



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e. g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

- This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
- A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
- This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
- The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
- When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

Ibn al-Muqaffa': Tragedy, Legacy, and the *Adab* of Governance

Nasser Khalifa bin Bakhit Al-Falasi

Thesis submitted for PhD in Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies.
The University of Edinburgh
2024

Abstract

Scholars have been studying the Abbasid author ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and his biography for well over a century. Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s work was studied across numerous fields such as law, finance, administration, *adab*, and politics. However, in recent decades, there has been a trend in scholarship that is fixated on speculating about the religious affiliation and convictions of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘. For example, authors such as István Kristó-Nagy argue that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was a “double agent” who, although he outwardly presented himself as a Muslim, was in fact a practicing Zoroastrian intent on undermining the early Muslim caliphate and restoring the Persian Empire. The primary issue with such scholarship is its heavy reliance on later medieval sources about Ibn al-Muqaffa‘.

However, when analysing the evolution of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biography across the medieval period, we find many discrepancies. Often, we encounter conflicting biographical information, and at other times we find either omitted or added details compared to earlier biographies. Therefore, it is evident that we must distinguish between the nuances that comprise Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biography and realise the influence that each medieval author had on his portrayal.

The objective of this thesis is to redirect our understanding of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ by analysing his own work, rather than depending entirely on the conflicting biographies presented about him. This was achieved by first differentiating between the core information and the nuances that emerged in Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biography across the medieval period, followed by an analytical study of the concepts and views presented in all his work.

The thesis comprises four chapters. The first chapter highlights the issues present in the numerous medieval biographies of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘. The second chapter extracts the aspect of his biography pertaining to the accusation of *zandaqa* and uses it to challenge the recent scholarly trend that attempts to utilise this aspect to question Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s religious affiliation. The third chapter introduces the structure and contents of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s work, most of which he categorises as *adab*. Consequently, the final chapter focuses on unravelling how Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ perceived certain concepts such as *adab*, *dīn*, *‘ilm*, and *‘aql*, and how these impact our understanding of him. The results of this study indicate that we must be cautious when reading medieval biographies of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and that understanding the concepts he introduces is essential before forming judgements about him.

Acknowledgment

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

All praises and thanks be to Allāh, the most gracious and all-knowing, the provider and giver of all knowledge and the most bountiful one who taught by means of the pen.

My warmest gratitude and thanks to my supervisors, Dr. Marie Legendre, Dr. Andreas Görke, and the late Dr. Jaakko Hämeen-Antilla (may Allāh have mercy on him) for all their support, guidance, and supervision. All supervisors played a critical role in shaping my PhD and have aided me through both professional and personal challenges during my studies. A special thanks to Marie Legendre who was with me from the very start and who constantly pushed me to reach my full potential. I hope that this thesis is something you look back to with pride, knowing the role you played in formulating it.

I would also like to send my prayers and thanks to Jaakko Hämeen-Antilla who passed away a few days after I submitted my final draft. Our meetings always felt like a discussion more so than a supervisory meeting. I do not remember a time I did not laugh from a silly joke he made in any of our meetings. He always gave the best advice that was short and sweet, and played a critical role in helping me understand the primary sources. Thank you from the bottom of my heart, may you rest in peace, for we too shall soon follow you.

I would like to also acknowledge and thank all my colleagues and friends with whom I spent countless hours and days debating and discussing the contents of my work. A special thanks to my dear friend Abdulla Haidar for tolerating the countless times I interrupted his work in favor of our daily walk in the park. Your feedback and our discussions played a critical role in shaping my thesis, I am therefore forever grateful of your friendship and company.

A special thanks to my wife Amna Al Saleh who constantly supported me in this journey and kept both my mind and heart at ease. Your patience and ability to tolerate the countless hours I spent talking about my research is a marvel on its own. I would also like to thank my son Majed, who I thank Allāh every day for and who is the reason I did not finish earlier.

I would also like to thank my parents and siblings for supporting me in this journey. A special thanks to my mother, Noora Burahima who was constantly engaged in my research and helped me interpret and understand the primary sources. Who also instilled in me the love of history at a young age and allowed me to see something new in anything old.

Thank you for everyone else who also aided me in this journey, whether by lending me a certain book, or by merely allowing me to discuss certain ideas. I am grateful for everyone's involvement in this journey and wish everyone the best in all their endeavors. Thank you.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	6
STRUCTURE:	14
CHAPTER ONE: THE EVOLUTION OF IBN AL-MUQAFFA'S BIOGRAPHY	19
INTRODUCTION:	19
<i>Part I</i>	20
<i>Part II</i>	21
1. AL-BALĀDHURĪ: <i>ANSĀB AL-ASHRĀF</i>	23
1.1 <i>Background:</i>	24
1.2 <i>Social Status and Character:</i>	29
1.3 <i>The Amān:</i>	31
1.4 <i>The Murder:</i>	34
1.5 <i>The repercussions of murder:</i>	35
1.6 <i>Ibn al-Muqaffa's son:</i>	37
1.7 <i>Conclusion:</i>	38
2. AL-JAHSHIYĀRĪ: <i>AL-WUZARĀ' WA-L-KUTTĀB</i>	40
2.1 <i>The Amān:</i>	42
2.2 <i>Murder:</i>	42
2.3 <i>Repercussions of the Murder:</i>	46
2.4 <i>Background and Character:</i>	48
2.5 <i>Conclusion:</i>	48
3. IBN AL-NADĪM: <i>AL-FHRIST</i>	49
3.1 <i>Background and Character:</i>	50
3.2 <i>Sharḥ, Murder, and Work:</i>	52
3.4 <i>Conclusion:</i>	53
4. SIBṬ IBN AL-JAWZĪ: <i>MIR'ĀT AL-ZAMĀN</i>	55
4.1 <i>Background:</i>	56
4.2 <i>Work and Adab:</i>	58
4.3 <i>Amān and Murder:</i>	58
4.4 <i>Repercussions of the Murder:</i>	59
4.5 <i>Conclusion:</i>	60
5. IBN KHALLIKĀN: <i>WAFAYĀT AL-Ā'YĀN</i>	62
5.1 <i>Background:</i>	63
5.2 <i>Amān and Murder:</i>	64
5.3 <i>Year of Death and Name:</i>	64
5.4 <i>Conclusion:</i>	65
CONCLUSION	67

CHAPTER TWO: THE ACCUSATION OF ZANDAQA	68
INTRODUCTION	68
1 – MU‘ĀRAḌAT AL-QUR‘ĀN	71
2 – THE ACCUSATION OF MANICHEISM	76
<i>Confusion with al-Muqanna‘</i>	82
3 - THE SOCIAL CIRCLE OF IBN AL-MUQAFFA‘	87
CONCLUSION	93
CHAPTER THREE: THE LEGACY OF IBN AL-MUQAFFA‘	95
INTRODUCTION	95
1. <i>AL-ĀDĀB AL-KABĪR</i>	97
1.1 <i>When was the text written?</i>	99
2. <i>AL-YATĪMA</i>	105
2.1 <i>A fragment presented by Ibn Abū Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr</i>	106
2.2 <i>A fragment presented by Ibn Qutayba, al-Tha‘ālibī, and al-Zamakshārī</i>	108
2.3 <i>A fragment presented by Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr</i>	109
3. <i>AL-RISĀLA FĪ AL-ṢAḤĀBA</i>	112
4. <i>AL-ADAB AL-ṢAGHĪR</i>	114
CONCLUSION	123
CHAPTER FOUR: THE ADAB OF GOVERNANCE	124
INTRODUCTION	124
PART I - UNDERSTANDING <i>ADAB</i>	127
1.1 <i>Adab and ‘ilm:</i>	127
1.2 <i>Adab and ‘Aql:</i>	128
1.3 <i>Adab and Dīn:</i>	131
1.4 <i>Qualities of Adab:</i>	138
1.5 <i>Summary of adab:</i>	144
PART II - <i>ADAB OF GOVERNANCE</i>	146
2.1 <i>To be Altruistic or Ardent - الإيثار بالمحبة</i>	147
2.2 <i>Pursue fervently - المبالغة في الطلب</i>	148
2.3 <i>Verification in choice - التثبت في الإختيار</i>	148
2.4 <i>Believing in goodness - الاعتقاد للخير</i>	151
2.5 <i>Attentiveness and diligence - حسن الوعي والتعهد لما اختير واعتقد</i>	151
2.6 <i>Action and Declaration - وضع ذلك موضعه قولاً وعملاً</i>	153
CONCLUSION	155
CONCLUSION	157

REFERENCES..... 163

Introduction

“Before you study the history, study the historian. Before you study the historian, study his historical and social environment. The historian, being an individual, is also a product of history and of society; and it is in this twofold light that the student of history must learn to regard him.” - Edward Hallett Carr

The quote above is an excerpt from Edward Hallett Carr’s book “What is History?”¹ Carr captures the essence of historical interpretation by encapsulating the notion that historical understanding is profoundly shaped by the perspectives and contextual lenses of the historians themselves, wherein the present invariably casts its shadow on the reconstruction of the past. Similarly, when we look at history as discussed by modern scholars (20th-21st century), we find the existence of certain narratives that reflect the socio-political context of the historian.² It is inevitable that there will always exist a historian’s bias when narrating history.³ The mere process of choosing sources or including/excluding others, is a reflection of the historian’s bias. This process of biases is partly driven by the historian’s prerequisite narrative and understanding of the past. Every historian seeks to reinvent or reintroduce the past through a perspective they themselves hold.⁴

When it comes to understanding the Abbasid author, ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa’ (d. 137-142/754-759) and interpreting his work, there exists no shortage of biases by both modern and medieval scholarship. As an example, Modern scholars who read the same medieval biography on Ibn al-Muqaffa’ conclude with two opposing interpretations that either he was a well-rounded Muslim or, on the opposite spectrum, a Manichean seeking to undermine the Arab Muslim caliphate. These two ends of the same spectrum illustrate not only the biases of historians, but also the complexity in understanding and interpreting the past. Similarly, two

¹ Edward Hallett Carr, *What is history?; The George Macaulay Trevelyan lectures* (London: Penguin, 1962), 40.

² Christiaan Engberts, and Herman J. Paul, *Scholarly Personae in the History of Orientalism, 1870-1930* (Boston: Brill, 2019), 1-4, Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conception of the Orient* (New York: Vintage Book, 1979), 10, Andrzej Pleszczyński et al., *Imagined Communities: Constructing Collective Identities in Medieval Europe, Exploration in Medieval Culture*, vol. 8 (Boston: Brill, 2018), 1-2.

³ Richard J. Evans, *In Defence of History* (2012: repr., London: Granta Books, 1997), 143.

⁴ John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 26, 126.

medieval authors such as al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892) and al-Jahshiyārī (d. 331/942), although they convey similar information on Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, each presents his biography through their own interpretations and biases.

Therefore, from amongst the complexity of unravelling the past and understanding Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ both as a historical figure and his literary works, we must be able to distinguish between variant degrees of biases and interpretations that exists in both modern and medieval sources. Throughout the 20th and 21st centuries there exist several trends that directed the scope of modern scholarship on Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. These trends can be summarised into the following four: Pan-Arab trend, Pan-Persian trend, scholarly trend, and the double-agent trend. These trends often reflect the historian's socio-political environment, the discovery of new material, or the reinterpretation of older sources. It is not to say that these trends existed only in a certain number of years, rather that we find increasingly active scholarship on a particular topic regarding Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and his work. For this reason, I cannot give a definite number of years when certain trends existed. Instead, I will illustrate how a majority of scholarship in a given period tackled or engaged with a certain narrative and therefore contributed towards a given trend.

Pan-Arab trend:

The first two decades of the 20th century saw a trend in scholarship that was influenced by pan-Arabism. Most of the scholarship in this period introduced Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ' s work on *adab* and established modern editions of his work that we rely on to this day. One of the earliest works on Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ by modern scholarship was published by Shakīb Arslān (1897) who published one of the first modern editions of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ' s work *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*.⁵ Similarly, later authors such as Ṭāhir al-Jazā'irī (1908), Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī (1908), Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā (1911-2), and Oskar Rescher (1915) all published various works attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ.⁶ Most of the mentioned authors were prominent pan-Arabists who attempted to revive the Arabic language which has been in decline following European colonisation and Ottoman rule on Arab

⁵ Although Arslān was one of the earliest to produce a modern biography on Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and publish a modern edition of his most critical work, *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*; Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ as an author was known prior due to his translation of *Kalīla wa Dimna* which was studied by several scholars in the 19th century such as Keith-Falconer and Gustav Bickell. I.G.N. Keith-Falconer, *Kalīlah and Dimnah* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1885), 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, ed. Frederic Schulthes (Berlin: Reimer, 1911), ix.

⁶ Ṭāhir Al-Jazā'irī, "Al-Adab al-ṣaghīr li-Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ," *Al-Muqtabis* 2, no. 3 (1908), Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'* (1913; repr., Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabiya al-Kubra, 1908), 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Al-Adab al-Kabīr*; ed. Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā (Ammān: Jam'iyat al-'Urwat al-Withqa al-Khayriya al-Islāmiya, 1912), 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr*; ed. Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā (Ammān: Jam'iyat al-'Urwat al-Withqa al-Khayriya al-Islāmiya, 1911).

populations. As an example, Arslān maintains that his motivation in introducing Ibn al-Muqaffa' and his work of *adab* to the public is primarily based on his concern in the declining appreciation of Arabic and of *adab* amidst increasing European colonial presence in *al-Shām* (levant) and North Africa.⁷ Similarly, Ṭahir al-Jazā'irī and Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā played a prominent role in reforming the Syrian and Egyptian education system to encompass and emphasis the learning of Arabic, Islam, *adab*, and history, of which included the works of Ibn al-Muqaffa'.⁸ Therefore, there was an emphasis by these scholars to project Ibn al-Muqaffa' as a learned Arab and Muslim *adīb*, who although was Persian, was able to learn and master Arabic, similar to the linguistic incompetency of the scholars audience.⁹

Pan-Persian trend:

Following World War One and the collapse of the Ottoman caliphate, we see a trend in scholarship which attempts to project Ibn al-Muqaffa' as a Persian and Zoroastrian (sometimes Manichean) figure, rather than being a Muslim who integrated and was part of Arab society, as portrayed in the Pan-Arab trend. One of the earliest scholars who adopted this trend was 'Abbās Iqbāl (1926), an Iranian historian and literary scholar.¹⁰ Unlike the previous scholars during the Pan-Arab trend, Iqbāl emphasised Ibn al-Muqaffa''s Persianate background by arguing that he attempted to hold on to his Sassanian heritage, especially his Zoroastrian faith.¹¹ Iqbāl introduces Ibn al-Muqaffa' as an Iranian heritage.¹² Iqbāl's projection of Ibn al-Muqaffa' can be understood when taking into consideration the period in which Iqbāl published his work. In 1921 there was a Persian coup d'état which led to the collapse of the 100-year Qājār Turkic dynasty in favour of a Pahlavi Iranian state.¹³ The newly founded state emphasised Iranian nationalism through Sassanian traditions, culture, and literary works.¹⁴ It is for this reason that we find the socio-

⁷ 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Al-Durra al-Yaūma*, ed. Shakīb Arsalān (2019: repr., Egypt: Hindāwī Foundation, 1897), 7-9.

⁸ Joseph H. Escovitz, "He Was the Muhammad Abduh of Syria" a Study of Tahir al-Jazairi and His Influence," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 18, no. 3 (1986): 293-295, Arthur Goldschmidt, *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Egypt* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000), 236, Adria K. Lawrence, *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire, Problems of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 69.

⁹ Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Al-Durra al-Yaūma*, 8.

¹⁰ 'Abbās Iqbāl, *Sharḥ ḥāl 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa'* (2003: repr., Tehran: Intishārāt Asāṭīr, 1926).

¹¹ Iqbāl, *Sharḥ ḥāl 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa'*, 36-37.

¹² Iqbāl, *Sharḥ ḥāl 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa'*, 26.

¹³ Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran between two revolutions, Princeton studies on the Near East* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1982), 102, Sīrūs Ghanī, *Iran and the rise of Reza Shah: from Qajar collapse to Pahlavi rule* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), 1-3.

¹⁴ Ali M. Ansari, *Modern Iran since 1921: the Pahlavis and after* (Harlow: Longman, 2003), 40-42.

political context of the historian shaping the way in which history is perceived. Iqbāl does not introduce new material, however he emphasises Ibn al-Muqaffa'ʿs Persian culture and his translated works over his original texts.¹⁵

In 1927 Michelangelo Guidi published an article in which he claims that not only was Ibn al-Muqaffa' a Manichean but also wrote a parody of the *Qurʾān*.¹⁶ Guidi's argument is based on the discovery of new material by an early medieval author who projects Ibn al-Muqaffa' as a representation of Manichean beliefs.¹⁷ Following Guidi, several scholars such as Gustav Richter (1931), Francesco Gabrieli (1932), and Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1933) built upon Guidi's portrayal of Ibn al-Muqaffa' as a Manichean author.¹⁸ The claim that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was a Manichean had become prominent at this time that both Richter and Gabrieli revoked Ibn al-Muqaffa'ʿs attribution to one of his works, *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*, because, from amongst other things, it was too "Islamic".¹⁹ The stance taken by the mentioned scholars was received negatively by others such as as Aḥmad Amīn (1933) and Muḥammad Sālim Jundī (1937) who argued against the projection of Ibn al-Muqaffa' as a Manichean or Zoroastrian.²⁰

The Pan-Persian trend that existed in this period situated Ibn al-Muqaffa' not as part of a wider Muslim and Arab literary heritage, but rather as a continuity of Zoroastrian/Manichean and Persian heritage. The outcomes that occurred during this trend are the dismissal of works that had been attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa', prior, as well as his association to Manicheism. Although this trend remains active to this day, it has taken a different form as I shall discuss in the "double-agent trend".

Scholarly trend:

Following the Pan-Persian trend whereby Ibn al-Muqaffa' was depicted as a continuity of Persian culture and religious beliefs, a new trend began to emerge in the 40s following World War II.

¹⁵ Out of the 125-page book, only 10 is dedicated to Ibn al-Muqaffa'ʿs original work such as *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*. The rest is about books he translated and therefore emphasising his Persian background beyond his Arabic fluency and excellence. Iqbāl, *Sharḥ ḥāṭ al-ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ*, 90-100.

¹⁶ Michelangelo Guidi, "La Lotta tra l' Islam e il manicheismo: un libro di Ibn Al-Muqaffa' contro il corano confutato dal al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī," *R. Accademia nazionale dei lincei* (1927): xv.

¹⁷ The author in question is al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī, and I talk extensively about his work in the second chapter.

¹⁸ G. Richter, "Über Das kleine Adabbuch des Ibn al-Muqaffa'," *Der Islam* (1931): 278, Francesco Gabrieli, "L'Opera di Ibn Al-Muqaffa'," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 13 (1932): 228, Carlo Alfonso Nallino, *La letteratura araba dagli inizi all'epoca della dinastia umayyade: lezioni tenute in arabo all'Università del Cairo* (Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente Roma, 1948), 130-134.

¹⁹ Richter, "Über Das kleine Adabbuch des Ibn al-Muqaffa'," 278-281, Gabrieli, "L'Opera di Ibn Al-Muqaffa'," 228.

²⁰ Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islam* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-ʿIṭimād, 1933), 224-227, Muhammed Salīm Jundī, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ* (Damascus: Maṭbaʿat al-Taraqqī, 1937), 40.

This trend is what I call the “scholarly trend” and it is marked by a period when Ibn al-Muqaffa’s works were studied as works of law, politics, philosophy, theology, history, and medieval administration. A few of the scholars who endeavoured in the political and historical study of Ibn al-Muqaffa and his work are: Shelomo Dov Goitein (1949), Dominique Sourdél (1954), Erwin Rosenthal (1958), H. A. R. Gibb (1962), Ḥannā Al-Fākhūrī (1965), ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Ḥamza (1965), Muḥammad Ghufrānī Khurāsānī (1965), Ann Lambton (1981), Michael Morony (1984), Gerald Edward Lampe (1986), Najm al-Din Yousefi (2019), and Hayrettin Yücesoy (2023).²¹ These authors studied Ibn al-Muqaffa’s work as both a historical and political source in an attempt to understand the changes which occurred between the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphate. Goitein for example uses Ibn al-Muqaffa’s work as primary evidence in understanding the socio-political environment of the early Abbasid caliphate. Similarly, Lambton analyses Ibn al-Muqaffa’s work to understand the limitations of power given to the caliph during the early Abbasid period.²²

Ibn al-Muqaffa’s work was also studied as a legal text or through theological discourse by authors such as Ann Lambton (1962), Joseph Schacht (1967), Aḥmad Ḥasan (1967), John Wansbrough (1977), Josef Van Ess (1991), Muḥammad Qāsim Zamān (1997), Joseph E. Lowry (2008), Wael Ḥallāq (2009), and Najm al-Din Yousefi (2015).²³ There is an emphasis by the mentioned scholars to understand the legal jurisdiction of the caliphate at the time of the

²¹ Shelomo Dov Goitein, "A Turning-Point In The History of The Muslim State, a Propos of Ibn al-Muqaffa’s Kitāb al-Ṣaḥāba," *Islamic Culture* Vol. 28 (1949), Dominique Sourdél, "La Biographie D’Ibn Al-Muqaffa’ D’Après Les Sources Anciennes," *Arabica* 1 (1954), Erwin Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam: An Introductory Outline* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 68-74, H. A. R. Gibb, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, ed. Stanford J. Shaw and William R. Polk (Princeton University Press, 1962), 65-67, Ḥannā Al-Fākhūrī, *Ibn al-Muqaffa’* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma’ārif, 1965), ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Ḥamza, *Ibn al-Muqaffa’* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, 1965), ‘Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa’, *al-Adab al-wajīz li-al-walad al-saghūr*, trans. Muḥammād Ghufrānī al-Khurāsānī (Cairo: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1963), Ann K. S. Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam*, vol. 36, *London oriental series* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 43-68, Michael Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 14-15, 54, Gerald Edward Lampe, "Ibn al-Muqaffa’: Political and Legal Theorist and Reformer" (John Hopkins University, 1986), Hayrettin Yücesoy, *Disenchanted the caliphate: the secular discipline of power in Abbasid political thought, Columbia studies in international and global history* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2023).

²² Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam*, 43.

²³ A. K. S. Lambton, "Justice in the Medieval Persian Theory of Kingship," *Studia Islamica*, no. 17 (1962): 95-100, Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1967), 109-117, Ahmad Hasan, "Early Modes of Ijtihād: Ra’y, Qiyyās, and Istiḥsān," *Islamic Studies* 6, no. 1 (1967), John Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (2004: repr., New York: Prometheus Books, 1977), 160, Josef Van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, trans. Gwendolin Goldbloom, vol. Volume 2: A History of Religious Thought in Early Islam (2017: repr.: Brill, 1991), 26, Wael B. Hallaq, *Shari’a: Theory, Practice, Transformations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 130, Muḥammad Qāsim Zamān, "The Caliphs, the ‘Ulamā’, and the Law: Defining the Role and Function of the Caliph in the Early ‘Abbāsīd Period," *Islamic Law and Society* 4, no. 1 (1997), Najm al-Din Yousefi, "Islam without Fuqahā’: Ibn al-Muqaffa’ and His Perso-Islamic Solution to the Caliphate’s Crisis of Legitimacy (70-142 AH/690-760 CE)," *Journal of Iranian Studies* (2015).

Abbasids, or the role that *‘ulamā* and administrators play in either concentrating or managing caliphal power.

There also existed a scholarly trend that focused primarily on studying Ibn al-Muqaffa’s works as literary and philosophical texts. These works focused on analysing the works of Ibn al-Muqaffa and its relation to other similar texts, whether Persian or early Medieval. Examples of such scholarship include Max Horten (1974), Clifford Edmund Bosworth (1983), J. D. Latham (1983 and 1990), Michael Cooperson (2005), and Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila (2018).²⁴ The mentioned scholarship analysed Ibn al-Muqaffa’s literary prose without necessarily placing them into a historical or political context. This trend was also accompanied by a translation movement that saw many of Ibn al-Muqaffa’s works translated from Arabic or Persian.²⁵

What can be observed in this trend is the multifaceted interest by scholars from different fields finding something related to their expertise through Ibn al-Muqaffa and his work. In this period Ibn al-Muqaffa’s work was revived and discussed by several scholars across a number of different languages. While this trend continues to this day, it has slowed down as it began to be overshadowed by a new trend of scholarship on Ibn al-Muqaffa.

Double-Agent Trend:

The most recent trend that exists today is the “double-agent” trend. It is based on the notion that Ibn al-Muqaffa was merely portraying himself as part of Arab and Islamic culture, but in reality was promoting Zoroastrian and Manichean views. This trend builds upon the “Pan-Persian” trend, however, takes it further by not only illustrating Ibn al-Muqaffa’s connection to Zoroastrianism or Manicheism, but stating that he was a secret promoter of these beliefs. As an

²⁴ Max Horten, and V. June Hager, "Moral Philosophers in Islam," *Islamic Studies* 13, no. 1 (1974): 11, J. D. Latham, "The beginnings of Arabic prose literature: the epistolary genre," in *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, ed. A. F. L. Beeston, G. R. Smith, R. B. Serjeant, and T. M. Johnstone, *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 163, C. E. Bosworth, "The Persian impact on Arabic literature," in *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, ed. A. F. L. Beeston, G. R. Smith, R. B. Serjeant, and T. M. Johnstone, *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 488, J. D. Latham, "Ibn al-Muqaffa and early ‘Abbasid prose," (1990), Michael Cooperson, "Abd Allah Ibn al-Muqaffa," in *Arabic Literary Culture, 500-925*, ed. Michael Cooperson and Shawkat M. Toorawa (Detroit, MI: Gale, 2005), Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, "Arabic Translations of the Khwadāynāmag," in *Khwadāynāmag The Middle Persian Book of Kings* (Brill, 2018).

²⁵ To name a few: André Miquel, *Le livre de Kalila et Dimna, Études arabes et islamiques Série 2, Textes et traductions*, vol. 1 (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1957), Ibn al-Muqaffa, *al-Adab al-wajīz li-al-walad al-saghīr*, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Isfandiyyār, *The letter of Tansar*, trans. M. Boyce, *Persian heritage series ; no. 9* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1968), Charles Pellat, *Ibn al-Muqaffa mort vers 140/757, conseiller du Calife* (Paris: Publication du Département d’Islamologie de l’Université de Paris, Sorbonne, 1976), Lampe, "Ibn al-Muqaffa : Political and Legal Theorist and Reformer.", J. Tardy, "Traduction d’al-Adab al-Kabīr d’Ibn al-Muqaffa," *Annals Islamologiques* 27 (1993).

example, Said Amir Arjomand (1994) argued that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, amongst others, was part of a “Manichean circle” with a “religious agenda” to integrate Manichean beliefs into the newly Abbasid state.²⁶ Similarly, Josep Puig Montada (2007) argues that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ favoured the “rational primacy of the Zoroastrian religion over the Arabic culture”,²⁷ therefore not only connecting Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ to Zoroastrian, as previous scholars have, but questioning the intentions and motive of an 8th century scholar regarding his faith.

One of the most recent and important scholars to build upon and contribute in this theme is István Kristó-Nagy. In 2013, Kristó-Nagy published a book called “*La pensée d’Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ: Un agent double dans le monde persan et arabe*” which translates as “The thought of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ: A double agent in the Persian and Arab world”.²⁸ This book attempts to portray Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ as a “double agent” who although wrote in Arabic and interacted with Islamic texts, was ultimately using it for his own political motive to promote his “vanquished” Persian culture and Zoroastrian religion.²⁹ This view is also reverberated in Kristó-Nagy’s later work such as his 2019 article “Marriage after Rape” where he states that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’ s true intention was to spread his Zoroastrian beliefs.³⁰ According to Kristó-Nagy those who share the anti-Islamic view of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ are “those professional political-bureaucratic intellectuals of non-Arab origin who were recent and often rather insincere converts to Islam and regarding their Arab patrons as barbaric oppressors.”³¹ From amongst the political-bureaucratic intellectuals of non-Arab origin that Kristó-Nagy associates Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ with are Sālim Abū al-ʿAlāʾ and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā al-Kātib (d. 132/750), both of whom worked in the Umayyad administration.³² Therefore, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ is presented from amongst a group of *kuttāb* who, as Kristó-Nagy

²⁶ Said Amir Arjomand, “ʿAbd-Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and the ʿAbbasid Revolution,” *Religion and Society in Islamic Iran during the Pre-Modern Era* Vol. 27 (1994): 22, 35.

²⁷ Josep Puig Montada, “Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ y el orgullo sasánida,” *Anales del seminario de historia de la filosofía*, no. 24 (2007): 85.

²⁸ István Kristó-Nagy, *La pensée d’Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ: un “agent double” dans le monde persan et arabe* (Paris: Éditions de Paris, 2013).

²⁹ Kristó-Nagy, *La pensée d’Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ: un “agent double” dans le monde persan et arabe*, 78.

³⁰ I apologise in advance for the choice of language in the title of the cited text. István Kristó-Nagy, “Marriage after Rape: The Ambiguous Relationship between Arab Lords and Iranian Intellectuals as Reflected in Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’ s Oeuvre,” in *Tradition and Reception in Arabic Literature*, ed. Margaret Larkin and Jocelyn Sharlet, *Essays dedicated to Andras Hamori* (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019), 178.

³¹ Kristó-Nagy, “Marriage after Rape: The Ambiguous Relationship between Arab Lords and Iranian Intellectuals as Reflected in Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’ s Oeuvre,” in *Tradition and Reception in Arabic Literature*, 178.

³² Wadād al-Qāḍī, “The Myriad Sources of the Vocabulary of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (d. 132/750),” *Arabica* 66, no. 3/4 (2019), Kristó-Nagy, “Marriage after Rape: The Ambiguous Relationship between Arab Lords and Iranian Intellectuals as Reflected in Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’ s Oeuvre,” in *Tradition and Reception in Arabic Literature*, 166.

explains, were a ‘secular’ intellectual elite that formed an ambiguous relation to Islam and the ruling elite.³³

This tone, language, and portrayal of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and of the Arabs being “barbaric oppressors” or the *kuttāb* belonging to a “secular intellectual elite” was not constructed by Kristó-Nagy from a vacuum. This narrative is based on a growing trend that is obsessed with questioning Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s “religiosity” and his inner convictions and intentions. It is also a simplification of the past to group people under a specific label.

One of the latest works in this trend was published by Alireza Shomali (2020) who argued that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s views and beliefs are built upon “Zoroastrian political theology”.³⁴ It isn’t inaccurate to say that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ utilised certain Persian or Greek sources as the Pan-Persian scholarship argued. After all, in his work Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ states that he uses the knowledge and information from those before him. However, the issue with this trend comes with the obsession to question Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s faith, intentions, convictions, and beliefs. This oversimplification and obsession in discovering the intentions of those in the past has skewed recent scholarship far beyond what is deemed scholarly and rational. The work produced in this trend is somewhat limited in scope and may benefit from a more expansive exploration of the subject matter. There is more to understand and analyse on Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and his work than the quest to unravel the intentions of someone who lived in the 8th century.

A profound understanding of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ necessitates a nuanced exploration of the intricacies that shape his biography in both medieval and contemporary scholarship. It is imperative to disentangle Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ from the biography ascribed to him by later authors. To truly understand Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s, one must not solely rely on the narratives provided by subsequent sources but, rather, scrutinize the views and ideas presented within his work.

In order to understand how Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ presented himself, a thorough examination of his writings becomes imperative. It involves adopting his perspective, aligning one’s thoughts with his, and delve into the concepts and ideas he articulates. Central to this exploration is the distinctive quality of *adab*, a concept that assumes a pivotal role in his works. Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ relates *adab* in all aspects of life, such as governance, administration, social norms, self-reflection, and one’s faith.

³³ Kristó-Nagy, "Marriage after Rape: The Ambiguous Relationship between Arab Lords and Iranian Intellectuals as Reflected in Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s Oeuvre," in *Tradition and Reception in Arabic Literature*, 180.

³⁴ Alireza Shomali, "A Gloss on the Mirror, and a Proposal for Understanding Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s Political Theory," (2020): 9.

Therefore, the objective of this thesis is to first tackle and illustrate the issues that arise in the mentioned trends. Then it is to understand Ibn al-Muqaffa' through his own work, rather than the biases of historians. Granted there have been some efforts in the scholarly trend to understand Ibn al-Muqaffa' in such a manner, however, most of these scholars depended primarily on only one of his works, namely *al-Risāla*, while neglecting *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* and *al-Adab al-saghīr*. A method of understanding Ibn al-Muqaffa' is to study him the way he presented himself, as a barer and teacher of *adab*. Therefore, the objective of his thesis is to understand how Ibn al-Muqaffa' conceived *adab* and its relation to other concepts that he presents. I then attempt to illustrate how Ibn al-Muqaffa' not only conceives *adab* but presents examples of its implication in a socio-political context to his audience. By creating a deeper understanding of how Ibn al-Muqaffa' views *adab* and connects everything he presents to *adab*, we can better understand other aspects of his work such as his religious, administrative, legal, or social views.

Structure:

The structure of this thesis mirrors the title “Ibn al-Muqaffa': Tragedy, Legacy, and the *Adab* of Governance”. The “tragedy” depicts both the tragic ending that befell him as well as the tragic misinterpretation of his biography by those after him, both medieval and modern scholars. This tragedy is represented in two chapters that make up the first section of the thesis. The second section, which is also made up of two chapters involves both “legacy” and “*adab* of governance”. The “legacy” which is represented in the third chapter, revolves around analysing Ibn al-Muqaffa's work and investigating their attribution and his overall legacy that was left to us. As for the “*adab* of governance”, it is represented in the fourth chapter and attempts to understand Ibn al-Muqaffa' not through how medieval or modern authors portrayed him, but rather how he portrayed himself through his legacy. It studies Ibn al-Muqaffa's works as texts of *adab* in which Ibn al-Muqaffa's political perspectives are engrained in.

Section One: The Tragedy

Chapter One: The Evolution of Ibn al-Muqaffa's Biography

One of the issues modern scholars face as they attempt to understand Ibn al-Muqaffa', is the biographies written about him by medieval authors. There are several biographies of Ibn al-Muqaffa' throughout the medieval period. However, similar to how modern scholarship was impacted by the socio-political contexts and certain trends, we find that medieval scholarship

also adopted certain trends when narrating Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography. The problem with these sources, is that they often contain conflicting or diverging information from one another. In order to circumvent this issue, modern scholars usually tend to combine the information provided by all sources or focus primarily on one.³⁵ It is therefore important to analyse how his biography evolved in time in order to understand the nuances that have been added or omitted across time as a possible explanation to the socio-political environment of the historian rather than the history.

This chapter explores the evolution of Ibn al-Muqaffa's biographical narratives as chronicled by medieval authors. Throughout the medieval period, diverse and occasionally conflicting accounts emerged, prompting an analysis focused on delineating the core aspects of Ibn al-Muqaffa's life from divergent narratives. The chapter is structured in two parts, the first cataloguing medieval sources mentioning Ibn al-Muqaffa, distinguishing between full biographies and partial mentions. The second part engages in a comparative analysis of several biographies, scrutinizing the evolution and conflicting information surrounding Ibn al-Muqaffa.

When examining the key biographical accounts of Ibn al-Muqaffa, a clear division becomes evident between fundamental details and those that are further expanded upon or added. Contemporary scholars must navigate these layers when constructing his biography. This chapter aims to highlight the elements of Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography that are consistent throughout the medieval period, vis-à-vis supplementary or diverging elements. The purpose of this chapter is to tackle the issue that modern authors face regarding the complex and conflicting information we have on Ibn al-Muqaffa that I mentioned earlier. In this chapter I focus primarily on five sources that make up the bulk of Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography across the medieval period. Through this analysis I illustrate how certain aspects that exist across the five medieval authors on Ibn al-Muqaffa are what make up the core of his biography, as opposed to diverging and aspects which were developed across time.

Chapter Two: The Accusation of *Zandaqa*

Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography had developed diverging nuances across the medieval period. From amongst these nuances is Ibn al-Muqaffa's accusation of *zandaqa*³⁶ which has evolved over time.

³⁵ Yücesoy, *Disenchanted the caliphate: the secular discipline of power in Abbasid political thought*, 107, Cooperson, "Abd Allah Ibn al-Muqaffa," in *Arabic Literary Culture, 500-925*, Arjomand, "Abd-Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa and the 'Abbasid Revolution," 16-19, Latham, "Ibn al-Muqaffa and early 'Abbasid prose," 48-49.

³⁶ Heretical or unorthodox beliefs that I explain further in the chapter.

This chapter aims to critically analyse the three primary arguments underpinning the accusation, highlighting the frailty of modern scholarship's that existed mostly in the "Pan-Persian" trend by asserting and emphasising the inconsistency within historical depictions. The first argument implicates Ibn al-Muqaffa' in the anti-Islamic practice of *mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān*. However, a meticulous examination reveals a lack of substantiated evidence, with even medieval scholars disavowing any connection between Ibn al-Muqaffa' and such practices. The second argument revolves around accusations of Manicheism. This perspective lacks concrete proof, and the perception of Ibn al-Muqaffa' as a Manichean may have been distorted by records concerning al-Muqanna', a figure contemporary to Ibn al-Muqaffa'. The third argument implicates Ibn al-Muqaffa' through his associates, the majority of whom faced *zandaqa* accusations. However, a nuanced historical analysis reveals evolving perceptions of Ibn al-Muqaffa's social circle, with early depictions associating him with the Iraqi elite, contrasting with later depictions connecting him to poets accused of *zandaqa*. In this section I analyse Ibn al-Muqaffa' in a prosopographical study in an attempt to understand Ibn al-Muqaffa's social circle, as presented by medieval authors, and how this presentation changed throughout the medieval period.

Beyond the three arguments, we also find that the accusation of *zandaqa* in itself is marked by inconsistency, with varying interpretations by medieval authors. Some medieval authors associate the accusation of *zandaqa* to Manichean beliefs, Zoroastrianism, or merely perpetual intoxication. These inconsistencies underscore the complexity of interpreting *zandaqa* in the context of Ibn al-Muqaffa'. This chapter sheds light on the multifaceted and intricate nature of the *zandaqa* allegation against Ibn al-Muqaffa', revealing historical inconsistencies and evolving perceptions. By critically examining the three primary arguments, it aims to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of Ibn al-Muqaffa's character and dispel misconceptions propagated by modern scholarship.

Section Two: Legacy and the politics of *Adab*

Chapter Three: The Legacy of Ibn al-Muqaffa'

After discussing the inconsistencies and issues prevalent in Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography, it is imperative that we investigate his own work in order to understand him properly. Prior to analysing his work, we need to distinguish and clarify the literary corpus that makes up his work. Therefore, this chapter aims to explore the authenticity, attribution, structure, content, and overarching essence of Ibn al-Muqaffa's literary corpus. Works such as *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*, *al-*

Adab al-ṣaghīr, *al-Yaʿīma*, and *al-Risāla fī al-ṣaḥāba*, are central to the analysis, while acknowledging the uncertain attribution of texts like *al-Adab al-wajīz li-al-walad al-ṣaghīr*. While there is an explanation to both structure and content, there also exists a method of intertextually analysing Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ works in order to illustrate the coherent views across all his works. I also present a possible chronology of when his works were written based on certain evidence and references that we find in his work.

A notable case study is presented in the form of *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*, which, for nearly a century, faced scepticism regarding its ascription to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ because it did not coincide with how modern authors perceived Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. This chapter advocates for the rightful attribution of *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. Additionally, it scrutinises the structure and contents of the text to gain deeper insights into his thoughts and perspectives.

This short chapter lays the foundation for an in-depth exploration into Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ understanding of *adab* and its political intricacies. The overarching theme binding his works is his profound conception of *adab*, which I explore further in the subsequent chapter.

Chapter Four: The *Adab* of Governance

This chapter delves into Ibn al-Muqaffaʿʼs portrayal of *adab*, contextualising it within the broader landscape of its projection into politics. The preceding chapters have traced the evolution of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿʼs biography and scrutinised the accusation of *zandaqa* against him. This chapter focuses on how Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ interprets and counsels his audience on the socio-political application of *adab*. The multifaceted nature of *adab*, particularly in its application to political, administrative, and religious contexts, is unravelled through a comparative analysis. The absence of an explicit definition of *adab* suggests that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ assumes a pre-existing understanding among his audience, prompting an exploration of its components and boundaries.

The chapter unfolds in two parts. The first is a semantic analysis of *adab* and the nuanced interplay of *adab* with other concepts such as *ʿilm*, *ʿaql*, and *ḍīn*, as presented by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. The second part delves into Ibn al-Muqaffaʿʼs perspective on *adab*, highlighting the qualities which should be utilised as a guide for integrating *adab* into various aspects of life, influencing judgment and expression. The application of *adab* in a socio-political is also explored, revealing Ibn al-Muqaffaʿʼs emphasis on its role in shaping interactions between authority and subjects. The chapter concludes with a holistic understanding of *adab*, transcending mere ethical conduct and good manners. To Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *adab* constitutes a disciplined approach, intertwined with passion, diligence, verification in decision-making, and constant revisitation of oneʼs intentions

and choices. In essence, Ibn al-Muqaffa's portrayal of *adab* extends beyond a set of manners; it emerges as a comprehensive tool for fostering a just and harmonious society, intertwining ethical conduct with political and religious principles for both authority's and the people.

Chapter One: The Evolution of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s Biography

Introduction:

In 1954 Dominique Sourdél published an article where he discusses issues regarding the biography of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘.³⁷ Sourdél argues that scholarship before him, such as Gabrieli (1932) did not have access to newly published editions of texts written by earlier medieval scholars such as al-Balādhurī and al-Jahshiyārī. Therefore, critical information derived from these sources is absent in earlier studies of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biography.³⁸ Sourdél studied Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biography as presented by al-Balādhurī and al-Jahshiyārī in an attempt to illustrate whether Ibn Khallikān utilised said works. Sourdél then merges the information of all biographies in an attempt to reconstruct and combine his biography as relayed by medieval authors.³⁹ Merging Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biographies together is a process that many scholars following Sourdél have also used.⁴⁰ However, by merging all the biographies we are left with a somewhat problematic understanding of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘. An example of this which I illustrate further in the chapter is regarding Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s career. Several medieval sources contradict each other on who Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ worked for throughout his life. Therefore, by merging the information on his career similar to what Sourdél and several others after him have done, we have a view of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ which suggests that he worked for numerous people before his death. This however is inaccurate because it is almost impossible to say which source was likely more historic since all share different reports on the matter.

One way to understand Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biography is not directly tied with the information provided by medieval authors, but rather the portrayal and evolution of his biography by said authors. This chapter builds upon the work of Dominique Sourdél in comparing Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ biography as reported by different medieval authors. However, in addition to the comparative analysis between al-Balādhurī and al-Jahshiyārī, I also compare the biography of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ as reported by Ibn al-Nadīm, Şibṭ Ibn al-Jawī, and Ibn Khallikān.

³⁷ Sourdél, "La Biographie D'Ibn Al-Muqaffa' D'Après Les Sources Anciennes."

³⁸ Sourdél, "La Biographie D'Ibn Al-Muqaffa' D'Après Les Sources Anciennes," 307.

³⁹ Sourdél, "La Biographie D'Ibn Al-Muqaffa' D'Après Les Sources Anciennes," 308-311.

⁴⁰ Sourdél, "La Biographie D'Ibn Al-Muqaffa' D'Après Les Sources Anciennes," 309-310, Ḥamza, *Ibn al-Muqaffa‘*, 37-61, Lampe, "Ibn al-Muqaffa‘: Political and Legal Theorist and Reformer.", Cooperson, "Abd Allah Ibn al-Muqaffa‘," in *Arabic Literary Culture, 500-925*, Yücesoy, *Disenchanting the caliphate: the secular discipline of power in Abbasid political thought*, 112-113.

My objective is not only a comparative analysis of his biographies, but to also illustrate the various portrayals of Ibn al-Muqaffa' by medieval authors. It is to identify and differentiate between biographical information that makes up the "core" of Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography, as opposed to "diverging" narratives. I argue that similar to how modern scholars perceived Ibn al-Muqaffa' in different ways by reading the same sources, so too did medieval authors, who portrayed Ibn al-Muqaffa' in a manner they perceived to be relevant to their work.

The chapter is broken down into two parts. The first part introduces all the medieval sources that contain information on Ibn al-Muqaffa'. From this list I then separate the sources that contain a full biography on Ibn al-Muqaffa' and those who merely mention some aspects about him. The second part compares several biographies of Ibn al-Muqaffa' throughout the medieval period and analysis the evolution of his biography as well as conflicting or diverging information about him.

Part I

There are numerous sources that mention Ibn al-Muqaffa' throughout the medieval period. These sources either quote him, mention him in passing, report biographical information on him, or present his biography. The difference between biographical information vis-a-vis biography is that biographical information relates to a single aspect of Ibn al-Muqaffa's life whereas biography pertains to the information we find in the sources which are concerned with several aspects of Ibn al-Muqaffa's life such as his background, career, character, work, and ultimately his death. There are fifty-eight medieval sources that contain biographical information or a biography of Ibn al-Muqaffa' that I utilise across all four chapters.⁴¹ From amongst the fifty-eight sources, only eight contain an extensive biography on Ibn al-Muqaffa'. The eight sources that present Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography are the following: Al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, al-Jahshiyārī's *al-Wuzarā' wa-l-kuttāb*, Ibn al-Nadīm's *al-Fihrist*, Şibt Ibn al-Jawzī's *Mir'at al-zamān*, and Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, al-Dhahabī's *Tārīkh al-Islām*, al-Şafadī's *Kitāb al-wafī bi-l-wafayāt*, and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *Lisān al-Mizān*. These eight sources share an extensive overview of Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography, starting from his background, childhood, career, character, prominence, his murder, and the events which occurred following his murder. Spanning the medieval period, each of these authors contributes a unique prism through which to perceive Ibn al-Muqaffa', weaving layers of interpretation into his biography.

⁴¹ The list of all sources can be found in the appendix.

However, from these eight sources which report Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's biography, I will focus primarily on Al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashraf*, al-Jahshiyārī's *al-Wuzarā' wa-l-kuttāb*, Ibn al-Nadīm's *al-Fihrist*, Šibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī's *Mir'at al-zamān*, and Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-a'yān*. These five sources represent a 500-year period spanning from the 9th century to the 13th century. The reason for setting this is because we do not find substantially new information on Ibn al-Muqaffa' after 500 years. Following Ibn Khallikān we find an extensive reuse of information on Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's biography. Al-Dhahabī and al-Šafadī, for example, narrate their information on the authority of previous scholars. Al-Dhahabī's biography of Ibn al-Muqaffa' is almost identical to Ibn Khallikān's and similarly, al-Šafadī's information on Ibn al-Muqaffa' is directly from al-Jahshiyārī who he evokes as an authority on the matter. Therefore, the biographical evolution of Ibn al-Muqaffa' is based only on the five sources across the medieval period.

Other than the mentioned eight biographical sources, there are fifty sources which contain some biographical information on Ibn al-Muqaffa' . Most of these sources only report specific information on Ibn al-Muqaffa' and not his biography as a whole. As an example, Khalīfa b. Khayyāt is the earliest source to mention Ibn al-Muqaffa' and present the year of his death. However, Khalīfa b. Khayyāt only has one sentence on Ibn al-Muqaffa' , which is by no means enough to formulate a biography or opinion on him. Al-Jāhiz, who despite having several passages on Ibn al-Muqaffa' , is primarily concerned with Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's eloquence and character, and therefore primarily narrates stories which reflect these traits. Similarly, there are several sources such as al-Iṣfahānī and al-Sharīf Al-Murtaḍa who primarily report the accusation of *zandaqa* on Ibn al-Muqaffa' , a topic I discuss in the following chapter. There are other sources such as those written by al-Māwardī and al-Bāqillānī who report information regarding Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's work, a topic I discuss extensively in the third and fourth chapter. Therefore, although my analysis is primarily on the five sources that report the biography of Ibn al-Muqaffa' , I will still use the other sources to support and illustrate certain aspects in his biography in this chapter and throughout the other chapters.

Part II

When we compare the biographical information presented by medieval authors regarding Ibn al-Muqaffa' , we find certain aspects of his life reoccurring across sources. These reoccurring elements represent the unchanging aspects and therefore foundation of Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's biography. Aspects like his familial origins, expertise in *adab*, mastery of Arabic, association with

‘Īsā b. ‘Alī, affluence, his generosity, and involvement in the *amān* of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī remain consistent across medieval chronicles.

However, amidst these foundational threads, variations emerge that mould, diverge, and augment the core narrative of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biography. The accusation of *zandaqa*, the catalyst for al-Manṣūr’s wrath, the trajectory of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s career, the etymology of his name, the exact year of his demise, and the method employed in his murder are among the inconsistencies of his biographical information.

As modern scholars grapple with understanding who Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was, it becomes paramount to grasp the viewpoints and interpretations that medieval authors have reported. While the foundational aspects receive due attention, crafting a comprehensive biography necessitates a balanced understanding of the nuances and deviations introduced by certain sources throughout the medieval era. Therefore, part II of this chapter is broken down into five sections, each representing the source that contains biographical information on Ibn al-Muqaffa‘. Starting with al-Balādhurī’s *Ansāb al-ashrāf* to al-Jahshiyārī’s *al-Wuzarā’ wa-al-kuttāb*, Ibn al-Nadīm’s *al-Fihrist*, Šibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī’s *Mir’at al-zamān* and ending with Ibn Khallikān’s *Wafayāt al-a’yān*.

Given that al-Balādhurī’s *Ansāb al-ashrāf* is the earliest biography on Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, it will act as a foundation when comparing other biographies. The structure of this chapter can be illustrated as a pyramid, with al-Balādhurī representing the foundation. As we move chronologically through medieval sources, a comparative analysis with earlier sources will be made, ending with Ibn Khallikān at the tip of the pyramid. The higher we go through the pyramid the less biographical information I will provide on Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, as to not repeat said information.

1. Al-Balādhurī: *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*

Al-Balādhurī's monumental work, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, although left incomplete, is a comprehensive genealogical arrangement that encompasses a vast scope of historical narratives.⁴² It commences with the life of the Prophet Muhammad and provides detailed biographies of his relatives and companions, including the Umayyads, Alids, and Abbasids in a genealogical order. There is a particular focus on Banū Hāshim and the rest of Quraysh as well. Al-Balādhurī introduces Ibn al-Muqaffa' under the section regarding al-Manṣūr's caliphate. The section of al-Manṣūr's caliphate is chronologically organised based on the events which took place following al-Manṣūr's ascension to the caliphate. The first event is regarding Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī's victory over 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī, followed by al-Rabī' b. Yūnus' appointment as chamberlain (*ḥājib*) of al-Manṣūr, and then Ibn al-Muqaffa'.⁴³

Therefore, the inclusion of Ibn al-Muqaffa' in this section by al-Balādhurī reflects the relation between al-Manṣūr and Ibn al-Muqaffa'. The main objective of Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography appears to be an emphasis of his association with the Abbasids, and a reflection of his unjust murder during the reign of al-Manṣūr. This is evident by how al-Balādhurī starts Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography with his background, good characteristics, social status, and then ends with his deceitful murder by the governor of Basra. Al-Balādhurī presents Ibn al-Muqaffa's biographical information in the following chronological order:

- 1) Background: His family, name, and career.⁴⁴
- 2) Social status and Character: His wealth, social circle, humour, expertise in Arabic, his knowledge in *adab*, and generosity towards his friends.⁴⁵
- 3) The *amān*.⁴⁶
- 4) His murder: Relationship with Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya, 'Īsā b. 'Alī's role in the murder, and the various ways he could have been murdered.⁴⁷
- 5) Repercussion of his murder: Demanding his blood, al-Manṣūr's involvement, poetry honouring Ibn al-Muqaffa'.⁴⁸

⁴² C.H. Becker, and F. Rosenthal, "Al-Balādhurī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

⁴³ Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, ed. Suhail Zakār and Riyādh al-Zarklī, 13 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1996), Vol.4, 202, 212, 218-223.

⁴⁴ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 218.

⁴⁵ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 219-221.

⁴⁶ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 221.

⁴⁷ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 221-222.

⁴⁸ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 222-223.

Al-Balādhurī depends on several authorities in his biography of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘. The most prominent authority which al-Balādhurī cites on six occasions is al-Madā’inī. Al-Balādhurī uses al-Madā’inī as an authority in aspects regarding Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s social status, character, murder, and Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s father.⁴⁹ Other authorities that al-Balādhurī depends on are ‘Abd Allāh b. Mālik al-Kātib, whom he uses as an authority in several narrations regarding al-Manṣūr.⁵⁰

As we will shortly explore, the structure of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biography is of crucial importance. Based on the structure of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biography by al-Balādhurī, we can see that the author attempts to get the audience involved and engaged with Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ before narrating his murder.

1.1 Background:

Al-Balādhurī introduces Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ by stating that he belonged to a noble (*ashrāf*) family from Fārs.⁵¹ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s nobility is not something we see mentioned in later sources. Al-Balādhurī appears to be the first and only one to classify Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s family from the nobles of Fārs. Although we cannot be certain, one reason al-Balādhurī might have done this is to maintain the topic of his book regarding *ashrāf*. Following his introduction as a noble, al-Balādhurī then gives us information on Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s father and his hereditary profession as an administrator. According to al-Balādhurī, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s father, al-Muqaffa‘, worked under the governor of Iraq, al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, who he embezzled money from.⁵² Consequently, al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf tortured al-Muqaffa‘ until his hand was disfigured, therefore he was given the epithet al-Muqaffa‘ which translates as the “shrivelled”. However, in a later section of the book regarding the Iraqi governor Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī, al-Balādhurī narrates a different version of the story.⁵³ He states that it was Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī who tortured and ultimately killed al-Muqaffa‘, not al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf. The existence of several renditions to an anecdote in the same text signifies the uncertainty associated with it. While the essential information is similar in both anecdotes, the names of those involved differ. Whether the anecdote has any historical

⁴⁹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 219-222.

⁵⁰ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 273.

⁵¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 218.

⁵² Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 218.

⁵³ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.9, 110.

basis or not is uncertain. Especially since earlier authors such as al-Jāhiz and Ibn Qutayba also narrate a similar anecdote, however, in their version it is Ibn al-Muqaffa' who was involved in embezzling funds under the governorship of Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī.⁵⁴ Out of the four versions of this anecdote, only the one that al-Balādhurī mentions which involves al-Muqaffa' and al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf correlates the event with al-Muqaffa's epithet. Nonetheless, what al-Balādhurī appears to inform us in this narration is that Ibn al-Muqaffa' comes from a line of nobles who were involved in the administration of the *dawla*, and as we will find it shortly, were punished or killed by the same entity they worked for.

Following the introduction of his father and the origins of his epithet, al-Balādhurī discusses Ibn al-Muqaffa's education and career. According to al-Balādhurī, Ibn al-Muqaffa' grew up in Basra where his father introduced him to *majālis* of *udabā'* whom he would frequently visit in order to strengthen his eloquence in Arabic.⁵⁵ Ibn al-Muqaffa' was taught by two Bedouin teachers known as Abū al-Ghūl al-A'rabī and Abū al-Khāmūsh.⁵⁶ According to Ibn Qutayba, Abū al-Ghūl al-A'rabī was a poet from the tribe of Banī Nahshal and his real name is 'Albā' b. Jūshan.⁵⁷ He was also a friend of Ibn al-Muqaffa' as attested by al-Balādhurī.⁵⁸ As for Abū al-Khāmūsh, he was a poet from Bal'anbar, who are Banū al-'Anbar from Banū Tamīm.⁵⁹ According to al-Balādhurī, both these figures played a crucial role in Ibn al-Muqaffa's fluency of Arabic. Having Bedouin linguists teach Arabic was a common Basran practice, especially in the early generations of Basran Arab society.⁶⁰ In this section al-Balādhurī is emphasising the Ibn al-Muqaffa's linguistic capabilities and his relation to Arab society. Ibn al-Muqaffa's success in "*balāgha*" (eloquence of speech) is therefore attributed and accredited to the Bedouin Arabs. By illustrating the connection between Ibn al-Muqaffa' and his Bedouin mentors, al-Balādhurī is

⁵⁴ Abū 'Uthman 'Amr Al-Jāhiz, *Al-Bayān wa-l-Tabyīn* (Beirut: Dār wa Maktabat al-Hilāl, 2003), Vol.2, 113, 'Abd-Allāh b. Muslim Ibn Qutayba, *'Uyūn al-Akhhbār* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 1998), Vol.1, 298.

⁵⁵ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.4, 218.

"وكان منزله البصرة وكان حريصا على تأديب عبد الله ابنه يجمع إليه الأدباء ويأخذه بمشاهدة مجالسهم، وألزمه أبا الغول الأعرابي وأبا الخاموش وكانا فصيحين".

⁵⁶ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.4, 218.

⁵⁷ 'Abd-Allāh b. Muslim Ibn Qutayba, *Al-Sh'ir wa-l-Shu'arā'* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2002), Vol.1, 419.

⁵⁸ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.12, 136.

⁵⁹ Majd al-Dīn Al-Fayrūzābādī, *Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (Beirut: Mu'asasat al-Rasāla li-al-Tibā'a wa-l-Nashir wa-l-Tawzī', 2005), 593, Muḥammad Murtaḍa Al-Zibīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs min Jawāhir al-Qamūs* (Kuwait: Wizārat al-Irshād wa-al-Anbā, 2001), Vol.10, 437.

⁶⁰ Abū Bakr Al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Naḥwīyīn wa-al-Lughawīyīn* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1984), 157, Szombathy Zoltan, "Fieldwork and Preconceptions: The Role of the Bedouin as Informants in Mediaeval Muslim Scholarly Culture (Second-Third/Eighth-Ninth Centuries)," *Der Islam* 92, no. 1 (2015): 130.

emphasising Ibn al-Muqaffa's understanding and knowledge of Arabs and Arabic, a society he was integrated into from a very young age.

Regarding his career, al-Balādhurī states that Ibn al-Muqaffa's first position as a *kātib* was for 'Amr b. Ḍabāra (d. 131/749), who was a general in the Umayyad army.⁶¹ 'Amr b. Ḍabāra led campaigns against the *khawārij* in Mawṣil, Khurāsān, and in Kirmān.⁶² A large portion of the work *al-Risāla* deals with the military and extremist views found within them.⁶³ Whether his employment played a role in formulating his views or not is uncertain, however it is clear that al-Balādhurī thought it significant to mention Ibn al-Muqaffa's connection with a military general. Ibn al-Muqaffa is therefore portrayed not merely as an administrator, but one who knew how the military functions, a point attested in his work as well. In *Futūḥ al-buldān*, al-Balādhurī narrates an anecdote that suggests Ibn al-Muqaffa worked under Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 103-106/721-724), a tax agent under the governorship of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.⁶⁴ However, it is likely to be al-Muqaffa and not Ibn al-Muqaffa since al-Balādhurī mentions two other anecdotes which suggests that al-Muqaffa worked under al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf and was tortured by him. Al-Balādhurī then concludes that when the Abbasid *dawla* arrived, Ibn al-Muqaffa worked for the sons of 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh, favouring 'Īsā b. 'Alī over the others.⁶⁵

Al-Balādhurī then shares an anecdote regarding Ibn al-Muqaffa, which suggests that he converted to Islam through 'Īsā b. 'Alī.⁶⁶ The anecdote is on the authority of *ba'd al-Hāshimīyyīn* (of Banū Hāshim), the clan to which the Abbasids belong, therefore a possible bias and motive to sever the "*mawlā-ship*"⁶⁷ between Ibn al-Muqaffa and the Abbasids exists.⁶⁸ Ibn Khallikān narrates the anecdote as well.⁶⁹ According to al-Balādhurī, Ibn al-Muqaffa went to his employer, 'Īsā b. 'Alī, one night and said to him: "I want Islam, for it has suffused my heart and

⁶¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.4, 218.

⁶² Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk* (Beirut: Dar Al-Turāth, 1967), Vol.7, 352, 405.

⁶³ 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa, "Al-Risāla fī-al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, ed. Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī (Cairo: Maṭba'at lajnat al-ta'līf wa-l-Nashr, 1954).

⁶⁴ Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān* (Beirut: Dār wa-Maktabat al-Hilāl, 1988), 446-447.

⁶⁵ The other sons being Sulaymān b. 'Alī and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.4, 218.

⁶⁶ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, 218.

⁶⁷ The word *mawlā-ship* is in reference to the institution of making one a *mawlā* to another.

⁶⁸ As will be shortly explained. Tayeb El-Hibri, *The Abbasid Caliphate: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 4.

⁶⁹ The anecdote mentioned in Ibn al-Khallikān will be briefly discussed in the respective section of this chapter, only because where it is located in the book signifies the purpose of the text. Ahmad b. Muhammad Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, ed. Ihsan Abbas, 7 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1900), Vol.2, 151.

I detest *al-Majūsiya*".⁷⁰ 'Īsā replied: "If we are to wake in the morning, I will gather my brothers and a few others to testify your conversion to Islam". The next day when 'Īsā presented the dinner, Ibn al-Muqaffa' refrained from eating at first, even though the food was edible.⁷¹ After 'Īsā insisted that he eats, Ibn al-Muqaffa' did so only after he made a Zoroastrian supplication (*zamzama*).⁷² 'Īsā then asked him: "Are you supplicating (*tuzamzin*) and you are converting tomorrow?" Ibn al-Muqaffa' replied: "I hate to live until tomorrow without a religion". In the morning, he became a Muslim and his *kunyā* was changed from Abū 'Umar to Abū Muḥammad.

On this passage, Kristó-Nagy comments; "This report tells us that Ibn al-Muqaffa's conversion to Islam was more an act of formality than an act of devotion".⁷³ This view is also maintained by most modern authors who see the anecdote as proof to Ibn al-Muqaffa's *zandaqa*, a topic I discuss extensively in the following chapter.⁷⁴ However, apart from the challenging task of interpreting one's intentions, especially based on a single narration, the significance of context cannot be overlooked. I have mentioned in the introduction that the organisation of a text is as important as its content. How al-Balādhurī decided to organise the biographical information of

⁷⁰ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.4, 218, Michael Morony, "Madjūs," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

"إني أريد الإسلام فقد خامر قلبي حبه وكرهت المجوسية، فقال له: إذا أصبحنا جمعت أخوتي ووجوها من وجوه الناس فشهدوا إسلامك. وحضر عشاء عيسى فدعاه لياكل فامتنع فعزم عليه، وكان نظيفا حسن المؤكلة، فلم يذن من الطعام إلا على زمزمة فقيل: أتزمزم وأنت على الإسلام غدا؟ فقال: إني أكره أن أبيت غدا على غير دين، فلما أصبح أسلم. وكان يكنى أبا عمرو فتكنى أبا محمد"

⁷¹ The sentence used here is "وكان نظيفا حسن المؤكلة" which means that the food was clean and edible, however he refrained from eating it nonetheless. This appears to reflect Zoroastrian dietary restrictions where they cannot eat food prepared by non-Zoroastrians. Touraj Daryaee (2012) argues that the dietary restrictions placed by Zoroastrians is a way to distinguish their identity and attempt to keep the community separated. See: Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria, *The Pahlavi Rivāyat Āturfarnbag and Farnbag-Srōš*, vol. 2 (Bombay: Industrial Press, 1969), ii, Mary Boyce, "The Pahlavi Rivayat of Aturfarnbag and Farnbag-sros. Edited and Translated by Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 35, no. 1 (1972): 159, Jacob Neusner, *Judaism and Zoroastrianism at the dusk of late antiquity: how two ancient faiths wrote down their great traditions, South Florida studies in the history of Judaism; no.87* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 108-109, Touraj Daryaee, "Food, Purity and Pollution: Zoroastrian Views on the Eating Habits of Others," *Iranian Studies* 45, no. 2 (2012): 230.

⁷² Al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad Al-Farāhīdī, *Kitāb al-'Ain*, ed. Mahdī al-Makhzūmī and Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarānī (Cairo: Dār wa Maktabat al-Hilāl), Vol.3, 259.

⁷³ István Kristó-Nagy, "Reason, Religion, and Power in Ibn al-Muqaffa'," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* Vol. 62 (2009): 290.

⁷⁴ With the exception of Chokr and Lampe, most modern authors state that this anecdote is proof of Ibn al-Muqaffa's insincerity to Islam. Gabrieli, "L'Opera di Ibn Al-Muqaffa'," 237, Goitein, "A Turning-Point In The History of The Muslim State, a Propos of Ibn al-Muqaffa's Kitāb al-Ṣaḥāba," 131-132, Sourdel, "La Biographie D'Ibn Al-Muqaffa' D'Après Les Sources Anciennes," 311, Lampe, "Ibn al-Muqaffa': Political and Legal Theorist and Reformer," 25, 30-31, Van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, 32, Melhem Chokr, *Zandaqa Et Zindīqs En Islam Au Second Siècle De L'hégire* (Damascus: Presses de l'Ifpo, 1993), 192, Arjomand, "Abd-Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa' and the 'Abbasid Revolution," 24, Kristó-Nagy, "Reason, Religion, and Power in Ibn al-Muqaffa'," 290.

Ibn al-Muqaffa' is of great importance, especially in a situation like this. The anecdote is located following al-Balādhurī's narration that Ibn al-Muqaffa' entered the employment of Banū 'Alī, specifically, 'Īsā b. 'Alī. Ibn al-Muqaffa's conversion to Islam through 'Īsā b. 'Alī makes him his *mawlā*, and therefore a *mawlā* of the Abbasids.⁷⁵ The primary intent of the anecdote does not appear to revolve around Ibn al-Muqaffa's religious beliefs, but rather his status with the Abbasids. Al-Balādhurī could have explicitly indicated that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was accused of *zandaqa* if he intended to emphasise his religious sincerity. This progression of events suggests a strong likelihood that Ibn al-Muqaffa' indeed held the status of a *mawlā* to 'Īsā b. 'Alī, particularly when considering that al-Balādhurī later recounts 'Īsā b. 'Alī's pursuit of material restitution for Ibn al-Muqaffa's murder.

Following the anecdote, al-Balādhurī concludes that Ibn al-Muqaffa' converted to Islam and continued to serve under 'Īsā b. 'Alī until his demise. Al-Balādhurī also mentions that Ibn al-Muqaffa's *kunyā* was changed from Abū 'Umar to Abū Muḥammad. The change of Ibn al-Muqaffa's *kunyā* is also mentioned by al-Jāḥiẓ and by later authors such as Ibn al-Nadīm.⁷⁶ Both these names are Arabic and are used commonly by Muslims. One possible explanation as to why al-Balādhurī sought it useful to mention that his *kunyā* changed from Abū 'Umar to Abū Muḥammad is to illustrate that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was already well integrated into Arab culture and society. Therefore, following his conversation, nothing really changed for Ibn al-Muqaffa'. He was a wealthy Basran elite and remained so even after his conversation. After all, al-Balādhurī also informed us earlier that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was taught by two Bedouins and therefore likely integrated into Islamic and Arabic culture from a young age. Another possible explanation why medieval authors report the changing of Ibn al-Muqaffa's *kunya* is to signify his association to the Abbasids. There existed some Abbasid *rawāfiḍ* who refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, therefore it could be possible that Abū Muḥammad would have been received better by the Abbasids than Abū 'Umar.⁷⁷ Another possible explanation is that during

⁷⁵ Patricia Crone, *Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law: The Origins of the Islamic Patronate*, *Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 35-36, Daniel Pipes, "Mawlas: Freed slaves and converts in early Islam," *Slavery and Abolition* 1 (1980): 134-135, Richard W. Bulliet, "Conversion-Based Patronage and Onomastic Evidence in Early Islam," in *Patronate and Patronage in Early and Classical Islam*, ed. Monique Bernards and John Nawas (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2005), 246, Arent Jan Wensinck, and Patricia Crone, "Mawlā," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (2012).

⁷⁶ Abū 'Uthman 'Amr Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasā'il al-Adabiya* (Beirut: Dār wa Maktabat al-Hilāl, 2002), 208, Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, ed. Ibrahim Ramḍān (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1997), 150.

⁷⁷ Patricia Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought, The New Edinburgh Islamic Surveys* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022), 117.

the time of his conversion, Ibn al-Muqaffa' was blessed with a son called Muḥammad, and therefore his *kunya* was changed to Abū Muḥammad because of his son. Regardless of which possibility, we do not have significant information on the matter to make assertive judgements. The changing of his *kunya* could have been a symbolic gesture, or one based on the birth of his son. Nonetheless, the changing of his *kunya* appears to be situated in the period following Ibn al-Muqaffa's conversion to Islam.

1.2 Social Status and Character:

Al-Balādhurī depicts Ibn al-Muqaffa' as part of a wealthy and well-connected elite. The author shares a significant number of passages which are testimonies to his kindness and esteemed social status among Iraqī elites.⁷⁸ Al-Balādhurī portrays Ibn al-Muqaffa' to have been connected with different social classes and professions, ranging from judges, military generals, poets, and *mawāḥib*. To name a few, the grand judge of Kufa, 'Abd Allāh b. Shubruma, was one of Ibn al-Muqaffa's most notable friends whom al-Balādhurī mentions on several occasions.⁷⁹ Another of his friends is a *mawḥib* of the Banū Qays known as al-Haytham b. Dirham.⁸⁰ The Basran poet Abū al-Ghūl al-A'rabī, Ibn al-Muqaffa's teacher and mentor when he was younger, was also a close acquaintance.⁸¹ The evolution of Ibn al-Muqaffa's acquaintances according to Medieval authors will be further elaborated on individually in the following chapter regarding his social circle. However, what we can see from al-Balādhurī alone is that he depicted Ibn al-Muqaffa's family as nobles and situated him amongst wealthy Iraqī elites.

Ibn al-Muqaffa's opulence is expressed by al-Balādhurī in numerous instances. For instance, as recounted by al-Balādhurī, Ibn al-Muqaffa' stepped in to settle the debts of his financially struggling friend, 'Abd Allāh b. Shubruma.⁸² There are also accounts of him bestowing substantial sums of money upon individuals displaying remarkable talent.⁸³ Moreover, al-Balādhurī presents an illustrative anecdote that not only highlights Ibn al-Muqaffa's magnanimity and affluence but also his impeccable manners and refinement. According to al-

⁷⁸ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, 220-222.

⁷⁹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.4, 219-220, Vol.11, 369.

⁸⁰ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.4, 220.

⁸¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.12, 135.

⁸² Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.4, 220.

⁸³ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.4, 219.

"كان ابن شبرمة صديقا لابن المقفع"

"أبو الغول صاحب ابن المقفع الذي رثاه."

Balādhurī, upon welcoming guests into his home, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ would have his *ghilmān* open the doors for them while announcing the delectable dishes being prepared in the kitchen, tantalising their appetites. Further enhancing their dining experience, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ would offer hyssop leaves, a plant native to al-Shām, for his guests to cleanse their hands, leaving behind a pleasant aroma before and after the meal.⁸⁴

Ghilmān is the plural of *ghulām*. *Ghulām* has several connotations and can be interpreted as boy, young man, servant, or slave. In the *Qur’ān* the word *ghulām* is mentioned six times, four of which signify an unborn son, and two signify a young boy.⁸⁵ Several other sources also mention that Ibn al-Muqaffa had at the very least, a *ghulām*.⁸⁶ It is difficult to say with full certainty whether in this context the author is referring to sons of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, or merely servants. If it were sons of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ then we know that at the very least he had one son by the name of Muḥammad, which I will discuss at the end of this section. If al-Balādhurī is referring to Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ owning *ghilmān*, as in servants, then that portrays Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ in a very favorable social position. For a *mawlā* to have servants below him illustrates the favorable social and financial position Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was situated in. It is likely that *ghilmān* in this context refers to servants because the following passage also reaffirms Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s financial status.

While al-Balādhurī does not explicitly attribute Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s wealth to his role as a *kātib*, he does detail how Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ owned extensive meadows in Fārs, frequently importing their produce to Basra.⁸⁷ Additionally, al-Balādhurī notes Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s ownership of multiple *baghls* (mules) and *bardhawn* (a kind of horse).⁸⁸ The mention of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s possession of *baghl* is particularly significant, as it signifies affluence and social standing.⁸⁹ Collectively, these narratives converge to underscore Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s affluence, benevolence, and membership in an elevated social echelon.

⁸⁴ The Arabic name for this plant is الأشنان. The plant was also mentioned in the bible and is a plant that is used for both medicinal and aromatic purposes. See: Alexander Fleisher, and Zhenia Fleisher, "Identification of biblical hyssop and origin of the traditional use of oregano-group herbs in the Mediterranean region," *Economic Botany* 42, no. 2 (1988): 232-241, Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, 219-220.

⁸⁵ The Holy Qur’ān. Unborn son mentioned in: 3:40, 19:8, 19:19, 19:20. Young boy mentioned in: 12:19, 19:74.

⁸⁶ Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā’ wa-l-Kuttāb* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥallabī wa awlādih, 1938), 107, Abū Bakr b. Al-Marzubān, *Dham al-Thuqalā’*, ed. Ma’ mūn Muḥammad Yāssīn (Sarjah, UAE: Mu’asasat ‘Ulūm al-Qur’ān Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1991), 71-72.

⁸⁷ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, 219.

"كانت لعبد الله بن المقفع حال جميلة وغلة تأتيه من فارس كافية، وكانت له مروج تقاد إليه منها البراذين والبغال فيهدبها ويحمل عليها"

⁸⁸ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 221, Vol.12, 305.

⁸⁹ Several early Abbasid scholars dedicated books that define their characteristics and benefit, including but not limited to al-Jāhīz. Charles Pellat, "Baghal," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

Al-Balādhurī then reports a phrase concerning Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ in which he says “His *adab* is greater than his *ʿaql* (loosely translated as reasoning)”.⁹⁰ Al-Jāhiz narrates a similar phrase whereby Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ is portrayed to have had significant knowledge while lacking the mind and intellect to put it to use.⁹¹ The location of this phrase by al-Balādhurī is significant since it illustrates the turning point of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’s biography. It is at this point that al-Balādhurī is informing his audience that although Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ was knowledgeable, noble, generous, and wealthy, his *adab* was greater than his *ʿaql*. From here on forward, al-Balādhurī alludes to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’s lack of reasoning and judgement as a cause to his murder. This phrase eventually evolves into an anecdote by later medieval authors.⁹² The anecdote is between Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and his contemporary, the renowned Basran grammarian, Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (d. 174/790). In the anecdote, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’s knowledge is depicted to have been greater than his *ʿaql* and al-Farāhīdī’s *ʿaql* is depicted greater than his knowledge. The anecdote became a way to illustrating what al-Balādhurī emphasised regarding Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’s lack of reasoning.

1.3 The *Amān*:

Following the death of the first Abbasid caliph, Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Saffaḥ (d. 137/754), there was a power grab on his succession. The primary contestants were al-Manṣūr, the brother of al-Saffaḥ, and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, his uncle.⁹³ A conflict arose between the two parties, resulting in al-Manṣūr’s victory and ascension to the caliphate. Following his defeat, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī

⁹⁰ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.4, 220.

"فكان بعض من يحسده يقول: إن أدبه أكثر من عقله".

⁹¹ Abū ʿUthman ʿAmr Al-Jāhiz, *Al-Rasāʾil Al-Siyāsiya* (Beirut: Dār wa Maktabat al-Hilāl), 609.

"وذكر أبو بكر الأصم ابن المقفع فقال: ما رأيت شيئاً إلا وقليله أخفت من كثيره إلا العلم، فإنه كلما كثر خفت محمله. ولقد رأيت عبد الله ابن المقفع هذا في غزاة علمه وكثرة روايته، كما قال الله عزّ ذكره: كَمَثَلِ الْجَمَارِ يَحْمِلُ أَشْفَاراً. قد أوهنه علمه، وأذهله حلمه، وأعمته حكمته وحرّته بصيرته".

⁹² Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Marwān Al-Mālikī, *Al-Majālis wa Jawāhir al-ʿIlm* (Bahrain: Jamʿiyat al-Tarbiya al-Islāmiya, 1998), Vol.5, 303, Al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Naḥwīyīn wa-al-Lughawīyīn*, 49, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam fi Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-l-ʿUmam*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAtā and Muṣṭafa ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAtā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiya, 1992), Vol.8, 56, Yāqūt Al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-ʿUdabāʾ*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1993), Vol.3, 1268, Šibṭ Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Mirʿat al-Zamān fi Tawārīkh al-Aʿyān* (Damascus: Dār al-Risāla al-ʿĀlamiya, 2013), Vol.12, 165, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān wa-Anbāʾ Abnāʾ al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 152.

⁹³ For more information on the conflict between ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī and al-Manṣūr see: Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī b. Thābit Māhdī al-Shafīʿī Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdad*, ed. Bashār ʿAwād Maʿrūf (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2002), Vol.11, 176, Salah al-Dīn Al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wafāʾ bi-l-Wafayāt* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 2000), Vol.17, 173-190, Farouk Omar, "Politics and The Problem of Succession In The Early Abbasid Caliphate 132/750-158/775," *Islamic Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (1974): 32, Hugh Kennedy, *The Early ʿAbbāsid Caliphate* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), 58, Paul M. Cobb, *White Banners: Contention in ʿAbbāsid Syria, 750-880* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 23.

requested political amnesty from his nephew and now caliph, al-Manṣūr.⁹⁴ The terms of the amnesty were written in a document known as the *amān*. The *amān* is a legal document and usually consists of clauses that contain conditions and consequences to insure the safe-conduct and protection of an individual or people(s).⁹⁵ Most medieval authors state that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was the author of the *amān* between ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī and al-Manṣūr.⁹⁶ At the time following ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī’s defeat, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was working under the “sons of ‘Alī” in Basra, presumably ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī and Sulaymān b. ‘Alī.⁹⁷ Sulaymān b. ‘Alī was the governor of Basra for almost four years following the revolution from 133/750 to 137/754.⁹⁸ During the governorship of Sulaymān b. ‘Alī, he and his sons carried out extensive public works in Basra, enriching themselves in the process.⁹⁹ The early Abbasid poet Bashshār b. Burd (d. 168/784) wrote a poem about the extravagance and wealth of Sulaymān b. ‘Alī and his children.¹⁰⁰ Al-Balādhurī also narrates that ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī owned lands in Basra, Wasit, and Baghdad, as well as a palace.¹⁰¹ This is another example of how Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ is depicted to have been associated with the rich and wealthy Iraqi elites. When ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī requested amnesty, he went to his brothers in Basra who then appointed Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ with the task of writing the *amān* on behalf of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī to al-Manṣūr.¹⁰²

⁹⁴ Andrew Marsham, and Chase Robinson, "The safe-conduct for the Abbasid ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī (d. 764)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 70 (2007): 248.

⁹⁵ Joseph Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 131, John Wansbrough, "The Safe-Conduct in Muslim Chancery Practice," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 34 (1971): 20, accessed 2023/03/29/, Joseph Schacht, "Amān," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

⁹⁶ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 111, Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā’ wa-l-Kuttāb*, 103, Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntazam fi Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-l’Umam*, Vol.8, 57-58, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A’yān wa-Anbā’ Abnā’ al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 152.

⁹⁷ The term is used to refer to the brothers of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī who were the following: ‘Īsā, Sulaymān, Dā‘ūd, Ṣāliḥ, Ismā‘īl, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, Muḥammad, Musā, and Ya‘qūb b. ‘Alī. See: Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 87-111.

⁹⁸ Abū ‘Amr Khalīfah Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah Ibn Khayyāṭ*, ed. Akram Ḍiyā al-‘Amrī (Dār al-Qalam: Damascus, 1977), 412, Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 4, 176-177.

⁹⁹ During the reign of Harūn al-Rashīd, the sons of Sulaymān had their wealth confiscated by the caliph, which amounted to 60 million dirhams. C. E. Bosworth, "Sulaymān b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

¹⁰⁰ Bashār b. Burd, *Diwān Bashār b. Burd*, ed. Muhammad al-Tāhir b. ‘Āshūr (2007), Vol. 2, 42.

يأبها الراكب الغادي لطيته - لا تطلب الخبز بين الكلب والوت
دينار آل سليمان ودرهمهم - كالبايليين حفا بالعفاريت
لا يوجدان ولا يرجي لقاؤهما - كما سمعت بهاروت وماروت

¹⁰¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 89.

¹⁰² The *amān* of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ is preserved to us in the *Tārīkh al-Manṣūr* by al-Azdī and in the *Kitāb al-Wuzarā’* by al-Jahshiyārī with minor variations between the two. Abū Zakariyā Al-Azdī, *Tārīkh al-Mūṣul*, ed. Ali Jabiba (Cairo: Dār al-Taḥrīr li-al-Ṭaba‘a wa-l-Nashir, 1967), 138, Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā’ wa-l-Kuttāb*, 104, Marsham, and Robinson, "The safe-conduct for the Abbasid ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī (d. 764)," 250.

According to al-Balādhurī, al-Manṣūr was infuriated by the *amān* because of the condition which revoked al-Manṣūr's claim to the caliphate if the *amān* was broken.¹⁰³ In another passage, al-Balādhurī says that Ibn al-Muqaffa' transgressed what is expected to be written in an *amān* to the caliph.¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately, we don't have enough "*amāns*" to understand what al-Balādhurī meant by "what is expected to be written in an *amān*". Other than Ibn al-Muqaffa's *amān*, we find another between the last Iraqi governor, Yazīd Ibn Hubayra (d. 137/750) and al-Manṣūr that is mentioned in *Kitāb al-imāma wa-al-siyāsa*, a book attributed to Ibn Qutayba.¹⁰⁵ Al-Manṣūr at that time was a military general of the revolutionaries against the Umayyads. He led the siege of Wasit against Ibn Hubayra.¹⁰⁶ However, it appears that the *amān* was not successful for Yazīd b. Hubayra, since he was killed by al-Saffāḥ in the same year.¹⁰⁷ We do not know who wrote the *amān* of Ibn Hubayra. However, the *amān* written by Ibn al-Muqaffa' is similar in structure to Ibn Hubayra's.¹⁰⁸ It could be that Ibn al-Muqaffa' wrote Ibn Hubayra's *amān*, however, only a couple medieval sources attribute it to him.¹⁰⁹ A more likely explanation is that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was following a standard protocol in the legal writing of *amāns*. That is the reason why al-Balādhurī was able to say that Ibn al-Muqaffa' did not write what was expected to be written in an *amān*, alluding to a comparative expectation and structure of what an *amān* should look like. This would mean that during the Umayyad period there may have likely been certain protocols in the construction of legal documents that may have persisted into the Abbasid caliphate. Following Ibn al-Muqaffa's role in writing the *amān* on behalf of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī, al-Manṣūr appointed Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya as the governor of Basra in order to kill Ibn al-Muqaffa'.¹¹⁰ Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ also narrates that Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya murdered Ibn al-Muqaffa' in the same month he was appointed governor, which was during Ramadan in the year 137/754.¹¹¹

¹⁰³ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, 221.

"إن عبد الله عبد الله أمير المؤمنين لم يف بما جعل لعبد الله ابن علي فقد خلع نفسه والناس في حل وسعة من نقض بيعته، فأنكر المنصور ذلك وأكبره واستبد به غيظه على ابن المقفع."

¹⁰⁴ The passage is in an earlier section regarding 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 111.

"كتب له أمانا تعدى فيه ما يكتب الخلفاء من الأمانات."

¹⁰⁵ Although the book is attributed to Ibn Qutayba, there remains uncertainty whether he wrote it or not. 'Abd-Allāh b. Muslim Ibn Qutayba, *Al-Imāma wa-l-Siyāsa*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭaffā Fahmī, 2 vols. (Egypt: Al-Futūḥ al-Adabiya), Vol.2, 125.

¹⁰⁶ Al-Ṭabarī, "Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk," Vol.7, 450.

¹⁰⁷ Patricia Crone, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity* (Cambridge: Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1980), C. Judd Steven, "Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayra," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Three* (Brill).

¹⁰⁸ Marsham, and Robinson, "The safe-conduct for the Abbasid 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī (d. 764)," 276.

¹⁰⁹ Al-Zubaydī states that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was killed for the *amān* he wrote to 'Amr Ibn Hubayra and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī. Al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Naḥwīyīn wa-al-Lughawīyīn*, 49.

¹¹⁰ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 221.

¹¹¹ Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khaīfah Ibn Khayyāṭ*, 417.

Prior to this passage, al-Balādhurī has already dedicated a significant portion of the biography to inform his reader of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s noble background, knowledge, elite status, and his generosity. The reason for his murder comes to an almost surprising twist of events that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ is depicted to not have had much control over. After all, it was al-Manṣūr’s uncles, ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī and ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī who asked Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ to write the *amān* for them. What al-Balādhurī is building to this point when it comes to the structure of the text is to illustrate an unexpected and likely unjust murder of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ due to Abbasid internal struggle.

1.4 The Murder:

Following his presentation on the reason why al-Manṣūr ordered Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s death, al-Balādhurī attempts to make sense of why Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya might have been inclined to murder Ibn al-Muqaffa‘. Al-Balādhurī narrates that there existed hostility between Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya and Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ prior to Sufyān’s appointment as governor. Al-Balādhurī narrates that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ would constantly ridicule, humiliate, and insult Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya in front of others. According to al-Balādhurī, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ used to ask complex grammatical questions to Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya to only prove him wrong in front of others.¹¹² Other insults include that when Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ used to greet Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya he would do so using the plural form, dedicating the first greeting towards Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya and the other towards his allegedly large nose.¹¹³ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ also insulted Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya’s mother as *mughtalima* (a wanton woman) for having married several men. Therefore, al-Balādhurī explains that when the opportunity came from al-Manṣūr to get rid of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya did not hesitate to kill him.

Al-Balādhurī narrates that when Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya became governor, ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī requested Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ to visit the new governor in order to get an unmentioned task done. Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ initially refused and requested that ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī appoint someone else, however, ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī asserted that he goes and promised him protection from any harm.¹¹⁴ When Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ entered the premise of Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya, the *ḥājib* told him to wait. Al-Balādhurī

¹¹² Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 221.

¹¹³ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 221-222.

¹¹⁴ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 222.

"وجه عيسى بن علي ابن المقفع إلى سفيان في حاجة، فقال له: أرسل في حاجتك غيري، فأبى وقال: لن يقدم عليك بمكروه وأنا حاضر."

narrates that during this conversation, Ibn al-Muqaffa' was correcting the grammar of the *ḥājjib*; a point which likely reflects the proverb associated with Ibn al-Muqaffa'.¹¹⁵ Al-Balādhurī shares several anecdotes on the actual murder of Ibn al-Muqaffa'. All the anecdotes al-Balādhurī shares regarding Ibn al-Muqaffa's murder conflict with one another.¹¹⁶ Al-Balādhurī narrates that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was either chopped, burned, stoned, or suffocated to death. The details of the story vary, the primary topic however is that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was killed discreetly by Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya. Al-Balādhurī presents various possibilities that were known to him without specifically stating which one he agreed to the most. This type of scholarship is how al-Balādhurī presents his information. In that, al-Balādhurī provides several possibilities of an event and shares them all without generally committing to one over the other. Therefore, regarding the details of his murder, al-Balādhurī is merely keeping it to the imagination of the reader.

1.5 The repercussions of murder:

The final topic al-Balādhurī presents is the repercussions which occurred following his murder. According to al-Balādhurī, 'Īsā b. 'Alī went to al-Manṣūr and accused Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya for killing Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya was then arrested and brought to al-Manṣūr, along with some of his family members.¹¹⁷ When both were summoned to al-Manṣūr, 'Īsā b. 'Alī brought with him several witnesses who saw Ibn al-Muqaffa' enter the house of Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya and never leave from it, and others who claimed that he was murdered. When they confronted al-Manṣūr regarding the murder, according to al-Balādhurī he replied:

"أرأيتم إن أخرجت ابن المقفع إليكم ماذا تقولون؟"¹¹⁸

"What is your opinion if I brought out Ibn al-Muqaffa' to you, what would you say?"¹¹⁹

Following al-Manṣūr's reply, al-Balādhurī narrates that the witnesses stepped down from their testimony and 'Īsā b. 'Alī refrained from seeking restitution of Ibn al-Muqaffa's blood. What al-Balādhurī, yet again, affirms to us is that there is a sense of uncertainty in the events regarding Ibn al-Muqaffa's death. The witnesses are depicted to have themselves been uncertain of the

¹¹⁵ The proverb of his knowledge being greater than his *'aqil*. He was correcting the grammar of others even when he knew he was in a dangerous situation. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 222.

"فلما دخل على سفيان ثم أراد الخروج قال له حاجب سفيان: اصبر، قال: وبيك إن الصبر لا يكون إلا على بلاء ولكن قل انتظر"

¹¹⁶ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 222.

¹¹⁷ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 222.

"فأمر بحمل سفيان إليه فحمل وشخص معه أهل بيته"

¹¹⁸ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 222-223.

¹¹⁹ Unless stated otherwise, all translations are my own throughout this thesis.

information they know; in that they have not seen what has occurred. Furthermore, from the passage al-Balādhurī also affirms Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s relation to ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī, in that he was his *mawlā* and one who would justifiably ask for restitution to his murder.

1.5.1 Poems following his murder:

Al-Balādhurī concludes the biography with two poems attributed to Abū al-Ghūl al-A‘rabī. The first poem reinforces ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī’s role, therefore the Abbasids, as patrons to Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and his inability to protect him.¹²⁰ Abū al-Ghūl states that ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī deceived Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ by making him think he was under his protection (*jīwār*). The poem then compares ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī with other prominent pre-Islam and early Islamic figures, suggesting that if Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was a *mawlā* to anyone but ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī (and the Abbasids), he would have been protected.¹²¹ The Mamluk author, al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) narrates a slightly different rendition of the poem with reference to different figures.¹²²

I have mentioned earlier that on the authority of some of the Hashemites, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s conversation to Islam and therefore his status as *mawlā* to the Abbasids may have been insincere. However, the poem by Abū Ghūl which al-Balādhurī reports in the conclusion of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biography, suggests that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was indeed ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī’s *mawlā*. The poem and anecdote presented by al-Balādhurī likely represents a dialogue at that time regarding whether Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was a *mawlā* to the Abbasids or not. On one side, some of the Hashemites revoke the legitimate status between Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī, therefore defending against any accusation that may tarnish the honour of the Abbasids.¹²³ On the other

¹²⁰ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 223.

لعمرى لمن أوفى لجار إجارة ... لقد غر عيسى جاره ابن المقفع
 فلو بآبن موسى كان شد حباله ... لعاذ بمشبوخ الذراع سميدع
 دعا دعوة عيسى وهم يسحبونه ... برمته سحب الفصيل المقرع
 فلو كآبن حرب كان أو كآبن ظالم ... لما اغتيل عبد الله في شر مصرع
 ولو كآبن موسى كان أوفى لجاره ... فأب سليما لحمه لم يقطع
 فإذ لم تكن مثل السمؤال وافيا ... فعش غادرا ما عشت في الناس أو دع
 أهابوا به حتى إذا قيل قد علا ... مع النجم خلوه وقالوا له قع
 وكان إذا ما راح راحت بغاله ... بدى كرم جم الفضائل أروع
 فعيني إن أنزفتما الدمع منكما ... فسحا دما يا مقلتي بأربع

¹²¹ ‘Īsā b. Mūsā (d. 166/783), Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb (d. 31/652), al-Ḥārith b. Zālīm (d. 600 CE) or al-Samaw‘al b. ‘Ādiyā‘ (6th century CE).

¹²² Al-Ṣafadī’s version mentions Yazīd Ibn al-Muhallab (d. 101/720) and ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir (d. 58/678). Al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wafī bi-l-Wafayāt* Vol.7, 342.

¹²³ Killing ones *mawlā* who is supposedly under your protection, does not produce the most trustworthy or honourable reputation.

hand however, Abū Ghūl is accusing the Abbasids of not only murdering their *mawlā*, but also doing so discreetly. Most later authors suggest that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was a *mawlā* to the Abbasids especially since 'Īsā b. 'Alī is narrated to have requested material restitution of his murder.¹²⁴

The second poem written by Abū al-Ghūl is almost an identical version of Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography, albeit written as a poem.¹²⁵ This poem stands out for its absence of contradictory details and by straightforwardly asserting that Ibn al-Muqaffa' met a deceitful death. Notably, this poem encapsulates the various facets of Ibn al-Muqaffa's character, encompassing his generosity, knowledge, hospitality, and the circumstances of his murder. It remains unclear whether the anecdotes concerning Ibn al-Muqaffa' influenced the poem's composition or vice versa. Yet, what remains evident is their alignment in conveying a shared narrative, possibly prompting al-Balādhurī to conclude Ibn al-Muqaffa's biographical account with this poem.

1.6 Ibn al-Muqaffa's son:

Elsewhere in the *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, al-Balādhurī has a short passage on Ibn al-Muqaffa's son, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa'.¹²⁶ Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa' worked as a *kātib* to Ma'n b. Zā'ida al-Shaybānī (d. 152/769).¹²⁷ Ma'n b. Zā'ida was a military commander under Ibn Hubayra during the Abbasid revolution. His life was spared after giving his oath of allegiance to the Abbasids in Kufa.¹²⁸ In the year 139-140/756-757 a group of black-clothed "extremists" known as al-Rāwandīyya proclaimed that al-Mahdī, the son of al-Manṣūr who appointed him his heir, was God incarnate.¹²⁹ An incident occurred that involved the Rāwandīyya and al-Manṣūr whereby Ma'n b. Zā'ida is said to have saved the caliph's life.¹³⁰ As a

¹²⁴ As we will soon see, most biographies do not question Ibn al-Muqaffa's status as a *mawlā* to the Abbasids.

¹²⁵ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 223.

"وجمت وراعك الخطب الجليل ... وأجرى دمك الحزن الدخيل
 كأن دموع عينك إذ تداعت ... جمان خانه سلك سحيل
 عشية قلت للداعي ينادي ... بعبد الله ويحك ما يقول
 فقال ابن المقفع فاحتسبه ... فليس إلى لفائكه سبيل
 قتيل مغالة في السر غدرا ... وقد يغتال ذا العز الذليل
 لقد أودى به كرم وبر ... وعلم زانه رأي أصيل
 وجود يد بمنفسها إذا ما ... نفيس المال ضن به البخيل
 أبو الأضياف يغمهم قراه ... رحيب بالعظيم له حمول"

¹²⁶ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 236-237.

¹²⁷ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 236.

¹²⁸ Hugh Kennedy, "Ma'n b. Zā'ida" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

¹²⁹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 236, Patricia Crone, *The Nativist Prophets Of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 90.

¹³⁰ Al-Rāwandīyya will be further explained in the following chapter regarding their role with the revolt of al-Muqanna'. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 236.

reward, al-Manṣūr appointed Ma‘n b. Zā‘ida the governorship of Egypt followed by Yemen.¹³¹ Al-Dhahabī narrates that Ma‘n b. Zā‘ida also appointed the governorship of Egypt followed by Azerbaijan, though the exact year is unknown.¹³² In 151/768 al-Manṣūr appointed him governor of Sijistān, where he was assassinated the following year by a group of rebels.¹³³ According to al-Balādhurī, when Ma‘n b. Zā‘ida was appointed governor of Egypt, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was his *kātib* and accompanied him there.¹³⁴ Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ then requested from his employer to travel back to Iraq. Ma‘n b. Zā‘ida granted Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh’s request and handed him 1,000 dinars while also reminding him of his value and the importance of assuming the best (*ḥusn al-ẓann*).¹³⁵ Ma‘n b. Zā‘ida then told Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh that should he ever wish to come back to Egypt, he is welcome. It is unclear whether Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh did end up going back to Iraq or not, however, al-Balādhurī mentions that he died in Egypt.

1.7 Conclusion:

Al-Balādhurī’s organisation of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biography is of great importance on how he is depicted. The biography commences with al-Balādhurī attributing noble origins to Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and illustrating his professional inheritance as a *kātib*. Al-Balādhurī then narrates Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s good character, knowledge, generosity, and wealth, all of which underscore his standing within the privileged circles of society. Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s early association or emphasis of being integrated into Arab society is a view that later biographies object to.

Following his character and social status, al-Balādhurī then builds up the relation between Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and the Abbasids in way which illustrates that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was involved in the most elite of social circles between Abbasid nobility. However, it was because of his relation to the Abbasids and his role in writing the *amān* that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s met a horrific fate.

The uncertainty surrounding the details of Ibn al-Muqaffa’s murder mirrors the complexity of his life story. Al-Balādhurī’s inclusion of conflicting narratives underscores the challenge of discerning historical truth, reminding us of the intricate nature of interpreting the

¹³¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 236-237.

¹³² Shams al-Dīn Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām wa Walāyāt al-Mashāhīr wa-l-Ālām*, ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd alsallām al-Tadmarī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Arabī, 1993), Vol.9, 632.

¹³³ Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb b. Ja‘ffar Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Al-Buldān li-al-Ya‘qūbī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiya, 2001), 113.

¹³⁴ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 236.

¹³⁵ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 237.

past. Despite the divergent accounts, one constant remains: Ibn al-Muqaffa met a discreet and unsettling end at the hands of Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya.

Al-Balādhurī’s account, with its meticulous arrangement and nuanced narratives, offers a comprehensive understanding of Ibn al-Muqaffa’s life and legacy. Through strategically placed anecdotes, historical circumstances, and insights into his character, al-Balādhurī constructs a biography which alludes to the unjust and deceptive circumstances that led to Ibn al-Muqaffa’s murder. The contradictions, ambiguities, and uncertainties found throughout Ibn al-Muqaffa’s biography illustrate the complexity of historical accounts as presented. Al-Balādhurī’s portrayal of Ibn al-Muqaffa differs from the way later authors, particularly al-Jahshiyārī, present his biographical details. While al-Balādhurī initially highlights Ibn al-Muqaffa’s virtues, knowledge, and prestigious standing, al-Jahshiyārī conveys similar information in a distinctly contrasting manner.

2. Al-Jahshiyārī: Al-Wuzarā' wa-l-Kuttāb

Al-Wuzarā' wa-al-kuttāb by Ibn 'Abdūs al-Jahshiyārī (d. 331/942) is a book that focuses primarily on the role that secretaries and governors had in Islamic history. Al-Jahshiyārī narrates Islamic history in the perspective of the *kuttāb* (secretaries) and *wuzarā'* (governors). Al-Jahshiyārī starts his book with the Prophet Adam and then passes through prophets, followed by caliphs, until he reaches the Abbasid caliph, al-Mu'taḍid bi-l-lāh (d. 289/902). Al-Jahshiyārī begins every caliphal reign by introducing who their *kātib* was when they came into power.¹³⁶ It may seem like al-Jahshiyārī is signifying the role the *kuttāb* have in one's rise to the caliphate. The book was written at a time when the sway of the *kuttāb* had immensely diminished following the influence of military commanders into state affairs.¹³⁷ Al-Jahshiyārī was aware of this since he himself held administrative roles such as *ḥājib* (chamberlain) to 'Alī b. 'Īsā (335/946) and Ḥāmid b. al-'Abbās (311/923), both of whom were ministers to the caliph al-Muqtadir bi-l-lāh (d. 320/929).¹³⁸ He was also imprisoned several times by other vizirs and military commanders such as al-Rā'iq (333/942) and Bajkam (332/941).¹³⁹ The author therefore tries to reimagine the bureaucratic influence and impact the *kuttāb* and *wuzarā'* had on state affairs. He does this by integrating a psychological and social perspective into the historical narrative through the use of idioms and social/ethical dilemmas. Al-Jahshiyārī's goal in the book is to portray the power the administrators had and the reason they lost said power because of their abuse and misuse of it. Al-Jahshiyārī does this by illustrating the power, jealousy, envy, and deception that the administrators had in influencing political affairs. His work is both a work on the bureaucratic and administrative functions of the state, as well as a book in *adab* and courtly etiquette.

Similar to al-Balādhurī, al-Jahshiyārī introduces Ibn al-Muqaffa' under the reign of al-Manṣūr. However, unlike al-Balādhurī, al-Jahshiyārī introduces Ibn al-Muqaffa' in the section that corresponds to al-Manṣūr's *kātib*, Abū Ayyūb al-Mūriyānī.¹⁴⁰ This is noteworthy, because as I will soon discuss, all the events related to Ibn al-Muqaffa' involve Abū Ayyūb one way or another. Al-Jahshiyārī illustrates the influence and role Abū Ayyūb had during the reign of al-

¹³⁶ Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa-l-Kuttāb*, 32, 33, 34, 37, 53, 56, 67, 69, 71, 72, 89, 96, 141, 167, 289.

¹³⁷ Dominique Sourdel, "al-Djahshiyārī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

¹³⁸ Harold Bowen, *The Life and Times of 'Alī b. 'Īsā: The Good Vizir* (New York: AMS Press, 1975), 162-164.

¹³⁹ Maria Giovanna Stasolla, "How a Tenth-Century Learned Man Reads History: Al-Jahshiyārī (d. 942) and the Barmakids," *Eurasian Studies: Journal for Balkan, Eastern Mediterranean, Anatolian, Caucasian, Middle Eastern, Iranian, and Central Asian Studies* 10 (2015): 224.

¹⁴⁰ The passages prior and following Ibn al-Muqaffa' all revolve around the life and relationship between Abū Ayūb al-Mūriyānī and al-Manṣūr. Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa-l-Kuttāb*, 97, 111-123.

Manṣūr and his part in Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's murder. Al-Jahshiyārī's biography differs from al-Balādhurī's, in that it is structured in the following manner:

1. Writing the *amān* and his role as *kātib*
2. His murder
3. Repercussions of his murder
4. Background of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and his character

In *al-Wuzarāʾ wa-l-kuttāb*, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ' s role as a *kātib* and his proficiency in Arabic receive significant emphasis. Unlike the structure presented by al-Balādhurī, al-Jahshiyārī addresses Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ' s background at the end. Al-Jahshiyārī does not aim to build a detailed character and background for Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ to underscore his unjust murder. His inclusion of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ serves two primary purposes. First, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ was a *kātib*, therefore, aligning with the book's theme. Second, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ was a victim, but the distinctive aspect in al-Jahshiyārī's account is that he is portrayed as a victim not of the Abbasids but rather of the administrative class. The biography of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ in this book is not a distinct section as one might find in al-Balādhurī's work; instead, it is incorporated within the biography of al-Manṣūr's *kātib*, Abū Ayūb al-Mūriyānī.

In another segment of the book, al-Jahshiyārī references Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ in a section regarding ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā al-Kātib (d. 133/750), who served as the scribe of the last Umayyad Caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad.¹⁴¹ Al-Jahshiyārī simply records that when the Abbasids moved to apprehend ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ intervened in an attempt to shield him, although his efforts proved futile. This account is exclusive to al-Jahshiyārī and seems to underscore the significance of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's stature among his fellow scribes. This episode succeeds a letter from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd to the scribes and precedes a narration by al-Manṣūr where he praises the status and work of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd.¹⁴² As a result, verifying the authenticity of this anecdote or establishing a definite connection between Abd al-Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ proves challenging, especially considering the absence of any mention of their acquaintance in other sources.

¹⁴¹ Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarāʾ wa-l-Kuttāb*, 80.

¹⁴² Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarāʾ wa-l-Kuttāb*, 73, 81.

2.1 The *Amān*:

The first topic that al-Jahshiyārī mentions is the *amān*. *Al-Wuzarāʾ wa-l-kuttāb* is one of two sources where the content of the *amān* is preserved to us, the other being *Tārīkh al-mawṣil* by Abū Zakariya al-Azdī (d. 334/945).¹⁴³ According to al-Jahshiyārī, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and al-Manṣūr corresponded several times before finalising the conditions and terms of the *amān*.¹⁴⁴ Al-Jahshiyārī explains that whenever al-Manṣūr would propose a clause that was in his favour, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ would find a way to manoeuvre around it and make it obsolete.¹⁴⁵ This is the first point where al-Jahshiyārī portrays Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ differently from al-Balādhurī. When it comes to writing the *amān*, al-Balādhurī merely states that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ wrote it and al-Manṣūr was furious because of the conditions he placed. However, al-Jahshiyārī's account presents the writing of the *amān* as a negotiation between Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, the *kātib* and al-Manṣūr the caliph. Both parties went back and forth in negotiating conditions that were more favourable to them. Al-Jahshiyārī then concludes that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, because of his linguistic expertise and knowledge in legal clauses was able to get the upper hand over al-Manṣūr, which in return angered him.¹⁴⁶ Al-Jahshiyārī then presents the whole *amān*.¹⁴⁷

Following the *amān*, al-Jahshiyārī reports al-Manṣūr's inquiry about Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, wherein he sought, "Is there anyone who can get rid of him for me?"¹⁴⁸ Al-Jahshiyārī's then outlines that while al-Manṣūr uttered a query regarding Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ' s fate, it was his *mawlā* Abū al-Khaṣīb Marzūq b. Rawqāʿ who dispatched a communication to Sufyān b. Muʿāwiya, the governor of Basra, suggesting an opportunity for Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ' s demise.¹⁴⁹

2.2 Murder:

Both al-Balādhurī and al-Jahshiyārī agree that there existed animosity between Sufyān b. Muʿāwiya and Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ prior to his murder. The reason al-Jahshiyārī provides for the

¹⁴³ Al-Azdī, *Tārīkh al-Mūṣul*, 138, Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarāʾ wa-l-Kuttāb*, 104, Marsham, and Robinson, "The safe-conduct for the Abbasid ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī (d. 764)," 250.

¹⁴⁴ Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarāʾ wa-l-Kuttāb*, 103.

"وترددت بين أبي جعفر وبينهم في النسخة كتب إلى أن استقرت على ما أرادوا من الاحتياط."

¹⁴⁵ Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarāʾ wa-l-Kuttāb*, 103.

"ولم يتهدأ لأبي جعفر إيقاع حيلة فيها لفرط احتياط ابن المقفع."

¹⁴⁶ Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarāʾ wa-l-Kuttāb*, 104.

¹⁴⁷ For a detailed analysis of the text see: Marsham, and Robinson, "The safe-conduct for the Abbasid ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī (d. 764)."

¹⁴⁸ Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarāʾ wa-l-Kuttāb*, 104.

"فما أحد يكفينيه؟"

¹⁴⁹ Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarāʾ wa-l-Kuttāb*, 105.

animosity between them is similar to what was narrated by al-Balādhurī, in that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ continually insulted Sufyān b. Muʿāwiya in public and accused his mother of being a *mughatalima*.¹⁵⁰ Al-Jahshiyārī adds another reason which led to the animosity between the two. According to Jahshiyārī, prior to the Umayyad governorship of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar (gov. 126-127/744-745) in Iraq, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ was working as a *kātib* for al-Masīḥ b. al-Ḥawārī al-Khūwaylidī in Nayshābūr (Nishapur).¹⁵¹ When ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar became governor, he replaced al-Khūwaylidī with Sufyān b. Muʿāwiya.¹⁵² However, al-Khūwaylidī refused to surrender the governorship unless Sufyān b. Muʿāwiya paid him. Al-Jahshiyārī mentions that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ attempted to reconcile between the two, however, to no avail. A battle broke out between Sufyān b. Muʿāwiya and al-Khūwaylidī, with the latter retaining his position as governor of Nayshāpūr. Al-Jahshiyārī explains that this event caused Sufyān b. Muʿāwiya to hold a grudge against Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ.¹⁵³ Although al-Balādhurī does not include Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ in this event, he does acknowledge its existence. According to al-Balādhurī, Khālīd b. Ṣafwān Āl Ahtam (d. 135/752), a Basran poet, attempted to reconcile between someone from Āl al-Muhallab and Āl al-Masīḥ b. al-Ḥawārī, about an issue that Khālīd b. Ṣafwān says was driven by greed.¹⁵⁴ As mentioned earlier, Sufyān b. Muʿāwiya was from Āl al-Muhallab. Therefore, it may have been possible that these events took place. Whether Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ was the *kātib* of al-Masīḥ b. al-Ḥawārī or not, we are uncertain. However, unlike al-Balādhurī who reported that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ was under the employment of a military general before ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, here al-Jahshiyārī places Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ under the employment of a governor.

¹⁵⁰ *Mughatalima* is a word used for someone with high sexual desires and is lustful. Sufyān b. Muʿāwiya's mother was Maysūn bint al-Mughīra b. al-Mulahab, and had married several times. See: Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 221, Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntazam fi Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-l-'Uman*, Vol.8, 57, Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (Beirut: Libraire du Liban, 1968), 2287.

¹⁵¹ Al-Balādhurī also states that he was appointed governor of an area in Fārs. See: Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.8, 221, Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī Ibn Ḥazim, *Jamharat 'Ansāb al-'Arab* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 1983), Vol. 1, 371, Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa-l-Kuttāb*, 105.

¹⁵² Both al-Balādhurī and Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ mention someone by the name of al-Masīḥ b. al-Ḥawārī b. Ziyād b. ʿUmar al-ʿAtkī. However, Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ states that he was appointed governor of Bahrain in the year 136/753 during the reign of al-Saffāh. Al-Balādhurī on the other hand, states that al-Masīḥ b. al-Ḥawārī was appointed governor of an area in Fārs (presumably Nayshābūr) during the reign of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar. See: Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah Ibn Khayyāṭ*, 413, Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.8, 221.

¹⁵³ Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa-l-Kuttāb*, 105.

"فحقد ذلك أيضا على ابن المقفع".

¹⁵⁴ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.9, 275.

Similar to al-Balādhurī, al-Jahshiyārī narrates that ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī requested Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ to visit Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya for a specific task.¹⁵⁵ Both authors illustrate that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ initially resisted the request until ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī assured him that he will not be harmed. The assurance of ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī in both sources demonstrates the dynamics between Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī, a *mawlā* and an *amīr*, the protected and the protector. Yet in such circumstances, ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī was unable to protect his *mawlā* or seek restitution for his death. Al-Jahshiyārī narrates that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ refused to go alone and brought with him Ibrāhīm b. Jaballa al-Kindī, the *kātib* of the previous caliph, al-Saffāh.¹⁵⁶ Al-Jahshiyārī then goes into detail in presenting a vivid picture of what he perceives happened in the premises of Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya.

Other than Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and Ibrāhīm b. Jaballa, a man by the name of ‘Umar b. Jamīl, an agent in the *diwān*, was also present to visit Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya.¹⁵⁷ Al-Jahshiyārī narrates that ‘Umar b. Jamīl was the first person invited to meet with Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya, followed by Ibrāhīm b. Jaballa, and then Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ who entered last. Al-Jahshiyārī then describes the events which took place prior to the murder in a way which alludes to the wit and caution taken by Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya in skilfully orchestrating the murder of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘. Al-Jahshiyārī reports that Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya coordinated the movement of all three individuals in the premises, so that they remain ignorant on the whereabouts of one another.

Al-Jahshiyārī narrates that Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya locked Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ in a building outside the main premises. Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya then lit the furnace and began to mutilate Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ as he tossed his limbs in the fire while he was still alive.¹⁵⁸ While burning him alive, Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya is narrated to have told Ibn al-Muqaffa‘: “By Allāh, oh son of the *zindīqa*, I will burn you in this life before you burn in the hereafter”.¹⁵⁹ The phrase al-Jahshiyārī used is “*yā ibn al-zindīqa*”, which is the feminine term for *zindīq*, therefore referring to Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s mother as a *zindīqa*. We do not know anything about Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s mother or whether she was accused of *zandaqa* or not. Up until this point al-Jahshiyārī never mentioned anything

¹⁵⁵ Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā’ wa-l-Kuttāb*, 106.

¹⁵⁶ His name is Abū Ayūb Ibrāhīm b. Jibila b. Makhrama al-Kindī. He was in Hadramout Yemen where he was a *Kātib* there. He also worked for Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī and then become *kātib* al-Saffāh at the start of *al-Dawla*. See: Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 242.

¹⁵⁷ The author does not mention which *diwān* ‘Umar b. Jamīl worked in, though his significance will prove to be crucial in al-Jahshiyārī’s narration later on. Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā’ wa-l-Kuttāb*, 106.

¹⁵⁸ Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā’ wa-l-Kuttāb*, 106.

¹⁵⁹ Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā’ wa-l-Kuttāb*, 107.

regarding Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's faith. *Zandaqa* in general is not a topic that al-Jahshiyārī concerned himself with in this book.¹⁶⁰ While Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya insults Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's mother as a *zindīqa*, it does not necessarily mean that the author was referring to Ibn al-Muqaffa' as a *zindīq*. Similar to how when Ibn al-Muqaffa' insulted Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya's mother as "*Ibn al-mughtalima*" he did not mean that Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya was a *mughtalim*. Therefore, it appears that the insult by Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya is a parallel retaliation against Ibn al-Muqaffa' for insulting Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya's mother.

Later medieval authors such as Ibn al-Jawzī, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn Khallikān, and al-Dhahabī, share a similar anecdote.¹⁶¹ However, while al-Jahshiyārī's anecdote represented a parallelism between two insults and targeted their mothers, later authors narrate that Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya directly accused Ibn al-Muqaffa' of *zandaqa*. Ibn al-Jawzī states that Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya was able to get away with murdering Ibn al-Muqaffa' because he [Ibn al-Muqaffa'] was a "*zindīq* that corrupted people".¹⁶² The accusation of *zandaqa* and its later adaptation by medieval authors is a topic I discuss extensively in the following chapter. Al-Jahshiyārī who mentioned *zandaqa* in the context of Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's murder, was mentioning it as a parallel insult by Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya. Three hundred years following al-Jahshiyārī account, medieval authors begin to narrate the accusation of *zandaqa* as a reason or justification to Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's murder instead, with the exception of al-Ṣafadī who maintains al-Jahshiyārī's report.¹⁶³ Nonetheless, what can be observed is an evolution of using *zandaqa* as a reason in Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's murder rather than an insult or response between Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya and Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

Al-Jahshiyārī does not present an alternative narrative to Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's murder as al-Balādhurī does, with the exception of one narration whereby Ibn al-Muqaffa' was reciting poetry as he was being mutilated.¹⁶⁴ Following his murder, Ibrāhīm b. Jaballa left the premise and was confronted by Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's *ghulām* who asked him on the whereabouts of his *mawlā* (Ibn

¹⁶⁰ There is not mention of *zandaqa*. This might reflect al-Jahshiyārī's view on the insignificance of one's faith in administration, though further analysis is in order.

¹⁶¹ Sibṭ Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Mir'at al-Zamān fī Tawārīkh al-A'yān*, Vol.12, 166, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 152-153, Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām wa Wafayāt al-Mashāhīr wa-l-A'lām*, Vol.9, 199.

¹⁶² Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-l-'Umam*, Vol.8, 57-58.

"ليس عليّ في المثلّة بك حرج، لأنك زنديق قد أفسدت الناس".

¹⁶³ Al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wafī bi-l-Wafayāt* 341.

¹⁶⁴ Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa-l-Kuttāb*, 110.

al-Muqaffa').¹⁶⁵ Ibrāhīm b. Jaballa replies to the *ghulam* that he did not see Ibn al-Muqaffa', even though the *ghulam* attests that he entered after him.

2.3 Repercussions of the Murder:

As I mentioned earlier, Ibn al-Muqaffa's biographical information is situated within the segment that revolves around al-Manṣūr's *kātib*, Abū Ayyūb. It is in this section that al-Jahshiyārī begins to inform us of the role Abū Ayyūb had in the murder of Ibn al-Muqaffa'. After Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya confessed to 'Umar b. Jamīl for killing Ibn al-Muqaffa', he advised that Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya attempts to convince Abū Ayyūb of his innocence. Both al-Jahshiyārī and al-Balādhurī narrate that Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya, along with some of his family members, went to al-Manṣūr in Kufa following 'Īsā b. 'Alī's accusation against him for killing Ibn al-Muqaffa'. In this period, al-Jahshiyārī states that al-Manṣūr revoked Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya's governorship until the matter is solved.¹⁶⁶ While al-Balādhurī merely states that Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya took some of his family members with him, al-Jahshiyārī gives them a more prominent role in the events which take place. According to al-Jahshiyārī, the family of Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya went with him in order to convince Abū Ayyūb to defend Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya in front of al-Manṣūr.¹⁶⁷ According to al-Jahshiyārī, Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya's family spoke harshly towards Abū Ayyūb and threatened him so much that he became terrified of them.¹⁶⁸ However, they promised that should he stand by Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya, they will speak to him respectfully and highly when talking to him and will not harm him. Under such circumstances, Abū Ayyūb surrendered to their terms and defended Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya against 'Īsā b. 'Alī. The significance of this passage and the inclusion of Sufyān's family members can only be appreciated when comparing al-Balādhurī with al-Jahshiyārī. When al-Balādhurī merely states that Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya's family came with him, he is not putting an emphasis on the context of why and what it means in the narration. Al-Jahshiyārī, on the other hand, emphasises these minute details that are prevalent in al-Balādhurī and gives significance to every piece of information by providing a backstory or reason for their

¹⁶⁵ I mentioned earlier the significance of authors mentioning Ibn al-Muqaffa's *ghulam* as a way to signify his social and financial status.

¹⁶⁶ Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa-l-Kuttāb*, 108.

" فقد أمرته بعزلك وبحملك "

¹⁶⁷ Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa-l-Kuttāb*, 108.

¹⁶⁸ Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa-l-Kuttāb*, 108.

" وخرج مع سفیان رجال من أهل بيته، فأشار عليهم رجل أن يلقوا أبا أيوب، فيكلموه كلاماً خشناً، يرهب معه منهم، ويتخوف ناحيتهم، وأن لا يسرفوا عليه فيحفظوه، ولا يضعفوا في مخاطبته فيطمعوه، ففعلوا ذلك."

existence. In al-Jahshiyārī's narration, the reader is exposed to the power that Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya and the Muhallabids had in Iraq, as well as the dynamics between *kuttāb* and the Arab tribes.¹⁶⁹ Arab tribes, more specifically, the Muhallabids are portrayed by al-Jahshiyārī to have maintained actual power over the *mawālī* and *kuttāb*, even if they were *mawālī* of the Abbasids. The Muhallabids only needed to threaten Abū Ayyūb for him to surrender to their demands.

When both 'Īsā b. 'Alī and Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya confronted al-Manṣūr on the murder of Ibn al-Muqaffa', al-Jahshiyārī narrates that Abū Ayyūb defended Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya's innocence, therefore leading to the dismissal of the case. Al-Jahshiyārī concludes with the following conversation between al-Manṣūr and Abū Ayyūb:

"كأنك تحسب أني لا أعرف موضع أكتب الخلق، وهو ابن المقفع مولاي. فلم يزل أبو أيوب خائفا له، يسعى ويدب في أمره حتى قتله."¹⁷⁰

"It is as if you assume I am unaware of who holds the position of the greatest *kātib* created, it is Ibn al-Muqaffa' my *mawālā*. Abū Ayyūb therefore remained fearful of him, striving and creeping on his [Ibn al-Muqaffa's] affairs until he killed him [Ibn al-Muqaffa']".

The passage suggests that Abū Ayyūb instigated the murder of Ibn al-Muqaffa' due to the animosity and jealousy he felt towards him. The significance of this passage alludes back to what I mentioned regarding the purpose of al-Jahshiyārī's book. Once again, we see that al-Jahshiyārī describes events through the perspective of administrators and the influence they had in shaping historical narratives. This is a key theme in al-Jahshiyārī's text whereby the explanation of certain historical events, such as the murder of Ibn al-Muqaffa', is a consequence of feud, jealousy, animosity, and betrayal by administrators.

Another significant point mentioned here is that al-Jahshiyārī reports that al-Manṣūr called Ibn al-Muqaffa' his *mawālā*. The term *mawālāya* which translates as "my *mawālā*" does not mean that Ibn al-Muqaffa' worked or was a *mawālā* to al-Manṣūr. Rather, it is that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was a *mawālā* to the Abbasids, because he converted to Islam under 'Īsā b. 'Alī. This passage reaffirms the status of Ibn al-Muqaffa' to the Abbasids as a *mawālā* to them, who according to al-Jahshiyārī was not killed by them, but rather by administrators and governors below them.

¹⁶⁹ Brian Ulrich, *Arabs in the Early Islamic Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), 116.

¹⁷⁰ Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa-l-Kuttāb*, 109.

2.4 Background and Character:

Regarding his background, al-Jahshiyārī states that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s family was from Jūr in Fārs.¹⁷¹ Unlike al-Balādhurī, al-Jahshiyārī does not portray Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ as a noble. However, both authors narrate that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was wealthy and generous.¹⁷² As previously mentioned, al-Balādhurī states that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ owned lands from his ancestral home in Fārs and would frequently transport its yield into Basra.¹⁷³ Al-Jahshiyārī on the other hand, explains that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ became wealthy from his profession as a *kātib* while working under the *dīwān* of ‘Umar b. Hubayra in *Kirmān*.¹⁷⁴ Thereby the former emphasises nobility and generational wealth as a means of material gain, the latter emphasises Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s skill and expertise as a *kātib*. Al-Jahshiyārī reports that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s earliest occupation as a *kātib* was with ‘Umar b. Hubayra, followed by al-Masīḥ b. al-Ḥawārī, and ending with ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī. Al-Jahshiyārī presents Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s career as an administrator to governors, whereas al-Balādhurī’s positions his career with military generals.

2.5 Conclusion:

The account presented by al-Jahshiyārī regarding Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biography offers a glimpse into the complex dynamic of power, politics, and personal motivations of administrators. Through the lens of al-Jahshiyārī’s narrative, we delve into the depths of a plot laden with animosities, treacherous alliances, and betrayals that ultimately culminates in the brutal murder of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘. The negotiation between Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and al-Manṣūr, as depicted by al-Jahshiyārī, is of great importance as it places *kātib* against caliph in the legal construction of the *amān*. This portrayal not only underscores the strategic acumen of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, but also serves as a reflection of the intricate power dynamics that characterised the Abbasid court. Al-Jahshiyārī’s narrative brings to light the role of various individuals in the lead-up to Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s murder. The complex web of relationships between Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya, ‘Umar b. Jamīl, and Abū Ayyūb paints a picture of intrigue, manipulation, and shifting allegiances. The significance of family influence, tribal dynamics, and personal animosities is palpable, revealing

¹⁷¹ Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā’ wa-l-Kuttāb*, 109.

¹⁷² I mentioned al-Balādhurī sharing several anecdotes which depict Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s wealth and generosity. Al-Jahshiyārī shares similar anecdotes referring to him paying the debt of others. Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā’ wa-l-Kuttāb*, 109.

¹⁷³ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.4, 218.

¹⁷⁴ Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā’ wa-l-Kuttāb*, 109.

how personal grudges and desires for power had a direct impact on Ibn al-Muqaffa'. The portrayal of Ibn al-Muqaffa's character is nuanced, highlighting his financial success, professional skill as a *kātib*, and his generosity. Al-Jahshiyārī's narrative diverges from al-Balādhurī's depiction of Ibn al-Muqaffa' as a noble, emphasising his rise to wealth and prominence through his expertise as a *kātib*.

The overall structure and location of the text is linked to Abū Ayyūb, who al-Jahshiyārī narrates was the primary cause and "architect" behind the murder of Ibn al-Muqaffa'. The biography therefore reflects not only the life and role Ibn al-Muqaffa' had as an administrator, but also the deception and betrayal of the administrative class. Ibn al-Muqaffa' is almost always portrayed by al-Jahshiyārī to have been a victim of power struggles between authorities. In the highest political level, Ibn al-Muqaffa' was victim to the power struggle between 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī and al-Manṣūr. Similarly, Ibn al-Muqaffa' was also a victim in the conflict between two governors, Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya and al-Masīḥ b. al-Ḥawārī. Ibn al-Muqaffa' was also a victim to the jealousy of Abū Ayyūb. In all these events, al-Jahshiyārī may have attempted to infer to the hostile environment and dangers that ensue a *kātib* to an authority.

3. Ibn al-Nadīm: *Al-Fihrist*

Al-Fihrist is a renowned bibliographic work written by Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990), a Muslim scholar and bibliographer who lived during the 10th century. The title "*al-Fihrist*" can be translated as "The Index" or "The Catalogue." It consists of ten sections and contains a vast amount of information about the books and authors that were known in the Islamic world during that period. Each of those ten sections contain several chapters.¹⁷⁵ Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography is located in section three (history, biographies, and genealogies) under chapter two which contains information on rulers, *kuttāb*, preachers, and messengers.¹⁷⁶ Ibn al-Nadīm perceived Ibn al-Muqaffa' primarily for his profession as a *kātib*. Although there is some information regarding Ibn al-Muqaffa elsewhere in the book, his biography is primarily in the mentioned chapter.¹⁷⁷ Ibn

¹⁷⁵ Devin Stewart, "The Structure of the Fihrist: Ibn al-Nadīm as Historian of Islamic Legal and Theological Schools," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 39, no. 3 (2007): 369, J.W. Fück, "Ibn al-Nadīm," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

¹⁷⁶ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 148-172.

¹⁷⁷ Other places Ibn al-Muqaffa' is mentioned is mostly regarding his translated work or information of his teacher Abū Ghūl. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 24-25, 67, 299-300, 303, 370-371.

al-Nadīm organises Ibn al-Muqaffaʿʼs biography similar to al-Balādhurī, in that he observes the following order:

1. Background
2. Character
3. *Sharṭ (amān)*
4. Murder
5. Work

Ibn al-Nadīmʼs biography on Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ is shorter than the one presented by al-Balādhurīʼs and al-Jahshiyārīʼs. For this reason, I will join several aspects of his biography in a single section such as his background and character. Otherwise, each section will be too small to discuss individually. Based on the objective and nature of the book, Ibn al-Nadīm introduces Ibn al-Muqaffaʿʼs biography in order to discuss the texts that are attributed to him. Therefore, a clear emphasis on Ibn al-Muqaffaʿʼs linguistic capabilities and his role as a *kātib* are exuberated.

3.1 Background and Character:

Ibn al-Nadīm introduces Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ by stating that his Persian name is Ruzbeh.¹⁷⁸ From this report, most modern authors use Ruzbeh as Ibn al-Muqaffaʿʼs name prior to his conversion.¹⁷⁹ However, Ibn al-Nadīm never states that his name prior to conversion was Ruzbeh, he merely says that his name in Persian is Ruzbeh, which translates as one who is fortunate.¹⁸⁰ No other source prior to Ibn al-Nadīm mentions the name Ruzbeh. Ibn Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), who died forty years after Ibn al-Nadīm, states that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿʼs birth name was Dādhbeh b. Dādh-Jashnas.¹⁸¹ However, as I mentioned earlier, al-Balādhurī associates the name Dādhbeh to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿʼs father not Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ.¹⁸² Whether Ibn al-Muqaffaʿʼs birth name was Ruzbeh or Dādhbeh is unknown. Ibn al-Nadīm does also bring up the information that Ibn al-

¹⁷⁸ "اسمه بالفارسية روزبه وهو عبد الله بن المقفع" Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 150.

¹⁷⁹ Lampe, "Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ: Political and Legal Theorist and Reformer," 8, Latham, "Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and early ʿAbbasid prose," 48, Arjomand, "ʿAbd-Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and the ʿAbbasid Revolution," 13, Shomali, "A Gloss on the Mirror, and a Proposal for Understanding Ibn al-Muqaffaʿʼs Political Theory," 1, Yousefi, "Islam without Fuqahāʾ: Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and His Perso-Islamic Solution to the Caliphateʼs Crisis of Legitimacy (70-142 AH/690-760 CE)," 4, ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Kāfila wa Dimnah*, ed. Michael Fishbein, trans. Michael Fishbein and James E. Montgomery (New York: New York University Press, 2021), xiii.

¹⁸⁰ Also translates as fortunate days or happy times. See: Francis Joseph Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English dictionary, including the Arabic words and phrases to be met with in Persian literature* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1892), 593.

¹⁸¹ Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad Ibn Miskawayh, *Al-Ḥikma al-Khālida*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī (1952), 293.

¹⁸² Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.4, 218.

Muqaffa' 's *kunyā* prior to Islam was Abū 'Umar and then changed to Abū Muḥammad, a point I discussed earlier.

According to Ibn al-Nadīm, Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's father was called al-Muqaffa' b. Mubārak.¹⁸³ Similar to al-Balādhurī, Ibn al-Nadīm states that the epithet al-Muqaffa' was due to the punishment he received from al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf after he was caught attempting to embezzle the sultan's wealth in Basra.¹⁸⁴ Ibn al-Nadīm then states that Ibn al-Muqaffa' is originally from Ḥūz, a village in Fārs.¹⁸⁵ This information is similar to al-Balādhurī and al-Jahshiyārī, both of whom state that Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's family was originally from Fārs. Regarding his career, Ibn al-Nadīm states that Ibn al-Muqaffa' worked for Da'ūd b. 'Umar b. Hubayra before for 'Īsā b. 'Alī in Kirmān, a view which differs from al-Balādhurī and al-Jahshiyārī. I have also mentioned regarding the anecdote of Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's father, that al-Jāḥiẓ and Ibn Qutayba narrate that it was Ibn al-Muqaffa' who was working under Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī the Umayyad governor of Iraq from 120-127/738-744.¹⁸⁶ Therefore we have five people who Ibn al-Muqaffa' is reported to have worked for prior to his employment with 'Īsā b. 'Alī: 'Umar b. Hubayra, Da'ūd b. 'Umar b. Hubayra, al-Masīḥ b. al-Ḥawārī, Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī, and 'Amr b. Ḍabāra. When recalling the career of Ibn al-Muqaffa', many modern authors either combine all the reports regarding his employment or depend solely on a single source.¹⁸⁷ However, given the vast discrepancies between the sources regarding Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's career it is difficult to say with full certainty who he was working for prior to 'Īsā b. 'Alī. Nonetheless, the most important factor between all the reports is that Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's profession was related to administration and worked during the Umayyad caliphate.

Regarding his character, Ibn al-Nadīm states that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was an eloquent writer and poet who was fluent in both Arabic and Persian.¹⁸⁸ Ibn al-Nadīm does not mention Ibn al-

¹⁸³ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 150.

¹⁸⁴ It is uncertain whether Ibn al-Nadīm here is using sultan to signify the *nāḥi* of Basra or the caliph. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 150.

"والمقفع بن المبارك وانما تقفع لان الحجاج بن يوسف ضربه بالبصرة في مال احتجته من مال السلطان ضريا مبرحا فتقفعت يده".

¹⁸⁵ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 150.

"وأصله من حوز مدينة من كور فارس".

¹⁸⁶ Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Al-Bayān wa-l-Tabayūn*, Vol.2, 113, Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn al-Akhbār*, Vol.1, 298.

¹⁸⁷ Lampe, "Ibn al-Muqaffa': Political and Legal Theorist and Reformer," 11, Latham, "Ibn al-Muqaffa' and early 'Abbasid prose," 49, Arjomand, "'Abd-Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa' and the 'Abbasid Revolution," 17, Kristó-Nagy, "Marriage after Rape: The Ambiguous Relationship between Arab Lords and Iranian Intellectuals as Reflected in Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's Oeuvre," in *Tradition and Reception in Arabic Literature*, 163, Yücesoy, *Disenchanted the caliphate: the secular discipline of power in Abbasid political thought*, 107.

¹⁸⁸ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 150.

Muqaffa' 's conversation to Islam as a point with which he is able to associate himself with the Abbasids. Instead, Ibn al-Nadīm connects Ibn al-Muqaffa' and the Abbasids through his teacher Abū al-Khāmūsh. Ibn al-Nadīm narrates that Abū al-Jāmūs Thūr b. Yazīd, a Bedouin Arab, was Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's teacher to whom his eloquence and expertise is credited to. However, the name is likely Abū al-Khāmūsh, the Bedouin that al-Balādhurī also narrated to have taught Ibn al-Muqaffa' .¹⁸⁹ According to Ibn al-Nadīm, Abū al-Khāmūsh frequently visited Āl Sulaymān b. 'Alī in Basra.¹⁹⁰ Therefore through his teacher Abū al-Khāmūsh, Ibn al-Muqaffa' was able to associate himself with Banū 'Alī. Similar to Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Jāhiz also suggests that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was able to connect himself to the Abbasids through someone else. According to al-Jāhiz Ibn al-Muqaffa' was a *mawla* of Āl Ahtam in Basra.¹⁹¹ Āl Ahtam carried significant social and political influence, especially in the early Abbasid period.¹⁹² Therefore, Ibn al-Nadīm constructs a different narrative from al-Balādhurī on how Ibn al-Muqaffa' associated himself to the Abbasids.

3.2 *Shart*, Murder, and Work:

According to Ibn al-Nadīm, Ibn al-Muqaffa' wrote the *shart* of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī and made it difficult for al-Manṣūr.¹⁹³ Unlike, al-Balādhurī and al-Jahshiyārī, Ibn al-Nadīm calls the *amān*, as *shart* 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī, meaning the conditions of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī. The *shart* and *amān*, are the same text, except that the *shart* refers specifically to the last section of the *amān* where the conditions and consequences of breaking the *amān* are placed. In this *shart*, Ibn al-Nadīm says the same as thing that al-Jahshiyārī and al-Balādhurī said when it comes to Ibn al-Muqaffa' making the conditions of the *amān* difficult for al-Manṣūr.¹⁹⁴ Ibn al-Nadīm then narrates that when Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya murdered Ibn al-Muqaffa' by burning him, al-Manṣūr supported his murder and therefore revoking any restitution to be made.¹⁹⁵ Unlike al-Balādhurī and al-Jahshiyārī who state that al-Manṣūr ordered the death of Ibn al-Muqaffa' , Ibn al-Nadīm states

¹⁸⁹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 218.

¹⁹⁰ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 67.

"أبو الجاموس ثور بن يزيد: أعراي وكان يفد البصرة على آل سليمان بن علي وعنه أخذ بن المقفع الفصاحة ولا مصنف له."

¹⁹¹ Al-Jāhiz, *Rasā'il al-Adabiya*, 208.

¹⁹² Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, "Khālid Ibn Ṣafwān: An Orator at the Umayyad and Abbasid Courts," in *In the Presence of Power*, ed. A. Pomerantz Maurice and Vitz Evelyn Birge (New York, USA: New York University Press, 2017), 101.

¹⁹³ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 150.

¹⁹⁴ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 150.

"وهو الذي عمل شرط عبد الله بن علي على المنصور وتصعب في احتياظه فيه فاحفظ ذلك أبا جعفر."

¹⁹⁵ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 150.

"فلما قتله سفيان بن معاوية حرقا بالنار وقع ذلك من المنصور بالموفق فلم يطلب بثاره وطل دمه."

that after he was murdered, al-Manṣūr did not object to it.¹⁹⁶ However, Ibn al-Nadīm does not report that al-Manṣūr ordered or wished Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ dead. A subtle but impactful difference compared to previous authors. In Ibn al-Nadīm’s biography of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, al-Manṣūr was not an accessory to his murder, as he did not instigate, provoke, or encourage it. Rather, he is portrayed to merely approve of it after the deed was done.

Ibn al-Nadīm concludes Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biographical information with the titles of books that he is attributed to have translated and those he wrote.¹⁹⁷ According to Ibn al-Nadīm Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was both fluent in Arabic and Persian and translated several texts from Persian to Arabic; a topic I discuss extensively in chapter three.

3.4 Conclusion:

In summary, Ibn al-Nadīm’s portrayal of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ offers both convergence and distinctiveness compared to earlier sources. The introduction of the name Ruzbeh as a possible Persian epithet or birthname of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ is something earlier sources do not mention. Ibn al-Nadīm’s account also corroborates al-Balādhurī and al-Jahshiyārī regarding Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s origins and epithet, attributing it to a punishment by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. However, a notable departure is Ibn al-Nadīm’s representation of his employment history, suggesting diverse employers prior to ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī. Ibn al-Nadīm also emphasises the connection Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s teacher Abū al-Khāmūsh had with the Abbasids, suggesting that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ associated himself with the Abbasids through his teacher.

The crucial element of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s role in writing the *sharḥ* of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī is distinctively highlighted in Ibn al-Nadīm’s account. Ibn al-Nadīm’s nuanced depiction of al-Manṣūr’s involvement in Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s murder diverges from earlier accounts. Instead of directly ordering the murder, al-Manṣūr’s passive acceptance of it, as stated by Ibn al-Nadīm, reframes his role in the tragedy. *Al-Fihrist* is a collection of various texts produced by authors. Therefore, the main purpose of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biography is to present him as an author and translator.

¹⁹⁶ While both al-Balādhurī and al-Jahshiyārī narrate that al-Manṣūr ordered the death of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, al-Jahshiyārī narrates that al-Manṣūr merely said “*is there no one who can get rid of him for me?*”. See the section on al-Jahshiyārī above for more information.

¹⁹⁷ Works attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ is further examined in Chapter 3.

4. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī: *Mir'āt al-Zamān*

Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 654/1256) was a prominent medieval Islamic scholar, historian, and theologian based in Baghdad.¹⁹⁸ His epithet *sibṭ* means “grandson” since he was the grandson of the prominent scholar ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201).¹⁹⁹ One of Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī’s work is “*Mir'āt al-Zamān*” which is translated as “*Mirror of the Ages*”. *Mir'āt al-Zamān* is an extensive history of the world from the creation of Adam up to the author’s time. It covers historical events, biographical accounts, and various historical anecdotes. The book also includes numerous stories and anecdotes about historical figures, highlighting their virtues, moral character, and contributions. It is in this book that we find biographical information on Ibn al-Muqaffa’

Mir'āt al-Zamān is organised chronologically with each year containing biographical information of people who the author perceived were significant and who died in the corresponding year they are placed in. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī introduces Ibn al-Muqaffa’ in the year 145/762.²⁰⁰ Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī organises the biographical information on Ibn al-Muqaffa’ in the following manner:

1. Background and Character
2. Work and *Adab*
3. *Amān* and Murder
4. Repercussions of the Murder

This structure of organisation is similar to al-Balādhurī’s structure and Ibn al-Nadīm’s. Throughout the text, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī cites al-Balādhurī as an authority in some of the information he is narrating. We therefore find close parallels in their style. However, unlike al-Balādhurī, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī does not introduce Ibn al-Muqaffa’ in a section regarding al-Manṣūr. Instead, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī dedicates an independent section to Ibn al-Muqaffa’.

¹⁹⁸ Cl. Cahen, "Ibn al-Djawzī, Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf b. Ḳizoghlu, known as Sibṭ," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

¹⁹⁹ From amongst Ibn al-Jawzī’s work is “al-Muntaẓam fi Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-l-‘Umam”, which is a historical and biographical work. Although Ibn al-Jawzī has information on Ibn al-Muqaffa’, he does not give a biographical overview of his life, similar to what other sources do. Ibn al-Jawzī explains is Ibn al-Muqaffa’’s role in writing the *amān*, his murder, and his relation to Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya, something that was already mentioned by earlier authors. It is for this reason that I decided to make Ibn al-Jawzī a supplementary sources rather than one who shares biographical information on Ibn al-Muqaffa’. See: Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam fi Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-l-‘Umam*, Vol.8, 56-58.

²⁰⁰ Sibṭ Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Mir'at al-Zamān fi Tawārīkh al-A‘yān*, Vol.12, 164-167.

4.1 Background:

Similar to al-Balādhurī, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī reports the same information regarding Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’s origins and epithet.²⁰¹ According to Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ became articulate and eloquent in Arabic prior to the Abbasid revolution. According to Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī:

"جاءت الدولة وقد مات أبوه فصحب بني علي بن عبد الله بن عباس، وكان يكتب لهم، وكتب أيضا لأبي جعفر".²⁰²

“The *dawla* came [Abbasid] and his father passed away, so he befriended Banū ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās, and he was their *kātib*, and he wrote for Abū Ja‘far [al-Manṣūr] as well.”

The passage above introduces new information regarding Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’s father and Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’ s employment to al-Manṣūr, a point that is absent from previous sources. The author says “*qad mā ta abūhu fa-ṣaḥība Banū ‘Alī*”. The “*fā*” in this context signifies one of two things: Either it is a “*fā*” *al-ta‘qīb*” (chronological) or “*fā*” *al-sababiya*” (cause).²⁰³ If the author meant to imply a “*fā*” *al-ta‘qīb*” then following the revolution, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’s father died and immediately after he befriended Banū ‘Alī. An emphasis on immediate chronology is incorporated into the text because of the “*fā*”. However, if the author meant to imply “*fā*” *al-sababiya*, then following the revolution, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ befriended Banū ‘Alī because his father died. We therefore find two different interpretations of the text, whereby one emphasises immediate chronology and the other emphasises cause and effect. The text is ambiguous as it could be referring to either interpretation. However, it is likely that the text is referring to chronology since al-Balādhurī mentioned that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ befriended ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī following the revolution, albeit without referring to immediacy.²⁰⁴ I have mentioned previously that both al-Jāhīz and Ibn al-Nadīm illustrate how Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ might have come to the employment of Banū ‘Alī through either Āl Ahtam or Abū al-Khāmūsh.²⁰⁵ Therefore, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī may also be implying that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ was able to associate himself to the Abbasids, without the

²⁰¹ Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir’at al-Zamān fi Tawārīkh al-A‘yān*, Vol.12, 164.

²⁰² Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir’at al-Zamān fi Tawārīkh al-A‘yān*, Vol.12, 164.

²⁰³ For more information on the difference between the two in Arabic grammar, see: Zāhir Shawkat Al-Bayātī, *Kitāb Adawāt al-Irāb* (Beirut: Majd al-Mu’assasa al-Jāmi’iya li-al-Dirasāt wa-l-Nashir wa-l-Tawzī’, 2005), 134.

²⁰⁴ However, al-Balādhurī does not imply urgency only chronology. This is evident by the use of the word “*thumā*” and without “*fā*”. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 218.

"تم لما جاءت الدولة صحب بني علي".

²⁰⁵ Refer to the section on Ibn al-Nadīm regarding Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’ s background and character.

assistance of his father, because he died prior to the *dawla*. As for the inclusion that al-Manṣūr was Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s employer; this could either be new information presented by Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, or to refer that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was al-Manṣūr’s *mawlā*, a point that al-Jahshiyārī also reported.

A small part of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biographical information in this text is dedicated to the accusation of *zandaqa* made against him. *Mir‘āt al-Zamān* is the first source out of the four that I have mentioned, which directly accuses Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ of *zandaqa*. This section is made up of three anecdotes and a statement by the author. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī narrates an identical anecdote to al-Balādhurī, regarding the night Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ converted to Islam.²⁰⁶ The author then states that even though he [Ibn al-Muqaffa‘] was esteemed, he was accused of *zandaqa*.²⁰⁷ Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī then narrates that after Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ converted to Islam, whenever he passed by a fire temple (*bayt al-nār*) belonging to *al-majūs*, he acted by reciting the following verses of a poem: “I am showing you rejection, but I swear to you that this rejection is only pulling me closer to you”.²⁰⁸ The verses are by the famous Umayyad-era poet ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Anṣārī (d. 105/724), also known as al-Aḥwaṣ.²⁰⁹ Several earlier authors to Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī also narrate a similar anecdote, though in different circumstances and verses. The anecdote first appears in Ibn Qutayba’s *‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār*. Ibn Qutayba does not give any context except that when Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ passed by a fire temple he recited the verse:

"يا بيت عاتكة الذي أتعزل - حذر العدى وبه الفؤاد موكل".²¹⁰

“Oh, house of ‘Ātika that I avoid – in fear of my enemy, my heart is burdened.”

The verse mentioned by Ibn Qutayba is located prior to the one narrated by Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī in the poem. The association of the poem with Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ is then transmitted by several later sources with various renditions. To name a few, Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (356/967) narrates that the poem involved Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s son as well, and Abū Ishāq al-Tha‘ālabī (d. 426/1035) states

²⁰⁶ Sibṭ Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Mir‘at al-Zamān fi Tawārīkh al-A‘yān*, Vol.12, 164.

"وجاء إلى عيسى بن علي فقال له: قد دخل الإسلام في قلبي، وأريد أن أسلم على يدك، فقال له عيسى: ليكن ذلك بمحضر من القواد ووجه الناس، فإذا كان غدا فاحضر، ثم حضر طعام عيسى عشية ذلك اليوم، فجلس يأكل ويترجم على عادة المجوس، فقال له عيسى: أتزمم وأنت على عزم الإسلام؟ فقال: أكره أن أبيت ليلة على غير دين، فلما أصبح أسلم على يده".

²⁰⁷ Sibṭ Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Mir‘at al-Zamān fi Tawārīkh al-A‘yān*, Vol.12, 164.

"وكان مع فضله يتهم بالزندقة".

²⁰⁸ Sibṭ Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Mir‘at al-Zamān fi Tawārīkh al-A‘yān*, Vol.12, 164.

"إني لأمنحك الصدود وإنني ... قسما إليك مع الصدود لأميل".

²⁰⁹ Al-Balādhurī states that the poem is dedicated to ‘Ātika, daughter of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.5, 286.

²¹⁰ Ibn Qutayba, *‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, Vol.1, 113-114.

that it was Yaḥyā b. Khālīd who recited it with Ibn al-Muqaffa‘.²¹¹ Both Ibn Qutayba and al-Iṣfahānī narrate the poem in a section of the book that is associated with the poetry of al-Aḥwaṣ and its use by later prominent figures.²¹² Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī’s inclusion of this poem, even though it’s a different verse from previous renditions, is meant to portray the accusation of *zandaqa* made against Ibn al-Muqaffa‘. Not only does Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī state that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ recited the poem, but also that he did so following his conversation to Islam. The accusation of *zandaqa* made against Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and its evolution throughout medieval authors is a subject I discuss in the following chapter. However, at the time of Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī the accusation of *zandaqa* against Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ has become prominent enough to be included as an integral part of his biography. The accusation of *zandaqa* will become more prominent, as I will illustrate in Ibn Khallikān’s biography of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘.

4.2 Work and *Adab*:

Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī narrates several quotes from Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s *al-Adāb al-kabīr* as well as anecdotes regarding his knowledge in *adab*.²¹³ He also mentions the anecdote I mentioned earlier regarding Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and al-Farāhīdī whereby the latter states that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s knowledge is greater than his *‘aql*.²¹⁴

4.3 *Amān* and Murder:

I have mentioned earlier that Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī reported that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was the *kātib* of al-Manṣūr. This connection is significant when we see how Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī’s portrayal and interpretation of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s murder is reflected in his text. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī highlights the insults between Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya similar to what was narrated by previous authors.²¹⁵

²¹¹ Abū Bakr Al-Khawārizmī, *Al-Amthāl al-Muwallada* (Abu Dhabi: Al-Mujama‘ al-Thaqāfī, 2003), 340, Abū al-Faraj Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 25 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 2008), Vol.21, 81, Abū Manṣūr Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Thimār al-Qulūb* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif), 316, Al-Sharīf Al-Murtaḍa, *Kitāb Amāli al-Murtaḍa Ghurar al-Fawā’id wa Durar al-Qalā’id*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Syria: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Kutub al-‘Arabiya, 1954), Vol.1, 135, Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntazam fi Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-l’Umam*, Vol.8, 56, Sibṭ Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Mir’at al-Zamān fi Tawārīkh al-A‘yān*, Vol.12, 164, Al-Ḥamawī, *Mu’jam al-‘Udabā’*, Vol.3, 968.

²¹² In al-Iṣfahānī it is in the chapter that is dedicated to the biographical information of al-Aḥwaṣ.

²¹³ Sibṭ Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Mir’at al-Zamān fi Tawārīkh al-A‘yān*, Vol.12, 164-165.

²¹⁴ See section in al-Balādhurī regarding Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s character.

²¹⁵ Sibṭ Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Mir’at al-Zamān fi Tawārīkh al-A‘yān*, Vol.12, 165-166.

Sulaymān b. ‘Alī and ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī appointed Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ to write the *amān* of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī. However, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī states that it was al-Manṣūr who ordered Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ to write the *amān* and ordered him to make the conditions flexible and therefore more favourable to him [al-Manṣūr].²¹⁶ Having done the opposite by disobeying al-Manṣūr’s command and making the conditions of the *amān* severe, al-Manṣūr ordered his death. What can be observed is that although most sources agree al-Manṣūr was an accomplice to the murder of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, the interpretation and reason for his involvement differs throughout these sources. Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s murder in the hands of Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya is almost identical to what al-Balādhurī reports, including the alternate methods of murder.²¹⁷

4.4 Repercussions of the Murder:

The repercussion of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s murder narrated by Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī is similar to that of previous authors.²¹⁸ When concluding Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biographical information, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī mentions that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was from amongst the poets of “*al-Ḥamāsa*”. *Al-Ḥamāsa* is a collection of poems compiled by the 9th century poet Abū Tammām (d. 230/845).²¹⁹ Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī does not give much context to the poem that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ is said to have written, except that it was a eulogy.²²⁰ However, based on the three *abyāt* that Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī shares, the poem starts with a dedication to “Abū ‘Amr”.²²¹ According to earlier medieval authors such as Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad al-Marzūqī (d. 421/1030), al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍa (435/1044), and Abū al-Qāsim al-Fārsī (d. 467/1075), Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ dedicated the poem to Yaḥyā b. Ziyād al-Ḥārthī (d.

²¹⁶ Sibṭ Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Mir’at al-Zamān fi Tawārikh al-A‘yān*, Vol.12, 166.

"أَتَّفَقَ أَنْ أَبَا جَعْفَرٍ قَالَ لِابْنِ الْمُقَفَّعِ: اكْتُبْ كِتَابَ أَمَانَ لِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ، وَسَهِّلِ الْأَمْرَ فِيهِ."

²¹⁷ Referring to the alternate methods of murder that al-Balādhurī narrated. Sibṭ Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Mir’at al-Zamān fi Tawārikh al-A‘yān*, Vol.12, 167.

²¹⁸ Sibṭ Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Mir’at al-Zamān fi Tawārikh al-A‘yān*, Vol.12, 166.

²¹⁹ Wen-chin Ouyang, *Literary Criticism in Medieval Arabic Islamic Culture: The Making of a Tradition, Literary Criticism in Medieval Arabic Islamic Culture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 65, H. Ritter, "Abū Tammām," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

²²⁰ Sibṭ Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Mir’at al-Zamān fi Tawārikh al-A‘yān*, Vol.12, 167.

²²¹ To summarise, the poem starts with a dedication to Abū ‘Amr stating that no one alive is as he. Then the poet states that your death may have been beneficial because we can no longer feel more pain or sorrow after your passing. Sibṭ Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Mir’at al-Zamān fi Tawārikh al-A‘yān*, Vol.12, 167.

"رَزَّنَا أَبَا عَمْرٍو وَلَا حِي مِثْلَهُ ... فَلِلَّهِ رَيْبُ الْحَادِثَاتِ بِمَنْ وَقَعَ
فَإِنْ تَكَ قَدْ فَارَقْتَنَا وَتَرَكْتَنَا ... ذُوِي خَلَّةٍ مَا فِي أَنْسَادِ لَهَا طَمَعٍ
فَقَدْ جَرَّ نَفْعًا فَقَدْنَا لَكَ إِنَّا ... أَمْنَا عَلَى كُلِّ الرِّزَايَا مِنَ الْجَزَعِ."

186/789).²²² Yaḥyā b. Ziyād al-Ḥārthī was the cousin of al-Saffāḥ from his mother's side and was a Kufan poet.²²³ Ibn Khallikān however argues that the author of the poem was not Ibn al-Muqaffa', but rather his son, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa'.²²⁴ Ibn Khallikān also adds that the poem was not a eulogy to Yaḥyā b. Ziyād but rather to Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (d. 153/770), a prominent Basran *ḥafīz* and grammarian.²²⁵ Abū 'Amr was the brother of Ibn al-Muqaffa''s friend, Abū Sufyān b. al-'Alā', as reported by al-Balādhurī.²²⁶ He was also the mentor and teacher of Ibn al-Muqaffa''s acquaintance, al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī.²²⁷ We are not certain whether Ibn al-Muqaffa' wrote this poem, especially since we have little evidence that he did write poetry. However, Al-Jāḥiẓ states that Ibn al-Muqaffa' never wrote poetry.²²⁸ Therefore, the eulogy may have been a later attribution to Ibn al-Muqaffa' or written by his son.

4.5 Conclusion:

Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī's account of Ibn al-Muqaffa' offers both parallels and variations when compared to earlier sources. Through his narrative, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī aligns with al-Balādhurī's accounts in almost all details of Ibn al-Muqaffa''s biography. However, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī introduces new elements, notably shedding light on Ibn al-Muqaffa''s murder and his association with al-Manṣūr. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī also offers insights into the motivations and reasoning behind Ibn al-Muqaffa''s murder differently by earlier chroniclers. The accusation of *zandaqa* gains prominence in Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī's biography of Ibn al-Muqaffa'. We find an important and rather significant emphasis by Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī's on Ibn al-Muqaffa''s accusation of *zandaqa*. What was initially narrated by al-Jahshiyārī as a parallel insult between Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya and Ibn al-Muqaffa', has now become an accusation of *zandaqa*.

²²² Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Al-Marzūqī, *Kitāb Sharḥ Diwān al-Ḥamāsa* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 2003), 610, Al-Murtaḍa, *Kitāb Amālī al-Murtaḍa Ghurar al-Fawā'id wa Durar al-Qalā'id*, Vol.1, 135, Abū Qāsim Al-Fārsī, *Kitāb Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsa Abū Tamām li-l-Fārsī* (Beirut: Dār al-Awzā'), Vol.2, 397.

²²³ Al-Fārsī, *Kitāb Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsa Abū Tamām li-l-Fārsī*, Vol.2, 397, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Thābit Māhdī al-Shafī'ī Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārikh Baghdad wa Dhyūla*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyā, 1996), Vol.4, 111.

²²⁴ The reason he gives is because Ibn al-Muqaffa' died before Abū 'Amr, therefore he could not have written a eulogy. See: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, Vol.3, 469.

²²⁵ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, Vol.3, 469.

²²⁶ "وكان صديقا لابن المقفع" See: Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.13, 53.

²²⁷ See: Al-'Asqalānī Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān* (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiya, 2002), Vol.7, 476, Karin C. Ryding, *Early Medieval Arabic: Studies on al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad* (Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press, 1998), 2.

²²⁸ Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Al-Bayān wa-l-Tabyīn*, Vol.1, 181, 183, Jār Allāh Al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī' al-Abrār wa Nuṣūṣ al-Akhyār* (Beirut: Mu'asasat al-'Ilamiya 1992), Vol.5, 208.

Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī also places Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s death in the year 145/762. Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī does not mention or elaborate on Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s date of death in the main text, only in the section. However, since it is a topic that Ibn Khallikān extensively discusses, I decided to mention it in the following section.

5. Ibn Khallikān: Wafayāt al-A‘yān

Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), also known as Shams al-Dīn Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Khallikān, was a renowned medieval Arab Muslim scholar, biographer, and historian. Ibn Khallikān’s work, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān wa-‘anbā’ abnā’ al-zamān* (The deaths of eminent men and the history of the sons of the epoch) is an extensive biographical dictionary that covers the lives of prominent individuals from various fields, including scholars, poets, historians, theologians, philosophers, rulers, and many others.²²⁹ The book encompasses both historical and contemporary figures, making it a comprehensive compilation of biographical information.²³⁰

Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biographical information is mentioned mostly in chapter “ḥā” under the section regarding Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922). Al-Ḥallāj is considered one of the most prominent figures in Islamic mysticism but is also remembered for his unorthodox teachings and eventual execution for being a *zindīq*.²³¹ The reason Ibn Khallikān introduces Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ in al-Ḥallāj’s biography is because Ibn Khallikān argues against a statement by Imām al-Ḥaramayn Ḍiḡa‘ al-Dīn al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) regarding al-Ḥallāj and Ibn al-Muqaffa‘.²³² According to Ibn Khallikān, al-Juwaynī stated that three people lived in the Islamic world and were pillars of corruption and misguidance to the people. The three mentioned names are al-Ḥallāj, Abū Sa‘d al-Jannābī²³³ (d. 300/913), and Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, who he says spread corruption in the lands adjacent to the Turks.²³⁴ The whole purpose of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biographical information in *Wafayāt al-a‘yān* is for the author to argue that al-Juwaynī was mistaken to include Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ from amongst the three people, and must have instead meant an individual by the name al-Muqanna‘.²³⁵ This argument is reasserted in Ibn Khallikān’s conclusion of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biography as well.²³⁶ Therefore when looking at Ibn Khallikān presentation of Ibn al-

²²⁹ Füek, "Ibn Khallikān," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

²³⁰ Wedel Gerhard, "Ibn Khallikān," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Third Edition* (Brill).

²³¹ Louis Massignon, *The Passion of al-Ḥallāj, Mystic and Martyr of Islam*, ed. Mason Herbert (2021: repr., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1922), 3-51, Jonathan Berkey, "Islam," in *The New Cambridge History of Islam: Islamic Cultures and Societies to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Robert Irwin, vol. 4, *The New Cambridge History of Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 47.

²³² Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A‘yān wa-‘Anbā’ Abnā’ al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 146.

²³³ Founder of the Qarāmiṡa movement in Bahrain and the gulf. See: Halm Heinz, "Al-Jannābī, Abū Sa‘īd," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Brill).

²³⁴ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A‘yān wa-‘Anbā’ Abnā’ al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 146.

"وقد ذكر طائفة من الأثبات الثقات: إن هؤلاء الثلاثة تواصلوا على قلب الدولة، والتعرض لإفساد المملكة، واستعطاف القلوب واستمالتها، وارتاد كل واحد منهم قطرا: أما الجنابي فأكناف الأحساء، وابن المقفع توغل في أطراف بلاد الترك، وارتاد الحلاج قطر بغداد، فحكم عليه صاحبا بالهلكة والقصور عن درك الأمانة لبعده أهل العراق عن الانخداع؛ هذا آخر كلام إمام الحرمين، رحمه الله."

²³⁵ Al-Muqanna‘ is further discussed in the following chapter. He revolted against the Abbasids in 152/769 and declared prophethood in Sogdiana, an area in Transoxiana that is “adjacent to the Turks”.

²³⁶ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A‘yān wa-‘Anbā’ Abnā’ al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 155.

Muqaffa', it is important to keep in mind that the author had a specific issue he wanted to address. There are other areas in the book Ibn al-Muqaffa' is mentioned in anecdotes when narrating other figures such as al-Farāhīdī or 'Īsā b. 'Alī.²³⁷

Ibn Khallikān's biography on Ibn al-Muqaffa' includes information we have not discussed extensively such as Ibn al-Muqaffa's age and the year of his death. Other than those two, the information Ibn Khallikān reports is almost identical to what was mentioned by previous sources, especially since he sometimes names Šibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī and al-Balādhurī as a source. Ibn Khallikān structures the biographical information of Ibn al-Muqaffa' in the following manner:

1. Background
 - a. Conversion to Islam.
 - b. Accusation of *zandaqa*.
 - c. Character, *Adab*, and work.
2. *Al-amān*, murder, and repercussions of his murder.
3. Year of death and name.
4. Conclusion

5.1 Background:

Ibn Khallikān introduces Ibn al-Muqaffa' as a *kātib*, *ṣāhib al-rasā'il al-badī'a*²³⁸, from *ahl* Fārs, and that he was a *majūsī* who converted to Islam under 'Īsā b. 'Alī.²³⁹ Ibn Khallikān narrates a similar anecdote to al-Balādhurī regarding the night Ibn al-Muqaffa' converted to Islam in the hands of 'Īsā b. 'Alī.²⁴⁰ Ibn Khallikān also mentions Ibn al-Muqaffa's work, his *adab*, and the accusation of *zandaqa*.²⁴¹ Ibn Khallikān also narrates the anecdote regarding al-Farāhīdī and Ibn al-Muqaffa' which I discussed earlier.

"ولما وقفت على كلام إمام الحرمين - رحمه الله تعالى - ولم يمكن أن يكون ابن المقفع أحد الثلاثة المذكورين قلت: لعله أراد المقنع الخراساني الذي ادعى الريوبية، وأظهر القمر - كما شرحته في ترجمته بعد هذا في حرف العين - فإن اسمه عطاء، ويكون الناسخ قد حرف كلام إمام الحرمين فأراد أن يكتب المقنع فكتب المقنع فإنه يقرب منه في الخط. فيكون الغلط والتحريف من الناسخ لا من الإمام."

²³⁷ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 246, Vol.3, 231, Vol.3, 468, Vol.7, 26, .

²³⁸ *Ṣāhib al-rasā'il al-badī'a*, meaning author of the exquisite letters. This is in regarded to Ibn al-Muqaffa's work al-Yatīma which I discuss extensively in chapter three.

²³⁹ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 151.

²⁴⁰ The anecdote mentioned in Ibn al-Khallikān will be briefly discussed in the respective section of this chapter, only because where it is located in the book signifies the purpose of the text. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 151.

²⁴¹ Regarding his work, Ibn Khallikān highlights the excellence of al-Yatīma, which are what he says previously *al-rasā'il al-badī'a*. Regarding the *zandaqa*, Ibn Khallikān mentions a list of three people that are accused of *zandaqa*. The list of those accused of *zandaqa* is a topic I discuss extensively in the following chapter under the section called: The Social Circle of Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

5.2 *Amān* and Murder:

Similar to previous sources, Ibn Khallikān states that Ibn al-Muqaffa' and Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya would frequently insult one another.²⁴² Regarding the *amān* and the conditions placed, Ibn Khallikān reports similar information to previous authors, with a few exceptions. According to Ibn Khallikān, it was 'Īsā b. 'Alī who ordered Ibn al-Muqaffa' to insert strict and harsh conditions into the *amān*, so that al-Manṣūr would not harm 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī.²⁴³ Thus far, we have seen different interpretations why Ibn al-Muqaffa' wrote the *amān* the way he did. Al-Balādhurī narrated that Ibn al-Muqaffa' did not write in a way that should be written to kings. Al-Jahshiyārī stated that there were several correspondences between Ibn al-Muqaffa' and al-Manṣūr and although al-Manṣūr was agitated by the conditions, it was his *mawlā* who wrote to Sufyān b. Mu'āwiya to have him killed. Šibt Ibn al-Jawzī reported that it was because he disobeyed al-Manṣūr's command when writing the *amān*. Ibn Khallikān puts the blame on 'Īsā b. 'Alī ordering Ibn al-Muqaffa' to insert harsh conditions. Nonetheless, all authors agree that it was the conditions placed which angered al-Manṣūr and ultimately led to his murder. Ibn Khallikān narrates the murder and the repercussions following it, similar to previous authors.²⁴⁴

5.3 Year of Death and Name:

Ibn Khallikān refers to Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, who as mentioned, placed Ibn al-Muqaffa's death in the year 145/762. Ibn Khallikān then narrates that 'Umar b. Shabba (d. 262/876) the author of *Akhbār al-Basra*, states that Ibn al-Muqaffa' died in the year 142/759 or 143/760.²⁴⁵ However, Ibn Khallikān argues that Sulaymān b. 'Alī went with 'Īsā b. 'Alī when seeking restitution to Ibn al-Muqaffa's murder and Sulaymān b. 'Alī is said to have died in the year 142/759.²⁴⁶ Ibn Khallikān therefore concludes that Ibn al-Muqaffa' died in the year 142/759.²⁴⁷ Later authors

²⁴² Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 152.

²⁴³ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 152.

"فلما أتيا البصرة قالا لعبد الله ابن المقفع: اكتبه أنت وبالغ في التأكيد كي لا يقتله المنصور. وقد ذكرت أن ابن المقفع كان كاتباً لعيسى بن علي، فكتب ابن المقفع الأمان وشدد فيه حتى قال في جملة فصوله: "ومتى غدر أمير المؤمنين بعمة عبد الله بن علي، فتساؤه طوالق، ودوابه حبس، وعبيده أحرار، والمسلمون في حل من بيعته."

²⁴⁴ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 152-153.

²⁴⁵ Unfortunately, *Akhbār al-Basra* in its entirety is yet to be discovered today.

²⁴⁶ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 154, Bosworth, "Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

²⁴⁷ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 154.

such as al-Dhahabī state that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ either died 142/759 or 145/162 at the age of 36.²⁴⁸ Ibn Kathīr states that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ died in the year 145/162 as well.²⁴⁹ In Abū Zakariyā al-Azdī’s (d. 334/946) *Tārīkh al-Mawṣil* that I previously mentioned, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s *amān* is dated in the year 138/755, therefore he must have died after that date.²⁵⁰ Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ states that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was killed by Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya when Sufyān became governor.²⁵¹ Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ dates Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s death in the year 137/754.²⁵² Similar to Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, al-Ṣafadī, also dates Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s death in the year 137/754.²⁵³ Therefore, unless we find new material on the matter, what is known is that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s murder took place sometime between 137-142/754-759.

Regarding his name, Ibn Khallikān presents the story of al-Muqaffa‘ (Dadhoe) and al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, that I mentioned earlier, as well as different renditions that involve Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī instead of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.²⁵⁴ Ibn Khallikān, followed by al-Dhahabī, and al-Ṣafadī, bring up the possibility that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s name might have been Ibn al-Muqaffī‘, an aptronym to signify one who weaves baskets.²⁵⁵ However, Ibn Khallikān along with later authors say that it is likely Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, because it has become the most popular explanation.²⁵⁶

5.4 Conclusion:

In conclusion, it is paramount to recognise that Ibn Khallikān’s presentation serves a specific purpose - to challenge the assertion that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was a corrupting influence near the Turks. His structured approach in detailing Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biographical information encompasses various facets, including his background, conversion to Islam, accusations of heresy, and character. Moreover, Ibn Khallikān intricately explores the circumstances

"ولا خلاف في أن سليمان بن علي المقدم ذكره مات في سنة اثنتين وأربعين ومائة، وقد ذكرنا أنه قام مع أخيه عيسى بن علي في طلب ثار ابن المقفع، فبدل أيضا على أنه قتل في هذه السنة، والله أعلم".

²⁴⁸ Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām wa Wafayāt al-Mashāhīr wa-l-A‘lām*, Vol.9, 200.

²⁴⁹ Ismail b. ‘Umar Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wa-l-Nihāya*, ed. ‘Abd-Allāh b. ‘Abd al-ḥassan al-Turkī (Cairo: Maktab Hājir li-al-Ṭibā’a wa-l-Nashir wa Tawzī‘ al-I‘lān, 2003), Vol. 13, 385.

²⁵⁰ I mentioned this source earlier in the section of al-Jahshiyārī as one of the two existing sources that present the full copy of the *amān*. Al-Azdī, *Tārīkh al-Mūṣul*, 145.

²⁵¹ Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah Ibn Khayyāṭ*, 417.

²⁵² Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah Ibn Khayyāṭ*, 417.

²⁵³ Al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wafā bi-l-Wafayāt* Vol.7, 340.

²⁵⁴ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A‘yān wa-Anbā’ Abnā’ al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 155.

²⁵⁵ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A‘yān wa-Anbā’ Abnā’ al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 155, Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām wa Wafayāt al-Mashāhīr wa-l-A‘lām*, Vol.9, 200, Al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wafā bi-l-Wafayāt* 344.

²⁵⁶ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A‘yān wa-Anbā’ Abnā’ al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 155.

"القول الأول هو المشهور بين العلماء، وهو فتح الغاء".

surrounding *al-amān*, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's murder, its motivations, and its aftermath, consistent with earlier sources.

An interesting nuance surfaces in Ibn Khallikān's examination of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's age at the time of his murder and the year of his demise. By citing different sources such as Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī and ʿAmr b. Shaba, Ibn Khallikān assesses the authenticity of these claims, ultimately deducing that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ passed away in the year 142/759.

Lastly, Ibn Khallikān explores the intriguing question of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's name, delving into anecdotes surrounding al-Muqaffaʿ (Dadhoe) and al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, with varying renditions. Despite alternative viewpoints proposing al-Muqaffīʿ, Ibn Khallikān leans toward Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ due to its wider scholarly recognition.

The biographical information presented by Ibn Khallikān on Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ illustrates how certain details have developed or shifted throughout the centuries. Al-Balādhurī viewed Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ as being from the Iraqi elite and from a noble Fārs family. However, almost five centuries later, Ibn Khallikān builds the Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ' s biography with the objective to prove that he was not a *zindīq* who corrupted the lands adjacent to the Turks. In contrast, al-Balādhurī, al-Jahshiyārī, and Ibn al-Nadīm barely mention the issue of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ' s faith's and was not something to be considered in his biography. However, at a time contemporary to Šibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Khallikān after him, the accusation of *zandaqa* against Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ has become a very prominent issue for it to be mentioned as part of his biography. After all, Ibn Khallikān's states that his purpose for writing Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ' s biography is to prove that he was not the *fāsid* (corrupt) that al-Juwaynī depicted him to be. This shift in the political connections Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ had, the reason for his murder, and the accusation of *zandaqa* have manifested throughout the centuries and changed into something different from what early Medieval authors narrated.

Conclusion

In tracing Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography throughout the medieval period, notable evolutions, portrayals, and information emerges. Each medieval author contributed a distinct viewpoint and understanding of Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Beneath these differing portrayals, however, lie certain constants that serve as the bedrock of Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography. Elements such as his family origins, knowledge in *adab*, proficiency in Arabic, association with 'Īsā b. 'Alī, wealth, generosity, and his involvement in the *amān* of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī remain unaltered across medieval scholarship.

Yet, amidst these foundational elements, variations emerge that shape, diverge, and evolve the core narrative. The accusation of *zandaqa*, the catalyst behind al-Manṣūr's wrath, the trajectory of Ibn al-Muqaffa's career, the etymology of his epithet and name, the precise year of his murder, and the method employed in his murder are among the additions that appear inconstant. These elements are mostly presented with conflicting or multiple interpretations by medieval authors.

While the details shift and interpretations vary, Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography contains enduring constants and evolving additions which together provide a comprehensive mosaic of his life, embodying the dynamic nature of historiography across the medieval period. Therefore, the context in which Ibn al-Muqaffa' is mentioned by medieval authors is as important as the content they share. Each source had an underlining objective and purpose in how they portrayed and relayed Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography, and ultimately how they understood him.

Hence, as contemporary scholars endeavour to shape Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography, it becomes imperative for them to grasp the perspectives and interpretations offered by medieval writers. While the foundational details about him may find mention, one cannot formulate their narrative or construct his biography solely on the nuances or deviations that certain sources have introduced or accentuated throughout the medieval period. Instances of such augmentations can be seen in the accusation of *zandaqa*, a charge that has gained prominence in the works of later medieval authors while being largely overlooked by their predecessors. Consequently, the ensuing chapter will pivot towards an in-depth examination of the accusation of *zandaqa* against Ibn al-Muqaffa', shedding light on the unfounded preoccupation within contemporary scholarship to depict him as a *zindīq* in light of weak evidence that portray him in such a manner.

Chapter Two: The Accusation of *Zandaqa*

Introduction

One of the prominent aspects pertaining to Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography centers around the allegation of *zandaqa* levelled against him. The term "*zandaqa*" or "*zindīq*" has undergone nuanced shifts in meaning over the course of early Islamic history. As elucidated by Georges Vajda in 1937, it stands as one of the most intricate and challenging terms to delineate.²⁵⁷ Contemporary scholars generally concur that this term loosely targeted specific individuals in society by accusing them of harbouring heretical or unorthodox beliefs.²⁵⁸

The origins of the term *zandaqa* can be traced to the era of Mani (d. 277 CE), the progenitor of the Manichean faith.²⁵⁹ Mani is reputed to have authored a commentary known as the "*zand (gloss)*" on the Avesta, the sacred text belonging to Zoroastrians.²⁶⁰ Those who deviated from the Avesta and adhered to the *zand* were termed "*zandī*".²⁶¹ The *zandī* community diverged from the conventional interpretation of the Zoroastrian text and embraced Mani's rendition of the Avesta.²⁶² In this context, *zandī* came to signify the adherents of Mani, the Manicheans, who stood in opposition to Zoroastrian orthodoxy.

The accusation of *zandaqa* emerged within the early annals of Islamic history as Muslim scholars endeavoured to delineate the boundaries of acceptable beliefs and practices. However,

²⁵⁷ Georges Vajda, "Les Zindīqs en Pays D'islam au Debut de la Période Abbaside," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 17 (1937): 173, accessed 2023/03/21/.

²⁵⁸ Josef Van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, vol. Volume 1: A History of Religious Thought in Early Islam (2016: repr., Boston: Brill, 1991), 488, Chokr, *Zandaqa Et Zindīqs En Islam Au Second Siècle De L'hégire*, 7, Sarah Stroumsa, *Freethinkers of medieval Islam : Ibn al-Rawāndī, Abū Bakr al-Rāzī and their impact on Islamic thought, Islamic philosophy, theology, and science*; v. 35 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 3-6, John P. Turner, *Inquisition in early Islam : the competition for political and religious authority in the Abbasid empire*, *Library of Middle East history*; v. 35 (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 27, Aaron W. Hughes, "The Amorphous Zindīq," in *An Anxious Inheritance: Religious Others and the Shaping of Sunni Orthodoxy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022), 167, Francois De Blois, "Zindīq," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

²⁵⁹ Abū al-Ḥasan Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1973), Vol.1, 250-251, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 401-406, Parvaneh Pourshariati, Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis, and Sarah Stewart, *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire: The Sasanian-Parthian Confederacy and the Arab Conquest of Iran* (London: I. B. Tauris and Company, Limited, 2008), 341, Blois, "Zindīq," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

²⁶⁰ Pourshariati, Curtis, and Stewart, *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire: The Sasanian-Parthian Confederacy and the Arab Conquest of Iran*, 341-342, Nicholas J. Baker-Brian, *Manichaeism: An Ancient Faith Rediscovered* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2011), 21, C.E. Bosworth, "Mānī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

²⁶¹ Shaul Shaked, "Esoteric Trends in Zoroastrianism," *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 3 (1969): 188, Pourshariati, Curtis, and Stewart, *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire: The Sasanian-Parthian Confederacy and the Arab Conquest of Iran*, 341-342.

²⁶² P.O. Skjærvø, "Counter-Manichaean Elements in Kerdīr's Inscriptions," *Irano-Manichaica* 2 (1997): 79, Baker-Brian, *Manichaeism: An Ancient Faith Rediscovered*, 21.

this term was applied broadly to a diverse array of individuals, often in ways that reflected political and societal concerns, rather than purely theological ones.²⁶³ For instance, it was occasionally employed to label individuals who were inebriated and engaged in public profanities.²⁶⁴ On occasion, it was also directed at non-Muslims, particularly those from outside the Abrahamic faith traditions.²⁶⁵

The accusation of *zandaqa* directed toward Ibn al-Muqaffa' has significantly influenced how contemporary authors perceive his character and body of work. In certain instances, Ibn al-Muqaffa' is portrayed as a "double agent" whose conversion to Islam is viewed with suspicion, implying insincerity.²⁶⁶ This perspective has, on occasion, resulted in a misinterpretation of Ibn al-Muqaffa's works by modern authors, leading to the exclusion of Islamic influences from his writings. Some scholars, like Richter (1931) and Gabrieli (1932), have gone to the extent of outright rejecting the attribution of a text to Ibn al-Muqaffa' because it contained religious language that appeared incongruous with the expectations of a *zindīq*.²⁶⁷

Kristó-Nagy accuses some modern scholars of attempting to ignore the accusation of *zandaqa* that was depicted by scholars and litterateurs of the generations following Ibn al-Muqaffa', in favor of a good mainstream Muslim hero that is politically and religiously correct.²⁶⁸ However, upon closer scrutiny of the works authored by scholars and literary figures in the generations succeeding Ibn al-Muqaffa', it becomes evident that the allegation of *zandaqa* against him is not firmly substantiated. The accusation of *zandaqa* against Ibn al-Muqaffa' hinges on three primary elements: firstly, the alleged anti-Islamic practice attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa', known as *mu'aradat al-Qur'an*. The second element revolves around the accusation of Manicheism by the Zaydī Imām, al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d. 239/854). The final element

²⁶³ Van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, 489, Chokr, *Zandaqa Et Zindīqs En Islam Au Second Siècle De L'hégire*, 15-16, Hughes, "The Amorphous Zindīq," in *An Anxious Inheritance: Religious Others and the Shaping of Sunni Orthodoxy*, 179.

²⁶⁴ Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Vol.18, 73, Ḥusayn Jum'a, *Ibn al-Muqaffā': Sīra Ibdā' bayn ḥaḍāratayn* (Damascus Dār Raslān, 2015), 147.

²⁶⁵ Camilla Adang et al., *Accusations of Unbelief in Islam: A Diachronic Perspective on Takfīr, Islamic history and civilization. Studies and texts* (Boston: Brill, 2015), 69, Hughes, "The Amorphous Zindīq," in *An Anxious Inheritance: Religious Others and the Shaping of Sunni Orthodoxy*, 167.

²⁶⁶ Kristó-Nagy, *La pensée d'Ibn al-Muqaffā': un "agent double" dans le monde persan et arabe*, 57-59.

²⁶⁷ The text in question is *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* that both mentioned authors denied its attribution to Ibn al-Muqaffa' due to its "pro-Islamic" language that contradicted their perception of Ibn al-Muqaffa' as a *zindīq*. See: Richter, "Über Das kleine Adabbuch des Ibn al-Muqaffā'," 278-281, Gabrieli, "L'Opera di Ibn Al-Muqaffā'," 228, István Kristó-Nagy, "On the authenticity of al-Adab al-ṣaghīr attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa' and problems concerning some of his titles," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 62 (2009): 200-201.

²⁶⁸ Kristó-Nagy, "Marriage after Rape: The Ambiguous Relationship between Arab Lords and Iranian Intellectuals as Reflected in Ibn al-Muqaffa's Oeuvre," in *Tradition and Reception in Arabic Literature*, 165.

revolves around Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s social circle, the majority of whom also faced accusations of *zandaqa*, as evidence to his *zandaqa* ties. The objective of this chapter is to underscore the frailty of the arguments posited by modern scholarship concerning the accusation of *zandaqa* against Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and to illustrate the evolution and inconsistency in the accusation itself. The chapter is structured into three sections, each devoted to scrutinizing one of these three arguments.

1 – Mu‘āraḍat al-Qur’ān

Mu‘āraḍat al-Qur’ān translates as challenging, imitation, or parody of the *Qur’ān*.²⁶⁹ The concept is similar to *mu‘āraḍat al-shi‘r* (imitating poetry), which was a practice commonly in use among poets.²⁷⁰ One poet would use the same rhyme and structure as another poet to prove his excellence over the other.²⁷¹ As for *mu‘āraḍat al-Qur’ān*, the author attempts to imitate a verse in the *Qur’ān* with the objective of showing he could produce something better: thereby revoking the *Qur’ān*’s divine status.²⁷²

The medieval scholar ‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078) provides an elaboration on the concept of *mu‘āraḍat al-Qur’ān* and its criteria. Al-Jurjānī clarifies that not everything written in a manner resembling the *Qur’ān* or adopting its style should be classified as *mu‘āraḍat al-Qur’ān*.²⁷³ Otherwise, every interpretation, explanation, or translation of the *Qur’ān* would fall into this category. Instead, he stipulates that a text can be considered *mu‘āraḍat al-Qur’ān* if the author’s intent is to alter the intended meaning of the *Qur’ān*’s content.²⁷⁴

Early sources rarely delve into *mu‘āraḍat al-Qur’ān* or provide substantial evidence of genuine attempts at it. Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d. 404/1013), offers an explanation for this scarcity, suggesting that preserving any endeavours related to *mu‘āraḍat al-Qur’ān* was considered impermissible, potentially contributing to the limited historical record of such practices.²⁷⁵

What medieval sources do offer regarding *mu‘āraḍat al-Qur’ān* are fragmentary accounts.²⁷⁶ These fragments are consistently portrayed as feeble, nonsensical, and notably

²⁶⁹ ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf Zahdī Muṣṭaffā, and ‘Umar Al-Asdī, "Al-Mu‘āraḍāt al-Shi‘riya wa-Atharuhā fī Ighnā‘al-Turāth al-Adabī," *Dirāsāt al-‘Ulūm al-Insāniya wa-l-Ijtīmā‘iyya* 36 (2009): 905, Issa J. Boullata, "Parody of the Qur’ān," *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān* Vol.4 (2004): 22.

²⁷⁰ Muṣṭaffā, and Al-Asdī, "Al-Mu‘āraḍāt al-Shi‘riya wa-Atharuhā fī Ighnā‘al-Turāth al-Adabī," 904, A. Schippers, "Mu‘āraḍa," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

²⁷¹ In a modern context it is similar to the saying "beat them at their own game".

²⁷² Abū Bakr Muḥammad Al-Bāqillānī, *Tamhīd al-Awā‘il wa-Talkhīṣ al-Dalā‘il* ed. ‘Imād al-Dīn Aḥmad Ḥaydar (Lebanon: Mu‘assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiya 1987), 172, Muṣṭaffā, and Al-Asdī, "Al-Mu‘āraḍāt al-Shi‘riya wa-Atharuhā fī Ighnā‘al-Turāth al-Adabī," 905, Boullata, "Parody of the Qur’ān," 22.

²⁷³ ‘Abd al-Qāhir Al-Jurjānī, *Dalā‘il al-Ijāz fī ‘Ilm al-Ma‘ānī*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Hindāwī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiya, 2001), 171.

²⁷⁴ Al-Jurjānī, *Dalā‘il al-Ijāz fī ‘Ilm al-Ma‘ānī*, 270.

"فإنك تقول: زيد كالأسد أو مثل الأسد أو شبيهه بالأسد، فتجد ذلك كله تشبيها غفلا سادجا ثم تقول: كان زيدا الأسد، فيكون تشبيها أيضا، إلا أنك ترى بينه وبين الأول بونا بعيدا، لأنك ترى له صورة خاصة، وتجدك قد فحمت المعنى وزدت فيه، بأن أفدت أنه من الشجاعة وشدة البطش"

²⁷⁵ Other than it being linguistically challenging and socially condemning. See: Abū Bakr Muḥammad Al-Bāqillānī, *Kitāb Ijāz al-Qur’ān*, ed. Ahmad Saqr (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘arif, 1997), 173-174.

²⁷⁶ There are around ten people who have been accused of attempting to write *mu‘āraḍat al-Qur’ān* in early Islam, they are the following: Al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith (d. 3/624), Musaylima al-Kadhhdhāb (d. 10/632), Ṭulayḥa al-Asdī (d. 21/642), ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abī al-Sarḥ (d. 37/656), Sajāḥ bint al-Ḥārith (d. 41/661), ‘Abd Allāh b. Nawāḥa, Ibn al-Muqaffā‘, Ibn al-Rāwandī (d. 299/911), Manṣūr al-Ḥallāh (d. 310/922), and al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965). Muḥsin Samīḥ Al-Khāldī, *Mu‘āraḍat al-Qur’ān al-Karīm* (Palestine: Jāmi‘at al-Najāḥ al-Waṭṭānī), 4.

inferior to the Qur'ān in terms of language, style, and substance. As an illustration, Ibn Qutayba presents instances of *mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān* by Musaylima al-Kadhhdhāb and dismisses these attempts as foolish acts by individuals lacking knowledge.²⁷⁷ Similarly, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, a Muslim theologian and jurist, recounts an attempted *mu'āraḍa* by 'Abd Allāh b. Nawāḥa from the early Islamic era (1st/7th century), which he ridicules.²⁷⁸

A substantial number of individuals accused of engaging in *mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān* either faced charges of heresy or held prominent positions in the fields of linguistics and poetry.²⁷⁹ There is uncertainty surrounding whether they faced accusations of heresy due to their attempts at writing *mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān* or if they ventured into writing *mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān* after being accused of heresy. Consequently, differentiating whether these individuals genuinely endeavoured to compose *mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān* or if such accusations were merely utilised to emphasise the profound nature of the *Qur'ān* presents a formidable challenge.

Regarding Ibn al-Muqaffa', there exists three medieval authors who associate Ibn al-Muqaffa' with *mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān*. The three earliest authors are the Ṭabaristānī Zaydi scholar, al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh (d. 411/1020), the Iraqī Sunni theologian and judge, al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), and the Ṭabaristānī Ja'fari scholar Abū Alī Faḍl b. Ḥasan al-Ṭabrasī (d. 548/1154).²⁸⁰ These authors existed three hundred years after Ibn al-Muqaffa' in the 11th-12th century. Their works were primarily focused on illustrating the divinity and profoundness of the *Qur'ān*.

The earliest attribution of *mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān* to Ibn al-Muqaffa' is by al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh, in his book *Ithbāt Nubuwwat al-Nabī* (Confirmation to the Prophethood of the Prophet).²⁸¹

²⁷⁷ Ibn Qutayba cites a passage attributed to Musaylima al-Kadhhdhāb (10/632) attempting to imitate *surat al-Fīl* from the Qur'ān.

"الفيل وما الفيل، وما أدراك ما الفيل، له ذنب وثيل، ومشفر طويل، وإن ذلك من خلق ربنا لقليل"

Ibn Qutayba comments on the passage saying:

"وهذا الكلام مع قلة حروفه؛ من السخافة على ما لا خفاء به، على من لا يعلم فضلاً على من يعلم"

'Abd-Allāh b. Muslim Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb A'lām Rasūl Allāh al-Manzila 'Ala Raslihi* (Riyadh: Dār al-Ṣamī'ī li-l-Nashir wa-l-Tawzī', 2020), 214.

²⁷⁸ The verses are regarding bread and other foods made with wheat. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-Jāmi' li-'ilūm al-Imām Aḥmad* (Egypt: Dār al-Falāḥ li-al-Baḥṡ al-'Ilmī wa Taḥqīq al-Turāth, 2009), Vol.12, 325.

"الطاحنات طحنا، والعاجنات عجنا، والخابزات خبزا، والتارادات ثرداء، والملقمات لقما".

²⁷⁹ Ibn al-Muqaffa', Ibn al-Rāwandī, and Manṣūr al-Ḥallāh were all scholars, whereas al-Mutanabbī was a renowned poet.

²⁸⁰ Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn Al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh, *Ithbāt Nubuwwat al-Nabī: Ṣala Allahu 'Alihi wa Sallam*, ed. Khalīl Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Hāj (Yemen: Maktabat al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 2003), 107-115, Abū al-Hasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Habīb Al-Māwardī, *Tafsīr al-Māwardī*, ed. Ibn 'Abd al-Maqṣūd bin 'Abd al-Raḥīm (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya), Vol.1, 31, Abū Alī Faḍl b. Ḥasan Al-Ṭabrasī, *Al-Iḥtijāj* (Iran: Intishārāt al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, 1960), Vol.2, 124.

²⁸¹ Al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh was a renowned Zaydi Shi'ī scholar in the Abbasid period. Although al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh does not mention a source, it does appear that he is referring to an unknown text. Al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh, *Ithbāt*

According to al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh, Ibn al-Muqaffa' attempted to write a *mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān*. Al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh shares seven fragmented texts allegedly belonging to Ibn al-Muqaffa', with the aim of ridiculing him for his attempt to write a *mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān*.²⁸² In his book, al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh engages with his audience asking them to ponder upon the errors of Ibn al-Muqaffa's text in both meaning and structure compared to the *Qur'ān*.²⁸³ Al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh then concludes that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was unable to produce *mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān*; for the *Qur'ān* is inimitable.²⁸⁴ Al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh does not accuse Ibn al-Muqaffa' for being a *zindīq* when narrating his alleged fragments. Instead, he calls him *jāhil* (ignorant).²⁸⁵ The accusation and connection of *zandaqa* to these fragments was established by contemporary authors.

Some modern scholars argue that the fragmented sentences presented by al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh are proof that Ibn al-Muqaffa' did attempt to write *mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān*, therefore affirming the accusation of *zandaqa* made against him.²⁸⁶ Amongst those scholars are Istávan Kristó-Nagy (2009) and Said Arjomand (1994) before him, who conclude that the *mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān* presented by al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh are "very likely authentic texts of Ibn al-Muqaffa'".²⁸⁷ Kristó-Nagy describes the alleged *mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān* written by Ibn al-Muqaffa' as passages that "fiercely criticize the Qur'ān, the character, the image, and the concept of its God, as well as the deeds of its prophet and followers".²⁸⁸ However, some scholars such as Muṣṭafa Ṣādiq al-

Nubuwwat al-Nabī: Ṣala Allahu 'Alīhi wa Sallam, 102-115, Eva-Maria Lika, "Proofs of Prophecy and the Refutation of the Ismā'īliyya - The Kitaāb Ithbāt nubuwwat al-nabiī by the Zaydī al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh al-Haāruūnī (d. 411/1020)," *Worlds of Islam - Welten des Islams - Mondes de l' Islam* 9 (2018): 1, J.R. Blackburn, "Al-Mu'ayyad Bi'l-lāh Muḥammad," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

²⁸² Joseph van Ess (1981) and Istávan Kristó-Nagy (2013), among others, use the term "fragmented texts" because they are made up of fragmented sentences that do not relate to one another. For more information on the topic of these sentences see the following: Josef Van Ess, "Some Fragments of the Mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān Attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa'," in *Studia Arabica et Islamica: Festschrift for Iḥsān 'Abbās on his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1981), Van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, 40, Kristó-Nagy, *La pensée d' Ibn al-Muqaffā' : un "agent double" dans le monde persan et arabe*, 327.

²⁸³ Al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh, *Ithbāt Nubuwwat al-Nabī: Ṣala Allahu 'Alīhi wa Sallam*, 108.

²⁸⁴ Al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh, *Ithbāt Nubuwwat al-Nabī: Ṣala Allahu 'Alīhi wa Sallam*, 110.

"أن ما أتى به هذا الجاهل لا يصلح أن يكون معارضا للقرآن، وإن القرءان معجز و الحمد لله رب العالمين على ذلك"

²⁸⁵ Al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh, *Ithbāt Nubuwwat al-Nabī: Ṣala Allahu 'Alīhi wa Sallam*, 114.

²⁸⁶ Arjomand, "Abd-Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffā' and the 'Abbasid Revolution," 24, Mirella Cassarino, *L'aspetto morale e religioso nell' opera di Ibn al-Muqaffā'* (Soveria Mannelli, Italy: Rubbettino Editore, 2000), 101-104, Kristó-Nagy, "On the authenticity of al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffā' and problems concerning some of his titles," 216, Hughes, "The Amorphous Zindīq," in *An Anxious Inheritance: Religious Others and the Shaping of Sunni Orthodoxy*, 179.

²⁸⁷ Arjomand, "Abd-Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffā' and the 'Abbasid Revolution," 24, István Kristó-Nagy, "La Lumière et Les Tenebres Dans L'oeuvre D'Ibn Al-Muqaffā'," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 61, no. 3 (2008): 265.

²⁸⁸ Kristó-Nagy, "Marriage after Rape: The Ambiguous Relationship between Arab Lords and Iranian Intellectuals as Reflected in Ibn al-Muqaffā's Oeuvre," in *Tradition and Reception in Arabic Literature*, 178.

Rāfi 'ī (1937), Gerald Edward Lampe (1987), and Joseph van Ess (1991), are rightfully sceptical of this attribution to Ibn al-Muqaffa' or that it was anti-*Qur'ānic* or anti-Islamic.²⁸⁹ Joseph van Ess who commenced a comprehensive study of these fragments concludes that "there is nothing heretical about the text, either; it was not until later that people read heresy into it."²⁹⁰

Establishing the rightful attribution of the fragments presented by al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh to Ibn al-Muqaffa' proves to be a challenging task. Several factors contribute to this challenge. Firstly, there exists a considerable time gap, with al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh living three centuries after Ibn al-Muqaffa', raising questions about the accuracy of such attributions. Secondly, there is an absence of any prior accounts or accusations of *mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān* associated with Ibn al-Muqaffa', despite earlier authors like Ibn Qutayba and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal narrating attempts of *mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān* by others. Lastly, the context of al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh's book primarily revolves around illustrating the divine nature and miraculous qualities of the Qur'ān. The central aim is to demonstrate how even the most eloquent individuals failed to challenge the Qur'ān. Therefore, using passages narrated by al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh as evidence to support accusations of *zandaqa* against Ibn al-Muqaffa' is problematic. This argument relies on fragmented and relatively late sources taken out of their original context.

According to al-Māwardī Ibn al-Muqaffa' attempted to write *mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān* and was able to structure it and call it a *surā*.²⁹¹ However, one day he passed by a boy reading a verse from *surat hūd* regarding Nūḥ (Noah) and the floods which befell the disbelievers.²⁹² After hearing the verses Ibn al-Muqaffa' erased what he wrote and said: "I bare witness that this text [the *Qur'ān*] can never be challenged for it is not the words of humans."²⁹³ Al-Māwardī then concludes that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was from amongst the most eloquent people of his time.²⁹⁴ The

²⁸⁹ In his 1981 article, Van Ess considered the text possibly attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa'. However, in his 1991 publication, Van Ess became sceptical of its attribution to Ibn al-Muqaffa' and argued that even if it was attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa' it did not contain any *mu'āraḍa* or anti-Islamic rhetoric. Lampe on the hand states that it cannot be proven that the text is rightfully attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Muṣṭafa Ṣādiq Al-Rāfi'ī, *Kitāb Tarīkh Adāb al-'Arab* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabiya, 1937), Vol.2, 119, Van Ess, "Some Fragments of the *Mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān* Attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa'," in *Studia Arabica et Islamica: Festschrift for Ḥsān 'Abbās on his Sixtith Birthday*, 160-161, Lampe, "Ibn al-Muqaffa': Political and Legal Theorist and Reformer," 30, Van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, 40.

²⁹⁰ Van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, 40.

²⁹¹ Al-Māwardī, *Tafsīr al-Māwardī*, Vol.1, 31.

"حكي أن ابن المقفع طلب أن يعارض القرآن، فنظم كلاما، وجعله مفصلا، وسماه سورا".

²⁹² Al-Māwardī, *Tafsīr al-Māwardī*, Vol.1, 31.

"وقيل يا أرض ابلعي ماءك ويا سماء أقلعي وغيض الماء وقضي الأمر واستوت على الجودي وقيل بعدا للقوم الظالمين، سورة هود"

²⁹³ Al-Māwardī, *Tafsīr al-Māwardī*, Vol.1, 31.

"أشهد أن هذا لا يعارض أبدا، وما هو من كلام البشر".

²⁹⁴ Al-Māwardī, *Tafsīr al-Māwardī*, Vol.1, 31.

anecdote is situated amongst a section of the text which discusses *i'jāz al-Qur'ān* (miracle of the *Qur'ān*).²⁹⁵ The anecdote is clearly narrated to depict that even the most eloquent of people is unable to successfully challenge the *Qur'ān*.

Similar to al-Māwardī, al-Ṭabrisī also narrates that Ibn al-Muqaffa' attempted to write a *mu'araḍat* but realised he couldn't and tore what he wrote. According to al-Ṭabrisī Ibn al-Muqaffa' was in Mecca attempting to disorient the pilgrims by giving them something similar to the *Qur'ān*. However, after his attempt to do so he failed, and said: "*the Qur'ān is not the creation of people...for I have tried to mimic a verse similar to what was said, and was unable to produce anything like it*".²⁹⁶ Unlike al-Māwardī who narrated that Ibn al-Muqaffa' surrendered after hearing a verse from the *Qur'ān*, the Ja'farī scholar al-Ṭabrisī states that the Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765) was the one who convinced Ibn al-Muqaffa' of the divine status and miracle of the *Qur'ān*.²⁹⁷ Not only his al-Ṭabrisī's work focused on illustrating the divinity of the *Qur'ān*, but it also aims to show Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq as one who was able to convince the most eloquent of writers to repent.

Across the texts of the three medieval authors mentioned, a consistent theme emerges regarding Ibn al-Muqaffa' and his alleged attempts at *mu'araḍat al-Qur'ān*. It is suggested that in these accounts, Ibn al-Muqaffa' either failed in his attempts or, upon reflection, repented and destroyed any evidence of his endeavour. Al-Bāqillānī, who lived during the same period as al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh, refutes the allegations that Ibn al-Muqaffa' wrote *mu'araḍat al-Qur'ān*.²⁹⁸ Al-Bāqillānī goes further to hypothesise that if Ibn al-Muqaffa' engaged in *mu'araḍat al-Qur'ān*, he took the drastic step of destroying the written material and repenting, ensuring that no trace of it remained.²⁹⁹ In essence, what al-Bāqillānī's stance indicates is a consistent absence of concrete proof or contemporaneous evidence, apart from that presented by al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh, to substantiate claims that Ibn al-Muqaffa' authored *mu'araḍat al-Qur'ān*. As mentioned earlier, the primary purpose of the mentioned texts is to underscore the divine and miraculous nature of the *Qur'ān*. As such, when considering their accounts as historical references, one must exercise caution, as they may not provide an unbiased view of historical events. Al-Mu'ayyad bi-

"وكان فصيح أهل عصره".

²⁹⁵ Al-Māwardī, *Tafsīr al-Māwardī*, Vol.1, 30-33.

²⁹⁶ Al-Ṭabrisī, *Al-Iḥtijāj*, Vol.2, 124.

²⁹⁷ Al-Ṭabrisī, *Al-Iḥtijāj*, Vol.2, 124.

²⁹⁸ Al-Bāqillānī, *Kitāb I'jāz al-Qur'ān*, 32.

"فليس يوجد له كتاب يدعى مدع انه عارض فيه القرآن، بل يزعمون أنه اشتغل بذلك مدة، ثم مزق ما جمع، واستحيا نفسه من إظهاره".

²⁹⁹ Al-Bāqillānī, *Kitāb I'jāz al-Qur'ān*, 32.

l-lāh does not accuse Ibn al-Muqaffa' of *zandaqa* and instead ridicules him as an ignorant fool. None of the sources mentioned above connect Ibn al-Muqaffa's accusation of *zandaqa* to *mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān*. This connection appears to be a recent interpretation by modern scholars rather than a historical one.

2 – The Accusation of Manicheism

According to Imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d. 239/854), Ibn al-Muqaffa' was a follower of Manicheism.³⁰⁰ For this reason, the text is known to modern scholars as the *Polemic against Islam* or the *Manichean "apologia"*.³⁰¹ My argument in this section is based on three points. First, the accusation made against Ibn al-Muqaffa' by al-Rassī is not an attack not on Ibn al-Muqaffa' himself, but rather on Manichaeism in general. Second, the arguments used by al-Rassī against Ibn al-Muqaffa' is similar to what Christian polemicists used against Manicheans in Byzantine Egypt. Therefore, there is no direct personal link or association to Ibn al-Muqaffa' himself, merely to Manicheism. Third, I also argue that the depiction of Ibn al-Muqaffa' as a Manichean may have been influenced by the persona of a contemporary figure with a similar name. The person in question is al-Muqanna' (d. 166/783) who was also accused of *zandaqa* and led a revolt against the Abbasids in the year 151/768 in the regions of Khurāsān and Transoxiana.³⁰² There is evidence that several sources confuse Ibn al-Muqaffa' with al-Muqanna'.

The Attack on Manicheism

Al-Rassī, a Zaydi *imām*, was born in Medina in the year 169/785. He undertook a journey to Egypt sometime before 199/815 and resided there until 211/826. Subsequently, he returned to Medina and established his residence in a valley known as al-Rass, where he remained until his

³⁰⁰ Al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī, *Al-Radd 'Alā al-Zindīq Ibn al-Muqaffā'*, ed. Michelangelo Guidi (Rome: R. Accademia Nazionale Dei Lincei, 1927).

³⁰¹ Guidi, "La Lotta tra l'Islam e il manicheismo: un libro di Ibn Al-Muqaffā' contro il corano confutato dal al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī.", Gabrieli, "L'Opera di Ibn Al-Muqaffā'", 240, Jean de Menasce, "Une Apologétique mazdénne du IXe siècle," (1958): 148, Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam: An Introductory Outline*, 72, Wilferd Madelung, and Bertold Spuler, *Der Imām al-Qāsim Ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, *Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen Orients* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1965), 17, Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*, 160, Van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, 33, Latham, "Ibn al-Muqaffā' and early 'Abbasid prose," 72, Chokr, *Zandaqa Et Zindīqs En Islam Au Second Siècle De L'hégire*, 202, Cassarino, *L'aspetto morale e religioso nell'opera di Ibn al-Muqaffā'*, Kristó-Nagy, *La pensée d'Ibn al-Muqaffā': un "agent double" dans le monde persan et arabe*, 287, Kristó-Nagy, "Marriage after Rape: The Ambiguous Relationship between Arab Lords and Iranian Intellectuals as Reflected in Ibn al-Muqaffā's Oeuvre," in *Tradition and Reception in Arabic Literature*, 163.

³⁰² Al-Maṭhar b. Ṭāhir Al-Maḡdasī, *Al-Bada' wa-l-Tārikh* (Egypt: Maktabat al-Thaqafa al-Diniya, 2007), Vol.6, 97, Patricia Crone, and Hanna Siurua, *The Iranian Reception of Islam: the Non-Traditionalist Strands: Collected Studies in Three Volumes*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 97.

passing 34 years later. During his stay in Egypt, it is believed that al-Rassī engaged in theological and philosophical debates with various sects and religions.³⁰³

Among the religions he encountered in debate was Manichaeism, and in his critique of Manichaeism, al-Rassī depicted Ibn al-Muqaffa' as a representative of that faith. It is within this text, known as "Polemic against Islam", that we encounter the accusation of *zandaqa* directed towards Ibn al-Muqaffa'. The "Polemic against Islam" commences with an introduction whereby the author attacks Manicheism and Mānī. The introduction is then followed by al-Rassī's assertion that he had received a book authored by Ibn al-Muqaffa' which contained the views of Mānī, who the name Manichaeism is derived from.³⁰⁴ Al-Rassī employs the term "*khalafā*", which means to inherit, when referring to Mānī and Ibn al-Muqaffa'.³⁰⁵ Al-Rassī asserts that Ibn al-Muqaffa' inherited Mānī's heresy and therefore attempts to maintain continuity between the two.³⁰⁶ Al-Rassī then proceeds to scrutinise the beliefs of the Manicheans, citing several verses from the Qur'ān and fundamental tenets about God that he claims the Manicheans contested.³⁰⁷ The passages that al-Rassī attributes to Ibn al-Muqaffa' are typically brief and fragmented throughout the text.

Modern scholarship has conflicting views on the attribution of the passages mentioned in the *Polemic against Islam* to Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Michelangelo Guidi (1927) first suggested that the text is likely attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa'.³⁰⁸ Francesco Gabrieli (1932) argues that the passages in the *Polemic against Islam* can be rightly attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Aḥmed Amīn (1933) argued against Guidi and Gabrieli, maintaining that the text could not be rightly attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa' nor was it a *mu'aradat al-Qur'ān* as Guidi first suggested.³⁰⁹ Aḥmed Amīn's argument stems from the idea that there is no proof that the book al-Rassī referenced was indeed written

³⁰³ Al-Rassī's work which start with *al-Radd*, signifying a debate, are the following: *al-Radd 'alā al-Naṣāra (Christians)*, *al-Radd 'alā al-Mulḥid (atheism)*, *al-Radd 'alā raqāḍif aṣḥāb al-ghuluww*, *al-Radd 'alā al-rāfiḍa*, and *Al-Radd 'alā al-mughbira*. See: Renato Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, vol. Vol.4, *Nuovo Fondo: Series F-H* (Milano: SilvanaEditoriale, 2011), 26.

³⁰⁴ Al-Rassī, *Al-Radd 'Alā al-Zindīq Ibn al-Muqaffā'*, 8, Van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, 34.

³⁰⁵ Al-Rassī, *Al-Radd 'Alā al-Zindīq Ibn al-Muqaffā'*, 8.

"خلف سوء استخلفه ايليس على ما خلف ماني من الضلالات".

³⁰⁶ The topic of continuity between Mānī and Ibn al-Muqaffa' will be further elaborated on below.

³⁰⁷ On the different examples, see: Van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, 34.

³⁰⁸ Guidi, "La Lotta tra l' Islam e il manicheismo: un libro di Ibn Al-Muqaffa' contro il corano confutato dal al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī," xv-xvii, Richter, "Über Das kleine Adabbuch des Ibn al-Muqaffā'," 278, Gabrieli, "L'Opera di Ibn Al-Muqaffā'," 240.

³⁰⁹ Amīn, *Duḥā al-Islam*, 224-227.

by Ibn al-Muqaffa'.³¹⁰ In addition, the language, tone, and content expressed in the *Polemic against Islam* is the opposite of what is visible in Ibn al-Muqaffa's preserved writings. This view is shared by other modern scholars such as John Wansbrough (1977), Gerald E. Lampe (1986), and Melhem Chokr (1993) who believe that the text cannot be proven to be Ibn al-Muqaffa's and instead targeted Manicheans in general.³¹¹ Recently, Said Arjomand (1994) and KIRSTÓ-NAGY (2009) argue that the contents mentioned in the *Polemic against Islam* may be rightfully attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa'. KIRSTÓ-NAGY's main argument throughout a series of well researched articles is that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was a "double agent" who, although spoke to his Muslim audience in an Islamic tone, would not shy away from promoting the Sassanian culture or Manichaeism. Therefore, KIRSTÓ-NAGY maintains that the text presented in al-Rassī is likely the true belief of Ibn al-Muqaffa'; a Manichean Persian writer whose conversion to Islam is questionable.³¹² J.D Latham (1990) and Van Ess (1991) maintain a neutral position on the *Polemic against Islam*, in that they neither attribute nor deny its attribution to Ibn al-Muqaffa'.³¹³ Van Ess's argument utilises a report by the 3rd/9th century scholar, Abū al-Waḍīḥ al-Ya'qūbī (d. 284/897), who states that from amongst the books translated by Ibn al-Muqaffa' were books belonging to Mānī and Ibn Dayṣān (Bardaisan).³¹⁴ Ibn Dayṣān was a 3rd century Syriac writer who attempted to merge Christianity and Manicheism.³¹⁵ It is therefore possible that the book al-Rassī is refuting is one of the translated books which originally belong to Mānī or Ibn Dayṣān. However, as I illustrate in the following chapter, translated works do not necessarily reflect the translator's views.³¹⁶ If indeed Ibn al-Muqaffa' translated these books, we do not know whether it was prior or after his conversion to Islam. If the text al-Rassī is targeting was a translation of a book belonging to Mānī or Ibn Dayṣān, it may explain why al-Rassī is mostly targeting the Manichean community at large and using Ibn al-Muqaffa' as a mere representation of said community. Based on the few passages al-Rassī references from the text, we cannot make a definitive conclusion that the text

³¹⁰ Amīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, 225.

³¹¹ Amīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, 225, Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*, 160, Lampe, "Ibn al-Muqaffa': Political and Legal Theorist and Reformer," 29, Chokr, *Zandaqa Et Zindīqs En Islam Au Second Siècle De L'hégire*, 103-104, 202-206.

³¹² KIRSTÓ-NAGY, "La Lumière et Les Tenebres Dans L'œuvre D'Ibn Al-Muqaffa'," 272, KIRSTÓ-NAGY, "On the authenticity of al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa' and problems concerning some of his titles," 216, KIRSTÓ-NAGY, "Reason, Religion, and Power in Ibn al-Muqaffa'," 290.

³¹³ Latham, "Ibn al-Muqaffa' and early 'Abbasid prose," 73-74.

³¹⁴ Matthew S. Gordon, *The works of Ibn Wadīḥ al-Ya'qūbī: an English translation* (Brill, 2017), 46.

³¹⁵ Crone Patricia, "Dayṣānīs," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Three* (Brill).

³¹⁶ Unless however, the translation is a collection of several works that have been specifically picked and utilise for a specific objective, as I discuss regarding *al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr*. Refer to chapter three: Introduction for more information on translated texts.

represents Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's views or was written by him. Therefore, Van Ess acknowledges that al-Rassī perhaps used Ibn al-Muqaffa' as a representative to attack the Manichean faith at large and that the text could have by no means been written by a Muslim due to its fanatic criticism of monotheism.³¹⁷

I agree with most modern authors that the fragmented texts found in the *Polemic against Islam* cannot be rightfully proven to be a work belonging to Ibn al-Muqaffa'. This argument is based on several reasons. First, the substance of the text does not coincide with Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's oeuvre. The *Polemic against Islam* contains fanatical anti-Islamic and anti-religious beliefs. As an example, al-Rassī narrates a passage whereby Ibn al-Muqaffa' is allegedly stating that there is no religion that is more insidious and detrimental to this world than Islam, for it subjects its followers to this world and their lustful desires, contains the worst origins, and makes its followers stupid.³¹⁸ Al-Rassī narrates other examples of Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's heresy whereby he insults the prophet Muḥammad's and claims that Allāh is not the creator of creation.³¹⁹ However, if we maintain the association of the passages mentioned by al-Rassī to Ibn al-Muqaffa', it will appear alien to the discourse that is presented in Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's oeuvre which presents itself in the framework of Islam.³²⁰ In addition if Ibn al-Muqaffa' were to have such beliefs against Islam and the prophet, it is highly unlikely that he would have been associated to the Abbasid's who legitimise their authority on their connection to the prophet and claim to be the bulwark of Islam.³²¹ Even if we were to hypothesise that he might have said this prior to his conversion, it is unlikely that he would have been employed with the Umayyad or associated with the Abbasids while holding such beliefs.³²²

³¹⁷ "He was honest enough not to ascribe it to Ibn al-Muqaffa' alone, but to the Manichaeans in general. It was part of his tactics of making Ibn al-Muqaffa' into a Manichean". And "What is clear is that the text was not written by a Muslim. This degree of contempt for Islam has never before nor since been expressed in Arabic within the dominion of that faith". Van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, 34.

³¹⁸ Al-Rassī, *Al-Radd 'Alā al-Zindīq Ibn al-Muqaffa'*, 28.

"واما قوله فلا نعلم دينا منذ كانت الدنيا زعم الى هذا الزمان الذي حان فيه انقضؤها اخبت زيدة كلما مخض واسفه في ذلك التمخيض اهلا وايترا أصلا وامر ثمرا واسوا اثرا على امته والأمم التي ظهر عليها واوحش سيرة واعفل عقلا واعبد للدنيا واتبع للشهوات من دينكم".

³¹⁹ Regarding the insult to the prophet Muḥammad, see Van Ess analysis of the text. Al-Rassī, *Al-Radd 'Alā al-Zindīq Ibn al-Muqaffa'*, 29, 34, Van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, 34.

"وقال هل تعلم يا هذا لم خلق الله الخلق" and "وما قوله رجل من اهل تهامة فانما هو ضرب من العجامة".

³²⁰ For his personal epistles and his reverence to the Prophet Muḥammad see the following. As for their rightful attribution to Ibn al-Muqaffa', that is a topic I discuss it in the following chapter. Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Yaṭīma al-Thāniya," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 111, Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Ṭaḥmīd li-Ibn al-Muqaffa'," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 136-139.

³²¹

³²² Patricia Crone, "On the Meaning of the 'Abbasid Call to al-Riḍā," in *The Islamic world from classical to modern times: essays in honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. Clifford Edmund Bosworth and Bernard Lewis (Princeton, N.J: Darwin Press, 1988), 95, Harry Munt, "Umayyad and early Abbasid inscriptions in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina," *Al-'Usur al-Wusta* Vol. 30 (2022): 5.

Second, the passages al-Rassī utilises in his text are far too general in nature to be directly attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ. As an example, the ultimatum that Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ narrated that “Allāh is not the creator of the creation” could have been something said by anyone.³²³ Throughout the text al-Rassī challenges the Manichean faith with Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ as an embodiment of that community.³²⁴ As argued by several modern authors, al-Rassī’s text targets the Manichean community and their belief at large more so than it does Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ.³²⁵ Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ is seen here only as a representative since the text does not indicate anything specific to him. Wansbrough maintains that it is quite impossible to say more of al-Rassī’s adversary than had the name Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ not existed, he would have had to be invented.³²⁶

There exists a parallel between how early Christians refuted Manicheism, and how al-Rassī refutes it.³²⁷ Christian polemicists criticised Manichaeans on their mythological reasoning and literal interpretations of Mani.³²⁸ This argument is similar to how al-Rassī criticises Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ for his literal interpretation of the Qurʾān, in that when the Qurʾān references “Allāh’s throne” it represents a physical manifestation of Allāh sitting on a throne.³²⁹ Christian polemicists also criticised Manichaeism for its belief that light and darkness can be a single entity whereby darkness exists in light and light in darkness.³³⁰ St. Augustine (d. 430 CE), who himself was a Manichaean for a time, argued against the teachings of Mani regarding the belief of a primordial struggle between good and evil; God and the Devil.³³¹ Al-Rassī accuses Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ of believing in a primordial struggle between Allāh and the Shayṭān; good and evil, in that evil may

³²³ Regarding the insult to the prophet Muḥammad, see Van Ess analysis of the text. Al-Rassī, *Al-Radd ʿAlā al-Zindīq Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ*, 29, 34, Van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, 34.

"وقال هل تعلم يا هذا لم خلق الله الخلق" and "وما قوله رجل من اهل تهامة فانما هو ضرب من العجامة".

³²⁴ Building upon Van Ess’s analysis that Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ was made into a Manichean by al-Rassī when attacking the Manichean community. Van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, 34.

³²⁵ Amīn, *Duḥā al-Islām*, 225, Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*, 160, Lampe, "Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ: Political and Legal Theorist and Reformer," 29, Chokr, *Zandaqa Et Zindīqs En Islam Au Second Siècle De L’hégire*, 103-104, 202-206.

³²⁶ Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*, 160.

³²⁷ Samuel Lieu, "Some themes in later Roman anti-Manichaean Polemics," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* Vol. 68 (1986): 438, Reeves, John C. *Prolegomena to a History of Islamicate Manichaeism*. UK: Equinox Publishing, 2011, 144, 162.

³²⁸ Lieu, "Some themes in later Roman anti-Manichaean Polemics," 456-457.

³²⁹ The physical manifestation of Allāh is a topic that was excessively debated by the Muʿtazila. Some Muʿtazila believed in certain characteristics of Allāh, similar to what was said about Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ by al-Rassī. See: Al-Rassī, *Al-Radd ʿAlā al-Zindīq Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ*, 21, 35, Abū al-Ḥassan Al-Ashʿarī, *Kiāb Maqālat al-Islamiyyin* (Wiesbaden, Germany: Franz Steiz, 1980), 186.

³³⁰ Lieu, "Some themes in later Roman anti-Manichaean Polemics," 456-457.

³³¹ Johannes Van Oort, "Mani and Augustine: Collected Essays on Mani, Manichaeism and Augustine," in *The Paraclete Mani as the Apostle of Jesus Christ and the Origins of a New Church* (Brill, 2020), 192, Lieu, "Some themes in later Roman anti-Manichaean Polemics," 460.

have dominance over good.³³² Christian polemicists criticised Manicheans for the use of the term “father” when they referred to Mani.³³³ Similarly, al-Rassī ridicules Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ for using the term “father” in reference to Manī.³³⁴ Christian polemicists engaged with Manicheans in an attempt to falsify their teaching by ridiculing them.³³⁵ Al-Rassī engages with Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ in a similar manner to falsify his teachings and ridicule Manichean beliefs.³³⁶ All these refutations are targeted towards Manichaeans at large and the arguments used by al-Rassī are almost identical to the arguments made by Christian polemicists against Manichaeans in Egypt. After all, al-Rassī debated with Christian theologians in Egypt and was aware of the gospel and arguments of Christian polemicists against Manichaeism.³³⁷ It is important to clarify, the assertion here is not that al-Rassī directly adopted arguments from Christian polemicists. On the contrary, it is evident that al-Rassī’s arguments remained within the framework of Islam, often drawing upon *Qurʾānic* verses as their basis. However, a parallel can be drawn with how St. Augustine of Hippo (d. 430 CE) used Faustus of Mileve (d. 4th – 5th century CE) to challenge Manicheism and how al-Rassī used Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ for the same reason.³³⁸ Both St. Augustine and al-Rassī challenged the beliefs of Manicheism by employing a reputable and renowned figure.³³⁹

Other than what could possibly be a translation of the works of Mānī and Ibn Dayṣān, early medieval sources do not mention a text with which Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ fanatically challenges Islam and its fundamental beliefs. The text could have also been a production of someone other than Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and merely associated his name to the book, a practice, which according to al-Jāhīz was a common.³⁴⁰ Another possible hypothesis is based on a scribal error and the possible confusion between the persona of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ a contemporary of him known as al-Muqannaʿ (d. 163/779) who was a renowned Manichean, a *kātib*, declared prophethood, and led a 12 year revolt against the Abbasids. There is historical evidence indicating that medieval scholars occasionally mixed up the biographies of both Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and al-Muqannaʿ. Hence, it is

³³² Al-Rassī, *Al-Radd ʿAlā al-Zindīq Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ*, 17, 32, 43.

³³³ Lieu, "Some themes in later Roman anti-Manichaean Polemics," 444, 456.

³³⁴ Al-Rassī, *Al-Radd ʿAlā al-Zindīq Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ*, 8.

³³⁵ Lieu, "Some themes in later Roman anti-Manichaean Polemics," 453.

³³⁶ Al-Rassī, *Al-Radd ʿAlā al-Zindīq Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ*, 48, 53-54.

³³⁷ David Thomas, "The Bible in early Muslim anti-Christian polemic," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 7 (1996): 32-33.

³³⁸ St. Augustine, *Confessions And Enchiridion*, trans. Albert C. Outler (2000: repr., South Bend, USA: Westminster Press, 1955), 54-59.

³³⁹ Faustus of Mileve was considered the most learned Manichean of his time which earned him the title of Bishop. Gijis M. van Gaans, "The state of research on the Manichaean Bishop Faustus," *Hervormde theologiese studies* 69, no. 1 (2013): 2.

³⁴⁰ Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, "Adab a) Arabic, early developments," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Three* (Brill).

not unreasonable to consider the possibility that their biographical details may have been conflated between these two individuals. The following section will delve into Al-Muqanna' and his role in this context.³⁴¹

Confusion with al-Muqanna'

Al-Muqanna's real name is not quite known. Either he was called Aṭā³⁴², Hāshim Ibn Ḥakīm³⁴³, or Ḥakīm al-Muqanna'.³⁴⁴ Al-Muqanna's biography is mentioned extensively by Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Narshakhī (d. 347/959).³⁴⁵ During the Abbasid revolution, al-Muqanna' is said to have been a member of Abū Muslim's army, as either Abū Muslim's *ṣaḥīb* (friend) or his *kātib*.³⁴⁶ Therefore al-Muqanna' was literate and according to al-Narshakhī was knowledgeable in mysticism and of previous civilisation.³⁴⁷ Al-Muqanna' is said to have declared prophethood, founded his own religion, and led a 12-year revolt against the Abbasid caliphate from 151/768 until his defeat by Abbasid forces in 163/779. Following his defeat, medieval sources narrate that al-Muqanna' either committed suicide by poisoning himself and his family or by burning himself and his family in a furnace.³⁴⁸ Al-Muqanna' was an instrumental figure in the formation of the Khurramites, the army which was led by the forces of Bābak (d. 223/838) a few decades later.³⁴⁹

³⁴¹ Patricia Crone, "Korramis," *Encyclopædia Iranica* (2011).

³⁴² Al-Jāhiz, *Al-Bayān wa-l-Tabayīn*, Vol.3, 70.

³⁴³ Abū Bakr Muḥammad Narshakhī, *Tārīkh Bukhārā*, ed. Amīn 'Abd al-Majīd Badwī and Naṣr Allāh Muḥshir al-Ṭarāzī (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1993), 98.

³⁴⁴ Al-Ṭabarī, "Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk," Vol.8, 135.

³⁴⁵ Narshakhī book is on the history of Bukhāra and Narshakhī himself is from Sogdianana. Would make sense why he would write extensively on al-Muqanna'. Bosworth, "Narshakhī" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

³⁴⁶ Fakhr al-Dīn Al-Rāzī states that he was Abū Muslim's *ṣaḥīb* and al-Muṣṭawfī makes him his *kātib*. See: Fakhr al-Dīn Al-Rāzī, *Kitāb I'ṭiqādāt Firāq al-Muslimīn wa-al-Mushrikīn* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya), 79, Al-Mustawfī Ḥamd Allāh, *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. 'A.Ḥ. Navā'ī (Tehran 1983), 299.

³⁴⁷ Narshakhī, *Tārīkh Bukhārā*, 98.

"قرأ كتباً كثيرة من علوم الأولين وصار بارعاً للغاية في السحر."

³⁴⁸ Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khālfah Ibn Khayyāṭ*, 437, Al-Ṭabarī, "Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk," Vol.8, 144, Narshakhī, *Tārīkh Bukhārā*, 107-108, Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam li Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-l-'Umam*, Vol.8, 263, 'Abd al-Qāhir Al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Farq bayn al-Firāq* (Beirut: Dār al-Afāq al-Jadīda 1977), 244, Abū al-Muẓaffar Al-Isfarāyīnī, *Kitāb al-Tabṣīr fi al-Dīn wa Tamayyuz al-Firqa al-Nājiya 'an al-Firqa al-Hālikin*, ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥūt (Lebanon: 'Ālam al-Kutb, 1983), 132.

³⁴⁹ 'Abd al-Ḥayy bin Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadhūrāt al-Dhahab fi Akhbār man Dhahab* (Damascus: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1986), Vol.2, 272, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, 155, "Al-Muqanna'," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill), Van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, 27, Crone, *The Nativist Prophets Of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism*, 128.

Bābak too was accused of *zandaqa* and was executed by having his limbs severed, similar to Ibn al-Muqaffa'.³⁵⁰

Al-Muqanna' declared himself as not only a prophet but as God incarnate.³⁵¹ Al-Muqanna' also wrote about his religion and sent it to nearby *wilayāt* so that they may follow him.³⁵² Therefore a text authored by al-Muqanna' about his religious revolution existed, especially since Narshakhī quotes passages from his book.³⁵³ The views presented by al-Muqanna' regarding his faith were mostly a combination of Mazdakism, Islam, and some elements of Buddhism.³⁵⁴ Mazdakism was influenced by Manichaeism.³⁵⁵ Al-Muqanna' followers were mostly Turks and Sogdians, known as al-Mubayyiḍa (The White-clothed ones) or al-Muqanna'iya.³⁵⁶ Al-Maḡdisī (d. 355/966) states that the Mubayyiḍa believe that God entered in the form of a man to make them his messengers.³⁵⁷ A similar view is also known about Mani who is said to have claimed being the Paraclete (the Holy Spirit) who inherited it from previous prophets.³⁵⁸ Al-Muqanna' and his followers are therefore inheriting the "prophethood" and divinity of Mani. Among other things, al-Muqanna' and his followers are also said to have believed in sexual communalism, a practice known by both Mazdakism and Manicheans.³⁵⁹ According to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baḡhdādī (d. 428/1037) and Abū al-Muẓaffar al-Isfrāyīnī (d. 470/1078), al-Muqanna' and his followers

³⁵⁰ His death was similar to how 'Abd al-Jabbār was also killed and Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Al-Dīnawarī Abū Ḥanīfah, *Al-Akḥbār al-Ṭuwāl* (Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiya, 1960), 405.

³⁵¹ Narshakhī narrates that al-Muqanna' preached to his followers that he is their God, the God of the universe. Narshakhī, *Tārīkh Bukhārā*, 99, Crone, *The Nativist Prophets Of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism*, 135.

³⁵² Narshakhī, *Tārīkh Bukhārā*, 99.

³⁵³ Narshakhī, *Tārīkh Bukhārā*, 99-101.

³⁵⁴ Evidence also reveal that Sogdiana contained significant Manichean influences. See: Christiane Reck, "A Sogdian Version Of Mani's Letter Of The Seal," *New Light on Manichaeism* 64, no. Papers from the Sixth International Congress on Manichaeism (2009): 225-226, Crone, *The Nativist Prophets Of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism*, 137.

³⁵⁵ I stated early the story of the Manichean in Rome called Bundos who merged Christianity and Manichaeism together to formulate what was later called Mazdakism. See: Morony, "Mazdak," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Khodadad Rezakhani, "Mazdakism, Manichaeism and Zoroastrianism: In Search of Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Late Antique Iran," *Iranian Studies* 48 (2015): 56, accessed 2023/03/11/.

³⁵⁶ The colour has both Manicheans roots and is also a form of resistance against the Abbasid black. See: Crone, *The Nativist Prophets Of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism*, 138, 142, Narshakhī, *Tārīkh Bukhārā*, 97, Al-Baḡhdādī, *Kitāb al-Farq bayn al-Firāq* 215.

³⁵⁷ Al-Maḡdasī, *Al-Bada' wa-l-Tārīkh*, Vol.6, 97, Crone, and Siurua, *The Iranian Reception of Islam: the Non-Traditionalist Strands: Collected Studies in Three Volumes*, 97.

³⁵⁸ Van Oort, "Mani and Augustine: Collected Essays on Mani, Manichaeism and Augustine," in *The Paraclete Mani as the Apostle of Jesus Christ and the Origins of a New Church*, 19-20, Crone, *The Nativist Prophets Of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism*, Ludwig Koenen, "Augustine and Manichaeism in Light of the Cologne Mani Codex," *Illinois Classical Studies* 3 (1978): 167, accessed 2023/03/11/.

³⁵⁹ Rezakhani, "Mazdakism, Manichaeism and Zoroastrianism: In Search of Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Late Antique Iran," 56.

permitted the consumption of pork, carrion, and of eating the dead.³⁶⁰ The followers of al-Muqanna‘ were also accused of justifying their actions by purposely manipulating and misinterpreting the *Qur‘ān*.³⁶¹

The relation between al-Muqanna‘ and Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ is based on how some sources confuse the information about the two.³⁶² As an example, al-Qumī (299/912) states that Sufyān b. Mu‘awiya was ordered by al-Manṣūr to capture Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ following his involvement in the *amān*.³⁶³ Al-Qumī then states that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ committed suicide by poisoning himself and his family rather than surrendering.³⁶⁴ However, this is strikingly close to account about al-Muqanna‘’s death. In another instance that I mentioned in chapter one, Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Kallikān narrate that Imām al-Ḥaramayn Ḍhiya‘ al-Dīn al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085), stated that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ emerged and caused chaos in *bilād al-Turk*.³⁶⁵ However, this is clearly a confusion with al-Muqanna‘ who emerged from Khurāsān and Transoxiana with significant Turkic support.

Given that the information on both these figures, it is possible that the discourses about their religious views might also have been impacted. Narshakhī tells us that al-Muqanna‘ wrote a *kitab*, likely letter, to several governors informing him of his new faith and calling them to join.³⁶⁶ It could also be possible that it was al-Muqanna‘’s text that al-Rassī was criticising. Also, al-Rassī says the following about Ibn al-Muqaffa‘:

"يسمى ابن المقفع عليه لعنة الله بكل مرأى ومسمع، فورث عن ماني في كفره ميراثه وحاز عن
ابيه ماني فيه تراثه".³⁶⁷

“He’s called Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, Allāh’s curse on all that he hears or sees, he inherited from Mānī in his *kufr* and he possesses from his father, Mānī, his heritage”.

³⁶⁰ Al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Farq bayn al-Firāq* 244, Al-Isfarāyīnī, *Kitāb al-Tabṣīr fi al-Dīn wa Tamayyuz al-Firqa al-Nājiya ‘an al-Firqa al-Hālikin*, 132.

³⁶¹ Narshakhī, *Tārīkh Bukhārā*, 107-108, Crone, and Siurua, *The Iranian Reception of Islam: the Non-Traditionalist Strands: Collected Studies in Three Volumes*, 101.

³⁶² المقفع و المقفع

³⁶³ Al-Qumī states it was Yazīd b. Mu‘awiya who was the governor of Basra and the one who killed Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, however, almost every source states it was Sufyān b. Mu‘awiya. See: Sa‘ad b. ‘Abd-Allāh al-Ash‘arī Al-Qumī, *Kitāb al-Maqālāt wa-l-Firāq* (Tehran: Maṭba‘at Ḥaydarī, 1923), 67.

³⁶⁴ Al-Qumī, *Kitāb al-Maqālāt wa-l-Firāq*, 67.

³⁶⁵ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt al-A‘yān wa-Anbā’ Abnā’ al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 146.

³⁶⁶ Narshakhī, *Tārīkh Bukhārā*, 99.

³⁶⁷ Al-Rassī, *Al-Radd ‘Alā al-Zindīq Ibn al-Muqaffa‘*, 8.

However, this statement is closer to al-Muqanna' than it is to Ibn al-Muqaffa'. I mentioned earlier that the sources state al-Muqanna' inherited the doctrine of Mazdakism and Manicheism, in that he is a Paraclete in a chain of prophets. This would make al-Muqanna' a more suitable adversary to al-Rassī than Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Especially since, unlike Ibn al-Muqaffa', al-Muqanna's influence and *fasād* (corruption) remained in Khurāsān for decades.³⁶⁸ Therefore, al-Muqanna' would be seen as a more appropriate candidate to the aggressive letter of al-Rassī against *zanadiqa* and the view of Mani than Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

We also find that the adversary of al-Mu'ayyad bi-Llāh's text on *mu'āradat al-Qur'ān* also more fitting to al-Muqanna' than Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-lāh presents Ibn al-Muqaffa's *mu'āradat al-Qur'ān* along with other names such as Musaylima al-Kadhāb (d. 11/632) and Ṭulayḥa al-Asdī (d. 21/642).³⁶⁹ Both Musaylima al-Kadhāb and Ṭulayḥa al-Asdī were accused of declaring prophethood and leading a revolt against the caliph of their time.³⁷⁰ Ibn al-Muqaffa' appears to be the odd-one-out of the three names mentioned. He neither declared prophethood nor led a revolt. However, if we were to replace al-Muqanna's name with that of Ibn al-Muqaffa', the list would be a lot more coherent.

The opinions revolving the accusation of Manicheism on Ibn al-Muqaffa' are therefore possibly influenced by other factors that occurred following his death. The confusion between Ibn al-Muqaffa' and al-Muqanna' is evident in the sources. We can see parallels between the two in that they were both *kuttāb*, they worked for a governor, lived during the same period, were both literate in Arabic and Persian, and allegedly died of dismemberment and burning of their limbs. They also had similar names.³⁷¹ Beyond the confusion over the details of their biography and profile, we also find that some Medieval scholars confused one with the another. In the way that other sources confused the two figures, it is possible that the book al-Rassī was engaging with was produced by al-Muqanna', especially since several modern authors show the lack of grammatical structure that Ibn al-Muqaffa' is renowned for in the few fragments that al-Rassī

³⁶⁸ Such as permissibility of sexual communalism and pork. Sources also tell us that many Muslims died at the hands of al-Muqanna's army. See: Narshakhī, *Tārīkh Bukhārā*, 108, Al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Farq bayn al-Firqa* 244, Al-Isfārāyīnī, *Kitāb al-Tabṣīr fī al-Dīn wa Tamayyuz al-Firqa al-Nājiya 'an al-Firqa al-Hālikin*, 132.

³⁶⁹ Al-Mu'ayyad bi-Llāh, *Ithbāt Nubuwwat al-Nabī: Ṣala Allahu 'Alihi wa Sallam*, 37.

³⁷⁰ Abū 'Abd Allāh Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Rīda li-l-Wāqidī*, ed. Yaḥya al-Jabūrī (Beirut: Dār al-Ghurb al-Islāmī 1990), 49, 102, 'Abd-Allāh b. Muslim Ibn Qutayba, *Al-Ma'ārif* (Cairo: Al-Hay'a al-Maṣrya al-'Āma li-al-Kutāb, 1993), Vol.1, 303, Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.11, 157.

³⁷¹ See chapter One on the death of Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

shares.³⁷² It is also probable that later scribes misread al-Muqanna‘ as al-Muqaffa‘, especially since there is no early reception of al-Rassī letter and that Ibn al-Nadīm Does not include it as a text belonging to him.³⁷³ There is historical evidence indicating that medieval scholars occasionally mixed up the biographies of both Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and al-Muqanna‘. Hence, it is not unreasonable to consider the possibility that their biographical details may have been conflated between these two individuals.

³⁷² Amīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islam*, 225, Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*, 160, Lampe, "Ibn al-Muqaffa‘: Political and Legal Theorist and Reformer," 29, Chokr, *Zandaqa Et Zindīqs En Islam Au Second Siècle De L'hégire*, 103-104, 202-206.

³⁷³ The only "radd" text that Ibn al-Nadīm acknowledges is from al-Rassī is his "*al-Radd ‘Ala al-Rāfiḍā*". Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 240.

3- The Social Circle of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘

From among the issues that we face regarding the accusation of *zandaqa* directed against Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, the identification of his “acquaintances” is noteworthy. Some modern scholars argue that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s association with other *zanādiqa* is evidence of the “Manichaean intellectual circle” to which he belonged.³⁷⁴ However, when we analyse all the acquaintances that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ is said to have conversed with by medieval authors, we find a very different representation of what some modern scholars argue. The authenticity of the narrations by the sources is not our main concern. Instead, the aim of this section is to gather all the relevant data we have on who Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ interacted with, and how his social circle might have played a role in his depiction. From that data our focus is to illustrate the acquaintances that medieval authors associated with Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ who have also been accused of *zandaqa*. This table is based on all *akhbār* which involves Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ interacting with someone else.

The horizontal panel is organised chronologically to represent the twenty-one authors who narrate the acquaintances Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ interacted with. The vertical panel contains the name of forty-seven acquaintances and their professions, as narrated by the authors in the horizontal panel. Intersecting both the horizontal and vertical panel is the shortened name of the source as well as the respective volume and page number. A glossary of the full name of the text is presented in the appendix of the chapter as well as the source which indicates the profession of the acquaintance. Acquaintances that are accused of *zandaqa* are highlighted in orange. The main purpose of the list is to highlight reported evolution of people Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was acquainted with.

³⁷⁴ Vajda, "Les Zindiqs en Pays D'islam au Debut de la Période Abbaside," 223, Lampe, "Ibn al-Muqaffa‘: Political and Legal Theorist and Reformer," 25, Van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, 32, Arjomand, "‘Abd-Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and the ‘Abbasid Revolution," 21-22, Kristó-Nagy, "Marriage after Rape: The Ambiguous Relationship between Arab Lords and Iranian Intellectuals as Reflected in Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s Oeuvre," in *Tradition and Reception in Arabic Literature*, 167, 178, Francesco Gabrieli, "Ibn al-Muqaffa‘," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

	Khalifa b. Khayyat (239/854)	Al-Jahiz (254/860)	Al-Baladhuri (278/892)	Wakī' (306/919)	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (328/940)	Al-Jashiyari (330/942)	Abū Bakr al-Māliki (333/945)	Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (335/947)	Abū al-Faraj al-Aṣfahani (356/967)	Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarāni (360/971)	Al-Tanūkhī (384/994)	Ibn Nadīm (385/995)	Abū 'Alī al-Marzūqī (421/1030)	Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍa (435/1044)	Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (463/1070)	Abū al-Qāsim al-Fārsī (467/1075)	Ibn 'Asākir (571/1176)	Ibn al-Jawzī (597/1201)	Abū Manṣūr al-Ṭabrisī (599/1202)	Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (626/1229)	Sibt ibn al-Jawzī (654/1256)
Abān al-Lāḥqī - Poet									Aghānī: Vol.8, 53												
'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib - <i>Kātib</i>						Al-Wuzarā': 80															
'Abd al-Malik al-Baṣrī - Brother of a poet																			Al-Ihtijāj: Vol.2, 124		
'Abd Allāh b. Shabarma - <i>Qādi</i> : Kufa			Ansāb: Vol.4, 220 Vol.11, 369																		
Abū al-Ghūl - Poet & teacher			Ansāb: Vol.4, 218																		
Abū al-Khāmūsh - Poet			Ansāb: Vol.4, 218																		
Abū Dahmān al-Ghalābī - Poet											Nishūr: Vol.6, 49				Tārikh: Vol.7, 610		Tārikh: Vol.40, 486				
Abū Shākir al-Diṣānī - Accused of <i>mu'ādat al-Qur'ān</i>																			Al-Ihtijāj: Vol.2, 124		
Abū Sufyān b. al-'Alā' - Brother of Abū 'Amr			Ansāb: Vol.13, 53																		
Āl al-Ahtam - Basran Family		Rasā'il al-Adabiya: 208-209																			
Al-Farāhīdī - Grammarian							Al-Majālis: Vol.5, 330							Amālī: Vol.1, 135				Al-Muntazam: Vol.8, 56		Mu'jam al-'Udabā': Vol.3, 698	Mir'at: Vol.12, 165
Al-Haytham b. Durhum - <i>Mawlā</i> Banī Qays			Ansāb: Vol.4, 220																		
Al-Masīḥ b. al-Ḥawārī - <i>Wālī</i> : Nishapūr						Al-Wuzarā': 105															
'Alī b. al-Khalīl - Poet: Accused of <i>zandaqa</i>									Aghānī: Vol.8, 53					Amālī: Vol.1, 131							
'Amr b. 'Ubayd - <i>Mu'tazalī</i> leader								Adab al-Kuttāb: 15													
'Amr b. Ḍabāra - Military commander																					
Bashār b. Burd - Poet: Accused of <i>zandaqa</i>											Nishūr: Vol.6, 49				Tārikh: Vol.7, 610		Tārikh: Vol.40, 486				
Dā'ūd b. 'Umar b. Hubayra - <i>Wālī</i> : Kirmān												Al-Fihrist: 150									
Ḥaṣṣ b. Abī Wada - <i>Unkuwan</i>									Aghānī: Vol.8, 53												
Ḥamād al-Ruwāya - Poet: Accused of <i>zandaqa</i>									Aghānī: Vol.8, 54					Amālī: Vol.1, 131							
Ḥamād b. 'Ajrad - Poet: Accused of <i>zandaqa</i>						Al-Wuzarā': 109			Aghānī: Vol.8, 53					Amālī: Vol.1, 131							
Ḥamdān Ibn al-Zaburqān - Poet: Accused of <i>zandaqa</i>									Aghānī: Vol.8, 53					Amālī: Vol.1, 131							

As illustrated in the table above, early medieval authors depict Ibn al-Muqaffa' as one who was well connected with *kuttāb*, judges, governors, Abbasid royalty, military generals, or elites in the military, judiciary, or administrative professions. However, following the 350s/960s, in Abū al-Faraj al-Aṣṣfahānī's (d. 356/967) *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Ibn al-Muqaffa' is mostly associated with poets who were accused of *zandaqa*. It is important to note that *zandaqa* does not necessarily mean Manichean, dualist, or non-Muslims, as suggested by Kristó-Nagy.³⁷⁵ Indeed, al-Murtaḍa says that Ibn al-Muqaffa' had "*qilat dīn*", meaning that he was deficient in his faith, but not necessarily a non-Muslim. Whereas the other people who he accuses of being *zanādiqa*, are said to have been constantly intoxicated and committing adultery, but Muslim nonetheless.³⁷⁶

The two sources that portray Ibn al-Muqaffa' as one who was well acquainted with *zanādiqa* were Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣṣfahānī and al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍa. Both these sources present Ibn al-Muqaffa' within a list of names whom the authors state were inseparable from each other and accused of their faith.³⁷⁷ However, there is an issue with this list of names that both these authors present. Even though both these authors cite al-Jāhīz as their authority, they both have different numbers with omitted/added names to the list. We also find other authors who mention a similar list of names but do not include Ibn al-Muqaffa' in them. Therefore, what I aim to present in this section is to illustrate that the sources that associate Ibn al-Muqaffa' with other *zanādiqa* are not only late medieval sources, but present a list that is ever changing depending on the author presenting it. In this section I will only discuss the number of people included in the list and how the list changed depending on the author presenting it. For further details on the discrepancies of the names contained in the lists, please refer to the respective table in the appendix of this chapter.

Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣṣfahānī mentions a list of fifteen people, mostly poets, with Ibn al-Muqaffa' among them.³⁷⁸ As for al-Murtaḍa, he mentions seventeen names of those accused of *zandaqa*, Ibn al-Muqaffa' being one of them.³⁷⁹ Both these authors use al-Jāhīz as an authority to

³⁷⁵ Kristó-Nagy, "Marriage after Rape: The Ambiguous Relationship between Arab Lords and Iranian Intellectuals as Reflected in Ibn al-Muqaffa's Oeuvre," in *Tradition and Reception in Arabic Literature*, 164.

³⁷⁶ Al-Murtaḍa, *Kitāb Amālī al-Murtaḍa Ghurar al-Fawā'id wa Durar al-Qalā'id*, 137.

³⁷⁷ Al-Iṣṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Vol.18, 73, Al-Murtaḍa, *Kitāb Amālī al-Murtaḍa Ghurar al-Fawā'id wa Durar al-Qalā'id*, Vol.1, 131.

³⁷⁸ Al-Iṣṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Vol.18, 73.

"كان والبة بن الحباب، و مطيع بن إياس، و منقذ بن عبد الرحمن الهلالي، و حفص بن أبي وردة، و ابن /المقفع، و يونس بن أبي فروة، و حماد بن عجرد، و علي بن الخليل، و حماد بن أبي ليلى الراوية، و ابن الزبيرقان، و عمارة بن حمزة، و يزيد بن الفيض، و جميل بن محفوظ، و بشار المرعش، و أبان الأحمق ندما، يجتمعون على الشراب و قول الشعر و لا يكادون يفترقون، و يهجو بعضهم بعضا هزلا و عمدا، و كلهم متهم في دينه"

³⁷⁹ Al-Murtaḍa, *Kitāb Amālī al-Murtaḍa Ghurar al-Fawā'id wa Durar al-Qalā'id*, Vol.1, 131.

present the list of names. We find this list of *zandīqa* mentioned in al-Jāhīz's *kitāb al-Ḥayawān*. However, al-Jāhīz only mentions thirteen names accused of *zandaqa*, and Ibn al-Muqaffa' does not feature among those names.³⁸⁰ The Abbasid author Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/947) also shares a list of thirteen names, however, neither does he mention an authority or accuse them of *zandaqa*, instead he says that their views were much alike as if they were one person.³⁸¹ Ibn al-Nadīm, a contemporary of al-Ṣūlī, also shares the list of fifteen names who were accused of *zandaqa*.³⁸² Ibn al-Nadīm organises these names into three categories. First, Ibn al-Nadīm mentions al-Ja'ad b. Dirham (d. 124/742)³⁸³ as a *zindīq* for being a Jahmī, a follower of the accused heretic Jahm b. Ṣafwān.³⁸⁴ Then, Ibn al-Nadīm mentions six names of those who were accused of promoting *al-Ithnayn* (dualism). Lastly, Ibn al-Nadīm presents nine poets who were accused of *zandaqa*. Ibn al-Muqaffa' is not included in any of the lists that is shared by Ibn al-Nadīm.

Following Ibn al-Nadīm, Abū Manṣūr al-Tha'ālibī (d. 429/1039) also has a list of ten names similar to the one mentioned by al-Aṣḥāhanī.³⁸⁵ However, unlike the other authors who narrate that the people in the list knew each other, al-Tha'ālibī does not provide any detail on their relation. It is for this reason that I cannot place these names as acquaintances of each other, because the people mentioned by al-Tha'ālibī may not be connected with one another. Al-Tha'ālibī states that the people accused of *zandaqa* in his list were good people, had manners, were fluent and well versed in Arabic, and then concludes that only Allāh can judge their

³⁸⁰ Abū 'Uthman 'Amr al-Jāhīz, *Al-Ḥayawān* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 2004), Vol.4, 481.

"وكان حماد عجرد، وحماد الزاوية، وحماد بن الزبيرقان، ويونس بن هارون، وعلي بن الخليل، ويزيد بن الفيض، وعبادة وجميل بن محفوظ، وقاسم، ومطيع، ووالبة بن الحباب، وأبان بن عبد الحميد، وعمارة بن حربية، يتواصلون، وكأنهم نفس واحدة وكان بشار ينكر عليهم. ويونس الذي زعم حماد عجرد أنه قد غر نفسه بهؤلاء، كان أشهر بهذا الرأي منهم، وقد كان كتب كتابا لملك الروم في مثالب العرب، وعيوب الإسلام، بزعمه."

³⁸¹ Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, *Al-Awrāq Qism Akhbār al-Shu'arā'* (Cairo: Sharikat Amal, 2004), Vol.1, 10.

³⁸² Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 410-411.

³⁸³ Al-Ja'ad b. Dirham was the teacher and mentor of the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān b. Muḥammad. He was captured and killed in Kufa by its governor Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qaṣrī. As mentioned in chapter one, Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh also captured Ibn al-Muqaffa' and tortured him. Al-Ja'ad b. Dirham is the brother of al-Haytham b. Dirham, who was one of Ibn al-Muqaffa's acquaintances according to al-Balādhurī. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.8, 379, Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wa-l-Nihāya*, Vol.13, 199, Georges Vajda, "Ibn Dirham," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

³⁸⁴ Al-Ja'ad b. Dirham was accused of being a Jahmī (Jahmites), one who follows the views of Jahm b. Ṣafwān. Most Sunni scholars viewed Jahmites as heretical and *zandīqa* for their disbelief in the attributes and names of Allāh. See: Jon Hoover, "Perpetual Creativity in the Perfection of God: Ibn Taymiyya's Hadith Commentary on God's Creation of this World," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 15, no. 3 (2004): 297, 312, accessed 5/30/2023.

³⁸⁵ Al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Qulūb*, 176-177.

"أما قولهم أظرف من الزنديق فقد صار مثلا في زمان كثير ظرفاؤه وهو زمان المهدي وكانوا يزومون بالزندقة كصالح بن عبد القدوس وأبي العتاهية وبشار وحماد الراوية وحماد عجرد ومطيع بن إياس ويحيى بن زياد وعلي بن الخليل ومثلهم وممن تقدمهم قليلا كإبن المقفع وإبن أبي العوجاء وما منثم في الظاهر إلا نظيف البزة جميل الشكل ظاهر المروءة فصيح اللهجة ظريف التفصيل والجملة والله أعلم ببواطنهم وضمائرهم"

intentions.³⁸⁶ Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201) also shares a list of names of those accused of *zandaqa*. Although Ibn al-Jawzī states that he obtained his list on the authority of al-Murtaḍa who had seventeen names, Ibn al-Jawzī only mentions three people in his list, Ibn al-Muqaffa' included.³⁸⁷ Ibn Khallikān shares a similar list on the authority of al-Jāḥiẓ though similar to Ibn al-Jawzī, he only has three names: Ibn al-Muqaffa', Muṭī' b. Iyās, and Yaḥyā b. Ziyād.³⁸⁸

To summarise, we have seven medieval authors who present a list of names of those accused of *zandaqa*. As indicated in the table below, the number of names changes depending on the author. Although al-Iṣfahānī and al-Murtaḍa share the list on the authority of al-Jāḥiẓ, all three lists contain omitted or added names. Ibn al-Jawzī presents the list on the authority of al-Murtaḍa, yet he too also has a different number of people compared to al-Murtaḍa. As such, it is difficult to say whether the list of acquaintances that Ibn al-Muqaffa' is associated with is accurate or not. Each medieval authors appears to present a different list with little consistency in the names.³⁸⁹ Not only is the acquaintanceship of Ibn al-Muqaffa' to other *zanādiqa* a late medieval invention, but even the authors who present Ibn al-Muqaffa' within that social circle have conflicting information on the matter.

Name of author	Al-Jāḥiẓ	Al-Ṣūlī	Al-Aṣfahanī	Ibn al-Nadīm	Al-Tha'ālibī	Al-Murtaḍa	Ibn al-Jawzī	Ibn Khallikān
Number of people in the list	13	13	15	15	10	17	3	3

³⁸⁶ Al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Qulūb*, 177.

³⁸⁷ Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam fi Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-l-'Umam*, Vol.8, 56.

"قد حكى المرتضى عن الجاحظ أنه قال: كان ابن المقفع ومطيع بن إياس ومنقذ بن زياد يتهمون في دينهم."

³⁸⁸ Ibn Khallikān, *Walāyāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 151.

³⁸⁹ Further information on the names of the lists can be found in the appendix of this chapter.

Conclusion

The accusation of *zandaqa* levied against Ibn al-Muqaffa' has wielded substantial influence over contemporary authors' perceptions of both his character and body of work. This accusation of *zandaqa* rests primarily upon three arguments. First and foremost, the allegation hinges on Ibn al-Muqaffa's purported anti-Islamic composition, *mu'aradat al-Qur'an*. However, a careful examination reveals a lack of substantiated evidence supporting his involvement in such practices. Even medieval scholars disavow any connection between Ibn al-Muqaffa' and *mu'aradat al-Qur'an*. Al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh, who although shares fragments that attributes Ibn al-Muqaffa' to this practice, unequivocally denies Ibn al-Muqaffa's authorship of such a work.

The second argument used to accuse Ibn al-Muqaffa' of *zandaqa* pertains to his identification as a Manichean and a proponent of Manichean principles. This perspective is predominantly elucidated in al-Rassī's treatise against Ibn al-Muqaffa'. I argue that there exists no concrete proof or verifiable evidence demonstrating that al-Rassī was indeed citing works authored by Ibn al-Muqaffa' that linked him to Manichaeism. Furthermore, I maintain that al-Rassī's perception of Ibn al-Muqaffa', shared by other authors, may have been distorted by records concerning al-Muqanna', a contemporary of Ibn al-Muqaffa' who had a similar background. It is worth noting that unlike Ibn al-Muqaffa', al-Muqanna' led a rebellion against the Abbasids and claimed prophethood, leaving a lasting influence in the Khurāsān region and its environs, with many authors suggesting that the Khurramite revolt in the 3rd/9th century was influenced by the legacy and followers of al-Muqanna'.

The third argument used to implicate Ibn al-Muqaffa' in *zandaqa* revolves around his social circle and associates, the majority of whom were also accused of *zandaqa*. Modern literature has consequently placed Ibn al-Muqaffa' within a circle of Manichean *kuttāb*. However, I contend that the perception of Ibn al-Muqaffa's social circle underwent discernible evolution throughout the medieval period. Early authors, predating the mid-4th/10th century, depicted Ibn al-Muqaffa' as an integral part of the Iraqi elite networks, given his close associations with governors, judges, military commanders, and other *kuttāb*. Conversely, following the mid-4th/10th century, there is a discernible trend among authors to associate Ibn al-Muqaffa' with others accused of *zandaqa*, especially poets. The two contrasting depictions of Ibn al-Muqaffa' and his social circle illustrate an important manifestation of his persona and its evolution throughout the medieval period. It is therefore crucial that when contemporary sources discuss or attempt to narrate the biographical information on Ibn al-Muqaffa', they do not solely depend on later or early depictions.

Furthermore, the accusation of *zandaqa* against Ibn al-Muqaffa' is marked by inconsistency. While al-Rassī portrays Ibn al-Muqaffa' as a *zindīq* due to his adherence to Mani, hence classifying him as a Manichean, al-Iṣfahānī and al-Murtaḍa characterise Ibn al-Muqaffa's *zandaqa* as a perpetual state of intoxication. In a prior chapter, I also highlighted the existence of an anecdote associating Ibn al-Muqaffa' with a desire to enter a fire temple (*bayt al-nār*) following his conversion to Islam.³⁹⁰ The fire temple is a place of worship specific to Zoroastrians, not because they worship fire, but because they face a flame during prayers.³⁹¹ In contrast, Manicheans do not worship in fire temples; their religious practice involves facing the sun or moon.³⁹² Consequently, the anecdote connects Ibn al-Muqaffa' with Zoroastrians rather than Manicheans. The outcome is a notably inconsistent interpretation of *zandaqa* by medieval authors regarding Ibn al-Muqaffa'. The accusation of *zandaqa* against Ibn al-Muqaffa' is a multifaceted and intricate issue, characterised by historical inconsistencies and evolving perceptions.

³⁹⁰ Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn al-Akhbār*, Vol.1, 113-114, Al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-'Udabā'*, Vol.3, 968, Al-Murtaḍa, *Kitāb Amāli al-Murtaḍa Ghurar al-Fawā'id wa Durar al-Qalā'id*, Vol.3, 135, Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-l-'Umam*, Vol.8, 56.

³⁹¹ Ramiyar P. Karanjia, "Zoroastrianism, Temples," in *Islam, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism*, ed. Zayn R. Kassam, Yudit Kornberg Greenberg, and Jehan Bagli (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2018), 820, Håkon Naasen Tandberg, *Relational Religion: Fires as Confidants in Parsi Zoroastrianism* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2019), 20.

³⁹² Johannes van Oort, *Augustine and Manichaean Christianity: Selected Papers from the First South African Conference on Augustine of Hippo, University of Pretoria, 24-26 April 2012* (Boston: Brill, 2013), 74-75, Reeves, John C. *Prolegomena to a History of Islamicate Manichaeism*. (UK: Equinox Publishing, 2011), 13.

Chapter Three: The Legacy of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘

Introduction

Having addressed the discrepancies in Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s biographies and postulated that medieval narratives may stem from a misapprehension of his character, it becomes essential to engage directly with his oeuvre for a proper understanding of the man. However, a prerequisite to any analysis of his writings is the verification of their authorship. Consequently, this chapter aims to delineate the body of works attributable to Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, as well as to explicate the thematic and structural elements within these texts.

The texts that are attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ include titles like *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*, *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*, *al-Ya‘īma*, and *al-Risāla fī al-ṣaḥāba*. My analysis on Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s corpus is made up primarily of the forementioned works. There also exists other texts such as *Ḥikam li-Ibn al-Muqaffa‘*, *al-Manṭiq li-Ibn al-Muqaffa‘*, and *Ya‘īmat al-Ṣultān*, however their attribution to Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ is dubious and was challenged by modern scholarship.³⁹³ *Al-amān* is also a text that is attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and something I mentioned extensively in the first chapter.³⁹⁴ However, given that the nature of the text is a contract on behalf of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī and therefore not necessarily the words or views of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, I will not include this text in my analysis.

There also exists a text by the name of *al-Adab al-wajīz li-al-walad al-ṣaghīr* (*al-Adab al-wajīz*) which is attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274). *Al-Adab al-wajīz* is a letter which the author dedicated to his son and contain 50 lessons and aphorisms on social and behavioural conduct. Al-Ṭūsī translated the text from Arabic to Persian.³⁹⁵ What we have today is the Persian translation of the text. The original Arabic was lost. In the 20th century, Muḥammād Ghufrānī al-Khurāsānī translated the text from Persian to Arabic.³⁹⁶ Most modern

³⁹³ Latham, "Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and early ‘Abbasid prose," 76, Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Khwadāynāmag The Middle Persian Book of Kings* (Brill, 2018), 90, Ahmad Ighbariah, "Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s Isagoge: An Edition of the Arabic Text with an English Translation," *Journal of Abbasid Studies* 7 (2020): 57, Muḥammad Kurd ‘Alī, *Rasā’il al-Bulaghā’* (1954: repr., Cairo: Maṭba‘at lajnat al-ta’līf wa-l-Nashr, 1908), 145, ‘Abbās, "Naẓara Jadīda fī ba‘ḍ al-Kutub al-Mansūba li-Ibn al-Muqaffa‘," 555-558, Latham, "Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and early ‘Abbasid prose," 76.

³⁹⁴ For further analysis of the *amān* see: Marsham, and Robinson, "The safe-conduct for the Abbasid ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī (d. 764)."

³⁹⁵ The Persian text has been edited three times: ‘Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, *al-Adab al-wajīz li-al-walad al-ṣaghīr*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khalkhālī and ‘Abbās Iqbāl (Tehran 1933), ‘Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, *al-Adab al-wajīz li-al-walad al-ṣaghīr*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh (Tehran 1960), ‘Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, *al-Adab al-wajīz li-al-walad al-ṣaghīr*, ed. Ghulām Ḥusayn Āhanī (Iṣfahān 1961).

³⁹⁶ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, *al-Adab al-wajīz li-al-walad al-ṣaghīr*.

authors argue that the text is rightfully attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa' until there is evidence to prove otherwise.³⁹⁷ However, given that its attribution to Ibn al-Muqaffa' remains uncertain and that the text is a translation of the original, I will refrain from using it extensively in my research.

Other than his original works, Ibn al-Muqaffa' is attributed to have translated numerous Persian texts. Translated works attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa' include, but are not limited to: *Kalīla wa Dimna*, *Āyīn-nāme fī l-āyīn*, *kitāb Mazdak*, and *kitāb al-Tāj fī sīrat Anūshirwān*.³⁹⁸ Distinguishing between Ibn al-Muqaffa's original contributions and his translations poses a considerable challenge. While aspects such as word choices and the act of translation indeed imbue a sense of authorship to the text, I have opted to exclude these works from my analysis of Ibn al-Muqaffa' because they may not correspond directly to his own views or ideas. Translated works do not necessarily reflect the translator's views. Unless however, the translation is a collection of several works or sections of a larger text that have been specifically picked and utilised for a specific objective to produce a new text, such is the case with *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*.

This chapter sets the stage for an in-depth exploration into the life and writings of Ibn al-Muqaffa', shedding light on the complex interplay between his biography and the authenticity of his literary oeuvre. The overarching thread that binds all of Ibn al-Muqaffa's works together is his profound conception of *adab*. As we traverse the intricate terrain of Ibn al-Muqaffa's life and writings, it becomes increasingly evident that his literary contributions emanate from a profound belief in the interconnectedness of personal *adab* and the *adab* governing society. Whether he imparts political counsel, administrative directives, social insights, or religious guidance, all these facets align under his distinctive perspective of *adab*. The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the content, attribution, and structure of Ibn al-Muqaffa's work in order for us to build upon his perception of *adab* in the following chapter.

³⁹⁷ Ibn al-Muqaffa', *al-Adab al-wajīz li-al-walad al-ṣaghīr*, ٥ ٠٢, Ibn al-Muqaffa', *al-Adab al-wajīz li-al-walad al-ṣaghīr*, 13-15, Charles-Henri de Fouchécour, *Moralia: Les notions morales dans la littérature persane: du 3e/9e au 7e/13e siècle* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisation, 1986), 349, Kristó-Nagy, *La pensée d'Ibn al-Muqaffa': un "agent double" dans le monde persan et arabe*, 93.

³⁹⁸ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 150, Hämeen-Anttila, *Khwadāy-nāmag The Middle Persian Book of Kings*, 90, Latham, "Ibn al-Muqaffa' and early 'Abbasid prose," 52-57, Kristó-Nagy, *La pensée d'Ibn al-Muqaffa': un "agent double" dans le monde persan et arabe*, 603-604.

1. *Al-Ādāb al-kabīr*

Kitāb al-Ādāb al-kabīr is one of Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's longest original texts. The authenticity of its attribution to Ibn al-Muqaffa' has not been disputed. Modern scholars refer to the text by the title given to it by Ibn al-Nadīm who attributes a text to Ibn al-Muqaffa' by the title *Kitāb al-Ādāb al-kabīr*.³⁹⁹ Other medieval authors such as Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) and Abū al-Ḥasān al-Āmirī (d. 381/992), and Ibn Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) refer to some passages from the text as *Ādāb Ibn al-Muqaffa'*.⁴⁰⁰ Other later manuscripts of the book have titles such as *al-Durra al-yaūma*, *al-Adab al-jāmi'*, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, *Risālat al-akhlāq*, or *Risālat al-akhlāq fī al-siyāsa*.⁴⁰¹ While the titles vary among these manuscripts, the content remains substantially consistent, marked only by marginal disparities. The name *kabīr*, meaning great, is not a description of the type of *adab* in the book, but rather an adjective to the book, in that it is large and long. This is similar to *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*, whereby it is not the *adab* itself that is short, but rather the volume of the book is short. Therefore, it is possible that when Ibn Qutayba, al-Āmirī, or Ibn Miskawayh say *Ādāb Ibn al-Muqaffa'*, the *Ādāb* may be in reference to a collection of his *adab*, including *al-kabīr* and *al-ṣaghīr*.

Most modern scholars use Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī's book *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*" when engaging with *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*.⁴⁰² Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī's latest edition (1954) compares six manuscripts of *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* that were published by several authors including al-Amīr Shakīb Aرسالān (1897), Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā (1912), and Muḥammad Ḥassan Nā'il al-Marṣafī (1913) while illustrating the differences between them.⁴⁰³

³⁹⁹ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 150, Gabrieli, "L'Opera di Ibn Al-Muqaffa'," 219-220, Latham, "Ibn al-Muqaffa' and early 'Abbasid prose," 57, Kristó-Nagy, *La pensée d'Ibn al-Muqaffa': un "agent double" dans le monde persan et arabe*, 187.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibn Qutayba, *Al-Ma'ārif*, Vol. 1, 54, 74, 75, 76, 86, 113, 114, 258, 298, 389, 404, 462, Vol.2, 12, 137, Vol.3, 20, 214, Vol.4, 78, Al-Āmirī Abū al-Ḥasān, *Al-Sa'āda wa-al-īs'ād*, ed. M. Mīnovī (Tehran 1955), 146, 148, 160, Ibn Miskawayh, *Al-Ḥikma al-Khālida*.

⁴⁰¹ 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Kitāb al-adāb al-jāmi'*, 1138, MS. 131842, Adab, Damyāt.

⁴⁰² Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 40.

⁴⁰³ Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 39, Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Al-Durra al-Yaūma*, Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Al-Adab al-Kabīr*, 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Al-Adab al-Kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥassan Nā'il al-Marṣafī (2012: repr.: Hindāwī Foundation, 1913).

Modern scholars classify the book as a “mirror of princes”.⁴⁰⁴ The exact definition and contents of a mirror of princes is a topic that modern scholars have been debating.⁴⁰⁵ Though the general consensus by modern scholarship presented by Noëlle-Laetitia Perret and Stéphane Péquignot (2022) is that a mirror of princes is a text that present either a portrait of the ideal prince, or advices on governing to an authority.⁴⁰⁶ A more recent publication by Louise Marlow (2023) states that “A mirror of princes is a text that offers advice to a ruler, or ruler-to-be, concerning the exercise of royal power and the well-being of the body politic”.⁴⁰⁷

The first section of the book contains advice towards an authority. The nature of this section is usually administrative since it deals with management, responsibility of power, and listening to advisors.

The second segment encompasses counsel regarding how one deals with authority, particularly directed towards the retinue or those in close proximity to authoritative figures. The guidance presented in this portion centres around demonstrating deference to an authority and observing the corresponding etiquettes encompassing one’s speech, interactions, and duties towards said authority. Additionally, this section provides advice for interacting with the entourage of an authority, outlining anticipated protocols and practices for such engagements. The prevailing character of this segment typically assumes a political dimension as it expounds upon matters of political legitimacy, compliance, and the reverence owed to an authority. As stated earlier, the highest status of political authority (*mulūk*) contains an authority above them, Allāh. Therefore, the contents of this section are also applied to the caliph, albeit it may be of somewhat lesser relevance compared to the entourage of an authority.

The concluding part of *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* delves into the realm of personal counsel. This facet, as described by Gabrieli (1932), encapsulates what can be termed as the “*uomo di mondo*” – the individual in the world.⁴⁰⁸ It predominantly centres on nurturing friendships, introspection, the pursuit of knowledge, controlling one’s whims, navigating enemies, and the expansion of

⁴⁰⁴ Gabrieli, "L'Opera di Ibn Al-Muqaffa'," 220, Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam: An Introductory Outline*, 67-68, Latham, "Ibn al-Muqaffa' and early 'Abbasid prose," 57, Kristó-Nagy, "Reason, Religion, and Power in Ibn al-Muqaffa'," 294, 296, 297, Denise Aigle, "The Conception of Power in Islam: Persian Mirrors of Princes and Sunni Theories (11th-14th Centuries)," in *A Critical Companion to the 'Mirrors for Princes' Literature* (Brill, 2022), 142.

⁴⁰⁵ Noëlle-Laetitia Perret, and Stéphane Péquignot highlight modern scholarships definition of mirror of princes. Noëlle-Laetitia Perret, and Stéphane Péquignot, *A Critical Companion to the 'Mirrors for Princes' Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 1-4.

⁴⁰⁶ Perret, and Péquignot, *A Critical Companion to the 'Mirrors for Princes' Literature*, 4.

⁴⁰⁷ Louise Marlow, *Medieval Muslim Mirrors for Princes: An Anthology of Arabic, Persian and Turkish Political Advice, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 3.

⁴⁰⁸ Gabrieli, "L'Opera di Ibn Al-Muqaffa'," 220.

one's social connections. Furthermore, this section orbits around the concept of achieving a harmonious balance between individual well-being and societal engagement. While this section can certainly be applied to any "individual in the world", there is a particular reason why it is included in the same book that discusses state management and the distribution of power. The advice provided here is pertinent to the same audience addressed throughout the entire book, which includes authorities and their entourage. Ibn al-Muqaffa' considers the management of the state, as well as the ethical and moral conduct of individuals, to fall under the broader concept he perceives as *adab*. Consequently, this section serves as a guideline for the moral and ethical behaviour of individuals, including the caliph and his entourage, who collectively represent the *dawla*.⁴⁰⁹

The significance of this text lies in its ability to target several audiences across time in a spectrum of different social and political classes. The author is able to connect to an authority, their entourage, and everyone else at the same time by labelling his audience as "*tālib al-adab*". Ibn al-Muqaffa' refrains from an excessive reliance on specific titles such as "*wazīr*", instead opting for a fluid utilisation of terminologies that can be interchanged.⁴¹⁰ He communicates in a manner that aligns with the direction of authority, be it above or below the reader. Ibn al-Muqaffa' opts towards using a directional tone that is represented by a hierarchy of power with Allāh holding the ultimate authority. There also exist other terms such as *ṣadīq* (friend), *ṣāhib* (companion), or *akh* (brother) suggesting a universal set of conduct that is to be applied to any reader, including authorities and their entourage.

1.1 When was the text written?

It is difficult to say with full certainty when *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* was written. However, there exist three textual evidences which may allude to the possibility that the book was composed following the Abbasid revolution. The first textual evidence is based on a passage regarding the coming of a new *dawlā*. According to Ibn al-Muqaffa' in *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*:

"إذا كان سلطانك عند جدة دولة، فرأيت أمرا استقام بغير رأي، وأعوانا أجزوا بغير نيل، وعملا أنجح بغير حزم، فلا يغرناك ذلك، ولا تستنم إليه، فإن الأمر الجديد مما تكون له مهابة في أنفس أقوام، وحلاوة في أنفس آخرين، فيعين قوم بأنفسهم، ويعين قوم بما قبلهم، ويستتب بذلك الأمر غير طويل، ثم تصير الشؤون إلى حقائقها وأصولها. فما كان من الأمر بني على غير أركان وثيقة، ولا عماد محكمة، أوشك أن يتداعى، ويتصدع".⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁹ The term *dawla* is further explained in the following page.

⁴¹⁰ The title *wazīr* is mentioned once in the text and will be discussed further below.

⁴¹¹ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 50.

“When your authority is in the coming of a new *dawla* and you witness a matter which exists without reason, and helpers who work without compensation, and effort which succeeded without judiciousness. Do not be deceived by this, nor trust it wholly. For that which is new may contain reverence in the hearts of people and sweetness in the hearts of others. So, people will support against themselves, and people will support what was before them. It will not remain this way for long, things will show their truthful state and their origin. For anything that’s not built upon established foundations or strengthened laws, will be collapse and fall apart”.

Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ refers to the start of a new *dawla*. The term *dawla* can be interpreted to several meanings depending on the context, such as turn, change, or shift.⁴¹² The Umayyad *kātib*, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (d. 132/750) uses the term *dawla* when referencing the defeat of one army to another.⁴¹³ In an Abbasid context, *dawla* has become synonymously used to refer to the Abbasids.⁴¹⁴ Al-Madā‘īni for example authored a book called “*Kitāb al-Dawla*” which revolves around the Abbasid revolution and Abbasid rule.⁴¹⁵ In *al-Risāla*, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ uses the term *dawla* to refer to the Abbasids as well.⁴¹⁶ The passage above indicates that following the coming of a new *dawla*, state affairs may function for a short period until it ultimately collapses and falls apart. Unless, the author advises, the state establishes or builds upon the codification of laws which are the foundational stability of a state. Taken in isolation, the passage possesses the capacity to imply various interpretations, including the emergence of a novel authority or a shift

⁴¹² Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 935, István Kristó-Nagy, "Conflict and Cooperation between Arab Rulers and Persian Administrators in the Formative Period of Islamdom, c.600–c.950 CE," in *Empires and Bureaucracy in World History: From Late Antiquity to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Peter Crooks and Timothy H. Parsons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 60, Franz Rosenthal, "Dawla," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

⁴¹³ The context in ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib is that the best of victories is one with least casualties. He then goes on to say that you may never know which army may gain victory from a surprise or unexpected event, and who amongst the two armies is the loser in the *dawla*. In this context *dawla* is in reference to a change of power and authority between two armies. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā Al-Kātib, "Risālat ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib fī Naṣīḥat Walī al-‘Ahd," in *‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā al-kātib wa māḥā Tabaqa min Rasā’ilahu wa Rasā’il Sālim Abī al-‘Alā’*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Amman: Dār al-Shurūq li-al-Nashir wa-l-Tawzī‘, 1988), 237.

⁴¹⁴ Bernard Lewis, *Islam in history: ideas, men and events in the Middle East* (London: Alcovy Press, 1973), 253-263, Gernot Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung einiger historischer Werke Mada‘īnis in Tabaris Annalen," *Oriens* 23 (1974): 128-131, Jacob Lassner, *The Middle East remembered: forged identities, competing narratives, contested spaces* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 60-94, Saleh Said Agha, *The Revolution Which Toppled the Umayyads: Neither Arab nor ‘Abbāsīd* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2003), John P. Turner, "The Abnā’ al-Dawla: The Definition and Legitimation of Identity in Response to the Fourth Fitna," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 124, no. 1 (2004): 1-2, Rosenthal, "Dawla," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

⁴¹⁵ Ilkka Lindstedt, "Al-Madā‘īni’s Kitāb al-Dawla and the Death of Ibrāhīm al-Imām," *Case Studies in Transmission, The Intellectual Heritage of the Ancient and Mediaeval Near East* (2014): 104-106.

⁴¹⁶ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, "Al-Risāla fī-al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Rasā’il al-Bulaghā’*, 125.

in governorship. Another plausible scenario is that Ibn al-Muqaffa' might have alluded to the Abbasids by employing the term "*dawla*" within this context, akin to his approach in *al-Risāla*. In the passage, Ibn al-Muqaffa' says "*a' wānān ajzaw bighayir nīl*". The passage suggests that those who have supported the authority are yet to be compensated for their actions and support. In *al-Risāla* however, Ibn al-Muqaffa' informs us that al-Manṣūr compensated the Khurasānī army with administrative positions such as the collection of *kharāj* and immense fortune.⁴¹⁷ The disparity within the text indicates a chronological interval between the two texts. In one passage, it is asserted that the supporters are still awaiting compensation, while the other passage asserts that they have been duly and generously rewarded.

There also exists another passage in *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* which supports the possibility that the text was written after the Abbasid revolution. The passage in question is almost identical to a passage in *al-Risāla* whereby Ibn al-Muqaffa' advises al-Manṣūr to be wary of the Khurāsānī army who may not be in par with the same views and opinions he may have. The resemblance between the two passages is not necessarily intertextual, but rather shares common analogies.

Al-Ādāb al-kabīr

إذا كنت لا تضبط أمرك، ولا تصول على عدوك، إلا بقوم
لست منهم على ثقة من رأي، ولا حفاظ من نية، فلا
تنفعك نافعة حتى تحولهم، إن استطعت، إلى الرأي،
والأدب الذي بمثله تكون الثقة، أو تستبدل بهم، إن لم
تستطع نقلهم إلى ما تريد. ولا تغرنك قوتك بهم على
غيرهم، وإنما أنت في ذلك كراكب الأسد الذي يهابه من
نظر إليه، وهو لمركبه أهيب.⁴¹⁸

"When you cannot control your affairs, nor
overpower your enemy, except with a group
whose opinions you do not trust and whose
intentions you do not believe, no benefit will
come to you until you either transform them,

Al-Risāla

من كان إنما يصول على الناس بقوم لا يعرف منهم
الموافقة في الرأي والقول والسيره فهو كراكب الأسد الذي
يوجل من رآه والراكب أشد وجلا.⁴²⁰
"Whoever assaults a people with a group
whose opinions, words, and conduct he does
not know, is like a person riding a lion: those
who see him are terrified, but the rider is yet
more so."

⁴¹⁷ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Risāla fī-al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 123-124.

"ومما ينظر فيه لإصلاح هذا الجند ألا يولي أحداً منهم شيئاً من الخراج" and "مع أن أمير المؤمنين قد علم كثرة أركانهم، وكثرة المال الذي يخرج لهم".

⁴¹⁸ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 50-51.

⁴²⁰ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Risāla fī-al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 120.

if you can, into a people whose reason and *adab* you can trust, or replace them, if you cannot change them to what you desire. Do not be deceived by the strength they give you over others. For you are like someone riding a lion: those who see it are in awe, but the rider is yet more terrified of his mount.”

Both passages use the same analogies and sometimes words to describe a situation whereby an authority may not be in complete control or should be wary of his army. In the case of *al-Risāla*, the context is clearly an Abbasid one since the letter is directed towards al-Manṣūr regarding the Khurāsānī army.⁴²¹ In both passages, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ expresses his concern regarding an authority’s reliance on an army that does not hold identical views and opinions to his own; a situation that is well equipped to reflect a period following the revolution and the Khurāsānī army.

Another possible indication that the text may have been written following the Abbasid revolution is based on the use of the title “*wazīr*”. According to Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ in *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*:

"اعلم أن أكثر الناس عدوا مجاهرا حاضرا جريئا واشيا وزير السلطان ذو المكانة عنده، لأنه منفوس عليه بما ينفس على صاحب السلطان، ومحسود كما يحسد، غير أنه يجترئ عليه، ولا يجترئ على السلطان".⁴²²

“Know that most people are overtly hostile, flagrantly bold, and slanderous against the *wazīr* of the ruler (*sulṭān*), with whom he holds high status. This is because he is esteemed as a holder of authority (*ṣāhib al-sulṭān*) is esteemed and is envied as he is envied—except that they are emboldened against him (*yajtari’u ‘alayhi*) but not the ruler.”

Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ makes reference to “*wazīr al-sulṭān*”, a title distinct from “*wuzarā*”, which denotes those who assist or share the burden of an authority.⁴²³ Throughout *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*, Ibn

⁴²¹ Study of the letter is further explained in the respective section.

⁴²² Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā’il al-Bulaghā*, 59.

⁴²³ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 2939, M.M. Bravmann, "The Original Meaning Of Arabic Wazīr," in *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam: Studies in Ancient Arab Concepts* (Brill, 2009), 221.

al-Muqaffa' employs the term "wuzarā'" on multiple occasions.⁴²⁴ However, the term "wazīr al-sultān" is used only once, in its singular form. The presence of this term may allude to a distinct period of when the text was produced.

The role of *wazīr al-sultān*, who was engaged in both secretarial and political matters of the caliphate, became notably institutionalised subsequent to the Abbasid revolution.⁴²⁵ According to al-Balādhurī and al-Jahshiyārī, Abū al-Jahm Ibn 'Aṭīyyah was the first *wazīr al-sultān* to al-Saffāḥ and was a leading Khurāsānī army officer who played a prominent role in ascending him to the caliphate.⁴²⁶ It is noteworthy to mention that the title of *wazīr* to a caliph was never used by al-Jahshiyārī prior to Abū al-Jahm. Therefore, the existence of the title *wazīr* to *al-sultān* in Ibn al-Muqaffa's text supports the probability that *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* was written following the Abbasid revolution. It is not to say that Ibn al-Muqaffa' invented the title or position of *wazīr al-sultān*. The position existed in Sassanian bureaucracy and was known as *framadār*.⁴²⁷ While it is plausible that Ibn al-Muqaffa' reintroduced this term to the Abbasids, and subsequently, the Abbasids chose to adopt it. A more plausible conjecture is that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was referring to a position that his contemporary audience was already acquainted with.

It is likely that Ibn al-Muqaffa' dedicated the time and money needed to write *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* while he was under the patronage of two wealthy Abbasids, Sulaymān and 'Isa b. 'Alī. As stated in chapter one, Ibn al-Muqaffa's patrons were 'Isa b. 'Alī and Sulaymān b. 'Alī. Sulaymān b. 'Alī was the governor of Basra for four years following the revolution. 'Isa b. 'Alī was a close compatriot to al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr and owned several estates across Iraq.⁴²⁸ It is therefore possible that during Sulaymān b. 'Alī's governorship, Ibn al-Muqaffa' devoted himself to writing books, among which were *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*. Ibn al-Muqaffa' was, after all, a beneficiary to a now very wealthy and noble family, a situation that may have allowed him to dedicate himself to producing his works on *adab*. Although establishing a direct link between his biographical information and the content of his texts poses a challenge, there remains the potential that following the revolution, when his patrons purportedly amassed wealth, he may have composed

⁴²⁴ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 62, 64, 67, 68.

⁴²⁵ Shelomo Dov Goitein, "The Origin Of The Vizierate And Its True Character," *Islamic Culture: The Hyderabad Quarterly Review* 16 (1942): 380-382, R.A Kimber, "The Early Abbasid Vizierate," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 37, no. 1 (1992): 69-70.

⁴²⁶ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.4, 190, Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa-l-Kuttāb*, 136, Kimber, "The Early Abbasid Vizierate," 69.

⁴²⁷ Marie-Louise Chaumont, "Framadār," *Encyclopædia Iranica* 10 (2000), Muḥammad Qāsim Zamān, "Wazīr," in *Encyclopædia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

⁴²⁸ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.4, 89.

a text offering guidance on how representatives of the new *dawla* should conduct themselves in public and bridge the connection between *adab* and governance.

In conclusion, *Kitāb al-Ādāb al-kabīr* stands as one of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿʼs most extensive original texts, with its attribution to him being undisputed. This literary composition is divided into three sections and an introduction. Each segment addresses distinct dimensions of conduct and interaction. The first section is primarily directed towards authority figures, focusing on their behaviour, character, and choices of companions. The second section offers counsel on interacting with authority and individuals of similar status, touching upon topics of obedience, legitimacy, and respect. The third section delves into personal advice, discussing friendship, self-reflection, knowledge acquisition, and social expansion.

A remarkable aspect of the text is its ability to connect with diverse audiences across different social and political strata. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ avoids an overuse of specific titles and instead employs interchangeable terminologies to engage with readers, be they rulers, their entourage, or the broader populace. This approach maintains a directional tone, addressing authority without directly confronting it, thereby ensuring the relevance of his guidance to a broad spectrum of readers. All the advice, whether its regarding management of the state, speaking to authorities, or establishing friendships; fall under what Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ interprets as *adab*, and his audience as student of *adab*.

The temporal context of the textʼs creation is not definitively established, but there are textual cues suggesting a link to the Abbasid revolution. The use of terms like “*dawla*” and “*wazīr al-sultān*” point towards this connection. Furthermore, the textʼs emergence likely occurred during the governorship of Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, a period of affluence for Ibn al-Muqaffaʿʼs patrons, which may have enabled him to dedicate himself to its literary production. *Kitāb al-Ādāb al-kabīr* transcends the role of a simple guide for rulers and reveals itself as a multifaceted exploration of conduct, ethics, and social dynamics, offering invaluable insights into the development and civility of a Muslim public sphere.

2. *Al-Yatīma*

One of the texts attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa' is called *al-Yatīma* (the peerless text).⁴²⁹ Several modern authors use the name *al-Durra al-Yatīma* (the peerless pearl) for this text.⁴³⁰ However, this title is based on a late 13th century source.⁴³¹ Al-Bāqillānī indicates that Ibn al-Muqaffa' produced two texts, one *al-Yatīma* and another *al-Durra*.⁴³² Most early medieval sources call the text either *al-Yatīma* or *Yatīmat Ibn al-Muqaffa'*.⁴³³ Ibn al-Nadīm states that Ibn al-Muqaffa' authored a text known as *Yatīmat fī al-Rasā'il* (the peerless letters).⁴³⁴ Later medieval authors such as Abū Manṣūr al-Tha'ālibī (d. 429/1038), the Baghdādī *imām*, Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201), and the Egyptian historian Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qifṭī (d. 646/1248), describe *al-Yatīma* to be a book of beautiful *adab* along with advice towards authority (*ṣultān*) and how one deals with them.⁴³⁵ Ibn Khallikān narrates that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was "*ṣāhib al-rasā'il al-badī'a*", meaning author of the exquisite letters.⁴³⁶ Al-Jāhīz narrates that Ibn al-Muqaffa' wrote *risālat al-Hāshimiya* (epistle to the Hashemites).⁴³⁷ Al-Jāhīz states that the text spoke highly of the Hashemites, referring to the tribe the Abbasids belong to. Whether this text is referring to *al-Yatīma* or not, we are uncertain. However, there exist fragments of *al-Yatīma* that show adoration to the Abbasids.⁴³⁸

⁴²⁹ Unfortunately, Kristó-Nagy claims that *al-Yatīma* was never deeply studied and almost completely overlooked by modern scholarship. However, I would like to point out the corpus of research by both Arab and western scholarship on the text. See: Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 107, Khalīl Mardam-bik, *Ibn al-Muqaffā' A'imat al-Adab* (Damascus: Maktabat 'Arafa, 1930), 59-60, 84, Gabrieli, "L'Opera di Ibn Al-Muqaffā'," 230, Jundī, '*Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffā'*', 137-141, Ḥamza, *Ibn al-Muqaffā'*, 142-144, Muḥammad Ghufrānī Khurāsānī, '*Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffā'*' (Cairo: Al-Dār al-Qawmīyah li-al-Ṭibā'ah wa-al-Nashr, 1965), 132, 136, 138, 143, 461-462, 'Abbās, "Naẓara Jadīda fī ba'ḍ al-Kutub al-Mansūba li-Ibn al-Muqaffā'," 555, Latham, "Ibn al-Muqaffā' and early 'Abbasid prose," 76, Kristó-Nagy, *La pensée d'Ibn al-Muqaffā': un "agent double" dans le monde persan et arabe*, 267.

⁴³⁰ Gabrieli, "L'Opera di Ibn Al-Muqaffā'," 218, Latham, "Ibn al-Muqaffā' and early 'Abbasid prose," 76, Kristó-Nagy, *La pensée d'Ibn al-Muqaffā': un "agent double" dans le monde persan et arabe*, 267.

⁴³¹ Šibṭ Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Mir'at al-Zamān fī Tawārīkh al-A'yān*, Vol.12, 164.

⁴³² Al-Bāqillānī, *Kitāb I'jāz al-Qur'ān*, 32.

⁴³³ Ibn Qutayba, '*Uyūn al-Akhhbār*', 56-57, Ibn al-Muqaffā', "Al-Yatīma al-Thāniya," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 107, Al-Bāqillānī, *Kitāb I'jāz al-Qur'ān*, 32, Al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī' al-Abrār wa Nuṣūṣ al-Akhhbār*, Vol.5, 178-179, Al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Qulūb*, 199, Abū Manṣūr Al-Tha'ālibī, *Adāb al-Mulūk*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ḥamdān (Beirut: 'Alā al-Kutub, 2007), 47-48, 54, Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm wa-faḍluhu*, ed. Abū al-Ashbāl al-Zuhayrī (Saudi Arabia: Dār Ibn Jawzī 1994), Vol.1, 778, Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-l-'Umam*, Vol.8, 55, Alī b. Yūsuf Al-Qifṭī, *Kitāb akhhbār al-'Ulamā' bi-A'khhbār al-Ḥukamā'* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 2005), Vol.1, 170.

⁴³⁴ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 150.

⁴³⁵ Al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Qulūb*, 199, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm wa-faḍluhu*, Vol.1, 778, Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-l-'Umam*, Vol.8, 55, Al-Qifṭī, *Kitāb akhhbār al-'Ulamā' bi-A'khhbār al-Ḥukamā'*, Vol.1, 170.

⁴³⁶ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, Vol.2, 151.

⁴³⁷ Al-Jāhīz, *Rasā'il al-Adabiya*, 208.

⁴³⁸ Discussed further in the fragment of Ibn Abū Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr.

One of the issues we face today is that we have several fragments of a text which medieval authors state are from *al-Yaʿīma*. However, we are uncertain whether these fragments are part of the same text, different versions of a text, or other texts entirely which medieval authors perceived as *al-Yaʿīma*. In all fragments or versions of *al-Yaʿīma* there exists a dedicated audience and relevant advice contemporary Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's time. In these epistles Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ is speaking directly towards an audience which he is either attempting to convince or challenge their views.⁴³⁹ The following fragments are texts that medieval authors have attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ as *al-Yaʿīma*.

2.1 A fragment presented by Ibn Abū Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr

A fragment of *al-Yaʿīma* is discovered within a work penned by the medieval scholar Ibn Abū Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, titled *al-Manthūr wa-l-Manzūm*.⁴⁴⁰ In his book, Ibn Abū Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr presents only a portion of *al-Yaʿīma*. He notes that during his era, *al-Yaʿīma* was immensely renowned and easily accessible, leading him to believe that preserving the entire text was unnecessary.⁴⁴¹

The epistle commences with an introduction that reflects the prevailing social conditions of the author's time. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ begins by asserting that his contemporaries lacked certain moral attributes, resulting in voices of the virtuous to be silenced.⁴⁴² Transitioning from the introduction, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ addresses a query he received concerning "*al-zamān*," or the concept of time. In response, he asserts that "*al-zamān*" consists of two groups: those in authority and those under their authority (*wāʾil wa-mawlā ʿalayhi*).⁴⁴³ These two groups engage in an ongoing power dynamic that shifts as they traverse four distinct "*azmīna*".

These four "*azmīna*" encompass scenarios where both the authority and subjects are virtuous, where one is virtuous while the other is corrupt, where both are corrupt, and the ideal situation wherein both authority and subjects are just and virtuous, thus safeguarding each other's

⁴³⁹ Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, "Al-Risāla fī-al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ*, 117, Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Akḥbār*, 56-57, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, "Al-Yatīma al-Thāniya," in *Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ*, 107, Al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-Qulūb*, 199-200, Al-Thaʿālibī, *Adāb al-Mulūk*, 47-48, 54, Al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabīʿ al-Abrūr wa Nuṣūṣ al-Akhyār*, Vol.5, 178-179, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ bayān al-ʿilm wa-faḍlulu*, Vol.1, 778.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, "Al-Yatīma al-Thāniya," in *Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ*, 107.

⁴⁴¹ Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, "Al-Yatīma al-Thāniya," in *Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ*, 107-108, ʿAbbās, "Nazara Jadīda fī baʿḍ al-Kutub al-Mansūba li-Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ," 556, Kristó-Nagy, *La pensée d'Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ: un "agent double" dans le monde persan et arabe*, 268-269.

⁴⁴² Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, "Al-Yatīma al-Thāniya," in *Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ*, 108.

⁴⁴³ Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, "Al-Yatīma al-Thāniya," in *Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ*, 109.

rights.⁴⁴⁴ According to Ibn al-Muqaffa', when both parties' rights are upheld and shielded from external adversaries, their coexistence marks a righteous era.

Subsequent to explaining these four phases, Ibn al-Muqaffa' situates his own "zaman" within a context where subjects are corrupted while the authority remains virtuous. He perceives the present authority as righteous and deserving of followership, simultaneously encouraging his audience to exercise gratitude towards him.⁴⁴⁵ Concluding the text, Ibn al-Muqaffa' affirms the inquiry posed to him regarding the rightful dues owed to "anīr al-mu'minīn", or the Commander of the Faithful. He responds by reiterating the legitimate status of *anīr al-mu'minīn* due to his lineage traced back to the Prophet Muḥammad.⁴⁴⁶

It is likely that the *anīr al-mu'minīn* Ibn al-Muqaffa' was referring to is an Abbasid caliph, either al-Saffāḥ or al-Manṣūr. Using hereditary proximity to the Prophet Muḥammād to justify one's authority was commonly practiced by the Abbasids.⁴⁴⁷ István Kristó-Nagy argues that the authority Ibn al-Muqaffa' alludes to in the text is likely the Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr and the period of ignorance and corruption by both authority and subjects are the Umayyads.⁴⁴⁸ Kristó-Nagy's argument stems from the similarities found in *al-Yaṭīma* and *al-Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba (Risāla)* which was written to al-Manṣūr by Ibn al-Muqaffa'.⁴⁴⁹ I find it more likely that the authority Ibn al-Muqaffa' was alluding to was al-Saffāḥ and not al-Manṣūr. Why would Ibn al-Muqaffa' include

⁴⁴⁴ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Yaṭīma al-Thāniya," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 110.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Yaṭīma al-Thāniya," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 109.

"ذلك غير أنا بحمد الله قد أصبحنا نرجو لأنفسنا الصلاح بصلاح إيماننا، ولا نخاف عليه الفساد بفسادنا، قد رأينا حظله من الله عز وجل في التثبيت والعصمة، فلم يرح الله يزيد خيّر أو يزيد به رعيته مدّ ولأه، فعندنا من هذا وثائق من عبر وبيانات ونحتسب من الله، عز وجل، ألا يزال إيماننا يسارع في مرضاة ربه بالاستصلاح لرعيته، والصبر على ما يستنكر منهم، وقلة المؤاخذة لهم بذنوبهم، حتى يقلب الله له بصلاحه قلوبهم، ويفتح له أسماعهم وأبصارهم، فيتجمع ألفتهم، ويقوم أودهم، ويلزمهم مرشد أمورهم. وتتم نعمة الله على أمير المؤمنين بأن يصلح له وعلى يديه فيكونوا رعية خير راع ويكون راع خير رعية"

"In Allāh's mercy we have become hopeful in seeking righteousness to ourselves from our *imām*. We do not fear he will become corrupt from our corruption, for we have seen his fortune from Allāh in diligence and victory. Allāh did not cease from increasing his blessing to him or to his subjects, of this we have evidence from sayings and clear signs on the amount [of blessings] by Allāh. Our *imām* remains steadfast in pleasing his Lord by restoring [reforming] his subjects, and showing patience with what he disapproves of and is easy on their sins. Until Allāh manifests their hearts because of his righteousness, and opens up their ears and sight [for him], so he gets their attention, has their affection and obligates them to their affairs. The blessing of Allāh will then come on *anīr al-mu'minīn* whereby from his hands [actions] they will be virtuous and become the greatest of subjects and he the greatest of authorities."

⁴⁴⁶ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Yaṭīma al-Thāniya," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 111.

⁴⁴⁷ Crone, "On the Meaning of the 'Abbasid Call to al-Riḍā," in *The Islamic world from classical to modern times: essays in honor of Bernard Lewis*, 95, Munt, "Umayyad and early Abbasid inscriptions in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina," 5.

⁴⁴⁸ Kristó-Nagy, *La pensée d' Ibn al-Muqaffā' : un "agent double" dans le monde persan et arabe*, 269.

⁴⁴⁹ Although Kristó-Nagy shortly brings up the possibility that the authority Ibn al-Muqaffa' was referencing could be 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī, al-Saffāḥ, or al-Manṣūr, he dismisses the idea in favor of the authority representing al-Manṣūr. See: Kristó-Nagy, *La pensée d' Ibn al-Muqaffā' : un "agent double" dans le monde persan et arabe*, 269-270.

the reign of al-Saffāḥ as a period of corruption? It is likely that Ibn al-Muqaffa' saw the Abbasid revolution as a turning point in the *zaman* he was describing. This is made clearer when we read his other epistle, *al-Risāla*. In *al-Risāla* Ibn al-Muqaffa' states that he led a group of Basran elites to meet al-Saffāḥ.⁴⁵⁰ Whether he was meeting him to swear fealty or not is uncertain. However, this gives us a perspective of the status that Ibn al-Muqaffa' had amongst the Basran elite. It is conceivable that Ibn al-Muqaffa' guided these elites to meet al-Saffāḥ because they were the same individuals, he sought to persuade regarding the legitimacy of the Abbasids claim to the caliphate. Unfortunately, due to the fragmentary nature of this epistle, we cannot definitively ascertain the precise audience Ibn al-Muqaffa' was addressing.

2.2 A fragment presented by Ibn Qutayba, al-Tha'ālibī, and al-Zamakhshārī

Another fragment of *al-Ya'īma* is preserved to us in Ibn Qutayba's (d. 276/889) '*Uyūn al-Akḥbār*'.⁴⁵¹ However, Ibn Qutayba introduces the text as *al-Ya'īma* without mentioning the author. Fortunately, the passage in Ibn Qutayba is almost parallel to a passage mentioned by the medieval author al-Tha'ālibī (d. 427/1035) in his book *Thimār al-Qulūb*. Al-Tha'ālibī mentions the title of the text as part of *al-Ya'īma* and accredits it to Ibn al-Muqaffa'.⁴⁵² The main difference between the two texts is that al-Tha'ālibī's version is slightly shortened.⁴⁵³ Al-Zamakhshārī (d. 537/1143) also shares a similar passage as the one found in Ibn Qutayba, and he too calls the text *Ya'īmat Ibn al-Muqaffā'*.⁴⁵⁴ Abū Bakr al-Ṭarṭūshī (d. 520/1126) also narrates the same fragment, however attributes it to "ḥukanā' al-'arab wa-al-'ajani".⁴⁵⁵

Ibn Qutayba's rendition of *al-Ya'īma* consists of a single paragraph, predominantly revolving around the concept of authority and its legitimacy.⁴⁵⁶ Throughout the text, this notion of authority is depicted through a combination of religious and environmental metaphors. Ibn al-Muqaffa' commences by emphasising the potential benefits that can arise from having an authority. He further elaborates that occurrences like floods or winds, which might be perceived

⁴⁵⁰ Ibn al-Muqaffā', "Al-Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 129.

"حتى إذا التقينا أبا العباس رحمة الله عليه، وكنت في ناس من صلحاء أهل البصرة ووجههم"

⁴⁵¹ Ibn Qutayba, '*Uyūn al-Akḥbār*', Vol.1, 56-57, 'Abbās, "Naẓara Jadīda fī ba'd al-Kutub al-Mansūba li-Ibn al-Muqaffā'," 555, Kristó-Nagy, *La pensée d'Ibn al-Muqaffā': un "agent double" dans le monde persan et arabe*, 393.

⁴⁵² Al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Qulūb*, 199-200.

⁴⁵³ For a comparison of the two texts see: Nagy 393-404

⁴⁵⁴ Al-Zamakhshārī, *Rabī' al-Abrār wa Nuṣūṣ al-Akhyār*, Vol.5, 178-179.

⁴⁵⁵ Abū Bakr Al-Ṭarṭūshī, *Sināj al-Mulūk* (Cairo: Awā'il Maṭba'āt al-'Arabiya, 1876), 48.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibn Qutayba, '*Uyūn al-Akḥbār*', Vol.1, 56-57, 'Abbās, "Naẓara Jadīda fī ba'd al-Kutub al-Mansūba li-Ibn al-Muqaffā'," 555, Kristó-Nagy, *La pensée d'Ibn al-Muqaffā': un "agent double" dans le monde persan et arabe*, 393.

as ill omens, can simultaneously foster agriculture and sustain life.⁴⁵⁷ The author also employs metaphors drawn from the changing seasons, day, and night, to illustrate shifting circumstances and the potential positive and negative outcomes associated with them.⁴⁵⁸ The conclusion of the text suggests that what might appear detrimental to an individual could prove advantageous for all, and conversely, what seems beneficial to one might have adverse consequences for the collective.⁴⁵⁹ Within this epistle, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ endeavours to persuade his audience of the potential positive outcomes that can arise from an authority, even if that authority was initially considered “bad”.

The passage is short compared to Ibn Abū Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr’s fragment. However, both fragments exhibit subtle parallels. Both epistles strive to convince the reader of the virtues of an honourable authority, urging an appreciation of their positive aspects, while also portraying the fluidity of time.⁴⁶⁰ Whether these two texts were once part of the same epistle remains uncertain. However, given the recurrence of similar concepts in both epistles, albeit expressed through differing metaphors, it is plausible that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was addressing distinct audiences rather than reiterating the same sentiments to the same audience.

2.3 A fragment presented by Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr

Another fragment of *al-Ya‘īma* is mentioned by the medieval Andalusian author Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr (d. 463/1071) in his book *Jāmi‘ Bayān al-‘Ilm wa Faḍlahu*.⁴⁶¹ Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr states that the text is from amongst *Ya‘īmat* Ibn al-Muqaffa‘. The text is only a few sentences long and revolves around religious opinion and political authority. Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ offers a critique of individuals who base their religious practices solely on the opinions of others. He proceeds to

⁴⁵⁷ Ibn Qutayba, *‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, Vol.1, 56-57.

"ومثل الشتاء والصيف اللذين جعل الله حرهما وبردهما صلاحا للحرث والنسل ونتاجا للحب والثمر، يجمعها البرد بإذن الله ويحملها ويخرجها الحر بإذن الله وينضجها مع سائر ما يعرف من منافعتها وقد يكون الأذى والضرر في حرهما وبردهما وسمائهما وزمهريرهما وهما مع ذلك لا ينسبان إلا إلى الخير والصلاح. ومن ذلك الليل الذي جعله الله سكنا ولباسا وقد يستوحش له أخو القفر وينازع فيه ذو البلية والريبة وتعدو فيه السباع وتنساب فيه الهوام ويغتنمه أهل السرقة والسلة ولا يزري صغير ضرره بكثير نفعه ولا يلحق به ذما ولا يضع عن الناس الحق في الشكر لله على ما من به عليهم منه".

⁴⁵⁸ Ibn Qutayba, *‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, Vol.1, 57.

"ومثل النهار الذي جعله الله ضياء ونشورا وقد يكون على الناس أذى الحر في قبيظهم وتصبحهم فيه الحروب والغارات ويكون فيه النصب والشخص وكثير مما يشكوه الناس ويستريحون فيه إلى الليل وسكونه".

⁴⁵⁹ Ibn Qutayba, *‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, Vol.1, 57.

"ولو أن الدنيا كان شيء من سرائها يعم عامة أهلها بغير ضرر على بعضهم وكانت نعمائها بغير كدر وميسورها من غير معسور كانت الدنيا إذا هي الجنة التي لا يشوب مسرتها مكروه ولا فرحها ترح والتي ليس فيها نصب ولا لغوب « ٣ »، فكل جسيم من أمر الدنيا يكون ضره خاصة فهو نعمة عامة وكل شيء منه يكون نفعه خاصا فهو بلاء عام".

⁴⁶⁰ In *‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār* the changing of seasons and of day and night is a representation of what good may occur. Whereas in *al-Manṭhūr wa-l-Manzūm* this example is mentioned directly to the readers audience.

⁴⁶¹ Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi‘ bayān al-‘ilm wa-faḍluhu*, Vol.1, 778.

assert that those who shape their religious adherence around the opinions of others will inevitably encounter uncertainty and doubt within their faith. In contrast, Ibn al-Muqaffa' posits that religion maintains an unwavering essence, advocating for its practice grounded in fundamental principles rather than being swayed by external viewpoints. This text bears resemblance to a theme presented in *al-Risāla* where discussions revolve around the consolidation of religious perspectives and their codification and endorsement by the ruling authority in an attempt to diminish the impact that opinions have on religious laws.⁴⁶² It is also worth noting the striking parallels between the fragmented presented by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr and a passage Ibn al-Muqaffa's *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*, where the interplay between religion and opinion is also explored. Although the similarities between the passages are not so much in the makeup of words, but rather in the views and opinions they both share regarding the excessive intervention of opinion in matters regarding religion. The underlined areas indicate resemblances in both passages and the numbering refers to their location to one another.⁴⁶³

Al-Yaūma fragment: Ibn 'Abd al-Barr

ليس الدين خصومة¹ أصلا يثبت وصدقوا ما لدين
 بخصومة¹ ولو كان خصومة لكان موكولا إلى الناس يثبتونه
 بأرائهم² وظنهم وكل موكول إلى الناس رهينة ضياع وما
 ينقم على أهل البدع إلا أنهم اتخذوا الدين رأيا³ وليس الرأي
 ثقة ولا حتما ولم يجاوز الرأي منزلة الشك والظن إلا قريبا
 ولم يبلغ أن يكون يقينا ولا ثبتا ولستم سامعين أحدا يقول
 لأمر قد استيقنه وعلمه: أرى أنه كذا وكذا فلا أحد أشد
 استخفافا بدينه⁴ ممن اتخذ رأيه ورأي الرجال دينا
 مفروضا.⁴⁶⁴

Al-Adab al-ṣaghīr

أن الدين يسلم بالإيمان، وأن الرأي يثبت بالخصومة²،
 فمن جعل الدين خصومة¹، فقد جعل الدين رأيا³، ومن
 جعل الرأي دينا³ فقد صار شارعا، ومن كان هو يشرع
 لنفسه الدين، فلا دين له⁴. قد يشتهب الدين والرأي في
 أماكن، لولا تشابههما لم يحتاجا إلى الفصل.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶² Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Risāla fī-al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 127.

"إنما من يأخذ بالرأي فيبلغ به الاعتزام عن رأيه أن يقول في الأمر الجسيم من أمر المسلمين قولاً لا يوافق عليه أحد من المسلمين، ثم لا يستوحش لانفراده بذلك، وإمضائه الحكم عليه، وهو مقرر أنه رأي منه لا يحتج بكتاب ولا سنة، فلو رأى أمير المؤمنين أن يأمر بهذه الأقضية والسير المختلفة فترفع إليه في كتاب، ويرفع معها ما يحتج به كل قوم من سنة أو قياس ثم نظر أمير المؤمنين في ذلك، وأمضى في كل قضية رأيه الذي يلهمه الله ويعزم له عليه وينهى عن القضاء بخلافه، وكتب بذلك كتابا جامعا عزمنا لرجونا أن يجعل الله هذه الأحكام المختلطة الصواب بالخطأ حكما واحدا صوابا ورجونا أن يكون اجتماع السير قرينة لإجماع الأمر برأي أمير المؤمنين وعلى لسانه، ثم يكون ذلك من إمام آخر آخر الدهر، إن شاء الله."

⁴⁶³ Because I am not discussing the content of the text, only comparing them with one another, I did not find it necessary to translate it.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm wa-faḍluhu*, Vol.1, 778.

⁴⁶⁵ The similarities between *al-Yaūma* and *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* is a point I expand further on in the section regarding *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*: Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 21.

The contents of *al-Yaʿīma* revolve primarily around authority, the welfare of the state, and the legitimisation of the Abbasid caliphate. We cannot be certain what fragments of *al-Yaʿīma* were connected with one another or whether they were different epistles. It is possible that medieval authors, knowing of a text called *al-Yaʿīma* by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ presumed what they narrate was the said text. It is therefore difficult to claim *al-Yaʿīma* as a singular fragmented text or whether they were a collection of epistles.

3. *Al-Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba*

Al-Risāla fī al-ṣaḥāba (*al-Risāla*), is a text that is attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa'. This attribution remains unchallenged within modern scholarship, which has devoted more attention to this work compared to any other original compositions by Ibn al-Muqaffa'.⁴⁶⁶ According to Muḥammed Kurd 'Alī, *al-Risāla fī al-ṣaḥāba* is how Ibn Abī Ṭāhir al-Ṭayfūr introduced the text.⁴⁶⁷ *Al-Risāla fī al-ṣaḥāba* might have been a title given to the text by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir al-Ṭayfūr. It is possible that the title of the text is based on the content of the letter which emphasises caliph's companions. Other than Ibn Abī Ṭāhir al-Ṭayfūr, we find a lack of sources that attribute a letter by this name to Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

The epistle is addressed to the Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr. Within this composition, Ibn al-Muqaffa' identifies specific political and administrative challenges faced by the contemporary Abbasid caliphate, concurrently offering remedies for these issues. The Abbasid revolution strategically employed Khurāsānī fighters to overthrow the Umayyad caliphate.⁴⁶⁸ However, once the Abbasid caliphate was established, Khurāsānī troops continued to serve as the core of the Abbasid military, forming a standing army.⁴⁶⁹ With a standing army in place, the Abbasids needed a consistent source of income and supplies to sustain their forces. They achieved this by granting administrative roles to the Khurāsānī soldiers and allowing them to collect taxes from the

⁴⁶⁶ Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 118, Richter, "Über Das kleine Adabbuch des Ibn al-Muqaffa' .", Gabrieli, "L'Opera di Ibn Al-Muqaffa' .", Al-Fākhūrī, *Ibn al-Muqaffā'*, Ḥamza, *Ibn al-Muqaffā'*, Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, 103, Pellat, *Ibn al-Muqaffā' mort vers 140/757, conseiller du Califé*, Shelomo Dov Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions, Brill Classics in Islam* (Brill, 2009), 150, Latham, "Ibn al-Muqaffā' and early 'Abbasid prose.", Arjomand, "'Abd-Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffā' and the 'Abbasid Revolution.", Joseph E. Lowry, "The First Islamic Legal Theory: Ibn al-Muqaffā' on Interpretation, Authority, and the Structure of the Law," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (2008), Ghaida Khazna Katbi, *Islamic Land Tax - Al-Kharāj: From the Islamic Conquests to the 'Abbasid Period* (London: Tauris, 2009), 107-109, Kristó-Nagy, *La pensée d'Ibn al-Muqaffā': un "agent double" dans le monde persan et arabe*, 213-265, Yousefi, "Islam without Fuqahā': Ibn al-Muqaffā' and His Perso-Islamic Solution to the Caliphate's Crisis of Legitimacy (70-142 AH/690-760 CE).", Jennifer A. London, "The Abbasid 'Circle of Justice: Re-reading Ibn al-Muqaffā's Letter on Companionship," in *Comparative Political Theory in Time and Place: Theory's Landscapes*, ed. Daniel J. Kapust and Helen M. Kinsella (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2017), Najm al-Din Yousefi, "Confusion and Consent: Land Tax (Kharāj) and the Construction of Judicial Authority in the Early Islamic Empire (ca. 12-183 A.H./634-800 C.E.)," *Brill: Sociology of Islam* 7 (2019), Noémie Lucas, "Le pouvoir de la terre: Essai d'histoire de la société bas-iraquienne au IIe/VIIIe siècle" (Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2020), 87, 98-101.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibn al-Muqaffā', "Al-Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 117.

⁴⁶⁸ Roberto Marín-Guzmán, "The 'Abbasid Revolution in Central Asia and Khurāsān: An analytical Study of the Role of Taxation, Conversion, and Religious Groups in its Genesis," *Islamic Studies* 33 (1994): 227-228, Arjomand, "'Abd-Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffā' and the 'Abbasid Revolution," 10, Hugh Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State* (London: Routledge, 2001), 96.

⁴⁶⁹ Crone, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity*, 74, Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State*, 96.

territories they settled in.⁴⁷⁰ Moreover, the influx of non-Iraqis into Iraq brought with it alien traditions and practices as well.⁴⁷¹

It is within this context that Ibn al-Muqaffa' wrote *al-Risāla* to al-Manṣūr. To Ibn al-Muqaffa', the presence of fervent Khurāsānī loyalists in the army posed a challenge to the stability and legitimacy of the caliphate.⁴⁷² He believed that elevating the caliph to a divine status, as some fanatics had done, would undermine the caliph's legitimacy. In contrast, Ibn al-Muqaffa' also mentions that there are some in the army who are fanatic in disobeying the caliph on any opinion or view they may disagree with.⁴⁷³ In *al-Risāla*, Ibn al-Muqaffa' seeks to balance and manage the caliph's authority by distributing his power across different functions of the state. This epistle serves as a concrete instance of Ibn al-Muqaffa' engaging directly with a reigning authority during his era. Kristó-Nagy provides several instances wherein certain aphorisms or sentences from Ibn al-Muqaffa's other works are discernible within *al-Risāla*.⁴⁷⁴ This highlights the interconnection and cross-referencing that can be observed within Ibn al-Muqaffa's body of work.

The importance of *al-Risāla* revolves around Ibn al-Muqaffa's practical interpretation from his works in *adab*. *Al-Risāla* is from amongst the most studied works of Ibn al-Muqaffa' by modern scholars. As previously mentioned, we find several similarities between *al-Risāla* and Ibn al-Muqaffa's other works. The text is crucial to understand the practicality of how Ibn al-Muqaffa' executed his perception of *adab* into political, religious, administrative, or social practice. The counsel Ibn al-Muqaffa' shares in *al-Risāla* appears as a testimony to Ibn al-Muqaffa's ability to illustrate the intrinsic relationship between *adab* of the self and *adab* of the state.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Risāla fī-al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 122, Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State*, 96.

"ومما ينظر فيه لإصلاح هذا الجند ألا يولي أحدًا منهم شيئًا من الخراج؛ فإن ولاية الخراج مفسدة للمقاتلة، ولم يزل الناس يتحامون ذلك منهم وينحونه عنهم؛ لأنهم أهل ذاك ودعوى بلاء، وإذا خَلَا بالدَّزَاهِمِ والدَّنَانِيرِ اجترأ عليهما".

⁴⁷¹ 'Abd Al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib has a letter written in the early periods of the revolution, calling them fanatics and urging his audience to stand up for their religion. Ibn al-Muqaffa' also reminds al-Manṣūr that they, the Khurāsānī army do not share the same opinions and views as him. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā Al-Kātib, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā al-kātib wa mā Ṭabaqa min Rasā'ilahu wa Rasā'il Sālim Abī al-'Alā', ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Amman: Dār al-Shurūq li-al-Nashir wa-l-Tawzī', 1988), 289, Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Risāla fī-al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 120.

"ومن كان إنما يصول على الناس بقوم لا يعرف منهم الموافقة في الرأي والقول والسيرة فهو كراكب الأسد الذي يُوجلُّ من رآه والراكب أشد وجلاً".

⁴⁷² Ibn al-Muqaffa' states that there are fanatics who place the caliph in a divine status and are too loyal that it will cause him more harm than good. Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Risāla fī-al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 120-121, Arjomand, "Abd-Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa' and the 'Abbasid Revolution," 32.

⁴⁷³ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Risāla fī-al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 120.

⁴⁷⁴ Kristó-Nagy, *La pensée d'Ibn al-Muqaffa': un "agent double" dans le monde persan et arabe*, 213-265.

4. Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr

The attribution of *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* to Ibn al-Muqaffa' was a disputed topic in the 20th century. Authors such as G. Richter (1931), F. Gabrieli (1932), Iḥsān 'Abbās (1977), J.D Latham (1990), and Mohsen Zakeri (1994) maintained that *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* is not the work of Ibn al-Muqaffa'.⁴⁷⁵ On the other hand, authors such as Ṭāhir al-Jazā'irī (1908), Aḥmad Zākī Pāshā (1911), Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī (1954), Erwin I.J. Rosenthal (1958), and István T. Kristó-Nagy (2009) argue that the attribution of the text to Ibn al-Muqaffa' is accurate.⁴⁷⁶ The opinions constructed by modern scholars that dispute the attribution of the text to Ibn al-Muqaffa' are based on four arguments.

The first argument revolves around the religious tone of the text. Early modern scholarship viewed the religious tone in *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* as contradictory to the *zindīq* narratives associated with Ibn al-Muqaffa' and his supposedly anti-Islamic works.⁴⁷⁷ For instance, G. Richter argued that *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* cannot be attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa' due to the existence of heavily religious phrases that contradict what we know about him regarding his *zandaqa*.⁴⁷⁸ I have discussed the issue of *zandaqa* and the accusation made against Ibn al-Muqaffa' in the previous chapter. Furthermore, we find in *al-Yaūma*, *al-Risāla*, and *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* the existence of "Islamic" phrases regarding religious piety or the reverence of the Prophet Muḥammad.

The second argument made by modern scholars revolves around the existence of similar passages found in other Persian, Greek, and Indian texts; specifically, by Ibn Miskawayh (d. 421/1030).⁴⁷⁹ While this argument may help us understand the possible sources Ibn al-Muqaffa' may have utilised in his work, it does not revoke Ibn al-Muqaffa''s authorship to the text.

The third argument made which attempt to revoke the attribution of the text to Ibn al-Muqaffa' is based on its lack of reception by Medieval authors. However, as Kristó-Nagy pointed

⁴⁷⁵ Richter, "Über Das kleine Adabbuch des Ibn al-Muqaffa'," 278-281, Gabrieli, "L'Opera di Ibn Al-Muqaffa'," 220, 'Abbās, "Naẓara Jadīda fī ba'ḍ al-Kutub al-Mansūba li-Ibn al-Muqaffa'," 559, Latham, "Ibn al-Muqaffa' and early 'Abbasid prose," 57, Mohsen Zakeri, "'Alī b. 'Ubayda al-Rayḥānī: A Forgotten Belletrist and Pahlavi Translator," *Oriens* 34 (1994): 93.

⁴⁷⁶ Al-Jazā'irī, "Al-Adab al-ṣaghīr li-Ibn al-Muqaffa' .", Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr*, 1-7, Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 1-5, Mardam-bik, *Ibn al-Muqaffa' A'imat al-Adab*, Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam: An Introductory Outline*, 69, Kristó-Nagy, "On the authenticity of al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa' and problems concerning some of his titles," 216.

⁴⁷⁷ The anti-Islamic works in question are the *Mu'aradat al-Qur'ān* and *Polenic against Islam* which I discussed in the previous chapter.

⁴⁷⁸ Richter, "Über Das kleine Adabbuch des Ibn al-Muqaffa'," 278-281.

⁴⁷⁹ Gabrieli, "L'Opera di Ibn Al-Muqaffa'," 220, 'Abbās, "Naẓara Jadīda fī ba'ḍ al-Kutub al-Mansūba li-Ibn al-Muqaffa'," 559, Latham, "Ibn al-Muqaffa' and early 'Abbasid prose," 57, Zakeri, "'Alī b. 'Ubayda al-Rayḥānī: A Forgotten Belletrist and Pahlavi Translator," 93.

out, we do find the existence of this text by several medieval authors such as ‘Alī b. ‘Ubayda al-Rayḥānī (d. 219/834), Ibn Abū Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023), Ibn Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), al-Ābī (d. ca. 421/1030), al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr (d. 463/1071), Usāma b. Munqidh (d. 584/1189) and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (d. ca. 655/1257).⁴⁸⁰

The fourth argument is that the text does not contain any organised structure and that it is merely a collection of aphorisms from Persian, Greek, and Indian origins.⁴⁸¹ However, as I will shortly illustrate below, there is a structure which is directed related to the introduction of the text. What may at first appear to be chaotic collection of aphorisms, is actually a constructed and organised collection of texts.

The first modern author to publish *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* was Ṭāhir al-Jazā’irī (1908) who discovered the manuscript in Baalbek, Lebanon.⁴⁸² The name *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm who attributes a text by this title Ibn al-Muqaffa’.⁴⁸³ Modern authors have organised the text into six sections including an introduction.⁴⁸⁴ The six sections are based on the existence of similar passages found in other Persian, Indian, and Arabic texts. The first section is the introduction.⁴⁸⁵ The second and fourth section are similar to Persian aphorisms that are found in Ibn Miskawayh’s (d. 421/1030) book *al-Ḥikma al-khālida* under the chapter titled *Ḥikam al-Furs* (Persian Wisdom).⁴⁸⁶ The third and fifth sections, as argued by Mohsen Zakeri, are almost parallel to passages found in Ibn Miskawayh under the title “*aḥkām al-‘Arab*”.⁴⁸⁷ The sixth section is made up of twenty seven aphorism found in Ibn al-Muqaffa’’s translated text of Indian fables, *Kalīla wa Dimna*.⁴⁸⁸ Ibn Miskawayh lived almost 300 years after Ibn al-Muqaffa’ and therefore

⁴⁸⁰ Abū al-Hasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb Al-Māwardī, *Adab al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn* (Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1986), 232, ‘Abbās, "Nazara Jadīda fī ba’ḍ al-Kutub al-Mansūba li-Ibn al-Muqaffa’," 569-573, Zakeri, *Persian Wisdom in Arabic Garb: ‘Alī b. ‘Ubayda al-Rayḥānī (D. 219/834) and his ‘Jawāhir al-kilām wa-farā’id al-ḥikam*", 317, Kristó-Nagy, "On the authenticity of al-Adab al-ṣaghīr attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa’ and problems concerning some of his titles," 212.

⁴⁸¹ Richter, "Über Das kleine Adabbuch des Ibn al-Muqaffa’," 279, ‘Abbās, "Nazara Jadīda fī ba’ḍ al-Kutub al-Mansūba li-Ibn al-Muqaffa’," 575-576, Kristó-Nagy, "On the authenticity of al-Adab al-ṣaghīr attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa’ and problems concerning some of his titles," 203.

⁴⁸² Al-Jazā’irī, "Al-Adab al-ṣaghīr li-Ibn al-Muqaffa’," 2.

⁴⁸³ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 150.

⁴⁸⁴ The organisation of the text is based on Muḥammad Kurd ‘Alī’s (1954) *Rasā’il al-Bulaghā’*. Iḥsān ‘Abbās (1977). Introduction: 4³ - 8¹¹, Section two: 8¹² - 16⁵. Section three: 16¹¹ - 24¹¹, Section four: 24¹² - 30³ and 31⁵⁻⁷, Section five: 30⁹ - 32⁹, Section six: 32¹⁰ - 37. ‘Abbās, "Nazara Jadīda fī ba’ḍ al-Kutub al-Mansūba li-Ibn al-Muqaffa’," 560-569, Kristó-Nagy, "On the authenticity of al-Adab al-ṣaghīr attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa’ and problems concerning some of his titles," 212.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibn al-Muqaffa’, "Al-Adab al-ṣaghīr," in *Rasā’il al-Bulaghā’*, 4-8.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibn Miskawayh, *Al-Ḥikma al-Khālida*, 26-88.

⁴⁸⁷ Zakeri, *Persian Wisdom in Arabic Garb: ‘Alī b. ‘Ubayda al-Rayḥānī (D. 219/834) and his ‘Jawāhir al-kilām wa-farā’id al-ḥikam*", 82.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibn al-Muqaffa’, "Al-Adab al-ṣaghīr," in *Rasā’il al-Bulaghā’*, 32-37.

the argument made by Zakeri and Kristó-Nagy that Ibn Miskawayh might have copied sections of *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* without realising it because the title page or manuscript were in poor condition is possible.⁴⁸⁹

The organisation of the text in such a manner is useful if the purpose of one's research is to discover the sources Ibn al-Muqaffa' may have used when constructing *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*. After all, in his introduction Ibn al-Muqaffa' does say that he "placed in this book [*al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*] some words of people's speech that has been preserved".⁴⁹⁰ Ibn al-Muqaffa' also portrays himself as a skilled craftsman in the analogy of a jeweller, meticulously gathering the wisdom of those before him, symbolised as precious gemstones.⁴⁹¹ He then intricately moulds, shapes, and organises this accumulated knowledge according to his own preferences, akin to crafting a piece of jewellery that would capture public demand. Ibn al-Muqaffa' underscores the significance of the artisan's labour and dedication, asserting that the jeweller, by employing his own intellect, perception, and artistic sensibilities, establishes rightful ownership over the resultant creation. Ibn al-Muqaffa' then illustrates a parallel in the way bees, despite extracting pollen from flowers, claim ownership of the honey they produce. These metaphors and parallels could have perhaps been a way for Ibn al-Muqaffa' to differentiate between *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* and other texts he translated. We find a sense of claiming authorship in this text that we do not find in any of his other works, possibly because Ibn al-Muqaffa' acknowledges that he is using certain passages from earlier texts but is instead collecting, translating, formulating, and merging them in a way to support a specific objective which consequently becomes a new text.

Therefore, my aim is not to determine the origin of Ibn al-Muqaffa''s work as modern scholars have done, but rather to construct an understanding of his views. Ibn al-Muqaffa' must have had a reason and an audience when he decided to extract specific aphorisms from three diverse cultures (Persian, Indian, Arabic). The compilation of these aphorism and Ibn al-Muqaffa''s inclusion of Islam into them reflects the sophisticated identity that emerged during the early Abbasid caliphate as well as Ibn al-Muqaffa''s perception of what constitutes as *adab*.⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁹ Zakeri, *Persian Wisdom in Arabic Garb: 'Alī b. 'Ubayda al-Rayḥānī (D. 219/834) and his "Jawāhir al-kilam wa-farā'id al-ḥikam"*, 323, Kristó-Nagy, "On the authenticity of *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa' and problems concerning some of his titles," 206-207.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Adab al-ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 8.

⁴⁹¹ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Adab al-ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 5-6.

⁴⁹² For an understanding of the multicultural identity of the early Abbasid caliphate see: Françoise Micheau, "The City in the Islamic World," in *Baghdad In The Abbasid Era: A Cosmopolitan And Multi-Confessional Capital*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Antillio Petruccioli, and André Raymond (Brill, 2008), 239, Tayeb El-Hibri, "The empire in Iraq, 763-861," in *The New Cambridge History of Islam: Volume 1: The Formation of the Islamic*

To gain a clearer understanding of this piece of jewellery (*al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*), it is imperative to redirect our attention from scrutinising the origins of individual gemstones and, instead, focus on the jewellery in its entirety. *Al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* starts with an introduction.⁴⁹³ In the introduction Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ states several things, of which include his ownership of the text which I mentioned earlier, and more importantly the reason and importance of *adab* as a means to gain a proper and intuitive ʿ*aql* (judgement and reasoning). Therefore, the objective of the book is to teach the audience how to obtain a better and stronger ʿ*aql*, and the method of doing so is by learning and implementing *adab*.⁴⁹⁴ However, what is crucial to understand is how these concepts lay the foundations of the whole text. If we move our focus away from attempting to determine the origins of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿʼs work, we find that *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* is organised in the following manner:

Topic	Page + Line
1. Introduction	
a. Benefits of ʿ <i>aql</i> for the success of this life and the hereafter.	4-4 ⁵
b. <i>Adab</i> as a means to nurture, strengthen, and develop an intuitive ʿ <i>aql</i> .	4 ⁶ -6 ³
c. Qualities that one must obtain to strengthen ʿ <i>aql</i> .	6 ⁴ -8 ³
d. Purpose of this book: Teach <i>adab</i> in order to nurture the ʿ <i>aql</i> .	8 ⁴ -8 ¹¹
2. Fifteen examples of how the qualities allow one to attain a proper ʿ <i>aql</i> .	8 ¹² -14 ¹¹
3. Benefit of ʿ <i>aql</i> to an authority and the implementation of mentioned qualities.	14 ¹² -18 ⁵
a. Benefits of <i>dīn</i> (religion, faith, or revealed law) and its relation to ʿ <i>aql</i> , <i>raʿy</i> (reasoning), <i>ilm</i> (knowledge), and <i>adab</i> .	18 ⁶ -23 ⁷

World, Sixth to Eleventh Centuries, ed. Chase F. Robinson, vol. 1, *The New Cambridge History of Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 291, Chase Robinson, "The rise of Islam, 600-705," in *The New Cambridge History of Islam: Volume 1: The Formation of the Islamic World, Sixth to Eleventh Centuries*, ed. Chase F. Robinson, vol. 1, *The New Cambridge History of Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 224, ʿAbd-Allāh b. Muslim Ibn Qutayba, *The Excellence of the Arabs, The Excellence of the Arabs*, ed. Webb Peter and E. Montgomery James (New York, USA: New York University Press, 2017), xviii.

⁴⁹³ Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ*, 4-8.

⁴⁹⁴ I will not go into a lot of detail regarding what these concepts exactly mean, as it is something I discuss extensively in the following chapter.

b. Exemplifying the characteristics and attributes of a just authority.	23 ⁸ -24 ⁴
4. Benefits of religious knowledge and understanding.	24 ⁵ -25 ¹⁸
a. The perils associated with sins like falsehood, jealousy, and wrath.	26 ¹ -27 ⁶
5. Benefit of ‘ <i>aql</i> ’ for the development of the self and one’s social standing.	27 ⁷ -28 ¹
6. Characteristics that lead to the deprivation of ‘ <i>aql</i> ’.	28 ² -28 ¹⁷
a. Attributes of those who have and those who lack ‘ <i>aql</i> ’.	28 ¹⁸ -30 ⁵
7. Attributes of happiness and ignorance (lack of ‘ <i>aql</i> ’):	30 ⁶ -30 ¹⁷
a. Dangers of ignorance.	30 ¹⁸ -32 ⁹
8. Traits of good authorities:	
a. Judiciousness.	32 ¹⁰ -33 ³
b. Accepting opinion of advisors.	33 ⁴ -33 ⁷
c. Traits for an authority to avoid and adopt.	33 ⁸ -33 ¹⁵
9. Attributes of generosity.	33 ¹⁶ -34 ⁶
10. Transiency of this life with an emphasis on wealth and health.	34 ⁷ -36 ⁷
11. Concluding mixture of aphorisms that contain animalistic metaphors on topics previously discussed.	36 ⁸ -37 ¹¹

Unlike what was argued by modern scholars, there is a structure to the text. *Al-Adab al-ṣaḡhīr* is not merely a collection of Persian, Greek, and Indian aphorisms. Although the text may seem chaotic and merely a collection of aphorisms, when studied closely we find an organised structure related to what was mentioned in the introduction of the book. When we see the text in such a manner, we find that certainly, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ had a specific objective he wanted to achieve when writing *al-Adab al-ṣaḡhīr*. The primary objective is to inform his audience on the knowledge of *adab* in the hopes that it will nurture and strengthen their ‘*aql*’, especially to authorities and how they rule. Therefore, one cannot dismiss the authenticity of the text due to a lack of structure. The structure of the text is to support the argument made in the introduction that *adab* is a crucial and important knowledge in nurturing and strengthening ones ‘*aql*’ which if properly utilised would lead to the success of this life and the hereafter.

When was it written?

I have discussed earlier that *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* and several epistles in *al-Yaūma* were likely written sometime following the Abbasid revolution. As for *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*, it is slightly more difficult to pinpoint the period it was written. Kristó-Nagy argues that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ may have written an introduction and collected the “rough material” from Pahlavi, Indian, and Arabic sources in an attempt to write a new text.⁴⁹⁵ However, Kristó-Nagy then suggest that *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* does not contain a structure because its author might have been killed before he was able to finish the book. This would suggest that the text was written following the Abbasid revolution and possibly in the years leading to his death. However, as I discussed above, the text does contain a structure. Furthermore, if the text was a collection of rough material, why would Ibn al-Nadīm cite it as a complete text?

What we can spot in *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* is the intertextual references between this work and Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s other texts. As an example, we find that the introduction to the fragment of *al-Yaūma* by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir al-Ṭayfūr is closely paralleled in language and meaning with a passage found in *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*. Below is a comparison of the two texts, with the similarities underlined.

Al-Yaūma al-thāniya

اوقد أصبح الناس، إلا قليلا ممن عصم الله، مدخولين
منقوصين، فقائلهم باغ، وسامعهم عياب، وسائلهم متعنت،
ومجيبهم متكلف، وأعظهم غير محقق لقوله بالفعل،
وموعوظهم غير سليم من الهزء والاستخفاف، ومستشيرهم
غير موطن نفسه على إنفاذ ما يشار به عليه ومصطبر للحق
مما يسمع، ومستشارهم غير مأمون على الغش والحسد،
وإن يكن مهتا كالستر، مشيعا للفاحشة، مؤثر للهوى. والأمين
منهم غير متحفظ من ائتمان الخونة، والصدوق غير محترس
من حديث الكذبة، وذو الدين غير متورع عن تفريط الفجرة.
يتقارضون الثناء، ويترقبون الدول، ويعيون بالهمز، يكاد
أحزمهم رأياً يلفته عن رأيه أدنى الرضا وادنى السخط، ويكاد
أمتنهم عوداً أن تسحره الكلمة، وتكره اللحظة.⁴⁹⁶

Al-Adab al-ṣaghīr

الناس، إلا قليلا ممن عصم الله، مدخولون في
أمورهم: فقائلهم باغ، وسامعهم عياب، وسائلهم
متعنت، ومجيبهم متكلف، وواعظهم غير محقق
لقوله بالفعل، وموعوظهم غير سليم من
الاستخفاف، والأمين منهم غير متحفظ من إتيان
الخيانة، والصدوق غير محترس من حديث
الكذبة، وذو الدين غير متورع عن تفريط الفجرة،
والحازم منهم غير تارك لتوقع الدوائر يتناقضون
البناء، ويترقبون الدول، ويتعايرون بالهمز،
مولعون في الرخاء بالتحاسد، وفي الشدة
بالتخاذل.⁴⁹⁷

The similarities between the two texts lay mostly in its structure and content. Both versions discuss the deterioration of social values and morals. It is not surprising that both these texts are located in sections which discuss the traits and attributes of authorities, with *al-Yaūma*

⁴⁹⁵ Kristó-Nagy, "On the authenticity of al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and problems concerning some of his titles," 208.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, "Al-Yaūma al-Thāniya," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 108.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 18.

representing a more practical example to the Abbasids. The passage in *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* is shorter and more general in nature compared to the structured version in *al-Yāfīma al-thānīya* which connects itself with the whole epistle.

Another example is found in both *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* and *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* there exists a metaphor which compares opinion and whims as two conflicting practices that should not exist with one another. Both these passages are almost parallel in their meaning, with the exception that *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* is a more elaborated and practical explanation on the conflicting relation between reasoning and whim.

Al-Ādāb al-kabīr

"إذا أردت أن يقبل قولك، فصح رأيك، ولا تشوبه بشيء من الهوى، فإن الرأي الصحيح يقبله منك العدو، والهوى يرده عليك الولد والصديق. وأحق من احترست من أن يظن بك خلط الرأي بالهوى الولاية، فإنها خديعة وخيانة وكفر عندهم".⁴⁹⁸

Al-Adab al-ṣaghīr

"وعلى العاقل أن يعرف أن الرأي والهوى متعاديان، وأن من شأن الناس تسوية الرأي وإسعاف الهوى، فيخالف ذلك، ويلتمس أن لا يزال هواه مسوفا ورأيه مسعفا".⁴⁹⁹

Similarly, there exists another example which indicates the similarities between *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* and *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* in a passage regarding how an authority portrays himself to the public:

Al-Ādāb al-kabīr

البس للناس لباسين ليس للعاقل بد منهما، ولا عيش ولا مروءة إلا بهما: لباس انقباض واحتجاز، تلبسه للعامية فلا تلبس إلا متحفظا متشددا متحرزا مستعدا. ولباس انبساط واستئناس تلبسه للخاصة الثقات، فتتلقاهم بثبات صدرك، وتفضي إليهم بموضوع حديثك، وتضع عنك مؤونة الحذر والتحفظ فيما بينك وبينهم. وأهل هذه الطبقة، الذين هم أهلها، قليل من قليل حقا؛ لأن ذا الرأي لا يدخل أحدا من نفسه هذا المدخل إلا بعد الاختبار السبر والثقة بصدق النصيحة ووفاء العهد.⁵⁰⁰

Al-Adab al-ṣaghīr

وعلى العاقل أن يجعل الناس طبقتين متباينتين، ويلبس لهم لباسين مختلفين: فطبقة من العامة يلبس لهم لباس انقباض واحتجاز وتحفظ في كل كلمة وخطوة، وطبقة من الخاصة يخلع عندهم لباس التشدد، ويلبس لباس الأنسة واللطفة والبذلة والمفاوضة، ولا يدخل في هذه الطبقة إلا واحد من الألف، كلهم ذو فضل في الرأي، وثقة في المودة، وأمانة في السر، ووفاء بالإخاء.⁵⁰¹

We can find parallelism and intertextual similarities between *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* and Ibn al-Muqaffa's other works. In the passage above, both texts illustrate the importance for one who

⁴⁹⁸ Ibn al-Muqaffa, "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 56.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibn al-Muqaffa, "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 14.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibn al-Muqaffa, "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 78.

⁵⁰¹ Ibn al-Muqaffa, "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 13.

has 'aql, to wear two metaphorical garments which represent a distinction between how an authority should act in private and public.

In conclusion, the attribution of "*al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*" to Ibn al-Muqaffa' is a contentious issue, with scholars both supporting and disputing his authorship. Arguments against Ibn al-Muqaffa''s authorship have been based on the religious tone of the text, the presence of similar passages in other texts, the perceived lack of reception by medieval authors, and the lack of structure. However, these arguments are not conclusive in disproving the texts attribution to Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

The organisation of the text into sections by modern scholarship has been helpful in identifying potential sources that Ibn al-Muqaffa' may have drawn upon. Still, it does not definitively undermine his status as the author. Rather than being a mere compilation of aphorisms, "*al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*" appears to be a deliberate effort by Ibn al-Muqaffa' to construct a comprehensive understanding of *adab* and its relation to 'aql. Within the seemingly random arrangement of passages, a structure can be detected which reflect the multifaceted nature of Ibn al-Muqaffa''s interpretation of *adab*. Although there is always the possibility that the text may have been written by someone else claiming to be Ibn al-Muqaffa', medieval authors attributed the text to him.

It is difficult to say when *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* was written. However, the nature of *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* is that it contains a lot of terminology and concepts that the author explains. Ibn al-Muqaffa' discusses aspects of 'aql and its limitation and places other concepts such as *adab*, *dīn*, *ra'y*, *hawā*, and *murū'a* in relation to one another. Other works such as *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*, contain certain concepts, however they are not explained in the same way that they are in *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*. *Al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* is also not as polished and presentable as *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*, because it connects and discusses many concepts.⁵⁰² Therefore, one cannot fully comprehend the works of Ibn al-Muqaffa' without first understanding and analysing the concepts that are presented in *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*. Although further analysis on the content of *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* is studied in the following chapter, the text acts a foundation to all the concepts that are presented in his other works. Because of its nature in containing Persian, Greek, or Indian aphorisms, and its explanation of terminologies, it is possible that the text was written prior to his other works and acted as a backbone to more polished texts such as *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*.

⁵⁰² Difference in the introduction between *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* and *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* is discussed by Richter. Richter, "Über Das kleine Adabbuch des Ibn al-Muqaffa'," 279.

Conclusion

The discussed texts - *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*, *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*, *al-Risāla*, and *al-Yaʿīma*, are texts attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa'. It is noteworthy to mention that the titles of Ibn al-Muqaffa''s works serve as descriptive adjectives of the texts themselves, rather than indicating a specific genre of *adab*. We have several fragments of *al-Yaʿīma*, and some such as the fragment shared by Ibn Abī Ṭāhīr al-Ṭayfūr alludes to the possibility that it was an Abbasid epistle. Similarly *al-Risāla* was clearly an Abbasid epistle dedicated to al-Manṣūr and *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* might have been likely an Abbasid text during the reign of al-Saffāh. When considering *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* however, uncertainty prevails regarding whether it is an unfinished manuscript, a collection of rough material, or an early draft intended for Ibn al-Muqaffa''s other literary works. The text does not include any indications that might provide insight into the historical context of the text. Therefore, arriving at a definitive conclusion becomes a challenging endeavor.

Central to these works is Ibn al-Muqaffa''s comprehensive concept of *adab*, encompassing a range of topics. Whether addressing the intricacies of authority, power management, governance, friendships, courtly manners, patience, resisting impulsive desires, or adhering to a moral compass, all these aspects fall within Ibn al-Muqaffa''s perspective of *adab*. Hence, when delving into Ibn al-Muqaffa''s writings, it is imperative to recognise that his perspectives are harmonised under the overarching framework of *adab*. This becomes evident when he discusses matters such as state administration or power distribution, wherein the context remains firmly rooted in the realm of *adab*. Similarly, his advice regarding self-improvement, like managing anger and exercising sound judgment, extends seamlessly into his political and social counsel.

These texts coalesce around the central theme that goes beyond mere political, administrative, or religious views of Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Instead, they collectively underscore his belief in the intrinsic relationship between *adab* of the self and *adab* of the *dawla*. The forthcoming chapter will delve deeper into Ibn al-Muqaffa''s interpretations of *adab*, using the aforementioned works as a foundation. It will demonstrate how his conception of *adab* shapes and influences his administrative, political, and religious viewpoints, illuminating the interconnectedness between his literary contributions and his ethos of *adab*.

Chapter Four: The *Adab* of Governance

Introduction

In the introduction of this thesis, I have discussed how certain trends shaped how modern scholarship viewed Ibn al-Muqaffa'. In the first chapter I have discussed the evolution of Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography in an attempt to illustrate how his biography changed and manifested throughout the medieval period and how medieval authors themselves interpreted and portrayed Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography different from one another. The second chapter focused on one aspect of Ibn al-Muqaffa's biography: the accusation of *zandaqa*. This chapter tackled the issues revolving the most recent trend on the obsession with Ibn al-Muqaffa's faith. I concluded in that chapter that the accusation of *zandaqa* against Ibn al-Muqaffa' by medieval authors were not only incoherent, but also mostly inserted by later medieval authors. In the third chapter I focused primarily on the works attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa' and their structure. I have illustrated the secondary literature focused on analysing specific texts attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa' such as *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*, *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*, *al-Risāla* and *al-Yaūma*. In this chapter, I attempt to realign our understand of Ibn al-Muqaffa', not based on what was written about him, but rather on how Ibn al-Muqaffa' presented himself and his views through his work. We delve into the mentioned texts that are attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa' with the objective to understand how he interprets and understands *adab* and its relation to other concepts. After all, he defines his work as works on *adab*. Therefore, by understanding how he views and implements *adab* in various contexts (political, religious, legal etc.), we are able to grasp a better understanding of him. In this chapter, I will focus on his implementation of *adab* in only one context, which is political in nature.

The definition of *adab* is a topic debated by modern scholars, especially since the term has manifested and changed throughout time. In pre-Islamic times, the word likely referred to several things. Some modern authors argue that the word *adab* was derived from the *da'b*, which can be traced in poetry and means customary *sunna* or ancestral customs. This view was championed by Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Gerhard Böwering, Charles Pellat, Fritz Meier, and Francesco Gabrieli.⁵⁰³ The second hypothesis is that the word *adab* is related to *ma'duba*, which

⁵⁰³ Nallino, *La letteratura araba dagli inizi all'epoca della dinastia umayyade: lezioni tenute in arabo all'Università del Cairo*, 1-20, Gabrieli, "Adab," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Charles Pellat, *Adab*, vol. 8, *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif*, ed. Fū'ād al-Bustānī (Beirut: al-Maṭba'a al-Kāthūlikiyya, 1969), 62-68, Gerhard Böwering, "The Adab Literature of Classical Sufism: Anṣārī's Code of Conduct," in *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, ed. Barbara Daly Metcalf (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 64, Fritz Meier, *A Book of Etiquette for Sufis*, ed. Bernd Radtke, trans. John O' Kane, *Essay on Islamic Piety and Mysticism* (Leiden:

is refers to a banquet whereby good customs and hospitality are practiced. This view was championed by authors such Ilse Lichtenstädter, Seeger Bonebakker, and Nuha al-Sharr.⁵⁰⁴ Both these interpretations refer to the same concept, in that *adab* has to do with one's social conduct. During the medieval period (until 6th/12th century) *adab* was usually referred to polite behaviour, rules of conduct, etiquette, proper education, literary fiction, cultural refinement, or a collection of literary ideals and organised principles.⁵⁰⁵

Ibn al-Muqaffa' appears to be one of the earliest Islamic sources we have available on *adab*. The word *adab* is used thirty-four times throughout Ibn al-Muqaffa's work: nine in *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*, twenty-one in *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*, four times in *al-Risāla*, and zero times in *al-Yaūma*. Ibn al-Muqaffa' does not explicitly provide a precise definition of *adab* in any of his works. The absence of a definitive explanation may imply that this concept was already comprehended by his audience. Nevertheless, Ibn al-Muqaffa' seems to explain the components of *adab*, depicting the distinctions and similarities between *adab* and other concepts. This suggests that while the audience was familiar with *adab* as a concept, Ibn al-Muqaffa' sought to delineate its boundaries and characteristics based on his own understanding.

Therefore, in order to grasp *adab* as intended by Ibn al-Muqaffa', it is necessary to contextualise *adab* in relation to other concepts, mirroring his approach. Through this comparative analysis, we can gain insight into Ibn al-Muqaffa's perception of *adab* and its inclusive elements. The presentation of these concepts in relation to *adab* will not adhere to a specific order; instead, each concept will be introduced, and its correlation with *adab* will be elucidated.

Brill, 1999), 49-50, Hämeen-Anttila Jaakko, "Adab a) Arabic, early developments," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Three* (Brill).

⁵⁰⁴ Ilse Lichtenstädter, "On the Concept of Adab," *The Muslim World* 33, no. 1 (1943): 34, Seeger A. Bonebakker, "Early Arabic Literature and the Term Adab," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 5 (1984): 405-410, Nuha AlShaar, "Introduction: The Relation of Adab to the Qur'an: Conceptual and Historical Framework," in *The Qur'an and Adab: The Shaping of Literary Traditions in Classical Islam*, ed. Nuha AlShaar (London: Oxford University Press, In association with: The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2017), 11-15.

⁵⁰⁵ Lichtenstädter, "On the Concept of Adab," 34, Jaakko, "Adab a) Arabic, early developments," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Three*, Yousefi, "Islam without Fuqahā': Ibn al-Muqaffa' and His Perso-Islamic Solution to the Caliphate's Crisis of Legitimacy (70-142 AH/690-760 CE)," 13, Hans Daiber, "Das Kitāb al-Ādāb al-kabīr des Ibn al-Muqaffa' als Ausdruck griechischer Ethik, islamischer Ideologie und iranisch-sassanidischer Hofetikette," *Oriens* 43 (2015): 276, Kristó-Nagy, "Marriage after Rape: The Ambiguous Relationship between Arab Lords and Iranian Intellectuals as Reflected in Ibn al-Muqaffa's Oeuvre," in *Tradition and Reception in Arabic Literature*, 180, London, "The Abbasid 'Circle of Justice: Re-reading Ibn al-Muqaffa's Letter on Companionship," in *Comparative Political Theory in Time and Place: Theory's Landscapes*, 42, Shomali, "A Gloss on the Mirror, and a Proposal for Understanding Ibn al-Muqaffa's Political Theory," 2.

The chapter is broken down into two parts. The first part attempts to explain the concepts used by Ibn al-Muqaffa' and their relation to *adab*, such as *'ilm*, *'aql*, and *dīn*. Following our understanding of these concepts, we begin to delve into Ibn al-Muqaffa's perception of how he viewed *adab*. *Adab* is based on six qualities that Ibn al-Muqaffa' suggests make up its foundation. These qualities are examined individually in this section. Following our understanding of *adab*, we begin to see how it is implemented throughout Ibn al-Muqaffa's work of *adab*. The implementation of *adab* in a political, administrative, and religious context is the purpose of the second part of this chapter. Here we begin to understand Ibn al-Muqaffa's application of *adab* and further enhance our understanding of how he perceived *adab* in a socio-political context.

Part I- Understanding *Adab*

1.1 *Adab* and 'ilm:

The first concept that I shall discuss in relation to *adab* is 'ilm. As illustrated by Franz Rosenthal, the term 'ilm is one of the most complex words used by medieval authors due to both its depth and wide incidence of use.⁵⁰⁶ 'Ilm is largely understood as knowledge, the verb is to become acquainted with, to know something, or to be informed of something.⁵⁰⁷ However, can also mean to mark, to protect or negate something, especially ignorance.⁵⁰⁸ There are other interpretations of 'ilm, such as its interpretation as "traditions", however, they all still refer to the same concept of knowledge.⁵⁰⁹ Ibn al-Muqaffa' views *adab* as a type of knowledge ('ilm). It is something to be gained, understood, practiced, grown, and used to prevent ignorance. According to Ibn al-Muqaffa', the people or civilizations before him categorised knowledge and divided it into different sections and areas.⁵¹⁰ They were then able to open "doors" of knowledge and write down all they learn and experienced.⁵¹¹ From amongst the doors of knowledge are the doors of *adab* with which Ibn al-Muqaffa' calls *abwāb al-adab*.⁵¹² In the introduction of *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*, Ibn al-Muqaffa' calls upon his audience as students of *adab* and proceeds with sharing the knowledge of *adab*.

"يا طالب الأدب إن كنت نوع العلم تريد..."⁵¹³.

"Oh student of *adab*; if it is the type of 'Ilm you seek..."

Therefore, all *adab* is 'ilm, but it is not necessarily that all 'ilm is *adab*. One of the first advice Ibn al-Muqaffa' gives to an authority in his book *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* is "*ta'awadh bi-l-'ulamā*" (seek refuge from knowledgeable people).⁵¹⁴ 'Ālim refers to any person who is knowledgeable or has

⁵⁰⁶ Franz Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam* (Boston, USA: Brill, 2006), 2-11.

⁵⁰⁷ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 2139.

⁵⁰⁸ Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*, 67.

⁵⁰⁹ "'Ilm," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

⁵¹⁰ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 41.

"ولم نجدهم غادروا شيئاً يجد واصف بليغ في صفة له مقالا لم يسبقوه إليه: لا في تعظيم لله، عز وجل وترغيب فيما عنده، ولا في تصغير للدنيا وتزهيد فيها، ولا في تحرير صنوف العلم وتقسيم أقسامها، وتجزئة أجزائها، وتوضيح سبلها، وتبين مآخذها."

⁵¹¹ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 40.

"بلغ من اهتمامهم بذلك أن الرجل منهم كان يفتح له الباب من العلم، والكلمة من الصواب، وهو بالبلد غير المأهول، فيكتبه على الصخور مبادرة منه للأجل، وكراهية لأن يسقط ذلك على من بعده."

⁵¹² Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 41.

"فمن ذلك بعض ما أنا كاتبٌ في كتابي هذا من أبواب الأدب التي قد يحتاج إليها الناس."

⁵¹³ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 42.

⁵¹⁴ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 44.

attained knowledge in something. However, given the context that it is located it right after Ibn al-Muqaffa' expressed his intention to share the knowledge of *adab* to his reader, it is likely that 'ālim here refers to one who is knowledgeable in *adab*, such as Ibn al-Muqaffa'. A few decades later, al-Jāhīz also makes a similar connection by stating that that 'ilm is the root while *adab* is its branch.⁵¹⁵ Therefore, what we can see is a distinction and correlation between the two terms as presented by Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

1.2 *Adab* and 'Aql:

Similar to 'ilm, 'aql too carries some complexity in how it is understood and used. The complexity of 'aql does not derive directly from the meaning of the word, but rather the concept that it carries and how it is used. Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) states that people differed on the definition of 'aql because it was used broadly to assert many things.⁵¹⁶ As an example, al-Ghazālī reports that people used 'aql to refer to one's reasoning, innate capacity, to reflect one's nature, or to express the knowledge one gains from their experience.⁵¹⁷ All these definitions illustrate the various use of the word 'aql and its broad application. However, although its application varies, the etymology and core meaning of the word usually refers to constraining, control, or withholding something.⁵¹⁸ As an example, one would say 'aqala al-nāqa, meaning that he constrained the camel. Many modern scholars translate the word 'aql to reasoning and understanding, be it innately or though knowledge via one's experience.⁵¹⁹

Ibn al-Muqaffa' draws a significant connection between 'aql and *adab*. In the introduction of *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* Ibn al-Muqaffa' says the following regarding 'aql:

"فإن لكل مخلوق حاجة، ولكل حاجة غاية، ولكل غاية سبيلا. والله وقت للأمر أقدارها، وهياً إلى الغايات سبيلها، وسبب الحاجات ببلاغها. فغاية الناس وحاجاتهم صلاح المعاش والمعاد، والسبيل إلى دركها، العقل الصحيح، وأمانة صحة العقل اختيار الأمور بالبصر، وتنفيذ البصر بالعزم، وللعقول سجيات وغرائز، بها

⁵¹⁵ Al-Jāhīz, *Rasā'il al-Adabiya*, 213.

⁵¹⁶ Al-Ghazālī Abū Hāmid, *Iḥyā' 'Ilūm al-Dīn* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1986), Vol.1, 85.

⁵¹⁷ Abū Hāmid, *Iḥyā' 'Ilūm al-Dīn*, Vol.1, 85-87.

⁵¹⁸ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 2114.

⁵¹⁹ William C. Chittick, "Aql," *Encyclopædia Iranica* (1986), Pellat, *Ibn al-Muqaffa' mort vers 140/757, conseiller du Calife*, 28, Lampe, "Ibn al-Muqaffa': Political and Legal Theorist and Reformer," 95, Latham, "Ibn al-Muqaffa' and early 'Abbasid prose," 67, Lowry, "The First Islamic Legal Theory: Ibn al-Muqaffa' on Interpretation, Authority, and the Structure of the Law," 33, Kristó-Nagy, *La pensée d'Ibn al-Muqaffa': un "agent double" dans le monde persan et arabe*, 238, Daiber, "Das Kitāb al-Ādāb al-kabīr des Ibn al-Muqaffa' als Ausdruck griechischer Ethik, islamischer Ideologie und iranisch-sassanidischer Hofetikette," 278, Shomali, "A Gloss on the Mirror, and a Proposal for Understanding Ibn al-Muqaffa's Political Theory," 15, Yücesoy, *Disenchanted the caliphate: the secular discipline of power in Abbasid political thought*, 174.

تقبل الأدب، وبالآداب تنمى العقول وتزكو، فكما أن الحبة المدفونة في الأرض لا تقدر أن تخلع يبسها، وتظهر قوتها، وتطلع فوق الأرض بزهرتها ونضرتها وريعها ونمائها، إلا بمعونة الماء الذي يغور إليها في مستودعها، فيذهب عنها أذى اليبس والموت، ويحدث لها بإذن الله القوة والحياة، فكذلك سليقة العقل مكونة في مغرزها من القلب: لا قوة لها، ولا حياة بها، ولا منفعة عندها، حتى يعتملها الأدب، الذي هو نموؤها، وحياتها، ولقاحها.⁵²⁰

“For every creation there is a need, and for every need there is a purpose, and for every purpose there is path, Allāh has given time to everything and gave purpose its own way. Purpose is found when communicated. The purpose of people and their needs are the betterment of this life and the hereafter, and the way towards it is a proper ‘*aql*. A sign of a proper ‘*aql* is to have a vision and to implement vision with determination. *Al-‘uqūl* are created naturally with instincts, and from it *adab* is accepted, and with *adab al-‘uqūl* are nurtured and purified. Similar to how a seed buried in the ground is unable to shed its coating, reveal its strength, or emerge above the earth with its flowering, foliage, growth, and nurture, except with the help of water that sinks into its reservoir, removing the harm of dryness and death from it. By the will of Allāh only then does it [the seed] gain strength and life. Similarly, the nature of the ‘*aql* is situated deep within the heart. It contains no strength, life, or benefit [the ‘*aql*], until it is filled with *adab*, which is its fruit, life, and pollen”.

In the passage above, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ illustrates the importance of ‘*aql* and *adab* to each other. In that, *adab* is required for one to gain a proper ‘*aql*. The passage above suggests that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ viewed ‘*aql* as an instinct (*gharīza*) that is situated in the heart and not in the mind. ‘*Aql* being situated in the heart is a concept that is also found in the Qur’ān whereby it is written in Surat al-Ḥajj: “Have these people [of Mecca] not travelled through the land with hearts to reason with or ears to hear with? It is not people’s eyes that are blind, but their hearts within their breasts”.⁵²¹ ‘*Aql* as an instinct in the heart was also a concept understood by later Muslim theologians such as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) and al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857).⁵²² However, later Muslim philosophers such as Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb al-Kindī (d. ca.

⁵²⁰ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 4.

⁵²¹ The Qur’ān 22:46

⁵²² Douglas S. Crow, “The Role of al-‘Aql in Early Islamic Wisdom with Reference to Imām Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq” (Mc.Gill University, 1996), 18, Fahmi Najjar, *Al-‘Aql: Dirāsah ‘Ilmiyya Nuwaththaqa li-Maḥlūm al-‘Aql ‘ind Shaykh al-*

256/870), al-Fārābī (d. ca. 339/950), and Abū ‘Alī Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037) after him, defined ‘*aql*’ as “intellect” and “knowledge” located in the mind.⁵²³

Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ saw *adab* as knowledge that would allow the nurturing and strengthening of one’s ‘*aql*, which will also lead to the success of this life and the hereafter. A proper ‘*aql*, which is the ability to reason well, is an instinct that one develops if they understand and implement the knowledge of *adab*. Reasoning itself is not instinctive, however when nurtured with *adab*, it becomes an instinctive trait that is proper and strong. This is explained in the passage above where Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ emphasis *al-‘aql al-ṣaḥīḥ* (proper ‘*aql*), as opposed to just any ‘*aql*.

Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ describes the core of ‘*aql* as verification. That is to verify something, whether a judgement, discussion, or information. This is evident in the following passage where Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ says the following:

"أصل العقل التثبت، وثمرته السلامة".⁵²⁴

“The root of ‘*aql* is verification, and safety is its fruit”.

The word “*tathabbut*” is from the root “*thabat*” which means to establish, substantiate, or verify.⁵²⁵ Therefore in essence, ‘*aql* is the instinctive ability to verify something prior to placing your judgement or action upon it. For one who neglects the proper use of ‘*aql*, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ states that they are comparable to those who are ignorant. The connection between ‘*aql* and ignorance is clarified in the following passage whereby Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ says:

"ليعلم أن على العاقل أمورا إذا ضيعها، حكم عليه عقله بمقارنة الجهال".⁵²⁶

“It is for the one who has ‘*aql* to understand that there are matters if he neglects, his ‘*aql* will be judged to a degree comparable to ignorant people”.

Hence, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ portrays ‘*aql* in the following manner: A proper ‘*aql* is the pathway to improving one’s life in this world and the hereafter. An indicator of genuine ‘*aql* is possessing a

Islam Ibn Taymiyya (2004), 59-60, Ovanir Anjum, *Politics, Law, and Community in Islamic Thought: The Taymiyyan Moment, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 146.

⁵²³ L. E. Goodman, *Avicenna* (Florence, USA: Taylor and Francis Group, 1992), ix, Felix Klein-Franke, "Al-Kindī," in *History of Islamic Philosophy*, ed. Oliver Leaman and Seyyed Hossein Nasr (London: Routledge, 2001), 165, R. Walzer, "Al-Fārābī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

⁵²⁴ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, "Al-Adab al-Ṣaḥīḥ," in *Rasā’il al-Bulaghā’*, 28.

⁵²⁵ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 329.

⁵²⁶ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, "Al-Adab al-Ṣaḥīḥ," in *Rasā’il al-Bulaghā’*, 9.

vision and the determination to actualise and pursue that vision. When nurtured and strengthened, 'aql becomes an innate instinct residing deep within the heart. It is through 'aql that one can embrace *adab*, and it is through *adab* that 'aql is nurtured and fortified. The foundation of 'aql rests in verification. Certain attributes, if neglected, may lead to being equated with the ignorant. Therefore, what Ibn al-Muqaffa' presents in his work as *adab*, is the means to ultimately revive and strengthen one's 'aql. Ibn al-Muqaffa's work, although on *adab*, is primarily focused on the strengthening and nurturing of one's instinctive ability to reason properly. Although one needs *adab* to strengthen and nurture their ability to reason, Ibn al-Muqaffa' also emphasises the importance that *dīn* has on one's 'aql and its connection to *adab*.

1.3 *Adab* and *Dīn*:

Prior to explaining the correlation between *dīn*, 'aql, and *adab*, one needs to understand how Ibn al-Muqaffa' interprets *dīn*. As I shall explain below, many modern scholars translate Ibn al-Muqaffa's use of *dīn* to mostly mean religion. This translation however is but one connotation of the word that Ibn al-Muqaffa' uses throughout his texts. Ibn al-Muqaffa' uses the word *dīn* forty-five times with four different connotations of the word throughout his work.⁵²⁷ These connotations of the word are not something invented by Ibn al-Muqaffa' as they are found in Persian and Syriac texts that pre-dated Islam.⁵²⁸

The first and most obvious connotation of *dīn* is religion.⁵²⁹ Religion in this context refers to any religion that one learns and practices for the betterment of this life and the hereafter. It includes revealed law, faith, piety, prayer, or anything associated with a religious belief or practice. It is for this reason that most of the times Ibn al-Muqaffa' uses the term *dīn* when referring to religion, it is in a broad and general context. This connotation can be deduced from the following passages:

"الدين أفضل المواهب التي وصلت من الله تعالى إلى خلقه، وأعظمها منفعة، وأحمدها في كل حكمة".⁵³⁰

⁵²⁷ Fifteen times in *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*, fourteen times in *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*, nine times in *al-Risāla*, and seven times in *al-Yafīma*.

⁵²⁸ Matthew David Niemi, "Historical and Semantic Development of *dīn* and *Islām* from the Seventh Century to the Present" (Indiana University, 2021), 47, Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, "The Conception of the Term *Dīn* in the Qur'ān," *The Muslim World* 64, no. 2 (1974): 114, 122, Maria Massi Dakake, "Qur'anic terminology, translation, and the Islamic conception of religion," *Religion* 49, no. 3 (2019): 346, 351.

⁵²⁹ Reinhold Gleis, and Stefan Reichmuth, "Religion between Last Judgement, law and faith: Koranic *dīn* and its rendering in Latin translations of the Koran," *Religion* 42, no. 2 (2012): 247-248.

⁵³⁰ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Adab al-ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 20.

“*Al-dīn* is the greatest of gifts that was received from Allāh to his creation, and the most beneficial [of gifts], and is most praiseworthy in all its wisdom.”

"من نصب نفسه للناس إمامًا في الدين فعليہ أن يبدأ بتعليم نفسه وتقويمها في السيرة والطعمة".⁵³¹

“Whoever sets himself to the people as a leader in *dīn*, should start by teaching and straightening himself on his way of life and character.”

"فكان صاحب الدين منهم أبلغ في أمر الدين علما وعملا من صاحب الدين منا، وكان صاحب الدنيا على مثل ذلك من البلاغة والفضل".⁵³²

“It was that *ṣāḥib al-dīn* from among these ancients was more eloquent about his *dīn* both in knowledge and practice than *ṣāḥib al-dīn* of today, as was the worldly person similarly better in eloquence and grace”.⁵³³

"فأصل الأمر في الدين أن تعتقد الإيمان على الصواب، وتجتنب الكبائر، وتؤدي الفريضة. فالزم ذلك لزوم من لا غناء به عنه طرفة عين، ومن يعلم أنه إن حرمه هلك. ثم إن قدرت أن تجاوز ذلك إلى التفقه في الدين والعبادة، فهو أفضل".⁵³⁴

“The basic principle in *dīn* is to believe the faith the right way, avoid grave sins, and fulfil firm religious obligations. Persevere in this as if you were a person who could not afford to be without it even for the duration of the blink of an eye and one who knows that if he is deprived of the thing, he is destroyed. If you can enhance this to the level of acquiring knowledge about *dīn* and worship, then this is better”.⁵³⁵

"وذو الدين غير متورع عن تقريظ الفجرة".⁵³⁶

“The person of *dīn* is not hesitant to denounce immoral behaviour”.

The passages above suggests that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ viewed religion as an important and grand blessing from Allāh. However, he states that those before him were most knowledgeable and practicing in the affairs of their religion, then a follower of our religion is today. This is not to say,

⁵³¹ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 14.

⁵³² Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 40.

⁵³³ Yücesoy, *Disenchanted the caliphate: the secular discipline of power in Abbasid political thought*, 129.

⁵³⁴ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 42.

⁵³⁵ Yücesoy, *Disenchanted the caliphate: the secular discipline of power in Abbasid political thought*, 129.

⁵³⁶ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, "Al-Yatīma al-Thāniya," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 108.

as Arjomand suggests, that they were more “religious” (pious) than those contemporary to Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, but rather a religious person was more knowledgeable and practicing of their faith than we are today of our faith.⁵³⁷ He is drawing parallels not between the religion itself, but rather the people’s knowledge and practice of their religion. *Dīn* is used in this context to include, faith, religious obligations, or revealed law, which is how one would differentiate between grave sins or deeds as stated in the passage above.

The second interpretation of *dīn* is the afterlife. However, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ only uses this connotation of *dīn* twice.⁵³⁸ When *dīn* is meant to be referred in such as manner, it is usually stated as a parallel such as *al-dīn wa-l-dunyā*.⁵³⁹

The third connotation that Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ uses for *dīn* is piety. Piety in this context means one’s faith or belief towards Allāh. Another synonym for *dīn* in this context is *imān* which is to have faith or belief, particularly in Allāh.⁵⁴⁰ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ uses *dīn* to connote piety in the following passage:

"لا يثبت دين المرء على حالة واحدة أبداً، ولكنه لا يزال إما زائداً وإما ناقصاً".⁵⁴¹

“A man’s *dīn* is never fixed in a single state, rather it is always either increasing or decreasing”.

The concept that faith is either increasing or decreasing is mentioned several times in the Qur’ān and was a major theological discussion in the Abbasid period, in that although one’s faith may reduce, they remain Muslim nonetheless.⁵⁴² The discussion on the intricacies of how one’s faith may increase or decrease is deliberated by prominent jurists and scholars such as the eponymous founder of the Ash‘arī school of Islamic theology, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī (d. 324/936), and later by Imām al-Ḥaramayn Ḍiyya’ al-Dīn al-Juwaynī.⁵⁴³

⁵³⁷ Arjomand, "‘Abd-Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and the ‘Abbasid Revolution," 16.

⁵³⁸ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā’il al-Bulaghā’*, 8, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā’il al-Bulaghā’*, 97.

⁵³⁹ This usually refers to two opposing parallels such as this life and the hereafter or materialism and spirituality.

⁵⁴⁰ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 102.

⁵⁴¹ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā’il al-Bulaghā’*, 26.

⁵⁴² The Qur’ān 3:173, 8:2, 9:124, 48:4, 74:31, Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b Jarīr Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, ed. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī (Dār Hajr li-al-Ṭaba‘āt wa-al-Nashr: Cairo, 2001), Vol.12, 89, Muḥammad bin Naṣīr al-Marūzī, *Ta‘zīm Qadr al-Ṣalāt* (Al-Medina: Maktabat al-Dār, 1986), Vol.2, 759, Toshihiko Izutsu, *The concept of belief in Islamic theology: a semantic analysis of Imān and Islām*, vol. Vol. 6, *Studies in the human and social relations* (2006: repr., Tokyo: Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1965), 221.

⁵⁴³ Frank, Richard M. "Knowledge and Taqlīd: The Foundations of Religious Belief in Classical Ash‘arism." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 109, no. 1 (1989): 37-62.

Modern scholars such as Gabrieli and Kristó-Nagy after him, translate *dīn* in this passage as religion.⁵⁴⁴ However, *dīn* in this context does not necessarily mean religion, but rather piety and faith. One cannot have an increasing or decreasing religion, but rather an increasing or decreasing faith in Allāh. The issue with translating *dīn* as religion is that it allowed Kristó-nagy to conclude from the passage that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was sceptical of religion because he did not see it as a constant.⁵⁴⁵ This however is inaccurate, because *dīn* in this context is in reference to faith. Another example whereby Ibn al-Muqaffa' uses *dīn* to as faith or piety is in the following passages:

"إن ابتليت بصحبة وال لا يريد صلاح رعيته، فاعلم أنك قد خيرت بين خلتين ليس بينهما خيار: إما ميلك مع الوالي على الرعية، وهذا هلاك الدين؛ وإما الميل مع الرعية على الوالي، وهذا هلاك الدنيا، ولا حيلة لك إلا الموت أو الهرب".⁵⁴⁶

"If you find yourself in the company of a ruler who does not seek the well-being of his subjects, then know that you have been placed in a situation with only two options: Either incline towards the ruler at the expense of the people, and this is the destruction of one's *dīn*. Or incline towards the subjects against the ruler, and this is the destruction of the world. You have no option other than death or escape."

"اعلم أن من أوقع الأمور في الدين، وأنهكها، للجسد، وأتلفها للمال، وأضرها للعقل، وأزراها للمروءة، وأسرعها في ذهاب الجلالة والوقار، الغرام بالنساء".⁵⁴⁷

"Know that one of the most detrimental things to *dīn*, the most exhausting to the body, the most ruinous to wealth, the most harmful to *'aql*, the most damaging to dignity, and the quickest to diminish majesty and respect, is infatuation with women".

According to Ibn al-Muqaffa', if one inclines himself to a ruler who is not seeking the well-being of his subjects, he is not bringing destruction to religion or the religion he believes in. Rather he is bringing destruction to his faith and therefore his belief in Allāh. *Dīn* in these passages refer to faith, because one does not lose religion if he is lustful towards women, he instead loses faith and piety.

⁵⁴⁴ Gabrieli, "L'Opera di Ibn Al-Muqaffa'", 228, Kristó-Nagy, "Reason, Religion, and Power in Ibn al-Muqaffa'", 292.

⁵⁴⁵ Kristó-Nagy, "Reason, Religion, and Power in Ibn al-Muqaffa'", 292.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 56.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 89.

The fourth connotation to *dīn* is revealed law. Revealed law in this sense is part of religion, however only its practice and laws which were revealed by Allāh. *Dīn* in this context has nothing to do with one's beliefs or his faith towards said religion, rather that they are ascribing to what was revealed by Allāh as law, whether moral, social, political, or financial. An example of connotating *dīn* in this manner is evident in the following passage:

"أعلم أن الملك ثلاثة: ملك دين، وملك حزم، وملك هوى. فأما ملك الدين فإنه إذا أقام لأهله دينهم، وكان دينهم هو الذي يعطيهم الذي لهم ويلحق بهم الذي عليهم، أرضاهم ذلك، وأنزل الساخط منهم منزلة الراضي في الإقرار والتسليم. وأما ملك الحزم فإنه يقوم به الأمر ولا يسلم من الطعن والتسخط. ولن يضر طعن الذليل مع حزم القوي. وأما ملك الهوى، فلعب ساعة ودمار دهر".⁵⁴⁸

“Know that there are three types of sovereignty (*mulk*): (i) *dīn*, (ii) resoluteness (*ḥazm*), and (iii) whim (*hawā*). As for the sovereignty of *dīn*, when it establishes the *dīn* for its people, and their *dīn* gives them their due rights and imposes on them their obligations, this satisfies them, and [even] the discontented among them will accept and submit. As for the sovereignty of *ḥazm*, it maintains order but is not free of criticism and discontent, though the criticism of the weak will not harm the resolve of the strong. As for the sovereignty of *hawā*, it is a moment of play but an eternity of ruin”.

What makes *dīn* in the passage above to connotate revealed law, is that it is based on ruling and governance through an ascribed law of the people. Ibn al-Muqaffa' is not suggesting that one must be pious or be religious to rule, rather that it is best if he rule by the revealed law of the people. In this manner, the people will not oppose him because it is their law that will give them what is important to them or impose on them what they must do. Any discontent they may have towards the authority in such a manner, will be redirected towards their revealed law instead, if an authority is ruling by it.

As for an authority who rules through judiciousness. In *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*, Ibn al-Muqaffa' explains that an authority of judiciousness (*al-malik al-ḥāzin*) is strengthened by the opinion of his advisors.⁵⁴⁹ Ibn al-Muqaffa' then adds, that victory is achieved through judiciousness, and judiciousness is achieved through thoughtful consideration of opinions, and opinions are achieved through repeated reflection and safeguarding secrets. Therefore, a judicious authority

⁵⁴⁸ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 49.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 33.

is strengthened by the opinion of his advisors and by repeated reflection of his authority. However, compares to ruling by revealed law, if an authority is ruling judiciously, then he is exposed to criticism and discontent if the laws were not strong enough or its execution was weak. As for an authority who is ruling through his whims, only despair shall follow them.

The above passage, Ibn al-Muqaffa' uses *dīn* to mean revealed law. *Dīn* as revealed law is also present in al-Risāla whereby Ibn al-Muqaffa' illustrates the relation between 'aql and *dīn*, as well as the various connotation of *dīn*:

"أن الله جعل قوام الناس، وصلاح معاشهم ومعادهم في خلتين: الدين والعقل، ولم تكن عقولهم وإن كانت نعمة الله عز وجل عظمت عليهم فيها بالغة معرفة الهدى ولا مبلغة أهلها رضوان الله، إلا ما أكمل لهم من النعمة بالدين الذي شرع لهم، وشرح به صدر من أراد هداه منهم".⁵⁵⁰

"Allāh has made the sustenance (*qiwān*) of people and the proper condition of their lives now and in the hereafter in two natural gifts (*khalla*): *dīn* and 'aql. Their 'uqūl could not, even if the favour of Allāh, Most High and Sublime, has been great upon them in having it, gain knowledge of religious guidance (*hudā*), nor could it deliver people to the satisfaction of God without the favour which He perfected for them as a grace in the form of *dīn*, which He ordained (*shara'a*) for them and by which He made receptive the hearts of those whom He meant to guide."⁵⁵¹

In the passage above, Ibn al-Muqaffa' uses *dīn* as two connotations. The first he says that 'aql and *dīn* (religion) are interdependent to one another. However, Ibn al-Muqaffa' then specifies a segment of religion, that is "revealed law" which Allāh has ordained upon the people. Here we find in one passage the various uses of *dīn* and their correlation to 'aql. Therefore, reasoning ('aql) and *dīn* are both gifts from Allāh that are interdependent with one another. One cannot obtain a proper 'aql without having Allāh's religion to guide them. While one's 'aql will allow them to choose the correct path and have the determination to implement their vision, it is Allāh's religion than determines what is right and wrong and how they may peruse said vision. Similarly, in the following passages of *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* Ibn al-Muqaffa' correlates the absence of 'aql to one who is neglectful of his afterlife or has little to no piety:

"لا عقل لمن أغفله عن آخرته ما يجد من لذة دنياه".⁵⁵²

⁵⁵⁰ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Risāla fī-al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 122.

⁵⁵¹ Yücesoy translated 'aql as intellect, though I challenge that translation in the section regarding 'aql above. Yücesoy, *Disenchanting the caliphate: the secular discipline of power in Abbasid political thought*, 174.

⁵⁵² Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 30.

“He has no ‘*aql* who neglecting his afterlife for a taste of this life”.

"لا ينفع العقل بغير ورع، ولا الحفظ بغير عقل".⁵⁵³

“*Al-‘aql* is of no benefit without piety, neither is preservation without ‘*aql*”.

Therefore, we see that *dīn* can be used in different contexts to connote different things. Either *dīn* is used to refer to one’s religion, one’s faith/piety, the afterlife, or specifically used to refer to revealed law. ‘*Aql*, is therefore dependent on understanding religion in all its connotations. As for the correlation between *dīn* and *adab*, this is evident in the following passage:

"فضل العلم في غير الدين مهلكة، وكثرة الأدب في غير رضوان الله ومنفعة الأخيار قائد إلى النار".⁵⁵⁴

“Benefit of knowledge without *dīn* is perdition, and the abundance of *adab* without [seeking] Allāh’s pleasure and the benefit of good people, leads to the hellfire”.

Gabrieli argues that ‘*ilm* in this passage refers to science.⁵⁵⁵ However, as I have illustrated above, ‘*ilm* includes a large spectrum of knowledge, including *adab*, *dīn*, and/or sciences. Ibn al-Muqaffa’ was not stating that science without religion leads to perdition, but rather it is likely that the knowledge mentioned here is the knowledge of *adab*. The benefit of *adab* is primarily governed when it is done in a manner that pleases Allāh and is beneficial to the people. Similar to how ‘*aql* and religion are interdependent, *adab* also requires *dīn* to dictate and govern it properly. Now that I have illustrated how ‘*ilm*, ‘*aql*, and *dīn* are correlated to *adab*, the next step is to illustrate what Ibn al-Muqaffa’ conceives as *adab*.

⁵⁵³ Ibn al-Muqaffa’, “Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr,” in *Rasā’il al-Bulaghā’*, 28.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibn al-Muqaffa’, “Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr,” in *Rasā’il al-Bulaghā’*, 32.

⁵⁵⁵ Gabrieli, “L’Opera di Ibn Al-Muqaffa’,” 228.

1.4 Qualities of *Adab*:

Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's definition of *adab* can be understood as a comprehensive framework encompassing various aspects of ethical and social behaviour. *Adab* is not limited to mere politeness or etiquette but extends to encompass a wide range of values and virtues that contribute to the well-being of both the individual and society.⁵⁵⁶ This view of *adab* is evident by the topics that are presented in Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's work in *adab*. As mentioned earlier, Ibn al-Muqaffa' ' presents all the knowledge he shares in his book as a door of *adab*, and calls upon the students of *adab* to embrace this knowledge which includes principles of good governance, ethical conduct, moral values, friendship, and wisdom. I have also previously illustrated how Ibn al-Muqaffa' ' attributes the revival (*ihyā'*) of the ' *aqī* to *adab*, in which he shares a metaphor of a seed (' *aqī*) and water (*adab*). That metaphor is followed by the following passage:

"وإنما إحياء العقل الذي يتم به ويستحكم خصال ست: الإيثار بالمحبة، والمبالغة في الطلب، والتثبت في الاختيار، والاعتقاد للخير، وحسن الوعي والتعهد لما اختير واعتقد، ووضع ذلك موضعه قولاً وعملاً."⁵⁵⁷

"The revival of ' *aqī* from which it is founded upon and governed by, are six qualities: To be altruistic, to pursue fervently, to have verification in one's choice, to believing in goodness, to proper understanding and revisiting what is believed and what is chosen, to place that [all the above] in words and actions."

There is no reason to assume that *ihyā' al-'aqī* here refers to anything other than *adab*, especially since it is what he explained in the previous passage. Therefore, *adab* is founded upon and based on the six mentioned qualities. Based on the qualities above, we can deduce that to Ibn al-Muqaffa' ' *adab* is the knowledge, practice, and implementation of these six qualities. While these qualities are mentioned in *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*, we find traces and implementation of them throughout other texts.

⁵⁵⁶ Lichtenstädter, "On the Concept of Adab," 34, Jaakko, "Adab a) Arabic, early developments," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Three*, Yousefi, "Islam without Fuqahā': Ibn al-Muqaffa' and His Perso-Islamic Solution to the Caliphate's Crisis of Legitimacy (70-142 AH/690-760 CE)," 13, Daiber, "Das Kitāb al-Ādāb al-kabīr des Ibn al-Muqaffa' als Ausdruck griechischer Ethik, islamischer Ideologie und iranisch-sassanidischer Hofetikette," 276, Kristó-Nagy, "Marriage after Rape: The Ambiguous Relationship between Arab Lords and Iranian Intellectuals as Reflected in Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's Oeuvre," in *Tradition and Reception in Arabic Literature*, 180, London, "The Abbasid ' Circle of Justice: Re-reading Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's Letter on Companionship," in *Comparative Political Theory in Time and Place: Theory's Landscapes*, 42, Shomali, "A Gloss on the Mirror, and a Proposal for Understanding Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's Political Theory," 2.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibn al-Muqaffa' ' , "Al-Adab al-ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 6.

Al-Ithār bi-al-maḥabba has two possible interpretations. The first, is that one embraces an altruistic attitude towards others. In that, he is deals with others through compassion and kindness. This meaning is found in the Qur'ān whereby in it is written:

"وَالَّذِينَ تَبَوَّءُوا الدَّارَ وَالْإِيمَانَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ يُحِبُّونَ مَنْ هَاجَرَ إِلَيْهِمْ وَلَا يَجِدُونَ فِي صُدُورِهِمْ حَاجَةً مِّمَّا أُوتُوا وَيُؤْتُونَ عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ وَلَوْ كَانَ بِهِمْ خَصَاصَةٌ وَمَنْ يُوقِ شُحَّ نَفْسِهِ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ" - (الحشر 9)

“Those who were already firmly established in their homes [in Medina], and firmly rooted in faith, show love for those who migrated to them for refuge and harbour no desire in their hearts for what has been given to them. They give them preference over themselves, even if they too are poor: those who are saved from their own souls’ greed are truly successful”.⁵⁵⁸ (*Al-Hashr* 59:9)

The other possible interpretation of *al-Ithār bi-al-maḥabba* means that when one undertakes a task or goal, they do so passionately and are therefore ardent in their behaviour. This interpretation supports how Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ describes *al-maḥabba* in the following passage:

"أما المحبة فإنما يبلغ المرء مبلغ الفضل في كل شيء من أمر الدنيا والآخرة، حين يؤثر بمحبته، فلا يكون شيء أمراً ولا أحلى عنده منه".⁵⁵⁹

“As for passion, a person only truly attains the peak of excellence in all matters of this world and the hereafter, when they do things passionately, for nothing becomes less bitter or sweeter to them than it”.

What the passage suggests is that when one takes up a task for the benefit of this world or the hereafter, they do so passionately. Anything done passionately or is associated with something you love; you will excel in it. In another passage Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ also emphasis that one should seek something they love and avoid something they hate if what they love is known to be good for them and what they hate is bad for them in the hereafter and this life.⁵⁶⁰ Both interpretations of either being altruistic or ardent can be applied in Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s meaning.

⁵⁵⁸ *The Qur'ān*, trans. M.A.S Abdel Haleem (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 366.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 6.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 9.

"أن العاقل ينظر فيما يؤذيه، وفيما يسره، فيعلم أن أحق ذلك بالطلب، إن كان مما يحب، وأحقه بالانتقاء، إن كان مما يكره، أطوله وأدومه وأبقاه، فإذا هو قد أبصر فضل الآخرة على الدنيا، وفضل سرور المروءة على لذة الهوى، وفضل الرأي الجامع الذي تصلح به الأنفس والأعقاب على حاضر الرأي الذي يستمتع به قليلاً، ثم يضمحل، وفضل الأكلات على الأكلة، والساعات على الساعة".

1.4.2 Pursue fervently - المبالغة في الطلب

Following the quality of doing things passionately, Ibn al-Muqaffa' introduces the quality of fervency in the pursuit of exerting diligence and hard work. This quality suggests that while being passionate and delighted about something, it must be followed by a certain zeal and commitment in hard work. According to Ibn al-Muqaffa':

"وأما الطلب، فإن الناس لا يغنيهم حبهم ما يحبون، وهو لهم ما يهون، عن طلبه وابتغائه، ولا يدرك لهم
بغيتهم نفاستها في أنفسهم دون الجد والعمل".⁵⁶¹

"As for pursuit. It is not enough for people to love what they love or to desire what they desire, by only requesting or seeking it. For their desires are not realised nor is its value without effort and work".

The above passage suggests that other than passion one has towards a task, it needs to be followed up with effort and work. It is not enough to merely be passionate about something without dedicating the time, effort, and work required to perfect it. One must study and understand what they love in order to better cast their judgement on it.

1.4.3 Verification in choice - التثبت في الإختيار

The third quality of *adab* that Ibn al-Muqaffa' mentions is to show verification and practice diligence when choosing something. The previous quality was to work hard and attempt to understand something. This quality suggests that you must be diligent and assertive when making a decision based on what you have worked hard to understand. The word *tathabbut* is something I described earlier as verification. *Ikhtiyār* means choice or decision. This means that when one is faced with a situation or choice, he should study it properly, understand it, verify the outcomes and possibilities, and then make a firm decision without retracting it. Verification in choice follows the quality of perusing fervently. Once you have decided to pursue something, or work hard to achieve it, you must ensure that the choice you have made is the right one. Ibn al-Muqaffa' explains:

⁵⁶¹ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 8.

"وأما التثبت والتخير، فإن الطلب لا ينفع إلا معه وبه. فكم من طالب رشد وجده والغي معاً، فاصطفى منهما الذي منه هرب، وألغى الذي إليه سعي، فإذا كان الطالب يحوي غير ما يريد، وهو لا يشك بالظفر، فما أحقه بشدة التبين، وحسن الابتغاء".⁵⁶²

"Regarding verification and choice; pursuit⁵⁶³ is of no benefit except through them and from them. How many guided seekers found what they were pursuing, to then chose what they were fleeing from and stop what they were diligently seeking. Thus, when the seeker seeks what he does not desire, and he is certain of success, how deserving he is of the diligence of clarification and the excellence of seeking.

What Ibn al-Muqaffa' is alluding to in the passage above, is that one must have clarity and understand the outcome and success of his choices, so that they can make the right choice and not retract or revoke said action or words. The passage emphasises the importance of being resolute and making informed choices when seeking something. It highlights that merely seeking something is insufficient; one must also possess determination and the ability to make the right choices. The passage given illustrates that some seekers of guidance may find more than they were looking for, but they should carefully choose what to pursue and what to avoid.

1.4.4 Believing in goodness - الاعتقاد للخير

Al-I'tiqād li-al-khayr wa-H̄usn al-wa'ī is the fourth quality after one has taken an affirmative and well-informed decision. This quality of *adab* revolves around belief, hope, and optimism in the decisions one has taken. According to Ibn al-Muqaffa':

"وأما اعتقاد الشيء بعد استبانه، فهو ما يطلب من إحراز الفضل بعد معرفته".⁵⁶⁴

"As for believing in something after it becomes clear, it is required that you guard it after its knowledge".

This passage suggests that once you have ascertained or become certain of the merits or excellence of something, the next step is to believe in it and acknowledge its value. In other words, it emphasises that recognising the worth of something comes after gaining knowledge or clear understanding of its positive qualities.

⁵⁶² Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 7.

⁵⁶³ In reference to the previous trait to pursue fervently.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 15.

1.4.5 Attentiveness and commitment – حسن الوعي والتعهد لما اختير واعتقد

The fifth quality Ibn al-Muqaffa' mentions revolves around being attentive of one's decision and their outcomes, while also revisiting it. The word *ta'ahud* refers to commitment and renewal of said commitment when necessary.⁵⁶⁵ This quality is explained in the following passage:

"وأما الحفظ والتعهد، فهو تمام الدرك؛ لأن الإنسان موكل به النسيان والغفلة. فلا بد له إذا اجتبى صواب قول أو فعل من أن يحفظه عليه ذهنه لأوان حاجته".⁵⁶⁶

"As for attentiveness and commitment, it is the completion of understanding, for man is prone to forgetfulness and distraction. Therefore, when he selects a correct statement or action, it is necessary for him to commit it to his mind for the time of his need."

Because humankind is prone to forgetfulness, Ibn al-Muqaffa' emphasises the importance of being attentive and to revisit ones discissions regularly. Therefore, attentiveness and revisiting one's decisions by following up on certain tasks is, according to Ibn al-Muqaffa', a quality of *adab*.

1.4.6 Action and Declaration - وضع ذلك موضعه قولاً وعملاً

The final quality reaffirms the five qualities above and emphases two points. First, that one should practice the said qualities in both word and action. The second point made is that these qualities should be utilised in their respective time and place. Ibn al-Muqaffa' explains:

"وأما البصر بالمواضع، فإنما تصير المنافع كلها إلى وضع الأشياء مواضعها. وبنا إلى هذا كله حاجة شديدة. فإننا لم نوضع في الدنيا موضع غناء وخفض، ولكن بموضع فاقة وكد".⁵⁶⁷

"As for perceiving situations, all benefits come from placing things in their places. We have a great need for all of this. For we have not been placed in this world in a state of affluence and ease but rather in a state of need and toil".

Each of these qualities need to be utilised in the right moment and place. They also should be practiced and developed constantly for them to be an instinctive to oneself, a *ghai'za*. Ibn al-

⁵⁶⁵ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 2183.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 7.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 8.

Muqaffa' provides a general explanation to these qualities, allowing the reader to interpret and place them in whatever and whenever he sees fit. Which is why the final quality is an emphasis on having good judgement to know where and when these qualities should be utilised.

I mentioned earlier that *adab* is what revives and strengthens the 'aql, and therefore the six mentioned qualities are in fact qualities of *adab*.⁵⁶⁸ Ibn al-Muqaffa' concludes the explanation of the six qualities with the statement which reaffirms the connection between 'aql and *adab* in following passage:

"لسنا إلى ما يمسك بأرماقنا من المطعم والمشرب بأحوج منا إلى ما يثبت عقولنا من الأدب الذي به تفاوت العقول، وليس غذاء الطعام بأسرع في نبات الجسد من غذاء الأدب في نبات العقل، ولسنا بالكد في طلب المتاع الذي يلتمس به دفع الضر والعيلة بأحق منا بالكد في طلب العلم الذي يلتمس به صلاح الدين والدينا".⁵⁶⁹

"We are not in need of more food and water to sustain our souls, than we are with what strengthens our 'aql by *adab* which from it 'uqūl are separated. The nourishment of food is not faster in sustaining the body than the nourishment of *adab* in sustaining the 'aql. We are not deserving to strive for things that ward harm and poverty than we are in striving for the pursuit of knowledge by which one seeks the goodness of this life and the hereafter".

The above passage states that food, which is the sustenance of one's body, is parallel to *adab*, which is the sustenance of ones 'aql. The metaphor between food and *adab* as sustenance to one's body and mind is similar to how pre-Islamic poets described *adab* as a banquet to one's manners.⁵⁷⁰ In this passage, Ibn al-Muqaffa' emphasises the need practice and develop these qualities in a way to sustain your 'aql just as food sustains your body. Ibn al-Muqaffa' also reasserts the definition of *adab* as 'ilm that impacts the betterment of this life and the hereafter.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 4-5.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 8.

⁵⁷⁰ As mentioned earlier in the introduction, from amongst the early interpretation of *adab*, is that it is related to *ma'duba* which is a banquet. AlShaar, "Introduction: The Relation of Adab to the Qur'an: Conceptual and Historical Framework," in *The Qur'an and Adab: The Shaping of Literary Traditions in Classical Islam*, 11.

1.5 Summary of *Adab*:

To summarise, Ibn al-Muqaffa' views *adab* as type or segment of knowledge (*'ilm*). The knowledge of *adab* is merely a means to obtain a better *'aql*, which is the ability to reason and judged intuitively. *Adab* and *'aql* are interdependent concepts, so too is *dīn*. *Dīn* can be revealed law, piety, faith, or encompassing all aspects of religion at large. While *adab* may reflect good conduct and behaviour, it is also a set of principles and qualities that one must learn, practice, develop, and strengthen in order to achieve a proper *'aql*. Obtaining a proper *'aql* allows one to effectively maximise their objective and success in this life and the hereafter, especially when reinforcing the *'aql* with *dīn*. When one can obtain a proper *'aql* they are from the *'uqāl* as opposed to being associated from the *juhāl*. *Adab* does not necessarily mean the teaching of the ancients, though in Ibn al-Muqaffa's case, he expressed that he obtained this knowledge from those before him. Although *adab* is used to strengthen the *'aql*, there are situations where *adab* can be detrimental. *Adab* can either be utilised to benefit someone positively or negatively. This view is illustrated in the following passage:

"أفضل ما يورث الآباء الأبناء الثناء الحسن، والأدب النافع، والإخوان الصالحون".⁵⁷¹

"The best a parent can inherit to their children is good praise [appreciation], beneficial *adab*, and righteous siblings".

Here we can see that *adab* can be both beneficial (*nāfi'*) or unbeneficial since in the passage Ibn al-Muqaffa' specified that it is "beneficial *adab*" that is best inherited. Here we can see Ibn al-Muqaffa' presenting a limit to *adab*, in that they could be unbeneficial forms of *adab*.

To summaries, according to Ibn al-Muqaffa' there are six qualities a person must attain and practice in order to achieve a strong *'aql*. These qualities are what constitute as qualities of *adab* to Ibn al-Muqaffa'. The first quality revolves around the importance of doing things passionately, whether for the benefit of this world or the hereafter. Therefore, when one takes on a task, they should do so with enthusiasm and passion. The second quality is to pursue fervently that which you are passionate about through both knowledge and hard work. It is therefore not enough to only be passionate towards an endeavour or task, but also to work hard for it. The third quality is to show verification and practice diligence when undertaking said task. This means that one needs to be disciplined and have studied all the possible outcomes of the task. The fourth quality is to commit to what you have decided and portray a sense of hopefulness

⁵⁷¹ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 21.

and confidence in the results. The fifth quality is to be attentive of the outcomes and of your task, while also constantly revisiting it for any further adjustments. Therefore, one should not commit towards something they are passionate about and implement it, to then forget and abandon it. One must revisit and renew the commitments he made. The final quality is to have good judgement of when to implement the five qualities and to place them in the places they are needed. With this understanding of *adab* we can see how it is better applied in certain socio-political contexts. As an example, when Ibn al-Muqaffa⁶ advises al-Manṣūr in *al-Risāla* that he should expand the Khurāsānī army's *adab* in the *Qur'ān* and *sunna*, he is saying that they (the army) should be diligent, disciplined, well versed, passionate, and knowledgeable of the *Qur'ān* and *sunna*.⁵⁷² *Adab* of something, whether it is *adab al-Qur'ān*, *adab al-ḥayā*, or *adab al-mulūk* signify the qualities one needs to emphasise when understanding or undertaking certain responsibilities or objectives. The following section will focus on the implication of these qualities in a socio-political context, as illustrated by Ibn al-Muqaffa⁶.

⁵⁷² Ibn al-Muqaffa⁶, "Al-Risāla fī-al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 123.

Part II - *Adab* of Governance

Throughout Ibn al-Muqaffa's work on *adab*, we find the implementation and use of the six mentioned qualities that Ibn al-Muqaffa suggests are the foundational qualities of *adab* that result in a proper 'aql. I have mentioned in the previous chapter that terminologies and concepts are mostly found in *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* compared to Ibn al-Muqaffa's other works. While we find some implementation of said terms and concepts in *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*, a significant number of these concepts and terms are implemented in a political context can be found in *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* and *al-Risāla*.

In this part, the primary objective is to illustrate how Ibn al-Muqaffa presented a political program to his audience based on the six qualities of *adab* that he mentioned. These qualities are found throughout Ibn al-Muqaffa's work, and most of his advice require one or more of these qualities to implement. Some of his advice contain a direct reference to the six qualities by evoking a specific word which reflect said quality, while others contain similar meaning without directly referencing them. What I aim to show in this part is that Ibn al-Muqaffa's advice was primarily based on advising an authority to adapt the required qualities and implement them in his responsibilities. These pieces of advice that Ibn al-Muqaffa shares are not segregated or random, they are part of building and strengthening the qualities (*adab*) of an authority in order for them to achieve a proper and instinctual 'aql. Some of these qualities are presented individually, while others are combined with one another. As an example, Ibn al-Muqaffa mentions several of the qualities in a single passage by stating that a ruler must have four of the required qualities in which to build the foundations of his authority:

"ولاية الناس بلاء عظيم. وعلى الوالي أربع خصال هي أعمدة السلطان وأركانه التي بها يقوم وعليها

يثبت: الاجتهاد في التخير، والمبالغة في التقدم، والتعهد الشديد، والجزاء العتيد".⁵⁷³

"Governance over people is a great affliction. A ruler requires four qualities that are the pillars of authority and the foundations upon which it stand and by which it is upheld: Diligence in making the right choices, striving for progress, to repeatedly revisit [one's choice], and to be ready to recompense".

These qualities are directed to an authority and are in a political context of managing the *dawla* through the appointment of state agents and ministers. The four qualities presented here are

⁵⁷³ Ibn al-Muqaffa, "Al-Adab al-ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 15.

similar to the six qualities which reflect *adab*. However, the qualities presented here are used in a practical context to refer specifically to an authority's appointment of ministers and agents. Therefore, from amongst the qualities of *adab* which reflect a proper 'aql is how one appoints agents and follows up in their affairs. This example expands on our understanding of *adab* as being merely a moral or ethical conduct as it also has a lot to do with administration, management of the *dawla* and its bureaucratic structure. I will mention the implementation of each of these qualities individually below.

2.1 To be Altruistic or Ardent - الإيثار بالمحبة

Al-Ithār bi-al-mahāba means that when one undertakes a task or goal, they do so passionately. It also means that one should strive to deal with others through compassion and kindness. Following the introduction in *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*, Ibn al-Muqaffa' states that an authority should excessively dedicate all they can their responsibility and work.⁵⁷⁴ This is an example of doing something passionately, in that you dedicate all your effort and focus on to it. Another example is shared regarding fulfilling one's responsibility passionately as opposed to doing it hatefully:

"فإذا تقلدت شيئاً من أمر السلطان فكن فيه أحد رجلين: إما رجلاً مغتبطاً به، محافظاً عليه مخافة أن يزول عنه، وإما رجلاً كارهاً له. فالكاره عامل في سُخْرَةٍ: إما للملوك، إن كانوا هم سلطوه، وإما لله تعالى، إن كان ليس فوقه غيره."⁵⁷⁵

"If you undertake a part of governorship, then be one of two men: Either a man who is delighted with it, protective [caring] of it, fearing its removal from him, or a man who is hateful of it. The one who is hateful of it, is an agent in [a state of] slavery: either to kings, if they have given him authority, or to Allāh, if there is no one above him".

This advice sets the tone of Ibn al-Muqaffa's view on authority and the responsibility given to any authority. If one is passionate in protecting his responsibility, he will strive for its betterment and therefore attempt to develop his *adab* and achieve a proper 'aql. However, if one is hateful of the responsibility he is given, he will merely be in a state of slavery to himself, ruler, or to Allāh if there exists no one above him.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 44.

"وإنما الرأي له والحق عليه أن يأخذ لعمله من جميع شُغله، فيأخذ له من طعامه وشرابه ونومه وحديثه ولهوه ونسائه قَدْرَ ما يكونُ به إصلاح جسمه، وتقويته له على إتمام عمله".

⁵⁷⁵ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 44.

2.2 Pursue fervently - المبالغة في الطلب

This quality is shared by Ibn al-Muqaffa' to an authority in the context that an authority should not only work hard and diligently, but also to learn and understand all aspects of their responsibilities. To seek something (*ṭalab*) fervently is to search for it in any way possible. However, Ibn al-Muqaffa' specifies in *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* that the basic principle of living is that one should not refrain from seeking what is permissible to them (*ṭalab al-ḥalāl*).⁵⁷⁶ Therefore the process of *ṭalab* should be in a rightful and proper manner.

In a political context, perusing fervently refers to hard work and diligence towards one responsibility. As an example, in *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* Ibn al-Muqaffa' counsels the authority to dedicate and organise their time in order to peruse what is required of them effectively.⁵⁷⁷ It is therefore not enough for an authority to be passionate about the responsibility he was given but must also strive and work hard towards it by managing his time and duty and not mix between play and work.⁵⁷⁸ Working hard towards one's responsibilities as an authority is to ensure the management and appointment of state officials such as ministers or agents. Ibn al-Muqaffa' states that an authority should excessively strive towards progress and understand his role as well as the roles and responsibilities of those below him.⁵⁷⁹ Ibn al-Muqaffa' calls this *al-mubālagha fi al-taqadum* (excessively striving towards progress) and situates it as from amongst the four qualities that make up the foundation of an authority's character. To Ibn al-Muqaffa' an authority should always seek progress and ways to better fulfil and exceed in his responsibility as an authority.

2.3 Verification in choice - التثبت في الإختيار

After pursuing something fervently and dedicating time and effort to its understanding, one must show verification and diligence. *Al-tathabbut* means to verify one's options and take an

⁵⁷⁶ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 42.

"وأصل الأمر في المعيشة ألا تني عن طلب الحلال".

⁵⁷⁷ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 44.

"أعلم أن من العجب أن يبتلى الرجل بالسلطان فيريد أن ينقص من ساعات نصبه وعمله فيزيدها في ساعات دعته وشهوته. وإنما الرأي له والحق عليه، أن يأخذ لعمله من جميع شغله، فيأخذ له من طعامه وشرابه ونومه وحديثه ولهوه ونسائه قدر ما يكون به إصلاح جسمه وتقوية له على إتمام عمله".

⁵⁷⁸ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*.

"ولا تخلطن بالجد هزلا، ولا بالهزل جدا، فإنك إن خلطت بالجد هزلا هجنته، وإن خلطت بالهزل جدا كدرته".

⁵⁷⁹ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 15.

"وأما التقديم والتوكيد، فإنه ليس كل ذي لب أو ذي أمانة يعرف وجوه الأمور والأعمال، ولو كان بذلك عارفا، لم يكن صاحبه حقيقا أن يكل ذلك إلى علمه، دون توقيفه عليه، وتبينه له، والاحتجاج عليه به".

affirmative stance without retracting one's words or decisions. According to Ibn al-Muqaffa' in *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*, an authority should practice *al-tathabbut* in the following manner:

"لا يضيعن الوالي الثبث عندما يقول وعندما يعطي وعندما يفعل؛ فإن الرجوع عن الصمت أحسن من الرجوع عن الكلام، وإن العطية بعد المنع أجمل من المنع بعد الإعطاء، وإن الإقدام على العمل بعد التأني فيه أحسن من الإمساك عنه بعد الإقدام عليه، وكل الناس محتاج إلى الثبث، وأحوجهم إليه ملوكهم الذي ليس لقولهم وفعلهم دافع، وليس عليهم مستحث".⁵⁸⁰

"An authority should not lose consistency [or the ability to verify] whenever he makes a statement, presents [something], or takes action. For reversing silence is better than reversing statements, and to present after withholding is better than to withhold after presenting, and advancing towards an action after careful consideration is superior to retracting it after advancing towards it, everyone needs verification, and the ones most needing of it are their kings, who do not have anyone to challenge their statements or actions, nor have someone to induce them".

The passage above counsels an authority in being consistent any statement, decision, or action he takes. In order to be consistent, an authority must have *tathabbut* prior to making a decision. The consequence of not doing so is that one would need to retract said statements, decisions, or actions. It is for this reason that verification is required before making any statement or taking any decision.

In another passage relating to the appointment of ministers and agents, Ibn al-Muqaffa' applies this quality to an authority, in that they must be diligent in the appointment of good ministers and agents.⁵⁸¹ In this context, Ibn al-Muqaffa' states that an authority must have verification and choose carefully when appointing ministers and agents. This is because the choice an authority makes, will also impact, and ultimately determine who will be employed under the said minister or agent. Ibn al-Muqaffa' presents the network of consequences based on the appointment of a single person, who in turn will likely employ a thousand others below him. Therefore, it is crucial, according to Ibn al-Muqaffa', to show diligence and verification when making such discussions and not back down or retract said discussion.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 53.

⁵⁸¹ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 15.

"فأما التخيير للعمال والوزراء، فإنه نظام الأمر، ووضع مؤونة البعيد المنتشر، فإنه عسى أن يكون يتخير رجلا واحدا قد اختار ألفا؛ لأنه من كان من العمال خيارا فسيختار كما اختير، ولعل عمال العامل، وعمال عماله يبلغون عددا كثيرا، فمن تبين التخيير فقد أخذ بسبب وثيق، ومن أسس أمره على غير ذلك لم يجد لبنائه قواما."

Ibn al-Muqaffa' suggests that when an authority is employing a minister or agent, they do so based on their merits and ability to take on the required responsibility. By employing others based on their merits, you are forced into verifying their capabilities and character for the required responsibility. As an example, in *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*, Ibn al-Muqaffa' warns the authority on the dangers of placing incompetent family members in state roles just for the sake of them being family members.⁵⁸² The author argues that an incompetent family member who is incompetent and easily angered, will cause great harm to the authority than anyone else. Additionally, Ibn al-Muqaffa' also counsels al-Manṣūr in *al-Risāla* to re-examine those that are working around him and favour those with merits and character, rather than kinship alone.⁵⁸³ This is not to say that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was against nepotism, which is to employ family members. On the contrary, in *al-Risāla*, Ibn al-Muqaffa' advocates for the appointment of al-Manṣūr's relatives who possess certain merits and qualifications for the appointed role.⁵⁸⁴ Ibn al-Muqaffa' also views that a division of labour based on one's merits and profession is essential to the welfare of the state. As an example, In *al-Risāla*, Ibn al-Muqaffa' advises al-Manṣūr against the appointment of the army into state administration.⁵⁸⁵ He argues that administration and the collection of taxation corrupts an army and makes them financially independent from the state, and therefore a greater threat if they revolt.⁵⁸⁶ Ibn al-Muqaffa' also argues for the inclusion of villages and rural areas into the states administrative sphere by appointing people from these places to administer their own affairs.⁵⁸⁷

Therefore, the quality of showing diligence and verification prior to one's decisions is a topic Ibn al-Muqaffa' explores on numerous occasions. Ibn al-Muqaffa' implores an authority to appoint individuals such as ministers and agents carefully based on their capabilities and merits. By doing so, he will ensure that those he appointed will also appoint capable people in the same manner. By having verification and diligence in one's actions they prevent themselves

⁵⁸² 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Kitāb al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr wa Kitāb al-Ādāb al-Kabīr*, ed. In 'ām Fūwāk (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1999), 76-77.

⁵⁸³ 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Risāla fī-al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Athār Ibn Al-Muqaffā'* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 1989), 320.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Risāla fī-al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Athār Ibn Al-Muqaffā'*, 321.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Risāla fī-al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Athār Ibn Al-Muqaffā'*, 313-314.

"ومما ينظر فيه لإصلاح هذا الجند ألا يولي أحداً منهم شيئاً من الخراج؛ فإن ولاية الخراج مفسدة للمقاتلة، ولم يزل الناس يتحامون ذلك منهم وينحونه عنهم؛ لأنهم أهل ذلك ودعوى بلاء، وإذا خلا بالذّراهم والذّنانيير اجترأ عليهما، وإذا وقع في الخيانة صار كلُّ أمرٍ مدخولاً نصيحتته وطاعته؛ فإنّ جيلٌ بينه وبين رفعته أمرٌ صنفته الحمية، مع أن ولاية الخراج داعية إلى ذلة وعقوبة وهوان، وإنما منزلة المقاتل منزلة الكرامة والالطف."

⁵⁸⁶ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Risāla fī-al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Athār Ibn Al-Muqaffā'*, 313.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Risāla fī-al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Athār Ibn Al-Muqaffā'*, 312, Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Kitāb al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr wa Kitāb al-Ādāb al-Kabīr*, 70.

from being in a situation which requires them to retract or regress a statement or action they endeavoured on.

2.4 Believing in goodness - الاعتقاد للخير

The belief in goodness, whether towards a task or someone, is also to assume the best in yourself or others. The quality of this *adab* is reflected in Ibn al-Muqaffa's political advice towards an authority in *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* whereby they must never assume the worst in people.⁵⁸⁸ Instead, Ibn al-Muqaffa' counsels an authority to harbour the benefit of doubt on others and assume the best outcomes after makes a decision.

Although Ibn al-Muqaffa' advice that an authority should have the benefit of the doubt, he also states that one should not give a reason for others to be doubtful of. As an example, Ibn al-Muqaffa' advises those below an authority not to mix their whims with their rational opinions, because doing so will cast a shroud of doubt on where your loyalties lie.⁵⁸⁹

Ibn al-Muqaffa' also implements this quality in a socio-political setting between friends or possibly acquaintances. Ibn al-Muqaffa' warns against flaunting your knowledge and understanding on a matter by correcting the errors of those around.⁵⁹⁰ For doing so will cause those around you to doubt your intentions by only wanting to insult them instead of teaching them.

2.5 Attentiveness and diligence – حسن الوعي والتعهد لما اختير واعتقد

To be attentive and show diligence in one's work is to constantly revisit and review one's actions and decisions. Ibn al-Muqaffa' states that people tend to naturally relate an authority with a lack of commitment. This view is expressed in the following passage:

"ليعلم الوالي أن الناس يصفون الولاية بسوء العهد، ونسيان الود، فليكابد نقض قولهم، وليبطل عن نفسه، وعن الولاية صفات السوء التي يصفون بها".⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁸ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 53.

"لا يولعن الوالي بسوء الظن لقول الناس، وليجعل لحسن الظن من نفسه نصيباً موفوراً، يروح به عن قلبه، ويصدر نه أعماله".

⁵⁸⁹ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 56.

"أحق من احترست من أن يظن بك خلط الرأي بالهوى بالولاية، فإنها خديعة وخيانة وكفر عندهم".

⁵⁹⁰ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 73.

"تحفظ في مجلسك وكلامك من التناول على الأصحاب، وطب نفساً عن كثير مما يعرض لك فيه صواب القول والرأي، مداراة لأن يظن أصحابك أنك إنما تريد التناول عليهم".

⁵⁹¹ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 52.

“Let the authority know that people relate authority with a lack of repeated commitment and forgetting favours, so let him strive to contradict their words, and let him nullify from himself and his agents the bad qualities with which they are described.”

Su' al-'ahd here refers to the lack of repeated commitment. Therefore, Ibn al-Muqaffa' suggests that an authority should strive and work towards doing the opposite by affirming his commitments and remembering the favours or promises made. This passage illustrates how the trait of *adab* is implemented in a more political context.

Another example of *'ahd* being used as a quality in regards to *adab* is in *al-Risāla*. Ibn al-Muqaffa' advises al-Manṣūr to contentiously commit (*ta'ahud*) in teaching the Khurāsānī army *adab* in the *Qur'ān*, understanding the *sunna* of the prophet Muḥammad (pbuh), and to be honest, infallible, and protective of *ahl al-hawā*.⁵⁹² *Ta'ahud* reflects a constant commitment to the task at hand. In another passage, Ibn al-Muqaffa' uses the term *ta'ahud* to refer to tasks and responsibilities an authority has to complete before doing things that entertain him. This is evident in the following passage:

"لا عيب على الملك في تعيشه وتنعمه ولعبه، إذا تعهد الجسم من أمره، وفوض ما دون ذلك إلى الكفاة".⁵⁹³

“There is no fault in a ruler enjoying a life of comfort, indulgence, and leisure, as long as he attentive of his duties and delegates tasks to competent individuals”.

Al-ta'ahud al-shadīd is also a quality that an authority should adapt when managing the affairs of the *dawla*. Ibn al-Muqaffa' states that an authority must repeatedly revisit and examine the efficiency of those he had appointed. By doing so, the authority will be aware and observant of his agents, and the agents knowing this, will be careful and effective in their work. This quality is also elaborated in the following passage:

"على الملوك، بعد ذلك، تعهد عمالهم، وتفقد أمورهم، حتى لا يخفى عليهم إحسان محسن، ولا إساءة مسيء. ثم عليهم، بعد ذلك، أن لا يتركوا محسنا بغير جزاء، ولا يقرؤا مسيئا ولا عاجزا على الإساءة والعجز: فإنهم إن تركوا ذلك، تهاون المحسن، واجترأ المسيء، وفسد الأمر، وضاع العمل".⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁹² Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Risāla fī-al-Ṣaḥāba," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 123.

"ومن ذلك تعهد أدبهم في تعليم الكتاب والتفقه في السنة والأمانة والعصمة والمباينة لأهل الهوى".

⁵⁹³ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 52.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 16.

“It is on kings, after this, to revisit their agents and inspect their affairs, so that the kindness of a benefactor and the abuse of a wrongdoer are not hidden from them. Then, after that, they must not leave a doer of good without recompense, nor be silent of a wrongdoer or one who is capable of wrongdoing. If they do so the doer of good will be negligent, and the wrongdoer will be emboldened, the matter will be ruined, and the work will be wasted”.

Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ shares another example how an authority should have the ability to follow-up and be attentive of his agents and ministers. This is reflected in the following passage:

"احرص الحرص كله على أن تكون خيرا بأمور عُمالك، فإن المسيء يفرق من خبرتك، قبل أن تصيبه عقوبتك، وإن المحسن يستبشر بعلمك قبل أن يأتيه معروفك. ليعرف الناس، فيما يعرفون من أخلاقك أنك لا تعاجل بالثواب ولا بالعقاب: فإن ذلك أودم لخوف الخائف، ورجاء الراجي".⁵⁹⁵

“Make every effort to be knowledgeable on the affairs of your agents, for the wrongdoer will be fearful of your knowledge before your punishment befalls him, and the doer of good will rejoice in your knowledge before your favour comes to him. So that people may know, from what they know of your morals, that you do not rush with reward or punishment, for that is more enduring than the fear of the fearful and the hope of the hopeful.”

During the appointment of agents and ministers an authority must show *al-jazā’ al-‘aīd*, which refers to holding agents accountable for their work. To do so an authority should reward a good agent and punish a bad agent for their actions. This implies that an authority should revisit and be attentive to the affairs of those working for him.

2.6 Action and Declaration - وضع ذلك موضعه قولا وعملا

It is not enough to merely understand and learn the mentioned qualities. Rather, one must strive to apply them when and where they are needed. In the concluding passages of *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ states that good words are not complete without good actions.⁵⁹⁶ In *al-Ādāb al-kabīr*, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ emphasis this view in a socio-political context where he says that the most

⁵⁹⁵ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā’il al-Bulaghā’*, 46-47.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā’il al-Bulaghā’*, 35.

deserving of people to compel themselves to justice in perception, speech, and action is the ruler. Because whatever he says or does becomes an authoritative matter that cannot be rejected.⁵⁹⁷ If one is unable to act upon with that they say, Ibn al-Muqaffa' illustrates that it is more beneficial for them to act than to speak.⁵⁹⁸ To Ibn al-Muqaffa' this quality is not merely for self-development but also contains a social and political benefit. By being known that you act upon what you say, or that you act without the need to say it you establish yourself amongst others in a favourable position. As mentioned earlier, Ibn al-Muqaffa' stipulates that the basis of any authority rests on four out of the six qualities. This implies that these attributes should be employed judiciously, considering the specific circumstances and one's position. Therefore, following the mentioned quality in both action and declaration also means that one is able to judge when an emphasis of certain qualities is required and when they can be dismissed.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Ādāb al-Kabīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 52.

"وأحق الناس بإجبار نفسه على العدل في النظر والقول والفعل؛ الوالي الذي ما قال أو فعل كان أمرًا نافذًا غير مردود."

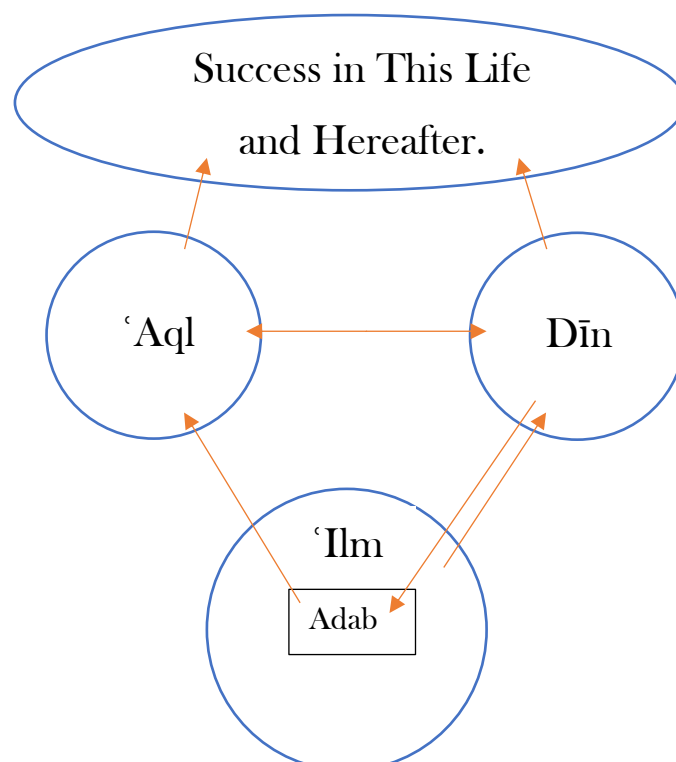
⁵⁹⁸ Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr," in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 76.

"وليعرف إخوانك والعامّة أنك إن استطعت إلى أن تفعل ما لا تقول، أقرب منك إلى أن تقول ما لا تفعل. فإن فضل القول على الفعل عاژ وهجنة، وفضل الفعل على القول زينة. وأنت حقيقّ فيما وعدت من نفسك، أو أخبرت به صاحبك أن تحتجن بعض ما في نفسك؛ إعدادًا لفضل الفعل على القول، وتحزّرًا بذلك عن تقصير فعل إن قصر، وقلما يكون إلا مقصّرًا."

Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has endeavoured to shift our understanding of Ibn al-Muqaffa' away from relying solely on later biographies of him. Instead, the focus has been on delving into the texts attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa' to grasp how he personally interprets and comprehends *adab* and its interconnections with other concepts. As he explicitly defines his works as works of *adab*, unravelling his conception of *adab* becomes crucial for a comprehensive understanding of him. The exploration of the terminologies and concepts employed by Ibn al-Muqaffa' has laid the groundwork for discerning how he implements them across diverse contexts, including the political realm, which was a specific focus in this chapter.

Based on the examples mentioned above, *adab* consists of six qualities. *Adab* encompasses passion, self-control, one's outward presentation, and self-perception. It constitutes a set of principles that should be acquired, practiced, and integrated into various aspects of life, influencing judgment and guiding a series of thoughts and expressions. *Adab* finds application in political, social, administrative, and religious contexts, making Ibn al-Muqaffa's work relevant to a diverse audience, from rulers and their entourages to people from various walks of life. *Adab* is a knowledge that is obtained and practiced. *Adab* is only beneficial if it used for the purpose of pleasing Allāh or his creation. Therefore, *adab* and piety go hand in hand. *Adab* is also what strengthens and nourishes the 'aql. 'Aql itself is interdependent with dīn, both as a concept of religion and revealed law. Therefore, the purpose of *adab* is to obtain an instinctual 'aql that is proper, which in return leads to the betterment of this life and the hereafter. The graph below illustrates the connection *adab* has with 'aql, dīn, and 'ilm.



Both *‘aql* and *dīn* are interdependent, and *adab*, which is a type of *‘ilm*, is a means to achieve a stronger *‘aql* and is supported and controlled by *dīn*. Therefore, *adab* to Ibn al-Muqaffa’ is far more than merely ethical conduct or good manners. *Adab* is a means to which one develops reasoning and is controlled by religion. *Adab* to Ibn al-Muqaffa’ constitutes discipline, passion, diligence, verification in one’s decisions, and constant revisitation of one’s intention, soul, and choices. These qualities and process of *adab* are adapted in all matters of life. Ibn al-Muqaffa’ teaches his audience *adab* and its application in a political and social context. As stated in the previous chapter in *al-Yaṭīma*, Ibn al-Muqaffa’ emphasise the connection between authority and subjects, in that a just authority does not necessarily mean that there will be just subjects.⁵⁹⁹ Both authority and subjects are independent entities, and at times you may have just authorities but corrupt subjects, or vice-versa. It is for this reason that Ibn al-Muqaffa’*’s adab* is not entirely dedicated to authorities, because although authorities have a higher responsibility, those below the authorities must also utilise *adab* for the betterment of society and the *dawla*.

The application of *adab* to political thought is but one of several possibilities. Ibn al-Muqaffa’ introduces an array of different contexts in which *adab* can be interpreted such as religious, administrative, social amongst friends, or personal towards oneself or one’s family. Ibn al-Muqaffa’ provides an important perspective on how *adab* is to be understood. Discipline, altruism, commitment, attentiveness, and believing in the best of things are but some examples of how Ibn al-Muqaffa’ perceives *adab* to be. These examples of *adab* broaden our understanding of the term and its genre. With this understanding, we are able to properly tackle and interpret other parts of Ibn al-Muqaffa’*’s work* without being distracted by the obsession about his faith or the nuances in his biography. *Adab* is far more to Ibn al-Muqaffa’ than merely conduct, it is applicable and applied in all aspects of life, from the highest of authority and their entourage, to a common individual. Therefore, Ibn al-Muqaffa’, is and will always be, before anything else, a scholar of *adab*.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibn al-Muqaffa’, "Al-Yatīma al-Thāniya," in *Rasā’il al-Bulaghā’*, 109.

Conclusion

There have been several trends in the past century which guided the way modern scholarship has perceived Ibn al-Muqaffa' and interpreted his works. These trends tend to reflect the socio-political environment of the scholar more so than that of the subject. Although it is a natural phenomenon that historians will develop their own conclusions and interpretations based on their socio-political environment, there remains certain limits as to how one's biases should intervene in the subject matter. The past few decades have pivoted modern scholarship's focus on Ibn al-Muqaffa' with an obsession regarding his convictions, faith, intentions, and beliefs. My primary objective is to redirect the focus on Ibn al-Muqaffa' back to his original work and rather than depending on what later sources say about him, looking into what he says about himself. This is done by understanding Ibn al-Muqaffa''s views through his own work.

The existence of certain trends in modern scholarship are not independent from the structure and availability of medieval sources. The reason that modern scholarship was able to generate different perspectives based on the same content of sources, is due to the fact that medieval sources themselves presented similar information on Ibn al-Muqaffa', albeit within different contexts. Therefore, the existence of trends in the past century can only be explained when analysing the existence of trends and the contexts of information presented by medieval authors themselves. This was the objective and purpose of the first chapter, whereby I explored the medieval period's diverse perspectives on Ibn al-Muqaffa''s biography. I found that while interpretations and contexts vary, certain constants formed the foundation of Ibn al-Muqaffa''s biography.

An example of how context and interpretations of information's may vary between medieval authors exists between al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf* and al-Jahshiyārī's *al-Wuzarā' wa-l-Kuttāb*. Both these texts introduce Ibn al-Muqaffa' for different reasons and therefore have different objectives and purpose for including him in their works. Al-Balādhurī for examples emphasises Ibn al-Muqaffa''s noble and professional background and his relation to al-Manṣūr. Al-Jahshiyārī on the other hand, does not mention his noble background, but instead emphasises his role as a *kātib* and more importantly, includes Ibn al-Muqaffa''s biography within the biography of Abū Ayūb, al-Manṣūr's *kātib*. Al-Jahshiyārī's information does not differ greatly from al-Balādhurī's, however, al-Jahshiyārī has a purpose in his text to emphasise the role that ministers and *kuttāb* had in influencing the state. Therefore, al-Jahshiyārī attributes Ibn al-

Muqaffa' 's murder to the actions and envy of the administrative class which had enough power to influence state decisions and therefore lead to his murder.

The context and the section Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's biography is situated in a given text, is as important as the content itself. It is for this reason that the primary outcome of the first chapter is to highlight the various contexts that Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's biography was reported, and how that impacts our understanding of him.

After illustrating the importance of context and the existence of trends by medieval scholars, I apply this knowledge to one aspect of Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's biography, the accusation of *zandaqa*. This chapter is concerned with the most recent trend on Ibn al-Muqaffa' regarding the obsession in determining Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's intentions and his faith. I attempt to dismantle three arguments used by modern scholarship when studying the accusation of *zandaqa* on Ibn al-Muqaffa' .

The first argument is based on a 11th century text which states that Ibn al-Muqaffa' wrote several passages which may be presumed as a parody of the *qur'ān*. Several modern scholars have used this source as proof that Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's intention and convictions were essentially anti-Islamic, and that his Islamic tone was merely for the betterment of his social and political status. However, not only was the source in question written almost three hundred years after Ibn al-Muqaffa' , but upon further examination, one finds that the author of the source himself concludes that Ibn al-Muqaffa' did not write a parody of the *qur'ān*.

The second argument is regarding the accusation of *zandaqa* made against Ibn al-Muqaffa' by the 9th century scholar, al-Rassī, who lived not too long after Ibn al-Muqaffa' , compared to the others. The text in question is known as the "*Polemic against Islām*". The reason why it is a polemic against Islam is because for the most part, the text goes against not only the fundamentals of what makes Islam, but also monotheism at large and the concept of a single all-might entity called Allāh. I argue that the primary issue with this text is that it is fragmented, and only mere sentences exist that are quoted by the author. The quoted passages that the 9th century scholar claims to be Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's are also very general in nature and do not contain any specific or explicit information which may suggest these fragmented texts were authored by Ibn al-Muqaffa' . It is also possible that the text in question was authored by a contemporary to Ibn al-Muqaffa' , al-Muqanna' . Nonetheless, modern scholarship has shown the lack of proper evidence to suggest that this text is related to Ibn al-Muqaffa' , however, some scholars are adamant to make the text a reflection of Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's true beliefs. One can also not deny

the possibility that if the text was indeed written by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, it may have been soon so after his conversion to Islam, which many medieval sources reference to.

The third argument by modern scholars regarding the accusation of *zandaqa* has to do with how medieval authors have portrayed him and his acquaintances. Several modern scholars state that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ was acquainted with numerous people also accused of *zandaqa* by medieval authors, and therefore Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ belong to a sort of familia of *zanadiqa*, or as one modern author puts it, a “Manichean circle”. To oppose this argument, I have analytically developed a prosopographical study of all the acquaintances that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ is said to have been associated with from twenty-two medieval sources. Based on my finds, what we find is that it is only after the 11th century that we find a trend of associating and including Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ from amongst those who were also accused of *zandaqa*. This suggests that similar to how modern scholars had certain trends governing their view of the past, so too did medieval authors whereby we find that many texts on *zandaqa* and parodies of the Qurʾān were produced in this period.

The final point I conclude with is regarding the accusation of *zandaqa* itself and what it exactly means. Al-Rassī labelled Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’s *zandaqa* as being Manichean and follower of Mānī. However, the medieval authors who associate Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ with those accused of *zandaqa* defend the term as being those who were constantly intoxicated, lustful, and who happen to be mostly poets. Other accusations of *zandaqa*, such as that presented in al-Balādhurī, associate the word to Zoroastrian. Therefore, what we find is that even within medieval scholarship, the accusation of *zandaqa* against Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ meant different things to different authors, and we do not find concise proof of what this accusation means and how it may have impacted Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ.

I conclude that there exist major gaps in the argument of associating Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ with *zandaqa*, be it representing Zoroastrian, intoxication, or Manichean. We have seen the various interpretations and portrayals of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ in his biographies as well as a case study on the accusation of *zandaqa*. While there are some constants in the information between medieval biographies on Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, there exist nuances and diverging narratives that modern scholarship must heed to and be careful not to depend entirely on without prior analysis. However, the only way we can understand Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and his views are from his own texts. It is for this reason that the following two chapters focus primarily on Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’s works and lay the foundation to how one should read Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ.

Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ defined his works as texts of *adab*, and therefore it is in this scope that we have to analyse and comprehend his texts. Although Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’s texts have been studied

by modern scholarship, there remained a considerable lack of analysis on “*al-Ādāb al-kabīr*” and “*al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*”. As for those who integrated these texts into their understanding of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, many had misinterpreted his words or standardised certain words across all his texts. However, on several occasions, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ may use the same word to imply different meanings or ideas. It is therefore imperative that we first comprehend the words and concepts he introduces before placing our judgement on them.

Chapter three addresses the works attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. It explores their structure and content. An important point made in this chapter is regarding how far a modern scholar is willing to go when it comes to revoking or attributing a medieval source to an author. As an example, the chapter tackles the issue with one of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’ s works “*al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*”. During the pro-Persian trend whereby al-Rassī’s “Polemic against Islam” was discovered, many scholars did not attribute “*al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*” to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ because it contained “Islamic” language which contradicted the anti-Islamic text presented al-Rassī. Because every historian is a product of his own socio-political environment, several scholars decided to take the polemic against Islam as a text rightly attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ while revoking his authorship to “*al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*”. Therefore, in this chapter I attempt to illustrate the high probability that the text is attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ given the reception and several other elements such as intertextuality and aligned concepts. Albeit every historic text will always be met with some justified scepticism regarding its rightful attribution, in the case with Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ I find that there exists a double standard on what is considered rightfully attributed to him. As an example, one of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’ s most studied work *al-Risāla* has rarely been questioned by modern scholarship, even though its reception by medieval authors is almost none-existent. In contrast in the case with *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* we have several quotes from the text by medieval authors.

Other than the case with *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*, this chapter also illustrates how Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’ s works has *adab* as the central theme, spanning topics from authority to self-improvement, and laying the groundwork for a deeper exploration in the following chapter. I also present a possible timeline on what his work was written, suggesting that *al-Ādāb al-kabīr* may have been one of his latest works proceeding *al-Risāla*. Overall, this chapter is an integral part for the following chapter, where an analysis of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’ s work is made regarding his perception and understanding of several concepts, and more specifically, *adab*.

The final chapter attempts to shift our understanding of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ by analysing his interpretation of various concepts. The primary objective of this chapter is to illustrate the importance of understanding Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’ s works in a manner he intended it to, through

adab. It is to show how Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's work should be read and on what requisite terms and concepts should be understood before engaging with his work. Therefore, a significant aspect of this chapter is to analyse how Ibn al-Muqaffa' perceived and attempted to explain *adab*. I also attempt to highlight the multifaceted use of certain concepts by Ibn al-Muqaffa' and how he distinguishes them from each other while maintaining their relation to *adab*.

An example that illustrates the importance of understanding Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's interpretation of several concepts is the term “*dīn*”. Many modern scholars misinterpret the word *dīn* and its relation to *adab* by translating it as religion. However, what we find is that Ibn al-Muqaffa' uses the word *dīn* interchangeably to convey four different meanings; religion, piety, the afterlife, and revealed law. When misinterpreting certain concepts, modern scholars are exposed to misrepresenting and misunderstanding what Ibn al-Muqaffa' is conveying in his work.

One may for example assume that *adab* means good conduct or a literary genre that is primarily focused on advice or good governance. However, the way Ibn al-Muqaffa' presents *adab* is slightly different from how modern scholarship perceived *adab* to be. To Ibn al-Muqaffa' *adab* is a process which is used to strengthen one's reasoning. It is made up of certain qualities that dictate not only how one conducts himself with others, but how he communicates with his consciousness and disciplines himself towards certain objectives and goals. To Ibn al-Muqaffa' there are boundaries to *adab* whereby they can be transgressed and become harmful to the individual in this life and the hereafter. Therefore, *adab* also shares a strong connection with one's faith, whereby it is not only a means to strengthen one's reasoning, but a method to dictate between right or wrong for the betterment of this life and the hereafter.

With this understand of *adab* by Ibn al-Muqaffa' we find that it can be applicable in countless situations and environments because it is related to oneself as well his conduct towards others. Ibn al-Muqaffa' applies this concept of *adab* across different contexts concerning politics, religion, administration, society, or self-development. However, in this chapter I focus on one context only, that is the interconnectedness between *adab* of the self and *adab* of the *dawla*, more specifically the *adab* of governance.

What we find after applying Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's perception of these concepts into a political context is a different analysis from what modern scholarship has come up with thus far. The application of *adab* is inherently situated in all aspects of Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's advice. Therefore, it is the pivotal guiding thread which connects all his text. That's why when Ibn al-Muqaffa' counsels al-Manṣūr to formulate his own opinion on certain laws, he is not implying that the caliph has a God given intellect, as Crone states, but rather that he applies *adab* into this process

by having verification and understanding in the topic matter before he casts his judgement. This is why Ibn al-Muqaffa' emphasises the importance of the caliph's entourage (*al-ṣaḥāba*) throughout his work, because it is they who provide beneficial counsel and are the dependencies of any authority.

Collectively, all four chapters present a holistic understanding of Ibn al-Muqaffa', and aim to warn scholars of the nuances that exist in his biographies. Ibn al-Muqaffa''s work should instead be explored based on his understanding of *adab* and its diverse applications across a spectrum of different fields. This is one of the best ways that Ibn al-Muqaffa' should be read; it is by understanding the concepts and terms he mentions, prior to analysing his work. Now that this thesis relayed how Ibn al-Muqaffa' perceived certain concepts, it is up to the work of future scholars to apply this understanding to certain contexts. It is also imperative that scholarship begins to realise the dangers in depending solely on medieval biographies of Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Although we may have a decent amount of information about him, a lot of it has different contexts and one must therefore understand the objective and motive of the author prior to engaging with Ibn al-Muqaffa''s biography.

References

Primary Sources:

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Yūsuf. *Jāmi' Bayān al-'ilm wa Faḍlahu*. Edited by Abū al-Ashbāl al-Zuhayrī. Saudi Arabia: Dār Ibn Jawzī 1994.

'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā al-Kātib. *'Abd Al-Ḥamīd B. Yaḥyā Al-Kātib wa mā Tabāqa min Rasā'ilahu wa Rasā'il Sālim Abī Al-'Alā'*. Edited by Iḥsān 'Abbās. Amman: Dār al-Shurūq li-al-Nashir wa-l-Tawzī', 1988.

'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā al-Kātib. "Risālat 'Abd Al-Ḥamīd Al-Kātib Fī Naṣīḥat Walī Al-'Ahd." In *'Abd Al-Ḥamīd B. Yaḥyā Al-Kātib wa Mā Tabāqa Min Rasā'ilahu wa Rasā'il Sālim Abī Al-'Alā'*. edited by Iḥsān 'Abbās. Amman: Dār al-Shurūq li-al-Nashir wa-l-Tawzī', 1988.

Al-Āmirī, Abū al-Ḥasan. *Al-Sa'āda Wa-l-Is'ād*, edited by M. Mīnovī. Tehran, 1955.

Ibn 'Asākir, 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan. *Tārīkh Dimashq*. Damascus: Dār al-Fikr li-al-Ṭibā'a wa al-Nashir wa al-Tawzī'a, 1995.

Al-Ash'arī, Abū al-Ḥassan. *Kitāb Maqālāt Al-Islamiyyin* Wiesbaden, Germany: Franz Steiz, 1980.

Al-Azdī, Abū Zakariyā. *Tārīkh Al-Mūṣul*. Edited by Ali Jabiba. Cairo: Dār al-Taḥrīr li-al-Ṭaba'a wa-l-Nashir, 1967.

Al-Baghdādī, 'Abd al-Qāhir. *Kitāb Al-Farq Bayn Al-Firāq* Beirut: Dār al-Afāq al-Jadīda 1977.

Al-Balādhurī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā. *Ansāb Al-Ashrāf*. Edited by Suhail Zakār and Riyādh al-Zarklī. 13 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1996.

Al-Balādhurī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā. *Futūḥ Al-Buldān*. Beirut: Dār wa-Maktabat al-Hilāl, 1988.

Al-Bāqillānī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad. *Kitāb F'Jāz Al-Qur'ān*. Edited by Ahmad Saqr. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'arif, 1997.

Al-Bāqillānī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad. *Tamhīd al-Awā'il wa Talkhīṣ Al-Dalā'il* Edited by 'Imād al-Dīn Aḥmad Ḥaydar. Lebanon: Mu'assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiya 1987.

Al-Bayātī, Zāhir Shawkat. *Kitāb Adawāt Al-F'rāb*. Beirut: Majd al-Mu'assasa al-Jāmi'iya li-l-Dirasāt wa-l-Nashir wa-l-Tawzī', 2005.

Al-Bukhārī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm al-Ju'fī *Al-Ta'rīkh Al-Kabīr*. Edited by Muhammad 'Abd al-Mu'īd Khān. Hyderabad: Dā'ra al-Ma'rifa al-'Uthmāniya, 2009.

Bashār b. Burd, *Diwān Bashār B. Burd*. Edited by Muhammad al-Tāhir b. 'Ashūr, 2007.

Al-Dīnawarī, Abū Ḥanīfah, *Al-'Akhbār Al-Ṭuwāl*. Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabya, 1960.

- Al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn. *Tārīkh Al-Islām wa Wafayāt al-Mashāhīr wa-l-a'lām*. Edited by 'Umar 'Abd alsallām al-Tadmarī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabī, 1993.
- Al-Farāhīdī, Al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad. *Kitāb Al-'Ain*. Edited by Mahdī al-Makhzūmī and Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarānī. Cairo: Dār wa Maktabat al-Hilāl.
- Al-Fārsī, Abū Qāsim. *Kitāb Sharḥ Al-Ḥamāsa Abū Tamām Li-l-Fārsī*. Beirut: Dār al-Awzā'.
- Al-Fayrūzābādī, Majd al-Dīn. *Al-Qāmūs Al-Muḥīṭ*. Beirut: Mu'asasat al-Rasāla li-al-Ṭibā'a wa-l-Nashir wa-l-Tawzī', 2005.
- Al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamid. *Iḥyā' 'ilūm Al-Dīn*. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1986.
- Al-Ḥamawī, Yāqūt. *Mu'jam Al-'udabā'*. Edited by Iḥsān 'Abbās. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1993.
- Ibn Ḥabān, Muḥammad. *Mashāhīr 'ulamā' Al-Anṣār*. Al-Manṣūra, Egypt: Dār al-Wafā' li-al-Ṭaba'āt wa-l-Nashir, 1991.
- Ibn Ḥajar, Al-'Asqalānī. *Lisān Al-Mizān*. Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiya, 2002.
- Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad. *Kitāb Al-Jāmi' Li-'ilūm Al-Imām Aḥmad*. Egypt: Dār al-Falāḥ li-al-Baḥth al-'Ilmī wa Taḥqīq al-Turāth, 2009.
- Ibn Ḥazim, Abū Muḥammad 'Alī. *Jamharat 'ansāb Al-'Arab*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 1983.
- Al-Iṣfahānī, Abū al-Faraj. *Kitāb Al-Aghānī*. 25 vols. Beirut: Dār Ṣadir, 2008.
- Al-Isfarāyīnī, Abū al-Muzaḥḥar. *Kitāb Al-Tabṣīr Fī al-Dīn wal-Tamyyuz Al-Firqa Al-Nājiya 'An Al-Firqa Al-Hālikin*. Edited by Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥūt. Lebanon: 'Ālam al-Kutb, 1983.
- Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, 'Abd al-Ḥayy bin Aḥmad bin Muḥammad *Shadhrāt Al-Dhahab Fī Akhbār Man Dhahab*. Damascus: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1986.
- Ibn Isfandiyyār, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. *The Letter of Tansar*. Translated by M. Boyce. *Persian Heritage Series ; No. 9*. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1968.
- Al-Jāḥiẓ, Abū 'Uthman 'Amr. *Al-Bayān wa-l-Tabayīn*. Beirut: Dār wa Maktabat al-Hilāl, 2003.
- Al-Jāḥiẓ, Abū 'Uthman 'Amr. *Al-Ḥayawān*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 2004.
- Al-Jāḥiẓ, Abū 'Uthman 'Amr. *Al-Rasā'il Al-Siyāsīya*. Beirut: Dār wa Maktabat al-Hilāl.
- Al-Jāḥiẓ, Abū 'Uthman 'Amr. *Rasā'il Al-Jāḥiẓ*. Edited by 'Abd al-Sallām Muḥammad Hārūn. Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1964.
- Al-Jāḥiẓ, Abū 'Uthman 'Amr. *Rasā'il Al-Adabiya*. Beirut: Dār wa Maktabat al-Hilāl, 2002.

- Al-Jahshiyārī, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad. *Al-Wuzarā' Wa-L-Kuttāb*. Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥallabī wa awlādih, 1938.
- Al-Jazā'irī, Ṭāhir "*Al-Adab Al-Ṣaghīr Li-Ibn Al-Muqaffā'*." *Al-Muqtabis* 2, no. 3 (1908): 116-130.
- Al-Jurjānī, 'Abd al-Qāhir. *Dalā'il Al-Ijāz Fī 'ilm Al-Ma'ānī*. Edited by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Hindāwī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 2001.
- Ibn al-Jawzī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad. *Al-Muntazam Fi Tārīkh Al-Mulūk wa-l-umam*. Edited by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā and Muṣṭafa 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 1992.
- Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī b. Thābit Māhdī al-Shafī'ī. *Tārīkh Baghdad*. Edited by Bashār 'Awād Ma'rūf. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islamī, 2002.
- Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Thābit Māhdī al-Shafī'ī. *Tārīkh Baghdad wa Dhyūla*. Edited by Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyā, 1996.
- Al-Khawārizmī, Abū Bakr. *Al-Amthāl Al-Muwallada* Abu Dhabi: Al-Mujama' al-Thaqāfi, 2003.
- Ibn Kathīr, Ismail b. 'Umar *Al-Bidāya wa-l-Nihāya*. Edited by 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Abd al-ḥassan al-Turkī. Cairo: Maktab Ḥājir li-l-Ṭibā'a wa-l-Nashir wa-l-Tawzī' al-I'lān, 2003.
- Ibn Khallikān, Ahmad b. Muhammad. *Wafayāt Al-A'yān Wa-Anbā' Abnā' Al-Zamān*. Edited by Ihsan Abbas. 7 vols. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1900.
- Ibn Khayyāṭ, Abū 'Amr Khalīfah *Tārīkh Khaṭīfah Ibn Khayyāṭ*. Edited by Akram Ḍiyā al-'Amrī. Dār al-Qalam: Damascus, 1977.
- Al-Mustawfī, Ḥamd Allāh. *Tārīkh-I Guzīda*. Edited by A.H. Navā'ī. Tehran, 1983.
- Al-Marzubānī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, *Mu'jam Al-Shu'Arā'*. Beirut: Maktabat al-Qudsī 1986.
- Al-Mālikī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Marwān. *Al-Majālis wa Jawāhir Al-'Ilm*. Bahrain: Jam'iyat al-Tarbiya al-Islāmiya, 1998.
- Ibn Manzūr, Muḥammad b. Mukaram b. Alī Ibn. *Lisān Al-'Arab*. Beirut: Dār Ṣādr, 1994.
- Al-Maqdasī, Al-Maṭhar b. Ṭāhir. *Al-Bada' Wa-L-Tārīkh*. Egypt: Maktabat al-Thaqafa al-Diniya, 2007.
- Al-Marūzī, Muḥammad bin Naṣir. *Ta'zīm Qadr Al-Ṣalāt*. Al-Medina: Maktabat al-Dār, 1986.
- Al-Marzubān, Abū Bakr b. *Dham Al-Thuqalā'*. Edited by Ma'mūn Muḥammad Yāssīn. Sarjah, UAE: Mu'asasat 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1991.

- Al-Marzūqī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. *Kitāb Sharḥ Diwān Al-Ḥamāsa*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiya, 2003.
- Al-Mas‘ūdī, Abū al-Ḥasan. *Murūj Al-Dhahab* Edited by Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥīm. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1973.
- Al-Māwardī, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Habīb. *Adab Al-Dunyā Wa-L-Dīn*: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1986.
- Al-Māwardī, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Habīb. *Tafsīr Al-Māwardī*. Edited by Ibn ‘Abd al-Maqṣūd bin ‘Abd al-Raḥīm. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiya.
- Ibn Miskawayh, Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad *Al-Ḥikma Al-Khālida*, edited by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, 1952.
- Al-Mizzī, Jamāl al-Dīn *Kitāb Tahdhīb Al-Kamāl Fī Asmā‘ Al-Rijāl*. Beirut: Mu‘asassat al-Risāla, 1992.
- Al-Mu‘ayyad bi-Llāh, Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn. *Ithbāt Nubuwwat Al-Nabī: Ṣala Allahu ‘Alīhi wa Sallam*. Edited by Khalīl Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Hāj. Yemen: Maktabat al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 2003.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, ‘Abd Allāh. *Al-Adab Al-Kabīr*. Edited by Muḥammad Ḥassan Nā‘il al-Marṣafī. 2012, Reprint: Hindāwī Foundation, 1913.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, ‘Abd Allāh. *Al-Adab Al-Kabīr*. Edited by Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā. Ammān: Jam‘iyat al-‘Urwat al-Withqa al-Khayriya al-Islāmiya, 1912.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, ‘Abd Allāh. "*Al-Ādāb Al-Kabīr*." In *Rasā‘il Al-Bulaghā’*. Edited by Muḥammad Kurd ‘Alī. Cairo: Maṭba‘at lajnat al-ta’līf wa-l-Nashr, 1954.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, ‘Abd Allāh. *Al-Adab Al-Ṣaghīr*. Edited by Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā. Ammān: Jam‘iyat al-‘Urwat al-Withqa al-Khayriya al-Islāmiya, 1911.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, ‘Abd Allāh. "*Al-Adab Al-Ṣaghīr*." In *Rasā‘il Al-Bulaghā’*. Edited by Muḥammad Kurd ‘Alī. Cairo: Maṭba‘at lajnat al-ta’līf wa-l-Nashr, 1954.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, ‘Abd Allāh. *Al-Adab Al-Wajīz Li-al-Walad Al-Ṣaghīr*. Translated by Muḥammād Ghufrānī al-Khurāsānī. Cairo: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1963.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, ‘Abd Allāh. *Al-Adab Al-Wajīz Li-al-Walad Al-Ṣaghīr*. Edited by ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khalkhālī and ‘Abbās Iqbāl. Tehran, 1933.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, ‘Abd Allāh. *Al-Adab Al-Wajīz Li-al-Walad Al-Ṣaghīr*. Edited by Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh. Tehran, 1960.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, ‘Abd Allāh. *Al-Adab Al-Wajīz Li-al-Walad Al-Ṣaghīr*. Edited by Ghulām Ḥusayn Āhanī. Iṣfahān, 1961.

- Ibn al-Muqaffa', 'Abd Allāh. *Al-Durra Al-Ya'īma*. Edited by Shakīb Arsalān. 2019, Reprint. Egypt: Hindāwī Foundation, 1897.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa', 'Abd Allāh. "*Al-Risāla Fī-Al-Şaḥāba*." In *Rasā'il Al-Bulaghā'*. Edited by Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī. Cairo: Maṭba'at lajnat al-ta'lif wa-l-Nashr, 1954.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa', 'Abd Allāh. "*Al-Risāla Fī-Al-Şaḥāba*." In *Athār Ibn Al-Muqaffa'*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 1989.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa', 'Abd Allāh. "*Al-Ya'īma Al-Thāniya*." In *Rasā'il Al-Bulaghā'*. Edited by Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī. Cairo: Maṭba'at lajnat al-ta'lif wa-l-Nashr, 1954.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa', 'Abd Allāh. *Kaḥila wa Dimna*. Edited by Frederic Schulthes. Berlin: Reimer, 1911.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa', 'Abd Allāh. *Kaḥila wa Dimnah*. Edited by Michael Fishbein. Translated by Michael Fishbein and James E. Montgomery. New York: New York University Press, 2021.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa', 'Abd Allāh. *Kitāb Al-Adāb Al-Jāmi'*. Adab, Al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya. Damiyāṭ.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa', 'Abd Allāh. "*Kitāb Al-Ādāb Al-Kabīr*." In *Al-Adab Al-Şaghīr wa Kitāb Al-Adāb Al-Kabīr*. edited by In'ām Fūwāk. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1999.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa', 'Abd Allāh. "*Ṭaḥnīd Li-Ibn Al-Muqaffa'*." In *Rasā'il Al-Bulaghā'*. Edited by Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī. Cairo: Maṭba'at lajnat al-ta'lif wa-l-Nashr, 1954.
- Al-Murtaḍa, Al-Sharīf. *Kitāb Amāli Al-Murtaḍa Ghurar Al-Fawā'id wa Durar Al-Qalā'id*. Edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Syria: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiya, 1954.
- Al-Mu'taz, 'Abd-Allāh b. Muḥammad. *Ṭabaqāt Al-Shu'arā'*. Edited by 'Abd al-Satār Farāj. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif.
- Ibn al-Nadīm, Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad *Al-Fihrist*. Edited by Ibrahim Ramḍan. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rif, 1997.
- Narshakhī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad. *Tārīkh Bukhārā*. Edited by Amīn 'Abd al-Majīd Badwī and Naşr Allāh Mubshir al-Ṭarāzī. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1993.
- Al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, Abū al-Ḥasan. *Tathbīt Dalā'il Al-Nubuwa*. Edited by 'Abd al-Karīm 'Uthmān. Cairo: Dār al-Muṣṭafa, 1972.
- Al-Qufṭī, Alī b. Yūsuf. *Kitāb Akhbār Al-'ulamā' Bi-A'khabār Al-Ḥukamā'*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 2005.
- Al-Qufṭī, Jamāl al-Dīn *Kitāb Anbā Al-Ruwāt 'ala Anbā Al-Nuḥā*. Edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1986.

- Al-Qumī, Sa'ad b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Ash'arī. *Kitāb Al-Maqalāt Wa-l-Firaq*. Tehran: Maṭba'at Ḥaydarī, 1923.
- Ibn Qutayba, 'Abd-Allāh b. Muslim. *Al-Imāma Wa-l-Siyāsa*. Edited by Muḥammad Muṣṭaffā Fahmī. 2 vols. Egypt: Al-Futūḥ al-Adabiya.
- Ibn Qutayba, 'Abd-Allāh b. Muslim. *Al-Ma'ārif*. Cairo: Al-Hay'a al-Maṣrya al-'Āma li-al-Kutāb, 1993.
- Ibn Qutayba, 'Abd-Allāh b. Muslim. *The Excellence of the Arabs. The Excellence of the Arabs*, edited by Webb Peter and E. Montgomery James. New York, USA: New York University Press, 2017.
- Ibn Qutayba, 'Abd-Allāh b. Muslim. *Kitāb a' Lām Rasūl Allāh Al-Manzila 'Ala Raslihi*. Riyadh: Dār al-Ṣamī'ī li-l-Nashir wa-l-Tawzī', 2020.
- Ibn Qutayba, 'Abd-Allāh b. Muslim. *Al-Sh'ir Wa-l-Shu'arā'*. Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2002.
- Ibn Qutayba, 'Abd-Allāh b. Muslim. *'uyūn Al-Akḥbār*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 1998.
- Al-Rāfi'ī, Muṣṭafa Ṣādiq. *Kitāb Tarīkh Adāb Al-'Arab*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabiya, 1937.
- Al-Rassī, Al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm *Al-Radd 'Alā Al-Zindīq Ibn Al-Muqaffā'*. Edited by Michelangelo Guidi. Rome: R. Accademia Nazionale Dei Lincei, 1927.
- Ibn Sa'ad, Muḥammad. *Kitāb Al-Ṭabaqāt Al-Kubra* Edited by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 1990.
- Al-Ṣafadī, Salah al-Dīn. *Kitāb al-Wafī bi-l-Wafayāt* Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 2000.
- Ṣibt Ibn Al-Jawzī. *Mir'at Al-Zamān Fī Tawārīkh Al-A'yān*. Damascus: Dār al-Risāla al-'Ālamiya, 2013.
- Al-Ṣūlī, Abū Bakr. *Al-Awṗaq Qism Akḥbār Al-Shu'Arā'*. Cairo: Sharikat Amal, 2004.
- Al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b Jarīr. *Tafsīr Al-Ṭabarī*. Edited by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī. Dār Ḥajr li-al-Ṭaba'āt wa-al-Nashr: Cairo, 2001.
- Al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b Jarīr. *Tārīkh Al-Rusul Wa-Al-Mulūk*. Beirut: Dar Al-Turāth, 1967.
- Al-Ṭabrasī, Abū Alī Faḍl b. Ḥasan. *Al-Iḥṭijāj*. Iran: Intishārāt al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, 1960.
- Al-Ṭarṭūshī, Abū Bakr. *Sirāj Al-Mulūk*. Cairo: Awā'il Maṭba'āt al-'Arabiya, 1876.
- Al-Tha'ālibī, Abū Manṣūr. *Adāb Al-Mulūk*. Edited by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ḥamdān. Beirut: 'Alā al-Kutub, 2007.
- Al-Tha'ālibī, Abū Manṣūr *Thimār Al-Qulūb*. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif.

Al-Wāqidī, Abū 'Abd Allāh *Kitāb Al-Rida Li-L-Wāqidī*. Edited by Yaḥya al-Jabūrī. Beirut: Dār al-Ghurb al-Islāmī 1990.

Al-Ya'qūbī, Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb b. Ja'ffar. *Al-Buldān Li-Al-Ya'Qūbī*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 2001.

Al-Zamakhsharī, Jār Allāh. *Rabī' al-Abrār wa Nuṣūṣ Al-Akhyār*. Beirut: Mu'asisat al-'Ilamiya 1992.

Al-Zibīdī, Muḥammad Murtaḍa. *Tāj Al-'Arūs Min Jawāhir Al-Qamūs*. Kuwait: Wizārat al-Irshād wa-al-Anbā, 2001.

Al-Zubaydī, Abū Bakr. *Ṭabaqāt Al-Naḥwīyīn Wa-Al-Lughawīyīn*. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1984.

Secondary Sources

'Abbās, Iḥsān. "Naẓara Jadīda fī Ba'aḍ al-Kutub al-Mansūba Li-Ibn Al-Muqaffa'." *Al-Mujma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī* (1977).

Abrahamian, Ervand. *Iran between Two Revolutions. Princeton Studies on the near East*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1982.

Adang, Camilla, Hassan Ansari, Maribel Fierro, and Sabine Schmidtke. *Accusations of Unbelief in Islam: A Diachronic Perspective on Takfir. Islamic History and Civilization. Studies and Texts*. Boston: Brill, 2015.

Agha, Saleh Said. *The Revolution Which Toppled the Umayyads: Neither Arab nor 'abbāsid*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2003.

Aigle, Denise. "The Conception of Power in Islam: Persian Mirrors of Princes and Sunni Theories (11th-14th Centuries)." In *A Critical Companion to the 'Mirrors for Princes' Literature*: Brill, 2022.

Al-Fākhūrī, Ḥannā. *Ibn Al-Muqaffa'*. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1965.

Al-Khāldī, Muḥsin Samīḥ. *Mu'Āraḍat Al-Qur'ān Al-Karīm*. Palestine: Jāmi'at al-Najāḥ al-Waṭṭanī.

Al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn. *Kitāb I'tiqādāt Firqat Al-Muslimīn Wa-Al-Mushrikīn*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya.

Al-Shaar, Nuha. "Introduction: The Relation of Adab to the Qur'an: Conceptual and Historical Framework." In *The Qur'an and Adab: The Shaping of Literary Traditions in Classical Islam*. Edited by Nuha AlShaar. London: Oxford University Press, In association with: The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2017.

Amīn, Aḥmad. *Ḍuḥa Al-Islam*. Cairo: Maṭba'at al-I'timād, 1933.

- Anjum, Ovanir. *Politics, Law, and Community in Islamic Thought: The Taymiyyan Moment. Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Anklesaria, Behramgore Tahmuras. *The Pahlavi Rivāyat Āturfarnbag and Farnbag-Srōš*. Vol. 2. Bombay: Industrial Press, 1969. Originally published as 1938.
- Ansari, Ali M. *Modern Iran since 1921: The Pahlavis and After*. Harlow: Longman, 2003.
- Arjomand, Said Amir. "'abd-Allāh Ibn Al-Muqaffa' and the 'Abbasid Revolution." *Religion and Society in Islamic Iran during the Pre-Modern Era* Vol. 27 (1994): 9-36.
- Augustine, St. *Confessions and Enchiridion*. Translated by Albert C. Outler. 2000, Reprint. South Bend, USA: Westminster Press, 1955.
- Baker-Brian, Nicholas J. *Manichaeism: An Ancient Faith Rediscovered*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2011.
- Becker, C.H., and F. Rosenthal. "Al-Balādhurī." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Berkey, Jonathan. "Islam." In *The New Cambridge History of Islam: Islamic Cultures and Societies to the End of the Eighteenth Century*. Edited by Robert Irwin. Vol. 4. The New Cambridge History of Islam. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Blackburn, J.R. "Al-Mu'ayyad Bi'llāh Muḥammad." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Blois, Francois De. "Zindīk." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Bonebakker, Seeger A. "Early Arabic Literature and the Term Adab." *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 5 (1984).
- Bosworth, C. E. "The Persian Impact on Arabic Literature." In *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*. Edited by A. F. L. Beeston, G. R. Smith, R. B. Serjeant, and T. M. Johnstone. The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Bosworth, C. E. "Sulaymān B. 'Alī B. 'Abd Allāh." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Bosworth, C.E. "Mānī." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Bosworth, C.E. "Narshakhī " In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Boullata, Issa J. "Parody of the Qur'ān." *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān* Vol.4 (2004).
- Bowen, Harold. *The Life and Times of 'Alī B. 'Isā: The Good Vizir*. New York: AMS Press, 1975. Originally published as 1928.

- Böwering, Gerhard. "The Adab Literature of Classical Sufism: Anṣārī's Code of Conduct." In *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*. Edited by Barbara Daly Metcalf. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.
- Boyce, Mary. "The Pahlavi Rivayat of Aturfarnbag and Farnbag-Sros. Edited and Translated by Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 35, no. 1 (1972): 159-160.
- Bravmann, M.M. "The Original Meaning of Arabic Wazīr." In *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam: Studies in Ancient Arab Concepts*: Brill, 2009.
- Bulliet, Richard W. "Conversion-Based Patronage and Onomastic Evidence in Early Islam." In *Patronage and Patronage in Early and Classical Islam*. Edited by Monique Bernards and John Nawas. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2005.
- Cahen, Cl. "Ibn Al-Djawzī, Shams Al-Dīn Abu al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, Known as Sibṭ." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Carr, Edward Hallett. *What Is History? The George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectures*. London: Penguin, 1962.
- Cassarino, Mirella. *L'aspetto Morale E Religioso Nell'opera Di Ibn Al-Muqaffa'*. Soveria Mannelli, Italy: Rubbettino Editore, 2000.
- Chaumont, Marie-Louise. "Framadār." *Encyclopædia Iranica* 10 (2000).
- Chittick, William C. "'aql." *Encyclopædia Iranica* (1986).
- Chokr, Melhem. *Zandaqa Et Zindīqs En Islam Au Second Siècle De L'hégire*. Damascus: Presses de l'Ifpo, 1993.
- Cobb, Paul M. *White Banners: Contention in 'Abbāsid Syria, 750-880*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001.
- Cooperson, Michael. "Abd Allah Ibn Al-Muqaffa'." In *Arabic Literary Culture, 500-925*. Edited by Michael Cooperson and Shawkat M. Toorawa. vol. Vol. 311. Detroit, MI: Gale, 2005.
- Crone, Patricia. "Korramis." *Encyclopædia Iranica* (2011).
- Crone, Patricia. *Medieval Islamic Political Thought. The New Edinburgh Islamic Surveys*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022.
- Crone, Patricia. *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Crone, Patricia. "On the Meaning of the 'abbasid Call to Al-Riḍā." In *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*. Edited by Clifford Edmund Bosworth and Bernard Lewis. Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1988.

- Crone, Patricia. *Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law: The Origins of the Islamic Patronate*. Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Crone, Patricia. *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Crone, Patricia, and Hanna Siurua. *The Iranian Reception of Islam: The Non-Traditionalist Strands: Collected Studies in Three Volumes*. Vol. 2. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Crow, Douglas S. "The Role of Al-'Aqil in Early Islamic Wisdom with Reference to Imām Ja'far Al-Ṣādiq." Mc.Gill University, 1996.
- Daiber, Hans. "Das Kitāb Al-Ādāb Al-Kabīr Des Ibn Al-Muqaffa' Als Ausdruck Griechischer Ethik, Islamischer Ideologie Und Iranisch-Sassanidischer Hofetikette." *Oriens* 43 (2015): 273-292.
- Dakake, Maria Massi. "Qur'anic Terminology, Translation, and the Islamic Conception of Religion." *Religion* 49, no. 3 (2019): 343-363.
- Daryaei, Touraj. "Food, Purity and Pollution: Zoroastrian Views on the Eating Habits of Others." *Iranian Studies* 45, no. 2 (2012): 229-242.
- El-Hibri, Tayeb. *The Abbasid Caliphate: A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.
- El-Hibri, Tayeb. "The Empire in Iraq, 763-861." In *The New Cambridge History of Islam: Volume 1: The Formation of the Islamic World, Sixth to Eleventh Centuries*. Edited by Chase F. Robinson. Vol. 1. The New Cambridge History of Islam. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Engberts, Christiaan, and Herman J. Paul. *Scholarly Personae in the History of Orientalism, 1870-1930*. Boston: Brill, 2019.
- Escovitz, Joseph H. "He Was the Muhammad Abduh of Syria" a Study of Tahir Al-Jazairi and His Influence." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 18, no. 3 (1986): 293-310.
- Evans, Richard J. *In Defence of History*. 2012, Reprint. London: Granta Books, 1997.
- Frank, Richard M. "Knowledge and Taqlīd: The Foundations of Religious Belief in Classical Ash'arism." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 109, no. 1 (1989): 37-62.
- Fleisher, Alexander, and Zhenia Fleisher. "Identification of Biblical Hyssop and Origin of the Traditional Use of Oregano-Group Herbs in the Mediterranean Region." *Economic Botany* 42, no. 2 (1988): 232-241.
- Fouchécour, Charles-Henri de. *Moralia: Les Notions Morales Dans La Littérature Persane: Du 3e/9e Au 7e/13e Siècle*. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986.
- Fück, J.W. "Ibn Al-Nadīm." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.

- Fück, J.W. "Ibn Khallikān." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Gabrieli, Francesco. "Adab." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Gabrieli, Francesco. "Ibn Al-Muqaffa'." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Gabrieli, Francesco. "L'opera Di Ibn Al-Muqaffa'." *Rivista degli studi orientali* 13 (1932): 197-247.
- Gaddis, John Lewis. *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Gerhard, Wedel. "Ibn Khallikān." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Third Edition*: Brill.
- Ghanī, Sīrus. *Iran and the Rise of Reza Shah: From Qajar Collapse to Pahlavi Rule*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2000.
- Gibb, H. A. R. *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, edited by Stanford J. Shaw and William R. Polk: Princeton University Press, 1962.
- Glei, Reinhold, and Stefan Reichmuth. "Religion between Last Judgement, Law and Faith: Koranic Dīn and Its Rendering in Latin Translations of the Koran." *Religion* 42, no. 2 (2012): 247-271.
- Goitein, Shelomo Dov. "The Origin of the Vizierate and Its True Character." *Islamic Culture: The Hyderabad Quarterly Review* 16 (1942): 168-193.
- Goitein, Shelomo Dov. *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions. Brill Classics in Islam*: Brill, 2009. Originally published as 1966.
- Goitein, Shelomo Dov. "A Turning-Point in the History of the Muslim State, a Propos of Ibn Al-Muqaffa' 's Kitāb Al-Ṣaḥāba." *Islamic Culture* Vol. 28 (1949): 120-135.
- Goldschmidt, Arthur. *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Egypt*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000.
- Goodman, L. E. *Avicenna*. Florence, USA: Taylor and Francis Group, 1992.
- Gordon, Matthew S. *The Works of Ibn Wadih Al-Ya'qubi: An English Translation*: Brill, 2017.
- Grunebaum, Gustave E. von. *Medieval Islam: A Study in Cultural Orientation*. Second edition. ed. *Oriental Institute Essay*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.
- Guidi, Michelangelo. "La Lotta Tra L'islam E Il Manicheismo: Un Libro Di Ibn Al-Muqaffa' Contro Il Corano Confutato Dal Al-Qāsīm B. Ibrāhīm Al-Rassī." *R. Accademia nazionale dei lincei* (1927).
- Guillaume, Alfred. "Abu 'L-'atāhiya." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck. "The Conception of the Term Dīn in the Qur'ān." *The Muslim World* 64, no. 2 (1974): 114-123.

- Hallaq, Wael B. *Shari'a: Theory, Practice, Transformations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Hämeen-Anttila, Jaakko. "Arabic Translations of the Khwadāynāmag." In *Khwadāynāmag the Middle Persian Book of Kings*. Brill, 2018.
- Hämeen-Anttila, Jaakko. "Adab a) Arabic, Early Developments." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Three*. Brill.
- Hämeen-Anttila, Jaakko. "Khālid Ibn Ṣafwān: An Orator at the Umayyad and Abbasid Courts." In *In the Presence of Power*. Edited by A. Pomerantz Maurice and Vitz Evelyn Birge. USA: New York University Press, 2017.
- Hämeen-Anttila, Jaakko. *Khwadāynāmag the Middle Persian Book of Kings*. Brill, 2018.
- Ḥamza, 'Abd al-Laṭīf. *Ibn Al-Muqaffā'*. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1965.
- Hasan, Ahmad. "Early Modes of Ijtihād: Ra'y, Qiyās, and Istiḥsān." *Islamic Studies* 6, no. 1 (1967): 47-79.
- Heinz, Halm. "Al-Jannābī, Abū Sa'īd." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam*: Brill.
- Hoover, Jon. "Perpetual Creativity in the Perfection of God: Ibn Taymiyya's Hadith Commentary on God's Creation of This World." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 15, no. 3 (2004): 287-329.
- Horten, Max, and V. June Hager. "Moral Philosophers in Islam." *Islamic Studies* 13, no. 1 (1974): 1-23.
- Hughes, Aaron W. "The Amorphous Zindīq." In *An Anxious Inheritance: Religious Others and the Shaping of Sunni Orthodoxy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2022.
- Ighbariah, Ahmad. "Ibn Al-Muqaffā's Isagoge: An Edition of the Arabic Text with an English Translation." *Journal of Abbasid Studies* 7 (2020): 57-97.
- "ilm." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Iqbāl, 'Abbās. *Sharḥ Ḥāl 'abd Allāh Ibn Al-Muqaffā'*. 2003, Reprint. Tehran: Intishārāt Asāṭīr, 1926.
- Izutsu, Toshihiko. *The Concept of Belief in Islamic Theology: A Semantic Analysis of Imān and Islām*. Vol. 6. *Studies in the Human and Social Relations*. 2006, Reprint. Tokyo: Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1965.
- Jaakko, Hämeen-Anttila. "Adab a) Arabic, Early Developments." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Three*: Brill.
- Jum'a, Ḥusayn. *Ibn Al-Muqaffā': Sīra Ibdā' Bayn Ḥaḍāratayn*. Damascus Dār Raslān, 2015.

- Jundī, Muhammed Salīm. *‘Abd Allāh Ibn Al-Muqaffā’*. Damascus: Maṭba‘at al-Taraqquī, 1937.
- Karanĵia, Ramiyar P. "Zoroastrianism, Temples." In *Islam, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism*. Edited by Zayn R. Kassam, Yudit Kornberg Greenberg, and Jehan Bagli. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2018.
- Katbi, Ghaida Khazna. *Islamic Land Tax - Al-Kharāj: From the Islamic Conquests to the ‘abbasid Period*. London: Tauris, 2009.
- Keith-Falconer, I.G.N. *Kaflah and Dimnah*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1885.
- Kennedy, Hugh. *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Kennedy, Hugh. *The Early ‘abbāsīd Caliphate*. London: Croom Helm, 1981.
- Kennedy, Hugh. "Ma'n b. Zā'ida" In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Khurāsānī, Muḥammad Ghufrānī. *‘Abd Allāh Ibn Al-Muqaffā’*. Cairo: Al-Dār al-Qawmiyah li-al-Ṭibā‘ah wa-al-Nashr, 1965.
- Kimber, R.A. "The Early Abbasid Vizierate." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 37, no. 1 (1992): 65-85.
- Klein-Franke, Felix. "Al-Kindī." In *History of Islamic Philosophy*. Edited by Oliver Leaman and Seyyed Hossein Nasr. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Koenen, Ludwig. "Augustine and Manichaeism in Light of the Cologne Mani Codex." *Illinois Classical Studies* 3 (1978): 154-195.
- Kristó-Nagy, István. "Conflict and Cooperation between Arab Rulers and Persian Administrators in the Formative Period of Islamdom, C.600–C.950 Ce." In *Empires and Bureaucracy in World History: From Late Antiquity to the Twentieth Century*. Edited by Peter Crooks and Timothy H. Parsons. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Kristó-Nagy, István. "La Lumiere Et Les Tenebres Dans L'œuvre D'ibn Al-Muqaffā'." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 61, no. 3 (2008): 265-293.
- Kristó-Nagy, István. *La Pensée D'ibn Al-Muqaffā': Un "Agent Double" Dans Le Monde Persan Et Arabe*. Paris: Éditions de Paris, 2013.
- Kristó-Nagy, István. "Marriage after Rape: The Ambiguous Relationship between Arab Lords and Iranian Intellectuals as Reflected in Ibn Al-Muqaffā's Oeuvre." In *Tradition and Reception in Arabic Literature*. Edited by Margaret Larkin and Jocelyn Sharlet. Essays Dedicated to Andras Hamori: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019.
- Kristó-Nagy, István. "On the Authenticity of Al-Adab Al-Ṣaghīr Attributed to Ibn Al-Muqaffā' and Problems Concerning Some of His Titles." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 62 (2009): 199-218.

- Kristó-Nagy, István. "Reason, Religion, and Power in Ibn Al-Muqaffa'." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* Vol. 62 (2009): 285-301.
- Lambton, A. K. S. "Justice in the Medieval Persian Theory of Kingship." *Studia Islamica*, no. 17 (1962): 91-119.
- Lambton, Ann K. S. *State and Government in Medieval Islam*. Vol. 36. *London Oriental Series*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Lampe, Gerald Edward. "Ibn Al-Muqaffa': Political and Legal Theorist and Reformer." John Hopkins University, 1986.
- Lane, Edward William. *Arabic-English Lexicon*. Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1968.
- Lassner, Jacob. *The Middle East Remembered: Forged Identities, Competing Narratives, Contested Spaces*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.
- Latham, J. D. "The Beginnings of Arabic Prose Literature: The Epistolary Genre." In *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*. Edited by A. F. L. Beeston, G. R. Smith, R. B. Serjeant, and T. M. Johnstone. The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Latham, J. D. "Ibn Al-Muqaffa' and Early 'Abbasid Prose." (1990): 48-77.
- Lawrence, Adria K. *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire. Problems of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Legendre, Marie. "The Translation of the Dīwān and the Making of the Marwanid 'Language Reform' Secretarial Agency, Economic Incentives, and Regional Dynamics in the Umayyad State." *Navigating Language in the Early Islamic World* (2022).
- Lewis, Bernard. *Islam in History: Ideas, Men and Events in the Middle East*. London: Alcové Press, 1973.
- Lichtenstädter, Ilse. "On the Concept of Adab." *The Muslim World* 33, no. 1 (1943): 33-38.
- Lieu, Samuel. "Some Themes in Later Roman Anti-Manichaean Polemics." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* Vol. 68 (1986): 434-472.
- Lika, Eva-Maria. "Proofs of Prophecy and the Refutation of the Ismā'īliyya - the Kitaāb Ithbaāt Nubuwwat Al-Nabiī by the Zaydī Al-Mu'ayyad Bi-Llaāh Al-Haāruūnī (D. 411/1020)." *Worlds of Islam - Welten des Islams - Mondes de l' Islam* 9 (2018).
- Lindstedt, Ilkka. "Al-Madā'inī's Kitāb Al-Dawla and the Death of Ibrāhīm Al-Imām." *Case Studies in Transmission, The Intellectual Heritage of the Ancient and Mediaeval Near East* (2014).
- London, Jennifer A. "The Abbasid 'Circle of Justice: Re-Reading Ibn Al-Muqaffa''s Letter on Companionship." In *Comparative Political Theory in Time and Place: Theory's*

- Landscapes*. Edited by Daniel J. Kapust and Helen M. Kinsella. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2017.
- Lowry, Joseph E. "The First Islamic Legal Theory: Ibn Al-Muqaffa' on Interpretation, Authority, and the Structure of the Law." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (2008).
- Lucas, Noémie. "Le Pouvoir De La Terre: Essai D'histoire De La Société Bas-Iraqienne Au Iie/Viiiie Siècle." Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2020.
- Madelung, Wilferd, and Bertold Spuler. *Der Imām Al-Qāsim Ibn Ibrāhīm Und Die Glaubenslehre Der Zaiditen. Studien Zur Sprache, Geschichte Und Kultur Des Islamischen Orients*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1965.
- Mardam-bik, Khalīl. *Ibn Al-Muqaffā' A'imat Al-Adab*. Damascus: Maktabat 'Arafa, 1930.
- Marín-Guzmán, Roberto. "The 'Abbasid Revolution in Central Asia and Khurāsān: An Analytical Study of the Role of Taxation, Conversion, and Religious Groups in Its Genesis." *Islamic Studies* 33 (1994).
- Marlow, Louise. *Medieval Muslim Mirrors for Princes: An Anthology of Arabic, Persian and Turkish Political Advice. Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023.
- Marsham, Andrew, and Chase Robinson. "The Safe-Conduct for the Abbasid 'Abd Allāh B. 'Alī (D. 764)." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 70 (2007).
- Massignon, Louis. *The Passion of Al-Ḥallāj, Mystic and Martyr of Islam*, edited by Mason Herbert. 2021, Reprint. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1922.
- Meier, Fritz. *A Book of Etiquette for Sufis'*. Edited by Bernd Radtke. Translated by John O'Kane. *Essay on Islamic Piety and Mysticism*. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Menasce, Jean de. "Une Apologétique Mazdéenne Du Ixe Siècle." (1958).
- Micheau, Françoise. "The City in the Islamic World." In *Baghdad in the Abbasid Era: A Cosmopolitan and Multi-Confessional Capital*. Edited by Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Antillio Petruccioli, and André Raymond: Brill, 2008.
- Miquel, André. *Le Livre De Kalila Et Dimna. Études Arabes Et Islamiques Série 2, Textes Et Traductions*, vol. 1. Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1957.
- Montada, Josep Puig. "Ibn Al-Moqaffa' y el Orgullo Sasánida." *Anales del seminario de historia de la filosofía*, no. 24 (2007): 85-94.
- Morony, Michael. *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Morony, Michael. "Madjūs." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Morony, Michael. "Mazdak." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.

- Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī. *Rasā'il Al-Bulaghā'*. 1954, Reprint. Cairo: Maṭba'at lajnat al-ta'lif wa-l-Nashr, 1908.
- Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī. *Rasā'il Al-Bulaghā'*. 1913, Reprint. Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabiya al-Kubra, 1908.
- Munt, Harry. "Umayyad and Early Abbasid Inscriptions in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina." *Al-'Usur al-Wusta* Vol. 30 (2022): 79-147.
- Muṣṭaffa, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Zahdī, and 'Umar Al-Asdi. "Al-Mu'āraḍāt Al-Shi'riya wa Atharuhā Fī Ighnā' al-Turāth al-Adabī." *Dirasāt al-'Ulūm al-Insāniya wa-l-Ijtimā'iya* 36 (2009).
- Najjar, Fahmi. *Al-'Aql: Dirāsah 'Ilmiyya Nuwaththaqa Li-Mafhūm Al-'Aqil 'Ind Shaykh Al-Islam Ibn Taymiyya*, 2004.
- Nallino, Carlo Alfonso. *La Letteratura Araba Dagli Inizi All'epoca Della Dinastia Umayyade: Lezioni Tenute in Arabo All'università Del Cairo*. Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente Roma, 1948.
- Neusner, Jacob. *Judaism and Zoroastrianism at the Dusk of Late Antiquity : How Two Ancient Faiths Wrote Down Their Great Traditions. South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism ; No.87*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993.
- Niemi, Matthew David. "Historical and Semantic Development of Dīn and Islām from the Seventh Century to the Present." Indiana University, 2021.
- Omar, Farouk. "Politics and the Problem of Succession in the Early Abbasid Caliphate 132/750-158/775." *Islamic Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (1974): 31.
- Ouyang, Wen-chin. *Literary Criticism in Medieval Arabic Islamic Culture: The Making of a Tradition. Literary Criticism in Medieval Arabic Islamic Culture*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997.
- Patricia, Crone. "Dayṣanīs." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Three*: Brill.
- Pellat, Charles. *Adab*. Vol. 8. *Dā'irat Al-Ma'ārif*, edited by Fū'ād al-Bustānī. Beirut: al-Maṭba'a al-Kāthūlikiyya, 1969.
- Pellat, Charles. "Baghal." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Pellat, Charles. *Ibn Al-Muqaffā' Mort Vers 140/757, Conseiller Du Calife*. Paris: Publication du Département d'Islamologie de l'Université de Paris, Sorbonne, 1976.
- Perret, Noëlle-Laetitia, and Stéphane Péquignot. *A Critical Companion to the 'Mirrors for Princes' Literature*. Leiden: Brill, 2022.
- Pipes, Daniel. "Mawlas: Freed Slaves and Converts in Early Islam." *Slavery and Abolition* 1 (1980): 132-177.

- Pleszczyński, Andrzej, Joanna Aleksandra Sobiesiak, Michał Tomaszek, and Przemysław Tyszcza. *Imagined Communities: Constructing Collective Identities in Medieval Europe. Exploration in Medieval Culture*, vol. 8. Boston: Brill, 2018.
- Pourshariati, Parvaneh, Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis, and Sarah Stewart. *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire: The Sasanian-Parthian Confederacy and the Arab Conquest of Iran*. London: I. B. Tauris and Company, Limited, 2008.
- Reck, Christiane. "A Sogdian Version of Mani's Letter of the Seal." *New Light on Manichaeism* 64, no. Papers from the Sixth International Congress on Manichaeism (2009).
- Reeves, John C. *Prolegomena to a History of Islamicate Manichaeism*. UK: Equinox Publishing, 2011.
- Rezakhani, Khodadad. "Mazdakism, Manichaeism and Zoroastrianism: In Search of Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Late Antique Iran." *Iranian Studies* 48 (2015): 55-70. Accessed 2023/03/11/.
- Richter, G. "Über Das Kleine Adabbuch Des Ibn Al-Muqaffa'." *Der Islam* (1931): 278-281.
- Ritter, H. "Abū Tammām." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Robinson, Chase. "The Rise of Islam, 600–705." In *The New Cambridge History of Islam: Volume 1: The Formation of the Islamic World, Sixth to Eleventh Centuries*. Edited by Chase F. Robinson. Vol. 1. The New Cambridge History of Islam. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Rosenthal, Erwin. *Political Thought in Medieval Islam: An Introductory Outline*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958.
- Rosenthal, Franz. "Dawla." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Rosenthal, Franz. *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*. Boston, USA: Brill, 2006.
- Rotter, Gernot. "Zur Überlieferung Einiger Historischer Werke Mada'inis in Tabaris Annalen." *Oriens* 23 (1974): 103.
- Ryding, Karin C. *Early Medieval Arabic: Studies on Al-Khalīl Ibn AḥMad*. Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press, 1998.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism: Western Conception of the Orient*. New York: Vintage Book, 1979.
- Schacht, Joseph. "Amān." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Schacht, Joseph. *An Introduction to Islamic Law*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982. Originally published as 1964.
- Schacht, Joseph. *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1967.

- Schippers, A. "Mu'āraḍa." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Shaked, Shaul. "Esoteric Trends in Zoroastrianism." *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 3 (1969).
- Shomali, Alireza. "A Gloss on the Mirror, and a Proposal for Understanding Ibn Al-Muqaffa's Political Theory." (2020).
- Skjærvø, P.O. "Counter-Manichaean Elements in Kerdir's Inscriptions." *Irano-Manichaica* 2 (1997).
- Sourdel, Dominique. "Al-Djahshiyārī." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Sourdel, Dominique. "La Biographie D'ibn Al-Muqaffa' D'après Les Sources Anciennes." *Arabica* 1 (1954): 307-323.
- Sprengling, M. "From Persian to Arabic." *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 56, no. 2 (1939): 175-224.
- Stasolla, Maria Giovanna. "How a Tenth-Century Learned Man Reads History: Al-Jahshiyārī (D. 942) and the Barmakids." *Eurasian Studies: Journal for Balkan, Eastern Mediterranean, Anatolian, Caucasian, Middle Eastern, Iranian, and Central Asian Studies* 10 (2015).
- Steingass, Francis Joseph. *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary, Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to Be Met with in Persian Literature*. London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1892.
- Steven, C. Judd. "Yazīd B. 'umar B. Hubayra." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Three*: Brill.
- Stewart, Devin. "The Structure of the Fihrist: Ibn Al-Nadim as Historian of Islamic Legal and Theological Schools." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 39, no. 3 (2007): 369-387.
- Stroumsa, Sarah. *Freethinkers of Medieval Islam : Ibn Al-Rawāndī, Abū Bakr Al-Rāzī and Their Impact on Islamic Thought. Islamic Philosophy, Theology, and Science ; V. 35*. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Tandberg, Håkon Naasen. *Relational Religion: Fires as Confidants in Parsi Zoroastrianism*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2019.
- Tardy, J. "Traduction D'al-Adab Al-Kabīr D'ibn Al-Muqaffa'." *Annals Islamologiques* 27 (1993): 182-223.
- Thomas, David. "The Bible in Early Muslim Anti-Christian Polemic." *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 7 (1996): 29-38.
- Traini, Renato. *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana*. Vol. Vol.4. Nuovo Fondo: Series F-H. Edited by Biblioteca Ambrosiana. Milano: SilvanaEditoriale, 2011.

- Turner, John P. "The Abnā' Al-Dawla: The Definition and Legitimation of Identity in Response to the Fourth Fitna." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 124, no. 1 (2004): 1-22.
- Turner, John P. *Inquisition in Early Islam : The Competition for Political and Religious Authority in the Abbasid Empire. Library of Middle East History ; V. 35*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2013.
- Ulrich, Brian. *Arabs in the Early Islamic Empire*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019.
- Vajda, Georges. "Ibn Dirham." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Vajda, Georges. "Les Zindīqs en Pays D`islam Au Debut De La Période Abbaside." *Rivista degli studi orientali* 17 (1937): 173-229.
- Van Ess, Josef. "Some Fragments of the Mu`āraḍat Al-Qur`ān Attributed to Ibn Al-Muqaffa`." In *Studia Arabica Et Islamica: Festschrift for Iḥsān `Abbās on His Sixtith Birthday*. Edited by Wadād al-Qāḍī. Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1981.
- Van Ess, Josef. *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*. Translated by Gwendolin Goldbloom. Vol. Volume 2: A History of Religious Thought in Early Islam. 2017, Reprint: Brill, 1991.
- Van Ess, Josef. *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*. . Vol. Volume 1: A History of Religious Thought in Early Islam. 2016, Reprint. Boston: Brill, 1991.
- Van Gaans, Gijs M. "The State of Research on the Manichaeen Bishop Faustus." *Hervormde theologiese studies* 69, no. 1 (2013): 1-11.
- Van Oort, Johannes. *Augustine and Manichaeen Christianity: Selected Papers from the First South African Conference on Augustine of Hippo, University of Pretoria, 24-26 April 2012*. Boston: Brill, 2013.
- Van Oort, Johannes. "Mani and Augustine: Collected Essays on Mani, Manichaeism and Augustine." In *The Paraclete Mani as the Apostle of Jesus Christ and the Origins of a New Church*: Brill, 2020.
- Wadād Qāḍī. "The Myriad Sources of the Vocabulary of `Abd al-Ḥamīd Al-Kātib (d. 132/750)." *Arabica* 66, no. 3/4 (2019): 207-302.
- Walzer, R. "Al-Fārābī." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Wansbrough, John. *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*. 2004, Reprint. New York: Prometheus Books, 1977. Originally published as 1977.
- Wansbrough, John. "The Safe-Conduct in Muslim Chancery Practice." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 34 (1971): 20-35.
- Watt, William Montgomery. "Abū `īsā Warrāq." *Encyclopedia Iranica*

- Wensinck, Arent Jan, and Patricia Crone. "Mawlā." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (2012).
- Yousefi, Najm al-Din. "Confusion and Consent: Land Tax (Kharāj) and the Construction of Judicial Authority in the Early Islamic Empire (Ca. 12–183 A.H./634–800 C.E.)." *Brill: Sociology of Islam* 7 (2019).
- Yousefi, Najm al-Din. "Islam without Fuqahā': Ibn Al-Muqaffa' and His Perso-Islamic Solution to the Caliphate's Crisis of Legitimacy (70–142 Ah/690–760 Ce)." *Journal of Iranian Studies* (2015).
- Yücesoy, Hayrettin. *Disenchanted the Caliphate: The Secular Discipline of Power in Abbasid Political Thought. Columbia Studies in International and Global History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2023.
- Zakeri, Mohsen. "'Alī B. 'Ubayda Al-Rayḥānī: A Forgotten Belletrist and Pahlavi Translator." *Oriens* 34 (1994): 76-102.
- Zakeri, Mohsen. *Persian Wisdom in Arabic Garb: 'Alī B. 'Ubayda Al-Rayḥānī (D. 219/834) and His "Jawāhir Al-Kilam Wa-Farā'id Al-Ḥikam"*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Zamān, Muḥammad Qāsim. "The Caliphs, the 'ulamā', and the Law: Defining the Role and Function of the Caliph in the Early 'abbāsīd Period." *Islamic Law and Society* 4, no. 1 (1997): 1-36.
- Zamān, Muḥammad Qāsim. "Wazīr." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*: Brill.
- Zoltan, Szombathy. "Fieldwork and Preconceptions: The Role of the Bedouin as Informants in Mediaeval Muslim Scholarly Culture (Second-Third/Eighth-Ninth Centuries)." *Der Islam* 92, no. 1 (2015): 124-147.

Appendix:

Figure 1: Source list of Ibn al-Muqaffa's biographical information.

<u>Author</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>Volume/Page</u>
Khalīfa b. Khayyāt (d. 239/854)	<i>Tārīkh khalīfa</i>	P. 417
Al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d. 245/860)	<i>Al-Radd 'alā al-zindīq Ibn al-Muqaffa'</i>	P. 8
Al-Jāhīz (d. 254/868)	<i>Al-Ḥayawān</i>	Vol.3, 68
	<i>Al-Bukhalā'</i>	P. 161
	<i>Al-Bayān wa-l-tabayīn</i>	Vol.1, 141
	<i>Al-Rasā'il al-siyāsiya</i>	P. 609
	<i>Rasā'il al-adabiya</i>	P. 208
Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889)	<i>'Uyūn al-akhbār</i>	Vol.1, 54
Al-Balādhurī (d. 278/892)	<i>Ansāb al-ashraf</i>	Vol.4, 218-222
	<i>Futūḥ al-buldān</i>	P. 446-447
Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. 282/896)	<i>Al-Akhhbār al-ṭuwāl</i>	P. 89
Al-Ya'qūbī (d. 284/898)	<i>Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī</i>	P. 113
Ibn A'tham (d. 4 th / 10 th)	<i>Kitāb al-futūḥ</i>	Vol.7, 356
Wakī' Muḥammad b. Khallaf (d. 306/919)	<i>Akhhbār al-quḍāt</i>	Vol.3, 117
Abū Bakr b. al-Marzubān (d. 309/921)	<i>Dham al-thuqalā'</i>	P. 71-72
Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923)	<i>Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk</i>	Vol.7, 373
Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (d. 328/940)	<i>Al-'Aqd al-farīd</i>	Vol.3, 278
Al-Jahshiyārī (d. 330/942)	<i>Kitāb al-wuzarā' wa-l-kuttāb</i>	P. 109
Abū Bakr Aḥmad al-Mālikī (d. 333/945)	<i>Al-Majālis wa jawāhir al-'ilm</i>	Vol.5, 303
Yazīd al-Azdī (d. 334/945)	<i>Tārīkh mawṣil</i>	P. 138

Abū Bakr Al-Şūlī (d. 335/947)	<i>Adab al-Kuttāb</i>	P. 68, 158
	<i>Al-Awrāq qism akhbār al-shu'arā'</i>	Vol.1, 10
Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956)	<i>Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf</i>	P. 66-67
Al-Muṭahir b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī (d. 355/966)	<i>Kitāb al-bad' wa-l-ta'rīkh</i>	P. 505-506
Abu al-Faraj al-Işfahānī (d. 356/967)	<i>Kitāb al-aghānī</i>	Vol. 18, 73
Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971)	<i>Al-Ziyādāt fī kitāb al-jūd wa-l-sakhā'</i>	P. 256-257
Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380's/990's)	<i>Al-Fihrist</i>	P. 150
Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013)	<i>Kitāb i'jāz al-qur'ān</i>	P. 173-174
Al-Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025)	<i>Tathbīt dalā'il al-nubuwa</i>	Vol.1, 71
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Al-Marzūqī (d. 421/1030)	<i>Kitāb sharḥ diwān al-ḥamāsa</i>	P. 610-611
Abū Manşūr al-Tha'ālibī (d. 430/1038)	<i>Adāb al-Mulūk</i>	316
	<i>Thimār al-Qulūb</i>	176-177
Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍa (d. 435/1044)	<i>Amāli al-murtaḍa</i>	Vol.1, 135-137
Abū al-Hasan 'Alī al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058)	<i>Adab al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn</i>	P. 232
	<i>Tafsīr al-Māwardī</i>	Vol.1, 38
Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1070)	<i>Tārīkh Baghdad</i>	Vol.4, 111
Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (d. 463/1070)	<i>Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm wa-l-faḍlahu</i>	Vol.1, 264
Abū Qāsim Al-Fārsī (d. 467/1074)	<i>Kitāb sharḥ al-ḥamāsa</i>	Vol.2, 397
Abū Ḥāmid Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111)	<i>Iḥyā' 'ilūm al-dīn</i>	Vol.1, 85-87

Abū Bakr Al-Ṭarṭūshī (d. 521/1127)	<i>Sirāj al-mulūk</i>	P. 148
Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Aṣbahānī (d. 535/1141)	<i>Al-Targhīb wa-l-tarhīb</i>	Vol.2, 56
'Alī b. al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571/1176)	<i>Tārīkh dimashq</i>	Vol.1, 10
Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201)	<i>Al-Muntaẓam fī tārīkh al-umam wa-al-mulūk</i>	Vol.8, 55-58
Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229)	<i>Mu'jam al-udabā'</i>	Vol.3, 1268
Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qiftī (d. 646/1248)	<i>Kitāb akhbār al-'ulamā' bi-akhbār al-ḥukamā'</i>	Vol.1, 170
Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī (d. 654/1256)	<i>Mir'at al-zamān fī tawārīkh al-'ayān</i>	Vol.12, 164-167
Ibn Khallikān (d. 680/1282)	<i>Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān</i>	Vol.2, 146-155
Muḥammad b. Mukaram Ibn Manzūr (d. 711/1312)	<i>Lisān al-'Arab</i>	Vol.8, 288
Najim al-Dīn Al-Ṭūfī (d. 716/1316)	<i>Al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiya fī kashf shibha al-naṣrāniya</i>	Vol.2, 756
Al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348)	<i>Tārīkh al-Islam</i>	Vol.9, 198-200
Al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363)	<i>Kitāb al-Wafī bi-l-Wafayāt</i>	Vol.7, 340-344
Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373)	<i>Al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya</i>	Vol.13, 384-385
Muḥammad Ibn al-Wazīr (d. 840/1436)	<i>Ithār al-ḥaq 'ala al-khalq fī rad al-khilāfāt ila al-maḍhab al-ḥaq min uṣūl al-tawḥīd</i>	P. 207
Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1449)	<i>Lisān al-Mizān</i>	Vol.3, 173
Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Azraq (d. 869/1465)	<i>Badā'i' al-salki fī ṭabā'i' al-mulk</i>	Vol.1, 478-479

Figure 2: List of people accused of *zandaqa*

List of names on those accused of <i>Zandaqa</i>	Al-Jahīz (254/860)	Al-Şūlī (335/947)	Abū al-Faraj al-Aṣṣafahānī (356/967)	Ibn Nadīm (385/995)	Al-Tha'ālabī (429/1039)	Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍa (435/1044)	Ibn al-Jawzī (597/1201)	Ibn Khallikān (681/1282)
Abān al-Lāḥqī	Al-Ḥayawān: Vol.4, 481	Akhhbār al-Shu'arā': Vol.1, 10	Aghānī: Vol.8, 53					
Abū al-'Abbās al-Nāshī'				Fihrist: 411				
Abū al-'Atāhiyya					Thimār al-Qulūb: 177			
Abū 'Isa al-Warāq				Fihrist: 411				
Abū Shākr (and his nephew)				Fihrist: 411				
'Alī b. al-Khalīl	Al-Ḥayawān: Vol.4, 481	Akhhbār al-Shu'arā': Vol.1, 10	Aghānī: Vol.8, 53	Fihrist: 411	Thimār al-Qulūb: 177	Amālī: Vol. 1, 131		
'Alī b. Thābit				Fihrist: 411	177			
Bashār b. Burd			Aghānī: Vol.8, 53	Fihrist: 411	Thimār al-Qulūb: 177			
Ḥafṣ b. Abī Wada			Aghānī: Vol.8, 53					
Ḥamad al-Ruwāya	Al-Ḥayawān: Vol.4, 481	Akhhbār al-Shu'arā': Vol.1, 10	Aghānī: Vol.8, 54		Thimār al-Qulūb: 177	Amālī: Vol. 1, 131		
Ḥamad b. 'Ajrad	Al-Ḥayawān: Vol.4, 481	Akhhbār al-Shu'arā': Vol.1, 10	Aghānī: Vol.8, 53		Thimār al-Qulūb: 177	Amālī: Vol. 1, 131		
Ḥamdān Ibn al-Zaburqān	Al-Ḥayawān: Vol.4, 481	Akhhbār al-Shu'arā': Vol.1, 10	Aghānī: Vol.8, 53			Amālī: Vol. 1, 131		
Ibn Abī al-'Awjā'				Fihrist: 411	Thimār al-Qulūb: 177	Amālī: Vol. 1, 135		
Ibn al-Muqaffa'			Aghānī: Vol.8, 53		Thimār al-Qulūb: 177	Amālī: Vol. 1, 135	Al-Muntaẓam: Vol.8, 56	Wafayāt al-A'yān: Vol.2, 151
Ibn al-A'dī al-Ḥurayzī				Fihrist: 411				
Ibn Ṭālūt				Fihrist: 411				
Ishāq b. Khallaf				Fihrist: 411				
Al-Ja'ad b. Dirham				Fihrist: 410				
Jamīl b. Maḥfūz	Al-Ḥayawān: Vol.4, 481	Akhhbār al-Shu'arā': Vol.1, 10	Aghānī: Vol.8, 53			Amālī: Vol. 1, 131		
Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Jabhānī				Fihrist: 411				
Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Barmakī				Fihrist: 411				
Munqidh al-Hilālī			Aghānī: Vol.8, 53			Amālī: Vol. 1, 131	Al-Muntaẓam: Vol.8, 56	
Muṭī' b. Iyās	Al-Ḥayawān: Vol.4, 481	Akhhbār al-Shu'arā': Vol.1, 10	Aghānī: Vol.8, 53		Thimār al-Qulūb: 177	Amālī: Vol. 1, 131	Al-Muntaẓam: Vol.8, 56	Wafayāt al-A'yān: Vol.2, 151
Qāsim b. Zanqaṭa	Al-Ḥayawān: Vol.4, 481	Akhhbār al-Shu'arā': Vol.1, 10						
Salam al-Khāsīr				Fihrist: 411				
Şālīḥ b. 'Abd al-Qadūs				Fihrist: 411	Thimār al-Qulūb: 177			
'Ubāda b. Maḥfūz	Al-Ḥayawān: Vol.4, 481	Akhhbār al-Shu'arā': Vol.1, 10						
'Umāra b. Ḥamza			Aghānī: Vol.8, 53			Amālī: Vol. 1, 131		
'Umāra b. Ḥarbiya	Al-Ḥayawān: Vol.4, 481	Akhhbār al-Shu'arā': Vol.1, 10						
Walba b. al-Ḥubāb	Al-Ḥayawān: Vol.4, 481	Akhhbār al-Shu'arā': Vol.1, 10	Aghānī: Vol.8, 53			Amālī: Vol. 1, 131		
Yahya b. Ziyād al-Ḥārthī					Thimār al-Qulūb: 177	Amālī: Vol. 1, 131		Wafayāt al-A'yān: Vol.2, 151
Yazīd b. al-Fayḍ	Al-Ḥayawān: Vol.4, 481	Akhhbār al-Shu'arā': Vol.1, 10	Aghānī: Vol.8, 53			Amālī: Vol. 1, 131		
Yūnis b. Abī Farwa	Al-Ḥayawān: Vol.4, 481	Akhhbār al-Shu'arā': Vol.1, 10	Aghānī: Vol.8, 53			Amālī: Vol. 1, 131		

Figure 3: Information on the names of those in the list and Ibn al-Muqaffa 's acquaintances

Name	Information
Abān al-Lāḥqī	Poet ⁶⁰⁰
‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib	<i>Kātib</i>
‘Abd al-Malik al-Baṣrī	Brother of a poet
‘Abd Allāh b. Shubruma	<i>Qāḍī</i> : Kufa ⁶⁰¹
Abū al-‘Atāhiyya	Poet ⁶⁰²
Abū al-Ghūl	Poet & teacher ⁶⁰³
Abū al-Khāmūsh	Poet ⁶⁰⁴
Abū Dahmān al-Ghalābī	Poet ⁶⁰⁵
Abū ‘Isa al-Warāq	Writer ⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰⁰ According to Ibn Nadīm, Abān al-Lāḥqī was a poet from amongst those who turned several books into poetry, such as *Kalīla wa Dimna*, *Kitāb Sīrat Anūshirvān*, and *Ardashūr*, all of which were translated by Ibn al-Muqaffa ‘. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 150.

⁶⁰¹ Muḥammad Ibn Sa’ad, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra* ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Aṭā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiya, 1990), Vol.6, 337.

⁶⁰² Prominent Abbasid poet. Alfred Guillaume, "Abu ‘l-‘Atāhiyya," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill).

⁶⁰³ His actual name is ‘Albā’ b. Jawshan. See: Ibn Qutayba, *Al-Sh‘ūr wa-l-Shu‘arā’*, Vol.1, 419.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibn Nadīm states that his name was Abū al-Jāmūs, and he was a poet in Basra during the governorship of Sulaymān b. ‘Alī. See: Al-Fayrūzābādī, *Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*, 593, Al-Zibīdī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs min Jawāhir al-Qamūs*, Vol.10, 437, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 67.

⁶⁰⁵ Al-Jāhīz, *Al-Bayān wa-l-Tabayīn*, Vol.2, 200.

⁶⁰⁶ Abū ‘Isa al-Warāq (d. 246/861) was a 9th century sceptic of Islam and monotheism. He was the teacher of the renowned *zindīq*, Ibn al-Rawandī. Abū ‘Isa al-Warāq attacked both Islam and Christianity alike. For more information on Abū ‘Isa al-Warāq see: William Montgomery Watt, "Abū ‘isā Warrāq," *Encyclopedia Iranica* (, Stroumsa, *Freethinkers of medieval Islam : Ibn al-Rawāndī, Abū Bakr al-Rāzī and their impact on Islamic thought*, 43.

Abū Shākir al-Diṣānī	Accused of <i>mu'āradat al-Qur'ān</i> ⁶⁰⁷
Abū Sufyān b. al-‘Alā’	Brother of Abū ‘Amr ⁶⁰⁸
‘Alī b. al-Khalīl	Poet ⁶⁰⁹
Āl al-Ahtam	Basran Family ⁶¹⁰
Al-Farāhīdī	Grammarian
Al-Faīḍ b. Abī Ṣāliḥ	<i>Ghulām</i> Ibn al-Muqaffa’
Al-Haytham b. Dirham	<i>Mawlā</i> Banī Qays ⁶¹¹
Al-Masīḥ b. al-Ḥawārī	<i>Wāḥī</i> : Nishapūr
‘Alī b. al-Khalīl	Poet ⁶¹²
‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd	<i>Mu‘tazālī</i> leader ⁶¹³

⁶⁰⁷ Al-Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār narrates that Abū Shākir along with Ibn al-Rawandī and others, were all accused of *mu'āradat al-Nabī*, whereby they were actively insulting and attacking the prophet Muhammed. Abū al-Ḥasan Al-Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Tathbīt Dalā’il al-Nubuwa*, ed. ‘Abd al-Karīm ‘Uthmān (Cairo: Dār al-Muṣṭafa, 1972), Vol.2, 371.

⁶⁰⁸ Abu ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ was a renowned Qur’ān reciter and Arab linguist. He was also one of the seven transmitters of the chain of narration for the Qur’ān and founded the Basran philology school of Arabic Grammar. He was the teacher of Ibn al-Muqaffa’'s friend, al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī. Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Vol.7, 476, Ryding, *Early Medieval Arabic: Studies on al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad*, 2.

⁶⁰⁹ ‘Alī b. al-Khalīl was a Kufan poet during the reign of Harūn al-Rashīd. He was accused of *zandaqa* and his name is mentioned in the list of names of al-Jāḥiẓ. See: Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Al-Ḥayawān*, Vol.4, 481.

⁶¹⁰ Hämeen-Anttila, "Khālid Ibn Ṣafwān: An Orator at the Umayyad and Abbasid Courts," in *In the Presence of Power*.

⁶¹¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol.4, 220.

⁶¹² Ibn Nadīm states that he was a *zindīq*. He has some names in the same list mentioned above as those who were *zanadiqa*, but Ibn al-Muqaffa’ is not there. see: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 411.

⁶¹³ Ibn Qutayba, *Al-Ma‘ārif*, Vol.1, 482-483.

‘Āmr b. Ḍabāra	Military commander ⁶¹⁴
Bashār b. Burd	Poet ⁶¹⁵
Dā’ūd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayra	- <i>Wāḥī</i> : Kirmān
Ḥafṣ b. Abī Wada	Unknown
Ḥamād al-Ruwāya	Poet ⁶¹⁶
Ḥamād b. ‘Ajrad	Poet ⁶¹⁷
Ḥamdān Ibn al-Zaburqān	Poet ⁶¹⁸
Ibn Abī al-‘Awjā’	Accused of <i>zandaqa</i> ⁶¹⁹
Ibn Abī Layla	Qāḍī: Kufa ⁶²⁰
Ibn Jābān	Unknown
Ibn Jadhām al-Shabī	Unknown

⁶¹⁴ Al-Ṭabarī, "Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk," Vol.7, 352.

⁶¹⁵ Al-Ṣfahānī calls him Bashār al-Mar‘ath. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī states that Bashār b. Burd was called Mar‘ath (المرعث) because he used to wear his shirts loosely and relaxingly. Mar‘ath in Arabic means relaxed or loose. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdad*, Vol.7, 610.

⁶¹⁶ Abd-Allāh b. Muḥammad Al-Mu‘taz, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu‘arā’*, ed. ‘Abd al-Satār Farāj (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif), 69

⁶¹⁷ Al-Mu‘taz states that Ḥamād ‘Ajrad, along with Ḥamād b. al-Zabraqān and Ḥamād al-Rāweya were inseparable and used to frequently get intoxicated and sing together. All three were accused of *zandaqa* in Kufa, so much so that in the marketplace people would openly accused them of *zandaqa* and wish them dead. ‘Abd-Allāh b. Muḥammad Al-Mu‘taz, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu‘arā’*, ed. ‘Abd al-Satār Farāj (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif), 69.

⁶¹⁸ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 75, Jamāl al-Dīn Al-Quṭṭī, *Kitāb Anbā al-Ruwāt ‘ala Anbā al-Nuḥā*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, 1986), Vol.1, 366.

⁶¹⁹ ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Abī al-‘Awjā’ was a prominent *zindīq* and would constantly fight against Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. It was Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ‘Alī, the son of Ibn al-Muqaffā’s patron, who crucified him Basra. Though al-Balādhurī mentions unconvincing reasons why he was accused of *zandaqa* by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān. Such as that he had “*ayat al-Kursī*” written on his belongings so it doesn’t get stolen, or that he only prayed because it is expected by the people. See: Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.4, 95, Ibn Ḥazim, *Jamharat ‘Ansāb al-‘Arab*, 316, Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Vol.4, 51.

⁶²⁰ Ibn Sa‘ad, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra* Vol.6, 341.

Ibn Rāmīn	Poet ⁶²¹
Ibrahīm b. Jabila al-Kindī	<i>Kātib</i> of al-Saffāḥ ⁶²²
‘Isā b. ‘Alī	<i>Amīr</i>
Salam al-Khāsir	Poet ⁶²³
Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī	Amīr
Isma‘īl b. Muslim al-‘Abdī	<i>Qāḍī</i> : Basra ⁶²⁴
Ismā‘īl b. Muslim al-Makī	<i>Faqīh</i> ⁶²⁵
Jamīl b. Maḥfūz	<i>Wāī</i> : Basra ⁶²⁶
Ma‘n b. Za‘id al-Shaybānī	Soldier/ <i>Wāī</i> ⁶²⁷

⁶²¹ Ibn Qutayba, *‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, Vol.4, 98.

⁶²² His name is Abū Ayūb Ibrahīm b. Jibila b. Makhrama al-Kindī. He was in Hadramout Yemen where he was a Katib there. He also worked for Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī and then become *kaṭīb* al-Saffāḥ at the start of al-Dawla. See: Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.4, 242.

⁶²³ Salam b. ‘Amr al-Khāsir and he was a prominent Basran poet who accumulated his wealth reciting and writing poetry for the caliphs and the Barmakids. He was a student of the poet Bashār b. Burd. His *kumya* al-Khāsir (the lost one) is because he is said to have traded his father’s *muṣḥaf* for a *tanbūra* (a long-necked lute). The accusation of *zandaqa* against him is not in his faith, but rather in his love for poetry and music. Ibn al-Mu‘taz states that he did not trade his *muṣḥaf* out of spite or lack of faith to his religion, but rather because he was crazy (*maḥūnan*). See: Al-Mu‘taz, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu‘arā’*, 99.

⁶²⁴ Jamāl al-Dīn Al-Mizzī, *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī Asmā‘ al-Rijāl* (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Risāla, 1992), Vol.3, 203.

⁶²⁵ Ibn Sa‘ad, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra* Vol.7, 203.

⁶²⁶ According to Ibn Ḥabān, he became governor of Basra in the year 151/768. See: Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabān, *Mashāḥir ‘Ulamā’ al-Amṣār* (Al-Manṣūra, Egypt: Dār al-Wafā’ li-al-Ṭaba‘āt wa-l-Nashir, 1991), 238.

⁶²⁷ He was *wāī* of Yemen, then moved to Iraq before the revolution. Fought in Khurasān and then supported the Abbasids in Basra. See: Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.4, 145.

Munqidh al-Hilālī	Poet ⁶²⁸
Muṭīʿ b. Iyās	Poet ⁶²⁹
Salam b. Qutayba	Military/ <i>Wāḥī</i> : Basra ⁶³⁰
Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān	<i>Kharāj</i> agent in Iraq ⁶³¹
Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Qadūs	Poet ⁶³²
Shabīb b. Shayba āl-Ahtam	<i>Khaṭīb</i> ⁶³³
Sufyān b. Muʿāwiya	Wālī: Basra
ʿUmar b. Hubayra	<i>Wāḥī</i> : Iraq ⁶³⁴
ʿUmāra b. Ḥamza	<i>Wāḥī</i> : Kufa ⁶³⁵
ʿUqba b. Ruʿba	Poet ⁶³⁶

⁶²⁸ Al-Marzubānī Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, *Muʿjam al-Shuʿarāʿ* (Beirut: Maktabat al-Qudsī 1986), 404.

⁶²⁹ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdad*, Vol.15, 301.

⁶³⁰ Al-Ṭabarī, "Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk," Vol.7, 154, 655.

⁶³¹ Needs further study. He was placed during the governorship of al-Ḥajjāj, therefore this possibly could be al-Muqaffāʿ and not Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ. Refer to chapter one on the timeline of Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ. For more information on Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān see: M. Sprengling, "From Persian to Arabic," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 56, no. 2 (1939): 197, accessed 2023/03/14/, Marie Legendre, "The translation of the dīwān and the making of the Marwanid ʿlanguage reform (Secretarial agency, economic incentives, and regional dynamics in the Umayyad state)," *Navigating Language in the Early Islamic World* (2022).

⁶³² Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Qadūs was a Basran poet who was accused of *zandaqa*. See: Al-Ṣafādī, *Kitāb al-Wafāʿ bi-l-Wafāyāt* Vol.16, 150..

⁶³³ Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Juʿfī Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Taʿrīkh al-kabīr*, ed. Muhammad ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān (Hyderabad: Dāʿira al-Maʿrifa al-ʿUthmāniya, 2009), Vol.4, 232.

⁶³⁴ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol.8, 265.

⁶³⁵ ʿUmara b. Ḥamza was the governor of Basra but then had a disagreement with al-Manṣūr, so he moved him to Kufa. See: Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khaḥīfah Ibn Khayyāṭ*, 436, Al-Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarāʿ wa-l-Kuttāb*, 109.

⁶³⁶ Al-Jāhiz, *Al-Bayān wa-l-Tabyīn*, Vol.1, 63.

Walba b. al-Ḥubāb	Poet ⁶³⁷
Yaḥya b. Ziyād al-Ḥārthī	<i>Amīr and poet</i> ⁶³⁸
Yazīd b. al-Fayḍ	<i>Kātib</i> ⁶³⁹
Yūnis b. Abī Farwa	<i>Kātib</i> ⁶⁴⁰

⁶³⁷ A Kufan poet known to be frequently intoxicated and a teacher to the renowned poet Abū Nawās. Al-Iṣfahānī says he was accused of his religion. However, other sources don't mention that, only that he was frequently intoxicated. See: Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kiṭāb al-Aghānī*, Vol.18, 74, Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdad*, Vol.15, 676.

⁶³⁸ He was the nephew of al-Saffāḥ from his mother's side. He was accused of *zandaqa*. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdad*, Vol.4, 111.

⁶³⁹ According to Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, he was *kātib al-kharāj* during the reign of al-Mahdī. Al-Ṭabarī states that he was *kātib* to al-Manṣūr, however, when al-Mahdī came to power he requested the capture of Yazīd b. al-Fayḍ on the accusations of being a *zindīq*. Yazīd b. al-Fayḍ allegedly escaped after being captured and not much is known of him afterwards. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah Ibn Khayyāṭ*, 436, Al-Ṭabarī, "Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk," Vol.8, 165.

⁶⁴⁰ Al-Jāḥiẓ states that he was a *kātib* to the Abbasids, though does not mention who. He was also accused of being a *zindīq* and died for it. Abū 'Uthman 'Amr Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ*, ed. 'Abd al-Sallām Muḥammad Hārūn (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1964), Vol.2, 202.

