

NOTES ON CASKEL'S ǦAMHARAT AN-NASAB

by

M. J. Kister and M. Plessner

Jerusalem

Martin Plessner, der am 27. November 1973 kurz vor Vollendung seines 73. Lebensjahres in Jerusalem gestorben ist, übernahm „auf dringenden Wunsch“ des am 28. Januar 1970 verstorbenen Werner Caskel die Besprechung seines letzten Werkes:

WERNER CASKEL, *Ǧamharat an-nasab, Das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī*. Band I: Einleitung von Werner Caskel; die Tafeln von Gert Strenziok. Band II: Erläuterungen zu den Tafeln von Werner Caskel; Das Register, begonnen von Gert Strenziok, vollendet von Werner Caskel. — Leiden, E. J. Brill 1966. I: xvi, 132 S., 334 Taf., 2 S. Nachträge und Berichtigungen; II: 614 S., 2 S. Nachträge und Berichtigungen, 4°

und zwar „nach langem Sträuben“ — denn er sah sich zu einer Rezension „dieses monumentalen Werkes“ in „keiner Weise qualifiziert“ — und nachdem er „sich der Beteiligung von M. J. Kister versichert hatte“ (aus einem Brief an die Redaktion). Zunächst folgen hier (bis S. 50, 18) Plessner's Bemerkungen:

Die Wissenschaft von der Genealogie, d.h. der Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der alten Araber, ist von Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī begründet worden. So sagt wenigstens Ḥaccī Xalifa, Nr. 1345 s.v. *ʿilm al-ansāb*, der auf die Vorarbeiten von Hišām's Vater, Muḥammad ibn as-Sāʿib, nicht eingegangen ist, weil diese nicht zu einer vollendeten literarischen Form gediehen sind. (In den Enzyklopädien wird die Wissenschaft verschiedentlich erwähnt, z.B. in den persischen *Nafāʾis al-funūn fī ʿarāʾis al-ʿuyūn* des Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Āmulī [ca. 740/1340], Lith. Teheran 1309, I, 245-49; trotzdem fehlt sie bei Ṭašköprüzāde, was Ḥaccī Xalifa zu einer kritischen Bemerkung veranlasst hat.) Ausser der *Camhara* führt er an dieser Stelle vier weitere Werke Ibn al-Kalbī's an, *al-Mnzl* (von Flügel *Munzil* vokalisiert), *al-Waciz*, *al-Farid* und *al-Mulūkī* (zweifellos ist diese Lesart der Istanbuler Edition von 1943 die richtige; Flügel schreibt *Mulūk*). Von diesen erscheinen aber nur *al-Farid* und *al-Waciz* an ihrer Stelle im Alphabet (9049 bzw. 14184); von den beiden anderen hatte der Bibliograph also wohl nur indirekt Kenntnis. Yāqūt, *Iršād*, ed. Margoliouth, VII, 253 setzt *al-Mnzl* mit *k. an-Nasab al-kabīr* (s. zu diesem Titel Caskel's Einleitung) gleich und führt die anderen drei Titel (statt *al-Waciz* schreibt er *al-Mūcaz*) am Ende der von ihm übernommenen Liste des *Fihrist* auf. (Caskel I, 79 Anm. 4 nennt nur zwei, *Farid* und *Mulūkī*, und möchte sie als Prunktitel bezweifeln; man vergleiche über diese Frage die nachfolgenden Ausführungen Kister's; Yāqūt nennt unter Ibn al-Kalbī's Gewährsmännern Ibn Saʿd kاتب al-Wāqidi, während das Verhältnis doch umgekehrt war, vgl. Caskel, I, 114 f.)

Ibn al-Kalbī hat sein Werk, wie gesagt, auf der Grundlage eines von seinem Vater begonnenen *Ansāb*-Buches verfasst. Laut Caskel's ansprechender Vermutung (I, 75) hat der Vater bis in die Zeit des Chalifen al-Manšūr gearbeitet, woraus sich erklärt, dass die meisten „Zeitgenossen“, also die auf den Tafeln zu unterst stehenden Personen, in die Zeit dieses Chalifen fallen. Der Sohn, der ca. 204/819 starb, fügte dann weitere Namen bis in die Zeit al-Maʾmūn's hinzu, soweit sie ihm zugänglich waren. Auch Ibn al-Kalbī hat das Werk nicht selbst publiziert; wir lesen es nur — teilweise — in der *riwāya* des Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb (I, 122).

Das Werk Ibn al-Kalbī's zu kommentieren ist die Aufgabe, die sich Caskel gestellt hatte. Zu einer Edition reichte das Material nicht aus. Deshalb finden wir in Caskel's Werk keinen arabischen Text, sondern genealogische Tabellen und ein Register, wie wir sie — man muss jetzt sagen: en miniature — seit 120 Jahren von Wüstenfeld's Hand besitzen. Während jedoch Wüstenfeld nur die arabischen Stämme und Familien erfassen wollte und daher mit ca. 50 Tafeln auskam, enthalten Caskel's Tafeln alle Namen, incl. der Personennamen; die einzige Bedingung ist, dass sie als in Ibn al-Kalbī's Werk stehend nachgewiesen werden konnten. Es sind also in den neuen 334 Tafeln ca. 35000 Namen enthalten, unter denen die der Zeitgenossen Ibn al-Kalbī's noch bei weitem nicht alle damals lebenden echten Araber innerhalb der erfassten Gebiete darstellen. Aber auch die vorigen Generationen sind keineswegs voll erfasst; z.B. hören die Aliden (Tafel 5) in der Generation nach 'Alī auf. Die Umayyaden gehen bis zur Generation der Söhne 'Abd al-Malik's (Tafel 10), während auf derselben Tafel Vettern verschiedenen Grades noch 1-2 Generationen weiter verzeichnet sind. Die Abbasiden erscheinen überhaupt nicht, während z.B. der berühmte Abū Yūsuf genannt ist (Tafel 223).

Die sowohl auf Caskel's wie auf Wüstenfeld's Tafeln stehenden Stammbäume stimmen nicht in allen Gliedern überein. Das ist natürlich; denn Wüstenfeld hat eine Vielfalt von Quellen benutzt, die entgegen seiner Versicherung im Vorwort zum *Register* unmöglich in allem übereinstimmen konnten, da sie sich auf verschiedene Zeiten bezogen und nicht alle auf ihre Integrität geprüft werden konnten. Caskel dagegen hat eine einzige konkrete Quelle benutzt, deren Rekonstruktion eben der Inhalt seines Buches ist. In seinem Register, zu dem bei jedem Namen die Quellen, d.h. Handschriften, Abschriften und spätere Benutzer der *Ġamhara*, angegeben werden, stehen überall zuerst die Stellen, an denen er in den Handschriften und ihren Derivaten vorkommt. Der Versuchung, Ibn al-Kalbī's Material zu ergänzen, d.h. Namen aufzunehmen, die zwar bekannt, aber eben nicht in dieser Quelle nachweisbar sind, hat er konsequent widerstanden.

Von Caskel's Mitarbeitern ist einer, G. Strenziok, so weitgehend an der Arbeit beteiligt, dass er auf den Titelblättern erscheint. Seine Dissertation *Die Genealogien der Nordaraber nach Ibn al-Kalbī* liegt dem entsprechenden Teil der Tafeln zugrunde, für die er denn auch als Verfasser erscheint. Strenziok hat auch das Register begonnen, d.h. nicht nur die Stammeskartothek in eine alphabetische umgewandelt, sondern auch die historischen Bemerkungen zu den historisch oder sonstwie bedeutenden Personen zu schreiben angefangen. Aber der Plan des Ganzen, die beiden grossen Einleitungen und der weitaus grösste Teil des Registers sind Caskel's Werk.

Es ist nicht leicht, die Summe von Gelehrsamkeit, die in diesem Register steckt, zu ermessen. Allein die Datierungen von Dichterversen und die Urteile über deren Echtheit spiegeln das Lebenswerk eines Mannes, dessen ganze Kraft dem arabischen Altertum gewidmet war. Aber das ist nur ein kleiner Teil der in diesen Artikeln verarbeiteten Materialien. Die historischen Bemerkungen zu vielen Namen auf jeder Seite des über 500 Quartseiten umfassenden Registers gehen in die Tausende und bilden eine unerschöpfliche Quelle der Belehrung. In ihnen ist auch wenigstens ein Teil des nicht rein genealogischen Textes Ibn al-Kalbī's gerettet worden. Zu den Artikeln des Registers kommen noch die historischen Konsequenzen allgemeiner Art, die sich Caskel bei der Ausarbeitung des Buches ergeben haben und die in den Prolegomena des 1. und den Erläuterungen zu den Tafeln des 2. Bandes niedergelegt sind. Am bedeutsamsten ist wohl die endgültige Bestätigung der schon von Goldziher, *Muh. St.* I, 91 ausgesprochenen Zweifel an der Altertümlichkeit des nord-südarabischen Gegensatzes, der laut Caskel (I, 69) „erst seit 63/683 deutlich geworden (ist) und . . . nie die Stärke erreicht (hat), die ihm spätere Geschichtschreiber verliehen haben.“

Die ungeheure Vielfalt von Eigennamen, die die alten Araber gekannt und ihren

Kindern gegeben haben, tritt in diesem Register erst recht in Erscheinung. Dass unter den selteneren zahlreiche sind, die erst hier in richtiger Form erscheinen, während sie in den bisher bekannten Texten falsch punktiert waren (z.B. Yarfā, bei Wüstenfeld Barqā genannt und unter dieser Form leider nicht im Register erscheinend, sondern nur im Apparat zu Yarfā), ist ein weiterer Gewinn. Erst jetzt ist eine solide Grundlage für die Untersuchung der Etymologien der arabischen Eigennamen geschaffen; und ich bin froh, dass ich als junger Mann nicht der Anregung Eugen Mittwoch's gefolgt bin, über dieses Thema zu arbeiten. Caskel muss viel Material dazu gehabt haben, hat es aber nicht in diesem, Ibn al-Kalbi und der Genealogie gewidmeten Buch publiziert (II, 99).

Die ausgezeichnete drucktechnische Leistung und die bei den vielen Zahlen besonders schwierige, überaus sorgfältige Korrektur sei gebührend hervorgehoben.

Der reiche Inhalt dieses epochemachenden Werkes des letzten unmittelbaren Schülers August Fischer's konnte hier nicht annähernd beschrieben werden. Manche Äusserlichkeiten schriftstellerischer Art, die die Prolegomena zu einer etwas komplizierten Lektüre machen, verschlagen nichts gegenüber der Dankbarkeit, die die Arabistik Caskel schuldet, und die ich ihm leider nur übers Grab nachrufen kann.

The uninterrupted transmission of genealogy from the times of the Jāhiliyya was conditioned by the socio-political situation of the Arab Empire in the period of the conquests and during the rule of the Umayyads. The revolutionary change in the 'Abbāsid period is reflected in an utterance attributed to al-Ma'mūn: "Rank is the genealogical affinity connecting people; thus a noble Arab is closer to a noble Persian than he is to a low-class Arab; a noble Persian is nearer to a noble Arab than he is to a low-class Persian, because noble men form a (separate) class and plebeians form a (separate) class".¹ This view is further explained by the following saying of al-Ma'mūn: "People of the market are men of the lowest class, workmen are despised people, merchants are avaricious, while secretaries are kings over the people".² This of course mirrors the opinion of the 'Abbāsid period when tribal organizations had lost their hold, while foreign nobility was gaining in importance and position and the class of secretaries was coming to be among the most respected. But even in this period genealogy did not cease to be recorded, learnt and transmitted as an essential part of the Arabic cultural tradition.

In the first period of Islam knowledge of *nasab* was made necessary by the administrative needs of the *dīwān*. It was further required in connection with the need to affiliate new converts to Islam in accordance

¹ Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 3179, I, 82a: *qāla l-ma'mūnu: al-rutbatu nasabun tajma'u ahlāhā, fa-sharīfu l-'arabi aulā bi-sharīfi l-'ajami min sharīfi l-'arabi bi-waḍī'i l-'arabi; wa-sharīfu l-'ajami aulā bi-sharīfi l-'arabi min sharīfi l-'ajami bi-waḍī'i l-'ajami; fa-ashrāfu l-nāsi ṭabaqatun, kamā anna auḍā-ahum ṭabaqatun.*

² *Ib. . . wa-qāla marratan: ahlu l-sūqi sifalun, wa-l-ṣunnā'u andhālun, wa-l-tujjāru bukhālā'u, wa-l-kuttābu mulūkun 'alā l-nāsi.*

with the various tribal groups. *Nasab* turned to be a considerable factor in differentiating between the upper class of the conquerors and the population of the conquered countries; for the Arabs it was a means of self-identification: to be aware of Arab descent, to have a pure Arab pedigree as confronted with the *mawālī*, the '*ajam*. It is clear that the compilation of the *Nasab al-ʿArab* was only later counteracted by the compilation of *Nasab al-ʿAjam*.³

The fact that the science of genealogy acquired Muslim character and respectability and the tendency to emphasize the superiority of the Arabs led to the invention of a great number of traditions on this subject: they were of course told on the authority of the Prophet. "If the Arabs become weak Islam will become weak"—the Prophet is reported to have said.⁴ "May God break the teeth of the man who prefers the '*ajam*'".⁵ "Love the Arabs for three reasons: because I am an Arab, because the Qurʾān is Arabic and because the people of Paradise speak Arabic".⁶ "Hatred of the Arabs is unbelief, love for the Arabs is belief".⁷ The bulk of these traditions bears evidence to the tendency of emphasizing the merits and qualities by which they surpass other nations within Islam.

Closely connected with these traditions were the traditions about Quraysh. Maʿmar b. Rāshid, one of the earliest compilers of *ḥadīth*, records in his *Jāmiʿ*⁸ a number of these traditions in the chapter *Faḍāʾil Quraysh*. The Prophet said: "People follow Quraysh in this matter—he meant by this: authority—; Muslims follow Muslims of Quraysh and

³ See quotations from Abū ʿUbayda's *Ansāb al-ʿajam* in Mughultāy's *al-Zahr al-bāsim fī sirat abī l-qāsim*, Ms. Leiden Or. 370, ff. 41b, 136a, 152a.

⁴ Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *ʿIlal*, Ms. Chester Beatty 3516, f. 287a; al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *Kanz al-ummāl*, Hyderabad 1385/1965, XIII, 37, no. 230; al-Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, Beirut 1967, X, 53; ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-ʿIrāqī, *al-Qurab fi maḥabbati l-ʿarab*, ed. Ibrāhīm Ḥilmī al-Qādirī, Alexandria 1381/1961, p. 99; al-Jarrāḥī, *Kashf al-khafāʾ*, Beirut 1351, I, 89, no. 232; cf. al-Zajjājī, *Majālis al-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, al-Kuwayt 1962, p. 240: *lā yazālu l-dīnu dhalīlan mā ʿazzat al-ʿarab*.

⁵ Al-Jazarī, *Mawlid al-nabī*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 3608, f. 5a.

⁶ ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-ʿIrāqī, *op. cit.*, p. 96; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *op. cit.*, f. 287a; al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *op. cit.*, XIII, 37, no. 229; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḡhīr*, Cairo 1330, I, 10; al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, X, 52; al-Jarrāḥī, *op. cit.*, I, 54, no. 133.

⁷ Al-Jazarī, *op. cit.*, f. 5a; al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *op. cit.*, XIII, 37, no. 231 (and see no. 232); and see Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *op. cit.*, f. 384a: *kathratu l-ʿarabi qurratu ʿaynin lī* (cf. al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *op. cit.*, XIII, 39, no. 239); and see a tradition in praise of the Arabs with an addition against Thaqīf: al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *op. cit.*, XIII, 39: "A believer will not hate the Arabs and will not love Thaqīf." (but see *ib.*, an interesting version of this *ḥadīth* in favour of Thaqīf; the addition of "illā" changes the meaning: *lā yubghidū l-ʿaraba muʾminun wa-lā yuḥibbu thaqīfan illā muʾminun*.); ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-ʿIrāqī, *op. cit.*, pp. 94, 107.

⁸ Ms. Feyzullah 541, ff. 121a-122a.

unbelievers follow their unbelievers".⁹ "God will despise the man who despises Quraysh".¹⁰ "God will hate the man who hates Quraysh".¹¹ "Sovereignty belongs to Quraysh"—said the Prophet.¹² These traditions about the qualities of Quraysh¹³ were followed by traditions about the qualities and merits of the Anṣār, of the tribes of Yemen and of the Northern tribes.

The legal authority of the rule of Quraysh is plainly attested in the utterances of the Prophet. The secondary position of the Anṣār was foretold in the same manner. The people of Yemen are described as "dispersed in the world, repelled from the gates of the rulers";¹⁴ they will of course enter Paradise with the Prophet. "Azd, the Prophet says, are the lions of God on earth; people want to debase them, but God will extol them; there will come a time when a man will say: 'Would that my father or my mother were from Azd'." ¹⁵ These traditions included utterances about groups of tribes like Tamīm, Quḍā'a, Hawāzin, Ghaṭafān, Muḍar and smaller tribal units¹⁶ like Lakhm, Judhām, Juhayna, Muzayna, 'Uṣayya etc. The tendency of these traditions, the struggle of some tribes for higher position and authority, can be gauged from an utterance like: "Islam will become debased when Rabī'a will

⁹ *Ib.*, f. 121a; Ibn Abī Hātim, *op. cit.*, f. 384b-385a; 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Irāqī, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

¹⁰ Ma'mar b. Rāshid, *op. cit.*, f. 122a; al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *op. cit.*, XIII, 17, no. 100; al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, X, 27 (and see the *ḥadīth*es in favour of Quraysh *ib.*, X, 23-28); and see 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Irāqī, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-144 (*Faḍā'il quraysh*).

¹¹ Ibn Abī Hātim, *op. cit.*, f. 382b.

¹² Al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *op. cit.*, XIII, 20, no. 118; Ibn Abī Hātim, *op. cit.*, f. 383a.

¹³ Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-auliyyā'*, Cairo 1357/1938, IX, 64-66 (see esp. p. 65: *amānu ahli l-arḍi min al-ikhtilāfi l-muwālātu li-qurayshin, qurayshun ahlu llāhi . . . fa-idhā khālafahā qabīlatun min al-'arabi šārū ḥizba iblīsā*; and see this tradition al-Shaukānī, *al-Fawā'id al-majmū'a*, ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Abd al-Laṭīf, Cairo 1960, p. 462; al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *op. cit.*, XIII, 17-32; Ibn Burhān al-Dīn, *al-Sira al-ḥalabiyya*, Cairo 1351/1932, I, 29-30; al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, X, 23-28; al-Ṭabarsī, *al-Iḥtiāj*, al-Najaf 1386/1966, I, 211; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, ed. 'Alī Muḥ. al-Bijāwī, Cairo n.d., II, 792, no. 1330.

¹⁴ Al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *op. cit.*, XIII, 42, no. 260.

¹⁵ Ibn Sa'īd, *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, Ms. Tübingen 1, f. 55r; al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *op. cit.*, XIII, 49, no. 284; 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Irāqī, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

¹⁶ Cf. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmi' al-kabīr*, Ms. al-Jazzār, Acre, p. 236: *alā ukhbirukum bi-khayri qabā'il l-'arabi: al-sakūn sakūn kindā, wa-l-umlūk umlūk radmān, wa-l-sakāsik wa-firaq min al-ash'ariyyīn wa-firaq min khaulān*; and see al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *op. cit.*, XIII, 47, no. 276, (the curse of Tamīm and Bakr b. Wā'il, the curse of Muqā'is and Mulādis of Tamīm); and see *ib.*, no. 277 (the blessing of Ghifār and Aslam); 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Irāqī, *op. cit.*, p. 156 (qualities of Tamīm), 157-158 (of Juhayna), 159 ('Udhra), 160-161 (Qays and Yemen), 162 (Madhḥij), 164 (qualities of Murra b. 'Ubayd of Tamīm) . . . etc.; and see al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, X, 42-46 (*mā jā'a fi qabā'il al-'arab*), 46-48 (Tamīm) . . . etc.

be powerful; God will grant power to Islam and diminish polytheism and its people as long as Muḍar and Yemen stay strong and powerful".¹⁷

It was only natural when pious circles of people entertaining universalist ideas about Islam took to discarding traditions of this kind stressing the exclusiveness or superiority of the Arabs. When somebody expressed his surprise that the Prophet allowed Bilāl, Ṣuhayb and Salmān to sit in a circle (scil. in the mosque of the Prophet—K) he said: "God is one, the religion is one and the Ancestor (i.e. Adam—K) is one. Lo, Arabic is not our father, or mother; it is merely a language; he who speaks Arabic is an Arab".¹⁸ "At the Day of Judgment", says a tradition which gained currency in the pious circles, "God will abolish the *nasab* (of the noble tribes—K) and will establish His *nasab*. The most honoured will be a God-fearing man".¹⁹

A significant story, said to have been told by al-Kalbī himself, mirrors quite well the attitude of the pious orthodox circles towards *nasab* and *nasab* compilations. In Ibn Qutayba's manuscript *Ta'bīr al-ru'yā*²⁰, al-Kalbī recounts a dream of his. He saw himself at the Day of Judgment being brought into the Presence of God, Who said: "You are compiling genealogies which you do not know and you speak about (things) you do not know". He ordered to lead al-Kalbī to Hell. While being led to Hell al-Kalbī noticed the Prophet sitting in a circle of men and asked him to intercede for him with God. But the Prophet said: "How can I intercede for you when you compile genealogies which you do not know". Al-Kalbī said: "O Messenger of God, I also compiled a commentary on the Qur'ān". Then the Prophet ordered one of the people of his circle to examine al-Kalbī; the man was 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. He interrogated al-Kalbī on some four or five religious problems. Al-Kalbī answered the questions well, 'Alī reported this to the Prophet, and the latter interceded, and al-Kalbī was let free. He sat down with the Prophet and asked him when Umayyad rule was going to terminate. The Prophet mentioned the time of the fall of the Umayyads, which in fact occurred at the fixed date. Later al-Kalbī wrote only the genealogy of known tribes, whose pedigree is not in doubt.

The story reveals clearly the tendency of the pious scholars. It is a blameworthy act to compile books of genealogy containing pedigrees of

¹⁷ Al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *op. cit.*, XIII, 48, no. 279.

¹⁸ Baḥshal, *Ta'rikh Wāsiṭ*, ed. Gurguis 'Awwād, Baghdād 1967, p. 252; al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *op. cit.*, XIII, 39, no. 243.

¹⁹ Asad b. Mūsā, *Kit. al-zuhd*, ed. R. Leszynsky, Kirchhain 1909, pp. xxx-xxxi; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-ṣaḡhīr*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥ. 'Uṭhmān, Cairo 1388/1968, I, 230.

²⁰ Ms. Hebrew University, Coll. Yahuda, Ar. 196, ff. 10b-11a.

tribes of doubtful origin; to record well-established genealogies seems however to have been regarded lawful. Knowledge of the *sharī'a* and of Qur'ān saves from pains of Hell. Finally: the intercession of 'Alī points apparently to the Shi'ī sympathies of al-Kalbī.

A story recorded by Ma'mar b. Rāshid ²¹ reflects the clash between the old *nasab* of the Jāhiliyya type and that of the Muslim period. Al-Sha'bī passed by a Qaysī man while the latter was annoying an Asadī with questions about his *nasab*. Al-Sha'bī sat down with the two men and asked the Qaysī about the first banner raised in Islam, about the first spoils granted in Islam, about the man declared by the Prophet to be in Paradise . . . etc.; all these virtues were in the tribe of Asad, not in Qays. The Qaysī went away, leaving the Asadī alone.

This attitude was however not the prevailing one. *Nasab* was diligently studied and gained orthodox approval.²² The tradition that *nasab* is "a knowledge by which none profits; ignorance of it does not harm"²³ was confronted by tradition favoring the study of *nasab* and stressing its merits. Muslim scholars said that God singled out this people (i.e. the Muslims—K) granting them the *i'rāb*, the *isnād* and the *nasab*.²⁴

I

In the first period of Islam genealogy had to play a special role. Tribal rivalry, changes in alliances of clans and tribes, divisions in tribes, pressure of the government on some factions of tribes—all these were factors which shaped the development of genealogy in the Umayyad period.²⁵

The tendency of some weak tribal units to attach themselves to strong and influential tribes is reflected in a passage of al-Jāhīz in which he records the qualities of Quraysh. No Qurashī, al-Jāhīz states, claimed to be a descendant from another tribe, while members of noble tribes claim "until now" the descent from Quraysh. Noble persons from Murra b. 'Auf,²⁶ Sulaym, Khuzā'a and others, says al-Jāhīz, alleged that they

²¹ *Al-Jāmi'*, ff. 119b-120a; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, IV, 315-316.

²² See J. Obermann, *Early Islam*, (in R. C. Dentan—ed.—The Idea of History in Ancient Near East, Yale University Press, 1955, pp. 239-310).

²³ Al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mu'allamī, Hyderabad 1382/1962, I, 9.

²⁴ Al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-ladunniyya*, Cairo 1326, V, 394-395.

²⁵ See I. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, Halle 1890, I, 97-98, 177 seq.; Caskel, *op. cit.*, I, 25-35.

²⁶ See Caskel, *op. cit.*, II, 433 (and see *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, 101-103); Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāḥid, Cairo 1384/1964, I, 91-93.

were Qurashites.²⁷ The case of Khuzā'a is well known; their origin is obscure, but some of them indeed claimed to be Qurashites.²⁸ Al-Kalbī stated that al-Ṣalt b. Naḍr b. Kināna died childless; thus Khuzā'a could not be his son.²⁹ Ibn al-Kalbī records them as descendants of Azd from Saba'.³⁰ Some claimed that they were descendants of Qama'a b. Khindif (i.e. al-Yās, their father—K); this was affirmed by an alleged utterance of the Prophet in which 'Amr b. Luḥayy, the ancestor of Khuzā'a was mentioned as 'Amr b. Luḥayy b. Qama'a.³¹ The discussions about the pedigree of Khuzā'a, the political reasons for the attachment of Khuzā'a with Kināna, the instigations of 'Abd al-Malik and the activity of Kuthayyir 'Azza are touched upon by Caskel.³²

The origin of the Khulj is also obscure.³³ They are included in the *Jamhara* in the *nasab* of al-Ḥārith b. Fihri, but Ibn al-Kalbī adds his reservation that they are descendants of the 'Amālīq.³⁴ In his *Nawāqil Muḍar*³⁵ and in his *Kitāb al-buldān* (as quoted by Mughulṭāy) Ibn al-Kalbī states: "*al-khulj min 'ād*". It is in accordance with the answer of 'Umar when asked to attach the Khulj to Quraysh: "Am I going to attach 'Ād to Quraysh?"³⁶ 'Alī defined more harshly the relation between the Khulj and Quraysh: *mā bayna jahfalati l-ḥimāri ilā khurṭūmi l-khinzīri*.³⁷

²⁷ Al-Jāhīz, *Mukhtārāt fuṣūl* . . . , Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 3183, f. 202b.

²⁸ See Mughulṭāy, *op. cit.*, f. 48b: *wa-kāna abū aḥnash al-nassāba l-khuzā'iyyu idhā qāla lahu: mimman anta, qāla: min qurayshin, fa-idhā qāla lahu: min ayyi qurayshin, qāla: min khuzā'ata; wa-kāna yaz'umu anna khuzā'ata min wuldi l-ṣalti* (i.e. al-ṣalt b. al-naḍr b. kināna—K).

²⁹ *Ib.*

³⁰ Al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-gharām*, Cairo 1956, II, 45.

³¹ Muṣ'ab, *Nasab Quraysh*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1953, pp. 7 ult.-8 sup.; al-Fāsī, *op. cit.*, II, 44.

³² Caskel, *op. cit.*, II, 39-40; and see Mughulṭāy, *op. cit.*, ff. 48b-49a, 174a-b; al-Fāsī, *op. cit.*, II, 44-47; al-Kalā'ī, *al-Iktifā*, ed. H. Massé, Paris 1931, I, 128-129; al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, Ms. Brussa, Husayn Ḥelebi 85b, ff. 85b-87a; Ibn Sa'īd, *op. cit.*, f. 61r; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh*, al-Najaf 1966, pp. 96-100; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo n.d., II, 317-318, 343; al-Suhaylī, *al-Rauḍ al-unuf*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Wakīl, Cairo 1378/1967, I, 102; Goldziher, *op. cit.*, I, 189.

³³ Al-Nuwayrī, *op. cit.*, II, 353; Goldziher, *op. cit.*, I, 181.

³⁴ The text of *Jamhara*, Ms. Br. Mus., f. 33a: *wa-qaysu bnu l-ḥārithi wa-huwa l-khulju min baqiyyati l-'amālīqi* . . . Mughulṭāy, *op. cit.*, f. 138a says, refuting the statement of Suhaylī, that the Khulj are a group of Quraysh: . . . *wa-huwa qaulun mardūdun; qāla l-kalbīyyu fī l-jamharati: yuqālu innahum ad'iyyā'u min baqiyyati l-'amālīqi*.

³⁵ In text *نوامل مصر*. On *nawāqil* see Caskel, *op. cit.*, I, 59; and see *ib.*, p. 80, no. 21 in the list of Ibn al-Kalbī's works; and see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kit. al-aṣnām*, ed. Ahmad Zaki Pacha, Cairo 1924, p. 69, nos. 21-24; and cf. below note 58.

³⁶ Mughulṭāy, *op. cit.*, 138a.

³⁷ *Ib.*

The obscure genealogies of Sāma b. Lu'ayy,³⁸ Sa'd b. Lu'ayy (Bunāna) who were accepted into the *nasab* of Quraysh by 'Uthmān,³⁹ and al-Ḥārith b. Lu'ayy⁴⁰ were also disputed. The Khuzayma b. Lu'ayy (*ʿĀ'idhat Quraysh*)⁴¹ were affiliated to Quraysh by Mu'āwiya who wanted to strengthen his power by them.⁴² In this case the reasons for the affiliation are quite clear.

The opinions of the genealogists about the origin of Quḍā'a are contradictory. Some of them assert that they were descendants of Ma'add, according to others they were from Ḥimyar.⁴³ The North-Arabian tradition insisted that Quḍā'a was the son of Ma'add. This fact is attested by an alleged utterance of the Prophet; in this utterance the Prophet stated that the *kunya* of Ma'add was Abū Quḍā'a.⁴⁴ The South-Arabian tradition claims Quḍā'a as a descendant of Ḥimyar.⁴⁵ The alleged utterance of the Prophet plainly attributes Quḍā'a's descent to Ḥimyar.⁴⁶ Ibn al-Kalbī records a harmonizing version: Mu'āna,⁴⁷ the mother of Quḍā'a was the wife of Mālik b. 'Amr b. Murra b. Mālik b. Ḥimyar; later she got married to Ma'add and brought Quḍā'a b. Mālik with her. Quḍā'a, because of her second marriage, was later called Quḍā'a b. Ma'add.⁴⁸ Another tradition states that Mu'āna was the wife of Ma'add

³⁸ See Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 3180, II, 63b-64a; al-Suhaylī, *op. cit.*, I, 406-407; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, ed. Muḥ. Ḥamidullah, Cairo 1959, I, 46-47; al-Mubarrad, *Nasab ʿAdnān wa-Qaḥṭān*, ed. al-Maymanī, Cairo 1354/1936, p. 4; Mughulṭāy, *op. cit.*, ff. 49a-50a; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīra*, I, 90-91; al-Nuwayrī, *op. cit.*, II, 354; al-Zajjājī, *Amālī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Ḥārūn, Cairo 1382, pp. 48-50; Goldziher, *op. cit.*, I, 188-189.

³⁹ Al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, I, 44-45; Mughulṭāy, *op. cit.*, f. 49b (quoted from the *Mathālib* of Abū 'Ubayda); al-Suhaylī, *op. cit.*, I, 402-403.

⁴⁰ See Caskel, *op. cit.*, s.v. al-Ḥārith b. Lu'ayy.

⁴¹ See Caskel, *op. cit.*, I, 4, 148.

⁴² Al-Nuwayrī, *op. cit.*, II, 355: . . . *wa-hum qaumun takaththara bihim mu'āwiya-yatu fa-adkhalahum fī qurayshin*; al-Suhaylī, *op. cit.*, I, 405.

⁴³ See al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, I, 15-16; al-Nuwayrī, *op. cit.*, II, 283, 295; al-Suhaylī, *op. cit.*, I, 117-124.

⁴⁴ Al-Ḥamdānī, *al-Iklīl*, ed. Muḥ. al-Akwa' al-Ḥiwālī, Cairo 1383/1963, I, 170; Mughulṭāy, *op. cit.*, f. 7b-8a (with a discussion of the problem of Quḍā'a); Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Inbāḥ*, p. 59; al-Sam'ānī, *op. cit.*, I, 25; al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, I, 16; Abū l-Baqā', *al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyya fī akhbār al-mulūk al-asadiyya*, Ms. Br. Mus., Add. 23,296, f. 89a-89b.

⁴⁵ Al-Ḥamdānī, *op. cit.*, I, 154-181; al-Mubarrad, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁴⁶ Ibn Wahb, *Jāmi'*, ed. J. David-Weill, Cairo 1939, p. 3, ll. 7-9; al-Ḥamdānī, *op. cit.*, I, 164, 167; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Inbāḥ*, p. 61 sup.; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *op. cit.*, XIII, 57, nos. 331-333; Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Akram Ḍiyā' al-ʿUmārī, Baghdad 1387/1967, p. 120.

⁴⁷ The name of the mother of Quḍā'a is also recorded as *ʿAnna*, *Nāʿima* (on the authority of al-Mazrūʿ), *ʿUkbāra*—al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, I, 15-16; Quḍā'a—al-Nuwayrī, *op. cit.*, II, 283.

⁴⁸ See Suhaylī, *op. cit.*, I, 121; al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, I, 15; Abū l-Baqā', *op. cit.*, 90a.

and gave birth to his son Quḍā'a; she subsequently married Mālik b. 'Amr from Ḥimyar who adopted her son Quḍā'a; therefore Quḍā'a was called: Quḍā'a b. Mālik al-Ḥimyarī.⁴⁹ Ibn Sa'īd reports that Quḍā'a became Ma'addite when they moved into the Ḥijāz.⁵⁰ Ibn al-Kalbī states that the first who attached Quḍā'a to the Yemenite Ḥimyar was 'Amr b. Murra al-Juhānī.⁵¹

The account of Naṣr b. Mazrū' al-Kalbī⁵² concerning the factors which brought about the changes in the *nasab* of Quḍā'a, the period of the changes and the persons involved is of some interest. Up to a point in Mu'āwiya's rule as caliph the tribes of Quḍā'a had been and remained descendants of Ma'add. At that time 'Amr b. Murra, a respected man from Juhayna and a Companion of the Prophet, urged the people to join the Yemenites. In the period of Ibn al-Zubayr, Marwān and 'Abd al-Malik, during the raids of 'Umayr b. Ḥubāb al-Sulamī against the Kalb (i.e. Quḍā'a—K) and those of Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth al-Kalbī against Qays 'Aylan,⁵³ Kalb allied themselves with the Yemenī tribes. They were aided by Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, who opposed the Merwanids and intended to weaken their power and to drive the people of Syria away from them.⁵⁴ The alliance between Kalb and the Yemenī tribes became permanent at the time of the expedition of Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik against Constantinople. He treated Kalb wrongly and favoured Qays. Then Kalb finally joined Yemen. Subsequently Khālīd b. 'Abdallah al-Qasrī as governor of 'Iraq bribed leaders of Quḍā'a and Bajīla so as to forge their *nasab*. Naṣr b. Mazrū' remarks that pious and righteous people of Quḍā'a refuse to disclaim descent from Ma'add.⁵⁵ Similar reports are given on the authority of Sharqī b. al-Quṭāmī and Ibn Ḥabīb.⁵⁶ These passages in the works of early historians help us to

⁴⁹ Al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, I, 15; Abū l-Baqā', *op. cit.*, ib.; al-Nuwayrī, *op. cit.*, II, 283.

⁵⁰ *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, f. 51r.

⁵¹ Al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, I, 15 (and see p. 16: the report of Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb); al-Mauṣilī, *Ghāyat al-wasā'il ilā ma'rifati l-awā'il*, Ms. Cambridge Qq 33 (10), f. 34a; and see the utterance of the Prophet: *antum . . . min ḥimyar* in the biography of 'Amr b. Murra in Ibn Ḥajar's *al-Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325/1907, V, 16, ll. 11-12.

⁵² See a tradition reported by him above, note 47; and see al-Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Ḥārūn, Cairo 1945, VII, 256.

⁵³ See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. V, ed. S. D. Goitein, Jerusalem 1936, index s.v. 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb and Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth.

⁵⁴ . . . *wa-māla'ahum 'alayhi khālīdu bnu yazīda bni mu'āwiya khilāfan li-banī marwāna wa-qasdan li-tauhīni mulkihim wa-tafrīqi jamā'ati ahli l-shāmi 'anhum*.

⁵⁵ Abū l-Baqā', *op. cit.*, f. 89b-90a; on Khālīd b. 'Abdallah al-Qasrī see Muṣ'ab, *op. cit.*, p. 9, ll. 11-12.

⁵⁶ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh*, pp. 60-61.

understand the factors behind the far-reaching change of *nasab* of the Qudā'a tribes in Syria.⁵⁷

The opinions of genealogists about the *nasab* of Kinda were not unanimous. Some of them stated that Kinda were descendants of Ma'add.⁵⁸ This pedigree was transmitted by Ibn al-Kalbī.⁵⁹ Some genealogists claimed that Kinda were descendants of Rabi'a.⁶⁰ In some traditions it is stressed that in the time of the Jāhiliyya Kinda and Rabi'a shared common dwellings and common places for the performance of rituals during the pilgrimage to Mecca.⁶¹ It is noteworthy that the delegation of Kinda attempted to attach the Prophet to their *nasab* proposing the following *nasab*: Banū 'Abd Manāf > Banū Ākil al-Murār. The Prophet, however, rejected this pedigree, stressing that he is a

⁵⁷ See Caskel, *op. cit.*, II, 73-74; see *ib.*, I, 32; and see Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, I, 154-163.

⁵⁸ See *Kitāb siyar al-mulūk*, Ms. Br. Mus., Add. 23,298, f. 133b: . . . *wa-arāda bi-dhālika mā yaqūlu ba'du l-nussāb inna kindata min al-nāqilati* (see above note 35) *l-ladhina ntaqalū min aulādi ma'addin fa-ntasabū ilā qaḥṭāna*.

⁵⁹ Al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, *op. cit.*, f. 93b-94a: *qāla hishāmūn al-kalbiyyu: dhakara ba'du l-nussābi anna kindata bna thauri bni 'ufayri bni mu'āwiyata bni haydata bni ma'addi bni 'adnana*. The evidence for the soundness of the tradition was "attested" by the verse of Imru' l-Qays:

*ta-llāhi la yadkhabu shaykhī baṭilā:
khayru ma'addin nasaban wa-nā'ilā.*

The contradictory tradition, attaching Kinda to the South Arabians quotes the second hemistich differently:

yā khayra shaykhin ḥasaban wa-nā'ilā.

⁶⁰ Al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, *op. cit.*, f. 100a: . . . *wa-kāna l-nāsu fī l-zamāni l-awwali yaqūlūna: kindatu min rabī'ata* . . .; and see *ib.*, f. 93b-94a: . . . *wa-qāla ākharūna inna kindata min wuldi 'āmiri bni rabī'ata bni nizāri bni ma'addin*. And see Mughultāy, *op. cit.*, f. 109a-b (quoting *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*).

⁶¹ *Siyar al-mulūk*, f. 134a: . . . *wa-yuqālu, bal arāda mā kāna yalī (? perhaps: "bayna"—K) kindata wa-rabī'ata min al-ta'āqudi, wa-kānat dāruhum wāḥidatan fī dhālika l-zamāni; yaqūlu l-shā'iru:*

wa-kindatu idh tarmī l-jimāra 'ashiyyatan . . . etc.; al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, *op. cit.*, 94a: . . . *wa-li-dhālika kānat mahallatu kindata wa-rabī'ata wa-dāruhumā fī l-jāhiliyyati l-jahlā'i wāḥidatan wa-munākkhumum fī l-mawāsimi ma'an, wa-kānū mutaḥālifina muta'āqidina; wa-mimmā yuḥaqqiqu hādha 'indahum qāulu abī ṭālibi bni 'abdi l-muṭṭalibi:*

*wa-kindatu idh tarmī l-jimāra 'ashiyyatan:
yujawwizuhā hujjāju bakri bni wā'ili
ḥalīfāni shaddā 'aqda mā ḥtalafā lahu:
wa-raddā 'alayhi 'āṭifāti l-wasā'ili*

The Wazīr explains 'āṭifāti l-wasā'il as "al-arḥām"; Abū l-Baqā', *op. cit.*, f. 84a: . . . *wa-kānat rabī'atu bni nizārin taqifu 'inda l-madīqi 'inda l-'aqabati fa-tujīzu kindata li-annahum kānū ḥulafā'ahum fa-taqūlu l-nāsu* (perhaps:—li-l-nāsi—K) *aqimū ḥattā tajūza l-amlaku min kindata; wa-fī dhālika yaqūlu abū ṭālibin:*

wa-kindatu . . . etc.; and see Caskel, *op. cit.*, I, 33.

descendant of Naḍr b. Kināna.⁶² ‘Abbās and Abū Sufyān, the Prophet remarked, used to claim their descent from Kinda while on their journeys in Yemen.⁶³ According to the Prophet all the marriages of his ancestors were according to the rules of Islam, pure and unstained.

There was, however, in connection with this utterance the serious problem of Barra bint Murr (the sister of Tamīm b. Murr) who married Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika and gave birth to al-Naḍr b. Kināna, the ancestor of the Prophet. It was this Barra of whom Jarīr boasted that “Tamīm begot Quraysh”: Tamīm were the maternal uncles of Quraysh.⁶⁴ Barra, according to some traditions was the wife of Khuzayma, bore him children and was married by his son Kināna after his death, according to the usual custom of the Jāhiliyya, the *nikāḥ al-maqt*. Al-Balādhurī and Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abdallāh record this fact plainly.⁶⁵ Ibn al-Kalbī mentions the marriage of Barra with Khuzayma (*Jamhara* f. 4b) and with Kināna (f. 5a); she bore thirteen children of Kināna.

Al-Nuwayrī and Mughultāy devote lengthy chapters to the elucidation of this problem. Some scholars tried to find the justification for the two marriages of Barra, arguing that they were permissible in the Jāhiliyya, as the *āya* of the Qur’ān (IV, 22) has an explicit reservation: *illā mā qad salafa*.⁶⁶ This argument could however hardly be accepted. The problem was solved by al-Jāḥiẓ in his *Kit. al-aṣnām*. Kināna married in fact, according to al-Jāḥiẓ, Barra bint Udd, the wife of his father after his death; she however bore him no child. Then he married Barra bint Murr b. Udd, who gave birth to al-Naḍr, the ancestor of Quraysh, and other children.⁶⁷ This proves, of course, the unstained pedigree of the Prophet and removes any suspicion of *nikāḥ al-maqt* among the ancestors of the Prophet. Al-Damirī, who quotes the passage of al-Jāḥiẓ, wishes al-Jāḥiẓ to be forgiven for what he wrote in his other books as a reward for this information about Barra.⁶⁸ Although Ibn al-Kalbī did not quote the tradition of Barra according to the report of al-Jāḥiẓ he nevertheless stated: “I recorded five hundred ancestresses of the Prophet and I did

⁶² Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, Beirut 1380/1960, I, 22-33; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, Beirut-Riyāḍ, 1966, II, 200-201; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Inbāḥ*, p. 67; al-Sam‘ānī, *op. cit.*, I, 14, 17.

⁶³ Ibn Sa‘d, *op. cit.*, *ib.*; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, Cairo 1357/1939, II, 394 (here ‘Abbās and Rabī‘a b. al-Ḥārith).

⁶⁴ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, II, 201; Jarīr, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šāwī, Cairo 1353, p. 508.

⁶⁵ Muṣ‘ab, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 10; al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, I, 35, 37 ult.

⁶⁶ See e.g. al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, Cairo 1357/1938, X, 23.

⁶⁷ Al-Nuwayrī, *op. cit.*, XVI, 13-15; Mughultāy, *op. cit.*, ff. 46b, 107a; ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-‘Irāqī, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-105.

⁶⁸ Al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-ladunniyya*, Cairo 1325, I, 77 (quoting Mughultāy as well).

not find (in these marriages) anything (which belongs to the vices) of the Jāhiliyya''.⁶⁹

The obscure origin of Thaqif gave rise to many contradictory traditions, influenced by the situation in the Umayyad Empire and the role played by some Thaqafite leaders and governors. Ibn al-Kalbī records Thaqif in the *Jamhara* as a group of Hawāzin.⁷⁰ They were however said to be a group of Iyād,⁷¹ or descendants of Thamūd.⁷² According to the tradition attaching them to Iyād the Thaqif in Ṭā'if were allies (*ḥulafā'*) of Qays. As the mother of Qasiyy b. Munabbih (the ancestor of Thaqif) was the daughter of 'Āmir b. al-Zarib⁷³ the Thaqif joined them as allies⁷⁴ and adopted the *nasab* of Qays.⁷⁵ The traditions concerning the Iyādī or Thamūdī origin of Thaqif were wholly rejected by al-Ḥajjāj. It is of interest that Ibn al-Kalbī, who records the tradition of the Qaysī origin of Thaqif, transmits at the same time the tradition about their Iyādī origin.

The tradition about the Thamūdī origin of Thaqif is, as usual, attested in an alleged utterance of the Prophet. This was certainly not in favour of Thaqif. It is thus not surprising to find a harmonizing tradition attributed to the Prophet. The Prophet stated that Thaqif were descendants of Iyād; Iyād were descendants of Thamūd. When the two men from Thaqif with whom the Prophet talked showed signs of grief the Prophet stated that they were from the righteous group of Thamūd.⁷⁶

Some of the traditions about the Thamūdī descent of Thaqif linked the person of their ancestor Qasiyy = Thaqif with Abū Righāl. Thaqif, says one of the traditions, was a man from Thamūd who escaped the disaster of his people and became a slave of Abū Righāl. Another tradition states that Thaqif was a slave of the prophet Ṣāliḥ; he took flight and lived in the *ḥaram* (of Mecca). 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who transmitted

⁶⁹ Al-Nuwayrī, *op. cit.*, XVI, 13; and see a more explicit version *ib.*, p. 5 inf.: . . . *katabtu li-l-nabiyyi khamṣa mi'ati ummin, fa-mā wajadtu fihinna siḥāhan wa-lā shay'an mimma kāna min amri l-jāhiliyyati.*

⁷⁰ See Caskel, *op. cit.*, II, 16; al-Nuwayrī, *op. cit.*, II, 335; al-Mubarrad, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁷¹ Al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, I, 25.

⁷² Mughultāy, *op. cit.*, f. 12a; al-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, II, 201; Ibn Wabb, *op. cit.*, p. 5, ll. 2-4; al-Sam'ānī, *op. cit.*, I, 20; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Inbāḥ*, p. 96.

⁷³ *Jamhara*, f. 154a records, however, Zaynab bint 'Āmir al-'Adwānī as the wife of Thaqif (i.e. Qasiyy).

⁷⁴ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Inbāḥ*, p. 93.

⁷⁵ Al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, I, 25.

⁷⁶ Ma'mar b. Rāshid, *op. cit.*, f. 123b: . . . *fa-lammā ra'ā rasūlu llāhi (ṣ) anna dhālika shaqqa 'alayhimā qāla: mā yashuququ 'alaykumā; innamā yuḥyi llāhu min thamūda ṣāliḥan wa-lladhīna āmanū ma'ahu, fa-antum min dhurriyyati qaumin ṣāliḥīna.*

this tradition argued that the Prophet (Muḥammad) was closer to the prophet Ṣāliḥ (scil. than anyone else; thus he deserves to inherit the patronage of Thaḳīf); therefore he decreed that Thaḳīf be considered as slaves.⁷⁷ South-Arabian tradition however says that he was a slave of Ṣāliḥ b. al-Humaysa' b. dhī Ma'dhin.⁷⁸ Another tradition says that the slave of the prophet Ṣāliḥ was Abū Righāl; he was sent as tax-collector, treated the people wrongfully and was therefore killed by Thaḳīf.⁷⁹ According to a tradition reported by al-Zuhri Abū Righāl was the ancestor of Thaḳīf.⁸⁰

Similar cases with regard to the genealogy of tribes and clans could be easily adduced. But the few cases discussed above bear evidence to the complicated and confused character of the *nasab* literature. The information contained in the traditions about pedigrees, alliances between clans and tribes, affiliations of tribal units and detachments—all this has to be closely studied and re-examined.

II

The admirable work of W. Caskel, a comprehensive and detailed study on Ibn al-Kalbī's *Jamharat al-nasab*, is an indispensable book for students of Arabic genealogy, history of the Jāhiliyya and of early Islam. Its detailed and carefully thought out articles about persons, clans and tribes in the Jāhiliyya and early Islam are a treasure of reliable information collected from many early sources and evaluated with great care and deep insight.

The material of the sources of Ibn al-Kalbī has been cautiously and carefully examined by Caskel.⁸¹ A few passages in later compilations

⁷⁷ Mughultāy, *op. cit.*, f. 11b; another version says that Thaḳīf was a slave of al-Hayjumāna, the wife of Ṣāliḥ; she gave him the slave as gift.

⁷⁸ Al-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, II, 354; Mughultāy, *op. cit.*, f. 11b.

⁷⁹ Ibn Zuhayra, *al-Jāmi' al-laṭīf*, Cairo 1357/1938, p. 170; cf. al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, Hyderabad 1342, I, 398 (Thaḳīf mentioned as the man who killed Abū Righāl).

⁸⁰ Cf. Mughultāy, *op. cit.*, f. 11b inf.; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Inbāḥ*, p. 95; al-Fākihī, *Ta'rikh Makka*, Ms. Leiden Or. 463, f. 436b, ult.; *al-Fawā'id al-muntaqāt min ḥadīth Abī l-Ḥasan 'Alī . . . 'an Yaḥyā b. Ma'in*, Ms. Chester Beatty 3495, f. 16a; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīra*, I, 32 harmonizes the contradictory traditions: there were two Abū Righāl; one of them was the ancestor of Thaḳīf, the other one was the guide of Abraha. And see the stories about Abū Righāl: Ibn Sa'īd, *op. cit.*, f. 141r; Mughultāy, *op. cit.*, 11b (a tax collector of the prophet Shu'ayb; Menahem Kister draws my attention to the similarity between the word "Righāl" and "R'uel" (one of the names of Shu'ayb = Yethro); al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, I, 25 (a slave of Shu'ayb b. dhī Mahdam al-Ḥimyārī). And see EI², s.v. *Abū Righāl* (S. A. Bonebakker).

⁸¹ Caskel, *op. cit.*, I, 72-81.

and scanty quotations in manuscripts not yet published may elucidate some disputed or obscure points about the literary activity of Ibn al-Kalbī.

Yāqūt copies the list of Ibn al-Kalbī's works from Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* and adds: "Hishām (i.e. Ibn al-Kalbī) has also *al-Farīd fī l-ansāb*, which he wrote for al-Ma'mūn, *al-Mulūkī fī l-ansāb* which he wrote for Ja'far b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, *al-Mūjaz fī l-nasab* and other works.⁸² Caskel doubted the truth of this information.⁸³ The book of Ibn al-Kalbī *al-Munzal* recorded by Yāqūt⁸⁴ with the remark "*wa-huwa kitābu l-nasabi l-kabīru*" was considered by Caskel as spurious; he proposed to read instead of *al-Munzal*: "*al-Jamharatu wa-huwa kitābu l-nasabi l-kabīru*".⁸⁵

A passage in Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī's "*al-Tanbih 'alā ḥudūth al-taṣhīf*"⁸⁶ sheds some light on the disputed problem of the genealogical compilations of Ibn al-Kalbī mentioned by Yāqūt. Ḥamza considers it fortunate that the Arab Empire was granted the two outstanding scholars: al-Khalīl and Hishām b. al-Kalbī (*fa-l-iqbālu sāqa ilā dawlati l-'arabi* . . .) who exerted himself by establishing their genealogies (*'uniya lahum bi-ḍabṭi l-ansābi*). He compiled five books on this subject: *al-Munzal*, *al-Jamhara*, *al-Mūjaz*, *al-Farīd*, *al-Mulūkī*.

Al-Munzal, says Ḥamza, is his largest compilation on *nasab* (*akbaru kitābin lahu fī l-nasabi*). In this book he established the (genealogical) positions of the Arabs (i.e. the Arab tribes—K; *yunzilu l-'araba fīhi manāzilahum*);⁸⁷ in some cases he skipped over some clans (*takhaṭṭāhum*) if he found them debased in number or nobility.⁸⁸ Ḥamza quotes some clans which Ibn al-Kalbī omitted.⁸⁹

⁸² *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd Rifā'ī, Cairo n.d., XIX, 292: . . . *hādha ma dhakarahu bnu l-nadīmi min taṣānīfihi; wa-li-hishāmin ayḍan: al-farīdu fī l-ansābi, ṣannafahu li-l-ma'mūni, wa-l-mulūkiyyu fī l-ansābi ayḍan ṣannafahu li-ja'fari bni yaḥyā l-barmakiyyi, wa-l-mūjazu fī l-nasabi ayḍan, wa-ghayru dhālika.*

⁸³ Caskel, *op. cit.*, I, 79, note 4: "Es ist zweifelhaft ob Yaq.'s Angaben . . . *al-Farīd fī l-ansāb* sei für al-Ma'mūn, . . . *al-Mulūkī fī l-ansāb* für den Barmakiden Ġa'far b. Yaḥyā verfasst, zutreffen; schon wegen der Prunktitel die I. al-Kalbī bis auf einen Fall meidet: no. 88 = *K. ad-Dībāğ fī aḥbār aš-šu'arā*".

⁸⁴ Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, XIX, 291.

⁸⁵ Caskel, *op. cit.*, I, 97, note 2.

⁸⁶ Ed. Muḥ. Ḥasan Yāsīn, Baghdād 1967, pp. 192-194.

⁸⁷ The reading "*al-munzil*" seems to be preferable.

⁸⁸ The text of the Ms. seems to be corrupted; the reading is doubtful.

⁸⁹ The editor did not succeed to decipher the names of these debased clans; the text in the Ms. seems to be unclear. The idea to omit the mean or debased from compilations of *nasab* is indicated in Hamdānī's *al-Iklīl*, II, 386: . . . *wa-qāla abū muḥammadīn: wa-min sharā'iṭi l-nasabi an lā yudhkarā min aulādi l-rajuli illā l-nabīhu l-ashharu wa-yulghā l-ghabiyyu; wa-lau-lā dhāka lam yasa' ansāba l-nāsi sijillun wa-lam yaḍbuṭhā kātib* . . .

The *Jamhara* is his middle-sized book and contains some stories (*akhhbār*) about the persons recorded, accounts about the mothers of the nobles (of the clans) and the ancestresses of the tribes, (explaining) how they originated from tribes to form their clans. He counted their horsemen, their poets and their illustrious men.⁹⁰

The *Mūjaz*, Ḥamza says, contains material which no student of *adab* and *nasab* can ignore. He recorded in it the genealogical lists of smaller and greater tribal units, the nobles of every group, their poets, leaders and eminent persons.⁹¹

The *Farīd*, Ḥamza continues, is a book on tribes. Ibn al-Kalbī assigned in this book for every small tribal unit its genealogies the stories of its wars and its poetry; he recorded this material and furnished it with *isnāds* and names of the transmitters. He offered this book to al-Ma'mūn.

Al-Mulūkī contains a great number of known *akhhbār* and information not found in his other books; it contains material included in the *Farīd*, although it is smaller in size than the former; this book he offered to Ja'far b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī.⁹²

The details given by Ḥamza seem to be trustworthy. Ḥamza is in fact the earliest authority on the genealogical compilations of Ibn al-Kalbī. The precise details of the description indicate that he had a close acquaintance with these compilations.

It is noteworthy that the *Farīd* presented to al-Ma'mūn was provided with *isnāds* and names of the transmitters; this detail is pointed out by Ḥamza in particular. One may venture to assume that Ibn al-Kalbī added here the *isnāds* in order to adapt himself to the new conditions of Muslim scholarship and requirements of the experts of *ḥadīth*.⁹³ The other genealogical compilations of Ibn al-Kalbī seem to have had no *isnād*.

⁹⁰ p. 193: . . . *fīhi ba'ḍu l-akhhbāri wa-ta'dādu ummahāti l-ashrāfi wa-l-qabā'ili ilā ḥaythu yaftariqūna 'an qabīlatihim wa-yatajāwazūna ilā buṭūnihim, wa-dhikru fursānihim wa-shu'arā'ihim wa-dhawī nabāhatihim ḥattā . . .* (two words could not be deciphered by the editor).

⁹¹ p. 193: . . . *wa-ammā l-mūjazu fa-fīhi mā lā yuḥsinu bi-mubtaghī l-adabi wa-l-nāziri fī l-nasabi jahluhu, fa-dhakara fīhi man yunsabu ilā baṭnin wa-qabilin, wa-sharīfa kulli qaumin wa-shā'irahum wa-man ḥtalla l-sīṭata minhum wa-stawā 'alā l-ri'āsati fihim.* (About *baṭn* see EI², J. Lecerf, *Baṭn*).

⁹² *Ib.*, . . . *wa-ammā l-farīdu fa-huwa kitābu l-qabā'ili, afrada fīhi li-kulli baṭnin nasabahu mufradan, wa-ayyāmahu, wa-shi'rahu, fa-dhakara kulla dhālika bi-l-asānīdi wa-l-ruwāti, wa-huwa lladhī athafa bihi l-ma'mūna; wa-ammā l-mulūkiyyu fa-fīhi akhhbārūn ghazīratun ma'rūfatun wa-ma'rīfatun kathīratun lā taqā'u fī ghayrihi min kutubihī, wa-fīhi mā yaqā'u fī l-farīdi wa-in lam yablugh madāhu, wa-huwa lladhī athafa bihi ja'fara bna yaḥyā l-barmakiyya.*

⁹³ See Caskel, *op. cit.*, I, 78.

We came across a quotation from the *Munzal* in Mughulṭāy's *al-Zahr al-bāsim*⁹⁴. This passage deals with the story of Naṣr b. Ḥajjāj and his beloved nicknamed *al-Mutamanniya*; Ibn al-Kalbī reports that her name was al-Fāri'a bint Hammām b. 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd from Thaqīf and that she was the mother of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (the hated Umayyad governor of 'Irāq). The *Jamhara* mentions only that Naṣr was nicknamed al-Jamīl.⁹⁵

Mughulṭāy refers to Ibn al-Kalbī in his work about two hundred times, quoting his opinion about particular points of genealogy.⁹⁶ The *Jamhara* is quoted about twenty times.⁹⁷ Mughulṭāy quotes two additional works of genealogy compiled by Ibn al-Kalbī: *al-Jāmi'* (or *al-Jāmi' li-ansābi l-'arabi*)⁹⁸ and *Jamharat al-jamhara*.⁹⁹

A scrutiny of the quotations from *al-Zahr al-bāsim* and an examination of the material found in hitherto unpublished manuscripts may help us to gain a better knowledge of the contents of the genealogical compilations of Ibn al-Kalbī.

The list of compilations of Ibn al-Kalbī contains a book with the title *Mathālib al-'arab*.¹⁰⁰ The few extant passages from this compilation are recorded in Shi'ī sources. The odious story of the pedigree of Mu'āwiya sheds some light on the character of this genre of literature and points out some of the ways in which tendentious insertions or deletions were made. Hind, the mother of Mu'āwiya, used to have sexual intercourse

⁹⁴ F. 306b.; see al-'Askarī, *Jamharat al-amthāl*, ed. Muḥ. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm - 'Abd al-Majīd Qūṭāmish, Cairo 1384/1964, I, 588, no. 1110; al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-amthāl*, Cairo 1352, I, 427-428; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, IV, 322-323.

⁹⁵ Caskel, *op. cit.*, II, 446.

⁹⁶ See ff. 2a, 3a, 3b, 4b, 5b, 6a, 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b, 9a, 9b, 10a, 14a, 14b, 15b, 17b, 18a, 23a, 23b, 38a, 38b, 40a, 40b, 42a, 43a, 43b, 44a, 45a, 45b, 46b, 48b, 49a, 49b, 50b, 54b, 55a, 56b, 60a, 60b, 62a, 69b, 87a, 93a, 95a, 97b, 109a, 110a, 121a, 121b, 123a, 123b, 131a, 132b, 133a, 133b, 134b, 144b, 150b, 155b, 156b, 200a, 202a, 203b, 207a, 209a, 209b, 210a, 210b, 212b, 214b, 224b, 225b, 226b, 231b, 232b, 233a, 234a, 234b, 235a, 236a, 236b, 237a, 240b, 241a, 247b, 259b, 266a, 277a, 279b, 282b, 285a, 286b, 287b, 295b, 298b, 300a, 310b, 311a, 311b, 312b, 319a, 321a, 322b, 325b, 328a, 330b, 333b, 335b, 336a, 336b, 337a, 339a. (On some pages Ibn al-Kalbī is mentioned two or three times).

⁹⁷ Cf. e.g. Mughulṭāy f. 22b = *Jamhara* f. 156a Ḥuṭayṭ; 11b = 244a Umayma bint Sa'd b. Hudhayl; 23a = Caskel, s.v. Munabbih b. Rabī'a; 52b = 169b Ḥāshim b. Ḥarmala; 86a = Caskel, *op. cit.*, s.v. A. al-Ġabr (2, 251); 99a = 124b Yazīd b. 'Amr b. Khuwaylid; 237b = Caskel, s.v. Ḥalifa b. 'Adī; 247a = 255b 'Ubād b. Bishr; 287b = Caskel, s.v. Uhbān b. al-Akwa' = Uhbān b. Ṣayfi (al-Suhaylī), Uhbān b. Aus al-Aslamī (al-Tirmidhī, al-Bukhārī, Abū Nu'aym, Ibn Manda), Uhbān b. 'Abbād (Ibn Durayd, Ibn al-Kalbī, al-Balādhurī) etc. . . . ; 337b = 173b, Umm Qirfa and her sons; Dubaiyya b. Ḥaramī = 162a.

⁹⁸ Mentioned ten times: ff. 36b, 40a, 60a, 67b, 70b, 102b, 142a, 237b, 213a, 238a.

⁹⁹ Quoted two times: ff. 102b, 162b.

¹⁰⁰ See Sezgin, GAS, I, 270, no. 4.

with four Qurashites, according to the slanderous tradition of the *Mathālib*. The four shared, of course, the fatherhood of Mu'āwiya. Three of them are named: 'Umāra b. al-Walid, Musāfir b. 'Amr, Abū Sufyān; the name of the fourth is not given and it is only remarked in the report that Ibn al-Kalbī mentioned his name.¹⁰¹ The name of the fourth person is however explicitly given by Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī: al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.¹⁰² Mu'āwiya admits in a talk with his son Yazīd that some Qurashites are of the opinion that he is the son of 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.¹⁰³ One may assume that the name of 'Abbās was erased from the list of the four adulterers in the period of the 'Abbāsid rule; it was re-inserted after the fall of the dynasty.

The abominable story of the pedigree of 'Umar is also quoted from Ibn al-Kalbī's *Mathālib*. It is noteworthy that the shameful story of the complicated bastardy¹⁰⁴ is preceded by a peculiar remark in the Shī'ī compilation of al-Majlisī: . . . *wa-rawā l-kalbiyyu, wa-huwa min rijāli ahli l-sunnati, fī kitābi l-mathālibi, qāla: kānat Ṣuhāku* . . .¹⁰⁵ This remark aims, of course, to enhance the impartiality and reliability of Ibn al-Kalbī's information and to emphasize the soundness of the tradition.

The story about the father of 'Uthmān, as recorded in Ibn al-Kalbī's *Mathālib*, is not less disgusting than the two preceding cases.¹⁰⁶ The mildest vilification was directed against the father of Abū Bakr: he was the servant of 'Abdallāh b. Jud'ān and called the poor of Mecca to have their charity-meals at the table of 'Abdallāh. He got, of course, a paltry reward for this "duty".¹⁰⁷

The story of the illegitimate son of Umayya b. 'Abd Shams, Dhakwān (his *kunya* was Abū 'Amr) whose mother Turnā was a slave-woman from Ṣafūriyya (Palestine) is reported by Ibn al-Kalbī; it fits in well with the setting of his *Mathālib* and is probably derived from this com-

¹⁰¹ Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Ṭarā'if 'Abd al-Mahmūd*, n.p., n.d., p. 156; Muḥ. Ḥasan al-Muzaḥḥar, *Dalā'il al-ṣidq*, III, 1, 215-219; comp. a similar slanderous report from *Mathālib banī umayya* by Ismā'īl b. 'Alī al-Sammān al-Ḥanafī, *ib.*, p. 235; and comp. on the fatherhood of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ shared by five persons (. . . *wa-la-qad idda'āka khamsatun min qurayshin kulluhum yaz'umu annaka bnūhu*) *ib.*, p. 237.

¹⁰² *Tadhkirat al-khawāṣṣ*, al-Najaf 1383/1964, p. 202 inf.

¹⁰³ *ib.*, p. 203.

¹⁰⁴ . . . *kāna al-khaṭṭābu aban wa-jaddan wa-khālan li-'umara*.

¹⁰⁵ *Biḥār al-anwār*, VIII, 311 (lithogr. ed.); and see this story al-Majlisī, *op. cit.*, XXII, 269-271 (new ed., Tehran 1385); Ibn Ṭāwūs, *op. cit.*, p. 144; Muḥ. Ḥasan al-Muzaḥḥar, *op. cit.*, III, 2, 84.

¹⁰⁶ See Ibn Ṭāwūs, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Ṭāwūs, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

pilation.¹⁰⁸ Abū 'Ubayda seems to have used the same method of slander in his *Mathālib*. Yāqūt quotes in his *Mu'jam al-buldān*¹⁰⁹ from Abū 'Ubayda's *Mathālib* that Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf bought a black girl, Ḥayya, at the market of Ḥubāsha. She bore him two sons: Ṣayfi and Abū Ṣayfi. But Muṣ'ab gives in his *Nasab*¹¹⁰ a rather different version: the mother of Ṣayfi and Abū Ṣayfi was Hind bint Tha'laba from Khazraj. This *nasab* is recorded by Ibn al-Kalbī (Jamhara, 7b, inf.). The slanderous traditions about the pedigree of al-Ash'ath b. Qays, al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, Khālīd b. Ṣafwān, al-Jahm b. Badr, Abu Dulaf and Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī seem to have been recorded from the *Mathālib* of Abū 'Ubayda.¹¹¹ Ibn al-Kalbī and Abū 'Ubayda both apply the same style of slander directed at the ancestresses, involving accusations of immoral conduct and adultery. The *mathālib* can thus be seen to be in fact nothing but a collection of defamatory genealogical gossip. They are different from *nasab* and serve a different purpose.

The following works of Ibn al-Kalbī seem to be related in subject-matter to his *nasab* compilations: *Kitāb al-alqāb*,¹¹² mentioned three times in Mughultāy's *Zahr*,¹¹³ *Kitāb nawāqil mudar*,¹¹⁴ *Kitāb al-buldān*,¹¹⁵ *Kitāb al-dafā'in*¹¹⁶ and *Kitāb man qāla shi'ran fa-nusiba ilayhi*.¹¹⁷ Al-ʿIṣāmī mentions a list of Qurashī judges from Ibn al-Kalbī's *Ḥukkām Quraysh*.¹¹⁸

Of special interest is a compilation of Ibn al-Kalbī not recorded in the

¹⁰⁸ *Ta'rikh al-khulafā'*, ed. Piotrowski-Graznewych, Moskwa 1967, f. 4a; Abū l-Baqā', *op. cit.*, f. 12a (Abū l-Baqā' records as well the other version, which is the accepted one: the mother of Abū 'Amr was Umāma bint Ḥimyarī b. al-Ḥārith of Lakhm; see Muṣ'ab, *op. cit.*, p. 100).

¹⁰⁹ S.v. *Ḥubāsha*.

¹¹⁰ *Nasab Quraysh*, p. 4, ll. 12-14.

¹¹¹ Ibn Rustah, *al-A'laq al-nafisa*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1892, pp. 205-207.

¹¹² See Sezgin, *op. cit.*, I, 271, no. 19.

¹¹³ F. 87a (why 'Auf was nicknamed Thumāla); f. 102b (explanation of the nickname Janb; cf. Caskel, *op. cit.*, II, 257); f. 207a (the nickname al-Akhtal).

¹¹⁴ F. 138a (and see Abū l-Baqā', *op. cit.*, f. 36a where a compilation of *Kit. al-nawāqil* by Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥ. b. Muḥ. al-ʿAlawī is mentioned); and see above note 35.

¹¹⁵ Ff. 8b, 9b, 19b, 43a, 45a, 47a, 57a-b, 117b, 196b, 306b, 325a.

¹¹⁶ F. 33b (the correct reading is *Dafā'in*, not *Daqā'iq* as given by Sezgin, *op. cit.*, I, 270, no. 13; see al-Karājaki, *Kanz al-fawā'id*, n.p., 1322, p. 178: *faṣl fīmā ruwiya fī l-qubūr wa-l-dafā'in*; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Kit. al-wara'*, Cairo 1340, p. 47: *Kit. al-dafā'in*).

¹¹⁷ F. 145a, inf.; see Ibn al-Kalbī, *al-Aṣnām*, no. 87.

¹¹⁸ *Simf al-nujūm al-awālī*, Cairo 1380, I, 213: . . . 'an al-kalbī fī l-ḥukkām min *quraysh qāla* . . .; cf. Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, p. 132; idem, *al-Munammaq*, ed. Khurshīd Aḥmad Fāriq, Hyderabad 1384/1964, p. 459; and see *al-Aṣnām*, no. 64: *Aḥkām al-ʿArab* (the correct reading is *ḥukkām* as in note 3 *ib.*).

list of his works. It is mentioned by Mughultāy in the following passage: . . . *wa-qāla l-miqdādu bnu l-aswadi l-kindiyū yamdaḥu 'aliyyan fimā dhakarahu l-kalbiyyu fi kitābi l-shūrā, ta'liḥi*:

kabbara li-llāhi wa-ṣallā wa-mā:

ṣallā dhawū l-'aybi wa-mā kabbarū ¹¹⁹

This short passage of Ibn al-Kalbī's *Kit. al-shūrā* provides us with a clue for the assessment of his religious and political sympathies. The person of Miqdād, the famous champion of the cause of 'Alī, the content of the verse and the occasion on which it was uttered—all this bears evidence that the compilation was of a Shi'ī character. The Shi'ī sympathies of al-Kalbī ¹²⁰ and of Ibn al-Kalbī are well known. ¹²¹ It is therefore not surprising to find in the *Jamhara* an inserted passage concerning the punishment inflicted on Anas b. Mālik for having denied having heard an utterance of the Prophet in favour of 'Alī. ¹²² It is a well-known Shi'ī story. ¹²³

In spite of his Shi'ī sympathies Ibn al-Kalbī recorded also traditions which were not always in favour of 'Alī and the Shi'a. ¹²⁴ He was a

¹¹⁹ *Al-Zahr*, f. 117b.

¹²⁰ Although Ibn Rustah, *op. cit.*, p. 220, l. 4 mentions Muḥ. b. al-Sā'ib as one of the *murji'a*.

¹²¹ Caskel, *op. cit.*, I, 73; and see the story told by Muḥ. b. al-Sā'ib: . . . *marīḍtu mardatan fa-nasītu mā kuntu aḥfaẓu fa-ataytu āla muḥammadin (s) fa-nafathū fi fiyya fa-ḥafiẓtu mā kuntu nasītu*—Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Kit. al-jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, Hyderabad 1953, III, 2, 270; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IX, 179 (no. 266). And see the tradition transmitted by him that the angel Gabriel used to transmit the Revelation to 'Alī in the absence of the Prophet: Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, ib.; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, ed. H. Ritter, Wiesbaden 1381/1961, III, 83; and see the story about the killing of Sa'd b. 'Ubāda (cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *al-Darajāt al-rafi'a*, al-Najaf 1382/1962, p. 334) reported by al-Kalbī in *Yawāqūt al-siyar*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 3771, f. 132a, penult.; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, ed. 'Alī Muḥ. al-Bijāwī, Cairo 1382/1963, III, 557-558; and see *ib.*, IV, 304, ult. on Hishām b. Muḥ. b. al-Sā'ib: *wa-qāla ibn 'asākir: rāfiḍī, laysa bi-thiqatīn* (quoted by the editor of *al-Qurab*, p. 148).

¹²² Caskel, *op. cit.*, I, 109: "Ein sonderbarer Einschub . . .".

¹²³ See al-Majlisī, *op. cit.*, XXXVII, 197-200 (new ed.); Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma-nāqib āl Abī Ṭālib*, al-Najaf 1376/1956, II, 13; Ibn Rustah, *op. cit.*, p. 221. There was however an earlier case which caused a grudge of 'Alī against Anas; see al-Majlisī, *op. cit.*, LX, 301 (new ed.).

¹²⁴ See e.g. the tradition that Khālīd b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ embraced Islam before 'Alī: Mughultāy, *op. cit.*, f. 117a-b (see on Khālīd b. Sa'īd: Muṣ'ab, *op. cit.*, p. 174, l. 15). Al-Kalbī reports the following saying of Khālīd: "I feared my father (therefore I did not announce my Islam publicly—K), but 'Alī did not fear Abū Ṭālib." And see the favourable tradition about Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajālī (*yaṭla'u 'alay-kum min hādha l-fajji khayru dhī yamanin 'alayhi mashatu malikīn fa-tala'a jarīru bnu 'abdi llāhi l-bajaliyyu*)—al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Mūḍiḥ auḥām al-jam' wa-l-tafriq*, Hyderabad 1379/1960, II, 355. And see the tradition transmitted by Ibn al-Kalbī (with the *isnād*: Ibn al-Kalbī > his father > Abū Ṣāliḥ > Ibn 'Abbās) that the Prophet informed secretly Ḥafṣa that her father (i.e. 'Umar) will be the

transmitter of *nasab* and *akhbār*, and he carried out this vocation with the utmost responsibility. Besides the *Mathālib* he compiled books in which a significant portion of Arab cultural tradition was recorded, thus providing valuable information about social life, beliefs, poetry, genealogy, wars and alliances of tribes. His compilations on genealogy, among them the *Jamhara*, constitute a solid and masterly monument of Arab learning.

We owe a debt of gratitude to the late W. Caskel for making this magnificent book available to modern scholarship.

Caliph after Abū Bakr; Ḥaḥṣa revealed the secret to ‘Ā’isha—al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-ʿitidāl*, IV, 305 (see Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, Beirut 1385/1966, VII, 57; the tradition is recorded with a different *isnād*. And see al-Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ al-bayān*, Beirut 1380/1961, XXVIII, 120 inf.; the tradition is recorded without *isnād*. The tradition is not found in al-Wāḥidī’s *Asbāb al-nuzūl* and in Suyūṭī’s *Lubāb al-nuqūl*—in the chapter of *Sūrat al-taḥrīm*).