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The Sources of al-Thaʿālibī in Yatīmat al-Dahr and Tatimmat al-Yatīma

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The Sources of al-Thaʿālibī in *Yatīmat al-Dahr* and *Tatimmat al-Yatīma*

BILAL ORFALI

Abstract

This paper surveys and analyzes the written, oral, and aural sources of two major anthologies, the *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsin ahl al-ʿaṣr* and its sequel the *Tatimmat al-Yatīma* of Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī, which deal exclusively with contemporary literature based on geographical regions. The paper uncovers a network of *littérateurs*, active in the second half of the fourth/10th century, who constituted the major authorities for both works. The survey of the sources in the *Yatīma* and the *Tatimma* strongly evinces a return to oral transmission, necessitated by the newness of the information that had yet to be recorded in books. The survey also reveals the use of complementary transmissions through *dīwān*s, books, and other written materials. This distribution of sources is not uniform throughout the *aqsām* of the *Yatīma* and the *Tatimma*.

Introduction

The *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsin ahl al-ʿaṣr* and its sequel The *Tatimmat al-Yatīma* of Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī (350–429/961–1039)[1] are perhaps the oldest surviving books in Arabic that examine literature based on geographical regions and contemporary production.[2] Moreover, many of the poets mentioned in these anthologies are known

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[1]For a detailed biography of al-Thaʿālibī see Everett Rowson, 'al-Thaʿālibī,' *EI²* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), X: 426a–427b; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden: Brill, 1943–9), I: 284–6, S I: 499–502; Clifford Edmund Bosworth, trans., *The Laṭāʾif al-Maʿārif of Thaʿālibī* [The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information] (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1968), 1–31; Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh al-Jādir, *al-Thaʿālibī nāqidan wa-adīban* (Beirut: Dār al-Niḍāl, 1991), 15–132; and Zakī Mubārak, *al-Nathr al-fannī fī l-qarn al-rābiʿ* (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Tijāriyya al-Kubrā, [1957]), 2: 179–90 and the primary sources provided there. See also Bilal Orfali, 'The Art of Anthology: Al-Thaʿālibī and His *Yatīmat al-dahr*' (PhD dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, 2009).

[2]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* of Ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī (d. 231–2/845–6). The *Ṭabaqāt*, however, involves other criteria of classification. Ibn Sallām organizes his poets into two large chronological sections, *jāhilī* and *islāmī*, each including 10 classes arranged probably in order of merit. Each class contains four equally able poets. Between these two sections intervene a class of four *marāthī* poets, four sections on 'town poets' (*shuʿarāʾ al-qurā*) including 30 names from Madīna, 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. The division between *islāmī* and *jāhilī* groups suggests a chronological

only through al-Thaʿālibī. Both of these anthologies are thus among the most important sources for the literature of the second half of the fourth/10th century.

Despite occasional comments on the relationship between poetry and place in various *adab* works in the third/ninth century,[3] this idea does not seem to have played a role in Arabic anthological writings before the *Yatīmat al-dahr* of Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī.[4] The work aims to present a systematic geographic survey of all major contemporary Arabic poets, divided into four regions (*aqsām*) from west to east: Syria and the west (Mawṣil, Egypt, Maghrib); Iraq; Western Iran (al-Jabal, Fārs, Jurjān, and Ṭabaristān); and Eastern Iran (Khurāsān and Transoxania). Each *qism* is further divided into 10 parts (*abwāb*) based on individual literary figures, courts and dynasties, cities, or smaller regions. Al-Thaʿālibī occasionally adds critical comments, a discussion of *sariqāt* (literary borrowings) and/or *muʿāraḍāt* (literary emulations), information on the historical contexts of the poems, and biographical information on the literary figures. The structure of the *Tatimma* follows the *Yatīma* in its *aqsām*, but no smaller division is attempted. The *Tatimma* alone has a final *qism* that does not fit into the book's plan, since it includes *littérateurs* from all regions. These are either poets whose poetry al-Thaʿālibī became acquainted with later in life or whose poetry or prose he forgot to enter within the section that covered the *littérateur*'s geographic location. He admits that these *littérateurs* are arranged neither chronologically nor by rank, and are to be viewed instead as the dessert, served at the end of a feast.[5]

The geographic ordering of the *Yatīma* and the *Tatimma* was a great success. Both works influenced Arabic anthology writing for centuries, precisely because the geographical arrangement allowed the inclusion of many *littérateurs* and it provided an easy reference that permitted the study of literature by city, region, and court. Among the anthologies following in al-Thaʿālibī's footsteps were *Dumyat al-qaṣr* of al-Bākharzī (d. 467/1075), *Wishāḥ dumyat al-qaṣr wa-luqāḥ rawḍat al-ʿaṣr* by Abū l-Ḥasan b. Zayd

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interest, but prolificacy, meter, style, versatility, and tribal adherence likewise matter. Awareness of geographical differences is manifested in the section on 'town poets.' As for the city sections, Ibn Sallām does not justify their inclusions nor does he point out common geographical features. See on *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ* and Ibn Sallām's criteria of selection: Walid Arafat, 'Landmarks of Literary Criticism in the 3rd Century A. H.', *Islamic Quarterly* 13 (1969): 70–8; Hilary 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: Brill, 1981), 141–52 ; and Adel Gamal, '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, and the sources listed there.

[3]See a discussion of these in al-Jādir, *al-Thaʿālibī nāqidan wa-adīban*, 193ff.

[4]Al-Ḥuṣrī in *Zahr al-ādāb* states that al-Thaʿālibī modeled the *Yatīma* on a work by Hārūn b. ʿAlī al-Munajjim al-Baghdādī (d. 288/900) entitled *al-Bāriʿ fī akhbār al-shuʿarāʾ al-muwalladīn*. 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. ʿA. M. 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. For the different attitudes towards *muḥdath* poetry see Geert Jan van Gelder, 'Muḥdathūn,' *EI²* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), Suppl.: 637–40 and literature given there. See also Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, *Abū Tammām and the Poetics of the ʿAbbāsid Age* (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1991), 5–37.

[5]Al-Thaʿālibī, *Tatimmat al-Yatīma*, ed. M.M. Qumayḥa (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1983), 283.

al-Bayhaqī (d. 565/1169),[6] *Kharīdat al-qaṣr wa-jarīdat al-ʿaṣr* by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201),[7] *Rayḥānat al-udabāʾ* by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khafājī (d. 1069/1659) and its sequels, the *Nafḥat al-rayḥāna wa-rashḥat ṭilāʾ al-ḥāna* of al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699), and *Sulāfat al-ʿaṣr fī maḥāsin al-shuʿarāʾ bi-kulli miṣr* by Ibn Maʿṣūm al-Madanī (d. 1104/1692).[8]

Both the *Yatīma* and the *Tatimma* started as 'works in progress'.[9] Al-Thaʿālibī began *Yatīmat al-dahr* in 384/994 and dedicated it to an unnamed vizier (*aḥad al-wuzarāʾ*).[10] Later he grew dissatisfied with its lack of comprehensiveness and continuously re-edited and re-organized it.[11] Al-Thaʿālibī provides no date for the second edition of the *Yatīma*. Rowson and Bonebakker suggest the year 403/1012 as a plausible date for the completion of the *Yatīma*, given that the latest date mentioned in the work is Muḥarram 402 (August 1011).[12] As for the *Tatimma*, al-Thaʿālibī states in the introduction that the first edition was dedicated to the Ghaznavid courtier *al-shaykh* Abū l-Ḥasan

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[6]This work survives in an incomplete manuscript, MS Huseyin Çelebi 870, with a microfilm in Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt in Cairo; see Fuʿād al-Sayyid, *Fihrist al-Makhṭūṭāt al-Muṣawwara* (Cairo: Dār al-Riyāḍ ll-l-Ṭabʿ wa-l-Nashr, 1954–63), 1: 545. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī mentioned it several times and used it as a source; see *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1993), 239, 244, 512, 571, 633, 651, 1664, 1683, 1736-7, 1763-7, 1782-3, 1836-7, 2095, 2355, 2363, 2369.

[7]This work has been edited in separate editions of the volumes addressing Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and North Africa, Sicily, and al-Andalus.

[8]Lost works are: (1) *Dhayl al-Yatīma* by Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. al-Muẓaffar al-Nīshāpūrī (d. 442/1051), see al-Ḥamawī, 1016–17; and Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *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* of al-qāḍī Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Zubayr al-Aswānī al-Miṣrī (d. 562/1166), see Al-Kātib al-Iṣbahānī, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr qism shuʿarāʾ Miṣr*, ed. A. Amīn, Sh. Dayf, and I. ʿAbbās (Cairo: Lajnat al-Taʾlīf wa-l-Tarjama wa-l-Nashr, 1951), 1: 200. (3) *Durrat al-wishāḥ* by al-Bayhaqī (d. 565/1169), the author of *Wishāḥ al-Dumya*; see al-Ḥamawī, 1762; and al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-l-Wafayāt*, ed. A. al-Arnaʾūṭ and T. Muṣṭafā (Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 2000), 20: 84. (4) *Zīnat al-dahr fī laṭāʾif shuʿarāʾ al-ʿaṣr* (a sequel to *Dumyat al-qaṣr*) by Abū l-Maʿālī al-Ḥaẓīrī (d. 568/1172), praised by Ibn Khallikān for the high number of poets included; it was a source for him and other authors, especially Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, al-Dhahabī, and al-Ṣafadī; see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān wa-anbāʾ abnāʾ al-zamān*, ed. I. ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968), 1: 144, 2: 183, 189, 366, 368, 384, 390, 4: 393, 450, 5: 149, 6: 50–1, 70, 7: 230; al-Ḥamawī, 262, 1350; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām*, ed. ʿU. ʿA. Tadmurī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1993), 36: 362, 39: 318, 42: 319; and al-Ṣafadī 2: 74, 4: 105, 5: 163, 8: 185, 15: 106, 19: 310, 27: 117. (5) *al-Mukhtār fī l-naẓm wa-l-nathr li-afāḍil ahl al-ʿaṣr* by Ibn Bishrūn al-Ṣiqillī (d. after 561/1166); see Ḥājjī Khalīfa 2: 1103, 1624. (6) *Dhayl Yatīmat al-dahr* by Usāma b. Munqidh (d. 584/1188); see al-Ḥamawī, 579.

[9]On the periodic reworking of al-Thaʿālibī's books, see Bilal Orfali, 'The Works of Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī (350–429/961–1039),' *Journal of Arabic Literature* 40 (2009): 276–78, and idem, 'The Art of the Muqaddima in the Works of Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī,' in *The Weaving of Words: Approaches to Classical Arabic Prose*, ed. Lale Behzadi and Vahid Behmardi (Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut, 2009), 188–90.

[10]Al-Jādir proposes Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Kathīr, who served as vizier for Abū ʿAlī b. Sīmjūrī. Al-Jādir justifies the omission of the dedication in the second edition by explaining that al-Thaʿālibī reworked the book during the reign of the Ghaznavids, who succeeded Abū ʿAlī b. Sīmjūrī and opposed his vizier. Consequently, al-Thaʿālibī did not want to alienate the Ghaznavids by mentioning a previous enemy in the preface. See Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh al-Jādir, 'Dirāsa tawthīqiyya li-muʾallafāt al-Thaʿālibī,' *Majallat Maʿhad al-Buḥūth wa-l-Dirāsāt al-ʿArabiyya* 12 (1403/1983): 442.

[11]Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsin ahl al-ʿaṣr*, ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamid (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Tijāriyya, 1956), 1: 18–19.

[12]In support of this is the fact that al-Thaʿālibī's references to the *amīr* of Jurjān, Qābūs b. Wushmagīr, and the Ghaznavid vizier, Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl b. Aḥmad al-Isfarāyīnī, show no knowledge of their depositions and deaths, which occurred in early 403/1012 and 404/1013–14, respectively; see Everett Rowson and Seeger A. Bonebakker, *A Computerized Listing* of *Biographical Data from the* Yatīmat al-Dahr *by al-Thaʿālibī* (Malibu: UNDENA Publications, 1980), 8–9 where the completion date of the *Yatīma* is discussed and questioned.

Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Karajī. The second edition includes events that took place in year 424/1032 and thus dates to after this year.

The main reason for the reworking of the *Yatīma* and the *Tatimma* seems to be the availability of new literary material that necessitated either the inclusion of more entries or the modification of old ones.[13] During the course of his life, al-Thaʿālibī traveled extensively within the eastern part of the Islamic world, visiting centers of learning and meeting other prominent figures of his time. These travels allowed him to collect directly from various authors or written works the vast amount of material he incorporates in these two wide-ranging works.

Shawkat Toorawa argues 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 drop in the reliance on oral and aural[14] transmission of knowledge and an increased dependence on books and written materials.[15] Walter Werkmeister examined the sources of *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* and showed that the majority of the material used by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d. 328/940) was obtained from *majālis* and *ḥalaqāt*, and not from written sources.[16] Manfred Fleischhammer studied Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's (d. 356/967) manner of working in *K. al-Aghānī* and identified the oral and written sources he used.[17] Fleischhammer's careful sifting through the *isnād*s (chains of transmitters) provides two insights: first, the compiler drew his material from a limited number of informants, and second, al-Iṣbahānī indicates the main written works from which he quoted. Fuat Sezgin also addresses the sources of *K. al-Aghānī*. He agrees with Fleischhammer on the number of authorities from whom Abū l-Faraj draws, but argues that the author almost always used written texts.[18] Sebastian Günther similarly reviews the sources of another work by Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, the *Maqātil al-ṭālibiyyīn*, and concludes that the author relied on a variety of aural and written sources, with both collective and single *isnād*s.[19]

The *Yatīma* and the *Tatimma*, although close in time to the above-mentioned compilations, are different in that they deal almost exclusively with contemporary literature—a largely unexamined corpus that had yet to be recorded in books, as al-Thaʿālibī notes in the introduction to the *Yatīma*. From where does al-Thaʿālibī gather his information

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[13]*Yatīma* 1: 18.

[14]The term 'aural' came to be seen as useful in historical–analytical studies of the sources of medieval Arabic compilations because it values 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 aloud from a written text; for more information and studies on aural transmission, see Sebastian Günther, 'Assessing the Sources of Classical Arabic Compilations,' *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 32 (2005): 75–98.

[15]Shawkat Toorawa, *Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr and Arabic Writerly Culture: A Ninth-century Bookman in Baghdad* (London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 124. See also Gregor Schoeler, *The Genesis of Literature in Islam*, trans. Shawkat Toorawa (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 122–5.

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

[17]Manfred Fleischhammer, *Die Quellen des Kitāb al-Aġānī* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004).

[18]Fuat Sezgin, '*Maṣādir kitāb al-aghānī li-Abī l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī*,' in *Vorträge zur Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften* (Frankfūrt: Maʿhad Tārīkh al-ʿUlūm al-ʿArabiyya wa-l-Islāmiyya fī iṭār Jāmiʿat Frankfūrt, 1984), 147–58.

[19]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*, ed. R. Brunner et al. ([Heidelberg]: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 2000), 139–54.

then? This article aims to provide an overview of the sources—oral, aural, and written—from which al-Thaʿālibī compiled *Yatīmat al-dahr* and *Tatimmat al-Yatīma*.

Written Sources

Al-Thaʿālibī was in a continual state of travel for most of his life and had access to libraries, but he shares few details of his experiences. He states in the *Yatīma* that he used the library of Abū l-Faḍl ʿUbaydallāh al-Mīkālī (d. 436/1044–5).[20] In the introduction to *Fiqh al-lugha* (which was written after repeated requests from the *amīr*), al-Thaʿālibī mentions that he stayed for four months in al-Mīkālī's village of Fayrūzābād and that this patron ensured that al-Thaʿālibī was to be supplied from his own library with the sources that he needed.[21] Al-Thaʿālibī also shows the library of Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān (d. before 420/1029) to be one of the main sources for books. It contained rare books obtained during Ibn al-Marzubān's two visits to Baghdad.[22] Al-Thaʿālibī does not mention specifically that he used or saw this library, but frequently in the *Yatīma* and his other works he notes that Ibn al-Marzubān had granted him private access to a particular *dīwān* or other work.

Al-Thaʿālibī singles out several of the written sources he used by name, such as *dīwān*s of poets or books such as *al-Wasāṭa* of ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jurjānī (d. 392/1002), *al-Rūznāmja* of al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (d. 385/995), and *al-Faraj baʿda l-shidda* of al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994). His dependence on further sources can be established from the wording of his quotations or the way that he introduces them. It is, of course, impossible to trace all the sources of the *Yatīma* and the *Tatimma* that al-Thaʿālibī employed in the selection process since he, as was the convention of his contemporaries, never provided a full list of his sources. A significant number of poems in the anthology are included without mention of any oral or a written source; al-Thaʿālibī simply introduces the poem by stating *qāla* (said), *unshidtu* (it was recited to me), or *lahu* (by him). This is the case especially in the shorter entries of minor *littérateurs* and probably serves to minimize the *isnād*s in the work.[23] In some cases, a *dīwān* or other written record can be deduced as al-Thaʿālibī's source because he describes it elsewhere in the *Yatīma* or the *Tatimma*. In his entry on the poet, secretary, and scholar Abū l-Faraj al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Hindū (d. 410/1019 or 420/1029), for instance, he includes a significant amount of poetry without indicating its source, but then later acknowledges using the *dīwān* in his entry on Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿAlī b. Bishr al-Ramlī.[24]

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[20]See *Yatīma* 3: 340.

[21]Al-Thaʿālibī, *Fiqh al-lugha wa-sirr al-ʿarabiyya*, ed. Yāsīn al-Ayyūbī (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣriyya, 2000), 33.

[22]See *Yatīma* 4: 391.

[23]The practice of reducing *isnād*s in *adab* works is not limited to al-Thaʿālibī. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi mentions in his introduction to *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* that he will omit the *isnād*s. His point is that the work is a collection of entertaining reports, maxims, and anecdotes and thus the connection of the *isnād* to them is not necessary and its omission will make the work lighter and shorter. He then quotes several authorities of *ḥadīth* who ridicule the *isnād*, thereby making the argument that if the omission of the *isnād* is permissible in *ḥadīth*, then it is even more justified in the case of these entertaining reports; see Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, ed. A. Amīn et al. (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Lajnat al-Taʾlīf wa-l-Tarjama wa-l-Nashr, 1940–53), 1: 4–5.

[24]*Tatimma*, 34. Ibn Hindū's *dīwān* is lost but al-Thaʿālibī and other later anthologists preserve samples of his lyric poetry, mostly *ghazal*, as well as fragments of his *Arbitration between the Fornicators and the Sodomites*, see Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, S I: 425–6 .

In general, the written material in the *Yatīma* and the *Tatimma* can be grouped as follows: *dīwan*s, books, and other written materials (e.g. *rasāʾil*, *ruqaʿ*, *awrāq*).

Dīwāns

As shown in Appendices 1 and 2 , al-Thaʿālibī used at least 18 *dīwān*s in *the-Yatīma* and at least seven in the *Tatimma*. These are collections of poems (al-Thaʿālibī usually uses the terms *majmūʿ* or *mujallada*) circulating at the time, which al-Thaʿālibī received from the poets themselves, who were his friends; namely Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Khwārizmī, Abū Bakr ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Quhistānī (d. after 435/1043),[25] and especially Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān. Other collections he compiled himself, as with the poet al-Laḥḥām (d. ca. 363/973).[26] His reliance on *dīwān*s is most apparent in the first *qism* of the *Yatīma* in which he treats poets whom he never met and who were not yet distinguished enough to have their *dīwān*s in circulation. Al-Thaʿālibī often mentions how he obtained a certain *dīwān*[27] and comments on its size,[28] value,[29] popularity,[30] and copyist.[31] Conversely, he mentions *dīwān*s that he was not able to get a copy of.[32]

Books

As for the other books that al-Thaʿālibī consults, he often cites them by author. Such is the case with *al-Tājī* of al-Ṣābī (d. 384/994), *al-Fasr* of Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1002), *al-Wasāṭa* of al-Qāḍī al-Jurjānī (d. 392/1002), and *al-Rūznāmja* and *al-Kashf ʿan masāwiʾ shiʿr al-Mutanabbī* of al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād.[33] Al-Thaʿālibī does not usually mention the person who provided him with these books, nor can we know whether they had been transmitted through written, oral, or aural forms. There is some evidence in the *Yatīma* for aural transmission.[34] Reliance on books is strongest in the first *qism* (on Syria, Egypt and al-Maghrib) and weakest in the fourth (on Khurāsān and Transoxania), where al-Thaʿālibī seems to have relied more on personal contacts. All authors quoted are contemporaries of al-Thaʿālibī. Their works vary between history and memoirs (*al-Tājī, Tahdhīb al-taʾrīkh, al-Rūznāmja*), poetic commentaries (*al-Fasr*), poetics (*al-Wasāṭa, al-Kashf ʿan masāwiʾ shiʿr al-Mutanabbī, al-Muwāzana*), medicine (*Risāla fī l-ṭibb*), biographical dictionaries (*K. Iṣbahān*), thematic anthologies (*Rawāʾiʿ al-tawjīhāt, al-Tuḥaf wa-l-ẓuraf, Ashʿār al-nudamāʾ, al-Faraj baʿda l-shidda*), general anthologies (*Siḥr al-balāgha*), and general collections (*Ḥāṭib layl, Safīnat al-Mīkālī*).

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[25]Al-Bākharzī met this personality in 435/1043, see al-Bākharzī, *Dumyat al-qaṣr wa-ʿuṣrat ahl al-ʿaṣr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Tūnjī (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1993), 2: 778–91. See more on him in the *Tatimma*, 264; and al-Ḥamawī, 4: 1677–81.

[26]See Appendices 1 and 2 for full references.

[27]See *Yatīma* 1: 289, 2: 117, 3: 330, 379, 4: 172, 439; and *Tatimma*, 9, 46, 106.

[28]See *Yatīma*, 3: 3, 4: 442.

[29]Ibid. 3: 330, 340.

[30]Ibid. 3: 31, 330.

[31]*Yatīma* 2: 117, 118, 220, 3: 379, 4: 172; and *Tatimma*, 106.

[32]See, for example, *Yatīma* 2: 346.

[33]See references in Appendix 1.

[34]Al-Thaʿālibī introduces poetry by prefacing with phrases such as *aktabanī* or *kattabanī, istamlaytu minhu*, or *aqraʾanī*, see *Yatīma* 1: 26, 2: 119; and *Tatimma*, 268, 292.

In the *Tatimma*, books figure prominently in the first section (four instances) but become rare afterwards (one citation in the second section and another in the third). As in the *Yatīma*, al-Thaʿālibī seems to have relied more on personal connections when it came to the eastern regions. The subjects of the quoted works are likewise diverse: thematic anthologies and poetics (*al-Tashbīhāt*, *al-Muḥibb wa-l-maḥbūb wa-l-mashmūm wa-l-mashrūb*), *rasāʾil* (*Rasāʾil al-Ṣābī*), general collections (*Safīnat al-Ḥāmidī*), and literary treatises (*al-Wasāṭa bayna l-zunāt wa-l-lāṭa*). This wide range of quoted works attests to al-Thaʿālibī's familiarity with multiple fields and keenness to assemble the best literary production of his day.

In addition to the works listed in Appendices 1 and 2, al-Thaʿālibī mentions others that he saw but did not quote. In his entry on Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, he says: 'I have seen from his works: *K. al-Qiyān*, *K. al-Aghānī*, *Iḥsān ẓurafaʾ al-shuʿarāʾ*, *K. al-Diyārāt*, *K. Daʿwat al-Najjār*, *K. Mujarrad al-Aghānī*, *K. Akhbār Jaḥẓa al-Barmakī*, and I do not doubt he has more.'[35] He sometimes mentions that he has read a work and comments on its quality or content without quoting it. For example, al-Thaʿālibī admits that he enjoyed reading a few volumes of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Baghawī's 30-volume work entitled *Zāmilat al-nutaf*,[36] argues that *al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī l-lugha* of al-Jawharī (d. 393/1002) surpasses earlier works on the subject,[37] claims that Abū Saʿd Manṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ābī (d. 422/1031) was unprecedented in composing his *K. al-Taʾrīkh* (*lam yusbaq ilā taṣnīfi mithlihi*),[38] and praises Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī's (d. before 429/1037) *Kitāb Fī gharīb al-ḥadīth* as the pinnacle of excellence and eloquence (*ghāya fī-l-ḥusn wa-l-balāgha*). [39]

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[35] *Yatīma* 3: 114. Al-Thaʿālibī mentions further: (1) *K. al-Asjāʿ* by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Zallālī (1: 307); (2) *Ikhtiṣār Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa-l-lughawiyyīn*, and *al-Abniya fī l-naḥw* by Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī (2: 71); (3) *K. al-Afʿāl* by Ibn al-Qūṭiyya (2: 74); (4) *al-Maqāmāt* by Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (3: 358); (5) *al-Qalāʾid wa-l-farāʾid* by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī (3: 419); (6) *Adab al-kātib* by Ibn Qutayba (4: 77); (7) *al-Bāriʿ fī akhbār wilāyat Khurāsān*, *Nutaf al-ẓarf* [*al-ẓurafʾ*, *al-ṭurafʾ*] and *al-Miṣbāḥ* by Abū ʿAlī al-Salāmī (4: 95); (8) *Maḥāsin al-shiʿr* and *Aḥasin al-maḥāsin* by Abū Naṣr al-Huzaymī (4: 129); (9) *Zāmilat al-nutaf* by Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Baghawī (4: 142); (10) *Kitāb fī gharīb al-ḥadīth* by Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī (4: 325); (11) *Ashʿār al-nudamāʾ* and *al-Intiṣār li-l-Mutanabbī* by Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ifrīqī al-Mutayyam (4: 352); (12) *K. al-ʿAyn* by al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (4: 352); (13) *Rawāʾiʿ al-tawjīhāt fī badāʾiʿ al-tashbīhāt*, *Thimār al-uns fī tashbīhāt al-furs*, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr fī l-taʿbīr*, *al-Adʿiya*, *Ḥuqqat al-jawāhir fī l-mafākhir* by Abū Naṣr b. Yaʿqūb (4: 390); (14) *Akhbār Ibn al-Rūmī*, *Akhbār Jaḥẓa al-Barmakī*, *Dhikr al-aḥwāl fī Shaʿbān wa-shahr Ramaḍān wa-Shawwāl*, *al-Ādāb fī-l-ṭaʿām wa-l-sharāb* by Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān (4: 392); (15) *Laṭāʾif al-kuttāb* by Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-ʿUtbī (4: 397); (16) *Man ghāba ʿanhu l-nadīm* by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Rukhkhajī (4: 397); (17) *al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī l-lugha* by al-Jawharī (comparing it with *al-Jamhara*, *Tahdhīb al-lugha*, and *Mujmal al-lugha*) (4: 416); (18) *Darj al-ghurar wa-durj al-durar*, *Ḥamd man ismuhu Aḥmad*, *Ajnās al-tajnīs* by al-Muṭawwaʿī (4: 433); and (19) *al-Iqtibās min al-Qurʾān* (2: 243), *Aḥsan mā samiʿtu* (3: 296), and *Faḍl man ismuhu al-Faḍl* (4: 433) by al-Thaʿālibī himself; and *K. al-Taʾrīkh* and *Nathr al-durr* by Abū Saʿd Manṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ābī (*Tatimma*, 120).

[36] See *Yatīma* 4: 142.

[37] Ibid. 4: 416.

[38] *Tatimma*, 120.

[39] *Yatīma* 4: 325.

Other Written Media

Al-Thaʿālibī achieved a far-reaching reputation during his lifetime, especially after the publication of the first edition of the *Yatīma*. His contemporary al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 413/1022), writing in al-Qayrawān, attests to his fame.[40] He became best known as an anthologist of contemporary literature (especially poetry). In his introduction to the second edition of the *Yatīma*, al-Thaʿālibī reports on the favorable reception of his work:

> I wrote this book hastily at the time … thinking that as soon as the borrowers would lend it amongst themselves and the copyists would circulate it amongst themselves it would become the most precious thing, avidly cherished by our literary friends and travelling the world to its farthest ends. And [indeed], reports followed in succession, testifying that people of merit were keen to sip from its sources, considering it the opportunity of a lifetime, keen to pick its flowers and prone to peruse its prose passages. When I lent it my sight and returned my glance to it, I confirmed what I read in a book: The first weakness that appears in a man is that he writes no book without desiring—one night later—to add to or cut from it, and this is only in one night, so how much more so after several years!

> I now find that I am confronted with many things that are similar to what is [already incorporated] in the book, things that have subsequently come to my knowledge, and fell upon plentiful additions that I obtained from the mouths of reporters and I thought: If this book has a [high] state in the eyes of the *udabāʾ*, and a [lofty] position in the hearts of the people of merit, as happens with everything that had not struck their ears nor touched their minds before, then why do I not raise to the level that deserves the merit of praise and is worthy of abundant contemplation? And why do I not loosen the reins of speech and hit the goal of satisfaction and completion?[41]

This passage implies that the quick success of the work prompted the *udabāʾ* of the time to send their literary production to al-Thaʿālibī in the hope that it would be included in his work and thereby afford them recognition as contemporary *littérateurs*. As is clear from the final texts of the *Yatīma* and the *Tatimma*, this is the case with the less notable poets, who sent al-Thaʿālibī their poetry on *ruqʿa*s and epistles.[42] More eminent *littérateurs*, like al-Mīkālī (d. 436/1044–5), al-Bustī (d. 400/1010), al-Khwārizmī (d. 383/993), Abū Saʿīd b. Dūst (d. 431/1039), and al-Marzubān, sent al-Thaʿālibī entire works; however, these were private literary correspondences (*ikhwāniyyāt*) or poetry by other poets whom they had come to appreciate and wanted to share with their renowned anthologist friend. This written material included *tawqīʿāt*, *rasāʾil*, and poems by literary figures whom al-Thaʿālibī never met. The use of written works is common throughout the four *qism*s of the *Yatīma*, but takes on a special importance in the third (al-Jabal, Fārs, Jurjān, and Ṭabaristān) and fourth (Khurāsān and Transoxania) *qism*s, which revolved around al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād's court. In the fourth

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[40]Al-Ḥuṣrī 1: 127–8.

[41]*Yatīma* 1: 18. My translation has benefited from several pointers by Geert Jan van Gelder.

[42]See Appendices 1 and 2.

qism, devoted to al-Thaʿālibī's native region, written documents sent to al-Thaʿālibī by the *littérateurs* themselves become more common, since al-Thaʿālibī knew them personally. This holds true for the *Tatimma*, but to a higher degree in the making of the first two *qism*s, since al-Thaʿālibī did not use in compiling them any written material (other than edited books). On the contrary, most material in the third and fourth *qism*s was sent to al-Thaʿālibī by the *littérateurs* without solicitation. Both in the *Yatīma* and the *Tatimma*, al-Thaʿālibī comments on whether any received texts were penned by the *littérateur* himself, and he often acknowledges his provenance for the quoted written source.

Oral/Aural Sources

Al-Thaʿālibī, like many scholars in Arabic-Islamic culture, prefaces his oral and aural sources with an *isnād* (or chain of transmitters). *Isnād*s were used by Muslim scholars to label and give credibility to accounts (*akhbār*), *ḥadīth*, or other information quoted in their works. The authenticity of *isnād*s is still a source of debate in modern scholarship and some scholars go as far as denying *isnād*s any credibility.[43] Other scholars hold that the use of *isnād*s does not antedate the beginning of the second century AH,[44] while others state that the *isnād*s contain a 'genuine kernel.'[45] Recently, *isnād*s have gained more reception in western scholarship as a tool for studying early Islamic historiography and *ḥadīth* literature.[46] *Isnād*s in literary texts present a slightly different case; they developed in relation with the *isnād* in *ḥadīth* but differ from the latter through their frequent use of incomplete chains of transmitters (*isnād munqaṭiʿ*). It is sufficient for a literary *khabar*[47] to be reliable if its *isnād* ends with an authority. Literary *isnād*s are viewed as a contribution to the establishment of historical truth, but they are less likely to be forged than *isnād*s in *ḥadīth* and historical works as authors are less likely to have religious or political agendas.[48] Al-Thaʿālibī's *isnād*s may be viewed in light of such considerations.

In his entries on major *littérateurs*, al-Thaʿālibī cites his sources carefully; however, many poems in both the *Yatīma* and the *Tatimma* are labeled with phrases such as *lahu* (by him), *wa-qāla* (he said). It is difficult in these cases to speculate about al-Thaʿālibī's source, but one may assume that a good number of these poems come by

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[43]For example, see Patricia Crone, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 7–15.

[44]For example, see Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1950), 37.

[45]See Johann Fück, 'Die Rolle des Traditionalismus im Islam,' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 93 (1939): 1–32. See also N.J. Coulson, 'European Criticism of *Ḥadīth* Literature,' in *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (Cambridge: University Press, 1983), 317–21; and Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans* 2 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1961), 193–8.

[46]See Harald Motzki, *Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, trans. Marion H. Katz (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

[47]On the narrative and rhetorical techniques of literary *akhbār*, see Stefen Leder, 'The Literary Use of the Khabar, A Basic Form of Historical Writing,' in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East I: Problems in the Literary Source Material*, ed. A. and L. Conrad (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1992), 277–315; and Muḥammad al-Qāḍī, *al-Khabar fī l-adab al-ʿarabī: dirāsa fī l-sardiyya al-ʿarabiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1998).

[48]For a discussion of literary *isnād*s, see Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *Maṣādir al-shiʿr al-jāhilī wa-qīmatuhā al-taʾrī-khiyya* (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1978), 255–83; Hilary Kilpatrick, 'The 'Genuine' Ashʿab: The Relativity of Fact and Fiction in Early *Adab* Texts,' in *Story-telling in the Framework of Non-fictional Arabic Literature*, ed. Stefen Leder (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 95ff; and Stefen Leder, 'Prosa-Dichtung in der aḫbār Überlieferung,' *Der Islam* 64 (1987), 6–41.

way of written sources. In many other cases, al-Thaʿālibī uses phrases that suggest an oral/aural transmission, like *unshidtu* (it was recited to me), *anshadanī ghayru thiqatin* (an unreliable personality recited to me), or *anshadanī ghayru wāḥidin* (more than one transmitter recited to me). These phrases become less frequent in the second, third and fourth *qism*s, [49] where al-Thaʿālibī names more of his guarantors.[50] In the introduction to the first *qism*, al-Thaʿālibī acknowledges as a guarantor Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī (d. 383/993), who indeed visited Syria; thus, one may assume that some Syrian material that appears without an *isnād* or labeled with terms like '*unshidtu*' was transmitted on his authority. The most common terms al-Thaʿālibī employs in introducing *isnād*s are *anshadanī* (he recited to me) and *ḥaddathanī* (he told me). Two types of *isnād* can be distinguished in the *Yatīma* and the *Tatimma*: direct transmission and indirect transmission. Appendices 1 and 3 present detailed tables of all *isnād*s that appear in the two works.

Direct transmission is rare in the first three sections of both the *Yatīma* and the *Tatimma*. The scarcity of these cases calls for special attention. The only direct transmission from the first section introduces an elegy for al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965) by Abū l-Qāsim al-Muẓaffar b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabasī, a native of Nīshāpūr; thus, the *isnād* belongs to the fourth *qism* and was moved to the first only as a literary monument to al-Mutanabbī. Two direct *isnād*s from the third *qism* come by way of Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī (d. 383/993), whom al-Thaʿālibī met in Nīshāpūr. In the *Tatimma*, material from Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Tamīmī (d. 454/1062) and Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. after 429/1037) was obtained during their respective visits to Nīshāpūr.[51] In the third *qism* of the *Tatimma*, al-Thaʿālibī describes Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. al-Ḥarīsh (al-Ḥirrīsh?) (d. 424/1032) as *Nīshāpūrī al-turba*,[52] and he mentions that he met with Abū l-Fatḥ al-Dabāwandī (*Tatimma* source no. 3) and Abū l-Muẓaffar b. al-Qāḍī Abī Bishr al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī (d. after 429/1037) in Nīshāpūr.[53] Thus, among all the direct *isnād*s in the first three *qism*s, in both the *Yatīma* and the *Tatimma*, Abū l-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥasūl (d. 450/1058)[54] is the only person whom al-Thaʿālibī does not claim to have met in Nīshāpūr. These personalities who visited Nīshāpūr play an important role in conveying the poetry of their region to al-Thaʿālibī, as we often find them to be guarantors in the indirect *isnād*s. The fourth *qism*, however, relies heavily on direct *isnād*s—one finds 13 such *isnād*s in the *Yatīma* and 10 more in the *Tatimma*. Moreover, the three direct *isnād*s in the fifth *qism* of the *Tatimma*, which are dedicated to *littérateurs* from all regions, derive from Nīshāpūrī poets. In sum, all al-Thaʿālibī's direct isnads are drawn from poets anthologized in the

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[49]These are in the *Yatīma* in the first *qism*: 1: 46, 104, 256, 306, 309, 347, 408, 409, 430, 433, 437, 438, 448, 450, 451, 2: 3, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 100, 117; second *qism*: 2: 223, 236, 347, 377; third *qism*: 3: 201, 276, 340, 391, 383, 415; fourth *qism*: 4: 50, 91, 110, 123, 242, 337, 345; and in the *Tatimma*, 30, 45, 90, 103, 105, 216, 254, 291, 298, 300, 309.

[50]The term 'guarantor' refers to any (preceding) person in the process of transmission on whom another (subsequent) individual relies for information; see Günther, 'Assessing the Sources,' 85.

[51]See *Tatimma*, 79, 108.

[52]Ibid., p. 132.

[53]Ibid., pp. 154, 170. His father, Abū Bishr al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad, died after 391/1000; see al-Bākharzī 1: 561.

[54]Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasūl Ṣafiyy al-Ḥaḍratayn is originally from Hamadhān, raised in Rayy; see his entry in al-Bākharzī 1: 411.

fourth *qism* (Khurāsān and Transoxania), whom he met in Nīshāpūr or during his travels in the region, or from poets who visited Nīshāpūr.

Indirect *isnād*s are more common than direct *isnād*s in both works. They are naturally short due to the novelty of the material they introduce and usually contain only one or two names beyond the source poet. Collective *isnād*s are rare.[55] In one case, al-Thaʿālibī states that he received the same report through three paths of transmission (al-Khwārizmī, al-Marzubān, and al-Maṣṣīṣī), but later, not being able to trace each to its origin, the author presents a combined narrative of the event (*fa-dakhala ḥadīthu baʿḍihim fī baʿḍin fa-zāda wa-naquṣa*).

Many guarantors lived in the cities that al-Thaʿālibī visited, while he met a number of them during their visits to Nīshāpūr. The majority come from cities in the eastern part of the Muslim world and transmit the poetry of their own regions as well as that of the regions they visited. These guarantors or poets traveled west (to Iraq, Syria and al-Maghrib) or further east, allowing al-Thaʿālibī to collect material from all regions. Some guarantors, however, are originally from Iraq and traveled east in the hope of gaining patronage at the flourishing Ghazanavid and Sāmānid courts, as these guarantors were *littérateurs* and poets themselves. To reach their destinations, these poets passed through Nīshāpūr where they met al-Thaʿālibī and transmitted their poetry and that of the poets of their regions. It is important to note that these *littérateurs* are not professional transmitters of *akhbār* and/or poems. Rather, they are by and large poets who shared their knowledge with al-Thaʿālibī and a good number of them have entries in the *Yatīma*. One may presume that at least part of their cited passages trace back directly to them. Rarely do guarantors in the *Yatīma* and the *Tatimma* draw their information from books or *dīwān*s; instead, they transmit most of the material from the poets themselves.

Appendix 3 reveals that certain guarantors were sources for specific *aqsām* in the *Yatīma*, while others transmit poetry from any region. In the first *qism*, al-Khwārizmī (d. 383/993), Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Zāhir (d. before 429/1037), and ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Miṣrī (*Yatīma* source no. 1) play a significant role; whereas in the second *qism*, Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān assumes the central role, having been twice to Baghdad. The sections on al-Ṣāḥib and the poets who visited his court rely on transmissions from al-Khwārizmī and Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, both of whom attended his court. Conversely, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Maʾmūn al-Maṣṣīṣī (d. before 429/1037) and Abū Saʿd Naṣr b. Yaʿqūb al-Dīnawarī (d. before 429/1037) appear in the transmission process throughout the entire *Yatīma*.

Similarly, in the *Tatimma*, some guarantors belong to specific regions. Abū Bakr al-Quhistānī (d. after 435/1043) and Abū l-Ḥasan Musāfir b. al-Ḥasan (d. after 429/1037) transmit poetry of the first *qism*; Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Tamīmī (d. 454/1062) and Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣūfī al-Baṣrī (d. after 429/1037) play a role in the second *qism*; whereas the majority of poems in the third *qism* come by way of Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dabāwandī (*Tatimma* source no. 3). The fourth *qism*, however, features no main guarantor, as al-Thaʿālibī draws on the poets themselves. Other guarantors play a role in several regions, such as Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Fāris al-Qazwīnī and Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Maʾmūn al-Maṣṣīṣī in the first and second *qism*s, respectively.

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[55]See *Yatīma* 1: 289, 2: 224, 245, 372, 4: 407; and *Tatimma*, 83.

Conclusion

Shawkat Toorawa, Walter Werkmeister, Manfred Fleischhammer, Fuat Sezgin, and Sebastian Günther stress the importance of written and aural sources in *adab* compilations from the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries by examining the sources of three major *udabāʾ*: Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893), Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d. 328/940), and Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (d. 356/967). The availability of books and paper in the Muslim world at the time made possible the utilization of the aural and written techniques versus the oral transmission that was common in the first two centuries of Islam. Al-Thaʿālibī's *Yatīmat al-dahr* and *Tatimmat al-Yatīma* present a different case, as they feature a strong return to orality and reliance on different techniques of transmission governing each of their sections. The change in the nature of the sources of these two works is natural as they depart from the earlier and contemporary *adab* works to deal, almost exclusively, with modern literature. This change in the subject matter called for a corresponding change of technique in compilation. This literature was by and large not yet collected, anthologized, or taught in study circles, which lead to less dependence on written and aural transmission. Nonetheless, the continuous travel of *littérateurs* in search of patronage brought about an increase in the use of oral transmission despite the broad geographical regions that al-Thaʿālibī took upon himself to cover. The chains of *isnād*s did not usually go beyond two or three names, given the recentness of the material, a fact that added to their reliability. In general, orality played a stronger role in the transmission of poetry than prose because of the dominance of the short *qiṭʿa* (short poem or epigram) over the long *qaṣīda* (multi-thematic ode) on the poetic tradition of the period, in addition to the presence of the rhyme and meter that helped in the transmission process.

The reliance on orality did not, however, mean the complete abandonment of written sources. The examination of al-Thaʿālibī's sources shows that he used a number of available *dīwān*s and books, but the recentness of the material, the breadth of the geographical area from which it was drawn, and the competition for fame brought into play other written material as well; namely *ruqʿa*s and epistles that various *littérateurs* sent to al-Thaʿālibī occasionally, principally to be included in the successful anthology. This finding proves that Arabic anthologies are not always secondary texts selected from primary *dīwān*s and other 'written books.' Rather, with al-Thaʿālibī and subsequent anthologists concerned with contemporary poetry, they become a primary way of publishing original literature, especially in the case of non-professional poets who did not produce circulating *dīwān*s.

Interestingly, the employment of the techniques described above is not homogeneous in all of the *aqsām*. In the first *qism* (Syria and further west [Egypt, Maghrib, Mawṣil]), there is a strong reliance on books and *dīwān*s that drops away gradually as al-Thaʿālibī moves east towards the fourth *qism* (Khurāsān and Transoxania). Dependence on *ruqʿa*s and epistles is most apparent in the third (al-Jabal, Fārs, Jurjān, and Ṭabaristān) and fourth *qism*s. Drawing on oral sources is common to each of the four *aqsām* but the majority of direct *isnād*s are from the fourth *qism*. Finally, I hope I have shown that a large amount of the *Yatīma* and the *Tatimma* comes from a limited number of guarantors, from Iraq and further east, whom al-Thaʿālibī met in Nīshāpūr or the surrounding cities. These guarantors form the backbone of an entire network of *littérateurs* active in the second half of the fourth/10th century.

Appendix 1: The Sources of *Yatīmat al-dahr*

Written Sources *Dīwān*	Region	Rf.	Comments
Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nāmī (d. 399/1009)	I	1: 241	Al-Thaʿālibī extracted [*akhraja*] from *Dīwān al-Nāmī* that which fits the purpose of his book [*sharṭ al-kitāb*].
Abū l-Faraj Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Waʾwāʾ (d. 385/995)	I	1: 289	Al-Thaʿālibī obtained the *dīwān* from Abū Naṣr b. al-Marzubān who was the first to carry it to Nīshāpūr. Al-Thaʿālibī adds that this *dīwān* includes the poetry of al-Waʾwāʾ collected through oral sources (al-Khwārizmī and al-Maṣṣīṣī).
al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ (d. 366/976)	I	2: 117, 119	The *dīwān* was brought from Baghdad by Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Khwārizmī. Al-Thaʿālibī mentions a volume [*mujallada*] copied by al-Sarī himself and made available to him by Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān that includes many additions [*ziyādāt kathīra*]. In one instance, he ascertains that four lines of al-Sarī are not found in the circulating edition of his *dīwān*.
Kushājim (360/970)	I	2: 118	The *dīwān* is mentioned in the discussion of al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ's attempt to defame al-Khālidiyyān by inserting their poems into the copies he had made of Kushājim's *dīwān*.
al-Khālidiyyān (d. 380/990), (d. 371/981)	I	2: 118	See the above entry on Kushājim
Tāj al-Dawla Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. ʿAḍud al-Dawla	II	2: 220	Al-Thaʿālibī found a collection [*majmūʿ*] of his poetry copied by Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān.
Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. Fahm al-Qāḍī al-Tanūkhī (d. ca 352)	II	2: 346	Al-Thaʿālibī mentions that he extracted [*akhrajtu*] from his best poetry that which fits his book [*sharṭ al-kitāb*]. He also quotes poetry by him that is not included in this *dīwān*.

Appendix Continued.

Written Sources *Dīwān*	Region	Rf.	Comments
Abū Naṣr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. Nubāta al-Saʿdī (d. 405/1014)	II	2: 380	Al-Thaʿālibī mentions that Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān brought his poetry [*shiʿruhu*] from Baghdad in curious and amusing notebooks [*ẓarāʾifu l-dafātiri wa-laṭāʾifuhā*].
Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Sukkara al-Hāshimī (d. 385/995)	II	3: 3	Al-Thaʿālibī mentions that he selected [*akhrajtu*] poetry from the best of his pleasantries. The term *akhrajtu* suggests that the poetry was in written form. Al-Thaʿālibī includes two *akhbār* in the entry on Ibn Sukkara on the size and value of his *dīwān*, but does not acknowledge using it.
Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 391/1001)	II	3: 31	Al-Thaʿālibī comments on the widespread circulation of this *dīwān* and mentions that he had extracted from it his pleasantries that are free from obscenity [*mulaḥuhu al-khāliya ʿan al-fuḥsh*].
Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Khāzin al-Iṣbahānī (d. ca. 383/993)	III	3: 330	Al-Thaʿālibī first heard al-Iṣbahānī's poetry from Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī but could never again find it, until one day Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Ḥāmidī presented him with a rare [*ʿaqīla karīma, durra yatīma*] volume [*majmūʿ*] of this poet's works.
Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ghuwayrī (d. ca. 385/995)	III	3: 340	Al-Thaʿālibī borrowed a sizable volume [*mujallada ḍakhmat al-ḥajm*] of his poetry from the library of *al-amīr* Abū l-Faḍl al-Mīkālī and met with Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān to select from it.
Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Bābak (d. 410/1020)	III	3: 379	Al-Thaʿālibī heard his poetry from different oral sources until Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān called for [*istadʿā*] a collection [*majmūʿ*] of his poetry from Baghdad. Ibn Bābak then sent him a volume [*mujallada*] in his own handwriting from which al-Thaʿālibī made his selection.
Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Laḥḥām (d. ca. 363/973)	IV	4: 102	Al-Thaʿālibī compiled this *dīwān* himself having noticed that al-Laḥḥām's poetry had never previously been collected.

Appendix Continued.

Written Sources *Dīwān*	Region	Rf.	Comments
Abū Ṭālib ʿAbd al-Salām b. al-Ḥusayn al-Maʾmūnī (d. 383/993)	IV	4: 172	Al-Thaʿālibī mentions that he had seen al-Maʾmūnī in Bukhāra in 382/992, heard a portion of his poetry [*qiṭʿa min shiʿrihi*] and copied from material that al-Maʾmūnī himself wrote [*wa-naqaltu aktharahu min khaṭṭihi*].
Abū l-Fatḥ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kātib	IV	4: 439	Abū l-Fatḥ gave al-Thaʿālibī a volume [*mujallada*] of his poetry.
Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ghawwāṣ	IV	4: 442	Al-Thaʿālibī states that his *dīwān* is sizable [*ʿaẓīm al-ḥajm*], but does not mention that he has used it himself.

Book title	Region	Rf	Comments
al-Tājī fī akhbār Āl Buwayh [56] by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābī (d. 384/994)	I, II, III	1: 117 2: 226–7 3: 121–2 3: 159	The story of the composition of this work is in the entry on al-Ṣābī (2: 245). The title appears in the first *bāb*, in the entry on Ibn al-Fayyāḍ Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr, where al-Thaʿālibī mentions that he is quoted in *al-Tājī* of Abū Isḥāq. Another probable use of *al-Tājī* is in the entry on Sayf al-Dawla; a *khabar* is introduced by: 'ḥakā Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābī.' The verb *ḥakā* suggests a written source, most probably *al-Tājī*.[57] In the second *qism*, al-Thaʿālibī quotes the work twice in the entry on *al-wazīr* al-Muhallabī and once in the entry on Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Hārūn al-Munajjim. In the case of Ibn al-Munajjim, the title of the work is not included, but al-Thaʿālibī reports that he found the information in a chapter by al-Ṣābī [*wa-qaraʾtu li-l-Ṣābī faṣlan*]. Al-Thaʿālibī refers to *al-Tājī* in the third *qism* in the entry on Abū l-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd, as part of a comment on the literary excellence of Ibn al-ʿAmīd's father, Abū ʿAbdallāh.

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[56]The work is considered lost except for a part that survives in a unique manuscript in (Maktabat Jāmiʿat al-Duwal al-ʿArabiyya 145) under the title *al-Muntazaʿ min Kitāb al-Tājī*; edited by Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Zubaydī (Baghdad: Dār al-Ḥurriyya, 1977).

[57]For a comprehensive list of al-Ṣābī's works, see the entry on al-Ṣābī in Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, 130ff.

Appendix Continued.

Book title	Region	Rf	Comments
al-Fasr (Sharḥ Dīwān al-Mutanabbī) by Abū l-Fatḥ ʿUthmān Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1002)	I	See f.n.	Al-Thaʿālibī uses this work in 17 instances without specification in the long entry on al-Mutanabbī, and uses it once in the entry on al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ by referring to it as Kitāb tafsīr Ibn Jinnī li-shiʿr al-Mutanabbī (2: 120). He introduces the quotations from Ibn Jinnī by: 'ḥakā Ibn Jinnī,' 'qāla Ibn Jinnī,' or 'dhakara Ibn Jinnī.' These quotations are taken, almost verbatim, from K. al-Fasr, which suggests al-Fasr is the source.[58] These quotations focus on akhbār related to al-Mutanabbī or a commentary on one of his lines or sariqāt (literary borrowings/thefts); their general aim, similar to that of K. al-Fasr, is to commend al-Mutanabbī.
al-Wasāṭa bayna l-Mutanabbī wa-khuṣūmihi by ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jurjānī (d. 392/1002)	I, III	See f.n.	Al-Thaʿālibī uses this work eight times in the section on al-Mutanabbī. He refers to al-Jurjānī by al-qāḍī or al-qāḍī Abū l-Ḥasan and rarely uses the work's title; however, most of these quotations occur in al-Wasāṭa.[59] In another instance, al-Thaʿālibī refers to the work saying that he will select from the sariqāt of al-Mutanabbī only those missing in the Wasāṭa.[60] Quotations in the first qism deal with al-Mutanabbī's 'faults' or sariqāt from or by him. In the third qism, Al-Thaʿālibī selects two pages from the introduction of this work to illustrate al-Jurjānī's excellence in artistic prose.[61]

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[58]See Yatīma 1: 133 (Ibn Jinnī, al-Fasr, ed. Riḍā Rajab [Damascus: Dār al-Yanābīʿ, 2004], 2: 784), 1: 134 (Ibn Jinnī 3: 402), 1: 134 (Ibn Jinnī 3: 385–6), 1: 134 (Ibn Jinnī 3: 710), 1: 135 (Ibn Jinnī 3: 763), 1: 135 (Ibn Jinnī 3: 711), 1: 145 (Ibn Jinnī 3: 329), 1: 153 (Ibn Jinnī 1: 538), 1: 166 (Ibn Jinnī 3: 196), 1: 188 (Ibn Jinnī 3: 597), 1: 197 (Ibn Jinnī 3: 504), 1: 198 (Ibn Jinnī 2: 655), 1: 201 (Ibn Jinnī 1: 812), 1: 213 (Ibn Jinnī 3: 380), 1: 219 (Ibn Jinnī 2: 804), 1: 224 (Ibn Jinnī 3: 570), 1: 237 (Ibn Jinnī 3: 701), 2: 120 (Ibn Jinnī 329).

[59]See Yatīma 1: 167 (Jurjānī, al-Wasāṭa bayna l-Mutanabbī wa-khuṣūmih, ed. M.A. Ibrāhīm and ʿA.M. al-Bajāwī [Saida: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣriyya, 1986], 180), 1: 173 (Jurjānī, al-Wasāṭa bayna, 468), 1: 178 (ibid., 181), 1: 179 (ibid., 95), 1: 189 (ibid., 189), 1: 197 (ibid., 383), 2: 119–20 (ibid., 39), 4: 4–7 (ibid., 1–4). In one instance, al-Thaʿālibī quotes al-Jurjānī and explicitly mentions al-Wasāṭa but the quotation is not in the published text of the work, see Yatīma 1: 134. The quotation states that al-Mutanabbī followed [nasaja ʿalā minwāl] Dīk al-Jinn al-Ḥimṣī (d. 235/849) in one line of poetry; al-Mutanabbī's line is discussed in the Wasāṭa with no mention of Dīk al-Jinn, see al-Jurjānī, 337–8.

[60]See Yatīma 1: 148, and for al-Mutanabbī's sariqāt in the Wasāṭa, al-Jurjānī, 216–411.

[61]See Yatīma 4: 5–7.

Appendix Continued.

Book title	Region	Rf	Comments
al-Kashf ʿan masāwiʾ shiʿr al-Mutanabbī by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (d. 385/995)	I	See f.n.	Al-Thaʿālibī used this *work* in 15 places in the entry on al-Mutanabbī without referencing it; rather he introduces his quotations by '*qāla l-Ṣāḥib*,' or '*wa-ḥakā l-Ṣāḥib*.' These quotations occur in *al-Kashf* of al-Ṣāḥib[62] and discuss the 'faults' of al-Mutanabbī's poetry, as expected from the title: 'Book on Revealing the Faults of al-Mutanabbī.'
al-Rūznāmja[63] by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (d. 385/995)	I, III	See f.n.	Al-Thaʿālibī quotes this work once in the first *qism* when accusing al-Mutanabbī of *rakāka* [weakness] and *safsafa* [silliness] in one of his lines of poetry. One word in this line, *al-darz*, reminds al-Thaʿālibī of a saying in the *Rūznāmja* attributed to a singer named Laḥẓa al-Ṭūlūniyya. In the second *qism*, al-Thaʿālibī's six quotations from this work are relatively long, and are concerned with the *majlis* of *al-wazīr* al-Muhallabī or with people at his court.[64] Two other quotations in this *qism* also probably originate from the *Rūznāmja*. The first is in the entry on *al-qāḍī* Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Maʿrūf whom al-Thaʿālibī introduces by: '*wa-kāna kamā qaraʾtuhu fī faṣlin li-l-Ṣāḥib shajarata faḍlin…*' [And he was, as I read in a chapter by al-Ṣāḥib, a tree of merit…] (3: 112). Al-Thaʿālibī adds that this personality had been previously mentioned [*taqaddama dhikruhu*] in the section on al-Muhallabī, a notation that increases the chance that the reference is to *al-Rūznāmja*. The second quotation is in the entry on Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAqīl b. Muḥammad al-Aḥnaf al-ʿUkbarī in

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[62]See *Yatīma* 1: 162 (Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād, *al-Khashf ʿan masāwiʾ shiʿr al-Mutanabbī*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn [Baghdad: Maktabat al-Nahḍa, 1965], 40), 1: 162–3 (Ṣāḥib, *al-Khashf*, 62–3), 1: 172 (ibid., 60), 1: 175 (ibid., 63), 1: 175 (ibid., 49), 1: 175 (ibid., 54), 1: 177 (ibid., 50), 1: 177 (ibid., 58), 1: 177 (ibid., 64), 1: 177 (ibid., 66), 1: 178 (ibid., 49), 1: 181 (ibid., 48), 1: 181 (ibid., 52), 1: 183 (ibid., 58–9), 1: 184 (ibid., 45–6), 1: 187 (ibid., 45).

[63]The work is lost but excerpts from it survive in various *adab* works. Moḥammad Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn collected a number of these (among other texts of al-Ṣāḥib) and published them under *al-Amthāl al-sāʾira min shiʿr al-Mutanabbī wa-l-Rūznāmjah*, ed. M. Ḥ. Āl Yāsīn (Baghdad: Maktabat al-Nahḍa, 1965). The work, based on the surviving texts, is al-Ṣāḥib's memoirs sent to Ibn al-ʿAmīd from his visit to Baghdad and his stay at the court of al-Muhallabī.

[64]These are: *Yatīma* 2: 227–9, 229–30, 230, 231, 3: 120–1, 121.

18   B. Orfali

Appendix Continued.

Book title	Region	Rf	Comments
			which al-Thaʿālibī says: 'wa-*qaraʾtu li-l-Ṣāḥib faṣlan fī dhikrihi fa-awradtuhu wa-huwa*: *wa-law anshadtuka ma anshadanīhi l-Aḥnaf al-ʿUkbarī li-nafsihi* …' [I read by al-Ṣāḥib a chapter on him and here it is: If I were to relate to you what al-Aḥnaf al-ʿUkbarī related to me …] (3: 122). Al-Aḥnaf al-ʿUkbarī's entry appears in the *bāb* dedicated to Baghdad (the eighth *bāb* of the second *qism*). Al-Ṣāḥib's phrase '*wa-law anshadtuka*' suggests an address to someone, possibly Ibn al-ʿAmīd; and his phrase '*mā anshadanī*' indicates that he heard the lines from al-ʿUkbarī himself, possibly during his visit to Baghdad, hence the possibility that this quotation is taken from *al-Rūznāmja*. In the third *qism*, specifically in the entry on Ibn Bābak, al-Thaʿālibī says: '*wa-qaraʾtu li-l-Ṣāḥib faṣlan fī dhikrihi wa-istamlaḥtuhu, wa-huwa*…' [I read by al-Ṣāḥib a chapter on him which I liked, …].[65] Ibn Bābak is a Baghdadī who spent summers in his city and winters at al-Ṣāḥib's court in al-Jurjāniyya (3: 378); hence, it is likely that this quotation is from *al-Rūznāmja* since the poet in question is a Baghdadī and the work, as explained earlier, is the memoirs of al-Ṣāḥib in Baghdad. Another probable use of *al-Rūznāmja* occurs in the entry on Abū Ṭāhir b. Abū l-Rabīʿ in which al-Thaʿālibī says: '*huwa ʿAmr b. Thābit b. Saʿd b. ʿAlī alladhī dhakarahu l-Ṣāḥib fī kitābin lahu wa-qāl*…' [He is ʿAmr b. Thābit b. Saʿd b. ʿAlī whom al-Ṣāḥib mentioned in one of his books, saying…] (3: 395). The word '*kitāb*' can refer to various types of written texts, but the two pages of poetry that al-Thaʿālibī quotes and the accompanying description of Abū Ṭāhir imply that the text is an excerpt from a sizable work, and the proximity of this entry to that of Ibn Bābak makes it probable that it is from *al-Rūznāmja*.

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[65]*Yatīma* 3: 378.

Appendix Continued.

Book title	Region	Rf	Comments
al-Muwāzana bayna shiʿr Abī Tammām wa-l-Buḥturī by al-Ḥasan b. Bishr al-Āmidī (d. 370/981 or 2)	I	1: 120	Al-Thaʿālibī quotes a saying attributed to an anonymous critic [*baʿḍ al-shuyūkh min naqadat al-shiʿr*] praising two lines by al-ʿAbbās b. Aḥnaf (d. 192/807) for their excellent subdivision [*ḥusn al-taqsīm*]. Al-Thaʿālibī remarks that a certain line by al-Mutanabbī is worthier of this praise.[66]
Rawāʾiʿ al-tawjīhāt fī badāʾiʿ al-tashbīhāt[67] by Abū Saʿd Naṣr b, Yaʿqūb al-Dīnawarī (d. before 429/1037) (*Yatīma* source no. 8)	I	1: 249	This work is the source of two lines by Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Isḥāq al-Zāhī. Al-Thaʿālibī states that he took the two lines directly from Abū Saʿd, suggesting an aural transmission. [*wa-anshadanī Abū Saʿd Naṣr b. Yaʿqūb fī kitābihi K. Rawāʾiʿ al-tawjīhāt min badāʾiʿ al-tashbīhāt*].
al-Tuḥaf wa-l-ẓuraf[68] by Ibn Labīb (*ghulām* Abū l-Faraj al-Babbaghāʾ)	I	1: 305	Al-Thaʿālibī uses this work for the poetry of Abū ʿUmāra al-Ṣūfī. Another possible use of this work appears in the section dedicated to the *akhbār* of Sayf al-Dawla, where a number of the *akhbār* are introduced by 'ḥakā ghulam Abī l-Faraj al-Babbaghāʾ' (1: 32).
Ashʿār al-nudamāʾ by Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ifrīqī al-Mutayyam[69]	I	1: 306	Al-Thaʿālibī cites three lines by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Mamshūq al-Shāmī from this work. The title is also mentioned in the entry on Abū l-Ḥasan al-Mutayyam (4: 157).
Ḥāṭib layl[70] by Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān	I, II	1: 250 2: 365	In the first *qism*, al-Thaʿālibī quotes a few lines from a *qaṣīda* by al-Zāhī that appeared in this work, while in the second *qism*, he selects two lines composed by Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Kātib al-Mufajjaʿ al-Baṣrī. He also mentions that he has seen this work in the handwriting of its author.

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[66]The quotation minus the second verse is in al-Āmidī, *al-Muwāzana*, ed. al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaqr (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1961–65), 2: 135.

[67]The work is lost. It is mentioned, in addition to the *Yatīma*, in al-Ṣafadī 27: 57. Al-Thaʿālibī adds in the *Yatīma* that Abū Saʿd sent a copy of it to al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād together with another book and a *qaṣīda* and was well received, see *Yatīma* 4: 389.

[68]Very little is known about this work or its author. Another work by a certain Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Mughīth al-Tamīmī (d. 378/988 or 9) that carries the same title survives but seems to be different since the quotations al-Thaʿālibī includes in *al-Yatīma* are not in it, see al-Tamīmī, *al-Tuḥaf wa-l-ẓuraf*, ed. ʿInād Ismāʿīl (Baghdad: al-Jāmiʿa al-Mustanṣiriyya, 1991).

[69]One of the oral sources of al-Thaʿālibī, a physician and astrologer whom al-Thaʿālibī met in Bukhāra, see *Yatīma* 4: 157. His *Ashʿār al-Nudamāʾ* is lost.

[70]The work is lost. The title, however, is a famous proverb that, as al-Thaʿālibī explains in his *Thimār al-qulūb*, refers to a person who collects anything he finds; that is, like *ḥāṭib al-layl* [the night wood gatherer], see al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār*, 639–4; see also al-ʿAskarī, *Jamharat al-amthāl*, ed. M.A. Ibrāhīm (Cairo: al-Muʾassasa al-ʿArabiyya al-Ḥadītha, 1964), 1: 441; al-Maydānī, *Majmaʿ al-Amthāl*, ed. M.A. Fahmī (Maṭbaʿat Ḥijāzī, 1949), 1: 459.

Appendix Continued.

Book title	Region	Rf	Comments
Siḥr al-balāgha by al-Thaʿālibī	II	2: 235	In the entry on al-wazīr al-Muhallabī, al-Thaʿālibī points out that some of the prose is in his Siḥr al-balāgha.[71]
al-Faraj baʿda l-shidda by al-Qāḍī al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994)	II	2: 347	Al-Thaʿālibī cites two lines by al-Qāḍī al-Tanūkhī from al-Faraj baʿda l-shidda.[72]
Ḥadīqat al-ḥadaq[73] by Hārūn b. Aḥmad al-Ṣaymarī[74]	II	2: 219	In the entry on the Būyid ʿIzz al-Dawla Abū Manṣur Bakhtiyār, al-Thaʿālibī notes that he had not heard his poetry until he met Hārūn B. Aḥmad al-Ṣaymarī through Abū l-Faḍl al-Mīkālī. Al-Thaʿālibī then became acquainted with ʿIzz al-Dawla's poetry through al-Ṣaymarī's Ḥadīqat al-ḥadaq. Al-Ṣaymarī obtains the poetry through an isnād: أنشدني بعض أخوالي قال أنشدني القاضي أبو بكر بن قريعة قال أنشدني عزّ الدولة لنفسه One of my uncles recited to me saying that the qāḍī Abū Bakr b. Qurayʿa said that ʿIzz al-Dawla recited to him from his [poetry] Al-Thaʿālibī, however, warrants that this is a written source since he did not hear the poetry directly from al-Ṣaymarī.
A Work by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (d. 385/995)	II	2: 216	Al-Thaʿālibī acknowledges the use of an unnamed work of al-Ṣāḥib in the entry on ʿAḍud al-Dawla. The work could be the above mentioned Safīnat al-Ṣāḥib.
Tahdhīb al-taʾrīkh[75] by ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jurjānī (d. 392/1002)	III	4: 7–9	Al-Thaʿālibī includes the introduction of this work in the entry dedicated to al-Jurjānī.

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[71]See al-Thaʿālibī, Siḥr al-balāgha wa-sirr al-barāʿa, ed. ʿA.S. al-Ḥūfī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1984), 188.

[72]The two lines are the start of a qaṣīda, see al-Tanūkhī, al-Faraj baʿda l-shidda, ed. ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1978), 454.

[73]Very little is known about this work other than what is mentioned in the Yatīma. One other quotation analyzing a line by al-Aʿshā survives in a later work: Zayn al-Dīn al-Bayyāḍī (d. 877/1472), al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm ilā mustaḥiqqī al-taqdīm, ed. M.B. al-Bahbūdī (Tehran: Al-Maktaba al-Murtaḍawiyya, 1964), 3: 48.

[74]He could be related to Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṣaymarī (d. 339–950), wazīr Muʿizz al-Dawlā or the qāḍī Aḥmad b. Sayyār al-Ṣaymarī (d. 368/978) who was appointed in Baghdad then Khurāsān. We know that Hārūn b. Aḥmad al-Ṣaymarī came to Nīshāpūr where he met al-Thaʿālibī and Abū l-Faḍl al-Mīkālī. Another Hārūn b. Jaʿfar al-Ṣaymarī appears as an oral source of al-Thaʿālibī with also a connection to al-Mīkālī; the two could be the same person, see Yatīma 3: 414.

[75]Unfortunately lost and what al-Thaʿālibī quotes in the Yatīma seems to be the only surviving excerpt from it.

Appendix Continued.

Book title	Region	Rf	Comments
Risāla fī l-ṭibb by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (d. 385/995)	III	3: 204–6	Al-Thaʿālibī mentions that he had heard this *Risāla* praised by the physician Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī al-Balādhurī, but that the latter had lost his copy of the work. Al-Thaʿālibī had questioned the existence of such a copy [*istaghrabtu wa-istabʿadtu*], since al-Ṣāḥib was not known to have knowledge of medicine [*ṭibb*], until he found in a collection of *rasāʾil* by al-Ṣāḥib a *risāla* similar to that described by Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī. He speculates that this is the very same *risāla* and subsequently quotes from it.
Mulaḥ al-khawāṭir wa-subaḥ al-Jawāhir[76] by Abū l-Faḍl al-Mīkālī (d. 436/1044–5) (*Yatīma* source no. 4)	III	3: 243	Al-Thaʿālibī quotes passages [*fiqar*] of al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād's prose from this work.
Kitāb Iṣbahān[77] by Abū ʿAbdallāh Ḥamza b. al-Ḥusayn al-Iṣbahānī (d. 360/970 or 1)	III	3: 299	Al-Thaʿālibī does not quote directly from this work; rather he mentions in the beginning of the *bāb* on poets of Iṣbahān that some of the poets he includes feature in Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī's work.
Safīna by (?) Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Mīkālī[78]	III	3: 421	Al-Thaʿālibī cites verses by Abū Bakr b. Shūdhaba al-Fārisī from a *Safīna* [*miscellany*] in the handwriting of Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Mīkālī.
A Work by Abū ʿAlī al-Salāmī	IV	4: 95	Al-Thaʿālibī names three works by this author: *K. al-Tāʾrīkh fī akhbār wulāt Khurāsān*, *K. Nutaf al-Ẓarf*, and *K. al-Miṣbāḥ*; he then quotes two verses that he did not hear from the poet, noting that he has seen them in 'his copy' [*nuskhatuhu*]. One may assume that the two verses are from one of these lost works.

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[76]The work is lost and the quotation in *Yatīmat al-dahr* is probably the only extent excerpt of the work. The title in *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt* is *Mulaḥ al-khawāṭir wa-munaḥ al-jawāhir*, see al-Ṣafadī 19: 232.

[77]The work is lost but many excerpts from it survive in al-Rāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-tadwīn fī akhbār Qazwīn*, ed. ʿAzīz Allāh al-ʿUṭāridī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1987), 1: 47, 51, 69, 2: 168, 482, 4: 45; Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Dhikr akhbār Iṣbahān*, ed. Sven Dedering (Leiden: Brill, 1931–4), 1: 14, 7: 331; al-Ḥamawī, 59, 128–9, 163, 227, 263–4, 274, 293, 407–8, 432, 540, 621, 758, 766, 873–6, 1260, 1307, 1579, 1753, 1976, 1981, 2229, 2230, 2247, 2311, 2314, 2436–8; and al-Ṣafadī 1: 764, 27: 264, 29: 12.

[78]Al-Muqtadir put him in charge of *the dīwān*; for information on him, see *al-Yatīma*, 4: 418–19; al-Bākharzī 2: 953; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1931–32), 3: 41.

Other Written Material

Material for	Source	Region	Rf.	Comments
first *qism* in general	Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī (*Yatīma* source no. 3)	I	1: 26	Al-Thaʿālibī reports that Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī *recited* and *dictated* to him excellent poems that he included in the first *qism*.[79]
[*mansūba li-*] Abū Wāʾil Taghlib b. Dāwūd b. Ḥamdān *wa ruwiyat lighayrihi*	——	I	1: 105	Al-Thaʿālibī finds a few lines attributed to Abū Wāʾil in a manuscript of al-Khwārizmī [*bi-khaṭṭ*], other sources however disagree with the attribution.[80]
Abū l-Fatḥ al-Baktimurī	——	I	1: 121	Al-Thaʿālibī finds two lines attributed to al-Baktimurī in a notebook from Iraq.[81]
Abū l-Faraj ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Babbaghāʾ (d. 398/1008)	*al-qāḍī* Abū Bishr b. Muḥammad	I	1: 252–61	This is a *kitāb* [pamphlet, written piece] from Baghdad that Abū Bishr showed al-Thaʿālibī in 391/1000.[82]
Al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ (d. 366/976)	Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī (*Yatīma* source no. 3)	I	2: 119	Al-Thaʿālibī mentions that al-Khwārizmī *recited* and *dictated* to him poetry by al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ.[83]
Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī (d. 384/994)		II	2: 246	Al-Thaʿālibī mentions that he read a section [*faṣl*] by al-Ṣābī mentioning a grant from al-Ṣahib.[84] Al-Thaʿālibī does not specify a source for the next following pages; they might be from the same source.

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[79] وما كان أكثر ما ينشدني ويُكتبني ممّا يضنّ به على غيري من تلك الغرر التي تجري مجرى السحر والملح التي يقطر منها ماء الظرف، وأنا أكتبها في أماكنها من أبواب هذا القسم الأول، بمشيئة الله تعالى

[80] ووجدتُ بخطّ أبي بكر الخوارزميّ هذه الأبيات منسوبة إلى أبي وائل تغلب بن داود بن حمدان ورويت لغيره

[81] ووجدتُ على ظهر دفتر عراقيّ الخطِّ هذين البيتين منسوبين إليه

[82] وعرض عليّ القاضي أبو بشر الفضل بن محمّد بجرجان سنة إحدى وتسعين كتاب أبي الفرج الوارد عليه من بغداد مشتملًا من النظم والنثر

For a translation and a discussion of this text, see Andras Hamori, 'A Sampling of Pleasant Civilities: a 4th/10th Century *qiṣṣa* by al-Babbaghāʾ,' *Studia Islamica* 95 (2002): 57–69.

[83] وكنتُ أحسب أنّي استغرقتُ شعره لجمعي فيه بين لمع أنشدنيها وأنسخنيها أبو بكر الخوارزميّ

[84] وقرأت له فصلًا من كتاب في ذكر صلة وصلت منه [الصاحب]

Appendix Continued.

Other Written Material

Material for	Source	Region	Rf.	Comments
Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Namarī (d. ca. 366/976)	Abū Saʿīd b. Dūst (d. 431/1039) (*Yatīma* source no. 9)	II	2: 361	Abū Saʿīd b. Dūst sent al-Thaʿālibī two poems of al-Namarī to include in the *Yatīma*.[85]
Abū Ṭāhir ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ḥāmid al-Wāsiṭī [Saydūk] (d. 363/973)	——	II	2: 373	Al-Thaʿālibī finds two lines of al-Wāsiṭī in one of his notes [*baʿḍ al-taʿlīqāt*][86]
Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī on behalf of Ibn Baqiyya	——	II	3: 112–3.	This is a segment [*faṣl*] of a written piece that Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī wrote on behalf of the *wazīr* Ibn Baqiyya describing the prose and poetry of Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Maʿrūf.[87]
Abū l-Faḍl Ibn al-ʿAmīd (d. 360/970)	Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī al-Naḥwī	II	3: 169	Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī gave al-Thaʿālibī at their meeting in Isfarāʾīn a *kitāb* by Ibn al-ʿAmīd addressed to ʿAḍud al-Dawla.[88]
Abū l-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd	Abū l-Faḍl ʿUbaydallāh b. Aḥmad al-Mīkālī (*Yatīma* source no. 4)	II	3: 170	In the entry on Ibn al-ʿAmīd, al-Thaʿālibī quotes *fuṣūl* [segments] from an anthology by al-Mīkālī [*mimmā akhrajahu l-amīr Abū l-Faḍl*]. This could be a book or a collection of notes of al-Mīkālī. The proceeding sections in this entry of the *Yatīma* are most probably taken from the same work since al-Thaʿālibī adds '*hākadhā fī l-nuskha*' [such it is in the manuscript] whenever he finds ambiguity in the text.[89]

(*Continued*)

⁸⁵وله من قصيدة كتب إليَّ وبأختها التي تقدّمتُها أبو سعيد بن دوست
كعادته المشكورة في مهاداتي بطرائف الآداب التي تصلح لهذا الكتاب
⁸⁶ووجدتُه منسوبًا إليه في بعض التعليقات
⁸⁷وقرأتُ لأبي إسحق الصابي فصلًا من كتاب عن الوزير ابن بقيّة إلى
ابن معروف واستحسنتُه جدًّا في وصف نظمه ونثره وهو
⁸⁸أقرأني أبو الحسين محمد بن الحسين الفارسيّ النحويّ - وقد
اجتمعنا بإسفرائين عند زعيمها أبي العبّاس الفضل بن عليّ فصلًا من كتاب لابن العميد إلى عضد الدولة
⁸⁹وهذه فصول قصار له تجري مجرى الأمثال وقد أخرجتها ممّا أخرجه
الأمير الفضل عبيد الله بن أحمد الميكاليّ من غرره وفقره وكفاني شغلًا شاغلًا وقلّدني منه شكره وليستْ تنكر
أياديه عندي

Appendix Continued.

Other Written Material

Material for	Source	Region	Rf.	Comments
al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (d. 385/995) and Abū Ḥafṣ al-Warrāq al-Iṣbahānī	*Baʿḍ al-Iṣbahāniyyīn*	III	3: 199	An Iṣbahānī showed al-Thaʿālibī a *ruqʿa* [slip of leather or paper, or note] of Abū Ḥafṣ al-Warrāq followed by a signatory note [*tawqīʿ*] of al-Ṣāḥib.[90]
al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	Abū l-Ḥasan al-Shaqīqī al-Balkhī	III	3: 201	This is a *ruqʿa* [slip of leather or paper, letter, or note] provided by al-Shaqīqī conveying a signatory note [*tawqīʿ*] of al-Ṣāḥib.[91]
Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Khāzin (d. ca. 383/993)	Al-Khwārizmī (*Yatīma* source no. 3)	III	3: 207	A *kitāb* which al-Khāzin mailed to al-Khwārizmī including the poems composed in description of a villa [*dār*] al-Ṣāḥib built.[92]
Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Khāzin	Al-Khwārizmī	III	3: 326–9	A *kitāb* which al-Khāzin sent to Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī expressing his condition.[93]
Al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (d. 385/995)	——	III	3: 346	A *kitāb* by al-Ṣāḥib on the attributes of Abū l-Qāsim al-Zaʿfarānī.[94]
Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Fāris (d. 395/1004)	——	III	3: 400, 1: 46	Al-Thaʿālibī cites a *risāla* from Ibn Fāris to Abū ʿAmr Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Kātib on the merits of modern [*muḥdath*] poets.[95] In another instance, al-Thaʿālibī includes the following *isnād*: وأنشد أبو الحسن أحمد بن فارس قال أنشدني شاعر يُعرف بالمتيّم لسيف الدولة...

(*Continued*)

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⁹⁰وعرض عليَّ بعض الإصبهانيّين رقعة لأبي حفص الورّاق الإصبهانيّ قد أخذ منها البلى وفيها توقيع للصاحب، وهذه نسخة الرقعة

⁹¹وعرض عليَّ أبو الحسن الشقيقيّ البلخي توقيع الصاحب إليه في قعة

⁹²أقرأني أبو بكر الخوارزمي كتابًا لأبي محمّد الخازن ورد عليه في ذكر الدار التي بناها الصاحب بأصبهان وانتقل إليها واقترح على أصحابه وصفها وهذه نسخته بعد الصدر

⁹³ثمّ وصف حاله في معاودة حضرة الصاحب بجرجان إلى ما يقتضيه ويحكيه في كتاب كتبه إلى أبي بكر الخوارزميّ... وقد كتبتُه تنبيهًا على بلاغته وبراعة كلامه واختصارًا للطريق إلى معرفة قصّته، وهذه نسخته

⁹⁴وحاله عنده كما قرأتُ في كتاب له: وأمّا شيخنا أبو القاسم الزعفراني أيّده الله فصورته لديّ صورة الأخ

⁹⁵وأنا أكتب من رسالة لأبي الحسين كتبها لأبي عمرو محمّد بن سعيد الكاتب فصلًا في نهاية الملاحة يناسب كتابي هذا في محاسن أهل العصر

Appendix Continued.

Other Written Material **Material for**	**Source**	**Region**	**Rf.**	**Comments**
				[Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Fāris recited saying that a poet known by al-Mutayyam had recited these lines to him for Sayf al-Dawla…] This *isnād* suggests a written source since al-Thaʿālibī indicates direct oral transmission with *anshadanī*.
Al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	Abū Naṣr al-Muṣʿabī	III	4: 3–4	Al-Muṣʿabī displayed to al-Thaʿālibī a *kitāb* in the handwriting of al-Ṣāḥib sent to Ḥusām al-Dawla Abū l-ʿAbbās regarding *al-qāḍī* Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jurjānī.[96]
Al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	——	III	4: 43	Al-Thaʿālibī includes a *kitāb* of al-Ṣāḥib describing a *qaṣīda* of Abū Maʿmar b. Abī Saʿīd b. Abī Bakr al-Ismāʿīlī addressed to his father.[97]
Abū l-Qāsim al-ʿAlawī al-Uṭrūsh	——	III	4: 48	Al-Thaʿālibī quotes from a *ruqʿa* sent by Abū l-Qāsim al-ʿAlawī to Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.[98]
Abū Bakr Khwārizmī (d. 383/993) (*Yatīma* source no. 3)	——	IV	4: 194–204	Al-Thaʿālibī quotes a number of wise sayings [*kalimāt*] from the *Rasāʾil* of al-Khwārizmī. He does not specify that these *rasāʾil* were collected in a book.[99]
Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Nīshāpūrī al-Khāzin	Al-Thaʿālibī	IV	4: 84	Abū Bakr presented al-Thaʿālibī with a collection of poems from Bukhārā.[100]

(*Continued*)

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⁹⁶وعرض عليّ أبو نصر المصعبيّ كتابًا للصاحب بخطّه إلى حسام الدولة
أبي العبّاس تاش الحاجب في معنى القاضي أبي الحسن، وهذه نسخته
⁹⁷كتب الصاحب في وصف قصيدة نفذتُ منه فصلاً من كتاب طويل إلى أبيه
أبي سعيد، وهذه نسخة الفصل
⁹⁸كتب إلى القاضي أبي الحسن عليّ بن عبد العزيز رقعة تشتمل على
النظم والنثر، نسختها
⁹⁹وهذه كلمات له تجري مجرى الأمثال أخرجتُها من رسائله
¹⁰⁰وأهدى إليّ جزءًا بخطّه يشتمل على ملح وغرر بخاريّة له ولغيره

Appendix Continued.

Other Written Material

Material for	Source	Region	Rf.	Comments
Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Nīshāpūrī al-Khāzin	———	IV	4: 84	Al-Thaʿālibī mentions that he owns a manuscript of [*kitāb bi-khaṭṭ*] Abū Bakr that was not available to him at the time of writing.[101]
Abū Muḥammad b. Abī al-Thayyāb (d. after 360)	Abū Muḥammad al-Mīkālī (d. 379/989)	IV	4: 126	Al-Thaʿālibī found verses for Abū Muḥammad b. Abī al-Thiyyāb (al-Thayyāb?) written by Abū Muḥammad al-Mīkālī.[102]
Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān al-Wāthiqī	———	IV	4: 193	Al-Thaʿālibī quotes poetry from a manuscript of al-Wāthiqī.[103]
Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Isḥāq al-Jurmuqī	Al-Thaʿālibī	IV	4: 341	Al-Jurmuqī sent al-Thaʿālibī some of his poetry in a letter.[104]
Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān (*Yatīma* source no. 7)	Al-Thaʿālibī	IV	4: 394	These are *mukātabāt* [correspondences] between al-Thaʿālibī and Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān.[105]

Oral/Aural Sources
Direct transmission

Literary Figure	Arabic Phrase	Region	Rf.
Abū l-Qāsim al-Muẓaffar b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabasī	أنشدني لنفسه	I	1: 240
Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī (*Yatīma* source no. 3)	أنشدني لنفسه	III	3: 217
	سمعتُ أبا بكر الخوارزمي يقول	III	2: 265
Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. al-Muʾammal	أنشدنيه	IV	4: 148, 158
Abū Ṭālib ʿAbd al-Salām b. al-Ḥusayn al-Maʾmūnī	سمعتُ منه قطعة من شعره	IV	4: 172
Abū al-Ghaṭārīf ʿImlāq b. Ghaydāq	ممّا سمعتُه ينشد لنفسه	IV	4: 412
Abū l-Qāsim al-Ulaymānī	أنشدني لنفسه	IV	4: 144
Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mutayyam al-Ifrīqī	أنشدني لنفسه	IV	4: 157
Abū l-ʿAbbās al-ʿAlawī al-Hamadānī	أنشدني لنفسه	IV	4: 292

(*Continued*)

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[101] وممّا وجدتُه بخطّه ولستُ أذكر أكتبه لنفسه أم لغيره من كتّاب عصره لغيبة ذاك الجزء عنّي

[102] ووجدتُ له بخطّ الرئيس أبي محمّد الميكالي.

[103] قرأت بخطّه

[104] وكتب لي بإسفرائين شيئًا من شعره

[105] وكتب إليه مؤلّف هذا الكتاب يحاجيه... فكتب إليه

Appendix Continued.

Literary Figure	Arabic Phrase	Region	Rf.
	Oral/Aural Sources		
	Direct transmission		
Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	أنشدني لنفسه	IV	4: 408
Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Zāhir (*Yatīma* source no. 2)	أنشدني لنفسه	IV	4: 415
Abū l-Qāsim Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī al-Bukhārī	أنشدني... من شعره	IV	4: 415
Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī	أنشدني لنفسه	IV	4: 386
al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Bustī	أنشدني بعض شعره	IV	4: 424
Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Zawzanī	أنشدني لنفسه	IV	4: 448
Abū l-Muʿallā Mājid b. al-Ṣalt (Nāqid al-Kalām al-Yamānī)	ورد نيسابور... وأنشد لنفسه	IV	4: 412

Guarantors and Transmitters	Material	Region	Rf.
	Indirect transmission		
ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Wahb al-Miṣrī (*Yatīma* source no. 1)	Poetry by Abū Naṣr b. Abī l-Fatḥ Kushājim	I	1: 305
	Poetry by *al-qāḍī* Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Nuʿmān	I	1: 400–1
	Poetry by Abū Isḥāq b. Aḥmad al-Mārdīnī	I	1: 401
	Poetry by Abū ʿUbaydallāh Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān	I	1: 401
	Poetry by Ṣāliḥ b. Muʾnis	I	1: 403
	Poetry by Abū Hurayra Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿIṣām	I	1: 419
	Poetry by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Laṭīm	I	1: 424
	Poetry by Abū Sulaymān b. Ḥassān al-Nuṣaybī	I	1: 425
	Poetry by Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ṭabāṭabā al-Ḥusaynī al-Rassī	I	1: 428
	Poetry by Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Marwān b. Ḥammād al-Naḥwī	I	1: 451
Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Balkhī al-Zāhir (*Yatīma* source no. 2)	Poetry by *al-qāḍī* Abū l-Faraj Salāma b. Baḥr	I	1: 116
	Poetry by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Fayyāḍ	I	1: 119
	Poetry by al-Tallaʿfarī	I	1: 300
	Poetry by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Shāshī	I	1: 301
	Poetry by Abū Naṣr b. Abī l-Fatḥ b. Kushājim	I	1: 301, 303

(*Continued*)

Appendix Continued.

Indirect transmission Guarantors and Transmitters	Material	Region	Rf.
	Poetry by al-Mamshūq al-Shāmī	I	1: 306
	Poetry by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Zalāzilī (d. 374/984)	I	1: 307
	Poetry by Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Anṭākī	I	1: 307
	Poetry by Abū Ṣāliḥ b. Rashdīn al-Kātib	I	1: 415
	Poetry by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAwfī	I	1: 417
	Poetry by Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Bishr al-Kātib	I	1: 420
	Al-Ḥasan b. Khallād	I	1: 423
	Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad	I	1: 431
	Abū l-Ḥasan al-ʿAqīlī	I	1: 431
	Poetry by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Kaḥḥāl	I	1: 434
	Poetry by Muḥammad b. ʿĀṣim al-Mawqifī	I	1: 442
	Poetry by Abū l-Fatḥ al-Bustī	I	1: 445
	Akhbār about Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Bishr	I	1: 422
Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī (*Yatīma* source no. 3)	Poetry by Sayf al-Dawla al-Ḥamdānī	I	1: 45
	Poetry by a Ḥamdānid	I	1: 105
	Poetry by Abū l-Fatḥ al-Baktimurī b. al-Kātib	I	1: 120
	Poetry by Abū l-Faraj al-ʿIjlī	I	1: 122
	Poetry by al-Nāshiʾ al-Aṣghar	I	1: 248
	Akhbār and poetry by al-Khāliʿ al-Shāmī	I	1: 287
	Akhbār about al-Waʾwāʾ	I	1: 288
	Khabar and poetry by al-Waʾwāʾ al-Dimashqī	I	1: 296
	Akhbār about Abū Ṭālib al-Raqqī	I	1: 298
	Poetry by Tallaʿfarī	I	1: 300
	Poetry by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jaʿfar al-Naḥwī al-Raqqī	I	1: 305
Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī (*Yatīma* source no. 3) ← *baʿḍuhum*	Poetry by Abū l-Fatḥ al-Baktimurī b. al-Kātib	I	1: 121
Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Muṭṭawwiʿī	Poetry by Nizār b. Maʿadd b. Tamīm	I	1: 309
Abū l-Faḍl ʿUbaydallāh b. Aḥmad al-Mīkālī (*Yatīma* source no. 4)	Poetry by a Ḥamdānid	I	1: 106
	Akhbār by Abū l-Faraj al-Babbaghāʾ	I	1: 252
Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Maʾmūn al-Maṣṣīṣī (d. before 429/1037) (*Yatīma* source no. 5)	*Akhbār* and poetry by al-Waʾwāʾ al-Dimashqī	I	1: 288

Appendix Continued.

Indirect transmission **Guarantors and Transmitters**	**Material**	**Region**	**Rf.**
	Poetry by Abū l-ʿAmīd Hāshim b. Muḥammad al-Mutayyam al-Aṭrābulsī	I	1: 305
	Poetry by *al-amīr* Tamīm b. Maʿadd	I	1: 308, 309, 452–3, 457
	Poetry by al-Marwānī	I	1: 309
Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Maʾmūn al-Maṣṣīṣī (*Yatīma* source no. 5)← *al-shaykh al-imām* Abū l-Ṭayyib	A *khabar* about al-Marwānī	I	1: 310
Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī al-Hamadānī al-Waṣī	*Akhbār* about Sayf al-Dawla al-Ḥamdānī	I	1: 32
	Poetry by Sayf al-Dawla al-Ḥamdānī	I	1: 44
Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Abī Mūsā al-Karkhī ← *al-qāḍī* Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Muḥsin al-Tanūkhī	Poetry by Abū l-Muṭāʿ b. Nāḍir al-Dawla al-Ḥamdānī	I	1: 106, 107
Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Abī Mūsā al-Karkhī	Poetry by al-Ḥusayn b. Nāṣir al-Dawla	I	1: 107
Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ifrīqī al-Mutayyam	Poetry by Sayf al-Dawla al-Ḥamdānī	I	1: 43
Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān (*Yatīma* source no. 7)	Poetry by Abū l-Qāsim al-Zāhī	I	1: 249
	Poetry by Maʿadd b. Tamīm	I	1: 308
Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Dūst (*Yatīma* source no. 9)← al-Walīd b. Bakr al-Faqīh	Poetry by Muḥammad b. Abī Marwān	I	1: 310
	al-Wazīr al-Mustanṣir Abū l-Ḥasan Jaʿfar b. ʿUthmān al-Muṣḥafī	I	1: 310
	ʿĪsā b. Waṭīs (*kātib* al-Mustanṣir)	I	1: 311
	Ḥabīb b. Aḥmad al-Andalusī	I	1: 311
	Poetry by *al-wazīr* Abū ʿĀmir Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Shuhayd	I	1: 36, 2: 49
	Khabar and poetry by Ibn al-Qūṭiyya	I	2: 74
	Poetry by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Rabbihi	I	2: 75
Al-Khwārizmī (*Yatīma* source no. 3) and al-Maṣṣīṣī (*Yatīma* source no. 5)	Poetry by al-Waʾwāʾ al-Dimashqī	I	1: 289
Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Khwārizmī ← al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	Poetry by Ibn Lankak	II	2: 353
Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Balkhī al-Zāhir (*Yatīma* source no. 2)	Poetry by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Ṭāhir al-Baṣrī	II	2: 370

Appendix Continued.

Indirect transmission **Guarantors and Transmitters**	**Material**	**Region**	**Rf.**
Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Balkhī al-Ẓāhir ← Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yūsuf	Poetry by ʿAḍud al-Dawla	II	2: 217
Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī (*Yatīma* source no. 3)	*Akhbār* about ʿAḍud al-Dawla	II	2: 217
Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī ← al-Laḥḥām	Poetry by al-Mufajjaʿ al-Baṣrī	II	2: 363
Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī, Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān (*Yatīma* source no. 7), and Abū l-Ḥasan al-Maṣṣīṣī (*Yatīma* source no. 5)	*Akhbār* about al-Muhallabī	II	2: 224
Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Muṭawwaʿī ← Abū Yaʿlā al-Wāsiṭī	Poetry by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Nāmī al-Khwārizmī	II	2: 128
Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Muṭṭawwiʿī← Abū ʿAlī al-Kindī	Poetry by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Nāmī al-Khwārizmī	II	2: 128
Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. ʿAlī Muṭṭawwiʿī	Poetry by al-Khubzʾaruzzī	II	2: 369
Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Maʾmūn al-Maṣṣīṣī (*Yatīma* source no. 5)	*Akhbār* and poetry by ʿUbaydallāh b. Aḥmad al-Baladī	II	2: 214
	Poetry by al-Aḥnaf al-ʿUkbarī (Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAqīl b. Muḥammad)	II	3: 123
Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Abī Mūsā al-Karkhī ← Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qāḍī	Poetry by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Nāmī al-Khwārizmī	II	3: 127
Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Abī Mūsā al-Karkhī ← Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥāmidī	Two lines by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Nāmī al-Khwārizmī	II	3: 128
Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb ← ʿAbd al-Samīʿ b. Muḥammad al-Hāshimī	Poetry by al-Khubzaʾaruzzī [d. ca. 327:939]	II	2: 368
Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Karkhī	Prose by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	II	2: 246
Abū Manṣūr Saʿīd b. Aḥmad al-Barīdī	*Akhbār* about Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī (d. 384/994)	II	2: 243
Abū Manṣūr Saʿīd b. Aḥmad al-Barīdī and Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Kātib	*Akhbār* ʿAḍud al-Dawla and Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī	II	2: 245
Abū Naṣr al-Rūdhbārī al-Ṭūsī	Poetry by al-Mufajjaʿ al-Baṣrī	II	2: 364
Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān (*Yatīma* source no. 7)	*Akhbār* about Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī	II	2: 243
	Poetry by al-Qāḍī al-Tanūkhī	II	2: 346
	Poetry by Abū Ṭāhir Saydūk al-Wāsiṭī	II	2: 372
	Poetry by Abū Muḥammad b. Zurayq al-Kūfī	II	2: 378
Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān (*Yatīma* source no. 7)← Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiqī	Poetry by Abū Muḥammad b. Zurayq al-Kūfī	II	2: 377

Appendix Continued.

Indirect transmission **Guarantors and Transmitters**	**Material**	**Region**	**Rf.**
Abū Saʿd Naṣr b. Yaʿqūb (d. before 429/1037) (*Yatīma* source no. 8)	Poetry by ʿAḍud al-Dawla	II	2: 218
	Poetry by Abū ʿĀṣim al-Baṣrī	II	2: 369
Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Dūst (*Yatīma* source no. 9)	Poetry by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	II	2: 201
Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Dūst (*Yatīma* source no. 9) ← Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī	Poetry by ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār b. Muʿizz al-Dawla	II	2: 219
Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Dūst (*Yatīma* source no. 9) ← Abū l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar al-ʿAlawī al-Nīshāpūrī ← Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Milḥī	Poetry by Tāj al-Dawla	II	2: 220
Abū Ṭāhir Maymūn b. Sahl al-Wāsiṭī, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Maṣṣīṣī (*Yatīma* source no. 5), and Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Zāhir (*Yatīma* source no. 2)	Poetry by Abū l-Ṭāhir Saydūk al-Wāsiṭī	II	2: 372
Hārūn b. Aḥmad al-Ṣaymarī	Poetry by ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār b. Muʿizz al-Dawla	II	2: 219
Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (*Yatīma* source no. 10)	Poetry by Tāj al-Dawla Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. ʿAḍud al-Dawla	II	2: 220
Maymūn b. Sahl al-Wāsiṭī	Poetry by Abū Ṭāhir Saydūk al-Wāsiṭī	II	2: 372
	Khabar and poetry by Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥāmidī	II	2: 373–4
Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Khwārizmī	*Khabar* about Abū Muḥammad al-Khāzin and al-Ṣāḥib	III	3: 195–7
Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Balkhī al-Zāhir (*Yatīma* source no. 2)	Poetry by Abū Dulaf	III	3: 358
Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī (*Yatīma* source no. 3)	*Akhbār* about al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 194
	Part of a *risāla* by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 256
	Poetry by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 260, 265
	Sariqa of al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 279
	Poetry by ʿAbdān al-Iṣbahānī	III	3: 302
	Poetry by Abū Saʿīd al-Rustamī	III	3: 323
	Poetry by Abū Muḥammad al-Khāzin	III	3: 329
	Poetry by Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Asadī	III	3: 340
	Khabar about Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Badīhī	III	3: 343
	Poetry by al-Zaʿfarānī	III	3: 356

Appendix Continued.

Indirect transmission

Guarantors and Transmitters	**Material**	**Region**	**Rf.**
Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Muṭṭawwiʿī	Poetry by Abū l-Faraj b. Hindū	III	3: 397, 398
	Poetry by Abū Saʿd ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Hamadhānī	III	3: 412
	Poetry by Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Qāshānī	III	3: 414
Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dihishtānī	*Khabar* and Poetry by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 203
Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī al-Naḥwī	*Akhbār* by Abū l-Fatḥ b. al-ʿAmīd	III	3: 186
Abū Jaʿfar al-Kātib	*Akhbār* about Abū l-Fatḥ b. al-ʿAmīd	III	3: 185, 191
	Khabar about al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 196
Abū l-Faḍl ʿUbaydallāh b. Aḥmad al-Mīkālī (*Yatīma* source no. 4)	*Akhbār* about al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 200
	Sariqa and poetry by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 275–6
	Poetry by Abū l-Qāsim Ghānim b. Abī l-ʿAlāʾ al-Iṣbahānī	III	3: 325
	Poetry by Abū l-Qāsim ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh al-Harandī	III	3: 414
Abū l-Faḍl ʿUbaydallāh b. Aḥmad al-Mīkālī (*Yatīma* source no. 4)← *baʿḍ nudamāʾ* al-Ṣāḥib	*Khabar* about al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 198
Abū l-Faḍl (Badīʿ al-Zamān) al-Hamadhānī (*Yatīma* source no. 10)	Poetry by Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī	III	3: 356
Abū l-Fatḥ ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Bustī (d. 400/1010)	Poetry and a critical opinion by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 268
	Poetry by Abū ʿĪsā al-Munajjim	III	3: 393
Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Maʾmūn al-Maṣṣīṣī (*Yatīma* source no. 5)	*Sariqa* of al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 200
Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī al-Hamadānī	*Akhbār* about al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 203
Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥimyarī	*Akhbār* about al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 200
Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ghuwayrī	Poetry by Abū Saʿīd al-Rustamī	III	3: 323
Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Shahrazūrī al-Ḥanzalī	Poetry by al-Mufajjaʿ al-Baṣrī	III	3: 363
Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī al-Naḥwī	*Akhbār* about al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 201, 204
	Khabar about Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Mughallisī al-Marāghī	III	3: 416
	Khabar and poetry by Abū l-Ḥasan b. Ghassān	III	3: 428
Abū l-Naṣr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-ʿUtbī	*Akhbār* about al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 199
	Poetry by Abū l-Qāsim Ghānim b. Abī l-ʿAlāʾ al-Iṣbahānī	III	3: 325
	Poetry by Muḥammad al-Bajalī al-Astarābādhī	III	4: 50

(Continued)

Appendix Continued.

Indirect transmission **Guarantors and Transmitters**	**Material**	**Region**	**Rf.**
Abū l-Naṣr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-ʿUtbī ← Abū Jaʿfar Dihqān b. Dhū l-Qarnayn	*Khabar* about al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 202
Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Karkhī	*Akhbār* about al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 204
	Poetry by Abū l-Qāsim Ghānim b. Abī l-ʿAlāʾ al-Iṣbahānī	III	3: 325
Abū Manṣūr al-Bīʿ (al-Bayyīʿ?)	*Khabar* about al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 198
Abū Manṣūr al-Lujaymī al-Dīnawarī	Poetry by Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Qāshānī	III	3: 413
	Akhbār al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 198
Abū Manṣūr Saʿīd b. Aḥmad al-Barīdī	*Khabar* about Abū l-Fatḥ b. al-ʿAmīd	III	3: 190
Abū Naṣr al-Namarī	*Akhbār* about al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 202
Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān (*Yatīma* source no. 7)	An anecdote and poetry by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 200
	An anecdote and poetry by Abū l-Munbasiṭ al-Shīrāzī	III	3: 422
Abū Saʿd Naṣr b. Yaʿqūb (*Yatīma* source no. 8)	*Akhbār* al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 200
Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Dūst (*Yatīma* source no. 9)← Abū ʿAlī al-ʿIrāqī al-ʿAwwāmī al-Rāzī	Poetry by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 206
Al-Qāḍī al-Imām al-Iṣbahānī	Poetry by Abū l-Qāsim Ghānim b. Abī l-ʿAlāʾ al-Iṣbahānī	III	3: 324
ʿAwn b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hamadānī al-Tamīmī	*Khabar* about al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 194
	Qiṭʿa by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 206
	Poetry by Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī	III	3: 357
	Poetry by Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Maʾmūn al-Abharī	III	3: 408
ʿAwn b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hamadānī al-Tamīmī ← Abū ʿĪsā b. al-Munajjim	*Khabar* about al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 203
Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (*Yatīma* source no. 10)	Poetry by Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī	III	3: 358
	Poetry by Barākawayh al-Zanjānī	III	3: 407
	Akhbār about al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	III	3: 197, 202
Hārūn b. Jaʿfar al-Ṣaymarī	Poetry by Abū l-Qāsim ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh al-Harandī	III	3: 414
Abū ʿAbdallāh b. al-Sarī al-Rāmī	Poetry by Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Dāmghānī	IV	4: 143
Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Khwārizmī	Poetry by Aḥmad b. Shabīb al-Shabībī	IV	4: 242
Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī (*Yatīma* source no. 3)	*Khabar* about al-Khwārizmī's censure of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Laḥḥām	IV	4: 102
	Poetry by Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. al-Muʾammal	IV	4: 150

Appendix Continued.

Indirect transmission **Guarantors and Transmitters**	**Material**	**Region**	**Rf.**
	Khabar and poetry by Aḥmad b. Shabīb al-Shabībī	IV	4: 242
Abū Ibrāhīm b. Abī ʿAlī al-Naḥwī	Poetry by ʿAlī b. Abī ʿAlī al-Naḥwī	IV	4: 419
Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī al-Naḥwī	*Khabar* and poetry by Abū l-Qāsim al-Iskāfī	IV	4: 99
Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Mūsawī (*Yatīma* source no. 6)	*Khabar* about al-Mūsawī's father (Abū l-Ḥasan)	IV	4: 101
	Akhbār Ibn Muṭrān al-Shāshī	IV	4: 115
	Poetry by Ibn Abī al-Thiyāb (al-Thayyāb?)	IV	4: 126
	Poetry by Abū l-Naṣr Al-Huzaymī (Muʿāfā b. Huzaym)	IV	4: 131
	Akhbār about Abū Naṣr al-Ẓarīfī al-Abīwardī	IV	4: 134
	Poetry by Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Baghawī	IV	4: 143
	Poetry by Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Dāmghānī	IV	4: 143–4
	Poetry by Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Jurjānī	IV	4: 154
Abū l-Faḍl ʿUbaydallāh b. Aḥmad al-Mīkālī (*Yatīma* source no. 4)	Poetry by Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbdalakānī	IV	4: 449
Abū l-Faraj Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm	Poetry by Abū Jaʿfar b. al-ʿAbbās	IV	4: 125
Abū l-Fatḥ ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Bustī (d. 400/1010)	Poetry by Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī	IV	4: 335
	Poetry by Abū Muḥammad Shuʿba b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Bustī	IV	4: 337
Abū l-Ḥasan al-Fārisī al-Māwardī	Poetry by Abū Sahl Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Ṣuʿlūkī	IV	4: 419
Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān	Poetry by Abū ʿAlī al-Zawzanī	IV	4: 145
	Poetry by Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ifrīqī al-Mutayyam	IV	4: 158
	Poetry by Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Thābit al-Baghdadī	IV	4: 178
Abū l-Naṣr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-ʿUtbī	Poetry by Abū Manṣūr al-Būshanjī	IV	4: 160
	Akhbār about Abū l-Fatḥ al-Bustī	IV	4: 303
Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān (*Yatīma* source no. 7)	*Khabar* and poetry by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Zawzanī	IV	4: 447
Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Muẓaffarī	Poetry by Abū Naṣr al-Huzaymī (al-Muʿāfā b. Huzaym)	IV	4: 133
Abū l-Qāsim al-Ulaymānī	Poetry by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Laḥḥām (d. ca. 363/973)	IV	4: 109–10
	Poetry by Abū Jaʿfar b. Abī l-ʿAbbās	IV	4: 125

Appendix Continued.

Indirect transmission **Guarantors and Transmitters**	**Material**	**Region**	**Rf.**
	Khabar and poetry by Abū l-Naṣr al-Huzaymī (Muʿāfā b. Huzaym)	IV	4: 129
Abū l-Ṭayyib Sahl b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Suʿlūkī	Poetry by Abū Sahl Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Suʿlūkī	IV	4: 419
Abū Saʿd Naṣr b. Yaʿqūb (*Yatīma* source no. 8)	Poetry by Abū Muḥammad b. Abī al-Thiyāb (al-Thayyāb?)	IV	4: 127
	Poetry by Rajāʾ b. al-Walīd al-Iṣbahānī	IV	4: 136
	Poetry by Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Jurjānī	IV	4: 154
	Poetry by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Harawī al-Faqīh	IV	4: 345
Abū Saʿīd b. Dūst (*Yatīma* source no. 9)← *baʿḍ mashāyikh al-ḥaḍra*	*Khabar* and poetry by Abū Manṣūr al-ʿAbdūnī	IV	4: 78
Abū Saʿīd b. Dūst (*Yatīma* source no. 9) and Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad	Poetry by Abū Naṣr Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī	IV	4: 407
Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. Manṣūr	*Akhbār* about Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid	IV	4: 249
	Poetry by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Nāhī	IV	4: 383
Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥarbī	*Akhbār* about Abū l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭāhirī	IV	4: 69
	A *qaṣīda* by Abū Manṣūr al-Khazrajī	IV	4: 81
Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī	Poetry by Abū Muḥammad b. Abī al-Thiyāb (al-Thayyāb?)	IV	4: 127
	Ṭarāʾif by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād	IV	4: 197
Ḥāḍir b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī	Poetry by Abū Muḥammad b. Abī al-Thiyāb (al-Thayyāb?)	IV	4: 126
	Poetry by Abū ʿAlī al-Zawzanī	IV	4: 145
	Poetry by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Fārisī	IV	4: 150
Manṣūr b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dīnawarī	*Khabar* about his father ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dīnawarī	IV	4: 138
Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī al-Bukhārī	Poetry by Abū l-Qāsim al-Dāwūdī	IV	4: 345

Appendix 2: The Sources of *Tatimmat al-Yatīma*

Written Sources *Dīwān*	**Region**	**Ref.**	**Comments**
al-Amīr Abū l-Muṭāʿ Dhū l-Qarnayn b. Nāṣir al-Dawla	I	9	Al-Thaʿālibī gains access to this *dīwān* through Abū Bakr ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan who copied parts from it in Syria.

(*Continued*)

Appendix Continued.

Written Sources

Dīwān	Region	Ref.	Comments
Abū l-Faraj ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hindū (d. 410/1019 or 420/1029)	I	44	In the entry on Abū l-Ḥusayn b. Bishr al-Ramlī, al-Thaʿālibī cites three verses and comments that he encountered them in *Dīwān Abī l-Faraj b. Hindū*.
Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muḥsin b. Muḥammad b. Ṭālib al-Ṣūrī	I	46	Al-Thaʿālibī selects parts of a *qaṣīda* from his *dīwān* which was made available by *al-shaykh* Abū Bakr [ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Quhistānī (d. after 435/1043)].[106]
Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Rustamī	II	102	In the entry on Abū Ḥamza al-Dhuhalī, al-Thaʿālibī remarks that he has found one of his lines in the poetry of al-Rustamī.
Abū l-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Jabalī	II	106	Al-Thaʿālibī acquired this *dīwān* through Abū Bakr al-Quhistānī (d. after 435/1043) who hand copied it from the poet.
Abū ʿAdī al-Shahrazūrī	V	289	Al-Thaʿālibī notes that al-Shahrazūrī had recorded poetry [*mudawwan*] from which he made these selections.
Abū Ṣāliḥ Sahl b. Aḥmad al-Nīshāpūrī al-Mustawfī	V	309	Al-Thaʿālibī cites part of a *qaṣīda* from this *dīwān* in praise of Abū Saʿd b. Armak.

Book title	Region	Ref	Comments
Al-Tashbīhāt by Abū Saʿīd b. Abī l-Faraj	I	21	Al-Thaʿālibī notes that two of his own verses are included in this work.
Rasāʾil Abī Isḥāq al-Ṣābī	I	54	Al-Thaʿālibī acknowledges the use of this work in the entry on Abū Muḥammad al-Būsīrābādī.
Safīnat Abī ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥāmidī	I, II	37, 54, 87	Al-Thaʿālibī states that he draws from this work whose author, al-Ḥāmidī, received it in dictation from Abū Muḥammad al-Khāzin who took the verses from *Safīnat al-Ṣāḥib*. Other quotes from *Safīnat al-Ṣāḥib* are on the authority of al-Ḥāmidī, and may also be from *Safīnat Abī ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥāmidī*.
Al-Muḥibb wa-l-maḥbūb wa-l-mashmūm wa-l-mashrūb by al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ	I	60	Al-Thaʿālibī has not seen this work but mentions that Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Nūqānī located within it a number of lines that are also in the *Yatīma*.
Al-Wasāṭa bayna l-zunāt wa-l-lāṭa by Abū l-Faraj ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hindū (d. 410/1019 or 420/1029)	III	155	Al-Thaʿālibī quotes an excerpt from this treatise.

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[106] On him see *Yatīma* 2: 73.

Other Written Material

Material for	Source	Region	Rf	Comments
Abū l-Maḥāsin Saʿd b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr	Abū l-Maḥāsin	III	165	Abū l-Maḥāsin sent al-Thaʿālibī his own verse.[107]
Abū l-Maḥāsin Saʿd b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr	Abū l-Maḥāsin (?)	III	166	A letter sent by Abū l-Maḥāsin to an unnamed personality in the service of Shams al-Kufāt.[108]
Abū l-Maḥāsin Saʿd b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr	Abū l-Maḥāsin (?)	III	167	Al-Thaʿālibī copies some of his early poetry in Abū l-Maḥāsin's own handwriting.[109]
Abū ʿAlī b. Miskawayhi	Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī	III	115	A *qaṣīda* from a letter to Abū l-ʿAlāʾ b. Ḥasūl (d. 450/1058).[110]
Abū Ghānim Maʿrūf b. Muḥammad al-Qaṣrī	Abū Ghānim Maʿrūf b. Muḥammad al-Qaṣrī	III	150	Having heard of al-Thaʿālibī before meeting him while passing through Nīshāpūr; Abū Ghānim copied and sent to him a few *kutub* including his own poetry.
Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī	—	IV	189	A letter from al-Ṭabarī to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Marwarūzī.[111]
Al-qāḍī Abū Aḥmad Manṣūr b. Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Harawī	Al-Thaʿālibī	IV	232	A letter from al-Azdī to al-Thaʿālibī.[112]
al-shaykh al-ʿAmīd Abū Sahl Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan	Al-Thaʿālibī	IV	254	A quotation describing al-Mīkālī from a letter addressed to al-Thaʿālibī.

Oral Sources in the Tatimma
Direct transmission

Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Tamīmī (d. 454/1062) (*Tatimma* source no. 2)	أنشدني لنفسه	II	79
Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (*Tatimma* source no. 6)	من ملح ما أنشدنيه لنفسه	II	108

(*Continued*)

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[107] وكتب لي جزءًا من شعره بخطّه هو حتّى الآن عندي
[108] وهذه نسخة رسالة له إلى بعض خواصّ الشيخ شمس الكفاة
[109] وهذه غرر من شعره في صباه نقلتُها من خطّه
[110] وأدهشني أبو القاسم عبد الصمد بن عليّ الطبريّ أيّده الله تعالى له من قصيدة كتبها إلى الأستاذ أبي العلاء بي حسول أيّده الله
[111] كتب إلى الأديب أبي الحسين المرورزيّ
[112] كتب إلى مؤلّف الكتاب

Appendix Continued.

Oral Sources in the Tatimma
Direct transmission

Abū l-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥasūl (al-Ḥassūl?) (d. 450/ 1058)		فأنشدني الأستاذ... لنفسه	III 114
Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥarīsh (al-Ḥirrīsh?) (d. 424/ 1032)		وكنتُ سمعتُه قديمًا	III 132
Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dabāwandī (*Tatimma* source no. 3)		ممّا أنشدني لنفسه	III 153
Abū l-Muẓaffar b. al-Qāḍī Abī Bishr al-Jurjānī		أنشدني لنفسه	III 170–1
Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿArūḍī		أنشدني لنفسه	IV 205
Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Iskāfī		أنشدني لنفسه	IV 231
Abū l-Qāsim Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad al-Harawī		أنشدني لنفسه، وأنشدني أيضًا لنفسه	IV 241
Abū Masʿūd ʿIṣām b. Yaḥyā al-Harawī		أنشدني لنفسه	IV 242
Al-shaykh al-ʿamīd Abū Sahl Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan		أنشدني لنفسه	IV 254
al-qāḍī Abū l-Ḥasan al-Muʾammal b. Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Bustī		سمعتُه يقول، وممّا أنشدني لنفسه	IV 267
al-qāḍī Abū l-Qāsim ʿĀlī b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh al-Shīrāzī		وكنتُ اقتبستُ من نوره واستمليتُ منه أبياتًا	IV 268
al-qāḍī Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rashīdī al-Lawkarī		أنشدني لنفسه	IV 269
Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Arbāʿī		وقد كتبتُ ما أنشدنيه، أنشدني لنفسه، وأنشدني أيضًا لنفسه	IV 270–1
Abū l-Fatḥ al-Muẓaffar b. al-Ḥasan al-Dulayghānī		أنشدني لنفسه، وأنشدني لنفسه	IV 278–9
Abū Manṣūr ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥallāb		وكتبتُ الآن ما أنشدني لنفسه	V 287
Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh [al-Baghdādī al-Mustawfī]		أنشدني لنفسه، وأنشدني لنفسه	V 288–9
Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh al-Mīkālī		فممّا اختلسه حفظي منه	V 305

Transmission through a guarantor

Abū ʿAbdallāh b. Hirmizdān al-Fārisī	← *shaykh min al-Furs* ← Abū Saʿīd al-ʿAfīrī	حدّثني	36
Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥāmidī	← Abū Muḥammad al-Khāzin ← *Safīnat al-Ṣāḥib* (Poetry by Abū l-Ḍiyāʾ [al-Ḥimṣī])	حدّثني	I 37
Abū Bakr al-Quhistānī (*Tatimma* source no. 1)	← Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Jaʿfar al-Badīʿī	ذكره... وقال	I 41
	← Abū Naṣr al-Ḥimṣī	أنشدني	I 36
	← Abū Yaʿlā Saʿīd b. Aḥmad al-Shurūṭī ← Ibn Wakīʿ al-Tinnīsī	أنشدني	I 40
	← Ibn al-Zamakdam al-Mawṣilī	أنشدني، وأنشدني له	I 62
Abū Ghānim Maʿrūf b. Muḥammad al-Qaṣrī	← Abū Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā al-Makhzūmī	أنشدني	I 30

Appendix Continued.

Transmission through a guarantor

Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Tamīmī (*Tatimma* source no. 2)	← Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Qaṣṣār	وذكر التميميّ أنّه قالها	I	66
Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Fāris al-Qazwīnī (*wa-ghayruhu*) (*Tatimma* source no. 4)	← Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Bishr al-Ramlī	حدّثني	I	44
	← *al-wazīr* Abū l-Fatḥ b. Dardān al-Yahūdī	أنشدني	I	56
	← Ibn Ḥashīsha al-Maqdisī (*al-qāḍī* Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī)	أنشدني	I	33
Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Maʾmūn al-Maṣṣīṣī (*Yatīma* source no. 5)	← Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī	حدّثني	I	16
	← Abū l-Fatḥ al-Mawāzīnī al-Ḥalabī	أنشدني	I	21
	← Abū l-Hasan ʿAlī (Ibn Kūbrāt al-Ramlī)	حدّثني	I	82
	← Abū l-Qāsim al-Muḥsin (al-Muḥassin?) b. ʿAmr al-Muʿallā	أنشدني	I	17
	← al-Ḥasan al-Daqqāq	أنشدني	I	53
Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Barmakī *al-faqīh*	← *al-wazīr* Abū l-Fatḥ b. Dardān	أنشدني، وأنشدني له أيضًا	I	56
Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī	← Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Muʿallā	ذكر	I	24
Abū l-Ḥasan Musāfir b. al-Ḥasan (d. after 429/1037) (*T*, 258)	← Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿUthmānī ← Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Maghribī al-Wazīr	أنشدني، قال وأنشدني	I	34, 35
Abū l-Ḥasan Musāfir b. al-Ḥasan	← Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿUthmānī ← *al-qāḍī* Ibn al-Bassāṭ al-Baghdādī ← Ibn Wakīʿ al-Tinnīsī	أنشدني	I	40
Abū Muḥammad Khalaf b. Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Shirmiqānī	← Abū l-Muṭāʿ Dhū l-Qarnayn	أنشدني	I	9
	← al-Jawharī ← Abū l-Muṭāʿ Dhū l-Qarnayn	أنشدني، وأنشدني أيضًا، وأنشدني أيضًا بهذه الإسناد	I	9, 9, 10
Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān (*Yatīma* source no. 7)	← Jurayj al-Muqill	أنشدنيه	I	58
Abū l-Qāsim Yaḥyā b. ʿAlāʾ al-Bukhārī al-Faqīh	← Ibn Ḥammād al-Baṣrī	أنشدني	I	21
Abū Ṭālib al-Shahrazūrī	← Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Baladī	أنشدني	I	66

Appendix Continued.

Transmission through a guarantor

Abū Ṭālib Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarī	← Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Wazīr al-Maghribī	أنشدني	I	35
Abū Ṭālib Muḥmmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh (al-Baghdādī)	← Abū Manṣūr al-Ṣūrī	حدّثني	I	38
Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣūfī al-Baṣrī (*Tatimma* source no. 6)	← Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maʿarrī (al-Qanūʿ)	أنشدني	I	13
	← Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Mustahām al-Ḥalabī	أنشدني	I	18
	← Abū l-Muṭāʿ Dhū l-Qarnayn	قال أنشدني	I	11
	← Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Bahdalī	أنشدني	I	27
	← Abū l-Qāsim al-Muḥsin (al-Muḥassin) b. ʿAmr b. al-Muʿallā	أنشدني، قال أنشدني	I	17
	← Ibn Ḥashīsha al-Maqdisī	أنشدني	I	33
Al-Dihqān Abū ʿAlī al-Qūmasī	← Abū l-Makārim al-Muṭahhar b. Muḥammad al-Baṣrī	حدّثني	I	26
Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥāmidī	← *Safīnat al-Ṣāḥib* (Poetry by Abū l-Thurayyā al-Shimshāṭī)	حدّثني	II	87
Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Tamīmī (*Tatimma* source no. 2)	← Abū Bakr al-ʿAnbarī	ذكر	II	77
	← Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Rayyān al-Jurhumī	ذكر	II	76
	← Ibn al-Muṭarriz	أنشدني	II	73
Abū Ghānim Maʿrūf b. Muḥammad al-Qaṣrī	← Abū l-ʿAbbās Khusraw -Fīrūz b. Rukn al-Dawla	حدّثني	II	113
Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Fāris al-Qazwīnī (*Tatimma* source no. 4)	← Abū al-Simṭ al-Rasʿanī	حدّثني	II	86
	← Abū Ḥamza al-Dhuhalī	أنشدني	II	102
Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Maʾmūn al-Maṣṣīṣī (*Yatīma* source no. 5) (and Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (*Tatimma* source no. 6))	← ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. ʿAbd al-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī	أنشدني	II	83
	← Abū al-Ghawth b. Niḥrīr al-Manbijī	ذكر	II	90
	← Abū l-Fahm ʿAbd al-Salām al-Naṣībī	ذكر	II	85
	← Abū l-Thurayyā al-Shimshāṭī	حكى، قال وممّا علق بحفظي	II	86, 87

(*Continued*)

Appendix Continued.

Transmission through a guarantor				
Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Barmakī *al-faqīh*	← Abū l-Ḥasan al-Hāshimī al-Maʾmūnī	أنشدني	II	78
	← al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā	أنشدني	II	69
Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Fasawī al-Naḥwī	← Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ghassān al-Baṣrī	حدّثني	II	109
Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī	← Makkī b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī ← Abū l-Ḥasan al-Nuʿaymī	أنشدني	II	78
Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣūfī al-Baṣrī (*Tatimma* source no. 6) (and al-Maṣṣīṣī (*Yatīma* source no. 5))	← ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Ṣūrī	وأنشدني	II	83
	← Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī (Ibn Kūbrāt al-Ramlī)	أنشدني	II	82
	← Ibn al-Muṭarriz	أنشدني	II	73
Abū Bakr al-Marjī	← Abū l-Qāsim Ghānim b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-ʿAlāʾ al-Iṣbahānī	أنشدني	III	139
Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī	← Abū l-Faraj Muḥammad b. Abī Saʿd b. Khalaf al-Hamadānī	أنشدني	III	150
Abū l-Fatḥ Masʿūd b. Muḥammad b. al-Layth	← Abū l-Qāsim Ghānim b. Muḥammad Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Iṣbahānī	أخبرني	III	138
Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dabāwandī (*Tatimma* source no. 3)	← Abū l-ʿAlāʾ Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Ṣafiyy al-Ḥaḍratayn	وأنشدني	III	126
	← Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Rāmīn	حدّثني	III	145
	← Abū Muḥammad al-Naẓẓām al-Khazrajī	حدّثني	III	146
	← Abū Saʿd Manṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ābī	أنشد	III	126
	← *al-qāḍī* Abū Bakr al-Askī (al-Āsī?)	أنشدني	III	113
	← Ṣāʿid b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī	أنشدني	III	171
Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Shīrāzī	← Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Ḥamd b. Fūrja al-Barūjirdī	لم أسمع ذكره وشعره إلّا من	III	143
Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Shīrāzī	← Abū l-Faḍl Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Jallūdī al-Rāzī	حدّثني	III	140–1
Abū l-Yaqẓān ʿAmmār b. al-Ḥasan	← Abū Saʿd ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Hamadānī	أنشدني	III	146–7
Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Nasafī	← Al-Maʿrūf b. Abī l-Faḍl al-Dabbāgh al-Harawī	أنشدني	IV	242

Appendix Continued.

Transmission through a guarantor				
Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Baḥḥāthī	← Abū Manṣūr b. Mishkān	أنشدني	IV	254
Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī l-Ṭayyib	← Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Bākharzī	حدّثني	IV	219
Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī	← *al-shaykh al-ʿamīd* Abū Manṣūr b. Mishkān	وأنشدني	IV	253
Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl al-Qāʾinī	← Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Bākharzī	أنشدني	IV	218
Abū l-Qāsim b. Abī Manṣūr	← Abū ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr b. Ḥashbawayhi al-Zawzanī	أنشدني	IV	216
(*aktabanī*) Abū Bakr [al-Quhistānī] (*Tatimma* source no. 1)	← Abū l-Faraj Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Hamadānī	أكتبني	V	292
Abū Bakr al-Quhistānī	← Abū Dirham al-Bandanījī	أنشدني	V	299
	← *al-qāḍī* Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd al-Qāʾinī	أنشدني	V	306
	← Ibn Abī ʿIllān (ʿAlāʾ ?) al-Ahwāzī ← Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Taghlibī	أنشدني	V	298
Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Tamīmī (*Tatimma* source no. 2)	← Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh al-Arzanī	حدّثني	V	300
Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥājibī	← Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Muhallabī	حدّثني	V	290
Abū l-Ḥasan Musāfir b. al-Ḥasan	← Abū Manṣūr Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Saʿd al-Saʿdī	أنشدني	V	291
Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Baḥḥāthī	← Abū Sahl al-Junbudhī	أنشدني، وأنشدني أيضًا	V	288
Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Dūst (*Yatīma* source no. 9)	← *al-qāḍī* Abū ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad	أنشدنيه له، قال وأنشدني أيضًا	V	302

Appendix 3: The Main Guarantors in the *Yatīma*

(1) ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Wahb al-Miṣrī

Nothing is known about the life of this major guarantor for the first *qism* of the *Yatīma* (on Syria, Egypt and al-Maghrib), figuring in 10 *isnād*s.

(2) Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Balkhī al-Ẓāhir (d. before 429/1037)

A native poet of Balkh whom al-Thaʿālibī includes in the fourth *qism* of the *Yatīma*, he also appears in 23 *isnād*s, mostly in the first *qism*. As a youth, he left for Iraq and Syria,[113] where he visited Naṣībīn, Aleppo, Beirut, and Mayyā-fāriqīn.[114] He then moved to Khurāsān and settled in Nīshāpūr where he met al-

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[113]*Yatīma* 4: 415.
[114]Ibid. 1: 116, 119, 300–1.

Thaʿālibī. The etymology of his name is explained in the *Yatīma* as an imitation of other poets who took on names following this pattern, such as al-Nājim, al-Nāshiʾ, al-Nāmī, al-Zāhī, al-Ṭāliʿ, and al-Ṭāhir.[115]

(3) *Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī (d. 383/993)*[116]

He was, in his time, the salient literary figure in the East. Over his long career, he criss-crossed the Islamic world, enjoying the patronage of *amīr*s as far west as the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla in Aleppo and as far east as the Shāh of Gharchistān; but he was favored by no one more generously and consistently than al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād and his first master ʿAḍud al-Dawla, whom he frequented over the years, in their various capitals of Iṣfahān, Shīrāz, Jurjān, and Rayy, while maintaining a permanent residence, throughout the latter part of his life in Nīshāpūr. It was there that he first met the young al-Thaʿālibī. He is the source of more than 30 *isnād*s in *al-Yatīma* alone, in addition to supplying much written material. He functions as a main source throughout the *Yatīma*, and al-Thaʿālibī acknowledges him especially for the material he provided in the first *qism*.[117]

(4) *Abū l-Faḍl ʿUbaydallāh b. Aḥmad al-Mīkālī (d. 436/1044–5)*[118]

He belongs to the most illustrious and influential family in Nīshāpūr and is one of the main patrons and friends of al-Thaʿālibī, who dedicated to him at least five works and compiled a whole book in praise of his *kunya* Abū l-Faḍl.[119] Al-Mīkālī was a theologian, traditionalist, poet, *adīb*, and, according to al-Ḥuṣrī, *raʾīs* of Nīshāpūr. Until his death, he gave lectures in Nīshāpūr, which were widely attended by scholars. His works and his *Dīwān* circulated among men of letters.[120] Al-Thaʿālibī quotes al-Mīkālī's verses, maxims, and compilations in almost all of his writings. Al-Mīkālī in turn demonstrated his admiration of al-Thaʿālibī by visiting him at his house, by sending *ikhwāniyyāt* and by composing verses in his praise.[121] In the *Yatīma*, Abū l-Faḍl al-Mīkālī appears in eight *isnād*s in the first, third, and fourth *qism*s. His *Mulaḥ al-khawāṭir wa-subaḥ al-jawāhir* and a few of his written notes are also cited.

(5) *Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Maʾmūn al-Maṣṣīṣī (d. before 429/1037)*

Al-Thaʿālibī notes in the *Tatimma*, that he has met al-Maṣṣīṣī several times, over a period of some 30 years [*wa-huwa man laqītuhu qadīman wa-ḥadīthan fi muddati thalāthīna sana*]. He refers to him as a poet[122] but does not give him an entry in either the *Yatīma* or in the

[115]Ibid. 4: 415.

[116]See Ch. Pellat, 'al-Khʷārizmī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās,' *EI*² (Leiden: Brill, 1997), IV: 1069b and the sources listed there; *Yatīma*, 4: 194.

[117]Ibid. 1: 26.

[118]See his biography in al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma* 4: 326; al-Ḥuṣrī 1: 126; al-Bākharzī 2: 984; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1973), 2: 52; C.E. Bosworth, 'Mīkālīs,' *EI*² (Leiden: Brill, 1993), VII: 25b–26b; and C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran, 994: 1040* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963), 176ff.

[119]See Bilal Orfali, 'The Works of Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī,' 315.

[120]Al-Samʿānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, ed. ʿA. al-Bārūdī (Beirut: Dār al-Jinān li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr, 1988), 5: 433.

[121]Al-Ḥuṣrī 1: 127–8, 312, 2: 501–2, 955.

[122]*Yatīma* 2: 214.

Tatimma. He appears in 11 *isnād*s in the *Yatīma*, mostly in the first *qism*, and to a lesser extent in the second and third *qism*s. In the *Tatimma* he appears as an oral source in nine instances in the first and second *qism*s. The wide reach of his network is manifested in the poetry he reports from a variety of poets. One can assume from his *isnād*s that he is a native of Syria; the poetry he reports indicates that he has visited Egypt, but it is difficult to determine where al-Thaʿālibī met him.

(6) Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Mūsawī al-Ṭūsī (d. before 429/1037)

He visited Bukhārā with his father Abū l-Ḥasan al-Mūsawī, who is to be distinguished from the famous poet Abū l-Ḥasan al-Sharīf al-Raḍī al-Mūsawī (d. 406/1015). He served as a major source for the fourth *qism* of the *Yatīma*, where his name appears in eight *isnād*s. Additional reports from him are found throughout al-Thaʿālibī's other works.[123] According to a *khabar* in *al-Adhkiyāʾ* of Abū l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201), he attended the *majlis* of Abū Naṣr b. Abī Zayd,[124] who was, according to al-Thaʿālibī, the vizier of al-Raḍī (d. 387/997) and Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū Manṣūr (d. 387/997).[125]

(7) Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān (d. before 429/1037)[126]

A prolific author from Iṣbahān who lived in Nīshāpūr, where he met al-Thaʿālibī; his books include *Akhbār Ibn al-Rūmī*, *Akhbār Jaḥẓa al-Barmakī*, *Dhikr al-aḥwāl fī Shaʿbān wa-shahr Ramaḍān wa-Shawwāl*, and *al-Ādāb fī-l-ṭaʿām wa-l-sharāb*. Reports from him are found in almost all of al-Thaʿālibī's works. In the *Yatīma*, he is a guarantor for 11 reports/poems in the four *aqsām* of the *Yatīma*, but his main importance lies in having provided al-Thaʿālibī with *dīwān*s and works he acquired during his two visits to Baghdad.

(8) Abū Saʿd Naṣr b. Yaʿqūb al-Dīnawarī (d. before 429/1037)[127]

A native of Nīshāpūr, a *kātib* and secretary to Yamīn al-Dawla Maḥmūd al-Ghaznawī (d. 421/1031), and a prolific author whose books include *Rawāʾiʿ al-tashbīhāt*, *Thimār al-uns fī tashbīhāt al-Furs*, *K. al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr fī l-taʿbīr*, and *K. al-Adʿiya*. Al-Thaʿālibī draws on

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[123]For example, see al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, ed. M.A. Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, 1965), 188, 319, 498, 541, 583.

[124]See Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Adhkiyāʾ*, ed. A.ʿA. Al-Rifāʿī (Damascus: Maktabat al-Ghazzālī, 1971), 195.

[125]See al-Thaʿālibī, *al-Iʿjāz wa-l-ījāz*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (Damascus: Dār al-Bashāʾir, 2004), 123; and al-Thaʿālibī, *Tuḥfat al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. Ḥ.ʿA. al-Rāwī and I.M. al-Ṣaffār (Baghdad: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 1977), 125. Little is known about Abū Naṣr b. Abī Zayd. Al-Thaʿālibī mentions him several times in *Thimār al-qulūb*, *Laṭāʾif al-ẓurafāʾ*, *Tuḥfat al-wuzarāʾ*, and *Yatīmat al-dahr*. Abū Ṭālib al-Maʾmūnī (d. 383/993) composed a *qaṣīda* describing a house that Abū Naṣr built, see *Yatīma* 4: 260. I have identified al-Raḍī in al-Thaʿālibī's text as Abū l-Qāsim Nūḥ b. Manṣūr b. Nūḥ b. Naṣr al-Sāmānī (d. 387/997) who ruled at the age of 13 after his father's death in 366/976 and was given the title al-Raḍī after his death; see on him C.E. Bosworth, 'Nūḥ b. Manṣūr b. Nūḥ,' *EI²* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), VIII: 110a . Supporting this is the fact that Abū Ṭālib al-Maʾmūnī, who praised Abū Naṣr, was in Bukhārā in 382/992 during the reign of Nūḥ b. Manṣūr, see *Yatīma* 4: 171. Naṣr al-Dīn Abū Manṣūr is Sebüktigin (d. 387/997), the father of Maḥmūd al-Ghaznawī (d. 421/1030), see C.E. Bosworth, 'Sebüktigin,' *EI²* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), IX: 121a–121b. The edited text of *Tuḥfat al-wuzarāʾ* reads al-Rāḍī, instead of al-Raḍī, whom the editors identified erroneously as Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. al-Muqtadir b. al-Muʿtaḍid (d. 329/940), see *Tuḥfat al-wuzarāʾ*, 125.

[126]*Yatīma* 4: 391; and al-Ṣafadī 14: 16.

[127]*Yatīma* 4: 389; and al-Ṣafadī 27: 57.

his authority seven times in the second, third, and fourth *qism*s, in addition to one report in his *Rawāʾiʿ al-tashbīhāt*.

(9) Abū Saʿīd (Saʿd?) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Dūst al-Uṭrūsh (d. 431/1039)[128]

A *faqīh*, grammarian, and *adīb* from Nīshāpūr. He was given the *laqab* al-Uṭrūsh because he was deaf [*lā yasmaʿu shayʾan*]. He studied grammar with the lexicographer al-Jawharī (d. 393/1002) and taught it along with *adab* and *fiqh* in formal *majālis* in Nīshāpūr. He was a close friend of al-Thaʿālibī who eulogized him after his death. In the *Yatīma*, he is the guarantor for 15 poems and *akhbār* in all four *aqsām* in addition to two poems of al-Namarī he sent to al-Thaʿālibī.

(10) Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 398/1008)[129]

He grew up in Hamadhān, where he studied with the noted grammarian and lexicographer Aḥmad b. Fāris (d. 395/1004). He began his literary career at the age of 22 when he went to Rayy to seek the patronage of al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād. He then traveled to Jurjān and from there to Nīshāpūr in 382/992 where he had a literary *munāẓara* with Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī. Thereafter, he undertook a number of journeys, including Sistān, Ghazna, and Herāt, where he died, barely aged 40. A *dīwān* of his poems and another of his *rasāʾil* have been published, but his *maqāmāt* most perpetuated his name. Al-Thaʿālibī met him in Nīshāpūr and related poetry directly from him.[130] In *al-Yatīma*, he appears in six *isnād*s in the second, third, and fourth *qism*s.

The Main Guarantors in the Tatimma

(1) Abū Bakr al-Quhistānī (d. after 435/1054)[131]

Al-ʿAmīd Abū Bakr ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Quhistānī from al-Rukhkhaj,[132] was a well-known poet and *adīb* in his day. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī further mentions his special interest in philosophy. Al-Bākharzī notes in his entry that he met him in Khurāsān in 435/1043, transmited a substantial number of poems through him, and mentioned in another instance that he has seen his *dīwān*.[133] In *Dumyat al-qaṣr* a number of personalities transmit poetry on his authority: Abū ʿĀmir al-Jurjānī, Yaʿqūb b. Aḥmad, Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Ṭawlaqī. Al-Bākharzī also mentions that he headed the office of chancellery [*ṣāḥib al-dīwān*] for the Ghaznavid *amīr* Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin.[134] In the *Tatimma*, al-

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[128]*Yatīma* 4: 425; al-Bākharzī 2, 970–2; al-Ṣafadī 18: 151; and al-ʿUtbī, *Al-Yamīnī fī sharḥ akhbār al-sulṭān yamīn al-dawla wa-amīn al-milla Maḥmūd al-Ghaznawī*, ed. I. Dh. al-Thāmirī (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿa, 2004), 189.

[129]On al-Hamadhānī, see Everett Rowson, 'Religion and Politics in the Career of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107 (1987): 653–73; and R. Blachere, 'al-Hamadhānī,'*EI²* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), III: 106a .

[130]See *Yatīma* 4: 257, 292.

[131]See on him al-Bākharzī 2: 714ff; *Tatimma*, 264ff; and Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, p. 1677ff.

[132]Rukhkhaj is the name given in the medieval Islam of southeastern Afghanistan around the later city of Qandahār and occupying the lower basin of the Arghandāb river; see C.E. Bosworth, 'al-Rukhkhadj,' *EI²* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), VIII: 595a–595b .

[133]Al-Bākharzī 2: 1136.

Tha'ālibī does not provide sources for the entry on him and most probably obtained his poems directly from him. He is also the source for the poetry of eight other poets from the *first qism*.[135] It is uncertain how al-Quhistānī learned these poems; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī in his entry mentions that he traveled to Baghdad some time after 420/1029 (*fī awāʾili sinī nayyifin wa-ʿishrīna wa-arbaʿimiʾa*) where he praised the caliph al-Qādir Billāh and his *kātib* Abū Ṭālib b. Ayyūb before contacting in 431/1039 the Saljūq kings in Khurāsān, Khwārizm, and al-Jabal. He most probably met al-Thaʿālibī in Khurāsān prior to his death in 429/1039.

(2) Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Tamīmī (d. 454/1062)[136]

His father, Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Baghdādī al-Tamīmī, is likewise a source of the *Yatīma*. Born in 386/996 in Baghdad, Muḥammad was a poet who received an entry in the second *qism* of the *Tatimma*. There, al-Thaʿālibī mentions that he traveled in his youth via Nīshāpūr to Ghazna. Later in his life he visited al-Qayrawān and then al-Andalus, where he was patronized by several rulers until his death in Toledo.[137] Al-Thaʿālibī reports his poetry directly from him in addition to one poem from the first *qism*, three from the second *qism*, and one from the fifth (a Baghdādī poet).

(3) Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dabāwandī[138]

A poet whose entry appears in the third *qism* of the *Tatimma*, as he resided in al-Rayy. He travlled to Nīshāpūr and returned to al-Rayy when *al-shaykh al-ʿamīd* Abū l-Ṭayyib Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh called him back. In Nīshāpūr, al-Thaʿālibī had the chance to transmit his poety as well as that of other. He appears in six *isnād*s, all in the third *qism*.

(4) Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Fāris al-Qazwīnī

Al-Thaʿālibī mentions in the *Yatīma* that he visited Nīshāpūr and became friends with Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī,[139] but he does not contribute any information in the *Yatīma*. Strangely, no entry is dedicated to him in either the *Yatīma* or the *Tatimma*. He is the source of three poems in the first *qism* of the *Tatimma* and two in the second.

(5) Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Maʾmūn al-Maṣṣīṣī (d. before 429/1037)

Yatīma source no. 5.

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[134]Ibid. 2: 1084.

[135]Four of these are from the fifth *qism*, which includes poets from all regions.

[136]*Tatimma*, 79.

[137]Al-Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwat al-muqtabis fī dhikr wulāt al-Andalus* (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya li-l-Taʾlīf wa-l-Tarjama, 1966), 72–3; and al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968), 3: 121.

[138]*Tatimma*, 153.

[139]*Yatīma* 4: 204.

(6) Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣūfī al-Baṣrī (d. after 429/1037)[140]

He transmits the poetry of six poets from the first *qism* of the *Tatimma* in addition to his own, which is included in the second *qism*. Al-Thaʿālibī places him among the *ṣūfī shuyūkh* who briefly came to Nīshāpūr in 421/1030. According to al-Thaʿālibī, he was a rich source for the *udabāʾ* in Nīshāpūr since he provided access to rare information [*fa-afādanā mimmā lam najid ʿinda amthālihi*].

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[140]*Tatimma*, 108.