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Three *Maqāmāt* Attributed to Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008)

Maurice A. Pomerantz

New York University Abu Dhabi

mp147@nyu.edu

Bilal W. Orfali

American University of Beirut/Ohio State University

booo@aub.edu.lb

For Abdelfattah Kilito, lover of *maqāmāt* false or true

Abstract

This article provides the *editio princeps* of three previously unknown *maqāmāt* attributed to Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008). It begins with a review of studies on the collection of Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*, and recent research by the authors on the manuscript tradition of this work. It discusses how these three *maqāmāt* are located in approximately one-fourth of the manuscripts of Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*, including a thirteenth/nineteenth century copy of a sixth/twelfth century manuscript, MS School of Oriental and African Studies 47280. The authors then provide a sample of the manuscripts utilized in the edition, a critical edition of the *maqāmāt*, and an analysis of their contents. The conclusion considers their authenticity in light of other *maqāmāt* attributed to Hamadhānī.

Keywords

Abbasid literature – artistic prose – *maqāmāt* – Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī

Introduction

The *Maqāmāt* of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008) is one of the most important works of classical Arabic literature and the foundational work of the *maqāma* genre. Later authors of *maqāmāt* such as al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) consciously drew inspiration from its characters, plots and themes. As the recent works of Devin Stewart and Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila have demonstrated, the *maqāma* was one of the most influential genres of Middle Eastern literature.¹

While Hamadhānī's individual *maqāmāt* served as the formal model for subsequent authors of *maqāmas*, his collection of *maqāmāt* differed from later collections in one fundamental way: Hamadhānī does not appear to have been the collector of the *maqāmāt* attributed to him.²

Drawing on Badī' al-Zamān's boast that he had authored more than 400 *maqāmāt*, made in the course of his famed literary contest with Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī (d. 383/993), both medieval and modern authors have considered the Hamadhānian corpus to be "open."³ That is, there was no definitive compilation of Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt*. Indeed, Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila posits the existence of two collections of Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt* circulating during the author's lifetime or shortly thereafter.⁴

The first extant manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt* of Hamadhānī date from more than a century after the author's death. MS Fātiḥ 4097 copied in 520/1126 includes forty *maqāmāt* in an order entirely different from the standard edition. The next two manuscripts in date, MS SOAS 47280 — a thirteenth/nineteenth century copy of a manuscript dating to 562/1166-7 — and MS Yale Salisbury 63 — dating to 603/1206 — both include the same core of forty *maqāmāt* in the same order as MS Fātiḥ 4097.

Unlike MS al-Fātiḥ 4097, both MSS Yale and SOAS contain fifty numbered *maqāmāt*. Of the ten additional numbered *maqāmāt* in MS Yale, seven (nos. 37-43) are the so-called "amusing anecdotes" (*mulaḥ*) of Hamadhānī included as an appendix to the Dār al-Jawā'ib edition. The three remaining *maqāmāt* include a letter that is described as a *mulḥa* in the Istanbul edition, the *Maṭlabīyya*, and the newly discovered *Ṭibbīyya*.⁵

As we mentioned in our previous article on the *Ṭibbīyya*, the presence of additional *maqāmāt* in a manuscript of the sixth/twelfth century necessitates

1 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*; Stewart, *The maqāma*.

2 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 121.

3 Rowson, *Religion and Politics*, 669, note 84.

4 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 118-121.

5 Orfali and Pomerantz, *A Lost Maqāma*, 248.

a serious re-consideration both of the authenticity of the *Ṭibbiyya* as well as the materials presently included in the Hamadhānian corpus.

Similar to MS Yale, MS SOAS also includes seven *mulaḥ* as *maqāmas* nos. 44-50. MS SOAS also contains three additional *maqāmāt* (nos. 48-50) which we have named: *Hamadhāniyya*, *Sharīfiyya* (which is a *maqāma* and *risāla*), and *Khātamiyya*. Similar to our previous article on the *Ṭibbiyya*, in this article we provide an *editio princeps* and study of these three *maqāmāt*.

The discovery of three *maqāmāt* attributed to Hamadhānī in MS SOAS, however, raises difficulties of a different nature than we described in our article on the *Ṭibbiyya*. For as we noted above, MS SOAS is a thirteenth/nineteenth century copy of a manuscript that dates to 562/1166-7. In addition to MS SOAS, the three *maqāmāt*, are present in nine other manuscripts dating from the eleventh-thirteenth/seventeenth-nineteenth centuries.

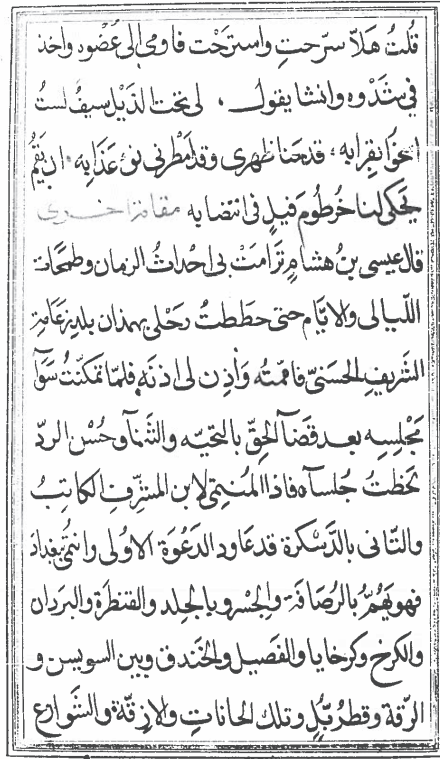
Manuscripts Utilized in the Edition

The following eleven manuscripts were used in the course of preparing this edition:

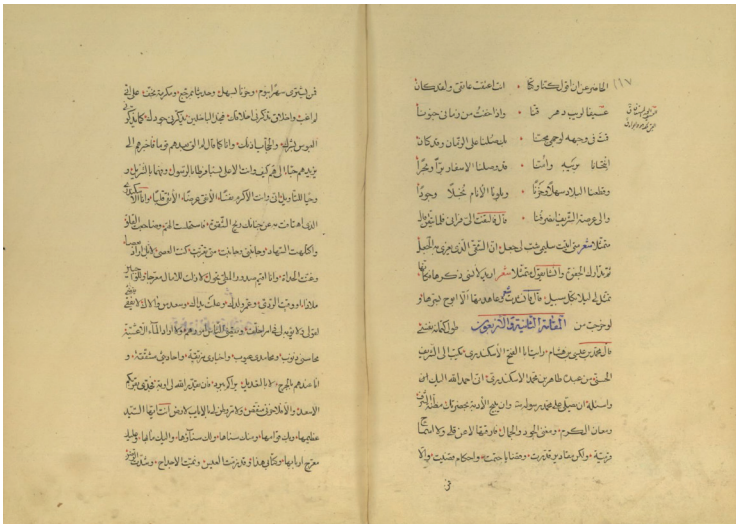
- A Damascus, Asad Library (1243/1827)
- T1 Tehran *Kitābkhānah-i wa Markaz-i Asnād Majlis Shurā-yi Islāmī* 303 (1270/1853)
- T2 Tehran *Kitābkhānah-i Millī Jumhūrī-yi Islāmī-yi Irān* 8046 (no date).
- T3 Tehran *Majlis* 631 (13th/19th century)
- T4 Tehran *Majlis* 2/5764 (1278/1861)
- M Malik National Library and Museum 2358 (1243/1827-8)
- L London SOAS 47280 (13th/19th century copy) of a ms. dated to 562/1166-7
- U Unknown manuscript provided by Wadad Kadi
- I Istanbul University A1227 (undated)
- P Princeton 2007 (undated)
- E Edinburgh MS Or 49 (11th/17th century)

mss A, T1, T2, T3, T4, and L represent a group of manuscripts based on the patterns of agreements and disagreements among them. U, I, and P represent different groups, with I and P being close. I and P are the best manuscripts. L is a very good manuscript but has many lacunae which we did not indicate in the footnotes to enhance the readability of the text. In this manuscript, the scribe left spaces for the words and phrases which he presumably could not read.

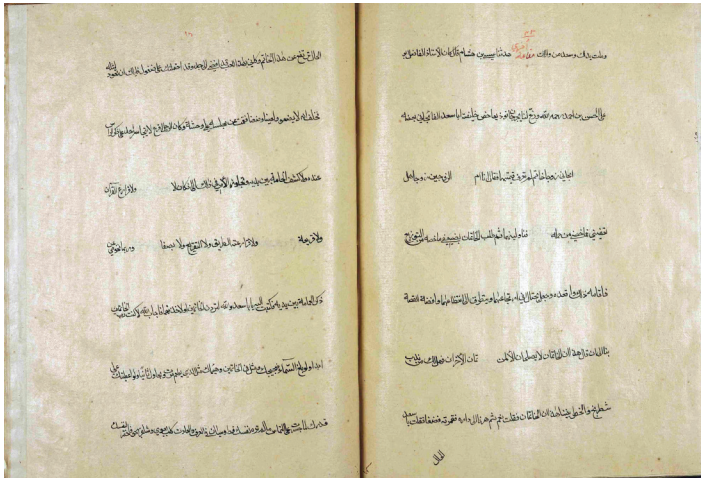
Samples of the Manuscripts



Ms Istanbul University 1227, f. 92r



Ms Tehran Majlis 2/5764 124v-125r



SOAS 47280 122v-123r

Arabic Edition of the Three *Maqāmāt*

[المقامة الهمدانية]

قال عيسى بن هشام: ترامت بي أحداثُ الزمان وطَمَحَاتُ الليالي والأيام، حتى حَطَطْتُ رَحلي بِهَمْدان،⁶ بَلَدِ زَعَامَةِ الشَّرِيفِ الحَسَنِيِّ،⁷ فَاقَمْتُه،⁸ وَأَذِنَ لي⁸ إِذْنَهُ. فَلَمَّا تَمَكَّنْتُ سِوَاءَ مَجْلِسِهِ، بعد قضاء الحقِّ بِالتَّحِيَّةِ وَالثَّنَاءِ وَحُسْنِ الرَّدِّ، لَحَظْتُ جُلْسَاءَهُ فَإِذَا المُنْتَمِي لِابْنِ⁹ المَشْرِفِ الكَاتِبِ وَالثَّانِي بِالدُّسُكْرَةِ قَدِ عَاوَدَ الدَّعْوَةَ الأُولَى وَأَتَمَّى لِبغداد فهُوَ يَهْتَمُّ¹⁰ بِالرُّصَافَةِ وَالجِسرِ وَبِالجُلْدِ¹¹ وَالتَّنَطُّرَةِ وَالبَرْدَانِ وَالكِرْخِ وَكَرْخَايَا وَالفَصِيلِ وَالحَنْدَقِ وَبَيْنَ السُّوَيْسِ وَالرِّقَّةِ وَقَطْرُبُلِّ، وَتلك الحَنَاتِ¹² وَالأزِقَّةِ وَالشَّوَارِعِ،¹³ وَقَدِ خَرَجَ

6. في همدان P.

7. الحسيني E.

8. وَأَذِنَ T₁، T₂، T₄، T₅، M.

9. المسمى بابن T₄، المسمى لابن E.

10. يهتم T₁، T₂، T₃، T₄، M، L، E.

11. الجلد: سقطت من T₃، T₄.

12. الحنات: E، I، P، U، A، T₄.

13. والشوارع والأزقة L.

والله في مَسَلِكِ الشَّاعِرِ ، فهو ولا دِعْبِلُ وذَووهِ ولا ابنُ هَانِيٍّ وَأَضْرَابُهُ من نَصْرِ بنِ أَحْمَدِ¹⁴
شاعرِ البَصْرَةِ ، وهذا المُتَّبِعِي شاعرُ الشَّامِيِّينَ لَكِنَّهُ لِلْحَسَنِيِّ¹⁵ مَثُولُ الكَعْبِ الرَّاتِبِ ، وَرَفَعَ
عَقِيرَتَهُ بِصَوْتِ جَهْمِيٍّ وَصَوْتِ¹⁶ كَانَهُ¹⁷ قَصَبٌ¹⁸ أَجَشُّ مُهْضَمٌ [من الحَافِي] :

كَلِمَا قِيلَ دِيرٌ حَنَّتُهُ حَنَا	مَنْ مُعِينِي عَلَى فَوَادٍ مُعَنَى
بَبِ خَبَايَا جَنَانِهِ أَنْ يُجِنَّا ¹⁹	وَلَقَدْ كَادَ مِنْ تَذَكُّرِهِ ²⁰ طِيءُ
هُ وَكَيْفَ السُّلُوعُ عَنْهُ وَأَنَّى	أَبْنَى ذَاكَ الزَّمَانَ لَأَبْنَى فَا نَدُبُ
تِ التَّصَابِي قُفَلْتُ كُنَّ فَبِنَا	سَأَلْتَنِي عَنِ الزَّمَانِ وَلِيَلَا
لَأَبْشَيْبٍ أَنَا خِجِّي فَابْنَا	مَرَحَبًا بِالشَّبَابِ بَانَ ²¹ وَلَا أَهْ
دِي إِلَّا اسْتَهَلَّ شَأْنِي وَشَنَّا	لَا ²² وَتَلَكَ الأَيَّامُ مَا ذُكِرْتُ عَنْهُ
خَفْدَارَاتُهَا إِلَى دِيرٍ ²³ قُنَّا	يَا لِيَا لِيَا بِالْمَطِيرَةِ وَالكَرِّ
رُكَا مًا مُسْتَارِضًا مُرَجِحِنَا	هَلْ إِلَيْكَ لِي مَعَادُ سَقِيئَتُنَّ
هَ ²⁴ تَرَأَقَتْ أَعْجَازُهُ فَارْتَعَنَّا	هَيْدَبًا كَلِمًا أَرَأَقَتْ هَوَادِي
كَرَّ مَعْشُوقُهُ بِكِي فَارْنَا	عَاشِقًا زَهْرَةَ الرِّيَاضِ إِذَا اسْتَدَّ
دُ احْتَبَى ²⁵ لِلْحَيَاءِ فَرُضًا وَسَنَّا	كَالشَّرِيفِ الَّذِي إِذَا ذُكِرَ المَجُّ

14 نصر أحمد T₁، T₂، T₃، T₄، A، M، U، P، يضرب أحمد E.

15 للحسيني E.

16 صوت: سقطت من E.

17 كانه: سقطت من T₃، T₄.

18 قصب: سقطت من T₁، قضيب: L.

19 ولقد . . . يجنا: سقطت من T₂، T₃، T₄، A.

20 تذكرة U.

21 بان: سقطت من T₃، بان بالشباب: M.

22 لا: سقطت من M.

23 دار U.

24 هواريه U.

25 اجتبي M.

وَإِذَا جَالَ²⁶ فِي عِرَاصِ الْمَعَالِي²⁷ مَرَّ فِيهَا قَبًا وَشَنًّا وَعَنَا
 قُلْ لِرَبِّبِ الزَّمَانِ دُونَكَ مَنْ شُدُّ
 تَ سِوَانَا عَلَى سِوَاءِ فَإِنَّا
 فِي ذِمَامِ الشَّرِيفِ ذِي الْمَجْدِ وَالْجُو
 دَ وَحُسْنِ حُصْنِ²⁸ الْعُلَى فَاعْلُ عَنَا
 عَذْبُ مَاءِ الْعَطَاءِ²⁹ سَاعِ شَرْبِ الذِّ
 يَلِ لَا يُبْعِ الْعَطِيَّةَ مَنَّا
 يَا ابْنَ خَيْرِ الْوَرَى وَمَنْ فَتَحَ اللّٰهَ
 ضَرِّ عَنِّ أَنْ أَقُولَ كَمَا وَكَمَا
 أَنْتَ أَغْنَيْتَنِي بِأِحْسَانِكَ الْحَا
 نَ عَسِيفًا لِرَبِّ دَهْرِي قِنَّا
 أَنْتَ أَعْتَقْتَ عَاتِقِي وَلَقَدْ كَا
 قُمْتَ فِي وَجْهِهِ لَوْجْهِي مَجْنَا
 نَ امْتِحَانًا بِرَبِّهِ³¹ وَأَمِنَّا
 إِذَا خِفْتُ مِنْ زَمَانِي جُنُونًا
 بَكَ صُلْنَا عَلَى الزَّمَانِ وَقَدْ كَا
 وَقَطَعْنَا الْبِلَادَ سَهْلًا وَحَزْنَا
 قَدْ وَصَلْنَا الْأَسْفَارَ بَرًّا وَبَحْرًا
 وَإِلَى عَرَصَةِ³² الشَّرِيفِ انْصَرَفْنَا
 وَبَلَوْنَا الْأَنَامَ مَجْلًا وَجُودًا

قال فالتفت إلي فرأني ، فلما تيقن إلي قال مُتَمَثِّلًا [من البسيط]:³³

مَتَى أَتَيْتُ سُلَيْمِي شَبَّ لِي جُعَلُ
 إِذْ الشَّقِيَّ الَّذِي³⁴ يُغْرِي بِهِ الْجُعَلُ

26 جاء L .

27 المعاني T₂ .

28 حُسْنُ حُصْنِ T₁ ، M ، P ، E ، حُسْنِ T₂ ، A ، حِصْنِ T₃ ، T₄ ، ولا يستقيم الوزن بأي منها .

29 العطايا T₁ ، T₂ ، T₃ ، A ، M ، L ، I ، ولا يستقيم الوزن به .

30 قد فتح الدرر E ، ولا يستقيم الوزن به .

31 برأسه T₂ ، A ، برئية P .

32 مهمه : L .

33 من شواهد النحويين ، وفي معظم المصادر : إذا أتيت . . . : انظر ديوان المعاني الكبير لابن قتيبة ، بيروت :

دار الكتب العلمية ، 1984 ، 628 (وتخريج البيت في الهامش) .

34 الذي : سقطت من T₁ .

ثم تدارك الجفوة وأنشأ يقول متمثلاً [من الطويل]:³⁵

أريدُ لأنسى ذِكْرَهَا فكَأَنَّمَا³⁶ تَمَثَّلُ لِي لَيْلَى بِكُلِّ سَبِيلِ

قال فأنشدت [من الطويل]:

وعاهدتها ألا أبوح بسرِّها ولو خرجت من طولِ كتمانِه³⁷ نفسي

مقامة ورسالة لأبي الفتح الإسكندري

قال محمد بن عيسى بن هشام: رأيتُ أبا الفتح الإسكندري يكتب إلى الشريف الحسيني من عبده طاهر بن محمد الإسكندري:

إني أحمدُ إليك الله³⁸ وأسأله أن يُصليَ علي محمد رسولَه³⁹ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم، وأن يُبيح⁴⁰ الأوبة بحضرتك، مظنة الشرفِ ومعاني الكرمِ ومغنى الجود والجمال، فارقتها لا عن قلى ولا إسماعِ قرينة، ولكن مقاديرُ قدِّرت وقضايا حُتِمت وأحكامُ قُضيت، وإلا فمن يشتري سَهراً بنومٍ وحزناً بسَهلاً وحديثاً بمرجعٍ ومكرمةً بجنسٍ،⁴¹ على أني لم أغب وأخلاقٌ تذكرنى أخلاقك، فبخلُ الباخلين يذكركنى جودك، كما يذكركنى العبوسُ بشركِ والحجابُ إذنك، وأنا كما قال [من البسيط]:

35 نسب البيت لكثير عزة في خزانة الأدب للبغدادي، تحقيق عبد السلام هارون، القاهرة: مكتبة الخانجي،

2000، 10: 329، وهو في ديوانه، تحقيق قدري مايو، بيروت: دار الجليل، 1995، 276؛ ونسب جميل بن

معمر في الوافي بالوفيات للصفدي، تحقيق احمد الارناؤوط ووزكي مصطفى، بيروت: دار إحياء التراث

العربي، 2000، 3: 60.

36 فكأنها I، L، U، A، T₄، لكننا P.

37 كتبها U.

38 الله إليك T₁، T₂، T₃، T₄، A، الله L.

39 رسوله محمد P، U.

40 يتسح U، I.

41 بسحف T₃.

لم ألقَ بعدَهُمُ قَوْمًا فَأَخْبِرُهُمْ إِلَّا يَزِيدُهُمْ حُبًّا إِلَيَّ هُمْ⁴²

وكيف وأنت الأعلى نسباً، فرطاً بالرسول وفهماً بالتزليل ووحياً للتأويل،⁴³ أنى وأنت الأكرم نفساً الأنقى عرضاً الأنقى قلباً، وأنا الإسكندري الذي اهتافت به عن جنابك ريح الشقوة، فاستحلست⁴⁴ الهمَّ وضاجعتُ القلقَ واكتحلتُ الشهادَ، وجانبتني وجانبتُ الرقادَ،⁴⁵ متى تقربتُ كنتَ العصا لإبل أرادَ بعضاً، لا يُغضى لقولي ولا يُؤبه⁴⁶ لي في أمرٍ، أخلفُ ويُغضِي الناسُ أمورَهُمُ، ولا أَرِدُ الماءَ إلا عَشِيَّةً، محاسني ذنوبٌ ومحامدي عُيوبٌ وأخباري مُزيقةٌ وأحاديثي مُشَقَّةٌ،⁴⁷ وأنا عندهم بالجرح لا بالتعديل، يبرأ بكم بردٌ،⁴⁸ فإن يقدر الله لي أوبةً فجددي بقربكم الأسعدَ، وإلا فلا حُزني مُنقَصٌ ولا حرٌّ، ومن⁴⁹ لي بالإياب لأرضٍ أنت أيها السيّد عظيمها وبك قوامها ومنكب سنامها⁵⁰ ولك سنانها⁵¹ وإليك⁵² مآبها وعليك مُعرجُ أربابها، وكتابي هذا وقد زمت العيسُ ونميت الأحداجُ وشدّت الوضنُ وفرطت الهداةُ وغنّت الهداةُ، وأنا أقيم⁵³ صدورَ المطيِّ نحوك، لا زلتَ للآمال مُعرجًا وللراجين ملاذًا ووقيت الردى وعمر ولدك وعلت يداك وسعدت من والاك.⁵⁴

[المقامة الخاتمة]

- 42 اللهم L. والبيت لمرار (أوزياد) بن منقذ العدوي من قصيدة في معجم البلدان لياقوت الحموي، بيروت: دار صادر، د. ت، 3: 427.
- 43 بالتأويل: M.
- 44 فاستجليت U.
- 45 وجانبت: سقطت من T₃، T₄.
- 46 واليؤبه L.
- 47 مُشَقَّة T₁.
- 48 كذا في T₁، T₂، T₃، A، L، وسقطت من U، P، يراكم يبرد T₄، يبرأ بكم يبرد M، سرا بكم يبرد I.
- 49 ولن T₄.
- 50 ومنك سنانها T₁، T₂، T₃، T₄، L، M، I.
- 51 ولك سناؤها T₁، T₂، T₃، T₄، A، M، P، I.
- 52 وإلا إليك M.
- 53 عقم L.
- 54 وأفالك M.

حدَّثنا عيسى بن هشام قال: كان الأستاذُ الفاضلُ أبو عليّ الحسن⁵⁵ بن أحمد رحمه الله ورَّع لنا بجرجان توزيعاً خصَّ خليفته أبا سعد القايجاني بعضه، وكان عند القايجاني زوجاً خاتم لم يُعرف قيمتهما،⁵⁶ فقال أنا أعطيك من هذين الزوجين زوجاً، هل تعفيني مما خصني⁵⁷ من جملة توزيعك؟ فناولنيهما،⁵⁸ ثم طُلب الخاتمان⁵⁹ بصعفي ما خصه من⁶⁰ التوزيع. فأقامه ذلك وأقعده⁶¹ وجعل يحْتال في ارتجاعهما ويتطرق إلى انتزاعهما، وأفضت القصة بنا إلى أن قال هذان الخاتمان لا يصلحان إلا لمن معه الخاتمان الآخران، فهل لك من ندبٍ شطرنجٍ والخطر بينهما⁶² هذان الخاتمان؟ فقلت نعم، ثم صرنا إلى داره فقمرة فضعا، فقلت يا أبا سعد، الحال ترتفع عن هذا الخاتم، وكأني بهذا اللعب قد أفضى إلى جدٍ، وقد احتملتك على⁶³ ضغوك فيأبك أن تعود لثله، فحلف أنه لا يعضو، ولعبنا وضعا، فقامت عن مجلسه على وحشة، وكان الرجل أقرع لا يتجاسر أحد على ذكر الرأس عنده ولا كشف الهامة بين يديه، وتجاوز الأمر في⁶⁴ ذلك إلى أن كان لا القرع ولا القراع ولا المقرعة ولا قوارع القرآن⁶⁵ ولا قريعة وسط قوم ولا القارعة ولا قارعة الطريق ولا التثريح ولا بصفا المشرق كل يوم تفرع،⁶⁶ وربما تحومي عن ذكر العمامة بين يديه، فكتبت إليه: يا أبا سعد، والله لتردن الخاتمين أو لاخذنهما منك، فأجاب: والله لا كتبت رب الخاتمين أبداً ولو بلغ السماء ضجيجك، ومثلك في الخاتمين وهبتهما لك مثل الذي يطعم مرةً ويحاول ثانياً، ولو

55 بن الحسن M.

56 قيمتها T₁، T₂، T₃، M.

57 خصصني I.

58 فناولنيها M.

59 طلب الخاتمين T₂، T₃، T₄.

60 من: سقطت من T₃.

61 فألقه ذلك وأرقده U.

62 بيننا L.

63 عن T₁، T₂، T₃، T₄، A، M.

64 إلى U.

65 القوارع T₃.

66 عجز بيت لأبي ذؤيب الهذلي من عينيه المشهورة، وصدوره: حتى كاتي للحوادث مروءة، انظر ديوان الهذليين، القاهرة: مطبعة دار الكتب والوثائق القومية، 2003، 1: 3.

أَعْطَيْتُكَ عَلَى قَدْرِكَ لَمَّا جَسَرْتَ⁶⁷ عَلَى التَّمَّاسِ مَا لَمْ تَرَهُ عَلَى نَفْسِكَ قَطُّ، وَسَيَّانَ فِي الْعُرْفِ
وَالْعَادَةِ كَلَبَ يَعْوِي وَشَاعَرَ يَهْجُو، فَاخْتَرْتُ لِنَفْسِكَ مَا تَخْتَارُ فَلَنْ يَصْعَبَ تَقْوِيمُكَ وَتَأْدِيبُكَ
وَالسَّلَامُ. فَكَتَبْتُ إِلَيْهِ⁶⁸ [من الوافر]:⁶⁹

أَبَا سَعْدٍ رُوَيْدَكَ فِي مَرَّاسِكَ	وَلَا تُبْرِزُ بِكَيْدِكَ لِي وَبِاسِكَ
أَنْقَمِرُنَا زُبَيْدَةً تَمَّ تَصْغُو	وَتَوْعِدُنِي وَعِنْدَكَ سُورُ كَاسِكَ
أَغْرَكَ فَرَطُ حِلْمِي وَاحْتِمَالِي	لِرَجْعِكَ خَاتَمِي بِلِ احْتِبَاسِكَ
فَإِنْ لَمْ أَرِ تَجْعُهُ مِنْكَ صُغْرًا	فَتَحَّتْ عَمَامَتِي رَاسِي كَرَّاسِكَ

فَلَمَّا أَتَتْهُ الْأَبْيَاتُ أَخَذَهَا مَا قَدَّمَ⁷⁰ وَمَا حَدَّثَ وَمَا كَانَ يَظُنُّنِي أَبْلَغَ مَعَهُ هَذَا الْمُبْلَغَ. وَكَتَبَ إِلَيَّ:
يَا فَاعِلُ يَا صَانِعُ وَاللَّهِ لَا بَدْلَانَ الْفَافِ دِرْهَمٍ عَلَيْكَ وَلَا قِطْعَنَ لِسَانِكَ وَتَلْعَمَنَّ تَبَاهُ بَعْدَ
حِينَ⁷¹. فَكَتَبْتُ إِلَيْهِ [من مجزوء الرجز]:

أَنْتَ وَإِنْ أُسْمِعْتَنِي	فَلَا أَرَى أَنْ أُسْمِعَكَ
إِصْغَ لِنُصْحِي وَأَزِلْ	عَنْ احْتِمَالِي
طَمَعَكَ إِيَّاكَ أَنْ تُشْتِمَنِي	وَذَلِكَ الرَّاسُ مَعَكَ

فَعَلِمَ أَنَّ بَابَ الصَّوَابِ غَيْرُ الَّذِي يَقْرَعُ وَأَنَّ طَرِيقَ التَّوْفِيقِ سِوَى الَّذِي يَسْلُكُ، فَاسْتَعَانَ
بِالْكِتَابِ عَلَيَّ يَسْأَلُونِي الْعَفْوَ عَنْهُ، وَأَخَذْنَا الْخَاتَمَيْنِ مِنْهُ، وَقَصَدُونِي فَاحْتَجَبْتُ، ثُمَّ كَتَبُوا

67 جرات U.

68 فكُتبت إليه: سقطت من U.

69 الأبيات 1 و3 و4 في ديوان بدیع الزمان الهمداني، دراسة وتحقیق یسري عبد الغني عبد الله، بيروت: دار
الكتب العلمیة، 1987، 87.

70 تقدم U.

71 سورة ص: 88.

إِلَيَّ: كُنَّا قَصْدُنَاكَ فَلَمْ يَتَّفِقِ اللَّقَاءُ، وَقَدْ كُنَّا قَصْرُنَا الْقَصْدَ عَلَى الْحَالِ بَيْنَكَ وَبَيْنَ الْأَسَاذِ
الْخَطِيرِ أَبِي سَعْدٍ لِنُعِيدَهَا⁷² وَنَسْتَدْنِي بَعِيدَهَا وَنَذْكُرُكَ الْمَمْلُوكَةَ⁷³ وَنَسْأَلُكَ الْمَصْلِحَةَ وَيُخْرِجُ
كُلُّ مَنْ مِنْ قَلِيلِهِ وَكَثِيرِهِ إِلَيْكَ إِنْ أَوْجَبَتْ. فَكُتِبَتْ إِلَيْهِمْ [مِنْ مَجْزُوءِ الرَّمْلِ]:

سَادَتِي يَا مَعْشَرَ الْكُتُبِ	أَبِ يَا أَهْلَ الرَّعَامَةِ
قَدْ جَرَتْ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَ الْ	قَائِمَانِي ظِلَامَهُ
فَأَسْمَعُوا مِنِّي كَلَامِي	وَأَسْمَعُوا مِنْهُ كَلَامَهُ
وَاحْكُمُوا بِالْحَقِّ لَا تَأْ	خُذْكُمْ فِيهِ مَلَامَهُ
وَاطْرَحُوا الْمُرُّ مِنَ الْعَدُوِّ	لِأَمَامِي وَأَمَامَهُ
وَإِذَا قُتِمْتُمْ لِأَمْرٍ	فَابْلُغُوا فِيهِ تَمَامَهُ
إِنَّ هَذَا النَّذْلُ مِنِّي	رَامَ مَا أَشْوَى مَرَامَهُ
زَلَّ عَنْ يَمِينِهِ خَيْرٌ	وَشِمَالِي ⁷⁴ عَنْ كَرَامِهِ
وَحَبَانِي ⁷⁵ خَاتَمِي فِيهِ	رُوزَجٌ ⁷⁶ خَلَى نِظَامَهُ
ثُمَّ جَاءَتْهُ عَلَى مَا	سَبَقَتْ مِنْهُ نَدَامَهُ
كَلَّمَا لاقَاهُمَا فِي	إِصْبَعِي لِاقِي حِمَامَهُ
فَتَعَاطَى فِي ارْتِجَاعِ الشَّ	يءِ إِبْرَازِ السَّهَامَةِ
قَالَ لِي هَلْ لَكَ فِي اللَّعْنِ	بِ عَلِيٍّ سَمْتٍ ⁷⁷ اسْتِقَامَهُ

72 لغيرها U.

73 المهلكة T₃، T₄.

74 وشمال U.

75 وجاءني U.

76 فيروزج: سقطت من U.

77 سقطت ورقة من I حتى قوله: يعطي الخطر ثم تناول الخاتمين.

أَنْتَ أَضْغَى مِنْ نَعَامِهِ
 مَ وَأَوْفِيكَ الْغَرَامَهُ
 لَا ضَغُونَا بِقَلَامِهِ
 نِ وَأَثَرْتُ احْتِشَامَهُ⁷⁹
 وَ⁸⁰ عَلَى حِلْمِي حِرَامَهُ
 لِأَمِطْنًا لِنَامَهُ
 نِي بَصْغُوِ وَأَسْتِضَامَهُ
 وَابْذُلِ الْعِرْضَ غَرَامَهُ
 تَمَّ لِلْأَمْرِ خِتَامَهُ
 لِحَاذِيهِ الْقِيَامَهُ
 سِ الَّذِي تَحْتَ الْعِمَامَهُ
 مِ وَلَكِنْ بَعْدَامَهُ
 مِنْ الْمُخِّ عِظَامَهُ

قُلْتُهُ⁷⁸ لِي بَلْ وَلَكِنْ
 تَمَّ لَا أَمْنَحُكَ الْحِدَا
 فَتَعَاهِدْنَا جَمِيعًا
 وَضَغَى طَوْرًا وَطَوْرِي
 تَمَّ لَمَّا ضَيَّقَ الضَّغْ
 سَبَقْتُ مَنِي يَمِينِ
 قُلْتُ يَا مَنْ يَتَعَاطَا
 أَحْرَزِ الْخَاتَمَ عَنِّي
 وَلَنْ لَمْ يَجْعَلِ الْخَا
 لِأَقِيمَنَّ لِنَشْرِي
 وَأُدِلَّنَّ عَلَى الرَّأْ
 وَسَيَعْنِي بِالْحَوَاتِي
 بَعْدَ أَنْ أُخْلِي بِالذُّ

ثم تطاولت الأيام بيننا وجعل لا يالف بيننا ألفة، واتفق أنا اجتمعنا يوم عيد على مائدة
 الأستاذ أبي الحسن علي ابن أحمد رحمه الله فأمسكت عن الطعام، فقال مالك لا تطعم،
 فقلت وأشرت إلى القايجاني [من الرجز]:

78 قلتُ T₁، T₂، A.

79 أمامه U.

80 الطعن U.

مهلاً أَيَّتَ اللُّعْنِ لَا تَأْكُلُ مَعَهُ
 اسْتَعْفِ مِنْهُ وَبِحَبِّ قَرَعِهِ
 فَإِنَّهُ⁸¹ يُنْجِي عَلَيْهِ إِصْبَعَهُ
 بِحُكِّ تَلْكَ الْهَامَةِ الْمَلْمَعَهُ
 لَا تُدْنِيهِ وَذَلِكَ الرَّاسُ مَعَهُ
 وَأَمْرُهُ إِنْ أَدْبَيْتَهُ أَنْ يَصْعَهُ
 إِنْ لَمْ يُزِيلْ⁸² مِنْ حِمَاكَ مَوْضِعَهُ
 فَارْسِمَ لِقَرَّاشِكَ ذَا أَنْ يَصْفَعَهُ

فأطرقت الجماعة وبقي الأستاذ الفاضل ثم قال: يا مولاي إن لم تحتشمي فاحتشم المائدة وأهلها. فقلت: أطال الله بقاءك ما أسرع ما أراك تنتقز، وحياتك التي تعز علي لأشدنك ألف بيت بعضها يلعن بعضاً إلى أن يعطيني خاتمي عطاءً مغرباً.⁸³ فقال الأستاذ: أمر الخاتميين أسهل، فما السبب الذي أحوجك إلى ما قلت؟ فقصصت القصة عليه، فمال⁸⁴ إليه وقال: أشهد أنك ساقط الهمة إنه ما⁸⁵ علمت أنه قمر أرقم⁸⁶ يعطي الخطر، ثم تناول الخاتميين منه وتناولنيهما⁸⁷ وسألني السكوت عنه وعاهدته أن لا أزيد. فكتب إلي بعض كتابه [من الهزج]:

81 إنه ، U ، M .
 82 بزال ، T₂ ، T₃ ، A .
 83 مغرباً U .
 84 فما بال U .
 85 أوياً T₃ .
 86 تمر أوقمر ، T₃ ، قُمر أوقمر ، T₁ ، T₂ ، T₄ ، A ، M .
 87 وتناولنيها M .

فلا أقطع أنفاسي	أنا أمدحُ مولاي
مِهمٌ حسبَ إيناسي	وأسترسلُ في كلا
لَكَ أَنْ تُجِبَهُ بِالنَّاسِ ⁸⁸	فَاعْظِمُ حَاجَتِي عِنْدَ
بِقَلْبٍ فِي الْهَجَا قَاسِي	هَجَوْتُ الْقَائِمَانِيَّ
وَلَا فِي الْأَخْتِ مِنْ بَاسِ	وَلَا بِالْقَوْلِ فِي الْأَمِّ
وَجَلِجْلَهُمْ بِأَجْرَاسِ	فَقُلْ فِي الْكَلِّ مَا شِئْتَ
وَلِلْعَشْرَةِ وَالْكَاسِ	بَلْ هَبْ لِي وَلِلنَّاسِ
يَ خَرَمِي ذَلِكَ الرَّاسِ	وَهَبْ لِلَّهِ يَا مَوْلَا

وشكا القاييجانيُّ إلى الأستاذ ذلك، فكتبتُ إليه [من الهزج]:

فلم يصغِ إلى النَّصْحِ	نَصَحْنَا الْقَائِمَانِيَّ
مَعَ النَّاسِ عَلَى صُلْحِ	وَقَلْنَا كُنْ بِذَا الرَّاسِ
لِسَانِ الْهَجْوِ وَالْمَدْحِ	فَلِلْحَافِظِ فِي فِيهِ
عُ مِثْلُ الْوَرَقِ ⁸⁹ الطَّلْحِ	وَتِلْكَ الْهَامَةُ الْبَيْضَا
مَقَالُ الذَّنْبِ وَالْقَدْحِ	لَهُ فِيهَا إِذَا شَاءَ
وَقَدْ بَطَّ عَنِ الْقَرْحِ	فَلَمْ يُصْغِ إِلَى النَّصْحِ

88 الناس T₂، T₃، T₄ ولا يستقيم الوزن به، بالباس I.

89 ورق T₄، ولا يستقيم الوزن به.

Commentary and Analysis

Hamadhāniyya

The *maqāma* begins with the narrator ʿĪsā b. Hishām arriving in the city of Hamadhān. Its opening lines discuss the vicissitudes of fate (*al-dahr*) which have impelled the narrator's travel.

The narrator describes how the city of Hamadhān is under the leadership of a certain *sharīf* al-Ḥasanī. He then obtains permission to enter this ruler's court. After extending a greeting and praise to the ruler, the narrator observes his courtiers. One man in particular catches his attention. He reports that the man had an active career serving the scribe Ibn al-Musharraf (al-Musharrif?) and another man in the village of Daskara. This man was also concerned with the origins of the Abbasid dynasty, and the sections and villages surrounding Baghdad, streets and alleys, famous from the literature of the Abbasid age.

The narrator observes that this man has also become a poet. But he is neither Diʿbil [al-Khuzāʿī], nor is he Abū Nuwās, nor the poet Nāṣr b. Aḥmad [al-Khubzaʿaruzzi] from Baṣra, nor al-Mutanabbī of the people of al-Shām. Rather, unlike these poets, this man has remained at the court of al-Ḥasanī.

The narrator then listens to this poet who “raised his voice” (*rafʿa ʿaqratahu*) and recited a poem in a voice similar to the loud “blowing of a slender pipe” (*qaṣab ajashsh muhaḍḍām*). His poem begins (vv. 1-4) with a nostalgic lament for a beloved one and lost abodes, culminating the common motif of “old age and youth” (*al-shayb wa-l-shabāb*) in v. 5. The subsequent verse evokes the place names located in the vicinity of Baghdad and Sāmarrāʾ — *al-Maṭīra*, *al-Karkh*, and *Dayr Qunnā* (previously mentioned in v. 1).

The poet then transitions to praise the *sharīf* in vv. 11 and following. Standard panegyric motifs praising the *sharīf*'s liberality (e.g. v. 12 [*jūd*], v. 13 [*ʿatāʾ*], v. 16 [*ihsān*]) compete with the poet's description of his own overcoming the workings of fate. The theme of time first mentioned in v. 3, as the moment of lost reverie, is recapitulated in the course of the panegyric. Verse 12 summons the theme again with a direct address to time; and v. 19, in which the poet celebrates how through the aid of the patron he has vanquished time (*zamān*). In the final line of the poem, the poet hints cryptically about how he has “tested” people concerning their generosity and miserliness, and then talks about his trip to the court of al-Ḥasanī.

As the poet concludes his speech, he turns to the narrator, examines him and becomes certain of his identity.⁹⁰ He recites a line of poetry concerning a lover who is thwarted each time in his attempts to reach his beloved by a dung

90 It is customary in the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī for ʿĪsā to recognize Abū l-Faṭḥ. In this *maqāma*, however, it is Abū l-Faṭḥ who recognizes ʿĪsā.

beetle (*ju'al*). Setting up a situation in which the beloved is the patron, and the poet is his beloved, the poet has inadvertently cast the narrator in the role of the beetle who prevents his love union with the patron. In order to rectify this, he recites a verse attributed to the poet Kuthayyir (d. 105/723) that state that wherever he goes, he finds his beloved Laylā.⁹¹ The narrator, 'Īsā, responds with another line of a lover promising his beloved that he will not reveal her secret.

Al-Sharīfiyya (maqāma and risāla)

The narrator of the *maqāma* is the son of the narrator (?) of Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*: Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. Hishām. He relates that he witnessed Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Iskandarī write to the *sharīf* al-Ḥasanī on behalf of a certain Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Iskandarī. While it is by no means self-evident, this opening suggests the possibility that Abū l-Faṭḥ composed this letter in another man's name. There is clearly some ambiguity, because the two men share the same *nisba*.

The author of the letter expresses his desire to return to the court of the *sharīf* al-Ḥasanī. He praises this ruler for his generosity and describes how his departure from court was not done out of hatred (*qilā*) or for any reason, but rather on account of the workings of fate. He regrets his departure, stating that in experiencing the morals (*akhlāq*) of others he was reminded of those of al-Ḥasanī and how the miserliness of others recalled to him his former patron's generosity. He then describes his own condition referring to a verse of the early Islamic poet al-Mirār b. Munqidh al-'Adawī (fl. early 2nd/8th century).

The author then begins a long section of praise of the *sharīf*'s noble lineage, extolling his relation to the Prophet. He also praises his own "lineage" as an Alexandrian. Moreover, he states that during his wanderings prior to coming to the court of the *sharīf*, he was overcome by anxiety, fear, and sleeplessness. He recalls the fashion in which the *sharīf* had aided him in the past. In the end, the author of the letter speaks of his desires to return to the court of the *sharīf* al-Ḥasanī, employing language that depends heavily on prosified verse.

Al-Maqāma al-Khātamiyya

'Īsā b. Hishām states that once the *ustādh* Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad had allotted funds (*tawzīr*) to him. The *ustādh* Abū 'Alī had designated that his deputy, a certain Abū Sa'd al-Qayjānī, be in charge of paying this sum.

Abū Sa'd had two pairs of rings. He did not know the value of either of these. In *lieu* of paying the required sum to the narrator, he offered a pair of rings instead. 'Īsā agreed to this exchange, and Abū Sa'd handed over the rings. After

91 This verse may alternatively understood as Abū l-Faṭḥ's declaration of his love and regard for the patron.

doing this, however, Abū Sa'd learned that the two rings were worth more than double the required payment. He then schemed to get the two valuable rings back from 'Īsā, pleading that it was not right for a man to have one pair of rings without the other.

Abū Sa'd proposed to 'Īsā that the two men play a game of chess at his home, with another pair of rings as the wager. 'Īsā caught Abū Sa'd cheating twice in the two games that they played, after Abū Sa'd had sworn that he would not do this. 'Īsā departed Abū Sa'd's home, angered at being swindled and determined to obtain his rightful share. 'Īsā sent a letter in order to demand that Abū Sa'd return the rings that he rightfully owned. Abū Sa'd, however, remained obstinate and refused to hand the rings over to 'Īsā.

Meanwhile, 'Īsā learned that Abū Sa'd was particularly sensitive to his baldness. Indeed, Abū Sa'd's embarrassment over his baldness was purportedly so grave, that no one could mention any words that contained the same root letters as the word baldness without fearing the man's great displeasure. Targeting the man's baldness directly, 'Īsā wrote the following lines:

Abū Sa'd, be milder in your exertions,
and your trickery and your injury of me will not be revealed.

Does Zubayda gamble and then cheat?
You promised me, and then offered the dregs of your cup.

You were deceived by my forbearance and patience
to return the ring, or should I say, your theft!

And if I don't receive it from you in your vileness,
I will open up my turban, and behold, my head is like yours.

Verses one, three and four of this poem are attributed to Badi' al-Zamān in his *dīwān*.⁹² The *maqāma* adds one verse to the three found in the *dīwān* of Badi' al-Zamān which interestingly underscores the notion of the cheating and trickery practiced by Abū Sa'd.

'Īsā's poem of mockery of Abū Sa'd, however, did nothing to ease the tension. Abū Sa'd responded by sending threats, and the narrator with further verses mocking his baldness. Realizing that there would be no easy resolution to the matter, Abū Sa'd sought the aid of scribes (*kuttāb*) whom he charged with asking the narrator to cease his claims for the other two rings, and be

92 *Dīwān Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī*, 87. Line 2 is an addition to the verse that we have been unable to locate elsewhere.

content with the pair that he already had. The narrator then wrote a poem to the scribes explaining how he was the one cheated by Abū Sa'd.

After some time had elapsed, the *ustādh* Abū l-Ḥasan invited 'Īsā to a banquet. Seeing that Abū Sa'd was among the invitees, he refused to eat. When queried for his reason by his host, 'Īsā pointed to Abū Sa'd al-Qāyijānī, at whom he cast poetic taunts and insults. The *ustādh* Abū l-Ḥasan then ordered Abū Sa'd to hand over the remaining rings to 'Īsā. Upon receiving the rings, he promised not to curse Abū Sa'd any further.

The story concludes with a poem that one of the scribes wrote to the narrator that praises him for mocking Abū Sa'd al-Qāyijānī. Abū Sa'd learned of this letter and complained to the vizier Abū l-Ḥasan. The narrator then wrote to Abū Sa'd a final set of verses, reminding him of his prior warnings.

Conclusion

The three *maqāmāt* attributed to Hamadhānī may appear on first observation to be a brazen act of literary deceit. Moreover, doubts about the contents of MS SOAS 47280 do not allow a better determination for the date of their inclusion in manuscripts of Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*. Indeed, given the current state of our extant manuscripts, we have no way of determining whether these are additions to the corpus in the sixth/twelfth century or many centuries later. Nevertheless, their inclusion in approximately one-fourth of the extant manuscripts of Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt* merits their consideration in any serious study of the corpus.

The three *maqāmāt* do share some important features with other well-attested *maqāmāt* of Hamadhānī. The *Hamadhāniyya* for instance, possesses some features of the Hamdhānian picaresque *maqāma*. The theme of *dahr* is consistently highlighted throughout the *maqāma*. There is also a scene of recognition (*anagnorisis*) — another typical formal feature of Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt*.

The *maqāma* and *risāla* which we have called the *Sharīfiyya* references the other *maqāmāt* of Hamadhānī. It purports to be related not by the (fictional) narrator, 'Īsā b. Hishām, but by his son, Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. Hishām. It also appears to be an epistolary forgery. This falsehood, however, leads to another deception. Namely the forger, Abū l-Faṭḥ, is not a real person. This piling of falsehood atop fraud is reminiscent of the rhetorical device of *takhyīl*, which offers faulty proof by proffer of a false proposition.⁹³

93 Van Gelder and Hammond, *Takhyīl*, 11.

The *Khātamiyya* also shares much with the *maqāma* tradition. For instance, the plot of the *maqāma* is basically a story of “relief after hardship” (*al-faraj ba'd al-shidda*) in which the narrator suffers hardship (i.e., his mistreatment at the hands of a nefarious official) only to triumph in the end.⁹⁴ This *maqāma* includes three verses which are also found in the *dīwān* of Hamadhānī, thus presenting “authentic” Hamadhānī material in the course of the narrative. Most of the main elements of the story in the *Khātamiyya* can be derived from the motifs of the poem: the narrator's struggle with the trickery of a man named Abū Sa'd; the narrator's desire for the return of a ring and his extreme patience; his verbal threat of Abū Sa'd and shaming him because of his baldness. The *maqāma* adds one verse to the three found in the *dīwān* of Badi' al-Zamān which interestingly underscores the notion of cheating and trickery, a common theme in the *maqāmāt*.

Although these three *maqāmāt* are likely not authentic *maqāmāt* of Hamadhānī, they should nevertheless cause us to reconsider the possible ways in which new materials were added to the Hamadhānian corpus. For their existence in more than one-fourth of the manuscripts suggests that later copyists believed them to be the work of Hamadhānī.

The so-called panegyric *maqāmāt* which are first found in manuscripts of the tenth/sixteenth century, also possess features that differ from the earlier-attested *maqāmāt*. Their late addition to the corpus provides no prima facie reason for doubting their authenticity. Moreover, the presence of such sophisticated works attributed to Hamadhānī as we have presented here should perhaps give a critic good reason for caution.

Appendix 1: The Contents of the Earliest Manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt* of Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī

	<i>MS Fātiḥ 4097</i>	<i>MS SOAS</i>	<i>MS YALE</i>	<i>'Abduh ed.</i>
1. <i>Baṣriyya</i>	1	1	1	13
2. <i>Fazārīyya</i>	2	2	2	14
3. <i>Qazwīniyya</i>	3	3	3	18
4. <i>Balkhīyya</i>	4	4	4	3
5. <i>Kūfiyya</i>	5	5	5	5
6. <i>Qarīdiyya</i>	6	6	6	1

94 See Beeston, *The Genesis of the Maqāmāt Genre*; Ashtiany [Bray], *Al-Tanūkhī's al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda*; Pomerantz, *The Play of Genre*.

	<i>MS Fātih 4097</i>	<i>MS SOAS</i>	<i>MS YALE</i>	<i>ʿAbdūh ed.</i>
7. <i>Qirdiyya</i>	7	7	7	20
8. <i>Mawṣiliyya</i>	8	8	8	21
9. <i>Asadiyya</i>	9	9	9	6
10. <i>Hirziyya</i>	10	10	24	23
11. <i>Māristāniyya</i>	11	11	25	24
12. <i>Waʿziyya</i>	12	12	44	26
13. <i>Makfūfiyya</i>	13	13	12	16
14. <i>Jāhiẓiyya</i>	14	14	13	15
15. <i>Bukhāriyya</i>	15	15	14	17
16. <i>Adharbayjāniyya</i>	16	16	15	8
17. <i>Azādhiyya</i>	17	17	16	2
18. <i>Sāsāniyya</i>	18	18	17	19
19. <i>Jurjāniyya</i>	19	19	18	9
20. <i>Sijistāniyya</i>	20	20	19	4
21. <i>İsfahāniyya</i>	21	21	20	10
22. <i>Ḥamdāniyya</i>	22	22	21	29
23. <i>Ahwāziyya</i>	23	23	22	11
24. <i>Baghdādiyya</i>	24	24	23	12
25. <i>Ghaylāniyya</i>	25	25	11	7
26. <i>Ruṣāfiyya</i>	26	26	34	30
27. <i>Waṣiyya</i>	27	27	26	41
28. <i>Dīnāriyya</i>	28	28	27	43
29. <i>Huwāniyya</i>	29	29	28	33
30. <i>Bishriyya</i>	30	30	29	51
31. <i>Majāʿiyya</i>	31	31	31	25
32. <i>Shāmiyya</i>	32	32	32	
33. <i>Maḍiriyya</i>	33	33	10	22
34. <i>Armaniyya</i>	34	34	33	36
35. <i>Şaymariyya</i>	35	35	30	42
36. <i>Iblisiyya</i>	36	36	45	35
37. <i>Aswadiyya</i>	37	37	46	27
38. <i>Irāqiyya</i>	38	38	47	28
39. <i>Nahidiyya</i>	39	39	35	34
40. <i>Shūrāziyya</i>	40	40	36	32
41. <i>Maṭlabiyya</i>			49	50
42. <i>Ṭibbiyya</i>			48	
43. <i>Risāla 1</i>			50	

	<i>MS Fātiḥ 4097</i>	<i>MS SOAS</i>	<i>MS YALE</i>	<i>'Abdūh ed.</i>
43. <i>Hamadhāniyya</i>		41		
44. <i>Risāla 2</i>		42		
45. <i>Khātamiyya</i>		43		
46. <i>Mulḥa #1</i>		44	37	
47. <i>Mulḥa #2</i>		45	38	
48. <i>Mulḥa #3</i>		46	39	
49. <i>Mulḥa #4</i>		47	40	
50. <i>Mulḥa #5</i>		48	41	
51. <i>Mulḥa #6</i>		49	42	
52. <i>Mulḥa #7</i>		50	43	
53. <i>Mighzaliyya</i>				31
54. <i>Nājimiyya</i>				37
55. <i>Khalafiyya</i>				38
56. <i>Nisāburiyya</i>				39
57. <i>Ilmiyya</i>				40
58. <i>Shi'riyya</i>				44
59. <i>Mulūkiyya</i>				45
60. <i>Ṣufrīyya</i>				46
61. <i>Sāriyya</i>				47
62. <i>Tamīmiyya</i>				48
63. <i>Khamriyya</i>				49

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