

**Zeitschrift:** Asiatische Studien : Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft = Études asiatiques : revue de la Société Suisse-Asie  
**Herausgeber:** Schweizerische Asiengesellschaft  
**Band:** 53 (1999)  
**Heft:** 1

**Artikel:** Az-Zafayn and his place in literary history  
**Autor:** Hämeen-Anttila, Jaakko  
**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-147443>

### **Nutzungsbedingungen**

Die ETH-Bibliothek ist die Anbieterin der digitalisierten Zeitschriften auf E-Periodica. Sie besitzt keine Urheberrechte an den Zeitschriften und ist nicht verantwortlich für deren Inhalte. Die Rechte liegen in der Regel bei den Herausgebern beziehungsweise den externen Rechteinhabern. Das Veröffentlichen von Bildern in Print- und Online-Publikationen sowie auf Social Media-Kanälen oder Webseiten ist nur mit vorheriger Genehmigung der Rechteinhaber erlaubt. [Mehr erfahren](#)

### **Conditions d'utilisation**

L'ETH Library est le fournisseur des revues numérisées. Elle ne détient aucun droit d'auteur sur les revues et n'est pas responsable de leur contenu. En règle générale, les droits sont détenus par les éditeurs ou les détenteurs de droits externes. La reproduction d'images dans des publications imprimées ou en ligne ainsi que sur des canaux de médias sociaux ou des sites web n'est autorisée qu'avec l'accord préalable des détenteurs des droits. [En savoir plus](#)

### **Terms of use**

The ETH Library is the provider of the digitised journals. It does not own any copyrights to the journals and is not responsible for their content. The rights usually lie with the publishers or the external rights holders. Publishing images in print and online publications, as well as on social media channels or websites, is only permitted with the prior consent of the rights holders. [Find out more](#)

**Download PDF:** 05.07.2025

**ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, E-Periodica, <https://www.e-periodica.ch>**

## AZ-ZAFAYĀN AND HIS PLACE IN LITERARY HISTORY

Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila

Of all the rajaz poets of the 7th and 8th centuries, az-Zafayān seems one of the most enigmatic. Whereas al-‘Ajjāj and Ru’ba are well known and their *dīwāns* have been preserved, others like Abū’n-Najm al-‘Ijlī are rather well known even though their *dīwāns* have been lost, and the countless number of minor rajaz poets are as unknown as their production is fragmentary.

Az-Zafayān, on the contrary, is *sui generis*. A representative sample of his poems has been preserved in a collection (10 poems, 230<sup>1</sup> verses), although in a somewhat fragmentary condition, but almost nothing is known about the poet himself. His verses are relatively rarely quoted in lexicographical literature,<sup>2</sup> the usually unsurpassable source for 7th and 8th century rajaz, and elsewhere his name is virtually unknown. No cycle of anecdotes reverberated around him – and thus there are no verses attributed to him or anecdotes about him in the standard anecdote collections (e.g. Ibn Qutayba’s *‘Uyūn al-akhbār* and Ibn ‘Abdrabbih’s *al-‘Iqd al-farīd*) and even al-Jāhiz (*al-Bayān wa’t-tabyīn* and *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*) and al-Ma‘arrī (especially *Risālat aṣ-Ṣāhil*) prove to be rather useless in az-Zafayān’s case, as do the geographi-

---

1 The wrong number 265 for the verses of the ten poems in the *Dīwān* (Blachère 1966, p. 523 > *GAS* II:370; van Gelder 1998, p. 817) includes besides the ten poems of the *Dīwān* (230 verses), the four additions (30 verses) by Ahlwardt (1903) and obviously the six verses added by Geyer (1909), totalling 266 verses – the one verse has gone missing by the error of Blachère, I believe.

2 To give an example, the verses of the following poets are quoted in Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘arab*, as follows: Ru’ba (698), al-‘Ajjāj (563), Abū’n-Najm (200), Abū Muḥammad al-Faq’asī (62), al-Aghlab (54), etc., whereas the dictionary gives only 48 verses by az-Zafayān. – The numbers have been taken from al-Ayyūbī (1980) (without its *mulḥaq*), which is a good, though by no means impeccable, index. As a comparison with collections edited in my *MSRP* 1-3 shows, there are slightly more verses by each poet in *Lisān al-‘arab* than indicated in the Index – mainly because of anonymously quoted or misattributed verses – but I have taken al-Ayyūbī (1980) as the basis for numerical comparisons to avoid distorting the image in favour of the poets which have been studied by me more profoundly. The actual numbers are thus not exact but their ratios should be mostly correct.

cal dictionaries of Yāqūt (*Muʿjam al-buldān*) and al-Bakrī (*Muʿjam mā staʿjam*) which otherwise are invaluable for rajaz studies.<sup>3</sup>

It would be no wonder, then, if az-Zafayān had been totally forgotten. Yet for some illogical coincidence, a collection of ten poems by him has been preserved in one, somewhat fragmentary,<sup>4</sup> manuscript (and some modern copies of it), and was published by AHLWARDT in 1903. The publication of his *Dīwān* has brought to az-Zafayān the undeserved position of the third major rajaz poet, besides al-ʿAjjāj and Ruʿba, which is a distortion of the situation; in comparison to, e.g., Abūʿn-Najm al-ʿIjlī and even al-Aghlab, Ghaylān ibn Ḥurayth and Abū Muḥammad al-Faqʿasī, az-Zafayān is a minor poet.

In modern studies, though, al-ʿAjjāj and Ruʿba have understandably dominated the field, and az-Zafayān has usually been dealt with in only a few lines. In fact, since AHLWARDT summarised the facts known or conjectured pertaining to the life of az-Zafayān, there has been very little progress concerning either his person or the history of his *Dīwān*. Most sources more or less repeat the same basic information about az-Zafayān. What is generally known about him may be summarised in a few lines:<sup>5</sup>

az-Zafayān, ʿAṭā<sup>6</sup> ibn Usayd [or Asīd<sup>7</sup>] Abūʿl-Mirqāl of Banū ʿUwāfa ibn Saʿd, wrote a poem (no. 8)<sup>8</sup> on the defeat of Abū Fudayk (73/693) by

- 
- 3 One may also add the symptomatic omission of az-Zafayān from Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, p. 215 (on Banū ʿUwāfa ibn Saʿd ibn Zayd-Manāt ibn Tamīm). Ibn Ḥazm mentions on the same page the famous family of three *rujjāz* (ʿUqba ibn Ruʿba ibn al-ʿAjjāj ibn Ruʿba ibn Labīd ibn Ṣakhr ibn Kanīf ibn ʿUmayra ibn Ḥunayy ibn Rabīʿa ibn Saʿd ibn Mālīk ibn Saʿd ibn Zayd-Manāt ibn Tamīm), but there is no mention of az-Zafayān.
  - 4 Cf. also the analysis of Ahlwardt (1903), Preface, p. lxiv – Ahlwardt’s conclusion was that the *Dīwān* is the work of some late scholar who had only fragments at his disposal when collecting the *Dīwān*. As will be seen, I shall endeavour to show that it is more probable that the manuscript is, on the contrary, a fragmented remnant of an originally more complete *Dīwān* by an early scholar.
  - 5 I paraphrase the information given by Blachère (1966), pp. 523-524, and *GAS* II:370; the other sources (Ullmann 1966, p. 38; van Gelder 1998, p. 817; *GAL S* I:91; the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition, s.v.; Nallino 1950, pp. 163-164; Ziriklī IV:235) would give the virtually identical information, some more concisely but none more informatively. For the standard mediaeval accounts on az-Zafayān, see the end of this article.
  - 6 The variant ʿAṭīya – e.g. in al-Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs* III:346, s.v. ʿWF – is a rather common mistake.

‘Umar ibn ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Ma‘mar. He died at an advanced age, and the only mention of his *Dīwān* comes from ‘Abdalqādir al-Baghdādī’s *Khizānat al-adab*.

The aim of this article is to bring some new light – although far from conclusive – on these basic facts. Let us begin with the question of az-Zafayān’s *Dīwān*.

The consensus is that the only reference to a collection of the poems of az-Zafayān comes from ‘Abdalqādir al-Baghdādī’s *Khizānat al-adab* I:21 (*Dīwān rajaz az-Zafayān as-Sa’dī*). Yet there are some interesting passages in philological literature which seem to have gone unnoticed. The first comes from another book of ‘Abdalqādir, *Hāshiya* II:650, which was printed only some ten years ago and was thus not available to earlier scholars. ‘Abdalqādir writes that he did not find the verses he is discussing [Add. 4:1-5] in the *dīwān* recension of Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb (*wa-qad naẓartu fī Dīwān rajaz az-Zafayān riwāyat Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb fa-lam ara fīhi hādihā r-rajaz wa-la‘allahu thābit fī riwāyat ghayrihi*).

‘Abdalqādir is reliable in his quotations<sup>9</sup> which means that he did have a copy of az-Zafayān’s rajaz poems at hand, although he never quotes from it; this negative reference in *Hāshiya* and the mention of the *Dīwān* in the Preface of *Khizāna* are the only mentions of az-Zafayān’s *Dīwān* in the works of ‘Abdalqādir. The reason for this is obvious. ‘Abdalqādir was a commentator; his works are commentaries and supracommentaries to others’ works, so he quotes passages only to explain the text he is working with. As az-Zafayān’s poems had already fallen outside the canon of lexicographers and grammarians (except for Add. 4), there was nothing for ‘Abdalqādir to comment upon and to elaborate.

7 There does not seem to have been any consensus concerning these two name forms in the Mediaeval literature. The form Asad is a simple mistake.

8 In referring to az-Zafayān’s poems, nos. 1-10 refer to the ten poems of the *Dīwān*, and Add. 1-4 refer to the four fragments Ahlwardt was able to find from philological literature.

9 To be sure, he does give second hand quotations, but when explicitly speaking in his own name his veracity is, as far as I have been able to check, exemplary. – The list of ‘Abdalqādir’s sources (al-Maymanī, *Iqlīd*) is, besides being almost inaccessible, also somewhat unreliable and does not distinguish between direct and indirect sources. I have prepared a new list of ‘Abdalqādir’s sources, based on several of his works, which I intend to publish later. See also Hämeen-Anttila (1994).



Yet there is in philological literature another and earlier mention of *rajaz az-Zafayān*, which has been overlooked. This comes from al-Jawālīqī's (d. 539/1144) *Mu'arrab*, which is in fact a surprisingly good source of verse quotations from *az-Zafayān*.<sup>10</sup> Al-Jawālīqī writes (*al-Mu'arrab*, p. 381):

qara'tu bi-khatt Abī Sa'īd as-Sukkarī alladhī lā mtirā'a fīhi fī rajaz az-Zafayān:

[Add. 3:5-8].

The passage is not quite unequivocal, but it does refer to something al-Jawālīqī calls *rajaz az-Zafayān* in the handwriting of Abū Sa'īd as-Sukkarī (d. 275/888).<sup>11</sup> This leaves two questions open: was the collection a whole *Dīwān* or merely a part of some larger collection? Was as-Sukkarī merely the copyist or was he the collector?

None of the mediaeval sources mention a *Dīwān* of *az-Zafayān*, be it by as-Sukkarī or by anyone else, but one has naturally to remember that both as-Sukkarī's and other early philologists' bibliographies are usually selective, not complete. Among as-Sukkarī's works there are some which could have included a chapter on *az-Zafayān*; both aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* XI:424-425 and Yāqūt, *Irshād* III:62-64 mention *Ash'ār Banī Sa'd* which could

10 I have noticed four quotations: no. 4:15+18-20 (pp. 125-126); no. 8:15-17 (p. 230); no. 8:19-20 (p. 260); and Add. 3:5-8 (p. 382). In comparison, Abū'n-Najm is quoted only twice (see *MSRP* 1, nos. 49 and 72), the five poets of *MSRP* 2 together only three times (Bashīr no. 16; Ḥumayd no. 36; Ghaylān no. 1), and the seven poets of *MSRP* 3 together only five times (Dukayn no. 12; al-Qulākh no. 5 twice; Himyān nos. 6 and 7), yet many of these poets (especially Abū'n-Najm and Abū Muḥammad, to name the two most frequently quoted poets in *MSRP* 1-3) are in general much more frequently quoted in lexicographical works than *az-Zafayān* (cf. above). Al-Jawālīqī's four quotations of *az-Zafayān* may well be called a statistical peak in his usual profile of *rajaz* quotations.

11 Note that he does not write *rajaz li'z-Zafayān* "in one of his *rajaz* [poems/fragments]". Naturally, the difference is very small in orthography, but a reference to something being in someone's handwriting usually does refer to a complete work, and thus *rajaz li'z-Zafayān* would not be the most natural way to read the passage (and in any case, one would expect to see *urjūza* instead of *rajaz*). Thus, one can take the passage rather confidently to mean "the [complete or selected] *rajaz* poems of *az-Zafayān*". – For Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn as-Sukkarī's biography and works, see e.g. *az-Zubaydī*, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 183; aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* XI:424-425; Yāqūt, *Irshād* III:62-64; *GAS* VIII:97. Note that he was a student of Abū Ḥātim as-Sijistānī, for whom see below, and Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb among others.

have included az-Zafayān. The sources also mention that as-Sukkarī was philologically active with collections of poems (*‘amila ash‘ār jamā‘a*, *Wāfī* XI:425);<sup>12</sup> the verb *jama‘a* refers to his activity not as a direct collector of poems – that had been done by the earlier generations – but as an organizer, compiler and commentator of the material already collected.<sup>13</sup>

What is most interesting is that the passage of *Mu‘arrab* partly confirms the information given by ‘Abdalqādir, since as-Sukkarī was a student of Ibn Ḥabīb,<sup>14</sup> among others. Thus, a copy of az-Zafayān’s poems in the handwriting of as-Sukkarī would fit exceedingly well with a collection of his *Dīwān* by Ibn Ḥabīb, the teacher of as-Sukkarī.

Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb<sup>15</sup> was a prolific collector of poems who published many *Dīwāns* but that of az-Zafayān is not among those mentioned in the selective lists of the biographies – the general interests of Ibn Ḥabīb would, though, tally well with also publishing the *Dīwān* of az-Zafayān.<sup>16</sup> It seems quite safe to accept the information given by ‘Abdalqādir as it now finds a partial confirmation in al-Jawālīqī’s note and there is nothing to contradict it.

In addition to ‘Abdalqādir and al-Jawālīqī, there is also a third scholar, aṣ-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1252), who can be shown to have used a collection of az-Zafayān’s poems (see below).<sup>17</sup> As a comparison of quotations will

12 Another rajaz collection, that of Abū Muḥammad al-Faq‘asī, in as-Sukkarī’s handwriting, is mentioned in *Tk* II:146.

13 *‘amila* and *ṣana‘a* both refer to philological activity. For *ṣana‘a*, see *GAS* II:30 (*ṣana‘a* = “philologisch bearbeiten”).

14 See aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* XI:424-425, and Yāqūt, *Irshād* III:62-64.

15 For Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb al-Akhbārī Abū Ja‘far (d. 245/860), see al-Qiftī, *Inbāh* III:119-121; Yāqūt, *Irshād* VI:473-476; aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* II:325-327; *GAS* VIII:90-92. Among his works there is, e.g. *Man summiya bi-bayt qālahu* (*Wāfī*, loc.cit.; *Irshād* VI:476) which might have contained a note on az-Zafayān. He also compiled many other *dīwāns*.

16 He also mentions this poet in one of his works (*al-Alqāb*), see *GAS* II:370.

17 The case of Ibn Jinnī is problematic. In *Khaṣā’iṣ* II:263, he quotes no. 6, vv. 1-2+4-5 and attributes the verses to Himyān ibn Quḥāfa (for other references, see *MSRP* 3, p. 108). He adds that the *urjūza* consisted of 39 verses which proves that he had the complete poem at his disposal and that it was slightly longer than in the text of Ahlwardt where the poem consists of 36 verses only. It is not clear whether the dropping of v. 3 may be taken as a proof that it also differed from that version; it may equally well be a mistake or an abbreviation. – What is intriguing, though, is the attribution to Himyān (verses 1-2 are also attributed to Ḥassān in *Lisān* I:485

show, there is reason to suggest that the fragmentary manuscript of AHLWARDT belongs to the same recension as that used by the earlier scholars. What AHLWARDT edited, was the *Dīwān* compiled by Ibn Ḥabīb.

All the earliest scholars involved with the poems of az-Zafayān have links with the city of Baṣra.<sup>18</sup> Also from the city of Baṣra comes an intriguing piece of information, ignored by modern scholars who have mainly trusted the preface of AHLWARDT to his edition of az-Zafayān. This information comes from Yāqūt in his *Irshād* II:130-131 (whence it is taken to as-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir* II:394),<sup>19</sup> in the article on al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Abdallāh al-‘Askarī Abū Aḥmad (b. 293/906, d. 382/933).<sup>20</sup> The passage translated below is reported, on the authority of Abū Aḥmad, as an incident which took place in his house in Baṣra between Abū Riyāsh<sup>21</sup> and Ibn Lankak.<sup>22</sup>

---

whence they are taken to his *Dīwān*, p. 447). Thus, we have evidence for either the poem circulating as a whole outside the *Dīwān* recension (this opinion could be defended by a reference to the missing v. 3 to show that the poem was not in the *Dīwān* recension) or else we have to postulate that the name Himyān ibn Quḥāfa, or at least the latter part of it (Himyān might be a manuscript corruption for az-Zafayān), is a later addition, as it is hardly conceivable that the whole *Dīwān* would have been misattributed.

- 18 The significance of Baṣra for rajaz poetry in the 8th century seems to have been underestimated, even though Blachère collected most of the *rujjāz* under the heading “Œuvres à dominante lexicologique de la ‘mouvance’ de Bassora et de Coufa” (1966, pp. 521-536). It seems that the activity of either composing rajaz poems or collecting them was remarkable in Baṣra, the poets obviously being attracted by the philological activities in the city. The elderly Ru’ba settled in Baṣra (*GAS* II:368) and many 8th century *rujjāz* either were born in Baṣra or settled in it, permanently or temporarily. To name but some of the most interesting, al-‘Umānī, Abū Ḥayya an-Numayrī and Abū Nukhayla (*GAS* II:464-465) all had links with Baṣra, and even the late Abū Fir‘awn (*GAS* II:524) lived there.
- 19 According to as-Suyūṭī (*Muzhir* II:393) this passage comes from Abū Aḥmad al-‘Askarī’s *Kitāb at-Taṣḥīf*. As-Suyūṭī slightly abbreviates the passage, as usual.
- 20 See III:126.
- 21 Abū Riyāsh Aḥmad ibn Abī Hāshim ash-Shaybānī (or al-Qaysī), d. 339 (Yāqūt, *Irshād* I:74), 349 (as-Suyūṭī, *Bughya* I:409) or 350 A.H. (al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh* I:188). He transmitted from the *mashāyikh* of Baṣra (*Inbāh* I:61) where he also held an office (*waliya ‘amalan*) (*Bughya* I:409). His knowledge of poetry was famous (*Inbāh* I:188: he knew 10000 verses by heart; *Irshād* I:74: 20000 verses). According to ath-Tha‘alibī, *Yatīma* II:351 (> *Bughya* I:409) his knowledge of *ayyām al-‘arab*, and their genealogies and poems was phenomenal. – His quarrels with Ibn Lankak and Ibn Lankak’s invectives against him are mentioned in almost every source (e.g. *Inbāh* IV:124-126; *Yatīma* II:351-352). – There are several variants of his name:

Abū Aḥmad said: One day Abū Riyāsh and Abū'l-Ḥusayn Ibn Lankak (*raḥimahumā llāh*) met in my house in Baṣra and exchanged some words. Among other things Abū Riyāsh said to Abū'l-Ḥusayn: "How can you judge on questions of poets and poetry, you who are not able to discern between az-Zafayān and ar-Raqabān!"

Abū'l-Ḥusayn answered to this but his answer did not satisfy Abū Riyāsh and they started quarreling and arguing.

Abū Aḥmad said: As it comes to ar-Raqabān (with R, Q, and B), he is an ancient pre-Islamic (*jāhilī qadīm*) poet, called Ash'ar ar-Raqabān.<sup>23</sup> Az-Zafayān (with Z, F, and Y) is from Banū Tamīm of Banū Sa'd ibn Zayd-Manāt ibn Tamīm, known as az-Zafayān as-Sa'dī, a prolific *rājiz* (*rājiz kathīr ash-shi'r*)<sup>24</sup> who lived (*kāna*) at the time of Ja'far ibn Sulaymān. He is az-Zafayān ibn Mālik ibn 'Awāna who said:

[Add. 3:13+15]

He [Abū Aḥmad] also said: Abū Ḥātim also mentioned another (poet) called az-Zafayān and that he was with Khālīd ibn al-Walīd when the latter approached Baḥrayn. He said [*kāmil*]:

*tahdī idhā khawat-i n-nujūmu sudūrahā*  
*bi-Banāti na'shin aw bi-daw'i l-Farqadī.*

Interesting in this passage is the personal name of az-Zafayān as well as his date. Usually az-Zafayān is said to have been called 'Aṭā' ibn Usayd (or Asīd) and to have lived to write a poem (no. 8)<sup>25</sup> on an event which took place in 73/693.

---

Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm (e.g. *Inbāh* I:60-61); Aḥmad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Shubayl ibn ar-Rudaynī Abū Riyāsh... (*Inbāh* I:188); Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad (*Bughya* I:409). – The lost passages of at-Tanūkhī's *Nishwār* seem to have contained more information on him. In the present edition he is mentioned only in passing (II:158). The Baṣran at-Tanūkhī had been a student of Abū Riyāsh (*Irshād* IV:76).

22 The poet Abū'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja'far Ibn Lankak (Yāqūt, *Irshād* I:77), seems to have died around 360/970 (*GAS* II:510-511).

23 'Amr ibn Ḥāritha – the *caveat* against the *taṣhīf* is not out of place, and one often finds the two poets being confused. Thus, e.g., *Lisān* I:299a (s.v. *bā*) speaks about al-Ash'ar az-Zafayān.

24 *Shi'r* is here used for *rajaz*; the passage is not to be translated: "a *rājiz* writing much [ *qarīd* ] poetry, [too]". For the use of *shi'r* for *rajaz*, cf. the near contemporary al-Jāhiz speaking of az-Zafayān (*Ḥayawān* II:15), quoted in the Appendix below.

25 The reference in the preface of Ahlwardt to poem no. 7 is an error which caused Brockelmann (*GAL* I:91) some confusion – and actually shows that Brockelmann did not read the poems of az-Zafayān when writing on him but merely relied on the preface of Ahlwardt. Brockelmann, though, is not to be blamed for this, as his aim was to produce a huge compendium of Arabic literature in general, but it is a healthy reminder that one should not rely too blindly on *GAL*.



The date of the az-Zafayān who wrote the poems (1-10) of the manuscript published by AHLWARDT, seems to be rather certainly fixed to the Marwanid empire, not only by poem no. 8 with its reference to Abū Fudayk, but also by poem no. 6, which certainly dates from the Marwanid period. In 6:17 az-Zafayān addresses his patron as *yā bna Abī'l-Āṣī* which naturally cannot be a reference to a son of Abū'l-Āṣ(ī) but to his progeny, the Marwanids.<sup>26</sup>

The whole tenor of poem no. 6 speaks for dating it to the early Marwanid period, with its strong emphasis on the Caliphate (v. 26), an institution which hardly existed under that name before 'Abdalmalik,<sup>27</sup> as well as with its religious emphasis and the mention of an everlasting kingship (*mulk* 6:28) in the Umayyad family.<sup>28</sup>

Thus the two poems must date from around 693, and as there is nothing in the other poems to contradict this dating, one may be assured that this az-Zafayān did live around 700. The passage of 'Abdalqādir, *Ḥāshiya* I:652, on az-Zafayān (*wa-huwa rājiz islāmī fī d-dawla al-Marwānīya*), is probably based on his noting these same two passages and not, regrettably, on some independent information which could be used to confirm this date.

The name of this az-Zafayān was, in the majority opinion, 'Aṭā' ibn Usayd (or Asīd). To come back to the text in *Irshād*, Abū Aḥmad claims that az-Zafayān was az-Zafayān ibn Mālik ibn 'Awāna and that he lived in the times of Ja'far ibn Sulaymān by which Abū Aḥmad obviously means the 'Abbasid governor Ja'far ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās, the governor of Hijaz and Baṣra, who died in 174/790 or 175/791 (aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* XI:106), a century after the defeat of Abū Fudayk.

26 Marwān was the son of al-Ḥakam ibn Abī'l-Āṣī ibn Umayya, cf. e.g. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, p. 87. Sufyanids, on the contrary, were the progeny of Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb ibn Umayya, cf. e.g. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, p. 111.

27 For the strong evidence that it was 'Abdalmalik who started using the Qur'ānic term *khalīfa* as a prestige term for the ruler of the Islamic *umma* (*khalīfat Allāh* "the vice-regent of God"), see Crone-Hinds (1986). Contrary to their opinion, I cannot find any certain evidence for the use of the title *khalīfa* at all before 'Abdalmalik. However that may be, it is clear that it was not emphasised before 'Abdalmalik.

28 The poem is also very similar to some poems by Jarīr; e.g. his poem no. 16 (*Dīwān* I:168-177), eulogizing Yazīd ibn 'Abdalmalik, is very similar in its use of religious and genealogical motifs. Jarīr also uses (v. 38, I:175) *āl Abī'l-Āṣī* to refer to the Marwānids and *Harb* to refer to the Sufyanids.

This creates a problem. The easiest way to solve it would simply be to posit that Abū Aḥmad is speaking about some other az-Zafayān. This, though, is made problematic by the fact that he refers to his az-Zafayān as a prolific poet and that he seems to be quite unaware of an az-Zafayān who would have lived at the time of Abū Fudayk – we shall leave his second az-Zafayān from the time of Khālīd ibn al-Walīd aside for a while.

To posit two different az-Zafayāns is thus somewhat awkward, although one must note that the only poem which is quoted by Abū Aḥmad in this connection is Add. 3, not any poem from the *Dīwān* of az-Zafayān ‘Aṭā’.

The integrity of Add. 3 derives from AHLWARDT who built the poem from different fragments without drawing the reader’s attention to the fact that the verses come from different sources and are not all interconnected. The poem has to be divided into four parts, as it comes in the sources, viz. vv. 1-2, 3-8, 9-15 and 16-17 (with additions, see below), verses from all of which are transmitted in at least some source with attribution to az-Zafayān. The first and the third part of the poem are glued together only, if I am correct, by *TL* V:386 and *L* X:139 (which is dependent on *TL*) which give anonymously the verses 1-2+9-10, whereas the second (vv. 3-8) and the fourth (vv. 16-17) part are in no source combined with either vv. 1-2 or vv. 9-15 (or with each other).

Here we luckily have a reliable and informative source at our disposal, viz. *Takmila*. Aṣ-Ṣaghānī’s *Takmila* is invaluable in rajaz studies as the author both had an astonishing number of *Dīwāns* at his disposal and was very careful and explicit in quoting from them.

As it comes to Add. 3, aṣ-Ṣaghānī accepts the attribution of v. 3 to az-Zafayān,<sup>29</sup> calling it explicitly the first verse of the poem (*wa-li’z-Zafayān urjūza awwaluhā: annā alamma ṭayfu Laylā yaṭruqū* [i.e. Add. 3:3]).<sup>30</sup> The third verse is, on the other hand, rather securely transmitted with vv. 4-8, so that we can accept the attribution of this fragment to az-Zafayān ‘Aṭā’ ibn Usayd, the author of the collection of poems no. 1-10 which we know was at the disposal of aṣ-Ṣaghānī.

29 *Tk* I:118 and III:222.

30 *Tk* III:222.



The remaining fragments (vv. 1-2+9-15, 16-17) are more problematic. Aṣ-Ṣaghānī denies the attribution by al-Jawharī in his *Ṣiḥāḥ*<sup>31</sup> of Add. 3:1-2, 9-10 and 13-14 to az-Zafayān, without, however, giving them any other attribution.<sup>32</sup> This means that aṣ-Ṣaghānī did not find them in the recension of az-Zafayān's poems he had at his disposal, but it also shows that he did not know their real author.

The fact that aṣ-Ṣaghānī refutes the attribution of these verses to az-Zafayān is significant since it shows that he did have some material to compare them with. This is most explicit in *Tk* I:118 where aṣ-Ṣaghānī quotes Add. 3:13-14, attributed by al-Jawharī to az-Zafayān, and then continues: *wa-li'z-Zafayān urjūza awwaluhā: annā alamma tayfu Laylā yatruqu* [Add. 3:3] *wa-laysa mā dhakara l-Jawharī fihā*. Thus aṣ-Ṣaghānī had something to compare the verses with – if he had not had some kind of a complete version of the poem at his disposal, he could not have bluntly stated that the verses do not come from the *urjūza*.<sup>33</sup>

That is, he either had the complete poem in question or, what is more probable, the whole *Dīwān*, in whatever recension that may have been.<sup>34</sup> It is also interesting that the version he used did include Add. 3:3 which is missing from the AHLWARDT manuscript. Whether Add. 3:3 (together with Add. 3:4-8) comes from the same poem as no. 8 – where the famous pas-

31 The attribution of the following verses to az-Zafayān in *Ṣiḥāḥ* is refuted by aṣ-Ṣaghānī in *Tk*: *Tk* V:125 (Add. 3:1-2); *Tk* V:54-55 and V:132 (Add. 3:9-10); *Tk* I:118 (v. 13-14). In *Tk* V:156 aṣ-Ṣaghānī silently accepts the attribution by al-Jawharī of Add. 3:16-17 to az-Zafayān.

32 Note, however, that in Abū 'Ubayda, *Majāz* II:132, the author of Add. 3:13+15+15a-15e is identified as *az-Zafayān min Banī 'Uwāfa*. This is the most important passage speaking for the attribution to az-Zafayān 'Aṭā' ibn Usayd but Abū 'Ubayda is not as reliable as aṣ-Ṣaghānī, and, more importantly, does not seem to have used a *Dīwān* of az-Zafayān.

33 The *Dīwāns* at the disposal of aṣ-Ṣaghānī are also in general identifiable by the same method.

34 The other theoretical possibilities are less probable. Aṣ-Ṣaghānī could have denied the attribution to az-Zafayān if he had known the – supposed – real author of the verses, but in such cases he naturally is ready to indicate the real author. One should, though, keep in mind, that for aṣ-Ṣaghānī some poem is or is not by some poet, depending on whether he finds it in a reliable (or so deemed by him) *Dīwān* edition; aṣ-Ṣaghānī cannot in fact be used to show that some verses are not by some poet, but merely that they do not come from the *Dīwān* recension(s) used by aṣ-Ṣaghānī.

sage concerning Abū Fudayk is found – or not,<sup>35</sup> is irrelevant since in both cases it shows that aṣ-Ṣaghānī's version was different from (and obviously larger than) the AHLWARDT manuscript. Most probably Add. 3:3-8 does come from this poem, though. The most logical suggestion would be that aṣ-Ṣaghānī had the original *Dīwān* in Ibn Ḥabīb's recension still intact.

The verses quoted in *Tk* tend to coincide with those in AHLWARDT's *Dīwān* – in fact, aṣ-Ṣaghānī does not give verses from any "new" poems – with the important addition that aṣ-Ṣaghānī quotes verses from Add. 1-3 (but not from Add. 4).<sup>36</sup> He also gives some additional verses to poems 1-10 (see Appendix). The significance of these facts, too, deserves careful consideration.

Aṣ-Ṣaghānī was a conscientious scholar, and had reliable sources at his disposal, as can be seen from the material coming from him in, e.g., *MSRP* 1-3. In his case, denying the attribution to some poet has much value, because he seems to have checked quite systematically individual *shawāhid* verses against the *Dīwāns* at his disposal. This means that we have reason to suppose that the *Dīwān* of az-Zafayān used by him was similar to but more extensive than the text of AHLWARDT (dating from the 9th century A.H., see *GAS* II:370), and as the latter is fragmentary, one may venture to guess that aṣ-Ṣaghānī had the same recension but in a complete, or at least less fragmentary, condition. – Note that, e.g., Ibn Manẓūr is much less careful with his material; Ibn Manẓūr did not check his *shawāhid* against anything but merely copied the attribution he found in his source without giving much attention to its soundness. Thus, one cannot use Ibn Manẓūr's *Lisān al-ʿarab* to reconstruct a *Dīwān* except as a secondary source. Aṣ-Ṣaghānī is, on the other hand, reliable and ready to voice his contrary opinions, often with a recognizable gloating over others' mistakes.

The facts so far considered would tally well with the theory that aṣ-Ṣaghānī used the same *Dīwān* recension – obviously that of Ibn Ḥabīb – as

---

35 There is no overlapping between no. 8 and Add. 3, but in any case Add. 3:5-8 comes from the beginning of a poem, and the verses of no. 8 from the latter part of a poem, so that no overlapping can be expected.

36 Add. 1:1-2 is found in *Tk* IV:163 – this is a remarkable passage, since aṣ-Ṣaghānī takes up the question of attribution, as a verse he discusses is wrongly attributed to al-ʿAjjāj by al-Jawharī, and quotes very carefully the verses of az-Zafayān. If the verses had not been in the *Dīwān* he was using, one might have expected him to give a note on this fact. Add. 2:1-2 is found in *Tk* V:117; for Add. 3, see above.

the text of AHLWARDT but in a more complete form, i.e. some ancestor, recilinear or collateral, of the manuscript of AHLWARDT.

This brings us back to the question of Add. 3:1-2+9-15 whose attribution to az-Zafayān is denied by aṣ-Ṣaghānī. Technically this provides the opportunity of combining the information of *Irshād* with the information of other sources, viz. that there existed two az-Zafayāns, the one, 'Aṭā' ibn Usayd (or Asīd), the late 7th century author of the verses in the manuscript of AHLWARDT,<sup>37</sup> and another az-Zafayān ibn Mālīk ibn 'Awāna, contemporary of the early 'Abbasids in the late 8th century and the author of, at least, Add. 3:1-2+9-15.

It remains disturbing, however, that Abū Aḥmad calls az-Zafayān ibn Mālīk a prolific rajaz author; if all we know of him are the few lines in Add. 3, he would have had to have very bad luck since all his other production has disappeared or become anonymous. This is not impossible, though, as the rajaz of the late 8th century did not get the attention of the lexicographers to the same extent as the rajaz of the 7th and early 8th century, with the notable exception of Ru'ba. Yet it does stretch one's imagination to accept two az-Zafayāns, both writing similar verses in 4-aqū<sup>38</sup> – an easy rhyme, though – both very little known, both connected with Baṣra and both living within less than a century.

The easiest way out of this situation would be to deny that there ever existed an az-Zafayān ibn Mālīk at all and to consider him a blunder by Abū Aḥmad (and by Yāqūt who trusted his source and transmitted the passage without sarcastic comments). This, though, is equally unsatisfactory. Abū Aḥmad's reputation was not impeccable but he was appreciated as a philologist.

Abū Aḥmad was, too, a Baṣran scholar and the interest in az-Zafayān (or both az-Zafayāns, if there were two of them) seems to have been centered in Baṣra. Thus, one is tempted to speak of a Baṣran tradition of az-Zafayān or even to try to locate az-Zafayān himself in or around Baṣra. In any case, one cannot easily accept such a confusion between az-Zafayān 'Aṭā' ibn Usayd and az-Zafayān ibn Mālīk in the Baṣran philological circles.

37 Note that aṣ-Ṣaghānī, too, speaks about az-Zafayān 'Aṭā' ibn Usayd (*Tk* V:117), not any other az-Zafayān. He does, though, know that there was another az-Zafayān, see the end of this article.

38 I.e. acatalectic rajaz of 4+4+4 syllables.

The link between az-Zafayān ('Aṭā' and/or Ibn Mālik) and Baṣra is further confirmed by, e.g., the person of Abū Ḥātim Sahl ibn Muḥammad as-Sijistānī who died in Baṣra in 255/869; the authority to lead the prayers at his funeral was none other than Sulaymān ibn Ja'far ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās ibn 'Abdalmuṭṭalib, the son of the Ja'far under whose times az-Zafayān ibn Mālik was supposed to have lived.<sup>39</sup> Abū Ḥātim, on other hand, is found quoting az-Zafayān's verses (Add. 4:1-5) in Abū Zayd's *Nawādir* (pp. 331-332)<sup>40</sup> – a notable fact that these verses are not found in the *Dīwān* of az-Zafayān as published by AHLWARDT nor in *Tk*, and 'Abdalqādir, too, says explicitly that he did not find them in the recension of Ibn Ḥabīb (*Hāshiya* II:650). These verses, which are attributed to az-Zafayān in rather early sources (Abū Zayd), could equally well be by az-Zafayān ibn Mālik.

Thus, there is a possibility that there were two az-Zafayāns although Abū Aḥmad's complete ignorance of az-Zafayān 'Aṭā' when listing the az-Zafayāns known to him, remains disturbing.

It is also disturbing that in the genealogy of az-Zafayān ibn Mālik ibn 'Awāna we find a name that is all too close to the clan name of 'Aṭā' ('Uwāfa); the two names are in fact confused in some sources.<sup>41</sup> Thus, there remains some uncertainty concerning the existence of az-Zafayān ibn Mālik and one can hardly make any final conclusions on the basis of the evidence we have. All we can say is that the late 7th century az-Zafayān 'Aṭā' was the author of the *Dīwān*, and there may have been an az-Zafayān ibn Mālik who lived a century later in Baṣra, and whose very existence was later almost forgotten; e.g. aṣ-Ṣaghānī did not know az-Zafayān ibn Mālik as the author of some of the verses of Add. 3, since he flatly denied their attribution to az-Zafayān, without giving any other attribution or specifying which az-Zafayān he was speaking about, but in any case az-Zafayān ibn Mālik was so obscure that one cannot expect aṣ-Ṣaghānī or any other late author to have known anything about him. For aṣ-Ṣaghānī as well as for all other authors – excepting the passage in *Irshād* and its descendant in *Muzhir* – the later az-Zafayān ibn Mālik was simply non-existent.

39 Az-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 94-96.

40 The verses are given in Abū Zayd, *Nawādir*, pp. 331-332, on the authority of al-Mufaḍḍal [aḍ-Ḍabbī], together with comments by Abū'l-Ḥasan ['Alī ibn Sulaymān al-Akhfash] and Abū Ḥātim [as-Sijistānī].

41 See below, the passage in al-Āmidī, *Mu'talif*.



References to two other az-Zafayāns have been mentioned above. One of them is clearly due to *taṣḥīf*, viz. (al-)Ash‘ar ar-Raqabān whom we meet in some sources wrongly punctuated as az-Zafayān and *vice versa*. The other is a poet from the time of Khālīd ibn al-Walīd (d. 21/642). The only verses by him quoted by Abū Aḥmad are not in rajaz, but on the other hand, he, too, is connected with Baḥrayn, the later site of Abū Fudayk’s rebellion. Could we identify him with az-Zafayān ‘Aṭā’, the *rājiz*, if we choose to ignore the patronyms?

Technically, we could. The usual belief is that az-Zafayān ‘Aṭā’ died at a very advanced age, which would leave room for poems both to Khālīd ibn al-Walīd and to Marwanids who are separated from each other only by some fifty years. This, though, is not very satisfactory for several reasons. First of all, one is somewhat disturbed by the fact that the only datable events in his poems and *vita* would come from the two extreme ends of his life, whereas nothing would be known from inbetween. In addition, we have only one quotation by the earlier az-Zafayān and that in *qarīd*, not rajaz. It was not rare for poets to write in both – the most notable case is Abū’n-Najm – yet we do not elsewhere hear anything of az-Zafayān ‘Aṭā’s *qarīd* verses.

It should also be realized that the longevity of az-Zafayān is actually a legend created by AHLWARDT (1903, Preface, pp. lxi-lxii), whose attention was caught by poem no. 6<sup>42</sup> where az-Zafayān describes himself as rather decrepit – and most conveniently, from our point of view, in the particular poem which can be dated to Marwanid times. Seductive, though, it would be to accept this, it is not very probable that we can make any conclusions as to his age, since we are dealing with a well-known topos of Arabic poetry, and it is not possible to build a biography on these topoi.<sup>43</sup> Az-Zafayān may have been old and decrepit when addressing some of the Marwanid Caliphs, and thus could already have composed a poem on Khālīd ibn al-Walīd, but this remains hypothetical.

42 Ahlwardt (1903) seems to have been rather careless with his Preface where he speaks of poem no. 2 when referring to no. 6 – as is well known, Ahlwardt changed the order of the poems in the manuscript to fit them in the alphabetical order, and thus he seems here to have left the original numbering of the poems stand, after having changed their places in the edition.

43 In fact, Kashshāsh (1995) builds his whole chapter on az-Zafayān (pp. 239-244) on these “biographical” passages in the poems, but his attitude hardly meets the standards of modern *Literaturwissenschaft*.

Thus, one is perhaps best advised to take the link between these two az-Zafayāns and Baḥrayn merely as a coincidence<sup>44</sup> and exclude the earliest az-Zafayān from among rajaz authors until further evidence is found.<sup>45</sup>

## APPENDIX

This Appendix contains a few notes to the text published by AHLWARDT as well as additional verses transmitted in philological literature on the authority of az-Zafayān.

### *Dīwān*, no. 3

Ṣ, p. 434, and *L* XV:242 attribute the following verses to az-Zafayān:

- a. *innī wa-man shā'a btaghā qifākhā*
- b. *lam aku fī qawmī mra'an wakhwākhā*

### *Dīwān*, no. 4

Several sources add another verse after v. 14, viz.:

- 14a. *mithla 'azīfī l-jinni haddat haddā*

This is found in Ṣ, p. 499 (v. 13-14+14a); *L* VII:408 (v. 13-14+14a); *TA* VIII:299 (v. 13-14+14a); and al-Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* VI:175 (v. 14+14a), in all of them attributed to az-Zafayān.

al-Marzubānī, *Mu'jam ash-shu'arā'*, p. 298, gives the following five verses before vv. 15-18:

- a. *innī idhā mā ṣāhibī stabaddā*
- b. *bi'l-amri min dūniya wa-smaghaddā*
- c. *atrukuhū waṣṭa r-rijāli 'abdā*
- d. *muwaṭṭānan 'alā l-hawāni fardā*
- e. *yartakibu l-ghayya wa-yukhṭī r-rushdā*

44 If one cannot connect the use of the name az-Zafayān with Baḥrayn.

45 Yet it is interesting how easily Blachère (1966, p. 523) emends the passage of al-Marzubānī, *Mu'jam*, p. 298, where it is stated that az-Zafayān eulogised 'Ubaydallāh ibn Ma'mar (d. 30/650) and reads ['Umar ibn] 'Ubaydallāh ibn Ma'mar. The emendation is most probably correct, but one might hesitate somewhat as the date of 'Ubaydallāh does fit with the earlier az-Zafayān, the eulogiser of Khālīd ibn al-Walīd.



*Dīwān*, no. 6

According to Ibn Jinnī, *Khaṣā'iṣ* II:263, the complete *urjūza* consisted of 39 verses, of which Ibn Jinnī quotes verses 1-2+4-5.

*Dīwān*, no. 8

az-Zamakhsharī, *Fā'iḳ* II:56, adds another verse after v. 13 and attributes them to az-Zafayān:

13a. *anḥā l-madāwīsa 'alayhi l-faytaqū*

*Dīwān*, no. 10

The sources seem to be almost unanimous that the placename in v. 2 is to be vocalized Dhū Buwān, whereas Bawwān is another place, see e.g. *L* I:543.

Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān* I:503, calls Buwān a place in Najd, but adds that in this verse is probably meant Buwāna, which is (I:505) “a hill (*haḍba*) behind Yanbu', close to the coast”. Bawwān, on the contrary, is (I:503-505) a name for three different places, one between Arrajān and an-Nawbandajān, the second between Fāris and Kirmān, and the third a village (*qarya*) outside (*'alā bāb*) Isfahan.

## Add. 1

*T*A XIX:216<sup>46</sup> attributes the following three verses to az-Zafayān:

a. *anḥā*<sup>47</sup> *'alā l-miṣḥali ḥashran māliṭā*

b. *fa-anfadha ḍ-ḍibna*<sup>48</sup> *wa-jāla mākhīṭā*

c. *wa-njadala l-miṣḥalu yakbū ḥāniṭā*

The last verse is found attributed to az-Zafayān also in *Tk* IV:121 and *L* III:360.

*L* IX:67 and IX:343 attribute the following verses to az-Zafayān:

d. *wa-lam yada' madhqan wa-lā 'ujāliṭā*

e. *li-shāribin ḥazran wa-lā 'ukāliṭā*

46 = Geyer (1909), pp. 100-101.

47 Var. *alḥā*.

48 Var. *l-ghabna*.

‘*Ubāb/F*, p. 306 (= *TA* XXIII:489), attributes the following verses to az-Zafayān:

- f. *fa-ltaqat fī l-qutri*<sup>49</sup> *ṭimlan lā’iṭā*
- g. *fī kaffihī shadfā’u min shawāḥiṭā*
- h. *wa-as’humun a’addahā amāriṭā* [variant: *mawāriṭā*].

For other possible verses of this poem, see *MSRP* 3, Himyān, no. 13 – the names az-Zafayān and Himyān were easily confused as can be seen from many examples discussed in this article.

Add. 3

Ṣ, p. 689, and *L* VI:377, add the following verse after v. 7 and attribute it to az-Zafayān:

- 7a. *‘alayhi minhu mi’zarun wa-bukhnuqū*

Abū ‘Ubayda, *Majāz al-Qur’ān* II:132-133, gives the following five verses after vv. 13+15, and attributes them to az-Zafayān:

- 15a. *adhallu bur’ā th-thāfirayni dawsaqū*
- 15b. *shawāruhā qutūduhā wa’n-numruqū*
- 15c. *wa-buratun fīhā zimāmun mu’laqū*
- 15d. *ka’anna thinyayni shujā’un muṭriqū*
- 15e. *wa-bnu milāṭin mutajāfin adfaqū*

Aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi’ al-bayān* XXI:63 gives vv. 13+15e (var. *arfaqū*) anonymously.

The following two verses are attributed to az-Zafayān in *TA* XXV:309:

- a. *wa-ḥāfirun ṣulbu l-‘ujā mudamlaqū*
- b. *wa-sāqu hayqin anfuḥā mu’arraqū*

The same verses are found anonymously in, e.g., Ṣ, p. 2419, *L* IV:408, *L* IX:75 and *TA*<sup>2</sup> 10:235.

The following verse is attributed to az-Zafayān in *TA* XXV:285 (from ‘*Ubāb*):

- c. *ka’annahū fīhi ghadīrun daysaqū*

---

49 *TA* XXIII:489 reads *l-qazzi*.

## POEMS MISSING FROM THE EDITION OF AHLWARDT

Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* II:15, attributes the following three verses to either az-Zafayān or Himyān (*immā an yakūna sh-shi'ru* [sic!] *li-Himyān wa-immā an yakūna li'z-Zafayān*):

1. *ḥayyākumū llāhu fa-innī munqalib*
2. *wa-innamā sh-shā'iru majnūnun kalib*
3. *aktharu mā ya'tī 'alā fīhi kadhib*<sup>50</sup>

al-Āmidī, *Mu'talif*, p. 133, attributes the following three verses to az-Zafayān:

1. *wa-ṣāhibin qultu lahū bi-nuṣṣī*
2. *qum fa-rtaḥil qad ḍā'a ḍaw'u ṣ-ṣubḥī*
3. *fa-qāma yahtazzu htizāza r-rumḥī*

al-Āmidī, *Mu'talif*, p. 133, attributes the following verse (which might have given him his nickname) to az-Zafayān 'Aṭā' ibn Usayd:

1. *wa'l-khaylu tazfī n-na'ama l-ma'qūdā*

The same verse is found attributed to az-Zafayān in al-Marzubānī, *Mu'jam ash-shu'arā'*, p. 298, with the variants *l-maq'ūrā* and *l-ma'qūrā*. These variants have the same rhyme as the following fragment, which is attributed to az-Zafayān in *Ṣ*, p. 689, *L* VI:360, and *TA* XII:76:<sup>51</sup>

1. *lammā ra'aw min jam'inā n-nafīrā*
2. *wa'l-ḥalaqa l-muḍā'afa l-masmūrā*
3. *jawārinan tarā lahā qatīrā*

Some sources (e.g. *Ṣ*, p. 1714, and *L* V:317) attribute the following verses to az-Zafayān:

1. *yaqūlu nawwir ṣubḥu law yaḥ'allū*
2. *wa'l-qatru 'an matnayhi murmaghillū*
3. *ka-nuẓumi l-lu'lu'i murma'illū*
4. *taluffuhū nakbā'u aw sham'allū*

50 Cf. *MSRP* 3, Himyān no. 1.

51 V. 3 also in *Ṣ*, p. 786, and *L* XI:31.

The verses are usually attributed to Himyān (no. 16, *MSRP* 3, p. 107), and aṣ-Ṣaghānī explicitly refutes their attribution to az-Zafayān (see *Tk* V:376 and V:408).

ath-Tha‘ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, p. 72, attributes the following four verses to az-Zafayān al-‘Uwāfi:

1. *anā l-‘Uwāfiyu fa-man ‘ādānī*
2. *adhaqtuhū bawādira l-hawānī*
3. *hattā tarāhu muṭriqa sh-shayṭānī*
4. *‘allamanī sh-shi‘ra mu‘allimānī*

Verses 1-3 are attributed to az-Zafayān al-‘Uwāfi in al-Jāhiz, *Ḥayawān* VI:247.

Tha‘lab, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Khansā’*, p. 140,<sup>52</sup> attributes the following verse, describing the bow (*qāla z-Zafayān wa-huwa yan‘atu qawsan*), to az-Zafayān and says that it was the cause of his nickname (*fa-summiya bi-hādhā l-bayt az-Zafayān*):

1. *kabdā’u tazfī kulla qidḥin ḥannān*

As has become clear, there was no dearth of verses for later scholars which had caused ‘Aṭā’ to be called az-Zafayān. The contradictory explanations make it all the more obvious how arbitrary and groundless these kinds of legends are.

The main passages on az-Zafayān in philological literature:

1. al-Āmidī (d. 371/987), *Mu’talif*, p. 133:

man yuqālu lahu z-Zafayān wa’r-Raqabān: fa-ammā z-Zafayān fa-hwa ‘Aṭā’ ibn Usayd aḥad Banī ‘Uwāfa [MS: ‘Awāna] ibn Sa’d ibn Zayd-Manāt ibn Tamīm wa-yuknā Abā’l-Mirqāl wa-qīla lahu z-Zafayān li-qawlihi:

wa’l-khaylu tazfī n-na‘ama l-ma‘qūdā  
fī urjūza. wa’z-Zafayān shā‘ir muḥsin wa-huwa l-qā’il, anshadanāhu l-Akhfash:  
wa-ṣāhibin qultu lahū bi-nuṣṣī  
qum fa-rtaḥil qad ḍā’a ḍaw’u ṣ-ṣubḥī  
fa-qāma yahtazzu htizāza r-rumḥī

52 = Geyer (1909), p. 101.

ammā r-Raqabān bi'r-rā' fa-huwa l-Ash'ar ar-Raqabān al-Asadī<sup>53</sup> wa-smuhu 'Amr ibn Hāritha [...] shā'ir khabīth [...].

2. al-Marzubānī (d. 384/994), *Mu'jam ash-shu'arā'*, p. 298:

az-Zafayān ar-rājiz ismuhu 'Aṭā' ibn Usayd wa-yuqālu Asīd aḥad Banī 'Uwāfa ibn Sa'd ibn Zayd-Manāt, summiya z-Zafayān bi-qawlihi:

wa'l-khaylu tazfi n-na'ama l-maq'ūrā

wa-yurwā: l-ma'qūrā. wa-huwa islāmī, madaḥa ['Umar ibn]<sup>54</sup> 'Ubaydallāh ibn Ma'mar wa-huwa l-qā'il min urjūza:

[4:a-e+15-18]

3. aṣ-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1252), *Tk* VI:430 (s.v. ZFY):

wa-min ash-shu'arā' rajulān yuqālu lahumā z-Zafayān. aḥaduhumā z-Zafayān laqabuhu wa-huwa aḥad Banī 'Uwāfa wa-smuhu 'Aṭā' wa-kunyatuhu Abū'l-Mirqāl, wa'l-ākhar rājiz muḥsin.

The note on az-Zafayān in *Tk* VI:430 seems to echo the text of al-Āmidī, and at least aṣ-Ṣaghānī seems to have taken az-Zafayān 'Aṭā' to be another person than the “az-Zafayān, *shā'ir muḥsin*”, the author of the three verses in 3-Khī. This would again leave some space for az-Zafayān ibn Mālik.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

*GAL* (*S*) = BROCKELMANN, Carl (1936-1944).

*GAS* = SEZGIN (1967-1984).

*L* = IBN MANZŪR, *Lisān al-ʿarab*.

*MSRP* = HÄMEEN-ANTTILA (1993-1996).

*Ṣ* = AL-JAWHARĪ, *Ṣiḥāḥ*.

*TA* = AZ-ZABĪDĪ, *Tāj al-ʿarūs*.

*TA*<sup>2</sup> = AZ-ZABĪDĪ, *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, old edition.

*Tk* = AṢ-ṢAGHĀNĪ, *Takmila*.

*TL* = AL-AZHARĪ, *Tahdhīb al-lughā*.

*'Ubāb* = AṢ-ṢAGHĀNĪ, *'Ubāb*.

<sup>53</sup> See also *Mu'talif*, p. 47.

<sup>54</sup> For this usual emendation, see above.

ARABIC SOURCES

- ‘ABDALQĀDIR AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *Khizānat al-adab*. Ed. ‘Abdassalām Muḥammad Hārūn. I-XI. Al-Qāhira 1979-1983.
- ‘ABDALQĀDIR AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *Hāshiya ‘alā Sharḥ “Bānat Su‘ād”*. Ed. N. Hoca. I-IIa and b. 1980-1990. (Bibliotheca Islamica; 27).
- ABŪ ‘UBAYDA Ma‘mar ibn al-Muthannā, *Majāz al-Qur‘ān*. Ed. Fuat Sezgin. I-II. Al-Qāhira s.a.
- ABŪ ZAYD al-Anṣārī, *Kitāb an-Nawādir fī l-lugha*. Ed. Muḥammad ‘Abdalqādir Aḥmad. Bayrūt 1401/1981.
- AL-ĀMIDĪ, *al-Mu’talif wa’l-mukhtalif*. Ed. F. Krenkow. Bayrūt 1402/1982.
- AL-AZHARĪ, *Tahdhīb al-lugha*. I-XV. Ed. ‘Abdassalām Muḥammad Hārūn et al. Al-Qāhira 1384-1387/1964-1967. XVI. Ed. Rashīd ‘Abdarrahmān al-‘Ubaydī. Al-Qāhira 1975.
- AL-FĪRŪZĀBĀDĪ, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*. Ed. (and reorganized according to the first radical) aṭ-Ṭāhir Aḥmad az-Zāwī. I-IV. Ad-Dār al-‘arabiya li’l-kitāb<sup>3</sup> 1980.
- ḤASSĀN IBN THĀBIT al-Anṣārī, *Dīwān*. Ed. Walīd ‘Arafāt. I-II. [1974], repr. Bayrūt s.a.
- IBN ḤAZM, *Jamharat ansāb al-‘arab*. Ed. ‘Abdassalām Muḥammad Hārūn. Al-Qāhira<sup>5</sup> 1992.
- IBN JINNĪ, *al-Khaṣā’iṣ*. Ed. Muḥammad ‘Alī an-Najjār. I-III. Al-Qāhira 1406-1408/1986-1988.
- IBN MANZŪR, *Lisān al-‘arab*. I-XVIII. Ed. ‘Alī Shīrī. Bayrūt 1408/1988.
- AL-JĀḤIẒ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*. Ed. ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad Hārūn. I-VIII. Al-Qāhira<sup>2</sup> 1965-1969.
- JARĪR, *Dīwān = Dīwān Jarīr bi-sharḥ Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb*. I-II. Ed. Nu‘mān Muḥammad Amīn Ṭāhā. 1969. (Dhakhā’ir al-‘arab; 43).
- AL-JAWĀLĪQĪ, *al-Mu‘arrab*. Ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir. S.I. 1389/1969.
- AL-JAWHARĪ, *aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ*. Ed. Aḥmad ‘Abdalqādir ‘Aṭṭār. I-VI. Bayrūt<sup>2</sup> 1399/1979.
- AL-MARZUBĀNĪ, *Mu‘jam ash-shu‘arā’*. Ed. Fr. Krenkow. Bayrūt s.a.
- AL-QIFTĪ, *Inbāḥ ar-ruwāḥ ‘alā anbāḥ an-nuḥāḥ*. I-IV. Ed. Muḥammad Abū’l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Al-Qāhira-Bayrūt 1406/1986.
- AṢ-ṢAFADĪ, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi’l-wafayāt*. Vol. II. Ed. Sven Dederling. Wiesbaden 1974 (Bibliotheca Islamica; 6b); vol. XI. Ed. Shukrī Fayṣal. Wiesbaden 1981 (Bibliotheca Islamica; 6k).
- AṢ-ṢAGHĀNĪ, *at-Takmila wa’dh-dhayl wa’ṣ-ṣila*. I-VI. Ed. ‘Abdal‘alīm aṭ-Ṭahāwī – ‘Abdalḥamīd Ḥasan. Al-Qāhira 1970-1979.
- AṢ-ṢAGHĀNĪ, *al-‘Ubāb az-zākhīr wa’l-lubāb al-fākhīr*. Vol Ṭ, ’, GH and F. Ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl-Yāsīn. Baghdād 1977-1981.
- AS-SUYŪṬĪ, *Bughyat al-wu‘āt fiġṭabaqāt al-lughawīyīn wa’n-nuḥāt*. I-II. Ed. Muḥammad Abū’l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Bayrūt s.a.



- AS-SUYŪṬĪ, *al-Muzhir fī 'ulūm al-lughā wa-anwā'ihā*. Ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Jād al-Mawlā Beg – Muḥammad Abū'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm – 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī. I-II. Bayrūt 1406/1986.
- AT-ṬABARĪ, *Jāmi' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*. 1-30. Al-Qāhira [repr. 1407/1987].
- AT-TANŪKHĪ, *Nishwār al-muḥādara wa-akhbār al-mudhākara*. I-VIII. Ed. 'Abbūd ash-Shālījī. S.I. 1391-1393/1971-1973.
- ATH-THA'ĀLIBĪ, *Thimār al-qulūb fī l-mudāf wa'l-mansūb*. Ed. Muḥammad Abū'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Al-Qāhira s.a. (Dhakhā'ir al-'arab; 57).
- ATH-THA'ĀLIBĪ, *Yatīmat ad-dahr*. I-IV. S.I. 1399/1979.
- THA'LAB, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Khansā'*. Ed. Anwar Abū Suwaylim. 'Ammān 1409/1988.
- YĀQŪṬ, *Irshād al-arīb ilā ma'rifat al-adīb*. Ed. D.S. Margoliouth. I-VII. London <sup>2</sup>1923-1931.
- YĀQŪṬ, *Mu'jam al-buldān*. I-VII, Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir 1957, repr. 1995.
- AZ-ZABĪDĪ, *Tāj al-'arūs min jawāhīr al-Qāmūs*. <sup>1</sup>I-XXV. Al-Kuwayt 1965-1989; <sup>2</sup>1-10. Al-Qāhira 1306.
- AZ-ZAMAKHSHARĪ, *al-Fā'i'q fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*. I-II. Ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī and Muḥammad Abū'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Al-Qāhira s.a.
- AZ-ZUBAYDĪ, *Ṭabaqāt an-naḥwīyīn wa'l-lughawīyīn*. Ed. Muḥammad Abū'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Al-Qāhira <sup>2</sup>s.a.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AHLWARDT, Wilhelm (1903), *Sammlungen alter arabischer Dichter*. II: *Die Dīwāne der Reġezdichter el'aġġāġ und ezzaḥafjān*. Berlin.
- AL-AYYŪBĪ, Yāsīn (1980), *Mu'jam ash-shu'arā' fī Lisān al-'arab*. Bayrūt.
- BLACHÈRE, Régis (1966), *Histoire de la littérature arabe des origines à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle de J.-C.* III. Paris.
- BROCKELMANN, Carl (1936-1944), *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. I-II + Supplementbände I-III. Leiden.
- CRONE, Patricia – HINDS, Martin (1986), *God's Caliph. Religious authority in the first centuries of Islam*. Cambridge. (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications; 37).
- VAN GELDER, Geert Jan (1998), "al-Zafayān". In: Julie Scott MEISAMI – Paul STARKEY (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*. I-II. London and New York, p. 817.
- GEYER, R. (1909), "Beiträge zur Kenntnis altarabischer Dichter. 3: Al-'Ajjāj und az-Zafayān". *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 23, pp. 74-101.
- HÄMEEN-ANTTILA, Jaakko (1993-1996), *Materials for the Study of Raġaz Poetry I: Dīwān of Abū'n-Naġm*. 1993 (Studia Orientalia; 72); II: *Five Raġaz Collections*. 1995 (Studia Orientalia; 76); III: *Minor Raġaz Collections*. 1996 (Studia Orientalia; 78)

- HÄMEEN-ANTTILA, Jaakko (1994), "On the personal library of 'Abdalqādir al-Baghdādī". *Acta Orientalia* 55, pp. 84-101.
- KASHSHĀSH, Muḥammad (1995), *ar-Rajaz fī l-ʿaṣr al-Umawī*. Bayrūt 1415/1995.
- NALLINO, Carlo-Alfonso (1950), *La littérature arabe des origines à l'époque de la dynastie umayyade*. Tr. Maria Nallino. Paris. (Islam d'hier et d'aujourd'hui; 6).
- SEZGIN, Fuat (1967-1984), *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. I-IX. Leiden.
- ULLMANN, Manfred (1966), *Untersuchungen zur Rağazpoesie*. Wiesbaden.
- ZIRIKLĪ, Khayraddīn (1990), *al-A'lām: Qāmūs tarājim li-ashhar ar-rijāl wa'n-nisā' min al-ʿarab wa'l-mustaʿribīn wa'l-mustashriqīn*. I-VIII. 9th edition. Bayrūt.

