

The Works of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Thaʿālibī (350-429/961-1039)

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Abstract

This article deals with the oeuvre of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Thaʿālibī, a prominent literary figure of the Eastern part of the Islamic world in the 4th/10th century. It deals with some of the literary and social issues that led to the numerous problems of false attribution and duplication in his bibliography, such as patronage and the periodical reworking of his books. This is followed by an up-to-date bibliography for al-Thaʿālibī, based on archives, primary sources and secondary literature. Works in print and manuscript form are assessed as to their authenticity and content, including bibliographical information on published works and locations of manuscripts. A further list reunites lost works and those surviving in quotations with references to the extant passages.

Keywords

Abū Maṣṣūr al-Thaʿālibī, ʿAbbāsīd prose, ʿAbbāsīd poetry, Būyīd, Sāmānīd, Ghaznavīd, Saljūq, manuscripts, compilation, anthology, *adab*

Abū Maṣṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Thaʿālibī (350-429/961-1039) was a prominent figure of his time, who participated in the extraordinary literary efflorescence which, in his generation, made the cities of his region, Khurāsān, serious rivals to Baghdād and its wider cultural sphere.¹ Al-Thaʿālibī's life was politically unstable due to the continuous conflicts between the Būyīd, Sāmānīd, Ghaznavīd, and Saljūq rulers who had created independent states that served as destinations for itinerant poets and prose writers. Hence, during the course of his life, al-Thaʿālibī traveled

¹ For a detailed biography of al-Thaʿālibī see Rowson, "al-Thaʿālibī," *EI*² X: 426a-427b; C. Brockelmann, *GAL* I, 284-6, S I, 499-502; C. E. Bosworth (tr.), *The Laṭāʾif al-Maʿārif of Thaʿālibī* [*The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information*], Edinburgh: University Press 1968, 1-31; Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh al-Jādir, *al-Thaʿālibī nāqīdan wa-adīban*, Beirut: Dār al-Niḍāl, 1991, 15-132; Zakī Mubārak, *al-Naṭh al-fannī fī l-qarn al-rābiʿ*, Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Tijāriyya al-Kubrā [1957], 2: 179-90 and the primary sources provided there. See also B. W. Orfali, *The Art of Anthology: Al-Thaʿālibī and His Yatīmat al-dahr*, (Ph.D. dissertation) Yale University, New Haven 2009.

extensively within the Eastern part of the Islamic world, visiting centers of learning and meeting other prominent figures of his time. These travels allowed him to collect directly from various authors or written works the vast amount of material that he deploys in his numerous wide-ranging works, many of which are dedicated to the prominent patrons of his time.

Al-Thaʿālibī lived in an era when a good poet had also to fill the role of a prose writer, just as a scribe or a prose writer needed to practice poetry.² Al-Thaʿālibī belongs to the group of *udabāʾ* who mastered both arts. Early in the primary sources he was given the title of “Jāḥiẓ of Nīshāpūr.”³ Biographers and anthologists who worked shortly after his death included selections from both his prose and his poetry. His artistic skill in prose is demonstrated in the prefaces to his works, the preparatory entries on poets from *Yatīmat al-dahr*, and his technique in *ḥall al-naẓm* [prosification, lit: untying the poetry], which can be seen in his *Nathr al-naẓm wa-ḥall al-ʿaqd* (see entry number

² The title of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī’s work, *K. al-Ṣināʾatayn—al-Kitāba wa-l-shīr*, “Book of the two arts—prose and poetry,” demonstrates the equal emphasis on poetry and prose. In his *al-Maqāma al-Jāḥiẓiyya*, al-Hamadhānī uses the voice of his narrator, Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Iskandarī, to criticize the celebrated al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869) for failing in this respect. “Verily,” al-Iskandarī claims, “al-Jāḥiẓ limps in one department of rhetoric and halts in the other.” The narrator expands the point by saying that the eloquent man is the one “whose poetry does not detract from his prose and whose prose is not ashamed of his verse.” See Badīʾ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, *The Maqāmāt*, trsl. W. J. Pendergast, London: Luzac, 1915, 72; for the Arabic text, see idem, *Maqāmāt Badīʾ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī*, Ed. M. ʿAbduh. Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 2000, 75. Al-Hamadhānī’s *maqāmāt* themselves are a good example of the juxtaposition of prose and poetry common in the literature of the period.

³ Al-Bākhārī, *Dumyat al-qaṣr wa-ʿuṣrat abl al-ʿaṣr*. ed. M. al-Tunjī, Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 1993, 2: 966. Ibn al-ʿAmīd according to al-Thaʿālibī is given the title of *al-Jāḥiẓ al-akhīr* [the last Jāḥiẓ], see al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsīn abl al-ʿaṣr*, ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Ṣawī, 1934, 3: 185, and in later sources he is called *al-Jāḥiẓ al-thānī* [the second Jāḥiẓ], see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān wa-anbāʾ abnāʾ al-zamān*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968, 5: 104; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, eds. Sh. al-ʿArnāʾūṭ & M. N. Al-ʿAraqūsī, Beirut: Muʿassasat al-Risāla, 1990-1992, 16: 137. Maḥmūd b. ʿAzīz al-ʿArīḍ al-Khwārizmī was given the same title, *al-Jāḥiẓ al-thānī*, by al-Zamakhsharī, see Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ: Irshād al-arīb ilā maʾrifat al-adīb*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1993 2687. Al-Hamadhānī, moreover, in *al-maqāma al-Jāḥiẓiyya* says in the words of Iskandarī: *Yā qawmu li-kulli ʿamalīn riḡāl wa-li-kulli maqāmīn maqāl wa-li-kulli dārin sukkān wa-li-kulli zamānīn Jāḥiẓ* [O people, every work hath its men, every situation its saying, every house its occupants and every age its Jāḥiẓ], see al-Hamadhānī, 75. Al-Hamadhānī probably was referring to himself as the Jāḥiẓ of his own age after Ibn al-ʿAmīd. Nevertheless, the sobriquet al-Jāḥiẓ indicates a lofty rank among prose writers, and does not necessarily imply the adoption of his literary patterns by those who were compared to him. For example, Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (d. 319/931) was called *Jāḥiẓ Khurāsān* [The Jāḥiẓ of Khurāsān] for his wide range of knowledge; see al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Baṣāʾir wa-l-dhakhāʾir*, ed. W. al-Qāḍī. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1988, 8: 66, and similarly al-Thaʿālibī for al-Bākhārī is the Jāḥiẓ of Nīshāpūr.

22), *Siḥr al-balāgha* (see 23), and *al-Iqtibās min al-Qurʿān* (see 9).⁴ As for his poetic talent, his surviving poetry displays almost all of the main *aghrād* (thematic intentions/genres) of his time.⁵ His contributions to the fields of Arabic lexicography and philology, presented in his *Fiqh al-lughā* (see 7, 55) and *Thimār al-qulūb* (see 28), enjoyed wide circulation, as is evident from numerous surviving manuscripts and later abridgments of these two works. He was also a literary critic whose opinions are preserved in commentaries scattered throughout his various books.⁶

Today, al-Thaʿālibī is best known as an anthologist of Arabic literature.⁷ His anthologies, whether multi- or mono-thematic, are characterized by a systematic dimension, in which he establishes the plan and purpose of the work in the introduction. In these diverse works, al-Thaʿālibī includes literary material suitable for quoting in private and official correspondence and gives equal attention to prose and poetry as well as their various combinations. The repertoire of such texts is more or less fixed and is usually perceived as lacking originality. However, as modern scholarship has begun to recognize, the originality of a particular work exists precisely in the choice and arrangement

⁴ A thorough study of al-Thaʿālibī's prose was prepared by al-Jādir, based on al-Thaʿālibī's *muqaddimāt*, entries on poets from *Yatīmat al-dahr*, and various other works. In general, al-Jādir concentrates on al-Thaʿālibī's technique in *ḥall al-naẓm* [prosification, lit: untying the poetry] in his *Nathr al-naẓm wa-ḥall al-ʿaqd* (see no. 22) and his use of *badīʿ* in general; See al-Jādir, *al-Thaʿālibī*, 301-33. Although al-Thaʿālibī implements an artistic style in his *muqaddimāt* and anthology writing, he seems to have used another less ornamental style in his *akbbār* and historical writing due to the different nature of these two genres. A comprehensive study of al-Thaʿālibī's prose, however, is still lacking. To conduct such a study, one would need first to determine the authenticity of some of his works. Most important in this regard is the history on Persian kings attributed to him: *Tāʾriḫ ḡhurar al-siyar*. The problem of authorship extends to al-Thaʿālibī's authentic works, for in several of them, al-Thaʿālibī does not state whether he is quoting or composing original prose.

⁵ B. Orfali, "An Addendum to the *Diwān* of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ṭāʿālibī," *Arabica* 56 (2009), 440-449.

⁶ See for al-Thaʿālibī's literary opinions and theory, Ḥasan I. al-Aḥmad. *Abʿād al-naṣṣ al-naqdi ʿinda al-Thaʿālibī*, Damascus: al-Hayʿa al-ʿamma al-Sūriyya li-l-Kitāb, 2007; Shukrī Fayṣal, *Manāḥij al-dirāsa al-adabiyya*, Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Dār al-Hanāʾ, 1953, 170ff; Muḥammad Mandūr, *al-Naqd al-manḥajī ʿinda l-ʿarab*, Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, n.d., 303ff; Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *Tāʾriḫ al-naqd al-adabī ʿinda l-ʿarab*, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1971, 375ff; Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, *Tāʾriḫ al-naqd al-adabī min al-qarn al-khāmis ila-l-ʿāshir al-hijrī*, Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, n.d., 41ff; al-Jādir, *al-Thaʿālibī*, 139ff.

⁷ A good preliminary survey of *adab* anthologies in Arabic literature including the Post-Mongol period is presented by A. Hamori and T. Bauer, "Anthologies," *EL*³ (online). For an excellent detailed discussion of anthologies from the *Mamlūk* period, see T. Bauer, "Literarische Anthologien der Mamlukenzeit," in *Die Mamluken. Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur*, Eds. S. Conermann and A. Pistor-Hatam. Hamburg: EB-Verlag, 2003, 71-122.

of these reproduced texts, and the choice of material reveals the particular interests of the compiler.⁸

Perhaps al-Tha'ālibī's most important contribution to Arabic literature is his activity as a literary historian—as reflected in his two celebrated anthologies, *Yatīmat al-dahr* (see 29) and its sequel, *Tatimmat al-Yatīma* (see 26). The originality of these two anthologies lies in that they deal exclusively with contemporary literature and that they categorize this literature, not chronologically or thematically, but based on geographical region. They thereby influenced the subsequent development of the genre of Arabic literary anthology.

Al-Tha'ālibī is clearly a prolific writer, although his bibliography presents numerous problems of false attribution and duplication. These problems are not always the copyists' fault, but sometimes result from al-Tha'ālibī's manner of writing—mainly the reworking of his works, a literary/social issue that deserves some attention.

To justify the continuous re-editing of his *Yatīmat al-dahr* al-Tha'ālibī quotes the following wise saying in his preface:

إِنَّ أَوَّلَ مَا يَبْدُو مِنْ ضَعْفِ ابْنِ آدَمَ أَنَّهُ لَا يَكْتُبُ كِتَابًا فَيَسِيْتُ عِنْدَهُ لَيْلَةً إِلَّا أَحَبَّ فِي غَدَا أَنْ يَزِيدَ فِيهِ
أَوْ يَنْقُصَ مِنْهُ، هَذَا فِي لَيْلَةٍ وَاحِدَةٍ كَيْفَ فِي سِنِينَ عَدَّةٍ

The first weakness that appears in man is that he does not write a book and sleep over it without desiring on the following day to extend or abridge it; and this is only in one night, so what if it were several years?⁹

The above quotation faithfully describes al-Tha'ālibī's scholarly attitude. A book for al-Tha'ālibī is a work in progress, and its periodical publications are necessary to satisfy a "need" [*hāja*].¹⁰ The circulation of a work, however, does not prevent the author from re-editing, rededicating, and even renaming it. In some instances, as in the *Yatīmat al-dahr*, there is a final version, and only this is put into circulation, although one or more previous versions had been

⁸ See 'Abdallah Cheikh-Moussa, "L'historien et la littérature arabe médiévale," *Arabica* 43 (1996), 152-188. Heidy Toelle and Katia Zacharia, "Pour une relecture des textes littéraires arabes: éléments de réflexion," *Arabica* 46 (1999), 523-540; S. Leder, "Conventions of Fictional Narration in Learned Literature," in *Story-telling in the Framework of Non-fictional Arabic Literature*, ed. Stefen Leder. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998, 34-60; idem, "Authorship and Transmission in Unauthored Literature: the Akhbār of al-Haytham ibn 'Adī," *Oriens* 31 (1988), 61-81; H. Kilpatrick, "A Genre in Classical Arabic: The *Adab* Encyclopedia," in *Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, 10th Congress, Edinburgh, September 1980, Proceedings, ed. Robert Hillenbrand. Edinburgh: 1982, 34-42.

⁹ *Yatīma*, 1: 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

widely circulated and copied, as al-Tha'ālibī mentions. Before reaching this officially published version the work had passed through a long history of editing, which al-Tha'ālibī thus describes:

وقد كتبت تصديتُ لعمل ذلك في سنة أربع وثمانين وثلثمائة والعمر في إقباله والشباب بمائه فافتتحته باسم بعض الوزراء مجرباً يّاه مجرى ما يتقرب به أهل الأدب إلى ذوي الأخطار والرتب . . . ورأيتني أحاضر بأخوات كثيرة لما فيه وقعت بأخرة إلي وزيادات جمّة عليه حصلت من أفواه الرواة لدي . . . فجعلتُ أبنيه وأقصه وأزيدُه وأقصه وأمحوه وأثبتُه وأنسخه ثم أنسخه وربما أفتتحة ولا أختته وأتصفه فلا أستسهه والأيام تحجز وتعد ولا تنجز إلى أن أدركتُ عصر السنّ والحكمة . . . فاخترتُ لمعة من ظلمة الدهر . . . واستمرت في تقرير هذه النسخة الأخيرة وتحريرها من بين النسخ الكثيرة بعد أن غيرتُ ترتيبها وجدّدتُ تبويبها وأعدتُ ترصيفها وأحكمتُ تأليفها . . .

I had set out to accomplish this in the year three hundred and eighty four, when [my] age was still in its outset, and youth was still fresh. I opened it with the name of a vizier, following the convention of the people of *adab*, who do this to find favor with the people of prestige and rank . . . And I recently found myself presented with many similar reports to those in it and plentiful additions that I obtained from the mouths of transmitters . . . So, I started to build and demolish, enlarge and reduce, erase and confirm, copy then abrogate, and sometimes I start and do not finish, reach the middle and not the end, while days are blocking the way, promising without fulfilling, until I reached the age of maturity and experience . . . So I snatched a spark from within the darkness of age . . . so I continued in composing and revising this last version among the many versions after I changed its order, renewed its division into chapters, redid its arrangement and tightened its composition . . .¹¹

The main reason for the reworking of *Yatimat al-dahr* seems to be the availability of new literary material that necessitated either the inclusion of more entries or the modification of old ones. However, the reasons for reworking a certain work differ from one title to another and from one author to another, and the “need” that al-Tha'ālibī mentions could very well be a material need as well as an intellectual one.

Several of the multiple titles of works in al-Tha'ālibī's bibliography result from such reworkings or rededications, as al-Tha'ālibī himself tells us in his prefaces.¹² In these prefaces, al-Tha'ālibī usually spells out the dedicatee using

¹¹ Ibid, 1: 5-6.

¹² A more detailed discussion of al-Tha'ālibī's manner of writing, the motives behind his compilation, and the rewriting of his own works is presented in B. Orfali, “The Art of the *Muqaddima* in the Works of Abū Maṣū' al-Tha'ālibī (d. 429/1039),” in *The Weaving of Words:*

his titlature or name and sometimes both. These titles are helpful in revealing the identity of the dedicatee, albeit not always with accuracy, since sometimes they are honorary phrases of al-Tha'ālibī's own invention and hence not to be found in the primary sources of the period. Moreover, in several cases, al-Tha'ālibī is not consistent in using an honorary title, as he often bestows the same title on several patrons, or uses a different title to praise the same dedicatee in various works dedicated to him. Al-Tha'ālibī's convoluted travel route and the diversity of his patrons and their professions often complicates matters further, especially since his travel route often is reconstructed from the dedications of his works. This difficulty has left its impact on al-Tha'ālibī's bibliography since one cannot always determine the exact identity of the dedicatee, and hence the chronology of the work or sometimes its very attribution to al-Tha'ālibī.

Al-Tha'ālibī's oeuvre is all in Arabic. In fact, other than the meager references to bilingual poets in *Yatimat al-dahr* and *Tatimmat al-Yatīma*, al-Tha'ālibī seems indifferent to the newly rising Persian poetry in the eastern Islamic world. Many of his works survive only in manuscript, while more than thirty authentic works have been published. In addition to the authentic published works there are a number of other published works attributed to him that lack scholarly consensus as to their authenticity.

The first detailed list of al-Tha'ālibī's books was given by al-Kalā'ī (d. sixth/twelfth century) and includes twenty-one works.¹³ Al-Ṣafādī (d. 764/1363) provides the longest list available from primary sources amounting to seventy works with some duplications and false attributions.¹⁴ Both Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī (d. 764/1363) and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (d. 851/1447) reproduce it.¹⁵ Ḥājji Khalifa lists around twenty books in different places of his *Kashf al-zunūn*.¹⁶ In modern scholarship, Jurjī Zaydān mentions thirty-six works, describing the published ones and indicating the locations of those in manuscript, albeit not with exact references.¹⁷ The editors of *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif* list ninety-three works,¹⁸ while 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥulw counts sixty-eight works,

Approaches to Classical Arabic Prose, eds. L. Behzadi & V. Behmardi, Beirut: Orient Institute, 2009, 181-202.

¹³ Al-Kalā'ī, *Iḥkām ṣan'at al-kalām*, ed. M. R. al-Dāya, Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1985, 224-5.

¹⁴ See al-Ṣafādī, *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, eds. A. al-Arnā'ūt & T. Muṣṭafā, Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 2000, 21: 194-9.

¹⁵ See al-Kutubī, *'Uyūn al-tawārikh*, MS Zāhiriyya 45, 13: 179b-181b; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāt wa-l-lughawiyyīn*, MS al-Zāhiriyya 438, 2: 387-8.

¹⁶ Ḥājji Khalifa, *Kashf al-zunūn 'an asmā' al-kutub wa-l-funūn*, Baghdad: Maṭba'at al-Muthannā, 1972, 14, 120, 238, 483, 523, 981, 985, 1061, 1203, 1288, 1445, 1488, 1535, 1554, 1582, 1583, 1911, 1989, 2049.

¹⁷ Jurjī Zaydān, *Tā'rikh ādāb al-luḡha al-'arabiyya*, Beirut: Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1967, 2: 595.

¹⁸ See intro. of al-Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif*, eds. I. al-Abyārī & Ḥ. K. al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo: Dār

basing his list on that of al-Kutubī.¹⁹ Brockelmann discusses fifty-one works²⁰ while Sezgin lists locations of only twelve manuscripts.²¹ Al-Ziriklī enumerates thirty-three published and unpublished works.²² Everett Rowson describes the content of a number of al-Tha'ālibī's authentic works.²³ A valuable tally is that of Qasim al-Samarrai who includes thirty-eight authentic works arranged according to their dedication with locations of the manuscripts.²⁴ Y. 'A. al-Madgharī in his introduction to *Mir'āt al-murū'āt* counts 128 works.²⁵ Hilāl Nājī collects more than one list in his introductions to editions of al-Tha'ālibī's works, the most extensive of which includes 109 titles.²⁶ The best survey of al-Tha'ālibī's works, which includes a discussion of bibliographical problems and manuscript locations, has been compiled by M. 'A. al-Jādir, in which the author attempts to reconstruct their chronology,²⁷ including a later update with new manuscripts and editions.²⁸ Since then more manuscripts of al-Tha'ālibī's works have been discovered and/or published, and many published works have been re-edited.

In what follows, I will present an updated list of al-Tha'ālibī's works based on these earlier lists and newly available editions and manuscripts. For the sake of brevity, I omit manuscripts of published works, for which one can refer to al-Jādir's list, even if it is not comprehensive. The various titles in the headings refer to the different titles of the same work in primary sources. The numbers in parentheses following the titles indicate al-Jādir's reconstruction

Ihyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, 1960, 10-17. The editors list eighty-six works that they claim are in al-Şafadī's list then add seven works that they claim al-Şafadī missed. In fact, most of the titles they add are in al-Şafadī's list under either the same or a different title. The manuscript of *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt* that the editors were using must be one with additions by a later scribe or by al-Şafadī himself, for most of *al-Wāfi*'s manuscripts include only seventy works. This postulate is further attested by al-Kutubī's list that copies seventy works from that of al-Şafadī's.

¹⁹ See intro. of al-Tha'ālibī, *al-Tamthil wa-l-muḥāḍara*, ed. 'A. al-Ḥulw, Cairo: Dār Ihyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, 1961, 14-20.

²⁰ See Brockelmann, *GAL* I: 284-6; *GAL* SI: 499-502.

²¹ See Sezgin, *GAS* VIII, 231-236.

²² Al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm li-l-Malāyīn, 1992, 4: 311.

²³ E. Rowson, "al-Tha'ālibī, Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il," *EP* X: 426-427.

²⁴ See Q. al-Samarrai, "Some biographical notes on al-Tha'ālibī," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* xxxii (1975), 175-86.

²⁵ See introduction of al-Tha'ālibī, *Mir'āt al-murū'āt*, ed. Y. al-Madgharī, Beirut: Dār Lubnān, 2003, 30-128.

²⁶ See intro. of al-Tha'ālibī, *al-Anīs fī ghurar al-tajnis*, ed. H. Nājī, Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1996.

²⁷ Al-Jādir, *al-Tha'ālibī nāqidān wa-adiban*, Beirut: Dār al-Niḍāl, 1991, 58-132.

²⁸ See al-Jādir, "Dirāsa tawthīqiyya li-mu'allafāt al-Tha'ālibī," *Majallat Ma'had al-Buḥūth wa l-Dirāsāt al-'Arabiyya* 12 (1403/1983). This article was reprinted in *Dirāsāt tawthīqiyya wa-taḥqīqiyya fī maṣādir al-turāth*, Baghdad: Jāmi'at Baghdād, 1990, 382-454.

of their chronological order. I have marked works identified by al-Şafadī with an asterisk (*) and those identified by al-Samarrai with a double asterisk (**).²⁹

I. Printed Authentic Works

1- *Abū l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī mā lahu wa-mā ‘alayhi* = *Abū l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī wa-akhbāruhu*

This is the fifth section [bāb] of the first volume [mujallad] of *Yatīmat al-dahr*. Al-Tha‘alibī, however, intended it as a separate book.³⁰

Ed. Friedrich Dieterici: *Mutanabbi und Seifuddaula aus der Edelperle des Tsa‘alibi nach Gothaer und Pariser Handschriften*, Leipzig: Fr. Chr. Wilh. Vogel, 1847; Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Jamāliyya, 1915; Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Tijāriyya al-Kubrā, 1925; Cairo: Maṭba‘at Ḥijāzī, 1948; Tunis: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1997 (repr. 2000).

2- *Ādāb al-mulūk* = *Sirāj al-mulūk*³¹ = *al-Mulūkī* = *al-Khwārizmiyyāt* (13) (**)

The work is an example of the mirror of princes genre and consists of ten chapters on:³² (1) the need for kings and the duty of obedience to them; (2) proverbs on kings; (3) sayings, counsels and *tawqī‘āt* [signatory notes/apostilles] of kings; (4) governance [*siyāsa*]; (5) the manners and customs of kings; (6) the selecting of viziers, judges, secretaries, physicians, musicians

²⁹ I thank Everett Rowson for sharing his notes on al-Tha‘alibī’s bibliography which saved me from a number of errors.

³⁰ See *Yatīma* 1: 240.

³¹ The British Museum MS. 6368 under the title *Sirāj al-mulūk* mentioned in Brockelmann, *GAL* SI: 502 is identical with *Ādāb al-mulūk*.

³² Such books often consist of ten chapters. On this idea see Louise Marlow, “The Way of Viziers and the Lamp of Commanders (*Minbāj al-wuzarā‘ wa-sirāj al-umarā‘*) of Ahmad al-Iṣfahbadhī and the Literary and Political Culture of Early Fourteenth-Century Iran,” in *Writers and Rulers: Perspectives on Their Relationship from Abbasid to Safavid Times*. eds. B. Gruendler and L. Marlow, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004, 169-93. For the genre of “mirrors for princes,” see Dimitri Gutus, “Ethische Schriften im Islam,” in *Orientalisches Mittelalter*, ed. W. Heinrichs, Wiesbaden: AULA-Verlag, 1990, 346-65. For the Arabic tradition, see idem, *Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation: A Study of the Graeco-Arabic Gnomologia*, New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1975; idem, “Classical Arabic Wisdom Literature: Nature and Scope,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101, 49-86 and the literature listed there.

and others; (7) On the bad manners of kings; (8) warfare and the army; (9) the conduct of kings; and (10) the service to kings. It is dedicated to the penultimate Ma'mūnid Khwārizmshāh, Ma'mūn b. Ma'mūn (r. 390-407/1000-17)³³ in the introduction (see 6, 11, 14, 22, 33, 56).³⁴

Ed. J. al-ʿAṭiyya, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1990.

3- *Aḥsan mā samīʿtu* = *Aḥsan mā samīʿtu min al-shīʿr wa-l-nathr* = *al-Laʿālī wa-l-durar* (18) (*) (**)

In this later work, al-Thaʿālibī extracts his particular favorites from the material he had collected. Emphasis is on Modern [*muḥdath*] and Eastern poets. Based on two lines in the book by Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī³⁵ (d. 400/1010), dedicated to *al-muʿallaf lahu* [the dedicatee], al-Jādir suggests that al-Thaʿālibī dedicated the work to Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid³⁶ when leaving al-Jurjāniyya. The same two lines are attributed in *al-Yatīma* to al-Bustī in praise of Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid (see 36).³⁷ Al-Samarrai points out that al-Thaʿālibī mentions in *al-Yatīma* that he wrote *Aḥsan mā samīʿtu* at the request of his friend Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī.³⁸ Hilāl Nājī argues, convincingly, that the work is an abridgement of a larger work entitled *Aḥsān al-maḥāsīn*, which survives in several manuscripts (see 52). Nājī claims without offering proof that the abridgment was prepared by a later author.

Ed. M. Ş. ʿAnbar, Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Jumhūr, 1324 [1906-7] (repr. 1991); ed. and trsl. O. Rescher, Leipzig: In Kommission bei O. Harrassowitz, 1916; Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Maḥmūdiyya, 1925; ed. A. ʿA. F. Tammām, Beirut: Muʿassasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1989; ed. ʿA. A. ʿA. Muḥannā, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Lubnānī, 1990 (entitled *al-Laʿālī wa-l-durar*); ed. M. I. Salīm, Cairo: Dār al-Ṭalīʿa, 1992; ed. A. ʿA. F. Tammām, Cairo: Dār al-Ṭalāʿi, 1994; ed. A. Buṭrus, Tripoli: Al-Muʿassasa al-Ḥadītha li-l-Kitāb, 1999; ed. Kh. ʿI.

³³ Abū l-ʿAbbās Ma'mūn b. Ma'mūn was the penultimate Ma'mūnid. Al-Thaʿālibī dedicated several of his books to him, See C. E. Bosworth, "Khwārazm-shāhs," *EI*² IV: 1068b-9b.

³⁴ See *ʿĀdāb al-mulūk*, ed. J. ʿAṭiyya, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī 1990, 29.

³⁵ Arabic poet of Persian origin and a native of Bust, where he was raised and educated. He was a friend of al-Thaʿālibī from the time of their first meeting in Nīshāpūr; see his biography in J. W. Fück, "al-Bustī, Abū l-Faṭḥ b. Muḥammad," *EI*² I: 1348b and the sources listed there.

³⁶ A vizier of Khwārizmshāh and one of the sources of *al-Yatīma*; see his biography in *Yatīma* 4: 294.

³⁷ See al-Jādir, *al-Thaʿālibī*, 84.

³⁸ See al-Samarrai, 186.

Manṣūr, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2000; ed. M. Zaynahum, Cairo: al-Dār al-Thaqāfiyya, 2006.

4- *Ajnās al-tajnis = al-Mutashābih = al-Mutashābih lafẓan wa-khaṭṭan = Taḥṣīl al-sīʿr fī tafḍīl al-shīʿr* (5) (*) (**)

A selection of sayings illustrating paronomasia (*jinās*) with examples of modern and contemporary poetry and prose. The work is dedicated to the Sāmānid governor and founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty, brother of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, *al-amīr al-ajall al-sayyid* Abū l-Muẓaffar Naṣr b. Nāṣir al-Dīn [Sebūktigin] (d. 412/1021) (see 9, 15, 30, 34) in the introduction.^{39, 40} Madgharī lists the section of MS Hekimoglu 946-1 entitled *Taḥṣīl al-sīʿr* as a separate work, while it is in fact part of *Ajnās al-tajnis*.

Ed. M. Shāfi in: *Ḍamīma of Oriental College Magazine*. Lahore: May, 1950 (entitled *al-Mutashābih*); ed. I. al-Sāmarrāi in: *Majallat Kulliyat al-Ādāb*. Baghdad: Jāmiʿat Baghdād 10 (1967), 6-33 (entitled *al-Mutashābih*) (repr. Beirut: al-Dār al-ʿArabiyya, 1999; Baghdad: Maṭbaʿat al-Ḥukūma, 1967); ed. M. ʿA. al-Jādir, Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1997 (repr. Baghdad: Dār al-Shuʿun al-Thaqāfiyya, 1998).

5- *al-Anīs fī ghurar al-tajnis* (57) (*)⁴¹

A collection of sayings on the subject of paronomasia, dedicated to *al-shaykh al-sayyid al-amīr*.⁴² Hilāl Najī identifies him with al-Mikālī (see 6, 7, 15, 20, 23, 28, 92),⁴³ whom al-Thaʿālibī calls thus in *Thimār al-qulūb*

³⁹ Sulṭān Maḥmūd gave him, according to al-ʿUtbī, his own place as commander of the army in the province of Khurāsān. See al-ʿUtbī, *Al-Yamīnī fī sharḥ akbbār al-sulṭān yamīn al-dawla wa-amīn al-milla Maḥmūd al-Ghaznawī*, ed. I. Dh. al-Thāmirī, Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿa, 2004, 175; see also, Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 39-44.

⁴⁰ See al-Thaʿālibī, *Ajnās al-tajnis*, ed. M. ʿA. al-Jādir, Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1997, 25.

⁴¹ Al-Jādir labels this work as lost (*mafqūd*) in his first list of al-Thaʿālibī's works; see al-Jādir, *al-Thaʿālibī*, 117.

⁴² *al-Anīs fī ghurar al-tajnis*, 43.

⁴³ Abū l-Faḍl ʿUbaydallāh al-Mikālī belonged to the well-known and most influential Nishāpūr families. He is one of the main sources and patrons of al-Thaʿālibī, who dedicated more than five works to him. Al-Mikālī was a theologian, traditionalist, poet, a man of *adab* and, according to al-Ḥuṣrī, *raʿīs* of Nishāpūr. See his biography in *Yatīma*, 4: 326; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb wa-thimār al-albāb*, ed. ʿA. M. al-Bajāwī, Cairo: al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1970, 1: 126; al-Bākharzī, *Dumyat al-qasr wa-ʿuṣrat ahl al-ʿaṣr*. ed. M. al-Tunji, Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 1993, 2: 984; al-Kutubī, 2: 52; C. E. Bosworth, "Mikālīs," *ET*² VII: 25b-26b, and idem, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran, 994: 1040*, Edinburgh: University Press, 1963, 176ff. For his relation with al-Thaʿālibī see al-Samarrai, 177-9.

(see 28).⁴⁴ However, al-Mikālī seems to be one of the sources for the work; al-Tha'ālibī used this title for several rulers.

Ed. H. Nājī, *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Irāqī* 33 (1982), 369-80 (repr. Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1996).

6- *Bard al-akbād fi-l-a'dād* = *al-A'dād* (30) (*) (**)

This is a five-chapter selection of prose and poetry dealing with numerical divisions. The dedicatee is referred to as *Mawlānā* in the introduction. Al-Jādir identifies him as the Ghaznavid official troop reviewer al-Ḥamdūnī/al-Ḥamdawī (see 13, 15, 17, 18, 23, 60).^{45,46} Al-Samarrai argues for al-Mikālī (see 5, 7, 15, 20, 23, 28, 92), or possibly, al-Ma'mūnī (see 2, 11, 14, 22, 33, 56).⁴⁷

In *Majmū'at khams rasā'il*, Istanbul: 1301/1883-4 (repr. 1325/1907; Najaf, 1970); ed. Iḥsān Dhannūn al-Thāmīrī, Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2006.

7- *Fiqh al-lughā wa-sirr al-'arabiyya* = *Sirr al-adab fi majārī kalām al-'Arab* = *Shams al-adab* = *al-Shams* = *Mā'rifat al-rutab fi-mā warada min kalām al-'Arab* = *al-Muntakhab min sunan al-'Arab* (28) (*) (**)

The first half of this work (see also no. 55) is lexicographical, grouping vocabulary into thirty semantic chapters, while the second half treats a variety of grammatical and lexicographical topics. Occasionally, the different titles of the work refer to its different sections. The work enjoyed instant fame, as is evident from the number of early surviving manuscripts, and has been

⁴⁴ See al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb fi-l-muḍāf wa-l-mansūb*, ed. M. A. Ibrāhīm, Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, 1965, 419.

⁴⁵ Al-Tha'ālibī dedicates a number of works to this individual. Al-Jādir and almost all of the editors of al-Tha'ālibī use al-Ḥamdūnī; al-Samarrai, however, suggests al-Ḥamdawī, while Bosworth uses both *nishbas*. He was an *'arid* [troop/army reviewer] in the Khurāsān province. According to al-'Imād al-Iṣfahānī, he was the *'amid* of Khurāsān for Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna (d. 421/1030). After Maḥmūd's death he acted as vizier to his successor Muḥammad and received further positions during the reign of Mas'ūd. See al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmat al-Yatima*, ed. M. M. Qumayḥa, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1983, 248; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi l-Tārīkh*, ed. A. 'A. al-Qāḍī, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1995.

9: 379, 381, 428-9, 435-6, 446, 458; al-Samarrai, 182-3; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 71.

⁴⁶ See al-Jādir, *al-Tha'ālibī*, 105; idem, "Dirāsa," 400-1.

⁴⁷ See al-Samarrai, 178.

versified as *Nazm fiqh al-lugha*.⁴⁸ The book is dedicated in its introduction to *al-amīr al-sayyid al-awḥad* Abū l-Faḍl 'Ubaydallāh b. Aḥmad al-Mikālī (d. 436/1044) (see 5, 6, 15, 20, 23, 28, 92).⁴⁹

Tehran: Karakhānah-i Qulī Khan, 1855 (entitled *Sirr al-adab fi majārī kalām al-'Arab*); Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Ḥajar al-Nayyira al-Fākhira, 1284 [1867]; Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Madāris al-Malakiyya, 1880 (repr. 1900, 1994); ed. L. Cheikho, Beirut: Maṭba'at al-Ābā' al-Yasū'iyyīn, 1885 (repr. 1903); ed. R. Daḥdāḥ, Paris: Rochaid Dahdah, 1861; Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Adabiyya, 1899; Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1901 (repr. 1980); Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-'Umūmiyya, 1901; Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'ada, 1907; ed. M. al-Saqqā, I. al-Abyārī and 'A. Shalabī, Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Ḥalabī, 1938; Cairo: al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1954; Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Tijāriyya al-Kubrā, 1964; Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Ḥajariyya, 1967; Lībiyā: al-Dār al-'Arabiyya li-l-Kitāb, 1981; ed. S. Bawwāb, Damascus: Dār al-Ḥikma, 1984; ed. F. Muḥammad and I. Ya'qūb, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1993; Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān, 1997; ed. Kh. Fahmī and R. 'Abd al-Tawwāb, Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1998; ed. A. Nasīb, Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1998; ed. Y. Ayyūbī, Beirut: al-Maktaba al-'Aşriyya, 1999 (repr. 2000, 2003); ed. R. 'Abd al-Tawwāb and Kh. Fahmī, Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1999; cmt. D. Saqqāl, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī 1999; ed. 'U. al-Ṭabbā', Beirut: Dār al-Arqam, 1999; ed. Ḥ. Ṭammās, Damascus: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 2004.

8- *Al-I'jāz wa-l-ijāz = al-Ījāz wa-l-i'jāz = K. Ghurar al-balāgha fi-l-nazm wa-l-nathr = K. Ghurar al-balāgha wa-turaf al-barā'a* (25) (90) (*) (**)

This work combines prose and poetry on the theme of exhibiting concision. It consists of ten chapters, beginning with examples of rhetorical figures in the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, followed by prose selections and anecdotes from a wide range of literary figures. The second half balances these prose selections with verses by major poets from different eras. The work is dedicated to *al-Qādī al-Jalīl al-Sayyid*, identified in the tenth section of the book as Maṣṣūr b. Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Harawī,⁵⁰ and in one manuscript as "*al-makhdūm bi-hādihā l-kitāb*" [served by this book].⁵¹ Based on this

⁴⁸ Parts of this work survive within al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir fi 'ulūm al-lugha wa-anwā'ihā*, ed. M. A. Ibrāhīm et al., Cairo: al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1958, 123, 450.

⁴⁹ See al-Tha'ālibī, *Fiqh al-lugha wa-sirr al-'arabiyya*, ed. Y. al-Ayyūbī, Beirut: al-Maktaba al-'Aşriyya, 2000, 33.

⁵⁰ Al-Tha'ālibī mentions that they met while both of them were away from their homes and became close friends, see *Tatimma*, 233.

⁵¹ Al-Tha'ālibī, *al-I'jāz wa-l-ijāz*, ed. M. Şāliḥ, Damascus: Dār al-Bashā'ir, 2004, 308.

dedication, al-Jādir dates the book to 412/1021 when al-Tha'ālibī returned to Nishāpūr from Ghazna.⁵²

In *Khams Rasā'il*, Istanbul: 1301 [1883-4]; ed. I. Āṣaf, Cairo: al-Maṭba'a 'Umūmiyya, 1897; Baghdad: Maktabat Dār al-Bayān, 1972; Beirut: Dār Ṣā'b, 1980; Beirut: Dār al-Rā'id al-'Arabī, 1983; Beirut: Dār al-Ghuṣūn, 1985; ed. M. al-Tunji, Beirut: Dār al-Nafā'is, 1992; ed. Q. R. Ṣāliḥ, Baghdad: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa—Dār al-Shu'ūn al-Thaqāfiyya, 1998 (under *K. Ghurur al-balāgha fī-l-naẓm wa-l-nathr*); ed. M. I. Salīm, Cairo: Maktabat al-Qur'ān, 1999; ed. I. Ṣāliḥ, Damascus: Dār al-Bashā'ir, 2001 (repr. 2004); Cairo: al-Dār al-Thaqāfiyya, 2005 (repr. 2006); trsl. O. Petit, *La beauté est le gibier des cœurs*, Paris: Sindbad, 1987.

9- *Al-Iqtibās min al-Qur'ān* (6) (*) (**)

The book treats the use of a Qur'ānic phrase (or a variation on such a phrase) without being explicit about its provenance. Some of its twenty-five chapters do not contribute to the general theme of the book but deal with the subject of rhetorical figures in the Qur'ān or the mode of behavior of the Prophet Muḥammad. The last two chapters could have been added by later scribes, because the title of the 23rd chapter, *fī funūn mukhtalifat al-tartīb*, is the title of the concluding chapter of several of al-Tha'ālibī's works. The work is dedicated to *Ṣāhib al-jaysh* Abū l-Muzaffar Naṣr b. Nāṣir al-Dīn [Sebüktigin] (see 4, 15, 30, 34).⁵³

Ed. I. M. al-Ṣaffār, Baghdad: Dār al-Ḥurriyya li-l-Ṭibā'a, 1975; ed. I. M. al-Ṣaffār & M. M. Bahjat, Al-Manṣūra: Dār al-Wafā', 1992 (repr. Cairo: Dār al-Wafā', 1998); ed. I. M. al-Ṣaffār, 'Ammān: Jidārā li-l-Kitāb al-'Ālamī, 2008.

10- *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ* (34) (*) (**)

This booklet is an epitome of a number of al-Tha'ālibī's earlier works. Its seven chapters contain prose and poetry including that of al-Tha'ālibī, in addition to excerpts from Qur'ān, *ḥadīth*, and proverbs. It is dedicated to

⁵² Al-Jādir, *al-Tha'ālibī*, 96; idem, "Dirāsa," 400.

⁵³ Al-Tha'ālibī, *al-Iqtibās min al-Qur'ān*, ed. I. al-Ṣaffār & M. M. Bahjat, Al-Manṣūra: Dār al-Wafā', 1992, 37.

al-Shaykh Abū l-Ḥasan Musāfir b. al-Ḥasan [al-‘Āriḍ]⁵⁴ when he arrived at Nishāpūr from Ghazna with Sulṭān Maṣ‘ūd in 424/1033.⁵⁵

Tūnis: Maṭba‘at al-Dawla al-Tūnisiyya, 1876; ed. M. al-Samkarī, Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Sa‘āda, 1908; Tūnis: Maṭba‘at al-Dawla al-Tūnisiyya, 1876; intro. Ḥ. al-Amīn, Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1966 (repr. 1980 missing intro.); ed. Ṣ. al-Naqwī, Hydarabad: Maṭbū‘āt Majlis Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1984; ed. M. al-Jinān, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1994; ed. Muḥammad Zaynahum, Cairo: al-Dār al-Thaqāfiyya li-l-Nashr, 2008.

11- *Al-Kināya wa-l-ta‘rīd = al-Nihāya fī l-kināya = al-Nihāya fī fann al-kināya = al-Kunā* (12) (*) (**)

The title is a compilation of quotations from the Qur‘ān, prose, verse, and *ḥadīth* that contain allusions and metonymies. It was first compiled in 400/1009 and then revised and rededicated in the introduction to the penultimate Khwārizmshāh Abū l-‘Abbās Ma‘mūn b. Ma‘mūn in 407/1016 (see 2, 6, 14, 22, 33, 56).⁵⁶

In *Arba‘ rasā’il muntakhaba min mu‘allafāt al-‘allāma al-Tha‘ālibī*, Istanbul: 1301 [1883-4]; ed. M. Amīn, Makka: al-Maṭba‘a al-Miriyya, 1302 [1884]; ed. M. B. al-Na‘ṣānī al-Ḥalabī, Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Sa‘āda, 1908 (together with Abū l-‘Abbās al-Jurjānī: *al-Muntakhab min kināyāt al-udabā’ wa-ishārāt al-bulaghā’*); in *Rasā’il al-Tha‘ālibī*, ed. ‘A. Khāqānī, Baghdad: Maktabat Dār al-Bayān, 1972); Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1984; ed. M. F. al-Jabr, Damascus: Dār al-Ḥikma, 1994; ed. F. Hawwār, Tūnis: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1995; ed. U. al-Buḥayrī, Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1997; ed. ‘Ā. Ḥ. Farīd, Cairo: Dār Qibā’, 1998; ed. M. I. Salīm, Cairo: Maktabat Ibn Sīnā, 2003; ed. F. al-Ḥawwār, Baghdad & Köln: Manshūrāt al-Jamal, 2006.

⁵⁴ He was troop reviewer of the Ghaznavid army in Khurāsān during the sultanate of Maṣ‘ūd al-Ghaznavī after the former ‘*āriḍ*’ Abū Sahl al-Ḥamdūnī was made civil governor of Rayy and Jibāl, see *Tatimma*, 258. For the office of the ‘*āriḍ*’ and his duties, see C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 71.

⁵⁵ See al-Tha‘ālibī, *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, ed. Ṣ. al-Naqwī, Hydarabad: Maṭbū‘āt Majlis Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1984, 1.

⁵⁶ Al-Tha‘ālibī, *K. al-Kināya wa-l-ta‘rīd aw al-Nihāya fī fann al-kināya*, ed. F. al-Ḥawwār, Baghdad & Köln: Manshūrāt al-Jamal, 2006, 25.

12- *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif* (20) (**)

This work assembles entertaining bits of historical lore into ten chapters. It is dedicated to a certain al-Ṣāhib Abū l-Qāsim,⁵⁷ whom some scholars believe to be al-Ṣāhib Ibn ʿAbbād (d. 385/995).⁵⁸ Al-Jādir refutes this by proving that the book was composed after the vizier's death in 385/995 and suggests instead Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. Sebūktigin (d. 421/1030),⁵⁹ whereas Bosworth and al-Samarrai propose the Ghaznavid vizier Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Maymandī (d. 424/1033).⁶⁰

Ed. P. de Jong. Leiden: Brill, 1867; Cairo: al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1960; ed. I. al-Abyārī and H. K. al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya, 1960; ed. and trsl. (Uzbek) Ismatulla Abdullaev, Tashkent: 1987 (repr. Tashkent: A. Qodirii nomidagi khalq merosi nashrieti, 1995); trsl. (Persian) ʿAlī Akbar Shahābī Khurāsānī (Mashhad: Muʿassasa-i Chāp wa Intishārāt-i Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī, 1368 [1989-90]); trsl. C. E. Bosworth. *The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1968.

13- *Laṭāʾif al-zurafāʾ min ṭabaqāt al-fudalāʾ* = *Laṭāʾif al-ṣaḥāba wa-l-tābīʿin* = *Laṭāʾif al-luṭf* (39) (89) (*) (**)

A twelve-chapter collection of anecdotes about the witticisms and niceties of *zurafāʾ* [witty, charming, debonair persons], dedicated in the introduction to *al-shaykh al-ʿamid* Abū Sahl al-Ḥamdūnī/al-Ḥamdawī (see 6, 15, 17, 18, 23, 60).⁶¹

Ed. ʿU. al-Asʿad, Beirut: Dār al-Masīra, 1980 (under *Laṭāʾif al-luṭf*); ed. Q. al-Samarrai, Leiden: Brill, 1978 (Facsimile); ed. ʿA. K. al-Rajab, Beirut: al-Dār al-ʿArabiyya, 1999.

⁵⁷ See al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, 3.

⁵⁸ See, for example, E. G. Brown, *Literary History of Persia* 2: 101; intro. of *al-Tamthīl*, 5; intro. of *Thimār*, 5.

⁵⁹ Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd served as the commander of the army in Khurāsān until he became the *amīr* of Ghazna after his father in 387/997; see his biography in C. E. Bosworth, "Maḥmūd b. Sebūktigin," *EI*² VI: 64b. Al-Jādir, *al-Thaʿālibī*, 87-89; idem, "Dirāsa," 428-9.

⁶⁰ Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad served as Maḥmūd al-Ghaznavī's vizier from 404/1013 until 415/1020. Masʿūd brought him into power again in 421/1030, where he remained until his death; see al-Samarrai, 185.

⁶¹ See al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-zurafāʾ*, ed. Q. al-Samarrai, Leiden: Brill, 1978, 3.

14- *Lubāb al-ādāb = Sirr al-adab fī majārī kalām al-‘Arab* (**)

Al-Jādir inspected a manuscript entitled *Lubāb al-ādāb* in Jāmi‘at Baghdād 1217 and characterized it as a selection from *Siḥr al-balāgha* (see 23).⁶² Qaḥṭān Rashīd Ṣāliḥ published a work thus entitled based on four manuscripts, and the characteristic introduction and the parallels with material found in al-Tha‘alibī’s other works confirm his authorship. The work consists of three parts in thirty chapters. The first part is lexicographical and draws heavily on *Fiqh al-lughā* (see 7). The second and third parts, which deal with prose and poetry, respectively, are arranged according to themes. The work is dedicated to the penultimate Ma‘mūnid Khwārizmshāh Ma‘mūn b. Ma‘mūn (see 2, 6, 11, 22, 33, 56).

Tehran: 1272 [1855-6] (under *Sirr al-adab fī majārī kalām al-‘Arab*); ed. Ṣ. Q. Rashīd, Baghdad: Dār al-Shu‘ūn al-Thaqāfiyya, 1988; ed. A. Ḥ. Basaj, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1997; ed. Ṣ. al-Huwwārī, Beirut: al-Maktaba al-‘Aṣriyya, 2003.

15- *Al-Lutf wa-l-laṭā‘if* (33) (**)

This work consists of sixteen chapters collecting representation of various professions and is dedicated to *mawlāna al-amīr al-sayyid al-Ṣāhib*. Al-Jādir identifies him with Abū Sahl al-Ḥamdūnī/al-Ḥamdawī (see 6, 13, 17, 18, 23, 60).⁶³ Al-Samarrai suggests al-Mikālī (see 5, 6, 7, 20, 23, 28, 92) or Naṣr b. Naṣir al-Dīn Sebūktigin (see 4, 9, 30, 34).⁶⁴

Ed. M. ‘A. al-Jādir, al-Kuwayt: Maktabat Dār al-‘Arabiyya, 1984 (repr. Beirut: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1997; ed. M. ‘A. al-Jādir, Baghdad: Dār al-Shu‘ūn al-Thaqāfiyya, 2002).

16- *Mā jarā bayna l-Mutanabbī wa-Sayf al-Dawla* (38)

Edward Van Dyck mentions that the work was edited in Leipzig in 1835 by Gustav Flügel.⁶⁵

⁶² See al-Jādir, “Dirāsa,” 426.

⁶³ Ibid., 429.

⁶⁴ Al-Samarrai, 186.

⁶⁵ See Edward Van Dyck, *Iktifā‘ al-qanū‘ bi-mā huwa maṭbū‘*, Tehran: Maṭba‘at Behman, 1988, 272. I was not able to locate this edition.

17- *Man ghāba ‘anhu l-muṭrib* = *Man a‘wazahu l-muṭrib* (19) (*) (**)

Al-Tha‘alibī wrote this book later in his life when he was asked to extract his particular favorites from the material he had collected on modern Eastern poets. Q. al-Samarrai finds in MS. Berlin 8333 the dedicatee *al-shaykh al-‘Amīd* and suggests that this is al-Ḥamdūnī/al-Ḥamdawī (see 6, 13, 15, 18, 23, 60).⁶⁶ The introduction of the work is identical to the introduction of *Aḥāsīn al-mahāsīn* (see 52)

Beirut: 1831; in *Al-Tuḥfa al-bahiyya*, Istanbul: 1302 [1884]; ed. M. al-Labābīdī, Beirut: al-Maṭba‘a al-Adabiyya, 1309 [1891-2]; ed. O. Rescher, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1917-8; ed. N. ‘A. Sha‘lān, Cairo: Maktabat Khānjī, 1984; ed. ‘A. al-Mallūḥī, Damascus: Dār Ṭalās, 1987; ed. Y. A. al-Sāmarrā‘ī, Beirut: Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-‘Arabiyya, 1987.

18- *Mir‘āt al-murū‘āt* (32) (*) (**)

This is a collection of anecdotal material under the rubric of *murū‘a* [perfect virtue]; it consists of fifteen chapters, each starting with the word *murū‘a*. The title of the dedicatee as given in the introduction is *al-ṣadr al-ajall al-sayyid al-Ṣāhib akfā l-kufāt*. Al-Jādir identifies him as Abū Sahl al-Ḥamdūnī (see 6, 13, 15, 17, 23, 60), while al-Samarrai suggests Mas‘ūd’s vizier Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad.^{67, 68} The work was composed after 421/1030, the death year of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna who is referred to as “the late” [*al-Mādī*].

Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Taraqī, 1898; ed. Y. ‘A. al-Madgharī, Beirut: Dār Lubnān, 2003; ed. M. Kh. R. Yūsuf, Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2004; ed. W. b. A. al-Ḥusayn, Leeds: Majallat al-Ḥikma, 2004; ed. I. Dh. al-Thāmīrī, Amman: Dār Ward, 2007.

19- *Al-Mubhij* (4) (*) (**)

This collection of rhymed prose, arranged by topic and intended to inspire prose stylists, is dedicated to Qābūs b. Wushmagīr (d. 403/1012-13), the fourth ruler of the Ziyārid dynasty, who achieved great contemporary renown

⁶⁶ Al-Samarrai, 186.

⁶⁷ He became Mas‘ūd’s vizier after al-Maymandī in 424/1033. He died after 435/1043 while still serving Mas‘ūd’s son—Mawdūd; see C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 182, 242.

⁶⁸ Al-Jādir, “Dirāsa,” 432, al-Samarrai, 185.

as a scholar and poet in both Arabic and Persian.⁶⁹ This occurred on his first visit to Jurjān before 390/999. Later al-Tha'ālibī reworked the book and rearranged it in seventy chapters.⁷⁰ Al-Jādir mentions a manuscript entitled *al-Fawā'id wa-l-amthāl* in MS 'Ārif Ḥikmat 52 *qadīm*, 31 *jadīd*, Medina, which he did not examine but suggests that it is identical with *K. al-Amthāl*;⁷¹ this manuscript is in fact an exact copy of *al-Mubhij*.

Cairo: Maṭba'at Muḥammad Maṭar, n.d.; in *Arba' rasā'il muntakhaba min mu'allafāt al-'allāma al-Tha'ālibī*, Istanbul: 1301 [1883-4]; Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Najāḥ, 1904; ed. 'A. M. Abū Ṭālib, Ṭanṭa: Dār al-Ṣaḥāba li-l-Turāth, 1992; ed. I. Ṣāliḥ, Damascus: Dār al-Bashā'ir, 1999.

20- *Al-Muntaḥal* = *Kanz al-kuttāb* = *Muntakhab al-Tha'ālibī* = *al-Muntakhab al-Mikālī* (1) (*)

This is an early collection of poetry from all periods, arranged by genre. The verses in the collection are suitable for use in both private and official correspondence (*ikhwāniyyāt* and *sulṭāniyyāt*).⁷² There is confusion in the primary sources regarding the authorship of the book: some designate al-Tha'ālibī as the author, others his friend Abū l-Faḍl al-Mikālī (see 5, 6, 7, 15, 23, 28, 92).⁷³ Yaḥyā W. al-Jabbūrī resolved this confusion by publishing the full version of al-Mikālī's work entitled *al-Muntakhal*.⁷⁴ A comparison of *al-Muntakhal* and *al-Muntaḥal* reveals that the latter is a selection of poems from al-Mikālī's work. MS Paris 3307 of *al-Muntaḥal* preserves a more complete text than the printed one. The work is divided into fifteen chapters according to subjects and its scope includes poets from all periods including the author's.

Ed. A. Abū 'Alī, Alexandria: al-Maṭba'a al-Tijāriyya, 1321 [1901]; Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa al-Dīniyya, 1998.

⁶⁹ See C. E. Bosworth, "Ḳābūs b. Wuṣṣmagīr," *EP* IV: 357b-358b.

⁷⁰ al-Tha'ālibī, *al-Mubhij*, ed. I. Ṣāliḥ, Damascus: Dār al-Bashā'ir, 1999, 23.

⁷¹ See Al-Jādir, "Dirāsa," 424.

⁷² See al-Tha'ālibī, *al-Muntaḥal*, ed. A. Abū 'Alī, Alexandria: al-Maṭba'a al-Tijāriyya, 1901, 5.

⁷³ Al-Ṣafādī attributes it to al-Tha'ālibī, al-Kutubī to al-Mikālī, while Ibn Khallikān attributes it to al-Tha'ālibī once and to al-Mikālī another time, see al-Ṣafādī 19: 131; al-Kutubī, 'Uyūn 13: 181b, Ibn Khallikān, 2: 361, 5: 109.

⁷⁴ Abū l-Faḍl al-Mikālī, *K. al-Muntakhal*, ed. Y. W. al-Jabbūrī, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2000.

21- *Nasīm al-Saḥar = Khaṣāʾiṣ al-lughā* (35) (*) (**)

The work is an abridgement by al-Thaʿālibī of his *Fiqh al-lughā* (see 7). Al-Jādir and al-Samarrai note that in MS Zāhiriyya 306, published recently by Khālid Fahmī, the dedicatee appears as Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣaymarī.^{75, 76} Al-Jādir places the dedication in the year 424/1032 or 3 in Nishāpūr.

Ed. M. Ḥ. Āl Yāsīn, Baghdad: *Majallat al-Kuttāb* 1, (n.d.); ed. I. M. al-Ṣaffār, Baghdad: *Majallat al-Mawrid* 1 (1971); ed. Kh. Fahmī, Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1999 (entitled *Khaṣāʾiṣ al-lughā*).

22- *Nathr al-naẓm wa-ḥall al-ʿaqd = Naẓm al-nathr wa-ḥall al-ʿaqd = Hall al-ʿaqd* (15) (*) (**)

This is a collection of rhetorical exercises recasting verses in elegant rhymed prose. The work is dedicated in the introduction to the penultimate Maʾmūnid Abū l-ʿAbbās [Maʾmūn b. Maʾmūn] Khwārizmshāh (see 2, 6, 11, 14, 33, 56).⁷⁷

Damascus: Maṭbaʿat al-Maʿārif, 1300 [1882-3] (repr. 1301/1883-4); Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Adabiyya, 1317 [1899-1900]; in *Rasāʾil al-Thaʿālibī*, ed. ʿA. Khāqānī, Baghdad: Maktabat Dār al-Bayān, 1972; Beirut: Dār al-Rāʾid al-ʿArabī, 1983; ed. A. ʿA. Tammām, Beirut: Muʿassasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1990.

23- *Siḥr al-balāgha wa-sirr al-barāʿa* (7) (*) (**)

This is a collection of rhymed prose arranged in fourteen chapters and presented without attributions except for the last chapter, which credits phraseology to famous figures, such as Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008) and al-Khwārizmī (d. 383/993). The final version of the work, dedicated to ʿUbaydallāh b. Aḥmad al-Mikālī (d. 436/1044) (see 5, 6, 7, 15, 20, 28, 92), is the third (and last?) version after two previous editions “close in method and volume,” the first dedicated to a certain Abū ʿImrān Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Kurdī, and the second to Abū Sahl al-Ḥamdūnī/al-Ḥamdawī (see 6, 13,

⁷⁵ See his biography in al-Bakharzī, 1: 375-8.

⁷⁶ See al-Jādir, *al-Thaʿālibī*, 109; idem, “Dirāsa,” 440; al-Samarrai, 185.

⁷⁷ See al-Thaʿālibī, *Nathr al-naẓm wa-ḥall al-ʿaqd*, ed. A. ʿA. Tammām, Beirut: Muʿassasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1990, 7.

15, 17, 18, 60).⁷⁸ Al-Jādir thinks that the first version of the work was completed before year 403/1012, as it is already mentioned in *al-Yatīma*.⁷⁹

In *Arba' rasā'il muntakhaba min mu'allafāt al-'allāma al-Tha'ālibī*, Istanbul: 1301 [1883-4]; ed. A. 'Ubayd, Damascus: al-Maktaba al-'Arabiyya, 1931; ed. 'A. al-Ḥūfi, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1984; ed. D. Juwaydī, Beirut: al-Maktaba al-'Aṣriyya, 2006.

24- *Tahṣīn al-qabīḥ wa-taqbīḥ al-ḥasan = al-Tahṣīn wa-l-taqbīḥ* (23) (*) (**)

Here al-Tha'ālibī presents prose and poetry sharing the trait of making the ugly seem beautiful and the beautiful ugly.⁸⁰ The work is dedicated to the Ghaznavid courtier Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. 'Isā al-Karājī (see 26, 27),⁸¹ and al-Jādir places it in Ghazna between the years 407-12/1016-1021.⁸²

Ed. Sh. 'Āshūr, Baghdad: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 1981 (repr. Damascus: Dār al-Yanābī, 2006); ed. 'A. 'A. Muḥammad, Cairo: Dār al-Faḍīla, 1995; ed. N. 'A. Ḥayyāwī, Beirut: Dār al-Arqam, 2002; trsl. (Persian) Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. 'Alī Sāvī, ed. 'Ārif Aḥmad al-Zughūl, Tīhrān: Mīrās-i Maktūb 1385 [2006-7].

25- *Al-Tamthīl wa-l-muḥādāra = al-Tamaththul wa-l-muḥādāra = Ḥilyat al-muḥādāra = al-Maḥāsīn wa-l-addād* (8) (45) (*) (**)

This is a comprehensive collection of proverbial expressions collected from different sources. In the introduction al-Tha'ālibī dedicates it to Shams al-Ma'ālī Qābūs b. Wushmagīr (d. 371/981) during his second visit to Jurjān. Based on this, al-Jādir dates its completion between 401/1010 and 403/1012.⁸³ Tefvīk Rūştü Topuzoğlu mentions nine Istanbul manuscripts of this book.⁸⁴ Zahiyya Sa'dū in an unpublished dissertation presents a study

⁷⁸ See al-Tha'ālibī, *Sīḥr al-balāgha wa-sirr al-barā'a*, ed. 'A. al-Ḥūfi, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1984, 4.

⁷⁹ Al-Jādir, *al-Tha'ālibī*, 68; idem, "Dirāsa," 412.

⁸⁰ On this genre in Arabic literature, see G. van Gelder, "Beautifying the Ugly and Uglifying the Beautiful: The Paradox in Classical Arabic Literature," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 48 (2003), 321-351.

⁸¹ He was closely associated with Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna, see *Tatīmma*, 256-8.

⁸² Al-Jādir, "Dirāsa," 402.

⁸³ See al-Jādir, *al-Tha'ālibī*, 70; idem, "Dirāsa," 406.

⁸⁴ Topuzoğlu, Tefvīk Rūştü. "Istanbul Manuscripts of works (other than *Yatīmat al-Dabr*) by Tha'ālibī," *Islamic Quarterly* 17 (1973), 64-74.

and a critical edition of the work based on the oldest extant manuscripts, including Leiden Or. 454.⁸⁵

In *Arba' rasā'il muntakhaba min mu'allafāt al-'allāma al-Tha'ālibī*, Istanbul: 1301 [1883-4]; ed. 'A. M. al-Ḥulw, Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, 1961 (repr. Cairo: al-Dār al-'Arabiyya li-l-Kitāb, 1983); ed. Q. al-Ḥusayn, Beirut: Dār wa-Maktabat al-Hilāl, 2003.

26- *Tatimmat Yatīmat al-dahr = Tatimmat al-Yatīma* (37) (*) (**)

This is the supplement of *Yatīmat al-dahr* following the same principles of organization but including writers whom al-Tha'ālibī came to know later in his life. Like *al-Yatīma*, al-Tha'ālibī re-edited it later with several additions. Al-Tha'ālibī states in the introduction that the first edition was dedicated to the Ghaznavid courtier *al-shaykh* Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Karajī (see 24, 27). The second edition includes events that took place in year 424/1032 and thus dates to after this year. Al-Tha'ālibī adds an epilogue in which he did not follow the method of geographical arrangement, comprising those poets he forgot to include in the first four sections.⁸⁶

'Abbās Iqbāl, Tehran: Maṭba'at Fardīn, 1934; M. M. Qumayḥa, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1983.

27- *Al-Tawfiq li-l-talfiq* (41) (**)

This work encompasses thirty chapters on the use of *talfiq* in different themes. *Talfiq* refers to sewing, fitting, and putting together and in this context it signifies an establishment of a relationship between words or terms, homogeneity of expression (by maintenance of the stylistic level, ambiguity, assonance, etc.).⁸⁷ It is dedicated in the introduction to *al-shaykh al-sayyid*. Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ argues in his introduction of the edition that Abū l-Ḥasan Musāfir b.

⁸⁵ Zahiyya Sa'dū, *al-Tamaththul wa-l-muḥāḍara li-Abi Manṣūr al-Tha'ālibī: dirāsa wa-taḥqīq*, (Ph.D. dissertation) Jāmi'at al-Jazā'ir, 2005-6.

⁸⁶ The work has been critically edited in an unpublished dissertation by A. Sh. Radwan, *Tha'ālibī's "Tatimmat al-Yatīmah": A Critical Edition and a Study of the Author as Anthologist and Literary Critic*, (Ph.D. dissertation) University of Manchester, Manchester 1972. Radwan's edition is based on five manuscripts, the oldest of which is dated 637/1240. The text of this edition corrects numerous mistakes in Iqbāl's edition which is based only on one manuscript, MS arabe Paris 3308 (fols. 498-591).

⁸⁷ For this technical use of the term *talfiq* with examples, see M. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache, Lām: talfiq*, 1035.

al-Ḥasan is meant here (see 10), based on a passage from *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, in which al-Thaʿālibī addresses him with the title *al-shaykh al-sayyid*.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, this is not certain since al-Thaʿālibī dedicated *Mirʾāt al-murūʾāt* to *al-shaykh al-ajall al-sayyid al-Ṣāhib akfū l-kufāt* (see 18),⁸⁹ and *Tahsīn al-qabīḥ* to *al-shaykh al-sayyid* Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Karajī (see 24, 26).⁹⁰

Ed. I. Ṣāliḥ, Damascus: Majmaʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya, 1983 (repr. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Muʿāṣir, 1990); ed. H. Nājī and Z. Gh. Zāhid, Baghdad: Maṭbaʿat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāqī, 1985 (repr. Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1996).

28- *Thimār al-qulūb fi-l-mudāf wa-l-mansūb* = *al-Mudāf wa-l-mansūb* (29) (*)(**)

This is an alphabetically-arranged lexicon of two-word phrases and clichés, dedicated in the introduction to his friend, the Nīshāpūrī notable Abū l-Faḍl al-Mikālī (see 5, 6, 7, 15, 20, 23, 28, 92). Al-Jādir dates this after year 421/1030 because al-Thaʿālibī mentions the death of Sulṭān Maḥmūd al-Ghaznawī which occurred that year.⁹¹ Al-Jādir adds a list of later abridgments of the work.⁹² T. R. Topuzoğlu mentions at least fourteen manuscripts of the book available in Istanbul under this title.⁹³

Beirut: *Majallat al-Mashriq* 12 (1900) (ch. four with intro.); ed. M. Abū Shādī, Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Zāhir, 1908; ed. M. A. Ibrāhīm, Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, 1965 (repr. Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1985); ed. I. Ṣāliḥ, Damascus: Dār al-Bashāʿir, 1994 (repr. Cairo: Maktabat al-Mutanabbī, 1998); trsl. (Persian) Riḍā Anzābī Nizhād, Mashhad: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Firdawsī, 1998; ed. Q. al-Ḥusayn, Beirut: Dār wa-Maktabat al-Hilāl, 2003.

⁸⁸ See *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, 239, and for the full argument see al-Thaʿālibī, *al-Tawfiq li-l-talfiq*, ed. I. Ṣāliḥ, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Muʿāṣir, 1990, 8-9.

⁸⁹ *Mirʾāt al-murūʾāt*, 65.

⁹⁰ See al-Thaʿālibī, *Tahsīn al-qabīḥ wa-taqbiḥ al-ḥasan*, ed. Sh. al-ʿĀshūr, Baghdad: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 1981, 27.

⁹¹ See al-Jādir, “Dirāsā,” 407.

⁹² See *ibid.*, 407-8.

⁹³ Topuzoğlu, “Istanbul Manuscripts of works (other than *Yatimat al-dabr*) by Thaʿālibī,” 62-5.

29- *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsīn ahl al-‘aşr* (10) (*) (**)

This is al-Tha‘ālibī’s most celebrated work. It is a four-volume anthology of poetry and prose intended as a comprehensive survey of the entire Islamic world in the second half of the fourth/tenth century. It is arranged geographically and includes a total of 470 poets and prose writers. Al-Tha‘ālibī started composing it in the year 384/994 and dedicated it to an unnamed vizier [*aḥad al-wuzarā’*]. Al-Jādir proposes Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Kathīr, who served as vizier for Abū ‘Alī b. Sīmjurī.⁹⁴ Al-Jādir justifies the omission of the dedication in the second edition by explaining that al-Tha‘ālibī reworked the book during the reign of the Ghaznavids, who succeeded Abū ‘Alī b. Sīmjurī and opposed his vizier. Consequently, al-Tha‘ālibī did not want to alienate the Ghaznavids by mentioning a previous enemy in the preface. Al-Jādir, however, does not explain why al-Tha‘ālibī did not rededicate *al-Yatīma* to another personality.⁹⁵

Damascus: al-Maṭba‘a al-Ḥanafīyya, 1885; Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Ṣawī, 1934; ed. M. M. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Tijāriyya al-Kubrā, 1946 (repr. Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Sa‘āda, 1956; Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1973); ed. M. M. Qumayḥa, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1983 (repr. 2000, 2002).

30- *Al-Yawāqīt fī ba‘ḍ al-mawāqīt = Yawāqīt al-mawāqīt = Madḥ al-shay’ wa-dhammuh* (21) (74) (*) (**)

A compilation of prose and poetry in which praise and blame of various things are paired together. Al-Tha‘ālibī states in the introduction that he began this book in Nishāpūr, worked on it in Jurjān, reached its middle in Jurjāniyya, and completed it in Ghazna, where it was dedicated to *al-amīr al-ajall*.⁹⁶ Al-Jādir identifies him with Abū l-Muzaḥḥar Naṣr b. Nāṣir al-Dīn (see 4, 9, 15, 34), and, based on this dates the book between 400-12/1009-1021.⁹⁷ It survives in a unique manuscript joined with *al-Zarā‘if wa-l-laṭā‘if* (see 31) by Abū Naṣr al-Maqdisī.

⁹⁴ For the dedication see al-‘Utbi; 125-6; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 57-8; for the attribution see al-Jādir, “Dirāsa,” 442.

⁹⁵ The sources, arrangement and significance of this work are the subject of a PhD dissertation by Bilal Orfali, *The Art of Anthology: Al-Tha‘ālibī and His Yatīmat al-dahr*.

⁹⁶ See al-Tha‘ālibī, *al-Zarā‘if wa-l-laṭā‘if wa-l-Yawāqīt fī ba‘ḍ al-mawāqīt*, ed. N. M. M. Jād, Cairo: Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Wathā‘iq, 2006, 50.

⁹⁷ Al-Jādir, “Dirāsa,” 444.

Cairo: 1275 [1858]; Baghdad: 1282 [1865]; Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Maymaniyya al-Wahbiyya, 1296 [1878] (repr. 1307/1889 and 1323 /1906); Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿĀmira, 1325 [1908]; Beirut: Dār al-Manāhil, 1992; ed. ʿA. Y. al-Jamal, Cairo: Maktabat al-Ādāb, 1993; ed. N. M. M. Jād, Cairo: Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Wathāʾiq, 2006.

31- *Al-Zarāʾif wa-l-laṭāʾif* = *al-Laṭāʾif wa-l-ẓarāʾif* = *al-Ṭarāʾif wa-l-laṭāʾif* = *al-Maḥāsīn wa-l-addād* (16) (*) (**)

As in no. 30, this compilation presents poetry and prose in paired praise and blame. It survives in a unique manuscript combined with *al-Yawāqīt fī baʿḍ al-mawāqīt* put together by the copyist Abū Naṣr al-Maḥdisī and re-titled as *al-Laṭāʾif wa-l-ẓarāʾif*.

See no. 30 for editions.

II- Printed, Authenticity Doubtful

32- *Al-Ashbāh wa-l-naẓāʾir*

In this work on homonyms in the Qurʾān, only al-Thaʿālibī's *nisba* is mentioned on the first page as follows: “*wāḥid dabriḥ wa-farīd ʿaṣriḥ, raʾs al-nubalāʾ wa-tāj al-fuḍalāʾ al-Thaʿālibī.*” Al-Jādir rejects the attribution of the work to al-Thaʿālibī without justification.⁹⁸ Supporting the contrary view, al-Thaʿālibī did show interest in philological work in his *Fiqh al-luġha* (see 7), *al-Tamthīl wa-l-muḥādara* (see 25), and *Thimār al-qulūb* (see 28) and in the Qurʾānic text in his *al-Iqtibās* (see 9). The text, thus, quoting no poetry or prose later than the fourth century, could have been al-Thaʿālibī's. However, the author, calls a certain ʿAlī b. ʿUbaydallāh “*shaykhunā,*” whose name appears nowhere as a teacher or a source of al-Thaʿālibī.

Ed. M. al-Miṣrī, Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1984.

33- *Al-Nuḥya fī-l-ṭard wa-l-ghunya*

Al-Jādir mentions this title as being attributed to al-Thaʿālibī and printed twice in Mecca, 1301 [1883-4] and Cairo, 1326 [1908]. It is dedicated to

⁹⁸ Al-Jādir, *al-Thaʿālibī*, 124.

the Khwārizmshāh (see 2. 6, 11, 14, 22, 56) and, according to al-Jādir, was composed between years 403-7/1012-1016.⁹⁹ He does not state whether he inspected a copy.¹⁰⁰

34- *Tā' rīkh ghurar al-siyar* = *al-Ghurar fī siyar al-mulūk wa-akhbārihim* = *Ghurar akhbār mulūk al-Furs wa-siyarihim* = *Ghurar mulūk al-Furs* = *Ṭabaqāt al-Mulūk* (22) (**)

A universal history which, according to Ḥajjī Khalīfa, extends from the creation to the author's own time. Four manuscripts are known to exist. The first of these, dated 597/1201 or 599/1203, is preserved in the library of Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pāshā in Istanbul. The second and third manuscripts are in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, Fonds arabe 1488 and Fonds arabe 5053. The fourth is MS Zāhiriyya 14479 dated to 1112/1700 and entitled *Ṭabaqāt al-mulūk*. Only the first half of the work, up to the caliphate of Abū Bakr has survived, thereof only the section dealing with pre-Islamic Persian history is published. It is dedicated to Abū l-Muẓaffar Naṣr b. Sebūktigin, Sāmānid governor of Khurāsān (d. 412/1021) (see 4, 9, 15) and according to the editor, is probably written between 408/1017 and 412/1021. The name which Brockelmann gives for the author appears to be an artificial construction. One manuscript calls the author al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Marghānī. Another manuscript, inserts the name Abū Maṣṣūr in several passages in which the author refers to himself. The name Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Marghānī al-Tha'ālibī does not appear in the sources of the fourth/tenth century, which made Brockelmann reject the attribution to 'Abd al-Malik al-Tha'ālibī.¹⁰¹ On stylistic grounds, and from the appearance of certain characteristic locutions, Franz Rosenthal followed Zotenberg, in identifying the author with 'Abd al-Malik al-Tha'ālibī. Both explained al-Marghānī's name which appears in only one manuscript, as a scribal error.¹⁰² C. E. Bosworth, in a personal communication, notes that Rosenthal later changed his

⁹⁹ Idem, "Dirāsa," 441.

¹⁰⁰ I was not able to find any information about this work.

¹⁰¹ See C. Brockelmann, *GAL* SI, 581-2; idem, "al-Tha'ālibī Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Maraghānī," *EP* VIII: 732b.

¹⁰² F. Rosenthal, "From Arabic books and manuscripts: III. The Author of the *Ġurar as-siyar*," *JAOS*, 70 [1950], 181-2. Rowson and Bonebakker note that the instances of the phrase "Satan made me forget" (*ansānibi al-shayṭān*) in the *Yatīma* should be added to those cited by Rosenthal from the *Tatimmat al-Yatīma* and *Fiqh al-lughā* as helping to confirm al-Tha'ālibī's authorship of the *Ghurar al-siyar* where the phrase also occurs, see E. Rowson & S. A. Bonebakker, *A Computerized Listing of Biographical Data from the Yatīmat al-Dabr by al-Tha'ālibī*, Malibu: UNDENA Publications, 1980, 23.

opinion.¹⁰³ Al-Jādir also attributes the work to al-Tha‘ālibī, citing among his further evidence an *isnād* to Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī (d. 383/993), one of al-Tha‘ālibī’s main sources.¹⁰⁴

Ed. H. Zotenberg, Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1900 (repr. Tehran: M. H. Asadī, 1963; Amsterdam: APA Oriental Press, 1979); trsl. M. Hidāyat, Tehran: 1369/1949 (entitled *Shāhnāmā-i Tha‘ālibī*); (repr. Tih-rān: Asāṭir 1385 [2006]); trsl. Muḥammad Faḍā’ilī [Tehran]: Nashr-i Nuqra, 1368 [1989-90].

35- *Tarjamat al-kātib fi ādāb al-ṣāhib* (43)

A work on friendship, not mentioned in primary sources. Al-Tha‘ālibī’s name appears on most of the manuscripts. The book foregrounds *muḥdath* and contemporary poetry; no material later than al-Tha‘ālibī’s life span appears; and a good number of the *akhbār* can be found in other works of al-Tha‘ālibī. His authorship is possible.

Ed. ‘A. Dh. Zāyid, ‘Ammān: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa, 2001.

36- *Tuḥfat al-wuzarā’* (17)

This is a work on vizierate and its practices with quotations from famous viziers, replete with poetic quotations. It consists of five chapters on the origin of viziership; its virtues and benefits; its customs, claims, and necessities; its divisions; and reports concerning the most competent viziers. After dedicating a work entitled *al-Mulūkī* to the Khwārizmshāh, the author dedicates this new work to Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥamdūnī. The editors of the work, Ḥ. ‘A. al-Rāwī and I. M. al-Ṣaffār, consider the work al-Tha‘ālibī’s with some additions by a later scribe, to account for material that belongs to a much later period.¹⁰⁵ However, H. Nājī argues that the supposed additions harmonize with the surrounding *akhbār* in the chapter, and are original. Nājī also disputes the historicity of al-Ḥamdūnī, [*shakhsīyya lā wujūda lahā tarikhīyyan*], and holds that no work entitled *al-Mulūkī* by al-Tha‘ālibī survives. Nājī states that the introduction of the work is identical with that of the sixth/twelfth century *al-Tadhkira al-ḥamdūniyya* by Ibn Ḥamdūn (d. 562/1167). Nājī, moreover, points out errors of attributions and content that al-Tha‘ālibī could

¹⁰³ See C. E. Bosworth, “al-Tha‘ālibī, Abū Maṣṣūr,” *EPX*: 425b.

¹⁰⁴ See al-Jādir, “Dirāsa,” 419.

¹⁰⁵ See al-Tha‘ālibī, *Tuḥfat al-wuzarā’*, ed. Ḥ. ‘A. al-Rāwī and I. M. al-Ṣaffār, Baghdad: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 1977, 22ff.

not have committed in his opinion. He thus considers the text instead as an independent work of the seventh/thirteenth century.¹⁰⁶

Nājī's argument fails to convince for a number of reasons. First, although the introduction of *Tuḥfat al-wuzarā'* appears in al-*Tadhkira al-Ḥamdūniyya*, it is not the general one, but precedes the second *bāb*.¹⁰⁷ The author of the *Tuḥfa* may have copied al-*Tadhkira* or *vice versa*. Moreover, *Tuḥfat al-wuzarā'* includes three chapters that are taken from al-Tha'ālibī's *Ādāb al-mulūk* (see 2). Thus, al-Tha'ālibī is certainly the author of a good part of the work, and, as attested above, he has reworked not infrequently previously circulated books. In addition to these three (recycled?) chapters, the work includes several quotations from al-Tha'ālibī's other works, including his own poetry. Moreover, the dedicatee, Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥamdūnī, could very well be Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid, to whom al-Tha'ālibī dedicated *Aḥsan mā samī'tu* (see 3), and who served as a vizier of the Khwārizmshāh Ma'mūn b. Ma'mūn as noted above. Finally, the introduction of *Ādāb al-mulūk* mentions *al-Mulūkī* as one of the variant titles al-Tha'ālibī had thought of giving to the work, and it is indeed dedicated to the Khwārizmshāh, as he indicates in the introduction of *Tuḥfat al-wuzarā'*. Evidence supports the hypothesis that the book is a reworking of al-Tha'ālibī's *Ādāb al-mulūk* and perhaps of another author's work on viziership.

Ed. R. Heinecke, Beirut: Dār al-Qalam, 1975; ed. Ḥ. 'A. al-Rāwī and I. M. al-Ṣaffār, Baghdad: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 1977 (repr. Cairo: Dār al-Āfāq al-'Arabiyya, 2000; ed. S. Abū Dayya, 'Ammān: Dār al-Bashā'ir, 1994; ed. Ibtisām Marhūn al-Ṣaffār, 'Ammān: Jidārā li-l-Kitāb al-'Ālamī 2009. Baghdad: Maṭba'at al-'Ānī, 2002; Beirut: al-Dār al-'Arabiyya li-l-Mawsū'āt, 2006.

III. Printed, Authenticity rejected

37- *Al-Ādāb*

Al-Jādir mentions three manuscripts of the work: MS 'Arif Ḥikmat 1171-H-*adab*, MS Vatican 1462, and MS Atef Efendi 2231,¹⁰⁸ while Nājī mentions

¹⁰⁶ See H. Nājī, "Ḥawla kitāb Tuḥfat al-wuzarā' al-mansūb li-l-Tha'ālibī," in *Buḥūth fi l-naqd al-turāthī*, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1994, 211-7.

¹⁰⁷ See Ibn Ḥamdūn, *al-Tadhkira al-Ḥamdūniyya*, ed. I. 'Abbās & B. 'Abbās, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1996, 1: 237.

¹⁰⁸ See al-Jādir, "Dirāsa," 391.

only the last two.¹⁰⁹ The three manuscripts are attributed to al-Tha‘alibī. In addition, MS Leiden 478, and in the Garrett collection MS Princeton 205 and MS Princeton 5977, are of the same work with the first two attributed to Ibn Shams al-Khilāfa (d. 622/1225). MS Chester Beatty 4759/2 entitled *Majmū‘ fī-l-ḥikam wa-l-ādāb* contains the same work. The title in MS Princeton 5977 is changed by one of the readers from *al-Ādāb* to *Majmū‘ fī-l-ḥikam wa-l-ādāb*. The incipit of the manuscript contains both titles; the author says: “*ammā ba‘d fa-hādhā majmū‘un fī-l-ḥikami wa-l-ādāb... wa-‘anwantuhu bi-kitāb al-Ādāb.*” The work has been edited by M. A. al-Khānjī based on one other manuscript located in the personal library of Aḥmad Effendi Āghā and attributed to Ja‘far b. Shams al-Khilāfa.

Ed. M. A. al-Khānjī, Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Sa‘āda, 1930 (repr. Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Khānjī, 1993).

38- *Aḥāsīn kalim al-nabiyy wa-l-ṣaḥāba wa-l-tābi‘īn wa-mulūk al-jāhiliyya wa-mulūk al-Islām*

This is a title in the Leiden MS Codex Orientalis 1042, of which al-Samarrai published the first section. The *Aḥāsīn* occupies fols. 62a-108b. Al-Jādir believes this is an abridgement of *al-Ījāz wa-l-ījāz* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209).¹¹⁰ Muḥammad Zaynahum published the work based on two manuscripts in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya and Ma‘had al-Makḥṭūṭat al-‘Arabiyya.

Ed. and trsl. (Latin) J. Ph. Valetton, Leiden: 1844; ed. M. Zaynahum, Cairo: al-Dār al-Thaqāfiyya, 2006.

39- *Al-Barq al-wamiḍ ‘alā al-baghīḍ al-musammā bi-l-naqīḍ*

Madgharī mentions a work with this title printed in Qāzān in 1305/1887.¹¹¹ I was not able to locate the printed text, but the MS Azhar 10032 under this title is the work of Hārūn b. Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Marjānī.

40- *Durar al-ḥikam*

Al-Jādir examined MS Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya 5107-*adab* under this title attributed to al-Tha‘alibī, and rejected the authorship of al-Tha‘alibī based on

¹⁰⁹ See intro. of *al-Anīs fī gḥurar al-tajnis*, 26.

¹¹⁰ See al-Jādir, “Dirāsa,” 393.

¹¹¹ See intro. of *Mir‘āt al-murū‘āt*, 32.

a colophon indicating that the work was compiled by Yāqūt al-Mustaʿī (al-Mustaʿīmī?) in 631/1233.¹¹² The work has been published based on two related manuscripts. The work is a collection of maxims, mostly from the Arabic tradition, and includes poetry and Ḥadīth. No internal evidence supports the authorship of al-Thaʿālibī.

Ed. Y. ʿA al-Wahhāb, Ṭanṭa: Dār al-Ṣaḥāba li-l-Turāth, 1995.

41- *Al-Farāʿid wa-l-qalāʿid = al-Amthāl = Aḥāsīn al-maḥāsīn = al-ʿIqd al-naḥīs wa-nuzhat al-jalīs*

This title had been attributed to al-Thaʿālibī already in al-Kalāʾīs list. The printed text, however, is not al-Thaʿālibī's but that of Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ahwāzī (d. 428/1036) (see 66),¹¹³ as indicated in a number of manuscripts. Moreover, as al-Jādir points out, al-Thaʿālibī himself quotes from it in his *Siḥr al-balāgha* (see 23), attributing it to al-Ahwāzī.¹¹⁴

In *Majmūʿat khams rasāʿil*, Istanbul: 1301 [1883-4] (repr. 1325/1907; Najaf, 1970) (entitled *Aḥāsīn al-maḥāsīn*); Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Adabiyya, 1301 [1883-4]; Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya al-Kubrā [1909] (entitled *Kitāb al-Amthāl al-musammā bi-l-Farāʿid wa-l-qalāʿid wa-yusammā ayḍan bi-l-ʿIqd al-naḥīs wa-nuzhat al-jalīs*); Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Taqaddum al-Tijāriyya, 1327 [1910] (entitled *al-Amthāl* and attributed to ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Rukhkhajī).

42- *Al-Jawāhir al-ḥisān fī taḥsīr al-Qurʾān = Taḥsīr al-Thaʿālibī*

This is a work of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Makhlūf al-Jazāʾirī al-Thaʿālibī (d. 873-5/1468-70). The name of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Thaʿālibī is found on many manuscripts of the work because of the identical *nisba*.

al-Jazāʾir: A. B. M. al-Turkī, 1905-1909; Beirut: Muʿassasat al-ʿAlamī li-l-Maṭbūʿāt, n.d.; ed. ʿA. al-Ṭālibī, al-Jazāʾir: al-Muʿassasa al-Waṭaniyya li-l-Kitāb, 1985; ed. M. ʿA. Muḥammad, ʿA. M. ʿA. Aḥmad, and A. A. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth, 1997; ed. M. al-Fāḍilī. Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣriyya, 1997.

¹¹² See al-Jādir, "Dirāsa," 410-1.

¹¹³ See his biography in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1966, 2: 218.

¹¹⁴ Al-Jādir, "Dirāsa," 421.

43- *Makārim al-akhlāq*

This work published by Louis Cheikho is a selection by an unknown author from al-Ahwāzī's *al-Farā'id wa-l-qalā'id* (see 41, 66). Another manuscript under this title, which seems to be an authentic work of al-Tha'libī, is discussed in no. 66.

Ed. L. Cheikho. Beirut: *Majallat al-Mashriq*, 1900.

44- *Mu'nis al-wahīd wa-nuzhat al-mustafīd*

Al-Jādir ascertains that this printed work has no connection with al-Tha'libī and is in fact part of *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'* by al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (see 51, 71).¹¹⁵

Trsl. Gustav Flügel, *Der vertraute Gefährte des Einsamen: in schlagfertigen Gegenreden*, von Abu Manssur Abdu'lmelik ben Mohammed ben Ismail Ertse'ālibi aus Nisabur, übersetzt, berichtet und mit Anmerkungen erläutert, Vienna: Anton Edlern von Schmid, 1829.

45- *al-Muntakhab fī mahāsin ash'ār al-'Arab*

This anthology is the work of an anonymous author possibly from the fourth/tenth century. It includes ninety-six *qaṣīdas* and four *urjūzas*, several of which are not found anywhere else.

Ed. 'Ā. S. Jamāl, Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1994.

46- *Natā'ij al-mudhākara* (94)

Al-Jādir mentions a manuscript of this work in Medina, MS 'Ārif Ḥikmat 31-*Majāmi'*, where al-Tha'libī's name appears on the front page of the codex.¹¹⁶ I. Ṣāliḥ edited the work, attributing it to Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Munjīb b. Sulaymān (d. 542/1148). Ṣāliḥ bases this attribution to the text's various *isnāds*, which indicate that the author is Fātimid, and to a reference to a *Risāla* by al-Ṣayrafī.¹¹⁷ Also, supporting this attribution is the fact that the first work bound in the same codex is al-Ṣayrafī's.

¹¹⁵ See *ibid.*, 439.

¹¹⁶ See *ibid.*, 439.

¹¹⁷ See for the complete argument: introduction of Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *K. Natā'ij al-mudhākara*, ed. I. Ṣāliḥ, Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir, 1999, 9-10.

Ed. I. Şālih, Damascus: Dār al-Bashā'ir, 1999.

47- *Rawḍat al-Faṣāḥa*

This work is falsely attributed to al-Tha'ālibī by M. I. Salīm. Despite the scant evidence supporting the attribution to al-Tha'ālibī in the introduction of the work—mainly the start with *barā'at al-istihlāl*¹¹⁸ [excellent exordium] coined with Qur'ānic quotations, the emphasis on brevity and the worth of the book—it includes numerous quotations by later authors, including al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) and al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144).

Ed. M. I. Salīm, Cairo: Maktabat al-Qur'ān, 1994.

48- *al-Shakwā wa-l-'itāb wa-mā li-l-khillān wa-l-aṣḥāb*

The work, as the editor I. 'A. al-Muftī notes, is a selection of *Rabī' al-abrār of al-Zamakhsharī*.¹¹⁹

Ṭanṭa: Dār al-Şaḥaba li-l-Turāth, 1992; ed. I. 'A. al-Muftī, Kuwait: al-Majlis al-Waṭanī li-l-Thaqāfa, 2000; Kuwait: Kulliyat al-Tarbiya al-Asāsiyya, 2000.

49- *al-Tahānī wa-l-tā'āzī*

The work, which translates as “congratulations and condolences,” is a manual of etiquette furnishing examples of appropriate responses to particular occasions and situations (see 79). Topuzoğlu mentions one manuscript of this work attributed to al-Tha'ālibī in MS Bayezid Umumi Veliyuddin Efendi 2631/3.¹²⁰ Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Baṭshān edited the work using two other incomplete manuscripts and attributes it, rightly, to Abū Manşūr Muḥammad b. Sahl b. al-Marzubān (d. after 340/951) based on several

¹¹⁸ Al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī defines the term *barā'at al-istihlāl* as follows: “*barā'at al-istihlāl* occurs when the author makes a statement at the beginning of his work to indicate the general subject before entering into the details,” see al-Jurjānī, *K. al-Ta'rīfāt*, 64. See also for *barā'at al-istihlāl* al-Qalqashandī, *Şubḥ al-a'shā* 11: 73ff; for the use of *barā'at al-istihlāl* in al-Tha'ālibī's works see B. Orfali, “The Art of the *Muqaddima*,” 201-2.

¹¹⁹ See intro. of al-Tha'ālibī (falsely attributed), *al-Shakwā wa-l-'itāb wa-mā waqā'a li-l-khillān wa-l-aṣḥāb*, ed. I. 'A. al-Muftī, Kuwait: al-Majlis al-Waṭanī li-l-Thaqāfa, 2000, 20ff.

¹²⁰ T. R. Topuzoğlu, “Istanbul Manuscripts of works (other than *Yatimat al-Dahr*) by Tha'ālibī,” 67-7.

quotations found in his other works.¹²¹ The four other works in the same codex are all by al-Marzubān.

Ed. I. al-Baṭshān, Buraydah: Nādī al-Qaṣīm al-Adabī, 2003.

50- *Tuhfat al-ẓurafāʾ wa-fākihāt al-luṭafāʾ* (92) = *al-Daʿawāt wa-l-fuṣūl*

Al-Jādir mentions a manuscript of this work in Medina. MS ʿĀrif Ḥikmat 154 attributed to al-Thaʿālibī.¹²² However, this title was added on the cover by Muḥammad Saʿīd Mawlawī, a modern scholar, and not by the original scribe. Many of the sayings in this work can be traced to al-Thaʿālibī's various works, yet the work cannot be his because of the several references to his prose and poetry in the third person, introduced by "*wa-anshadānī Abū Maṣṣūr al-Thaʿālibī.*" More importantly, the author includes his own *qaṣīda* of ten lines, six verses of which are to be found in Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī's *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, attributed to ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/ 1075 or 6).¹²³ This caused ʿĀdil al-Furayjāt to attribute the work to al-Wāḥidī and assign it the title *al-Daʿawāt wa-l-fuṣūl* based on al-Wāḥidī's list of works and the subject of the book.¹²⁴

Al-Wāḥidī, ʿAlī b. Aḥmad. *al-Daʿawāt wa-l-fuṣūl*, ed. ʿĀ. al-Furayjāt, Damascus: ʿA. al-Furayjāt, 2005.

51- *al-Uns wa-l-ʿurs* = *Uns al-waḥīd*

MS Paris 3034 entitled *Uns al-waḥīd* (see 44, 71) and attributed to al-Thaʿālibī in the cover page is printed under the title *al-Uns wa-l-ʿurs* by Īfīn Farīd Yārd and attributed to the vizier and *kātib* Abū Saʿd Maṣṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ābī (d. 421/1030).¹²⁵ The editor bases the attribution to al-Ābī on internal and external evidence.¹²⁶

¹²¹ See also al-Ṣafadī, 3: 119.

¹²² Al-Jādir, "Dirāsa," 403.

¹²³ See his biography in Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, 1695-1664.

¹²⁴ See intro. of al-Wāḥidī, *al-Daʿawāt wa-l-fuṣūl*, ed. ʿĀ. al-Furayjāt, Damascus: ʿA. al-Furayjāt, 2005, 7-15.

¹²⁵ The work has been discussed in G. Vajda, "Une anthologie sur l'amitié attribuée à al-Thaʿālibī," *Arabica* 18 (1971), 211-3. Vajda suggests that the author is associated with the court of al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād.

¹²⁶ E. Rowson drew my attention to a lost work by Miskawayhi entitled *Uns al-farīd* which is a collection of *akhbār*, poetry, maxims, and proverbs, see al-Ṣafadī, 8: 73.

IV- In Manuscript, Authentic Works

52- *Aḥsān al-maḥāsin* (88) (*)

Jurjī Zaydān mentions two manuscripts in Paris and al-Khidīwiyya [= earlier name of *Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya*], Cairo without further reference.¹²⁷ H. Nāji identifies the Paris manuscript to be MS Paris 3036. The editors of the *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif* mention two manuscripts under this title in *Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya* without giving references.¹²⁸ H. Nāji ascertains, after examining the Paris manuscript, that the book is a fuller version of *Aḥsan mā samī'tu* (see 3), the latter forming only one fourth of the original.¹²⁹ Moreover, the *Aḥsān* includes prose along with poetry, unlike its abridgement, which contains only poetry. The longer introduction of the work is identical to the introduction of *Man ghāba 'anhu l-muṭrib* (see 17).

53- *al-Amthāl wa l-tashbihāt* (9) (*)

This work is different from *al-Farā'id wa-l-qalā'id* (see 41, 43, 66), which was printed under the title of *al-Amthāl* and falsely attributed to al-Tha'ālibī. Three manuscripts are known, MS al-Maktaba al-Aḥmadiyya 4734, MS Maktabat Khazna 1150, and MS Feyzullah 3133. Al-Jādir examined these and described the work as devoting 111 chapters to different subjects, based on proverbs from Qur'ān, *ḥadīth*, and famous Arab and non-Arab proverbs. This is then followed by poetry praising and blaming things (*madḥu l-ashyā'i wa-dhammuhā*). Al-Jādir points out the book's similarity to *al-Tamthīl wa-l-muḥāḍara*. Al-Tha'ālibī mentions in it only *al-Mubhij* among his works, which makes al-Jādir date the book among the earlier works.¹³⁰

54- *al-Amthāl wa-l-istishhādāt* (*)

The MS Aya Sofya 6824 under this title was copied by Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Aḥmad in 523/1128. The work is divided into three parts, (1) Qur'ānic proverbs and their equivalents in various cultures, (2) proverbs related to various professions, (3) select proverbs following the pattern of *af'al* and not included in the book of Abū 'Abdallāh Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan al-Iṣbahānī dedicated to this subject.

¹²⁷ See Zaydān 2: 232.

¹²⁸ See intro. of *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif*, 21.

¹²⁹ H. Nāji, *Muḥāḍarāt fī taḥqīq al-nuṣūṣ*, 145ff.

¹³⁰ See al-Jādir, "Dirāsa," 397.

55- *Asmā' al-addād*

This Najaf manuscript was examined by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āl Yāsīn, who identified it as part of *Fiqh al-lughā* (see 7).¹³¹

56- *Ghurur al-balāgha wa-durar al-faṣāḥa*

Al-Samarrai mentions MS Beṣīr Agha 150 with a colophon dedicating the work to *mawlānā l-malik al-mu'ayyad al-muza'ffar walī al-ni'am*. This titula-ture is identical with that found in *K. Ādāb al-Mulūk* (see 2) which had been composed and dedicated to the Khwārizmshāh Ma'mūn b. Ma'mūn (see 3, 6, 11, 14, 22, 33). The work should not be confused with the *Ghurur al-balāgha fi-l-naẓm wa-l-nathr = al-Ījāz wa-l-Ījāz*.

57- *Rāwḥ al-rūḥ*

Hilāl Nājī draws much poetry of al-Tha'ālibī from a manuscript entitled *Rawḥ al-rūḥ*, but does not give its reference or location (see 81). A manu-script thus titled is located in al-Maktaba al-Aḥmadiyya 1190.

58- *Saj' al-manthūr = Risālat saj' iyyāt al-Tha'ālibī = Qurādat al-dhabab*
(40) (*)

This work was first mentioned by al-Kalā'ī and others followed him. Al-Jādir mentions a manuscript of this work, MS Topkapı Ahmet III Kitāpları 2337/2; Topuzoğlu lists two more, MS Yeni Cami 1188 and MS Üniversite Arapça Yazmalar 741/1, and notes one more with the title of *Qurādat al-dhabab*, MS Bayezid Umūmī 3207/1, which al-Jādir and Nājī however list as a different work.¹³² On inspection, MS Yeni Cami 1188 and MS Bayezid Umūmī 3207/1 include an introduction matching al-Tha'ālibī's style expounding on the brevity of the work, its purpose, and method. The work includes mostly proverbs and some poetry. Its declared purpose is to be used for memorization and correspondence [*mukātabāt*]. From this it would seem that al-Tha'ālibī sees literary speech as belonging to three different registers—*nathr*, *saj'*, and *shī'r*, and the *adīb* may express the same idea in more than one

¹³¹ See *ibid.*, 394.

¹³² Topuzoğlu, "Istanbul Manuscripts of works (other than *Yatimat al-Dahr*) by Tha'ālibī," 68-9; al-Jādir, "Dirāsa," 424; intro. of *al-Anīs fi ghurur al-tajnis*, 40. The title given at the end of MS Bayezid Umūmī 3207/1 and on the first page of the codex is *Qurādat al-dhabab*. *Qurādat al-dhabab fi al-naqd* is the title of a different work by Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī.

register as al-Tha'ālibī shows here and in his *Nazm al-nathr* (see 22), and *Siḥr al-balāgha* (see 23).

59- *Zād safar al-mulūk* (**)

Al-Samarrai lists MS Chester Beatty 5067-3, thus titled and dedicated to a certain Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. Ṣahl in Ghazna.¹³³ Joseph Sadan described it as a collection of ornate prose and poetic quotes on the subject of travel.¹³⁴ The work consists of forty-six chapters on the advantages and disadvantages of all types of journeys, by land or sea; the etiquette of departure, bidding farewell, arrival, and receiving travelers; the hardships encountered while traveling such as poison, snow, frost, excessive cold, thirst, longing for the home [*al-ḥanīn ila-l-awṭān*], being a stranger [*al-ghurba*], extreme fatigue, and their appropriate cures.¹³⁵ For cures, the book offers lengthy medical recipes. Here al-Tha'ālibī demonstrates an in-depth knowledge of pharmacology and basic medicine absent in any of his other works. A short chapter on *fiqh al-safar* even discusses legal issues connected with travel, such as performing ablution, prayer and fasting while traveling. This interest in medicine and jurisprudence, though minor, raises some doubts about the attribution of the work to al-Tha'ālibī, especially since the work is mentioned neither in any biographical entry on al-Tha'ālibī nor in any of his other works. Nevertheless, internal evidence supports its attribution. First, in at least three separate instances, the work includes direct quotations from *al-Mubhij* of al-Tha'ālibī—twice introduced by the statement *wa-qultu fi K. al-Mubhij*. Second, the scribe notes that al-Tha'ālibī composed the work when he entered Ghazna. Third, the introduction of the work is typical for al-Tha'ālibī. The author employs “excellent exordium,” stating, in more than ten lines, that the appearance of the dedicatee of the work caused the author to forget the hardship of travel. Further characteristic is the list of contents, and an appeal to God to bestow infinite blessings and gifts on the patron by means of reading the book, common in al-Tha'ālibī's various works.¹³⁶ Fourth, in the first chapter the author uses more than forty clichés of two-word phrases that are easily traced to his *Thimār al-qulūb* (see 28), and which he often uses in his other works. Fifth, the author transmits poetry on the authority of al-Khwārizmī, Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī, al-Ṣūlī and others who frequently figure as oral sources of

¹³³ Al-Samarrai, 186.

¹³⁴ See J. Sadan, “Vine, Women and Seas: Some Images of the Ruler in Medieval Arabic Literature,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 34 (1989), 147.

¹³⁵ See the table of content given by al-Tha'ālibī himself in *Zād safar al-mulūk*, MS. Chester Beatty Ar. 5067-3, 43a-44b.

¹³⁶ See B. Orfali, “The Art of the *Muqaddima*,” 191-2.

al-Tha'ālibī. Sixth, a good number of lines of poetry are introduced by phrases like *wa-aḥsanu mā samī'tu* and *wa-aḥsanu mā qīla*, which are very common phrases in al-Tha'ālibī's works. More importantly, the poetry introduced by such phrases constitutes the material of his *Aḥāsīn al-maḥāsīn* (see 52) and its abridgement, *Aḥsan mā samī'tu* (see 3). Finally, the author refers to his contemporaries as "*al-ʿaṣriyyūn*," a term coined by al-Tha'ālibī and used in most of his works, and quotes no personality beyond al-Tha'ālibī's life span. These individual pieces of evidence ascertain the work's authenticity despite the absence in the primary sources.

60- *Untitled adab work* (**)

Bosworth and al-Samarrai mention an untitled *adab* work by al-Tha'ālibī in MS Paris 4201/2 written for the library of Abū Sahl al-Ḥamdūnī/al-Ḥamdawī (see 6, 13, 15, 17, 18, 23).¹³⁷

V- In Manuscript, Authenticity Uncertain

61- *Al-Anwār al-bahiyya fī ta'rīf maqāmāt fuṣaḥā' al-bariyya* (84) (**)

Al-Jādir lists this work mentioned by al-Bābānī¹³⁸ as lost, but two manuscripts exist in MS Zāhiriyya 3709, and in Maktabat Kulliyat al-Ādāb wa-l-Makhṭūṭāt in al-Kuwayt.

62- *Al-ʿAshara (al-ʿIshra) al-mukhtāra*

Hilāl Nājī, copied by al-Jādir, mentions a work attributed to al-Tha'ālibī under this title, MS Rampur 1/375-3.¹³⁹

63- *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara wa-ʿunwān al-mudhākara wa-maydān al-musāmara* (45)

MS Paris 5914 carries this title.¹⁴⁰ The work could be identical with *Al-Tamthīl wa-l-muḥāḍara* = *al-Tamaththul wa-l-muḥāḍara* = *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara* = *al-Maḥāsīn wa-l-addād* (see 25).

¹³⁷ Bosworth, *The Laṭāʾif al-Ma'ārif*, 7; al-Samarrai, 186.

¹³⁸ See al-Bābānī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿarīfīn: asmā' al-mu'allifīn wa-āthār al-muṣannifīn*, Baghdad: Maktabat al-Muthannā, 1972, 1: 625.

¹³⁹ Intro. of *al-Anīs fī ghurur al-tajnis*, 44; al-Jādir, "Dirāsa," 417.

¹⁴⁰ See E. Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection des manuscrits orientaux, arabes, persans et turcs*, formée par Charles Shefer, Paris: Leroux, 1900, 22.

64- *Injāz al-mā'rūf wa-'umdat al-malhūf*

MS Ma'had al-Makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyya 1017 in Egypt carries this title. Another manuscript mentioned by Brockelmann is Khudā Bakhsh 1399.¹⁴¹

65- *Jawāhir al-ḥikam* (86)

Al-Bābānī is the only one in the sources who mentions this title.¹⁴² Al-Jādir includes it among the lost works.¹⁴³ However, two manuscripts exist, MS Berlin 1224 and MS Princeton 2234, though they are not identical. The title in the Berlin manuscript is *Jawāhir al-ḥikma*. The text is an anthology of ten chapters which is followed by selections from *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and *al-Yawāqīt fī-l-mawāqīt* (see 30). Al-Tha'ālibī's name is mentioned in the introduction and the work includes a few quotations present in al-Tha'ālibī's other works. Its attribution is possible.

The Princeton manuscript has the title and author on the first folio. It is a collection of wise sayings in Arabic from different periods (Greek, Byzantine, Sasanian, Hermetic, Pre-Islamic and Islamic) by Solomon, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Galen, Ptolemy, Simonides, Diogenes, Pythagoras, Khosroe, Quss b. Sā'ida, etc., without any chapter-division. No internal evidence supports the attribution to al-Tha'ālibī. The work starts with a short introduction not representative of al-Tha'ālibī's style.

66- *Makārim al-akhlāq wa-maḥāsin al-ādāb wa-badā'i' al-awṣāf wa-gharā'ib al-tashbihāt*

Al-Samarrai mentions this unattributed MS Leiden 300, which he attributes to al-Tha'ālibī based on its content. The work consists of an introduction and three chapters containing an alphabetically arranged list of proverbs that al-Samarrai suggests could be the missing *K. al-Amthāl* (see 41, 53, 54) of al-Tha'ālibī mentioned in al-Ṣafadī's list.¹⁴⁴ He adds that he is in the process of preparing its edition.¹⁴⁵ The published work of Louis Cheikho (al-Machreq 1900) under this title is not al-Tha'ālibī's but selections from *al-Farā'id wa-l-qalā'id* of al-Ahwāzī (see 41, 43).

¹⁴¹ See Brockelmann, *GAL* I: 340. Brockelmann gives the name as *al-Injās* [?] *al-mā'rūf wa-'umdat al-qulūb*.

¹⁴² See al-Bābānī 1: 625.

¹⁴³ See al-Jādir, *al-Tha'ālibī*, 119.

¹⁴⁴ The title *al-Amthāl wa-l-tashbihāt* that appears in al-Ṣafadī's list most probably refers to the work described in no. 53, see al-Ṣafadī 19: 132.

¹⁴⁵ See al-Samarrai, 181-2.

67- *Mawāsīm al-‘umur*

A manuscript with this title, attributed to al-Tha‘ālibī, survives in MS Feyzullah 2133/6 in a *majmū‘a* which consists of 204-214 folios.¹⁴⁶ Brockelmann lists another, Rağıp Paşa 473 (1).¹⁴⁷

68- *Al-Muhadhdhab min ikhtiyār Dīwan Abī l-Ṭayyīb wa-aḥwālihi wa-sīratihī wa-mā jarā baynahu wa-bayna l-mulūk wa-l-shu‘arā* (44)

A manuscript under this title exists in MS Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya 18194-sh.¹⁴⁸ This work could be identical with the chapter on al-Mutanabbī in *Yatīmat al-dahr* (see 1, 16, 29).

69- *Nuzhat al-albāb wa-‘umdat al-kuttāb* = *‘Umdat al-Kuttāb* (95)

Al-Jādir identifies this work with MS ‘Arif Hikmat 271-*Majāmi‘*.¹⁴⁹ The title on the cover page is *K. ‘Umdat al-kuttāb* but the full title follows in the conclusion. Al-Tha‘ālibī’s name appears on the cover page, and the work is dedicated to *al-amīr al-kabīr* Nāṣir al-Dawla. Although the style of the book closely resembles al-Tha‘ālibī’s and some of its metaphors and phrases are common in al-Tha‘ālibī’s works, the attribution to him is unconvincing. The work consists of sixty-nine short chapters [*fuṣūl*] containing mainly artistic prose and some poetry on different topics. The first covers God, the second the Qur‘ān, and the last three are selections of sayings from Badī‘ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, al-Ṣāhib Ibn ‘Abbād, and Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī respectively. The work lacks a conclusion.

70- *Mu’nis al-waḥīd* (*)

Al-Jādir and Nājī identify MS Cambridge 1287 as *Mu’nis al-waḥīd*.¹⁵⁰ This manuscript could be identical with MS Paris 3034 carrying the title *Uns al-waḥīd* (see 51). The first title is mentioned in Ibn Khallikān and later biographical works. Al-Jādir confirms that the book published as *Mu’nis al-waḥīd wa-nuzhat al-mustafīd* is unrelated to al-Tha‘ālibī (cf. 44).

¹⁴⁶ Dānīshpazūh, *Fihrist-i Microfilmhā*, Tehran: Kitābkhāna-i-Markazī-i Dānīshgāh, 1348 A.H.), 490.

¹⁴⁷ Brockelmann, *GAL* SI: 502.

¹⁴⁸ See al-Jādir, “Dirāsa,” 438.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 439.

¹⁵⁰ Al-Jādir, “Dirāsa,” 439; intro. of *al-Anīs fī ghurar al-tajnis*, 28.

71- *Sirr al-balāgha wa-mulāḥ al-barā'a* (91) (**)

A manuscript under this title is mentioned by Aḥmad 'Ubayd and Hilāl Nājī in MS Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya 4-sh, but according to them, is different from the printed version of *Siḥr al-balāgha* (see 23).¹⁵¹

72- *Sirr al-ḥaqīqa*

Brockelmann and Hilāl Nājī point out this title in MS Feyzullah 2133/7.¹⁵² A microfilm of the same manuscript is located in MS Ma'had Iḥyā' al-Makhṭūṭat al-'Arabiyya 465. The book is the seventh work in a collection, which was copied in 1028/1619 from a MS written in 442/1050.

VI- Works in Manuscript, Authenticity Rejected73- *K. al-Ḥamd wa al-dhamm*

Topuzoğlu lists MS Bayezid Umumi Veliyuddin Efendi 2631/1 under this title.¹⁵³ Upon examination, al-Tha'ālibī's name appears on the cover, but the work, and the rest of the treatises in the codex, is the work of Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Sahl b. al-Marzubān (d. after 340/951) (see 49).¹⁵⁴ The book treats the virtue of gratitude (*shukr*).

74- *Tarājim al-Shu'arā'*

MS Ma'had Iḥyā' al-Makhṭūṭat 2281 in Jāmi'at al-Duwal al-'Arabiyya, was examined by al-Jādir who sees it as the work of a later author because it includes personalities beyond al-Tha'ālibī's lifetime. Al-Jādir further discounts the attribution to al-Tha'ālibī by the fact that the work is not structured according to geographical divisions and includes pre-Islamic and Islamic poetry.¹⁵⁵ This, by itself, is not necessarily convincing because al-Tha'ālibī shows interest in non-*muḥdath* poetry in some of his works, and does not

¹⁵¹ See intro. of al-Tha'ālibī, *Siḥr al-balāgha wa-sirr al-barā'a*, ed. A. 'Ubayd, Damascus: al-Maktaba al-'Arabiyya, 1931, 2; intro. of *al-Anīs fi ghurar al-tajnis*, 27.

¹⁵² Intro. of *al-Anīs fi ghurar al-tajnis*, 27. Brockelmann, *GAL* SI: 502.

¹⁵³ Topuzoğlu, "Istanbul Manuscripts of works (other than *Yatimat al-dabr*) by Tha'ālibī," 73.

¹⁵⁴ See also al-Ṣafadī, 3: 119.

¹⁵⁵ Al-Jādir, "Dirāsa," 404.

always rely on a geographical division. In fact, he followed the geographical order only in the *Yatima* and the *Tatimma*.

75- *Al-Anwār fī āyāt al-nabī*

Hilāl Nājī attributes MS Berlin 2083-Qu under this title to al-Tha‘ālibī.¹⁵⁶ The work is in fact by another Tha‘ālibī—Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 875/1470).

76- *K. al-Ghilmān* (37) (*)

See below no. 82.

77- *Al-Tadallī fī-l-tasallī* (93)

Al-Jādir mentions under this title MS ‘Arif Ḥikmat 31-*Majāmi‘* which he did not examine. The manuscript mentions al-Tha‘ālibī right after the *basmala*: “*qāla* Abū Maṣū‘ ‘Abd al-Malik al-Tha‘ālibī.” The work published under this title in *K. al-Afdaliyyāt*, a collection of seven letters by Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. Munjib b. Sulaymān Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (d. 542/1147), edited by Walīd Qaṣṣāb and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Mānī, is based on another manuscript, MS Fatih 5410. MS ‘Arif Ḥikmat differs from the published one in including additional pages on the subject of *rithā’* before the conclusion. Confusingly, these five pages include three lines attributed to the author of the book in consolation of the Khwārizmshāh [*li-mu‘allif al-kitāb fī ta‘ziyat Khwārizmshāh*], and these lines are by al-Tha‘ālibī himself as attested in his *Aḥsan mā samī‘tu* (see 3).¹⁵⁷ Since Ibn Sinān al-Khafājī (d. 466/1073), among a few other later poets, is quoted throughout the book, the work cannot be al-Tha‘ālibī’s. The additional five pages could have been added by a later scribe since all the poems quoted there belong to one subject. The poems surrounding the three quoted lines of al-Tha‘ālibī are the same as those in *Aḥsan mā samī‘tu*. The later scribe thus added material to the original work and, intentionally or mistakenly, copied a

¹⁵⁶ Intro. of *al-Anīs fī ghurur al-tajnis*, 26.

¹⁵⁷ The full quotation in al-Tha‘ālibī, *Aḥsan mā samī‘tu*, eds. A. ‘A. Tammām & S. ‘Aṣim, Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1989, 142 is:

وقال مؤلف الكتاب للامير أبي العباس [خوارزمشاه] (من مخلع البسيط):

قل للمليك الأجل قدرا	لازلت بدرا تحمل صدرا
إنني أعزيتك عن عزيز	كان لرئيب الزمان عذرا
وكان طهرا فصار أجرا	وكان ظهرا فصار دُخرا

whole page of *Aḥsan mā sami'tu* of al-Tha'ālibī, leaving unchanged the phrase *li-mu'allif hādha-l-kitāb*, which precedes the three lines of al-Tha'ālibī. The inclusion of the three lines led to the later misattribution of the whole work to al-Tha'ālibī.

78- *Ṭarā'if al-ṭuraf*

Brockelmann mentions several manuscripts for this work.¹⁵⁸ Al-Jādir finds in MS Köprülü 1326 personalities posterior to al-Tha'ālibī, such as al-Abīwardī (d. 507/1113), al-Khayyām (d. 515/1121) and al-'Imād al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1200), and based on this he rejects its attribution to al-Tha'ālibī.¹⁵⁹

79- *Rusūm al-balāgha*

Topuzoğlu mentions under this title MS Yeni Cami 1188/1.¹⁶⁰ It is an abridgment of *al-Tabānī wa-l-tā'āzī*, which is not by al-Tha'ālibī's but by Abū Maṣṣūr b. al-Marzubān (d. after 340/951) (see 49).

VII- Works Surviving in (and Re-assembled from) Quotations

80- *Dīwān Abī l-Ḥasan al-Laḥḥām* (11)

This work is mentioned by al-Tha'ālibī in *al-Yatīma* where he reports searching in vain for a *dīwān* of al-Laḥḥām's poetry, and took it upon himself to produce one. He then states that he later chose suitable quotations for his *al-Yatīma*.¹⁶¹

81- *Dīwān al-Tha'ālibī* (49)

Al-Bākhazrī mentions that he saw a volume [*mujallada*] of al-Tha'ālibī's poetry and used selections from it in his anthology.¹⁶² 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥulw has tried to reconstruct this lost work. Al-Jādir then corrected misattributions in al-Ḥulw's edition and added further verse. He revised it once more and

¹⁵⁸ Brockelmann, "Tha'ālibī," *El'* VIII: 731a.

¹⁵⁹ See al-Jādir, "Dirāsa," 416.

¹⁶⁰ Topuzoğlu, "Istanbul Manuscripts of works (other than *Yatīmat al-dabr*) by Tha'ālibī," 67-7.

¹⁶¹ See *Yatīma* 4: 102.

¹⁶² See al-Bākhazrī, *Dumyat al-qaṣr*, 967.

published it under *Dīwān al-Tha'ālibī*. H. Nājī adds a further 152 lines by al-Tha'ālibī from four works not included by al-Jādir—*Aḥāsīn al-maḥāsīn*, *Rawḥ al-rūḥ*, *Zād safar al-mulūk*, *al-Tawfiq li-l-talfiq*.¹⁶³ Bilal Orfali presents a further addendum to the *Dīwān* of al-Tha'ālibī.¹⁶⁴

‘A. F. al-Ḥulw, “Shi‘r al-Tha'ālibī,” *Majallat al-Mawrid* 6 (1977); M. ‘A. al-Jādir, “Shi‘r al-Tha'ālibī—dirāsa wa istidrāk,” *Majallat al-Mawrid* 8 (1979); H. Nājī, “al-Mustadrak ‘alā ṣunnā‘ al-dawāwīn,” *al-Mawrid* 15 (1986); ed. and collected by M. ‘A. al-Jādir, Beirut: ‘Ālam al-Kutub and al-Naḥḍa al-‘Arabīyya, 1988 (Under *Dīwān al-Tha'ālibī*, revision of al-Jādir 1979).

82- *K. al-Ghilmān = Alf ghulām = al-Taghazzul bi-mi' atay ghulām* (37) (*) (**)

Cited by Ibn Khallikān, al-Ṣafadī, al-Kutubī, and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba as *K. al-Ghilmān*. Ibn Bassām, who quotes two texts thereof, calls it *Alf ghulām*.¹⁶⁵ Al-Tha'ālibī himself in *Tatimmat al-Yatīma* describes a work in which he composed *ghazal* for two hundred boys” [*al-taghazzul bi-mi' atay ghulām*].¹⁶⁶ Jurjī Zaydān locates two extant manuscripts, Berlin and Escorial without further details.¹⁶⁷ MS Berlin 8334 is not al-Tha'ālibī's since most of the poems derive from the Mamlūk period.

83- *Ghurar al-nawādir*

One quotation survives in *Akhhbār al-ḥamqā wa-l-mughaffalīn* of Ibn al-Jawzī.¹⁶⁸ This work could be identical with *al-Mulaḥ al-nawādir* (see 108) or ‘*Uyūn al-nawādir* (see 128).

84- *Ḥashw al-lawzīnaj* (36)

Al-Tha'ālibī mentions this work in *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ* (see 10) and, in more detail, in *Thimār al-qulūb* (see 28).¹⁶⁹ Other examples in *Thimār al-qulūb*, *Fiqh*

¹⁶³ See H. Nājī, “al-Mustadrak ‘alā ṣunnā‘ al-dawāwīn,” *al-Mawrid* 15 (1986), 199-210.

¹⁶⁴ B. Orfali, “An Addendum to the *Dīwān* of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ta'ālibī,” *Arabica* 56 (2009), 440-449.

¹⁶⁵ Al-Shantarīnī, *al-Dhakhīra fī maḥāsīn abl al-jazīra*, ed. I. ‘Abbās, Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1979, 4: 72.

¹⁶⁶ See *Tatimmat*, 277.

¹⁶⁷ Jurjī Zaydān 2: 332.

¹⁶⁸ See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Akhhbār al-ḥamqā wa-l-mughaffalīn*, ed. M. A. Farshūkh, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, 1990, 41.

¹⁶⁹ See *Thimār al-qulūb*, 610, al-Tha'ālibī, *Khāṣṣ al-Khāṣṣ*, 128.

al-lughā (see 7), and *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ* are most probably part of this work too.¹⁷⁰ The book's title plays on a pastry. In *Thimār al-qulūb* he describes the book as *ṣaghīr al-jirm laṭīf al-ḥajm* [short in dimension, light in size], he then cites an example. While the term "*hashw*" [insertion] usually has negative connotations, the book deals with "enhancing insertion." The poetic analogy with the *lawzīnaj*—the almond filling being tastier than the outer crust¹⁷¹—appears first in al-Tha'ālibī's works, although the examples in prose and verse go back to the pre-Islamic, Islamic and 'Abbāsid periods. The literary application of the term is to al-Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād, according to al-Tha'ālibī,¹⁷² and used to describe an added, though dispensable, phrase that embellishes a sentence.

85- *al-Luma' al-ghaḍḍa* (52) (*)

One quotation from this work survives in *al-Tadwīn fī akhbār Qazwīn* of 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Rāfi'ī al-Qazwīnī (d. 622/1226). The quotation is a *khabar* on the authority of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Maṣṣīṣī about Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī and Abū 'Alī al-Hā'im.¹⁷³

86- *al-Siyāsa* (3) (*)

This work appears in al-Ṣafadī's list and al-Tha'ālibī mentions it in *Ajnās al-tajnis*, (see 4) quoting one saying from it on royal duties.¹⁷⁴

VIII- Lost works

87- *al-Adab mimmā li-l-nās fīhi arab* (54) (*)

88- *Afrād al-mā'ānī* (55) (*)

89- *al-Aḥāsīn min badā'i' al-bulaghā'* (53) (*)

90- *Bahjat al-mushtāq (al-'ushshāq?)* (58) (*)

91- *al-Barā'a fī-l-takallum wa-l-ṣinā'a* (42) (**)¹⁷⁵

92- *Faḍl man ismuhu l-Faḍl* (2)¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁰ See *Thimār al-qulūb*, 610-2; *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, 128; *Fiqh al-lughā*, 260-2.

¹⁷¹ See *Thimār al-qulūb*, 611; *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, 128, and *Fiqh al-lughā*, 261.

¹⁷² See *Fiqh al-lughā*, 262; *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, 128.

¹⁷³ Al-Rāfi'ī al-Qazwīnī, *K. al-Tadwīn fī akhbār Qazwīn*, ed. 'A. al-'Uṭarīdī, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1987, 1: 36.

¹⁷⁴ *Ajnās al-tajnis*, 51.

¹⁷⁵ See al-Jādir, "Dirāsa," 400; and al-Samarrai, 186.

¹⁷⁶ Al-Tha'ālibī mentions this work in *Yatīma* 3: 433 and *Thimār al-qulūb*, 393, where he states having composed it for Abū l-Faḍl al-Mikālī.

- 93- *al-Farā'id wa-l-qalā'id* (*)¹⁷⁷
 94- *al-Fuṣūl al-fārisiyya* (71) (*)
 95- *Ghurar al-maḍāḥik* (51) (*)
 96- *Hujjat al-'aql* (61) (*)
 97- *al-Ihdā' wa-l-istihdā'*¹⁷⁸
 98- *Jawāmi' al-kalim* (60) (*)
 99- *Khaṣā'is al-buldān* (27) (**)¹⁷⁹
 100- *Khaṣā'is al-faḍā'il* (62) (*)
 101- *al-Khwārazmiyyāt* (63) (*)¹⁸⁰
 102- *al-Laṭīf fi l-ṭīb* (24) (*) (**)¹⁸¹
 103- *Lubāb al-aḥāsīn* (73) (*)
 104- *Madḥ al-shay' wa-dhammuh* (*)
 105- *al-Madīḥ* (*)
 106- *Man ghāba 'anhu l-mu'nis* (80) (*)¹⁸²
 107- *Miftāḥ al-faṣāḥa* (76) (*)
 108- *al-Mulaḥ al-nawādir* (48),¹⁸³
 109- *al-Mulaḥ wa-l-ṭuraf* (77) (*)
 110- *Munādamat al-mulūk* (79) (*)¹⁸⁴
 111- *al-Mushriq (al-mashūq?)* (14) (*)¹⁸⁵
 112- *Nasīm al-uns* (81) (*)
 113- *al-Nawādir wa-l-bawādir* (82) (*)
 114- *Ṣan'at al-shī'r wa-l-nathr* (67) (*)
 115- *K. al-Shams* (66) (*)¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁷ Mentioned already in al-Kalā'īs list and perhaps a lost work, different from that of al-Ahwāzī.

¹⁷⁸ See *Mir'āt al-murū'āt*, 134.

¹⁷⁹ The title was mentioned only by al-Tha'ālibī in *Thimār al-qulūb* stating that the work is on the characteristics of the different countries and is also dedicated to *al-amīr al-sayyid*, i.e. al-Mikālī; see al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, 545. Al-Jādir notes that *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif* of al-Tha'ālibī also includes a chapter on the same subject; see al-Jādir, "Dirāsāt," 410. H. Nājī mentions that Muḥammad Jabbar al-Mu'ayyid has found a section of this book in Berlin which he is editing, see intro. of *al-Tawfiq li-l-talfiq*, 34.

¹⁸⁰ This could be the *Ādāb al-mulūk* (see 2).

¹⁸¹ Mentioned in *al-I'jāz wa-l-ijāz* as dedicated to Abū Aḥmad Maṣṣūr b. Muḥammad al-Harawī al-Azdī in 412/1021, see *al-I'jāz wa-l-ijāz*, 17.

¹⁸² Perhaps identical with *Man ghāba 'anhu l-muṭrib* (see 17), although al-Ṣafadī lists a separate work entitled *Man a'wazahu l-muṭrib*.

¹⁸³ Mentioned only in *al-Zarā'if wa-l-laṭā'if* (see 31), 51.

¹⁸⁴ This title is mentioned in al-Ṣafadī and could be identical with *al-Mulūki* (see 2) or *Tā'rikh ghurar al-siyar* (see 34).

¹⁸⁵ Al-Jādir points out that this work was composed before *al-Laṭā'if wa-ẓarā'if* where it is mentioned; see al-Jādir, "Dirāsāt," 432.

¹⁸⁶ This could be *Shams al-adab = Fiḥ al-lughā* (see 7).

- 116- *Sirr al-bayān* (64) (*)
 117- *Sirr al-ṣinā'a* (36)¹⁸⁷
 118- *Sirr al-wizāra* (65) (*)
 119- *Tafaddul al-muqtadirin wa-tanaṣṣul al-mu'tadhirin* (31) (*)
 120- *al-Thalj wa-l-maṭar* (50) (*)
 121- *al-Tuffāḥa* (59) (*)
 122- *Tuḥfat al-arwāḥ wa-mawā'id al-surūr wa-l-afrah* (85)¹⁸⁸
 123- *al-Ṭuraf min shi'r al-Bustī* (68) (*)
 124- *al-Uṣūl fī l-fuṣūl* (or *al-Fuṣūl fī l-fudūl*) (72) (78) (*)¹⁸⁹
 125- *Uns al-musāfir* (56) (*)
 126- *Unwān al-mā'arif* (69) (*)
 127- *Uyūn al-ādāb* (47)¹⁹⁰
 128- *Uyūn al-nawādir* (70) (*)
 129- *al-Ward* (83) (*)

Appendix: Alphabetical List of Patrons

- Abū l-'Abbās Ma'mūn b. Ma'mūn (d. 407/1017) (see 2, 6, 11, 14, 22, 33, 56)
 Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid (d. after 402/1011) (see 3, 36)
 Abū l-Faḍl 'Ubaydallāh b. Aḥmad al-Mikālī (d. 436/1044) (see 5, 6, 7, 15, 20, 23, 28, 92)
 Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣaymarī (see 21)
 Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Karajī (see 24, 26, 27)
 Abū l-Ḥasan Musāfir b. al-Ḥasan al-'Āriḍ (see 10, 27)
 Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Kathīr (see 29)
 Abū Imrān Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Kurdī (see 23)
 Abū l-Muẓaffar Naṣr b. Nāṣir al-Dīn [Sebüktigin] (d. 412/1021) (see 4, 9, 15, 30, 34)

¹⁸⁷ Mentioned in *Mir'āt al-murū'āt* as a book intended on literary criticism; see *Mir'āt*, 14. Furthermore, al-Tha'ālibī mentioned in *Tatimmat al-Yatīma* that he started this work, which should contain a hundred *bāb*, and emphasized the fact that it includes criticism of prose and poetry; see, *Tatimma*, 219.

¹⁸⁸ Mentioned only by al-Bābānī in *Hadiyyat al-'arifin* (a late source) making the attribution to al-Tha'ālibī improbable, see al-Bābānī 1: 625.

¹⁸⁹ Mentioned in al-Ṣafadī under *al-Fuṣūl fī l-fudūl* but in al-Kutubī and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbā's lists as *al-Uṣūl fī l-fuṣūl*.

¹⁹⁰ Al-Tha'ālibī mentions this work in *al-Zarā'if wa-l-laṭā'if* (see 31) without attributing it to himself, but al-Jādir points out that the context suggests it is his work and consequently considers it one of his lost works; see al-Jādir, "Dirāsā," 418.

- Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Maymandī (d. 424/1033) (see 12)
Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. Sebūktigin (d. 421/1030) (see 12)
Abū Sahl al-Ḥamdūnī/al-Ḥamdawī (see 6, 13, 15, 17, 18, 23, 60)
Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. Sahl (see 59)
Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad (d. ca. 435/1043) (see 18)
Maṣṣūr b. Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Harawī (see 8)
Nāṣir al-Dawla (see 69)
Qābūs b. Wushmagīr (d. 403/1012-13) (see 19, 25)
Al-Ṣāhib Abū l-Qāsim (see 12)