

Ma'bad b. Yehb Ebu Abbād (negro parentage)

RONART,  
Stephen and

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MA'BAD abu-'ABBĀD, Arabic singer (†743) of negro parentage. He first worked as a clerk in al-Madīnah, his home-town, but after the discovery of his talent travelled as a wandering singer all over Arabia and finally was invited to the Umayyad\* court at Damascus. There his art gained for him not only fame and fortune, but also the friendship of three successive caliphs. He died on the eve of a gala performance in which he was to appear as the principal artist, and was given a magnificent state funeral with Caliph al-Walid II (743-44) leading the procession.

## نهاية الأرب

فنونه الأدب

تأليف

Ma'bed B. Vehb

شهاب الدين أحمد بن عبد الوهاب النويري

(Munshif)

٥٧٣٢ - ٥٦٧٧ هـ

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فقلت : قدرا من هذه القُدور؛ فأفرغت قدرا بيني وبينها فأكلنا ، ودعت بالبيد  
فصبت رطلا فشربت نصفه وسقني نصفه؛ فما زلت أشرب حتى كدت أن أسكر.  
ثم قالت : يا أبا الحسن ، غنيت البارحة في شعر لأبي العتاهية أعجبتني ، أفتسمعه<sup>(١)</sup>  
وتُصلحه ؟ فننت :

- عذيري من الإنسان لا إن جفوتُه \* صفا لي ولا إن صرت طوعَ يديه  
وأتى لمشتاق إلى ظل صاحب \* يروق ويصفو إن كدرت عليه  
فصيرناه مجلسنا . وقالت : قد بقي فيه شيء ؛ فلم أزل أنا وهي حتى أصلحناه .  
ثم قالت : أحب أن تغني أنت أيضا فيه لحنًا ففعلتُ ، وجعلنا نشرب على الخنين  
ثلاثا . ثم جاء الحجاب فكسروا الباب وأستخرجوني ، فدخلت على المامون فأقبلت<sup>(٢)</sup>  
أرقص من أفضى الإيوان وأصفيق وأغني بالصوت ؛ فسمع المامون والمغنون ما لم  
يعرفوه فاستطرفوه ، وقال المامون : آدنُ يا علوييه وردده ، فرددته عليه سبع مرات .  
فقال لي في آخرها عند قولي : " يروق ويصفو إن كدرت عليه " : يا علوييه خذ  
الخلافة وأعطني هذا صاحب .

- وقال علوييه : قال إبراهيم الموصلي يوما : إنني قد صنعت صوتا وما سمعه مني  
أحد بعدُ ، وقد أحببت أن أنفكك به وأرفع منك بأن ألقيه عليك وأهبه لك ، ووالله  
ما فعلت هذا بإسحاق قط ، وقد خصصتك به ، فأتخله وآدعه ، فلست أنسبه إلى  
نفسى ، وستكسب به مالا . فالتى على :

- إذا كان لي شيثان يا أم مالك \* فإنت لجاري منهما ما تخيرا  
فأخذته عنه وآدعيته ، وسترتة طول أيام الرشيد خوفا من أن أتهم فيه وطول  
أيام الأمين ، حتى حدث عليه ما حدث وقدم المامون من خراسان ، وكان يخرج  
٢٠

(١) كذا بالأغاني؛ وليس في الأصل همزة الاستفهام . (٢) في الأغاني : « ملأ » .

- ١٠ إلى الشامية فينتزه ، فركبت يوما في زلال<sup>(١)</sup> وحثت أتبعه ، فأريت حرقاة على بن هشام ،  
فقلت للآح : أطرح زلالى على الحزاقاة ففعل ، وأستؤذن لي فدخلت وهو يشرب  
مع الجوارى ، وما كانوا يحجبون جواريمهم ، فننيت الصوت فأستحسنه جدا وطرب  
عليه ، وقال : لمن هذا؟ فقلت : هذا صوت صنعته وأهديته لك ولم يسمعه أحد قبلك ؛  
فأزداد به عجبًا وطربًا ، وقال للجارية : خذيه عنه ، فألقيته عليها حتى أخذته ، فسر بذلك  
وطرب ، وقال لي : ما أجد لك مكافأة على هذه الهدية إلا أن أتحوّل عن هذه  
الحزاقاة بما فيها وأسلمه إليك ؛ فتحوّل إلى أخرى وسأمت لي بنزانتها وجميع  
آلاتها وكل شيء فيها ؛ فبعت ذلك بمائة ألف وخمسين ألف درهم ، وأشترت  
ضيقى الصالحية .

وقال علوييه : خرج المامون يوما ومعه أبيات قد قالها وكتبها في رقعة بخطه وهي :

خرجت إلى صيد الطباء فصادني \* هناك غزال أدع العين أحور  
غزال كأن البدر حل جبينه \* وفي خده الشعري المنيرة زهر  
فصاد فؤادي إذ رماني بسهمه \* وسهم غزال الإنس طرف ومخجر  
فيامن رأى ظييا يصيد ، ومن رأى \* أفا قيص يضطاد قهرا ويقسر

قال : فننيت فامر لي بعشرين ألف درهم .<sup>(٢)</sup>

## ذكر أخبار معبد البيقطيني

قال أبو الفرج : كان معبد هذا غلاما مولدا من مولدى المدينة ، أخذ الغناء عن  
جماعة من أهلها ، وأشتره بعض ولد على بن يقطين . وأخذ الغناء بالعراق عن إسحاق  
وآبن جامع وطبقتهما ، وخدم الرشيد ولم يخدم غيره من الخلفاء ، ومات في أيامه .

(١) زلال (على وزن غراب مضاف الى به المتكلم) : ضرب من سفن دجلة كالحرارة والعليار .

(٢) في الأغاني : « عشرة آلاف » .

## نهاية الأرب

فنونه الأدب

Dian Jia Haraud

تأليف

M. O.

شهاب الدين أحمد بن عبد الوهاب التوري

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للتأليف والترجمة والطباعة والنشر

قد لعمري بث ليبي \* كأي الداء الوجيع  
ونجى الهتم مني \* بات أدنى من نجيعي  
كلما أبصرت ربعا \* خاليا فاضت دموعي  
قد خلا من سيدكا \* ن لنا غير مضجع  
لا تألمنا إن خشعنا \* أو همنا بخشوع

وكان معبد قد علمها هذا الصوت فندبته به . قال إسحاق بن إبراهيم الموصلي :  
كان معبد من أحسن الناس غناء ، وأجودهم صنعة ، وأحسنهم حلقا ، وهو إمام  
أهل المدينة في الغناء ، وأخذ عن سائب خاثر ونسيب الفارسي مولى عبد الله بن جعفر ،  
وعن جميلة مولاة بهز (بطن من بني سليم) . وفي معبد يقول الشاعر :  
أجاد طويس والسريجي بعده \* وما قصبت السبق إلا لمعبد  
وحكى أبو الفرج أيضا :

أن الوليد بن يزيد أشتاق إلى معبد ، فوجه إليه البريد إلى المدينة فأحضره . فلما  
بلغ الوليد قدمه أمر بركة ملئت ماء ورد وخاط بسك وزعفران ، ثم جلس الوليد  
على حافة البركة وفرس لمعبد مقابله وضرب بينهما ستر ليس معهما ثالث . وحي  
بمعبد فقيل له : سلم على أمير المؤمنين وأجلس في هذا الموضع ، فلم فرد عليه من  
خلف السجف ، ثم قال له : أتدري لم وجهت إليك ؟ قال : الله أعلم وأمير المؤمنين .  
قال : ذكرك فأحسنت أن أسمع منك فقال له : أنت خير مني . ثم قال :  
أمير المؤمنين ؟ قال : [بل] عن :

ما زال يعدو عليهم ريب دهرهم \* حتى تفانوا وريب الدهر عداء

(١) كذا في الأغاني (ج ١ ص ٣٨ طبع دار الكتب المصرية) . وفي الأصل : «خلقنا» بالخاء  
المعجمة وهو تصحيف . (٢) الزيادة عن الأغاني .

يا هند إنك لو علمت \* بيت بعاذلين نتابعا

قال : فبدرت من بينهم فقبلت عينه ، فهافت القوم عليه يقبلونه ، ولقد رأيتني  
وأنا أرفعهم عنه شفقة عليه .

وكانت وفاة ابن سريج بالعلّة التي أصابته من الجذام بمكة في خلافة سليمان  
ابن عبد الملك أو في خلافة الوليد ، ودُفن في موضع يقال له «دسم» . رحمة الله عليه  
وعفاه عنه وغفر له . والحمد لله رب العالمين .

حكى أنه لما أحضر نظر إلى ابنته نبكي فبكى وقال : إنه من أكبر همي  
أنت وأخشى أن تضيعي بعدي . فقالت : لا تخف فما غيت شيئا إلا وأنا أغذبه .  
فقال : هاتي ، فأندفعت فغنت وهو مصغ إليها . فقال : قد أصبت ما في نفسي  
وهونيت على أمرك . ثم دعا سعيد بن مسعود الهدلي فزوجه إياها ، فأخذ أكثر غناء  
أبيها وأتخله .

## ذكر أخبار معبد

هو معبد بن وهب ، وقيل : ابن قطنى مولى ابن قطن ، وقيل : إن قطن مولى  
العاص بن واقصة المخزومي ، وقيل : مولى معاوية بن أبي سفيان . غنى معبد  
في أيام بني أمية في أولها ، ومات في أيام الوليد بن يزيد بدمشق .

قال أبو الفرج الأصفهاني :

كانت حُرُوت ثلاثة جارية للوليد بن يزيد بن عبد الملك وأخذت  
بعمود السرير والناس ينظرون إليها وهي تتدبه وتقول شعر الأحوص :

(١) دسم : موضع قرب مكة .

(٢) في الأغاني (ج ١ ص ٣٦ طبع دار الكتب المصرية) : «وابصة» بالباء الموحدة .

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x Ma'bed b. Uchb

x Tuveys

15 MAYIS 1996

## THE EFFEMINATES OF EARLY MEDINA

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There is considerable evidence for the existence of a form of publicly recognized and institutionalized effeminacy or transvestism among males in pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabian society. Unlike other men, these effeminates or *mukhannathūn* were permitted to associate freely with women, on the assumption that they had no sexual interest in them, and often acted as marriage brokers, or, less legitimately, as go-betweens. They also played an important role in the development of Arabic music in Umayyad Mecca and, especially, Medina, where they were numbered among the most celebrated singers and instrumentalists. Although they were subject to periodic persecution by the state, such measures were not based on any conclusions about their own sexual status—they were not assumed to be homosexual, although a few were—but on their activities as musicians and go-betweens, which were seen as corrupting the morals of society and especially of women. A particularly severe repression under the caliph Sulaymān put an end to the *mukhannathūn*'s prominence in music and society, although not to their existence.

IN THE COURSE OF THE FIRST ISLAMIC CENTURY, the holy cities of Mecca and Medina suffered a drastic loss of political power. As the rapidly expanding empire incorporated the populous provinces of Syria and Iraq, the caliphal capital was moved first to Kūfa and then to Damascus, and, after the defeat of the counter-caliph Ibn al-Zubayr in Medina in 73 A.H./A.D. 692, the political significance of the Hijaz was reduced to an occasional futile rebellion. At the same time, the institution of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca from all corners of the empire assured the prosperity of the two cities, and the system of stipends (*diwān*) instituted by the caliph 'Umar provided the local aristocracy, among the Quraysh and Anṣār, with a dependable, and bountiful, source of wealth which—more or less intentionally—compensated for their political impotence. The result of this situation was the development of a refined and self-indulgent society, dedicated to luxury and the pursuit of the arts. Traditional Arabic poetry underwent a rapid evolution, producing among other innovations the independent love lyric; and a series of celebrated musicians, closely associated in their endeavors with the love poets, introduced new instruments and new musical styles into the peninsula.

Studies of this first, classical period of Arabic music have often remarked on the fact that the sources regularly identify many male musicians, including some of

the most prominent, as "effeminates," *mukhannathūn*.<sup>1</sup> Observing that our meager sources on pre-Islamic music refer almost exclusively to women, while the most celebrated musicians of the subsequent 'Abbāsīd period were men, Owen Wright has suggested that these *mukhannathūn* represent "an intermediate, transitional stage in the transfer from a female-dominated to a male-dominated profession",<sup>2</sup> and he has further speculated that their presumably dubious social status, like that of the slave-girls who, with them, dominated musical circles, contributed to an increasing hostility by the pious to entertainment music, which they associated with wine, sexual license, and the frivolous pursuit

<sup>1</sup> Or *mukhannithūn*. The lexicographers generally consider the forms *mukhannath* and *mukhannith* simple variants, and I shall use the former throughout this article; on attempts to distinguish between the two semantically, see below, p. 675.

<sup>2</sup> Owen Wright, "Music and Verse," in *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature, I: Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, ed. A. F. L. Beeston et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983), 446f. See also H. G. Farmer, *A History of Arabian Music to the XIIIth Century* (London: Luzac, 1929), 44; Shawqī Dayf, *al-Shi'r wa-l-ghinā' fi l-Madīna wa-Makka li-'aṣr Banī Umayya* (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1967), 67.

executed after the insurrection of Ibn al-Ash'ath [q.v.], in 83/703.

He was probably born about 20/640 or even earlier. He had contacts with Mu'awiya (41-60/661-80), and 'Abd al-Malik appreciated him to such an extent that he sent him as an ambassador to Byzantium and entrusted him with the education of his son Sa'īd al-Khayr. According to a rather detailed, but perhaps fictitious report he played a certain political role as early as 38/658, during the negotiations between Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and 'Amr b. al-Āṣ at Dumat al-Djandal after the Battle of Šiffin. His reputation was based on his juridical competence. Traces of his *fatwās* can still be found in our sources. In his use of precedents he obviously did not differentiate between prophetic tradition and the *sunna* of the caliphs; he referred to decisions of Mu'awiya (an attitude which later jurists were completely unable to understand), and some of his *ḥadīths* go back to 'Uḥmān (reigned 23-44/635-56) whom he may still have met personally. Although probably born in Kūfa, he did not appreciate the juridical tradition connected with 'Alī (if it existed already at his time); his father, a companion of the Prophet, had already attracted the attention of his Kūfan neighbours by his 'Uḥmānī leanings. We do not know why and when, in spite of his favoured position at the court of 'Abd al-Malik, he joined the ranks of Ibn al-Ash'ath. He was captured at Mecca, together with his brother Sa'īd, and evidently executed by order of the caliph himself, at Damascus.

Later tradition tended to explain his fate by his Qadarī convictions. But this must not have been his primary motive. We do not have any detailed information about his thinking; he was not a theoretician like his younger contemporary al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [q.v.]. Much of our material results from a *damnatio memoriae* which was initiated by predestinarian circles. But this was a slow process which did not begin before 110/729, when al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī had died, and was only finished in the second half of the second century when the Qadariyya [q.v.] as a whole was boycotted by the majority of the *ahl al-ḥadīth*. A decisive moment for the development was apparently the Qadarī take-over under Yazīd III in 126/744; anti-Qadarī groups in Syria as well as in Baṣra then discovered Ma'bad as a bad example of a doctrinarian who had tried to push through his ideas by means of a revolution. According to them, he had been "the first who talked about *ḥadar* in Baṣra". Later on, not earlier than 130/748, this statement was modified by the assertion that he had taken over his ideas from a Christian or a Magian convert among the *Asāwira* by the name of Sūsan or Susnōya (also other forms are given). The persons responsible for this campaign are to be found in the predestinarian wing of the school of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (e.g. Yūnus b. 'Ubayd, died 139/756 or 140/757; 'Abd Allāh b. 'Awn, died 151/768). They wanted to detract the attention from the fact that their master himself had been close to Qadarī theories. For them, the decisive point was that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, in contrast to Ma'bad al-Djuhanī, had not drawn any political consequences out of them.

**Bibliography:** A detailed "biography" is given by Ibn 'Asākir in the unedited part of his *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, but there are lots of other (normally short and biased) reports. The material available up to now has been used in J. van Ess, *Ma'bad al-Djuhanī*, in *Islamwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen Fritz Meier zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 1974, 49 ff. Cf. also W. M. Watt, *The*

*formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973 index s.n.; Redwan Sayed, *Die Revolte des Ibn al-Aṣ'ath und die Koranleser*, Freiburg 1977, 360 and *passim*. (J. van Ess)

MA'BAD B. WAHB, ABŪ 'ABBĀD, one of the great singers and composers in Umayyad times, was born in Medina and died at Damascus in 125/743 or 126/744. Being the son of a negro, he was an 'abd and later on became *mawlā* of one of the Maḥzūm families, serving them as overseer of their cattle. Like many other oriental musicians, he is said to have been led to music by a dream, and he took music lessons from Sā'ib Khāthir and Naṣhīf. He soon made a name for himself in Medina and followed invitations to sing at Mecca, where Ibn Suraydj set the fashion. Here he carried off the prize at a tournament of song organised by Ibn Šafwān al-Akbar (d. 73/692). Ma'bad sang at the courts of the caliphs al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik and Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. After the death of Ibn Suraydj (ca. 108/726), he reached the zenith of his career as a number of the literary and artistic circle of the prince al-Walīd b. Yazīd. When the latter became caliph in 125/743, he invited the old singer to Damascus. Ma'bad, already weakened in health, fell ill and died in the palace after having suffered from partial paralysis. The caliph himself accompanied the bier to the palace boundaries.

Ma'bad, one of the "four great singers" in early Islam, was the leading musician of the Medinan school of music. As to his way of composing songs, his own description has been handed down: "I back my mount, beat the rhythm with the wand (*ḥaḍīb*) on the saddle and chant the verse until the melody comes right (*Aghānī*<sup>3</sup>, i, 40). He preferred "heavy" (*thakīl*) rhythms, abounding in fioriture. Several of his songs became known under specific names, like *al-mudun* or *al-ḥuṣūn* ("cities, fortresses") alluding to places conquered by Kutayba b. Muslim [q.v.], or *Kutaylāt*, three songs on verses by al-A'shā on a girl called Kutayla. His songs (*viz.* song texts) were collected by his pupil Yūnus al-Kātib in his *K. fi 'l-Aghānī* and, later on, now with indications on melody (*ṭarīka*) and rhythm (*ikā'*), by Ishāk al-Mawṣilī in his books *K. Aghānī Ma'bad* and *K. Akhbār Ma'bad wa-Ibn Suraydj wa-aghānīhimā*. Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī made use of these sources in his *K. al-Aghānī*, together with other monographical collections of Ma'bad's songs (*ibid.*<sup>3</sup>, iii, 305), including a *Djāmi' ghinā'* Ma'bad transmitted by al-Hishāmī.

He seems to have educated numerous singing girls and singers. Among his best-known pupils figure Ibn 'Ā'isha, Mālik b. Abi 'l-Samḥ and the songstresses Sallāma and Ḥabāba. Through his pupils Ḥakam al-Wādī, Daḥmān, Ash'ab and Siyāf he influenced the early Baghdād musical style. Ishāk al-Mawṣilī (d. 235/850) considered him to be "a consummate singer" having "a talent superior to all his rivals", and he took Ma'bad's songs as models of "pure Arab" music. Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Kātib (early 5th/11th century) counted them among the perfect melodies and therefore, contrary to normal practice, not any more allowed to be altered by embellishments. From his lifetime onwards, Ma'bad figures in Arabic poetry (al-Buḥturī, Abū Tammām and others) as the musician par excellence.

**Bibliography:** *Aghānī*<sup>3</sup>, i, 36-59 (main source, see also indices); Djumahī, *Tubakāt*, Cairo 1952, 538-40; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 447-9; Ṭabarī, iii, 417, 541-2; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *ʿIkā'*, vi, Cairo 1949, 25, 30; Fārābī, *K. al-Mūsīkī al-kabīr*, Cairo 1967, 56, 60; al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Kātib, *Kumāl*