Colinda Lindermann

Dictionary as Commentary

Arabic Lexicography in the Post-formative Period

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By

Colinda Lindermann

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Contents

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This book began as a Ph.D. dissertation, and whether I would complete it was never entirely certain—at least not to me. I am grateful to all colleagues and friends who listened to my laments, read chapters, and offered kind words and literature suggestions. I especially thank Dr Ahmed Badawi (*fī thanāya l-qalbi manziluhū*), Laurenz Kern, Katharina Kloss, Rossella De Luca, Dr Benedikt Reier, my sister and personal cheerleader Johanna Josten, my partner Dr Torsten Wollina, and my daughter Franka Lindermann for their unwavering support.

Figures

Note on Transliteration and Translation

For the transliteration of Arabic terms, I have used the IJMES transliteration system. For the transliteration of Ottoman Turkish terms, I have used the Library of Congress transliteration system, opting for macrons instead of circumflex to indicate long vowels. Scholars from the Ottoman heartlands are referred to by their more common Turkish names (e.g., Kemalpaşazāde instead of Ibn Kamāl Bāshā). The first time a person is mentioned, their full name and death date are given according to the Hijra/Gregorian calendar.

Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

From Legend to Discipline

The first two Arabic books ever written are about language. One is the grammar handbook *al-Kitāb* ("The Book") by ʿAmr ibn ʿUthmān Sībawayhi (d. ca. 180/796). The other is the dictionary *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* ("The Book of the Letter *ʿAyn*"), authored by al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (d. 175/791), who devised a meticulous system ensuring he included everything. Benefiting from the radical nature of the Arabic language—where all words are built from a limited number of radicals, or root letters—he was able to list every possible combination of these letters.[1] The phonetic order in which he arranged them was also his own invention. Although he originally intended to use the alphabetical order (*alif*, *bāʾ*, *tāʾ*, etc.), he decided against it, as this would have required starting with *alif*—a weak letter (*ḥarf muʿtall*) that posed challenges for many later language scholars.[2] Since he did not like the idea of skipping *alif* to start with *bāʾ*, he decided to "probe" all letters and begin his dictionary with those pronounced the farthest back in the throat, moving up until he reached *mīm* at the front of the lips, leaving the weak letters and *hamza* for last.[3]

As legend goes, after al-Khalīl's death, the sole exemplar of his dictionary was in the hands of his pupil al-Layth ibn al-Muẓaffar (d. 190/805), whose wife, in a fit of jealousy, threw it into the fire. Al-Layth had only memorised half of it, so when he frantically started to write down what he remembered, errors were bound to creep in. This is, at least, how later scholars explain the book's defects despite the genius of its author.[4]

1 It is important to note that this approach warranted the inclusion of all roots but not of all possible words derived from them. Moreover, roots that were theoretically possible but not in use were listed as *muhmal* ("disregarded").

2 It is a topos of dictionary introductions to accuse one's predecessors of having failed to arrange the weak roots correctly. See, e.g., Abū Haṣan ʿAlī ibn Ismāʿīl Ibn Sīda, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-turāth al-ʿarabī, 1417/1996), 36; Abū al-Faḍl Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Mukarram Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1374/1955), 7.

3 See Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī, *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, ed. Mahdī al-Makhzūmī and Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarrāʾī, vol. 1 (Baghdad: Dār al-Rashīd, 1980), 47–48.

4 See, e.g., the report in Ibn al-Muʿtazz' (d. 296/909) *Tabaqāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrāj (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, [4]1981), 97–98. For a recent discussion of the authorship of *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, see Gregor Schoeler, "Wer ist der Verfasser des Kitāb al-ʿAin?," *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 38 (2000): 15–45 and the literature cited by him.

These later scholars in the field of language are the focus of this book. From here, we will move out of the realm of legend to the fact-based discipline of Arabic lexicography. My aim is twofold. First, I address students and scholars of Arabic and Islamic Studies who wish to gain a better understanding of the content of Arabic dictionaries. In our field today, dictionaries are often used to provide a quick definition of an Arabic word as a preliminary to the actual subject of research. Occasionally, entries from multiple dictionaries are cited to confirm that a meaning has remained stable over centuries. However, such conclusions reflect a flawed understanding of the principles of Arabic lexicography as they disregard the fact that lexicographers did not aim to reflect language development over time but to gather and preserve a certain state of the language. A dictionary entry may not even provide a definition. For a word that is considered well-known, the word *maʿrūf* ("known") might be used, or even its abbreviation *m*. The rest of the entry could discuss other, less common meanings or even simply list various plural forms of the word. How, then, should such an entry be understood? My discussion of the functions and objectives of Arabic lexicography in the post-formative period seeks to offer an explanation.

The second objective of this book is to explore what Arabic dictionaries reveal about intellectual culture and knowledge production in their own time. Interpreting the data in an entry involves going beyond the surface of the text to disentangle its explicit and implicit references. If an author states that a certain definition is wrong, whose definition is he refuting? If he states that a word is not a loanword, when was it ever claimed to be one? If so many comprehensive dictionaries existed, why did scholars compile new ones? And why did an author choose to combine the content of two—or five—specific earlier dictionaries, while excluding others?

Some of the answers to these questions can be found in the introductions of the dictionaries, while others can be traced in the authors' biographies and oeuvres. One thing will soon become clear: in order to understand Arabic lexicography, it will never suffice to examine just one dictionary. Instead, we need to consider the entire tradition to find the throughline connecting the beginnings of the discipline with its vast output in the post-formative period. Famous dictionaries such as the seventh/thirteenth-century *Lisān al-ʿarab* ("The Tongue of the Arabs"), the eighth/fourteenth-century *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* ("The Encompassing Ocean"), and the twelfth/eighteenth-century *Tāj al-ʿarūs* ("The Bridal Crown") are sources we still refer to today. They preserve the historic vocabulary of Arabic poetry and Bedouin speech that would otherwise remain inaccessible to us. Aiming for comprehensiveness through clear alphabetical order, they replaced earlier works that were either less thorough or less easy to use. They also serve as the foundation for bilingual dictionaries compiled by Euro-

pean orientalists, from Antonio Giggi's (d. ca. 1632) *Thesaurus Linguae Arabicae* and Jacobus Golius' (d. 1667) *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* up to Edward William Lane's (d. 1876) *An Arabic-English Dictionary*—works that can only be properly understood in light of the Arabic models they follow. Viewing Arabic dictionaries solely or primarily as tools, as orientalists have done, eventually led to their discardment and replacement with 'modern,' 'historical' dictionaries.[5] My wish is that we try to understand and evaluate the Arabic dictionaries of the post-formative period as works of scholarship and literature in their own right, rather than as unwieldy, outdated tools for unlocking the contents of other disciplines.

This book focuses on the post-formative period of Arabic lexicography—that is, the long stretch of time during which scholars built upon an established corpus of authoritative texts. "Authoritative" here does not imply that these texts were uncontested. On the contrary, they gave rise to fierce debate about the correctness and completeness of their data, leading to a steady flow of commentaries, supplements, refutations, re-arrangements, and other forms of engagement. I use "authoritative" to indicate a consensus among scholars of language on the suitability of these works as the basis for further discussion.

Following Thomas Bauer, I use the terms "formative period" and "post-formative period" to replace the fraught, outdated notions of "Middle Ages," "classical," and "post-classical."[6] The word "formative" has the advantage of stressing

5 Compare the statement of Jörg Kraemer, "Studien zur altarabischen Lexikographie nach Istanbuler und Berliner Handschriften," *Oriens* 6 (1953): 201:

> Die Bedeutung freilich, die noch vor hundert Jahren ein Lane ihnen beigemessen hat [...], besitzen sie fur uns heute nicht mehr. Denn es wird niemand mehr einfallen, ausschließlich oder auch nur vorwiegend aus ihnen [the Arabic "national dictionaries," as they are termed in older German scholarship] ein "neues", praktischen Zwecken dienendes Wörterbuch herstellen zu wollen.

A discussion and critique of Arabic "Nationalwörterbücher" was part of the promotion of the German orientalist lexicography project *Wörterbuch der Klassischen Arabischen Sprache* (1957–2009), which was devised as a continuation and supplement of Lane's *An Arabic-English Dictionary*, and yielded the letters *kāf* and *lām* in forty fascicles before it was abandoned. The professed aim was to compile a historical *Belegwörterbuch* reflecting actual usage, for which a mere translation of the ossified content of the Arabic dictionaries would not have sufficed. The most recent project envisaging a comprehensive historical dictionary is the *Doha Historical Dictionary of Arabic* (2011–). See https://www.dohadictionary.org/about-dictionary, accessed May 28, 2024.

6 For an exemplary critical evaluation of the term "post-classical" as used in Roger Allen and Donald S. Richards, *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge Uni-

not the alleged *character* of a certain period but the *processes* active during that period.[7] It refers to the formation of the disciplines, in this case Arabic lexicography, and the concomitant emergence of authoritative texts. We will examine these processes of formation more closely below.

By contrast, the term "post-formative" does not tell us anything, except that it indicates the period following the formative period. Indeed, we know little regarding the developments in lexicography during this period, which was long assumed to have yielded less "innovative," less "original" scholarship, and was therefore deemed less worthy of study. After decades of scholarship in Arabic and Islamic Studies presupposing "stagnation" and "decline," the post-formative period is finally receiving more nuanced attention. Much of the research carried out over the past decade has been driven, or at least partly motivated, by the rationale of "countering the decline thesis."[8] Certain perceived features of premodern literature and scholarship—"intellectual stagnation," a "lack of original thought"—have been questioned and refuted. Often, this is achieved through a (re-)examination of the commentary tradition in one particular field, and the contention that originality and innovation lie in the selection of topics and the methods of dealing with a master text.[9] Another way to question perceived qualitative differences between the output of "classical" Islamic scholarship and that of later currents has been to point out developments and innovations in scholarly methods and focus areas, such as the gradual shift from the oral-aural teacher-pupil relationship to individual read-

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versity Press, 2006), see Thomas Bauer, "In Search of 'Post-Classical' Literature?: A Review Article," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (2007): 137–167.

7 See Thomas Bauer, *Warum es kein islamisches Mittelalter gab: das Erbe der Antike und der Orient* (München: C.H. Beck, 2018), 112. While Bauer (154ff.) proposes to further divide the long post-formative period into "frühe" or "erste Neuzeit" (ending around 1500) and "späte" or "zweite Neuzeit" (ending around 1900), I see no reason for a further division on the basis of the lexicographical sources discussed in this book.

8 For a critical account of the anti-decline movement, see Michael Cooperson, "The Abbasid 'Golden Age': An Excavation," *al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā*, no. 25 (2017): 41–65.

9 Focusing on commentaries are, among others, Asad Q. Ahmed, *Palimpsests of Themselves: Logic and Commentary in Postclassical Muslim South Asia*, Berkeley Series in Postclassical Islamic Scholarship 5 (Oakland: University of California Press, 2022) and Matthew B. Ingalls, *The Anonymity of a Commentator: Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī and the Rhetoric of Muslim Commentaries*, SUNY Series in Islam (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2021). A (re-)appraisal of the genre of anthology is also carried out, e.g., by Bilal Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art: Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī and His Yatīmat al-Dahr*, Brill Studies in Middle Eastern Literatures 37 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 4: "Modern scholars have begun to recognize, though, that the originality of a particular anthology consists precisely in the choice and arrangement of the reproduced texts, which together reveal the interests and objectives of the compiler."

ing practices.[10] In the case of poetry, Thomas Bauer explained the changed aesthetics of Mamluk poetry compared to Abbasid poetry as a shift from representation to participation, i.e., a change in the social functions and audiences of poetry.[11] A recent strategy aiming to disprove the decline thesis is to observe the trajectory of a given discipline over a millennium or longer, rather than splitting it into shorter periods based mainly on the rise and fall of dynasties.[12] However, the urge to move away from the *Aufstieg-Blüte-Verfall* tripartition also risks veering towards the other extreme: assuming that the texts produced during a period no longer seen as declining must all possess a spark of innovation and originality.[13]

This important and exciting development in the field—to examine the intellectual production of the post-formative period on its own terms—has not yet extended to the fields of Arabic lexicography and grammar. This may be because these disciplines have traditionally been considered auxiliary and preliminary to the 'real work,' making them less appealing to engage with. While a few studies and book chapters have been devoted to individual dictionaries such as the second/eighth-century *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, the fourth/tenth-century *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, and the twelfth/eighteenth-century *Tāj al-ʿarūs*,[14] no monographs or extensive studies on Arabic dictionaries exist that question their production,

10 Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century. Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 97–128.

11 Thomas Bauer, "'Ayna hādhā min al-Mutanabbī!' Toward an Aesthetics of Mamluk Literature," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 17 (2013): 5–22.

12 Joel Blecher, *Said the Prophet of God: Hadith Commentary across a Millennium* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2018); Garrett Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition: A Social and Intellectual History of Hadith Transmission across a Thousand Years*, Islamic History and Civilization 160 (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

13 For a critical reflection on how the choice of a certain text as representative for a given period affects our perception of this period, see Adam Talib, "Al-Ṣafadī, His Critics, and the Drag of Philological Time," *Philological Encounters* 4 (2019): 109–134. On the "anti-decline" thesis in Ottoman studies, see the Introduction in Dana Sajdi, ed., *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee. Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2014).

14 Stefan Wild, *Das Kitāb al-ʿAyn und die arabische Lexikographie* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965); Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ghafūr ʿAṭṭār, *Muqaddamat al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (Cairo: Dār al-kitāb al-ʿarabī bi-Miṣr, 1385/1956); Hāshim Ṭāhā Shallāsh, *al-Zabīdī fī kitābihi Tāj al-ʿarūs* (Baghdad: Dār al-kitāb li-l-ṭibāʿa, 1401/1981). Stefan Reihmuth's monograph, *The World of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (1731–91). Life, Networks and Writings* (Oxford: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2009), devotes a chapter to *Tāj al-ʿarūs*. Vivian Strotmann's monograph on al-Fīrūzābādī, *Majd al-Dīn al-Fīrūzābādī (1329–1415). A Polymath on the Eve of the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), provides some information on *al-Qāmūs*, but no deep analysis.

context, and reception. The first modern overviews of Arabic lexicography, Ḥusayn Naṣṣār's *al-Muʿjam al-ʿarabī* (first edition 1956) and John Haywood's *Arabic Lexicography: Its History, and Its Place in the General History of Lexicography* (1960),[15] were recently superseded by Ramzi Baalbaki's *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition: From the Second/Eighth Century to the Twelfth/Eighteenth Century* (2014).[16] Baalbaki's magisterial survey of Arabic lexicography provides a thorough discussion of the topics dealt with by Arabic lexicographers from the beginnings of the discipline until the twelfth/eighteenth-century *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, which Baalbaki considers to be the last "classical" dictionary.[17] His assessment of many of the post-formative period dictionaries, such as the eleventh/seventeenth-century works in the field of loanwords (*muʿarrab*), is that the level of scholarship of the formative period is not surpassed by later authors, since they added little with regard to method or content.[18] I would like to explore why a scholar would undertake the task of authoring a dictionary under these circumstances. Challenging the current view of Arabic lexicography, I will demonstrate how dictionaries from the post-formative period advanced the field in significant ways.

1 The Return to Philology

A renewed interest in philology, the discipline of "how to make sense of texts,"[19] from a non-Eurocentric perspective has guided recent research into textual practices in their various forms worldwide.[20] Research on lexicography can

15 Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, *al-Muʿjam al-ʿarabī. Nashaʾtuhu wa-taṭawwuruhu*, 2nd ed., 2 vols (Cairo: Dār Miṣr li-l-ṭibāʿa, 1968); John A. Haywood, *Arabic Lexicography: Its History, and its Place in the General History of Lexicography* (Leiden: Brill, 1960).

16 Ramzi Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition. From the Second/Eighth Century to the Twelfth/Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), translated into Arabic as *al-Turāth al-muʿjamī al-ʿarabī min al-qarn al-thānī ḥattā al-qarn al-thānī ʿashar li-l-hijra* (Doha: al-Markaz al-ʿarabī li-l-abḥāth wa-dirāsat al-siyāsāt, 2019).

17 Baalbaki's wording (*The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 397) reveals the confusion that can arise from terms such as "classical" and "medieval": "In terms of chronology, *al-Tāǧ* is not strictly medieval, but it is certainly so in its methods, and crowns the "classical" period of Arabic lexicographical writing as the most comprehensive lexicon in the tradition …"

18 Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 169.

19 Sheldon Pollock, "What Was Philology in Sanskrit?," in *World Philology*, ed. Sheldon Pollock, Benjamin A. Elman, and Ku-ming Kevin Chang (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 114.

20 As witnessed, for instance, by the journal *Philological Encounters* which was founded in 2016 by Islam Dayeh with the objective of a historical and philosophical critique of philol-

also be viewed in line with the endeavour to centre a previously "marginalised" philological practice. Muhsin J. al-Musawi recently argued for Arabic lexicography as an important constituent of the "Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters," a "literary world-system in which Arabic functions as the dominating language."[21] Al-Musawi applies the term "Republic of Letters," more commonly used to designate the early-modern network of European scholars corresponding in Latin,[22] to "argue against the widespread disparagement of the post-classical Islamic era (medieval and premodern) as one of literary decadence, degeneration, and darkness."[23] Although invoking the nomenclature of a relatable European phenomenon may help direct attention to Arabic-Islamic intellectual culture, we do not require the term "Republic of Letters" to make sense of the scholarly output in Arabic lexicography in the post-formative period. Al-Musawi's brief discussion of the wide dissemination of the fourth/tenth-century dictionary *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* and its role in Persian and Turkish lexicography underscores the function of "philology" in premodern Islamic culture and refutes the decline thesis by re-evaluating the importance of "commentaries and compendia."[24] But what does philology, in the form of lexicography, actually do?

A lexical explanation can be the first step in the philological process of "making sense of a text."[25] The meaning of a word "in general language" (*lugha*) is given before the commentator moves to the technical meaning (*iṣṭilāḥ*) and further elucidation. This means that *ʿilm al-lugha*, the discipline of lexicography or lexicology,[26] pervades the genre of commentary, the most productive text

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ogy. See Islam Dayeh, "The Potential of World Philology," *Philological Encounters* 1 (2016): 396–418. For a critique of philology as a colonial practice, see Siraj Ahmed, *Archaeology of Babel. The Colonial Foundation of the Humanities* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2017).

21 Muhsin J. al-Musawi, *The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters. Arabic Knowledge Construction* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015), 9.

22 See Dirk van Miert, "What Was the Republic of Letters? A Brief Introduction to a Long History," *Groniek* 204/5 (2016): 269–286.

23 Al-Musawi, *The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters*, 5.

24 Al-Musawi, *The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters*, 89–103 and *passim*.

25 It includes establishing the correct reading, i.e., getting the morphology and vocalisation right.

26 The word "lexicography" comes from the Greek λεξικόν [βιβλίον], "dictionary," and γράφειν, "to write." Strictly speaking, it denotes solely the *authoring of dictionaries*, a highly specialised discipline (cf. historiography, the authoring of history works). "Lexicology" would be the correct English term for scholarly reflection on the lexicon (e.g., the discussion of a word in a commentary) that does not involve compiling a dictionary. For the sake of readability, I use both terms throughout the study, while frequently leaving the

type of the post-formative period. Lexical discussions and 'name-dropping' of famous lexicographers feature prominently in the commentary tradition. The dictionary serves as the commentator's reference work, and a thorough knowledge of *lugha* is required for any kind of scholarly activity. I will examine the dynamics of this tradition in Chapter 1.

2 The End of the Formative Period

Before we turn to the post-formative period, we should briefly recall the processes of the formative period. It was during the first four centuries of Islam that all forms and questions of Arabic lexicography originated and fully developed. Although the first Arabic lexicon, the above-mentioned *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, may appear like a feat of individual genius, it also demonstrates that reflection on language was highly developed by the middle of the second/eighth century. We may draw a parallel to Arabic poetry: the first written records already reflect a centuries-old oral poetic tradition. In other words, the presence of a book does not, by itself, indicate the beginning of a tradition; it is merely a written document reflecting the state of a field at a certain point in time. (In the case of poetry, second/eighth-century collections such as the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* were, of course, far removed in time from the first oral presentation of their content). *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* and its counterpart in grammar, Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*, display an interest in language theory and philology, whose beginnings are often traced to the first century of Islam and ascribed to the grammarian Abū al-Aswad al-Duʾalī (d. 69/688).[27] While preserving the language of the environment in which the Qurʾān was revealed was arguably an important objective of early Arabic lexicography, not all its manifestations can be attributed to this aim.[28]

Arabic term [*ʿilm al-*]*lugha* untranslated, as it encompasses both activities and has the advantage of brevity. In the literature, *ʿilm al-lugha* is mostly translated as "lexicography," which (with the caveats above) can be accurate, though it is also sometimes mistranslated as "linguistics." To further complicate matters, lexicology is occasionally referred to as "theoretical lexicography." For a discussion of modern terminology and practice, see R.H. Gouws, "Theoretical Lexicography and the International Journal of Lexicography," *International Journal of Lexicography* 25, no. 4 (2012): 450–463. Consequently, what I pursue in this study could aptly be termed "metalexicography."

27 See Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 1–2.

28 Thomas Bauer makes and, to my mind, overstresses this point in the chapter "Sprachernst und Sprachspiel" of his *Die Kultur der Ambiguität. Eine andere Geschichte des Islam* (Berlin: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2011), 224–267. Peter Webb has argued that the fields of lexicography and grammar fulfilled an important function for the Abbasid construction of Arab identity. See Peter Webb, *Imagining the Arabs: Arab Identity and the Rise of Islam* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 177 ff., 296–297.

From the second/eighth century onward, we find two distinct types of dictionaries, *mujannas* and *mubawwab*. The terminology goes back to ʿAlī ibn Ismāʿīl Ibn Sīda (d. 458/1066), the Andalusian lexicographer who wrote comprehensive works of both types.[29] *Mujannas* designates the alphabetically ordered onomasiological lexica that encompass the vocabulary of the language, represented by Ibn Sīda's own *al-Muḥkam wa-l-muḥīṭ al-aʿẓam* ("The Masterly: The Greatest Comprehensive Dictionary"), which indeed became one of the most valued dictionaries of the formative period. *Mubawwab* refers to topical or semasiological dictionaries that proceed from "meaning to sign"—from a particular subject to all words related to it.[30] While most of the early *mubawwab* dictionaries were short monographs addressing a single topic from the Bedouin environment, such as the horse, the camel, or rain—often without an obvious principle of internal arrangement—the genre culminated in *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* ("The Specified"), Ibn Sīda's systematic collection of semantic fields, progressing from pregnancy and birth of the human being to its properties, food, flora, fauna, and more.[31]

Both types of works show that the formative period of Arabic lexicography was a playground in which different forms were tried and tested. Its main concerns can be identified as data collection and arrangement of that data.

2.1 *Data Collection*

The material discussed in the *mubawwab* and *mujannas* dictionaries belongs to the *ʿarabiyya*, or *kalām al-ʿarab* ("speech of the Arabs"), and is drawn from four sources: Bedouin speech; poetry from a specific period, the so-called *ʿuṣūr al-iḥtijāj* ("epochs of reliable usage"), which ended roughly in the second half of the second/eighth century; the Qurʾān; and, to a lesser extent, *ḥadīth* (reports on the sayings and deeds of the prophet Muḥammad).[32] The process of *iḥtijāj* ("providing proof") requires that the usage of a certain word is supported by a *shāhid* (lit. "witness"), a probative quotation often drawing from poetry. Thus, well-known verses from famous poems, as well as isolated verses that were otherwise unknown, could be transmitted over the centuries in their function as a

29 See the introduction to Ibn Sīda, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, 1:38 and Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, viii–ix.

30 See Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 62.

31 The final volumes of the seventeen-part work focus on grammatical phenomena, concluding with a discussion of the ninety-nine names of God.

32 See Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 29–36. In the formative period, *ḥadīth* has a less authoritative status, particularly in the field of grammar, as the reports were not always transmitted verbatim. See also Chapter 1.

shāhid. These quotations constituted a large part of the lemmata in most dictionaries from both the formative and post-formative periods.

The actual use of certain words was corroborated by the living speech of the Bedouin, whom language scholars from urban centres regularly visited.[33] This practice lasted approximately until the end of the fourth/tenth century, by which time Bedouin speech was deemed too corrupted by urban influence to continue serving as a standard for corroborating correct usage.[34] Consequently, the corpus was effectively closed by the end of the fourth/tenth century, meaning no further words could be admitted to *kalām al-ʿarab*. As a result, no new material could find its way into the dictionaries, halting any further development in the field of lexicography. The language was ossified, with subsequent dictionaries merely repeating the data accumulated until the end of the formative period. If this was the case, why would lexicographers continue to write comprehensive dictionaries? Moreover, why were loanwords and speech errors such popular subjects of the *mubawwab* treatises that continued to be written?

2.2 *Arrangement of the Data*

The second process that can be discerned in the formative period is the gradual establishment of dictionary arrangement. In *mujannas* dictionaries, alphabetical order is most common, though "alphabetical" in Arabic lexicography could take many different forms: by the first letter only; by the sequence of the first, second, and third root letters; or by the so-called "rhyme order," which starts with the last root letter, then moves to the first, and finally to the remaining. The rhyme order became the most widely used arrangement, largely due to its adoption by Ismāʿīl ibn Ḥammād al-Jawharī (d. ca. 400/1010), the author of *Tāj al-lugha wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿarabiyya* ("The Crown of Language and the Correct Uses of Arabic"), better known as *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* ("The Correct Uses," also vocalised *al-Ṣaḥāḥ*). While al-Jawharī is often credited with inventing the rhyme order, it is known that he, in fact, adopted it from his uncle Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī's (d. 350/961) dictionary *Dīwān al-adab* ("Register of Learning"), and that not

33 See 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, and Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 16–29 for the process of "collecting data" from Bedouin informants and the problems this posed.

34 Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārun, 5th ed., vol. 1 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī bi-Miṣr, 1405/1985), 613. Incorrect use of Arabic (*laḥn*, see Chapter 2) was a topic of concern from the time of the prophet Muḥammad, as evidenced by the many anecdotes to this effect.

even al-Fārābī was the first to use it.[35] Nevertheless, the rhyme order is closely associated with al-Jawharī, the author of *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, and became the preferred arrangement throughout the post-formative period. We will explore why this was the case in Chapter 1.

The phonetic-permutative arrangement of al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad's *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* had practical drawbacks, such as an opaque phonetic order and the permutative arrangement itself, which caused the initial chapters—especially the very first, containing the letter *ʿayn*—to be far more voluminous than the later ones, which contained the remaining letter combinations. Nevertheless, the arrangement of *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* was imitated more often than might be expected,[36] most famously in Ibn Sīda's *al-Muḥkam*.

While the choice of arrangement was rarely a bone of contention, the placement of the lemmata within this structure could become a point of criticism. In the introduction to his *Lisān al-ʿarab*, Muḥammad ibn Mukarram al-Ifrīqī al-Miṣrī, known as Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311), pointed out the problems some lexicographers faced in correctly arranging biradical words, geminated and inverted roots, weak verbs, and quadri- and quinqueliteral roots. Conversely, Ibn Manẓūr acknowledged that al-Jawharī made the best decisions regarding the arrangement (*waḍʿ*, *tartīb*) of his dictionary, though not in its content (*jamʿ*, "collection").[37] As we shall see, Ibn Manẓūr was neither the first nor the only one to criticise the content of *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*. Whether the data collected in a dictionary was correct remained a constant matter of debate among practitioners of the craft. While the focus of formative-period lexicographers prior to al-Jawharī was on collecting all spoken material, comparing notes and critiquing colleagues was always part of the process. When the practice of visiting Arabic speakers in the desert ended, the focus of lexicographical activity shifted to the discussion of earlier dictionaries and assessing them as sources for compiling new dictionaries. The discipline of lexicography moved from being descriptive, collecting what was actually spoken, to prescriptive, reminding the reader what should be spoken.

3 Aspects of *adab*

A dictionary is more than a reference work; an entry in a bulky lexicon or a lexicological treatise can educate and entertain simultaneously. Part of its appeal

35 See Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 57.

36 See Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 280 ff.

37 See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, 1:7.

lies in the *shawāhid*, the probative quotations or proof texts that are an important element of Arabic language scholarship. The use of a word is often corroborated through a verse from early poetry or an anecdote from the Bedouin environment. As we will see in lexicological treatises of the post-formative period, poetry and anecdotes may have also functioned to help readers memorise keywords. Moreover, dictionaries on speech errors and loanwords conveyed information that could be used to make good impressions in literary and scholarly gatherings, a feature I term the *adab* function of lexicography.

The concept of *adab* denotes good moral and social conduct, for which the use of correct language and the display of erudition in various fields of learning are essential.[38] Erudition is displayed through *muḥāḍara* (lit. "procuring"), "having the apposite quotation at your fingertips."[39] Many lexicological treatises of the post-formative period offer this kind of apposite quotation. I will argue that gathering these and presenting them to a readership of peer scholars was a primary function. While the concept of *adab* has not yet been extensively applied to the field of lexicography, there is a terminological connection that Wolfhart Heinrichs described as the "legitimate macro-application of the term *adab* in the sense of 'philology'."[40] In classifications of the sciences, disciplines concerned with language and composition are referred to as *al-ʿulūm al-adabiyya*, a term possibly used for the first time by Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) in his treatise on Arabic metrics, *al-Qisṭās al-mustaqīm fī ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ* ("The Even Balance in the Discipline of Metrics").[41]

38 On the notion of *adab* from the fourth/tenth century onward, see Heinrichs, "The Classification of the Sciences and the Consolidation of Philology in Classical Islam," in *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*, ed. Jan Willem Drijvers and Alasdair A. MacDonald (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 119–140. More recent engagements with the concept of *adab* include Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, "Adab a) Arabic, Early Developments," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, ed. Kate Fleet et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2014), https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_24178; Johannes Stephan, "Die Grenzen des *adab*: Versuch über eine literaturhistorische Hermeneutik," in *Islam in der Moderne, Moderne im Islam. Eine Festschrift für Reinhard Schulze zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Florian Zemmin et al., Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 397–422; Nuha Alshaar, "Reconstructing Adab in Islamic Studies," in *Deconstructing Islamic Studies*, ed. Majid Daneshgar and Aaron W. Hughes, Mizan Series 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020), 167–203.

39 See Wolfhart Heinrichs, "Review of *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* [*vol. 2*] by Julia Ashtiany, T.M. Johnstone, J.D. Latham, R.B. Serjeant, G. Rex Smith," *al-ʿArabiyya* 26 (1993): 130. Cf. also Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art*, 1–3, who adopts and discusses Heinrichs' understanding of *adab* for the field of literary anthology.

40 Heinrichs, "Review of *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*," 130.

41 Heinrichs, "The Classification of the Sciences and the Consolidation of Philology in Classical Islam," 121.

The first of twelve disciplines within *al-ʿulūm al-adabiyya* is *ʿilm al-lugha*, followed by subfields of grammar, rhetoric, prosody, the composition of prose, poetry, letters, and *al-muḥāḍarāt* ("discourses").[42] Al-Zamakhsharī also used the word *adab* in the title of his lexicological treatise *Muqaddimat al-adab* ("Preliminaries to *adab*"), which discusses nominal and verbal patterns.[43] From the sixth/twelfth century onward, *al-ʿulūm al-adabiyya*, "the *adab* disciplines," more or less subsumed the fields mentioned by al-Zamakhsharī: writing, reading (specifically, correct reading of the Qurʾān), lexicology, morphology, syntax, rhetorical analysis, prose and poetry composition, as well as prosody. The term *ʿulūm-i edebīye* was also adopted in Ottoman Turkish with reference to the disciplines of the Arabic language.[44]

Arabic lexicography, then, is situated at the intersection of the socio-literary and philological notion of *adab*. Some lexicological treatises, such as Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī's (d. 516/1122) *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ fī awhām al-khawāṣṣ* ("The Diver's Pearl on the Mistakes of the Elite"), which is technically a work on speech errors, are a treasure trove of anecdotes. As I will show in Chapters 2 and 3, several language scholars from the post-formative period sought to adhere to the Horatian principle of *miscere utile dulci*, to educate and entertain simultaneously. Moreover, their displayed knowledge of Arabic literary history and philology confirmed their status as language specialists and their own *adab*.

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42 Jār Allāh al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Qisṭās fī ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ*, ed. Fakhr al-Dīn Fabāwa (Beirut: Maktabat al-Maʿārif, 1410), 15–16. Al-Zamakhsharī lists 1) *ʿilm al-lugha*; 2) *ʿilm al-abniya*; 3) *ʿilm al-ishtiqāq*; 4) *ʿilm al-iʿrāb*; 5) *ʿilm al-maʿānī*; 6) *ʿilm al-bayān*; 7) *ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ*; 8) *ʿilm al-qawāfī*; 9) *inshāʾ al-nathr*; 10) *qarḍ al-shiʿr*; 11) *ʿilm al-kitāba*; 12) *al-muḥāḍarāt*. The disciplines are grouped according to their engagement with single words (*lugha, abniya*, and *ishtiqāq*), compound expressions (*iʿrāb*, i.e., *naḥw, maʿānī, bayān, ʿarūḍ, qawāfī*) and entire texts (*nathr, shiʿr, kitāba, muḥāḍarāt*).

43 This work has been widely studied as an Arabic-Persian-Turkic-(Mongolic) dictionary, even though its polyglot character is likely a result of later additions. See Heinz Grotzfeld, "Zamaḫšari's 'muqaddimat al-adab', ein arabisch-persisches Lexikon?," *Der Islam* 44 (1968): 250–253.

44 For instance, in the introductory tale to Nevʿī's (Yaḥyā ibn Pīr ʿAlī ibn Naṣūḥ [d. 1007/1599]) Ottoman encyclopaedia of the sciences *Netāyic el-fünūn ve-meḥāsin el-mütun* ("The Yield of the Disciplines and the Merits of the Texts"). See Hülya Çelik and Adnan Kadrić, eds., *'The Yield of the Disciplines and the Merits of the Texts': Nevʿī Efendi's Encyclopaedia Netāyic El-Fünūn = Nevʿī, Netāyic El-Fünūn ve Meḥāsin El-Mütūn*, Texts on Popular Learning in Early Modern Ottoman Times Volume 2 (Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 2015), 164 / fol. 100^{v}.

4 The Boundaries of Language in the Post-formative Period

The intellectual, political, and social contexts of Mamluk and Ottoman rule provide a gripping background for developments in language scholarship. On the one hand, the appearance of ruling classes which spoke Turkic languages put into question the hegemony of Arabic; on the other hand, the interaction between languages obtained a more official, institutional character.

The output of treatises on speech errors (*laḥn al-ʿāmma*, "solecism of the commoners") and loanwords (*muʿarrab*, "Arabicised [words]") increased during this time, and the production of pedagogical tools for foreign language acquisition was advanced. The interaction between Arabic and Turkish, relatively more recent than that between Arabic and Persian, benefitted from the earlier Arabic-Persian exchange. Both relationships share similarities in methods, genres, and even texts, including monolingual dictionaries that were translated and adapted into bilingual or even trilingual reference works. Bilingual glossaries, compiled from early Islamic times onward, reflect increased interaction between language communities, as evidenced by their growing production and circulation. The topics treated in these bilingual works—such as the vocabulary of the Qur'ān or Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's (d. 672/1273) *Mathnawī*[45]—and their set ups (e.g., from Arabic to Persian/Turkish or the other way around) shed light not only on the practical use of these languages but also on their cultural scope and status. Authors on loanwords used their knowledge of other languages to bolster their etymologies, while Arabic literary anthologists cited contemporary Persian poetry and translated verses into Arabic.[46]

The close contact between Arabic, Persian, and Turkish within the Ottoman Turkish language rendered the boundaries of each of these languages more fluid—too fluid in the eyes of authors such as Kemalpaşazāde (d. 940/1534), who warned against letting "widespread errors" creep into Arabic texts due to the corrupting influence of Turkish.[47] Increased contact with other language

45 For instance, al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad al-Zawzānī's (d. 486/1093–1094) Arabic-Persian *Tarjumān al-Qur'ān* ("Interpreter of the Qur'ān") and the Şāhidī İbrahim Dede's (d. 957/1550) Persian-Turkish *Tuḥfe-i Shāhidī* ("Şāhidī's Gift"), a rhyming dictionary treating the vocabulary of the *Mathnawī*.

46 As shown by Theo S. Beers, "The Treatment of Coeval Persian Poetry in Arabic Anthologies of the Eleventh/Seventeenth Century: A Preliminary Study," *al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā* 28 (2020): 233–253 and idem, "Paths Crossing in Damascus: Familiarity with Persian among Eleventh/Seventeenth-Century Arabic Literati," *Philological Encounters* 7, no. 3–4 (2022): 238–267.

47 See Chapter 2, section 3.

communities enhanced the need for more elaborate tools to furnish mutual understanding, but also for guarding one's own language from interference by foreign ignoramuses. Lexicography in the post-formative period thus had sociopolitical motivations that may not have been felt so urgently before. I argue that *lugha* was a central subject of the learned debates among scholars of different intellectual, cultural, and social backgrounds. The multiethnic and multilingual societies of the Mamluk and Ottoman empires offered ample opportunity for debate, interaction, negotiation, and defence of the Arabic language. Despite the prime rationale of safeguarding the established corpus of the *ʿarabiyya* to "prevent its corruption," scholars acknowledged the inevitable changes resulting from language contact and development. They used the framework of the canonical genres and texts of lexicography to discuss their own observations and to add new insights to the existing body of material. This is most apparent in two key topics of lexicography, which will be used as case studies in Chapters 2 and 3: solecism (*laḥn al-ʿāmma*) and loanwords (*muʿarrab*). Both explore themes of living language while remaining firmly embedded in the commentary tradition. Each draws on a 'classic,' a popular work from the sixth/twelfth century: for *laḥn al-ʿāmma*, al-Ḥarīrī's *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* serves as a starting point of discussion. For *muʿarrab*, Abū Manṣūr Mawhūb ibn Aḥmad al-Jawālīqī's (d. 540/1144) *al-Muʿarrab min al-kalām al-ʿajamī ʿalā ḥurūf al-muʿjam* ("Loanword Dictionary in Alphabetical Order") provides a theoretical framework.

In the following chapters, I will show how the lemmata of a dictionary functioned as signposts for discussion and debate, for refuting or expanding upon a received view, and how language scholars used the commentarial function of the dictionary to bolster their own credibility as language scholars.

CHAPTER 1

The Dictionary as a Commentary

مُذْ مَدَّ مَجْدُ الدينِ فِي أيَّامِهِ مِن فَيْضِ أبْحُرِ عِلْمِهِ القاموسا
ذَهَبَت صِحاحُ الجَوْهَري كأنَّها سِحْرُ المَدائِنِ حينَ ألْقَى موسَى

Ever since Majd al-Dīn supplied from the copious seas of his knowledge the *Qāmūs*
al-Jawharī's *Ṣiḥāḥ* vanished like sorcery in the cities when Moses threw the staff

This anonymous distich, quoted by Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) in *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha wa-anwāʿihā* ("The Florid on the Disciplines of Language and their Types") and by ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn Aḥmad al-Kawkabānī (d. 1207/1792) in *Fulk al-Qāmūs* ("The Ship to Navigate the Ocean/*Qāmūs*"),[1] suggests that one famous dictionary, Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Fīrūzābādī's (d. 817/1415) *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* ("The Encompassing Ocean"), ultimately superseded another famous dictionary, al-Jawharī's (d. ca. 400/1010) *Tāj al-lugha wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿarabiyya* ("The Crown of Language and the Correct Uses of Arabic"), to the point that the latter disappeared entirely. Together with ʿAlī ibn Ismāʿīl Ibn Sīda's (d. 458/1066) *al-Muḥkam wa-l-muḥīṭ al-aʿẓam* ("The Masterly: The Greatest Comprehensive Dictionary"), al-Jawharī's *Ṣiḥāḥ* was considered the best in its genre. Both dictionaries were products of the late fourth/tenth century. Considering the lexicographical production of the post-formative period, why did later authors make the effort to add their own dictionaries to those masterpieces? If all had been said on the matter, why did established scholars keep returning to it? And if the *Qāmūs* did indeed replace the *Ṣiḥāḥ*, as these verses suggest, then how come the *Ṣiḥāḥ* remained so popular?

One part of the answer to this question, I will argue, lies in the controversies that lexicographers of the post-formative period addressed; another part lies in the objectives they pursued and the forms they adopted. In the first part of this chapter, I will guide the reader through the different kinds of lexicographi-

1 Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha wa-anwāʿihā*, 1:102–103; ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn Aḥmad al-Kawkabānī, *Fulk al-Qāmūs*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Samarrāʾī (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1414/1994), 46.

cal engagement in the post-formative period to show how these controversies, objectives, and forms kept the genre alive and generated a vibrant intellectual culture of language scholarship. I will also touch upon the practical role of *lugha* as opposed to its theoretical treatment in dictionaries. For lexicographers, *ʿilm al-lugha* may have been an aim in and of itself, and one of the possible scholarly paths to perennial fame. However, most of their audience did not read dictionaries for the sheer fun of it, but to apply the acquired knowledge to their own fields. What did these scholars use knowledge of *lugha* for, and how did they work with it? The example of *ḥadīth* scholarship will illustrate the role of dictionaries in knowledge production during the post-formative period.

To understand how Arabic lexicography worked, particularly in the post-formative period, I will first sketch a somewhat broader picture of the prevalent form of intellectual production during this period: the commentary. I argue that all lexicographical activity can ultimately be understood as commentarial activity, and that viewing it in that way is immensely helpful for accessing the genre.

1 The Commentary Tradition

A commentary, in its broadest sense, is the interpretation of a text (often called the master text, base text, or hypotext).[2] A commentator selects keywords or key phrases (lemmata)[3] to comment upon because they find them ambiguous, altogether unclear, or because they know that different opinions about the interpretation circulate and they wish to collect these opinions, possibly to follow up with their own position on the matter. In a stricter sense of the term, a commentary discusses an entire master text, word by word or line by line.

In a definition proposed by Eric van Lit, any text that displays "structural textual correspondence" with a hypotext could be termed a commentary; it is this definition that informs his use of the term "commentary tradition." A commentary *sensu stricto* is a hypertext that "shows structural textual correspondence and contains the complete hypotext." I propose an even broader definition: a commentary is any text that shows "intentional textual correspondence" with

2 While commentary, like text, can of course be strictly oral, I focus here on written (reflections of oral) commentary.

3 "Lemma" comes from Greek λαμβάνω, which means "to take;" a lemma is that which is taken as a keyword. The equivalent term in Arabic lexicography would be *mādda*, the "material" of a dictionary entry, meaning the actual keyword, or *tarkīb*, "structure," signifying the root, the basic form of a word.

a hypotext. This definition includes all forms of engagement with a hypotext that are common in lexicography.[4]

Commentary was the prevalent form of Arabic scholarly literature in the post-formative period.[5] Long regarded as the product of intellectual stagnation and decline, the commentary tradition has undergone a reassessment in recent decades.[6] In the field of Arabic and Islamic studies, scholars such as Walid Saleh and Asad Q. Ahmed have argued that commentaries are by no means the product of fossilised scholarly culture but rather reflect lively and complex debates "in the margins" that deserve serious study.[7] These debates can only be traced through careful reading of the commentary or gloss (*sharḥ/ḥāshiya*) with the master text (*matn*), analysing how a commentary interacts not only with the

4 See L.W.C. (Eric) Van Lit, "Commentary and Commentary Tradition. The Basic Terms for Understanding Islamic Intellectual History," *MIDÉO. Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'études Orientales* 32 (2017): 3–26, https://journals.openedition.org/mideo/1580. Van Lit has mainly philosophical commentaries in mind.

5 Most of the research on the genre of commentary has been done in the fields of classical studies, Bible studies, and (classical) philosophy. Important theoretical work has been done by Aleida and Jan Assmann: see the introduction of Jan Assmann and Burkhard Gladigow, eds., *Text und Kommentar*, Beiträge zur Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation IV (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1995). As for the genre of commentary in the post-formative period (or "Middle Ages," if we use the term which is still applied to Europe), the focus has mainly been on philosophy, *in casu* commentaries on Aristotle. Matthew Ingalls has done great work summarising different types of commentaries and their functions. See Ingalls, *The Anonymity of a Commentator*, chap. 1, and below.

6 See, for instance, Islam Dayeh, ed., *Commentary Cultures: Technologies of Medieval Reading*, Special issue of *Philological Encounters* 3, no. 3 (2018); Robert Wisnovsky, "The Nature and Scope of Arabic Philosophical Commentary in Post-classical (ca. 1100–1900 AD) Islamic Intellectual History: Some Preliminary Observations," in *Philosophy, Science and Exegesis in Greek, Arabic and Latin Commentaries*, ed. Peter Adamson, Han Baltussen, and M.W.F. Stone (London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advance Study, 2004), 2:149–191. The fact that commentaries reflect actual debates was noted in the field of rhetoric, for instance, by William Smyth, "Controversy in a Tradition of Commentary: The Academic Legacy of al-Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 112, no. 4 (1992): 589–597. The importance of the commentary tradition for understanding reception processes in *adab* is illustrated by Matthew L. Keegan, e.g., in "Throwing the Reins to the Reader: Hierarchy, Jurjānian Poetics, and al-Muṭarrizī's Commentary on the Maqāmāt," *Journal of Abbasid Studies* 5 (2018): 105–145.

7 Walid A. Saleh, "The Gloss as Intellectual History: The Ḥāshiyahs on al-Kashshāf," *Oriens* 41, no. 3–4 (2013): 217–259; Asad Q. Ahmed, "Post-Classical Philosophical Commentaries/Glosses: Innovation in the Margins," *Oriens* 41 (2013): 317–348. Also, Blecher, *Said the Prophet of God*, 13: "The first facet of this book's methodological intervention is to challenge the notion that the medium of commentary is merely a derivative and rarefied literary practice." A succinct overview of different recent understandings by scholars of Islamic Studies of the genre of commentary in the post-formative period is given by Van Lit, "Commentary and Commentary Tradition."

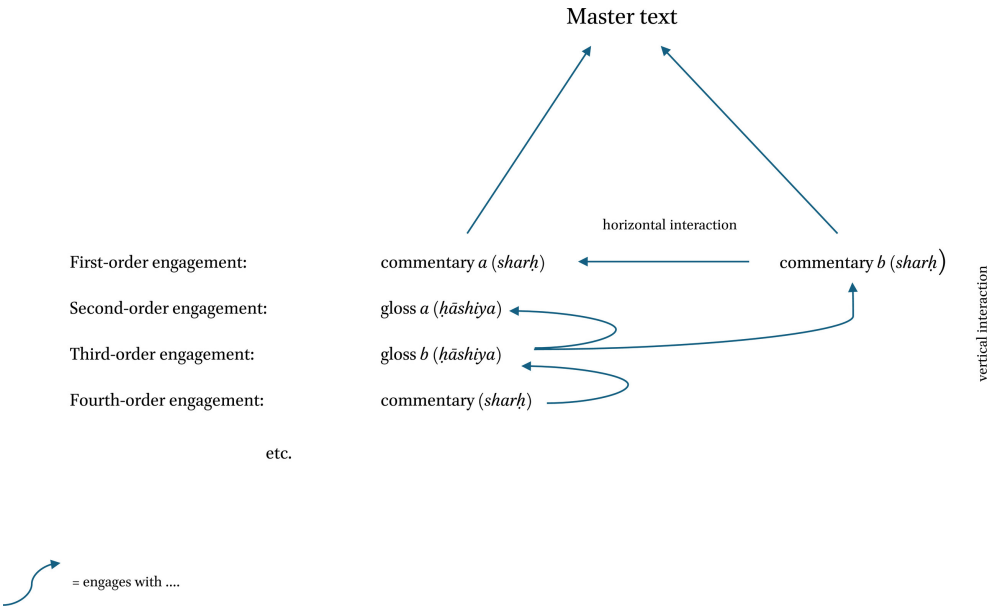

FIGURE 1 Types of engagement with a master text

master text but also with other first-order commentaries (horizontally); or, in case of a gloss,[8] how it interacts with a commentary *and* a master text (vertically) (see Figure 1).[9] It has been noted that commentators and glossators did not often explicitly mention whose opinions they were engaging with,[10] which, as we will see in this chapter, may complicate analysis. This also indicates that commentary was not simply about quoting and refuting one's direct predecessors but rather presupposed a thorough knowledge of the entire tradition.

As for its form, a commentary is generally conceived as a work in its own right, framed by an introduction and possibly also by a concluding statement. Roughly, three forms of commentary can be distinguished: the running commentary, which explains the master text word by word or line by line; the

8 The Greek γλῶσσα, from which "gloss" derives, means "tongue, speech" and "difficult word" (i.e., in need of explanation).

9 The terms "first-order commentary," "second-order commentary," etc., are used by Robert Wisnovsky, who studied the commentary tradition in the field of Arabic philosophy and identified up to fifth-order commentaries. "Commentary" in this classification can, of course, also indicate a gloss. See Wisnovsky, "The Nature and Scope of Arabic Philosophical Commentary," 158.

10 See Van Lit, "Commentary and Commentary Tradition."

lemmatic commentary, which picks out keywords or key phrases to comment upon; and the interwoven commentary (*sharḥ mamzūj*), which integrates the master text into the commentary.[11]

The introduction to a commentary often states the author's reasons for penning the text. A motivation may be that no commentaries on the master text in question yet existed, or that the commentator deemed the existing commentaries insufficient. Often, the author claimed to write upon request, which may also be the case when the commentary is written by the same author as the master text (auto- or self-commentary).[12] A commentary quotes the relevant portions (lemmata) of the master text so that the reader may understand the commentary without having to consult another book containing the master text. In the manuscript book, the lemmata are often rubricated, i.e., highlighted in red ink, or overlined with red or black ink. Conversely, a gloss—a second-order engagement with the master text—is typically written in the margin of a manuscript, referring directly to the passage next to it. In early printed books, commentaries and glosses considered authoritative were printed in the margins or added as footnotes to the master text or commentary.[13]

A common way of commentating was a layered treatment of the lemma: the commentator would start with the lexical level (*lugha/lafẓ*), then move to the

11 For this distinction, see also Ingalls, *The Anonymity of a Commentator*, 15 ff. More on the interwoven commentary (*sharḥ mamzūj*) below, in the discussion of *Tāj al-ʿarūs*. There seems to be no Arabic technical term for the first two types of commentary (cf. Ingalls, 17 n. 27). To my knowledge, paraphrastic commentary, which summarises the purport of the master text, is not found in Arabic language scholarship. Van Lit, *Commentary and Commentary Tradition*, mentions the "paraphrasing" commentary but seems to have a different definition of paraphrasing: "[It] usually cites the hypotext passage by passage, then after each passage it goes over the passage again in almost identical language, here and there changing, adding, or dropping something. Occasionally a larger expansion (or digression) is included."

12 Kevin Blankinship and Aglae Pizzone have discussed several motivations for penning a self-commentary, including the protection of one's own work from the appropriation by others and the fear of incorrect interpretation. See Kevin Blankinship and Aglae Pizzone, "Self-Commentary as Defensive Strategy in the Works of John Tzetzes (d. 1180 CE) and Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (d. 1057 CE)," *Philological Encounters* 8, no. 1 (2023): 1–37. According to Assmann, self-commentary is "weniger eine Form der Rezeptionssteuerung als vielmehr der Selbstinszenierung als 'klassischer Autor'." See Assmann and Gladigow, *Text und Kommentar*, 19. This hypothesis must be tested for the many self-commentaries in the field of Arabic philology (grammar and lexicography, for instance).

13 This practice continues until today, mainly in the field of *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* commentaries.

grammatical (*iʿrāb*) and semantic (*maʿnā*) levels; depending on the type of text, these might be followed by a metaphorical level (*majāz*).[14] Figure 2 shows an example of glosses on the famous poem *Bānat Suʿād* by the poet Kaʿb ibn Zuhayr (d. ca. 26/664). The example highlights three different levels of commentary (*al-alfāẓ*, "the vocal forms," *iʿrāb*, "inflection," and *al-ḥāṣil*, "the purport/meaning"), using a red caption for each of these levels.

1.1 *Forms of Commentary*

The commentary form may not be what first comes to mind as a practical way of engaging with word lists, which ultimately constitute the content of lexicography. More practical forms would be the supplement (*takmila*, *dhayl*) or abridgement (*mukhtaṣar*). Supplements are often regarded as essential additions to a master text. Cases in point are *al-Takmila wa-l-dhayl wa-l-ṣila li-kitāb Tāj al-lugha wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿarabiyya* ("The Completion, Appendix and Continuation to the Crown of Language and Correct Uses of Arabic") by Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1259) and the *Ḥawāshī* ("Glosses", also known as *al-Tanbīh wa-l-īḍāḥ ʿammā waqaʿa fī al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, "The Information and Clarification on What is Going on in *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*") by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Barrī (d. 582/1187). Both supplement Ismāʿīl ibn Ḥammād al-Jawharī's (d. ca. 400/1010) *Ṣiḥāḥ*, and later authors cite them in conjunction with the master text. A *mukhtaṣar*, on the other hand, can serve as a suitable replacement of an unwieldy master text. In some narratives of the history of lexicography, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Zubaydī's (d. 379/989) *Mukhtaṣar*

14 An overview of this practice can be gleaned from Wilhelm Ahlwardt's catalogues of Arabic manuscripts in the Berlin State Library. In volumes 6 and 7, which gather manuscripts of grammar, lexicography, and poetry, Ahlwardt describes many commentaries as explicitly distinguishing these different levels of explanation. This strategy was not only used in commentating, but also in the act of reading itself, at least in the post-formative period. As Khaled El-Rouayheb (*Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, 111) has pointed out, the reading instructions in a manual for students by the Ottoman court astrologer Aḥmad ibn Luṭf Allāh Müneccimbāşı (d. 1113/1702) contained exactly these levels:

> On encountering a passage, [the student] should start by paying attention to its language: lexically, morphologically, syntactically, semantically, and rhetorically. He should then turn to the level of "second intentions" (*al-maʿqūlāt al-thāniya*), that is, second-order concepts, which are the province of logic. He should pay attention to what kind of definitions are being adduced, what kinds of propositions, and the logical structure of any arguments. In general, Müneccimbāşı noted, a student would find the disciplines of logic and syntax to be especially helpful in his efforts to understand demanding scholarly texts.

FIGURE 2 Glosses on *Bānat Su'ād* relating to *al-alfāẓ* and *al-i'rāb* (on the right), and *al-ḥāṣil* (on the left). According to a note on fol. 10[b], the glosses were written in the year 833/1430. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – PK, Landberg 873, fol. 4[a]

al-ʿAyn ("Abridgement of *al-ʿAyn*") replaced *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*.[15] This goes to show that derivative works can become part of the canon.

In my understanding of commentary and the commentary tradition, all these engagements with a master text can be viewed as first-order commentaries (Figure 3).

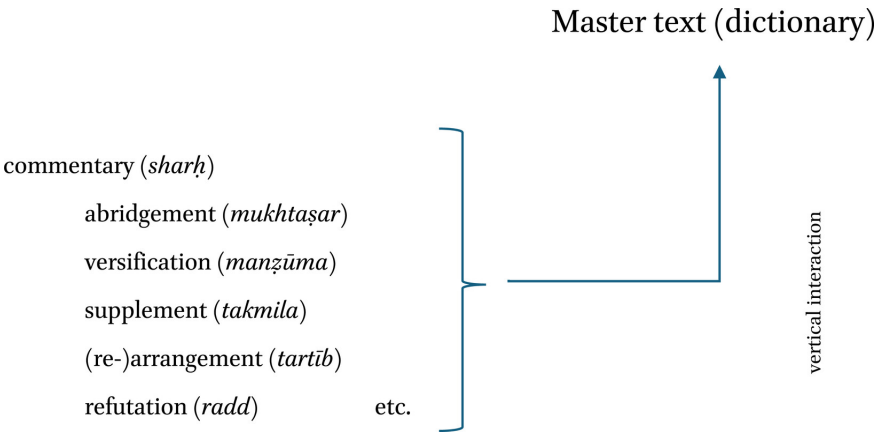

FIGURE 3 Forms of first-order commentaries

1.2 *The Dictionary as a Commentary*

It may seem counterintuitive to understand dictionaries as commentaries, but, as I will show here, their form is distinctly commentarial. We often think of dictionaries as bulky volumes containing the entire lexicon of a given language. However, arguably, the discipline of *lugha* arose from much more modest origins: the urgent need to explain obscure words.[16] This aetiology is supported by the first Qurʾān commentaries which explained *gharīb* ("rare" or even *hapax*, singular) expressions and figurative meanings of Qurʾanic words.[17] It is also

15 *Mukhtaṣar al-ʿAyn* is mentioned in the book list of Ibn al-Akfānī (on which more below) as an important concise treatment of *lugha*. See Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Akfānī, *Irshād al-qāṣid ilā asnā al-maqāṣid*, ed. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Muḥammad ʿUmar (Cairo: Dār al-fikr al-ʿarabī, [1990]), 112.

16 For the notion of obscurity as a productive starting point for commentary, see Ineke Sluiter, "Obscurity," in *Canonical Texts and Scholarly Practices: A Global Comparative Approach*, ed. Anthony Grafton and Glenn W. Most (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 34–51. Sluiter, studying Greco-Roman texts, suggests (46) "that the discourse of obscurity may be more culturally and historically specific than I would have thought when I began working on it." I believe an investigation of the notion of "obscurity" in Arabic commentary tradition may be just as worthwhile.

17 On *gharīb* in early Arabic lexicography, see Ramzi Baalbaki, "The Notion of *gharīb* in

supported by the fact that commonly used words, when included in the dictionaries, often did not receive a definition but were merely followed by the word *maʿrūf* ("known"). One of the first dictionaries, Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī's (d. 206/821) *Kitāb al-Jīm* ("The Book of the Letter *Jīm*"), technically belongs to the *gharīb* genre, as the author confines himself to discussing rare words from Arabic dialects.[18] In the seventh/thirteenth century, al-Ṣaghānī, the aforementioned author of a *takmila* to *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, also wrote several independent dictionaries, the most voluminous of which was *al-ʿUbāb al-zākhir wa-l-lubāb al-fākhir* ("The Abundant Floods and the Absolute Prime"). In its introduction, al-Ṣaghānī provides a list of all his sources, starting with a number of *gharīb al-ḥadīth* works—not because their authors come first (there is no alphabetical or chronological order), but because al-Ṣaghānī obviously considered rare expressions from *ḥadīth* to be central for the conception of his dictionary.[19] A dictionary constitutes a selection of these lemmata, diligently plucked out of the flower field of language—and the body of each entry serves as the commentary.

Another argument for viewing dictionaries as commentaries is the fact that they explicitly engage with one another. The introductions often set the stage: authors mention previous works whose errors they intend to correct and whose omissions they aim to supplement. Even if an author does not explicitly name his sources and objects of criticism in the introduction, any dictionary can still be regarded as a commentary, as they all discuss multiple strands of a tradition that had not been combined before (see Figure 4 for some examples; the titles will be discussed later in this chapter).

Arabic Lexica," *Journal of Abbasid Studies* 6, no. 2 (2019): 185–208. On the role of the Companion Ibn ʿAbbās for *gharīb*, see Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 39–41. Another genre involved is that of *aḍdād*, words that can also mean their own opposite. The earliest treatise on this subject, *Kitāb al-Aḍdād* of Muḥammad ibn al-Mustanīr, known as Quṭrub (d. 206/821), shows that many of these words were taken from the Qurʾān, and their antonymic meaning was contingent upon their context, e.g., in the case of *ẓann*, which, when said of God, cannot mean "guess," because God's knowledge is always certain (*yaqīn*). Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad ibn al-Mustanīr Quṭrub, *Kitāb al-Aḍdād*, ed. Ḥannā Ḥaddād (Riyadh: Dār al-ʿulūm li-l-ṭibāʿa wa-l-nashr, 1405/1984), 71–73.

18 See Baalbaki, "The Notion of *gharīb* in Arabic Lexica," 193. Baalbaki argues that al-Shaybānī's *Kitāb al-Jīm* is probably older than al-Khalīl's *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* in *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 333.

19 Al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī, *al-ʿUbāb al-zākhir wa-l-lubāb al-fākhir*, ed. Pir Muḥammad Ḥasan, vol. 1 (Baghdad: al-Majmaʿ al-ʿilmī al-ʿirāqī, 1398/1978), 7.

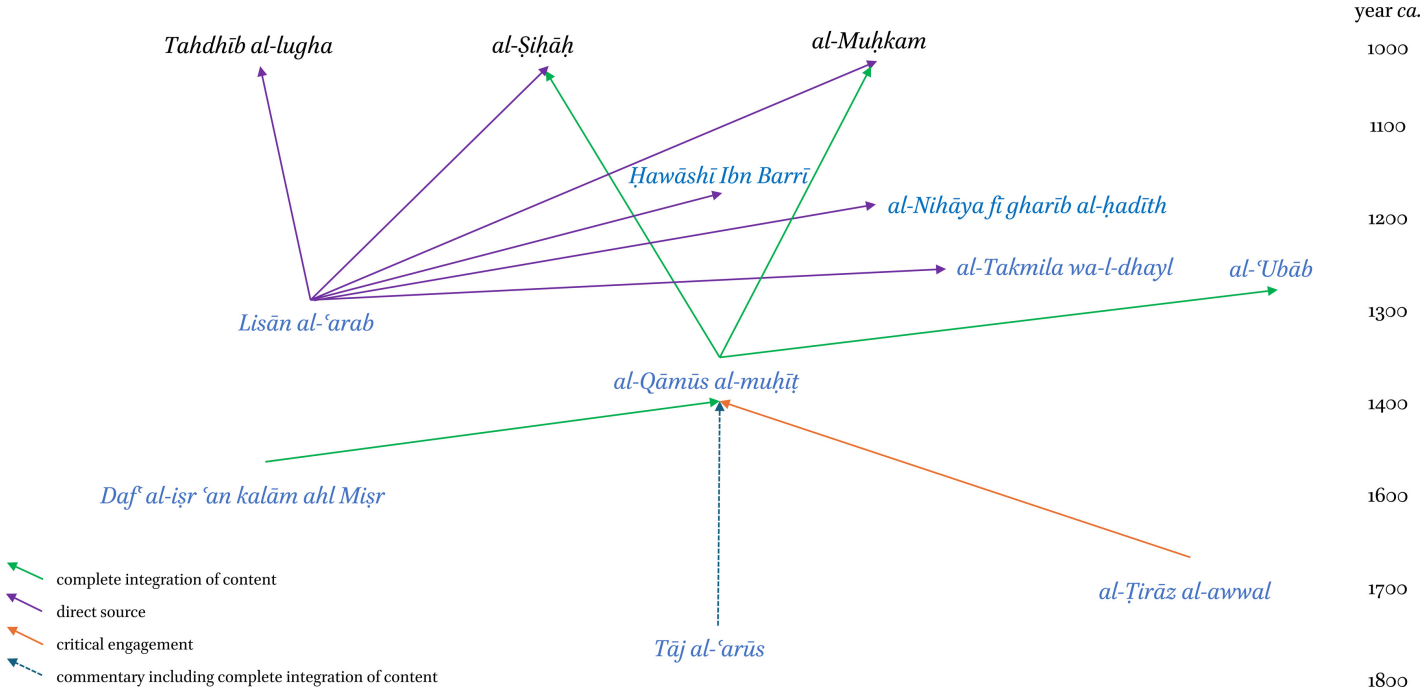

FIGURE 4 Dependency relations between dictionaries from the formative (black) and post-formative (blue) periods

1.3 *Functions of the Commentary Form*

We can therefore understand lexicography as the practice of commentating on words that require explanation, with the dictionary serving as a commentary on those words. This is further evident from the structure and content of a lemma in lexicography, which explains a word on a lexical, grammatical, semantic, and metaphorical level—mirroring, as shown above, the ways in which a commentary may discuss its lemmata.

I highlight this again because seeing a dictionary in this way can help better understand the Arabic lexicographical tradition of the post-formative period and its significance for intellectual history. This perspective helps us grasp how this genre remained so vibrant even after the 'classical' dictionaries secured their place in the canon. The commentary form provided multiple advantages for lexicography. But what role did the dictionaries as commentaries play in the post-formative period? I identify three main functions: a) consolidating the corpus, b) (re-)arranging content, and c) ensuring the transmission of content.

1.3.1 Consolidation of the Corpus

A discussion of critical points of disagreement between the authorities in *lugha* of the formative period was needed to consolidate the Arabic lexicon. As mentioned in the introduction, the possibility of 'discovering' new lexical items expired after the epochs of reliable usage (*ʿuṣūr al-iḥtijāj*).[20] Among the last lexicographers to obtain their material directly from Bedouin informants were Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Azharī (d. 370/980), the author of *Tahdhīb al-lugha* ("The Refinement of the Language"), and al-Jawharī, the author of *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*.[21] After the corpus was fixed, language specialists compared between transmitted works of *lugha* to establish the data and arguments they found most convincing.[22] This motive to compare and consolidate is what drove the bulk of the commentaries written on certain dictionaries—mainly those on *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* and *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*.

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20 See my Introduction and Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 29–36.

21 Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 31.

22 Assmann has identified three important conditions for commentaries to emerge: a) Schließung, i.e., closure or canonisation of the text to enable the process of commentating; b) semantische Verschiebung, i.e., a shift in the accessibility of a text's interpretation according to the reader's context. This can, of course, be easily applied to the understanding of (pre-Islamic) Bedouin terminology within an urban context—and if this goes for third/ninth-century Basra, it most certainly can hold true for eleventh/seventeenth-century Istanbul as well; c) Hodegetik ("guidance") und Hermeneutik, i.e., oral instruction in which a student recites the text and a teacher provides the commentary. See Assmann and Gladigow, *Text und Kommentar*, 28–31.

1.3.2 (Re-)Arrangement of Content

In tandem with the consolidation of material, new perspectives emerged as to how much of the corpus should be presented and how it should be arranged. To achieve this, the authors considered the users of their work, as can be gleaned from texts on the classification of the disciplines that proliferated in the post-formative period. The eighth/fourteenth-century scholar and physician Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 749/1348) wrote a compendium of the sciences entitled *Irshād al-qāṣid ilā asnā al-maqāṣid* ("Guiding the Seeker to the Most Radiant Aim"). For each discipline, he lists examples of its best books, categorising them into three types: *mukhtaṣar* ("abridgement"), *mutawassiṭ* ("medium length book"), and *mabsūṭ* ("elaborate treatment").[23] It stands to reason—as evidenced most saliently in the introduction to *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* (discussed further below)—that a lexicographer made a deliberate choice for one of these formats, depending on how they wished their work to be used and received. Even when the author aspired to create a multi-volume work, they might opt for a shorter discussion.[24]

Another issue to be solved before a lexicographer could begin writing was the question of arrangement. As mentioned in the Introduction, lexicographers of the post-formative period could choose between at least three different arrangements: rhyme order, alphabetical order by the first (root) letter, and phonetic-permutative order. Although rhyme order was most popular since al-Jawharī, relevant sources using other arrangements existed, such as Ibn Sīda's *Muḥkam*, which followed al-Khalīl's phonetic-permutative arrangement.[25] Incorporating the content of such a dictionary into another structure

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23 Ibn al-Akfānī, *Irshād al-qāṣid ilā asnā al-maqāṣid*, e.g., 111–112 on books of *lugha*.

24 Joel Blecher (*Said the Prophet of God*, 51) discusses this decision with respect to al-Nawawī's (d. 676/1277) commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*:

> […] Nawawī weighed his responsibility to serve the needs of the market against his desire to devote himself entirely to the never-ending work of interpreting a sacralized text, producing volume after volume over many years. In this case, Nawawī had his cake and ate it too: he resigned himself to writing a "midsize commentary" (*sharḥ mutawassiṭ*) but nevertheless produced a ten-volume work.

Considerations regarding size are also a topic of al-Zanjānī's (d. 656/1258) *Mukhtaṣar Ṣiḥāḥ al-Jawharī*. For the latter, see Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften*, vol. 6, Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1899), 233, No. 6943.

25 The suitability of the rhyme order was never put into question by critics of *al-Qāmūs* and *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*. See, for instance, Ibn Maʿsūm, who praises their *tartīb* as "the most popular and the most convenient," أشهر الترتيب تداولاً وأسهل عند الطلب تناولاً. See al-Sayyid ʿAlī Khān Ṣadr al-Dīn ibn al-Amīr Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Maʿṣūm, *al-Ṭirāz al-awwal wa-l-kanāz limā ʿalayhi min lughat al-ʿarab al-muʿawwal*, vol. 1 (Mashhad: Muʾassasat Āl al-bayt li-iḥyāʾ

required a complete rearrangement of the lemmata—an intervention that also involved decisions about the placement of certain roots. The choice of a specific arrangement was often explained and justified in the introduction and paired with a critique of other arrangements.[26]

1.3.3 Concern for the Transmission of Content

Another motive for engaging with earlier texts and the often verbatim incorporation of older material—which, to my mind, has not been stressed enough—is the simple need to secure the (correct) transmission of the material. Manuscript books were fragile carriers of information; in the case of multi-volume dictionaries, they were also expensive and hard to come by. Moreover, their content needed to be checked for misspellings and other errors by an expert. In the introduction of *al-ʿUbāb al-zākhir*, an instance of misspelling (*taṣḥīf*) found in another dictionary prompts al-Ṣaghānī to say: "I blame [the mistake] on an error made by the copyists, not the specialists."[27] In the process of copying for private use, as many scholars did, they could also decide to rework the text into a dictionary of their own. The most striking example is surely Ibn Manẓūr's (d. 711/1311) *Lisān al-ʿarab*, which constituted a five-in-one compilation of earlier lexicographical sources.

The oral-aural instruction practice of the formative period also continued to play a role in the transmission of (lexical) knowledge in later times. However, while lexicographers such as Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415), the author of *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, certainly taught their own works, they could not have collected all their data from oral instruction alone. It is clear that they used manuscript copies for their own compilations. This is demonstrated by the extensive, though often not exhaustive, lists of sources in the introductions to some dictionaries, such as al-Ṣaghānī's *al-ʿUbāb al-zākhir* and, much later, Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī's (d. 1205/1790) *Tāj al-ʿarūs min jawāhir al-Qāmūs* ("The Bridal Crown from the Jewels of the *Qāmūs*/Ocean").[28]

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al-turāth, 1426/2005), 10. Ibn Maʿṣūm also says (16) that al-Khalīl and Ibn Sīda "deviated" (*shadhdha*) in their use of the phonetic-permutative order.

26 For example, in Ibn Manẓūr's *Lisān al-ʿarab*, for which see below.

27 Al-Ṣaghānī, *al-ʿUbāb al-zākhir wa-l-lubāb al-fākhir*, 1:19:

وما حملت ذلك على الغلط إلا من الناسخين لا من الراسخين.

28 Regarding al-Ṣaghānī's dictionary, Baalbaki (*The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 382) notes that

> [t]he abundance of sources used by Ṣaġānī is not surprising given that, at a time when the Bedouin *fuṣaḥā'* on whom earlier sources relied for correct usage were something of the distant past, the only recourse authors had in their task of checking the validity of data was the massive philological literature available to them.

Al-Zabīdī's list of sources even provides details on the status of the manuscripts (draft or fair copy) he had at his disposal and the libraries from which he obtained them.[29] Al-Ṣaghānī similarly devotes part of his introduction to addressing incorrect *riwāya* ("transmission," in this case also attribution) found in some lines of poetry cited by the lexicographers al-Azharī, al-Jawharī, and Aḥmad Ibn Fāris al-Rāzī (d. 395/1004), therefore using the framework of his own new dictionary to amend the errors he found in others.[30] Thus, in many cases, transmission also entailed correction.

These three motives propelled the production of Arabic dictionaries during the post-formative period. However, the situation was more complex. The field of lexicography engaged with a well-known and widely circulated body of texts and words, whose correctness had been confirmed in the fourth/tenth century at the latest—it seemed there was nothing new to uncover. How, then, could all these new dictionaries receive any attention? How did the *lughawiyyūn* of the post-formative period ensure that their own texts were transmitted, circulated, and meaningfully engaged with? In the following section, we will look at how lexicographers secured their place in posterity by equipping their work for further engagement.

2 How to Invite Commentary

An author knows that the success of their book is only achieved through engagement—that is, continued reception through transmission, which not only involves oral transmission but also the physical act of copying, engagement through commentary, controversy, etc. Regarding philosophical texts, Asad Q. Ahmed argues that "the author of a lemma deliberately presents his argument in a truncated and allusive form, so that it may serve as a prompt for perpetuating a living philosophical dialectic."[31] Eric Van Lit takes issue with this suggestion, stating that "[a]t best this is an interesting possibility that could

29 Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs min jawāhir al-Qāmūs*, ed. Muhammad Farāj and ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad, vol. 1 (Kuwait: Maṭbaʿat ḥukūmat al-Kuwayt, 1965), 5–9. While to us today it seems hardly possible that one single person should have conceived and compiled a multi-volume dictionary, we have no evidence of collaborative projects in the field of premodern Arabic lexicography—unless, of course, one would want to view the reception and incorporation of earlier material as a form of collaboration.

30 Al-Ṣaghānī, *al-ʿUbāb al-zākhir wa-l-lubāb al-fākhir*, 1:12 ff.

31 Ahmed, "Post-Classical Philosophical Commentaries/Glosses: Innovation in the Margins," 320.

be tested, but so far it has remained an unfounded notion."[32] While I cannot assess the validity of this assertion for the field of philosophy, I find it applicable to the discipline of lexicography in the post-formative period. It is reasonable to assume that a scholar considers the reception of their text already during the writing process.[33] A prime example of a lexicographical text employing the "truncated and allusive form" that Ahmed describes—practically begging for explanation—is *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, the late eighth/fourteenth-century dictionary we have already encountered a few times now. Its form, along with its author's justification for its form and size, make it particularly suited for commentary and critique.

2.1 *Keeping It Short:* al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ

Born in the town of Kārizīn near Shīrāz on Ilkhanid territory in the year 729/1329, Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Fīrūzābādī studied in Shīrāz, Wāsiṭ, Baghdad, and Damascus. He later resided in Jerusalem, Mecca, and the Yemen, where he became closely acquainted with the Rasūlid sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbbās (r. 803/1377–927/1400). During this time, he served as a *qāḍī* in Zabīd and married the sultan's daughter.[34]

Al-Fīrūzābādī was a prolific writer, with his extant and lost works reflecting contributions across disciplines that include *adab*, *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, and *lugha*.[35] However, the number of al-Fīrūzābādī's works that strictly belong to the realm of *lugha* surpasses his contributions to all other disciplines.[36] Vivian Strotmann identifies twelve shorter, topical lexicological treatises among his work, including *Anwāʾ al-ghayth fī asmāʾ al-layth* ("The Rainstorm on the Names of the Lion"), *al-Jalīs al-anīs fī asmāʾ al-khandarīs* ("The Sociable Companion on the Names of Old Wine"), and several treatises on *muthallathāt*, words that have

32 Van Lit, "Commentary and Commentary Tradition."

33 This contradicts Assmann's statement (Assmann and Gladigow, *Text und Kommentar*, 19), which is more pertinent to belles-lettres:

> In der Regel ist eine sprachliche Äußerung, z.B. ein Gedicht, nicht als "Text" gemeint; es will Gegenstand jeglicher Art von Genuß, Vergnügen, Belehrung und Bewunderung, aber nicht philologischer Arbeit sein. Diese gehört in einen Horizont, der der sprachlichen Äußerung gegenüber sekundär und nachträglich ist.

34 For an exhaustive account of all available biographical data, see Strotmann, *Majd al-Dīn al-Fīrūzābādī*, chap. 3. Al-Fīrūzābādī himself mentions Kārizīn as his birthplace in the *Qāmūs* s.v. *k-r-z*.

35 Strotmann, *Majd al-Dīn al-Fīrūzābādī*, 171 ff.

36 Other works also had a strong linguistic component, such as *al-Ishārāt ilā mā fī kutub al-fiqh min al-asmāʾ wa-l-amākin wa-l-lughāt* ("Pointing out the Names, Places, and Dialects in the Books of *fiqh*").

three different meanings depending on their vocalisation with *ḍamma*, *fatḥa*, or *kasra*.[37]

Al-Fīrūzābādī's masterstroke is undoubtedly *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, the dictionary that, according to the distich quoted at the outset of this chapter, rendered *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* obsolete.[38] In its introduction, the author explains the genesis of *al-Qāmūs*: he began by writing a dictionary that combined the finest two works in the field,[39] Ibn Sīda's *al-Muḥkam* and al-Ṣaghānī's *al-ʿUbāb al-zakhir*. Both lexica were appreciated for their comprehensiveness, but al-Fīrūzābādī soon realised that compiling such a work would amount to a dictionary of about sixty volumes, "which would render students unable to attain it; and so I was asked to prioritise a concise book of the same arrangement."[40] If we take this statement as more than a topos, it suggests that the author of *al-Qāmūs* was requested to produce a *mukhtaṣar* of his originally intended work. Moreover, it reflects his intention to make his work widely used. He made deliberate pragmatic decisions to achieve concision and comprehensiveness. The result, as he terms it in the introduction, is an extract (*khulāṣa*) of both dictionaries, condensing the initially devised sixty volumes into two.

The most striking intervention al-Fīrūzābādī made, compared to the works of his predecessors in the field, was undoubtedly the omission of *shawāhid* (probative quotations or proof texts) from his entries. As noted, the need to explain rare words was the rationale behind the early manifestations of Arabic lexicography. To show how these words were used in context—and no less importantly, to prove their usage—single or multiple lines of poetry were

37 See Strotmann, *Majd al-Dīn al-Fīrūzābādī*, 196 ff.

38 According to Strotmann, the author began work on the *Qāmūs* when he was in his thirties. It existed in two versions, because it was reworked for "political reasons." Strotmann, *Majd al-Dīn al-Fīrūzābādī*, 72, 76:

> The first edition of the Qāmūs was probably begun around the year 759/1357–1358. It was half finished by the year 768/1366–1367 and concluded around 790/1388. The time at which al-Fīrūzābādī began the second version is unknown. It is likely that this version was concluded after the year 803/1400–1401.

That the question of the two versions occupied a premodern audience as well is apparent, for instance, from al-Kawkabānī, *Fulk al-Qāmūs*, 49 ff. Al-Kawkabānī mentions twelve lemmata that may be used to tell the first from the second version of the *Qāmūs*.

39 On this work, which had the title *al-Lāmiʿ al-muʿallam al-ʿujāb al-jāmiʿ bayn al-Muḥkam wa-l-ʿUbāb* and of which allegedly five volumes were completed, see Strotmann, *Majd al-Dīn al-Fīrūzābādī*, 72–74.

40 Al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, 1:3:

غير أني خمنته في ستين سفراً يعجز تحصيله الطلاب وسئلت تقديم كتاب وجيز على ذلك النظام.

cited within a lemma. The inclusion of a host of verses in a dictionary also served a practical function. Often the rhyme word was the rare word needing explanation, because it might be recherché for the sake of rhyme or have an unusual form for the sake of metre. On a manuscript page, lines of poetry were set apart in the layout, mostly by marking them (e.g., with red dots, and/or indenting them; see also Figure 7). They more easily caught the eye of the reader than the surrounding running text and could thus function as a finding aid.

The fact that al-Fīrūzābādī felt at ease deleting almost all of the *shawāhid* demonstrates just how much the corpus of the *ʿarabiyya* had been established by the eighth/fourteenth century. Quotations that had formerly served to prove that a word belonged to *kalām al-ʿarab* were apparently no longer needed for this purpose—at least in the view of the author of *al-Qāmūs*.[41] By contrast, Ibn Manẓūr, the author of *Lisān al-ʿarab*, who had completed his masterpiece roughly a century earlier, chose to retain not only the *shawāhid* but all source material, even at the cost of stark redundancy in many lemmata. As we will see in subsequent chapters, later lexicographers also continued to retain poetry quotations as a central feature of both comprehensive and specialised lexicons.

Another method of saving space, as announced by al-Fīrūzābādī in his *muqaddima*, was the introduction of new abbreviations. These included not just the *mīm* for meanings that are known (*maʿrūf*)—an abbreviation that was already used by al-Jawharī—but also the letter *ʿayn* for *mawḍiʿ* ("place," i.e., a toponym), *dāl* for *balad* ("town"), *tāʾ marbūṭa* for *qarya* ("village") and *jīm* for *jamʿ* ("plural").[42] Al-Fīrūzābādī also announced his adoption of a consistent method of mentioning regular feminine forms and verb vocalisation, all aimed at saving space:

> And among the novelties of its brevity and the elegant layout of its concision is the fact that, whenever I mention the masculine form, I follow it up with the feminine by saying "and it is with *hāʾ* [i.e, *tāʾ marbūṭa*]" and I do not repeat the form itself; and whenever I mention the *maṣdar* exclusively or the perfect without the imperfect, this means that the verb follows the

41 Al-Fīrūzābādī was not the first to delete the *shawāhid*. The bibliographer Muṣṭafa ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ḥājjī Khalīfa (d. 1017/1657) mentions that Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh al-Dimashqī (d. 720/1320) wrote a *mukhtaṣar* of *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* without the probative quotations. One could argue, however, that an abridgement fulfilled a different function than a comprehensive dictionary such as *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*. See Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 2:1072.

42 Al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, 1:4.

> pattern of *kataba* [i.e., *kataba—yaktubu*] and if I mention the imperfect without further qualification [i.e., of the vocalisation of the second root letter], it follows the pattern of *ḍaraba* [i.e., *ḍaraba—yaḍribu*].[43]

This encoding of morphological information through the presentation of a lemma was a novelty introduced to Arabic lexicography by al-Fīrūzābādī, reflecting how keen he was on achieving brevity. For the reader, however, this innovation made reading the introduction (or studying it with a teacher, or even reading a commentary on it) indispensable for using the dictionary. *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* is arguably the first and only Arabic dictionary that requires such instruction. By omitting the need to spell out the vocalisation of verb forms, the lemmata indeed became considerably shorter. A way to avoid spelling out the vocalisation of a noun was to use words with well-known and uncontested vocalisation as paradigms for the form explained in the lemma. A random example is *al-kurrāth*: *ka-rummān wa-kuttān*, "*al-kurrāth*: [vocalised] like *rummān* and *kuttān*."[44] The particle *ka-* places the form of a word in parallel with a more familiar word; al-Jawharī used the longer expression *mithāl* … to signal the same pattern.

The interventions al-Fīrūzābādī made to reduce the size of his dictionary had an additional advantage for the reader: even comparatively longer entries of *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, where one might look for a specific form or usage, became much easier to navigate than those in other dictionaries. One example suffices to illustrate the difference in proportions of the same lemma, *ʾ-b-z*, between *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (on the right) and *al-Qāmūs* (on the left):

43 Al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, 1:4:

ومن بديع اختصاره وحسن ترصيع تقصاره أني إذا ذكرت صيغة المذكر أتبعتها المؤنث بقولي وهي بهاء ولا أعيد الصيغة. وإذا ذكرت المصدر مطلقاً أو الماضي بدون الآتي ولا مانع فالفعل على مثال كتب وإذا ذكرت آتيه بلا تقييد فهو على مثال ضرب.

44 Al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, 1:179, s.r. *k-r-th*. Similarly, in *al-ʿUbāb al-zākhir* al-Ṣaghānī had indicated the vocalisation patterns of certain words with *bi-wazn* … ("of the pattern of …"). See Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 384.

al-Qāmūs, s.r. أبز	*al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, s.r. أبز
أبز الظبي يأبز، أي قفز في عدوه، فهو أباز وأبوز. قال الراجز: يا رُبَّ أَبَّازٍ من العُفْرِ صَدَعْ تَقَبَّضَ الذئبُ إليه، فاجْتَمَعْ وقال آخر: لقَدْ صَبَحْتُ حَمَلَ بنَ كُوزِ عُلالَةً من وَكَرَى أَبُوزِ تُرِيحُ بعد النَّفَسِ المَحْفوزِ إراحةَ الجِدايَةِ النَّفُوزِ قال أبو الحسن محمد بن كيسان: قرأته على ثعلب (جمل بن كوز) بالجيم، وأخذه عليَّ بالحاء. قال: وأنا إلى الحاء أميل. يقول: سقيته علالة من عدو فرس صبوحاً، يعني أنه أغار عليه وقت الصبح، فجعل ذلك صبوحاً له.	أبز الظبي يأبز أبزاً وأبوزاً وأبزى، كجمزى: وثب، أو تطلق في عدوه. أو الأبزى: اسم وظبي، وظبية آبز وأباز وأبوز، وأبز الإنسان: استراح في عدوه، ثم مضى، ومات معافصة، وأبز بصاحبه: بغى عليه. ونجيبة أبوز: تصبر صبراً عجيباً.

Even though al-Fīrūzābādī's lemma is much shorter (38 words versus 78 words in *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*), it contains more morphological information, such as the *maṣdar* and derived nouns, and gives a broader range of meanings for *abaza* and related nouns. (In this case, al-Fīrūzābādī opted not to omit the imperfect/perfect form, likely because *abaza* ("to jump") is a hamzated verb.) By contrast, al-Jawharī cites two different poets—whose names he does not mention but who were probably easily identified by his audience—on the meaning of *abāz* and *abūz*. He then clarifies the correct reading of *ḥamala/jamala bni kūz* with a reference to the Baghdadī grammarian Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Kīsān (d. 299/912), who, in turn, cites his teacher Thaʿlab (d. 291/904). Al-Jawharī thus provides an *isnād* here, though on a topic unrelated to the lemma itself. While *sharḥ* of poetry quotations and other extraneous aspects was part and parcel of a dictionary entry, al-Fīrūzābādī freed himself of the need to explain obscure verses by leaving out the poetry altogether.[45]

The pithy prose of the *Qāmūs* puts into focus a function of the text that is often neglected and somewhat difficult to imagine in the context of lexicography: its use as a curricular text. It may seem far-fetched to think of the *Qāmūs*

45 The same lemma in *Lisān al-ʿarab* has 313 words, of which a large portion is devoted to explaining rare words from the quoted poetry.

as a schoolbook, but it certainly must have been taught; it can even be argued that its language is a testimony to such use.[46] Once again, Asad Q. Ahmed's observations on philosophy may serve as a useful template. Referring to an eleventh/seventeenth-century treatise on logic, *Sullam al-ʿulūm* ("The Ladder of the Disciplines") by Muḥibb Allāh al-Bihārī (d. 1118/1707), Ahmed notes that "[t]he allusive and packed language of the *Sullam* suggests that it was very likely written as a curricular text, one whose lemmata were prompts that allowed space for philosophical elaboration, exploration, dispute, and controlled digressions in the teaching sessions."[47] Similarly, the "allusive and packed language" of the *Qāmūs* allowed space for these functions. It is reasonable to assume that many of the commentaries written on the *Qāmūs* were (by)products of teaching and studying. In 2004, Robert Wisnovsky observed that "the shorter an original text is, the more likely it is to attract the interest of commentators," and took a "guess at several reasons for this:"

> (a) with short works there is much to decompress, in other words, much exegetical work remains to be done; (b) underdetermined texts offer the commentator greater opportunity to try out new ideas and arguments; (c) short works are useful as introductory texts in school settings; (d) commenting on a short work requires less of a commitment of time and energy than commenting on a long work; (e) short works are easier to transport when one goes on a study-abroad trip (*riḥla fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*); and (f) short works are cheaper and quicker to copy than long treatises.[48]

The combination of comprehensiveness and concision, described as "on the verge of rendering one incapable" (*ʿan ḥadd al-iʿjāz*),[49] is an important aspect

46 We know that al-Fīrūzābādī taught at the Niẓāmiyya in Baghdad and later founded his own schools in Mecca and Medina. See Strotmann, *Majd al-Dīn al-Fīrūzābādī*, 124 ff. One famous student was the biographer Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), who also penned multiple lexicological treatises. See for a list of "further pupils" Strotmann, 126–128. Ingalls points out that a *mukhtaṣar* was never meant to be read without a teacher. Ingalls, *The Anonymity of a Commentator*, 16.

47 Ahmed, "Post-Classical Philosophical Commentaries/Glosses: Innovation in the Margins," 323.

48 Wisnovsky, "The Nature and Scope of Arabic Philosophical Commentary," 159.

49 This was the assessment of al-Zabīdī: "As his presentation was of the utmost succinctness, and his succinctness was on the verge of rendering one incapable, men of knowledge engaged with uncovering his obscurities and subtleties, thank God for their pursuit!" See al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, 1:2:

ولما كان إبرازه في غاية الإيجاز وإيجازه عن حد الإعجاز، تصدى لكشف غوامضه ودقائقه رجال من أهل العلم، شكر الله سعيهم.

that made the *Qāmūs* particularly attractive for later scholars.[50] Its terseness, while potentially obscure, became an asset rather than a hindrance to further study. The *Qāmūs*-commentary of Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Qarāfī (d. 1008/1600), an Egyptian jurist,[51] was aptly called *al-Qawl al-maʾnūs bi-fatḥ mughlaq al-Qāmūs* ("The Intimate Talk on Unlocking the *Qāmūs*").[52] Its obscurity, however, was by no means the only aspect that caught the attention of later scholars.

2.2 Al-Qāmūs*' Claim to Superiority*

In the middle of his introduction, al-Fīrūzābādī mentions another pursuit, one that was bound—and likely intended—to spark controversy. He realised that people were appreciative of al-Jawharī's *Ṣiḥāḥ*, even though its author had "missed half of the language or more, either through omitting the lemma or leaving out rare and deviating usages."[53] Consequently, he selected *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* to be his object of engagement, noting that "despite the obvious errors and embarrassing mistakes in most part of it, it is widely circulating and famous; teachers

50 The same was noted by Ingalls (*The Anonymity of a Commentator*, 156) regarding the popularity of two of Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's legal commentaries:

> The *Tuḥfat al-ṭullāb* and the *Fatḥ al-wahhāb* stand as al-Anṣārī's shortest complete commentaries in substantive law, which, on the one hand, makes them particularly useful in later teaching circles while creating, on the other, the need for subsequent commentaries to unpack their pithy prose.

51 The eleventh/seventeenth-century biographer al-Muḥibbī does not enumerate al-Qarāfī's works because they are too many to count. See Muḥammad al-Amīn ibn Fadl Allah al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1446/1986), 4:259.

52 The work is preserved, for instance at Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Pococke 221, https://www.fihrist.org.uk/catalog/manuscript_1439, and as *Ḥāshiyat al-Qāmūs* at Princeton, Princeton University Library, MS Garrett no. 286H, http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/dcpz50h6380.

53 Al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, 1:3:

> ولما رأيت إقبال الناس على صحاح الجوهري، وهو جدير بذلك، غير أنه فاته نصف اللغة أو أكثر، إما بإهمال المادة أو بترك المعاني الغريبة النادة ...

Al-Fīrūzābādī's critique of al-Jawharī—that he "missed half of the language or more"—was taken up by al-Suyūṭī (*al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha wa-anwāʿihā*, 1:103) with regard to the *Qāmūs*: فقد فاته أشياء ظفرت بها في أثناء مطالعتي لكتب اللغة حتى أجمعها في جزء مذيلاً عليه: "He missed things I came across while studying the books of *lugha*, so I have collected them in a section supplementing it."

rely on it for its transmitted content and proof texts."[54] This statement suggests that al-Fīrūzābādī believed that the fame of his predecessor's work could rub off on his own dictionary through direct engagement. He sought to demonstrate the superiority of the *Qāmūs* by "indicating with red ink the lemmata that al-Jawharī had omitted" (see Figure 5 for an example).[55]

If one regards comprehensiveness as the main objective of a dictionary, as al-Fīrūzābādī obviously did, his criticism of al-Jawharī is not unwarranted. The title *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (full title: *Tāj al-lugha wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿarabiyya*, "The Crown of *lugha* and the Correct Uses of Arabic") is indicative of method: al-Jawharī never intended to include everything, but only that which he deemed correct.[56] Of course such an approach can lead to controversy, because, contrary to *ḥadīth* studies, where the label *ṣaḥīḥ* is used for *ḥadīth* whose trustworthiness is established beyond doubt through an impeccable chain of transmission (*isnād*), there is no such formal categorisation in lexicography; *isnād*s were indeed used in the discipline, but not in a consistent manner.[57] Al-Jawharī's short introduction does not give us much to work with. His only reference to his method of selection is that he "laid down in [the book] what [he] found to be correct from this language whose position was elevated by God."[58] In contrast,

54 Al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, 1:4:

واختصصت كتاب الجوهري من بين الكتب اللغوية، مع ما في غالبها من الأوهام الواضحة والأغلاط الفاضحة، لتداوله واشتهاره بخصوصه واعتماد المدرسين على نقوله ونصوصه.

55 Al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, 1:3: فكتبت بالحمرة المادة المهملة لديه

56 Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 281 notes that

> [c]ontrary to *al-Ṣaḥāḥ*'s method, most later lexica [...] aimed at exhaustiveness although they followed its rhyme system of arrangement which only took into account the order of the radicals in the root. Accordingly, Ǧawharī's influence on the tradition was primarily related to the formal aspect, rather than the essential feature of excluding incorrect or doubtful material, irrespective of the fact that he nowhere explains the bases on which he relied in the choice of his material.

57 Examples include the frequent mention of an *isnād* for certain knowledge or for the transmission of a certain book in Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Fāris' *al-Ṣāḥibī fī fiqh al-lugha wa-sunan al-ʿarab fī kalāmihā* or in the introduction of a book, such as in al-Jawālīqī's *al-Muʿarrab min al-kalām al-aʿjamī ʿalā ḥurūf al-muʿjam* (on which see Chapter 3).

58 Abū Naṣr Ismāʿīl ibn Ḥammād al-Jawharī, *Tāj al-lugha wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿarabiyya*, ed. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ghafūr ʿAṭṭār, 2nd ed. (Cairo: Dār al-kitāb al-ʿarabī bi-Miṣr, 1956), 33:

فإني قد أودعت في هذا الكتاب ما صح عندي من هذه اللغة التي شرف الله منزلتها ...

Contrasting this statement to the frequent assertion of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933) in *Jamharat al-lugha* that he cannot confirm the correctness of a

al-Fīrūzābādī, as apparent from both the title of his book and the introduction, wishes that his work encompasses the correct (*fuṣaḥ*) as well as the rare (*shawārid*) usages.[59]

By the time al-Fīrūzābādī voiced his criticism of *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, the book had already attained the status of a classic of lexicography. Its arrangement (the so-called "rhyme order," *muqaffā*[60]), in specific, had been widely lauded and adopted by most lexicographers after the fourth/tenth century, most notably by Ibn Manẓūr (see below) and, of course, by al-Fīrūzābādī himself.[61] *Al-Ṣiḥāḥ* was first abridged and translated into Persian in the seventh/thirteenth century[62] and later into Turkish in the tenth/sixteenth century,[63] serving as a template for other bilingual dictionaries of the Arabic language. The debate over whether to give preference to *Ṣiḥāḥ* or *Qāmūs* spilled over to Europe in the late sixteenth century, when both dictionaries were 'discovered' by the first orientalists.[64]

Not only did al-Fīrūzābādī mark the lemmata that al-Jawharī had omitted, he also took care to point out errors within individual entries, often with the phrase *wa-wahima l-Jawharī fī …* ("and al-Jawharī was wrong in …"). As an

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certain word, shows that al-Jawharī's method was indeed to include only those words for which he had first-hand proof. See Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 26–27. A list of Ibn Durayd's "unsound" entries is given by al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha wa-anwāʿihā*, 1:108 ff.

59 Al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, 1:3: … معرباً عن الفصح والشوارد …

60 This is the term used, for instance, by Ibn al-Athīr in *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-l-athar*, ed. Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Zāwī and Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭannāḥī (Qum: Muʾassasat Ismāʿīlīyān, 1364/1985), 1:8 ff.

61 This important feature, which distinguishes al-Fīrūzābādī's most prized models *al-Muḥkam* and *al-ʿUbāb* from his object of criticism *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, is not explicitly mentioned in the introduction of the *Qāmūs*. What al-Fīrūzābādī does mention about his arrangement is the fact that he, contrary to al-Jawharī, clearly distinguishes between *wāw* and *yāʾ* (al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, 1:4: ومن أحسم ما اختص به هذا الكتاب تخليص الواو من الياء). The question whether a root containing a *ḥarf muʿtall* belongs to the chapter *wāw* or *yāʾ* was a matter that was sometimes solved by putting them in one chapter; al-Fīrūzābādī wanted to settle this controversy by properly separating them.

62 *Al-Ṣurāḥ min al-Ṣiḥāḥ* ("The Clarity from *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*") was compiled in 681/1282 in Turkestan by the historiographer Cemal Ḳarşî (Abū al-Faḍl Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, d. after 702/1303). See Mustafa Budak, "Cemâl-i Karşî," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 1993, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/cemal-i-karsi.

63 Ḥājjī Khalīfa reports that Muḥammad ibn Muṣṭafā el-Vānī (d. 1000/1592), known as Vanḳulu, chose to translate the *Ṣiḥāḥ* because it was "widely acknowledged by the scholars who mattered" (*maqbūlan musallaman ʿinda l-fuḥūl*). See Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 2:1023. On Vanḳulu, see Mustafa S. Kaçalin, "Vankulu," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 2012, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/vankulu.

64 See Colinda Lindermann, "Al-Fīrūzābādī *togatus*: Arabische Wörterbücher in der europäischen Frühmoderne," *Geschichte der Germanistik* 51/52 (2017): 66–74.

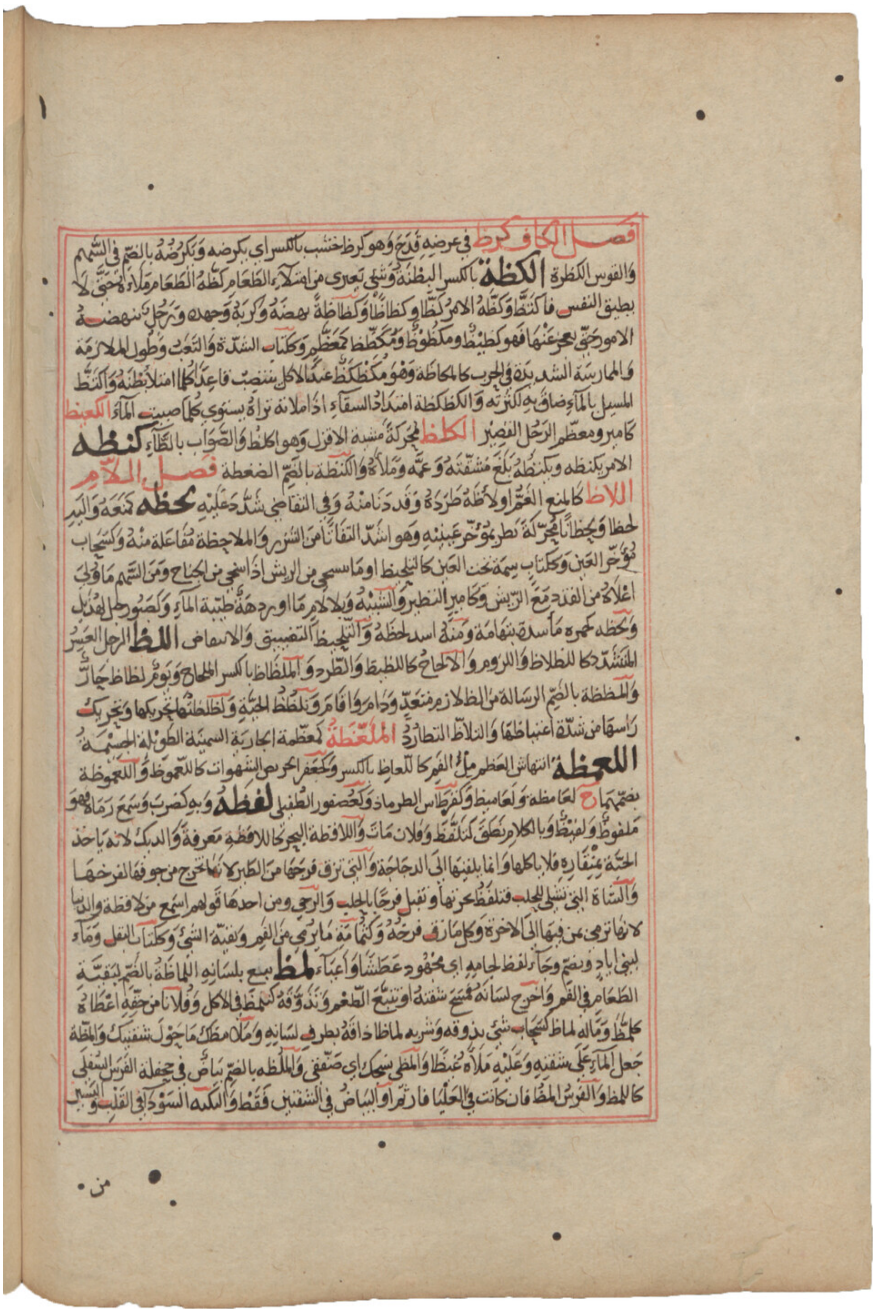

FIGURE 5 A copy of *al-Qāmūs* in which the lemmata "missing" from *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* are written in red, whereas the lemmata also present in *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* are written in bold black. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – PK, Landberg 83, fol. 331b, copied 946/1540

example, I cite the lemma *ḥabanṭa'* ("short and fat, big-bellied") in *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* and *al-Qāmūs*. The parts of the text marked in red are common to both lemmata:

***al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, s.r. حبط**	***al-Qāmūs*, s.r. حبأ**
رَجُلٌ حَبَنْطَأٌ وحَبَنْطَأَةٌ وحَبَنْطَى أيضاً بلا همز: قَصِيرٌ سَمِينٌ ضخم البَطن، وكذلك المُحَبَنْطِئ بهمز ولا يهمز، وقال: هو الممتلئ غيظاً. أبو زيد: احبنطأ الرجل، إذا انفتخ جوفه.	رَجُلٌ حَبَنْطَأٌ وحَبَنْطَأَةٌ وحَبَنْطَى ومُحَبَنْطِئٌ: قَصِيرٌ سَمِينٌ، بَطِينٌ. واحْبَنْطَأَ: انْتَفَخَ جَوْفُه، أو امْتَلأَ غَيْظاً، ووهِمَ الجَوْهَرِيُّ في إيرادِهِ بعد تَرْكِيبِ: ح ط أ.

The first point to note about this lemma is that each dictionary lists it to a different root: al-Jawharī considers it to be from the root *ḥ-b-ṭ*, whereas al-Fīrūzābādī identifies the *hamza* as the third root letter. Al-Fīrūzābādī explicitly critiques this an "error," asserting that "al-Jawharī was wrong in citing it after the root *ḥ-ṭ-*'"—recall that in the rhyme order, *ḥ-b-ṭ* indeed comes after *ḥ-ṭ-'*. Determining a word's correct root was, of course, a main task of a lexicographer and often sparked serious controversy, especially with four- or five-root-letter-words, as in this example. The rhyme order made it essential to identify the *last* root letter, as it was the primary criterion for arrangement, followed by the first letter.

For our purpose, it is neither necessary nor desirable to establish which author was "correct." What matters is that al-Fīrūzābādī plainly stated where he found al-Jawharī to be wrong—an intervention that motivated later authors to engage with the *Qāmūs* through commentaries that focused on whether al-Fīrūzābādī's critique was justified. These works painstakingly examined each of the alleged *awhām wāḍiḥa* and *aghlāṭ fāḍiḥa* attributed to al-Jawharī. By explicitly pointing out his disagreements, al-Fīrūzābādī invited such scrutiny. A recent study of his critique of al-Jawharī identifies a total of 373 points directed at *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, spanning morphology, semantics, spelling, probative quotations and reliable transmission, al-Jawharī's corrections (of older sources), and syntax.[65]

65 See ʿĀmir Bāhir Asamīr al-Ḥiyālī, *Abḥāth fī al-muʿjamiyya al-ʿarabiyya* (Beirut: al-Dār al-ʿarabiyya li-l-mawsūʿāt, 2015), 7–76, especially 14 ff. Some scholars attributed the errors in

2.3 *Counter-Criticism at* al-Qāmūs

The question of who 'got it right' generated a significant body of texts. The first was Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *al-Ifṣāḥ fī zawā'id al-Qāmūs ʿalā al-Ṣiḥāḥ* ("The Frank Statement Regarding the *Qāmūs*' Additions to the *Ṣiḥāḥ*").[66] Treatises comparing *Ṣiḥāḥ* and *Qāmūs* proliferated particularly during the eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries. The phenomenon spanned the entire region and period where Arabic served as the language of scholarship, as apparent by the treatise *al-Wishāḥ wa-tathqīf al-rimāḥ fī radd tawhīm al-Majd al-Ṣiḥāḥ* ("The Swordbelt and the Straight Arrows in Refuting the Accusations of al-Majd at *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*") by the *maghribī* scholar ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd al-Azīz al-Tādilī (d. ca. 1200/1785).[67] How can we explain this phenomenon? One answer lies in the context of education. The *Ṣiḥāḥ* vs. *Qāmūs* debate, which the *Qāmūs* instigated, parallels scholarly controversies found in other fields of commentary culture, such as rhetoric. Differences of opinion between a commentator and the author of a master text were highlighted in subsequent commentary literature, becoming staples of debate in the classroom. In his analysis of the commentaries arising from Yūsuf ibn Abī Bakr al-Sakkākī's (d. 626/1229) rhetoric manual *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* ("The Key to the Displines"), William Smyth observed that

> [t]he perceived dispute between the two authors was not simply an interesting point to which the teacher might allude in class, but a topic which students were obliged to memorize along with everything else.[68] [...] Choosing a text in this environment meant something like taking sides, and the competitive element must surely have added life to what was a difficult and abstruse curriculum.[69]

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al-Ṣiḥāḥ to the fact that its author died before he could finish it: in an attempt to fly, he jumped off the roof of the Great Mosque in Nisapur with the wings of a door attached to his arms. Al-Ḥiyālī puts forward the explanation that the lemmata these errors mainly concern are those containing *ḥurūf al-dhalāqa* (the *liquidae*, i.e., the "liquid consonants" *b, f, l, m, n*, and *r*), which are especially prone to *taṣḥīf* (misspelling), as well as the hamzated and weak letters. See al-Ḥiyālī, *Abḥāth fī al-muʿjamiyya al-ʿarabiyya*, 16.

66 Al-Suyūṭī's treatise is not extant. See Ṭāhir S. Ḥammūda, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: ʿAṣruhu wa-ḥayātuhu wa-āthāruhu wa-juhūduhu fī al-dars al-lughawī* (Beirut, 1989), 212.

67 Muḥammad ʿAṭṭār, *Muqaddamat al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, 176 lists eight such texts. Sukayna al-Kuḥlānī mentions ten treatises comparing *Ṣiḥāḥ* and *Qāmūs*, see Sukayna bint ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Kuḥlānī, "Kitāb al-Durr al-laqīṭ fī aghlāṭ al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ, ta'līf Muḥammad ibn Muṣṭafā Dāwūdzāda" (MA thesis, Mecca, Umm al-Qura University, 1417/1997), 15–16.

68 Smyth, "Controversy in a Tradition of Commentary," 594.

69 Smyth, "Controversy in a Tradition of Commentary," 596.

The question of whether the *Qāmūs* was given preference over the *Ṣiḥāḥ* must have fulfilled a similar function in the *madrasa*. From today's perspective, seeing these commentaries as part of a lively debate instead of a dull repetition of arguments (or even part of a "difficult and abstruse curriculum") may help us understand their popularity and the continued engagement with the same topic.

The truncated and therefore often obscure lemmata of *al-Qāmūs* were noted and criticised by the twelfth/eighteenth-century Yemeni grammarian al-Kawkabānī, who authored a short treatise titled *Fulk al-Qāmūs* ("The Ship to Navigate the Ocean/*Qāmūs*"). While the treatise offers practical tips for using the *Qāmūs*, as promised by its title, it also indulges in criticism explaining why the *Qāmūs* has not superseded the *Ṣiḥāḥ*, despite its popularity as evidenced by the distich quoted at the outset of this chapter. Among the nine flaws (*ʿuyūb*) of the *Qāmūs* al-Kawkabānī identifies, "the first is the fact that its author, God have mercy on him, overdid it with concision, to the point that he added to it puzzles and riddles that only few brilliant minds understand."[70] He clearly did not consider *al-Qāmūs* better than *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, arguing:

> As for the *Qāmūs*: even if today people rely on it, they cannot attain the status of one of those scholars. However, I have traced much of what al-Majd [Majd al-Dīn al-Fīrūzābādī] and others have claimed that al-Jawharī was wrong about—and I have found it to be correct.[71]

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70 Al-Kawkabānī, *Fulk al-Qāmūs*, 44:

الأول أنه رحمه الله بالغ في الإيجاز فيه حتى ألحقه بالمعميات والألغاز فلا يفهم كثيرا منه إلا القليل من أرباب الفطنة الوقادة والطبيعة المنقادة.

The nine flaws are: 1) Al-Fīrūzābādī overdid it with concision (*al-ījāz*); 2) he was unique in including words that were not found in other dictionaries and which were too specific, such as a fortress in Yemen (*al-kawkabān*) and a type of bread eaten with *laban* (*al-luḥūḥ*); 3) For many loanwords, he only provided an etymology without any additional information; 4) What is marked as *maʿrūf* by him may not be *maʿrūf* for most people, such as plant names; 5) *Gharīb* is explained by even more obscure (*aghrab*) expressions—this is a flaw also present in *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* and other books; 6) Al-Fīrūzābādī mixed up *majāz* ("figurative meaning") and *ḥaqīqa* ("literal meaning")—again, a flaw also present in other books; 7) He sometimes does not adhere to the principles he detailed in his introduction; 8) He got the number of *dārāt* wrong (holes in the ground that were counted and named by the Arabs, and apparently transmitted from dictionary to dictionary; al-Kawkabānī says that *al-ʿUbāb* got them right); 9) He is not consistent in providing grammatical information.

71 Al-Kawkabānī, *Fulk al-Qāmūs*, 32:

This critique also serves to direct positive attention to the critic. Al-Kawkabānī was not one to blindly follow his contemporaries; he critically engaged with the content of the *Qāmūs* and compared it to the *Ṣiḥāḥ*, believing that a re-assessment was in order.

According to al-Kawkabānī, the fact that al-Fīrūzābādī strongly criticised the *Ṣiḥāḥ* in his introduction makes him even more culpable for the errors in the *Qāmūs*:

> He said that al-Jawharī overlooked half of the language or more, either because he omitted the lemma or by leaving out the rare meanings in Arabic. After such a statement *he* should not have omitted anything that al-Jawharī did mention![72]

2.4 *Ottoman Engagement in the Debate* Ṣiḥāḥ-Qāmūs

A few decades before al-Kawkabānī, in the centre of the Ottoman Empire, another scholar countered the criticism of al-Fīrūzābādī. Muḥammad ibn Muṣṭafā ibn Kamāl ibn Dāwūd al-Rūmī, known in Turkish as Karadāvudzāde Meḥmed (d. 1169/1756), spent most of his life in Istanbul as a teacher, with a brief period serving as a judge in Damascus.[73] Karadāvudzāde wrote poetry in Turkish, composed a Turkish commentary on Muḥammad al-Jazūlī's (d. 870/1465) famous prayer book *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* ("Waymarks of Benefits"), authored an Arabic treatise on Persian proverbs, and produced a commentary on Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ajdābī's (d. 650/1077) popular treatise on synonyms, *Kifāyat al-mutaḥaffiẓ wa-nihāyat al-mutalaffiẓ fī al-lugha al-arabiyya* ("The Mindful's Sufficient and the Articulate's Ultimate on the Arabic Language").[74] Evidently versed in the three languages of the Ottoman empire, he also contributed to the *Ṣiḥāḥ* and *Qāmūs* debate, writing a treatise entitled *al-Durr al-laqīṭ fī aghlāṭ al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* ("The Picked-up Pearl on the Errors of *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*"). In many entries, he shows how the errors of *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* caught by al-Fīrūzābādī had

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وأما القاموس وإن اعتمده أهل عصرنا فليس فيهم من بلغ رتبة أحد أولئك الأئمة على أنا تتبعنا كثيرا مما ادعاه المجد وغيره أن الجوهري وهم فيه فوجدناه صحيحا.

72 Al-Kawkabānī, *Fulk al-Qāmūs*, 34:

وقال إنه فات الجوهري نصف اللغة أو أكثر إما بإهمال المادة أو بترك المعاني العربية النادرة فكان عليه بعد هذا الكلام أن لا يهمل شيئا ذكره الجوهري.

73 Al-Kuḥlānī, "Kitāb al-Durr al-laqīṭ fī aghlāṭ al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ," [Study] 22.

74 Al-Kuḥlānī, "Kitāb al-Durr al-laqīṭ fī aghlāṭ al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ," [Study] 26–27.

already been identified by two earlier commentators of *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Barrī (d. 582/1187) and al-Ṣaghānī.[75] This is a salient observation, as it detracts from the achievement of the author of *al-Qāmūs*, who could be accused of neglecting to credit these earlier scholars with their original corrections.

As mentioned earlier, dictionaries and their commentaries were a means of gathering and preserving knowledge, even when this knowledge was not pertinent to the primary discussion or was anecdotal rather than strictly informational. An illustrative example is Karadāvudzāde's lemma *ḥabanṭaʾ*, previously discussed in the rendering of al-Jawharī and al-Fīrūzābādī, and which I now cite from Karadāvudzāde's treatise:

> *Ḥabanṭaʾa*: al-Fīrūzābādī: "*Ḥabanṭaʾ-tun* and *ḥabanṭā* and *muḥbanṭiʾ*: short and fat. […] And *iḥbanṭaʾa*: his insides were inflated, or he was filled with anger; and al-Jawharī was wrong in listing it after the lemma *ḥ-ṭ-ʾ*." End of quote.
>
> And the shaykh Ibn Barrī said it is correct to mention *ḥabanṭā* in the section *ḥ-b-ṭ*, "because the *hamza* is an augment, not part of the root; and therefore, they say *ḥabiṭa baṭnuhu* ('his stomach was bloated') if it was inflated, and likewise *al-muḥbanṭiʾ*, that is someone with inflated insides." End of quote.
>
> Al-Jawharī mentioned it there as well, but his mentioning it here after the lemma *ḥ-ṭ-ʾ* is not correct. Al-Fīrūzābādī mentioned it there [under *ḥ-b-ṭ*] as well. So go figure!
>
> And Abū Zayd [al-Anṣārī] said: "[I asked] a Bedouin: 'What does *al-muḥbanṭiʾ* mean?'
>
> He said: '*al-mutakaʾkiʾ*.'
>
> I asked: 'What does *al-mutakaʾkiʾ* mean?'
>
> He said: '*al-mutaʾazzif*.'
>
> I asked: 'What does *al-mutaʾazzif* mean?'
>
> He said: 'You're stupid!' and went off."
>
> The shaykh Abū Ḥayyān [al-Gharnāṭī, d. 745/1344] said in *al-Irtishāf*: "The school of Sībawayhi holds that the pattern *afʿalnā* is not transitive, and Abū ʿUbayd [al-Qāsim ibn Sallām, d. 224/838] and Abū al-Fatḥ [Ibn Jinnī] held that it may be transitive, as are *aghrandā* and *asrandā*."[76]

75 E.g., in the entries *ʾ-b-ʾ* and *ʾ-t-ʾ*, see al-Kuḥlānī, "Kitāb al-Durr al-laqīṭ fī aghlāṭ al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ," [Text] 4–5.

76 Al-Kuḥlānī, "Kitāb al-Durr al-laqīṭ fī aghlāṭ al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ," [Text] 10–11:

With the help of Ibn Barrī, Karadāvudzāde shows that al-Fīrūzābādī was wrong in placing *ḥabanṭa'a* in *bāb al-hamza*, expressing some indignation that al-Fīrūzābādī also (additionally) listed it under *ḥ-b-ṭ* after criticising al-Jawharī for doing the same. The lemma includes a funny story from the field work of the lexicographer Saʿīd ibn Aws Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 214–215/830–831) and details about the grammatical status of the verb pattern of *ḥabanṭa'a*, drawn from two authoritative grammarians. This inclusion shows that Karadāvudzāde held space in *al-Durr al-laqīṭ* to preserve and pass on such anecdotes, both to sustain the Arabic linguistic tradition and to assert his own role, as a Turkish poet and teacher from Istanbul, within it.[77]

Another Ottoman poet and *qāḍī*, Üveys bin Meḥmed (d. 1037/1628), also known by his pen name Veysī,[78] wrote a treatise titled *Maraj al-baḥrayn fī ajwibat iʿtirāḍāt al-Qāmūs ʿalā al-Jawharī* ("The Rocking of the Two Seas: Answers to the Objections of the *Qāmūs* to al-Jawharī").[79] In this work, Veysī com-

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الفيروزابادي: حبنطأة وحبنطى ومحبنطئ: قصير سمين. [...] واحبنطأ: انتفخ جوفه أو امتلأ غيظاً، ووهم الجوهري في إيراده بعد تركيب ح ط أ انتهى.

وقال الشيخ ابن بري رحمه الله: صوابه إيراد ذكر حبنطى في فصل حبط، لأن الهمزة زائدة ليست بأصلية، ولهذا قيل حبط بطنه إذا انتفخ، وكذلك المحبنطئ وهو المنتفخ جوفه. انتهى.

والجوهري ذكره هناك أيضاً، لكن ذكره هنا بعد تركيب ح ب ط ليس بجيد والفيروزابادي ذكره هناك أيضاً فتدبر.

وقال أبو زيد [قلت] لأعرابي: ما المحبنطئ؟ قال: المتكأكئ. قلت: ما المتكأكئ؟ قال: المتأزف. قلت: ما المتأزف؟ قال: أنت أحمق! وتركني ومر.

وقال الشيخ أبو حيان في الارتشاف: ومذهب سيبويه أن بناء افعلنى لا يتعدى، وذهب أبو عبيد وأبو الفتح إلى أنه قد يتعدى، وذلك: اغرندى واسرندى.

77 The anecdote is well known and attributed to the third/ninth-century grammarian Abū ʿUthmān al-Māzinī in *Lisān al-ʿarab*, s.r. *ḥ-b-ṭ-'*. The verb *iḥbanṭā* is mentioned by Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī in *Kitāb al-Nawādir* ("Book of Rare Expressions"). See Saʿīd ibn Aws Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, *Kitāb al-Nawādir*, ed. Saʿīd al-Khūrī al-Shartūnī (Beirut: al-Maṭbaʿa al-kāthūlīkiyya li-l-ābāʾ al-mursalīn al-yasūʿiyyīn, 1894), 198.

78 For his biography, see Ahmet Tunç Şen, "The Dream of a 17th-Century Ottoman Intellectual: Veysî and His Habname" (MA thesis, Istanbul, Sabancı University, 2008), 24ff.; Theodor Menzel and Edith G. Ambros, "Weysī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition*, ed. P.J. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 11:204–205.

79 Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa Kütüphane 1415. The manuscript, an autograph, has no *muqaddima*; it starts with the words *abā'*: *qāla ṣāḥib al-Qāmūs al-abā'a* etc.—cf. the first lemma of the *Qāmūs*: *al-abā'a*.

FIGURE 6 Veysī's *Maraj al-baḥrayn*: the lemma *ḥabanṭā* begins on the third from last line on fol. 6ᵇ. The word *aqūlu* ("I say") is rubricated and written larger (line 4 on fol. 7ᵃ). Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ragıp Paşa 1415, fol. 6ᵇ–7ᵃ

pares the statements of al-Fīrūzābādī and al-Jawharī, offering his judgement on their correctness. Like Karadāvudzāde after him, he refers to the *ḥawāshī* of Ibn Barrī and the multiple works of al-Ṣaghānī on *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* to show that, when al-Fīrūzābādī's opinion was correct, it was often taken from al-Ṣaghānī. This pattern is also evidenced in his lemma *ḥabanṭā*. Veysī first cites the *Qāmūs*, then follows with his own position with *aqūlu* (marked in red ink, see Figure 6). He states that "the author of the *Qāmūs* was preceded in this [i.e., in suggesting that the lemma be put under *ḥ-ṭ-ʾ*] by al-Ṣaghānī in *Majmaʿ al-baḥrayn*."[80]

2.5 Tāj al-ʿarūs*: The Commentary to End All Commentaries?*

In 1188/1774, after fourteen years of work, the Egyptian lexicographer, biographer, and *ḥadīth* scholar Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790) com-

80 See Veysī, *Maraj al-baḥrayn*, fol. 7ᵃ.

pleted his *Tāj al-ʿarūs min jawāhir al-Qāmūs* ("The Bridal Crown from the Jewels of the *Qāmūs*/Ocean").[81] Spanning ten volumes,[82] this dictionary was conceived as a commentary (*sharḥ*) on *al-Qāmūs*. Consequently, al-Zabīdī referred to al-Fīrūzābādī as *al-muṣannif* ("the author [of the master text]"), as al-Qarāfī had done in *al-Qawl al-maʾnūs*.[83] In contrast, Veysī consistently referred to al-Fīrūzābādī as *ṣāḥib al-Qāmūs*.

While *Tāj al-ʿarūs* was labelled a commentary by its author, the master text of *al-Qāmūs* constituted only a very small part of the work. Highlighting the re-insertion of the *shawāhid* as one of his objectives, al-Zabīdī extracted or derived (*mustamiddan*, *istimdād*) all material deleted by al-Fīrūzābādī from a wide array of sources that he listed in his introduction.[84] The list begins with *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, of which he possessed an eight-volume copy in the hand of Yāqūt al-Rūmī (d. 626/1229), the author of *Muʿjam al-buldān*—an authoritative and often cited source for lexicographers. This copy, discovered in the library of *al-amir Uzbek*, also contained the *Ḥawāshī* of Ibn Barrī and Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Tibrīzī.[85] This example shows al-Zabīdī's meticulous approach to citing his sources, often mentioning their provenance. However, the book list in his introduction is not exhaustive. Ḥāshim Shallāsh's study of *Tāj al-ʿarūs* notes that many more sources are hidden in the lemmata of the dictionary itself.[86]

In addition to incorporating material from other works to fill in the *shawāhid*, al-Zabīdī also supplemented (*mustadrak*, *istidrāk*) the lemmata of the *Qāmūs* with meanings that al-Fīrūzābādī did not use. These definitions are

81 On Zabīdī's life and his other writings, see Reichmuth, *The World of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (1731–91)*. The most comprehensive study of *Tāj al-ʿarūs* is Shallāsh, *al-Zabīdī fī kitābihi Tāj al-ʿarūs*.

The ingenious title *Tāj al-ʿarūs min jawāhir al-Qāmūs* reflects the form of the interwoven commentary: the "gems found in the ocean/*Qāmūs*" are worked into the crown of the bride. For further interpretation of the title, see Reichmuth, *The World of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (1731–91)*, 227.

82 A complete manuscript copy mentioned by Reichmuth comprises 10 volumes; in total, he lists 9 exemplars (one of which contains only the introduction). See Reichmuth, *The World of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (1731–91)*, 132.

83 See Princeton, Princeton University Library, MS Garrett 286H, *passim*. http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/dcpz50h6380.

84 Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, 1:5:

... والتقاط أبيات الشوهد له، مستمداً ذلك من الكتب التي يسر الله تعالى بفضله وقوفي عليه، وحصل الاستمداد عليه منها، ونقلت بالمباشرة لا بالوسائط عنها ...

85 Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, 1:5.

86 Shallāsh, *al-Zabīdī fī kitābihi Tāj al-ʿarūs*, 272–383.

added at the end of each lemma to distinguish them from the commentary portions of the lexicon.

The most striking feature of *Tāj al-ʿarūs* is that it was conceived as an interwoven commentary (*sharḥ mamzūj*), a method that grants the commentator both control and freedom. As Matthew Ingalls has pointed out:

> By weaving commentary into a base text, a commentator exercises a unique measure of control over the latter text and is able to redeploy it subtly into the interpretive direction of his choosing.[87]

This approach enables the author, while formally writing a commentary, to do as he pleases with the master text. For instance, by adding a negation into a sentence from the master text, he can turn its meaning around entirely while still technically preserving the base material. As shown in Figure 7, the master text is written in red ink (print editions usually put it in round brackets) and accounts for only a very small portion of the entire text. Moreover, al-Zabīdī often cuts the master text up into chunks of one or two words—a mere *wāw* ("and"), for instance!—rendering it barely recognisable as originating from al-Fīrūzābādī.

It seems as if the master text could easily have been replaced with al-Zabīdī's own words, but instead, he chose the much more complex form of interwoven commentary. Why? Because the master text functions as a familiar foundation, a canonical, authoritative point of departure. The tradition is left intact while its 'deficiencies' are addressed through commentary.[88] In other words, maintaining the master text in an interwoven commentary respects the tradition, while also enabling space for discussion and even refutation.

As can easily be seen in Figure 7, the text of the *Qāmūs* constitutes only a very small quantitative portion of the many sources that make up *Tāj al-ʿarūs*. The (relatively short) entry *abaza*, for instance, contains 284 words, of which the *Qāmūs*' text only accounts for 38, or 13%. Al-Zabīdī supplements everything else with material from other sources, drawing significantly from al-Ṣaghānī in this case. Using the *Qāmūs* as a template, even if only formally, allowed al-Zabīdī to implicitly criticise al-Fīrūzābādī by subtly qualifying his state-

87 Ingalls, *The Anonymity of a Commentator*, 149.

88 Cf. Ingalls, *The Anonymity of a Commentator*, 151–152: "… ascribing authority to a canonical base text functions to preserve social efficiency and cohesion inasmuch as the canon's deficiencies can be sidestepped through commentary, thereby obviating the need to reascribe authority elsewhere."

FIGURE 7 Page from an (incomplete) manuscript copy of *Tāj al-ʿarus*. The rubricated words indicate the master text, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*; poetry is indented and marked with red dots. Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Vollers 465, p. 307

ments through commentary.[89] This was the exact opposite approach to that of al-Fīrūzābādī, who, when working with the *Ṣiḥāḥ*, explicitly stated *wahima l-Jawharī fī …* ("al-Jawharī was wrong in …"), thereby consciously evoking controversy.

Al-Zabīdī's choice of interwoven commentary in conceiving his dictionary made a much less polemical impression. By providing all the additional information he could muster, al-Zabīdī obviated the need for readers to consult other sources to understand and evaluate any given controversy—and, as we have seen, there most certainly was one.

The author of *Tāj al-ʿarūs* could also have taken a less peaceable path, as made clear by another work of his, written in tandem with *Tāj al-ʿarūs*:[90] a second dictionary that more critically engaged the content of the *Qāmūs*. The title *al-Takmila wa-l-dhayl wa-l-ṣila li-mā fāta ṣāḥib al-Qāmūs min al-lugha* ("The Supplement, Appendix, and Complement on What the Author of the *Qāmūs* Missed of the Language") is programmatic and, not coincidentally, modelled on al-Ṣaghānī's *Takmila*. In the introduction, al-Zabīdī boldly states that he used red ink to mark al-Fīrūzābādī's omissions, "just as *he* did with al-Jawharī."[91]

2.6 *After* Tāj al-ʿarūs

The publication of al-Zabīdī's giant, exhaustive commentary did not stop the stream of commentaries on the *Qāmūs*. One famous example of further engagement with the Arabic lexicographical tradition beyond *Tāj al-ʿarūs* and on the *Qāmūs* in particular, is Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq's (d. 1887) *al-Jāsūs ʿalā al-Qāmūs* ("The Spy Spying on the *Qāmūs*"). In twenty-four topics of critique (*naqd*), al-Shidyāq points out the flaws of the *Qāmūs*, for instance, by accusing al-Fīrūzābādī of "obscuring" (*ibhām*) definitions or expressions.[92] Despite the criticism that Nahḍa scholars directed at dictionaries of the post-formative period, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* in particular remained a central source for the Nahḍa project of revitalising the Arabic language.[93]

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89 This method is also used by al-Anṣārī: see Ingalls, *The Anonymity of a Commentator*, 149 ff.

90 Reichmuth, *The World of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (1731–91)*, 134.

91 Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *al-Takmila wa-l-dhayl wa-l-ṣila li-mā fāta ṣāḥib al-Qāmūs min al-lugha*, ed. Muṣṭafā Ḥijāzī, vol. 1 (Cairo: al-Hayʾa al-ʿāmma li-shuʾūn al-maṭābiʿ al-amīriyya, 1406/1986), 71.

92 Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq, *al-Jāsūs ʿalā al-Qāmūs* (Damascus: Dār al-nawādir, 1434/2013), 7.

93 Also see Nadia Bou Ali, "Collecting the Nation: Lexicography and National Pedagogy in al-Nahda al-ʿArabiyya," in *Archives, Museums and Collecting Practices in the Modern Arab World*, ed. Sonja Mejcher-Atassi and John Pedro Schwartz (London–New York: Routledge, 2016), 33–56.

As late as the early fourteenth/twentieth century, the Egyptian scholar and book collector Aḥmad Taymūr (d. 1348/1930) wrote a fifty-page treatise entitled *Taṣḥīḥ al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* ("Correction of *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*"). It serves solely to correct the errors of the Būlāq edition of the *Qāmūs* printed in 1303/1885–1886, which, as Taymūr remarks, circulated widely and contained useful glosses.[94] Its popularity is the reason Taymūr deemed it necessary to write a *risāla* on the edition's errors, so that students would not be confused by them. Taymūr's treatise is a byproduct of his own study of the *Qāmūs*; in it, he gathers his own marginal notes based on his collation of eight manuscripts of the *Qāmūs*,[95] in addition to incorporating a small number of observations from other scholars.[96] Without going into further detail regarding the types of errors Taymūr comments on, it is apparent that his work seamlessly carries the practice of premodern commentators on the *Qāmūs* into the age of print. Moreover, as Islam Dayeh has shown, the page layout and the incorporation of glosses into early printed dictionaries were adopted from textual practices of the manuscript age.[97]

2.7 *The Counterexample:* Lisān al-ʿarab

To show just how much impact the chosen form and stated aims of a dictionary could have on its subsequent reception, I will briefly discuss a counterexample to al-Fīrūzābādī's *Qāmūs*. Roughly a century before the *Qāmūs* was completed, the Egyptian scholar Muḥammad ibn Mukarram al-Ifrīqī al-Miṣrī, known as Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311), wrote a comprehensive dictionary entitled *Lisān al-ʿarab* ("The Tongue of the Arabs").[98] Today, it is as famous as *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, though it did not appear to have drawn nearly as much attention as the *Qāmūs* did in the wake of its compilation. Why could this have been the case?

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94 Aḥmad Taymūr, *Taṣḥīḥ al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Salafiyya, 1343/1924–1925), 3. He did the same for the Būlāq print of *Lisān al-ʿarab*: Aḥmad Taymūr, *Taṣḥīḥ Lisān al-ʿarab*, 2 vols (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Jamāliyya 1334 [1915–1916] / al-Maṭbaʿa al-Salafiyya 1343 [1924–1925]).

95 Taymūr, *Taṣḥīḥ al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, 4.

96 One item is taken from the Indian scholar Muftī Muḥammad Saʿd Allāh al-Murādābādī's (fl. thirteenth/nineteenth century) treatise *al-Qawl al-maʾnūs fī ṣifāt al-Qāmūs*, which was printed in India in 1287 (1870).

97 See Islam Dayeh, "From *Taṣḥīḥ* to *Taḥqīq*: Toward a History of the Arabic Critical Edition," *Philological Encounters* 4, no. 3–4 (2019): 245–299. Many early print editions were works of *lugha*.

98 The date of completion as noted down by the author was 689/1290. See Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 385.

Ibn Manẓūr earned his living as a secretary in Cairo and a *qāḍī* in Tripoli. Most of his literary production consisted of abridgements of larger works, such as the famous poetry collection *Kitāb al-Aghānī* ("Book of Songs") by Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967) and Ibn ʿAsākir's (d. 571/1176) *Tārīkh Dimashq* ("History of Damascus").[99] *Lisān al-ʿarab*, however, was not an abridgement; it combined five earlier works into the largest Arabic lexicon ever. Rather than discussing the number of volumes, which can differ immensely depending on layout and writing, it is more illustrative to compare the number of roots; while *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* contains 5,639 roots,[100] *Lisān al-ʿarab* has 9,273.[101]

In contrast to al-Fīrūzābādī's plan, Ibn Manẓūr's stated objective was not to compile a work that supersedes its sources, but rather to accurately reflect these sources without adding anything of his own. While there is some polemic in parts of the introduction, the author outlines his selection criteria in a detached and seemingly objective manner, without reference to his own achievements:

> I realised that language scholars were of two types: those who did well in collecting their material (*jamʿahu*) and did not do well in putting it down (*waḍʿahu*), and those who were good at putting it down and not good at collecting it. A good collection with a bad arrangement is of no benefit, and a good arrangement of a bad collection is of no use.[102]

Waḍʿ, which Ibn Manẓūr later uses synonymously with *tartīb* ("arrangement") and which is equivalent to the word *niẓām* used by al-Fīrūzābādī, facilitates the accessibility of material in the dictionary, while *jamʿ* refers to the comprehensiveness and correctness of the material itself. Following this general statement, Ibn Manẓūr identifies the dictionaries he used and states his reasons for picking these. Most of these authors have already been introduced in the previous chapter:

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99 See Ramzi Baalbaki, "Ibn Manẓūr," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, ed. Kate Fleet et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2016), https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_30632.

100 See ʿAlī Ḥilmī Mūsā, *Dirāsa iḥṣā'iyya li-judhūr Muʿjam al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (*bi-stikhdām al-kompyūtir*) (Kuwait: Jāmiʿat al-Kuwayt, 1973), 11.

101 See ʿAlī Ḥilmī Mūsā and ʿAbd al-Ṣabūr Shāhīn, *Dirāsa iḥṣā'iyya li-judhūr Muʿjam Tāj al-ʿarūs* (*bi-stikhdām al-kompyūtir*) (Kuwait: Jāmiʿat al-Kuwayt, 1973), 9. I have found no numbers for the roots in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*; they must be between *Ṣiḥāḥ* and *Lisān*.

102 Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, 1:7:

ورأيت علماءها بين رجلين: أما من أحسن جمعه فإنه لم يحسن وضعه، وأما من أجاد وضعه فإنه لم يجد جمعه، فلم يفد حسن الجمع مع إساءة الوضع، ولا نفعت إجادة الوضع مع رداءة الجمع.

I have found in the books of lexicography none more comprehensive (*ajmal*) than *Tahdhīb al-lugha* by Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Azharī, and none more complete (*akmal*) than *al-Muḥkam* of Abū Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Sīda al-Andalusī, God have mercy on both of them. These two are among the exemplary (*ummahāt*) books of lexicography with respect to critical examination (*ʿalā al-taḥqīq*), and they are like the mountains on the way, but each of them is a goal extremely difficult to attain, a spring on rough terrain, as if its author guided the people to a well with fresh water and then pulled them away again, or sought out a spring pasture and then blocked their access! He put in front what should be in the back and *vice versa*, aimed for clarification but obfuscated, and confused the brain with respect to the biliteral, the geminated, and the inverted;[103] he squandered the mind as regards the weak, the quadriliteral and the quinqueliteral, and lost sight of his objective. Therefore, the people neglected both works and turned away from them; and for lack of acceptance they were no longer found in the region, for no other reason than their poor arrangement, and the confusion of sections and chapters. And I have seen that Abū Naṣr Ismāʿīl ibn Ḥammād al-Jawharī arranged his short work (*mukhtaṣarahu*) in an excellent manner, and the ease of its arrangement gained him wide renown across the desert and the cities, making it light on the people so that they took it up and it became more easily accessible to them; it began to circulate and to be transmitted among them. However, it is like an atom in the air of language, like a drop in its sea, and even if it is like a pearl in its stream, he nevertheless made errors in punctuation, distorted the order of letters, and made random mistakes in inflection. And then it was singled out by the *shaykh* Ibn Barrī, who followed its content and dictated his dictations on it, extracting its errors and documenting its mistakes. I have asked God most high, praise on him, for proper guidance in gathering this blessed book that does not partake in the breadth of His grace and does not participate in it. In it, I did not go beyond what was in these sources, and I ordered them according to the order of the *Ṣiḥāḥ* in chapters and sections.[104]

103 Reference is to the different types of Arabic verbs. As mentioned before, the correct arrangement of biliteral and geminated roots was a regular matter of disagreement. The "inverted" (*maqlūb*) refers to *qalb*, interchanging root letters, while roughly retaining the meaning.

104 Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, 1:7:

ولم أجد في كتب اللغة أجمل من تهذيب اللغة لأبي منصور محمد بن أحمد الأزهري، ولا أكمل من المحكم

I am quoting this passage at length because it illustrates Ibn Manẓūr's assessment and criticism of previous sources, which aligns with what we have already encountered regarding the reception of the *Ṣiḥāḥ*. Ibn Manẓūr also clarifies his own criteria for good lexicography, mentioning the lexica that he considered superior in terms of content: Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Azharī's (d. 370/981) *Tahdhīb al-lugha* and Ibn Sīda's *al-Muḥkam*. The latter, as we have seen, was considered a pinnacle of lexicography of the formative period. The former was known because its author had spent some years in captivity among Bedouin tribes, documenting correct usages. Similar to al-Jawharī's *Ṣiḥāḥ*, the author of *Tahdhīb al-lugha* aimed to include only material he himself had heard and verified through reliable sources.[105] Both *al-Muḥkam* and *Tahdhīb al-lugha*, however, were arranged according to al-Khalīl's phonetic-permutative system. It is no surprise, then, that while Ibn Manẓūr praised their content, he chose al-Jawharī's *Ṣiḥāḥ* as the model for the arrangement (*waḍʿ*) of *Lisān al-ʿarab*.

Lisān al-ʿarab is thus the result of a re-arrangement, reflecting one of the objectives of post-formative lexicography discussed earlier. As Ibn Manẓūr hints at in this passage, "arrangement" involves more than simply opting for a certain alphabetical order; it requires the correct placement of roots that deviate from the triliteral standard, as well as the categorisation of different kinds

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لأبي الحسن علي بن إسمعيل بن سيدة الأندلسي، رحمهما الله، وهما من أمهات كتب اللغة على التحقيق، وما عداهما بالنسبة إليهما ثنيات للطريق. غير أن كلا منهما مطلب عسر المهلك ومنهل وعر المسلك، وكأن واضعه شرع للناس مورداً عذباً وجلاهم عنه، وارتاد لهم مرعىً مربعاً ومنعهم منه؛ قد أخر وقدم وقصد أن يعرب فأعجم. فرق الذهن بين الثنائي والمضاعف والمقلوب، وبدد الفكر باللفيف والمعتل والرباعي والخماسي فضاع المطلوب، فأهمل الناس أمرهما وانصرفوا عنهما وكادت البلاد لعدم الإقبال عليهما تخلو منهما. وليس لذلك سبب إلا سوء الترتيب، وتخليط التفصيل والتبويب. ورأيت أبا نصر إسمعيل بن حماد الجوهري قد أحسن ترتيب مختصره، وشهره بسهولة وضعه شهرة أبي دلف بين باديه ومحتضره، فخف على الناس أمره فتناولوه، وقرب عليهم مأخذه فتداولوه وتناولوه، غير أنه في جو اللغة كالذرة وفي بحرها كالقطرة، وإن كان في نحرها كالدرة وهو مع ذلك قد صحف وحرف وخزف فيما صرف، فأتيح له الشيخ أبو محمد بن بري فتتبع ما فيه، وأملى عليه أماليه مخرجاً لسقطاته، مؤرخاً لغلطاته؛ فاستخرت الله سبحانه وتعالى في جمع هذا الكتاب المبارك الذي لا يساهم في سعة فضله ولا يشارك، ولم أخرج فيه عما في هذه الأصول، ورتبته ترتيب الصحاح في الأبواب والفصول.

105 See Baalbaki's discussion of *Tahdhīb al-lugha* in *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 311–319.

of weak verbs. The flaws in *jamʿ* that the *Ṣiḥāḥ* contained were not only counterbalanced by the additional dictionaries Ibn Manẓūr used but also by the emendations made by Ibn Barrī in his *ḥawāshī* (or *Amālī*, as they are referred to here).[106]

In the body of his voluminous dictionary, Ibn Manẓūr combines his sources to long lemmata, within which the structuring principle is not immediately apparent. Contradicting opinions peacefully stand side by side, and discussions of root extensions may precede a discussion of the word's basic meaning. There is no visible arrangement within these lemmata beyond a loose association of related meanings. Comparing an entry in *Lisān al-ʿarab* with one in the *Qāmūs* highlights the benefits of both approaches. By offering all available forms, definitions, and probative quotations, as *Lisān al-ʿarab* aims to do, the reader gains comprehensive knowledge of all uses of a certain root. However, if she is looking for a specific form, she might find herself lost in the maze that a lemma of *Lisān al-ʿarab* often becomes. Forms are not listed in the fixed order we know and appreciate today;[107] instead, verb forms and nouns derived from them are mixed freely or by association. In his objective to truthfully record the observations of his sources, Ibn Manẓūr often does not bother to group together the data pertaining to the same form found in different sources, leading to the multiple appearance of the same form within a single lemma. This lack of authorial intervention is deliberate. Ibn Manẓūr himself stresses the primacy of the individual works upon which his dictionary is based and advises his readers:

> If you stumble upon something right or an error, something correct or a defect, this is due to the original author, and praise and blame are for the source that I have relied on. For I have transmitted from every source its content, I have not changed anything, as it is said: "the sin rests on those who change it" [Q 2:181], rather I have exercised care to cite the sources literally, and I have not deviated from their text.[108]

106 This work is also known as *al-Tanbīh wa-l-īḍāḥ ammā waqaʿa fī al-Ṣiḥāḥ*. For a recent study, see Carlo Alberto Anzuini, "Ibn Barrī al-Miṣrī e il suo Kitāb al-Tanbīh," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 13 (2018): 191–216.

107 I.e., the root, followed by the forms that are constructed by geminating root letters and adding augments; followed by the verbal nouns of these forms, and then by the active and passive participles of these forms.

108 Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, 1:8:

ومن وقف فيه على صواب أو زلل أو صحة أو خلل فعهدته على المصنف الأول وحمده وذمه لأصله الذي

This serves as a direct exhortation to attribute any flaws of *Lisān al-ʿarab* to its sources and not to its author, which is exactly what made a subsequent reception of *Lisān al-ʿarab* largely untraceable. Even when later lexicographers were aware of *Lisān al-ʿarab* and could afford a copy of it,[109] they preferred to cite Ibn Manẓūr's sources directly. This practice aligns with broader scholarly tendencies in other disciplines. In *ḥadīth* scholarship, for example, students would travel hundreds of miles to obtain a shorter *isnād* for their knowledge. Why, then, would a lexicographer choose the longer chain of transmission (e.g., quoting al-Jawharī *via* Ibn Manẓūr) when they could directly cite al-Jawharī? Most lexicographers after Ibn Manẓūr seem to have bypassed *Lisān al-ʿarab* in favour of its direct sources. Additionally, Ibn Manẓūr's pre-emptive disclaimer in his introduction, declaring that "praise and blame are for the source that I have relied on," likely dissuaded subsequent authors from polemically engaging with his work like they would with *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* roughly a century later.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine that the author of *al-Qāmūs*, who initially seemed to have had a similar plan in mind to that of Ibn Manẓūr, would have intentionally disregarded *Lisān al-ʿarab* in his introduction.[110] I would like to contend that if *Lisān* had indeed been so famous and popular during the time of al-Fīrūzābādī, he would have at least mentioned it in his introduction. It is likely that our perception of *Lisān al-ʿarab* as extremely popular stems from later accounts, particularly those of European lexicographers.[111] Whether al-Fīrūzābādī was aware of the work or chose to deliberately "overlook" it, he was not the only scholar who failed to acknowledge Ibn Manẓūr's achievement. For instance, *Lisān al-ʿarab* is neither mentioned by Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm

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عليه المعول. لأنني نقلت من كل أصل مضمونه ولم أبدل منه شيئاً فيقال فإنما إثمه على الذين يبدلون، بل أديت الأمانة في نقل الأصول بالقص وما تصرفت فيه بكلام غير ما فيها من النص.

109 In Ḥājjī Khalīfa's account, a copy of the *Lisān* consisted of six large volumes. From the way Ḥājjī Khalīfa discusses the work, it appears that he had not seen a copy himself: قيل فيه زيادات كثيرة على القاموس. See Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 2:1549.

110 Baalbaki (*The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 393) cannot imagine that al-Fīrūzābādī did not know *Lisān al-ʿarab*:

> But it is unlikely that Fīrūzābādī could not have known of a famous lexicon such as *al-Lisān*, which was authored about a century earlier. It is more conceivable that he overlooked *al-Lisān* because it was not an original work, rather the result of the merger of five earlier lexica, one of the most important of which was *al-Muḥkam*, from which Fīrūzābādī derived much of his own material.

111 See, for instance, Helmut Gätje's discussion of *Lisān al-ʿarab* as "das bekannte, häufig benutzte Gesamtwörterbuch des Ibn Manzūr," Gätje, "Arabische Lexikographie. Ein historischer Überblick," 119.

Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 749/1348) in his book list of works of *lugha*,[112] nor by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) in his elaborate discussion of the discipline in the sixth book of the *Muqaddima*.[113] While *Lisān al-ʿarab* may be the first premodern dictionary that comes to mind for contemporary Arabic speakers and learners, it apparently did not always hold this status. How widely known was *Lisān al-ʿarab* between the eighth/fourteenth and eleventh/seventeenth centuries?

It is difficult to assess the popularity of *Lisān al-ʿarab* based on references in other dictionaries and mentions in encyclopaedic works. In al-Suyūṭī's *Bughyat al-wuʿāt fī ṭabaqāt al-lughawiyyīn wa-l-nuḥāt* ("The Advertent People's Object of Desire on the Generations of Lexicographers and Grammarians"), a work specifically devoted to language scholars, the life and contributions of Ibn Manẓūr occupy a single page.[114] The exact same account is repeated by Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā Ṭaşköprüzāde (d. 968/1561) in his encyclopaedia of the disciplines, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda wa-miṣbāḥ al-siyāda fī mawḍūʿāt al-ʿulūm* ("The Key to Happiness and the Lamp to the Mastery of the Topics of the Disciplines"), suggesting that Ṭaşköprüzāde did not have personal knowledge of *Lisān al-ʿarab*.

The bibliographer Muṣṭafa ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ḥājjī Khalīfa (d. 1017/1657) was familiar with Ibn Manẓūr's dictionary, as apparent from its entry in *Kashf al-ẓunūn*. In addition to citing the methodological passage from its introduction, Ḥājjī Khalīfa mentions that the theologian Muḥammad ibn Abī Sharīf (d. 906/1500) saw an autograph of *Lisān al-ʿarab* in Cairo.[115] This remark indicates rarity rather than familiarity. Copies of bulky dictionaries may have been difficult to come by on account of their size and price. The general view regarding the circulation of premodern Arabic dictionaries is that "only with the *Qāmūs* did copies proliferate to the extent that it might be called a best-seller."[116] The difference in popularity between *Qāmūs* and *Lisān* seems to be

112 See Ibn al-Akfānī, *Irshād al-qāṣid ilā asnā al-maqāṣid*, 93 ff.

113 Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima: al-juzʾ al-awwal min Kitāb al-ʿIbar wa-dīwān al-mubtadā wa-l-khabar fī ayyām al-ʿarab wa-l-ʿajam wa-l-barbar* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Taqaddum, 1322/1904), 453 ff.

114 Jalāl al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt fī ṭabaqāt al-lughawiyyin wa-l-nuḥāt*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, vol. 1 (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1384/1964), 248.

115 Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 2:1550.

116 John A. Haywood, "The Entry in Medieval Arabic Monolingual Dictionaries," in *The History of Lexicography: Papers from the Dictionary Research Centre at Exeter, March 1986*, ed. R.R.K. Hartmann (Amsterdam–Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1986), 110. The "almost proverbial saying" that there is a *Qāmūs* manuscript in every library in the world, is mentioned by Strotmann, *Majd al-Dīn al-Fīrūzābādī*, 205 and n. 59.

confirmed by the account of al-Fīrūzābādī in al-Suyūṭī's *Bughya*, which is three times longer than that of Ibn Manẓūr.[117]

If we examine the use of *Lisān al-ʿarab* as a source for other dictionaries and treatises on *lugha*, it initially seems to be ignored. The earliest explicit citation I found in lexicological treatises is in Veysī's (d. 1037/1627) *Maraj al-baḥrayn* (see above), which cites *Lisān al-ʿarab* to support al-Jawharī against al-Fīrūzābādī—nearly three and a half centuries after the compilation of the *Lisān*.[118] References start to appear more frequently thereafter. For instance, Ibn Abī al-Surūr (d. after 1062/1652) quotes *Lisān al-ʿarab* in *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab fīmā wāfaqa lughat ahl Miṣr min lughāt al-ʿarab* ("The Condensed Statement on the Concurrence of the Language of the People of Egypt with the Dialects of the Arabs") his *mukhtaṣar* of Yūsūf al-Maghribī's dictionary *Dafʿ al-iṣr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr* ("Removing the Fetters from the Speech of the People of Cairo").[119] The earliest *mujannas* dictionary mentioning it, to my knowledge, is Aḥmad Ibn Maʿṣūm al-Madanī's (d. 1120/1707) *al-Ṭirāz al-awwal wa-l-kanāz li-mā ʿalayhi min lughat al-ʿarab al-muʿawwal* ("The Top-Notch Treasures of What is Reliable in the Language of the Arabs").[120] Ibn Maʿṣūm, who was born in Medina but spent most of his life in India,[121] wrote a dictionary intended to be comprehensive, though it remained incomplete.[122] His primary references were *al-Qāmūs* and *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, and his familiarity with *Lisān al-ʿarab* is apparent from the list of sources he provided in the introduction to *al-Ṭirāz al-awwal*.[123]

Several explanations can account for this seeming lack of engagement with *Lisān al-ʿarab* before the eleventh/seventeenth century: lexicographers may simply not have known it, lacked access to it due to its size or cost, or consciously opted for the shorter *isnād*. The immense popularity of *al-Qāmūs al-*

117 Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, 1:273–275.

118 Veysī, *Maraj al-baḥrayn*, fol. 4[b].

119 See Chapter 2, section 4.3. Other works by Ibn Manẓūr were well-known and are referenced in works on *laḥn*, e.g., by Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, see Chapter 2, section 2.

120 Ibn Maʿṣūm, *al-Ṭirāz al-awwal*, 1:9. Other comprehensive dictionaries mentioned are *al-Jamhara, al-Muḥkam, al-ʿUbāb, al-Tahdhīb*, and Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Fāris' (d. 395/1004) *al-Mujmal*.

121 On Ibn Maʿṣūm, see Joseph E. Lowry, "Ibn Maʿṣūm," in *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography 1350–1850*, ed. Joseph E. Lowry and Devin J. Stewart, Mîzân. Studien zur Literatur in der islamischen Welt (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 174–184; Joseph E. Lowry, "Ibn Maʿṣūm," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, ed. Kate Fleet et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2017), https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_30639; Beers, "The Treatment of Coeval Persian Poetry in Arabic Anthologies," 239–240.

122 The modern edition has twelve volumes and two index volumes; the dictionary breaks off with the root *q-m-ṣ*.

123 Ibn Maʿṣūm, *al-Ṭirāz al-awwal*, 1:10–11.

muḥīṭ provides another potential reason for the dismissal of Ibn Manẓūr's compilation: unlike other dictionaries, *Lisān al-ʿarab* did not engage in polemics. It neither critiqued or refuted its sources, instead listing the statements of five different lexicographers without expressing a preference for any of them. Unlike *al-Qāmūs*, *Lisān al-ʿarab* simply did not instigate debate.

The introduction of *Lisān al-ʿarab* makes it clear that its author believed that the last word in Arabic lexicography had already been said by the fourth/tenth century. His own contribution to the field was to not add material or to choose sides, but rather collect and rearrange existing data. Ibn Manẓūr's approach to lexicography differed markedly from that of al-Fīrūzābādī in terms of format. While the latter chose to condense and contest the findings of his predecessors, the former preferred to combine them to the point of redundancy and contradiction within one lemma. Today, *Lisān al-ʿarab* remains one of the best-known Arabic monolingual dictionaries, offering users the convenience of accessing five separate lexica in one place. Yet, the title *Qāmūs*, which is technically speaking a loanword from Greek meaning "ocean" (ὠκεανός), became the preferred metonym for dictionary and is today used alongside the term *muʿjam*.[124]

While the brevity of the *Qāmūs* ensured the book's long-term circulation and its author's fame, Ibn Manẓūr had to wait for the age of print to secure his deserved place on the bookshelves.

3 A Focus on *ḥadīth*

Early practices of Qur'anic exegesis and *ḥadīth* commentary laid the foundations for the lexicographical genres of *gharīb al-ḥadīth* and *gharīb al-Qur'ān*. As mentioned in the Introduction, the desire to explain rare words was an important motivation of early lexicographical activity. In the post-formative period, however, the direction seems to change and comprehensive dictionaries are increasingly assessed and valued for their treatment of *ḥadīth*. In this section, I will explore how lexicographers and their critics evaluated the value and significance of lexicography for the study of *ḥadīth*.

124 This is not only the case in Arabic, but also in languages of other Islamicate cultures, such as Indonesian and Malay. It would be interesting to trace the point in time at which *qāmūs* commonly acquired the meaning of "dictionary." Al-Zabīdī mentions the meaning *al-baḥr* and refers to the title of al-Fīrūzābādī's work but does not go further than that. See al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, 16:401. When Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq wrote *al-Jāsūs ʿalā al-Qāmūs*, he was still referring to al-Fīrūzābādī's work only.

During the formative period, the incorporation of *ḥadīth* into the corpus of the *ʿarabiyya* slowly increased. Reports on the sayings and deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad did not initially enjoy the same status as the language of the Qurʾān and pre-Islamic poetry. One reason was that *ḥadīth* was often not quoted verbatim, as is apparent from the existence of the same *ḥadīth*—in terms of content—in different wordings (*matn*). Moreover, transmitters of *ḥadīth*, who were often non-native speakers of Arabic, did not qualify as informants for the validation of correct speech. The *muḥaddithūn*'s requirement to be ethically sound (*ʿadl*) and a reliable source (*thiqa*) pertained to their characters rather than their linguistic abilities. On the other hand, if Muḥammad was considered *afṣaḥ al-ʿarab* ("the most eloquent among the Arabs"), surely his sayings should be part of the corpus of the *ʿarabiyya*. While its status for grammarians remained somewhat dubious,[125] *ḥadīth* gradually began to be included in dictionaries.[126]

3.1 Ḥadīth *as an Asset of the Dictionary*

The changing role of *ḥadīth* in the lexicographer's corpus toward the end of the formative period is apparent from a discussion found in al-Ṣaghānī's *al-ʿUbāb al-zākhir*. Al-Ṣaghānī criticised his predecessors' dictionaries for failing to indicate whether a quotation was from the Prophet himself or from a Companion: "They said 'in the *ḥadīth*,'" so he complained, "without distinguishing between a prophetic *ḥadīth* and a saying of a Companion, or between a saying of a Successor and that of a Companion. Sometimes they even equated a *ḥadīth* with a proverb or a proverb with a *ḥadīth*. Sometimes they would say: 'And they said…,' even though it came from the sound *ḥadīth* collections."[127] In response,

125 In grammar, *ḥadīth* was used from Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274) onward. See Aryeh Levin, "The Status of the Science of Grammar among Islamic Sciences," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 29 (2004): 7.

126 Baalbaki (*The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 72) distinguishes between the attitudes of grammarians and lexicographers:

> The grammarians and lexicographers obviously did not see eye to eye on whether this state of affairs affected the value of *Ḥadīṯ* as linguistic evidence, for whereas early grammarians such as Sībawayhi (d. 180/796) only sparingly quoted *Ḥadīṯ*, lexicographers as early as Ḫalīl (d. 175/791) cited it much more frequently. […] In all cases, the existence of a whole genre on *ġarīb al-Ḥadīṯ* proves that the lexicographers generally did not share the early grammarians' concerns regarding the way *Ḥadīṯ* was transmitted.

127 Al-Ṣaghānī, *al-ʿUbāb al-zākhir*, 1:2:

> وقالوا: في الحديث، غير مبيني النبوي من الصحابي والصحابي من التابعي. وربما أطلقوا لفظ الحديث على المثل، ولفظ المثل على الحديث، وربما قالوا: وقولهم، وهو من صحاح الأحاديث.

the author of *al-ʿUbāb* intended to do better, emphasizing the subject of *ḥadīth* in his introduction:

> I have quoted the *ḥadīth* that contain rare meanings and difficult forms in full and if there are several difficult forms in one *ḥadīth*, I have given it in full and explained every form in its chapter and lemma, and I have mentioned that the whole of the *ḥadīth* is mentioned in a given lemma, so that the context of the *ḥadīth* is known and reference and lookup is warranted.[128]

Note that *al-ʿUbāb* is a comprehensive (*mujannas*) dictionary, not a specialised lexicon of *ḥadīth*. Nevertheless, al-Ṣaghānī underscores his thorough treatment of *ḥadīth*, suggesting its significance as a major field of reference. An example from the body of the dictionary illustrates what he means by his statement on methodology. Let us examine the lemma *ḥ-b-ṭ-ʾ*, which we previously encountered in *al-Qāmūs* and *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*:

> a *ḥabanṭaʾun* man and *ḥabanṭaʾatun* and *ḥabanṭā*, without *hamza*: short and fat with a big belly, also *muḥbanṭiʾun*, either with or without *hamza*, and they say: "he is filled with rage." Abū Zayd said: The man *iḥbanṭaʾa* if his insides are inflated, and from this comes the Prophet's *ḥadīth* on the miscarried fetus: "It remains *muḥbanṭiʾ* on the threshold of Paradise." And in another *ḥadīth*: "The miscarried fetus will surely break off in anger from its Lord; if He leads its parents into the Fire, it draws them by its umbilical cord (*bi-surarihi*) so that they are led into Paradise," i.e., it is upset with Him; *al-surar* is that which the midwife cuts off from the navel.[129]

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128 Al-Ṣaghānī, *al-ʿUbāb al-zākhir*, 1:2:

وقد سردت الأحاديث الغريبة المعاني، المشكلة الألفاظ تامةً مستوفاةً فإن كان في حديث عدة ألفاظ مشكلة أتيت به تامةً وفسرت كل لفظة منها في بابها وتركيبها وذكرت أن تمام الحديث مذكور في تركيب كذا، ليعلم سياق الحديث ويؤمن التكرار والإعادة.

129 Al-Ṣaghānī, *al-ʿUbāb al-zākhir*, 1:39:

حبطأ: رجل حبنطأ وحبنطأة وحبنطى، بلا همز أي قصير سمين ضخم البطن وكذلك المحبنطئ، يهمز ولا يهمز، ويقال: هو الممتلئ غيظاً. أبو زيد: إحبنطأ الرجل إذا انفتخ جوفه ومنه حديث النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في السقط: يظل محبنطئاً على باب الجنة. وفي الحديث الآخر: إن السقط ليراغم ربه إن أدخل أبويه النار فيجبرهما بسرره حتى يدخلهما الجنة أي يغاضبه، والسرر ما تقطعه القابلة من السرة.

Al-Ṣaghānī fulfils his promise of not only explaining the *ḥadīth* with respect to the lemma at hand but also by incorporating other related *ḥadith* and explaining uncommon words within them—in this case *al-surar*. And indeed, the *ḥadīth* "It remains *muḥbanṭi'* on the threshold of Paradise" is also quoted in the lemma *s-q-ṭ*, where *siqṭ* is explained as meaning "miscarried fetus." Neither al-Jawharī nor al-Fīrūzābādī included a *ḥadīth* in the lemma *ḥ-ṭ-'*/ *ḥ-b-ṭ*.[130]

The problem of confusing *ḥadīth* with proverbs, as mentioned by al-Ṣaghānī, may lie not in the negligence of certain lexicographers but rather in the development of the word *ḥadīth* as a technical term. In *al-Durr al-laqīṭ*, a twelfth/eighteenth-century treatise on the debate regarding the superiority of *al-Qāmūs* over *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*,[131] Karadāvudzāde defends al-Jawharī against this critique of confusing *ḥadīth* with other statements:

> Al-Fīrūzābādī said: "… and al-Jawharī was wrong when he said: 'and in the *ḥadīth*.'" End of quote.
>
> It is possible to say that by *ḥadīth* he meant the common speech of the people, its status being like a proverb, as was his habit. That is also the practice of al-Muṭarrizī in his book *al-Mughrib*: he doesn't mean by it a saying of the Prophet; so that the counterargument is the statement that those were the words of Aktham [a tribal chief] and not a *ḥadīth*, with the definition of *ḥadīth* proper being the common and approved sayings of the Companions and those of the generation after them, as the venerable Shaykh ʿAlī (known as Muṣannafak) mentioned in his commentary on the *Maṣābīḥ*, where he said: "The *muḥaddithūn* have stated that *ḥadīth* are the sayings, the doings and the legal decisions of the Companions and those of the generation after them, and *ḥadīth* is more general than *khabar* and *athar*, as *khabar* means that which is transmitted from the Prophet of God and *athar* that which is transmitted from a Companion, and *ḥadīth* comprises both."[132]

130 Al-Fīrūzābādī accused al-Jawharī of putting the lemma *ḥabanṭa'a* under the wrong root, namely *ḥ-ṭ-'*. See above, Chapter 1, sections 2.2 and 2.4.

131 See above, Chapter 1, section 2.4.

132 Al-Kuḥlānī, "Kitāb al-Durr al-laqīṭ fī aghlāṭ al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ," [Text] 15–16:

الفيروزابادي: ... ووهم الجوهري فقال في الحديث. انتهى.

ويمكن أن يقال: أراد بالحديث كلام الناس المتداول، الحال بينهم محل المثل كما هو دأبه، وكذا ديدن الإمام المطرزي في كتابه المغرب، ولا يريد به حديث النبي صلى الله عليه وآله وصحبه وسلم، حتى يرد عليه

This passage illustrates that a broader definition of the word *ḥadīth* could be used to defend al-Jawharī against al-Fīrūzābādī's accusations of errors—a definition that had largely fallen out of use by the time of Karadāvudzāde. Rather than siding with al-Fīrūzābādī and asserting that al-Jawharī had indeed mislabelled a common saying as *ḥadīth* in the technical sense, Karadāvudzāde chose to defend al-Jawharī. He corroborated his position by referencing the perspective presented in a highly popular dictionary of technical terms, *al-Mughrib fī tartīb al-Muʿrīb* ("The Amazing Work on the Arrangement of *al-Muʿrib*") by Abū al-Fatḥ Nāṣir ibn ʿAbd al-Sayyid al-Muṭarrizī (d. 610/1213). *Al-Mughrib* was itself a reworking of an earlier dictionary by the same scholar, *al-Muʿrib fī gharīb alfāẓ al-fuqahāʾ* ("Clarifying the Rare Expressions of the Jurisprudents"), which focused on legal terminology.

3.2 *Integrating* ḥadīth *and* lugha

In the ninth/fifteenth century, al-Suyūṭī notably applied *ḥadīth* terminology and its scholarly practices to the discipline of *lugha* in his handbook of language scholarship, *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha wa-anwāʿihā*. Across fifty chapters, he described all aspects of the field in terms of *ḥadīth* terminology. The chapters mostly contain quotations from earlier scholars, which al-Suyūṭī assembled to form a coherent discussion of the discipline. Three centuries later, al-Zabīdī summarised *al-Muzhir*'s section *ādāb al-lughawī* in his introduction to *Tāj al-ʿarūs*:

> *Knowledge of the etiquette of the language specialist*
> There is an admonition in this. Al-Suyūṭī said in *al-Muzhir*: "The first requirements are devotion and the examination of one's intention, then to make sure to gather from reliable sources, with persistence and perseverance, and to write down everything one has seen and heard, because that is the most accurate, and to travel in pursuit of rare expressions and useful lessons like the authorities did, and to occupy oneself with memorising the poetry of the Arabs with an understanding of its adages,

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بأنه قول أكثم وليس بالحديث، مع أن إطلاق الحديث على كلام الصحابة والتابعين شائع سائغ، كما ذكره الفاضل الشيخ علي (الشهير بمصنفك) رحمه الله في شرح المصابيح حيث قال: قد صرح المحدثون بأن الحديث يطلق على أقوال الصحابة والتابعين لهم بإحسان، وآثارهم وفتاهم، فالحديث أعم من الخبر والأثر، إذ الخبر: ما يكون مروياً عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، والأثر: ما يكون مروياً عن صحابي، والحديث يشملهما.

> sermons, and moral lessons that may be relied on for explaining Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*."[133]

These requirements (which are only the beginning of a longer list) closely resemble the behaviour rules for a good *muḥaddith*. By applying terminology and method of *ḥadīth* scholarship—described by Ibn al-Athīr as "the noblest of Islamic disciplines"[134]—to the field of *lugha*, its status was heightened, while also highlighting how *lugha* functioned for *ḥadīth* studies. With the increasing use of *ḥadīth* as a source for lexicography, the dictionary attained more relevance for *ḥadīth* scholarship.

3.3 Ḥadīth *in* Lisān al-ʿarab

To illustrate the importance of *ḥadīth* in lexicography of the post-formative period, we briefly return to *Lisān al-ʿarab*. Ibn Manẓūr mentioned four primary sources in his introduction: *al-Muḥkam*, *Tahdhīb al-lugha*, and *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* with Ibn Barrī's *Ḥawāshī*. His fifth source was a work of *gharīb al-ḥadīth*: Abū al-Saʿādāt al-Mubārak Ibn al-Athīr's (d. 606/1210) *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-l-athar* ("The Final Stop in *Ḥadīth* and Sayings of the Companions"). Unlike the other sources, used because of their principles of collection or arrangement, Ibn Manẓūr included this work to adorn (*tawshīḥ*) his entries with Prophetic sayings:

> And I aimed to adorn it with weighty reports and pretty traditions, to add to the verses from the noble Qur'ān and the talk about the miracles of the wise Book it contains, so that its necklace is embellished with an inlay of their pearls, and its significance hinges on the verses, reports, traditions,

133 Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, 1:29–30:

في معرفة آداب اللغوي

وفيه تنبيه، قال السيوطي في المزهر: أول ما يلزمه الإخلاص وتصحيح النية، ثم التحرى في الأخذ عن الثقات، مع الدأب والملازمة عليهما، وليكتب كل ما رآه ويسمعه، فذلك أضبط له، وليرحل في طلب الغرائب والفوائد كما رحل الأئمة، وليعتن بحفظ أشعار العرب، مع تفهم ما فيها حكماً ومواعظ وآداباً يستعان بها على تفسير القرآن والحديث.

134 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-l-athar*, 1:3: "The discipline of *ḥadīth* and reports is among the noblest Islamic disciplines in terms of its standing, the best in terms of renown, the most complete in terms of utility and the grandest in terms of reward."

علم الحديث والآثار من أشرف العلوم الإسلامية قدراً، وأحسنها ذكراً وأكملها نفعاً وأعظمها أجراً.

> sayings, and poetry. And I saw that Abū al-Saʿādāt al-Mubārak Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī had attained this with the *Nihāya*: he had crossed the finish line in terms of excellence, except that he did not put the words in their proper place and did not distinguish between the augment (*zā'id*) of the words and their root (*aṣlihā*), so I put each of them in their place and provided them with evidence.[135]

Al-Nihāya, then, is neither superior in its arrangement nor comprehensive in its coverage of the Arabic language. Instead, it focuses on obscure expressions within a relatively limited corpus and, as Ibn Manẓūr pointed out, even fails to adhere to proper alphabetical order. Why, then, did the author of *Lisān al-ʿarab* use Ibn al-Athīr's material at all? The answer lies in his intent to supplement his entries with *ḥadīth* quotations, which would lend them greater significance (*ḥalluhu wa-ʿaqduhu*, lit. "the untying and tying"). Ibn Manẓūr apparently opined that his other sources did not contain sufficient *ḥadīth* to achieve this aim.

Interestingly, the criticism Ibn Manẓūr directed at Ibn al-Athīr regarding his arrangement of the lemmata mirrors a concern that Ibn al-Athīr himself voiced in the introduction of his *Nihāya*. He complained that even students of *ḥadīth* could not distinguish roots from their augments, which prompted him to list some words under their prefixes to better accommodate *ḥadīth* scholars.[136]

3.4 *Judging Dictionaries in Terms of Their Handling of* ḥadīth

The role of *lugha* in *ḥadīth* studies in the post-formative period is also illustrated by criticism directed at lexicographers. When *ḥadīth* scholars looked up rare words in the dictionaries, they came across *ḥadīth* mentioned by lexicographers, as in the example of *muḥbanṭi'* above. This interaction is obviously where critique arose. Some critics of the *Qāmūs* stressed al-Fīrūzābādī's treatment of *ḥadīth*. Ḥājjī Khalīfa even said that al-Fīrūzābādī was ignorant of *ḥadīth*,

135 Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, 1:7–8:

> وقصدت توشيحه بجليل الأخبار وجميل الآثار، مضافاً إلى ما فيه من آيات القرآن الكريم والكلام على معجزات الذكر الحكيم، ليتحلى بترصيع دررها عقده ويكون على مدار الآيات والأخبار والأثار والأمثال والأشعار حله وعقده؛ فرأيت أبا السعادات المبارك بن محمد بن الأثير الجزري قد جاء في ذلك بالنهاية وجاوز في الجودة حد الغاية، غير أنه لم يضع الكلمات في محلها ولا راعى زائد حروفها من أصلها، فوضعت كلاً منها في مكانه وأظهرته مع برهانه؛

136 See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-l-athar*, 1:11. Cf. also Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 80–81.

resulting in many incorrect *isnāds*.[137] Conversely, in *Fulk al-Qāmūs*, al-Kawkabānī—who was otherwise quite critical of al-Fīrūzābādī—acknowledged the utility of *al-Qāmūs* for *ḥadīth* science, devoting some discussion to explaining why shorter works (*mukhtaṣar*) and versifications (*naẓm*) are more practical than longer ones (*muṭawwalāt*), as they consolidate information that would otherwise require searching across multiple entries. Nevertheless, he added, "one cannot dispense with *al-Qāmūs* for the many priceless additions it contains which are not found in other works, among which is the accurate mention of *ḥadīth* transmitters."[138]

I have not found similar assessments of the utility of *lugha* for fields of study other than *ḥadīth*. The focus on *ḥadīth* underscores that dictionaries were expected to meet certain demands in this field or else risked criticism. Lexicographers cleverly catered to these expectations by highlighting their service to *ḥadīth* scholarship in their introductions, as seen in the introduction of *Lisān al-ʿarab*. Another notable statement in this regard comes from Ibn Maʿṣūm, a scholar and poet who traveled between the Hijaz and Hyderabad.[139] Ibn Maʿṣūm's dictionary, *al-Ṭirāz al-awwal*, would likely have been as bulky as *Lisān al-ʿarab*, had the author completed it. The work did not make him particularly famous—he is better known for a literary anthology of his contemporaries.[140] While Ibn Maʿṣūm refers to the *Qāmūs* in his introduction, *al-Ṭirāz al-awwal* is not a commentary[141] but an independent dictionary, albeit with a pronounced focus: in his introduction, the author stresses the importance of *lugha* for *ḥadīth* and outlines a structure for his lemmata that reflects this importance: "I start each section of a chapter with the general and the specific language in the Book, then I follow suit with the *athar*, then with technical terms and proverbs."[142] The role of *lugha* in *ḥadīth* studies influenced the conception, marketing, and reception of dictionaries in the post-formative period.

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137 Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 2:1310.

138 Al-Kawkabānī, *Fulk al-Qāmūs*, 52:

وبعد ذلك فإنّه لا يستغنى عن القاموس لما فيه من الزّيادات النفيسة الّتي لا توجد في سواه منها ذكر رجال الحديث وغيرهم مع ضبطهم.

139 On his biography, see Lowry, "Ibn Maʿṣūm."

140 Lowry, "Ibn Maʿṣūm," 175.

141 However, Ibn Maʿṣūm also wrote a treatise on the flaws of *al-Qāmūs*, titled *Risāla fī aghlāṭ al-Fīrūzābādī fī al-Qāmūs* ("Treatise on the Mistakes of al-Fīrūzābādī in the *Qāmūs*"). See Lowry, "Ibn Maʿṣūm," 175.

142 Ibn Maʿṣūm, *al-Ṭirāz al-awwal*, 1:11:

فإني أبدأ الفصل من الباب باللغة العامة ثم الخاصة بالكتاب، ثم أجيء على الأثر بالأثر ثم المصطلح فالمثل، هذا إذا اشترك الجميع في المادة واشتبك في سلوك تلك الجادة ...

4 Conclusion

> فإن التصنيف مضمار تنصب إليه خيل السباق من كل أوب ثم تتجارى ...
> The profession of compiling books is a course onto which racers from all places enter to run against each other.[143]

When al-Zabīdī compared authoring a dictionary to competing in a horserace, he focused on the author's many rivals. Post-formative Arabic lexicography is best understood within the context of its tradition, shaped by its authors and works. Often, we can only grasp the full scope and objective of a dictionary, as well as the issues discussed in individual lemmata, when we read them alongside entries in earlier dictionaries. To fully understand a lemma, we must immerse ourselves in the tradition, identify the questions being debated and negotiated, determine whose positions are being refuted, and discern what exactly is at stake for the author.

To understand how Arabic lexicography worked, particularly in the post-formative period, it is helpful to approach the genre as we would approach a commentary. The keywords are the lemmata from the master text, which consists of the entire lexicographical tradition or a selection of sources as announced by the author in the introduction. The dictionary at hand can be regarded as one out of many commentaries, engaging vertically with its master text (or texts) and horizontally with other commentaries. This means that premodern Arabic dictionaries are not for the uninitiated: often, they do not even provide a definition of the word that is discussed. Entries can be like riddles or puzzles. When al-Zabīdī compiled *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, he intended to solve this puzzle, obviating the need for consulting earlier dictionaries by gathering all available sources and weaving all strands of the tradition into one commentary. Even this act, however, could not silence the debate instigated by the *Qāmūs*.

As the first layer of commentary in any discipline was always at the lexical level, the dictionary was indispensable to commentary culture. A significant role for *lugha* lay in *ḥadīth*, with clever lexicographers highlighting the importance of their dictionaries for *ḥadīth* scholarship, which may also have to do with the increasing use of *ḥadīth* as proof texts in post-formative lexicography. Pragmatic considerations often prevailed in the choice of dictionary. The handy format of the *Qāmūs* made it extremely popular, despite its oft-discussed flaws. Widespread commentaries on the *Qāmūs* show how well the book was

143 Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, 1:1.

used. These commentaries were the byproducts of critical engagement with the *Qāmūs* and other dictionaries, not only by lexicographers but also by *ḥadīth* scholars, jurists, and poets. The many treatises detailing and assessing its flaws thus became the companions to the *Qāmūs*, just as the *Ḥawāshī* of Ibn Barrī and the *Takmila* of al-Ṣaghānī had become the close companions to *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*. A premodern reader would not consult just one Arabic dictionary while disregarding all others. This is something we should keep in mind today.

Viewing the dictionaries of the post-formative period as commentaries makes it easier to understand their place in the tradition and to appreciate the multiple functions of commentaries. For their authors, they served as a space to assert authority, explore new ideas, and insert themselves into the ongoing tradition. This last point will be developed further in the following chapter, which deals with the lexicographical genre of treatises on *laḥn al-ʿāmma*, "speech errors of the commoners."

CHAPTER 2

Anthologies of Errors: *Laḥn al-ʿāmma* in the Post-formative Period

> When al-Naḍr ibn Shumayl al-Māzinī fell ill, a group of people came to visit him. One of them, named Abū Ṣāliḥ, said to him: "May God most High wear away (*masaḥa*) what has befallen you." Al-Naḍr responded: "Don't say *masaḥa* with a *sīn*; say *maṣaḥa* with a *ṣād*; this means 'may God make it go away and disperse it.' Or haven't you heard the poet say:
>
> And when the wine has become foamy
> the dross in it has gone and ceased"
>
> The man replied: "Actually, in some cases the *sīn* substitutes the *ṣād*, as they say *ṣirāṭ* and *sirāṭ*, and *ṣaqr* and *saqr*." Then al-Nadr exclaimed: "Why, you're a ṣmart aṣṣ!"[1]

It seems there is no way of stopping a scholar—even if he is sick or dying—from debating language. The protagonist of this anecdote, al-Naḍr ibn Shumayl al-Māzinī (d. 203/820), was a Basran grammarian, poet, and student of the famous lexicographer al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (d. 175/791). The story recounted here appears in the entry *maṣaḥa* of Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī's (d. 516/1122) collection of solecisms. Published under the title *Durrat*

1 Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī, *Durrat al-ghawwās fī awhām al-khawāss* (Constantinople: Maṭbaʿat al-Jawāʾib, 1299 [1881]), 9:

ويحكى أن النضر بن شميل المازني مرض فدخل عليه قوم يعودونه فقال له رجل منهم يكنى أبا صالح مسح الله تعالى ما بك فقال له لا تقل مسح بالسين ولكن قل مصح بالصاد أي أذهبه الله وفرقه أما سمعت قول الشاعر:

وَإِذَا مَا الْخَمْرُ فِيهَا أَزْبَدَتْ أَفَلَ الْإِزْبَادُ فِيهَا وَمَصَحْ

فقال له الرجل إن السين قد تبدل من الصاد كما يقال الصراط والسراط وصقر وسقر فقال له النضر فأنت إذا أبو سالح.

The Arabic is a pun on the name of the visitor, Abū Ṣāliḥ, "father of Ṣāliḥ ("Righteous"):" when al-Naḍr turns the *ṣād* into a *sīn*, he changes the meaning to Abū Sāliḥ, "father of the Shitter."

al-ghawwāṣ fī awhām al-khawāṣṣ ("The Diver's Pearl on the Mistakes of the Elite"), it became a perennial favourite in the genre of books on speech errors, known as *laḥn al-ʿāmma*, "solecisms of the commoners."

By incorporating anecdotes into his treatise, al-Ḥarīrī revolutionised the genre of *laḥn*, which, up until the sixth/twelfth century, had consisted largely of word lists with brief explanations for each lemma. These anecdotes not only increased the appeal of what was essentially a highly specialised genre but also facilitated memorisation and circulation of the entries. By situating the cited authorities in a historical narrative, including poetry quotations, and offering a good pun, al-Ḥarīrī made the subject matter more engaging and accessible.

Later authors may not have surpassed al-Ḥarīrī's linguistic ingenuity, but they at least tried to benefit from the slipstream of this famous text by commenting, supplementing, abridging, or refuting it. His treatise therefore laid the groundwork for a creative reworking of the source material that manifested in various forms. As seen in the previous chapter, the "dictionary as commentary" was not a mere repetition of authoritative sources, but rather a lively, and at times polemical, engagement with them. While al-Ḥarīrī's *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* functioned as a master text from which a commentarial tradition on the topic of *laḥn* emerged, it only provided the lemmata—the keywords that instigated commentary. This chapter shows that the works responding to the *Durra* had significant autonomy, developing distinct scopes and concerns.

1 *Laḥn al-ʿāmma* in the Post-formative Period

In this chapter, I trace the functions of *laḥn* works in the post-formative period, not by discussing them chronologically or individually—many are well-known, and more can be found in manuscript collections—but by examining how their authors framed and focused their subject, engaged with the tradition, and introduced innovations. To understand the stakes in the field of *laḥn al-ʿāmma*, it is helpful to first become acquainted with some of the concepts debated in this subfield of *lugha*, often emerging as contrasting pairs: *ʿarabī* and *muwallad*, "genuine Arabic" and "hybrid," and *ʿāmma* and *khāṣṣa*, the "general" and the "specific"—to mention some out of many options for translation.

Against this backdrop, I will highlight three aspects of *laḥn* works from the post-formative period. First, I will show how al-Ḥarīrī's *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* served as a guiding thread through the history of *laḥn* and how its reception created a common ground for understanding in the field, solidifying it as a canonical text and a new starting point for the discussion of speech errors: the canonisation of the *Durra* was by no means the last word on *laḥn al-*

ʿāmma. The second aspect of *laḥn* works in the post-formative period that I wish to emphasise is the relevance of their content and the extent to which they were informed by actual language use. The frequent references to "our time" and "our region" in treatises on *laḥn* by the Ottoman historian Kemalpaşazāde (d. 940/1534) and his contemporaries make it abundantly clear that the solecisms contained in these treatises were not deadweight examples traditionally passed down, but rather the result of observations on language change, even if not framed as such. Thirdly, I will highlight a second approach to engaging with *laḥn*: deviations from the norm could be interpreted or "rebranded" as *lughāt*, language variants. Authors would consult comprehensive dictionaries, mainly *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* and *al-Qāmūs*, for evidence that a certain variation was part of the corpus of the high language, the *ʿarabiyya*. This interpretation of current language use reveals a desire to reconcile language change with the norm through a mastery of the sources.

1.1 *Distinguishing Deviation*

Even in the early days of Arabic lexicography, scholars realised that the language was changing: the Arabic spoken in their environment was no longer the Arabic of the Qurʾān or pre-Islamic poetry. This development was generally ascribed to a "corruption" of language through foreign influences—modern linguistics would term this "language contact." The purest Arabic was considered to be that of the Bedouin who, unlike city dwellers, were not exposed to deteriorating influences. Al-Naḍr ibn Shumayl, the language specialist in the anecdote opening this chapter, was one of many scholars who lived in the city and made field trips to study the Arabic of the Bedouin. Born in Merv in present-day Turkmenistan, he was raised in Basra and, as the story goes, spent a long time in the desert. The objective of such field work was to collect samples: in order to identify incorrect language, the lexicographer needed to establish a corpus of correct Arabic. Field work was a method used to corroborate the usage of a certain word, ideally in the form of probative quotations. The incentive to collect speech samples was not to limit the language, but to encompass it—to collect what was around, even if it was rare; the testimony of a Bedouin speaker could affirm its correctness.

The linguistic knowledge that al-Naḍr ibn Shumayl gathered first-hand from the second generation of the Prophet's Companions and Bedouin informants was passed on to later lexicographers. According to the biographer Yaʿqūb ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, known as Yāqūt al-Rūmī (d. 626/1229), "he is a reliable source who is cited for linguistic evidence in the *Ṣiḥāḥ*."[2]

2 Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī al-Rūmī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ. Irshād al-arīb ilā maʿrifat al-adīb*, 2758: هو ثقة حجة احتجوا به في الصحاح.

Lexicographers were aware of the often quoted saying that the most eloquent (*afṣaḥ*) human being was the Prophet and that only the Prophet had known all of the language.[3] As discussed in the previous chapter, *ḥadīth* gradually became an important source for language study, allowing many unusual expressions (*gharīb*) to become part of the *ʿarabiyya*. The Qurʾān also provided material for the study of language variation: language scholars accounted for the well-established variant readings of the text (*qirāʾāt*) by linking them to pre-Islamic dialects.[4] These authoritative sources—Qurʾān, *ḥadīth*, and Bedouin language—thus served not only to establish the norm, but also to condone those rare forms that, at first glance, seemed to deviate from the norm. So, what was left for the scholar of *laḥn* to discuss?

1.2 *The Genre of* laḥn *Historically*

The word *laḥn* initially denoted "a way of speaking" and acquired the meaning of "melody" beginning in the fourth/tenth century.[5] The notion of "speech error" is present, at least, from the second/eighth century onward.[6] Authors of early treatises on *laḥn*, conceived and transmitted contemporaneously with other genres of lexicography, arranged their catchwords starting with the phrase *lā taqul* ("do not say …"), in the same manner as al-Naḍr ibn Shumayl in the anecdote cited above. The word *laḥn* is used synonymously with *ghalaṭ* ("error") in the *Kitāb* of ʿAmr ibn ʿUthmān Sībawayhi (d. ca. 180/796).[7] The earliest extant list of speech errors was most likely written by Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī

3 As found in Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī's (d. 204/820) *al-Risāla*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿilmiyya, 1990), 42, and quoted, for instance, by al-Suyūṭī and al-Zabīdī: see al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha wa-anwāʿihā*, 1:65; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, 1:21.

4 E.g., as attested by reports about the Companion Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbdallāh Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/687), an important transmitter of the Qurʾan, its interpretation, and *ḥadīth*. Several later scholars collected these reports and the disputes between Ibn ʿAbbās and Nāfiʿ ibn al-Azraq (d. 65/685) on Qurʾanic vocabulary, e.g., al-Suyūṭī in *al-Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān*. One of these collections of reports was printed as Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, ed., *Kitāb al-Lughāt fī al-Qurʾān. Riwāyat Ibn Ḥasnūn al-Muqriʾ bi-isnādihi ilā Ibn ʿAbbās*, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dār al-kitāb al-jadīd, 1392/1972). See Andrew Rippin, "Ibn ʿAbbās's *al-lughāt fī 'l-Qurʾān*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 44, no. 1 (1981): 15–25.

5 For a discussion of the meanings of *laḥn* and their relation to each other, see Manfred Ullmann, *Wa-ḥairu l-ḥadīṯi mā kāna laḥnan. Mit einem Anhang von Rainer Degen: Bemerkungen zu lḥn im Nordwestsemitischen* (München: C.H. Beck, 1979).

6 However, according to ʿAbderrahman Hadj-Salah, "Lugha," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition*, ed. C.E. Bosworth et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1983), 5:804, *laḥn* started "having a much stronger sense and ultimately taking on, in the 3rd/9th century, the meaning of 'incorrectness.'"

7 Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 170.

ibn Ḥamza al-Kisāʾī (d. 189/805), an important member of the Kufan school of grammar.[8] Under the title *Mā talḥanu fīhi al-ʿawāmm* ("Speech Errors the Commoners Commit"), he provides a list of contemporary solecisms, introduced by the words *taqul* ("say") *wa-lā taqul* ("and do not say"). They are neither arranged alphabetically nor topically.[9]

Later authors of *laḥn* treatises often arranged their lemmata in a rough alphabetical order, which suggests that the arrangement was made during the writing process; it is possible that later copyists corrected and refined this order.[10] As we will see, *laḥn* works could also be arranged topically, with each section containing examples of a specific type of solecism. These could include: an error in the use of a verb form (often the exchange of the *faʿala* and *afʿala* forms, and the use of *infaʿala* as a passive); a mistake caused by exchanging one consonant for another (as in the anecdote about al-Naḍr ibn Shumayl); a wrong plural form; incorrect gemination of a consonant (*tashdīd*) or omission of a geminated consonant (*takhfīf*); as well as the use of incorrect vocalisation (*fatḥa* instead of *ḍamma*, etc.). Some mistakes are visible in writing, such as the exchange of letters, especially undotted ones for dotted ones and *vice versa*. However, many topics treated in *laḥn* treatises concern spoken, not written, language: errors in vocalisation would not be visible from a written text only.

1.3 Laḥn *and* muwallad

The reference for correct Arabic was the fixed corpus of texts from pre- and early Islamic times, roughly up to the end of the Umayyad period (mid-second/mid-eighth century). In lexicography, the terms *ʿarabiyya* or *kalām al-ʿarab* were used to denote the language belonging to this corpus. It was always referred to in the third person plural and past tense: *they spoke* in this way, *they used* a given word in a certain manner. There was an obvious temporal distance between the scholars who described the language and the people who used it.

8 Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Ḥamza ibn Bahman ibn Fayrūz al-Asadī al-Kisāʾī, *Mā talḥanu fīhi al-ʿawāmm*, ed. Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānji, 1982).

9 Today, such lists still circulate, for instance, on Facebook and Twitter/X. One user gives a list titled *Akhṭāʾ shāʿiyya: qul wa-lā taqul*, containing 20 "common errors" in Modern Standard Arabic. See https://x.com/moj2200/status/1100831069627187200, February 27, 2019, accessed October 1, 2024.

10 On this practice in Classical Antiquity and the European Middle Ages, see Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 2010), 40:

> [T]he compiler entered words on a sheet reserved for words beginning with that letter in the order in which he encountered them, and the terms could be alphabetized more carefully as the page was copied over a second time.

Textual evidence from poets who composed their texts after this era was called *muwallad*. The Arabic term, which literally means "half-breed," does not in itself connote temporality or chronology, nor does it carry an intrinsic judgement—and, at least in language scholarship, it is not ethnically or ideologically charged.[11] A common linguistic rendition of the term would be "neologism," literally a "new word," implying opposition to "old words" that exist within a fixed historical frame, separate from neologisms. The term, therefore, refers to a word that was not used by the Arabs/Bedouin and was coined later.[12] The link to the perceived corruption of language becomes clear in a passage in ʿAmr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ' (d. 255/868–869) *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* ("Book of Animals"), in which he remarks on Arabs, Bedouin, and *muwalladūn*:

> The question which I do not shy away from and am not afraid to argue about is that the *ʿArab* and *Aʿrāb*, both the nomadic and sedentary Arabs, are generally better poets than those poets who live in towns and villages and are not of pure Arab stock among the new generation (*min al-muwallada wa-l-nābita*).[13]

This narrative contrasts city dwellers with desert dwellers, suggesting that the new generation of townspeople are not "pure" Arabs anymore.[14] The poetry of a *muwallad* poet thus cannot be used to corroborate *ʿarabī* language, and if

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11 However, al-Khalīl uses the word in a negative sense in the context of the 'forgery' of lexicological material, when he says in the introduction of his dictionary that *muwalladāt* are not permissible in the speech of the Arabs. See al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, 1:52, 53; cf. Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 28.

12 P. Chalmeta and W.P. Heinrichs, "Muwallad," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition*, ed. B. Lewis et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 7:807–808:

> The term is partly due to a semantic extension of the word *muwallad* meaning "not of pure Arab (Bedouin) stock" [...] from denoting people to characterising their language, and partly based on a figurative understanding of the literal meaning: "s.th. that is produced by making s.th. else give birth to it", thus "a word newly derived from a known root" or "a poetic motif extracted from a known motif."

13 Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, vol. 3 (Cairo: Muṣṭafā l-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1356), 130:

> والقضية التي لا أحتشم منها ولا أهاب الخصومة فيها أن عامة العرب والأعراب والبدو والحضر من سائر العرب أشعر من شعراء الأمصار والقرى من المولدة والنابتة.

14 On the construction of Arab identity by al-Jāḥiẓ, see also Webb, *Imagining the Arabs*, 189–194.

muwallad poetry is cited in lexicological treatises, this is always done with a caveat.

The definition of *muwallad* in the introduction of Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī's (d. 1205/1790) monumental twelfth/eighteenth-century dictionary *Tāj al-ʿarūs* adds yet another nuance:

> As for the neologism, it is that which the *muwalladūn* created, whose expressions are not deemed authoritative (*lā yuḥtajju bi-alfāẓihim*). The difference between it and the fabricated (*maṣnūʿ*) is that he who fabricates presents it as if it were pure Arabic while this is not the case. And in *Mukhtaṣar al-ʿAyn* of al-Zubaydī [it says] that the *muwallad* in speech is the modern (*al-muḥdath*); and in *Dīwān al-adab* of al-Fārābī it says: "This is Arabic, and this is a neologism;" so it says in *al-Muzhir*.[15]

Al-Zabīdī provides this statement in the context of the question of forgery or the permissibility of the use of certain words that are not attested in the *ʿarabiyya*. *Maṣnūʿ* ("fabricated" or "forged") material represents an illegitimate category because its inventor provides a concocted *ḥujja*. The word *ḥujja* and the verb *iḥtajja* are important: "to provide evidence" means to offer a probative quotation (*shāhid*) from the corpus of the *ʿarabiyya* (i.e., from *ʿuṣūr al-iḥtijāj*, "the epochs of reliable usage," as Baalbaki translates the term). A quote from *muwallad* poetry, however, may be used to demonstrate that a word is *muwallad*, not to present *muwallad* as *ʿarabī*.

It is clear from the above passage that al-Zabīdī assumes the reader knows who the *muwalladūn* are. The passage also highlights the synonymy between *muwallad* and *muḥdath* ("modern"), which generally refers to poets from the Abbasid era onward.[16] However, similar to the case of *ḥadīth* discussed in the previous chapter, there appears to be a less strict application of the rule of restriction to *ʿuṣūr al-iḥtijāj* in lexicography than in grammar. While the number of poetry quotations from the third/ninth century onward is negligible

15 Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, 1:29:

وأما المولد، فهو ما أحدثه المولدون الذين لا يحتج بألفاظهم، والفرق بينه وبين المصنوع أن المصنوع يورده صاحبه على أنه عربي فصيح، وهذا بخلافه، وفي مختصر العين للزبيدي أن المولد من الكلام: المحدث، وفي ديوان الأدب للفارابي يقال: هذه عربية، وهذه مولدة، كذا في المزهر.

16 See G.J.H. van Gelder, "Muḥdathūn," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition*, ed. P.J. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 12:637–640.

compared to the pre- and early-Islamic *shawāhid*, some Abbasid poets are cited for their linguistic genius. The most prominent example is Abū al-Ṭayyib Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965), whom we will encounter below.[17]

1.4 Muwallad *in Treatises on* laḥn

The reference point for correct usage, and thus for detecting solecism, is the *ʿarabiyya*. The poetry of the *muwalladūn* forms, as it were, a grey area between correct and incorrect language use and can be cited to illustrate both. *Laḥn* treatises make ample use of it.

An ambivalent attitude toward *muwallad* is expressed by the author of a ninth/fifteenth century treatise on *laḥn* entitled *al-Jumāna fī izālat al-raṭāna* ("The Pearl on the Elimination of Gibberish").[18] As far as I am aware, this is the first time the author of a treatise on solecism explicitly provides a justification for including *muwallad* poetry. In his introduction, he writes:

> On these pages, I have mentioned the changes from the speech of the Arabs that I am aware of; that which is often found in poetry and prose and which everyone should know about. I have complemented it with the correct names they failed to mention for the colloquial meanings and the Arabic expressions; and I have therefore entitled it "The Pearl on the Elimination of Gibberish."
>
> Do not hold against me that I have cited some poetry by the moderns (*muwalladīn*), for I have quoted it not for attestation purposes (*li-l-istishhād*) but to spice and to sweeten it. After all, some of what is mentioned in it is too widespread to require linguistic evidence.[19]

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17 Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 35–36 counted the instances of quotations from Abbasid poets in *Lisān al-ʿarab* and found that, for instance, al-Mutanabbī is cited eleven times. As *Lisān al-ʿarab* is a compilation, it would be helpful to know from which work Ibn Manẓūr has taken these quotations.

18 The editor ascribes the treatises to a certain Ibn al-Imām and states that it describes the dialect situation in ninth/fifteenth-century Tunisia. See Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ṣamādaḥī, ed., *al-Jumāna fī izālat al-raṭāna: baḥth fī lughat al-takhāṭub fī al-Andalus wa-Tūnis li-baʿḍ ʿulamāʾ al-qarn al-tāsiʿ al-Hijrī* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-maʿhad al-Faransī li-l-āthār al-sharqiyya, 1953). Cf. Ramadān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, *Laḥn al-ʿāmma wa-l-taṭawwur al-lughawī* (Cairo: Dār al-maʿārif bi-Miṣr, 1967), 276. It is the first time we find a work with *raṭāna* ("gibberish," "jabber") in its title, a term already used by al-Jāḥiẓ for *sūqī*, "marketplace language." See al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, 1:135; ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, *Laḥn al-ʿāmma wa-l-taṭawwur al-lughawī*, 276–283.

19 Al-Ṣamādaḥī, *al-Jumāna fī izālat al-raṭāna*, 1:

The author of *al-Jumāna*, who must have been from the Maghreb, frequently and favourably quotes the Andalusian poet and literary critic Ḥāzim ibn Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Qarṭājannī (d. 684/1285) and other "moderns."[20] His introduction provides both a reason and an apology for their inclusion. The fact that authors of *laḥn* added *muwallad* poetry for probative quotations does not imply that they started taking their inspiration from the "streets" (i.e., from "popular" poetic genres written in dialect, such as the *muwashshaḥ* and the *mawāliyā*). While the corpus of texts used as *shawāhid* is expanded, the corpus of correct language does not expand simultaneously. This is shown in an example from *al-Jumāna* where the author discusses the incorrect use of the plural *maghānī*:

> An example of this is that they say *al-maghānī* and mean *al-aghānī*, the plural of *ghany*, which is "singing." They are mistaken, for *al-maghānī* in the speech of the Arabs are "dwellings," the plural of *maghnā*, and it is the place in which their people live, and correct would be to say *aghānin* when "song" and "melody" are meant. A case of mentioning *al-maghānī* are al-Mutanabbī's words:
>
> The dwellings of the valley of Bovan are the most pleasant
> in the season of spring time
>
> Ḥāzim meant this when he said:
>
> When you visit the dwellings with her, whoever sees her
> makes the valley sacrifice its dwellings for her.

فهذه أوراق ذكرت فيها ما حضرني مما غير من كلام العرب، مما يكثر في الأشعار والأخبار دوره ويقبح جهله، وأردفته بذكر ما أهملوه من الأسماء الفصيحة في المعاني المتداولة والألفاظ العربية، وسميته لذلك الجمانة في إزالة الرطانة. ولا يعترض علينا بإنشادنا فيه بعض شعر المولدين، لأنا لم نسقه للاستشهاد به بل تمليحاً وتحلية، إذ بعض ما ذكر فيه أشهر من أن يستشهد عليه.

20 The author of *al-Jumāna* mainly quotes from Ḥāzim's long *rajaz* panegyric *al-Maqṣūra* which eulogises the Ḥafsid ruler al-Mustanṣir (r. 647/1249–675/1277), praising Ḥāzim in several instances, e.g., with *mā aḥsana mā waqa'a fī lafẓi shādin qawla Ḥāzim* (25). He also extols other "modern" poets, such as Abū al-Maḥāsin Muḥammad ibn Naṣr Ibn ʿUnayn (d. 630/1233), lauding part of his poem in praise of Damascus (7): *hādhā l-baytu wa-mā ba'dahu ghāyatun fī l-iḥsān*.

> It means the houses of the valley, and by "valley" he means the valley of Bovan on Persian land, which is one of the places famous for its beauty and the many trees and the streams and the many birds.[21]

The status of *muwallad* poetry in this treatise is evident from how the author juxtaposes his sources: he cites a verse by al-Mutanabbī in tandem with a verse from Ḥāzim, suggesting that the language of Ḥāzim, despite his being *muwallad*, could serve as a *shāhid* to *kalām al-ʿarab* just as much as al-Mutanabbī's. While the author argues that Ḥāzim's *maghānī al-shiʿb* refers to the famous poem by al-Mutanabbī, his comment on Ḥāzim's verse also reveals that the meaning of the word *maghānī* may not have been clear to contemporary readers, precisely because its meaning shifted from the time of al-Mutanabbī to their own.

Two centuries later, the *qāḍī* and literary anthologist Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Khafājī (d. 1069/1659) wrote a work that, judging by its title, belonged to the realm of loanwords (*muʿarrab* or *dakhīl*).[22] In his *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl fīmā fī kalām al-ʿarab min al-dakhīl* ("Quenching the Thirst on What Intruded the Speech of the Arabs"), however, he also includes *muwallad* and *laḥn* material. In the introduction, al-Khafājī states that he has "included the section of *muwallad*, which, up until now (*ilā al-ān*), was not documented in a book."[23] He returns to this statement later, saying:

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21 Al-Ṣamādaḥī, *al-Jumāna fī izālat al-raṭāna*, 38:

ومن ذلك قولهم المغاني يذهبون به إلى معنى الأغاني جمع غنى الذي هو التطريب في الصوت ويخطئون، وإنما المغاني في لغة العرب المنازل جمع مغنى، وهو المكان الذي أقام به أهله، والصواب أن يقال في الذي يراد به الغنى والصوت أغانٍ، ومما وقع فيه ذكر المغاني قول المتنبي:

مَغاني الشَعبِ طيباً في المَغاني بِمَنزِلَةِ الرَبيعِ مِنَ الزَمانِ

وإلى هذا أشار حازم في قوله:

تَغْشَى بِهَا مَغَانِياً مَن يَرَها يَجْعَل لَها مَغَانِي الشِعْبِ فِدَا

أي منازل الشعب، ومراده بالشعب شعب بوّان الذي بأرض فارس وهو من الأماكن المشهورة بالحسن وكثرة الأشجار وتدفق المياه وكثرة الأطيار ...

Also note that the content of the verse is explained, even though its exact meaning has no bearing on the question of *laḥn*.

22 Al-Khafājī and *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl* will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

23 Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl fīmā fī kalām al-ʿarab min al-dakhīl*, ed. Muḥammad Kashshāsh (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya, 1997), 32.

> Know that, to enhance its utility, I mention in this book of mine what some language specialists (*baʿḍ ahl al-lugha*) might mention, either because they fail to point out that it is *muwallad*—and the author of the *Qāmūs* does this frequently, he even bases some of the dialect variants (*lughāt*) on books of medicine, which is one of his grave errors—or because they have not verified its meaning and it is a rare word that is seldom used.[24]

Al-Khafājī makes a sharp distinction between general lexicography—the books of *ahl al-lugha*—and his own work on loanwords, neologisms, and solecisms. While general lexicography should only contain samples from the *ʿarabiyya* (or at least make it clear if it does not), al-Khafājī collects *muwallad*. By the eleventh/seventeenth century, it seems the genre of *laḥn* evolved from a concise list of words that should not be used to a collection of curiosities.

2 A Genre of Its Own: Engagement with al-Ḥarīrī's *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*

The steady tradition of *laḥn al-ʿāmma* works from the second/eighth century onward shows that Arabic language scholars never lost interest in the issue of solecism. They explored it in independent treatises and discussed it in commentaries. The continued presence of writings on the subject throughout the history of Arabic philology makes it unnecessary to speak of a 'revival' of works on *laḥn* in the post-formative period. Instead, it stands to reason that one particular treatise marked a watershed in the genre: al-Ḥarīrī's *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ fī awhām al-khawāṣṣ* did much to propel and intensify the interest in *laḥn*. In the centuries following al-Ḥarīrī's text, engagement with *laḥn* almost invariably took the form of a 'reworking' of *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*. In this section, I will examine the impact of this treatise on most of the *laḥn* works that were subsequently produced.

While earlier texts on *laḥn* could be regarded as somewhat dry and technical, *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* lures the reader right from its title, "The Diver's pearl on the

24 Al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, 45–46:

> اعلم أني أذكر في كتابي هذا تتميماً للفائدة ما قد يذكره بعض أهل اللغة إما لتركهم التنبيه على أنه مولد—وصاحب القاموس يفعله كثيراً حتى تراه يعتمد في بعض اللغات على كتب الطب وهو من سقطاته الفاضحة—وإما لأنهم لم يحققوا معناه وإما لكونه غريباً نادر الاستعمال.

Errors of the Elite." The intellectual elite (*khāṣṣa*) of language scholars determined and documented the boundaries between correct and incorrect speech. The divide between an "in-group" or social elite and the rest of society is often stated in Arabic with the terms *khāṣṣa* and *ʿāmma*, the "specific" and the "general" or the "elite" and the "commoners"—a division that pervaded all branches of scholarship and all social practices, from jurisprudence to Sufism.[25] It can be seen both as an expression of social hierarchy and of "social interiority/exteriority" (i.e., the division between private and public space or "in-group and out-group").[26]

The question that arises from this division is: Who belongs to the *ʿāmma* and who belongs to the *khāṣṣa* regarding solecism? Attempts have been made to identify the social groups designated by these terms with reference to al-Jāḥiẓ's *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn* ("Clear Speech and Clarifying Speech"):

> If you hear me mention the commoners (*ʿawāmm*), I do not mean the peasants and the riffraff, the craftsmen or the merchants. Nor do I mean the Kurds in the mountains or the inhabitants of the islands in the seas [...] No, the communities worthy of mention are four out of all people: the Arabs, the Persians, the Indians, and the Turks. The others are barbarians or near-barbarians. As for the *ʿawāmm* from our religion and our denomination, our language, our manners (*adabinā*) and our morals (*akhlāqinā*), they are the class whose intelligence and morals are above those communities but who do not attain the level of the *khāṣṣa* among us, even though the *khāṣṣa* also contend for a class division among themselves.[27]

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25 See Shahab Ahmed, *What Is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 372–377; Thomas Herzog, "Mamluk (Popular) Culture. The State of Research," in *Ubi Sumus? Quo Vademus? Mamluk Studies–State of the Art*, ed. Stephan Conermann, Mamluk Studies 3 (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2013), 133.

26 Cf. Ahmed, *What Is Islam?*, 385.

27 Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, 1:137:

> وإذا سمعتموني أذكر العوام فإني لست أعني الفلاحين والحشوة والصناع والباعة، ولست أعني أيضاً الأكراد في الجبال، وسكان الجزائر في البحار [...] وإنما الأمم المذكورون من جميع الناس أربع: العرب، والفارس، والهند، والروم. والباقون همج وأشباه الهمج. وأما العوام من أهل ملتنا ودعوتنا، ولغتنا وادبنا وأخلاقنا، فالطبقة التي عقولها وأخلاقها فوق تلك الأمم ولم يبلغوا منزلة الخاصة منا، على أن الخاصة تتفاضل في طبقات أيضاً.

See also Charles Pellat, "Laḥn al-ʿāmma," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition*, ed. C.E. Bosworth et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 5:610; Mohammed A.J. Beg, "al-Khāṣṣa wa 'l-

This passage highlights a division in more than two groups, with the *ʿawāmm* below the level of the *khāṣṣa*, but still relevant as a reference point. Obviously, social strata in the third/ninth century were more complex than a simple dichotomy of *khāṣṣa* and *ʿāmma*[28]—al-Jāḥiẓ says as much when he mentions that the *khāṣṣa* vie for a further division into classes. It is likely that the increasingly fuzzy boundaries between the elite and upcoming "middle class" (which would equal the *ʿāmma* in al-Jāḥiẓ' definition of it) contributed to the desire of the *khāṣṣa* to distinguish themselves more clearly. In any case, the self-pronounced members of the *khāṣṣa* seemed content with these two terms.

The titles of the *laḥn* works use the reference to *al-ʿāmma* to show what kind of language *al-khāṣṣa* should avoid. In the late second/eighth century, al-Kisāʾī, the first known author of a treatise devoted to *laḥn*, identified the beneficiaries of his treatise as *ahl al-faṣāḥa* ("those with a perfect command of Arabic," i.e., professional language scholars).[29] A descendant of an Iranian family and *mawlā* of the tribe of Banū Asad, al-Kisāʾī is said to have commenced his grammar studies due to difficulties with Arabic.[30] This may be a topos of Arabic language scholarship: it is also reported that Sībawayhi had a speech defect.[31]

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989), an Andalusian language scholar closely associated with the Umayyad caliphs on the Iberian Peninsula, described his observations of language corruption. He speaks of words which

> the commoners among us corrupted or of which they changed the pronunciation, or which they put in the wrong place, and in which most of the elite followed them, so that even the poets included them in their poetry, and they were used by prominent scribes and the highest court servants in their letters, and they encountered them in their assemblies.[32]

ʿāmma," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition*, ed. E. van Donzel et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 4: 1098–1100.

28 See Beg, "al-Khāṣṣa wa 'l-ʿāmma."

29 Al-Kisāʾī, *Mā talḥanu fīhi al-ʿawāmm*, 99: ولا بد من أهل الفصاحة من معرفته.

30 Rudolf Sellheim, "al-Kisāʾī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition*, ed. C.E. Bosworth et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 5:174–175.

31 Kees Versteegh, "What's it Like to Be a Persian? Sībawayhi's Treatment of Loanwords," in *The Foundations of Arabic Linguistics II: Kitāb Sībawayhi: Interpretation and Transmission*, ed. Amal Elesha Marogy and Kees Versteegh, Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 83 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 203.

32 Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn Madḥaj al-Zubaydī, *Laḥn al-ʿawāmm*, ed. Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, 2nd ed. (Cairo: Maktabat al-khānjī bi-l-Qāhira, 1420/2000), 62:

Other authors also criticise the *khāṣṣa* and take *their* mistakes as a point of departure for analysing speech errors, as al-Ḥarīrī does in *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*.[33] Besides referring to *al-khawāṣṣ* in his title, he states in his brief introduction that the targets of his study are the high-ranking *udabāʾ*, who, despite their status, rival the commoners in the mistakes they make in speaking and writing.[34] Al-Ḥarīrī also professes the intention to entertain with anecdotes and true stories. The text itself provides 222 entries of *awhām al-khāṣṣa*, introduced mostly with *wa-yaqūlūna* ("and they say"), *wa-min awhāmihim* ("among their errors is"), and similar expressions. The entries discuss lexical questions, pronunciation, syntax, and orthography.

A factor accounting for the popularity of *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* may have been its author's renown in the genre of the *maqāma*. Al-Ḥarīrī's collection of fifty *Maqāmāt* was considered the apex of the still young genre ever since its publication in the year 504/1111.[35] This fame spread to the author's philological works, which also include a grammar treatise entitled *Mulḥat al-iʿrāb* ("The Punchline of Inflection"). *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, written in Basra, was immediately received throughout the Arabic-speaking world. Scholars who penned commentaries on al-Ḥarīrī's text include Abū Manṣūr Mawhūb ibn Aḥmad al-Jawālīqī (d. 540/1144) from Baghdad, Muḥammad ibn Abī Muḥammad Ibn Ẓafar from Sicily (d. 565/1170), the Cairene commentator Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Barrī (d. 582/1187), and Ibn Manẓūr al-Ifrīqī (d. 711/1311), the author of *Lisān al-ʿarab*.

مما قد أفسدته العامة عندنا، فأحالوا لفظه، أو وضعوه غير موضعه، وتابعهم على ذلك أكثر الخاصة، حتى ضمنته الشعراء أشعارهم، واستعمله جلة الكتّاب، وعلية الخدمة في رسائلهم، وتلاقوا به في محافلهم.

Similarly in his introduction to *Mukhtaṣar laḥn al-ʿawāmm*: كما قد ألفنا فيما أفسده عوامنا وكثير من خواصنا: "We have written down what our commoners and many of our elite have corrupted." See al-Zubaydī, *Laḥn al-ʿawāmm*, 66.

33 Al-Ḥarīrī was not the first to address the *khāṣṣa* in the title of his treatise, but of earlier texts only the titles survive. See Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 181.

34 Al-Ḥarīrī, *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, 2:

فأنا رأيت كثيرا ممن تسنموا أسنمة الرتب وتوسموا بسمة الادب قد ضاهوا العامة في بعض ما يفرط من كلامهم ...

35 Matthew L. Keegan, "Commentators, Collators, and Copyists: Interpreting Manuscript Variation in the Exordium of Al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*," in *Arabic Humanities, Islamic Thought. Essays in Honor of Everett K. Rowson*, ed. Joseph E. Lowry and Shawkat M. Toorawa, Islamic History and Civilization 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 296.

In the technical lexicographical sense, *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* does not represent a new development in the genre of *laḥn*. Al-Ḥarīrī neither introduces a new method or scope, nor does he systematically rearrange the entries. On the contrary, he collects errors in a seemingly haphazard manner, foregoing alphabetical order and linking them through association—an approach well established in general lexicography. Many entries digress, often addressing more than one error. Renowned for his literary ingenuity and mastery of the lexicon, al-Ḥarīrī successfully combines the useful with the pleasurable, transforming a word list into a work of *adab*. The anecdote in the introduction to this chapter is just one example out of many. However, the *Durra*'s lack of internal arrangement and al-Ḥarīrī's self-confident discussion of cases that others considered ambiguous may have contributed even more than its rich anecdotal content to the stream of commentaries that ensued.

2.1 *Ibn al-Ḥanbalī and the* Durra*:* radd *and* qabūl

One of the authors engaging intensively with *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* was Raḍī al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, known as Ibn al-Ḥanbalī (d. 971/1563),[36] a prolific writer on *ḥadīth*, history, and poetry, and well-versed in medicine and mathematics. Born in Aleppo in 907/1501, he lived through the transition from Mamluk to Ottoman rule in Syria. His local history, *Durr al-ḥabab fī tārīkh aʿyān Ḥalab* ("The Shining Pearls on the History of the Notables of Aleppo"), which can also be read as a literary anthology of his day, provides a lively picture of political, intellectual, and social life in tenth/sixteenth-century Aleppo. The work highlights the importance of disciplines such as poetry, *qirāʾāt*, and *fiqh*, to name a few. Ibn al-Ḥanbalī received his early education in Aleppo, later travelling to Damascus for further studies. Among his students was the prominent *qāḍī* Muḥibb al-Dīn (d. 1016/1608), great-grandfather of famous eleventh/seventeenth-century historian Muḥammad al-Amīn ibn Faḍl Allāh al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699).[37]

In the introduction to his treatise on *laḥn, ʿAqd al-khalāṣ fī naqd kalām al-khawāṣṣ* ("The Concise Conclusion on the Critique of the Elite's Speech"), Ibn al-Ḥanbalī presents the work as a sequel to his first *laḥn* treatise, which he describes as an "extract" from al-Ḥarīrī's *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*.[38] *ʿAqd al-khalāṣ* is

36 The "Ḥanbalī" in his name comes from the affiliation of his forefathers—his grandfather was a Ḥanbalī judge though Ibn al-Ḥanbalī himself was a Ḥanafī. See Nihād Ḥassūbī Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya maʿa taḥqīq kitābihi ʿAqd al-khalāṣ fī naqd kalām al-khawāṣṣ* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1407/1978), 23.

37 Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 28–29.

38 He calls his first book, *al-Durr al-multaqaṭ fī tabyīn al-ghalaṭ* ("The Gathered Pearls on the

divided into two sections: the first a refutation (*radd*) of "some of what al-Ḥarīrī collected and referred to its origin," and the second contains the statements of al-Ḥarīrī with which Ibn al-Ḥanbalī agreed (*qabūl*).

The author proceeds according to the order of the *Durra*, introducing the text of each respective entry of the *Durra* with the word *jazama* ("he [i.e., al-Ḥarīrī] judged") and then slightly abridging or altering the master text. Ibn al-Ḥanbalī marks the departure from al-Ḥarīrī's text with *wa-aqūlu* ("and I say"), introducing the opinions of other authorities. These authorities not only include earlier commentators of *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, such as Ibn Barrī, but also other lexicographers, mainly Ismāʿīl ibn Ḥammād al-Jawharī (d. ca. 400/1010) and Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415). Their opinions are compared and reconciled where possible, starting with the first entry of the *Durra*, *sā'ir*:

> Among their embarrassing errors (*min awhāmihim al-fāḍiḥa*) and plain mistakes (*aghlāṭihim al-wāḍiḥa*) is the fact that they say: "The lot (*sā'ir*) of the pilgrims arrived" and "the lot of the taxes were paid," using *sā'ir* as meaning "all" (*al-jamīʿ*) while in the speech of the Arabs it means "the rest" (*al-bāqī*).[39]

While the issue itself is resolved quickly—the use of *sā'ir* for "all" is simply incorrect—al-Ḥarīrī does not immediately proceed to the next topic. Instead, he elaborates on the details. The quotation of a *ḥadīth* raises the question of whether *sā'ir* refers to the largest or the smallest remainder of something. Al-Ḥarīrī concludes that the consensus among the language scholars (*ijmāʿ ahl al-lugha*) is that *sā'ir* can signify either the larger or smaller remainder.

This is where Ibn al-Ḥanbalī steps in. He begins by referencing the opinions of the *Durra*'s commentators, Ibn Barrī and Ibn Manẓūr, who state that *sā'ir* can mean both "all" and "the rest." However, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī then corrects this statement, arguing that Ibn Manẓūr misunderstood his source, Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Azharī's (d. 370/980) dictionary *Tahdhīb al-*

Clarification of Error"), a "small piece" (*nubdha*) which he extracted (*istakhrajtu*) from *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, see Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 169–170. According to Ṣāliḥ (43), this work is lost.

39 Al-Ḥarīrī, *Durrat al-ghawwās*, 3:

فمن أوهامهم الفاضحة وأغلاطهم الواضحة أنهم يقولون قدم سائر الحاج واستوفى سائر الخراج. فيستعملون سائراً بمعنى الجميع وهو في كلام العرب بمعنى الباقي.

lugha. To settle the matter, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī adduces the jurist and commentator Zakariyyā ibn Muḥammad al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520), citing the *ḥadīth wa-sā'iru l-nāsi hamajun wa-l-hamaju fī l-nār*—"all/the rest of man are riffraff and the riffraff are in the fire." In this context, the exact meaning of *sā'ir* is crucial. It must mean "the rest," as the scholar and the student are excluded from the category of riffraff.[40]

Ibn al-Ḥanbalī then proceeds to quote al-Fīrūzābādī who, confident and concise as ever, states that the meaning of *sā'ir* is "the rest," dismissing the opinion of others as *tawahhum* ("delusion").[41] Ibn al-Ḥanbalī then decides to opt for the golden mean: "You know that what confirms both statements is better than what negates them; thus, one should rely on what is preponderant in both of them."[42]

The discussion continues, leading to a more fundamental question on terminology, prompted by the opening sentence of the first entry in al-Ḥarīrī's *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*: "Among their embarrassing errors (*min awhāmihim al-fāḍiḥa*) and plain mistakes (*aghlāṭihim al-wāḍiḥa*) …" Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's comment highlights a stylistic choice—rhyming parallelism of two synonymous terms—to instigate a dialectical and philosophical discussion:

> And if you said: "Al-Ḥarīrī uses both the expressions *awhām* and *aghlāṭ*; is there a difference between them?" I would say: *Wahm* may be compared to *ẓann*, for *wahm* is believing what is less likely and *ẓann* is believing what is preponderant, in contrast to doubt (*shakk*), which means there is no inclination to either one of the sides, but vacillation. And from this, the shortcoming of al-Jaʿbarī [the jurist Burhān al-Dīn al-Jaʿbarī, d. 732/1328] is apparent, who said: "*Wahm* is the vacillation of the mind in judging the absent or the non-existent." This may be equivalent to *ghalaṭ* here or in the statement of Ibn Mujāhid that "*murdafīn* (Q 8:9) pronounced with a *fatḥa* is *wahm* in one of two respects," whereas what he means is *ghalaṭ* as the statement says.[43]

40 Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 172.

41 On the term *tawahhum*, see Ramzi Baalbaki, "*Tawahhum*: An Ambiguous Concept in Early Arabic Grammar," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 45,2 (1982): 233–244.

42 Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 173:

وأنت تعلم أن مثبت القولين خير من نفيهما فليعتمد على ما هو الراجح فيهما.

43 Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 174–175:

وإن قلت: وقع فيما ترى من عبارة الحريري الأوهام والأغلاط فهل من فرق بينهما؟ قلت: الوهم قد

While al-Ḥarīrī's master text already addressed quite technical and subtle topics, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's additions increase the level of detail, using the terminology of *uṣūl al-fiqh* to introduce a level of terminological precision likely beyond the original author's intent. In this section of *ʿAqd al-khalāṣ*, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī quotes additional *ḥadīth*s to discuss the meaning of a certain word, highlighting how the correct interpretation of *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* entries often carries legal implications.[44]

Importantly, the *radd* (lit. "response") that Ibn al-Ḥanbalī devises in the first section of his treatise is never an outright rejection or refutation of al-Ḥarīrī's statements, but a subtle qualification through the support of later authorities. The dialectic structure (*in qulta ..., qultu*) reflects a discussion that could have actually taken place in a classroom setting or a learned circle. Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's wide range of references from *fiqh*, *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr* shows the significance of al-Ḥarīrī's treatise and of getting language right—not just in language scholarship, but in all disciplines. The master text serves as an invitation to explore new questions that are not explicitly raised by it.

Ibn al-Ḥanbalī not only discusses the terminological distinction between *wahm* and *ghalaṭ*, but also engages the *ʿāmma/khāṣṣa* dichotomy. In the question of whether the spelling and/or pronunciation *shaḥāth* or *shaḥādh* for "beggar" is correct, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī cites the *Qāmūs*, where *shaḥāth* is classified as an error of the *ʿāmma*, and then argues:

> The statement of the author of the *Qāmūs* that *shaḥāth* for *shaḥādh* is an error of the commoners does not contradict the fact that al-Ḥarīrī listed it as an error of the elite, for it is possible that both groups equally commit the error.[45]

يطلق في مقابلة الظن لما أن الوهم الاعتقاد المرجوح، والظن الاعتقاد الراجح بخلاف الشك فإنه لا ترجيح فيه لواحد من الطرفين، بل هو التردد. ومن ههنا يظهر قصور الجعبري حيث قال: إن الوهم تردد الذهن في الحكم الغائب عدمه. وقد يطلق مراداً به الغلط كما هنا وكما وقع في قول ابن مجاهد إن فتح دال مردفين في أحد وجهين قبيل وهم فإن مراده به الغلط كما وقع التصريح به.

44 E.g., the discussion on the exact meaning of *mutawātir*, for which also the opinions of jurists such as al-Jāribirdī (d. 746/1345) are quoted. See Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 177.

45 Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 337:

وقول صاحب القاموس والشحاث للشحاذ من لحن العوام وهو لا ينافي كونه عند الحريري من لحن الخواص لجواز أن يلحن فيه الفريقان معاً.

This suggests that Ibn al-Ḥanbalī viewed al-Ḥarīrī's treatise as a true reflection of the speech errors of the elite, and that he also differentiates between the two groups. This may also explain why the many (older) treatises bearing *al-ʿāmma* in their titles are not cited as authorities in Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's work.

2.2 *Taking a Joke Seriously*

Within his systematic approach of addressing all entries of *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* with either *radd* or *qabūl*, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī also examines al-Ḥarīrī's anecdote about al-Naḍr ibn Shumayl regarding the question of whether the expression *maṣaḥa llāhu mā bika*, uttered when visiting an ill person, should be written with *sīn* or *ṣād*. He cites al-Ḥarīrī up to the punchline, where Abū Ṣāliḥ turns into Abū Sāliḥ, then continues with his own *radd*, which deserves to be cited in full:

> And I say: Correct is *masaḥa llāhu mā bika* with a *sīn*, and this is what al-Harawī [Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām (d. 401/1011)] mentioned in his well-known *Book of the Two Gharībs*. He said: "They say: *masaḥa llāhu mā bika* meaning 'may he wash it from you and cleanse you from sins,' and as for his statement: 'Correct is *maṣaḥa* with a *ṣād*,' this is an error, because *maṣaḥa* is a verb that is only made transitive with *bāʾ* [i.e., the preposition *bi-*]. They say: *maṣaḥtu bi-shayʾ*, meaning 'I went off with it.' And if it were with a *ṣād*, one would say: *maṣaḥa llāhu bi-mā bika*, meaning 'May he make it go away,' or it is made transitive with *hamza* [i.e., through the fourth verb form], and then you say: *amṣaḥa llāhu mā bika*." All this is what Ibn Barrī said.
>
> Contrary to what he took from the *Book of the Two Gharībs* is that what others took from Abū Zayd [al-Anṣārī (d. 215/830)]: "that *al-masḥ* in the speech of the Arabs is washing or wiping" and contrary to what he took from the *Book of the Two Gharībs* is that which others took from his assertion that *maṣaḥa* is only made transitive with *bāʾ* on account of what al-Naḍr cited, to the effect that it is not correct, bolstered by what he mentioned. And the account of al-Jawharī is also "*maṣaḥtu bi-l-shayʾ*: I went off with it," and the claim of the man about the firmness (*aṣāla*) of the *ṣād* in *ṣirāṭ* and *ṣaqr* is correct according to al-Jawharī, who said: "*Al-ṣaqr* is the bird that is written with *ṣād*, and it may be written with *sīn*, because they often exchange the *ṣād* for a *sīn* if the word contains a *qāf* or a *ṭāʾ* or a *ghayn* or a *khāʾ* as in: *al-ṣudgh*, *al-ṣimākh*, and *al-ṣirāṭ*." The *Mukhtār* of al-Jaʿbarī and others assert the firmness of the *sīn* in *al-sirāṭ* as well as the claim that the substitution of *sīn* with *ṣād* is the dialect of Quraysh in every *sīn* that is followed by the four letters mentioned above.

This is supported by the statement of the author of the *Tashīl* [Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274)]: "And the *ṣād* is substituted with the *sīn* as permitted by dialect, if a *ghayn* or a *khāʾ* or a *qāf* or a *ṭāʾ* comes after it, and even if there are one or two letters in between, the permission remains," except that his statement "by dialect" seems to indicate that this is an unknown dialect, and it cannot refer to the dialect of Quraysh because that is well-attested.

And if you said: "If the *sīn* in *al-sirāṭ* belongs to the root, then what is its etymology?" I would say: from *sariṭṭu al-ṭaʿām*, meaning I swallowed the food, as if they named the road after understanding from it that it swallows those who take it; or because they swallow it, just like they named the word "bite:" either because it swallows them up or they swallow it up, and this is like they said: "Who knows the land, kills it and it kills who does not know it." And Abū Tammām's words to this effect are the best:

> The desert protected him after he had for a long time
> protected it while the rain poured heavily.[46]

46 Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 183–184:

وأقول: الصواب مسح الله ما بك بالسين، وكذا ذكر الهروي في كتابه المعروف بكتاب الغريبين قال: يقال: مسح الله ما بك أي غسل عنك وطهرك من الذنوب وأما قوله: إن الصواب مصح بالصاد فغلط، لأن مصح فعل لا يتعدى إلا بالباء. يقال مصحت بالشيء: ذهبت به. فلو كان بالصاد لقيل: مصح الله بما بك: أي أذهبه، أو تعديه بالهمزة فتقول: أمصح الله ما بك. قاله برمته ابن بري.

ويعضد ما نقله من كتاب الغريبين ما نقله غيره عن أبي زيد أن المسح في كلام العرب يكون غسلاً ويكون مسحاً ويعضد ما نقله من كتاب الغريبين ما نقله غيره عن جزمه بأن مصح لا يتعدى إلا بالباء لزومةً فيما أنشده النضر حتى لم يصلح شاهداً على ما ذكره. وحكاية الجوهري أيضاً مصحت بشيء: ذهبت به ودعوى الرجل أصالة صاد الصراط وصقر صحيحة عند الجوهري، وذلك أنه قال: الصقر الطائر الذي يصاد به، وربما جاء بالسين لأنهم كثيرا ما يقلبون الصاد سيناً إذا كان في الكلمة قاف أو طاء أو غين أو خاء مثل: الصدغ والصماخ والصراط ومختار الجعبري وغيره أصالة السين في السراط، ودعوى أن إبدال السين صاداً لغة قريش في كل سين بعدها الأحرف الأربعة المذكورة.

ويقويه قول صاحب التسهيل: وتبدل الصاد من السين جوازاً على لغة إن وقع بعدها غين أو خاء أو قاف أو طاء، وإن فصل حرف أو حرفان، فالجواز باق، إلا أن قوله على لغة يكاد يشعر بأن هذه اللغة غير مشهورة، فلا تكون هي القرشية لأنها مشهورة. فإن قلت إذا كانت سين السراط أصلاً فماذا اشتقاقه؟

This is a particularly fascinating passage, not just because the technical elaboration might make the reader forget the punchline—which was, in fact, the whole point of al-Ḥarīrī's rendition. The entry in *ʿAqd al-khalāṣ* has very little to do with the original anecdote in the *Durra*, instead the author transforms it into a discussion of the validity and compatibility of various opinions regarding the permissibility of substituting *ṣād* for *sīn* in certain words. To support his position that *masaḥa* is with *sīn*, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī cites the language scholars Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḥarawī, Ibn Barrī, Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, al-Jawharī, Ibn Mālik, and, again, the jurist Burhān al-Dīn al-Jaʿbarī, thus enriching the debate with a conclusive judgement supported by authors who wrote before and after al-Ḥarīrī. The discussion takes on a dynamic of its own, where the original lemma functions merely as a peg upon which a range of associated topics are hung.[47] This approach can also be observed in several other lemmata, such as when the author begins with al-Ḥarīrī's entry *dastūr*, but then swiftly moves on to discuss other loanwords, the grammar of a probative verse, the name Baghdad, and so on.[48] Similarly, the issue of a comparative form (*ism tafḍīl*) taken from a verb is extended over two pages.[49]

Overall, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's elaboration on the text of al-Ḥarīrī can be characterised as a synopsis of the commentaries that emerged after the publication of the *Durra*. The names of Ibn Barrī and the *Qāmūs* are prominent, but also included are references to Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Damāmīnī's (d. 827/1424) commentary on ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yūsuf Ibn Hishām's (d. 761/1359) *Mughnī al-Labīb*.[50] Regarding questions on loanwords (such as *dastūr* or *sawsan*), al-Jawālīqī's *al-Muʿarrab min al-kalām al-ʿajamī ʿalā ḥurūf al-muʿjam* ("Loanword Dictionary in Alphabetical Order") is an important source bolstering Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's critique of the *Durra*. At times, the discussion moves to entirely different domains than *lugha*, like when, for instance, the subject of

قلت: من سرطت الطعام بالكسر ابتلعته كأنهم سموا الطريق به على فهمهم منه أنه يبتلع سالكيه، أو أنهم مم يبتلعونه، وهذا كما سموا لقماً: إما لأنه يلتقمهم أو لأنهم يلتقمونه، وهذا كما قالوا قتل أرضاً عالمها، وقتلت أرض جاهلها، وأحسن بقول أبي تمام في هذا المقام: (طويل)

رَعتْه الفَيافي بعدما كان حقبةً رعاها وماءُ المزن يَنهلّ ساكبُه

47 The word *sirāṭ* is today commonly acknowledged to be a loanword (from Latin *strata*, cf. Dutch "straat" and German "Straße") but nevertheless, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's etymology may have been considered plausible and creative.

48 Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 224–227.

49 Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 231–232.

50 Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 244–245.

diminutive forms raises the question of whether Bedouin really ate lizards, as commonly claimed.[51]

ʿAqd al-khalāṣ retains the order of entries of *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, with the exception that in the first section, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī omits the lemmata he agrees with, choosing to discuss them in the second section. This section, entitled *Fīmā ajmalahu al-Ḥarīrī wa-faṣṣalahu* ("On al-Ḥarīrī's general and detailed statements"), follows the same procedure and mostly employs the same sources, but this time for the lemmata in which Ibn al-Ḥanbalī agrees with al-Ḥarīrī's opinions and even defends him against conflicting views.[52] This section includes even more additions from Ibn al-Ḥanbalī himself, in addition to observations and clarifications taken from earlier texts, such as al-Ḥarīrī's grammar poem *Mulḥat al-iʿrāb*[53] and the *Maqāmāt* and its commentaries.[54] Ibn al-Ḥanbalī adds contemporary observations, such as when he states that "the people of our times" (*ahl zamāninā*) pronounce a word in a certain way, considering it to be a dialectal variant (*lugha*) supported by ʿAlī ibn al-Mubārak al-Liḥyānī, a lexicographer from the second/eighth century.[55]

Central to this part of the book are attestations from the Qurʾān for which different variant readings (*qirāʾāt*) are adduced.[56] As in the first section, *ḥadīth* also plays a role in discussing and confirming the meaning of a word. The point of reference remains the "speech of the Arabs," which is attested by quotations from early grammarians such as al-Kisāʾī, Thaʿlab, al-Layth, and others. Here, however, the author also uses later and (near-)contemporary evidence, quoting, for instance, al-Fīrūzābādī's treatise on words that can be written with *sīn* or *shīn*.[57] He adds a verse of his own making that plays on different forms of the verb *zāra*,[58] in addition to some entertaining poetry, such as in the discussion of the form of the *ism āla* (*nomen instrumenti*), which contains a lovely *shāhid* from an otherwise unnamed *muwallad* poet:

> A fan that waves away all worries
> during three months it's essential:

51 Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 246–247.
52 E.g., in case of failing support by al-Jawharī, see Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 304.
53 Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 341.
54 E.g., Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 291, 299.
55 Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 285.
56 Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 307.
57 Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 315.
58 Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 286.

June, July and August;
in September, God makes it dispensable[59]

Or when he cites a love poem to attest the use of the verb *lasa'a* ("sting") for a snake bite:

I was bitten in the liver by the snake of love
and there is neither a doctor nor a healer for it
except for the loved one I fell for
his saliva is my incantation and my antidote[60]

2.3 *From* radd *to* dhayl

In his second extant treatise engaging with the *Durra*, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī takes a different approach. Titled *Sahm al-alḥāẓ fī wahm al-alfāẓ* ("The Sharp Look at Erroneous Expressions"),[61] it serves as a supplement (*dhayl*) to *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, "as a reminder to my brothers and an instruction to my friends."[62] The treaties comprises 133 entries, forming a concise list of speech errors and their correct forms, organised not alphabetically or in any other discernible order, but by association.

We are reminded of the discussion on the subtle difference between *wahm* and *ghalaṭ* in *'Aqd al-khalāṣ fī naqd kalām al-khawāṣṣ*, when Ibn al-Ḥanbalī alludes to al-Ḥarīrī's text and terminology by opening the first lemma with the words: *wa-mimmā wahimū fīhi wa-ghaliṭū* …[63] Most mistakes addressed in this work concern spelling (notably *taṣḥīf*, the incorrect dotting of letters) and vocalisation (such as the unnecessary use of the *tā' marbūṭa* ending) alongside similar errors. These errors are identified primarily by referenc-

59 Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 322–323:

ومِرْوَحة تُرَوِّحُ كُلَّ هَمٍّ ثَلاثةُ أَشْهُرٍ لا بُدَّ مِنْها
حَزيرانٌ وتمّوزُ وآبٌ وَفي أيلولَ يُغْني اللهُ عَنْها

60 Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 333:

قَدْ لَسَعَتْ حَيَّةُ الهَوَى كبدي ولا طَبيبٌ لَها وَلا راقِي
إلا الحَبيبَ الذي شُغِفْتُ بِه فَريقه رُقْيَتي وتَرياقي

61 'Abd al-Tawwāb, *Laḥn al-'āmma wa-l-taṭawwur al-lughawī*, 211; Ṣāliḥ, *Juhūd Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-lughawiyya*, 40, 51.

62 Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Sahm al-alḥāẓ fī wahm al-alfāẓ*, ed. Ḥātim Ṣāliḥ al-Ḍāmin, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1415/1985), 24.

63 Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Sahm al-alḥāẓ fī wahm al-alfāẓ*, 24.

ing al-Fīrūzābādī and al-Jawālīqī, with many of the words under discussion being loanwords. Other references are drawn from ʿAbdallāh ibn Muslim Ibn Qutayba's (d. 276/889) *Adab al-kātib*.

Compared to Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's other treatise, *Sahm al-alḥāẓ* allows much less room for discussion and contradiction. The author simply states facts in the form of a list, only rarely elaborating on individual lemmata—for instance, when the opinion of al-Jawharī on the vocalisation of the plural of *jadīd* contradicts that of Ibn Qutayba.[64] In this work, whenever Ibn al-Ḥanbalī finds conflicting statements by al-Fīrūzābādī and al-Jawharī, he prefers the opinion in the *Qāmūs* over that in the *Ṣiḥāḥ*. The entries become increasingly specific toward the end of the treatise, often concerning the pronunciation of the names of villages around Aleppo or plants and herbs, suggesting that the author was drawing from personal observation as a basis for his treatise. The number of *shawāhid* is quite small, with only thirty-three poetry quotations in 131 entries. All in all, the *adab* quality of the treatise is quite limited. Nevertheless, we find a witty anecdote involving a pun on the verb *kasara* (meaning "to break" as well as "to vocalise with i") in the entry *qannīna*/*qinnīna* ("bottle"):

> And among these [errors] is *al-qannīna*, with a *fatḥa* on the *qāf*, for that in which you put drinks. It is actually with a *kasra*, as it is told that a man said to a language specialist (*lughawī*): "Take this *qannīna* ("bottle")," with a *fatḥa* on the *qāf*. He snapped at him saying: "Break it!" meaning "vocalise it with *kasra*." He assumed he wanted him to break the bottle, threw it to the ground and broke it.[65]

While this joke might only amuse a group of linguists, it is representative of the tradition in which such anecdotes often function to emphasise an outsider's ignorance about getting language right and the technicalities involved in correcting errors.[66]

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64 Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Sahm al-alḥāẓ fī wahm al-alfāẓ*, 35.

65 Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Sahm al-alḥāẓ fī wahm al-alfāẓ*, 57:

ومن ذلك: القَنّينة بفتح القاف، لما يجعل فيه الشراب. وإنما هي بكسرها، حتى يحكى أن رجلاً قال للغوي: خذ هذه القنينة، وفتح القاف، فبادر إليه قائلاً: اكسرها، أي اكسر قافها. فظن أنه يريد منه كسر القنينة نفسها، هدَّها من يده على الأرض فكسرها.

66 Up until today, anecdotes abound that play on the intricacies of the Arabic language and its terminology. If someone asks you how you are doing (*Kayf al-ḥāl*?), you may also interpret this question as "What form does the circumstantial adverb (*ḥāl*) have?" and answer

Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's treatise *Sahm al-alḥāẓ fī wahm al-alfāẓ* resembles the *laḥn* works of the formative period—a simple list of lexical anomalies and their correct forms. However, as with many of these works, there is always a lemma that catches the eye, to which the author has devoted more than the average amount of space. Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's entry on the name of the Greek mathematician Euclid is a case in point. The author starts by quoting the lemma *Ūqlīdis* from the *Qāmūs*, which mentions the seemingly common "error" of referring to the book of Euclid by the name of its author. Ibn al-Ḥanbalī then adds his own observation:

> And the reason for the confusion of the two is the elision of the *wāw*, not the fact that it was made the name of the book, because it is often regarded equivalent to the book by this man by way of metonymy, as with many books that are equivalent to the names of their authors. And the use of *Iqlīdis* without the *wāw* proliferates in the speech of the *muwalladūn*, up to the point that it has become a widespread error (*ghalaṭ mashhūr*). And so it is found in the words of one of them:
>
> His face is surrounded by the shape of beauty
> as if Iqlīdis speaks through it
> his cheeks are symmetrical, his mole
> is a point on it and its shape is triangular[67]

What first catches the eye is the use of *muwallad* poetry: while the source is not given (the editor identified it as a verse by the Andalusian poet Ibn Jābir al-Ḍarīr, d. 780/1378), Ibn al-Ḥanbalī mentions that it is a *muwallad* verse. Once again, it is not used to account for correct use but to explain contemporary use. The second important point in this passage is the connection of the *muwalladūn* to the "widespread error."

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with the equally ambiguous *dā'iman manṣūb*: "Always in the accusative (*naṣb*)" or "Constantly in a state of deception."

67 Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Sahm al-alḥāẓ fī wahm al-alfāẓ*, 26:

ووجه تغليطه إياه حذف الواو لا جعله اسم كتاب، لأنه قد أطلق على كتاب هذا الرجل كثيراً بطريق المجاز، ككتب كثيرة أطلق عليها أسماء واضعيها. ولقد كثر استعمال اقليدس بدون الواو في كلام المولدين حتى كان من قبيل الغلط المشهور. ومنه ما وقع في قول بعضهم:

مُحيطٌ بِأَشْكالِ الملاحةِ وَجْهُهُ كَـأَنَّ بِـهِ إِقْليدسـاً يَتَحَـدَّثُ
فَعارِضُهُ خَطّ استـواء وخالُـهُ بِهِ نُقْطَة والشَكْل شَكْل مُثَلَّثُ

In the Ottoman period, the expression *ghalaṭ mashhūr* (Tr. *galaṭ-ı meşhur*) was commonly used to refer specifically to Arabic (and Persian) words that had been modified to adapt to Turkish pronunciation.[68] As we will see below, the term is attested in other *laḥn* treatises from this period as well.

2.4 *A Commentary in the 'Classical' Sense*

Ibn al-Ḥanbalī turned *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, the text he was inspired by, into two new and independent *laḥn* treatises: one infused with a polemical element, and the other serving as a supplement that expanded on the findings of al-Ḥarīrī in the same associative way as the master text.

A more familiar approach to the content of the *Durra* is found in the work of the Egyptian *qāḍī* and *adīb* Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Khafājī. Born in Cairo around 978/1571,[69] he began his studies with his maternal uncle before travelling to the Hijaz to perform the hajj and continue his education. Upon returning to Egypt, he journeyed to the Ottoman capital to advance his career, ultimately becoming *qāḍī ʿaskar* of Rumelia. However, when his many ensuing positions failed to culminate in the position of *shaykh al-islām*, the chief mufti of the Empire, he grew embittered and took to criticising the officiating *shaykh al-islām* in a famous *maqāma*.[70] Al-Khafājī spent the last years of

68 Günay Alpay, "Ghalaṭāt-i Meshhūre," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition*, ed. B. Lewis et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1965), 2:997. The term still has the connotation of "idiomatic expression." See Francis Joseph Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary: Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to Be Met with in Persian Literature, Being Johnson and Richardson's Persian, Arabic, and English Dictionary*, 6th ed. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), s.v. *ghalaṭ ʿawām* (*mashhūr*): "A received abuse, an idiomatical expression, or mode of speech currently used, though erroneous, a slang term;" J.W. Redhouse, *Redhouse's Turkish Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1880), s.v. *ghalaṭ meşhur*: "an erroneous expression commonly used;" Julius Theodor Zenker, *Türkisch-arabisch-persisches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1862), s.v. *galat-i meshûr*: "ein zum Sprachgebrauch gewordener Fehler." The word is used in Arabic by Ibn al-Ḥanbalī and the anonymous author (d. after 998/1590) of the *laḥn* treatise *Tanbīh al-anām fī tawjīh al-kalām*, on which see the next section; in Turkish, for instance, by the Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi (d. 1095/1684) in his *Seyahatname* ("Book of Travels"). See Hakan T. Karateke, ed., *Evliyā Çelebī's Journey from Bursa to the Dardanelles and Edirne: From the Fifth Book of the Seyāḥatnāme* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), e.g., 69.

69 Al-Khafājī's birth date is derived from al-Muḥibbī's statement that he was over ninety years old when he died in the year 1069/1659. See Muḥammad al-Amīn ibn Fadl Allah al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1446/1986), 1:343; Geert Jan Van Gelder, "Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafājī," in *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography 1350–1850*, ed. Joseph E. Lowry and Devin J. Stewart (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 252.

70 Van Gelder, "Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafājī;" Rifa'at 'Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern*

his life teaching and writing in Cairo. His literary anthology *Rayḥānat al-alibbā' wa-zahrat ḥayāt ad-dunyā* ("The Basil of the Bright and the Flower of Earthly Life"), reflects his biography, arranging the poets of his time by region and mirroring the stations of his own career.

In contrast to Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's treatises, al-Khafājī's *Sharḥ Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* is a 'classical' commentary, offering a lexical, linguistic, and literary analysis of the entire master text, starting with the details of al-Ḥarīrī's introduction.[71] Even the name of Muḥammad, as mentioned in the *taṣlīyya*, is singled out for linguistic analysis.[72] After praising the author of the master text through several plays on the word "pearl," al-Khafājī explains his reasons for engaging with the *Durra*:

> … I took the key to its lock and opened the gates of its difficulties, for I saw that he attacked the venerable forebears and offered a pearl containing an oyster shell on a stagnating market.[73]

Al-Khafājī's aim is the standard objective of *sharḥ*: explaining obscure and difficult elements of the master text. He seems to suggest that al-Ḥarīrī's text was neither appropriate ("a pearl containing an oyster shell") nor well-suited for its audience ("on a stagnating market").

In the body of the text, the author systematically breaks down al-Ḥarīrī's lemmata by arranging the levels of information of *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* into different aspects or facets (*awjuh*) and then structuring his commentary accordingly. Probably the most elaborate entry is the first, on the meaning of *sā'ir*, which is arranged in three *awjuh*, the first of which is further subdivided into *wajhān* ("two facets"). In contrast to Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, who restricted his com-

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State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991), 25. For a study of this *Maqāma Rūmiyya*, see Ghayde Ghraowi, "Losing the Plot in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul: Satire and Sociability in the *Maqāma Rūmiyya*," *Philological Encounters* 7, no. 3–4 (2022): 268–298.

71 Al-Khafājī's commentary on *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* was printed as a supplement to the master text in the Istanbul edition of 1299/1888. More recently, it was edited together with the commentaries of Ibn Barrī, Ibn Ẓafar, and al-Jawālīqī, in *Durrat al-ghawwās wa-sharhuhā wa-ḥawāshīhā wa-takmilatuhā*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ Farghalli ʿAlī al-Qarnī (Beirut–Cairo: Dār al-Jīl / Maktabat al-Turāth al-islāmī, 1417/1996).

72 Al-Khafājī, *Sharḥ Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, 39.

73 Al-Khafājī, *Sharḥ Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, 33–34:

… حتى أخذت مفتاح مقفلها وفتحت أبواب مشكلها فلما رأيت طعنه على السلف وعرضه في سوق الكساد درة في جوفها صدف.

ments to the central *laḥn*-related issue by adding opinions on the shades of meaning of *sā'ir*, al-Khafājī creates entirely new keywords and proceeds to highlight those. One example is his discussion on the identity of Ghaylān ibn Salama, the Companion mentioned in the *ḥadīth* that corroborated the use of *sā'ir* in the sense of "the rest." Al-Khafājī supplements the full name of the Companion as well as the outcome of the historical situation reflected in the *ḥadīth* as discussed by the *fuqahā'*.[74]

Like other authors who engaged with al-Ḥarīrī's text, al-Khafājī draws on earlier authorities such as Ibn Qutayba and al-Jawharī to bolster his claims. However, the information he provides is not limited to the realm of language, generating a commentary that strives to answer all questions that might arise while reading the master text. For instance, while al-Ḥarīrī does not specify the identity of *baʿḍ al-aʿrāb* ("a Bedouin") he cites, al-Khafājī assigns a name, traces it to its sources, and supplements it by citing from this poet and others.[75] Poetry quotations, including those by al-Khafājī himself, occupy a lot of space in this commentary, which is unsurprising given his ambitions as a poet and a literary anthologist.

This commentary on *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* therefore has a different character than the *laḥn* treatises by Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, who rearranged and expanded al-Ḥarīrī's material while largely limiting himself to the discussion of *laḥn* proper. In contrast, al-Khafājī's commentary encompasses the full range of the *Durra*'s content, including its introduction. It is not a text focused on *laḥn* but rather a literary commentary on a literary text. Such engagement was only possible because the master text had an *adab* quality, which was uncommon in *laḥn* treatises before al-Ḥarīrī.

What unites the scholars referencing al-Ḥarīrī is their wish to add to, contradict, or confirm the text of the *Durra*, thereby placing their works within a philological tradition that goes beyond the mere listing of speech errors. Their texts connect with *adab* in the way of which al-Ḥarīrī's text was the first and most excellent example.

2.5 Durrat al-ghawwāṣ *as a Subtext in* Tanbīh al-anām fī tawjīh al-kalām

While the connection to al-Ḥarīrī's *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* is explicitly acknowledged in the works discussed above, we find that the *Durra* permeates all *laḥn* treatises from the post-formative period. The late tenth/sixteenth-century epis-

74 Al-Khafājī, *Sharḥ Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, 47–61.

75 Al-Khafājī, *Sharḥ Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, 169–170.

tle *Tanbīh al-anām fī tawjīh al-kalām* ("The Instruction of Mankind in the Direction of Speech") also begins with an entry referring directly to al-Ḥarīrī, but it does not present itself as a reworking of the text. The author of this epistle is unknown, and the colophon designates the text as an excerpt from a now-lost *laḥn* work, *Nafā'is ʿarā'is al-kalām* ("The Jewels of the Brides of Speech"), written by Muṣṭafā ibn Muḥammad al-Burūsawī Khusrawzāde (d. 998/1590), also known as Bursalı Ḫüsrevzāde. This work was composed in 992/1584 while Ḫüsrevzāde was teaching at the *madrasa* of Sultan Orhan in Mazbūra, in Northwestern Syria.[76]

Ḫüsrevzāde was a poet, teacher, and a *qāḍī* in Tripoli, Syria.[77] He is also known as the author of another work on language, *Majmaʿ al-ʿibārāt ʿalā afṣaḥ al-lughāt* ("The Collection of Expressions on the Most Eloquent of Languages").[78] The text of *Tanbīh al-anām fī tawjīh al-kalām* survives in a multi-text manuscript copy, bound between two works: *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*[79] and a copy of the *laḥn* treatise *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ghalat al-jāhil wa-l-nabīh* by Kemalpaşazāde (discussed further below).[80]

The first entry concerns the correct plural form of *arḍ*, for which al-Ḥarīrī is adduced as an authority.[81] Even though the *Durra* is cited a few times, *Tanbīh al-anām fī tawjīh al-kalām* is not a commentary on *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*. Apart from referring to the alleged model or master text of Ḫüsrevzāde,[82] it most frequently draws from the *Ṣiḥāḥ*[83] and the *Qāmūs*,[84] in addition to al-Jawālīqī,[85] the gram-

76 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – PK, Petermann II 450, fol. 128–140. The title *Tanbīh al-anām fī tawjīh al-kalām* is apparent only from the inside of the cover. Ahlwardt estimates that the text was copied around 1120/1708. See Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften*, 6:315–316 (No. 7099); Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, trans. Joep Lameer, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 493. While Ahlwardt and Brockelmann mention Ḫüsrevzāde as the author, the scribe/author refers to this work only as a selection (*intakhabtuhā*) from Ḫüsrevzāde's *Nafā'is al-ʿarā'is*. Also see ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, *Laḥn al-ʿāmma wa-l-taṭawwur al-lughawī*, 301–302, who furthermore mentions an Istanbul copy of *Taqwīm al-lisān* of Ibn al-Jawzī also falsely ascribed to Ḫüsrevzāde. Cf. Pellat, "Laḥn al-ʿāmma," 609.

77 See İncinur Atik Gürbüz, "Husrevî, Husrev-Zâde Mustafâ," in *Türk Edebiyatı İsimler Sözlüğü*, 2013, http://teis.yesevi.edu.tr/madde-detay/husrevi-husrevzade-mustafa.

78 Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, 2017, 2:493.

79 Fol. 1[a]–127[b]: a neat copy with a few marginal notes in a different hand. According to the colophon, this text was copied on the 23rd of Shawwāl of the year 1141 [1729].

80 Fol. 141[a]–148[b]: in a different hand and a smaller script than the two other texts, not dated.

81 *Tanbīh al-anām*, fol. 128[b].

82 *Tanbīh al-anām*, fol. 128[b], 134[a].

83 *Tanbīh al-anām*, fol. 129[a]. He also quotes Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī's (d. 350/961) *Dīwān al-adab* (fol. 129[b]).

84 *Tanbīh al-anām*, fol. 129[a].

85 *Tanbīh al-anām*, fol. 131[a], 133[b].

marian ʿUthmān ibn ʿUmar Ibn al-Ḥājib's (d. 646/1249) *Kāfiya*,[86] Aḥmad Ibn Fāris al-Rāzī's (d. 395/1004) *al-Ṣāḥibī fī fiqh al-lugha*, Ibn Qutayba's *Adab al-kātib*,[87] and authors from the post-formative period, such as Saʿd ad-Dīn Masʿūd ibn ʿUmar al-Taftāzānī (d. 792/1390),[88] al-Suyūṭī,[89] and the Ottoman *shaykh al-islām* Ebüssuūd Efendi (d. 982/1574).[90]

Each entry begins with the *correct* expression. The author then cites a relevant authority, carefully quoting and, in most cases, marking the end of the quote with *intahā*. He contrasts these authoritative expressions with the incorrect use of *al-ʿāmma*, *al-nās*, *al-ʿāmma al-suflā* ("the lower commoners"),[91] and also *al-khawāṣṣ*. Often, the difference between incorrect and correct language use lies simply in the voweling of the word or the plural construction. The entries cover a diverse range of topics, including toponyms, proper names, and a few proverbs. Poetry quotations only appear twice, and there are no long, entertaining anecdotes, with the exception of a half-page on the biblical figure ʿŪj ibn ʿAnāq (King Og), known by commoners as ʿŪj ibn ʿUnq.[92]

The author does not limit his discussion to speech errors alone but broadens the concept of *ghalaṭ* to encompass scholarly errors in general. An example is found in the discussion regarding which legal scholar is referred to by the name of *Tāj al-Sharīʿa*:

> *Tāj al-Sharīʿa*: Most erudite men claim that the author of the *Wiqāya* is Tāj al-Sharīʿa. They do not know that it is in fact Burhān al-Sharīʿa. Among the people falsely claiming this is the mullah known as Ibn Kamāl Bāshā [Kemalpaşazāde], the author of *al-Iṣlāḥ* and *al-Īḍāḥ*,[93] in which he mentioned him with this title in every instance he refuted the author of the *Wiqāya*, saying "refutation of Tāj al-Sharīʿa," but that is not correct, because the name of the author of the *Wiqāya* and his title is in fact Burhān al-Sharīʿa. The given name of Tāj al-Sharīʿa is ʿUmar and they

86 *Tanbīh al-anām*, fol. 192[a].

87 E.g., *Tanbīh al-anām*, fol. 130[b].

88 Namely, his commentary on al-Zamakhsharī's *al-Kashshāf*, see *Tanbīh al-anām*, fol. 134[a].

89 All on one page: *Tanbīh al-anām*, fol. 130[b].

90 *Tanbīh al-anām*, fol. 131[a]. The author also refers to the work *al-Durar wa-l-ghurar* by Ḥüsrevzāde's grandfather Mullā Khusraw (fol. 132[a], 134[a]). On Ebüssuūd, see Ahmet Akgündüz, "Ebüssuûd Efendi," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 1994, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/ebussuud-efendi.

91 Only once, *Tanbīh al-anām*, fol. 134[b].

92 *Tanbīh al-anām*, fol. 135[b].

93 The work in question is titled *Īḍāḥ al-Iṣlāḥ* and is a commentary on Kemalpaşazāde's own *al-Iṣlāḥ fī al-fiqh*; see Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, 2:531.

> are brothers, sons of Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa the Elder, and the grandfathers of the commentator on the *Wiqāya*, Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa II, except that Tāj al-Sharīʿa is his grandfather on his mother's side and Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa II is ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Masʿūd ibn Tāj al-Sharīʿa. This issue, which I have verified, is also explicitly mentioned in some books in detail, and it is also understood from Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa's own words in the introduction to his commentary (*dībājat sharḥihi*) on the *Wiqāya*.[94]

The confusion is understandable given the family relations and the similarity of the honorific titles involved. The text mentioned in this passage, *Wiqāyat al-riwāya fī masāʾil al-Hidāya* ("The Protection of the Tradition on the Questions of *al-Hidāya*"), is an abridgement by mentioned jurist Burhān al-Sharīʿa al-Maḥbūbī (d. 680/1281) of the Ḥanafī *fiqh* work *al-Hidāya* ("The Guidance") by Burhān al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Abī Bakr al-Marghīnānī (d. 593/1197).[95] The *Hidāya*, a self-commentary of al-Marghīnānī on his Ḥanafī textbook *Bidāyat al-mubtadī* ("The Beginner's Beginning") was a staple in jurisprudence, as evidenced by the many extant commentaries on it. The author of this *laḥn* text not only corrects a mistake made by Kemalpaşazāde[96] but also brings the reader's attention to his own engagement with *al-Hidāya*.

In a few instances, the author of *Tanbīh al-anām fī tawjīh al-kalām* refers to what "the people in the lands of the Turks" (*al-ʿāmma fī diyār al-Rūm*)[97] or "the Turkish commoners" (*ʿawāmm al-Rūm*)[98] say, and mentions that the word

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94 *Tanbīh al-anām*, fol. 130[a]:

تاج الشريعة: زعم أكثر الفضلاء أن صاحب الوقاية تاج الشريعة ولم يدروا أنه برهان الشريعة ومن جملة أصحاب هذا الزعم الفاسد المولى الشهير ابن كمال باشا صاحب الإصلاح والإيضاح حيث ذكره بهذا العنوان في كل محل يرد على صاحب الوقاية وقال رد على تاج الشريعة وليس كذلك فإن اسم صاحب الوقاية ولقبه برهان الشريعة واسم تاج الشريعة عمر وهما إخوان وابنان لصدر الشريعة الأقدم وجدان لشارح الوقاية صدر الشريعة الثاني إلا أن تاج الشريعة جده من قبل الأم فصدر الشريعة الثاني عبيد الله بن مسعود بن تاج الشريعة وهذا الذي حققته مصرح به في بعض الكتب على التفصيل ومفهوم أيضا من نفس كلام صدر الشريعة في ديباجة شرحه للوقاية.

On the *Wiqāya*, see also Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, 1:407.

95 See Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, 1:405 f.

96 On another occasion, the author corrects Kemalpaşazāde (*Tanbīh al-anām*, fol. 131[b]), but he also adduces him as an example of correct usage (fol. 137[b], 139[b]).

97 *Tanbīh al-anām*, fol. 132[b].

98 *Tanbīh al-anām*, fol. 139[b].

qār means "snow" in Turkish (*fī l-līsāni l-turkī*).[99] He also employs the expression *ghalaṭ mashhūr*, previously encountered in Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's treatise *Sahm al-alḥāẓ*.[100] The references to *diyārunā hādhā* and *zamānunā hādhā*[101] show that the author is concerned with actual language usage under Ottoman rule. While the exact time and place of this excerpt's compilation remains unclear, it is safe to say that it reflects language use in the time of Ḫüsrevzāde, the late tenth/sixteenth century. It could be regarded as a supplement to the *Durra* and Kemalpaşazāde's *Tanbīh*, the two other texts in this multiple-text manuscript.

3 From the Classic to the Contemporary: *ghalaṭ mashhūr*

While relying on staples of speech errors, post-formative period authors on *laḥn* updated their discussions by adding contemporary observations and expressing their anxieties about the state of the Arabic language. This tendency is most clearly observed in the treatise of Kemalpaşazāde. As previously noted, the term *ghalaṭ mashhūr* —an error that has become so widespread that it cannot be banned—features prominently. The debate surrounding such solecisms revolved around the question of whether they could be deemed permissible or not. Whatever the outcome to this question, speech errors needed to be identified and discussed.

3.1 *Kemalpaşazāde as a Language Scholar*

Ibn Kamāl Bāshā (d. 940/1534), more commonly known by his Turkish name Kemalpaşazāde, authored a number of treatises on *ḥadīth*, law, philology, logic, philosophy, and *adab*, among other subjects. Manuscripts of these works are widespread in libraries throughout the former Ottoman Empire and Europe.[102] Born into a family of province governors, possibly from Tokat, he was expected to follow in their footsteps and pursue a career in politics and administration. However, he preferred the path of an *ʿālim*, a decision inspired during a military campaign with sultan Bayezid II. Witnessing the great respect afforded to a man despite his poor appearance—Molla Luṭfī (d. 900/1495), teacher at the *Dār al-ḥadīth* in Edirne—Kemalpaşazāde realised that his prospects in the

99 *Tanbīh al-anām*, fol. 136[a].

100 *Tanbīh al-anām*, fol. 134[a].

101 E.g., *Tanbīh al-anām*, fol. 134[b].

102 For an overview, see Çiftçioğlu Nihal Atsız, "Kemalpaşa-oğlu'nun eserleri," *Şarkiyat Mecmuası* 6 (1966): 71–112 and idem, "Kemalpaşa-oğlu'nun eserleri," *Şarkiyat Mecmuası* 7 (1972): 83–135.

army paled compared to the rank of Molla Luṭfī, and thus devoted himself to studying under him.[103]

Kemalpaşazāde later taught in Edirne, an important station in the career of the Ottoman *ʿālim*. As army judge (*qāḍī ʿaskar*) of Anatolia, he joined Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–1520) on his Egyptian campaign in 922/1516. Although he was dismissed half a year later, he was soon reinstated.[104] His career reached its pinnacle in 932/1525–1526 with his appointment as *shaykh al-islām*, a post he held until his death in 940/1534.[105]

Kemalpaşazāde's written output contains over two hundred works in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. Among these, his most prestigious is *Tevārīh-i Āl-i Osmān* ("History of the Ottomans"), written in Turkish for Sultan Bayezid II. His political activity is apparent from *fatāwā* and *rasāʾil*, which condoned the teachings of Ibn ʿArabī—highly esteemed by the Ottomans—and in pamphlets opposing the Safavid ruler Shāh Ismāʾīl and the Qizilbash. He compiled an Arabic-Persian dictionary, *Muḥīṭ al-lughāt* ("Sea of Languages"), and is credited with translating several works from Arabic and Persian into Turkish. Additionally, he wrote a Turkish *dīwān*.

Kemalpaşazāde's choice of working languages often corresponds with the subject matter, adhering to the convention of aligning fields of study with their traditional languages. Even as a scholar fluent in all three literary languages of the Ottoman empire, he did not cross this boundary. Moreover, his writings show that he displayed his knowledge and mastery of these languages by regularly re-establishing and fortifying the distinctions between them through discussions of language and linguistics. Notably, his writings on the Persian language merit attention. Kemalpaşazāde wrote a handbook of Persian homonyms, synonyms, and antonyms with Turkish explanations, as well as the first Persian grammar handbook written in Arabic.[106]

Kemalpaşazāde's views on the Arabic language reveal not only a solid knowledge of its tradition but also a critical engagement with contemporary lan-

103 See Richard C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul: A Study in the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy* (London: Ithaca Press for the Board of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Oxford University, 1986), 227.

104 Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, 231.

105 V.L. Ménage, "Kemāl Paşha-Zāde," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition*, ed. E. van Donzel et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 4:880; Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, 224–239.

106 For Kemalpaşazāde's output in Persian, see further Murat Umut Inan, "Imperial Ambitions, Mystical Aspirations: Persian Learning in the Ottoman World," in *The Persianate World. The Frontiers of a Eurasian Lingua Franca*, ed. Nile Green (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2019), 83–84.

guage development. Of his 183 writings in Arabic, twenty-one focus on language and grammar, though not exclusively of Arabic; many engage the relationships between the languages of the Ottoman empire. A short treatise, *Fī faḍīlat al-lisān al-Fārisī ʿalā al-alsina siwā al-lisān al-ʿArabī* ("On the Precedence of the Persian Tongue over All Other Languages Except Arabic"), provides an overview of the geographical extent of the Persian lands, preceded by a discussion on legal opinions regarding whether a ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) spoken in Persian is valid.[107] This exploration provides a foundation for discussing the linguistic realities of some of the empire's subjects. The precedence of Persian is further supported by a *ḥadīth*, which asserts that the language spoken in Paradise is courtly Persian (*al-fārisiyya al-dāriyya*).[108]

3.2 *Widespread Errors*

In the introduction to his treatise on *laḥn*, *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ghalaṭ al-jāhil wa-l-nabīh* ("The Instruction Regarding the Errors of the Ignorant and the Alert"), Kemalpaşazāde underscores the importance of correct speech for correct understanding, referencing the Qur'ān to support his argument. In flowery language, he laments widespread errors, attributing them to negligence, habit, or lack of familiarity with language. Kemalpaşazāde complains that

> we live in a time in which justice has disappeared and deviation has drawn near, knowledge has dried up, and ignorance has overflowed. The exalted is put down and the lowly is exalted, refinement is considered a flaw and knowledge a disaster. Obstinacy is a trait of character and whims and pleasures are pursued. Numerous are the circles engaging in dispute, pitching the tents of dialectical debate by day and by night. I have learnt the most abominable speech, the most detestable, bitter and painful, through the wide circulation of errors and the cases of confusion in the clear Arabic language—the ladder to the religious sciences, the mark of those who claim to comprehend the disciplines and have mastered it. And they said after a long-winded speech: "But the widespread solecism (*al-ghalaṭ al-mashhūr*) is most correct (*afṣaḥ*)." But I said: "Reality has been obscured from you by the image of reality. Rather, it is most

107 R. Brunschvig, "Kemâl Pâshâzâde et le persan," in *Mélanges d'Orientalisme offerts à Henri Massé* (Teheran: Imprimerie de l'université, 1963), 54–56; Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān Ibn Kamāl Paşa, "Fī faḍīlat al-lisān al-Fārisī ʿalā al-alsina siwā al-lisān al-ʿArabī," in *Rasā'il İbn-i Kemāl*, ed. Ahmet Cevdet (Constantinople: Maṭbaʿat iqdām bi-dār al-khilāfa al-ʿuliya, 1316 [1898]), 2:210.

108 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, "Fī faḍīlat al-lisān al-Fārisī ʿalā al-alsina siwā al-lisān al-ʿArabī," 210.

> disgraceful (*afḍaḥ*), because the eloquent error, if there is such a thing, is nothing less than what the *muwalladūn* use."[109]

Kemalpaşazāde draws a dark picture of the language standard of his time, which cannot merely be attributed to the topos of *fasād al-zamān*, however common in Arabic literature.[110] His claim carries an urgency that we have not encountered in earlier *laḥn al-ʿāmma* treatises. His reference to professional disputes in dialectics (*al-qīl wa-l-qāl*) shows the immediacy of his complaint. He is, as he puts it, fighting against a trend that has long since spread and that is, to make matters worse, defended by its proponents with the argument that "an error that gains currency" is no longer an error. It is the view of language as a naturally evolving phenomenon that Kemalpaşazāde acts against.

The expression of urgency is complemented by new terminology with which Kemalpaşazāde tailors the long-standing tradition of literature on solecism to reflect the conditions of his time. In the title of his work, he neither uses the word *laḥn* nor *wahm*, but chooses *ghalaṭ*, which he expands to *ghalaṭ mashhūr* in the introduction.

Kemalpaşazāde is also the first author to categorise types of errors.[111] After his introductory rant aimed at his contemporaries, he identifies three distinct classes (*aqsām*) of errors:

1. Errors that are permitted by some of the language experts, either generally or in certain cases.

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109 Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ghalaṭ al-jāhil wa-l-nabīh*, ed. Muḥammad Sawāʿī (Damascus: Institut Français d'Études Arabes de Damas, 1994), 49–50:

إذ نحن في زمان أدبر فيه الإنصاف وأقبل فيه الاعتساف. وغار العلم وغاض وفار الجهل وفاض. وضع فيه الرفيع ورفع فيه الوضيع. عد الفضل فيه من المعايب والعلم من المصائب والعناد طباعا واللهو والهوى مطاعا وكم ناد وقع فيه الجدال وارتفع خيام القيل والقال الليل والنهار، فعلمت أي خطب أدهى وأفظع وأمر وأوجع من شيوع الأغاليط ووقوع التخاليط في اللسان العربي المبين، مرقاة مراتب علوم الدين بين المدعين في العلوم شمولا وأن لهم فيه يدا طولى. فقالوا بعد أن أطالوا: إن الغلط المشهور أفصح. فقلت: حجبتم عن الحال بصورة الحال، بل هو أفضح، لأن الغلط الفصيح، إن صح أن يكون، فلا أقل من أن يستعمله المولدون.

110 Geert Jan Van Gelder, "Good Times, Bad Times: Opinions on *fasād az-zamān*, the Corruption of Time," in *Inḥiṭāṭ—the Decline Paradigm: its Influence and Persistence in the Writing of Arab Cultural History*, ed. Syrinx von Hees (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2017), 111–130.

111 A similar concern for *taqsīm* (ordering in classes) can be seen in his treatise on loanwords, see Chapter 3, section 3.

2. Errors that are not permitted by any language expert, but which are widespread among authors.
3. Errors that are not permitted by any language expert and that are only committed by the illiterate.[112]

Kemalpaşazāde gives examples of the first two types of errors with references to *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* and *al-Qāmūs*. He then explains that those committing the first two types should be excused, whereas the third type has no root or basis (*lā aṣla lahu wa-lā mustanad*) and is either pure concoction or *taḥrīf* (corrupting alteration of the text).[113] The notion of "being excused" for an error appears in the lemmata themselves: for example, in the entry *al-īwān*, mispronounced by commoners as *al-aywān*, the author notes that "this may be excused because the people in our region adopted this word from the Persians, and in their speech, it has a *fatḥa* on the first letter."[114]

All lemmata in *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ghalaṭ al-jāhil wa-l-nabīh* follow a similar pattern: they first state the correct form, followed by a short description of the error made by a group of people mostly identified as *al-ʿawāmm* or *al-nās*. The correct form is given again and explained, corroborated with references to mainly al-Jawharī, al-Fīrūzābādī, or *aʾimmat al-lugha* in general. In particular, the first lemmata feature several distichs by the author himself. They seem to function as mnemonic rhymes that help his audience remember the correct forms, as seen in this example concluding the entry discussing the proper verbal noun of the verb "to disapprove" (*abā*), *al-ibāʾ*, not *al-ībāʾ*:

> The esteemed ignoramus is not concerned
> whether he speaks incorrectly or correctly.
> But he who has a sound mind
> has disapproved; disapproves strongly, and is disapproving[115]

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112 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ghalaṭ al-jāhil wa-l-nabīh*, 54:

قسم جوزه أهل اللسان مطلقا أو في حال من الأحول، وقسم لم يجوزه أحد منهم ولكن شاع بين أهل التصنيف استعماله، وقسم لم يجوزه أحد ولا استعماله إلا من لا خبرة له في الكلام.

113 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ghalaṭ al-jāhil wa-l-nabīh*, 59.

114 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ghalaṭ al-jāhil wa-l-nabīh*, 63:

ويمكن الاعتذار بأن أهل بلادها تلقنوا هذه الكلمة من أبناء العجم وهو مفتوح الهمزة في لسانهم.

115 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ghalaṭ al-jāhil wa-l-nabīh*, 60:

أخو الجَهل الموقّرُ لا يبالي أَيَنْطِق بالخَطا أمْ بالّصواب
وأمّا مَن لَـهُ عَقْـلٌ سليـمٌ أبى يأبـي إبـاءً فهـو آبـي

The types of errors in the alphabetical word list—morphology, conjugation, phonetics—are similar to the ones discussed in earlier *laḥn* treatises. The new quality of this work, however, lies in the puns and harsh comments Kemalpaşazāde directs at the scholars of his time. A nice example is the word *tarjama* ("translation"), which, according to Kemalpaşazāde, is erroneously pronounced *tarjima* or *tarjuma*:[116]

> Widespread among the people are those who put a *ḍamma* on the *jīm*, which is an error. I even heard this pronunciation from one of the exemplary scholars and reproached him for that. He then gave it a long thought and changed his mind to it being of the pattern *taf'ila*, like *tabṣira*—I felt embarrassed and wished I had never asked him about it![117]

The text contains many more remarks in this fashion. Kemalpaşazāde clearly aims to entertain highbrow readers by providing cynical comments that make fun of common, careless language users. The popularity of *al-Tanbīh* may be explained partly by its content and the author's presentation, and partly by its conciseness, which facilitated copying and circulation.[118]

Such verses may be cited on occasion of hearing someone make this mistake, analogous to, for instance, the German saying "Wer 'Brauchen' ohne 'zu' gebraucht, braucht 'Brauchen' gar nicht zu gebrauchen" ("Whoever uses the verb 'brauchen' ('need') without the conjunction 'zu' ('to'), shouldn't be using 'brauchen' in the first place").

116 An influence from Persian rather than Arabic is discernible here. See Ferenc Csirkés, "Turkish/Turkic Books of Poetry, Turkish and Persian Lexicography: The Politics of Language under Bayezid II," in *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 708, n. 121:

> For example, the Ottoman Turkish word *tercüme* ("translation"), with a labial vowel in the second syllable, clearly reflects a Persian antecedent, *tarjuma*, and not Arabic *tarjama* with an illabial vowel in the same position.

117 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ghalaṭ al-jāhil wa-l-nabīh*, 68–69:

وما شاع بين الناس من ضم الجيم خطأ. وقد سمعت هذه اللفظة من بعض الأماثيل فشددت النكير عليه، ففكر طويلا، ثم أدى رأيه بأنها بوزن التفعلة كالتبصرة، فاستحييت ووددت أني لم أسأله عنها.

118 Kemalpaşazāde's objective to instruct and to entertain must have hit a nerve with his audience, as attested by the many copies of this work that are today found in libraries all over the world. Brockelmann counts twelve copies in Berlin, Munich, Uppsala, and other libraries. See Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition* and *Supplement* 2:699. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, who describes *al-Tanbīh* as the most popular book of *laḥn al-ʿāmma*, mentions two other manuscripts with divergent titles, see ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, *Laḥn al-ʿāmma wa-l-taṭawwur al-lughawī*, 328. Atsız, in his overview of works of Kemalpaşazāde that are held by the Süleymaniye, lists fifty-six copies: see Atsız, "Kemalpaşa-oğlu'nun eserleri," 1972, 129–130 (no. 194).

3.3 *ʿAlī ibn Bālī, the* Durra*, and the Widespread Error*

A scholar familiar with Kemalpaşazāde's treatise was ʿAlī ibn Bālī al-Qusṭanṭīnī (d. 992/1584), also known as Manq ʿAlī, who was born in Alanya and grew up in Constantinople. Among his works is a supplement on Aḥmad Ṭaşköprüzāde's (d. 968/1561) biographical dictionary of Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ*, *al-Shaqāʾiq al-nuʿmāniyya fī ʿulamāʾ al-dawla al-ʿuthmāniyya* ("The Red Anemones on the Scholars of the Ottoman Empire"),[119] entitled *al-ʿIqd al-manẓūm fī dhikr afāḍil al-Rūm* ("The Strung Necklace on the Distinguished Scholars of Rūm"). Writing a biographical dictionary on Ottoman scholars *in Arabic* demonstrated mastery of Arabic while simultaneously acknowledging the importance of the Ottoman scholarly class.[120]

ʿAlī ibn Bālī's *laḥn* treatise *Khayr al-kalām fī al-taqaṣṣī ʿan aghlāṭ al-ʿawāmm* ("The Best of Speech: a Critical Examination of the Errors of the Commoners") contains 223 short entries arranged according to the first letter of each lexeme.[121] As in Kemalpaşazāde's treatise, the title mentions the term *ghalaṭ*, not *laḥn*. At the end of the work, Ibn Bālī states that he wrote it in the year 978 (1570–1571) in three days.[122] The author's aim seems to have been to write a quick and simple guide to avoid common mistakes, compiled from popular sources.

In his introduction, Ibn Bālī does not explicitly state the provenance of the expressions he discusses in his treatise but declares that he took them from

> the books on language variants and epistles of the reliable scholars, which were written as a reply to those who committed an error in their speech and rode the camel of deviation in the desert of delusion.[123]

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119 See Barbara Flemming, "Ṭashköprüzāde," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition*, ed. P.J. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 10:351–352; Abdurrahman Atçil, *Scholars and Sultans in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 10–11.

120 See also Gürzat Kami, "Understanding a Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Scholar-Burocrat: Ali b. Bali (1527–1584) and his Biographical Dictionary" (MA thesis, İstanbul Şehir Universite, 2015), 85.

121 The procedure of taking the first letter instead of the first radical is not common in works of *laḥn*, but well known from *muʿarrab* works.

122 According to the editor, the autograph manuscript used for the edition is the only extant copy of the work. See ʿAlī Ibn Bālī al-Qusṭanṭīnī, *Khayr al-kalām fī taqassī ʿan aghlāṭ al-ʿawāmm*, ed. Ḥātim Ṣāliḥ al-Dāmin, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-risāla, 1403/1983), 8–9.

123 Ibn Bālī, *Khayr al-kalām*, 15:

كلمات أوردتها من كتب اللغات ورسائل الأئمة الثقات، التي صنفت في الرد على من ارتكب في كلامه الغلط وركب في صحاصح الاوهام مطية الشطط ...

The authorities cited by Ibn Bālī include *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, and al-Zubaydī's *Mukhtār al-Ṣiḥāḥ*. Ibn Bālī uses the terms *muʿarrab* and *muwallad* to categorise some words, but only in quotations of earlier authors, such as al-Aṣmaʿī's assessment of an (incorrect) plural of *ḥāja*, *ḥawāʾij*, as *muwallad*.[124] Ibn Bālī's text is obviously an abridgement of those older authors' observations, reducing their stories to a simple statement of the error in a single sentence. This also explains why the entire work contains only six *shawāhid*.

Ibn Bālī does integrate his own observations into the entries. The text opens with a discussion of the word *ibn* as treated by al-Ḥarīrī, quoting a slightly abridged and paraphrased version of the corresponding entry in *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*.[125] The summary of al-Ḥarīrī's discussion of the five cases in which the *alif* of *ibn* should not be omitted but written is followed by two additional cases mentioned by al-Ṣafadī. Ibn Bālī then adds his own observation on the usage of this word:

> I say: widespread in our region is an ugly error (*laḥn qabīḥ*) that is not accepted by the commoners nor by most of the elite, namely, that they do not pronounce the ending of the proper name coming before *ibn*, and they put a *kasra* on the *bāʾ* and do not pronounce the ending.[126]

The content of this remark mirrors that in Kemalpaşazāde's *al-Tanbīh*, but it is not a literal quotation. The error described here refers to the pronunciation of بن as *bin*, the Turkish form of *ibn* as part of proper names. Again, received knowledge, as discussed by al-Ḥarīrī in the sixth/twelfth century, is updated by a reference to *diyārunā*, "our region."[127]

Many of the entries focus on the correct vocalisation of toponyms and proper names, such as al-Zamakhsharī,[128] Sībawayhi,[129] and Ibn Jinnī (who is

124 Ibn Bālī, *Khayr al-kalām*, 28.

125 Ibn Bālī, *Khayr al-kalām*, 15–16; cf. al-Ḥarīrī, *Durrat al-ghawwās*, 125–126.

126 Ibn Bālī, *Khayr al-kalām*, 16:

أقول: وقد شاع في ديارنا لحن قبيح لا يسلم عند العامة وأكثر الخاصة، وهو أنهم يسكنون ما قبل لفظ الابن من العلم، ويكسرون باءه، ويسكنون آخره.

127 One could look into the question of whether a 'regional focus' in *laḥn* followed a broader trend of an increased regional focus in other genres, such as geography and history, during the post-formative period.

128 Ibn Bālī, *Khayr al-kalām*, 34.

129 Ibn Bālī, *Khayr al-kalām*, 36.

allegedly mispronounced as Ibn Jannī), as well as Greek scholars such as and Ptolemy and Euclid (for whom Ibn Bālī cites the *Qāmūs* but not the verse we read with Ibn al-Ḥanbalī).[130] On closer consideration, the types of words that are discussed are indeed significant. The treatment of Turkish toponyms, for example, connects the Ottoman empire with the Arabic linguistic tradition: achieving consensus on the correct spelling of Turkish cities in Arabic served to integrate them into the Arabic language.[131] Additionally, with respect to the names and terminology of scholarship and science, correct pronunciation and grammatical use are the primary indicators that a speaker is knowledgeable in front of his peers, the fellow experts on a topic. Ibn Bālī specifically intends to educate on such matters.

A striking feature of the text is Ibn Bālī's use of *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*. The references to al-Ḥarīrī are so many that we could almost consider this work another commentary on *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*. However, the order of the discussion is determined by the alphabetic arrangement of *Khayr al-kalām*, and there is, in fact, not much commentating going on. Ibn Bālī abridges the *Durra*'s lemmata and reduces their anecdotal riches to a simple statement introduced with *qāla l-Ḥarīrī* followed by *qāla ayḍan* …, etc.[132] In some cases, Ibn Bālī splits the content of one lemma from the *Durra* into three separate entries.[133] Most of al-Ḥarīrī's statements are taken at face value and not further remarked upon. Ibn Bālī's engagement with the master text can thus be summed up as a rearrangement, which we identified in the previous chapter as one of the objectives of lexicography in the post-formative period.

An exception to Ibn Bālī's close adherence to al-Ḥarīrī is the lemma *sā'ir*, which was the first entry in *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*. Ibn Bālī's starting point for this lemma, however, is not al-Ḥarīrī but an "error" attributed to the lexicographer al-Jawharī:

> Al-Jawharī mentions the word *sā'ir* in [the lemma] *s-y-r* as having the meaning "all," after he mentioned it under *s-ʾ-r* as having the meaning of "the rest." People were keen to point out his error, among them were al-Ḥarīrī and al-Zubaydī and Ibn Hishām, when he said: "I do not know one

130 Ibn Bālī, *Khayr al-kalām*, 24.

131 The questions discussed are whether the Ottoman cities of *Alaniya* and *Malaṭiya* have *tashdīd* of the *yā'* (the answer is no, as it is not a *nisba*-ending) and what the correct spelling of Rhodes is: *Rudūs* or *Rūdus*. Rhodes had been conquered by the Ottomans in 929/1522.

132 Ibn Bālī, *Khayr al-kalām*, 17.

133 See, e.g., Ibn Bālī, *Khayr al-kalām*, 31–32.

language scholar who said that it means "all" except for the author of the *Ṣiḥāḥ* and this is an error." And Molla Ḥasan Çelebi, may God give his spirit rest, transmitted from a language scholar in his gloss on the *Talwīj* that it means "all," and he said: "The truth is that both meanings are attested by the language." And in the *Qāmūs*: "*Sā'ir* means 'the rest,' not 'all,' as many people believe, even though it may be used in this sense, such as in the words of al-Aḥwaṣ:

Her bosom turned soft for us as sleep hit all guards"[134]

Ibn Bālī shows his knowledge of the tradition by not only identifying the error but also aligning himself with major language scholars in tracing its origin. He then introduces the perspective of a contemporary scholar, the *'ālim* and *adīb* Ḥasan Çelebi, known as Kınalızāde (d. 1012/1604),[135] to reconcile the differing opinions. References to Ottoman scholars are present in *Khayr al-kalām*, albeit infrequently; one notable instance concerns a verse by Ebüssuūd in the lemma *al-ma'tam*.[136] By engaging with the lemma *sā'ir*, Ibn Bālī positions himself within a 'tradition within the tradition' that extends beyond books of *laḥn* to poetry commentaries and anthologies.[137]

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134 Ibn Bālī, *Khayr al-kalām*, 34–35:

ذكر الجوهري لفظ سائر في سير بمعنى الجميع بعد ذكره في سأر بمعنى الباقي. ولهج الناس بتخطئته، منهم الحريري والزبيدي وابن هشام حيث قال: لا أعلم أحداً من أئمة اللغة ذكر أنها بمعنى الجميع إلا صاحب الصحاح وهو وهم. ونقل المولى حسن جلبي روح الله روحه عن بعض أئمة اللغة في حاشية التلويح إنه بمعنى الجميع، ثم قال: والحق أن كلا المعنيين ثابت لغة. وفي القاموس: والسائر الباقي لا الجميع كما توهم جماعات، أو قد يستعمل له ومنه قول الأحوص:

فَجَلَتها لَنا لُبابَةُ لَما وَقَدَ النَومُ سائِرَ الحُراسِ

135 Kınalızāde was a pupil of Ebüssuūd Efendi and a teacher in Bursa, Istanbul, Aleppo, and Cairo, among other places. See Mustafa Isen, "Kınalızâde Hasan Çelebi," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 2022, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kinalizade-hasan-celebi.

136 Ibn Bālī, *Khayr al-kalām*, 49. Ebüssuūd also engaged in *laḥn*: several copies of a Turkish two-folio treatise entitled *Saḳaṭātu'l-'avām* ("Lapses of the Commoners") can be found in Istanbul, see, e.g., Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi 3597, fol. 72[a]–72[b].

137 E.g., the 'topos' of discussing the meaning of *sā'ir* is also found in al-Damāmīnī's supercommentary on al-Ṣafadī's commentary on the famous poem *Lāmiyyat al-'ajam* by the Seljuk secretary Mu'ayyid al-Dīn al-Ṭughrā'ī (d. 514/1120). See Badr al-Dīn al-Damāmīnī, *Nuzūl al-ghayth*, ed. Muhannad Aḥmad Ḥasan (Baghdad: Dīwān al-waqf al-sunnī, 2010), 279. There is no doubt that many more instances can be found.

4 Benevolent Approaches to *laḥn*

While the "widespread error" may be common, it remains an error. Kemalpaşazāde's tone leaves no room for reconciling correct language with spoken language; his stance toward *laḥn* is unequivocally condemning. Ibn Bālī speaks of *laḥn qabīḥ*, "an ugly solecism." In other *laḥn* treatises, a more differentiated approach is adopted. These works turn the argument on its head: rather than list common errors in order to avoid them, their objective is to corroborate the use of seemingly incorrect expressions by tracing them back to the high language, mostly to pre-Islamic dialects and Qurʾanic variant readings, which serve as sound *shawāhid* for attesting variants in living speech, even if these variants lack an actual historical connection to them in terms of language development.

4.1 *Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's* Baḥr al-ʿawwām

These two approaches to *laḥn*—one condemning and the other more differentiated—could even be adopted by the same author. After engaging intensively with *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* in *ʿAqd al-khalāṣ* and *Sahm al-alḥāz*, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, the Aleppine historian previously mentioned, wrote another work on language, *Baḥr al-ʿawwām fīmā aṣāba fīhi l-ʿawāmm* ("The Swimmer's Ocean on What the Commoners Got Right"). In this text, the author refrains from treating expressions that deviate from standard language as *laḥn*; instead, he views them as *lughāt*, or dialectal variants, thus categorising them as correct speech.

In *Baḥr al-ʿawwām*, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī scrutinises the judgement of his predecessors. Rather than following al-Jawharī's opinion, he critically examines the *Ṣiḥāḥ* and foregrounds the expertise of later authors. His defence of the language of the *ʿāmma* is supported by authorities from the post-formative period, such as Ibn Khaṭīb al-Dahsha (d. 834/1431), as well as by direct critics of al-Jawharī. A case in point is the passage in which the *hamza*/*yāʾ*-substitution in verbs with a *hamza* as a third radical is discussed, a common feature of dialect:

> And one example of this is the fact that they say: *Awmaytu* ("I pointed"). Al-Ṣaghānī, who is one of those who came after al-Jawharī but was ahead of him in relating much of what had escaped him, said: "*Awmaytu* is like *awmaʾtu*." And as he said what he said, it is of no consequence that al-Jawharī said: "*Awmaʾtu* at him: 'I pointed,' and do not say *awmaytu*."
>
> And if you said: "Perhaps he objected to it because it is a bad dialect variant (*lugha radīʾa*), not because it is not attested in dialect," I would say: It seems that for him it was not attested in dialect, as he followed up with *wamaʾtu ilayhi, amaʾ, wamaʾ*, and quoted:

and she only made a gesture (*wama'*) with her eyebrows

> For him, like *awmaytu* is also *tawaḍḍaytu*, for he said: "*wa-tawaḍḍa'tu* ('I cleansed myself') for prayer. Do not say: *tawaḍḍaytu*. Some of them say it." I swear that by this "some" he means "some of the pure Arabs," so that his rejection of saying *tawaḍḍaytu* is because it differs from the dialect (*lugha*) of the majority of them.[138]

According to al-Jawharī, some of the Arabs said *tawaḍḍaytu*, which means it is attested in *kalām al-ʿarab* and therefore technically correct. While al-Jawharī rejects this variant, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī uses its attestation in Bedouin speech to support the variant *awmaytu*, in which the same shift from *hamza* to *yā'* occurs. By closely reading lexicographers of the formative age, it became possible to widen the range of correct language without violating the boundaries of the *ʿarabiyya*. It became a matter of verifying the sources (*taḥqīq*) and accepting later sources if they were correct. Ibn al-Ḥanbalī cites the opinion of Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1259), who, though later (*ta'akhkhara*) than al-Jawharī, led the way (*taqaddama*) in mentioning aspects al-Jawharī overlooked.

By questioning prominent opinions and citing alternative views, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī provides evidence for the correctness of a total of 223 colloquial expressions. He converts the pejorative notion of *laḥn* into the neutral or even favourable, linguistically valuable *lugha*. Through this approach, he justifies

138 Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Baḥr al-ʿawwām fīmā aṣāba fīhi al-ʿawāmm*, ed. Shaʿbān Ṣalāḥ (Cairo: Dār Gharīb, 2007), 111–113:

> ومن ذلك قولهم: أوميت. فعن الصغاني وهو ممن تأخر عن الجوهري وتقدم بحكاية كثير مما فاته عليه، أنه قال: أوميت مثل أومأت. وحيث قال ما قال فلا عبرة بقول الجوهري: أومأت إليه أشرت، ولا تقل أوميت.
>
> فإن قلت: لعله نهى عن ذلك لكونه لغة رديئة، لا لكونه لم يثبت في اللغة. قلت: الظاهر أنه لم يثبت عنده في اللغة بقرينة أنه عقب ذلك بقوله: وومأت إليه أمأ ومأ، وأنشد:
>
> فَمَا كانَ إِلَّا وَمؤها بِالْحَوَاجِبِ
>
> ومثل أوميت عنده توضيت، وذلك أنه قال: وتوضأت للصلاة، ولا تقل توضيت، وبعضهم يقوله. اللهم إلا أن يكون مراده بهذا البعض بعض العرب الخلص، فيكون نهيه عن أن يقال توضيت لكونه مخالفا للغة الأكثرين منهم.

a wide range of dialectal phenomena, such as the vocalisation of imperfect verb forms (*tiʿlam* for *taʿlam*),[139] the elision of the *nūn* in the *afʿāl al-khamsa* (*yafʿalū* for *yafʿalūna*),[140] the pronunciation of the female second person verb or pronoun forms with a long *ī*,[141] the absence of case endings in general, the pronunciation of *ʿinda* ("at") as *ʿanda* (even *ʿunda* is attested in the *lughāt*),[142] and five different *lughāt* for *anā* ("I").[143] This suggests—though not explicitly stating—that *fuṣḥā* is simply one collection of variants among many.

To account for the correctness of commoners' expressions, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī introduces a new category to *laḥn* and *lugha*. The expression *fulān asharru min fulān* ("So-and-so is 'badder' than so-and-so") is described as *shādhdh* ("weak, rare")—a term also used for the classification of *ḥadīth*—and not a case of *laḥn*.[144] He also employs the term *al-mashhūr*, the "widespread,"[145] suggesting that the spread of a linguistic phenomenon serves as proof of its correctness.

Another device Ibn al-Ḥanbalī uses to justify the language use of the *ʿawāmm* is inversion of the argument, as in the case of *dastūr* ("register"). According to al-Ḥarīrī, the word should be pronounced *dustūr* to align with the patterns (*abniya*) of Arab speech. Following Ibn Barrī, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī counters this argument by highlighting exceptions to this rule. Exceptions that were formerly regarded as exceptions are now used to back up the pronunciation of commoners.[146]

The most obvious difference compared to Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's other extant works is that *Baḥr al-ʿawwām* is not a reworking of *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*. Although it contains quite a few references to al-Ḥarīrī, especially in the second half, and heavily relies on Ibn Barrī's and Ibn Manẓūr's commentaries on the *Durra*, *Baḥr al-ʿawwām* is an independent work with a programme of its own. The entries are neither arranged according to a master text nor is there any discernible alphabetical order. It is conceivable that during the research for his two earlier books, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī stumbled upon expressions he initially

139 Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Baḥr al-ʿawwām*, 103.

140 Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Baḥr al-ʿawwām*, 133.

141 E.g., Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Baḥr al-ʿawwām*, 163.

142 Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Baḥr al-ʿawwām*, 128.

143 Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Baḥr al-ʿawwām*, 176.

144 Al-Suyūṭī distinguishes between *shādhdh fī al-qiyās* and *shādhdh fī al-istiʿmāl*; the opposite is *muṭṭarid* ("steady," "uninterrupted"). See al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha wa-anwāʿihā*, 1:226 ff.

145 E.g., Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Baḥr al-ʿawwām*, 191, 227.

146 Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Baḥr al-ʿawwām*, 204–205. One may be reminded of Ibn Khālawayhi's (d. 370/908) book of linguistic exceptions *Kitāb Laysa fī kalām al-ʿarab* ("Book of Expressions not Found in the Speech of the Arabs").

thought incorrect, but which his sources justified as *lugha* in *kalām al-ʿarab*. His last treatise collects these examples of colloquial expressions regarded as correct on account of their appearance in Qurʾān, *ḥadīth* (such as in the case of *ʿaṭshāna*, "thirsty"),[147] and/or their attestation by leading grammarians and lexicographers. The focus on vocalisation and endings, which are not marked in written texts, suggests that the discussion mainly considers *speech* errors rather than errors in writing. The impression that the author collected the errors from his own environment is confirmed by his explicit mention that he "heard" given expressions.[148]

4.2 *Yūsuf al-Maghribī and the "First Dialect Dictionary"*

No other work of *laḥn* is as replete with personal experience as the late tenth-/sixteenth-century *Dafᶜ al-iṣr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr* ("Removing the Fetters from the Speech of the People of Cairo").[149] This work presents an alphabetical word list interspersed with a surprising amount of autobiographical detail, from which we learn that the author, Yūsuf al-Maghribī (d. 1019/1611), as a young man decided to attend al-Azhar, the famous centre of learning, and become well-versed in language and religion. Defying his uncles, his custodians and manufacturers of sword belts who disapproved of scholarship, he secretly studied grammar. When they did not return from a business trip to the Sudan, Yūsuf sold their shop, purchased books, and went to al-Azhar.[150] This narrative begins in the introduction and is woven throughout the lemmata of his book, deemed the first dictionary of the Egyptian dialect.[151]

Dafᶜ al-iṣr distinguishes itself from the *laḥn* treatises discussed above in two key respects: it is longer and more comprehensive,[152] and the author adheres to a clear method concerning his sources and objective, which becomes apparent in the opening lines of the introduction:

147 Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Baḥr al-ʿawwām*, 99.

148 Such as in the entry *tatar*: Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Baḥr al-ʿawwām*, 251.

149 Also sometimes rendered as *Rafᶜ al-iṣr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr* ("Lifting the Fetters from the Language of the People of Egypt"). Initially, the title of the work was *al-Faḍl al-ʿāmm wa-Qāmūs al-ʿawāmm*, "The Benefit for All and the Dictionary/*Qāmus* of the Common People." This title was erased by al-Maghribī in the only extant manuscript, the autograph. See Zack, "Egyptian Arabic in the Seventeenth Century. Part one: Study of Yūsuf al-Maġribī's *Dafᶜ al-iṣr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr*," 21 ff.

150 Yūsuf al-Maghribī, *Dafᶜ al-isr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr*, ed. Liesbeth Zack (Utrecht: Universiteit van Utrecht, 2009), fol. 70ª ff.

151 See Nelly Hanna, "History from Below, Dictionary from Below," in *Innovation in Islam. Traditions and Contributions*, ed. Mehran Kamrava (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 85–97.

152 The edition contains 1406 lemmata, but its basis is a manuscript from which 110 folios

> Its objective is to clarify expressions that appear to be incorrect but are in fact correct, as well as words that appear sound but with which sensible people do not agree. It is arranged according to the alphabetical order of the *Qāmūs*. It soothes the heart and brings joy to the soul through outstanding poetry and delightful anecdotes, which I heard from the *ʿulamāʾ* and observed from the beaming intellects of intellectuals or obtained from books or from thought written in gold and usefully arranged polysemes in Arabic, remarking on what comes from Persian and from Turkish …[153]

Like Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, al-Maghribī wants to show that words used in colloquial language are in fact correct. However, unlike Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, who draws on various sources, al-Maghribī relies solely on the *Qāmūs*. The result—a list of condoned colloquial expressions—is the same: an 'apologetic' corroboration of the *ʿāmmiyya* through high language.[154]

Al-Fīrūzābādī's *Qāmūs* serves as the main authority and structuring principle for al-Maghribī's work. The lemmata are arranged according to rhyme order (last radical–first radical–middle radicals), and the book is divided into *abwāb* (chapters) and *fuṣūl* (sections), highlighting its comprehensive nature. Many of the *laḥn* treatises previously discussed either had no alphabetical structure or adhered only to the first letter of each word.

The lemma *sirwāl* exemplifies how al-Maghribī links the entry in the *Qāmūs* to the contemporary usage that forms the subject of *Dafʿ al-iṣr*:

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are missing: the editor thus estimates that the original number of entries must have been around 2560. See Zack, "Egyptian Arabic in the Seventeenth Century," 24.

153 Al-Maghribī, *Dafʿ al-isr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr*, fol. 1ª:

فإنه قصد فيه بيان الفاظ يحكم الظاهر بخطائها والحال أنها صواب وكلمات تظهر صحتها ولم توافق ما عليه ذوو الألباب مرتبا على حروف الهجاء ترتيب القاموس مشتملا على شفاء الصدور وبهجة النفوس من أشعار فائقة ولطائف رائقة مما سمعته من العلماء وأجتليته من شموس أفهام الفهماء أو ظفرت به في الكتب أو سمحت به الفكرة مما يرسم بالذهب ونظم معاني ما تيسر من الألفاظ المشتركة العربية والتنبيه على شيء من الفارسية والتركية …

On fol. 2ª the author mentions that he will use the *Qāmūs* and al-Ṣaghānī's *ʿUbāb*, but according to Zack, he does not actually use the latter in the extant part of the book. See Zack, "Egyptian Arabic in the Seventeenth Century," 28.

154 On account of this method, Nelly Hanna terms Yūsuf al-Maghribī's methodology in writing his dictionary "innovative." See Nelly Hanna, *Ottoman Egypt and the Emergence of the Modern World 1500–1800* (Cairo, New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2014), 55.

> They say of "underpants" *sirwāl* and this is correct. "The plural is *sarāwīl* and the plural of this is *sarāwīlāt*, Persian, arabicised. It may be treated as masculine and the singular is said to be *sirwāla* as well as *sirwīl*, vocalised with *i*. It is the only word of the pattern *fiʿwīl*, and al-*sarāwīn* with *n* is dialect, and al-*shirwāl* is also dialect. *sarwaltuhu*: I dressed him with it and then he was dressed (*tasarwala*) with *sarāwīl*. *ḥamāma musarwala*: a pigeon with feathers on its legs. And *faras musarwal*: a horse whose white socks exceed the upper forelegs and the thighs." End of quote.
>
> Now, does the arabicisation/full declension concern *sirwāl* and its plural only, or everything, and from what was it arabicised? When he mentions *shirwāl* with *sh* as a second dialect form, he does not say that it is arabicised/fully declined.
>
> And their saying *shirwāl* with *shīn* is another variation [...] and it is used today among the Turks and it is like *bunduq* and *funduq*: both are Arabic, used among the Turks is *funduq*.[155]

The text from the second sentence up to "end of quote" is a lengthy excerpt from the *Qāmūs*, followed by al-Maghribī's direct commentary and questions. Although he appears to quote the *Qāmūs* verbatim, he slightly modifies the entry: the *Qāmūs* lists the catchword as *sarāwīl*, but al-Maghribī identifies *sarāwīl* as the plural and *sarāwīlāt* as the plural's plural to account for the actual use of *sirwāl*. After the quotation, Maghribī poses a question addressing the missing pieces of information in the *Qāmūs*' entry. *Sirwāl* or rather *sarāwīl* (derived from Persian *shalwār*) was used in early Arabic, with Sībawayhi citing it as a loanword (*muʿarrab*).[156] Al-Maghribī, however, connects it to contemporary use by Ottoman Turks, whose pronunciation with *shīn* is obviously

155 Al-Maghribī, *Dafʿ al-isr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr*, fol. 8o^{a-b}:

> ويقولون في اللباس سروال وهو صحيح. تجمع على سراويل و هي على سراويلات فارسية معربة وقد تذكر وقيل المفرد سروالة وقيل سرويل بكسرهن وليس في الكلام فعويل غيرها والسراوين بالنون لغة والشروال أيضا لغة وسرولته فتسرول ألبسته إياها فتسرول وحمامة مسرولة في رجليها ريش وفرس مسرول جاوز بياض تحجيله العضدين والفخذين انتهى فانظر هل التعريب في السروال وجمعه فقط أو في الكل وما الذي عرّب منه وقوله شروال بالشين لغة ثانية وهي مستعملة الان بين الاروام وهذا مثل بندق وفندق كلهما عربي والمستعمل بين الاروام فندق.

156 Abū Bishr ʿAmr ibn ʿUthmān Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (Cairo: al-Hayʾa al-miṣriyya al-ʿāmma li-l-kitāb, 1977), 3:229.

influenced by the (original) Persian form. His main interest lies in this form, as it mirrors the usage he heard on the streets and wants to account for.

This method is consistently applied throughout the work: relevant sections of the *Qāmūs* are cited and adapted to align with the colloquial expressions under discussion. By using a comprehensive dictionary as the basis for a *laḥn* dictionary, al-Maghribī underscores the authoritative function of his work.

In addition to its linguistic role, *Dafʿ al-iṣr* also serves other needs. Al-Maghribī includes long, personal anecdotes and contemporary poetry, such as his own *mawāwīl*—four-line epigrams of which the verses often rhyme in the same form (*alfāẓ mushtaraka*, polysemes)—to play on the different meanings discussed in the entry. These poems may likely have served a similar function to those of Kemalpaşazāde: to be memorised and cited in *majālis*. They elevate *Dafʿ al-iṣr* into a work of *adab*, oscillating between an anthology of (contemporary) poetry and a biographical dictionary filled with anecdotes about the social environment of late tenth/sixteenth-century Cairo. The dictionary/lexicological treatise format serves as a framework that facilitates the understanding and acceptance of al-Maghribī's modifications of the genre.

4.3 *An Abridgement of* Dafʿ al-iṣr

We do not know much about the subsequent reception of Yūsuf al-Maghribī's *Dafʿ al-iṣr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr*, but we do know that, eventually, the autograph copy found its way into the hands of Egyptian historian Ibn Abī al-Surūr al-Bakrī (d. after 1062/1652),[157] the "most important chronicler of early Ottoman Egypt down to the middle of the eleventh/seventeenth century."[158] This manuscript served as the basis of the abridgement *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab fīmā wāfaqa lughat ahl Miṣr min lughāt al-ʿarab* ("The Condensed Statement on the Concurrence of the Language of the People of Egypt with the Dialects of the Arabs"), which he wrote in 1057/1647.[159]

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157 The autograph, the only extant manuscript, probably was a draft (*musawwada*). See Zack, "Egyptian Arabic in the Seventeenth Century," 23–24.

158 Adam Sabra, "al-Bakrī, Ibn Abī l-Surūr," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, ed. Kate Fleet et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2019), https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_25170. See also Abdul-Karim Rafeq, "Ibn Abi 'l-Surūr and His Works," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38, no. 1 (1975): 29.

159 ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, *Laḥn al-ʿāmma wa-l-taṭawwur al-lughawī*, 304–309 does not mention Yūsuf al-Maghribī's *Dafʿ al-iṣr* in a separate chapter, probably because the manuscript was not available to him (the facsimile edition is from 1968), but he does mention that *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* is an abridgement of this text, and can be characterised as a work of *laḥn al-ʿāmma*, although not "directly," and remarks that it deviates slightly from the objective of *laḥn al-ʿāmma* literature.

Ibn Abī al-Surūr begins by praising the author of the master text; the only criticism he offers is that it was too long, which is why he provides an abridgement that retains the alphabetical order of the *Qāmūs* and *Dafʿ al-iṣr*.[160] The work contains 1034 entries, while *Dafʿ al-iṣr*, in its entirety, likely contained around 2500 entries. The lemma *sirwāl*, cited above from al-Maghribī's text, provides an example of how the entries of *Dafʿ al-iṣr* are shortened:

> And they say: *sirwāl* and this is known, and it is linguistically correct. The plural is *sarāwīlāt* (Persian, arabicised).[161]

Ibn Abī al-Surūr's intervention does not leave much of al-Maghribī's text intact. Does this mean that the author of *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* missed the point of *Dafʿ al-iṣr*? By omitting al-Maghribī's novel information and anecdotes, Ibn Abī al-Surūr reduces the work to a mere list of colloquial expressions endorsed by *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*. Apparently, this was exactly his objective: to create a concise list of Egyptian expressions that comply with *lughāt al-ʿarab*, which he likely regarded as the main function of al-Maghribī's master text—elevating the Egyptian dialect by linking it to the venerable *ʿarabiyya*.

By removing the anecdotes and reducing the content to plain linguistic data, *al-Qawl al-muqṭadab* became easier to memorise and copy than *Dafʿ al-iṣr*. The text is extant in two manuscript copies from which the printed text was edited. The printed edition also incorporates the glosses of one of the scribes of these manuscripts, a certain Ibn al-Wakīl, who owned the autograph of *Dafʿ al-iṣr* at the beginning of the twelfth/eighteenth century.[162] He reinserted some of the lemmata that had been omitted by Ibn Abī al-Surūr "because the self is fond of every strange and new word (*li-anna l-nafsa mūlaʿatun bi-kulli gharībin wa-jadīd*)."[163] This means that some of the 1034 entries of the printed edition were not selected by Ibn Abī al-Surūr, but by Ibn al-Wakīl.[164] The additions, however, are mostly limited to the catchword and a single short sentence.

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160 Muḥammad Ibn Abī al-Surūr al-Bakrī al-Siddiqī, *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab fīmā wāfaqa lughat ahl Misr min lughāt al-ʿarab*, ed. Ibrāhīm Sālim and Ibrāhīm al-Abyarī, Turāthunā (Cairo: al-Muʾassasa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿāmma li-l-taʾlīf wa-l-tarjama, 1962), 81–82.

161 Ibn Abī al-Surūr, *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*, 397–398:

ويقولون: سروال وهو معروف وهو صحيح لغوي. يجمع على سراويلات (فارسية معربة).

162 Zack, "Egyptian Arabic in the Seventeenth Century," 21ff.

163 Ibn Abī al-Surūr, *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*, 7; ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, *Laḥn al-ʿāmma wa-l-taṭawwur al-lughawī*, 305.

164 E.g., entries no. 7 (*barr*, "outside of"), 13 (*ḥashāk*, "except for you"), etc.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, one interesting aspect of *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* is that it could historically be one of the first works of lexicography that refers directly to *Lisān al-ʿarab* in its entries. Most earlier works cited the authorities used in *Lisān al-ʿarab* but did not directly mention Ibn Manẓūr's compilation. Ibn Abī al-Surūr cites it in eleven entries, such as in the lemma *ʿīla* ("family").[165] The corresponding entry in *Dafʿ al-iṣr* did not cite *Lisān al-ʿarab*.[166] This indicates that by the time Ibn Abī al-Surūr was writing—or at least, to him—*Lisān al-ʿarab* had become a quotable authority.

5 Conclusion

Uncoincidentally, the lexicographical genres most popular in the trilingual Ottoman environment were those dealing with deviations from the Arabic norm. This was the field in which a scholar could gain a reputation as a language expert. Compiling a treatise on *laḥn* elevated its author to the highest level of expertise and set him apart from the *ʿāmma* or even the *khāṣṣa* who committed *laḥn*. The discussion of names of famous scholars and the terminology of scholarship and science in *laḥn* treatises suggests that concern for one's reputation and public image was likely a motivation for writing and reading such texts.

In this chapter, we have seen that the engagement with *laḥn* in the post-formative period took different forms than it had before. While the first *laḥn al-ʿāmma* treatises were simple word lists following the formula "do not say *x*, say *y*," in the sixth/twelfth century, al-Ḥarīrī updated the genre by presenting his treatise as a work of *adab*. Subsequent authors of *laḥn* dealt with this innovation in various ways: they aimed to trim down the content of al-Ḥarīrī's *Durra* to match the format of early treatises, while adding examples from other sources and personal observation, as ʿAlī ibn Bālī did; they rearranged the material; and/or they engaged with the *Durra* in a critical fashion, as Ibn al-Ḥanbalī. These interventions—*ikhtiṣār*, ("abridgement"), *tartīb* ("arrangement"), and *radd* ("refutation")—exemplify the engagement with Arabic lexicography in the post-formative period and the broader commentary culture.

This chapter has shown that, rather than presenting a mere repetition of earlier insights, these treatises contained contemporary examples alongside classics of *laḥn*. While searching for deviations from the norm, language schol-

165 Ibn Abī al-Surūr, *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*, 400.

166 Al-Maghribī, *Dafʿ al-isr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr*, fol. 84ᵇ.

ars discovered new sources, such as *muwallad* poetry, as seen in *al-Jumāna fī izālat al-raṭāna*.

There were also new, creative ways of dealing with existing material. Scholars like Ibn al-Ḥanbalī and Yūsuf al-Maghribī tried to ascribe perceived solecisms to variants within the high language. It is plausible that Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's treatise *Baḥr al-ʿawwām fīmā aṣāba al-ʿawāmm* was the result of his research into errors and that, upon reflection, the errors were reclassified. Yūsuf al-Maghribī proceeded in a similar manner: by consulting the *Qāmūs* and subtly adapting its content to align with his objective, he smoothed out the discrepancies between colloquial Egyptian and high language, while entertaining his audience in a manner reminiscent of al-Ḥarīrī. That both *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* and *Dafʿ al-iṣr* were subsequently abridged and stripped of their *adab* elements indicates a continued demand for concise word lists to help the literate classes identify and avoid errors.

Kemalpaşazāde also recognised the need for clear distinctions between right and wrong in language: his stated objective was to help his peers avoid embarrassing mistakes. Like his predecessors, Kemalpaşazāde supported his discussion of *laḥn* with a moral assessment, viewing the disregard with which the language was treated as a sign of "our times."

For all these projects, the underlying template was the *laḥn* treatise and the discussion of *laḥn* in general lexicography of the formative period. The fervour with which *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* was adopted as a starting point for discussion—often straying quickly from the master text—has parallels in the commentaries on the *Ṣiḥāḥ* or *Qāmūs* discussed in the previous chapter. Indeed, it mirrors the way commentaries in various genres would initially reference their master texts only briefly before developing into nearly independent works. The master text occasions the commentary, abridgement, or supplement. It legitimises the commentary and perhaps even contributes to its popularity, but the commentary unequivocally stands as a text in its own right.

In our evaluation of the commentary tradition of the post-formative period, the autonomy of the texts engaging with 'classical' texts has long been disregarded, particularly in the field of language. Yes, eleventh/seventeenth-century authors were still commenting on sixth/twelfth-century texts. However, the commentary, abridgement, or supplement pursues its own objectives and functions within its own unique historical and social context. Its mere existence implies a critique of and a departure from the master text. In the case of *laḥn* treatises, the commentary form may address the same errors recorded from the second/eighth century onward, but it also reflects the genre's development, offering an assessment of the current situation and a catalogue of contemporary errors.

CHAPTER 3

The Social Life of Loanwords: Five Hundred Years of *taʿrīb*

From the late nineteenth century onward, language academies were established in several Arabic-speaking countries to direct and control the modernisation of the Arabic language, equipping it for modern science and journalism, coining scientific terminology, and reining in the proliferation of loanwords for newly introduced objects and concepts.[1] Language academies devised several methods and rules to achieve this aim. The four most important means of introducing new terminology were: deriving a new word from an existing root, extending the original meaning of the Arabic word metaphorically (*al-waḍʿ bi-l-majāz*), reviving archaic vocabulary (*gharīb al-lugha*) to signify new concepts, and paraphrasing/translating the meaning of a concept (*al-ishtiqāq al-maʿnawī* or *al-ishtiqāq bi-l-tarjama*).[2] This approach is how words like *muḥarrik* ("motor, engine," from the second form *ḥarraka*, "to set into movement"), *qiṭār* ("train," historically used for a camel train), and *takyīf al-hawāʾ* (a translation/paraphrase of the term "air conditioning") became part of the modern Arabic standard language.[3]

The scholars charged with this task could look back upon a millennium of engagement with loanwords in Arabic. They drew on the principles of *qiyās* (analogy) discussed by the earliest Arabic grammarians. The process of "making the non-Arabic Arabic," or "Arabicisation," *taʿrīb*, is a concept as old as the first Arabic dictionary, al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī's (d. 175/791) *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, and the first Arabic grammar book, ʿAmr ibn ʿUthmān Sībawayhi's (d. ca. 180/796) *Kitāb*. Sībawayhi was the first to summarise the principles of *taʿrīb*, while al-Khalīl used the terms *muʿarrab* and *dakhīl* to indicate loanwords in his dictionary. In the sixth/twelfth century, Abū Manṣūr Mawhūb ibn Aḥmad

1 On the establishment and functions of Arabic language academies, see Mohammed Sawaie, "Language Academies," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, ed. Kees Versteegh (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 2:634–642.

2 Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Modern Arabic Literary Language. Lexical and Stylistic Developments*, reprint of the 1970 edition, Georgetown University Classics in Arabic Language and Linguistics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 18.

3 These and other examples can be found in Stetkevych, *The Modern Arabic Literary Language*, chap. 1.

al-Jawālīqī (d. 540/1144) expanded Sībawayhi's theory and compiled the first specialised dictionary of loanwords. In subsequent centuries, scholars discussed loanword theory and provided examples that often amounted to new loanword dictionaries.

Arabic language scholars prior to the late nineteenth century did not have the same concerns as members of the Arabic language academies. Al-Khalīl, Sībawayhi, and their successors had other puzzles to solve: How could it be that the Qurʾān contained words of non-Arabic origin, while it referred to itself as being "in clear Arabic speech" (*bi-lisānin ʿarabiyyin mubīn*)?[4] Where did these loanwords come from? How could we recognise and deal with them as loanwords? What are the rules for making a non-Arabic word Arabic? What happens if the word in the source language contains the letter *p*, which is not found in the Arabic alphabet? What happens if this word does not fit the patterns of Arabic? Can one derive a verb from an Arabicised noun? Can a loanword be fully inflected or should it be a diptote (*mamnūʿ min al-ṣarf*), so that the language user may know it is not originally Arabic? Loanwords prompted fundamental discussions about the nature and boundaries of the Arabic language. We see the reflections of these debates in the lemmata of comprehensive dictionaries and in treatises on loanword theory and practice, which proliferated in the post-formative period.

In the previous chapter, I outlined different ways in which scholars engaged with *laḥn al-ʿāmma* and pointed out the relevance of the genre for language scholarship in the post-formative period. In this chapter, I will discuss the treatment of *taʿrīb*, loanword adaptation, and *muʿarrabāt*, loanwords, during the same period. Like *laḥn al-āmma*, this subject (re-)gained focused attention from lexicographers through a work written in the sixth/twelfth century, which then became the most important source and inspiration for subsequent engagement. What al-Ḥarīrī's *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* did for *laḥn*, al-Jawālīqī's *al-Muʿarrab min al-kalām al-aʿjamī ʿalā ḥurūf al-muʿjam* ("The Alphabetical List of Loanwords from Foreign Speech") did for *taʿrīb*—it represented both the pinnacle of the discipline up to its author's time and the starting point for its further trajectory.

After a brief introduction to the terminology of *taʿrīb*, which relates closely to that of *laḥn*, I will summarise loanword theory up to al-Jawālīqī and point

4 Cf. Q 12:2, 20:113, 39:28, 41:3, 42:7, 43:3: قرآناً عربياً; Q 13:37: حكماً عربياً; Q 16:103, 26:195: لسان عربي مبين; Q 46:12: لساناً عربياً. For a concise discussion of *lisān* in the Qurʾān, see Pierre Larcher, "Language, Concept Of," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe, vol. 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 108–109.

out its relevance before moving on to the developments of the post-formative period. We will see that, analogous to *laḥn al-ʿāmma*, loanword theory retained its basis in the tradition while, subtly or not, being updated to reflect the linguistic conditions of the Ottoman environment. While adhering to canonised rules and terminology, there was space for neologisms and 'modern' poetry, and lemmata were expanded to include samples of contemporary language use that the consumers of language scholarship—a constantly increasing, multilingual crowd—could relate to.

1 *Taʿrīb* Historically

The term *taʿrīb*, "making Arab(ic), Arabicisation," specifically refers to incorporating foreign words into the Arabic language. According to al-Jawharī, *taʿrīb* (a second form of the noun *ʿarab*)[5] and *iʿrāb* (fourth form) share the same meaning.[6] Students of Arabic know the term *iʿrāb* as inflection—specifically, the case endings that words in Modern Standard Arabic and Classical Arabic take to mark their syntactical function. In contrast, Arabic dialects do not display these endings. By the second/eighth century, students had to actively acquire knowledge of these syntactical markers, as they were not inherently contained in their mother tongue. Using case endings correctly was part and parcel of mastery of the *ʿarabiyya*, the high language: mistakes in *iʿrāb* were a cause for mockery among language experts. Many of the *masāʾil naḥwiyya*, the historical and literary disputes between grammarians, revolve around questions of inflection.[7] Moreover, as the historian ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) pointed out in the *Muqaddima* ("Introduction to History"), lack of knowledge of *iʿrāb* entailed the risk of misunderstanding the language of the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*:

> The Qurʾān was revealed in [Arabic], and *ḥadīth* was transmitted in it, and these two are the roots of religion. It was feared that, as a result of the dis-

5 The noun *ʿarab* has the connotation of "speaking eloquently," the opposite is *ʿajam*, which both means "foreign" and "having a speech impediment." Khalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī, *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, vol. 1, s.v. *ʿ-j-m*.

6 Al-Jawharī, *Tāj al-lugha wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿarabiyya*, s.v. *ʿ-r-b*:

تعريب الاسم الأعجمي أن تتفوه به العرب على منهاجها، تقول: عرّبته العرب وأعربته أيضاً.

7 As, for instance, the much-discussed *masʾala zunbūriyya* ("Question of the Hornet"): see Joshua Blau, "The Role of the Bedouins as Arbiters in Linguistic Questions and the *Masʾala az-zunbūriyya*," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 8 (1963): 42–51.

> appearance of the language in which they were revealed, they themselves might be forgotten and no longer be understood. Therefore, it was necessary to document its rules, establish its parameters (*waḍʿ maqāyīsihi*), and extract its laws. It thus became a science (*ʿilm*) with subdivisions, chapters, premises, and problems. The scholars who cultivated that science called it grammar (*naḥw*) and the craft of Arabic (*ṣināʿat al-ʿarabiyya*). It became a memorised art and a documented discipline, a ladder to the understanding of the Book of God and the Sunna of his Prophet.[8]

This explains the synonymy of *taʿrīb* and *iʿrāb*: making a word Arabic essentially meant to subject it to the rules of inflection and the patterns of Arabic speech, so as to fully incorporate it into the Arabic language. Sībawayhi identified several forms of "loanword adaptation," as *taʿrīb* would be called in modern linguistics:[9]

> [...] Sometimes they changed (*ghayyarū*) its state from its state in the foreign language by appending (*alḥaqū*) to the Arabic the non-Arabic letters, they substituted (*abdalū*) the position of the Arabic letter for another and changed the voweling and the position of the augment [...] They did this by appending to their patterns or by not appending, through change, substitution, augmentation and deletion, whenever change was necessary. Sometimes they left the word as it was if its letters were also their letters, whether it fitted their pattern or not. And sometimes they changed the letter that was not among their letters but did not change it from its pattern in Persian.[10]

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8 Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, 462:

وكان القرآن متنزلاً به والحديث النبوي منقولاً بلغته وهما أصلا الدين وخشي تناسيهما وانغلاق الأفهام عنهما بفقدان اللسان الذي تنزلا به فاحتيج إلى تدوين أحكامه ووضع مقاييسه واستنباط قوانينه وصارعلما ذا فصول وأبواب ومقدمات ومسائل سماه أهله بعلم النحو وصناعة العربية. وأصبح فناً محفوظاً وعلماً مكتوباً وسلماً إلى فهم كتاب الله وسنة رسوله.

My translation of Ibn Khaldūn is loosely based on Franz Rosenthal's translation: Ibn Khaldûn, *The Muqaddimah. An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, 2nd ed., 3 vols., Bollingen Series, XLIII (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967).

9 See Christian Uffmann, "Loanword Adaptation," in *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Phonology*, ed. Patrick Honeybone and Joseph Salmons (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 644–666.

10 Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, 4:305–307:

Technical terms are important here, as they were taken up and specified by later scholars. *Taʿrīb* firstly involves *taghyīr* ("change") of letters, in case the original letters are not part of the Arabic alphabet. For example, Persian *pe* and *če* might change into Arabic *fāʾ* or *bāʾ*, and *jīm* or *kāf*, respectively. Secondly, *taʿrīb* may include *ilḥāq*, which translates as "appending"—changing the original form of a word in analogy (*qiyās*) to Arabic word structures (*abniya*).[11] A classic example, cited by Sībawayhi and subsequent authors, is *dirham*, which is said to have be appended from Persian *diram* to match the pattern of the Arabic word *hijraʿ* ("long," "slender," said of a dog). *Ibdāl* ("modification") involves substituting one letter for another to better align with Arabic language patterns, as seen when Persian *muhandiz* becomes Arabic *muhandis* ("architect" or "geometrician"). Finally, *ziyāda* and *ḥadhf* refer to the addition or deletion of long vowels, which further adapt a word to fit Arabic word patterns.

Perhaps even more important than the technical terms and the processes that are described is the way Sībawayhi formulated his statement. The third person perfect tense—"they changed, they substituted"—denotes a temporal distance between the author of *al-Kitāb* and the people he is referring to, the speakers of the *ʿarabiyya*, whom we encountered in the previous chapters as the source of the reference corpus, the *thiqāt* (reliable informants of Arabic usage). Sībawayhi's use of the perfect tense suggests that *taʿrīb* was a process of the past, implying that no new words could enter the corpus of *muʿarrabāt*. However, processes of loanword adaptation did not stop after the *ʿuṣūr al-iḥtijāj*. Words coined later, either from Arabic roots or foreign terms, were distinguished by the term *muwallad*, "neologism," which referred to the creations of the *muwalladūn* or *muḥdathūn*, the "moderns."[12]

If no new *muʿarrabāt* could enter the language after roughly the middle of the second/eighth century, then why did language scholars in the post-formative period continue to engage the subject of *taʿrīb* at all? Why did they write dictionaries and theoretical treatises on loanwords? What motivated

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[...] وربما غيروا حاله عن حاله في الأعجمية مع إلحاقهم بالعربية غير الحروف العربية، فأبدلوا مكان الحرف الذي هو للعرب عربياً غيره، وغيروا الحركة وأبدلوا مكان الزيادة. [...] وقد فعلوا ذا بما ألحق ببنائهم وما لم يلحق، من التغيير والإبدال والزيادة والحذف، لما يلزمه التغيير. وربما تركوا الاسم على حاله إذا كانت حروفه من حروفهم، كان على بنائهم أو لم يكن [...] وربما غيروا الحرف الذي ليس من حروفهم ولم يغيروا عن بنائه في الفارسية ...

11 On the concept of *ilḥāq*, see Ramzi Baalbaki, "*Ilḥāq* as a Morphological Tool in Arabic Grammar," *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 4 (2001–2002): 1–26.

12 For a discussion of the term *muwallad*, see Chapter 2, section 1.3.

them to distinguish between *muʿarrab* and *muwallad*? How did they interpret the existing corpus, and what functions did they ascribe to their work with it? These are the questions I aim to answer in this chapter.

One caveat is in order: while the output of premodern Arabic language scholars in the field of *taʿrīb* was an impressive intellectual achievement, these scholars did not always correctly identify loanwords or attribute them to their actual source language. For example, in the anecdote about al-Naḍr ibn Shumayl mentioned in the previous chapter, the ninth/fifteenth-century scholar Ibn al-Ḥanbalī attempted to derive the word *ṣirāṭ* from an Arabic root, while other scholars recognised that it came from Latin [*via*] *strata*, "paved road."[13] Modern editors of Arabic texts on *laḥn* and *muʿarrab* often point out such formal errors.[14] My objective, however, is not to assess the accuracy of the theoretical framework of *taʿrīb* and its application, but to show how this theory functioned and evolved within a discourse on language that spanned half a millennium.

1.1 *Loanword Anxiety*

> It is told that Abū ʿAlī said: "I saw Abū Bakr turning over this word again and again: *būṣī*, to find an etymology, and I said: 'Where are you heading? It is Persian! For it is "Buzīd" and that is the name of our grandfather.' He added: 'And it means "unblemished".' Then Abū Bakr said: 'You have reassured me.'"[15]

13 Al-Jawālīqī does not mention *ṣirāṭ* except in a quotation implying that it is an Arabic word. See Abū Manṣūr Mawhūb ibn Aḥmad al-Jawālīqī, *al-Muʿarrab min al-kalām al-aʿjamī ʿalā ḥurūf al-muʿjam*, ed. F. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (Damascus: Dār al-qalam, 1410/1990), 155. Al-Munshī (see below) tells us that it is from *Rūmiyya*. See Sulaymān ibn Ibrāhīm al-ʿĀyid, ed., *Risālatān fī al-muʿarrab li-Ibn Kamāl wa-l-Munshī* (Mecca, 1407/1986), 130.

14 See, for instance, the introduction to Muḥammad al-Amīn ibn Fadl Allāh al-Muḥibbī, *Qaṣd al-sabīl fīmā fī al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya min al-dakhīl*, ed. ʿUthmān Muḥammad al-Sīnī (Riyadh: Maktabat al-tawba, 1415/1994), 1:94. On the other hand, in the nineteenth century, Eduard Sachau explicitly stated that he edited al-Jawālīqī's *Muʿarrab* on account of its significance for literary history: "nicht die Aussicht, in dem Werke wesentliche Beiträge für die etymologische Forschung unserer Zeit zu geben, sondern die literärgeschichtliche Bedeutung desselben hat es mir der Herausgabe würdig erscheinen lassen." Eduard Sachau, ed., *Ǵawâlîḳî's Almuʿarrab nach der Leydener Handschrift mit Erläuterungen herausgegeben* (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1867), vii.

15 Al-Jawālīqī, *al-Muʿarrab*, 91–92:

وحكي عن أبي علي قال: رأيت أبا بكر يدير هذه اللفظة بوصي ليشتقها فقلت: أين تذهب؟ إنها فارسية. إنما هو بوزيد وهو اسم جدنا. قال: ومعناه السالم فقال أبو بكر: فرجت عني.

This anecdote shows how keen grammarians were to distinguish foreign words or loanwords from Arabic words. The attempt to connect the word *būṣī* to an Arabic root is deflected by the grammarian Abū ʿAlī's explanation that it originates from Persian, a solution that seemed to ease the concerns of his interlocutor, Abū Bakr, who was apparently troubled by this puzzle.[16] But why was this such a hot topic?

The anecdote is cited by Abū Manṣūr Mawhūb al-Jawālīqī, whom we encountered in the previous chapter as one of the commentators on *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*. Marking the end of the formative phase of loanword theory, his dictionary *al-Muʿarrab min al-kalām al-aʿjamī ʿalā ḥurūf al-muʿjam* was the first monograph on loanwords outside of the Qurʾān and became the template for subsequent works on *taʿrīb*.

Al-Jawālīqī was a language scholar by profession. A long-time pupil and successor of Yaḥyā ibn ʿAlī al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109), he taught *adab* at the Niẓāmiyya in Baghdad, the first *madrasa* established by the Seljuk vizier Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092). In the introduction to *al-Muʿarrab*, al-Jawālīqī addresses the most important topics of loanword theory, quoting important scholars and their statements, or rather aphorisms, on the subject. His ten-page introduction covers critical areas of loanword theory, including its scope and significance, the discussion of loanwords in the Qurʾān, and the rules governing *taʿrīb*.

1.2 *Scope and Relevance of Loanword Theory*

In the first line of his introduction, al-Jawālīqī defines his corpus:

> In this book we mention the foreign words that were spoken by the Arabs, uttered in the glorious Qurʾān, found in the reports of the Prophet, peace be upon him, the Companions, and the generation after them, may God be pleased with them, and mentioned by the Arabs in their poetry and history, in order to discern the foreign from the pure Arabic.[17]

16 Abū ʿAlī may be the Basran grammarian known as Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987); who Abū Bakr refers to is unclear to me: probably neither to Abū Bakr Ibn al-Sarrāj (d. 316/928) nor Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 328/940).

17 Al-Jawālīqī, *al-Muʿarrab*, 91:

هذا الكتاب نذكر فيه ما تكلمت به العرب من الكلام الاعجمي ونطق به القرآن المجيد وورد في أخبار الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم والصحابة والتابعين رضوان الله عليهم أجمعين وذكرته العرب في اشعارها وأخبارها ليعرف الدخيل من الصريح.

The primary focus is on distinguishing foreign elements from pure Arabic speech. Al-Jawālīqī explains the significance of differentiating between foreign and Arabic words:

> In this knowledge lies a significant benefit, namely, to beware of the derived (*al-mushtaqq*) and not to attribute something that belongs to the language of the Arabs to the language of the non-Arabs.[18] Abū Bakr Ibn al-Sarrāj said in his treatise on derivation (*ishtiqāq*) in the Chapter "That which the Observer should Heed and Beware of in Derivation:" "He has to exert utmost caution not to derive in the language of the Arabs from something that belongs to the language of the non-Arabs, because that would be like claiming that a bird is the offspring of a whale."[19]

Scholars focused on *muʿarrab* are concerned with preventing incorrect derivation. *Ishtiqāq*, which literally means "splitting" but is often rendered as "etymology" and, more accurately, as "derivation," is the discipline that engages the connection between form and meaning in Arabic words.[20] To understand a word's meaning, one must first analyse its form and trace it back to the correct root. "Claiming that a bird gave birth to a whale" encapsulates Abū Bakr's concern in the anecdote above, as he sought the correct derivation of *būṣī*.[21]

By al-Jawālīqī's time, *ishtiqāq* had developed into a distinct field within Arabic language scholarship. Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Sirrī Ibn al-Sarrāj (d. 316/

18 I translate *lughat al-ʿajam* here as "language of the non-Arabs." Most often, as in Sībawayhi's definition of *taʿrīb* quoted above, Persian is the implied reference language.

19 Al-Jawālīqī, *al-Muʿarrab*, 91:

ففي معرفة ذلك فائدة جليلة وهي أن يحترس المشتق فلا يجعل شيئاً من لغة العرب لشيء من لغة العجم. فقد قال أبو بكر بن السراج في رسالته في الاشتقاق في باب ما يجب على الناظر في الاشتقاق أن يتوقاه ويحترس منه: مما ينبغي أن يحذر منه كل الحذر أن يشتق من لغة العرب لشيء من لغة العجم، فيكون بمنزلة من ادعى أن الطير ولد الحوت.

Cf. Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Sirrī Ibn al-Sarrāj, *Risālat al-Ishtiqāq*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Darwīsh and Musṭafā al-Mudrī (Damascus, 1972), 31.

20 See Abdellah Chekayri, "Ištiqāq," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), ed. Kees Versteegh, https://doi.org/10.1163/1570-6699_eall_EALL_COM_vol2_0058; H. Fleisch, "Ishtiḳāḳ," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition*, ed. E. van Donzel et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 4:122–123.

21 Cf. Chekayri, "Ištiqāq:" "Some Arab grammarians consider the semantic relationship between the root and its derived forms to be crucial. Only when the semantic relationship is satisfied are derived forms regarded as belonging to this root."

928), whom Jawālīqī cites here, was famous for his systematic approach to grammar. A saying went that "grammar was crazy until Ibn al-Sarrāj came and made sense of it."[22] In his *Risālat al-Ishtiqāq* ("Epistle on Derivation"), Ibn al-Sarrāj summarises *ishtiqāq* in a dialectical fashion, asking and answering questions about the topic.[23] He explains that *ishtiqāq* is like forging a ring or an earring out of gold—although they look different (*al-ṣuwaru mukhtalifa*), they are of the same kind (*jins*).[24] The purpose of *ishtiqāq*, Ibn al-Sarrāj notes, is to facilitate the *ittisāʿ* of the Arabic language, especially for poetry. The concept of *ittisāʿ* or *tawassuʿ* ("extension, latitude"[25]) is loosely related to *taʿrīb* and *laḥn*. It was employed by Sībawayhi to designate language uses that, while not strictly lexically/grammatically correct, extended the boundaries of language.[26] We will see this concept resurface in later discussions of *taʿrīb*.

1.3 *Loanwords in the Qurʾān*

The next question addressed in the introduction to *al-Muʿarrab* concerns the presence of loanwords in the Qurʾān. By the time al-Jawālīqī was writing, consensus had emerged on a central issue in the study of loanwords: Can the Qurʾān contain foreign words while proclaiming itself an "Arabic Qurʾān"? Early in his book, al-Jawālīqī acknowledges the presence of loanwords in the Qurʾān when he refers to "the foreign words that were spoken by the Arabs and uttered in the glorious Qurʾān." This had been a subject of debate in the early stages of Arabic philology. Al-Jawālīqī summarises the conflicting views of the philologists Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar ibn al-Muthannā (d. 209/824–825) and his pupil Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām (d. 224/838):

> Scholars have different opinions on the question of loanwords in the Qurʾān. Some of them have said: The Book of God most High does not

22 Ibn al-Sarrāj, *Risālat al-Ishtiqāq*, 15: فقد قالوا فيه: ما زال النحو مجنوناً حتى عقله ابن السراج.

23 He also mentions that he has written an alphabetical dictionary *Kitāb al-Ishtiqāq*, but this is not extant. See Ibn al-Sarrāj, *Risālat al-Ishtiqāq*, 40.

24 Ibn al-Sarrāj, *Risālat al-Ishtiqāq*, 20.

25 See Kees Versteegh, "Freedom of the Speaker? Ittisāʿ and Related Concepts in Arabic Grammar," in *Studies in the History of Arabic Grammar II. Proceedings of the 2nd Symposium on the History of Arabic Grammar, Nijmegen, 27 April–1 May 1987*, ed. Michael G. Carter and Kees Versteegh (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1990), 281–293.

26 Versteegh, 283: "… *ittisāʿ* is used for the process by which a word is placed beyond its proper boundaries, as an extension of its normal domain." On the concept of *ittisāʿ*, see also Avigail Noy, "Reading Poetry with Sībawayhi: Ittisāʿ/Saʿat al-Kalām and Metaphorical Thinking in the *Kitāb*," in *From Sībawayhi to ʾAḥmad Ḥasan Al-Zayyāt: New Angles on the Arabic Linguistic Tradition*, ed. Beata Sheyhatovitch and Almog Kasher (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 37–90.

> contain anything other than Arabic. More than one person has reported to me from al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad from Daʿlaj from ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz from Abū ʿUbayd, who said: "I heard Abū ʿUbayda say: 'Who claims that there is anything in the Qurʾān in a tongue other than Arabic is committing a sin.' And he corroborated this with the words of God most High: 'For we have made it an Arabic Qurʾān.'" Abū ʿUbayd said: "And it is transmitted from Ibn ʿAbbās and Mujāhid and ʿIkrima and others about a lot of words that they are from a tongue other than Arabic, such as *sijjīl* and *al-mishkāt* and *al-yamm* and *al-Ṭūr* and *abārīq* and *istabraq* and others." And these people are more knowledgeable in interpretation (*taʾwīl*) than Abū ʿUbayda, but they came to this conclusion, and he came to a different conclusion. Both of them are correct, God willing: that is because these words are *originally* from another tongue than Arabic—and they were talking about the origin. Then the Arabs used them in their speech and Arabicised them so that they became Arabic through their Arabicisation. And they are Arabic *per their current state*, foreign *per their origin*. This statement confirms both groups.[27]

It seems that the matter was settled for al-Jawālīqī. As we will see, the dictum that the *aṣl* of these words is foreign but their *ḥāl* is Arabic was also deemed conclusive by later authors. However, this did not keep them from discussing which words exactly were loanwords. To provide proof that a word in the Qurʾān was a loanword, an *isnād* going back to a Companion or an early grammarian was typically provided. Outside of scripture, many more lexical borrowings were circulating, but these could not always be verified with a chain of transmission. How could these loanwords be identified?

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27 Al-Jawālīqī, *al-Muʿarrab*, 92:

فأما ما ورد منه في القرآن فقد اختلف فيه أهل العلم. فقال بعضهم: كتاب الله تعالى ليس فيه شيء من غير العربية. أخبرني غير واحد عن الحسن بن أحمد عن دعلج عن علي بن عبد العزيز عن أبي عبيد قال: سمعت أبا عبيدة يقول: من زعم أن في القرآن لساناً سوى العربية فقد أعظم على الله القول. واحتج بقوله تعالى: إنا جعلناه قرآناً عربياً. قال أبو عبيد: وروي عن ابن عباس ومجهد وعكرمة وغيرهم في أحرف كثيرة أنه من غير لسان العرب مثل سجيل والمشكاة واليم والطور وأباريق واستبرق وغير ذلك. فهؤلاء أعلم بالتأويل من أبي عبيدة، ولكنهم ذهبوا إلى مذهب وذهب هذا إلى غيره. وكلاهما مصيب إن شاء الله وذلك أن هذه الحروف بغير لسان العرب في الأصل فقالوا أولئك على الأصل. ثم لفظوا به العرب بألسنتها فعربته فصار عربياً بتعريبها إياه. فهي عربية في الحال، أعجمية الأصل. فهذا القول يصدق الفريقين جميعاً.

1.4 *Al-Jawālīqī's Rules of* taʿrīb

In the introduction to *al-Muʿarrab*, al-Jawālīqī proceeds to outline practical means of identifying and categorising loanwords. Two main principles apply: Arabicised words are either fully inflected or *mamnūʿ min al-ṣarf*, and they either take the definite article or they do not. If they do not take the definite article (as in the proper names Mūsā and ʿĪsā) they remain "foreign" (*aʿjamī*).[28] Following Sībawayhi, al-Jawālīqī observes that foreign words could be altered when Arabicised, such as by substituting foreign letters with Arabic letters:

> Of the letters they change, it is the one which is between *jīm* and *kāf* [*če*]: sometimes they make it a *jīm* and sometimes a *kāf* and sometimes a *qāf*, as the *qāf* is close to the *kāf*. They say: *kurbaj*, and some of them say: *qurbaq*. Abū ʿAmr said: "I heard al-Aṣmaʿī say: 'That is the place of which they say *kurbak* ("tavern")!' He said: 'They mean: *kurbaj*. Sālim ibn Qaḥfān said of *qurbaq*:
>
> > She did not drink after leaving the tavern
> > of a drink other than the gush of clouds'"[29]

The example shows how loanwords, due to their foreignness, were prone to variation in pronunciation and spelling (e.g., *kurbaj, qurbaq, kurbak*). We encountered this phenomenon in the previous chapter: instances of *laḥn* often concerned loanwords and (foreign) proper names. Other examples al-Jawālīqī provides for different kinds of loanword adaptation are taken directly from Sībawayhi, such as *dirham*, *dīnār*, *Isḥāq*, *Khurāsān*, etc.

In the following section of the introduction, al-Jawālīqī outlines the Arabic letters that cannot coexist in a genuine Arabic word, helping to identify words of foreign origin. These phonetic rules were not invented by al-Jawālīqī but based on principles already discussed by scholars like al-Khalīl and Ibn al-Sarrāj, among others. The general idea was that the points of articulation (*makhraj*, pl. *makhārij*) of the letters in a word should be distant from one

28 Al-Jawālīqī, *al-Muʿarrab*, 93.

29 Al-Jawālīqī, *al-Muʿarrab*, 94–95:

فمما غيروا من الحروف ما كان بين الجيم والكاف، وربما جعلوه جيماً وربما جعلوه كافاً وربما جعلوه قافاً لقرب الكاف من القاف. قالوا: كربج وبعضهم يقول: قربق. قال أبو عمرو: سمعت الأصمعي يقول: هو موضع يقال له كربك. قال: يريدون: كربج. قال سالم بن لحفان في قربق:

ما شَرِبَتْ بَعدَ طَوِيِّ القُرْبَقِ مِن شُرْبَةِ غَيرِ النَجاءِ الأَدْفَقِ

another, not close. The speech of the Arabs allowed for beautiful combinations, not ugly ones.[30] The "ugliness" (*qubḥ*) of certain letter combinations thus helps to identify *muʿarrabāt*, since they do not occur in genuine Arabic words. Al-Jawālīqī, for instance, mentions that the letter combination *jīm* and *qāf* in a word indicates its foreign origin. Some of these rules presume a thorough knowledge of phonetics:

> If you encounter a quinqueliteral or quadriliteral without one or two letters from the liquid consonants (*ḥurūf al-dhalāqa*), know that it is not of their speech, such as *ʿaqjash* and *ḥuẓāʾij* and the like.[31]

Rules such as these can have exceptions. Later authors were of the opinion that al-Jawālīqī had failed to mention some of these exceptions. The general principles he introduced were based on examples he was familiar with: the foundation of this discipline is *samāʿ*, authoritative transmission. This is why al-Jawālīqī says:

> None of the reliable sources (*al-thiqāt*) have reported an Arabic word consisting of a *bāʾ* and a *sīn* and a *tāʾ*. If this occurs in a word, it has entered from outside.[32]

The emphasis on reliable transmission is also apparent in the dictionary entries, which are often attributed to a named authority, if not accompanied by an *isnād*.

Al-Jawālīqī's *al-Muʿarrab* represents the culmination of engagement with loanwords in the formative period. The dictionary itself contains around 745 words, 130 of which are proper names and toponyms. These words are ordered alphabetically by their first letter, as non-Arabic words do not follow the root

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30 Al-Jawālīqī, *al-Muʿarrab*, 101: "As for the patterns of the Arabs, the most beautiful are those built from letters that have points of articulation that are far apart." فأما أمثلة العرب فأحسنها ما بني من الحروف المتباعدة المخارج See also Ibn al-Sarrāj, *Risālat al-Ishtiqāq*, 34: "Know that when the points of articulation are far apart, the combination is good, when they are close, it is ugly." اعلم أنه إذا تباعد مخرج الحروف حسن التأليف، وإذا تقارب قبح

31 Al-Jawālīqī, *al-Muʿarrab*, 101:

فإذا جاءك مثال خماسي أو رباعي بغير حرف أو حرفين من حروف الذلاقة فاعلم أنه ليس من كلامهم مثل عقجش وحظائج ونحو ذلك.

32 Al-Jawālīqī, *al-Muʿarrab*, 100:

ولم يحك أحد من الثقات كلمة عربية مبنية من باء وسين وتاء. فإذا جاء ذلك في كلمة فهي دخيل.

principle and cannot be arranged by the root letter. Many of the lemmata are sourced from the comprehensive dictionaries *Jamharat al-lugha* ("The Mass of Language") by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933) and *Tahdhīb al-lugha* by Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Azharī (d. 370/980).[33] The entries are frequently concluded with a line or two of poetry, confirming the usage of a foreign word in Arabic. This structure mirrors that of comprehensive dictionaries, where poetry quotations are often used to mark the entry in the layout. Sometimes, al-Jawālīqī specifies the source language of a word; at other times, he confesses uncertainty about its origin. Most words are categorised as either *muʿarrab* (Arabicised) or *aʿjamī* (foreign).

2 From al-Jawālīqī to al-Muḥibbī: Loanwords in the Post-formative Period

Al-Jawālīqī provided both a theoretical introduction and its practical application in a single book, yet he did not have the last word on the subject. On the contrary, his work became a template for subsequent discussions. Some of his successors chose to focus on the theory, while others wrote their own *muʿarrab* dictionaries. Some included loanword theory within their larger compendia, as Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) did in *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha wa-anwāʿihā*. In the following sections, I will discuss the most prominent loanword treatises of the post-formative period and demonstrate how they expanded the theory and practice of al-Jawālīqī.

2.1 *Al-Suyūtī on Loanword Theory and Practice*

In *al-Muzhir*, his handbook of the discipline of *lugha*, al-Suyūṭī systematically addresses all aspects of the discipline by transferring concepts of *ḥadīth* terminology, such as *ṣaḥīḥ* ("sound") and *mutawātir* ("concurrently transmitted"), into discussions of language phenomena. He provides a comprehensive overview of the state of *lugha* in the ninth/fifteenth century, drawing on a wide range of sources. al-Suyūṭī devotes three sections to discussing expressions that have entered the Arabic language from the outside, distinguishing not only between *muʿarrab* and *muwallad*, but also introducing the category of *alfāẓ islamiyya* ("Islamic expressions").

In the chapter on *muʿarrab*, al-Suyūṭī lists seven principles for recognising the non-Arabicness (*ʿujma*) of a word. The first is "transmission [as non-

33 According to the editor F. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm; see al-Jawālīqī, *al-Muʿarrab*, 7.

Arabic] by one of the authorities of the *ʿarabiyya*."[34] The remaining principles focus on word structure: "departure from the patterns of Arabic nouns, such as *ibraysam*," and specific letter combinations that al-Jawālīqī also listed. These include: *nūn* followed by *rāʾ* (*narjis*, "narcissus"), a *zāy* after a *dāl* at the end of a word (*muhandiz*), *ṣād* and *jīm* in one word (*ṣawlajān*, "sceptre"), and *jīm* and *qāf* in one word (*manjanīq*, "ballista"). The last criterion, also mentioned by al-Jawālīqī and cited above, is the absence of *ḥurūf al-dhalāqa* (liquid consonants) in words with four or five radicals.[35]

The prominence of "transmission by one of the authorities of the *ʿarabiyya*" confirms that *samāʿ*—and, ideally, a chain of transmission—is the most important criterion for deciding whether a word is *muʿarrab*. This criterion, while already implied in al-Jawālīqī's discussion, is made explicit by al-Suyūṭī.

*Isnād*s play a significant role in al-Suyūṭī's treatment of loanwords in the Qurʾān as well. Al-Jawālīqī did not specifically focus on the occurrence of loanwords in the Qurʾān in his *Muʿarrab*, suggesting it was not a contentious issue for him, and the question remained unresolved.[36] Al-Suyūṭī wrote two treatises addressing this topic. In the first, *al-Mutawakkilī fīmā warada fī al-Qurʾān bi-l-lughāt al-Ḥabashiyya wa-l-Fārisiyya wa-l-Rūmiyya wa-l-Hindiyya wa-l-Siryāniyya wa-l-ʿIbrāniyya wa-l-Nabaṭiyya wa-l-Qibṭiyya wa-l-Turkiyya wa-l-Zanjiyya wa-l-Barbariyya* ("The Book Dedicated to al-Mutawakkil bi-llāh Concerning Words from the Ethiopian, Persian, Greek, Sanskrit, Syriac, Hebrew, Nabatean, Coptic, Turkic, Zanjī, and Berber languages in the Qurʾān"), he topically orders the foreign words in the Qurʾān according to their language of origin. Some words are listed under more than one language, such as the mysterious letters *ṭāhā*, which are under Ethiopian and Syriac, and *firdaws*, under Greek and Nabatean. To assert that a Qurʾānic word is indeed a loanword, al-Suyūṭī gives one or more *isnād*s by referencing a Companion, often Ibn ʿAbbās.[37]

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34 Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha wa-anwāʿihā*, 1:270:

فصل: قال أئمة العربية: تعرف عجمة الاسم بوجوه. أحدها النقل بأن ينقل ذلك أحد أئمة العربية.

35 Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha wa-anwāʿihā*, 1:270.

36 In fact, the exact number of loanwords in the Qurʾān is still a matter of debate for which the Arabic sources and methods of modern linguistics are adduced. See Catherine Pennacchio, "Lexical Borrowing in the Qur'ān: The Problematic Aspects of Arthur Jeffery's List," trans. Judith Grumbach, *Bulletin Du Centre de Recherche Français à Jérusalem*, no. 22 (2011), http://journals.openedition.org/bcrfj/6643, and the literature referenced by her.

37 There is, however, also a reference not going back further than al-Jawālīqī's *Muʿarrab*. See Jalāl al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī, *al-Mutawakkilī fīmā warada fī al-Qurʾān bi-l-lughāt al-Ḥabashiyya wa-l-Fārisiyya wa-l-Rūmiyya wa-l-Hindiyya*

Al-Suyūṭī's second treatise on *muʿarrab* in the Qurʾān, titled *al-Muhadhdhab fīmā waqaʿa fī al-Qurʾān min al-muʿarrab* ("The Refined on Loanwords in the Qurʾān"), shares similar content with *al-Mutawakkilī* but is ordered alphabetically rather than topically by foreign language. In the introduction, the author summarises different perspectives on the issue of loanwords in the Qurʾān,[38] providing a more comprehensive overview than al-Jawālīqī's introduction to *al-Muʿarrab*. Al-Suyūṭī addresses the religious implications of the issue while also demonstrating the philological flexibility with which these questions are resolved. He cites the fifth/eleventh-century *mufassir* Abū Isḥāq al-Thaʿlibī (d. 427/1035) who, on the basis of a *ḥadīth*, inverted the argument by stating that "there exists no language in the world that is not in the Qurʾān."[39] The presence of loanwords in the Book is thus linked to the concept of *iʿjāz*—the human incapacity to emulate its style—and loanwords are assessed as necessary stylistic elements that cannot be replaced by Arabic equivalents.[40]

2.2 *Loanword Theory Revisited: Kemalpaşazāde*

Around the same time al-Suyūṭī was collecting views and examples of *muʿarrab*, Kemalpaşazāde (d. 940/1534) was also engaging with the issue. Fluent in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish, he must have been acutely aware of the linguistic processes at work when Persian words entered the Arabic lexicon, Arabic words infiltrated Turkish vocabulary, and so forth. His contributions to the development of Ottoman Turkish, by writing history and poetry in Turkish, helped shape it into a literary language. As a scholar interested in *laḥn* and language in general, and as a *shaykh al-Islam* who authored short lexicological treatises with a connection to legal science, Kemalpaşazāde also explored the origins of the concepts he worked with. This is evident in his writing on the meaning and definition of *zindīq* ("unbeliever, atheist").[41] It is worth recalling that the

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wa-l-Siryāniyya wa-l-ʿIbrāniyya wa-l-Nabaṭiyya wa-l-Qibṭiyya wa-l-Turkiyya wa-l-Zanjiyya wa-l-Barbariyya, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Zubaydī (Beirut: Dār al-balāgha, 1988), 7, 9.

38 Jalāl al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī, "al-Muhadhdhab fīmā waqaʿa fī al-Qurʾān min al-muʿarrab," in *Rasāʾil fī al-fiqh wa-l-lugha*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh al-Jabūrī (Beirut: Dār al-gharb al-islāmī, 1982), 191 ff.

39 Al-Suyūṭī, "al-Muhadhdhab fīmā waqaʿa fī al-Qurʾān min al-muʿarrab," 194.

40 In a quotation from Ibn Fāris' *al-Ṣāḥibī fī fiqh al-lugha*; see al-Suyūṭī, "al-Muhadhdhab fīmā waqaʿa fī al-Qurʾān min al-muʿarrab," 195.

41 Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *Rasāʾil İbn-i Kemāl*, ed. Ahmet Cevdet, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Maṭbaʿat iqdām bi-dār al-khilāfa al-ʿuliya, 1316 [1898]), 240–249. The term is also discussed by al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, 165–166.

first step of commentary, broadly speaking, involves the lexical explanation of a word, with etymology being just one aspect.

On the subject of *muʿarrab*, Kemalpaşazāde wrote a treatise entitled *al-Risāla fī taḥqīq taʿrīb al-kalima al-aʿjamiyya* ("Epistle on the Validation of the Arabicisation of the Foreign Word").[42] Unlike the works discussed above, Kemalpaşazāde's treatise does not provide an alphabetical word list. So what is his objective in writing on loanwords? The term *taḥqīq* in the title is indicative of his stance: in the context of premodern scientific method, it refers to the process of "carrying out original personal investigation of a given matter by the methods of rational syllogistic reasoning."[43] We will explore how Kemalpaşazāde's approach diverges from earlier discussions of *muʿarrab* and whether he also addresses *muwallad* in his treatment.

The work's point of departure is the proposition that words considered to be *muʿarrab* must be verified. Kemalpaşazāde sets out to provide a detailed description of the categories of *taʿrīb* (*tafṣīl aqsāmihi*) and to demonstrate how to distinguish *muʿarrabāt* from similar but, in fact, unrelated words. He emphasises that this a subtle (*daqīq*) undertaking, seldom receiving attention, since the Arabs incorporate foreign words into their speech (*tajʿaluhā juzʾan min al-kalām*) either after Arabicising them or even before, leaving them in their original form.[44] Notably, Kemalpaşazāde talks about *kalām al-ʿarab* but situates loanword adaptations in the present (*tastaʿmilu*, *tajʿalu*), rather than a remote past. It seems that for this scholar, the *taḥqīq* of *taʿrīb* was an ongoing process,

42 Muḥammad Sawāʿī mentions two other titles referring to loanwords: *Risāla fī al-kalimāt al-muʿarraba* and *Risāla fī jawāz al-tawassuʿ fī kalām al-ʿarab*. See Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *Risāla fī taḥqīq taʿrīb al-kalima al-aʿjamiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Sawāʿī (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1991), 13–14. The first treatise may be an alternative title for the *Risāla fī taḥqīq taʿrīb al-kalima al-aʿjamiyya* discussed here—cf. the different titles Wilhelm Ahlwardt mentions for what is in large parts the same treatise: *al-Risāla al-taʿrībiyya* and *Risāla fī taḥqīq aṣl al-taʿrīb wa-tafṣīl baʿḍ al-muʿarrabāt* (see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften*, 6:319–320). The second work mentioned by Sawāʿī is also known under the title *Risāla fī anna al-tawassuʿ shāʾiʿ fī lughat al-ʿarab*: the short technical treatise (two and a half folios) discusses examples of nouns (*ism*) functioning as adjectives (*ṣifa*).

43 Ahmed, *What Is Islam?*, 339.

44 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *Risāla fī taḥqīq taʿrīb al-kalima al-aʿjamiyya*, 46–47:

فهذه الرسالة مرتبة في تحقيق تعريب الكلمة الأعجمية وتفصيل أقسامه وتمييزه عما يشاهبه وليس منه فإنه دقيق جداً وذلك لأن العرب كما تستعمل الكلمة الأعجمية وتجعلها جزءاً من الكلام بعد التعريب كذلك تستعملها وتجعلها جزءاً [منه] من قبله.

with a method that enabled the reader to verify for herself whether *taʿrīb* was at play in the cases she examined.

By *tafṣīl aqsāmihi* ("detailing its division"), Kemalpaşazāde refers to the types of Arabicised words we have already seen discussed by Sībawayhi. He delves deeper by distinguishing four categories: a) no change (*taghyīr*, in the sense of the substitution of letters and change of *ḥarakāt*, the vowels on consonants) and no *ilḥāq* ("appending" to the patterns of Arabic); b) no change, and the word is already *mulḥaqa*; c) change, but no *ilḥāq*; and d) both change and *ilḥāq*. Kemalpaşazāde uses four classic examples to illustrate these different categories: a) *Khurāsān*, b) *khurram*, c) *ājurr*, and d) *dirham*. He then examines several scholars' definitions of *taʿrīb* to see how they relate to these categories. His choice of authorities extends beyond the familiar names of the formative period, starting with the view of Ibn Umm Qāsim (d. 749/1348), a commentator on Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*, who classified foreign words into three categories (by combining Kemalpaşazāde's first two categories).

Central to this discussion are the definitions of *taʿrīb* by two authorities that previously did not occupy prominent positions: al-Zamakhsharī's Qurʾān commentary *al-Kashshāf* and al-Jawharī's *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*. From *al-Kashshāf*, a comment on *Sūrat al-Dukhān* (Q 44:53) is cited in the context of the loanwords *sundus* ("silk brocade") and *istabraq* ("brocade") in the Qurʾān. Al-Zamakhsharī states that

> The meaning of *taʿrīb* is that it [i.e., a word] is made Arabic by freely employing it (*al-taṣarruf fīhi*), by modifying its course, and by adjusting it to the rules of *iʿrāb*.[45]

The term *taṣarruf* (translated here as "freely employing") had already been used in *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* to describe the principle of root permutation (also known as *qalb*).[46] Al-Zamakhsharī most probably uses it in a broader, yet still technical, sense: *taṣarrafa* is to subject a word to the full range of Arabic grammar rules, implying that it can take the definite article and is not *mamnūʿ min al-ṣarf*.

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45 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *Risāla fī taḥqīq taʿrīb al-kalima al-aʿjamiyya*. Cf. Abū al-Qāsim Jār Allāh Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaqāʾiq al-tanzīl wa-ʿuyūn al-aqāwil fī wujūh al-taʾwīl* (Cairo: Mustafā al-Bābī al-Halabi, 1385/1966), 3:507:

معنى التعريب أن يُجعل عربياً بالتصرف فيه، وتغييره عن منهاجه، وإجرائه على أوجه الإعراب.

46 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *Risāla fī taḥqīq taʿrīb al-kalima al-aʿjamiyya*, 47–48; cf. Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, 4:303–307. Cf. Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 292.

The definition by al-Jawharī, which Kemalpaşazāde cites from the lemma *ʿ-r-b* in the *Ṣiḥāḥ*, is very broad: "*Taʿrīb* of a foreign word is that the Arabs use it according to their own course/method (*minhāj*)."[47] Through the example *shaṭranj* ("chess"), taken from al-Ḥarīrī's *laḥn* treatise *Durrat al-ghawāṣṣ*, Kemalpaşazāde illustrates the principle of *taʿrīb* through *qiyās*, analogy: the correct form would be *shiṭranj*, since the pattern *faʿlall* does not exist in Arabic, whereas *fiʿlall* does. Therefore, the pronunciation should be "appended to the pattern of *jirdaḥl*, which means 'a heavy camel.'"[48]

Kemalpaşazāde elaborates further by quoting *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* on the question of whether the word *shiṭranj* should be written with *sīn* or *shīn*.[49] Here, discussions of *laḥn* and *muʿarrab* begin to overlap. The confusion over the correct vocalisation of a word or—in this case, whether to write it with a dotted or undotted letter (*muʿjam* or *muhmal*), which we have encountered as topics of *laḥn al-ʿāmma*, was often directly related to the status of these words as loanwords.[50] In this case, al-Ḥarīrī used the question of *sīn* versus *shīn* in the word *shiṭranj* to suggest derivation from an existing Arabic root:

> And it may be possible to say *shiṭranj* with a dotted *shīn* to allow for derivation from *al-mushāṭara* ("sharing") and to pronounce it with an undotted *sīn* to allow it to be derived from *al-tasṭīr* ("lining up"), used for mobilisation of an army.[51]

Kemalpaşazāde objects to this, asserting that deriving (*ishtiqāq*) loanwords from Arabic roots is not possible.[52] He then proceeds to present his own etymology for the word *shiṭranj*, deriving it from Persian *ṣadrang*, meaning "a hundred ruses."[53]

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47 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *Risāla fī taḥqīq taʿrīb al-kalima al-aʿjamiyya*, 53; al-Jawharī, *Tāj al-lugha wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿarabiyya*, 1:179:

تعريب الاسم الأعجمي أن [تتفوه] به العرب على منهاجها.

48 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *Risāla fī taḥqīq taʿrīb al-kalima al-aʿjamiyya*, 56.

49 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *Risāla fī taḥqīq taʿrīb al-kalima al-aʿjamiyya*, 58.

50 Cf. the discussion of Greek and Turkish proper names and toponyms by Ibn Bālī, see Chapter 2, section 3.3.

51 Al-Ḥarīrī, *Durrat al-ghawwās*, 80:

وقد يجوز في الشطرنج أن يقال بالشين المعجمة لجواز اشتقاقه من المشاطرة وإن يقال بالسين المهملة لجواز أن يكون اشتق من التسطير عند التعبية.

52 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *Risāla fī taḥqīq taʿrīb al-kalima al-aʿjamiyya*, 60.

53 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *Risāla fī taḥqīq taʿrīb al-kalima al-aʿjamiyya*, 63 ff.

Kemalpaşazāde also drew upon literary commentaries to buttress his discussion of *muʿarrabāt*, such as a commentary on Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī's (d. 449/1057) poetry collection *Saqṭ al-zand* ("The Spark of the Fire Stick") on the word *khurram*,[54] and a *sharḥ* of the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī on the word *shiṭranj*. Literary commentaries provided a valuable source for such specific matters of *lugha*, including the discussion of loanwords. Moreover, Kemalpaşazāde demonstrates his broad knowledge of Arabic literature by incorporating these literary sources.

Kemalpaşazāde proceeds to discuss the three remaining types of loanword adaptation. He uses *muhandis* as an example of a loanword that was not appended (*mulḥaq*) by the Arabs because it already conformed to their patterns; only the original consonant *z* in *muhandiz* was adapted to fit Arabic phonological rules, which do not allow a *z* after a *d*.[55] He then assesses a number of *muʿarrabāt* that conform to this principle, such as *zindīq*, *barīd*, *dasht*, and *kanīsa*. This group, according to Kemalpaşazāde, is neither included in al-Jawharī's nor in al-Zamakhsharī's definitions.[56] In his discussion of these words, he focuses on etymology, selecting from several cited opinions the one he considers most probable—an assessment informed by his knowledge of Persian. As *shawāhid* for the original Persian words from which the loanwords derive, Kemalpaşazāde cites poets such as Niẓāmī and Firdawsī, thus modifying the function of probative quotations to corroborate the use of a foreign word in the context of its source language.

Kemalpaşazāde concludes his treatise with the observation that the phenomenon he just described also works the other way around, mentioning some Arabic words used in Persian to illustrate this point.[57] When necessary, he also refers to Turkish, such as when explaining the origin of the name of Samarqand (stating it is from Turkish *kent*, "city").[58] He sometimes takes it too far, as exemplified by his etymology *siyāsa*, which he explains as a combination of the Persian *se* ("three") and the Mongol *yasa* ("order"). This etymology, enriched with a nice anecdote that may explains its persistent transmission, suggests that Genghis Khan coined the term when he divided his realm into three parts for his three sons.[59]

54 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *Risāla fī taḥqīq taʿrīb al-kalima al-aʿjamiyya*, 52.
55 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *Risāla fī taḥqīq taʿrīb al-kalima al-aʿjamiyya*, 68.
56 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *Risāla fī taḥqīq taʿrīb al-kalima al-aʿjamiyya*, 125 ff.
57 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *Risāla fī taḥqīq taʿrīb al-kalima al-aʿjamiyya*, 142.
58 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *Risāla fī taḥqīq taʿrīb al-kalima al-aʿjamiyya*, 96 citing Ibn Khallikān.
59 Ibn Kamāl Paşa, *Risāla fī taḥqīq taʿrīb al-kalima al-aʿjamiyya*, 99–100. As a source for this

Similar to his treatment of *laḥn al-ʿāmma*, which he 'updated' and animated with verses and witty remarks, here too, Kemalpaşazāde offers a stylistically innovative framework for discussing a linguistic phenomenon. His novel method involves presenting prominent examples of *muʿarrabāt* and their critical examination by several philologists, extending beyond the major lexicographers. He links the treatment of individual lexemes to a broader conceptual discussion by filtering definitions of *muʿarrab* from lexica, grammars, and commentaries. One downside to this approach is that the reader does not learn more about the *muwalladāt* current in Kemalpaşazāde's time, as the examples he cites are 'classics' of *muʿarrab*. Nevertheless, he adds a contemporary touch to his discussion by presenting it as a practical means to distinguish (*tamyīz*) Arabic from non-Arabic words. Kemalpaşazāde's accomplishment is a concise and clear overview of the state of the field, bolstered by his sound knowledge of Persian and Turkish.

2.3 *The Loanword Dictionary of al-Munshī al-Aqḥiṣārī*

Roughly half a century later, Muḥammad ibn Badr al-Dīn al-Aqḥiṣārī Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Munshī (d. 1001/1592) wrote a short *taʿrīb* dictionary with a theoretical introduction, *al-Risāla fī al-taʿrīb* ("Epistle on Loanword Adaptation"). Al-Munshī, a "leading scholar of *tafsīr*,"[60] became *shaykh al-ḥaram al-nabawī* in Medina in 982/1574 and died in Mecca.[61] His main works are in lexicography. Among them are a *Kitāb al-aḍdād* (a treatise on enantionyms, words that can have two diametrically opposed meanings) and a dictionary that explains 775 Persian words.[62]

His *Risāla fī al-taʿrīb* begins with what the author calls a *muqaddima fī ilqāʾ al-taʿrīb tahdhīb min al-laḥn*, "an introduction to *taʿrīb* as a means of purifying speech of solecism." It lays out al-Jawharī's definition of *taʿrīb*, followed by the Companions' statements on the matter (Ibn ʿAbbās and others, also cited by al-Jawālīqī). Al-Munshī enumerates the seven criteria for determining whether a word is *muʿarrab*, which we also read in al-Suyūṭī's *Muzhir*.[63] The body of the text consists of an alphabetical list of loanwords (again, ordered by letters,

story, Kemalpaşazāde gives Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī's (d. 874/1470) history work *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, which he himself had translated into Turkish.

60 Walid Saleh, "The Qur'an Commentary of al-Bayḍāwī: A History of Anwār al-Tanzīl," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 25, no. 1 (2021): 89.

61 See Muḥammad al-Amīn ibn Fadl Allah al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, vol. 3 (Beirut: Dār ṣādir, 1446/1986), 400–401.

62 Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, 2:514 and Suppl. 2, 677.

63 Al-ʿĀyid, *Risālatān fī al-muʿarrab li-Bn Kamāl wa-l-Munshī*, 131.

not radicals), including words from the Qur'ān and from other, later contexts, such as *asṭurlāb* ("astrolabe")[64] and *al-ifranja* ("the Franks").[65] Some entries are literally taken from Kemalpaşazāde's treatise[66] but without reference to him. Among the authorities who are mentioned by name are ʿAbdallāh ibn Muslim Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1039), al-Jawharī, al-Jawālīqī, Majd al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415), and al-Suyūṭī. Interestingly, there are no probative quotations except for some verses by the pre-Islamic poet al-Aʿshā (d. ca. 7/629). Another feature that sets al-Munshī's text apart from other treatises on *taʿrīb* is the fact that, in the majority of lemmata, he gives not only the source language or the original word a loanword derives from, but also a short definition. Al-Munshī even explains the word *al-sukkar* ("sugar") as "that which is gathered from cane juice."[67] This work could thus be regarded as a compact glossary of loanwords, mainly from Persian, that occur in Arabic.[68] The level of detail and accuracy of the author's explanations is illustrated by the following example:

> *al-faylasūf*: lover of wisdom, Arabicised from *fīlasūfā*, and *fīlā* means the lover and *sūfā* is wisdom, and from this *al-falsafa* is derived, just as *al-safasṭā* is derived from *sūfisṭā* meaning vain wisdom ("sophistry") and from this comes *asṭā* in Turkish.[69]

The treatise of al-Munshī thus presents an intermediate form between the short treatise of Kemalpaşazāde and the elaborate dictionaries of al-Khafājī and al-Muḥibbī, which will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter. It shows that there was an interest in loanwords that went beyond the enumeration of *muʿarrabāt* that were well known since al-Jawālīqī's dictionary: the topic

64 Al-ʿĀyid, *Risālatān fī al-muʿarrab li-Bn Kamāl wa-l-Munshī*, 135.

65 Al-ʿĀyid, *Risālatān fī al-muʿarrab li-Bn Kamāl wa-l-Munshī*, 138.

66 Such as *al-bādhiq*, see al-ʿĀyid, *Risālatān fī al-muʿarrab li-Bn Kamāl wa-l-Munshī*, 140; *al-sabāṭ*: 162.

67 Al-ʿĀyid, *Risālatān fī al-muʿarrab li-Bn Kamāl wa-l-Munshī*, 165.

68 Al-Munshī differentiates between *muʿarrab* and *muwallad* only in one entry (*ṭājan* or *ṭayjan*, "frying pan"), calling it *muwallad* on account of the fact that *jīm* and *ṭāʾ* do not occur together in Arabic words: al-ʿĀyid, *Risālatān fī al-muʿarrab li-Bn Kamāl wa-l-Munshī*, 175. Al-Munshī also uses the term *dakhīl*, for instance in the entry *al-qānūn* (185). It is most likely synonymous to *muʿarrab*.

69 Al-ʿĀyid, *Risālatān fī al-muʿarrab li-Bn Kamāl wa-l-Munshī*, 184:

الفيلسوف: محب الحكمة، معرب اصله فيلاسوفا وفيلا هو المحب وسوفا هي الحكمة، ومنه اشتقت الفلسفة كما اشتقت السفسطة من سوفسطا معناه الحكمة المزخرفة منه اسطا بالتركي.

was keenly debated by scholars in all parts of the Ottoman empire. The following loanword dictionaries will help to explain this interest.

3 Loanwords as Pretext

> *Qaṣṭal*: a neologism (*muwallad*), which the later authors (*al-muta'akhkhirūn*) Arabicised; it is Arabicised from *kastāna* which means "chestnut." The Egyptians call it *Abū Farwa* ("the fur-coated"). The poet says:
>
> How lovely is the chestnut stripped of its husk
> shortly after it dried in the trees
> as if it were the white faces of the Slavs
> showing the wrinkles of old age[70]

This lemma, *qaṣṭal* ("chestnut"), appears in the eleventh/seventeenth-century loanword dictionary of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Khafājī (d. 1069/1659). The entry presents loanword theory and practice in a nutshell: the word *qaṣṭal* is identified as *muwallad*, coined by the *muta'akhkhirūn*, a term denoting authors from the post-formative period. To explain the meaning of *qaṣṭal*, al-Khafājī uses *shāh ballūṭ*, its Persian name. He also gives a contemporary Egyptian synonym for chestnut: *Abū farwa*, "the one with the fur," which graphically describes the edible chestnut or *Castanea sativa*. The Latin etymology *castanea* (or Spanish *castaña*) is also given, with a final verse of *muwallad* poetry to illustrate the use and meaning of the word *qaṣṭal*.[71]

In the eleventh/seventeenth century two eminent scholars, al-Khafājī from Cairo and al-Muḥibbī from Damascus, penned the next voluminous loanword

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70 Al-Khafājī, *Shifā' al-ghalīl*, 251:

قَصْطَل: مولد عربه المتأخرون، وهو معرب كستانه وهي شاه بلوط. وتسميه أهل مصر أبو فروة قال [من المنسرح]:

يَا حَبَّذَا القَصْطَلُ المُجَرَّدُ مِن قِشْرِ بَعِيدِ الجَفَافِ فِي الشَجَرِ
كَأَنَّـهُ أَوْجُـهُ الصَّقَالِبَـةِ البَـ يضِ وَفِيهَـا تَكَرْمَـشُ الكِبَـرِ

71 The poet is not mentioned. A variant of the verse is found in Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī's (d. 733/1333) encyclopaedia *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, see *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, ed. Yaḥyā al-Shāmī, vol. 11 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya, 1424/2004), 64.

dictionaries after al-Jawālīqī. They both referenced *al-Muʿarrab*. In fact, al-Khafājī integrated large portions of the introduction of *al-Muʿarrab*—its ten-page summary on the state of loanword theory in the sixth/twelfth century—into the *muqaddima* of his own work, thus emphasising continuity. The Damascene historian Muḥammad al-Amīn ibn Faḍl Allāh al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699) copied from and built on al-Khafājī's dictionary. But the word *qaṣṭal*, which receives elaborate treatment in al-Khafājī's dictionary, did not feature in al-Jawālīqī's book. What had happened in those five centuries after *al-Muʿarrab*?

3.1 (*Re-*)*introducing* dakhīl

At first glance, al-Jawālīqī's *al-Muʿarrab* is the model for both al-Khafājī's and al-Muḥibbī's dictionaries. The superficial association with this model has obscured to modern scholarship the actual programmes of these later works and seemingly confirmed the impression of scholarly stagnation during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods.[72] A closer look at the content of these loanword dictionaries, however, will shed new light on their authors' intentions.

It may be argued that the innovative spirit of both works lies already in their titles. Al-Khafājī's loanword dictionary is entitled *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl fīmā fī kalām al-ʿarab min al-dakhīl* ("Quenching the Thirst on Intrusive Words in the Speech of the Arabs"). Al-Muḥibbī's lexicon which, as we shall see, is strongly inspired by al-Khafājī's, carries a similar title: *Qaṣd al-sabīl fīmā fī kalām al-ʿarab min al-dakhīl* ("The Goal of the Way on Intrusive Words in the Speech of the Arabs").[73] Both use the word *dakhīl* in their titles.

The term *dakhīl* was already employed by al-Khalīl in *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* to mark expressions that did not conform to the patterns of Arabic and were "intrusive," to translate *dakhīl* literally. Al-Khalīl seems to use the term to designate words that do not conform to the structures (*abniya*) of Arabic.[74] From the entries in which the expression *dakhīl muʿarrab* is used, we may infer that *muʿarrab*

72 For instance, Eduard Sachau reached the erroneous conclusion that *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl* is a "meagre excerpt" from *al-Muʿarrab*. See Sachau, *Ǵawâlîḳî's Almuʿarrab nach der Leydener Handschrift mit Erläuterungen herausgegeben*, vi.

73 The title element *Qaṣd al-sabīl* is a reference to Q 16:9, apparently used frequently in eleventh/seventeenth-century scholarship, for example by al-Muḥibbī's contemporary Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1689). *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl* was also regularly used in titles, mainly of religious works.

74 Versteegh, "What's It like to Be a Persian? Sībawayhi's Treatment of Loanwords," 211: "The general impression one gains from the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* is that such words, deriving from foreign languages, are not part of the Arabic language, even though Arabs sometimes use them."

refers to the process of Arabicisation of a *dakhīl* word. Al-Khafājī was not the first author to employ the term *dakhīl* in the title of a work of *muʿarrab*. In the ninth/fifteenth century, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Bishbīshī (d. 820/1417) wrote a supplement on al-Jawālīqī's *al-Muʿarrab* under the title of *al-Tadhyīl wa-l-takmīl li-mā ustuʿmila min al-lafẓ al-dakhīl* ("The Supplement and Completion of What is Used of the Intrusive Expressions"), that rearranged the lemmata of al-Jawālīqī's book in full alphabetical order.[75]

On the other hand, al-Khafājī and al-Muḥibbī both also reference *kalām al-ʿarab* in the titles of their dictionaries: what do they mean by this? Al-Khafājī uses the first pages of his introduction to explain to his readers what he wishes to incorporate into his dictionary: his primary source is al-Jawālīqī, the "best of the authors who have written on the subject," but who nevertheless "did not distinguish between the husk and the pit."[76] Thus, he anchors his work in a longstanding tradition, while intending to emend the errors of his predecessor al-Jawālīqī. Al-Khafājī then turns to the topic of *muwallad* and states that with *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, he is the first to include *muwallad*, which, up until then (*ilā al-ān*), had not been documented in a book.[77] He also defines it: *muwallad* is what was Arabicised by the *mutaʾakhkhirūn*, "later authors,"[78] and is often found in works of "wisdom and medicine"—meaning the Graeco-Arabic tradition. He returns to this, saying:

> Know that to enhance its utility, I mention in this book of mine what some of the lexicographers might mention, either because they do not point out

75 See Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 165–166. Al-Bishbīshī also wrote a work titled *Jāmiʿ al-taʿrīb bi-l-ṭarīq al-qarīb* ("Gathering *Taʿrīb* along the Short Route"). However, a well-sounding rhyming title may have played a role in the choice for the term *dakhīl*, too.

76 Al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, 32:

... وكتاب أبي منصور روح الله روحه وأجزل في منازل السعادة فتوحه أجل ما صنف في هذا الباب إلا أنه لم يميز فيه القشر واللباب ...

Al-Khafājī only mentions al-Jawālīqī's name in the introduction to *al-Shifāʾ*, not in the lemmata.

77 Al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, 32:

وضممت إليه قسم المولد وهو إلى الآن لم يدون في كتاب، ولم يرفع عن وجوه مخدراته النقاب، وقد أوردت منه ما يسر الناظم، ويشرح الخاطر، مع شيء من النقد والرد، ولطائف أدبية تذكر عهود تهامة ونجد ...

78 Al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, 33:

فما عربه المتأخرون يعد مولداً وكثيراً ما يقع مثله في كتب الحكمة والطب وصاحب القاموس يتبعهم من غير تنبيه على هذا.

> that it is *muwallad*—and the author of the *Qāmūs* does this frequently, he even bases some of the variants (*lughāt*) on books of medicine, which is one of his grave errors—or because they have not verified its meaning and it is a rare word that is seldom used.[79]

When al-Jawālīqī used Ibn Durayd's *Jamharat al-lugha* and al-Azharī's *Tahdhīb al-lugha*, he did not complain that their authors had included *muʿarrab* in their dictionaries, because those loanwords were considered part of the Arabic lexicon. The case of *muwallad* is different: if it is mentioned in a dictionary, the author should at least point out that it is a neologism, and not mix it with genuine Arabic words. One of al-Khafājī's objectives in *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl* is apparently to mark neologisms to clearly distinguish them from the "speech of the Arabs." To achieve this, he mines *al-Qāmūs* and other sources for neologisms.

The boundary between *muʿarrab* and *muwallad* was vital in upholding the position of *muʿarrab* in the Qurʾān: if *muʿarrab* and *muwallad* had been on a par, this would have infringed the special status of loanwords in the Qurʾān, namely as "foreign in their origin, but Arabic in their current state." One would therefore find *muwalladāt* included rather in treatises on *laḥn*, since issues with them often concerned mispronunciation (mainly of the *ḥarakāt*), as with the names Euclid and Ptolemy, or the names of Turkish cities. But as the problem of mispronunciation was connected to their being a proper name of foreign origin, they might just as well be included in a work on *dakhīl*, which is what al-Khafājī and al-Muḥibbī chose to do.[80]

In the remainder of the introduction, al-Khafājī repeats the principles of Arabicisation from Persian that are familiar to readers of Sībawayhi, and continues to cite al-Jawālīqī, but also ʿAmr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ' (d. 255/868–869) *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn* on language contact between Arabic and Persian.[81] Al-Khafājī adds a *ḥadīth* to support his remark that the Arabs "played with [Ara-

79 Al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, 45–46:

اعلم أني أذكر في كتابي هذا تتميماً للفائدة ما قد يذكره بعض أهل اللغة إما لتركهم التنبيه على أنه مولد—وصاحب القاموس يفعله كثيراً حتى تراه يعتمد في بعض اللغات على كتب الطب وهو من سقطاته الفاضحة—وإما لأنهم لم يحققوا معناه وأما لكونه غريباً نادر الاستعمال.

See also Chapter 2, section 1.4.

80 Cf. Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 162:

> The term *muwallad*, however, is usually reserved for post-classical neologisms. […] It is therefore not surprising that *muwallad* material only modestly features in *muʿarrab* works (apart perhaps from the books of Ḫafāǧī and Muḥibbī […]), and is normally quoted in books on solecism (*laḥn al-ʿāmma*).

81 Al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, 35–36.

bicised words] a lot and used them in an endearing way, as when the Prophet said: *Ashkanb dard* ['Is your stomach hurting?' in Persian] This was transmitted by Muslim."[82] This divergence from al-Jawālīqī's introduction shows that al-Khafājī did not simply copy his model, but added new elements to the theoretical framework. One of his observations is that the concurrence of *jīm* and *qāf* in a word can point to one of two causes, namely that it is either Arabicised (*muʿarrab*) or onomatopoetic (*ḥikāyat ṣawt*). Al-Khafājī gives examples of the first (*juwāliq*, "sack," of which the name al-Jawālīqī, "sack seller," derives) and the second category (*jananbalaq*, "the sound of the door").[83]

In line with his objective to include *muwallad*, Khafājī does not restrict his theoretical section to theorists from the formative period, but also quotes verses from contemporary poets such as ʿAbd al-Barr ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir al-ʿAwfī al-Fayyūmī (d. 1071/1661), a friend of al-Khafājī's.[84] Moreover, he intersperses the body of the dictionary with *shawāhid* by Mamluk and Ottoman-era poets, including his own poetry.

3.2 *The Programme of al-Khafājī's* Shifāʾ al-ghalīl

Like *al-Muʿarrab*, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl* is arranged alphabetically according to the first letter of the word. Within the chapters, however, the words are not further arranged—neither by their roots, nor by the alphabetical order of their actual letters.[85] *Al-Shifāʾ* is comprised of 1389 lemmata, almost twice as many as *al-Muʿarrab*. But as we will see, it would be wrong to assume that al-Khafājī simply added some 600 entries to al-Jawālīqī's text.

One of the changes al-Khafājī made to his model was the addition of a short chapter on the ligature *lā* before the *yāʾ*. He quotes Ibn Jinnī on the correct pronunciation of the particle *lā* and then discusses two sayings beginning with the negating particle *lā*: *lā yushbihu l-ʿunwānu mā fī l-kitāb* ("The title does not match the book") and *lā arkabu l-baḥr* ("I do not sail the sea"). Neither of these

82 Al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, 39:

وهم يلعبون به كثيراً وربما استعملوه على سبيل التلطف كما قال عليه السلام اشكنب درد. رواه مسلم.

83 Al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, 38. Al-Jawālīqī did not mention this example in the introduction to his dictionary, whereas he did list *juwāliq* as a *muʿarrab*. See al-Jawālīqī, *al-Muʿarrab*, 251. Al-Khafājī probably took this example from *al-Muzhir*: see al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha wa-anwāʿihā*, 1:271.

84 Al-Muḥibbī mentions him as a scholar and an eloquent poet, who studied in Mecca, Damascus, Aleppo, and Istanbul. See al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, 2:291–298.

85 According to the editor of *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, Kashshāsh, the words are arranged "according to their pronunciation," but if so, this is not done consistently. See al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, 27.

sayings contain a *muʿarrab* or *muwallad* word. In the first case, al-Khafājī uses the occasion to cite another two proverbs that have the same meaning; in the second case, he includes a nice line of poetry to corroborate the saying.[86]

The editor of *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl* indexes fifty-five entries as *amthāl* ("proverbs").[87] Al-Khafājī's criterion for selection seems to have been the entertaining aspect of the entries. These entries also point to the author's interest in describing language use of his time and relating contemporary expressions to the standard language, much like Yūsuf al-Maghribī did half a century earlier in his dictionary of colloquial Egyptian, *Dafʿ al-iṣr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr*.

Al-Khafājī's use of biographical and geographical dictionaries, along with the *adab* encyclopaedia *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* ("The Ultimate Ambition in the Arts of Erudition")[88] of Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), illustrates the wide scope of his work. The author's interest in solecism and dialectal variants is apparent from the topical dictionaries he references, including the works of Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Azharī (d. 370/980) and Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī (d. 577/1181) on the dialect of al-Andalus, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar Ibn Makkī al-Ṣiqillī (d. 501/1107) on the dialect of Sicily, and several *gharīb* works. He makes explicit reference to authors of comprehensive dictionaries such as al-Fīrūzābādī (36 times), al-Jawharī (5), Ibn Sīda (6), and also refers to Ibn Manẓūr's (d. 711/1311) *Lisān al-ʿarab* (3 times).

In *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, some lemmata begin by spelling out the pronunciation, such as in the form *bi-fatḥi l-hamzati wa-sukūni l-qāfi wa-kasri l-sīni wa-mīmi baʿdahā ʾalif* ("with a *fatḥa* on the *hamza* and a *sukūn* on the *qāf* and a *kasra* on the *sīn* and a *mīm* after which is an *alif*").[89] This was especially important as the form of certain *dakhīl* expressions did not follow Arabic patterns, making it impossible to deduce their vocalisation from analogous forms.

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86 Al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, 316:

لا أركب البحر: لمن يعدل عن النساء. قال:

لا أَرْكَبُ البَحْرَ وَلَكِنَّنِي أَطْلُبُ رِزْقَ اللهِ فِي الساحِلِ

I do not sail the sea: [said] about one who abstains from women. He said:

I do not sail the sea, I rather strive to attain God's blessing on the shore

87 Kashshāsh notes that the author "in the conception of *dakhīl* expands the single keyword to expressions and sayings that were current in his time." See al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, 28.

88 The title's translation is taken from Elias Muhanna's edition of the work: Shihab al-Din al-Nuwayri, *The Ultimate Ambition in the Arts of Erudition: A Compendium of Knowledge from the Classical Islamic World*, ed., trans., and intr. Elias Muhanna (New York: Penguin Books, 2016).

89 S.v. *aqsimā* ("raisin juice"), see al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, 57.

Secondly, the word is either explained or marked as *maʿrūf* (often denoted by *m*). As I explained in the Introduction, Arabic lexicography concentrated on the unusual, *gharīb*, rather than the well-established, *maʿrūf*. We may recall that the main objective of al-Jawālīqī's dictionary was to collect loanwords and trace them to their origin, not to provide a definition. Thirdly, a word is identified as either *muʿarrab* or *muwallad*, sometimes followed by the foreign word it derives from or the name of the source language, such as *aʿjamī* ("foreign" or "Persian"), *fārisī* ("Persian"), or *bi-lughat al-ḥabasha* ("in the language of Abyssinia"). The lemma is concluded with a probative prose or verse quotation, attributed to its author.

This standard structure is present in only a minority of entries. In most cases, the author prefers to provide anecdotal details about a keyword rather than follow a consistent structure for the lemma. Some chapters (*bāb*) are introduced with general remarks on the letter itself. For example, in the chapter *yāʾ*, al-Khafājī comments on the writing of a *yāʾ* in verb forms where a *kasra* would be correct:

> The *muwalladūn* add the *yāʾ* in the second person feminine and say instead of *ḍarabtihi ḍarabtīhi*. I have said (*qultu*) that this is a dialectal variant of Rabīʿa but it is bad. Similarly, they add an *alif* to the *fatḥa* and *kāf* of the pronoun and say *qumtā* and *innakā*. The poet said:
>
> You targeted him (*ramaytīhi*) and aimed and the shot did not miss
>
> And this resembles what is said in the commentary on the *Tashīl*. They also exchange the *alif* before the possessive pronoun *yāʾ* and say *mawlī* instead of *mawlāyā*. I have said that this is a dialect variant of Ḥimyar and al-Ḥasan read "*Yā bushrī*."[90] Al-Zamakhsharī said: "I have heard the people of the hills say '*Yā sīdī*' and '*Yā mawlī*.'" End of quote.[91]

90 A variant reading of Q 12:19.

91 Al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, 317:

المولدون يزيدون ياء في خطاب المؤنثة فيقولون موضع ضربته ضربتيه. قلت هي لغة لربيعة لكنها ردية. وكذا يصلون فتحة الضمير وكافه ألفاً فيقولون قمتا وإنكا قال الشاعر: [من الهزج]

رَمَيْتِيهِ فَأَقْصَدْتَ فَمَا أَخْطَأَتِ الرَّمْيَهْ

وهو أشباع كذا في شرح التسهيل. ويقلبون الألف قبل ياء المتكلم ياء فيه فيقولون في مولاى مولي. قلت هي لغة حمير وقرأ الحسن يا بشري. قال الزمخشري: سمعت أهل السروات يقولون يا سيدي ويا مولي اهـ

This is an example of an error that entered the written language under the influence of dialect, where the feminine ending *-i* is pronounced *-ī*.[92] Notably, al-Khafājī attributes this pronunciation to pre-Islamic Arabian tribes, as some authors on *laḥn* might have done.[93] With *qultu* he also inserts his own teachings. The dictionary reads more like a collection of anecdotes than a word list.

One can thus say that al-Jawālīqī's *al-Muʿarrab* functions only as a template for *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*. Anchoring his work in the tradition, al-Khafājī consciously introduces this model with the first words of his *muqaddima* and the subsequent theoretical discussion. In the body of the dictionary, al-Jawālīqī's influence is hardly recognisable. Al-Khafājī does not engage in a direct critique or commentary of *al-Muʿarrab*, nor does he follow the lemmata offered by al-Jawālīqī. Instead, he opens up the form of the loanword dictionary to new content, broadening its scope to a host of words and expressions he considers *dakhīl*, imported into the Arabic language in various ways. Even though he discusses many instances of solecism, compared to works of *laḥn al-ʿāmma*, al-Khafājī rarely assesses an entry as falling outside of the Arabic lexicon. By and large, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl* is descriptive, not normative. What strikes the reader are the extremely diverse pieces of knowledge the book contains. From the etymology of *bimāristān* ("hospital") and the founder of that institution,[94] to the provenance of the colloquial *barrā* ("outside"),[95] and the correct construction of a conditional clause starting with *law*,[96] the work is a collection of errors and curiosities encountered in books and conversations—an *adab* work as much as a dictionary.

Are there any further characteristics of *al-Shifāʾ* that can be explained by the author's time and environment? Al-Khafājī often adduces his source in the format *qālahu X*, "X said this," in which X can be a sixth/twelfth-century authority, as an addition to a quotation that would otherwise remain unmarked. This illustrates al-Khafājī's reliance on written sources rather than personal teaching, as there is no chain of transmission linking him to most of the authorities he cites.

As in *al-Muʿarrab*, many expressions derive from Persian. The ample occurrence of Persian words in the book cannot solely be attributed to its model;

92 Cf., for instance, Jérôme Lentin, "Normes orthographiques en moyen arabe: Sur la notation du vocalisme bref," in *Mixed Arabic and Middle Arabic: Diachrony and Synchrony*, ed. Liesbeth Zack and Arie Schippers (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 215.

93 See Chapter 2 on *laḥn*, specifically Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's treatise *Baḥr al-ʿawwām fīmā aṣāba fīhi l-ʿawāmm*.

94 Al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, 99.

95 Al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, 94.

96 Al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, 265.

it is also indicative of the Ottoman environment. A parallel can be drawn to the appearance of Arabic-Persian bilingual dictionaries in the ninth/fifteenth-century Ottoman Empire. Ferenc Csirkés notes that bilingual dictionaries

> facilitated the addition of Arabic vocabulary elements to Persian, or rather, they aided the interpretation of new vocabulary that was being incorporated into the language. These works also represented a scholarly need to monitor and control the process of vocabulary borrowing.[97]

Taking into consideration the large number of Persian words present in *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, it is tempting to suggest that a similar process is at play here. The author simply took the Persian words prevalent in his own time and incorporated them into a format that was universally acknowledged as the authoritative loanword dictionary of Arabic. This not only provided the reader with anecdotes about words and expressions that they might not have been familiar with, but also helped to gain acceptance for these words, which were still in the process of entering Arabic scholarly vocabulary. We are reminded of the work of the Arabic Language Academies at the turn of the twentieth century. The language scholar al-Khafājī assumed the role of an authority on this new vocabulary, acting as a language academy member *avant la lettre*.

3.3 *Al-Muḥibbī's Notion of* dakhīl

Muḥammad al-Amīn ibn Faḍl Allāh ibn Muḥibb Allāh ibn Muḥammad Muḥibb al-Dīn, known as al-Muḥibbī, was the most prolific member of a renowned family of scholars.[98] He was born in Damascus in 1061/1651. His father Faḍl Allāh (d. 1082/1671) attended al-Khafājī's classes in Istanbul and may have acquired a copy of *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl* as well as al-Khafājī's literary anthology *Rayḥānat al-alibbāʾ wa-zahrat ḥayāt ad-dunyā* ("The Basil of the Sensible and the Flower of Earthly Life") from the author. In any case, Muḥammad al-Muḥibbī was well-acquainted with and inspired by both works. He wrote a supplement to *al-Rayḥāna* and reworked *al-Shifāʾ*.[99] Today, al-Muḥibbī is particularly known for

97 Csirkés, "Turkish/Turkic Books of Poetry, Turkish and Persian Lexicography," 696.

98 Carl Brockelmann, "al-Muḥibbī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition*, ed. C.E. Bosworth et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 7:469–470; Ferdinand Wüstenfeldt, *Die Gelehrten-Familie Muḥibbí in Damascus und ihre Zeitgenossen im XI. (XVII.) Jahrhundert*, Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 31 (Göttingen: Dieterichsche Verlags-Buchhandlung, 1884).

99 Al-Muḥibbī's supplement to al-Khafājī's literary anthology is titled *Nafḥat al-Rayḥāna wa-rashḥat ṭilāʾ al-ḥāna* ("The Fragrance of Basil/*al-Rayḥāna* and the Trickling Wine of the Tavern").

his biographical dictionary of the scholars of his time, *Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar* ("The Quintessence of the Legacy on the Celebrities of the Eleventh Century"), a rich source on the intellectual life of the eleventh/seventeenth century.

In the introduction to his loanword dictionary *Qaṣd al-sabīl fīmā fī kalām al-ʿarab min al-dakhīl*, al-Muḥibbī declares his intent to supplement the work of his predecessors, who did not "fully bring to an end their intentions."[100] He specifically mentions al-Jawālīqī, al-Khafājī, and al-Qāḍī al-Anṭākī (d. 1100/1689).[101] Al-Muḥibbī criticises al-Khafājī for contenting himself with what came to his mind, rather than addressing all that should be said on the topic.[102] The professed objective is not a slavish emulation of the master text but a critical discussion of its content.

Al-Muḥibbī's loanword dictionary is significantly more voluminous than al-Khafājī's. The editor of *Qaṣd al-sabīl* suggests that the extant manuscript is an incomplete *mubayyaḍa* of the draft manuscript, as it ends at the letter *mīm* with the lemma *Maqadūniya*. Baalbaki attributed the increase in volume compared to *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl* to al-Muḥibbī's inclusion of numerous words not directly pertaining to the topic, such as proper names, in what he described as "a clear attempt at inflating the book's content."[103] If, however, we consider that al-Khafājī and al-Muḥibbī might have had other intentions than merely reproducing or "inflating" *al-Muʿarrab*, it becomes necessary to examine the text more closely to uncover these intentions.

Al-Muḥibbī's sources suggest that his programme was even more comprehensive than al-Khafājī's. For instance, he draws from al-Suyūṭī's treatise *al-Muhadhdhab* for loanwords in the Qurʾān,[104] which were not covered by al-Jawālīqī's book, and Ibn al-Athīr's *Nihāya* for rare words from *ḥadīth*. Al-Muḥib-

100 Al-Muḥibbī, *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, 1:103.

101 The Istanbul *qāḍī* Muṣṭafā ibn al-Ḥājj al-Anṭākī, also known as Ramzī, is mentioned by al-Muḥibbī as one of his predecessors who "missed the mark in writing on *muʿarrab*." The editor of *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, al-Ṣīnī, could not establish any resemblances between al-Anṭākī's *Naqd al-lisān wa-ʿaqd al-ḥisān fī asmāʾ al-muʿarrabāt* and *Qaṣd al-sabīl*. See al-Muḥibbī, *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, 1:96.

102 Al-Muḥibbī, *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, 1:104.

103 Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 169: "Even a word such as *Ǧāhiliyya* or an expression such as *al-ṣaḥīḥ min al-Ḥadīṯ* (correct or reliable prophetic traditions) are listed as entries, in a clear attempt at inflating the book's content."

104 According to the editor of *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, al-Muḥibbī incorporated *all* loanwords mentioned in *al-Muhadhdhab fīmā waqaʿa fī al-Qurʾān min al-muʿarrab* into his dictionary. Al-Muḥibbī, *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, 1:97. Neither al-Jawālīqī nor al-Khafājī systematically took into account Qurʾanic loanwords.

bī therefore updates al-Jawālīqī's *al-Muʿarrab* by incorporating other sources from the post-formative period, providing the service of consolidating previously scattered content into one volume, reflecting the state of the field in his own time.

But how do we explain his inclusion of expressions that, at first glance, do not appear as *muʿarrab*, *muwallad*, or *laḥn*? Take, for instance, the lemma *al-jāhiliyya*, which initially seems perfectly Arabic:

> *al-jāhiliyya*: In the *Kitāb Laysa* of Ibn Khālawayhi: an expression that was coined in Islam for the period before the mission [of the prophet Muḥammad].[105]

We must read carefully to understand why al-Muḥibbī considered *al-jāhiliyya* a *dakhīl* word. The Baghdad grammarian and exegete al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad Ibn Khālawayhi's (d. 370/980) *Kitāb Laysa fī kalām al-ʿarab* ("Book of Expressions not Found in the Speech of the Arabs"), referenced by al-Muḥibbī, is a gem of the formative phase of Arabic lexicography, collecting expressions and nominal patterns (*abniya*) that were *not* used in the speech of the Arabs. Unfortunately, the modern edition of *Kitāb Laysa* does not include an entry for *jāhiliyya*.[106] However, Ibn Khālawayhi's statement, as quoted by al-Muḥibbī, indicates that the word was coined in Islam, alongside another helpful source: al-Suyūṭī's *al-Muzhir*. Al-Suyūṭī provides the exact same example under *alfāẓ islāmiyya*.[107] Just as the language of *fiqh* was coined in Islam as religious and legal terminology, the term *al-jāhiliyya* could only exist after the fact of, and in contrast to, Islam. It is neither *muʿarrab*—because it derives from an Arabic root (*j-h-l*, "to not know")—nor *muwallad*, as it was coined in *ʿuṣūr al-iḥtijāj* and not by later poets.

The entry *al-jāhiliyya* in *Qaṣd al-sabīl* mirrors dialogues between authorities in establishing the boundaries of the *ʿarabiyya*. While the inclusion of terms such as *al-jāhiliyya* or *al-ṣaḥīḥ min al-ḥadīth* in a *dakhīl* dictionary may puzzle modern scholars, it likely did not strike the readers of al-Muḥibbī's work as odd or misplaced. This is because, if we consider the loanword dictionar-

105 Al-Muḥibbī, *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, 1:367:

الجاهلية: في كتاب ليس لابن خالويه: لفظ حدث في الإسلام للزمن الذي كان قبل البعثة.

106 Al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad Ibn Khālawayhi, *Laysa fī kalām al-ʿarab*, ed. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ghafūr ʿAṭṭār, 2nd ed. (Mecca, 1399/1979).

107 Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha wa-anwāʿihā*, 1:294–303. Suyūṭī (301) mentions *al-jāhiliyya* citing the exact same passage from Ibn Khālawayhi.

ies discussed in this chapter, they were undoubtedly familiar with the development and expansion of the concept of *dakhīl* during the post-formative period.

The inclusion of technical terminology in works of *lugha* developed during the post-formative period. In the fourth/tenth century, the poet and secretary Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khwārizmī (d. 387/997) observed a lacuna in the lexicographical tradition. In his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* ("Keys to the Sciences"), a compendium of technical terms for scribes, he observed that scientific terminology was entirely absent from books devoted to the discipline of *lugha*, leaving language scholars unprepared to engage with scientific and philosophical texts.[108] This chapter illustrates that language scholarship in the post-formative period increasingly recognised the need to define and debate technical terms, a trend reflected in lexicological treatises on *dakhīl*.

3.4 *The Social Life of Loanwords*

Like *laḥn* treatises, loanword dictionaries provided a space for both edification and entertainment. In some cases, the connection between linguistics and literature, as well as scholarship and social contexts, becomes apparent, offering a glimpse into the lexicographer's workshop and the role that discussions of language and poetry played in a scholar's life. A notable example is al-Khafājī's lemma *ghurāb* (lit. "raven"):

> *ghurāb*: [said] of a type of ships that is widespread in the poetry of the *muḥdathūn*, especially those from the Maghreb. I do not know whether it is a metonymy (*tashbīh*) or a translation error. Ibn as-Sāʿātī [d. ca. 604/1207] said:

108 Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (Cairo: Idārat al-ṭibāʿa al-muniriyya, 1342), 2:

> [this book] contains the concepts and terms circulating in every generation of scholars, which are lacking in most of the books that are devoted to the discipline of *lugha*, so that the distinguished language scholar, when studying one of the books that have been written on topics of the sciences or philosophy of which he knows nothing, does not understand a word of it, as if he were a barbarous illiterate at the sight of it.

... متضمناً ما بين كل طبقة من العلماء من المواضعات والاصطلاحات، التي خلت منها أو من جلها الكتب الحاصرة لعلم اللغة، حتى أن اللغوي المبرز في الأدب إذا تأمل كتاباً من الكتب التي صنفت في أبواب العلوم والحكمة ولم يكن شدا صدراً من تلك الصناعة لم يفهم شيئاً منه وكان كالأمي الأغتم عند نظره فيه.

I sailed the sea of the Turks which was like a racecourse
the waves you'd think were horses running
How many black *ghurāb* in the flock
were flying there on white wings

and Ibn Abī Ḥajala [d. 776/1374] said:

Their *ghurāb*, black and white their sails
make their blue enemy turn pale

and I have said:

And while departing I had enough of it
oh, how many more departures and *ghurāb*!

As for the *ghurāb* in the words of al-Aʿshā [d. ca. 7/629]:

And I do not ask of you what you would not know
if the *ghurāb* of ignorance fell from you

His [al-Aʿshā's] commentators said: "The *ghurāb* is the extent of something, i.e., the extent of your ignorance has gone and the extent of your knowledge has taken its place." And it is said: "The *ghurāb* of ignorance is his ignorance, just like you say 'the bird of ignorance.'" And it is said: "The raven of ignorance is black hair." End of quote. The *muwalladūn* call the catamite a *ghurāb*, i.e., he secretly commits a disgraceful act on his brother, and this is a form of metonymy.[109]

109 Al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, 221–222:

غراب: لنوع من السفن مشهور في أشعار المحدثين لا سيما المغاربة. ولا أدري هل هو على التشبيه أو غلط في الترجمة. قال ابن الساعاتي [من الكامل]:

وَرَكِبْتُ بَحْرَ الرومِ وَهْوَ كَكَلْبَةٍ وَالمَوْجُ تَحْسَبُهُ جِيَاداً تَرْكُضُ
كَمْ مِنْ غُرَابٍ لِلْقَطِيعَةِ أَسْوَدَ فِيهِ يَطِيرُ بِهِ جَنَاحٌ أَبْيَضُ

وقال ابن أبي حجلة [من الكامل]:

غِرْبَانُهَا سُودٌ وَبِيضٌ قُلُوعُهَا يَصْفَرُّ مِنْهُنَّ العَدُوُّ الأَزْرَقُ

وقلت [من مخلع البسيط]:

Al-Khafājī cites the verses and sayings he knows on the lemma *ghurāb*, including lines of his own poetry. The range of quoted poetry spans the period from the first century before Islam to al-Khafājī's own time, encompassing both *ʿarabī* and *muwallad* poetry as part of a continuous tradition connected by the loanword discussed. This gives the impression of a work of *adab* rather than a dictionary. It is plausible that one motivation for collecting and studying these loanwords was to flaunt them in social gatherings.[110]

Now, if we move to *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, we again see that al-Muḥibbī repeats al-Khafājī's entry without mentioning him. Additionally, he mentions the usage of the word *ghurāb* in mystical terminology, as "the universal body," as the first part of his entry.[111] This knowledge is taken from al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī's (d. 816/1415) *Kitāb al-Taʿrīfāt*, one of the first dictionaries of scientific terminology from philosophy, grammar, law, and other disciplines.[112] Both al-Muḥibbī and al-Khafājī seem to have striven for a comprehensive discussion of the figurative uses of the word *ghurāb*.

The word is also mentioned in al-Muḥibbī's biographical dictionary *Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, an excellent display of language debate at play in a different context. In the biography of a good friend, the Damascene scholar ʿAbd al-Bāqī ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Sammān (d. 1088/1677), al-Muḥibbī shares the story behind the entry *ghurāb* in his loanword dictionary:

> One day I made a trip on the sea with him in a boat, and we headed towards the place known as Beşiktaş. On that occasion I recited to him the words of Ibn Malaṭiya:

وَكَانَ فِي البَيْنِ مَا كَفَانِي فَكَيْفَ بِالبَيْنِ وَالغُرَابِ

وأما غراب في قول الأعشى [من البسيط]:

وَمَا طِلَابُكَ شَيْئًا لَسْتَ تُدْرِكُهُ إِنْ كَانَ عَنْكَ غُرَابُ الجَهْلِ قَدْ وَقَعَا

قال شراحه: غراب الجهل جهله كما يقال طائر الجهل. وقيل: غراب الجهل الشعر الأسود. انتهى. والمولدون يسمون المأبون غراباً أي يواري سوأة أخيه وهو من الكناية.

110 The notion of knowledge as social capital in scholarly gatherings is elaborated in Pfeifer, *Empire of Salons* and Blecher, *Said the Prophet of God*.

111 Al-Muḥibbī, *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, 2:313.

112 ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, *Kitāb al-taʿrīfāt maʿa fihrist; taʿrīfāt wa-muṣṭalaḥāt lughawiyya wa-fiqhiyya wa-falsafiyya jumiʿat min ummahāt al-kutub al-falsafiyya wa-l-fiqhiyya wa-l-lughawiyya wa-ruttibat ʿalā ḥurūf al-hijāʾ min al-alif ilā al-yāʾ* (Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān, 1978).

And the boat, I saw it floating stretching over the surface of the sea
its form resembling a bird spreading its wings over the water

Then my companion went on to enumerate the different types of ships and their names, until he mentioned *ghurāb*, which is a large ship that moves with rudders. On this he cited Ibn al-Sāʿātī:

Yes, I sailed the sea which was like a racecourse
the waves you'd think were horses running
How many black ravens in the flock
were flying there on white wings

Then he mentioned to me that some people wrongly think that the name of this type of ship, *ghurāb*, is translated from Turkish, because their name for it is *qādirġa*, and they think *qādirġa* means raven in Turkish. And he who erroneously assumes that it is a translation based on the close similarity of the words, does not know that what he said is wrong. Rather, the reason that the name is fitting is the fact that it resembles a raven because it is black, and the rudders resemble wings. This is correct. And then I saw this in Shihāb al-Khafājī's his book *Ṭirāz al-majālis*, where you can look it up if you like.[113]

113 Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, 2:272:

وركبت معه البحر يوماً في زورق وتوجهنا إلى المكان المعروف ببشكطاش فأنشدته بالمناسبة فول ابن ملطية:

وَزَوْرَقٍ أَبْصَرْتُهُ عَائِمًا وَقَدْ تُمْطِي ظَهْرَ دَأْمَاءَ
كَأَنَّهُ فِي شَكْلِهِ طَائِرٌ مَدَّ جَنَاحَيْهِ عَلَى المَاءِ

ثم انجرت المصاحبة إلى تعداد أنواع السفن وأسمائها حتى ذكر الغراب وهو المركب الطويل الذي يسير بالمجاديف فأنشد فيه قول ابن الساعاتي:

وَلَقَدْ رَكِبْتُ البَحْرَ وَهْوَ كَكَلْبَةٍ وَالمَوْجُ تَحْسَبُهُ جِياداً تَرْكُضُ
كَمْ مِنْ غُرَابٍ لِلْقَطِيعَةِ أَسْوَدَ فِيهِ يَطِيرُ بِهِ جَنَاحٌ أَبْيَضُ

ثم ذكر لي أن بعض الناس توهم أن تسمية هذا النوع من السفن بالغراب مترجم عن اسمه بالتركية لأن اسمها عندهم قادرغة وهو بالتركية الغراب. قال وأقام المتوهم النكير على المترجم من كونه وهم لتقارب الألفاظ اتفاقا ولم يدر أن ما قاله هو الوهم بل وجه المناسبة في التسمية أنها شبهت بالغراب لسوادها وشبه المجاديف بالأجنحة وهو حسن ثم رأيت هذا الكلام للشهاب الخفاجي في كتابه طراز المجالس فراجعه إن شئت.

While al-Muḥibbī incorrectly identifies the source (*Ṭirāz al-majālis*, "The Fine Fleur of the Gatherings," is a collection of al-Khafājī's lectures), he accurately attributes the etymology of *ghurāb* to al-Khafājī. More importantly, this lemma illustrates that subjects of etymology—and language more broadly—were not confined to the lemmata of commentaries but were also discussed on boat trips, at picnics, and in gatherings. Similar to Yūsuf al-Maghribī's documentation of speech errors in scholarly circles, al-Muḥibbī reveals that loanwords were a gratifying topic of conversation through which a scholar could flaunt his mastery of the Arabic language.

4 Conclusion

Even though *laḥn al-ʿāmma* and *muʿarrab* presented distinct genres of writing, they both contributed to a broader engagement with processes of language change—changes that were not always explicitly acknowledged and were sometimes outright condemned. However, as we observed in the previous chapter, scholars did recognise these processes and endeavoured to explain and even justify them in various ways.

In the post-formative period, the topic of *taʿrīb* displays parallels to *laḥn al-ʿāmma*. Loanwords were prone to mispronunciation as they deviated from the structures of the Arabic language, sometimes resulting in the circulation of multiple 'versions' of proper nouns or technical terms. In the absence of a language academy that could rein in these deviations, language scholars viewed themselves as the arbiters of language use. They collected *laḥn*, *muʿarrab*, and *muwallad* in treatises on *dakhīl*, adding categories such as *lafẓ islamī* for further differentiation. Additionally, they contested and corrected authoritative dictionaries such as *al-Qāmūs* and *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* by extracting words that had not been previously identified as *muwallad*. Through the dynamics of the commentarial form, they consolidated authoritative knowledge, discussed and (re-)arranged it, ensuring the transmission of five hundred years of loanword theory and practice to future generations.

Like *laḥn*, the engagement with *taʿrīb* was not merely an exercise in linguistics for its own sake; it directly impacted the scholar's everyday life and reputation. The technical terms and sayings in loanword dictionaries often emerged from scholarly debates in the *majlis* or from learned conversations during boat trips on the Bosporus, and often returned to these settings. The eleventh/seventeenth-century *dakhīl* dictionary is a work of *adab* that illustrates how language issues were deeply intertwined with culture and ethics.

Conclusion

Even under constant competition and pressure from foreign languages, internal criticism, and national and local variants, the Arabic language, *al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya al-fuṣḥā*, has retained its revered status and widespread use. This resilience is largely due to the unrelenting efforts of the post-formative period language scholars discussed in this book. Their aim was to guard the *ʿarabiyya* while simultaneously accounting for the developments they witnessed in their own time, retroactively integrating these in the tradition. As in other fields of Arabic-Islamic scholarship, engagement with *ʿilm al-lugha* in the post-formative period involved honouring, negotiating, and updating the state of field. Consequently, it is a subject of study that deserves continued pursuit—not merely to refute the decline paradigm, but to delve into a vibrant intellectual space filled with puns, anecdotes, and clever observations.

The role of the discipline of *lugha* in Arabic scholarship during the post-formative period is far more significant than previously acknowledged. Language forms the foundation of any scholarly discussion: it is the first step in each lemma of the commentary. Within commentary culture, language scholarship pervades all disciplines.

The Arabic lexicon—the *ʿarabiyya* or *kalām al-ʿarab* collected during the formative period—may appear static, but is not without contestation. The many dictionaries, treatises, and commentaries produced during the post-formative period, with their *prima facie* adherence to tradition, have often been mistaken for lacking intellectual engagement. Reading dictionaries as commentaries is beneficial for understanding their functions and for appreciating their ongoing engagement with texts that might seem obsolete. The various types of commentary are all present in the field of *lugha*, providing valuable insight into the broader processes of knowledge production during the post-formative period at large.

As explained in Chapter 1, one of the factors driving the commentary tradition was the need to make texts physically available through copying. This process also involved optimising the content, arrangement, and thus the usability of a lexicon. Scholars of the post-formative period generally acknowledged that the *ʿarabiyya* was an edifice that had been built ages before their time. Their desire to redecorate a room, plaster a wall, or complain about the other tenants is expressed in commentaries and treatises. These repairs could take the form of a supplement, an alphabetical (re-)arrangement, or a refutation, among others. Using the form of the interwoven commentary, Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī built a skyscraper atop an old building: he collected all avail-

able sources to create an encyclopaedic treatment of the history of Arabic lexicography—a millennium of language scholarship. The commentary form was used to anchor individual innovations present in any work of *lugha* within their shared tradition.

As I have shown in Chapters 2 and 3, two genres of Arabic lexicography were particularly suited at discussing language change and guarding the boundaries of Arabic without abandoning the paradigm established in the formative period. The fields of *laḥn al-ʿāmma* and *muʿarrab* thrived in the post-formative period by building on earlier observations, providing an overview of established opinions, and then subtly departing from them through nuanced argumentation. Certain texts were highlighted as reference points but were also subject to refutation or reworking. I have argued that, despite the significant influence of the 'master texts,' the lexicological treatises of the post-formative period should be regarded as independent works offering new perspectives on established phenomena of *lugha*. A notable example is the incorporation of *shawāhid*, or proof texts, from the *muwalladūn*—poets who wrote after the "epochs of reliable usage." Some authors explicitly addressed their choice to use "modern poetry" in their dictionaries and found creative ways to justify this. In *laḥn* treatises, *muwallad* poetry served to corroborate actual usage, just as earlier poetry had testified to correct usage. Another approach to reconciling tradition with contemporary observations was to classify deviations from the *ʿarabiyya* as legitimate variants, as Yūsuf al-Maghribī did for Egyptian. By referencing colloquial speech to *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, he may have helped elevate the status of the dialect—and uplifted the spirits of his readers.

Reading dictionaries as commentaries also means acknowledging the various creative ways in which scholars engaged with a master text like al-Ḥarīrī's *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*. One could argue that *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* triggered the same impulses to explain, rework, rearrange, and/or refute as *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* did. Scholars in the Ottoman heartland were as keen to demonstrate their mastery of the Arabic language as their colleagues who were brought up in 'more Arabic' environments. We must not forget that even in eleventh/seventeenth-century Cairo, everyday speech was far removed from the *ʿarabiyya*, with Turkish serving as the language of administration. The condemnation of speech errors in Arabic was meant for scholars to distinguish themselves from their less eloquent peers. We have observed that *laḥn al-ʿāmma*, "solecism of the commoners," is always *laḥn al-khāṣṣa*, "solecism of the scholarly elite."

Muʿarrabāt, loanwords, provide another perspective on the *ʿarabiyya* and the processes of language change. The discussion of loanwords in Arabic is as old as the Qurʾān and is grounded on a theoretical framework established in early-Islamic times. As loanwords exist on the fringes of the *ʿarabiyya*, they

have always been, and continue to be, subject to debate and theorisation. Similar to the genre of *laḥn al-ʿāmma*, the correct pronunciation and spelling of loanwords are discussed and compared to word patterns found in the *ʿarabiyya*. Loanwords often circulate in learned society, and, like avoiding *laḥn*, their proper use constitutes social capital. Works on *muʿarrab*, *laḥn*, and *dakhīl* frequently included what we would call *muṣṭalaḥ*, or "technical terminology," and served as spaces for negotiating its boundaries and content. Several authors discussed in this book have reflected on terminology, such as Karadāvudzāde defending al-Jawharī's use of the word *ḥadīth* in a general sense (Chapter 1), al-Munshī explaining the etymology of *faylasūf*, or al-Muḥibbī including *ṣaḥīḥ* in his loanword dictionary *Qaṣd al-sabīl* (Chapter 3). The concept of *dakhīl* offered a forum for discussing technical language—a space that, over the course of the post-formative period, was increasingly provided by technical dictionaries, such as al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī's *Kitāb al-Taʿrīfāt*, from which al-Muḥibbī quotes.

While the genre of *muʿarrab* remained cognisable and relatable, its framework was filled with entirely new content during the post-formative period. First of all, the theory—formulated during the formative period and summarised by al-Jawālīqī in the sixth/twelfth century—was further discussed and expanded by al-Suyūṭī and Kemalpaşazāde around the turn of the tenth/sixteenth century. A century later, the framework of *muʿarrab* was invoked not only to extract loanwords from older dictionaries but also to incorporate neologisms (*muwallad*) and solecism (*laḥn*) into books of *dakhil* ("intrusive words").

The numerous anecdotes and poetry quotations suggest that these texts should be viewed as *adab* manuals rather than reference works. I have argued that, in post-formative period Arabic lexicography, the *adab* component—the role of 'educating while entertaining' and providing apt quotations for scholarly gatherings—should not be underestimated when accounting for the continued popularity and reception of *lugha* works. References to linguistic issues in biographical dictionaries and literary anthologies, which have been cursorily discussed in this book, confirm the significance of *lugha* in social-intellectual gatherings. To supplement the findings of this study and situate them within a broader social context, we can consider authors from other, more literary genres who address language issues. For example, the eleventh/seventeenth-century Egyptian Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Shirbīnī (fl. second half of the eleventh/seventeenth century), whose parody on a commentary by the title of *Hazz al-quḥūf bi-sharḥ qaṣīd Abī Shādūf* ("Brains Confounded by the Ode of Abu Shaduf Expounded," in Humphrey Davies' masterful translation), is replete with references to Arabic lexicography, particularly to *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*.[1] Al-

1 Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Shirbīnī, *Brains Confounded by the Ode of Abu Shaduf Expounded*

Shirbīnī's puns on verbal patterns and the lingo of language specialists indicate that the peculiarities of Arabic lexicography were well-known features of scholarly culture, about which one could joke.

In his recent monograph, Ahmed El Shamsy discusses the state of Arabo-Islamic scholarship at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He states that the contents of private libraries and the works cited in the writings of post-classical authors indicate that

> at least in seventeenth- to nineteenth-century Egypt and Syria, Muslim scholars were familiar with a surprisingly narrow range of scholarly literature, most of it written within three centuries of their lifetimes.[2]

To be sure, a span of three centuries is not a "narrow range of scholarly literature," especially compared to present times, in which a book may become outdated within a mere twenty years. Moreover, the very nature of this literature—building on and engaging with older texts—ensured that it covered a span of time and a body of work far broader than these three centuries, extending back a full millennium. El Shamsy suggests that "'post-classical' thought is so called because its central feature was its sidelining of the classical textual corpus."[3] I hope to have shown in this book that the "classical textual corpus" was never sidelined; rather, it remained at the heart of engagement and debate. This fact cannot be fully gleaned from the number of extant manuscript copies of *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* or other dictionaries in today's library collections. The centrality of the "classical" corpus can only be discovered by looking inside the post-formative period texts themselves, by examining the authors' explicit statements about their own positions with regard to the 'classics,' and by exploring how they cited and evaluated the positions of their predecessors.

One key function of a commentary was to preserve a master text, often focusing on the portions deemed most relevant by the author. At the same time, a commentary, re-arrangement, or a new compilation of older works could update or even supersede the 'classics,' which made the copying of a standalone master text less pressing or even superfluous. Even if physical copies of foun-

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= *Hazz al-quḥūf bi-sharḥ qaṣīd Abī Shādūf*, trans. Humphrey Davies, 2 vols, Library of Arabic Literature (New York: New York University Press, 2016).

2 Ahmed El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics: How Editors and Print Culture Transformed an Intellectual Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020), 31.

3 El-Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*, 7. He (31) defines the scope of the post-classical period as the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries; the classical period comprises the ninth to fifteenth centuries.

dational texts were rare, they were well-preserved in cultural memory and in the intellectual efforts of individual scholars. The major texts of the formative period remained ubiquitous in post-formative period works. Nineteenth-century Arabic knowledge, therefore, was not confined to a few centuries, but rather spanned an entire millennium: figures like Sībawayhi or Ibn ʿAbbās were always present as points of reference.

For *lugha*, as for most other disciplines, engagement with the texts of the formative period was an essential prerequisite for scholarly activity. The entries of a dictionary, the very words under discussion, connect early linguistic endeavours with commentary culture of the post-formative period, creating a thread that reaches through the Nahḍa into modern debates on the Arabic language. To fully make sense of a lemma in a premodern Arabic dictionary, the reader must be aware of this tradition. Only then can the dictionaries fully reveal the breadth of their authors' knowledge and the scope of their creativity.

Abstract — ملخص

المعاجم العربية وثقافة الشروح العلمية: المعجمية العربية في عصر ما بعد التأسيس

يتناول هذا البحث دور علم اللغة ووظيفته في عصر ما بعد التأسيس، أي ما بين القرنين التاسع والثاني عشر للهجرة (القرنين الثالث عشر والثامن عشر للميلاد)، ويقدم نظرة جديدة على المناقشات الفكرية المنعقدة بين اللغويين المتأخرين، والمنطلقة من وعيهم بالمراجع المتقدمة. يناقش البحث أهمية المعجم كصنف أدبي ذو هيئة محددة في نقل اللغة العربية وتطويرها بشكل دقيق في العصرين المملوكي والعثماني. من خلال قراءة المعجم كشرح يخرج عن المتن لتوسيع ونقد محتواه من ناحية، ودراسة حالة الكتب والرسائل في موضوعي لحن العامة والمعربات من ناحية ثانية، يوضح البحث أهمية علم اللغة في البيئة العلمية والفكرية، حتى بعد نهاية عصور الاحتجاج ونهاية إمكانية زيادة مدونة كلام العرب معها. بالتالي، يقدم هذا الكتاب فهماً جديداً للإنتاج اللغوي ولثقافة الشروح العلمية بشكل عام.

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This is the first book-length study of Arabic lexicography in the post-formative period (ca. 1200-1800). It provides a window into the dynamics of the discipline and the intellectual debates that unfolded in the study of the Arabic language. With a focus on speech errors and loanwords, the author explains how scholars integrated new language phenomena into tradition. By reading the dictionary as a form of commentary that departs from its master text to expand and challenge its content, this book offers a new understanding of the vibrant field of Arabic lexicography and commentary culture at large.

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