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# Studying the Near and Middle East at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, 1935-2018

Edited by  
Sabine Schmidtke

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# EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN LITERATURE IN TENTH-CENTURY ISLAMIC COURTS

BILAL ORFALI

Academics today often worry about the job market, at least in their early careers. Graduate students often ask their mentors about the procedure of being hired for an academic position. The answer is fairly simple. After thorough educational training, preferably at a reputable institution, one browses the job market, often via the Internet, listservs, or professional websites, and then locates suitable vacancies and applies for them. The expectations of positions at research institutions usually include research, teaching, and administration. An individual's application file typically consists of an application letter, his or her CV, letters of recommendation, and sometimes a writing sample or a representative publication. This is followed by an interview on campus, and if the candidate is lucky, an offer is extended. When the offer is negotiated and accepted, both parties sign a contract. Some accept immediately, while others negotiate better terms. Some stay at the position for a lifetime and became associated with the institution, while others move on later to greener pastures, repeating the tiresome process all over again. Of course, some positions are more secure, and some are more demanding; some are located in central cities, and some are better paid. Some scholars become famous and can move freely between institutions. Some are tapped for positions, and some even have positions tailored to attract them.

Were things different in the premodern Islamic world? How did scholars and litterateurs obtain positions at courts? And how did they move from one court to another? Through select examples from two major literary anthologies by Abū Maṣṣūr al-Thaʿālibī (d. 1039), this article addresses several questions related to the literature "job market" in the Islamic world of the tenth century.

Abū Maṣṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Thaʿālibī was an *adīb*, poet, critic, lexicographer, historian of literature, prolific scholar, and one of the most important literary figures in the tenth to eleventh centuries.<sup>1</sup> Al-Thaʿālibī's most important contribution to Arabic literature is perhaps the literary-historical work reflected in his two celebrated anthologies, *Yatimat al-dabr* and its sequel *Tatimmat al-Yatima*. The *Yatima* is a four-volume anthology of poetry and prose intended as a comprehensive survey of the entire Islamic world in the second half of the tenth century. It is arranged geographically and includes a total of 470 poets and prose writers. The *Tatimma* follows the same principle of organization but includes writers whom al-Thaʿālibī came to know later in his life. The originality of these two anthologies lies in the fact that they deal exclusively with contemporary literature and that they categorize this literature not chronologically or thematically, but geographically by region.

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Many litterateurs, both poets and prose writers, sought the patronage of *amirs*, viziers, rulers, or important local families. These courts of the tenth-century Islamic world were located in various cities, given the establishment of rival dynasties, and litterateurs competed to secure a living in them. The diversity of courts naturally increased the number of positions available and the need for educated individuals to carry out certain duties in the courts. Patrons, however, were selective, and competition was fierce. The nature of the positions also varied. There were visiting litterateurs (*al-ṭārīʿūn*) and those who resided in the courts for longer periods (*al-muqimūn*). Some desired a stable position in court, such as that of a secretary, a scribe in the office of correspondence (*dīwān al-rasāʿil*), a librarian, or a boon companion, whereas others pursued their patron's occasional gifts and allowances.

Some poets remained loyal to one patron, spending most of their lives at his court or residence. Their names became associated with that patron. Al-Thaʿālibī mentions, for example, that Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 967) remained at the court of al-Muhallabī.<sup>2</sup> The judge Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jurjānī (d. ca. 1012) settled at the court of al-Ṣāhib b. ʿAbbād after many journeys,<sup>3</sup> and Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Jawharī (d. 987) was one of al-Ṣāhib's favorites.<sup>4</sup> Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Nāmī (d. 1009) adhered to Sayf al-Dawla's court and was second only to al-Mutanabbī.<sup>5</sup> Abū Manṣūr Yahyā b. Yahyā al-Kātib was close to the *amir* Abū l-Faḍl al-Mikālī.<sup>6</sup> Al-Thaʿālibī labels such close relations as “exclusively dedicated to” (*shadīd al-ikhtisāṣ bi-*), “dedicated to” (*ikhtisāṣa bi-*), and “made him his protégé” (*iṣṭanaʿahu li-naṣibihi*).

Normally a litterateur would leave a court when the relation with his patron was destroyed and the latter stopped acting generously toward the litterateur. Before finding a new court, the litterateur was wise to conceal his true feelings about a patron that he disliked. Abū l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭāhirī (d. ca. 933), for example, served the Samanids in public but disparaged them in private (*kāna yakhdīm Al Sāmān jabran wa-yahjūhum sirran*). His hatred extended to their viziers and officials, and even their capital, Bukhara.<sup>7</sup>

### ADMISSION TO A COURT

Litterateurs competed to secure a living in any of the courts located in major cities. This meant, naturally, that most of them had to start at minor or local courts and continue seizing better opportunities until they reached fame. Renowned litterateurs wandered relatively freely from one court to another. Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī, for example, moved among six courts without an invitation letter; however, he needed al-Ṣāhib b. ʿAbbād's intercession to visit ʿAḍud al-Dawla. Interestingly, there was an allegation in the *Akblāq al-wazīrayn* of al-Tawḥīdī that al-Khwārizmī was spying for al-Ṣāhib, which justified ʿAḍud al-Dawla's reluctance to admit him to his court.<sup>8</sup>

A patron might invite a luminary to his court and encourage the visit with gifts, as happened with al-Ṣāhib b. ʿAbbād and Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābī.<sup>9</sup> A litterateur's refusal could incur the wrath of his host. Both al-Ṣāhib b. ʿAbbād and al-Muhallabī instigated the litterateurs at their court to write against al-Mutanabbī after he declined their respective invitations.<sup>10</sup> In some cases a litterateur had to politely decline an offer for practical reasons. The Samanid *amir* Nūḥ b. Manṣūr extended an invitation to al-Ṣāhib b. ʿAbbād to serve as his vizier; Ṣāhib, however, declined and justified this by

not being able to move with a load of books on four hundred camels.<sup>11</sup> This might, of course, be a made-up excuse or an indication that the offer was not sufficient, but it also shows that some litterateurs felt comfortable where they were and did not wish to move.

Seeking or meeting a patron is a frequent topic in *akhbār* since the ninth century.<sup>12</sup> For a poet to be received at a court, the patron needed to know his work. Several amateur or novice litterateurs did not produce circulating *ḍiwāns* or books; instead, they sent their literary production to al-Thaʿālibī on slips of paper and epistles in hopes that he would include them in his second edition of the *Yatīma* or in its sequel, the *Tatīmma*.<sup>13</sup> If successful, the work of these unknown litterateurs would circulate, granting them some recognition, especially if a famed critic like al-Thaʿālibī had commented upon them favorably. Hence, anthologies concerned with contemporary literature, such as the *Yatīma* and its several sequels,<sup>14</sup> became important vehicles for publishing original literature, that of nonprofessional poets who did not produce circulating *ḍiwāns* and were still seeking recognition and access to courts.

Ideally, the candidate's reputation should have preceded him, but he might have had to establish (or reestablish) ties with a patron by sending along a writing sample—a letter, poem, or book—that demonstrated his talent. The litterateur might explicitly declare his wish to visit the court. If returning to a court, it was opportune for the litterateur to justify his absence and apologize for it.<sup>15</sup> In other cases, news of a litterateur's intended visit reached the court and the patron then issued an invitation.<sup>16</sup>

A litterateur might have requested someone else's intercession. When he was young, al-Hamadhānī was brought by his father to the court of al-Šāhib.<sup>17</sup> The frequent intercessions gave rise, according to Beatrice Gruendler, to a new subgenre of praise poetry that lauded the intercessor and the patron who responded to the intercession.<sup>18</sup> Abū Ṭālib al-Ma'mūnī was advised by al-Khwārizmī to praise *al-shaykh* Abū Maṣṣūr Kuthayyir b. Aḥmad in order to have him intercede on his behalf to join the literary circle of the army commander Abū l-Ḥasan b. Sīmjūr.<sup>19</sup> The intercession could also take the form of a written recommendation. Al-Thaʿālibī, for example, included three letters by al-Šāhib b. ʿAbbād, recommending Abū l-Ḥasan al-Salāmī (d. 1003), who wished to join the court of ʿAḍud al-Dawla; Abū l-Ḥasan al-Jawharī, who wished to be patronized by Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Ḍabbī; and Abū l-Ḥasan al-Sijzī al-Nawqātī, who specifically requested such a letter before returning to his homeland, Sijistān.<sup>20</sup> In al-Salāmī's case, the letter was not addressed directly to the new patron, ʿAḍud al-Dawla, but rather to his secretary and vizier, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yūsuf (d. 998).<sup>21</sup> Al-Thaʿālibī also describes the reception of al-Šāhib's letter:

Al-Salāmī stayed at al-Šāhib's court in great favor, noble rank, and bright pleasures until he preferred to visit the court of ʿAḍud al-Dawla at Shiraz. Then al-Šāhib prepared him and gave him a letter in his handwriting to Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yūsuf. The text is:

“My master, may God prolong his life, knows that the merchants of poetry are numerous like hair, while those one trusts to present jewels fashioned of their talent, and to offer ornaments woven with their minds, are fewer. Among those I have tested and then praised, and urged by examination then chosen, is Abū l-



Ḥasan Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh al-Makhzūmī al-Salāmī, may God support him. He has a quick wit that surpasses deliberation and a way in excellence that piques the ear’s attention, just as the gaze pleases by its pasture. He has ridden [the back of] hope and was advised [to aim for] the glorious court, to attain [the rank of] his peers and disclose among them the brightness of his condition. I have prepared the *amir* of poetry for his parade and adorned the horse of eloquence with him as a rider. This letter of mine is his scout for raindrops, rather his road to the sea. If my lord heeds my words about him and takes it among the reasons to accept him, may he do it, if God, exalted is He, wishes.”

When he arrived, Abū l-Qāsim helped him, was gracious to him, and brought him to ‘Aḍud al-Dawla so he recited his *qaṣīda*: ...

Then the wing of welcome enveloped him and offered him the key of hope.<sup>22</sup>

### MEETING A PATRON

A first meeting with a patron required a special performance on the part of the litterateur, for introductory words set the tone of the relationship. In examining the meeting of a patron as a standard element in books devoted to poets from the ninth century, Beatrice Gruendler has identified some recurrent props and personages in this plot type.<sup>23</sup> As in the ninth century, this type of *akhbār* in the *Yatima* portrays the poets who met with success; the poets who failed remained obscure.

Among many such stories, al-Tha‘ālibī recounts of Abū l-Ḥasan al-‘Alawī al-Waṣī al-Hamadhānī (d. after 998)<sup>24</sup> that he thought long and hard about his first meeting with al-Ṣāhib and finally chose to use a Qur’ānic reference to Yūsuf: “This is but a noble man” (*mā hādihā illā baṣbarun karīm*).<sup>25</sup> Al-Ṣāhib cleverly retorted with a verse from the same sura: “Surely, I perceive the scent of Yūsuf, unless you think I am senile” (*innī la-ajīdu riḥa Yūsufa lawlā an tufannidūn*).<sup>26</sup>

### LEAVING A COURT

Litterateurs anthologized in the *Yatima* and the *Tatimma* often roamed from one court to another in search of patronage, easily shifting their loyalties. Patronage was a contract, and the violation of the contractual terms by either party would terminate the relationship. The poet Abū l-Ḥasan al-Nawqātī succinctly explained the terms of this relation:

If you are stingy with beneficence to me  
And I do not attain a gift from you  
You are a slave like me  
And why should I serve a slave?<sup>27</sup>

In many cases, an incident that enraged the patron or humiliated the litterateur would compel the latter to leave. Several such incidents are listed in the entry on al-Ṣāhib b. ‘Abbād, such as an unfortunate bout of flatulence, which occurred twice in al-Ṣāhib’s court:

Al-Hamadhānī related to me saying: A jurist known as Ibn al-Khuḍayrī attended the debate circle (*majlis al-naṣar*) that al-Ṣāhib held nightly. One day he dozed off

(*ghalabathu ʿaynahu*) and a loud fart escaped from him. He was ashamed and avoided the *majlis*. So al-Ṣāhib said: Relay to him:

O Ibn al-Khuḍayrī, do not go in shame  
 Because of an accident from you that was as the flute (*nay*) or the lute (*ʿūd*)  
 You cannot imprison the wind (*rīḥ*)  
 Since you are not Solomon son of David

A similar incident was said to have happened to al-Hamadhānī in the *majlis* of al-Ṣāhib, and he was ashamed and said: “[It was] the squeaking of the sofa (*takbīṭ*).” Al-Ṣāhib said: “I am afraid it was the squeaking from the underneath (*taḥt*).” One says that this embarrassment was the reason for his departure from the court for Khurāsān.<sup>28</sup>

The two incidents are combined because of their similarity and because both occurred in al-Ṣāhib’s court. This allows al-Thaʿālibī to dispense with the first part of the second story and concentrate on the different outcome: Ibn al-Khuḍayrī showed remorse and was forgiven; al-Hamadhānī did not admit his mistake and had to leave. In some cases, a litterateur had to flee without even waiting for a caravan, as happened with one of the false poets (*mutashāʿirūn*) who had plagiarized al-Ṣāhib.<sup>29</sup> The patron, however, might tolerate the bad manners of a talented litterateur, as was the case with Ibn Lankak al-Baṣrī and al-Muhallabī. Al-Thaʿālibī says:

One day the vizier al-Muhallabī invited him [Ibn Lankak] to a meal, and while he was eating with him [the poet] suddenly blew his nose into a large handkerchief and spit into it. Then he took an olive from a bowl and bit it so violently that its pit sprang out and hit the eye of the vizier. [The vizier] was amazed at his ill-mannered gluttony but he bore with him because of his strength in *adab*.<sup>30</sup>

In some cases, a litterateur and a patron would patch up their relationship. The poet and librarian Abū Muḥammad al-Khāzin (d. ca. 993–4), for example, contacted al-Ṣāhib b. ʿAbbād after a decade of estrangement to apologize for having “voluntarily” left his court. He described the misfortunes that had afflicted him in the intervening years, said that he was coming back “out of necessity,” and stressed that the exile had taught him a lesson.<sup>31</sup>

A litterateur’s departure from a court was not necessarily because of ill feelings between patron and client; Ibn al-Ḥajjāj left the court of Ibn al-ʿAmīd still praising him and without specifying his destination or the reason for his departure.<sup>32</sup> In other cases, the litterateur asked the patron’s permission to leave. This was the case with Abū Ṭālib al-Maʾmūnī (d. 993) after the poet’s enemies poisoned his relation with al-Ṣāhib (he was said to have cursed the Muʿtazila).<sup>33</sup> Al-Maʾmūnī stressed in his departure poem that he would spread the word of al-Ṣāhib’s generosity. Some poets enjoyed their time at the court but desired to return home. This occurred with Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī and Abū l-Ḥasan al-Sijzī al-Nawqātī, who obtained written permission from al-Ṣāhib to depart. In these documents, al-Ṣāhib praises them, comments on their literary ability and character, and confirms his wish to have kept them at court.<sup>34</sup> The poet al-Salāmī obtained an in-

roduction to the court of ʿAḍud al-Dawla from his former patron al-Šāhib b. ʿAbbād.<sup>35</sup>

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The *Yatīma* and the *Tatīmma* thus illustrate both courtly life in the tenth century and al-Thaʿālibī's role as a historian of literature. Al-Thaʿālibī often tells us what the patrons looked for, how they selected the litterateurs who applied to their courts, and what the letters of recommendation, entrance exams, job interviews, offers, and negotiations looked like. Books were often composed and dedicated to patrons and occasionally named after them. Al-Thaʿālibī relates how such a work would be received and remunerated by the patron.

Most of these accounts are success stories and thus attest to the talent and excellence of the litterateurs. They also demonstrate the generosity of the patrons and their care in selecting litterateurs to their courts. On the one hand, the accounts are entertaining, and on the other, they contain examples of excellent sayings, signatory notes/apostilles (*taṣṣīḥ*), and letters. Both qualities make these stories suitable for inclusion in literary anthologies.

Moreover, patronage and the quest for patronage are common themes in tenth-century literary anthologies, and one can argue that among the goals of al-Thaʿālibī's anthology is to promote the work of his contemporaries and guide them through their careers by providing examples to follow, as well as incidents of successes and failures. Anthologies were not always secondary texts selected from primary *divāns* and circulating "books." Rather, sometimes, as in the case of the *Yatīma*, they were the result of a dynamic process and correspondence between litterateurs. Al-Thaʿālibī thus was acting as a gatekeeper to the realm of admired literature. Through the accounts in his work, al-Thaʿālibī guided the litterateurs of his age, especially his fellow Khurāsānīs, on how they could secure and keep a position at the court, and what to do should they lose it.

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed biography of al-Thaʿālibī, see Bilal Orfali, "The Art of Anthology: Al-Thaʿālibī and His *Yatīmat al-dahr*," PhD diss., Yale University, 2009, chaps. 1–2; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 10, pp. 426a–427b (Everett Rowson), and the sources listed there.

<sup>2</sup> Abū Maṣʿūd al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsīn abl al-ʿaṣr*, ed. Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 4 vols., Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Saʿāda, 1956, vol. 3, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, vol. 4, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, vol. 4, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, vol. 1, p. 241.

<sup>6</sup> Al-Thaʿālibī, *Tatīmmat al-Yatīma*, ed. Muḥīd Muḥammad Qumayḥa, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1983, p. 194.

<sup>7</sup> Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, vol. 4, p. 96.

<sup>8</sup> Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Akḥlāq al-waṣṣīyayn*, ed. Muḥammad b. Tawīt al-Ṭunjī, Beirut: Dār Šādir, 1992, p. 108. For details, see Erez Naaman, "Literature and Liter-

ary People at the Court of al-Šāhib Ibn ‘Abbād,” PhD diss., Harvard University, 2009, p. 61.

<sup>9</sup> Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatima*, vol. 2, p. 246.

<sup>10</sup> Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatima*, vol. 1, pp. 136, 138.

<sup>11</sup> Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatima*, vol. 3, pp. 196–197.

<sup>12</sup> For a study of this type of accounts and their consequences, see B. Gruendler, “Meeting the Patron: An *Akbbār* Type and Its Implication for *Muḥdath* Poetry,” *Ideas, Images, and Methods of Portrayal*, ed. Sebastian Günther, Leiden: Brill, 2005, pp. 59–88.

<sup>13</sup> See Bilal Orfali, “The Sources of al-Tha‘ālibī in *Yatimat al-dabr* and *Tatimmat al-Yatima*,” *Middle Eastern Literatures* 16 (2013), pp. 1–47, here: p. 8.

<sup>14</sup> Among the surviving anthologies following in al-Tha‘ālibī’s footsteps are *Dumyat al-qaṣr wa-‘uṣrat abl al-‘aṣr* of al-Bākhari (d. 1075), *Wishāh Dumyat al-qaṣr wa-laqāb rawḍat al-‘aṣr* by Abū l-Ḥasan b. Zayd al-Bayhaqī (d. 1169), *Kharidat al-qaṣr wa-jaridat al-‘aṣr* by ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1201), *Rayḥānat al-alibbā’ wa-zābrat al-ḥayāt al-dunyā* by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khafājī (d. 1659) and its sequel *Nafhat al-rayḥāna wa-rashbat tilā’ al-ḥāna* of al-Muḥibbī (d. 1699), *Sulāfat al-‘aṣr fi maḥāsin al-shu‘arā’ bi-kulli miṣr* by Ibn Ma‘ṣūm al-Madanī (d. 1692), and *Tuḥfat al-dabr wa-nafhat al-zābr* of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Dāghistānī (d. 1791), which survives in MS Cambridge University Lib. Add. 785 and MS Topkapi 519.

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, Abū Taghlib with ‘Aḍud al-Dawla, in al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatima*, vol. 2, p. 117; and Abū l-Qāsim al-Za‘farānī with al-Šāhib b. ‘Abbād, in al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatima*, vol. 3, p. 354.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, the case of al-Šāhib b. ‘Abbād and the judge Abū Bishr al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad al-Jurmānī, in al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatima*, vol. 3, p. 254.

<sup>17</sup> Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatima*, vol. 3, p. 197, and vol. 4, p. 257. Al-Tha‘ālibī does not specify the location of al-Šāhib’s court, but in 80/990 it was in Rayy; see Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-‘Utbī, *al-Yamīnī fi sharḥ akbbār al-sultān yamīn al-dawla wa-amīn al-milla Maḥmūd al-Ghaṣnavī*, ed. Iḥsān Dhannūn al-Thāmirī, Beirut: Dār al-Ṭālī‘a, 2004, p. 116. Everett Rowson notes that if we can trust an anecdote in al-Hamadhānī’s *dīwān*, he had already been introduced to al-Šāhib as a boy of twelve; see Rowson, “Religion and Politics in the Career of Badī‘ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107 (1987), pp. 653–73, here: p. 654.

<sup>18</sup> See Beatrice Gruendler, *Medieval Arabic Praise Poetry*, London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003, p. 9.

<sup>19</sup> Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatima*, vol. 4, pp. 163–164. On Abū l-Ḥasan al-Sīmjurī, see C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran, 994–1040*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963, p. 58; al-‘Utbī, *al-Yamīnī*, p. 143.

<sup>20</sup> Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatima*, vol. 4, p. 342. Interestingly, al-Šāhib concludes the letter by stating that its authenticity is established by his distinctive handwriting and articulation. For a translation and discussion of this letter, see Naaman, “Literature and Literary People,” pp. 69–70. Al-Tha‘ālibī mentions also that Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī carried with him letters of recommendation written by al-Šāhib, which opened doors of patronage for him. See al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatima*, vol. 3, p. 357.



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- <sup>21</sup> On ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Yūsuf, see al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīma*, vol. 2, pp. 313ff.
- <sup>22</sup> Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīma*, vol. 2, pp. 401–402.
- <sup>23</sup> See Gruendler, “Meeting the Patron.”
- <sup>24</sup> He served after al-Šāhib in the court of *al-amīr* Maḥmūd al-Ghaznawī (d. 1030); see al-‘Utbī, *al-Yamīnī*, p. 163.
- <sup>25</sup> *Mā hādḥā basharan in hādḥā illā malakun karīm*; Qur’ān 12:31.
- <sup>26</sup> Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīma*, vol. 3, p. 204; Qur’ān 12:94.
- <sup>27</sup> Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīma*, vol. 4, p. 343. The translation is taken from Naaman, “Literature and Literary People,” p. 59.
- <sup>28</sup> Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīma*, vol. 3, p. 202.
- <sup>29</sup> Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīma*, vol. 3, p. 200.
- <sup>30</sup> Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīma*, vol. 2, p. 352.
- <sup>31</sup> Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīma*, vol. 3, p. 325; for stories of this type, see al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīma*, vol. 3, p. 203. On al-Khāzin’s escape from al-Šāhib’s court, see Naaman, “Literature and Literary People,” p. 58.
- <sup>32</sup> Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīma*, vol. 3, p. 94.
- <sup>33</sup> Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīma*, vol. 4, pp. 161–162. This story has been analyzed by Erez Naaman in “Literature and Literary People,” pp. 47ff.
- <sup>34</sup> Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīma*, vol. 4, pp. 342–343, 385.
- <sup>35</sup> Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīma*, vol. 2, p. 401.