sense of ‘stealing’ and betray no elements capable to distinguish a celebrated outlaw from an ‘ordinary’ thief. Our next port of call is then to read each of the biographies to discern what the representations al-Maqrīzī crafted for each character have in common and how they compare with the conceptions of thievery terminology explored in Chapter 2, above. Table 4 summarises the findings.

Intriguingly, the act of thievery is not depicted in every biography of the *Luṣūṣ al-‘Arab*, nor is combat necessarily the cause of the outlaws’ deaths.³ It is clear, however, that a violent temperament and the exercise of violence are universally shared between the ten characters, hearkening the definition of *fātik* discussed above (Chapter 2.2). This might then represent the core of ‘Arabian Thief’ identity as imagined by al-Maqrīzī: furtive filchers, pickpockets and their ilk do not count—a true ‘Arab Thief’ must be a *fātik* with the signature headstrong aggression of character that thrusts him into violent and decisive action.

2 For a list of the Muslim-era outlaws, see Ḥifnī (1979): 126–139; see also the more detailed studies by ‘Aṭwān (1997a) and (1997b).

3 A violent death has been considered a key element of the literary outlaw hero rubrics, as explored in Keen (2011): 7–8 and Hobsbawm (2000): 38. Ron-Gilboa (2015) discusses the violent deaths of several of the characters in al-Maqrīzī’s *Luṣūṣ*.

TABLE 4 Traits of the thieves

Character	Depicted as stealing	Exercises/ threatens exercise of violence	Dies violently	"Runner"	"Raven"
Pre-Islamic era					
ʿAmr of the Dog		✓	(✓) ^a	✓	
Taʿabbāṭa Šarran	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
al-Šanfará		✓	✓	✓	✓
al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
al-Muntašir al-Bāhili		✓	✓	✓	✓
Awfá b. Maṭar al-Māzini		✓		✓	✓
ʿAmr b. Barrāqah	✓	✓		✓	
Niẓām	✓	✓			
Muslim era					
al-Uḥaymir	✓	(✓) ^b			
Yazīd b. al-Šaqīl	✓	(✓)			

a There are three versions for ʿAmr's death, in only one is he killed in battle §§ 2.2.4–5, 2.2.9.

b We do not read anecdotes about the violent adventures of Uḥaymir and Yazīd, but the poems al-Maqrīzī ascribes to both depict decisive and aggressive temperaments.

In the minds of Arabic readers, the characteristics of the *fātik* likely conjure the notion of *ǧahl*: a word commonly translated today as 'ignorance', but also connotative of 'passion'. The connection is of direct relevance in the context of al-Maqrīzī's historical vision in the *Ḥabar*, since we saw in Chapter 3.4 that al-Maqrīzī appears to have intended the *Luṣūṣ* chapter in his chronicle to illustrate the disorder of pre-Islam: *al-Ġāhiliyyah*, the "Age of Passion." Since time in the abstract is neutral, pre-Islamic time cannot be axiomatically 'bad' *sui generis*, and if a writer wishes for his text to impart the impression that *al-Ġāhiliyyah* was a time of wickedness, the text must marshal cogent narratives to sustain that reconstruction. In the case of al-Maqrīzī's *Luṣūṣ*, a reader's sense of the inveterate ferocity of *al-Ġāhiliyyah* can be generated if its characters are shown to be unvaryingly outrageous: if all we are given to read is ingrained *ǧahl* of the protagonists, *ǧahl* will seem to exude from them and permeate the air of their era, generating a coherent sense of pre-Islam's disorder. To soak pre-Islamic time with *ǧahl* in a literary narrative, the *fātik* is in fact a perfect candidate since *ǧahl* connotes the opposite of *ḥilm* (equanimity),

so the *ǧāhilī* character is by definition *fātik*, as his reason can neither check his emotions nor prevent his violent responses to the world around him.⁴ On this level, there is cohesion which al-Maqrīzī bequeaths to his pre-Islamic outlaw type via the volume of anecdotes about the outlaws' violent exploits and which thereby enables him to create a sense of constant disorder as a clear exemplar of *al-ǧāhiliyyah*. On the basis of the characterisation of al-Maqrīzī's chosen 'Thieves', it thus seems right to propose that the chapter's purpose was to engage in the construction of an increasingly disordered *ǧāhiliyyah* universe, and this means that outlaws have an instrumental function: the basic core of their character-type's identity was to produce *ǧahl* which readers can imagine crossed the whole tableau of pre-Islamic Arabian society.

The biographies of the two outlaws whom al-Maqrīzī chose from the Muslim-era, al-Uḥaymir and Yazīd b. al-Ṣaqīl, are not accompanied by the same kinds of lurid prose stories of violence that populate most of the pre-Islamic thieves' biographies, and one might then interpret that al-Maqrīzī wishes to demonstrate that Islam curbed the *ǧahl* of the ancient Arabians.⁵ It is not quite clear-cut, as al-Maqrīzī makes no comment that the violence of the Muslim thieves was any less passionate than the pre-Islamic Arabians (we are just not told about their adventures in detail), whilst the poetry al-Maqrīzī ascribes to the Muslim-era thieves is equal to the lusty emotions of their pre-Islamic forbears. Ron-Gilboa proposes that al-Maqrīzī included al-Uḥaymir and Yazīd b. al-Ṣaqīl as vehicles to show how Islam offers the possibility of repentance—they did repent and thus avoided violent deaths, showing the virtue of Islamic salvation, but three of the pre-Islamic Arabian outlaws whom al-Maqrīzī selected avoid a violent death too, and thus the chapter is not unified in constructing an axiomatic sticky end for *ǧāhilī* thieves⁶. One may also wonder why al-Maqrīzī selected any Muslim-era characters at all if he was attempt-

4 The definition of *ǧahl* and *ǧāhiliyyah* are complex, Rosenthal (1970): 32–35 identifies its intended meaning as ignorance in opposition to Islam as 'knowledge' (*ʿilm*); Izutso (2002) reads it instead as passion in opposition to Islam's 'equanimity' (*ḥilm*). Both views have a point; but not all pre-Islamic figures are shown in Arabic literature as *ǧāhil*, since *ḥilm* is also a key aspect of characterisation in pre-Islamic poetry (Webb (2014): 72 n. 14, 84–91). In any event—for the purpose of this text, al-Maqrīzī's ten thieves represent *ǧahl qua* anarchic anti-sociality rather well.

5 As postulated by Ron-Gilboa (2015): 24.

6 The story of Awfá b. Maṭar al-Māzinī is a good example: the anecdote in § 2.7 is violent, but Awfá survives. Most citations of Awfá elsewhere do not mention his death, but Abū 'Ubaydah's *al-Dibāǧ* does narrate a lurid story of Awfá being robbed and murdered by his own partner in crime, a particularly fitting end for an outlaw (*al-Dibāǧ* 40). Al-Maqrīzī's omission of this is likely a function of the fact that he did not find the rare anecdote, and underlines the apparently hasty compilation of the material from limited sources which is a salient shortcoming of the *Luṣūṣ* section; this issue is further discussed in Chapter 6.

ing to construct the sense that aggressive outlawry was a specifically pre-Islamic Arabian *Ġāhiliyyah* behaviour. The biographies of al-Uḥaymir and Yazīd do at least demonstrate tough characters through their poetry, and this they do share in common with all of the chapter's outlaws. In sum, the chapter's consistency seems most manifest in its common narratives of the violence of a *fātik*, and prompts the impression that the chapter's primary purpose was to display a concentrated sense of disorderly raiding.

If the defining character trait of the 'Arab Thieves' was merely violence, then any aggressive belligerent from pre-Islamic Arabia would be eligible for inclusion in the chapter, so there must have been other factors involved in al-Maqrīzī's selection that enabled him to narrow the cadre of 'Arab Thieves' to ten. As noted, thievery was evidently (if counter-intuitively) not central: the anecdotes which al-Maqrīzī selected do not focus on great heists, but instead they relish violence. In a similar vein, the characters of 'Amr of the Dog, Awfá b. Maṭar and al-Muntašir are not renowned in Arabic literature as thieves, and likewise al-Maqrīzī does not narrate stories in which they are depicted stealing (they do raid, but the terminology describing these actions is a language of tribal warfare). In the search for further commonality between the figures, therefore, robbery is a dead-end, and I suggest that the categories of 'Arab Ravens' and 'Arab Runners/Foot Warriors' played a more important role. Of the eight pre-Islamic outlaws in the chapter, Niẓām is an almost unknown figure, and thus of the remaining seven, five were counted amongst the 'Arab Ravens' in sources contemporary with al-Maqrīzī, and all seven were noted for their running abilities.⁷ When exploring the history of the 'Runners' and 'Ravens' categories in Chapter 2.4–5, we noted the expansion of the groups and the considerable cross-over between them which emerged in medieval Arabic writing. By including characters which represent both 'Runners' and 'Ravens' as the majority of the pre-Islamic outlaw examples, al-Maqrīzī perhaps indicates the prevalence of a paradigm in Mamluk-era writing, whereby the signifier of pre-Islamic 'thief' summoned an image of a half-breed marauder on foot, as opposed to the equally stylised image of 'Arab warrior' as a nobleman astride a camel. In this vein, the hero in the story al-Maqrīzī narrates about Niẓām is also credited with wondrous running prowess, and thus the world of each of the eight pre-Islamic 'Thieves' can be conceptually decoupled from the world of 'regular' Arab warfare (the *Ayyām al-'Arab*, the subject of the next, separate chapter in *al-Ḥabar 'an al-bašar*).

⁷ Neither 'Amr b. Barrāqah nor 'Amr of the Dog were known as Ravens, but both were famed for their running—'Amr b. Barrāqah is widely attested amongst the *'addā'ūn* 'Runners' as noted in Chapter 2.4, 'Amr of the Dog is labelled as one of the 'Runners' (*riġālāt*) in § 2.2.5.

The salience of running and half-Ethiopic origin as the core components of ‘Arab Thief’ characterisation may also begin to address the absence of ‘Urwah b. al-Ward in al-Maqrīzī’s chapter. In modern studies of Arabian outlaws, ‘Urwah is universally mentioned, and he alongside Ta’abbaṭa Šarran, al-Šanfará and al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah constitute a quartet of archetypal outlaws.⁸ ‘Urwah attractiveness for modern studies of Arabian outlaws is heightened thanks to reports of remarkably Robin Hood-like exploits of his robbing from the rich to feed his band of poor *ša’ālik*, and since pre-modern texts identify ‘Urwah as an express *šu’lūk*, and because the term also appears in poetry ascribed to ‘Urwah, he seems an obvious icon of pre-Islamic outlaw anti-heroism. Ironically, however, pre-modern Arabic sources infrequently categorise ‘Urwah with the outlaws of al-Maqrīzī’s selection: ‘Urwah’s biography in al-Iṣfahānī’s *Kitāb al-Aġānī* is much distanced from Ta’abbaṭa Šarran, al-Šanfará and al-Sulayk, whom al-Iṣfahānī narrated together and counted as a ‘gang’;⁹ likewise Abū Ḥātim al-Siġistānī lumped the ‘runner’ outlaws together, and dealt with ‘Urwah separately.¹⁰ ‘Urwah is not, to my knowledge, ascribed running prowess, and his name did not migrate to the lists of the ‘Ravens’ or ‘Runners’ in the lexicons and other *adab* writings. As such, he seems to have lacked what appear to have been the essential character traits of the ‘Arab Thief’ in medieval Muslim imaginations, hence in contrast to modern writing where ‘Urwah is an archetypal outlaw hero, a Mamluk-era modern text on the *Luṣūṣ* might not have deemed ‘Urwah necessary to include as a matter of course. For the specific context of al-Maqrīzī’s *al-Ḥabar*, it may also be relevant that ‘Urwah was classified in Arabic as a *šu’lūk*, whereas al-Maqrīzī in his other writings tends to reserve that word for the ‘poor’ and ‘destitute’,¹¹ and he entitled his chapter *Luṣūṣ al-‘Arab*, not *Ša’ālik al-‘Arab*. ‘Urwah’s label thus might have conceptually shifted him into a distinct class of the poor who raided for sustenance, as separate from the fleet-footed marauder *luṣūṣ* who raided simply because they were *luṣūṣ*.¹²

8 See, for example, Ismā‘īl (2014–2015): 16–23. Ron-Gilboa (2015): 25 also considers ‘Urwah as one of the “best known *ša’ālik* poets”.

9 The trio of Ta’abbaṭa Šarran, al-Šanfará and ‘Amr b. Barrāq are counted as a gang in al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aġānī*, 21:181; al-Sulayk was perhaps also a member (21:144), and al-Iṣfahānī lists the ‘Runner’ thieves together at 20:389. Al-Iṣfahānī narrates ‘Urwah’s biography much earlier in *al-Aġānī*, 3:72–85.

10 Al-Siġistānī, *Fuḥūlat al-Šu‘arā*’ 114 (‘Urwah) and 121 (the Runners).

11 See Chapter 2, note 42.

12 Ron-Gilboa (2015): 25–26 proposes that ‘Urwah was excluded from al-Maqrīzī’s text because his biography lacks sin and violence, and because his motivations appear noble. The analysis is tenable too, but al-Maqrīzī did also include Niẓām who is described as a ‘generous robber’—i.e. one who distributes what he steals, like ‘Urwah, and because ‘Urwah

Whilst the weight of anecdotes thus lends to the impression that al-Maqrīzī's concept of pre-Islamic Arabian thievery revolved around the triad of violence/running/half-breed origin, there are nonetheless further inconsistencies that continue to trouble our interpretation. For example, al-Maqrīzī did not include all the famous 'Runners' in his chapter. His brief introductory preamble states that he will narrate about those thieves "whom he knows" (§ 2.1.4), but there are at least two significant omissions that come to mind: Ḥāğiz b. 'Awf, a thief associated with prodigious running and violent adventures since the earliest literary mention of the 'Runners' (*'addā'ūn*) in Abū Ḥatīm al-Siğistānī's *Fuḥūlat al-šū'arā'*,¹³ and Qays b. al-Ḥudādiyyah, who according to *al-Ağānī* was a "bellicose, brave, outcast desperado" (*fātik, šuğā'ah, šu'lūk, ḥalī*).¹⁴ Al-Maqrīzī knew about Ḥāğiz: a marginal note in al-Maqrīzī's hand on folio 5^b ln. 2 of the holograph states that "Ḥāğiz was one of the Ravens", and *al-Ağānī* contains biographies of both Ḥāğiz and Qays.¹⁵ Al-Maqrīzī used *al-Ağānī* as a central key source for the chapter (as detailed in Chapter 6, below), and since there seems no reason to exclude either Ḥāğiz or Qays, is it the case that al-Maqrīzī simply missed them when researching the *Luṣūṣ*?

Beyond the omission of characters, the coherence of al-Maqrīzī's outlaw traits also has complications. On the one hand, a general impression of the chapter as a whole will grasp that outlawry meant small-stakes raiding with the threat of extreme personal violence, perpetrated by figures marked for their supernatural abilities to run from their foes, but not every chapter builds towards that impression. For example, while most of the biographies conform to an archetypal characterisation that depicts them as simplistic figures who exist to raid and who need no motives, two biographies, al-Šanfarā and 'Amr b. Barrāqah, conversely indicate that their violent actions were motivated by specific reasons. A reader is thus torn between the biographies of figures who appear as inveterate robbers for whom violence was an inseparable part of their

is treated separately in most other pre-modern outlaw narratives, I suspect that his exclusion from *al-Luṣūṣ* is equally, if not more, a function of the fact that al-Maqrīzī would not have found 'Urwah's narratives in his sources alongside those of the other thieves, and, moreover, his intention was to write about *luṣūṣ*, not *ša'alūk*.

13 Al-Siğistānī, *Fuḥūlat al-šū'arā'* 121.

14 Al-Isfahānī, *al-Ağānī*, 14:142.

15 Al-Isfahānī, *al-Ağānī*, 13:232–240. Ḥāğiz's biography did not fare well in the extant Ayyubid- and Mamluk-era abridgements of *al-Ağānī*: Ibn Manẓūr's *Muḥtār al-Ağānī* skips Ḥāğiz, and Ibn Wāṣil al-Ḥamawī has the concise note: "One of the Arab desperados, and one of those famous for running. A pre-Islamic poet with a small oeuvre, he was not a famous poet, and I choose to relate nothing about him." (*Tağrīd al-Ağānī*, 2.1:1503). Al-Maqrīzī, however, evidently had a full copy of *al-Ağānī*, as his biography of al-Šanfarā follows the text in *al-Ağānī*; whereas al-Šanfarā is absent in Ibn Manẓūr's *Muḥtār*, and has only an abbreviated narration in Ibn Wāṣil's *Tağrīd*.

nature, and other biographies where the protagonists have more or less justifiable cause for fighting. Other outlaw literary traditions do possess motivated and motive-less thieves, for instance in early English tales, the motives behind Hereward the Wake's and Gamelyn's decisions to become outlaws are a key part of their narratives, whereas the more mature outlaw tradition of Robin Hood (which built on the foundations of the Hereward, Gamelyn and others) begins *in medias res*: we are not told *why* Robin Hood became a thief; it is simply the basis of his stock character.¹⁶ The primary difference between the English examples and those of al-Maqrīzī's text is that al-Maqrīzī brought disparate tales into one book and did not harmonise them. Al-Maqrīzī thus shows his traditionist historian's scruples to preserve material as he found it, but outlaw stories are mostly fictional, and an overly empirical narrative approach lacks the flexibility needed to give cohesion to the sense of outlaw identity from incongruent source materials. As such, al-Maqrīzī leaves us with inconsistencies throughout: some 'Arab Thieves' are depicted as stealing, others not, and some but not all of the Runners are included, whereas the final three characters in al-Maqrīzī's chapter are not known as runners at all.

The omissions and the somewhat quizzical selections lead to my impression that perhaps the most salient unifying aspects of al-Maqrīzī's *Luṣūṣ* are superficiality and inconsistency. A superficial scan of the characters will grasp that each of them lived a violent life, and if the sum of al-Maqrīzī's intention was for his readers to obtain such basic opinions about pre-Islamic Arabia, then he succeeded. Any reader can emerge with the sense that the pre-Islamic outlaws embody the disorderly violence of *al-Ġāhiliyyah*, and that pre-Islamic Arabia must have been an uncomfortable place for anyone in possession of camels, property and womenfolk. Where al-Maqrīzī seems to have fallen short is in catering for the satisfaction of more perceptive readers. If we wish to probe beyond the basic narrative that *al-Ġāhiliyyah* was violent, al-Maqrīzī's selection of ten thieves does not readily enable conceptual expansion. This is a significant shortcoming, since a characteristic trait of pre-modern Arabic *adab* is the construction of a text which has limited explicit editorial comment, but which selects and arranges materials in subtle ways that enable careful readers to unlock deeper meanings and patterns. Herein, the inconsistency of al-Maqrīzī's selection is frustrating: the outlaws included in the chapter loosely share certain traits, but there are exceptions to seemingly any rubric we wish to impose upon the text, and an assiduous reader seeking more complex patterns linking the ten 'Arab Thieves' would likely find his thoughts running in the same circles as ours have over the past pages. The ten *luṣūṣ* are mostly fast,

16 For the English narratives and commentaries, see Swanton (2000) (Hereward the Wake); Knight (2000) (Gamelyn); Ohlgren (2000) (Robin Hood).

mostly half-black and most often die, but I am at a loss to find these points connecting to a deeper purpose beyond essentialised *Ġāhiliyyah* construction.

From an overview of al-Maqrīzī's selections, he appears to have lacked a cohesive vision of 'outlawry', and his selections thereby represent not a thoughtful and targeted distilling of earlier works, but rather a depository of clippings. As al-Maqrīzī combed manuscripts in his and other libraries, he encountered characters whom, for one or more reasons, he deemed thief-like, and he copied-out the anecdotes for later deposit verbatim in his *Luṣūṣ al-'Arab*. Because early Arabic literature embraced manifold conceptions of the outlaw character type, and because different texts had their own specific discourses which shaped their outlaw characterisations, an approach akin to al-Maqrīzī's which simply searches and copies from across the board will result in a polyphonic and haphazard collection. This outcome is demonstrated in al-Maqrīzī's selection of Niẓām, a figure whose memory is only preserved in one anecdote in al-Qāḍī l-Mu'āfā l-Nahrawānī's *al-Ġalīs al-ṣāliḥ al-kāfi*, which al-Maqrīzī copies (without acknowledgement) in § 2.10.2–3. Al-Maqrīzī must have read *al-Ġalīs* at some point before compiling his 'Arab Thieves' as he lifted two stories from it,¹⁷ and since Niẓām is depicted as stealing camels in *al-Ġalīs*, he seems a good fit. But, once Niẓām's tale is placed alongside the other characters whom al-Maqrīzī selected for the 'Arab Thieves', Niẓām becomes manifestly incongruous: he does not run fast, he was not half-Ethiopian, he never is depicted killing, and he was not even a very good thief, since the story narrates the foiling of Niẓām's attempted camel-rustle by the camels' more impressive owner. Niẓām does not put up a very stout resistance, nor he does die in the exchange, he is merely bested and humiliated, a unique end-result compared with all other biographies in *al-Luṣūṣ*. While Niẓām thus seems to be a real outlaw in isolation, his inclusion in *al-Luṣūṣ* did not contribute to moulding a cohesive outlaw type across the board, and it is perhaps not surprising that earlier, perhaps more thoughtful writers did not mention Niẓām alongside the likes of Ta'abbaṭa Šarran, al-Sulayk, and others. Niẓām's insertion in al-Maqrīzī's 'Arab Thieves' thus primarily contributes to the text's unevenness, and in sum, al-Maqrīzī's selections are simply too inconsistent to reward the effort of those who will seek a rounder, more nuanced notion of outlawry. For this shortcoming, *al-Ḥabar* is certainly more of a chronicle that can be consumed for facts and names than it is a careful piece of *adab* that can be interpreted for readers' entertainment and edification.

17 The other is acknowledged, and it narrates the death of 'Amr of the Dog (§ 2.2.9). For discussion of al-Maqrīzī's sources overall, see Chapter 6, below.

5.2 Narrative Structure

The inconsistency of al-Maqrīzī's selection criteria that yielded a rather motley crew of outlaws with uneven characteristics is mirrored in similar inconsistencies within the narrative structure of the individual outlaw biographies that further obstruct efforts to interpret the chapter. I found the narrative irregularities to be perhaps the most unfortunate aspect of the text: outlaw literature in other traditions presents readers with crafted narratives that spin exciting stories and play on the characters' moral ambiguities to develop anti-hero mythopoesis and mould complex themes about the law, fairness and morality for audiences to contemplate. A reader hoping to find this form of outlaw story in al-Maqrīzī's *Luṣūṣ* will be disappointed: the chapter has several very good stories that begin to unlock the narrative potential of outlaw storytelling, but others are laconic and frankly unsatisfactory, and the shortcomings become apparent when analysing al-Maqrīzī's arrangement of material.

In general, the biographies have a set pattern: al-Maqrīzī (i) opens each section introducing the outlaw's name and lineage; (ii) presents anecdotes and poetry about his adventures; (iii) reports the outlaw's death in considerable detail; and (iv) narrates elegiac poetry lamenting the outlaw's passing. In practice, however, readers will note that each of these basic components is lacking in at least one biography, and some biographies lack several. If al-Maqrīzī began with the intention of crafting one set pattern for each entry, he did not follow it through, and this resembles the findings of the previous section where we explored al-Maqrīzī's inconsistent approach to selecting characters for inclusion.

5.2.1 *Multiple Outlaws under One Name: 'Amr of the Dog*

Beyond the inconsistent organisation of the ten biographies, the inner workings of each section also leave readers with unclear direction. For an example, consider the text's first thief: 'Amr of the Dog. The biography's opening paragraphs (§§ 2.2.1–2.2.4) are short statements that identify 'Amr via his lineage, describe his characteristics in a few words, and offer explanations for his sobriquet 'of the Dog.' Readers learn that there is disagreement over both his genealogy and the precise inspiration for his nickname, but the one detail which stands without contradiction is his identification in § 2.2.2 as "a poet, a hot-blooded belligerent [*fātik*], and a raider [*miǧwār*]." Thus far, al-Maqrīzī is an effective narrator: his sources provide contradictory points of detail, and he discloses them, but he does not record any material that contradicts the identification of 'Amr as bellicose outlaw, thus anchoring 'Amr's inclusion in the pan-

theon of 'Arab Thieves' at the outset. So far, so good, but §§ 2.2.5–2.2.7, 2.2.8 and 2.2.9 narrate different points which become difficult to reconcile and interpret.

Paragraphs §§ 2.2.5–2.2.7 narrate 'Amr's death and are followed by two elegies composed in his memory by his sister; in § 2.2.8 'Amr is alive again, as al-Maqrīzī narrates one line of 'Amr's boastful poetry about his warring skill, and in § 2.2.9, we read a very different account of 'Amr's death. The fact that there are two completely different reports of 'Amr's death is not immediately a problem because al-Maqrīzī has already conditioned us to expect inconsistency in the biography. The discrepancies in the memory of 'Amr's very name and the cause of his sobriquet indicate that 'Amr's memory passed into Arabic writing with contradictions, but two issues are more problematic from the perspective of outlaw literature in general, and the 'Amr of the Dog narrative in particular.

As a function of genre, it is normal for outlaws to be ascribed diverse death narratives because an outlaw hero is the object of shifting characterisations. As the outlaw becomes increasingly fictionalised, stories of his death will necessarily evolve in order to keep up with the outlaw's evolving persona. Consider an exemplary case of Eustace the Monk from the Anglo-Norman outlaw tradition. Eustace was a historical character who died in a historical naval battle at Sandwich in 1217, but as Eustace's persona developed in an outlaw mould, accounts of his death needed to be re-narrated in increasingly fabulous terms to keep in line with the increasingly outlandish stories that replaced memory of the 'real' Eustace. From the perspective of effective storytelling, however, it is noteworthy that the successive Eustace tales do not retain the older versions of his death: each new tale narrates a new account. This is effective since it maintains consistency between the account of Eustace's death and his developing characterisation, without introducing doubt and dissonance that would emerge if multiple versions were reported in the same text.¹⁸ In contrast to the Eustace narratives (where the interests of a good story evidently trump meticulous historiography), al-Maqrīzī's choice to narrate multiple versions of 'Amr's death betrays his traditionist historian's habit, and clogs the narrative with incongruent layers of characterisation. Such an approach is ill-suited to narrating fictionalised death tales of swashbuckling anti-heroes.

Second, and more significant still, the nature of the two accounts of 'Amr's death transcend mere discrepancy, since they pull in opposite directions, and herein is the deeper problem. In version 1 (§ 2.2.5), we encounter the familiar theme of star crossed lovers: 'Amr is in love with a girl from a rival tribe, she

18 For references to the different narratives of Eustace's death, see Keen (2000), and Burgess (1997).

loves him too, but her people do not love the idea, and they set a trap to kill 'Amr when he comes calling on an amorous adventure. 'Amr flees on foot across the desert night, but loses the way, he hides in a cave, is surrounded, and in conformity with the Arab warrior stereotype, 'Amr puts up the good fight, felling one of his pursuers before he is overwhelmed, killed and despoiled. In version 2 (§ 2.2.9), on the other hand, 'Amr is observed wallowing in the blood of a lion he has just hunted, and while so doing, he is bitten by a snake and dies. The observer of the scene takes 'Amr's weapons, and later learns that 'Amr used to kill lions and wallow in their blood in vengeance for a lion that once killed one of his brothers.

In both stories, 'Amr's life ends messily, and both stories depict life in pre-Islam as solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short, but beyond this very basic (and obvious) impression, I find that 'Amr dies in two different ways because we are in fact presented with two distinct people. The first 'Amr is a tribal warrior, a lover and a good runner (he was one of his people's *riḡālāt*, it is said at the outset), but he is mortal, his running takes him the wrong way, he cannot escape bad odds, yet he acquits himself well enough by killing one of his pursuers in order to die honourably. This 'Amr has stolen nothing, has raided no one, and intends no aggression: he is rather a victim of what is presented as a harsh, unfair tribal system which imposes the death penalty for a mere love interest. One of the elegies that follows in § 2.2.7 does not quite match the preceding story, since ln. 1 refers to 'Amr as dying on a raid (whereas the story has it as a love tryst), and lns. 3–5 imply that 'Amr was a wealthy tribal leader (whereas the story seems to have him as a more youthful misadventurer), but the poem in general supports the image of 'Amr #1 as embedded within the norms of a tribal system where warrior braves are the heroes. It is also interesting that this 'Amr has no dog, which seems odd, since al-Maqrīzī's opening paragraphs in his biography of 'Amr imply that his dog never left his side.

The second 'Amr in § 2.2.9 has salient differences from 'Amr #1. #2 does have a dog, and the dog protects 'Amr's corpse, thus fulfilling the expectation of 'Amr's nickname, but this 'Amr #2 does not appear to be a 'runner' (a horse was said to be tethered nearby him), and his passion for mauling lions is rather peculiar and distinct from the emotions of a lover. He also dies ignominiously, as he has no chance to establish any honour through self-defence in the face of death, and the snakebite seems to be his ordained requite for indulging in the unnatural habit of wallowing in the bellies of dead lions. Yet when dead, his hand is still ascribed some vitality by the narrator of the story, so the supernatural lingers over 'Amr #2's body, appropriately for a figure whose distinguishing character trait—a desire to maul lions—is abnormal. A reader might sense that 'Amr #2, with his morbid battle against lions, is not one for dating girls (I do not recall

Captain Ahab having much to say about his wife), nor would someone with the unhuman traits of a serial-lion killer whose arm continues to move after death likely fall prey to a mere war party—it seems fitting and necessary that a figure of this unnatural ferocity can only be killed by nature so as to show the restoration of a universal balance.

What then is a reader to conclude from al-Maqrīzī's biography of 'Amr of the Dog? One facet the two 'Amrs do share is the fact that neither seem to have stolen anything: this is itself quite a problem because the two stories constitute the main narrative details for 'Amr's biography in al-Maqrīzī's *Luṣūṣ*, and it is unhelpful that neither enables readers to conceptualise outlawry. Thus, al-Maqrīzī's selection in fact prevents our imaginations from seeing how pre-Islamic outlawry was enacted, and we are moreover split between reading 'Amr either as a tribal warrior or as a predator against nature. The tale of 'Amr #1 befits the memories of Arabian kin-groups, for it illustrates the relationships (peaceful or lethal) between neighbouring peoples, and can be narrated to answer practical questions. If one were a member of the Ḥudayl ('Amr's people) and wanted to know why 'we' are (or should be) at war with the Fahm (the girl's people), the story in § 2.2.5 explains that the Fahm murdered 'our' brave 'Amr in the past, and his blood remains unavenged. It is this practical element which may have triggered and enabled the story's continuous memorialisation amongst the Ḥudayl, and it subsequently trickled into the urban Abbasid-era Iraqi setting where tribal stories were committed to writing.

The latter story of 'Amr #2, on the other hand, is devoid of social signification: we hear nothing of relationships between neighbouring kin-groups, there is no mention of kin-affiliation at all, and the story is really a voyeuristic glimpse into an unnatural battle between two animals, one a ferocious predator (the lion) and the second ('Amr), a terrifying pseudo-human figure whose actions remove him from the sphere of men (the observer specifically notes 'Amr #2's terrible gaze and refusal to communicate, heightening the distance between 'Amr and humanity). The fact that 'Amr #2's only companion is a dog further widens the separation of 'Amr from human society, and underlines the liminal realm of animals in which 'Amr's character is deposited. This story will pique the curiosity of those interested in outlaw tales: improbable battles between outlaw and apex predators are stock material of outlaw lore to aggrandize the outlaw's strength and formidableness,¹⁹ and the isolation of 'Amr #2 from humanity is

19 Consider the repeated motif of tiger killing in the Chinese *Outlaws of the Marsh*; for examples Wu Song was nicknamed the "tiger killer" after dispatching a ferocious tiger in the mountains (2:631), and Black Whirlwind kills four tigers in one escapade (Shi Nai'an and Luo Guangzhong, *Outlaws*, 2:908–910).

another facet of the special anti-heroic mythopoesis befitting an outlaw, and here we can see a larger-than-life character emerging. Such a story is of scant relevance to a kin-based society, as no group will want to claim this fellow as their own, and the prose story makes no reference to lineage, so no one has to claim him in any event,²⁰ and audiences can instead enjoy the tale for its wonderment. Wonder (*ʿaǧāʿib*) was in demand in writerly circles of Abbasid Iraq, and the story would seem a good fit as a relic of creative storytelling in the de-tribalised Abbasid urban society which was developing an interest in ‘wild’ ancient Arabia.

As for readers of al-Maqrīzī’s chapter, the overall narrative does not enable resolution of the two ‘Amrs, as the two stories constitute the sum total of the section’s material, and al-Maqrīzī does not offer help further on either, since none of the other nine ‘Arab Thieves’ are depicted in analogous activities: there are no more ill-omened love affairs, and no further characters engage in wars against nature. There is paranormal in Ta’abbāṭa Šarran’s corpse (§ 2.3.21), but al-Maqrīzī does not take that opportunity to connect the other outlaws via allusions to wild nature and the supernatural.²¹ Al-Maqrīzī does indulge in anecdotes of wonderment concerning the running prowess of some of the Thieves: for example he includes statements about their tremendous gait, the signs that can be read in their footprints, and their fabulous escapes on foot (see §§ 2.3.8, 2.3.16, 2.4.5, 2.5.10), but ‘Amr’s biography is afforded no such embellishment (‘Amr #1’s downfall is in fact his inability to run away), and even al-Maqrīzī’s selection of anecdotes for the biography of the celebrated runner ‘Amr b. Bar-rāqah contains none of the stories which were circulating about his running prowess whatsoever. Again, a reader looking to tie the stories together through a common theme of fabulous running will be left with an incomplete feeling of an under-developed theme.

In terms of the theme of violent death, the ‘Amr stories are inconsistent too. Does the prototypical outlaw need to die in combat, or do unusual causes need to be associated with his death? Al-Maqrīzī leaves this unanswered—Ta’abbāṭa Šarran has an unusual death befitting an anti-hero like ‘Amr #2, but some of

20 The poem, appended to the end, does mention lineage groups, but it is the same poem as is appended to the ‘Amr #1 story. It would seem that a poem was circulating, and the prose death anecdotes were developed at different times and in different places, constructing the two different kinds of ‘Amrs.

21 Al-Maqrīzī could have, as there is material about Uḫaymir cohabiting with wild animals in the wilderness (Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Šīr wa-l-šūʿarāʾ*, 2:775), al-Šanfarā’s poetry describes affinity with wolves (al-Šanfarā, *Dīwān* 65), and Ta’abbāṭa Šarran has many recorded interactions with ghouls (al-Išfahānī, *al-Aǧānī*, 21:139, 140, 145–146): none of these stories, however, were incorporated by al-Maqrīzī in *al-Luṣūṣ*.

al-Maqrīzī's other outlaws die in feuding between inter-kin hatreds (such as al-Šanfará), some die from their own hubris or wanton exercise of violence (al-Muntašir, al-Sulayk), while others are not reported to die in conflict at all (Awfá b. Maṭar, 'Amr b. Barrāqah and Nizām). Thus it does not appear to have been al-Maqrīzī's intention to weave the many narrative threads introduced in the 'Amr stories into a consistent portrayal across the chapter. Instead, al-Maqrīzī creates the biographies from an array of varied reports, which he relates with their contradictions and inconsistent detail. The result is a haphazard presentation of anecdotes throughout the *Lušūš*, and whilst Arabic literature's signature feature is the gathering of ostensible cacophonies of disparate anecdotes into one chapter under coherent meanings, it is the second half of the two-limb process of *adab* writing where al-Maqrīzī falls short. The lone common thread that can be discerned from al-Maqrīzī's *Lušūš* is simply the text's representation of pre-Islam via violent archetypes; otherwise the anecdotes betray the absence of a consistent deeper purpose that could tailor the selection of anecdotes to create more complex narratives. If each biography is to be subjected to detailed analysis to further this observation, our study would grow far too long, and we shall thus suffice in what remains here with a few final observations, leaving readers to explore the rest in the edition of *Lušūš al-'Arab* that follows our study.

5.2.2 *Anecdote Arrangement and Outlaw Personae Construction: al-Šanfará*

Perhaps the main issue for further consideration is al-Maqrīzī's strategy for characterising an 'outlaw'. *Lušūš al-'Arab* is a chapter about 'Arab Thieves', the ten figures selected had not been unanimously classified as 'thieves' in prior texts, and no previous historian had attempted to narrate such a cohesive list of outlaws before. Consequently, it seems a reasonable expectation that al-Maqrīzī will gather examples that illustrate why each of his ten characters can be labelled a *lišš*, but here the text's arrangement is unhelpful. In the biography of al-Šanfará, for example, the nine segments contain three narrative stories (§§ 2.4.2–4), three stand-alone poems (§§ 2.4.6–7, 2.4.9), one statement of al-Šanfará's running prowess (§ 2.4.5), and two statements about al-Šanfará without elaboration (§ 2.4.1, 2.4.8). The stories in §§ 2.4.2–4 do not indicate that al-Šanfará was an outlaw: instead they narrate that his life of violence (which does not expressly involve theft) was a result of an elaborate blood feud stemming from his childhood capture from his native people. Al-Šanfará thus has a motivation for killing, but it does not cross into robbery or dispossessing those who wronged him, and thus is unusual as outlaw lore. Al-Maqrīzī does indicate al-Šanfará's outlaw identity through a laconic statement ascribed to the poetry specialist al-Marzubānī (d. 384/994) that al-Šanfará used to steal on

foot-raids together with Ta'abbata Šarran and 'Amr b. Barrāqah/Barrāq (§ 2.4.8), and al-Maqrīzī narrates two lines of a poem by al-Šanfarā that appear to allude to Ta'abbata Šarran as the gang's boss (§ 2.4.7), but these statements are not illustrated by stories which *show* us how al-Šanfarā was an outlaw. The omission is unfortunate, especially because elsewhere in Arabic literature, there are stories of al-Šanfarā's raiding and stealing in a gang with Ta'abbata Šarran and 'Amr b. Barrāqah/Barrāq. By not including such tales in al-Šanfarā's biography, al-Maqrīzī's selections are again incomplete, and the fragmentary array of anecdotes prevents readers from experiencing al-Šanfarā the outlaw. The narrative's emphasis is wholly skewed to the character of al-Šanfarā *qua* blood-avenger—which seems the opposite approach a compiler should take in crafting a chapter on thieves. The absence of outlaw lore is inexplicable, unless the chapter we read is in fact the result of hasty, or even sloppy composition with the rather pedestrian purpose of simply emphasising the violent disorder of *al-Ġāhiliyyah*.

Given the number of manifestly more appropriate stories about al-Šanfarā that are not included in al-Maqrīzī's work, logic dictates that al-Maqrīzī either missed the stories, or was unaware of their existence, both of which again suggest that the material we have in *Luṣūṣ al-'Arab* represents the pickings from a rapid scan through a limited number of sources, bunched together without the editorial effects of a more concerted vision for the messages the chapter on 'Arab Thieves' would impart.

Suspensions that the material was hastily compiled also arise when considering the ordering of anecdotes, where, in our example of al-Šanfarā's biography, their arrangement further interferes with the process of outlaw characterisation. For instance, the most explicit statement of al-Šanfarā's outlaw identity, in § 2.4.8 is delayed to the end of the entry, whereas readers first encounter al-Šanfarā waging a blood feud without any reference to his outlaw status. Having thus characterised al-Šanfarā as a warrior, the laconic statement in § 2.4.8 that he was a thief confounds the impressions about al-Šanfarā which al-Maqrīzī imparted in the previous paragraphs, and a reader thus would like to know what to do with al-Šanfarā—did he find time to rob in between blood-feuding, was his outlaw status part of the blood-feud, or were there two al-Šanfarās (like the case of 'Amr of the Dog), one engaged in an inter-tribal feud, the other a member of an outlaw gang? Al-Maqrīzī wraps up the biography on al-Šanfarā quickly after introducing the complication, and so readers are left without resolution, or even any substantial details upon which they could imagine a resolution.

Anecdote organising is also at issue with the one-line poem al-Maqrīzī selects in § 2.4.6 which describes al-Šanfarā's ideal of a pretty girl: it is nestled between a comment on the incredibly wide space between al-Šanfarā's running

footprints (§ 2.4.5) and a poem about his gang's boss (§ 2.4.7). Would it not have served the narrative better to insert a poem in which al-Šanfará describes his running, raiding, or stealing? Such lines were preserved, and whole collections of al-Šanfará's poetry had been made into books.²² For example, the *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab* (the Arabs' Poem Rhyming in 'L') ascribed to al-Šanfará, contains a panoply of motifs germane to generating a feeling of outlawry and danger, and lines such as the following were widely copied in poetry collections and books devoted to grammatical commentary on the poem:²³

Mine are the ill-omened nights.
 When others will burn their bows for kindling,
 I charge into the dark, drizzly chill;
 My companions: hunger, cold, anxiety and fear.
 I widow women, I orphan children,
 I disappear into the blackness.
 Dawn roused them after I raided al-Ghumayṣā'²⁴
 Asking questions, lacking answers:
 They said, "Our dogs growled in the night."
 "Was it a prowling wolf? A hyena cub?"
 "But the sound was only faint, then the dogs slept again."
 "So it was a startled sandgrouse? Or a falcon?"
 "If it was a jinn—what a sinister visitor!"
 "If it was a man—but no, no men act like that!"²⁵

Would not this poetry help construct an outlaw identity for al-Šanfará? Since the *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab* was well-known amongst Mamluk-era readers, al-Maqrīzī would have known it, and one might rationalise his omission on the basis that al-Maqrīzī considered his readers knew the poem well enough already. On the other hand, the poem (or at least selections) would manifestly assist the construction of a feel for the outlaw character, and their absence in the *Luṣūṣ*

22 Al-Šanfará's poetry *Dīwān* is noted as a stand-alone book in Ḥaǧǧī Ḥalífah, *Kašf al-ẓunūn*, 1:795; two copies of it were in the Ayyubid Ašrafiyyah Library in Damascus (Hirschler (2016) catalogue numbers 585, 1230c); and a manuscript is extant today in Cairo (Dār al-Kutub, MS 1864 *Adab*).

23 There were more than eleven commentaries written on the *Lāmiyyah* by Muslim-era grammarians (Ya'qūb (1996): 20); a copy is also recorded in the Ayyubid-era Ašrafiyyah Library (Hirschler (2016): number 1215c).

24 A place in central Arabia.

25 Al-Šanfará, *Dīwān* 69–71 (translation, Peter Webb).

is a lost opportunity. The poem al-Maqrīzī selected in § 2.4.6 appears in Ibn Qutaybah's *Ġarīb al-ḥadīṭ* lexical commentary on the *ḥadīṭ*—this was a staple text of al-Maqrīzī's training as a *ḥadīṭ* scholar, and hence one suspects that al-Maqrīzī included the verse (along with Ibn Qutaybah's gloss) not for its value in building al-Šanfará's outlaw character, but primarily because it was a piece of information connected to al-Šanfará which he happened to possess. Instead of weaving a lurid outlaw biography, therefore, al-Maqrīzī leaves his readers with sherds of characterisations for al-Šanfará without giving readers consistent narratives and images they need to bring the stories together.²⁶

As the case for 'Amr of the Dog, al-Šanfará's biography is plenty violent enough, so it does sufficiently embody the sense of violent *Ġāhiliyyah*, again pointing to what appears to be al-Maqrīzī's primary goal of using the 'Arab Thieves' instrumentally to demonstrate the violence and disorder of pre-Islam. The skew of the narratives towards scenes of violence—any form of violence seems to have fit the bill—renders the outlaws as casualties of al-Maqrīzī's interests in history over outlaw literature. Instead of developing their characters and crafting a cohesive set of particular villains, al-Maqrīzī reduces them to a basic common denominator of violence in order to construct the broader historiographical picture of Arabia before Muḥammad, and having used the thieves' biographies to illustrate the phenomenon of *Ġāhiliyyah* violence, al-Maqrīzī leaves the more complex questions of their outlawry in the margins, and we have half-formed outlaw heroes with flat characterisation and jagged edges of incomplete narrative development.

5.2.3 *'Amr ibn Barrāqah and Concluding Impressions*

Akin to the incomplete characterisations across the individual biographies in al-Maqrīzī's *Luṣūṣ*, there is moreover an overall sense of incompleteness in the compilation of the chapter. Of the ten 'Thieves', only Ta'abbāṭa Šarran and al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah receive lengthy entries (Ta'abbāṭa Šarran alone occupies 40% of the whole *Luṣūṣ*). The other biographies are abridged, they leave

26 I thank the anonymous reviewer for proposing the possibility that the *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab* was so celebrated that al-Maqrīzī felt his readership would not have needed reminders. Nonetheless, I consider al-Maqrīzī's omission to be more a function of his approach to compiling the anecdotes about al-Šanfará, and not a conscious decision (discussed further in Chapter 6.4). The *Qāfiyyah* poem of Ta'abbāṭa Šarran was equally well-renowned, and al-Maqrīzī did include an excerpt of it (§ 2.3.13), so it does not appear that he had a consistent intention to only narrate niche anecdotes and verse. From the purely narrative perspective of constructing good outlaw stories, the absence of al-Šanfará's *Lāmiyyah* is regrettable, and thus the crafting of excitement appears not to have been al-Maqrīzī's primary goal in his *Luṣūṣ*, again suggestive that the text we behold is the word of a traditionalist historian with historiographical aims, and not an outlaw storyteller.

out information that was in circulation which could have helped create more cohesive entries (such as for al-Šanfará), and in some cases, they are even left without satisfying resolution. For example, the biography of 'Amr b. Barrāqah (or Barrāq) consists of just one anecdote and a poem (§ 2.8.1). In the story as al-Maqrīzī copied it, 'Amr owned livestock which was stolen by a neighbour. 'Amr sought advice of his kin's clairvoyant, a daughter of their leader, and she directed him to recover his animals. We are then told that 'Amr succeeded, but the thief subsequently approached him, demanding the return of some livestock. 'Amr naturally demurred, and sung a poem about his prowess. From this entry, we wonder who is the thief? 'Amr b. Barrāqah should be the protagonist outlaw, but in the story, he is the one who was robbed first. And if 'Amr is one of the 'Arab Thieves' with the characteristics of *fatk* and *ǧahl*, we should expect him to rush passionately into combat to recover his gains. An outlaw in the mould we have come to expect of the *fātik* is a man of action, not one who needs or solicits the advice of anyone. The story which al-Maqrīzī has chosen to represent 'Amr thus fails to present him in an outlaw light, and only the poem appended to the story gives an indication that 'Amr felt he had warrior/desperado prowess. As will be discussed in Chapter 6.3, it may be that al-Maqrīzī could not find better outlaw stories to describe 'Amr, but then why include him at all if his narratives do not support the creation of outlaw characterisation?

'Amr's brief biography is illustrative of the difficulties al-Maqrīzī faced in trying to locate material germane to his unusual purpose of including thieves as a chapter in history. Outlaw narratives often need expansion and rewriting in order to work, and al-Maqrīzī shows his temperament and training as a historian and *ḥadīth* scholar in the manner in which he constructs the chapter from selecting, not inventing stories. Herein is perhaps a crux of the matter: the historian's methodology may be ill-suited to crafting outlaw lore, as outlaw narratives are always more uneven, uncertain and patchy than the records of kings, states and civilisations. The Arabic material is no exception: the sources from which al-Maqrīzī drew his anecdotes were uneven and portrayed the figures in varied guises: some as warriors, some as thieves, others as supernatural outlaw heroes. It is the task of a successful compiler to be assiduous and careful in making selections or, alternatively, to be careless enough with the truth to enable the crafting of brand new impressions: either way, in the interests of constructing a good outlaw story, it is essential that the compiler create a text with a consistent logic, and it is evident that al-Maqrīzī did not have this goal in mind. Whilst his introduction defines *liṣṣ* as a thief, he did not depict all of his *luṣūṣ* as stealing, and while some anecdotes embed characters like 'Amr #1 in a tribal system, others send them into the liminal region between human and animal like 'Amr #2, and al-Maqrīzī did not sustain either forms of characterisa-

tion throughout. Al-Maqrīzī can thus be credited for taking the innovative step of including outlaws in his chronique *al-Ḥabar*, but it seems he was content to simply portray the *Luṣūṣ* with the superficial consistency of being bold and ferocious, and mostly (but not entirely) runners and half-breeds. From analysis of the text and its characters, the clear effect is the generation of a pervasive sense of violent *Ġāhiliyyah*. Beyond that, the narratives betray an imperfect selection criteria and unclear narrative organisation

Taken together, I suspect most readers of al-Maqrīzī's *Luṣūṣ* will find that its calibre mostly falls short of expectations of outlaw literature, and that al-Maqrīzī's execution in selecting and arranging his material did not assist matters. There are very good stories: 'Amr #2's death (§ 2.2.9), Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's adventure in a cave (§ 2.3.14), the events leading to his death (§ 2.3.20–21), al-Sulayk's amusing path to plunder (§ 2.5.5) and Nizām's misadventure (§ 2.10.2). Each of these carry the hallmarks of outlaw literature, but they are in a minority, and the handling of the narratives does not drive their potential to create a cohesive sense of anti-heroes to populate a meaningful category of 'Arab Thieves'. It is normal for readers to perceive outlaws as ambivalent characters, and our impressions should be torn between two contradictory poles, but they ought not be splitting in all directions at once! Al-Maqrīzī's chapter achieves the latter: readers are not confronted by a moral dichotomy of good/ill such that they become unable to decide whether to like or loath the characters (which would be the familiar effect of outlaw narrative), rather readers are caught betwixt multiple, contradictory and unclear signals emanating from the text. At this juncture, we can better understand how the chapter took its particular shape, shortcomings and all, by going beyond the stories and identities of the characters al-Maqrīzī selected, and turning to the book manuscript and its compiler.

5.3 The Book

Al-Ḥabar 'an *al-bašar* was not only the last book al-Maqrīzī wrote, it was also written during the very last months of his life. Volume 3 of *al-Ḥabar* was completed, according to the colophon in al-Maqrīzī's hand, "five days before the end of *Dū l-Ḥiġġah*" in 844, i.e. 17 May 1441,²⁷ and since al-Maqrīzī died in Ramaḍān 845/January–February 1442, he had just some eight months in 845/1441–1442 to

27 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Fatih 4338, f. 252^b. See the detailed discussion of the manuscripts of *al-Ḥabar* in Bauden (forthcoming).

complete the fair copy of the remaining three volumes. It was a considerable task: volumes 4, 5 and 6 of *al-Ḥabar* are 162, 265 and 276 folios long, respectively, and while it appears that he began the process of planning the whole work in 837/1434, he only began preparing his final copy shortly before 844/1440.²⁸ In terms of execution, the manuscript is a holograph, it is entirely in al-Maqrīzī's hand, and thus we know that he copied it himself from his notes, and since it is also edited and heavily annotated in the margins, we also know that he reviewed it a second, and perhaps more times, again himself, adding amendments, edits and new material in his hand. Given the short-time frame between the completion of volume 3 and al-Maqrīzī's death, logic dictates that he must have prepared, copied and checked volume 5 all at a brisk pace, and since the chapter on the 'Arab Thieves' is but a small part of the massive undertaking (its fifteen folios amount to less than 6% of volume 5), we may legitimately wonder how much time al-Maqrīzī could devote to the niche outlaw material. The analysis of the manuscript that follows here reveals that while it is remarkably fair given the circumstances of its creation, it does have pertinent imperfections which evidence how the demands of completing the work in such constrained conditions affected the quality of output, and the conceptual inconsistencies and abbreviated treatment we noted in its narratives are mirrored by defects in the book's physical execution, and the manuscript evidence can help illustrate why al-Maqrīzī's chapter falls short of its potential.

The *Lusūṣ al-'Arab* chapter is at the beginning of volume 5, preserved in the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi in Istanbul, MS Fatih 4340. Al-Maqrīzī probably intended that the volume would open with two shorter chapters: one on pre-Islamic Arabian religious beliefs and the other on badly-behaved pre-Islamic women, but neither chapters were completed, and only one remaining leaf extant as volume 5's frontispiece (f. 1) evidences al-Maqrīzī's intention to produce the two sections in detail, and their current fragmentary condition underlines the incompleteness of the holograph's final edit. The 'Arab Thieves' was copied separately and begins on a new quire, now numbered as ff. 1^a–15^a of the manuscript. In terms of its physical attributes, the holograph is a fair copy (*mubayyadah*), al-Maqrīzī's hand is clear and consistent throughout, each page is regularly organised into 25 lines, and the lines are of even length. Where al-Maqrīzī misjudged or missed a word at the end of a line when copying, he added it in a slightly smaller size, tilting diagonally upwards or otherwise displaced slightly from the body text, thereby minimising its intrusion on the aesthetic of the otherwise straight margins (there are quite a number of these

28 Bauden (forthcoming).

amends: e.g. f. 2^b ln. 6; 4^a ln. 6; 10^a ln. 11; 13^a ln. 3; 14^a ln. 1). The first part of each outlaw's name is written in red ink,²⁹ and each entry (excepting the first on 'Amr of the Dog) begins on a fresh page. There are large numbers of marginal notes throughout, most of which contain explanations of rare words encountered in the old poetry ascribed to the outlaws. The layout is consistent overall, and suggests al-Maqrīzī had a single plan for the presentation of each biography.

It is apparent, however, that al-Maqrīzī had not entirely organised all the information he intended to include when he began writing, and that he was copying quickly. The speed at which he must have executed the work resulted in his missing of some words which he added via marginal notes (in addition to the amends noted in the paragraph above, see f. 2^b ln. 1; 3^a ln. 6; 15^a ln. 1), and more substantially, larger chunks of text, including two whole anecdotes were added either in the margins (e.g. § 2.1.3 on f. 1^a), or on separate strips of paper (*ṭayyārah/ruḡay'ah*) which al-Maqrīzī inserted between the folios (e.g. § 2.2.9, inserted between ff. 1–2; other strips are attached between ff. 3–4 and 9–10). In other places, the body-text narrative is augmented by sentences or phrases added in the margins (e.g. §§ 2.2.25, 2.5.1, 2.6.2), indicative that al-Maqrīzī possessed (or later found) more complete versions of the stories than those which he initially copied, and decided on the expansions when re-reading the holograph. From what we know of al-Maqrīzī's working method, he would have taken notes in separate books or note cards during the process of researching the volume, and then organised them into his fair copies,³⁰ and in the case of the examples from *al-Luṣūṣ*, the volume and nature of the marginal additions suggest that he did not have his notes entirely in order when he began the first round of copying, and that when copying he both missed elements of the anecdotes, and forgot to leave sufficient space for those he intended to include later. Normally, a true fair copy is produced once an author has all (or the majority) of his editorial additions and amends in a firmer order than is the case with the holograph here, and the volume of additions in this text hints that the manuscript is something between a still working draft (*musawwadah*) and a final *mubayyadah* fair copy.

In a similar vein, three anecdotes (§§ 2.3.17, 2.3.19, 2.5.10) are copied in a fashion that renders their meaning incomplete and, in the case of § 2.3.17, almost unintelligible. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, al-Maqrīzī's source for each was al-İṣfahānī's *al-Aġānī*, and he generally précised anecdotes when copying

29 With the exception of Ta'abbata Šarran: both words of his first name are written in red.

30 The understanding of al-Maqrīzī's working methods is indebted to the close studies of Frédéric Bauden (2006), (2008), (2010).

them into his *Luṣūṣ*, but in the case of these three paragraphs, al-Maqrīzī's condensing was too severe: key parts of the text were elided, and the meaning of the stories was consequently corrupted. Reading the defective passages in the context of al-Maqrīzī's wider oeuvre, we are reminded of Amitai's verdict on al-Maqrīzī's copying from Ibn Furāt's earlier *Tārīḥ al-duwal wa-l-mulūk* to produce his chronicle *al-Sulūk*: Amitai critiques al-Maqrīzī's "failure" to accurately render a summary of Ibn Furāt's earlier history, the frequent "sloppy and inaccurate [copying]," and his "carelessness and imprecision" in several respects.³¹ Amitai does not mince his words,³² and while in the case of *al-Luṣūṣ* it would be too harsh to declare al-Maqrīzī's work an outright failure in copying, it does bear signs of lax copying practice, and the fragmentary state of §§ 2.3.17, 2.3.19 and 2.5.10 evidence an even hastier copying job than al-Maqrīzī usually performed. Again, the issues underline the effects of al-Maqrīzī producing his text at speed, and reviewing it at speed too: a more careful re-read would have revealed the problems and prompted marginal additions to amend the truncations. The three imperfectly rendered anecdotes suggests also that al-Maqrīzī's original *musawwadah* draft was likely in a very incomplete state, copied swiftly from *al-Aḡānī* with imperfections, and that his review of the holograph was somewhat fragmentary as well. In overview, the holograph has varying degrees of imperfection, and despite al-Maqrīzī's efforts to present a clean text and to edit mistakes, there are oversights undoubtedly ascribable to al-Maqrīzī's rushed execution, and as such, we can begin to understand why the chapter's narratives are lacking the coherence a more carefully polished work might have possessed.

There are also unfilled gaps in the manuscript. Al-Maqrīzī left a blank of one third of a line in al-Šanfarā's lineage (f. 8^a ln. 1), and left several lines blank after writing the names of 'Amr b. Barrāqah and al-Uḥaymir (ff. 12^a, 13^a). In each case, the sources from which al-Maqrīzī drew his material lack the information necessary to fill those blanks: al-Šanfarā's genealogy was not agreed amongst earlier Arabic writers, likewise al-Uḥaymir's lineage was disputed, and there is scant biographical information for 'Amr b. Barrāqah. It appears in the cases of 'Amr b. Barrāqah and al-Uḥaymir that al-Maqrīzī only consulted one source—al-Qālī's *al-Amālī*—and since al-Qālī did not give full biographies for either of his characters,³³ al-Maqrīzī seemingly hoped to find further information at a

31 Amitai (2003): 110–111, 114–118.

32 Bauden (2006) similarly uncovers issues with al-Maqrīzī's copying too, but with more reserve, and al-Maqrīzī does not appear to have been quite as thoroughly hopeless a copyist as readers of Amitai's critique might be led to conclude!

33 Al-Qālī, *al-Amālī*, 1:49, 2:121–122.

later date from different sources. Such an opportunity never came, and the manuscript was left to posterity with its incomplete passages. The gaps are thus valuable witnesses to the state of al-Maqrīzī's work at the moment when he began preparing the fair copy of the chapter: it is clear that his own notes were incomplete, and that he was still looking for some extra material even during the last stage of the book's development. Al-Maqrīzī thus likely felt that whilst his research was deficient at the time of writing, it was nonetheless necessary to execute a copy of at least what he had in his haste to complete *al-Ḥabar* during the last months of his life. The fact that he was willing to forge ahead with the *mubayyaḍah* fair copy, even though he was leaving blanks as he went along is suggestive that he knew that time was running short.

The status of the first two sections of volume 5, on the 'Pre-Islamic Religions of the Arabs' and the 'Arab Hussies' further highlight the holograph's incompleteness. As noted above, only one leaf of what was presumably a whole quinion survives for these two sections, and the surviving leaf only contains seven lines from the 'Pre-Islamic Religions of the Arabs', the remaining 70% of the page is blank. Given the extreme brevity of the section's contents, which constitute an introductory note, not a 'chapter', al-Maqrīzī must have intended to detail each of the subjects introduced in his note, but the time never came to fill those blanks either. As for the 'Arab Hussies' section, it may have been produced in even more constrained circumstances, as it no longer exists in the holograph, and is only preserved in a copy of the text written in 878/1473, indicating that al-Maqrīzī wrote the section on a loose insert (*tayyārah/ruḡay'ah*), like those noted above, and attached it between leaves of the holograph.³⁴ The 'Hussies' section too is abbreviated and certainly incomplete, and thus the front matter of volume 5 was left in a highly fragmented state, bolstering my present opinion that the material of *al-Luṣūṣ* was likewise not near its ideal state of completion either, and if al-Maqrīzī had the benefit of more time, the chapter probably would look different from the state we behold it today.

In the light of the indications that the holograph was produced so hastily, it follows that al-Maqrīzī lacked the time to devote considerable thought to the way he wished to structure the thieves' narratives. Instead of a wholly cohesive piece, we thus have fifteen folios assembled swiftly with the information al-Maqrīzī had to hand on the topic; a case of something being better than noth-

34 The section is preserved in Istanbul, MS Aya Sofya 3365, pp. 246–247. The strips must have been very loosely attached, for when the holograph was copied again in 894/1489, the section is absent, suggestive that the strips had already been lost (Istanbul, Topkapı Saray, MS A2926/4, f. 123^b). The likelihood that the Topkapı MS was copied from the holograph is suggested in Bauden (forthcoming).

ing. We can accordingly imagine that al-Maqrīzī lacked the luxury of time to carefully arrange anecdotes as he rushed through the 'Thieves' on his way to the much bigger chapters in volumes 5 and 6 that stood between him and the *Ḥabar*'s completion.

Whilst some of the shortcomings in the 'Arab Thieves' section can be ascribed to its rushed copying, the holograph's treatment of the many lines of poetry of the 'Arab Thieves' offers additional indicators as to why the outlaw narratives in particular might have been disproportionately affected by the difficult circumstances under which al-Maqrīzī produced the volume. From a scan of the ten blanks al-Maqrīzī left in the manuscript, the majority connect to the narration of poetry. F. 2^a has a blank of two words in a poem of 'Amr of the Dog, f. 5^a contains a blank of five-lines' length for Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's poetry, and ff. 4–5 contain several gaps of one or a few words, also relating to Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's poetry and anecdotes about them. Their presence is curious, as each of the cases derive from the standard narrations of Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's stories and poetry in *al-Aḡānī*, and al-Maqrīzī was copying from that text (as we explore in the next Chapter). Why were these parts of the lines missing? Presumably, al-Maqrīzī needed to double check the material, or doubted his notes: do they imply that poetic material was less familiar to him, that he did not trust his notes, and that he instead felt the need to double- and triple-check the sources, only filling in the blanks in the fair copy as he re-checked the whole?

Quantitatively, slightly over 40% of the entire chapter is poetry, hence al-Maqrīzī was obviously not adverse to handling the material, but poetry like Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's is both archaic and difficult, and it challenged even medieval poetry specialists who wrote lengthy commentaries to explore (and sometimes debate) its meanings. It may also have been the case that poetic material was not exactly in al-Maqrīzī's wheelhouse—his training as a *ḥadīth* scholar and interests as a historian do not intersect with the same lexicon needed to qualify as a poetry expert. By this, I do not intend that the *ḥadīth*-trained scholars of the Mamluk era were *unable* to handle poetry: the reality was quite the opposite, as scholars initially trained in the religious sciences in fact dominated the study and composition of poetry. Ulrich Haarmann notes how Arabic history writing in the medieval period adopted increasingly literary elements, and Thomas Bauer demonstrates the twofold process of the "*ulamaization of adab*" and the "*adabization of the 'ulamā'*",³⁵ which entails that old poetry was well within the Mamluk-era scholars' purview in general. But our concern here is al-

35 Bauer (2005): 108. He is followed in this thinking by the extensive work of Konrad Hirschler; see Hirschler (2016): 70–74.

Maqrīzī specifically, and my sense is that he did not share the poetic aptitude of some of his peers. Bauer’s persuasive survey of Mamluk *adab* amongst religious scholars contains no mention of al-Maqrīzī, and al-Maqrīzī is likewise absent in his chart on “some major poets and *udabā*”,³⁶ whilst other historians are present. Furthermore, Smith’s analysis of poetry in al-Maqrīzī’s *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* finds only quite pedestrian examples³⁷ and al-Maqrīzī’s literary critique of poetry is frankly elementary,³⁸ none of which indicates particular specialist engagement with the mature scholarly field of early Arabic poetry.

Viewed in the broader context of the rest of al-Maqrīzī’s oeuvre, I am unaware that he composed books devoted to poetry commentary or poetry collection, and a review of the sources which al-Maqrīzī cited in his *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* likewise reveals a paucity of philological and poetic material: while his sources were many, the vast majority were strictly historical titles.³⁹ Moreover, Bauden’s work on al-Maqrīzī’s note taking has found rather scant engagement with poetry,⁴⁰ and it seems reasonable to infer, therefore, that whilst al-Maqrīzī had more experience with *adab* and poetry than a modern historian would have with, say, contemporary post-structuralist literary theory or Russian formalism, poetry was not al-Maqrīzī’s strong suit, and more pertinently, nor was poetry a topic that caught his personal interest—otherwise we could expect him to have written at least one epistle on it amongst his output of two-hundred historiographical titles! My impressions are reflected in al-Saḥāwī’s biography of al-Maqrīzī, where he notes al-Maqrīzī’s capability to produce good poetry and prose as compositions (*qāla fī l-šī’r wa-l-naṭr wa-ḥaṣṣala wa-afāda*), but also

36 Bauer (2005): 131.

37 As Smith essentially admits himself (2012): 159.

38 Smith (2012): 147–150.

39 I derive this opinion from a review of the works cited by name in *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, facilitated by the indices of the text’s most recent edit by Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, Indices/*Kaššāfah*: 967–973). Whilst al-Maqrīzī mentions the names of several litterateurs across the text, I identify only four philological titles cited as sources: the dictionaries of al-Ġawharī, Ibn Sīdah and al-Ḥalīl’s *al-ʿAyn*, and Ibn Ḥalawayh’s *Laysa fī kalām al-ʿArab*. As for other literary/*adab* materials, they are equally sparing: al-Maqrīzī cites *al-Aġānī* and *Amālī l-Qālī* twice each and there are single references to a small number of *adab* texts and poetry collections, such as Abū l-ʿAlā’s *al-Šāḥil wa-l-šāḥiġ* (*al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, 3:516). Guest’s survey of authorities al-Maqrīzī cites in *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* provides further evidence: *adab* writers can be found in the list, but usually in only one or two quotations (see, e.g. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, Ibn Ġinnī, Ibn Rašīq (Guest (1902): 119, 113, 118 respectively)).

40 Bauden (2006): 91–92 contains one poem, and it does appear that al-Maqrīzī also had read and took notes from Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī’s poetry-heavy *al-Muġrib fī ḥulā l-Maġrib* (Bauden (2006): 104–106); but Bauden notes that when al-Maqrīzī copied from Ibn Saʿīd, he “simplified Ibn Saʿīd’s ornate style” (2006): 116; full-scale *adab* was not al-Maqrīzī’s forte.

remarks that al-Maqrīzī did not have as strong a grasp of the works of 'early scholars' (*al-mutaqaddimūn*)—a pertinent issue for our purposes since the outlaw poetry was compiled by scholars from the earlier periods.⁴¹ By undertaking a project on the niche topic of pre-Islamic outlaw poetry, therefore, al-Maqrīzī had to consult texts that were less familiar and less encountered during his long scholarly career. A consideration of physical evidence in the holograph further reveals that al-Maqrīzī's handling of poetry was competent in the main, but nonetheless not entirely fluent.

Many of the archaic poetic words are glossed in the margins of the holograph throughout: in some cases, al-Maqrīzī derived these glosses from editorial comments written in the collections of poetry from which he derived the material,⁴² but elsewhere the poems al-Maqrīzī copied were not so heavily annotated in their original source texts, and he must have looked up the difficult vocabulary in lexicons and texts himself, and felt the need to include these notes for subsequent readers.⁴³ We also can discern that in some occasions he checked the poetry in more than one source, presumably to ascertain accuracy, as he uses the mark *ḥā'* (ح) —i.e. *nushah uḥrā* ('another version') to mark alternative narrations of various verses. There are ten such indications, all marked in our critical apparatus, clustered in five poems (§§ 2.2.6, 2.4.3, 2.5.10, 2.6.2, 2.9.2). At first blush, this evidences a methodical approach to copying poetry, but since most of the poems of the 'Arab Thieves' have variations across earlier recensions, the limited use of the symbol *ḥā'* in only five poems suggests that al-Maqrīzī's efforts to double check were not maintained throughout the chapter, perhaps on account of time constraints, and/or because he may not have consulted an exhaustive array of specialised poetry collections to produce the volume. We will consider his sources in detail in the next Chapter.

Given that al-Maqrīzī checked this fair copy at least once, the number of errors remaining in poetry is also instructive. For examples, in ln. 1 of the poem in § 2.2.6 he writes *ǧālat* (غالت) instead of the correct *ǧālaba* (غالب) and in ln. 2 he writes *mawt* (موت) instead of the correct *mūd* (مود).⁴⁴ Orthograph-

41 Al-Saḥāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk*, 1:72, 75.

42 As examples, his commentary on Rayṭah/Ġanūb's elegy of 'Amr of the Dog in § 2.2.6 borrows closely from al-Sukkarī's *Šarḥ Aš'ar al-Huḍalīyyīn*, 2:578–581, and for 'Amr b. Bar-rāqah's poem at § 2.8.1 al-Maqrīzī copies closely from the commentary in al-Qālī's *al-Amālī*, 2:121–122.

43 He left indications of his use of the dictionaries of al-Ḥalīl (§§ 2.3.17, 2.8.1), Ibn Durayd (§ 2.3.25) and Ibn Sīdah (§ 2.1.1), and also lexicons for *ḥadīṭ* scholars: al-Saraqstī's *al-Dalā'il fī ḡarīb al-ḥadīṭ* (see § 2.3.13), and Ibn Qutaybah's *Ġarīb al-ḥadīṭ* (§§ 2.3.23, 2.4.6).

44 The well-known vagaries of early Arabic poetry permit considerable interchanging of words, hence identifying the 'correct' lexical item is not straightforward, but in the cases

ically, al-Maqrīzī's versions closely resemble the *shapes* of the words as preserved in the poetry collections, but the meanings of his variants are nonsensical and the semantics, ungrammatical. It betrays a copyist working quickly, whose understanding of the meaning of the line does not occur as fast as his eyes recognise the shape he copies. Other examples are clustered together in a poem by Ta'abbata Šarran (§ 2.3.24): for example, he writes *dārim al-ġirr* (ضارم الغر) instead of the correct *šārim al-ġarb* (صارم الغرب). For a poetry specialist, the word *šārim* (lit. grim, hard) is understood as a common metaphor for a sword (akin to a 'cold steel' blade), and *ġarb* is a rare term for a sword blade, again part of the repertoire of poetry narrators, but infrequently encountered elsewhere. It is possible that the manuscripts from which al-Maqrīzī was copying had defectively rendered these words, but the errors' survival into al-Maqrīzī's holograph seems instructive: did he not recognise these as mistakes? Al-Saḥāwī's opinion that al-Maqrīzī's unfamiliarity with older textual authorities yielded mistakes and errors in his copying (*tahrīf, saqaṭ, tašhīf*),⁴⁵ herein aligns squarely with the nature of the errors in our manuscript, and the indications suggest the haste at which al-Maqrīzī was copying, and that the poetic material was not quite his natural environment. When al-Maqrīzī copied too quickly, errors appeared, and upon his re-checking, these kinds of mistakes in passages that are very difficult to understand even when correct, did not appear to present themselves as obvious errors calling for correction. Overall, the numbers of such mistakes are limited, especially given the quantity of poetry contained in the chapter, but their presence implies a combination of speed of copying and some unfamiliarity with the poetic lexicon.

All considered, al-Maqrīzī compiled his chapter on the 'Arab Thieves' in a remarkably fair condition given the speed at which he was compelled to complete the task, the imperfect status of his notes from which he worked, and the difficulty of the textual material. No historian before had attempted to organise such a chapter, and the source material was accordingly scattered, meaning that al-Maqrīzī's task was all the more difficult as he could not simply copy a ready template: he had to create a chapter from disparate and difficult material. The end result is a readable holograph, but there are omissions and issues with the text's rendering, in particular some poems. Such errors are not a grave fault *per se*: pre-Islamic poetry is not always intelligible, especially for non-specialists, and pre-modern Arabic copyists frequently erred in their trans-

of al-Maqrīzī's holograph, many of his errors, like those listed here, make no semantic sense whatsoever and are, quite simply, mistakes which should have been apparent upon re-checking, as they do not yield meaning.

45 Al-Saḥāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk*, 1:75.

mission of poetry in the manuscript traditions. However, for the specific topic of the 'Arab Thieves', poetry is a core component: without it, narratives of their adventures are incomplete. A writer assuming the responsibility of narrating Arabian outlaw tales therefore must accept the burden of grappling with an unwieldy textual corpus: not only will he need scholarly mastery over pre-Islamic poetry, but he must also be familiar with a wide array of sources in order to find a sufficient volume of pertinent anecdotes and poems to construct robust narratives. A writer without sufficient time, without wide experience with the *adab* texts, and without specific expertise in interpreting poetry will find the task of writing a chapter on 'Arab Thieves' ever more daunting. Unfortunately for al-Maqrīzī and his chapter in *al-Ḥabar 'an al-bašar*, each of the above worked against him: he copied in a hurry, his bread-and-butter historiographical sources lacked material germane to the topic of outlaws, and he was not one of his era's noted poetry experts. The manuscript testifies both to his significant efforts to render the poetry correctly, while the mistakes and blanks reveal some deficiencies.

As a consequence, both the copied text and the narrative structure of the 'Arab Thieves' have shortcomings that stem from both the constrained circumstances of writing and the novelty of the material to al-Maqrīzī. His text thus stands in contrast to the usual outlaw storytellers in other cultures for whom the tales of thieves are their essential repertoire, and who produce flowery narratives of swashbuckling outlaw anti-heroes. Al-Maqrīzī was but a rushed visitor to the material, his thoughts appear less than fully articulated, and his work therefore falls short of a full and nuanced reflection of pre-Islamic outlawry in Muslim imagination.

The Sources

To complete the study of al-Maqrīzī's *Luṣūṣ* and its position within Arabic traditions of narrating outlaw lore, our final stop concerns al-Maqrīzī's sources. We have noted that no extant historiographical works prior to al-Maqrīzī devoted a chapter to the outlaw characters, and our survey of previous Arabic writing on the topic revealed that the half-millennium of Arabic historians prior to al-Maqrīzī made scarce mention of the figures, such that most outlaws are entirely absent in historiographical works. Al-Maqrīzī therefore had to rely on alternative sources, and we have seen in the previous Chapter that the task entailed a foray into Arabic *adab* literature and poetry, a corpus that differed from al-Maqrīzī's usual research material.

Al-Maqrīzī has not always fared well when scholars scrutinise his work via source analysis. His contemporary, al-Saḥāwī, accused him of plagiarism, claiming that al-Maqrīzī's celebrated work on the history and geography of Cairo, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dīkr al-ḥiṭaṭ wa-l-āṭār* (*al-Ḥiṭaṭ*) was actually written by al-Maqrīzī's neighbour al-Awḥadī, and that al-Maqrīzī simply re-copied the *musawwadah* draft which al-Awḥadī left upon his death, and called it his own. Frédéric Bauden has shown that al-Saḥāwī was likely right, inasmuch as al-Maqrīzī's original manuscript of *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* outright incorporated nineteen leaves written in the hand of al-Awḥadī.¹ David Ayalon also discredited al-Maqrīzī's section in *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* on the Mongol *yasa* code in Egypt as both spurious and poorly copied (without acknowledgement) from the earlier writer al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349).² Negative impressions as to al-Maqrīzī's worth as a historian were also aired both in Mamluk Egypt through the voice of al-Maqrīzī's student Ibn Taḡrī Birdī,³ and in the present through the critical analysis of al-

1 Bauden (2010) details the "charge", the "evidence" and, in my impression, makes a strong case. Rabbat (2013): 130 note 49 and 132 note 56 is lukewarm in accepting the full scope of Bauden's judgment of plagiarism, but Rabbat does not provide a detailed counter. It seems that al-Maqrīzī copied at least a large part of al-Awḥadī's text without crediting him at all; though Bauden also accepts that al-Maqrīzī also amended and reworked al-Awḥadī's original such that the extant version of *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* at least bears some original input.

2 Ayalon (1973): 122–123.

3 For an evaluation of Ibn Taḡrī Birdī's critique, see Massoud (2003): 131, 134. In other instances, Ibn Taḡrī Birdī praised al-Maqrīzī's historiographical mastery (see Rabbat (2003): 5), so it seems one can interpret his views in more than one direction.

Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk* by Reuven Amitai.⁴ And a further example of al-Maqrīzī's dubious copying practice was revealed in the edition of al-Maqrīzī's short treatise on minerals, the *Kitāb al-Maqāṣid al-saniyyah li-ma'rifat al-aḡsām al-ma'diniyyah*, edited by Fabian Käs in this Bibliotheca Maqriziana series. Käs discovered that al-Maqrīzī's entire text was lifted verbatim (with only some abridgements) from al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*. Al-Maqrīzī never acknowledged this source, nor even mentioned al-'Umarī's name once in the text.⁵

Given the background, it is to al-Maqrīzī's credit that the spectre of plagiarism is less apparent in *Luṣūṣ al-'Arab*. Almost the entire text is copied from earlier writings, but given the absence of an *exact* precedent, al-Maqrīzī was compelled to do more leg-work than that which he expended for his treatise on minerals, and the holograph of *al-Luṣūṣ* is entirely in al-Maqrīzī's hand, so it is unquestionably the result of his own physical writing efforts. Before equating copying with plagiarism, readers are also reminded that many (if perhaps most) Mamluk-era writers produced texts as compilations of works that had preceded them, and, as Bauden astutely notes, plagiarism is a strong word that was probably only levelled in cases where a writer stole the work of a contemporary or tried to pass off a large amount of work he copied from another as entirely his own.⁶ Al-Maqrīzī's textual appropriations in both *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* and the *Maqāṣid al-saniyyah* stray into such territory of *sariqah* (plagiarism), but we can avow that the *Luṣūṣ* does not: al-Maqrīzī devised his list of ten thieves himself and it was a fundamentally creative act to include the topic in a history book.

Moreover, al-Maqrīzī does identify his sources in parts of the *Luṣūṣ*. In a few cases, he cites the name of the precise book from which he copied and/or the name of its author: e.g. the dictionaries he consulted to define the word *liṣṣ*/thief (§§ 2.1.1–3), the *Kitāb al-Maṣāyid* and al-Qāḍī l-Mu'āfā l-Nahrawānī for tales about 'Amr of the Dog (§ 2.2.9), al-Marzubānī (presumably his now partly-lost biography of poets, *Mu'ǧam al-ṣu'arā'*) for an opinion about al-Šanfará (§ 2.4.8), and al-Qālī in the anecdote about al-Uḡaymir (§ 2.9.2). More frequently still, al-Maqrīzī cites the names of third/ninth century authorities on poetry and Arabian history such as Ibn al-Kalbī, Abū 'Ubaydah, al-Ḥalīl b. Aḥmad, Abū Ḥātim al-Siǧistānī and Ibn al-A'rābī as sources of opinions and stories about the outlaws, but when citing them, al-Maqrīzī usually does not identify the actual book from which he copied. By al-Maqrīzī's day, very few books written by those early Arabic literary luminaries survived, and their

4 Amitai (2003): 117–118.

5 Käs (2015): 31.

6 Bauden (2010): 192–194.

views and opinions circulated in compilations: by omitting mention of the text from which he derived the stories, al-Maqrīzī's method thus cut out the middlemen scholarly writers of the medieval period, but this was not an uncommon practice amongst Mamluk-era writers.

Whilst al-Maqrīzī does cite his sources regularly in the first two sections of the *Luṣūṣ*, in the course of narrating the third section (on Ta'abbata Ṣarran), he begins to weary of identifying sources, and thenceforth he seldom afterwards names the books from which he copied his stories, and rarely even mentions the ancient authorities from which his material originated. One might then begin to think that the latter two-thirds of the *Luṣūṣ* do constitute more blatant plagiarism, yet this would be unduly harsh: as Bauden notes (inspired by the views of Charles Nodier), Mamluk authors tended not to levy charges of plagiarism in cases of copying from old texts—"old books were considered a common heritage and as such could be plundered without paying one's debts towards their authors."⁷ Perhaps al-Maqrīzī omitted the names of sources in the later chapters as part of his time-saving approach to produce the fair copy of *al-Ḥabar* as quickly as possible, and whatever his reasons for failing to acknowledge his sources throughout *al-Luṣūṣ*, my sense is that his approach approximates the norms of Mamluk copyist practice.

We can thus leave plagiarism aside, but this does not entail that we must automatically acclaim al-Maqrīzī for great creativity and expertise in executing *al-Luṣūṣ*. Notwithstanding the novelty of his topic, some of the shortcomings we have discussed in the narrative structure and the coherence of the chapter can be attributed to the pitfalls inherent in al-Maqrīzī's methods of verbatim copying from earlier, disparate books, and al-Maqrīzī's sub-expert training in the field of poetry also manifests itself when his text is read against the sources from which he compiled it. As the following sections will explore, the appraisal of al-Maqrīzī's use of sources is torn between two poles: on the one hand, he was not always careful in copying, his acknowledgement of sources was irregular, and he produced the bulk of the chapter via only a limited array of material which he précised nearly verbatim, and so the book is hardly a groundbreaking synthesis of outlaw material. But, on the other hand, in parts of the text al-Maqrīzī does acknowledge sources and compiles anecdotes from a significantly wider corpus with commendable attention to detail, even regarding poetic material. These sections, though a minority of the overall text, betray a more proficient writer at work, and thus, as has been the case throughout this study, we are left with ambivalent impressions of al-Maqrīzī's efforts. There is

⁷ Bauden (2010): 198.

evidence of considerable work which was ultimately undermined by the exigencies of time, and in sum, the text (with its imperfections, haste and poor copying all in) is, all considered, interesting, and it ought not be dismissed out of hand as inferior scholarship.

6.1 Dictionaries and the List of ‘Arab Thieves’

To begin his chapter on the ‘Arab Thieves’, al-Maqrīzī sensibly sought the dictionary definition of *liṣṣ*, and cited (with express acknowledgement) both Ibn Sīdah’s *al-Muḥkam* and al-Ġawharī’s *al-Šihāḥ*, both popular pre-modern lexicons by prominent philologists. This appears to be a preferred method of al-Maqrīzī, as he also begins the section on the ‘Arab Hussies’ (§1b.1-2) with the same two dictionaries for their definition of *mufāḥašāt* (‘hussies’, lit. uncouth/vulgar acts). If we compare this approach with another of al-Maqrīzī’s works, we find that he cited the same two lexicons in his *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, using them on five occasions to define some significant words, *miṣr* (Egypt, or ‘garrison town’), *māristān* (hospital), *maks* (tax) and *qal’ah* (citadel),⁸ and elsewhere to confirm the ‘correct’ vowelting of the name ‘Ġawwāniyyah’ (and not, as al-Maqrīzī notes, the popular pronunciation ‘Ġuwwaniyyah’).⁹ Five citations across the massive work of *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* are a truly miniscule sample, and it does indicate that philological considerations were not al-Maqrīzī’s primary preoccupation, but he nonetheless was aware of the important lexicons available and recognised their utility. As an aside, it is interesting that al-Ġawharī and Ibn Sīdah’s works seem to have been al-Maqrīzī’s two favourite dictionaries: the sections of *al-Ḥabar ‘al-bašar* edited in this volume and *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* do not contain express citation of Ibn Manẓūr’s *Lisān al-‘Arab*, an Egyptian Mamluk-era lexicon which Arabic readers today consider highly authoritative.¹⁰

8 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, 1:56, 3:404, 640, 4:690. He cites al-Ġawharī for *miṣr* and *māristān*, and Ibn Sīdah for *maks* and *qal’ah*.

9 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, 4:38.

10 In a study of correspondence between al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqašandī, Frédéric Bauden makes the case that al-Maqrīzī copied a definition from Ibn Manẓūr’s *Lisān al-‘Arab*, without citing Ibn Manẓūr expressly (Bauden (2017): 205, 218–219). Ibn Manẓūr, on his part, produced his dictionary from copying older lexicons, and the case Bauden cites (the root r–s–m) is one of the examples where Ibn Manẓūr’s definition tracks Ibn Sīdah’s *al-Muḥkam*’s definition in order and verbatim, without citing Ibn Sīdah (compare *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 12:241 with *al-Muḥkam*, 8:493–494). Al-Maqrīzī’s definition for r–s–m at the outset of his letter tracks *al-Muḥkam* (with the omission of much of the poetry, which seems to be his method, as explored further in this Chapter), and al-Maqrīzī’s definition para-

From the evidence of the holograph, it appears that al-Maqrīzī also had access to a copy of the much earlier (and still extant) Arabic lexicon, *al-Ayn* by al-Ḥalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791), as he refers to al-Ḥalīl by name in two of his marginal glosses on poetry, indicating that he consulted *al-Ayn* to identify the meanings of difficult words (see §§ 2.3.17, 2.8.1).¹¹ Al-Maqrīzī also used ḥadīṭ handbooks on rare vocabulary to help his interpretation of poetry: he does not cite them by name, but one of his marginal notes in § 2.3.13 on the phrase *yā ʿad* tracks verbatim the discussion of the phrase in al-Saraqusṭī's *al-Dalā'il fī ḡarīb al-ḥadīṭ*, and likewise he tracks Ibn Qutaybah's *Ġarīb al-ḥadīṭ* extremely closely (though also unacknowledged) in §§ 2.3.23 and 2.4.6. This is instructive, because al-Maqrīzī was a *ḥadīṭ* scholar by training, and it seems that when grappling with difficult phrases in poetry, he opted to fall back into familiar ground, using a *ḥadīṭ* specialists' lexicon at least on these occasions.¹² As for the rest of the marginal glosses of rare words in the holograph, most are too concise to determine other lexicons consulted, but it is noteworthy that he does not cite al-Ġawharī, and only identifies Ibn Sīdah by name once in his marginalia. His choice to give those two lexicons pride of place in the opening section of the *Luṣūṣ* indicates he considered them authoritative, but whether he used both for quick reference in interpreting difficult poetic vocabulary is unclear.

Having defined the word *liṣṣ*, al-Maqrīzī next enumerates the 'Arab Thieves' at § 2.1.4, and herein the absence of an agreed definitive list of the pre-Islamic *luṣūṣ* elsewhere in Arabic literature prompts the main question of how al-Maqrīzī devised his own list here. We noted in Chapter 5.1, above, that al-Maqrīzī did not possess one operative definition of 'thief' that could enable him to establish a definitive group of characters, and the generic definitions of 'thief' he adduced in §§ 2.1.1–3 were also insufficient to narrow the crite-

graph also closes with the last parts of *al-Muḥkam*, without following on with the further information which Ibn Manẓūr added into his *Lisān* from another sources. Since we know that al-Maqrīzī made repeated recourse to Ibn Sīdah elsewhere, he may have copied *al-Muḥkam* directly, not indirectly via Ibn Manẓūr. It is nonetheless difficult to imagine that al-Maqrīzī did not know of Ibn Manẓūr's famous work, and one suspects that further analysis may find more examples where al-Maqrīzī copied from *Lisān al-'Arab*.

11 It is possible that he deduced al-Ḥalīl's opinions from later dictionaries that incorporated *al-Ayn*, but this is far from certain: Ibn Manẓūr incorporated *al-Ayn* in his *Lisān al-'Arab*, but ascribed the earlier dictionary to its redactor Layṭ b. Muẓaffar, not al-Ḥalīl, and hence if al-Maqrīzī copied from Ibn Manẓūr, he would not likely have identified al-Ḥalīl by name. Also, Ibn Sīdah does not tend to quote al-Ḥalīl by name in *al-Muḥkam* (he identifies early grammarians such as Sibawayh, al-Lihyānī and Ṭa'lab more frequently), so it is probable, but not certain, that al-Maqrīzī had a copy of *al-Ayn* itself.

12 In *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, al-Maqrīzī followed a similar approach, as he made several citations from Ibn Qutaybah's *Ġarīb al-ḥadīṭ*: 1:59, 133, 167, 2:31, 3:409.

ria. Faced then without a solid basis to generate a list of ‘Arab Thieves’, al-Maqrīzī’s solution was to adapt a statement from one of the undisputed classics of Arabic literature, al-Iṣfahānī’s *Kitāb al-Aġānī*. We noted in Chapter 3.2 that *al-Aġānī* contains the largest quantity of outlaw lore, and it contains one of the earliest attempts to group and define pre-Islamic characters under the label ‘desperado’ (*ṣa‘ālik*), identifying five figures: al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah, al-Šanfará, Ta‘abbata Šarrān, ‘Amr b. Barrāq and Nufayl b. Barrāqah.¹³ Al-Maqrīzī’s list in § 2.1.4 copies *al-Aġānī*’s statement and adds the names of three more, ‘Amr of the Dog, al-Muntašir and Awfá b. Maṭar al-Māzinī (the latter two we have encountered elsewhere as members of the ‘Runners’ and the ‘Ravens’), but what makes it nearly certain that al-Maqrīzī copied *al-Aġānī*’s statement to start is al-Maqrīzī’s inclusion of the name ‘Nufayl b. Barrāqah’. No other source of which I am aware contains a biography of this figure as an outlaw, and even *al-Aġānī* omits the biography: al-Iṣfahānī only mentions his name once in that list of *ṣa‘ālik*. Thus, al-Maqrīzī could not have known that Nufayl was an outlaw from any source other than *al-Aġānī*, and he saw fit to copy the list directly from *al-Aġānī*, evidently without double-checking whether a biography for Nufayl actually existed at all. The list in § 2.1.4 is therefore a composite of *al-Aġānī* and al-Maqrīzī’s own composition, but it is somewhat curious, inasmuch as it leaves out the names of three of the outlaws whom al-Maqrīzī includes in his chapter, yet includes the superfluous mention of Nufayl. This appears to be an initial sign that the work was yet incomplete as al-Maqrīzī began the fair copy, as it is suggestive that he had not settled on the identities of all the figures he would include, and he left his options open.

6.2 Al-Maqrīzī’s Sources: Overview

Al-Maqrīzī’s copying (uncredited) of *al-Aġānī*’s list of outlaws as the basic template to begin his biographies sets the tone for the *Lušūṣ* in general: a cross-referencing of al-Maqrīzī’s tales reveal that *al-Aġānī* was his primary reference (though scarcely acknowledged expressly) for the bulk of the chapter’s anecdotes and poetry. But given the scattered nature of ‘Arab Thieves’ narratives across Arabic literature, al-Maqrīzī could not rely on one source alone for all ten of his selected thieves, and whilst his debt to *al-Aġānī* was great, *al-Aġānī* lacks biographies for the latter half of al-Maqrīzī’s thief list.¹⁴ Al-Maqrīzī drew those biographies from different sources, and the sum makes the *Lušūṣ* a pastiche

¹³ Al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aġānī*, 20:389.

¹⁴ *Al-Aġānī* does not have biographical entries for five of the last six thieves in al-Maqrīzī’s

that resists easy cross-referencing. In preparing the Arabic edition, we searched for al-Maqrīzī's sources in the earlier works narrating Arabian outlaw lore, and because al-Maqrīzī mentions his sources with some regularity in the first two sections of *al-Luṣūṣ* (and on occasion thereafter), the search was guided to consult those named texts first. Almost all the anecdotes which al-Maqrīzī narrated can be found in earlier sources: even the unacknowledged majority in the last eight sections of his chapter appear verbatim in the books he had named earlier. In a few instances (particularly for poetry), cross-referencing revealed that al-Maqrīzī also used sources of which he makes no acknowledgement, but such cases are relatively limited, and with only rare exception, we can identify each anecdote's source with considerable certainty. Detailed identifications of the sources, and citations of other versions of the stories in early literature are recorded in the Arabic apparatus criticus of the edition. For ease of reference, Table 5 lists the sources that could be identified for each thief's biography (whether al-Maqrīzī acknowledged them or not); significant aspects of the ways in which al-Maqrīzī used his sources will be discussed in what follows.

The first observation derivable from the overview of al-Maqrīzī's sources is that whilst he consulted an array of works, the great majority of material is drawn from just three: al-Iṣfahānī's *al-Aġānī* (quantitatively the most cited), al-Mubarrad's *al-Kāmil* and *al-Amālī* and *Ḍayl al-Amālī* of al-Qālī. The prominence of these three texts written between the late-third/ninth to mid-fourth/tenth centuries is instructive, since they constituted the most established, basic, essential and the most cited works of *adab* in the pre-modern period.¹⁵ They would have been an obvious point of reference, and the fact that al-Maqrīzī principally relied on their material indicates that his primary recourse was not to the specialist works on poetry (where more material on the *luṣūṣ* can be found, though it is scattered), but instead he sufficed with the basic

Luṣūṣ, and while it does narrate a story for 'Amr b. Barrāq (al-Maqrīzī's Thief #7), al-Maqrīzī does not refer to *al-Aġānī*'s narrative in his version of Ibn Barrāqah's biography: he copied it instead from al-Qālī's *al-Amālī*, which can be demonstrated since al-Maqrīzī's narrative not only follows the version in *al-Amālī* verbatim, but even his marginal notes copy verbatim the philological commentaries al-Qālī made in his *al-Amālī*.

15 Readers of pre-modern literature will know these texts as ubiquitous: *al-Aġānī* was continuously copied and also abridged (two abridgments, one Ayyubid-era (al-Ḥamawī) and the other Mamluk-era (Ibn Manẓūr) are extant), and al-Qālī's *al-Amālī* was also expanded via a celebrated commentary of al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-la'ālī*. The modest Ayyubid-era Aṣrafiyyah Library had two (and likely 3) of al-Mubarrad's *al-Kāmil* (Hirschler (2016): numbers 88, 1534, 1545); it curiously may not have the full text of al-Iṣfahānī's *al-Aġānī*, but it had parts thereof and one of the abridgments (Hirschler (2016): numbers 114, 191 (?), 1504, 1067); and it only had one part of al-Qālī's *al-Amālī* (Hirschler (2016): number 1422).

'classics', thereby underlining his studious but not entirely expert approach to finding material germane to the chapter on outlawry. Textual indicators in *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* indicate that he was already familiar with those classic works before starting *al-Ḥabar* 'an *al-bašar*, as al-Maqrīzī in his *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* cites from both *al-Aġānī* and *al-Amālī* twice each for poetry, an anecdote and a philological matter.¹⁶ Four citations across the gigantic *Ḥiṭaṭ* is rather sparse, but nonetheless, al-Maqrīzī's ability to pluck anecdotes from *al-Aġānī* and *al-Amālī* indicates a fair working knowledge of non-historiographical texts, and that he had sufficient background to at least begin the transfer of outlaw tales from *adab* into historiography.¹⁷

TABLE 5 The *Lušūš* and their sources. A text written in **bold** indicates it was al-Maqrīzī's principal source for the biography.

Thief	Texts mentioned by al-Maqrīzī	Texts copied, but not credited
'Amr of the Dog	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Ibn al-Kalbī, <i>al-Ġāmī'</i> (§ 2.2.1) – al-Iṣfahānī, <i>al-Aġānī</i> (§§ 2.2.1, 2.2.4) – Kušāġim, <i>Kiṭāb al-Mašāyid wa-l-maṭārid</i> (§ 2.2.3) – al-Qāḍī l-Mu'āfā l-Nahrawānī, <i>al-Ġalīs al-šālīḥ</i> (§ 2.2.9) (curiously, al-Maqrīzī's § 2.2.9 is ascribed to al-Nahrawānī, but the text is somewhat closer to the extant version of Kušāġim, whom al-Maqrīzī cites in § 2.2.3, but not for 2.2.9). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – al-Iṣfahānī, <i>al-Aġānī</i> (al-Maqrīzī copies § 2.2.5 from al-Iṣfahānī, but only cites the early authorities for the story, not <i>al-Aġānī</i> from which he copied the text) – al-Sukkarī, <i>Šarḥ Aš'ār al-Hudalīyyīn</i> (primarily for poetry in §§ 2.2.6, 2.2.7)
Ta'abbaṭa Šarran		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – al-Iṣfahānī, <i>al-Aġānī</i> – al-Marzūqī, <i>Šarḥ al-Ḥamāsah</i> (for § 2.3.22, 24–26 only) – Ibn Qutaybah, <i>al-Ši'r wa-l-šu'arā'</i> (perhaps for the prose of § 2.3.22)
al-Šanfará	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – al-Marzubānī, <i>Muġam al-šu'arā'</i> (?) (§ 2.4.8) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – al-Iṣfahānī, <i>al-Aġānī</i> – Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Ġarīb al-ḥadīṭ</i> (likely for line of poetry and marginal gloss, § 2.4.6)

16 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, 1:401, 2:345, 3:458, 515.

17 For indications of other *adab* authorities al-Maqrīzī cited in *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, see Chapter 5, note 39.

TABLE 5 The *Luṣūṣ* and their sources (*cont.*)

Thief	Texts mentioned by al-Maqrīzī	Texts copied, but not credited
al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah	<p>– al-Ġāhiz, <i>al-Hayawān</i> (§ 2.5.13) (al-Maqrīzī does not cite the book's title, but names al-Ġāhiz, and the quotation tracks <i>al-Hayawān</i> verbatim) – Ibn Qutaybah, <i>al-Šīr wa-l-šū'arā'</i> (§ 2.5.15) (al-Maqrīzī does not cite the book's title, but names Ibn Qutaybah)</p>	<p>– al-Iṣfahānī, <i>al-Aġānī</i> – al-Mubarrad, <i>al-Kāmil</i> (§ 2.5.1, § 2.5.7) – Ibn al-A'rābī, <i>Asmā' ḥayl al-'Arab</i> (§ 2.5.8?). Part of his poem ascribed to al-Sulayk is in Ibn al-Kalbī's <i>Ansāb al-ḥayl</i>, but the only extant source which has the full poem is Ibn al-A'rābī's. Al-Maqrīzī cites Ibn al-A'rābī by name twice elsewhere (§§ 2.3.2, 2.4.2), but it is unclear whether he had access to the book on horses, or whether his version of Ibn al-Kalbī's text was more complete than the present extant edition, or, which I consider more likely, al-Maqrīzī's copy of al-Mubarrad's <i>al-Kāmil</i> included this poem in addition to the similar-themed poem in § 2.5.7.</p>
al-Muntašir al-Bāhili		– al-Mubarrad, <i>al-Kāmil</i>
Awfā b. Maṭar al-Māzini		– al-Qālī, <i>al-Amālī</i>
'Amr b. Barrāqah		– al-Qālī, <i>al-Amālī</i>
al-Uḥaymir	– al-Qālī, <i>al-Amālī</i> (§ 2.9.2)	
Nizām		<p>– al-Qāḍī l-Mu'āfā l-Nahrawānī, <i>al-Ġālis al-šāliḥ</i> (al-Maqrīzī ascribes the stories of Nizām to the third/ninth century Ibn al-Kalbī without mentioning al-Nahrawānī's <i>al-Ġālis</i>. Al-Maqrīzī's text copies al-Nahrawānī's version verbatim)</p>
Yazīd b. al-Šaqil		<p>– al-Mubarrad, <i>al-Kāmil</i> (al-Maqrīzī mentions al-Mubarrad at the end of the section as source for a lexical explanation of one of the difficult words in a poem; he does not indicate that the entire biography was in fact copied from <i>al-Kāmil</i> verbatim)</p>

The structure of al-Maqrīzī's chapter on 'Arab Thieves' which flows from his introductory statement in § 2.1.4 further suggests that it was his reading of *al-Aġānī* that sparked his undertaking of the project. Not only does his list of thieves build from *al-Aġānī*, but al-Maqrīzī's biographies for the first four 'Arab Thieves' ('Amr of the Dog, Ta'abbaṭa Šarran, al-Šanfará and al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah), which constitute about 75 % of the *Lušūš* chapter, draw principally from *al-Aġānī*. The biographies of these figures are contained within relatively close proximity of each other in *al-Aġānī* too: Abū l-Faraġ explicitly intended to narrate the stories of al-Sulayk, Ta'abbaṭa Šarran, and al-Šanfará together, and he inserted 'Amr of the Dog shortly afterwards in his manuscript, and thus al-Maqrīzī appears to have alighted on al-Išfahānī's list of the 'desperados' in vol. 20. p. 389 of *al-Aġānī*'s modern edition, and then flipped through the book from that point onwards, finding the first four characters to begin populating his own chapter. Al-Maqrīzī did not copy them in the same order as they appear in *al-Aġānī* (al-Maqrīzī narrates 'Amr of the Dog first, whereas al-Išfahānī placed him after the other three), but I suspect that al-Maqrīzī began by copying from al-Išfahānī's list because al-Maqrīzī does not include any of the 'desperados' mentioned in earlier volumes of *al-Aġānī*. We noted above that despite al-Išfahānī's promise to list all the 'desperados' together, he had already narrated biographies for several such characters in previous volumes, including Ḥaġiḡ b. 'Awf whose characteristics manifestly mirror those of al-Sulayk, Ta'abbaṭa Šarran et al., and al-Maqrīzī's *Lušūš* does not include the figures mentioned in earlier parts of *al-Aġānī*. It therefore seems that al-Maqrīzī knew about the concentration of 'desperados' in the latter stages of *al-Aġānī*, but did not have time (or the inclination), or did not remember from an earlier reading that there were other 'desperados' awaiting his searches in earlier volumes. He thus began from the group in the latter part of *al-Aġānī*, and upon exhausting them, al-Maqrīzī turned to his next sources of *al-Kāmil* and *al-Amālī* to further populate his chapter.

Whilst al-Maqrīzī appears to have failed an exhaustive survey of *al-Aġānī*, more credit is due for his searches in al-Mubarrad's *al-Kāmil* and al-Qālī's *al-Amālī*. In the main, both are idiosyncratic philological texts with long diversions and a lack of one narrative thread holding their contents together. As such, neither text narrates its outlaw material in one place, nor do they dwell on articulating one definition of outlawry, rather, anecdotes about characters whom al-Maqrīzī classified as *lušūš* are scattered. In order to find the material in an era when manuscripts lacked detailed indices, al-Maqrīzī had no recourse but to read the entirety of both books to find the relevant scraps of outlaw material, and he seems to have extracted the suitable material both offer: outside of references to Ta'abbaṭa Šarran, for whom al-Maqrīzī copied sufficiently exten-

sive material from *al-Aġānī*, my reading of *al-Kāmil* and *al-Amālī* did not find obviously appropriate tales which al-Maqrīzī missed. Logic dictates, therefore, that al-Maqrīzī made a thorough search or was at least quite familiar with both of these literary texts, to his considerable credit.

Having established the main sources from which al-Maqrīzī worked, we shall next like to know how he arranged their contents into the biographies of his ten chosen 'Arab Thieves'. From the list of sources in Table 5, it seems that al-Maqrīzī began writing the chapter with the good intention to make a thorough job of the matter, as the first biography ('Amr of the Dog) is constructed from an array of different types of sources. Al-Maqrīzī does not rely entirely on *al-Aġānī*'s narrative, and whilst he copies the main story of 'Amr's biography from *al-Aġānī*, he precedes it with the fruits of a wider survey of literary texts that includes a niche text on hunting and game by Kušāġim and the rambling *adab* storytelling/philological text by al-Qāḍī l-Mu'āfá, and he derives the alternative story of 'Amr's death that closes the chapter (§ 2.2.9) from a pastiche of those two books as well.¹⁸ In this respect, 'Amr's biography is unique in the *Lušūš al-Arab* on account of its thorough combination of various sources copied and reorganised by al-Maqrīzī. The following chapters, however, turn towards a mono-source basis, by which al-Maqrīzī appears to have sufficed with copying directly from one text with only limited recourse to others. The process begins in the biography of Ta'abbāṭa Šarran (§ 2.3): al-Maqrīzī tracks *al-Aġānī*'s biography of Ta'abbāṭa Šarran with almost no deviation (to be considered in detail presently), although he does supplement *al-Aġānī*'s stories with a small amount of extra material bundled at the end. Al-Šanfará's biography (§ 2.4) and al-Sulayk's (§ 2.5) also follow the order of anecdotes in *al-Aġānī*, clearly it was al-Maqrīzī's main source for both, though his selections severely abridge *al-Aġānī*'s anecdotes. Whilst his sequential copying from *al-Aġānī* indicates the primacy of that text in shaping al-Maqrīzī's chapter, his biography of al-Sulayk does also incorporate references to the outlaw from al-Mubarrad's *al-Kāmil*. The citations from al-Mubarrad again indicate al-Maqrīzī's familiarity with *al-Kāmil*, as its al-Sulayk stories are not narrated consecutively.¹⁹ For reasons that are unclear, al-Maqrīzī intersperses his clippings from *al-Kāmil* intermittently within the main narrative copied from *al-Aġānī*.

18 He claims in § 2.2.9 that he copied the story from al-Qāḍī l-Mu'āfá's *al-Ġalīs al-šāliḥ*, but his rendering of the story is a little closer to that in the extant version of Kušāġim's *Kitāb al-Mašāyid wa-l-maṭārid*. If the modern extant versions of both books resemble the manuscripts which al-Maqrīzī consulted, a comparison of the three versions of the story suggests that al-Maqrīzī merged elements of both earlier accounts into one.

19 Al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 2:643–644, 738–739, 970.

As for the biographies of the last five of al-Maqrīzī's ten thieves, they are manifestly the result of copying from one source alone, without additions from other texts. In the case of 'Amr b. Barrāq, this is telling, since *al-Aġānī* contains a biography of the outlaw and scatters information about his adventures in other sections, but al-Maqrīzī gives no indication that he consulted *al-Aġānī*, and the anecdote he chose (§ 2.8.1) is entirely lifted from *al-Amālī*, without any subsequent expansions.²⁰ Likewise, al-Maqrīzī indicates (§ 2.5.15) his familiarity with Ibn Qutaybah's account of al-Sulayk's death in *al-Šīr wa-l-šu'arā*, yet al-Maqrīzī does not incorporate Ibn Qutaybah's biography of al-Uḥaymir into the 'Arab Thieves'.²¹ For Awfā b. Maṭar, al-Maqrīzī only provides one anecdote, and this appears to be because he only used al-Qālī's *al-Amālī* as a source, and *al-Amālī* has just the one story. *Al-Amālī* is not a compendium about thieves, however, so its omission of further tales is understandable, but for a dedicated thief biography, the end result is lacking, and more thorough digging would have been beneficial: if al-Maqrīzī had done so, he might then have alighted on the very appropriate death story for Awfā preserved today in Abū 'Ubaydah's *al-Dībāġ*.²² Al-Maqrīzī also left a substantial blank of five lines under al-Uḥaymir's name in the holograph (f. 13^a), suggestive that he was aware, or at least needed further information: perhaps this was intended to be filled from Ibn Qutaybah, but it never transpired. Al-Maqrīzī was either unaware or ran out of time: in both senses, the latter biographies in the 'Arab Thieves' are more cursory efforts hastily constructed from consulting only one source.

The sum of al-Maqrīzī's copying yields a work that begins as polyphonic, and then narrows to direct copying from single sources towards the end: a function of the circumstances of the manuscript's rushed execution. Al-Maqrīzī may have had fuller notes (or hoped to make fuller notes) on all the outlaws, but given the constraints of time, he spent increasingly less attention to elaborating his narrative as he progressed through his list of outlaws.

The effects of directly copying anecdotes for most of the biographies have negative consequences inasmuch as al-Maqrīzī suffices with inserting ready-made material wholesale with limited regard to reorganising the anecdotes into his own narrative or augmenting the main narrative with substantial expansion to assist characterisation, or even scholarly completeness. The text thus cannot be considered encyclopaedic, and its coherence falls away as a unit which we

20 Al-Maqrīzī's construction of 'Amr b. Barrāqah's biography is considered in more detail in Chapter 6.3.

21 Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Šīr wa-l-šu'arā*, 2:774–775.

22 Abū 'Ubaydah, *al-Dībāġ* 40

can analyse too, since al-Maqrīzī made only very limited editorial interventions in the arrangement and selection of text after the opening chapter on ‘Amr of the Dog. To invoke a modern analogy, al-Maqrīzī’s work devolves to a blunt operation of cutting and pasting texts from disparate sources, and because al-Maqrīzī expended such limited editorial effort with the material, we are confronted with a scattering of anecdotes, each with their distinct discourses which are not harmonised. If the larger volume of texts which al-Maqrīzī synthesized for the biography of ‘Amr of the Dog better reflects his initial intentions for the chapter, then the constraints of time which presumably caused al-Maqrīzī to rush the final sections have robbed us of what could have been a more complete work on outlaws, but as it stands, we have a collection of outlaw names and anecdotes derived from a survey of three classic sources of Arabic literature. The text represents an important step towards integrating poetic outlaw figures into historiography, but the extant form of the chapter presents al-Maqrīzī as a rather crude transmitter of material in the main, and to illustrate and substantiate this opinion, we shall analyse four representative sections of the ‘Arab Thieves’ that visit al-Maqrīzī’s copying of prose, poetry, his management of multiple sources, and his arrangement of material.

6.3 Al-Maqrīzī’s Copying Style: Case Studies

To illustrate what is intended by the impression of al-Maqrīzī as a ‘crude’ narrator of material, consider one of the later biographies—‘Amr b. Barrāqah—which al-Maqrīzī copied from al-Qālī’s *al-Amālī*. The prose text of each version are compared in Table 6, opposite.

The selection is typical of al-Maqrīzī’s copying style across the last eight biographies in the *Luṣūṣ*. Al-Maqrīzī clearly derived the story from *al-Amālī* as his text is almost a verbatim copy, though he omitted to attribute it to al-Qālī, and, in the same vein he discarded al-Qālī’s *isnād* and reference to the story’s source (Ibn al-Kalbī). As noted above, this approach was not unusual amongst Mamluk copyists, and since the same story is reported in other pre-modern Arabic sources, al-Maqrīzī could have copied it from elsewhere,²³ but we can be quite certain that al-Maqrīzī used al-Qālī’s text as his source on three grounds. First he refers to al-Qālī in both the section on the ‘Arab Hussies’ in *al-Ḥabar* that precedes the *Luṣūṣ* where al-Maqrīzī copies verba-

23 The same story is narrated in al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aḡānī*, 21:182–183 where it is ascribed to al-Mufaḍḍal, not Ibn al-Kalbī.

TABLE 6 'Amr b. Barrāqah: al-Maqrīzī and his source compared

<i>Amālī l-Qālī</i> Abū 'Alī l-Qālī (2:121–122)	<i>Luṣūṣ al-'Arab</i> Al-Maqrīzī (§ 2.8.1)
حدثنا أبو بكر رحمه الله قال حدثنا السكن بن سعيير عن محمد بن عباد عن ابن الكلبي قال: أغار رجل من مراد اسمه يقال له حريم على إبل عمرو بن براءة المهمداني وخيل له فذهب بها. فأتى عمرو سلمي وكانت بنت سيدهم وعن رأيها كانوا يصدرون. فأخبرها إن حريما المرادي أغار على إبله وخيله فقالت: "والخفّو والوميض والشفق كالإحريض والقلّة والحضيض إن حريما لمنيع الحيز سيد مريز ذو معقل حريز غير أني أرى الهمة ستظفر منه بعثرة بطيئة الجبرة فأغر ولا تتكع". فأغار عمرو فاستاق كل شيء وأتاه حريم يطلب أن يرد ما أخذ. فأبى وقال عمرو ...	وأغار رجل من مراد اسمه حريم على إبل عمرو بن براعة وخيل له فذهب بها. فأتى عمرو سلمي وكانت بنت سيدهم وعن رأيها كانوا يصدرون. فأخبرها فقالت: "والخفّو والوميض والشفق كالإحريض والقلّة والحضيض إن حريما لمنيع الحيز سيد مريز ذو معقل حريز غير أني أرى الهمة ستظفر منه بعثرة بطيئة الجبرة فأغر ولا تتكع". فأغار عمرو فاستاق كل شيء وأتاه حريم يطلب أن يرد ما أخذ. فأبى وقال عمرو ...
شيء له وأتاه حريم بعد ذلك يطلب إلى عمرو أن يرد بعض ما أخذ منه. فامتنع ورجع حريم وقال عمرو ...	

Red = text not copied by al-Maqrīzī

Bold = additions/changes by al-Maqrīzī

Bold = incorrectly copied by al-Maqrīzī

tim from *al-Amālī*, and he also does credit al-Qālī as the source for the anecdote in the next biography of the *Luṣūṣ* on al-Uḥaymir (§ 2.9.2): by his own admission, therefore, he was using al-Qālī's text in preparing this volume of *al-Habar*. Second, the version of the same story in *al-Aḡānī* renders 'Amr's name as Ibn Barrāq,²⁴ and where al-Maqrīzī copied stories about 'Amr's adventures with Ta'abbaṭa Šarran from *al-Aḡānī*, he rendered the name Barrāq too,²⁵ however here he has Barrāqah, which is the particular form adopted by al-Qālī. Third, and most significant, al-Qālī's *al-Amālī* includes detailed explanation of the difficult vocabulary in both Salmá's rhymed-prose (*saǧ'*) advice

24 Al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aḡānī*, 21:182, this is also the form in the manuscript tradition from *al-Aḡānī*, as evidenced in al-Ḥamawī, *Taǧrīd al-Aḡānī*, 2.3:222o.

25 See §§ 2.1.4, 2.3.12, 2.3.13.

to ‘Amr and ‘Amr’s poem which follows the above prose anecdote, and these precise glossed terms and the exact wordings of al-Qālī’s explanations appear verbatim in al-Maqrīzī’s marginal notes (though also without acknowledgement).

In terms of the physical act of copying, the comparison reveals how al-Maqrīzī made slight amendments to abridge the text, evidenced by the extra words at the outset of al-Qālī’s version and in its middle; but the rhymed-prose of Salmá, one of the key parts of the text of interest to philologists, is copied exactly by al-Maqrīzī, and he fully vocalised it too. This indicates work of a good copyist who recognises the culturally important parts of the text he copies, and whose intention is to help readers with the difficult vocabulary and to ensure that subsequent copyists have a reliable model to transmit into their works. Al-Maqrīzī does slip in writing the name of ‘Amr’s foe, however. The difference between *al-Amālī*’s ‘Ḥarīm’ and al-Maqrīzī’s ‘Ḥazīm’ is the matter of only one dot, and it is an easy mistake for a copyist to make especially because medieval texts were often un-pointed. I have found other versions of the name, including ‘Ḥuzaym’ in the *Tağrīd al-Ağānī*,²⁶ but most *adab* texts, such as *al-Ağānī* itself and *Simṭ al-la‘ālī*, Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī’s celebrated commentary on al-Qālī’s *al-Amālī*, are consistent with ‘Ḥarīm’, and al-Bakrī specifically mentions that those who write Ḥazīm “with a ‘z’ make a copyists’ mistake in marking diacritical points (*ṣaḥḥafa*),” on the basis that “the name Ḥazīm does not exist amongst the Arabs, with only two exceptions.”²⁷ Al-Bakrī’s discussion is instructive: copyists were evidently making a mistake in rendering the name with a ‘z’ and not the correct ‘r’, and whilst the issue is niche, specialists of literature, poetry and Arabian lore cared a great deal about these kinds of minutiae, and al-Bakrī adduced a learned reason for insisting on Ḥarīm with the ‘r’.²⁸ Those outside the world of such scholarship could carry on unawares of such debates, and it would seem that al-Maqrīzī was more a member of this latter camp than he was a committed philologist like al-Bakrī, who seized the opportunity of this unusual name’s contested pronunciation to demonstrate mastery over the rules of ancient Arabica!

26 Al-Ḥamawī, *Tağrīd al-Ağānī*, 2.3:2220. The Beirut edition of *al-Ağānī* vocalises the name Ḥuraym, but this is unlikely to be faithful with the manuscript tradition (21:182).

27 Al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-la‘ālī*, 2:748. He elaborates the exceptions, Ḥazīm in Ṭāriq and Ḥazīm b. Ġu’fi, in an extended discussion.

28 The alternative ‘Ḥuzaym’ in *Tağrīd al-Ağānī* can likely be labelled a scribal error as well, since it was compiled at the behest of the Ayyubid court, not for philological purposes, and its manuscript tradition has a number of errors in names in the Cairo printing of the 1960s.

As a final note on the ‘Amr b. Barrāqah anecdote, al-Maqrīzī’s choice to abridge the last part of the anecdote changes the meaning and makes the story more difficult to follow. In al-Maqrīzī’s version, “Ḥazīm” (*sic*) is presented as robbing ‘Amr, ‘Amr recovers his losses and then Ḥazīm demands the goods be returned to him. This is odd: on what logical basis does Ḥazīm have a case? The unabridged version in a-Qālī, however, intones that ‘Amr’s counterraid might have cleared off with everything Ḥarīm owned, and that Ḥarīm only demanded the return of some property (i.e. what might have originally been his). The extra pronouns and phrase which al-Maqrīzī elided make for a more logical story for thief characterisation, and al-Maqrīzī thereby obscured (perhaps carelessly) an important part of the story, reminiscent of the complaints Amitai levelled against al-Maqrīzī’s imperfect copying from Ibn al-Furāt in *al-Sulūk*.²⁹ Readers who undertake a similarly close comparison of the rest of al-Maqrīzī’s text with its sources in *al-Aġānī*, *al-Kāmil* and *al-Amālī* will discover that essentially all anecdotes involve *précis*, and in some cases, particularly the biography of al-Sulayk, a significant reduction in text, rendering some parts of *al-Luṣūṣ* a mere paraphrase of what were originally more rounded outlaw narratives. In terms of reader satisfaction, al-Maqrīzī’s copy edits accordingly yield less coherent and, in some cases, less enjoyable narratives.

A closer view into al-Maqrīzī’s intentions with the outlaw material can be further ascertained via a comparison between al-Maqrīzī’s long biography of Ta’abbāṭa Ṣarran and the version of the same character’s biography in *al-Aġānī*. It is the most fruitful comparative text, since Ta’abbāṭa Ṣarran is by far the longest biography in *al-Luṣūṣ* (it alone counts for almost 40% of the whole chapter), and the biography in *al-Aġānī* is also long and constitutes the most detailed treatment of Ta’abbāṭa Ṣarran anywhere in pre-modern Arabic literature. Al-Iṣfahānī’s version is longer than al-Maqrīzī’s: I counted 41 distinct anecdotes and/or poems in *al-Aġānī* to al-Maqrīzī’s 27, but the relationship between the two is close, and from the table below, we can ascertain that al-Maqrīzī was copying directly from *al-Aġānī* in order, with only limited diversions to other sources:

29 Amitai (2003): 111, 114–115.

TABLE 7 Ta'abbata Šarran between al-Maqrīzī and *al-Aġānī*

<i>Al-Luṣūṣ</i>	<i>Al-Aġānī</i> ^a	Al-Maqrīzī's alternative source	Remarks
2.3.1		Ibn al-Kalbī	Source text unclear: the genealogy as reported resembles that ascribed to Ibn al-Kalbī in al-Balāḍurī, <i>Ansāb al-ašrāf</i> ¹ , 7.2:159.
2.3.2	1 (p. 138)		
2.3.3	2 (p. 138)		
2.3.4	3 (p. 138)		
2.3.5	5 (p. 139)		
2.3.6		Al-Ḥalīl, <i>al-ʿAyn?</i> (7:426)	Al-Maqrīzī's text incorporates the opening of <i>al-Aġānī</i> § 4. Al-Maqrīzī states al-Ḥalīl is the source, but al-Ḥalīl's <i>al-ʿAyn</i> , 7:426 does not correspond. Al-Maqrīzī may have copied from Ibn Sīdah, <i>al-Muḥkam</i> , 9:209.
2.3.7		?	Ascribed to Abū Ḥatīm al-Siġistānī, but the text used as the source is not mentioned.
2.3.8	7 (pp. 139–140)		Considerably abridged by al-Maqrīzī.
2.3.9	10 (p. 141)		
2.3.10	11 (p. 142)		
2.3.11		?	Al-Maqrīzī appears unique in ascribing the statement in this paragraph to Ta'abbata Šarran.
2.3.12	12 (pp. 142–144)		Minor variations, al-Maqrīzī elides the poetry in <i>al-Aġānī</i> § 12, and narrates it instead at his § 2.3.13.
2.3.13	13 (pp. 144–145)		
2.3.14	19 (pp. 151–152)		
2.3.15	16 (pp. 146–148)		Very extensive abridgement by al-Maqrīzī.
2.3.16	26 (pp. 157–158)		
2.3.17	28 (pp. 159–162)		Considerable abridgement by al-Maqrīzī which confuses the narrative in places.
2.3.18	29 (pp. 163–165)		Prose copied; poetry elided by al-Maqrīzī.
2.3.19	31 (pp. 167–169)		Prose copied; poetry elided by al-Maqrīzī.
2.3.20	34 (pp. 173–174)		Considerably abridged by al-Maqrīzī.
2.3.21	35 (pp. 175–177)		Minor variations; al-Maqrīzī elides the concluding poetry from <i>al-Aġānī</i> § 35.
2.3.22		Al-Marzūqī, <i>Šarḥ al-Ḥamāsaḥ</i> , 1:84–92, or al-Sukkarī, <i>Šarḥ Ašʿār al-Huḍalīyyīn</i> , 3:1072–1076	The prose may be taken from Ibn Qutaybah, <i>al-Šīr wa-l-šūʿarā</i> , 2:660–661; al-Maqrīzī indicates use of Ibn Qutaybah in § 2.5.15.
2.3.23	39 (pp. 179–180)	Al-Sukkarī, <i>Šarḥ Ašʿār al-Huḍalīyyīn</i> , 2:846, and Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ</i> , 1:522	

TABLE 7 Ta'abbaṭa Šarran between al-Maqrīzī and *al-Aġānī* (cont.)

<i>Al-Luṣūṣ</i>	<i>Al-Aġānī</i>	Al-Maqrīzī's alternative source	Remarks
2.3.24		Al-Marzūqī, <i>Šarḥ al-Ḥamāsah</i> , 1:92–99	
2.3.25		Al-Marzūqī, <i>Šarḥ al-Ḥamāsah</i> , 2:827–839	
2.3.26		Al-Marzūqī, <i>Šarḥ al-Ḥamāsah</i> , 2:914–918	
2.3.27		?	Philological commentary; no one source we could identify includes all the elements of al-Maqrīzī's paragraph, though a portion appears copied from al-Ġāḥiẓ, <i>al-Ḥayawān</i> , 1:189–190. It is unacknowledged, but in § 2.5.13, al-Maqrīzī identifies his use of al-Ġāḥiẓ's writings.

- a The paragraphs in *al-Aġānī* are not numbered in the modern edition. They have been assigned numbers by me, and page references from *al-Aġānī*, vol. 21 are included for readers' reference.

From the numbers, al-Maqrīzī copied somewhat less than 50% of *al-Aġānī*'s anecdotes about Ta'abbaṭa Šarran, but the *al-Aġānī* anecdotes constitute more than 75% of the total text in al-Maqrīzī's biography of Ta'abbaṭa Šarran, and the diversions from *al-Aġānī* are few. The reference from Ibn al-Kalbī for Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's genealogy mirrors the structure of the previous biography on 'Amr of the Dog (§ 2.2.1), where al-Maqrīzī opens by comparing the lineages for each outlaw between Ibn al-Kalbī and al-Iṣfahānī's texts. The diversions from *al-Aġānī* in §§ 2.3.6–7 detail alternative explanations for Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's nickname which cannot be found in *al-Aġānī* (it has its own preferred versions), and after the opening biographical details, all but one of the anecdotes sketching Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's adventures up to his death (§ 2.3.21) track *al-Aġānī* in precise sequential order. Interestingly, al-Maqrīzī does name al-Iṣfahānī in § 2.3.2 as the source for a version of Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's genealogy, whereas he does not give any indication that his source was *al-Aġānī* for the rest of the narratives of the outlaw's adventures.

A comparison of al-Maqrīzī's text with al-Iṣfahānī's original reveals the same pattern of copying as noted above in the example of 'Amr b. Barrāqah's biography: al-Maqrīzī makes significant abridgement throughout, and in some of the longer stories about Ta'abbaṭa Šarran, severe condensing (e.g. §§ 2.3.15, 2.3.17, 2.3.20). But what is most instructive is that the length of the original biography in *al-Aġānī* also affords the opportunity to appraise what anecdotes al-Maqrīzī

chose to copy and which he chose to elide, as *al-Aġānī* has 41 paragraphs on Ta'abbaṭa Šarran by my count, and al-Maqrīzī copied 18, leaving 23 out of the *Luṣūṣ*. When exploring the 23 omissions, revealing patterns begin to emerge, and they shed light on al-Maqrīzī's relationship with poetry and his wider intentions with the material.

The poetry is most evident for its absence in al-Maqrīzī's biography. He does narrate extensive tracts of poetry ascribed to Ta'abbaṭa Šarran, but compared to the biography in *al-Aġānī*, the difference is significant. Of al-Maqrīzī's 23 omissions, nine are selections of Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's poetry (*al-Aġānī* §§ 9, 21, 30, 32, 33, 37, 38, 40, 41), and in three other cases (*al-Aġānī* §§ 29, 31, 35), al-Maqrīzī copied only the prose from *al-Aġānī*'s anecdote, leaving out the poetry which al-Iṣfahānī appended after the prose story. Thus half of the material al-Maqrīzī chose to omit was poetry. Six extra tales of Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's raiding from *al-Aġānī* are also absent in al-Maqrīzī's version (*al-Aġānī* §§ 18, 20, 22, 23, 25, 27), presumably because al-Maqrīzī felt he had sufficient outlawry material, given that he narrated a dozen raiding stories from *al-Aġānī*, six more may have seemed gratuitous.

What is perhaps most illuminating is the omission of references to Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's interaction with ghouls. The narrative in *al-Aġānī* is remarkable for the importance it attaches to Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's relationship with ghouls, and particularly his killing of them, as part of the outlaw's characterisation. One of the proposed reasons for the outlaw's unusual nickname 'Carrying Evil Under His Arm', was that he once allegedly carried a ghoul under his arm. The story is famous and al-Maqrīzī narrates it as one of four possibilities for Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's nickname, but *al-Aġānī* pushes the narrative much further, noting that Ta'abbaṭa Šarran had "many encounters" with ghouls, and that he killed ghouls on more than one occasion.³⁰ Al-Maqrīzī narrated none of these more elaborate stories, and herein is a telling insight into the difficulties of merging outlaw lore into Arabic historiography: al-Iṣfahānī was not composing a history of pre-Islamic Arabia, and he betrays flashes of the fantastic to develop Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's character, which is a common device of outlaw anti-hero mythopoesis,³¹ whereas al-Maqrīzī was attempting to integrate the outlaws into an empirical

30 Al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aġānī* §§ 7, 9, 15.

31 The supernatural manifests in varied guises across outlaw literature, particularly in the ability to escape, or invincibility (Hobsbawm (2000): 56–58; Seal (2011): 29–31, 90–96, 154–155); in other cases outlaws interact with supernatural beings (e.g. Hereward the Wake's travel with fairies, or *al-Aġānī*'s Ta'abbaṭa Šarran and his ghouls) or as magicians and masters of disguise (e.g. Eustace the Monk). Extreme fleetness of foot like the Arabian Runners is also evident: consider Dai Zong of the Chinese *Outlaws of the Marsh* who could travel 800 *li* in a day via his magic talismans.

narrative, and it seems that the supernatural was a step too far. If Ta'abbata Šarran was to be made 'fit' for history, his foes would need to be human and his activities centred on foot-raiding, and the omissions evidence al-Maqrīzī's sanitising of Ta'abbata Šarran, and a reversal of the anti-hero mythopoesis that had given rise to the ghoul narratives in *al-Aġānī*.³²

Given our impression that al-Maqrīzī was less expert in the narration of poetry, his decision to not copy a large body of *al-Aġānī*'s poetry might be expected, and a similar lack of intention to delve into the more complex philological and poetic aspects of the outlaw material can be gleaned from al-Maqrīzī's treatment of the definition of *liṣṣ* in § 2.1.1. As noted, he copied this definition from Ibn Sīdah's *al-Muḥkam* which, as a philological text, engages in numerous details of the sort in which we suspect al-Maqrīzī had limited interest. Table 8 (overleaf) compares al-Maqrīzī's copy with Ibn Sīdah's original.

Al-Maqrīzī skipped over two major aspects of the definition: (1) the poetry in which the word *liṣṣ* appears, which philologists liked to add to their definitions to prove the word's usage and connotations; and (2) the technical discussion of the trilateral root to which the word *liṣṣ* is derived. Ibn Sīdah comments on the variant *lašt*,³³ and considers what the appearance of the 't' means for its root,³⁴ its plural and the dialect in which such a variant can be heard: al-Maqrīzī evidently considered this superfluous. Such an omission is not surprising in a historiographical work, but it shows how the historian's priorities and interests separated from the philologists', and why poetic matters, which usually involved difficult issues of grammar, did not always cross over into histories about pre-Islamic Arabia. The fact that al-Maqrīzī made two orthographic mistakes in rendering the verbal nouns and alternative pronunciation for thief/thievery, is also indicative that such philological precision was not quite his forte. As the manuscript is a holograph, the errors here, like those encountered in the rendering of the poetry considered above, cannot be

32 *Al-Aġānī* also narrates an alternative death narrative for Ta'abbata Šarran which al-Maqrīzī ignored (*al-Aġānī* § 36), and a longer tale about Ta'abbata Šarran and a prospective girlfriend is likewise missing (*al-Aġānī* § 24). Perhaps this tale socialized Ta'abbata Šarran too much for al-Maqrīzī's vision of an outlaw, but I am not convinced, since he narrated a story of 'Amr of the Dog and his ill-fated love adventure in § 2.2.5. The other omissions of al-Maqrīzī seem less significant: *al-Aġānī* § 4 is absent, but al-Maqrīzī incorporated it somewhat within *Luṣūṣ* § 2.3.5; the other paragraphs not copied are *al-Aġānī* §§ 12–14, and 17.

33 The initial vowel of the variant *lšt* is ambiguous: both *lašt* and *lišt* are reported (al-Zabīdī, *Tāġ al-'arūs*, 9:355).

34 As an aside, the presence of the final 't' in *lašt* offers good evidence for the word's origin in the Greek ληστῆς as discussed above, Chapter 2.3.

TABLE 8 Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Sīdah

<i>Al-Muḥkam wa-l-mūḥiṭ al-a'zam</i> Ibn Sīdah	<i>Luṣūṣ al-'Arab</i> Al-Maqrīzī
<p>اللص السارق قال: إن يأتيني لص فيني لص أطلس مثل الذئب إذا يعس جمع بين الصاد والسين وهذا هو الإكفاء واللص كاللص وأما سيبويه فلا يعرف إلا لصا بالكسر. وجمعها جميعا لصاص ولصوص ليس به بناء من أبنية أدنى العدد. والملصة اسم جمع. والأثنى لصة والجمع لصات ولصاص والأخيرة نادرة. واللصت لغة في اللص أبدلوا من صاده تاءً وغيروا بناء الكلمة لما حدث فيها من البدل وقيل هي لغة وقال الخيامي هي لغة طيء وبعض الأنصار وجمعه لصوت أنشد الخيامي فتركن نهدا عيلا أباؤهم وبني كئانة كاللصوت المرء وقد قيل فيه لصت فكسروا اللام فيه مع البدل. والاسم اللصوصية واللصوصية وأرض ملصة ذات لصوص.</p>	<p>قال ابن سيده: اللص السارق واللص كاللص وأما سيبويه فلا يعرف إلا لصا بالكسر. وجمعها جميعا لصاص ولصوص. والملصة اسم جمع. والأثنى لصة والجمع لصات ولصاص. واللصت لغة في اللص وجمعه لُصوت وقد قيل فيه صلأت. والاسم اللُصوصة واللُصوصية وأرض ملصة ذات لُصوص.</p>
<p>Red = text not copied by al-Maqrīzī Bold = incorrectly copied by al-Maqrīzī</p>	<p>Bold = additions/changes by al-Maqrīzī</p>

ascribed to later copyists, and the holograph thus aligns with al-Saḥāwī's comment on the "mistakes" (*taḥrīf, saqaṭ, taṣḥīf*) in al-Maqrīzī's recopying of "older writers."³⁵

6.4 Al-Maqrīzī and Outlaw Poetry: Specialised Collections

Lest we conclude this study with a charge that al-Maqrīzī was entirely out of depth when it came to matters of poetry, and that his lack of experience with

35 Al-Saḥāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk*, 1:75.

poetic material rendered him entirely ill-suited to scour the corpus to find stories about Arabian outlaws, there are two important cases where he deserves commendation for his attention to poetry, and they lead me to suspect that had al-Maqrīzī more time at his disposal, we may indeed have inherited a better quality text.

The first case is in Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's biography where we can see from §§ 2.3.22–26 that al-Maqrīzī added material from outside *al-Aġānī*. By § 2.3.21 he had essentially reached the end of *al-Aġānī*'s narrative about Ta'abbaṭa Šarran with the outlaw's death, and at this juncture, al-Maqrīzī switched to copying poetry ascribed to Ta'abbaṭa Šarran which was recorded in two celebrated and specialised poetry collections: al-Sukkarī's *Šarḥ Aš'ār al-Ḥudāliyyīn*, and the *Dīwān al-Ḥamāsah* of Abū Tammām. Abū Tammām's *Ḥamāsah* contains four poems ascribed to Ta'abbaṭa Šarran, three of which do not appear in *al-Aġānī*, and al-Maqrīzī found each of them, and narrated them in §§ 2.3.24–26. Whilst he made a number of errors in copying the poems, his inclusion of them indicates good knowledge of Abū Tammām's collection. The poem al-Maqrīzī relates in § 2.3.22 either derives from *al-Ḥamāsah* or al-Sukkarī's *Šarḥ Aš'ār al-Ḥudāliyyīn*, and al-Maqrīzī accompanies it with an (unacknowledged) prose anecdote which perhaps derives from Ibn Qutaybah's *al-Ši'r wa-l-šu'arā*'. This is a curious addition, since most pre-modern poetry commentators (including al-Sukkarī and the commentators of *al-Ḥamāsah*) ascribed the poem and story not to Ta'abbaṭa Šarran, but to a different poet, Abū Kabīr al-Hudālī. Al-Maqrīzī notes this possibility, but his is one of the few texts to persist in suggesting its ascription to Ta'abbaṭa Šarran: quite why al-Maqrīzī did so escapes us. § 2.3.23 is also insightful, as its rhymed-prose is also in al-Sukkarī, but al-Maqrīzī's narration includes three additional phrases which I have only found narrated in Ibn Qutaybah's *Ġarīb al-ḥadīth*. Perhaps al-Maqrīzī's copy of al-Sukkarī's work also included the lines, but I am inclined to think that he derived them from Ibn Qutaybah, as he cited *Ġarīb al-ḥadīth* elsewhere in *al-Luṣūṣ* and his wider oeuvre (see above, p. 126). It is to al-Maqrīzī's credit that he consulted poetry anthologies alongside his more staple works, and the concluding sections of Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's biography thereby indicate that whilst al-Maqrīzī compiled the bulk of *al-Luṣūṣ* from classic *adab* texts, he was also able to draw from a wider array of sources.

Similarly in 'Amr of the Dog's biography al-Maqrīzī copies *al-Aġānī*'s narrative of 'Amr's death and the following elegy to 'Amr composed by his sister (§ 2.2.6),³⁶ but with considerable difference from the poem's form in *al-Aġānī*.

36 Al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aġānī*, 22:355–356.

The version in *al-Luṣūṣ* is ten lines long, compared to *al-Aġānī*'s eight. Pursuing these variations, I found a second version of the poem (13 lines long) in al-Sukkarī's *Šarḥ Aš'ār al-Hudāliyyīn*, which closely resembles what we find in *al-Luṣūṣ*.³⁷ To illustrate this, Table 9 sets out each of the ten lines of the poem as it appears in *Luṣūṣ* divided into its two hemistiches, indicating the source to which al-Maqrīzī's version corresponds.

The possibility that al-Maqrīzī copied the entire poem from *al-Aġānī*, and that his manuscript had a different version of the poem to the extant copy of *al-Aġānī* today I consider remote because (1) the abridgement of *al-Aġānī* by the Mamluk-era scholar Ibn Manẓūr follows the extant *al-Aġānī* recension almost exactly, and does not reflect any of the variations of al-Maqrīzī's manuscript;³⁸ (2) al-Maqrīzī's marginal notes explaining some of the difficult words in the poem are very similar to the words al-Sukkarī's commentary glosses; and (3) in § 2.2.7 al-Maqrīzī narrates a second elegy of 'Amr which is entirely absent in *al-Aġānī*, but which *is* narrated by al-Sukkarī, and, moreover, al-Maqrīzī's marginalia for this poem are verbatim copies of al-Sukkarī's commentary.³⁹ Accordingly, it is almost certain that al-Maqrīzī consulted al-Sukkarī's *Šarḥ Aš'ār al-Hudāliyyīn* when preparing the poetry for copying: he copied the prose narrative from *al-Aġānī*, but opted for al-Sukkarī's anthology for the poetry. His choice again evidences good knowledge of sources, and while he also makes some mistakes in copying this poem, he evidently took an interest in comparing versions when preparing his manuscript.

Similarly, in § 2.2.8 al-Maqrīzī narrates a line of 'Amr's own poetry which appears in al-Sukkarī's narration of a 30-line poem,⁴⁰ all of which is absent in *al-Aġānī* (and Ibn Manẓūr's *Muḥtār al-Aġānī*, too). The inclusion further underlines that al-Maqrīzī was consulting al-Sukkarī's *Šarḥ Aš'ār al-Hudāliyyīn* as he prepared 'Amr of the Dog's biography, and it seems in this case that after he checked the elegies in al-Sukkarī, he scanned the other poems ascribed to 'Amr by al-Sukkarī and inserted a line that must have attracted his attention. This might explain why at such a late point in 'Amr's biography the character comes back to life to sing a line of his poetry: al-Maqrīzī only found the line when he was checking the elegies of 'Amr. A poetry specialist may question why al-Maqrīzī sufficed with just a single line of poetry out of a 30-line piece, but this is in keeping with al-Maqrīzī's approach that accepted the inclusion of poetry, just not too much! Overall, §§ 2.2.6–8 reveal that al-Maqrīzī sought a specialist

37 Al-Sukkarī, *Šarḥ Aš'ār al-Hudāliyyīn*, 2:578–581.

38 Ibn Manẓūr, *Muḥtār al-Aġānī*, 5:414.

39 Al-Sukkarī, *Šarḥ Aš'ār al-Hudāliyyīn*, 2:582–583.

40 Al-Sukkarī, *Šarḥ Aš'ār al-Hudāliyyīn*, 2:570.

TABLE 9 Sources of Elegy: *Šarḥ Aš‘ār al-Huḍaliyyīn* and *al-Aġānī*

Ln.	First hemistich	Second hemistich	Remarks
1	<i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i>	Both	
2	<i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i>	(<i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i>)	al-Maqrīzī miscopies this verse with an error in the second hemistich (he writes <i>mawt</i> instead of <i>mūd</i>). Verse not part of body text: al-Maqrīzī added it in the margin. Line is absent in <i>al-Aġānī</i> recension.
3	<i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i>	Both	
4	<i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i>	(<i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i>)	Al-Maqrīzī’s version of the second hemistich has some variation with <i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i> ; the whole line is absent in <i>al-Aġānī</i> recension. After this line, al-Maqrīzī notes in the margin an alternative line, which is ln. 3 from <i>al-Aġānī</i> ’s version.
5	<i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i>	<i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i>	Ln. 6 in <i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i> , al-Maqrīzī does not narrate ln. 5. Line is absent in <i>al-Aġānī</i> recension.
6	<i>al-Aġānī</i> ?	<i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i>	Ln. 10 in <i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i> . The first hemistich is very similar between <i>al-Aġānī</i> and <i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i> recensions; al-Maqrīzī technically reflects <i>al-Aġānī</i> , but the difference is slight enough that an alternative manuscript of <i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i> may have had al-Maqrīzī’s version too.
7	Both	(<i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i>)	Al-Maqrīzī’s version of the second hemistich has elements in common with both <i>al-Aġānī</i> and <i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i> recensions; al-Maqrīzī’s rhyme follows <i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i> .
8	(<i>al-Aġānī</i>)	<i>al-Aġānī</i>	Line not in <i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i> . Al-Maqrīzī’s first hemistich is slightly different from <i>al-Aġānī</i> . Al-Maqrīzī left part of the second hemistich blank.
9	Both	Both	Ln. 11 in <i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i> recension.
10	<i>al-Aġānī</i>	Both	Ln. 12 in <i>al-Huḍaliyyīn</i> recension. Al-Maqrīzī’s first hemistich is closer to <i>al-Aġānī</i> recension.

Note: al-Maqrīzī does not narrate lns. 5, 7–8, 13 of the poem’s recension in *al-Huḍaliyyīn*

poetry book to augment his information on ‘Amr of the Dog. This section is at the outset of *Luṣūṣ*, and again suggests that al-Maqrīzī may have intended to be more painstaking in preparing the ‘Arab Thieves’ than time permitted him, and so the shortcomings in the narrative cannot be squarely attributed to a lack of close source scrutiny.

By the time al-Maqrīzī reached the entry on al-Šanfará, the level of detail and numbers of sources become severely curtailed, and it is likely that the speed of al-Maqrīzī's execution from here on was a cause for his reduced opportunity for forays into richer sources. As noted in Table 5, al-Maqrīzī based his account of al-Šanfará on *al-Aġānī's* biography, following its contours very closely, as he did for Ta'abbaṭa Šarran. Towards its close, al-Maqrīzī did add a short notice from al-Marzubānī and two lines of poetry (§§ 2.4.8–9), but unlike the entry of Ta'abbaṭa Šarran, al-Maqrīzī did not include any long poems from poetry collections. Herein I suspect is the reason why al-Šanfará's celebrated *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab* poem is missing from the *Lušūš al-'Arab*. Al-Išfahānī's *al-Aġānī* does not narrate any of the *Lāmiyyah* poem in its biography of al-Šanfará—the reason why is unclear, but for the purposes of al-Maqrīzī's *Lušūš*, we can conjecture that al-Maqrīzī did not have the time to insert lengthy poems from supplementary poetry collections, since from this point in the text he begins to produce more rushed entries on his way to completing the *Lušūš* chapter in short order.⁴¹ The *Lāmiyyah's* absence in *al-Lušūš* is thus a function of the poem's absence in *al-Aġānī*. Its omission therefore does not seem to be a conscious choice of al-Maqrīzī based on perceptions that his readership knew the *Lāmiyyah* well enough to justify its exclusion from the *Lušūš*, rather, al-Maqrīzī shifted his compilation style to produce shorter biographies, and the material he left for us was necessarily limited to the now narrower array of sources he employed. Whereas Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's biography is concluded via long poems that exaggerate his audacious character, al-Šanfará's chapter misses out, and we are only left with whatever al-Maqrīzī found in the primary source text from which he copied these later biographies. Al-Maqrīzī's work in 'Amr of the Dog's biography and the addition of the *al-Ḥamāsah* poems for Ta'abbaṭa Šarran consequently betray a better start to the chapter's execution and more focused attention to poetry than the extant form of its finish.

6.5 Sources: Conclusions

From review of the sources it becomes clear that al-Maqrīzī's 'Arab Thieves' is in the main an abridged combination of three classic *adab* texts from the late third/ninth to the mid-fourth/tenth century—*al-Kāmil*, *al-Aġānī* and *Amālī al-Qālī*. Six additional *adab*-style works augment al-Maqrīzī's chapter to a lesser extent, and each of them date from the same period too:

41 The sections on the two first thieves—'Amr of the Dog and Ta'abbaṭa Šarran—account for 55% of the entire *Lušūš* chapter, the remaining 45% is split between eight biographies.

- a) Abū Tammām (d. 231/845 or 232/846)—al-Maqrīzī likely consulted one of the later commentaries on Abū Tammām's *al-Ḥamāsah*, but does not cite it by name;
- b) Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889)—al-Maqrīzī likely consulted his biography of poets, *al-Ši'r wa-l-Šu'arā'* and referred to his *ḥadīṭ* lexicon, *Ġarīb al-ḥadīṭ*;
- c) Al-Sukkarī (d. 275/888 or 290/903)—for poetry about 'Amr of the Dog and Ta'abbata Šarran;
- d) Al-Marzubānī (d. 384/994)—al-Maqrīzī only cites him once (§ 2.4.8), presumably from his biography of poets, *Muġam al-Šu'arā'*;
- e) Kušāġim (d.c. 350/961)—his *Kitāb al-Mašāyid wa-l-maṭārid* is quoted in 'Amr of the Dog's biography twice; and
- f) Al-Mu'āfā b. Zakariyyā' al-Nahrawānī (d. 390/999–1000)—his *al-Ġalīs al-Šāliḥ* is used for 'Amr of the Dog and Nizām's biographies.

The text of *al-Luṣūš* evidences that al-Maqrīzī also incorporated notes from a greater number of texts, and was thus aware of a wider *adab* corpus, but such works left little mark on the 'Arab Thieves' which, in the main, was constructed around his three principle sources as supplemented from time to time by the six texts above.

Because al-Maqrīzī copied the material from these earlier sources verbatim and because he seldom strays from the frame narratives of his major sources, the result in *al-Luṣūš* is a decidedly conservative text. It breaks 'new' ground by including outlaws in a history book, but it relies on sources which were established as classics and which were essentially half a millennium old in al-Maqrīzī's day, and thus there is very little 'new' material in *al-Luṣūš* that would not have been already known to Mamluk litterateurs. In sum, therefore, the ultimate effect of al-Maqrīzī's arrangement and use of source material is to freeze fourth/tenth century narratives about the outlaws and to seal them from input of later centuries, while giving them the seal of historical approval as witnesses to events in pre-Islamic Arabia. This has the unfortunate ramifications of erecting a pretence that outlaw narratives circulating in Abbasid Iraq can be treated as 'real' history, whilst also closing off the prospect of further developing outlaw lore in Arabic literature. Since *al-Luṣūš* narrows its focus squarely on the third/ninth and fourth/tenth century, that period emerges as the sole era of literature worthy of canonising (at least regarding pre-Islamic *Arabica*), and al-Maqrīzī's selections thus unwittingly fuel the impressions that everything else is 'post-classical'. It is ironic, in this respect, that the excellent modern scholarly work that has reinvigorated the study of Mamluk literature must occasionally confront nay-sayers from the Mamluk era itself, like al-Maqrīzī's present chapter, whose devotion to the 'classical era' actively excludes their own contemporary literary vitality.

Concluding Remarks

Al-Maqrīzī's foray into the poetry-filled world of Arabian outlawry represents a bold step forward for Arabic historiography, but a somewhat stumbling step on the level of the work itself. On the side of its achievements, historians prior to al-Maqrīzī had not devoted significant attention to 'Arab Thieves' in their narratives of pre-Islamic Arabia. Pre-Islamic Arabia was marginalised overall in medieval Arabic historical annals and chroniques, and the small-time nature of outlaw raiding, the lore associating them with ghouls and incredible feats of running prowess, and the masses of poetry which pre-modern historiographers tended to eschew,¹ would have dulled the will of even enthusiastic historians to incorporate the outlaws into their accounts of pre-Islam. Al-Maqrīzī was one of the few to bridge the gap, citing the avowedly *adab*-style texts of al-Mubarrad, al-Iṣfahānī, and al-Qālī in order to carve out a space in pre-Islamic history for outlawry. His reasons for doing so appear to intersect with an interest to develop a broad narrative of pre-Islamic Arabia as a wild *Ġāhiliyyah*, and for such a project, the tales of untamed outlaws killing, plundering and occasionally raping constitute perfect material.

The translation of outlaw stories, which had primarily incubated amongst poetry specialists and philologists, into a historical book was not entirely smooth, however. Ta'abbata Ṣarran's penchant for killing ghouls evidently met with al-Maqrīzī the historian's disapproval, and those stories needed to be elided. Likewise, al-Šanfarā's *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab*, the greatest of all Arabic outlaw poems is absent, perhaps because of the doubt surrounding its authenticity, perhaps because it was too long and so difficult that even poetry specialists penned whole books to explain it, or perhaps because al-Maqrīzī simply didn't have the time to include it. Moreover, placing literary outlaws into a historical chronique may also be too akin to taking fish out of water. Literary outlaws do not know how to play with historical memories: they do not participate in seminal battles, they avoid interaction with prophets and most kings,² and

1 Notwithstanding the high cultural capital attached to poetry in pre-modern Muslim culture, its limited employment in historiographical works is curious; for remarks on the issue and a consideration of the turn away from poetry in al-Ṭabarī's magisterial *Tārīḫ*, see Webb (2013).

2 In some traditions, outlaws do intersect with historical kings: such as Hereward's battles with the dukes of William I, and Eustace the Monk and Robin Hood are situated in, and interact with King John. These interactions, however, are not historical, rather the king is usually

their conceptual universe of thievery feels rather small when placed alongside grand historical narratives such as those linking Adam to Muḥammad or the rise and fall of empires. Accordingly, outlaw tales in a history book cannot help but lose some of their energy as the fabulous figures are historicised and their individual escapades are set in chronological sweeps that make them seem inconsequential. Translating outlaw lore into history therefore takes considerable care, and herein al-Maqrīzī's methods and circumstances worked against him.

Al-Maqrīzī's habit of copying texts verbatim created problems for his readers, as the stories he selected from sundry sources sometimes pull in different directions. In eras prior to al-Maqrīzī, some of the tales which he copied had been more comprehensively redrawn in the process of creating anti-heroic personae, while others retained a more empirical flavour as accounts of more quotidian tribal raiding. By simply transporting texts with different sub-texts into one chapter, al-Maqrīzī's material lacks harmony, and his overall vision to use the outlaw tales to construct a sense of wild *Ġāhiliyyah* was rather a bland purpose for swashbuckling outlaw stories in any event. By inviting his readers to see the 'Arab Thieves' as primarily a manifestation of wickedness on the eve of Muḥammad's reforming mission, al-Maqrīzī privileges a negative impression of the characters, and the outlaws' essential ambivalence is thereby lost, and so goes their charm too. If we are only to disapprove of the figures, then there is barely any point in narrating the stories at all, since outlaw stories work best when they engender an anti-heroic admiration for the characters. This aspect I find particularly wanting in al-Maqrīzī's text: the outlaws are marched into service to perform a teleological exercise, and the potentials for narrative expansion and epic are withheld from them as they are confined in episodic moments of disorderly criminality. Thus, there are glimpses of wonder, admiration and humour left over from their earlier narrative iterations, but when set in the history book, the outlaws have unfortunately been wholly subdued, and they struggle in chains in the galleys of al-Maqrīzī's *Ġāhiliyyah*-construction project. This could be expected: if one applies good stories to a simplistic and totalising purpose, they will dull in the process.

invoked in outlaw tales as symbolic of the highest form of moral authority, and representative of justice perverted by lower officials. Usually, the pardon of the outlaw comes with a recognition of his righteousness by the king, fulfilling the moral message of justice underlying the outlaw narrative. The Chinese *Outlaws of the Marsh* similarly interact within a world of a just Chinese Emperor and corrupt officials. Whilst some of the outlaws and the emperors/kings may be historically identifiable, the fictionalized narratives of outlaw adventures are not the sort of material to which political historians and chroniclers accord much, if any attention.

With emphasis directed towards the construction of the *Ġāhiliyyah* archetype, al-Maqrīzī also skipped the opportunity to critically engage with the idea of outlawry in pre-Islamic Arabia and to give clarity, or at least to explore the contours of the words *liṣṣ*, *ṣu'lūk*, *fātik*, etc. It seems that he accepted these designations as they appeared in various source texts, and the contradictions between sources were not of major concern. If al-Maqrīzī decided that a character was a thief, it was done, and if the anecdotes do not construct a coherent sense of outlaw identity, this seems to have been unimportant to him. His chosen narratives allow us to emerge with an impression that “*al-Ġāhiliyyah* is Hell”, and this was the major aim of al-Maqrīzī’s project. Hence he could narrate two very different characters for ‘Amr of the Dog, he could narrate only one story about Awfá b. Maṭar which paints him neither as a thief nor a runner, and he could narrate stories about repentant Muslim-era outlaws without crossing lines of contradiction. His outlaws are made to serve in salvation history, and since most of the pre-Islamic figures die unpleasantly, the mission is adequately accomplished.

The book also lacks completeness: this seems in some part due to al-Maqrīzī’s relative inexperience with the complex world of poetry collection and *adab* Arabica, but from the glimpses of more specialised sources he used in the opening sections of the chapter, he appears to have been more capable and interested in making a serious effort to incorporate more sources, but then time ultimately forsook him. Al-Maqrīzī completed the holograph in a matter of months, and he had many chapters to go after the ‘Arab Thieves’ before *al-Ḥabar ‘an al-baṣar* could reach its necessary conclusion. As a consequence, the text bears the marks of rapid completion, with patchy biographies and blanks still waiting to be filled: but the author had miles to go before he slept, and he seems to have concluded that pages mostly filled were sufficient to allow him to pass to the next chapter. And thus we are left with blanks and under-researched biographies, meaning the chapter on thieves has very little ‘new’ information that modern readers could not derive from extant books, notably *al-Aġānī*. In bringing the tales together, however, al-Maqrīzī does save readers considerable leg-work, and by following his leads, readers can quickly find themselves in unexpected places. This is perhaps the work’s primary benefit for modern readership: it may not be the most detailed, nor the most conceptually satisfying treatise on outlaws, but it is the most concentrated extant body of pre-Islamic Arabian outlaw lore from the medieval period, and it is a compact launch point into the richer lore from which al-Maqrīzī, regrettably due to the exigencies of time, picked mostly its low-hanging fruit.

Plates



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ رَبِّ لَسْتُ بِرَأْسِهَا وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَعَلَى آلِهِ
ذكر نباتات العرب في جاهلنتها أعلم ان
العرب كانت ايام الجاهلية مختلفة فمما تدن به وكانت النضار في ربيعها وعسار
وبعض فصاعه وبعض مذج وكانت اليهودية في حبر وهي كنانة وفي الجاهلية
بن كعب وكانت المجوسية في نيم وكانت قريش تعيد الاضنام ومنهم زياد
فمن زياد فتم بن ابي معيط واني بن خلف والنضر بن الحرث وصيه ابن الحجاج
والعاص بن الربيع والوليد بن المغيرة

فصل في ذكر منافح حشبات العرب قال
ابن سيده الحشيش والحششا والحشيشة والفتيح من القول والفعل وقد حشش
وحشش والحشيش والحشيشة والحشيشة والحشيشة والحشيشة والحشيشة
المصدر والحشيشة اسم ورجل فاحش وحشش وقالوا فاحش وحششنا الجاهل
وجاهل حشش كان الحشش صرنا من ضرب الجهل ونقصنا للحد ورجل فحاش
كثير الحشش والحشيشة الحشيشة وكل اشرا يكون سوا فاحش فاحش الحشش
بالشيء شبع به والحشيشة المره فحشش وكبرته وفي صحاح الجوهري الحشيشة الفاحشة
فكل شوجا وزحده فهو فاحش وقد حشش الاثر بالفحش والحشيشة ونفا حشش وسمي
الذي فاحشته **قال** الحشش فهو فحاش وحشش في كلامه **قال** ابو علي العاصم
كان لهما من مرة ثلث بنات فحششهن فقالت الكبرى اكنكموه اليوم وثالث
اهمام بن مرة ان همي الي ففاحش مشروفة **القدال**

قال همام بن زيد بن قيس **قال** الوسطى ما صنعت شيئا وقالت اقام
بن مرة ان همي الي الابل لكن مع الرجال فقام همام بكون مع الرجال الذهب
والفضة فقالت الصغرى ما صنعت شيئا وقالت اهمام بن مرة ان همي
الي عزود اسدبه مالى **قال** فانك ان الله والله لا امسيت اوزار وحكن ففعل
التيقا الحشيشة الفلنيطه وكان رجل من العرب له ثلث بنات فدعاهن
فقالت احدهن ان اقام ابونا على هذا الذي فارونا وقد ذهب حظ الرجال
مننا فسبق لنا ان نعرض له بما في نفوسنا فدخل على الواحدة فقالت
ابن زحر لا هتنا وبلخي على الصبا وما نحن والفتيان الا شفايق
بؤس حشبات سزارا كثيرة وشفايق اجباننا نحن السوايق
فساه ما سمع ودخل على الوسطى فاستندت
اباها الفتيان ان وناكدهاها سماع العاسقين حشش
فدوك الغوها فني غدر كفل والاصحبت ملك الغناه وحشش
فساه ما سمع ودخل على الصغرى فقالت

اسكالاز

PLATE 1 Istanbul/Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Aya Sofya 3365, p. 246

دنا مننا قال خليا عنها لا ام لهما فقلنا ولا ينبغي عيش و بواناله سبهين قال حمير على
 راحلته كالوعل المذمور وانضى بسيفه وثني راسه في درقته فوالله ما
 ارسلنا سبهما حتى خالطنا فحرب عرفوني فافه صاحبي فغادرها نكوس واهو
 للاخري فتر عرفوها وهو يقول
 علام انشقي رسلها وامشع واشنيق العيبف بها واخبرخ
 ان لرافائل دونها وامشع عنها واخام الكلي الشخس
 بركت ان شاسيرا فبذر راحلنا وان النفسا ليت انما الى كمال فلو زنا عليه
 باسبيا وفا مؤثرب وثنية الهد ووقف حجرة فونت السبلم كرا حعا فحرب
 درقه صاحبي فاقندها فلما راينا ذلك استسلبنا وتلنا عبا ذالك مان
 الكرام فقال نحاذا عذنا وسالنا عن انسابنا فاخبرناه فقال ارتدنا
 على راحلتي واصلنا وجهنا ننظر مطلع الشمس نلتفك المي فاني بالام نضت
 بنا التافه فحوي لا نملكنا من امرنا سبيا حتى وردت بنا المي فكلنا اذا
 قبل منا حكا كان لم يمسسه مشقه وقد منبني مسيرة للراكب المحرر فقال
 دونك العريضة التي اطردناها ونا فنتين من ستر المي برحلهنا وحميلنا وسترنا
 فقال اسع ما القول لهما فقال
 اقول لماري همدان لما انار اهره مة حمرا وعينها
 الرعيلا ان لن نفوتنا وان لم نغير اللبث المموسنا
 وطن عا حيران تسلياني ومن ذ استلب الاستد الرئسا
 ومن دون الذي املنا فحراك فينظر البطل البلبسا
 اذا انالرا ذ ذعن مديقات يقدو يذها الحزير الشرسا
 فبها اجنب الاخشاف ذني اذا النكنا او حفت البيبتسا
 وما ارجيت الهوسم الكواني نطل لها الرحاك المي شوسنا
 وما انعتش العقي اذا ما نزا و اوزجه دهرهم عيوسنا
 اهبنا خاركى همدان منها برهتر نظرة الفقرة الصروسنا
 واوتيا سالمين بها ولما ارثه لهما لنا اذ المرمر يسنا
 يريد الداهية وقوله احبب الحمر معناه انيلهم ما يلهم فقال اخبرني
 الطعام وعنه اي كفا في والجم جمع مجمة وهم القوم يسلمون في الدية والشوس
 جمع الشوس وهو الذي ينظر نظرا كشد بدا وقوله وما انعتش الحق معني
 انعتش اذ وقع ومنه قولهم نعمشك الله اي رفقك الله اما بسد خلتك او باقالة
 عترتك والعقي جمع عاف وهو سائل الحاجة وطالها **بزي** بن الصقيل
 سقيدم العاقف على البيا العنسي ثم العقبلي كان لسرق الابل ثم ناب ومنزل في سبله

PLATE 2 Istanbul/Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Aya Sofya 3365, p. 265

اعلم ان العرب كانت ايام الجاهلية مخلفه فماتد بزبه فكانت
النصرانية في ربيعة وغان وبعض قضاة وبعض مدج وكانت
اليهودية في حمير وبنى كنانه وبنى الحارث بن كعب وكانت
المجوسية في بني نمم وكانت قريش تعبد الاصنام ومنهم زنادقة
فمن زنادقتهم عقبه بنو معيط وابي نخلف والنضر بن الحارث وبنو
ابن الحجاج والعاص بن اميل والوليد بن المغيرة

قال ابن سيده النصر السارق والنصر كالنصر واما سيبويه فلا يعرف
الا لصا بالكسر وجمعها جميعا لصاص والصوص والمكئة اسم جمع
والانثى لاصته والجمع لصات ولصابر والاصب لغة في النصر وجمعها لصات
وقد قيل فيه صلات والاسم للصوصة والصوصية وارض خلصة
ذات لصوص وقال في صحاح الجوهري اللص واحد للصوص والنصر
بالضم لغة فيه والصر بين اللصوصية وهو يتلصص وارض ملكته ذوات
لصوص وقال الثعالبي اذا كان الرجل من اخبت اللصوص فهو غرط
فاذا كان يد على اللصوص فهو شص فاذا حفظ متاعهم ولم يسرق معهم
فهو لغيف واذا سرقا لدرهم بين اصابعه فهو قفاق وكانت في
العرب لصوص مشهورون منهم عمرو و و تابت شرا والسنفريك
والسليكة بن سلكة والمنشور بن وهب الباهلي واوثق بن مطر المازني وعمرو
ابن براق ونفيل بن براقه في اخر بن كما سورد منهم من وقفنا له على خيسر
ان شاء الله ذي الكلب هو عمرو بن العجلان بن عامر بن سرد
ابن منبه احد بني كاهل بن حيان بن هذيل لدا عندك في الفرج الاصبها في
وفي كتاب الجامع لابن الكلبي عمرو بن الحرث بن سعد بن كاهل بن عامر بن معوية
ابن نهم بن سعة بن هذيل بن زيد ركة بن الياس بن مضر بن نزار بن معد بن
عدنان كان فانتكاشا عرا معوازا وسمي ذا الكلب لكلب كان له لا يفارقه
وكان غزا فمما فوشب عليه بمزان فاكلاه فادعت فم قتله وفي كتاب
المصايد انه سمي ذا الكلب لان الاسد قتل اخاه وولغ في دمه وكان عمرو

بنو

15

ومما احسب الجُمُور اللواتي تنظُر لها الرجال الشُّوسا
ومما انعتش العُقى اذ اُما تَوَاقُوا وجد دهرهم عُبُوسا
أهيبا خارا يَرى هَذا منَها بَرَهْر تَطرد الفَقْر الضُرُوسا
وَأُو باسالمَ نَها وَاثَما اَثَر لَظْمَا النَّادِ اللُّهُ مَرِيسا
يريد الداهية وقوله احسب الجُمُور معناه انيلهم ما يكفهم يقال
احسبني الطعام وغيره اي كفاي والجم جمع جمته وهم القوم يسئلون
في الدية والشُّوس جمع اشوس وهو الذي ينظر نظرا شديدا وقوله
ومما انعتش العُقى معنى انعتش ارفع ومنه قوله نعمتكم الله اي رفعك الله اُما
بسد خلتك او باقالة عترتك والعُقى جمع عاق وهو سائل الحاجه وظالها
من الصقبيل تنقد بم القاف على اليا القيس بم العقيلي
كان يسرق الابل ثم تاب وقتل في سبيل الله ومن شعره
الاقل لارباب الخنايفر اهلوا فقد تاب مما تعلقون بريد
وازل امرانجو من النار بعد ما تزود من اعمالها لسعيد
اذا ما المنايا اخطا نك وصادفت حممك فاعلم انها ستعود
وقال ما كلمت فلا نا الا مشا وراه الا ان بشر الي و اشرا اليه قال
الميرد الناقه اذا الفحت قيل لها خلفه وللجميع الخافض ثم جمع الجمع يقال
مخايض
اعلم ان حروب العرب وغاراتها كثره يعسر حصرها ويبعد على المعنى
بها الاستقصا وهما فلندكر منها حروبها التي هي مشهورة وايام وقايعها
المذكوره فان ذكرها تضمن التذكير بايام الله في النعم النازله بالامم حبرا
لهم بما اجترحوا من السيئات
هو زهير بن جناب بن هبيل بن عبد الله بن كنانة بن بكر بن عوف بن عذرة
ابن بريد اللات بن زينة بن ثور بن كلب بن زبارة بن ثعلبة بن خلوان بن عمران

الانما يترصف بالجمع والذم انما يترصف بالجمع والذم
وانما الحقيقه وصفتها في غير شدة او سواد

احسب الجُمُور اللواتي تنظُر لها الرجال الشُّوسا
ومما انعتش العُقى اذ اُما تَوَاقُوا وجد دهرهم عُبُوسا
أهيبا خارا يَرى هَذا منَها بَرَهْر تَطرد الفَقْر الضُرُوسا
وَأُو باسالمَ نَها وَاثَما اَثَر لَظْمَا النَّادِ اللُّهُ مَرِيسا

PLATE 4 Istanbul/Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, MS 2926/4, fol. 135^a

PART 2

Critical Edition and Translation



The Holograph

Our edition has been prepared from the holograph of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Ḥabar 'an al-bašar*. Volumes 1 and 3–6 of the original six holograph volumes are extant, and the *Lušūš al-Arab* chapter is contained at the opening ff. 1^a–15^a of volume 5, preserved in the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi in Istanbul, MS Fatih 4340. The volume lacks both frontispiece and colophon, and thus the exact date of its composition cannot be determined, but it must have been completed between the end of Dül-Ḥiğğah 844, i.e. May 1441, when al-Maqrīzī completed volume 3 of the holograph, according to its colophon, and Ramaḍān 845/January–February 1442, when al-Maqrīzī died.

Despite the circumstances of its hasty creation, the holograph is nonetheless clean and clear throughout, and its layout is consistently organised. Each page contains 25 lines, the margins are even across all folios (though quite often populated by al-Maqrīzī's notes, inserts and corrections), and folio versos contain a catchword regularly written in the lower-left margin underneath the last word of the last line, repeated as the first word of the next folio's recto. Where the folio verso begins a new biography, however, there are no catchwords (see ff. 7^b, 8^b, 11^b, 12^b). Al-Maqrīzī wrote the body text and marginalia in black ink, the text is of consistent size, and the marginalia script is about half the size of the body text. The title of the chapter and the first name of each outlaw biography is written in red ink.¹ Each biography (with the exception of 'Amr of the Dog on the first folio) begins on a new page, and thus the text is ostensibly planned with a consistent order, though the numerous lacunae, omissions, marginal additions and other scribal errors (noted in the Study, above) indicate that al-Maqrīzī did not have the text entirely planned and/or copied when he began writing this fair copy (*mubayyadah*) at the end of his life. As such, it seems best described as being left to us in an intermediate state between a draft (*musawwadah*) and polished final copy.

The shorter lacunae in the holograph could be filled since we have a fairly certain grasp of al-Maqrīzī's sources, and these are still extant. Longer gaps, such those after §§ 2.1.1, 2.4.1 and before § 2.8.1 are unrecoverable and are left blank, as they appear to have been gaps in al-Maqrīzī's own notes (as discussed in the Study Chapter 5.3). For a small number of cases where al-Maqrīzī's writing was difficult to decipher, and in order to restore two cases of lost text from the holograph (section 1b on the 'Arab Hussies' and part of § 2.2.9 on 'Amr of the

1 With the exception of Ta'abbata Šarran, whose whole name is written in red ink (f. 2^b).

Dog), later copies made of *al-Ḥabar* provided the text that al-Maqrīzī originally wrote on strips of paper (*ṭayyārah/ruqay'ah*) that have now fallen out of the holograph. Frédéric Bauden has made a detailed study of the copies of *al-Ḥabar* alongside analysis of each holograph volume,² and discovered that within some fifty years of al-Maqrīzī's death, *al-Ḥabar 'an al-bašar* was copied at least three times, once in 878/1473, the second between 892–894/1487–1489, and the third in 897/1492. The first copy was split, and parts are now in Tunis and Istanbul: the 'Arab Thieves' chapter of this set is now in Istanbul, MS Aya Sofya 3365, pp. 246–266. The second copy was made for the library of Ibn al-Šiḥnah (d. after 902/1497), an Egyptian scholar and manuscript collector: copyist's notes on this set indicate it was prepared from the holograph; it is now preserved in Istanbul, Topkapı, MS A2926/4: the chapter on 'Arab Thieves' is at ff. 123^b–135^a. Volumes of the third copy have been lost, including the portion dealing with the 'Arab Thieves'.

In preparing the Arabic text, the holograph was the basis, and it is referred to as *al-aṣl* in the notes. Late in the process of editing the Arabic, a third copy of *al-Ḥabar* preserved in Algiers became available, though it did not evidence any material that was not present in the holograph and the Istanbul copies. The copies are referred to as follows:

I² Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, MS. A2926/4

I³ Istanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Aya Sofya. 3365

J Algiers: Bibliothèque nationale, MS 1589

The goal of editing the Arabic text was to present the Arabic 'as is', with minimal editorial intrusion. The Arabic edition reflects al-Maqrīzī's autograph text as closely as possible, and corrections based on the sources from which he copied are alluded to in the notes; the body text is left as al-Maqrīzī wrote it. In the few cases where al-Maqrīzī's scribal errors are so serious as to make the sentences unintelligible, corrections are written in {brackets}, and al-Maqrīzī's original rendering is noted in level one of the apparatus criticus. Where al-Maqrīzī left parts of a line blank, the missing text has been added in (brackets) wherever it could be identified from al-Maqrīzī's sources, primarily *al-Aġānī*, *al-Kāmil* and *Amālī l-Qālī* (the source of the correction is noted in level one of the apparatus criticus). Where al-Maqrīzī uses red ink, the body text reflects this, and the holograph manuscript leaves are noted in the body text. A facsimile of the holograph is reproduced in the plates at the end of this volume.

² Bauden (forthcoming), I am indebted to his extensive work on the surviving manuscripts to understand the process of the holograph's creation and the book's copies.

The following six orthographic conventions are worthy of note. First, the body text of the Arabic edition has conformed the *hamzah* to modern usage: al-Maqrīzī only infrequently wrote the *hamzah* in the now standardised form, and for reading fluency, these have been modified. Where the addition of the *hamzah* materially changes the holograph's *rasm*, we have added a note. And in a related modification, al-Maqrīzī occasionally wrote final *alif maqṣūrah* with two dots, i.e. as a *yā'*, these have been rendered in the Arabic in their familiar un-pointed *alif maqṣūrah* form, and the original orthography is noted in the first level of the apparatus criticus. Second, al-Maqrīzī did not supply full diacritical marks on the holograph, and a number of consonants are un-pointed; the Arabic edition is fully pointed, and only in cases of difficult interpretation is the holograph's form noted in the apparatus criticus. Third, only the short vowels, *tašdīd* and *sukūn* which were marked by al-Maqrīzī on the holograph are represented in the Arabic text. Fourth, we have added punctuation in the Arabic edition for ease of reading, but since the original Arabic bears no punctuation, we have kept this intrusion to a limit of full stops, question marks and some exclamation marks. Fifth, the meter of each poem has been added to the body text. And sixth, in four places al-Maqrīzī adopted an usual style whereby he wrote the letter *dāl* with a point, i.e. as a *dāl*. Hence when he intended *dir'* (suit of armour), he wrote *dīr'* (three times in § 2.5.12), for *darāhim* (silver coins) he wrote *darāhim* (§ 2.1.3), for the verb *ladaġa* (for a snake to bite), he appears to have written *ladaġa* (§ 2.2.9), and for the related form *ladīġ* (snake-bitten), he wrote *ladīġ* (§ 2.3.26). This quirk appears elsewhere in al-Maqrīzī's autograph manuscripts, and it seems at present unexplained. Each instance has been corrected in our Arabic text in {brackets}.

The Arabic text has three levels of apparatus criticus.

1. The first level notes orthographic issues and differences in diacritical marks (primarily in connection with names written differently between the holograph and other sources), the correct forms where al-Maqrīzī's text appears to contain errors, and, in the cases where our edition corrects material scribal errors in the holograph text, the form of the holograph is noted, with the correction rendered in the body text.
2. The second level records all of al-Maqrīzī's marginalia, whether written on margins or on strips of paper attached separately. Where the text is written in directions that differ from the usual right-to-left flow oriented with the body text, the direction of the text in the note is detailed. This level of annotation also explains the symbols al-Maqrīzī inserted to mark different kinds of notes.
3. The third level contains references to pre-modern Arabic sources that narrate the anecdotes of the body text. The notes aim to identify the ear-

liest text in which the anecdote is attested, alongside key third/ninth and fourth/tenth century texts in which the anecdote spread. The references to *al-Aġānī*, *al-Kāmil*, *al-Amālī*, and others noted in Table 5 of the study refer to the text from which al-Maqrīzī was likely copying. In most cases, the recensions differ between texts, the differences are not detailed as the notes would grow too long, and interested readers are directed to explore the early sources.

The volume was originally intended to comprise al-Maqrīzī's chapter on the 'Arab Thieves', but in the process of editing, it became apparent that al-Maqrīzī intended for two other chapters to begin volume 5 of *al-Ḥabar 'an al-bašar*. As noted in the Study, above, these chapters were entitled: 'The Arabs' religions before Islam' (*Diyānāt al-'Arab fī Ġāhiliyyatihā*), and the 'Arab Hussies' (*Mufā-ḥašāt al-'Arab*), and in their current state they are incomplete, and the original holograph copy of the 'Arab Hussies' is now lost, having been written on a strip attached to the autograph text. It is only preserved in the 878/1473 copy of *al-Ḥabar* (MS Aya Sofya 3365, p. 246) and the Algiers MS; the subsequent copy of *al-Ḥabar* made in 892–894/1487–1489 does not have it, suggesting that it fell out very early in the codex's life. All copies do preserve the section on pre-Islamic Arab religion, and thus it was decided to include both as separate chapters with their translation in their intended place, prior to the section on 'Arab Thieves'. In our edition, 'The Arabs' religions before Islam' constitutes section 1a, the 'Arab Hussies' section 1b, and the bulk of the text is numbered as section 2: 'The Arab Thieves'.

The Translation

The English translation aims to render al-Maqrīzī's Arabic in both the most accurate and the clearest English possible. Al-Maqrīzī's prose anecdotes are written in a straightforward and matter-of-fact style, and the translation accordingly adopts an equivalent register. This entails that the English does not attempt to follow every contour of the Arabic syntax: the intention was to create a fluent English translation that can be read with the same ease by English-speaking readers today as Arabic audiences would have found al-Maqrīzī's text in the ninth/fifteenth century. Arabic prose, especially the unadorned style of al-Maqrīzī in the *Luṣūṣ*, is economical, with pronouns and relative particles standing in for whole phrases: this necessitates some expansion of the English to facilitate more natural comprehension. Similarly, where the Arabic can be rendered more directly with modern English expressions, they are chosen instead of word-for-word translation. As a consequence, the translation avoids [square-bracketed] additions, unduly literal renderings of Arabic expressions where more lively English equivalents are available, and, hopefully, all other contortions. The original Arabic text faces the English translation for readers interested in comparing the solutions we offered to render the Arabic in smooth English. Where al-Maqrīzī's text contains obvious copyist errors, which could be corrected from consulting his sources, the translation follows the corrected version; corrections are detailed in the Arabic notes.

The essence of the pre-modern Arabic *ḥabar* style is a pervasive (but not total) absence of the narrator and a movement of narrative via direct speech of the characters. This style has been reflected in the English: each case of Arabic direct speech is translated as a dialogue. Because the protagonists are outlaws, when translating their speech uttered in the midst of their adventures, we have opted to keep the English simple and direct, using pronoun-verb contractions, and in some places, more florid expressions to suit the mood!

Aside the prose, almost half of the text is poetry, and the aim of its translation is to produce an accurate and readable rendering which also approximates a poetic register in English. This entails concise English that sensitively reflects the intended meaning of the Arabic in a form which modern English-speaking readers can recognise as a poetic register distinct from prose. To achieve such a translation of the Arabic poems, where syntax is deliberately chaotic as part of its artistic and aesthetic merit, the English translation cannot track the Arabic word for word, and we have amended the word order accordingly.

Abbreviations and Symbols

﴿...﴾	Qur'ānic Verses
⟨...⟩	Interpolation
{...}	Correction
[...]	Word(s) to be overlooked; indication of the meter
(...)	Blank in the MS
	Used in the Arabic text to indicate the passage to the next folio (number indicated in the left margin)

الأصل	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Fatih 4340
I ²	Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, MS 2926/4
I ³	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Aya Sofya 3365
J	Algiers, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 1589

Text and Translation

of al-Maqrīzī's

al-Ḥabar ʿan al-bašar

كتاب الخبر عن البشر

The History of Mankind

Volume v, sections 1–2

The Arab Thieves



§ 1a.1 اعلم أن العرب كانت أيام الجاهلية مختلفة فيما تدين به فكانت النصرانية في ربيعة وغسان وبعض قضاة وبعض مذبح. وكانت الهودية في حمير وبني كنانة وبني الحرث بن كعب. وكانت المجوسية في بني تميم وكانت قریش تعبد الأصنام. ومنهم زنادقة فن زنادقتهم عقبة بن أبي معيط وأبي بن خلف والنضر بن الحرث و(نبيه) بن الحجاج والعاص بن أميل والوليد بن المغيرة.¹

٣ وبعض: حرف الضاد مطموس في الأصل وما أثبتناه من I² و I³. || الهودية: يبدو أنها كذا في الأصل دون الياء، ولما قشعة لجذر الاسم واشتقاقه راجع لسان العرب ٣: ٤٣٩. ٥ ونبيه: الكلمة ممسوحة في الأصل ويبدو أن المقرئ وضع رمز "ك": كذا فوق الكلمة، وفي I² و I³: "ضبة"، وقد وضع ناسخ I³ رمز "ك" فوق اللفظة. و"ضبة" خطأ فلم نقف على ذكر لضبة بن الحجاج وإنما من زنادقة قریش المشهورين نبيه ومنبه ابنا الحجاج السهميان (راجع ابن حبيب، المحبر ١٦١).

١ يبدو أن المقرئ ألف هذه الفقرة نقلا عن ابن حبيب، المحبر ١٦١ وابن قتيبة، المعارف ١٢٦.

Section on the Arabs' religions before Islam

5 § 1a.1 You should know that in the days before Islam, the Arabs were divided in matters of faith. Christianity had spread amongst the Rabī'ah, the Ġas-sān and some of the Quḍā'ah and the Maḍḥiġ. Ḥimyar, the Kinānah and the al-Ḥāriṭ b. Ka'b followed Judaism, while the Tamīm were Zoroastrians and the Qurayš worshipped idols. There were also heretics¹ amongst the Qurayš, including 'Uqbah b. Abī Mu'ayt, Ubayy b. Ḥalaf, al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥāriṭ, Nabīh² b. al-Ḥaġġāġ, al-Āṣ b. Umayl and al-Walīd b. al-Muġīrah.³

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- 1 The Arabic term al-Maqrīzī uses, *zindīq*, is a loanword from Middle Persian, originally marshalled in a pejorative sense to connote Manichaeans, the sect within Zoroastrianism, but it is also attested as a label for non-Muslims generally, and heretics. The characters al-Maqrīzī lists in this section were all members of the Qurayš contemporary with Muḥammad, and were known as enemies of the early Muslims. The Abbasid Iraqi writer Ibn Ḥabīb is the earliest attested source we could find to use the label *Zanādiqat Qurayš* to group these characters; in Ibn Ḥabīb's milieu, the term was commonplace as 'heretic', and that is the intention, not that they were Arabian Manichaeans!
 - 2 The manuscript is defective in rendering the name of Ibn al-Ḥaġġāġ; al-Maqrīzī appears to be copying a list of the 'heretics' of the Qurayš, the group in which these names are all associated, and in such lists, two sons, Munabbih and Nabīh, of al-Ḥaġġāġ al-Sahmī are recorded. See Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 161.
 - 3 Al-Maqrīzī's note on the pre-Islamic Arabian religions appears to mix both the list in Ibn Qutaybah's *al-Ma'ārif*, 621 and the "Heretics of the Qurayš" from Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 161. Both differ in some details from al-Maqrīzī's text, but a closer match elsewhere could not be found. Al-Mas'ūdī gave a section of his influential *Murūġ al-dahab* the same title as al-Maqrīzī chose here, but the section's contents in *Murūġ al-dabab* are very different (§§ 1122–1189), and it (or one of its various repetitions in later literature) is unlikely to have been al-Maqrīzī's source.

فصل في ذِكْرِ مُفَاخَشَاتِ الْعَرَبِ

1b.1 § قَالَ ابن سيده: الفُحْشُ والفحشاء والفاحشة القبيح من القول والفعل وقد فُحِشَ وفُحِشَ وأُفْحِشَ وفُحِّشَ علينا وأُفْحِشَ إِفْحَاشًا وفُحِّشَا. قال: والصحيح أن الإِفْحَاشَ المَصْدَرُ والفُحْشُ الاسم. وَرَجُلٌ فَاحِشٌ وَ(ذُو) فُحْشٍ وَقَالُوا فَاحِشٌ وَفُحِّشَاءٌ كَجَاهِلٍ وَجُهَلَاءٍ حِينَ كَانَ الْفُحْشُ ضَرْبًا مِنْ ضُرُوبِ الْجَهْلِ وَنَقْضًا لِلْحَلْمِ. وَرَجُلٌ فُحَّاشٌ كَثِيرُ الْفُحْشِ وَفُحِّشَ قَوْلُهُ فُحِّشَا وَكُلُّ أَمْرٍ لَا يَكُونُ مُوَافِقًا لِلْحَقِّ فَاحِشٌ وَفُحِّشَ بِالشَّيْءِ شَنَّعَ بِهِ وَفُحِّشَتِ الْمَرْأَةُ فُبِحَتْ وَكَبِرَتْ.^١

1b.2 § وفي صحاح الجوهري: الفحشاء الفاحشة فكل سوء جاوز حده فهو فاحش وقد فحش الأمر بالضم فُحِّشَا وَتَفَاخَشَ وَسُمِّيَ الزُّنَى فَاحِشَةً وَقَالَ: الْفُحْشُ فَهُوَ فُحَّاشٌ وَتَفَحَّشَ فِي كَلَامِهِ.^٢

1b.3 § قَالَ أَبُو عَلِيٍّ الْقَالِي: كَانَ لَهُمَامٌ بِنُ مَرَّةٍ ثَلَاثُ بَنَاتٍ فَعَنَّسَهُنَّ فَقَالَتِ الْكُبْرَى: "أَكْفِيكَوهِ الْيَوْمَ" وَقَالَتْ: [الوافر] ١٠

٢-١٧٤.٧ فصل ... زوجهن: الفصل كله ساقط من الأصل وقد أضاف المقرئ مضمونه على طيارة ملصقة قد سقطت أيضا من الأصل. وما أثبتناه من I³، و 246-247. ٢ قَالَ: بِحَبْرٍ أَحْمَرَ فِي I³. ٤ وَذُو: سَاقِطَةٌ فِي الْأَصْلِ وَمَا أُثْبِتْنَاهُ مِنَ الْحَكْمِ ٣: ١١٤. ٦ فُبِحَتْ: كَذَا فِي الْأَصْلِ وَالْحَكْمِ ٣: ١١٤ وَلَعَلَّهَا "قُبِحَتْ" كَمَا فِي اللِّسَانِ ٦: ٣٢٦. ٧ سَوْءٌ: كَذَا فِي الْأَصْلِ وَلَعَلَّ الصَّوَابَ "شَيْءٌ" كَمَا فِي الصَّحَاحِ ٣: ١٠١٤. ٨ الزُّنَى: فِي I³ "زَنَا" بِالْف. ٩ ثَلَاثُ: فِي I³ "ثَلَاثٌ". || الْكُبْرَى: فِي I³ "الْكُبْرَى" بِالْيَاءِ.

١ ابن سيده، الحكم ٣: ١١٤. ٢ الجوهري، الصحاح ٣: ١٠١٤.

Section on the Arab Hussies

§1b.1 According to Ibn Sīdah,⁴ the words *fuḥṣ*, *fahṣā*’ and *fāḥiṣah* refer to foul words and deeds. To describe someone who acts in such a vulgar manner, the verbal forms are pronounced *fahaša*, *fahuša* or *afhaša*. The verbal constructions *fahuša ‘alaynā* or *afhaša* mean ‘he behaved abhorrently towards us’. The associated nouns are *ifhāš* and *fuḥṣ*, and Ibn Sīdah notes that *ifhāš* is properly the verbal noun, while *fuḥṣ* is the common noun. A man with a vulgar deportment is known as a *fāḥiṣ* or a possessor of *fuḥṣ*. The plural of *fāḥiṣ*, ‘boors’, is *fuḥašā*: the pattern is akin to *ġāhil* (an unrestrained or ignorant man), the plural of which is *ġuhalā*. This is so because vulgarity is but one form of a lack of restraint and is the opposite of civility. A really offensive profligate can be called a *fahḥāš*. You can also use the same verb, *fahuša*, for speech: ‘he spoke vulgarly’. Anything which is contrary to the truth is *fāḥiṣ*. The related verb *fahḥaša* is used for one who slanders something. The verb *fahušat* is used for a woman who acts uncouthly or haughtily.

§1b.2 Al-Ġawharī’s *al-Šiḥāḥ* (The Authentic)⁵ reports the words *fahṣā*’ and *fāḥiṣah*, and explains that *fāḥiṣ* means anything which exceeds its proper bounds. If a matter is done with vulgarity, you say *fahuša* with a “u”, it is *fahṣ*, and there is also a verb *tafaḥaša*. Adultery can be called *fāḥiṣah*. You can also say *fuḥṣ*, and a greatly obscene person is a *fahḥāš*; he who speaks obscenely is said to *tafaḥaša*.

§1b.3 Abū ‘Alī l-Qālī⁶ reported that there was once a man named Hammām b. Murrah who had three daughters whom he refused to give away in marriage. The eldest one declared: “I’ll sort him out today!”, and she composed the following poem: [*al-wāfir*]

4 Andalusian philologist and lexicographer (d. 458/1066), and author of a celebrated Arabic dictionary, *al-Muḥkam wa-l-muḥiṭ al-a’zam* (The Masterfully Comprehensive Lexicon), (see M. Talibi, “Ibn Sīdah,” in EI²).

5 Philologist and lexicographer originally from Farab/Otrar on the Syr Darya River in today’s Kazakhstan (d. between 393–400/1003–1009); author of *al-Šiḥāḥ* (The Authentic), one of the frequently cited pre-modern Arabic dictionaries (see L. Kopf, “al-Djāwharī,” in EI²).

6 Abū ‘Alī Ismā’īl b. al-Qāsim al-Qālī (d. 356/967) was a philologist and poetry specialist, born in what is now Eastern Turkey, he studied in Iraq and eventually emigrated to Iberia where he entered the Umayyad court as a celebrated literary figure. His collection of poems and philological commentary, *Amālī l-Qālī* and its appendices (*Dayl al-Amālī*), were widely cited as classics of pre-modern *adab* (see R. Sellheim, “al-Qālī,” in EI²).

أهمام بن مرة إن همي إلى قنفاء مُشْرِفَةَ القذال

فقال همام: "تريدن فرسا!" فقالت الوسطى: "ما صنعتِ شيئا!" فقالت: [الوافر]

أهمام بن مرة إن همي إلى اللائي يكن مع الرجال

(فقال) همام: "يكون مع الرجال الذهب والفضة!" فقالت الصغرى: "ما صنعتما شيئا" وقالت:
 ٥ [الوافر]

أهمام بن مرة إن همي إلى عَرْدٍ أُسَدَ بِهِ مَبَالِي

فقال: "قاتلكن الله! والله لا أمسيت أو أزوجكن!" ففعل^١.
 القنفاء الحشفة الغليظة.

1b.4 § وكان رجل من العرب له ثلث بنات قد عضلهن فقالت إحداهن: "إن أقام أبونا على هذا
 الرأي فارقنا وقد ذهب حظ الرجال منا فينبغي لنا أن نعرض له بما في نفوسنا." فدخل على الواحدة
 ١٠ فقالت: [الطويل]

أُبْزَجْرُ لَا هِينَا وَيُلْحَى عَلَى الصَّبَا
 وَمَا نَحْنُ وَالْفَتَيَانِ إِلَّا شَقَائِقُ
 يُؤْبِنُ حَبِيبَاتٍ مَرَارًا كَثِيرَةً
 وَتَنْبَاقُ أَحْيَانًا بِهِنَّ الْبَوَائِقُ

٢ تریدن: كذا في I³. ٤ فقال: في I³ "فقام" وهو تصحيف. || الصغرى: في I³ "الصغرى" بالياء.
 ٨ القنفاء: في I³ "قيفاء" ولا معنى لها فإثباتها من أمالي القالي ٢: ١٠٥. ٩ ثلث: في I³ "ثلث". || على:
 في I³ "علي" بالياء. ١٢ ويُلْحَى: كذا في I³، ولعل الصواب: "نلحى" كما في J والقالي، الأمالي ٢: ١٠٥.

١ القالي، الأمالي ٢: ١٠٦-١٠٥. راجع كذلك البيهقي، المحاسن والمساوي ٢: ٣٨٣.

Hammām b. Murrah! What do I want?
I want one white-necked, the back of its head rising!

Hammām replied: “You want horses?”⁷ The middle daughter then said to the eldest: “You didn’t get the message across!” And she composed the following:
5 [al-wāfir]

Hammām b. Murrah! What do I want?
I want the things that men have!

Hammām replied: “Men have gold and silver!” Thereupon the youngest daughter chided her sisters: “Neither of you two got the message across!”,
10 and she composed the following: [al-wāfir]

Hammām b. Murrah! What do I want?
I want a stout staff to plug my pee-hole!

To this Hammām replied: “Confound you girls! I will marry you off at once!”
And he did.
15 The word “white-necked” intends a thick head of a penis.

§ 1b.4 There once was an Arab man who had three daughters whom he prevented from marriage. One of them told her sisters: “If our father persists in his stance, by the time he dies, our chance to marry will have passed. We should make our desires known to him.” When he came to see one of them,
20 she said to him: [al-ṭawīl]

Is our dallying to be restrained, our youthful desire reviled?
We and the young men are but one!
Many a time girls return as loved ones,
But sometimes something heinous befalls them.

⁷ The word *qanfā'* can describe a horse with a white-coloured back of the neck, but it also means the glans of the penis; Hammām evidently did not grasp the double-entendre.

فساءه ما سمع ودخل على الوسطى فأنشدت: [الطويل]

ألا أيها الفتیان إن فتاتکم دهاها سماع العاشقین نَحْنَتِ
فدونکم ابغوها فتی غیر زُمَّلٍ وإلا صَبَّتْ تلك الفتاة وُحْنَتِ

i³ 247

فساءه ما سمع ودخل على الصغرى فقالت: [الطويل]

ه أما كان في تینین ما یزع الفتی ویعقل هذا الشيخ إن كان یعقل
فما هو إلا الحِلُّ أو طلب الصبأ ولا بد منه فأتمر كيف تفعل

فلها رأى تواطؤهنَّ على ذلك زوجهن^١.

٢ فتاتکم: كذا في I³ وفي J: "أيا أيها الفتیان إن فاتکم". || نَحْنَتِ: كذا في I³، وهو تصحيف فالصواب: "حْنَت" كما في J والقالي، الأمالي ٢: ١٠٥. ٣ فتی: في I³ "فتی" بالياء. || وُحْنَت: كذا في I³، وهو تصحيف فالصواب: "جْنَت" كما في القالي، الأمالي ٢: ١٠٥. ٤ الصغرى: في I³ "الصغرى" بالياء. ٥ یزع: كذا في I³، ولعلها "یزع" بفتح الزاي. || الفتی: في I³ "فتی" بالياء.

القالي، الأمالي ٢: ١٠٥.

He did not like what he heard, and approached the middle daughter, and she said: [*al-ṭawīl*]

Young men! Your young girl:

She suffers from the sound of lovers, and she yearns.

5 Find for her a youth who doesn't lay about his house
Before she's driven mad by desire!⁸

He did not like what he heard from her either, and when he entered upon the youngest, she said: [*al-ṭawīl*]

Is it not with two that a youth is controlled?

10 This old man should know it.

Either by marriage or by following desire

It will happen inevitably. What is your choice?

He then realised they were in collusion, and he married them all off.

8 The manuscript copy of these verses appears to have incorrectly pointed the final words of each line; this translation follows the version in al-Qālī, *al-Amālī*, 2:105, al-Maqrīzī's stated source.

2.1.1 § قال ابن سيدة: اللص السارق واللص كاللص وأما سبويه فلا يعرف إلا لصاً بالكسر.١
وجمعها جميعاً لصاص ولُصُوص.٢ والمَلَصَةُ اسم جمع. والأنثى لَصَّةٌ والجمع لِصَّاتٌ ولِصَّائِصٌ.
واللَّصْتُ لغة في اللص وجمعه لُصُوتٌ وقد قيل فيه صِلَاتٌ. والاسم اللُصُوصَةُ واللُصُوصِيَّةُ وأرض
مَلَصَّةٌ ذات لُصُوص.٣

2.1.2 § وقال في صحاح الجوهري: اللِّصُّ واحد اللُصُوصِ واللِّصُّ بالضم لغة فيه ولِصٌّ بِيْنِ
اللُصُوصِيَّةِ وهو يَتَلَصَّصُ وأرض مَلَصَّةٌ ذات لُصُوص.٤

2.1.3 § وقال الثعلبي: إذا كان الرجل من أخبث اللصوص فهو عَمْرُوطٌ فإذا كان يدل على
اللصوص فهو شَصٌّ فإذا حَفِظَ متاعهم ولم يسرق معهم فهو لَعِيفٌ وإذا سرق {الدراهم} بين
أصابعه فهو قَفَّافٌ.٥

2.1.4 § وكانت في العرب لصوص مشهورون منهم عمرو ذو (الكلب) وتَأَبَّطُ شَرًّا والشَّنْفَرِيُّ
والسليك بن سلَكَةَ والمُنْتَشِرُ بن وهب الباهلي وأُوْفَى بن مَطَرِ المازني وعمرو بن براق ونُفَيْل بن
بَرَاقة في آخرين كما ستورد منهم من وقفنا له على خبر إن شاء الله.

١ العرب: بداية الكلمة حتى حرف الراء مطموسة في الأصل. ٣ الأنثى: في الأصل: "الانثى". || لِصَّات: كذا في الأصل، وفي ابن سيدة، المحكم والمحيط الأعظم ٨: ٢٧٠، وابن منظور، لسان العرب ٧: ٨٧: "لِصَّات" بالفتح. ٤ صِلَاتٌ: كذا في الأصل، وفي ابن سيدة، المحكم ٨: ٢٧٠: "لَصَّت" || اللُصُوصَةُ: كذا في الأصل، وفي ابن سيدة، المحكم والمحيط الأعظم ٨: ٢٧٠: "اللُصُوصِيَّة" بالياء. || واللُصُوصِيَّة: كذا في الأصل، وفي المحكم والمحيط الأعظم ٨: ٢٧٠: "اللُصُوصِيَّة" بفتح اللام. ٨-١٠ وقال ... قَفَّافٌ: زيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر رأساً على عقب، يشير إليها رمز ٦ بعد "لُصُوص". ٩ الدراهم: في الأصل: "الدراهم" بالذال المعجمة. ١١ الكلب: ساقطة في الأصل. ١٣ إن ... الله: زيادة بخط المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح في الجملة على آخر السطر في الهامش الأيسر.

١ سبويه، الكتاب ٤: ٥٥. ٢ ابن منظور، لسان العرب ٧: ٨٧. ٣ ابن سيدة، المحكم والمحيط الأعظم ٨: ٢٧٠-٢٦٩. ٤ الجوهري، الصحاح ٣: ١٠٥٦. ٥ الثعلبي، فقه اللغة ٢: ١٦١-١٦٢.

Section on the Arab Thieves

- § 2.1.1 Ibn Sīdah said: a thief is called a *liṣṣ*; the word can also be pronounced *luṣṣ*, but Sībawayh⁹ only heard it as *liṣṣ* with an “i”. The plural of both forms, “thieves”, is pronounced *liṣāṣ* or *luṣūṣ*. *Malaṣṣah* is the collective noun: “the thieves”. A female thief is a *liṣṣah*, and their plural, “female thieves”, is pronounced *laṣṣāt* or *laṣā’iṣ*. Some say *laṣṣ* for “thief” instead of *liṣṣ*, and the plural of this variant is *luṣūt*.¹⁰ The variant *liṣṣ* has also been heard. The verbal noun, “thievery”, is *luṣūṣiyyah* or *laṣūṣiyyah*, and a land full of thieves is called a *malaṣṣah*.¹¹
- 10 § 2.1.2 Al-Ġawharī’s dictionary *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (The Authentic) reports that the singular, “thief”, is a *liṣṣ*, the plural, “thieves”, is *luṣūṣ*, and some say *luṣṣ* (with a “u”). A thief (*liṣṣ*) manifests thievery (*luṣūṣiyyah*), and he thieves (*yatalaṣṣaṣ*). A land full of thieves is called a *malaṣṣah*.
- 15 § 2.1.3 Al-Ṭa’ālibī¹² says that the vilest sort of thief is called an *‘umrūt*. A snitch is a *ṣiṣṣ*. Someone who doesn’t steal, but harbours stolen goods is called a *laġiḥ*. A pickpocket is a *qaffāf*.
- 20 § 2.1.4 There were famous thieves amongst the Arabs: ‘Amr of the Dog, Ta’abbata Ṣarran, al-Šanfarā, al-Sulayk b. Sulakah, al-Muntašir b. Wahb al-Bāhili, Awfā b. Maṭar al-Māzinī, ‘Amr b. Barrāq, and Nufayl b. Barrāqah, amongst others. In what follows, God willing, we will report about those whom we know.

9 Philologist active in Basra (d.c. 183/799); one of the most revered authorities on Arabic grammar. He authored *al-Kitāb*, the earliest exhaustive Arabic grammatical treatise (see M.J. Carter, “Sībawayhi,” in *ET*²).

10 Ibn Sīdah elsewhere specifies that this unusual pronunciation with the final ‘t’ was a specific habit of the eastern Arabian Ṭayyi’ group (*al-Muḥaṣṣaṣ*, 1:346); for further etymological considerations, see Study pp. 30–31.

11 In the translation of this passage, we have corrected al-Maqrīzī’s copying errors to conform to the dictionary pronunciations, see the Arabic footnotes, opposite, and Study Table 6 for further discussion.

12 Celebrated belles-lettrist and prolific author from Eastern Iran (d. 429/1038), see E.K. Rowson, “al-Ṭa’ālibī,” in *ET*².

§ 2.2 عمرو^ه ذي الكلب

2.2.1 § هو عمرو بن العجلان بن عامر بن برد بن منبه أحد بني كاهل بن لحيان بن هذيل كذا عند أبي الفرج الإصهاني^١. وفي كتاب الجامع لابن الكلبي: عمرو بن الحرث بن سعد بن كاهل بن عامر ابن معوية بن تميم بن سعد بن هذيل بن مدركة بن إلياس بن مضر بن نزار بن معد بن عدنان^٢.

٥ 2.2.2 § كان فاتكاً شاعراً مغواراً وسمي ذا الكلب لكلب كان له لا يفارقه^٣ وكان غزاً فهماً فوثب عليه نمران فأكلاه فادعت فهم قتله^٤؛

2.2.3 § وفي كتاب المصائد إنه سمي ذا الكلب لأن الأسد قتل أخاه وولغ في دمه وكان عمرو

١ ذي الكلب: كذا في الأصل. ٢ برد: وضع المقرئ رمز "ك": كذا فوق هذه الكلمة، وهكذا نسبة في الإصهاني، الأغاني ٢٢: ٣٥٣. || أحد ... هذيل: الزيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر ويشير إليها رمز "صح" فوق "برد". ٥ مغواراً: زيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل ويشير إليها رمز ٣ بعد كلمة "شاعراً".

الإصهاني، الأغاني ٢٢: ٣٥٣. وكذلك نسبة السكري في شرح أشعار الهذليين ٢: ٥٦٥. ٢ راجع نسب عمرو في ابن الكلبي، جمهرة النسب ١٣١ باختلاف. ٣ السكري، شرح أشعار الهذليين ٢: ٥٦٥؛ والبلاذري، أنساب الأشراف^٢ ١٠: ١٩٦؛ والإصهاني، الأغاني ٢٢: ٣٥٣. ٤ السكري، شرح أشعار الهذليين ٢: ٥٧٨؛ والإصهاني، الأغاني ٢٢: ٣٥٣.

§ 2.2 ‘Amr of the Dog

§ 2.2.1 According to Abū l-Faraġ al-Iṣfahānī, this thief’s name was ‘Amr b. al-‘Aġlān b. ‘Āmir b. Burd b. Munabbih, from the lineage of Kāhil b. Liḥyān b. Huḍayl.¹³ Ibn al-Kalbī’s *al-Ġāmi‘* (The Compendium)¹⁴ has him as ‘Amr b. al-
 5 Ḥārīt b. Sa’d b. al-Kāhil b. ‘Āmir b. Mu‘āwiyah b. Tamīm b. Sa’d b. Huḍayl¹⁵ b. Mudrikah b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Ma‘add b. ‘Adnān.

§ 2.2.2 ‘Amr was a poet, a hot-blooded belligerent and a raider. He was nick-
 named “‘Amr of the Dog” because he had a dog which never left his side. One
 10 day he was out raiding the Fahm¹⁶ when he was attacked and devoured by two panthers; the Fahm then alleged that they had killed him.

§ 2.2.3 According to *Kitāb al-Maṣāʿid* (The Book of Game),¹⁷ the story behind ‘Amr’s sobriquet “of the Dog” is that a lion killed ‘Amr’s brother and wallowed in his blood, and after that ‘Amr began killing every lion he saw and would

13 Abū l-Faraġ al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967), a belles-lettrist and scholar who attended courts in Iraq, Iran and Syria. His *Book of Songs* (*al-Aġānī*) is a towering work of medieval Arabic literature and is the most detailed compendium of pre-Islamic and early Islamic-era anecdotes about poetry and history (see M. Nallino, “Abū l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī,” in *EI*² and Kilpatrick (2003) on the *al-Aġānī* itself). The detailed accounts of pre-Islamic outlaws in *al-Aġānī* constitute the basis for most subsequent writing about them, including the present book.

14 Hišām Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819), an Iraqi author of over one hundred books on history and genealogy, was considered the foremost authority on Arabian genealogy (see W. Atallah, “al-Kalbī,” in *EI*²). ‘Amr of the Dog’s lineage in the extant edition of Ibn al-Kalbī’s *Ġamharat al-nasab* (Collected Genealogies) differs from the version quoted here by al-Maqrīzī: it traces ‘Amr of the Dog’s to the Ka’b b. Kāhil b. al-Ḥārīt b. Tamīm b. Sa’d b. Huḍayl b. Mudrikah b. Ilyās b. Muḍar (130–131).

15 The Huḍayl were a prominent lineage group living near Mecca and al-Ṭāʿif in the Sarāt Mountains around the rise of Islam; they feature prominently in Arabian outlaw stories (see G. Rentz, “Hudhayl,” in *EI*²).

16 The Fahm were a sub-group of the Qays ‘Aylān lineage living in the Sarāt Mountains of the southern Hejaz around the dawn of Islam. Often depicted in conflict with the Huḍayl, the Fahm also appear prominently in Arabian outlaw stories.

17 *The Book of Game* appears to refer to Abū l-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusayn Kuṣāġim’s (d.c. 350/961) *Kitāb al-Maṣāʿid wa-l-maṭāʿid* (The Book of Game and Quarry) where the reason for ‘Amr of the Dog’s sobriquet and an account of his death are narrated in a lengthy story, 172–173. Below, § 2.2.9, al-Maqrīzī relates the same story in full, but there ascribes it to a later source, al-Qāḍī Abū l-Faraġ al-Mu‘āfāl-Nahrawānī’s *al-Ġalīs al-ṣāliḥ al-kāfi*.

يقتل الأسد ويلغ في دماؤها ورآه عمرو بن معدي كَرَب يَلِغ في دم أسدٍ ثم نهشته حية فمات. وكان عمرو يقول: "إنما الأسد كلب." فلذلك سمي ذا الكلب.^١

2.2.4 § وفي كتاب الأغاني لأبي الفرج أنه خرج غازيا ومعه كلب يصطاد به فقال له أصحابه: "يا ذا الكلب!" فثبت عليه.^٢

٥ 2.2.5 § وعن أبي عبيدة والمفضل وغيرهما قالوا: كان من حديث عمرو ذي الكلب وكان من رجالاتهم أنه علق امرأة من فهم يقال لها خليجة فأحبها وأحبته وكان أهلها قد وجدوا عليها وعليه إلى أن طلوا دمه فلما جاءها نذروا به وخرجوا في أثره وقد خرج | هاربا وهم على أثره حتى أمسى^{١ب} وهاجت ريح شديدة في ليلة ظلماء فبينما هو يسير إذ رأى نارا عن يمينه فقال: "أخطأت الطريق!" فغار وشك ثم قصد النار حتى أتاها وقد كاد يصبح فإذا رجل قد أوقد نارا ليس معه أحد. فقال له {عمرو} ذو الكلب: "من أنت؟" قال: "أنا رجل من عدوان." قال: "فما اسم هذا المكان؟" قال: "السُدُ." فعرف أنه قد هلك وأخطأ. والسُدُ شيء لا يجاوز. قال: "ويك! لم أوقدت؟ فوالله ما نَسْتَوِي ولا تَصْطَلِي وما أوقدت إلا لمنية عمرو الشقي. هل عندك شيء تطعمني؟" قال: "نعم." فأخرج له تمرات قد بقّاه في يده. فلما رآها قال: "تمرات تتبعها عبرات من نسوة خفّرات." ثم قال: "اسقني." قال: "ماذا ألبّنا؟" قال: "لا ولكن اسقني ماء قراحا فإني مقتول صباحا." ثم انطلق فرأى القوم

٢ وضع المقرئ رمز "ب" بعد "الكلب" ولا تقف على مفاده. ٦ خليجة: كذا في الأصل، وفي ابن حبيب، المعتالين ٧: ٢٤٠، والإصفيهاني، الأغاني ٢٢: ٣٥٤؛ وابن الجراح، من اسمه عمرو من الشعراء ١٥: "أم جليحة"؛ وفي ابن منظور، مختار الأغاني ٥: ٤١٢-٤١٣: "أم خلتجة." ٧ طلوا: كذا في الأصل و^{I2} و^{I3}، وفي الإصفيهاني، الأغاني ٢٢: ٣٥٤: "طلبوا." وفي معنى طل الدم راجع ابن منظور، اللسان ١١: ٤٠٥. || علي: في الأصل: "علي". ٨ رأى: في الأصل: "رأي". ٩ غار: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ١٠ عمرو: في الأصل: "عمر". ١٤ فرأى: في الأصل: "رأي".

١ راجع الخبر المطول في كشاجم، كتاب المصايد والمطارد ١٧٢-١٧٣. ٢ الإصفيهاني، الأغاني ٢٢: ٣٥٣.

wallow in *its* blood (he was fatally bitten by a snake when he was observed wallowing in a lion's blood by 'Amr b. Ma'dī Karib).¹⁸ 'Amr would say: "The lion is just a dog", and hence he was nicknamed "Amr of the Dog".

5 § 2.2.4 Abū l-Farağ's *Kitāb al-Ağānī* (Book of Songs) reports that 'Amr used to raid accompanied by a hunting dog of his; his companions once called out to him: "Hey, you with the Dog!" and the nickname stuck.

10 § 2.2.5 Abū 'Ubaydah,¹⁹ al-Mufaḍḍal²⁰ and others related a story about 'Amr of the Dog. He was one of their foot warriors, and he fell in love with a girl from the Fahm called Umm Ğulayḥah,²¹ and she loved him too. Her people were angry about this, and they called for his blood. When he came visiting her, they swore to kill him, and he fled, with the tribe in hot pursuit. In the evening, a fierce wind blew, the night became pitch-black, and as 'Amr travelled, he spied a fire to his right. He said to himself: "I've lost the way!" And full of confusion and doubts he approached the fire, reaching it shortly
15 before daybreak. A man who had lit the fire sat alone there. 'Amr of the Dog asked him: "Who are you?" He said: "I am one of the 'Adwān."²² 'Amr asked: "What's the name of this place?" The man replied: "The Sudd". Then 'Amr realised he had taken the wrong route and was done for (*sudd* is something that cannot be crossed),²³ and said: "Hell, why did you light this fire? You're
20 neither grilling nor warming: you lit it for poor 'Amr's passing! Do you have something for me to eat?" The man replied: "Yes", and produced some dates left over in his hand. When 'Amr saw this, he said: "Dates! Tears follow dates with bashful girls." Then he asked: "Give me a drink." The man said: "What

18 Abū Ṭawr 'Amr b. Ma'dī Karib al-Zubaydī (d. 16/637), a warrior, poet and leader of the Yemeni Zubayd.

19 Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muṭanná (d. 210/825), one of the most important early Arabic philologists and scholars of pre-Islamic Arab history. He was much quoted in subsequent writings on the subject (see H.A.R. Gibb, "Abū 'Ubayda," in *EI*²).

20 Al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (d. between 164–170/781–787), famed Iraqi poetry specialist and collector of pre-Islamic and early Islamic-era poems (see I. Lichtenstädter, "al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad b. Ya'lā b. 'Āmir b. Sālīm b. al-Rammāl al-Ḍabbī," in *EI*²).

21 Al-Maqrīzī is inconsistent in rendering the girl's name; the form in this translation follows *al-Ağānī*, which narrates on the authority of various early scholars of pre-Islamic *Arabica*, including Abū 'Ubaydah, al-Mufaḍḍal and Ibn al-'Arābī (22:353).

22 The 'Adwān were a lineage group of the 'Amr b. Qays 'Aylān, and they claimed relation with the Fahm.

23 There are several locations identified as al-Sudd: the name can be applied to any mountain that cuts off communication between two regions (see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 3:197).

في أثره فدخل غارا في السد. فلما ظهروا على السد علموا أنه في الغار فنادوه: "يا عمرو!" وقال: "ما {تساؤون}؟" قالوا: "أخرج!" قال: "فلم دخلتُ إذن؟" قالوا: "فأنشدنا قولك: [الوافر]

ومَقَعَدَ كُرْبِيَّةً قَد كُنْتَ فِيهَا مَكَانَ الإِصْبَعَيْنِ مِنَ القِبَالِ

قال: "ها هي ذه أنا فيها!" وَعَنَّ لَهُ رَجُلٌ مِنَ القَوْمِ فَرَمَاهُ عَمْرُو فَقتَلَهُ. فقالوا: "قتلته يا عدو الله!" قال: "أجل. ولقد بقيت معي أربعة أسهم كأنها أنيابُ أم خليجة لا تصلون إلي أو أقتل بكل سهم منها واحدا منكم." فقالوا لعبد لهم: "يا أبا نجاد! ادخل عليه وأنت حرا!" فتبها أبو نجاد ليدخل عليه فقال له عمرو: "ويلك يا أبا نجاد! ما ينفعلك أن تكون حرا إذا قتلتك؟" فنكص عنه. فلما رأوا ذلك صعدوا فقبوا عليه ثم رموه حتى قتلوه وأخذوا سلبه ورجعوا به إلى أم جليحة وإذا هي تتشوف. فلما رأوها قالوا لها: "يا أم جليحة! ما رأيك في عمرو؟" قالت: "رأيي أنكم طلبتموه سريعا ووجدتموه منيعا ووضعتموه مربعا." قالوا: "قد والله قتلناه." فقالت: "والله ما أراكم فعلتم لربِّ بدءٍ منكم قد افترشهُ وضبَّ منكم قد احترشهُ." فظرحوا لها ثيابه وقالوا لها: "دونك!" فأخذتها فشمتهما فقالت: "ريح عطرٍ وثوبٌ عمرو. أما والله ما وجدتموه ذا حِجْزَةٍ جافيةٍ ولا عانةٍ وافيةٍ ولا ضالةٍ كابية."^{2a}

٢ تساؤون: في الأصل: "تساون." ٥ أم خليجة: كذا في الأصل، وفي ابن حبيب، المغتالين ٧: ٢٤١، والإصفيهاني، الأغاني ٢٢: ٣٥٥؛ وابن الجراح، من اسمه عمرو من الشعراء ١٥: "أم جليحة." ٦ يا أبا نجاد: كذا في الأصل والإصفيهاني، الأغاني ٢٢: ٣٥٥، وفي ابن حبيب، المغتالين ٧: ٢٤١: "أبا نجاد." ٨ جليحة: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ١٠ ووضعتموه: وضع المقرئ رمز "ك" كذا فوق "وضعتموه"، وتختلف المصادر في هذه اللفظة: راجع ابن حبيب، المغتالين ٧: ٢٤١، والإصفيهاني، الأغاني ٢٢: ٣٥٥. ١١ احترشهُ: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ١٢ ضالةً: كذا في الأصل، ولعل الصواب: "ضالةً" بتخفيف اللام. ١١ كابية: كذا في الأصل، وفي ابن حبيب، المغتالين ٧: ٢٤٢؛ وابن الجراح، من اسمه عمرو من الشعراء ١٥، والإصفيهاني، الأغاني ٢٢: ٣٥٥: "كافية".

٣ مكان ... القِبَالِ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "أراد مكان القبال من الإصبعين."

ابن حبيب، المغتالين ٧: ٢٤٠-٢٤٣؛ وابن الجراح، من اسمه عمرو من الشعراء ١٥، والإصفيهاني، الأغاني ٢٢: ٣٥٥-٣٥٣.

do you want? Sour milk?" 'Amr replied: "No. Give me clear water, since I'll be dead when morning clears." Then 'Amr set off, but he sighted his pursuers, and he took refuge in a cave in the Sudd. When the party reached the Sudd, they knew that he was in the cave and they called out: "O 'Amr!" He answered:
 5 "What do you want?" They said: "Come out!" But 'Amr replied: "Why do you think I went in?" They said: "Come out and sing us your poem: [*al-wāfir*]

'Many a distressful jam have I been in,
 Like toes jammed against a sandal thong.'

'Amr called back: "That's precisely what I'm in right here!" One of the men
 10 made for him, but 'Amr shot him dead with his bow. They cried: "You killed him, you enemy of God!" "Damn right! And I have four arrows left, all sharp like Umm Ğulayḥah's canines. You're not getting to me before each one of them kills one of you!" So, the party summoned one of their slaves: "Abū Niğād! Go in there and we'll set you free!" As Abū Niğād began preparing
 15 himself to enter the cave, 'Amr called out: "Steady, Abū Niğād: what good will your freedom be after I've killed you?" The slave recoiled, and when the party saw this, they all rose up and breached the cave, firing arrows inside until they killed 'Amr. They then stripped him of his belongings and brought them back to Umm Ğulayḥah. She was parading herself about, and when
 20 they saw her, they said: "Umm Ğulayḥah! What do you think of 'Amr?" She responded: "I think you chased him fast, you found him invincible, and you left him well." "By God, we've killed him!" She replied: "By God, I don't think you have. He has preyed upon so many of your leaders, and ferreted out so many of you lizards!" Then they cast his clothes before her, and said: "Here
 25 you are!" She took them, smelled them and said: "Perfume's odour, and the clothes of 'Amr. By God, you wouldn't have found him with his pants down, nor with abundant pubes, nor with a bent bow."²⁴

8 thong: He means in the place of the thong between toes. [al-Maqrīzī is explaining the Arabic rhetorical device of *qalb*, whereby logical word order is interposed] (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

24 Sources report several versions of Ğulayḥah's cryptic rhyming remark (see the Arabic note opposite for references). The vocabulary and allusions are unusual, but Ğulayḥah seems to intend that 'Amr would not have died without putting up resistance, and that his pursuers must have had luck on their side to defeat him. The version in *al-Ağānī* is more straightforward, rendering her last statement: "he must have run out of arrows" (*dālah kābiyyah*).

§2.2.6 وقالَ رَيْطَةَ وَيُقَالُ جَنْوَبٌ أُخْتُ عَمْرٍو ذِي الْكَلْبِ تَرْثِيهِ: [البسيط]

كل امرئ بطوال العيش مكذوب
وكل من حجب بيت الله من رجل
وكل حي وإن طالت سلامته
بيننا الفتى ناعم راض بعيشته
أبلغ بني كاهل عني مُغْلَغَلَةٌ
بأن ذا الكلب عمرا خيرهم نسبا
الطاعن الطعنة النجلاء يتبعها
وكل من غالت الأيام مغلوب
موت فقدر كه ولدان والشيب
يوما طريقهم في الشر دُعُوبٌ
أتيح له من نوازل الدهر شؤبوب
والقوم من دونهم سَعِيًّا وَمَرْكُوبٌ
ببطن شَرِيَّانَ يعوي عنده الذيب
مُثَغْنَجِرٌ من نَجِيعِ الْجَوْفِ أُثْعُوبٌ

١ ويقال جنوب: الزيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأعلى من الأسفل إلى الأعلى. ٢ غالت الأيام: كذا في الأصل، والصواب "غالب الأيام" كما في السكري، شرح أشعار الهدليين ٢: ٥٧٨. ٣ وكل ... والشيب: الزيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأعلى رأسا على العقب ويشير إليها رمز "تحت مغلوب". || موت: كذا في الأصل، ولعلها "مود"، كما في السكري، شرح أشعار الهدليين ٢: ٥٧٨. ٥ بينا ... شؤبوب: زيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن من الأسفل إلى الأعلى ويشير إليها رمز "بعد دُعُوبٌ". || أتيح: وضع المقرئ رمز "ك": كذا فوقها. ٨ مُثَغْنَجِرٌ: كذا في الأصل، والصواب "مُثَغْنَجِرٌ" كما في I².

٤ يوما: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "وكل حي وإن غزوا وإن سلموا يوما" ووضع فوقها "خ": نسخة أخرى. هكذا رواية الأغاني ٢٢: ٣٥٦. || دُعُوبٌ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "حد دُعُوبٌ مسلوكة (...)" وآخر الحاشية غير مقروء. وفي I²: "مسلوكة موطئة". ٦ أبلغ ... ومَرْكُوبٌ: أضاف المقرئ رواية أخرى للبيت في الهامش الأيسر ويشير إليها برمز "خ": نسخة أخرى: "أبلغ هُذَيْلًا وأبلغ من يبلغها / عني رسوله وبعض القول تكذيب" وهي رواية الأغاني ٢٢: ٣٥٦. || مُغْلَغَلَةٌ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من اليمين إلى اليسار: "مُغْلَغَلَةٌ رسالة". || سَعِيًّا وَمَرْكُوبٌ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من اليمين إلى اليسار: "حد سَعِيًّا ومركوب موضعان". ٧-٨ عنده ... الطاعن: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "يعوي حوله الذيب". ووضع فوقها "خ": نسخة أخرى وهي رواية الأغاني ٢٢: ٣٥٦. ٨ مُثَغْنَجِرٌ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "مُثَغْنَجِرٌ مُنْصَبٌ". || أُثْعُوبٌ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "أثْعُوبٌ مُنْشَعِبٌ".

§ 2.2.6 ‘Amr’s sister Rayṭah (it is also said her name was Ġanūb) sang the following lament for him: [*al-basīṭ*]

- For long life, all men have false hopes.
 All those who combat the days will lose.
 5 All those who pilgrim to God’s House
 Follow the course to demise: young and hoary old.
 And all whose days are in peace,
 Track Death’s well-trodden path too.
 While a youth lives in easy contentment,
 10 The rain of time’s misfortunes continues its random fall.
 Send my message to the Kāhil,²⁵
 And those by Sa’yá and Markūb:²⁶
 That ‘Amr of the Dog, noblest of their line
 Lies in the Vale of Šaryān,²⁷ under the wolves’ howl.
 15 He who has rent great gashes, followed by gushes
 Of foes’ lifeblood outpoured.

7 And ... peace: Another recension: “All people, whether they raid or make peace ...”. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 8 well-trodden path: Note: *du’būb* means a well-travelled path. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 9–10 While ... fall: Another recension: “Inform the Huḍayl, or pass word to one informing them/Though some words may be disbelieved”. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 11 message: To connote ‘message’, he uses the word *muǧalǧalah*. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 12 Sa’yá ... Markūb: Note: Sa’yá and Markūb are places. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 14 under ... howl: Another recension: “around him the wolves howl”. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 16 outpoured: *Mutǧanǧir* means out-poured. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). *Uṭ’ūb* means spreading in various directions. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand).

25 Kāhil likely refers to the lineage Kāhil b. al-Ḥarīṭ b. Tamīm b. Sa’īd b. Huḍayl, one of the sub-groups of the Huḍayl.

26 Sa’yá and Markūb are rather obscure toponyms: al-Bakrī knows them only through this poem, but adds that Ibn Durayd stated that Markūb was a well-known mountain pass in the Hejaz (*Muǧam mā istaǧam*, 3:739, 4:1216). Yāqūt is more specific, identifying Markūb as a place in the upper land of the Huḍayl where Yemenis stop to begin their Hajj rituals (*Muǧam al-buldān*, 5:109). He identifies Sa’yá as either a valley in Tihāmah or a mountain in the land of the Huḍayl (*Muǧam al-buldān*, 3:221–222).

27 Šaryān (or Širyān) appears only to be known via this poem (al-Bakrī, *Muǧam mā istaǧam*, 3:795; Yāqūt, *Muǧam al-buldān*, 3:340).

والبازل القرن مُصْفرا أَنامله كأنه من (نقيع الورس) مَحْضوب
تمشي النسور إليه وهي لاهيةٌ مَشِي العَدَارَى عليهن الجلايب
والمُخْرِج العاتق العذراء مُدْعِنَةٌ في السِّي يَنْفح من أزدانها الطيبا

§ 2.2.7 وقالت ترثيه أيضا: [البيسط]

يا ليت عمرا وما ليت بنا فعة لم يغز فهما ولم يهبط بواديها
سَبَّتْ هذيل وفهم بينها إرّة ما إن تبوخ وما يرتدُ صالِها
وليلة يصطلي بالفَرث جازرها يَخْتَص بالثَقَرَى المَثْرِين دَاعِها
لا ينبح الكلب فيها غير واحدة عند الصباح ولا تسري أفاعِها
أطعمت فيها على جوع ومسغبة لحم العِشَار إذا ما قام باغيها^٢

١ نقيع الورس: بياض في الأصل و¹² و¹³، وما أثبتناه من الإصحفاني، الأغاني ٢٢: ٣٥٦. ٧ بالثَقَرَى: في الأصل: "بالثَقَرَى". ٨ ينبح: كذا في الأصل، والصواب "ينبح" بالضم كما في ¹². ٩ على: في الأصل: "علي".

٦ سَبَّتْ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "ح سبت أوقدت". || إرّة: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "إرة يريد نارا والإرة موقد النار". || تبوخ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من اليمين إلى اليسار: "تبوخ تسكن". ٧ يصطلي: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "ح يصطلي يدخل يده في الفرث يستدق بذلك". || بالثَقَرَى: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "الثَقَرَى الخاصة". ٩ باغيها: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "ح باغيها أي إذا أقام باغي الخبز والطعام".

١١ ابن حبيب، المغتالين ٧: ٢٤٢-٢٤٣، والسكري، شرح أشعار الهدليين ٢: ٥٧٨-٥٨١، والبلاذري، أنساب الأشراف ١٠٢: ١٩٦، الإصحفاني، والأغاني ٢٢: ٣٥٥-٣٥٦، وفي المرزباني، معجم الشعراء ٤٨ القصيدة منسوبة إلى عمرو. ^٢ السكري، شرح أشعار الهدليين ٢: ٥٨٢.

A champion who left rivals with yellowed-fingers,
 Rotting as if dyed in yellow tincture,²⁸
 Vultures hopping towards him with glee,
 Like brides skipping in long wedding gowns.
 5 He was one who freed from capture
 Maidens of sweetly perfumed sleeves.

§ 2.2.7 Another of her laments for him is: [*al-basīṭ*]

If only, 'Amr—though 'if only' is no use—
 If only you did not raid the valley of the Fahm!
 10 The Hudayl and the Fahm have stoked fires of war
 Never to abate nor to extinguish.
 On a night so cold the camel slaughterer puts his hands in dung to
 warm,
 And the dinner inviter calls the wealthy to eat one by one,²⁹
 15 And the dog only barks once at dawn,
 And snakes don't make their night rounds:
 You fed in times of hunger the fat of heavily pregnant camels³⁰
 Whenever one came seeking hospitality.

10 stoked fires: Note: to express 'stoked fires', he uses the verb *šabbat*. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). || fires ... war: By *irah* he means 'fire'; *irah* is specifically the place where a fire is lit. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 11 to abate: *Tabūḥ* means 'to settle'. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 12–13 puts ... warm: Note: by *yaṣṭālī*, he means 'to put one's hands into dung to warm them'. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 14 the wealthy: *al-Naqarā* is for select guests. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 18 seeking hospitality: Note: *bāḡihā* means 'if a person desiring bread or food arrives'. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

28 A person with "yellowed-fingers" is one who has recently died, as fingernails are apparently amongst the first limbs to lose their colour (for a list of verses invoking this imagery, see al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-la'ālī*, 1:199). The poem here describes the yellow as that of the *wars* plant: a Yemeni shrub (*memecylon tinctorium*) from which yellow dye was derived.

29 By this statement, 'Amr's sister describes a banquet in times of hardship: there is insufficient food for everyone to eat at once, and the host thus invites the most important guests to eat first, one-by-one. This rather stingy form of banqueting (*naqarā*) is contrasted with the more magnanimous (and usual) practice of inviting everyone to eat together (*ḡafalā*) (see al-Sukkarī, *Šarḥ aš'ār al-Hudaliyyin*, 2:582). The line's intent is that even in times of scarcity when all other hosts stoop to the indignity of serving guests one-by-one, 'Amr's pot was still brimming with food.

30 Slaughtering heavily pregnant camels is an obvious waste, especially given camel's long gestation (c. 400 days). 'Amr's willingness to slaughter pregnant camels for his guests expresses a sublime generosity!

§ 2.2.8 ومن شعر عمرو ذي الكلب: [الوافر]

وما لبث القتال إذا التقينا
سوى لفت اليمين على الشمال^١

2.2.9 § وقال القاضي أبو الفرج المعافى بن زكرياء النهرواني: حدثنا محمد بن القاسم الأنباري قال: حدثني أبي ثنا أحمد بن عبيد عن الذمّاري قال: دخل عمرو بن معدي كرب الزبيدي على عمر ابن الخطاب رضي الله عنه يوماً فقال له: "أخبرني يا أبا ثور بأعجب ما رأيت." فقال: "أخبرك يا أمير المؤمنين أي خرجت يوماً أريد حياً من أحياء العرب حتى إذا كنت بواد يقال له بطن شريان إذا أنا برجل مفترس أسداً قد أدخل رأسه في جوفه فهو يبلغ دمه كما يفترس الأسد الناس والبهائم ويلغ في دماهم فهالي ذلك وراعني فظننته شيطانا ثم عاتبته نفسي فصحت بالرجل فوالله ما نهته صياحي به حتى صحت أخرى فلم يبيل فصحت الثالثة فرفع رأسه ونظر إلي وعيناه كالبحرتين. ثم أعاد رأسه في جوف الأسد احتقاراً لي فوقفت أنظر إليه أتعجب منه. فأقبلت حية تكون شبرا أو نحوه فتعثرت به {فلدغته لدغة} في منكبها كما كان باركا على الأسد فصاح منها صيحة ثم أطرق فلم أره يتحرك. فدنوت منه فإذا سيف له وقوس موضوعان وفرس مشدود. فأخذت سلاحه ودنوت منه وضربت بيدي إلى ذراعه فتبعته يده من الكف فوقفت حتى أعلم عليه عند بعض

٣ المعافى: في الأصل: "المعافى". ٩ فلم يبيل: الزيادة بخط المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح من الجملة على آخر السطر في الهامش الأيسر. ٩-190. ١٢. فصحت... الجلابيب: أضاف المقرئ تمة الخبر على طيارة ملصقة قد سقطت من الأصل وما أثبتناه من I² و I³ و 249. ١١ فلدغته لدغة: في I²: "فلدغته لدغة"، و I³: "فلدغته لدغة"، و I³: "فلدغته لدغة"، و I³: "فلدغته لدغة"، وما أثبتناه من النهرواني، الجليس الصالح ١: ٥٤٦.

١ بيت من قصيدة مطولة في السكري، شرح أشعار الهدليين ٢: ٥٦٥-٥٧٢.

§ 2.2.8 Among the lines of ‘Amr of the Dog’s poetry is: [*al-wāfir*]

When we meet, the fight won’t last
Longer than a clap of the hands.

§ 2.2.9 The Qāḍī Abū l-Faraǧ al-Mu‘āfā b. Zakariyyā’ al-Nahrawānī³¹ cited
5 Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Anbārī,³² who cited his father,³³ who cited
Aḥmad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh,³⁴ who cited al-Ḍimārī, who reported: ‘Amr b. Ma’dī
Karib al-Zubaydī once presented himself to ‘Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb (God be
pleased with him),³⁵ and ‘Umar asked him: “Abū Ṭawr, tell me the most won-
drous thing you have ever seen.” ‘Amr replied: “Commander of the Faithful, I
10 tell you that once I set out intending to raid one of the Arab tribes, and when
I reached a riverbed called the Vale of Šaryān,³⁶ I came upon a man who had
hunted a lion. He was thrusting his head right into the lion’s belly and was
wallowing in its blood, just like a lion wallows in the blood of people or cows
it has preyed. The sight shocked me and I recoiled, thinking the man was a
15 devil spirit, but I scolded myself for being so fearful and called out to him.
By God, he paid not the slightest attention to my shout, nor did he heed my
second call. I then called out a third time and he raised his head and stared
at me, his eyes like two burning embers, and then he plunged back into the
lion’s belly in contempt. I stood by marvelling at him, when a snake a hand’s
20 width-long or thereabouts appeared. It hit into him and bit him on his shoul-
der as he was leaning over the lion. He gave out a shout and dropped. I didn’t
see him move at all, so I approached him. A sword and bow lay on the ground
and a horse was tethered there. I took his weapons, I approached him and
hit him on the arm, and his hand moved with mine from the wrist. I stood
25 by hoping to learn about the man from a passer-by. A dog lay at his side, and

31 Al-Mu‘āfā b. Zakariyyā’ al-Ḥarīrī l-Nahrawānī (d. 390/999–1000), an Iraqi philologist, jurist and scholar noted as one of the leading adherents to the Ṭabarī school of Islamic law.

32 Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Anbārī, usually known as Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 328/940); Iraqi philologist and poetry commentator, he was a student of his father, al-Anbārī (see the following note) (see C. Brockelmann, “al-Anbārī, Abū Bakr,” in *ET*).

33 Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Anbārī (d. 304/916 or 305/917); Iraqi philologist and commentator on early Arabic poetry (see “al-Anbārī, Abū Muḥammad,” in *ET*).

34 Aḥmad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Ammār (d. 314/926) was a Baghdadi man of letters and state secretary (*kātib*); he was one of Abū l-Faraǧ al-Iṣfahānī’s major informants for the *Kitāb al-Aǧānī*.

35 The second caliph after Muḥammad (r. 12–23/634–644).

36 See note 27, above.

من يمر فأسأله. فإذا كلب له رابض ناحيته فأقبلت السباع والنسور فحماه الكلب. فلما أجنني الليل انصرفت وتركته. ففضى لذلك زمن فبينما أنا بسوق عكاظ في أيام الموسم إذا امرأة تنشد الرجل فعرفت النعت والصفة فقلت: "أنا صاحب الرجل وهذا سيفه." قالت: "صدقت! فما فعل؟" قلت: "قتلته." قالت: "معاذ الله أن يقتل مثلك مثله ولست بهنالك! فمن أنت إذا؟" قلت: "عمرو بن معدي كرب." فقالت: "يا عمرو! أسألك باللات والعزى ألا صدقتني." فخبرتها الخبر فقالت: "صدقت! وإنما كان يفعل ذلك لأن أسدا عدا على أخ له يقال له سخر فأكله فألى على نفسه أن لا يلتقى أسدا إلا اقترسه وولغ في دمه وقال "إنما هو كلب." فسمي عمرا ذا الكلب وأنا أخته الجنوب." وبكته في شعر تقول فيه: [البسيط]

وكل حي وإن طالت سلامته
يوما طريقهم في الشر مركوب
أبلغ هديلا وخصص في سراتهم
عني مقالا وبعض القول تكذيب
بأن ذا الكلب عمرا خيرهم نسبا
ببطن شريان يعوي عنده الذيب
تمشي النسور إليه وهي لاهية
مشي العذارى عليهن الجلايب^١

٧ الجنوب: كذا في I² و I³ والنهرواني، المجلس الصالح الكافي ١: ٥٤٧؛ وكشاجم، المصايد والمطارد ١٧٣؛ وفي السكري، شرح أشعار الهذليين ٢: ٥٨٢ اسمها "جنوب".

١ النهرواني، المجلس الصالح الكافي ١: ٥٤٥-٥٤٧؛ وكشاجم، المصايد والمطارد ١٧٢-١٧٣.

whenever scavengers and vultures approached the body, the dog protected him. When night fell, I departed, leaving him there. Some time passed, and when it was pilgrimage season at the ‘Ukāz Fair,³⁷ I saw a woman looking for that man, as I recognised her description. I told her: ‘I know your man,
 5 and this is his sword.’ She said, ‘Indeed it is. What happened?’ ‘I killed him,’ I replied. ‘Not so! God forbid that a man like you could kill him. You’re not the man—who are you?’ I told her: ‘Amr b. Ma‘dī Karib.’ She replied: ‘Amr, by the Goddesses al-Lāt and al-‘Uzzá, please tell me the truth.’ I told her the real story, and she said: ‘What you say is true. He used to act like that because
 10 a lion once attacked and devoured one of his brothers, Ṣaḥr, and he swore that he would hunt down every lion he saw and wallow in its blood. He used to say: ‘The lion is just a dog’, and so he was named ‘Amr of the Dog’. I am his sister, Ğanūb.’ She then eulogised him with this lament: [*al-basīṭ*]

15 All those whose days are in peace,
 Still must ride their road to ill.
 Give the Huḍayl, especially in their heights
 My message—though some words may be disbelieved:
 That ‘Amr of the Dog, the noblest of their line
 Lies in the Vale of Šaryān, under the wolves’ howl.
 20 Vultures hopping towards him with glee,
 Like brides skipping in long wedding gowns.”

37 ‘Ukāz was a fair held annually at Mecca in pre-Islamic times. It features prominently in stories where Arabians from different, and sometimes far-flung regions, meet each other.

§ 2.3 تَابَطُ شَرًّا

2^b

§ 2.3.1 الشاعر أحد رجيلي العرب وهو أبو زُهَيْرُ ثَابِتِ بْنِ جَابِرِ بْنِ سَفِينِ بْنِ كَعْبِ بْنِ حَرْبِ بْنِ تَيْمِ بْنِ سَعْدِ بْنِ فَهْمِ بْنِ عَمْرٍو بْنِ قَيْسِ بْنِ عَيْلَانَ بْنِ مُضَرَ بْنِ نَزَارِ بْنِ مَعَدِ بْنِ عَدْنَانَ كَذَا نَسَبَهُ ابْنُ الْكَلْبِيِّ^١.

٥ § 2.3.2 وقال ابن الأعرابي: هو من أَعْرَبَةِ الْعَرَبِ وهو ثَابِتُ بْنُ جَابِرِ بْنِ سَفِينِ عَمْسَلٍ مِنْ فَهْمِ.

§ 2.3.3 وقيل هو ثَابِتُ بْنُ عَمْسَلٍ وَأُمُّهُ يُقَالُ لَهَا أُمَيْمَةٌ مِنْ بَنِي الْقَيْنِ بَطْنِ مِنْ فَهْمٍ وَلِدَتْ خَمْسَةَ نَفَرٍ: تَابَطُ شَرًّا وَرِيشَ طَغَبٍ وَرِيشَ نَسْرٍ وَكَعْبًا وَلَا بَوَاكِي لَهُ. وَقِيلَ إِنَّهَا وَلِدَتْ سَادَسًا^٢.

§ 2.3.4 ولقب تَابَطُ شَرًّا بِذَلِكَ لِأَنَّهُ رَأَى كَبْشًا فِي الصَّحْرَاءِ فَاحْتَمَلَهُ تَحْتَ إِبْطِهِ فَبَالَ طَوْلَ طَرِيقِهِ. فَلَمَّا قَرَّبَ مِنَ الْحَيِّ ثَقَلَ عَلَيْهِ فَرَمَى بِهِ فِإِذَا هُوَ الْغُولُ. فَقَالَ لَهُ قَوْمُهُ: "مَا كُنْتَ مُتَابِطًا يَا ثَابِتُ؟" فَقَالَ: "الغول." قالوا: "لقد تَابَطْتَ شَرًّا!" فَسُمِّيَ بِذَلِكَ^٣. ١٠

٢ رجيلي العرب: كذا في الأصل، ولتناقشة مصطلح "رجيلي العرب" راجع المقدمة. || أبو زُهَيْرُ: الزيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأعلى من الأسفل إلى الأعلى بعد "هو". ٥ عَمْسَلٍ: في الإصنهاني، الأغاني ١٣٨:٢١. "عميسل". ٧ وَرِيشَ طَغَبٍ: في أنساب الأشراف^١ ٧٠٢:١٦٤. "ريش لغب". || طَغَبٍ: زيادة بخط المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح من الجملة على آخر السطر في الهامش الأيسر. ٨ رأى: في الأصل: "راي".

راجع نسب تَابَطُ شَرًّا فِي الْأَنْبَارِي، شرح المفضليات ١: ٢، والبلاذري، أنساب الأشراف^١ ٧٠٢: ١٥٩. ١٢ الإصنهاني، الأغاني ١٣٨:٢١. ٣ الإصنهاني، الأغاني ١٣٨:٢١.

§ 2.3 Ta'abbaṭa Šarran [He Who Carries Evil Under His Arm]

§ 2.3.1 Poet and one of the Arab Foot Raiders.³⁸ His name and lineage according to Ibn al-Kalbī were Abū Zuhayr Tābit b. Ğābir b. Sufyān b. Ka'b b. Ḥarb b. Taym b. Sa'd b. Fahm b. 'Amr b. Qays b. 'Aylān b. Muḍar b. Nizār b.
5 Ma'add b. 'Adnān.

§ 2.3.2 Ibn al-A'rābī³⁹ said: he was one of the Arab Ravens,⁴⁰ his name was Tābit b. Ğābir b. Sufyān [b.] 'Amsal, and he was from the Fahm.

§ 2.3.3 It is also said that his name was Tābit b. 'Amsīl, and that his mother was Umaymah, from the Banū l-Qayn, a sub-group of the Fahm. She gave
10 birth to five boys: Ta'abbaṭa Šarran, Riš Ṭaġb,⁴¹ Riš Nasr, Ka'b and Lā Bāwākiya Lahu.⁴² It is also said that she had six children.

§ 2.3.4 Ta'abbaṭa Šarran earned his moniker—'Carrying Evil Under His Arm'—because once he saw a ram in the desert and he carried it off under
15 his arm. The ram urinated upon him all the way back, and when Ta'abbaṭa Šarran neared his home, the ram became heavier and he threw it down, whereupon it turned into a ghou. His people asked him: "Tābit, what were you carrying?" He replied: "The Ghou." They said: "Indeed you had evil under your arm!" And the name stuck.

38 See Study, Chapter 2.4.

39 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-A'rābī (d. 231/846), Iraqi scholar and authority on Arabic language, poetry and the history of pre-Islamic Arabia (see W. Weipert, "Ibn al-A'rābī, Muḥammad b. Ziyād," in *ET*³).

40 See Study, Chapter 2.5.

41 Al-Maqrīzī appears to have miscopied this name, as the root *t-ġ-b* has no attested meaning. The correct name seems to be 'Riš Laġb' which yields a meaning 'Broken Wing,' and is noted in al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-ašraf*¹, 7.2:166 and Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, 1:743. Al-Maqrīzī's source was likely *al-Aġānī*: but its current edition (21:138) has 'Riš Balġab'; we could not find a meaning for this. Curiously, Ibn Manẓūr's condensed *Muḥtār al-Aġānī* (2:150) also records 'Riš Balġab', even though his dictionary has 'Laġb', and hence the miscopy 'Balġab' appears to have entered many of the *al-Aġānī* manuscripts at an early date.

42 The names of the first three and fifth boys mean: (i) 'Carrying Evil Under His Arm', (ii) 'Broken Wing', (iii) 'Vulture Wing', and (v) 'No One Mourns Him'. The name of the fourth brother, Ka'b, is elsewhere reported as Ka'b Ğudar (al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-ašraf*¹, 7.2:166): 'Swollen Ankle'.

2.3.5 § وقيل: بل أمه قالت له في زمن الكجاة: "ألا ترى غلمان الحي يجتنون الكجاة فيروحون بها؟" فقال: "أعطيني جرابك حتى أجتني لك فيه شيئاً من الكجاة." فأعطته فلاه لها أفاعي من أكبر ما قدر عليه. فلما راح أتى بهن في الجراب متأبطاً له فألقاه بين يديها ففتحه فتساعين في بيتها فوثبت وخرجت. فقال لها نساء الحي: "ماذا أتاك به ثابت متأبطاً له؟" فقالت: "شرا!" فلزمه تأبط شرا. ١.

2.3.6 § وقال الخليل: تأبط سكيناً وجأً به بعض قومه فسمي تأبط شرا. ٢.

2.3.7 § وقال أبو حاتم: رأته أمه قد تأبط جفير سهامه وهي الكانة فقالت: "لقد تأبطت شرا." ٣.

2.3.8 § وقال أبو عمرو الشيباني: نزلت على حي من عدوان إخوة فهم من قيس فسألهم عن خبر تأبط شرا. فقال لي بعضهم: "وما سؤالك؟ أتريد أن تكون لصاً؟" فقلت: "لا ولكن أحب أن أعرف أخبار هؤلاء العدائين فأحدث بها." قالوا: "نحدثك عن خبره: إن تأبط شرا كان أعدى ذي ساقٍ وذو كعبين وكان إذا جاع لم تقم له قائمة وكان ينظر إلى الظباء فينتقي على نظره أسمها ثم يجري خلفه ولا يفوته حتى يأخذه فيذبحه ثم يشويه ويأكله." ١٠.

٣ ففتحه: كذا في الأصل و^{١٣}، وفي ^{١٢} "فتحته" بناء التأنيث، وكذلك في الإصهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٣٩ "فتحته". ٤ له: زيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى ويشير إليها رمز ٦ بعد "متأبطاً" + صح. ٧ على: في الأصل: "علي". ٩ أعدى: في الأصل: "أعدى".

الإصهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٣٩. ٢ لا يوافق نقل المقرئ عن الخليل ما يرد في نسخة العين المطبوعة حيث يفسر الخليل اللقب بأنه تقلد سيفاً تحت إبطه (العين ٧: ٤٦٢). وأما قصة السكين فراجع تعريف اسم تأبط شرا في ابن سيده، المحكم والمحيط الأعظم ٩: ٢٠٩. ٣ جاء خبر أبي حاتم في الصغاني، العباب الزاخر، حرف ط: ١٣، ولآراء مختلفة في تلقيه تأبط شرا راجع البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف ١: ٧٠٢، ١٥٩؛ وابن دريد، الاشتقاق ٢٦٦؛ وشرح الحماسة للتبريزي ١: ٦١، والإصهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٣٨-١٣٩؛ وابن منظور، لسان العرب ٧: ٢٥٣. ٤ الإصهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٣٩.

§ 2.3.5 But there is another explanation adduced about his name. During truffle season his mother told him: “Don’t you see the other boys of the tribe picking truffles and bringing them back at nightfall?” He responded: “Give me your sack and I’ll pick some truffles for you.” She gave him the bag, but he filled it with the biggest snakes he could handle, and he returned in the evening with the bag under his arm. He threw it down before his mother, and when he opened it, the snakes all rushed out. She leapt up out of her home and the tribeswomen asked her: “What did Tābit bring you tucked under his arm?” “Evil!”, she replied. And thenceforth he was named ‘Carrying Evil Under His Arm’.

§ 2.3.6 According to al-Ḥalīl,⁴³ he was called ‘Carrying Evil Under His Arm’ because he once stabbed one of his kinsmen with a knife which he carried under his arm.

§ 2.3.7 Abū Ḥātim⁴⁴ reported that Ta’abbāṭa Ṣarran’s mother once saw him carrying his quiver of arrows under his arm and said: “Indeed you have evil under your arm!”

§ 2.3.8 Abū ‘Amr al-Ṣaybānī⁴⁵ reported: I visited a tribe of the ‘Adwān, a Qaysī kin-group of the Fahm, and I asked them about Ta’abbāṭa Ṣarran. One of them replied: “Why do you want to know? Do you want to become a thief?” I said: “No, I just want to hear the stories of the Runners⁴⁶ so I can narrate them.” They said: “We will tell you about him. Ta’abbāṭa Ṣarran was the fastest man alive. If he became hungry, nothing could escape him—he would look upon gazelles, pick out the plumpest one he saw, and he would run behind it. It couldn’t outrun him—he would catch it, slaughter it, grill it and then eat it.”

43 Al-Ḥalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791), Iraqi philologist and poetry specialist, and author of one of the earliest Arabic dictionaries, *al-ʿAyn* (The Source) (see R. Sellheim, “al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad,” in *ET*²).

44 Abū Ḥātim al-Siġistānī (d.c. 255/869), an Iraqi poetry specialist (see R. Weipert, “Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī,” in *ET*³).

45 Abū ‘Amr Ishāq b. Mirār al-Ṣaybānī (d. 206/821); Iraqi poetry specialist noted for his collections of Arabian tribal poetry anthologies (see K. Versteegh, “al-Shaybānī,” in *ET*²).

46 See Study, Chapter 2.4.

2.3.9 § وقال حماد بن إسحق عن أبيه عن حمزة بن عتبة | اللّهي قال: لقي تأبط شرا ذات يوم رجلا^{3a} من ثقيف يقال له أبو وهب وكان حُساناً أهوج وعليه حلة جيدة. فقال أبو وهب لتأبط شرا: "بم تغلب الرجال يا ثابت وأنت كما أرى دميم ضئيل؟" قال: "باسمي. إنما أقول ساعة ألقى الرجل: "أنا تأبط شرا!" فينخلع قلبه حتى أنال منه ما أردت." فقال له الثقيفي: "فهل لك أن تبيعني اسمك؟" قال: "نعم. فبم تبتاعها؟" قال: "بهذه الحلة وكنيتي." قال: "أفعل." ففعلا وقال له تأبط شرا: "لك اسمي ولي كُنيتك." وأخذ حلتاه وأعطاه طمرية ثم انصرف. وقال في ذلك يخاطب زوجة الثقيفي: [الطويل]

ألا هل أتى الحسناء أن حليلها	تأبط شراً واكتنيت أبا وهب
فهيه تسمى اسمي وسماني اسمه	فأين له صبري على معظم الخطب
وأين له بأس بجاسي وسورتي	وأين له في كل فادحة قلب

2.3.10 § قال حمزة: وأحب تأبط شرا جارية من قومه فطلبها زمنا لا يقدر عليها. ثم لقيته ذات ليلة فأجابته وأرادها فعجز عنها. فلما رأته جزعه من ذلك تناومت عليه فأنسته وهدأ فقال: [الرجز]

٣ ألقى: في الأصل: "القي". ٥ تبتاعها: كذا في الأصل. || وكنيتي: زيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل ويشير إليها رمز ٣ فوق "حلة". ٨ حليلها: وضع | المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء.

§ 2.3.9 Ḥammād b. Ishāq⁴⁷ cited his father, who cited Ḥamzah b. ‘Utbah al-Lihbī⁴⁸ who reported: One day Ta’abbaṭa Šarran met Abū Wahb of the Ṭaqīf,⁴⁹ a handsome, but hare-brained man who had a fine cloak. Abū Wahb asked Ta’abbaṭa Šarran: “Ṭābit, you seem ugly and feeble to me, so tell me
 5 how it is that you defeat warriors?” Ta’abbaṭa Šarran replied: “By my name. Whenever I meet a rival, all I have to do is say: ‘I’m Ta’abbaṭa Šarran!’ My foe will panic and I can get whatever I want from him.” Abū Wahb then asked: “Would you like to sell your name to me?” “Sure, for how much?”
 10 Abū Wahb offered: “I’ll give you this cloak and my agnomen.” “Done.” They struck the deal and Ta’abbaṭa Šarran said: “You have my name and I have your agnomen.” And he took Abū Wahb’s cloak, gave him his rags in return, and left. Ta’abbaṭa Šarran composed the following verses to Abū Wahb’s wife: [al-ṭawīl]

Has al-Ḥasnā’ heard the news?
 15 Her man is now Ta’abbaṭa Šarran, and I’m Abū Wahb!
 Let him have my name, and let him give me his,
 But does he have my fortitude in times of gravity?
 Does he have my strength and my force?
 Does he have my heart when confronting calamity?

20 § 2.3.10 Ḥamzah reported: Ta’abbaṭa Šarran was in love with a girl from his kin, and he sought her for some time without any luck, but one night he met her and she assented. He desired her, but became impotent, and when she saw his anxiety, she pretended to sleep and observed him; he went to sleep, saying the poem: [al-rağaz]

47 Ḥammād b. Ishāq al-Mawṣilī (fl. first half of third/ninth century) was a narrator of literary and historical anecdotes, and the son of the celebrated singer and boon companion of Abbasid Caliphs, Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 235/850). Ḥammād (who narrated his father’s *Kitāb al-Ağānī*—Book of Songs) was a major source for Abū l-Farağ al-Iṣfahānī’s own *Kitāb al-Ağānī*.

48 Ḥamzah b. ‘Utbah al-Lihbī was a nobleman of the Qurayš. Born in Mecca, he moved to Baghdad as a courtier of the Caliph al-Rašīd (r. 170–193/787–809). He was considered an authority on the history of the Qurayš and Hejaz region (see al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-ašraf*¹, 4:419–420).

49 The Ṭaqīf were an Arabian lineage group occupying lands between Mecca and Ṭā’if around the dawn of Islam. Alongside the Qurayš, the Ṭaqīf constituted the most powerful political elites during the Umayyad era.

يا لك من أيرِ سُلِبَتِ الحَلَّةُ عجزت عن جارية رِفَلَه
 تمشي إليك مِشِيَةَ هِرْوَلَه كِمِشِيَةَ الأَرُخِ تُرِيدُ العَلَه
 لو أنها راعية في تَلَه تحمل قلعين لها قَبَلَه
 لصرت كالهراوة العربله^١

٥ § 2.3.11 وقال تأبط شرا: ما أحببت شيئا حيي ثلاثة: أكل اللحم وركوب اللحم وحك اللحم باللحم.^٢

٣ تَلَه: كذا في الأصل، ولعل الصواب "تَلَه" كما في ابن منظور، مختار الأغانى ٢: ١٥٣. ٥ وحك: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء.

١ رِفَلَه: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "حرفلَه ترفل وتجر ذيلها".
 ٢ الأَرُخ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "ح الأَرُخ أنثى البقر التي لم تنتج". || العَلَه: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "ح العَلَه بعد النهل يريد أنها رويت فشيئها ثميلة".

١ الإصهفاني، الأغانى ٣١: ١٤٢. ٢ ابن عبد ربه، العقد الفريد ٦: ٣٣٤.

What's wrong, you disappointing prick?
 You can't get up for a young girl trailing her robe?
 She slipped towards you hastily,
 Like a virgin cow, she's looking for fun.⁵⁰
 5 If she was a shepherdess at her flock
 Carrying her two provision sacks,⁵¹
 You'd become hard like a thick staff.

§ 2.3.11 Ta'abbata Šarran once said: "There are three things I love most of all: eating flesh, riding flesh and joining two into one flesh."⁵²

2 trailing ... robe: Note: *rafallah* means strutting while trailing one's robe. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 4 a ... cow: Note: the *arḥ* is a heifer that has not yet given birth. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). || looking ... fun: Note: the *'allah* describes the state after watering; i.e. he means that the cow has been watered and now bloated, she walks heavily. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

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- 50 The Arabic lines of this poem bear multiple interpretations. Our translation reads the line's final word as *'illah* (pleasure, diversion, fun) which follows the poem's version in al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aġānī*, 21:142. The Manuscript and Ibn Manẓūr's *Muḥtār al-Aġānī* (2:153) render the word *'allah* (playboy or lothario). The latter reading could translate: "She walks towards you, and you are desirous of her" (Ta'abbata Šarran addresses his penis in this poem). The pace of her walking is also variously interpretable: we have opted for a hasty walk towards the lover, following the meaning of *hirwallah* as reported in the Manuscript and *Muḥtār al-Aġānī*; whereas *al-Aġānī* has *ḥazallah*, a slow, languid and sensuous pace. This wording supports a third interpretation of the word *'allah* (a second watering)—forming a complex metaphor meaning that the woman approaches Ta'abbata Šarran with 'the slow pace in which a cow which has already been watered will approach a pool'—i.e. the girl shows no hurry, advancing languidly and sensuously.
- 51 All extant versions of this poem describe the shepherdess as *qibillah*, the meaning of which seems unclear. One manuscript of *al-Aġānī* glosses the word as *mubtillah* (wet), whereas the editor of Ta'abbata Šarran's *Dīwān*, 'Alī Ḍū Fiqār Šākir, considers the word *qibillah* to be a copyist's error for *mitallah* (strong, sturdy), presumably an adjective for the shepherdess, but its meaning is still obscure (*Dīwān Ta'abbata Šarran*, 200). As other options, *qabalah* can refer to a bucket at a well (Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, 11:542); *qiblah* also means a direction, or following the bawdy nature of this poem, *qubul* refers to a vagina; perhaps the word *qibillah* here is a corruption in one of these veins?
- 52 Eating, riding and intercourse are noted as the three "corporeal pleasures" (*ladḍāt al-dunyā*) by the clever sage (*ḥakīm ẓarīf*) Aḥmad b. Ṭayyib al-Saraḥsī, cited in al-Qazwīnī's *Ātār al-bilād*, 390.

2.3.12 § وأغار تأبط شرا ومعه عمرو بن براق الهمداني على بجيلة فأطردا نَعَمَا لها ونذرت بهما بجيلة نفرجت في آثارهما ومضيا هاربيين في جبال الشراة وربكا الحزنَ فعارضتهما بجيلة في السهل فسبقوهما إلى الوهط— مال عمرو بن العاص بالطائف. ودخلوا في قصبه العين وجاءا وقد بلغ العطش منهما إلى العين. فلما وقعا عليها قال تأبط شرا لابن براق: "أقل من الشرب. فإنها ليلة عدو". فقال: "وما يدريك؟" قال: "والذي أعدو بطيره! إني لأسمع وجيب قلوب الرجال تحت | 3^b قدمي". وكان من أسمع العرب فقال له ابن براق: "ذاك وجيب قلبك." فقال تأبط: "والله ما وجب قط ولا كان واجبا!" وضرب بيده على قلبه وأصاخ نحو الأرض ليسمع فقال: "والذي أعدو بطيره! إني لأسمع وجيب قلوب الرجال." فقال له ابن براق: "وإني لأنزل قلبك." فنزل فشرب وتركوه وهم في ظلمة ونزل ثابت. فلما توسط الماء وشبوا عليه فأخذوه وأخرجوه من العين مكتوفا | 10 وابن براق قريب منهم لا يطعمون فيه لما يعلمون من عدوه. فقال لهم ثابت: "إنه من أصلف الناس وأشدهم عجباً بعدوه وسأقول له "استأسر معي" فسيدعوه عجباً بعدوه إلى أن يعدو بين أيديكم وله ثلاثة أطواق: أولها كالريح والثاني كالفرس الجواد والثالث يكبو فيه ويعثر فإذا رأيتم ذلك نخذوه. فإني أحب أن يصير في أيديكم كما صرت إذ خالفني ولم يقبل رأئي ونصحي له." وذلك أجمع بمسمع

٢ الشراة: كذا في الأصل، والصواب "السراة" كما في I². ٦ فقال: اللام زيادة بخط المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح من الجملة على آخر السطر في الهامش الأعلى. ١٢ يكبو: في الأصل: "يكبوا". || فيه ويعثر: زيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأسفل إلى الأعلى + "صح" يشير إليه رمز ٦ فوق "فإذا".

٣ قصبه: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "القصب مياه تجري إلى عيون الركايا".

§ 2.3.12 Ta'abbāṭa Šarran along with 'Amr b. Barrāq al-Hamdānī⁵³ once raided the Baḡīlah,⁵⁴ and rustled some of their livestock. The Baḡīlah swore to kill them and set off in pursuit. Ta'abbāṭa Šarran and 'Amr fled into the Sarāt Mountains,⁵⁵ tracking along the craggy heights, while the Baḡīlah over-
 5 took them via the plain and beat them to al-Waḥṭ, one of the lands of 'Amr b. al-Ās near al-Ṭā'if.⁵⁶ The Baḡīlah entered the centre of the wellspring, when Ta'abbāṭa Šarran and 'Amr arrived at the well in great thirst. Upon reaching the water, Ta'abbāṭa Šarran warned Ibn Barrāq: "Just drink a little. This night is for making our getaway." 'Amr asked: "How do you know?" Ta'abbāṭa Šarran
 10 responded: "By the Lord of the birds with which I race, I sense men's trembling hearts beneath my feet." (Ta'abbāṭa Šarran had the keenest hearing of all the Arabs.) 'Amr retorted: "That's your own heart trembling!" Ta'abbāṭa Šarran returned: "By God, my heart's never feared nor should it!" He thumped his chest and knelt down to listen again, saying, "By the Lord of the birds with
 15 which I race, I do hear the fluttering of men's hearts!" But 'Amr declared: "I'll descend first", and he went down to the spring and drank. The Baḡīlah, waiting in the darkness, left him, but when Ta'abbāṭa Šarran descended and reached the middle of the spring, they jumped on him, captured him, tied him up and dragged him out. Ibn Barrāq was nearby, but they left him
 20 because they knew how fast he could run. Ṭābit⁵⁷ then told the Baḡīlah: "Ibn Barrāq is the most conceited man alive, and he's completely enamoured with his own running prowess. Let me call out to him to surrender with me. His confidence in his running will lead him right into your arms, since he has three speeds: the first is like the wind, the second is like a thor-
 25 oughbred stallion, but with the third he trips and falls on his face! When you see him trip, grab him. I want you to capture him just as you captured me, since he flouted my command, rejected my opinion and ignored my advice." All this was said within 'Amr's earshot. The Baḡīlah consented: "Do

6 the wellspring: The *qaṣab* refers to water that flows to the source of the pools. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

53 For the biography of 'Amr, see § 2.8, below.

54 The Baḡīlah were a lineage group of the Anmār; they resided south of Mecca in the Sarāt Mountains at the dawn of Islam. They, along with the Huḍayl, are two of the groups most commonly depicted as victims of Ta'abbāṭa Šarran's raids.

55 The Sarāt are the main mountain range in western Arabia, running north-south through Hejaz.

56 Ṭā'if was one of the principle settlements in western Arabia at the dawn of Islam; situated near Mecca, its agricultural land was developed by the elite of the early Caliphate, including 'Amr b. al-Ās (d.c. 42/663).

57 Ṭābit was Ta'abbāṭa Šarran's given name, see §§ 2.3.1–2.

منه. قالوا: "فافعل". فصاح به تأبط شرا: "أنت أخي في الشدة والرخاء وقد وعدني القوم أن يمينوا علي وعليك فاستأسر وأَسْنِي بنفسك في الشدة كما كنت أخي في الرخاء!" فضحك ابن براق وعلم أنه قد كادهم وقال: "مهلا يا ثابت! أليستأثر من عنده هذا العدو؟" ثم عدا فعدا أول طلق كالريح الهابة كما وصف لهم والثاني كالجواد والثالث جعل يكبو ويعثر ويقع على وجهه. فقال ثابت: "خذوه!" فعدوا بأجمعهم فعدا تأبط شرا في كفافه وعارض ابن براق فقطع كفافه وأفلتا جميعا.^٥

§2.3.13 وقيل إن تأبط شرا وابن براق والشنفرى وقيل السليك غزوا بجيلة فأسر عمرو وكُتِف وأُفِلت أصحابه. فقال تأبط لسليك: "كن قريبا من عمرو. فإني سأترأى لهم وأطعمهم في نفسي حتى يتباعدوا عنه ثم حله." ففعل ونجا عمرو. وقال تأبط في ذلك:^٢ [البسيط]

يا عيد ما لك من شوق وإيراقٍ ومَرَّ طيفٍ على الأهوال طَرَاقٍ
يَسْرِي على الأيمن والحيات محتفيا نفسي فداؤك من سار على ساق

١٠

٢ وأَسْنِي: كذا في الأصل، ولعلها "وواسني". ٣ أليستأثر: كذا في الأصل و^٢ و^٣، ولعلها "يستأسر". ٤ يكبو: في الأصل: "يكبوا". ٦ والشنفرى: في الأصل: "الشنفري". ٧ أصحابه: يبدو أن المقرئ ضبط الحاء في "أصحابه" بالكسر وهو تصحيف. ١٠ والحيات: وضع المقرئ فوقها رمز "ك". كذا، وفي كل روايات البيت: "الحيات"، راجع ديوان تأبط شرا ١٢٧ ح ٢. || محتفيا: وضع المقرئ فوقها رمز "ك". كذا، وفي كل روايات البيت: "محتفيا"، راجع ديوان تأبط شرا ١٢٧ ح ٢.

٩ يا عيد: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "معنى يا عيد ما لك يا أيها المعتادي ما لك من شوق أي أنك قد جئت هذا كله كقولك قاتلك الله من رجل وأنت تمدحه". ويبدو أن المقرئ نقل هذا الشرح من السرقسطي، الدلائل في غريب الحديث ٩١٦. || يا... وإيراق: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأسفل إلى الأعلى رأسا على عقب: "يا هيد ما لك من شوق وإيراق معناه ما شأنك وقال كراع: هو كلام يتلفه به" ويشير إليها برمز "خ": نسخة أخرى. وهي رواية أبي عمرو الشيباني، راجع شرح المفضليات للتبريزي ٩٧: ١. || عيد: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن والأسفل من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "العيد ما يعتاد من الشوق والعيد أيضا اليوم الذي يعود الفرح فيه فالعيد الوقت الذي يعود فيه بشوق والحزن". ووضع المقرئ "ح" تحت "والحزن" إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء.

الإصهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٤٣-١٤٤. ٢ الإصهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٤٤-١٤٥.

it!" Ta'abbaṭa Šarran shouted to 'Amr: "You are my brother in the good times and the bad. These people have promised that they will have mercy on us, so surrender yourself and join me in this hardship just as we used to share our comforts!" Ibn Barrāq laughed, for he knew Ta'abbaṭa Šarran was tricking them, and he called back: "Not so fast, Tābit! Does one who runs as fast as I surrender?" He took off. At first, he ran like a gust of wind, just as Ta'abbaṭa Šarran had described. Then he ran like a stallion, but then he stumbled and fell flat on his face. Tābit yelled: "Get him!" All the Baḡīlah made for him, while Ta'abbaṭa Šarran ran in his bonds until he caught up with 'Amr who cut him loose, and they escaped together.

§ 2.3.13 Alternatively, it has also been reported that when Ta'abbaṭa Šarran, 'Amr b. Barrāq and al-Šanfará⁵⁸ (some say it was al-Sulayk⁵⁹) once raided the Baḡīlah, 'Amr was captured and bound, but his companions escaped. Thereupon, Ta'abbaṭa Šarran instructed Sulayk: "Stay near 'Amr, for I will show myself to them and entice them to come after me: once they move away from 'Amr, set him free." He did this and 'Amr escaped. Ta'abbaṭa Šarran sang a poem describing the event: [*al-basīṭ*]

Oh recurring yearning! You cause such longing and sleeplessness!
 You are a phantom, crossing terrors, coming at night.
 A barefooted night journey over snakes and vipers.
 May my soul be your ransom, oh best of night travellers!

18 Oh ... yearning: Another recension: "Oh spirit (*hayd*)! Wherefore this longing and sleeplessness!", i.e. 'how goes it?'; Kurā' notes that this is a statement by which one expresses yearning. || Oh ... sleeplessness: The meaning is: "What is the matter with you, you recurring thought of longing?" This is because the spirit brings yearning upon him, but he welcomes it—similarly you may say "God confound you!" to someone whom you wish to praise. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). || yearning: The *'id* is a recurring yearning; it also means a regularly recurring festive day: here the recurrence is of longing and sadness. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

58 See § 2.4, below.

59 I.e. al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah, another outlaw poet celebrated in Arabic lore, and the subject of § 2.5, below.

4^a

طيف ابنة الحر إذ كما نواصلها
لتقرعن علي السن من ندم
تالله آمن أنثى بعدما حلفت
مزوجة الود بينا واصلت صرمت
تعطيك وعد أمان تغربه
إني إذا خلة ضنت بنائلها
نحوت منها نجائي من بجيلة إذ

ثم اجتننت بها من بعد تفراق
إذا تذكرت يوما بعض أخلاقي
أسماء بالله من عهد وميثاق
الأول اللذ مضى والآخر الباقي
كالقَطْر مر على (صَحْنَان) براق
وأمسكت بضعيف الحبل أحذاق
ألقيت ليلة خبت الوهط أرواقي

٥

2.3.14 § وخرج تأبط يَشْتَارُ عسلا في غار من بلاد هذيل كان يأتيه في كل عام وإن هذيلا ذكر ذلك لها فرصدوه لإتيان ذلك حتى إذا جاء هو وأصحابه تدلى فدخل الغار فأغاروا عليهم فأنفروهم فشتتهم ووقفوا على الغار وحرخوا الحبل فاطلع تأبط رأسه فقالوا: "اصعد!" قال: "علام أصعد؟ على الطلاقة أو الفداء؟" قالوا: "لا شرط لك." قال: "أتراكم قاتلي وآكلي جنائي؟ لا والله لا أفعل!"

١٠
الحز: وضع المقرزي فوقها رمز "ك". كذا، وفي كل روايات البيت: "الحر." || اجتننت: وضع المقرزي رمز "ك". كذا فوقها، واللفظة غير معجمة في الأصل، وفي الإصهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٤٤؛ وابن منظور، مختار الأغاني ٢: ١٥٤ "اجتنبت". ولا يرد البيت في المفضليات، ولعل الصواب: "اجتننت" كما في ديوان تأبط شرا ١٢٧. ٤ اللذ: كذا في الأصل والإصهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٤٤، واللذ الذي. ووضع المقرزي رمز "ك": كذا فوقها. ٥ أمان: كذا في الأصل، وفي سائر روايات البيت: "أماني"، راجع ديوان تأبط شرا ١٢٩. || صَحْنَان: بياض في الأصل، والتكلمة من ديوان تأبط شرا ١٢٩. ٦ الحبل: وضع المقرزي رمز "ك": كذا فوقها، وكذا يروي البيت في الإصهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٤٤؛ وابن منظور، مختار الأغاني ٢: ١٥٥؛ وفي الأنباري، شرح المفضليات ١: ٢٧ "الوصل". || أحذاق: وضع المقرزي فوقها رمز "ك": كذا، وفي كل الروايات "أحذاق". ٧ خبت: في الأصل: "خبت" بالتنوين. || الوهط: كذا في الأصل² و³، ولعلها الرهط، وفي هذه اللفظة اختلاف كثير في المصادر، راجع ديوان تأبط شرا ١٢٩-١٣٠. || أرواقي: زيادة بخط المقرزي في مكانها الصحيح في الجملة على آخر السطر في الهامش الأيسر. ٩ فرصدوه: حرف الصاد مطموس في الأصل، والتكلمة من ² و³. ١٠ فشتتهم: وضع المقرزي رمز "؛" بعدها ولا تقف على مفاده. || الحبل: وضع المقرزي رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء.

٧ خبت ... أرواقي: أضاف المقرزي هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "حان خبت اللين من الأرض وقوله أرواقي أي لم أدع جهدا من العدو إلا عدوته يقال ألقت السحابة أرواقها إذا صبت ماءها."

The phantom of a free-born girl I used to meet,
 Now withheld from me after her clan departed.
 How you will gnash your teeth in remorse
 When you recall, one day, some of my noble ways.
 5 By God, can one ever trust a woman's oaths?
 Vows and pledges professed in all names of God?
 Her love is mixed: she assents, then cuts ties:
 The former becomes a memory, the latter stays.
 She'll promise you faith, then turns faithless:
 10 Like the cloud over Mount Ḍağnān:⁶⁰ all lighting, no rain.
 For me, when a darling is miserly with affection,
 And extends but a frayed connection,
 I flee her just as I sped from the Bağīlah,
 Sprinting from the Plain of al-Waḥṭ.

15 § 2.3.14 Every year, Ta'abbāṭa Šarran used to gather honey from a cave in the
 land of the Huḍayl. When the Huḍayl discovered this, they laid an ambush,
 waiting for Ta'abbāṭa Šarran and his companions to arrive. When Ta'abbāṭa
 Šarran's gang lowered him into the cave, the Huḍayl attacked, driving off the
 band in scattered directions. The Huḍayl then stood at the cave's mouth and
 20 jerked Ta'abbāṭa Šarran's rope. He raised his head and they cried: "Come up!"
 "On what condition," he asked, "Freedom or ransom?" They said: "You don't
 get conditions." Ta'abbāṭa Šarran responded: "I see that you will kill me and
 steal my honey. By God, there is no way I'll do it!" Earlier, he had bored an

14 Sprinting ... Plain: Note: the *ḥabt* is an easy patch of ground. By the word *arwāqī*, he means that he summoned absolutely all his of strength to run. You can say that a cloud threw down its *arwāq*—i.e. it rained its full. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

60 A mountain on the road between Mecca and Medina (al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, 3:856).

وكان قبل ذلك نقب في الغار نقبا أعدّه عدّة للهرب فجعل يُسِيل العسل في الغار ويهريقه ثم عمد إلى زق فشدّه على صدره ثم لصق بالعسل فلم يزل يزلق عليه حتى خرج سليما وفاتهم. وبين موضعه الذي وقع فيه وبين القوم مسيرة ثلاث. وقال: [الطويل]

أقول للحيان وقد صَفِرَتْ لهم
 لكم خصلتا إما فداء ومنة
 وأخرى أصادِ النفس عنها وإنها
 فرَشْتُ لها صدري فزل عن الصفا
 نغالط سهل الأرض لم يكح الصفا
 فأبْتُ إلى فهم وما كنتُ آيبا
 إذا المرء لم يَحْتَل إذا جدَّ جدّه
 ولكن أخو الحزم الذي ليس نازلا
 عياني ويومي ضيق الجحر مُعور
 وإما دم والقتل بالمرء أجدر
 لفرْصَةِ حَزْم إن ظفرت ومصدّر
 به جُؤْجُوءٌ عبَل ومَتْنٌ مُحْصَر
 به كدْحة والموت خزيان ينظر
 وكَم مثلها فارقتها وهي تَصْفِرُ
 أضاع وقاسى أمره وهو مُدِير
 به الأمر إلا وهو للهزم مُبْصِر

٤ الجحر: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. || الجحر مُعور: زيادة بنحط المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح من الجملة على آخر السطر في الهامش الأيسر. ٥ خصلتا: كذا في الأصل، وقد روي "خطنا" و"خصلة" في المصادر الأخرى، راجع ديوان تأبط شرا ٨٩. ٦ أصاد: كذا في الأصل، وفي ديوان تأبط شرا ٨٩: "أصادي". || حَزْم: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ١١ للحزم: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء.

٤ مُعور: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من اليسار إلى اليمين رأسا على عقب: "حالمعور الذي ليس عليه ستر". ٩ آيا: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من اليمين إلى اليسار ويشير إليها رمز ٦ فوق "فأبْتُ": "ح فأبْتُ إلى فهم وما كدت آيبا". وهكذا يروى في الإصحفاني، الأغاني ٢٣: ١٥٢. وراجع ديوان تأبط شرا ٩١-٩٣. || تَصْفِرُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية على طيارة ملصقة بين صفحتي ٤ و٥ من المخطوط: "المُعور الذي ليس عليه ستر. وفي فداء ومنه الجر والرفع. وصَفِرَتْ وطايي أي أشرفت على المهلكة والوطاب الزقاق وإذا هلك الرجل صَفِرَتْ وطابه التي كان يَقْرِي فيها. وقوله فارقتها أراد الحال التي تورط فيها تصفر تصغو من حيلتي وقوله خزيان ينظر أي لا يقدر على الدفع".

الإصحفاني، الأغاني ٢٣: ١٥١-١٥٢، والخبر دون الشعر في ابن حبيب، الخبر ١٩٧-١٩٨.

escape hole in the cave, and now he poured out his honey through the hole, then grabbed a sack, spread it on his chest, and slid down the path of honey. He slid safely all the way down and escaped. The distance between his enemies and where he stopped sliding was a journey of three.⁶¹ This was his poem about the adventure: [*al-ṭawīl*]

I told Liḥyān,⁶² on that dire day when it seemed
 I'd kick the bucket, exposed, I'd run out of room:
 "You have one of two: ransom and mercy, or blood."
 Death is more becoming of a man.
 10 But a third choice I debated in my breast:
 An escape for the resolute, if I dare.
 I hurled myself into it, and slid a stony path,
 On stout shoulders and slender waist,
 Alighting on the plain, not a bruise from the rocks,
 15 And there was Death observing, disappointed.
 Safe back to the Fahm, against all odds,
 How often I escape, leaving breathless astonishment.
 One must be crafty when the going gets tough,
 Else he is lost, battling on the back foot.
 20 But the resolute knows—when misfortune falls—
 How to spot the way out.

6–17 exposed ... astonishment: The *mu'wir* is something in plain sight; you can vocalise the word *fidā'* (ransom) either nominative or genitive; *ṣafirat wiṭābi* (I'd kicked the bucket) means 'to be right on the point of death', a *wiṭāb* is a waterskin, you say of a man who has died *ṣafirat wiṭābuhu*, 'the skin from which he used to dispense water is empty'; *fāraqtuhu* means that he escaped the jam in which he was embroiled; *taṣfiru* concerns his stratagem to escape; by saying *ḥiḏyān yanẓaru*, he means that Death was unable to do anything about his escape. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 7 run: Note *mu'wir* means something unconcealed, in plain sight. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 16 Safe ... odds: Note: "Safe back to the Fahm, I almost didn't make it". [This is an alternative recension].

61 Al-Maqrīzī does not specify what distance the 'three' measures, neither does *al-Aġānī*, 2:1:51, nor Ibn Manẓūr's condensed edition, *Muḥṭār al-Aġānī*, 2:155. Ibn Wāṣil al-Ḥama-wī's condensed edition of *al-Aġānī* avoids the issue, rewriting the ending to express that Ta'abbata Šarran slid "a great distance" (*masāfah ba'īdah*) from the Huḏayl (*Taġrīd al-Aġānī*, 2.3:2218). Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī's version of the story specifies that Ta'abbata Šarran slid the distance of "a three-day journey" (*Našwat al-ṭarab*, 2:587). Ibn Sa'īd's source was either *al-Aġānī* or a now lost text, *Wāḡib al-adab*.

62 The Liḥyān were one of the subgroups of the Huḏayl.

2.3.15 § وخرج تأبط مع صاحبين {يغزون} بجيلة فقتل صاحباه ونجا فعيرته امرأته وكان أحد صاحبيه أهاها. فقال: [الطويل] |

4^b

ألا تلجأ عرسي منيعة ضمنت من الله إثمًا مستسرًا وعاهنا

2.3.16 § وأغار تأبط شرا على خثعم فقال كاهن لهم: "أروني أثره حتى أؤخذه لكم فلا يبرح حتى تأخذوه." فكفؤوا على أثره جفنة ثم أرسلوا إلى الكاهن. فلها رأى أثره قال: "هذا ما لا يجوز في صاحبه الأخذ." فقال تأبط شرا في ذلك: [الوافر]

٥

ألا أبلغ بني فهم بن عمرو	على طول التناهي والمقاله
مقال الكاهن الحامي لما	رأى أثري وقد أنهت ماله
رأى قديمي وقعهما حيث	كتحليل الظليم دعا رثاله
{أرى} لهما {عذابا} كل عام	لخثعم أو بجيلة أو ثماله

١٠

١ يغزون: في الأصل: "يغزوا". ٣ منيعة: في الأصل: "منيعة" بفتحة على آخره. ٤ حتى أؤخذه: كذا في الأصل، وفي الإصحاني، الأغاني ٢٢: ١٥٧: "حتى آخذه". ٧ التناهي: وضع المقرئ رمز "ك": كذا فوقها، واللفظة غير معجمة في الأصل. ٨ الحامي: وضع المقرئ رمز "ك": كذا فوقها، واللفظة غير معجمة في الأصل، وفي الإصحاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٥٨ "الحامي" وهو تصحيف فالصواب "الحامي"، راجع ديوان تأبط شرا ١٩٧ ح ٢. || رأى: في الأصل: "راي". ٩ كتحليل: وضع المقرئ رمز "ك": كذا فوقها، واللفظة غير معجمة في الأصل. || دعا: في الأصل: "دعى". ووضع المقرئ رمز "ك": كذا فوقها واللفظة غير معجمة في الأصل. ١٠ أرى: في الأصل: "أي" وكذا في I³، والبيت ناقص في I². وما أثبتناه من الإصحاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٥٨. || عذابا: في الأصل: "عرام" ووضع المقرئ رمز "ك": كذا فوقها. واللفظة غير معجمة في الأصل وما أثبتناه من الإصحاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٥٨.

٣ وعاهنا: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأعلى من اليسار إلى اليمين: "ح العاهن العلانية وقيل الحاضر".

§ 2.3.15 Once Ta'abbata Šarran and two companions raided the Baḡīlah. Ta'abbata Šarran returned safely, but the others were killed, and Ta'abbata Šarran's woman reproached him since one of the dead was her brother. He replied: [*al-ṭawīl*]

5 That's my wife Manī'ah, God inspired her
 To discover plainly a misdeed I tried to conceal.⁶³

§ 2.3.16 When Ta'abbata Šarran raided the Ḥaṭ'am,⁶⁴ one of their soothsayers asked: "Show me his footprints so I can put a spell over him and you'll catch him straightaway." They put a bowl over his tracks and sent for the
10 soothsayer, and when he examined the footprints he concluded: "The one who made these cannot be caught." About this Ta'abbata Šarran composed a poem: [*al-wāfir*]

 Oh inform the Fahm b. 'Amr,⁶⁵
 After the long separation and the slander,⁶⁶
15 Of what the Ḥāmī⁶⁷ soothsayer said.
 He saw my tracks; his camels plundered,
 He saw my quick feet's prints,
 Like tracks of a streaking ostrich rallying her chicks.
 I see these feet inflict pain every year
20 On the Ḥaṭ'am, the Baḡīlah and the Ṭumālah.⁶⁸

6 Ever ... misgiving: Note *'ahin* means 'publicly' or 'in one's presence'. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

63 Al-Maqrīzī's abbreviated selection is more fully outlined in two versions narrated in al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aḡānī* 21:146–7, 158 where the 'misdeed' is reported as being either (a) that Ta'abbata Šarran returned from the battle indirectly, stopping at the camp of another woman where he cleaned himself and oiled his hair, returning more triumphantly from battle than he should have; or (b) that Ta'abbata Šarran's escape was ignoble, leaving his wife's kin behind to die. For the other versions of this story, see the references in the Arabic footnote, opposite.

64 The Ḥaṭ'am were one of the two main branches of the Anmār, a major sub-group of the 'Southern Arabs' of the Kahlān lineage; they resided in the area south of Mecca up to the borders of Yemen where they controlled an important pilgrimage site at Ḍū l-Ḥalaṣah, and they acquired significant power in the generations before Islam.

65 The Fahm were Ta'abbata Šarran's own kin (see note 16, above).

66 This translation reads the Ar. *maqālah* (speech) as *maḡālah* (slander) as proposed in *Dīwān Ta'abbata Šarran* 197, n. 1.

67 Ḥāmī refers to Ḥām, one of the subgroups of the Ḥaṭ'am.

68 The Ṭumālah were a prominent subgroup of the al-Azd, residing in the Sarāt Mountains around the dawn of Islam.

وشر كان صُب على هُدِيل إذا عَلِقَتْ حبالهم حباله
ويوم الأزد منهم شريوم إذا {بعدوا} فقد صدقت قاله

§2.3.17 وسئل تأبط: "أي يوم مر بك خير؟" قال: خرجت حتى إذا كنت في بلاد بجيلة أضأت لي النار رجلا جالسا إلى امرأة. فعمدت إلى سيفي فدفنته قريبا ثم أقبلت حتى استأنست فنبحتني الكلب فقال: "ما هذا؟" فقلت: "بأس." فقال: "أدُّنهُ!" فدنوت فإذا رجل آدم وإذا أضوى الناس إلى جانبه. فشكوت إليه الجوع والحاجة فقال: "اكشف تلك القفعة" فأتيت فإذا قفعة إلى جانبه وإذا فيها تمر ولبن. فأكلت منه حتى شبعت ثم نخرت متناوما. فوالله ما لبثت أن أضطجع حتى اضطجع هو ورفع رجله واندفع يغني يقول: [الكامل]

خير الليالي إن أبيت بليلة (ليل بخيمة بين بيش وعثر)
{الضجيج} أنسة كأن حديثها شهد يُشَاب بمزجة من عنبر
وضجيج لاهية لأعب مثلها بيضاء واضحة (كظيظ) المتر
ولأنت مثلهما وخير منهما بعد الرقاد وقبل أن لم تسحر

قال: ثم انحرف فنام ومالت فنامت. فقلت: "ما رأيت كالليلة في الغرة وإذا عشر عشراوات بين

٢ بعدوا: في الأصل: "بعديو" بدون ألف التفريق ووضع المقرئ رمز "ك": كذا فوقها. ٩ أبيت: كذا في الأصل وهي رواية مختار الأغاني ٢: ١٥٨، وفي الإصنهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٥٩: "سألت". || ليل ... وعثر: بياض في الأصل، والتكلمة من الإصنهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٥٩. ١٠ لضجيج: في الأصل: "اضجيج" ووضع المقرئ رمز "ك": كذا فوقها، وما أثبتناه من الإصنهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٦٠. ١١ مثلها: وضع المقرئ رمز "ك": كذا فوقها واللفظة غير معجمة في الأصل. || كظيظ: بياض في الأصل بمقدار كلمة، والتكلمة من الإصنهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٦٠. ١٣ انحرف: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. || عشراوات: وضع المقرئ رمز "ك": كذا فوقها، وراجع الإصنهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٦٠.

And ill is meted to the Huḍayl,
 Should their paths cross mine.
 The distant al-Azd had the worst of it,
 I proved that soothsayer's words true.

- 5 § 2.3.17 Ta'abbaṭa Šarran was asked: "What was the best of your adventures?"
 He replied: Once I set out into the land of the Baḡīlah, where a firelight
 revealed to me a man sitting beside a woman. I took my sword, buried it near
 them, and then approached as if seeking their hospitality. Their dog barked
 at me, and the man challenged: "Who goes there?" I replied: "A wretched
 10 one". He called: "Approach!" I drew near, and there I beheld a man with a dark
 brown complexion aside a most scrawny person. I made a show of hunger
 and neediness, and he invited me: "Open that jar there!" I found it at his side,
 it contained dates and yoghurt. I ate from it and then I lay down, feigning
 sleep. By God, no sooner had I reclined, the man stretched out on the ground
 15 too, crossed his legs atop each other, and broke into song: [*al-kāmīl*]

- The best of nights is the one I slept
 At Ḥaymah,⁶⁹ between Bīšah and 'Attar.⁷⁰
 Lying with a girl whose words
 Were like honey mixed with ambergris.
 20 And with a playful girl I dallied too,
 Bright white faced, and amply rotund.
 Oh, you are like them—no even better—
 In the time between bedding down and daybreak.

- 25 Ta'abbaṭa Šarran continued: Then the man turned on his side and fell asleep;
 the girl turned and slept too. I said to myself: "There've never been eas-
 ier pickings than this night!" There were ten heavily pregnant she-camels

69 According to Yāqūt, the Ḥaymah in this poem refers to an Arabian toponym, a small hill and water pool in the land of the 'Abs in Najd (*Mu'jam al-buldān*, 2:414). The Eastern Arabian Najd location ill fits the context here; Yāqūt also reports a place called Ḥaymah near Ṭā'if in Hejaz, but the word may in fact just intend its literal meaning, "tent", i.e. the poet expressed that he "slept in a tent between Bīšah and 'Attar".

70 Bīšah is a valley often mentioned in poetry about amorous encounters; it lies near the Red Sea coast of Tihāmah, near the modern border of Saudi Arabia and Yemen. 'Attar is less well-known: al-Bakrī identifies it as a mountain in the lands of the Maḍhij in South Arabia; Yāqūt reports it was a place full of lions on the road from Yemen to Mecca (al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, 3:921; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 4:85).

أثلاث وكلاب فيها عبد وأمة:“ فوثبت إلى العبد فقتلته وهو نائم. ثم انخرفت إلى الرجل فوضعت سيفي على كبده حتى | أخرجته من صلبه. ثم ضربت نخذ المرأة جلست فقلت: “لا تخافي! أنا خير لك منه.” وقت فرحلت بعض الإبل وهي تشد معي ثم اطردت الإبل أنا والأمة فما حللت عقدة حتى نزلت بصعدة بني (عوف) بن فهم وأعرست بالمرأة وانقلعت عنها أتغني وأقول: [الكامل]

٥ بحليلة البجلي بت بليلة بين الإزار وكشحها (ثم) الصق

(...)

فهذا خير يوم لقيته وأما شريوم لقيته فإني غزوت ثمالة فإذا أنا بدود معها عبد فقتلته وركبت منها ناقة فكرت حتى كادت تطرحني في أيدي القوم فوثبت عنها وتبعوني فجازني الطلب فأتيت نارا وأنا أضمن. فقلت: “بأس”. فقال: “ادن!” فدنوت فقال: “إني لأجد منك ريح دم!” فقلت: “رميت أرنبا.” فقال: “كذبت! هذا ريح دم إنسان!” وأوثقي. فلما أبحرتُ حركت رجلي فإذا هي سالحة وأخذت قوسي وهممت بقتله. ثم خشيت الطلب ومضيت فاتبعني فضاربه وصرعته وربطته وجنبتُه وأتيت قومي. وقال تأبط: [الوافر]

١ أثلاث: وضع المقرئ رمز “ك”: كذا فوقها، وراجع الإصحاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٦٠. ٢ علي: في الأصل: “علي”. ٤ حتى: في الأصل: “حتى”. || عوف: بياض في الأصل بمقدار كلمة، والتكلمة من الأغاني ٢١: ١٦٠. ٥ ثم: بياض في الأصل بمقدار كلمة، والتكلمة من الأغاني ٢١: ١٦٠. ٦ بياض في الأصل بمقدار ٥ أسطر. لسائر أبيات القصيدة راجع البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف ٧٠٢: ١٦٢-١٦٣؛ والإصحاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٦٠-١٦١. ١٠ فلما: وضع المقرئ ثلاثة خطوط بعدها في الهامش الأيسر ولم تقف على معناها.

٩ أضمن: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: “ح قال الخليل الضمان الزمانة والداء والاسم الضمن ورجل ضمن”. راجع الخليل، العين ٧: ٥٢.

amongst Tamarisk trees with only dogs, one slave and the slave girl. I struck for the slave, killing him while he slept. Then I turned to the man and thrust my sword through his liver until the point came out his other side, and then I tapped the girl on the thigh. She sat up, and I said: “Don’t fear. I’m better for you than he was!” I rose, saddled one of the camels and the girl clung on to me as I drove the rest of the camels. And off we went together, not stopping until we reached ‘Awf b. Fahm’s Rise where I lay with the girl.⁷¹ I then left her, singing: [*al-kāmil*]

10 With a woman of the Baḡīlah man I spent the night
 In between the wrap and her girdled hip.⁷²

That was the best of my adventures. As for the worst, it was when I raided the Ṭumālah. I came across a small herd of camels tended by a slave. I killed him and mounted a she-camel, but she turned on me, running back and almost tossing me into the hands of the enemy. I leapt off her [but I broke a leg],⁷³ and the tribesmen were pursuing me. Their search party overshot me, and I came to a campfire, but I was in a bad way. [Dogs barked at me and a man challenged: “Who goes there?”] “A wretched one,” I replied. He called: “Approach!” As I drew near, he said: “I smell blood on you!” I responded: “I’ve been hunting rabbits.” “You lie. It’s a man’s blood I smell!” And he trussed me up, but before daybreak I shook my leg and found it was improved, so I took my bow and was about to shoot the man, but I feared the tribe’s search party [for my leg was still poorly and I was wary that they would catch up to me], so I fled, yet he followed me. I hit at him, knocked him down, and tied him up, securing him to the side [of his camel], and I returned to my people.
25 Ta’abbaṭa Šarran sang about it: [*al-wāfir*]

16 a ... way: Note: al-Ḥalīl defines *damān* as a chronic illness or malady; the verbal noun is *daman*; a man chronically ill is called *ḍamin*. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand).

71 The verb used here, *a’rasa*, implies Ta’abbaṭa Šarran arranged a temporary marriage with the girl such that the intercourse would not constitute rape.

72 The last two words in the Arabic, “*ṭumm^a l-ṣaqqⁱ*” yields little meaning, and in our translation, we follow the version of the poem in al-Balāḍurī *Ansāb al-ašrāf*¹, 7.2:162 which ends with one word, *al-mutanattiqⁱ* (girdled).

73 Al-Maqrīzī’s version of the story omits narrative details which make it difficult to follow. Where absolutely necessary for the meaning, we have added expansions between square brackets extracted from the fuller version of the story in al-İṣfahānī, *al-Aḡānī*, 21:161–162.

وَنَارٌ قَدْ حَضَّتْ بُعِيدَ هَدْيٍ بَدَارٌ مَا أَرَدْتُ بِهَا مَقَامًا
سَوَى تَحْلِيلِ رَاحِلَةٍ وَعَيْرَاءٍ {أُكَالِئُهُ} مَخَافَةٌ أَنْ يَنَامَا

2.3.18 § وغزاة تابط الأزد فنذروا به وأهملوا له إبلا وأعدوا له ثلاثة من ذوي البأس. فأخذ الإبل وطردها ثم تركها وكمن لينظر هل يطلب. فكمن القوم ورأوه ولم يرههم. ثم طرد الإبل يوما وليلة وأكل وهيئاً مضجعا على النار. ثم أخذها وزحف على بطنه ومعه قوسه ودخل بين الإبل وهو لا يعلم إلا الحذر والأخذ بالحزم وهيئاً | سهما. فلما أحسوا نومه أقبلوا فرمى أحدهم فقتله وجال^{5b} الآخرا ن ورمى آخر فقتله وأفلت حاجز بن عوف هاربا فلم يرجع ولم يعلم له خبر.

١ حَضَّتْ: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٢ تحليل: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. || أُكَالِئُهُ: في الأصل: "كَالِئُهُ". ٦ الحذر: مطموس في الأصل، والتكلمة من I² و I³.

١ حَضَّتْ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "حَضَّتْ أوقدت". ٧ خبر: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى ويشير إليه رمز ٦ بعد كلمة "خبر" في آخر السطر: "حاجز من أغربة العرب".

الإصفيهاني، الأغاني ٣١: ١٦٣.

I lit a fire once the night had deepened,
 In a temporary abode where I did not want to be:
 But my mount needed rest, and with weary eyes
 I kept watch, fearful of sleep.⁷⁴

- 5 § 2.3.18 Another time when Ta'abbaṭa Šarran raided the al-Azd, they swore to kill him, and they set some camels loose as if to appear unattended, and they entrusted three of their stoutest men to await Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's raid. Ta'abbaṭa Šarran rustled the camels and drove them [for part of the day],⁷⁵ but then he left them, and hid himself to see if he was being followed. The
 10 Azdīs also concealed themselves, spying upon him, and he noticed nothing. [When he was satisfied that no one appeared to be following him,] Ta'abbaṭa Šarran set off with the camels, driving them for a day and a night. He then ate, prepared a bed near the campfire, and extinguished the flames. Bow in hand, he crawled on his stomach amidst the camels, ever precautious and
 15 prudent. [There he waited,] stringing an arrow on his bow. When the Azdīs sensed that he was asleep, they approached, and Ta'abbaṭa Šarran shot the first of them dead. As the other two came into view, he felled the second. The third, Ḥāḡiz b. 'Awf,⁷⁶ fled, and nothing more was ever heard about him.⁷⁷

1 I ... fire: Note: *ḥaḍa'tu* means 'I lit a fire'. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 18 Ḥāḡiz: Ḥāḡiz was one of the Arab Ravens. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

74 In *al-Aḡānī*, 21:162, the above story is associated with a different poem. The poem al-Maqrīzī records here is of contested authorship: in its earliest citation, it is ascribed to Sahm b. al-Ḥārīt (al-Ġāḥiz, *al-Ḥayawān*, 4:499), alternatively to Šimr b. al-Ḥārīt al-Ḍabbī (al-Baṣrī, *al-Ḥamāsah al-baṣriyyah*, 3:314). Its attribution to Ta'abbaṭa Šarran first appears in late fourth/tenth century texts: Ibn Fāris, *Maqāyīs al-luḡah*, 4:192, and al-Bāqillānī, *Iḡāz al-Qur'ān* 59.

75 As in § 2.3.17, al-Maqrīzī omits narrative details in this story which make it difficult to follow in places. For the source of the expansions added between square brackets in this translation, see al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aḡānī*, 21:163.

76 Ḥāḡiz is an outlaw figure, mentioned only in a few sources where he is connected to other outlaw poets such as Ta'abbaṭa Šarran, al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah and al-Šanfarā, and is ascribed similar running prowess and a life of raiding (al-Siḡistānī, *Fuḥūlat al-šū'arā*, 121; al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aḡānī*, 13:232–241). His genealogy is variably assigned to the Ṭumālah (*Fuḥūlat al-šū'arā*, 121), or the Salāmān (*al-Aḡānī*, 13:232), both sub-groups of the al-Azd inhabiting the Sarāt Mountains in the century before Islam. Ḥāḡiz is also referred to as al-Sarawī, reflecting the association of his identity with those Mountains (*Fuḥūlat al-šū'arā*, 121).

77 Al-Maqrīzī ends this story differently from the version in al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aḡānī*, 21:163, and Ibn Manẓūr, *Muḥtār al-Aḡānī*, 2:160.

2.3.19 § وخرج تأبط ومرة بن خليف يريدان الأزدي وجعلا الهداية بينهما. فجار مرة عن الطريق فوقعا بين جبال فإذا البيض والفراخ في الأرض. فقال تأبط: "هلكا! لو وطئ هذا الموضع الإنس ما باضت الطير في الأرض. {فأنت} تلك القننة. فإن رأيت الحياة فألح بالثوب وإن رأيت الموت فألح بالسيف فإني فاعل مثل ذلك." فأقاما يومين والأح تأبط بالثوب وهبطا فوجدوا الناس. فقال تأبط: "أنت الحي من طرف وأنا من آخر وكُنْ ضيفا ثلاثا ثم أغر وقت كذا." ففعلا ودخلا شعبا ونحرا ناقة فسمعا حسا. فقال تأبط: "الطلب!" ووضع يده على عضد مرة فإذا هي ترعد. فقال: "ما أرعدت عضدك إلا من قبل أمك!" فقتل تأبط منهم رجلا ورُمي بسهم وأفلتا. ٥

2.3.20 § وخرج تأبط وعامر بن الأحنس سيد الصعاليك في نفر يريدون نفثة. فشعروا بهم وأتوهم في كمينهم. فلما قربوا أوتر رجل قوسه فسمع تأبط حطيط وتر القوس. فقال: "أنتيم!" فلم يصدقوه فانطلق ووثب معه قوم. وبيت بنو نفثة الباقين فقبلوهم وقتل عامر بن الأحنس. وقيل: مات على فراشه. ١٠

2.3.21 § ثم خرج تأبط ليثأر بأصحابه فأرى بيتا لهذلي. فقال لأصحابه: "اغنموه!" ثم رأى ضبعا عن يساره فقال: "إشبعك من القوم غدا." ثم أغار على البيت وقتل شيخا وعجوزا واتبع غلاما

٣ "فأنت": في الأصل: "فات". ٥ أنت: في الأصل "أيت" بالياء. ١٠ قبلوهم: كذا في الأصل بالباء، ولعلها "قتلوهم". ١٢ رأى: في الأصل: "راي".

الإصهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٦٧-١٦٨. ٢ الإصهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٧٤-١٧٥.

§ 2.3.19 Ta'abbaṭa Šarran and Murrah b. Ḥulayf set out to raid the al-Azd, taking turns leading the way. Murrah mistakenly strayed, and they found themselves amidst a mountain range where eggs and little chicks were nested on the ground. Ta'abbaṭa Šarran said: "We're done for! If people ever visited this
 5 place, the birds would not lay their eggs on the ground. You climb up to that peak, and if you see a sign of life, signal with your robe. If you see death, then wave your sword. I'll do the same." Two days later, Ta'abbaṭa Šarran waved his robe. They both descended and they found campsites. Ta'abbaṭa Šarran instructed Murrah: "Approach these people from one side, and I'll take the
 10 other. Stay with them as a guest for three days, then plunder them at the appointed time (which he specified)."⁷⁸ They executed the plan and made off into a mountain pass where they slaughtered a she-camel. But hearing a sound, Ta'abbaṭa Šarran exclaimed: "A search party!" He placed his hand on Murrah's arm: it was trembling, and Ta'abbaṭa Šarran said: "This unsteady
 15 arm comes from your mother's side!"⁷⁹ Ta'abbaṭa Šarran killed one of the search party; he was hit by an arrow, but they nonetheless both escaped.⁸⁰

§ 2.3.20 On another occasion, Ta'abbaṭa Šarran joined a gang with the desperado chief 'Āmir b. al-Aḥnas, to raid the Nufāṭah. The Nufāṭah caught wind of this and set an ambush, and when the outlaws neared them, one of the
 20 Nufāṭah drew his bow. Ta'abbaṭa Šarran heard the bowstring stretch, and called out: "It's an attack!" The gang didn't believe him, so Ta'abbaṭa Šarran slipped away with a few others. The Nufāṭah surprised the rest of the band and killed them, including 'Āmir b. al-Aḥnas. Though some say that 'Āmir died in his bed.

§ 2.3.21 Ta'abbaṭa Šarran then sought blood revenge for those killed. When
 25 he came upon the abode of a man of the Huḍayl, he called to his companions: "Plunder it!" Just then he spied a hyena to his left, and told her: "Good tidings! You'll have a fine meal on these folk tomorrow!" He raided the dwelling and killed an old man and an old woman, but when Ta'abbaṭa

78 The narrative in al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aġānī*, 21:167–168 gives more detail about Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's instructions to Murrah.

79 Ta'abbaṭa Šarran's remark in the more expanded version in al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aġānī*, 21:168 expressly adds that Murrah's mother was Wābišī, a sub-group of the Huḍayl, the group against whom Ta'abbaṭa Šarran is ascribed various adventures. Hence, he chides his companion by reference to what he deemed apparently an inferior lineage.

80 The fight is more detailed in al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aġānī*, 21:186 where Ta'abbaṭa Šarran, despite his wounds, is reported to have carried the trembling Murrah to safety on his back.

فرماه الغلام فانتظَمَ قَلْبُهُ ولاذ الغلام بقتادة فقطعها تأبط بحشاشته وقتل الغلام ثم مات. وقيل إن الذي رماه لاذ منه برنفة. فلم يأكل من تأبط سَبْعَ ولا طائر إلا مات. وقيل إن راحته كانت إذا مالت على حي مرض. نفرج فتیان من هذيل ليدفونه فلم يجد أحد ريحَه إلا مات. فتلثم قوم وسدوا مناخرهم ورموه في غارِ رَحْمَانَ فرجعوا وكلهم أرمَد ثم عموا عن آخرهم. ^١ وكانت جمجمته من قطعة واحدة وكانت عظامه صمًا لا تُخ فيها. | ٥

§2.3.22 وكان تأبط يأتي امرأة من فهم ولها ابن من هذلي. فقال لها ابنا حين قارب الحلم: ^{6a} "من هذا الذي يأتيك؟" قالت: "صاحب كان لأبيك." قال: "والله لئن رأيته عندك لأقتلنك!" فلما جاء تأبط أخبرته وقالت: "والله ما رأيته مُسْتَقِلًّا نوما ولا مُتَمَلِّئًا صَحْكًا ولا هم بشيء مذ كان إلا فعله ولقد حملته فما رأيت عليه دمًا وإني لمتوسدة شَرْحًا في ليلة هَرَبٍ ونطأقي مشدود وعلى أبيه دُرْع." فقال له تأبط: "هل لك في الغزو؟" قال: "نعم." فغزا معه فرأى تأبط نارا لابني قِترَةَ | ١٠

٧ لئن: في الأصل: "لئن". || لأقتلنك: كتب المقرئ حرف ألف قبلها فشطبه.

٢ برنفة: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "الرنف بهراج البر". راجع ابن منظور، لسان العرب ١: ١٢٨.

١ ابن حبيب، المغتالين ٦: ٢١٥-٢١٦؛ والإصفهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٧٥-١٧٦.

Šarran pursued a young boy, the boy shot him with an arrow, piercing Ta'abbāṭa Šarran's heart. The boy took refuge in a thorny tree,⁸¹ and with his dying gasps, Ta'abbāṭa Šarran hacked down the tree, killed the boy, and then expired. Some say that the boy hid in a willow tree. Each scavenging mammal
 5 and bird which ate upon Ta'abbāṭa Šarran's corpse died, and it was said that whenever the stench of his corpse wafted over any living being, it became ill. Some youths from the Huḍayl went to bury Ta'abbāṭa Šarran, but all of them who smelled his body died. Some others veiled their faces and plugged their
 10 noses, and they hurled his corpse into the Cave of Raḥmān,⁸² yet when they returned, the bones of every one of them decayed and then they all went blind. Ta'abbāṭa Šarran's skull consisted of a single mass of bone, and his bones were solid, without any marrow.

§ 2.3.22 Ta'abbāṭa Šarran used to visit a woman of the Fahm who had a son fathered by a man of the Huḍayl. When the boy neared puberty he asked
 15 his mother: "Who is that man who visits you?" She replied: "An old friend of your father." The boy responded, "By God, if I see him with you again, I'll kill you." When Ta'abbāṭa Šarran next came visiting, she warned him: "By God, I've never known my boy to sleep heavily, nor to laugh heartily, and whenever he took a decision, he carried it through. When he was conceived,
 20 I saw no blood, I was lying between the sides of a saddle on a night we were fleeing, my girdle was tied and his father's robe was on."⁸³ Ta'abbāṭa Šarran then asked the boy: "Would you like to go raiding?" "Yes!" And they set off together. When Ta'abbāṭa Šarran spied the campfire of the two sons of Qitrah

4 willow tree: The *ranf* (willow) is the *bahrāmaj* tree. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

81 The *qatādah* tree is a kind of thorny tree from the *Astragalus* genus; perhaps the tragacanth tree.

82 The toponym Raḥmān appears to be recorded in no other story of Arabic literature; Muslim geographers know it only as the final resting place of Ta'abbāṭa Šarran's body (al-Bakrī, *Muḡam mā istaḡam*, 2:646; Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān*, 3:38).

83 The strange circumstances of the boy's conception are intended as foreshadowing to explain his tough nature (see al-Sukkarī, *Šarḥ aš'ār al-Huḍalīyyīn*, 3:1072). Al-Maqrīzī's version of this story omits a detail from the earliest extant narrative, Ibn Qutaybah's *al-Šīr wa-l-šū'arā'* (2:662–664), which relates that the woman expressly asked Ta'abbāṭa Šarran to arrange for the murder of her son, since she felt the boy was less dear to her than Ta'abbāṭa Šarran. Al-Maqrīzī otherwise follows Ibn Qutaybah's version closely, though al-Maqrīzī also omits to narrate Ibn Qutaybah's mention that Ta'abbāṭa Šarran visited the woman for sexual intercourse.

الفزارين. فصاح: "نَهَشْتُ! النارَ النارًا!" فمضى الغلام إلى النار فواثبه الرجلان فقتلها وأخذ النار وأقبل إلى تأبط. فلما رأى تأبط النار هرب وظن أن الغلام قتل. فأدركه الغلام وقال: "قد قتلت الرجلين وأتيت بإبائهم." فقال تأبط: "الهرب!" وأخذ به في غير الطريق فقال له: "أخطأت الطريق ما تستقيم فيه الريح" فاستقبل الغلام الطريق وسار إلى الصباح ونزلا بين الإبل وناما. قال تأبط: ٥
لما ظننت أنه نام قتت رويدا. فقام وقال: "ما لك؟" فقلت: "سمعت حسا." فطاف فلم ير شيئا ثم نام وتمت. فلما ظننت أنه قد استئقل نوما قدفت بحصاة فوثب وتناومت فركضني برجله وقال: "تنام؟" قلت: "نعم." قال: "سمعت شيئا؟" قلت: "لا." فطاف فلم ير شيئا فغضب وقال: "قد علمت ما تصنع. والله لئن عدت ليموتن أحدنا!" ثم نام فبت أكلؤه مخافة أن يوقظه شيء ورأيته مضطجعا ما يمس الأرض إلا منكبه وحرف ساقه وسائره ناشز. فلما استيقظ نحرنا جزورا وأكلنا. ثم خرج ١٠
لمذهبه فنشه أسود فقتله وقتل الأسود مع ذلك. ١ وقال تأبط فيه وقيل لأبي كبير الهذلي واسمه عامر بن الحليس: [الكامل]

٨ ليموتن: وضع المقرئ نقتلين فوق الياء وشطبهما. ٩ وحرف: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء.

١١ ابن قتيبة، الشعر والشعراء ٢: ٦٦٢-٦٦٤ (في أخبار أبي كبير الهذلي).

- 84 Ta'abbata Šarran demands fire to cauterise his feigned wound, but his real intention, as explained in more detail in al-Tabrīzī, *Šarḥ al-Ḥamāsah*, 1:71–72, was that the two sons of Qitrah al-Fazārī, who, we are told, were renowned for their ferocity, would kill the boy as soon as he approached them.
- 85 Abū Kabīr al-Huḍalī, a relatively obscure poet of the Huḍayl, is chiefly memorialised for his interactions with Ta'abbata Šarran (for his biography, see al-Sukkarī, *Šarḥ aš'ār al-Huḍalīyyīn*, 3:1069–1093; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Ši'r wa-l-šū'arā*, 2:659–663; a version of his poetry was collected by Bajraktarević [1927]). The above story and its accompanying poem are variously reported. The earliest extant source for the poem, Abū Tammām's (d. 231/845) *al-Ḥamāsah* (see al-Marzūqī, *Šarḥ al-Ḥamāsah*, 1:84–92), ascribes it to Abū Kabīr al-Huḍalī, as does Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889) in *al-Ši'r wa-l-šū'arā*, 2:660. In the present text, al-Maqrīzī conversely ascribes the verses to Ta'abbata Šarran, though he closely follows both Ibn Qutaybah's prose narrative and version of the poem. But whereas Ibn Qutaybah prefaces the story with the note that "some falsely ascribe the

of the Fazārah, he cried out to the boy: “Help! I’ve been bitten by a snake! Bring fire!”⁸⁴ The boy ran to the campfire. The two men rose to attack him, but he killed them both and brought some fire to Ta’abbaṭa Šarran. When Ta’abbaṭa Šarran saw the fire approaching, he turned and fled, thinking that
 5 the boy had been killed, but the boy caught up to him and said: “I killed the two men and I’ve rustled their camels!” Ta’abbaṭa Šarran responded: “Let’s get out of here!”, but he led the boy onto the wrong track. The boy pointed out: “You’ve lost the way—the wind doesn’t smell right here!” The boy turned
 10 back to the right direction, and they travelled until daybreak, when they stopped to sleep between the camels. Ta’abbaṭa Šarran continued the story: When I thought that the boy was sleeping, I rose very slowly, and the boy shot up, asking: “What’s wrong with you?” I said: “I heard a sound.” The boy circled around, and not seeing anything, he went back to sleep. I lay down again too, and when I believed he was deep in sleep, I threw a pebble at him.
 15 Again, he shot up. I pretended to be sleeping, and he kicked me, asking: “Are you asleep?” “Yes.” “Did you hear something?” he asked. “No,” I replied. The boy rose and circled about, and seeing nothing, he grew angry and said: “By God, I know what you’re at. If you do it again, one of us won’t come out of here alive!” Then he went back to sleep. I lay down, keeping a wary eye open
 20 fearful that something might awaken him. I watched him sleeping: only his shoulders and the side of his leg touched the ground, the rest of his body was elevated. When he woke, we slaughtered a plump camel, ate it, and he went on his way. A snake bit him, but as he died he killed the snake too. Ta’abbaṭa Šarran composed a poem about this, though some ascribe it to Abū Kabīr
 25 ‘Āmir b. al-Ḥulayl al-Ḥudālī:⁸⁵ [*al-kāmīl*]

poem to Ta’abbaṭa Šarran” (2:661), al-Maqrīzī makes lighter of such doubts, rendering his text one of the few to claim the verses as Ta’abbaṭa Šarran’s own. A similar version of the story and debate over its authorship appears in al-Balāḍurī’s *Ansāb al-ašraf*¹, 7:2159–162. Al-Tabrīzī’s (d. 502/1109) commentary on *al-Ḥamāsah* narrates a similar story too, but with the roles unambiguously reversed: he confirms the ascription of the poem to Abū Kabīr, and posits that Ta’abbaṭa Šarran was the precocious child, changing the story’s ending to relate how a terrified Abū Kabīr, after his adventures with the boy, never approached Ta’abbaṭa Šarran’s mother again (*Šarḥ al-Ḥamāsah*, 1:71–72). Given the intrepid warrior skills accorded Ta’abbaṭa Šarran in Arabic literature, al-Tabrīzī’s account, where Ta’abbaṭa Šarran plays the triumphant boy, fits his character much better. Another early source, al-Sukkarī’s (d. 275/888 or 290/903) *Šarḥ aš‘ār al-Ḥudāliyyīn* also relates the verses as part of a longer poem by Abū Kabīr (3:1069–1080), and it thus appears that al-Maqrīzī’s attribution of the poem to Ta’abbaṭa Šarran is a minority opinion.

وَلَقَدْ سَرَيْتُ عَلَى الظَّلَامِ بِمِغْشَمٍ جَلَدٌ مِنَ الْفَتِيَانِ غَيْرِ مُهْبِلٍ
 مِمَّنْ حَمَلْنَ بِهِ وَهُنَّ عَوَاقِدُ حَبْكُ النَّطَاقِ فِعَاشٍ غَيْرِ مُثَقَّلٍ
 حَمَلْتُ بِهِ فِي لَيْلَةِ مَرْوُودَةٍ كَرَهَا وَعَقَدَ نِطَاقَهَا لَمْ يُحَلَّلِ
 فَأَتَتْ بِهِ حُوشَ الْجَنَانِ مُبْطِنًا سُهْدًا إِذَا مَا نَامَ لَيْلُ الْهُوَجَلِ

٣ يُحَلَّلُ: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٤ حُوشُ: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء.

١ بِمِغْشَمٍ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر مبتدئاً من الأسفل إلى الأعلى ومنقلبا رأساً على عقب: "المغشم الذي يغشم الناس ويظلمهم". || مُهْبِلٌ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "المهبل الكثير اللحم". ٢ حَبْكُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "الحبك ما احتزم". ووضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت كل من "الحبك" و"احتزم" إشارة إلى تلفظهما بالحاء. ٣ حملت ... مَرْوُودَةٍ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "قوله حملت منه في ليلة مروودة يقال إن ولد الفرعة أنجب لأن الرجل يسبقها بمائه فيخرج الشبه إليه. وقيل: إذا أردت أن تطلب ولد المرأة فاغضبها ثم قع عليها فتسبقها بالماء". ويبدو أن المقرئ نقل هذا الشرح عن المبرد، الكامل ١: ١٧٥. || مَرْوُودَةٍ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "ح مروودة ذات فرع". ٤ حُوشُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر مبتدئاً من اليمين إلى اليسار ثم من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "ح حُوشُ يعني وحشياً (...). حديدة وقيل حُوشُ مرتاح". طرف الهامش مقطوع فالكلمة بعد "وحشياً" ساقطة ولا يوجد في I² و I³ تكلمتها. || مُبْطِنًا: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأسفل من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "ح مبطن نحيمص البطن". ولعله أراد: "حميص". || الْهُوَجَلِ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأسفل من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "الهوجل الثقيل وقيل القفر من الأرض وقيل الضعيف".

Through the night's darkness I travelled with a brute,
 A steadfast youth, lean with no flab.
 Conceived on the road, when the women's
 Girdles were tied: he won't grow into a pudgy one.⁸⁶
 5 She was fearful that night she was impregnated,
 Against her will, her belt still knotted.
 She then delivered a fiery one,
 Lean, alert when fools doze.

1 brute: *Miğsam* means one who acts unjustly and oppressively. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 2 with ... flab: *Muhabbal* means very fleshy. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 4 tied: *Ḥubuk* are things that can be tightened. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 5 She ... impregnated: Her expression about being terrified when she was impregnated refers to the fact that this is a more fertile process of impregnating: the man's sperm will arrive first, and the child will thus more resemble the father. It is said that if you want a child, anger the woman, then have intercourse with her, and your semen will flow first. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). || fearful: *Maz'ūdah* means feeling terror. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 7 a ... one: Note: *ḥūš* means 'wild' (...) sharp; it is also said that *ḥūš* means 'relaxed'. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 8 Lean: Note: *mubaṭṭan* means empty-bellied (*ḥamiš*). [Perhaps al-Maqrīzī meant *ḥamiš* which means emaciated]. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). || fools: *Hawǧal* means 'heavy'; it is also said that it means a 'wayless desert'; it has also been heard as meaning 'weak'. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

86 The tied girdle reference expresses that the boy's mother was impregnated against her will, or at least at a moment when she was not seeking intercourse. The line reflects a belief that a child conceived when his mother was frightened will grow into a precocious and tough youth, i.e. the opposite of a flabby, indolent layabout (see the commentary in al-Sukkārī, *Šarḥ aš'ār al-Hudalīyyīn*, 3:1072; al-Marzūqī, *Šarḥ al-Ḥamāsah*, 1:84).

6^b

ومبراً من كل غَيْرِ حَيْضَةٍ وَرِضَاعِ مُغِيلَةٍ وِدَاءِ مُعْضِلٍ |
 وإذا قَدَفَتْ له {الحِصَاة} رَأَيْتَهُ يَنْزُو لَوْقَعْتَهَا طُمُورَ الْأُخَيْلِ
 مَا أَنْ يَمْسُ الْأَرْضَ إِلَّا مِنْكَبٍ مِنْهُ وَحَرْفُ السَّاقِ طَيِّ الْمَحْمَلِ
 فَإِذَا يَهْبُ مِنَ الْمَنَامِ رَأَيْتَهُ كَرْتُوبِ كَعْبِ السَّاقِ لَيْسَ بِزُمَّلٍ^١

○ §2.3.23 وقالت أم تأبط تبكيه:

وَأَبْنَاهُ وَابْنُ اللَّيْلِ لَيْسَ بِزَمِيلٍ
 شَرُوبٍ لِلْقَيْلِ يَضْرِبُ بِالذَّيْلِ
 كَمُقَرَّبِ الْخَيْلِ

وَأَبْنَاهُ لَيْسَ بِعُقُوفٍ تَلْفَهُ هُوفٍ
 حُثِي مِنْ صُوفٍ^٢

١٠

٢ الحِصَاةُ: فِي الْأَصْلِ: "الْحِصَاةُ" بِالتَّنْوِينِ. || يَنْزُو: فِي الْأَصْلِ: "يَنْزُو".

١ غَيْرٌ: أَضَافَ الْمُقْرِزِي هَذِهِ الْحَاشِيَةَ فِي الْهَامِشِ الْأَسْفَلِ: "ح غَيْرٌ بَقِيَةٌ وَكَانَ يَنْبَغِي أَنْ يَقُولَ مِنْ كُلِّ غَيْرِ طَهَرَ وَالْغَيْرُ بَقِيَةٌ أَيَّامَ الطُّهْرِ الَّتِي تَلِي الْحَيْضَةَ فَنَسَبَ إِلَى الْحَيْضَةِ لِقُرْبِهِ مِنْهَا. وَقِيلَ أَرَادَ لَمْ تَحْمَلْهُ أُمُّهُ فِي بَقِيَةِ الْحَيْضِ أَيَّ حَمَلْتَهُ وَقَدْ طَهَرْتَ طَهْرًا بَيْنًا." || مُغِيلَةٌ: أَضَافَ الْمُقْرِزِي هَذِهِ الْحَاشِيَةَ فِي الْهَامِشِ الْأَسْفَلِ: "الْمَغِيلَةُ الَّتِي تَرْضَعُ وَهِيَ تَوَطَّأُ وَأَنْ تَرْضَعُ وَهِيَ حَامِلٌ". ٢ الْأُخَيْلُ: أَضَافَ الْمُقْرِزِي هَذِهِ الْحَاشِيَةَ فِي الْهَامِشِ الْأَعْلَى مِنَ الْبِسَارِ إِلَى الْيَمِينِ رَأْسًا عَلَى عَقَبِ: "ح الْأُخَيْلُ طَائِرٌ يَنْشَاءُ مَبَهُ". ٣ الْحَمَلُ: أَضَافَ الْمُقْرِزِي هَذِهِ الْحَاشِيَةَ فِي الْهَامِشِ الْأَيْمَنِ مِنَ الْبِسَارِ إِلَى الْيَمِينِ رَأْسًا عَلَى عَقَبِ: "ح الْحَمَلُ مَحْمَلُ السَّيْفِ". ٤ كَرْتُوبٌ: أَضَافَ الْمُقْرِزِي هَذِهِ الْحَاشِيَةَ فِي الْهَامِشِ الْأَيْسَرِ مِنَ الْأَسْفَلِ إِلَى الْأَعْلَى: "ح قَوْلُهُ كَرْتُوبٌ أَرَادَ انْتِصَابَ الْكَعْبِ".

١ شرح الحماسة للرزوقي ١: ٨٤-٩٢، السكري، شرح أشعار الهذليين ٣: ١٠٧٢-١٠٧٦؛ ابن قتيبة، الشعر والشعراء ٢: ٦٦٠-٦٦١. ٢ السكري، شرح أشعار الهذليين ٢: ٨٤٦. وغريب الحديث لابن قتيبة ١: ٥٢٢، وانفراد غريب الحديث بالعبارات الثلاث الأخيرة.

Conceived in a womb clean from menstrual fluid,
 Born sound, nursed on milk of an un-pregnant mother.
 Pitch a pebble towards him,
 He swoops up, flying like a coracias.⁸⁷
 5 In sleep, but shin and shoulders touch the ground:
 A twisted scabbard.
 When he wakes, up he shoots,
 Straight on his heel: this is no weakling.

§ 2.3.23 Ta'abbata Šarran's mother mourned him thus:

10 Oh my son, son of the night!
 No weakling you,
 You needed no noontime drink.
 Your running legs smacked your robes,
 You ran like the noblest horses.
 15 Oh my son, you were not like one decrepit,
 Who's blown about by fierce winds,
 Whose body seems stuffed with wool.

1 menstruation: Note *gubbar* means a remainder; he could have said *min kull gubbar tuhr*, since *gubbar* means the last days of purity that immediately precede menstruation; on account of this proximity, he expressed the construction as *kull gubbar haydah*. It is also interpreted that he means his mother did not conceive him when there were still traces of menstrual fluid in her, i.e. her womb was absolutely clean. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrizī's hand). 2 un-pregnant mother: The *muḡyilah* is a woman whose child is conceived during a period when she is breast-feeding, or who breast-feeds while pregnant. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrizī's hand). 4 coracias: The *aḥyal* is a bird of bad omen. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrizī's hand). 6 scabbard: The *mihmal* is a scabbard. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrizī's hand). 7 up ... shoots: Note: his expression *kartūb* means to straighten-up from the ankle. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrizī's hand).

87 The coracias bird (*aḥyal*) was apparently associated with ill-omen (al-Sukkarī, *Šarḥ aš'ār al-Hudalīyyīn*, 3:1074); the simile here befits Arabic literary impressions of an outlaw.

أي: ليس بخوار أجوف. والهوف: الريح الحارة. والزُمَيْل: الضعيف. ويضرب بالذيل أي: إذا عدًا أصفق برجليه منشدة عدوه. والعُفُوف: الجافي المُسِن. وشُرُوب للقليل أي: ليس بمهيأف يحتاج إلى الشرب نصف النهار.

§ 2.3.24 وقال تأبط شرا: [الطويل]

٥ إني لمُهدٍ من ثنائي فقاصد
أهزبه في ندوة الحي عطفه
قليل التشكي اللهم يصيبه
يظل بمومة ويمسي غيرها
ويسبق وقد الريح من حيث ينتحي
١٠ إذا خاط عينيه كرى النوم لم يزل
إذا طلعت أولى العدي فنقره
به لابن عم الصدق شمس بن مالك
كما هز عطفني بالهجان الأوارك
كثير الهوى شتى النوى والمسالك
بحيشا ويعروري ظهور المهالك
بمنخرق من شدة المتدارك
له كليل من قلب شيحان فاتك
إلى سلة من ضارم الغرباتك

٨ بحيشا: وضع المقرزي رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ١٠ كرى: في الأصل: "كرا". || شيحان: وضع المقرزي رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. وفي الزبيدي، تاج العروس ٤: ٨٠١ ضبطها: "شيجان" بالكسر كما في حاشية المقرزي أدناه. ١١ فنقره: كذا في الأصل، ولعلها "فنفرة" كما يروى في ديوان تأبط شرا ١٥٤. || ضارم: كذا في الأصل، والصواب "صارم" كما يروى في ديوان تأبط شرا ١٥٥. || ضارم الغر: كذا في الأصل ولعلها "صارم الغرب" أي حد السيف. وفي رواية البيت اختلاف في المصادر فراجع ديوان تأبط شرا ١٥٤-١٥٥ ح ٨.

٩ وقد الريح: أضاف المقرزي هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر مبتدئا من الأسفل إلى الأعلى ثم منقلبا رأسا على عقب: "حد وفد الريح أولها". || بمنخرق: أضاف المقرزي هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "حد قوله المنخرق أراد السريع الواسع". ١٠ شيحان: أضاف المقرزي هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "حد شيجان جاد". ١١ العدي: أضاف المقرزي هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من اليسار إلى اليمين رأسا على عقب: "حد العدي الجماعة يعدون الحرب".

By the last line, she meant he was no hollow weakling. The word *hūf* “fierce winds” are specifically hot winds. The word *zummayl* “weakling” means someone feeble. Her phrase, *yaḍrib bi-l-dayl* “smacking the robes” means that he ran so fast that he thrust legs out as far as his trailing robes
 5 would allow. The word *ʿulfūf* “decrepit” means an old lout. And the *šarūb al-qayl* “noontime drinker” intends a feeble person who cannot get through the middle of the day without a draught of yoghurt.

§ 2.3.24 One of Taʿabbaṭa Šarran’s poems goes as follows: [*al-ṭawīl*]

My praise right guides me
 10 To the honest Šams b. Mālik.
 In tribal assembly my praise stirs him,
 As noble white camels grazing on *arāk* stir me.⁸⁸
 His complaints are few when daunting matters arise,
 And every which way he ascends in greatness.
 15 By day in one desert, by night in another, he strives
 Alone: he rides on danger bareback.
 He will beat the front of the winds,
 So fast his quick pace takes him.
 Should a light doze pass across his eyes,
 20 He stays aware, with an alert, assiduous heart.
 When the warrior vanguard comes rushing,
 He springs to a sharp, piercing blade.

17 the ... winds: Note: *wafd al-rīḥ* means the first gusts of a windy front. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 18 fast: By his words *munḥariq*, he means swift and broad. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 20 assiduous: Note: *šayḥān* means serious. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 21 rushing: Note: *ʿadī* means a group rushing to battle. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand).

88 *Arāk* refers to a kind of thorny tree.

إِذَا هَزَّهَ فِي عَظَمِ قَرْنٍ تَهَلَّلَتْ نَوَاجِدُ أَفْوَاهِ الْمَنَايَا الضَّوَاحِكِ
يَرَى الْوَحْشَةَ الْأُنْسَ الْأُنَيْسَ وَيَهْتَدِي بِحَيْثُ اهْتَدَتْ أُمُّ النُّجُومِ الشَّوَابِكِ^١

§ 2.3.25 وقال ابن أخت تأبط يرثيه وهو خُفَافُ بْنُ نَضْلَةَ وَقِيلَ هِيَ خَلْفُ الْأَحْمَرِ نَحْلَهَا ابْنُ
أَخْتِ تَأْبُطٍ وَفُطِنَ لِأَنَّهَا مِنْ كَلَامِ الْمَوْلِدِينَ لِقَوْلِهِ: "جَلَّ حَتَّى دَقَّ فِيهِ الْأَجَلُ" فَأَقْرَبَهَا خَلْفُ:
[المديد] ٥

إِنْ بِالشَّعْبِ إِلَى جَنْبِ سَلْعٍ لِقَتِيلَا دَمِهِ مَا يُطَلُّ
خَلَّفَ الْعَبَّاءَ عَلِيَّ وَوَلِيَّ أَنَا بِالْعَبِّاءِ لَهُ مُسْتَقَلِّ
وَوَرَاءَ الثَّأْرِ مَنِي ابْنِ أَخْتِ مَصِّعٌ عَقَدْتَهُ مَا تُحَلُّ

١ قَرْنٌ: كَذَا فِي الْأَصْلِ، وَالصَّوَابُ "قَرْنٌ" بِالْكَسْرِ كَمَا يَرُودُ فِي دِيوَانِ تَأْبُطٍ شَرَاهُ ١٥٥. ٢ الْوَحْشَةُ: وَضَعُ
الْمَقْرِيزِيِّ رَمَزَ "ح" تَحْتَهَا إِشَارَةً إِلَى تَلْفِظِهَا بِالْحَاءِ. ٣-٤ وَقِيلَ ... خَلْفٌ: زِيَادَةٌ بِحِطِّ الْمَقْرِيزِيِّ فِي الْهَامِشِ
الْأَيْسَرِ مَبْتَدَأًا مِنَ الْأَعْلَى إِلَى الْأَسْفَلِ فِي مَكَانِهَا الصَّحِيحِ مِنَ الْجُمْلَةِ عَلَى آخِرِ السُّطْرِ. ٧ الْعَبَّاءُ: فِي الْأَصْلِ:
"الْعَبَّاءُ".

١ نَوَاجِدُ ... الْمَنَايَا: أَضَافَ الْمَقْرِيزِيُّ هَذِهِ الْحَاشِيَةَ فِي الْهَامِشِ الْأَيْمَنِ مِنَ الْيَسَارِ إِلَى الْيَمِينِ رَأْسًا عَلَى عَقَبِ: "ح"
قَوْلِهِ نَوَاجِدُ أَفْوَاهِ الْمَنَايَا يَرِيدُ كَانَ الْمَوْتُ ضَحْكَ مِنْ سُرْعَةِ مَوْتِ الْمَضْرُوبِ. وَأَوَّخِرُ بَعْضَ كَلِمَاتِ الْحَاشِيَةِ
سَاقِطَةً بِسَبَبِ شَذْبِ هَامِشِ صَفْحَةِ الْمَخْطُوطِ الْأَيْسَرِ، وَالتَّكْمَلَةُ مِنْ I³. ٧ الْعَبَّاءُ: أَضَافَ الْمَقْرِيزِيُّ هَذِهِ
الْحَاشِيَةَ فِي الْهَامِشِ الْأَيْمَنِ مِنَ الْيَسَارِ إِلَى الْيَمِينِ رَأْسًا عَلَى عَقَبِ: "الْعَبَّاءُ الْعِدْلُ". ٨ مَصِّعٌ: أَضَافَ الْمَقْرِيزِيُّ
هَذِهِ الْحَاشِيَةَ بِالْهَامِشِ الْأَيْمَنِ: "مَصِّعٌ مِنَ الْمَمَاصِعَةِ فَهِيَ الْجَادَلَةُ". وَأَوَّائِلُ بَعْضِ كَلِمَاتِ الْحَاشِيَةِ سَاقِطَةٌ
بِسَبَبِ شَذْبِ هَامِشِ صَفْحَةِ الْمَخْطُوطِ الْأَيْمَنِ، وَالتَّكْمَلَةُ مِنْ I³.

١ شرح الحماسة للمرزوقي: ١: ٩٢-٩٩.

He swings it into the bones of heroes,
 And the mandibles of Death open in laughter.
 He finds solace in what others deem a wasteland,
 Guiding his travels as the sun navigates the stars.

- 5 § 2.3.25 The following poem is said to have been composed as a lament for Ta'abbata Šarran by his nephew, Ḥufāf b. Naḍlah, but some call it a later forgery by Ḥalaf al-Aḥmar.⁸⁹ The line “More serious than serious itself” indicates it was composed by Muslim-era Arabised urbanists,⁹⁰ and Ḥalaf did admit to the forgery.⁹¹ [*al-madīd*]

- 10 In the mountain pass by Sal⁹²
 Lies a body, its blood unavenged.
 He left a blood burden on me;
 I assume that burden for him.
 His blood revenge in the hands of his nephew:
 15 I, fierce in the fray, am a knot that cannot be undone.

2 mandibles ... Death: His words ‘mandibles of Death’ intend that Death was laughing for glee when seeing the many swift deadly blows. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 12 burden: *Tb*’ means an ‘equal’ or an ‘equivalent’. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 15 fray: *Mašīʿ* is derived from *mumāšaʿah*, a form of quarrelling. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand).

89 Basran poet and transmitter of Arabic poetry. He was of non-Arabian descent and died c. 180/796 (see C. Pellat, “Khalaf b. Ḥayyān al-Aḥmar, Abū Muḥriz,” in *ET*²).

90 ‘Abbasid urbanist poetry’, known in Arabic as *muḥdaṭ* or *badīʿ*, was a style of poetry which employed more rhetorical devices and wordplay than earlier Arabic verse. The play on similar-sounding Arabic roots in the line “more serious than serious itself” is representative of the ‘new style’ poetry, invented in Muslim-era Iraq long after Ta’abbata Šarran’s passing.

91 This poem is widely cited in source literature. It is ascribed to Ta’abbata Šarran himself in Abū Tammām’s *al-Ḥamāsah* (Poem 273), and to Ta’abbata Šarran’s nephew in Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih’s *al-Iqd al-farīd* (3:298), but doubts concerning its authenticity are often voiced. Al-Maqrīzī’s discussion of the forgery here summarises the examination in al-Tabrīzī, *Šarḥ al-Ḥamāsah*, 1:538 which argues for Ḥalaf al-Aḥmar’s forgery (as does al-Marzūqī’s *Šarḥ al-Ḥamāsah*, 2:827). In a tradition of the al-Azd in Oman recorded in al-ʿAṭabī’s *al-Ansāb*, the poem is ascribed to the outlaw al-Šanfarā (see § 2.4, below), sung as a lament to his uncle (2:671–672). The possibility of al-Šanfarā’s authorship is also stated by Ibn Qutaybah (*al-Maʿānī l-kabūr*, 1:167) and Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī (*Simt al-laʿālī*, 2:919).

92 A mountain near Medina (al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam mā istaʿjam*, 3:747).

مُطْرِقٌ يَرِشُخُ مَوْتًا كَمَا أَطْرَقَ أُنْفَى يَنْفُثُ السَّمَّ صِلَّ
 حَدَثٌ مَا نَابَنَا مُصْمَلٌ جَلَّ حَتَّى دَقَّ فِيهِ الْأَجَلُّ
 بَرَّزِي الدَّهْرُ وَكَانَ غَشُومًا بِأَبِي جَارِهِ مَا يَدَلُّ
 شَامِسٌ فِي الْقَرِّ حَتَّى إِذَا مَا ذَكَتِ الشَّعْرَى فَبَرْدٌ وَظِلُّ
 يَابِسُ الْجَنَبَيْنِ مِنْ غَيْرِ بُؤْسٍ وَنَدَى الْكَفَيْنِ شَهْمٌ مَدَلُّ
 مُسْبِلٌ فِي الْحَيِّ أَحْوَى رِفْلٌ وَإِذَا يَغْزَوُ فَسَمْعٌ أَزَلُّ
 ضَاعِنٌ بِالْحَزْمِ حَتَّى إِذَا مَا حَلَّ حَلَّ الْحَزْمِ حَيْثُ يَحُلُّ

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٤ حتى: في الأصل: "حتى". ٦ أَحْوَى: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء.

١ صِلَّ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من اليسار إلى اليمين رأساً على عقب: "ح الصل الواهية". ٢ مُصْمَلٌ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "ح المُصْمَلُ العظیم الشدید". ٣ غَشُومًا: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "ح الغشوم الغضوب ولا تُريدُه". ٥ شَهْمٌ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأعلى من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "ح الشهم الذكي الفؤاد". ٦ رِفْلٌ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "ح الرِفْلُ السابغ الذيل". || فَسَمْعٌ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "ح ولد الضبع إن كانت من الذئب فهو السمع".

Lying low in wait, I will emit death
 Like the sly viper spits its venom.
 So severely we were struck by the news
 More serious than serious itself:
 5 Fate has so cruelly robbed me
 Of a hero, those he protected were never disgraced.
 He was sunshine in the cold;
 Cool shade when the dog days of summer burned.⁹³
 His sides were lean, but not from want:
 10 His giving hand was free. Brave-hearted, self-reliant.
 At ease in home with robes flowing open,
 At war, he was a lean hyena-wolf.⁹⁴
 In his ventures, resolution travelled with him:
 Resolve was found where he was camping.⁹⁵

2 viper: Note: *šill* means a viper. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). [Al-Maqrīzī writes *wāhīyyah*, he likely meant *dāhīyyah*, which is a word used to define this particularly lethal type of snake (see al-Zabīdī, *Tāǧ al-'arūs*, 15:411)] 3 severely: Note: *mušma'il* means great and severe. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 6 cruelly: Note: *gašūm* means fearsome, you don't want a piece of it. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 10 Brave-hearted: Note: *šahm* means clever-hearted. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 11 flowing open: Note: *rifall* means to let one's robes trail. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 12 hyena-wolf: Note: a pup born to a hyena breeding with a wolf is called a *sim'*. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

93 The poem expresses 'dog days of summer' by reference to *al-Šī'rá*, the star Sirius. Sirius rises in the summer as part of the Canis Major Constellation. This is also called the Dog Constellation, and thus Sirius was known as the Dog Star, giving rise to the expression 'dog days of summer' in Greek, Latin and later in English to connote the period of Sirius' rise which corresponds to the hottest part of the year, c. 3 July to 15 August.

94 Pre-Islamic Arabic poetry references the *sim'*, the product of a wolf mating with a hyena. It was considered the most vicious predator (al-Marzūqī, *Šarḥ al-Ḥamāsah*, 2:832).

95 The repetition of words from the root ḥ-l-l in this line also betrays influence of the Muslim-era *mūḥdaṭ* poetry style, again suggesting the "Abbasid urbanist" language noted by al-Maqrīzī above as evidence of the poem's forgery and false ascription to Ta'abbata Šarran. The word-play on the homonyms *māḍīn* later in this poem (p. 234 ln. 6) is another example of this style.

وله طَعْمَانٌ أَرِيٌّ وَشَرِيٌّ
يركب الهول وحيدا ولا يتبعه
فَلَيْتَ فَلْتٌ هُذَيْلٌ شَبَاهُ
وبما أبركها في مناخ
وبما أعجَّها في ورَاطٍ
بما صبحها في ذَرَاهَا
صَلَيْتَ مِنِّي هُذَيْلٌ يَحْرِقُ
يُورِدُ الصَّعْدَةَ حَتَّى إِذَا مَا
وَكَلَا الطَّعْمَيْنِ قَدْ ذَاقَ كُلَّ
إِلَّا الِيمَانِي الْأَفْلَّ
لَيْمًا كَانَ هُذَيْلًا يُفْلَّ
جَعَجَجَ يَنْقُبُ فِيهِ الْأُظْلَّ
شَكْسَةَ يَهْلِكُ فِيهَا الْأَذْلَّ
منه بَعْدَ الْقَتْلِ نَهَبَ وَشَلَّ
لا يَمَلُ الشَّرْحَ حَتَّى يَمْلُوا
نَهَلَتْ كَانَ لَهَا مِنْهُ عَلَّ

١ وكَلَا: في الأصل: "وكلي". ٥ ألحجها: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٥ شَكْسَةَ: كذا في الأصل ولعلها "شَكْسَةَ".

١ أَرِيٌّ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "ح الأري عمل النحلة العسل". ٥ وَشَرِيٌّ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "الشري الحنظل". ٤ يَنْقُبُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "ح نَقَب الخلف نقبا إذا تحرق". ٥ الْأُظْلُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "ح الْأُظْل باطن الخلف". ٧ يَمْلُوا: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "ح يريد لا يمل إذا ملوا ولو أراد النهاية لم يكن فيه مدح ولا له عليهم فضيلة".

He had two flavours: honey-sweet and cactus-fruit sour,
 All tasted both from him.
 He rode danger alone,
 His only companion a well-notched Southern blade.⁹⁶
 5 If the Huḍayl at last dulled his blade,
 By God, he had dulled theirs many a time!
 He landed them in many a rough spot,
 Where their camels' feet were shredded;
 He squeezed them into many a dire strait,
 10 Predicaments where their miserable perished;
 He set upon their shelters in the mornings,
 With killing, plunder and camel rustling.
 The Huḍayl felt a hero's fire from him,⁹⁷
 Relentless burning, beyond their endurance.
 15 In them, he waters his spear,
 Once, and then once more again.

1 honey-sweet: Note: *ary* describes the bee's production of honey. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). || cactus-fruit: The *šary* is a word for the cactus-fruit. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 8 feet: Note: *aẓall* means the sole of a shoe. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). || shredded: Note: the verb *naqaba* in relation to shoes means for them to be tattered. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 14 beyond ... endurance: Note: he means it does not end even when they tire; if he meant it would end, then it would not be a source of praise, nor would it bestow any virtue on them. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

96 "Southern blade" (*yamānī*) references the sword's South Arabian manufacture. Based on the vocabulary in pre-Islamic poetry, it appears that the most valued swords were those forged either in the far south of the Arabian Peninsula, or in its northern borders with Syria (*al-Mašārif*).

97 In the sources, this verse is phrased either in the first person "from me", as in al-Maqrīzī's manuscript and al-Marzūqī, *Šarḥ al-Ḥamāsah* (2:836), or the third person "from him" (Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, 3:299). The latter continues the narrative of Ta'abbāṭa Šarran's success against the Huḍayl; the first-person version switches the narrative to a self-praise of the poet, describing his own relentless pursuit of blood revenge against the Huḍayl in retaliation for Ta'abbāṭa Šarran's death. The poem does switch from elegy of Ta'abbāṭa Šarran to the poet's boast of his successful vengeance, but the switch seems too early here: the next lines return to the third-person elegy of the fallen hero, so we have chosen the third person for this translation.

تضحك الضبع لقتلي هذيل
وعتاق الطير تهفو بطاننا
فصبحنا كأس حاتف هذيل
بفتو هجروا ثم أغفوا
إحتسوا أنفاس نوم فلما
كل ماض قد تردى بفاض
فأدر كنا الثأر منهم ولما
مطلع الشمس فلما استحرت
حلت الخمر وكانت حراماً

وترى الذئب لها يستهل
تخطأهم وما تستقل
عقبها خزي وعار وذل
ليلهم حتى انجاب حلوا
هوموا رعتهم فاشمعلوا
كسنا البرق إذا ما يسل
ينج من لحيان إلا الأقل
أدبروا من فورهم فاجفأوا
فبلائي ما ألت تحل

٢ تهفو: في الأصل: "تهفوا" بألف التفریق. ٤ حلوا: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء.
٥ إحتسوا: كذا في الأصل بالهمزة ووضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٦ تردى: في الأصل: "تردي".

١ تضحك الضبع: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "قال ابن دريد: تضحك الضبع أي تبيض وقيل تضحك تكشر فشهبه بالضحك وقيل تضحك تستبشر". || يستهل: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "ح يستهل تصيح وتستعوي الذئب إلى القتل". ٨ فاجفأوا: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "ح الإجفيل الذي يهرب من كل شيء وينأى منه واجفأل".

Over the Huḍayl's corpses,
 The hyena chuckles, the wolf beams with joy,
 And vultures, after stuffing themselves too full,
 Flap away awkwardly.
 5 We serve Huḍayl a morning drink of death,
 Then draughts of disgrace, shame and humiliation.
 Our raiders: braves, travelling from midday and
 Through the night, not stopping until dawn.
 They snatch just snippets of sleep, and when slumber called,
 10 I stirred them,⁹⁸ and we pressed on with the road:
 Each slashing across the land, each with a slashing blade
 Like a bolt of lightning unsheathed.
 We exacted our blood revenge,
 Only but few of the Liḥyān escaped.
 15 They met at dawn, and as the sun warmed,
 They turned tail and scattered in terror.
 Now I can drink the wine forbidden to me,
 How much I have struggled to make it permitted!⁹⁹

2 The ... chuckles: Ibn Durayd reported that the expression 'the hyena chuckles' means that it menstruates (*taḥīd*); by this it means it shows its teeth, such that it appears to be laughing. It has also been said that the verb 'laugh' is also used to express the sense of rejoicing at good tidings. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). [See Ibn Durayd, *Ġamharat al-luḡah*, 2:546] || beams ... joy: Note: the verb *yastahill* means for wolves to yelp and howl when beholding the dead bodies. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 16 scattered ... terror: Note: an *iḡfil* is a flighty thing that runs away from everything; the verb is *iḡfa'alla*. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

98 The pronoun in this verse is also variously rendered. The manuscript has it as first person: "I stirred them", but all other versions we consulted have second person "you stirred them" (Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, 3:299; al-Marzūqī, *Šarḥ al-Ḥamāsah*, 2:834–835; al-Tabrizī, *Šarḥ al-Ḥamāsah*, 1:541). The second-person reference would address the deceased, i.e. Ta'abbāṭa Šarran, recalling how he, as a leader, compelled his weary band onwards during raids. Because al-Maqrīzī places this verse towards the end of the poem where the poet has switched to a self-praise of his tribe and his own vengeance (unlike al-Marzūqī who places it within the earlier section praising Ta'abbāṭa Šarran), we have opted for al-Maqrīzī's first-person wording.

99 Declarations of one's ability to drink wine are a common trope in pre-Islamic poetry as a metaphor for the poet's successful accomplishment of blood revenge. Warriors seeking vengeance for a murdered kinsman reportedly forbade themselves wine until they exacted vengeance. See the expanded commentary in al-Marzūqī, *Šarḥ al-Ḥamāsah*, 2:838–839.

فاسقنيها يا سواد بن عمرو إن جسمي بعد خالي نخل^١

§ 2.3.26. وقالت أم تأبط ترثيه: [الرمل]

ليت شعري ظلّة أي شيء قتلك
أسد أم أرقم أو شجاع عن لك
والمنايا رُصد للفتى حيث سلك
{الذبيغ} لم تعد أم رصيد ختلك
كل شيء قاتل حين تلقى أجلك
ليت نفسي قدّمت للمنايا بدلك^٢

٥

§ 2.3.27. وقال أم تأبط فيه: "ما حملته تُضَعًا" وفي نسخة "ما حملته وُضَعًا ولا ولدته | يَتَنَا ولا سَقَيْتَهُ
غَيلاً ولا أَبْتَهُ مَيْقًا" وقال الأصمعي: ولا أبته على مَأَقَةٍ أي: لم تَبْتَهُ باكِجًا لأن الحمقاء إذا بكى ابنها
حركته فيغلبه الدوار فينام فيسري الهم فيه والكَيْسَةُ تغني ابنها وتُشْبِعُه فينام على سرور فيسري
فيه.^٣ والمَأَقَةُ: الغَضَب. وقولها "ما حملته تُضَعًا": يقال إذا حملت المرأة عند مُقْبَلِ الحيض حملته
وُضَعًا وتُضَعًا. وإذا خرجت رجلا المولود قبل رأسه قيل "وضعت يَتَنَا". والغِيْلَةُ: أن تُرَضِعَ المرأة
وهي حامل أو تُرَضِعَ وهي تُغْشَى. فإن ذلك اللبن داء.

١٠

٣ ظَلَّةٌ: كذا في الأصل بالفتح ولعلها ظَلَّةٌ بالضم، راجع المحكم والمحيط الأعظم ١٠: ٥، وفي شرح الحماسة
للهرزوقي ٢: ٩١٤: "ضَلَّةٌ" || الذبيغُ: في الأصل: "الذبيغ" بالذال المعجمة. ٤ تلقى: في الأصل: "تلقني".
٦ حملته ... ولا: زيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأسفل من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح. ٧ مَيْقًا ...
على: زيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأعلى من الأسفل إلى الأعلى فوق كلمة: "أبته". || على: في الأصل
تكررت "على" مرتين.

١ نخل: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "انخل القليل اللحم". ٣ ظَلَّةٌ: أضاف المقرئ
هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "ح الظلّة الهلكة".

شرح الحماسة للهرزوقي ٢: ٨٢٧-٨٣٩، شرح الحماسة للتبريزي ١: ٥٣٨-٥٤٣، والعقد الفريد لابن عبد ربه ٣:
٢٩٨-٣٠٠. ٢ شرح الحماسة للهرزوقي ٢: ٩١٤-٩١٨، وشرح الحماسة للتبريزي ١: ٥٧٩-٥٨٢، وابن عبد ربه،
العقد الفريد ٣: ١٨٩. ٣ يبدو أن المقرئ نقل هذا الشرح من الجاحظ، الحيوان ١: ١٨٩-١٩٠، راجع
كذلك ابن عبد ربه، العقد الفريد ٦: ١٢٣.

So Sawādah b. ‘Amr:¹⁰⁰ pour it for me now!
 After avenging my uncle, my body is worn thin.

§ 2.3.26 Ta’abbaṭa Ṣarran’s mother also lamented him:¹⁰¹ [*al-ramal*]

My lost one! If only I knew what killed you!
 5 Was it a sudden snake bite? A deceptive ambush?
 A lion, a viper, or did a hero have you in his sights?
 When it’s your time, anything will bring you down.
 Death is marked on the brave’s journeys,
 If only I could present myself to him in your stead.

10 § 2.3.27 Ta’abbaṭa Ṣarran’s mother said: “I didn’t conceive him at the end of the luteal phase (another version has it ‘end-luteally’), I didn’t give birth to him in a breech, I never fed him pregnant milk, and I never put him to sleep choleric.” Al-Aṣmaī explained this: her words “I never put him to sleep choleric” means that she did not put him to sleep while he was crying. If a child
 15 is crying, the foolish mother sways him back and forth until he gets dizzy and sleeps while his angst still runs within him, whereas the clever mother sings to him and feeds him, and thereupon he sleeps happily and soundly. By the word “choleric” she meant angry. As for her statement: “I didn’t conceive him at the end of the luteal phase”, if a woman is impregnated just before
 20 her menstruation, the pregnancy is called ‘at the end of the luteal phase’ or ‘end-luteally’. Her statement: “in a breech” means that during birth the child’s feet emerged before his head.¹⁰² And “pregnant milk” refers to when a woman nurses her child while she is pregnant or conceiving a second child: that milk is harmful.

2 thin: *Hall* means having little flesh. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 4 killed: Note: *zallah* is a word meaning death. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand).

100 We could not find a pre-Islamic figure with this name in the sources available to us.

101 This poem is of uncertain ascription: al-Tabrīzī proposes either Ta’abbaṭa Ṣarran’s or al-Sulayk b. Sulakah’s mother (*Šarḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsah*, 1:579). Al-Šantamarī articulates a third option: “this is an old poem, its poet is unknown” (*Šarḥ al-Ḥamāsah*, 1:536). The ascriptions reveal how disparate material acquired outlaw associations which were somewhat interchangeable, even becoming generic over the centuries, permitting its attribution to any one or more outlaw figures.

102 Al-Ġāḥiz’s commentary on the words of Ta’abbaṭa Ṣarran’s mother specifies that a breech birth is a “bad sign” (*al-Ḥayawān*, 1:189).

2.4.1 § واسمه عمرو بن عامر (... ابن الحرث بن ربيعة بن الأوس بن الحجر بن الهنوب بن الأزد بن الغوث.

2.4.2 § قال ابن الأعرابي: هو من أغربة العرب وهو من الأزد. أسرته بنو شَبَابَةَ بن فهم بن عمرو ابن قيس. فكان فيهم حتى أسرت بنو سلامان من الأزد رجلاً من فهم ثم من بني شَبَابَةَ فقدته بنو شَبَابَةَ بالشنفرى. وكان الشنفرى في بني سلامان يحسب نفسه أحدهم. ثم وقع بين ابن الذي كان عنده وبين الشنفرى شرفته عنهم فأتى الذي اشتراه من فهم. فقال: "اصدقني ممن أنا؟" فأعلمه فقال: "لن أدعكم حتى أقتل منكم مائة بما اعتبذتموني." فقتل منهم تسعة وتسعين.

2.4.3 § ولزم دار فهم يُغَيِّرُ على الأزد فرصه أُسَيْدُ بن جابر السُّلَامَانِي وثلاثة إليه. فرأى الشنفرى السواد فرماه فأصاب أُسَيْدًا. ثم وثبوا عليه فأخذوه وقالوا: "أنشدنا!" فقال: "إنما النشيد على المسرة." فذهب مثلاً. وقالوا له: "أين نقبرك؟" فقال: [الطويل]

٢ (...): يياض في الأصل بمقدار ثلث سطر ولم تنف على تكلمته، ونسب الشنفرى في الأغاني (٢١: ١٨٥) ناقص كذلك. || الهنو: كذا في الأصل، وكذلك في ابن دريد، الاشتقاق ٤٨٧ وابن سيدة، المحكم والمحيط الأعظم ٤: ٤٢٦، وفي ديوان الشنفرى ١٥: "الهنء". ٦ سلامان: كذا ضبط الأصل، والصواب "سلامان" بالفتح كما في ابن دريد، الاشتقاق ٣٥. ٩ السُّلَامَانِي: كذا في الأصل، والصواب: "السُّلَامَانِي" بالفتح. || إليه: وضع المقرئ رمز "ك": كذا فوقها، وراجع الإصهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٨٦-١٨٧.

٥ سلامان: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "سلامان هو ابن منصور بن عكرمة بن خصفة". وهذا خطأ فعند جمهور النسابين سلامان هو ابن مفرج بن عمرو بن مالك بن زهران.

الشيبي، تمثال الأمثال ٣٣٦ نقلا عن الأغاني (راجع الإصهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٨٨، ورواية مختلفة في الأمثال لمؤرج السدوسي ٧٤).

§ 2.4 Al-Šanfará

§ 2.4.1 His name is ‘Amr b. ‘Āmir [...] ¹⁰³ b. al-Ḥārīt b. Rabī‘ah b. al-Aws b. al-Ḥaġr b. al-Hinw b. al-Azd b. al-Ġawt.

5 § 2.4.2 Ibn al-A‘rābī said that he was one of the Arab Ravens.¹⁰⁴ He was from the al-Azd, but the Šabābah b. Fahm b. ‘Amr b. Qays captured him, and he lived with them for a period. Then the Salāmān sub-group of the al-Azd captured a member of the Fahm’s Šabābah clan, and the Šabābah ransomed al-Šanfará in return for the captured man, and thereafter al-Šanfará lived with the Salāmān, believing that he was one of them. But one day a dispute
10 arose between al-Šanfará and the son of the man with whom he lived, and the Salāmān banished al-Šanfará. Al-Šanfará sought out the man who had ransomed him and asked: “Tell me the truth: what is my lineage?” The man explained it, and al-Šanfará responded: “Because you enslaved me, I won’t cease until I’ve killed one hundred of you!” He reached ninety-nine.

15 § 2.4.3 Al-Šanfará stayed in the land of the Fahm, raiding the al-Azd. One night Usayd b. Ġābir al-Salāmānī and three others lay in ambush for al-Šanfará. Al-Šanfará apprehended their silhouettes in the dark and shot an arrow, killing Usayd, but the other three jumped on him and captured him. “Sing us a poem!” they ordered. Al-Šanfará refused: “Singing must only be
20 done gladly.” This became proverbial. They then asked him: “Where do you want us to bury you?” He said: [*al-ṭawīl*]

6 Salāmān: Salāmān is Ibn Manšūr b. ‘Ikrimah b. Ḥašfah. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand).

103 No pre-modern sources agree on al-Šanfará’s precise lineage, though there is general agreement that he hailed from the al-Azd. Perhaps al-Maqrīzī left this blank in the line with the intention, never fulfilled, of finding a more detailed genealogy. An Azdī genealogy, al-‘Awtabī’s *al-Ansāb*, offers more specifics than most texts: it proposes al-Šanfará’s name as either Mālik b. Mālik or ‘Amr b. Mālik of the Banū Zimmān branch of the Salāmān Azdīs (2:663).

104 For a discussion of this term, see Study, Chapter 2.5.

لا تقبروني إن قبري مُحْرَمٌ
 إذا احتملوا رأسي وفي الرأس أَكْثَرِي
 عليك ولكن خَامِرِي أُمُّ عَامِرِ
 وَغُودِرَ عِنْدَ الْمَلْتَقَى ثُمَّ سَائِرِي
 هنالك لا أرجو حياةً تُسْرِنِي
 سَمِيرَ اللَّيَالِي مُبْسِلًا لِلْجَرَائِرِ

2.4.4 § وقيل سبت سلامان الشنفرى فقال له أسرُه: "لو لا أُنِي أخاف أن يقتلني بنو سلامان لزوجتك ابنتي". فقال: "إن قتلك قتل منهم مائة؛ فزوجه فقتله بنو سلامان فصنع الشنفرى النبل وجعل أفواقها من القرون لتعرف. فقتل منهم تسعة وتسعين. ثم رصده على ماء وقتلوه وصلبوه وبقي عاما مصلوبا وعليه من نذره رجل. فربه رجل وقد سقط فركض رأسه برجله فدخل فيها عظم فبغت عليه فمات.

٢ الملتقى: في الأصل: "الملتقى". ٣ أرجو: في الأصل: "أرجوا".

١ مُحْرَمٌ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "خ لا تقتلوني إن قتلي محرم" و"خ": نسخة أخرى. || خَامِرِي: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية فوق "خامري" من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "خ ابشري" و"خ": نسخة أخرى. وهي رواية أخرى للبيت، راجع ديوان الشنفرى ٤٨ ح ١. || خَامِرِي ... عامر: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "ح يقال للضيع خامري أم عامر أي اسكني وأهدئي". ٢ إذا احتملوا: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "خ إذا احتملت" و"خ": نسخة أخرى. وهي رواية أخرى للبيت، راجع ديوان الشنفرى ٤٨ ح ٢. ٣ تُسْرِنِي ... الليالي: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "خ تُسْرِنِي يَجِيسُ اللَّيَالِي يَعْنِي امْتِدَادَهَا" و"خ": نسخة أخرى. ٦ أفواقها: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "فوق السهم جمعه أفواق وقفا". والآخر تصحيف فالصحيح هو "فوق"، راجع ابن منظور، لسان العرب ١٠: ٣١٩.

ابن حبيب، المغتالين ٦: ٢٣١-٢٣٢؛ والإصفهاني، الأغاني ٢١: ١٨٧-١٨٨؛ وشرح الحماسة للتبريزي ١:

Don't bury me: my grave is forbidden to you!
 I'm only for the Hyena!¹⁰⁵
 When they carry off my head, that's the most of me gone,
 The rest lies displayed on the battlefield.
 5 There's no hope for life to please me now:
 Across the nights evermore, I'm hounded for my crimes.

§ 2.4.4 Alternatively, it was reported that the Salāmān captured al-Šanfará. His captor later told him: "If I wasn't afraid that the Salāmān would kill me, I would let you marry my daughter." Al-Šanfará responded: "If they kill you, I
 10 will kill one hundred of them!" The man married his daughter to al-Šanfará, and the Salāmān did kill him, so al-Šanfará made one hundred arrows, crafting the nock of each from horn, so that they would be recognised. He killed ninety-nine of the Salāmān, but then they ambushed him at a watering place. They killed him and crucified him, and his body hung there for a year,
 15 his vow of vengeance still one man short. But after al-Šanfará's body fell from the cross, a man walked by and knocked into the skull, the bone pierced him, his wound became infected, and he died.

1 Don't ... you: Another recension: "You shall not kill me, the killing of me is forbidden to you". (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 2 I'm only: Another recension writes the imperative *ibšīrī* (rejoice) instead of *hāmīrī* in this line. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). || I'm ... Hyena: Note: one says *hāmīrī Umm 'Āmir* to the hyena when seeking to calm or pacify it. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 3 carry off: Another recension renders 'carrying' with the verbal form *ih̄tamalat*. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 6 the ... evermore: Another recension writes *saġīṣ al-layālī*, i.e. 'the long nights'. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 12 the nock: The plural for the arrow's nock is *afwāq* or *qufā*. [Al-Maqrīzī should have written the latter term *fūq*] (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

105 This line is variously reported as *ibšīrī Umm 'Āmir* or *hāmīrī Umm 'Āmir*. The first option literally reads: 'Rejoice Umm 'Āmir', the second: "Lye low, Umm 'Āmir". "Umm 'Āmir" was a nickname for the hyena, but the initial verb permits two interpretations. The first option (*ibšīrī*) has al-Šanfará addressing the hyena, telling her to rejoice that she will soon have a hearty meal from his unburied body, a suitably stoic approach for an outlaw hero to face death! The second option, possible with both *ibšīrī* and *hāmīrī*, reads the whole sentence as synonymous with 'the hyena'; it is reported that hyena hunters would call out that phrase as they hunted, and so the hunters' refrain became itself a name for the hyena (see al-Tabrīzī, *Šarḥ al-Hamāsah*, 1:249; al-Bakrī, *Simt al-la'ālī*, 2:920). In that case, al-Šanfará is addressing his attackers, telling them that his body is not for them to bury, but it is for the hyena to eat. It is this latter interpretation we have translated here.

§ 2.4.5 وذُرِعَ خَطْوُ الشَّنْفَرَى لَيْلَةً أُخِذَ فُوجِدَ أَوَّلَ نَزْوَةٍ نَزَاهَا إِحْدَى وَعِشْرِينَ خَطْوَةً وَالثَّانِيَةَ سَبْعَ عَشْرَةَ.

§ 2.4.6 وللشنفري: [الطويل]

8^b

فَدَقَّتْ وَجَلَّتْ وَاسْبَكَّتْ وَأَكْمَلَتْ | فلو جُنَّ إنسان من الجن جُنَّتِ ١ |

٥ § 2.4.7 وقال: [الطويل]

وَأُمُّ عِيَالٍ قَدْ شَهِدَتْ تَقْوَتَهُمْ | إِذَا أَحْتَرَّتْهُمُ أَوْ تَحَّتْ وَأَقَلَّتْ
تَخَافُ عَلَيْنَا الْهَزْلَ إِنْ هِيَ أَكْثَرَتْ | وَنَحْنُ هُزَالَى أَيَّ آلٍ تَأَلَّتِ ٢

١٠ أم عيال: أراد تأبط. أي آل: يعني أي سياسة على التعجب ووزن آل فعل أراد تأولت فقلب وهو من آل يؤؤل إذا ساس. وحترت القوم قوت عليهم طعامهم والحتر الشيء القليل وأحترت العقدة أحكمتها والحتر حدة النظر والحتر الأكل الشديد.

٤ جُنَّتْ: زيادة بخط المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح من الجملة على آخر السطر. ٦ أو تحَّت: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء.

٤ فدقت: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأسفل من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "يعني دق خصرها". || وجلت: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأسفل من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "وجلت عجبتها". || جُنَّتْ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأسفل من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "حديرد لو أعجب إنسان بحسنه حتى يصير كالمجنون لكانت كذلك وقيل لو ستر إنسان من الجن سترت".

ابن قتيبة، غريب الحديث ٢: ٦١٢. ٢ الأنباري، شرح ديوان المفضليات ١: ٢٦١-٢٧٦، والإصهاني، الأغاني ٣١: ١٩٣.

§ 2.4.5 On the night al-Šanfará was captured, his gait was measured. The first of his steps was found to be twenty-one paces long; the second was seventeen.

§ 2.4.6 Among al-Šanfará's poetry is the line: [*al-ṭawīl*]

5 She's thin in the right places, full in the right, a perfect height,
If anyone's beauty could be supernatural, it's hers!

§ 2.4.7 He also sang: [*al-ṭawīl*]

Boss! I see you feeding the gang:
Small apportioning, meagre provision!
10 You fear we'll become needy if you're generous,¹⁰⁶
But we're hungry, what sort of plan is this!

By "Boss", he meant Ta'abbaṭa Šarran.¹⁰⁷ And by the words "what sort of plan", he expresses incredulity at the leader's guidance. The noun *āl* ('plan') is formed on the *fa'āl* pattern, the verb would be written *ta'awwalat*, but
15 it is metathesized. The root verb is *āla* (present tense *ya'ūl*), which means 'to lead/manage'. The verb *ḥatara*, 'apportioning', here means rationing a group's food. The related noun, *ḥitr*, means 'meagre'. A verb from the same root, *aḥtara*, means to tie a knot well. Another related noun, *ḥatr*, means sharp vision, or eating with gusto.

5 She's ... places: He means her waist is thin. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). || full ... right: He means her posterior is ample. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 6 If ... hers: Note: he means that if it were possible for one to go mad in admiration of his beauty, then this would be the case here. It is also narrated: "If a person could be concealed from the Ğinn, she would be". (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

106 The lines seem to mean that the leader gives short rations because he fears the raiding party will be travelling for some time, and that if he provides too much at the outset, their supplies will be exhausted before they return home.

107 Literally, he addresses Ta'abbaṭa Šarran as 'mother of the children', because he is the leader of the gang. See al-Anbārī, *Šarḥ al-Mufaḍḍalīyyāt*, 1:272.

§ 2.4.8 وقال المرزباني: الشنفرى بن مالك الأزدي السروي كان هو وتأبط شرا وعمرو بن براءة الهمداني يغزون في الجاهلية على أرجلهم فيختلسون ويعدون فلا يلحقون.

§ 2.4.9 وله يخاطب زوجته: [الوافر]

إذا ما جئت ما أنهاك عنه فلم أنكر عليك فطلقيني
وأنت البعل يومئذ فقومي بسوطك لا أبالك فاجديني

§ 2.4.8 Al-Marzubānī¹⁰⁸ reported that in pre-Islamic times, al-Šanfará b. Mālik al-Azdī l-Sarawī used to raid on foot with Ta'abbata Šarran and 'Amr b. Barrāqah al-Hamdānī. They would steal, run off, and no one could catch them.

5 § 2.4.9 Al-Šanfará once addressed his wife: [*al-wāfir*]

If you do what I forbade you,
 I don't blame you. Divorce me!
 You're the husband then,
 Get your whip and lash me, you bastard!¹⁰⁹

108 Abū 'Ubayd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Imrān al-Marzubānī (d. 384/994), a scholar and belles-lettrist, originally from Eastern Iran and settled in Baghdad; he authored several comprehensive surveys of Arabic poets and poetry from pre-Islam to his own day (see R. Sellheim, "al-Marzubānī," in *EI*²).

109 A longer version of the poem is recorded in Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn al-aḥbār* with more context (4:79–80). In a preceding verse, al-Šanfará explains that he lives for constant raiding, so he will not always be present to defend his wife, as a husband was expected. He thus invites her to take matters into her own hands, including to take the role of the husband.

§ 2.5 السُّلَيْكُ بن السُّلَيْكَةِ السَّعْدِي

9^a

§ 2.5.1 والسُّلَيْكَةُ أُمُهُ وَأَبُوهُ عَمْرُو وَقِيلَ عَمِيرُ بْنُ يَثْرِيَّ بْنِ سِنَانِ بْنِ عُمَيْرِ بْنِ الْحُرْثِ وَهُوَ مُفَاعِسٌ مِنْ بَنِي سَعْدِ بْنِ زَيْدِ مَنَاةَ بْنِ تَمِيمٍ وَأُمُّهُ سَبِيَّةٌ سُودَاءٌ مِنْ إِمَاءِ بَنِي الْحُرْثِ بْنِ كَعْبٍ. وَهُوَ سُلَيْكُ الْمَقَانِبِ وَهُوَ أَحَدُ الرَّجُلَيْنِ الَّذِينَ يَعُدُّونَ فَلَا يَلْحَقُونَ وَلَا تَتَعَلَقُ بِهِمُ الْخَيْلُ. ٢. وَهُوَ شَجَاعٌ مَشْهُورٌ جَاهِلِيٌّ وَهُوَ الْقَاتِلُ يَفْخَرُ بِالْفَعَالِ لَا بِالْجَمَالِ: [الوافر]

أَلَا أَعْتَبْتَ عَلِيَّ فَصَارَ مَتْنِي وَأَعْجَبَهَا ذُوو اللَّهْمِ الطِّوَالُ
فَإِنِّي يَا بِنَةَ الْقَوْمِ أَزْيِي عَلَى فَعْلِ الْوَضْيِّ مِنَ الرِّجَالِ
فَلَا تَصِلِي بَصْعَلُوكَ نَوْوُمٌ إِذَا أَمْسَى يُعَدُّ مِنَ الْعِيَالِ
وَلَكِنْ كُلُّ صُعْلُوكِ ضَرْوِبٍ بِنَصْلِ السِّيفِ هَامَاتِ الرِّجَالِ
أَشَابَ الرَّأْسَ أَنِي كُلِّ يَوْمٍ أَرَى لِي خَالَةً وَسَطَ الرِّجَالِ
يَعِزُّ عَلِيٌّ أَنْ يَلْقَى ضَيْمًا وَيَعْجِزُ عَنْ تَخْلُصِهِنَّ مَالِي ٣

١٠

٢ وأبوه: "بوه" زيادة بخط المقرئ فوق "وأ" في الهامش الأعلى. || مُفَاعِسٌ: كذا في الأصل، والصواب: "مُفَاعِسٌ"، راجع أنساب الأشراف ٧: ١٥١. ٤ الرَّجُلَيْنِ: كذا ضبط الأصل، وللمناقشة حول المصطلح راجع المقدمة. || ولا ... الخيل: زيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل ويشير إليها رمز ٢ بعد "يلحقون". ٦ ذوو: في الأصل: "ذووا". ٧ علي: في الأصل: "علي". ٨-١١ فلا ... مالي: زيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر. ١٠ أرى: في الأصل: "أرا".

١ السُّلَيْكُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأعلى من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "ح السُّلَيْكُ الذَّكَرُ مِنْ فِرَاحِ الْجَمَلِ وَالْأُنْثَى سُلَيْكَةٌ وَالْوَحْدَةُ أَيْضًا سُلَيْكَةٌ". ٦ اللهم الطوال: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "ح اللهم الطوال يعني الجُمُ".

ابن الكلبي، جمهرة النسب ١: ٣٤٦؛ والبلاذري، أنساب الأشراف ١: ٧٠: ١٥١. ٢ الإصمغاني، الأغاني ٣٨٩: ٢٠. ٣ المبرد، الكامل ٢: ٦٤٣-٦٤٤؛ وديوان السليك ٩٧.

§ 2.5 *Al-Sulayk* b. al-Sulakah al-Sa‘dī¹¹⁰

§ 2.5.1 *Al-Sulakah* was the name of his mother; his father was ‘Amr (alternately reported as ‘Umayr) b. Yatribī b. Sinān b. ‘Umayr b. al-Ḥārīt, who is Muqā‘is of the Sa‘d b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm. *Al-Sulayk*’s mother was a negro
 5 captive, taken from the slave girls of al-Ḥārīt b. Ka‘b. *Al-Sulayk* was nicknamed ‘Sulayk the Squadron.’¹¹¹ He was one of the Arab Foot Raiders who could outrun horses. He was a renowned pre-Islamic warrior brave, and amongst his poems is a boast of the merit of good deeds over good looks:
 [*al-wāfir*]

10 Oh, she blames me and shuns me!
 She fancies the curly-haired playboys.
 But, my lady, I exceed all
 With virtuous deeds.
 Don’t give your favour to a slothful destitute
 15 Whose evening ventures are for handouts.
 All the real desperados are slashers:
 The points of their swords on men’s heads.
 It makes my hair go grey to see
 Every day aunties tossed amongst men,
 20 It pains me when they are mistreated,
 And my funds are too little to help them.¹¹²

1 *Al-Sulayk*: Note: a *sulayk* is the male partridge chick, the female is a *sulaykah* or a *salkānah*. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 11 the ... playboys: Note: by *al-limam al-tiwāl* he means those with luxuriant hair. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand).

110 This thief’s name is written *al-Sulayk* and *Sulayk* interchangeably in pre-modern sources, and, as is the case in this manuscript, both versions can appear in the same text (see Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muġtālūn*, 6:220, 7:304). We will report him always as *al-Sulayk* for consistency.

111 The nickname refers to either (a) his reputation as a horseback raider (his steed, *al-Naḥḥām*, is discussed below, §§ 2.5.7–8), or (b) that he was fleet enough on his feet to equal a squadron of cavalry.

112 Because *al-Sulayk* was memorialised as the son of a black slave woman, *al-Mubarrad* interprets this poem to mean *al-Sulayk* was pained because his ‘aunties’ were all slaves too (*al-Kāmil*, 2:644); the poem does not make this sense express, but if *al-Sulayk* was indeed the son of a slave-woman, the interpretation is reasoned.

§ 2.5.2 وكان في الشتاء يملاً ببيض النعام ماء ويدفنه. فإذا كان الصيف وانقطعت غارة الخليل أغار. وكان أدل من قطة فيستثير البيض^١.

§ 2.5.3 وكان لا يغير على مُضْرٍ إنما يغير على اليمن وإذا لم يتيسر أغار على ربيعة^٢.

§ 2.5.4 وكان يقول: "اللهم إني أعوذ بك من الخيبة. فأما الهيبة فلا هيبة"^٣.

§ 2.5.5 وخرج مُغيراً فنام فجثم عليه رجل وقال له: "استأسر!" فضمه السُّليكَ ضمة شرط منها فقال: "أضرباً وأنت الأعلى؟" فذهب مثلاً. وقال له: "من أنت؟" فقال: "أنا فقير خرجت لأصيب شيئاً." قال: "انطلق معي!" ثم وجدوا ثالثاً على مثال حالهما وأتوا جَوْفَ مُرَادٍ فأرأوا إبلاً وخشوا الطلب. فقال السُّليكَ: "كونوا قريباً حتى آتي الرعاء." فأتاهم فخذتهم وسألهم عن الحجي فإذا هم بعيد. فقال: "ألا أغنيكم؟" قالوا: "بلى." فغنى: [البسيط]

٧ وجدوا: كذا في الأصل. ٩ بلى: في الأصل: "بلى".

١ البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف ١: ٧٠١؛ والإصفيهاني، الأغاني ٢٠: ٣٩٠؛ والراغب الإصفيهاني، محاضرات الأدباء ٣: ١٤١. ٢ البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف ١: ٧٠١؛ والإصفيهاني، الأغاني ٢٠: ٣٩٠. ٣ الأمثال للضيبي ٦١-٦٢؛ وابن قتيبة، الشعر والشعراء ١: ٣٥٣؛ والميداني، مجمع الأمثال ٢: ٢٩٠. ٤ الميداني، مجمع الأمثال ٢: ٢٢٠. وراجع البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف ٧٠١: ١٥٤؛ والضيبي، الأمثال ٢٦؛ والميداني، مجمع الأمثال ١: ٤٧؛ وابن سلام، الأمثال ٢٣٤.

§ 2.5.2 In the winter al-Sulayk used to fill ostrich eggs with water and bury them. Then in the summer, when horseback raiding was no longer possible, he could still raid, since he was keener than a sandgrouse in finding those eggs.¹¹³

- 5 § 2.5.3 al-Sulayk would never plunder Muḍar, his raids were only against Yemen, and if he couldn't reach a Yemeni camp, he would attack Rabī'ah.¹¹⁴

§ 2.5.4 He used to say: "Good God, I seek refuge in You from failure. But fear? I have none!"

- § 2.5.5 Once al-Sulayk set out raiding, but when he took a nap, a man
10 pounced on him and yelled: "Surrender!" Al-Sulayk grappled with him, grab-
bing him so tightly that the man farted. Al-Sulayk said: "You fart when you're
on top?" And this became proverbial. Al-Sulayk then asked him: "Who are
you?" "A poor man who set out to find something." Al-Sulayk invited him:
"Come along with me!", and later they found a third man in a situation sim-
15 ilar to theirs. When they reached Ġawf Murād¹¹⁵ they saw some camels, but
they were wary of being pursued,¹¹⁶ so al-Sulayk told his companions: "Stay
nearby, and I'll approach the herders." He went to them, spoke with them,
and when he asked about the rest of their tribe, he was told that they were
far off. So, he asked the herders: "Shall I sing for you?" "Please do!" And al-
20 Sulayk sang: [*al-basīt*]

113 I.e. in the summer, the lack of water made it impossible for horses to cross parts of the desert, but al-Sulayk himself had no difficulty thanks to the water supplies he buried during the winter. The sandgrouse (*qaṭā*) was proverbial for having a keen sense of direction (see al-Ġāhiz, *al-Ḥayawān*, 3:303–304).

114 Muḍar, Rabī'ah and Yemen were three of the major super-tribal groups in Umayyad-era Iraq. Muḍar and Rabī'ah were technically 'Northern Arabs', but groups of the Rabī'ah sometimes allied with Yemen, the 'Southern Arabs'. These tribal divisions were perhaps not so operative in pre-Islamic Arabia, and the anecdote may back-project later Umayyad and early Abbasid-era politicking onto the pre-Islamic al-Sulayk. For issues of the constructed nature of super-tribal genealogies, see Crone (1994); Szombathy (2002); Webb (2016): 194–222.

115 A region in the Diyār 'Ād (on the fringes of the Empty Quarter between Oman, Saudi Arabia and Yemen) reportedly infested with jinn: al-Bakrī reports that few dared to venture there (*Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, 2:405).

116 I.e. after stealing the camels, they feared the rightful owners would give chase.

يا صاحبي ألا لا حي بالواد
إلا عبيد وآم بين أذواد
أنتظران قريبا ريث غفلتهم
أم تعدوان فإن الريح للعاد

فسمعاها وأتياه فذهبوا بالإبل.^١

2.5.6 § وخرج مرة يغير فرأى بيتَ رُوَيْمٍ جدَ حَوْشَبِ بنِ يزيدِ بنِ رُوَيْمِ فراح ابنه بالإبل. فقال: "هلا كنت عشيبتها؟" فقال: "أبت العشاء." فقال: "العاشية تُهَيِّجُ الآبِيَةَ"^٢ فذهبت مثلا. وخرج الشيخ بها يُعْشِيها فَاغْتَرَّه سُلَيْكُ فقتله وذهب بالإبل.^٣

2.5.7 § وقال السُّلَيْكُ يرثي فرسه النَّحَامَ: [الوافر]

g^b

كأن قوائم النحام لما
تحمل صحتي أصلاً محاراً |
على قرمء عالية شواهُ
كأن بياض عُزَّتِهِ نَحْمَارُ
وما يدريك ما فقري إليه
إذا ما القوم ولَّوا أو أغاروا

١٠

٤ فرأى: في الأصل: "فراي". ٧ النَّحَامُ: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٨ النحام: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. || محار: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٩ قرمء: كذا في الأصل بسكون الراء، والصواب هو الفتح كما في البكري، معجم ما استعجم ٢: ٤٩١ وياقوت، معجم البلدان ٤: ٣٢٩.

٢ الريح للعاد: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "ح الريح النصر". ٩ قرمء: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأعلى من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "ح قرمء موضع". || شواهُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأعلى من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "ح شواهُ قوائمه".

١١ ابن قتيبة، الشعر والشعراء ١: ٣٥٣-٣٥٤؛ والإصهاني، الأغاني ٢٠: ٣٩٠-٣٩١. ٢ الميداني، مجمع الأمثال ٢: ٢٧٢-٢٧٤؛ وابن سلام، الأمثال ٣٩٤. ٣ البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف ١: ٧٠١: ١٥٤، والإصهاني، الأغاني ٢٠: ٣٩٢-٣٩٣. ٤ ابن الكلبي، أنساب الخليل ٦٢.

Oh my two companions! There's no tribe in the valley,
 Nothing but slaves and slave girls with a small herd.
 Will you just stand, gazing on their heedlessness,
 Or will you pounce? Victory is for the pouncer!

5 His two companions heard the verses and attacked, making off with the camels.

§ 2.5.6 On another occasion, al-Sulayk was raiding and saw the camp of Ruwaym, the grandfather of Ḥawšab b. Yazīd b. Ruwaym. It was evening, and Ruwaym's son was herding in camels. Al-Sulayk asked the boy: "Don't
 10 you want to take them out at night?" The boy replied: "They refuse to eat at night." Al-Sulayk said: "Night feeding incites the unwilling." This became proverbial.¹¹⁷ The old man went out at night with the camels, and al-Sulayk attacked him unawares, killing him and taking the camels.

§ 2.5.7 Al-Sulayk composed the following elegy for his horse, al-Naḥḥām: [*al-*
 15 *wāfir*]

When carrying me through the night,
 His hooves were like mother of pearl.
 High stepping at Qaramā'¹¹⁸
 His face's white blaze like a veil.
 20 You cannot know how much I needed him,
 When my people were fleeing, or when raiding.

4 Victory: Note: he uses the word *riḥ* for 'victory'. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).
 18 stepping: Note: the word *šawá* means the horse's feet. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). || Qaramā': Note: Qaramā' is a place. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

117 The proverb is used to describe how showing food to someone reluctant to eat will incite his appetite.

118 An obscure toponym mentioned in several pre-Islamic poems: al-Bakrī only identifies it as being in the al-Yamāmah region of Eastern Arabia (*Muḥjam mā istaḥjam*, 2:491), Yāqūt is more specific, placing it near Qarqarā, in al-Yamāmah, on the route to southern Iraq (*Muḥjam al-buldān*, 4:329).

وَيُحْضِرُ فَوْقَ جُهْدِ الْحُضْرِ نَصًّا يَصِيدُكَ قَافِلًا وَالْمَخَ رَاؤًا

§ 2.5.8 ولسليك: [الرمل]

قَرِبَ النِّحَامِ مَنِيَّ يَا غَلَامُ واطرَحَ السَّرَجَ عَلَيْهِ وَالْجَامُ^٢
أَبْلَغَ الْفَتِيَانِ أَنِّي خَائِضٌ غَمْرَةَ الْمَوْتِ فَمَنْ شَاءَ أَقَامُ^٣

٥ § 2.5.9 وأتى السليك عكاظ فقال: "من يصف لي منازل قومه وأصف له منازل قومي؟" فلقبه قيس بن مكشوح المرادي فوصف له منازل قومه. ثم خرج السليك في الصيف غازيا إليه فلقبه واقتتلوا وأسر السليك قيساً وقتل وغنم وانصرف سالماً.^٤

١٠ § 2.5.10 وخرجت بكر لتغير على تميم فقالوا: "إن علم بنا السليك أنذرهم." فبعثوا فارسين على جوادين فطاردها صحابة يومها وقالوا: "إذا كان الليل فتر." فأصبحا فوجدا أثره وقد عثر بأصل شجرة فنزا عنها وانحطمت قوسه وارتزت قصدة منها في الأرض. فقالوا: "لعل هذا كان أول الليل

١ ويحضر: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٩ صحابة: كذا في الأصل، وفي الإصهاني، الأغاني ٣٩٦:٢٠ "صحابة". ١٠ فنزا عنها: كذا في الأصل، وفي البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف ١٥٢:٧٠٢: "فنزا مقدار عشر خطي"، وفي الإصهاني، الأغاني ٣٩٦:٢٠: "فترعها".

١ يصيدك: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر مبتدئا من اليمين إلى اليسار ثم من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "ح يصيدك أي يصيد لك." || والمخ راء: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "ح يقال مخ راء وري وري".

المبرد، الكامل ٩٧٠:٢. ٢ ابن الكلبي، أنساب الخليل ٦٢. ٣ ابن الأعرابي، أسماء خيل العرب وفرسانها ١٠٢. ٤ الإصهاني، الأغاني ٣٩٣:٢٠.

His gallop outpacing the fastest limits,
He hunts for you, returning with his marrow melting.¹¹⁹

§ 2.5.8 He also composed: [*al-ramal*]

Boy! Bring al-Nahḥām!
5 Throw on his saddle and bridle.
 And tell the braves I'm about
 To plunge at death! Who's coming with me?

§ 2.5.9 Al-Sulayk once attended the 'Ukāz Fair and said: "Who here will describe to me his people's land, if I describe mine to him in return?" Qays
10 b. Makšūḥ al-Murādi presented himself and described his people's lands. In the summer, al-Sulayk raided them. They confronted each other and fought: al-Sulayk captured Qays, killed and plundered, and then escaped.

§ 2.5.10 Once when the Bakr planned a raid against the Tamīm, they said to each other: "If al-Sulayk finds out, he'll warn the Tamīm."¹²⁰ So, they dispatched two horsemen on fine stallions, [but when they disturbed al-Sulayk, he rose and sprinted like a gazelle].¹²¹ They chased him across the whole day, and thought to themselves: "By nightfall he'll be tired [and he'll have collapsed, or he'll have slackened his pace: we'll catch him!]" In the morning, they saw his tracks: he had run into the root of a tree, and the force of
15 impact tore it from the earth, while his bow had broken, and its shattered pieces were stuck in the ground. They exclaimed: ["What is this!" God humiliate him! How strong he is!" And they considered fleeing, but they thought
20 to themselves:] "Perhaps he did this at the beginning of the night, and after-

2 He ... you: Note: the words *yašīduka* (lit. he hunts you) means here *yašīdu laka* (he hunts for you). (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). || marrow melting: The word *rār* for 'melting marrow' can also be pronounced *rīr* and *rayr*. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

119 The expression "marrow melting" is used as a metaphor for emaciation; here meaning that the horse can bear riding so hard that its marrow begins to melt. For other uses of this metaphor, see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, 4:313–314.

120 The Tamīm were al-Sulayk's kin. They were one of the most important lineages of the 'Northern Arabs' and they inhabited much of northeast and central Arabia at the dawn of Islam.

121 Al-Maqrīzī's version of the story omits narrative details which make it difficult to follow. Where absolutely necessary for the meaning, we have added expansions between square brackets extracted from the fuller version of the story in al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-ašraf*¹, 7.1:151–152 and al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aġānī*, 20:395–396.

ثم قتر^١ ثم وجد أثره قد بال نغد الأرض. فقالوا: "والله لا تتبعه!" فانصرفا. وتم إلى قومه فأنذرهم فكذبوه لبعد الغاية. فقال: [الطويل]

يكدبني العمران عمرو بن جندب
 وكاديس يهديها إلى الحي موكب
 فوارس همام متى يدع يركبوا

فجاء الجيش وأغار عليهم^٢.

§ 2.5.11 وأغار السليك على بني عوارة من بني مالك بن ضبيعة فورد الماء وثقل واتبعوه. فلما علم أنه مأخوذ ولج على فكيهة امرأة منهم واستجار بها فنتعته واخترطت السيف حتى خلصته ونجا. فقال فيها: [الوافر]

٣ وعمرو... عمرو: في الأصل كتب المقرزي "عمرو بن سعد" ثم أضاف كلمة "عمرو" فوق "سعد" وشطب "سعد"، وفي الاسم اختلاف: في البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف^١ ٧:١٠٥٢؛ والإصفهاني، الأغاني ٢٠: ٣٩٦: "عمرو بن سعد"، وفي المبرد، الكامل ٢: ٧٣٩: "عمرو بن كعب"، وفي هامش نسخة من الكامل: "عمرو بن عمرو" (٢: ٧٣٩ ح ٤). ٥ كراديس: ضبط المقرزي "كراديس" بكل من الفتح على النصب والضم على الرفع. ٧ عوارة: كذا في الأصل، والصواب "عوار" كما في الإصفهاني، الأغاني ٢٠: ٣٩٧؛ والبلاذري، أنساب الأشراف^١ ٧:١٠٥٣؛ هي عوار بنت ذهل بن شيبان أم بني مالك بن ضبيعة (راجع أنساب الأشراف^٢ ١٤٢: ٢٣٤).

٥ وقومته: أضاف المقرزي هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر ويشير إليها رمز ٦ بعد "الجوفزان": "خ وحوله" و"خ": نسخة أخرى، وهكذا رواية أنساب الأشراف^١ ٧:١٠٥٢.

١ سرد هذا الخبر مضطرب في الأصل، راجع ابن قتيبة، الشعر والشعراء ١: ٣٥٤-٣٥٥؛ والبلاذري، أنساب الأشراف^١ ٧:١٠٥١-١٠٥٢؛ والمبرد، الكامل ٢: ٧٣٨-٧٣٩؛ والإصفهاني، الأغاني ٢٠: ٣٩٦. ١٢ ابن قتيبة، الشعر والشعراء ١: ٣٥٤-٣٥٥؛ والبلاذري، أنساب الأشراف^١ ٧:١٠٥١-١٠٥٢؛ والمبرد، الكامل ٢: ٧٣٨-٧٣٩؛ والإصفهاني، الأغاني ٢٠: ٣٩٧-٣٩٥.

wards he tired.” [They continued following him,] and they found his tracks where he had peed: his pee made a gulley in the ground. [They exclaimed: “What is this! God combat him! How stout he is!] By God, we shan’t follow him any longer!”, and they gave up the chase. Al-Sulayk continued until he
 5 reached his people and warned them of the impending attack, but none believed him since the distances were so far. He then composed the following: [*al-ṭawīl*]

The two ‘Amrs disbelieve me: ‘Amr b. Ğundab
 And ‘Amr b. Sa’d: but the disbeliever is less believable.
 10 May your mothers be bereft of you if I didn’t behold
 Troops of horses, marching in formation to the camp.
 The squadrons of al-Ĝawfazān and his men,
 Hammām’s horsemen: when he calls, they come riding.

The Bakr’s army did arrive, and they plundered al-Sulayk’s Tamīm.

15 § 2.5.11 Once al-Sulayk raided the ‘Uwārah clan of the Mālik b. Ḍubay‘ah¹²². Al-Sulayk repaired to a well for water, but he drank so much that he bloated himself, and they were chasing him. When he realised that he would be caught, he entered the dwelling of Fukayhah, one of the ‘Uwārah’s women, and asked her for refuge. She defended him, brandishing a sword, and when
 20 she enabled him to escape, he fled, and afterwards composed the following: [*al-wāfir*]

12 The ... men: Another recension reads: “The squadrons of al-Ĝawfazān surround him”. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand).

122 Al-Maqrīzī rendered the tribe’s name as ‘Uwārah, though the source for this story, al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aġānī*, 20:397 has ‘Uwār, which is also the name’s form reported in philological texts, e.g. Ibn Durayd, *al-Iṣṭiqāq* 357; al-Zabīdī, *Tāġ al-‘arūs*, 7:279. The tribe takes its name from its maternal ancestor, ‘Uwār bt. Ḍuhl b. Šaybān; since ‘Uwārah does not appear to be attested as a girl’s name, ‘Uwār seems to be the correct form. In genealogical writing, al-Kalbī’s *Nasab Ma‘add wa-l-Yaman*, 1:60, does have ‘Uwārah, though this is unique: the manuscript recensions of Ibn al-Kalbī’s *Jamharat al-nasab* have ‘Uwār (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab* 533; al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-ašraf*², 14:234). Since al-Maqrīzī was copying from al-Aġānī, it is difficult to say if he made a mistake or if his copy of *al-Aġānī* had ‘Uwārah: the manuscripts of *al-Aġānī* are scarcely studied to date, while the abridgements of *al-Aġānī* add even more options: Ibn Manẓūr’s *Muḥṭār al-Aġānī* (4:280-281) has both ‘Uwwārah and ‘Uwār, and Ibn Wāṣil al-Ḥamawī’s *Taġrīd al-Aġānī* (2.2:2151) has ‘Uwārā.

لعمرو أيبك والأنباء تَمِي
من الخفِرات لم تُفَضِّح أباها
كأن مجامع الأردن منها
يعافِ وصال ذاتِ البذلِ قلبي
وما عجزت فُكَيْهَةٌ يومَ قامت
لنعم الحِي أخت بني عَوَارَا
ولم ترفع لإخوتها سَنَارَا
نَقَا درجت عليه الرِجُّ هَارَا
ويتبع الممنعة النَّوَارَا |
بَنَصَل السيف فاستلبوا الخِمارَا

وقال ابن دريد: يقال أوفى من فكيهة بنت قتادة.^١

2.5.12 § وأخذ السُّليكَ رجلا من كنانة بن تيم من تغلب وأطلقه ثم قدم على بني كنانة وهو شيخ كبير وهم على قبَابِ ماء لهم خلف البشر. فجمعوا له إبلا وقالوا له: "أرنا ما بقي من إحضارك؟" فقال: "ابغوني أربعين شابا {ودرعا} ثقيلة." فلبس {الدرع} وقال للفتيان: "ألحقوا بي إن شئتم!" فلم يلحقوه وغاب عنهم وأتى القوم {والدرع} تضطرب كأنها خرقة.^٢

١ لعمرو: كذا في الأصل، والصواب "لعمر" كما في أنساب الأشراف ٧.١: ١٥٣؛ والإصحفاني، الأغاني ٣٩٧: ٢٠؛ والميداني، مجمع الأمثال ٣: ٣٨٨؛ وابن منظور، مختار الأغاني ٤: ٢٨١. || الحِي: كذا في الأصل، والصواب "الجار" كما في كل المصادر الأخرى. ٣ الأردن: كذا في الأصل، والصواب "أرداف" كما في كل المصادر الأخرى. || نَقَا: في الأصل: "نقي". ٤ النَّوَارَا: يبدو أن المقرئ شطب حرف الألف بعد الواو في النوارا، على أن الصواب إثبات الألف، راجع الإصحفاني، الأغاني ٣٠: ٣٩٧. ٧ على: في الأصل: "علي". ٨ البشُر: وضع المقرئ رمز "ك" كذا فوقها، والباء غير معجمة في الأصل، وفي الإصحفاني، الأغاني ٣٠: ٣٩٨. "البشُر". ٩ ودرعا: في الأصل: "وذرعا". || الدرع: في الأصل: "الذرع". ١٠ وأتى: في الأصل: "أتى". || والدرع: في الأصل: "والذرع".

البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف ٧.١: ١٥٢-١٥٣؛ والإصحفاني، الأغاني ٣٠: ٣٩٧؛ والميداني، مجمع الأمثال ٣: ٣٨٠. ١٢ ابن قتيبة، الشعر والشعراء ١: ٣٥٣؛ والإصحفاني، الأغاني ٣٠: ٣٩٨.

Bet on your father's life, the news will spread
 Of how good a protector is the 'Uwārah sister,
 One of the modest girls, she doesn't disgrace her father,
 And never causes scandal for her brothers.
 5 The curves of her ample rear
 Are like a sand dune, blown by the wind.
 My heart loathes linking with one of ready affection:
 My heart will follow only the chaste, the pure.
 Fukayhah did not fall short that day:
 10 She stood with a sword when they snatched the veil.¹²³

Ibn Durayd said her name became proverbial for faithfulness: one can say: "Trustier than Fukayhah bt. Qatādah".

§ 2.5.12 Once al-Sulayk captured a man from the Kinānah b. Taym clan of the
 Taglib.¹²⁴ Al-Sulayk released him, and when al-Sulayk was an old man he vis-
 15 ited the Kinānah when they were camping at Qubāqib, one of their wells on
 the other side of al-Biṣr.¹²⁵ They gathered a herd of camels for al-Sulayk¹²⁶
 and said: "Show us what remains of your racing speed!" He said: "I'll need
 forty braves and a heavy set of armour." He donned the armour and said to
 the youths: "Catch me if you can!" None of them could: he ran out of sight
 20 and came back to the tribe with the armour plates flapping about him as if
 they were rags.

123 The veil snatching reference is explained in fuller accounts of the story (e.g. *al-Aġānī*, 20:397–398): according to these versions, al-Sulayk hid under the robes of Fukayhah, and when his pursuers entered upon her, she refused to disclose al-Sulayk. They then ripped off her veil to see what was underneath, and thus partially disrobed, she is said to have brandished a sword and called her brothers to protect her. This spared al-Sulayk, and in the commotion he made good his escape.

124 An important lineage group of the Rabī'ah occupying the Euphrates frontier region in pre-Islamic times (see M. Lecker, "Taghlib b. Wā'il," in *EI*²).

125 Qubāqib was the name of a watering place in the land of the Taglib near the upper reaches of the Euphrates in northern Syria. Al-Biṣr refers to a mountainous area extending from the upper Euphrates into the Syrian Desert (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 4:303, 1:426).

126 Expanded versions of this story explain that the Taglib offered the camels to al-Sulayk as a present for his sparing the life of and for freeing the Taglibī captive, who is identified as al-Nu'mān b. 'Uqfān or 'Uqbān/'Uqyān (see the variants of his name in al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aġānī*, 20:398; al-Ḥamawī, *Taghrīd al-Aġānī*, 2.2:2152; Ibn Manẓūr, *Muhtār al-Aġānī*, 4:281), the father of two men who became leaders of the Taglib.

§2.5.13 وكان السليك يعطي عبد الملك بن مويك انخثعمي إتاوة من غنائه فجاوز بلاد خثعم ويغير. فمر قافلا ببیت من خثعم فيه امرأة شابة وتسمها. فأخبرت بذلك فاتبعه أنس بن مدرك فقتله. فقال ابن مويك: "لأقتلن قاتله أو ليدينه!" فقال أنس: "والله لا أديه!" وقال: [البسيط]

إني وقتلي سليكا ثم أعقله كالثور يُضرب لما عافت البقرُ
غضبت للهراء إذ نيكّت حليته وإذا يُشد على وجعائها الثفرا

قال أبو عبيدة: قوله كالثور يُضرب لما عافت البقر ثور الماء ثورانه. وقال غيره: يُضرب الثور بعينه فيقتحم في الماء فتقتحم البقر وراءه. وقال الحريري: الثور بأعلى وجه الماء من عزمض. فإذا عافت

٣ وقال: زيادة بخط المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح من الجملة على آخر السطر. ٥:26٠-٦ قال ... ليضربا: زيادة بخط المقرئ على طيارة ملصقة بين الصفحتين ١٠٩-١٠٠ من الأصل.

١١ ابن قتيبة، الشعر والشعراء ١: ٣٥٦، والبلاذري، أنساب الأشراف ٧: ١٥٣-١٥٤؛ والإصحاني، الأغاني ٢٠: ٣٩٩-٤٠١. وراجع ابن حبيب، المغتالين ٦: ٢٢٠.

§ 2.5.13 Al-Sulayk used to pay ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muwaylik al-Ḥaṭ‘amī¹²⁷ tribute from his plunder in order to cross the Ḥaṭ‘am’s land on his raids. Once when he was returning, he passed a dwelling of the Ḥaṭ‘am in which there was a young woman, and he raped her. She informed the tribe, and Anas b. Mudrik¹²⁸ followed al-Sulayk and killed him. In the aftermath, Ibn Muwaylik declared: “I will kill al-Sulayk’s murderer, unless he offers full blood money!” Anas responded: “No by God, I won’t pay it!” And he sang the following: [*al-basīṭ*]

I kill al-Sulayk, and then must pay blood money!
 If so, then I’m like a bull beaten when cows won’t drink.
 I was indignant that a man’s woman be raped,
 That she be saddled-up from behind.

Abū ‘Ubaydah says that the word *tawr* (bull) in the above phrase “like a bull beaten when the cows won’t drink” does not actually refer to a male cow, but instead is a second meaning of *tawr*, i.e. algae. But others say that the verse expressly intends the animal, because when a bull is beaten, it plunges into the water and the cows follow behind it. But al-Ḥarbī¹²⁹ reported that *tawr* is algae that sits on the surface of the water, and if the cows exhibit an aversion

127 A figure of apparent authority amongst the Ḥaṭ‘am, but we can find no other reference to him in the sources.

128 Anas b. Mudrik al-Ḥaṭ‘amī appears in a number of contexts. Ibn al-Kalbī records his name as Anas b. Mudrik (*Nasab Ma‘add wa-l-Yaman*, 1:17; *Ġamharat al-nasab*, 483) or Anas b. Mudrikah (*Nasab Ma‘add wa-l-Yaman*, 1:360); in both cases he is said to have been a poet and leader of the Ḥaṭ‘am. Ibn al-Kalbī also mentions that he was better known as Abū Sufyān, a view corroborated by Ibn Ḥabīb in his *Kunā l-ṣu‘arā’* (7:290), but we have found only a small number of other verses ascribed to him (al-Ġāhiz, *al-Ḥayawān*, 4:39; Ibn Ḥaġar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1:279). Elsewhere in *al-Aġānī*, “Anas b. Mudrikah al-Ḥaṭ‘amī” appears as a warrior at odds with another poet warrior hero Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah, shortly before the rise of Islam (10:42–43; see also Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah, *Dīwān*, 149–150). An Anas b. Mudrik (without lineage affiliation) is also noted as one of the “four Arab horsemen” to receive a ceremonial spear from al-Nu‘mān b. al-Munḍir (*al-Aġānī*, 8:290). In al-Ḥamawī’s *Taġrīd al-Aġānī* this figure is recorded as Anas b. Mudrikah (1:3:978). This may be a memory associated with the same Anas of the al-Sulayk stories. It is said that Anas survived into the Islamic period, converted and died fighting with the Caliph ‘Alī in the first Muslim civil war, at an advanced age of 154 (Ibn Ḥaġar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1:279)!

129 Likely a reference to Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Ḥarbī (d. 285/898), a prominent traditionist and philologist from Baghdad, he was a student of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and amongst his texts was a work on difficult/rare vocabulary contained in the *ḥadīṭ* (see J.-C. Vadet, “Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq, b. Ibrāhīm b. Bishr al-Ḥarbī,” in *ET*²).

البقر الماء من أجله ضربه الراعي ففرقه. وقال الجاحظ: كانوا يزعمون أن الجن هي التي تصد البقر عن الماء حتى تهلك. وأنشد للأعشى: [الطويل]

فإني وما كلفتموني وربكم لأَعْلَمُ من أمسى أعتق وأخونا
لكالثور والجنبي يضرب ظهره وما ذنبه أن عافت الماء مَشْرَبًا
وما ذنبه أن عافت الماء باقِر وما إن تَعَافُ الماء إلا لِيُضْرَبَا ٥

§ 2.5.14 وفي شعره أنه كان سبأ امرأة من خثعم وولدت له ولدا وأزارها قومها. فلما رجع اتبعه أنس فقتله.

§ 2.5.15 وقال ابن قتيبة وطى سليك امرأة من خثعم أهلها خلوف فقتله أنس وطولب بقتله فقال: "قتلته باستحقاق. فكيف أعقله؟"^٢

١٠ § 2.5.16 وقال السليك عند قتله: [الرجز]

من مبلغ حرباً بأني مقتول يَرُبُّ خَرَقٍ قد قَطَعْتُ مجهول
ورُبُّ نَهَبٍ قد حَوَيْتُ مَعْطُولٌ وذات زوج قد نكحتُ عَطْبُولٌ^٣

١١ حرباً: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. || يَرُبُّ: كذا في الأصل بدون ألف. ١٢ وذات زوج: كذا في الأصل، وفي الإصحفاني، الأغاني ٢٠: ٣٩٩. "ورب زوج".

١٢ مَعْطُولٌ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "ح المعطولة إبل لم تُوسَمَ وخيار الإبل تُترك لا تُوسَمَ".

اراجع البكري، فصل المقال ٣٨٨؛ والجاحظ، الحيوان ١: ١٩، وديوان الأعشى ١٦٥. ١٢ ابن قتيبة، الشعر والشعراء ١: ٣٥٦. ٣ ابن حبيب، المغتالين ٦: ٢٢٦-٢٢٧؛ والإصحفاني الأغاني ٢٠: ٣٩٩؛ ورواية مختلفة في شرح الحماسة للتبريزي ١: ٥٨١.

to drinking because of the algae, the cowherd would beat the algae to disperse it. According to al-Ġāhiz some used to allege that it was actually the Jinn who prevent cows from drinking water until they die of thirst. A line of al-Aṣā is cited about this: [*al-ṭawīl*]

- 5 This belligerent, most contrary man will learn
 By God, with what I've been charged,
 I am like the bull, with a Jinn beating his back:
 What's his sin, when it's the water that's too foul to drink?
 What's his sin, when it's the cows who won't drink?
 10 Yet no sooner do they recoil, then he is beaten.¹³⁰

§ 2.5.14 In al-Sulayk's poetry he mentions that he captured a woman of the Ḥaṭ'am, and she bore him a son. He later took her to visit her people, but when he returned, Anas followed and killed him.

- § 2.5.15 Ibn Qutaybah¹³¹ reported that al-Sulayk had intercourse with a
 15 woman of the Ḥaṭ'am when her people were absent. Anas killed him for that, and it was demanded that he pay the blood money, to which he responded: "I had the right to kill him, so why must I pay?"

§ 2.5.16 At the moment of al-Sulayk's murder, he composed the following poem: [*al-raġaz*]

- 20 Who will tell Ḥarb¹³² of my death?
 How many featureless wastelands have I crossed,
 And how many fine unbranded camels have I stolen,
 And how many fine girls have I slept with!

22 unbranded camels: Note: the *ma'ūlah* is an un-branded camel; the choicest camels were not branded. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

130 The metaphor of hitting a bull when one wants cows to drink appears in several Arabic poems to connote unjust punishment of an innocent party. For discussion of several poems and the alternative interpretations of 'bull' or 'algae', see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, 4:109–110.

131 Al-Maqrīzī apparently refers to Ibn Qutaybah's biography of al-Sulayk in *al-Ši'r wa-l-šū'arā'*, 1:353–356. The extant version of the text recounts al-Sulayk's death via a mixture of the text of both § 2.5.13 and § 2.5.15.

132 Ḥarb is reported as the name of al-Sulayk's son (see al-Tabrīzī, *Šarḥ al-Ḥamāsah*, 1:581).

2.6.1 § المنتشر بن وهب بن العجلان بن سلمة بن كُرَائِةِ بن هلال بن سلامة بن ثعلبة بن وائل بن ^{10b} معن بن مالك بن أعصر وهو مُنْبَهٌ بن سعد بن قيس عيلان بن مضر بن نزار بن معد بن عدنان الباهلي. أحد رَجِئِي الْعَرَبِ وَالْأَعْرَبَةِ.

2.6.2 § كان يُغَيِّرُ عَلِيَّ بْنَ الْحَرْثِ بْنِ كَعْبٍ فَعَقَلَ مِنْهُمْ عَمْرُو بْنَ عَاهَانَ. فَقَالَتْ نَائِحَةٌ تَبْكِيهِ: [الطويل] ٥

يا عين فابكي على عمرو بن عاهانا
لو كان قاتله غير الذي كانا
لو كان قاتله حيا نعيحُ به
لكن قاتله بهلُّ بن بهلانا

وأغار المنتشر فقتل نائحة عمرو وأسر صلاءة بن عمرو الحارثي وكان سيّدا. فقال له: "افتك نفسك!" فأبى فقال: "لأقطعنك أئمة أئمة وعضوا عضوا ما لم تفتك نفسك!" ثم قطع أعضائه حتى قتله. ثم

العجلان: كذا في الأصل والصواب "عجلان"، راجع البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف ٧: ٢١٥. ١١٥. || كُرَائِةِ: كذا في الأصل بالضم والصواب كُرَائِةِ بفتح الكاف، راجع ابن دريد، الاشتقاق ٥٦٣، وابن سيده، المحكم والمحيط الأعظم ٦: ٧٩٤. ١-٢ بن ... عدنان: زيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأعلى مبتدئا من الأسفل إلى الأعلى ثم من الأعلى إلى الأسفل. ٣ رَجِئِي الْعَرَبِ: كذا في الأصل، وفي مصطلح "رجليي العرب" راجع المقدمة. ٤ علي: في الأصل: "علي". ٦ علي: في الأصل: "علي". ٨ نائحة: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحته إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء ووضع أيضا رمزا بين "نائحة" و"عمرو" ولم نقف على معناه. ٨-٩ فقال ... نفسك: زيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن من الأسفل إلى الأعلى ويشير إليه رمز ٢ بعد "سيّدا". ٨ افتك: الكلمة غير واضحة تمام الوضوح في الأصل، وفي I²: "افتك" وفي I³: "اقتل"، ولعل الصواب: "افتك" بتشديد الكاف كما في بعض نسخ الكامل ٣: ١٤٣٠ ح ٥، أو "افتد" كما في المبرد، الكامل ٣: ١٤٣٠ والبلاذري، أنساب الأشراف ٧: ٢١٥. ١١٥. ٩ تفتك: الكلمة غير واضحة تمام الوضوح في الأصل، وفي I²: "تفتد" وفي I³: "تقتل"، ولعل الصواب: "تفتك" بتشديد الكاف كما في بعض نسخ الكامل ٣: ١٤٣٠ ح ٧، أو "تفتد" كما في المبرد، الكامل ٣: ١٤٣٠ وأنساب الأشراف ٧: ٢١٥. ١١٥. || حتى: في الأصل: "حتى".

٣ رَجِئِي الْعَرَبِ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن: "ح رَجِئِي الْعَرَبِ هُمُ السُّعَاةُ السَّابِقُونَ فِي سَعِيمِهِمْ" ٧ بهلُّ ... بهلانا: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "ح يقال للمُحْتَقَرِّ بهلُّ بن بهلانا".

§ 2.6.1 **Al-Muntašir**, son of Wahb b. ‘Aġlān b. Salamah b. Karātah b. Hilāl b. Salāmah b. Ta‘labah b. Wā‘il b. Ma‘n b. Mālik b. A‘šur, who is Munabbih b. Sa‘d b. Qays ‘Aylān b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Ma‘add b. ‘Adnān. He was of the Bāhilah lineage,¹³³ and he was one of the Arab Foot Raiders and the Arab Ravens.¹³⁴

- 5 § 2.6.2 He once raided the al-Ḥārīt b. Ka‘b¹³⁵ and killed ‘Amr b. ‘Āhān,¹³⁶ who was then eulogised by a mourner: [*al-ṭawīl*]

Oh eye, cry for ‘Amr b. ‘Āhān,
 If only he was killed by someone else!
 If only he was killed by a tribe worth our while,
 10 But he was felled by just a nobody.¹³⁷

Al-Muntašir then raided again, killing the mourner, and capturing one of their noblemen, Ṣalā‘ah b. ‘Amr al-Ḥārītī. Al-Muntašir ordered him: “Ransom yourself!” Ṣalā‘ah refused, and al-Muntašir threatened: “Until you ransom yourself, I will start slicing you up, fingertip by fingertip, and limb by limb!”
 15 Al-Muntašir then sliced off each of his limbs until Ṣalā‘ah died. Afterwards,

4 Arab ... Raiders: Note: the *Riġġilī l-‘Arab* were the swift ones who outpaced all in their running. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 10 a nobody: Note: the expression *bahl b. bahlān* is used as a term of disparagement. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand).

133 The Bāhilah b. A‘šur were a large sub-group of the Qays ‘Aylān; they lived in northeastern Arabia at the dawn of Islam.

134 See Study, Chapter 2.4–2.5 for discussion of these terms.

135 The al-Ḥārīt b. Ka‘b (also known as the Balḥārīt) were a sub-group of the Maḍhīġ; around the dawn of Islam, they inhabited the area around Naġrān on the modern borders of Saudi Arabia and Yemen.

136 The name is more commonly reported as Murrah b. ‘Āhān (see al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-ašrāf*¹, 7.2:115; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 2:73).

137 “A nobody” (*bahl b. bahlān*) derisively puns the name of al-Muntašir’s lineage, the Bāhilah.

رصدت بنو الحرث المنتشر حتى حج ذا الخلصة فدلته عليه بنو نفييل {بن عمرو بن كلاب} الحارثيين فأخذوه فقطعوه عضوا عضوا. وقال أعشى باهلة واسمه عامر بن الحرث يرثي المنتشر وكانت بنو الحرث تسمي المنتشر مجدياً^٢: [البسيط]

إني أتتني لسان لا أسر بها
فبست مُرتفقا للنجم أرقبه
وجاشت النفس لما جاء جمعهم
يأتي على الناس لا يلوي على أحد
بني من لا تُغيب الحي جفنته
من علو لا عجب منها ولا تُخسر
حيران ذا حذر لو ينفع الحذر
وراكب جاء من تثليث معتمر
حتى التقينا وكانت دوننا مضر
إذا الكواكب أخطأ نوءها المطر

١ حج ... الحارثيين: زيادة بخط المقرئ بالهامش الأيسر في مكانها الصحيح من الجملة على آخر السطر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى. || بن ... كلاب: مطموس في الأصل، والتجمل من I³. ٥ حيران: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالخاء. ٦ جمعهم: كذا في الأصل، وفي I³: "جمعهم" وهي الصواب. ٧ على: في الأصل: "علي". || حتى: في الأصل: "حتى".

٤ أتتني لسان: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من اليسار إلى اليمين رأساً على عقب: "ح قوله أتتني لسان أي رساله". || من علو: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "قال الخياني يقال من علو ومن علو بالضم والفتح ومن عل ومن عل ومن علا ومن عال ومن معال وقال المبرد ويروى من عل مثل من قبل وبعد". ٦ معتمر: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "معتمر أي زائر".

البكري، سمط اللآلي ٢: ٧٤٠. ٢ البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف ١٠٧: ٧٠٢-١١٥، المبرد، الكامل ٣: ١٤٣٠-١٤٣١. يبدو أن المقرئ نقل الشرح للقصيد في الحواشي الآتية من الكامل ٣: ١٤٣١-١٤٣٩.

the Ḥārīt sought to ambush al-Muntašir, and when he made a pilgrimage to Dū l-Ḥalaṣah,¹³⁸ the Nufayl b. ‘Amr b. Kilāb¹³⁹ betrayed him to the Ḥārītīs who caught al-Muntašir and cut him up, limb by limb. The al-Ḥārīt used to call al-Muntašir ‘The Dismemberer’. The poet al-A‘šá of the Bāhilah (whose name was ‘Āmir b. al-Ḥārīt)¹⁴⁰ eulogised al-Muntašir: [*al-basīt*]

How sad a message from up-country:
 There’s no surprise nor jest about it.¹⁴¹
 I lie awake, looking for the star,
 Distraught, wary: but what can precaution achieve?
 10 My soul was in shock when the news came
 On a rider, visiting from Taṭlīt,¹⁴²
 The rider drove past masses, not stopping
 For any but me: he crossed all of Muḍar.¹⁴³
 To announce the death of our unfailing provider
 15 The provider when the seasons failed to send rain.

6 message: Note: he uses the word *lisān* (lit. tongue) to mean a message. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). || from up-country: Al-Lihyāni reports that one can say ‘from up country’ by the expressions *min ‘ulwa*, *min ‘alwa* (i.e. with a ‘u’ or an ‘a’), *min ‘alu*, *min ‘alīn*, *min ‘alá*, *min ‘ālin* or *min mu‘ālin*. Al-Mubarrad narrates that the expression *min ‘alu* is grammatically like *min qablu* and *min ba‘du*. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 11 visiting: The word *mu‘tamir* used here means a visitor (i.e. a pilgrim). (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand).

138 A holy site centred around a sacred stone, located to the south of Mecca, reportedly at a distance of seven days. It was a ritual site for the Daws, the Ḥaṭ‘am, the Baḡilah and parts of al-Azd.

139 The Nufayl b. ‘Amr b. Kilāb were a lineage group of the Qays ‘Aylān; they reportedly inhabited central Arabian Najd in pre-Islam (Kaḥḥālāh (1997), 3:1190). The location is somewhat at odds with this story that implies they were residing nearer Dū l-Ḥalaṣah.

140 A pre-Islamic poet, primarily known for his elegies, which Muslim-era anthologists much esteemed.

141 The poet intends that all are destined to die, hence the news of death is expected yet bitter nonetheless.

142 Taṭlīt is a location which Yāqūt places near Mecca (*Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 2:15); al-Bakrī indicates that there was likely more than one place with this name (the root is derived from words for ‘stopping’ or ‘halting’), and he notes a Taṭlīt in the land of Maḍḥiġ, which would better fit the location of this story (*Mu‘jam mā ista‘jam*, 1:304–305).

143 In Arabic genealogy, Muḍar represents one of the two main divisions of the ‘Northern Arabs’, alongside Rabī‘ah. In pre-Islamic poetry, the name Muḍar, and, much more frequently, Ma‘add were invoked to connote the sense of ‘all people’, constituting bywords for the broadest possible sense of communal identity (see Webb (2016): 70–77).

من ليس في خَيْرِهِ شَرُّبُكَدْرُهُ
 {طَاوِي} الْمَصِيرُ عَلَى الْعَزَاءِ مُنْصَلِتٌ
 لَا تُتَكَرُّ الْبَازِلُ الْكُومَاءِ ضَرْبَتَهُ
 وَتَفْزَعُ الشَّوْلُ مِنْهُ حِينَ تَبْصُرُهُ
 لَا يُصْعَبُ الْأَمْرَ إِلَّا رَيْثَ يَرْكَبُهُ
 تَكْفِيهِ فَلَذَّةُ كِبْدٍ إِنْ أَلِمَ بِهَا
 لَا يَتَأَرَى لِمَا فِي الْقِدْرِ يَرْقُبُهُ
 لَا يَغْمُزُ السَّاقَ مِنْ أَيْنَ وَلَا وَصَبِ
 مُهْفَهْفٍ أَهْضَمَ الْكَشْحَيْنِ مُنْخَرِقِ
 لَا يَأْمَنُ النَّاسُ مُمْسَاهُ وَمُصْبِحَهُ

٥

١٠

على الصديق ولا في صفوه كَدْرُ
 بِالْقَوْمِ لَيْلَةَ لَا مَاءَ وَلَا شَجْرُ
 بِالْمَشْرِ فِي إِذَا مَا أَجْلَوذَ السَّفَرِ
 حَتَّى تَقْطَعَ فِي أَعْنَاقِهَا الْجِرْرُ
 وَكُلُّ أَمْرٍ سِوَى الْفَحْشَاءِ يَأْتَمُرُ
 مِنَ الشِّوَاءِ وَيَكْفِي شُرْبَهُ الْعُمُرُ
 وَلَا تَرَاهُ أَمَامَ الْقَوْمِ يَقْتَفِرُ
 وَلَا يَعْصُ عَلَى شَرِّ سَوْفِهِ الصَّفَرُ
 عَنْهُ الْقَمِيصُ لَسِيرِ اللَّيْلِ مُحْتَفِرُ
 مِنْ كُلِّ أَوْبٍ وَإِنْ لَمْ يَأْتِ يَنْتَظِرُ

١ على: في الأصل: "علي". ٢ طَاوِي: في الأصل: "طاو". || على: في الأصل: "علي". ٧ يتأرى: في الأصل: "يتأري". ١٠ ومُصْبِحُهُ: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء.

٢ الْمَصِيرُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من اليسار إلى اليمين رأساً على عقب: "ح الْمَصِيرُ واحد جمعه مُصْرَانٌ". || الْعَزَاءُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "ح الْعَزَاءُ الْأَمْرُ الشَّدِيدُ". ٣ أَجْلَوذُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "إِجْلَوذُ أَمْتَدُ". ٤ تَقْطَعُ... الْجِرْرُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من اليسار إلى اليمين رأساً على عقب: "ح قَوْلُهُ تَقْطَعُ فِي أَعْنَاقِهَا الْجِرْرُ أَي تَفْزَعُ مِنْهُ لِأَنَّهُ قَدْ اعْتَادَ عَقْرَهَا فِيهِ تَقْطَعُ جِرَّتَهَا". ٥ لَا... الْأَمْرَ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "ح قَوْلُهُ لَا يُصْعَبُ الْأَمْرَ لِأَنَّهُ صَعْبٌ". ٧ يَتَأَرَى: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من اليسار إلى اليمين رأساً على عقب: "يَتَأَرَى يَتَلَبَّثُ". || يَقْتَفِرُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من اليسار إلى اليمين رأساً على عقب: "يَقْتَفِرُ أَي يَأْكُلُ خَبْزَهُ قَفَارًا وَلَا أَدَامَ وَقِيلَ يَقْتَفِرُ سَبْقَ إِلَى الزَّادِ". ٨ الصَّفَرُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "ح الصَّفَرُ حِيَةُ الْبَطْنِ".

One whose goodness to his friend
 Was untainted by ill, pure without blemish.
 He grins and bears all adversity,
 And rushes to defend us in wasteland nights.
 5 The old lofty-humped camel will expect his blow
 With the Mašrafi¹⁴⁴ blade when the travels grew long.
 And the heavily pregnant camels recoil from fear,
 The cud in their necks is interrupted.¹⁴⁵
 No matter is difficult when he's in charge,
 10 He does all manner of good; never conspires for ill.
 A strip of grilled liver satisfies him,
 A small cup of water is enough.
 Never loitering in wait for food in the pot to be ready,
 Nor will you see him first to the food.
 15 Never limping from weariness or discomfort in his legs,
 His intestines do not push against his ribs.
 His belly is slim, his sides gaunt from much night journeying,
 His measly clothes fall from him.¹⁴⁶
 20 People were never secure from him: day or night,
 He may raid from anywhere: if he does not attack, they wait in fear.

3 bears: Note: the plural of *mašīr* is *mušrān*. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). || adversity: Note: the word 'azzā' refers to a grave matter. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).
 6 grew long: The verb *iġlawadda* means to be extended. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).
 8 The ... interrupted: His words 'the cud in their necks is interrupted' intends that the camels stop chewing their cud out of fear since he was so regularly hamstringing them for slaughter. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 9 No ... difficult: Note: his expression *lā yuṣ'ib al-amr* means 'he did not consider the matter difficult'. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).
 13 loitering: By the verb *yata'arrá* he means to 'tarry in a place'. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 14 Nor ... food: The verb *yaqtafir* intends that he eats unseasoned bread; it is also said that the verse means: 'You won't see him first in line snatching food'. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 16 intestines: For 'intestines' he uses the word *šafar*. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

144 For the significance of *Mašrafi* swords, see note 96, and al-Maqrīzī's explanation following this poem.

145 The metaphor in these two lines intends that al-Muntašir so often slaughters his camels for guests and travelling companions, that the poet reasons al-Muntašir's camels must actually expect that one of them will be slaughtered if they are with him on a long journey and food is running low. The second line implies that he will even readily slaughter pregnant camels to feed his people, a symbol of most extravagant generosity. See § 2.2.7 for another example of this topos.

146 A man who slept little, ate less, and endured much hardship, while providing for his people was the archetypal warrior ideal.

11^a

عشنا بذلك دهرا ثم فارقنا
إما يُصَبِّكَ عدو في مُناوأة
لوم تُخَنِّه نُفَيْل وهي خائفة
ورأد حربٍ شهابٍ يُستضاء به
إما سَلَكْتَ سَبِيلًا كُنْتَ سَالِكِهَا
من ليس فيه إذا قاولته رَهَقٌ
أصبت في حرم منا أخائفة
كذلك الرمح ذو النصلين ينكسر
يوما فقد كنتَ تَسْعَلِي وتنتصرُ |
ألمَّ بالقومِ وِرْدٌ منه أو صَدْرُ
كما يُضِيء سَوَادَ الظُّلْمَةِ القَمَرُ
فاذهب فلا يبعِدَنَّكَ اللهُ مُنتَشِرُ
وليس فيه إذا عاسرته عَسْرُ
هند بن أسماء لا يهني لك الظفرُ

٥

وكان الذي أصاب المنتشر هند بن أسماء الحارثي. قوله "أنتني لسان": يريد أنتني رسالة. وقوله "من عل": يقول من فوق. وقوله "فت مُرتفقا": أي متكئا على مرفقي يعني ساهرا. وقوله "جاشت النفس": أي حَبَّتْ من جزعها. و"ثليث": موضع. وقوله "لا يلوي على أحد": أي لا يلتفت. و"النوء": طلوع نجم وسقوط آخر. وقوله "طاو المصير": يقال لواحد المصيران مصير. و"العزاء": الأمر الشديد. و"منصلت": من قولهم سيف منصلت إذا جرد من غمده. وقوله "ليلة لا ماء ولا شجر": يريد القفر ووقت الصعوب. و"البازل": الناقة. يقول "لا تنكر الكوماء ضربته بالمشرفي": إذ قد عود

١٠

١ عشنا... ينكسر: زيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأسفل من الأعلى إلى الأسفل ويشير إليهما رمز ٢ تحت "ينتظر" + صح. ١٢ من... منصلت: زيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل ويشير إليهما رمز ٢ بعد "منصلت" + صح.

٢ في مُناوأة: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأسفل: "قال المبرد في مُباوأة بالباء أي وتر". الكامل ٣: ١٤٣٨. || مُناوأة: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأسفل من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "مُناوأة أي مُعادة". ٤ كما... القمر: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "خ كما يضيء سواد الطخية القمر" و"خ": نسخة أخرى. || الظلْمَةُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأعلى من اليسار إلى اليمين رأسا على عقب: "ح الطخية بفتح الطاء وكسرها وضمها سواد الظلْمَةُ".

الأصمعي، الأصمعيات ٩٩-١٠٧؛ والمبرد، الكامل ٣: ١٤٣١-١٤٣٢ باختلاف؛ ويبدو أن المقرئ نقل الشعر من رواية الكامل.

For an age, we lived off him, then he left us,
 So it is: even a two-bladed spear will break.
 One day an enemy would overcome him,
 Before, he was always on top, victorious.
 5 If the faithless Nufayl had not betrayed him,
 He would overcome his foes, front and back.
 Plunging into war, he was a bolt of lightning,
 Like the moon illuminating the black of night.
 Since you must follow the path you're fated,
 10 Go Muntašir! May God not keep you from His grace.
 If conferred with, he was never flippant,
 And if vied with, he gave no trouble.
 O Hind b. Asmā', the victory gives you no delight,
 In a sacred precinct,¹⁴⁷ you took from us one of the great and good.

15 The man who killed al-Muntašir was Hind b. Asmā' al-Ḥārītī.¹⁴⁸ By the words:
 “a message arrived to me” [lit. a tongue reached me], the poet al-Aššā means
 that the news reached him; by al-Aššā's line: “from up-country”, he means lit.
 from above; by: “I lie awake” [lit. I spent the night on my elbow], he meant
 that he stayed up all night; by “my soul was in shock”, he meant that worry
 20 overwhelmed him; “Taṭlīt” is a place,¹⁴⁹ his words “not stopping for any but
 me” [lit. didn't turn to anyone until we met], mean that the messenger went
 straight to him; the “seasons” refers to the rising of one star and the setting
 of another; his line: “grin and bear it” is literally ‘he wraps his gut’, the sin-
 gular of guts (*mišrān*) is gut (*mašīr*). By “adversity”, al-Aššā means a serious
 25 matter; when he says “rushes to defend”, he uses the verbal noun *munṣalit*
 which describes a sword unsheathed; by “wasteland nights” [lit. night of no
 water nor trees], he means hard times in the desert; the “old camel” here
 specifies a female camel; the line “lofty-humped camel will expect his blow”
 means that his camels had become accustomed to him slaughtering from

3 overcome: The word *munāwa'ah* here means animosity. Al-Mubarrad narrates it as *mubā-wa'ah*, i.e. blood revenge. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 8 Like ... night: Another recension: “As the moon lights the blackness of night”. The word for blackness here is *ṭaḥyah*, and the vowel after its *ṭ* can be either ‘a’, ‘i’ or ‘u’. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

147 As noted above, al-Muntašir was killed while on pilgrimage to the sacred site at Dū l-Ḥalaṣah.

148 The sources on al-Muntašir's demise each report that he died at the hands of Hind b. Asmā', but we have found no other stories about or references to Hind.

149 See note 142, above.

الإبل أن ينخرها و"المشرفي" السيف منسوب إلى المشارف وهو الموضع المعروف بمؤتة من بلاد الشام حيث قتل جعفر بن أبي طالب وأصحابه. و"أجلوذ": اشتدّ. وقوله "حتى تقطع في أعناقها الجِرْزُ": جمع جِرّة يقول "اعتادت أن ينخرها فهي تفرع حتى تقطع جرتها". وقوله "لا يتأرى": أي لا يرقبه. وقوله "ولا يراه أمام القوم يقتفر": يقول "لا يسبقهم إلى شيء من الزاد". و"الشراسيف": أطراف الضلوع. و"الصَفَر": حية البطن. و"مهفهف": يعني ضامرا. و"أهضم الكشح": توكيد له. وقوله "في مُباوأة": يريد وتر. و"الطخية": شدة الظلمة. وفي الطائلات لغات الفتح والكسر والضم.^١

٥ حية: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء.

١ نقل المقرئ الشرح مختصرا من الكامل للمبرد، ٣: ١٤٣٣-١٤٣٩.

amongst their number; the term “Mašrafi blade” derives from the Mašārif, a well-known region around Muṭah in Syria, where Ġaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib and his companions were killed;¹⁵⁰ by “travels extend long”, he means that they become arduous; his line: “The cud in their necks is interrupted” (the cud
 5 (*ǧirar*) is the plural of *ǧirrah*), means that they were accustomed to him slaughtering members of the herd, so they become frightened and interrupt the chewing of their cud; by “hanging back”, he means to wait; by the line “Nor will you see him first to the food”, he means that he doesn’t reach for provisions before others; by “ribs” he specifies the cartilage at the extremity of
 10 the ribs; the word *ṣafar* in this line means the intestines; “slim belly” means he’s lean; by “gaunt” the poet intensifies the image of skinniness; by “overcome” (*munāwaʿah*) he means blood revenge;¹⁵¹ “black of the night” (*taḥyah*) intends intense blackness, and after the *ṭ* in that word, you can pronounce an ‘a’, ‘i’, or a ‘u’ vowel.

150 Mašārif refer to the borders between al-Šām (Greater Syria) and Arabia, a line running eastwards from the Golan Heights in what is now southern Syria and Jordan. Muṭah was a battle fought in 8/629 where a Muslim expedition towards al-Šām was defeated along the Byzantine borderland. Ġaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib was the cousin of the Prophet Muhammad, and one of the leaders of the Muṭah expedition.

151 This commentary is at odds with the poem: in the poem, al-Maqrīzī records the word *munāwaʿah*—i.e. contention/fighting, whereas in this commentary paragraph he writes *mubāwaʿah*, a synonym for revenge killing. The difference in Arabic lies in the placing of one dot: this appears to be a simple orthographic slip.

§ 2.7 أَوْفَى بن مَطَر المازني

11^b

§ 2.7.1 يلقب مَقْرَنًا وهو من رَجِيلِي العرب.

§ 2.7.2 وخرج مع {جابر} الرزائي وسهام الخزاعي فلقوا ببني أسد فجرح أوفى فقال لجابر: "أقم علي!" فقال: "أنت ميت ولا درك لك في قتلي." فقال: "قف ساعة حتى ألحق بعمامة!" وهو جبل صعب. فقال جابر: "ماترى بنو أسد بعمامة إلا حرملة." قال: "فألحق بفساس!" وهو أصعب. فقال: "هو عندهم حرملة" وتركه وأتى قومه. وسئل عن أوفى فقال: "مات." وزحف أوفى إلى أحد الجبلين فرعى فيه كما ترعى السائمة وبرأ من جراحه وأتى قومه. فنظروا إليه فقالوا: "لولا نعلم أنه لا بعث إلا يوم القيمة لقلنا: إن هذا أوفى!" فتأمله جابر فإذا هو فأنسل جابر حياء من كذبه فلم يدر بعدها ولا يدر أين سقط ولا ولده. ١ وقال أوفى: [المتقارب]

١ أَوْفَى: في الأصل: "أَوْفَى". || المازني: كذا في الأصل وفي البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف^١ ٧:١٠١، ٣٢٩، وفي القالي، ذيل الأمالي ٣: ٩١: "الخزاعي". ٢ رَجِيلِي: في الأصل: "رَجِيلِي" بفتح اللام. || رَجِيلِي العرب: كذا في الأصل، وفي مصطلح "رجليي العرب" راجع المقدمة. ٣ جابر: في الأصل: "جابر"، والصواب "جابر" كما في I² و I³. ٦ وأتى: في الأصل: "أتى".

٥ بفساس: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "ذوقفساس معدن للحديد الجيد تقرب بلاد بني أسد." و"تقرب ... أسد" مطموسة في الأصل، والتكلمة من I³.

١ البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف^١ ٧:١٠١، ٣٢٩؛ والقالي، ذيل الأمالي ٣: ٩١؛ والبكري، سمط اللآلي ١: ٤٦٦.

§ 2.7 *Awfá* b. Maṭar al-Māzinī

§ 2.7.1 He was nicknamed ‘The Trusser’,¹⁵² and he was one of the Arab Foot Warriors.

§ 2.7.2 He once went raiding with Ğābir al-Rizāmī and Sihām al-Ḥuzāī. They
 5 engaged with the Asad,¹⁵³ and Awfá was wounded in the fray. He cried out to
 Ğābir: “Stand by me!” But Ğābir responded: “You’re dead, and you’ll achieve
 nothing by getting me killed!” Awfá pleaded: “Then tarry a moment and help
 me get to ‘Amāyah!” (‘Amāyah is a mountain difficult to climb.) Ğābir replied:
 10 [“‘Amāyah is open, there’s nothing to conceal you there.”]¹⁵⁴ “Then let’s try
 Qusās!” (Qusās was an even more difficult mountain.)¹⁵⁵ [“Qusās is nothing
 but wild rue of the Asad!”] Ğābir left Awfá on the field. When Ğābir returned
 to his camp and was asked about Awfá, he told them: “He died.” Awfá, how-
 ever, crawled up to one of those mountains himself, and survived off the land
 like a grazing beast. He recovered from his wounds and returned to his peo-
 15 ple. When they saw him, they exclaimed: “If we didn’t know that resurrection
 only happens on Judgment Day, we would say that this is Awfá!” Ğābir looked
 over the newcomer. He realised that it was indeed Awfá, and slipped away in
 shame for his lie. Nothing more was ever heard about him, or where he went,
 or if he had any descendants. Awfá composed the following about this: [*al-*
 20 *mutaqārib*]

10 Qusās: Dū Qusās is a mine from which good iron was extracted. It was near the lands of the Asad. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand).

152 His nickname *al-muqarrin* is a participle from the verb *qarrana*: ‘to tie up prisoners’. Two other Arabian figures were known by this epithet: ‘Ubayd b. Aws and ‘Umayr b. al-Ḥārīt b. Ṭa’labah, and in explaining their nickname Ibn Durayd notes that each took charge of “tying up” prisoners after a battle (*al-Isṭiqāq*, 446, 466).

153 A large and important lineage group in central Arabia (Najd) at the dawn of Islam; they feature in numerous stories of pre-Islamic Arabian warring.

154 It appears that al-Maqrīzī erroneously copied the statements about Mount ‘Amāyah and Mount Qusās in this and the following exchange. Al-Maqrīzī’s version translates as: “At ‘Amāyah the Asad only find wild rue (*harmal*),” and Qusās “is also wild rue for the Asad.” Wild rue (also called Esphand) is a sour fruit, and seems invoked here metaphorically for something hard to bear. Ğābir’s intention seems to mean that neither option proposed by Awfá provides escape: the Asad control both areas, and he thus claims that for anyone other than the Asad, hiding out in either is like trying to eat wild rue. Al-Maqrīzī’s version reverses the word order, however, making the mountains “wild rue for the Asad”, which seems to contradict Ğābir’s intent, and so the translation here follows a more logical version of the exchange as recorded in al-Qālī, *Dayl al-Amālī*, 3:91.

155 Qusās is identified as a mine (al-Bakrī, *Muḡam mā istaḡam*, 1:344).

ألا أبلغا خلتي جابرا بأن خليلك لم يقتل
 تخطأت النبل أحشاءه وأخريومي فلم يعجل
 إذا ما أتيت بني مازن فلا تفل رأسا ولا تغسل
 فليتك لم تك من مازن وليتك في البطن لم تحمل
 وليت بحقويك ذا زرنب جميشا يركن للفيشل
 وليت سنانك سنارة وليت قناتك من مغزل
 تجاوزت حمران من ساعة وقلت قسأس من الحرمل
 وقلت عماية أرض فضاء ولأيا أولى إلى معقل^١

٥

٤ مَحْمَل: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٥ بحقويك: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٥ يركن: كذا في الأصل، وفي I²: "يركب"؛ وفي القالي، ذيل الأمالي ٣: ٩١: "يركل"؛ وفي الضبي، الأمثال ٦٨: "يوكل". ٦ سنارة: كذا في الأصل و I² و I³، والصواب "سنارة" كما سيأتي في حاشية المقرئ أدناه. ٥ مغزل: في الأصل: "مغزل" بضم الميم.

١ خلتي: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من اليسار إلى اليمين رأسا على عقب: "ح فلان خلتي وفلانة خلتي الذكر والأنثى سواء ومثله فلان خلتي". ٦ سنارة: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "ح الصنارة حديدة معقمة في رأس المغزل". "مغزل" مطموسة في الأصل، والتكلمة من I³.

القالي، ذيل الأمالي ٣: ٩١، الضبي، الأمثال ٦٦-٦٨؛ أبو عبيدة، الديباج ٣٩-٤٠؛ والأبيات من الأول إلى الرابع في البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف^١ ٧: ٣٢٩.

Won't you tell my dear friend Ġābir
 That his companion didn't die!
 The arrow missed Awfá's organs,
 My time was then not yet up.
 5 If you ever come back to the Māzin,¹⁵⁶
 Don't delouse your head or wash.
 If only you weren't born to the Māin,
 If only you weren't ever conceived at all!
 If only between your loins was a shaven vagina,
 10 Open to receive pricks;
 If only your spear was a spindle whorl,
 If only your lance was a loom.¹⁵⁷
 After you crossed Ḥumrān¹⁵⁸
 You said: 'Qusās is wild rue',¹⁵⁹
 15 And you said 'Amāyah was a bare plane,
 So, which of them is a better refuge?

1 friend: Note: you say a man is my friend (*ḥullatī*) and the exact same noun can refer to a female friend, it is invariable to gender. Similarly, you can call your friend *ḥillī*. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 11 whorl: The word for whorl (*ṣinnārah*) refers to an iron hook attached to the spindle. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

156 Māzin was the name of several lineage groups in pre-Islamic Arabia; here it refers to Awfá's people, the Māzin b. Mālik b. 'Amr, a sub-group of the Tamīm, settled at the dawn of Islam in Najd, near the borders of modern Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

157 Awfá invokes graphic and condescending imagery, insinuating that Ġābir is essentially a woman.

158 Yāqūt identifies Ḥumrān as a well in the land of the Ribāb; he notes that another member of the Māzin, Mālik b. al-Rayb, used to thieve in that area (*Mu'jam al-buldān*, 2:301).

159 The last words in a version of this line reported in al-Bakrī's *Mu'jam mā ista'jam* (3:1073) read *qusās min al-hanzal*: 'Qusās is colocynth'. The colocynth (*Citrullus colocynthis*) is a desert gourd, an extremely sour and bitter fruit, somewhat as unappetising as the wild rue (*ḥarmal*) recorded in al-Maqrīzī's version here. Both versions of the line manifestly intend that Qusās is a dangerous/difficult place of refuge, and seems to support our reconstruction of the preceding prose narrative of the event.

§ 2.8 عمرو بن بَرَاقَة

(…)

2.8.1 § وأغار رجل من مراد اسمه حَزِيم على إبل عمرو بن بَرَاقَة وخيل له فذهب بها. فأتى عمرو سلمى وكانت بنت سيدهم وعن رأيها كانوا يصدرون. فأخبرها فقالت: "والخفَوُ والومِيضُ والشَّفَقُ كالإحْرِيضِ والقَلْبَةِ والحَضِيضِ إن حَزِيمًا لمَنِعُ الحَزِيضَ سَيِّدَ مَزِيذُ دُو مَعْقِلِ حَرِيضٍ غَيْرَ أَبِي أَرَى الحِمَّةَ سَتَظْفِرُ مِنْهُ بَعَثَرَةٌ بَطِيئَةٌ الجَبْرَةُ فَأَعْرُزُ وَلَا تَتَكَّعُ" فأغار عمرو فاستاق كل شيء وأتاه حَزِيم يطلب أن يرد ما أخذ. فأبى وقال عمرو: [الطويل]

٢ (...): يباض في الأصل بمقدار ٣ أسطر. ٣ حَزِيم: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. كذا في الأصل، وفي الأغاني ٢١: ١٨٢ "حريم"، وفي أمالي القالي ٢: ١٢١ وسمت اللآلي ٢: ٧٤٨: "حريم"، وفي تجريد الأغاني ٣: ٢٢٢٠: "حريم". ورأى صاحب سمط اللآلي أن "حزيمًا" بالزاي تصحيف. || فأتى: في الأصل: "فأتى". ٥ حَزِيمًا: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. || الحَزِيضُ: في الأصل: يبدو أن المقرئ كتب "جيز" وهو تصحيف وما أثبتناه من الأمالي ٢: ١٢٣. || الحِمَّةُ: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٦ مِنْهُ: مطموس في الأصل، وما أثبتناه من I² و I³. || تَتَكَّعُ: كذا في الأصل، وفي أمالي القالي ٢: ١٢٣: "تَتَكَّعُ" مبني للمجهول. ٧ فأبى: في الأصل: "فأبى".

١ بَرَاقَة: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "الهمداني". ٤ والخفَوُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر مبتدئاً من الأسفل إلى الأعلى ثم متقبلاً رأساً على عقب: "الخفَوُ للمعان الضعيف يقال خفا البرق يَخْفُو خَفْوًا وَخَفُفُوا إِذَا بَرَقَ بَرَقًا ضَعِيفًا". || والومِيضُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "الوميضات من الخفَوُ". ٥ كَالإحْرِيضِ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "الإحريض حجار النورة". كذا في الأصل، وفي حاشية I³: "الإحريض حجارة النورة". || الحَزِيضُ... الحِمَّةُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "الجيز الناحية ومزير فاضل والحِمَّة القَدْرُ وقيل هي واحدة الحَمَامُ". ٦ تَتَكَّعُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "تَتَكَّعُ تُرَدَعُ".

§ 2.8 ‘Amr b. Barrāqah¹⁶⁰

(…)

§ 2.8.1 Once a man from the Murād¹⁶¹ named Ḥazīm¹⁶² rustled some of ‘Amr b. Barrāqah’s camels and horses. ‘Amr told the news to Salmá, their leader’s daughter, since they used to act upon her counsel. She responded: “By lightning’s sprites and bolts, by the day’s waning red glow like quicklime fire, and by the summit and the abyss: Ḥazīm’s spot is impregnable, this noble lord’s refuge is unassailable, but I see fate will best him, a mis-step unrecoverable: raid and you won’t be denied!” ‘Amr attacked and took everything of Ḥazīm’s. Ḥazīm then came to ‘Amr and demanded that which was originally his be returned, but ‘Amr refused.¹⁶³ About this, ‘Amr composed the following poem: [*al-tawīl*]

1 ‘Amr ... Barrāqah: Of the Hamdān lineage. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 6 sprites: The word *ḥafw* means faint flashes; one uses the verb *ḥafā/yahfū* to describe lighting that flashes faintly; the verbal nouns are *ḥafw* and *ḥafū*. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). || bolts: The word for ‘bolts’ (*wamidāt*) is related to the faint flashes (*ḥafw*). (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). || quicklime fire: *Ihrīd* is the indigo stone. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 8–9 fate ... unrecoverable: *Ġīz* is a word connoting a location. *Mazīz* means virtuous. He uses *ḥummah* to refer to Fate; it is said that it is a singular of *ḥamām* (Death). (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 9 hold back: The verb *tunka‘* means ‘to be held back’. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand).

160 ‘Amr was named via his mother’s lineage. Sources report his matronymic as both Ibn Barrāqah and Ibn Barrāq. One of the earliest extant references to him, in al-Siġistānī’s *Fuḥūlat al-šū‘arā’* (121) names him Ibn Barrāqah al-Hamdānī, whereas al-Iṣfahānī records both matronymics as possibilities (*al-Aġānī*, 21:181), but he uses Ibn Barrāq throughout. al-Qālī’s *al-Amālī* has Ibn Barrāqah. Above, at §§ 2.1.4, 2.3.12, 2.3.13 al-Maqrīzī writes Ibn Barrāq, but in this section he is consistent with Ibn Barrāqah (2:121). Since al-Maqrīzī’s marginal notes in this section copy the explanations given by al-Qālī almost verbatim, it seems that *al-Amālī* was his source for this biography.

161 Murād were a sub-lineage of the Maḍḥiġ, living on the edges of the modern Saudi Arabian and Yemeni borders; they are remembered as waging violent conflict with the Hamdān in pre-Islamic times.

162 According to al-Bakrī, the name should be Ḥarīm; al-Bakrī explicitly notes that the rendering “Ḥazīm” is erroneous (*Simṭ al-La‘ālī* 2:748).

163 The pronouns in the Arabic allow two interpretations of this event. The passage may intend that ‘Amr’s counterraid either (i) recovered all the animals which Ḥazīm had taken from him; or (ii) plundered all the livestock Ḥazīm owned, not just the animals Ḥazīm had stolen from ‘Amr. On its face, the Arabic seems closer to the former meaning, but then Ḥazīm’s demand for the return of his property makes less sense: why would he feel so entitled to the animals he had originally stolen? The latter case, whereby ‘Amr’s counterraid recovered his losses and rustled Ḥazīm’s own animals too, seems to have more logic, and the translation adopts this interpretation, which also appears more aligned with the tenor of the slightly expanded version of this story in al-Qālī’s *al-Amālī* (2:122).

تقول سليمي لا تعرض لتلقفة
وكيف ينام الليل من جل ماله
عموض إذا عض الكريمة لم يدع
ألم تعلمي أن الصعاليك نومهم
إذا الليل أدجى واكفهر ظلامه
ومال بأصحاب الكرى غاباته
كذبتهم وبيت الله لا تأخذونها
تحالف أقوام علي ليسلها
أفاليوم أدمى للهوادة بعدما
فإن حزيما إذ رجا أن أرددها

٥

١٠

وليلك عن ليل الصعاليك نائم
حسام كلون الملح أبيض صارم
لها طمعاً طوع العيون ملازم
قليل إذا نام انخلي المسالم
وصاح من الأفراط يوم جوائم
فإني على أمر الغواية حازم
مراغمة ما دام للسير قائم
وجروا علي الحرب إذ أنا سالم
أجيل على الحلي المداكي الصلادم
ويذهب مالي يابنة القوم حالم

٦ حازم: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٩ علي: في الأصل: "علي". ١٠ حزيما: كذا في الأصل، وفي الإصحافي، الأغاني ٢١: ١٨٣، وأما القالي ٢: ١٢٢: "حريما". || القوم: كذا في الأصل ويبدو أنه تصحيف والصواب: "قيل" كما في الأمالي ٢: ١٢٢. || حالم: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء.

٥ واكفهر: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "حالمكفهر المتراكب الطلبة". || الأفراط: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "ح الأفراط الإكام واحدها فرط وقال الخليل الأفراط أوائل الصبح". راجع الخليل، العين ٧: ٤١٩. ٨ تحالف ... ليسلها: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "ح تحالف أقوام علي ليسلها أي ليكون مرعانا لهم فيسمنوا فيه أي سمن إبلهم". ٩ للهوادة: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "ح الهوادة الصلح والسكون". || الصلادم: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "الصلادم واحدها صلدم وهو الشديد الصلب".

Sulaymá says: ‘Don’t imperil yourself!
 Sleep, and leave night-time to desperados!
 How can one sleep at night, if all he owns
 Is a blade, white like salt, fine and sharp?
 5 Cool,¹⁶⁴ trusty and close at hand,
 When war bites, the blade gives full satisfaction.
 Doesn’t Sulaymá know that a desperado’s sleep is but little:
 When peaceful empty-heads doze,
 When the night darkens and blackens
 10 And until the pre-dawn when perching owls cry,
 When sleep overcomes the slumberous,
 I am resolved on mischief.
 By the House of God, you lie: you will not take the camels
 By force: not while I stand ready with a sword.
 15 Clans banded against me for deliverance,¹⁶⁵
 Waging war upon me when I was pacific.
 Now am I supposed to be lenient,
 When sturdy, hardened steeds encircled our tribe?
 O my lady,¹⁶⁶ as if Ḥazīm—who hopes I’ll return my own animals
 20 And relinquish my wealth—is the clement one?

9 blackens: Note: ‘layers of blackness’ is expressed by the word *mukfahirr*. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 10 pre-dawn: Note: *afṛāṭ* means hilltops, the singular is *furūṭ*. Al-Ḥalīl reports that *afṛāṭ* also refers to the beginning of daybreak. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 15 Clans banded: Note: “Clans banded together to pasture” (*yusminū*), i.e. ‘they banded together to occupy our pasturelands’; the verb *yusminū* is used for pasturing since one says *tasman ibiluhum* (their camels fattened). (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 17 lenient: Note: the word *hawādah* means peace and reprieve. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand). 18 hardened steeds: *Ṣalādīm* (singular *šildim*) means solid and sturdy. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand).

164 In translating this word, we follow the version of the poem in *al-Aġānī*, 21:182 where the sword is described as *ṣamūd*: lit. very silent, which we have translated here as ‘cool’, conveying the English sense of ‘cold steel’. The Manuscript’s *ġunūd* (low-lying place, hiding place, obscurity) does not seem to fit the meaning.

165 Or perhaps “to pasture my land” *yusminū*, see al-Maqrīzī’s marginal note. This is also the recension in *al-Aġānī* 21:183; though the version in *Amālī l-Qālī* (2:122), from which al-Maqrīzī appears to be copying here, has *yaslamū*.

166 Here ‘Amr continues his address to Sulaymá. We have chosen to render the words *yā ibnat al-qawm* in the Manuscript as *yā ibnat al-qayl*, as the line appears in al-Qālī’s *al-Amālī* (2:122). *Ibnat al-qawm* (lit. “daughter of the people”) appears less apt than *ibnat al-qayl* (lit. “daughter of the lord”), and it appears that al-Maqrīzī miscopied the line from *al-Amālī*.

متى تجمع القلب الذكي وصارما
متى تطلب المال الممنوع بالقنا
وكنت إذا قوم غزوني غزوتهم
فلا صلح حتى تطعن الخيل بالقنا
ولا أمن حتى تغشم الحرب جهرة
أمسبطي عمرو بن نعمان غارتي
إذا جر مولانا علينا جريرة
وننصر مولانا ونعلم أنه

٥

وأنفأ حميا تجتنبك المظالم
تعش ماجدا أو تخترمك المخارم
فهل أنا في ذا يال همدان ظالم
وتضرب بالبيض الخفاف الجمجم
عبدة يوما والحروب غواشم
وهل يشبه اليقظان من هونائم
صبرنا لها إنا كرام دعائم
كما الناس مجروم عليه وجارم

12^b

٥ تغشم: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأعلى من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "حال الغشم أشد الظلم".

الإصحافي، الأغاني ٢١: ١٨٢-١٨٣، وأمالي القالي ٢: ١٢١-١٢٢، ويبدو أن المقرئ نقل الخبر والشعر عن رواية القالي.

Since when were you so stout-hearted with a piercing blade?
 Since when did you show proud defence against ill-doers?
 When did you plunder property at lance-point?
 One lives gloriously, or is felled.
 5 If people attack me, I attack back.
 Tell me, o Hamdān,¹⁶⁷ is that iniquitous?
 There will be no peace until cavalry thrust lances,
 And until heads are slashed by sharp swords.
 There'll be no peace until war bears its wickedness full
 10 On an ill-omened day; wars are heinous.
 Does 'Amr b. Nu'mān seek to delay my attack?
 How can one who is awake be compared to a slumberer?¹⁶⁸
 If our cousin commits an offence against us,
 We bear it: we are noble rulers.
 15 We give victory to our cousin; we know that he
 As all people, has both offended and been offended.

10 heinous: Note: *ḡašm* connotes a most severe sense of iniquity. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

167 'Amr addresses his own tribe here; see al-Maqrīzī's marginal gloss § 2.8; al-Siḡistānī, *Fuḥūlat al-šū'arā'* 121; al-Qālī, *al-Amālī*, 2:121.

168 By this expression, 'Amr intones that the difference between him and his foe, 'Amr b. Nu'mān is akin to the difference between one who is asleep and one who is awake. It also expresses a rhetorical question, perhaps better rendered in modern English parlance as: "Do you think pigs can fly?"

§ 2.9 الْأَحْمِيرُ

13^a

§ 2.9.1 أحد لصوص بني سعد واسمه (...)

§ 2.9.2 قال أبو علي القالي وأشدنا أبو بكر عن أبي حاتم عن الأصمعي وأبي عبيدة للأحيمر:
[الطويل]

وقالت أرى رُبْعَ القوامِ وشاقَها طَوِيلُ القنْاةِ بالضَّحَاءِ نَوْومِ
فإن أكَ قَصْدًا في الرِجالِ فإني إذا حلَّ أمرٌ سَاحِي الحُسُومِ

وزاد أبو عبيدة:

تخوفني الإعدام والبَدُو مُعْرِضُ وسَيِّفِي بأموالِ التِّجارِ زَعِيمُ

١ الْأَحْمِيرُ: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٢ بقية السطر وما بعده بمقدار ٤ أسطر بياض في الأصل. ٣ للأحيمر: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٥ نَوْوم: زيادة بخط المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح من الجملة على آخر السطر. ٨ سَيِّفِي: بعض الكلمة مطموس في الأصل، والتكلمة من I² و I³. ٥ زيادة بخط المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح من الجملة على آخر السطر.

٦ لِحُسُومِ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر: "خ لِحَسِيمِ". و"ح": نسخة أخرى، ووهكذا رواية أمالي القالي ٤٩:١.

§ 2.9 Al-Uḥaymir

§ 2.9.1 He was one of the thieves of the Sa'd, and his name was [...] ¹⁶⁹

§ 2.9.2 Abū 'Alī l-Qālī reported that ¹⁷⁰ Abū Bakr, on the authority of Abū Ḥātīm via both al-Aṣma'ī and Abū 'Ubaydah, recited the following poem of
5 al-Uḥaymir: [*al-tawīl*]

She said: "I see one of middling stature and legs,
With a long back, slumbering in the forenoon."
My build may be unexceptional, yet-
When troubles come knocking, I'm decisive.

10 Abū 'Ubaydah's version has the additional line:

You chastise me over poverty, but the desert is wide open,
And my sword is master over traders' goods!

9 I'm decisive: Another recension: "I'm forceful". (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

169 Biographies of Uḥaymir are uncertain regarding his name: Ibn Qutaybah relates nothing other than Uḥaymir al-Sa'dī (*al-Ši'r wa-l-šu'arā'*, 2:773), and Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī reports him as Uḥaymir b. Fulān b. al-Ḥārīṭ b. Yazīd, indicating his father's name was unknown (*Simṭ al-la'ālī*, 1:195). His grandfather, al-Ḥārīṭ b. Yazīd, was a known figure whom al-Ġāḥiḏ connects to Uḥaymir (*al-Ḥayawān*, 2:36).

170 The additional *wa* ('and') in al-Maqrīzī's Arabic text implies that he learned the poem from both al-Qālī and Abū Ḥātīm, but the conjunction is a direct copy from al-Qālī, *al-Amālī*, 1:49; al-Maqrīzī's sole source is al-Qālī, who reported on the authority of Abū Bakr from Abū Ḥātīm al-Siġistānī (*al-Amālī*, 1:49), and thus the conjunction is not translated here.

§ 2.9.3 ثم تاب فقال: [البيسط]

أشكو إلى الله صبري عن زواملهم
 قل للصوص بني الخناء يحتسبوا
 وما أُلقي إذا مروا من الحزن
 يز العراق وينسوا طرفة اليمن
 ويتركوا الخبز والديباج يلبسه
 بيض الموالي ذوي اليسرات والعكن
 من القطار بلا نقد ولا ثمن
 قرب ثوب كريم كنت آخذه

٥

٢ الحزن: زيادة بخط المقيزي في مكانها الصحيح من الجملة على آخر السطر ووضع المقيزي رمز "ح" تحت "الحزن" إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٣ يحتسبوا: وضع المقيزي رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٢ أُلقي: أضاف المقيزي هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل ويشير إليها رمز "ف" فوق "أُلقي": "سخ أقاسي" و"ح": نسخة أخرى. ورواية أمالي القالي ١: ٤٩: "أُلقي".

أمالي القالي ١: ٤٩. وراجع كذلك أبو تمام، الوحشيات ٣٣، والبصري، الحماسة البصرية ٤: ١٥٩٦.

§ 2.9.3 But al-Uḥaymir later repented, and said: [*al-basīṭ*]

I confide to God how hard it is, desisting from loaded camels,
 How hard, to see them crossing through the badlands!
 Tell the thieves, those bastards, to be content with
 5 Clothes of Iraq; forget the choice robes of Yemen!
 And leave the silken brocades for
 Rich, fair-skinned converts with fat bellies.
 Many precious garments I used to take,
 From caravans without paying!

2 I ... camels: Another recension: 'I complain to God what I suffer' (*uqāsi*). (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

§ 2.10.1 **نظام** بن جشم بن عمرو بن مالك بن الحرث بن عبد الحرث بن جشم بن حاشد بن جشم^{13b} ابن خيران بن توف بن همدان بن مالك بن زيد بن أوسلة بن ربيعة بن الخيار بن مالك بن زيد ابن كهلان بن سبأ بن يشجب بن يعرب بن قحطان وهو جد أعشى همدان واسمه عبد الرحمن بن الحرث بن نظام.

○ § 2.10.2 قال ابن الكلبي عن عوانة بن الحكم قال: حدثني شيخان من همدان قالوا: كان نظام ابن جشم بن عمرو بن مالك الهمداني مواخيا لأشوع بن أبي مرثد الهمداني فكانا مغوارين فاتكبن قرضوبين جوادين لا يلبقان شيئا. فخر جارييدان الغارة على مهرة بن حيدان وكانا يختلسان الصرمة ثم يشلانها مجاهرة فإن أدركا رميا فلم يسقط لهما سهم.

§ 2.10.3 قال ابن الكلبي: قال أبي: قال عوانة: سمعت من أثق به من رجال همدان {يخبر} أن السرب من القطا كان يمر بهما طائرا فيقولان "أيها تريدون؟" فيوماً إلى الواحدة منها فيرميانها فلا يخطئان وكذلك الظباء. وبين بلاد همدان وبلاد مهرة مفازة منكرة لا تسلكها الخيل تسوخ فيها أخفاف الإبل تنصب فيها أودية مهرة وأودية الجوف فهي سبخة مليحة نشاشة لا تنبت عودا ليس

١ حاشد: "شد" زيادة بخط المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح من الجملة على آخر السطر في الهامش الأعلى.
٨ رميا: الألف من "رميا" مطموس في الأصل والتكلمة من I². ٩ يخبر: في الأصل: "خبر" وما أثبتناه من المجلس الصالح ١: ٣٩٧. ١٠ تريدون: كذا في الأصل والمجلس الصالح ١: ٣٩٨. ١٢ مليحة: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء.

٧ قرضوبين: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى: "القرضوب الذي يأخذ كلها لاح له".

§ 2.10.1 **Nizām**, son of Ğušam b. ‘Amr b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārīt b. ‘Abd al-Ḥārīt b. Ğušam b. Ḥāšid b. Ğušam b. Ḥayrān b. Nawf b. Hamdān b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Awsalah b. Rabī‘ah b. al-Ḥiyār b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba’ b. Yašğub b. Ya‘rub b. Qaḥṭān. He was the grandfather of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārīt b. Nizām, the poet known as Ašá of the Hamdān.¹⁷¹

§ 2.10.2 Ibn al-Kalbī said that ‘Awānah b. al-Ḥakam heard two old men of the Hamdān report that Nizām b. Ğušam b. ‘Amr b. Mālik al-Hamdānī used to associate with Ašwa‘ b. Abī Marṭad al-Hamdānī: they were bellicose raiders and inveterate thieves, but they were also magnanimous and unstinting in their charity. Once they set out to raid the Mahrah b. Ḥaydān.¹⁷² Their method was to rustle a small herd of camels and drive them off in plain sight, and if they were pursued, they would shoot arrows, and none ever missed the mark.

§ 2.10.3 Ibn al-Kalbī said that his father heard from ‘Awānah who heard an informant whom he trusted from the Hamdān report that when a flock of sand grouse flew by Nizām and Ašwa‘, they would say to each other: “Which one do you want?” They’d then point one out and shoot it down. They would never miss. Similarly they never missed when shooting gazelles. Between their land of Hamdān and the Mahrah¹⁷³ was a dreadful desert which horses could not cross, nor camels since their feet would sink into the sand. The valleys of Mahrah and al-Ġawf¹⁷⁴ originate from this desert, which consists of an extremely saline salt flat where salty pools sustain nothing other than

9 inveterate thieves: The word *qurdūb* refers to a kleptomaniac. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī’s hand).

171 Ašá Hamdān (d. 83/703) was an Umayyad-era poet born in al-Kūfah. He participated in inter-factional warring in Iraq and his poetry was partisan to the ‘Southerner Arab’ *Yamāniyyah* groups; on account of which he was executed by the Umayyad governor in Iraq, al-Ḥağğāğ b. Yūsuf. Ašá (lit. ‘night blind’) was a sobriquet given to numerous poets in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic eras: al-Bakrī enumerates fifteen poets with this nickname (*Simt al-la‘ālī*, 1:76–77).

172 A lineage group of the Quḍā‘ah which lived in what is now eastern Yemen. A prized breed of camels, the Mahrī, were raised by this group.

173 Mahrah as a toponym refers to the eastern provinces of modern Yemen and parts of south-western Oman.

174 Ġawf here likely refers to the valley of ‘Ād, a place associated with inaccessibility and fabulous hidden wonders (Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 2:187–188).

العكرش. قال: ففوزاً أياماً وشوّل ماؤهما وخافا الهلاك فأبصر يوماً مع دُرُور الشمس طيرا تحوم على غمض من الأرض. فقال أحدهما لصاحبه: "ألا ترى ما أرى؟" فقال: "بلى." فقال: "والله إنها لتحوم على لحم أو ماء وأيهما كان فهو ثلٌّ أو وشلٌّ." فقصدَا الجهة حتى هبطا غائطاً ذا حيرآواتٍ ونُقَعَانِ فأناخا وشربا وعَضدَا لراحلتيهما فاستظلا ببعض تلك الشجر. فبينما هما كذلك إذ مر بهما أمعوز ٥ وهو جماعة من الطباء فرمياه فصرا طبيين فأورِيَا واشتَوِيَا وقعدا يرقبان الليل ليستدلا بالنجوم فإذا سواد مقبل فأخمرَا راحلتيهما أي واريها تحت الشجر وطلعا دُوحةً فتغيبا وإذا صِرْمَةً زُهر كالصوّار يحدوها عبد أسود وهو يقول: [الرجز]

رُوحِي إِلَى خَيْرِ أَبِي المَعَارِكِ بِمَبْرَكٍ مِنْ أَرْحَبِ المَبَارِكِ
فَإِنْ بَيْتِ أَضْيَافِهِ هُنَاكَ فَأَبْشِرِي بِوَقْعِ عَضْبٍ بِاتِّكَ |
يَبْتَرُ مِنْكَ أَسْوَاقَ البَوَاتِكِ

14^a

١٠

فما غاب الأول عن أعيننا حتى بدت صِرْمَةً أُخرى يحدوها عبد أسود وهو يقول: [الرجز]

رُوحِي إِلَى مَبْرَكِكَ الدَّمَائِرِ إِلَى فَتَى كَرِشَانَ والمُهَاصِرِ

١ تحوم: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٢ لتحوم: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٣ على: في الأصل: "علي". || ثلٌّ: كذا في الأصل، ولعل الصواب: "مَلَكٌ" كما في النهرواني، الجليس الصالح الكافي ١: ٣٩٨. || حيرآواتٍ: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء ولكن الصواب: "خبرآوات" كما في النهرواني، الجليس الصالح ١: ٣٩٨. ٦ واريها: كذا في الأصل. || دُوحةٌ: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٧ يحدوها: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ١١ حتى: في الأصل: "حتى". || أخرى: وفي الأصل: "أخري" وهي زيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأعلى ويشير إليها رمز ٢ فوق "صِرْمَةً". || يحدوها: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ١٢ إلى: في الأصل: "إلى". || إلى ... والمُهَاصِرِ: كذا في الأصل، وفي النهرواني، الجليس الصالح الكافي ١: ٣٩٩. "إلى فتى كبهان المهاجر".

aeluropus grass. For several days, Nizām and Ašwa‘ trekked across this desert. Their water supply trickled to its last dregs, and they were beginning to fear death, but then they glimpsed through the dusty speckled rays of the sun some birds circling over a low patch of land. One of them said: “Do you see
 5 what I see?” “Of course!” “By God, they must be circling over flesh or water, and whatever the case, it offers at least some scraps of food or a trickle of a drink.” They headed towards it, and reached a depression with small glades of Christ’s Thorns and little pools. They set down their camels, drank, spread
 10 some leaves for their mounts to eat, and then reclined in the shade of one of the trees. As they were resting, a small herd of gazelles passed by. They shot two, lit a fire, grilled the meat and lay waiting for the night when they could continue their progress via the stars. Then, all of a sudden, a black mass appeared in the distance. They concealed their camels (i.e. they hid them under a tree), and they climbed a tall tree to hide themselves, and lo
 15 and behold a herd of pure white camels like a steer of cows came, led by a black slave who was singing: [*al-rağaz*]

Set off to the best of warriors!

The most generous place to set down your camel.

If his guests come for the night,

20 Then rejoice! There will be blows with slicing swords,
 He’ll cut for you the legs of plump-humped camels!

[Nizām continues:]¹⁷⁵ No sooner had this group travelled out of sight, when a second herd appeared, also led by a black slave who was singing: [*al-rağaz*]

Go to the flat resting place for your camels,

25 To the brave of al-Azd and ‘Abd al-Qays,¹⁷⁶ and the refuges,¹⁷⁷

175 The narration switches to first person here, ostensibly the words of Nizām himself.

176 A large lineage group settled along the Gulf coast in eastern Arabia during pre-Islamic times (an area then known as al-Baḥrayn). Groups of al-Azd settled to the south of ‘Abd al-Qays (in what is now Oman).

177 The meaning of these verses is obscure, and the version recorded by al-Maqrīzī differs from his source in al-Mu‘āfā al-Nahrawānī’s *al-Ġalīs al-šālīh al-kāfī*, 1:399. In *al-Ġalīs* the line reads *ilā fatā kuhbān wa-l-mahāğīr*, viz. al-Maqrīzī: *ilā fatā kiršān al-muhāşir*. Neither appears to readily relinquish meaning. Al-Maqrīzī’s *muhāşir* is a proper name, but its possible connotations here are unclear; this translation replaces it with *mahāğīr* from *al-Ġalīs*. According to al-Zabīdī, *kiršān* refers to the al-Azd and ‘Abd al-Qays (*Tāğ al-‘arūs*, 9:184): this is an unusual allusion since the al-Azd and ‘Abd al-Qays lived to the north of where this story was reported to have occurred.

وَعِصْمَةُ الْمُعْتَوِرِ الْمُحَاوِرِ وَاللَيْثُ فِي الْيَوْمِ الْعِمَاسِ الْخَادِرِ
فَإِنْ مُنِيتَ عُضَافَ زَائِرٍ فَأَيُّقِنِي بِوَقْعِ عَضْبِ بَاتِرِ
ثُمَّ اعْتَرَاقٍ بِشِفَارِ جَازِرٍ مَخْطَرِفٍ لِلْجِلَّةِ الْبِهَادِرِ

فلما غاب الراعيان عن أعيننا خرجنا نقتفِر آثارَ الإبلِ حتى دنونا من الحلة فأُنخنا. فلما هدأت الرِجْلُ
٥ خرجنا مُصلّتين حتى انتهينا إلى المبرك فاستثرتنا من أطواره صِرْمَةً فشللناها ليلتنا حتى إذا انحسر
خِدر الليل وذرّ الشروق إذا شبح بهوي إلينا هويّ العقاب. فما ارتد الطرف حتى أثبتناه نظراً. فإذا
رجل على ناقة كأنها ظبي صدعُ فأبّه بالصِرْمَةِ فانكفأت راجعة فأقبلنا نُصُورُها وهي تنزع إلى تأييدها.
فلما دنا منا قال: "خليا عنها لا أم لكما!" فقلنا: "ولا نُعمى عين!" وبأننا له سهمين فأقم على راحلته
كالوعْلِ المذعور وانتضى سيفه وثنى رأسه في درقته. فوالله ما أرسلنا سهما حتى خالطنا فضرب
١٠ عرقوبي ناقة صاحبي فغادرها تكوُسُ وأهوى للأخرى فنز عرقوبها وهو يقول: [الرجز]

عَلَامٌ أَسْقِي رِسَالَهَا وَأَمْنَحُ وَأُشْبِعُ الضَّيْفَ بِهَا وَأَجْرُحُ

١ وعِصْمَةُ ... المحاور: كذا في الأصل، وفي النهرواني، المجلس الصالح الكافي ١: ٣٩٩: "وعصمة المعتور
المهاجر". ٢ عُضَاف: كذا في الأصل، والصواب: "مضاف" كما في النهرواني، المجلس الصالح الكافي
١: ٣٩٩. ٣ البهادر: كذا في الأصل، ولعل الصواب: "بهازر" كما في النهرواني، المجلس الصالح الكافي
١: ٤٠٠. ٤ الحلة: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحتها إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٥ حتى: في الأصل: "حتى".
٧ إلى: في الأصل: "إلي". ٨ على: في الأصل: "علي". ٩ وثنى: في الأصل: "وثني". ١٠ فنز: كذا في
الأصل ولا معنى لها فالصواب: "بتر" كما في النهرواني، المجلس الصالح الكافي ١: ٤٠١.

١ العِمَاسُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل ويشير إليها رمز "ح"
تحت "العِمَاسُ": "ح العِمَاسُ الشديد". ٧ صدعُ: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيمن من
الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "الصدع الذي بين الكبير والصغير". والشرح غريب، راجع تعريف "صدع" في ابن
منظور، لسان العرب ٨: ١٩٦. || نُصُورُها: أضاف المقرئ هذه الحاشية في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى
الأعلى: "نُصُورُها أي نعطفها ونميلها".

And the protection of poor mendicant and an emigrant,
 And the lion on a day of battle lurking in his den.
 If you wish to entertain a visitor
 Then trust in a blow of a slicing sword,
 5 And swift turn of a butcher's knife
 On an enormous she-camel.¹⁷⁸

After the two herders disappeared from sight, we set out to track their path. It led to an encampment, and as we neared it, we dismounted. When all was quiet at night, we advanced with swords drawn towards the camels' resting place. We roused the camels on one side and rustled about thirty,¹⁷⁹ and made off with them into the night. As the darkness began to light, and as the first rays dawned, suddenly an apparition came into sight, hurtling towards us like a diving eagle. Just a moment later, we saw it clearly: lo and behold it was a man racing on a camel as if it was a sprightly gazelle. He yelped at the herd of camels we rustled, and they stopped and started turning back. We tried to veer them forward again, but they were responsive to his calls, and when he neared us he yelled: "Leave them, you bastards!" "Not bloody likely!" We both strung an arrow against him, but he leapt from his mount as fast as a startled mountain goat, drew his blade, ducked his head under his shield and by God, before we could even get a shot off, he was upon us. He slashed the hamstring of my partner's camel and left her upturned, and he dashed to the second camel, and he cut her hamstring too, singing: [*al-raġaz*]

How will I serve my camel's milk, and provide for
 And satisfy my guests, and earn a good name,

2 a ... battle: Note: *ʿamās* is something intense. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

14 sprightly: *ṣadaʿ* means mid-sized. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand). 16 to ... forward: The verb *naṣūruhā* means to 'redirect them', to 'turn them around'. (Marginal gloss in al-Maqrīzī's hand).

178 The last lines of the poem refer to the poet's generosity in offering camel meat to his guests. For the translation, we have read the line's last word as *bahāzīr*, instead of the manuscript's *bahādir*.

179 A *ṣirmah* is a herd which al-Ġawharī defines as thirty head (*al-Šihāh*, 5:1965), but other grammarians much debated its size. Their estimates range from the low teens to sixty (see al-Zabīdī, *Tāġ al-ʿarūs*, 17:409).

إن لم أقاتل دونها وأُصرَح عنها إذا خام الكمي الشحشح

ثم قال: "استأسرا!" فتذامرنا وإن أنفسنا لتنازعنا إلى ما قال. فكَرَرْنَا عليه بأسيا فثوب وثبة الفهد ووقف حجراً فَوَتَ النبل ثم كر راجعا فضرب درقة صاحبي فاقْتَدَهَا. فلما رأينا ذلك استسلمنا وقلنا: "عيادًا بك يا بن الكرام!" فقال: "بمَعَاذِ عُدْتَمَا؟" وسألنا عن أنسابنا فأخبرناه فقال: "ارتدفا على راحلتي وأصرفا وجهها شَطْرَ مطلع الشمس تبلغكما الحي فإني بالأمم." فضض بنا الناقة تهوي لا ٥ تُمْلِكُكَا من أمرنا شيئًا حتى وردت بنا الحي فكلًا وَلَا إذ أقبل ضاحكا كأنه لم تَمَسَّه مشقة وقد مشى مسيرة ليلة للراكب المُجَدِّ. فقال: "دونكما الصرمة التي اطردها وناقتين | من سرَّ إيلي برحليهما." 14^b وحملنا وسرَحْنَا فقال: "اسمعا ما أقول لكم." فقال: [الطويل]

أقول نَحَارِبِي همدان لما
ألم تعلم أن لن تفوتا
وظن عاجر أن تسلباني
ومن دون الذي أملتاه
إذا أنا لم أدد عن مدفات
فم أجنب الأضياف ذمي
أثارا صرمة حمرا وعيسا
وأن لم تعجزا الليث الهموسا
ومن ذا يسلب الأسد الفريسا
ضراب يقطر البطل البليسا
يهد وتيدها الحزن الشريسا
إذا النكباء أوجفت البيسا

١٠

١ وأصرَح: في الأصل اللفظة غير معجمة. ٥ وجهها: كذا في الأصل، وفي النهرواني، المجلس الصالح: ٤٠١: "وجهتها". تَمَسَّه: في الأصل: "يمسسه" بالياء وهو تصحيف ظاهر. ١٠ وأن لم: كذا في الأصل، ولعل الصواب: "وأن لن" كما في النهرواني، المجلس الصالح الكافي: ٤٠٢: ١. ١١ وظن: في الأصل: "وظن". ١٢ البليسا: كذا في الأصل والمجلس الصالح الكافي، ولا نقف على معناها، ولعل الصواب: "بيس". ١٤ البيسا: كذا في الأصل، وفي النهرواني، المجلس الصالح الكافي: ٤٠٢: ١. "البيسا".

If I don't defend what's mine and push away
 Stout gallants who confront me.¹⁸⁰

He then yelled to us: "Surrender!" Our better judgment urged us to comply with his command, but we stirred up our courage and charged upon him
 5 with our swords, but he leapt away like a panther, stood aside at an arrow's distance, and then charged back at us. He slashed my partner's shield, cleaving it in twain, and when we saw this, we gave up, declaring to him: "We seek refuge in you, o noble born!" He replied: "You seek refuge now?" He asked us our lineage, and we told him. Then he ordered us: "Ride together on my
 10 mount and turn her towards the rising sun, and she'll deliver you to my tribe. I'll be in front." The camel took off, completely out of our control, and didn't stop until we reached the camp. And you wouldn't believe it, but there he came up laughing as if he had endured no troubles at all, yet he had trekked the distance it would take one night of hard riding to cover. He told us: "Here
 15 you go: take the herd of camels you were rustling, and also take two of my best female riding camels and their saddles!" We loaded up, and when we set off, he called after us: "I have a message for you, listen! [*al-ṭawīl*]

I say to the two Hamdānī rustlers,¹⁸¹
 When they disturbed my fine red and light-blond camels:
 20 'Didn't you know they wouldn't get away?
 Didn't you know a furious lion can't be beat?'
 An ill-formed presumption that they could plunder me:
 Who ever plunders a ferocious lion?
 Between you and your hopes
 25 Are slashing blows that fell heroes.
 If I don't defend my hundred-head herds,
 Which flatten the rugged ground with their heavy footfall,
 From what will I avert guests' censure,
 When fierce winds howl against the wretched?

180 The verb *ḥāma* in the last verse is unusual: the verb usually means to be cowardly (Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, 12:193), though here the intention seems that the man asserts his reasons for defending his property against miscreants would steal it. The poem recorded in the source of this tale by al-Muʿāfā in his *al-Ġalīs al-ṣāliḥ al-kāfi* likewise has the verb *ḥāma* (1:401).

181 He means the two thieves, Niẓām and al-Ašwaʿ, both of Hamdān lineage.

وَمَا أَحْسَبُ الْجُمَّ اللَّوَاتِي تَظَلُّ لَهَا الرِّجَالُ إِلَى شُوسَا
وَمَا أَنْعَشُ الْعُقَى إِذَا مَا تَرَاءَوْا وَجَهَ دَهْرَهُمْ عُبُوسَا
أَهْيَبَا خَارِبِي هَمْدَانِ مِنْهَا بَزْهَرُ تَطْرُدُ الْفَقْرَ الضَّرُوسَا
وَأُوبَا سَالِمِينَ بِهَا وَمَا أَثْرُ لِكَمَا النَّادَ الْمَرْمَرِيسَا

٥ يريد الداهية. وقوله "أَحْسَبُ الْجُمَّ": معناه أنيلهم ما يكفيمهم. يقال "أَحْسَبَنِي الطَّعَامُ وَغَيْرَهُ" أي كفاني. و"الْجُمَّ": جمع جُمَّة وهم القوم {يسألون} في الدية. و"الشُّوسُ": جمع أَشُوس وهو الذي ينظر نظرا شديدا. وقوله "وَمَا أَنْعَشُ الْعُقَى": معنى أَنْعَشَ أَرْفَعُ ومنه قولهم "نَعَشَكَ اللَّهُ" أي رفعك الله إما بسد خلتك أو بإقالة عترتك والعُقَى جمع عاف وهو سائل الحاجة وطالبا.

١ تَظَلُّ: كذا في الأصل بالتاء. ٢ الْعُقَى: في الأصل: "العُقَى". ٦ يسألون: في الأصل: "يسلون".
٧ الْعُقَى: في الأصل: "العُقَى". ٨ عترتك: كذا في الأصل، والصواب: "عترتك" كما في النهرواني، الجليس
الصالح الكافي ١: ٤٠٣.

النهرولني، الجليس الصالح الكافي ١: ٣٩٧-٤٠٣.

And from what will I settle demands for blood money,
 When the men stand glaring at me?
 And how can I raise up the beggars,
 When Fate's face frowns down upon them?
 5 You Hamdānī delinquents, call them:
 The white camels that relieve biting poverty.
 Return safely with them!
 I will not stir for you serious calamity!"

He means that he did not want to inflict disaster. And by the line "settle
 10 demands for blood money", he meant that he would pay the camels in sat-
 isfaction of the ransom. You can use the same verb (*ḥasaba*) to mean 'I ate
 a sufficient amount of food,' or in other similar contexts. And he expressed
 'demands' by the word *ǧumam* (the plural of *ǧummaḥ*) which means a group
 of people who claim blood compensation. To express "glaring at me", he used
 15 the word *šaws*, the plural is *ašwas*, and it means one who is giving an intense
 look. And his line: "raise up the beggars", uses the verb *naʿaša*, i.e. to raise, as
 they also say: "May God raise you," either by satisfying your need, or by rais-
 ing the stumbling block before you. The word "beggars" (*ʿuffá*) is the plural
 of *ʿāfin* (beggar), it is someone who is begging for, or seeking help.

§ 2.11.1 يزيد بن الصَّقِيل بتقدِيم القاف على الياء القيسي ثم العَقِيلِي. كان يسرق الإبل ثم تاب وقتل في سبيل الله.

§ 2.11.2 ومن شعره: [الطويل]

ألا قل لأرباب المخائض أهملوا
وأن امرأً ينجو من النار بعدما
إذا ما المنيا أخطأتك وصادفت
فقد تاب مما تعلمون يزيد
تزود من أعمالها لسعيد
حميمك فاعلم أنها ستعود

وقال: ما كلمت فلانا إلا مُشاورَةً أي إلا أن يشير إلي وأشير إليه. قال المبرد: الناقة إذا القحت قيل لها خَلْفَةٌ وللجمع المخاض ثم جمع الجمع فقال مخائض^١.

١ القيسي ثم: زيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأعلى في مكانها الصحيح من الجملة بعد "الياء".

المبرد، الكامل ١: ١٣٥.

§ 2.11.1 **Yazīd**, son of al-Ṣaqīl (note the ‘q’ is before the ‘ī’) al-Qaysī, al-‘Uqaylī.
He used to steal camels, but he repented and died a martyr.

§ 2.11.2 His poetry includes: [*al-ṭawīl*]

5 Tell the owners of pregnant camels: ‘Pasture them free!
 Yazīd has repented from his old ways!’
 A man who escapes from the Hellfire
 After stockpiling damnation, is a fortunate one!
 If the strikes of Fate miss you, and hit
 Your dear friend, know that they’ll come around again.

10 He used to say: “I would never speak to one without gesticulating,” i.e. without him pointing to me and me pointing to him. Al-Mubarrad¹⁸² said that an impregnated camel is called a *ḥalīfah*, and the plural is *maḥāḍ*, and the plural of the plural is *maḥā’id*.

182 Abū l-‘Abbās Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Mubarrad (d. 286/900), a Basran grammarian and belles-lettrist and writer of *al-Kāmil*, one of the most commonly cited sourcebooks about Arabic language, poetry and Arabian historical and cultural anecdotes.

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Index of Verses

ص/ p.	البحر/ meter	القافية/ rhyme	أول البيت/ beginning of first hemistich
254	الطويل/tawīl	أَكْذِبُ	يَكْذِبُنِي
184	البسيط/basīt	مَغْلُوبٌ	كُلُّ أَمْرِي
190	البسيط/basīt	مَرْكُوبٌ	وَكُلُّ حِي
196	الطويل/tawīl	وَهَبِ	أَلْأَهْلَ
174	الطويل/tawīl	نَفْتِ	أَلَا أَيُّهَا
242	الطويل/tawīl	جَنَّتِ	فَدَقَتْ
242	الطويل/tawīl	وَأَقْلَتِ	وَأَمَّ عِيَالِ
290	الرجز/raġaz	وَأَجْرُحُ	عَلَامِ
296	الطويل/tawīl	يَزِيدُ	أَلَا قَلِ
250	البسيط/basīt	أَذْوَادِ	يَا صَاحِبِي
206	الطويل/tawīl	مَعْرُورٌ	أَقُولُ
250	الوافر/wāfir	مَحَارُ	كَأَنَّ
258	البسيط/basīt	الْبِقْرُ	إِنِّي
264	البسيط/basīt	سَخِرُ	إِنِّي
240	الطويل/tawīl	عَامِرِ	لَا تَقْبِرُونِي
210	الكامل/kāmil	وَعَثِرِ	خَيْرِ
256	الوافر/wāfir	عَوَارَا	لِعَمْرٍو
288	الرجز/raġaz	المهاصرُ	رُوحِي
292	الطويل/tawīl	وَعَيْسَا	أَقُولُ
172	الطويل/tawīl	شَقَاتُ	أَيُّزَجِرُ
202	البسيط/basīt	طَرَاقِ	يَا عَيْدِ
212	الكامل/kāmil	الصِقِ	بِحَلِيلَةِ
226	الطويل/tawīl	مَالِكِ	إِنِّي لِمَهْدِ
236	الرمال/ramal	خَتَلِكُ	لَيْتِ
288	الرجز/raġaz	المباركُ	رُوحِي
174	الطويل/tawīl	يَعْقُلُ	أَمَا كَانَ
228	المديد/madīd	يَطْلُ	إِنَّ الشَّعْبَ

ص / p.	البحر / meter	القافية / rhyme	أول البيت / beginning of first hemistich
222	الكامل / kāmīl	مهبلي	ولقد
172	الوافر / wāfir	القدال	أهمام
172	الوافر / wāfir	الرجال	أهمام
172	الوافر / wāfir	مبالي	أهمام
182	الوافر / wāfir	القبال	ومقعد
188	الوافر / wāfir	الشمال	وما لبث
246	الوافر / wāfir	الطوال	ألا أعتبت
274	المتقارب / mutaḡārib	يقتل	ألا أبلغ
260	الرجز / raġaz	مجهول	من مبلغ
208	الوافر / wāfir	والمقاله	ألا أبلغا
198	الرجز / raġaz	رفله	يا لك
278	الطويل / ṭawīl	نائم	تقول
282	الطويل / ṭawīl	نؤوم	وقالت
214	الوافر / wāfir	مقاما	ونار
252	الرمال / ramal	والبحام	قرب
244	الوافر / wāfir	فطلقيني	إذا ما
284	البسيط / basīt	الجزن	أشكو
208	الطويل / ṭawīl	عاهنا	ألا تلجأ
260	الطويل / ṭawīl	وأخونا	فإني
262	الطويل / ṭawīl	كانا	يا عين
186	البسيط / basīt	بواديه	يا ليت

Index of Names (People and Places)

- ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muwaylik al-Ḥaṭ‘amī 259
Abū l-Faraġ al-Iṣfahānī 18n, 23n, 27, 29n,
34n, 66–67, 69, 75, 98, 127–131, 137–141,
143–146, 179, 181
Abū Ḥātim al-Siġistānī 34n, 36, 41, 43, 55,
63, 98, 99, 123, 195, 283
Abū Kabīr al-Ḥudālī 143, 220–221
Abū Nuwās, al-Ḥasan ibn Hānī’ 70–71
Abū Tammām 63, 143, 147, 220n
Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī (see al-Bakrī)
Abū ‘Ubaydah, Ma‘mar b. al-Muṭannā 29,
37, 40–43, 45, 48–49, 52, 55, 60, 64, 75,
123, 133, 181, 259, 283
A‘lam al-Ḥudālī 46
‘Amr b. ‘Āhān 263
‘Āmir b. Aḥnas 217
‘Amr b. ‘Amr (or b. Sa’d) 255
‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ 201
‘Amr b. Barrāqah/Barrāq 37, 46, 66, 93, 95,
97n, 98n, 99, 106, 107, 108, 110–112, 115,
127, 130, 133, 134–137, 177, 201–203, 245,
277–281
‘Amr b. Ġundab 255
‘Amr b. Kulṭūm 28n
‘Amr b. Ma’dī Karīb 181, 189–191
‘Amr b. Nu‘mān 281
‘Amr Dū Kalb (see ‘Amr of the Dog)
‘Amr of the Dog (‘Amr Dū Kalb) 38n, 69, 93,
95, 97, 102–107, 110, 114, 119n, 123, 127,
129, 131, 132, 134, 139, 143–145, 147, 177,
179–191
Anas b. Mudrik/Mudrikah 259, 261
al-Anbārī, Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim 37, 189
‘Antarah b. Ṣaddād 48, 50, 70–71
al-‘Āṣ b. Umayl 169
al-A‘šā, Maymūn b. Qays 261
A‘šā Bāhilah 93, 265–269
A‘šā Hamdān, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥariṭ
287
al-Aṣma‘ī, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Qurayb 36n, 237,
283
Aṣwa‘ b. Abī Martad al-Hamdānī 287–295
‘Awānah b. al-Ḥakam 287
Awfā b. Maṭar 18n, 37, 43, 46, 49, 50, 52, 55,
93, 95, 96n, 97, 107, 127, 130, 133, 150,
177, 273–275
al-Azharī, Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b.
Aḥmad 38–39
al-Bakrī, Abū ‘Ubayd ‘Abd Allāh 75, 128n,
136
al-Balāḍurī 40, 46, 52n, 60–61, 63
al-Ḍimārī 189
Eustace the Monk 27n, 103, 140n, 148n
Fouke Fitz Waryn 11
Fukayhah bt. Qatādah 255–257
Ġābir al-Razāmī 273–275
Ġa‘far b. Abī Ṭālib 271
al-Ġāḥiḏ, ‘Amr b. Bahr 30n, 33n, 49, 64n,
130, 139, 237n, 249n, 261, 283n
Gamelyn 11, 100
Ġanūb (sister of ‘Amr of the Dog) 119n, 185,
191
al-Ġarīrī (see al-Mu‘āfā)
al-Ġawfazān 255
al-Ġawharī, Ismā‘īl b. Ḥammād 25, 26, 39n,
77, 118n, 125–126, 171, 177
al-Ġawrī, Abū l-Naṣr Qānṣawh 82, 83
al-Ġumaḥī (see Ibn Sallām)
Ḥāġiḏ b. ‘Awf 18n, 34, 46, 49, 50, 67, 99, 131,
215
Ḥalaf al-Aḥmar 62n, 229
al-Ḥalīl b. Aḥmad 25, 28, 39n, 51, 118n, 119n,
123, 126, 138, 195, 213, 279
Hammām b. Murrah 171–173
Ḥarb b. al-Sulayk 261
Ḥarīm b. Nu‘mān al-Murādī (Ḥazīm al-
Murādī) 136–137, 277–279
Ḥawṣab b. Yazīd b. Ruwaym 251
Ḥazīm al-Murādī (see Ḥarīm b. Nu‘mān al-
Murādī)
Hereward the Wake 11, 100, 140, 148
Ḥifnī, ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm 2n, 22n, 23n, 26, 27n,
28n, 37, 47, 53n
Hind bt. Asmā’ al-Ḥarīṭī 269
Hobsbawm, Eric 1–2, 9–11, 12, 13–15, 19, 94n,
140n

- Ḥufāf b. Naḍlah 229
 Ḥufāf b. 'Umayr 48, 50
 Ḥulayyif, Yūsuf 2n, 18n, 22n, 23n, 36, 47n
- Ibn al-Aṭīr, 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī b. Abī Karam 68–69, 70, 71, 73, 76
 Ibn Durayd, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan 25, 39n, 52, 119n, 235, 257
 Ibn Ḥabīb, Muḥammad 27–29, 41n, 48, 49, 169n
 Ibn Ḥaldūn, Walī l-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān 72n, 77–78, 84–85
 Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad 26, 82, 83, 86n, 89
 Ibn al-Kalbī, Hišām b. Muḥammad 123, 129–130, 134, 138–139, 179, 193, 287
 Ibn al-Mu'tazz 18n, 62n
 Ibn Qutaybah, 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim 35n, 38, 40, 41n, 42, 46, 48n, 60, 61, 62n, 63, 75, 110, 126, 129–130, 133, 138, 143, 147, 220n, 261
 Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī 69–70, 73, 74, 118n
 Ibn Sallām al-Ġumaḥī 61–63
 Ibn Sidah, 'Alī b. Ismā'īl 25, 32–33, 39n, 49, 51, 55, 77, 118n, 119n, 125–126, 138, 141–142, 171, 177
 al-Iṣfahānī (see Abū l-Faraġ al-Iṣfahānī)
- Keen, Maurice 1, 11–12, 13, 14
 Kušāġim, Abū l-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd 129, 132, 147, 179n
- al-Lāt 191
 al-Lihbī, Ḥamzah b. 'Utbah 197
- Manī'ah (wife of Ta'abbata Šarran) 209
 al-Maqrīzī 2–4, 15, 17, 26, 45, 47, 54–56, 58–59, 61, 72–78, 80–90, 91–121, 122–150, 161–163
 al-Marzubānī, Muḥammad b. 'Imrān 107, 123, 129, 146, 147, 245
 al-Mas'ūdī, 'Alī b. al-Ḥuṣayn 65–66, 67, 69, 70, 73, 78, 169n
 al-Mu'āfā l-Ġarīrī l-Nahrawānī, al-Qāḍī Abū l-Faraġ 93, 101, 123, 129–130, 132, 147, 189
 al-Mubarrad, Abū 'Abbās Muḥammad b. Yazīd 38, 44–45, 47n, 75, 93, 128, 130–132, 265, 269, 297
- al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī 41, 63, 181
 al-Mufaġġa' 44–45
 Muḥammad (Prophet) 3, 4, 58, 74, 77–78, 86–87, 271n
 al-Muntašir al-Bāhili 18n, 35–36, 37, 40, 43, 46, 47–50, 55, 60, 69, 93, 95, 97, 107, 127, 130, 177, 263–271
 Murrah b. Ḥulayf 29n, 217
- Nabīh b. al-Ḥaġġāġ 169
 al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥarīṭ 169
 Niẓām 93–94, 95, 97, 98n, 101, 107, 112, 130, 147, 287–295
 Nufayl b. Barrāqah 46, 66, 127, 177
 al-Nuwayrī, Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad 70–71, 76
- Places
- 'Amāyah 273, 275
 'Aṭṭar 211
 Baṭn Širyān/Šaryān 185, 189, 191
Bayt Allāh, see God's House
 Bišah 211
 al-Biṣr 257
 Cairo 72, 81–82, 84, 85
 Ḍaġnān 205
 Damascus 84
 Dū l-Ḥalašah 209n, 265
 al-Ġawf 287
 God's House (*Bayt Allāh*) 185
 Greenwood 1, 11n, 15n, 19, 28
 Iraq 26, 41, 56, 71, 105–106, 285
 Mahrah 287
 al-Mašārif 233n, 271
 Mu'tah 271
 Qubāqib 257
 Qusās (Dū Qusās) 273, 275
 Raḥmān 219
 Sarāt (Mountains) 34n, 39, 43, 63, 79, 201
 Syria 31, 56, 84, 85, 233n, 257n, 271
 Taṭliṭ 265, 269
 'Ukāz 37n, 191, 253
 Yemen 73–74, 185n, 187n, 249n, 285, 287n
- al-Qālī, Abū 'Alī Ismā'īl b. al-Qāsim 36, 75, 115, 119n, 123, 128, 130, 131, 133–137, 146, 171, 283
 Qays b. Ḥudādiyyah 67, 99

- Qays b. Makšūh al-Murādī 253
 Qītrah al-Fazārī 219–220
- Rayṭah (sister of ‘Amr of the Dog) 119n, 185
 Robin Hood 9, 12, 14, 19, 22, 25, 98, 100, 148n
- al-Šaḡānī, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad 38, 39
 Šalā’ah b. ‘Amr al-Ḥārītī 263
 Salmá (noblewoman of the Murād) 135–136, 277
 al-Šanfará 15n, 18n, 23n, 36–37, 43, 46, 47, 49–50, 52, 61, 62n, 66, 68n, 93, 95, 98–99, 106n, 107–110, 115, 129, 146, 177, 203, 229n, 239–245
 al-Saraqustī, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad 119n, 126
 Sawādah b. ‘Amr 237
 Seal, Graham 2, 12–13, 45
 Sībawayh 126n, 177
 al-Siḡistānī (see Abū Ḥātim)
 Sihām al-Ḥuzā’ī 273
 al-Sukkarī, Abū Sa’īd al-Ḥasan 29, 39–40, 64, 129, 138, 143–144, 147, 221n
 al-Sulayk b. al-Sulakah 34, 36–37, 41, 43, 45, 46, 47–50, 52, 60, 66, 69–70, 93, 95, 98, 107, 112, 127, 130, 131–132, 137, 177, 203, 215n, 237n, 247–261
- Ta’abbata Šarran 15n, 17n, 18n, 23n, 24n, 29, 34, 37, 41–43, 46, 47, 49–50, 52, 61, 62n, 63, 66, 67n, 69–70, 89, 93, 95, 98, 106, 108, 110, 112, 117, 127, 129, 131–132, 137–141, 143, 146, 177, 193–237, 243, 245
 al-Ta’ālibī, Abū Manšūr 32n, 177
- Tribes, Dynasties, Families and Other Groups
 ‘Adwān 181, 195
 Arabs 15, 35n, 37n, 40, 42, 56–57, 58–79, 82–85, 87–89, 116, 164, 169, 177, 189, 201
 Asad 273
 al-Azd 68, 211, 215, 217, 239, 245, 289
 Baḡīlah 201, 203, 205, 209, 211, 213, 265n
 Bakr 253, 255
 Bedouin 15, 19, 33, 65–67, 70, 83–84, 85
 Fahm 68, 93, 105, 179, 181, 187, 193, 195, 207, 209, 213, 219, 239
 Ġassān 169
 Hamdān 277, 281, 287, 293, 295
- Ḥaṭ’am 209, 259, 261, 265n
 al-Ḥārīt b. Ka’b 169, 247, 263
 Ḥimyar 169
 Huḍālī (see Huḍayl)
 Huḍayl (Huḍālī) 39, 40, 41n, 68, 105, 143–145, 179, 185, 187, 191, 205, 211, 217, 219–221, 233, 235
 Kāhil 179, 185
 Kinānah b. Taym 257
 Maḍhiḡ 169, 277n
 Mahrah b. Ḥaydān 287
 Mamluks (Mamluk Era) 68–72, 80–90, 97, 109, 117–118, 122–124, 147
 Māzin 275
 Muḍar 249, 265
 Murād 249, 253, 277
 Nufāṭah 217
 Nufayl b. ‘Amr b. Kilāb 265
 Persians (Sasanians) 56, 65, 71, 169n
 Quḍā’ah 169
 Qurayš 169, 197n
 Rabī’ah 169, 249, 265n
 Sa’d 247, 283
 Salāmān 215n, 239, 241
 Sasanian (see Persian)
 Slaves (*‘abd*, pl. *‘abīd*) 47, 82, 183, 213, 247, 251, 289
 Taḡlib 257
 Tamim 169, 247, 253, 255
 Taqīf 197
 Ṭumālah 209, 213
 ‘Uwārah (‘Uwār) b. Mālik b. Ḍubay’ah 255, 257
 al-Yaman (Yemen) 73, 249, 287n
- Ubayy b. Ḥalaf 169
 Uḡaymir 93, 94, 95, 96–97, 106n, 115, 123, 130, 133, 283–285
 ‘Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb 189
 al-‘Umarī 122–123
 Umm Ġulayḡah 181, 183
 Umm Ta’abbata Šarran 221n, 225, 237
 ‘Uqbah b. Abī Mu’ayṭ 169
 ‘Urwah b. al-Ward 18n, 23n, 25, 61, 62n, 63, 69, 94, 98
 Usayd b. Ġābir al-Salāmānī 239
 al-‘Uzzá 191
- al-Walid b. Muḡīrah 169

al-Ya'qūbī 61, 65

al-Zamaḥṣarī 311, 53

Yazīd b. Şaqil 93, 94, 95, 96–97, 130, 297

Index of Quoted Titles in *al-Ḥabar ‘an al-bašar*

- Kitāb al-Aġānī* (Abū l-Faraġ al-Išfahānī) 181 *al-Sihāḥ* (al-Ġawharī) 171, 177
Kitāb al-Ġāmi‘ (Ibn al-Kalbī) 179
Kitāb al-Mašāyid (Kušāġim) 179

Index of Sources in *al-Ḥabar ‘an al-bašar*

[*al-Amālī*] (Abū ‘Alī l-Qālī) 171, 283

[*al-Ayn*] (al-Ḥalīl b Aḥmad) 195, 213, 279

[*Fiqh al-luġah wa-sirr al-‘arabiyyah*] (al-Ta‘ālibī) 177

[*al-Ġalīs al-šāliḥ al-kāfi*] (Abū l-Faraġ al-Mu‘āfā l-Nahrawānī) 189

[*Ġamharat al-luġah*] (Ibn Durayd) 235

[*al-Kāmil*] (al-Mubarrad) 265, 269, 297

[*Kitāb al-Aġānī*] (Abū l-Faraġ al-Iṣfahānī) 179, 181

[*Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*] (al-Ġāḥiz) 261

[*al-Muḥkam wa-l-muḥīṭ al-a‘zam*] (Ibn Sīdah) 171, 177

[*Muġam al-Šu‘arā’*] (al-Marzubānī) 245

[*al-Nasab al-kabīr*] (Ibn al-Kalbī) 179, 193, 287

[*al-Šīr wa-l-šu‘arā’*] (Ibn Qutaybah) 261

Index of Glosses

This index lists words glossed by al-Maqrīzī

afrāṭ 279
'adī 227
'āhin 209
aḥyal 225
'allah 199
'abw 265
'amās 291
arḥ 199
arwāq 205
ary 233
atatnī liṣan 265
'azzā' 267
aẓall 233

bāǧī 187
bāḥa 187
Bahl b. Bahlān 263
Bittu murtafiqan 269

damān 213
daqqa 243
Dū Qusās 273
du'būb 185

fāraqtuhu 207
fūq 241

ǧalla 243
ǧašm 281
ǧašūm 231
ǧīz 277
ǧubbar 225

ḥabt 205
ḥaḍa'a 215
ḥafw 277
ḥall 237
ḥāmīrī Umm Āmir 241
ḥatara 243
hawādah 279
hawǧal 223
ḥīzyān yanzaru 207
ḥubuk 223
hūf 227

ḥullah 275
ḥummah 277
ḥūš 223

'ib' 235
īd 203
Iǧfil 235
iǧlawadda 267
iqtafara 267
iḥriḍ 277
irah 187
istahalla 235
iṣṭalá 187

kartūb 225

lā tunkir al-kawmā' darbatah 269
lā yuṣ'ib al-amr 267
limam al-tiwāl 247

Makān al-qibāl 183
Malla 233
Markūb 185
mašī' 229
mašīr 267
mašrafi 271
ma'ṭulah 261
mazīz 277
maz'ūdah 223
miǧšam 223
miḥmal 225
min 'alu/'alin/'alá/'ālin 265
mubaṭṭan 223
mubāwa'ah 269
muǧalǧalah 185
muǧyilah 225
muhabbal 223
mukfahīr 279
munāwa'a 269
munḥariq 227
muṣalit 269
mušma'il 231
mu'tamir 265
mutǧanǧīr 185

- mu'wir* 207
naka'a 277
naqaba 233
naqarā 187
naw' 269
nawāǧid afwāh al-manāyā 229
qanfā' 173
Qaramā' 251
qaṣab 201
qurḏūb 287
rafallah 199
ranf 219
rār 253
rifall 231
Riǧūlī al-ʿArab 263
riḥ 251
šabba 187
šada' 291
šafar 267, 271
šafirāt wiṭābi 207
Šahm 231
šalādīm 279
Salāmān 239
šarūb al-qayl 227
šary 233
šawá 251
Sa'yā 185
šayḥān 277
šill 231
šim' 231
šinnārah 275
Sulayk 247
ta'arrá 267
taḥālafā aqwām 'alayya 279
ṭaḥyah 269
taqatṭa'a fī a'nāqihā al-ǧirar 267
'ulfūf 227
uṭ'ūb 185
wafd al-rīh 227
wamīdāt 277
wiṭāb 207
yaḍribu bi-l-ḏayl 227
yašīduka 253
zallah 237
zummyl 227

Index of Technical Terms

- al-‘Addā‘ūn* (Runners) 20, 43–46, 55, 66, 93, 95, 97ⁿ, 99
Ağribat al-‘Arab (Arab Ravens) 47–51, 60ⁿ, 95, 97, 99, 193, 215, 239, 263
- Du‘bān al-‘Arab* (Arab Wolves, wolves) 20, 25–26, 33, 53, 106ⁿ, 185, 191
- fātik* (pl. *futtāk*) 20, 27–29, 41, 54, 94–97, 99, 102, 111, 150, 179, 227, 287
Foot Warriors, see *al-‘Addā‘ūn*, *Ruğliyyū l-‘Arab*, *Su‘āt al-‘Arab*
- Ġāhiliyyah* (pre-Islam) 4, 19, 24, 58–79, 84, 87–88, 90, 95–97, 100–101, 108, 110, 112, 148–150, 169, 245, 247
Ghoul, ghouls 23ⁿ, 60ⁿ, 106ⁿ, 140–141, 193
- hārib* 33, 293, 295
- liṣṣ* (pl. *luṣūṣ*) 20, 29–34, 35, 45, 51, 61, 89, 94, 111, 123, 125, 141–142, 177, 179, 195, 283, 285
- mansar* (pl. *manāsir*) 89
- Outlaw Hero 9, 12–15, 19, 22–24, 28–29, 45, 51–52, 98, 103
- Ra‘ūbīl al-‘Arab* (Arab Lions) 51–52, 56, 93
Ruğliyyū l-‘Arab (*al-Ruğliyyūn*, *Rağīlī*, *Riğālāt*, Runners, Foot Warriors) 20, 34–43, 46, 52, 54–55, 60, 97–98, 106, 140–141, 181, 193, 209, 243, 245, 247, 263, 273
Runners, see *al-‘Addā‘ūn*, *Ruğliyyū l-‘Arab*, *Su‘āt al-‘Arab*
- Sāriq* (pl. *surrāq*) 31–33, 89, 142, 177
ṣuṭṭār 53, 89
Social Bandit 9–12, 19
Su‘āt al-‘Arab (*al-su‘āt*, Runners) 29ⁿ, 44–45, 47ⁿ
ṣu‘lūk (pl. *sa‘ālik*) 18ⁿ, 20, 21–27, 32, 35, 41, 48, 53, 61, 66–67, 69–70, 89, 94, 98, 99, 127, 217, 247, 279

Facsimile of MS Fatih 4340
(Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), fols.

$1^{a-b}, 1^{a-3b}, 4^{*a-b}, 4^{a-9b}, 10^{*a-b}, 10^{a-15b}$

∴

من ستر ايا برجلها وحننا وسرخنا فقال اسمعوا قول لك فعال
 اقول بخاريه هذان لما انثار اصونه حنرا وعيسنا
 الم تعلم ان لن تغوتا وان لم تعجزا اللبث الهوسنا
 وظن عاجزا ان يسلبك ووزا يشطبا لاسد القير تيسا
 وميزه وول في الملهمة صرايك يقطر المظالم ليسا
 اذا انما اذ عن منة قاتت يهتدو يهتدو الحزن الشرسا
 فتم اجنب الاضيا في رمي اذا السكبا او خفت اليسيسا
 ومما احسب الحيرة النواية تظلم لما الرطاب اليه شسوسا
 ومما انعش النية اذا ما تها واوجه دهرهم عبوسا
 اهيا خارية هو ان منها بزهر نظرد الفقر الضر وسنا
 واويا سلايين بها ولما اثر لك الناء اذ المومر يسا
 بره الراهية وقوله احسب اني معناه اني لهم ما يكفيهم فقال احسب
 الطعام وغيره اية كفاية والجمع حنة وهو القوم يسلبون في الرتبة
 والشوسن جمع الشوس وهو الذي ينظر نظرا شديدا وهو له وسنا
 انعش العج مع انعش اربع ومنه قوله نعشك ايه اي رجعك ايه اما
 بسد خلقت او باقاله عشرتك والتعني جمع عاف وهو سائل الحاجة
 وطالها

خريف

يشتري منك أسوق البوايك فما غلب الودع اعيننا في برك صرمة
 يحروها عبد اسود وهو يقول زوجه الى بركك الالمنا شو
 يا فيج كز شان والمها خسر وعصمة المعتور المحاور
 واللبث في اليوم الخامس الحار فان تبت عضاف رايسر
 فان فيج وقع غضب يا ستر لم اشترق بشيفار جازر
 تحطوف للجملة البها در فلما غاب الراجيان واعيننا خرجنا
 نقفتر اشار الابل في نومنا ابلجة فاختنا فلما هدت الابل فخرجنا
 من طليج في اتيننا الى الميرد فاستفتونا من اطراره صرمة فقلنا لها
 لبنا في اذا الحسر خذر الابل ذر المشروق ان اشيع ليهو البها
 قوت العقب فلما ارتد الطرف في اشتباه نظرا فان رطب على ناقه رايق
 على صدى فاقية بالصرمة فانكنا راحة فاقبلنا تصور هاد في شوق
 الى بنايه فلما دنا منا فاحلبها عنبالا ام الكا قلسا ما ولا شيع عين
 وبوانا سمين فاشيخ على راحتنا كالو على المذخور واتش سيفه و
 راسه في درفته هو الله ارسلنا معها في طلنا فصره عن قوت ناقه
 صاح فغادرها تحوش واخو لا خرد فنز عرقوبها وهو عول
 علام اشيع رسلها واتشع عنها اذا قام العي الشخش
 لم قال اشتنا سرا فقدر امرنا وار انفسنا التناز عنا الى ما قال فحورنا عليه
 باسيا فاقوت وثبة الفهر ووقف حجرة قوت النبل لم كرراجعا
 فصر درقة صاح فاقنتها فلما راينا ذلك استسلمنا وقلنا عبادا
 بك رايل الكرام فعال كعاد عنتنا وسالتنا انسابنا فاختناه فعال
 ارتد فلما را حلة واخبرنا وجهها شطير مطلع الشمس تلغنا الحى
 فاي بالآتم فمضت بنا الناقه تهور لا نملكنا امرنا شيئا حتى وردت
 بنا الحى فكلنا واد اقلنا حكا كانه لم يمسسه مشقة وقهر مش
 مسيرة لمة للدراب الجدر معال ونم الصرمة الى اطره فلما هادنا من

والمها خسر وعصمة المعتور المحاور

الجملة البها در فلما غاب الراجيان واعيننا خرجنا

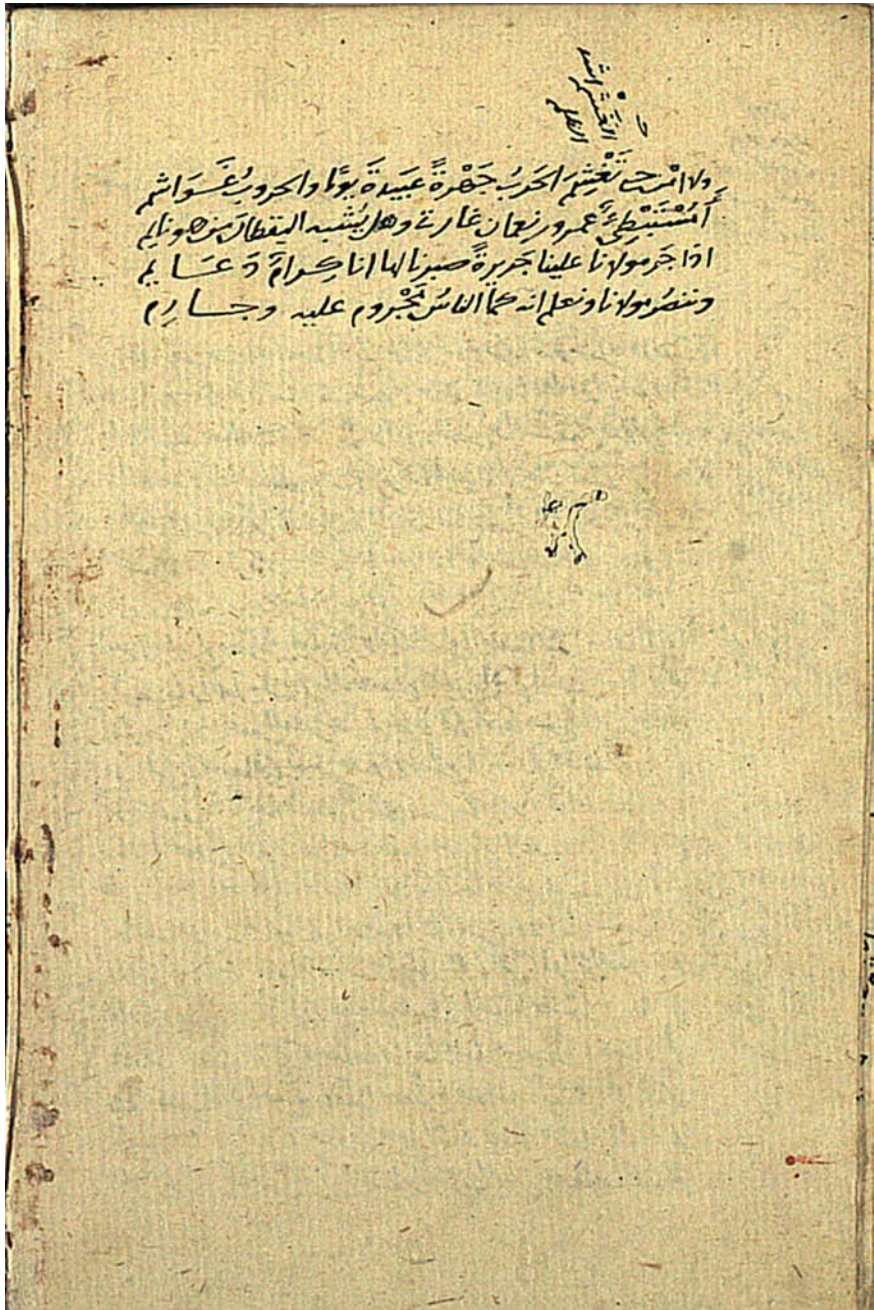
نظام بر جشمه رقر و ز مالک بر احمره بر عبد احمره بر جشمه رجا شد
 از چشمه رخیان بر نوز رهدان بر لاکس بر زار او سله بر ریعده
 اینجا در لاکس بر زید که هلا بر سیمان بن شجب بن معرب بن مخطا
 و هو جده اعش هذان واسمه عمه الریح بر احمره بر نظام قال ابن الکلب
 عروانه را حکم کا حدث شجره مر هذان قال فان نظام بر جشمه رقر و
 لاکس الحمدانی مواخیا له شجوع سل مرید الحمدانی فلکانا معوارین
 فالتکین قرصو بر جواد و بن لا یلیقان شیئا مخزجا بر عدان الغار
 عا مقصده بر جیدان و کانایمیلستان الصومنة ثم بشلا نهایا حارة
 فان در کار سیمایم بسقط لها سهر قال ابن الکلب قال ای کار عروانه
 سمعت من اشوبه مر جاد هذان شجره لیسر من الفظا کان نصر سعا
 طایر ابقیوه لایا تریبون فیوما الی الواحدة منها فیرمیا بها فلی
 تخطیا و کنه کالطیاء و بین بلاد هذان و بلاد مقصده مغارة منکده
 لا تسلكها الخیل تسوخ فیها اخفا لا یل تصعب فیها اوردیه مقصده
 و اوردیه الخوف فی سخته سلیحه نشاشه لا تنهت عود الیسر العشر
 قال فقوزا ایما و شتول ما و همتا و خافا الهلا و فاصرا یوما مع
 زور الشمس طیر انجوم عا عمض من الارض فمال احد ها کاحد له
 ترب ما رب فعال بلی فعال اسه انها نجوم علی کیم اولوا و ایها کان فهو
 تلك او شل بقصه الحیة حه فبطا غایطه اذ حیره اوانه و نفا
 فانا خا و شراب و عذرا ارا حلتها فاستظلا بعض نکل الشجر فمیاها
 کذا کلا در سها معوز و هو جماعه من الطیاء فرمیاه فصر عا طیبین
 فاقوزتیا و اشتویا و تعدا بر قبان اللیل لیسند لا بالنجوم فاذا اسود
 مقبل فاحمره ارا حلتها ای و ازابها تحم الشجر و طلعا اوجه فقیما
 و اذ اصرتة زهر کا تصور اجد و هاعبد اسود و هو بقول
 نوزی الی حیرای المعاری . بمرک مر ارجب المتاری
 فان تبعت اصیافه ههناک . فابشره بوقع محض بابک

الاصحاب الابرار علی کل حال

بشر

الاجيمير احد اصومر في سعد واسمه 13

قال ابو علي الغالي وانشدهنا ابو بكر علي طائفة من الهمسج ولى عبيره
 للاجيمير وقال تارة ربيع القوام وشاقها طويلا القنائة بالصحة
 فانك قصدا في الرجال فانني اذ اطرا امر سنا حتى تحسنوم
 وزاد ابو عبيره تخوف في الهمسج والتميز ومغرض في
 باب فعال اشكو الى الله صبري عز وامله والاله في اذ امر وامرنا
 في الاصومر في اللحناء ينسبوا في العراق وينسبوا بطريقه اليمن
 ويتركوا الخبز والاسباح يلعبون بيض الموال في ذي المنبر والمكن
 قرب ثوب حريم كنت احدهم القطار ولا تغد ولا يمشر



عمر و زبارة

و زبارة
و زبارة
و زبارة
و زبارة
و زبارة

واغارر طر من مراد اسمه جزير على ابل عمر و زبارة و خيل فذهب بها
 فابغى عمر وسلي وكان من سيرة وعن راها كانوا يصرون
 فاخبرها فقال واخفوا والوبيض والشفق كالوخرنض الويض
 والقلبة واخضين ان جزير بما المشع الجزير سبب جزير ذو
 مقطر جزير غير ان ارض اجمة تنظف من عشرة بطنية
 الجزيرة فاعزوا تشكخ فاعار عمر واستاد اكلت واناه
 جزير طليان بر ما خراطه وكان عمرو
 نعل سليمان تعرض لتلقه وليكع لعل الصاعك يسايم
 وكيف نفاع اليل من طر مال حسام كلوز الملح ايض صبارم
 نحو من اذا عرض الكرهة لم يبرغ لها طمعا طوع اليمر ولازم
 الم تعلم ان الصاعك يومه قليل اذا نام الخيل المسالم
 اذا البيا اذ تجي واضع صر طلاءه وحاح مر الاقراط يوم حوام
 ولان اصحاب الكرهة غالبية فان على امر الغواية جازم
 كذرت ويتاسله تاخذونها مراغمة ما دام للسيف قائم
 تحالف اقوام على ليسله او جزوا على الكرت اذا ناسالم
 اقل يوم اذ على الكوراة بعد ما اقبل على المذاب الصلاوم
 فان جزير ما اذ رط ازاره وهاوية في باينة القوم حاسلم
 مع جمع الغلب الريحه وصار ما وانما حيا تجتهد المظالم
 في تطلب المار المشع باقنا نعيش ما جزر او خمر فلك المخارم
 وكنت اذا قوم عزرو عزروهم فحل اناه ذابال شهران طالم
 فله طلع حتى تظفر الخيل القنا وضرر البيرة الخفاف ابحاح

الاقراط
واحد
وهو لا كليل
الاقراط او اوك
الصبح
الاقراط
وهو السرا
الصلد

عمر و زبارة
عمر و زبارة
عمر و زبارة
عمر و زبارة
عمر و زبارة

أَوْفَى بز نظر المازن يلقن مقترنا وهو من رجب إلى العز
 وخرج مع جابر الرامي وسهام الخراعي فلقوا في أسد مجرح أو في
 قتال جابر ثم ظفروا بالتمت وله ذكر في كتابنا فيا فقال في ساعة
 في الحق بمناية وهو حيا صعب فقال جابر ما نرى بنوا أسد بمناية
 إلا حرملة قال فالحق بقسايس وهو أضعف فقال وهو عنهم حرملة
 وتركه وأيا قومه وسباع أوزة فقال عاتق ورخف أوزة إلى احد
 الجبلين فرعى فيه لأتري السابية وترامن جراحه وأتت قومه فظروا
 إليه فقالوا الولد تعلم انه لا يعش إلا يوم القعدة لعلمنا ان هذا أوفى
 فاطمه جابر فاداه وهو فانشد جابريا من عذبه فلم ير رعهها ولا
 يبرأ ابره يستقر ولا يولد وقال أوزة
 الا ابلغا خلقه جابرا بان خليك لم يقبل
 خطاة النبلا أحشاءه وأجر يروي فلم يقبل
 اذا ما اتيت في مازن فلا تغلا اسأولا يغسل
 فليتك لم تدرى مازن وليتك البطن لم يحمك
 وليت يحقويك اذا رزقت جفينا يركن للمقيل
 وليت سنانك سنانة وليت قناتك من عقر
 تجاوتت حمران من ساعة وطلت قسايس من حرملة
 وطلت عمانية ارض قضا ولا يتا اولى الى عقل

في كتابنا فيا فقال في ساعة
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 وليت سنانك سنانة وليت قناتك من عقر
 تجاوتت حمران من ساعة وطلت قسايس من حرملة
 وطلت عمانية ارض قضا ولا يتا اولى الى عقل

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 ١١٤١
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لا

لولا تحته تغيره حاشية الي بالقوم وزاد منه او صدر
 وزاد تحته شهابا يستطاب حماي في سواد الظلمة القدر
 اما شكت سميلا كنت سلكها فاذا هبلا يتغير كلامه المنتشر
 من اليسر فيه اذا قال ولتة رهن وليس فيه اذا عا سرتة عسرت
 اصتبه حرم منا اضافة هبلا سماء لم يقف لك الظاهر
 وكان الى اصحاب المنتشر هبلا سما الحارة

قوله اي لسان يرد الي رساله وموله من غير قول من فوق وقوله
 مرتفتا اي متكبلا ورفيع بمعنى شاهرا وقوله كاشيت المنسب
 الي خبثت من جزعها وتثلث موضع وقوله لا يلو على احد اي لا
 يلمتق والتوء طلوع بحر وسقوط اخر وقوله طاد القصير معال
 لواحد المضرا ن يتغير والعز الآ من الشمر ومنصبت اذا جرد
 من عده ومواه ليلاه لا ولا شجر من القفر وقت المعقوب والبال
 الباقه يقول لا تنكر الكوا حنرت بالمشروع او فرعود الامل
 ان شخرها والمشرة السيف منسوب الى المشارف وهو الموضع
 المعروف وعموة ملاء والسام حنت قبل جعفر لا طالبه والحكامه
 واجلوة اشتمة وموله حن تقطع اعماقها انجر جمع جرة
 مقول اعما وت ان شخرها معنى تنزع حن تقطع جزتها وموله
 لا تيار اي لا يرقيم وقوله ولا يراه الامم القوم معتق مقول
 لا يمسق لاش والزار والشرا سيف اطراف الفاسوع
 والصقر كية التظن ومهلف مع ضامرا واهجر الكشع
 توكيد له وقوله بما وان يربح وترو الطخية شدة الظلمة
 الطاملا لبعات الفح والكبير والضم

الاصحاب المنتشر هبلا سما الحارة

المنتشر من وصف العجلان رسالة كثراته هلا الهال
 احد جثلي العرب والا عمرو كان يغير على احد من كعب فعمل منه
 عمرو وعاهان معاً نايحة بيكيه
 يا عمن فانيك يا عمرو عاهانا لو كان فابله غير الذء كما
 لو كان فابله حيا يعجء لكن فابله بغيرين بغير لانا
 وانغار المنتشر فقل نايحة عمرو واستر صلافة عمرو والحارة وكان
 سيداً قطع اعضاءه في قنلة لم تصدت منوا كحرت المنتشر
 فاحذوه قطعوه عضوا عضوا وكان اعث باهله واسمه
 عامر بن كحرت سيره المنتشر وكانه يوا كحرت اسم المنتشر
 ييل اتفق لسانه استر بها من علو لا تحت منها ولا تحت
 قبت مؤثيقا للبراز قبه حيران ذا حذر لو ينفع احد
 وكما شئت النفس لما طامعهم وراكه طامع تليت مقتد
 يات على الناس بل يولي على احد في التقينا وكانت دوننا
 يتبع من نعت التي حقتنا اذا الكوا كما حطوا زوها المطر
 من ليس خيره شير كذره على الصدق ولا في حقه كذرا
 طوا المصية على العز انصطت بالقوم ليلته ما اوله شجر
 لا تنكر البازر الكوا خرسه بالمسيرة اذا اما اجامود السقر
 ونفخ الشور منه حين تصره في تقطع في اعناقها الجرد
 لا تصعب الامرا لربيت يركبه وكان امر سوء العشا يا قمر
 تحفنه طلة خندان المهابس الشوا او يحف شير العسر
 لا يتأخر في الماي القدر بوقبه ولا تراه الامم القوم يتقصد
 لا يعموا السابق من ابره وصد ولا بعض على شرسوفة الصقر
 مطهف اضم الكشم مشرق عند القيس لسير الليل محقق
 لا يامن الناس بمسناه ومضيه وكرالون وان لم يات تنظر
 اما يصبك عمرو في مناواة يوا فقد كنت تستعج وتقص
 وكال البرد في
 مياواه لانا
 اوتز

وما عجزت فيكته يوم قامت بتصل السيف فاستلبوا الحجارا
 وقال ابن دريد بالاربع من فكجة بنت قمارة واخو السليلك
 رجلا من كنانة رستم من تغلب واطلقه ثم قدم على كنانة وهو شيخ
 كبير وهم على قبايق ما لم خلف النسر مجموع الابله وكالواله
 ازنا ما يخ من احضاري فعلا ابغوي اربعين شايبا وذرعا
 ثقيلة فليس الذرع وكان للفتيان احقوا به ان شيتير طم لمحقوه
 وعاب عنهم وايت القوم والذرع تضطرب كانها خرقة وكان
 السليلك يعطي عبد الملك من موميكا اختنعي اتاوة من عنايه
 فجاوز لاده خنوع وغيره فافلا يبيد من خنوع فيه امراة شابة
 فنسبها فاجرت بذكر فاتبعد انسر من ذري عقله فقال
 ابن مويكا قلن طاله اولي يد يته فعلا انسر واسله ارايد وقال
 لي وقيل سليلك اثم اعقله كالثور ينضرت لما عاقت البقر
 عضبت للمراونيكحت حليلته واذا يشد على وجعها النقيض
 وفي شعره انه كان سببا امراة من خنوع وولدت له ولدا وازاها
 قومها فلما رجع اتبعه انسر فقله وقال ابن قتيبة وطى سليلك
 امراة من خنوع اهلها خلوف فقله انسر وطولب بعمله فعقل
 قلته باستحقاق فكيف اعقله وقال السليلك عن قلته
 من بلغ جزا ما ان مقبول يرب حرق قد قطعته بمجهول
 ورب تهب قد حوت معقول وذات زوج قد كحت معقول

الخطوط الالهية وخط المرسومة ١٥

من اعمق وانحونا
 كما انشوروا في غير ظهوره
 ولا زينه ان عاقت الما
 مشرطه واو زينه
 عاقت الما باقروا ان
 تعاق الما الا ليضربا

وعاقت واو العمد والنصه

10*b

قال ابو عبيد قولة كالشور
 يصوت لما عافت البقر
 شور المشوران وقال غيره
 يصوت الشور بعينه صقح
 في الماشقح البقر وراه
 وقال اخوت الشور باع
 وجه الماشقح منقح فاذا
 عافت البقر الماشقح
 ضربه الراعي ففرقه وقال
 ابحا حظنا نوايز عموب
 ارا ابحنيج الي خصم البقر
 عر الماشقح سلك وانشد
 للوشق فاغ ويا
 كلفتونا ورعك لا علم

وقال وام عيال قد شهدت تقوى ثم اذا اخترت لهم اوتجت وانجيت
 تجاف علينا المنزلة انما الكثرة ونحن هو الى آية الـ قال
 وام عيال ارادنا ربط آية الـ بمعنى آية سياسة على النعم ووزن
 الرقعة ارادنا دللت قلب وهو من الـ يقول اذا ساس وخترت
 القوم فتوت عليهم كما هم واخترت الـ القليل واخترت العقدة
 اختمتها واخترت حدة النظر واخترت الـ كمال الشدة وقال
 المرزبان الشنفرى من كمال الـ زوية السرور كان هو ونايط سزا
 وعمرو بن رافة الهنراية يغزون في الجاهلية على ارجلهم فختلسوا
 ويخدون طم يلحقون وله مخاطبة روجته
 اذا ما جئت ما انهاء عنه فلم اشكر عليك فطلقني
 واتر البعل يوبى فقوى بسوطلا ابالك ما جلد بين

8

الشنفرى واسمه عمرو بن عامر

ابن الحوت بن ربيع الاوس راكح بن الحنوب الازدي من الغوث
 كالاسرائيل عوان بن عوزة غيرة العز بن وهو من الازدي اسرته شو
 شيا بنه رفهر عمرو بن قيس وكان فخر من اسرته بنوسلا مان
 من الازدي رجلا من مظهر من بنى شيا بنه فقرة بنوشيا بنه
 بالشنفرة وكان الشنفرى 22 سنة كان حسب نفسه احد
 مروع بين الرمال كان عنده وبين الشنفرى شرفقة عنفان
 الذي اسفراه من فخر عمال اصرق من انا ما علمه فقال لراد علمه
 اقل ما مائة ما اعتبه ثون فعمل منه تسعة وتسعين درهم دار
 فمهر بغيره الازدي فرصدته استيد بر طبر السلا مان ولاية الية
 فراء الشنفرى السواد فرماه فاصاب استيد الم وشوا عليه
 فاخذوه وقالوا انشدنا فقال ابنا المشيد على المسرة فزهدت
 وقالوا له ابن بغيره فقال

بما لم يصح
 على ابراهيم
 لا يسكن
 اذ اخطرت

جوز السهر
 اخوان وثقا

لا تقربوا ان قيرى محرم عليكم ولكن خابروا ام علمه
 اذا اخطوا راسه وزه اليراس اخبره وعود اعند المتيقن سما بيرة
 هناك لا ارجوا حياة تسرن سيمير الليالي فيسلا للبحر اير
 وقيل سبت سلا لان الشنفرى فقال له اسفراه لولا ان اظوان
 على بنوسلا مان لزوجك انتة فقال ان قلوبك عملت منهك بية
 فزوجه فعلت بنوسلا مان فصنع الشنفرى النبلا حطوا انها
 من القرون لتعرف فعمل منه تسعة وتسعين م صوره على ما
 وقلوه وصلوه ويح على اصلوبا وعليه من نراه رطل قربة
 رطل قد سبقه فرخص راسه بر جله فذخر فيها عظم صبغت
 عليه قات وذرع تحطو الشنفرى ليله اخذ موحدا اول
 نزوة نراها احد وعشرون خطوة والى تسع عشرة
 والشنفرى قدوت وطقت واسكرت والآلات فلو جبان انسان راكح

الاسرائيل
 الازدي
 بنوسلا مان
 الشنفرى
 بنوشيا بنه

بما لم يصح
 على ابراهيم
 لا يسكن
 اذ اخطرت

سلا بن عوان بن حنوب
 ابن الحوت بن ربيع
 الازدي من الغوث
 كالاسرائيل عوان
 بن عوزة غيرة العز
 بن وهو من الازدي
 اسرته شو شيا بنه
 رفهر عمرو بن قيس
 وكان فخر من اسرته
 بنوسلا مان من الازدي
 رجلا من مظهر من بنى
 شيا بنه فقرة بنوشيا
 بنه بالشنفرة وكان
 الشنفرى 22 سنة كان
 حسب نفسه احد مروع
 بين الرمال كان عنده
 وبين الشنفرى شرفقة
 عنفان الذي اسفراه من
 فخر عمال اصرق من انا
 ما علمه فقال لراد علمه
 اقل ما مائة ما اعتبه
 ثون فعمل منه تسعة
 وتسعين درهم دار
 فمهر بغيره الازدي
 فرصدته استيد بر طبر
 السلا مان ولاية الية
 فراء الشنفرى السواد
 فرماه فاصاب استيد
 الم وشوا عليه فاخذوه
 وقالوا انشدنا فقال
 ابنا المشيد على
 المسرة فزهدت وقالوا
 له ابن بغيره فقال
 لا تقربوا ان قيرى
 محرم عليكم ولكن
 خابروا ام علمه اذا
 اخطوا راسه وزه
 اليراس اخبره وعود
 اعند المتيقن سما
 بيرة هناك لا ارجوا
 حياة تسرن سيمير
 الليالي فيسلا للبحر
 اير وقيل سبت سلا
 لان الشنفرى فقال
 له اسفراه لولا ان
 اظوان على بنوسلا
 مان لزوجك انتة
 فقال ان قلوبك
 عملت منهك بية
 فزوجه فعلت
 بنوسلا مان
 فصنع الشنفرى
 النبلا حطوا انها
 من القرون لتعرف
 فعمل منه تسعة
 وتسعين م صوره
 على ما وقلوه
 وصلوه ويح على
 اصلوبا وعليه من
 نراه رطل قربة
 رطل قد سبقه
 فرخص راسه بر
 جله فذخر فيها
 عظم صبغت عليه
 قات وذرع تحطو
 الشنفرى ليله
 اخذ موحدا اول
 نزوة نراها
 احد وعشرون
 خطوة والى تسع
 عشرة والشنفرى
 قدوت وطقت
 واسكرت والآلات
 فلو جبان انسان
 راكح

يتننا ولا سقينة عيلا ولا ابنة كما قرة اي لم يمتد باكيلا
 الحقا اذا سحى منها حركته في قلبه الروا فينام فيسرء الر فيه
 والكيسة تغني عنها وشيعة فينام كما سرور فيسرء فيه والماقة
 الغصن وقولها بالجملة تصفا يعال الاجلث المرأة عن مقبل الجين
 حمله وضعا وضعا اذا حزت رجلا المولود قبل راسه قيل وضعة
 يتننا والغبيلة ان ترضع المرأة ويحامل او ترضع وع تغش فارح كك
 اللبن دا

من
 بيتها والاب
 حوايته على

يا مس الجنتين من غير نوبس وتداء الكفين شهر سيد
 تشيلة الحى جونا رطك واذا بقرو فسمع اركب
 ظا عن باكرم حى اذا ما طر حل الحزم حيث جخل
 ولطمان ارون وشرة وكى الطقم هو ذاق كل
 يركب الجوار حيد اول تبعه الاله الماى الا قد
 قلبت قلت هذا شياه لهما كان هذلول يقبل
 وما ازكها في مناخ ججمع يتقب فيه الا طرد
 وما الجها في وراط شخصته يملك فيها الا ذلك
 وما صهما في ذراها منه بعد النقل ذهب وشتر
 صليت في هذا بحر في ايل الشرحه يسلوا
 بور الصفة حى اذا ما نهلت كان لها منه عد
 في كل الصنع لقم هذا وتري الذب لها يستهد
 وعناق الطير تقفوا باطنا تحتها هم وما تستقل
 فصننا كاسر حيف هذلول غفها حرة وعار وول
 يغتو هجر واهم اعفوا اليك حى الحيات جيلوا
 اجسوا انفسهم يوم ملا قوا نوار عثم فاشقوا
 على ما خرد تروى بساخ حسنا البرقا اذا ما يسيل
 فاذرنا التار منبر وما يسبح والحيان الاله الا قسد
 مطلع الشمس لما استجرت اذ برور في جوفها
 حلت الحمر وكانت حراما قبلوا ما الهت جخل
 فاسقنها يا سواد برعرو ان جسمي بعد طلى جخل
 وقالت ام تارط ترشه ليت شعرة طلة ايش قتلك
 الذي لم بعد ام ترشيه جخلك اسد ام الزم او جاع عن لك
 طرقت قائل حين تلج احلك والنابار ضد للفق حيث سلك
 ليت نفس تحوت لنا يا سيد لك وقالت ام تارط فيه مولة

ولما الضبع ان كان به
 من الزم هو السبع

الاله علم الحول
 الشراء الحنظل
 الاظلام
 اذا حرق

تستعد
 الزبا سال القبا

الا جفيل الذاب
 من طرقت وبع منه
 اجتماع
 اخلا القليل الى
 انقلته اليك

الشراء الحنظل
 ٦
 الاظلام

الاظلام
 الشراء الحنظل
 الاظلام

حاجز من اجزاء العود

سها فلما احسوا نومه اقبلوا فرمى احد به فقلده و جلا الاخران و رمى
 اخر فقلده و اظلت حاجز عوف هاربا فلم يرجع ولم يعلم له خبير
 و خرج تاربط و مرة بن خليف يرمي ان ازود و جعله الهداة بينها
 مجار مرة عن الطوبى فوق عابدين جبال فاذا البين و الفراج في
 الارض فقال تاربط هل كنا لو و طي هذا الموضوع الا نس ما ماتت الطير
 في الارض فانت تلك الغنمة فان رايت احياة فأتج بالثوب و ان رايت
 الموت فأتج بالسيف فاي فاعل مثل ذلك فاما ما يوسين و الراج ما
 بالثوب و هبطا فوجد الناس فقال تاربط ايت احي من طرف و انان
 اخروا كمن خبيعا فلم اعجز و قد عجز افعلوا و خلا شععا و بحرا
 ناقة فسمعا حيا فقال تاربط اطلب و وضع يده على عضر مرة فاذا
 على ترعد فقال ما از عرت عضرك الا من قبلنا بك فقلنا تاربط من
 رجلا و زمي بسهم و اقلنا و خرج تاربط و عامر بن الاخنس سبي
 الصعا ليك في سفرهم و نفاثة فشتعروا به و اتوه في كمين فلما
 قروا او ترربط قوسه فسمع تاربط خطيب و تر القوس فقال البين
 فلم يصرفه ما نطق و وثب معه قوم و ثبت بنون فاش الباقين
 فقتلوه و قتل عامر بن الاخنس و قتل ابي فزاشته ثم خرج تاربط
 ليشارك حيا فراء بيتا لذي فقال لا حيا به اعنوه ثم ارجع
 على سكاره فقال اشرك من القوم عذابي اغار على البيد و قتل
 شيخا و عجوزا و اتبع غلاما فرماه العلام فاستظلم قلبه و لا زال الغلام
 يقتادة فقتلها تاربط بحشاشنة و قتل الغلام فماتت و قيل
 ان الدار ما له و منه برغبة فلم ياكل من تاربط شبع و اطاير ال
 ات و قيل ان راحته كانت اذ املت على مرضي فخرج قتيان من
 هذيل ليدفنوه فوجدوا حجر راحة الامات فقتلوه قوم و سجدوا فخرج
 و رموه في غار رحمان فخرجوا و كلهم ارمي بموتوا على حجر
 و كانت الجنة من قتلته و احرة و كانت عظامه ضمما لفتح فيها

الزينة فقتلها حيا

وكان

اخرجته من عليه من صرت فخذ البراة مجلسك فقلت يا نخاع انا خير لك
 منه وعتت فقلت بعض الابل وعتت معي بم اطردت الابل انا والامة
 فاحللت عقدة جي زلت بصخرة بين بن ثمر واعرست البراة
 واتلعت عنها اتغف واقول

عليه ايحيت بليلة بين الارار وكشيمها
 الصق

فما اخرجت من لقيه واما شروم لقيه فان عزوت ثمانية فاذا انابذو
 معها غير معتلة وركت منها ناقة فكرت حتى كادت تطرحني
 ابرء العموم موثقت عنها وتبعوني فجاز لي الطلب فانيت ناروا
 اعزمت فقلت يا بنس فعال ان قد نوت فعال لي لاجد منك ربح ١٥
 فقلت رمت اربنا فعال كذبت هذا ربح دم انسان واوثق فلما
 اشحرت حركت رجلها ذابح صاكية واخذت قوسا وهمس معتلة
 لم خشيت الطلب ومصيت فاتبع فضارسته وصرغته ورطنة
 وجنته وابيت قومي وقاله تابط

حفظت اوقه

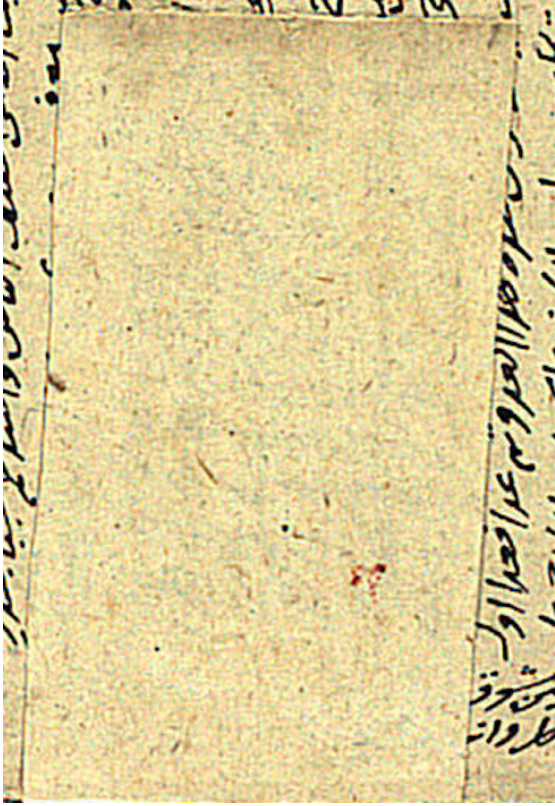
ونار قد حطت بغيره نزار ما اردت بها امعنا ما
 سؤء تجليل احلة وغيره كالحال في مخالفة ان يسا ما
 وغزنا ما بط الازد فنذروا به واهملوا له ابلوا وعروا له لاشه
 من ذوا الناس فاخذ الابل وطرد هاهم تركها وكنت لينظر هل
 يظلم مكس القوم وراوه ولم يرهم طرد الابل وما يلبه واخذ
 وقنيا مصجعا على النار في اخذها وصرغته ومعه قوسه
 ودخل من الابل وهو يعلم الابل والاصحاب المحرم وهبنا

قال علي بن ابي طالب

الولا كما عثره بمسبقة ضمنت منزله انما شئت او عا هنا
 واغارتنا بسرا على خضع فعال كما هن لمر او ن اثره من او حرة
 لخرطه يبرج من تاخروه فكفوا على اثره جفنه لم ارسلوا الى
 الكاهن فلما راا اثره كال هذا ماله يجوز من صاحبه الى خضع فعال
 تابط شرارة ذلك الالمع في غير عمره على طول النساء والمعاد
 مقال الكاهن كما مكي لما را به اثره وقد انصبت مساله
 راء قديمي وقعا حيث كحللنا الظلمة في ربيانه
 ايها عدا ما كل عام تخضع او حيلة او مثاله
 وشركان صب على هذا طرادا على قف جباله حباله
 ويوم الازد من شهر شرموم اذا بعد وقد صدقت قاله
 وسيلنا يابا يوم مريه خير فالخرجت من اذا كنت على دجلة
 اخذت الى البار جلا جالس الى امراة فعدت الى سبغ فرفنته قريبا
 لم اقبلت من استنانت فيبح الكلب فعال ما هذا فعلت يا يس
 فعال اثره فخرت فاذا رطرا دم واذا اأضوء الناس الى جانبه
 فشكوت اليه اجموع واكاجدة فعال كيشف كلا التقفة فاقبت
 فاذا قففة الى جانبه واذا منها تمر وليس فاكلت منه من شبعته
 لم خرت متنا وما حواسه ما لبثت ان اضطجح حتى اضطجح وهو
 ووقع رطله وادفع رغبه تقول

خيرا الدنيا الى بلية بليمة
 اجمع آتية كان حدها شهيد شباب مزوجة من عسير
 وضجع له هيئة الاعب عليها ايضا واخنة الميزر
 ولا تتشابه وخير منها بعد الرقاد وقبل ان لم تسحر
 كان لم اخرف فنام ومالت فنامت فقلت ما رات كالليلية في الغرة واذا
 عشر عشرا وات بين الثوث وكلاب فيها عجم وامة فوبيت الى
 العبد فقلت وهو يلمر اخرفت الى الرطل موضعت سبع على كبره من

اخرجه



4^{*b}

المعجور الذي ليس عليه
 ستروء فداؤ منه اجر
 والرفع وصفت وطاي
 ايا اشرف على الملكة
 والوطاب الزقايق وادا
 هكذا الرط صفت وطاي
 له كان يفتت فيها وموله
 فارقها اواراد احوالك
 تورط فيها تصفر تنضغو
 رحلت وموله خزبان
 ينظروا لا يقدر على الفرح

قد تقي وكان من سمع العرب فقال له ابن براق ذاك وجيب قلبك فما
 تباطى وانه ما وجب قط ولا شان واجبا وضرب يده على قلبه واصاح
 نحو الارض ليمسح معاذ والي اعزوا بطيرة اية لا سمع وجيب طوب
 الرجال فقال له ابن براق فانه لا يزال قلبك صراخا فشراب وتر كونه ومع
 في الظلمة و نزلت طما توسط الماء وشوا عليه فاضوه واخرجوه
 من العين مكثوا فان ابن براق قربه منه لا يطعمون فيه لما يطعمون
 من عذوه فقال له يا ابن براق انما سألنا عن الماس واشهد مع عجبا بعذوه
 وساقول له اشتيا سير مع فسيده عوه عجيبة بعذوه المان يعرو بين
 ايدى يجر وله لاش اطواق اولها كالمزج والباية كالغرس اجواد
 والباية يجبوا فاذ اراهم ذلك فخذوه ما في احب ان صيرة ايدى
 كاصرت اذ ظائف ولم يقبل اى ونصح له وذلك اجمع يسمع منه
 فالوفا فعل فطاح به ما بط شرا انت ارجى في الشدة والرضا وقد
 وعدت القوم ان يمتوا على عليك فاستأثر وارسن سفنك في
 الشدة لا كنت ارجى في الرضا فصحك ابن براق و علم انه قد كاد
 وكان مهلا يا ما انت استأثر من عنده هذا العز وشم عدا فعد اول
 طلق كالمزج الهامة كما وصف له والباية كاجواد والباية حط
 يجبوا ويغير ويقع على وجهه فقال ثابت خذوه معه ويا جمعهم
 فعدا تباطى شرايه كفاه وعارضه ابن براق فقطع كفاه وانقضا
 حينا وقيل ان ما بط شرا و ابن براق والشنفري وقيل
 السنتي عرو واجيلة فابعد عرو وكثف واقلت احمابه فقال
 تباطى لتسليمه كن قريبا من عرو فانه سائر اية له والجمع في نفيه
 حتى يتاعدوا عنه ثم خله ففعل ونجا عرو وقال تباطى ذلك
 يا عميد ذلك من شوق و ابن براق ومتر طيف على الود والطر ارق
 يسر على الابد والباية كفاه مع ما يتفرد من سائر على ساق
 طيفانته الحراز كانوا احلها له احسنت بها من بعد تغزاق

في رواية
 مع ما يصح
 في رواية
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 مع ما يصح

اللقية قال في تاريخ شراذات يوم رجا من شقيد بيال ابو وهب و
 احسننا اذ فوج و عليه حلة جيدة فعال ابو وهب لما بط شرا تم تغلب
 الرطال انابت وانما كارهة فيهم خيل فان يا شمر لما اقول ساعة
 اليه الرطال انابت شرا فينخلح عليه حة انال منه ما اردت فعال له
 البيغ مهلا كذا في بيغ اسمك قال فيهم تبا عما قال هذه الحلة قال
 افعل ففعل و قال له ما بط شرا الاسم وال كينتك واخر حطته و اعطاء
 طمونه بل انصرف وقال في ذلك ما خطب زوجته البيغ
 الا هراة احسننا ان جليلها تا بط شرا واكفيتها ابو وهب
 فقهة تسمى اسمي و سماي اسم له صبر على معظله الخطب
 واين له با شرجك و سوزة واين له في كل فادحة طيب
 قال حمزة واحد تا بط شرا جارة من قومه فطلمها زمانا بقدر عليها
 لم يقينه ذات ليلة فاجابته و ارادها فحجز عنها طارات جزعه
 ذلك تناومت عليه فانسبه وهذا افعال

عجزت ع حارثة رقيقة	يا لك من ايسر سلبيات الحيلة
كيشية الأروخ ترم العيلة	فمنش اليك مشيت هز و ريلة
تخلر قلعين لها قبيلة	لو اننا راعيتك في شيلة

لصرت كالمرأوة العرييلة

الطرس عبد الهبل
 سرور انبار و شيا
 قشيشها تعيل

وقال تا بط شرا ما اجبت شي اح بلامة اخلد اليهم و كوا اليهم و حرك
 اليهم بالبحر و اعاد ما بط شرا و معه عشرين و من سراق الحمدان
 على بحيلة فاطمة و اتبعها و نزلت بها بحيلة فحرجت في انارها و مضيا
 حارثين في خيال الشرا و ركنوا الحزن فعارضتها بحيلة في السهل
 فسبقوها الي الوهوب مال عمرو و من العاصم الكايف و دخلوا في
 قصبة العين و جاء و دملح العطش منها الي العين لما و قعا عليها قال
 ما بط شرا لا يرم سراق اطمن الشرب فابها ليلة عذو مطار و ما يبرك
 قال و الراء عذو و يطغره اية لا سمع و جيت قلب الرطال تحت

و كينتك

الاربع العاشر في التاريخ

الركاب
 انصف بيال في العيون

تَابَطَشَرًا الشاعرا حذر جيلي العرب وهو ثابت س
 جابر وسفين بن محمد بن حرب بن تيمر سعد بن قهم بن عمرو بن
 قيس بن عيلان بن مضر بن نزار بن معد بن عدنان كذا نسبه ابن الكلبي
 وقال ابن الاثير هو من عربة العرب وهو ثابت بن جابر بن سفين
 بن عتبيل بن قهم وقيل هو ثابت بن عتبيل وامه نعال لها اسمية
 من بني القين بن من قهم ولدت خمسة بنين تابطشرا وريث
 وريثش وشروك وعيا ولا يواحي له وقيل انها ولدت سادسا و
 تابطشرا باللائه رايه كقشة الصخر او حمله تحيطه قبائل
 طول طريقه فلما فرس من ابي ثعلب عليه قومي به ماذا هو الغول
 فقال له قوم ما كنت متابطيا ثابت فقال الغول فالواعد تابطت
 شرا قسي ملك وقيل بل امه قالت له من الكهانة الا
 تره غلمان ابي يجتهدون الكاهة فيروحون بها فاعل اعطى جرابك
 حتى اجتمع كراهيه شيئا من الكاهة فاعطته فملاه لها افاعي من البر
 قدر عليه فلما راح ات بهن في اجراب متابطاله فانهاه بين برهما
 ففجعه ففشا عين في بيتهما فوفقت وخرجت فعالا لانسبا ابي
 مادا انا كذا ثابت متابطيا فعالت شرا فلو منه تابطشرا وقال
 الخليل تابطسكينا وبتا به بعض قوم قسي تابطشرا وقال
 ابو حاتم راتا مه م تابط جيفير سهامه و الكهانة فعالت لقد
 تابطت شرا وقال ابو عمرو والشيبان نزلت علي من عند راحوة
 فم من قيس فقالهم عن خبر تابطشرا فقال بعضهم وما سواك
 اتره ان يكون لصا فعلت لا ولكن احل ان تعرف اجاره هو العتق
 فالتحدث بها فالواخذك عن خبره ان تابطشرا كان عمري ذمي
 ساق و ذية كعيبين وكان اذا جامع لم تنع له قايبة وكان ينظر الي
 الدنيا فينتبه على نظره اسمها بحر خلعه فلا يفوت منه يا حذر
 فيدعه يشويه وياكله وقال حماد بن اسحق عن ابي حنيفة عتبة

اللبي

هار او هم عياره چه امس و حاجت رخ شديده في ليلة طلما فينا هو
 يسيرا ذراي ناراه عييه فعال الخطات الطروي حجار و تشك بر قصر
 النار چه اماها و قد كاد يصبغ فاذا رط قد او قد نار اليه بعد اخر فعال
 له عمر ذوا الكلب نرايت قال نار رط من عمر وان كان فما اسم هذا المطان
 قال الشيخ معروف انه قد هلك و اخطا و السنة ش لا بجاذ و زك و كذا لم
 او قد ز فوايه ما شستوي و لا تصطفا و ما او قد ز الة لمنية عمر و اشيع
 هل عن ذ شيه تطعني قال نوح فاخرج له تمرات قد بقاها ع يده ملاراها
 قال تمرات تبعها عبرات من شوة خفرا تيم قال اسبق قال ما ذا
 البنا قال لا و لكن اسبق ما قرا حانما في مقبول صبا حانما انطلق
 فزاي القوم في اثره قد ظل غاراه السيد فلا ظهر و اعلا السنة علموا
 ان في الغار فنادوه يا عمر و قال اشا و ن قالوا اخرج قال علم
 و خطت اذن قالوا اخرج فاشترنا فوكك
 و متعمر كريمة فكننت فيها مكانا لا تحب عين من القبال
 قال هاه ذه انا فيها و عنت له رط من القوم فراه عمر و فتنه فعالوا
 قلنته يا عد و اسه قال اخطا و قد بقيت معي اربعة اسهر كانها اتيان
 طيخة لا تصلون لي اذ اقبل بكم من هنا و اخرج منكم فعال العبد له
 يا با بنجاد اذ ظ عليه و انت حر فتميا ابو بنجاد لبيد ظ عليه فعال لعمر و
 و كذا يا بنجاد ما سيفعك ان تكون حرا اذ اتملتك فلكم عن ملارا و ا
 ذك صعيد و اقبوا عليه ثم رموه في صلو و اخرج و اسلمه و رجوا
 به الالم جليحة و اذاه تشوف فلما راو هاه قالوا الهيا لم جليحة
 ما را به عمر و كانت راى انهم طابتموه سرعا و وجدتموه ميتعا
 و وضعتموه سرعا قالوا قد و اده قلماه فعالت و اسه ما را كيم عطمة
 لرب سده منكم قد افترشته و صت منكم قد افترشته فطر حوا الهيا
 شيابه و قالوا الهيا و بك يا خذتها فاستمها فعالت فرج عطر و ثوب
 عمر و اما و اسه ما وجدتموه ذ ا حجرة جافية و لا عاتية و اقية و لا

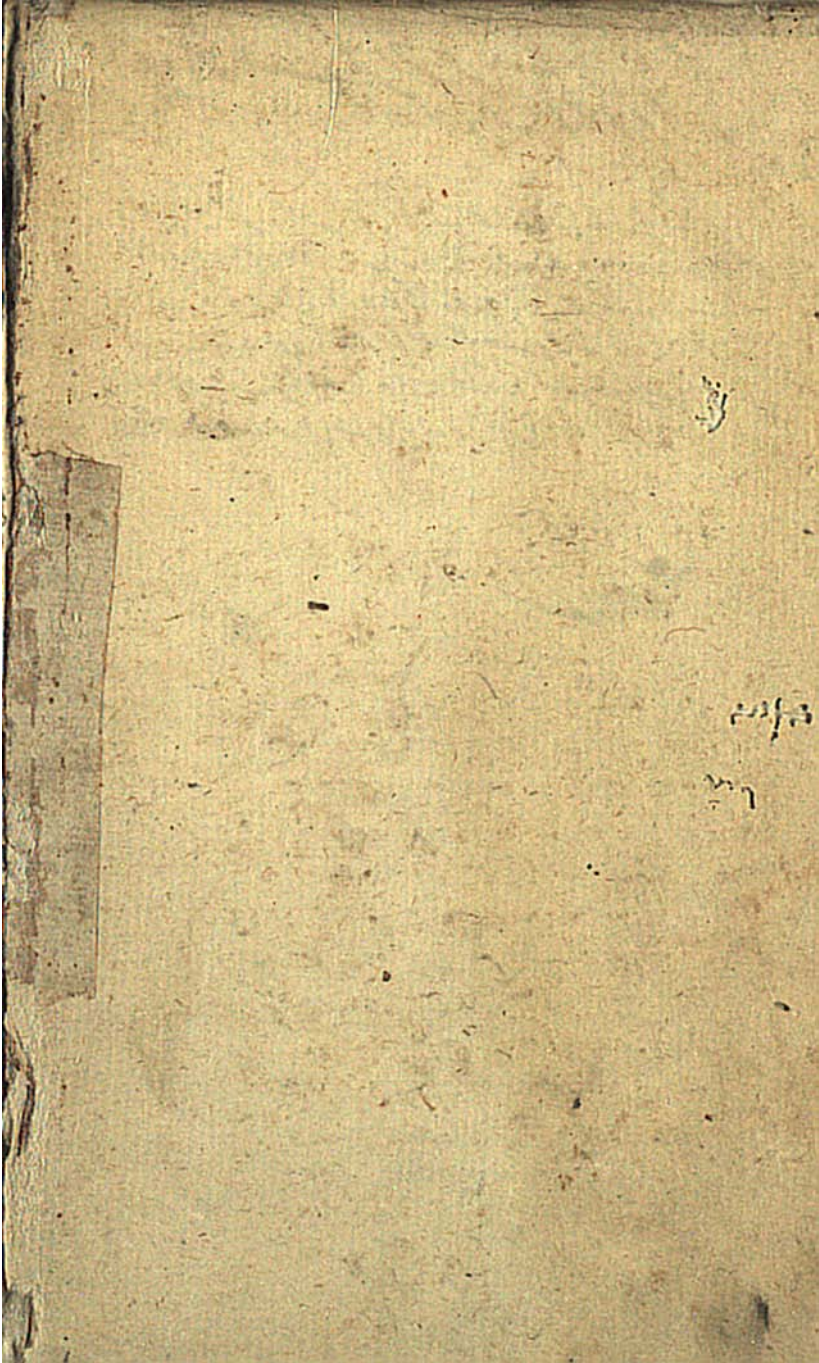
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 اذ كان في السنين

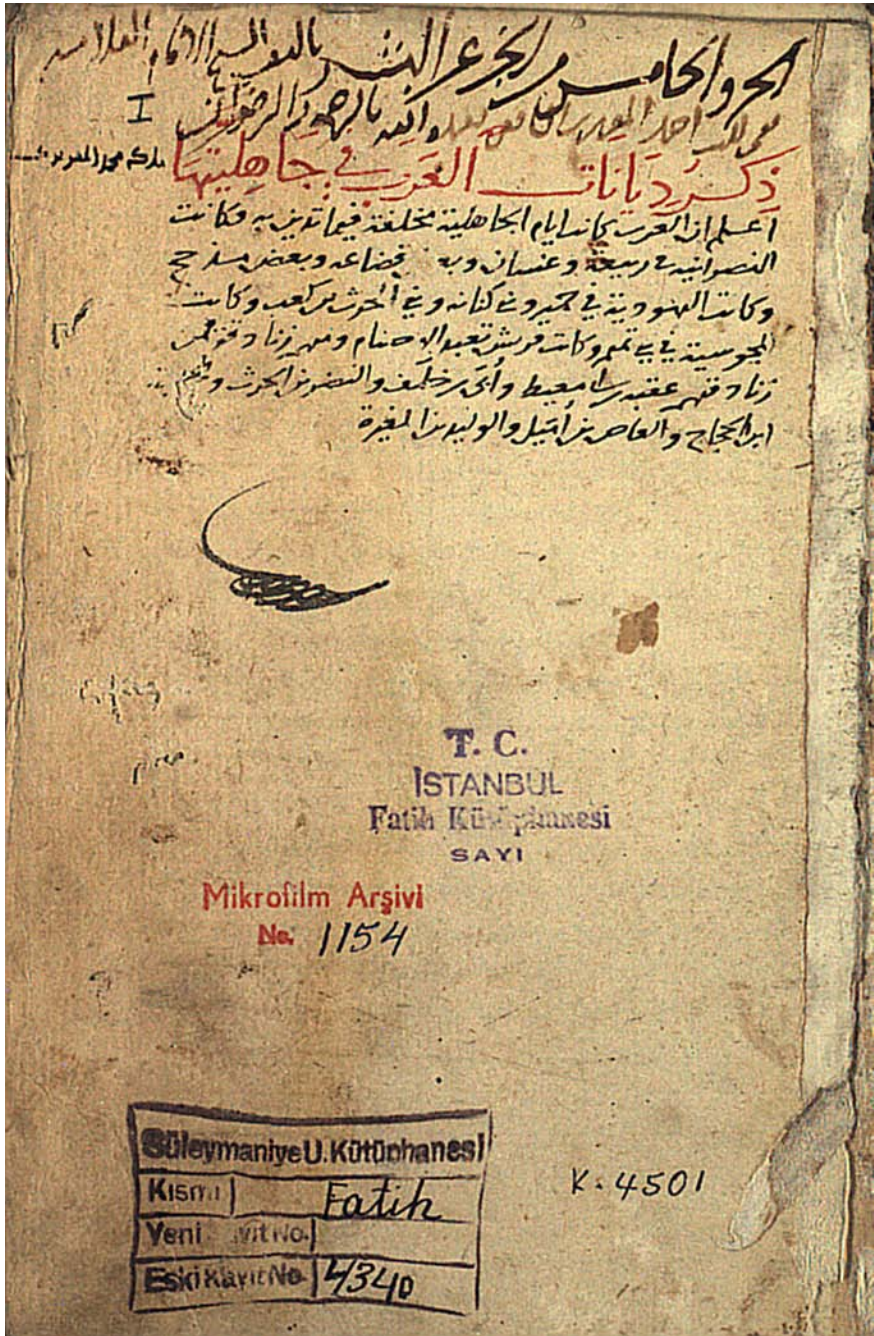
طارة

تاريخ
٤٤٤

فصل في ذكر الصور

قال ابن سينا في الصفة الصارفة والصور في اللبس والاصناف والاصناف والاصناف
يعرف الاصل بالاسم ومجموعها الصارفة والصور والاصناف والاصناف
اسم جمع والاصناف لثمة واتجمع الثقات والاصناف والاصناف والاصناف
ومعنى الصور وقيل فيه حالات والاصناف والاصناف والاصناف
واثره ماضية ذات الصور وقال في حجاج الجوهر في اللبس وحده
الاصناف والاصناف لثمة لثمة فيه والاصناف والاصناف والاصناف
يتلخص واثره ماضية ذات الصور وكايت في العرب لصوص
مشهورون منهم عمرو وذو تابتة وشعرا والشنفر والاسيليك
سليكة والمنشور وهب الباطل واوثة بن طرفة المازن وعمر بن
براق ويقبل سواقة في اخرين كما استورد منهم ووقفا له عظم
عشرون ذية الكلب هو عمرو العجلان بن عامر بن زور من بني ابي
كذا عدل الفرج الاصحاب وكنى كلب لانه كلب عمرو بن ابي
اسم عمرو كاهل بن عامر بن معوية بن عمرو بن سعد بن عبد بن مزارك بن
البياس بن مضر بن زاور بن معمر عدنان كان فاضلا شاعرا وسمى في
الكلب لانه كان له لا يفارقه وكان غزاه فقتل فقتل عليه بمزارك
فاكله فادعت فقتله وكنى المصاير انه سمي في الكلب لانه
الاصناف مثل احواله وولد في دمه وكان عمرو ويقبل الاسد وبلغ في
دما به اواره عمرو بن معمر بن عمرو بن كلب يبلغ في دم اسد ثم هشته حية
فما وكان عمرو يقول انما الاسد كلب فلما كلب سمي في الكلب
وه كلب لانه كان الفرج انه خرج غازيا ومعه كلب صطاد به
فقال له اصحابه يا ذ الكلب فقتل عليه وعك عميرة والمفضل وغير
قالوا كان من جملة عمرو ذ الكلب وكان من حاله انه علق امرأه
من فخر يعل لها خيل حية فاحبها واجتبه وكانا هلكا وقد وجدوا عليها
وعليه الى ان طلوا دمه فلما جازها تروا به وخرجوا في اثره وقد خرج





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