Approaches to the Study of Pre-modern Arabic Anthologies

Islamic History and Civilization

STUDIES AND TEXTS

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Approaches to the Study of Pre-modern Arabic Anthologies

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BRILL

To the memory of

Suha Orfali (1972–2017)
Soraya Saliba (1932–2018)

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Preface

Literary anthology is a general category of *adab* that encompasses a range of compilations which has enjoyed tremendous popularity in Arabic literature, probably like no other literature of the world. This general category is divided into several subcategories such as anthologies concerned with form, encyclopedic anthologies, theme and motif anthologies, anthologies based on comparisons, mono-thematic anthologies (e.g., works that discuss the themes of love, wine, condolences, travel and *al-ḥanīn ilā al-awṭān*, gray hair, and pairing praise and blame of various things), geographical anthologies, musical anthologies, anthologies concerned with figures of speech, chronological biographical anthologies, and anthologies devoted to the works of one poet.

The aim of this volume is to raise and discuss questions about the different approaches to the study of pre-modern Arabic anthologies from the perspectives of philology, religion, history, geography, and literature. It was our divergent perspectives in our analyses of *adab* compilations that instigated us to organize a conference on Approaches to the Study of Pre-modern Arabic Anthologies to bring in scholars from multiple disciplines to develop a multi-dimensional conversation around pre-modern Arabic anthologies. One main purpose was to bring out their richness and the many possible angles one can approach such texts. The omissions and inclusions, the forms, and the connotations and silences of the text can be used to discover how experience was formulated and how priorities were arranged. What sort of thinking does a particular anthology want to produce? What possibilities of thinking are excluded? What does it keep from sight?

In addition to learning about specific disciplinary perspectives, the meetings and consequent proceedings were concerned with overarching questions such as: What are the reasons behind the popularity of this type of writing in Arabic literature? More importantly, what are the functions of a literary anthology? Can literary anthologies be studied as original works that possess a structure and an agenda in their own right despite drawing from a fixed repertoire of texts? How does the choice of material reveal the individual interests of the compiler? Can the literary selections in an anthology be used in (re)constructing a lost work or an author's literary theory? This volume also collects studies that tackle the internal logic and coherence of a work, to wit, the ways in which entries are organized, the elements frequently encountered, and the author's skills in compiling, arranging, and commenting on the *akhbār*.

Such exemplary texts not only reflect a dominant ideology, but also contribute towards the dominant discourse by shaping, selecting, and confirming

cultural constructs governing intellectual and social life. What is the potential of these sources for historians? What are the particular caveats and concerns when analyzing such compilations?

The first category tackles the questions of "Compilation, Authorship, and Readership." The first article in this category, by Isabel Toral, deals with a classic in Arabic literature, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* by the Andalusī Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940), particularly its birth. The study reconstructs the trajectory and varying impact of the encyclopaedic anthology. It shows how this work, originally composed in a region located at the margins of Arabic culture, first underwent phases of ambivalent evaluation in the Islamic West, until it ended up in the Mashriq in the Ayyubid period. There it experienced great success as an encyclopaedia and eventually became a paramount example of metropolitan Abbasid belles-lettres and one of the most successful anthologies of Arabic literature in history.

Enass Khansa looks at contextualizing knowledge in Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī's (d. 542/1147–1148) *al-Dhakhīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-Jazīra* (Treasure/Treasury of the Charms of the People of the Iberian Peninsula). Recent examination of *adab* and *adab* anthologies has encouraged the investigation of the epistemological and broader cultural implications of knowledge production, and, thus helped critique the decades-long approach that viewed anthologies as static and descriptive enterprises with nothing new to offer. Despite these changes, an apolitical definition of *adab* persists in the scholarship, leaving the contextual project of anthologies and the role they assume in stabilizing political programs severely understudied. In the study of the Islamic Maghrib, this definition facilitated a central view of anthologies that assumed the uncritical transfer of eastern classical literature into its new Andalusī/North African milieu. In response to these threads, this study looks at the political transformation of al-Andalus through an examination of Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī's *al-Dhakhīra*. Khansa argues that, as a leading anthology of its time, *al-Dhakhīra* showcases how knowledge production responded to the political and cultural transformations al-Andalus/North Africa underwent during the *Ṭāʾifa* kingdom period. The paper unveils how Ibn Bassām argued for a dynamic view of knowledge, rejected the dominance of the Islamic eastern canon in al-Andalus, and recognized the profound entanglement of knowledge production and the political program of his time. Through the example of *al-Dhakhīra*, the study calls for recognizing the contextual aspect of anthological works. Lastly, in analyzing these features, the study hopes to provoke two particular questions: first, a challenge to the apolitical understanding of *adab* anthologies that has eclipsed important aspects of anthological writing; and second, a recognition that anthologies need to be taken seriously by scholars, not as sources, but

as independent projects that may inform inquiries into intellectual, political, material, and art histories.

David Larsen in the third article in this category sets off to reconstruct a lost example of the genre of poetry anthologies called *kutub al-maʿānī*. In these works, scholars collected *abyāt al-maʿānī*, whose meanings are ambiguous and obscure. Some *abyāt al-maʿānī* are excerpts from longer compositions by poets who did not aim to cause puzzlement; and for critics (e.g., al-Suyūṭī), these represent the category's ideal type. Others are composed with intentional puzzlement as their principal aim, and these present a great deal of overlap with the genre of enigmatic verse called *aḥājī* (sg. *uḥjiyya*). *Abyāt al-maʿānī* are, in other words, a post-positive category in which classical and contemporary materials are freely combined, and the work of major poets is thrown together with anonymous puzzle-masters. Despite critics' efforts to isolate a formal type, the ideal is always exceeded by the category. Larsen's exploration of the category is carried out through a review of fragments from *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* of Abū Naṣr al-Bāhilī (d. 231/846). Abū Naṣr was the amanuensis of al-Aṣmaʿī, whose books he transmitted, and for this reason he is sometimes called Ghulām al-Aṣmaʿī, but it is as *ṣāḥib Kitāb al-Maʿānī* that he is most often identified. The findings of this article are that a reconstruction of *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* is not possible, but that its fragments—strewn across the browsable surface of lexicography and anthology tradition—afford a valuable perspective on *kutub al-maʿānī* and their heterogeneous contents.

Boutheina Khaldi also looks at the anthologies from the angle of compilation processes and contribution to a corpus of knowledge beyond poetry and prose classifications. She focuses on ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. ʿAbdullāh al-Bahāʾī al-Ghuzūlī's (d. 715/1412) anthology *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr fī manāzil al-surūr* (The Rising of Full Moons in the Mansions of Pleasure) as a case in point. *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr*, as the author explains, is not merely a compilation of poetry and prose anecdotes. Al-Ghuzūlī is present in every anecdote, report, narrative, and ruse. His attention to language raises the anthology to *belles-lettres* without compromising content. The author argues that al-Ghuzūlī is both a compiler and an author's alternate whose master conceit of a house accommodates him as well as an ensemble of authors, poets, scientists, and their ilk. Like Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī (d. 768/1366), and Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434), al-Ghuzūlī gives his contemporaries some space that ensures their presence alongside the classicists. He converses with his quoted authors across time and space on an equal footing to carve out a niche for himself as a poet and a critic. The author reads al-Ghuzūlī's anthology not only in view of its place in the record of Mamluk literature, but also as a reconstitution of/departure from an archive deeply rooted in the classical heritage through a re-writing that debunks the "decline" thesis once and for all.

The second category is "Pleasure" and consists of two articles that focus on the organization and function of two unique books. In the first article Jeremy Kurzyniec explores some of the organizational strategies found in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* (Compendium of Pleasure), a massive, late tenth-century sexological treatise attributed to a certain Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Naṣr al-Kātib. The book contains large quantities of otherwise unattested Greek, Persian and Indian material, albeit it remains unpublished in its entirety to this day, owing in part no doubt to its great size and, at first glance at least, to its somewhat sprawling, haphazard construction. First glances can be deceiving, however, and closer examination reveals *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* to be anything but haphazard in the way it organizes its unprecedently diverse haul of sources. In this regard, the first part of the article considers the manner in which *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* "unites" and intermixes its sources, focusing especially on the syncretic structure of the chapter entitled "On the Merit of Sex and its Benefits" (*Fī faḍl al-nikāḥ wa manāfiʿihi*). The second part discusses the way *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* does precisely the opposite and divides its content, showing a strong predilection for listing, categorization and taxonomy, especially in the form of *tashjīr* diagramming, which both the oldest and youngest manuscripts of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* feature in abundance. Finally, in the third part, the article takes up the larger question of rationale: Why should all of this material be combined in a single work? Who reads it and why? To what genre does it belong? This contribution involves a consideration, albeit tentative and general, of the genre of *kutub al-bāh*, which confusingly comprises both literary and purely medical texts. It is in this area that the strongest claim for the ingenuity of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* can be made.

In the second article Carl Davila focuses on the social life of one manuscript of the musical anthology of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*. The idea of an anthology implies that the work has been created for a purpose. This article argues that this purpose is fundamentally a social one, and proposes a function-oriented definition of the work. No type of anthology makes this clearer than does a songbook, which presents not just poetry, but a repertoire intended to facilitate performance. The history of pre-modern Arabic-language songbooks is explored, with special reference to the "Andalusian music" traditions of North Africa, and within that, *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*. The "social life" of manuscript #144 at the al-Khizāna al-Dāwūdiyya in Tetouan, Morocco, illustrates this well, lying as it does at the intersection of four functional dimensions: mnemonic, performative, literary and symbolic. As social and technological conditions change, so too can the functional "life" of such a document develop into an "afterlife" that reflects these altered circumstances.

The third category of articles falls under "Religion and Education." Lyall Armstrong directs his attention to Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (d. 281/894), a prolific writer

who composed several works on death and dying which constitute an early anthology of death traditions in the Islamic community. The article analyzes a few of these works, primarily his *K. al-Mawt* and *K. al-Qubūr*, both of which are no longer extant, as well as his *K. al-Muḥtaḍarīn*. He examines how Ibn Abī l-Dunyā organized these works, shows that these works became an important source for later Islamic scholars, and explores the themes that these traditions address, such as encouraging the faithful to greater levels of piety, illuminating the nature of one's existence after death, and admonishing political authorities to rule justly.

Hans-Peter Pökel studies a foundational work from the same period, the famous *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* of Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), a work that has left its mark on many anthologies and encyclopedias in Arabic literature. The work contains ten chapters on different topics that were apparently important to a third/ninth century urban, educated audience in the center of the Abbasid Empire. It is an illustrative example of a highly anthologizing work of *adab* literature since it presents several sources collected from Arabic and non-Arabic backgrounds, including Hellenistic, Jewish, Christian, Persian and Indian references. Ibn Qutayba's voice is evident mainly in his introductory remarks in which he emphasizes that religious practice and understanding of scripture were an essential motivation for the production of his book. The author argues that the sources presented by Ibn Qutayba to an interested audience had the potential and the intention to refine the understanding of scripture that served as a guide for belief and practice. The article demonstrates how the Quran was understood and received in a broader intellectual context. Ibn Qutayba's reflections on religion, which is part but not the only aspect of human life, focuses on a moderate understanding of scripture and offers his audience varieties of understanding that help to avoid exaggerations of literal and intentional readings, something that was of primary importance in his time.

The third paper in this category, which is by Matthew L. Keegan, looks at quranic exegesis, but in an unusual location, a poetry anthology. The essay examines an exegetical poetry anthology by Ibn Nāqiyā (d. 485/1092) entitled *al-Jumān fī tashbīhāt al-Qurʾān*. The *Jumān* is organized around the exploration of the poetic intertexts of specific quranic verses. It, therefore, blurs the boundaries between *adab* anthologizing and quranic exegesis. Ibn Nāqiyā also wrote fictive *maqāma*s, which indulge in the burlesque and the obscene. This article, therefore, widens its purview to demonstrate that anthologizing is a generically promiscuous activity that is found in narrative prose genres like the *maqāma* and in books like al-Tawḥīdī's *K. al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, in which al-Tawḥīdī portrays himself as a live-action anthologizer. The article takes Ibn Nāqiyā's engagement with wine as a case study and includes an appendix with a trans-

lation of the *Jumān*'s discussion of heavenly wine. It is demonstrated that Ibn Nāqiyā uses the strategies of poetic anthologizing in the *Jumān* to draw intertextual connections between the Quran and the Arabic poetic tradition. How these intertextualities are understood by the readers depends very much on the context that the readers supply and on the meaning they make from the junctures and disjunctures between the various pieces of discourse that have been collaged together. Ibn Nāqiyā exploits this ambivalence of context to the hilt to explore and amplify quranic meaning.

"Geography" is the subject of the last category of articles. Jerusalem occupies an important place in Muslim religious history. Their veneration of the city has been showcased in several literary genres, especially in the compilations called the *Faḍāʾil* (religious merits) of Jerusalem. This article by Suleiman A. Mourad examines these *Faḍāʾil* books as religious/historical anthologies. The argument it makes is that studying them as anthologies gives us a deeper understanding of their nature and function, as well as of the agency (agenda, interest, taste, etc.) of their authors. It allows us to see how the authors wove together carefully selected material from the Bible, the Quran and *ḥadīth*, *futūḥ* and historical accounts, and eschatological narratives, in order to create images and perceptions of Jerusalem that have lasted for centuries. It also helps us realize another function of this literature, namely as historical/religious "commentary" on Jerusalem, and not as passive reporting of traditions and legends. Moreover, we can better identify the differences between them as reflective of historical periods that shaped the intellectual and religious tastes of the authors and dictated their choice of material to portray Jerusalem in their own respective anthologies of the city.

Ideological dimensions of geographical anthologies is the subject of the second article in this category. Nathaniel A. Miller focuses on the case of ʿUmāra al-Yamanī (d. 569/1174) in the *Kharīdat al-qaṣr*. Between 384/994 and 573/1178, a series of three geographically organized poetry anthologies was published: the *Yatīmat al-dahr* by Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1038), *Dumyat al-qaṣr* by ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Bākharzī (d. 476/1075), and the *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201). Hilary Kilpatrick, Shawkat Toorawa, and Bilal Orfali have all argued that medieval Arabic anthologists, far from being slavish compilers, engaged constructively and creatively with their material. Over the period between al-Thaʿālibī and ʿImād al-Dīn, the structure of the geographical anthology, which reflects origins in a literary debate on the relative merits of Iraqi versus Levantine poets, becomes progressively more expressive of a certain ideal of Sunni hegemony. This is most particularly the case in the *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* since for personal and political reasons ʿImād al-Dīn focuses much more extensively than his predecessors on Baghdad and the Abbasid

caliphate. Within the *Kharīda*, an emblematic case is ʿImād al-Dīn's biograph-
ical notice and selected poems of ʿUmāra al-Yamanī. ʿUmāra, a court poet to the
late Fatimid caliphs and their viziers, was executed under Saladin about two
and a half years after the dissolution of the Fatimid caliphate for conspiring to
restore it with the aid of the Franks. At the same time, ʿImād al-Dīn drew extens-
ively on ʿUmāra's writings and book collection in order to fill out the Yemen
section of his geographically organized anthology. In particular, ʿImād al-Dīn
drew on ʿUmāra's memoir, one of several examples of this new genre from
the period. His depiction of ʿUmāra represents a complex mixture of aesthetic
appreciation, political distortion, and literary appropriation. The act of antho-
logizing allowed ʿImād al-Dīn to re-sequence the poetry of ʿUmāra's memoir,
subordinating that personal narrative to the larger one of Saladin's ascendance
and the restoration of Sunnism in Egypt.

A number of *adab* anthologies that are studied in this volume, such as *al-
ʿIqd al-farīd* and *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, persist in their contemporary relevance. They
continue to be published and sold to the mainstream reading public. Therefore,
it is legitimate to ask how far these anthologies persist in forming and promot-
ing certain ideologies, literary tastes, and attitudes towards language, govern-
mant, and authority. Different generations of historians bring different ques-
tions and interests to the same, well-known texts. Asking different questions of
a familiar body of material is one of the ways in which "the dialogue between
modern scholars and their medieval documents is repeatedly reframed."[1] This
volume brings a fresh perspective on these ever relevant *adab* anthologies.

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1 J.M.H. Smith, "Introduction: Regarding Medievalists: Contexts and Approaches," in *Compan-
   ion to Historiography*, ed. Michael Bentley (London: Routledge, 1997), 106–116.

Acknowledgements

Figures and Tables

Figures

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century poetry anthology *Kharīdat al-qaṣr wa-jarīdat al-ʿaṣr* ("The Pearl of the Palace and Annals of the Age"), by Saladin's secretary, ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201). He has written articles published and forthcoming in *Arabica*, *Mediterranean Studies*, and *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

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Hans-Peter Pökel

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Isabel Toral

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PART 1

Compilation, Authorship, and Readership

∵

The *ʿIqd al-farīd* by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih: The Birth of a Classic

Isabel Toral

هذه بضاعتنا ردّت إلينا! ظننت أن هذا الكتّاب يشتمل على شيئ من أخبار بلادهم وإنما هو
مشتمل على أخبار بلادنا لا حاجة لنا فيه فردّه.

> This is our merchandise returned to us! I thought this book would contain
> some notice from their lands, but it just contains notices about our lands
> that we do not need. Return it!

This saying, put in the mouth of the famous Būyid vizier and man of letters
Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (326–385/938–995), is part of an anecdote that tells how Ibn
ʿAbbād, having heard of the famous anthology *al-ʿIqd* [*al-farīd*][1] by the Andalus-
ian Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, took great pains to obtain a copy. After reading it, he
reacted in disappointment with the absence of authentic Andalusian mater-
ial. The story, recorded by the polygraph Yāqūt[2] (d. 626/1229), is commonly
quoted to illustrate the lacklustre reception this Andalusian collection met in
the Mashriq (alluding to Q 12:65).[3] Another testimony, preserved in a letter by a
scholar of the fifth/eleventh century,[4] points to a comparably critical reception
in the Maghrib: "This work [the *ʿIqd*] provoked some criticism here (Ifrīqiya),

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1   The work was first entitled just *al-ʿIqd* (The Collar); the adjective *al-farīd* (unique) is a later
    addition. Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb* 27.
2   Yāqūt al-Rūmī, *Irshād al-arīb* ii, 67–82. For al-Yāqūt, cf. Gilliot, Yāḳūt al-Rūmī.
3   Q 12:65 "And when they opened their baggage, they found their merchandise returned to
    them. They said, 'O our father, what [more] could we desire? *This is our merchandise returned
    to us*. And we will obtain supplies for our family and protect our brother and obtain an
    increase of a camel's load; that is an easy measurement.'" In the following, I will use the geo-
    graphical term of "Mashriq" as a shortcut for the East of the Islamic world, i.e., Egypt, Iraq,
    Greater Syria, and Iraq; and put it in contrast to "Maghrib," i.e., al-Andalus and North Africa.
    This division corresponds roughly with the spatial order reflected by the sources themselves.
    The Maghribīs were particularly aware of this difference.
4   A Qayrawānī scribe of the beginning fifth/eleventh century named Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b.
    Muḥammad al-Tamīmī, commonly known as Ibn al-Rabīb. For a discussion of this letter, v.i.
    Reception: The Maghrib.

for [the author] did not describe the merits of his country in his book, nor did the nobleness of its kings constitute one of the pearls of this collar ... Finally, the work was put aside because it neglected what was of interest to the readers."[5] Both statements coincide in saying that the *ʿIqd* disappointed the readers since they expected an anthology produced in Andalusia to contain local material. Those in the Mashriq were eager and expected to learn new things from this distant place, while readers in the Maghrib considered that an Andalusian anthology should be the vehicle of local pride.

However, both testimonies do not do justice to the enormous success this encyclopaedic anthology[6] gained in the long run. The *ʿIqd* is not only preserved in numerous manuscripts and excerpts, in which it has been frequently quoted and used, but it is also one of the earliest *adab* works printed and reissued since 1876 in an amazing number of editions. The enthusiastic *exordium* by ʿUmar Tudmīrī in the 1990 Beirut reprint of the standard Cairo edition of 1940–1953, for instance, clearly expresses the high esteem of this book in Arabic culture to date: "We do not exaggerate if we say that every chapter and notice of the *Collar* merits to be called a book of its own ... in sum, the Unique Collar is a treasure of books ... the product of an impressive author."[7] The *ʿIqd* is also one of the few *adab* works that has been translated into English within the *Great Books of Islamic Civilisation* collection published under the patronage of H.H. Sheikh Muhammad bin Hamad al-Thani,[8] a series that includes Islamic works that are supposed to have had a "genuinely significant impact on the development of human culture."[9] In other words, it can rightly be qualified as a "classic" in Arabic literature.

How did this happen? To answer this question, the following study sketches a tentative "biography" of this work. The reconstruction of its trajectory and

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5   Wilk, In Praise of al-Andalus 143–145.
6   A very convenient category proposed by Bilal Orfali to denominate anthologies that share elements of both an encyclopaedia and an anthology, "the former because it attempts to cover all subjects of conversation, and the latter because it selects the best examples of their treatment in prose and poetry" (Orfali, A Sketch Map 40–41). The *ʿIqd*, in fact, is a hybrid between both textual forms since it has an all-encompassing thematic scope on the one hand—it also contains extensive historical passages (cf. Toral-Niehoff, History in Adab Context 61–85)— and, on the other, it still has a very strong focus on poetry (around 10.000 verses quoted).
7   Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Kitāb al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, p. ج.
8   Three volumes have appeared so far (translation from books 1–10), see Ibn ʿAbd-Rabbih, *The Unique Necklace: al-ʿIqd Al-farīd / Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih*, translated by Professor Issa J. Boullata, reviewed by Professor Roger M.A. Allen. Reading: Garnet 2007 (vol. 1), 2010 (vol. 2), and 2011 (vol. 3). According to Roger M.A. Allen (orally, to the author of this paper, London 2015), the Sheikh insisted personally to have the *ʿIqd* included in the series.
9   Ibn ʿAbd-Rabbih, *The Unique Necklace* (translation), vol. 1, ix ("About this Series").

varying impact will show how this encyclopaedic anthology, originally composed in Umayyad Andalusia, a region then located at the margins of Arabic culture, first underwent phases of ambivalent evaluation, but ended up becoming a paramount example of metropolitan Abbasid belles-lettres,[10] and one of the most successful anthologies of Arabic literature in history.

1 Origins: The Maghrib

The *ʿIqd* began as a provincial composition: it was written in Umayyad Cordoba by a local man of letters, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (246–328/860–940), who had never left al-Andalus.[11] From the perspective of the cultural and political metropole Baghdad, the capital of the Abbasid caliphate, this region was peripheral, and Mashriqī universal historians like al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 284/897) barely mentioned the region in their histories.

Abū ʿUmar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih b. Ḥabīb b. Ḥudayr b. Sālim was born in Cordoba on the 10th of Ramaḍān 246/28 November 860, and died in the same city on the 18th of Jumādā 328/3 March 940. He was a cultivated member of the ruling elite at the Umayyad court in Cordoba and came from a local family whose members were clients (*mawālī*) of the Umayyads since the reign of emir Hishām I (r. 172–180/788–796).[12]

He started his career as a panegyric court poet during the turbulent times of emir Muḥammad (r. 238–273/852–886), then al-Mundhir (r. 273–275/886–888), and ʿAbdallāh (r. 275–300/888–912), but we are unaware if he ever held an official position at the court administration as a *kātib*, for example. After a short period outside Cordoba, during the late *fitna* at the end of the third/ninth century, he came back to the Umayyad court around 300/912, which coincided with the rise to power of the young emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad (r. 300–350/912–961, since 316/929 caliph under the name ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir). There, he spent the last decades of his life as a celebrated court poet of the caliph, whom he praised in numerous poems, notably in a long *urjūza* celebrating the military campaigns at the beginning of his rule and preserved

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10   There are no previous studies on the reception history of the *ʿIqd* so far except some pages (quite superficial, though with interesting points) in Veglison, *El collar único* 77–84.

11   Hamori, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih; Haremska, Ibn Abd Rabbih; Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb* 16–43.

12   For biographical information and a list of sources, cf. Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb* 16–26; Haremska, Ibn Abd Rabbih; Averbuch, Ibn Abd Rabbih; Veglison, *El collar único* 13–18; Hamori, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih.

in the *ʿIqd*.[13] Probably, the cumbersome collection and composition of the *ʿIqd*, his main oeuvre, took place during this last tranquil period of his life. Although it does not contain a formal dedication to the caliph, a caliphal protection/endorsement to this time-consuming composition and collection is more than probable.[14]

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih got an excellent education as a *faqīh* and *adīb* in the emirate of Cordoba. According to his first known biographer Ibn al-Faraḍī (d. 403/1013),[15] he learned with the most prestigious scholars of his day, namely with Baqī b. Makhlad (d. 201–276/81 6–889), who had travelled twice to the Mashriq, staying there in total 34 years, to study with the main Iraqi jurists of the period, Ibn Abī Shayba and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.[16] Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's second famous teacher, Muḥammad b. al-Waḍḍāḥ (199–287/814–900), also visited Iraq and is said to have studied with nearly the same teachers as Baqī. Both are considered as having introduced the *ʿilm al-ḥadīth* (the discipline of prophetic traditions) in al-Andalus, a cultural technique that until then was rather unknown and much contested among the Malikī *fuqahāʾ* (sg. *faqīh*, law scholar) in the Peninsula.[17] This educational background might explain why Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih appears occasionally as a *faqīh* in the reception history—cf. e.g., in the anthology by Fatḥ Ibn Khāqān,[18] where he figures in the second section among the *fuqahāʾ* but not in the third, dedicated to the *udabāʾ*, litterateurs[19]—although, as far as we know, he never worked in this field.

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's third teacher, a scholar named Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Khushanī (d. 286/899), was probably much more important for his career as a litterateur.[20] Al-Khushanī had also travelled to the Mashriq for some time before 240/854, where he spent more than 25 years, mainly in Iraq. There,

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13   For a detailed analysis of the *urjūza*, cf. Monroe, The Historical Arjuza of Ibn Abd Rabbih.

14   For the caliphal dimension of the *ʿIqd*, cf. Toral-Niehoff, Writing for the Caliphate.

15   Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Kitāb Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, 8:37 fn. 118.

16   Marín, Baqi b. Majlad y la introducción; Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb* 267–270; Fierro, *La heterodoxia en al-Andalus* 80–88; Fierro, The Introduction of Ḥadīth in al-Andalus; Ávila, Baqī b. Makhlad.

17   Fierro, The Introduction of Ḥadīth in al-Andalus; Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb* 263–266.

18   D. 529/1134. For this scholar, cf. Bencheneb and Pellat, al-Fatḥ b. Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd.

19   Fatḥ Ibn Khāqān, *Maṭmaḥ al-Anfus* 270. The anthology is divided into three sections, one dedicated to *wuzarāʾ*, a second one to *ʿulamāʾ*, *quḍāt* and *fuqahāʾ*, and a last one dedicated to *udabāʾ*.

20   For Abū ʿAbdallah Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām al-Khushanī (218–286/833–899), cf. Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb* 254–262; Molina, Un Árabe entre Muladíes. He spent almost 25 years in the Mashriq and studied mostly among the philologers in Iraq.

he studied with some *ḥadīth* scholars, but was especially interested in all the philological disciplines—language and poetry. He studied in Basra with several students of the famous scholar al-Aṣmāʿī,[21] like Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī[22] and al-Riyāshī.[23] In Baghdad, he copied works written by Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838), the famous collector of *amthāl* (proverbs).[24] Al-Khushanī had an immense impact on the development of Andalusian letters. Following the model of his Iraqi masters, he taught in the Great Mosque and became the teacher of most Andalusian litterateurs of the period. Many traditions we find in the *ʿIqd* go back to the dictations of al-Khushanī.

In sum, the main teachers of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, in addition to other scholars whose material enriched the *ʿIqd*,[25] were locals whose commonality was that they had travelled to the main cultural centres in Iraq and had spent a long time there learning with principal intellectuals, particularly of Basra and Baghdad. A few were immigrants from the Mashriq, like Abū Jaʿfar al-Baghdādī (d. 322/934).[26]

These circumstances explain why the *ʿIqd*, though produced in the periphery, was, in fact, neither local nor provincial. As expressed in the quotations at the outset of this paper, there is scarcely any information about al-Andalus in the *ʿIqd*. Equally, there are no citations that can be attributed to Andalusian poets and litterateurs. The *ʿIqd* rather provides the reader with a well-ordered encyclopaedic sample of the best metropolitan Arabic literature, poetry, wisdom, and ethics that circulated in late third/ninth century Abbasid Iraq, and which formed the corpus of texts that would become part of the classic canon of Arabic literature. The result is such a perfect mimicry of Iraqi *adab* that it is easy to forget that the *ʿIqd* was not composed in Baghdad, but rather in the remote occidental periphery of the Islamic world. The only materials that

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21   Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Qurayb al-Aṣmāʿī (123–213/740–828), the famous philologist from Basra, is the most quoted authority on the *ʿIqd*, either directly, via his students, or anonymously. Cf. Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb* 304–321.

22   Abū Ḥātim Sahl b. Muḥammad al-Sijistānī (d. around 250/864), pupil of al-Aṣmāʿī, cf. Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb* 291–303. The majority of the traditions from al-Aṣmāʿī reached al-Andalus via this scholar, Werkmeister, 308.

23   Abū al-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās Ibn al-Faraj al-Riyāshī (ca. 177/793–257/871) from Basra. Cf. Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb* 283–291.

24   Weipert, Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām.

25   For a list of informants, "Die direkten Informanten," cf. Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb* 200–270.

26   Cf. Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb* 200–204. He was secretary of the Fatimids and probably a spy. He is said to have brought texts from al-Jāḥiẓ and Ibn Qutayba to al-Andalus.

can be unmistakably identified as Andalusian are the poetic fragments com-posed by the author himself, which are spread across the entire collection. As we will see in the following, this lack of regional colour and local traditions in an Andalusian work would be key for its failure and for its success at the same time.

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih was less known as an anthologist than as a poet: he was one of the most celebrated Andalusian poets of his time and was considered a master in the sophisticated *maṣnūʿ* (artificial) style, thus following the model of the Abbasid poetry of the third/ninth century.[27] His biographer Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1095) states that Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih was famed as "*the* poet of al-Andalus" (*shāʿir al-balad*) of his time. He describes in the biography of the poet Yaḥyā b. Hudhayl, a famous poet from ʿĀmirid times, how Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's funeral procession became a huge event in Cordoba and motivated the young man to become a poet as well.[28] There is also a famous anecdote in the anthology *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus* by the Andalusian Fatḥ b. Khāqān (d. 581/1134) that reports that the great poet al-Mutanabbī himself (d. 354/965) was a great admirer of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih.[29]

From his poetical oeuvre, around 1350 verses were preserved in the *ʿIqd*,[30] and around 400 other verses were scattered in various anthologies and bio-graphical notices. Unfortunately, his vast poetic collection, allegedly assembled at the request of the caliph al-Ḥakam II (r. 350–365/961–976) and known to have included some 20 *juzʾ*[31] (volumes), has since been lost. Being a proud poet, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's aim when composing the *ʿIqd* seems to have been to spread his fame as a poet beyond the boundaries of al-Andalus, and to put his own oeuvre in relation to that of his predecessors in the Mashriq. In this regard, he explains himself in his programmatic introduction:

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27   Cowell, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi; Continente, Notas sobre la poesía amorosa.

28   Al-Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwat al-muqtabis* 94–97.

29   Fatḥ Ibn Khāqān, *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus* 270–275. The anecdote referring to al-Mutanabbī is to be found on page 273 and is attributed to the authority of "certain people of the upper classes." According to the notice, a certain Abū al-Walīd b. ʿAbbād (otherwise unknown) went to the Mashriq for pilgrimage and met the great poet in the mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Fustāt. Al-Mutanabbī is known to have spent some time in Egypt, which makes the meeting plausible. There, ʿAbbād asked him for some verses from the "*malīḥ al-Andalus*" (genius of al-Andalus, referring to Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih), whose fame seems to have reached him. Abū al-Walīd recited four verses, which urged al-Mutanabbī to declare that Iraq should love him. The story is also found in al-Rūmī, *Irshād al-arīb* 81.

30   Teres, Algunos aspectos 449.

31   Al-Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwat al-muqtabis* 94.

> I have adorned each book of the "Necklace" with examples of poetry sim-
> ilar in idea to the prose passages it contains and parallel to them in mean-
> ing. I have added, in addition to these examples, the most unusual of my
> own poems; so that he who studies this book of ours may know that our
> Maghrib, despite its remoteness, and our land, despite its isolation, has its
> own share of poetry and prose.[32]

His own verses are, in fact, the only ones that are of local Andalusian produc-
tion in the *'Iqd*, which contains altogether around 10,000 verses. There were
illustrious Andalusian poets that had preceded him—he could have quoted,
for instance, poetry from al-Ghazāl or 'Abbās b. Firnās, the famous poets from
the courts of emirs al-Ḥakam I (r. 180–206/796–822) and 'Abd al-Raḥmān II (r.
206–238/822–852). Almost all chapters quote some of his verses, but Ibn 'Abd
Rabbih's presence is particularly palpable in his book chapter on poetry, book
no. 18, *al-Zumurruda al-thāniya fī faḍā'il al-shi'r wa makhārijihi* (The Book of the
Second Emerald on the Merits of Poetry, its Meters, and Scansion).[33] Normally,
he abstains from commenting and restricts himself to place his production in
close vicinity to great names. Sometimes, however, he even praises himself as
comparable and even superior to the Mashriqī poets: "Whosoever considers
the smoothness of this poetry [of mine] with the novelty of its content and the
delicacy of its fashioning [will note that] the poetry of Sarī' al-Ghawānī[34] does
not surpass it in eminence except by virtue of precedence."[35] He is thus follow-
ing a technique that resembles one used later by Ibn Shuhayd (d. 426/1035) in
his *Risālat al-Tawābi'*, where the latter added his poetical oeuvre to that of the
"greats" to participate in their prestige.[36]

    Most of the preserved poetry by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih belongs to the *ghazal* genre
(love-poetry) and consists of delicate and sophisticated elaborations of famil-
iar themes and topoi—e.g., love is a sickness, the beloved is a tyrant and blamer,
she/he is a gazelle, the teeth are arranged pearls. His style is characterized by
an abundant use of *tajnīs* (rhetorical figure to be translated as "paronomasia,
pun, homonymy, and alliteration"), repetition of words, balancing of phrases,
antithetical parallelism, and rhetorical questions, and thus corresponds to a
sophisticated *maṣnū'* (artificial) style well known from the "modernist" *badī'*

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32   Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Kitāb al-'Iqd al-farīd* i, 18.
33   Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Dīwān Ibn 'Abd Rabbih* 253–417.
34   Nickname of the poet al-Quṭamī, a Bedouin poet from the first/seventh century.
35   Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Kitāb al-'Iqd al-farīd* v, 391.
36   For this technique in anthologies, cf. Gruendler, Motif vs. Genre 81. For the general import-
      ance of emulation in Andalusī letters, cf. Teres, Algunos aspectos.

poetry.[37] He also composed elegies, *khamriyyāt* (wine-poetry), *ghulāmiyyāt* (homoerotic poetry), *munaḥḥisāt* (ascetic verses "which efface sins"), and panegyric verses to the emirs Muḥammad, al-Mundhir, ʿAbdallāh, and the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir, as well as other political leaders.[38] In addition, he composed two *urjūza*s, long poems of couplets in the *rajaz* meter, transmitted in the *ʿIqd*, a didactical one on poetical meter[39] and a historical one, praising the deeds and battles of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir.[40] According to the meticulous study of James Monroe, the poem was inspired by Mashriqī models; it emulates the earlier *urjūza* written by the Abbasid poet and caliph al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908).[41]

According to the Andalusian anthologist and poet Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī (d. 543/1147), some traditions indicate that he was also the first poet to compose *muwashshaḥāt* (strophe poetry), but they are not preserved.[42]

2   Reception: The Maghrib

Surprisingly, the *ʿIqd* seems not to have had a palpable impact in al-Andalus at first. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's composition seems not to have served as inspiration for similar collections of *adab* in Andalusia, nor was it reused or quoted, as the case would be later in the Mashriq. To briefly mention its closest parallel in al-Andalus, the large *adab* encyclopaedia *Bahjat al-Majālis* (Splendour of Sessions), by the Andalusian polygraph Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1071), neither quotes the *ʿIqd* nor has any explicit reference to it. It only mentions Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih once as a poet and quotes some verses of an astrological poem.[43] Furthermore, the thematic organization of the *Bahjat* seems to follow a different pattern than the *ʿIqd*. A meticulous comparison of both works and their organization, however, is essential to clarify their relationship.[44]

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37   For an analysis of his *ghazal* poetry, cf. Continente, Notas sobre la poesía amorosa; Cowell, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi.

38   Veglison, *El collar único* 71–75; Haremska, Ibn Abd Rabbih 623–625; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Dīwān Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih*.

39   Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Kitāb al-ʿIqd al-farīd* v, 422–433.

40   Ibid., iv, 454–479. Cf. the detailed study by Monroe, The Historical Arjūza and Averbuch, Ibn Abd Rabbih, 91–93.

41   Monroe, The Historical Arjuza 70. The Abbasid prince Ibn al-Muʿtazz praised the achievements of his royal cousin al-Muʿtaḍid in a historical poem containing, in its present form, 417 *rajaz* couplets celebrating his life and work; cf. Lewin, Ibn al-Muʿtazz.

42   Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī, *al-Dhakhīra* i, 469.

43   Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Bahjat al-majālis* ii, 118; Pinilla, Una obra Andalusí de Adab.

44   According to Veglison, *El collar único* 81, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr was inspired by the *ʿIqd*; cf. also

This does not mean that the *ʿIqd* was unknown in al-Andalus. In fact, when Maghribī and Andalusian authors mention Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, they always qualify him as the famous "*ṣāḥib* of the *ʿIqd*." Al-Faraḍī, his first biographer, though not explicitly noting the *ʿIqd* by name, already describes how the people appreciated ʿAbd Rabbih's *taṣnīf* (composition, probably the *ʿIqd*), poetry, and *akhbār* (notices).[45] Fatḥ b. al-Khaqān tells, "he has a famous composition (*taʾlīf*) that he called *al-ʿIqd* that was subdivided into chapters."[46] Al-Ḥumaydī also mentions as his main oeuvre a "large book called the book of the *ʿIqd* about *akhbār*, which he divided into sections according to their content (*ʿalā maʿānin*), naming the sections with the names of the [pearls] of a necklace."[47]

Nevertheless, we find quotations of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih verses in Andalusian anthologies. Some poetical fragments are preserved in the anthology of the Andalusian scholar Muḥammad b. al-Kattānī (d. 420/1029);[48] others are to be found in his biographies as previously mentioned, namely in al-Ḥumaydī, Yāqūt with reference to Ḥumaydī, and in the *Maṭmaḥ* by Fatḥ b. Khāqān.[49] They only overlap partly with those verses found in the *ʿIqd*, so that they cannot be considered as evidence for the reception of the *ʿIqd*, but rather of his poetical oeuvre.

Furthermore, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih appears in Andalusian sources as a protagonist of several anecdotes. For instance, he is said to have fallen in love with the voice of a famous slave who was a singer. He harassed her to the extent that her owner threw water on him to drive him away. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih composed a famous *qaṣīda*, blaming him for his stinginess.[50] Another one narrates his dispute with his friend and contemporary poet ʿAbd Allāh al-Qalfāṭ (d. 300/912), who consequently called his *ʿIqd* a "garlic string," *ḥabl al-thūm*.[51]

Pinilla, *Una obra Andalusí de Adab* 91. However, both authors do not elaborate on their argument. The *Bahjat* has 124 chapters (7 *bābs*) and other categories; furthermore, religious literature plays an important role. Like Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr draws almost exclusively on Mashriqī material, and it is to be expected that both collections share some common traditions; however, just to mention another crucial difference at first sight, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr always adds the *asānīd* in contrast to the *ʿIqd*.

45   Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Kitāb Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, 8:37, N. 118.

46   Fatḥ Ibn Khāqān, *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus*.

47   Al-Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwat al-muqtabis* 94.

48   For further information, refer to introduction by Hoenerbach (XIII–XVI) and index (239) for the quotations. Ibn al-Kattānī was the teacher of logic of Ibn Ḥazm.

49   Fatḥ Ibn Khāqān, *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus* 270–275.

50   Al-Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwat al-muqtabis* 94.

51   Terés, *Anecdotario de al-Qalfaṭ* 230–231. Another indication that it was considered his most famous and important oeuvre.

Finally, the *ʿIqd* appears in the context of the discussions about the comparative prestige of Andalusian letters and culture. This became a central concern among the Andalusī litterateurs of the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries, who condemned the uncritical imitation of Mashriqī models common in earlier centuries, emphasizing instead the excellence of local production. A famous polemical statement in this regard is that of the Andalusian anthologist Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī in the introduction of the *Dhakhīra*, an exclusively Andalusī anthology that mocks Andalusians who venerated the Mashriq to ridiculous excess, so that "if a crow croaked [in the East] or a fly buzzed in the far reaches of Syria or Iraq they would kneel in reverence before such a remarkable achievement."[52]

Within this debate, the *ʿIqd* seems to have become a typical representative of this outdated, "orientalising" approach, which would explain why it did not have much impact among litterateurs in the Maghrib. We are in possession of a precious statement in this regard, in a letter to Abū al-Mughīra b. Ḥazm—cousin of the famous poet, historian, jurist, philosopher, and theologian Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064).[53] The author of the letter was a Qayrawānī scribe of the beginning fifth/eleventh century named Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī, commonly known as Ibn al-Rabīb. In his letter, he reproached the Andalusians for not perpetuating the memory of their eminent scholars and letting them fall into oblivion.[54] This letter was the trigger for the famous *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus* (Epistle on the Praise of al-Andalus) by Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥazm—who did not mention Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih in this epistle. In his letter, Ibn Rabīb refers to:

> [T]he compilation of Aḥmad Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, which he named "the Collar." This work provoked some criticism here (*Ifrīqiya*), for he did not describe the merits of his country in his book, nor did the nobleness of its kings constitute one of the pearls of this collar. The occasion was favourable, yet the eloquence proved erroneous and the whole affair turned out to be just a sword without a cutting edge. Finally, the work was put aside because of abandoning what interested the readers and neglecting what they had been concerned with.[55]

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52   Ibn-Bassām al-Shantarīnī, *al-Dhakhīra* 2.

53   As transmitted to us by Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī (who quotes it in the chapter dedicated to Abū al-Mughīra: vol. I, 133–136) and also quoted by al-Maqqarī (directly preceding Ibn Ḥazm's *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus*); the two versions differ very slightly: al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* III, 156–158.

54   Wilk, In Praise of al-Andalus 143–145.

55   Ibid., 144.

Later, the appreciation of the *ʿIqd* in al-Andalus seems to have become more benevolent. Ibn Shaqundī (d. after 627/1231), for example, praised Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's excellence as composer of the *ʿIqd* in his own *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus*, where he addresses the Berbers of North Africa and expresses his pride as an Andalusian for having produced a classic.[56]

3   Reception: The Mashriq

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih is first mentioned in the Mashriq in the *Yatīmat al-Dahr* by al-Thaʿālibī (350–429/961–1038), a famous anthology composed in Nishapur.[57] In fact, one fourth of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's preserved verses are to be found in the ninth section of the first chapter of the *Yatīma*, which is dedicated to Andalusians and Maghribī poets. Al-Thaʿālibī preferred to quote contemporary poets he knew personally, but here he had to resort to second-hand, probably written material. He admits that the Andalusian material came to him via his friend Abū Saʿd b. Dūst, who had received them from a certain al-Walīd b. Bakr al-Faqīh al-Andalusī (d. 392/1002), a travelling scholar that had visited Syria, Iraq, Khorasan, and Transoxania and transmitted a lot of knowledge from the Maghrib.[58] Al-Thaʿālibī quotes poetry by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, but has no biographical notices and does not mention the *ʿIqd*. Since he includes some verses that are not quoted in the *ʿIqd*, we must suppose he had access to his poetical collection rather than to the *ʿIqd* itself, and that he mentions Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih since his Andalusians informants regarded him as the most famous representative of Andalusian poetry.

The next mention of the *ʿIqd* is to be found in the *Jadhwat al-muqtabis fī dhikr wulāt al-Andalus* by Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1095), an Andalusian scholar from Cordoba and student of Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥazm, who moved to the East in the late fifth/eleventh century and settled in Baghdad.[59] There, he composed the above-mentioned work, a biographical dictionary that for a while became the main reference about al-Andalus for Mashriqīs. In the *Jadhwat*, al-Ḥumaydī transmits a short biography of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih and some poetry, and mentions the *ʿIqd* as a huge "collection

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56   Ibid., 168. The addressees of this epistle are not the Mashriqīs as in the case of Ibn Ḥazm's *Risāla*, but the Berbers.

57   For the *Yatīma*, which would become a much-imitated model for anthologies, cf. the recent excellent study by Bilal Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art*.

58   Orfali, 126, ibid.

59   Huici Miranda, al-Ḥumaydī; Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwat al-muqtabis*.

of *akhbār* (historical reports/notices)" that is thematically ordered; however, this short reference does not suffice to validate a reception of the *ʿIqd* in the Mashriq.

This scarcity of information changes at the beginning of the seventh/thirteenth century, and it is Yāqūt al-Rūmī (d. 626/1229) who would play a key role in the dissemination of the *ʿIqd*. In the *Irshād*, his huge biographical dictionary, Yāqūt has an entry on Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, in which he quotes the standard biography by al-Ḥumaydī and enriches it with additional material.[60] Here we find for the first time the anecdote about the Būyid vizier Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād quoted at the beginning of this study. More important, however, is that Yāqūt states that he personally held the *ijāza* (authorization for the transmission) of the *ʿIqd* via Ibn Diḥya (d. 633/1235), a famous Andalusian scholar from Valencia who ended his days in Syria and Egypt after migrating to the Mashriq.[61] Ibn Diḥya was himself the author of an anthology of Maghribī poets called al-*Muṭrib fī ashʿār ahl al-Maghrib*, a vast anthology compiled in Egypt and dedicated to his royal patron the Ayyubid al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (r. 589–615/1196–1218).[62] Yāqūt quotes the *ijāza* in detail—the chain of seven transmitters ends with Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih himself[63]—and then proceeds to quote verbatim the table of contents of the *ʿIqd*, thus demonstrating that he probably had the book at hand. Yāqūt is also known to have met many Andalusian scholars who had migrated to Syria in huge numbers in the early seventh/thirteenth century due to the escalating *Reconquista* expansion of the Christian kingdoms on the Iberian Peninsula,[64] a dramatic development that motivated him to gather documentary evidence on the geography and culture of al-Andalus. Yāqūt, himself a librarian and book-entrepreneur, contributed decisively to the *ʿIqd*'s dissemination in the Mashriq.

In the following decades, we can first attest the use of the *ʿIqd* in Syria and Iraq, which supports the hypothesis that it had now arrived via Yāqūt–Ibn Diḥya and not earlier. The most important evidence is provided in the universal history al-*Kāmil* by ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1231). The whole section on the *ayyām al-ʿArab* ("Battle-days of the Arabs" in Pre-Islamic Arabia) in the

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60   Yāqūt al-Rūmī, *Irshād al-arīb* 67–83.

61   De la Granja, Ibn Diḥya.

62   Ibid.

63   The chain of transmitters quoted is the following: Ibn Diḥya < Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Thawba al-ʿAbdī < Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Maʿmar < Abū Bakr b. Hishām al-Muṣḥafī < his father < Zakariyā b. Bakr b. al-Ashbaḥ < Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih.

64   Cf. Pouzet, Maghrébiens à Damas 171. Pouzet also mentions Ibn Diḥya among the important Maghribī scholars that came to the Mashriq, in this case specifically to Cairo.

al-Kāmil, for instance, is based on the corresponding section of the *ʿIqd*.[65] It is probable that he quoted from a copy of the *ʿIqd* that he had received via Yāqūt.[66]

In the catalogue of the Ashrafiyya Library, a Damascene library from ca. 670/1270, we also find four mentions of the *ʿIqd*[67]—apparently all entries refer to excerpts or selections, since they are all introduced by *min* (from). In this library "books from the western Islamic world, [a]l-Andalus and the Maghrib constitute a noteworthy group," as the Maghribīs played a salient role in Damascene cultural life.[68]

From the seventh/thirteenth century onwards, the *ʿIqd* is quoted, reused, and abridged frequently.[69] Inter alia we will find a *mukhtaṣar* (abridgment) by Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311), and quotations of the *ʿIqd* in the encyclopaedia by al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333)[70] and in al-Qalqashandī's (d. 821/1418) chancellery handbook *Ṣubḥ*. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) used the *ʿIqd* as a source and mentioned the work as an example for the high esteem an Andalusian work enjoyed in Arabic letters; al-Ibshīhī (d. after 850/1466) mentioned explicitly the *ʿIqd* in his introduction as a model for his *Mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustaẓraf*, one of the most successful encyclopaedias in Arabic literature to date.[71] The *ʿIqd*'s popularity is also evident in the rich manuscript tradition; Walter Werkmeister found around 100 mss (more or less complete).[72]

The history of the *ʿIqd* in the eighteenth and nineteenth century still needs to be investigated, based on the rich manuscript evidence from this time and the numerous first prints, which shows that it continued to be very popular. For example, the high number of precious copies from late Ottoman times, some only one-volume copies that stem from Pasha libraries in the Süleymaniyye Library, suggests that it was perceived as a handy compendium of Arabic *adab* by the Ottoman elites.[73]

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65   Cf. Toral-Niehoff, Talking about Arab Origins 63–64.
66   After the death of Yāqūt, ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr is said to have been in charge of transferring Yāqūt's library to an endowment library in Baghdad, a task that he accomplished ineptly. Ibn al-Athīr was able to include lengthy passages on Andalusian history in his *Chronicle* without virtually moving from Mosul and Baghdad, thus amending al-Ṭabarī, who ignores/omits completely what happened beyond Egypt. Rosenthal, Ibn al-Athīr.
67   Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus* 730, 1549, 1555, 1590.
68   Hirschler, 38. Cf. Pouzet, Maghrébiens à Damas.
69   Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb* 38–43.
70   Like Ibn al-Athīr, he copied the section on the *Ayyām al-ʿArab* completely from the *ʿIqd*. Cf. Toral-Niehoff, Talking about Arab Origins 63–64.
71   Tuttle, al-Ibshīhī 238; Marzolph, Medieval Knowledge.
72   Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen Zum Kitāb* 38.
73   Cf. the one-volume expensive manuscript copies found in the Süleymaniyye Library:

The *ʿIqd* seems also to have experienced a renaissance in the context of the *Nahḍa*, probably as a stylistic reference for classic Abbasid prose. Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī (1801–1873), for example, included a lengthy quotation of the *ʿIqd* in his famous *Talkhīṣ al-Ibrīz*, his travel report about his stay in Paris, first published in 1834 and probably based on an Egyptian manuscript.[74] The *ʿIqd* became also one of the earliest books on *adab* printed in the Būlāq House, namely in 1876, which was followed by eight reprints or more.[75] Later, it was even used as teaching material: cf. the *Mukhtār al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, compiled by a group of teachers of the *Madrasat al-qaḍāʾ al-sharʿī* in Cairo and printed in 1913.[76]

4   The Long Birth of a Classic

As this paper has aimed to show, in his lifetime, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih was less known and perceived as a compiler and anthologist, but rather as a consummate Andalusian poet and as an author of elegant *ghazals*, *muwashshaḥāt* and panegyrics, who perfectly followed Iraqi poetical models. This probably was also his pride: Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih wanted to be perceived as a poet on par with the Abbasid poets of the Golden Age of Baghdad and the luminaries of previous ages.

The *ʿIqd* was probably collected on commission of the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir to promote *adab* in Cordoba and to introduce the local elites to Abbasid cultural models and attitudes, which were perceived as caliphal and metropolitan. The content was almost exclusively drawn from the traditions circulating in Iraq that had been imported previously to al-Andalus by Andalusian scholars who had travelled to the Mashriq in the pursuit of knowledge. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, for his part, seems also to have used the *ʿIqd* to promote his own poetical oeuvre beyond the boundaries of al-Andalus, hoping it would find readership in the whole Arab world. Altogether, the *ʿIqd* showed that Cordoba could compete on all levels with Baghdad.

After the fall of the Umayyad caliphate in 421/1030, however, the *ʿIqd*, almost exclusively based on Iraqi material, seems to have lost its appeal in al-Andalus, a region that started a process of regionalisation and became much more focused

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HEKIMOGLU 649 (dated 1152/1739); NUROSMANIYYE 4119; NUROSMANIYYE 4120; ATIFE-FENDI 1796; SÜLEYMANIYYE 871 (dated: 1135/1739).

74   Ṭahṭāwī, *Kitāb Takhlīṣ al-ibrīz* 203–206.

75   Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb* 41–42.

76   Ibid., 39.

on local production. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih was still known as the most eminent poet of the caliphal period, and so was his main work, the *ʿIqd*, but it seems not to have had a palpable impact. It was rather discarded as too "Mashriqī" and perceived as an example of outdated cultural vision, literary taste, and self-perception. Only part of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's poetry survived as quotations in anthologies, together with scarce biographical information on the author. An anthologist like Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī, only focused on local production, almost omitted him; Ibn Ḥazm did not mention him at all in his *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus*, and Ibn Rabīb tells about the disappointment Maghribī elites felt when they realized that almost nothing of the *ʿIqd* was of local production.

However, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's strategy of promoting his fame as a poet was successful in the Mashriq. By the end of the fourth/tenth century, notices about famed poets from caliphal Cordoba had already reached as far as Nishapur, so that al-Thaʿālibī felt the need to include some of them in his trans-regional anthology of contemporary poetry for the sake of completeness, even if he had to rely on written material. He was lucky to know a person in contact with an Andalusian who had travelled to the Mashriq and had probably brought some books, maybe Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's poetical collection. Therefore, he would be able to quote some of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's verses in his own anthology *Yatīma*, an anthology that would become very popular in the Mashriq and so contributed to disseminate the fame of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih beyond al-Andalus. However, al-Thaʿālibi had no notice about the *ʿIqd* and no reliable biographical information about his author.

Later, in the fifth/eleventh century, al-Ḥumaydī from Cordoba made his career as an authority on al-Andalus in Baghdad, where he composed the *Jadhwat al-muqtabis*, an anthology of Andalusian *adab* and poetry that would remain the central source of information about al-Andalus in the Mashriq for decades. The *ʿIqd* appears in the biographical entry of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih as his most celebrated work; however, we cannot ascertain if al-Ḥumaydī really had it at hand. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih is mainly introduced as an *adīb*, a protagonist of witty anecdotes and as a poet, and so some of his verses are quoted.

This changed in the eighth/fourteenth century in the Mashriq, with the arrival of Ibn Diḥya, a famous Andalusian scholar who ended his days in Syria and Egypt. Among other Andalusian material, he introduced the *ʿIqd* in the Mashriq, and so it came into the hands of al-Yāqūt, who got from him the *ijāza* for this work. It is now that we can ascertain that the *ʿIqd* had actually arrived in the Mashriq. Shortly after this, we find the *ʿIqd* quoted in Ibn al-Athīr, and it appears in the Ashrafiyya catalogue in various abridgements. Now we find *mukhtasar*s, quotations, and references in many works, and as far as we can

tell, it is now valued more as a useful encyclopaedia, and less as an anthology. In the Mamluk apogee of encyclopaedias, the multi-themed *ʿIqd* now fits perfectly in the cultural panorama.

This success as a handy encyclopaedia of classical *adab* continued in Ottoman times, and several precious one-volume copies attest to its ongoing popularity among the Ottoman elites who probably liked to adorn their shelves with this compendium of Arabic *adab*. In *Nahḍa* Egypt, the *ʿIqd* seems to have begun a new career as a handy reading book of classical Arabic and as compendium of literature of the Golden Age of Baghdad, and so it became a schoolbook and was selected as one of the early *adab* books printed in Būlāq, whose numerous reprints attest to its success.

This brief reconstruction of the *ʿIqd*'s textual history gives a short insight into the long journey of a text whose textual basis originated in Iraq, then travelled to al-Andalus, where it was organized and integrated into an encyclopaedic anthology, and then came "back" to the Mashriq, where it would become a celebrated classic. It also demonstrates the potential of reconstructing the details of a book's biography to better understand the complexities that accompany processes of canonization. By showing the ups and downs in its perception, we learn how the success of this text and its location in the literary system changed in the course of time, depending on the regional and historical context.

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"I Begin with the Kings": Contextualizing Knowledge in Ibn Bassām's *al-Dhakhīra*

Enass Khansa

1   Introduction

After over three centuries of unified Umayyad reign,[1] al-Andalus disintegrated into small independent *Ṭāʾifa* kingdoms, between the years 400/1008 and the final abolition of the caliphate in 422/1031, a period that came to be known as the *fitna*. The transition has been noted in numerous studies that examine the changes to the political rhetoric of rulership, the concomitant practices of patronage, and other aspects of economic and social life. Art historians, similarly, draw our attention to the material cultural evidence that testifies how the political transition from a caliphate to autonomous kingdoms informed new visual programs.[2] This paper looks at Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī's (d. 542/1147–1148) anthology *al-Dhakhīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-Jazīra* (Treasure/Treasury of the Charms of the People of the Iberian Peninsula), a leading anthological work from the *Ṭāʾifa* period, to examine how the area of knowledge production engaged with this period of political changes. That Ibn Bassām's editorial choices privileged contemporary Andalusī knowledge over classical works has been noted in the scholarship, yet not adequately contextualized within the political milieu of al-Andalus. Building on recent attention to the anthologies,[3] this study explores *al-Dhakhīra*'s project and unveils

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1   Al-Andalus was a dependent emirate, 92–138/711–756, under the Umayyad rule in Damascus; an Umayyad emirate, 138–316/756–929; then an Umayyad caliphate, 316–422/929–1031. See Alejandro García Sanjuán, al-Andalus, Political History.

2   See the works of Cynthia Robinson, especially her book *In Praise of Song*, which reconstructs the court culture of the *Ṭāʾifa* kings of al-Andalus (eleventh century CE), using both visual and textual evidence and identifying the interplay of the textual and the aesthetic. Also see Robinson, Ubi Sunt 20–31 and Dodds, *al-Andalus*.

3   For contextual approaches, see, for example, al-Qadi, Biographical Dictionaries 112; the volume entitled *On Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature*, edited by Philip F. Kennedy, especially Bray, ʿAbbasid Myth and the Human Act 1–54. It is pertinent to note the work of Suzanne Stetkevych, whose theory in several books advocates for an understanding of the primary role of panegyric poetry in constructing political legitimacy.

how Ibn Bassām proposed an innovative epistemological view that particip-
ated in the stabilization of his political milieu. Cultivated by the Umayyads,
the appeal of Islamic eastern literarture persisted into the period of the *Ṭāʾifa*
kingdoms, asserting continuity with the east that outlived its political currency.
In response, *al-Dhakhīra* introduces a dynamic view of knowledge that prior-
itizes the political context, and in turn, helps challenge the dominance of the
Islamic eastern canon. Through examining *al-Dhakhīra*'s engagement with the
transformations al-Andalus/North Africa underwent during the *Ṭāʾifa* period,
the present study wishes to bring attention to how *adab* anthologies, like many
aspects of Islamic culture, exhibit growth, adaptation, and renewed worldviews
that correspond to changing readership.

2   *Adab* and *Adab* Anthologies

Attending to the profound entanglement of knowledge production and polit-
ical contexts, the present study hopes to contribute to recent theories raised
in the field on classical *adab* and *adab* anthology. The most authoritative view
on *adab* comes from Shawkat Toorawa's work *Ibn Abi Tahir Tayfur and Arabic
Writerly Culture*. By marking the gradual turn from predominantly oral, to
a more balanced reliance on the written and the oral in Arabo-Islamic cul-
ture towards the end of the third century, Toorawa identifies *adab* as "the
Writerly culture."[4] Hilary Kilpatrick's take on *adab* remains an authoritative
definition as well, especially in her assessment of *adab* as an approach to writ-
ing rather than a genre. She argues that *adab* is "a work designed to provide
the basic knowledge in those domains with which the average cultured man
may be expected to be acquainted."[5] Several scholars similarly view *adab* as
an approach to writing rather than a genre, as noted by Bilal Orfali in his
exhaustive study "A Sketch Map of Arabic Poetry Anthologies up to the Fall
of Baghdad."[6] Orfali suggests that *adab* is "a term that resists precise defin-
ition," noting that most definitions agree that "moral and social upbringing,
intellectual education, and entertainment are key ingredients of *adab*."[7] He

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4   See Toorawa, *Ibn Abi Tahir Tayfur*.

5   See Kilpatrick, Adab.

6   Orfali, A Sketch Map 30–31. Orfali notes that Wolfhart Heinrichs highlights the practice of
     muḥāḍarāt (lectures) as an important aspect of *adab* (p. 30), while Joseph Sadan distin-
     guishes between oral *adab* and written *adab* (p. 31), and Samir Ali finds *adab* akin to the
     Greek notion of *paideia*.

7   Ibid., 29–30.

pertinently notes an aspect that is identifiable in most *adab* works, namely "the impulse to anthologize."[8] In his survey, Orfali shows that Gustave von Grunebaum emphasizes the concept of *adab* as form and as an approach or style, while Charles Pellat stresses the functional purpose of *adab* as moral, social, and intellectual curriculum.[9] To this rich body of scholarship, the present study wishes to contribute by critiquing two aspects, namely the conflation of *adab* and *adab* anthologies, and the predominantly apolitical view of *adab*. To do so, I suggest a twined claim, arguing first for the need to separate the analysis of *adab* and *adab* anthologies—since anthological thinking carries particular styles, rationale, and societal claims, and deserves attention as a unique form of knowledge production—and second, calling for the recognition of the political dimension of *adab* anthologies, a consideration that remains largely understudied. The analysis of *al-Dhakhīra* in what follows identifies the political reverberations of the *Ṭāʾifa* period on Ibn Bassām's epistemological theory and shows how *adab* anthologies respond to and stabilize their political contexts.[10]

3   *Adab* Anthological Writing in Context: *Al-Dhakhīra*

Al-Dhakhīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-Jazīra (Treasure/Treasury of the Charms of the People of the Iberian Peninsula), authored by Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī (d. 542/1147–1148),[11] has been widely used in the scholarship on the *Ṭāʾifa* kingdom period and has been particularly valued for lending insight into Muslim-Christian relations and Jewish histories[12] on the Iberian Peninsula in this period. Two aspects of the anthology grabbed researchers' attention. The first pertains to the Andalusī *adab* and historiography works that it preserved, which would have been otherwise lost,[13] and the second concerns Ibn Bassām's critical view of reproducing classical eastern literature. How the latter concern features in Ibn Bassām's project, and in what ways it speaks to the political and

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8   Ibid., 31.
9   Ibid., 30, fn. 1.
10   See a study of the political implication of anthological writing in Khansa, *The Necklace (al-ʿIqd)*.
11   Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra*.
12   See Ross Brann's *Power in the Portrayal Representations of Jews and Muslims in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Islamic Spain*, especially chapter three "Textualizing Ambivalence."
13   These include *al-Matīn*, by Ibn Ḥayyān, which is considered a major source for the historical information we have of the Umayyad, ʿĀmirid, and *fitna* periods. For more, see Herdt, Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī.

cultural transformations al-Andalus during the *Ṭāʾifa* kingdom period, will be the guiding question for this study. Through a close analysis of *al-Dhakhīra*, this paper proposes that Ibn Bassām's epistemological choices, which were antithetical to the prevalent cultural ethos of the time, embodied profound political concerns specific to the *Ṭāʾifa* kingdom period. More specifically, the paper argues that through a dynamic view of knowledge, Ibn Bassām devised a local focus with specific historical scope, through which he proposed an epistemological theory capable of framing and stabilizing the political program of the *Ṭāʾifa* kingdoms.

Ibn Bassām's career as a scholar flourished during the *Ṭāʾifa* kingdoms of Badajoz and Seville.[14] In addition to *al-Dhakhīra*, he produced six works that did not survive, except for certain passages that were included in *al-Dhakhīra* by Ibn Bassām himself.[15] It is believed that Ibn Bassām started *al-Dhakhīra* in 493/1099, citing two dates for the completion of volumes II and III as 502/1108–1109 and 503/1109–1110, respectively, but no definitive date has been ascertained for the completion of the work.[16] While Ibn Bassām does not specify the patron to whom he dedicates his anthology,[17] he names Santarém as his hometown, from which he was displaced, as he tells us in the preface to *al-Dhakhīra*.[18] He was forced to leave when the situation deteriorated, "*ḥīna ishtadda al-hawl hunālika*,"[19] most likely when al-Mutawakkil, ruler of Badajoz, surrendered a number of cities under his rule, including Santarém, to the Castilian king Alf-

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14   There are two possible dates for Ibn Bassām's birth, 462/1069 and 450/1058. See Baker, *Ibn Bassām as a Literary* 26.

15   These are *Kitāb al-Iʿtimād ʿalā mā ṣaḥḥa min ashʿār al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād*; *Nukhbat al-ikhtiyār min ashʿār dhī al-wizāratayn Abī Bakr b. ʿAmmār*; *al-Iklīl al-mushtamil ʿalā shiʿr ʿAbd al-Jalīl b. Wahbūn*; *Dhakhīrat al-dhakhīra*; and *Sirr al-dhakhīra*; for details, see Baker, *Ibn Bassām as a Literary* 54–56.

16   Lafta Baker gives 537/1143 as the possible date of completion, *Ibn Bassām* 79; against speculations of Ibn Bassām's students being responsible for completing and "publishing" the work, Lafta Baker suggests it was completed by Ibn Bassām himself. He writes, "That Ibn Bassam was, at any rate, contemplating the appearance of his work as an actual book cannot be doubted," adding, "There is no way of knowing whether or not Ibn Bassām is responsible for the form in which the *Dhakhira* appeared. However, there is more evidence for his having completed it himself than there is for its having been assembled by someone else after his death." See Baker, *Ibn Bassām as a Literary* 86.

17   Scholarly speculations suggest Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm, the governor of Granada and ʿAlī b. Yūsuf's brother-in-law; and Sīr Ibn Abī Bakr, who was in Seville. For more, see Baker, *Ibn Bassām as a Literary* 28. Amin Tibi agrees with ʿAbbās; see Tibi, Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī 316.

18   Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* i, 19. "*Intibādhī kāna min Shantarīn*."

19   Ibid.

onso VI (in 486/1093).[20] Ibn Bassām indicates that he took refuge in the city of Seville (or Ḥimṣ as it was also known), where he stayed for a number of years.[21]

Due to the challenges he faced during his displacement, Ibn Bassām appeals to his readers to excuse any shortcomings, citing the poor conditions of his sources, his dire living conditions, his old age, and his fading memory.[22] Having produced his anthology during such challenging circumstances, however, did not inhibit Ibn Bassām from cohering a clear epistemological vision and a distinct research methodology. In fact, he shares with the readers the process of producing the work. He had to edit what he found,[23] to exhume it from its poor state,[24] and to perform extensive research,[25] for the purpose of producing his book on the literature of al-Andalus.[26] While serving to buttress his credentials and authority as a scholar, detailing his research efforts is meant to draw our attention to an important aspect of *al-Dhakhīra*. Barring the two works Ibn Bassām credits as primary sources for his material, namely *K. al-Ḥadāʾiq* (The Book of Gardens) by Abū ʿUmar Ibn Faraj al-Jayyānī al-Andalusī (d. 366/976), which covers the Umayyad/ʿĀmirid period, and *al-Matīn* (The Solid) by Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076), which covers major parts of the fifth/eleventh century,[27] Ibn Bassām had little access to books because of the conditions of the material itself and the conditions of war. But more urgently, he had no sources to consult because of the innovation of his approach in choosing to focus on his own century. He had to find and collect the material himself since no other compilation on the works of his time existed.[28]

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20   Andreas Herdt suggests Ibn Bassām probably stayed in Seville for the rest of his life. See Herdt, Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī.

21   Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* i, 19. "*Wa-tagharrabtu bihā sanawāt.*"

22   Ibid., i, 18: Ibn Bassām tells us that he resorts to his "deserted campsite" (*ṭalalī al-bāʾid*), and strikes his cold iron (*ḥadīd al-bārid*)—a metaphor for writing /scholarship as an ironsmith—with memory that faded (*ḥifẓ qad tashaʿʿab*), and luck in life that was gone (*ḥaẓẓ min al-dunyā qad dhahaba*).

23   Ibid., i, 16. "*Intaqadtu mā wajadtu.*"

24   Ibid., i, 15. He further explains his method: (*fa-innamā jamaʿtuhu* [i.e., the material of the book] *min tafārīq ka-l-qurūn al-khāliya*); the scholia barely legible (*wa-taʿāliq ka-l-aṭlāl al-bāliya*); copied by uninformed scribes (*bi-khaṭṭ juhhāl ka-khuṭūṭ al-rāḥ*), in such poor conditions (*midrāj al-naml bayna mahābb al-riyāḥ*); when they try to edit texts, they commit *taṣḥīf* (i.e., misplace diacritical points).

25   Ibid., i, 16. "*Wa-mārastu hunālika al-baḥth al-ṭawīl wa-l-zaman al-mustaḥīl.*"

26   Ibid., "*Ḥattā ḍammantu kitābī hādhā min akhbār ahl hādhā l-ufuq.*"

27   Herdt, Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī.

28   Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* i, 16. Ibn Bassām tells his readers, "for most of the material I have included in this work, I have not found in written reports or anthologies of poetry, that could enable me to choose from" (*ʿalā anna ʿāmmata mā dhakartuhu fī hādhā al-dīwān, lam ajid lahu akhbār mawḍūʿa wa-lā ashʿār majmūʿa tufṣiḥu lī fī ṭarīq al-ikhtiyār minhā*).

Ibn Bassām iterates the rationale of his anthology, "I made it my mission to cohere the masterpieces I find, of my era, and the prowess of the people of my land and time."[29] The literary production of al-Andalus, in his assessment, excelled in the two arts (i.e., poetry and prose).[30] Choosing to cover the fifth/eleventh century,[31] as Ibn Bassām himself explains, was quite innovative and even antithetical to the cultural ethos of the time, as the interests of his readers lay elsewhere. We may infer from Ibn Bassām's preface that classical literature from the eastern Islamic centers was quite popular in al-Andalus; he writes, "If a crow croaked in that part of the world [i.e., the east] or if a fly buzzed on the far borders of Syria or of Iraq, they would prostrate themselves as if before an idol, and consider it [blindly] an authoritative work."[32] Ibn Bassām's objection does not necessarily concern the transmitted material itself or its eastern origins, as has been assumed;[33] his motives should not be understood as emotional—regional or "nationalistic"—as has been suggested.[34] Rather, Ibn Bassām was speaking as a critic, as will be argued, with clear epistemological and political views. In criticizing what he considered to be poor reading practices that prevailed during his time and the dominance of the eastern canon, Ibn Bassām is reacting to the marginalization of his position as a scholar. As Lafta Baker suggests, Ibn Bassām understood himself to be a stylist and a critic—and we see this in how he frames and evaluates the material in his anthology.[35] The celebratory appreciation of the past and the literary achievements of the east, in Ibn Bassām's assessment, did not only overpower

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29   Ibid., i, 12. "*Wa-akhadhat nafsī bi-jamʿ mā wajadtu min ḥasanāt dahrī wa-tatabbuʿ maḥāsin ahl baladī wa-ʿaṣrī.*"

30   Ibid., i, 11. "*Fursān al-fannayn wa-aʾimmat al-nawʿayn.*"

31   Ibid., i, 13. "*Wa-lā taʿaddaytu ahla ʿaṣrī.*"

32   Pellat, Ibn Bassām.

33   See Wadad al-Qadi's note "Ibn Bassam […] quoted Andalusia's great historian, Ibn Hayyan, in his rebellion against servility to the traditions of the East, and after that he went on to record the biographies of his Andalusian contemporaries from the litterateurs in the rest of the book," in al-Qadi, Biographical Dictionaries 103.

         Framing Ibn Bassām's work within an Islamic Eastern-Western paradigm, Alexander E. Elinson explains that Ibn Bassām hoped in his anthology "to highlight and distinguish Andalusī literary achievements in relation to the eastern Islamic world;" he further argues that Ibn Bassām's attitudes "illustrate an Andalusī cultural self-definition that holds the east in high esteem while at the same time striving to assert independence from it." See Elinson, *Looking back at al-Andalus* 118.

34   Baker, *Ibn Bassām as a Literary* 49. Lafta Baker explains "[Ibn Bassām] displayed a patriotic defence [sic] of the excellence of the people of al-Andalus in literature—in fact this was his avowed purpose in writing *al-Dhakhīra*—but he did not neglect the heritage of the East."

35   See Baker, *Ibn Bassām as a Literary*.

the local literary production of Andalusī scholars; it implicitly marginalized the authority of the Andalusī scholars—including his own.

4 The Epistemic Value of Ibn Bassām's Project

Ibn Bassām displayed appreciation for eastern knowledge, and his attitude comes into view in the fourth chapter of *al-Dhakhīra*. With its two sections, the concluding chapter focuses on literature produced by eastern authors who moved to al-Andalus and on literature produced by eastern scholars that became popular in al-Andalus.[36] In the first category, we see reverberations for an earlier principle that the Andalusī scholar Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) addresses in *The Epistle on the Virtues of al-Andalus*.[37] In this letter, Ibn Ḥazm argues that scholars who choose to migrate to al-Andalus and publish there—so to speak—ought to be considered Andalusī.[38] Ibn Bassām does not strictly adhere to Ibn Ḥazm's position and does not go as far as to consider them Andalusī.[39] He, however, accepts the premise by recognizing the relevance of the context to the evaluation of knowledge production—if authors were writing under the Andalusī political regime, and for Andalusī readers, then the works can be shown as evidence for the distinction of al-Andalus. For the second section of the fourth chapter of the anthology, Ibn Bassām credits his methodology to the eastern scholar al-Thaʿālibī (350–429/961–1038), author of *Yatīmat al-dahr* (The Unique Pearl), whom he viewed as an interlocutor and a model.[40]

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36 Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* i, 29–30. The two sections, while including non-Andalusī writers, maintain the primacy of al-Andalus since the writers selected are either physically present in al-Andalus or widely read by Andalusīs.

37 ʿAbbās, *Rasāʾil Ibn Ḥazm*. 2 vols. *Risāla fī faḍāʾil al-Andalus*.

38 Ibid., ii, 175–176. Ibn Ḥazm writes, "[It] has been established that … we have the right to claim those who migrate to our land, from all other lands; and they become one of us [i.e., should be considered Andalusī], (*man hājar ilaynā min sāʾir al-bilād, fa-naḥnu aḥaqqu bihi wa-huwa minnā*); just as we do not hold over those from among us, who move to other lands; for the place they choose will be fortunate to have them (*wa-man hājar minnā ilā ghayrinā fa-lā ḥaẓẓ lanā fīhi, wa-l-makān al-ladhī ikhtārahu asʿad bihi*); … fairness is the highest virtue to be observed, and being fair is the best of what we abide by."

39 An interesting example is Abū ʿAlī al-Qālī, who travels from Baghdad to Cordoba during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. Ibn Ḥazm uses him as an example of a scholar from Baghdad who came to al-Andalus and is considered, in his opinion, an Andalusī, whereas Ibn Bassām uses him as an example of an outsider who comes to al-Andalus with expectations of traveling to a less sophisticated society, and is instead surprised to see the maturity and excellence of the people of al-Andalus. See ʿAbbās, *Rasāʾil Ibn Ḥazm* 176; and Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* i, 14–15.

40 Ibid., 32. Tibi assumes that Ibn Bassām was following al-Thaʿālibī as a model in produ-

Ibn Bassām's concern pertains to the dominance of the eastern canon, which is reinforced by the reading habits of the Andalusīs. He builds a gradual argument through three successive claims. First, he asserts that knowledge does not only belong to the east, or the classics, to the exclusion of all other regions and periods. He writes, "Who limited knowledge to particular periods, and who limited beneficence to the people of the east? (*wa-layta shiʿrī, man qaṣara l-ʿilm ʿalā baʿḍ al-zamān, wa-khaṣṣa ahl al-mashriq bi-l-iḥsān?*)" He then argues that knowledge belongs, equally, to all generations. He writes: "Beneficence (*iḥsān*) is not limited; and credit (*faḍl*) does not belong exclusively to any particular period."[41] The claim is interesting in apprehending the continuity of knowledge production through an ethical lens. The argument presupposes a widely held conservative cultural attitude that Ibn Bassām finds incongruous with the changing times, even dangerous. If every generation limited their exposure to earlier productions, Ibn Bassām argues, knowledge would be lost.[42] Taking the opening line of ʿAntara's *muʿallaqa*, in which the poet rhetorically asks, "Did poetry die in its war with the poets? Have the poets left a single patch to be sewn? (*hal ghādara l-shuʿarāʾ min mutaraddam?*),"[43] Ibn Bassām reasserts his view that there is plenty to be tackled and covered by poets, stating, "Much

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cing his anthology; see Tibi, Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī 413–414, whereas Ibn Bassām tells us that he is following in his fourth section the approach of al-Thaʿālibī. Ibn Bassām himself tells us that his own work is a continuation of an earlier Andalusī work, the anthology of Abū ʿUmar Ibn Faraj al-Jayyānī (d. 366/976); he says, "[al-Jayyānī] had my perspective (*raʾā raʾyī*), and adopted the same approach as I do (*dhahaba madhhabī*);" see Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* i, 13. The view of Andreas Herdt, "According to al-Maqqarī, *al-Dhakhīra* was modelled on Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī's (d. 429/1038) *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsin ahl al-ʿaṣr* ("The nonpareil [pearl] of this age representing the best specimens authored by the contemporary men of letters"), although Ibn Bassām himself did not claim this explicitly. He saw *al-Dhakhīra* rather as a continuation of the anthology *Kitāb al-Ḥadāʾiq* ("The Book of Gardens") by his compatriot Abū ʿUmar Ibn Faraj al-Jayyānī (d. 366/976)." See Herdt, Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī.

41   Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* i, 13–14. It is noteworthy here that in Baghdad, three centuries before Ibn Bassām, the famed Abbasid scholar Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) similarly argues in his anthology *On Poets and Poetry* that "God did not limit poetry, knowledge and eloquence to one age to the exclusion of another," adding, "nor did He single out one people over another, but rather, God shared and divided (these things) among His servants in every age; and made every ancient a modern in his own time." See Ibn Qutayba, *al-Shiʿr wa-l-shuʿarāʾ* 63; Suzanne Stetkevych's translation, as it appeared in Stetkevych, The ʿAbbasid Poet Interprets History 50.

42   Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* i, 14. "*La-ḍāʿa ʿilm kathīr, wa-dhahaba adab ghazīr.*"

43   Montgomery (ed.), *War Songs:ʿAntarah ibn Shaddād* 4 (for the Arabic) 305 fn. 1 (for Arberry's rendering in English). Montgomery renders this famous hemistich as "Did poetry die in its war with the poets?" p. 5.

has been left unpatched by the poets, [and awaits to be patched]! (*wa-rubba mutaraddam ghādarathu l-shuʿarāʾ*!)"[44] What we can reconstruct here is a clear epistemological view that rejects the static view of knowledge as a final product located in the past (and the east), advocating, instead, a progressive, dynamic understanding of knowledge production.

Here, Ibn Bassām takes his critique of the exclusionary privilege assigned to the eastern canon a step further. He writes, "May God curse their saying: acknowledgment goes to those who come first (the predecessor)."[45] What we see here is Ibn Bassām's plan to highlight the distinction (*ʿajāʾib*)[46] of the Andalusī fifth/eleventh century, an articulation of an epistemology that understands knowledge through a progressive view, as a dynamic enterprise. Ibn Bassām does not only view new knowledge production as independently valuable, but he does so by boldly departing from centuries-long fascination, and as such, authoritative status, with the classical (pre)Islamic canon. A second detail reinforces this attitude as Ibn Bassām explains his refusal to include any information already collected in al-Jayyānī's *K. al-Ḥadāʾiq* to avoid repetition (*tardīd* and *tikrār*), which he finds gravely distasteful.[47] Anthologizing is primarily a process of cohering and collecting, and as such, of quoting and reproduction. If we look at Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940), author of *al-ʿIqd* (The Necklace)— commonly known as *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* (The Unique Necklace)—two centuries before Ibn Bassām, we see a drastically different view, acknowledging primary reliance on material of established works. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih writes in the preface to *al-ʿIqd*, "My merit in [*al-ʿIqd*] is only that of compiling the reports, exercising good choice (*ikhtiyār*), summarizing well, and writing an introduction at the beginning of every book." Everything else, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih continues, "has been taken from the mouths of the learned and traditionally received from the wise and the literati."[48] How then can we understand Ibn Bassām's nuanced attitude on quoting?[49] And how does it speak to the scope he chose that frames

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44   Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* i, 13.

45   Ibid., 14. *"Laḥā Allāh qawlahum al-faḍl li-al-mutaqaddim."*

46   Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* i, 11. *"ʿAjāʾib al-ashʿār wa-l-rasāʾil."*

47   Ibid., 13. *"Kull muraddad thaqīl wa-kull mutakarrir mamlūl."*

48   Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *The Unique Necklace* 4.

49   Avoiding repetition is not unique to Ibn Bassām, but rather surprising in an anthological work. Despite coming across several comparable instances in medieval works, I could not find a study that examines this phenomenon in Islamic culture, but instances in European culture have been noted. An example is the Italian humanist Pietro Aretino, who was quite disdainful of repeating old expressions and considered them "as absurd as appearing in the costume of another era." Morson, *The Words of Others* 262.

al-Andalus of the fifth/eleventh century, and, lastly, his decision to confront the cultural ethos of his readers?

5   The Political Context and Knowledge Production

These views cannot be solely explained through Ibn Bassām's own authorial disposition and scholarly vision, independently of his political context. Rather, these features combined gesture to an epistemological view that deliberately responds to the particular Andalusī context, and more specifically, to the transformation al-Andalus underwent as the political regime shifted from a unified caliphal center to the *Ṭāʾifa* kingdoms. Ibn Bassām's own understanding of the entanglement of the political sphere and knowledge production further encourages attention to the political context. The centrality of the caliphal power in al-Andalus placed it firmly within the broader Arabo-Islamic cultural map. Al-Andalus under the Umayyad reign—put differently, as early as the Umayyad emirate, but especially under the caliphal reign—claimed direct political genealogies with the east,[50] connecting Cordoba to Damascus and Medina.[51] With the disintegration of the caliphal reign between 399–400/1008 and 422/1031, and the emergence of small independent kingdoms, the Umayyad rhetoric of legitimacy could not be maintained. Hugh N. Kennedy notes how the phrase *Ṭāʾifa* kings, "reflects a fundamental problem about the legitimacy of these monarchs," as it shows they could not secure justification "for styling themselves caliphs or leaders of the whole Muslim community."[52]

The Afṭasid reign in Badajoz, as an example, is said to have claimed genealogical ties to *Banū Tajīb* of the *Jāhilī Kinda* tribe, a lineage contested by scholars both medieval and contemporary, who identify them through their Berber origins.[53] Their claimed Arabic *nasab* should be interpreted as an attempt to solidify their legitimacy by establishing an Arabo-Islamic character. The assumption of Arab roots, for the Aftasid and the even the Abbadid *Ṭāʾifa* kings,[54] still falls

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50   See Fierro, *Abd al-Rahman III*; Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate*; and Toral-Niehoff, *Writing for the Caliphate* 80–95.

51   See Khansa, *The Necklace (al-ʿIqd)*.

52   Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal* 130.

53   Soravia, Afṭasids; "A Miknāsa Berber, whose family had long been established in the Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ region, today the Valle de los Pedroches, a vast plain north of Córdoba."

54   See Lévi-Provençal, ʿAbbādids.

short of any link to the Qurashī caliphal line,[55] as it came to be recognized up till that point in the Islamic world. It is additionally argued that despite adopting titles that claimed divine protection in the Arabo-Islamic indication of divine favor,[56] the Aftasid rulers maintained their legitimacy, not through dynastical, political, or religious arguments, but rather by establishing their reputation as champions of a cultural center, with competitive patronage.[57] In other words, as their political concerns moved from a broad Islamic to an Andalusī local scale, they transitioned from traditional genelogy to political rhetoric that recognizes their own achievments as a basis for legitimacy.

Ibn Bassām's historical scope corresponds to this political transformation.[58] He marks the year 400/1009 as the historical beginning of the anthology, both political and literary, which coincides with the *fitna* that brought the unity of al-Andalus as a political realm to an end. Like *adab* anthologists before him, Ibn Bassām begins his work with a view of the political regime.[59] In looking at his own century, however, he structures his exposition through a unique program, dividing *al-Dhakhīra* into four chapters (*aqsām*),[60] each beginning with reports of kings. Ibn Bassām explains, "I began with the kings (*bada'tu bi-l-mulūk*)," then those within their circles, followed by the *kuttāb*, viziers then poets.[61]

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55   Although several of the *Ṭā'ifa* kings "could claim Arab origins," Kennedy explains, "none of them were from the Prophet's tribe, Quraysh," and therefore, none could attempt to claim a caliphal stature. See Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal* 130.

56   The Aftasid rulers took honorific titles like "al-Muẓaffar," "al-Manṣūr"—the victorious by the will of God—and "al-Mutawakkil," the one who relies on the will and grace of God. See Shihadeh, Favour (divine).

57   See Moronyand and Wasserstein, Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if.

58   In his article, "Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī and his anthology *al-Dhakhīra*," Tibi draws our attention to the work of the Sicilian anthologist ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī, known as Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ al-Saʿdī al-Ṣiqillī (d. 515/1121). Both his anthology entitled *al-Durra al-khaṭīra fī maḥāsin al-Jazīra/min shuʿarāʾ al-Jazīra* and a *mukhtaṣar* of the anthology, collect the Arabic works "of some 170 Sicilian poets who lived at a time when Sicily—like al-Andalus—was ravaged by civil war." See Tibi, Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī 315. What is of relevance here is the choice of scope and the interest in covering almost three centuries of local production, which included Sicilian poets who lived between the years 322/934 and his own contemporaries. The introduction in which the author might have explained his project did not survive into the edited manuscript. See Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ, *al-Durra al-khaṭīra*. Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ is said to have authored another work, *al-Milaḥ al-ʿaṣriyya*, in which he coheres an anthology of Andalusī poets. See al-Bakūsh, *Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ* 35.

59   Both Ibn Qutayba's *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's *al-ʿIqd* open with *The Book on Sovereignty* (*K. al-Sulṭān*).

60   Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* i, 22–32. Cordoba and the surrounding territories in the central part of al-Andalus; Seville and the western lands; the eastern lands of al-Andalus; and lastly, non-Andalusīs.

61   Ibid., i, 32. He explains the structure of his exposition as follows: the reports of kings; fol-

In presenting his work within a hierarchal structure, Ibn Bassām understands knowledge production to be profoundly entangled with the political program. In choosing the fifth/eleventh century, Ibn Bassām examines the political context, as he tells us, "I chose the fifth century of hijra, and explained the crises that took place, and elucidated the facets of the *fitna* … and I deduced the reason that enabled the occupation of this region by the Rūm, and empowered [Andalusī] kings to dethrone them."[62] The insistence on the political comes into view against Ibn Bassām's critique of *Yatīmat al-dahr* by the eastern anthologist al-Thaʿālibī, whom he emulates in parts of his own anthology, as noted earlier.

In the course of criticizing aspects of *Yatīmat al-dahr*, Ibn Bassām argues for the need to contextualize the material.[63] In his comment, Ibn Bassām finds reports inseparable from details of how the material was reported, its anecdotal *isnād*, and how it was circulated and received. Yet Ibn Bassām follows his critique of the lacuna in al-Thaʿālibī's work by explaining his strategy of including the political, for which he uses the book of the historian Ibn Ḥayyān. He notes his plan to engage the reports of kings (*akhbār mulūk al-Jazīra*), the major stories (*qiṣaṣihim al-maʾthūra*), and the famous events (*waqāʾiʿihim*) of their times.[64] In examining two entries, one of a ruler and one of a poet, the strategy of Ibn Bassām in prioritizing the political context to explain knowledge production becomes evident. The first is the entry on Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam, the great-grandson of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who was given *bayʿa* (oath of allegiance) in the year 400/1008.[65] This happens to be the first entry

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lowed by those within their realm of power or those who are connected to their power (*man taʿallaqa bi-sulṭānihim aw dakhala fī shayʾ min shaʾnihim*); then the *kuttāb*; the viziers, prominent poets, and lastly the less prolific poets.

62   Ibid., i, 17–18. "*Wa-iʿtamadtu l-māʾata l-khāmisa min al-hijra, fa-sharaḥtu baʿḍ miḥanihā wa-jalawtu wujūh fitnatihā … wa-aḥṣaytu ʿilal istīlāʾ ṭawāʾif al-rūm ʿalā hādhā l-iqlīm, wa-almaʿtu l-asbāb al-latī daʿat mulūkahā ilā khalʿihim.*"

63   Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* i, 34. Ibn Bassām critiques al-Thaʿālibī for eclipsing the reports of the poets he cites (*maḥdhūfan min akhbār qāʾilīh*) and dis-embedding his notices from the context (*mabtūra min al-asbāb al-latī wuṣilat bihi, wa-qīlat fīhi*). He contends the decisions of al-Thaʿālibī prevented *al-Yatīma* from becoming a reference work, as readers had to consult other works for what it was lacking.

64   Ibid., i, 34–35.

65   It is the first chapter of *al-Dhakhīra*; the full entry is 14 pages long; Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* i, 34–48. After four pages of explaining the conditions of his reign (35–38), Ibn Bassām narrates, in two pages, the brief history of the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–247/847–61), whose reign ended with an assassination by officers working for his son, Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, who succeeded his father and held the honorific al-Muntaṣir (38–42). Then in four

in the anthology. Of the full notice (total of 14 pages), Ibn Bassām presents a review of the political history, and only concludes with a section (a page and a half) on Sulaymān's poetry. This last section includes a short introduction, and a short poem, attributed to the Abbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (three lines), for which Sulaymān composed a ten-line *muʿāraḍa* (an imitation or contrafaction in the same rhyme and meter)—Ibn Bassām ends with the poem without any commentary.[66] The second entry is on Abū ʿĀmir Aḥmad b. Darrāj al-Qasṭallī (b. 347–421/958–1030), the famous Andalusī court poet.[67] Ibn Bassām dedicates an exhaustive entry on al-Qasṭallī,[68] quoting three authorities to establish his status as the leading poet of his time (*lisān al-Jazīra*),[69] and citing extensive quotes of al-Qasṭallī's poems and works. The entry concludes with an independent section (eight pages) on the histories of the emirate of ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd, who was mentioned as one of the patrons of al-Qasṭallī.[70]

The two entries, emblematic of the work's general character, assert the primacy of political consideration in knowledge production. They explain, as well, Ibn Bassām's refusal to include works of *adab* from previous periods, for their reproduction will validate political programs foreign to the Andalusī context. Put differently, reproducing classical literature confirmed continuity with the eastern culture, and—politically[71]—linked al-Andalus with the east, as an heir and a patron of the classical corpus. The appeal of this eastern literary canon persisted into the period of the *Ṭāʾifa* kingdom, asserting a worldview that outlived its original context and clashed with the new political program. Thus, in rejecting the reproduction of eastern classics, *al-Dhakhīra* contributed

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additional pages, he continues the history of Sulaymān's reign, mostly on authority of Ibn Ḥayyān (42–44).

66   Despite the very negative portrayal of Sulaymān as a ruler, Ibn Bassām tells us his policies were the cause for dividing the country (*tafrīq al-bilād*) and allowing the control of the *Ṭāʾifa* kings (*wa-tamalluk aṣḥāb al-ṭawāʾif*). Ibn Bassām makes sure to place the two poems next to each other for the reader to see the excellence of Sulaymān's over al-Rashīd's (*wa-qad athbattu l-qiṭʿatayn maʿan li-yurā al-farq*). Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* i, 37.

67   "He served the ʿĀmirid court—al-Manṣūr and his two sons, ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 399/1008) and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 400/1009);" then al-Mundhir b. Yaḥyā al-Tujībī (d. 412/1022) in Saragossa; and lastly, Mujāhid al-ʿĀmirī in Dénia (Dāniya); for more, see al-Mallah, Ibn Darrāj al-Qasṭallī.

68   Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* i, 59–102.

69   Ibid., 160–161: The three authorities are al-Thaʿālibī, who considers al-Qasṭallī al-Mutanabbī of al-Andalus (160); Ibn Ḥayyān, who mentioned his great prestige (160); and Ibn Shuhayd, who considers him unique (161).

70   Ibid., 96–102, quoting Ibn Ḥayyān's account, as he notes on page 97.

71   Toral-Niehoff, Writing for the Caliphate 80–95.

to anchoring the political *Ṭāʾifa* kingdom program within a new ethos that privileges al-Andalus, the fifth/eleventh century, and its literary production.

6   Conclusion

In producing diverse perspectives on reuse, reproduction, and anthologizing, recent scholarship has succeeded in calling attention to the epistemological and broader cultural implications of *adab*, dismantling the decade-long scholarly view that looked at anthologies as static, descriptive enterprises with nothing new to offer. The predominant definition of *adab*, despite these changes, maintains an apolitical approach, leaving the contextual project of anthologies severely understudied. In the study of the Islamic Maghrib, this reflects a view of knowledge that assumes a rather uncritical transfer of eastern classical literature into its new Andalusī/North African milieu.

The Andalusī context of the *Ṭāʾifa* kingdoms may have brought the connections of knowledge production and political contexts to the forefront, as we see in Ibn Bassām's selection of the geographical and historical scope of *al-Dhakhīra*, reflecting a worldview commensurate with the new political programs of the *tāʾifa* kingdoms. Yet, despite its Andalusī context, Ibn Bassām's work can offer a unique perspective on our understanding of anthological writing. More urgently, we encounter in Ibn Bassām's attitude a clear articulation of the contingency of anthological writing on—and its entanglement with—the political context, and within that, we attend to the profound political implications of epistemological strategies. The present study argues that Ibn Bassām's dynamic view of knowledge and his rejection of the dominance of the Islamic eastern canon cannot be examined independently of his recognition of the strong and unavoidable entanglement of knowledge production and the political program of his time. Through these arguments, the present study hopes to have provoked two particular critiques: first, a challenge to the apolitical understanding of *adab* anthologies that has eclipsed critical aspects of anthological writing; and second, a recognition that anthologies need to be taken seriously by scholars, not as sources of information, but as independent projects that may inform inquiries into intellectual, political, material, and art histories.

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Towards a Reconstruction of Abū Naṣr al-Bāhilī's *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*

David Larsen

> *Ja selbst im Alltag fällt die Freude an Spielen und Rätselaufgaben auf, die logisches Denken erfordern.*[1]

The philologist Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Ḥātim al-Bāhilī (d. 231/846) is credited in the *Fihrist* with ten books, all of them lost. His most famous work was *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*, to the extent that Abū Naṣr was referred to as *ṣāḥib Kitāb al-Maʿānī*.[2] This was an anthology of verses whose meanings evade the understanding on a first hearing. The book circulated widely, reaching al-Andalus and the East, and later scholars quote from it frequently though not at great length. My research has uncovered upwards of 70 fragments from *Kitāb Abyāt al-maʿānī*, which is grounds for wondering whether a reconstruction might be made. To that end, this article is a feasibility study, and a meditation on *kutub al-maʿānī* as recombinative art and scholarly practice.

1 Kutub al-Maʿānī

Abyāt al-maʿānī are a heterogeneous category of verse whose existence owes to a specific form of poetry anthology. Such anthologies were called *kutub al-maʿānī* (*maʿānī*-books), and their beginnings are coeval with the Arabic anthology itself.[3] Whether a given verse is *min abyāt al-maʿānī* depends on whether it has been included in some scholar's *kitāb al-maʿānī*.

The unifying conceit of *maʿānī*-books are the themes (*maʿānī*) of poetry exemplified in their contents, but the principle of selection was not always the

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1 "In everyday life, the joy of games and puzzles that require logical thinking is obvious." Stock, Warum so viele Worte? 281. Except where noted, translations herein are mine.
2 Thubaytī, Abyāt al-maʿānī 46.
3 Al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (d. ca. 164/780 or 170/786) is credited with a *K. Maʿānī al-shiʿr* by Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995). *Fihrist* 108; *GAS* ii, 58.

same.[4] In the *Dīwān al-maʿānī* of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. after 395/1005), the avowed criterion was poetic excellence, of a kind requiring little commentary.[5] Many of Abū Hilāl's selections run six or seven lines or longer, without a single gloss.

Abyāt al-maʿānī take their name from a different sort of *maʿānī*-book, in which verses were selected for their ambiguity, their obscurity, and the difficulty of apprehending their namesake meanings (*maʿānī*) on a first hearing.[6] One such work is *K. Maʿānī al-shiʿr* of al-Ushnāndānī (d. 288/901), and another is *K. al-Maʿānī al-kabīr* of Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889). From the third/ninth century, these are the only *maʿānī*-books extant, but there were many others, including the now-lost *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* of al-Bāhilī.

Abyāt al-maʿānī have formal unity insofar as they appear in selections no longer than a few consecutive verses. Most common are single verses and pairs of verses that present as excerpts from longer poems—as many *abyāt al-maʿānī* in fact are—while others are standalone compositions. For the compiler and the composer to be the same person goes against the norm, but this assuredly happened in practice.[7] Under the label of *abyāt al-maʿānī*, pseudo-excerptive material is brought together with true excerpts—just the kind of short-form tidbits one might call "epigrams," were it not for Adam Talib's cautions against applying the Western term to productions of Arabic verse culture.[8] In this article, the designator goes untranslated, except here: *abyāt al-maʿānī* are "verses of [ambiguous or obscure] meanings." One never encounters them in the singular: *abyāt al-maʿānī* is a plural designator only.

Enigmatic Arabic verses significantly predate the existence of *maʿānī*-books. In *maʿānī*-books, the enigma is ritualized and made essential. *Maʿānī*-books are

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4 Gruendler, Motif vs. Genre 60 fn. 13.

5 "In this book," Abū Hilāl begins, "I have gathered the most effective examples of every type of poetry, and the most inventive verses in circulation on each of the important basic themes" (*Jamaʿtu fī hādhā l-kitāb ablagha mā jāʾa fī kulli fannin wa-abdaʿa mā ruwiya fī kulli nawʿin min aʿlām al-maʿānī wa-aʿyānihā*). *Dīwān al-maʿānī* i, 11.

6 Abū Hilāl in *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn* 35 discusses *abyāt al-maʿānī* in terms of *taʿmiya* (the "muddling" or "encryption" of an utterance's meaning): "The *taʿmiya* of a meaning can be a speech defect, or it can refer to the creation of a puzzle (*al-ilghāz*). In the latter case, *taʿmiya* has a rationale, as in *abyāt al-maʿānī* and other linguistic alterations that people use by way of partial concealment of a given meaning" (*Wa-taʿmiyat al-maʿnā luknatun, illā idhan urīda bi-hi l-ilghāz wa-kāna fī taʿmiyatihi fāʾidatun mithla abyāt al-maʿānī wa-mā yajrī maʿa-hā min al-luḥūn al-latī staʿmalūhā wa-kannūhā ʿan al-murād li-baʿḍ al-gharaḍ*). Cited by Thubaytī, Abyāt al-maʿānī 26. Sadan, Maiden's Hair 60 fn. 11, notes two lost works by Abū Hilāl that probably belonged to the genre of puzzling *maʿānī*-books (their titles: *Maʿānī al-adab* and *Iʿlām al-maʿānī fī maʿānī al-shiʿr*).

7 Numerous poetic compositions in *Dīwān al-maʿānī* are marked as Abū Hilāl's work.

8 Talib notes the epigrammatic semblance of *maʿānī*-books in *How Do You Say* 205.

at once didactic and entertaining—the edifying combination typical of *adab*, with this additional, quasi-interactive feature: readers can use them to assess their own cultural competence. Their contents are not exactly riddles, as most *abyāt al-maʿānī* anticipate no answer. What their compilers anticipate is that the reader will have questions about the verses' meanings, and some of those questions are answered in the commentary.

But *maʿānī*-books are like collections of riddles in other respects. They entertain by inducing puzzlement, which is subsequently dispelled through commentary. Their didactic function is to foster cultural competence by testing it on two levels at once. One is the hearer's competence at the referential level, i.e., the finer points of Bedouin life as described in numerous *abyāt al-maʿānī*.[9] At another level, the test calls on the hearer's powers of analogical reasoning. The ambiguity of *abyāt al-maʿānī* usually turns on a metaphor in which only one set of terms is supplied, with resolution achieved though correct identification of the unstated comparandum. To this extent, *abyāt al-maʿānī* may be described as logical puzzles. They are not syllogisms but language problems, inviting contemplation of cultural idioms particular to the Arabic language.[10]

This is how *abyāt al-maʿānī* are represented by one of the earliest critics to describe them, who was Qudāma b. Jaʿfar (d. ca. 328/939) in *Naqd al-shiʿr*. This was in the course of outlining the relationships that can obtain between the meaning of a verse and its verbal substance, beginning with *musāwāh* (commensurability), *ishāra* (allusion), and *irdāf*.[11] *Irdāf* is Qudāma's term for *kināya* (metonymy) but seems best translated as "displacement," where the referents of a given verse are placed behind (*murādafa*) the tropes that substitute for them.[12] "This is the kind found in those verses called *abyāt al-maʿānī*," says Qudāma:

> [In *abyāt al-maʿānī*,] only the figurative substitute (*ridf*) is mentioned, and the way in which it might lead to the referent is not clear—or, yet another figurative substitution is placed between them, like intermediaries that proliferate so that the referent is hidden and does not come to light quickly, and must be searched for. *Abyāt al-maʿānī* are not as a rule

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9   Thubaytī, Abyāt al-maʿānī 24.

10   For the distinction, see Fernandez, *Persuasions and Performances* 174–179.

11   Qudāma b. Jaʿfar, *Naqd al-shiʿr* 153–159.

12   Qudāma defines *irdāf* in this way: *Wa-huwa an yurīdu l-shāʿir dalālatan ʿalā maʿnan min al-maʿānī fa-lā yaʾtī bi-l-lafẓ al-dāll ʿalā dhālika l-maʿnā bal bi-lafẓin yadullu ʿalā maʿnan huwa ridfuhu wa-tābiʿun la-hu.* "It is when the poet forgoes the expression that signifies his [or her] intended meaning, instead using an expression that signifies an adjacent meaning (*ridfuhu*) consequent to the intended one." *Naqd al-shiʿr* 157.

included among what is considered good poetry, because incomprehensibility and inaccessibility of meaning are poetic vices.[13]

These same vices appear as generic distinctions in the description of al-Qāḍī al-Jurjānī (d. 392/1002):

> There is no line among *abyāt al-maʿānī* on this earth by any poet, ancient or modern (*muḥdath*), whose meaning is not obscure and hidden. Had they not been so, then they would have been like other poetry and the compiled books would not have been devoted to them, nor would the dedicated minds have busied themselves in extracting them. We do not mean the poems whose obscurity and concealed meaning is because of the rarity of the usage (*gharābat al-lafẓ*) or the speech being rough (*tawaḥḥush al-kalām*).[14]

This describes some *abyāt al-maʿānī* rather well, namely those in which there is no rare vocabulary. But the exclusion of *gharāba* was a generic ideal that would exclude many attested *abyāt al-maʿānī*, such as this verse from the Poem of the Bow of al-Shammākh b. Ḍirār (d. ca. 30/650) quoted in Ibn Qutayba's *K. al-Maʿānī al-kabīr* (ii, 784):

> In mentioning a water source, al-Shammākh said (meter: *ṭawīl*):

> > *ʿAlayhā d-dujā l-mustanshaʾātu ka-ʾannahā*
> > *hawādiju mashdūdun ʿalayhā l-jazāʾizu*

> Hunters' blinds sprout over [the waters], looking like
> > domed litters hung with dyed tassels.

> *Dujā* are hunters' blinds (*quṭar*). *Mustanshaʾāt* means "newly raised" (*mustaḥdathāt*). A hunter's blind is covered with grass and brush fashioned into a dome; this is what motivates the comparison to a camel litter. *Jazāʾiz*, singular *jazīza*, are decorative flocks of wool dyed different colors.

Although *jazāʾiz* and *dujā* (sg. *dujya*) are not outlandish words, Ibn Qutayba's glosses show that his readers were not expected to know them. So it is fair to say that rare usage (a trademark of this poet) can indeed contribute to the

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13 *Naqd al-shiʿr* 159; cited by Thubaytī, Abyāt al-maʿānī 23–24.
14 *Wasāṭa* 417; tr. Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art* 18–19 fn. 74.

interpretive difficulties of *abyāt al- maʿānī*. What al-Qāḍī al-Jurjānī's statement seems to mean is that obscurity caused by rare usage is not what typifies *abyāt al-maʿānī*. The exclusion of *gharāba* is, in other words, a generic ideal, not a generic norm.

The ideal is upheld in the genre's description by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Sakhāwī (d. 643/1245) in *Sifr al-saʿāda wa-safīr al-ifāda fī l-lugha*:

> By *abyāt al-maʿānī* we do not mean those whose impenetrability is due to rare usage. What people mean by *abyāt al-maʿānī* are verses that are outwardly ambiguous, and whose inner content is at variance with the outer surface, even though they contain no rare usage, or what rare usage they do contain is understood.[15]

This passage is quoted approvingly by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) in *al-Ashbāh wa-l-naẓāʾir fī l-naḥw* (iii, 265). In *al-Muzhir*, he gives his own description of the genre, beginning:

> There are kinds of puzzles (*alghāz*) that the Arabs aimed for and other puzzles that the scholars of language aim for, and also lines (*abyāt*) in which the Arabs did not aim for puzzlement, but they uttered them and they happened to be puzzling.[16]

The last category is where al-Suyūṭī places *abyāt al-maʿānī*, calling them inadvertent by-products of poetic practice. Evaluating this identification calls for comparison to the other two kinds of puzzles.

The second class of puzzles al-Suyūṭī mentions are those designed to increase the linguistic proficiency of students and professionals. *Alghāz lughawiyya* and *naḥwiyya* (lexical and grammatical puzzles) and *alghāz fiqhiyya* (jurisprudential puzzles) were compiled in books.[17] The *maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) contain puzzles belonging to this class.[18]

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15   *Sifr al-saʿāda* 656: *Wa-lasnā naʿnī bi-abyāt al-maʿānī mā lam yuʿlam mā fīhi min al-gharīb, wa-innamā yaʿnūna bi-abyāt al-maʿānī mā ashkala ẓāhiruhu wa-kāna bāṭinuhu mukhālifan li-ẓāhirihi wa-in lam yakun fīhi gharībun aw kāna gharībuhu maʿlūman.*

16   *Muzhir* i, 578; tr. Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art* 18 fn. 74.

17   Al-Suyūṭī himself produced a book of grammatical puzzles entitled *al-Ṭirāz fī l-alghāz* (published in 2003 as *al-Alghāz al-naḥwiyya.*); other examples include al-Zamakhsharī's *Muḥājāh bi-l-masāʾil al-naḥwiyya*, and *Alghāz Ibn Hishām fī l-naḥw* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Hishām (d. 761/1360). The genre of *alghāz fiqhiyya* (treated in al-Suyūṭī's *Muzhir* I 622–637) begins with the *Futyā faqīh al-ʿArab* of Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004); *Ṭirāz al-maḥāfil fī alghāz al-masāʾil* by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Isnawī (d. 772/1370) is one Mamluk-era example.

18   See in particular his *maqāmāt* numbered 32 (*al-Ṭaybiyya*) and 44 (*al-Shatawiyya*).

The first class of puzzles—"those the Arabs aimed for" (*qaṣadathā l-ʿArab*)—is well documented.[19] They go back to the pre-Islamic period, where their best-known poetic instance is in verses 32–36 of al-Nābigha's *dāliyya* that begins: *Yā dāra Mayyata*.[20] More examples in prose are framed within literary *akhbār*. These include Abū ʿUbayda's (d. 209/824–825) account of an encoded message sent by a captive to his tribe, warning them of an imminent attack.[21] The riddle-exchanges of Imruʾ al-Qays with his wife[22] and with the poet ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ[23] are classic examples (albeit latter-day compositions). Some traditions surrounding Hind bt. al-Khuss are of this class also.[24]

Hind draws attention for a couple of reasons. One is that she is sometimes identified with al-Zarqāʾ al-Yamāma, the riddler in al-Nābigha's poem.[25] Another is Hind's association with *waṣf* and *tashbīh* as competitive forms.[26] These descriptive modes feature prominently in *kutub al-maʿānī*.[27]

They are equally essential to the genre of enigma called *uḥjiyya*.[28] *Uḥjiyya* is similar to *lughz*, with the difference that *alghāz* are largely interrogative and are rarely extended productions of high art.[29] But *uḥjiyya* was for Dhū l-Rumma a long-form medium, and his *Uḥjiyyat al-ʿArab* (the forty-ninth poem in his

19   As in Kamal, *al-Aḥājī wa-l-alghāz*; Iqbāl, *Fī l-lughz wa-mā ilayh*; and Bāshā, al-Alghāz wa-l-aḥājī.

20   See Stetkevych, *Poetics of Islamic Legitimacy* 37–39 and 332 fn. 58.

21   *Sharḥ Naqāʾiḍ Jarīr wa-l-Farazdaq* 478–480. Abū Hilāl mentions a variant of this story as an example of *kināya* in *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn* 381; discussed by Naaman, Women Who Cough 473 fn. 36. In al-Ushnāndānī's *K. Maʿānī al-shiʿr* 42–43, the captive's message is transposed into a *basīṭ*-meter couplet. The motif is ancient; cf. Herodotus (d. ca. 425 BCE), *Histories* v, 92 f.

22   Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239), *al-Mathal al-sāʾir* iii, 91.

23   ʿAlī b. Ẓāfir al-Azdī (d. 613/1216 or 623/1226), *Badāʾiʿ al-badāʾih* 11–12; *Lisān al-ʿArab* arts. √ʿbd and √mjs, *Dīwān Imriʾ al-Qays* 461–463; and see Yaqub, *Pens, Swords* 43–45; and Smoor, Weeping Wax Candle 296–297.

24   Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* ii, 233; Ibn Nubāta (d. 768/1366), *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn* 407–408. Iqbāl, *Fī l-lughz wa-mā ilayh* 29, notes that these riddles are put in the mouth of a Sphinx-like demon in al-Ḥarīrī's *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* 362.

25   Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* i, 312; discussed by Amer, Medieval Arab Lesbians 218. At *Ḥayawān* v, 331, Jāḥiẓ identifies Hind as a daughter of Luqmān, discussed by Richardson, Blue and Green Eyes 15.

26   Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* i, 312–313 and ii, 162–163; also Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* ii, 86–87, Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfur (d. 280/893); *Balāghāt al-nisāʾ* 124–132; *Muzhir* ii, 240–245.

27   Heinrichs, Poetik, Rhetorik ii, 179. Description is essential to riddle form as defined by Georges and Dundes, Toward a Structural Definition 113: "[A] folk riddle is a traditional verbal expression which contains one or more descriptive elements, a pair of which may be in opposition: the referent of the elements is to be guessed."

28   Wagner, *Grundzüge* ii, 135–136.

29   Bencheneb, Lughz v, 806–807.

dīwān) is the classic examplar of *uḥjiyya* form. This poem is in the declarative mode, and Dhū l-Rumma has interrogative *uḥjiyya* as well (as in the sixty-fourth poem in his *dīwān*).[30] In these poems, puzzlement is no involuntary by-product but a principal aim of the poet.

By al-Suyūṭī's account, the intent to puzzle would pose a category boundary between *uḥjiyya* and *abyāt al-maʿānī*. However, too many *abyāt al-maʿānī* are patently intentional compositions for this boundary to be upheld. Not that they are the same thing: it would be more accurate to say that *uḥjiyya* is a predecessor of *abyāt al-maʿānī*, and that the puzzlement they induce is often of the same kind. It is only natural that when *maʿānī*-books were compiled, they would draw on *uḥjiyya* poetry as a matter of course. In this connection, the strength of Abū Naṣr's interest in Dhū l-Rumma is perhaps no coincidence. His commentary on Dhū l-Rumma's *dīwān*, including *Uḥjiyyat al-ʿArab*, is the only one of his works to survive under his own name.[31]

Al-Suyūṭī's specification that puzzles of the third class are unintentionally produced is, therefore, another generic ideal that does not hold true for all *abyāt al-maʿānī*. It does describe the above-quoted verse by al-Shammākh, which was not composed to be a free-standing puzzle; the one to isolate it was Ibn Qutayba. Other *abyāt al-maʿānī* are patent amusements, designed intentionally as brain-teasers, and outside of their anthologized form there is no source poem for them to go back to.[32] Such is this one from al-Ushnāndānī's *Maʿānī al-shiʿr* (in the recension of Ibn Durayd, d. 321/933):

> Ibn Durayd said: Abū ʿUthmān attested these verses, which I presume have no classical provenance (*aḥsibuhu muwalladan*) (meter: *ṭawīl*):

> *Wa-lī ṣāḥibun mā kuntu ahwā qtirābahu*
> *fa-lammā ltaqaynā kāna akrama ṣāḥibi*
> *ʿazīzun ʿalayya an yufāriqa baʿda-mā*
> *tamannaytu dahran an yakūna mujānibī*

> I have a companion whose approach I never wished for,
> but now that we have met, he is the noblest of companions.

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30 *Dīwān Dhī l-Rumma* iii, 1411–1450, 1595–1608; see Papoutsakis, *Desert Travel* 19–20.

31 Larsen, Meaning and Captivity 210 fn. 79, mentions the survival of Abū Naṣr's *K. al-Ishtiqāq* in manuscript (Süleymaniye MS Esad Efendi 2357), but this is in error. Upon review, the codex turns out to contain Ibn Durayd's text of the same title.

32 These might be considered forerunners of the riddle-*maqāṭiʿ* discussed by Talib, *How Do You Say* 29–35; and some of those in Smoor, Weeping Wax Candle 283–312.

His departure would be difficult for me, now that
    I wish for him to remain with me for a long time.

The referent is old age. The poet says: Although its approach was
unsought, I found it a most noble companion when it stayed. I do not want
it to leave my side, because there is none to take its place but death.[33]

The inclusion of these *uḥjiyya* verses in the earliest *maʿānī*-book extant affirms
that intentionally-produced puzzles could be *abyāt al-maʿānī*, even if they did
not meet the genre's idealized qualifications.

Finally, al-Suyūṭī classifies puzzling verses according to the source of the
puzzlement:

These are of two kinds. Sometimes puzzlement (*ilghāz*) occurs in them
on account of their meaning, and most of *abyāt al-maʿānī* are of this type.
Ibn Qutayba composed a good volume on this and others compiled sim-
ilar works. They called this kind [of poetry] *abyāt al-maʿānī* because it
requires someone to ask about its meaning and it is not comprehended
on the first consideration. Some other times puzzlement occurs because
of utterance (*lafẓ*), construction (*tarkīb*), or inflection (*iʿrāb*).[34]

Here it bears asking what it means for puzzlement to occur on account of
meaning (*min ḥaythu maʿānīhā*), because the meanings of most *abyāt al-maʿānī*
are not rare secrets. This is part of their charm. Once decoded, they are recog-
nized as belonging to familiar themes of poetry (*nasīb*, *raḥīl*, *ṭardiyya*, and the
rest), or as descriptions of known things—very often the appurtenances of
Bedouin life, but also the life of townsfolk, as in our first fragment from *K. Abyāt
al-maʿānī*:

FRAGMENT 1
Al-Bāhilī attested the verse (meter: *ṭawīl*):

    ʿAjibtu li-dhī sinnayni fī l-māʾi nabtuhu
        la-hu atharun fī kulli miṣrin wa-maʿmari

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33   *Maʿānī al-shiʿr* 50–51.

34   Tr. Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art* 18 fn. 74. Bāshā, *al-Alghāz wa-l-aḥājī* 776, develops this
    description into a formal classification where he says, "What had difficulty in it from the
    standpoint of *maʿnā* was called *abyāt al-maʿānī* … And what had difficulty in it from the
    standpoint of *lafẓ* was called a riddle (*lughz*) or enigma (*maḥājāh*)." But al-Suyūṭī does not
    insist on this distinction. (If "most" *abyāt al-maʿānī* are of the first type, then some must
    be of the second.)

> I marvel at the double-toothed thing I plunge again and again in liquid.
>> In every garrison and built environment, it leaves a trace.

It is a pen.[35]

With no rare words in it, this verse conforms to al-Qāḍī al-Jurjānī's generic ideal better than al-Suyūṭī's. Its *ilghāz*, none too puzzling, is on purpose. There is an obvious avoidance of ordinary words for the thing described, and things associated with it (ink, paper, etc.). One might say there is a discrepancy between the ostensible function of *waṣf* (description) and the words chosen, which are oriented toward making the object harder to recognize. This discrepancy is what al-Suyūṭī means by puzzlement "on account of meaning."

Avoidance of ordinary words for well-known things is a characteristic habit of classical Arabic poetry, and not ordinarily a source of puzzlement. The she-camel, for example, is seldom called *nāqa*, being designated instead by formulaic epithets for her strength, size, speed, indefatigability, etc.[36] By contrast, when epithets take the place of nouns in *abyāt al-maʿānī*, there is nothing formulaic about them, as in our second fragment from *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*, which narrates a hunt for the desert truffle (*kamʾa*):

FRAGMENT 2

One of the best things said on this theme is what al-Bāhilī attributed to a man of Banū Abī Bakr (meter: *ṭawīl*):

> *Wa-ashʿatha qad nāwaltuhu aḥrasha l-qarā*
>> *aradda ʿalayhā l-mudjinātu l-hawāḍibu*
> *takhāṭaʾahu l-qannāṣu ḥattā wajadtuhu*
>> *wa-kharṭūmuhu fī munqaʿi l-māʾi rāsibu*

> To an unkempt one I gave a rough-surfaced thing
>> irrigated repeatedly by overcasting downpours.
> The hunter missed it, so it was I who found it,
>> while its/his beak was sunk in a sump of water.

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35   Al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-balāgha* art. √ʿmr (i, 678); also in *K. al-Maʿānī al-kabīr* ii, 814.

36   The same goes for the lion and for wine, and for the sword and the snake—all things for which there are famously many words and epithets in Arabic.

He describes a truffle. The "unkempt one" is his companion. *Aḥrash* means "rough." *Qarā* is "the surface" [of the truffle].[37] *Rāsib* means "firmly rooted."[38]

Just as often, the ordinary name for a thing is replaced by another substantive. *Ṣāḥib* is a common one (as in the unnumbered example from al-Ushnāndānī, above), and *maṭiyya* is another, as in our third fragment:

FRAGMENT 3

What Mulayḥ (b. al-Ḥakam, fl. early first/seventh century) has said on this theme is attested by al-Bāhilī (meter: *rajaz*):

> *Maṭiyyatun aʿāranīhā bnu Shabar*
> *lā tashrabu l-māʾa wa-lā tarʿā th-thamar*

> The mount that Ibn Shabar loaned me
> does not drink water, nor does it nibble fruits.

He describes a treadmill (*raḥā rijlin*). Anything that you "mount upon" (*imtiṭaytahu*) is your "mount" (*maṭiyya*).[39]

It is funny to say that the verses "describe" a treadmill; more accurate would be to say that they *disguise* one. They appear to be *uḥjiyya* verses composed intentionally by Mulayḥ, and subsequently recited by al-Bāhilī in *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*—a work that was not itself preserved, except in the fragments assembled in this article, and many more yet scattered throughout manuscript tradition.

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37 In *Maqāyīs al-lugha* art. √qrā, Ibn Fāris says: "*Qarā* is the back, so called because of the bones that gather in it" (*Al-qarā al-ẓahr wa-summiya qaran li-mā ijtamaʿa fī-hi min al-ʿiẓām*), *qarā* being also a verbal noun for "gathering."

38 *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara* ii, 133; cf. al-Fārisī's *Ḥujja* v, 97; and Shaykh Ṭabarsī's *Majmaʿ al-bayān* vi, 187 (comm. Q 17:31). Verse 71 of Dhū l-Rumma's *Uḥjiyyat al-ʿArab* is on the same theme (*Dīwān Dhī l-Rumma* iii, 1449).

39 *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara* ii, 130.

2 Works of al-Bāhilī

Our count of Abū Naṣr's books begins with the *Fihrist*:

TESTIMONIUM 1
Aḥmad b. Ḥātim narrated from al-Aṣmaʿī and was called Abū Naṣr. He also narrated from Abū ʿUbayda, Abū Zayd [al-Anṣārī], and others. He died in 231A.H., when he was upwards of 70 years old. His books include:

K. al-Ibil ᴬ	The Camel
K. Abyāt al-maʿānī ᴬ	Verses of [Ambiguous] Meanings
K. al-Zarʿ wa-l-nakhl	Cereal Crops and Palms
K. al-Khayl ᴬ	The Horse
K. al-Shajar wa-l-nabāt ᴬ	Trees and Plants
K. al-Libāʾ wa-l-laban	Beestings and Milk
K. al-Ishtiqāq ᴬ	Derivation of Names
K. al-Ṭayr	Birds
K. Mā talḥanu fī-hi l-ʿāmma	Vulgar Dialecticisms
K. al-Jarād	The Locust

Superscript ᴬ in the list above is for titles held in common with al-Aṣmaʿī— fully half of Abū Naṣr's output.[40] This was no rare happenstance in third/ninth century scholarly culture. In transmitting a predecessor's book, scholars often made changes and additions without claiming authorship for the augmented whole. This was the case with al-Aṣmaʿī's *K. al-Farq*, now extant in two recensions, one of them much expanded and interlarded with his student's remarks; Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila posits that it "represents the redaction made by Abū Naṣr al-Bāhilī who was famous for his transmission of al-Aṣmaʿī's texts."[41]

    K. al-Farq seems never to have been given out under Abū Naṣr's name. But it could also happen that the name of a text's redactor would replace the author's.[42] Whether this was the case with the above-marked titles—that is,

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40 Abū Ṣāliḥ, ed. *Dīwān Dhī l-Rumma* i, 98. The best modern study of Abū Naṣr is contained in this editor's introduction (i, 83–113).

41 Hämeen-Anttila, al-Aṣmaʿī 143. The augmented *riwāya* is in Tamīmī's ed. of al-Aṣmaʿī, *K. al-Farq* 55–111.

42 This is what happened with *K. al-Farq* of Thābit b. Abī Thābit (d. mid-third/ninth century), which is a further elaboration on Abū Naṣr's recension of al-Aṣmaʿī's *K. al-Farq*. Hämeen-Anttila, al-Aṣmaʿī 144.

whether they were Abū Naṣr's redactions of al-Aṣmaʿī's books—is impossible
to determine, as none are available for review. (Four of the books by al-Aṣmaʿī—
all but *K. Maʿānī al-shiʿr*—are extant and in print, having come through trans-
mitters other than Abū Naṣr.) This leaves just one place to look for Abū Naṣr's
way of redacting his master's books, and that would be the above-mentioned
commentary on Dhū l-Rumma's *dīwān*, which relies heavily on reports from
al-Aṣmaʿī.[43] But this source is much altered in the recension of Abū l-ʿAbbās
Thaʿlab (d. 291/904), where Abū Naṣr appears more as a discussant than an
author. The commentary is swollen with insertions, including reports from Ibn
al-Aʿrābī whom Abū Naṣr could not stand and would never have included (see
Life of al-Bāhilī ahead).

There are several cases of fluctuating attribution between Abū Naṣr and
his teacher. One is *K. al-Ajnās* (Cognates), which Ibn al-Nadīm attributes to
al-Aṣmaʿī. So too does al-Azharī (d. 370/980), while noting substantial contri-
butions by Abū Naṣr:

TESTIMONIUM 2.0
Abū Naṣr compiled a *K. al-Ajnās* on behalf of al-Aṣmaʿī, but he added to its
chapters some idioms (*ḥurūf*) that he heard from Abū Zayd, and appen-
ded to it whole chapters of material from Abū Zayd alone.[44]

Abū Naṣr's contributions to the book are also noted by al-Jawharī (d. ca. 398/
1008) in *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (art. √*ghrr*):

TESTIMONIUM 2.1
One says, "I am your *gharīr* (safeguardian) against so and so." Abū Naṣr
says in *K. al-Ajnās* that this means: "You will not be deceived by anything
he tries on you" (*Lan yaʾtīka minhu mā taghtarru bi-hi*).[45]

Although it is possible to take this for an authorship statement, what it likely
means is that the version of *K. al-Ajnās* in al-Jawharī's possession contained
editorial insertions marked *Qāla Abū Naṣr*, and that he quotes from one such
passage here.

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43   *GAS* ii, 395.

44   *Tahdhīb al-lugha* i, 15. Elsewhere in *Tahdhīb* (art. √*ḥmy*, v, 276), al-Azharī paraphrases a
       remark by al-Aṣmaʿī from *K. al-Ajnās*. (*Qultu: dhakara hādhā l-Aṣmaʿī fī* Kitāb al-Ajnās *ka-
       mā rawāhu l-Layth*).

45   *Al-Ṣiḥāḥ* ii, 768; cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab* art. √*ghrr*.

Abū Naṣr received full credit for *K. al-Ajnās* from the scholars of Spain, or at least from the Sevillian bibliographer Ibn Khayr (d. 575/1179) who was their student. Ibn Khayr traces his *riwāya* of the book through a chain of Andalusī scholars going back through Abū ʿAlī al-Qālī and stopping with Abū Naṣr:

TESTIMONIUM 2.2

K. al-Ajnās, by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Ḥātim, known as Ghulām al-Aṣmaʿī.

This text was taught to me (*ḥaddathanī bi-hi*) by the *shaykh* Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Hishām (d. 551/1156), God have mercy on him. Ibn Hishām heard the text from Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī (d. 521/1127), who heard it from his brother Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, who heard it from his teacher, the grammarian of Guadalajara Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Ḥijārī, who heard it from Ibn al-Aslamiya, who said: "Muḥammad b. Abān b. Sayyid (d. 354/965) taught the book to us on the authority of Abū ʿAlī al-Baghdādī (al-Qālī, d. 356/967) who heard it from Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī (d. 328/940), who heard it from Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Thaʿlab (d. 291/904), who heard it from Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Ḥātim, the author (*muʾallifihi*), God have mercy on him."[46]

This much is affirmed in al-Qālī's own catalogue of the books he brought to al-Andalus, as transposed into Ibn Khayr's chapter *Mā jalabahu Abū ʿAlī al-Baghdādī min al-akhbār*:

TESTIMONIUM 2.3

K. al-Ajnās, in two volumes. I heard it from Ibn al-Anbārī.[47]

K. al-Ajnās is not the only title whose attribution fluctuates between the two.[48] But the pattern is by now apparent. For every book of al-Aṣmaʿī's transmitted by Abū Naṣr, there were three possibilities: (1) it could continue to circulate as

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46   *Fahrasat Ibn Khayr* 340.

47   *Fahrasat Ibn Khayr* 359. In this place, all printed editions of the book have *K. al-Aḥbās*, a case of *taṣḥīf* righted by Sezgin (*GAS* viii, 88).

48   Two more such cases are *K. al-Silāḥ* (Weapons) and *K. al-Alfāẓ* (Synonyms), both listed by Ibn al-Nadīm as books of al-Aṣmaʿī. The former is named by al-Bīrūnī (d. ca. 442/1050) in *al-Jamāhir fī l-jawāhir* 409, where he reports al-Bāhilī's commentary on a verse by Abū l-Hawl al-Ḥimyarī. The latter is credited to Abū Naṣr by Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Fihrī (d. 691/1292) in the preface to *Tuḥfat al-majd* 7. Abū Naṣr's recension of *K. al-Alfāẓ* was possibly Abū l-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī's source for the 22 reports of Abū Naṣr found in his *K. al-Ibdāl*, according to Hämeen-Anttila, *Lexical Ibdāl* 128–129.

al-Aṣmaʿī's work, (2) credit for the book could be shifted to Abū Naṣr after his lifetime, or (3) Abū Naṣr could himself assume credit for it as a new book of his own.

The occasion for dwelling on these outcomes is of course al-Aṣmaʿī's *K. Maʿānī al-shiʿr*, and the question of its relation to Abū Naṣr's *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*. It is plainly not a case of (1), as al-Bāhilī's authorship of the book is everywhere affirmed (and in no surviving fragment is a prior *rāwī* mentioned). Al-Aṣmaʿī's *maʿānī*-book may have been the point of departure for Abū Naṣr's, but the amount of common material between them is unknowable.

The *Fihrist* mentions another recension of al-Aṣmaʿī's *K. Maʿānī al-shiʿr* in the entry for al-Aṣmaʿī's nephew ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, which reads in full: "Although he was a dreadful bore (*wa-kāna min al-thuqalāʾ*), he was a dependable transmitter of reports from his uncle and other scholars. One of his books is *K. Maʿānī al-shiʿr*."[49] Clearly this was al-Aṣmaʿī's book as transmitted by the nephew, eclipsed by al-Bāhilī's *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*.

Several causes for this come to mind. Abū Naṣr had students that went on to prominence, chief among them Abū l-ʿAbbās Thaʿlab, who taught his books.[50] His books traveled, and so did he, as far as Isfahan where *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* had a reception (see Testimonium 5). Another probable cause for its popularity is that it was a superb book, justly preferred to the rehashings of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (see Testimonium 4.0).

The tribal surname of al-Bāhilī was shared by all three men (and Ibn Qutayba after them), and is a potential source of confusion.[51] Al-Bāhila is a Najdī tribe with a matriarchal namesake.[52] From their central Arabian homeland, Bāhilīs populated Basra in more than one emigrant wave, and were active on the frontier of Khorasan.[53] And as the assembled fragments show, *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* was more firmly attached to the Bāhilī *nisba* than the *kunya* of Abū Naṣr. Indeed, one of our best sources for the book gives no sign of knowing Abū Naṣr (*ṣāḥib al-Aṣmaʿī*) and al-Bāhilī (*ṣāḥib al-Maʿānī*) to be the same person.

The *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwiyyīn* of al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989 or 990) mentions a scholar named Abū l-ʿAlāʾ Muḥammad b. Abī Zarʿa al-Bāhilī, killed in 257/871

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49   *Fihrist* 87.

50   For Abū Naṣr's students, see Abū Ṣāliḥ, ed. *Dīwān Dhī l-Rumma* i, 86–88. (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān too had students of note, including Ibn Durayd who narrates from him.)

51   There were also a number of Bāhilī poets, but with them there is no confusion. These poets' verses are everywhere prefaced by *Wa-qāla al-Bāhilī*, while attestations by the scholar are prefaced by *Wa-anshada al-Bāhilī*.

52   For an exhaustive modern study, see al-Jāsir, *Bāhila*, where Abū Naṣr is profiled on 293–294; on this work, see Samin, *Of Sand or Soil* 124–131.

53   Caskel, *Bāhila* i, 920–921.

during Basra's takeover by the Zanj.[54] This individual is nowhere confused with Abū Naṣr, but some confusion is signaled later on in the emergence of "Ghayth b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Bāhilī" in the onomastic register of Ibn Mākūlā (d. 475/1082):

> **TESTIMONIUM 3.0**
> Ghayth b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Bāhilī: compiler of a book of *maʿānī al-shiʿr* based on the teachings of al-Aṣmaʿī.[55]

Albeit a hard name to confuse with Aḥmad b. Ḥātim, my reasons for believing Ghayth b. ʿAbd al-Karīm to be his misnomer are outlined elsewhere.[56] One reason stems from a report in Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176) that could have come from Abū Naṣr's *K. al-Khayl*:

> **TESTIMONIUM 3.1**
> Ghayth b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Bāhilī Abū l-Ḥasan said: The Prophet, God's blessings and peace be upon him, had five horses: Lizāz, Liḥāf, al-Murtajir, al-Sakb, and al-Yaʿsūb.[57]

All this is to say that al-Bāhilī's authorship was variously reckoned by readers of *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*. The book's fame was in places disseevered from Abū Naṣr's, which was never great. As for its relation to al-Aṣmaʿī's *K. Maʿānī al-shiʿr*, I surmise that al-Bāhilī's book was in emulation of his master's, and probably included some of its choicest specimens. What is certain is that after the lifetimes of both men, *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* was given out as Abū Naṣr al-Bāhilī's alone, and as al-Bāhilī's work it has not quite been forgotten.

3   Life of al-Bāhilī

Abū Naṣr's long connection to al-Aṣmaʿī was the most important relationship in his intellectual life. In a proper reconstruction, all testimonia documenting their relationship would be grouped together, starting with this early biographical notice by Abū l-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī (d. 351/962), in which Abū Naṣr is again contrasted with the disliked nephew:

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54   *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwiyyīn* 110.
55   *Al-Ikmāl fī rafʿ al-irtiyāb* vii, 41.
56   Larsen, Meaning and Captivity 208–209.
57   *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq* iv, 229.

TESTIMONIUM 4.0

Our next class of grammarians includes Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Qurayb, a fraternal nephew of al-Aṣmaʿī. He was a prolific narrator of his uncle's teachings, and may well have taught from his books without auditing them personally.

Another is Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Ḥātim al-Bāhilī. It has been claimed that he too was al-Aṣmaʿī's nephew, but this is incorrect: Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad [b. Bāsawayh or Bābtawayh] denies it specifically. Abū Naṣr was more reliable than ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and more advanced in years. He was a detractor of Ibn al-Aʿrābī's (d. 231/846) expertise. Abū Naṣr's sources were al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda, Abū Zayd and perhaps Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī from the time he spent in Baghdad.

Al-Aṣmaʿī had a strong antipathy to his nephew, and composed these verses about him (meter: *majzūʾ al-ramal*):

> *Naẓaru l-ʿayni ilā dhā*
> > *yukhilu l-ʿayna bi-dāʾi*
> *rabbi qad aʿṭaytanāhu*
> > *wa-hwa min sharri l-ʿaṭāʾi*
> *ʿāriyā yā rabbi khudhhu*
> > *bi-qamīṣin wa-ridāʾi*

> Just to look at him
> > blackens the viewer's eye.
> You gave him to us, Lord
> > and he was a rotten gift.
> Take him, Lord, be he naked,
> > or with a shirt and cloak.[58]

We may never know why ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was rated such a nuisance. The fact of al-Aṣmaʿī's preference is at least secure, as in this report of al-Zubaydī's:

TESTIMONIUM 4.1

We are informed by Qāsim b. Aṣbagh: We are informed by al-Khashanī that Abū Ḥātim (al-Sijistānī, d. 255/869) said: I heard al-Aṣmaʿī say: "The only one who gets me right is Abū Naṣr."[59]

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58   *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn* 82–83.
59   *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwiyyīn* 181.

In praise of his teacher, Abū Naṣr was no less forthcoming, according to Abū l-Barakāt b. al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181):

> **TESTIMONIUM 4.2**
> Al-Bāhilī, author of the *Maʿānī*, declared that the students in al-Aṣmaʿī's classes were shopping for dung in a market of pearls, while the students in Abū ʿUbayda's classes were shopping for pearls in a market of dung.[60]

Abū Naṣr never attained al-Aṣmaʿī's heights of renown. He was no tutor to the court, and if he was the guest of caliphs, it is not mentioned.[61] It is, however, said in a report by Thaʿlab that he was present for a salon convened by Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 235/850) in honor of Ṭāhir b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (d. 248/862), who stopped in Baghdad on his way from Nishapur to Mecca.[62]

This was not Abū Naṣr's only brush with the elites of Khorasan. Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) tells of a residency in Isfahan, as documented in the now-lost *K. Iṣbahān* of Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī (d. after 350/961). The tale seems lacunose, and some names in it are botched, including Abū Naṣr's:

> **TESTIMONIUM 5**
> When al-Khaṣīb b. Aslama urged Abū Muḥammad (*sic*) al-Bāhilī, the companion of al-Aṣmaʿī, to travel to Isfahan,[63] he brought with him some of al-Aṣmaʿī's written works, and an archive of poems of the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods whose recitations al-Aṣmaʿī had personally audited and approved.

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60 *Nuzhat al-alibbā'* 110.
61 Abū Ṣāliḥ, ed. *Dīwān Dhī l-Rumma* i, 94.
62 Abū Ṣāliḥ, ed. *Dīwān Dhī l-Rumma* i, 94; *Muʿjam al-udabā'* v, 2201–2202. Kaabi, *Les Ṭāhirides* i, 294–295, casts doubt on the story, noting persistent confusion between this Ṭāhir (II) and his grandfather Ṭāhir (I) b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 207/822). Chronology does not forbid a meeting between Abū Naṣr and Ṭāhir II before the latter was made governor of Khorasan in 230/845, although for Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838) to have been present (as Thaʿlab's report says he was), the gathering at Baghdad must have happened before his residency in Mecca. Kaabi dates Abū ʿUbayd's departure to 214/829 (*Les Ṭāhirides* i, 262), while Gottschalk gives 219/834 (Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām i, 157). In these years Ṭāhir II would have been 14 or 19 years old, and Abū Naṣr in his fifties.
63 *Wa-lammā aqdama l-Khaṣīb b. Aslama Abā Muḥammad al-Bāhilī ṣāḥib al-Aṣmaʿī ilā Iṣbahān naqala maʿahu …* Abū Muḥammad was the *kunya* of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥafṣ (whom I tentatively identify with an individual named in Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī's *K. Dhikr akhbār Iṣbahān* ii, 53), so perhaps it was transposed from him. The whole episode is trimmed in al-Ṣuyūṭī's *Bughyat al-wuʿā'* i, 301 to read: *Thumma aqdamahu l-Khaṣīb b. Sālim ilā Iṣbahān fa-aqāma bi-ha ilā sanat ʿashrīn wa-miʾatayn wa-ʿāda.*

He arrived in Isfahan after the year 220/835, and stayed several months before mounting preparations for the pilgrimage. He went to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan [b. Ḥafṣ? d. 254/868], and asked him to suggest someone with whom he might deposit his notebooks until his return to Isfahan. "Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās," ʿAbd Allāh told him. This was the tutor of his children. Al-Bāhilī took his suggestion, deposited his notebooks with the man, and left. And Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās had copies made.[64]

Al-Bāhilī came back and resumed his stay, and went to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, and told him what had happened with his notebooks, and the advantage that had been taken. So ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan raised a collection from the people of the city totaling 10,000 dirhams, and al-Khaṣīb added 20,000 dirhams. And he accepted it, and returned to Basra.[65]

Abū Ṣāliḥ interprets the story as a sign of Abū Naṣr's limited means, and his dependence on income earned from dictations.[66] It also accounts for the reception of his work in Isfahan, where two commentaries on it were produced: *K. Sharḥ Kitāb al-Maʿānī li-l-Bāhilī* by Lughda al-Iṣbahānī, and *K. Sharḥ Maʿānī al-Bāhilī al-Anṣārī* by Bundār b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Lurra (both fl. mid-third/ninth century).[67]

Another well-documented relationship of Abū Naṣr's was his running feud with Ibn al-Aʿrābī.[68] (The two men died in the same year.) Their controversies are typical of *majālis* literature, and like the reports of al-Aṣmaʿī they belong grouped together in a reconstruction. Here I give preference to a narration by Thaʿlab of a separate quarrel Abū Naṣr had with his onetime student Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. 244/858), appearing in the *Majālis al-ʿulamāʾ* of al-Zajjājī (d. 337/948):

TESTIMONIUM 6

Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā said:

Abū Naṣr used to give dictations of al-Shammākh's poetry. I was attending these sessions at a time when Yaʿqūb [b. al-Sikkīt], who had attended

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64   Here the text has "Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Nās," and is left uncorrected by both modern editors of *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* (ʿAbbās and Rifāʿī), as well as Abū Ṣāliḥ, ed. *Dīwān Dhī l-Rumma* i, 88–89.

65   *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* i, 227–228.

66   Abū Ṣāliḥ, ed. *Dīwān Dhī l-Rumma* i, 96.

67   *Fihrist* 130, 132–133; *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* ii, 873–874. The death-date of 311/923 given out for Lughda (as in Ziriklī's *al-Aʿlām* ii, 212) is untenable. Noting the teachers he studied under, al-Jāsir affirms that Lughda was a man of the third/ninth century in his introduction to Lughda's *Bilād al-ʿArab* 48.

68   Abū Ṣāliḥ, ed. *Dīwān Dhī l-Rumma* i, 89–95.

them before me, abstained from the classes of our *shaykh*s, aspiring as he
was to their topmost rank.[69]

Yaʿqūb came to my house and said, "Take me to Abū Naṣr, that we may
point out flubs and bloopers in his recitations of al-Shammākh. He gets
this one verse wrong, and in another he is deceived by an orthographic
mistake."

When I didn't say anything, he asked for my reply. I said to him, "This
is no good. Just yesterday we were at his door for all to see, asking ques-
tions and writing down his answers. Have we graduated to fault-finding
and running him down?"

[And then we arrived at his door, where] the old man came out and bid
us greeting. Yaʿqūb confronted him, saying: "How do you read this verse
of al-Shammākh?" Abū Naṣr gave his recitation. "And in this other place,
what consonant do you pronounce?" Abū Naṣr gave his pronunciation.
"Wrong!" said Yaʿqūb. After three or four rounds of this, the *shaykh* became
irritated. "Is this how you come at me, milkface?" he said. "This is how the
spirit moves you? You! who just yesterday were so attached to me that
people used to wonder!"

Abū Naṣr went back in his house and shut his door in our faces. "There
was no need for us to do that," I said. Yaʿqūb seemed chastened, and
refrained from expressing gratification or resentment.[70]

This story gives notice that Ibn al-Sikkīt's transmissions from Abū Naṣr might
be in a hostile or competitive spirit.[71] For reconstruction purposes, it should
be noted that Ibn al-Sikkīt compiled his own *K. Maʿānī al-shiʿr* (in *kabīr* and
ṣaghīr versions), and that it may have included materials he learned from Abū
Naṣr, with or without attribution. It would be nice to have all available frag-
ments from Ibn al-Sikkīt's *maʿānī*-book in an appendix to the reconstruction of
K. Abyāt al-maʿānī.[72]

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69 *Kāna qad qaʿada ʿan majālisihim wa-ṭalaba l-riyāsa*. For *riyāsa* ("chiefdom" in a given aca-
    demic field) and the aspiration to it, see Makdisi, *Rise of Colleges* 130–133.

70 *Majālis al-ʿulamāʾ* 38. Abū Ṣāliḥ, ed. *Dīwān Dhī l-Rumma* i, 95–96. For a consideration of
    Abū Naṣr's hand in the anonymously-compiled *dīwān* of al-Shammākh, see al-Hādī's intro-
    duction to *Dīwan al-Shammākh* 25–31.

71 No such hostility is evident at *Tahdhīb* iii, 71–72 (art. √ḍyʿ), where two verses of al-
    Shammākh are adduced with commentary by al-Bāhilī, on the authority of Ibn al-Sikkīt,
    and without controversy.

72 *GAS* ii, 59. The best source for these seems to be ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī's *Khizānat
    al-adab* (i, 20; see index at xiii, 5), where Ibn al-Sikkīt's *K. Maʿānī al-shiʿr* is mentioned

4   Life of *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*

Another set of *testimonia* deals with the book's passage to al-Andalus and its reception there. These begin with a mention of the work as it was known to Ṣāʿid al-Rabaʿī (d. 417/1026). In discussing some cases of apocope (i.e., *hadhf*, in which whole syllables are dropped for the sake of meter), Ṣāʿid recalls a copy of *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* in the handwriting of his teacher Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī. (d. 377/987):

> **TESTIMONIUM 7.0**
> The preceding is what Abū ʿAlī dictated to us, may God have mercy on him. Some time after that, I borrowed his personal manuscript copy (*riwāyatahu wa-khaṭṭahu*) of al-Bāhilī's *K. al-Maʿānī* and found, at the end of the book and in his (i.e., al-Fārisī's) handwriting, these words of the poet [al-ʿAjjāj, meter: *rajaz*]:
>
> > *qawāṭinan Makkata min wurqi l-ḥamiy*
>
> > … the ash-grey doves that never fly away from Mecca …
>
> [By *al-ḥamiy*] he means *al-ḥamām*, with apocopation of the *alif* and *mīm*—like saying *Yā Ḥāri* [for *Yā Ḥārithu*] and then adding to it the case ending proper to a noun.[73]

The fact that this was jotted on a blank area of the page shows it was not part of *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* itself. The salient point in Ṣāʿid's testimony is that al-Bāhilī's text was copied by the very hand of Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī—himself the author of still another *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*, according to Yāqūt.[74] I do not know of any fragments of this lost work; should any be found, they belong in another appendix to the reconstruction.

Our next Iberian testimony is from the above-mentioned list of books that Abū ʿAlī al-Qālī brought with him to al-Andalus, in Ibn Khayr's *Fahrasa*:

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alongside al-Ushnāndānī's. Al-Baghdādī knew of Abū Naṣr al-Bāhilī, and quotes him by name, but of his *abyāt al-maʿānī* he makes no mention.

73   *K. al-Fuṣūṣ* iii, 131–132. In Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* i, 26, this is the very first verse cited, in the chapter on poetic license (*Mā yaḥtamilu l-shiʿr*).

74   *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* ii, 814; *GAS* ii, 60. Al-Fārisī mentions Abū Naṣr just once that I can find, in his *K. al-Shiʿr* ii, 457, where he cites a verse with commentary by al-Aṣmaʿī *Fī-mā rawā ʿan-hu Abū Naṣr*; cf. *Dīwān Dhī l-Rumma* i, 575.

TESTIMONIUM 7.1

Akhbār transported by Abū ʿAlī al-Baghdādī: [...]

One volume containing several *Wars of the Arabs*, and the *Maʿānī al-shiʿr* of al-Bāhilī, entire. I was going to purchase this copy for collation purposes (*ʿalā an uqābilahā*), but other tasks prevented me from doing so.[75]

Al-Qālī's book-laden arrival in Cordoba in 330/942 predated Ṣāʿid al-Rabaʿī's by some fifty years, and at least one if not both of these men brought with him a copy of *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*. Ibn Khayr's testimony locates the book in sixth-/twelfth-century Seville, and there we read of it again two centuries later, in a passing mention by Imām Shāṭibī (d. 790/1388). As in Testimonium 7.0, the context is a discussion of poetic license—not apocope this time, but the quiescence of voweled radicals. The source is al-Shāṭibī's commentary on Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*:

FRAGMENT 4

In this instance, the second consonant of *faʿalāt* is made quiescent [yielding *faʿlāt*]. Dhū l-Rumma said (meter: *ṭawīl*):

> *Abat dhikarun ʿawwadna aḥshāʾa qalbihi*
> *khufūqan wa-rafḍātu l-hawā fī l-mafāṣili*[76]

[His resolve] is overruled by memories that keep setting his heart
aquake, and extremes of passion that unstring his joints.

The poet means *rafaḍāt*, but out of metrical necessity, he imposes quiescence [on the second radical]. And Ibn Khurūf (d. 609/1212) said: In his *Maʿānī*, al-Bāhilī attested the verse (meter: *ṭawīl*):

> *Wa-lākinna naẓrātin bi-ʿaynin marīḍatin*
> *ulāka l-lawātī qad mathalna bi-nā mathlan*

But glances from an eye with slackened lids—
these are what cut us to our manhood.

The poet means *naẓarāt*.[77]

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75   *Fahrasat Ibn Khayr* 359. The remark about collation is Ibn Khayr's.
76   *Dīwān Dhī l-Rumma* ii, 1337.
77   *Al-Maqāṣid al-shāfiya* vi, 483.

The later career of *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* in the East is less easy to plot. Ahead, Fragment 11 may or may not show a quote from it by Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1058). One generation later, the following citation by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī (d. 482/1089) shows that the book was still being read in Iran:

FRAGMENT 5
Ibn al-Ṭawd (Son of the Mountain) is a byname for the echo that comes to you in the mountains. Al-Bāhilī attested the verse in *al-Maʿānī* (meter: *ṭawīl*):

> *Daʿawtu kulayban daʿwatan fa-kaʾannanī*
> *daʿawtu bi-hi bna ṭ-ṭawdi aw huwa aʿjalu*

> I called to [my] dog, [who showed up as quicky] as if
> I had called on the Son of the Mountain, if not faster.

Faster, that is, to the spot where the call issued, like an echo that answers you before you finish shouting. Another interpretation is that "Son of the Mountain" refers to a mass of rock, as if it were a [swiftly falling] rock that "answered" from the mountain.[78]

While I am confident that the book reached further east than Jurjān and Isfahan, I lack evidence for this, and for the book's existence in the East after the fifth/eleventh century I have no evidence either. When Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1312) and al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790) quote from it as they do by name, they are quoting other sources (mainly al-Azharī). The delightful possibility that part of the book might surface in manuscript, to say nothing of an integral whole, is a slim one.

5   Sources for *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*

There are two main sources from which a reconstruction of *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* has to draw. The first is the already-mentioned *Tahdhīb al-lugha* of al-Azharī, who names two distinct channels through which Abū Naṣr's transmissions reached him:

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78   *Al-Muntakhab* 93. The verse appears without al-Bāhilī's commentary in *Tahdhīb al-lugha* xiv, 4 (art. √wṭd); *Asās al-balāgha* i, 80 (art. √bny) and i, 616 (art. √ṭwd); and *Lisān al-ʿArab* art. √ṭwd.

TESTIMONIUM 8

The material in my book that comes from al-Aṣmaʿī via Abū Naṣr as reported by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī (d. 285/898) was reported to me by al-Mundhirī (d. 329/940), and what comes from al-Aṣmaʿī via Abū Naṣr as narrated by Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā [= Thaʿlab] is from the book of Abū ʿUmar al-Warrāq [= Ghulām Thaʿlab, d. 345/957].[79]

Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Mundhirī was a teacher of al-Azharī's, and the book of Abū ʿUmar is the lost *Yawāqīt* (or *Yāqūt*) *fī l-lugha*.[80] These were not al-Azharī's only sources: he also had Abū Naṣr's books, among them his recension of *K. al-Ajnās* (mentioned in Testimonium 2.0).[81] Also among them was *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*, from which al-Azharī quotes so frequently in *Tahdhīb al-lugha*, as in art. √ṭr:

FRAGMENT 6.0

I read these *rajaz* verses in *K. al-Maʿānī* of al-Bāhilī:

> *Laḥfī ʿalā ʿanzayni lā ansāhumā*
> *kaʾanna ẓillu ḥajarin ṣughrāhumā*
> *wa-ṣālighun muṭaratun kubrāhumā*

I sigh for two goats that I will never forget.
The smaller one was like the shadow of a stone.
The larger one was without teeth, and red/noble.

He said: *muṭara* means "red." The other one is likened to "the shadow of a stone" because it is black in color.[82]

Here al-Azharī seems to be copying directly from the text of *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*. The commentary might or might not be al-Bāhilī's; more detailed commentary on the verses is given by al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869):

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79 *Tahdhīb al-lugha* i, 15.
80 *Fihrist* 120–121. Abū ʿUmar's still-extant *Yāqūtat al-ṣirāṭ fī tafsīr gharīb al-Qurʾan* is surmised by Sezgin to have formed part of *al-Yawāqīt* (GAS viii, 157).
81 Al-Azharī does not quote from *K. al-Ajnās* by title in *Tahdhīb*, but one likely quotation from it (a verse from ʿAntara's *muʿallaqa*) appears in art. √nʿsh (i, 435).
82 *Tahdhīb al-lugha* ii, 163–164 (art. √ʿṭr). Also in Ibn Qutayba's *K. al-Maʿānī al-kabīr* iv, 690; and *Lisān al-ʿArab* art. √ʿṭr (with variations).

FRAGMENT 6.1

By *ṣāligh* he means it has shed its teeth. *Muṭira* is "red." It is derived from *al-ʿiṭr* (perfume). The second verse means that the goat is black, because the shadow of a stone is black. The more solid a thing, the blacker its shadow.

The Arabs say: "The strongest shade is cast by stone, and the warmest shade is cast by trees. The coolest and strongest shade of all is cast by mountains."[83]

How to manage the commentaries in a reconstruction of *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* is a question dealt with ahead under Editorial Difficulties. Also addressed is the question of incompletely-sourced citations, as throughout *Tahdhīb al-lugha* where al-Azharī uses *Anshada l-Bāhilī* as a shorthand reference to *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*, whether he has the book in front of him or quotes from someone else's narration.

Al-Azharī's entry for √*rkh* gives an example of this. The citation is garbled: Abū Naṣr is called "Ibn ʿAlī." But there is no doubt that the following verses were among Aḥmad b. Ḥātim al-Bāhilī's *abyāt al-maʿānī*:[84]

FRAGMENT 7

We are informed by al-Mundhirī that al-Ṣaydāwī defined *arkh* [or *irkh*] as the female offspring of the wild cow, and said that *taʾrīkh*, meaning "*ḥadīth* narration," can be connected to this word (*maʾkhūdha minhu*), as if *taʾrīkh* were something endowed with speech, the way a child is. And al-Ṣaydāwī said:

We are informed by Aḥmad b. ʿAlī (*sic*) al-Bāhilī that Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī (d. 236/851) said: "*Al-arkh* is the offspring of the wild cow when it is still small, and *taʾrīkh*, meaning '*ḥadīth* narration,' is connec-

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83   *Ḥayawān* v, 493. If the "goats" in these verses are women, commentators do not say so. It is one possible reading, as in the dream-interpretation manual attributed to Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110/728): "A goat is [the symbol of] a *jāriya* or a loose woman, because the goat's pudenda are left exposed by the shortness of its tail" (*Al-ʿanz jāriya aw imraʾa fāsida li-anna-hā makshūfat al-ʿawra bi-lā dhanab*). *K. Tafsīr al-aḥlām al-kabīr* 154. An obscene interpretation of the verses might be indicated.

84   Everywhere else that Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣaydāwī is mentioned in *Tahdhīb*, it is as al-Mundhirī's (d. 329/940) source for reports from Abū l-Faḍl al-Riyāshī (d. 257/869), who presumably transmitted this one too. Al-Riyāshī was a Basran scholar of the generation after Abū Naṣr, and in this place his name has dropped out (muddling the *isnād* more severely than the alteration of Abū Naṣr's patronym). Al-Ṣaydāwī cannot in any case have known al-Bāhilī. The fault for all this assuredly lies with copyists, and not al-Azharī.

ted to it." And he said that al-Bāhilī attributed these verses to a Medinese visitor to Basra (meter: *khafīf*):

> *Layta lī fī l-khamīsi khamsīna ʿaynan*
> > *kullahā ḥawla Masjidi l-Ashyākhi*
> *masjidun lā yazālu yahwī ilayhā*
> > *Ummu Arkhin qināʿuhā mutarākhī*

> On Thursday, I wish for fifty eyes,
> > each one around the Mosque of the *shaykhs*:
> a mosque toward which Umm Arkh ever hastens
> > with her veil hanging low.[85]

Here, in contrast to Fragment 6.0, al-Azharī is not copying from a book, but reporting his teacher's narration. The verses are textbook examples of *abyāt al-maʿānī* form, leaving no doubt in their source. Garbled as it is, al-Bāhilī's name is shorthand for his *maʿānī*-book, here as throughout *Tahdhīb* and elsewhere.

The other of our two main sources for the book never mentions its title. This is the anthology *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara* by Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Muẓaffar al-Ḥātimī (d. 388/998). If al-Ḥātimī knew al-Bāhilī and Abū Naṣr to be the same person, he does not show it. Al-Ḥātimī mentions "Abū Naṣr" 14 times in *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*, always as a narrator and always in the same chain of transmission (*ʿan Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā ʿan Abī Naṣr ʿan al-Aṣmaʿī*). It is in the sixth part of the anthology, dedicated expressly to *abyāt al-maʿānī* and *abyāt al-lughz*, that "al-Bāhilī" is cited 24 times: six times on the authority of Thaʿlab through al-Ḥātimī's teacher Abū l-Ḥasan al-ʿArūḍī (d. 342/953–954), and 18 times with no *isnād*. No antecedent sources of al-Bāhilī are named, other than poets. Fragment 8 is a typical example:

FRAGMENT 8

The best *abyāt al-maʿānī* in description of thievery were attested by al-Bāhilī (meter: *ṭawīl*):

> *Tuʿayyirunī tarka r-ramāyata khullatī*
> > *wa-mā kullu man yarmī l-wuḥūsha yanāluhā*
> *fa-in lā uṣādif ghurrata l-waḥshi aqtaniṣ*
> > *mina l-anasiyyāti l-ʿiẓāmi jufālahā*

> My mistress reproaches me for giving up archery,
>   but not all who shoot at wild beasts gain the prize.
> If I fail to hit the mark of the beast, I'll hunt
>   the fleeces of great domestics.

"Domestics" (*anasiyyāt*) means sheep that are kept by people. By "hunting," he means theft. *Jufāl* is "wool."[86]

That al-Ḥātimī never mentions *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* by title might be a matter of prestige. To cite an oral-auditory chain of attestations is more distinguished than quoting from a book. *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara* is nonetheless a better source for al-Bāhilī's book than *Tahdhīb al-lugha* in the important respect of genre. A dictionary is *like* an anthology in the sense that it holds a lot of poetic verses. But poetry in the lexicon is an evidentiary resource, instrumental to the lexicographical project, and not that project's final cause. *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*, meanwhile, *is* a poetry anthology, and its sixth section is basically a *maʿānī*-book, of the same genre as *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* and all the others.

I do not say that *abyāt al-maʿānī* found in lexica are distorted or compromised, only that the principle of selection is different. The main reason for citing them in lexicography is rare usage. It is in *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara* that we find *abyāt al-maʿānī* of the idealized type, relatively free of *gharābat al-lafẓ*. One thing to be said incidentally for this type is the greater ease of translation, as in:

FRAGMENT 9

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿArūḍī informed us that Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā attested these verses on the authority of al-Bāhilī (meter: *basīṭ*):

> *Wa-ṣāḥibin ghayri dhī ẓillin wa-lā nafasin*
>   *hayyajtuhu bi-siwāʾi l-bīdi fa-htājā*

> A remarkable companion have I, with neither breath nor shadow.
>   In the middle of deserts, I set him in motion, and into motion he
>   springs.

The poet describes his shadow. By "I set him in motion," he means that he walked along, and set the shadow moving with his walk.[87]

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86   *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara* ii, 135–136.
87   *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara* ii, 124.

All this shows the range of available sources for *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*.[88] Despite the book's non-existence in our day, it is a living work in the attenuated sense that its scattered contents are read and learned from still (mostly in *Lisān al-ʿArab*). Meanwhile, the form and outline of the book, and any traces of its original sequence, are lost. In a project of reconstruction, this is the major obstacle. An inventory of fragments is all it makes possible. Nor is this the only obstacle. I regret to opine that no attempt at a reconstruction of al-Bāhilī's work can come close enough to merit the name.

6 Editorial Difficulties

For reconstructing works of philology from fragments, there is encouraging precedent in Hämeen-Anttila's reconstruction of *K. al-Iʿtiqāb* by Abū Turāb, a late third-/ninth-century grammarian of Khorasan. It happens that my imagined reconstruction and his completed one share a source: *Tahdhīb al-lugha* of al-Azharī. Hämeen-Anttila's project enjoyed a distinct advantage in that *K. al-Iʿtiqāb* is known to have been organized into alphabetic chapters.[89] For *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* no such organizing principle is available, and there are other challenges as well. I group them here under three headings—three issues that thwart the work of reconstruction:

1. One danger faced by the reconstructor is that of "false positives," that is, attestations of al-Bāhilī that are not from *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*. These pose a necessary risk: to restrict the contents to fragments that mention al-Bāhilī's book by its title shrinks the pool considerably. Even al-Azharī (a careful bibliographer) mentions the title only about half the time he quotes from it. But if the pool is widened to include any verse introduced by *Wa-anshada al-Bāhilī*, then extraneous material will find its way in. One such "judgment call" arises in *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn* (ii, 161):

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88 More funds of relevant material are out there. Two are *Sharḥ ashʿār al-Hudhaliyīn* of Abū Saʿīd al-Sukkarī (d. 275/888), and *Khizānat al-adab* of al-Baghdādī (d. 1093/1682), which is discussed in fn. 72. Both of these anthologies are replete with Abū Naṣr's commentary on verses by Abū Dhuʾayb, Imruʾ al-Qays, Dhū l-Rumma and others, but in his capacity as *ṣāḥib al-Maʿānī*, I find nothing in either one. See also Fragment 12 for the case of al-Ḥarbī's *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*.

89 Hämeen-Anttila, *Lexical Ibdāl* 143.

FRAGMENT 10

Some things they say about grass (*kala'*): "Grass on which camels graze [as if] hobbled." Also: "Grass in which the free-range pastor is like one whose flocks are tethered." This is said of a plentiful amount of grass, in which it makes no difference whether you tether your flock or set them free. And they say: "Grass that galls the man of small capital" [i.e., who lacks enough livestock to take full advantage]. And al-Bāhilī attested the verses (meter: *rajaz*):

> *Thumma muṭirnā maṭratan rawiyyah*
> *fa-nabata l-baqlu wa-lā raʿiyyah*

> Then we were rained on by a water-bearing rain,
> and greenery sprouted, and there was no pastoral labor.

Without any accompanying commentary, these verses are not obviously from *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*. Commentary is an essential feature of *maʿānī*-books, and lexicographers seldom omit it when quoting from them. Al-Jāḥiẓ, who is interested in the verses only, leaves it out—if there was ever commentary to begin with. The verses might have featured in another book of Abū Naṣr's, such as *K. al-Ibil*. I, however, believe them to be from *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*, for they contain a puzzle: Why no *raʿiyya* after it rains? The answer is that when grass is lush and plentiful, the herd stays in one place without wandering off, and the herder's duties are light. I therefore recommend the verses' inclusion in a reconstruction.

A similar case comes up in *al-Fuṣūl wa-l-ghāyāt* of Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī:

FRAGMENT 11

Habwa is fine dust (*al-ghubār al-daqīq*), and it is a way of describing [the matte finish of] swords. Al-Bāhilī attested this verse by a poet (meter: *wāfir*):

> *Dalaftu la-hu bi-abyaḍa mashrafiyyin*
>   *kaʾanna ʿalā mawāqiʿihi ghubārā*

> I stepped up to him with a *mashrafī* sword
>   whose striking edge appeared as if coated by dust.

"Sites of impact" (*mawāqiʿ*) are where the sword lands and makes contact, in other words the sword's striking edge.[90]

What qualifies these verses as *abyāt al-maʿānī* is the counter-intuitive point that the appearance of dust on a sword is no defect, but a visual effect produced intentionally by the swordsmith. But the verse could equally be in *K. al-Silāḥ* (see fn. 48 above), be it al-Bāhilī's or al-Aṣmaʿī's.

One rich source of unverified fragments is the *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* of Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq al-Ḥarbī, who studied under Abū Naṣr and cites him with great frequency. His reports are all of personal audition, and although it is easy to spot material belonging in Abū Naṣr's *K. al-Khayl* (ii, 392, 408) and *K. al-Jarād* (ii, 416–417), al-Ḥarbī does not mention these nor any of his teacher's books by title. Many of Abū Naṣr's attestations in *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* probably featured in *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*, like the following:

FRAGMENT 12

"His voice halted (*khafata ṣawtuhu*) from hunger" is said, and so is "The man halted" (*khafata l-rajulu*) when he dies and his speech is cut off. And a man may "halt" in his reading (*khafata l-rajulu bi-qirāʾatihi*). Crops that do not reach their full height are "halting" (*zarʿun khāfitun*). A man "halts" in his chewing (*yukhāfitu l-maḍgha*), and so does a camel in its rumination. Abū Naṣr recited to us (meter: *ṭawīl*):

> *Yukhāfitna baʿda l-maḍghi min khīfati al-radā*
> *wa-yuṣghīna li-l-samʿi intiṣāta l-qunāqini*

> Fearing their own destruction, they halt some of their chewing
> and inclined their heads to hearken for the silent vigil of the water-listener.[91]

This refers to a herd of ibexes. "They halt in some of their chewing" means that, fearing lest they be caught and killed by a hunter, they arrest their chewing. They strain with their ears to hear better, and position their heads for it, just as the *qunāqin* does. The *qunāqin*, pl. *qanāqin*, is someone skilled (*muhandis*) at listening for signs of water, in order to draw it out [from beneath the ground].[92]

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90 *Al-Fuṣūl wa-l-ghāyāt* 221, also thus in *Lisān al-ʿArab* art. √wqʿ.
91 The verse is by al-Ṭirimmāḥ, with variations in *Dīwān al-Ṭirimmāḥ* 268.
92 *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* ii, 850–851.

The fact that Ibn Qutayba gives the verse (twice) in *K. al-Maʿānī al-kabīr* (ii, 640, 720) verfies that it is *min abyāt al-maʿānī*. But where external proofs are lacking, the reconstructor of *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* must treat *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*'s abundance of attestations by Abū Naṣr with discretion.

In one place where *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* is specifically named, I have my doubts. This is in a later *maʿānī*-book by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Namarī (d. 385/995), in which he comments on a verse by the *mukhaḍram*-era poet Ibn ʿAnama al-Ḍabbī (meter: *basīṭ*):

FRAGMENT 13

> *Fa-zjur ḥimāraka lā yartaʿ bi-rawḍatinā*
> *idhan yuraddu wa-qaydu l-ʿayri makrūbu*

> Restrain your ass. Let it not enjoy our meadow
> lest it be sent back [to you] with its tether twisted.

> Abū ʿAbd Allāh said: Al-Bāhilī, the author of *K. al-Maʿānī*. said: The poet says *makrūb* in the sense of *karabtu l-shayʾ*, which you say when you halter something and tie it tight (*ḥakamtahu wa-awthaqtahu*). The verse means: "We'll send the ass back with its tether full of twists," the way people are filled with *karb* (anxiety).[93]

Ṣāḥib al-Maʿānī identifies Abū Naṣr al-Bāhilī, but does it correctly identify the book in which his comment was made? The double meaning pointed out here is that *karb* in people is a psychological state, while the *karb* affecting the tether is physical (the state of being so tightly twisted that the ass can barely walk).[94] But what al-Bāhilī's commentary points out here is a case of *jinās* (homonymy or polysemy) that produces no real ambiguity within the verse itself. His commentary might, therefore, come from *K. al-Ajnās* (Testimonia 2.0–2.3).

The reconstructor of *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* cannot afford to athetize many fragments, least of all those mentioning the book by name. The question is whether to err on the side of inclusion or exclusion. Lyall Armstrong's contribution to this volume considers a parallel case in *K. al-Mawt* by Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (d. 281/894), a lost work existing now in two reconstructions. The exclusionary approach was taken in the 1983 reconstruction by Leah Kinberg, which is

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93   *K. Maʿānī abyāt al-Ḥamāsa* 262–263.

94   Thus al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109), where the verse features in *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa* i, 413–414: *Wa-qad ḍuyyiqa qayduhu, qāla al-Marzūqī* (d. 421/1030), *ay muliʾa qayduhu fatlan ḥattā lā yamshiya illā bi-taʿabin*. The verse is also in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* iii, 14.

confined to those traditions in which the lost text is mentioned by its title; traditions sourced to Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's similarly-themed *K. al-Qubūr* are united in a separate section of the same volume. The result of this approach is a 38-page text containing 143 reports. A contrastingly inclusive approach was taken in the 2002 reconstruction by Mashhūr Āl Salmān, resulting in a 277-page text containing 592 reports. In favor of either approach, there are viable arguments.

As a rule of thumb, any fragment beginning *Anshada l-Bāhilī* deserves consideration. The danger of false positives is, in the end, no terrible danger.

2. Another editorial challenge is in assessing the commentary, where one might hope to hear Abū Naṣr's "voice" come through the text. Here our grounds for certainty are shakiest, as shown in side-by-side comparison of the following commentaries:

FRAGMENT 14.0
Al-Bāhilī attested the verses (meter: *mutaqārib*):

> *Wa-mayyitatin rakaḍat mayyitan*
> *fa-wallā ḥathīthan huwa l-jāhidu*
> *ṭalīʿatu ḥayyin ilā ḥayyatin*
> *yurajjī n-najāḥa bi-hā sh-shāhidu*

> Many's the lifeless thing that drives against a lifeless [arrow],
> and he who was set on battle turns away swiftly.
> Hoping for success, and bearing witness to it,
> the advance guard of the tribe [flies] at a doughty [foe].

The referent here is the archer's bow. The "witness" is what hits the target (*al-ṣāʾid*).[95]

FRAGMENT 14.1
Al-Bāhilī attested the verses (meter: *mutaqārib*):

> *Wa-mayyitatin baʿathat mayyitan*
> *fa-wallā ḥathīthan huwa l-jāhidu*
> *ṭalīʿatu ḥayyin ilā ḥayyatin*
> *yurajjī n-najāta bi-hā sh-shāhidu*

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95   *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara* ii, 187.

> Many's the lifeless thing that animates a lifeless [arrow],
>> and he who was set on battle turns away swiftly.
> Hoping for deliverance, and bearing witness to it,
>> the advance guard of the tribe [flies] at a doughty [foe].

> The referent here is a bow and arrow, as it is pulled back and sent forth.
> *Ḥayy* and *ḥayya* refer to the shooter.[96]

The variation in these verses is trivial, but the commentaries are quite different. Which is more faithful to what al-Bāhilī actually said? An unanswerable question. Responsibility for the commentary lies in every case with the latter-day source more surely than with Abū Naṣr. No firm position on the matter need be staked in a reconstruction, where side-by-side presentation of all such variants would suffice.

3. The third editorial difficulty, that of arrangement, is a true aporia. We have no evidence on the matter. How many chapters or sections might have been in al-Bāhilī's book, and in what order, or whether any such organization were present at all, are unanswerable questions. Alphabetization cannot in any case have played a role.

The only models for envisioning the arrangement of *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* are the *maʿānī*-books of Ibn Qutayba and al-Ushnāndānī, which present two alternatives. Ibn Qutayba's is a *muṣannaf* work (i.e., a written composition), divided into twelve thematic chapters. A chapter on horses comes first, then wild animals, food and hospitality, insects, etc., each with subchapters. In al-Ushnāndānī's book, there is none of this. Formally, *K. Maʿānī al-shiʿr* is a work of *amālī* (dictations) in haphazard sequence; Ibn Durayd's preface states that it was dictated to him shipboard, upon the Tigris River.[97]

I incline to believe that al-Bāhilī's *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* (dictated many times over a long career) would have lacked fixed arrangement, thematic or otherwise. Mainly this is for historical reasons. The level of organization in Ibn Qutayba's books is extraordinary for his period, and he postdates al-Bāhilī by a generation. It would be surprising to find thematic organization on such a scale in *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*, or division into chapters of any kind.

Of all the editorial uncertainties, the lack of an organizing template is the most serious. I happen myself to enjoy thematic arrangement, but do not feel

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96   Al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ, *al-Muḥibb wa-l-maḥbūb* iii, 144.

97   *K. Maʿānī al-shiʿr* 7.

entitled to impose it on our collected fragments in the manner of Ibn Qutayba or al-Ḥātimī.[98] With no such thing as an original sequence to be reconstructed, I do not see how any assembly of fragments from *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* can pass as a simulacrum of the original work.[99]

7 Conclusion

Reconstructive projects are supposed to end in results, not conclusions. This one ends where it began, with a meditation on the anthology and its powers to preserve literary tradition.

Given this article's focus, it is only natural that the preservative effects of anthology tradition are more salient here than exclusionary ones. But an old joke comes to mind, about the simpleton searching beneath the streetlamps for his keys, even though they were lost in the surrounding darkness. "So why not look for them where you lost them?" the simpleton is asked. His answer: "Because the light to see by is over here." Anthologies are like streetlamps in this regard. The views they give are by definition incomplete, but for Arabic verse in pre-modern reception, there is hardly anywhere else to look. To forego anthologies is to gather firewood in the dark with the *ḥāṭib al-layl*.

The preservationist function of *maʿānī*-books is a separate question. As vessels of poetic tradition, how worthy are they? From a literary-historical perspective, I should say they are invaluable. Fragment 3, for instance, gives us *rajaz* verses by Mulayḥ b. al-Ḥakam that are contained neither in his *dīwān* nor that of his tribe, giving new evidence for *uḥjiyya* as practiced by a Hudhalī poet in the first century of Islam. Given that this evidence comes to us from *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* (by way of al-Ḥātimī's *Ḥilya*), the archival value of *maʿānī*-books is given as well.

Where they might be said to muddle the past is at the level of genre. My thesis once again is that *abyāt al-maʿānī* are a derivative category of verse, with no existence outside recitations and anthologies of *abyāt al-maʿānī*. It is a

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98   *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*'s sixth section is similarly divided into short thematic chapters entitled "Best *abyāt al-maʿānī* on the subject of asterisms," "Best *abyāt al-maʿānī* on divining arrows," etc.

99   One possible recourse would be to mount a study of the books of Thaʿlab, whom so many cite as their source for Abū Naṣr's work. Thaʿlab too had a *K. Maʿānī al-shiʿr* (*Fihrist* 118), which was probably his recension of al-Bāhilī's book, and this may have been the version brought to al-Andalus by Abū ʿAlī al-Qālī (Testimonium 7.1). And yet it is doubtful that an organizing principle for *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī* might be derived from Thaʿlab's extant works.

post-positive category, in which archaic and contemporary materials are freely combined, and the work of major poets is thrown together with anonymous puzzle-masters. Despite critics' interest in isolating a formal type, the ideal is always exceeded by the category. What *kutub al-maʿānī* preserve most faithfully is the practice of the scholars that compiled them.

Abyāt al-maʿānī do not come out of a vacuum, though. Their affiliation to *uḥjiyya* poetry is undeniable and deserves further study. In any case, the didactic imperatives of *abyāt al-maʿānī* and *uḥjiyya* as practiced by Dhū l-Rumma are quite the same: both operate as tests of cultural competence, as language problems and with regard to Bedouin *realia* equally. Educated city folk with little practical connection to desert life were still, in Abū Naṣr's day, supposed to know its idioms, and verses with puzzling meanings were a good medium for teaching and testing that knowledge.

The most important difference is that *aḥājī* are the work of poets, while *abyāt al-maʿānī* are created by anthologists. The contents of a *maʿānī*-book may be selected from anywhere. There are *maʿānī*-books dedicated to individual poets (Abū Tammām, al-Mutanabbī) and source texts (Fragment 13 is from a *K. Maʿānī abyāt al-Ḥamāsa*). *Abyāt al-maʿānī* come as outtakes from the middle of long poems, and as freestanding *qiṭʿa*s by *muwalladūn* and Bedouins alike. But once again it is the anthologist, and not the poet, who determines whether they are *min abyāt al-maʿānī*.

The difference between *uḥjiyya* and *abyāt al-maʿānī* may be appreciated in two consecutive fragments from *Ḥilya*'s chapter of "Best *abyāt al-maʿānī* describing saddles" (*Aḥsanu mā warada min abyāt al-maʿānī fī waṣf al-riḥāl*). Their true theme is night travel. They voice the cares of an alert guide tasked with leading his drowsy companions through the unlit desert. The motif is typical of *raḥīl* poetry and was made much of by Dhū l-Rumma.[100]

FRAGMENT 15

We are informed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿArūḍī that Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā attested these verses on the authority of al-Bāhilī (meter: *ṭawīl*):

> *Ilā llāhi ashkū mā ulāqī mina s-surā*
> *   wa-inna lladhī nufḍī bi-hi dhū tawahhumi*
> *tanākaḥatā ḥattā khashaytu ʿalayhimā*
> *   ʿaṣāfīra lā tamshī bi-laḥmi wa-la dami*

100   Papoutsakis, *Desert Travel* 83–101.

To God I complain of the night travel I'm faced with.
    He whom we are leading is subject to [sleep's] delusion.
The pair wed each other, causing me fear lest
    the fleshless, bloodless sparrows land upon them.

The first verse speaks of a path that is indistinct and eludes travelers. "The pair that wed each other" is a reference to [the traveler's] eyes, meaning that his eyelids droop and come together in sleep. A similar use of "wedding" for the meeting of the eyelids in sleep occurs in the verse (meter: *kāmil*):

> *Tanākaḥat ḥūru l-madāmiʿi bi-l-qilā*
>   *wa-ʿalā l-bayāḍu ʿalā s-sawādi fa-jārā*

The bright-eyed sites of weeping wed each other in ire.
    Their whites rolled up over the black pupils, and the two were
    neighbors.

By "fleshless, bloodless sparrows" what is meant are the pins of wood at the saddle's front, called "sparrows." The speaker worries lest the traveler fall [forward] and wound his head.[101]

FRAGMENT 16

Among the attestations of al-Bāhilī is this verse of al-Rāʿī (al-Numayrī, d. ca. 96/714) (meter: *ṭawīl*):

> *Fa-bāta yurīhi ʿirsahu wa-banātahu*
>   *wa-bittu urīhi n-najma ayna makhāfiquh*

He spent the night with his wife and daughters in sight
    and I spent it keeping a star in his sight, [asking:] Where will it set?
    [lit. "where are the places of its setting"?]

This describes a man who slept in his saddle while his companion watched the stars, lest the right way be lost. He says: "My companion spent the night seeing his family [in dreams], drowsing in his saddle, while I spent it sleeplessly watching a star and being guided by it."[102]

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101   *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara* ii, 132.
102   *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara* ii, 132; cf. *Dīwān al-Rāʿī* 186, Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣbahānī's (d. 294/909) *K.*

The hearer's knowledge of desert travel is tested by both entries. In Fragment 15, the meaning depends on knowing that *ʿaṣāfīr*, the word for "sparrows," is also a word for the pegs holding the camel-saddle together. In Fragment 16, the reference is to navigational technique. To make it through the trackless desert, the experienced night traveler picks a star near the horizon and keeps it in view.

So much for content. As to form, Fragment 15 presents an *uḥjiyya* with two concealed referents: the traveler's eyelids that "marry" in sleep, and the pegs called "sparrows." For the first referent, a metaphor has been substituted, and the second is couched in specialized saddle-vocabulary. As Qudāma might say, two sorts of *irdāf* are at work. The concealment is deliberate and purposive, and meant to cause puzzlement.

The verse in Fragment 16 is no *uḥjiyya*. It is tenth in a 33-verse poem by al-Rāʿī, whom a young Dhū l-Rumma served as rhapsode. In this verse, one verb is repeated to mean two different things. The verb is *arā yurī* "to make someone see something," and it takes a double accusative (for the thing made visible and the person made to see it). The indirect object is a sleeping traveler. The verse's original setting in al-Rāʿī's poem makes no disguise of this, but when it stands alone, the pronoun's referent—the *-hi* of *yurīhi*—is concealed. And the one who conceals it is the anthologist, not the poet.

Yet even in the context of al-Rāʿī's poem, the verse gives cause for wonder. How, in his dormant state, can the traveler be made to see anything at all? The answer in the first hemistich is that his family members are seen in a dream-vision.[103] In the second hemistich, the traveler does not actually see the star, but it remains "in his sight" in the sense that it remains in front of him, thanks to the efforts of the guide who keeps the party moving in the right direction.

The repeated use of one lexeme with different meanings is a habit of Arabic poetry predating Islam. Qudāma calls it *muṭābaqa* when the same form is used twice, and *mujānasa* when a verse contains two cognates of the same root.[104] This verse of al-Rāʿī's falls somewhere between, in that the form and tense of the verb are unchanged, but the conjugation shifts from third to first person. This is no cause for puzzlement, only a hit of wonder at (not one but) two distinct ways that the oblivious sleeper can be said to have "sight."

al-Zahra i, 390, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa* i, 225–226, *K. Maʿānī abyāt al-Ḥamāsa* 71–72, and the *Muḥkam* of Ibn Sīda (d. 458/1066), art. √shẓẓ (quoted in *Lisān al-ʿArab*, art. √shẓẓ).

103   The implied subject of *yurīhi* is "slumber" (*al-karā*), as supplied from the verse preceding it in al-Rāʿī's poem.

104   *Naqd al-shiʿr* 162–164. This use of the term is unique to Qudāma; more usual meanings for *muṭābaqa* in Arabic rhetoric are the "antithesis" of two opposed meanings, and the "correspondence" between *lafẓ* and *maʿnā* (called by Qudāma *iʾtilāf*). See Suleiman, *Arabic in the Fray* 77–79.

Nor do wonders cease there. With *ayna makhāfiquh*, the verse ends in an elegant case of polysemy. *Makhāfiq* (sg. *makhfaq*) are the times and places in which a star is seen to set: al-Tibrīzī gives *maghārib* as a gloss.[105] But then he says: "The root meaning of *khafaqa* is 'to be in commotion' (*al-iḍṭirāb*), which may apply to wings, hearts, and a drowsy person's nodding head."[106] Understood as "the noddings of his head"—the sleepy traveler's head—the question *Ayna makhāfiquh?* takes on a whole range of emotive colorings.[107] It might express derision, fatalism, psychological mystery, or a number of moods at once.[108]

It seems that an analogous double meaning was attempted in the first verse of Fragment 15, where the more obvious meaning ("He whom we are guiding is subject to delusion") is not mentioned in the commentary. Instead, the referent of *dhū tawahhumin* is said to be "an indistinct path" (*yurīdu ṭarīqan mushtabihan*), i.e., a path on which travelers are prone to delusion. The double meaning is obviously intentional because it was not well accomplished. The first meaning requires an active verb (*nufḍī*), while the second meaning fails to come through without the passive (*nufḍā*).

The contrast between these fragments illustrates two important subtypes of the category. Some *abyāt al-maʿānī* (e.g., Fragment 16) are produced through the excerptive method, which is to abstract them from the middle of poems, so that contextual information and referents of pronouns fall away. The resulting obscurity is produced by the anthologist's art, independently of the poets who composed them, and correspond to al-Suyūṭī's ideal type. Then there are verses (e.g., Fragment 15) whose obscurities are staged intentionally by their anonymous composers in imitation of the ideal type.

Then, there is a third kind of *abyāt al-maʿānī* (e.g., Fragment 1), which is pure *uḥjiyya* of the "guessing game" variety, and in these the intention to puzzle the hearer is explicit. These are not complex amusements, but there are some that rise above mere cleverness:

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105 *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa* i, 226.

106 Thus *Lisān al-ʿArab* art. √*khfq*: *Yuqāl Khafaqa fulānun khafqan idhā nāma nawmatan khafīfatan, wa-Khafa l-rajul ay ḥarraka raʾsahu wa-huwa nāʿisun.*

107 For the formal isomorphy and semantic overlap between *ism makān* and *maṣdar mīmī* on which this double meaning turns, see Bravmann, *Studies* 236, and Larsen, Meaning and Captivity 181–182.

108 There is much more to discuss in al-Rāʿī's verse, including a variant in *K. al-Zahra* i, 390 and *K. Maʿānī abyāt al-Ḥamāsa* 72 where *urāʿī* is heard in place of *urīhi*: "And I spent the night *shepherding* a star, [asking myself:] *Ayna makhāfiquh?*" What makes this variant especially pleasing is the way al-Rāʿī's *laqab* is heard in it, as if it were his namesake verse.

We are informed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿArūḍī that Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā attested these verses on the authority of al-Bāhilī (meter: *kāmil*):

> *Khidnāni lam yurayā maʿan fī manzilin*
> *wa-kilāhumā yasrī bi-hi l-miqdāru*
> *lawnāni shattan yughshayāni mulāʾatan*
> *tasfī ʿalayhā r-rīḥu wa-l-amṭāru*

> Two confederates never seen together in one house,
>   each in movement for a set length of time.
> Two different colors in one sewn wrapper,
>   buffeted by winds and rains.

This describes night and day.[109]

There is an art to the *maʿānī*-book, and when it is brought to bear on works of genius like al-Rāʿī's, the results are laced with subtleties no amount of commentary can dispel. On the basis of the fragments assembled here, I decline to characterize Abū Naṣr's contribution to the genre, nor his personal style. The loss of his book as an arranged whole makes such estimations impossible. My praise for al-Bāhilī's surviving *abyāt al-maʿānī* is that they leave so much to ponder, long after their meanings are supplied.

Acknowledgements

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109 *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara* ii, 153.

Appendix

١. أساس البلاغة: الزمخشري ج ١ ص ٦٧٨:

وأنشد الباهلي [من الطويل]:

عَجِبْتُ لِذَي سِنّينِ في الماَءِ نَبْتُهُ   لَه أَثُرٌ في كُلِّ مِصْرٍ ومَعْمَرِ

هو القلم.

٢. حلية المحاضرة: الحاتمي ج ٢ ص ١٣٣:

ومن أحسن ما قيل في هذا المعنى ما أنشده الباهلي لرجل من بني أبي بكر [من الطويل]:

وَأَشْعثَ قَدْ ناَوْلْتُهُ أَحْرَشَ القَرى   أَدَرَّتْ عَلَيْهِ المُدْجِناتُ الهَوَاضِبُ

تَخَطَّأَهُ القَنَّاصُ حَتَّى وَجدَّتهُ   وَخرْطُومُهُ في مَنْقَعِ الماَءِ راَسِبُ

يصف الكَمْأة والأشعث صاحبٌ له والأحرش الخشن والقرى الظهر والراسب الثابت.

٣. حلية المحاضرة: الحاتمي ج ٢ ص ١٣٠:

ومن مليح ما قيل في هذا المعنى ما أنشده الباهلي [من الرجز]:

مَطِيَّةٌ أَعَارَنِيها اَبْنُ شَبَرْ   لا تَشْرَبُ الماَءَ ولا تَرْعَى الثَّمَرْ

يصف رحى الرِّجل وكلّ ما امتطيته فهو مطيّة.

٤. المقاصد الشافية: الشاطبي ج ٦ ص ٤٨٣:

وأنشد ابن خروف قال: أنشده الباهلي في معانيه [من الطويل]:

وَلكِنَّ نَظَراَتٍ بِعَيْنٍ مَرِيْضَةٍ   أَلاكَ اللَّوَاتِي قَدْ مَثَلْنَ بِنَا مَثَلاَ

أراد نَظَراَتٍ.

٥. المنتخب: أحمد بن محمّد الجرجاني ص ٩٣:

وابن الطَّوْد كناية عن الصدَّا الّذي يجيبك في الجبل أنشد الباهلي في المعاني [من الطويل]:

دَعَوْتُ كَليِباً دَعْوَةً فكَأَنَّي   دَعَوْتُ بِهِ اِبْنَ الطَّوْدِ أَوْ هُوَ أَعْجلُ

أي أسرع إلى حين دعوته كالصدَّا الّذي يجيبك قبل انقطاع صوتك وقيل أراد به الحجر أي أسرع إلى حين دعوته كأنّه حجر تردى من جبلٍ.

٠.٦. تهذيب اللغة (مادّة عطر): الأزهري ج ٢ ص ١٦٣-١٦٤:

وقرأت في كتاب المعاني للباهلي في قول الراجز:

لَهُفِي على عَنْزَينِ لا أَنْساهُما   كَأَنَّ ظِلَّ حَجَرٍ صُغْراهُما

وَصالِـغٌ مُعْطَرَةٌ كُبراهُما

قال: معطرة حمراء وجعل الأخرى ظلَّ حجرٍ لأنَّها سوداء.

6.1. الحيوان: الجاحظ ج ٥ ص ٤٩٣:

وقال الراجز:

لَفِي على عنْزَين لا أنْساهُما   كأنَّ ظلَّ حَجرٍ صُغْراهُما

وَصالِـغٌ مُعْطَرَةٌ كُبراهُما

قوله صالغ يريد انتهاء السنّ والمعطرة الحمراء مأخوذة من العطر. وقوله كأنَّ ظلَّ حَجر صُغراهُما يريد أنَّها كانت سوداء لأنَّ ظلَّ حجرٍ يكون أسود وكلّما كان السائر أشدّ اكتنازًا كان الظلّ أشدّ سوادًا وتقول العرب: ليس شيءٌ أظلّ من حجرٍ ولا أدفأ من شجرٍ، وليس يكون ظلّ أبرد ولا أشدّ سوادًا من ظلّ جبلٍ.

7. تهذيب اللغة (مادّة أرخ): الأزهري ج ٧ ص ٥٤٤:

وأخبرني المنذري عن الصّيداوي قال: الإرْخُ ولد البقرة الوحشية إذا كان أُنثى. قال: والتاريخ مأخوذٌ منه كأنَّه شيء حَدَث كما يَحْدُث الولد. قال الصّيداوي وأخبرنا أحمد بن علي الباهلي عن مُصعب بن عبد الله الزُّبَيْري قال: وأنشد الباهلي لرجل مدني كان بالبصرة [من الخفيف]:

ليتَ لي في الخَميسِ خَمْسِينَ عَيْنًا   كُلُّها حَوْلَ مَسْجِدِ الأشْياخِ

مَسْجِدٍ لا يَزَالُ تَهْوِي إلَيْهِ   أُمُّ أَرْخٍ، قِناعُها مُتَرَاخِي

8. حلية المحاضرة: الحاتمي ج ٢ ص ١٣٥-١٣٦:

أحسن ما ورد من أبيات المعاني في وصف اللّصوصيّة ما أنشده الباهلي [من الطويل]:

تُعيّرِني تَرْكَ الرِّمَايةَ خُلَّتي   وَمَا كُلُّ مَنْ يَرْمى الوُحوشَ يَنَالُها

فَإنْ لا أُصَادِفْ غِرَّةَ الوَحْشِ أقْتَنِصْ   مِنَ الأَنَسيَّات العظام جُفَالُها

أي من الضأن التي هي للإنس أقتنص صيدا يعني أنّه يسرقها والجفال الصوف.

9. حلية المحاضرة: الحاتمي ج ٢ ص ١٢٤:

أنشدنا أحمد بن محمّد العروضي قال أنشدنا أحمد بن يحى عن الباهلي [من البسيط]:

وَصَاحِبٍ غَيْرِ ذِي ظِلٍّ وَلا نَفَسٍ   هَيَّجْتُهُ بِسَوَاءِ البِيدِ فَاهْتَاجا

قال يصف ظلّه. هيّجته يريد: سرتُ فأنشأتُ ظلّا بمسيري.

10. البيان والتبيين: الجاحظ ج ٢ ص ١٦١:

وقالوا في الكلأ: كلأٌ تَشبع منه الإبل مُعقِّلة، وكلأٌ حابسٌ فيه كمُرسلٍ، يقول: مِن كثرته سواء عليك أحبستَها أم أرسلتَها، ويقولون: كلأٌ تَجيعُ منه كبِدُ المُصرِم. وأنشد الباهلي [من الرجز]:

ثُمَّ مُطِرْنا مَطرةً رَويَّه   فَنبَت البَقلُ وَلَا رَعيَّه

11. الفصول والغايات: المعرّي ص ٢٢١:

والهبوة الغبار الدقيق وهو ممّا توصف به السّيوف. قال الشّاعر أنشده الباهلي [من الوافر]:

دَلَفْتُ لَهُ بِأَبْيَضَ مَشْرَفِيٍّ   كأنَّ على مَوَاقِعِهِ غُبَارا

مواقعه مواضع المِيقعة منه وهي المِطْرَقة.

12. غريب الحديث: الحربي ج ٢ ص ٨٥٠:

وخَفَتَ صوتُه من الجوع وخَفَتَ الرجلُ إذا مات وانقطع كلامه وخَفَتَ الرجل بقراءَته وزرعٌ خَافتٌ لم يبلغ طوله والرجل يُخافِتُ المضغَ والإبل يُخافِتُ المضغَ للجريّة. وأنشدنا أبو نصر [من الطويل]:

يُخافِتنَ بعضَ المَضْغِ مِنْ خِيفَةِ الرَّدَى   وَيصغِينَ للسَّمْعِ انتِصاتَ القَناقِنِ

المعنى أنّه ذكر الأراوي أنَّهنّ يخافتن بعض مضغهنّ أي يكتمن خيفةَ الرَّدى: الهلاك أن يسمعَ ذلك الصّائدُ فيصيدَهنّ. ويصغين بأسماعهنّ لحسّ يسمعنه وينصبن رؤوسهنّ لذلك كما يفعل القناقن، وهو المهندس إذا استمع ليعلم موضع الماء ليستخرجه وجميع القَناقِنِ القَناقِنُ.

13. كتاب معاني أبيات الحماسة: النمري ص ٢٦٢:

قال أبو عبد الله وفيها [من البسيط]:

فَأزْجُرْ حِمَارَكَ لا يَرْتَعْ بِرَوْضَتِنا   إذَا يُردُّ وَقَيْدُ العَيرِ مَكْرُوبُ

قال أبو عبد الله قال الباهلي صاحب كتاب المعاني قوله مَكْرُوبُ من قولك كَرَبْتُ الشَّيءَ إذا حكمته وأوثقته ومعنى البيت إنّا نردّ الحمار مملوءًا قيده فَتْلًا كما يمتلئ الإنسان كرَبًا.

14.0 حلية المحاضرة: الحاتمي ج ٢ ص ١٨٧:

وأنشد الباهلي [من المتقارب]:

ومَيّتةٍ ركَضتْ مَيّتًا   فَوَلَّى حَثيثًا هُوَ الجَاهدُ
طَلِيعَةِ حيٍّ إلى حَيَّةٍ   يُرَجِّي النّجاحَ بها الشَّاهدُ

يعني قوسًا، والشاهد الصائد.

14.1. المحبّ والمحبوب: السَّري بن أحمد الرّفّاء ج ٣ ص ١٤٤:

وقد ألغزه بعض العرب أنشد الباهلي [من المتقارب]:

وَمَيِّتةٍ بَعَثْتُ مَيِّتًا   فَوَلَّى حَثِيثًا هُوَ الجَاهِدُ

طَلِيعَةُ حَيٍّ إِلَى حَيَّةٍ   يُرَجِّي النَّجاةَ بِها الشّاهدُ

يريد القوس والسهم في النَّزْع والإرسال، والحيّ والحيّة: القانص.

15. حلية المحاضرة: الحاتمي ج ٢ ص ١٣٢:

أنشدنا أحمد بن محمّد العروضي قال أنشدنا أحمد بن يحيى عن الباهلي [من الطويل]:

إِلَى اللهِ أَشْكُو ما أُلاقِي مِنَ السُّرَى   وإِنَّ الَّذِي نُفْضِي بِه ذُو تَوَهُّمِ

تَآكَتًا حَتَّى خَشِيتُ عَلَيْهِما   عَصَافِيرَ لا تَمْشِي بِلَحْمٍ ولا دَمِ

وإِنَّ الَّذِي نفضي به ذو توهّم يريد طريقًا مشتبهًا لم يكونوا يهتدون لمحجّته وقول تَآكَتًا يريد عينيه وأنَّ أجفانه استرخت فالتقت بالنوم ومثل هذا التناك وهو التقاء الأجفان بالنّوم قال الشاعر [من الكامل]:

وَتَآكَتْ حُورُ المَدَامِعِ بِالقِلَى   وَعَلَا البَيَاضُ على السَّوادِ بِجَارَا

وقوله عصافير لا تمشي بلحم ولا دم يعني عصافير الرحل وهي خشبات تكون في مقدّمه وأحدها عصفور وكان يتخوّف إذا نام أن يسقط عليها فينشجّ.

16. حلية المحاضرة: الحاتمي ج ٢ ص ١٣٢:

ومن أناشيد الباهلي قول الراعي [من الطويل]:

فَبَاتَ يُرِيهِ عِرْسَهُ وَبَنَاتَهُ   وَبِتُّ أُرِيهِ النَّجْمَ أَيْنَ مُخَافِقُهُ

هذا رجل نام على راحلته ورفيقه يكلأُ النجم خوف الضلال فيقول: رفيقي بات يُرى أهلَه في المنام على راحلته وبِتُّ أكلأُ النجم مهتديًا به.

17. حلية المحاضرة: الحاتمي ج ٢ ص ١٥٣:

أنشدنا أحمد بن محمّد العروضي قال أنشدنا أحمد بن يحيى عن الباهلي [من الكامل]:

خِدْنَانِ لَمْ يُرَيا مَعًا في مَنْزِلٍ   وكِلاهُما يَسْرِي به المِقْدَارُ

لَوْنَانِ شَتَّى يُغْشَيَانِ مُلاءَةً   تَسْفِي عَلَيْها الرِّيحُ والأَمْطَارُ

يصف الليل والنهار.

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A House in Words: Al-Ghuzūlī as Author's Alternate

Boutheina Khaldi

1 Introduction

Although the Mamluk period (1250–1517) in Egypt and Syria has often been associated with the flourish of Arabic encyclopedic literature (scholarly commentaries, compendia, manuals, onomastica, dictionaries), there has always been a deep-rooted prejudice against its litterateurs who were dismissed as decadent and their literary production as stagnant, stultifying, and penumbral.[1] This is mainly due to the Mongol sack of Baghdad and the ensuing destruction of thousands of books. Scholars in the Mamluk period directed their efforts to preserving classical Arabic heritage and bringing together and transmitting an essential core of knowledge.

Despite the nascent interest in studying the anthology phenomenon in the Mamluk period, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. ʿAbdullāh al-Bahāʾī al-Ghuzūlī's (d. 815/1412) anthology *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr fī manāzil al-surūr* (The Rising of Full Moons in the Mansions of Pleasure) has garnered comparatively little critical interest.[2] The first biographical information about al-Ghuzūlī appears in Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's (d. 852/1449) *al-Majmaʿ al-muʾassis*. He introduces him as follows:

> His name is ʿAlī ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Ghuzūlī. He was a Turkish Mamluk bought by Bahāʾ al-Dīn. He was intelligent and loved literature. He studied under the auspices of Ibn Khaṭīb Dāryā, Ibn Makānis and Ibn al-Damāmīnī, and others. He visited Cairo many times, and he had good taste. He strove to compose poetry until he became a good poet. … Abū Bakr al-Munajjim ridiculed him as follows: "He is a good listener. He understands but says nothing."[3]

1 Nicholson, *A Literary History* 448; Nicholson, *Arabic Literature* 142; Goldziher, *A Short History* 141–142; Wiet, *Introduction á la littérature* 243.

2 On Mamluk period, see Bauer, Literarische Anthologien 71–122; Riedel, *Searching for the Islamic Episteme*; Langermann, Ibn Kammūna 277–327; Endress (ed.), *Organizing Knowledge*; Allen and Richards (eds.), *Arabic Literature*; al-Musawi, *The Medieval Islamic Republic*; Muhanna, *The World in a Book*. On al-Ghuzūlī, see ʿAbdullāh al-Ḍāmir, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr*; Cooperson, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Ghuzūlī 107–117; Brockelmann, al-Ghuzuli.

3 Al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr* i, 8. All translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

Apart from the few short entries mentioned above, there is no systematic study that questions the structure of this anthology, its architectural form, and effort to bring into its house and household analogy a community of litterateurs with their contributions on the pleasures of life, including obscenity, food, wine-drinking, and its attendant pleasures, sex, candles, slave girls, chess, cooling breezes, and friendship, which reflects a characteristic taste during the Mamluk period.

2   Architectonics

Before we proceed to the structure of the anthology, it is worth looking at al-Ghuzūlī's preface to his anthology. He says:

> فهذا كتاب … جاء تاريخًا أدبيًّا لو سمعه الذهبيّ لكتبه بماء الذهب، ما وصل إلى حلاوة تأليفه ابن خلكان … فيا له من مجموع أقسم بثاني اثنين أنه تفرّد.[4]

> This book … is a literary history. If al-Dhahabī had read it, he would have written about it in gold. Even Ibn Khallikān has not matched it. What a compilation! I swear it is unique …

He adds:

> صرفتُ الذهن إلى ترصيفه واستعنتُ بالناقد البصير عند الصرف، وبالصانع القدير عند الرصف، وأعربتْ بناهُ عن وصف دار ملك بجلاء في حسنه زائد الوصف، فأقسم من وصف هذا الدار بالبيت المعمور أنها نزهة الناظر والسامع ﴿إِنَّ عَذَابَ رَبِّكَ لَوَاقِعٌ﴾. ما مرّ الأدباء على أبوابها إلّا سلّموا سلام الخاشعين، عسى أن يُقال لهم ﴿ادْخُلُوهَا بِسَلَامٍ آمِنِينَ﴾.[5]

> I have directed my attention to array its words alongside each other (*tarṣīf*) and I have resorted, when composing it, to the insightful critic in me and the master creator (*ṣāniʿ*). Its structure (*bunā*) depicts clearly the royal residence. Its beauty is indescribable, however. Whoever describes this house of kingdom as an inhabited house swears that it is an amusement for the beholder and hearer. I recite on the house of its envier:

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4 Ibid., 16.

5 Ibid., 17.

"Indeed, the punishment of your Lord will occur." Writers pass by its doors just to greet it the greeting of the submissive. It could be that they hear: "Enter you here in peace and security."

We can deduce from the two extracts that al-Ghuzūlī perceives of anthologizing as a creative act. He claims authorship by referring to his work as "*kitāb*" instead of "*muṣannaf.*" He is the author (*kātib*) and the creator (*ṣāniʿ*) and not a mere compiler (*muṣannif*). He points out that the importance of this cento lies in its totality (*majmūʿuh li-ahl al-adab mufīd*), and not as scattered pieces authored by diverse authors. Al-Ghuzūlī—in his estimate—makes something of his own out of the works of others. He proffers to his reader the cream (*zubda*) of what his predecessors and contemporaries have written. He refers to his literary-historical oeuvre as *muʾallaf* to remind the reader that writing a book (*taʾlīf*) embodies the intrinsic meaning of uniting, joining, and putting together (*waṣlu al-shayʾi baʿḍihi bi baʿḍin*).[6] Hence, writing is nothing but assimilation. "Creation," to borrow Gary Morson's words, "creates nothing; it incorporates, digests, assimilates. But assimilation is itself creative."[7]

As its title adumbrates, the anthology deals with the house (*al-manzil*) architecture *thema*. This is no accident, as we know that Mamluk sultans were ardent patrons of the arts and architecture.[8] They used architecture to reestablish legitimacy and power and vied with past rulers to perpetuate their names and proclaim their superiority.[9] The question that should be raised: Can such a work be said to have a structure? What is the relation of part to the whole? In what order should each be read?

The anthology begins with a chapter on laying a house foundation and ends with a chapter on the description of paradise, and the houris and immortal ephebes in which they live. Al-Ghuzūlī refers to it as the eternal home after death, the house of lasting residence.[10] Thus, the anthology has a circular structure. Al-Ghuzūlī proffers to his reader a vivid experience on housebuilding: how it begins with an abstract idea and proceeds towards the finished product. The reader is taken on a journey to the royal edifice to discover the magnificent builder behind it. The palace is not only a residential building where the sultan, his family, and staff reside but also an institution that contains admin-

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6   Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*.
7   Morson, *The Words of Others* 227.
8   Malhis, Narratives in Mamluk Architecture 74; Rabbat, Perception of Architecture 156.
9   Malhis, Narratives in Mamluk Architecture 76; Newhall, *The Patronage of the Mamluk Sultan*.
10   Al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr* ii, 317.

istrative offices. Al-Ghuzūlī gives a minute description of the interior of the residence (doors, doormen, reception halls, servants, the throne room, cushions, couches, beds, candles, lanterns, food, banquets, aromatic plants, slave girls, singing damsels, boys, poets, doctors, books, wine companions, cupbearers, wine glasses, drinks, treasures, precious works of art, viziers, chancery, scribes, and armory) as well as of the exterior (courtyards, gardens, lakes, fountains, baths, and domestic and wild animals).

It is worth noting that al-Ghuzūlī devotes two chapters to chancery writing: the first deals with manuals of writing and the second with chancery scribes. Although he finds an excuse for this inclusion as part of its overall attention to occupants, visitors, and companions, there may be other reasons. His contemporaries rarely leave chancery out; it is always there in their compilations as a landmark of elite prose, which is argued in full by al-Musawi.[11] On the other hand, it could have been a pretext to justify al-Ghuzūlī's praise for some prominent chancery names such as judge Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī al-Mālikī, known by the name of Badr al-Dīn al-Damāmīnī (d. 827/1424), Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434), and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363).

3 Housebuilding History

Al-Ghuzūlī avails himself of a plethora of philosophical and literary texts on the fundamental principles of constructing a house. He presents to the reader an accessible body of knowledge on how the concept of house building has evolved since antiquity. He starts his first chapter (On How to Choose the Right Place to Build a House) with a quote by the Greek philosopher Aristotle on house building (*oikodomike*):

> أوّل الصناعات الضرورية الصيد، ثم البناء، ثم الفلاحة ... فإذا صاد الرجل واغتذى فليس يفكر بعد ذلك إلا فيما يسكن فيه، وهو البناء، فإذا تمّ له ذلك فكّر حينئذ فيما يزرعه ويغرسه.[12]

> The first skill a man should acquire is hunting then construction then farming ... Man needs food first. Once he eats, he starts to think about building a house then cultivating the land.

11   Al-Musawi, Pre-Modern Belletristic Prose 102–106.
12   Al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr* i, 29.

By quoting Aristotle, al-Ghuzūlī conveys the idea that "Art begins ... with the house. That is why architecture is the first of the arts."[13] Building was at first purpose-driven and simple. Its *logos* was to provide shelter to living things (bodies) and goods against natural disasters. Builders learned the art of building by building; when they enjoyed their work, they went on improving.[14]

The oldest known Arab physician and a companion of the Islamic Prophet Muḥammad, al-Ḥārith b. Kalada (d. 13/634–635), enumerates the commendable characteristics of a noble man's house as follows:

جميع خصال الدار المستحسنة أن تكون على طريق نافذ ... وليس عليها مشرف، وتكون بين الماء والسوق، ويصلح فناؤها لحطّ الرحال ... وإن كان لها بابان فذاك أمثل.[15]

> It should be on a passageway ... it should not border on another house. It should be erected between a waterway and a market place. It should have a courtyard huge enough for travelers and animals to rest ... and the ideal would be to have two gates.

We infer from the culled quotes that most of Arabia in the pre-Islamic era and early years of Islam—with the exception of the small sedentary population in Ḥijāz and south Arabia—led a nomadic life which explains why it was, to borrow Nezar Alsayyad's phrase, "anti-urban, anti-building, and anti-architectural,"[16] and impervious to luxury. When Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ (d. ca. 55/664) was sent to ask the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's permission to build more permanent structures in Kūfa, ʿUmar replied, "The tents and camp life are more useful to your men than your walls and healthier to their bodies than your roofs. But I hate to forbid you, so if you build, build only in reed."[17] And when Kūfa suffered a serious fire that led to the destruction of the reed-built buildings, and the settlers attempted to rebuild it using mud and baked bricks, ʿUmar's response was as follows: "Do not build high and do not build much. Do not build more than three houses each. Abide by the Prophet's tradition, and the state will be obliged to respect your practice."[18]

It was not until they came in contact with the Byzantine and Persian civilizations through the Arab Muslim conquests that Arabs began to take an interest

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13   Porter, *Deleuze and Guattari* 72.
14   Bröchner, Construction Metaphors in Aristotle 522.
15   Al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr* i, 30.
16   Alsayyad, Arab Caliphs and Western Observers 98.
17   Al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr* i, 38; Alsayyad, Arab Caliphs and Western Observers 99.
18   Al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr* i, 38.

in architecture, which became a *sine qua non* for legitimacy. A few years after taking over as caliph, Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (d. 60/680) built himself an edifice complex of his own, with administrative and residential facilities referred to as the Seat of Government (*Dār al-Khilāfa*). The caliphate edifice purports to ensure the caliph would be remembered by associating his name with his architectural constructions. According to al-Ghuzūlī, the palace was built of bricks. Upon seeing it, the Byzantine ambassador to Damascus commented: "This is no palace, for its top is for birds and its bottom is for fire."[19] This incident seems to have prompted Muʿāwiya to enlarge the palace and rebuild it in stone.

Architecture is perceived by the Abbasid Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Muṣʿabī (d. 235/849) as "the vocation of kings."[20] It speaks of its builders. Referring to the magnificent buildings he erected in *Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ*, the Andalusian caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir (d. 350/961) states: "The grandeur of the building reflects the grandeur of the builder."[21] Similarly, the Abbasid vizier Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī (d. 190/805) advised his son Jaʿfar, who embarked on building a house, to make it commodious. His advice was not successful, however. The matter was brought before the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 193/809). The caliph was appalled and ordered his death:

وقد بنى الدار التي ما بنى *** الفرس لها مثيلاً ولا الهند
الدرّ والياقوت حصباؤها *** وتربها العنبر والندّ
ونحن نخشى أنه وارث *** ملك إن غيبك اللحد[22]

He built the house that neither Persians nor Indians matched/ Pearls and precious stones are its pebbles/ And its soil ambergris, musk, and frankincense/ We fear he will inherit your throne when you are transferred into the presence of the Lord.

Not surprisingly, Mamluk rulers lavished considerable attention on their palaces *surtout* as we know they had no legitimacy other than the investiture they received from the Abbasid caliphs.[23]

19   Ibid.
20   Ibid., 29.
21   Ibid., 31–32.
22   Ibid., 42.
23   Necipoğlu, An Outline of Shifting Paradigms 13.

4   A House in Words

Al-Ghuzūlī uses architecture nomenclature and construction metaphors to describe his anthology: *tarṣīf* (laying with flagstones), *bunā* (structures), *manzil* (edifice), *dār* (house), *bayt* (house/verse), *bāb* (door/chapter), *madkhal* (entrance/entry), *shayyad* (build), *binyān* (construction), *and ṣāniʿ* (craftsman).[24] The interrelation between architecture and writing is apparent. Architecture is an analogy for the work as a whole. The royal residence (*Dār al-mulk*), as a text, tells us stories about its inhabitants: rulers, scribes, authors, men of letters, writers, and the master craftsman (*al-ṣāniʿ al-qadīr*) who built it in words *in lieu of* stone and concrete. Al-Ghuzūlī describes the effort he put into the work as follows:

جعلت سواد نقشها وبياض طرسها نزهتي في الليل والصباح.

> I made engraving its white sheets with words my day and night entertainment.[25]

This symbiosis between architecture and the literary text is no accident in an era known for its sultans' zealous patronage of art and architecture. The structural analog is often applied to describe literature: "words" become "like columns firmly planted and placed in strong positions,"[26] to borrow Dionysius Halicarnassus' words. Like the stone used for building a house, "each word should be seen on every side, and that the parts should be appreciable distances from one another, being separated by perceptible intervals."[27] Words can make "harsh sound-clashings which jar on the ear like blocks of building stone that are laid together unworked, blocks that are not square and smooth, but preserve their natural roughness and irregularity."[28]

The analogy reaches still further. In his chapter (On Books and their Compilation and Benefits), al-Ghuzūlī quotes Abū l-Ḥasan b. Ṭabāṭabā (d. 322/934) on the inevitability of books. He conceives of the book as a castle:

الكتب حصون العقلاء، إليها يلجأون، وبساعتهم فيها يتنزهون.

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24   Al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr* i, 17, 19.

25   Ibid., 17.

26   Quoted in Frank, *Literary Architecture* 250.

27   Ibid.

28   Ibid.

Books are wise men's castles in which they take refuge and promenade for hours.[29]

It is *Jannat al-rajul* (Man's paradise).[30] The book here—and by extension, al-Ghuzūlī's anthology—is the royal residence that, to quote al-Ghuzūlī:

ما مرّ الأدباء على أبوابها إلا سلّموا سلام الخاشعين، عسى أن يُقال لهم ﴿ادْخُلُوهَا بِسَلامٍ آمِنِينَ﴾

Men of letters pass by its doors only to salute it piously, it could be that they hear: "enter you here [paradise], in peace and security."[31]

This passage is reminiscent of the poet and litterateur Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī's (d. 449/1057) *Risālat al-ghufrān* (The Epistle of Forgiveness), in which he narrates an imaginary journey to the afterworld whose protagonists are poets and scholars resurrected from the dead.[32] Like al-Maʿarrī, al-Ghuzūlī is "the holder of the keys to the literary Parnassus,"[33] to use Suzanne Stetkevych's words. As the anthology's master architect, he has the right to assess works and admit into his paradise litterateurs whom he most esteems. The *maudits littérateurs* strive to secure the writer's favor but are not granted the "attestation of repentance."

Like art building, writing is concerned with producing "final causes (*teloi*)," to borrow Aristotle's term;[34] that is the anthology in its finished form. Al-Ghuzūlī, *qua* architect, rejoices in his finished work, and revels in his opus and flaunts his vast achievement, for the work, Aristotle argues, "should be judged only after the event."[35] Al-Ghuzūlī describes the blessings and delights of paradise, which he creates for his reader in words, as an abode of the dead sires:

ما أبهج عقوده المتّسقة. وما أحسن ما تدخل النواظر عذبًا من أبوابه المتفرقة ... فهذه الأسطر المبدعة أشجارها وهذه الألفاظ المتنوعة أزهارها وهذه الثمرات المرتفعة أطيارها وهذه الطريق المترقرقة بين السطور أنهارها ... تهدى في أوراق.[36]

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29   Al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr* ii, 236.

30   Ibid., i, 43.

31   Ibid., i, 17.

32   Al-Maʿarrī, *The Epistle of Forgiveness*.

33   Stetkevych, The Snake in the Tree 8.

34   Bröchner, Construction Metaphors in Aristotle 521.

35   Ibid., 517–518.

36   Al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr* ii, 236.

How beautiful are its well-arranged jewels! You see paradise from its various sides ... These lines whose trees are unique and these words whose flowers are diverse and these fruits whose birds are high and this road whose rivers overflow between lines ... can offer paradise in paper.

The passage is vivid and full of concrete images. It is based upon a realistic and literal interpretation of the pronouncements given in the Quran and Tradition.

The anthology helps to intercede and secure God's favor and forgiveness. Al-Ghuzūlī attains eternal bliss in the gardens of paradise:

دخلتُ إلى الجنة ففزتُ بأوصاف تركت الأعداء في نار الحسد يتقلبون وتُلي عليهم ﴿لا يستوي أصحاب النار وأصحاب الجنة أصحاب الجنة هم الفائزون﴾.

I have entered paradise and have won qualities that have made the enemies burn with jealousy. His verse was recited to them: "Not equal are the companions of the Fire and the companions of Paradise. The companions of Paradise—they are the attainers [of success]."[37]

Al-Ghuzūlī is admitted to paradise because he:

تخيّر لعمله الصالح دارًا أسّس بنيانها على التقوى، وجعل بابها مدخلًا إلى جنة المأوى.

has chosen for his good work a house built on piety and has made its door his entry to paradise.[38]

Good words hence redeem al-Ghuzūlī and award him paradise, an idea we find in al-Ma'arrī's praise of Ibn al-Qāriḥ's letter:

Perhaps God has already made for its written lines, which will deliver from the Fire, silver or golden ladders going higher and higher, on which the angels from stagnant earth to heaven are ascending, and the veils of darkness rending, according to the quranic verse, "To Him ascend good words and a righteous deed He raises." Such "good words" seem to be meant also by God's word: "Have you not seen how God has coined a comparison: a good word is like a good tree, its trunk stands firm and its branches are in the sky."[39]

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37   Ibid., i, 24.
38   Ibid., 15.
39   Al-Ma'arrī, *The Epistle of Forgiveness* 75.

5   Reading the House

The royal residence *qua* physical and literary edifice impresses aesthetically and provides a lasting pleasure for both its builder and householder (user). Al-Ghuzūlī states:

> لذة الطعام والشراب ساعة ولذة النوم يوم ولذة المرأة شهر ولذة البنيان دهر كلما نظرت إليه
> تجددت لذته في قلبك.

> The pleasure of food and drinking lasts one hour, the pleasure of sleeping one day, the pleasure of sexual intercourse one month and the pleasure of building a house is a lifetime. The more you look at it, the more pleasure it gives you.[40]

The royal residence becomes a book "opened for the perusal of the multitude,"[41] and its beholder/reader is the judge. Its exterior and interior façade composes a semiotic system that creates meaning that the observer interprets and reads.[42] Whenever they look at/read it, it takes on a new meaning, for meaning is not fixed and static but rather contingent and unstable.[43] John Ruskin, the English critic of art, architecture, and society argues in the same vein:

> Great art, whether expressing itself in words, colours, or stones, does *not* say the same thing over and over again; that the merit of architectural, as of every other art, consists in its saying new and different things; that to repeat itself is no more a characteristic of genius in marble than it is of genius in print; and that we may, without offending any laws of good taste, require of an architect, as we do of a novelist, that he should be not only correct, but entertaining.[44]

By comparing his anthology to a work of art that does not say the same thing over and over again, al-Ghuzūlī boasts about his literary prowess and rebuts the idea that the anthologist does not produce a text. He only transmits it. He states:

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40   Al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr* i, 31.
41   Frank, *Literary Architecture* 254.
42   Mezei and Briganti, Reading the House 840.
43   Derrida, *Writing and Difference*.
44   Quoted in Frank, *Literary Architecture* 254.

وأمسى ﴿عيناً يشرب بها المقربون﴾.

It [his book] has become a spring from which close companions drink.[45]

If we accept al-Ghuzūlī's quoted statement that *ikhtiyār al-rajul wāfidu ʿaqlih* (A man's selection is an indication of his mind),[46] then the anthologist has the right to lay claim to authorship, for writing becomes part of his character. With this authorship as another term for ownership, the anthology is no less hospitable in its vast inclusion of names and accommodation of subjects and themes than the architectural analogy of a house occupied by authors, poets, philosophers, scientists, and their ilk.[47]

When surveying anthology works, especially poetry, until the fall of Baghdad, Ibrāhīm al-Najjār states: "The impulse to anthologize was a necessary by-product of the vast amount of literature being produced, which required abridgments and selections in order to be passed on to subsequent generations."[48] This enormous production requires organization to make it accessible to common readers. In a similar fashion, the Roman rhetorician Marcus Quintilian expounds:

> Just as it is not sufficient for those who are erecting a building merely to collect stone and timber and other building materials, skilled masons are required to arrange and place them, so in speaking, however abundant the matter may be, it will merely form a confused heap unless arrangement be employed to reduce it to order and to give it connexion and firmness of structure.[49]

Al-Ghuzūlī's anthology is not void of critical thought. It turns into what Johan Huizinga terms a "ludic space,"[50] where al-Ghuzūlī converses with his quoted authors across time and space on an equal footing to carve out a niche for himself as a critic and a poet. Al-Ghuzūlī gathers from the best authors what suits

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45   Al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr* i, 25.
46   Ibid., 26–27; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi mentioned this anonymous line in his *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* i, 4. See Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art* 8.
47   For a more detailed study of compilations as original works of literature, see al-Musawi, *The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters*; Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art*; Muhanna, *The World in a Book*; Talib, *How Do You Say "Epigram?"*
48   Cited in Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art* 7.
49   Quoted in Frank, *Literary Architecture* 251.
50   Huizinga, *Homo Ludens* 18–21.

his own cast of mind and gives an original turn to what he cites by commenting on it.[51] His construction/re-reading of the Mamluk cultural climate on the basis of his own testimony, as well as that of his contemporaries, reveals his taste and knowledge. Two examples are worth quoting here; the first:

قيل ليس في الأرض بخيل ولا جواد إذا ابتاع دارًا إلا بنى فيها شيئًا وهدم شيئًا وإن قلّ لأنّ
حاجته ومنفعه ومرافق المالك الأول لا يستويان.[52]

It was said, when purchasing a house, neither a miser nor a generous man on earth keeps it as is without altering it because his needs [taste] are different from that of the first.

And the second:

وإذا أخذت شعرًا فزدْ على معناه وانقص من لفظه واحترز مما يطعن به عليك وحينئذ تكون
أحقّ من قائله.[53]

If you plagiarize poetry, modify the content and reduce the number of words. Do not leave any slight trace of plagiarism to be used against you. Then you will be worthier of the poem than its owner.

The idea that the *sāriq* (plagiarizer) is worthier of *al-masrūq* (the plagiarized poem) than its owner demonstrates how al-Ghuzūlī and his contemporaries perceived originality.[54] Originality is achieved only through "creative imitation."[55]

Apart from bringing together a representative selection of classical and contemporary writings, an element which al-Ghuzūlī shares with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī and Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī, the whole anthology conveys something about its compiler: al-Ghuzūlī shows his own scale of preferences. The judge Ibn al-Damāmīnī is the most acclaimed among his contemporaries, for example.[56] Whenever there is mention of someone with whom he is well-connected, there

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51   See, for instance, al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr* i, 50, 56, 84–85, 101, 108, 260, 434, and 438.

52   Ibid., 31.

53   Ibid., ii, 106.

54   For a more detailed discussion of *sariqa*, see Heinrichs, An Evaluation of 'Sariqa' 357–368; al-Musawi, *The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters* 100, 121–124, 128–130, and 188–189.

55   Randall, *Pragmatic Plagiarism* 43.

56   Al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr* ii, 457.

is admiration.[57] In other words, even when anthologizing a collection of verses or anecdotes, al-Ghuzūlī departs from mere cataloging and leaves his imprint. The selection and choice of names, anecdotes, verses, and narratives indicates al-Ghuzūlī's taste. He is both a compiler and an author's alternate whose master conceit of a house accommodates him as well as an ensemble of authors, poets, narrators, scientists, and their ilk. Throughout, he showcases culture in its pleasurable face despite these "troubled times," which he laments.[58] As an art of gathering, collecting, and sifting, al-Ghuzūlī's compilation may seem like many other pre-modern compendia that respond in part to readers' need for one single book on a specific topic. Everett Rowson is right in praising the anthology as rather "original,"[59] but it is so not only because of the inclusion of many contemporaries, but also because its fifty chapters reflect on the house analogy, an architectural schema that keeps the structure under control. Its unified framework does not suggest erudition, however. It is clear that its compiler/author is less erudite than al-Ṣafadī and Ibn Ḥijja, who is only second to Damāmīnī in al-Ghuzūlī's estimate.

Indeed, Ibn Ḥijja's *Khizānat al-adab* is much more erudite and inclusive of information that is made public for the first time.[60] Apart from quotes from the poetry of artisans, professionals, and minor poets and writers, *Khizānat al-adab* is a cultural inventory that presents Mamluk culture in its diversity. Even if we try to compare it to compilations that pamper readers' wish for entertainment, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Nawājī's (d. 859/1455), whom al-Ghuzūlī left out, may fare better. This omission is deliberate, not only because al-Nawājī accused Ibn Ḥijja of plagiarism,[61] but also because al-Ghuzūlī's high rating of Ibn Hijja negatively reflects on al-Nawājī. In other words, al-Ghuzūlī knew what to select and what to omit. He was no less driven by interest and nepotism.

Al-Ghuzūlī's method of quoting, referencing, and evaluating contemporaries is so subtle as to elude scrutiny. The reader may not notice that many contemporaries are just omitted despite their significant contribution to a general knowledge repository. Although his contemporary Ibn Ḥijja has his own preferences, his list of documented material on a number of issues is larger. The comparison between the two is worthwhile. Ibn Ḥijja's anthology is distinguished by a focus on rhetoric, a field that attracted a number of scholars, including al-Ṣafadī. A discussion of a figure of speech leads to more discus-

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57   Ibid., 457.
58   Ibid., 1040.
59   Meisami and Starkey (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* i, 25.
60   Al-Musawi, *The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters* 243.
61   Ibid., 126.

sions on its appearance, use, and appropriation by poets, critics, and chancery functionaries. Ibn Ḥijja is an author par excellence, for everything that is subsumed in his treasury is his own. Every selected poem is analyzed line-by-line, and commented upon etymologically, morphologically, and philologically. His treasury, thus, turns into a cauldron that has reshaped and reformed everything else except Ibn Nubāta's (d. 768/1366) own autobiographical sketch.[62]

To conclude, al-Ghuzūlī's anthology belies the decline premise. Al-Ghuzūlī is not a mere knowledge intermediary, for he appears every now and then to reflect on writing, claiming the quoted writer on his side. Throughout, his style is smooth and well-balanced, not only because he has his contemporary writers in mind, but also because he anthologizes for a wide readership. Al-Ghuzūlī comes up with an interesting compilation in which he and his quoted writers exchange places with ease.

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62   Ibid., 153, 233–234.

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PART 2

Pleasure

∵

Diagramming the Bedroom Sciences in ʿAlī ibn Naṣr al-Kātib's *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*

Jeremy Kurzyniec

The expectations of a medieval *ẓarīf* were dauntingly broad. A "refined man," he always had to wear the right clothes, give the right gifts, and, above all, say the right thing, displaying his cleverness and education on a vast array of topics.[1] What then, we may wonder, did the *ẓarīf* need to know about that particularly contentious area of human behavior, sex? According to one book on the subject, *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* (*Encyclopedia of Pleasure*) by Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Naṣr al-Kātib (fl. late fourth/tenth century), the answer seems to be pretty much everything. This massive, late tenth-century text, which remains unpublished despite being acknowledged as the most important work of its kind, purports in its introduction to offer "what the *ẓarīf* needs to know of the sciences of sex (*ʿulūm al-bāh*)."[2] Billing itself as a synopsis or encyclopedia (*jawāmiʿ*) and drawing on a wide variety of sources—including not only Arabic literary and medical works but also Greek, Persian, and Indian materials, many otherwise unattested—the text presents 40-odd chapters that, at first glance, can seem a sprawling patchwork of different genres. In some chapters, for instance, it serves as a handbook of practice, detailing positions, techniques, and aphrodisiacs. In others, it resembles a theoretical, scientific treatise, quoting generously from Galen, Aristotle, and the mysterious Araṭayās al-Rūmī.

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1 Precisely defining the medieval notion of *ẓarf* is, of course, a tall order, even if its general outline seems rather accessible and uncontroversial. As in the case the Roman poet Catullus' favored adjective *lepidus* (pleasant, elegant, polished, witty etc.) or, in a more recent example, the trappings of the modern hipster, one feels a strong sense of the concept but not necessarily an absolute confidence in drawing lines. For some bolder attempts at specificity, see Ghazi, Un Groupe Social, and Majdūb, *al-Ẓarf wa-l-ẓurafāʾ* and *al-Ẓarf bi-l-ʿirāq*.

2 The second half of the work is available in various non-critical Arabic editions, which falsely attribute it to ʿAlī al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī and are apparently based on a single, partial Cairo manuscript. See, for instance, ʿAbd al-Badīʿ Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Badīʿ (ed.), *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*. There is also an exceedingly rare and, despite its hilarious malapropisms, immensely helpful English translation. See A. Jarkas and S.A. Khawwam, *Encyclopedia of Pleasure*. Khawwam, the editor, does not mention which manuscript (or manuscripts) he used, but it would appear from the translation that he had access to all three Istanbul manuscripts. A critical edition by the present author is currently in preparation.

Some sections consider the topic from a purely religious point of view, while others are improbably eclectic, such as that devoted to the mating of animals or, even more outlandishly, the mathematical calculation of the respective volumes of the penis and the womb. More than anything else, though, the work is a literary anthology, a cache of sex-themed poetry and anecdotes to be mined for *majlis*-worthy bon mots and, one assumes, private jokes.

Many questions surround *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, including the most basic ones, such as precisely when and by whom it was written. Despite the modest (but increasing) scholarly attention it has received, it remains essentially uncharted territory—a vast territory at that, since a printed edition would stretch to more than 300 pages. This paper will make only a brief, cautious foray into that expanse. Taking up the mandate of this volume, it will make the case that *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* is not a haphazard, catch-all of random information, as it might superficially seem, but rather a carefully organized presentation of knowledge that was, within a certain cultural context, far less random than it may now appear. The argument will comprise three parts. The first will consider the way *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* "unites" and intermixes its diverse sources, splicing, for example, two snippets of *mujūn* poetry with a pronouncement of Socrates or "the Indian."[3] This part will focus on the syncretic structure of the book's second chapter, *"Fī faḍl al-nikāḥ wa manāfiʿhi"* (On the Merit of Sex and its Benefits). The second part of the paper will explore the way *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* does precisely the opposite and "divides" its content, showing a strong predilection for listing, categorization, and taxonomy. In this regard, it will discuss the interesting phenomenon of *tashjīr* diagramming, which both the oldest and youngest manuscript of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* feature in abundance.[4] Finally, in the third part, the paper will take up the larger question of rationale: why should all of this material be combined in a single work? Who reads it, and why? To what genre does it belong? This will involve a consideration, albeit tentative and generalizing, of the genre of *kutub al-bāh*, which

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3   The numerous quotations from "the Indian" in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* frequently have a close, even exact, correspondence with Vatsyayana's *Kamasutra* and thus represent, to my knowledge, the earliest clear proof of the availability of Indian *Kāmashāstra* in Arabic translation.

4   Primarily for aesthetic reasons, I will reproduce only the diagrams of the oldest manuscript, MS Ayasofya 3836, completed in 533/1139, which unfortunately contains only the first half of the work. Three other manuscripts contain the second half, while only two are complete. This pattern of half-way preservation obviously suggests that *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* circulated in two volumes, as might be expected of such a long work. Indeed, the earliest explicit reference to *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* in another work, Abū Naṣr al-Samawʾal ibn Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbbās al-Maghribī's *Nuzhat al-aṣḥāb fī muʿāsharat al-aḥbāb* (Pleasure Park for Friends on Companionship with their Beloveds), speaks of "these two books." See al-Samawʾal, *Nuzhat al-aṣḥāb* 289.

confusingly comprises both literary and purely medical texts. It is in this area that the most substantial claim for authorial ingenuity can be made.

1 Part I: Uniting

"Union" is clearly an important theme of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*. Indeed, it does not seem far-fetched to extend this linguistic innuendo back to the author's choice of title, which probably alludes to the sexual meanings derived from the root *j-m-ʿ*. Ibn Naṣr is clearly not insensitive to wordplay and etymology, since he devotes two whole chapters of the work to terminology: the first lists all the various nouns and verbs for the act of sex, where the verb *jāmaʿa* takes seventh place. The second tallies the sundry names for the penis, vagina, and anus, many quite imaginative, where the penis receives top billing and the most coverage, even if the author does maintain an admirable fairness in another respect, allotting precisely 26 nouns to both the male and female organs. On the other hand, the presence of *jāmiʿ/jawāmiʿ* in the title may have had other formal associations as well, particularly with the medical, didactic diagramming technique known as *tashjīr*, which appears prominently in both the oldest and youngest manuscripts of the work. Earlier stages of the manuscript tradition probably featured *tashjīr* even more prominently, as will be argued shortly on the basis of certain tell-tale syntactical structures fossilized in the text. Whatever the significance of the title, however, there is no doubt that Ibn Naṣr is aware of "uniting" in a single book a vast array of material from traditionally distinct genres, such as medicine, *adab*, and *fiqh*. It is an ambitious project, especially in view of the fact that he was almost certainly the first to attempt such a synthesis. One is reminded of al-Jāḥiẓ's complaints in *K. al-Ḥayawān*, where he remarks that if he had not undertaken such a big project, he would "not have needed to cull lines of poetry, look up proverbs, select verses from the Quran, or drag pieces of evidence out of transmitters of tradition—quite apart from the fact that all of this material is scattered about in books on widely different subjects." A little later, he adds an analogy that would presumably appeal to Ibn Naṣr: "a man who is incapable of assembling and arranging a mass of documents is still less capable of using them fully and extracting from all they contain. Drawing water from a well is easier than searching for it in the ground, and harvesting is a lighter task than ploughing."[5] Ibn Naṣr certainly deserves

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5   Pellat, *The Life and Works of Jāḥiẓ* 160, 166. For the Arabic, see ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad
     Hārūn (ed.), *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* iv, 208–289 and v, 199.

credit for digging new wells and ploughing new fields (expressions he would no doubt approve of), and it is fascinating to examine his process.

A macro-view of this process comes on the first pages of the book, where the table of contents lists an improbably eclectic lineup of 40-odd chapters. Although there is a slight variation in the manuscript tradition with regard to the number and titles of chapters, the overall impression remains the same: how could these subjects possibly belong together? Some chapters are clearly medical, such as "A Discussion of the Anatomy of the Penis and Vagina," "On Curing Impotence and Disorders of the Penis," or "On Foot Ointments that Arouse Desire." Mixed in with these, however, are titles that would sound more at home in a work of love theory, such as those on "Messaging and Messengers," "On Jealousy," and "On Women's Manners and how to Choose Them." There are also those that are clearly of the *mujūn* variety, such those *"Fī fatayayni"* (On Homosexuality), *"Fī waṣf al-akhdh al-qabīḥ wa-l-nikāḥ al-shanīʿ"* (On Describing Filthy Sex and Disgusting Intercourse), and, somewhat deceptively, *"Fī l-madhhab al-mālikī"* (On the Malakī Madhhab), which in this case refers to the practice of anal intercourse. Still, others would seem to have no home at all, such as those "On the Mating of Animals" and "On the Surface Area of the Penis and the Vagina." While the ordering of these chapters shows some trace of genre-sensitive grouping—a series of medical chapters falls in the middle of the work, for instance, as do a series of chapters on the *adab* of various practices—it is only very slight and probably a result of the author's urge to divide subcategories of a single mental unit (i.e., the polite way of doing various things or, on the medical side, the best times/ways/practices). In general, chapters of various types are mixed without any discernible rationale. Nor does there appear to be a tendency to place certain subjects earlier or later in the work, apart from opening with a list of terms and finishing with a brief catch-all of miscellaneous topics, both fairly standard features. One might expect the medical content to fall earlier in the work, for instance, as medical-ish defin-itions of love often fall at the beginning of love theory works, yet that is not the case with *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*.[6] In fact, the three least medical and most poetry-laden chapters of the work, those dealing with the various sexual pair-ings (male-female, male-male, and female-female), fall in the first quarter of

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6   An amusing example of this tendency comes on the opening pages of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Naṣr al-Shayzarī's *Rawḍat al-qulūb wa-nuzhat al-muḥibb wa-l-maḥbūb*, where the author, who also wrote a separate *bāh* work entitled *al-Īḍāḥ fī asrār al-nikāḥ* (Clarification of the Secrets of Sexual Intercourse), states his agreement with the philosophers and physicians that love is a "brain disease" occurring in various stages of severity, some of which are incurable. See al-Shayzarī, *Rawḍat al-qulūb* 1–2.

the work. One noteworthy, if perhaps also inevitable, feature of the work is the inconsistency of chapter lengths. Some chapters have only several pages; others stretch for 20 or 30. The longest, comprising a full 39 pages in one manuscript, bears the laughably grandiose title "*Fī manāqib al-dhakar wa-l-farj*" (On the Virtues of the Penis and Vagina).

A more focused window into Ibn Naṣr's process of mixing comes in the second chapter of the work, which can really be regarded as the first, since the previous chapter consists only of a list of terms. It is in this second chapter that the author states his philosophical and religious rationale for composing the work, yet it bears a title, "*Fī faḍl al-nikāḥ wa manāfiʻhi*" (On the Merit of Sex and its Benefits), which clearly marks it as medical, at least for those familiar with the medical tradition on the subject. Virtually every physician of note in the Arabic tradition produced at least one monograph on sexual intercourse. Many wrote two or more, not to mention chapters and sections on sex in longer, more comprehensive works. This hardly comes as a surprise in view of the importance the ancient medical tradition placed on sex as an item of regimen, as epitomized by the famous Hippocratic prescription, also quoted by Galen, "exertion, food, drink, sleep and sex, all in moderation."[7] Of the available Arabic monographs on sex that predate *Jawāmiʻ al-ladhdha*—one by al-Kindī, one by ʻĪsā ibn Māssa, two by Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, and one by al-Rāzī— only al-Kindī's, which is quite short and focuses exclusively on the physiological causes of impotence, lacks a chapter or section that does not bear a title similar, or identical to, this chapter of *Jawāmiʻ al-ladhdha*.[8] One monograph, in fact,

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7 *Epidemics*, 6.6.2. Galen quotes this catchy line (πόνοι, σιτία, ποτά, ὕπνοι, ἀφροδίσια, πάντα μέτρια) in *An Exhortation to Study the Arts* (*Protrepticus*). See Barigazzi (ed.), *Galeni De optimo docendi genere; Exhortatio ad medicinam* 138, and Singer, *Galen: Selected Works* 47. Nevertheless, neither Galen nor the Hippocratic authors ever produced a monograph specifically on the subject of sex, a distinction that belongs in Antiquity only to Rufus of Ephesus, whose treatise Περὶ ἀφροδισίων (*On Sex*) is preserved in fragments in Oribasius and Aëtius of Amida. This fact seems not to have been known to medieval Arab physicians, however, as Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʻa records *kutub fī al-bāh* among the works of Hippocrates, Aristotle, and Galen. Two of these spurious works, the complimentary *Asrār al-nisāʼ* (Secrets of Women) and *Asrār al-rijāl* (Secrets of Men), attributed to Galen and supposedly translated by Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn, are admittedly rather convincing forgeries. Both begin with elaborate stories of their commissioning, the former by a certain Queen Fīlāfūs, who is perhaps to be identified with the Roman consul Titus Falvius Boethus, a real patron of Galen's, and the latter by an unidentified but suitably Greek sounding Qusṭās al-Qahramān. See Levey and Souryal, Galen's On the Secrets of Women, and Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam* 60, and GAS, iii 127.

8 Daniel Newman's edition and translation of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *K. Albāb al-bāhiyya wa al-tarākīb al-sulṭāniyya*, published under the title *The Sultan's Sex Potions: Arab Aphrodisiacs in the Middle Ages*, contains an extremely useful catalogue of *kutub al-bāh*, both extant and lost,

extant only in manuscript, Yaḥyā ibn ʿĀdī's *K. Fī manāfiʿ al-bāh wa madārrihi wa jihāt istiʿmālihi* (Book on the Benefits and Disadvantages of Sex and the Ways of Practicing It), has a title that matches *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*'s chapter almost exactly, excepting of course the mention of disadvantages, a subject Ibn Naṣr naturally prefers not to emphasize.[9] It is interesting to note in this regard that the medical tradition generally gives priority to the disadvantages of sex—the hazards of overindulging, of engaging in it at the wrong time or with the wrong temperament—over the benefits and numerous diseases that can be "cured" by intercourse, such as melancholy. Al-Rāzī, for instance, opens his monograph with two separate chapters on the potential harms of sex before proceeding in the third to a discussion of the times when sex is recommended (i.e., at all other times it is not) and then, finally, in the fourth, to an enumeration of the benefits of sex, mostly in the form of quotations from Galen.[10] One senses that al-Rāzī penned this fourth chapter somewhat begrudgingly, since it directly contradicts his own sex-negative advice in another work, the more philosophical *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī* (*Spiritual Medicine*), as Peter Pormann has pointed out.[11] Tellingly, al-Rāzī's chapter on benefits is much shorter than those on harms.

The similarities between *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* and these medical predecessors do not end with titles, however. As it happens, our author has chosen al-Rāzī's fourth chapter as his primary, albeit uncredited, source. Skipping past al-Rāzī's monitory, foreboding chapters on the dangers of sex, Ibn Naṣr makes directly for the doctor's orders he wants to hear: sex is a good thing and brings a wide range of physical and mental benefits. He does not simply copy al-Rāzī's text, but rearranges, paraphrases, and splices it with material from other sources. He also adds what appears to be original content at the beginning and end of the chapter, of a quasi-philosophical character in the former case and a quasi-medical in the latter. The clue that he draws from al-Rāzī is a series of four identical quotations from Galen, including specific book and chapter citations, a rarity amongst the myriad instances of "*qāla Jālīnūs*" and "*qāla Arisṭāṭālīs*" elsewhere in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* and in *kutub al-bāh* in general.[12]

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with relevant bibliographical details for these works and others. See Newman, *The Sultan's Sex Potions* 161–181.

9   GAS, iii 304.

10   Al-Rāzī's monograph *Kitāb al-bāh, manāfiʿuhu wa-maḍārruhu wa-mudāwātuh* (*On Sexual Intercourse, its Harmful and Beneficial Effects and Treatment*) has been edited most recently by Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī in an edition with three other *bāh* works under the title of the most famous of them, al-Samawʾal's *Nuzhat al-aṣḥāb fī muʿāsharat al-aḥbāb*. Al-Rāzī's treatise falls on pp. 292–369.

11   Pormann, al-Rāzī (d. 925) On the Benefits of Sex.

12   This is not to say, however, that each of these specific quotations corresponds perfectly

The first reference is to Galen's *On the Affected Parts* (*Kitāb al-aʿḍāʾ al-alīma*), a well known work in Arabic translation. The second, to the fifth book of Galen's commentary on the sixth book of Hippocrates' *Epidemics* in al-Rāzī's original, appears to have been too complicated for the scribes of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, or perhaps Ibn Naṣr himself, and is shortened/garbled to the "seventh" book. While it is possible that the author of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* used some intermediate text dependent upon al-Rāzī's, inheriting its mistakes and abbreviations, *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*'s paraphrastic blurring of material that in al-Rāzī is more specific and detailed would seem to suggest that the chain of influence can only go in one direction (*lectio difficilior potior*). The possibility of their both borrowing from some other unknown source, meanwhile, cannot be ruled out but would assume, against all that we know of al-Rāzī's character and habits, that he was content merely to copy a series of quotations from Galen and add nothing of his own in between. In fact, al-Rāzī concludes his chapter with a summary in his own voice, reminding his readers, lest they get carried away by such a long list of benefits, that "the benefits which come from sex in terms of preserving our health do so, however, from being moderate about it."[13] Not surprisingly, the author of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* chooses not to include that statement.

Some of his other choices are equally illuminating. He does not begin his list of benefits with a quotation from Galen's *On the Affected Parts*, as al-Rāzī does, although he does reproduce that quotation later on in an abbreviated form. Instead, the author of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* lists six medical benefits, some rather technical, and adds a sentence or two of less technical commentary to each, as though explaining the concepts to an audience of non-physicians. In one case, he even adds a *ḥadīth* in support. The benefits are, in order: (1) sex cures the disease of melancholy, (2) it makes one happy, dispels sadness, and increases vigor, (3) it calms anger, (4) it cures lovers of their passions, even if they practice it with someone else, (5) it lightens the body and mind, and (6) it widens the ejaculatory ducts. Characteristically for *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, the list shows a meticulous syntactical organization, beginning the section with "*min manāfiʿhi annahu*" and introducing each subsequent benefit/commentary with "*wa minhā annahu*." As I will discuss shortly, such an organization lends itself well to the didactic system of *tashjīr* diagramming. The benefits themselves, all quite typical in medical literature on sex, would seem to be culled from al-Rāzī's

with the Greek texts as we have them. Pormann discusses al-Rāzī's "different levels of citation." See ibid., 119 f.

13 Al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Bāh* 327.

longer quotations, an argument that is supported both by melancholy coming first, which follows al-Rāzī mentioning it in his first quotation from Galen's *On the Affected Parts*, and by the specific detail that sex "cures lovers of their passion, even if they practice it with someone else," an interesting qualification that seems to appear nowhere other than al-Rāzī.[14] On the other hand, the final benefit, that it widens the ejaculatory ducts, does not appear in al-Rāzī's text as we have it, although it is commonplace and logically obvious in the medical tradition, as evidenced by al-Kindī's *K. al-Bāh*, which focuses exclusively on the physiology of sperm production and excretion. In Greek, on the other hand, Rufus of Ephesus specifically mentions this widening effect among the benefits of sex.[15] Even if Ibn Naṣr was not precisely following al-Rāzī or any other previous source in this regard, however, there is no reason to suppose that he did not have sufficient medical knowledge to include this benefit himself. Indeed, considering the vast quantity of medical material in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* generally, and the author's uniformly astute and nuanced use of it, it would be hard to believe that Ibn Naṣr was not himself a physician or, if he can be identified with his namesake in the *Fihrist*, at least the son of a physician.[16]

After this list of benefits, conventional in its selection if not its tendency to intersperse lay explanation, our author proceeds to the four quotations from Galen which overlap perfectly with al-Rāzī's text, his presumed source. The first warns of the psychological dangers of young men abstaining from sex, which he abbreviates in comparison to al-Rāzī; the second, third, and fourth, all attributed to Galen's commentary on Hippocrates' *Epidemics*, explain sex's usefulness against phlegmatic diseases, "smoky vapors" that can cause acute fever,

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14   Qusṭā ibn Lūqā (d. 300/912) provides a slightly longer but still very conventional list of the benefits of sex in his *Kitāb fī-l-bāh wa-mā yuḥtāju ilayhi min tadbīr al-badan fī istiʿmālihi*, the larger of two separate works he wrote on the subject of sex. See Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, *Kitāb fī-l-bāh* 26–27.

15   See Daremberg and Ruelle, *Oeuvres de Rufus d'Éphèse* 320 (ἀνευρύνει τοὺς πόρους).

16   See al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist i*, 406, where al-Nadīm describes the Ibn Naṣr in question as "*ibn al-ṭabīb*" and the author of four lengthy *adab* works, all lost, as well as "a number" of other works "I reckon he never finished." Al-Nadīm can speak with such casual authority because this Ibn Naṣr was a contemporary who "died only a few months ago." While this date matches the internal *terminus post quem* of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, a quotation from the poet Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābī (d. 384/994), and we can easily imagine *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* as one of "the number" of supposedly unfinished titles, the identification is frustrated by the detail that the *Fihrist*'s Ibn Naṣr was, apparently, a Christian (*naṣrānī*), which the author of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* certainly is not. The *terminus ante quem* for the *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, meanwhile, is either the date of the oldest manuscript, MS Ayasofya 3836 (Shaʿbān 533/1139), or, possibly, its citation by Abū Naṣr al-Samawʾal ibn Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbbās al-Maghribī in his *Nuzhat al-aṣḥāb*. See note 4 above.

palpitations of the heart, tightening of the chest, madness (*hawas*), and, especially in women, the so-called "suffocation of the womb" (*ikhtināq al-arḥām*). Al-Rāzī's next Galenic quotation, purportedly from al-Ṣinā'a al-ṣaghīra (*The Small Art*, as Galen's *Art of Medicine* was known in Arabic), speaks of the ability of sex to lighten the body, calm anger, fight against melancholy, assuage the passions of lovers etc., and would seem to form the basis for *Jawāmi' al-ladhdha*'s preceding list of benefits, excepting only the mention of ejaculatory ducts.[17] Ibn Naṣr's secret dependence on al-Rāzī ends here, however. Whereas al-Rāzī turns at this point in his discussion to a summary in his own voice (*wa bi-l-jumlati …*), cautioning his readers that any benefits can only be gained from moderation, Ibn Naṣr not surprisingly goes in the opposite direction, adding yet another danger of abstinence: the seminal fluid can become trapped inside the body, begin to stink and fester, and cause the patient to have a changed complexion and salty taste in his mouth.

This danger is not mentioned by al-Rāzī and is drawn instead, virtually *verbatim*, from another Arabic medical work on sex, 'Īsā ibn Māssa's (d. ca. 275/888) *Masā'il fī al-nasl wa-l-dhurriyya wa-l-jimā'* (Questions on Procreation, Offspring, and Sexual Intercourse), which, as indicated by the title, follows the relatively common medical format of questions and answers.[18] The thirty-third question, "why does abstinence harm many people," is answered by 'Īsā ibn Māssa with the very same words we see in *Jawāmi' al-ladhdha*.[19] As with the apparent pilfering from al-Rāzī, it is impossible to know the precise channel by which this material ended up in *Jawāmi' al-ladhdha*. Is it a case of direct borrowing or reliance on a common source? While it must be admitted that 'Īsā's question is not entirely original, since it obviously adapts and paraphrases a similar one in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata Physica*, the fact that *Jawāmi' al-ladhdha* reproduces 'Īsā's wording exactly, and retains nothing extra from Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's translation of the *Problemata*, would seem to tip the balance towards direct borrowing from *Masā'il fī al-nasl wa-l-dhurriyya wa-*

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17   In fact, the Greek original contains nothing that corresponds very closely with al-Rāzī's list, possibly because he was relying on a summary of the text. See Pormann, al-Rāzī (d. 925) On the Benefits of Sex 121. These "summaries" frequently are not summaries at all but rather independent commentaries that can even exceed the length of their Galenic original. This will be discussed shortly in the context of *Jawāmi' al-ladhdha*'s *tashjīr* diagrams.

18   For 'Īsā in general, see GAS iii, 257–258 and Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam* 122, 194. As with Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's treatise mentioned above, 'Īsā's book also formed the subject of an Erlangen medical dissertation, featuring a handwritten transcription of a single Istanbul manuscript and an accompanying German translation. See Anbari, *Streitfragen über die Zeugung*.

19   Ibid., 34.

l-jimāʿ.[20] This explanation fits, furthermore, with Ibn Naṣr's habit of excerpting liberally and verbatim elsewhere in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*. It is easy to picture Ibn Naṣr at work on this first real chapter of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*: setting out to justify his work on legitimate scientific grounds, he reaches for two of the most authoritative medical treatises on *bāh*, al-Rāzī's and ʿĪsā ibn Māssa's, and simply reproduces or very slightly adapts the material that suits his purpose (i.e., not the material warning against sex or overindulgence in it).

Following this unattributed quotation from ʿĪsā ibn Māssa, Ibn Naṣr concludes his chapter by doing precisely the opposite of what he has done previously with his unnamed sources: he credits to *al-mutaqaddimīn fī ʿilm al-bāh* his closing, plainly original summary of the benefits of sex, a series of *iḍāfāt* that sound more poetic (*nār al-nafs, hashāshat al-qalb* …) than medical. This final literary flourish recalls his elevated, philosophical style in the opening lines of the chapter, with which it joins to act as a pair of elegant bookends, sealing off the drier, more technical discussion inside. The overall structure of this important chapter can thus be broken down as follows: (1) a moderately inventive justification of his work on religious and philosophical grounds (the primacy of man in God's creation, the nobility of reproduction, the superiority of sex over the other natures of man), (2) supporting quotations from the Quran, *ḥadīth*, and the Companions of the Prophet (*al-ṣaḥāba*), as well as mention of the support of all the *madhāhib*, excepting of course the Zāhirī, (3) a list of medical benefits of sex adapted from al-Rāzī, with explanatory commentary interspersed, including one *ḥadīth*, (4) quotations from Galen reproduced and slightly adapted from al-Rāzī, (5) a verbatim reproduction of a passage of ʿĪsā ibn Māssa's *Masāʾil fī al-nasl wa-l-dhurriyya wa-l-jimāʿ* (Questions on Procreation, Offspring, and Sexual Intercourse), and finally (6) a short summary of the benefits of sex in a more literary than medical style.

Despite its conventionally medical title, this initial chapter proves to be remarkably hybrid, drawing on a variety of sources and mixing hard medicine with equal doses of philosophy and religion, all with a veneer of literary polish in the form of two pretty bookends. Subsequent chapters of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* add to this mix poetry, anecdote, *munāẓara*, physiognomy, astrology, numerology, and, among other curiosities, significant amounts of material from the Indian *kāmashastric* tradition, sometimes with exact correspondence to Vātsyāyana's *Kamasutra* as it has come down to us. In this respect,

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20   This question corresponds to IV.29 in the Greek edition and V.26 in the Arabic edition. For the Greek, see Mayhew, *Problems 173*. For the Arabic, Filius, *The Problemata Physica 297*.

Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha certainly lives up to the expectations of its title, synthesizing diverse subjects in an unprecedented way and uniting on its pages some of the strangest bedfellows imaginable, such as Galen and Abū Nuwās, Socrates and al-Alfiya (an Indian woman who legendarily slept with a thousand men), Araṭayās al-Rūmī (possibly Aretaeus of Cappadocia) and Harūṭ ibn Ṭasman al-Hindī, who seems to be, despite the vagaries of transliteration, none other than the famous Vātsyāyana.[21]

2   Part II: Dividing

This striking synthesis of material could never succeed as well as it does, however, without an underlying rationale of selection and categorization, exclusion and division. Ironically perhaps for a work so uniquely syncretic, *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*'s most striking feature may actually be its systems of division. This happens on a macro level with chapter divisions, as one might expect, but also at a smaller level within chapters, even within paragraphs, where the text exhibits a striking tendency towards numerical lists, repeated syntactical structures and, most impressively, visual diagramming with branched lines, the so-called *tashjīr* system closely associated with medical texts.[22] Two

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21   This name is extremely corrupt in the manuscript tradition. Harūṭ also appears as h-r-b-ṭ (MS Dār al-Kutub 1566), h-r-f-ṭ (MS Tebyan 1387), and h-r-q-ṭ (MS Fatih 3728). The letters in the *nasab* also move around considerably, producing ṭ-m-sh-n (MS Dār al-Kutub 1566), ṭ-s-m-n (MS Chester Beatty 4635, MS Fatih 3728), and s-m-ṭ-n (MS Ayasofya 3837, MS Tebyan 1387). The *bn* is consistent but suspicious, considering the foreignness of the rest of the name. Given the clear *Kamasutra* excerpts attributed to him in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, the name we should expect to see is some recognizable transliteration of Vātsyāyana or, as it is sometimes spelled, Vātsayana. With some creativity we could perhaps see the first name as a corruption of *Bandīṭ* (Pandit), where the *bā* and *nūn* combined into a *hā'*, which can often open up into two spikes, the *dāl* became a *rā'*, and *yā'* was read variously as a *fā'*, a *qāf* and, detaching, as a *wāw*. In the *nasab*, the two words would join, the *nūn* of *bn* becoming a *wāw* and the penultimate *mīm* becoming a *yā'* (the calligraphic manner of writing a final *yā'-nūn* can look vaguely like a *mīm-nūn*), to produce Būṭsayyana. Alternatively, the *nūn* in the *nasab* could just as easily be read as a *zāy*, making Bazṭayyana. Needless to say, these orthographic manipulations are highly speculative, as presently are the mechanisms and channels whereby the *Kamasutra* and its extensive commentary tradition came to be incorporated into a third/tenth-century Arabic text.

22   A brief overview of medical *tashjīr* diagramming in Arabic is given by Emilie Savage-Smith in her article in the *Cambridge History of Science*. See Savage-Smith, Medicine in Medieval Islam 148–149. She goes into considerably more detail in an article on Galen's Lost Ophthalmology. See Savage-Smith, Galen's Lost Ophthalmology 125 f., where she discusses especially its Greek, Alexandrian precedent. *Tashjīr*'s Alexandrian origins and con-

manuscripts of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* preserve some, but probably not all, of these diagrams, which have a tendency to drop out in the course of manuscript transmission, as indeed in the preparation of modern text editions, due to the large amount of space they consume on the page. The unrivaled epitome of this slimming tendency is undoubtedly Ibn Farīghūn's *Jawamiʿ al-ʿulūm* (*Compendium of the Sciences*), a text written wholly in elaborate *tashjīr* diagrams whose modern text edition nevertheless fails to include a single diagram.[23] A similar fate has clearly befallen a work by Ibn Farīghūn's former school mate, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā al-Rāzī, whose meaningfully titled *K. al-Taqsīm wa-l-tashjīr* includes no diagrams in its modern text edition, even though the wording and syntactical structures of the text strongly suggest that it did employ them at one point.[24]

To be fair, it can be rather awkward for an editor to reproduce these diagrams, especially when they are as complicated as Ibn Farīghūn's. The recent *editio princeps* of a medical work by Abū Zayd Aḥmad ibn Sahl al-Balkhī, the teacher of both al-Rāzī and Ibn Farīghūn, and a former student of al-Kindī, attempts to solve the problem by relegating the diagrams to a separate appendix and linking them to the corresponding passages of the main text with paragraph numbers.[25] Unfortunately, the editor does not make clear how accurate these diagrams are, which are rendered in an inelegant, modern style, if he reproduced those found in the manuscript, or even if they are reproductions at all and not his own adaptations/inventions based on indications within the text. In fact, reconstituting *tashjīr* diagrams, at least the simpler kind, is neither as difficult nor as fanciful as it might sound, since diagrams stripped from a text often leave some trace of their former existence, especially in the form of numbered lists, recurring syntactical units, and most blatantly, the abundance of expressions like *yanqasimu ilā*, explaining that this or that

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nection with the *Jawāmiʿ al-Iskandarāniyyīn* also receive brief treatment in Pormann and Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine* 13–15.

23   A comparison between Sezgin's facsimile of an Istanbul manuscript of the work and the 2007 printed edition of Qays Kāẓim al-Jinābī is staggering. See Ibn Farīʿūn, *Kitāb Jawāmiʿ al-ʿulūm* and Sezgin, *Jawāmʿ al-ʿulūm*. For Ibn Farīghūn more generally, Hans Hinrich Biesterfeldt is the undisputed world expert, having written about the author numerous times over the years. For an excellent recent treatment, see Biesterfeldt, Ibn Farīghūn's *Jawāmiʿ al-ʿulūm*.

24   See al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-taqsīm wa-l-tashjīr passim*. That al-Rāzī studied with Abū Zayd is reported by al-Nadīm and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and seems to find confirmation in the fact that al-Rāzī wrote a treatise on hay fever specifically for Abū Zayd, which is still extant. See Biesterfeldt, Abū Zayd al-Balkhī.

25   See al-Balkhī, *Maṣāliḥ al-abdān wa-l-anfus*.

can be divided into various parts—all features that *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* sports in abundance, even in the two manuscripts where numerous *tashjīr* diagrams remain intact.

This history of *tashjīr* diagramming in Arabic is closely linked with medical literature, especially of the didactic variety.[26] Interestingly, it also appears to have a particular association with works that bear the title of *jawami*ʿ, even those largely (if not totally) outside the medical genre, such as *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* and *Jawamiʿ al-ʿulūm* of Ibn Farīghūn. The origin of these associations, and quite probably of *tashjīr* diagramming in general in Arabic, can almost certainly be traced back to the corpus of texts known as the *Jawāmiʿ al-Iskandarāniyyīn*, rather inaptly translated into English as the *Alexandrian Summaries* (or Latin as *Summaria Alexandrinorum*), which abridge, paraphrase, elucidate, and in some cases enlarge upon (i.e., elaborate on without summarizing) various Galenic works for educational purposes, all with copious use of *tashjīr* diagrams.[27] Medieval physicians understood these texts to be Arabic translations of Greek versions used in the Alexandrian medical schools, an assumption that modern scholarship generally supports, despite our not having corresponding Greek or Latin versions of these summaries.[28] Accordingly, the *jawami*ʿ that pertain to the so-called "canon" of Galen, the 16 works that comprised the late ancient Alexandrian medical curriculum, have received the most attention to date. Yet *jawami*ʿ also exist for other Galenic works that were never part of the canon.[29] Among the reasons that an Alexandrian, rather than an Arabic-Islamic, origin continues to be argued for the *jawami*ʿ is, in fact, their use of *tashjīr*. We know from numerous Greek sources that the method of *diaresis* (division, *tashjīr*) played an important part in late ancient medical instruction in Alexandria.[30] Probably the best evidence of this comes from a single Vienna manuscript, carefully analyzed by Beate Gundert, which contains commentaries on five canonical Galenic treatises, all featuring extensive

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26   In addition to the earlier references to the work of Emilie Savage-Smith, see also Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam* 65–67 and GAS iii, 140–150 for an overview of the extant *jawāmiʿ*.

27   For a discussion of how these texts function and their not being mere "abridgements," see Pormann, The Alexandrian Summary 25–28.

28   This is not to say, however, that there is no trace at all in Latin or Greek of a similar commentary tradition connected with the Galenic canon. Stephanus' (fl. seventh century) commentary on the first book Galen's *Ad Glauconem* survives in Greek and has been edited. See Dickson, *Stephanus the Philosopher*. Other commentaries survive as well.

29   See Savage-Smith, Galen's Lost Ophthalmology.

30   For the technique of *diaresis* more generally, see Duffy, Byzantine Medicine.

use of *diaresis*.[31] While the text of these commentaries seems to differ widely from that of the corresponding Arabic *jawami'*, the presence of *diaresis/tashjīr* in the Greek versions, as well as their common spirit of abridging/categoriz-ing/dividing, argues strongly for a shared, late ancient Alexandrian proven-ance.[32]

As fascinating as it may be, the question of whether the Arabic *jawami'* genu-inely spring from a Greek source is not crucial to a consideration of *tashjīr* diagramming centuries later in *Jawāmi' al-ladhdha*. More significant in this regard is the later history of *tashjīr* diagramming and, going hand in hand with it, the composition of new *jawami'* from Galenic and other texts. The phys-ician Ibn Māsawayh (d. 243/857) is reported to have used *tashjīr*, as did his pupil, the famous Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥāq, who reports in his *risāla* that he per-sonally made *jawami'* of eleven, separate, non-canonical works of Galen. Two of these summaries he prepared according to a question and answer format (*'alā ṭarīq al-mas'ala wa al-jawāb*), perennially popular in medical writing, as indicated by the 'Īsā b. Māssa work quoted in *Jawāmi' al-ladhdha*, while two others he says were *'alā ṭarīq al-taqāsīm* and *'alā al-taqsīm*, by which we should probably understand *tashjīr*, a term he does not use anywhere.[33] Indeed, al-Rāzī uses both words in the title of his *K. al-Taqsīm wa-l-tashjīr*, seemingly as synonyms. Alternatively, *taqsīm* could refer to a system of synoptic tables, as Emilie Savage-Smith thinks possible.[34] If this is so, it could indicate that *tashjīr* was so deeply associated with the genre of Galenic *jawami'* that Ḥunayn felt compelled to single out those four *jawami'* that did not employ the technique and instead used tables or questions and answers. This possibility perhaps finds support in the fact that, of the 63 extent medical *jawami'* listed in the index of Sezgin's *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*, only three include mention in their title of *ṭarīq al-mas'ala wa al-jawāb*, while none say anything about *tashjīr* or *taqsīm*, even though many of these *jawami'* obviously use *tashjīr*.[35] In other

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31   In her long article, she also gives a list of the surviving Greek commentaries (see Gundert, Die Tabulae 93–94) and includes images and transcriptions of the *diareses*.

32   While some scholars, such as Ivan Garofalo, think it is beyond reasonable doubt that the Arabic summaries were originally written in Greek, others, such as Pormann, believe it is "problematic" to make assumptions beyond the fact that the Greek and Arabic summaries obviously share many parallels and thus probably both rely on Alexandrian material in some way. See Pormann, The Alexandrian Summary 26, and Garofalo, La Traduzione.

33   See Savage-Smith (2002), 125–126, and Gotthelf Bergsträsser, *Hunain ibn Ishāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galenübersetzungen*, Rasā'il 57, 72.

34   Savage-Smith, Galen's Lost Ophthalmology 126.

35   GAS iii, 445–446.

words, *tashjīr* diagrams would seem to be expected rather than noteworthy when it comes to *jawamiʿ*. Sezgin's index also illustrates how popular it was to compose *jawamiʿ*, even for non-Galenic texts. We find *jawamiʿ* attributed not only to Ḥunayn but also to al-Kindī, Thābit b. Qurra, and Isḥāq b. ʿAlī al-Ruhāwī, as well as an anonymous *jawamiʿ* of Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* and, most pertinently for this discussion, a *jawamiʿ* of one of the pseudo-Galenic works on sex mentioned earlier, *Asrār al-nisāʾ* (Secrets of Women), which, despite being fairly short and pharmacological in the original, was apparently deemed worthy of *tashjīr* diagramming.[36]

Viewed collectively, the *jawamiʿ* take on the appearance of a distinct medical subgenre. They were not simply a fixed canon of texts inherited from Late Antiquity, but a genre that medieval physicians continued to compose in, either for its inherent utility or its prestigious, Alexandrian pedigree. As in so many other cases of inherited form and knowledge, it was only a matter of time before innovation started to occur. The first sign of innovation is the spread of *tashjīr*, previously the exclusive hallmark of the *jawamiʿ* genre, into medical literature more broadly, as in the case of Abū Zayd Aḥmad ibn Sahl Balkhī's *Maṣāliḥ al-abdān wa-l-anfus* and al-Rāzī's *K. al-Taqsīm wa-l-tashjīr*, neither of which are *jawamiʿ*. The second stage, which seems inevitable in retrospect, reveals an even wider dissemination of *tashjīr* outside of medical literature and into other areas of knowledge—all areas, indeed, as in the case of Ibn Farīghūn's comprehensive *Jawamiʿ al-ʿulūm*. The *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* represents an ideal case study for this second, broader stage of *tashjīr* transmission, inasmuch as it is simultaneously a medical and a literary work. As we might expect, *tashjīr* diagrams appear in the medical portions of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, including a quotation from Galen. What perhaps comes as a surprise, however, is that *tashjīr* also figures prominently in the non-medical and even non-scientific portions of the work. In fact, the chapter that contains the most *tashjīr* diagrams of all, "*Fī l-qawl fī shahwat al-nisāʾ lil-nikāḥ*" (On Discussing Women's Desire for Sex), is exclusively literary, offering a roughly even mix of poetry and anecdotes. This chapter is also distinguished for quoting copiously from "the Indian," whose statements often have an exact correspondence with the *Kamasutra*, and from a lost, ninth-century work by a certain Abū Ḥassān al-Namlī entitled *K. Barjān wa Ḥubāḥib*, whose two eponymous, female narrators discuss a variety of sexual topics in response to questions from a nameless king.[37] Despite the apparently

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36   GAS iii, 254.
37   The contributions of "the Indian" to this chapter probably exceed what is explicitly attributed to him, as many other sections have an unmistakable *kāmashastic* flavor, even if they lack an exact correspondence to a passage in the *Kamasutra*.

Persian names, the excerpts of this work have a flavor of *Kāmashāstra*, particularly in their concern for classifying women according to numbered, named types.[38] It is hard to imagine a better, more succinct example of the hybrid culture born out of the Abbasid translation movement: Indian sexological literature, possibly filtered through a Persian intermediary, is diagrammed according to the techniques of the late ancient Alexandrian medical schools—and not without a generous helping of poetry, *ḥadīth*, and al-Jāḥiẓ thrown in for good measure.

A closer look at some examples of *tashjīr* found in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* will help to illustrate this peculiar synthesis of medical and literary, Indian and Greek. Two of the six extant manuscripts of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* preserve *tashjīr* diagrams.[39] Oddly, the two happen to be the oldest and youngest manuscripts, nor is there a direct, linear relationship between the two, as proven on textual grounds. Both manuscripts are partial, the oldest one representing the first half of the work and youngest the latter half. Joined together, they give us a complete, diagrammed *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*. Nevertheless, this reconstituted text is probably not complete in another sense: if any credence is to be given to my earlier arguments about the syntactical fossils of *tashjīr*, we must assume that the archetype contained far more diagrams than we presently see. In fact, the very first diagram in the oldest manuscript, which comes at the end of the predominantly medical chapter titled "*al-Qawl fī khilqat al-dhakar wa-l-farj*" (A Discussion of the Anatomy of the Penis and Vagina), shows signs of being streamlined and pruned (Fig. 5.1). Not surprisingly, this first diagram pertains to a (supposed) quotation from Galen. It can be transcribed as follows:

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38   The *Kamasutra* and the entire *kāmashastric* tradition show a strong inclination towards taxonomy and enumeration. Wendy Doniger remarks in the introduction to her translation of the *Kamasutra* with Sudhir Kakar that "enumeration may be a way of taming a subject that always threatens to break out of its *shastric* cage." The tendency is so pronounced that it is even joked about inside the text of the *Kamasutra*, where, following the cautionary tale of a girl blinded by the misuse of a sexual technique known as "the drill," we find the *shlokas* "this is no matter for numerical lists/or textbook tables of contents." See Doniger and Kakar, *Kamasutra* xxiv.

39   MS Ayasofya 3836, dated Shaʿbān 533/1139, and MS Tebyan 1387, dated Ṣafar 1310/1892.

وقال جالينوس أيضًا إنّ في بدن كلّ واحدة من النساء خمسة أرحام
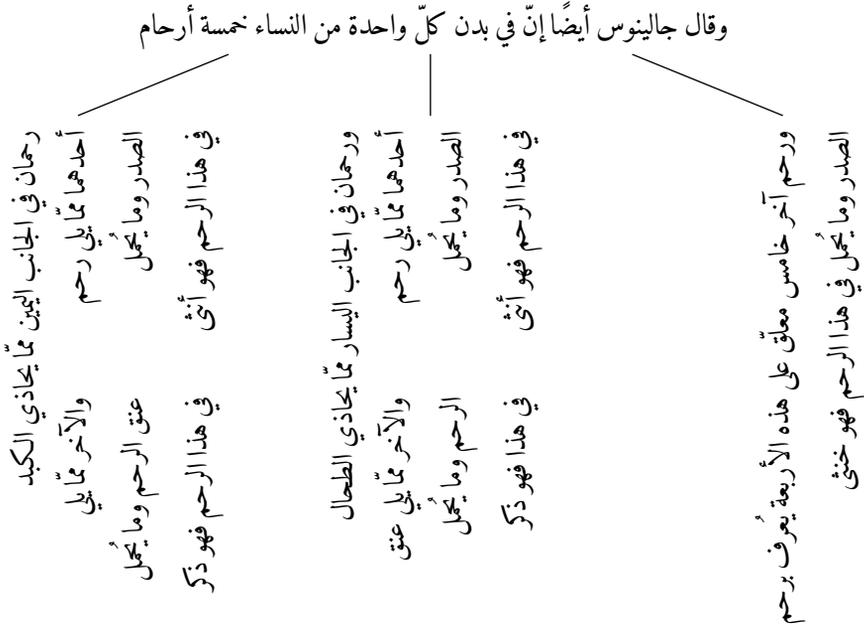
As an example of how much space can be saved by omitting such *tashjīr*, a translation of the text above requires only a few lines: "Galen said that each woman's body has five wombs: two wombs are on the right, alongside the liver. One of them touches the womb of the chest (*raḥim al-ṣadr*) and bears females, while the other abuts the neck of the womb and bears males. Two wombs are on the left side, next to the spleen. One abuts the womb of the chest and bears females, while the other, abutting the neck of the womb, bears males. The fifth womb, known as the womb of the chest, rests on top of these four and bears hermaphrodites."[40] Some features of this diagram are quite typical of the others that appear in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*. There are three branches, for instance, a kind of magic number in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, both for diagramming and classifying. Numerous typologies in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* feature a similar tripartite arrangement, often along the lines of "big, medium, and small," such as Araṭayās al-Rūmī's typology of male speed to orgasm, where "slow is between 50 and 60

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40   In fact, Galen speaks of only two sinuses (κόλποι), of which the right carries males and the left females. See May (tr.), *On the Usefulness of the Parts* 625. These sinuses seem to multiply in later medical literature, reaching the absurd number of seven at some point in the Middle Ages. See Kudlien, The Seven Cells. In any case, given Galen's theory that different sides of the womb bear different sexes, it is logical that a womb for hermaphrodites would be centrally located, here resting centrally on top of the other four, bifurcated wombs.

thrusts, fast between 10 and 20, and average somewhere between these two."[41] Also typical is the fact that the content of the branches is written vertically, with noticeable care to balance the branches visually on the page.

Unlike most other diagrams in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, however, which contain only one level of ramification (i.e., A = b, c, d), this tree has two, since both *raḥimāni* must be further divided into their upper and lower cavities. This sub-division is illustrated by the way the vertical text is broken into two distinct columns that must be read horizontally, left to right (i.e., in the first column, when one reaches the word *raḥim*, he must skip across to the word *ṣadr* and not continue reading vertically to the word *al-ākhir*, which in fact begins its own second column). If the text were written in an ordinary, wholly horizontal fashion, another set of branches would clearly be called for, a second tier of the tree, as one frequently finds in the diagrams of Ibn Farīghūn's *Jawamiʿ al-ʿulūm*, where even a third tier is possible. Perhaps the manuscript from which ours was copied did, in fact, contain another set of branches, but the copyist felt that it would be extravagant to take up even more space, or that it would not harmonize well with the other, single-level diagrams that predominate in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*.

Harmony might well have been his chief consideration, since the next *tashjīr* diagram comes on the very same page, albeit in a new chapter (Fig. 5.1). Whereas the Galenic *tashjīr* concludes a predominantly medical chapter, "*al-Qawl fī khilqat al-dhakar wa-l-farj*" (A Discussion of the Anatomy of the Penis and Vagina), which does nevertheless include some verses of Abū Nuwās, the following chapter, "*Madhāhib al-ʿushshāq fī l-mubāshira*," (On Lovers' Opinions about Sex), has virtually no medical content and instead focuses on common themes of love theory, such as whether sex strengthens or destroys love. Nevertheless, it still begins with a diagram, which is as follows:
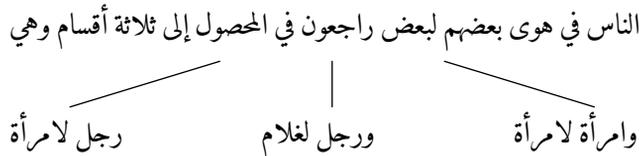
الناس في هوى بعضهم لبعض راجعون في المحصول إلى ثلاثة أقسام وهي

رجل لامرأة   ورجل لغلام   وامرأة لامرأة

By comparison with the two-stage Galenic diagram above it, this one at first appears more modest, comprising only a single tier and the usual three units. In terms of the space it consumes on the page, however, it is far more extravagant, since all three branches contain a total of only six words. The translation amounts to a mere sentence: "When it comes to love, people match up in different ways, falling into three categories (*aqsām*): man and woman, man and boy (*ghulām*), and woman and woman." This statement hardly seems to call out for diagrammatic presentation. It is not, for instance, a long, numbered list with many subdivisions, for which *tashjīr* would be helpful and could, if lacking in a manuscript, plausibly be reconstructed. It is instead rather simple, and one wonders why a diagram was used here at all.

A possible answer comes in the passage that immediately follows the diagram, which, like the earlier Galenic diagram shorn of its second tier, provides evidence that additional diagramming of some sort may have been copied out of the text (Fig. 5.2). In this case, we find four carefully matched excerpts of poetry that correspond exactly with each element of the diagram: three lines introduce the question of which group is best, three advocate for the lesbians, three for the pederasts and, in a possible indication of our author's judgment on the matter, four for the heterosexuals. Considering the lack of attribution, the consistent first-person voice and the meticulous, numerical balancing of the lines, it seems probable that Ibn Naṣr composed these rather mediocre verses himself or, if not, at least copied them from a single author rather than from multiple, different sources. Since no text edition exists of the first half of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, from which this passage comes, it is worth reproducing the Arabic in full.[42]

> One *ẓarīf* divided the categories with poetry, saying:
> Would I knew which lover were most blessed,
> A young man who's caught a girl, or who's caught a boy,
> Or a girl with her girl, neither wanting a man.
>
> And some refined women responded, saying:
> Two women are we, sisters, satisfied in our union,
> Pursuing pleasure with what we have, this way and that,
> So let every suitor call, still we recoil from men.

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42   I thank my good friend, Shady H. Nasser, for helping me with the meter of these lines and saving me from several embarrassing mistakes. Any that remain are mine alone.

A young man answered her, saying:
I am smitten by a babe, his eyes dazzling like a gazelle,
The fairest to see, the calmest in demeanor,
The wittiest whether speaking, silent or signaling.

Another man answered him:
You'll never see another like me, happier in mind;
God created pairs, women and men,
And we can pick the fruits of delight, forbidden or licit,
Not like one who strays from the straight course, stubborn and deluded.

These three poems comprise the three categories, namely boy and girl,
   boy and boy and girl and girl.

وقد قسّم بعض الظرفاء هذه القسمة في شعره فقـــــال :

ليت شعري أيّ أخدا   ن الهوى أنغمِربالا
أفتـىً صـادفتـاة   أم فتىً صـادغزالا
أو فتـــاة بفتــــاة   لا تريدان الرجـــالا

فأجابته بعض المتـــظرّفات وقالت:

نحن أنثـاوانِ أختا   ن تكـافينا الوصالا
نركب اللذة فيما   بيـتنا حـالاً فحـالا
فليـدعْنا كـلّ لاحٍ   إنّنا نخشى الرجالا

فأجـــابها فتى فقال:

أنا مشغوف بخشـف   أحورٍ يحكي الغـزالا
وأقوّ الناسـ عيـنًا   ثمّ أسوى النـاس حالا
أمـلح الناس حـديثـًا   وسكـونًا و دلالا

وقال أيضًـا آخر:

لِترينْ في الناس مثلي   أحـدًا أنعـم بالا

خلقِ الرحمنْ أزوا   جـًا نسـاءً ورجـالا

فـاجتبينـا ثمـر اللهوِ حرامًا وحـلالا

لا كمن جار عن القصد عنـادًا وضـلالا

فقد اشتملت هذه الأشعار الثلاثة على الأقسام الثلاثة وهي فتًى بفتاة وفتًى بفتًى وفتاة بفتاة .

One notices Ibn Naṣr's choice of wording immediately in his introductory line. He could hardly have selected a more appropriate phrase than "*qas-sama hādhihi al-qismata*" to follow up on the three *aqsām* of the preceding *tashjīr* diagram. His terminology recalls Ḥunayn's *ṭarīq al-taqsīm* and al-Rāzī's *K. al-Taqsīm wa al-tashjīr* and would seem to set up another *tashjīr* diagram. What we get instead is not a diagram, since it lacks the requisite lines and branches, but it does preserve *tashjīr*-like features: the order of poetic quotations precisely matches the sequence of the preceding diagram, starting at the left with lesbians, and it proportions an equal number of lines (the magic number three no less) to each sexual pairing, excepting of course the hetero-sexuals, who receive one extra line. Perhaps *baʿḍ al-ẓurafāʾ*, most likely our author himself, felt morally compelled to award heterosexuals a slight advant-age, as he does elsewhere in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*. In any case, as though the mathematical correspondence with the preceding diagram were not enough, Ibn Naṣr concludes the passage by reminding the reader that "these three poetic quotations cover the three categories, namely a young man with a young woman, a young man with a young man, and a young woman with a young woman." This final sentence feels almost like an interpolation in its blatant redundancy and slight shift of terminology (*fatan/fatā* for *rajul/imraʾa*), not to mention its relisting of the pairs in inverse order, which seems clumsy after such mathematical precision in the ordering of the poetic quotations. Could it, in fact, be an interpolation, inserted in an effort to explain a dia-gram or table of some sort that was removed in copying? It is not hard to imagine that the poetic quotations were originally part of the preceding dia-gram, perhaps written vertically like the Galenic diagram on the same page. Interestingly, a page break occurs in the manuscript at precisely this point, separating the diagram from the poetry and thus making such an integra-tion visually impossible. This is only speculation, of course, but even a curs-ory glance at Sezgin's facsimile edition of Ibn Farīghūn's *tashjīr tour de force*,

Jawāmiʿ al-ʿulūm, shows that larger and more complicated tree diagrams are possible.

A final example of *tashjīr* in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* (Fig. 5.3) comes from the early part of a chapter entitled *"Fī al-qawl fī shahwat al-nisāʾ lil-nikāḥ"* (On Discussing Women's Desire for Sex), which is among the longest in the book and contains the most diagrams (20 in all). The inspiration for the chapter can be found in the final lines of the previous one, where Ibn Naṣr quotes a certain Bunyāndukht, a Persian sex expert, on the question of why she was attracted to a man other than her husband.[43] She explains that women naturally have ten times more lust than men, an idea that apparently catches the author's imagination.[44] Whereas he frequently announces elsewhere that he is omitting material for the sake of brevity, here he does the opposite, declaring that "we will give the discussion of this topic its own chapter, since further explanation (*sharḥ*) is called for." His eagerness may derive in part from the sources he had at his disposal on this topic, which appear to have been particularly voluminous and diverse. In addition to making use of Bunyāndukht, perhaps even more than he acknowledges, and quoting extensively from Abū Ḥassān al-Namlī's *K. Barjān wa Ḥubāḥib*, mentioned previously, he also draws on Indian sources. In some cases, he acknowledges these sources, as when he quotes "the Indian" on the typology of male-female pairings in terms of sexual organ size and energy (but announces that he will omit the third factor, speed to orgasm,

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43   Bunyāndukht appears frequently in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, sharing her feminine insight into various aspects of sexuality. Her name is also sometimes vowelled Banyāndakht or written in two words, Banyān Dukht, as in the *Fihrist*, where she is mentioned along with a Banyān Nafs and Bahrām Dakht as the author of a sex book in the arousing style (*ʿalā ṭarīq al-ḥadīth al-mushbiq*). See al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist* ii, *345*. The other Banyān mentioned in the *Fihrist*, Banyān Nafs, also appears in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, where all three manuscripts omit the second and third *nūn* and write the name Bunyāfas (MS Ayasofya 3836, p. 102r, l. 3), Bunyāqas (MS Chester Beatty 4635, p. 108r, l. 10) or often without diacritics at all (MS Fatih 3728). Given that *dukht* would seem to be a patronymic (daughter) and Bunyāndukht and Bunyāfas seem to be a pair of sorts, often being quoted in close proximity in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, I would propose that the fas/qas/nafs in Bunyāfas/Bunyāqas/Banyān Nafs is a corruption of the Middle Persian pus, "son." Perhaps they formed two halves of a kind of wedding-night instruction book. By the same rationale, their first names should probably also be harmonized, either to Banyān, as in the *Fihrist*, or to Banyā, as all the manuscripts of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* cite the name of Banyāfas. Perhaps the first name was originally Bīnā, which at least is attested.

44   It also echoes Yashodhara's seventh/thirteenth-century commentary on the *Kamasutra*, according to which a woman has eight times as much desire as a man. See Doniger and Kakar, *Kamasutra* 33. This teaching may well extend further back into the *kāmashastric* tradition and link in some way with Bunyāndukht's apparently Persian source.

for the sake of brevity and because he had already covered it).[45] These sections are unambiguously excerpted from the beginning of the second book of the *Kamasutra*, which shows the same order of factors (size, energy, speed), uses the same animal terminology for size (a man can be a horse, a bull, or a hare, while a woman can be an elephant, a mare, or a doe), and draws the same conclusions about the best pairings, albeit with slightly less detail than *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*.[46]

In other cases in this chapter, however, the sources go unacknowledged, even though their footprint is structurally evident in the text, as distinct sections follow one upon the other with rough or non-existent segues. The overall impression is very much that the author was dipping into various books, copying or adapting what he liked, and then moving on to the next book, as he admittedly does with the *Kamasutra*. Many of these distinct sections begin with a numbered list of some sort, rendered in *tashjīr* diagram, followed by anecdote and poetry precisely matching each of the branched terms. Among the listings are the 13 types of women with regard to sexual desire, the three types of heterosexual female desire, the six types of women and their three types with regard to orgasm, and, finally, the five ways of quickening a woman's orgasm, which includes such techniques as biting and beating. Given the propensity of the *Kamasutra* and its commentary tradition for enumeration, its "shastric cage," as mentioned earlier, it is tempting to assign all of this material to an Indian origin. The *Kamasutra* does, furthermore, devote entire chapters to the arts of biting, scratching, and slapping. Yet there is no exact correspondence between these sections of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* and the *Kamasutra* or any other *kāmashastric* text I have been able to find. The channels and mechanisms by which Sanskrit *Kāmashāstra* came to be excerpted by Ibn Naṣr remain to be determined.

What is certain, however, is that these *kāmashastric* lists offer the perfect fodder for *tashjīr* diagramming. Indeed, Indian *Kāmashāstra* and Alexandrian *tashjīr/diaresis* are a match made in heaven, as attested by the two pages of diagrams in this final example (Fig. 3), all of which correspond to the first *kāmashastric* list, the 13 types of women with regard to sexual desire. Sympath-

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45   Interestingly, he goes back on this promise in a later chapter, *"Fī fatāwā fī l-bāh wa aḥwālihi"* (*On Pronouncements Concerning Sexuality and Its Circumstances*), excerpting from Araṭayās al-Rūmī an elaborate typology of speed based on the number of thrusts.

46   Doniger and Kakar, *Kamasutra* 28–39. Other quotations from the "The Indian" in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* are equally faithful to the *Kamasutra* as we presently have it, even preserving recognizable transliterations of names like Shvetaketu Auddalaki, an authority frequently mentioned in the *Kamasutra* and also in the Upanishads.

izing with the space-saving considerations of medieval copyists, this paper will omit transcribing the diagrams and instead rely on the accompanying image to be sufficient reference for the Arabic. First, it is immediately apparent that these four diagrams are, in fact, one large diagram, even if economic or aesthetic considerations did not allow them to be represented in that way, as in the previous example of poetic quotations. In the first tier of the tree, the 13 types of women are divided into three groups: (1) the five types who do not like sex, (2) the five who want sex and nothing else (*lā yurīdūn siwāhu*, for which the Chester Beatty manuscript gives the correct *yuridna*), and (3) the three types who differ from these first two. The first group then receives its own diagram, where the text first specifies that they are not wholly frigid but instead prefer kissing, smelling, joking, talking, playing around, and *al-jimāʿ fī ghayr al-farj*. It then divides them into five types: the prepubescent, the short, the chubby, the white, and those who have a clingy husband (*baʿl lāzim*). As for the second, nymphomaniacal group of five, their diagram places them into similarly physiognomic categories: those between youth and middle age, those whose nipples point sharply downward, the tall, the slim, the fair-skinned (*al-admāʾ al-maqdūda*), and the unmarried. It will become apparent that there is a slight problem with arithmetic here, as the diagram shows seven branches rather than the promised five, mistakenly giving the word *ghayr*, in the expression *ghayr dhāt al-baʿl*, its own line. Even when this extra line is removed, however, there remain six categories, not five. Perhaps "tall" and "thin" were originally part of the same category.

The final, third group of women, meanwhile, who differ from the previous two, fall into the expected three subcategories, which turn out to be age-based rather than physiognomic: adolescent (*al-ḥadatha*), young (*al-shābba*), and "midway between adolescent and young." While this last diagram appears to be the simplest of the four, it is in fact the fullest and most descriptive, since the sentences that immediately follow it elaborate on each of its three terms and would, in a more ambitious visual arrangement, be incorporated into the diagram, just like the previous example's poetry. The additional qualifications are fairly interesting and point to a possible misunderstanding of the term *al-niṣf* on the part of the copyist or author: "an adolescent girl (*al-ḥadatha*)," he says, "is somewhat put off, a young woman (*al-shābba*) is pleasant and knows how strongly she is desired, which induces her to try to be friendly towards men, while the middle type (*al-niṣf*) propositions men herself so that she may satisfy their desire and her own contempt for bashfulness." Would a woman midway between girlish disgust and youthful confidence be so shameless? It seems clear that the text is speaking here about older women and that "midway" refers to lifespan (i.e., middle age) rather than midway between the two

previous age groups, as indeed seems to be the case in the previous diagram, where nymphomaniacs are said to be between youth and middle age.

Despite this confusion with *al-niṣf* and the slight problem with arithmetic earlier, all four *tashjīr* diagrams could easily be combined into a larger, two-tiered diagram, where the 13 types are first divided into three groups, and then each of those terms spawns its required number of branches (five, five, and three). It is not unreasonable to imagine that the archetype of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* contained just such a diagram. As before with the Galenic diagram, however, the copyist of our manuscript (or some earlier copyist in the chain) balked at the second tier and decided to present his *tashjīr* in a simplified, sequential format. Ibn Farīghūn would no doubt be disappointed. Yet there are obviously limits to how far one can go with *tashjīr*, dictated both by space and comprehensibility. The "13 types of women with regard to desire" was certainly bound to hit such a limit, even if a scribe had not balked at a second tier, for the material that follows these two pages of diagrams—poetry and *akhbār* pertaining to each of the types listed—stretches for several pages and could hardly fit into any conceivable diagram. Interestingly, though, this material, eclectic as it is, shows a concerted effort to match the sequence of the diagrams, not unlike the poetry in the earlier diagram. It does not, for instance, collect and jumble together anecdotes about various types of lustful or frigid women, or stray into tangents of physiognomy or sodomy, untidy features that would no doubt offend the meticulous, number-obsessed creator of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*. On the contrary, the first group to receive literary treatment is, predictably, the first to appear in the diagram, the women who prefer kissing above all else, whose *akhbār* begin on the final lines of the page. A similar respect for sequence and thematic purity shows in all of the following pages of anecdotes. Incidentally, although Ibn Naṣr displays a certain fussiness about such organizational matters, he seems distinctly unbothered by issues of balance, as proven by the starkly unequal chapter lengths of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*. In this case, as we might expect, the women who like kissing receive far less attention than the nymphomaniacs.

These are only a few examples of the dozens of *tashjīr* diagrams found in the oldest manuscript of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*. The youngest manuscript contains many more, albeit with the slightly different arrangement of placing them in boxes or pushing them to the right or left margin of the page, with text flowing around. We can speculate that the archetype of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* had many more still, to judge from the tell-tale linguistic and syntactical markers of excised *tashjīr* present even in the oldest manuscript. Our oldest manuscript, we should remember, still postdates the work's composition by a century and a half, ample time for economics to triumph and forests of *tashjīr* to be pruned

away. Yet merely observing such diagramming, or theorizing about its reconstruction, while intriguing, deserves less attention than the bigger question of why the author felt the need to employ *tashjīr* in the first place. The origin of the technique, as we saw, is undoubtedly didactic, regardless of whether it springs from the Alexandrian medical schools of Late Antiquity or was developed later in an Arabic-Islamic environment. Given this didactic association, it follows that we should ask if Ibn Naṣr considered his work to be educational. The answer would seem to be yes, at least in some measure. While he could not have expected his readers to study and memorize his diagrams of nymphomaniac physiognomy with the same care a medical student might a treatise of Galen, he did conceive of his book as fulfilling an educational purpose, of supplying his *ẓarīf* readership with what they "needed" to know, as he puts it in his introduction.

Another explanation for his use of *tashjīr* probably lies in the strongly medical cast of the work. Although the greater part of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* is undoubtedly literary, the medical content remains serious and substantial, amounting to perhaps 30 or 40 percent of the whole work. Even in the most literary sections of the work, furthermore, medicine is never too far away. A quotation from Jālīnūs can crop up anywhere. Although he never states it explicitly in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, one suspects that Ibn Naṣr was, or considered himself to be, a physician, albeit a *ẓarīf* one with *adab* interests. It is interesting to note in this regard that Ibn Naṣr refers to three other works of his own in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, all apparently lost. One is his *K. al-Asrār* (Book of Secrets), which he says includes a discussion of the Indian practice of attracting women by mystical, non-physical means, probably a reference to the seventh book of the *Kamasutra*; another, *Ḥājat al-mutayyam* (The Lover's Need), he cites in the context of lovers' correspondence and was presumably a work of love theory; while the third bears the very scientific title of *Kīmiyāʾ al-bāh* (On the Alchemy of Sex) and apparently explained the advantages of masturbation.[47] It would

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47   He refers to his *K. al-Asrār* in the chapter *"Fī ijtidhāb mawaddāt al-nisāʾ"* (On Attracting the Affections of Women), which is the first chapter to fall in the second half of the work and is thus available in print version. See ʿAbd al-Badīʿ (ed.), *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* 18. *Ḥājat al-mutayyam* appears in the chapter on heterosexuals (*Fī fatan wa fatāh*), which is available only in manuscript. See MS Ayasofya 3836, p. 62r, and MS Fatih 3728, p. 63r. MS Chester Beatty 4635 lacks this chapter on heterosexuality, possibly because it was the last one of the first *juzʾ* and was dropped out at the time of binding. On the other hand, the manuscript's table of contents also makes no mention of the chapter, suggesting either that the chapter list was drawn up after the copying of the manuscript or that the defect originated earlier in the chain of transmission. *Kīmiyāʾ al-bāh* comes up in the chapter "On Lovers' Opinions about Sex," (*Madhāhib al-ʿushshāq fī l-mubāshara*), also available only in

seem, therefore, that Ibn Naṣr perceives himself both as an *adīb* and as a kind of sex doctor, treating the body and mind in helping his patients to greater pleasure. For him, this is no light matter or source of shame. When he reverently mentions *al-mutaqaddimūn fī ʿilm al-bāh*, as he often does, he unambiguously places himself in their distinguished line and claims for his subject matter the title of *ʿilm*, a dignified and worthy field of knowledge. Yet it can be hard for the modern reader to reconcile this authorial gravity with the light-hearted and pornographic nature of much of his material, even leaving aside the difficulty of according pseudo-sciences like physiognomy and numerology their medieval respect. Surely this is not just a problem of modern perspective either. What did the doctor of sex make of the fact that many of his readers were certainly laughing their way through much of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, if not using it for other, even less dignified purposes? The answer to this question cuts directly to the heart of *kutub al-bāh* as a genre.

3   Part III: *Kutub al-Bāh*

The problem of speaking about the genre of *kutub al-bāh*, or *ʿilm al-bāh*, has been noted by the few scholars who have approached it. On the one hand, we have many *kutub al-bāh* that are purely medical, not only by pre-*Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* authors such as al-Kindī and Qusṭā ibn Lūqā but also by later figures such as Ibn Sīnā (428/1031), Maimonides (d. 601/1204), and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūṣī (d. 597/1201).[48] These works have no *adab* content and approach the subject from an exclusively scientific point of view, discussing humoral theory (which temperaments are best suited to sexual activity), regimen (the best times, places, frequency, yet rarely much attention to techniques or positions), the potential harms and benefits of sex, and, often at the end of the work, the various pharmacological remedies available. On the other hand, we possess a large number of hybrid *adab*-medical works, of which *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* would seem to be the earliest prototype. After *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, we have

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manuscript. See MS Ayasofya 3836, p. 42r, MS Chester Beatty 4635, p. 51r, where it is called *Kimā al-bāh*, and MS Fatih 3728, p. 42r, where it is called *Kāmiyā al-bāh*.

48   See Newman, *The Sultan's Sex Potions* 161–181, for a full catalogue. Ibn Sīnā's short but interesting treatise on *bāh* remains unpublished despite being extant in numerous manuscripts. It pales in comparison to Chapters 21 and 22 of his *Qānūn*, however, which are without doubt the definitive medical treatment of the subject in Arabic. The fact that *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* seems to borrow nothing from those chapters, while meanwhile pilfering al-Rāzī without attribution, probably represents another clue dating.

similarly hybrid works by, among others, Samawʾal b. Yaḥyā (d. 570/1175), Jalāl
al-Dīn al-Shayzarī (d. 589/1193), who was patronized by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Shihāb
al-Dīn al-Tifāshī (d. 651/1253), and, most famous in the West due to a "trans-
lation" by Richard Burton, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Nafzāwī (fl. early
ninth/fifteenth century), author of *al-Rawḍ al-ʿāṭir fī nuzhat al-khāṭir* (*The Per-
fumed Garden*)

While some of these works remain more medical than literary, even the
most medical of them represents a departure from the earlier, purely scientific
model, both in form and content. Daniel Newman addresses this issue in the
introduction to his text edition of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's pharmacological *bāh*
work, *K. Albāb al-bāhiyya wa-l-tarākīb al-sulṭāniyya*, where he speaks of a "con-
tinuum" in the tradition and, fittingly enough, provides a diagram in which
the content of *kutub al-bāh* can be plotted along two axes, the medical/sci-
entific and *adab*.[49] While diagramming certainly matches the subject matter,
as we have seen, and it is indeed interesting to compare the proportions of
medical and literary content in the post-*Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* works, a more illu-
minating sort of diagram might actually be a kind of chronological *tashjīr*, a
family tree of *kutub al-bāh*, which would show one thing beyond all doubt:
kutub al-bāh before *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* are decidedly different from those after
it. Even those post-*Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* works that remain primarily medical,
such as al-Shayzarī's *al-Īḍāḥ fī asrār al-nikāḥ* (Clarification of the Secrets of
Sexual Intercourse), show a far greater concern for increasing pleasure than
pre-*Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* works like al-Kindī's or Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's, which seem
more theoretical and abstract in comparison.[50] It is tempting to attribute this
shift in concern to the direct influence of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, the longest and
most authoritative work on *bāh* in the tradition. Indeed, some later works
acknowledge this influence explicitly, such as al-Samawʾal ibn Yaḥyā's *Nuzhat
al-aṣḥāb fī muʿāsharat al-aḥbāb* (Pleasure Park for Friends on Companionship
with their Beloveds), which mentions *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* along with Ibn Ḥājib
al-Nuʿmān's lost *Ḥadīth Ibn al-Dukkānī* (*The Discourse of Ibn al-Dukkānī*, also
known as *K. al-Nisāʾ*, *The Book of Women*) as one of the two best works for
arousing sexual desire. Others do not, yet plainly borrow material from *Jawāmiʿ
al-ladhdha*, such as al-Shayzarī's *al-Īḍāḥ fī asrār al-nikāḥ*, which reproduces
verbatim the 13 types of women with regard to sexual desire quoted above.[51]

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49 Newman, *The Sultan's Sex Potions* 39.

50 Al-Shayzarī's *al-Īḍāḥ fī asrār al-nikāḥ* is available in two modern editions, the first by
    Muḥammad Saʿīd Ṭurayḥī in 1986 and the second by Aḥmad al-Farīd al-Mazīdī in 2002.

51 See al-Shayzarī, *al-Īḍāḥ fī asrār al-nikāḥ* (ed. Ṭurayḥī) 105–106.

The influence need not be only verbal either: the fact that al-Samawʿal's and al-Shayzarī's books both have a bi-partite structure, as *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* does (admittedly for sheer length rather than by design), is probably no coincidence.

Giving in to this temptation, therefore, looks fairly defensible: *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* appears to have been a watershed moment in the tradition of *ʿilm al-bāh*, infusing an *adab* element into the genre and shifting the focus from theory to practice in a way that all subsequent *kutub al-bāh* imitated to a greater or lesser degree. It does not necessarily follow from this, however, that *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* was the first of its kind or, in a related issue, an utterly unique innovation of its author. These issues deserve more attention. On the first account, we are restricted mostly to speculation. The *Fihrist* mentions numerous *kutub al-bāh* among the works of various physicians, as does Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa. Not all of these works survive, but the sample of extant medical *kutub al-bāh* is sufficient to judge, for instance, that the lost *K. Fī al-bāh* of Jibrāʾīl ibn Bukhtīshūʿ (d. 212/827) probably did not contain any *adab* elements. Intriguingly, however, the *Fihrist* also devotes a separate section to Persian, Indian, Greek, and Arabic *kutub al-bāh* in the "arousing style" (*ʿalā ṭarīq al-ḥadīth al-mushbiq*).[52] This section at first looks like a promising home for *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, since *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* is nothing if not *ʿalā ṭarīq al-ḥadīth al-mushbiq*, yet the 13 titles that follow, all lost save for later quotations (and these mostly in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*), do not suggest anything like the medical-literary hybrid of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*. On the contrary, they would seem to be of a purely literary variety and to focus more on anecdotes than poetry, at least if *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*'s quotations from such works as *K. bunyāndukht*, *K. bunyānnafs*, and Abū Ḥassān al-Namlī's *K. Barjān wa Ḥubāḥib* are any indication. Of the seven titles al-Nadīm attributes to Arabs, all seem to be decidedly unscientific. We see, for instance, titles like *K. al-Ḥurra wa-l-ama* (*The Free Woman and the Slave Woman*), *K. al-Saḥḥāqāt wa-l-baghghāʾīn* (*Lesbians and Passive Sodomites*), and *K. Laʿūb al-raʾīsa wa Ḥusayn al-lūṭī* (*The Woman in Power Named "Playful" and the Sodomite Ḥusayn*). More titles in a similar vein appear in the sections of the *Fihrist* for the Arab authors in question (Abū al-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymarī, Abū Ḥassān al-Namlī, Ibn Ḥajib al-Nuʿmān), where we note such additional works as *The Donkey-Renter's Speech to the Grocer's Daughter*, *Anecdotes About Pimps*, and *The Superiority of the Anus to the Mouth*.[53] A significant number of these titles take the two-name

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52 Al-Nadīm, *K. al-Fihrist* ii, 345.

53 I owe these excellent and hilarious translations to Everett Rowson's article in the *Encyclopedia of Erotic Literature*. See Rowson, Arabic: Middle Ages to Nineteenth Century, which includes the most thorough discussion of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* to date. He calls it a "mile-

form that is standard in the literature of *ʿushshāq* (*e.g., K. Jamīl wa Buthayna, K. Sabīl wa Qālūn*), which not coincidentally the *Fihrist* records in the same eighth *maqāla* as the *kutub al-bāh* "in the arousing style." This resemblance, in which the two lovers names are replaced with comic, bawdy stock characters (The woman in power named "Playful"), may suggest that the *Fihrist's kutub al-bāh ʿalā ṭarīq al-ḥadīth al-mushbiq* were essentially *mujūn* variations on love stories, humorous send-ups of the *Layla and Majnūn* genre. They definitely do not seem to have had any medical content or scientific pretenses, at least insofar as we can speculate.

If *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* was indeed the first work to synthesize the medical and *adab* strains of *bāh*, then we might ask what it was that induced its author to make such an innovation. Was it an act of unique originality, a credit to the genius of ʿAlī ibn Naṣr al-Kātib, or a kind of cultural inevitability? With all due respect to Ibn Naṣr, I would propose that it was something closer to the latter option. Just as the spread of *tashjīr* diagramming out of a strictly medical context seems obvious and inevitable in retrospect, so the incorporation of other ways of speaking about sex into a previously theoretical, scientific literature seems a natural progression, especially if we take into account the evolution of the culture and interests of the individuals producing that scientific sexology, the physicians themselves. To be sure, the personalities and peccadillos of elite medieval physicians are a fascinating subject, just as they were in the Middle Ages, as demonstrated by the salacious aspects Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's *Uyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ* (*The Sources of Information about the Classes of Physicians*), yet this topic far exceeds the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, some insight into what might be termed "the culture of *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*"—the intersection of medicine, *adab*, love theory, and *tashjīr* diagramming—can be gained by following a particularly famous line of teachers and students, beginning with al-Kindī, the "philosopher of the Arabs" and author of a *K. al-Bāh*, and ending with Ibn Farīghūn, the mysterious author of *Jawami' al-ʿulūm*, which attempts to categorize the entirety of human knowledge with *tashjīr* diagrams. Amusingly enough, this lineage can be depicted with a *tashjīr* diagram:

stone" in the development of Arabic erotic literature and "in many ways the most interesting and impressive work of all," before giving a detailed, chapter-by-chapter summary of its contents.

al-Kindī (d. ca. 252/866)

al-Sarakhsī (d. 286/899)   al-Balkhī (d. 322/934)

al-Rāzī (d. 313/925 or 323/935)   Ibn Farīghūn (fl. mid 4th/10th)
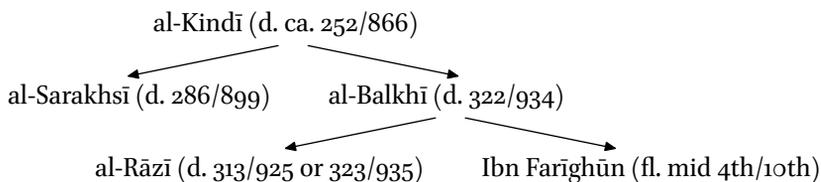
Proceeding quickly down the *ṭabaqāt* of this academic family tree, we may observe that the grandfather, al-Kindī, counted *bāh* among his myriad interests and produced a treatise on the subject, which is of the purest scientific variety.[54] His two pupils, meanwhile, Abū Zayd al-Balkhī and Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn al-Tayyib al-Sarakhsī, took after their teacher in some respects but not in others. Al-Sarakhsī was as polymathic as al-Kindī, for instance, producing works on topics as varied as medicine, mathematics, music, history, geography, philosophy, and religion. Yet, as Franz Rosenthal comments, he "also went his own way in the fields of *adab*, the history of art and artist etc., a field which lay outside strictly scholarly pursuits and was little cultivated by al-Kindī."[55] Among al-Sarakhsī's works we find one "On Love," which is presumably philosophical/medical, and one titled *K. al-Lahw wa-l-malāhī wa-nuzhat al-mufakkir al-sāhi fī l-ghinā wa-l-mughannīn wa-l-munādama wa-l-mujālasa wa-anwāʿ al-akhbār wa-l-mulaḥ* (Amusement and Entertainment, Refreshment of the Thoughtful, the Preoccupied, concerning Singing, Singers, Boon-companions, Fellowship, and Diverse Stories and Anecdotes), which is clearly a work of *adab*.[56] As it happens, al-Sarakhsī is quoted at length in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, where he presides over a debate between a lover of boys and a lover of girls—and sides hesitantly and somewhat ambiguously with the lover of boys. Rosenthal believes this quotation is more likely from oral transmission than from any of his published works, but in either case it seems clear that al-Sarakhsī's interests overlapped more than a little with those of Ibn Naṣr.[57]

Al-Sarakhsī's fellow pupil under al-Kindī, Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, had similarly diverse interests. Among his works we find a *K. Aqsām al-ʿulūm* (The Divisions of the Sciences), which is lost and presumably featured *tashjīr* diagramming, and, still extant, a medical work entitled *Maṣāliḥ al-abdān wa-l-anfus* (Sustenance for Body and Soul), which does indeed include *tashjīr*, even in its modern edition.[58] He devotes a generous section of this work to the subject of *bāh*, in

54   See Celentano, *Due Scritti*.

55   Rosenthal, *Aḥmad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib as-Saraḥsî* 17.

56   Ibid., 55, 82. Rosenthal lists other lost *adab* works as well.

57   See Rosenthal, Male and Female 25–31.

58   See al-Balkhī, *Maṣāliḥ al-abdān wa al-anfus* 213–236, 283–291. For al-Balkhī's lost *Kitāb Aqsām al-ʿulūm*, see Biesterfeldt, Ibn Farīghūn.

which he criticizes philosophers and physicians for going overboard in their
warnings against sex.[59] In keeping with the format of the work, which aims to
give equal attention to the *badan* and the *nafs*, al-Balkhī prescribes the follow-
ing psychological remedy (*ʿilāj nafsānī*) for sexual dysfunction:

> The psychological remedy is as follows: (1) to spend more time check-
> ing out (*iʿtirāḍ*) attractive women because that is one of the things that
> stir sexual desire. Indeed, there is nothing more provocative of desire,
> more potently stirring, than the eye's gaze. Additionally, it is (2) to read
> sex books (*kutub al-bāh*), which discuss the attributes of women, their
> physical appearances and stories about them, as well as sexual positions
> (*ashkāl al-nikāḥ*) and what passes between men and women in private
> situations in terms of erotic talk and repartee mentioning sex. For what a
> man hears and sees in those books is a provocation towards sex, a stim-
> ulus of desire for it, even to the degree that it may excite him mentally
> more than looking at the appearance of attractive women he happens
> to encounter. Lastly, (3) the remedy is to change partners continually, for
> each new pairing has a new pleasure. Change is one of the most help-
> ful things for arousing a man's sexual faculty, given his nature of growing
> tired of those pleasures.[60]

One wonders which *kutub al-bāh* Abū Zayd has in mind here that cover not only
stories (*akhbār*) about women and their physical descriptions (*khilaq*) but also
sexual positions (*ashkāl al-nikāḥ*). Medical *bāh* books of the earlier type def-
initely fall short in those areas. While the medical tradition broadly does pay
some attention to *khilaq* in a sexual context, as attested by the physiognomic
components of Soranus of Ephesus' *Gynecology* and, within *Jawāmiʿ al-ladh-
dha*, the detailed vaginal physiognomy excerpted from Araṭayās al-Rūmī, its
anemic treatment of sexual positions hardly qualifies as a "stimulus of desire."[61]
By way of example, the medical *bāh* book of Abū Zayd's own student, Abū
Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, includes a one-page chapter *"Fī al-
ashkāl al-latī tustaḥabbu wa al-latī tukrahu wa afʿāliha"* (On Which Positions are

59   Al-Balkhī, *Maṣāliḥ al-abdān wa al-anfus* 447–456.

60   Ibid., 453.

61   For Soranus' views, see Temkin, *Soranus' Gynecology* 32–34, on the physiognomic charac-
        teristics of a fertile woman, and 90–94 on the physiognomy of a good wet nurse. Araṭayās
        al-Rūmī is the most quoted "Greek" source in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, at least in volume
        (Galen edges him out in for the total number of references). His physiognomic comments
        come, not surprisingly, in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*'s chapter "On Physiognomy," available only
        in manuscript.

Recommended, Which are Frowned upon, and Their Practice).[62] Alas, al-Rāzī's short chapter consists of nothing more than a warning against the woman's being on top, which would supposedly hinder insemination, and praise for the so-called missionary position, which al-Rāzī claims is "the most noble" and, somewhat less believably, "the most pleasurable." This is quite far indeed from the *Kamasutra*—or *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*. If Abū Zayd is not referring to medical texts here, though, does he perhaps have in mind al-Nadīm's category of *bāh* books in "the arousing style?" That possibility seems more likely, although it is also tempting to imagine that Abū Zayd, sitting in his hometown of Balkh, which is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, may have had access to Indian *Kāmashāstra* in some form. In any case, what is not a matter of speculation is the fact that Abū Zayd, a physician, takes these *kutub al-bāh* rather seriously. For him they are a "cure" for legitimate medical problems, a therapeutic prescription like any drug or food regimen, which certainly brings us closer to Ibn Naṣr's unconflicted *gravitas*.[63]

The next link in the academic family tree, Abū Zayd's enigmatic student Ibn Farīghūn, takes his teacher's approach to *bāh* one step further in his *tashjīr* work *par excellence*, *Jawamiʿ al-ʿulūm* (*Compendium of the Sciences*). Although it is often difficult to ascertain Ibn Farīghūn's precise meaning, either for the faulty text edition or the inherent strangeness of the work, one can easily make out his general position with regard to *bāh*.[64] People fall into two groups on the subject, he states: those who think one should restrict one's sexual activity, *qawm al-taqṣīr* as he calls them, and those who think one should have a lot of sex, the proponents of *ifrāṭ*. "Our judgment is against those who restrict," he says flatly, explaining that the suppression of natural urges not only impedes reproduction but also has dire medical consequences, for "the need to excrete [semen] is like the need to eat, and holding it in is like holding in menstrual fluid and afterbirth, with the result that it will be forced out in wet dreams and will give rise to diseases and harmful side effects."[65] This is not to say that Ibn Farīghūn sides completely with the advocates of excess, because he also councils a "balanced amount" (*qadr muʿtadil*). Yet that amount varies according to a person's natural inclination, both physical (*mayl jismānī*) and mental (*mayl nafsānī*), a

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62   Al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Bāh* 368.

63   For an interesting discussion of the medicinal effects of pornographic material in the context of later *kutub al-bāh*, see Franke, Before Scientia Sexualis.

64   Ibn Farīʿūn, *Kitāb Jawāmiʿ al-ʿulūm* 215–217.

65   Ibid., 216. I read *ightidhāʾ* for *iʿtidhār*, *nifās* for *nafas*, *amrāḍ* for *iʿrāḍ*, and *ḍarra* for *dhariyya*. *Nafas* could also not be emended here and refers instead to respiration, as holding one's breath definitely has dangerous medical consequences, yet the proximity of the word *ṭamth* would seem to make the meaning of "afterbirth" more likely.

distinction he perhaps owes to his teacher, al-Balkhī, who makes it the rationale for his entire, surviving work, *Maṣāliḥ al-abdān wa-l-anfus*. When it comes to those with a strong inclination, however, Ibn Farīghūn exceeds even his teacher in the explicitness of his prescriptions. "A mental inclination forces one to pay attention to attractive women, to flirt with them," he says. "Slave girls (*jawārī*) are the medicinal remedy, just as foodstuffs are a remedy."[66]

While Ibn Farīghūn and al-Balkhī conform to the medical tradition in the general, theoretical sense—asserting that sex can be beneficial, especially for some types of people, and that there is a powerful psychological component triggered especially by images—their apparent comfort with *ifrāṭ* and the unabashed explicitness of their prescriptions, making erotic books and even *jawārī* into *de facto* medicines, depart from the earlier conventions of al-Kindī and Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, as well as Galen, Rufus, and Soranus before them.[67] Other details are similarly innovative, such as Ibn Farīghūn's reference to the retention of menses and afterbirth, a concern not totally alien to Greek humoral medicine but, interestingly, much more at home in the Indian *ayurvedic* tradition.[68] Tracking these new features, we can see the science of *bāh* evolving rapidly. Two generations removed from the root of our academic family tree, that of al-Kindī, *ʿilm al-bāh* appears to be heading in a more explicit direction, embracing dirty books and assignations with *jawārī*, and possibly also *ayurvedic* teachings, which of course overlap substantially with *Kāmashāstra*. But what of the final branch of the tree, Ibn Farīghūn's more famous peer, al-Rāzī? Unlike Ibn Farīghūn or their polymathic teacher, al-Rāzī is far from being "a man of one book." His extant writings fill volumes, including numerous treatments of *bāh*, both as parts of larger works, such as his influential *K. al-Manṣūrī*, and as monographs, such as the treatise quoted earlier, *K. al-Bāh, manāfiʿuhu wa-maḍārruhu wa-mudāwātuh*, and his fascinating analysis of passive homo-

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66   Ibid., 217.

67   Galen advises a patient attempting to restrict his sexual activity "contrary to previous habits" to refrain from erotic ideas, spectacles, and fantasy (ἔννοιαι, θεάματα, φαντασία τῶν ἀφροδίων). See Siegel, *Galen on the Affected Parts* 196–197. Soranus gives similar advice for women suffering from gonorrhea (in the ancient terminology, which also included spermatorrhea and masturbation), who should "avoid all other sexual stimulants," such as "paintings of shapely forms … erotic stories." See Temkin, *Soranus' Gynecology* 169–170. Aëtius of Amida excerpts this passage of Soranus in his *Tetrabiblion*, guaranteeing its fame in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. See Ricci, *The Gynaecology and Obstetrics* 76–77.

68   Ayurveda shows a marked anxiety about the suppression of natural urges, such as urination, ejaculation or even sneezing, and has a very frank attitude towards menstrual blood in particular. For the general picture, see the excerpts from the *Caraka-saṃhitā* in Wujastyk, *The Roots of Ayurveda* 1–50. For menstrual blood in particular, see Sharma, *Caraka Saṃhitā* ii, 504–505.

sexuality, *Risāla fī l-ubna*.[69] Nor does he always approach the subject from a medical angle. His more philosophical work, *K. al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī*, features numerous references to sexuality, all disapproving and frequently in conflict with his medical opinions.[70] With such a volume of material, al-Rāzī should be the key witness in the development of *ʿilm al-bāh*. Indeed he is, although more as a reactionary than a vanguard.

Al-Rāzī is a man of fascinating contradictions. His voluminous oeuvre and generous biographical details in the *Fihrist*, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, and Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-aʿyān wa-anbāʾ abnāʾ al-zamān* paint an unusually rich picture of a practicing medieval physician. Among these contradictions is his attitude towards key elements of the *bāh* genre as it was developing in his time, even within his own intellectual circle, to judge from the surviving work of his teacher and fellow student. As Pormann has shown, al-Rāzī struggles to reconcile his somewhat ascetic, sex-negative views in *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī* with his begrudgingly positive medical views, a corner into which he is backed by the weight of his ancient sources. When it comes to *ʿilm al-bāh* of the latest vogue, however, which prescribe *jawārī* as medication, detail *kāmashastric ashkāl al-nikāh* and mix in generous helpings of *mūjun* verse, the contradictions grow even deeper and more complicated for the great physician. Consider, for instance, the rather dour figure he cuts in an episode from his *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī*, in which he recounts being present when another man, a philosopher also skilled in "grammar, language, and poetry," a *ẓarīf* perhaps, dares to challenge al-Rāzī's master publicly. "The fellow argued with him and bandied quotations against him," al-Rāzī says, "jeering and sneering all the while he spoke, going to great lengths of exaggerated encomium in praise of those who practiced his particular art, while he vilified all other men."[71] As the disputation progresses, the master deputizes his star student, al-Rāzī of course, to dispatch the arrogant fool on his behalf:

> Turning to me, he prompted me, "ask this lad here some questions relating to the elements of the 'necessary' sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-iḍṭirāriyya*). He is one of those who think that they who are skilled in language (*man mahara fī al-lugha*) can answer any inquiry that is put to them." I said,

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69   For a translation and discussion of this treatise, see Rosenthal, Ar-Rāzī on the Hidden Illness.

70   See Pormann, al-Rāzī (d. 925) On the Benefits of Sex.

71   I am pleased to quote the superb and humorous translation of A.J. Arberry. See Arberry, *The Spiritual Physick* 45–46. The Arabic can be found in the edition in Kraus, *Rasāʾil falsafiyya* 43, l. 9 ff.

"Tell me about the sciences—are they necessary or conventional?" I did not complete the division (*taqsīm*) on purpose; but he at once blurted out, "all the sciences are conventional (*isṭilāḥiyya*)."

Of course, the competition ends with al-Rāzī's victory and the complete humiliation of the *ẓarīf*:

He stammered out something he had heard from his professors, trying to prove that this was a necessary matter; while I proceeded to show him how he had contradicted himself and how his argument fell to pieces, which reduced him to a state of shame and great confusion and dismay. Then the shaykh began to laugh at him, saying "my son, try the taste of a science that really is a science."

Needless to say, al-Rāzī does not think very highly of those who are "skilled in language." Yet the biographers tell us that was not always the case.

According to Ibn Khallikān, "in his youth, he played the lute and cultivated vocal music, but, on reaching the age of manhood, he renounced these occupations, saying that music proceeding from between mustachoes and a beard had no charms to recommend it (*lā yustaẓrafu*)."[72] Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's *Uyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ* seconds this report about al-Rāzī's early interests, noting that he "devoted himself to literature, and also composed poetry."[73] He even records three *qaṣāʾid* amongst al-Rāzī's numerous works and quotes two lines of his poetry, suggesting perhaps that al-Rāzī's literary aspirations continued even after his conversion to science and philosophy.[74] Even if these lost poems are spurious, however, al-Rāzī could not have been totally cut off from the world of the *udabāʾ*, as indicated by two other titles attributed to him by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa: *Fī al-radd ʿalā al-Jāḥiẓ fī naqḍ ṣināʿat al-ṭibb* (*On Refuting al-Jāḥiẓ's Invalidation of the Art of Medicine*) and *Fī tanāquḍ qawl al-Jāḥiẓ fī kitābihi fī faḍīlat al-kalām wa-ma ghalaẓa fīhi ʿalā al-falāsifa* (*On al-Jāḥiẓ's Contradictions in his Book "On the Merit of kalām" and his Harsh Treatment of the Philosophers Therein*), both highly believable titles for the famously self-assured author of *Doubts about Galen*.[75] It would almost seem that al-Rāzī has a particular bone

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72   Slane, *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary* iii, 312. For the Arabic edition, see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* v, 158.

73   Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* iii, 12.

74   For a sample of al-Rāzī's poetry, see ibid., 29; for the three *qaṣāʾid*, ibid., 34.

75   Ibid., 33. These titles also appear in the 1882 edition of August Müller, widely available online and also as a reprint. See Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (ed. Müller), *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* i, 316.

to pick with *udabāʾ* and their fake science, whether on the page or in person. Was he perhaps personally disgruntled, a failed poet still smarting from criticisms of his teenage singing? As amusing as such speculations are, it is safer to assume that he is simply being territorial, defending his hard science from the pretensions of softer, less practical types. If this is the case, it would make sense that *kutub al-bāh*, with their distinctive mix of medicine, philosophical love theory, and *adab* would especially provoke his ire. And that is exactly what we find in our final quotation from *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī*.

Shortly before the disputation episode above, al-Rāzī takes aim at the "frivolous people" (*qawm ruʿn*) "noted for *ẓarf* and *adab*" (*al-mawsūmūn bi l-ẓarf wa-l-adab*), who "stubbornly oppose and fight" (*yuʿānidūna wa yunāṣibūna*) with the philosophers on the subject of love.[76] Clearly, this is a subject al-Rāzī would like to wrest back into purely scientific territory in this chapter of *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī*, "*Fī al-ʿishq wa-l-alf wa-jumlat al-kalām fī l-ladhdha*" (On Carnal Love and Familiarity, with a Summary Account of Pleasure), just as he would also do with the subject of sex, treated in a later chapter "*Fī l-jimāʿ*", and, as though in direct combat with Ibn Naṣr, pleasure, a focus not only of this chapter but also a separate monograph, "On Pleasure," attributed to al-Rāzī by al-Nadīm and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa after him.[77] As though this territorial reconquest were not enough, al-Rāzī even includes in his *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī* a chapter "*Fī l-bukhl*" (On Miserliness) and quotes poetry in his chapter "*Fī dafʿ al-ghamm*" (On Repelling Grief), apparently trying to grab even more of the traditional domain of *adab*. Al-Rāzī pulls no punches in his attack, especially in his characterization of the *ẓarīf* conception of love, which would no doubt hit close to home for Ibn Naṣr and his *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*:

> They say that love is a habit only of refined natures and subtle brains (*al-ṭabāʾiʿ al-raqīqa wa-l-adhhān al-laṭīfa*), and that it encourages cleanliness, elegance, spruceness and a handsome turn-out. They accompany such statements by quoting eloquent lyrics to the same effect, and fortify their argument with references to men of letters, poets, chiefs and leaders who indulged in love, even going so far as to include prophets. To this we answer that refinement of nature and mental subtlety and clarity are recognized and proven by the capacity of those so endowed to comprehend obscure, remote matters and fine, subtle sciences, to express clearly difficult and complicated ideas, and to invent useful and profitable arts.

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76   Kraus, *Rasāʾil falsafiyya* 42.

77   Al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist* ii, 308.

> Now these things we find only in the philosophers; whereas we observe
> that love-making is not their habit, but the frequent and constant use of
> Bedouins, Kurds, Nabateans and such-like clodhoppers. We also discover
> it to be a general and universal fact that there is no nation on earth of
> finer intellect and more evident wisdom than the Greeks, who on the
> whole are less preoccupied by love than any other people … This being
> so, it is entirely possible that men of the kind described who have been
> great lovers were in reality quite deficient in intelligence and wisdom. But
> those who argue against us are so ignorant and silly that they suppose
> knowledge and wisdom to consist solely of grammar, poetry, correctness
> of speech and eloquence; they are quite unaware that philosophers do not
> count a single one of these subjects as wisdom, or those skilled in them
> as wise.[78]

While some of al-Rāzī's claims strain credulity, such as his generalization about
the Greeks being less preoccupied with love, he does clearly know his target
quite well, picking out many of the features we recognize from *Jawāmiʿ al-
ladhdha*: an emphasis on *ẓarf*, frequent reference to famous, historical lovers
and, above all, abundant quotations from "eloquent lyrics" to support every
argument, even sometimes scientific ones. To be fair, al-Rāzī seems to have the
genre of love theory mostly in mind here, works like Ibn Dāʾūd al-Iṣfahānī's *K.
al-Zahra*, al-Washshā's *K. al-Muwashshā*, and, even within al-Rāzī's own circle,
al-Sarakhsī's lost *K. al-ʿIshq*.[79] Yet his jabs apply equally well to Ibn Naṣr's
Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha and the rapidly evolving *ʿilm al-bāh*, which was busy syn-
thesizing medicine, love theory, and *Kāmashāstra* even as al-Rāzī fulminated
about pseudo-science and "clodhoppers" (Arberry's wonderful translation of
aʿlāj). Al-Rāzī may not approve of the new medical approach to *bāh*, exempli-
fied by his teacher and fellow pupil, or the degenerate literary interests of his
teacher's former colleague, al-Sarakhsī, but ironically his arrogant, full-throated
criticisms serve as an even better bellwether of the changing currents of his
time. His exception proves the rule.

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78   Arberry, *The Spiritual Physick* 44–45 = Kraus, *Rasāʾil falsafiyya* 42–43.

79   See Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love* 5–8.

4 Conclusions and Prospects

This brief trip down the *ṭabaqāt* of an academic family tree, a *tashjīr* of scholars, hints at some of the factors behind the development of *kutub al-bāh* as a genre. As medical approaches to *bāh* were becoming more explicit and supportive of sexual activity (and possibly also drawing on *ayurvedic* and *kāmashastric* material), literary discussions of love were simultaneously becoming more scientific and philosophical, attracting the attention of great minds like al-Sarakhsī and, in negative relief, al-Rāzī. The stage was set, and with all due respect to the ingenuity of Ibn Naṣr, the eventual production of a hybrid work like *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* seems inevitable in retrospect. Nevertheless, given the preliminary stage of research on *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*—the lack even of a full text edition—many other important factors certainly remain unseen and unimagined. I would conclude by briefly mentioning two that call out for a closer look.

The first is the degree to which *kutub al-bāh* may reflect the culture specifically of elite physicians, who presumably did a lot more than treat patients. The salacious details of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ* hint at some of their out-of-the-office exploits. Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh, for instance, the teacher of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq and occasional dining companion of al-Jāḥiẓ, was known to host "perhaps the most famous and well-attended *mujālasa* of the Abbasid era," where he would joke with guests and display his *ẓarf* and *daʿāba*.[80] He was also an inveterate womanizer, according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, unapologetically taking multiple mistresses despite his Christian religion.[81] While Ibn Māsawayh may have been particularly dissolute, there is no doubt that other physicians of similar standing, attending caliphs and the political elite, also had a seat at the party, even if they were not throwing it themselves. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa also relates, for instance, the story that al-Manṣūr, hearing that his loyal physician Jūrjīs ibn Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshūʿ had been forced to leave his ailing wife back in Jundaysābūr, offered him three Greek women as a gift—on Christmas Day no less.[82] Jūrjīs politely declined. Other physicians probably did not. In a similar vein, we read that Jūrjīs' grandson, Jibrīl, earned his entrée into the court by treating a favorite girl of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who presented with paralysis-like symptoms that are revealed, after Jibrīl's curing

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80   Ali, *Arabic Literary Salons* 19.
81   Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* ii, 109–126.
82   Ibid., ii, 10. This story occurred on Christmas Day, 151/768, and Jūrjīs' response apparently pleased the caliph, who subsequently allowed him to serve as physician to his wives as well.

her, to have been caused by sexual intercourse.[83] Many similar stories can be found in *Uyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*. Suffice it to say that for every dour al-Rāzī, denigrating the sexually indulgent "clodhoppers," there was probably one, or several, physicians who gave into the temptations of wine, women, and song and thus looked more kindly on the new style of *kutub al-bāh*.

Another tantalizing factor is the influence of Indian *Kāmashāstra*, either directly through translation or through the Middle Persian mediation of lost works like the *Book of Bunyāndukht* and the *Book of Bunyāfas*. Not only does *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* contain passages that display a close correspondence with our current version of the *Kamasutra*, but it also includes many unattributed excerpts whose lists, numbers, and typologies have an unmistakably *kāmashastric* flavor. Some of the ostensibly medical material in *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*, furthermore, including that attributed to Araṭayās al-Rūmī, shows strong *ayurvedic* affinities. The full extent of such Indian influence, and the precise mechanisms and channels by which it occurred, remain an open and fascinating question. The answers are not likely to be simple, as even a cursory glance at modern editions of the *Kamasutra* shows it to be a multilayered composite of previous commentary traditions, some of which may have been more prominent at earlier stages of transmission and exerted greater influence westwards than is easily ascertainable now. Indeed, the answers may not even be wholly textual. The striking similarity between Ibn Naṣr's model *ẓarīf* and the *Kamasutra*'s "man about town" (*nagaraka*), the elegant, sexually expert addressee frequently invoked in the text, may just be a socio-historical coincidence. Or it may not be. For a text so explicit and shameless, *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* certainly does hold back its share of secrets.

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83   Ibid., ii, 15–16.
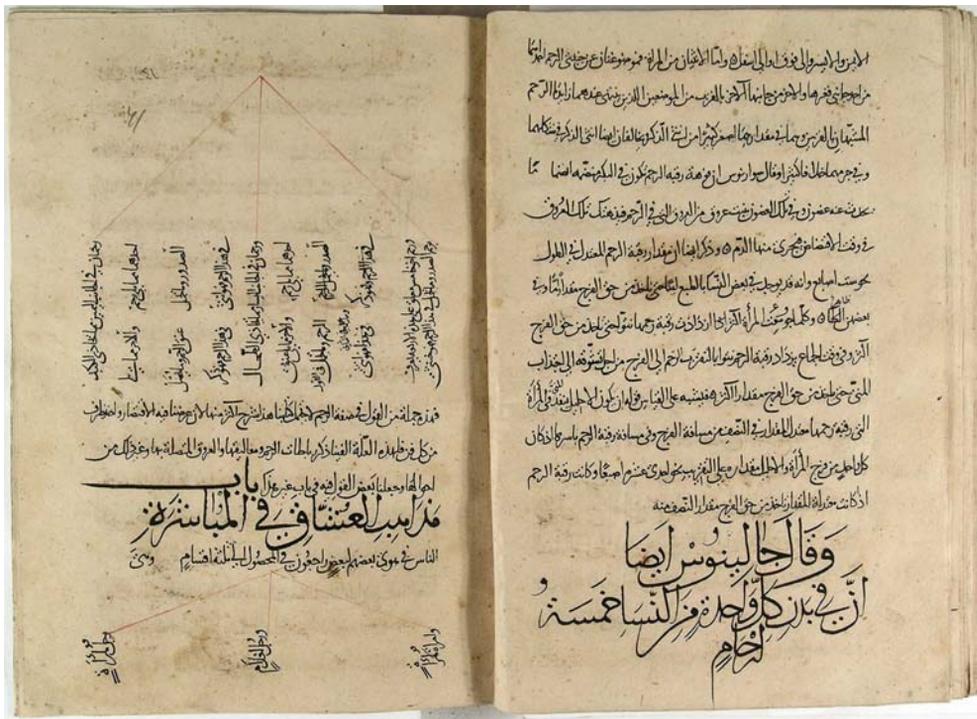
FIGURE 5.1   MS Ayasofya 3836 (Shaʿbān 533/1139), ff. 40v–41r

FIGURE 5.2   MS Ayasofya 3836 (Shaʿbān 533/1139), ff. 41v–42r

FIGURE 5.3 MS Ayasofya 3836 (Shaʿbān 533/1139), ff. 104v–105r

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Reflections on Song, Manuscript #144 and the Social Life of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*: A Study in Social Codicology

Carl Davila

1   What Is an Anthology?

A central theme of this volume is to raise the question: *What is an anthology in the context of pre-modern Arabic literature?* In addressing this, we would do well to consider that every document has a purpose, a function. Hitherto, the approach to defining genres has been to take for granted that the function of a given document is rather easily summed up as either literary (that is, essentially, entertainment), informative, or sometimes both. We tend to evaluate and understand the contents of the document in light of these categories, which then shape what we expect to learn from it. If we assume that what we are looking at is "merely" a work of literature, we will naturally confine ourselves to what we determine the document is *saying* to us, and not attend well to what it might be *showing* us.

A great deal has been learned by studying literary works in this way. This has been the bread-and-butter of traditional literary and historical studies: to plumb the depths of what the text says to us about the language, ideas, and worldviews of people writing in particular contexts. Philology, literary criticism, paleography, and codicology have all done great service in this by helping to uncover the provenance of the documents we depend upon as the foundations of knowledge in the fields of pre-modern Arabic literature and history.

And yet a written work—an anthology—may do so much more than carry information or entertain. As Olly Akkerman observes in a forthcoming issue of *Philological Encounters*:

> ... reading [manuscripts] as objects and texts is important, but it is not the only way to practice philology.[1]

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1   Akkerman, The Bohra Manuscript Treasury 3.

It is one thing to grasp what the content of an anthology tells us about a given subject and how that was understood at the time. It is quite another to interrogate the idea of what a particular anthology *does*, how it functions in the various social-cultural milieux through which it may circulate in the course of its lifetime. Doing so can illuminate otherwise obscured aspects of the text, bringing new depth to our appreciation of the work itself. How an anthology functions may be relevant to the broader question of what an anthology is.

What exactly was the social context in which a given work functioned? It should be evident that intellectual expression and exchange, as such, cannot be divorced from the social and cultural positions of the body of knowledge the document in question represents. Thus a fundamental insight: In many cases, the form of the document itself, when studied in context, can reveal much about the cultural frame within which it was produced. When one carefully juxtaposes the details of how a given work is put together across different iterations with knowledge of the social environment in which the document circulated, it can be possible to recover, not just their immediate uses, but also the ways in which the document may have operated as a signifier, a bearer or embodiment of meaning or value beyond its linguistic content.

The notion of an anthology seems particularly well suited to this kind of inquiry since any understanding of the term must involve collecting, and people are not generally inclined to collect things randomly. The idea of an anthology embraces not only literary and social meanings, but also practices. Other literary forms may also encode similar social meanings, but an anthology seems particularly apt in this regard: To the extent that an anthology is a work of reference, it would seem to be deliberately situated within a regime of use-value. A work of poetry, for example, is intended and used very differently from an anthology of poetry. In this difference lies the crux of the matter.

This paper suggests that we view songbooks as a particular genre of anthology, one whose social functions shape its form and content, placing it alongside but distinct from a poetic *dīwān*. The particular social context within which a songbook is created and operates may even lend it further potential social meanings beyond the "merely literary." The example put forward here, *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*, has come both to *present* the textual repertoire of the Moroccan Andalusian music, referred to colloquially as *al-āla*, and in some sense to *represent* it within the social frame of the performed tradition. This particular social position may be instructive when thinking about what an anthology is and what it does.[2]

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2   The argument that follows owes much to the basic definition of a songbook in the pre-modern

2   Toward a Functional Definition: Form and Content, Function and History

When studying manuscripts, form and content follow function. This much at least should be clear to anyone employing traditional modes of codicology and textual criticism. A small but robust literature has cropped up in various fields of pre-modern literary studies addressing how best to understand the content and history of a given work by first establishing its linguistic and literary characteristics, and then tracing those across generations of manuscript copies. The techniques and approaches pioneered in classical studies have been adapted and built upon to provide tools for the study of pre-modern Arabic literature.[3]

Combining knowledge of the form and content of a work may illuminate its functions and its history within the community that produced it, and perhaps even the history of the community itself. Conversely, a view into the historical and social contexts of a document can help us grasp the significance of particularities in form and content, as well. These four facets of a work—form and content, function and history—serve as a matrix from which we may begin to refine the concept of "anthology." A distinctive feature of this matrix is that it introduces function, mainly social, as a dimensional component, suggesting that the specific characteristics of a given anthology may provide a framework for understanding the work that this anthology does within its cultural space.

Figure 6.1 graphically represents the idea of an anthology as a domain lying at the intersection of these four dimensions, which are key to a complete understanding of an anthology. For any given work, form and content will be the most readily discernible facets in the document itself as it has survived to the present. Scholars have long recognized the importance of recovering what they can of both the historical context within which a work was created and the immediate history behind the document they are working with. Understanding a work's function, specifically its use-value within its social setting, has not always been of such concern. If the history is difficult to unpack, grasping how a work was used can seem especially daunting when we would like to believe that the functions of a written work are self-evident: Histories and biographies are used as sources of information valued for itself; *adab* works existed to entertain and educate readers in the arts of refinement; *maqāmāt* made for great reading.

Arabic context put forward by Dwight Reynolds in his study of the so-called "Swaying Virgins" manuscript. Reynolds, Lost Virgins Found 73–74.

3   One thinks of standard works by Rosenthal (*The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship*) and Bergsträßer (*Uṣūl naqd al-nusūs*) as laying the foundations for modern text-critical studies of Arabic.

And yet, Beatrice Gruendler has shown us that poetry in the Classical Period of Islam held more than merely "literary" value.[4] Its composition was a means to an end for many of the great poets, a function of the intersection between the value placed on poetry as the highest refinement of Arab culture and a social-economic system of patronage that governed the lives of fine poets.

The larger point to be grasped is that the notion of an anthology is not entirely contained within a literary definition based upon content or form. An anthology also involves social dimensions that may be evinced in its form and content, but which also emerge from the historical and social uses of the document. To speak of an anthology as such is to speak, not merely of a document that *is* something, but one that *does* something as well.

A good place to begin might be with a definition of "anthology" in the context of pre-modern Arabic literature. Bilal Orfali's survey and mapping of Umayyad and Abbasid poetry anthologies places the author's expressive intention at the heart of the concept of "anthology" by defining it in the context of pre-modern Arabic literature as "an *adab* work that focuses on literary building blocks that the compiler has put together *for a specific purpose* [emphasis added], following particular criteria of selection."[5] Orfali thus foregrounds the author's intention while emphasizing that an anthology sustains a certain function and purpose within a socio-literary frame. In the course of the survey, he identifies at least two general authorial intentions: to select the "best" examples of the poetry type—genre, theme, song, etc.—featured in the work, and to be more or less comprehensive. This formulation, of course, implies that the work was "meant" to "present" this material in an organized way and that there was an audience seeking to use the work for pleasure or other "literary" purposes.[6]

This essay uses the case of a late-eighteenth century songbook from Morocco—*Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*, and in particular the example of manuscript #144 at the Khizāna Dāwūdiyya in Tetouan, hereafter D144—as a way of exploring some aspects of what is referred to henceforth as *social codicology*, the study of manuscripts in terms of their social lives, meanings, and uses. The *Kunnāsh*, as a songbook, belongs to a genre of literary anthologies that stands quite self-consciously between a body of expressly literary materials (song texts) and the uses of those materials (song performances) in ways that one does not usually regard as literary.

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4   Gruendler, *Medieval Arabic Praise Poetry*.

5   Orfali, A Sketch Map 37.

6   What we might call, punning on a Volkswagen advertising slogan from bygone days, *Lesevergnügen*.

Figure 6.2 might be one way to illustrate the "space" that the *Kunnāsh* "inhabits" as a songbook. The *performative* and *mnemonic* dimensions represented here refer to the poetic-musical tradition, whose texts the *Kunnāsh* preserves, and the complex, quasi-oral ethos of teaching and memorization that the tradition has relied upon throughout its history. *Literary* and *symbolic* in the diagram embrace not only the "pure" experience of reading, but also the display of this reading function or ability and the erudition it implies (*Lesevergnügen*), and the capacity of a physical object like a book to facilitate and even embody this activity in a symbolic way. The social life of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* functions in all four of these dimensions. Each of them engages with a functional or behavioral aspect of communication, reminiscent of Roy Harris' discussion of writing as *integrational*, representing the enmeshing of verbal and non-verbal communicative activities.[7] Lying behind, and in some sense parallel with, these functions is the *longue durée* valuation of orality within the larger ethos of production in both Arabic literature and music.

The form, content, history, and function of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*, laid out in what follows, present complications for our working definition of anthology. The *Kunnāsh* can indeed be described as an *adab* work, and it is composed of building blocks selected according to particular criteria. Yet, while the building blocks, the song texts respectively, appear literary, their presence in the anthology in fact signals connections to other uses, or functional definitions, as well. Similarly, the history of the *Kunnāsh* also stretches both the purpose of the compiler and the concept of the compiler itself. To be clear: This example does not necessarily challenge Orfali's definition so much as give us pause in our certainty as to who and what the fundamental elements of an anthology might be.

In the case of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* and manuscript D144 under consideration here, social function, and to some extent history, have been influenced by two other considerations that must figure in the analysis: the interplay of oral and literary processes that I have termed *mixed orality*, and related to that, the problematic role of the author.

3   Mixed Orality as Social Process

It is unnecessary to recapitulate the entire history of Arabic letters to underscore the complex relationship between orality and literacy encompassed by

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7   Harris, *Rethinking Writing* 211.

the term *mixed orality*, as it applies to pre-modern Arabic literature. Not only were both the pre-Islamic poetic tradition and the Quran shaped by oral processes of performance and preservation, both in their time of origin and after, but indeed the production of knowledge itself was for some two centuries after the Prophet's time deeply imbued with oral processes. And in some respects, at least, pre-modern Arabic literary production retained vestiges of this valuation of orality for a very long time.

An approach to the literate that highlights the oral does have roots, of course, in Arabic studies. Insights from traditional modes of literary analysis point in this direction, summed up well for us by Gregor Schoeler, who has taught us much about the processes by which books emerged in Arab-Islamic culture of the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries. Schoeler shows us that *taṣnīf*— the creation of bona fide books, based increasingly upon existing written documents rather than face-to-face teaching, organized topically for ease of use, internally self-referential, and most importantly intended for readership rather than orally-based teaching—emerged in the early to mid-third/ninth century in tandem with expansion in the intellectual life of the Arab-Islamic world, both geographically and in terms of topic areas. It was natural, even necessary, that scholarly circles should embrace works whose form and content reflected a departure from an older culture of knowledge production that was saturated with oral processes. An evolution in intellectual culture was therefore reflected in, and facilitated by, changes in both the form and function of the documents it produced.[8]

And yet, the social values inherent in these oral processes continued to influence the discourses of knowledge transmission and the norms of literary representation, so that even some very late works composed long after written transmission of knowledge became the norm still begin with the word *qāla*, that is, "he said"—representing the author of the text as having *spoken* the work, even if the text was transmitted in written form. Indeed, some versions of the *muqaddima* of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*, a work composed near the beginning of the thirteenth century A.H. (late 1700s CE), still begin with this word followed by the author's name, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāʾik.

We do not know whether al-Ḥāʾik actually *spoke* the contents of his anthology in any sort of formal setting. Yet oral processes do lie at the very heart of his

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8 Schoeler's work, as embodied in a series of articles published in German in the 1980s, and later collected in French and English editions (*Ecrire et transmettre dans le débuts de l'Islam*, and *The Genesis of Literature in Islam*), lays a crucial foundation for a nuanced understanding of the relationship between oral and literate tradition in the formative period of Islamic intellectual culture.

work, since it is a collection of performed repertoire that is taught by traditional oral methods. Orality thus serves as both the point of origin of the text and as its *raison d'être*. Without these orally-performed and orally-transmitted dimensions, this work simply would not exist. Yet this songbook is a literary work as well, which represents a link integrating the performed art with erudite literary values.[9]

What is unusual in the case of this work is the depth to which oral processes have not only conditioned the content, form, and compilation of this anthology, but also shaped its history as a social object thereafter, *and* impacted the question of authorship itself. It is this nexus of mixed orality and authorial identity that points toward lessons the *Kunnāsh* may teach us about the notion of an anthology.

4   Arabic Anthologies and the Problem of Authorship

Jack Stillinger reminds us that our usual conception of the author is really very much a romantic notion—the "solitary genius" working away at a singular vision for which he or she is uniquely responsible—which may be true in many cases, but the reality in pre-modern Arabic letters was often rather different.[10] Lale Behzadi remarks on the apparent slippage between the authorial voice in a *muqaddima* and its tone in the main body of an anthology: "Although most authors generally portray themselves as if the living person and the authorial instance are the same, it often appears as if the author passes on his authority to other voices."[11]

Behzadi's analysis problematizes the role that authority plays in our understanding of authorship. If, as Orfali suggests, the author is busy selecting and evaluating texts for inclusion in an anthology, he or she has assumed the authority to select the content of the anthology, but is not necessarily *defined* only by that function. The author both selects *and* narrates in Orfali's formulation, but it is not always safe to assume that the two are the same individual. The many examples that textual criticism has uncovered of diverse "manuscript traditions" within the history of a given work testify to this. Students, commentators, editors, even scribes and anthologists all played roles in defining and refining the form, content, and history of many works. As we shall see below, this issue lies particularly close to the surface in the case of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*.

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9   See Davila, *The Andalusian Music* 245–317.
10   Stillinger, *Multiple Authorship and the Myth*.
11   Behzadi, Introduction: The Concept of Polyphony 14.

Looking at the question from another angle, Foucault reminds us that before the evolution of modern scientific discourse (that is, prior to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe), the figure of the author itself was part of the structure of authenticity. He points out that the authority of a given work, and the corpus of information it contained, were verified through attribution to an author whose name in some sense embodied the discourse on the subject.[12]

Recall that modern scholarship has uncovered numerous works of pseudo- and quasi-authorship in classical Arabic letters. Whether we speak of the collection of the *mu'allaqa* poems of pre-Islamic times, or various famous poets' *dawāwīn*—in both cases collected and edited to unknowable extent by later redactors-cum-authors—or the numerous works determined to have been written by such authors as "pseudo-Jāḥiẓ," and beyond, back-attribution of literary works served pre-modern writers in Arabic well. Controversial ideas could be disguised and propagated as worthy of discussion while minimizing risk to the actual author, or a poet could have his work preserved for posterity, albeit under the name of a more famous one. Particularly in mysticism, anonymous works might be attributed to a well-known author by virtue of their having been preserved in documents that contain the famous author's poetry. A very good example of this is *Dīwān al-Shushtarī*, which has been shown by its editors, ʿAlī Sāmī al-Nashshār (1960 CE) and Federico Corriente (1988 CE), to contain a number of poems that would seem to have been included primarily because of their association with the mystical group's repertoire, since the style and ideas in them do not correspond well with those found in al-Shushtarī's writing. In short, the projection of authorship of a work back on an earlier, more prestigious author is certainly not unknown in many domains of pre-modern Arabic literature.

Foucault puts his finger on where our conceptions of authorship interface problematically with the question of what an anthology is. The authority of the author, if one may use such a multivalent expression without irony, does not inhere in the text, nor its presentation, nor even in the biography of the writer whose name is associated with the work. The authoritativeness of the "author-function" is easily disguised within such convenient assumptions but is, in fact, socially constructed and potentially plural in nature.

The history of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*, and the place of D144 in it, lies at the intersection of oral and literary processes. It thus supports such a functional understanding of authorship parallel to and interweaving with a definition of

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12   Foucault, What is an Author? 123.

"anthology" that itself embraces functionality as part of the social matrix from which an anthology springs.

5   A Brief History of Musical Anthologies in Arabic

As seen in the more detailed discussion that will follow, the Moroccan Andalusian songbooks, of which *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* is an important example, belong to a distinctive genre of anthologies, some of whose features are very old indeed, while others are particular to songbooks of this type. Song collections in pre-modern Arabic contexts have always presented their subject matter as poetry, devoid of all textual play that characterizes performed songs: repetitions of text, pauses and divisions between lines and words, and the use of nonsense syllables to fill out the melody. The result was that even after songbooks as such appeared, they retained the literary *appearance*[13] of the text and assumed an oral process operating in the background that allowed the reader to render the sung version.

Collections of sung poetry have their own history in pre-modern Arabic literature. Poetry itself was, in fact, a performed *and* literary art throughout the pre-modern era, but the idea of a songbook that presents texts with musical indications and a minimum of other information can be reliably documented only with relatively recent examples. Reynolds, relying upon studies by Henry George Farmer, Owen Wright, and Eckhard Neubauer, summarizes the history of song-collections,[14] arguing for a narrower definition of songbook that eschews literary and biographical material and presents only texts with musical indications.[15]

Since none of the earliest examples of song anthologies have survived, it is not clear whether many of them contained only song texts with appropriate musical indications. A few titles contain the word *mujarrad* (stripped down), which would suggest that they did not include a lot of biographical or other material. It is not clear, however, if they bore musical indications such as modes or rhythms that might have made them useful as songbooks per se. Judging from their titles, most seem to have been *adab* or biographical works, rather than songbooks.

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13   That is, *literary value*. See Davila, *The Andalusian Music* 308–311.

14   Reynolds, Lost Virgins Found 76–77.

15   The most famous song collection in Arabic letters, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, d. 356/967, thus does not qualify as a songbook. It is fundamentally an *adab* work as much about the culture surrounding song as about the songs themselves.

The *Fihrist* of Abū l-Faraj Ibn Isḥāq al-Nadīm (d. 380/990), for example, mentions,[16] among others, the titles of books by the great composer-musician Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (d. 235/850), such as *K. Aghānī Maʿbad* (The Songs of Maʿbad)[17] and *K. al-Ikhtiyār min aghānī li-l-Wāthiq* (The Best Songs Sung to al-Wāthiq).[18] Isḥāq's son also seems to have collected the best songs sung by his grandfather, Ibrāhīm (d. 188/804). Moreover, in the following century, a courtier named Qarīṣ al-Mughannī (d. 324/936) compiled an unfinished book of the *aṣwāt* (songs) sung by the singers of his time. Qarīṣ' anthology, as well as others mentioned in the *Fihrist*, were arranged alphabetically, but al-Nadīm gives no other details about the organization or content of these works. It is impossible to establish whether they might have been songbooks in the sense we mean here.

One reason for the paucity of such books actually surviving might be found in the often-noted ambiguous attitude toward music and song within Islamic religious discourses. While the Quran has nothing at all to say about the subject, a number of *ḥadīth*s present the Prophet Muḥammad as either mildly condoning some forms of music, or else strongly condemning it.[19] Although music and song certainly had their place in both popular and elite culture from a very early stage,[20] music as such could never rival the social prestige of poetry, which even the Prophet himself clearly condoned, and which was a longstanding performed art representing the pinnacle of Arabic linguistic achievement. In contrast, sources tell us about both the affection that the Umayyads and Abbasids had for music, and the sometimes rocky relations this produced for them with the religious establishment of their day. More than one caliph, whether in Baghdad or Cordoba, was upbraided by the *ʿulamāʾ* for allowing music at court. The Abbasid caliph al-Maʾmūn (d. 218/833) even temporarily halted such activities upon his ascension in order to assuage sensitivities among the religious establishment and consolidate his authority.[21] Such cultural realities had reper-

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16   In the third *fann* of the third *maqāla*. Al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist* 140–156.

17   One of the four most important Umayyad-era court singers, Maʿbad b. Wahb died ca. 125/743.

18   The ninth Abbasid caliph died in 232/847.

19   Consider, for example, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Book 15 nos. 70 and 72, but then Book 69 no. 494; and *al-Jāmiʿ* of al-Tirmidhī Book 33 no. 54 (#2211).

20   See, for example, Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. 300/913), *Mukhtār min Kitāb al-Lahw wa-l-malāhī*, 19–20; and Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddima*, Chapter V *faṣl* 31.

21   Despite the rich musical culture of his forebears and his own musical inclinations, he cancelled musical performances at his court for 20 months, according to *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* (for about four years, according to *Kitāb al-Aghānī*).

cussions for the formation of song text anthologies well into the twentieth century, and they would have contributed to the neglect in preserving song-books as such from very early on. Even if some musicians themselves may have developed practical methods of writing down melodies for their personal uses, of which no record in fact has survived, the written melodies were unlikely to have been preserved in the literary tradition.[22] Readers and the tides of fate apparently have tended to preserve works *about* songs, rather than books *of* songs, if indeed such works even existed.

The earliest examples of song collections thus already present us with a key feature of the later Moroccan songbooks we are concerned with. They imply fundamentally oral processes of composition and learning operating within the social function of the book, since it was impossible to derive the sung ver-sion from the literary representation alone. One had to have someone at hand who knew the song and could teach it to you. The evidence suggests that the teaching and writing of music remained largely, if not exclusively, an oral pro-cess until the arrival of the European system of musical symbols.[23]

A significant signpost in the path of development leading to the full-fledged songbooks in the North African context appears at the hand of the encyclo-pedist Aḥmad al-Tīfāshī (d. 651/1253). The section on the songs of the North Africans and Andalusīs in his *Mutʿat al-asmāʿ fī ʿilm al-samāʿ*[24] contains some 45 *qarīḍ* song texts grouped by melodic mode, and by song genre within each of those. In the process, he identifies a set of non-strophic song types that imply performance practices: *al-nashīd* comprised a vocal introduction (*al-istihlāl*) followed by the song proper, known as *al-ʿamal*; and *al-ṣawt*, which he equates to *al-ʿamal* without *al-istihlāl*. These genres, says al-Tīfāshī, were combined in a specific order with the strophic *muwashshaḥāt* and *azjāl* to form a kind of suite. Significantly, al-Tīfāshī seems not to be interested in the types of song lyr-ics that now dominate the Andalusian music songbooks: the strophic *tawshīḥ* (that is *muwashshaḥ*-like) and the *zajal*. He offers no examples in this section

22   Al-Kindī (d. 259/873) developed a system for describing melodic modes using letters as symbols and references to *ʿūd* fingerings, and later al-Fārābī (d. ca. 339/950) and the author of *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967), also developed similar methods for describing scales and rhythmic patterns. But such systems were all *descriptive* and as such, required some erudition and a lot of study to use. It was far simpler to compose and learn the music orally.

23   This also had partly to do with the culture of music training: Writing music endangers the master's proprietary grip on repertoire, as well as the personal, face-to-face relationship between master and apprentice. See Davila, *The Andalusian Music* 314.

24   Al-Ṭanjī, al-Ṭarāʾiq wa-l-alḥān.

of such songs that might have been included in this performance. Rather, al-Tīfāshī simply gives us the modes as headings and then the texts of *qarīd* poems performed in that mode.

This type of musical indication al-Tīfāshī employs is similar to the much later Andalusian music songbooks, which group the songs in a mode-based system of *nūbāt*, and yet it bears some important differences. First, the suite form al-Tīfāshī describes is structured very differently from any of the later North African "Andalusian" *nūbāt*, which are much longer and comprise a series of movements that prescribe song types only in very limited ways (the use of two *qarīḍ* verses as a solo vocal interlude between sections, for example). More importantly, he mentions the structure of the suite of his day, but it is not the organizing principle of the anthology, as it is in the Andalusian songbooks.

Thus, despite some similarities to later North African songbooks, al-Tīfāshī's chapter remains essentially a work of *adab*, not a bona fide songbook in the sense we describe here: It does not capture a thorough sample of the repertoire as some song types are not presented, it does not present the texts in the context of the repertoire as it was performed, and the musical indications are limited to modes and song types. One could not, for example, reproduce a particular suite as it might have been performed in al-Andalus of his day, even if one had adequate musical notation, because the rules governing the selection and combination of songs, if any, are not fleshed out, and he does not give any examples of actual suites that might have been performed. This chapter of al-Tīfāshī's is a step *toward* a songbook, but falls short of the kind of works we are most concerned with here.

Reynolds points out that with the flourishing of strophic poetry of various types, and especially of the distinctive Andalusī genre of the *muwashshaḥ* from the early fourth/tenth century, strophic poetry began to be recorded more consistently as a literary phenomenon. This could be seen as another step toward the Andalusian-style songbook, though it took some time before such compositions came to be regarded as poetry worthy of treatment as such—which may account for al-Tifāshī's unwillingness to mix strophic with non-strophic poetry in his collection of the songs of the Andalusīs (again a literary consideration, rather than a musical one). Although there has been much debate about whether these poems were performed as songs from the beginning, the historical record makes it clear that in time, they were indeed written to be sung. Yet the early surviving collections of these strophic poems, dating from the early seventh/thirteenth century, still do not contain musical indications even as minimally useful as those supplied by al-Tīfāshī. These works, such as *Dār al-ṭirāz* by Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (d. Cairo 608/1211–1212), *Jaysh al-tawshīḥ* by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 775/1374), and *ʿUddat al-jalīs* by Ibn Bishrī (d. after 776/1375), would

be better described as collections of poetry, rather than repertoire. While such works indicate the poems were sung, performance practice and structure do not feature strongly in them and are secondary to the organization of the work. These are more like the classic *dīwān*-type poetic anthology, not songbooks, per se.

However, Reynolds highlights an example of a song collection from the middle of the fifteenth century that stands even closer to the more contemporary Andalusian type, though it is not quite like D144 and its sisters. In 1902 CE, Phillipe El Khazen published a portion of a manuscript that seemed to be an early songbook from North Africa, though several details of his version presented problems for the specialist. Thanks to Reynolds' very careful study of this manuscript, we now know that this "Swaying Virgins" document (part of manuscript no. LP 081/Rm at the Mariam and Youssef Library, Notre Dame University-Louaize, Lebanon) does indeed hail from a very early stage in the history of the North African Andalusian music traditions. It was almost certainly compiled in the middle of the 1400s, and features many strophic, *muwashshaḥ*-texts in the main body of the work, with additional *muwashshaḥāt* and other texts in the margins (Figure 6.3). It also employs a set of musical terms that are used today in the Andalusian music tradition of Tlemcen, Algeria.

This may be the earliest surviving example of a North African Andalusian songbook as such, and yet this document, for all its similarities to at least one of the modern Andalusian music traditions, does not organize the song texts according to mode-based *nūbāt*—the most significant organizational feature of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* and its sibling works.

What separates a work like *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* from earlier anthologies is the depth to which performance structure and practice have shaped the work. Unlike a more traditional *dīwān*, these songbooks group the texts not by author or genre, subject or *qāfiya*, nor even only by musical mode, but by the musical setting in which the song is sung, which involves both melodic and rhythmic facets. The Moroccan Andalusian music songbooks present songs, not merely by *nūba*, but also by movements (*mīzān*, pl. *mayāzīn*) within the *nūba*, which are based upon rhythmic patterns. Moreover, modern informants also indicate that the order of texts in this anthology preserves at least some units of performance, that is, sequences of songs that are commonly performed together.[25] Hence, one finds various types of strophic texts (*muwashshaḥ*-like

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25   For an example, see the discussion of the *ṣanʿa* "Darj X" in Davila, *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya* 52.

and *zajal*-like) cheek-by-jowl with non-strophic (*qarīḍ*) texts, texts in formal Arabic alongside others in various registers of colloquial language, and so on. This organizing system, therefore, emerges completely from performance, not topic, literary qualities, or biography, which also allows for the re-occurrence of the same text in two or more locations in the book, reflecting the repertoire as it is, but something rarely if ever seen in purely literary anthologies.

When we consider the formal characteristics of these songbooks, we see that how they function, what they *do*, is reflected in and a constituent of their form and content. They do not simply gather texts in one place, but also represent them as repertoire, which bears a different kind of use-value from the poetic anthologies discussed earlier. Their uses involve more than the simply literary, which in any case is not so simple, as will be seen. Hence, the songbook in the pre-modern Arabic context should be seen as a separate genre of anthology, one that shares some characteristics with a poetic *dīwān*, but is distinct from that and from other genres of *adab* anthologies that include song texts.

To grasp the full implications of viewing songbooks as a distinct genre, we should turn now to the background tradition within which *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* was produced, and within which it functions as both a collection of the repertoire and a literary-metonymic symbol. From there we can explore how this particular manuscript, and the larger history of the *Kunnāsh*, reflect these characteristics in form, content, and structure.

6   Al-Āla and *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*: An Introduction

Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik is an anthology of the texts of songs (termed *ṣanʿa*, pl. *ṣanāʾiʿ*) performed in the Andalusian music tradition of Morocco, *al-āla* (instrumental music). This musical genre comprises perhaps 700 or 800 individual *ṣanāʾiʿ* divided into eleven large ensembles known as *nūbāt*, each *nūba* being focused on one main melodic mode, or *ṭabʿ*, though eight of the eleven *nūbāt* comprise more than one such mode. Each *nūba* is itself divided into four rhythmically-based movements known as *mayāzīn*, although two of them each lack one *mīzān*.[26]

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26   A fifth movement, comprising *ṣanāʾiʿ* in the rhythmic mode *al-darj*, has had a more ambiguous relationship to the *nūba*. It does not appear in the *Kunnāsh* manuscripts, and exactly when or in what contexts it was actually performed is not documented beyond oral tradition. Yet, contemporary experts in the tradition maintain that it existed as a quasi-oral phenomenon and was performed in the *zāwiya* long before it emerged into the written tradition, first as a few *ṣanāʾiʿ* in some early twentieth-century manuscripts, then as a fully-

The historical roots of *al-āla* probably lie chiefly in al-Andalus even though there is no direct evidence of this connection beyond oral traditions that make this claim. The documentary evidence does not go beyond the survival of a handful of treatises of both Andalusī and North African provenance dealing with music on a more or less theoretical level—books *about* music, not *of* music, once again. Nevertheless at least two modern North African scholars have argued that what is referred to today as "Andalusian music" in fact incorporates some features of the music of North Africa, as well.[27] Yet structural features such as the distinctive *nūba* forms, and musicological characteristics such as the paucity of fractional tones in the melodic modes, strongly point to these musical genres having distinct histories from the music of the Mashriq. The similarly distinctive features of the Andalusian music songbooks discussed here parallel these distinctive features in helping to define the genre.

Whatever the roots and course(s) of development behind these poetic-musical traditions, for perhaps five centuries, North Africans have been gathering *ṣanā'i'* from them into written anthologies. The earliest of these to survive is the "Swaying Virgins" anthology noted above. As we have seen, there is a lot that is unusual and interesting about this document, but for our purposes one fact stands out. It presents the texts of these songs in the same format that nearly all other North African Andalusian music anthologies—including *Kunnāsh al-Ḥā'ik*—do: as poems displayed according to the conventions of classical Arabic poetry, with references to melodic modes. We have already noted the oral processes that lie behind this. The Andalusian traditions present particular challenges in this regard, as the *ṣanā'i'*-as-sung often include complicated line breaks, repetitions of words and phrases, and nonsense syllables like *hā nā nā* and *yā lā lā*—all performed elements of the song which vanish behind the traditional format of poetry.

Thus, despite the presence of written anthologies, learning the song is perforce an oral process dependent upon how one's teacher has learned the song. If differing versions of a given *ṣan'a* are being performed in different places, each of those depends upon these same oral processes, which means that ultimately

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fledged *mīzān* on a par with the other four in print anthologies from the late 1970s on. See Davila, *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya* 68–70 and al-Ḥā'ik's notebook, part I.

27   Mohamed al-Fasi (La musique 79–106) argued that today's Moroccan Andalusian music is a Moroccan genre with roots in al-Andalus *and* the Mashriq, while Mahmoud Guettat (*La musique classique* and *La musique arabo-andalouse*) maintains that the musicians who brought the elite music of al-Andalus to North Africa encountered an indigenous musical style that influenced the formation of the contemporary traditions. In my own work, I have emphasized the role played by communities of Andalusī migrants in the incorporation of the elite music of Iberia into North African social frameworks.

the ṣanʿa-as-sung constitutes the true contents of the tradition, not the written text. Therefore, these anthologies do not really capture the tradition; instead they capture something *related* to it: the lyrical repertoire, which is, nevertheless, something more than merely poetry rendered for its own sake.

On a fundamental level, alternative versions of a ṣanʿa, which might leave traces as variants in the manuscript history, therefore have a certain integrity, as different versions of a given song text found in different manuscript or print anthologies may in principle represent different sub-traditions of performance.[28] Local branches of the tradition are thus all equal as sources, even if some of them do not actually make it into written versions that circulate widely. They still embody what is, or was, considered authentic in particular locations at various times.

This approach is not so different, after all, from the usual approach of textual criticism, which regards variant readings among different manuscript versions of a work either as the likely result of scribal errors, or as different (re)presentations of the author's work by different students. This approach departs from previous practice by assuming that at some point there certainly was an author, understood at least as the individual who conceived and put his name to one or more early iterations of the work (in this case, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāʾik), but since the "original" was what was performed, not what was written, the work has taken on a social life of its own, in which other iterations have come to be attributed to this author, and yet all of them should be regarded as equally authentic. An effort to compile a critical edition of such an anthology using traditional text-critical methods fundamentally runs aground on the assumption that there is an "original text" to be recovered from the effort. Moreover, in a case where, as we shall see, the apparent "original work" is dramatically different from subsequent versions, we might reasonably ask what *authorship* really means.

At some point in the history of a given work, authorship may cease to belong, or belong only, to the person to whom the work is attributed, and start to assimilate generations of user-compilers who have contributed to the contents of later iterations. What is perhaps unusual about the present case, from a literary point of view, is its collective nature: The performed repertoire being committed to writing was traditional, a common property of the community

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28   Of course, when speaking of manuscript traditions, one must always allow for the usual sorts of copyists' errors. Not all variants in these manuscripts need necessarily be read as indications of oral processes at work. For an extended discussion of these variants and their probable relationship to oral tradition, see Davila, Text Variants, Mixed Orality 61–88.

of musicians and aficionados, and not particular to a given performer. Indeed the collection itself in some sense became traditional over time, as well. That is to say, the authenticity of the repertoire being collected ceased to depend upon the prestige of any one anthologist other than the one who had achieved some fame in an earlier generation—namely Muḥammad al-Ḥāʾik.

If this hypothesis is true, it suggests a relatively early fame, and attribution of authenticity, to the work of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāʾik. The distinction between an anthology of poetry and an anthology of repertoire does not efface the author in some kind of post-modern veil dance, but rather highlights the potential for the author to be *elaborated* or *expanded* without the work losing the value of authority and authenticity within a community where the anthology functions as both a collection *and* a signifier of socially significant practices, relationships, identities, and so on.

As I have argued elsewhere, it is possible that D144 does not appear at the beginning of the saga of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*, but somewhere in the middle of the process. The group of manuscripts that one researcher has dubbed *la familia al-Ḥāʾik*[29] might belong to a repertoire that was contemporary with or even predated D144. In fact, most of the *muqaddima* is missing from this document, and the author's name is lost from the text, so it is at least conceivable that al-Ḥāʾik himself did not compile it. Yet even that would only beg the question: If the fame and authenticity of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* had already been established by the date of D144 (1202/1788), how then would a work that is so different from an earlier, bona fide *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* become associated with this one? The issues of authorship, or attribution of authorship, and the mixed-oral cultural system that underlies them do not go away.

I have shown, with respect to one of the eleven *nūbāt* (2016), that given the evident loss of many *ṣanāʾiʿ* from the repertoire embodied by D144, and the entry into the written repertoire of many texts unknown to al-Ḥāʾik in at least two separate stages, either D144 is effectively irrelevant to the evolution of the *Kunnāsh* manuscript stream, or, more logcially, it lies at the beginning of it. Given the trajectories of loss and incorporation, the latter is the simpler, more reasonable explanation.[30]

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29   Cortés García, *Kunnāsh al-Hāʾik de Muḥammad* 47–55.

30   My more recent, as yet unpublished work on *Nūbat al-Māya* broadly supports these findings.

7   Authorship

The case of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* reflects for us a particular kind of problematic authorship. The most complete examples of the work begin with a *muqaddima* and present the hundreds of individual song texts, movement by movement, *nūba* by *nūba*, with little or no commentary. In this, they do mirror the types of works Behzadi discusses. Yet the even more problematic aspect of authorship is that the work changed dramatically—or perhaps experienced several distinct iterations—over the course of about a century or a century and a half. It is evident that generations of later collectors or compilers were at work, and yet remain completely anonymous and effectively invisible. Their efforts to capture the repertoire as their communities performed it were subsumed into a larger cultural project to which the title of the earliest example, *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*, came to be applied. This complex process emerged always already bound within the domains of social value and the relationship between the oral and the written, as I have discussed at length elsewhere.[31] The point here is merely that the current situation, in which *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* has acquired an iconic status within the community of *al-āla*, is the result of a prolonged process involving both oral and literary processes that are difficult to document, except perhaps through the traces they leave behind in the anthologies themselves.

When, as is the case with *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*, later manuscripts bearing the same attribution, such as the *familia* manuscripts, contain different versions of a text and/or new texts that do not appear in earlier iterations, and/or lack texts found in other versions—all of which are true, with respect to D144, the *familia* manuscripts, and the modern print anthologies—we may make the case for specific transformations in the repertoire, and therefore in the social context of the document. The connections among the various iterations, the differences in content, and at times even form, have a great deal to do with the social life of the document itself. In other words, different performed textual streams may intersect with a parallel written tradition that is developing according to these intersections, and nevertheless continuing to serve as a metonym for both the performed tradition and the literary one. And by the same token, the text-critical historian of the tradition may view variants, and the appearance and disappearance of texts from the manuscript stream(s), as evidence of orally or quasi-orally preserved local sub-traditions emerging into "history"—that is, the historical record.

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31   Davila, *The Andalusian Music* 245–317.

This leads to another point about the form and function of these Moroccan songbooks: The written document clearly serves other purposes and values—namely social, economic, and linguistic—than does the ṣanʿa-as-sung. Although the performed version can at times take on diverse forms, depending on local rendition of the repertoire, the tastes of ensemble leaders, and so on, the written text in fact represents a somewhat more stable, but equally complex, phenomenon. It lives an equally complicated social life founded in the four domains diagrammed in Figure 6.2, which can be seen when comparing D144 with other iterations of the *Kunnāsh* anthology. In this way, I hope to illustrate the mutual influence of form, content, function, and history, and in turn to highlight the idea that an anthology may be understood as much for how it functions as for what it says.

8   Introducing D144

Manuscript #144 at the Khizāna Dāwūdiyya in Tetouan belonged to the notable historian of Tetouan, Muḥammad Dāwūd (d. 1984 CE), who is said to have acquired it from an unknown bookseller in Fez.[32] It is dated 1202/1788, and according to the colophon, was completed "at the hand of its collector" (Figure 6.4).

The manuscript is octavo in format (roughly 20×17 cm), and has been executed in an ornate *maghribī mabsūṭ* hand: 15 lines to the page in black, red, and blue inks. The text block is defined by a red and blue frame (Figure 6.5), and occasional use of green and gilt, especially in the *muqaddima*, which also presents a very elegantly rendered version of the *shajarat al-ṭubūʿ* and a famous poem on the *ṭubūʿ* attributed to al-Wansharīsī (Figure 6.6).[33] An unknown number of pages have been lost from the front matter, which commences with the bottom 1/3 of the first foio (pages marked 1 and 2) remaining and the top third of the second (pages marked 3 and 4) also missing (Figure 6.7). The document has also been bound with some pages in an incorrect order.[34]

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32   Hasna Daoud, Interview, 2/7/19.

33   This "Tree of Modes" represents the relationships understood to exist among the 24 melodic modes (*ṭubūʿ*) in use in the tradition, rendering four as "roots" (*usūl*) and others as "branches" (*furūʿ*). The poem in question, while attributed in the *nūba* manuscripts to al-Wansharīsī, has been shown to have been composed by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, except for the final three lines (Cortés García, Nuevos datos 178–181). It explicates these relationships in literary form, supplementing them with associations with time of day and humors of the body. These are part of a major subject of this *muqaddima*, the theoretical and musicological foundations of the music itself.

34   Print edition and text study published by Malik Bennūna (Rabat 1999).

Stitched and then glued into a modern leather-board cover, its binding broken, the document was written on modern laid paper with no watermarks or dry stamps. When compared to other *Kunnāsh* manuscripts, the type of paper here generally supports the date given above, as well as the idea that this document is of older provenance than others. So-called "modern" laid paper was invented around the same time that woven paper was invented in Britain, ca. the mid-1700s,[35] and one presumes it was available in North Africa from continental sources soon thereafter. To date, I have found only one other *Kunnāsh* manuscript written on this material, probably copied in the late nineteenth century; laid paper seems to have been abandoned for such purposes in favor of woven paper by the early twentieth century. The available evidence thus indicates that D144 is indeed almost the oldest examples of a Moroccan *nūba* songbook. (The only older document of this type, *Īqād al-shumūʿ li-ladhdhat al-masmūʿ bi-naghamāt al-ṭubūʿ*, was penned by Muḥammad al-Būʿiṣāmī, who died about half a century earlier. That manuscript has lost many pages, was written on "old" laid paper, and is known mainly to specialists. It does not seem to have had much impact on the tradition's history and certainly does not rival the prestige attaching to *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*.)

9   Musical Anthologies in the Moroccan Style

Given the history of songbooks in pre-modern Arabic literature, we may now elaborate on how this particular document stands in relation to its tradition and cultural frame. At first glance, collections like *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* resemble, in many ways, the much older genre of poetic anthology. On the face of it, one is tempted to refer to them as a type of *dīwān*, but this term is almost never used in a generic sense to describe these songbooks, though it is sometimes used to refer to the manuscript at hand, as in the colophon of D144 (Figure 6.4), which describes the book as *hādhā al-dīwān al-mubārak al-saʿīd al-jāmiʿ al-mufīd*. More commonly, a *kunnāsh* (notebook), *safīna* (ship), *majmūʿ* (collection), or on occasion *zimām* (register) is distinct in at least three ways from, on one hand the *dīwān*, and on the other works of *adab* literature that compile song texts in the context of narratives about music, performers, and so on, described above:

a)   They are composed predominantly of strophic *muwashshaḥāt* and *azjāl*, interspersed with a few monorhymed *qarīḍ* verses and/or North African

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35   Werner, *Studying Early Printed Books* 29.

colloquial texts. There are *dawāwīn* that have both strophic and non-strophic poems, but usually presented in separate sections;

b)   They are grouped, not by author or subject or *qāfiya* or song type, but by musical criteria i.e., *nūba* or mode, and *mīzān*; and

c)   They mix poetic genres such as *ghazal*, *khamriyya*, *madīḥ*, etc. and linguistic registers in ways that other collections of poetry—even some that self-consciously present sung materials—typically do not.

In short, they present texts arranged and organized according to performance practice, rather than answering to specifically literary expectations. One consequence is that one often finds the same text in two or more *mayāzīn* or *nūbāt* in the anthology since the performed tradition recycles such texts in this way. One would not find such a phenomenon in a typical poetic *dīwān*. This underscores that the work is a representation of repertoire, rather than a collection of poetry, and as such these anthologies were collected for different purposes and have lived quite different social lives than a poetic *dīwān* per se.

Beyond these basic considerations, several other characteristics play into this discussion:

d)   Some of these anthologies—in particular of those identified with *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*—bear musical indications, beyond *nūba* and *mīzān*, such as the specific *ṭabʿ* the text is performed in, the number of turns through the melody or rhythmic pattern for each line, places where melodies change, and so on;

e)   Many were written with colored inks;

f)   Some have a *muqaddima* that introduces the anthologist and/or the musical tradition itself, and may comment on the religious legitimacy of music, discuss the relationships between melodic modes, and so on; and

g)   They may or may not contain marginalia, typically intended to direct the reader to a *ṣanʿa* that is similar in some way to one found in the main body of the anthology.

From a social-codicological point of view, each of the characteristics just mentioned is diagnostic, in that each may serve as an indicator of the uses—the social life—of the document in question in ways that can help refine our understanding of how the work bore meaning in its cultural context.

Considering the specific ms. D144, we observe the following:

–   D144 does not have musical indications, other than *nūba* and *mīzān*—but some other, later manuscripts that bear the name *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* do.

–   D144 was written, or possibly copied, in at least five colors (Figure 6.5).

–   D144 begins with a *muqaddima* that, although much of it has been lost, clearly presents a discussion of the traditional musical theory behind the

nūba and its modal structure, including the elaborately rendered version of
the so-called *shajarat al-ṭubūʿ* just noted (Figure 6.6).

These three characteristics make it clear that this particular version of the
Kunnāsh was intended as a "shelf" anthology: Its social life probably involved
mainly *Lesevergnügen*, including display as an emblem of the owner's commitment to tradition, erudition, and so on. It is not known who owned or
commissioned this document,[36] but there appears to have been little expectation on the part of its copyist that it would be used by a performer or orchestra
leader for teaching or training purposes. Apart from the loss of some pages of
the front matter, the manuscript is in very good condition, although it is well
over two centuries old, showing few signs of wear that might suggest it was frequently handled or transported, as might be expected for a document that was,
for example, carried by a musician to and from rehearsals.

– D144 does have a few marginal notes—you can see examples in Figures 6.5
  and 6.8—but they are mostly corrections to the text, with occasional comments on the poetic meter or the *ṭabʿ* of the *ṣanʿa* in question. Their function is quite different from notes like those in Figures 6.9a and 6.9b (a page
  from the Lamrīnī *Kunnāsh* manuscript[37]), which are much more detailed
  and often include some variation on the expression *fī waznihi madḥan*, followed by either a line from a different text or sometimes an entire poem
  (an example is indicated in Figure 6.9b). Such marginalia might have diverse
  purposes: For example, to remind the reader of specific song connections to
  other branches of the *āla* tradition, but more tellingly perhaps, either to help
  the reader "hear" the song in his or her mind through reference to another
  ṣanʿa that the reader is likely to know, and thus be able to derive the *ṣanʿa*-
  as-sung from the text on the page, or else to indicate a song "in praise (of the
  Prophet Muḥammad)" that can be sung to the same tune.[38]

This type of marginal note—obviously a later addition to the original document, though not necessarily to the copy in hand, which in most cases among
the *Kunnāsh* manuscripts are copies of manuscripts that already had these
marginalia—clearly addresses a readership that is already familiar with the
Andalusian music tradition *in multiple phases*, or is aware of at least one other
text similar to the one in question. The expression *fī waznihi madḥan* references a *ṣanʿa* from the closely related *al-samāʿ wa-l-madīḥ* song tradition asso-

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36   In at least one version of the *muqaddima,* the author says he compiled it in response to a
      request from *baʿḍ min al-ikhwān.*

37   Housed at the Dar Al Ala museum and cutural center in Casablanca.

38   This feature hearkens back to the "Swaying Virgins" document. See Figure 6.2, where similar marginalia are visible.

ciated with the Moroccan Sufi *zawāyā*. A manuscript with this kind of note may have lived part of its life as a reference work for a performer, teacher, or orchestra leader, or anyway was owned and used by someone with an interest in the Sufi branch of the *nūba* tradition. It also reminds us strikingly that the texts of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* do not exhaust the repertoire available to performers of the *nūba* tradition in Morocco at the time. That D144 does not have such notes does not definitively collapse these possibilities in this case, but it is an indication of limits on the social and practical functions of this document, which apparently did not connect directly to a *zāwiya*.

The characteristics of D144, therefore, suggest that this particular version of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* probably served its owner as a library work, one whose social life consisted partly of entertaining its owner, and his or her associates. It served as a repository for the lyrics of songs that they probably already knew, but which they could derive pleasure from by reading along as they sang them. The manuscript did at one time have a *muqaddima* that probably was very similar in content and wording to the introductions of many other *Kunnāsh* manuscripts. These introductions contain substantial essays on the anthologist's interest in the study of this tradition, the nature of music and the religious support for the legitimacy of such study, relationships between the various modes and the humors of the body, times of day, and so on. We may conclude, therefore, that D144 likely also served its owner as a repository for knowledge of the philosophical foundations underpinning the Andalusian musical tradition and its primary structure, the *nūba*.

In contrast, other surviving iterations of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* have no *muqaddima* beyond the generic evocation of Allāh and blessings on the Prophet, are executed in a much less ornate fashion, and often have more extensive marginalia such as numbers for each line of text indicating the number of turns through the rhythmic cycle and more elaborate cross-references to other *ṣanāʾiʿ*. These are indications that at some point in its active lifetime, such a document served as a reference work for a performer or ensemble leader, rather than for an aficionado.

And yet, the social value of a work like this need not have been confined to uses connected to reading alone. The *nūba* tradition being characterized by erudite poetry set to music marked as relatively sophisticated or "high-brow," and at the same time carrying significant associations with "tradition" (however defined), these songbooks probably responded to social values and a social life that included display of one's erudition, traditionalism, and attachment to high culture. In other words, a document like this would have been intended at least in part to mark its owner/user as a sophisticate, by virtue of owning it and/or being able to derive what was sung from what was written. In short, owner-

ship and display probably played almost as significant a role in the social life of D144 as the experience of *Lesevergnügen*.

D144, when considered in the context of other *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* manuscripts, underscores for us the value in recognizing the role that function plays in the definition of anthology. Certainly, every work of literature is created for a purpose, yet an anthology may—at least in some cases—be functional in a social manner that is unlike other works. An anthology of poetry, or ribald stories, or songs serves as entertainment in ways that a work of history as such is less likely to do or even be intended to do. In addition, even an expressly literary anthology may serve as a reference work for a body of knowledge that has practical and/or socially valued uses. *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* shows us this through its relationship to a performed tradition to which it is at once external and intimate, while the particular manuscript, D144, highlights some of the diversity within that functionality, evidenced by its formal characteristics in comparison to other manuscript iterations of the same work.

10   The Evolution and Afterlife of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*

So what happened to the *Kunnāsh* after D144? In addition to D144, we find today around two dozen other manuscripts that all bear the name *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*.[39] Table 6.1 illustrates the arrangement of *nūbāt* in four of the most important examples of these manuscripts, alongside the later al-Jāmiʿī manuscripts for comparison. Except for D144, none of these documents has a useful date—all are obviously later copies of manuscripts of unknown provenance.

Curiously, this manuscript is distinct from all the other documents bearing the same name. It contains more *nūbāt* than the eleven commonly recognized as authentic today (as found in the *familia al-Ḥāʾik* manuscripts and the modern print anthologies), some that are known today are not represented, and some of them bear names unknown today. That is, they were based on different *ṭubūʿ* than those used today.

Moreover, while some of these manuscripts can be grouped according to their *nūba* contents and structures, none of them fully captures the repertoire as performed today as found in modern print anthologies—most of them also associating themselves with *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* in their titles and introductory sections.

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39   Fourteen of these are more or less complete exemplars; there are about eight other partial manuscripts, in some cases containing only the *muqaddima*. For a comprehensive, annotated list of these documents, see Davila, al-Ḥāʾik's Notebook, part 1.

I have already offered an argument for how we might organize these manuscripts chronologically, based upon assumptions about the presumed social life of an anthology like this and its relationship to the larger performed tradition. Clearly, the *Kunnāsh* as an anthology evolved considerably over time. *Nūba* anthologies constructed like D144, but organized somewhat differently or containing somewhat different collections of *nūbāt* and *ṣanāʾiʿ*, came to be called by the same name and thereby acquired status as part of the complex cultural-historical phenomenon that was *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*. Not all of these documents have a *muqaddima*, but those that do all appear to reflect essentially the same topics, albeit sometimes told in more or less abbreviated form.

At some point in its long life, the *Kunnāsh* acquired yet another function: that of a metonym. It is not clear when or exactly how this happened, but certainly by the end of the nineteenth century, *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* had come to be regarded as the urtext for the tradition and a symbol of its authenticity. This can be seen most readily in the many manuscript anthologies associated with the name al-Ḥāʾik, which differ so substantially that it is very unlikely that they came from the same pen. The question of authorship being somewhat vexed, *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* shows us one way that social values like prestige and authenticity, and social practices like oral tradition and the transition to literary status, can play into the social life of a given document. In some sense, the name *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* came to stand for any collection of *nūba* texts as an embodiment of performed repertoire associated with the Andalusian music tradition.

It appears that this iconic function was operative at least by the 1880s CE, as another manuscript anthology was commissioned, according to oral tradition, by the Sultan Ḥasan II as an updating or revision of the *Kunnāsh*. This anthology today bears the name of its compiler, Muḥammad b. al-Wazīr al-Jāmiʿī, but its existence is itself a testimony to the prestige attaching to *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*.

Indeed, although these two documents present the *nūbāt* in a different order, there are very few *ṣanāʾiʿ* in the al-Jāmiʿī *majmūʿ* that are not represented in some form in the *Kunnāsh* manuscripts. The major exception is that some manuscripts of the former include elements of *mīzān al-darj*, whose contents were performed—sometimes in the context of the *zāwiya*, sometimes in the secular repertoire—but not included as a separate *mīzān* in the written repertoire.

More direct evidence of the conceptual linkage understood between the *Majmūʿ al-Jāmiʿī* and *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* is to be found in the titles ascribed to some of these manuscripts. Among the 16 or so manuscripts associated with al-Jāmiʿī are some that are referred to as "*Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* **bi-tartīb** al-Jāmiʿī*" (*Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* in al-Jāmiʿī's arrangement). Although the *al-Jāmiʿī* anthology

bears the name of a different compiler, it does not wholly escape its roots in the work of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāʾik.

Because this anthology's ability to reference the grand performed tradition of *al-āla* has continued to hold social value, even after the appearance of print anthologies in the latter half of the twentieth century, the social life of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* has continued long after the passing of its author. The work, in its many iterations, has served as both a reference and an iconic urtext for generations of performers, aficionados, and other bearers and transmitters of the tradition. So much so, that one may even speak of an *afterlife* lived by any number of the manuscripts in the era of print editions.

The practical and "literary" functioning of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* has lapsed to a great degree in the era of modern print anthologies, which are cheaper to produce and own, more durable, and much more accessible than the manuscript versions. Moreover, two of the most recent print anthologies, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Benmanṣūr's *Majmūʿ azjāl wa-tawshīḥ wa-ashʿār al-mūsīqā al-andalusiyya al-maghribiyya al-maʿrūf bi-l-Ḥāʾik* (1977 CE) and Idrīs Benjallūn's *al-Turāth al-ʿarabī al-maghribī al-andalusī* (1979 CE), appropriate the prestige and iconic function of the *Kunnāsh* by presenting themselves as studies or editions of it. Performers and aficionados have come to rely upon these "versions" of the *Kunnāsh*. The print anthologies also embody a somewhat different repertoire, having only a minority of texts in common with any one stage of the *Kunnāsh*'s manuscript history, including the *familia* manuscripts that share the same arrangement of *nūbāt*. The symbolic value of the *Kunnāsh* has thus in practical terms transferred to the print anthologies. The prestige-value of owning a print anthology is not the same as for a manuscript copy. The latter is obviously much more highly regarded. Nevertheless, associations with traditionalism, erudition, and cultural authenticity remain.[40]

Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik, in its pre-modern manuscript manifestations, has thus embarked upon its afterlife. The iconic function of the *Kunnāsh*, its prestige and authenticity intact, now endows old manuscript copies with cultural-historical resonances so that they may be found today not only in archives, but on display in museums and private libraries. Dar El Ala, a museum and cultural center in Casablanca run by the Jamʿiyyat Huwāt al-Mūsīqā l-Andalusiyya, proudly displays a number of manuscript copies of the *Kunnāsh* in glass cases alongside other memorabilia covering many decades of the tradition's history. They are

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40   One interesting impact of this transfer of iconic authenticity to the print anthologies is that performers now rely much more often on written texts as aides-mémoires onstage. Twenty years ago, when this author began his work on *al-āla*, such uses of the written text were almost unknown.

no longer reference works; they have become artifacts, evidence of the tradition's authenticity even though no one actually reads or uses them anymore.[41] Even more interesting, perhaps, is a manuscript held at the Dār Ṣbīḥi library in Salé. Its structure and contents clearly identify it as a copy of *Majmūʿ al-Jāmiʿī*. Yet, it is on display as if in a museum under the title *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik*, indicating yet again the enduring symbolic power of the *Kunnāsh*. The afterlife of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* thus serves and preserves the iconic function of the song-book as emblem of the tradition, while providing scholars with resources for the study of *al-āla* and its historical repertoire.

11   Conclusions: *What Is an Anthology?*

D144—and *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* generally—provide us with an interesting example of how the form and content, function and history of an anthology can be seen as mutually influencing, reflecting the social life of the document. This may be more obviously true in the case of the songbooks we are dealing with here, since the link to a cultural sphere beyond the literary is perhaps a bit more obvious than with other types of anthology. However, the concept of an anthology itself also points in a similar direction.

Works of the hand are always created and come to us imbued with not only form and content, but also social values that flow from functionalities and histories. From these, we may adduce certain observations about the role of function in the concept of anthology and how that may contribute to our understanding of the social-cultural frame within which the document was both created and circulated. If, as Orfali reminds us, the author's intention is central to the idea of an anthology, that intention cannot be divorced from the social-cultural context within which the work circulated, nor can it be severed entirely from either the function of that work in its cultural-historical context, or the materiality of that circulation. Such a functional definition may not be utterly essential to a working definition of "anthology," but the more completely we are able to engage with functions and histories, alongside content and form, the more deeply we will be able to understand and appreciate the anthology we hold in our hands.

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41   Except, of course, for scholars like this author, who use these documents in entirely different ways from their intended functions.
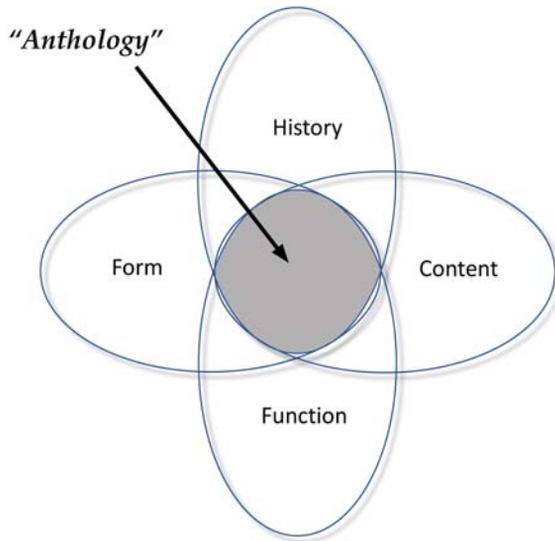
FIGURE 6.1   The four dimensions of a function-oriented
             definition of an "anthology"
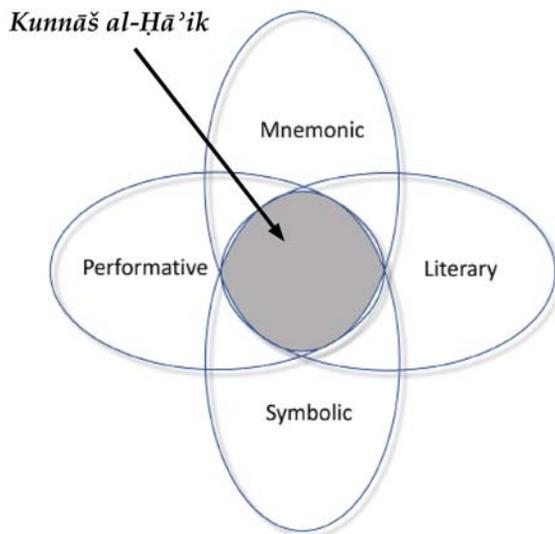
FIGURE 6.2   The "space" *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* "inhabits"
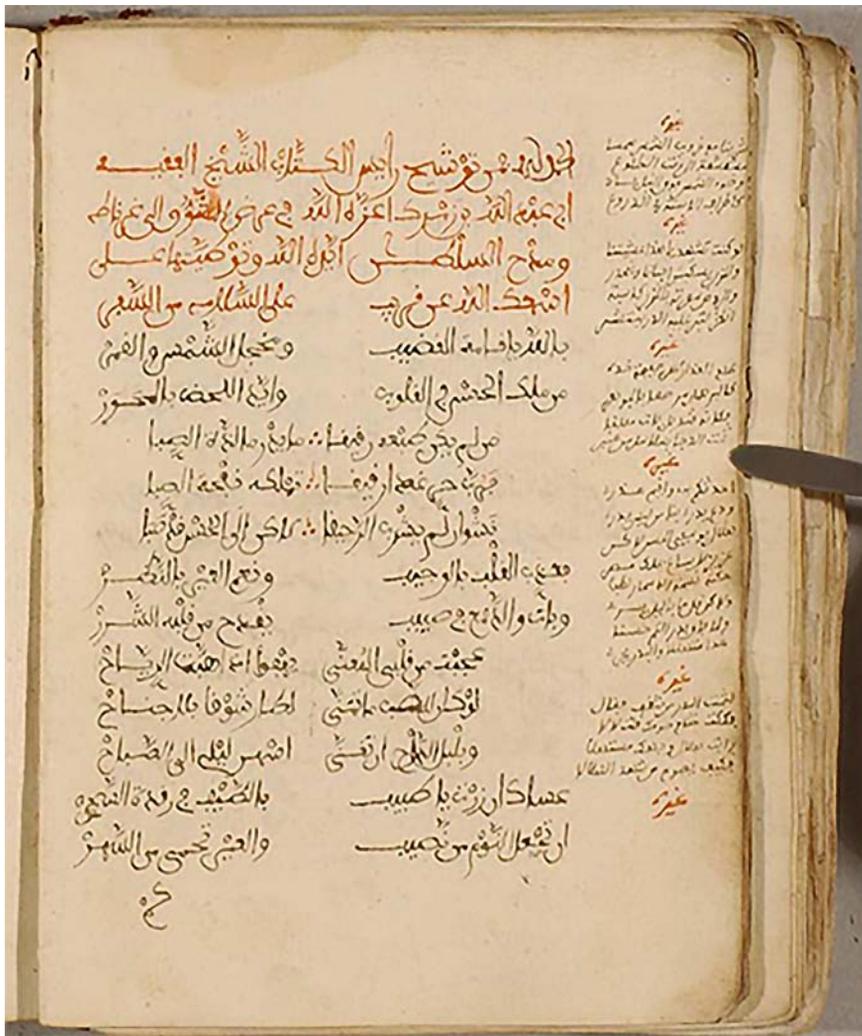
FIGURE 6.3 A page from *al-ʿAdhārā al-māʾisāt*

FIGURE 6.4 The colophon and date from D144

FIGURE 6.5 A typical page from D144

FIGURE 6.6 A page of the poem on the modes by al-Wansharīsī, and *shajarat al-ṭubūʿ*

FIGURE 6.7   Damaged leaves from the front matter of D144

FIGURE 6.8   An example of marginalia from D144

FIGURE 6.9A   A page from the Lamrīnī *Kunnāsh al-Ḥā'ik* ms
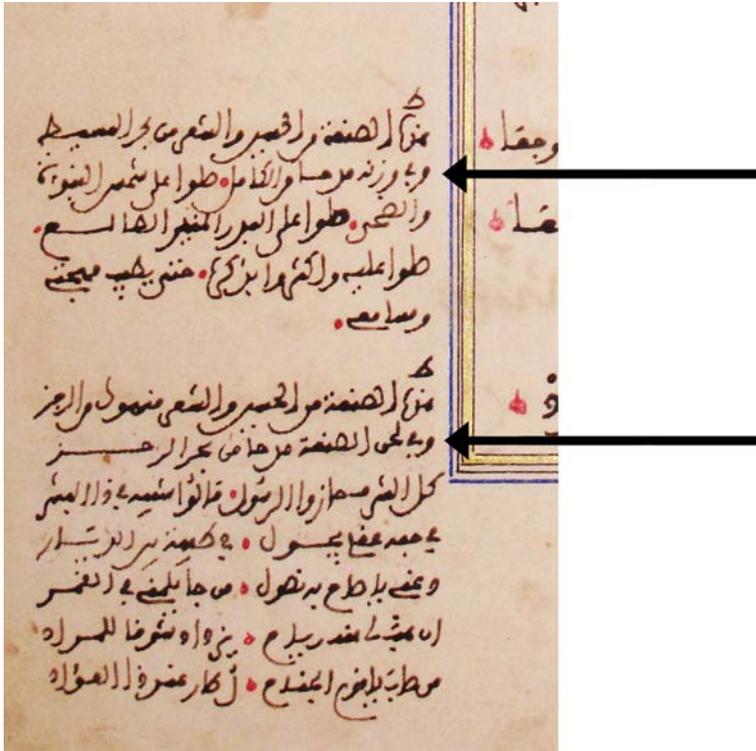
FIGURE 6.9B   Marginalia in the Lamrīnī *Kunnāsh* with *wa-fī waznihi madḥan* and an alternative phrasing indicated

TABLE 6.1   A chart of the *nūbāt* in several manuscript versions of *Kunnāsh al-Ḥāʾik* (the *al-Jāmiʿī* example is given here for purposes of comparison)

	D144	Raysūnī	*La familia al-Ḥāʾik*	د 3376	al-Jāmiʿī
1	al-Istihlāl (1)	al-Ḥusayn	Ramal al-Māya	Ramal al-Māya	al-Raṣd
2	al-Istihlāl (2)	al-Iṣbahān (1)	al-Iṣbahān	al-ʿUshshāq	al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr
3	ʿIrāq al-ʿArab	al-Raṣd	al-Māya	al-Iṣbahān	ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam
4	al-Māya	ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam	Raṣd al-Dīl	Gharībat al-Ḥusayn	Gharībat al-Ḥusayn
5	al-Ḥusayn	Gharībat al-Ḥusayn	al-Istihlāl	al-Raṣd	al-Māya
6	Ramal al-Māya	al-Māya	al-Raṣd	Raṣd al-Dīl	al-ʿUshshāq
7	al-Iṣbahān	al-ʿUshshāq	Gharībat al-Ḥusayn	al-Ḥijāz al-Mashriqī	Raṣd al-Dīl
8	al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr	Raṣd al-Dīl	al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr	ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam	al-Istihlāl
9	al-Raṣd	al-Istihlāl	al-Ḥijāz al-Mashriqī	al-Istihlāl	Ramal al-Māya
10	Raṣd al-Dīl	Ramal al-Māya	ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam	al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr	al-Iṣbahān
11	al-Ḥijāz al-Mashriqī	al-Iṣbahān (2)	al-ʿUshshāq	al-Māya	al-Ḥijāz al-Mashriqī
12	al-Ṣīka	al-Ḥijāz al-Mashriqī			
13	Gharībat (al-Ḥusayn)				

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Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (d. 281/894) on Death and Dying

Lyall Armstrong

Thanatology, or theologies of death and the process of dying, are essential components of religious traditions. Indeed, at the core of religious thought is the question of what happens to mankind upon death, including, but not restricted to, questions about the creation and nature of the soul, the status of mankind in relationship to God (anthropologies), and the ultimate destiny of mankind (eschatologies).

In the Islamic tradition, the Quran provides a rudimentary thanatology. Death is the fate of all men determined by the will of God,[1] who controls death,[2] resurrects the dead,[3] and rewards and punishes the dead.[4] Supplemental to the Quran are the traditions attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad, the *ḥadīth*. Many *ḥadīth* compilations include chapters on issues related to death, such as details on funeral processions (*al-janāʾiz*) as well as descriptions of the hereafter (*al-jahannam, al-fitan, al-aḥkām*, etc.).[5] These traditions illuminate unclear aspects of the quranic thanatology, providing instructions on practical aspects of death and dying, such as the preparation of bodies and burial practices, and exhorting the faithful to right behavior. Even though each of these traditions may not extend back to the Prophet, they do provide an early witness to the community's perception of death and the events related to it.

While the Quran and the *ḥadīth* works of the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries were invaluable storehouses of information on the community's view of death, they apparently fell short in quelling the curiosity of the faithful. Indeed, works on death attributed to authors of the third/ninth to fifth/elev-

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1   Q 21:35, Q 29:57.

2   Q 23:80, Q 30:40.

3   Q 19:66, Q 45:26.

4   On rewards for the dead, see Q 3:157–158 and Q 22:58. On punishments for the dead, see Q 2:161 and Q 6:93. For studies on the quranic teaching on death, see Eklund, *Life between Death and Resurrection* 1–44; O'Shaughnessy, *Muhammad's Thoughts on Death*; Welch, Death and Dying in the Qurʾān 183–199; Waardenburg, Death and the Dead.

5   For example, Mālik b. Anas has a chapter on funerals (#16) and on hell (#57); see his *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*. Al-Bukhārī has chapters on burials (#29) and the afflictions at the end of time (#96); see his *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Muslim compiled chapters on funerals (#11) and on the coming judgment, heaven and hell (#50–52); see his *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*.

enth centuries are replete with anecdotes filling in the details of what happens to the soul at death, descriptions of the grave, interactions between the world of the living and the world of the dead, and the role of angels and demons, among many other topics. One of the most prolific writers on death during this time period was Abū Bakr ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad, known commonly as Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (d. 281/894).[6]

Ibn Abī l-Dunyā spent his life in Baghdad. He was a highly regarded religious scholar, reputedly sound as a *ḥadīth* transmitter.[7] He was a prolific author composing, by most accounts, more than a hundred works.[8] He wrote on a wide array of topics, including biographies, history and law. He was particularly interested in themes of piety, death and the afterlife, to which he devoted individual works as well as merged these themes together in other works.[9] He wrote at least 16 works on topics related specifically to death.[10] These are compilations of traditions on death attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad, his Companions (*ṣaḥāba*), his Successors (*tābiʿūn*) and other luminaries of the early community. These works proved to be important repositories of the early community's views of death and were actively mined by later scholars who wrote on the topic, such as al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), among others.[11] As a result, Ibn Abī l-Dunyā played an important role in the development

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6   On Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, see Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ* v, 163; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* i, 458–459; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād* xi, 293–295; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xiii, 397–404; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb* ii, 424; Dietrich, Ibn Abī l-Dunyā; Librande, Ibn Abī l-Dunyā.

7   Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ* v, 163; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh* xi, 293–295; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xiii, 400; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* ii, 424; Dietrich, Ibn Abī l-Dunyā; Librande, Ibn Abī l-Dunyā.

8   Al-Dhahabī actually lists 182 titles, but some titles are repeated and others may have been known by more than one title; see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xiii, 401–404. Also, see sources above. The most comprehensive work on Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's corpus is ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad Ḥasan Damfū's al-Muṣannafāt al-maṭbūʿa li-l-Imām Ibn Abī l-Dunyā 200–203.

9   Among the titles attributed to him on piety are *al-Waraʿ* (The Book of Piety), *al-Dhikr* (The Book of Recollection), *al-Taqwā* (The Book of Godliness), *al-Tawakkul* (The Book of Trusting in God), *Dhamm al-dunyā* (The Censure of this World), *Dhamm al-malāhī* (The Censure of Entertainment), among others. In addition, he also wrote on a broad array of topics, like *fiqh* (*Fiqh al-nabī, al-Amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahī ʿan al-munkar*), the murder of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, and the marriage of Fāṭima. For the works mentioned here and more, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* i, 458–459; Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, *Fihrist* ii, 282–284; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xiii, 401–404.

10   Leah Kinberg listed 16 works, but she did not include some which also seem to be related to death and the events surrounding it, such as *al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* (Comfort Follows Affliction), *al-Muḥāsaba* ([Divine] Accounting)/*Muḥāsabat al-nafs* ([Divine] Accounting of the Soul); see her introduction in Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Manām* 28–31.

11   The use of traditions recorded by Ibn Abī l-Dunyā by later writers is evident in many sources. Al-Ghazālī's dependence on him in his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* was noted by ʿAbd al-

of an Islamic thanatology. He is one of the earliest anthologists of anecdotes on death. He wrote *K. al-Mawt* (The Book of Death), which seems to have also been known by some as *K. Dhikr al-mawt* (The Book of the Recollection of Death), *K. al-Qubūr* (The Book of the Graves), and *K. al-Muḥtaḍarīn* (The Book of the Parting Words of the Dying).[12] In this study, I will explore his role as an anthologist of anecdotes of death with particular emphasis on the aforementioned works, and, finally, will examine the types of themes Ibn Abī l-Dunyā highlighted by his choice of traditions.

1 Ibn Abī l-Dunyā as an Anthologist of Death

In his edition of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's *Makārim al-akhlāq*, James Bellamy notes that Islamic literature through the third/ninth century, such as biographies, histories and *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, was mostly anecdotal in nature and that Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's works, which he describes as "anecdotes anthologized," are indicative of this trend.[13] The role of the compiler as an "author" in many of these works is not immediately obvious because, as compilations, these works did not lend themselves readily to the personal input of the compiler/"author."[14] The compiler's approach as an anthologist can be determined by the anecdotes that he includes and, more clearly, in his organization of the anecdotes, revealed through the titles and order of chapters in their compilations. This is clear in many works of *ḥadīth* of the third/ninth century which were arranged by chapters, often including a chapter on funerals (*janā'iz*), which assembled

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Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿIrāqī in his *al-Mughnī* and by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī in his *Itḥāf*. On al-ʿIrāqī, see his notes in al-Ghazālī *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*. On al-Zabīdī, see his *Itḥāf*. On Kinberg's use of these, and other, sources in reconstructing both Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's *al-Mawt* and *al-Qubūr*, see Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *K. al-Mawt wa K. al-Qubūr* 7, 17.

   Al-Suyūṭī utilized traditions from Ibn Abī l-Dunyā in several of his works; among the most important examples is his *Sharḥ al-ṣudūr fī sharḥ ḥāl al-mawtā wa-l-qubūr*. On Suyūṭī's use of these traditions, see Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Mawt* 19–20. For a more extensive list of scholars who drew from the works of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, see Āl Salmān's introduction to Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *K. Dhikr al-mawt* 7–8.

12   On his *al-Mawt wa-l-qubūr* or, alternatively, his *Dhikr al-mawt*, see above. See also Ibn Abī l-Dunyā *al-Muḥtaḍarīn*. For sources which identify the title as *al-Mawt* and *Dhikr al-mawt*, see Damfū, Muṣannafāt 200–204.

13   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *Makārim al-akhlāq* ix, 2–3.

14   Bellamy noted that Ibn Abī l-Dunyā recorded his own views in his *Makārim al-akhlāq* on only a few occasions; see *Makārim al-akhlāq* ix and 2–3.

prophetic traditions describing how to wrap and perfume the dead, etiquette during the burial procession, and guidelines for the burial itself.

A fundamental difference between the above-mentioned *ḥadīth* works and those of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā is that the latter integrated a broader array of sources for his anecdotes. In this sense, his works reveal a more explicit anthologizing tendency. He includes both prose and poetry drawn from traditions of the Prophet, pre-Islamic prophets, distinguished poets, the Prophet's followers, and literary figures of the early community. His inclusion of poetry places him among other famous anthologists on death-related themes during this period, specifically authors of works on condolences offered to the bereaved (*taʿāzī*). Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, for example, has at least one work on condolences attributed to him. Al-Ghazālī, in his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, cited an *al-ʿAzā* of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā.[15] Other works of condolences refer to Ibn Abī l-Dunyā as a source but do not specify which of his books they used; al-Dīnawarī (d.c. 333/944) cited Ibn Abī l-Dunyā twice in his *al-Mujālisa*, and the Damascene historian Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176), in his own *al-Taʿāzī*, cited him eight times.[16]

Ibn Abī l-Dunyā was by no means alone among third/ninth century Iraqi scholars interested in the theme of death or in the compilation of works on condolences. Two well-known anthologists of condolences also wrote at this time; al-Madāʾinī (d. 228/843) wrote *al-Taʿāzī*, and al-Mubarrad (d. 286/900), using al-Madāʾinī as a source, wrote *al-Taʿāzī wa-l-marāthī*.[17] Unfortunately, in the absence of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's *Taʿāzī/ʿAzāʾ*, it is impossible to compare his work to these contemporaries; a few remarks, however, are warranted. It is noteworthy, for example, that neither Ibn Abī l-Dunyā nor al-Mubarrad appear to have cited each other. On the one hand, this seems unusual since they both lived in Baghdad, were renowned scholars who wrote on death, had direct connections to the Abbasid court, and died within one year of each other.[18] On the other hand, this underscores their roles as anthologists interested in collating the traditions of earlier scholars and not inserting themselves or their

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15   Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ* iv, 474. Al-Dhahabī lists both a *Taʿāzī* and a *ʿAzāʾ* for Ibn Abī l-Dunyā; see his *Siyar* xiii, 402–403. These may refer to the same work; see above.

16   On al-Dīnawarī, see his *al-Mujālasa* vii, 299. On Ibn ʿAsākir, see his *Taʿziyat al-muslim* 21–23, 28, 32–33, 35.

17   On al-Madāʾinī, see Sezgin, al-Madāʾinī. On al-Mubarrad, see Sellheim, al-Mubarrad. On al-Mubarrad's use of al-Madāʾinī, see al-Dībājī's introduction to al-Mubarrad's *al-Taʿāzī wa-l-marāthī*, k-y.

18   Al-Mubarrad was summoned to meet with al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–247/847–861) in Sāmarrā in 246/860; see Sellheim, al-Mubarrad. See also al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt* iii, 243; al-Mubarrad, *al-Taʿāzī*, K-L. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā was the tutor of several Abbasid princes, such as al-Muʿtaḍid and al-Muqtafī; see Dietrich, Ibn Abī l-Dunyā and Librande, Ibn Abī l-Dunyā.

contemporaries into their works. Along these lines, Bellamy described Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's works as "almost wholly devoid of personal comments; he never utilizes his material as a basis for injecting his own views."[19] While Ibn Abī l-Dunyā and al-Mubarrad do not give any signs that they interacted directly with each other, it is clear that they were drawing from a common pool of traditions. In addition to multiple anecdotes which are common between the two authors, Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, in his *K. al-Muḥtaḍarīn*, cites two poets whom al-Mubarrad also quotes in his *al-Taʿāzī*: the pre-Islamic poet Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt (fl. sixth century CE) and the famous grammarian Sībawayhi (d. ca. 180/796).[20]

2 Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's *al-Mawt*/*Dhikr al-mawt* and *al-Qubūr* as Anthologies on Death

Ibn Abī l-Dunyā wrote two books specifically addressing death and its attendant circumstances, *al-Qubūr* and a book entitled either *al-Mawt* or *Dhikr al-mawt*. It is possible that *al-Mawt* and *Dhikr al-mawt* are two separate works, but it is more likely that they are the same work which was known by later scholars who often did not distinguish between them in one of these two forms. Unfortunately, none of these works is extant; however, Leah Kinberg and Abū ʿUbayda Mashhūr b. Ḥasan Āl Salmān attempted to reconstruct them from citations in later works.

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19   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *Makārim* ix.

20   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *K. al-Muḥtaḍarīn* 188 (also 93) and 191; cf. al-Mubarrad, *al-Taʿāzī* 229–230 (also 228) and 197, respectively. Neither Ibn Abī l-Dunyā nor al-Mubarrad identify al-Sībawayhi as the reciter; both simply call him "a man (*rajulan*)." Ibn Qutayba identifies the verse with Sībawayhi; see his *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* ii, 312. There are also dozens of anecdotes common to both works which are also, interestingly, arranged in a similar order in both works, suggesting that one of the two may have had access to the work of the other or that they may come from a common source. If there is a common source, it does not appear to be al-Madāʾinī since the order in al-Mubarrad and in Ibn Abī l-Dunyā does not correspond to that of al-Madāʾinī. In the edition of *al-Muḥtaḍarīn*, the traditions are numbered individually. Al-Mubarrad's traditions are not numbered. In the following list, I have put Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's traditions from his *al-Muḥtaḍarīn* with # beside them and placed them next to the page number, in parentheses, of the tradition in al-Mubarrad's *al-Taʿāzī*. The arrangement is intriguingly similar: #36 (219), #37 (220), #39 (219), #41 (221), #47 (222), #51 (223), #52 (224), #57 (225), #65 (224), #67 (225), #69 (225), #75 (226), #84 (226–227), #85 (227). It is unclear why we have two contemporaries and compilers of statements of condolences who do not acknowledge having known each other in their writings assemble their anecdotes in a strikingly similar order. On Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt, see Montgomery, Umayya b. Abī al-Ṣalt. On Sībawayhi and al-Mubarrad's opinion of him, see Bernards, *Changing Traditions*.

In her reconstruction, Kinberg extracted traditions from later sources which referred specifically to Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's *al-Mawt* or *Dhikr al-mawt* resulting in 143 traditions in her edition of *al-Mawt*. Additionally, she extracted traditions referring to Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's *al-Qubūr* resulting in 121 traditions in her edition of *al-Qubūr*.[21] Her choice to restrict her selection to only traditions explicitly identified in the later sources as present in Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's *al-Mawt* and *al-Qubūr* provided an accurate but limited reconstruction of the original source. As she noted, her project "does not give the complete text of the two books, nor the original order of the anecdotes … nevertheless, it does offer a good insight into the main topics covered in these books."[22]

Abū ʿUbayda Mashhūr b. Ḥasan Āl Salmān expanded Kinberg's work by including traditions on death attributed to Ibn Abī l-Dunyā in later works yet without requiring a citation identifying the tradition as having come directly from *al-Mawt* or *al-Qubūr*. He drew from these sources, as well as other extant writings of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, and therefore amassed a much larger number of traditions than Kinberg—594 in all. In this regard, Āl Salmān's reconstruction is helpful as an insight into Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's role as an anthologist of death anecdotes in general but, except for a handful of new traditions which Kinberg did not have in her reconstruction, it does not significantly revise Kinberg's project nor shed greater light on the nature of *al-Mawt/Dhikr al-mawt*. Moreover, Āl Salmān arranged his work with chapter titles of his own making which are, therefore, unhelpful in trying to recreate Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's original organization.

The lack of manuscript evidence for these works and, subsequently, of any chapter designations impedes any evaluation of them as anthologies. Indeed, the organization of a work is the authorial voice of an anthologist of anecdotes. In the absence of the organization, the compiler loses, for all intents and purposes, his authorship. Not all is lost, however. References to these works in later sources and analyses of other works on death and dying by Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, specifically his *K. al-Muḥtaḍarīn*, help shed some light on how he arranged these works.

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21   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Mawt* 17–22.

22   Ibid. ii.

3   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's Organization of *al-Mawt* and *al-Qubūr*

The sixth/twelfth century bibliographer Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Khayr al-Ishbīlī (d. 575/1179) mentions having heard many of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's books (*kutub*) from several of his teachers.[23] He claims that his teacher Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 545/1150), who could trace his transmissions back to Ibn Abī l-Dunyā himself, related a *K. Dhikr al-mawt* to him.[24] In the section on the eight books that were related to him by Abū Jaʿfar, Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī identifies the number of sections (*juzʾ*) for each book (*kitāb*); he provides no such detail for any of his other teachers. Four of the titles in this section were said to have been transmitted in one *juzʾ* only. The others were enumerated as follows: *K. al-Khāʾifīn* in two *juzʾ* (*juzʾayn*), *al-Qubūr* in four *ajzāʾ*, *Dhikr al-mawt* in seven *ajzāʾ*; one book has no mention of the number of *juzʾ*.[25] As Kinberg noted, it is difficult to interpret precisely what Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī means here by *juzʾ*. She pointed out that Wiener translated *juzʾ* with the German *Tiel* ("section").[26] The term is clearly related to the manuscript that Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī had at his disposal but did not clarify exactly how the work was divided. The term *juzʾ* almost certainly does not refer to chapters, as I will demonstrate below.

Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī noted that four works were composed of a single *juzʾ*. Fortunately, all four of these are extant and, not surprisingly, all are relatively short in length, ranging from 149 to 349 anecdotes; very few of these anecdotes reach one page in length in the modern edition, with most made up of only a few lines.[27] Each single *juzʾ* book contains chapter designations from Ibn Abī l-Dunyā. Therefore, it is unlikely that *juzʾ* means "chapter."[28] It is tempting to deduce from Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī's entry that two of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's longest works were his *al-Qubūr* (four *ajzāʾ*) and his *Dhikr al-mawt* (seven *ajzāʾ*).

Without knowing the dimensions of each *juzʾ*, no definitive conclusion is possible.[29] It would certainly not defy logic, however, to assume that these

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23   Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, *Fihrist* ii, 282–284.

24   Ibid. ii, 282. On Abū Jaʿfar, see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xx, 331–332.

25   Ibid. The book that does not have the number of *juzʾ* mentioned is the *al-ʿAwābid*.

26   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Mawt* 24.

27   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *Muḥāsabat al-nafs*; *idem*, *al-Waraʿ*; *idem*, *al-Hawātif*; *idem*, *Qiṣar al-amal*.

28   Kinberg suggested that Ishbīlī's *juzʾ* referred to divisions within the text (*fuṣūl*), such as chapter divisions; see Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Mawt* 25.

29   Muḥammad Khayr Ramaḍān Yūsuf, the editor of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's *Qiṣar al-amal*, noted that the manuscript which he used was in three small sections (*thalāthat ajzāʾ ṣaghīra*). These three sections were divided into five chapters: the first *juzʾ* was composed of one chapter, the second *juzʾ* was composed of one chapter, and the third *juzʾ* was composed

works were at least longer than those described as being in one *juz'*; if not to convey to the reader something about length, it makes little sense for Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī to specify the number of *juz'*, especially when he does not do it for all the works of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā that he listed. If these numbers can be associated with the length of the work, it would suggest that the *Dhikr al-mawt* was among the longer works of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā. This possibility, however, is admittedly speculative.

Like other anthologies of anecdotes, such as *ḥadīth*, the anthologizing project of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā is reflected in his regular use of chapter designations.[30] In spite of not having the works themselves, we know that *al-Mawt* and *al-Qubūr* contained chapter designations as well. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350) noted that he retrieved a tradition from *al-Qubūr* in the chapter entitled "The Dead's Awareness of Visits from the Living" (*Maʿrifat al-mawtā bi-ziyārat al-aḥyāʾ*).[31] Furthermore, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Irāqī (d. 806/1404) noted in his work on locating the sources of al-Ghazāli's traditions that a tradition on *dhikr al-mawt* was located "at the end of the book" (*ʿinda Ibn Abī l-Dunyā fī dhikr al-mawt ākhir al-kitāb*).[32] Al-ʿIrāqī's statement appears to identify the book itself as *Dhikr al-mawt.* It is noteworthy, however, to mention that elsewhere in his comments on al-Ghazālī's sources he never refers to Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's book on death as *Dhikr al-mawt*, rather only as *al-Mawt*.[33] Whereas the statement that this tradition came "at the end of the book" clearly allows us to orient this individual tradition in the book itself, it may also suggest that the book ended with a whole section, or chapter, encouraging the recollection of death (*dhikr al-mawt*).

In addition to this one reference on the layout of *al-Mawt*, we can also benefit from an examination of other works of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā for insight into his inspiration and motivation for the compilation of his works in general and, furthermore, how he reuses individual traditions in multiple works. In fact, he

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of three chapters. This shows the difficulty of trying to reconstruct length based on the meaning of *juz'*. See Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *Qiṣar* 10.

30   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā regularly used chapter headings in his works. Bellamy noted that the chapter arrangements in his *Makārim al-akhlāq* were unusual because they are based on one prophetic tradition; see his introduction in Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *Makārim* 2. Kinberg noted that his organization of traditions, in terms of their themes, does not always follow his chapter headings; see her introduction to Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Manām* 16–17 and her introduction to Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Mawt* 24.

31   Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *al-Rūḥ fī-l-kalām ʿalā arwāḥ* i, 169.

32   Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ* iii, 375.

33   See al-ʿIrāqī's comments in al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ* iv, 462–465, 493, 495–498, 503. For al-ʿIrāqī's citation of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's *al-Qubūr*, see al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ* iv, 485, 490–491, 498–499, 503.

appears to have drawn inspiration from prophetic *ḥadīth*s in the compilation of his works. For example, in his *Makārim al-akhlāq* he assembled his chapters based on a prophetic *ḥadīth* about ten noble qualities of character.[34] This seems to be only one example, however, of the influence that prophetic *ḥadīth* had on his choice of subject material for his works.

In his *al-Mawt*, Ibn Abī l-Dunyā recorded the tradition, "increase your recollection of death, it makes you forget everything else."[35] In fact, this aphorism is only a portion of a longer prophetic *ḥadīth* that he uses, in various forms, in other works. In this case, he recorded a larger portion of this tradition in his *al-Shukr*, adding to the above: "… and be in supplication for you don't know when your prayers will be answered and give thanks because thanksgiving increases [grace]."[36] Even still, this citation in *al-Shukr* is a condensed version of the complete tradition recorded in several early collections, including al-Jāḥiẓ's (d. 255/868–869) *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*:

> A man said to him, "Oh messenger of God, advise me concerning something that will benefit me with God." And he said, "Increase [your] recollection of death (*dhikr al-mawt*); it will make you forget this world. Be thankful (*ʿalayka bi-l-shukr*); you will have God's blessings added to you. Increase [your] supplications because you do not know when they will be answered for you (*akthir al-duʿāʾ fa-innaka lā tadrī matā yustajābu la-ka*). Be wary of [committing] injustice (*al-baghī*) because God most high and exalted will vindicate all those who have been the victims of injustice. "O mankind, your injustice is only against yourselves." [Q 10:23] Be wary of deception (*al-makr*) because God has determined that the negative deception will only afflict one's own family."[37]

It is curious that Ibn Abī l-Dunyā wrote entire works which seem to correspond to this tradition. The tradition encourages the recollection of death (*mawt* or *dhikr al-mawt*), which is the theme of his *al-Mawt/Dhikr al-mawt*. The tradition also commands thankfulness, which we find mirrored and cited in his *al-Shukr*. The call to bring supplications to God and to anticipate His favorable response (*akthir al-duʿāʾ fa-innaka lā tadrī matā yustajābu la-ka*) is reflected in his *al-Duʿāʾ* and his *Mujābī al-daʿwa*. Finally, Ibn Abī l-Dunyā wrote a work censuring injustice, *Dhamm al-baghī*. While he does not seem to have written a text

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34   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *Makārim* 2–3.
35   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Mawt* 38.
36   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Shukr* 34.
37   Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn* ii, 22.

devoted to deception (*makr*), in his *Dhamm al-baghī*, he notes that, according to the Quran, "injustice" (*baghī*) is a vice which afflicts the perpetrators themselves; included with it are deception (*makr*) and breach of commitments (*nakth*), two vices the results of which ricochet back onto the offender. This recoil effect places these three vices in the same category and seems to have caused Ibn Abī l-Dunyā to treat them together.[38]

A similar reutilization of sources is evident in the correlation between the title of a chapter in his book on the dying words of prestigious figures of the community, his *K. al-Muḥtaḍarīn*, and a separate work with the same title as that chapter, *Ḥusn al-ẓann bi-llāh ʿinda nuzūl al-mawt* (Maintaining Good Thoughts about God at the Time of Death). The chapter by this title in *al-Muḥtaḍarīn* contains twelve traditions. Ten of these traditions are also in his book of the same title.[39] Indeed, Ibn Abī l-Dunyā quite often cited the same tradition in multiple works.[40] He duplicated at least fourteen traditions in his *al-Mawt* and *al-Qubūr*.[41] His tendency to reuse traditions is indicative of an anthologist; the content from his works does not come from his own musings on the topic but on a limited, although numerous, pool of traditions which he edits and arranges for each new compilation.

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38   He connects these three vices using two sources. The Quran claims that the consequences of these three vices are borne by the perpetrator; literally they return to him ["to him" (*ʿalā nafsihi*—Q 48:10, using *nakth*), "to yourselves" (*ʿalā anfusikum*—Q 10:23, using *makr*), or "to his family" (*bi-ahlihi*—Q 35:43, using *baghī*)]. Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Quraẓī noted, from the above mentioned verses, that these are three dispositions which act against the one who possesses them, *thalāth khiṣāl man kunna fīhi kunna ʿalayhi*; see Ibn Abī l-Dunyā *Dhamm al-baghī* 88.

39   See footnotes for the traditions numbered 16–24 and 26–27 in *K. al-Muḥtaḍarīn* 31–40.

40   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's tendency to reuse traditions in multiple works is so prevalent that it is untenable to record each example. Āl Salmān, in his footnotes on *Dhikr al-mawt*, presents an extensive amount of evidence of this tendency. Compare, for example, tradition #32 in *Dhikr* to tradition #300 in *K. al-Muḥtaḍarīn*; tradition #69 in *Dhikr* to tradition #117 in *Qiṣar al-ʿamal*; tradition #144 in *Dhikr* to tradition #3 in *Makārim al-akhlāq*; tradition #97 in *Dhikr* to *al-Shukr*, 34.

41   Kinberg's edition of the two works does not give any example of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's tendency to reuse traditions. Āl Salmān, however, shows clearly that Ibn Abī l-Dunyā cited some of the same traditions in both his *al-Mawt* and *al-Qubūr*; see his *Dhikr*, (#111) 62 no. 111; (#128) 70 no. 128; (#254) 137 no. 254; (#255) 141 no. 255; (#259) 143 no. 259; (#260) 143 no. 260; (#262) 145 no. 262; (#263) 145 no. 263; (#270) 148 no. 270; (#274) 151 no. 274; (#298) 166 no. 298; (#376) 208 no. 376; (#539) 274 no. 539; (#540) 274 no. 540.

4   Themes in Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's *al-Mawt* and *al-Qubūr*

In spite of the absence of chapter titles for his *al-Mawt* and *al-Qubūr*, we can still benefit from the anecdotes themselves, for they speak to the interest of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā as an anthologist. It is clear, for example, that one of the prime objectives of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā as an anthologist is to encourage piety in the faithful.[42] Indeed, he wrote works specifically addressing this issue, such as his *al-Waraʿ* and *al-Zuhd*. This objective is undeniable in *al-Mawt* and *al-Qubūr*. Secondly, his traditions betray social objectives by encouraging care for the poor, challenging the benefits of class differences based on wealth and power, and promoting justice. Thirdly, his traditions educate the reader by providing details of the unknown nature of the afterlife. This last group of traditions may promote piety indirectly, but their primary intention appears to be for clarification of what occurs at death and in the next life and, in the process, they give a supplemental, if not alternate, view of death from that described in the Quran.

5   Encouraging Individual Piety

It should come as no surprise that books on death and the grave encourage the readers to prepare themselves for these ominous events. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā conveys this message repeatedly by virtue of the lessons drawn from his traditions. He encourages his readers to weigh the temporality of this world against the eternality of the next. A proper perspective here yields several results in the life of the believer. By attending to pious devotion, the believer is able to deal with the stresses of this life, such as poverty, more effectively.[43] Indeed, money is a prime root of evil because it distracts from righteousness.[44] Therefore, the pious understand that the most wonderful things that the believer can experience in life are poverty and death.[45] By increasing one's awareness of this fact, the sweet attractions of this world can be avoided.[46] This promotes wisdom

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[42]   Kinberg noted this in her introduction to *al-Mawt* 17. She also noted that this is a common feature of many of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's works; see her introduction to *al-Manām* 31–33. See also Dietrich, Ibn Abī l-Dunyā.

[43]   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Mawt* (#45) 38; (#46) 38. Cf. *Dhikr* (#185) 103; (#148) 81–82.

[44]   Ibid. (#127) 62. Cf. *Dhikr* (#224) 121–122.

[45]   Ibid. (#37) 36. Cf. *Dhikr* (#39) 31.

[46]   Ibid. (#11) 31; (#12) 32; (#52) 39. Cf. *Dhikr* (#85) 51; (#128) 70. I could find no variant tradition of #52 in *Dhikr*.

by encouraging an eternal perspective,[47] removes envy by exposing the trivial nature of the goods of this world,[48] softens the heart,[49] and promotes a kindly aspect toward death; as the Prophet said, "death is the gift for the believer."[50]

The sentiment that death is advantageous for the believer is portrayed in several traditions. A tradition of Abū l-Dardāʾ (d. 30s/650s) states that the best news he can receive is that of the death of a believer.[51] Ibn Masʿūd (d. 32–33/652–654) echoed this sentiment claiming that the only true rest for the believer is meeting God.[52] As other traditions note, this is the case because the believer has been freed from the hardships of this life and is experiencing eternal rest with God.[53] Indeed, the deceased is like the baby who has left its mother's womb and, although it is weeping, does not want to return to its previous abode.[54]

In fact, for the pious believer, the two things that mankind seeks to avoid the most, poverty and death are, in actuality, blessings; poverty, for example, prepares one to embrace death by severing ties to this world.[55] So the pious not only does not fear death but welcomes it. Abū Hurayra (d. 57–59/678–680), at the time of his impending death, responded to Marwān [b. al-Ḥakam?] (d. 65/685) when the latter said to him, "May God heal you," with this pious appeal: "O God, I prefer to meet you and you prefer to meet me."[56] Thus, death is good and something that the pious even envy in those who have already died.[57] As a result, the believer should prepare himself for death; Ibn ʿUmar (d. 73/693) asked the Prophet, "who is the wisest and the most blessed?" He answered, "the one who remembers death the most and is best in preparing for it. Those are the wisest. They die with honor of this world and the glory of the hereafter."[58] Recalling death is praiseworthy, and, by keeping it constantly in one's thoughts, the mind can be purged of all other concerns.[59] The

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47   Ibid. (#23) 34; (#48) 39. Cf. *Dhikr* (#144) 79–80. I could find no variant tradition of #23 in *Dhikr*.

48   Ibid. (#53) 39. Cf. *Dhikr* (#122) 66–67.

49   Ibid. (#56) 40. Cf. *Dhikr* (#156) 87.

50   Ibid. (#27) 34. Cf. *Dhikr* (#53) 37.

51   Ibid. (#28) 35. Cf. *Dhikr* (#38) 30–31. On Abū l-Dardāʾ, see Melchert, Abū l-Dardāʾ.

52   Ibid. (#32) 35. Cf. *Dhikr* (#54) 37. On Ibn Masʿūd, see Anthony, Ibn Masʿūd, ʿAbdallāh.

53   Ibid. (#30) 35; (#33) 35. Cf. *Dhikr* (#41) 31–32; (#56) 38–39.

54   Ibid. (#34) 36. Cf. *Dhikr* (#1) 15.

55   Ibid. (#37) 36; (#46) 38. Cf. *Dhikr* (#39) 31; (#148) 81–82.

56   Ibid. (#43) 37. Cf. *Dhikr* (#32) 28. On Abū Hurayra, see Juynboll, Abū Hurayra.

57   Ibid. (#44) 38; (#45) 38. Cf. *Dhikr* (#55) 37–38; (#185) 103.

58   Ibid. (#48) 39. Cf. *Dhikr* (#144) 79–80. On ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar, see Görke, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

59   Ibid. (#47) 38. Cf. *Dhikr* (#97) 56–57.

Prophet, for example, warned party-goers, who in their laughing might forget their ultimate destiny, that they should balance laughing with thoughts of death and cautioned the puerile that they would soon have to climb the hill of the death.[60]

Piety not only yields the psychological benefits of properly prioritizing the things of the next world above the things of this world; it also has practical benefits in the next life, such as easing the torments of the grave. A young man who used to admonish his impious friends died, and his uncle noticed that his grave was wider than the entire cemetery of Basra. The uncle's wife informed him that at the time of the call to prayer, the boy would testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Prophet of God. As a result, the confinement of the grave was widened for him.[61] The comparative benefits of good and bad deeds are elucidated in a tradition attributed to Zayd b. Aslam (d. 136/754), who noted that a believer who does not have enough good deeds to compensate for his sins would face agonies in death for those sins equivalent to his level in paradise. Conversely, the good deeds of the unbeliever will mitigate his punishment in the hereafter.[62]

6   Promoting Societal Welfare

Death is the ultimate equalizer; no one escapes it—not prophets, not kings, not slaves, not the rich, nor the poor. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā underscores this reality as both a comfort for the common believer and a warning to the elite of the society. By relating several traditions which describe how prophets, kings and the rich have faced death, he offers a cautionary tale to those who might think that their earthly status has provided them with special privileges. Not even prophets are exempted in these traditions.

The prophets, however, present a particularly difficult challenge for the faithful because they must be simultaneously similar to all believers and distinct from them. This dynamic is reflected in traditions that describe their anxiety about death as well as some which uphold them as exemplars of constancy of faith in the face of their impending demise. Moses feared the pain of death.[63] David's limbs would dislocate when even thinking about the eventual

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60   Ibid. (#54) 40; (#55) 40; (#89) 54. Cf. *Dhikr* (#95) 55–56; (#96) 56; (#69) 45–46.

61   Ibid. (#94) 55; (#95) 55. Cf. *Dhikr* (#262) 145; (#319) 179.

62   Ibid. (#97) 56. Cf. *Dhikr* (#181) 102. On Zayd b. Aslam, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* i, 658–659.

63   Ibid. (#7) 31. Cf. *Dhikr* (#171) 96.

punishments from God and would return to their place when he remembered God's mercy.[64] Jesus feared death so greatly that he almost died from his anxiety over it. He also asked his disciples to pray that God would ease the pains of death for him and, in what may be the only personal insertion of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā into his *al-Mawt*, that he sweat drops of blood prior to his death.[65] Even the Prophet Muḥammad feared death and asked God to ease its pains.[66] The Prophet Muḥammad also interceded on behalf of his two daughters Zaynab and Ruqayya when they passed away because he knew of the torment of the grave. God lessened their torment but still the grave pressed in on them, indicating that regardless of the identity of the person or of the intercessor, death is still painful.[67]

The fear and anxiety related in the above traditions may suggest that the prophets are indeed merely mortals like the rest of humanity. This prospect does not fit within a growing Islamic theology which, even by the time of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, sanitized aspects of their humanity, making them, as a result, superior in piety, in morality and, in the case of death, in fortitude in the face of impending death. It is not surprising then that God would grant Abraham his request that the pain of his death be eased or that birds shaded David at his death.[68] Solomon even felt that he could challenge the fairness of the angel of death when he came for the wise prophet; the angel of death, however, dismissed his complaint, telling him that he was simply doing his job.[69] In spite of Solomon's failure to negotiate more time, the account reveals that prophets can interact with the spirit world in a way that is not allowed for others. On the other hand, his reticence to embrace death and enjoy eternal rest contrasts with other traditions that portray the faithful as surrendering to death with quietude and contentment. In fact, even the once arch-nemesis of the

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64   Ibid. (#22) 34. Cf. *Dhikr* (#123) 67.

65   Ibid. (#19) 33. Cf. *Dhikr* (#179) 101–102. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā relates the tradition about Jesus sweating drops of blood with no *isnād*—the only time that he did so in these traditions on death and the grave; see *al-Mawt* (#21) 34. I could find no variant for this tradition in *Dhikr*. It is clearly a reference to the gospel account of Jesus's agony in the Garden of Gethsemane (Luke 22:44); it reveals that Ibn Abī l-Dunyā was familiar with the story and suggests that he included this tradition because he recognized that the story fit within the objective of his work, even without being able to trace it back through an *isnād* to an earlier luminary.

66   Ibid. (#19) 33; (#20) 33.

67   Ibid. (#91, #92) 54. Cf. *Dhikr* (#260) 143–144.

68   For Abraham, see ibid. (#17) 32. Cf. *Dhikr* (#176) 100–101. For David, see ibid. (#101) 56. Cf. *Dhikr* (#322) 180.

69   Ibid. (#138) 66. Cf. *Dhikr* (#247) 132.

Prophet, Abū Sufyān (d. 32–34/653–655), is made to approach death in peace and confidence, saying to his family, "Don't weep over me because I have not committed a sin since I became a Muslim."[70]

The rich and powerful are dealt a particularly severe blow in these works. Indeed, in works that seek to prepare one for death and the afterlife, it is of little surprise that those who grasp for the glories of the temporal world, especially money and power, are the primary targets of admonition and rebuke. In a story related by Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 110/728), a proud and spoiled king is juxtaposed with a common pious believer. When the angel of death approached the king in the form of a ragged servant who grabbed the reins of the king's riding animal, the incensed monarch demanded that he release the animal. The servant, however, refused and whispered his true identity to the king. In spite of the pleadings of the king to be spared to see his family one last time, the servant/angel of death took his soul. Conversely, a pious believer told the angel of death that he was pleased to meet him and had actually been waiting for him. The angel of death offered him to choose the circumstances in which he would be taken in death. The believer asked to be allowed to perform ablutions and to be taken while bowing in prayer; the angel accommodated him.[71] Thus, while the common believer, unlike the prophet, may not feel the same freedom to open a negotiation with the angel of death, his piety grants him privileges not offered to others.

The rebuke of power and prestige was not reserved for unnamed kings of the past. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's traditions had a very clear objective of exposing the failures of the leaders of the Islamic *umma*, particularly by disparaging the rulers of the Umayyads. In doing so, Ibn Abī l-Dunyā reveals his affiliation with the Abbasid court and their concern to show their superiority to the corrupt Umayyads whom they overthrew. Some of these traditions allegedly come from the one ostensibly pious Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 99–101/717–720). He related that the Umayyad caliphs ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. 65–86/685–705) and his son al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 86–96/705–715) were among those who, although actually buried as Muslims in the direction of the *qibla*, were discovered to have had their orientation in the grave supernaturally diverted from the *qibla*, an apparent condemnation of their faith.[72] Al-Walīd, furthermore, was also seen "running in his burial shroud," apparently

70   Ibid. (#99) 56. Cf. *Dhikr* (#213) 115. On Abū Sufyān, see Keshk, Abū Sufyān.
71   Ibid. (#67) 43–44. Cf. *Dhikr* (#237) 126–127. On Wahb b. Munabbih, see Khoury, Wahb b. Munabbih.
72   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Qubūr* (#75) 90–91.

attempting to flee some form of punishment.[73] One tradition recounted that Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik's (r. 105–125/724–743) body was treated disrespectfully at his death because he had a certain scribe named ʿIyāḍ b. Muslim beaten and imprisoned.[74] In a separate tradition, ʿUmar asked the famous Umayyad general Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 121/738) to pay attention to the orientation of his face in the grave. Maslama, at ʿUmar's burial, noted that it was facing the correct direction, confirming his piety.[75] Finally, a certain ʿUtba al-Khawlānī al-Ṣaḥābī, upon hearing that al-Walīd's brother ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 132/749–750), a general and eventual governor of Egypt, fled Syria during the plague, said:

> I never imagined I would live to hear such a thing. Let me tell you of the traits of your brothers who preceded you. First, they loved the prospect of meeting God more than honey. Second, they feared no enemy, whether many or few. Thirdly, they were not afraid of being in want in this world because they depended on God to provide for them. Fourthly, when plague descended on them, they did not leave until God took whomever He took.[76]

These unequivocal rebukes of Umayyad leaders as cowardly, impious, and even unbelieving may not come as a surprise considering Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's connection to the Abbasid court. However, while Ibn Abī l-Dunyā only directly names Umayyad leaders, other traditions suggest that he is willing to send a general message to all political elite. He related, for example, that the angel of death entered unannounced into the presence of the king/prophet David. David asked, "Who are you?" He said, "I am the one who is not scared of the kings nor do veils keep me out."[77]

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73   Ibid. (#78) 91.

74   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *Dhikr* (#82) 50.

75   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Qubūr* (#75) 90–91.

76   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Mawt* (#102) 57. Cf. *Dhikr* (#23) 25. The identity of ʿUtba al-Khawlānī al-Ṣaḥābī is uncertain. It may be a misreading of the name and is a reference instead to Abū ʿAnaba al-Khawlānī, who was a companion of the Prophet (*ṣaḥāba*) who then went to Syria; see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb* iv, 1722–1724.

77   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Mawt* (#129) 63–64. Cf. *Dhikr* (#244) 130–131.

7   Revealing the Unknown

As noted above, Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's traditions have a clear moralizing intent whether toward individual piety or communal responsibility. Many traditions, however, seem to be simply educational in nature, providing a window into the unknown, such as describing the pain of death, the nature and work of the angel of death, and the conditions of the afterlife immediately beyond death.[78] This last category of traditions, which I will explore below, is particularly relevant since it incorporates aspects of both personal piety and societal duty. In addition, it may also give an alternate view of the nature of death from that found in the Quran.

Several traditions suggest that death is merely an alternate state of living whereby mankind passes from one form of existence to another and, for the most part, experiences a similar type of existence on the other side. There is a community of believers on the other side awaiting their friends and loved ones and the news of life among the living.[79] The Prophet said that when those in paradise receive one newly dead, they first say, "Give your brother some time so that he can relax, he was just now in great agony." After granting him a respite, they begin to ask about the condition of their friends and family. If the newly dead person tells them that one of these friends or family had already died, then they knew that he ended up in hell-fire since they had not received him into paradise.[80] These reunions are highly anticipated among the dead. A tradition from Thābit al-Bunānī (d. 127/744) related that dead relatives surround their newly dead family member who "finds joy in them and they are happy as if they have received a traveler returning to his family."[81] These traditions would undoubtedly bring comfort to those facing death as they anticipate reunions with loved ones who passed.

However, not all reunions will be joyous, for just as one's neighbors in life can bring joy or despair, the dead can experience the same from those buried nearby. A gravedigger of Basra, for example, fell asleep in the cemetery and dreamed of two women who asked him to bury the women coming in the next funeral procession away from their graves. When he awoke, he did as he was bidden. That same night, the two women returned to him in a dream thank-

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78   Kinberg noted this in her introduction to *al-Mawt* 17.
79   See Kinberg's introduction in *al-Mawt* 10–11.
80   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Mawt* (#80) 51–52. Cf. *Dhikr* (#274) 151–153.
81   Ibid. (#86) 49. Cf. *Dhikr* (#161) 90–91. On Thābit al-Bunānī, see Armstrong, *The Quṣṣāṣ of Early Islam* 306.

ing him for diverting from them a great evil.[82] These traditions suggest that there is a community of the dead which functions much like the community of the living. The apparent message of these traditions is that death should not necessarily be feared since it is simply the process of stepping from one society to another.

The image of death as movement from one form of existence immediately into another presents a supplemental, if not alternate, view of life after death from that which is described in the Quran. The invisible barrier that exists between life and death as conveyed in those traditions which portray the souls of the dead engaged in the same type of "living" as the actual living stands in contrast to the invisible barrier, the *barzakh*, referred to in the Quran. The degree of separation between the realms of the living and the dead is more pronounced in descriptions of the *barzakh*. As Kinberg noted, Ibn Abī l-Dunyā does not mention this intermediate state in the traditions in his *al-Mawt* and *al-Qubūr*.[83] According to Tommaso Tesei, the nature of the *barzakh* described in the Quran suggests that those on the other side exist in a form of soul-sleep and are not, therefore, "living" like the living.[84] For those who are asleep in death, they are unaware of time and are not conscious of their surroundings. This is not the case according to most of the traditions related by Ibn Abī l-Dunyā. In one instance, God allowed a group of the children of Israel, *banī Isrāʾīl*, to call a man back from the dead to tell them about death. The dead man was obviously a devout believer, for he had the mark of bowing in prayer on his forehead. He said to the group, "Hey, what do you want from me? I died 50 years ago and the bitterness of death has not abated (*yā qawm mā aradtum minnī, la-qad dhuqtu al-mawt mundh khamsīn sana mā sakanat marārat al-mawt min qalbī*)."[85] The dead man knew how long he had been dead and revealed that he was conscious of physical pain throughout his post-death existence, both of which contrast with the belief that the dead are asleep and unaware of their existence. Al-Awzāʿī said it succinctly, "the dead man experiences the pain of death until he is resurrected."[86]

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82   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Qubūr* (#70) 88–89.

83   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Mawt* 16.

84   Tesei, The *Barzakh* and the Intermediate State 37–46.

85   Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Mawt* (#5) 30. A variant of this tradition in *Dhikr al-mawt* has the Prophet recording the story, does not identify the group as from the *banī Isrāʾīl*, gives the length of death as one hundred years, and has the dead man ask the group to appeal to God to bring him back to life; see *Dhikr al-mawt* (#164) 92–93.

86   Ibid. (#14) 32. There is no variant to this tradition in *Dhikr*.

8   Conclusion

Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's anthologies of traditions on death were important sources for later writers on death. His role as an anthologist, however, does not diminish his personal creativity and message. In these works, he is a preacher, one who exhorts as well as comforts his reader and who possesses the rhetorical ability to move his listeners from weeping to laughter.[87] Through his selection of traditions, he amuses, shocks, warns and even frightens his reader. In this regard, it is tempting to see him as a promoter of popular religion and possibly, thus, not entirely orthodox.[88] This assessment, however, would overlook the fact that he recorded traditions which are also in the canonical *ḥadīth* works and that sound scholars of later generations utilized his works extensively.

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87   Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tāʾrīkh* xi, 294.

88   Kinberg noted that his works in general are of "a popular form" in that they are not theological or philosophical texts; see her introduction to *al-Manām* 31–32. While this is certainly true, classifying his works as "popular" could suggest that these works are not orthodox or would not be taken seriously by the scholars of the community. This evaluation would not be accurate. Indeed, his works enjoyed both broad appeal among the general populace and narrow appeal among the scholarly class.

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Educating for the Sake of Equilibrium: Ibn Qutayba's (d. 276/889) *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* as an Intellectual Tool for Moderating "Religion" and Piety

Hans-Peter Pökel

1   Introduction: Struggling to Understand the Quran

The understanding of the Quran was an important step not only in the ongoing formation of canonical disciplines in the Abbasid period that served Muslim society, such as law, but also for opening up the field for speculation and for logical argumentation which supported a plurality of understandings of divine command. The attempt to understand the Quran was an appreciated field for Muslim scholars and individual believers in their struggle to understand scripture and to transform this understanding into a pious conduct of life that warranted a social standing in the community of believers and that was related to the individual's afterlife, characterized by punishment or reward as an inevitable consequence of earthly conduct.

The challenge to understand the Quran is a hermeneutical problem that resulted on the one hand from the specificities of a unique divine expression in human language and, on the other hand, from an intellectual distance to the specific language of the Quran in a pluricultural Muslim society of the Abbasid empire that re-constructed the intellectual environment of the early community of believers. The Quran emphasizes several times its specific Arabic character, with the notion of its clear comprehensibility (*bayān, mubīn*),[1] from which one can conclude that the Quran must be understandable for its readers. This self-reference to the authority of the divine as the legitimating source of the Quran marginalized pre-Islamic poetry as the climax of Arabic literary history, but the necessity to understand the Quran in the Arabic language provided

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1   E.g., Q 12:2; 16:103; 26:195 and 42:7 among others. For the usage of the root b-y-n in the Quran in the context of a broader Semitic understanding, see Kropp, Lisān ʿarabiyy mubīn 271–287.

pre-Islamic poetry "with new status as the linguistic evidence that would serve to elucidate the divine word."[2] Pre-Islamic and early Arabic poetry that preserved a worldview of the early community of believers and the interpretations of earlier scriptures like the Torah and the Gospel remained essential and became "resources, secondary material to draw upon for understanding the lexical, grammatical, or historical context of the one text that mattered," as Peter Heath argued.[3] A problem that arose from this preference for the Quran over earlier religious traditions concerns the "valorization of the form," as Angelika Neuwirth explains, insofar that the signifying term (*lafẓ*) within a scripture gains the same weight and importance with the signified, or its semantic content, or its meaning (*maʿnā*). The result is that "the text is viewed as having a single meaning but many significances, each word attracts as many readings as interpreters."[4] The signification of quranic terms, and consequently their understanding, was a major task for Muslim scholars as the meanings of certain terms were not clear anymore for Abbasid readers.

It might be that one reason for this "failure of memory,"[5] as Feras Hamza coins it, was the circumstance that the signification of the Quran and its exegetical reading took place in a culturally and linguistically different context than that of its earliest reception in the Ḥijāz.

The Arabic language fulfilled a double function since it was "on the one hand, the medium of communication of a historical community, and on the other the language of divine scripture."[6] Pre-Islamic vocabulary as it is preserved in poetry was extensively collected by philologists in order to better understand the difficult terms in the Quran, whose meaning was transformed by quranic revelation and "fields affected by Islam."[7] Specific grammatical constructions and rarely used terms in the Quran were best understood when comparing them with similar usages in poems traced back to pre- and early Islamic times. The emphasis and preservation of the pre-Islamic language, which could be found specifically in non-urban contexts among the Bedouins in the desert and the language of the Quran, also "protect[ed] the integrity of the divine word."[8] However, certain terms prevalent in pre-Islamic poetry were found in the Quran in relation to a different context. This new context

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2   Gruendler, Early Arabic Philologists 92.
3   Heath, Creative Hermeneutics 177.
4   Neuwirth, Locating the Qurʾān 163.
5   Hamza, Tafsīr and Unlocking the Historical Qurʾan 22.
6   Schmidt, The Language of the Arabs 79.
7   Amaldi, From *Jāhiliyyah* to Islam 141.
8   Gruendler, Early Arabic Philologists 92.

modified the semantic interpretation of these terms within a new framework,[9] whereas earlier meanings were still available, even if they were not accepted anymore. The foundation of the *ʿArabiyya*, in opposition to the spoken language in daily life, was laid down by scholars whose intention was mainly to achieve the standardization of a constructed language that had the potential to unite all temporal and geographical differences in usage and understanding within a culturally diverse empire under Muslim rule. Moreover, the standardization and codification of the Arabic language "coincided with the emergence of the Arabic book culture and formed an essential part of it."[10]

Early commentators on the Quran, like Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) or his predecessor Abū ʿUbayda (d. 210/825), were particularly interested in philological problems of understandings and aimed to explain the difficult vocabulary in the Quran—a vocabulary that often had moral implications and which was already forgotten in the Abbasid period.[11] Abū ʿUbayda, for example, argued in his philological commentary of the Quran, *Majāz al-Qurʾān*, that the contemporaries of the Prophet Muḥammad did not need an interpretation of the Quran in contrast to the intellectual situation of scholars and readers centuries later. His approach shows that the quranic language was not yet considered as sacred in his time, but was rather a matter of debate for early Arabic philologists in the Abbasid period, as Ella Almagor has shown.[12] But the interpretation of the Quran and questions of its hermeneutics in Muslim society in the context of the Abbasid empire were not limited to the specific genre of *tafsīr* or exegetical literature. Muslim scholars and believers from different intellectual backgrounds struggled for a proper understanding that was considered essential for the individual as well as for social conduct. The literary genre of *adab* itself contributed to the interpretation of scriptures and transmitted hermeneutical and philological questions to scriptures in a medium of education for a broader public urban readership by often applying the form of a compiled anthology, as shall be shown with the example of Ibn Qutayba's *Kitāb ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*.

9   Amaldi, From *Jāhiliyyah* to Islam 141.
10   Gruendler, Early Arabic Philologists 95.
11   Hamza, Tafsīr and Unlocking the Historical Qurʾan 22.
12   Almagor, The Early Meaning of Majāz 310.

2   Ibn Qutayba's Life and Oeuvre

Ibn Qutayba b. Muslim al-Dīnawarī (d. 276/889) left behind a comprehensive oeuvre that has generally received comparatively little attention in research to date.[13] Posterity remembers Ibn Qutayba particularly as a man of letters and a philologist even though he wrote theological works and looked at questions relating to the Quran and *ḥadīth*, which were particularly important in his time.[14] In addition to his historical and theological writings, Ibn Qutayba also compiled literary works, including the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*.

The multi-faceted richness of his interests gives an overall impression of the rise of a Sunni-influenced urban scholarship in the Abbasid era of the third/ninth century. Characteristic is his emphasis on Arabic language and philology, which can be seen as an indispensable tool of theological hermeneutics; he also highlights genuine Arabic traditions in light of the challenges that the increasing number of translations and adaptations of Hellenic sciences posed for Abbasid society. Ibn Qutayba thus targeted an audience of the social elite who in the third/ninth century formed a new readership whose mutual interest in reading as well as their desire for self-instruction through the adaption and refinement of conveyed knowledge united them to form an intellectual elite in society.[15] One characteristic feature of Ibn Qutayba's works is their thematic systematization, which is particularly evident in his *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*.[16]

Ibn Qutayba witnessed the transformations in the third/ninth century that were part of a broader transformation of Muslim society. The translation of Hellenistic works as well as works from Persia and India provided Muslim society with new epistemologies that were not entirely unknown to Muslims since most of these works were available for centuries in philosophical schools in the territories, which later became part of the Muslim empire during the Arab-Islamic conquests. What was rather innovative was the fact that this knowledge now became available in the Arabic language and accessible for a broader pub-

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13   For a short biography of Ibn Qutayba, cf. Lowry, Ibn Qutaybah 173 et seq; and Huseini, *The Life and Works* 1–23.

14   Lowry, Ibn Qutaybah 180–182. Particularly worthy of note are, for example, his comprehensive works *Taʾwīl mushkil al-Qurʾān* and *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*; for a comprehensive listing of his works, cf. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba* 93–178.

15   Günther, Praise to the Book 125–143; and Günther, Introduction XV–XXXIII.

16   Huseini, *The Life and Works* 47–61. For Basra and Kufa as centers of philology, see Bernards, Medieval Muslim Scholarship 129–140. Basra and Kufa were also centers in early legal developments; see Melchert, Basra and Kufa 173–194.

lic and was not only restricted to court members. Certain techniques were even adapted in scholarly disciplines such as in grammar, or more evident in dialectic theology. Another challenge were demographic shifts. A large number of non-Arab individuals became part of the Islamic empire and were often integrated as newly converted Muslims, but other religious communities such as Christians had mostly a multilingual background.

Ibn Qutayba left a large number of works that were already conceptualized systematically.[17] Fedwa Malti-Douglas has emphasized the encyclopedic character specifically of the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, which she considers the "prototype" of encyclopedic *adab*-works within the framework of Classical Arabic literature.[18]

While the preceding decades in Arab-Muslim literary history were often characterized by the collection of sources and traditions also for hermeneutical reasons, Ibn Qutayba's lifetime was mainly a period of organizing and arranging material in a suitable manner. His contemporary ʿAmr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869), who was undoubtedly one of "the greatest Arabic prose writers of all time,"[19] was much more concerned with the question of how to arrange his material in his voluminous works in order to avoid tedium to his readership, and he intended his writings to be read by a broader public. Al-Jāḥiẓ reflected critically on the intellectual reception of his works among his readers, whom he directly addressed. The balance between earnest and jest (*al-jidd wa l-hazl*) and its alternate usage in writing for the sake of education was a principle that was considered by various scholars.[20]

For Ibn Qutayba, systematization instead was required since it was unthinkable for him to read a prophetic tradition in combination with or even in alternation to jocular or vulgar anecdotes or poetry.[21] Ibn Qutayba criticized al-Jāḥiẓ directly when he accused him of mentioning the Prophet in the same line and context with later vulgar and satirical poets.[22] In contrast to al-Jāḥiẓ and other *adab*-writers, it seems that Ibn Qutayba's main intention was not to entertain his readership but to educate and to admonish it.[23] It is, nevertheless, interesting to see that Ibn Qutayba seemingly underwent a change in his career as

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17   The biographical dictionary of al-Ṣafadī mentions 45 titles. The actual number of his works is, nevertheless, obscure since it ranges between 60 and 300 titles; Huseini, *The Life and Works* 50 f.

18   Malti-Douglas, *Structures of Avarice* 12 f.

19   Ibid., 29.

20   See, for example, Pökel, Earnest and Jest 103–145; and Montgomery, al-Jāḥiẓ on Earnest and Jest 209–240.

21   Huseini, *The Life and Works* 49.

22   Ibid., 41 f.

23   Ibid., 83.

a scholarly writer. It might be that his earlier works had the clear intention of attracting a pious and religious readership which mostly came from the *ahl al-ḥadīth* or were at least opponents of Muʿtazilī ideas. This might well explain why Ibn Qutayba often gave strict statements in earlier works according to theological convictions. In his highly systematized *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, however, he seems to have broadened the focus and intended to address a larger readership, since he seemingly now followed the literary taste of his time by including jocular anecdotes and playing with the alternation of earnest and jest, but not without apologies.[24]

3   Ibn Qutayba and His Programmatic Introduction to the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*

In the introduction to his *adab* encyclopedia, the *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, Ibn Qutayba directly addresses the reader in his own words and mentions that his work resembles a table (*māʾida*) where the flavors of the dishes are often different from the diner's appetite.[25] This analogy is similar to the one by the Prophet's companion ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd (d. ca. 32/652–653), who said that the Quran resembled a banquet (*maʾdūb*) that you should use to learn whatever you can.[26] Ibn Qutayba considers the communication of *adab* as a form of Muslim education, as an alternative path to God that leads to great virtues (*murshid li-karīm al-akhlāq*) and saves the learner from baser, non-virtuous things (*zājir ʿan al-danāʾ*).[27]

As one of the most important representatives of Abbasid literature and as someone who adopted a dedicated religious standpoint in an era of theological turmoil, Ibn Qutayba represents an educational ideal that links old Arabic virtues with a pious conduct of life. Ibn Qutayba stresses that it is insufficient to recite the Quran and rely on comprehension alone or to follow the prophetic tradition and religious stipulations about what is forbidden and permitted. It is only through reflection that these central pillars can take effect for the believer, their main aim being to determine the believer's life. However, the Good is not only attained through strict night-time praying (*tahajjud al-layl*), reports of fasting (*sard al-ṣiyām*), and knowledge of what is forbidden and allowed

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24   Ibid., 46.

25   Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* i, l, 15.

26   Alshaar, Introduction 1–58; AlShaar, Introduction 11 et seq. *Inna hādha l-Qurʾān maʾdūbat Allāh fa-taʿallamū min maʾdūbatihī mā istaṭaʿtum.*

27   Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* i, y, 10 et seq.

(ʿilm al-ḥalāl wa l-ḥarām). The gates of the Good are wide open, and attaining them depends on temporal circumstances and the ruler's character rather than solely on a way of life that is derived from religious laws (dīn).[28] He considers religion's flourishing always linked to its social context and meaning to that certain period, which depends as well on the courtesy of rule and, in general, on whether God guides His community correctly (irshād) and with success as a result of the correct comprehension and explanation (ḥusn al-tabṣīr) of His intentions.

Ibn Qutayba points out that his work is concerned with guidance for a correct handling of the akhlāq (sg. khulq), the inner dispositions that form the character of an individual. His encyclopedic collection ʿUyūn al-akhbār, described by Richard Walzer as "the first comprehensive manual of Islamic ethics," is essentially dedicated to the these akhlāq.[29] Ibn Qutayba understands the akhlāq as a key aspect for his argumentation, as the condition of the soul that either corresponds to temperament or denotes habitus. In contrast to Aristotle, but in the context of Galenic medicine, character is considered to be alterable, which is why it can be educated and disciplined although it essentially requires the active will of the subject for becoming educated and disciplined.

Ibn Qutayba's work is aimed on the one hand at those who neglect an Islamic education, and it intends to act as an aid to comprehension by opening those people's eyes to the truth about religion (tabṣira). But it also helps scholars and those who are already versed in religious education to recall their knowledge and even go deeper into what they have once learned (tadhkira).[30]

Furthermore, this work, which is compiled from various sources, is also aimed in particular at ruling authorities, i.e., at those who lead and guide others (sāʾis al-nās)[31] and who hold authority, with the claim of forming their leadership qualities and offering people recovery from the effort that the serious and tiring[32] nature of everyday political life entails. At the same time, the work is intended to serve as an inspiration for scholars (wa hiya laqāḥ ʿuqūl al-ʿulamāʾ)[33] and considers itself as a return to intellectual exchange (natāj afkār al-ḥukamāʾ)[34] as well as being the "icing on the cake" (zubdat al-makhḍ),[35] a

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28   Ibn Qutayba, ʿUyūn al-akhbār i, y, 13–16.
29   Walzer and Gibb, Akhlāḳ.
30   Ibn Qutayba, ʿUyūn al-akhbār i, y, 17 et seq.
31   Ibid., i, y, 17 et seq.
32   Ibid., i, y, 18.
33   Ibid., i, k, 1.
34   Ibid., i, k, 1.
35   Ibid., i, k, 1.

decorative element for education (*ḥilyat al-adab*)[36] including the fruits of a far-sighted wisdom (*athmār ṭūl al-naẓar*),[37] the most exquisite words of the eloquent (*wa l-mutakhayyār min kalām al-bulaghāʾ*),[38] poets' enticing words (*fiṭan al-shuʿarāʾ*),[39] the deeds and lives of past rulers (*siyar al-mulūk*),[40] and the traditions of ancestors (*āthār al-salaf*).[41] It is aimed almost "democratic-ally" at all free levels of Abbasid readership.[42]

Ibn Qutayba admits that the material in his work has been freely com-piled and refers to Arabic, Hellenic, Iranian, and Indian writings in addition to Muslim sources from the Quran, the *ḥadīth*, and a wealth of Arabic pro-verbs that contain Judeo-Christian quotes from the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament.[43] The analogy of the richly laid table offers readers the possib-ility of selecting something to their taste, and of educating and developing their virtues. If you consider that the third/ninth century, with its cultural cen-ter in Baghdad, witnessed not only new literary forms but also a new urban-influenced elite for whom literature and reading meant something, then you could go on to ask whether there is not an additional implicit *adab* claim to the conveyance of tranquillity, which was already at the core of all virtues of Late Antiquity monasticism, and which is not unimportant for the practice of reading and reflecting.

The Quran was for Muslim society the essential and the primary text that guided an individual's behavior towards the community of believers and his own afterlife.

This was wholly contrary to pre-Islamic traditions which received a legitim-ate character through their repeated performance in poetical expression, and which were now replaced and transformed by quranic ideals within the context of a monotheistic faith that was bound to a transcendental authority.[44] Rather

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36 Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* i, k, 2.

37 Ibid., i, k, 2.

38 Ibid., i, k, 2.

39 Ibid., i, k, 2.

40 Ibid., i, k, 2.

41 Ibid., i, k, 3.

42 The compilation put together by Ibn Qutayba from various sources was not intended to be read continuously by the reader, but that the latter should choose what is most beau-tiful and successful, as if separating "pure silver from lead glance;" cf. Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* i, k, 4.

43 The most comprehensive study of Ibn Qutayba's life and work is presented by Lecomte. Cf. also Huseini as well as Lowry, esp. 179 ff.

44 Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* i, 9; and Izutsu, *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qurʾān* 58 et seq. Izutsu stresses that genealogy ("bond of kinship by blood") was replaced by a common faith that became significant in its specific Pre-Islamic milieu through spe-

than the tribe's fame, it was the individual's ethics and morality that formed key elements of the early quranic suras, which emphasized the virtuous piety (*taqwā*) of the individual[45] in view of an unavoidable eschatology that attached importance to deeds even beyond the individual's lifetime, and the resulting consequences of the interaction with the community—faith translated into visible action, as it were.

The attempt to understand the Quran and its implications to fulfil divine obligations is only one side of the coin. When it comes to the translation of ethical maxims and divine obligations into visible actions, the imperative to study the Quran and its language receives social and even political dimensions. Since ritual practices such as prayer are on the one hand expressed by bodily practice and with the usage of language, its understanding concerns, as well, the everyday life of each believer. Ibn Qutayba admonishes his contemporary readers to not only blindly fulfil divine obligations but rather to also attempt to

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cial emphasis on eschatological events; cf. ibid. In this context, piety (*taqwā*), or rather the permanent fear of the power of a God who sits in judgement and weighs up deeds, takes on a key regulatory significance in early Islamic history. In the fear of God, Izutsu sees the transformation of Old Arabic virtues, such as generosity and nobility (*karam*), which with the quranic proclamation no longer relate to the material amenities of everyday life but to the earnestness of the emerging judgement (*dīn*) and its implications for the life of the believer; cf. Izutsu, *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qurʾān* 53 et seq. The noble individual is now no longer the one who, as in the Old Arabic context, has to prove his material generosity, but rather the pious one; cf. ibid., 65.

45   As Angelika Neuwirth states, the earliest Mecca suras express a devotion to divine goodness that offsets the imperfection of the Prophet Muḥammad's inner world, such as his fate to be born an orphan. We are talking here particularly about Suras 93, 94, 97 and 108. The eschatological elements are discussed for the first time in Suras 95, 99, 100, 101 and 103; cf. Neuwirth, *Der Koran* i, 44–50. The derivatives of the root on which the term *taqwā* is based, namely *t-q-y*, are quranic, but not a quranic innovation. Even Old Arabic poetry uses the term and its derivations; cf. Ringgren, The Conception of Faith, 2–20. Josef van Ess points out that, in early Islamic history, the term is particularly related with the Ibāḍīya and the Murjiʾa as theological discourse communities. In this context, *taqwā* is generally "the Muslim's underlying virtue;" van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* i, 15. Fazlur Rahman sees *taqwā* as the "true sense of responsibility;" cf. Rahman, Eschatology, in *Islam. Critical Concepts* i, 148; for piety, which in the Quran can also be expressed using other terms in addition to *taqwā*, cf. Kinberg, Piety, in the *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* 90 ff.; as well as Alexander, Fear, in the *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* 194–198. Alexander sees in *taqwā* a direct equivalence with the Old Testament's *yirʾāh YHWH* (fear of God), which developed particularly in anchoritic monasticism as a religious ideal associated with ascetic practices. Fear of God's retribution, and at the same time hope for his mercy, constitutes a key monastic condition in order to ensure peace, seen as the "origin of all virtues;" cf. Dihle, Waszink, and Mundl, Furcht (Gottes), in *Reallexikon für Antike* 689.

understand them properly in their function. Believers have to understand what they do and why they do it.

Ibn Qutayba's educational intention concerning the usage and understanding of the Arabic language is well attested in his early work *K. Adab al-kātib*, which contains advice for the etiquette at court and much more for the correspondence and the eloquent usage of the Arabic language among elite society.[46] This impressive work argues against the decline of linguistic proficiency that Ibn Qutayba witnessed among his contemporaries, specifically among members of the administrative elite that often had a non-Arabic background. If Ibn Qutayba already has enough reason to admonish his readers because of their defective usage of the Arabic language, how much more important is it then to remind them also of the specificities of the quranic language, and in general of a religious language that is part of ritual practice? Well aware that there are many fields in daily life where it must be difficult for a believer to choose the right action, Ibn Qutayba seems to have been one of the more careful believers following the example of the pious Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 99–101/717–721):

> If you can dispense with one of those things which God has permitted you, thus setting a barrier between you and that which He has prohibited, do so.[47]

There is truly no warranty for a correct understanding of God's intention which retains for the believer the feeling of uncertainty that is closely related to the fear of God and His eschatological judgment.[48] What seems to be essential for Ibn Qutayba is the emphasis on reliability and conviction that seems to be an essential part of faith. Studying the Quran and attempting to understand it, even if uncertainty remains, is also a proper obligation in the social interaction within the Muslim community that should be rightly guided.

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46 The work was mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn as one of the most representative works of Arabic literature at all among only three other works. Dodge, *Muslim Education in Medieval Times* 38. On the Adab al-Kātib, see Sproull, *An Extract from Ibn Kutaiba's Adab*.

47 Translation from Huseini, *The Life and Works* 96.

48 For conceptual ideas of eschatology which forms one of the "most characteristic and fundamental elements of faith and spirituality in Islam," see Günther, *Introduction* 1.

4   *Muruwwa* (Virtue) as a Key to Understanding "Religion"

Although the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* includes a comprehensive chapter on living beings' natural and reprehensible traits (*K. al-Ṭabāʾiʿ wa l-akhlāq al-madh-mūma*),[49] Ibn Qutayba is especially concerned with *muruwwa* (virtue) in rela-tion to *ḥilm* (prudence) in order to reflect about social interaction in Muslim society. His explanations concerning this ancient Arabic concept are to be found in the *K. al-Suʾdud* (Book of Guiding Rule).[50] The third of a total of ten book chapters, it can be seen as a work with politically relevant content. It fol-lows the *K. al-Sulṭān* (Book of Rule)[51] and the *K. al-Ḥarb* (Book of War),[52] and is subdivided into a total of 31 thematically ordered chapters.

More than just a political guidebook, the work is also a morality and eth-ics companion in that it considers key conditions of social well-being, not only through the ruler's government but also through the contribution of each member of the community to the attainment of Good as an ideal worth striv-ing for. Ibn Qutayba considers prudence (*ḥilm*) as the antonym of uncontrolled rage and anger (*ghaḍab*), which can stand in the way of communal cohesion and the retention of Good. Prudence, by contrast, is a key factor for steering a community (*al-ḥilm yaḥyā bi-ḥayāt al-suʾdud*).[53]

Fear of God and His eschatological judgment as key items of monotheistic faith are related to a wrath of God at the anticipated end of a history of sal-vation, affecting those who fail to recognise His claimed authority and role in cosmological events.[54] Tor Andrae considers the fear of God and the inevit-

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49   Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* ii, 1–116.
50   Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* i, 223–344.
51   Ibid., i, 1–106.
52   Ibid., i, 107–222.
53   Ibid., i, 283, 1.
54   For *taqwā* (fear of God), as opposed to *kufr*, which implies ingratitude before God, cf. Izutsu, *Ethico-Religious Concepts* 195–200. On the eschatology of the Quran in its early suras, which takes on cosmological proportions and in its "course" brings together the vis-ible and invisible world through the fall of the heavens, cf. esp. Andrae, *Mohammed* 54–93. Andrae stresses that the fear of God comprised far more than merely a fear of punishment and includes a recognition of the seriousness and responsibility of life that envelops social interactions in an aura of holiness and understands lifestyle as a form of service to God; cf. ibid., 73–75. Fear, then, is not only to be understood as a feeling that comes over the pious in moments of religious experience, but rather as a type of driving force that impacts actions, and in relation to physical needs and emotions positions itself as an uncontrolled and (in the situation) improper external expression of the inner self, the expression having various valences in a cultural structure. Andrae compares this quranic approach with the asceticism that developed in the early Christian church and in monastic life; cf. Andrae,

ability of the Last Judgement as a characteristic attitude of piety that, in its worldview and attitude towards life, is fundamentally different from carefreeness.[55] The fear of God, which in Toshihiko Isutzu's interpretation of the Quran is an eschatological fear of the Day of Judgement, encourages the believer to adapt his life in expectation of the potential anger of God.

From the viewpoint of piety, the seriousness of earthly life as a temporary phase of existence remains uniquely important both during and beyond an individual's lifetime.[56] However, the closeness between piety and an ascetic rejection of the world, in that only the attainment of spiritual well-being through knowledge of the existence of a higher potentiality of being is recognized as significant and the forgoing of the body being endowed with an aesthetic, is problematized to a great extent in Muslim reflection. From the third/ninth century, the necessity of personal moderation is emphasized in classical Arabic literature as an ethical maxim for avoiding extremes and acquires an ethical relevance that emphasizes equilibrium.[57]

Mohammed 83–86. For the relevance of a cultural system of symbols within religious emotions, cf. esp. Riis and Woodhead, *A Sociology of Religious Emotion* 76–81.

55 Andrae, *Mohammed* 60. For Syrian Christianity, cf. esp. Becker, *The Fear of God*. Andrae has already pointed out that piety, which embodies a specific lifestyle, should be read in the context of Near-Eastern religions. Andrae also ascribes a particular significance to Christian monasticism, which stands out particularly for its ascetic characteristics; cf. Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams* 84–138; cf. also Claude Gilliot, Das jüdischchristliche Umfeld 61–74.

56 van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* ii, 296, fn. 18. Crucial for the term *taqwā* is that pious actions are associated with the believer's intention. God and the fulfilment of His law are at the forefront of the reason for the execution of an action, even though the respective relationship between the believer to permitted and prohibited actions determines the "level" of piety, which is also differentiated in terminology; cf. Pitschke, *Skrupulöse Frömmigkeit* 1–3, and 36–66.

57 Ascetic practice goes against the natural needs of the body that in a Christian context are closely interwoven with a theology of sin. In Syrian Christianity, the poetry of Ephrem the Syrian is impressive in relation to ascetic practices and also helpful for understanding the cultural environment of the Quran and early Islamic history; cf. Vööbus, *Literary Critical and Historical Studies* 98–111. On Ephrem, see also Griffith, St. Ephrem the Syrian 781–805. Ephrem's pious, ascetic practices consist of the confession and permanent consideration of committed sins while simultaneously imagining eschatological punishments, the effectiveness of which finds expression in isolated darkness. Vööbus emphasises that this practice is a type of "psychical mortification" whose purpose is the cultivation of imagined fears and torments in relation to eschatological events; cf. ibid., 106 et seq. In this context, crying as an ascetic practice takes on a special significance that understands laughter as an expression of the entry of evil into the soul; cf. ibid., 107. The negative connotation of laughter, which is wholly typical of Christianity, at least as far as it is influenced by monasticism, is relativized in classical Islamic culture in favour of moderation and

Even in the third/ninth century, Ibn Qutayba's reflection on the well-being of the community can look back on an Arabic literary tradition, as political thought in early Islamic cultural history is articulated in the form of literature that can fall back on a repertoire of established traditions expressed in an elaborate manner.[58] In addition to sayings of Persian and Indian wisdom, it includes particularly the writings of Aristotle, such as the *Nicomachean Ethics*, whose late antique adaptations and commentaries were already available in Arabic in the third/ninth century.

In the Classical Arabic tradition, the initiative for writing political texts, often in the form of epistles, came from secretaries (*kuttāb*) who worked for the state and who in the Umayyad era (r. 41–132/661–749) were the direct successors of the former Byzantine civil servants and took up official positions in government and administration.[59] While the proximity to Byzantine administration under the Umayyad rulers, who were based in Damascus, was in the foreground, this changed after the Abbasid Revolution in 132/749, when Mesopotamia became the center of a new dynasty, and after the new capital Baghdad was founded in 145/762 on the ruins of the Sasanid capital Ctesiphon, and

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situational appropriateness. The joke as a trigger of laughter is even used pedagogically, although classical Islamic culture also adopts a wholly cautious approach to laughter; cf. Ammann, *Die Regelung von Lachen und Scherzen*; cf. also Pökel, Ernst und Scherz 269–283.

58   Dimitri Gutas sees Mirror for Princes literature, which developed as part of Islamic literature, as the result of Arabic, Persian, Greek and Indian traditions. It is particularly the Indian traditions, which entered Arabian cultural circles via the transmission of Middle Persian Pahlavi, that were received even in the European tradition via, in some cases, complicated transmission histories; cf. Gutas, Ethische Schriften 355.

59   Gutas, Ethische Schriften 356. Of particular significance in this context is the secretary ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā (d. 132/750), who worked for the last Umayyad caliph Marwan II. (r. 127–132/744/749–750) and who wrote an epistle for his secretary colleagues and another for the princes. Gutas notes that, measured by their reception history, the writings of one of his predecessors, Sālim Abū l-ʿAlāʾ who worked for the caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 105–125/724–743), have taken on a far greater significance. His translations of predominantly pseudo-Aristotelian letters, at least one of which is thought to be completely authentic, can be traced back to Byzantine military handbooks, but they were expanded to include Arabic, Hellenic and Hermetic sources and brought together at the end of the third/tenth century under the title *Sirr al-asrār*, a mirror for princes that was influential way beyond the Arabic tradition as *Secretum Secretorum*; cf. Gutas, Ethische Schriften 356; on the work, cf. the comprehensive study by Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse. Die arabischen und deutschen Fassungen des pseudo-aristotelischen* Sirr al-asrār. Secretum secretorum, (Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter. Schriften des Sonderforschungsbereich 226 Würzburg/Eichstätt 43).

Iranian administrative practice played an increasingly important role in the consideration of everyday social and political reality.[60]

The ethical writings, which are political and moral in nature, are intended for young princes but also address a broader audience which is firmly informed about the ethical maxims of good governance. They convey an image of the ideal ruler and the art of government which is concerned with the general Good. As Stefan Leder notes, rather than primarily political thought, it is the person of the ruler and his impact, by virtue of his office, on good rule and general well-being that is key when considering political and moral literature.[61]

Muruwwa, which is of key importance for the ruler and masculine authority overall, seems to be associated with eloquence and public representation. Ibn Hubayra (r. 102–104/720–724), who was governor of Iraq during the Umayyad era and is quoted by Ibn Qutayba, understood *muruwwa* as the maintenance of assets, the earnestness in intellectual exchange, and the public intake of lunch and dinner—the public visibility and transparency of even wholly banal things, so to speak.[62]

But above all, *muruwwa* also seems to be a disposition in relation to unbridled physical desire (*ladhdha*),[63] which requires reasoned restraint. In this context, Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *Oikonomikos* by Bryson emphasized the key role of education-induced and internalized habit, which supports actions as a "second nature" and, as far as the sensation of lust is concerned, teaches handling natural needs with moderation, although ignoring them completely should be associated with a feeling of shame.[64] It seems to me that, in connection with the educational function of *adab*, this teaching of habitual actions takes on a critical role.

The close link with the Arabic language, as well as the eloquent expression that is characteristic of pre-Islamic poetry, becomes relevant for Ibn Qutayba,

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60   Gutas, Ethische *Schriften* 356 et seq.

61   Stefan Leder, Sultanic Rule in the Mirror of Medieval Political Literature 94. The term "rule" becomes problematic, particularly also in its relationship to the word "power." This problem is also present in mediaeval studies; cf. Goetz, *Moderne Mediävistik* 193–198.

62   Ibn Qutayba, ʿ*Uyūn al-akhbār* i, 295, 7–10. It is possible that Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra, who was the last Umayyad governor of Iraq, is meant; see Lassner, Ḳaṣr ibn Hubayra.

63   Ibn Qutayba, ʿ*Uyūn al-akhbār* i, 295, 16.

64   Plessner, *Der ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΟΣ* 244–245. Bryson's advice is aimed particularly at "lads," as he claimed their temperament is characterised by being wholly "inclined towards bad things;" cf. ibid., 244; on the feeling of shame, cf. ibid., 245 et seq. The main elements of nurturing, in Bryson's view, include food, sleep, behaviour, play, and sexual intercourse.

as *muruwwa* is a genuine Arabic concept.[65] Only someone who has reached
a clear-articulation or *faṣāḥa* level of Arabic can achieve *muruwwa*, although
learning Arabic can also enable one to gain or to contribute to an increase in
muruwwa.[66]

The old Arab virtuousness that featured in an unwritten canon which ex-
pressed itself in deeds, and even more so in artistic, linguistic articulation and
that could adopt a competitive character by challenging others to improve, had
in Ibn Qutayba's time become a component of *dīn*, of religious practice in life
that is part of education. *Muruwwa* was no longer defined via ancient Arab vir-
tues but was geared towards the needs of the community that paid particular
attention to the fulfilment of ethical maxims, which was set out in detail as a
canon of duties by Muslim scholars and focused on a basic distinctness of the
permitted and forbidden (*al-amr bi l-maʿrūf wa l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*).

Q 5:105 points out the importance of one's self and—maybe—one's own
self-assurance and responsibility for oneself in relation to the conviction that
one is doing the right thing.[67] In the prophetic tradition or in a few *ḥadīth* col-
lections, this verse is linked with the fulfillment of the believer's mandatory
duties, while in quranic exegesis it is to a certain extent seen as "in a sense
antithetical to forbidding wrong;" even its significance for worldly existence in
relation to the forthcoming afterlife is far from self-evident.[68] Even if Q 5:105 is
not explicitly related to piety, *taqwā*, this linkage is implicitly expressed. Oliver
Leaman, who emphasizes the impossibility of producing a satisfactory transla-
tion of this term, points out that *taqwā* is dependent on belief (*imān*) and the

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65   For the concept of *muruwwa* in its old Arabian context, see Montgomery, Dichotomy in
      Jāhilī Poetry 1–20.

66   Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* i, 296, 3.

67   "O believers, take good care of your souls. A person who strays cannot harm you if you are
      guided aright. To God is your ultimate homecoming, all of you; and He shall inform you of
      what you used to do." For the translation, see Khalidi, *The Qurʾan*.

68   Cook, *Commanding Right* 30 et seq. One of the earliest commentators on the Quran,
      Muqātil b. Sulaimān, interestingly reads this verse in relation to the *jizya*, the per capita
      tax to be paid by monotheistic non-Muslims, and which is also due, in an Islamic frame
      of reference, in accordance with provisos of Islamic schools of law. The Quran's emphasis
      on one's self, and protecting the self against other convictions, is insignificant for Muqātil.
      What is interesting, however, is that Muqātil explains the reason for the revelation in this
      verse as being addressed to hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*) and is to be seen as a warning to ded-
      icate oneself to what is of use to one's otherworldly fate; cf. Sulaimān, *Tafsīr* 127, 5–10. On
      references in *ḥadīth* literature, cf. Cook, *Commanding Right* 40 et seq. Cook states that the
      emphasis on one's self is particularly to be found among Syrian and in some cases Egyp-
      tian transmitters of traditions who can be traced back to the seventh century. The idea
      of protecting one's self is, therefore, to be understood in a wider context that also covers
      Christian traditions, particularly from monasticism, which Cook does not touch upon.

love of God rather than the performance of religious rituals.[69] The behavior
mentioned in the verse of protecting one's self through correct actions is pre-
cisely the characteristic that determines *taqwā* as essential for religion (*dīn*),
which seems to function as a guiding principle of one's faith-based conviction.
Expressed in different words, *dīn* does not seem to be only a system of author-
itative sources but instead seems to be what the believer understands of it.
Dīn, it seems to me, is for Ibn Qutayba, therefore, not preformed or determined
but more a result of a hermeneutical endeavor that includes the "translation"
of its understanding into pious action. It might not be without accident that
Ibn Qutayba quotes in this direction al-Ḥasan's[70] saying: "[There is] no reli-
gion without virtue" ("*lā dīna illā bi-muruwwatin*").[71] The conviction of being
properly guided is closely associated with a trust in God; however, the social rel-
evance of actions that include lingual expressions and their implications for the
forthcoming afterlife means that it is also influenced by a "sense" of respons-
ibility of individuals towards themselves. If the religious conviction and the
love of God, which can be verified internally but not for the outsider, are miss-
ing, then the performance of ritual actions, even given a strict observance of
all action guidelines, degenerates into meaninglessness. It is seemingly this lit-
eralism that Ibn Qutayba questions in his work vis-à-vis his contemporaries:
strict observance of the normative written canon that no longer leaves any
room for the plurality of comprehension and which necessarily implies the
possibility of extreme interpretation that, translated into action, can misguide
believers. By contrast, Ibn Qutayba's *adab* encyclopedia offers to respect the
diversity of tradition and, precisely therein, to recognize a divine blessing that
inspires a constructive competition for the achievement of Good through the
key role played by virtuousness—based on religious conviction—of individu-
als towards themselves and the community, a role that no longer dresses itself
only in artistic language but prioritizes action-based conviction. It might be
that the systematic arrangement Ibn Qutayba applied in his encyclopedia func-
tioned educationally as a companion to offer different possibilities of under-
standing and to fill specific terms and concepts of ethical and moral relevance
with a plurality of meaning and refinement that could be equally accepted
among his readers.

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69   Leaman, Taqwā 643 et seq.
70   It is not clear whom Ibn Qutayba quotes here, but it seems possible that this quotation
      can be traced back to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.
71   Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* i, 295, 7.

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Quranic Exegesis as Poetry Anthology: Heavenly Wine in the Exegesis and Fictive *Maqāma*s of Ibn Nāqiyā (d. 485/1092)

Matthew L. Keegan

> To the [pre-Islamic] Arabs, wine (*khamr*) was among the most precious items and was held in the highest esteem in their souls. It was the most luxurious thing in their lives and the most complete of all their pleasures … Thus, they honored wine with descriptions devoid of truth (*lā ḥaqīqata lahu*), and they clothed it with undeserving praise due to the intensity of their zeal for it and their excessive glorification of its status … That which is metaphorical in the descriptions of the Arabs and an invention of their idle falsehoods and lies (*mukhtalaq min abāṭīlihim wa-ifkihim*) is described by the Quran according to its true nature (*min ḥaqīqat ḥālihā*) in order to awaken a desire for what God has prepared for the people of Islam in the afterlife.
>
> IBN NĀQIYĀ[1]

∵

1 Introduction

The Quran contains several condemnations of poets and insists that the revelation is not poetry (Q 26:224–227 and Q 69:41). Nevertheless, the relationship between poetry and quranic exegesis in the course of Islamic history has generally been complementary rather than oppositional. Just as the Prophet's biography helped exegetes to understand the context and meaning of quranic verses, poetry's philological data was necessary for decoding the scripture's

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1 *Al-Jumān* ¶¶ 32–34. The paragraph references marked by the symbol ¶ refer to my translation of Ibn Nāqiyā's *The Pearls of Quranic Similes* (*al-Jumān fī tashbīhāt al-Qurʾān*), which can be found in the appendix of this essay.

allusive and elusive language. At the same time, the aesthetic analysis of poetry became critical for upholding the miraculous inimitability of the Quran. The Quran itself offers proof of its divine origin by challenging humans and jinn to produce something like it (Q 17:88). This inimitability (*iʿjāz*) was eventually understood to inhere in the Quran's aesthetic uniqueness, which could only be recognized by having a mastery of Arabic poetry, a point made explicitly by the poetry critic and theologian ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078 or 474/1081).[2] The idea that the Quran *was* poetry might have been out of bounds, but the idea that both scripture and poetry were operating according to comparable aesthetic principles was a foundational assumption for al-Jurjānī and countless others.

What is remarkable in the epigraph quoted above is that Ibn Nāqiyā (d. 485/ 1092) is not concerned with the fact that pre-Islamic poetry might shed light on the philological or aesthetic qualities of the Quran. Rather, he seems to imply that the Quran's rhetorical strategies and depictions of heavenly wine were shaped by the specific historical context of Arabia, where wine was held in particularly high regard. The text in which this passage appears, *al-Jumān fī tashbīhāt al-Qurʾān* (*The Pearls of Quranic Similes*), anthologizes a wide range of poetic texts that shed light on the revelation in some way. The epigraph appears in response to a verse of the Quran describing heavenly wine, and Ibn Nāqiyā collects poetry that illustrates the zeal for wine expressed in pre-Islamic poetry. Thus, the intertextualities that Ibn Nāqiyā explores in his anthology seem designed to shed light on the communicative act that the Quran enacts between God and a flawed, human community in the Arabia of the Prophet Muhammad. However, Ibn Nāqiyā goes one step further and compiles wine poetry written by later Muslim poets, which seems designed to illustrate the ongoing interaction between Arabic poetry and the Quran.

This essay sheds light on the relationship between the Quran and what might be called literary aesthetics. The *Jumān* itself is a site of analysis, but so too is the oeuvre of Ibn Nāqiyā himself because he also writes narrative fiction. Although he is not a well-known author, he is familiar to the handful of scholars who specialize in the *maqāma*, a genre of Arabic prose that, in its classical form, narrates the fictive exploits of a roguish trickster character. Ibn Nāqiyā's *maqāma*s border on the burlesque and indulge in the obscene. They feature a trickster named al-Yashkurī, who is found robbing graves, getting drunk while channeling Aristotelian materialism, and engaging enthusiastically in sodomy. As with much of the early *maqāma* tradition, this text has inspired two types

2   Al-Jurjānī, *Dalāʾil al-iʿjāz* 8–9.

of reactions among modern scholars. For some, Ibn Nāqiyā should be under-
stood as inviting the reader to condemn the trickster without explicitly saying
so, making the *maqāma* an essentially conservative genre. According to other
scholars, Ibn Nāqiyā is an ironist whose literary project is not seeking to rein-
force societal norms but is rather more ambivalent and potentially subversive.[3]

Scholars who portray Ibn Nāqiyā's *maqāma*s as the work of a convention-
ally pious Muslim scholar have tended to point to the fact that he authored
the *Jumān*.[4] After all, in the very brief preface to his *al-Jumān fī tashbīhāt al-
Quran*, Ibn Nāqiyā states that similes are "a beautiful variety of rhetoric" and
that his book seeks to explain the scripture's similes and indicate the excellence
of the Quran (*al-tanbīh ʿalā makān al-faḍīla fīhi*).[5] The contents of the work
are, as I have suggested, less conventional. The *Jumān* has been edited several
times, but it has generally been overlooked in scholarship, perhaps because it
has been considered marginal to two groups of scholars who are interested in
distinct subfields, namely quranic exegesis on the one hand and, on the other,
the *maqāma* or *adab* (a word meaning roughly belles-lettres, *paideia*, ethics
and poetry). Among other things, this article seeks to introduce the *Jumān* to
scholars and students of both subfields and to argue for an expanded under-
standing of the role of anthologizing in *adab*. In the appendix of the article, I
offer a translation of the chapter of the *Jumān* devoted to the 76th sura of the
Quran (*al-Insān*).

In the body of the essay, I endeavor to contextualize this important fifth/elev-
enth century text and to show how the activity of anthologizing is a key part of
Ibn Nāqiyā's writing in both the *Jumān* and the *maqāma*. First, I present a brief

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3   As Abdelfattah Kilito argues with reference to the sixth *maqāma* of Ibn Nāqiyā, discussed
    below, "L'attitude répobatrice du *narrateur* est claire, mais l'attitude de l'*auteur* reste indé-
    terminée." *Les Séances* 167–168. Cited in Kennedy, Philosopher's Squib, 112, no. 85. For a review
    of these diametrically opposed approaches to the *maqāma* in general, see Keegan, Com-
    mentarial Acts 24–45. Although Ibn Nāqiyā's *maqāma*s have received less attention than
    al-Hamadhānī's, there are a small handful of treatments besides those of Kilito and Philip
    Kennedy. See, for example, van Gelder, Fools and Rogues; Wild, Die Zehnte Maqame; and
    Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama* 133–140. The best Arabic edition of his *maqāma*s is difficult to
    obtain, and I have only a partial copy. The editor argues that the trickster was a negative
    example of society's ills even as Ibn Nāqiyā freed himself from the two major tendencies
    of the *maqāma* tradition: Sermonizing (*waʿẓī*) and pedagogy (*taʿlīmī*). ʿAbbās, *Muqaddimat
    al-Muḥaqqiq*, 22 and 24 ff. The Arabic editions of the *Jumān* also contain much helpful inform-
    ation on the debates over Ibn Nāqiyā's character. For these editions, see the appendix.
4   Ḥasan ʿAbbās cites the passage of the *Jumān* on the *abāṭīl* of wine quoted in the epigraph
    to defend the author from suggestions of impiety. ʿAbbās, *Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq* 13.
    Kennedy, Philosopher's Squib 88.
5   Ibn Nāqiyā, *al-Jumān* (Baghdad) 43.

description of the *Jumān* and attempt to show how this text may help blur the lines between the heuristic categories that modern scholars use to make sense of the vast textual production of the pre-modern era. Second, I argue that there is a relationship between narrative texts like al-Tawḥīdī's (d. 414/1023) *K. al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa* and *adab* anthologies that progress unpredictably, almost as if they were a digressive conversation, from one topic to another. These digressive *adab* anthologies eschew the organizing structures provided by biographical entries or topical chapters. Finally, I explore Ibn Nāqiyā's *maqāma*s in light of the *Jumān* and vice versa. I argue that Ibn Nāqiyā is neither a truly "conventional" exegete nor an ambivalent ironist. Ibn Nāqiyā's statement on wine that is quoted in this article's epigraph suggests that he has a subtle and sophisticated understanding of the relationship between poetry and the Quran. He sees the wine of Paradise as the Quran's response to the *Jāhiliyya* sociopoetic environment and as a way of communicating the promise of the afterlife to a wine-loving audience. The *Jumān*'s exploration of later wine poetry suggests this wine poetry was meaningfully Islamic for Ibn Nāqiyā in the sense Shahab Ahmed has proposed. That is, wine poetry is part of a hermeneutical engagement—a way of making meaning—that responds to the revelation.[6]

2   The *Jumān* as an Exegetical Poetry Anthology

Categorizing the *Jumān* is a tricky task. The book is organized into 36 chapters, each of which is named for a sura of the Quran. The book follows the canonical sequence of quranic suras, even though it skips many suras entirely, such that it begins with the second sura of the Quran (*al-Baqara*) and ends with the 105th (*al-Fīl*). In each chapter of the *Jumān*, Ibn Nāqiyā selects similes (*tashbīhāt*) from the Quran and then cites similes in Arabic poetry and rhymed prose (*sajʿ*) that are related in one way or another. He also quotes or alludes to other quranic verses that are similar to the one under discussion, such that the *Jumān* covers more of the Quran than its 36 chapters might initially suggest. He mentions a total of 167 unique quranic verses from 68 different suras over the course of the book.

    The *Jumān* is best understood as a poetry anthology that is built around the explication and exploration of quranic verses. Although Ibn Nāqiyā states in his introduction that he wishes to indicate the excellence (*faḍīla*) of the Quran's similes, the *Jumān* is not a treatise on quranic inimitability (*iʿjāz*). Ibn Nāqiyā

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6   Ahmed, *What is Islam* 520.

makes sundry comments about the superiority of the imagery of the Quran (e.g., ¶20), but he does not provide any sustained discussion of quranic aesthetic superiority, much less a theoretical engagement with the question of inimitability. In this sense, his *Jumān* is distinct from the work of his elder contemporary ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, who used the entire tradition of Arabic poetry from the pre-Islamic period down to the Abbasid era to develop a theory of aesthetics and to prove thereby the Quran's miraculous inimitability.[7]

The sophisticated strategy of citation that Ibn Nāqiyā deploys is on display in his discussion of Sura 76, which is translated in the appendix below. It amounts to an exegetical essay-anthology on the image of wine in Paradise. In that chapter, Ibn Nāqiyā dwells on the image of the "glass goblets made of silver" (Q 76:16). He collages together Arabic poetry from every era to illuminate this quranic image and its relationship to poetry. He does not quote the wine poetry of the Abbasid period to condemn those poets or to prove that these later poets fall short of the Quran's beauty. Rather, Ibn Nāqiyā seems to take scriptural inimitability for granted. He therefore compiles his examples from the Arabic poetic tradition to provide, on the one hand, the *Jāhilī* background for the Quran and, on the other, an account of the way poets responded to and developed quranic imagery. The effect is to highlight the intertextualities between the Quran and the Arabic poetic tradition.

Of course, any reader of quranic exegesis is accustomed to encountering *Jāhilī* poetry, which exegetes use to explicate the unusual vocabulary or syntax of the Holy Scripture. Even mildly obscene poetry was not off limits if it could help explicate the scripture.[8] However, Ibn Nāqiyā does not restrict himself in the *Jumān* to poetry that explains philological puzzles, as most exegetes might do, or to poetry that illustrates some point of aesthetics, as al-Jurjānī had done. Rather, Ibn Nāqiyā seems to delight in exploring the intertextualities

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7   Harb and Key, ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī: Introduction. See also the other contributions to that special issue on al-Jurjānī.

8   The Quran prohibits lewdness (*rafth*) for those who are in a state of ritual purity during the pilgrimage. In order to explain what counts as lewdness, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) recounts in his exegesis of the Quran the story of Ibn ʿAbbās (d. ca. 68/687–688), who recited the following line of poetry while on the pilgrimage: "The women walk with us as they whisper/If the augury is right, I will fuck Lamīs." Ibn ʿAbbās's traveling companion expresses shock at this indulgence in *rafth*, at which point Ibn ʿAbbās explains himself by saying "*rafth* is what is said with women (*innamā al-rafth mā qīl ʿinda l-nisāʾ*)." This phrase can either mean that lewd speech is only really lewd if it is said in the presence of women or that *rafth* is a euphemism for what takes place in the presence of women, namely, sex. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* iii, 457–469. The phrasing of the same anecdote in al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869) more clearly refers to lewd action rather than lewd speech. Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān* iii, 40–43.

between the quranic similes and the Arabic poetic tradition. He even quotes the wine poetry of Abū Nuwās (d. ca. 199/814), a poet who portrayed himself as having a penchant for wine, boys, and overtly heretical statements.[9] In his *maqāma*s, Ibn Nāqiyā even quotes some of Abū Nuwās's verses denying the Resurrection. In this section of the *Jumān*, however, he is interested in the way different poets have described wine vessels. Ibn Nāqiyā notes that they have "used several techniques (*salakat al-shuʿarāʾ madhāhib*)" for describing goblets and that Abū Nuwās "has a unique technique (*madhhab infarada bihi*)" (¶20; ¶29). Exploring these methods or techniques (*madhāhib*) is an important part of Ibn Nāqiyā's *Jumān*, and it is one reason that it is worth thinking about this text as an *adab* anthology.

Ibn Nāqiyā's *Jumān* is, as I have noted, a work that is difficult to classify. Indeed, it is one of those texts that calls into question the usefulness of categories that are often taken to be familiar and recognizable. Does this text really toe the line between *adab* anthology and quranic exegesis, or are our categories too restricted when it comes to the remarkable diversity of Arabic textual production? In either case, it is helpful to see how the *Jumān* relates to other texts according to Bilal Orfali's tentative typology of *adab* anthologies. In one sense, the *Jumān* is similar to the variety of anthologies that do not merely anthologize examples of a particular theme or motif but rather compare how those motifs are used by different authors. For example, *al-Ashbāh wa-l-naẓāʾir* by the Khālidī brothers, Abū Bakr al-Khālidī (d. 380/990) and Abū ʿUthmān al-Khālidī (d. 390/999), compares the poetry of the ancient poets to that of the Abbasid poets "to demonstrate that old poets had preceded the moderns in using many of the conceits and images thought to have been innovated by them."[10] Like Ibn Nāqiyā, the Khālidī brothers are not seeking to denigrate the Abbasid poets for their reliance on earlier poets. Their goal seems to be to demonstrate the continuity between "modern (*muḥdath*)" poetry and the earlier poetic tradition. It may be that Ibn Nāqiyā's anthology can be understood in the same way. That is, he may be arguing for the existence of meaningful continuity from poets of pre-Islamic Arabia to the Quran and down to the Abbasid era.

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9   The philologist Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1002) quotes "a certain specialist in the study of the Arabs" who said, "Were it not for the licentiousness (*khalāʿa*) that mingles with Abū Nuwās's poetry, I would cite his poetry to explain the Book of God and the sayings of the Prophet." Ibn Jinnī, *Tafsīr urjūzat Abī Nuwās* 9. The idea that Abū Nuwās's poetry could be a useful witness for explicating the Quran is perhaps an acknowledgment of his sophisticated usage of unusual vocabulary and quranic imagery.

10   Orfali, A Sketch Map 48.

What is distinct about Ibn Nāqiyā's anthologizing text is that it is organized around the Quran. In a sense, the *Jumān* is a digressive commentary on the Quran that functions as an *adab* anthology. Digressive commentaries on prose *adab* works emerged in the sixth/twelfth century with al-Panjdīhī's (d. 584/1188) commentary on the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. This commentary was quickly followed by al-Sharīshī's (d. 619/1222) digressive commentary on the same base text. I have argued elsewhere that these digressive commentaries on *adab* texts can function as *adab* anthologies.[11] Unlike other kinds of *adab* anthologies, which are organized geographically, biographically, thematically, or modelled on the natural, unpredictable flow of conversation, these commentarial anthologies organize their material around a base text. As Everett K. Rowson has argued, digressive commentaries construct intertextual links between the base text and the material discussed in the digression.[12] The materials that commentators choose to anthologize in their digressions reveal which intertextualities they believe are salient and meaningful to that text, just as the Khālidī brothers used their anthology to draw connections between the ancient Arabic poetic tradition and the poetry of their own era. As for Ibn Nāqiyā, he suggests through digressive commentary that the wine poetry of the Abbasid period is meaningfully related to the quranic depiction of Paradise, a point that I will explore further in the final section of this essay.

3 Narrativizing the Live-Action Anthology: al-Tawḥīdī and the *Maqāma*

By broadening the concept of anthology to encompass digressive commentary, I hope to point out the ways in which the term "anthology" is both heuristically useful and hopelessly artificial. The term is extremely useful for describing a broad range of anthologizing and even "encyclopedic" activities that go by many different names in Arabic, even though they are clearly related activities. In other words, using the term "anthology" creates heuristically helpful links between related texts. For example, Adam Talib's recent study of the Arabic epigram (*maqṭūʿ*) introduces the concept of the "micro-anthology," which he uses to describe small collections of short poems on a particular topic. These micro-

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11   For the digressive commentaries of al-Panjdīhī (d. 584/1188) and al-Sharīshī (d. 619/1222), see Keegan, Digressions in the Islamic Archive (forthcoming). Idem, Commentarial Acts 347–376.

12   Rowson, An Alexandrian Age.

anthologies are embedded in larger texts, but the terminology of anthology is helpful for capturing the activity of gathering together related poems in an ordered manner.[13]

At the same time, the boundaries implied by our term "anthology" can also obscure further intertextual links. Let us take the example of al-Tawḥīdī. He composed both an *adab* anthology entitled *al-Baṣāʾir wa-l-dhakhāʾir* and a narrative work depicting the learnèd, convivial *symposia* (*majālis*, sing: *majlis*) that took place between him and a certain vizier. *Al-Baṣāʾir wa-l-dhakhāʾir* is one of those massive works (ten volumes in print) in which an organizing principle is difficult or perhaps impossible to discern. It unfolds as a series of notes or possibly conversations, loosely tied together, much like the anthology of al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994), the *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, in which one finds anecdotal materials from the author's own *majālis* that he deems suitable for conversation (*muḥāḍara*).[14] Al-Tanūkhī frames the anthology as a kind of repository for the *majālis*—an archive of stories that are derived from earlier conversations that might prove fruitful for later conversations.

When it comes to al-Tawḥīdī's narrative work, the *K. al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, this symbiotic or cyclical relationship between written word and spoken conversation is embedded into the narrative itself. The book covers an assortment of topics, which are organized into 40 episodes, each of which ostensibly represents a single night's conversation between the author and the vizier Ibn Saʿdān (d. 375/985–986). The belle-lettrist (*adīb*) draws on his vast and varied knowledge of every topic, narrating stories and quoting poetry that illuminate topics like the relationship between philosophy and logic, the relative merits of Arabs and non-Arabs, and the obscene and amusing material that traffics under the heading of *mujūn*.

In other words, al-Tawḥīdī depicts himself playing the role of a live-action anthologizer or, perhaps better, an anthology-in-waiting who can be called upon to curate and perform a meaningful mélange of discourses. The *K. al-Imtāʿ* can be seen as a narrativized anthology, one that blurs the boundaries of the category of "anthology" even further. Of course, this notion that people are like books would have been familiar to Abbasid authors and readers because the ideal *adīb* was someone who could act as a conduit between books and conversation, producing well-organized discourse out of the fabric of previous discourse.[15] The *majlis* and the anthology mirror one another, particularly

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13   Talib, *How Do You Say Epigram* 94 and 116.

14   Al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara* i, 10. Idem, *Table-talk of a Mesopotamian Judge* 7.

15   Al-Jāḥiẓ famously suggested that books were better companions than people because

when it comes to the species of anthology that has no apparent organizing principle but moves like conversation from one topic to another. These sorts of anthologies are an expression of the ideal that "for every situation there is an appropriate thing to say (*li-kull maqām maqāl*)."[16]

The ability to pick an apt expression—an ability that is intimately related to the mastery of the anthology and the ability to curate it in real time—is also at the center of the *maqāma* genre. The man who is usually identified as the "inventor" of the *maqāma* genre, al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008), created a genre that often took the learnèd *majlis* as its theme, but in a way that offers a helpful contrast with the anthologizing, courtly scenes of al-Tawḥīdī's *K. al-Imtāʿ*. The *maqāma*s of al-Hamadhānī do not portray an *adīb* offering a live-action anthology but rather depict the exploits of a roguish *adīb* who, at times, uses his mastery of the anthology as one of his chief assets. He deploys this knowledge to dazzle and dupe his audience while, at times, playing with the notion of anthologizing.

For example, in a *maqāma* known as "the *maqāma* of poetry (*al-maqāma al-shiʿriyya*)," the fictive narrator ʿĪsā b. Hishām tells us the story of a learnèd *majlis*, which he had held with some companions.[17] They are discussing poetry and quoting particular verses with difficult or riddling meaning (*abyāt al-maʿānī*).[18] A handful of anthologies devoted to these riddling verses survive from the Abbasid period, beginning as early as Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) and his *K. al-Maʿānī al-kabīr*.[19] In the *maqāma*'s learnèd discourse there appear to be important connections between the *majlis* and the anthology, but there is more live-action anthologizing yet to come in this *maqāma*. In the midst of the *majlis*, a young stranger arrives and listens as though he understands their learnèd discourse but remains silent. The narrator ʿĪsā b. Hishām tells him that his silent presence is irritating the group.[20] The stranger asks them about their progress

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books allowed the reader to enjoy learned topics without risking the boredom or annoyance that comes with social interactions. If one is tired of the book, one may simply put it down. Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* i, 50–51. This saying had a long afterlife, as is noted by Ghersetti, On Mamluk Anthologies 80.

16   Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* iii, 43.
17   Al-Hamadhānī, *Maqāmāt* (1889) 222–226.
18   For these riddling anthologies, see David Larsen's contribution to this volume. Larsen, Towards a Reconstruction of Abū Naṣr al-Bāhilī's *K. Abyāt al-maʿānī*. Idem, Meaning and Captivity 209–217.
19   Orfali, A Sketch Map 45.
20   This complaint is perhaps a play on the difference between the *majlis* (a seated gathering) and *maqāma* (a standing performance). It has been suggested that the *maqāma* is a parody of the *majālis* devoted to *ḥadīth*. Stewart, The *maqāma* 149. However, one of the

in working out the riddling verses, claiming that he can solve every single one. The group tests him, and they find that he is able to explain every riddle and reply to every query.

Up to this point, al-Hamadhānī's "*maqāma* of poetry" simply recounts a scene in which the material discussed is like that which is anthologized in Ibn Qutayba's *K. al-Maʿānī*. However, once the group has run out of questions, the young stranger poses over 50 riddles *about* poetry. He asks, for example: "Which verse is foul in context but goodly when cut off (*al-bayt alladhī samuja waḍʿuhu wa-ḥasuna qaṭʿuhu*)?"[21] Another asks: "What verse does the sheep eat when it wishes (*yaʾkuluhu l-shāʾ matā shāʾ*)?"[22] The group asks the young stranger for an explanation (*tafsīr*) of these riddles, and when he refuses, they decide that "he had sculpted his words well but without any meaning underneath (*alfāẓan qad jawwada naḥtahā lā maʿānī taḥtahā*)."[23] To allay their doubts, he agrees to give the solutions to five of the riddles. He leaves the fictive audience and the reader to find answers to the rest.

A full list of answers to these riddles would make up a short anthology—a "micro-anthology," in Adam Talib's terminology. This *maqāma* of al-Hamadhānī, therefore, acts as a kind of encoded anthology or an anthology *in potentia*, which requires the reader to seek out a commentary that might fulfill the promise of what has been encoded. In fact, even when the answers to the riddles are provided, there is further interpretive work to be done on the part of the reader. For example, one of the five riddles that al-Iskandarī solves is about the verse that sheep might eat. Al-Iskandarī supplies a certain verse in which the poet uses the word "separation" four times in a single line, but there is nothing about food or sheep in the verse itself. The reader or commentator must then figure out that the word "separation (*al-nawā*)" is a homonym for the collective noun meaning "date pits (*al-nawā*)," which is apparently food fit for sheep.[24] A sheep could, therefore, "eat" the verse if the word "separation" were reinterpreted to mean "date pits" and thus transmogrified.

Another riddle's solution is considerably more difficult to solve but raises the question of how lines of poetry can mean quite different things depending upon whether they are understood in context or not. Al-Iskandarī is asked to

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maqāma's main features seems to be the pastiche and performance of the *majlis* devoted to *adab* and poetry.

21   Al-Hamadhānī, *Maqāmāt* (1889) 223.

22   Ibid.

23   Ibid., 225.

24   Al-Hamadhānī, *Maqāmāt* (1889) 226. This verse with its double meaning appeared already in the *Kitāb al-Zahra* of Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣbahānī (d. 297/910). Van Gelder, Gleanings of Curiosities 37–38.

answer the riddle about which "verse is foul in context but goodly when cut off." His solution is the following line of Abū Nuwās:

<div dir="rtl">

فَبِتْنا يرانا اللهُ شرَّ العصابة　　تُجرِّرُ أذيالَ الفسوقِ ولا نَفْرُ

</div>

We passed the night
　　with God looking on us as the most wicked band of men,
who drag the hems of wickedness [in their wake],
　　and I say this without boasting.[25]

Neither the riddling youth in the *maqāma*, nor the modern editor, nor the translator W.J. Prendergast has an adequate explanation for why this verse of Abū Nuwās should be considered a solution for the riddle. In part, the problem stems from the ambiguity of the riddle itself, which may be interpreted and translated in several different ways. One may translate the riddle as follows: "What verse begins foully but ends in a goodly manner?" According to this interpretation, the fact that the final words of the verse claim to eschew boasting contrasts with the wickedness that begins the verse.[26] However, my preferred translation interprets the riddle as a question about what is foul in context (*waḍʿ*) but goodly when deprived of context (*ḥasuna qaṭʿuhu*). If this single verse by Abū Nuwās is read without its context—as a fragment (*qiṭʿa*) of poetry meant to stand on its own—then it is possible to interpret it as a piece of pious self-criticism in which the poet recognizes himself as a sinner in the eyes of God who hopes to cover over his evil deeds and not to boast of them. However, when it is put into context, this pious reading becomes impossible. The verse is the final line of a *khamriyya* by Abū Nuwās, and it completes a poem that boasts of dissolute behavior and builds up to a sodomic orgy. The phrase "and I say this without boasting (*wa-lā fakhru*)" appears to be an ironic reversal of the entire spirit of the poem, and the reader cannot help but think that the poet has his tongue firmly planted in his cheek.[27]

25　Al-Hamadhānī, *Maqāmāt* (1889) 225. The edition reads *nujarrir* instead of *tujarrir*, but the meaning is one and the same. Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* iii, 129.

26　This may be what Prendergast has in mind when he renders the verse, "What verse is that which is unseemly in original intent (*waḍʿuhu*) but can be made proper by punctuation (*qaṭʿuhu*)." However, the point is obscured by this translation because it is not clear what punctuation would produce a goodly meaning. Al-Hamadhānī, *The Maqamat of Badiʾ al-Zaman* 168 and 170.

27　This ironic disavowal of the spirit of the poem is not the only ironic reversal in this line of poetry. There is an intertextual allusion in the image of the libertine band "dragging the hems of wickedness [in their wake]." In the *Muʿallaqa* of Imruʾ al-Qays, the

In many of al-Hamadhānī's *maqāma*s, the roguish trickster plays the part of the sophisticated master of *adab*. He is the man who can comment upon the poetic canon (in *al-maqāma al-qarīḍiyya*) and call into being an encoded anthology (in the *maqāma* on poetry discussed above). Regardless, he always fulfills the ideal that "for every situation there is an appropriate thing to say (*li-kull maqām maqāl*)." By contrast, the trickster figure in Ibn Nāqiyā's surviving *maqāma*s shows himself to be, at times, a boorish dolt rather than an eloquent sophisticate. In the seventh of Ibn Nāqiyā's *maqāma*s, the subject is once again poetry. The narrator and his friend are having a pleasant picnic, drinking wine, and listening to music.[28] The pleasures of this live-action anthology of poetry set to music are interrupted by the rogue who is very much not the charming and eloquent stranger of al-Hamadhānī's *maqāma*s. Rather, he is ugly and almost inhuman, with a crab-like gait (*sarṭānī l-mishya*) and the physique of a she-lamb (*rikhlī l-binya*).[29] He barges in on their gathering and recites some faulty lines of verse before the narrator and his companions can escape. Al-Yashkurī's failures in manners (*adab*) and in poetic mastery (another element of *adab*) make him a *negative* example of the ideal that "for every situation there is an appropriate thing to say (*li-kull maqām maqāl*)."

However, in other *maqāma*s, Ibn Nāqiyā's rogue is a master of live-action anthologizing who is able to quote expressions that are ironically apt. At one point, al-Yashkurī is able to "misuse" his ability to quote apt expressions to defend something as transgressive as grave-robbing. In the second *maqāma*, narrated by "a certain cut-throat (*baʿḍ al-futtāk*)," the narrator is out on an evening adventure when he comes across a figure (*shakhṣ*) who seems almost inhuman (*lā waqaʿa lī annahu min al-bashar*).[30] The figure hops like a demon (*shayṭān*) and shakes as he runs on all fours like a wolf. This animal-like demon

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beloved "dragged behind us the train of her embroidered mantle over our traces." Abū Nuwās's companions do not drag a garment behind them in order to cover their tracks. Rather, they are dragging the garment *of wickedness* behind them. Jacobi, Ibn al-Muʿtazz: Dair ʿAbdūn 53. The article deals here with the allusion of Ibn al-Muʿtazz to the same trope.

28   Ibn Nāqiyā, *Maqāmāt* (Rescher) 144–147. The *maqāma* is numbered the eighth here, but it is the seventh in Ḥasan ʿAbbās's superior edition. Ibn Nāqiyā, *Maqāmā* (ʿAbbās) 101–105. Due to the extreme difficulty of obtaining this latter edition, I will only cite Rescher here.

29   Ibn Nāqiyā, *Maqāmāt* (Rescher), 145. The text here informs us that al-Yashkūrī is "reprehensible in appearance according to the fair appraisal of physiognomy (*naqd al-firāsa al-ʿadl*)," suggesting that these recurring animal features in the trickster's appearance are an important leitmotif.

30   Ibn Nāqiyā, *Maqāmāt* (Rescher) 125.

then begins to engage in grave-robbing, which horrifies even the hardened cut-throat narrator. The rogue then evades the night watchmen by slipping into the minaret of a mosque, where he climbs up and gives a rousing and fearful sermon on "this world and its perishing, the Resurrection and its terrors, the Fire and its punishments, and Paradise and its goblets (*akwābihā*)."[31]

The people are moved to tears by this pious sermon, which incidentally makes reference to the promise of heavenly wine and goblets. Ibn Nāqiyā's interest in this particular heavenly promise is explored in the *Jumān*, to which I will return below. What is important here is that al-Yashkurī is an eloquent weaver of words, at least when it comes to pious sermons. After the sermon, the cut-throat greets al-Yashkurī as a companion but then confronts him about his remarkable behavior (*la-qad ra'aytu minka l-'ajab wa-anta fī hādhā l-adab*).[32] The grave-robber defends himself with a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet: "Seek out your livelihood from that which is hidden in the earth."[33]

The narrator, cut-throat that he is, does not take this blatant misappropriation of prophetic *ḥadīth* quietly. He explains that this *ḥadīth* refers to "the extraction of plants, not digging up dead bodies." The grave-robber calmly points out: "You are not better qualified in interpretation than I am, for I am al-Yashkurī of whom you have heard tell."[34]

This *maqāma* inverts the ideal at the center of the digressive anthology and the Hamadhānian *maqāma*: That "for every situation there is an appropriate thing to say (*li-kull maqām maqāl*)." However, unlike the *maqāma* in which al-Yashkurī recites bad poetry, the trickster cites a perfectly unproblematic prophetic *ḥadīth*. The *ḥadīth* on seeking one's liveliness from the earth is "foul in context but goodly when cut off," as the trickster of al-Hamadhānī's *maqāma*s would put it. What the *maqāma* and the *adab* anthology have in common is the (re)contextualization of speech in ways that create new meaning and new ethical and aesthetic valences. As the *maqāma*s discussed here suggest, the aptness of speech is not an inherent quality of speech itself but has to do with its context within a field of discourse and action.

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31   Ibid., 126.
32   Ibid.
33   Ibid., 127. Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī, *Musnad* vii, 347.
34   Ibn Nāqiyā, *Maqāmāt* (Rescher) 127.

4   Wine in Ibn Nāqiyā's *al-Maqāma al-Dahriyya* and His *Jumān*

It is now possible to turn to the question of wine, which was raised in epigraph
of this article. Ibn Nāqiyā's *Jumān* contains a lengthy discussion of the wine of
Paradise, but it is not carried out in the manner of a treatise or even as a stand-
ard work of commentary. Rather, Ibn Nāqiyā moves from topic to topic and cites
the most apt poetic verses to correspond with particular quranic verses. Unlike
Ibn Nāqiyā's *maqāma*s, the *Jumān* seems everywhere earnest. Although we
need not assume that the *Jumān* expresses Ibn Nāqiyā's "real" opinions through
which his *maqāma*s ought to be read, it is nevertheless crucial to examine the
links between his *maqāma*s in which he speaks through his fictive characters
and his *Jumān*, in which he speaks in his own voice and through the voices of
the poets whom he anthologizes.

There are subtle linkages that weave together the *Jumān*'s chapter on Sura
76. A brief outline summarizing the contents of the chapter will help explain
how Ibn Nāqiyā's anthologizing argumentation unfolds and culminates in the
expository passage quoted at the beginning of this article:

> [¶1–¶5]:
> Q 76:15–16 contains a simile describing wine goblets, even though these
> verses lack the typical markers of the simile. Similes that lack the typical
> markers are a feature of language found in several examples from Arabic
> poetry.

> [¶6–¶11]:
> Ibn Nāqiyā points out that this form of unexpressed simile (what we
> would call metaphor) is a feature of Arabic poetry describing the beloved,
> whose teeth become pearls, whose fragrance is musk, and whose face is
> the moon. In several of these examples, the saliva of the beloved is wine.
> It can be surmised from what Ibn Nāqiyā says here that wine, therefore,
> need not *actually* be wine but may be an unexpressed simile (or, in our
> terms, a metaphor) for something else.

> [¶12–¶17]:
> Ibn Nāqiyā explains that unexpressed similes of this kind are found often
> in both speech and poetry. They are also found in the quranic description
> of the taste of heavenly wine. Ibn Nāqiyā quotes quranic verses in which
> goblets are passed around to the inhabitants of heaven and poured out
> to them by the "immortal boys (*wildān mukhalladūn*)." (Q 56:18, 37:44–45,
> 76:15–16). The juxtaposition of these verses with the prior exploration of

wine as a metaphor for the beloved suggests that Ibn Nāqiyā may consider these verses about Paradise's beloveds to be metaphorical as well.

[¶18–¶31]:
Ibn Nāqiyā claims that the Quran describes the vessels containing wine in order to indicate the exalted status of the wine within. He quotes poetry and other quranic verses describing delicate vessels. Note especially ¶20, which refers to the several techniques (*madhāhib*) that the poets employ and contains the laconic note about the Quran's superiority.

[¶32–34]:
These paragraphs contain Ibn Nāqiyā's exposition of the Quran's purpose for describing wine, which I quoted in the epigraph of this article. The Quran's description of wine is framed as a response to the cultural and poetic norms of pre-Islamic Arabia, in which wine is among the most noble things.

[¶35–40]:
These paragraphs cover a handful of grammatical points and interpretive issues, which are dealt with briefly and in a rather desultory manner.

Ibn Nāqiyā never explicitly argues that the inhabitants of Paradise will not be enjoying actual wine in the hereafter. However, he strongly suggests that wine is simply a metaphor for the delights of Paradise. It is a metaphor that allowed the Quran to communicate the (more abstract) delights of the hereafter according to the proclivities of the pre-Islamic Arabs. The bodily pleasures of wine and its noble qualities that are celebrated in *Jāhilī* poetry are, according to Ibn Nāqiyā, an invention of their "idle falsehoods (*abāṭīl*)." However, the quranic description uses the conceptual apparatus of these falsehoods "to awaken a desire for what God has prepared for the people of Islam in the afterlife" (¶34).

Ibn Nāqiyā claims that the Quran describes wine "according to its true nature (*min ḥaqīqat ḥālihā*)" (¶34). This presents an apparent paradox. The "Real-True (*ḥaqīqa*)" nature of heavenly wine is described in the Quran, but that description of wine surpasses that of the *Jāhilī* poets who heap excessive praise upon it. How can that be the case unless the wine of heaven is not really wine at all but a metaphor for heavenly pleasures? The outline above shows that Ibn Nāqiyā also considers these quranic descriptions of wine, its vessels, and the immortal boys (*wildān mukhalladūn*) to be unexpressed similes. He hints at this fact when he talks about love poetry, which describes the lover's saliva as wine without expressing the simile outright. The absence of simile-markers

(*kā-*, *mithl*, etc.) captures that intensification of meaning (*mubālagha*) that mere description cannot achieve. Likewise, the Quran seems to appropriate the *Jāhilī* lust for wine to capture the intensity of Paradise's delights. The false metaphors of the here-and-now enable the "Real-True" metaphorical expression of non-earthly delights.

In his claim that the Quran communicates with its audience through what is familiar to them, Ibn Nāqiyā expresses an idea that is not so different from the one commonly associated with al-Fārābī (d. 350/961). In al-Fārābī's political philosophy, the ideal king is a philosopher-prophet who is able to convince non-philosophers of correct opinions even if they lack the rational capabilities to have philosophical knowledge. In his treatise called *al-Siyāsa al-madaniyya*, al-Fārābī notes that the philosopher-prophet is capable of producing in the souls of the non-philosophers imaginative depictions (*khayālāt*), likenesses (*mithālāt*), and other imitations of true knowledge (*umūr tuḥākīha*).[35] What al-Fārābī apparently has in mind is prophetic scriptures like the Quran, which express universal truths in ways that ordinary people can understand. However, he notes that different scriptures will depict matters in different ways, "imitating these essences (*al-ashyāʾ*) to each group or community (*umma*) with the things (*al-ashyāʾ*) that are most familiar to them (*aʿraf ʿindahum*)."[36] The image of heavenly wine does just that, according to Ibn Nāqiyā.

It is, in fact, highly probable that Ibn Nāqiyā knew of al-Fārābī's ideas. As Philip Kennedy has shown in his erudite exploration of Ibn Nāqiyā's sixth *maqāma*, Ibn Nāqiyā was deeply familiar with the concepts Greco-Arabic philosophy.[37] In that *maqāma*, al-Yashkurī plays a drunk philosopher, and the narrator is "a certain theologian (*mutakallim*)." Al-Yashkurī is incoherently drunk (*multakhkh min al-sukr*), sitting in the shade and reciting poetry to himself. The theologian sits nearby to enjoy the shade but refuses al-Yashkurī's offer of wine, explaining that he is a theologian and that wine is forbidden. The drunk man then launches into an eloquent series of questions about wine, which is actually a sophisticated probing of Aristotle's theory of materiality that reveals Ibn Nāqiyā's detailed knowledge of the philosophical tradition. In the course of his speech, al-Yashkurī the philosopher eventually declares that he is abandoning all allusion (*kināya*), at which point he recites a pair of verses by

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35   Al-Fārābī, *al-Siyāsa al-madaniyya* 85.
36   Ibid., 86. See Griffel, Muslim Philosophers' 168.
37   For Kennedy's translation, see Philosopher's Squib 88–96. The Arabic text of that *maqāma* is found as follows: Ibn Nāqiyā, *Maqāmāt* (ʿAbbās) 93–100. Idem, *Maqāmāt* (Rescher) 139–144.

Abū Nuwās in which the poet declares his belief in the eternity of the world (*dahr*)[38] and thus denies both the creative act of God and the Resurrection:[39]

باح لساني بمُضْمرِ السرّ   وذاك أنّي أقول بالدهر
وليَس بعد المماتَ منبعث   وإنما الموَت بيضة العقر

> My tongue disclosed the hidden secret—
> > That I believe in the eternity of the world.
> There is no Resurrection after dying.
> > No, death is like a sterile egg.

Al-Yashkurī is intoxicated but produces a carefully constructed series of questions, pithy philosophical observations, and poetic verses. He offers what we might call "the philosopher's anthology."[40] The theologian is alarmed by al-Yashkurī's discourse and responds with his own rebuttal, which mainly consists of a series of quranic quotations. The precise contents of the "theologian's anthology" are not quoted in full. Instead, the theologian narrator simply assures us that he put forward a series of "clear examples and instructive quotations (*al-amthila al-ẓāhira wa-l-shawāhid al-dālla*)."[41] However, in the midst of these quranic quotations, the theologian also recites a half-line of poetry without mentioning the poet's name: "You have understood one thing, but [many] things are lost on you."[42]

This half-line that the theologian quotes comes from a poem by Abū Nuwās. Once again, we are confronted with a question of context. In the theologian's live-action anthology, this half-line is offered up as a pithy and biting riposte to the philosopher's erudite heresy. As Kennedy has pointed out, the verse is at least doubly ironic because, if one knows the line's author, it becomes clear that Abū Nuwās is being mobilized to refute himself. Abū Nuwās, as he so often

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38   Kennedy translates the term *dahr* as Fate, which is certainly a possible rendering. However, in the context of the following statement, it seems more likely that Abū Nuwās is declaring himself a *dahrī*, that is, someone who asserts the eternity of the world, thus denying the act of God's creation. See Lane, s.v. "*d-h-r*."

39   Ibn Nāqiyā, *Maqāmāt* ('Abbās) 95. Idem, *Maqāmāt* (Rescher) 141. Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* v, 459. Kennedy, Philosopher's Squib 93.

40   Kennedy notes how these passages are a series of "sequiturs" and that, for example, the verse of Abū Tammām "provides a well-judged and very wry quotation; it both manipulates and is manipulated by its prose context." This feature of apt discourse and anthology is, therefore, quite apparent. Kennedy, Philosopher's Squib 105 and also 95 no. 46.

41   Idem, *Maqāmāt* (Rescher) 141.

42   Ibn Nāqiyā, *Maqāmāt* (Rescher) 142.

does, stands on both sides of every line, writing both obscene and ascetic poetry and devoting his love poems to both women and boys. The extent to which the theologian's allusion to Abū Nuwās can be considered apt depends upon *how much context* is supplied. If only the immediate context of this half-line is added, the theologian's clever allusion pays off because Abū Nuwās is *also* addressing himself to a man who claims knowledge of philosophy in the original poem. Quoted here as it appears in the *dīwān*, the verse reads as follows:

فقلْ لمنْ يدّعي في العلمِ فلسفةً   حفظتَ شيئًا وغابت عنك أشياءُ

> Say to the one who claims knowledge of philosophy:
> You have understood one thing, but [many] things escape you.

However, the theologian's riposte backfires somewhat if this verse is put into the context of the *full poem* of which this line forms a part. This is because the full poem is a celebration of the dissolute life and a defense of wine-drinking.[43] When the theologian refuses al-Yashkurī's offer of wine, he does so because "this drink has been proscribed to us (*ḥuẓira ʿalaynā*)." If a reader knows the verse of Abū Nuwās and its context, they might call to mind the verse that immediately follows the one quoted by the theologian. There, Abū Nuwās rebukes those who are intent on proscribing (*ḥaẓr*) God's ability to forgive wine-drinking:

لا تَحظرِ العفوَ إن كنتَ امرَأً حَرِجًا   فإنّ حَظرَكه بالدين إزراءُ

> Do not proscribe [God's] forgiveness if you are a strict man.
> Indeed, your proscribing it disparages religion.

Abū Nuwās's verses in Ibn Nāqiyā's sixth *maqāma*, when read with different degrees of context, undermine both the philosopher and the theologian. The extent to which these verses "take a side" depends upon whether they are read in context (*waḍʿ*) or as standalone verses (*qiṭʿa*). As with al-Hamadhānī's riddle discussed above, the ethical valence of a discourse depends not on the language itself but on the relationship between that piece of speech (*maqāl*) and its context or place (*maqām*).

Ibn Nāqiyā's sixth *maqāma* ends with al-Yashkurī the philosopher passing out from drink and farting loudly. Neither side is triumphant, with each parti-

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43   Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* iii, 2–4.

cipant in this half-drunk debate speaking both brilliantly and contradictorily. Kennedy characterizes the theologian's rebuttal as "unfocused exegesis" when compared to the "greater rhetorical force and coherence in the dialogue of the philosopher."[44] However, the exegetical mode of the *maqāma*'s theologian, with his mix of Quran and poetry that seems to muddy the waters rather than clarify matters, is remarkably similar to Ibn Nāqiyā's method in the *Jumān*. This does not mean, of course, that we should identify Ibn Nāqiyā with the theologian of his sixth *maqāma* but that we should take seriously the mode of "unfocused exegesis" as a different kind of rhetorical strategy—one that can be read differently by different readers, depending upon their mastery of context.

When Ibn Nāqiyā declares in the *Jumān* that the Quran uses wine to inspire a desire in the *Jāhilī* Arabs for God's promise of Paradise, he denigrates their overly enthusiastic depictions of wine as "idle falsehoods and slander (*abāṭīli-him wa-ifkihim*)" (¶ 34). Are we also encouraged to denigrate Ibn al-Muʿtazz and Abū Nuwās for their descriptions of wine and their goblets? Does Ibn Nāqiyā consider these Muslim poets to be indulging in the "idle falsehoods" of the *Jāhiliyya*, or are they engaging with the scriptural metaphor of heavenly wine? The point here is not to discern what these poets *actually believed* but rather what Ibn Nāqiyā and his audience understood the relationship to be between the wine imagery of the Quran and the *Jāhilī* poets on the one hand and the Abbasid poets on the other.

To that end, one wonders how Ibn Nāqiyā's audience responded to his announcement in ¶29 that Abū Nuwās has a "unique technique (*madhhab infarada bihi*)" for describing the saucers and goblets of wine. The verses of Abū Nuwās that Ibn Nāqiyā quotes are not those describing bacchanalian orgies with beautiful Ganymedes passing round the cups of wine. Rather, he points out that Abū Nuwās developed a unique technique for describing *pre-Islamic* Persian goblets (¶¶ 29–31). These goblets of wine are, at least here in the *Jumān*, safely "cut off" from Abū Nuwās's more raucous revelries. Or are they? Abū Nuwās boasts in ¶30 that if the Persian king Khusrau were brought back from the dead and "given back his soul," he would make Abū Nuwās his boon companion (*nadīm*). This allusion to the revivification of the Persian king allows the poem to be about both the past and the present, just as Ibn Nāqiyā's anthology about wine poetry and the Quran is both about pre-Islamic past and the Abbasid present.

The question then remains: When the reader encountered Ibn Nāqiyā's comments on wine that were quoted at the top of this article, would they find it

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44   Kennedy, Philosopher's Squib 112.

ironic that Arabic poetry had continued to celebrate wine at least as much as their pre-Islamic forefathers? The fact is that Ibn Nāqiyā is aware that wine is not something that is "safely" in the past but is rather part of the Abbasid present. His *maqāma*s include the drunken philosopher who passes out and farts, but they also include the sophisticated picnic of the seventh *maqāma* where the people of the *majlis* imbibe wine until the crab-like al-Yashkurī ruins their fun.

One is further led to wonder whether Ibn Nāqiyā might consider the tradition of Abbasid wine poetry that he quotes in the *Jumān* to be *necessary* in some sense. Might the Islamic tradition of wine poetry and even the imbibing wine itself help keep the Quran's communicative act alive for those who, in al-Fārābī's view, do not have the intellectual capacity for understanding God's promise of Paradise appropriately? If wine ceased to be celebrated, would the grave-robber's sermon in Ibn Nāqiyā's *maqāma*s have any effect with its reference to "Paradise and its goblets (*akwābihā*)?"[45]

No definitive answer can be given to these questions because Ibn Nāqiyā leaves his readers in an ambivalent position in both his *maqāma*s and in the *Jumān*. What can be said for certain is that Ibn Nāqiyā's *Jumān* cannot act as an unproblematic key to reading the *maqāma*s. The *Jumān* is a complex engagement with the Quran's poetic language, which is interpretive and exploratory in ways that are as distinct from al-Jurjānī's poetics of inimitability as they are from the exegesis of al-Ṭabarī or al-Zamakhsharī. Ibn Nāqiyā uses the strategies of poetic anthologizing to draw intertextual connections between the Quran and the Arabic poetic tradition, but it is the reader who must make meaning from these intertextualities by supplying the context that fills the seams between the various pieces of discourse that have been collaged together.

5   Conclusion

> Most aesthetic concepts are theological ones in disguise … Like aesthetics, then, humanism was covertly theological all along.
>   TERRY EAGLETON[46]

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45   Ibn Nāqiyā, *Maqāmāt* (Rescher) 126.

46   Eagleton, Coruscating on Thin Ice 9.

If I am correct in surmising that Ibn Nāqiyā offers a Farābian account of wine in the Quran in which difficult philosophical concepts are introduced using concrete language, then it is a rare case of Farābian poetics in practice. But al-Farābī's poetics cannot on its own explain the presence of Abbasid wine poets. It is tempting to understand Ibn Nāqiyā's anthology as a text that treats the Quran "as literature," but it is important to distinguish between the *Jumān* and the modern literary approach to the Quran that seeks to bracket theological questions.[47] The concept of literature and the secular mode of reading associated with it are not ideologically neutral but rather bound up with humanism's peculiar theology.

Ibn Nāqiyā's *Jumān* does not seem designed to bracket belief but rather to implicate theological aesthetics through the anthologizing project. The context that the reader supplies is crucial, both in interpreting the *ḥadīth* used to justify grave-digging and in interpreting the Islamic wine poetry of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and Abū Nuwās. Islamic wine poetry might appear to some as a contradiction in terms, but Ibn Nāqiyā insists through his contextualization of heavenly wine that we see Abū Nuwās's poetry together with the quranic Paradise. As I have suggested above, these Abbasid depictions of wine may have been seen as a way of keeping the vision of quranic Paradise alive and available to later readers. Whether or not that is the case, when Ibn Nāqiyā quotes Abū Nuwās's wine poetry in the *Jumān*, his reader would presumably recognize him as a poet of both the obscene and the ascetic who declares his lust for wine, women, and boys while expressing his trust in God's forgiveness. How one interprets his poetry as an intertext of the revelation depends upon, as al-Hamadhānī's riddler would point out, whether you read a single line, a poem, or the whole oeuvre. The ambivalence of context is a fact that Ibn Nāqiyā's anthology on heavenly wine exploits to the hilt.

As James E. Montgomery has said in his study of Abū Nuwās as a justified sinner, "poetry was one of the major means available for early Abbasid intellectuals and thinkers to speculate upon, expound, and explore the nature of Islamic beliefs."[48] How true this is for poetry anthologies organized around the Quran. In a phrase that foreshadows Shahab Ahmed's *What is Islam?*, Montgomery adds that we should understand poetry (and, I might add, prose and anthologies) "as radically implicated in coterminous contestations of what it meant to be a Muslim."[49] Thus, it will not do to characterize works like Ibn Nāqiyā's as literary-secularist *avant la lettre*. His open-ended, ambiguous, and

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47   Zadeh, Quranic Studies 334.

48   Montgomery, Abū Nuwās 161–162.

49   Ibid.

ambivalent anthologizing exploration is carried out not in spite of Islam, but as an expression of it.[50]

6   Appendix: Translation

6.1   *Notes on the Translation:*
I use brackets {…} for quranic quotations. Square brackets […] denote what is not explicit in the text. Words that are clearly implied in the Arabic or expressed using pronouns are considered "explicit." The use of the term "simile" in the translation requires some explanation. The passage translated below discusses similes (*tashbīhāt*), which, according to Ibn Nāqiyā, includes comparisons that do not contain the particle *kā-*, the word *mithl*, etc. We might be tempted to call these metaphors or to translate *tashbīh* more generally as "comparison," but Ibn Nāqiyā goes to great lengths to show that the comparisons he discusses are reducible to similes.

6.2   *Notes on the Available Editions:*
I have examined three editions and an Escorial MS. The 1968 Baghdad edition of Aḥmad Maṭlūb and Khadīja al-Ḥadīthī is superior to the edition of Muṣṭafā al-Ṣāwī al-Juwaynī (1974) and the more recent edition of Muḥammad Riḍwān al-Dāya (1991). Al-Dāya has uncovered a Damascus MS, to which I do not have access. Al-Dāya argues that it is superior to the Escorial MS, but the variant readings in al-Dāya's edition are often inferior to both the earlier editions and to the manuscript in the Escorial library.

6.3   *The Translation of Ibn Nāqiyā's Chapter about the 76th Sura of the Quran:*
The Chapter of the Human[51]

[1] God, glorious and powerful, said:

> {Vessels made of silver are passed round to them and cups that are glass goblets. Glass goblets made of silver that they have measured out exactly} [Q 76:15–16].

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50   Ahmed, *What is Islam* 345 and 356.
51   Ibn Nāqiyā, *al-Jumān* (Baghdad) 364–372.

[2] He means that the goblets made of silver are *like* glass goblets in their clarity, transparency, and radiance, even though they are made of silver. This is a case of simile (*tashbīh*), even though the particle denoting it as a simile is omitted [i.e., the letter *kāf* or the word *mithl*].

[3] This is also the case with one who says:[52]

<div dir="rtl">

عيرانةٍ زيّافةٍ صَفُوفِ

تخلطُ بين وبِرٍ وصوف

</div>

> A swift she-camel with a proud gait
>> and a full udder,
> Mixes together the camel-hair
>> and the wool.

[4] In other words, it is as if her hoof (*yaduhā*), in the speed of its movement, is *like* the hand [of a weaver] that mixes camel hair together with wool.

[5] Of this sort is what al-Nābigha [fl. 570–600 CE] said in describing a coat of mail (*al-darʿ*):[53]

<div dir="rtl">

عُلِينَ بكِدْيَوْنٍ وأُشْعِرْنَ كُرَّةً   فَهُنَّ إضاءُ صافياتُ الغلائلِ

</div>

> Greased and gleaming,
>> [the coats of mail] are made conspicuous with polish.
>> They shine brightly with the limpidity of tunics.

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52   This *rajaz* poem is found in the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, "*ṣ-f-f*."

53   The simile here involves an implied comparison between chain-mail armor (*al-darʿ*) and tunics (*ghalāʾil*). The verse is often cited in the lexicographical literature in entries on "*k-d-n*" in *Lisān al-ʿArab, al-Ṣiḥāḥ, Tāj al-ʿarūs*, etc. There are several alternative readings for this line of poetry. For example, *ushʿirna* is more commonly *ubṭina*. The translation of *kidyawn* and *karra* into poetic diction is difficult, given that grease and polish were made up of such things as dung and dirt. Furthermore, *ghalāʾil* is understood by one editor as the nails that link together a chain-mail shirt, rather than as a tunic. The editor's suggestion would undermine the presence of a simile that is intended here. Al-Nābigha, *Dīwān* 94.

[6] They omit the particle denoting the simile precisely (*innamā*) to intensify (*mubālagha*) the description of the object of the simile (*al-mushabbah*). That is like when they say in praise of a man:

> "His generosity is the sea. His might is fate. His tongue is a sword."

Or when they say in the description of a woman:

> "Her saliva is wine, her teeth are pearls, her speech is magic, and her smell is musk."

[7] A Bedouin (*aʿrābī*) said in reference to a woman: "Her speech is a heavy rain on barren land and a sweet, cool drink to the parched."

[8] The poet said:[54]

$$\text{وتبسِمُ عَنْ سِمْطَيْ لآلٍ فُصُوُلُها} \qquad \text{شَوَابِيرُ ياقوتٍ يُقَارِنُها خَمْرُ}$$

> Her smile reveals two strings of pearls,
>   and betwixt them are saucers of ruby,
>   mingled with wine.

[9] ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAjlān al-Nahdī [d. ca. 574 CE] said:[55]

$$\text{وحقّة مسك من نساء لبستُها} \qquad \text{شبابي وكأس باكرتني شمولها}$$

> I enjoyed many a musk box of women
>   in my youth,
> and many a goblet
>   greeted me with its fragrance.

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54   I take the word *shawābīr* to refer to a disc-like shape. It is used in to describe lakes and seas in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab* i, 102. The term is also used in recipes, for example, to describe the shape into which the final mixture is cut and shaped as *murabbaʿāt* (rect-angles) or *shawābīr*. Ibn Waḥshiyya, *al-Falāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya* 807.

55   Al-Marzūqī, *Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsa* 1259.

He intended a woman. He compared her to a musk box in reference to her sweet fragrance.

[10] Another poet said:[56]

النشرُ مسكٌ والوجوه دنا   نيرٌ وأطرافُ الأكفّ عَنَمْ

> Their fragrance is musk;
>> Their faces are gold coins;
> Their [henna-dyed] fingertips
>> Are the reddish fruit of the *ʿanam* tree.

[11] Al-Tanūkhī recited to me these lines by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʿtazz [d. 296/ 908]:

وجهٌ وشعرٌ وقَدُّ   بدرٌ وليلٌ وغصنٌ
ريقٌ وثغرٌ وخدُّ[57]   خمرٌ ودرٌ وورد

> Moon, night, and branch—
>> face, hair, and figure.
> Wine, pearls, and roses—
>> Saliva, teeth, and cheeks.

[12] This type of simile is found often in both speech and poetry. God, glorious and powerful, said when describing the pure wine (*raḥīq*) of Paradise: {The last of it is musk} [Q 83:26], which is also a case of simile. That is, in the sweetness of its smell, it is like musk. That is like the words of God exalted: {Its composition is camphor} [Q 76:5]. In reference to the words of God exalted, {The last of it (*khitāmuhu*) is musk,} it is transmitted that al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī] said [that it

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56   The poet is identified by the editor as al-Muraqqish al-Akbar (d. ca. 550s CE), and the verse is from his *qaṣīda* in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*. Al-Mufaḍḍal, *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* 486 (LIV). There, it reads *aṭrāf al-banān*, instead of *aṭrāf al-akaff*.

57   The replacement of the word *khamr* in the editions of al-Dāya and al-Juwaynī (with *naḥr* and *makhr*, respectively) follows neither the sense of the passage nor the MS. Ibn Nāqiyā, *al-Jumān* Escorial MS folio 238v. The superior Baghdad edition of Maṭlūb and al-Ḥadīthī has the correct reading of that word. However, as Geert Jan van Gelder pointed out to me, the Escurial MS and the Baghdad edition both mix up the order of these three words, such that pearls are matched with red cheeks and roses with white teeth. Ibn Nāqiyā's ascription of the verses to Ibn al-Muʿtazz is also questionable.

means] "its aftertaste (*maqṭaʿuhu*) is musk."[58] Abū ʿUbayda followed his opinion in interpreting the verse.[59]

[13] The following verse by Ibn Muqbil [d. after 37/657] was recited:

بالفلفل الجَوّن والرُمّانِ مَختومُ   مِّا يُعتَّقُ في الحانوتِ قاطِعُها

> As for the sort that is aged in the wine shop,
>   the finish is sealed
> with [the taste of] black pepper
>   and pomegranate.

[14] The poet interpreted the word "ending (*khitām*)" in the sense of "conclusion (*al-ʿāqiba*)," and not in the sense of "sealing (*khatm*)," which can mean "stamping (*ṭabʿ*)." This is because God said: {And rivers of wine (*khamr*) delicious to the drinkers} [Q 47:15].[60]

[15] And God exalted said: {Passing around them are immortal boys (*wildān mukhalladūn*) with cups and pitchers and a goblet from a spring} [Q 56:17–18].

[16] God said: {Passed around to them are goblets from a gushing spring. White, delicious to the drinkers} [Q 37:44–45]. And His word "white" is similar to when He said {... glass goblets. Glass goblets made of silver ...} [Q 76:15–16].

[17] As for God's words, [a cup] {containing a composition of ginger} [Q 76:17], it refers to the deliciousness of the aftertaste (*maqṭaʿ*) because ginger burns the tongue. That is among the best attributes of wine (*khamr*), according to the Bedouin Arabs.

[18] Al-Aʿshā [d. ca. 3/625] said:

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58   Reading *maqṭaʿ*, which is found in the Escorial MS, rather than *muqaṭṭaʿ*, as in al-Dāya's edition or *maqṭafa*, as is found in the Baghdad edition. Ibn Nāqiyā, *al-Jumān* Escorial MS folio 239r.

59   Al-Dāya's edition points out that other sources that quote al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's interpretation of this verse do not gloss *khitām* as *maqṭaʿuhu* but rather as *ʿāqiba*. For instance, it is not found in al-Ṭabarī's quotation from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī regarding this verse. Instead, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is found there glossing *khitām* as *ʿāqiba*, an interpretation that is also found in Abū ʿUbayda's *Majāz al-Qurʾān*.

60   The point Ibn Nāqiyā is making seems to be that other verses of the Quran are concerned with the taste of the wine in Paradise and not with what seals it.

$$\text{مُعَتَّقَةً قَهوةً مُرَّةُ} \quad \text{لها زَبَدٌ بَيْنَ كوبٍ ودَنِّ}$$

> Aged wine with a sharp taste,
>> frothy as it flows between cup and wine jug.

[19] God, glorious and powerful, described the vessels and the cups precisely because it implies praise of the drink and indicates its preciousness and exalted rank.

[20] The poets have used several techniques (*madhāhib*) for describing the vessels of wine, and they have put to work the riding beasts of the mind (*a'malat fīhā maṭāyā l-fikr*). They have brought forth every attractive description of it in poetry, even though the best description of this case is the simile that appears in the quranic verse, due to the harmony between this variety (*hādhā l-jins*) [of beverage?] and water, which possesses the utmost fineness and delicacy.

[21] As the Abbasid [poet] said:[61]

$$\text{هواءٌ ولكنّه راكدٌ} \quad \text{وماءٌ ولكنّه غيرِ جارِ}$$

> Air—
>> but it stands still.
> Water—
>> but it does not flow.

[22] God, mighty is His name, said in the story of Bilqīs:

> {It was said to her, "Enter the palace." When she saw it, she thought it was a pool of water, and she uncovered her legs. He said, "It is a palace covered with glass"} [Q 27:44].

It is said that Solomon, peace be upon him, from that day onward would take vessels of glass and look at the drink within them. Nothing stood between him and the drink that obstructed his view of it. Fine bowls were made for him, and these are the best drinking vessels, which are described in their poetry.

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61 The editors have ascribed this line to Ibn al-Muʿtazz, but it belongs rather to al-Qāḍī al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994). Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma* ii, 339.

[23] ʿAntara [fl. 6th century CE] said:[62]

<div dir="rtl">

رَكَدَ الهواجرُ بالمَشُوفِ المُعْلَمِ   ولقدْ شربتُ من المدامة بعدما

قُرِنَتْ بأزْهَرَ في الشمال مُفَدَّمِ   بِزُجاجةٍ صَفْراءَ ذات أَسِرَّةٍ

</div>

I drank the aged wine after the stillness of the midday heat
    in exchange for an engraved coin—

From a golden glass—
    with streaks of filtered wine
clinging to the gleaming jug,
    and held in the left hand.

By the word "gleaming jug," he means a white pitcher.

[24] Shubruma b. al-Ṭufayl [fl. ca. first/seventh century] said in a simile regard-
ing pitchers:[63]

<div dir="rtl">

إوَزّ بأعلى الطَّفِ عُوجُ الحناجِرِ   كأنّ أباريق الشمول عشيّة

</div>

As though the pitchers of fragrant wine are
    geese with their sinuous necks
gathering in the evening
    on the upper bank of the river.

[25] Abū l-Hindī took this simile and said:

<div dir="rtl">

رقابُ بنَاتِ الماء أفزعها الرعدُ   مفدّمة قزًّا كأنّ رِقابَها

</div>

Jugs strained with silk cloth,
    As though their necks
were the necks of storks,
    frightened by the thunder.

---

62   See al-Tibrīzī, *Sharḥ Dīwān ʿAntara* 167–169.

63   The identification of Shubruma is problematic, but he flourished either in the time of
    the Rāshidūn caliphs or, if he is the father of ʿAbd Allāh b. Shubruma (rather than his
    grandfather), under the Umayyads. See al-Marzūqī, *Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsa* 1269–1270. The lines
    attributed to Shubruma in the *Ḥamāsa* are elsewhere attributed to the late Umayyad poet
    Ibn al-Ṭathriyya. See al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* vi, 179. For a discussion of his biography

[26] Ibn al-Muʿtazz took up the following line of ʿAlqama b. ʿAbada [d. ca. 570 CE]:

<div dir="rtl">

كَأن إبريقهم ظبيٌ على شَرَفٍ

</div>

As though their pitcher
  were a gazelle upon a hilltop

Then Ibn al-Muʿtazz said:

<div dir="rtl">

ظبيٌ على شَرَفٍ أنافَ مُدَلَّهَا   وكَأنّ إبريقَ المدامة بيننا

فبكى على قَدَحِ النديمِ وقهقها   لَمّا استحثَّتهُ السقاةُ جَثَا لها

</div>

As though the pitcher of aged wine in our presence
  were a love-struck gazelle
  standing high upon a hilltop.

When the cup-bearers urge the pitcher,
  it kneels to them and guffaws
as it weeps upon the drinking bowl
  of the boon companion

[27] The lines of Ibn al-ʿAkawwak [d. 213/828–829][64] are among the beautiful things that were said in describing the goblet's transparency and delicacy:

<div dir="rtl">

ولكنْ في العُقُولِ لها شَمَاسُ   وصافية لها في الكأسِ لِينٌ

شُعاعًا ما تُحيطُ عليه كأسُ   كَأنَّ يد النديم تُدير مِنْها

</div>

A limpid wine that is tender in the glass,
  but in the mind,
  it has an unruly temper—

As though the hand of the boon companion
  were passing around bewildering beams of light,
  that the goblet could not contain.

---

and the problem of Ibn al-Ṭathriyya's death date, see Ibid., vi, 137, no. 2. The same verses are also attributed to Ibn al-Ṭathriyya's contemporary Ibn al-Dumayna in Usāma b. Munqidh's *Kitāb al-ʿAṣā*, published in *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt* i, 205.

64 This refers to ʿAlī b. Jabala al-ʿAkawwak. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* x, 192–194.

[28] Another said:[65]

$$وكأنّما جُعِلَت إناءَ إنائِها \qquad صُبّت فأَحْدَقَ نُورُها بِزُجاجِها$$

$$تَمْتازُ عِندَ مِزاجِها من مائِها \qquad وتكادُ إِن مُزِجَتْ لِرِقّةِ لَوْنِها$$

Poured out
—its light enclosing the glass—
it is as though the wine were fashioned
    into a vessel of its vessel.

When mixed,
the wine's unsubstantial color
    is almost discernible
from the water with which it is mixed.

[29] Abū Nuwās had a unique technique (*madhhab infarada bihi*) for describing saucers and goblets of wine. For example, he said:[66]

$$حَبَّتْها بأنواعِ التصاوير فارسُ \qquad تدور علينا الراحُ في عَسْجَديّةٍ$$

$$مَهًا تَدَّرِيها بالقِسِيّ الفوارسُ \qquad قَرارتُها كِسْرى وفِي جَنَباتِها$$

$$وللماءِ ما دارتْ عليه القلانِسُ \qquad فللخمرِ ما زُرَّتْ عليها جُيُوبُها$$

The wine is passed around to us in a golden cup,
    which a Persian has adorned with various images.

The base is [an image of] Khusrau,
    and along the sides are wild cows
    and hunters with their bows lying in wait for them.

The wine tinges their tightly tied collars,
    and the water eddies about their hats.

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65   The poet is Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Nāshiʾ, quoted in Shawqī Ḍayf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-ʿArabī* x, 461. The poem is found in al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb* ii, 149.

66   In the edition, the word *anwāʿ* is read *alwān*. Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* iii, 184.

[30] He also said the following with this technique:[67]

<div dir="rtl">

بَنَيْنا على كِسْرى سماءَ مُدامةٍ   جَوانِبُها مَحْفوفةٌ بِنُجُومِ

فلو رُدَّ في كِسْرى بن ساسانَ روحُهُ   إذًا لاصطفاني دونَ كُلّ نديمِ

</div>

We constructed over Khusrau a sky of wine,
    hemmed in at its edges by stars.

If Khusrau, the son of Sasan,
    were given back his soul,
then he would surely select me
    above every boon companion.

[31] He also said:[68]

<div dir="rtl">

رجالُ الفُرْسِ حَوْلَ رِكابِ كِسْرى   بأغْمِدَةٍ وأقْبِيَةٍ قِصارِ

</div>

The men of Persia
    stand round Khusrau's mounts
    with their staffs and short tunics.

[32] To the [pre-Islamic][69] Arabs, wine (*khamr*) was among the most precious items and was held in the highest esteem in their souls. It was the most luxurious thing in their lives and the most complete of all their pleasures. They would boast of patronizing taverns, of spending extravagantly in purchasing it, of stripping bare the stores of the wine traders (*hatk rāyāt tajrihā*), and of forestalling the admonishments of women by drinking it (*sabq al-ʿādhilāt bi-shurbihā*). Thus, they honored wine with descriptions devoid of truth, and they clothed it with undeserving praise due to the intensity of their zeal for it and their excessive glorification of its status.

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67   Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* i, 208. In the *dīwān*, the second hemistich of the first line here reads *mukallala ḥāfātuhā bi-nujūm*. The orthography of *idhan* here with *tanwīn* rather than a *nūn* follows the MS, rather than the Baghdad edition. Ibn Nāqiyā, *al-Jumān* Escorial MS, folio 242r.

68   Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* iii, 138. There, the line begins *wa-jull al-jund taḥt rikāb kisrā*.

69   As I have suggested in the essay above, this assumption that Ibn Nāqiyā is speaking *only* of pre-Islamic Arabs is somewhat ambiguous, given that he quotes Islamic wine poetry immediately above.

[33] This being the case, [the Quran] informed the Arabs that the wine of Paradise is superior to [earthly wine], surpassing it and exceeding it in both excellence and in its noble effects; that it is delicious to the drinkers, without any harmful effects (*lā ghawla fīhā*) or intoxication (*wa-lā ʿanhā yunzafūn*);[70] that the composition of its pure wine is nectar and its aftertaste is musk;[71] that it is like camphor and ginger in the deliciousness of its frigid coldness and the sweetness of its taste and flavor;[72] that it brings about no vain speech and does not cause sin;[73] that it is a gushing spring whose rivers do not overflow and the wine of which is never exhausted.[74]

[34] That which is metaphorical in the descriptions of the Arabs and an invention of their idle falsehoods and lies (*mukhtalaq min abāṭīlihim wa-ifkihim*) is described by the Quran according to its true nature (*min ḥaqīqat ḥālihā*) in order to awaken a desire for what God has prepared for the people of Islam in the afterlife. Likewise, it describes the vessels and cups in its unique way, as has been said above in the first section [of the exegesis on the 76th sura].

[35] As for the words of God exalted {… glass goblets. Glass goblets …} [Q 76:15–16], it is read as an undeclined diptote, that is, *qawārīrᵃ qawārīrᵃ*, which is the preferred choice for this plural (*fī hādhā l-jamʿ*). Those who read "glass goblets" as *qawārīrᵃⁿ* decline it in the first instance of the word because it is the rhyme-letter of the verse (*raʾs al-āya*), and those who decline the second instance of the word are making one verbal form mirror another. The Arabs sometimes changed the case endings to mirror a [prior] verbal form, as when they say: "A deserted burrow of a lizard (*juḥrᵘ ḍabbⁱⁿ kharibⁱⁿ*)."[75]

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70 Reference to Q 37:47. Al-Dāya omits the second half of the verse, although it is found in the Escorial MS.

71 Reference to Q 83:25–26.

72 Reference to Q 76:17.

73 Reference to Q 52:23.

74 Reference to Q 37:45.

75 Reading *juḥr* according to the Escorial MS, instead of *ḥujr*, as is found in the edition. The adjective *kharib* ought to be in the nominative case (*kharibun*), but it is said to be genitive due to its proximity to the word *ḍabb* in the genitive construct.

[36] And also when Imru' al-Qays [d. ca. 550 CE] said:[76]

<div dir="rtl">

كَأَن ثِيرًا في عِرانِينٍ وَبْلِهِ   كَبيرُ أُناسٍ في بِجادٍ مُزَمَّلِ

</div>

> As though Mount Thabīr
>   when the downpour began
> was a towering man
>   wrapped in a striped robe.

[37] And what about the case of an indeclinable noun? It is permitted [to make it declinable in prose] according to the opinion of Medinan school. Regarding poets, it is [permissible according to] the opinion of all.[77]

[38] God said: {… that they have measured out exactly}. That is, the vessel is full according to the amount the need, neither too little to quench their thirst nor too much.

[39] It is also said regarding His words {Glass goblets (*qawārīr*) made of silver} that while the term *qawārīr* refers to glass goblets made of sand (*raml*), these *qawārīr* are made of silver but that what is inside the *qawārīr* is seen from the outside [as is the case with glass goblets.]

[40] The first opinion, namely that it is a simile ('*alā ma'nā l-tashbīh*), is better and more attractive. It is also the widely attested opinion.

Acknowledgements

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76   The line is quoted here because the adjective *muzammal* ought to be nominative in agreement with *kabīr*, but it is put in the genitive due to its proximity to the preceding genitive.

77   Reading *wa-fī al-shu'arā' madhhab al-kāffa*, although both al-Dāya and al-Juwaynī believe it ought to be *wa-fī al-shi'r madhhab al-kāffa*.

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PART 4

Geography

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The *Faḍāʾil* of Jerusalem Books as Anthologies

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The *Faḍāʾil* of Jerusalem traditions and books were very popular throughout Islamic history. They belong to the broader *Faḍāʾil* literatures, which flourished starting in the second/eighth century and addressed the distinction of people (e.g., the Companions of Muḥammad, the Shiite Imams), places (e.g., Mecca, Jerusalem, Greater Syria, al-Andalus), texts (e.g., the Quran), and other things (e.g., prayer, Friday, the month of Ramadan, certain names).[1] The ones focusing on Jerusalem were meant to extol and celebrate the city's religious symbolism and sanctity to the Muslims.[2]

The two earliest books on the *Faḍāʾil* of Jerusalem are *Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis* and *Akhbār Bayt al-Maqdis*. They date back to the late third/ninth and late fourth/tenth centuries and were authored by al-Walīd b. Ḥammad al-Ramlī (d. ca. 300/912) and Aḥmad b. Khalaf al-Subaḥī, respectively. Both works are not extant, but were extensively quoted, especially al-Ramlī's *Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis*, in later books such as *Faḍāʾil al-Bayt al-Muqaddas* by Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī (d. after 410/1019), who was the *khaṭīb* (preacher) of the Aqṣā Mosque, and *Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis wa-l-Khalīl wa-faḍāʾil al-Shām* by Abū l-Maʿālī Ibn al-Murajjā (d. after 438/1047), who was a *ḥadīth* scholar from Jerusalem.[3]

These *Faḍāʾil* books demonstrate the complexity of the Muslims' veneration of Jerusalem as deriving from Islamic and non-Islamic associations, from the beginning of creation to the end of times. They draw on a variety of literary genres, such as biblical narratives and legends, the Quran and *ḥadīth*, conquests (*futūḥ*) literature, as well as eschatology (*fitan*) and judgment day predictions. As such, each *Faḍāʾil* book is an anthology about Jerusalem, displaying its rich and multi-layered religious importance to Muslims. This paper is an attempt to study the *Faḍāʾil* of Jerusalem books as anthologies, which allows us to see

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1 A good overview on the *Faḍāʾil* literatures is still lacking; therefore, I will avoid making any observations here, noting that what we generally find (such as the entry on *Faḍāʾil* in *EI*[3]) are often misleading generalizations.

2 For an overview of the religious significance of Jerusalem in Islam, see Mourad, Jerusalem in Early Islam. See also Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*.

3 On the *Faḍāʾil* of Jerusalem in early Islam, see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*; and Mourad, *Faḍāʾil al-Quds*.

their creative role in promoting and cementing lasting memories and images about the city's sanctity and religious significance to Muslims. I will discuss how the choices of the authors of these *Faḍāʾil* anthologies on Jerusalem—in terms of selected narratives and themes, as well as the context in which they are embedded—generated different conceptualizations about the city's religious sacredness and significance to Muslims. The books analyzed in this paper represent the most important and impactful examples of this literature.

1   Al-Ramlī and His *Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis* as Anthology

Al-Ramlī was a *ḥadīth* scholar who had a great interest in the transmission of historical accounts, notably those of *K. Futūḥ al-Shām* by al-Azdī from the late second/eighth century.[4] Al-Ramlī lived in Ramla (Palestine) and was active in the scholarly circles of Jerusalem and Palestine. His *Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis* is not extant but can be accurately reconstructed—in terms of its size and arrangement—based on the books of al-Wāsiṭī and Abū l-Maʿālī as well as other later sources.[5]

The significance of al-Ramlī's *Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis* is that it allows us to grasp with some accuracy the way Muslims in Palestine and beyond conceptualized the religious sacredness of Jerusalem in what is commonly known as the "formative" period (second/eighth and third/ninth centuries). It also reveals a fascinating "map" of scholarly life and interactions in Jerusalem and Palestine at that time. Al-Ramlī's lasting legacy is that of transforming into a literary subgenre the individual efforts of those scholars who were the first to transmit accounts on the religious merits of Jerusalem. Al-Ramlī did not invent the *Faḍāʾil* genre, but, as far as we can tell, he was the first to compose a book on the *Faḍāʾil* of Jerusalem, establishing it as a subgenre within the broader *Faḍāʾil* field. He laid out the model for all later books on the topic, especially in terms of the presentation of the material under specific themes. This model was closely followed by al-Wāsiṭī and Abū l-Maʿālī, and all later books were based in one way or another on either of these two: e.g., *Faḍāʾil al-Quds* by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201), *al-Mustaqṣā fī Faḍāʾil al-Masjid al-Aqṣā* by al-Qāsim Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 600/1203), *Bāʿith al-Nufūs ilā Ziyārat al-Quds al-Maḥrūs* by Ibn al-Firkāḥ (d. 729/1329), etc.

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4   On al-Ramlī's role in the transmission of al-Azdī's *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Shām*, see Mourad, On Early Islamic Historiography.

5   For an edition and analytical study of al-Ramlī's *Faḍāʾil*, see Mourad, *Faḍāʾil al-Quds*.

Al-Ramlī's accounts, as stated earlier, drew on material from the Bible, the Quran and quranic exegesis, *ḥadīth* (including *ḥadīth*s on eschatology), and Muslims' experiences. The work starts with a *ḥadīth*:

> The Messenger of God, God's blessing and peace on him, said: "Pilgrimage shall be made to three mosques only: the Sacred mosque, my mosque here [in Medina], and the Aqṣā mosque."[6]

What follows is an organizational scheme that does not adhere to a linear chronology since al-Ramlī sought to "explain" why the "mosque" of Jerusalem merited inclusion among the most sacred mosques of Islam.[7] As such, we find him relating accounts that speak about the choice of the Rock by God and its many merits, including David's attempts to build the Temple, Solomon's building of the Temple, Mary and her *mihrab*, and Jesus's prophecy about the destruction of the Temple. The accounts listed below are some examples of the material originating from biblical and extra-biblical narratives:

> On the authority of Kaʿb that he said: "It is written in the Torah that he (God) said to the Rock of Jerusalem: 'You are my earthly throne. From you I ascended to heaven. From beneath you I spread the earth, and every stream that flows from the mountains originates from underneath you.'"[8]

> On the authority of Ḥulays al-Dabʿī that he asked Abū l-ʿAwwām: "What is the opinion about the prayer in the Ḥaram of Jerusalem?" He replied: "We were told that when he finished building it, the prophet of God, Solomon, peace on him, slaughtered three thousand heifers and seven thousand ewes. He then invoked: 'O God, each sinner who comes here forgive his sin, and every aggrieved relieve his grievance.'" He (Abū l-ʿAwwām) said: "Whoever visits it gains from the invocation of Solomon, peace on him."[9]

> ʿUbayd b. Maysara b. Yazīd said: "The disciples proclaimed to the Messiah: "O Messiah of God, look at the Sacred House, how beautiful it is." He

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6   Mourad, *Faḍāʾil al-Quds* 65–66 (nos. 1–3).

7   I will not discuss here the debate over whether or not the expression *Aqṣā mosque* refers to the entire Ḥaram of Jerusalem or only to a specific structure there, or some other location elsewhere. For that, see Mourad, Jerusalem in Early Islam 78–79.

8   Mourad, *Faḍāʾil al-Quds* 99 (no. 87).

9   Mourad, *Faḍāʾil al-Quds* 72 (no. 16). See the story in the *Book of Kings* 8:62–63.

replied: "Amen, Amen. Truly I say to you, mighty and glorious God will not leave one stone of this mosque upon another but will destroy it because of the sins of its people. Mighty and glorious God does not have any use for silver, gold, or these stones that impress you. Rather, God loves more those pure in heart. Through them, God builds the earth, or else destroys the earth if they were otherwise."[10]

Al-Ramlī also includes exegetical glosses on a few verses from the Quran, believed by Muslim exegetes to reference Jerusalem, as well as *ḥadīth*s by the Prophet pointing out the distinction of Jerusalem and the Rock. Al-Ramlī covered as well eschatology (some of which taken from *ḥadīth* and biblical legends) and testimonies or experiences involving early Muslim figures. It bears repeating that al-Ramlī did not list these in a specific order. Rather, he moved back and forth between these themes, depending on their usefulness for his overall scheme, as will be discussed below. For example, he listed the eschatological aspect in the middle of his work, and the stories of the Prophet's night journey (*al-isrāʾ*) and ascension (*al-miʿrāj*) at the end. Examples of this material include the following:

On the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās—with respect to the saying of glorious God, "The Day a caller shall call from a nearby place" (Q 50:41)—that he said: "From the Rock of Jerusalem."[11]

On the authority of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ—with respect to this verse "A wall shall be erected between them in which there is a gate, with mercy on its outer side and torment on its inner side" (Q 57:13)—that he said: "It is the eastern wall of the Ḥaram of Jerusalem."[12]

On the authority of Anas b. Mālik that the Messenger of God, God's blessing and peace on him, said: "God revealed to earth: 'I will be stepping on a part of you.' The mountains proudly lifted themselves towards him, but the Rock humbled itself. God recognized what it did and placed his foot on it."[13]

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10   Mourad, *Faḍāʾil al-Quds* 97 (no. 80). See the *Gospel of Luke* 21:5–6.
11   Mourad, *Faḍāʾil al-Quds* 120 (no. 122).
12   Mourad, *Faḍāʾil al-Quds* 70 (no. 11).
13   Mourad, *Faḍāʾil al-Quds* 95 (no. 72).

On the authority of Khālid b. Maʿdān that he said: "On the Day of Resurrection, the Kaʿba will be gathered to the Ḥaram of Jerusalem, like the procession of a bride, suspending from it are those who made the pilgrimage to it. The Rock will declare: 'Greetings to the visitor and the one being visited.'"[14]

On the authority of Shaddād b. Aws that he said—when the death of the Messenger of God, God's blessing and peace on him, neared, Shaddād b. Aws stood up then sat down, then he stood up then sat down: "The Messenger of God, God's blessing and peace on him, said: 'What is worrying you, O Shaddād?' He (Shaddād) replied: 'I feel I have no place left for me on earth.' He (the Messenger) said: 'Truly, Syria will be conquered, by God's permission, and Jerusalem will be conquered, by God's permission. And you and your offspring after you will be imams there, by God's permission.'"[15]

On the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās: "Whoever makes a pilgrimage (to Mecca) and prays in the mosque of Medina and the Aqṣā mosque in the same season, he is cleansed of his sins as when his mother gave birth to him."[16]

On the authority of Makḥūl that he said: "Whoever prays in Jerusalem the noon, afternoon, evening and night prayers, and then prays the morning prayer, he is purified from his sins as when his mother gave birth to him."[17]

These examples display a variety of details about the sacredness of the Rock, the Ḥaram of Jerusalem, and the city itself. They belong to different historical and even pre-historical and post-historical periods, covering creation narratives, biblical accounts, verses from the Quran, *ḥadīth* reports, testimonies by early Muslim figures, and eschatological scenarios. One should not see this as a haphazard listing of information. Actually, al-Ramlī progressed from the general to the specific in a carefully choreographed trajectory. At the beginning of his book, he discussed the Ḥaram of Jerusalem as symbolizing the distinctiveness of the city and then focused on the Rock as the epicenter of

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14   Mourad, *Faḍā'il al-Quds* 123 (no. 133).
15   Mourad, *Faḍā'il al-Quds* 91–92 (no. 60).
16   Mourad, *Faḍā'il al-Quds* 74 (no. 24).
17   Mourad, *Faḍā'il al-Quds* 76 (no. 33).

sacredness in Jerusalem. As such, he moved in concentric circles, from the broad to the distinct.

More importantly, the way al-Ramlī presented the religious significance of Jerusalem—spanning the period from the beginning of creation to the end of creation—suggests that he believed the city's sacredness transcended the specific experiences of previous groups who lived there. Transcending a linear history of the city is probably why al-Ramlī chose to speak of the Prophet's night journey and ascension to Heaven at the end of his book. It is as if he wanted his readers to realize that all of the biblical history of Jerusalem and its eschatological future only make sense in the context of the present: namely Jerusalem as an Islamic sacred space. In other words, he was "constructing" the memory of Jerusalem in Islamic terms. It is in this organizational scheme that al-Ramlī became an anthologist, harnessing the efforts of his informants and turning that into an anthology on Jerusalem.

One can add that the *Faḍāʾil* of Jerusalem accounts and works were circulated and authored for the purpose of religious tourism: to encourage pilgrimage and to cater to pilgrims' desire for information about sites to visit and proper rituals to perform at each site. This all makes sense because many of the early transmitters of the *Faḍāʾil* of Jerusalem accounts, and all the authors of works on this topic before the end of the sixth/twelfth century, lived in or around Jerusalem. It should be emphasized that some of the accounts on Jerusalem's *Faḍāʾil* circulated broadly in the Muslim world, but as far as we can tell, we do not have books authored elsewhere that engage the sacredness of Jerusalem prior to the late sixth/twelfth century.

Another important observation about the *Faḍāʾil* of Jerusalem works is that they either focus on the city itself or embed Jerusalem in the sanctity of a broader region (either Palestine or Greater Syria). The works of al-Ramlī and al-Wāsiṭī are examples of the former, whereas *Faḍāʾil* of Abū l-Maʿālī placed Jerusalem's sacredness within the broader sanctity of Palestine and Greater Syria (*Bilād al-Shām*). An example which illustrates this contextualization is attributed to a well-known *ḥadīth* scholar from the second/eighth century named Thawr b. Yazīd (d. ca. 153/770), who was from Ḥimṣ and moved towards the end of his life to Jerusalem, where he died.[18] It reads:

> Thawr b. Yazīd said: "The holiest part of earth is Syria (*al-shām*); the holiest part of Syria is Palestine; the holiest part of Palestine is Jerusalem; the holiest part of Jerusalem is the mountain; the holiest part of the

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18   On Thawr, see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* 6, 344–345.

mountain is the mosque; and the holiest part of the mosque is the Dome of the Rock."[19]

This report establishes the sanctity of the earth in terms of concentric circles, starting with the Rock as the center, and moving outwards: the Ḥaram of Jerusalem, the city, Palestine, Greater Syria, and the earth. This approach, as far as we can tell, did not produce books on the *Faḍāʾil* of Jerusalem until the time of Abū l-Maʿālī.[20] Therefore, it is important to acknowledge Abū l-Maʿālī's *Faḍāʾil* as another form of anthology whose objective was to embed the sacredness of Jerusalem in the larger sanctity of Palestine and Greater Syria. As such, Abū l-Maʿālī drew on material that showed Jerusalem as the center of a large sacred geography, which is different from the works of al-Ramlī and al-Wāsiṭī that focused on Jerusalem alone. Other examples of this trend are from a much later period and include *Muthīr al-gharām ilā ziyārat al-Quds wa-l-Shām* by Ibn Hilāl al-Maqdisī (d. 765/1363), who also placed Jerusalem's sanctity in the broader context of Syria. We also have *al-Uns al-jalīl bi-taʾrīkh al-Quds wa-l-Khalīl* by Mujīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī al-ʿUlaymī (d. ca. 927/1521), who placed it in the broader context of Palestine.

One variation on this process of contextualization is seen in the book *Ithārat al-targhīb wa-l-tashwīq ilā al-masājid al-thalātha wa-l-bayt al-ʿatīq* by al-Khawārizmī (d. 827/1424), who contextualized Jerusalem's sacredness in the broader context of the three sacred sanctuaries, namely Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. He very likely took his inspirational cue from the *ḥadīth* listed at the beginning of this paper about the pilgrimage to three mosques.

2   The *Faḍāʾil* of Jerusalem during the Crusader Period: A New Anthology

One might think that the fall of Jerusalem to the Crusades in 492/1099 fueled the interest in the *Faḍāʾil* of Jerusalem and the authoring of works on the topic. This, however, was not the case. It was only much later in the sixth/twelfth century during Saladin's reign (r. 570–589/1174–1193) that new books on the topic were authored in Damascus and elsewhere. For instance, the *ḥadīth* scholar

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19   See Mourad, *Faḍāʾil al-Quds* 85 (no. 42); see also al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil* 41 (no. 56); Abū l-Maʿālī, *Faḍāʾil* 115 (no. 136); and Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh* 1, 152.

20   From roughly the same time as Abū l-Maʿālī, we also have *Faḍāʾil al-Shām wa-Dimashq* by al-Rabaʿī (d. after 444/1052), where the sacredness of Jerusalem is also contextualized in the broader sacredness of Greater Syria.

Aḥmad b. Ḥamza al-Sulamī taught al-Wāsiṭī's *Faḍā'il* in the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus in the month of Rajab 583 (6 September to 5 October 1187) during the same time that Saladin laid siege and captured Jerusalem (the siege lasted from 15 to 26 Rajab/20 September to 1 October).[21] The first new treatise that was written during the Crusader period was entitled *al-Mustaqṣā fī ziyārat al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*, authored by al-Qāsim Ibn ʿAsākir, the son of the celebrated Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176). *Al-Mustaqṣā* relied heavily on al-Wāsiṭī's *Faḍā'il*. We do not know when it was written, and no copies of it have survived, but due to its popularity and wide circulation, it was plagiarized in later works such as in Ibn l-Firkāḥ's (d. 729/1329) *K. Bāʿith al-nufūs ilā ziyarat al-Quds al-maḥrūs*. Al-Qāsim Ibn ʿAsākir received an *ijāza* to transmit al-Wāsiṭī's *Faḍā'il* in Rajab 541/January 1147 in Damascus from a local *ḥadīth* scholar named Naṣr b. Aḥmad al-Sūsī (d. 548/1153). Al-Qāsim Ibn ʿAsākir seems to have maintained the broader anthological scope of the genre laid out by al-Ramlī, which exclusively focused on the city of Jerusalem. Another similar book entitled *Faḍā'il al-Quds* by the celebrated Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201) from Baghdad exclusively focused on the city of Jerusalem and drew heavily on al-Ramlī and al-Wāsiṭī.

After al-Qāsim Ibn ʿAsākir and Ibn al-Jawzī, however, a new significantly different anthological layout was introduced to the *Faḍā'il* of Jerusalem literature. The best example of this is *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī (d. 643/1245), who eliminated almost all of the creation narratives and biblical material, except those anchored in *ḥadīth*s attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad. Ḍiyā' al-Dīn emphasized the "exclusively" Islamic dimensions, whereby Jerusalem's holiness derived from particular references to it in the Quran and *ḥadīth*.[22] As such, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī redefined the *Faḍā'il* of Jerusalem as an anthology of *ḥadīth* and Quran, most of which he lifted from earlier *Faḍā'il* works, major *ḥadīth* compilations, or *sīra* books. In fact, we know that Ḍiyā' al-Dīn was very well aware of al-Wāsiṭī's *Faḍā'il*, as he had three *ijāza*s to transmit it. Eliminating the other elements was a choice on his part. It, therefore, gave the "exclusively" Islamic dimension a more pronounced weight and impact in the way he wanted his readers to conceptualize the sacredness of Jerusalem.

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21   It is likely that the teaching sessions were intended to rally the Damascenes to help Saladin, rather than celebrate the capture of the city.

22   The only exceptions are nine reports, three of which are about God talking to the Rock, and the remaining six are listed at the very end of the book (three reports talk about the *iḥrām* from Jerusalem, one report about the companions who resided in Jerusalem, and two reports about a certain Sharīk b. Mukhāshin, who allegedly entered Paradise during the siege of Jerusalem in 16/638).

Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn was a notable Ḥanbalī scholar from Damascus whose family came to the city in 551/1156 from the village of Jammāʿīl near Nablus;[23] they were known in Damascus as the Jammāʿīlīs (*al-Jammāʿīlī*) or collectively as the Maqdisīs (*al-Maqādisa*). His approach to the *Faḍāʾil* of Jerusalem became well established and disseminated in Ḥanbalī circles, as attested by the more than 60 cases of transmission of his *Faḍāʾil* book in Ḥanbalī centers in Damascus (28 of which occurred between 632/1235 and 686/1287). It also influenced later books on the *Faḍāʾil* of Jerusalem, such as *Taḥṣīl al-uns li-zāʾir al-Quds* by Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī (d. 761/1360). One might argue that what made this position taken by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn popular among Ḥanbalīs is the school's exclusive emphasis on Quran and Sunna, which meant that for Jerusalem's sanctity to be acceptable, it could only derive from the foundational sources of the Islamic religion. As such, the biblical dimension had to be dismissed because it does not originate from either the Quran or *ḥadīth*, unless there are specific quranic verses or *ḥadīth*s that speak directly to it.

We find a different Ḥanbalī position in Baghdad that retained the biblical dimension. Examples of this include Abū l-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Farrāʾ (d. 526/1131), who was very active in the teaching and transmission of al-Wāsiṭī's *Faḍāʾil*; and Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201), who authored *Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis*, in which he clearly gave the creation and biblical narratives a prominent place. As such, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī's excision of biblical material in his *Faḍāʾil*, in my opinion, must be situated in the direct confrontation with the Crusades. He and his family were major voices in the Sunni religious awakening that started in Syria and Egypt during the late fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries,[24] which ultimately resulted in the massive conversion of most of the Arab Middle East to Sunni Islam, especially in Syria and Egypt.

More importantly, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn's anthology—as an attempt to "reconstruct" a new memory about Jerusalem's sacredness—helps us understand and contextualize the views of Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) in his short treatise entitled *Qāʿida fī ziyārat Bayt al-Maqdis*, which is to be treated as a "corrective" book on the *Faḍāʾil* of Jerusalem. As someone who received his intellectual and religious formation in the Ḥanbalī circles in Damascus, where Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn's anthology was very popular, Ibn Taymiyya imbibed it. The excision of Jerusalem's biblical dimension as un-Islamic and the focus on exclusively Islamic themes substan-

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23   The date is provided in al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām* 38, 246 [entry of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudāma (d. 558/1163)], and 44, 483 [entry of ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Qudāma (d. 620/1223)].

24   One testimony about their role comes from al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) in *al-Iʿlān bi-l-tawbīkh* 294.

tiated his condemnation of the customs and rituals conducted by Muslims in association with biblical sites and figures in and around Jerusalem, which, in his view, lacked proof from the Quran and sound *ḥadīth*. As such, Ibn Taymiyya took this specific form of *Faḍāʾil* of Jerusalem anthologies to its natural conclusion.

3   Conclusion

By looking at the *Faḍāʾil* of Jerusalem books as anthologies, we gain a deeper understanding of their nature and objectives. That modern scholars have not studied the *Faḍāʾil* books as anthologies has to do with scholarly conventions, which, despite their utility, often restrict what one gets from the sources. The *Faḍāʾil* of Jerusalem compilations have been studied in modern scholarship for information about the significance of Jerusalem in Islam.[25] They have not been examined as anthologies that reflect the agency (agenda, interest, taste, etc.) of their respective authors. When we examine them as historical/religious anthologies that weave together carefully selected material from the Bible, the Quran, *ḥadīth*, *futūḥ* and historical accounts, and/or eschatological narratives, we can better understand them as historical/religious "commentaries" on Jerusalem, and not as passive reporting of information. Their respective authors—e.g., al-Ramlī, al-Wāsiṭī, Abū l-Maʿālī Ibn al-Murajjā, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Qāsim Ibn ʿAsākir, and Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī—who drew on a variety of sources to construct and reconstruct specific "memories" about Jerusalem for their contemporaries and subsequent generations, intended to embrace or dispel certain aspects of Jerusalem's religious legacy. Each anthology is, therefore, a collage that leads the reader to a specific conceptualization about Jerusalem. Nevertheless, it was the sanctity of the city and its religious significance to Muslims that presented for them the point of departure for their respective anthologies.

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Ideological Dimensions of Geographical Anthologies: The Case of ʿUmāra al-Yamanī (d. 569/1174) in the *Kharīdat al-qaṣr*

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1 Introduction

Between 384/994 and 573/1178, a series of three geographically organized poetry anthologies was published, the *Yatīmat al-dahr* by Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1038), *Dumyat al-qaṣr* by ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Bākharzī (d. 476/1075), and the *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201).[1] Although varying in exact organization and distribution of content, all three anthologies aspired to reproduce poetry from across the Islamic world, cataloged by region, such as Iraq, al-Shām, or Khorasan. The phenomenon of the geographical anthology is evidently expressive not only of literary continuity—each author was aware of and modeled his own anthology on that of his predecessor(s)—but emerged from a particular socio-historical milieu. Al-Thaʿālibī, al-Bākharzī, and ʿImad al-Dīn had several important traits in common beyond the composition of anthologies of poetry. All were Iranian but composed entirely in Arabic. They were also all Sunni, patronized by Sunni political leaders; al-Thaʿālibī had several patrons, but the most prominent was Maḥmūd of Ghazna, while al-Bākharzī dedicated his anthology to Niẓām al-Mulk, and ʿImād al-Dīn was the *kātib* of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ibn Ayyūb (Saladin, r. 569–589/1174–1193).[2] Al-Bākharzī and ʿImād al-Dīn were both initially trained as Shāfiʿī jurists but wound up serving as chancery officials.[3]

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1 Only one of these, al-Thaʿālibī, has received a study: Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art*. There have been other continuations to al-Thaʿālabī, many not extant or only surviving in part, for which see Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art* 30 fn. 108, fn. 109. I have not been able to consult Rowson and Bonebakker, *Notes on Two Poetic Anthologies*.

2 Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art* 35–36; al-Bākharzī, *Dumyat al-qaṣr* 30.

3 For general biographical information on al-Thaʿālibī, see Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art* 34–96; al-Samarrai, Some Biographical Notes on al-Thaʿālibī 175–186. For al-Bākharzī, in addition to Rowson and Bonebakker, see Muḥammad al-Tūnjī's biography in al-Bākharzī, *Dumya* 1541–1559, esp. 1548. For ʿImād al-Dīn, see Richter-Bernburg, *Der syrische Blitz* 125–136. An abbreviated English version of this is Richter-Bernburg, ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī 29–51. The

In an older model of literary history, the trend towards increasing anthologizing in Arabic literature was seen somewhat negatively. For Reynold Nicholson, for example, the series of anthologies composed by al-Thaʿālibī, al-Bākharzī, and ʿImād al-Dīn represent the "zenith" of "those sciences which formerly grouped themselves round philology."[4] The period after the Mongol conquest of Baghdad in 656/1258, however, "is an age of imitation and compilation" with hardly "any trace of original and illuminating thought."[5] Underlying narratives of decline have by no means disappeared completely from scholarship,[6] but numerous recent studies have greatly refined our understanding of the creative potential for anthologizing. Contrary to its constant use as a (poor) historical source by earlier scholars, Hilary Kilpatrick has demonstrated that Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī's (d. 363/972) numerous concerns with music and philology structure his organization of *K. al-Aghānī* and has argued for "placement enhancement," the meaningfulness of sequences of anecdotes (*akhbār*) with shared features.[7] Shawkat Toorawa has expanded on this with his notions of "proximity" within "clusters" of *udabāʾ* within anthologies.[8] That is, literary figures from the same social network were often placed near each other in compilations. Bilal Orfali, in turn, has detailed this same phenomenon in *Yatīmat al-dahr*.[9]

In a sense, geographical organization helps make the features of placement enhancement or proximity from earlier anthologists explicit—scholars and litterateurs from a certain region almost always knew each other.[10] This fact certainly facilitated the enormous labor of compiling a geographical anthology, especially when a certain city or region coincided with a source of patronage, as is the case with Sayf al-Dawla (r. 333–356/945–967) in Aleppo or the Iraqi Buyids.[11] Other historical trends also play some role. In regions without prominent patrons, the geographical unit may serve as a kind of a generalized *Restklasse*, a

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dedication to Niẓām al-Mulk is at the end of the *Dumya* 1518. For a summary of views on the uncertain patronage of the *Yatīma*, see Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art* 61.

4   Nicholson, *A Literary History* 348.

5   Ibid., 443.

6   Thomas Bauer, In Search of 'Post-Classical Literature' 137–167.

7   Kilpatrick, *Making the Great Book of Songs* 15, 34–55 (on music).

8   Toorawa, *Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr* 102–112.

9   Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art* 111–118 and 4 fn. 9 for further references to discussions of the creativity and originality of compiling and anthologizing.

10   Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art* 113.

11   Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr* i, 15ff.; ii, 216ff. Unfortunately, I do not have access to the second edition used by Orfali, so my references will not match those in *The Anthologist's Art*.

blank space which, lacking any other organizational rubric, the anthologist can fill with miscellaneous poets.[12] Perhaps a relative diminishment of patronage over time encouraged the geographical anthology for this reason. One might further speculate whether new modes of Iranian regional identity figure into the literary landscape at hand—all of our anthologists are Iranians, and the genre emerges at the same time as New Persian as a court language among the Samanids and Ghaznavids. It is not immediately obvious that this is the case, but a more careful analysis of the poetic output of provincial or regional cultural centers might find a correlation.[13]

If it is now clear that medieval Islamic anthologists were engaged in more constructive work than mere compilation or even literary evaluation, the articulation of some relationship between literary structure and ideology remains difficult. Al-Tha'ālibī's avowed motivation for his adoption of the geographical structure was an ongoing literary debate on the relative merits of Iraqi versus Levantine poets (*shu'arā' al-Shām*). With time, the structure becomes progressively more expressive of a certain ideal of Sunni hegemony. This is most notably the case in the *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* since for personal and political reasons, 'Imād al-Dīn focuses much more extensively than his predecessors on Baghdad and the Abbasid caliphate.

Within the *Kharīda*, an emblematic case is 'Imād al-Dīn's biographical notice and selected poems of 'Umāra al-Yamanī (d. 569/1174).[14] 'Umāra, a court poet to the late Fatimid caliphs and their viziers, was executed under Saladin about two and a half years after the dissolution of the Fatimid caliphate for conspiring to restore it with the aid of the Franks. At the same time, 'Imād al-Dīn drew extensively on 'Umāra's writings and compilations in order to fill

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12   One among several literal *Restklassen* in the *Yatīma* is *Fī nafar min shu'arā' al-'Irāq siwā Baghdād* (On a group of non-Baghdādī Iraqi poets: *Yatīma* ii, 370–378), the sixth chapter of a section structured around the Buyids (the first section contains poetry by their *mulūk*, the second by the prominent vizier al-Muhallabī, the third by the famous secretary Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābi', and the fourth by some other secretaries. It is only the fifth section that is geographical, devoted to Basra, and the seventh to Baghdad). The sixth chapter contains a few Wāsiṭīs, an Anbārī, a Kufan and a couple of other poets whose origins are not specified.

13   For al-Tha'ālibī's identity as a Persian, see Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art* 174; and for 'Imād al-Dīn, Richter-Bernburg, *Der syrische Blitz* 26–27 and 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* (*Iṣfahān*) 41–43. Bosworth notes with regard to the manuscript tradition of the *Yatīma* that scribes tended to copy sections of local interest: Bosworth, Manuscripts of Tha'ālibī's 'Yatīmat ad-dahr' 41–42.

14   For discussions of 'Umāra's role in the Fatimid court and translations of his poetry, see Smoor, Umâra's Odes Describing the Imâm 549–626; Smoor, 'Master of the Century' 139–162; Smoor, Wine, love and Praise for the Fāṭimid Imāms 90–104; Smoor, The Poet's House 45–62; Smoor, Umara's Poetical Views 410–432.

out the Yemen section of his geographically organized anthology. His depiction of ʿUmāra represents a complex mixture of aesthetic appreciation, political distortion, and literary appropriation. As it happens, ʿUmāra is one of several figures from the period (including Usāma ibn Munqidh (d. 584/1188) and ʿImād al-Dīn himself) who authored chronologically structured memoirs. The act of anthologizing allowed ʿImād al-Dīn to re-sequence the poetry of ʿUmāra's memoir, subordinating that personal narrative to the larger one of Saladin's ascendance and the restoration of Sunnism in Egypt.

2   Geography: From Literary Debate to Sunni Hegemony

Al-Thaʿālibī does not explicitly theorize his rationale for his geographical organization, but there are two primary principles behind the superstructure of the *Yatīma*—geographical and social-hierarchical.[15] The Islamic world is divided by region, moving roughly from west to east. This geographical organization overlaps to a significant extent with dynastic categories. There are four *qism*s: the first deals primarily with the Ḥamdānids of Aleppo, the second with the Būyids of Iraq, the third with western Persia (Jibāl, Fars, Ahwāz, Jurjān, and Ṭabaristān), and the fourth with eastern Persia (Khorasan, Transoxania, and Khwārazm). He concludes with Nishapur, his hometown. The ninth chapter of the first section contains a mixture of Syrian, Andalusī, Maghribī, and Egyptian poets—these regions do not have a denominated section.

As mentioned above, the origins of the geographical organization appear to lie in a literary debate on the relative merits of the poets of Iraq and Syria (that is, greater Syria, *bilād al-Shām*, or the Levant).[16] Al-Thaʿālibī does not take a consistent view of what constitutes a Syrian poet. Much space is given over to the "Syrian" al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965), for example, a Kufan whose most significant work was famously produced in Aleppo. His chronological parameters are likewise sketchy; Syrians are said to be superior in both the *Jāhiliyya* and under Islam, but this is also patently untrue since the categories of Syria and Iraq barely obtained in the pre-Islamic period, and Syrian tribes like Kalb and Taghlib are virtually unrepresented in the pre-Islamic canon. Al-Thaʿālibī is in reality only concerned with later poets. As examples of Syrian superiority, he begins with early Abbasid poets such as Kulthūm al-ʿAttābī l-Taghlibī (d. 220/835) and

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15   Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art* 97–104. There are also chapters on prominent literary figures, such as a chapter within the first *qism* on al-Mutanabbī.

16   Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art* 104–105; al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma* i, 12–15.

Rabīʿa al-Raqqī (d. 198/814), both of whom have tribal or geographical origins in Syria, although they were both active in the Abbasid court in Baghdad.[17]

There are a couple of reasons given for Syrians' ostensible superiority. They dwell close to Arabia, specifically the Hijaz, so their language is supposedly not as corrupted as Iraqis'.[18] Syria was also fortunate enough to be ruled by the Banū Ḥamdān, who were both ethnically Arab and great patrons of Arabic letters.[19] It seems al-Thaʿālibī had adopted his position from Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī (d. 383/993), one of his major sources in the Yatīma and with whom he had perhaps studied.[20] Al-Khwārazmī had visited Sayf al-Dawla's court as a young man and based on his experience there, meeting poets like al-Mutanabbī and Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Nāmī (d. 399/1008), with whom he was very impressed, reported to al-Thaʿālibī: "Nothing quickened my heart (*fataqa qalbī*), sharpened my mind, burnished my wits, and polished my tongue's blade so much as those lovely Syrian phrases and delicate Aleppine expressions that clung to my memory, and intermixed with my soul while the bough of youth was still pliant and its cloak newly woven."[21] Al-Thaʿālibī vouches for al-Khwārazmī's opinions and promises to quote his "magical gems" in their proper place throughout the *Yatīma*.

Categories of intra- and interregional social hierarchy are thus employed; Ḥamdānid leadership, for example, is tacitly superior to that of the Būyids, and Orfali has noted that because the reputation or prestige of a literary figure was a primary consideration for inclusion in the *Yatīma*—even when al-Thaʿālibī himself was somewhat ambivalent about a figure's aesthetic merits, as in the case of the baker-poet al-Khubzaʾaruzzī—rulers and other dignitaries were given a prominent place in the anthology's structure.[22] Social-hierarchical organization is demonstrated much more clearly in the section on the Būyids than on the Ḥamdānids; this latter is organized more around outstanding individual literary figures. The Būyid section, however, begins with poetry by kings (*al-mulūk al-shuʿarāʾ*), followed by two chapters on prominent viziers, al-Muhallabī (d. 352/963) and Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābiʾ (d. 384/994), before a fourth chapter on *kuttāb* (secretaries). The remaining six chapters are organized under a mixture of rubrics, some by region and some others by individual litterateurs. The precedence accorded the poets in the anthology is, in part, a reflection of their prominence in the Iraqi political sphere.

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17   Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma* i, 12.

18   Ibid.

19   Ibid.

20   Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art* 36 fn. 9.

21   Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma* i, 13.

22   Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art* 110.

Al-Bākharzī's emulation of al-Thaʿālibī is explicit and personal. Al-Bākharzī's father, al-Ḥasan, lived next to al-Thaʿālibī in Nishapur, and al-Ḥasan al-Bākharzī and al-Thaʿālibī knew each other well and exchanged poetry. ʿAlī l-Bākharzī at a very young age encountered and admired al-Thaʿālibī, who treated him kindly and was "like a second father" to him.[23] Al-Bākharzī conceived of the *Dumya* as a continuation of the *Yatīma* and took over its geographical organization. Like al-Thaʿālibī, he organizes the *Dumyat al-qaṣr* more or less from west to east, although he begins with the Hijaz before moving on to Syria and concluding with Zawzan in Khorasan and a section on miscellaneous poets. Like al-Thaʿālibī, the focus is very eastern; Egypt and the rest of the Maghrib are included in the second section, a grab bag including Syria, Diyārbakr, Azerbaijan, and al-Jazīra (upper Mesopotamia).

However, al-Bākharzī emphasizes the centrality of Baghdad as the seat of Sunni Islam according to a more explicit hierarchy than al-Thaʿālibī, who makes only passing reference to the precedence accorded *umarā'* and *mulūk*, to whom viziers and *kuttāb* are subordinated. Al-Bākharzī precedes the first section of the *Dumya* with a *Tāj al-kitāb* (crown of the book):

> I have named it *Tāj al-kitāb*, before proceeding to the rear-guard of discourse in which the [book's] sections are ordered. Just as this book of mine is a commander (*amīr*) among other books, which are its subjects (*raʿāyā l-kutub*), I have set it upon a throne to signify its superiority (*al-imāra*), and put a signifier of dignity upon its head, bedecked with the crown of might (*tāj al-ʿizz*). I open it with him who is the key for anyone seeking the door of true belief (*al-rashād*), and the lamp to the eye of whoever seeks the light of truth (*al-sadād*), the mercy (*raḥma*) of God promised to His servants, His compassion (*ra'fa*) dispensed to all lands, the Commander of the Faithful, who watches over (*al-qā'im*) the affairs of the Muslims.[24]

Then follows a praise *qaṣīda* that al-Bākharzī himself delivered to the caliph al-Qā'im (r. 422–476/1031–1075) in the year 455/1063, and four lines of poetry by the caliph himself. Just as the *Dumya* will be an *amīr* over others so, within the book itself, a hierarchy is to be observed, vouchsafed by the ritual poetic imprint of a quasi-dialogue between the anthologist and the Sunni caliph.[25]

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23   Al-Bākharzī, *Dumyat* 967.
24   Ibid., 40.
25   Ibid., 40.

ʿImād al-Dīn, like his antecedents, had a variety of reasons for composing a geographical anthology. It did not begin as such; his initial motivation was to memorialize his paternal uncle, whom he mentions frequently and almost always refers to reverently as *al-shahīd* (the martyr), ʿAzīz al-Dīn Abū Aḥmad ibn Ḥāmid (d. 526/1131), who was killed when ʿImād al-Dīn was about seven years old.[26] ʿAzīz al-Dīn had served in a series of high positions, culminating in a stint as the finance minister (*mutawallī l-khizāna*) in Baghdad under the western Seljuq sultan Maḥmūd II (r. 511–525/1118–1131), the grandson of Malikshāh. Various reasons, mostly related to alleged embezzlement, are given for the cause of his imprisonment and the confiscation of his property in 521/1127. He was eventually executed in Tikrīt, in one of his properties where he had been detained, in 526/1131–1132.[27] He had been praised by numerous poets, but the books in which that poetry was recorded were lost due to confiscation or civil unrest at some point. ʿImad al-Dīn hoped to recover as much as he was able to and publish it.[28]

ʿImād al-Dīn had another personal connection to Baghdad—his father brought the family there from Isfahan in 534/1139–1140, when ʿImad al-Dīn would have been about 14 years old. There he studied at the Niẓāmiyya and Thiqatiyya *madrasa*s until 543/1148, when the family returned to Isfahan. Here he began studying literature intensively, and it was around this time that he was exposed to al-Bākharzī and decided to emulate his geographical anthology.[29] It was also at this time that he associated with the litterateur Majd al-ʿArab al-ʿĀmirī (d. 573/1177). Like al-Thaʿālibī and Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī before them, the two discussed the comparative merits of Iraqi and Syrian poets. Majd al-ʿArab, who had spent time at Syrian courts, promoted that region in the debate, while ʿImād al-Dīn was inclined to the Iraqis.[30]

Although clearly inspired by al-Thaʿālibī and al-Bākharzī's concerns, ʿImād al-Dīn's geographical structure differs significantly from theirs. Whereas al-Thaʿālibī and al-Bākharzī had both begun in or near Syria and then proceeded more or less eastward, ʿImād al-Dīn begins in Iraq, before returning to his

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26   Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, Saladin's father, was in charge of al-ʿAzīz's confinement. Shīrkūh was also present, and ʿImād al-Dīn avows that they tried to save him. Richter-Bernburg, *Der syrische Blitz* 29–32, 92 fn. 2.

27   ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat* (*Iṣfahān*) i, 43–57, devoted to ʿAzīz al-Dīn, is the first section of Isfahan, which in turn lies at the beginning of the Persia section of the *Kharīdat*; Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān* xx, 242–244; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt al-aʿyān* i, 188–190.

28   ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* (*ʿIrāq*) 7–8.

29   Richter-Bernburg, *Der syrische Blitz* 64.

30   ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* (*Dimashq*) 7; Richter-Bernburg, *Der syrische Blitz* 65–66.

hometown of Isfahan and proceeding west, concluding in the Maghrib and al-Andalus. Thanks to his position in Saladin's retinue, ʿImād al-Dīn traveled to Egypt and was able to obtain numerous poetic texts from the Maghrib, thus allowing him to construct an independent section for Egypt and another for lands west. ʿImād al-Dīn expressed great love for Damascus, so nothing held him back from following in his predecessors' footsteps and beginning with Syria.[31] However, just as Saladin himself in his chancery documents always depicted his sultanate as clearly subordinated to the caliph in Baghdad—a necessary emphasis given Saladin's lack of any other legitimizing characteristics besides the *jihād* against the Franks—the *Kharīda* too gives structural precedence to the caliphate in Iraq, geographically speaking.[32]

If ʿImād al-Dīn's geographical emphases differ from those of his predecessors, it is also immediately evident that he nevertheless continued to develop both al-Thaʿālibī and al-Bākharzī's use of social hierarchy as an organizing principle. To continue with the example of Iraq, following the caliphs he records the poetry of viziers and secretaries (*kuttāb*), just as al-Thaʿālibī had organized the Būyid section of the *Yatīma*. There then follows a section on Baghdādī notables, before finally giving poetry by poets.[33] He typically gives much larger quantities of poetry in all instances by caliphs, viziers, and other notables than al-Thaʿālibī. The entirety of the book follows this pattern, albeit selectively applied; poetry by ʿImād al-Dīn and his circle is always disproportionately represented. The Syria section begins with copious poetry by the Ayyubid leadership, Egypt begins with ʿImād al-Dīn's professional superior al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200), Saladin's *de facto* vizier, and Iran begins with Isfahan and poetry for and by his uncle and other ancestors.

ʿImād al-Dīn, then, had both personal and ideological motivations for beginning with Baghdad, which he synthesizes as follows:

> I began the first section with Iraq, where my roots grew (*mazkā ʿirqī*) and my lot in life began (*mansha' ḥaqqī*), the residence of my family (*mawṭin ahlī*) and the place that gathered everything together for me

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31   See ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat* (*bidāyat qism al-Shām*) 19–30, for a poem of longing for Damascus, coupled with praise of Saladin. However, he had earlier expressed very negative opinions about Damascus on his first arrival in 562/1167 (*Kharīdat* [*bidāyat qism al-Shām*] 10).

32   See Eddé, *Saladin* 90–102, for a summary of Saladin's relationship with the Abbasid caliphate.

33   These are the descendants of the vizier Raʾīs al-Ruʾasā' (see Claude Cahen, Ibn al-Muslima, in *EI*[2]; Richter-Bernburg, *Der syrische Blitz* 77), for whom ʿImād al-Dīn composed panegyric in order to be released from a brief imprisonment in 560–561/1165.

(*majmaʿ shamlī*). It is the most central clime, the most moderate and perfect (*wa-l-aqwam al-aḥwaṭ*);[34] its people possess the most deeply-rooted knowledge, and their minds are the most sublime. I have begun with the City of Peace (*madīnat al-salām*, Baghdad), because it is the heartland (*ḥawza*) of Islam, and the seat of the realm of the Imam. I derived blessing (*tabarraktu*) by mentioning those caliphs whose reign I witnessed, and those whose reigns my father and uncles (*aʿmām*) witnessed—this book records those caliphs' deeds, the measures of their generosity and nobility. I will set down whatever poetry I have heard from each of them, in order to set my book above (*tafḍīlan*) those books composed on the same subject (*fannihā*).[35]

ʿImād al-Dīn goes on to cite accounts dealing with recent caliphs, from al-Qāʾim (r. 422–467/1031–1075) until al-Mustaḍīʾ (r. 566–575/1170–1180). In these accounts, he cites poetry both by and for the caliphs, including his own poetry on those caliphs with whom he interacted. ʿImād al-Dīn's authority here is partly spiritual, partly genealogical, and partly geographical. His authorial power consisted of interacting with the caliphal court, which allowed him to produce and receive texts. This is presented as a pious act (*tabarraktu*), and Baghdad is presented as the common denominator between the caliphs, ʿImād al-Dīn's family, and his literary career. All of this is essentially an expanded version of al-Bākharzī's *Tāj al-kitāb*.

ʿImād al-Dīn's personal experience with the caliphal court elevates his book above other similar books (he may be thinking of Abū l-Maʿālī l-Ḥaẓīrī (d. 568/1172), a Baghdādī bookseller who also composed a *dhayl* to the *Yatīma*—ʿImād al-Dīn cites him without ever really acknowledging his similar project).[36] His avowed personal and family association with the Baghdad caliphs is not merely self-promotion, but the source of his authority as an author. The *Kharīda*, as a text, stands as a microcosm of the Sunni world with the caliph at the center. If, however, the metric of a Sunni cosmos allows ʿImād al-Dīn to structure his anthology, it is also fundamentally creative and expressive of his political, biographical, and spiritual concerns.

34　The editors suggest *iqnūm* for *aqwam*, but this seems quite unnecessary. The notion that Iraq's location in the fourth "clime" (*iqlīm*), the most perfect of the seven, meant its inhabitants enjoyed superior characters to the inhabitants of other climes, was widespread. See A. Miquel, Iḳlīm, in *EI²*.

35　ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat* (*ʿIrāq*) 8–9.

36　On this, see Richter-Bernburg, *Der syrische Blitz* 64–65.

3   The *Kharīda* and Problematic Sunnis: The Case of ʿUmāra

The *Kharīda* is not simply a vehicle for its author's biography. It expresses, as a text, the ideological, social, and economic networks that produced it. In showcasing the professional concerns of one *kātib*, its author, who knew and frequently transmits poetry from other *kuttāb*, it also offers a cross-section of what might be called the "practical *adab*" concerns of an entire class by including material related to their skill set, such as poetry on handwriting or templates for chancery documents. An overlapping issue is the nature of the modes of professional and personal affiliation generated by this bureaucratic/jurisprudential class. It is worth considering how they read and produced the traditional genres of Arabic, particularly panegyric, given their participation in consolidating for forms of state-sponsored Sunnism and their role in legitimizing parvenu and often non-Arab rulers. One could further ask whether certain emergent affective dispositions were cultivated by the production of fraternal poetry (*ikhwān-iyyāt*), love poetry (*ghazal*), or panegyric for *ʿulamāʾ* and other *kuttāb*. These questions require significant further consideration and research.

For the time being, some more preliminary questions must be addressed regarding the parameters of ʿImād al-Dīn's religiopolitical agenda in the first place. This agenda is tacitly evident in the strategies he employs when anthologizing controversial individuals who, in some way, challenged the order that Saladin was seeking to establish. The easiest solution was simply to ignore someone like Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, eventually executed for heresy by Saladin in 586/1191.[37] Other figures were more complex. Saladin had met another problematic Sufi, Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Kīzānī (d. 562/1166), during his first visit to Egypt in 559/1164, five years before he took power in that country.[38] Saladin admired Ibn al-Kīzānī's poetry and owned a copy of his *dīwān*, which he shared with ʿImād al-Dīn. Writing after Ibn al-Kīzānī's death, ʿImād al-Dīn describes his theological unorthodoxy and the deluded popular following who still adhered to his positions (*al-ṭāʾifa al-Kīzāniyya bi-Miṣr ʿalā hādhi l-bidʿa ilā l-yawm muqīma*). According to ʿImād al-Dīn, this group was the equivalent of the Karrāmiyya, an incarnationist and anthropomorphist Iranian sect.[39] Ibn al-Kīzānī was buried next to al-Shāfiʿī in the Qarāfa cemetery outside Cairo, and his followers visited his grave there.[40] Later, however, Saladin

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37   Ibid., 241–243.
38   ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr (Miṣr)* ii, 19. On the date, see Leiser, The Restoration of Sunnism 244.
39   ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat (Miṣr)* ii, 19.
40   Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt al-aʿyān* iv, 462.

appointed the Shāfiʿī scholar Najm al-Dīn al-Khabūshānī (d. 587/1191) to a new *madrasa* to be built on the site of both tombs. Building commenced in 575/1180, and at some point al-Khabūshānī, a theological opponent of Ibn al-Kīzānī, had his body disinterred and relocated. The date of the exhumation is uncertain but can probably be placed between 575 and 581, after the completion of the *Kharīda* in 573.[41] It was vehemently condemned by later chroniclers and prosopographers, but ʿImād al-Dīn, at any rate, makes no mention of the event. He gives a fair quantity of Ibn al-Kīzānī's poetry and gives no evidence of discomfort in associating Ibn al-Kīzānī with Saladin, despite the former's controversial status.

ʿUmar ibn Bashrūn (d. after 561/1166), like ʿUmāra al-Yamanī, compiled anthological texts (aside from his original poetry) mined by ʿImād al-Dīn. Ibn Bashrūn composed an anthology of Andalusī, Maghribī, and Sicilian poets and prose authors, entitled *al-Mukhtār fī l-naẓm wa-l-nathr li-afāḍil ahl al-ʿaṣr* (Selected Prose and Verse from the Noblest People of the Age), on which ʿImād al-Dīn drew heavily in the respective sections of the *Kharīda*.[42] However, Ibn Bashrūn's own texts were offensive to ʿImād al-Dīn. In the years following the Norman conquest of Sicily, completed in 1090, Ibn Bashrūn remained on the island and praised King Roger II. ʿImād al-Dīn cites a few lines from two such praise poems, but then breaks off, commenting, "I have limited the two *qaṣīda*s to what I cite here, because they are in praise of the infidels (*al-kuffār*), so I have not recorded them."[43] Although here ʿImād al-Dīn is explicit about it, his self-censorship is employed elsewhere without comment.

ʿUmāra's poetry, and his overall stature, was more theologically challenging than Ibn al-Kīzānī's, and demanded a more complex response than simple silence, although this was undoubtedly employed with some aspects of ʿUmāra's work. Likewise, precisely because the Fatimid caliph was not an infidel on par with Roger II, outright condemnation, as of Ibn Bashrūn, was difficult; many other Sunni court figures (including Saladin himself) would have been

41   Al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1441) says that the exhumation took place in 581/1185–1186, but he is a late source, and earlier ones do not give this firm date: al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* v, 82. The date of the foundational inscription is 575/1180: Wiet, Les Inscriptions du Mausolée de Shafiʾi 170. Ibn Jubayr, however, noted that construction was ongoing in 578: Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels* 22–23 (second ed). For this *madrasa* in general, see Leiser, Restoration of Sunnism 225–259. For further discussion of Ibn al-Kīzānī, see Nathan Hofer, Sufism in Fatimid Egypt 48–49, and my forthcoming Reading across Confessional Lines in Ayyūbid Egypt: A Judeo-Arabic Geniza Fragment with Three New Poems by Ibn al-Kīzānī (d. 562/ 1166).

42   For further discussion of Ibn Bashrūn, see Miller, Muslim Poets under a Christian King.

43   ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* (*al-Maghrib*) i, 24.

compelled to conform to Fatimid ritual practice.[44] ʿUmāra, however, had not only been allegedly involved in an opportunistic conspiracy but had previously consciously made use of numerous Ismāʿīlī theological doctrines in his poetry. Several of these are evident, by way of example, in *Walāʾuka mafrūḍun*, presented to the last Fatimid caliph, the nine-year-old al-ʿĀḍid and his vizier Ruzzīk ibn Ṭalāʾiʿ for the Islamic New Year in Muḥarram 557/December 1161:[45]

> *walāʾuka mafrūḍun ʿalā kulli Muslimin*
>   *wa-ḥubbuka fī l-dārayni afḍalu maghnamī*[46]
> *warithta l-hudā ʿan naṣṣi ʿĪsā bni Ḥaydarin*
>   *wa-Fāṭimatin lā naṣṣi ʿĪsā bni Maryamī*
> *wa-qāla aṭīʿū li-bni ʿammī fa-innahū*
>   *amīnī ʿalā sirri l-rijālī*[47] *l-mukattamī*
> *ka-dhālika awṣā l-Muṣṭafā fī bni ʿammihī*
>   *ilā munjidin yawma l-Ghadīri wa-mutʾhimī*
> …
> *wa-qumta bi-ʿahdi llāhi bayna ʿibādihī*
>   *amīnan wa-ʿahdi l-ʿashri*[48] *lam yataṣarramī*
> *li-taʿlama*[49] *anna llāha jalla jalāluhū*
>   *afādaka maʿnā l-ʿilmi qabla l-taʿallumī*
> *wa-annaka nūrun li-l-hudā mutajassadun*
>   *wa-lasta ka-ajsādin min al-laḥmi wa-l-damī*

[1] Loyalty to you is an obligation for every Muslim,
        and love of you brings the utmost reward,
        both here and in the hereafter.

[3] You have inherited rightful leadership
        by the designation [*naṣṣ*] of ʿĪsā, son of Ḥaydar and Fāṭima,
        not ʿĪsā the son of Maryam.

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44 For an example of Usāma ibn Munqidh using the necessary language of *imāma* in correspondence, see Smoor, Umâra's Odes 570. Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil also praised the Fatimid caliphs; see Smoor, Fatimid Poets 261.

45 Ms. Copenhagen 122r–124r (see note 52 below); Smoor, Umâra's Odes 587–589; ʿUmāra al-Yamanī, *ʿOumâra du Yémen: Sa vie et son œuvre* i, 339 (first ten lines only). The translations that follow are adapted from Smoor.

46 Per Derenbourg; Smoor: *wa-ḥubbuka mafrūṭun wa-afḍalu maghnamī*.

47 Per Derenbourg; Smoor: *sirri l-ilāh*.

48 Smoor: *ʿahdu l-ʿaṣr*.

49 Smoor has *li-yaʿlama* (no vocalization), which could be read as *li-yuʿlama*, but he translates it in the second person imperative. Ms. Copenhagen lacks diacritical points for the *tāʾ/yāʾ*.

[4]   He said, "be obedient to my cousin,
          for he is my confidant, unto whom the secrets of men are
          entrusted."
[5]   Thus did Muṣṭafā decree his heir,
          on the Day of the Pool (*yawm al-Ghadīr*), to all Arabs,
          those of the highlands and the coastal plain.
...
[15]   Before the age of ten you faithfully fulfilled
          the covenant of God among His servants,
[16]   so that you might know (*li-taʿlama*) that God taught you true
          knowledge *maʿnā l-ʿilm*) before your education
[18]   and that you are the embodied light of Guidance,
          not like bodies of flesh and blood.

The context of the poem was the reported designation (*naṣṣ*) by al-Fāʾiz of al-ʿĀḍid as his successor to the caliphate, when both were in fact children of ten or thereabouts. Al-ʿĀḍid was a cousin of his predecessor, just as ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was of Muḥammad (al-Fāʾiz's given name was ʿĪsā, hence the play on words in l. 3). The idealized image of the Imam, however, is not so very different from that of a true Ismāʿīlī poet such as the *dāʿī* al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī (d. 470/1078). The caliph's legitimacy is based on descent from Fāṭima and ʿAlī (l. 3), as confirmed by Muḥammad himself at Ghadīr Khumm (l. 5), and obedience to him is incumbent on all Muslims (l. 1). The caliph has access to secret knowledge (ll. 4, 16) and partakes of or is an actual manifestation of God's light (l. 18), like a prophet.[50] All of these notions would have been antithetical to ʿImād al-Dīn who, moreover, unlike Saladin and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, had no direct experience in the Fatimid state. Although ʿUmāra's execution has to do with palace intrigue, the theologically objectionable nature of such panegyric was what made him so suspect in the first place, yet ʿImād al-Dīn does not reproduce any pro-Fatimid poetry in the *Kharīda*.

Aside from his poetic stature, ʿImād al-Dīn needed to use ʿUmāra's compilations of Yemeni poetry. Just as he had copied from Ibn Bashrūn for Sicilian poetry, much of the Yemen section (nearly a hundred pages in the published version) of the *Kharīda* was taken from ʿUmāra without naming the title of the source.[51] Aside from ʿUmāra's own poetry, his other works were thus important for incorporating Yemen into the *Kharīda*'s microcosm of a Sunni universe.

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50   For analogies in al-Muʾayyad, see Qutbuddin, *al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī* 112–115 (light); 149–154 (lineage); 164–165 (relationship to Jesus); 168–170 (obedience due).

51   Especially the section *Min jamāʿa dhakarahum ʿUmāra al-Yamanī fī taṣnīf la-hu ʿan majmūʿ*

ʿUmāra's role as a literary intermediary between Egypt and Yemen was well-established; he had dedicated his history of Yemen, *al-Mufīd fī akhbār Ṣanʿāʾ wa-Zabīd* (Rewarding Reports on Ṣanʿāʾ and Zabīd), to al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil in 563/1168.

ʿUmāra also posed a distinctive methodological problem to the *Kharīda*, in that his own self-representation was (and remains) extant, a memoir called *al-Nukat al-ʿaṣriyya fī akhbār al-wuzarāʾ al-Miṣriyya* (Contemporary Accounts on the Fatimid Viziers). His *dīwān* is also extant in several manuscripts, the earliest of which is the Copenhagen Kongelige Bibliotek Codices Arabici 266 (hereafter Copenhagen).[52] This manuscript does not have a colophon but on the basis of a marginal note by a reader in Alexandria has a *terminus ad quem* for its composition of 604/1207.[53] It is thus quite possible that it was available in Egypt during ʿImād al-Dīn's lifetime.

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shirʿ al-Yamaniyyīn: ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* (*al-Shām al-juzʾ al-thālith*) 203–289.

52   This manuscript measures 18 cm high by 14 cm wide and contains 216 folios with approximately 13 lines per page. The title is *Dīwān shiʿr Abī l-Ḥasan ʿUmāra ibn Abī l-Ḥasan al-Ḥakamī al-Yamanī raḥimahu Allāh taʿālā wa-ʿafā ʿanhu bi-mannihi wa-karamihi āmīn*. There are 220 poems or fragments, counting three inserted in margins. For further description, see ʿUmāra al-Yamanī, *ʿOumâra du Yémen* ii, xvii–xiv; Westergaard, *Codices Orientales* 151. This manuscript has been digitized: http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/403/ (consulted August 28, 2019). There are at least five other sources for ʿUmāra's poetry. 1. Forschungsbibliothek Gotha Ms. orient. A 2256, described by Derenbourg as manuscript B (poetry = B²) in *ʿOumâra du Yémen* i, vi–viii. It contains an abridgement of the *Nukat* (1r–70r), poetry selections (70r–117v), and *sajʿ* epistles (117v–147v). It is dated 18 Jumāda I, 659/1261, from a 611/1215 original. 2. St. Petersburg 298, a *dīwān* described by Derenbourg as manuscript D (*ʿOumâra du Yémen* i, ix–xii). This measures 21 cm high by 15 cm wide, containing 196 folios at 19 lines per page, and dates to 984/1576. These three MSS account for the sources used by Derenbourg, but he was not aware of the Copenhagen manuscript until he published the second volume of *ʿOumâra du Yémen*, and only published a selection. For some reason, Pieter Smoor in his many writings on ʿUmāra relies on ms. St. Petersburg 298 rather than ms. Copenhagen. He also makes use of 3. a manuscript of the *dīwān* from Khizānat al-Ustādh Muḥammad al-Manūnī in Rabat: Smoor, Umâra's Odes 151 fn. 3. 4 and 5. There is a copy of the *dīwān* (no. 5303) and another of *mukhtārāt* (nos. 1626, 2652) in the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo, but the catalogs unfortunately do not give much information on these: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, *Fihris al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya* 140, 341. Ms. St. Petersburg 298 and Dār al-Kutub 5303 are in alphabetical order; ms. Copenhagen follows no apparent order. For references to a few more significant poetic and prose pieces, see Brockelmann, *Geschichte* (*Erster Supplementband*) 570; Brockelmann, *Geschichte* (*Zweite den Supplementbänden angepasste Auflage: Erster Band*) 406–407.

53   Ms. Copenhagen 215v. This is noted by Derenbourg, *ʿOumâra du Yémen* ii, xviii–xiv. A likely *terminus post quem* is June 576/1180, the date of Tūrānshāh Shams al-Dawla's death, because in the headings *raḥimahū llāh* (may God have mercy on him) consistently follows

The bulk of ʿUmāra's life, up until around the time of Saladin and his uncle Shīrkūh's (d. 564/1169) takeover of the Fatimid vizierate in 564/1169, is covered by his interesting work, *al-Nukat al-ʿaṣriyya*. It forms part of a cluster of auto-biographical texts by authors from the same network, including the famous *K. al-Iʿtibār* by Usāma ibn Munqidh (d. 584/1188), ʿImād al-Dīn's own *al-Barq al-Shāmī*,[54] and Abū Shāma's (d. 665/1267) "self-*tarjama*" in his *Dhayl ʿalā l-rawḍatayn*, a prosopographical appendix to his chronicle of the Zangids and Ayyubids.[55] The *Nukat* consists of selections of ʿUmāra's poetry interspersed with prose observations on its occasions and preceded by a lengthy description of his upbringing in Yemen. No motive for the composition is specified, as ʿUmāra states in the introduction that, "in this compilation (*majmūʿ*), I have not set out to do anything specific (*lam aqṣid bi-hi shayʾan makhṣūṣan*)," but it is merely a compendium of accounts that are particularly diverting or from particularly trustworthy sources.[56] With regard to why he is composing an autobiography, he simply says, "this compendium (*majmūʿ*) might fall into the hands of someone who would say, 'you have informed us about others, but who are you? Where are you from?'"[57]

However, the clear purpose of the autobiography is to vaunt his family, lineage, and pure Arabic culture in the context of the court in Cairo. Abū Ḥamza ʿUmāra ibn Abī al-Ḥasan was born in Murṭān in Tihāmat Yemen, eleven days to the south of Mecca, into the ancient and famous tribe of Saʿd al-ʿAshīra. Proud of their nomadic affiliations, the people of the region neither lived near sedentary folk (*ḥaḍarī*), nor married them, nor accepted their legal testimony.[58] Their Arabic is pure. A great deal of hyperbolic detail is given on the exploits of his paternal uncle, ʿAlī ibn Zaydān, one of the heads of Ḥakam ibn Saʿd al-ʿAshīra. He was a learned man who had participated in the *ḥajj* 40 times, and was also incredibly wealthy and generous—once having given a poet a thousand dinars for three lines of poetry.[59] No one was strong enough to draw his bow, and he

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his name. On the other hand, Saladin, who died in March 592/1193, generally has no such terms appended to his titles (eg. 97r (*aʿazza llāhu naṣrah*) and 196r). There is a two-line excerpt from a *qaṣīda* in praise of *al-sulṭān raḥmat Allāh ʿalayh* (87r), but Saladin is not named in the heading or the verses.

54   On this text as autobiography, see Nasser Rabat's contribution to Reynolds (ed.), *Interpreting the Self* 145–146.

55   On this historical cluster, see Reynolds (ed.), *Interpreting the Self* 53–55.

56   ʿUmāra al-Yamanī, *ʿOumâra du Yémen* i, 5–6.

57   Ibid., i, 7.

58   Ibid., i, 7.

59   Ibid., i, 9–11.

had once defeated a force of 300—100 on horse, and 200 afoot—at a strategic-ally selected mountain pass.[60] Intermixed with such accounts are occasional vivid details about ʿUmāra's schooling, his childhood friends, and other peculiar events.

One interesting episode deals with an unhappily married couple. The extremely beautiful woman had been taken captive by his uncle ʿAlī following the aforementioned battle and married to one of the ugliest men among ʿUmāra's tribe. She detested this husband. One night they came to ʿUmāra's father to resolve a dispute, about which we essentially learn nothing, unfortunately, because the ultimate point of the anecdote is to demonstrate the swift verbal dexterity of true Arabs. The climax of this is a pair of insults between the husband and wife. He says, "I am superior to you because I piss inside of you (*abūlu fī-ki*)." She responds, without hesitation, "you have accomplished nothing and succeeded in nothing. Your idea of boasting is to win a farting duel (*bi-stayn yaltaqiyān*) by being the first ass to thunder out."[61]

Another theatrical story is also told of violent fighting amongst the cousins of the clan, leading eventually to the death of ʿUmāra's cousin ʿĀṭif, the only son among his maternal uncle Muḥammad's ten children. Following the killing, a truce was made for three days, after which ʿAlī ibn Zaydān found the murderer, ʿUmāra's cousin Ḥamza, brought him to the grave of ʿĀṭif and there beheaded him, weeping as he recited:

> I weep over you, burning, with every tear I have,
>   saying, "may [my] killing hand not be stayed."

ʿUmāra avoids stating his role in these feuds very directly, but he clearly had a hand in them and tried his parents' patience. Shortly after the episode of ʿĀṭif's death, his uncle ʿAlī died in the year 526/1132 and his uncle Muḥammad in 528, the year in which ʿUmāra reached maturity at 14. Following a year-and-a-half-long famine that they survived because of his mother's saved wealth, in 531/1137, his mother gave him gold worth a thousand dinars and his father 470 dinars and they entrusted him to the *wazīr* Muslim ibn Sakht, who took him to Zabīd, where he was educated in Shāfiʿī *fiqh* from 531–535/1143–1148, at the end of which he was able to return his mother's gold to her, having been dealt with generously and lived abstemiously.[62]

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60   Ibid., i, 14.
61   Ibid., i, 15–16.
62   Ibid., i, 20–21.

He continued teaching Shāfiʿī *fiqh* in Zabīd for several years and even authored a text on inheritance (*al-farāʾiḍ*), at which point he became acquainted with the mother of the ruler of Zabīd, al-Malika al-Ḥurra, while they were both in the same *ḥajj* caravan.[63] Through his acquaintance with her, her son, and their vizier, he began to engage in trade between Zabīd and Aden from 538–548/1143–1152. This amounted initially to war profiteering, as the result of a conflict with Aden, with capital provided by al-Malika al-Ḥurra, but later expanded to include the India and Egypt trades.[64] When some local notables in Zabīd turned against him, he found it expedient to go on *ḥajj* in 549/1155 to get out of the city. The *amīr* of Mecca died during the *ḥajj* season that year, and his son Qāsim ibn Hāshim coerced (*alzama*) ʿUmāra into going as his ambassador to Cairo, no doubt because of the latter's trade connections there.[65] It was at this time that ʿUmāra's role as a Fatimid panegyrist began with his reception in 550/1155–1156 by the caliph al-Fāʾiz (r. 549–555/1154–1160) and his vizier, Ṭalāʾiʿ ibn Ruzzīk (r. 549–556/1154–1161). He went home the following year but returned once more to Egypt, which he made his home from 552/1157.[66] He successfully managed to navigate the tumultuous vizierates of Ruzzīk ibn Ṭalāʾiʿ (r. 556–558/1161–1163) and Shāwar (r. 558–564 /1163–1169), including the one-year interlude by Ḍirghām (r. 558–559/1163–1164).

The *Nukat* does not contain any material pertaining to the Ayyubids, but ʿUmāra continued to praise nearly everyone in the family, including Saladin, his father Ayyūb Najm al-Dīn (d. 568/1173), and his brothers, especially al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrānshāh Shams al-Dawla (d. 576/1180).[67] The events around his arrest and execution seem straightforward, but upon closer inspection, it becomes challenging to decide on details, motivations, and even the main characters. The subject has been touched on several times, but still requires further research.[68] A survey here of the main points is sufficient to highlight ʿImād al-Dīn's role in reporting the ordeal.

The Fatimid caliphate was officially dissolved in Muḥarram 567/September 1171, via the omission of the caliph's name from the Friday *khuṭba*. The last caliph, al-ʿĀḍid, conveniently died within days, although other members of the

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63   Ibid., i, 24–26.

64   Ibid., i, 26–27.

65   Ibid., i, 31–32.

66   Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt al-aʿyān* iii, 431; ʿUmāra al-Yamanī, *ʿOumâra du Yémen* i, 31–54.

67   Ms. Copenhagen 29v, 50v, 87r, 88v, 136r, 175v lower margin, 180v, 185v, 186r, 193r, 196r, 204r; and Derenbourg, *ʿOumâra du Yémen* index.

68   Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin* 65–69; Lev, *Saladin in Egypt* 86–94; Eddé, *Saladin* 58–60; Pieter Smoor, The Yemen Connection 223–238.

family remained in Cairo imprisoned in their palaces. Saladin left for Syria shortly thereafter to campaign against the Franks with Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī (r. 541–569/1146–1174), the Damascus-based ruler of Syria under whom Saladin served. However, perhaps convinced that Nūr al-Dīn would take the opportunity to discharge or even kill him, he withdrew to Egypt to consolidate his power without meeting his nominal superior. Relations were uneasy following this.[69]

For various reasons—to secure the pilgrimage and trade routes, increase revenue, stamp out the remnants of the Fatimid *daʿwa*, and perhaps to provide a backstop region for the Ayyubids to flee to in the event of an open rupture with Nūr al-Dīn—Saladin's brother Tūrānshāh, a patron of ʿUmāra, left for Yemen in Rajab 569/February 1174, conquering it in a matter of months.[70] Shortly after Tūrānshāh's departure, ʿUmāra was alleged to have conspired with the Franks and former Fatimid personnel to restore the Fatimid state. This was uncovered, and he was crucified at the beginning of Ramaḍān 569/April 1174. Unbeknownst to Saladin and his coterie in Egypt, two events were on the horizon at that time. Firstly, Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī would die in just over a month, on 11 Shawwāl 569/15 May 1174. This would remove one threat while directing Saladin's attention to Damascus. Secondly, Alexandria was besieged by the Sicilians on 26 Dhū l-Ḥijja 569/28 July 1174, possibly summoned by ʿUmāra but not having gotten the message that his conspiracy had been thwarted.[71]

The sources differ on who exactly was involved in the conspiracy, how many leaders were killed, how it was uncovered and by whom, the role of Tūrānshāh's expedition to Yemen in ʿUmāra's plans, who the conspirators were in contact with and how they maintained contact with them, Saladin's degree of awareness of the conspiracy, and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's role in uncovering it. Adding to the confusion, other reasons besides the conspiracy are given for ʿUmāra's execution—he was said to have written a particularly offensive poem, but there is no agreement on whether it was one that insulted the Prophet, or another poem in praise of the Fatimids.

There are several sources for the incident, but the two most important are the contemporaries, ʿImād al-Dīn and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (the latter indirectly, via a quotation in Abū Shāma). ʿImād al-Dīn's views are complicated by the fact that he was still in Damascus when the whole ʿUmāra affair took place. He arrived in Egypt in 572/1176, and shortly thereafter completed the *Kharīda* in

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69   Eddé, *Saladin* 61–64.

70   Ibid., 60–61.

71   Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* xi, 264.

573/1178. His memoir of his and Saladin's lives together, *al-Barq al-Shāmī*, was completed later in 595/1198. This only survives in fragments and later excerpts, particularly Abū l-Fatḥ ʿAlī ibn al-Bundārī's (fl. seventh/thirteenth century) abridgment. In these two sources, ʿImād al-Dīn gives conflicting accounts. Abū Shāma also includes most of a letter sent by al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil to Nūr al-Dīn dealing with the executions. This meagre list exhausts the eyewitness and contemporary accounts, but several other sources offer interesting perspectives: Abū Shāma also includes material from the Aleppine Shiite Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ (d. ca. 625–630/1228–1233), who has a non-Sunni perspective on the events; Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) and Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī (d. 654/1256) were aware of the interpretive problems and offer some helpful comments.

On the whole, ʿImād al-Dīn's portrayal of ʿUmāra in the *Kharīda* depicts his life events as among the *ʿajāʾib*, the marvels of God's creation, indicative somehow of the divine.[72] There are several marvelous coincidences (*ittifāqāt ʿajība*) involved in ʿUmāra's story: he had composed a line in a poem (I will use its incipit *al-ʿIlmu mudh kāna* as its title) implying that the Prophet had concocted Islam himself, on the basis of which the *fuqahāʾ* condemned him to death (it is not clear to me how this is an *ittifāq ʿajīb*); although he was a superlative stylist, his literary abilities could not save him; and he had composed invective against an important *amīr*, and this came back to haunt him.[73] Another astonishing (*al-ʿajab*) thing ʿImād al-Dīn observes is that Ṭalāʾiʿ ibn Ruzzīk offered ʿUmāra three thousand dinars to convert to Shiism, but ʿUmāra refused him, yet in the end, he was killed for trying to restore the Shia to power.[74]

Interspersed with all this are indications that ʿImād al-Dīn does not necessarily believe everything he has heard about ʿUmāra, to the point that Derenbourg thought the depiction of ʿUmāra was sympathetic.[75] The line backhandedly calumniating the Prophet is "attributed to" ʿUmāra (*nusiba ilayh*) and could have been fabricated (*qad yakūn … maʿmūlan ʿalayh*);[76] the conspiracy charges were "attributed" to him and the others who were executed (*nusiba ilayhim al-tadbīr*).[77] He silently passes over an evident contradiction in his account,

72 Richter-Bernburg, ʿAjāʾib Literature 65–66.

73 ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat* (*al-Shām al-juzʾ al-thālith*) 104–105.

74 Ibid., 141.

75 He says that ʿImād al-Dīn's biography of ʿUmāra is "conçue avec indépendence et non sans une certaine tendance à la sympathie … [il] traite ʿOumâra non pas en politique factieux, mais en confrère" (Derenbourg, *ʿOumâra du Yémen* i, xiii). I do not find this to be the case at all, and the biography, preoccupied with his crucifixion, could easily be read as gloating and morbid.

76 ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat* (*al-Shām al-juzʾ al-thālith*) 104.

77 Ibid., 103.

namely that the exact reason for ʿUmāra's execution is unclear—whether the charge of conspiracy was leveled by secular authorities or apostasy by the *fuqahāʾ*. It could be, of course, that Saladin asked the *fuqahāʾ* for a *fatwā*, but why bring his poetry into the matter? ʿImād al-Dīn, at any rate, does not suggest this line of events. He evidently, at the time he was composing the *Kharīda*, thought the true leader of the conspiracy was Ibn Kāmil, the former Fatimid head *dāʿī*.[78]

By the time that he composed *al-Barq al-Shāmī*, his opinions had hardened, and he is much more certain of his information.[79] Here he states that a group of Fatimid supporters (*duʿāt al-dawla l-Miṣriyya*) conspired together, going so far as to appoint a *khalīfa* and a *wazīr* to take over after the coup. ʿUmāra was their leader (*ʿaqīduhum*), and encouraged Tūrānshāh to go to Yemen so that his army would not be present in the capital during the coup.[80] They involved some members of Saladin's army (*anṣār al-dawla l-nāṣiriyya*) in the project.[81] The Ḥanbalī sermonist, Zayn al-Dīn Ibn Najā (d. 599/1203), who later would be the first to give the *khuṭba* in reconquered Jerusalem, was also involved, but he informed Saladin of the plot, asking for the property of Ibn Kāmil al-Dāʿī in exchange for his assistance.[82] Saladin granted this to him and asked him to keep meeting with them. When their guilt was confirmed, he had them arrested to be punished (*li-iqāmat al-siyāsa fī-him*). A group of them, including ʿUmāra, a man named al-ʿUwayris, and another known as ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, and the dāʿī l-duʿāt ʿAbd al-Qawī were executed on 2 Ramaḍān. There is no reference to poetry.

Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's letter to Nūr al-Dīn does not contain a great deal of information, and its primary function is to justify Saladin's actions to his superior.[83] The problem here is that Saladin would often complain about instability in Egypt in order to excuse his remaining there, thus avoiding a possible confrontation with Nūr al-Dīn.[84] Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil does not mention Ibn Najā but discusses at length the envoys sent by the Frankish king (Amalric (d. April 1,

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78   This statement of ʿImād al-Dīn's is not found in the *Kharīdat*, but is quoted in Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn* 571.

79   Al-Bundarī, Sanā *l-barq al-Shāmī* 29–30.

80   Attributed to ʿImād al-Dīn in Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn* 551. This is probably from *al-Barq* because it is not found in the *Kharīdat*.

81   Saladin's Fatimid title, which he retained, was al-Malik al-Nāṣir. Ruzzīk ibn Ṭalāʾiʿ ibn Ruzzīk also held this title.

82   On Ibn Najā, see Eddé, *Saladin* 374 fn. 22.

83   The text of the letter can be found in Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn* 562–564.

84   Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin* 68; Eddé, *Saladin* 59.

1174)). During these embassies, the king's secretary, George, met secretly with members of the Fatimid palace retinue, Egyptian *amīr*s, and Christians and Jews. An unnamed informant uncovered this, and the plotters were arrested; those who did not confess were tortured. The names of the plotters are not given, and ʿUmāra is not mentioned. The leaders were executed after consulting religious leaders, who produced *fatwā*s. Rather than having been lured to Yemen, the military would be out of the city at a time of harvests when the commanders saw to their *iqṭāʿāt*.[85] Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil reveals his and Saladin's long-standing desire to justify remaining in Cairo to Nūr al-Dīn by arguing that the episode was an update of a similar one hatched while Saladin had been campaigning in coordination with Nūr al-Dīn against the Crusader fortresses of Shawbak and Karak in Syria in 567/1171. At that time, as mentioned above, Saladin was compelled to justify the distance he kept from his superior. Heightening the direness of the plot, the letter also alleges that the conspirators had been in contact with Sinān, the leader of the Assassins, a long-standing threat to Sunni and some Shiite leaders in Syria and Egypt.

These then are the three basic narratives, two from ʿImād al-Dīn and one from al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil. Arriving at a firm set of facts amongst such tendentious accounts is clearly impossible. Historians have discerned various ulterior motives in the 569/1174 conspiracy. As already mentioned, whatever the level of the real threat, Malcolm Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson find the timing of the uncovering the conspiracy convenient for Saladin.[86] There is certainly evidence in the sources that Saladin allowed things to stew for a while. Yaacov Lev has argued that the conspiracy was not, in essence, any threat at all and that the alleged plotters were "victims of old rivalries between members of the civilian elite."[87] Eddé, on the other hand, cautions that "there is nothing to prove that the plot was invented."[88]

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85   Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin* 67–68, point out that this assertion does not really hold water since the Sicilians arrived in Dhū al-Ḥijja 569/July 1174, after the spring harvest would have been concluded.

86   Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin* 69, hedge on this point, concluding that "Saladin had no particular fears" at this time, as later in the year he felt confident enough to offer to send reinforcements to Tūrānshāh in Yemen.

87   Lev, *Saladin in Egypt* 92.

88   Eddé, *Saladin* 59.

4   The Poeticization of History

The afterlife of the 1174 conspiracy can be studied more fruitfully as what could be called a "poeticization" of the historical record, a trend initiated largely by ʿImād al-Dīn. His straightforward narrative of events in *al-Barq al-Shāmī* was less influential than his earlier *Kharīda* version, where he introduces multiple potential causes for ʿUmāra's execution. As seen above, he states that ʿUmāra was executed because of his line about the Prophet (in *al-ʿIlmu mudh kāna*). Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil refers to official condemnation by the *fuqahāʾ*, but not to poetry as evidence. ʿImād al-Dīn also cites another poem (incipit: *Ramayta yā dahru*) in praise of the Fatimids, without much explication, but this same poem was also later said to have been the cause of his execution. The first to clearly articulate this possibility was Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, whose chronicle was completed in 658/1260.[89] Almost certainly within ʿImād al-Dīn's lifetime, however, the Copenhagen manuscript of the *dīwān* (pre-604/1207) in its headings and marginal comments records several readings of "poetic culpability."

The first issue that requires elucidation is ʿImād al-Dīn's sources; he does not seem to have had access to the *dīwān* until after the section on ʿUmāra was nearly completed. Instead, he opts to rewrite ʿUmāra's memoir, the *Nukat*, the primary source for his section in the *Kharīda*.[90] The second issue is the later biographical sources' development of the *dīwān*'s and the *Kharīda*'s use of poetry as proof of culpability. In transferring the locus of guilt from participation in the conspiracy (although no one expresses overt doubt on this point) to poetic texts, one effect is to preserve a fellow Shāfiʿī's reputation, allowing him to be reintegrated posthumously into the Sunni literary polity. Indeed, some such combination of (often violent) appropriation and recuperation underwrites many "Ayyubid"-era figures' approaches to "Fatimid" events, personalities, and material culture.

The following chart shows ʿImād al-Dīn's use of sources in the *Kharīda*:[91]

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89   Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān* xxi, 196–202.

90   That this is the case was already noted by Derenbourg, *Oumâra du Yémen* i, xiii.

91   ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat* (*al-Shām al-juzʾ al-thālith*) 101–141.

1. aftā fuqahāʾ Miṣr bi-qatlihī: *Al-ʿIlmu mudh kāna* ("*qad kāna awwalu hādhā l-dīni min rajulin ...*") from *qaṣīda* in praise of Tūrānshāh, **no source specified**, but = Cop. 29v (not in *Nukat*).	8. wa-la-hu fī maṣlūbin bi-Maṣr ... ka-annahu waṣafa ḥālahu, **no source** = N 1:47, G 13v	36. *N* 1:387 = G 70v
	9. "" = N 1:47, G 14r	37. not in *N* = G 71r
	10. "" = N 1:47, G 14r	38. *N* 1:393 = G 71r
[1a. ʿamila fī-hi **Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī** baʿda ṣalbihī: "*ʿUmāratu fī l-Islāmi ʿabdā khiyānatan ...*" **no oral or written source specified**]	11. "" = N 1:46, G 13v	39. *N* 1:282 = G 71v
		40. *N* 1:393 = G 73r
	mimmā awradahu fī muṣannafihi:	41. *N* 1:381 = G 73v
		42. *N* 1:331 = G 74r
		43. *N* 1:215 = G 75r
		44. *N* 1:189 = G 75v
2. anshadanī l-Amīr al-Mufaḍḍal Najm al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad **ibn Maṣāl** (Ramaḍān, 570 AH, Baʿlabakk) = Cop. 45v	12. = N 1:32–34	
	13. = N 1:35–36	45. *N* 1:45 = G 13r
	14. = N 1:36	
	15. = N 1:37	
3. anshadanī [**Ibn Maṣāl**] = Cop. 204r	16. = N 1:38	
	17. = N 1:40–41	**KEY**
4. *Ramayta yā dahru* (from *qaṣīda* lamenting and praising Fatimids); **ʿImād al-Dīn "found it after his death"** = Cop. 97r	18. = N 1:43	Dashed line: Orally transmitted
	19. = N 1:50	
	20. = N 1:51	Thick solid line: Gotha/*al-Nukat al-ʿAṣriyya*
	21. = N 1:51	
5. anshadanī ... **Murhaf b. al-Amīr Usāma b. Murshad b. Munqidh** (qāla anshadanī wa-anā ḥāḍir), from *qaṣīda* praising Tūrānshāh before he set off for Yemen (Cairo, Jumāda II, 569 AH) = Cop. 88v	22. = N 1:63	Solid line: Written source A
	23. = N 1:58	
	24. = N 1:50, 98	Shaded: re-sequenced citations
	25. = N 1:99	
	26. = N 1:124	ʿImād al-Dīn's stated **source is in bold**
6. anshadanī ayḍan [**Murhaf**] (on Tūrānshāh) = Cop. 175v	27. = N 1:114–115	
	28. = N 1:130–131	**G**: Gotha Ms. orient. A 2256
	29. = N 1:133	**Cop**: Copenhagen Cod. Arab. 266
	30. = N 1:133	*N*: Derenbourg, *Oumâra du Yémen*,
7. wa-anshadanī ayḍan [**Murhaf**], from *qaṣīda* in praise of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (not in Cop.)	31. = N 1:135	synthesis (?) of mss. Gotha 2256,
	32. = N 1:136	Paris 2147 (ancien fonds 810), and
	33. = N 1:139	Oxford Marsh 72
	34. = N 1:152	(see *Oumâra du Yémen*, 1:v–ix)
	35. = N 1:154	

Notes: No. 35 represents the final poem of the *Nukat* proper, but this is only indicated in ms. Oxford. Several mss., including ms. Gotha, consist of a copy of the *Nukat* plus a selection of poems, without any indication of a division between the memoir and the selected poems. ʿImād al-Dīn must have been using such a compilation, as evidenced by the parallel sequences following the end of the *Nukat* in nos. 36–44 and Gotha 70v–75v. Because the text of *al-Nukat al-ʿAṣriyya* as found in Gotha is an excerpt, and because Derenbourg's editorial procedures are not entirely clear, providing useful ms. information on nos. 12–44 would be unduly complicated. However, the pagination of the printed edition makes clear that whatever base text ʿImād al-Dīn was using, he

clearly removes nos. 8–11 and 45 from the original sequence and re-arranges these pieces.

ʿImād al-Dīn uses two main sources: ʿUmāra's memoir, *al-Nukat al-ʿaṣriyya*, and a series of orally transmitted anecdotes. He also had access to some other written sources but does not specify what these were. The bulk of his section on ʿUmāra consists of a selection of poems for the Fatimid viziers from *al-Nukat al-ʿaṣriyya*, represented by the central and right columns in the table above. He simply calls this ʿUmāra's "*muṣannaf*." ʿImād al-Dīn precedes this selection with his own selections from other sources. He also concludes with an anecdote taken from the *Nukat* but removed from its original sequence. The cumulative effect of these editorial choices is to rewrite ʿUmāra's Fatimid-era self-representation by retelling its beginning and ending—in both cases also invoking aspects of the conspiracy to interpret the poetic citations.

ʿImād al-Dīn typically prioritizes orally transmitted sources, a characteristic of *ḥadīth*-methodology. He does this here as well, drawing on Murhaf, the son of Usāma ibn Mundiqh, and Najm al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ibn Maṣāl (nos. 2–3, 5–7 in table). However, he violates the principle by preceding these oral citations with two of his own, most likely from written sources, in order to establish the context of the conspiracy against Saladin. In the first citation, he adduces a line from *al-ʿIlmu mudh kāna* on the basis of which the *fuqahāʾ* of Egypt condemned him (no. 1 in table):

> *wa-kāna awwalu hādhā l-dīni min*   *saʿā ilā an daʿawhu sayyida l-umamī*
> *rajulin*

> The origin of this religion was a man
>   who strove until they called him lord of all nations.

This implies, heretically, that the Prophet himself created the religion of Islam. The line preceding it, not given by ʿImād al-Dīn, appears to deepen this implication by apparently comparing the Prophet's role in early Islam to that of Ibn Tūmart in founding the Almohad movement:

> *hādhā bnu Tūmarta qad kānat*   *kamā yaqūlu l-warā laḥman ʿalā*
> *bidāyatuhū*   *waḍamī*
> *wa-qad tarāqā ilā an amsakat*   *min al-kawākibi bi-l-anfāsi wa-l-*
> *yaduhū*   *kaẓmī*

> This Ibn Tūmart was, in his beginning [attracting flies] like
>   "meat on a reed mat," as people say,
> then ascended with heavy breaths and clenched teeth
>   until his hand grasped the stars.[92]

The meaning of "meat on a reed mat" refers to Ibn Tūmart's initial degraded state before his ascent to power.[93] ʿUmāra is anticipating Tūrānshāh's conquest of Yemen and gives several examples of small beginnings leading to great or powerful conclusions. After the reference to Ibn Tūmart and the Prophet, he mentions how drops of rain eventually destroyed the dam of ʿAram, and the waxing moon eventually outshines other stars. The Prophet is invoked as an illustration of a truism—a daring allusion to be sure, but certainly not intentionally subversive. Fatimid court poetry was much more amenable to such conceits, but the times changed.[94]

The second citation (no. 1a in table) is from Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī Abū l-Yumn (d. 613/1217), a Damascene literary scholar, informant of ʿImād al-Dīn, and associate of Saladin's nephew, ʿIzz al-Dīn Farrukhshāh ibn Shāhanshāh (and also a teacher and close friend of Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī):[95]

> ʿUmāra revealed his treachery to Islam
>   and treacherously he pledged his allegiance (*bāyaʿa*)
>   to church (*bīʿa*) and crucifix (*ṣalībā*).
> He became polytheism's partner (*sharīk al-shirk*)
>   out of hatred for Aḥmad
>   and out of love for the cross was himself crucified (*ṣalībā*).[96]
> He was a foul man to encounter—if you put his wood to the test
>   you'd find its grain with hypocrisy utterly indurate (*ṣalībā*).
> Tomorrow he shall find that for which he strove—
>   he shall swill hellish puss and munch rotting marrow (*ṣalībā*).

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92   Ms. Copenhagen 30v; ʿUmāra al-Yamanī, *ʿOumâra du Yémen* ii, 352–355 (partial).

93   A proverb attributed to ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb is recorded that states *al-nisāʾ mithla laḥm ʿalā waḍam*, meaning they attract seducers like flies if left unattended: al-Maydānī, *Majmaʿ al-amthāl* i, 19.

94   Another, analogous example is Abū Shāma's negative reaction to the expression *al-ḥamdu li-lʿīs* (Praise be unto the white camels), playing on the expression *al-ḥamdu li-llāh* (Praise God). See Smoor, 'Master of the Century' 149.

95   Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān* xxii, 208–211. See further, al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām* iii, 57–58.

96   Smoor, A Case of Revenge 237, argues that Aḥmad refers to the judge Aḥmad ibn Zubayr. His evidence is somewhat speculative.

The poem does not contain any significant detail regarding the conspiracy—ʿUmāra betrayed Islam by his cooperation with Christians and deserves hell. The most striking feature of the poem is its sustained paronomasia (*jinās*), using the word *ṣalīb* in four different senses in four lines. This rhetorical virtuosity makes it a striking piece of propaganda and indicates that the poeticization of ʿUmāra's narrative was already underway at the time that ʿImād al-Dīn was finishing the *Kharīda* between 569/1174 and 573/1177. Moreover, ʿImād al-Dīn and Tāj al-Dīn were acquaintances and participants in the same social network across which this poeticization was taking place.

The next two citations (nos. 2–3, 5–7 in table) are from the sons of significant Fatimid-era political figures, and both were involved in the transition to Ayyubid rule. Najm al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ibn Maṣāl is Muḥammad ibn Sulaym (or Salīm, or Sulaymān), the son of the Fatimid-era governor, Sulaym ibn Maṣāl.[97] Ibn Maṣāl the younger, as governor of Alexandria, assisted Shīrkūh and Saladin against Shāwar in 562/1167, and remained a loyal associate for the rest of his days. More interesting, however, is the fact that according to Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ, it was Ibn Maṣāl who infiltrated ʿUmāra's band of conspirators and reported them to Saladin.[98] Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ is alone in attributing this role to Ibn Maṣāl—as seen above, in *al-Barq al-Shāmī*, ʿImād al-Dīn credits Ibn Najā with this accomplishment. It is possible that in the aftermath of the conspiracy, there was some competition for the credit (again, among those in ʿImād al-Dīn's network) for unmasking the conspiracy. Murhaf ibn Usāma ibn Munqidh was also a close associate of Saladin's, and he transmits selections from poems in praise of Tūrānshāh and Saladin himself. By citing these two oral sources, ʿImād al-Dīn not only authenticates the account with information from two figures with intimate knowledge of events in Egypt in 569/1174 but from two political supporters—like ʿImād al-Dīn—of Saladin and his project.[99]

Between these two oral sources, ʿImād al-Dīn inserts another line of poetry (no. 4 in table):

> *ramayta yā dahru kaffa l-majdī bi-l-   wa-jīdahū baʿda ṭūli l-ḥalyi bi-l-ʿaṭalī*
> *shalalī*

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97   For the son, see Richter-Bernburg, *Der syrische Blitz* 107 n. 1. For the father, see Canard, Ibn Maṣāl.

98   Quoted in Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn* 561.

99   For Murhaf, see Richter-Bernburg, *Der syrische Blitz* 111 n. 5.

> O fate, you have paralyzed the hand of Majesty,
>   and stripped its once gem-bedecked neck.[100]

The full poem goes on to mourn, using the language of the classical *aṭlāl* motif, the departure of the Fatimids, scions of Muḥammad's family, from the palaces of Cairo. It extolls their generosity and their role in presiding over the Shīʿite festivals of Egypt. It is not surprising, therefore, that ʿImād al-Dīn does not give more of the poem, and he makes no comment on its political valence, simply stating that "after his death I found several *qaṣīda*s of his lamenting the downfall of the Fatimids (*ahl al-qaṣr*)."[101]

All of the introductory citations either depict ʿUmāra's life in the retrospective light of his conviction and execution or emphasize his praise for the Ayyubids. Only then does ʿImād al-Dīn turn to ʿUmāra's memoir, *al-Nukat al-ʿaṣriyya*, as a source. Here it is crucial to note that he rearranges small but significant portions of material. The *Nukat* serves as his primary source, and as is clear from the table above, citations 12–34 more or less follow the sequence of the *Nukat* itself. But he removes two particular anecdotes from this sequence. The first (no. 8) is from a poem ʿUmāra composed on another crucified criminal, one Ṭurkhān. ʿImād al-Dīn, of course, notes the paradox that ʿUmāra mocked Ṭurkhān when he himself would later be crucified. This text is also unfavorably juxtaposed with Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī's gloating crucifixion poem, thus placing ʿUmāra's in a subordinate position within the sub-sub-genre of crucifixion poetry in Arabic.[102] The second citation from the *Nukat* (no. 45) that is removed from its sequence is an exchange in which the vizier Ṭalāʾiʿ ibn Ruzzīk offers ʿUmāra three thousand dinars to convert to Shiism, which ʿUmāra refuses. Within the context of the *Nukat*, a testimony to ʿUmāra's unshakable Sunnism, ʿImād al-Dīn ends the entire section with it, reframing the episode as profoundly ironic—ʿUmāra once rejected Shiism, but then died conspiring to restore the Fatimids, he says. The re-ordering of the *Nukat* episodes thus allow ʿImād al-Dīn to rewrite ʿUmāra's life as an astonishing marvel, *ʿajīb* from beginning to end. The burden of proof is removed because his guilt is tacitly presumed. In fact, as something *ʿajīb*, his own poetry now testifies against him.

ʿImād al-Dīn's "poeticization" of this episode continued in later works, and the two lines he cites as evidence for ʿUmāra's guilt—his panegyric for Tūrānshāh (*al-ʿIlmu mudh kāna*) containing the controversial line on the Prophet and his elegy on the Fatimids (*Ramayta yā dahru*)—were taken up by Ibn Khallikān

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100   Ms. Copenhagen 97r–98r.

101   ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat* (*al-Shām al-juzʾ al-thālith*) 107.

102   Ullmann, *Das Motiv der Kreuzigung*.

(d. 681/1282), Ibn al-Athīr, Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, and Abū Shāma in their respective examinations of the events. All of these authors were writing well after ʿUmāra's death, but another contemporary source can be added—the anonymously compiled *dīwān* contained in ms. Copenhagen. As has already been seen, the poetic interpretation of ʿUmāra's conspiracy had begun by the time of ʿImād al-Dīn's composition of the *Kharīda* within four years of ʿUmāra's death, as he includes Taj al-Dīn al-Kindī's poem at the beginning of ʿUmāra's section.

ʿImād al-Dīn cites the line from *al-ʿIlmu mudh kāna* as the direct reason for the *fatwā* condemning ʿUmāra to death. This line has been crossed out in ms. Copenhagen.[103] This could indicate that the line had already been condemned during ʿImād al-Dīn's lifetime, and perhaps in ʿUmāra's as well, thus confirming the truth of ʿImād al-Dīn's statement. Alternatively, a reader could have struck the line through after seeing ʿImād al-Dīn's condemnation of the line in the *Kharīda*. Ibn Khallikān does not make use of the *dīwān*, but he does cite ʿImād al-Dīn's opinion on this line.

The line is taken from one of several panegyrics for Tūrānshāh Shams al-Dawla, and Ibn al-Athīr develops a narrative that implicates the composition of these poems in the conspiracy. His description of the conspiracy is preceded by an account of Tūrānshāh's conquest of Yemen, in which Ibn al-Athīr states that "there was a Yemeni poet in Egypt named ʿUmāra, who encouraged Shams al-Dawla to undertake an expedition to Yemen, describing the country for him and making it seem attractive in his eyes; the things he said made him more desirous of the undertaking."[104] It is Ibn al-Athīr who attributes to Tūrānshāh and Saladin a desire for a refuge in the event that relations with Nūr al-Dīn soured irretrievably; Eddé argues that the need for further financial resources actually underlay the expedition.[105] The overt justification was the abrogation of the Abbasid *khuṭba* in Zabīd by an unorthodox figure named ʿAbd al-Nabī. ʿUmāra's role, according to Ibn al-Athīr, was to empty Cairo of military leaders. When Saladin left to confront the Franks, no one would remain in Cairo, for "I have sent [Saladin's] brother [Tūrānshāh] to Yemen, lest he take his place and organize resistance after he left."[106]

One likely source for Ibn al-Athīr's argument is ʿUmāra's poetry itself, or possibly merely the manuscript headings. *Al-ʿIlmu mudh kāna*, as mentioned above, does anticipate the conquest of Yemen, and includes the statement, *amāmaka l-fatḥu min Shāmin wa-min Yamanī* (before you lies the conquest of

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103   Ms. Copenhagen 31v.
104   Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* xi, 261.
105   Eddé, *Saladin* 84–85.
106   Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* xi, 263.

Syria and Yemen).[107] The heading given, however, like Ibn al-Athīr, attributes an unusually significant role to the poet: *qāla yamdaḥ al-ajall Shams al-Dawla raḥimahū Allāh wa-yaḥuḍḍuhū ʿalā l-maḍy ilā l-Yaman wa-fatḥih* (he said in praise of His Excellency Shams al-Dawla, may God have mercy on his soul, and encouraging him to go forth to Yemen and conquer it).[108] It is far more likely that ʿUmāra was praising a decision made by others than promoting his own plan—in Islamic history, poets may give voice to a common sentiment at court, but they are rarely the prime movers of major actions.

Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī and Abū Shāma both make the connection with poetry more explicit. Sibṭ evidently had a copy of ʿUmāra's *dīwān* at hand, and he quotes directly from *al-ʿIlmu mudh kāna*.[109] His introduction to the poem is phrased similarly to the heading from the Copenhagen manuscript, *wa-qāla yamdaḥ Shams al-Dawla wa-yuḥarriḍuhū ʿalā l-Yaman* (he said in praise of Shams al-Dawla and inciting him to [take] Yemen).[110] Despite this statement, Sibṭ does not have a firm view on the events surrounding ʿUmāra's death. Rather than blaming him, as Ibn al-Athīr does, for luring Tūrānshāḥ out of Cairo, he holds the somewhat incompatible view that Saladin's brother actually protected ʿUmāra, and thus, without him in Cairo, ʿUmāra had no patron to support him when the accusations of conspiracy emerged.[111] Taken to its logical conclusions, this would imply that ʿUmāra was innocent.

In a discussion of the issue of his execution, he states, "they are divided in what they say regarding his being killed," and then proceeds to list the three causes. The first cause is the line from *al-ʿIlmu mudh kāna*, from which Sibṭ produces a longer excerpt alongside ʿImād al-Dīn's comment on it, but he attempts to rationalize ʿImād al-Dīn's incongruities (from the *Kharīda*, he does not cite the *Barq* here) by supposing that Saladin resented ʿUmāra for his role in the conspiracy and then later condemned him for the line about the Prophet. The second possible cause was the elegy for the Fatimids, *Ramayta yā dahru*, which he gives a more or less complete version of, and the third is the conspiracy

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107   Ms. Copenhagen 30r.

108   Ms. Copenhagen 29v. See also 87r.

109   Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān* xxi, 198.

110   Ibid. Here as elsewhere, the status of manuscripts of *Mirʾāt al-zamān* makes it difficult to pin down Sibṭ's views. This poem is followed by the phrase *wa-qīla: hādhihi l-abyāt kānat sababan li-masīr Shams al-Dawla ilā l-Yaman* (and it is said that these lines were the reason for Shams al-Dawla's proceeding to Yemen), but this is from a later manuscript and likely represents an addition. Likewise, at the end of a section a late copyist has synchronized Sibṭ with ʿImād al-Dīn and those who follow him, who state that *Ramayta yā dahru* is the reason for his execution (xxi, 183).

111   Ibid., xxi, 201.

itself.[112] In essence, he follows ʿImād al-Dīn's tendency in the *Kharīda* to inter-pret the affair as *ʿajīb*—for instance, rather than simply noting the irony of ʿUmāra's lines on Ṭurkhān's crucifixion, he has ʿUmāra compose the lines three days before his own crucifixion, *wa-hādhā min aʿjab al-ittifāqāt* (this is a most astonishing coincidence).[113] The conspiracy is viewed primarily through the lens of poetry, and with access to the *dīwān*, Sibṭ provides more poetic "evid-ence" of guilt.

Abū Shāma is at once the most rigorous historian and the most interesting figure in the poeticization of ʿUmāra's guilt. He uses a wide range of sources, including Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ, our source for al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's letter to Nūr al-Dīn, and *al-Barq al-Shāmī*. Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ gives perhaps the most reasonable account of the relationship between Tūrānshāh and ʿUmāra. He euphemistic-ally describes Tūrānshāh as living above his means on his Egyptian *iqṭāʿ* and filled with a desire to exercise his valor (*kāna iqṭāʿuhu bi-Miṣr lā yaqūmu bi-futuwwatihi wa-lā yanhaḍu bi-muruwwatihi*).[114] ʿUmāra helpfully described the wealth of Yemen and the weakness of its rulers. Abū Shāma, however, supple-ments the passage from Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ with his own poetic evidence (marked *qultu*): eight lines excerpted from *al-ʿIlmu mudh kāna*, as well as excerpts from two other poems encouraging Tūrānshāh to conquer Yemen.[115] The second excerpt is found in ms. Copenhagen with the heading including the phrase *yaḥuḍḍuhū ʿalā fatḥ al-Yaman* (encouraging him to conquer Yemen).[116] The third excerpt is not in ms. Copenhagen.[117] The overall quantity of poetic evid-ence has been increased by mining the *dīwān*, albeit a version of ms. Copenha-gen rather than the copy we have.

A similar process of poeticization can be seen in the argument that ʿUmāra's eulogy on the Fatimids led to his downfall and execution. ʿImād al-Dīn had simply added the first line of *Ramayta yā dahru* as an afterthought, having "found it among his poems after his death," without connecting it to the polit-ical narrative. He also fails to mention it in *al-Barq al-Shāmī*, and Ibn Khallikān

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112   Ibid., xxi, 199–201.

113   Ibid., xxi, 201.

114   Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn* 552.

115   Ibid., 553.

116   Ms. Copenhagen 87r.

117   It is not found in other sources. A fourth text, *Ṣarf al-nasīb ilā l-Liwā*, is given in ms. Copen-hagen 175v (lower margin), without a heading, but in Derenbourg with the heading that it is encouraging him to conquer Yemen: ʿUmāra al-Yamanī, *ʿOumâra du Yémen* i, 212. A fifth poem (ms. Copenhagen 88v) is preceded by the simple heading *wa-qāla ayḍan yam-daḥuhu*, but was said by Murhaf ibn Munqidh to deal with Yemen as well.

only mentions it in passing.[118] Sibṭ, however, had listed it as one of the possible reasons for his execution. Abū Shāma also makes use of the poem as evidence, and he actually quotes the *dīwān* manuscript's headings. He reproduces the text of the poem, introducing it with the statement, *wa-hādhihi l-qaṣīda tuḥaqqiq mā rumiya bi-hi min al-ijtimāʿ ʿalā mukātabat al-Faranj wa-l-khawḍ fī fasād al-dawla wa-l-milla, wa-tuwaḍḍiḥ ʿudhr al-sulṭān fī qatlihi wa-qatli man shārakahu fī dhālik* (this *qaṣīda* justifies the conspiracy he was accused of to correspond with the Franks and seek to destroy the state and religion, and it explains the justification of the sultan in killing him, and killing those who participated in that with him).[119] This phrasing is identical, word for word, to the Copenhagen manuscript's heading for this poem.[120]

Incidentally, besides serving as a source for Abū Shāma, the *dīwān* took on a life of its own and served as a platform for interpretive passages from chronicles. In the margin of *Ramayta yā dahru* in ms. Copenhagen, a passage from al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) is copied that quotes *Mufarrij al-kurūb* of Ibn Wāṣil (d. 697/1298) on a dream of the judge al-ʿUwayris, one of the conspirators, in which Christ appears to him, saying "the crucifixion is true (*al-ṣalb ḥaqq*)," which, on resorting to a dream interpreter, turns out to mean he who has seen the dream will himself be crucified.[121] The manuscript *dīwān* serves as a source to chroniclers, who are then quoted back into the manuscript as apparatus. Having historicized history, the poetry is again historicized.

At a certain point, copyists also began adding more pro-Fatimid material to the poem. Al-Maqrīzī gives a version, for example, that contains the lines:

> *aʾimmatī wa-hudātī wa-l-dhakhīratu lī*
>   *idhā rtuhintu bi-mā qaddamtu min-ʿamalī*
> *bābu l-najāti humū dunyā wa-ākhiratan* (?)
>   *wa-ḥubbuhum fa-hwa aṣlu l-dīni wa-l-ʿamalī*
> *aʾimmatun khuliqū nūran fa-nūruhumū*
>   *min maḥḍi khāliṣi nūri llāhi lam yafilī*

My imams and my guides, my stored-up treasure on the day
   when I am held in pledge for the deeds I have done …
They are the door of salvation in this world and the next—
   loving them is the foundation of faith and deed …

118   Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt al-aʿyān* iii, 435.
119   Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn* 569–571.
120   Ms. Copenhagen 97r.
121   Ms. Copenhagen 97r; see Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb* i, 248.

Imams who were created from light, and whose light
   is the pure essence of God's unfading light.[122]

None of these lines are found in ms. Copenhagen, and are patent forgeries—whether by a Sunni reading ʿUmāra as an Ismāʿīlī traitor or by an Ismāʿīlī reading ʿUmāra as a crypto-Shiite.

With regard to the original events then, in terms of factual history, it becomes obvious that beyond the statements of ʿImād al-Dīn and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, things become less rather than more clear with time—we are increasingly dealing with questions of historical memory amongst the literate scholarly elite of Egypt and the Levant. In ʿImād al-Dīn's original *tarjama*, he did not place a great deal of emphasis on what was obviously a close relationship between Tūrānshāh and ʿUmāra, perhaps because it would have tainted a prominent Ayyubid by his association with the conspirator. He does not mention that the line from *al-ʿIlmu mudh kāna* was written in praise of Tūrānshāh, but two of the poems he transmits from Murhaf ibn Usāma were in praise of Tūrānshāh, one of them, Murhaf says, recited before he departed for Yemen. The third was in praise of Saladin. The precedence of these passages re-arranges the *Nukat*'s chronological schema—the Ayyubids are prioritized above the Fatimids. With that limited editorial goal achieved, he left it to later chroniclers and prosopographers to fill in the blanks with speculation on ʿUmāra and Tūrānshāh's relationship based on the poetry cited.

5   Conclusion

An analogy for ʿImād al-Dīn's "Sunni-washing" of ʿUmāra is Saladin's architectural policies in Cairo. For the most part, other than the Cairo citadel, he either repurposed preexisting buildings or continued policies of Fatimid-era viziers of which he, of course, was the last. The best-known example is the Azhar Mosque, but another prominent Fatimid-era mosque, al-Ḥākim's, became the sole mosque in which the *khuṭba* was given, in accordance with Shāfiʿī rules.[123] Saladin himself remained in the former vizierial palace, Dār al-Wizāra.[124] The palace facing it, Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ, named for an important eunuch who resided

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122   Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* i, 496. The translation is adapted from Sanders, *Ritual, Politics, and the City* 137.
123   Eddé, *Saladin* 376 n. 34.
124   Ibid., 55 n. 17.

there, was converted into a state-sponsored Sufi *khānqāh*.[125] His most import-
ant building program, of five new *madrasa*s, was a continuation of the policies
of Sunni Fatimid viziers like Ibn Sallār and Riḍwān ibn al-Walakhshī, both of
whom also built *madrasa*s.[126]

In numerous ways, the case of ʿUmāra parallels Saladin's imposition of Sun-
nism on Egypt and Yemen. On the most practical religiopolitical level, the con-
quest of Yemen was nominally undertaken in order to eradicate the vestiges of
Ismāʿīlism and other unorthodoxies from that country. ʿUmāra's execution as a
former Fatimid panegyrist is not very surprising; like Yemen itself, his ortho-
doxy was suspect. But even if we consider the very real possibility that the
charges against him were trumped up, this is only slightly less surprising. In a
capital full of figures with ties to the Fatimids, his death represents his inability
to add value to the new ideological system. If in one reading the chronicles and
tarjama-literature composed after his death amount to a posthumous smear
campaign, in another, the poeticization of his alleged religiopolitical acts surely
made perfect sense to many at the time; a rebel court figure must, in this read-
ing, have left traces of his perfidy in his poetry.

In other ways, ʿImād al-Dīn's anthologizing of ʿUmāra enacts state violence
symbolically. Saladin and Tūrānshāh made use of ʿUmāra's knowledge, political
connections, and social network to plan and execute the conquest of Yemen,
and so too, ʿImād al-Dīn appropriated his symbolic capital, his knowledge (and
probably material possessions, in the form of books) in order to complete the
Yemen section of his anthology. The textual violence, as it were, against ʿUmāra
parallels the physical conquest, and his anthologizing, in turn, represents the
imposition of a Sunni poetics on a Fatimid-era figure of challenging orthodoxy.
It goes without saying that this entailed purging the numerous panegyrics he
composed for al-Fāʾiz and especially al-ʿĀḍid, in which he makes copious use of
Ismāʿīlī imagery.

The poetic annexation of Yemen in parallel with its religiopolitical con-
quest returns us to the issue of geographic anthologies. Although on a literary
level he was following al-Thaʿālibī and al-Bākharzī (and silently ignoring Abū
l-Maʿālī al-Ḥaẓīrī), ʿImād al-Dīn's geographical anthology is much more thor-
oughly imbricated with that of his patron's political ambitions than any of his
antecedents. The *Kharīda* serves as a culmination not only of a literary tradi-
tion, but a marked trend towards the use of the geographical anthology as a
microcosm of Sunni political ambitions. This increasingly required certain geo-

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125   Hofer, *The Popularisation of Sufism* 35–60.
126   Leiser, Restoration of Sunnism 131–181.

political circumstances to enact—the combination of ʿImād al-Dīn's mobility and access to the highest bureaucratic and court circles would not be so easily duplicated a hundred years after his death. Although the geographical anthology would make a reappearance during the later Ottoman period, an interesting phenomenon that merits further exploration, the form disappears during the later Ayyubid and early Mamlūk period.[127] This is noteworthy because Ibn al-Shaʿʿār al-Mawṣilī (d. 654/1256), for example, is quite explicit in his *Qalāʾid al-jumān* that he is continuing the tradition of al-Thāʿālibī, al-Bākharzī, and ʿImād al-Dīn, among others.[128] The much more famous Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) was also aware of these antecedents, although less explicit, in his compilation *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*. In both of these cases and others, the literary tradition of universalizing poet-prosopographies as embodied in the geographical anthology shifted to the *ʿulamāʾ*-influenced genre of biographical dictionaries. The totalizing aspirations of geographical anthologies, in different sociopolitical circumstances, came to be expressed alphabetically.

Acknowledgements

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127   For some Ottoman geographical anthologies, see Orfali, *The Anthologist's Art*, 30 fn. 109.
128   Ibn al-Shaʿʿār al-Mawṣilī, *Qalāʾid al-jumān* i, 62–63.

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