

THE COLLATION OF MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QASHĪDAH "BANĀT SU'ĀD" OF KA'B BIN ZUHĀIR: A STUDY ON THE ACCURACY OF THE WRITTEN TEXT TRANSMISSION

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Abstrak

Kontroversi seputar metode periwayatan berbagai materi sejarah dan keilmuan yang berasal dari masa Jahiliyah hingga awal-awal Islam terus berlanjut dan telah menjadi titik tolak perdebatan tentang otentisitasnya. Banyaknya ketidakcocokan antar berbagai varian dari teks yang sama mengarahkan sejumlah ilmuwan untuk beranggapan bahwa transmisi mayoritas teks dilakukan secara lisan; dan fakta tentang adanya pemalsuan teks menyebabkan materi-materi tersebut, sebagian atau keseluruhan, dianggap tidak historis.

Tiga manuskrip yang diteliti di sini, berasal dari abad ke 17 dan ke 18 M yang masing-masing berisikan qashidah Banāt Su'ād karya penyair Mukhadhram (antara Jahiliyah dan Islam) Ka'b bin Zuhair, menunjukkan bahwa proses pengkopian teks dari sumber tertulis ternyata tidak selalu aman dari munculnya penyimpangan teks. Dengan membandingkan ketiga manuskrip tersebut, tampak jelas adanya perbedaan antara yang satu dengan yang lainnya, baik pada tingkat cara penulisan dan perubahan kata. Bahkan terjadi juga perbedaan letak dan penambahan atau pengurangan baris/ bait puisi. Bahwa dua yang terakhir ini terjadi juga pada sumber-sumber di masa awal, maka diduga kuat berasal, dan sebagai akibat dari, periwayatan secara lisan. Namun demikian, meskipun patut diakui bahwa periwayatan secara lisan tidak memiliki tingkat akurasi yang samadengan periwayatan secara tertulis, tetapi tidak berarti bahwa perbedaan pada teks selalu dapat menjadi acuan bagi klaim terhadap otentisitasnya.

Kata Kunci : *qashidah, transmisi text, Ka'b bin Zuhair, Banāt Su'ād*

Abstract

Controversy surrounding transmission methods of various kinds of material for history and science which are considered to be originated from prior to and early periods of Islam seems to go on, and the methods of transmission become point of

departure for debates on their authenticity. Discrepancies and differences among the variants of similar texts have led many scholars to assume that the transmission was committed to the oral method; and the fact about the presence of fabrication makes the bulks of material are to be regarded partially or at whole as unhistorical.

On the contrary, the three manuscripts we analyzed, which are originated from the 17th and 18th centuries containing *Bânât Su'âd* poetry of the Mukhadbham poet (a period in between the *Jabilyah* and Islam) Ka'b bin Zuhair show that the copying process of the written text transmission does not always safe from any discrepancies. By collating the manuscripts, we found differences from one to the other, not only in terms of wording, but also the lack of some lines and their arrangements. Even though we should admit that oral transmission has less accuracy compared to that of the written method, this does not mean that the claim of authenticity can always be lied on the concordance and congruity of the similar texts.

Key words: *qashidah*, text transmission, Ka'b bin Zuhair, *Bânât Su'âd*

A. Transmission of Arabic Texts: In Oral or in Written?

Historical material of Arabo-Islamic sciences (ancient Arabic poetry, *tafsir*, *hadiths*, *sirah*, *ayyam al-'Arab*, and so on), as far as the way the transmission is concerned, from the very early period of Islam until these sources were codified in the second half of the second century, consisted of either oral or written method of transmission. The existence of chains of authority, the *isnad*, in every text transmitted clearly implies the use of oral transmission. Nevertheless, this does not restrict us to assume the use of written method, since it has been undisputable that the art of writing has already been known by the Arabs before the coming of Islam.¹ On the other hand, the fact that some texts in our hands, i.e. *hadiths* (here more frequently regarded to as tradition), have different variants which sometimes contradict with each other. This triggers questions of whether this material depended mainly on the written. Should we assume the opposite, to what extent had the written been used? It is hard to believe –if not implausible– that the Prophet really said as many as those variants. The most probable suspect lies on transmitters who were allegedly responsible for the emergence of the different variants of the same text. Thus, it is not surprising that the issue of the oral and the written

text transmission is of significance to which the discourse of authorship is linked by some modern scholars. Every time a topic of authenticity is addressed, the way the material was transmitted will always be regarded accordingly.²

Goldziher, amongst those who argue against the authenticity of *hadīths* material, provokes the debate by suggesting that the traditions were largely transmitted orally. Even though he admits that some Companions might preserve the traditions in written form, the *shahīfah*, for him the material (of the tradition) found in the canonical *hadīths* collections do not refer to the earlier written sources; and technical terms in the *isnāds* do not imply written sources. He begins by citing with the Qur'anic verse challenging the Arabs: "...or do you have a *kitāb* by which you learn?" (Qur'ān: 68:37). Here Goldziher takes the literal sense of the word "*kitāb*": book,³ not the contextual meaning as mentioned in *tafsīr* literature.⁴ He also strengthens his argument with traditions on the prohibition from writing other than the Qur'an. For him, *Isnād*, by which the authenticity of any traditions has been examined by orthodox Muslims, does not serve as a guaranty of the authenticity of the traditions. He rather sees the *isnād* in the collections as the safeguard for emergence of fabricated traditions.⁵

In the opposite side, Abbott stands firmly on her position which regards the *hadīths* collections of Bukhārī and Muslim as a genuine core of what comes from the Prophet, his Companions, and his Successors. She argues that there was an early and continuous written tradition in Islam.⁶ She says, "Evidence of continuous written transmission of Tradition from the second quarter of the first century on was disavailable in early and late Islamic sources."⁷ *Isnād*, which went through several stages of developments, as for her "indicates the methods of transmission: oral, written, or combination of both."⁸ In the same line with Abbott goes Sezgin who has no doubt to the authenticity of *isnād*; also to the material therein. From the ascription in the *isnād*, he even claims that text can be reconstructed.⁹

Following Abbott and Sezgin, 'Azāmi¹⁰ stresses that there was already intense literary activity during and after the life of the Prophet. By listing hundreds of Companions, Successors, and scholars who wrote traditions, he concludes that the traditions were mainly based on the written form in their transmission. The traditions found in the *shahīfah* of Suhail bin Abī Shālih (138 AH/756 AD) he edited and published corroborate those found in later collections which are always attached with *isnāds*. This attests to not only the authenticity of the traditions, but also to the historicity of the *isnād* system. It seems

that Abbott, Sezgin and also 'Azāmi are so convinced with the sources they have that Juynboll, one who goes Goldziher's way, feels being compelled to address his critics to.¹¹

Even though the debate does not seem to rest, but so far we have seen how the attitudes of scholars are linked to the method of transmission in early Islam. To some extent, we may say that those who hold merely the oral method mostly argue against the authenticity of the material; on the contrary, those who lay their conviction on the use of writing for transmission, in addition to the oral, perceive the bulks of material as genuine. Of course, it would be wrong to make such generalization, but this applies, at least, to scholars we mentioned. Only rarely do we find exceptions. Motzky, as far as that I am concerned, seems very likely to be one of the few modern scholars whose views on the authenticity are non-sceptical; and yet his scrutinized observation is on the basis of the *isnād*.¹² This shows once again that the transmission methods have become scholars' points of departure.

Regardless of the aforementioned attitudes, one thing that should be kept in mind is that written text transmission does not always preclude texts from any discrepancy. According to Schoeler,¹³ who has tried to mitigate the strict distinction between the two diametrically opposite points of view, there are some conditions in which students had to do with writing immediately when they listened to *ṣayikh's* presentation, or ignored writing but made notes at home, as Waqī' ibn Jarrah did. In some other cases, one might copy the material from his colleagues' note. Schoeler then sums up that the occurrence of diverging texts or recensions could have been caused by variations in a *ṣayikh's* presentation of material, variations in recording, and variations by his students.¹⁴ We may also add another factor which had some impacts on errors in addition to what Schoeler has said, i.e. the absence of standardized writing rule in early periods of Islam, as we can see from the diverging writing of early Qur'anic manuscripts.¹⁵ The absence of unified writing system even contributed to difficulties in reading unfamiliar texts. This is what, among which, we understand from the rise of Arabic grammar. Yūsuf Khulāif says, "in order to read text of a *qashīdah* correctly from a written form, one should have committed the text well in memory."¹⁶ In such condition, the written serves as a mnemonic aid.

Even though the written does not always save from discrepancies, it is also important to stress here what Abbott has pointed out, that "...oral transmission is indeed more conducive to fabrication than is literary fixity."¹⁷ Yet, some traditionists relatively

tolerated the transmission of solely meaning of a tradition (*riwāyah bi al-ma'nā*, without the actual words of the Prophet), which gives the similar traditions more divergent wordings. To some scholars, the case is slightly different from ancient Arabic poetry which, by employing *wazn* and *qāfiyah*, is more difficult to alter its wordings even if the transmission was by the oral method.

In what follows, we will look up discrepancies among texts which may occur during the copying process on the basis of written transmission, i.e. the transmission of *Qashidah Banāt Su'ād* text of Ka'b bin Zuhair who lived in the time between Jāhiliyah and Islam. The *qashidah* is of historical value for it depicts the shift of styles of poetry making from the time of Jāhiliyah to the coming of Islam.¹⁸ It would be rash to make a conclusion about the authenticity of the text we will study, therefore we neither intend that far nor make a new fixed edition since there are many published editions. By collating three manuscripts of the *qashidah*—and thus we need to make at least an edition miniature—, this study will rather see whether the differences can reveal something which may corroborate scholars' view on the topic.

B. The Poet Ka'b bin Zuhair (d. ± 630 AD) and His *Qashidah* "Banāt Su'ād"

There is no precise date about when Ka'b bin Zuhair, the author of *Qashidah* of Banāt Su'ād, lived. All the information we have is that he lived in two epochs, at the end of Jāhiliyah and the beginning of Islam. The sources only tell us about things related to the fame of the poet.

Ka'b bin Zuhair is very well-known not only for he was a member of poet family of *Muzainah* tribe,¹⁹ but also for his poem. Being a son of the great poet of Jāhiliyah whose odd belonged to one of *The Seven Odds*, Ka'b inherited his father's expertise in composing poems. He, with his family, belonged to the school of *shun'ah* in poetry.²⁰ It is said that he was prohibited by his father to make poetry and recite it in front of people for being afraid of bad impact on his tribe's reputation. His father imprisoned him, but he kept doing so. His father then examined his expertise and gave him permission at the end after recognizing it. For his expertise in composing poetry, al-Jumāhī considers him in the second rank among the greatest poets of his time.²¹

Poems of Ka'b dispersed in many collections. There are three kinds of collections of poetry²² in which we find the works of ancient Arabic poets, including that of Ka'b: a) a collection of the complete

known verses of one poet, called *diwān*; b) a collection of the poems of several poets (*diwān*) within the same tribe, or a collection of poems of several poets in the same main topic, like *diwān al-ḥamāsah*; c) a collection of the poems of different poets; regardless of personal concerns, which, considering subject or poem, were deemed to belong together. This type is often found in the master sources of Arabic literature, *ummahāt mashādir al-adab*.

Ka'b had a *diwān* (personal collection of poems), transmitted widely by Abū al-'Aswad al-'Ahwāl. Besides the *diwān*, some parts of his poems can also be found in *ummahāt* books. Among several poems of Ka'b, the most popular one is *Qashidah Banāt Su'ād* (QBS).

The fame of the QBS is due to its historical value for early Muslims, also for Arabic literature. The major topic (in Arabic literature: *gardh/agraḍh al-Syi'r*) of the poem is *madh* (praise) to the Prophet with which Ka'b aimed to apologize for being angry at his brother, Bujair, due to his conversion to Islam. The poet had previously mocked his brother with different genre called *hijā'* (lampooning) for his "ridiculous" act after which Ka'b turned to mock Islam, the Prophet, and his Companions. It is said that the Prophet would take revenge at those poets who had ever mocked him, Islam, or his Companions with their lampooning poems. It is even said that he ordered his Companions to kill the poets whenever they met them.²³

The news about *fath Makkah* (630 AD) was spread out to most people there, and let Ka'b know. Bujair well knew that his brother's life was in danger, and warned him accordingly, advising (advised) him to renounce his errors, and come (came) repentantly to the Prophet, or to seek a safe asylum far away. Ka'b found out that his life would really soon be taken, and set out secretly for Madinah.²⁴ He decided to come to the Prophet for apologize.

Thanks to Arbuthnot for providing a good English translation of the text we need to cite as follows:

He [Ka'b] found an old friend, claimed his protection, and went with him next morning to the simple meeting-house where Muhammad and his chief followers performed their daily devotions.²⁵ When the service was ended, Ka'b approached Muhammad, and the two sat down together. Ka'b placed his own right hand in that of the Prophet, whom he addressed in these words: 'Apostle of God, were I to bring to you Ka'b, the son of Zoheir, penitent and professing the faith of Islam, wouldst thou receive and

accept him? The Prophet answered, 'I would.' 'Then,' said the poet, 'I am he!'

Hearing this, the bystanders demanded permission to put him to death. Muhammad ordered his zealous followers to desist, and the poet then, on the spur of the moment, recited a poem improvised at the time, probably with more or less premeditation. It is said that when Ka'b reached the fifty-first [in our edition: forty nine] verse: 'Verily the Apostle of God is a light from which illumination is sought-a drawn Indian blade, one of the swords of God,' Muhammad took from his own shoulders the mantle he wore, and threw it over the shoulders of the poet as an honour and as a mark of protection. Hence the name given to the effusion, 'The Poem of the Mantle'.²⁶

The story about Ka'b and his *qashīdah* is mentioned in Kitāb al-Aghānī by al-Ishbāhānī²⁷ and many other sources.²⁸ From the sources we know that the *qashīdah* might be the last work of the poet. There is nothing of his work mentioned in many references to be later than this *qashīdah*. Another probability, the QBS was his most famous poem, thus historians did not feel any necessity to cite another poems of Ka'b in their books. In addition, when Ka'b dead is also not that clear (when did he die is not clear).²⁹ Our sources do not tell us about his death, except that mentioned by the later schoolar.

The name 'Banāt Su'ād' itself is taken from the forepart of the *qashīdah*, as the Arabs used to name their poems this way. The other name of the poem is '*Qashīdah al-Burdāh*' (The Poem of The Mantle)³⁰ hence the mantel of the Prophet was given to Ka'b. Later, the mantel was purchased from him by Mu'āwiyah with twenty thousand dirham.³¹

C. Manuscripts of QBS

There are three kinds of manuscripts of QBS: 1) the sole text of QBS; 2) the commentary (*Syarh*) of QBS altogether with the text; 3) commentary on a group of five lines (*takhmīs*)³² of QBS. The text of the QBS has been translated into several languages and published many times.³³ Among the publications³⁴ are of Noeldeke, Freitag, Pekostawski, Krenkow,³⁵ and Basset.³⁶ The last two mentioned will be referred in the collation.

The commentaries of QBS get up to 35 or more.³⁷ Some of these commentaries were shortened, and some others were commented and

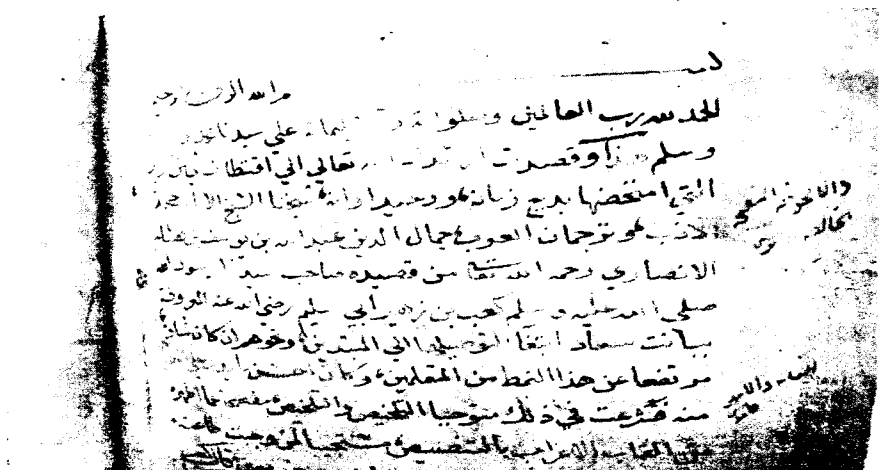
glossed. There are as well, commentaries on the *qashīdah*, known as *Syarh*, dispersed in many big libraries. The most well-known are:

1. *Syarh* by Abū al-Aswad Ahmad bin Yahyā Tsa'lab;
2. *Syarh* by Ibn Duraid;
3. *Syarh* by At-Tibrizī. This one is edited and published by Fritz Krenkow;
4. *Syarh* by 'Īsa bin 'Abdul 'Azīz al-Gazālī;
5. *Syarh* by 'Abdullāh bin Yūsuf bin Ḥisyām. This one is edited and published in Lipzig by al-Juwaidī in 1871. Besides, there is also a commentary on this commentary called *al-hāsiyyah* by Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī in year 1273 H, and copied several years;
6. *Syarh* by Abū Bakr bin Hujjaḥ (d. 837/1433)
7. *Syarh* by al-Ghaznāwī (d. 848/1444), printed in Heiderabad in 1323/1905
8. *Syarh* by Jalāluddīn al-Mahallī (d. 864/1459)
9. *Syarh* by as-Suyūthī (d. 911/1505) entitled *Kunh al-murād min Syarh Banāt Su'ad*. The manuscripts, the copies of this commentary dispersed in big libraries either east or west part of the world;
10. *Syarh* by Syihābuddīn Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Hajar al-Haitsamī (d. 911/1505)
11. *Syarh* by 'Alī bin Muhammad al-Qārī al-Ḥarawī (d. 1014/1606)
12. *Syarh* by 'Abdul 'Azīz az-Zamzami (d. 963/1556)
13. *Syarh* by Shālīh bin Shiddīq al-Khajrajī (d. about 949/1542);
14. *Syarh* by Athā'ullāh bin Ahmad bin Athā'illāh al-Azhari (1170/1756);
15. *Syarh* by 'Abdul Bāqī bin Muhammad al-Warnāwī (d. 1187/1783);

In terms of the *takhmīs*, not less than 14 disperse in world's big libraries.

Manuscripts in our hands are of Leiden University library collection. Based on Witkam's catalogue, there are three manuscripts (MS) of QBS in Leiden University library: 1) Or. 11.064; 2) Or. 11.070; and 3) Or. 11.021.³⁸ One out of three manuscripts, Or. 11.064, is the sole text of QBS, and the rest three manuscripts are commentaries of QBS.

From the colophon, we know that they were made very lately, during 17th and 18th century. There is a huge gap of time in between the time of the poet and those of the writers/copyists which make it difficult for us to conduct stemmatic work on the basis of the limited manuscripts we have. Nevertheless, since the time of the



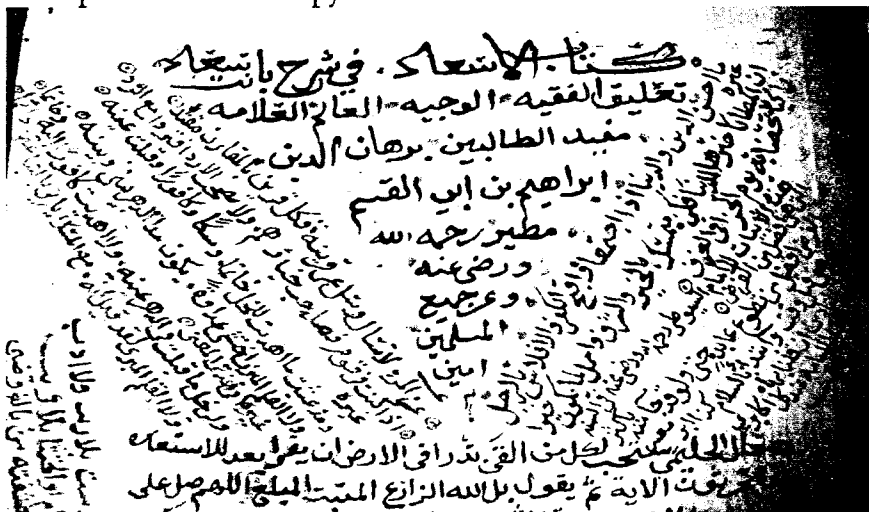
MS. Or. 00.170⁴¹

The script is written on watermarkpapers in two colours, black and red. The different colour used reflects the desire of the copyist to stress some given elements of the text.⁴¹ Here, the use of red colour seems to be intended to mark the punctuations, also to highlight the text of the poem, i.e. to distinguish it from the commentary, and sometimes for ornamentation. There is also another case about the use of the red ink. It is used once for a letter ش in between the end of a line of the poem (*syathr*) and the beginning of the commentary. This letter must be an abbreviation of شرح, used to point out the commentary of the previous line. Besides the letter, there is also ص used twice at the end of the commentary of each line of the poem. This could either indicate “the end of the body text,”⁴² as distinguished from the column (*shulb*) or to indicate end words of the copyist (in this case the author of the shortened commentary: *mushannif*), distinguishing them from next words of the poem.

One of the characteristics of the script is the absence of *hamzah* (ء), as we well know in resent writing Arabic rules in order to distinguish the *qath* from the *washl* ones. Examples of this can be seen in some words such as الى, ارشد, امام, and many others. More about *hamzah*, sometimes it is omitted (الما is written الماء) and sometimes replaced with ي (انبيت is written أنبيت). In the miniature edition that I will try to make, as in my footnote for some words underlined in regard with this manuscript’s introduction, I added *hamzah* in order to make the text easier to read and understand.

c) MS Or. 11.021,1

The size is 23 x 17 cm, light brown coloured. The script is written on rather thick watermark papers. Two colours are employed: black, is used for most of the writing; and red, seen especially within the text of the poem. The exertion of these two colours shows that the use of red pen was to highlight the text of the poem as well as to mark punctuations, as in the manuscripts mentioned above. But the difference is, the red ink in MS Or 11.021 is not occupied in a good order, and sometimes it overwrites the black ink scripts. This supposedly tells us that the red ink was added by the other person after the copyist.



Title Page of MS Or. 11.021,1

The title of the text as mentioned in the manuscript above is: *Kitāb al-Is'ād Fī Syarh Banāt Su'ād*: the commentary of QBS. It clearly mentions the name of the author, Ibrāhīm bin Abī al-Qāsim Muthīr who must be 'Ibrāhīm bin 'Abī al-Qāsim bin 'Umar bin Ahmad bin Ibrāhīm bin Muhammad bin 'Isā, as previously mentioned by Brockelmann.⁴³

Presumably, the copyist simplified the *Kitāb al-Is'ād Fī Syarh Banāt Su'ād*. The clue is a sentence in the introduction: هذا تطريف لطيف which indicates the text as "quotations" from some parts of *al-Is'ād*. In addition, in the colophon the copyist says: "This is what can be compiled in brief from the commentary of QBS" (*Hādẓā mā tayassara jam'uhū min Syarh Banāt Su'ād*).

were originated from between the second and the fourth century and hence based on the written sources –as proposed by Schoeler-, the transmission lines end up to the *rāwiyāt* (exclusive transmitters of ancient poetry) who received poems from the beduins orally. Eventhough these books contain only fragments or some lines of poem of a given poet (not a complete poem), they at least can tell us about the sequence of the fragments of the poem. Here, *Thabāqāt Fuhūl asy-Syu'arā'*, *asy-Syi'ru wa asy-Syu'ara'*, *al-Iqd al-Farīd*, and *al-Agānī*, each of them is marked as TFS, SS, IF, and Ag respectively.

The Edition Miniature

- 1- بانن سعاد فقللي اليوم متبول #⁴⁵ متيم إثرها⁴⁶ لم يفد⁴⁷ مكبول
- 2- وما سعاد غداة البين إذ رحلوا⁴⁸ # إلا أغن غضيض الطرف مكحول⁴⁹
- 3- تجلوا⁵⁰ عوارض ذي ظلم إذا ابتسمت # كأنه منهل بالراح معلول
- 4- شجت بذئ شيم من ما [ء] محنية # صاف بأبطح أضحي وهو مشمول
- 5- تنفى الرياح القذا⁵¹ عنه وأفرطه # من صوب⁵² سارية بيض يعاليل
- 6- أكرم بها⁵³ خلة لو أنما صدقت # موعودها⁵⁴ أو لو أن النصح مقبول
- 7- لكنها خلة قد سيط من دمها # فجع وولع وإخلاف وتبديل
- 8- فما⁵⁵ تدوم على حال تكون بها⁵⁶ # كما تلون في أثوابها الغول
- 9- وما تمسك بالوعد الذي زعمت⁵⁷ # إلا كما يمسك الماء [ء] الغرايل
- 10- فلا يغرنك ما منت وما وعدت # إن الأمان والأحلام تضليل
- 11- كانت مواعد عرقوب لها مثلاً # وما مواعدها⁵⁸ إلا الأباطيل⁵⁹
- 12- أرجو وأمل أن تدنو مودتها # وما إخال لدينا منك تنويل
- 13- أمست سعاد بأرض ما⁶⁰ يبلغها # إلا العتاق النحيات المراسيل
- 14- ولن يبلغها إلا غدا فرة⁶¹ # فيها على الأين إذ قال وتبغيل
- 15- من كل نضاجة الذفري إذا عرقت # عرضتها طامس الأعلام مجهول
- 16- ترمي الغيوب⁶² بعيني مفرد لهُق # إذا توقدت الحزان والليل
- 17- ضخم مقلدها فعم⁶³ مقيدها # في خلقها عن بنات الفحل تفضيل

- 18- غلباء وجناء علقوم مذكر # في دفها سعة قدامها ميل
- 19- وجلدها من أطوم ما يؤنس⁶⁴ # طلع بضاحية المتنين مهزول
- 20- حرف أخوها أبوها من مهجنة # وعمها خالها قودا شليل
- 21- يمشي القراد عليها ثم (ي)زلقه # منها⁶⁵ لبان وأقرب زهايل
- 22- غيرانة قدفت بالنحض عن غرض # مرفقها عن بنات الزور مفتول
- 23- كأنما فات عينيها ومذبـحـها # من حطمها ومن اللحين برطيل
- 24- تمر مثل عسيب النخل ذا خصل # في عارز لم تخونه الأحاليل
- 25- قنواء في خرتيها للبصر بها # عتق ميين وفي الخدين⁶⁶ تسهيل
- 26- تحدى على يسرات وهي لاحقة # ذوابلمنهن الأرض تحليل
- 27- حمر الأجايات يتركن الحصار بما # لم يقهن ر>ؤ<س الأكم تبغيل
- 28- كان أوب ذراعيه إذا عرقت # وقد تلفع بالقور العساقيل
- 29- يوما تظلمه الحرياء مصطخدا # كان صاحبه بالشمس ملمول
- 30- وقال للقوم حاديهم وقد جعلت # ورق الجنادب يركض الحناقيل
- 31- شد النهار>ذ<راعا عيطيل نصف # قامت فجا[ء] وبها نكد متأكيل
- 32- نواحة رجوة الضيعين ليسلها # لما نعى بكرها الماعون معقول
- 33- تقرى اللبان بكفيها ومدرعها # مشقق عن تراعيها رعايل
- 34- تسعى الوشاة جنابيهـا وقولهم # إنك يابن أبي سلمى لمقتول
- 35- وقال كل خليل كنت آمله # لا ألهينك⁶⁷ إني عنك مشغول
- 36- فقلت حلوا سبيلي لا أبالكم # فكل ما قدر⁶⁸ الرحمن مفعول
- 37- كل ابن أنثى وإن طالت سلامته # يوما على آلة حدبا[ء] محمول
- 38- أنبت⁶⁹ أن رسول الله أوعدي # العفو عند رسول الله مأمول⁷⁰
- 39- مهلا هداك الذي أعطاك نافلة # القرآن فيه مواعيط وتفصيل
- 40- لا تأخذني بأقوال الوشاة ولم # أذنب وإن كثرت في الأقاويل

- 41- لقد أقوم مقاماً لو يقوم به # أرى وأسمع ما لو تسمع القيل
- 42- لظّل يَرعد لولا أن يكون له # من الرسول بإذن الله تنويل⁷¹
- 43- حتى وضعت يميني لا أنأزعه # في كف ذي نقمات قيله القيل⁷²
- 44- لذاك أهيب عندي إذ أكلمه # وقيل إنك منسوب ومسؤول
- 45- من حادر من ليوث الأسد مسكنه # من بطن غير غيل دونه غيل
- 46- يعدو فيلحم ضرغامين عيشهما # لحم من القوم معثور خـرادل
- 47- إذا يشاور قرنا لا يحل له # أن يترك القرن إلا وهو مفلول⁷³
- 48- ولا يزال بواديـه أخو ثقة # مطرح البر والدرسان مأكول
- 49- إن الرسول لسيف⁷⁴ يستضاء به # وصارم⁷⁵ من سيوف الله مسلول
- 50- في فتية⁷⁶ من قریش قال قائلهم # بيطن مكة لما أسلموا زولوا
- 51- زالوا فما زال أنكاس ولا كشف # عند⁷⁷ اللقـا[ء] ولا ميل⁷⁸ معازيل
- 52- شم الغرائن أبطاللبوسهم # من نسج داوود في هيجا[ء] سرايل
- 53- بيض سوابغ قد سكت لها حلق # كأنما حلق الفقعا[ء] مجدول⁷⁹
- 54- لا يفرحون إذا نالت رماحهم # قوما وليسوا بجارعا إذا نیلوا
- 55- يمشون مشي الجمال الزهر بعضهم # ضرب إذا غرد السود التنايل
- 56- لا يقع الطعن إلا في نحورهم # وما لهم⁸⁰ عن عياض⁸¹ الموت تمليل

E. Conclusions

After collating the three manuscripts of *Qashidah Banāt Su'ād* (MS QBS) of Ka'b bin Zuhair (± 630AD), we come to the following conclusions:

1. There are differences amongst the MSs collated. The differences can be divided into two groups: 1) differences in terms of the scripts and the wordings; and 2) differences in terms of the number of lines and their arrangements.

When collating MS A (the basis) with MS B, in terms of the script, the difference is not significant at all. If any, it is only about the way how a word is written. *Hamzah* for example, in some words

sometimes it is scripted and sometimes is omitted. No difference in the wordings and the arrangement of lines. This is because the copyist was the same person.

The difference of wordings as well as the number of lines and their arrangement can be found between MS A/B and C. MS A/B is lacking four lines of MS C, and there are two lines in MS C that differ in their arrangement from that in MS C. Sometimes, there occur interchangeable of lines amongst manuscripts and the earlier sources (*'ummahāt mashādir al-'adab*).

2. Eventhough it is not certain whether MS C was copied from MS A/B and *vice versa*, the differences can explain that the difference of person who copies a text potentially has an effect on the emergence of discrepancies amongst variants of the copied text.
3. In more general words, we could say that differencies might result from either oral or written transmission. Interchangeable positions and/or the lack and the excess of lines allegedly result from the oral. It is obvious that differences in number of lines as well as differences in the arrangement of some lines also exist amongst the earlier sources. The lower level of discrepancies, i.e. the differences in wording and characters, are strongly alleged to result from the writing. Of these differences, the writing contributed less than the oral. This corroborates Abbott's thesis.
4. The claim that the existence of *waṣṣ* and *qāfiāḥ* makes it hard to alter words of an Arabic poem with other words (*thus* makes it more difficult to forge in comparison to traditions) is not always justified. Even if an ancient Arabic poetry was transmitted literally, as the case which relatively applies to traditions, this does not allude the emergence of discrepancies.
5. It is, *however*, too early to say that the excess of some lines is the result of forgery. Such conclusion needs further scrutinized observations. Otherwise, it is at our best tentatively say that the excess of line(s) in the manuscript and the lack in the earlier sources (this also applies to *vice versa*) imply the mutually complementary between the oral and the written, as maintained by Schoeler.

Endnotes:

¹ I have pointed elsewhere that the writing was quite common in early periods of Islam, but it served as preservation rather than transmission purposes. Cf. Lalu Turjiman Ahmad, *System Isnād Hadits dan Awal Mula Penggunaannya dalam*

Tradisi Perwayatan Puisi Arab Jahiliyah, in ALQALAM, Vol. 28, (Banten: Lembaga Penelitian IAIN "SMH" Banten, 2011), p. 121-138.

² Controversies surrounding the authenticity, as well as whether the use of writing for recording the traditions during the lifetime of the Prophet was permitted or not, have fulfilled pages of *Majallah al-Manar* quite long time during the life of the editor, Rasyid Ridhā. Cf G. H. A. Juynboll, *The Authenticity of the Tradition Literature. Discussions in Modern Egypt*, (Leiden: Brill, 1969). Many books address this topic as the locus of controversy.

³ Ignaz Goldziher, *A Short History of Classical Arabic Literature*, ed. Joseph Desomogy, (Hildesheim: Georg Olm, 1966), p. 31.

⁴⁴ See for instance Thabari's *Tarṣīr*, in Maktabah Syāmilah 2nd Edition, Vol. 23, p. 553. It is mentioned, the book refers to a holybook containing the actual words of God.

⁵ Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, Vol. II, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971), p. 44.

⁶ Nabia Abbott, *Hadith Literature II: Collection and Transmission of Hadith, in Arabic Literature to the End of Umayyad Period*, edited by A.F.L. Beeston, et.al., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 289-298.

⁷ Nabia Abbott, *Hadith Literature II: Collection and Transmission of Hadith*, p. 297.

⁸ Nabia Abbott, *Hadith Literature II*, p. 297.

⁹ Brief discussion about Sezgin's views presented by Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, (Cornwall: Curzon, 2000), p. 21-23.

¹⁰ M.M. Azami, *Studies on Early Hadīth Literature*, (Indianapolis: Trust Publication, 1978).

¹¹ These scholars are considered naïve. Juynboll says, "Something that always struck me in the work of Sezgin, Azmi, and also in that of Abbott, is that they do not seem to realize that, even if a manuscript or a papyrus is unearthed with an allegedly ancient text, this text could easily have been forged by an authority who lived at a time later than the supposedly oldest authority given in its *isnād*." G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance, and Authorship of Early Hadith*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 4.

¹² See his writings: Harald Motzki, *Analyzing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical, and Magaḥi Hadith*, (Leiden: Brill, 2010); also his critics upon Herbert Berg in which Berg is the editor: *The Question of the Authenticity of Muslim Traditions Reconsidered*, in a composite book *Method and Theory in The Study of Islamic Origins*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 211-258.

¹³ Shoeler focuses on the transmission between the second and the fourth century. He is right when he says that the oral and the written were more complementary than mutually exclusive. Nevertheless, transmission prior to the second century relatively is not that clear to some scholars.

¹⁴ Gregor Schoeler, *The Oral and The Written in Early Islam*, translated by Uwe Vagelpohl, (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 32-33.

¹⁵ See for example Francois Deroche, *English Summary of La transmission écrite du Coran dans les débuts de l'islam*, (Leiden: Brill, 2009), p. 171-179.

¹⁶ Yūsuf Khulāif, *Dirāsāt Fī al-Syī'r al-Jāhili*, (Cairo: Maktabah al-Garīb, 1981), p. 25.

¹⁷ Quoted by Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis*, p. 20.

¹⁸ In many aspects poetry was disregarded by Islam. First, some themes of the ancient poetry, such as lampooning, self glorification, and lamentation, were contested with the spirits of Islam. The Qur'ān also discredits the poets in an epistle bearing their title. And the Qur'ān challenges them to create verses equal to it in terms of style and content. This is how we understand why the Prophet had never before been interested with listening to poetry.

¹⁹ Ibn Qutaibah says, "al-'Awām bin 'Uqbah bin Ka'b bin Zuhair bin Abī Sulmā, all of these persons were poets." Ibn Qutaibah, *Al-Syi'ru wa al-Syu'arā'*, Maktabah Syāmilah CD Program 2nd Edition, vol. I, p. 21

²⁰ There were two schools for ancient poets: *thab'* and *shun'ah*. The first was characterized with naturalistic, led by Umru' al-Qais. The second one concerned more on the meaning contained in the poetry. One poem might be revised several times to make it better before it was recited in front of the public. Zuhair was the best to represent this school. Cf Syauqī Dhaif, *Al-Fann Wa Madzāhibuhū Fī asy-Syi'r al-'Arabī*, (Caero: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1960), ed. VII

²¹ Ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī, *Thabaqāt Fuhūl asy-Syu'arā'*, Maktabah Syāmilah CD Program 2nd Edition, vol. 1, p. 13

²² Ignaz Goldziher, *A Short History of Classical Arabic Literature*, ed. p. 23

²³ Abū al-Faraj al-Ishbahānī, *al-'Agānī*, in Maktabah Syāmilah CD Program 2nd Edition, Vol. IV, p. 405

²⁴ F.F. Arbuthnot, *Arabic Authors; A Manual of Arabian History and Literature*, The Project Gutenberg Ebook, 2006, p. 19

²⁵ In other source, it is said that Ka'b met Abū Bakr al-Shiddīq for this purpose, and they went together to the mosque in which the Prophet was conducting Shubh prayer.

²⁶ F.F. Arbuthnot, *Arabic Authors*, p. 19

²⁷ Abū al-Faraj al-Ishbahānī, *Al-Agānī*, in Maktabah Syāmilah CD Program, Vol. IV, p. 407 and so forth.

²⁸ Ibn Qutaibah, *Asy-Syi'ru wa asy-Syu'ara'*, in Maktabah Syāmilah CD Program, Vol. I, p. 22; Muhammad bin Sallām al-Jumāhī, *Thabaqāt Fuhūl al-Syu'arā'*, in Maktabah Syāmilah CD Program, Vol. I, p. 13-14.

²⁹ See for example, Ibnu Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Maktabah Syāmilah CD program.

³⁰ There is also another *qashidah* named al-Burda by al-Busayrī. This *qashidah* is often read during the commemoration of *Maulūd* (or *Maulid*: birthday of the Prophet) in Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippine, more particularly among traditionalist Islam community. Both *qashidahs* contain, as their major topic, *madh*(praise) to the Prophet.

³¹ Ibn 'Abd. Rabbīh, *Al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, Maktabah Syāmilah CD Program 2nd Edition, vol. II, p. 314

³² Adam Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography*, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. 44

³³ See publications and writings on the *qashidah* in Brockelmann's *Tārikh al-Adab al-'Arabī*, translated into Arabic by 'Abdul Halīm an-Najjār, (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1959), Vol. I, p. 156-162

³⁴ Brockelmann, *Tārikh*, Vol. I, p. 156

³⁵ Friedrich Krenkow, *Le Diwan De Ka'b ibn Zuhaira*, critical edition, (Krakow, 1950)

³⁶ Rene Basset, *La Banad So'ad: Poem de Ka'b ben Zohair*, (Alger: Typographie Adolphe Jourdan, 1910)

³⁷Sezgin lists 43 commentaries.

³⁸ See Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of The Library of The University of Leiden*, (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007), vol. II, p. 161, vol. III, p. 136, and vol. VII, p. 141. The codes of the manuscripts in Witkam's catalogue respectively are: Or. 1504, Or. 2446, Or. 2568, Or. 6364. Also see Voorhoeve, *Codices Manuscript: Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other Collections in the Netherlands*, (The Hague: Leiden University Library Press, 1980), p. 40-41, pdf.

³⁹ Sezgin mentions (Jamāluddīn ?) 'Abdullāh bin Yūsuf bin Hīsyām al-Anshārī as one of several commentators of QBS. See Fuat Sezgin, *GAL*, vol. VI, p. 231

⁴⁰ Here is the transcription:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين، وصلواته وتسليماته على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم، هذا وقصدت
أرشدك الله تعالى إلى اقتطاف شيء [ع] من الزيد التي امتحناها بديع زمانه، ووحيد أوانه، شيخنا الشيخ
الإمام حجة الأدب، وترجمان العرب، جمال الدين عبد الله بن يوسف بن هشام الأنصاري رحمه الله تعالى
من قصيدة صاحب سيدنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم كعب بن زهير أبي سليم
{the right one, based on biographical books is سلمى
رضي الله عنه المعروفة بـبانت سعاد ابتغاء لتوصيلها إلى المبتدئين، ونحوهم إن كان ساوياً]
مرتفعاً عن هذا النمط من المتعلمين، وكان ما يدل على أحسن الكلام منه فشرعت في ذلك متوحيها
التخليص والتلخيص، مفصلاً عما أظهرهم ألقاب الأعراب بالتنصيص، مستجيباً لمن وجبت طاعته
وحقت براعته، مستعيناً بالله سبحانه وهو خير معين، قال كعب بانت سعاد قلبي اليوم ميثول مقيم
إنها لم يفد مكيول

⁴¹ Francois Deroche, *Islamic Codicology*, (London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2006), p. 116

⁴² Adam Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography*, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. 99

⁴³ Carl Brockelmann, *Tārikh*, Vol. I, p. 160. In Witkam's catalogue, it is mentioned: "Anonymous commentary, possibly the *al-Is'ād* by 'Ibrāhīm bin 'Abī al-Qāsim bin 'Umar bin 'Ahmad bin 'Ibrāhīm bin Muhammad bin 'Isā (?)"', See Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory*, Vol. VII, p. 141. Sezgin does not mention any name for the author of *al-Is'ād*. Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, (Leiden: Brill, 1975), vol. III, p. 231-235

⁴⁴Here is the transcription:

هذا ما تيسر جمعه من شرح بانت سعاد والحمد لله رب العالمين، فرغ من رمزها ضحى يوم
الجمعة 29 ، في شهر رجب الحرام سنة 1134 ، وكان الفراغ من رقمها ضحى يوم الاثنين شهر ربيع
آخر سنة 1262 بخط محصله لنفعه ولمن شاء الله من بعده راجي العفو من الكريم المنان محمد أحمد عبد
الرحمن غفر الله له ولجميع المسلمين وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله.

⁴⁵In MS C: ميثول

⁴⁶ In Ag: عندها

⁴⁷ In CE and Ag: لم يشف: يُجَزَّر in TFS:

⁴⁸ In SS: عرضت

⁴⁹ In MS C: مقحول. In MS C and IF, in between this line and the next one, there is another line:

هيفا مقبلة عجزاً مدبرة # لا يشتكي قصر منها ولا صول

The author of IF also omits lines of the second until the seventh. Presumably, he intends to make it short in order to come to the topic he speaks about.

⁵⁰ In MS C: تحلوا

⁵¹ In MS C: القذى. Both القذا and القذى have the same way to read.

⁵² In MS C: جنوب

⁵³ In MS C: يسقيا لها; CE A: يا ويحها; in IF: ويلمها

⁵⁴ In MS C: موعدا; CE A: وعدت

⁵⁵ In IF: ما إن

⁵⁶ In SS: وما تدوم على العهد الذي زعمت

⁵⁷ In IF: وعدت

⁵⁸ In MS C: مواعيده

⁵⁹ In MS C: line 11 and 12 precede line 10

⁶⁰ In MS C: لا

⁶¹ In MS C: فرق

⁶² In MS C: العيون

⁶³ In MS C: the word يقع is put in the marginal space. Supposedly, the copyist forgot to include it in the line and was added by the later person.

⁶⁴ In MS C: لا يؤيسه

⁶⁵ In MS C: عنها

⁶⁶ In MS C: وفي الخدين

⁶⁷ In TFS: لا ألفينك

⁶⁸ In TFS: وعد

⁶⁹ In TFS: تُبْنِتُ

⁷⁰ In the line, there is: والعفو عند خيار الناس مقبول. But then it is corrected with مبدول in the margin. In SS: مامول is replaced with مبدول

⁷¹ In MS C: in between line 42 and 43, there is another line:

لظل يرعد من خوف بواذره # إن لم يكن من رسول الله تتوئل

⁷² In MS C: in between line 43 and 44, there is another line:

فلهو أخوف عندي إذ أكلمه # قيل إنك منسور ومسبول

⁷³ In MS C: in between line 47 and 48, there is another line:

منه تظل حمير الوحشي نافرة # ولا تمشي بواذيه الأراخيل

⁷⁴ In MS C: لنور

⁷⁵ In MS C and Ag: مهند

⁷⁶ In MS C: عصبه

⁷⁷ In TFS: يوم

⁷⁸ In Ag: خور

⁷⁹ In MS C: There is another line after line 53 and before line 54:

لا يرجون إذا نالت بها حمهم # يوما وليسوا مجارعا إذا نيل

⁸⁰ In TFS and Ag: وما بهم

⁸¹ In Ag: حياض

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