A Sketch Map of Arabic Poetry Anthologies up to the Fall of Baghdad

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Abstract

This article provides a sketch map of Arabic poetry anthologies up to the fall of Baghdad in 759/1258 by grouping titles that share general characteristics in form or content, or exhibit specific goals and aspirations. The purpose is to provide an analytic framework to the study of this type of literature. With its ten categories, the map allows for the inclusion of new or previously overlooked anthologies. The map is introduced by a survey of the state of scholarship on the terms *adab* and anthology within the scope of classical Arabic literature, and highlights a number of the main approaches to the study of Arabic literary anthology in recent scholarship. The article also suggests some authorial motives behind the genesis, development, and popularity of this type of literature.

Keywords

Arabic poetry, *adab*, anthology, *ḥamāsah*, *ikhtiyār*, *majmūʿ*

I. Anthology and *Adab*

Literary anthologies enjoyed tremendous popularity in the history of Arabic literature, probably to a degree unmatched in other literatures of the world. Pre-modern Arabic scholars, however, did not employ a unique term to denote such works, but rather described these works with a variety of terms such as *majmūʿ, ikhtiyār, dīwān, ḥamāsah*, or other words derived from these roots. Compiling literary anthologies was a widespread practice among *udabāʾ* and was a central activity for the cultivation of *adab*, a term that resists precise definition despite the several attempts by modern scholars of Arabic literature. In fact, each modern attempt at a definition has resulted in excluding some work that a medieval scholar would have considered *adab*.[1] Nearly all proposed

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[1] Wolfhart Heinrichs notes that by the fourth/tenth century, *adab* had three significations: (1) good and correct behavior, (2) the genre referred to as "*adab* literature" in modern scholarship and which usually encompasses compilations of quotable sayings, and (3) the body of literary and linguistic knowledge presented by "*adab* disciplines" or *al-ʿulūm al-adabiyyah*. See

definitions agree, however, that moral and social upbringing, intellectual educa-
cation, and entertainment are key ingredients of *adab*. This has prompted
Hilary Kilpatrick to designate *adab* as an approach to writing rather than
a genre.[2]

Indeed, Classical authors did not feel they were bound to follow particular
rules in preparing compilations; rather each author responded to particular
needs and aspirations, thereby expanding the existing forms of writing. Recent
scholarship has shown that *adab* constitutes a special kind of education, *a
moral and intellectual curriculum* aimed at a particular urban class whose needs
and aspirations it reflects.[3] Wolfhart Heinrichs emphasized this last aspect of

W. Heinrichs, "The Classification of the Sciences and the Consolidation of Philology in Classical
Islam," in *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*,
ed. J. W. Drijvers and A. A. MacDonald (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 119-20. Numerous studies
have discussed the concept and definitions of *adab*. Gustave von Grunebaum has emphasized
the concept of *adab* as form and as an approach or style; see G. Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam: A
Study in Cultural Orientation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), 255. Charles Pel-
lat has stressed the functional purpose of *adab* as moral, social and intellectual curriculum, see
Ch. Pellat, "Variations sur le thème de l'adab," *Correspondance d'Orient: Études* 5-6 (1964), 19-37.
Seeger A. Bonebakker suggests a more restricted definition: *adab* is the "literary scholarship of a
cultivated man presented in a systematic form," see S. A. Bonebakker, "*Adab* and the Concept
of Belles-Lettres," in *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Abbasid Belles-Lettres*, ed. Julia
Ashtiany et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 16-30. For more comprehensive
surveys of the term, see H. Fähndrich, "Der Begriff 'Adab' und sein literarischer Niederschlag,"
in *Orientalisches Mittelalter*, ed. Wolfhart Heinrichs (Wiesbaden: AULA-Verlag, 1990), 326-45;
Hilary Kilpatrick, "Adab," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, eds. Julie Scott Meisami and Paul
Starkey (New York; London: Routledge, 1998), 1: 56; eadem, "Anthologies, Medieval," in *Ency-
clopedia of Arabic Literature*, 94-6; eadem, "A Genre in Classical Arabic: The *Adab* Encyclopedia,"
in *Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants 10th Congress, Edinburgh, September 1980, Pro-
ceedings*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand, (Edinburgh, 1982), 34-42; J. Sadan, "Hārūn al-Rashīd and the
Brewer: Preliminary Remarks on the *Adab* of the Elite Versus *Ḥikāyāt*," in *Studies in Canonical
and Popular Arabic Literature*, eds. Shimon Ballas and Reuven Snir (Toronto: York Press, 1998),
1-22; Bo Holmberg, "*Adab* and Arabic Literature," in *Literary History: Towards a Global Perspec-
tive* (Berlin, New York: W. de Gruyter, 2006), 180-205; Shawkat Toorawa, "Defining Adab by
(Re)defining the Adīb," in *On Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature*, ed. Philip F. Ken-
nedy (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), 287-304; and Peter Heath, "Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Adab*, and
the Art of the Essay," in *Al-Jāḥiẓ: A Muslim Humanist for Our Time*, eds. A. Heinemann et al.,
Beiruter Texte und Studien 119 (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 2009), 133-72.

[2] See H. Kilpatrick, "Adab," *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, 56.

[3] See F. Gabrieli, "Adab," *EI²* I: 175-6; Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classi-
cal Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 89; Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture
of Islam, The Classical Age of Islam* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1974), 451-453. For
the historical, social, and literary importance of *adab*, see H. Kilpatrick, "A Genre in Classical
Arabic: the *Adab* Encyclopedia," 34-42; Franz Rosenthal, "Fiction and Reality: Sources for the
Role of Sex in Medieval Muslim Society," in *Society and the Sexes in Medieval Islam*, ed. Afaf
Lutfi al-Sayyid-Marsot (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1979), 2-22; Roberto Marín Guzman,
"La litteratura arabe como fuente para la historia social: el caso del Kitab al-Bukhalaʾ de el-Jahiz,"

adab, suggesting that the practice of *muḥāḍarah* (having the apposite quota-
tion at one's fingertips) is an informing principle of *adab*. Heinrichs observed
that the content of *adab* is selected not only according to aesthetic merit, but
also for its function in social discourse.[4] Joseph Sadan has introduced two use-
ful notions, *oral adab* and *written adab* while emphasizing their mutual rela-
tion. "Oral *adab*" is the outcome of "*muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*" (understood here
as literary gatherings/assemblies), which is then recorded in the anthologies of
"written *adab*" to be used subsequently in *majālis*.[5] Thus, *adab* keeps circulat-
ing, rotating, accumulating, and appropriating new material. Samer Ali has
noted that on the one hand, *adab* denotes, "a corpus of varied literary knowl-
edge…that a young *littérateur* must know—akin to the Greek concept of
paideia," and, on the other, "refers to the constellation of courtly manners and
tastes to be conditioned and exhibited."[6] Ali has also emphasized how the
culture of sociability (*muʾānasah*) and charm (*ẓarf*) practiced in *mujālasāt*
(literary salons) impacted and shaped *adab*.[7]

Regardless of the epistemological debate surrounding the term *adab* as a
distinct category, form, style, or approach in Arabic literature, one can gener-
ally observe that many *adab* works are created from the author's impulse to
anthologize. However, the concept of *adab* itself does allow room for the
inclusion of works that are not based on the concept of drawing on "the best
of the best," among them *rasāʾil, khuṭab, maqāmāt*, mirrors for princes, bio-
graphical dictionaries, commentaries, works of *sariqāt, amālī*, and many
monographs that do not involve selection at all, such as *al-Tarbīʿ wa-l-tadwīr*
(The Epistle of the Square and the Circle) of al-Jāḥiẓ. *Adab*, therefore, is not
synonymous with literary anthology; rather literary anthology represents a
type of *adab*. This article will provide an analytic framework to the study of
Arabic literary anthologies, forming a sketch map of this type of Arabic

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Estudios de Asia y Africa 28 (1993), 32-83; Abdallah Cheikh-Moussa, "L'historien et la littérature
arabe médiévale," *Arabica* 43 (1996), 152-188; Nadia Maria El Cheikh, "Women's History: A
Study of al-Tanūkhī," in *Writing the Feminine: Women in Arab Sources*, eds. Randi Deguilhem
and Manuela Marín (New York: I.B. Tauris & Company, 2002), 129-152; eadem, "In Search for
the Ideal Spouse," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 45 (2002), 179-196;
Jean-Claude Vadet, "Les grands thèmes de l'adab dans le Rabīʿ d'al-Zamakhsharī," *Revue des
études islamiques* 58 (1990), 189-205.

  [4] See W. Heinrichs, "Review of *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: ʿAbbasid Belles-Lettres*,"
al-ʿArabiyya 26 (1993), 130.

  [5] See J. Sadan, "Hārūn al-Rashīd and the Brewer: Preliminary Remarks on the *Adab* of the
Elite Versus *Ḥikāyāt*," 2-3.

  [6] Samer Ali, *Arabic Literary Salons in the Islamic Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Univer-
sity of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 33.

  [7] Ibid., 35.

literature by grouping titles that share general characteristics in form or content, or exhibit specific goals and aspirations.

II. Approaches to the Study of Arabic Literary Anthology in Modern Scholarship

The corpus of anthologies appears fixed, even as lacking originality or creativity to some. As modern scholars have begun to recognize, however, the originality of a particular anthology consists precisely in the choice and arrangement of the reproduced texts,[8] which reveals in turn the individual interests of the compiler.[9] Thus, the context in which a statement or a *khabar* is placed enhances its meaning and/or changes its function.[10] Though not the original work of the compiler, the gathered and included material serves primarily to substantiate a vision that is the compiler's own. One can compare the composite nature of such texts to the nature of language. While distinct words are the building blocks of language, they by no means convey thought on their own. Language as conveyor of thought is not a sum of words but rather a product of a special configuration of them. Thus, a new configuration of words always says a new thing. In the same vein, the re-configuration of *akhbār* or statements speaks distinctly of the vision of the compiler and of his aim in authoring his book.[11]

Besides serving as an invaluable source for social and historical information, anthologies can be viewed as original works possessing a structure and an agenda in their own right, and several studies have been devoted to analyzing their structure and organization. For example, Fedwa Malti-Douglas shed light on the organization of subjects and the orientation of *adab* works focus-

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[8] See Abdallah Cheikh-Moussa, "L'historien et la littérature arabe médiévale," 152-188. Heidy Toelle and Katia Zakharia, "Pour une relecture des textes littéraires arabes: éléments de réflexion," *Arabica* 46 (1999), 523-540; Stefan Leder, "Conventions of Fictional Narration in Learned Literature," in *Story-telling in the Framework of Non-fictional Arabic Literature*, ed. Stefan Leder (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 34-60; idem, "Authorship and Transmission in Unauthored Literature: the Akhbār of al-Haytham ibn ʿAdī," *Oriens* 31 (1988), 61-81.

[9] H. Kilpatrick, "A Genre in Classical Arabic Literature: the *Adab* Encyclopedia," 34ff.

[10] H. Kilpatrick, "Context and the Enhancement of the Meaning of *aḫbār* in The *Kitāb al-Aġanī*," *Arabica* 38 (1991), 351-68.

[11] Gabriel Rosenbaum compares *adab* to a "kind of modular toy building-block kit: the same blocks can be used to create various forms, which can then be taken apart again and reused to build something different." See G. Rosenbaum, "A Certain Laugh: Serious Humor and Creativity in the Adab of Ibn al-Ǧawzī," in *Israel Oriental Studies XIX: Compilation and Creation in Adab and Luġa in Memory of Nephtali Kinberg (1948-1997)*, eds. Albert Arazi, Joseph Sadan, and David J. Wasserstein (Eisenbrauns, 1999), 98-99.

ing on compilations about avarice (*bukhalāʾ*).[12] Likewise, Joseph Sadan has concerned himself with the structure and organization of anthologies in his work on *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ wa-muḥāwarāt al-shuʿarāʾ wa-l-bulaghāʾ* (The Ready Replies of the *Littérateurs* and the Conversations of Poets and Prose Stylists) of al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī,[13] further highlighting al-Iṣfahānī's use of the *maḥāsin-masāwiʾ* (Beauties-Imperfections) dichotomy as an organizational device. Related to these efforts is Geert van Gelder's research on the *jidd-hazl* (Earnestness-Jest) dichotomy.[14] Hilary Kilpatrick for her part called for greater attention to techniques and methods of compilation, examining *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (The Book of Songs) for its internal logic and coherence, and investigating the ways in which entries are organized, what elements are frequently encountered, and the author's skill in compiling, arranging, and commenting on the *akhbār*.[15] Other scholars have attempted to reveal the motives of the compilers by tracking the same chapter in various works. Franz Rosenthal in *Knowledge Triumphant* compared the chapter on ʿ*ilm* (knowledge) in several anthologies,[16] while Nadia El Cheikh compared *akhbār* related to marriage in two anthologies: ʿ*Uyūn al-akhbār* (The Quintessential Accounts) of Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889) and *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* (The Unique Necklace) of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940).[17]

Another approach to the study of *adab* compilations is the critical assessment of their sources.[18] Shawkat Toorawa has argued that the availability of books in the third/ninth century in Baghdad made it possible to complete one's training in *adab* through self-teaching. This development, according to Toorawa, resulted in a parallel decrease in the reliance on oral and aural[19] transmission

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[12] Fedwa Malti-Douglas, *Structures of Avarice*: *The Bukhalāʾ in Medieval Arabic Literature* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), 5-16.

[13] Joseph Sadan, "An Admirable and Ridiculous Hero: Some Notes on the Bedouin in Medieval Arabic Belles-Lettres, on a Chapter of *Adab* by al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, and on a Literary Model in which Admiration and Mockery Coexist," *Poetics Today* 10 (1989), 471-492.

[14] See Geert Jan van Gelder, "Mixtures of Jest and Earnest in Classical Arabic Literature," I: *JAL* 23 (1992), 83-108 and II: *JAL* 23 (1993): 169-90.

[15] Hilary Kilpatrick, *Making the Great Book of Songs: Compilation and the Author's Craft in Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's* Kitāb al-Aghānī (London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).

[16] Franz Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*: *The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), 252-77.

[17] N. M. El Cheikh, "In Search for the Ideal Spouse," 179-196.

[18] For a theoretical treatment of source-criticism applied to Arabic compilations, see Sebastian Günther, "Assessing the Sources of Classical Arabic Compilations: The Issue of Categories and Methodologies," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 32 (2005), 75-98.

[19] The term "aural" is particularly useful in historical-analytical studies of the sources of medieval Arabic compilations because it entails both the written material (on which most lectures, seminars and tutorials were based), as well as the actual way of teaching this material by reading

of knowledge and an increased dependence on books and written materials.[20] Walter Werkmeister examined the sources of *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, showing that the majority of the material used by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940) was obtained from *majālis* and *ḥalaqāt*, and not from written sources.[21] Manfred Fleischhammer and Fuat Sezgin studied separately the oral and written sources that Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (d. 356/967) used in *Kitāb al-Aghānī*.[22] Fleischhammer concludes that the compiler drew his material from a limited number of informants and indicated the main written works from which he quoted, while Fuat Sezgin argues that the author almost always used written texts. Sebastian Günther similarly reviewed the sources of another work by Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, the *Maqātil al-ṭālibiyyīn* (The Martyrdoms of the Ṭālibids), and concluded that the author relied on a variety of aural and written sources, with both collective and single *isnād*s.[23] My survey of the sources of Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1039) in *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsin ahl al-ʿaṣr* (The Unique Pearl Concerning the Elegant Achievements of Contemporary People) and its sequel the *Tatimmat al-Yatīmah* (The Completion of or Sequel to the *Yatīmah*) has revealed a strong return to oral transmission from the second half of the 4th/10th century, albeit complemented by the use of *dīwān*s, books, and other written materials. This distribution of sources, I argued, is not uniform throughout the *aqsām* of the *Yatīmah* and the *Tatimmah*.[24]

In another approach, Stefan Leder and Hilary Kilpatrick explored common features shared by *adab* anthologies,[25] in form or content, focusing on works that feature prose and form subcategories that are not necessarily discrete. For example, they pointed to a group of anthologies that obey no order, such as *al-Baṣāʾir wa-l-dhakhāʾir* (The Book of Insights and Treasures) of Abū Ḥayyān

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aloud from a written text; for more information and studies on aural transmission, see Sebastian Günther, "Assessing the Sources of Classical Arabic Compilations," 75-98.

[20] Shawkat Toorawa, *Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr and Arabic Writerly Culture: A Ninth-Century Bookman in Baghdad*, (New York: Routledge-Curzon), 2005, 124. See also Gregor Schoeler, *The Genesis of Literature in Islam*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 122-125.

[21] See Walter Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb al-ʿiqd al-farīd des Andalusiers (240/860-328/940)* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983).

[22] Manfred Fleischhammer, *Die Quellen des Kitāb al-Aġānī* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004). Fuat Sezgin, "Maṣādir kitāb al-aghānī li-Abī l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī," in *Vorträge zur Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften* (Frankfurt: Maʿhad Tārīkh al-ʿUlūm al-ʿArabiyyah wa-l-Islāmiyyah fī iṭār Jāmiʿat Frānkfūrt), 147-58.

[23] See Sebastian Günther, "»…Nor Have I Learned It from Any Book of Theirs« Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī: a Medieval Arabic Author at Work," in *Islamstudien ohne Ende: Festschrift Für Werner Ende Zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. R. Brunner et al. (Heidelberg: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 2000), 139-154.

[24] See Bilal Orfali, "The Sources of al-Thaʿālibī in *Yatīmat al-Dahr* and *Tatimmat al-Yatīma*," in *Middle Eastern Literatures*, forthcoming.

[25] Leder and Kilpatrick use the term "compilation."

al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023), which assembles material the author considers worth recording, and *amālī* works, which preserve the form of dictation sessions. Other anthologies include aspects of human behavior (e.g. avarice), the biographies of noteworthy people, exploration of ethical or dialectical issues (e.g. *al-maḥāsin wa-l-masāwiʾ, al-jidd wa-l-hazl*), discussions about linguistic and literary topics (e.g. *majālis*), etc.[26] Kilpatrick, defining one subcategory of *adab* as the *adab*-encyclopedia,[27] provided an analytic framework to study and compare the methods, goals and structures of this class of works.

III. Authorial Motives for the Compilation of Literary Anthologies

Why did pre-modern Arab authors compile literary anthologies, and why were these works remarkably popular? One modern scholar, Ibrāhīm Najjār, has suggested that the impulse to anthologize was a necessary by-product of the composition of a vast amount of literature that required abridgments and selections in order for it to be passed to subsequent generations.[28] Indeed, The Andalusian *adīb* Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940) in his introduction to *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* declares that the *littérateurs* and philosophers of all nations intensively engaged in anthologizing the best sayings of their predecessors, such that "the abridged became in need of further abridgement and the already selected in need of further selection" (*aktharū fī dhālika ḥattā iḥtāja l-mukhtaṣar minhā ilā ikhtiṣar wa-l-mutakhayyar ilā ikhtiyār*).

The importance of early poetry as a source of knowledge about Arabic philology to other disciplines—such as lexicography, grammar, and Qurʾānic exegesis—may have served as an important motive for the genesis of this type of compilation. Early literary anthologies focused on *qaṣīdah*s and were compiled for the purpose of education. In the face of the rapid social and linguistic changes brought about by the expansion of the Islamic empire, the literary and philological importance of these odes encouraged their preservation. Later anthologies usually followed a narrower system of organization and purpose, but only rarely did they justify the selection. *Ḥamāsah* works were considered the poetry curriculum that the poet needed to master before starting to produce his own literary works. Additionally, Andras Hamori has noted that the

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[26] S. Leder and H. Kilpatrick, "Classical Arabic Prose Literature: A Researchers' Sketch Map," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 23 (1992), 16-18.

[27] See Hilary Kilpatrick, "A Genre in Classical Arabic Literature: the *Adab* Encyclopedia," 34-42.

[28] Ibrāhīm Najjār, *Shuʿarāʾ ʿabbāsiyyūn mansiyyūn* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1997), 1; 170-171.

use of poetry as a badge of culture helped create an audience for anthologies.[29] Many anthologies served as manuals of themes and motifs on subjects that a prose writer, a *kātib*, or an *adīb* might have occasion to cite in his own works and epistles, or in private or official correspondence.[30] Some anthologists used quotations of aesthetic merit to illustrate a specific thesis. Moreover, by the second half of the third/ninth century, artistic prose had begun to supersede poetry as the preeminent form of literary expression in most functions. Consequently, anthologies began to place prose alongside poetry and sometimes presented prose in isolation.

Anthologies were not void of critical thought and opinion; rather they stood out as exercises in practical criticism, with many disclosing the knowledge, taste, and care of their compilers. "Choosing discourse is more difficult than composing it" (*ikhtiyār al-kalām aṣʿab min taʾlīfih*), affirms Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih who also says: "a man's selection is an indication of his mind" (*ikhtiyāru l-rajul wāfidu ʿaqlih*),[31] a statement that many later authors quoted.[32] This high regard for the practice of anthologizing, at times preferring it to "original" composition, might have been an incentive for authors to compile anthologies which would demonstrate the refined literary taste of the *adīb* and his mastery of texts, and consequently his literary authority.[33] Moreover, since the act of anthologizing was considered an intricate task worthy of verbal and material reward, patronage impelled *littérateurs* to compile a growing number of works; the more works a *littérateur* compiled and dedicated the more gifts and money

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[29] A. Hamori, "Anthologies," *EI³* (online)

[30] Some authors spell out this goal in their openings. Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. after 400/1010), for example, in his introduction to his voluminous manual of motifs entitled *Dīwān al-maʿānī* stresses the importance of citing literary masterpieces in one's writings. See the introduction of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, ed. Aḥmad Salīm Ghānim (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2003), 101. See below also the discussion of *al-Muntaḥal* and *Sajʿ al-manthūr* by al-Thaʿālibī, *al-Muntakhal* by al-Mīkālī, and *Rawḥ al-rūḥ* by an anonymous author.

[31] Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, ed. Mufīd Muḥammad Qumayḥah (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah), 1: 4. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih follows this by an anonymous line of poetry sharing the same meaning: "We have known you by your selection, for man's selection shows his intelligence" (*qad ʿarafnāka bikhtiyārika idh kāna dalīlan ʿala l-labībi ikhtiyāruhu*), and a wise saying that he attributes to Plato: "The minds of people are recorded at the tips of their pens and become evident in the beauty of their selection" (*ʿuqūl al-nās mudawwanatun fī aṭrāf aqlāmihim wa ẓāhiratun fī ḥusni ikhtiyārihim*).

[32] See for example al-Washshāʾ, *al-Muwashshā* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1965), 10; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān wa-anbāʾ abnāʾ al-zamān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968), 6; 78; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ: Irshād al-arīb ilā maʿrifat al-adīb*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1993), 2763.

[33] This is especially the case in later Mamlūk anthologies, See Thomas Bauer, "Literarische Anthologien der Mamlūkenzeit," 94 ff; idem, "Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9 (2005), 122.

he received.[34] Anthologies were not always secondary texts selected from pri-
mary *dīwān*s and circulating "books." Rather, as in the case of anthologies
concerned with contemporary literature, such as the *Yatīmat al-dahr* of
al-Thaʿālibī and its several sequels, they became an important vehicle for pub-
lishing original literary work, especially in the case of non-professional poets
who did not produce circulating *dīwān*s and were still seeking recognition and
access to courts. These poets sent their literary production to al-Thaʿālibī on
*ruqʿah*s and epistles with the hope that it would be included in his second edi-
tion of the *Yatīmah* and its sequel the *Tatimmah*. In such a case the anthologist
acted as a gatekeeper to the realm of admired literature.[35]

In what follows, the literary anthology is understood as *an adab work that
focuses on literary building blocks that the compiler has put together for a specific
purpose, following particular criteria of selection*. The anthology puts these
building blocks into a literary context and appreciates them for their own sake
or for their function in social discourse, regardless of their wider historical,
political or social importance. As H. Kilpatrick has noted, a political speech in
a literary anthology is read as an example of eloquence, acquiring new dimen-
sions of meaning in books of history or statecraft.[36] Naturally, the purpose,
organization, structure, and selection criteria of anthologists vary, but the gen-
eral idea was to collect the "finest" literary pieces, or important statements that
"merited recording." Their collection ensured that they would be read, circu-
lated, studied, quoted, taught, and passed on to later generations, in an attempt
to retain, extend, or question the existing literary canon.

IV. A Sketch Map of Arabic Poetry Anthologies[37]

This article proposes a sketch map of poetry anthologies that aims to provide
an analytical framework to the study of this massive group of works.[38] The

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[34] This prompted some authors to recycle the same material, and in some extreme cases, to
dedicate the same work to multiple patrons after changing the preface of the work; see for exam-
ple the case of Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī in B. Orfali, "The Art of the *Muqaddima* in the Works of
Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1039)" in *The Weaving of Words: Approaches to Classical Arabic
Prose*, ed. Lale Behzadi and Vahid Behmardi, Beiruter Texte und Studien 112 (Würzburg: Ergon
in Kommission, 2009), 188-190.

[35] See B. Orfali, "The Sources of al-Thaʿālibī in *Yatīmat al-Dahr* and *Tatimmat al-Yatīma*,"
forthcoming.

[36] See H. Kilpatrick, "Anthologies, Medieval," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, 94-6.

[37] For the bibliographical references of primary sources discussed or cited in this article, see
Reinhard Weipert, *Classical Arabic Philology and Poetry: A Bibliographical Handbook of Important
Editions from 1960-2000* (Boston: Brill, 2002).

[38] Joseph Sadan observes that the term *adab* in classical sources excludes collections of poetry
(*dawāwīn*), composed solely of verse, which are strictly defined as *shiʿr*. Sadan, rightly observes

discussion will be restricted to works mostly concerned with poetry prior to the fall of Baghdad in 759/1258.[39] Of course, *adab* anthologies often exhibit a juxtaposition of prose and poetry and such a map cannot ignore works that include prose along with poetry, hence the natural overlap with the map offered by Leder and Kilpatrick.[40] It is difficult to provide an accurate map of poetry anthologies; many forms of *adab*, as discussed above, involve anthologizing and fall at different distances from the *adab*-anthology. Moreover, many anthologies are still in manuscript form in libraries and private collections around the world and new ones continue to be discovered.

1. *Poetry Anthologies Concerned with Form*

The collection of the seven (or nine, or ten) celebrated pre-Islamic *qaṣīdah*s, *al-Muʿallaqāt* (lit. The Suspended Odes), is usually considered the oldest Arabic literary anthology.[41] The reason behind bringing these poems together is not clear; most of the justifications offered in the tradition indicate that the intent was educational, and that the selection was based on the popularity and/or the literary value of the poem.[42] The shared feature between these poems is the

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that classical Arabic biographies define many *udabāʾ* as "*kāna shāʿiran adīban*" and thus making a distinction between *adab* and *shiʿr*, see discussion in J. Sadan, "Hārūn al-Rashīd and the Brewer," 2-3. Nevertheless, I believe that the scope of *adab* presented above would include "non-original" collections of poetry (*ikhtiyārāt*).

[39] For an excellent discussion of anthologies from the *Mamlūk* period, see T. Bauer, "Literarische Anthologien der Mamlūkenzeit," in *Die Mamluken. Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur*, Eds. S. Conermann and A. Pistor-Hatam (Hamburg: EB-Verlag, 2003), 71-122. A good preliminary survey of *adab* anthologies in Arabic literature including the Post-Mongol period is presented by A. Hamori and T. Bauer, "Anthologies," *EI*[3] (online). My map refines and adds to this survey, but excludes, for the purpose of this article, anthologies concerned with only prose.

[40] S. Leder and H. Kilpatrick, "Classical Arabic Prose Literature: A Researchers' Sketch Map," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 23 (1992).

[41] For a detailed discussion of *al-muʿallaqāt*, their number, and authenticity, see: M. J. Kister, "The Seven Odes: Some Notes on the Compilation of the *Muʿallaqāt*," *Revista degli Studi Orientali* 44 (1968), 27-36; G. Lecomte, "al-Muʿallakāt," *EI*[2] VII: 254-5 and the sources listed there.

[42] In al-Naḥḥās's view Ḥammād al-Rāwiyah (d. 155/771 or 158/774), collected these seven odes to draw attention to them when he saw people's loss of interest in poetry, see al-Naḥḥās, *Sharḥ al-qaṣāʾid al-tisʿ al-mashhūrāt*, ed. Aḥmad Khaṭṭāb (Baghdad: Wizārat al-Iʿlām, 1973), 2: 681-2. See Ahlwardt's remarks on this view in *Sammlungen alter arabischer Dichter* (Berlin: Reeuther & Reichard, 1902-3), 1: xi-xii. Other reports indicate that the collection was ordered by the caliph Muʿāwiyah (d. 60/680) for the purpose of educating his son. See a discussion of these reports in M. J. Kister, "The Seven Odes: Some Notes on the Compilation of the *Muʿallaqāt*," 27-36. For a discussion of the role that Ḥammād might have played in collecting the *Muʿallaqāt*, see M. B. Alwan, "Is Ḥammād the collector of the Muʿallaqāt," *Islamic Culture* 45 (1971), 363-364.

multi-thematic *qaṣīdah* form.[43] Other anthologies of *qaṣīdah*s from the early ʿAbbāsid period were compiled similarly based on the importance of the poems, but what granted them this importance was not specified. The selected poems of al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (d. ca. 164/780 or 170/786), *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (originally entitled *Kitāb al-Ikhtiyārāt* [The Book of Selections]), and the poems selected by al-Aṣmaʿī (d. ca. 213/828), *al-Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, exemplify this type of selection.[44] Ibn al-Nadīm mentioned that al-Mufaḍḍal prepared his collection for the caliph al-Mahdī (d. 169/785). Al-Qālī al-Baghdādī (d. 356/967) explains that the caliph al-Manṣūr (d. 158/775) asked al-Mufaḍḍal to collect choice specimens of the *muqillūn* (poets whose poetic output is minimal) for his pupil, the future caliph al-Mahdī.[45] This criterion of selection explains the absence of the most famous pre-Islamic poets in the anthology. *Al-Aṣmaʿiyyāt* consists of ninety-two *qaṣīdah*s by seventy-one poets (forty-four of them *jāhilī*) and has received little attention compared to *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*.[46]

Jamharat ashʿār al-ʿArab (The Gathering of the Arabs' Verses) of Abū Zayd Muḥammad b. Abī l-Khaṭṭāb al-Qurashī (d. third/ninth century)[47] is organized according to seven groups, each containing seven *qaṣīdah*s. The work clearly involves more than one criterion of selection. The first group consists of seven poems—the *Muʿallaqāt*, while the second seven *qaṣīdah*s (*al-mujamharāt* [the assembled]) are poems that al-Qurashī held to be of the same quality as the first. Other groups were chosen according to particular principles that were not specified, but some can be inferred: one group is dedicated to poems by the Aws and Khazraj tribes; another to remarkable *marāthī* (elegies); and yet another features poems "with a tincture of *kufr* and Islām."[48]

Another anthology devoted to *jāhilī* and Islāmic *qaṣīdah*s is *al-Muntakhab fī maḥāsin ashʿār al-ʿArab* (The Selection of the Finest Poems of the Arabs), attributed to Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī although it is the work of an anonymous

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[43] For the term *qaṣīdah*, see R. Jacobi, "qaṣīda," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* 2: 630 and the sources listed there. For a survey of commentaries on the *Muʿallaqāt*, see Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (*GAS*) (Leiden: Brill, 1964-84), 2: 50-53.

[44] The majority of the sources agree that *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* originally included 70 or 80 poems, and that other poems were added later. Whether these additions were by al-Mufaḍḍal himself or al-Aṣmaʿī is not clear; see a discussion of the authorship of these two works in C. J. Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* 2: xiv-xvii. The editors of the Cairo edition, Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir and ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, maintain that al-Aṣmaʿī's anthology had become mixed with *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* at an early stage of transmission, see intro. of *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 14-19.

[45] See references and details in Renate Jacobi, "al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt," *EI²* VII: 306.

[46] See for details, A. Hamori, "Anthologies," *EI³* (online).

[47] For a short discussion of his identity and mention in later sources, see Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *Maṣādir al-shiʿr al-jāhilī* (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1978), 584-88.

[48] See A. Hamori, "Anthologies," *EI³* (online).

author from the fourth/tenth century.[49] The anthology includes ninety-six *qaṣīdah*s and four *urjūzah*s, several of which are not found anywhere else.[50] *Mukhtārāt shuʿarāʾ al-ʿArab* (The Select Poems of the Arabs) of Hibatallāh b. al-Shajarī (d. 542/1147) is an anthology with commentary of pre-Islamic *qaṣīdah*s. One feature shared by all the *qaṣīdah*s is that they do not appear in their author's *dīwān*. The third *qism* is dedicated to the poet al-Ḥuṭayʾah and features some of his *akhbār* and shorter poems. The enormous *Muntahā l-ṭalab min ashʿār al-ʿArab* (The Ultimate Desire in the Poems of the Arabs) of Muḥammad b. al-Mubārak b. Maymūn (d. after 589/1193) is divided into ten volumes, each encompassing a hundred *qaṣīdah*s. The surviving manuscript of this work features the author's ten volumes in six *mujalladāt*, three of which have survived. As the author indicates in his introduction, the work incorporates several earlier anthologies but preserves some *qaṣīdah*s not found elsewhere.

A few anthologies are concerned with another poetic form, the *muwashshaḥ*, such as Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's (d. 609/1211) *Dār al-ṭirāz* (The House of Embroidery), Lisān al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb's (d. 776/1375) *Jaysh al-tawshīḥ* (The Host Muwashshaḥ), and ʿAlī b. al-Bishrī's *ʿUddat al-jalīs* (The Companion's Manual).

2. *Encyclopedic Anthologies*

Hilary Kilpatrick has defined the *adab* encyclopedia as "a work designed to provide the basic knowledge in those domains with which the average cultured man may be expected to be acquainted. It is characterized by organization into chapters or books on the different subjects treated."[51] Model examples of this category would be *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940) or *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* of Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889).[52] Kilpatrick further includes

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[49] See B. Orfali, "The Works of Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 40 (2009), 302.

[50] The editor ʿĀdil Sulaymān Jamāl opted to leave the *urjūzah*s for another edition because the MS British Museum 9222 is missing a folio of this section, see *al-Muntakhab fī maḥāsin ashʿār al-ʿArab*, ed. ʿA. S. Jamāl (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1993-1994), 1: 31.

[51] See H. Kilpatrick, "A Genre in Classical Arabic Literature: The *Adab* Encyclopedia," 34. Accordingly books like *al-Baṣāʾir wa-l-dhakhāʾir* of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023) and *Zahr al-ādāb* (Flowers of Literature) *of* al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 413/1022) do not qualify under this category since neither is organized consistently according to subject. Moreover, the definition excludes the *Yatīmat al-dahr* of al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1039) and *al-Aghānī* of Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (d. 356/967), both of which are arranged biographically and provide historical and other non-literary information only randomly.

[52] See ibid., 34-5, 40. For a brief discussion of a few encyclopedic works, see G. J. van Gelder, "Complete Men, Women and Books: On Medieval Arabic Encyclopaedism," in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts*, 251-59.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr's (d. 463/1071) *Bahjat al-majālis wa-uns al-mujālis wa-shaḥdh al-dhāhin wa-l-hājis* (The Joy of Literary Gatherings, the Intimacy of the Companion, and the Sharpening of the Mind and Thought), al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī's (d. 502/1108-9) *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ wa-muḥāwarāt al-shuʿarāʾ wa-l-bulaghāʾ*, al-Zamakhsharī's (538/1143) *Rabīʿ al-abrār wa-fuṣūṣ al-akhbār* (The Springtime of the Virtuous and the Gems of the Reports).[53] Kilpatrick distinguishes between encyclopedias and anthologies, but she also realizes the difficulty of setting boundaries between the two, citing as an example al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī's *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*,[54] which has elements of both an encyclopedia and an anthology; the former because it attempts to cover all subjects of conversation, and the latter because it selects the best examples of their treatment in prose and poetry.[55] Most *adab* encyclopedias exhibit an anthologizing impulse that figures in the author's introductions and titles.[56] Put otherwise, they are anthologies that strive for comprehensiveness.

3. *Theme and Motif Anthologies*

The most notable works in this category are the *Ḥamāsah* collections.[57] Perhaps the first is *Kitāb al-Ḥamāsah* of Abū Tammām (d. 231/846)[58] which includes ten headings: *ḥamāsah* (valour), *marāthī* (elegies), *adab* (proper conduct), *nasīb* (love), *hijāʾ* (invective), *al-aḍyāf wa-l-madīḥ* (hospitality and praise of the generous), *ṣifāt* (descriptive verses/pieces), *al-sayr wa-l-nuʿās* (desert

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[53] Among the works compiled after the fall of Baghdād Kilpatrick includes: al-Nuwayrī's (733/1333) *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* (The Goal of Desire in Literary Arts), al-Qalqashandī's (d. 821/1418) *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ* (Morning for the Night-Blind Regarding the Craft of Secretarial Style), and al-Ibshīhī's (850/1446) *al-Mustaṭraf fī kulli fann mustaẓraf* (The Ultimate on Every Refined Art).

[54] For a study dedicated to this anthology, see J. Sadan, "An Admirable and Ridiculous Hero," 471-492.

[55] See H. Kilpatrick, "Anthologies, Medieval," 94.

[56] See for example, Ibn Qutaybah, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* (Cairo: al-Muʾassasah al-Miṣriyyah al-ʿĀmmah li-l-Taʾlīf wa-l-Tarjamah, 1964), 1: 10-12.

[57] For a general study of the *Ḥamāsāt* collections, see Adel Sulayman Gamal, "The Basis of Selection in the *Ḥamāsa* Collections," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 7 (1976), 28-44.

[58] For the *Ḥamāsah* of Abū Tammām, see F. Klein-Franke, "The *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 2 (1971), 13-55; 3 (1972): 142-178; idem, *Die Hamasa des Abu Tammam*, Köln: 1963; M. C. Lyons, "Notes on Abū Tammām's Concept of Poetry," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 9 (1978), 57-64; G. J. H. van Gelder, "Against Women, and Other Pleasantries: The Last Chapter of Abū Tammām's *Ḥamāsa*," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 16 (1985), 61-7; Margaret Larkin, "Abu Tammam (circa 805-845)," in *Arabic Literary Culture*, ed. Michael Cooperson and Shawkat M. Toorawa; *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, *Vol. 311* (Detroit: Gale, 2005), 38-40. For translations of passages from the *Ḥamāsah*, a discussion of the literary *ijmāʿ* on it, and the process of "collecting" poetry up to Abū Tammām's time, see Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, *Abū Tammām and the Poetics of the ʿAbbāsid Age* (Leiden, New York: Brill, 1991), 231-350.

travel), *mulaḥ* (clever curiosities), and *madhammat al-nisāʾ* (the censure of women).[59] The first and largest section, *al-ḥamāsah* (valour), provides the name for several other anthologies of this type. The selections date back to pre-Islamic, Islamic and early ʿAbbāsid times. More than one reason was suggested for the composition of the *Ḥamāsah*, all related to the personal literary taste of Abū Tammām.[60] The work gains special importance for having been the first anthology compiled by a poet and not a philologist, and the large number of commentaries on it suggests that it continued to be extremely popular until the modern period.[61] Abū Tammām compiled at least one more anthology: *al-Waḥshiyyāt* (Book of Stray Verses) or *al-Ḥamāsah al-ṣughrā* (The Lesser *Ḥamāsah*), which follows the same plan as *Dīwān al-Ḥamāsah* and contains longer poems.[62]

Other *Ḥamāsah* works quickly followed, although not all retain the same method of organization. Al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897), for example, compiled a *Ḥamāsah* that is divided into 174 *abwāb*. The *abwāb*, however, are arranged according to shared literary motifs rather than larger themes. They are comprised of short poetic passages not complete poems, and thus, the work comes close to *Dīwān al-maʿānī* (The Register of Poetic Motifs) of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī. Later *ḥamāsah* works paid more attention to *muḥdath* poetry. For instance, al-ʿAbdalkānī al-Zawzanī (d. 431/1039) in *Ḥamāsat al-ẓurafāʾ* (Poems of the Refined and Witty) states that ancient and modern poets have equal shares in his selection and that he includes both in the hope of attracting a large number of young readers. He adds that this work is an introduction to

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[59] Al-Tibrīzī casts doubt on the assumption that the *Ḥamāsah* of Abū Tammām is the first of its kind claiming that "the literary scholars of Iṣfahān concentrated on it (i.e. Abū Tammām's book) and rejected all others of its kind;" see al-Tibrīzī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsah*, ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo: al-Maktabah al-Tijāriyyah, 1938, 1: 4. However, al-Tibrīzī could have meant that scholars rejected the *Ḥamāsah* works that came after Abū Tammām's work or the other anthologies that circulated earlier, such as *al-Aṣmaʿiyyāt* and *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, see A. S. Gamal, "The Basis of Selection in the *Ḥamāsa* Collections," 28; and S. P. Stetkevych, *Abū Tammām and the Poetics of the ʿAbbāsid Age*, 284-285.

[60] See a discussion of these opinions in A. S. Gamal, "The Basis of Selection in the *Ḥamāsa* Collections," 31ff.

[61] Sezgin lists thirty-six commentaries, see *GAS*, 2: 68-72.

[62] Abū Tammām also compiled *Mukhtārāt ashʿār al-qabāʾil* (Selection from the Poetry of the Tribes), which was still known to ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī (d. 1093/1682), who cites it in his *Khizānat al-adab* (The Repository of Culture); see Sezgin, *GAS*, 2: 42-43. This work is followed by a sequel, *Ikhtiyār al-qabāʾil al-aṣghar* (The Smaller Tribal Selection), see *GAS* 2: 558. Sezgin lists a large number of tribal Dīwāns, some of which are anthologies, but unfortunately most of them are lost, see *GAS* 2: 36-46. Sezgin adds three other anthologies by Abū Tammām entitled *Ikhtiyār shuʿarāʾ al-fuḥūl* or *Fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ* (The Champion Poets), see *GAS*, 2: 72, 558; *Ikhtiyār mujarrad min ashʿār al-muḥdathīn* (Selection from the Poetry of the Moderns), and *Ikhtiyār al-muqaṭṭaʿāt* (Selection of Short Pieces), see *GAS*, 2: 558.

Abū Tammām's, intended for beginners.[63] Among other surviving *Ḥamāsah* works is *al-Ḥamāsah al-Shajariyyah* of Ibn al-Shajarī (d. 542/1148) who followed Abū Tammām's method in dividing a considerable part of his book into large chapters according to the dominant themes of the poems. However, he seems to have been influenced by al-Buḥturī in dividing the second part of his work into small chapters according to motifs. Ibn al-Shajarī includes poets from the ʿAbbāsid period onward with some chapters devoted exclusively to *muḥdath* poetry.[64] *Al-Ḥamāsah al-Maghribiyyah* by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Jurāwī (d. 609/1212) includes parts of poems by poets from the west alongside those from the east. The work is an abridgement of the lost *Kitāb Ṣafwat al-adab wa-nukhbat dīwān al-ʿArab* (The Purest in Refinement and the Most Select Poems of the Arabs) by the same author. It consists of nine chapters (*abwāb*) starting with *bāb al-madīḥ*; the chapters of *al-madīḥ*, *al-nasīb*, and *al-awṣāf* include various subdivisions. *Al-Ḥamāsah al-Baṣriyyah* by Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Abī l-Faraj al-Baṣrī (d. probably 659/1249) is a work that enjoyed some fame and was frequently used by al-Suyūṭī, al-ʿAynī, and al-Baghdādī.[65] Al-Baṣrī's anthology is arranged in chapters following the scheme used in the *Ḥamāsah* of Abū Tammām, with an addition of an extra chapter entitled *al-zuhd* (asceticism). He restricts his choice of poets to the end of the third/ninth century.[66] Finally, al-ʿUbaydī (d. eighth/fourteenth century) wrote *al-Ḥamāsah al-saʿdiyyah* (known also as *al-Tadhkirah al-saʿdiyyah*) in which he acknowledged three earlier *Ḥamāsah* works as his sources: that of Abū Tammām, Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, and Ibn Fāris; of these three works the last two are lost.[67]

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[63] See al-ʿAbdalkānī al-Zawzanī, *Ḥamāsat al-ẓurafāʾ min ashʿār al-muḥdathīn wa-l-qudamāʾ*, ed. Muḥammad Jabbār al-Muʿaybid (Baghdad: Manshūrāt Wizārat al-Iʿlām, 1973), 15.

[64] For a discussion of the division of this *Ḥamāsah* and Ibn al-Shajarī's contribution to the genre, see A. S. Gamal, "The Basis of Selection in the *Ḥamāsa* Collections," 37-39.

[65] See A. Hamori, "Anthologies," *EI³* (online).

[66] According to A. S. Gamal, within the framework of the chapters, five criteria of selection were employed; these are: (1) similarity of particular theme, (2) the mode of expression or particular use of words, (3) poets who have a particular relationship with each other, (4) poems with problematic ascription, and (5) poems about places. See A. S. Gamal, "The Basis of Selection in the *Ḥamāsa* Collections," 40ff.

[67] There are several *Ḥamāsah* works which did not survive; among these are the *Ḥamāsah* of Ibn al-Marzubān (d. 309/921) of which we know nothing; an important *Ḥamāsah* is that of Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) entitled *al-Ḥamāsah al-muḥdathah* (The Modern Ḥamāsah), which dealt, as the title suggests, with *muḥdath* poetry. In addition, the sources hold that Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī compiled a *Ḥamāsah* whose existence is fully attested by al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451) in his *al-Maqāṣid al-naḥwiyyah* (The Grammatical Aims) and used by al-ʿUbaydī in *al-Ḥamāsah al-Baṣriyyah* (The Ḥamāsah of al-Baṣrī); for references, see A. S. Gamal, "The Basis of Selection in the *Ḥamāsa* collections," 28-31. Al-Shantamarī (d. 476/1083) wrote a *Ḥamāsah* that is not to be confused with his commentary on the *Ḥamāsah* of Abū Tammām; see evidence of the existence of this work in ibid., 30. Al-Shāṭibī (d. 547/1152) compiled a *Ḥamāsah* mentioned by al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*

Beside *Ḥamāsah* works, there are various poetic and prose anthologies orga-
nized differently and serving various purposes. Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. after
400/1010) compiled the *Dīwān al-maʿānī* (The Collection of Poetic Motifs),
which is devoted to selections of poetry and occasionally epistolary prose
resembling *maʿānī* (formulated ideas). It is organized according to thematic
headings (topics of praise, satire, description, and so on) and sometimes under
the subjects themselves (love, wine, etc.). Passages in this work vary in length
and sometimes it is difficult to guess whether al-ʿAskarī is referring to a certain
motif or to a larger theme.[68] An anonymous *Majmūʿat al-maʿānī* (The Collec-
tion of Poetic Motifs) probably from the fifth/eleventh century is conceived
along a similar plan but focuses mainly on wisdom and advice poetry, but
lacks commentary.[69] The selections range from the pre-Islamic period until the
fifth/eleventh century.

 Although *maʿānī* books were relatively popular, only very few have sur-
vived.[70] They neither follow the same scheme, nor share one understanding of

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al-wuʿāt fī ṭabaqāt al-lughawiyyīn wa-l-nuḥāt, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī,
1964-5), 1: 261. Ibn Khallikān also mentions that the Andalusian historian, *muḥaddith*, and
rāwī Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī al-Bayyāsī (d. 653/1255) compiled
a *Ḥamāsah* of two volumes which Ibn Khallikān studied with him using a manuscript penned by
the author. Ibn Khallikān adds that the work was completed in 646/1249 and goes on to quote
its introduction. In the introduction, al-Bayyāsī mentions that he started collecting the material
early in his life, including *jāhilī, mukhaḍram, islāmī, muwallad*, and *muḥdath* poetry from the
East and West; he adds that he organized the work according to the scheme of Abū Tammām's
Ḥamāsah; see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, 7: 238-9. For references and quotations from this
work, see ibid., 1: 232, 5: 39, 7: 116-7, 132, 239-43. Al-Khālidiyyān, Abū Bakr Muḥammad
b. Hāshim al-Khālidī (d. 380/990) and Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Hāshim (d. 390/999) compiled
Ḥamāsat al-muḥdathīn (The Ḥamāsah of the Modern Poets) that is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm
and is usually confused with the surviving *al-Ashbāh wa-l-naẓāʾir*, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*,
ed. Riḍā Tajaddud (Beirut: Dār al-Masīrah, 1988), 195. In addition to these, Ibn al-Nadīm men-
tions a *Ḥamāsah* by an unknown Abū Dimāsh; see ibid., 89.
 [68] For a study on Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī's *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, see Beatrice Gruendler, "Motif vs.
Genre: Reflections on the *Dīwān al-Maʿānī* of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī," in *Ghazal as World Litera-
ture* 1: *Transformations of a Literary Genre*, ed. Thomas Bauer and Angelika Neuwirth (Beiruter
Texte und Studien 89, Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2005), 57-85. George
Kanazi notes that the term *maʿnā* in Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī's works refers to: (1) an idea, thought
or concept which is unformulated in the mind, (2) a theme (close to *gharaḍ*), (3) the meaning of
a word, phrase, or other constructions, and (4) the quality or character of a certain object; see his
Studies in the Kitāb Aṣ-ṣināʿatayn of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 84.
 [69] A good number of poems in this work appear in *al-Tadhkirah al-Ḥamdūniyyah* of Ibn
Ḥamdūn (495/1101-562/1166) and as the editor ʿA. M. Al-Mallūḥī noted, it is difficult to guess
the source of these poems, see *Majmūʿat al-maʿānī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Muʿīn al-Mallūḥī (Damascus:
Dār Ṭalās, 1988), 12.
 [70] Sezgin lists thirty-three recorded *maʿānī* and *tashbīhāt* works that have been written since
the mid-eighth century; See Sezgin, *GAS* 1: 58-60. Wolfhart Heinrichs considers books limited
to comparisons as a variation of *maʿānī* books; see "Poetik, Rhetoric, Literaturkritik, Metric

the term *maʿnā*. *Maʿānī* may refer to verses that entail a certain difficulty. *Maʿānī al-shiʿr* (also known as *Kitāb al-Maʿānī al-kabīr*) of Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889) and the similarly entitled work of al-Ushnāndānī (d. 288/901) (also known as *Abyāt al-maʿānī*) are examples of such works. A look at al-Ushnāndānī's commentary on the verses he chose shows that they have been selected because of their difficult meaning and/or because of a certain challenging or equivocal meaning they render which forms a motif that later poets followed or reacted against. In his commentary, Ushnāndānī explained the intricate words, proverbs or expressions and gave the necessary cultural context, but his intention remained to clarify the ambiguous meaning of the line itself and/or the object of description. Ibn Qutaybah's work on *Maʿānī al-shiʿr* is arranged according to themes, perhaps suggested by the amount of material he includes which called for such a system. But here too, the obscurity of the selected verses is the basic criterion of inclusion. This feature makes the two books part of a wider genre of writing called *alghāz* (puzzles) into which the general books of *abyāt al-maʿānī*, especially that of Ibn Qutaybah, were later categorized.[71]

Al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898) is the author of two multi-thematic anthologies, *al-Kāmil fī l-adab* (The Perfection of Education) (also called *al-Kāmil fī-l-lughah wa-l-adab wa-l-naḥw wa-l-taṣrīf*) and *al-Fāḍil* (The Exquisite). Both works include a significant portion of poetry, mostly embedded in anecdotes and *akhbār*. W. Wright in his edition of *al-Kāmil* enumerates 61 chapters

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und Reimlehre" in *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie II: Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. Helmut Gätje (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1987), 177ff.

[71] *Abyāt al-maʿānī* is a technical term related to the genre of *alghāz*. In a chapter on *alghāz*, al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) defines the genre as follows: "There are kinds of puzzles that the Arabs aimed for and other puzzles that the scholars of language aim for, and also lines in which the Arabs did not aim for puzzlement, but they uttered them and they happened to be puzzling; these are of two kinds: Sometimes puzzlement occurs in them on account of their meaning, and most of *abyāt al-maʿānī* are of this type. Ibn Qutaybah compiled a good volume on this, and others compiled similar works. They called this kind [of poetry] *abyāt al-maʿānī* because it requires someone to ask about their meaning and they are not comprehended on first consideration. Some other times, puzzlement occurs because of utterance, construction or inflection (*iʿrāb*)." See al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lughah wa-anwāʿihā*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm et al. (Cairo: al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1958), 1: 578.

Al-Suyūṭī was not the first to note this obscurity in *abyāt al-maʿānī*: ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078) comments on this genre saying: "There is no line among *abyāt al-maʿānī* on this earth by any poet, ancient or modern (*muḥdath*), whose meaning is not obscure and hidden. Had they not been so, then they would have been like other poetry and the compiled books would not have been devoted to them, nor would the dedicated minds have busied themselves in extracting them. We do not mean the poems whose obscurity and concealed meaning is because of the rarity of the usage (*gharābat al-lafẓ*) or the speech being rough (*tawaḥḥush al-kalām*)." See al-Jurjānī, *al-Wasāṭah bayna l-Mutanabbī wa khuṣūmihi*, eds. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm and ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī (Saida: al-Maktabah al-ʿAṣriyyah, 1986), 431.

that treat an extensive range of themes. The form of the book as we know it today goes back to al-Mubarrad's pupil Abū l-Ḥasan al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar (d. 315/927) and the arrangement by chapters is irregular, sometimes arbitrary.[72] *Al-Fāḍil* is much smaller in size but better structured. It is divided into 16 chapters (*abwāb*) with the final one, consisting of seven sections (*fuṣūl*). The themes discussed include generosity, grief, youth and old age, forbearance, gratitude, envy, keeping a secret, eloquence, and beauty.[73]

Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr's (d. 280/893) *al-Manẓūm wa-l-manthūr* (The Book of Prose and Poetry) is one of the earliest anthologies combining poetry and prose writing, though only volumes eleven, twelve, and thirteen have survived.[74] The extant *Balāghāt al-nisāʾ* (The Eloquence of Women), a part of the eleventh volume, is an early attempt to draw attention to the instances of the eloquence of women.[75] *Al-Daʿawāt wa-l-fuṣūl* (Book of Prayers and Aphorisms) by ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1075) includes both prose and poetry from all periods under different themes. *Ṭarāʾif al-ṭuraf* (The Most Unusual Coinings) of al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥārithī al-Bāriʿ al-Baghdādī (d. 524/1129) includes eleven chapters on *muḥdath* poetry, each on a separate theme, and one additional multi-thematic chapter on prose.

Al-Thaʿālibī and Abū l-Faḍl al-Mīkālī (d. 436/1044-5) maintain in their introductions to *al-Muntaḥal* (The Appropriated; i.e. in contradistinction to the plagiarized) (also known as *Kanz al-kuttāb* [The Treasure House for Secretaries]), and *al-Muntakhal* (The Sifted Poems) respectively that their choice of verses suits private and official correspondence (*ikhwāniyyāt* and *sulṭāniyyāt*).[76] The *Muntaḥal* of al-Thaʿālibī is an abridgment of *al-Muntakhal* of al-Mīkālī; both works are divided into fifteen chapters according to subjects that are different from those of Abū Tammām. The first chapter, for example, collects

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[72] See R. M. Burrell, "al-Mubarrad," in *EI²*, 279-282.

[73] Ibid.

[74] For more extant manuscripts and published parts of this work see the bibliography of Shawkat Toorawa, *Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr and Arabic Writerly Culture: A Ninth-Century Bookman in Baghdad* (London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 180.

[75] Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr wrote a number of other anthologies such as *Kitāb ikhtiyār ashʿar al-shuʿarāʾ* (The Selection of the Best Poets), and several selections, seven by individual poets— Imruʾ al-Qays, Bakr b. Naṭṭāḥ (d. 246/860), al-ʿAttābī (d. after 208/823), Manṣūr al-Namarī (d. 190/805), Abū l-ʿAtāhiyah (d. 211/826), Muslim b. al-Walīd (d. ca. 207/823), and Diʿbil (d. 246/860)—and one of *rajaz* meter verse. Moreover, he produced several books where he combines biography and anthology by combining *akhbār* of poets together with their poetry; for a discussion of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr's works, see Shawkat Toorawa, *Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr and Arabic Writerly Culture*, 35ff, esp. 44.

[76] See al-Thaʿālibī, *al-Muntaḥal*, ed. Aḥmad Abū ʿAlī (Alexandria: al-Maṭbaʿah al-Tijāriyyah, 1901), 5; al-Mīkālī, *al-Muntakhal*, ed. Yaḥyā Wahīb al-Jubūrī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2000), 49.

poems on the subject of writing (*fī-l-khaṭṭ wa-l-kitābah*), the tenth deals with proverbs, maxims and proper conduct (*fī-l-amthāl wa-l-ḥikam wa-l-ādāb*), while the fifteenth is concerned with supplications (*fī-l-adʿiyah*). The chronological scope includes *jāhilī*, Islamic, modern (*muḥdath*), and post-classical (*muwallad*), as well as contemporary poets (*ʿaṣriyyūn*). The material within each chapter is arranged by poet name.

Another important anthology from the 5th/11th century is *Rawḥ al-rūḥ* (The Refreshment of the Spirit) by an anonymous author who seems to be associated with Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī.[77] The author was mostly concerned with the poetry of the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, drawing heavily from the works of al-Thaʿālibī, and emphasizing in the introduction that his aim is to draw the best of the best (*al-aḥāsin min al-maḥāsin, al-nutaf min al-ṭuraf*) to be used in *majālis* and in written and oral correspondence.[78] The work consists of 360 chapters (*abwāb*), each dealing with a description of a theme, a motif, or an object, and contains 2790 pieces, of which less than 2% are in prose. *Al-Uns wa-l-ʿurs* (Sociability and Companionship) attributed to Abū Saʿd Manṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ābī (d. 421/1030) contains thirty-four chapters (*abwāb*) on various topics and is mostly concerned with poetry.[79]

One author of many anthologies, al-Thaʿālibī, seems to have been conscious of the use of artistic forms of writing, such as poetry and *sajʿ*, as a model for other forms of composition. In an unpublished work, entitled *Sajʿ al-manthūr* (Rhyming Prose) (also known as *Risālat Sajʿiyyāt al-Thaʿālibī*), he collects *sajʿ* and poetry (despite the name of the work) specifically to be memorized by the unspecified dedicatee and used in his *mukātabāt*.[80] Al-Thaʿālibī was the author of various other anthologies concerned with prose, poetry, or both. Among his multi-thematic anthologies is *Man ghāba ʿanhu l-muṭrib* (The Book on the One Whom the Entertainer Abandons) and *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ* (Outstanding Extracts from Outstanding Authors). Both works are anthologies of elegant

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[77] For a discussion of the authorship of the work, see *Rawḥ al-rūḥ*, ed. Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ (Abū Dhabī: Hayʾat Abū Dhabī li-l-Thaqāfah wa-l-Turāth, 2009), 1: 7-9.

[78] See Ibid., 1: 24-25.

[79] MS Paris 3034 of this work is entitled *Uns al-waḥīd* and attributed to al-Thaʿālibī on the cover page. The work is printed under the title *al-Uns wa-l-ʿurs* by Īflīn Farīd Yārd (Damascus: Dār al-Numayr, 1999), and attributed to the vizier and *kātib* Abū Saʿd Manṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ābī (d. 421/1030). The editor bases the attribution to al-Ābī on internal and external evidence. The work has been discussed in G. Vajda, "Une anthologie sur l'amitié attribuée à al-Ṭaʿālibī," *Arabica* 18 (1971), 211-3. Vajda suggests that the author is associated with the court of al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād.

[80] See intro. of *Sajʿ al-manthūr*, MS Yeni Cami 1188, f. 82. For other existing manuscripts, see B. Orfali, "The Works of Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī," 306.

pieces in prose and verse divided into seven chapters based on themes with emphasis on eastern poets, including al-Thaʿālibī's own production.[81]

Amālī works (dictation sessions) often include much poetry on various themes but follow no order.[82] *Kitāb al-Marāthī* (The Book of Elegies) of Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās al-Yazīdī (d. 310/922) is a collection of elegies and other genres in addition to reports, and philological and lexicographical discussions, and resembles *amālī* works.

4. *Anthologies Based on Comparisons*

Works in this category do not collect lines or poems featuring certain motifs, but are concerned rather with comparing the utilization of these motifs by various *littérateurs*. *Al-Ashbāh wa-l-naẓāʾir* (The Book of Similarities and Resemblances) of the Khālidī brothers, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Hāshim al-Khālidī (d. 380/990) and Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Hāshim (d. 390/999), is concerned with the relative merits of the ancients and moderns and seeks to demonstrate that old poets had preceded the moderns in using many of the conceits and images thought to have been innovated by them. However, the work does not deny *al-muḥdathūn* their merit. *Kitāb Muḍāhāt amthāl Kitāb Kalīlah wa-Dimnah bi-mā ashbahahā min ashʿār al-ʿArab* (A Comparison of the Parables of Kalīlah wa-Dimnah with Similar Ones in Arabic Poetry) of Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Yamanī (d. 400/1009) assembles *jāhilī* and Islamic poetry that matches the proverbs and maxims of *Kalīlah wa-dimnah*,[83] and perhaps fall in the category of anti-*shuʿūbiyyah* literature. *Sariqāt* works (Literary Borrowings) are on the edge between anthology and literary criticism. They assemble poetry and compare it with earlier literature, but their agenda prohibits the principle of drawing poetic quotations for their aesthetic merit. Mostly, these works are concerned with the devolvement of motifs or the comparison between two poets.[84]

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[81] Chapter three of *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ* is an exception; it groups poetry and prose featuring the comparative and superlative *afʿal* form; it is entitled: "*fī jumlat afʿal min kadhā mansūbatan ilā aṣḥābihā naẓman wa-nathran*," and seems to have been intended as a separate work dedicated to an unnamed ruler.

[82] For a list of *amālī* works see Sezgin, *GAS* 2: 83-85.

[83] The editor Muḥammad Yūsuf Najm doubts the authenticity of some of the poems in the work, see intro. of al-Yamanī, *Muḍāhāt amthāl Kitāb Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*, ed. Muḥammad Yūsuf Najm (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfah, 1961), w-ḥ.

[84] See on *sariqah*, Von Grunebaum, "The Concept of Plagiarism in Arabic Theory," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 3 (1944), 234-53; W. Heinrichs, "An Evaluation of *Sariqa*," in *Quaderni di studi arabi* 5-6 (1987-8); idem, "Sariḳa," *EI²*, supplement, 707-10; 357-68; Badawī Ṭabānah, *al-Sariqāt al-adabiyyah: dirāsah fī ibtikār al-aʿmāl al-adabiyyah wa-taqlīdihā* (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfah, 1986).

5. *Mono-Thematic Anthologies*

These are anthologies devoted to a single topic or to a few related ones. Many of these themes are also found in separate chapters of multi-thematic anthologies. Among the works that discuss the theme of love is the first volume (fifty chapters) of *Kitāb al-Zahrah* (The Book of the Flower) by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī (d. 297/909). The second volume of the work is addressed to other themes and genres of poetry (*rithāʾ, ḥikmah, madīḥ, hijāʾ, fakhr*, etc.). The poet and *adīb* al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ (d. 366/976) gathered verses about lovers, beloveds, fragrant plants, and wine in his four-volume anthology *Kitāb al-Muḥibb wa-l-maḥbūb wa-l-mashmūm wa-l-mashrūb* (The Book of Lovers, Beloveds, Fragrant Plants, and Wine). Such anthologies on the theme of love were very common; among the early ones dealing exclusively with the theme of love and containing a considerable amount of poetry are *Iʿtilāl al-qulūb* (The Malady of the Hearts) of al-Kharāʾiṭī (d. 327/938), *ʿAṭf al-alif al-maʾlūf ʿalā l-lām al-maʿṭuf* (The Book of the Inclination of the Familiar Alif toward the Inclined Lām) of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Daylamī (d. early 4th/10th century) which deals with the subject of divine love, *al-Maṣūn fī sirr al-hawā l-maknūn* (The Chaste Book on the Secret of the Hidden Passion) of al-Ḥuṣrī al-Qayrawānī (d. 413/1022), *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāq* (The Demises of Lovers) of Ibn al-Sarrāj (d. 500/1106) which collects stories and poetry on the death of lovers, *Dhamm al-hawā* (The Condemnation of Passion) of Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), and *Rawḍat al-qulūb wa-nuzhat al-muḥibb wa-l-maḥbūb* (The Garden of the Hearts and the Pastime of the Lover and the Beloved) of Ibn al-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Naṣr al-Shayzarī (d. 6th/12th century).[85]

Forgiveness and apology is the subject of *al-ʿAfw wa-l-iʿtizār* (On Forgiveness and Apology) of Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ʿImrān al-ʿAbdī who is better known as al-Raqqām al-Baṣrī (d. 321/933). The book collects the various meanings of forgiveness, reprieve, and apology, narrates anecdotes and *akhbār*, often with poetry, on felons and how they were forgiven, and on the proper conduct of kings in such cases. On the theme of condolences and congratulations, Muḥammad b. Sahl b. al-Marzubān (d. ca. 340/951) compiled *Kitāb*

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[85] For more comprehensive lists of published anthologies on love with a discussion of their content, see L. A. Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love among the Arabs: The Development of the Genre* (New York: University Press, 1971), 3-50. See also Stefan Leder, *Ibn al-Ǧauzī und seine Kompilation wider die Leidenschaft: Der Traditionalist in gelehrter Überlieferung und originärer Lehre* (Beirut: Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1984), 54-57; and the introduction to al-Shayzarī, *Rawḍat al-qulūb wa-nuzhat al-muḥibb wa-l-maḥbūb*, ed. David Semah and George Kanazi (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), XVII-XXII. One should add to these lists Ibn al-Bakkāʾ al-Balkhī's (d. 1040/1630) *Ghawānī al-ashwāq fī maʿānī al-ʿushshāq*, ed. George Kanazi (Wiesbaden: Harrassiwitz, 2008).

al-Tahānī wa-l-taʿāzī (The Book of Felicitations and Condolences). Al-Mubar-
rad (d. 285/898) is the author of *Kitāb al-Taʿāzī* (The Book of Condolences),
which mixes poetry, eloquent speeches, and *rasāʾil* with edifying anecdotes on
death and dying. Friendship and its etiquette is the subject of Abū Ḥayyān
al-Tawḥīdī's *al-Ṣadāqah wa-l-ṣadīq* (Of Friendship and Friends) and another
work attributed to Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī entitled *Tarjamat al-kātib fī adab
al-ṣāḥib* (The Interpretation of the Secretary Concerning the Etiquette of
Friendship), which is attributed to al-Thaʿālibī and most probably dates to
al-Thaʿālibī's time as no material later than his life-span appears in it. Abū Bakr
Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. al-Marzubān (d. 309/921) compiled a short work
entitled *Faḍl al-kilāb ʿalā kathīr mimman labisa l-thiyāb* (The Book of the
Superiority of Dogs over Many of Those Who Wear Clothes), collecting
poems and anecdotes in praise of dogs.

Fuṣūl al-tamāthīl fī tabāshīr al-surūr (Passages of Poetic Similes on Joyful
Tidings) of the one-day caliph Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296-908) is concerned with
wine: its preparation, characteristics, vessels, etiquette of drinking, legal opin-
ions on it, and its effect on the human body. The work is divided into four
chapters (*fuṣūl*) each encompassing several sections (*abwāb*) on different
themes and motifs. Poetry constitutes the bulk of the work along with some
statements from the wisdom and medical literature. *Quṭb al-surūr fī awṣāf
al-khumūr* (The Pole of Pleasure on Descriptions of Liquor) by Raqīq
al-Qayrawānī (d. 425/1034) is perhaps the largest anthology of *akhbār*, anec-
dotes and poetry on the subject of wine. It collects the etiquette of wine and
wine parties, wine's curative qualities, textual citations dealing with it, legal
argument centered on it, entertaining stories about it, and concludes with
wine poetry arranged alphabetically according to rhyme.[86]

Another single-theme anthology is the fifth/eleventh century Spaniard
Abū al-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī's *al-Badīʿ fī waṣf al-rabīʿ* (The Book of the New
and Marvelous in the Description of Spring), which contains artistic prose

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[86] Another important late work on the theme of wine is *Ḥalbat al-Kumayt* by Muḥammad
b. Ḥasan al-Nawājī (d. 859/1455). The title of this work, "The Bay's Racecourse," is a pun-
ning allusion to the fact that *Kumayt*, bay-colored, is a conventional name for both horses and
wine. The work discusses the origins of wine, its names, appearance, advantages, addiction to
it, its qualities and correct behavior for a boon companion, wine parties and their preparation,
drinking-vessels, singing, instrumental music, candles, flowers and gardens. The *Adab al-nadīm*
(The Etiquette of the Boon-Companion) of Kushājim (d. 360/970) is concerned with the quali-
ties and etiquette of the boon-companion and encompasses much original prose by Kushājim;
and though it contains some poetry, its purpose seems to center on what makes a good boon
companion and lies outside the anthology genre. For a listing on similar literature on the boon
companion, see A. J. Chejne, "The Boon Companion in Early ʿAbbāsid Times," *Journal of the
American Oriental Society* 85 (1965), 327-35.

and poetry focusing on Hispano-Arabic nature poems. *Kitāb al-Anwār wa-maḥāsin al-ashʿār* (The Book of Lights and Finest Poems) by Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿAdwī al-Shimshāṭī (d. ca. 376/987) is concerned with the description of weapons, camels and horses, and *ayyām al-ʿArab* (pre-Islamic battles). Kushājim (d. 360/971) compiled *Kitāb al-Maṣāyid wa-l-maṭārid* (The Book of Traps and Hunting Spears) in which he describes the etiquette of hunting and chasing wild animals and assembles the best examples of the genre beside the verses of its masters Abū Nuwās and Ibn al-Muʿtazz. The Khālidiyyān brothers are also the authors of *Kitāb al-Tuḥaf wa-l-hadāyā* (The Book of Gifts and Bequests) in which they collect stories on the subject of gift exchange.[87]

Two extant works entitled *Kitāb al-Ḥanīn ila l-awṭān* (The Book of Yearning for the Homeland) collect poetry in connection with the experience of leaving one's home, the first by Mūsā b. ʿĪsā al-Kisrawī (d. 3rd/9th century) (formerly attributed to al-Jāḥiẓ), and the second by Ibn al-Marzubān (d. ca. 345/956). *Adab al-ghurabāʾ* (The Book of Strangers), attributed to Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (d. 356/967) contains poetry dealing with the subject of being a stranger.[88] *Zād safar al-mulūk* (Provision for the Travel of Kings) of al-Thaʿālibī consists of fifty 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, yearning for the homeland (*al-ḥanīn ila-l-awṭān*), being a stranger (*al-ghurbah*), extreme fatigue, and their appropriate cures. Similarly, *al-Manāzil wa-l-diyār* (The Book of Campsites and

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[87] Another work on the subject of exchanging gifts but mostly concerned with prose, is the anonymous *Kitāb al-Dhakhāʾir wa-l-tuḥaf* (The Book of Gifts and Rarities) from the 5th/11th century. The editor proposes that the author is the Qāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr based on a comparison of some passages with the later collection of al-Ghazūlī (d. 818/1415) entitled *al-ʿAjāʾib wa-l-ṭuraf* (The Marvels and the Unusual Coinings), see *Kitāb al-Dhakhāʾir wa-l-tuḥaf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh (Kuwayt: Dāʾirat al-Maṭbūʿāt wa-l-Nashr, 1959), 9-12. The translator of the work argues against this attribution and suggests that the author is a Fatimid official who was in Cairo in 444/1052-463/1070, see *Book of Gifts and Rarities*, tr. Ghāda al-Ḥijjāwī al-Qaddūmī (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 1996), 12-13. Stories from books on gift exchange articulating social conflict are analyzed in Jocelyn Sharlet, "Tokens of Resentment: Medieval Arabic Narratives about Gift Exchange and Social Conflict," *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 11 (2011), 62-100.

[88] For a detailed discussion of the attribution of this work see H. Kilpatrick, "On the Difficulty of Knowing Mediaeval Arab Authors: The Case of Abū l-Faraj and Pseudo-Iṣfahānī," in *Islamic Reflections, Arabic Musings: Studies in Honour of Professor Alan Jones*, eds. Robert G. Hoyland and Philip F. Kennedy (Cambridge: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2004), 230-242.

Abodes) of Usāmah b. Munqidh (d. 584/1188) collects poetry dealing with *aṭlāl*, abodes, cities, homelands, and crying over family and friends.[89]

Gray hair and aging is the subject of *al-Shihāb fī l-shayb wa-l-shabāb* (The Book of the Blaze concerning White Hair and Youth) of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 466/1044) in which he collected poetry on this subject by Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī, Ibn al-Rūmī, and himself. Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (d. 250/864) treated the subject of old age and wisdom in his *al-Muʿammarūn* (Long-lived Men). Al-Murtaḍā is also the author of *Ṭayf al-Khayāl* (The Nightly Phantom), which brings together verses dealing with the subject of the nightly or the dream phantom. ʿAlī b. Ẓāfir al-Azdī's (d. 613/1216 or 623/1226) *Badāʾiʿ al-badāʾih* (The Book of Astonishing Improvisations) collects poetry and anecdotes that feature remarkable improvisation (*badīhah*). Poetry of poetesses is a subject that is treated in *Ashʿār al-nisāʾ* (Poetry of Women) by Abū ʿUbaydallāh Muḥammad b. ʿImrān al-Marzubānī (d. ca. 384/994), although the work concentrates on accounts of the poetesses and is more of a biographical dictionary than an anthology. Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī (d. ca. 360/970) collects proverbial lines of poetry in his *al-Amthāl al-ṣādirah ʿan buyūt al-shiʿr* (Proverbs Originating

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[89] In addition to these specialized books, the themes of *al-ḥanīn ilā l-awṭān*, travel, and being a stranger are to be found in many multi-thematic anthologies in Arabic literature, see for a list of these anthologies the introduction of al-Thaʿālibī, *Zād safar al-mulūk*, ed. Ramzi Baalbaki and Bilal Orfali (Beirut: Bibliotheca Islamica 52, 2011). For secondary sources that tackled the subject, see Wadad Qadi, "Dislocation and Nostalgia: *al-ḥanīn ilā l-awṭān*: Expressions of Alienation in Early Arabic Literature," in *Myths, Historical Archetypes and Symbolic Figures in Arabic Literature*, ed. Angelika Neuwirth et al. (Beirut: Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1999), 3-31; K. Müller, "*al-Ḥanīn ilā l-awṭān* in Early *Adab* Literature," *Myths, Historical Archetypes and Symbolic Figures in Arabic Literature*, 33-58; A. Arazi, "*al-Ḥanīn ilā al-awṭān* entre la Ğāhiliyya et l'Islam: Le Bédouin et le citadin réconciliés," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 143 (1993), 287-327; F. Rosenthal, "The Stranger in Medieval Islam," *Arabica* 44 (1997), 35-75; Thomas Bauer, "Fremdheit in der klassischen arabischen Kultur und Sprache," in *Fremdes in fremden Sprachen*, ed. Brigitte Jostes and Jürgen Trabant (München: W. Fink, 2001), 85-105; Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuwwar, *al-Ḥanīn ilā l-waṭan fī l-adab al-ʿarabī ḥattā nihāyat al-ʿaṣr al-umawī* (Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, 1973); Yaḥyā al-Jubūrī, *al-Ḥanīn wa-l-ghurbah fī l-shiʿr al-ʿarabī* (ʿAmmān: Majdalāwī li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 2008). Yaḥyā al-Jubūrī (pp. 14-16) also lists a number of related books that did not survive; these are: *Ḥubb al-waṭan* (Love of the Homeland) by al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868), *al-Shawq ilā l-awṭān* (Longing for the Homeland) by Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (d. 255/868), *Ḥubb al-awṭān* by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893), *al-Ḥanīn ilā l-awṭān* by al-Washshāʾ (d. 325/937), *Ḥanīn al-ibil ilā l-awṭān* (The Yearning of the Camels for the Homeland) by Rabīʿah al-Baṣrī (d. 4th/5th century), *al-Liqāʾ wa-l-taslīm* (The Etiquette of Meeting and Greeting) by Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. 336/946), *al-Wadāʿ wa-l-firāq* (The Etiquette of Bidding Farewell and Parting) by Abū Ḥātim al-Bustī (d. 354/965), *al-Manāhil wa-l-aʿṭān wa-l-ḥanīn ilā l-awṭān* (The Book of the Springs and the Resting Places Concerning Yearning for the Homeland) by al-Rāmhurmuzī (d. 360/970), *Kitāb al-Taslīm wa-l-ziyārah* (The Book of the Etiquette of Greeting and Visiting) by Abū ʿUbaydallāh al-Marzubānī (d. ca. 384/994), *al-Ḥanīn ilā l-awṭān* by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 418/1027), and *al-Nuzūʿ ilā l-awṭān* (Striving for the Homeland) by Abū Saʿd ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Samʿānī (d. 562/1167).

from Lines of Poetry). The book includes 5312 proverbial lines of poetry categorized mostly by their incipits or first letters. One chapter assembles prose proverbs of Persian origin and a final chapter discusses similes (*tashbīhāt*).

A number of anthologies containing prose and poetry are compiled on the subject of pairing praise and blame of various things. A model example is *al-Maḥāsin wa-l-masāwiʾ* (The Book of Beauties and Imperfections) of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī (d. fourth/tenth century). Al-Thaʿālibī's *Taḥsīn al-qabīḥ wa-taqbīḥ al-ḥasan* (Beautifying the Ugly and Uglifying the Beautiful), *al-Yawāqīt fī baʿḍ al-mawāqīt* (The Book of the Precious Stones on Some Fixed Times and Places), and *al-Ẓarāʾif wa-l-laṭāʾif* (The Book of Amusing and Curious Stories Concerning the Praise of Things and Their Opposites) similarly treats the same topic.[90] In *al-Fāḍil fī ṣifat al-adab al-kāmil* (The Excellent Book on the Description of Perfect Education), al-Washshāʾ (d. 325/937) compiles *khuṭab, akhbār*, proverbs, and poetry that combine eloquence, conciseness and excellence (*al-balāghah wa-l-ījāz wa-l-barāʿah*). A similar work on the subject of concision is *al-Īʿjāz wa-l-ījāz* (Brevity and Inimitability) of al-Thaʿālibī. One can also consider these compilations as multi-thematic rather than mono-thematic because they arrange eloquent and concise statements under various headings. In *Bard al-akbād fī l-aʿdād* (The Cooling Refreshment of Hearts Concerning the Use of Numbers), al-Thaʿālibī furnishes five chapters of prose and poetry dealing with numerical divisions.

6. *Geographical Anthologies*

One of the earliest occurrences, if not the earliest, in Arabic literature of employing geographical categories for Arabic anthology writing is *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ* (The Classes of Champion Poets) of Ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī (d. 231-2/845-6).[91] The *Ṭabaqāt*, however, involves other criteria of classification.

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[90] On this genre, see G. J. van Gelder, "Beautifying the Ugly and Uglifying the Beautiful: The Paradox in Classical Arabic Literature," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 48.2 (2003): 321-351.

[91] See on this important early work: C. Brockelmann, "Das Dichterbuch des Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-Ǧumaḥī," in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke gewidmet* I (Gieszen: Alfrad Töpelmann, 1906), 109-126; Joseph Hell, *Die Klassen der Dichter des Muḥ. B. Sallām al-Ǧumaḥī* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1916); G. Levi della Vida, "Sulle Ṭabaqāt aš-šuʿarāʾ di Muḥammad b. Sallām," *Revista degli Studi Orientali* 8 (1919), 611-36; Ṭāhā Ibrāhīm, *Taʾrīkh al-naqd al-adabī ʿinda l-ʿArab min al-ʿaṣr al-jāhilī ilā l-qarn al-rābiʿ al-hijrī* (Beirut: Dār al-Ḥikmah, n.d.), 101-23; A. Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des arabes* (Damas: Institut français de Damas, 1955), 63-66; Walid Arafat, "Landmarks of Literary Criticism in the 3rd Century A. H.," *Islamic Quarterly* 13 (1969), 70-78; Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *Taʾrīkh al-naqd al-adabī ʿinda l-ʿarab* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1971), 78-82; H. Kilpatrick, "Criteria of Classification in the *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ* of Muḥammad b. Sallām al-Jumaḥī (d. 232/846)," in *Proceedings of the Ninth Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, ed. Rudolph Peters. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981), 141-52; A. S. Gamal,

Ibn Sallām organizes his poets into two large chronological sections, *jahilī* and *islāmī*,[92] each including ten classes[93] arranged in order of merit.[94] Each class contains four equally able poets.[95] Between these two sections intervene a class of four *marāthī* poets, four sections on "town poets" (*shuʿarāʾ al-qurā*) including thirty names from Madīnah, Mecca, Ṭāʾif, Baḥrayn, and Jewish poets. In each entry, Ibn Sallām evaluates the poet, and appends a sample of his poetry and *akhbār*. Throughout the work Ibn Sallām compares the poets and justifies their inclusion in their class.[96] The division between *islāmī* and *jāhilī* groups suggests a chronological interest, but productivity,[97] meter,[98] style,[99] versatility,[100] and tribal adherence likewise matter.[101] Awareness of geographical differences is manifested in the section on "town poets." As for the city sections, Ibn Sallām does not justify their inclusion nor does he point out common geographical features.[102]

"The Organizational Principles in Ibn Sallām's Ṭabaqāt Fuḥūl al-Shuʿarāʾ: A Reconsideration," in *Tradition and Modernity in Arabic Language and Literature*, ed. J. R. Smart, (New York: Routledge, 1996), 186-210; W. Ouyang, *Literary Criticism in Medieval Arabic-Islamic Culture: The Making of a Tradition* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 94-102.

[92] As Trabulsi and Kilpatrick note, the terms pre-Islamic and Islamic are not adequate since a number of the *islāmī* poets are *jāhilī* as well, see Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des arabes*, 36; H. Kilpatrick, "Criteria of Classification," 142-3. Trabulsi explains that the first group really covers pre-Islamic and *mukhaḍram* poets, while the second group includes the first two centuries of Islam with the exception of two *jāhilī* poets, Bashāmah b. al-Ghadīr and Qurād b. Ḥanash, see Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des arabes*, 37. Kilpatrick points out that Ibn Sallām used other criteria beyond chronology; see "Criteria of Classification," 146ff.

[93] I. Hafsi suggests that Ibn Sallām was methodologically influenced by Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845) and his work on the classes of the companions of the Prophet, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*. See I. Hafsi, "Recherches sur le genre 'Ṭabaqāt' dans la littérature arabe," *Arabica* 24 (1977), 151.

[94] A. S. Gamal rejects the idea that Ibn Sallām intended to rank the poets, see A. S. Gamal, "The Organizational Principles," 196ff.

[95] Ibn Sallām explains his plan in the introduction, which also deals with the authenticity of poetry and the origin of the Arabic language; see W. Ouyang, *Literary Criticism in Medieval Arabic-Islamic Culture*, 94-102.

[96] See H. Kilpatrick, "Criteria of Classification," 143ff.

[97] See Ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī, *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Madanī, 1974), 137, 151, 155, 733.

[98] Ibn Sallām devotes class IX to Islamic poets who composed *rajaz*.

[99] *Islāmī* class VI groups Ḥijāzī poets for their distinctive regional style.

[100] Ibn Sallām preferred Kuthayyir over Jamīl because he covers more genres, ibid., 2: 540.

[101] *Islāmī* class VIII is dedicated to the Banū Murrah clan, see ibid., 709, fn. 1; class X to sub-tribes of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah, see ibid., 770, fn. 1.

[102] M. Z. Sallām considers the section on town poets as not original to *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ* since it departs from the four-poet organizational principle applied throughout the work, see his *Taʾrīkh al-naqd al-ʿarabī ilā l-qarn al-rābiʿ al-hijrī*, 106.

Despite occasional comments on the relationship between poetry and place in various *adab* works in the third/ninth century,[103] the idea does not seem to have played a role in Arabic anthological writings before the *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsin ahl al-ʿaṣr* of Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī.[104] The work aims to present a systematic geographic survey of all major contemporary Arabic poets, divided into four *aqsām* from west to east: (1) Syria and the west (Mawṣil, Egypt, Maghrib); (2) Iraq; (3) West Iran (al-Jabal, Fārs, Jurjān, and Ṭabaristān); (4) East Iran (Khurāsān and Transoxania). Each *qism* is further divided into ten *abwāb* based on individual literary figures, courts and dynasties, cities, or smaller regions.[105] The geographic order of the *Yatīmah* was a large success and al-Thaʿālibī himself wrote the first sequel, *Tatimmat al-Yatīmah*. Thereafter, the *Yatīmah* was to influence Arabic anthology writing for centuries to come, precisely because the geographical arrangement allowed the inclusion of many poets; it was an easy reference and permitted the study of literature by city, region, and court.

Among the anthologies following in al-Thaʿālibī's footsteps were *Dumyat al-qaṣr wa-ʿuṣrat ahl al-ʿaṣr* (Statue of the Palace and Refuge of the People of the Present Age) of al-Bākharzī (d. 467/1075), *Wishāḥ Dumyat al-qaṣr wa-laqāḥ rawḍat al-ʿaṣr* (The Necklace of the Statue of the Palace and the Fertilization of the Meadow of the Age) by Abū l-Ḥasan b. Zayd al-Bayhaqī (d. 565/1169),[106] and *Kharīdat al-qaṣr wa-jarīdat al-ʿaṣr* (The Virgin Pearl of

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[103] See a discussion of these in al-Jādir, *al-Thaʿālibī nāqidan wa-adīban* (Beirut: Dār al-Niḍāl, 1991), 193ff.

[104] Al-Ḥuṣrī in *Zahr al-ādāb* states that al-Thaʿālibī modeled the *Yatīmah* on a work by Hārūn b. ʿAlī al-Munajjim al-Baghdādī (d. 288/900) entitled *al-Bāriʿ fī akhbār al-shuʿarāʾ al-muwalladīn* (The Elegant Book about the Accounts of Post-Classical Poets). This lost work, according to al-Ḥuṣrī, collected the names of 161 poets, starting with Bashshār b. Burd and ending with Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ, see al-Ḥuṣrī al-Qayrawānī, *Zahr al-ādāb wa-thimār al-albāb*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī (Cairo: al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1970), 1: 220. Most probably, al-Ḥuṣrī means here that al-Thaʿālibī followed Hārūn b. ʿAlī al-Munajjim in his interest in *muḥdath* poetry and not in organizing an anthology on a geographical basis. In fact, a few *akhbār* and anthologies dealing with *muḥdath* poetry prior to al-Thaʿālibī survive. For the different attitudes towards *muḥdath* poetry see G. J. van Gelder, "Muḥdathūn," *EI²* Suppl., 637-40 and literature given there. See also S. P. Stetkevych, *Abū Tammām and the Poetics of the ʿAbbāsid Age*, 5-37.

[105] For the content, organization of entries, and selection and arrangement of material in *Yatīmat al-dahr* and *Tatimmat al-Yatīmah*, see B. Orfali, *The Art of Anthology: Al-Thaʿālibī and His* Yatīmat al-dahr, (Ph.D. dissertation) Yale University, New Haven 2009, chapters 5 and 6. See also introduction of Everett Rowson and Seegar A. Bonebakker, *A Computerized Listing of Biographical Data from the Yatīmat al-Dahr by al-Thaʿālibī* (Malibu: UNDENA Publications, 1980).

[106] This work survives in an incomplete manuscript, MS Huseyin Celebi 870, with a microfilm in Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt in Cairo, see Fuʾād al-Sayyid, *Fihrist al-Makhṭūṭāt al-Muṣawwarah* (Cairo: Dār al-Riyāḍ li-l-Ṭabʿ wa-l-Nashr, 1954-1963), 1: 545. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī mentioned it

the Palace and Register of the People of the Present Age) by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201).[107]

Other geographical anthologies are concerned with particular regions. Al-Andalus stands out in this respect, and the influence of the *Yatīmah* can be noticed from the authors' prefaces and sometimes their titles. *Al-Dhakhīrah fī maḥāsin ahl al-Jazīrah* (Book of the Treasure-House Concerning the Elegant Aspects of the People of the [Iberian] Peninsula) by Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī (d. 543/1147) collects the poetry of al-Andalus, inspired by al-Thaʿālibī who is mentioned in the introduction.[108] Also concerned with the poetry and prose

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several times and used it as a source, see *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, 239, 244, 512, 571, 633, 651, 1664, 1683, 1736-7, 1763-7, 1782-3, 1836-7, 2095, 2355, 2363, 2369.

[107] Similar works compiled later than the fall of Baghdād include: *Rayḥānat al-alibbāʾ wa-zahrat al-ḥayāt al-dunyā* (The Basil of the Intelligent and the Flower of Life in this World) by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khafājī (d. 1069/1659) and its sequels, the *Nafḥat al-rayḥānah wa-rashḥat ṭilāʾ al-ḥānah* (The Scent of the Basil and the Flowing Wine of the Tavern) of al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699) (a sequel of *Rayḥānat al-alibbāʾ*), *Sulāfat al-ʿaṣr fī maḥāsin al-shuʿarāʾ bi-kulli miṣr* (Precedence of the Age/Pressings of the Wine-Grapes on the Excellences of Poets from Every Place) by Ibn Maʿṣūm al-Madanī (d. 1104/1692). *Tuḥfat al-dahr wa-nafḥat al-zahr* (The Present of the Time and the Scent of the Flowers) of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Dāghistānī (d. 1206/1791), MS Cambridge University Lib. Add. 785 and MS Topkapi 519. Other lost works following *al-Yatīmah* include: (1) *Dhayl al-Yatīmah* (Continuation of the *Yatīmah*) by Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. al-Muẓaffar al-Nīshāpūrī (d. 442/1051); see al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, 1016-7; Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asmāʾ al-kutub wa-l-funūn* (Baghdad: Maṭbaʿat al-Muthannā, 1972), 2: 2049; (2) *Jinān al-janān wa-riyāḍ al-adhhān* (The Paradise of the Hearts and the Gardens of the Minds) of al-qāḍī Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Zubayr al-Aswānī al-Miṣrī (d. 562/1166), see *Kharīdat al-qaṣr qism shuʿarāʾ Miṣr*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn, Shawqī Ḍayf, and Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Cairo: Lajnat al-Taʾlīf wa-l-Tarjamah wa-l-Nashr, 1951), 1: 200; (3) *Durrat al-wishāḥ* (The Pearl of The Necklace) by al-Bayhaqī (d. 565/1169), the author of *Wishāḥ al-Dumyah*; see al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, 1762 and al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, eds. Aḥmad al-Arnāʾūṭ and Turkī Muṣṭafā (Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 2000), 20: 84; (4) *Zīnat al-dahr fī laṭāʾif shuʿarāʾ al-ʿaṣr* (The Ornament of Time Concerning the Subtleties of the Poets of the Age) (a sequel to *Dumyat al-qaṣr*) by Abū l-Maʿālī al-Ḥaẓīrī (d. 568/1172-3), praised by Ibn Khallikān for the high number of poets included; it was a source for him and other authors, such as Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, al-Dhahabī, and al-Ṣafadī; see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* 1: 144, 2: 183, 189, 366, 368, 384, 390, 4: 393, 450, 5: 149, 6: 50-1, 70, 7: 230; al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, 262, 1350; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa-l-aʿlām*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1993), 36 (yrs 521-540): 362, 39: 318, 42: 319; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt* 2: 74, 4: 105, 5: 163, 8: 185, 15: 106, 19: 310, 27: 117; (5) *al-Mukhtār fī l-nazm wa-l-nathr li-afāḍil ahl al-ʿaṣr* (The Anthology of Poetry and of Prose by the Best Men of the Age) by Ibn Bishrūn al-Ṣiqillī (d. after 561/1166); see Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-ẓunūn* 2: 1103, 1624 (6) *Dhayl Yatīmat al-dahr* (Continuation of *Yatīmat al-dahr*) by Usāmah b. Munqidh (d. 584/1188); see al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, 579.

[108] Ḥājjī Khalīfah mentions three further works that follow the (reduced) scheme of *Yatīmat al-dahr* in al-Andalus, namely, *al-Unmūdhaj fī shuʿarāʾ al-Qayrawān* (Specimen of the Poets of al-Qayrawān) by Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Rashīq al-Azdī al-Mahdawī (d. 463/1071), see Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-ẓunūn* 2: 1103; *al-Mulaḥ al-ʿaṣriyyah* (The Contemporary Pleasantries) by Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar al-Ṣiqillī (d. 515/1121), see ibid., 2: 1103; and *al-Ḥadīqah fī shuʿarāʾ al-Andalus* (The Garden on the Poets of al-Andalus) by al-Ḥākim Abū al-Ṣalt Umayyah b. ʿAbd

of the Muslim West are *Qalāʾid al-ʿiqyān fī maḥāsin al-aʿyān* (The Golden Necklaces Concerning the Elegant Aspects of the Eminent People) and the *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus wa masraḥ al-taʾannus* (The Aspiring-Point for Souls and the Open Field for Familiarity) by al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān in the sixth/twelfth century, and the anthology of Sicilian poetry, the *Kitāb al-Durrah al-khaṭīrah min shuʿarāʾ al-Jazīrah* (The Book of the Great Pearl from the Poets of the [Iberian] Peninsula) by Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ (d. 515/1121). *Al-Muṭrib min ashʿār ahl al-Maghrib* (The Amusing Book of the Poetry of the People from the West) by Ibn Diḥya al-Kalbī deals with poetry from al-Andalus and al-Maghrib with *isnād*s. *Kanz al-kuttāb wa-muntakhab al-ādāb* (The Treasure of the Secretaries and the Selection of the Proper Conduct) by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Fihrī al-Būnisī (d. 651/1253) is concerned with Andalusian poetry and prose. *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn* (The Banners of the Champions) by Ibn Saʿīd (d. 685/1286) contains poetry from al-Andalus, North Africa, and Sicily from several centuries, organized first by place, second by the poets' professions, and third by century. ʿIṣām al-Dīn ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī al-ʿUmarī (twelfth/eighteenth century) is the author of *al-Rawḍ al-naḍir fī tarjamat udabāʾ al-ʿaṣr* (The Blossoming Garden Concerning the Biographies of the Contemporary *Littérateurs*), an anthology of the poets of Iraq and Rūm, which he wrote as a sequel to *Rayḥānat al-alibbāʾ*.

7. *Musical Anthologies*

The voluminous *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (d. 356/967) stands alone in this category. It is in great part a selection of poems and *akhbār* arranged in biographies that are based on an anthology of songs.[109] Each section is introduced by a song followed with entries on its poet and its composer and any information about its performance. This is generally followed by a title indicating the subject of the subsequent *akhbār*.[110]

8. *Anthologies Concerned with Figures of Speech*

Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt (The Book of Similes) of Ibn Abī ʿAwn (d. 322/933), the Andalusian *Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt* by Ibn al-Kattānī (d. 420/1029), and *Gharāʾib*

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al-ʿAzīz (d. 529/1134), see ibid., 1: 646. One cannot tell however from these brief mentions how precisely *al-Yatīmah* was followed.

[109] See H. Kilpatrick, "Cosmic Correspondences: Songs as a Starting Point for an Encyclopaedic Portrayal of Culture," in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts*, ed. Peter Binkley (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 137-46.

[110] There are cases when the entries are on events and relationships rather than personalities. For a detailed study of the structure of *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and its composition, see H. Kilpatrick, *Making the Great Book of Songs*.

al-tanbīhāt ʿalā ʿajāʾib al-tashbīhāt (Exceptional Remarks on Remarkable Similes) by ʿAlī b. Ẓāfir al-Azdī (d. 613/1216 or 623/1226) are concerned with the concept of *tashbīh* (simile). Paronomasia is the subject of al-Thaʿālibī's *Ajnās al-tajnīs* (Types of Paronomasia) and *al-Anīs fī ghurar al-tajnīs* (The Companion to the Best Paronomasia), where he collects examples of modern and contemporary poetry and prose. Al-Thaʿālibī also compiled an anthology of quotations from the Qurʾān, prose, verse, and *ḥadīth* that contain allusions and metonymies entitled *al-Kināyah wa-l-taʿrīḍ* (The Book of Hinting and Allusion). *Al-Tawfīq li-l-talfīq* (The Guide to Successful Patching [of Words]) encompasses thirty chapters on the use of *talfīq* in different themes. *Talfīq* refers to sewing, fitting, and putting together, and in this context it signifies an establishment of a relationship between words or terms, and homogeneity of expression (by maintenance of the stylistic level, ambiguity, assonance, etc.).[111] Abū l-Maʿālī Saʿd b. ʿAlī b. al-Qāsim al-Ḥaẓīrī al-Warrāq known as Dallāl al-Kutub (d. 568/1172-3) deals in his voluminous *Kitāb Lumaḥ al-mulaḥ* (Flashes of Pleasantries) with *sajʿ* and *jinās*. After a theoretical chapter outlining the different categories of both arts, al-Ḥaẓīrī arranges poetry and prose featuring *jinās* and/or *sajʿ* solely according to rhyme, thus bringing together poetry dealing with multiple themes under the same category.

9. *Chronological Biographical Anthologies*

This type of anthology collects choice poetry arranged in a chronological order. The third part of *Lubāb al-ādāb* (The Core of Culture) of al-Thaʿālibī, is an anthology of poetry (the first part being lexicographical and the second concerned with prose) that collects the best poetry of a considerable number of poets who range from pre-Islamic times until the author's own days. Ibn Saʿīd al-Gharnāṭī (d. 685/1286) devotes his *ʿUnwān al-murqiṣāt wa-l-muṭribāt* (Patterns of Verses Evoking Dance and Song) to verses that show striking originality in chronological order.

10. *Anthologies on One Poet*

Several anthologies are compiled from works of well-known poets. For example, al-Khālidiyyān compiled individual anthologies from the poetry of Bashshār b. Burd, Muslim b. al-Walīd, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, and al-Buḥturī.[112] ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Muṭawwaʿī (d. ca. 440/1121) compiled ten chapters of the

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[111] For this technical use of the term *talfīq* with examples, see M. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache, Lām,* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989, *talfīq, 1035.*

[112] See A. Hamori, "Anthologies," *EI³* (online), see also Sezgin, *GAS* 2: 457, 627-628.

prose and poetry of Abū l-Faḍl al-Mīkālī under the title of *Darj al-ghurar wa-durj al-durar* (The Register of Beauties and the Drawer of Pearls). Hibatullāh Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Asṭurlābī (d. 534/1139-40) anthologized in *Durrat al-tāj min shiʿr Ibn al-Ḥajjāj* (The Crown Pearl of Ibn al-Ḥajjāj's Poetry) the subtle meanings and the clever utterances found in the ribald and obscene poetry of Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (d. 391/1001), to facilitate its use for the *kuttāb* and the *udabāʾ* in need of poetry to illustrate ideas and situations but not talented enough to compose it themselves.[113] Finally, ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078) selected brief passages from the *dīwān*s of al-Mutanabbī, Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī.[114]

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[113] See Asṭurlābī, *Durrat al-tāj min shiʿr Ibn al-Ḥajjāj*, ed. ʿAlī Jawād al-Ṭāhir (Baghdad; Berlin: Manshūrāt al-Jamal, 2009), 42, 52.

[114] These selections are published in ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī, *al-Ṭarāʾif al-adabiyyah* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Lajnat al-Taʾlīf wa-l-Tarjamah wa-Nashr, 1937), 196-305. Al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī collected the poetry of six pre-Islamic poets in his *Ashʿār al-shuʿarāʾ al-sittah al-jāhiliyyīn* (Poetry of the Six Pre-Islamic Poets), but each section of this work constitutes a *dīwān* for one of these poets and cannot be regarded as an anthology.