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THE METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF THE EARLY
ARAB ANTHOLOGISTS

by

EZZEDIN IBRAHIM MUSTAFA

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A B S T R A C T

The aim of this study is to provide a critical survey of the early Arabic anthologies compiled between the end of the first century and the beginning of the fourth century A.H. These are : four consisting of complete poems (treated in chs. 1 - 4), four of extracts (chs. 5 - 6), and three of single verses (ch. 7).

Although it seemed convenient and preferable to group these anthologies in this way, they have been studied individually. In chapter 7, however, the anthologies of single verses have also been studied collectively.

The study of each anthology opens with an enquiry about the work as it now exists. This usually entails reference to the various recensions, editions, manuscripts and commentaries known and available. This is followed by a threefold study of (1) the subject matter, (2) the authenticity of the work and genuineness of the contents and (3) the criteria of selection and method of compilation.

In the epilogue, reference is made to eight anthologies compiled between the fourth and seventh centuries - thus pointing to the continuity of this kind of works.

From these investigations, conclusions have been drawn about the anthologies as a whole - their development, preservation, reliability, criteria of excellence, and other striking features.

A critical survey of the kind provided has not been made before, and it covers several works not previously studied.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

In this study the beginning of the fourth century A.H. is taken as a dividing line between what may be termed early and later Arabic anthologies. Works compiled after the fourth century are mostly imitations of those preceeding them and they usually contain selections from obviously later poets.

Early anthologies are of great importance for two reasons. First, they preserve a great deal of early Arabic poetry, especially the works of the Muqillīn, most of which are not found elsewhere. Secondly, they set before us numerous specimens of early works that were considered outstanding either by general opinion or by the compilers, who were themselves eminent scholars and critics.

Some of the anthologies, namely "al-Mu'allaqāt", "al-Mufaddaliyyāt" and the "Ḥamāsah" of Abū Tammām have been the subject of several valuable studies; but, others such as "Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab", the "Ḥamāsah" of al-Buhurī, "al-Wahshiyyāt", not to mention the anthologies of single verses which are usually overlooked, have not received due attention.

This study is an attempt to fill this gap as well as providing a general survey of all the early anthologies.

The anthologies have been classified into three groups: (1) complete poems, (2) extracts, and (3) single verses. This arrangement is roughly chronological and, because it reveals the nature of the works was preferred to a strict chronological classification. Within their groups, the anthologies have been studied individually.

The study is fundamentally a fresh examination of the anthologies surveyed and, whenever possible, of their extant manuscripts. Early commentaries on these works and the writings of early scholars, which furnish valuable background information, have also been regarded as main sources. The studies of modern scholars have been always consulted and discussed.

In considering the contents of the anthologies and the anthologists' methods and techniques, the study is somewhat detailed. Regarding the difficult question of the genuineness of the contents, however, the study tends to be of a general nature - a detailed examination for this purpose of the vast material contained in the anthologies is obviously beyond the scope of this work. In this connection, studies of modern researchers have been utilised.

This study is thus hoped to illuminate an important series of early Arabic poetic works.

CHAPTER I

"AL-MU'ALLAQĀT"

I

So far as is known, the collection of the seven odes constitutes the earliest Arabic verse anthology.

The popular name of these poems is "al-Mu'allaqāt". This name arises from the belief that, in token of honour, they were suspended in the Ka'bah. The number of the poems is commonly given as seven.

These traditions,¹ however, have been contested. To arrive at the facts, a survey of the divergent views will be helpful.

. . .

As to the title, "al-Mu'allaqāt", it is found that the earliest scholar to apply it was Ibn 'Abd Rabbih

1. 'Abd al-Qādir 'Umar al-Baghdādī, Khizānat al-Adab, (Būlāq 1299 A.H.), I, 61.

(ob. 327 A.H.) In his "al-'Iqd al-Farīd", he writes, "'The Mudhahhabāt', i.e. 'The Gilded Poems', are seven and they might be called 'al-Mu'allaqāt!'"¹ It is patent from this statement that, although the title, "al-Mu'allaqāt" is applied, it is given a subordinate position to that of the other title, "al-Mudhahhabāt."

Similarly, al-Qurashī, who was more or less a contemporary of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih,² applied the title, "al-Mu'allaqāt"; but stated that the Arabs used to name the poems "al-Sumūt";³ i.e. "The Necklaces".

Later on, the title, "al-Mu'allaqāt" was used by Ibn Rashiq⁴ (ob. 463 A.H.), Ibn Khaldūn⁵ and al-Suyūṭī;⁶ and has come to be commonly used.

On the other hand, all the critics before Ibn 'Abd Rabbih and all the main commentators on the poems employed titles other than "al-Mu'allaqāt."

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1. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, (Cairo 1898, 1316 A.H.), III, 83.
 2. See ch.IV of this thesis.
 3. Abū Zaid Muḥammad b. Abī al-Khattāb al Qurashī, Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab, (Bulāq 1308 A.H.), 34.
 4. Ḥasan b. Rashiq al-Qairawānī, al-Umdah, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyi al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, (Cairo 1955), I, pp.96, 102, 105.
 5. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. Khaldūn, al-Muqaddimah, (Bulāq 1902, 1320 A.H.), p.576.

Ibn Sallām (ob. 232 A.H.) applies the title, "al-Wāḥidah", i.e. "The Unique One", to four of these poems. He also calls their composers "أصحاب الواحدة", i.e. "The Composers of 'The Ones'".¹ While considering the poem of 'Antarah, he writes, "This poem is unique among the abundant output of 'Antarah and was therefore included among 'The Ones'".²

Twice in his "al-Shi'r wal-Shu'arā", Ibn Qutaibah (ob. 276 A.H.) refers to these poems simply as "The Seven."³ About the poem of 'Antarah, he writes, "It used to be called 'al-Mudhahhabah',⁴ i.e. 'The Gilded Poem'", and to the poem of Ṭarafah he applies two titles: "Ṭawīlah", i.e. "The Long Poem" and, on the authority of Abū 'Ubaidah, "Wāḥidah", i.e. "The One."⁵

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6. (Contd. from previous page) 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyuti, al-Muzhir, ed. Muhammad Ahmad Jād al-Mawlā and others, (Cairo, n.d.), II, 487.
1. Muhammad b. Sallām al-Jumāhī, Tabaqāt Fuhūl al-Shu'arā', ed. Mahmūd Muhammad Shākir, (Cairo 1952), pp.127,128,115.
2. Ibid, 128.
The title "al-Wāḥidah" means either "The Unique Poem", in the sense that it is unparalleled, or "The One Poem produced by its composer." Since the composers of such poems produced more than one poem each, the first interpretation is clearly that intended.
3. 'Abd Allah b. Muslim b. Qutaibah, al-Shi'r wal-Shu'arā', ed. De Goeje, (Leiden, 1904), pp.120, 144.
4. Ibid, 132.
5. Ibid, pp.88, 92.

Ahmad b. Abī Tāhir Taifūr (ob. 280 A.H.) names the poems "Qaṣā'id al-Sab' al-ⁱTiwāl al-Jāhiliyyāt,"¹ i.e. "The Seven Long Pre-Islamic Poems." According to Ibn al-Nadīm, an abbreviation of this name is applied by al-'Umari, the judge of Takrīt, who calls the poems "al-Sab' al-Jāhiliyyāt,"² i.e. "The Pre-Islamic Seven."

The earliest commentaries that have reached us are those of Ibn Kaisān (ob. 299 A.H.), Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī (ob. 327 A.H.) and Ibn al-Nahhās (ob. 338 A.H.). According to Ibn al-Nadīm³ and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Anbārī,⁴ the poems in these commentaries are called "al-Sab' al-ⁱTiwāl," i.e. "The Seven Long Poems." However, in Frenkel's edition of a portion of Ibn-al-Nahhās's commentary⁵ and in the India Office Ms.⁶ of Ibn Kaisān's, the poems are named "The Seven Famous Poems;" whereas in the British Museum Ms. of Ibn al-Nahhās's commentary⁷ the name is

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1. Ahmad b. Abī Tāhir Taifūr, al-Manthūr wal-Manzūm, British Museum Ms. no. Add. 18532, Fol. 50.
 2. Muhammad b. Ishaq b. al-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, ed. Flügel, (Leipzig 1871), p.82.
 3. Ibn al-Nadīm, p.75.
 4. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. al-Anbārī, Nuzhat al-Alibbā', ed. al-Samarrā'i (Baghdad 1959) pp.162, 202.
 5. E. Frenkel, An-Nahhās Commentar, (Halle 1876).
 6. India Office Ms. No.800/B.122.
 7. British Museum Ms. No. OR.415.

"The Seven Chosen Poems". Among the works of Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī, Yāqūt¹ reckons a commentary entitled, "Sharḥ al-Jāhiliyyāt", which is almost certainly the same commentary mentioned previously but under another title.

The commentary of al-Zauzanī² (ob. 486 A.H.) is entitled, "Sharḥ al-Qaṣā'id al-Sab'", and that of al-Tibrizī³ (ob. 502 A.H.) is entitled, "Sharḥ al-Qaṣā'id al-'Ashr."

It seems, therefore, that although the popular title, "al-Mu'allaqāt", has prevailed over other titles, it was almost certainly unknown before the fourth century A.H.

. . .

The scholars who authenticate the title, "al-Mu'allaqāt", support the theory that the poems were suspended in the Ka'bah or hung on its walls.⁴

On the other hand, Ibn al-Nahās strongly rejects that theory on the grounds that none of the rhapsodists

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1. Yāqūt b. 'Abd Allah al-Ḥamawī, Irshād al-Arīb, ed. D.S. Margoliouth (Cairo 1925), VI, 76.
 2. al-Zauzanī, Sharḥ al-Qaṣā'id al-Sab', (Cairo 1271 A.H.)
 3. Yaḥyā b. 'Alī al-Tibrizī, Sharḥ al-Qaṣā'id al-'Ashr, ed. C.J. Lyall, (Calcutta 1894).
 4. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, III, 83 - Ibn Rashīq, I, 96 - al-Baghdādī, Khizānah, I, 61 - Ibn Khaldūn, Muqaddimah, p.576.

acknowledged it.¹ He seems ready to accept another theory that some kings preserved the famous poems in their libraries, and that if they admired a poem they would say, "Hang it in our gallery."² However, Ibn al-Nahhās concludes that Hammād, the Rhapsodist, on noting that the Arabs abandoned poetry, collected these poems, urged the people to study them and said,³ "These are the famous poems." Therefore the poems acquired this name.

Most of the modern researchers reject the theory that the poems were suspended in the Ka'bah, as it lacks historical substantiation. Neither do they seem ready to accept the other theory that they were hung in the kings' libraries. The general tendency is to get away from the sense of 'suspension' in interpreting the title, "al-Mu'allaqāt." In this direction, many attempts have been made.⁴ Perhaps the best interpretation is that "al-Mu'allaqāt" means "al-ḡalā'id", i.e. "The Necklaces." It accords with al-Qurashī's statement that the poems in

1. Frenkel, al-Nahhās Commentar, p.VII seq.

2. علقوها وأثبتوها في خزائني

3. هذه هي المنشهورات

4. For different interpretations of this title see:
 J. Robson, J.R.S.A., (London 1936), p.83 seq.
 A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, (London 1957), p.22 seq.
 Nöldeke, al-Mu'allaqāt, Encyclopaedia Britannica,
 11th ed., XVIII, 633.

question were called "al-Sumūt"¹ which also means "The Necklaces."²

Recalling the conclusion that the title, "al-Mu'allaqāt", is a late invention, one feels that the tales about the suspension of the poems in the Ka'bah or in the kings' libraries were advanced merely to justify the title.

Although, however, the tales are not historically substantiated, they do not seem to be utterly false. One cannot easily dismiss the possibility that some of the poems were written on sheets of paper and displayed to the people gathering in the sacred Haram. To be read easily, the sheets might have been hung in a conspicuous position on the wall of the Ka'bah for a while and then taken down.³ Similarly, some of the kings or tribal chiefs might have hung certain poems in their libraries. It is still a

1. Al-Qurashī, Jamharah, p.35.

2. In this context two suggestions could be put forward. First, that the title is derived from the root عَلِقَ i.e. 'to love'. Therefore it means "The Most Liked Poems" المحجوبات. The root "Aliqa" is used in this sense five times in the Mu'allaqah of al-A'shā and once in the Mu'allaqah of 'Antarah. Second, that the title means "The Poems that remained in Peoples' Memories." According to Ibn Sallām, the expression حَلَقَتْ مِنَ التَّصْبِيرَةِ بِسَيِّئَتَيْنِ means that two verses have stuck in one's memory (Tabaqāt p.317)

3. This view is alluded to by al-Baghdādī (Khizānah I, 61) It is attributed to Ibn al-Kalbi by an anonymous writer glossing on the commentary of al-Zanzanī (see al-Zanzanī, Sharḥ al-Qasa'id, p.1.)

common practice in Arabia for manuscripts of poems to be received and preserved by eminent people after the poet has read these poems in their presence.

These possibilities, however, cannot be regarded as adequate support for the theories of suspension, though they show why some scholars endorsed such theories.

. . .

It is agreed, practically without exception, that the Mu'allaqāt are seven.¹ The literary sources, however, differ in naming the contributing poets.

The earliest commentators, Ibn Kaisān,² Ibn-al-Anbārī³ and Ibn al-Nahhās agree that the contributing poets are Imru'l-Qais, Tarafah, Zuhair, Labīd, 'Antarah, al-Hārith and 'Amr b. Kulthūm. Ibn al-Nahhās strongly criticises any alteration or attempted improvement in this list.⁴ However, as many learned people consider the Lam-rhyming poem of al-A'shā⁵ and the Dal-rhyming poem of al-Nābighah⁶

1. Ibn al-Nadīm, p.82. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, pp. 120, 144.

Ibn al-Anbārī, Nuzhat p.364. Yāqūt, II, 73.

2. India Office Ms. No. 800/B.122.

3. Z D M G (Leipzig, 1910), 64, p.216.

4. Frenkel, An-Nahhās Commentar p.7, seq.

5. The first line reads: ودّع هونيرة إن الركب مرتحل

6. " " " " يا دار منية بالعلياء فالسند

the equals of "The Seven Poems" both in quality and fame, Ibn al-Nahhās appends them to his recension but emphasises that they are not among the original collection.

The commentator, al-Zauzanī lists the original seven poets already reckoned; whereas al-Tibrizī¹ follows Ibn al-Nahhās in reproducing the nine poems in his recension plus the Bā'-rhyming poem by 'Abīd b. al-Abras.² Like Ibn al-Nahhās, he does not treat the poems of al-A'shā, al-Nābighah and 'Abīd as an integral part of the anthology.

Ṭaifūr, who proves acquainted with the various accounts of the rhapsodists, confirms that the contributing seven are Imru'l-Qais, Zuhair, Ṭarafah, 'Amr, 'Antarah, Labīd and al-Hārith. He also states that some rhapsodists include 'Abīd, al-A'shā and al-Nābighah.³

Ibn 'Abd Rabbih lists the same seven named by Ṭaifūr.⁴

On the other hand, al-Qurashī maintains that the contributing poets are Imru'l-Qais, al-Nābighah, al-A'shā, Labīd, 'Amr and Ṭarafah. Moreover, the two poems by

1. al-Tibrizī, Sharh al-Qasā'id, p.1.

2. The first line reads: أقفر من أصله ملجوب

3. Ṭaifūr, al-Manthūr, Fol.50.

4. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, III, 83.

al-Nābighah and al-A'shā, which occur in al-Qurashī's recension are not the same poems which usually appear in other sources.¹ Ibn Khaldūn's list is similar to that of al-Qurashī with 'Alqamah b. 'Abadah replacing 'Amr b. Kulthūm.² The inclusion of 'Alqamah b. 'Abadah in Ibn Khaldūn's list gains reinforcement from the fact that, on the authority of Hammād, Arabs called two poems by this poet, "Simṭs",³ which is one of the titles of the "Suspended Poems."

Ibn Qutaibah has not advanced any special list; but he mentions two poems incidentally as belonging to "The Seven."⁴ These are the "Mu'allqah" of 'Amr and the Bā'-rhyming poem of 'Abīd b. al-ʿAbras. The latter is one of the appended poems in al-Tibrizī's recension.

Neither does Ibn Sallām contribute a list; but he

1. al-Qurashī, Jamharah, p.35.

2. Ibn Khaldūn, p.576.

After his list of seven poets, Ibn Khaldūn adds, "and others." This phrase might mean, as Prof. Blachère seems to think, that in Ibn Khaldūn's opinion, the composers of the Mu'allaqāt are more than the seven he has listed. The context, however, shows that this phrase refers to other poets ^{who} and were also allowed, according to Ibn Khaldūn's belief, to hang their poems on the Ka'bah. (see: Regis Blachère's Histoire de la Littérature Arabe, Paris 1952, 147)

3. Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, ed. Rudolph E. Brünnow, (Leyden 1888), XXI, 173. The two "Simṭs" by 'Alqamah are poems Nos. 119 & 120 in "al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt."

4. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, pp.120,144.

applies the title "al-Wāhidah" to six poems.¹ These are the four Mu'allaqahs of Tarafah, 'Antarah, 'Amr b. Kulthūm and al-Hārith, the 'Ain-rhyming poem of Suwaid b. Abī Kāhil al-Yashkurī² and the Dal-rhyming poem of al-Aswad b. Ya'fur.³ In his "Umdah",⁴ Ibn Rashiḡ (ob. 910 A.H.) gives a list of the poets who composed "The Ones." It includes the six poets already reckoned by Ibn Sallām, plus the poets 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib and al-Ash'ar b. Himrān al-Ju'fī. That one of 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib's poems is among "The Ones" and is reinforced by the fact that Ibn 'abd al-Barr⁵ (ob. 463 A.H.) designated a poem by this poet as "one of 'The Mudhahhabāt'." "The Mudhahhabāt" and "The Ones" are two alternative titles for the suspended poems. If one of al-Ash'ar's poems is among "The Ones" at all, it must be the famous poem that has been selected by both al-Asma'ī⁶ and Abī Tammām⁷ in their

1. Ibn. Sallām, pp.115, 127, 128.

2. It is poem No.40 in "al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt." The first line reads:

3. It is poem No.44 in "al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt." The first line reads:

4. al-Suyūtī, al-Muzhir, II, 487 — Ibn Rāḡ

5. Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd al-Barr, al-Istī'āb (Ḥaidarabād 1336 A.H.), p.452. The poem is No.61 in "al-Asma'iiyyāt" (ed. Shākir). The first line reads:

6. 'Abd al-Malik b. Quraib al-Asma'ī, al-Asma'iiyyāt, ed. Ahmad Muḥammad Shākir & 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, (Cairo 1955), Poem No.44. The first line reads:

أبلغ أبا حمران أن عشريني

anthologies. Al-Marzubānī¹ quotes this and calls it "the poet's famous poem."

These divergent lists confront us with three possible alternatives: either to adhere to the old theory that the poems are seven and to attempt to select the most authentic list of the poets; or to abandon that theory and to accept whatever lists can be historically substantiated regardless of the total number of the poems (according to the lists already surveyed, 18 poems are totalled); or to try to reconcile these two points of view.

The first of these is rigid. It leads to the arbitrary rejection of some authentic traditions. One instance of this is Nöldeke's examination of Ibn Khaldūn's list, which includes 'Alqamah b. 'abadah among the contributing poets of the "Mu'allaqat." Nöldeke² suggests that the inclusion of 'Alqamah is a mistaken transcription;

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7. (Contd. from previous page) Habīb b. Aws al-Tā'ī, al-Wahshiyyāt, Ms. No.330, Topkapu Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Fol.33.
1. Muḥammad b. 'Imrān al-Marzubānī, Mu'jam al-Shu'arā', ed. Krenkow, (Cairo 1935), p.47.
2. Nöldeke, Encyclop. Brit., XVIII, 633.

whereas on the authority of al-Isfahānī, the inclusion of this poet is confirmed by Hammād al-Rāwiyah.¹

The second attitude, tempting as it is with its novelty, contradicts its own historical basis by sacrificing the unanimously accepted tradition that the poems are seven.

The following suggestion would perhaps reconcile all the apparently divergent historical facts:

In pre-Islamic times, the poetic masterpieces used to be selected according to certain methods that will be considered later. It appears that the number of poems selected was not limited and there were many titles, which were not always consistently applied. Two poems could be contributed by one poet, as in the case of 'Alqamah; and two titles could be bestowed on one poem, as in the case of the "Mu'allaqah" of 'Antarah which was called "al-Simt"² and "al-Mudhhabah"³ *الذَّهَبَة*. Among titles for other poems were "al-Yatīmah"⁴, "al-Dāhiyah"⁵ and "al-Munṣifah."⁶ The

1. al-Isfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, xx1, 173

2. al-Qurashī, *Jamharah*, p.34.

3. Ibn Qutaibah, *al-Shi'r*, p.132.

4. "Al-Yatīmah", i.e. "The Unequaled" was applied to the 'Ain-rhyming poem of Suwaid b. Abī Kāhil. Ibn Sallām reckons this poem among "The Ones." It is No.40 in "al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt" (ed. Shākir, Cairo 1943, II, 188)

practice of making such selections lasted years and therefore one assumes that more than seven or eighteen poems must have been chosen.¹

After Islam, Ḥammād, The Rhapsodist, pondered over these favourite poems and gathered from them those he asserted to be the most famous seven.²

Scholars reacted in three different ways. Some preserved the original collection. Others thought that some alteration might improve it. Some scholars, like Ibn Sallām and al-Isfahānī, indifferent to Ḥammād's work

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5. (Contd. from previous page) "Al-Dāhiyah", i.e. "The Great One" was applied to a poem by al-Muhalhil b. Rabī'ah. It is No.19 in "Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab." See: The British Museum Ms. of this anthology (NO.OR. 415), Fol.139 where it is glossed, "
وهي التي كانت العرب تسميها الداهية
6. "al-Munṣifah" is a title applied to some poems in which the poets speak justly about their tribal enemies. Ibn Sallām mentions two poems, one by al-Mufaḍḍal al-Nukrī and the other by Khidāsh b. Zuhair, both entitled "Munṣifah." In the "Ḥamāsah" of Abū Tammām, there is a poem by Abū al-Akhyal al-'Ijlī, which is said to have borne the same title. The two Khālidiīs mention the poem by al-Mufaḍḍal al-Nukrī and add two others by 'Abd al-Shāriq al-Juḥanī and al-'Abbās b. Mirdās, also called "Munṣifas". In "Majmū'at al-Ma'ānī", moreover, there are two pieces by Hikmat b. Qais al-Kinānī and al-Musawwar b. Ziyādah similarly described. See: Ibn Sallām, pp.121-123 - al-Baghdādī, Khizānah, III, 52 - al-Marzūqī, Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsah, II, 729, note - Abū Bakr Muḥammād al-Khālidi and Abū 'Uthmān Sa'id al-Khālidi, al-Ashbāh wal-Nazā'ir, ed. Muḥammād Yūsuf, (Cairo 1958), pp.148-153 - 'Abd Allah b. Muḥammad b. al-Sīd al-Baṭalyūsī, al-Iqtidāb. (Beirut 1901), p.367.

continued to quote the pre-Islamic famous poems under their old titles.

This is the cause of the discrepancies in the accounts dealing with "The Seven Poems" and the favourite poetry in general. It is almost certain, however, that all the scholars were reproducing masterpieces already selected in pre-Islamic times.

It is obvious from the previous survey that most of the scholars, Ṭaifūr, Ibn Kaisān, Ibn al-Anbārī, Ibn al-Nahḥās, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-Zauzanī and al-Tibrīzī agree about the contributing poets. These poets are Imru'al-Qais, Tarafah, Zuhair, 'Amr, 'Antarah, Labīd and al-Hārith.

The order of these poets varies; on the whole Imru'al-Qais, Tarafah, and Zuhair precede the four others.

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1. (Contd. from previous page) One of the poems which received public acclaim is that by Qais b. al-Khaṭīm, It begins *أُتَعَرَفُ رِسْمًا كَالْمُرَادِ الْمُنَاهِبِ*. According to al-Isfāhānī, this poem was selected by al-Nābighah in the fair of 'Ukāz. The Prophet asked for a special recital of this poem. See: al-Isfāhānī, II, 162 seq.
 2. Ibn An-Nahḥās Commentar, p.Vii seq. - al-Anbārī, Nuzhah, p.32.

The five main recensions of the anthology, namely those of Ibn Kaisān, Ibn al-Anbārī, Ibn al-Nahhās, al-Zauzanī and al-Tibrīzī differ slightly, as is usual in all early works, in the texts they give of the poems.

Recalling that al-Zauzanī and al-Tibrīzī are relatively late, and dependent on their forerunners, and that the extant Mss.¹ of Ibn Kaisān's commentary are incomplete, one feels justified in believing that the recensions of Ibn al-Anbārī and Ibn al-Nahhās, represent, between them, the truest record of the anthology.

. . .

The four poems of Imru'ā-Qais, Ṭarafah, Labīd and 'Antarah mirror the personal lives and experiences of their composers. Apart from the amatory preludes and the descriptions of she-camels or horses, the poems exhibit respectively the love-affairs of Imru'ā-Qais, the family disputes of Ṭarafah, the personal and tribal boasts of Labīd, and the romance and chivalry of 'Antarah.

1. The Berlin Ms. consists of five poems and that of the India Office contains only one. See: Carl Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, trans. 'Abd al-Halīm al-Najjār, (Cairo 1959), I, 70.

The two poems of 'Amr and al-Hārith record both vocal and bloody battles between their tribes, Taghlib and Bakr.

Unique among them is the poem of Zuhair, in which the poet preaches the gospel of peace among all people.

II

Except for some modern scholars who have different degrees of doubt, the authenticity of the poems, "al-Mu'allaqāt," has been taken for granted by practically everyone.

Early scholars, however, observe that, in every "Mu'allaqāh", there are one or more lines which are not genuine.¹ They also remark that the opening lines of the "Mu'allaqāh" of 'Amr are in fact by the poet 'Amr b. 'Addiyy and have been prefixed to this Mu'allaqāh. The real opening line is said to be No. 8 in al-Tibrīzī's recension.² Similarly, the existing opening line of the "Mu'allaqah" of 'Antarah is not by that poet. The real opening line is No. 2 in al-Tibrīzī's recension.³

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1. al-Tibrīzī, Sharh al Qasā'id, pp.21, 48, 65, 110 - Tarafah's Mo'allāqa, ed. O. Rescher (Istanbul 1911) p.111.
 2. al-Marzubānī, Mu'jam, p.205 - al-Isfahānī, al-Aghānī, XIV, 73.
 3. Ibid, IX, 222.

Besides, owing to differences in transmissions, the extant recensions exhibit discrepancies in the texts and order of the lines.¹

None the less, for these early scholars, the genuineness of the anthology, on the whole, is undisputable.

On the other hand, the modern scholars, Margoliouth, Ṭāhā Husain and Blachère put forward arguments which can be summarised as follows: 1) that the transmitter, Hammād, is unreliable, 2) that the contents of the poems suggest late forgery and 3) that the poems which have been overestimated are not truly representative of the ancient poetry.

. . .

The transmission argument is advanced by Prof. Margoliouth, who writes, "It is asserted by Yāqūt, on the authority of Ibn al-Nahhās, that the seven Mu'allaqāt were collected by this Hammād; one could wish their discovery had been made by someone more respectable."²

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1. For discrepancies see: Aḥmad b. al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī, al-Mu'allaqāt al-'Ashr wa'Abhbāru Qa'ilīhā, (Cairo 1331 A.H.).
 2. Margoliouth, The Origins of Arabic Poetry, J.R.A.S., (London 1925), p.429 seq.

The assertion that Hammād collected the poems does not necessarily imply that he was their first discoverer. The truth is that the poems were known and being transmitted by rhapsodists even before Hammād's birth. Ṭaifūr relates,¹ on the authority of al-Hirmāzī, that these poems were among the poetic masterpieces ordered by Mu'āwiyah to be taught to his son. Al-Tibrīzī relates² that Abū Zaid³ studied the "Mu'allaqah" of Zuhair under Abu 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (ob. 154 A.H.), who asserted, in his turn, that he had read it fifty years previously, that is when Hammād was a little child.

The poems appear in the Diwāns of their composers and in the commentaries on the anthology. They are also quoted in the general literary sources like "Ṭabaqāt Fuḥūl al-Shu'arā'", "al-Shi'r wal-Shu'arā'" and "al-Aghani". An examination of the authorities for these works shows that, as far as the transmission of the poems is concerned, Hammād did not always go unquestioned as the ultimate authority.

1. Ṭaifūr, al-Manthūr, Fol. 50.

2. al-Tibrīzī, Sharḥ al Qaṣa'id, p. 65.

3. The chain of authorities given by al-Tibrīzī indicates that this Abū Zaid is the famous scholar Abū Zaid al-Anṣārī.

The "Mu'allaqahs" of 'Antarah, Tarafah, Zuhair and Imru'ul-Qais appear in "The Divans of the Six" edited by Ahlwardt.¹ The chain of authorities for this work goes back to al-Asma'i. Whether or not al-Asma'i consulted Hammād in the course of compiling his work, the high reputation of the former as a trustworthy scholar, who would not endorse without thorough examination what was handed down to him, vouches for the genuineness of "The Divans."²

The "Mu'allaqah" of Imru'ul-Qais occurs also in al-Tūsī's recension of that poet's Diwān,³ which is based on the transmission of al-Mufaddal al-Dabbī. Similarly, al-Tūsī's recension of Labīd's Diwān, which includes the Mu'allaqah of that poet,⁴ might also be based on al-Mufaddal's transmission, since al-Tūsī was a Kufan student and since, in his commentary on the poems, he frequently quotes Ibn al-A'rābī, the stepson of al-Mufaddal al-Dabbī. The latter's testimony is as original and sound as would be expected from Hammād's rival, whose integrity is unquestioned.⁵

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1. The Divans of the Six Ancient Arabic Poets, ed. W. Ahlwardt (London 1870), pp. 44, 53, 94, 146.
 2. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p. 46 seq.
 3. Diwan Imri'al-Qais, ed. M. Abul-Fadl Ibrāhīm, (Cairo 1958), pp. 10-22.
 4. Der Diwan Des Lebid, ed. Y.D. al-Chalide, (Wien 1880), p. 150.

The Mu'allaqah of Zuhair is included in his *Dīwān* which was collected and commented on by the Kufan grammarian Tha'lab.¹ Although Tha'lab does not reveal his authorities, his standing as a scholar gives weight to his endorsement of the poems.

The Mu'allaqas of 'Amr and al-Hārith appear in al-Fātih Ms. of their *Dīwāns*.² Unfortunately, however, this Ms. is anonymous.

The main commentaries, which represent the poems as a separate anthology, show that many authorities have been consulted about the text. Al-Tibrizī, who sums up the information given by the commentators before him, quotes scholars like Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā, Abū 'Ubaidah, al-Asma'ī, Sībawaihī, Ibn al-A'rābī, al-Mubarrad, and others.³ He also states that, to authenticate a suspected line, many rhapsodists and sometimes the Bedouins may be consulted.⁴

5. (Contd. from previous page) Yāqūt, VII, 171.

1. Tha'lab, *Sharh Dīwān Zuhair*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī al-'Adawī (Cairo 1944), Poem No. I.

2. Al-Fātih library, Ms. No. 533. See: F. Krenkow, *Dīwān 'Amr b. Kulthūm*, al-Mashriq (Beirut 1922), VII, 596.

3. al-Tibrizī, *Sharh al-Qaṣā'id*, pp. 58, 12, 20, 10, 35, 55.

4. " " " " pp. 51, 3.

Even if such commentaries were originally based on Hammād's transmission, this wide consultation of the most eminent scholars of the second and third centuries A.H. confirms that the anthology has been endorsed after thorough consideration and enquiry.

Similar weighty endorsements appear in the general literary sources mentioned previously. A scholar like Ibn Sallām, who proves aware of Hammād's failings in connection with the transmission of poetry would not have quoted "al-Mu'allaqāt" without very careful examination.

The conclusion is that Hammād's transmission of the poems cannot, as Prof. Margoliouth suggests, be invalidated since his version has been carefully examined and apparently collated with other rhapsodists' versions.

. . .

The argument that the contents of the poems suggest late forgery is advanced by Prof. Morgoliouth and Dr. Tāhā Husain. The illustrations given suggest four lines of approach.

1. The use of themes, images and modes of expression that are characteristic of later poets.

Observing that the platonic and erotic parts of the Mu'allqah of Imru'al-Qais resemble, both thematically and technically, the love poems of 'Umar b. Abi Rabī'ah and al-Farazdaq respectively, Dr. Tāhā Husain concludes¹ that these parts are really by 'Umar b. Abi Rabī'ah and al-Farazdaq and have been interpolated in the Mu'allaqah. To support this suggestion, he relates the tradition that al-Farazdaq entertained a group of bathing women by narrating the tale about Imru'al-Qais's love adventures in "Dārat Juljul" and reciting the erotic part of that Mu'allaqah. Dr. Tāhā comments, "It was customary, while narrating such tales, to fabricate some lines and attribute them to early poets."

The inference drawn from the previous tradition is not justified. According to Ibn Sallām,² al-Farazdaq was a great authority on Imru'al-Qais's tales and poetry since Imru'al-Qais had dwelt with Dārim, al-Farazdaq's tribe. The erotic part of the Mu'allaqah is so original that, if

2. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, p.47 seq.

1. Tāhā Husain, Fi-l-Adab al-Jāhilī, (Cairo 1927), P.221 seq.

it were by al-Farazdaq, he would probably pride himself on its composition rather than attribute it to another poet.

The evidence advanced by Dr. Ṭāhā Husain, if not distorted to prove certain presuppositions, indicated that 'Umar b. Abī Rabi'ah and al-Farazdaq emulated Imru'al-Qais and developed his technique in the platonic and erotic verses. This very line of reasoning is adopted by the same scholar when he considers the similarities between the tactual images employed by the poets 'Aws, Zuhair, al-Huṭai'ah and Ka'b. There, Dr. Ṭāhā Husain concludes that 'Aws started the vogue and the other poets followed his example.¹

2. The use of Qur'anic vocābulary and Islamic expressions.

Of this Prof. Margoliouth gives two instances. He thinks that the phrase, " مُنِيفٌ مَّوَرِدٌ", which occurs in line No.18 in Tarafah's Mu'allaqah,² is taken from the Qur'anic phrase, " قَصْرٌ مَّوَرِدٌ" (Ch.27. V.44). Referring to line No.91

1. Ṭāhā Husain, Fi-l-Adab, p.296

2. al-Tibrīzī, Sharḥ al-Qasā'id, p.35.

in the Mu'allaqah¹ of 'Amr b. Kulthūm, he writes, "It is like the دنيا of 'Amr b. Kulthūm, who by the use of this word displays acquaintance with the doctrine of the Qur'ān."

To start with, Morgoliouth's interpretation of the words ممد and دنيا is not philologically beyond question. The word ممد, as al-Tibrīzī suggests,² may refer to the height of the she-camel and not to the smoothness of its flanks, which the Qur'anic word indicates; and دنيا can simply mean "the world" without any religious implication.

Even if these words bear the same senses that they have in the Qur'an, this does not prove that they have been borrowed from it.

Al-Suyūṭī, in his learned study on the Qur'anic vocabulary,³ concludes that the Qur'an has employed Arabic as it was commonly used in poetry and everyday talk, including the arabicized words already in use. Likewise, several Islamic notions, which were clarified and stressed

1. al-Tibrīzī, Sharḥ al-Qasā'id, p.123.

2. " " " " p.35

3. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, al-Itgān Fī 'Ulūm al Qur'ān, (Cairo 1287 A.H.), i, 168 seq.

fond of the metre, al-Wāfir, which he uses in one third of his output. Significantly, the Mu'allaqah of 'Amr is in this metre.

It is true that the part on the she-camel in Tarafah's Mu'allaqah contains many rare words; but this does not prove forgery.

It is noticeable that, in most early poems,¹ descriptions of she-camels, horses and other animals contain words not commonly used. Perhaps this is due to the fact that minute description requires exact and technical words, which are usually abstruse. Moreover, the fact that those animals and their pre-Islamic settings are unfamiliar to modern readers, Arabs or non-Arabs, makes the language in which they are described more difficult to understand. Nowadays, animals have so little to do with our lives that many people would stumble for lack of vocabulary if they tried to describe an animal minutely.

Tarafah, who lived as a wandering vagabond, displays a great talent for describing animals. Poem No.5 in his

1. See, for instance, poems Nos.10,11,16 in "al-Mufaddaliyyāt."

Diwān,¹ in which he describes gazelles and horses, illustrates his descriptive power and shows, especially in the part on horses, that his stock of rare words is large.

4. The display of knowledge more likely to be possessed by Moslems rather than pre-Islamic poets.

To illustrate this, Prof. Margoliouth, referring to lines Nos.22, 28, 4 in Tarafah's Mu'allaqah,² writes,³ "Tarafah is clearly a learned man; he knows about Byzantine bridges and navigation on the Tigris, as well as that in the Persian Gulf, or probably the Red Sea."

Such knowledge on the part of Tarafah is by no means extraordinary. The poet was born in al-Bahrain, and led a vagabond life wandering throughout the desert. For him, to know about navigation on the Tigris or round 'Adawlā is quite natural. The Red Sea, incidentally, is not mentioned in the Mu'allaqah.

Margoliouth selects from 'Amr's Mu'allaqah two lines

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1. Ahlwordt, The Divans of the Six, p.60.
 2. al-Tibrīzī, Sharh al-Qasā'id, pp. 36, 37, 30.
 3. Margoliouth, J.R.A.S. (1925), p.449.

in which the poet "states that he has drunk wine in Baalbek, Damascus, and Qasirīn; that which he solicits is of Andarin.¹ He argues that "acquaintance with these places reminds the reader of the time when the Moslem empire included Syria and Arabia." The lines referred to by Prof. Margoliouth need not be discussed since they have been judged spurious by al-Mufaddal al-Dabbī and others.² However, Prof. Arberry, referring to these two lines, states rightly,³ "Even if it is genuine (which I doubt) it need not represent anything more concrete than poetic exaggeration."

. . .

Prof. Blachere argues that, in spite of the celebrity accorded to al-Mu'allaqāt by Moslem scholars, these poems are not truly representative of the ancient poetry.⁴

So far as I am able to trace, this view has not been shared by any other occidental scholar. Prof. Nöldeke, for example, writes,⁵ "The Seven Mo'allaqāt, and also the

1. Margoliouth, J.R.A.S. (1925), p.443.

2. al-Isfahānī, al-Aghānī, XIV, 73 - al-Marzubānī, Mu'jam, p.205. One of these lines does not appear in al-Ṭibrīzī's recension.

3. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.242.

4. Blachere, Histoire, p.147.

5. Nöldeke, al-Mo'allaqat, Encyclop. Brit. XVIII, 634

poems appended to them, represent almost every type of ancient Arabian poetry in its excellences and its weaknesses."

As Profs. Nöldeke, Nicholson and Arberry indicate,¹ for European readers to understand properly what the poets intended to convey in these poems is not very easy. This is partly because no rendering of the poems can be claimed perfectly adequate, and partly because the Bedouin life portrayed in these poems is alien to such readers.

However, a close consideration of the poems confirms that they typify the ancient poetry in its maturity; that is after the establishment of the long "Qasīdah."

The themes are characteristically pre-Islamic, conveyed precisely and imaginatively. In the treatment of the themes, the Arabian life and manners are revealed with the Bedouin frankness that suffered no inhibitions or restrictions. The linguistic aspect has been examined by Prof. Arberry, who states rightly,² "The Mu'allaqāt exhibit these two Arab virtues - dramatic intensity and epigrammatic terseness - to a degree approaching perfection."

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1. Nöldeke, al-Mo'allaqāt, Encyclop Brit., XVIII, 634. - Arberry, The Seven Odes, p245.
 2. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.250.

The poems reveal the characters of seven distinct authors, who form a representative collection of pre-Islamic personalities: the playful prince, the wandering libertine, the old moralist, the sentimental knight, the boasting tribesman, the frantic regicide and the cunning chief.

III

The selection of the poems, "al-Mu'allaqāt," passed through two phases, pre-Islamic and Islamic. In the first phase, they were selected among other poetic masterpieces on certain occasions; in the second, they were extracted from the first selection by Hammād, the rhapsodist.

In neither phase were the criteria of selection disclosed. It is some help, however, to examine the circumstances and considerations that influenced the selection.

. . .

In pre-Islamic times, the poets used to make known their newly-composed poems by reciting them in public gatherings. These gatherings took place mainly on the following occasions:

1. The Season of Pilgrimage. This was the largest annual gathering; and consequently only able poets could

hold the attention of the masses.¹ Al-Iṣfahānī relates, on the authority of Ibn Qutaibah,² that 'Amr b. Kulthūm recited his Mu'allaqāh before the multitude in one of these seasons. It is also related, on the authority of Hammād, that, in two successive seasons, the poet 'Alqamah b. 'Abadah enraptured his audience, who named each of his two poems, "The Gem of all Time."³

2. The fair 'UKāz. The poetic recitals in 'UKāz were addressed either to the crowd⁴ or to an influential connoisseur. Al-Aṣma'ī states,⁵ "Arabs used to pitch a red leather tent for al-Nābighah in 'UKāz, wherein the poets gathered and gave their recitals before him." It was in 'UKāz that al-A'ṣhā recited his poem, and was judged "The Best Poet."⁶ The Mu'allaqah of 'Amr was also recited in 'UKāz.⁷

3. The holding of kings' courts. It is believed that the Mu'allaqāh of al-Hārith was first recited before

1. al-Baghdādī, Khizānah, I, 61.

2. al-Iṣfahānī, al-Aghānī, IX, 183.

3. عذرا سينا الدهر

4. al-Iṣfahānī, al-Aghānī, II, 162.

5. Ibid, VIII, 194 - IX, 163 - Al-Shi'r, 78 - Muḥammād b.

'Imrān al-Marzubānī, al-Muwashshah, (Cairo 1343 A.H.), p.60.

6. أشعر الشعراء See: al-Aghānī, VIII, seq. 194.

7. Ibid, IX, 183.

the king, 'Amr b. Hind. Tradition¹ had it that, because of his leprosy, al-Ḥārith was allowed to recite only from afar. However, when the king noticed the excellence of the poem, he asked the poet to approach, sit by his side and even eat from the king's dish. On this very occasion, the Mu'allaqah of 'Amr, or at least a part of it, was also recited. Similarly, the Bā'-rhyming Simt by 'Alqamah b. 'Abadah was recited in the court of the king, Jabalah b. al-Ayham.²

4. The meetings in kings' courtyards. It was a custom, that is still practised in some parts of Arabia, that people waiting to be admitted to an audience, or having just attended one, would naturally meet one another, forming a sort of social gathering in which poetic recitals could take place. It was at one of these gatherings, in the courtyard of King al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir's residence, that Labīd recited his Mu'allaqah at the request of al-Nābighah, who then called him "The most poetical of Arabs."³

It is worth noting that a poetic masterpiece could be recited on more than one occasion.

1. Ibid, IX, 178 - al-Baghdādī, al-Khizānah, I, 518 - al-Tibrizī, Sharh al-Qasā'id,

2. al-Isfahānī, al-Aghānī, XIV, 2.

3. أنت أشعر العرب, Ibid, XIV, 100, seq.

The fact that the poets sometimes addressed the public directly indicates that the average Arab was fairly well trained to appreciate poetry and to discriminate between contesting poets. Nevertheless, for sound discernment, an expert's views were usually needed. If an expert's verdict was challenged by any contestant, the expert had to give a critical justification. Al-Isfahānī relates that,¹ in one of the meetings in 'Ukāz, al-Nābighah, the literary referee assigned precedence to the poet, al-A'shā. When the poet, Ḥassān b. Thābit, protested, the referee explained why he considered Ḥassān's poem inferior. Al-Nābighah said that Ḥassān, in his poem, applied the plural of paucity and not of multitude, as would be expected in boastful poetry, and that he vaunted his tribe's descendants and not ancestors as custom required, and that he did not use vivid imagery.

Such remarks indicate that, although pre-Islamic Arabs did not formulate systematic principles of literary criticism, they had certain standards and conventions,

1. al-Aghānī, VIII, 194 - IX, 163 - al-Marzubānī, al-Muwashshah, 60.

which they applied in their criticism.¹

Moreover, in the selection of, "The Seven Odes," and the rest of the masterpieces, they set up models for what they considered poetic perfection.

. . .

The role of Hammād has been variously judged. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih and those who believe that the poems were suspended in the Ka'bah ignore Hammād, since, according to their belief the selection was made by pre-Islamic Arabs. On the other hand, modern researchers magnify Hammād's role. Prof. Arberry, for example, states² that Hammād was "the man responsible in the first instance for selecting the poems and making them into separate anthology."

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1. Implicit assumptions, such as those that average Arabs formed an appreciative audience for poetry, and that an eminent poet should be appointed to judge new poems, formed the essence of later critical theories. Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (ob. 395 A.H.) averred that Bedouins can judge poetry instinctively. Bashāhar b. Burd and al-Buhturī maintained that critics who do not practice versification are disqualified from judging poetry. See: Al-Hasan b. 'Abd Allah Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, Diwān al-Ma'ānī, (Cairo 1933) I, 355. - Muḥammād b. al-Tayyib al-Bāqillānī, I'jāz al-Qur'an, ed. 'Ahmad Saqr (Cairo 1954), p.176
 2. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.16.

Midway between these opinions is the view of Ibn al-Nahhās,¹ who indicates that the poems were already well-known and that Hammād's contribution was to collect them.

As the previous investigations show, the credit for selecting these poems goes first and foremost to pre-Islamic people, particularly to certain connoisseurs like al-Nābighah al-Dhubyanī. The contribution of Hammād should neither be overestimated nor denied. He performed two functions: firstly, out of a small number of poems² already singled out, he collected rather than selected the top seven; secondly, he transmitted the poems as a separate anthology.

In short, Hammād was not a free selector of distinct originality, but he was certainly a selective rhapsodist and the pioneer of all Arab anthologists.

It has been observed that the number "seven" played a magic role in all Semitic nations.³ Many uses of that

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1. An-Nahhās Commentar, ed. Frenkel, P.VII.
 2. Ibn al-Nahhās's recension indicates that the most famous poems are nine; according to al-Tibrizī, they are ten. If all various views surveyed previously are considered, the total number of such poems is eighteen.
 3. Blachère, Histoire, p.147, seq.

number can be traced in the Qur'ān and the Prophetic Traditions. Whether or not Hammād was thinking of Seven Necklaces or Seven Gems, the selection of the Top Seven was another use of that magic number.

Hammād did not give any critical comments on the poems. However, before, during and after his time, learned people were contemplating the poems and commenting on them. Such comments indicate the literary standards prevailing around Hammād's time.

It was observed, for example, that Imru'al-Qais's Mu'allaqah¹ illustrates abundantly the poet's originality both in thought and imagery; that one of the lines which bears out this quality was borrowed by the master-poet, Tarafah;² that the poem also contains some remarkably vivid similes and that the description of the horse is admirable.

The Mu'allaqah of Tarafah was judged the best of The

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1. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, pp. 40-53 - Ibn Sallām, Tabaqāt, pp. 61-74.
 2. According to Ibn Sallām, it was customary for an admirably novel line to be borrowed by poets. Such a line was called "البيت المجلب". See: Ibn Sallām, Tabaqāt, p. 48.

Seven by many learned people.¹ The part in which the poet expounds his libertinism has been particularly admired. The poem contains some lines which are novel both in theme and treatment and which confirm Tarafah's originality.²

About Zuhair's Mu'allaqah,³ it was noted that it includes a good number of fine proverbial maxims; that it reveals religious awareness, belief in the resurrection and self-control and that it bears out the poet's reputation as a sincere, truthful and masterly panegyrist.

In the Mu'allaqas of 'Antarah and Labīd, remarkable similes and lines of artistic originality have been marked.⁴

The Mu'allaqas of 'Amr and al-Hārith have been regarded as perfect examples of improvised poetry and valuable records of tribal glories.⁵

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1. Ibn Rashīq, al-'Umdah, I, 102 - Ibn Sallām, Ṭabaqāt, p.115 - Taifūr, al-Manthūr, Fol.49.
 2. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, pp.92-93.
 3. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, pp.58-59. - Ibn Sallām, Ṭabaqāt, p.52.
 4. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, pp.132,133,156.

To sum up, "al-Mu'allaqāt," is a unique anthology, which has been gathered by public approval, preserved with the greatest care and judged of the highest value.

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5. (Contd. from previous page) Nöldeke's suggestion that the Mu'allaqah of al-Hārith was integrated into The Seven from tribal motives on the part of Hammād, who wanted to exalt Bakr, his patrons' tribe, is a speculation that cannot be corroborated. The poem was admired in pre-Islamic times and the Caliph, Mu'āwiyah, described it, together with the Mu'allaqah of 'Amr, as "among the glories of the Arabs من مفاخر العرب". See: Aghānī, IX, 197, 183. - Khizānah, I, 158.

C H A P T E R I I

"AL-MUFADDALIYYĀT"

I

Since its compilation in the second century A.H., the anthology, "al-Mufaddaliyyāt," has been regarded with great interest.¹ It has been carefully preserved and earnestly studied throughout the ages.

In the libraries of Cairo, Istanbul and Europe, there are several Mss. of "al-Mufaddaliyyāt",² consisting either of this work alone or with the imitative anthology, "al-Aṣma'īyyāt," appended. Moreover, this anthology was included in two partly surviving works, which preserve some of the poems. The first is "Kitābu-~~l~~-Ikhtiyārāin,"³ in which the selections of the two anthologies, "al-Mufaddaliyyāt" and "al-Aṣma'īyyāt", were put together indiscriminately. The surviving part of this work, which is preserved in the India Office in London, contains 23 poems belonging to "al-Mufaddaliyyāt". The second

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1. Abū Tammām, Hamasa Carmina, ed. Freytag, (Bonnae 1828), I, 2. - al-Marzūqī, Sharḥ Diwān al-Hamāsah, ed. Aḥmad *Amīn* and 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, (Cairo 1951), I, 5.
 2. Brockelmann, Arabic trans., I, 72.
 3. Ms. No. 3836 in the India Office, London.

work is the anthology, "Muntahā al-Talab", consisting of 1,000 odes and including "al-Mufaddaliyyāt", "al-Aṣma'īyyāt" and other selections. In the surviving portion of this work,¹ there are 36 poems belonging to "al-Mufaddaliyyāt".

The initiative in editing this anthology was first taken by Prof. H. Thorbecke of Leipzig, who, in 1885, published a portion containing 43 poems. In 1890, Prof. Thorbecke died and his work has not been carried further. The portion he edited is derived from al-Marzūqī's recension, which is preserved in Berlin, and it contains the texts of the poems together with selected extracts from al-Marzūqī's commentary.

In 1904, Sir Charles Lyall announced in a monograph published in the J.R.A.S., London, that he intended to prepare a new edition based on the recension of Ibn al-Anbārī, which is "more accurate, older and more authentic than that of al-Marzūqī".²

While Lyall was working on his edition, a complete

1. Muḥammad b. al-Mubārak b. Maimūn, Muntahā al-Talab, Ms. No. 42943, Dar al Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, Cairo.

2. p. 315

edition of the anthology appeared in Cairo, in 1906. Although the editor, Abū Bakr 'Umar Dāghistānī al-Madanī did not reveal his sources, it is abundantly clear from the short introduction to the text and from the marginal comments that the editor had before him the commentary of Ibn al-Anbārī. The poems in this edition number 126. The glosses, which may seem at first sight to be the editor's, are simply extracts from Ibn al-Anbārī's commentary.

In 1921, Sir Charles Lyall produced his edition of the anthology, with the lengthy commentary of Ibn al-Anbārī (ob. 328 A.H.). This remarkable edition is based on a manuscript of this work preserved in Cairo;¹ other Mss., including the material prepared by Prof. Thorbecke, were also consulted. The poems included here are the 126 appearing in Dāghistānī's edition, plus four others, raising the total number to 130.

The editions that appeared in Cairo, in 1927, by Hasan al-Sandūbī, and in 1942 by Sheḫ Ahmad Shākir and 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn are mere reproductions of the poems with some explanatory comments. In the edition of Shākir

1. Al-Mufaddal b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbi, Al-Mufaddaliyyāt, ed. C. Lyall, (Oxford 1921), I, Introd. p.13.

and Harūn, however, the verses have been traced to various literary sources, thus indicating other readings and versions of the texts.

According to Ibn al-Nadīm,¹ the authentic version of the anthology is that transmitted by Ibn al-A'rābī and containing 128 poems. As Ibn al-Anbārī's recension was handed down through Ibn al A'rābī and as the number of the poems in it approximates to that mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm, there can be no doubt that Lyall's edition represents the most accurate version of the anthology.

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According to Hājji Khalīfah,² five commentaries on this anthology were compiled by Ibn al-Anbārī, Ibn al-Nahhās, al-Marzūqī, al-Tibrizī and al-Maidānī.³ However, of these works only the following three have survived:

1. Ibn al-Anbārī's commentary. As Lyall observed,⁴ although this commentary is commonly attributed to Ibn al-

1. Ibn al-Nadīm, p.68.

2. Hājji Khalīfah, Kesf El-Zunun, (Istanbul 1933), II, 1043.

3. Yāqūt, II, 103. - al-Anbārī, Nuzhāh, pp.181, 255.

4. Al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, ed. Lyall, I, Introd. p.XIV.

Anbārī, it was in fact the work of his father, Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim al-Anbārī (ob. 304 A.H.), and he merely published it with hardly any additional notes. The main authority of the compiler is Abū 'Ikrimah al-Dabbī, who, in his turn, received his information from Ibn al-A'rābī, the stepson of al-Mufaddal. Besides, al-Anbārī states that he consulted other authorities, some of whom are named in his introduction and others mentioned in the text. The names of these authorities show that, although al-Asma'ī and other scholars belonging to the school of al-Baḥrah are quoted, most of the contributors to this work are Kufic. This commentary, therefore, reflects the Kufic^{an} interpretation of an anthology compiled by the Kufic^{an} rhapsodist, al-Mufaddal.

The commentary is a lengthy work. It gives valuable information about the contributing poets, the circumstances in which the poems were composed and the different versions and readings of the verses. While grammatical comments are rare in this commentary, much attention is paid to philological study, which is usually supported with abundant quotations.

2. Al-Marzūqī's commentary. This was not available for this study. However, according to Lyall,¹ al-Marzūqī is "sparing in citing authorities for his interpretations, rhetorical and diffuse in his style of exposition and disposed to explain grammatical points at wearisome length. His wide experience of literature and good sense are often helpful in arriving at the probable meaning of a difficult passage." This commentary, which is still in manuscript form, derives importance from the fact that al-Marzūqī was an adherent of the school of al-Basrah and usually referred to Basrite scholars as "my colleagues".² The commentary, therefore, mirrors the views of a rival school and is a corrective to the commentary of Ibn al-Anbārī.

3. Al-Tibrīzī's commentary.³ This is a brief commentary intended to illuminate difficulties in vocabulary,⁴ grammar and meaning. It can hardly be doubted that al-Tibrīzī had before him the commentary of al-Anbārī, from which he derived most of his material.

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1. Al-Mufaddaliyyāt, ed. Lyall, I, Introd., XVI.
 2. Al-Marzūqī's Sharḥ Diwān al-Hamāsah, I, 20.
 3. Brit. Mus. Ms. No. OR.7961.
 4. al-Tibrīzī, Sharḥ al-Mufaddaliyyāt, Fol.2.

The poems in this anthology are, for the most part, arranged according to authors; each poet's works are put together. About one third of the whole, however, does not conform to this order, thus causing the anthology to appear badly arranged.

Ibn al-Nadīm implies¹ that the present disorder was due to differences among the rhapsodists. It is just as probable, however, that the anthology was not all compiled at the same time and that the compiler started a basic selection and continually added to it. These additions may have been inserted in the original work or appended to it, thus causing the present disorder. However this may be, the fact that most of the poems are grouped according to authors indicates the kind of arrangement the compiler probably had in mind. In some later anthologies, namely "al-Aṣma'īyyāt", "Mukhtārāt Ibn al-Shajarī" and "Muntahā al-Ṭalab", the same kind of arrangement was adopted.

The selections are on the whole complete poems. Of them, 26 poems have from 30 to 108 lines, 39 from 15 to 29

1. Ibn al-Nadīm, p.68.

lines, 28 from 10 to 15 and 33 from 5 to 9 lines. The remaining four have less than 5 lines each; the shortest contains only 2 lines.

The shorter pieces may be the remaining parts of long poems, or, perhaps, more probably, independent compositions and complete in themselves. According to Ibn Sallām, early poetic works were usually short, sometimes consisting of not more than a few lines on any one occasion.¹

It is difficult to survey the subjects treated in these poems, since, with few exceptions, ancient odes contained many themes. However, the poems included in the anthology can be roughly grouped, according to their main subjects, as follows:

1. Panegyrics.^c These are 7 poems and a short piece. Of these, three poems (Nos. 25, 28 and 119) are on kings; the latter two are intended as petitions for the release of some prisoners. Poems Nos. 11 and 114 are on tribal

1. Ibn Sallām, p.33.

chiefs; those numbered 84 and 111 are on some subsidiary tribes who protected the poets and treated them magnanimously. Poem No.43 is on a tribesman who rescued the poet from captivity.

Except for the short piece, each of these panegyrics contains the conventional parts of the Arabic Qasidah. In No. 114, however, a description of the horses possessed by the chief praised is substituted for the usual part on she-camels.

2. Elegies. Of the eight elegies included, two (Nos. 30 and 65) were laments uttered by the poets when they were about to die. The rest (Nos. 54, 67, 68, 69, 92 and 126) are on family or tribal deaths. No. 69 is a specimen of the kind of elegy composed by women poets.

Most of these elegies, as one would expect, do not start with an amatory prelude; No. 54, however, does and is one of the few elegies in Arabic poetry to open in this way.

3. Satires. There are eleven satirical poems,¹

1. Poems Nos. 7, 15, 63, 64, 78, 79, 86, 88, 91, 109, 118.

mostly on tribal matters. Those numbered 78 and 79 were directed at the king, al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, who retaliated by sending a punitive expedition to the poet's tribe. Poem No. 91 is a *فقيحة*, answering No. 12 in the same collection, and, as is usual, following its metre and rhyme.

Besides the poems already mentioned, there are six others that have a satirical flavour: two¹ censure the poets' people mildly, and four² threaten tribes or persons with attack.

4. Poems on adventures of bandits and Sa'ālīk. These are numbered 1, 2, 3 and 20.

5. Love poems. Apart from the amatory preludes, which may be sometimes as long as 21 lines,³ there are five poems completely dedicated to the theme of love. These are Nos. 45, 46, 129, 56 and 57 by the two famous lovers, the Muraqqishes.

There are also two pieces by two other lovers whose

1. Poems Nos. 66, 72.
 2. " " 70, 82, 85, 107.
 3. Poem No. 98.

proposals of marriage were rejected. Both sigh over their failures; but the one reacts by exalting his virtues and the second consoles himself with wise lines about the disillusionment of life.¹

6. Didactic poems. There are nine poems containing advice and maxims about life. Those numbered 27, 29, 116, 117 and 123 are composed by old people in the ripeness of age and experience or at the moment of death. The rest (Nos. 31, 77, 80 and 127) are also composed by experienced people, who moralize on noble traits of character. These poems exhibit unity of subject and, except for No. 123, dispense with the conventional parts.

7. Poems on animals and hunting journeys. Apart from passages about she-camels and horses contained in many poems in the anthology, there are five poems completely devoted to these animals and their use in hunting journeys. Poems Nos. 6, 73 and 110 are on horses and Nos. 47 and 49 are on she-camels. Poem No. 33 is a description of a goat.

8. Poems on memories of past youth. In these poems

1. Poems Nos. 34 and 37.

(Nos. 16, 17, 18, 22, 44, 53 and 105), the poets sigh over their old age, grayness of hair and frailty and recall their golden youth and exciting adventures. Such poems usually include passages of self-praise.

9. Poems of self-praise. There are 23 poems¹ in which the poets boast of their personal virtues. Some of these are put forward in defiance of a powerful king,² or as answers to the poets' wives, who condemn them for their old age or extravagance in hospitality³ and one is a comforting talk to a loving daughter.⁴ In most of the poems, however, the poets indulge in their favourite habit of boasting without making any excuse, true or false, for doing so.

What these poems praise are noble traits of character according to Bedouins,⁵ natural gifts and aptitudes,⁶ affluence,⁷ purity of origin⁸ and the various pleasures that could be afforded.⁹ Generosity and bravery are stressed throughout.

1. Poems Nos. 4, 9, 14, 19, 23, 24, 26, 36, 39, 48, 51, 55, 59, 61, 74, 75, 89, 93, 95, 112, 113, 120, 125.

2. Poems 48, 89

3. Poems Nos. 4, 39, 59.

4. Poem No. 61.

5. Poem No. 95.

6. Poems 4 (1.4) & 24 (1124-26)

7. Poem 14, also see 8, 128.

8. Poem No. 23.

9. Poems Nos. 26, 51, 120.

10. Poems on tribal affairs. These are the rest of the poems, which form about one third of the anthology. They are mostly tribal boasts with special reference to Bedouin wars (أَيَّام). Some of the poems stress particular tribal affairs such as alliance with other tribes,¹ truces and peace treaties,² the arbitration of quarrels³ and the problems of vengeance⁴ and blood-money.⁵

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There are sixty-seven contributing poets. According to Lyall,⁶ 47 are pre-Islamic, 14 Muḥadrīms^{k a} and 6 post-Islamic; one of the poets was Jewish and two were Christians.

Most of these are among the less prolific poets, usually called المقتلين. Four of them are not mentioned in any reference other than the anthology. These are Khurāshah b. 'Amr, al-Saffāh b. Bukair, al-Khaṣafī and the anonymous woman poet, who composed poem No. 69. Others such as Tha'labah b. Su'air and Aws b. Ghalfā' are little known and

1. Poem No.10.

2. Poem No.105.

3. Poem No.35.

4. Poem No.58.

5. Poem No.42.

6. Al-Mufaddaliyyāt, ed. Lyall, II, Introd. p.XXI

none of their other works have survived.

II

There are three theories about the authorship of this anthology. Firstly, that it was all compiled by al-Mufaddal b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī, from whom it derives its title. Secondly, that a basic selection of seventy poems was made by Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullah b. al-Ḥasan, the Shi'ite leader of the rising of 145 A.H., and that al-Mufaddal endorsed this selection and added the rest of the poems. Thirdly, that al-Mufaddal selected only eighty poems and that the rest of the poems were added by al-Aṣma'i and his pupils.

The first theory was advanced by Ibn al-A'rābī,¹ the stepson of al-Mufaddal, endorsed by Ibn al-Anbārī,² Ibn al-Nadīm,³ al-Marzuqī,⁴ al-Tibrīzī,⁵ and Yāqūt⁶ and has become commonly accepted.⁷ To explain the circumstances

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1. Al-Mufaddāliyyāt, ed. Lyall, I, 1
 2. Ibid, I, 1.
 3. Ibn al-Nadim, p.69.
 4. al-Marzuqī, Sharḥ Diwan al-Ḥamasah, I, 5.
 5. Ḥamasae Carmina, I, 2.
 6. Yāqūt, VII, 173.
 7. Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, al-Sinā'atain, (Cairo, 1952), p.3. - al-Bāqillānī, 176.

of compilation, al-Qālī relates the following incident on the authority of Abū 'Ikrimah al-Dabbī: "The caliph, Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr, passed by the study of his son, al-Mahdī, where the latter was reciting before his master, al-Mufaddal, a poem by al-Musayyad b. 'Alas.¹ Held by the beauty of the verses, the caliph stood unperceived until the poem was finished; then he passed to his hall of audience and summoned al-Mufaddal and the prince. The caliph told al-Mufaddal that he had overheard the poem, which he praised, and said, 'If you take in hand the works of the less prolific poets and select for your student the best of each poet's verses, that would be a worthy task.' Al-Mufaddal acted accordingly."²

The second theory was implied by Abū-l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, who, in his book about Shi'ite martyrs *مقاتل العالمين*, related the following incident, which took place shortly before the rising of 145 A.H.: "Al-Mufaddal said, 'Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullah b. al-Ḥasan was hiding in my house. He said that, when I went out, he felt depressed alone and asked for some of my books to drive away his gloomy

1. Poem No. 21 in the anthology.

2. Isma'īl b. al-Qāsim al Qālī, *al-Amālī*, ed. Muhammad 'Abd al-Jawād al Aṣma'i, (Cairo, 1926), III, 131.'

thoughts. Thereupon, I brought him books of poetry from which he selected the seventy poems that open the anthology; then I made the rest of the selections."¹

From a manuscript by al-Najairamī (ob. 355 A.H.), al-Suyūṭī quotes a statement which agrees in general with the incident narrated by Abū-l-Faraǧ, but suggests that the whole selection was made by Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullah and that al-Mufaḍḍal merely published it.²

Another discrepancy between al-Isfahānī's version and that of al-Najairamī is that, according to the first, the selections were extracted from their sources and written down in a codex by Ibrāhīm, whereas, according to the second, Ibrahim merely marked the poems in their original sources.

Historically, neither of these traditions can be substantiated, for two reasons:

1. They portray the rebellious leader, Ibrāhīm, a few months before his rising against the powerful caliph,

1. Abū-l-Faraǧ al-Isfahānī, Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn, ed. Sayyid Saqr, (Cairo 1949), pp. 372-373, 338-339.
 2. Al-Suyūṭī, al-Muzhir, II, 319

al-Mansūr, as a sluggish, gloomy, lonely man, who occupied his time reading and copying poetry. This is fantastic in the extreme: the rising against al-Mansūr was no trivial affair; it lasted about three months and thousands of fighters on both sides were involved.¹ It is difficult to believe that the man who led this rising was compiling an anthology of poetry, when one would expect him to be mobilising his troops and adherents.

2. These traditions indicate that the anthology was compiled before 145 A.H., whereas according to al-Qālī's information, previously mentioned, the compilation was made later on, when the rising had been crushed and al-Mufaddal, who participated in it, had been pardoned and appointed by the caliph, al-Mansūr, as a tutor to the crown prince, al-Mahdī; it was then that al-Mufaddal embarked on his work according to the specifications laid down for him by the caliph. Had the selections been made beforehand by Ibrāhīm, al-Mufaddal would not have dared to produce them. In his delicate position, teaching the prince a selection made by his father's enemy would

1. 'Alī b. Muhammad Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil Fī al-Tārīkh, (Leiden 1870), V, 432-437. - 'Alī b. Husain al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj al-Dhahab, (Paris 1861-77) VI, 194.

have been indiscreet.

Moreover, one of the authorities to whom al-Isfahānī attributes his information is, strangely enough, al-Mufaddal's stepson, Ibn al-A'rābī. According to Ibn al-Anbārī, who received his recension of the anthology through Ibn al-A'rābī, this scholar treated the anthology as the work of his step-father, and never mentioned any contribution made by Ibrāhīm.

The information related by al-Isfahānī and al-Najairamī cannot therefore be regarded as reliable.

Perhaps al-Isfahānī, who himself was a professed Shi'ite,¹ presented such information in order to bestow as much honour as he could on the Shi'ite martyr Ibrāhīm. This is supported by the fact that although al-Isfahānī's account of Ibrāhīm's death in his two books, "Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn" and "al-Aghānī",² is based on the same authorities in each case, only in the Maqātil, a work apparently biased in favour of the writer's religious persuasion, does the incident of the selection occur.

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1. Muhammad 'Abd al-Jawwād al-Asma'ī, Abū l-Faraj al-Aṣbihānī Wa Kitābuhu al-Aghānī, (Cairo 1951), p.129.
 2. Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, al-Aghānī, ed. Naṣr al-Hurainī, (Būlāq 1234), XVII, 109.

Al-Najairamī was a Basrite scholar who lived in Egypt far away from the centre of events in Baghdad and al-Kufah.¹ Whatever his motive may have been, the first-hand account of those closest to al-Mufaddal should be given precedence in cases of doubt.

The third theory is derived from a statement in "al-Amāli" by al-Qālī.² This statement, which is ambiguous in two places and has thus been misunderstood, is as follows; (the ambiguities are underlined and the quotation is divided into two paragraphs):

"Al-Akhfash said that Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. al-Laith al-Isfahānī made this statement, 'We were dictated 'al-Mufaddaliyyāt', from cover to cover, by Abū 'Ikrimah al-Dabbī, who told us that al-Mufaddal had extracted from it eighty poems for the tuition of al-Mahdī. Then the collection was read before al-Asma'i, and the number of the odes became 120.

وَقُرَّتْ بَعْدَ عَلَى الْأَصْمَعِيِّ ، فَصَارَتْ مِائَةً وَعِشْرِينَ

Al-Akhfash added that he was told by Tha'lab that Abū al-Āliyah al-Anṭaki, al Sidrī and 'Āfiyah b. Shabīb, the Basrite companions of al-Aṣma'i, read 'al-Mufaddaliyyāt'

1. Yaqūt, I, 277.
2. Al-Qālī, III, 130.

before al-Asma'ī, after which they perused all the poetic works known to them, selected the best poems of each poet, and added them to 'al-Mufaddaliyyāt' asking al-Asma'ī to explain certain difficulties in language and meaning; thus the collection increased greatly."

In this quotation from al-Amālī, al-Akhfash relates two pieces of information which he received from al-Laith and Tha'lab and which should be considered separately.

Al-Laith's information may, at the first reading, seem to indicate that al-Mufaddal selected only 80 poems and that al-Asma'ī, when the poems were read before him, added the rest of the 120 poems. However, such inference is not justifiable for two reasons. Firstly, because this statement clearly says that the 80 poems were extracted from an existing larger original. Secondly, because the authority from whom al-Laith derived his information was also the authority for Ibn al-Anbārī's 128 poems recension, and there he treated all the poems as selected by al-Mufaḍḍal.

The best way, therefore, to interpret the ambiguous last sentence of al-Laith's statement is to infer that al-Laith or other students of literature read their

incomplete text of 'al-Mufaddaliyyāt' before al-Asma'ī, who, being acquainted with the work, taught them the rest of the poems.

Tha'lab's information is, in fact, no problem, since it shows clearly that the Basrite friends of al-Asma'ī made their selections after they had finished reading the anthology. Their work, therefore, should not be regarded as an interpolation in the anthology but rather as a supplement to it.

These additions were not included in the recension handed down by Ibn al-A'rābī, who confined himself to what he had received directly from al-Mufaddal. Other recensions, however, apparently included them. One representative example of such recensions is the British Museum Ms. of al-Mufaddaliyyāt,¹ which contains 150 poems, and the copyist states that even more poems are found in other copies.

These arguments indicate that the authorship of al-Mufaddal al-Dabbī can hardly be doubted.²

1. No. Add 7,533.

That al-Mufaddal is the compiler of this anthology seems a guarantee for the genuineness of its contents, since this scholar is highly reputed for his reliability and trustworthiness.¹ The suggestions about the contributions of Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullah and al-Asma'ī and his students, even if they were acceptable, would not cast any doubt on the work: both al-Isfahānī and al-Najairamī, who suggest that Ibrāhīm compiled most or all of the anthology, confirm that he derived his material from al-Mufaddal's books and that al-Mufaddal endorsed his selections. As to al-Asma'ī and his alleged additions,

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2. (Contd. from previous page) On this question, modern researchers differ widely. The Shi'ite bibliographer, al-'Āmīlī, credits Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullah with this work; whereas Dr. S.H. Husain, the editor of "Early Arabic Odes", (which is a portion of al-Asma'īyyat), emphasises or rather exaggerates the contribution allegedly made by al-Asma'ī. Sheikh Shākir and Mr. Hārūn appease all parties and reconcile the three theories by suggesting that Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullah made a basic selection of 70 poems to which both al-Mufaddal and al-Asma'ī added some poems.

Although Lyall does not discuss the theory about Ibrāhīm, he refers to it in a marginal note; and although he thinks that the question of al-Asma'ī's additions cannot be satisfactorily solved, he is inclined to believe that such additions are improbable.

See: 1. Muḥsin al-Amin al-Husainī al-'Āmīlī, A'yān al-Shi'ah, (Damascus 1935), I, 434 & V, 311.

2. Dr. S.M. Husain, Early Arabic Odes, (Delhi 1938), introd., p.XII

3. al-Mufaddaliyyāt, ed. Shākir & Hārūn, I, 12.

4. Lyall's Al-Mufaddaliyyāt, II, introd. p.XIV.

his reputation as a reliable scholar is as high as that of al-Mufaddal.¹ According to Tha'lab, the selections of al-Asma'i's students were made under the supervision of their master.²

This assumption that the poems are genuine is supported by Lyall's thorough study. He examined each poem individually with reference to its ascribed author, its age and circumstances, and the conditions of the text.³ According to this study, spurious lines are occasionally interpolated, and the attribution of some poems to the composers named is debatable.⁴ This accords with the remarks made by early critics, which are found in the commentary of Ibn al-Anbārī.⁵

However, Lyall concludes, "Upon the whole, the impression which a close study of these ancient relics gives us is that we must take them generally speaking, as the production of the men whose names they bear."⁶

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1. (Contd. from previous page) Yāqūt, VII, 171. - Isfahānī, Aghani, V, 172. - Ibn Sallām, Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Alī al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, Tarīkh Baghdad, (Cairo 1931), XIII, 121.
1. Al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, X, 410 2. Al-Qālī, III, 130.
3. Lyall's The Mufaddaliyyāt, II, introd. p. XXI.
4. Ibid, p. XXIV 5. See, for instance, I, 676.
6. Lyall's al-Mufaddaliyyāt, II, introd., XXIV.

III

Al-Mufaddal does not reveal the method according to which he selected his anthology. The material from which this method may be deduced consists of the text of the anthology, the tales related in the literary sources about the circumstances of compilation, the comments of the early critics on the work as a whole or on some particular poems, and the four diwans of the contributing poets which have been edited.

A study of this material reveals that there were three considerations in the compiler's mind: pedagogical usefulness, the preservation of some traditional material and literary excellence. Sometimes, these considerations overlapped.

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That al-Mufaddal worked on his anthology when appointed tutor to al-Mahdī shows that he had pedagogic considerations in mind. It is not known what kind of

tuition al-Mahdī received; besides being a famous rhapsodist, al-Mufaddal was a philologist, a prosodist and an authority on Qur'anic readings.¹ According to al-Mas'ūdī, however, al-Manṣūr revealed the matters he wished his son to study, when he instructed another tutor, al-Sharqī b. al-Quṭāmī, to teach the prince "history of Arab wars, morals, Arab traditions and tales, and poetry."² As these were some of the most interesting studies, al-Mufaddal would undoubtedly have paid attention to them besides whatever else he cared to teach. As the tradition quoted from al-Amālī³ suggests, poetry was the predominant subject in al-Mufaddal's curriculum. Apart from its artistic value, poetry was considered as the epitome of Arab culture, and was eagerly studied for philological knowledge.

The following facts clearly show the pedagogic purpose of the compiler:

1. The inclusion of edifying poems or passages. As mentioned before, the anthology includes didactic poems;

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1. Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Zubaidi, Ṭabaqāt al-Nahwiyyīn wal-Lughawīyyīn, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, (Cairo 1954), p.210. - Ibn al-Nadīm, p.69.
 2. Al-Mas'ūdī, (II, 180) ✓, 251
 3. Al-Qālī, III, 130.

moreover, edifying passages ^{or} lines are found throughout the anthology.¹ Most of these poems have a religious flavour; some are decidedly Islamic and use Qur'anic notions and expressions.² In poem No.80, however, the poet speaks about death, which he connects with the vicissitudes of fate rather than with the divine decree.

The existence of the erotic passages included in most of the poems reveals the attitude of Arab educators towards sexual knowledge. Al-Mahdī was in his teens when he studied the anthology and it is certain that his father as well as his tutor consented to his reciting these erotic passages.

2. Conveyance of useful information. Many poems in the anthology convey valuable historical information, especially about Arab wars. On Islamic battles, there is only one poem (No.26), and this refers to the battle, al-Qādisiyyah. Geographical information is found in No. 41, quoted by al-Hamadānī in his book about Arabia,³ as it mentions places frequented by nomads.

1. See, for instance poem 40 (11.60-65) and poem 120 (11.32-38).

2. Poem 27 (11. 7 and 8)

3. Al-Hamadānī's Geographie der Arabischen Halbinsel, ed. David Heinrich Möller, (Leiden 1884), p.204, seq.

3. Presenting some famous "classics". Apart from individual preferences, early Arabs had poems which they favoured almost unanimously and which constituted what may be termed "the poetic classics" of the age. Such classics were eagerly recited on many occasions¹ and, as Ibn Ṭaifūr clearly stated, were supposed to be studied and memorised by students of literature. Of these poems, the anthology includes ten. These are the two famous elegies by Mutammim b. Nuwairah (No.67) and Abū Dhu'aib (No.126), the two "Simṭs" by 'Alqamah b. 'Abadah (Nos.119 and 120), the two "Ones" by Suwaid b. Abī Kāhil and al-Aswad b. Ya'fur (Nos.40 and 44), the "Mujamharah" by Bishr b. Abī Khāzim and Nos. 8, 11, 76 and 97, acclaimed by early connoisseurs.²

4. Inclusion of poems containing archaic diction. Throughout the anthology, concern with archaism is unmistakably clear. According to Shākir and Hārūn, there are about 200 usages unmentioned in any dictionary.³ Al-Bāqillānī suggests that this was due to the compiler's fondness for archaism.⁴ However this may be, the

1. Al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, VI, 59. - Al-Mufaddaliyyāt, ed. Shākir, II, 15. Ibn Ṭaifūr, al-Manthūf; Fol.50.
 2. al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, III, 80. - al-Qālī, III, 130, seq. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, 233. - al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, XXI, 173.
 3. Al-Mufaddaliyyāt, ed. Shākir, III, 238, seq.
 4. Al-Bāqillānī, 176.

anthology was certainly of great help to al-Mahdī in his philological studies.

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The compiler's second consideration was to preserve traditional material, mainly by including many of the works of the Muqillīn. He was instructed to do this by the caliph, whose order may have suited his inclination to transmit little known works.¹

It appears that the Muqillīn were very numerous² but that only a few of the most famous of them such as Ṭarafah b. al-'Abd, 'Alqamah b. 'Abadah, al-Ḥārith b. Hillizah and al-Shanfarā attracted the attention of diwan-collectors. The less famous poets never had their works collected and only in early literary books and anthologies, where they are quoted, do these works survive.

The contents of "al-Mufaddaliyyāt" consist almost entirely of the works of the Muqillīn. So far as can be traced, only eleven of the poets quoted have diwans, of which nine have been edited and two are still in manuscript

1. Al-'Askarī, al-Sinā'atayn, p.3.

2. Ibn Rashīq, I, ¹⁰² al-Suyūṭi, al-Muzhir, II, 485.

form. Those edited are by 'Alqamah b. 'Abadah, Āmir b. al-Ṭufail, al-Ḥādirah, al-Shanfarā, Abū Dhu'aib, al-Harith b. Hillizah, Salāmah b. Jandal, al-Musayyab b. 'Alas and Bishr b. Abī Khāzim; the Mss. are by Ta'abbata Sharrā and al-Muthaqqib al-'Abdī.¹

The remaining poets, whose works have never been collected or lost owe to "al-Mufaddaliyyāt" the survival of some of their works. Some of these poets have no other surviving works, while others have a few poems or fragments in other literary sources. The following are some representative examples:

1. Poems Nos. 24, 91, 92, 118 and 121 appear to be the only surviving works by their composers: no other works by them can be traced elsewhere.
2. Besides his two poems in the anthology (Nos. 26 and 27), the poet, 'Abdah b. al-Ṭabīb has a piece in "al-Ḥamāsah" of Abū Tammām. No other works by this poet have survived.
3. The two brothers, al-Muraqqishes, have 17 pieces included. Apart from these, there are a few pieces by the poets in "al-Aghānī" and "al-Ḥamāsah" of Abū Tammām. It seems that the surviving works of the Muraqqishes, who

1. Brockelmann, Arabic translation, I, 104, 115.

lived about two centuries before Islam,¹ were scanty and little known and that al-Mufaddal meant to preserve a large body of them. As Lyall observed, two of the pieces included (Nos. 54 and 57) exhibit ancient prosodical features.

The anthology has thus preserved many early works that would otherwise probably have been lost.

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The literary considerations of the compiler can be deduced in part by studying the selections with reference to the background of their composers' diwans, where this is possible. As stated before, only nine of these diwans have been edited and are available for study.

It appears that the literary considerations were mainly as follows:

1. Selection of the longest works unless surpassed in quality by others. The selections from al-Hādirah,²

1. Lyall's Al-Mufaddaliyyāt, II, 181 and 192.

2. Al-Hadirae Diwanum, ed. Engelmann (Leiden 1858)

Abū Dhu'aib,¹ al-Shanfarā² and al-Hārith b. Hillizah³ are the poets' longest works (except for the Mu'allaqah of al-Harith, and 'Lāmiyyat al-'Arab' whose attribution to al-Shanfarā is debatable). Two of the selections from Bishr b. Abī Khāzim (Nos. 98 and 97) are the longest in his diwan,⁴ while the other two (Nos. 96 and 99) are of average length.

One of the two selections from 'Alqamah (No. 120) is the longest of his poems, but the second (No. 119) is five lines shorter than poem No. 3 in his diwan.⁵ The selected poem, however, is obviously superior to that in the diwan and was awarded the title "Simt" in 'Ukāz.⁶

The selection from Salāmah b. Jandal is shorter than two poems in his diwan,⁷ but according to Ibn Qutaibah,⁸ the poem selected is Salāma's masterpiece.

The longest poem in the diwan⁹ of 'Āmir b. al-Tufail

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1. Der Diwan des Abū Du'aib, ed. Joseph Hell, (Hanover 1926)
 2. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Māimānī, al-Tarā'if al Adbiyyah: Shi'r al-Shanfarā, (Cairo 1937), pp.25-42.
 3. Krenkow, Diwan al-Hārith b. Hillizah, al-Mashriq, (Beirut 1922), XX, 793, seq.
 4. Diwan Bishr b. Abī Khāzim, ed. Dr. 'Izzat Ḥasan, (Damascus 1960), poems 15, 41, 3 and 38.
 5. Die Gedichte des 'Alqama al-Fahl, ed. Dr. Albert Socin, (Leibzig 1867), pp. 3, 6 and 9.
 6. Al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, XXI, 173.
 7. Le Diwan de Salamat ibn Gandal, ed. Le P. Louis Cheikho, (Beyrouth 1910), poems 2 and 3.

was not selected, probably because it contains bitter insinuations against Asad, who was any ally of the compiler's tribe.¹ However this may be, the poem neglected is clearly diffuse and uninspired.

Long poems, provided that they were good, were apparently favoured. Owing, perhaps, to the peculiar characteristics of the Arabic Qasīdah, only by composing long poems could a poet prove his poetic mastery. Moreover, according to Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā', long poems are most appropriate for recitals.²

2. Selection of the works most representative of the poets. This is obvious in the cases of Abū Dhu'aib, 'Amir b. al-Tufail and al-Shanfarā.

In Abū Dhu'aib's diwan, elegies are strikingly predominant: out of the 34 pieces included in the diwan, there are 13 lamenting the death of family and tribal relatives.³ Moreover, a genuinely sorrowful tone is detectable throughout the diwan. The selection of the

8. (Contd. from previous page) Ibn Qutaibah's, Al-Shi'r, 147.

9. The Diwans of 'Abīd ibn al-Abras, of Asad and 'Amir ibn ibn al-Tufail, ed. Lyall, (London 1913), poem 2.

1. Lyall's Al-Mufaddaliyyāt, I, 364

2. Ibn Rashīq, I.

3. Poems Nos. 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 19, 21, 24, 31, 32.

'Ain rhyming elegy, in which the poet laments the grievous death of his five sons, is, therefore, truly representative: It records the most saddening event in the life of this master of lamentation, and is moreover his poetical masterpiece.

'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail was one-eyed and a triumphant chief warrior.¹ The two poems selected from this poet record some of the highlights in his life. One (No.106) refers to the fight in which he lost one of his eyes; and the second (No.107) refers to a battle in which he was forced to retreat, but showed his determination to resume the fight and to have his revenge.

The poem by al-Shanfarā selected is the one most truly representative of the poet's wretched life and the activities of his band, the Sa'ālīk.

3. Selection of poems that were highly acclaimed by connoisseurs. The two poems by 'Alqamah were acclaimed in 'Ukāz and entitled "Simṭs";² that of al-Hādirah was praised by Ḥassān b. Thābit, who named it "Kalimat al-

1. Lyall's Al-Mufaddaliyyāt, I, 704. al-Āmidī, al-Mu'talif, 154
 2. Al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, XXI, 173.

Huwaidirah";¹ No. 97 by Bishr b. Abī Khāzim was described by Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' as "the poet's best Arabic poem in its rhyme."² The elegy of Abū Dhu'aib was met with unanimous acclamation, and according to al-Aghānī, al-Manṣūr, on the death of his son, Ja'far, considered the recital of this elegy the most comforting consolation he could have received.³

The anthology has been acclaimed by almost everyone. Ibn Taifūr, who praises the anthology in general, makes one reservation. "The poems selected by al-Mufaddal," says Ibn Taifūr, "are unparalleled in their quality and eloquence, though the themes are the usual stock-in-trade." This reservation, however, is not a serious criticism, since in complete Qasīdas, such themes were unavoidable. What critics expected from a masterly poet was to demonstrate originality in treatment and to include in each poem some novel ideas and images, and a few memorable

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1. Al-Hādirae Diwānum, p.5. - al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, III, 82
 2. Al-Mufaddaliyyāt, ed. Lyall, I, 648.
 3. Al-Isfahānī, al-Aghānī, VI, 59.

lines,¹ and this is true of the present selections: many examples of such features are quoted throughout the anthology "Kitabū-l-Ma'ānī al-Kabīr."

Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī criticises the poems selected for being archaic in diction. "Obsolete vocabulary," says al-'Askarī, "impairs expression and hinders spontaneity."² On the other hand, most of the critics welcomed such a phenomenon.³

The truth is that the anthology includes some ancient poems whose diction is rather archaic, but it also contains poems in simpler styles.⁴ In all cases, the works chosen exhibit unmistakable spontaneity and vividness.

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1. Ibn Sallām, 54. - al-Sūlī, Akhbār al-Buhturī, ed. Dr. Ṣāliḥ al-Ashtar (Damascus 1958), 172 seq. - al-Marzubānī, al-Muwashshah, 116.
 2. Al-'Askarī, al-Sinā'atayn, p.3.
 3. Ibn al-Nadīm, p.68.
 4. See, for instance, poems 31, 77.

C H A P T E R I I I

"AL-ASMA 'IYYĀT"

I

The anthology, "al-Asma'iyāt", was described by Ibn al-Nadīm as "a large body of Arab poetry."¹ Unfortunately, this apparently valuable collection has not reached us as an independent work. In all the extant Mss. that preserved it, the anthology is either appended to the other anthology, "al-Mufaddaliyyāt"² or mixed with it.³ In his anthology Muntahā al-Talab, Muḥammad b. al-Mubārak b. Maimūn states that he included the poems selected by al-Asma'i; but, to the disappointment of the modern researcher, only a small portion of this work has survived and in it there are only four Asma'iyās (poems belonging to al-Asma'iyāt), though not described as such in the Ms.⁴

1. Ibn al-Nadīm, 68.

2. W. Ahlwardt, Sammlungen Alter Arabischer Dichter, Elaṣma'ijjat, (Berlin 1902), Introd. p.VII.

3. Brockelmann, trans., I, 74, 75.

4. Al-Asma'iyāt, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākīr and 'Abd al-Salām Harūn, (Cairo 1955), pp. 8, 35, 96, 110.

The attempts of the editors of the anthology to face this problem resulted in three printed works:

1. In 1902, Prof. W. Ahlwardt made the first edition of the anthology, consisting of 77 pieces.

2. In his work "Early Arabic Odes", published in 1938 and apparently written in 1928, Dr. S.M. Husain, following up a remark made by Sir Charles Lyall,¹ edited 74 poems, a selection of the anthology unknown to Prof. Ahlwardt and therefore not included in his edition.

3. In 1955, Sheikh Ahmad Muhammad Shākir and Mr. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn produced a new edition which they described as "the only genuine version of al-Asma'iyāt!" It contains 92 poems, which are the 77 found in Ahlwardt's edition, plus 19 poems occurring in the other anthology, "al-Mufaddaliyyāt". The two editors were not apparently acquainted with the portion edited by Dr. Husain.

The three printed works should be examined afresh and the two versions of Ahlwardt and Shākir-Hārūn collected.

1. Lyall, The Mufaddaliyyāt, I.

2. Al-Asma'iyāt, ed. Shākir, Introd., p. 8

The recension of Ahlwardt is based on a Vienna Ms., entitled "al-Mufaddaliyyāt wal-Aṣma'īyyāt" and includes the two anthologies of al-Mufaddal and al-Aṣma'ī. According to Flügel¹ and Lyall,² "al-Aṣma'īyyāt" follows the complete text of "al-Mufaddaliyyāt" with its appendix. "Al-Aṣma'īyyāt", in this Ms., consists of 77 pieces of which only one occurs in the two anthologies: No. 30 in "al-Aṣma'īyyāt" and 85 in "al-Mufaddaliyyāt". The repetition of this poem in the second anthology might be regarded as a mistake on the copyist's or the compiler's part. There is abundant evidence, however, that this is not so and that the poem was repeated purposely. According to al-Aṣma'ī's cousin, 'Abd al-Rahmān,³ Abū 'Ubaid al-Bakrī⁴ (ob. 432 A.H.) and al-Baṭalyūsi⁵ (ob. 521 A.H.), some of the selections of "al-Mufaddal" were selected by al-Aṣma'ī.

The recension of Shākir and Hārūn is based on a modern copy made by al-Shinqīṭī from an Ms. preserved in

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1. G. Flügel, Die Arabischen Persischen und Türkischen Handschriften, (Wein 1865), I, 434.
 2. Lyall, The Mufaddaliyyāt, I, Introd. p.XVI.
 3. Al-Hadirae Diwanum, 5.
 4. Abū 'Ubaid 'Abdullah b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muhammad al-Bakrī, al-Tanbīh 'Alā Awhām Abī 'Alī 'Fī Amālik, (Cairo 1926)
 5. al-Baṭalyūsi, al-Iqtidāb, 405 p.105.

in Koprüldü in Istanbul. Al-Shinqitī does not give the number of this Ms., but he describes it as follows, "The original contains both 'al-Mufaddaliyyāt' and 'al-Asma'iyāt' and as I possess a codex of the former with its commentary, I copied only 'al-Asma'iyat!'"¹

The main discrepancy between Shākir-Hārūn's recension and that of Ahlwardt is that the former includes 19 poems more. These are Nos. 71-88. These poems, however, occur in the same order in Lyall's edition of "al-Mufaddaliyyāt", where they are numbered 100-118.

In his copy, al-Shinqitī glosses that these poems are repetitions.² It is not known whether he meant that the poems are repeated in the two parts of the Koprüldü Ms., or that he judged them repetitions because they occur once in the Koprüldü Ms. and once in his other codex of "al-Mufaddaliyyāt". Shākir and Hārūn, however, seem to be certain of al-Shinqitī's meaning, and they contend that these 19 poems originally belonged to "al-Asma'iyāt" and they were merely interpolated in the other anthology, "al-Mufaddaliyyāt". Consequently they accuse Ahlwardt of

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1. Al-Asma'iyāt, ed. Shākir & Hārūn, Introd. p.4.
 2. Al-Mufaddaliyyāt, ed. Shākir & Hārūn, Introd. p.17.

deliberately omitting them in order to avoid repetition.¹

This accusation is groundless, and the views suggested by Shākīr and Hārūn cannot be substantiated for the following reasons:

1. In the preface to his edition, Ahlwardt does not state or imply that he omitted any poem he found in the Vienna Ms. The only alteration in the text he allowed himself to make is in the arrangement of poems, since, in his view, it is more convenient to arrange poems according to the alphabetical order of their rhyme letters. However, he gave the original arrangement in a key index on page XXVIII.

2. Poem No. 30 in Ahlwardt's edition is, as stated previously, a repetition of poem 85 in "al-Mufaddaliyyāt". Had he meant to avoid repetition, this poem would have been omitted too.

3. Shākīr and Hārūn's explanation of the existence of the 19 poems in "al-Mufaddaliyyāt" is derived from an ambiguous statement found in both the Vienna and Koprūld Mss.

1. Al-Asma' iyyāt, ed. Shākīr & Hārūn, Introd. p.5.

This statement occurs at the end of the Mufaddaliyyāt and it reads: ¹ وهذه بقية الأصحاحات التي أخذت بها المفضليات. Shākir and Hārūn suggest that أخذت should be taken in the passive form أُخِلَّت², and that therefore the sentence can be rendered as, "And this is the remainder of the Aṣma'īyyāt which was interpolated in the Mufaddaliyyāt." In no dictionary known to me does the word أُخِلَّت mean "to interpolate"; the only right form for this sense would be خُلِّل³.

To take this verb in the active form أَخَلَّت, as Dr. Husain suggests,⁴ falsifies the meaning completely. For in this case, the sentence would mean, to quote Husain, "This is the remainder of 'al-Aṣma'īyyāt' which was neglected by 'al-Mufaddaliyyāt'." This interpretation puts the cart before the horse, since according to it, the compiler of "al-Mufaddaliyyāt" must have seen "al-Aṣma'īyyāt" and neglected it. Historically, it was "al-Aṣma'īyyāt" that was compiled later and that apparently was not seen by the compiler of "al-Mufaddaliyyāt".

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1. Lyall, The Mufaddaliyyāt, Introd., XVII. - Shākir, al-Mufaddaliyyāt, Introd., p.18. - Ahlwardt, Elacma'īyyat, p.VII
 2. Shākir, al-Mufaddaliyyāt, Introd., p.18.
 3. Muhammad b. al-Mukarram b. Manzūr, Lisān al-'Arab, (Būlāq 1300-1308 A.H.), XIII, 223.
 4. S.M. Husain, Early Arabic Odes, Introd., p.XIII.

It seems best to read the verb in question as **أَخَلَّتْ** (from the root **خَلِيَ ب**),¹ and interpret the sentence as, "This is the remainder of 'al-Aṣma'īyyāt' which overlapped with 'al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt'," or perhaps simply and better still as, "This is the remainder of 'al-Aṣma'īyyāt' which has been combined with 'al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt'."

However this may be, the sentence is obviously ambiguous and cannot alone be the basis for any convincing inference.

The truth about the 19 poems is that they do not appear in Ahlwardt's edition for the simple reason that in the Vienna Ms. they do not exist in the second part entitled "al-Aṣma'īyyāt", but only in the first part "al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt". This is their right position, as can be seen from Ibn al-Anbārī's authentic recension of the latter.

This view is corroborated by an examination of the Koprüldü Ms., which, from al-Shinqīṭī's description, must be Ms. No.1394 in this library. It is entitled "المغضليات في الأشعار والأصعبات" and is, like the Vienna Ms., a combination of "al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt" and "al-Aṣma'īyyāt" in one volume.

1. Ibn Manẓur, Lisān, XVIII, 260.

Apart from the usual slight discrepancies between transcripts, the first part of the Koprüldü Ms., containing "al-Mufaddaliyyāt", follows the Vienna Ms. very closely up to poem No. 101, after which the 19 poems already mentioned, which occur in the Vienna Ms., are missing in the Koprüldü Ms.; then the two Mss. agree up to the end of "al-Mufaddaliyyāt". The second part, which is "al-Aşma'iiyyāt", is given identically in both Mss. up to poem No. 70 in the Koprüldü Ms., where the 19 missing poems appear successively; after that the two Mss. agree again.

Since, according to Lyall, the Vienna Ms. is a modern copy of a Constantinople original,¹ it is highly probable that the Vienna and Koprüldü Mss. are both copies of the same older original and that in the Koprüldü Ms., the quire in which the 19 poems are written has been misplaced.

The 74 poems edited by Dr. S.H. Husain, which he suggests are a portion of the anthology, are derived, for the most part, from a Ms. preserved in the India Office and entitled "Kitābu-l-Ikhtiyārain".² As stated in its

1. Lyall, The Mufaddaliyyāt, II, Introd., XVI.

2. India Office Ms. No. 7533.

title page, this Ms. is the second volume of a work consisting of the selections of both al-Mufaddal and al-Aṣma'ī. The number of poems included in this Ms. is 116, of which 23 occur in Ibn al-Anbārī's recension of "al-Mufaddaliyyāt" and 21 in Ahlwardt's recension of "al-Aṣma'iyāt"; the remaining 72 are not found in either of these works. Since the "Kitābu-l-Ikhtiyārāin" consists of the two anthologies, "al-Mufaddaliyyāt" and "al-Aṣma'iyāt", and since whatever poems are not found in the authentic version of "al-Mufaddaliyyāt" must belong to the second anthology, the editor argues convincingly that the above 72 poems must be a part of "al-Aṣma'iyāt".

Similarly, the remaining two poems in Husain's edition are derived from the British Museum Ms. of "al-Mufaddaliyyāt", which consists of 150 poems.¹ According to many glosses in this Ms., some poems belonging to "al-Aṣma'iyāt" have been interpolated in this codex. Only the above two are not found in either Ibn al-Anbārī's or Ahlwardt's recensions of the anthologies and must, therefore, be regarded in the same way as the 72 poems

1. British Museum Ms. No. 7533.

from "Kitābu-l-Ikhtiyārain".¹

From these investigations, it is clear that the editions of Ahlwardt and Shākir-Hārūn are both incomplete. The portion edited by Husain obviously does not cover the whole of the missing part, since the other volume of "Kitābu-l-Ikhtiyārain" is lost.

That the three printed works already discussed do not represent the genuine anthology is confirmed by the fact that, in many authoritative sources, there are poems named as belonging to "al-Asma'iyāt" but not found in any of these three works. The following examples, which have been culled at random, are sufficient for illustration; but further research could certainly recover more poems of this curtailed anthology:

1. In al-Hādīra's diwan, which has been handed down by al-Yazīdī (ob. 310 A.H.) on the authority of al-Asma'ī's cousin, 'Abd al-Rahmān, the Dāl-rhyming poem which begins:

أظاعة ولا تُودِّعنا هذ is described as

"Asma'iyah".²

1. Husain, Early, Introd., p.XXV
2. Al-Hadira Diwanum, II.

2. According to al-Aghani,¹ Abū 'Ubaidah described poem No. 8 in "al-Mufaddaliyyāt" as "Asma'iyah Mufaddaliyyah." Shākir and Hārūn suggest that, by this term, Abū 'Ubaidah indicates that he is uncertain to which of the two anthologies this poem belongs.² In al-Hādīra's diwan, however, the poem is plainly described as "selected by al-Mufaddal and al-Asma'ī."³ This can only mean that the poem belongs to both anthologies.

3. Another poem described by Abū 'Ubaid al-Bakrī as belonging to both anthologies is the Lam rhyming poem by al-Quḥaif al-'Uqailī, which opens:

أَعْيَنِي مَهْلًا طَالَمَا لَمْ أَقْلِ مَهْلًا

Al-Bakrī states that this poem has been assigned to both anthologies by al-Qālī and that it occurs in the latter's recensions of these anthologies,⁴ which have not survived.

4. In "al-Shi'r wa-Shu'arā", there is a piece described to "al-Asma'iyāt" by Ibn Qutaibah.⁵ The first line of this piece reads:

يَا تَمَلِكُ يَا تَمَلِي .: ذَرِينِي وَذَرِي عَذَلِي

5. In his commentary on "Adab al-Kātib" by Ibn Qutaibah,

1. Al-Isfahānī, III, 82.

2. Al-Mufaddaliyyāt, ed.

3. Al-Hādīrae Diwanum, 5.

Shākir; Introd., 17.

4. Al-Bakri, al-Tanbīh, p.105.

5. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, p.13.

therefore neglected.¹ Alternatively, the contribution of al-Asma'ī's pupils to the anthology might have disproportionately enlarged it, and thus exposed it to being sifted and probably broken up into parts, of which only some have survived.

It seems that the compiler of this anthology followed the method of his predecessor, al-Mufaddal, in arranging his selections. This is obvious in Shākir's edition, where most of the poems are arranged according to authors. However, the fact that the five elegies Nos. 24-28 and the two Munsifahs Nos. 69-70 are grouped together indicates that the compiler also paid attention to the subject matter in arranging them.

The selections are not invariably complete poems, though most of them are such. The lengths of the selections in Ahlwardt's edition are as follows: 10 poems have from 30-43 lines each, 22 from 15-29 lines each, 22 from 7-14 each and the remaining 23 have less than 7

1. Ibn al-Nadīm, 68.

lines each. In Husain's portion, 13 poems have from 30-77 lines each, 12 from 15-29 each, 29 from 7-14 each and the remaining 20 have less than 7 lines each. Figures in Shakir's editions are more or less similar to those in Ahlwardt's save for the additional 19 poems. The shortest pieces in these editions consist of 2 lines each.

The subjects of the selections are the conventional ones habitually treated in early Arabic Qasidas. The subject matter, already surveyed, of the selections in "al-Mufaddaliyyāt" is fairly representative and more or less similar to that of the present selections. The following subjects, however, are particularly stressed in the anthology:

1. Description of horses. The number of passages dealing with this is noticeable. One of these is by Tufail b. 'Awf,¹ who, because of his mastery in describing horses, was called by pre-Islamic Arabs "طفيل الخيل",² i.e. "Tufail, the horse-mad". There are moreover two complete pieces entitled "On horses".³ Piece No. 36

1. Husain, Early, p.1.

2. al-Isfahānī, XIV, 88.

3. Shākīr's al-Asma'īyyāt, 163.

(Ahlwardt's edition) describes an injured warrior retreating from the battle on his exhausted horse.

2. Disparagement of women. Apart from the conventional passages about stingy wives who nag their husbands about expenditure on hospitality, there are two pieces directed entirely against wives: one is by Ṣakhr b. 'Amr who, during his illness, was so ill-treated by his wife that he apparently hanged her after his recovery;¹ and the second is a bitter 'Urjūzah, probably by al-Asma'ī himself, who perhaps preferred to conceal his authorship and attribute it to an unknown poet.² Piece No. 22 states that only for riches do women show affection;³ and piece No. 54 states that women quickly become discontented if husbands are broke.

Connected with this is the theme of lamenting the weakness of old age, when the poets are taunted with it by their wives or mistresses. There are seven pieces on this theme in the anthology.⁴

1. Ibid, note p.273.

2. Elacma'ijjāt, 22

3. Ibid, 53

4. These are Nos. 23, 48 (Ahlwardt's edition) and Nos. 8, 55, 56, 57, 67 (Ḥusain's supplement).

Although disparagement of women and sighing over old age were common themes, the fact that they are peculiarly stressed in the anthology might be explained partly by reference to al-Asma'ī's personal life. Al-Asma'ī was over 60 years old when he made his selections. He was moreover repulsive in appearance and apparently repugnant to women, at least by that time.¹

3. Edification and instructions about life. There are five pieces on this theme in Ahlwardt's edition and ten in Husain's supplement. These pieces will be considered shortly.

The poets in the anthology are mostly pre-Islamic. In Ahlwardt's edition (and also in Shākīr's, except for the authors of the additional 19 pieces) the figures are 34 pre-Islamic, 13, Mukhadrim, 6 post-Islamic and 7 of unknown date. In Husain's supplement, 22 of the poets are pre-Islamic, 11 Mukhadrim, 5 post-Islamic and 20 unknown.

1. Al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, Tārīkh, X, 414.

II

The three Mss. upon which Ahlwardt, Shākir-Hārūn and Husain based their editions are anonymous. There are, however, enough reasons to believe that these documents are trustworthy.

As stated previously, both the Vienna and the Koprūld Mss., whether or not two copies of the same original, include the two anthologies "al-Mufaddaliyyāt" and "al-Asma'iyāt". A collection of the texts of the first anthology in both Mss. with Ibn al-Anbārī's authentic recension of this anthology testifies to the correctness of these texts,¹ and clearly shows that the writers were relying on good authorities. If this is true of the first anthology, which forms about two thirds of each Ms., it must almost certainly be true of the remainder of the two works.

1. Lyall, The Mufaddaliyyāt, I, Introd., p.XVI

Similarly, as stated in its title page, the India Office Ms. includes the selections of al-Mufaddal and al-Asma'ī. Since about half of these poems are found in Ibn al-Anbārī's version of "al-Mufaddaliyyāt" and the Vienna and Koprülü Mss. of "al-Aşma'iiyyat",¹ the remainder of the work can probably be treated as trustworthy. Moreover, the standard of the commentary included in this Ms. indicates that the compiler was closely acquainted with the views of the great scholars of the age, such as al-Asma'ī, Abū 'Ubaidah and Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā'.

Dr. Husain suggests that the compiler of this work must be Ibn al-Sikkīt.² He supports his suggestion with good circumstantial evidence, which does not, however, solve the problem conclusively: the book is not reckoned among the publications of Ibn al-Sikkīt,³ neither has it been referred to or attributed to him in any known reference. Moreover, the fact that Ibn al-Sikkīt is quoted in the commentary only twice and in the same manner as other authorities are quoted,⁴ makes it more likely that Ibn al-Sikkīt was one of the authorities consulted by the

1. Husain, Early .., Introd.XI. 2. Ibid, XXXIII

3. Ibn al-Nadīm, 72. - Yāqūt, VII, 300.

4. Husain, Early .., pp. 246, 247.

the compiler but was not the compiler himself.

It seems highly probable that the compiler of "Kitab al-Ikhtiyarain" was one of al-Asma'ī's students, such as al-Sidrī, 'Āfiyah b. Shabīb or Abū al-'Āliyah. According to Tha'lab, these students wrote down the selections of al-Mufaddal and al-Asma'ī, together with the explanatory comments made by al-Asma'ī. This accords with the fact that, in the explanatory glosses of the present work, al-Asma'ī is quoted about 200 times and mentioned by name about 65 times.

Whoever the compiler may be, the most important fact is that the three Mss. are records of al-Asma'ī's selections, as is clearly stated in all of them. It is therefore the sources and reliability of al-Asma'ī that have to be taken into account.

. . .

In Ahlwardt's and Shākir's editions, al-Asma'ī reveals the sources of 11 selections. Two were received from the authors directly,¹ six on the authority of Abū

1. Shākir's edition, poems Nos. 6 & 35.

'Amr b. al-'Alā',¹ one on the authority of Khalaf al-Ahmar² and two given with the chain of authorities through which they were handed down.³ Although the sources of the remaining selections are not mentioned, the eleven examples already stated indicate that, in dictating his selections, al-Asma'ī most probably revealed his sources.

After poem No. 60 in the Vienna Ms. (which is No. 57 in the Koprullu Ms.), there is a note that reads:

4 الزیادات من کتابین

This note suggests that the following pieces are derived from two books, the titles of which are not named. Ahlwardt suggests that they may be al-Asma'ī's books, "al-Arājiz" and "al-Nawādir!"⁵ Judging by their titles, "al-Arājiz" must be a collection of pieces in the Rajaz metre, and "al-Nawādir" is most probably a philological work containing lines of special linguistic interest. Since the pieces that follow the note in question do not seem to resemble the contents of the two books mentioned by Ahlwardt, except for two pieces in Rajaz metre, the

1. Ibid, poems Nos. 14, 20, 21, 40, 45 and 49.

2. Ibid, poem No. 3.

3. Ibid, poems Nos. 1 & 25

4. Ahlwardt, Elaçma'ijjāt, Introd. XIV - Al-Asma'iiyyāt, ed. Shākir, 185.

5. Elaçma'iiyyāt, Introd. XIV.

suggestion of this scholar cannot be substantiated.

The note might be merely an insertion of the copyist; or it might refer to two sources known to him, which contained some poems of al-Aṣma'īyyāt; or perhaps it originally read *الزيادات من الكتبين* ("The additions of the booksellers"), since, like modern librarians, booksellers were acquainted with the different recensions of famous works. Whatever this note may imply, the colophon of both the Vienna and Koprūllū Mss. shows that the 17 poems following the note belong to the anthology.¹

It goes without saying that al-Aṣma'ī enjoyed a great reputation as one of the top scholars of his age and as an honest and reliable rhapsodist. "In knowledge of philology and poetry," says al-Mubarrad, "al-Aṣma'ī was unparalleled."²

On the authority of such a scholar, it seems likely that the contents of the anthology are genuine, although of course this cannot be confirmed without an investigation of each selection.

Al-Aṣma'ī himself seems doubtful as to the genuineness

1. The colophon in both Mss. reads: *نجزت جملة المفضليات والأصمعيات*
 2. Al-Khatīb al Baghdādī, *Tārīkh*, X, 414 & 419.

of poem No. 54 (Shākīr's edition) by al-Muhalhil, which he describes as "Muwalladah, i.e. postclassic."¹

Likewise, poem No. 50 is attributed to Dawsar b. Dhuhail, whereas al-Aṣma'ī thinks that it might be by another poet.² As mentioned before, poem No. 90 is ascribed by

al-Aṣma'ī to an unknown poet called Sukhair b. 'Umair, whereas al-Najairamī maintains that it is by al-Aṣma'ī himself; and al-Mubarrad confirms that it is commonly

treated as the work of al-Aṣma'ī.³ Moreover, the piece exhibits a philological mastery that points to al-Aṣma'ī as the probable writer. Perhaps al-Aṣma'ī wrote this

piece but disowned it because it would have been taken as directed against his wife. The name given for the author of this piece is, significantly, a diminutive of Ṣabhr b. 'Amr (al-Sharīd), the notorious poet who hanged his wife.⁴

However, the suggestion that al-Aṣma'ī faked this piece has not been conclusively proved and even if it could be, the fabrication would not be a serious one; it would merely be a concealment of the authorship of a poem for family reasons.

1. Shākīr's al-Aṣma'īyyāt, 176

2. Ibid, 168.

3. Ibid, 273 (note).

4. Ibid, 163 (note).

The laborious task of verifying the selections and tracing them in the diwans of the composers or in other references has been remarkably well performed by Shākīr and Hārūn in their edition and by Husain in his section. Their investigations showed most of the poems to be verifiable. There are, however, three poems in Shākīr's edition¹ and in Husain's² of which no quotations can be found in any other reference.

Since al-Aṣma'ī is reliable and since the contents of the present editions are mostly verifiable, this anthology, on the whole, can be regarded as trustworthy.

1. Ibid, poems No. 6 (p.22), 20 (p.75) and 60 (p.195).
 2. Peems Nos. 14,19,21,22,28,30,32,49,68.

III

All the traditions that have reached us indicate that the Basrite scholar, al-Aṣma'ī, compiled his anthology in emulation of, or perhaps in competition with, the anthology of the Kufic scholar, al-Mufaddal.¹ About the immediate incentive for the compilation, sources are silent till as late as the eleventh century A.H., when al-Baghdādī asserts that "al-Aṣma'īyyāt" was compiled for the caliph, Hārūn al-Rashīd.² Although this information has not been supported by any other authority, there is no reason to disbelieve it: immediate incentives for writing books, unless recorded in the prefaces of the authors, are sometimes forgotten.

In considering the information given by al-Baghdādī, Prof. Ahlwardt suggests that the event referred to may

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1. Al-Qālī, III, 130. - Al-Mufaddaliyyāt, Shākir's edition, Introd., p.10.
 2. Al-Baghdādī, Khizānah, IV, 235.

have taken place about 180 A.H., and that about this time, al-Aṣma'ī might have been appointed a literary tutor to the crown prince, al-Amīn - a post that encouraged him to compile the anthology he had planned.¹

Although al-Aṣma'ī joined the court of the caliph Hārūn al Rashīd for about 15 years (probably from 173 to 188 A.H.),² and although, according to al-Damīrī, he conversed with the princes, al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn, on points of language and literature,³ with the result that the princes probably benefited by his instructions and knowledge, there is no definite information that he was appointed a tutor to either of the princes. On the contrary, it is confirmed by many authorities that the official tutor of the princes was the other eminent scholar, al-Kisā'ī.⁴ Ahlwardt's suggestion therefore cannot be substantiated, though some of the selections were probably included for the education of the princes.

Whatever the immediate incentive may have been, however, the main purpose of the compiler of this anthology

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1. Ahlwardt, Al-Asma'ijjat, Introd., V & VI
 2. 'Abd al-Jabbar al-Jumard, Al-Asma'ī Hayātuhu wa'Āthāruhu, (Beirut 1953), 166 & 173.
 3. Kamāl al-Din al-Damīrī, Hayātu al-Hayawān al-Kubrā, (Būlāq 1284), I, 86 seq.
 4. Ibid.

appears to have been to complete the work of al-Mufaddal and thus to show himself an equally able scholar.

He accomplished this purpose in two ways: 1. by making the most of the selections from the works of poets other than those quoted in "al-Mufaddaliyyāt", and 2. by taking different poems, if the poets are the same in both anthologies.

Whether or not this anthology or a part of it was meant to be a text book for the tuition of the crown prince, al-Amin, some of the selections included are on edifying and instructive themes. These are Nos. 3, 19, 20, 47 and 77 in Ahlwardt's edition and Nos. 3, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 23 and 32 in Husain's section. One of these (No. 20 in Ahlwardt's edition) dealing with death, was written by a Jewish poet, who showed a religious approach to morals. Other selections, however, such as No. 12 in Husain's section, though also edifying, are pagan in spirit. It is worth noting that poems No. 23 and 3 (Husain's edition) are respectively on pacifism and on the administration of public affairs - two themes relevant to the tuition of a prince.

Moreover, the pieces in al-Rajaz metre may have been included to provide the young princes with recitations which widened their vocabulary besides being useful as pronunciation practice, as custom required.¹

. . .

There are some features of the anthology which indicate what the compiler's criterion may have been:

1. Great length of the poem. This seems to be a recognised merit: the selections from Salāmah b. Jandal, 'Urwah b. al-Ward, al-A'shā of Bāhilah and Tufail b. 'Awf al-Ghanawī are the longest in their diwans.² Some other selections, though not the longest works of their composers, are sufficiently long to merit inclusion.³

In some cases, however, the compiler gives abridged versions. For instance, the selection from al-A'shā of Bāhilah (in Shākir's edition) consists of 33 lines and in Ahlwardt's is divided into two pieces totalling 30 lines,⁴ whereas in the poet's diwan the original poem

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1. Tawfiq al-Bakrī al-Siddiqī, Arājīz al-'Arab, (Cairo 1313 A.H.), p.7.
 2. Le Diwan de Selāma ben Djandal, ed. Ch. Huart, (Paris 1910) 'Orwa ben el-Ward Diwan, ed. Mohammed ben Cheneb, (Alger, Paris 1926), 63. Gedichte Abu Basīr Maimun ibn Qais

consists of 46 lines.¹ One example from Husain's section is piece No. 3 consisting of 10 lines while in al-Qālī's version, it totals 14 lines.²

Moreover, the compiler included some selections which are obviously extracts from long originals. Presumably, this was done with a definite purpose: the selection from Ṭarafah b. al-'Abd has 4 lines in the anthology extracted from an original of 13 lines;³ the passage selected is in praise of travel - one of al-Asma'ī's favourite themes, whereas the rest of the original is made up of the conventional prelude and couplets in praise of a certain person, which, apparently, were not included very seriously. Dhu'l-Iṣḥā' al-'Adwānī's piece, which is 6 lines from an original of 26, captures the most important part of the poem;⁴ it is on disputes among the branches of the poet's tribe, 'Adwān, which resulted in the obliteration of the whole tribe. Passage No. 60

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2. (Contd. from previous page) .. al-A'šā, ed. R. Geyer, (London 1928), p. 266.
3. Diwan Qais b. al-Khaṭīm, ed. Ibrahim al Samarrā'ī and Ahmad Maṭlub, (Baghdad 1962), 38.
4. Nos. 34 & 35, pp. 32 & 34.
1. Gedichte Abu Baṣīr, 266. 2. Al-Qālī, II, 228 seq.
3. Diwan de Ṭarafah ibn al-'Abd al-Bakrī, ed. Max Seligsohn, (Paris 1901), 31.
4. Louis Cheikho, Shu'arā' al-Nasrāniyyah, (Beirut 1890-1), II, 625 - 627.

(Ahlwardt's edition) is only 3 lines, whereas according to Sheikh Shākir, the original consists of 100 lines;¹ this passage is about possible involvement in a destructive war provoked entirely by others, and is very suitable for proverbial citation.

2. High reputation of poems. The anthology includes some poems that are universally acclaimed. In Ahlwardt's edition, these are: poem No. 1 by al-As'ar al-Ju'fī, which, according to Ibn Rashīq,² is among the poems entitled "The Unique Ones"; poem No. 48 by 'Amr b. Ma'dī Karib which, according to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr,³ is one of "The Mudhahhabāt i.e. The Gilded Poems." No. 55, which, to quote Ibn Sallam, entitled its composer to the appellation, "al-Mufaddal", i.e. the favourite poet; and the elegy by Ka'b b. Sa'd al-Ghanawī (wrongly divided into two pieces in both Ahlwardt's and Shākir's editions),⁴ which was described by al-Asma'ī as "universally unparalleled".⁵ In Husain's section, there are two such poems: No. 2 by

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1. Al-Aṣma'īyyāt, ed. Shākir, p.66 (note) - reference to Kitab Bakr wa Taghlib, p.61, which is not available for us.
 2. Ibn Rashīq, ed. al-Na'sānī, I, 100.
 3. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, 452.
 4. Al-Aṣma'īyyāt, ed. Shākir, p. 95.
 5. Al-Marzubānī, al-Muwashshah, 81.

'Alqamah b. 'Abadah and Elegy No. 60 by Mālik b. al-Raib. Ibn Sallām states that No. 2 is one of the best works of 'Alaqamah,¹ and, according to al-Aghānī, this poem was addressed to 'Umm Jundub who was acting as arbiter in a literary competition between 'Alqamah and her husband, Imru' al-Qais, and was judged superior.² Elegy No. 60 is the longest Arabic elegy in which a poet laments his approaching death, and has been quoted and admired by many authorities.

3. Relative simplicity of diction. According to Ibn al-Nadīm, learned people, apparently those belonging to the third and fourth centuries A.H., considered the anthology lacking in a difficult vocabulary.³ Al-Bāqillāni, however, reckons al-Aṣma'ī among the philologists "who are inclined towards grand expressions that combine sense and rare words."⁴

The truth is that some of the poems included are full of archaic words. In their study, Shākir and Hārūn listed 38 usages that are not mentioned in any dictionary.⁵

1. Ibn Sallām,
3. Ibn al-Nadīm, 68
5. Shākir, al-Aṣma'īyyāt, 294.

2. Al-Isfahānī, VII, 128.
4. Al-Bāqillānī, I'jāz, 175.

Moreover, one of the poets quoted, namely Abū Duwād al-Iyādī, used vocabulary which was considered unfamiliar according to Najdī standards.¹ On the other hand, many poems in the anthology exhibit remarkable lucidity and simple diction. Poem No.32 by al-Munakhkhal, for instance, not only because of its tender tone and ardent passion, but also because of its clever onomatopoeic effects and lucid diction, has always been a favourite.² Poems No.20 by al-Samaw'al and 49 by Qais b. al-Khatīm have similar qualities.³ Piece No.40 is so simple that one might think that it was originally selected, as mentioned before, to be recited by the child prince, al-Amīn.

4. Simplicity of metre. Some of the selections are simple in metre. These are 4 pieces in al-Rajaz metre,⁴ 2 in al-Hazaj⁵ and 1 in Majzū' al-Kāmil.⁶ The pieces mentioned before, which Ibn Qutaibah describes as belonging to the anthology, is also in al-Hazaj metre. "It was selected," says Ibn Qutaibah, "because of its simple and easy rhythm."⁷

1. Ibid, 213.

2. Ibid, 52 (note).

3. Ahlwardt, Elacma'ijjāt, pp.20, 45.

4. Ahlwardt's edition, poems Nos.4,18,58 and Husain's edition, No.41.

5. Ahlwardt's edition, poems Nos. 6 and 40.

6. " " " " 32

7. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, 22.

Al-Rajaz metre, though believed to be the oldest Arabic metre, was considered, as Dr. al-Tayyib puts it, "a popular metre",¹ which was not fitted for serious and artistic poetry. However, al-Aṣma'ī seems not to have ~~not~~ concurred in this view; besides including some pieces in al-Rajaz in the present anthology, he compiled another anthology completely dedicated to works in al-Rajaz. Although this anthology is believed to exist somewhere in Baghdad,² I could not trace it.

Most of the selections are the works of little known poets and some are not found elsewhere (Nos. 5, 23, 36 in Ahlwardt's edition and Nos. 14, 19, 21, 22, 28, 30, 32, 49, 68 in Husain's section).

This shows that, like his predecessor, al-Mufaḍḍal, the compiler was hunting for rarely quoted works, either to save them from oblivion or to demonstrate his vast knowledge, or both.

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1. 'Abd Allah al-Tayyib, al-Murshid Ilā Fāhm Ash'ar al-'Arab wa-Sinn'atiha, (Cairo 1955) I, 241
 2. A. Haffner, Texte zur Arabischen Lexikographie, (Leipzig 1905), p.V.

Ibn al-Nadīm states that the anthology met with little favour from learned people and that briefly their objections were: 1. that the anthology lacked a difficult vocabulary, and 2. that the poems selected were given in an abridged form.¹ Of the modern scholars, Prof. Blachère holds that the anthology shows al-Aṣma'ī's inclination towards poetry that possesses philological value rather than literary merit.² Blachère, however, does not give any examples to show this.

Some comments on these matters have already been made. To recapitulate briefly:-

1. It is true that, compared to "al-Mufaddaliyyāt", the present anthology is simpler in style. If this was considered a flaw by scholars of the second and third centuries, modern students would not agree with them.
2. The selections are not consistently abridged. Only some are, and apparently to serve certain ends. This precedent was followed by a series of anthologies completely dedicated to extracts.

1. Ibn al-Nadīm, 68.
2. Blachère, 149.

3. A selection such as No. 58¹ was probably included because of its philological value, but there is no evidence that the whole anthology was influenced by philological considerations.

As to the literary merits of the anthology, these can hardly be overlooked, though the anthology has been regarded, on the whole, as inferior to "al-Mufaddaliyyāt". This is hardly surprising, as al-Mufaddal lived earlier and therefore had more chance to select the best works.

1. Ahlwardt's edition, p.58.

CHAPTER IV

"JAMHARAT ASH'ĀR AL-'ARAB"

COLLECTED ARAB POETRY

I

The title of this anthology suggests that it includes a major part of Arab poetry. This is true in terms of quality but not of quantity, since the anthology contains only 49 poems, though most of them are very famous. The compiler describes these poems as "the gems of Arab poetry before and after Islam."¹

The anthology has been preserved in many Mss. All its editions, however, are far from satisfactory.

The first attempt to edit the anthology was made by Iskandar Abkariyūs. Giving the name, "al-Musabba'āt" to the poems in "Jamharah", he included them in his work, "Tazyīn Nihāyat al-Adab", which appeared in Beirut in 1867. In this edition, both the introduction to the

1. al-Qurashī, Jamharah, p.35

anthology and the commentary on the poems are omitted. Moreover, Akkariyūs allowed himself to omit the six poems by al-Musayyab b. 'Alas, al-Mutalammis, Mālik b. 'Ajlān, Abū Qais b. al-'Aslat, 'Amru b. Imru'l-Qais and al-Nābighah al-Ja'dī, and to replace them with other poems, which he considered superior and more famous. The substitutes are by Hūjr b. 'Aws, al-Shanfarā, al-Samaw'al, Khidāsh b. Zuhair, al-Hārith b. 'Abbād and al-Muthaqqib al-'Abdī.¹

In 1308 A.H. (1891-1893 A.D.), a complete edition of the anthology with its commentary was issued from Būlāq. The editor, who is apparently not a scholar, styles himself Sa'īd Effendi Anṭūn 'Amūn, a chief interpreter in the Exchequer, Cairo. The Mss. on which the editor based his work are not identified, and judging by appearances, no wide consultation of the extant Mss. of this anthology was made.

In 1895, a commercial edition was issued by "Jarīdat al-Ra'y al-'Āmm" in Cairo. It includes only the texts of the poems. The two poems by al-A'shā and al-Nābighah, however, are not those appearing in the edition of Būlāq.

1. Iskandar Abkariyūs, Tazyīn Nihayat al-Adab, (Beirut 1867), p.75.

A collation of the editions mentioned with the Mss. available for this study¹ shows that, until a fresh and accurate edition appears, the Būlāq recension is the most reliable.

. . .

The contents of the anthology consist of seven groups of seven poems each. Each group is given a particular name. These groups are as follows:

1. The Mu'allaqāt (The Suspended Poems):

The seven poems given here are those by Imru'al-Qais, Zuhair, al-Nābighah, al A'shā, Labīd, 'Amr b. Kulthūm and Tarafah. The two poems by al-Nābighah and al-A'shā are not their acknowledged Mu'allaqahs.²

In the Būlāq edition and the British Museum Ms.³ of this anthology, the poem of 'Antarah is added, raising the number of the poems in this group to eight while the following group consists only of six poems. This addition, if genuine, destroys the proportion of this

1. These are five Mss.: three in the Brit. Mus., Nos. OR.415, OR.3158 and Add 198403, one in Istanbul, Coprulu 1232 and one in Oxford: *Pocock Ms. no. 174*, Bodleian.

2. Al-Nābighah's begins: *عوجوا فحيو النعم دمنة الاراء. ماذا تحيون من نوي وأحجار*
and al-A'sha's begins: *ما بكاء الكبير بالأطلال .: وسؤالي وما ترد سؤالي*

3. No. 3158/OR.

anthology. The Koprūlū Ms.,¹ however, keeps a proper proportion by assigning 'Antarah's poem to the second group.

2. The Mujamharāt:

This is one of the ambiguous names in the anthology: it might indicate that the poems are long or that the verses of every poem are closely knit and in logical sequence.² The poems, however, are not strikingly long; with the exception of 'Antarās poem, the length of the poems ranges from 23 lines to 43 lines. Neither do they exhibit any unusually logical sequences.

The contributing poets are pre-Islamic. The poems of 'Abīd and 'Adiyy are gnomic. In them, the introductory addresses to the desolate encampments form a very appropriate background for the following moralising utterances. The remaining poems are, to a greater or less extent, on themes of valour.

3. (Contd. from previous page) British Museum Ms. No. OR. 3158.

1. Koprūlū Ms. No. 1232.

2. Ibn Manẓūr, V, 219 seq. to quote the most relevant examples:

”عدد بجنهر أي مكثر”
 ”ناقة بجنهرة إذا كانت مداخلة الخلق كأنها جهور الرمل.”

3. The Muntaqayāt (The Chosen Poems):

This vague name does not indicate any special qualities of these poems.

The poems, which vary in length from 16 lines to 40 lines, are contributed by pre-Islamic poets. The first poem is a panegyric; the sixth is an elegy; while the remaining five poems are on valour. The inclusion of the elegy in this group is very surprising. As it is a famous elegy, one would expect to find it included in the fifth group, which consists only of elegies. An excuse for its existing position could be inferred from Ibn al-Kalbī's statement about this elegy. He avers that, unlike the conventional elegies, it begins with an amatory prelude.¹ This prelude, however, consists of only three lines; and according to al-Isfahānī,² it refers to a quarrel between the poet and his wife, who reproved him for his continuing grief after his brother's death. This quarrel ended in divorce. The recording of such discussions with wives is quite

1. Ibn Rashīq, II, p.151.

2. Al-Isfahānī, IX, 5.

familiar in early elegies.¹ Therefore, a brief mention of that incident can be considered relevant.

4. The Mudhahhabāt (The Gilded Poems):

This title was known before Islam. It had been applied to the suspended poems in general² and to the Mu'allaqah of 'Antarah³ in particular. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr describes a poem by 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib which is not included in this group as "One of the Gilded Poems."⁴ The compiler of this anthology, however, contends that "The Gilded Poems" are the contribution of the poets belonging to the tribes al-Aws and al-Khazraj.⁵

These seven poems are by three poets belonging to al-Aws and four poets belonging to al-Khazraj. Two of the poets are pre-Islamic and the rest are Mukhadram.

The "Gilded Poems" are, generally speaking, songs of valour, with reference to "days of conflict". They have from 16 to 36 lines.

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1. See poems Nos. 29 & 30 in this anthology and No. 26 in al-Asma'iyāt.
 2. Ibn Rāshiq, I, 96. - Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, III, 83.
 3. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, p.132. - Al-Baghdādī, Khizanah, I, p.123.
 4. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, p.452.
 5. P.35.

5. The Elegies:

These are seven representative specimens of early Arabic lamentations. They are by various composers of whom two were pre-Islamic, two Mukhadram̄s, and three lived under Islam.

The seventh poem is a sort of elegy on the poet himself; it was dictated by Malīk b. al-Rayb just before his death, when he was deprived of all hope of recovery from his illness.¹

The length of the poems varies from 26 to 67 lines.

6. The Mashūbāt:

According to the compiler's statement, these poems are testimonies of faith mingled with heresy. A scrutiny of the poems, however, shows that as far as the themes are concerned, this is not so.

1. It is worth noting that this elegy was preceded many years before by two other elegies that resembled it in metre, rhyme and circumstances of composition. These are the elegies by 'Abd Yaghūth and 'Ufnūn (viz. Nos. 30 and 65 in al-Mufaddaliyyāt). 'Abd Yaghuth dictated his elegy just before his execution after the battle of al-Kulāb II and 'Ufnūn uttered his short dirge in his anguish when he had been stung by a snake. Moreover, Ibn Ahmar, in similar circumstances, dictated a similar poem. These four elegies, taken together, form a special type of

Perhaps the statement in question should be interpreted as referring to the poets' state of mind. A study of the lives of these poets reveals that most of them, though professed Moslems, had passed periods of scepticism or religious hesitance or wavering faith. These spiritual experiences, however, are not clearly communicated in the present poems. Only faint glimpses can be seen either in the circumstances of composition or the contents of some of the poems.

The second poem was recited before the prophet to assuage his anger against its composer Ka'b b. Zuhair.¹ Similarly, the first poem was recited before the prophet as a declaration of its compiler's faith in the religion.² However, Ibn Qutaibah relates that the prophet stopped the poet demanding an explanation of a line which was thought to have given rise to some religious misunderstanding.³

No information can be found to justify the inclusion

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1. (Contd. from previous page) .. lamentation in Arabic poetry. See: Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, pp.205, 207 and 249. Al-Mufaddaliyyāt (ed. Shākir), I, 153 - II,60.
 1. Ibn Sallam, p.84 - Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r,p.68. 'Abd Allah Abū Muhammad Ibn Hishām, Sīrat al-Nabiyy, ed. Muhammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo 1837), IV, pp.149-169.
 2. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, p.311.
 3. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, pp.158-159.

of the poems of al-Quṭāmī and Ibn Aḥmar in this group. However, al-Quṭāmī's poem exalts Islam, the Prophet and Quraish. Perhaps such praise from a Christian who was newly converted to Islam¹ was deemed hypocritical. In his poem, Ibn Aḥmar expresses an earnest apology and implores mercy. This points to an offence, the reference to which may account for the inclusion of the poem.

Al-Ḥuṭai'ah and al-Shammākh² were notorious satirists. Both were tried before the Caliph 'Umar and 'Uthman³ respectively, because of their satirical poems against some Moslem personalities or tribes; neither was the most sincere of believers. The poem by al-Ḥuṭai'ah in the anthology bears this out; in it he praises the Caliph 'Umar and offers his apologies because of his offences, to al-Zibriqān b. Badr. Nevertheless, the last line of this poem includes a subtle but bitter insinuation directed at al-Zibriqān. The poem by al-Shammākh is on his long-bow. Perhaps poem No.4 in his Diwan⁴ would have been more representative of the poet's

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1. Al-Isfahānī, al-Aghānī, XX, p.118. - al-Baghdādī, Khizānah,
 2. " " " VIII pp.101-103. I, 393.
 3. " " " VIII p.101.
 4. Al-Shammākh's Diwan, ed. al-Shinqītī, (Cairo 1327 A.H.), p.19. Also see al-Aghānī, VIII, 103.

¹  in its literal and figurative senses, the title indicates that the poems record bloody fights or severe clashes where honours and reputations are soiled or, to quote Lane,² "made as a luḥmah; i.e. a hawk's portion of the quarry."

The poems in this group do certainly record either real fights among men or animals, or political clashes and personal polemics: The first two are Naqā'id;³ in the third al-Akhtal refers to Jarīr indignantly. The fourth is a grievance against tax-gatherers in which the poet makes various political insinuations.⁴ The fifth illustrates a bloody fight among some animals in the wilderness. The sixth and the seventh are utterances of the partisans of two rebellious factions, the Shi'ites and the Kharijites. It is significant that the words  and  appear in the fourth, six and seventh poems.⁵

The poems have from 42 lines to 123 lines.

1. Ibn Manẓūr, XVI, 7; to quote the relevant usages: 
2. E.W. Lane, An Arabic-English Lexicon, (London 1863-93)
2. E.W. Lane, An Arabic-English Lexicon, (London 1863-93) II, 3008.
3. The Naqā'id of Jarīr and al-Farazdak, ed. Bevan (Leiden 1908) II, p.548. Naqā'id Jarir wal-Akhtal, ed. Saḥānī (Beirut, 1922) p.83.
4. Ibn Sallām, p.439.

The classification of the poems in the anthology will be considered later.

The titles of the groups, however, are no credit to the compiler. With the exception of the titles of "al-Mu'allaqāt", "al-Mudhahhabāt" and "al-Marāthī", which were already in common use, the others are devoid of any definite content; they are ambiguous, artificially coined, and loosely applied.

II

The identities of the compiler of this anthology and his chief authority have not been established. About this puzzling fact, researchers, who differ in their approach, fall into three groups: some think that the anthology was forged; others authenticate it and suggest when the compiler lived; the third group, also believe that

5. (Contd. from previous page) In the fourth poem, a line reads:
 in the sixth, one reads: حتى إذا لم يتركوا لعظامه :: لحما ولا لفؤاده معقولا
 in the seventh, one reads: ملاؤتم حياض الملحمين عليكم :: وأثارتكم فينا قضيت ندوبها
كم عدو لنا قراسية العز تركنا لحما على أوقاض

the anthology is genuine, and advance some speculations about the compiler's identity.

The first group of researchers advance two grounds for their doubts besides the fact that the compiler is not known: firstly, that most of the authorities of the anthology are not known; secondly, that the classification of poems into sevens was not familiar in the second and third centuries A.H., when the compilation is thought to have taken place. Prof. Ahmad Amin concludes¹ that he "doubts the authenticity of the whole work though the contents are valuable."

As to authorities, the fact that they are not known does not support the idea of forgery. Forgers would probably fabricate chains of well known authorities.

As regards classification into sevens, it has been established that the rhapsodist Hammād used it in the first century A.H. Moreover, as will be shown shortly, this type of classification was quite common.

Of those who authenticate the anthology, al-Rafi'ī²

1. Ahmad Amin, Duḥā al-Islām, (Cairo 1938-1943), II, 276-277.

2. Mustafā Sādiq al-Rafi'ī, Tārīkh 'Ādāb al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah, (Cairo 1940), III, 188.

and some bibliographers¹ think that the compiler died in 170 A.H. It is clear from al-Rafi'ī's statement that he was misled by a mistake in the Būlāq edition, where the authority of the anthology is named "al-Mufaddal al-Dabbī". This mistake, however, is corrected in two places in the same edition, and the right name of that authority is given as "al-Mufaddal b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Muḥabbar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb."²

Dr. Muṣṭafā Jawād suggests that the compiler lived in the fifth century A.H. This suggestion is made on the grounds that, in his commentary, the compiler seems to have consulted the dictionary, "al-Ṣiḥāḥ", whose author died in 398 A.H., and also on the grounds that al-Mufaddal b. Mis'ar (ob. 443 A.H.) is one of the authorities in the anthology.³ Dr. Jawād, however, has not stated where al-Mufaddal b. Mis'ar is mentioned;

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1. 'Umar Kaḥḥālāh, Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn, (Damascus 1957) IX, 281.
 2. Al-Qurashī, Jamharah, pp.2 & 10. On page 10, however, the name is abbreviated Abū Abdullah al-Mufaddal b. Abdullah al-Mujabbarī (Al-Mujabbar and al-Mujabbarī are substituted for al-Muḥabbar and al-Muḥabbarī, which are obvious mistakes in the Būlāq edition). See: Nāsir al-Dīn al-'Asad, Masādir al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, (Cairo 1956), p.586.
 3. 'Ali b. Ahmad Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat Ansāb al'Arab, (Cairo 1948) p.146. Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd al-Zuhrī, al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā, (Beirut 1957), III, 266. 'Izz al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan

neither in the Būlāq edition nor in the available Mss. can this name be traced. The statement of the "Jamharah"¹ which seems to refer to the dictionary, "al-Ṣiḥāḥ" having been consulted does not necessarily justify Jawād's inference. It reads, "أَوْبَانًا بِمَعْنَى أَوْمَانًا مِنَ الصَّحَاحِ" In this context, the phrase من الصَّحَاحِ may simply mean that the two words, أَوْبَانًا and أَوْمَانًا are philologically correct. The fact that Ibn Rashīq, who died in 463 A.H., referred to the anthology makes it more probable that the compiler in question lived before the fifth century A.H.²

Prof. Blachère³ and Dr. N. al-Asad⁴ suggest that the compiler must have lived between the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth century A.H. This sound suggestion is based on an examination of the dates of each link in the chains of authorities.

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2. (Contd from previous page) ..'Alī b. Muḥammad, Ibn al-'Athir, al-Lubāb, (Cairo 1357 A.H.), III, 98 seq.
 3. Ahmad Zakī Abū Shādī, al-Yanbū', (Cairo 1934), p.173.
 1. Al-Qurashi, al-Jamharah, p.165
 2. Perhaps, al-Bāqillānī (ob.403 A.H.) had seen the "Jamharah" before Ibn Rashīq. In his "I'jāz al-Qur'ān" he states the Mu'allaqah of Imru-l-Qais is integrated among what he calls السَّبْعِيَّات which may mean "The Sevens" rather than "The Seven". If this is so, al-Sab'iyāt can only be this anthology. See: al-Baqillānī, 242.
 3. Blachère, Histoire, p.143.
 4. Al-Asad, Maṣadir, p.587.

A speculation about the compiler's name has been advanced by Nöldeke and endorsed by Brockelmann. These two scholars suggest that the anthology was probably ascribed to Abū Zaid al-Anṣārī on the authority of his master al-Mufaddal al-Dabbī, and that some unknown authority substituted the surnames al-Qurashī and al-Mujabbarī for those of al-Anṣārī and al-Dabbī.¹ This theory appears improbable. Such substitution for the names of these famous scholars would not have passed easily: it would have been noticed, questioned and commented on by other scholars.

Prof. Arberry² suggests the possibility that Abū Zaid al-Qurashī and Abū Zaid 'Umar b. Shabbah (ob. 262 A.H.) are identical. It is worth noting that, among the abundant output of Abū Zaid 'Umar b. Shabbah, is a work with a title identical with that of the anthology.³ But, according to Jurjī Zaidān,⁴ the contents of the two works are not identical. Moreover, the fact that 'Umar b. Shabbah belongs to the tribe Numair,⁵ and that the

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1. Nöldeke, Z.D.M.G., 1895, XLIX, 290 seq. - Brockelmann
 2. Arberry, The Seven, p.23.
 3. Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, Fihrist al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah al-Mawjudah, (Cairo 1927), III, 76.
 4. Jurjī Zaidān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah, ed. Shawqī Daif, (Cairo 1957) II, 227.
 5. Yāqūt, VI, 48.

compiler in question belongs to Quraish does not support this speculation.

No satisfactory solution to this problem has been found, but the following observation might prove useful for future research.

The name of the compiler, which is the main thread necessary for unravelling the problem, is differently given in different recensions: in the Būlāq edition, it is given as Abū Zaid Muḥammad b. Abī-al-Khaṭṭāb al-Qurashī; in one¹ of the Brit. Mus. Mss., the same name is given with the addition of an ancestral surname, viz. al-'Umari; in the Koprūlū Ms.,² (which is dated 683 A.H.), it appears as Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-'Azīzī (then) al-'Umari.

The three names given in these documents, if not deliberately obscured for some unknown reason, may be three versions of the same person's name; the apparent variations may have arisen through the inconsistent application of "Kunyahs" and near or distant ancestral surnames.

1. Brit. Mus. Ms. No. OR.415.

2. Koprūlū Ms. No. 1232. The name reads:

محمد بن أيوب العزيزي ثم العمري

If this is so, the surnames al-Azīzī, al-'Umari and al-Qurashī indicate that the compiler has an 'Abd al-Āzīz in his ancestral line and is descended from the Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, of the tribe, Quraish. Research in this direction might therefore prove illuminating:

There are many people whose names suggest that they belong to the same line as the compiler. Among them is Muhammad 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Mujabbari al-'Umari;² he bears the additional surname, al-Mujabbarī, which is the same surname as that of al-Mufaddal, the chief authority of the anthology. Another one who also attracts attention is 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-'Umari, judge of Egypt during the reign of the Caliph Hārūn; he is also descended from al-Mujabbar, the grandson of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.³ Both of these Mujabbarīs belong to the third century A.H., when the anthology was compiled. Such examples could be multiplied.

1. Ibn al-'Athīr, al-Lubāb, III, 98.

2. Ibn Hazm, Jamharah, p.146. - Ibn al-'Athīr, al-Lubāb, III, 98.

3. Wakī', Akhbār al-Qudāh, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Marāghī (Cairo 1950), I, 255 seq.

The fact that the identity of the compiler has not been established should not throw any doubt on the genuineness of the poems selected. An examination of these poems shows that 24 of them appear in the diwans of their composers. These are poems Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 17, 18, 22, 25, 29, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 47 and 49. Besides, most of the poems are widely renowned and frequently quoted in many reliable sources such as the following:-

1. Al-Mufaddaliyyāt. This includes the full texts of poems Nos. 11, 16, 29 and 34.¹
2. Al-Asma'īyyāt. This contains the full texts of poems Nos. 18, 20, 30 and 31.²
3. Early Arabic Odes (which contains a portion of al-Asma'īyyāt). This includes the full texts of poems Nos. 13, 33 and 35.³
4. Ṭabaqāt Fuḥūl al-Shu'arā'. In this there are quotations from 20 poems. These are Nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 25, 27, 30, 31, 34, 36, 37, 38, 43, 44, 45 and 46.⁴

1. Al-Mufaddaliyyāt, ed. Shākir: poems Nos. 99, 55, 126, 67.
 2. Al-Asma'īyyāt, ed. Shākir: poems Nos. 10, 28, 25, 24.
 3. Early Arabic Odes: poems Nos. 46, 54, 60.

5. Al-Shi'r wal-Shu'arā'. In this there are quotations from 30 poems. These are Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 29, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 47 and 48.¹

There are also quotations of lines or passages in other sources such as al-Aghānī, al-Ma'ānī al-Kabīr, Mu'jam al-Shu'arā', al-Muwashshah, Lisān al-'Arab, and the like.²

Only poems Nos. 23 by 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāhah and No. 32 by 'Alqamah Dhū Jadan al-Himyari cannot be traced in any literary source.

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4. (Contd. from previous page) Ibn Sallām, Tabaqāt, for poem 1, pp.68 seq. - 2, p.74. - 6, p.127 - VII, 115. - VIII, 128. - IX, 116. XIII, 120 - XIX, 135 - XXV, 190 XXVII, 189 - XXX, 176 - XXXI, 175 - XXXIV, 174 - XXXVI, 104 - XXXVII, 84 - XXXVIII, 456 - XLIII, 19,307 - XLIV, 355 - XLV,432 - XLVI, 439.
1. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, pp. 38, 58,137,154, (119 seq.), (88, 92 seq.), 132, 144,112,410,82,87,425,164,471,416, 299,414,169, (113,144), (205 seq.), (158 seq.), 68, 456, 178, 208, 278, 299, (100, 320), 370.
2. For quotations from poem 24, for example, see: al-Isfahānī, II, 167; for poem 28, al-Isfahānī, II, 168 - al-Marzubānī, Mu'jam, p.233. Poem 35: Isfahānī, XIX, 162 Al-Hasan b. Bishr al-'Āmidī, al-Mu'talif wal-Mukhtalif, ed. F. Krenkow, (Cairo 1935), 364. Poem 36: Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, 311 seq. Poem 42: Isfahani, VIII,177 & XVI, 265, al-Marzubānī, al-Muwashshah, 15. Poem 41: Ibn Manzūr, XII,401, Ibn Qutaibah, al-Ma'ānī al-Kabir, (Hyderabad 1949),1221. Poem 43: The Naka'id of Jarir and al-Ferezdak, II,548. Poem 44: Naqa'id Jarir wal-Akhtal, 83.

It can be argued that the poem of Ibn Rawāḥah might have been faked to compensate for the scantiness of his preserved poetry. Apart from this poem only about 50 lines of his have been preserved.¹ The poem, however, exhibits Ibn Rawāḥah's simplicity, flowing style and warmth of emotion.

The poem of 'Alqamah Dhū Jadan is his only known work. The poet himself is hardly known.² Judging by its quality, this poem is poor, and decidedly unworthy of being included among what the compiler calls "The Gems of Arab Poetry." For these reasons, the genuineness of this poem or at least its original inclusion in this collection seems very questionable.

Poem No.12 by 'Umayyah b. Abī-Ṣalt is reckoned by Prof. Schulthess among the spurious poems ascribed to this poet. Schulthess³ apparently endorses Nöldeke's argument⁴ that the poem by 'Umayyah in 'al-Jamharah' is

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1. A. Schaade, *The Encyc. of Islam*, (London 1960), I, 50.
 2. The editor of "al-Jamharah" indicates that *عليه ذوجن الجبيري* may be a mistranscription of *علي ذوجن الجبيري* about whom there is an essay in "al-Aghānī" (IV,37). The truth is that 'Alqamah is a descendant of 'Alas; his full name is 'Alqamah b. Shurahbīl b. 'Alas b. al-Hārith Dhū Jadan al-Himyarī. See: *al-Jamharah*, p.137. 2. Mubārak b. Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Murassa'* (ed. C.F. Seybold (Weimar 1896), p.70.
 3. F.Schulthess, *'Umajja ibn Abi-s-Salt*, (Leipzig 1911) p.126.
 4. Th. Nöldeke, *Fünf Mo'allaqat*, (Wien 1898) pp.19-20.

a faked emulation of the Mu'allaqah of 'Amr and that it was ascribed to 'Umayyah to popularize the poet's tribe, Thaqīf, to whom the unpopular governor, al-Hajjāj, belongs. Nöldeke argues that the poem in question resembles that Mu'allaqah in metre and rhyme and that it borrows some phrases and lines from it.

Nöldeke's argument, however, does not apply to the poem before us, save as regards its metre and rhyme, but it applies to another poem which appears in the British Museum Ms.¹ of the anthology, bearing the stamp of spuriousness.

The poem that appears in the edited recension is authenticated and attributed to 'Umayyah by al-Mas'ūdī² (ob. 346 A.H.) and then later by Ibn al-'Athīr³ and Yāqūt.⁴

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1. B.M. Ms. No. OR.415, Fol.132. Also see: P.E. Power, The Poems of 'Umayyah b. Abi-s-Salt, (Beyrouth 1912), p.9. This poem consists of 37 lines, the first of which reads:
 غدا جيران أهلك ظاعينا .: لار غير ذلك متوينا
 2. Al-Mas'ūdī, III, 160.
 3. Ibn al-'Athīr, al-Murassa', p.183.
 4. Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Buldān, (Leipzig 1869), IV, 130.

Poem No. 28 by 'Amr b. 'Imru-al-Qais is sometimes confused with two poems by other poets, in the same metre and rhyme. Al-Marzubānī, however, confirms its attribution to 'Amr.¹

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The conclusion is that, whoever may be the compiler of the anthology, most of its contents are authenticated by many reliable authorities.

III

In his introduction, al-Qurashi shows that the compilation of his anthology is based on three main principles:¹ 1) that the contributing poets are the master poets of the periods before and after Islam

1. al-Marzubānī, Mu'jam, p.233 - Isfahānī, II, 168.
2. al-Qurashī, pp.34-35.

- 2) that the poems selected are their masterpieces, and
 3) that the poems are divided into seven groups of seven poems each.

. . .

As to the poets, it should be recalled that, since the second century A.H., many attempts have been made to judge poets and classify them. These attempts vary widely both in their criteria and conclusions.¹ Broadly speaking, the dominant considerations are: 1) the poets' merits,² 2) the variety of their poetic themes and metres,³ 3) the amount of work they produced,⁴ 4) the impact of their poetry on the society of their time,⁵ and 5) their times, religions, places of residence and tribal ties.⁶ In spite of the diversity of these criteria and conclusions, however, the master poets (الغول) were unanimously acclaimed.

In selecting the poets in this anthology, al-Qurashī

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1. Jurjī, Zaidān, I, 81, note.
 2. Ibn Sallām, pp.46-55.
 3. Ibn Sallām, p.54
 4. " " pp.115,131, Also see al-Marzubānī, al-Muwashshah, p.81.
 5. Ibn Sallām, pp.178,195,217,229,235.
 6. Al-Qurashī, p.35, lines 17-19.

quotes¹ Abū 'Ubaidah's classification of poets together with his dictum, "Poetry was started with Imru'l-Qais and ended after Dhū al-Rummaḥ." It is clear that al-Qurashī was genuinely influenced by Abū 'Ubaidah's views: the dictum mentioned is more or less the basis of the selection, and all the poets listed by 'Ubaidah in his classification are among the contributing poets of the anthology.

Out of the 49 poets of the anthology, 37 are reckoned among the master poets listed by Ibn Sallām in his "Ṭabaqāt" and 38 among the famous poets listed by Ibn Qutaibah in his "al-Shi'r wal-Shu'arā'."² Whether or not al-Qurashī consulted these two references, the striking agreement with them confirms that the poets contributing to this anthology are, in general, master poets.

One may argue, however, that some slight alteration in the list of the poets would have been an improvement: 'Alqamah b. 'Abadah would be a better substitute for al-Muraqqish and so would Ka'b b. Mālīk for 'Amr b. Imru al-Qais, al-Khansā' for 'Alqamah Dhū Jadan.

1. al-Qurashī, p.35.

2. Among Ibn Sallām's master poets are the composers of poems Nos. 1-14, 15, 17, 22, 23, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36-47. The composers of poems Nos. 1-12, 14-18, 20-22, 29, 33-49 are among the famous poets reckoned in "al-Shi'r wal-Shu'arā'."

As regards the poems which are claimed by the compiler to be the unrivalled masterpieces of their composers, these are of two kinds: poems which are unanimously acclaimed to be so, and others which the compiler suggests are the composers' best but the supremacy of which can be endorsed or challenged by other critics.

Belonging to the first kind are poems Nos. 1, 2, 7 of the Mu'allaqāt, Nos. 1, 2 of the Mujamharāt, Nos. 4, 7 of the Muntaqayāt, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7 of the Elegies, No. 5. of the Mashūbāt and Nos. 5, 7 of the Mulhamāt.

Of the second kind, some examples will be enough for illustration:

1. Two poems by al-Nābighah and al-A'shā other than those appearing in the anthology are judged supreme and worthy of the title "Mu'allaqahs" by many authorities.¹

2. The supremacy of poem No. 38 by al-Quṭamī is endorsed by the poet al-Akḥṭal, whereas al-Sha'bī prefers to it another poem by the same poet rhyming in Qaf.²

1. Al-Tibrīzī, Sharh al-Qasā'id, pp.143, 152.

2. Al-Iṣfahānī, XX, p.130 seq.

3. The supremacy of poem No. 11 by Bishr b. Abī Khāzim could be questioned. Abū 'Amr b. al-'Ala' praises another poem by the same composer rhyming in Mīm and states that, because of it, Bishr is reckoned with the master poets.¹

4. One might also suggest that panegyric No. 15 by al-Musayyab. b. 'Alas is inferior to his other panegyric rhyming in 'Ain,² both in length and quality. The latter is ten lines longer; its amatory prelude is more detailed; the description of the she-camel is more minute; more deeds and qualities of the person praised are given and the expression is more sincere and vigorous.

However, preferences of this kind are themselves, like all literary judgements, open to criticism.

The conclusion is that, while many of the poems in the anthology are undoubtedly the unrivalled masterpieces of their composers, the rest are, at least, of high quality, except for poem No.32 by 'Alqamah Dhū Jadan, already considered.

1. Al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, (Shākir's edition), note II, p.133.

2. Al-Qālī, III, p.130 seq. Al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, (Shākir's edition), I, p.58.

The comments of the early critics on the poems are, as is usual in that age, general and vague. The following, however, are some detailed observations:

1. Ibn Qutaibah points out that some lines of al-Quṭāmī's poem are quoted as suitable for proverbial citation.¹

2. On the authority of al-Iṣfahānī, many rhapsodists consider the opening line of al-Quṭāmī's poem the best poetic prelude by an Islamic poet.²

3. Poems Nos. 40, 49 by al-Shammākh and al-Tirimmāh are considered by al-Aṣma'ī the best examples of poems written in their particular rhymes.³ These rhymes are Zay and Tā'. They are rarely used and only with a wide vocabulary and considerable skill in versification can a poet master them.⁴

4. According to Ibn Qutaibah, the poem of Ibn Aḥmar contains some words unknown to Arabs.⁵

1. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, p.456.

2. Al-Iṣfahānī, XX, p.130.

3. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, p.416. Al-'Āmidī, al-Mu'talif, p.178.

4. Al-Ṭayyib, I, 59.

5. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, p.208.

5. Dhū-ī-Rummah's poem contains many examples of his good similes. The poet is known as the best Islamic poet is his use of similes.¹

Noting that poems Nos. 37, 38 exalt Quraish, the compiler's tribe, and that poem No.39 praises the Caliph 'Umar, the compiler's great grandfather, one might assume that these poems are included for tribal and family motives. The excellence and wide renown of the poems, however, do not corroborate such an assumption.

. . .

In contradiction to Prof. Ahmad Amīn's view, the classification of poems in this anthology is far from being unfamiliar in the third and fourth centuries.

The 49 poems are simply a multiple of seven, the number which formed the usual group in the time before, during and after the compilation of this anthology. There are, for example, besides the seven Mu'allaqāt in the first century and the "Seven Songs" of each of the

1. Ibn Sallām, p.46.

singers¹ Ma'bad, Suraiḥ and Yūnus in the second century, the seven horses, the seven types of husbands,² and the seven degrees of writers.³

The titles given to the groups of poems are mostly in the feminine regular plural and are thus similar to many titles applied in that period to certain groups of poems such as al-Ḥawliyyāt,⁴ al-Munṣifāt,⁵ al-Muqalladāt⁶ and al-Ḥāshimiyāt.⁷ Moreover, as stated before, three titles used in the anthology were already known.

This classification shows that the compiler had the following considerations in mind:

1. The poets' times. The arrangement of the poets is more or less chronological from the pre-Islamic period

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1. Al-Isfahānī, I, 3 - IV, 116. Shawqī Daif, al-Shi'r
 2. al-Ḡhinā'ī Fi-l-Amsār, (Cairo 1950) I, p.81 seq.
 2. Ṭāhā Ḥusain, Fil-Adab, p.115.
 3. Abū Mayyān al-Tawhīdī, Mathālib al-Wazīrain, ed. Kīlanī (Damascus 1961), p.95
 4. 'Amr b. Bahr al-Jāhiz, al-Bayān wal-Tabyīn, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Ḥārūn, (Cairo 1948), II, p.9.
 5. Al-Khālidiyyān, I, p.149. Al-Baghdādī, Khizanah, III, p.52. Al-Aṣma'iyāt, (Shākir's edition), note p.230.
 6. Ibn Sallām, pp.305, 425 - al-Jāhiz, al-Bayān, II, p.9.
 7. J. Horowitz, al-Kumait, Ency. of Islam, (London 1913), II, 1116.

onwards: the first three groups consist only of pre-Islamic poets, while the last group is devoted to Islamic poets; the three groups in between consist mostly of Mukhadrim¹.

2. The poets' places of residence. The compiler follows Ibn Sallām's and Ibn Qutaibah's precedent by dedicating one group to the poets of al-Madīnah,² though he calls them after their tribes, al-Aws and al-Khazraj. It is clear that al-Qurashī agrees with the theory that places of residence have their effect on the poets. In his introduction he quotes al-Mufaddal,³ "The poets of Najd composed panegyrics and satires and they dealt with all kinds of poetic themes, whereas the people of al-Hijāz indulged mostly in love poetry."

3. The quality of the poems. This is expressed in the compiler's introduction to the second group,⁴ where he indicates that the poems in this group, though excellent, are inferior to those in the first group.

1. In these groups, there are, however, a few Islamic and pre-Islamic poets.

2. Ibn Sallām, pp.179-189. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, p.

3. P.35.

4. P.35.

4. The subject matter. In the last three groups, the compiler gives attention to the subject matter; in the fifth, the poems are strictly on one subject, i.e. lamentation for the dead; while in each of the two others, the poems show some similarity of theme.¹

5. The poets' political loyalties. In selecting the Islamic poets of the seventh group, al-Qurashī appears to have been concerned to represent the main political parties of the age: the 'Umayyads are represented by al-Farazdaq² and al-Akhtal;³ the Zubarites, on the whole, by Jarir;⁴ the Shi'ites by al-Kumait⁵ and the

1. There are precedents for treating elegies separately.

In this anthology as well as in al-Aṣma'iyāt they are grouped together. In "Tabaqāt" of Ibn Sallām, famous composers of elegies form a separate class. It is almost certain that "al-Marātīī" by Ibn al-A'rabī, referred to by Ibn Duraid (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Duraid, al-Jamharah, Haiderabād 1344-52 A.H., I, 65), is an anthology dedicated to elegies. This anthology is regrettably lost.

The information given by al-Jāḥiz conveys the impression that elegies are so distinct because of their sincere and warm expression and the edifying instructions they contain. (al-Jāḥiz, al-Bayān, II, p.320.)

2. A. Schaade, al-Farazdaq, Ency. of Islam, II, 60.

3. H. Lammens, al-Akhtal, Ency. of Islam, I, 234.

4. A. Schaade, Djarir, Ency. of Islam, I, 1024.

5. J. Horovitz, Kumait, Ency. of Islam, II, 1116.

Kharijites by al-Ṭirimmāh.¹

It should be stressed, however, that not all the above considerations were dominant in the compiler's mind at any one time.

1. F. Krenkow, al-Ṭirimmāh, Ency. of Islam, IV, 795.

CHAPTER V

"'AL-HAMĀSAH' OF ABŪ TAMMĀM"

I

The anthologies studied previously consist mainly of complete poems; the one before us is the first Arab anthology consisting primarily of passages, selected according to their subjects.

Thanks to the universal enthusiasm with which it was met,¹ the anthology has been well preserved and has aroused the interest of many scholars whose commentaries and studies have contributed immeasurably to its value.

The anthology was first edited with the commentary of al-Tibrīzī by Dr. G.G. Freytag in Bonn, in 1828. This edition is based on a first hand copy of the original Ms. written by al-Tibrīzī himself and is dated 560 A.H.,²

The several editions of al-Tibrīzī's commentary on "al-Hamāsah",³ issued in Cairo, Beirut and India on land

1. Hamasae Carmina, ed. Dr. G.G. Freytag, (Bonnae 1828), I, 2.
 2. " " " " , I, 7.
 3. Brockelmann, I, 77

after 1879, may or may not be reproductions of Freytag's work, but even if they are not, they do not add anything of significance to it.

In 1951, Prof. Ahmad Amīn and 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn produced a new edition of the anthology with the commentary of al-Marzūqī (ob. 421 A.H.). This edition is based on a codex dated 525 A.H.¹

All other editions which have appeared since are of secondary importance. Fortunately, the recensions of al-Marzūqī and al-Tibrizī are, on the whole, in complete agreement.

. . .

The commentaries on "al-Hamāsah" are strikingly numerous. Hajjī Khalīfah names twenty;² Hārūn makes them thirty;³ and al-'Āmilī thirty-four.⁴ Moreover, the anthology was paraphrased in verse by al-Muzaffar b. Ahmad al-Isfahānī⁵ (ob. 485 A.H.) and in prose by 'Ali

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1. al-Marzūqī, Sharh Dīwān al-Hamāsah, ed. Ahmad Amīn and 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, (Cairo 1951), IV, 1887.
 2. Hajjī Khalīfah, I, 691.
 3. al-Marzūqī, Sharh Dīwān al-Hamāsah, introd. p.15.
 4. al-'Āmilī, XIX, 494.
 5. Brockelmann, I.

b. Muḥammad, al-Kātib (ob. 714 A.H.).¹

The earliest commentaries are those compiled in the fourth century A.H. These include the commentaries by Abū Riyāsh and al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Asbihānī.²

1. Hajjī Khalīfah, I, 692.

2. The former is thought by Sir Charles Lyall,^a and the latter by Prof. Brockelmann^b to have lived in the third century. Lyall, certainly confusing Abū Riyāsh with al-Riyāshī (al-'Abbās b. al-Faraj), suggests that Abū Riyāsh died in 257 A.H. According to Ibn al-Rawindī^c and Yāqūt^d, the correct name of Abū Riyāsh is Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Shaibānī, who died in 339 A.H. Brockelmann dates al-Qasīm's death in 287 A.H., whereas Isma'īl al-Baghdādī^e makes it 355 A.H. Since Yāqūt^f indicates that al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Asbihānī (usually called al-Dīmurtī) was a contemporary of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, Fannakhasrū, and since, according to Ibn Khallikān,^g the latter died in 372 A.H., the death date given by al-Baghdādī is more likely to be right.

a. C. Lyall, Ḥamaṣah, Ency. Brit, XII, 870.

b. Brockelmann, I, 77 *seq.*

c. Faḍl-Allāh al-Ḥasanī Ibn al-Rāwindī, Sharḥ al-Ḥamāṣah, Brit. Mus. Ms. No. OR.19, Fol.3.

d. Yāqūt, I, 74 - II, 123 - IV, 285.

e. Isma'īl al-Baghdādī, Hadiyyat al-'Arifīn, (Istanbul 1951), I, 827.

f. Yāqūt, VI, 198

g. Ibn Khallikān, Wafiyāt al-A'yān, (Būlāq 1299 A.H. 1882 A.D.) p.I, 521.

Of the commentaries compiled in the fourth century, only two are extant in Ms. Form. These are by al-Qāsim al-Dīmurṭī¹ and Ibn Jinnī (ob. 392 A.H.)² The commentaries by Abū Riyāsh, Abū 'Abdullah al-Namirī and Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, though apparently lost, are quoted very frequently in al-Tibrīzī's commentary. The excerpts quoted from Abū Riyāsh's work chiefly elucidate the circumstances in which the pieces selected were composed.

The commentaries compiled in the fifth century A.H. have been either printed or preserved in manuscript form.³ These are by al-Marzūqī (ob. 421 A.H.), Thābit al-Jurjānī (ob. 431 A.H.), Abū-l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (ob. 449 A.H.) and al-Tibrīzī (ob. 502 A.H.) Many of the views of al-Ma'arrī are quoted by his student, al-Tibrīzī, in his commentary.

The importance of al-Marzūqī's work lies in his great care in elucidating the meaning of the selections. Al-Tibrīzī, being the last of the early commentators, profits from the efforts of his predecessors and provides the reader with a prosodial, grammatical, historical and

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1. According to Brockelmann it is preserved in Istanbul (al-Fātiḥ, Ms. No. 3994).
 2. This commentary has not been edited as Brockelmann thought. It is preserved in Cairo, (Dar al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, Ms. No. Adab 44).
 3. Brockelmann, *I*, 77 seq.

literary account of the anthology.

. . .

The anthology comprises ten chapters of unequal length. In the edited recension of al-Marzūqī, however, there appears to be eleven because the chapter entitled "الأضياف والمدح" in al-Tibrīzī's recension is divided into two chapters, الأضياف and المدح, on the grounds that it is so divided in one of the Mss. consulted by the editors.¹

An examination of this edition shows that the division is probably due to a careless mistake of the copyist. The contents of these two chapters are so similar in theme that any division would have been most unlikely. The pious formula with which al-Marzūqī ends all the other chapters appears only after the second part and not after the first, as would happen if such a division were intended.² Moreover, no such division occurs in the Brit. Mus. Ms. of this work.³

1. Al-Marzūqī, Sharḥ al-Hamāsah, IV, 1757.

2. " " " " IV, 1557 & 1757.

3. Brit. Mus. Ms. No. Add. 7541 Rich. Fol. 307.

shields,¹ horses² and the like. The military tradition that women followed fighting troops to inspire them and to nurse the wounded is mentioned.³ Retreat for the purpose of bettering positions for the following offensive is praised.⁴

b) Steadfastness in seeking vengeance. To accept "Diyah", i.e. (blood money) in order to avoid bloodshed is strongly condemned in some pieces and is held as a sign of weakness.⁵

c) Manly patience in case of imprisonment. One piece that illustrates this quality is by Ja'far b. 'Ulbah, while he was in prison for a crime of vengeance. Al-Tibrīzī justifies the inclusion of this piece because it shows that, while in fetters, the poet was very collected and quite indifferent to his troubles.⁶

d) Resourcefulness in "al-Sa'ālīks'" raids. The pieces on this theme are mainly by the leading figures of this band, Ta'abbata Sharrā⁷ and 'Urwah b. al-Ward, who reveal the chivalrous side of the group's activities. As

1. Ibid, I, 81 & 84.
 3. Ibid, I, 82.
 5. Ibid, 105-107.
 7. Hamasae, I, 33, 41.

2. Ibid, I, 26 & 101.
 4. Ibid, I, 84, 88, 89.
 6. Ibid, I, 22-24.

Dr. Khulāif suggests¹ in his study of the poetry of al-Ṣa'ālīk, one² of the pieces by 'Urwah b. al-Ward in this chapter sums up the ideals of this group. The composer of one of the pieces³ is openly given as "one of the thieves."

e) Protection of refugees, protected people and neighbours.⁴

This protection can be extended to tribes as well as individuals, and in either case, resort to arms, if necessary, is justified.

f) Departure from dwelling places to avoid humiliation.

According to the Bedouin doctrine, change of residence is recommended if one is or may be shamefully subdued or if one's means run short.⁵

g) Revolting against unjust rulers. The pieces advocating this idea are Islamic and imply a sort of religious justification of such rebellion.⁶

Included in this chapter are the Munsifah of 'Abd

1. Yūsuf Khulāif, al-Shu'arā' al-Ṣa'ālīk Fi-l-'Aṣr al-al-Ḥāhili, (Cairo, 1959),

2. Hamasae, I, 207.

3. Ibid, I, 311.

4. Ibid, I, pp.50,165,166,167,163.

5. Ibid, I, 151,142.

6. Ibid, I, pp.313,329.

al-Shāriq b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā,¹ a fragment of the Munṣifah of al-'Abbās b. Mirdās² and the Munṣifah of Abū-l-Akhyal al-'Ijlī.³ The pieces by Zufar b. al-Hārith (P.70) and 'Amr b. Ma'dī Karib (P.73), though not called Munṣifāhs, are thematically like this type of poem.

Some of the pieces refer to the Prophets' expeditions: Badr, Hunain and the fall of Makkah.⁴ There is a piece on the battle, al-Yamamah⁵ and another on the battle, al-Jamal.⁶

2. Al-Marāthī (The Dirges):

According to al-Tibrīzī's recension, this chapter contains 139 pieces,⁷ most of which lament the death of close relatives: fathers,⁸ mothers,⁹ sons,¹⁰ husbands,¹¹ brothers,¹³ and tribal relatives.¹⁴ The pieces that lament the deaths of those outside the family are few. Among them is a piece by al-Shammākh¹⁵ lamenting the assassinated Caliph, 'Umar, and a piece by Sulaimān b.

1. Ibid, I, 218.

3. Ibid, I, 247.

5. I, 178.

7. The number is 137 in al-Marzūqī's recension.

8. I, 419.

10. I, 406.

12. I, 406.

14. I, 375.

2. Hamasa, I, 217.

4. I, 88, 61.

6. I, 144.

9. I, 424.

11. I, 493.

13. I, 406, 408.

15. I, 487.

Qattah on the death of some of the Prophet's household.¹

The poet's grief is shown in various ways. On the whole, the pieces mention the shedding of tears,² the frequent visits to cemeteries,³ and the wailing of female mourners *النائحات*⁴ and reflect on the inevitability of death.⁵ They also enumerate the virtues and the great deeds of the deceased. Lamentations for those killed while fighting include elevating accounts of their heroism and exciting description of the bloody scenes in battles.

The number of the women poets contributing to this chapter is appreciable; their pieces are noticeably pathetic. For example, the piece by Qutailah,⁶ when her father al-Nadr was slain in captivity, is so touching that, on hearing it, the Prophet was moved to tears. As Dr. Shawqī Daif indicates,⁷ lamentation for the dead is an art that women poets have excelled in from pre-Islamic times to the present.

1. Ibid, I, 435.

3. *Hamasa*, I, 400.

5. I, 389 (line 7), 405 (line 9)

6. I, 436

2. *Hamasa*, I, 370

4. I, 393, 439

7. *Al-Rithā'*, (Cairo, 1955), p. 2

This chapter does not include any piece in which the poet laments his coming death as is found in the corresponding chapter in "Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab." However, a novel fragment of dirge is included. This is the piece by Abī al-Shaghb al-'Absī in which he spoke about Khālid al-Qasrī, who was then alive in captivity.¹ Perhaps the poet, who did not take Khālid's execution as inevitable, considered captivity as a sort of death.

The compiler demonstrates his sense of humour by including a piece which is by no means a serious dirge.² It is uttered by a drunkard who was sitting by the burial place of his two former drinking companions and each time he drank a glass of wine, he poured his friends' shares onto their graves and said, "Even if you cannot drink it, it will water your graves."

3. Al-Adāb:

The chapter title, "al-Adab", suggests noble traits

1. Hamasa, I, 419.

2. I, 399.

of character and refined manners. The contents, which are 54 pieces in al-Tibrīzī's recension,¹ deal with some of these traits but are not exhaustive. The traits emphasised are those required for strengthening the bonds of friendship. This accounts for the inclusion of the pieces² on hospitality and promptness in meeting the financial needs of friends,³ which would have been more appropriately included in the sixth chapter, "al-Adyāf wal-Madīh".

4. Al-Nasīb (The Beauty and Love of Women).

Most of the 139 pieces⁴ in this chapter are of platonic flavour. They treat^{of} love, agonies of longing, the imagined nightly visits of the beloved and the like. Among the poets quoted in this chapter are the famous platonic lovers 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'ah,⁵ Kuthayyir 'Azzah,⁶ Jamīl Buthainah⁷ and al-'Arjī.⁸

There are also some erotic pieces that speak of the charms of women,⁹ the drinking parties which they attend¹⁰

1. The number is 55 in al-Marzūqī's recension.

2. Hamasae, I, 511, 519, 520, 522 3. I, 524

4. In al-Marzūqī's recension, the number of the pieces is 140.

5. Hamasae, I, 552

6. I, 572.

7. I, 592, 606, 624

8. I, 549

9. I, 556, 565.

10. I, 563.

and the times of pleasure spent with them.¹ Some lines theorize about lustful pleasures openly but not sordidly.²

The conventional theme of shedding tears on the remains of the abandoned abodes of the beloved is rarely treated in this chapter.³

5. Al-Hijā' (Satires).

Al-Hijā' is defined by al-Tibrīzī as to speak ill of somebody's origin and birth and to slander somebody by attributing shortcomings to him.⁴

The eighty pieces included in this chapter are of three main types: slanderous, sarcastic and abusive.

The slanderous pieces treat of the ignoble traits of character such as stinginess,⁵ cowardice,⁶ submissiveness⁷ and similar faults, and form the bulk of the chapter.

The sarcastic pieces contain insidious insinuations.⁸ Some of them throw ridicule on the persons attacked by

1. Hamasae, I, 559.

2. I, 558 (the piece by Abū al-Ṭamahān), 575 (line 13).

3. I, 563, 571, 603

4. I, 626.

5. I, 677.

6. I, 644, 636 (1.24).

7. I, 665 (1.20).

8. I, 626, 629 (1.5).

descriptions caricaturing their appearance and weaknesses of character.¹

The abusive pieces or lines are few in this chapter.² They ususally include slanders about misconduct with women;³ and their sordid vocabulary is connected with sex.⁴

There are also a short piece of polemic *نقيضة* by Khanzar b. Arqam together with the answer to it by al-Rā'ī,⁵ and some political satires, all directed at the Umayyad personalities,⁶ Mu'āwiyah,⁷ Yazīd,⁸ 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān⁹ and al-Hajjāj.¹⁰

6. Al-Adyāf wal-Madīh (Hospitality and Panegyrics).

Most of the 143 pieces in this chapter are on hospitality.¹¹ They are either pieces of self-praise¹² or records of discussions between husbands and their wailing wives,¹³ who blame them for their lavish

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1. I, 669 (1.3), 671 (1.1 seq.) 2. Hamasae, I, 676.
 3. I, 638 (1.16), 635. 4. I, 681 (1.16)
 5. I, 662 seq. 6. I, 655.
 7. I, 656. 8. I, 656.
 9. I, 658. 10. I, 655.
 11. The number is 142 in al-Marzūqī's recension.
 12. I, 695, 702, 713, 714, 771, 772.
 13. I, 694, 722.

expenditure on hospitality and financial help to neighbours, friends and passing visitors.

In these pieces four aspects of hospitality are mentioned: 1) serving exquisite food, which is preferably a grill of an animal slaughtered on the spot,¹ 2) preparing a warm and comfortable sleeping place,² 3) entertaining the guest with cordial chat,³ and 4) giving money or she-camels to meet the guest's needs.⁴

The panegyrics included go quite well with the fragments on hospitality since they exalt in the first place the generosity of the persons praised.⁵

Reading this chapter, one cannot help recalling that, according to al-Tibrīzī,⁶ this anthology was compiled while Abū Tammām was a very welcome guest in Hamadhān.

7. Al-Sifāt (Descriptions).

This is the shortest chapter in the anthology. It consists of only three fragments of miscellaneous

1. Hamasae I, 690 (1.15), 688 2. I, 693, 694, 750, 763.
 3. I, 763, 750. 4. I, 694, 752.
 5. I, 699, 700, 701, 697. 6. I, 2.

descriptions. They are about a snake, travel on a she-camel at mid-day, and a cloudy night with frequent rain and lightning.

8. Al-Sair wal-Nu'ās (Journeying and Drowsiness).

The nine pieces in this chapter deal with the hardship of travels in the desert. They mention the trackless wilderness in which even guides may lose their way,¹ the prostrating heat of sunny days² and the deserted wells by which they rest, eat and drink stale and brackish water.³ Drowsiness, due to travelling by night to avoid sunstroke, is particularly stressed in these pieces.

9. Al-Mulah (Humorous Pieces).

The 37 pieces in this chapter fall into three groups: firstly, pieces of funny repartee such as those in which the poets justify disobedience in the battle-field,⁴ inhospitality⁵ and disclosure of confided secrets;⁶ secondly, comic caricatures like that of a Abul-'Alā' al-'Uqailī, while searching for lice in his clothes;⁷

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|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Hamasae, I, 789 (1.26) | 2. I, 789 (1.13 seq.) |
| 3. I, 790 (1.9 seq.), 794 (1.4) | |
| 4. I, 797 (1.3). | 5. I, 806 (1.7). |
| 6. I, 802 (third piece) | 7. I, 799 (1.3.) |

thirdly, outspoken remarks on sexual matters.

The sexual remarks are so sordid that Dr. Freytag thinks it would have been more appropriate to entitle this chapter "Obscene Utterances".¹ These sexual remarks, however, like all the other kinds ^{of} humour mentioned, are typical examples of the sort of jests that Arabs make among themselves when they are at leisure.

10. Madhammatu al-Nisā' (Disparagement of Women).

This title is misleading. It suggests total disparagement of all women; whereas the 18 pieces² in this chapter show that only women who are physically repellent and those considered unmarriageable because of old age or widowhood are dispraised.

As Dr. Freytag observes,³ the pieces selected speak of the physical defects of women and never of their intellect or behaviour. Some of the pieces mention divorce and polygamy as solutions for unsuccessful marriages.⁴

1. Hamasa, II, p.VII.

2. They are 19 in al-Marzūqī's recension.

3. Hamasa, II, p.VII.

4. Ibid, I, pp.813-814.

Except for the inclusion of a few complete poems or long passages, the 883 selections in "al-Hamāsah" are short fragments consisting of a few lines each. Some of the selections, especially in the last two chapters, consist of one line each.

The authors of about 230 pieces are not revealed by the compiler. In about 60 cases, the poets are identified vaguely by their tribes or sex, etc. in sentences such as, "وقالت جارية" and "وقالت امرأة", "وقال رجل من أسد", "وقال بعض الفزاريين"; while in about 170 cases the selections are simply introduced by the sentence "وقال آخر".

The poets whose names are made known belong to periods ranging from the pre-Islamic era to the time of the compiler himself. According to Lyall,¹ only about 16 poets belong to the Abbasid period. The rest are either pre-Islamic or Mukhadrim, or belong to the first century A.H.

Al-'Āmidī states² that Abū Tammām selected his anthology from the works of the "Muqillīn" and the less famous poets. The truth is that the anthology includes

1. Lyall, Hamasa, Ency. Brit., p.870.

2. al-Ḥaṣan b. Bishr al-Āmidī, al-Muwāzanah, ed. Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abdul Ḥamīd, (Cairo 1944), 23.

some pieces by famous poets but that these poets tend to be overwhelmed by the more numerous lesser contributors.

II

In order to authenticate this anthology and to know in what circumstances it was compiled and circulated, the detailed account given by al-Tibrīzī is usually quoted. Some incidents of this account, however, have been questioned; and a fresh examination of it may be illuminating.

According to al-Tibrīzī,¹ Abū Tammām was in Khurāsān to recite to 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir a panegyric in his praise. On his way back to Iraq, he was invited by Abū al-Wafā' b. Salamah to stay with him in Hamadhān. At that time,

1. Hamasa, I, 2.

heavy snowfalls blocked the roads and Abū Tammām had to wait for the thaw which was not expected soon. Abū al-Wafā', therefore, put his large collection of books at the disposal of Abū Tammām, who became engrossed in them and compiled five books on poetry including "al-Ḥamāsah" and "al-Wahshiyyāt". "Al-Ḥamāsah" remained in the library of the Salamahs, who treasured it and allowed hardly anyone to read it. Lastly, "al-Ḥamāsah" came into possession of a certain Abū al-'Awādhil of Dīnawar, who took it to Isfahān, where learned people received it with interest; and it was widely circulated.

As regards Abū Tammām's journey to Khurāsān, this is confirmed by al-Isfahānī¹ and al-Ṣūlī.² Dr. al-Bahbītī suggests³ convincingly that the journey took place in 219 A.H. and lasted until 220 A.H., and that it was already winter time when Abū Tammām left Khurāsān. Since Abū Tammām was, as some of his poems indicate,⁴ susceptible to colds, and since heavy snowfall is usual in Hamadhān, the statement about the poet's stay in the Salamahs

1. al-Isfahānī, XV, 106.

2. Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Ṣūlī, Akhbār Abī Tammām, ed. Khalīl Maḥmūd 'Asā Kir, Muḥammad 'Abduh 'Azzām and Naẓīr al-Islām al-Hindī, (Cairo 1937), p.222.

3. Najīb Muḥammad al-Bahbītī, Abū Tammām Ḥayātuhu wa Ḥayātu Shi'rihi, (Cairo 1945), 119-126.

4. Yūsuf al-Badī'ī, Hibātu al-Ayyām, (Cairo 1934), p.138.

residence is almost certainly correct.

The claim that Abū Tammām compiled five books during his stay in Hamadhān is very questionable. Dr. Ṭāhā Husain argues¹ rightly that in such a short period, which could not possibly have exceeded three months, five books could not be compiled. This argument is supported by the fact that al-'Āmidī implies² that Abū Tammām's anthologies would have taken him a life-time to compile. It seems that only "al-Ḥamāsah" was compiled during Abū Tammām's stay in Hamadhān and that the other anthologies were compiled later on. This accords with al-Tibrīzī's statement that only "al-Ḥamāsah" remained in the Salamahs' library.

Al-Tibrīzī's statement mentions only one means by which the anthology was spread, that is the circulation of the Salamahs' codex, brought to Isfahānī by Abū al-'Awādhil. However, there was another important channel through which the anthology was handed down. According to al-Jawālīqī³ and Ibn al-Rāwindī,⁴ Abū Tammām himself

1. Ṭāhā Husain, Min Ḥadīth al-Shi'r wa-al-Nathr, (Cairo 1948), p.100.

2. al-'Āmidī, al-Muwāzanah, p.49.

3. Abū Manṣūr Mawhūb al-Jawālīqī (ob.539 A.H.), Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsah, Ms. No. Add.22373 Brit. Mus., Fol. 3.

4. Ibn al-Rāwindī (ob.570 A.H.), Fol.3 & 203.

recited his work to Abū al-Muṭarrif al-Antākī, who passed it to the well known commentator Abū Riyāsh; the latter handed it down to many scholars. This channel is important because it bears the spoken authorisation of the compiler under whose supervision the anthology was recited and recorded.

. . .

Though not known as a professional rhapsodist, Abū Tammām was renowned for his vast knowledge of both ancient and contemporary poetry. It is related that he was able to recite thousands of poems and extracts by heart.¹ According to al-Ṣūlī, al-Ḥasan b. Rajā' asserts that none of Abū Tammām's contemporaries surpassed him in knowledge of poetry.²

In the compilation of this anthology, however, Abū Tammām derived his material, or at least a great part of it, from written sources in the Salamahs' library. The actual works consulted are not known, but apparently a collection of poetic Diwans was available. This is stated

p.10

1. al-Bādī'i, Ibn Khillīkan, I, 151.

2. al-Ṣūlī, Akhbār Abī Tammām, p.118.

by al-Badī'ī (ob. 1073 A.H.)¹ and implied by al-Marzūqī.²

A large number of the selections can be traced back to earlier literary sources, mainly the diwāns of their composers. On the other hand at least one third of the selections cannot possibly be verified or traced. This is due to the following difficulties:

1. Some selections, which form about a quarter of the whole, are anonymous. In al-Marzūqī's edition, 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn was able to ascertain the authors of some of these selections.³ Some more names will perhaps be revealed; but most of the authors will probably remain obscure forever.
2. Some selections are contributed by less known and less prolific poets (*المضمرين والمقتلين*) whose output has not been collected.
3. It seems that Abū Tammām, following the literary vogue of quoting little known verses,⁴ included some selections

1. Al-Badī'ī, p.138.

2. al-Marzūqī, Sharh al-Hamāsah, I, 13 seq.

3. Ibid, IV, 1890.

4. 'Abd Allah b. al-Mu'tazz, The Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā' al-Muhdathīn of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, ed. A.Eghbal, (London 1939), p.1.

which are not found in the diwans of their composers. The pieces by 'Urwah b. al-Ward (pp.519, 692), Dhū-R-Rummaḥ (p.601), Hātim al Ta'ī (p.729), 'Umar b. Abī Rabi'ah (p.799) are a few examples of such selections.¹

4. Some of the selections are attributed to different composers by the various commentators of the anthology.² Divergences of this kind always complicate the problem of verifying early poems.

These observations may seem to cast doubt on the genuineness of those selections in "al-Ḥamasah" which cannot be verified or traced.

One is, however, inclined to authenticate these on the grounds that Abū Tammām was a great authority on poetry; this was testified by his contemporaries and later on confirmed by the great esteem in which many scholars held the anthology. Al-Zamakhsharī (ob.538 A.H.) styles Abū Tammām as "one of the scholars of Arabic"³ and states that the anthology is regarded as a source of

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1. See: Der Diwan des 'Umar ibn Abī Rabi'a, ed.P.Schwarz (Leipzig 1909),p.234. Die Gedichte des 'Urwa ibn Alward, ed. Nöldeke (Göttingen 1863). The Diwan of Dhu'R-Rummaḥ, ed. Macartney (Cambridge 1919), p.69.
 2. See for example, Ḥamasae, I, pp.44,54,144,49,61,447,512,666, 710,121,133,193.

reference for verifying rules of grammar and usage.

The fact that some of these selections do not appear in their composers' diwans does not necessarily disprove their genuineness since diwans do not always contain all the works of the composers. Some works may have been unknown to the editors of the diwans; and some may have been composed after the diwans had already been edited.

However, the view that the anthology is trustworthy is a general one and studies of individual selections might cast doubt on the genuineness of some pieces. The dirge by Ṭabbāṭa Sharrā, for example, is said to be faked Khalaf al-Ahmar.¹

. . .

Although the selections show no evidence of forgery, the accuracy of quotation is very questionable.

As al-Marzūqī observed,² a collation of the selections

3. (Contd. from previous page) Al-Baghdādī, Khizānah, I, 4. Al-Marzūqī, Sharḥ, I, 9 (note).

1. Ḥamasae, I, 382. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, p. 497. Khulāif, p. 174.

2. al-Marzūqī, I, 13 & 14.

included in the anthology with the texts given in their composers' diwans, if these are available, shows that Abū Tammām allowed himself great latitude in quotation. Apart from the slight discrepancies which may or may not be due to the differences in transmission, there are others which suggest a deliberate change on the compiler's part. These changes are of three types, and a few examples will be enough to illustrate each.

1. Rewording of some lines in order to improve their sense.

For example, in Qais b. al-Khatīm's diwan the following lines read:¹

وما بعض الإقامة في ديار .. يكون بها الفتى إلا عناء
ولا يُعطى الحريص غنى لحرص .. وقد يئسي لذي العجز الشراء

When quoted in the anthology,² these two lines are obviously enriched by the felicitous change of a few words:

وما بعض الإقامة في ديار .. يهان بها الفتى الأبلاء
ولا يُعطى الحريص غنى لحرص .. وقد يئسي على الجود الشراء

The new wording stresses more clearly the two qualities which the poet advocates: self-respect and generosity.

1. Diwan Qais ibn al-Khatīm, ed. Ibrahim al-Samarrā'i and Ahmad Maṭlūb, (Baghdad 1962), pp.53, 71.

2. Hamasa, I, 528.

The second line in the piece by al-Shammākh (p.763) is an example of syntactical improvement.¹

2. Adaptations of some selections in order to fit their chapters.

The most remarkable example of this is the fragment No. 604 in al-Marzūqī's recension which was originally a panegyric and is transformed into a satire by a few but subtle changes in the wording.²

Another method of making such adaptations is to omit irrelevant lines from the original text. This is obvious in the piece by 'Urwah b. al-Ward (p.207). Here line No. 16 in the original poem is omitted,³ perhaps because it portrays a selfish action, whereas the whole piece speaks

1. In the anthology this line reads:

دَعَوْتُ إِلَى مَا نَابَنِي فَأَجَابَنِي .. كَرِيمٌ مِنَ الْفَتَيَانِ غَيْرُ مَرْجٍ
In al-Shammakh's diwan (p.10), it reads:

دَعَوْتُ فَلْبَانِي إِلَى مَا يَنْوِبُنِي .. كَرِيمٌ مِنَ الْفَتَيَانِ غَيْرُ مَرْجٍ

In the anthology reading the phrase إِلَى مَا نَابَنِي is rightly connected with the verb دَعَوْتُ; whereas in the original text the same phrase may be taken to refer to the verb فَلْبَانِي. This connection is not the best since it might be misinterpreted to suggest that the person supposed to be a helper proved a trouble-maker.

2. al-Marzūqī, III, 1448.

3. Die Gedichte des 'Urwa, ed. Nöldeke, p.26 seq. al-Asma'iyāt, ed. Shākir, p.39, 1.2. The line omitted reads

قليل التماس الزاد إلا لنفسه .. إذا هو أمسى كالعرش المحجور

of altruistic deeds.

3. Changes in the order of the lines quoted to create new meanings.

The piece by Qais b. al-Khatīm (p.85) shows that the compiler rearranged in his own way the verses which he selected. This piece consists of nine lines which are numbered 7,8,9,6,10,11,3,12,4 in the original text of the diwan.¹ The piece No.474 in al-Marzūqī's recension consists of two lines which are linked together, although they are taken from different places in the original poem: the first hemistich is from line 19, and the second from line 16; the second line is numbered 8 in the original.²

In the fragment by al-Nahdī (p.556), there are two successive lines that are puzzling, since the first portrays the physical beauty of a woman and the second is about a she-camel. Al-Tibrīzī suggests³ that some lines between these two must be missing; whereas al-Marzūqī, who was apparently unaware of the fact that the second line is about a she-camel, interpreted this line as referring to human beauty.⁴

1. Diwan Qais b. al-Khatīm, p.21.

2. Der Diwan des 'Umar ibn Abī Rabi'a, ed. Paul Schwarz (Leipzig 1909), p.47.

3. Hamasa, I, 556.

4. al-Marzūqī, III, 1254.

It is abundantly clear, however, that it refers to an animal. Moreover, it is not necessary to assume that there is a missing link between the two lines: Abū Tammām may have deliberately linked them together and wished the reader to interpret the second line metaphorically in the sense that, in her silky dress, the woman, like the she-camel, had a sleek and shining seat; the tail mentioned might refer to the plait which hung down her back.

Although revising poetry was a common practice exercised by almost every rhapsodist,¹ it was done only when necessary. However, in his revisions, Abū Tammām transcended all recognised limits; and, in his selections, he was clearly demonstrating his creative talents as well as his powers of appreciation. This accords with the dictum that "In al-Hamāsah, rather than in his own works, Abū Tammām is most poetical."²

. . .

In conclusion, the contents of this anthology, which

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1. Al-Marzubānī, al-Muwashshah, pp.22,28,125,182,184. al-Isfahānī, IV,258. Ibn Rashīq, II,192 seq. Aḥmad b. Yahya Tha'lab, Majālis Tha'lab, (Cairo 1948-49), p.481
 2. Hamasae, I,2, the original quotation reads:

. إن أباتمام في اختياره الحماسة أشعر منه في شعره .

has been well preserved, are fundamentally and on the whole genuine; but most of the selections bear evidence of the hand of the compiler.

III

The first striking feature about the method of compilation is that extracts and not complete poems are selected. This was novel but not revolutionary. Passages from poems had often been quoted both in speech and writing. Abū Tammām's particular contribution was to treat "the passage" as a piece of poetry in its own right.

Two reasons may be advanced for Abū Tammām's new approach:

1. The conventional Qasīdah is usually long and comprises several passages on different subjects. Since Abū Tammām's

purpose was to divide his anthology according to subject matter, only extracts from the Qasīdahs could be appropriate.

2. Abū Tammam was renowned for his great concern with the meaning of any poetical work. In his study of Abū Tammām's poetry, Dr. al-Bahbītī¹ observes that Abū Tammām pays heed to the logical sequence of the verses and that, indifferent to the traditional practice that each verse should be independent and complete in itself,² he would use grammatical devices to bind several lines together and make them inseparable syntactically and thematically. To select coherent extracts rather than long poems is, therefore, in accordance with the poet's attitude.

In fact, the poetic fragment was the earliest form of Arabic poetry. To quote Ibn Sallām,³ "Early Arabs composed only a few lines on any one occasion." The long Qasidah, which was established about one century before Islam,⁴ was simply several pieces linked together

1. al-Bahbītī, p.218.

2. Ahmad b. Yahyā Tha'lab, Qawā'id al-Shi'r, Actes due Huitieme Congres International des Orientalistes, (Laide 1891), 183.

3. Ibn Sallām, p.33 seq.

4. Ibn Sallām, p.35 seq.

to form an elaborate whole.¹

The arrangement of the anthology is, however, completely new. Before "al-Hamāsah", no anthology or diwan or collected poetic works of any type was arranged according to subject matter.

As will be shown in the next chapter, however, many of the anthologists after Abū Tammām followed his example in arranging their selections according to subjects. Some

1. There are two main theories on this question. Firstly, there is the apologetic theory advanced by Ibn Qutaibah and adopted by Ibn Rashīq and most of the Arab scholars. Those scholars strive to prove that the divisions of the Qasidah are connected thematically and try to make connections where none exist. (Ibn Qutaibah, 14 - Ibn Rashīq, I, 150 Muhammad 'Abd al-Mun'im Khafājī; Wiḥdat al-Qasīdah al-'Arabiyyah, (Cairo 1952) - 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Muṭṭalibī, A critical study of the poetry of Dhu'l-Rumma, unpublished Ph.D thesis, S.O.A.S., London University 1960, pp.80-90 - Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Hūfī, al-Ghazal Fi-l-'Asr al-Jāhilī, Cairo 1950, 214 seq. - 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Khaldūn al-Kinānī, The Development of al-Ghazal (Damascus, 1950), p.60). The opposite theory is held by most of the occidental scholars, who treat the Qasidah as a discursive work. (Brockelmann, I, 61). The truth is, perhaps, that the divisions of the Qasīdah are not really connected in theme, though kinship between themes sometimes exists, but that linking passages are usually discernible. (see: al-'Askarī, al-Ṣinā'atayn, 452 - al-'Āmidī, al-Muwazānah, part II, ed. Dr. 'Abd al-Qadir El-Kott, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, S.O.A.S., London University 1950, pp.308-342. The Qasidah, therefore, can be likened to a symphony comprising several movements that succeed one another naturally, though they are not necessarily connected in theme.

of them, very plainly moulded their works on the model of "al-Ḥamāsah", adopted its classification and even borrowed its title.

The diwans and other types of collected works also show the influence of the anthology. Except for the collections of polemic poems, نقائض, which bring together contrasting poems, mostly in pairs, no collected poetic works¹ of the second and third centuries A.H. pay any attention to subject matter in the arrangement of their contents. In tribal and sectarian diwans,² poems are gathered under their composers. In individual poets' diwans no distinct classification is noticeable save for the fact that, in these diwans, long and famous poems usually precede short and less famous works. So far as is known,³ Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (ob. 335 A.H.) was the first diwan compiler to arrange poems in alphabetical order according to the last letter of their rhymes.⁴ His contemporary Ali b. Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī (ob. 375 A.H.) was

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1. Such as أشعار اليهود (Poems of the Jews) compiled by al-Sukkarī and al-Ṭayālīsī (see R.Geyer, S.B.W.A. 1927, 203, No.4), and أخبار اللصوص (Tales of the Thieves) compiled by al-Sukkarī (see: al-Baghdādī, Khizānah, I, 297)
 3. Ibn al-Nadīm, p.165. - Diwan Abī Tammām, ed. Moḥammad 'Abduh 'Azzām, (Cairo 1951), I, 13.
 4. Ibn al-Nadīm, p.165.

the first to edit a diwan arranged according to the subjects of the poems.¹

Since Alī b. Ḥamzah al-Asfihānī was a great authority on Abū Tammām's poetry² and undoubtedly acquainted with "al-Ḥamāsah", it is almost certain that he was influenced by the method of classification of this anthology, though he did not confine himself to the subject headings it contains.³

In his study on the poetic subjects in "al-Ḥamāsah", Mr. 'Alī al-Najdī Nāṣif observes⁴ that two conventional subjects are not included. These are "Apologies" and "Self-Praise". He also wonders why "Satires on Women", which form the tenth chapter, are separated from those on men, who form the fifth.

Arabic "Poetic subjects", however, are differently classified, named and defined by various early scholars. Neither "Apologies" nor "Self-Praise" is mentioned in the list of "the poetic purposes" "أغراض الشعر" advanced by

1.) } Ibn al-Nadīm, p.165
2.) }

3. Der Diwān Des Abū Nuwās, ed. Ewald Wagner, (Cairo 1958), pp.1-2.

4. Alī al-Najdī Nāṣif, Dirāṣah Fī Ḥamāsāt Abī Tammām, (Cairo 1959), p.23.

Qudāmah b. Ja'far¹ (ob. 310 A.H.), who was probably the first Arab scholar to formulate a theory about poetic subjects. Perhaps, in Qudāmah's opinion, these two are sub-divisions of "Panegyrics". On the other hand, Ibn Sallām speaks² of "Self-Praise" as one of "the poetic arts فنون الشعر"; and Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (ob. 395 A.H.) includes "Apologies" among what he named "the branches of poetry أقسام الشعر"³

Perhaps, Abū Tammām did not consider "Apologies" a major subject worthy to be represented in his work and thought that the pieces of "Self-Praise", which he included in the first and sixth chapters, fitted well into their positions and should not have a section to themselves.

Nāsif's claim that the satires on women are separated from those on men is not completely accurate. The truth is that, although most of the satires in Chapter V are on men, some pieces on women are also included: the piece by

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1. Qudāmah b. Ja'far, Naqd al-Shi'r, ed. 'Īsā Mīkhā'īl Sābā, (Ḥarīṣā 1958), 42.
 2. Ibn Sallām, p.54. - al-Suyūtī, al-Muzhir, II, 483.
 3. Al-'Askarī, Diwān al-Mu'ānī, I, 92.

'Abd Allah b. Awfā, for instance, is a satire on his wife;¹ the pieces on pp.642 and 652 contain insinuations against women. It seems that the satires that form Chapter X were given their present position partly because they lack the seriousness that characterises the selections in Chapter V, and partly because they fit well after the humorous sexual pieces included in Chapter IX.

Whether Abū Tammām made his classification to demonstrate a theory on poetic subjects, or merely for convenience is not known. Whatever his motive may have been, the classification of "al-Hamāsah" was a timely contribution to the understanding and clarification of Arabic poetic subjects.

It was observed by al-Ṣūlī² and al-Marzūqī³ that Abū Tammām, in making his selections, did not confine himself to the ideals of his own poetic school, and that he selected works that would be generally appreciated

1. Hamasae, I, 668.

2. al-Ṣūlī, Akhbār Abī Tammām, p.118. al-Ṣūlī, Akhbār Abī al-Buhturī, 137, 165 seq.

3. al-Marzūqī, I, 13 seq.

even if some of them did not accord with his ideals. As a proof of this, these scholars related, on the authority of al-Ḥasan b. Rajā' and Ibn al-Daqqāq, that Abū Tammām selected works by Muhammad b. Abī 'Uyainah, whose poetry is very different from that of Abū Tammām. In explaining this phenomenon, al-Marzūgī likens Abū Tammām to a draper, who displays in his shop clothes which suit the tastes of all his customers but wears only what suits himself.

To "al-Ḥamāsah" , this observation is applicable: the selections included in the anthology are of the type that meets with universal appreciation. Only a few selections exhibit the characteristics of Abū Tammām's poetic school: unusual ideas and images and an ornate style. The piece by Abū Dahbal (P.709), for example, says that the prisoners of al-Azraq al-Makhzūmī are treated nobly, pardoned and released and because of that free people would like to be taken captive by him. As Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī indicates ⁽¹⁾, this peculiar thought is truly representative of Abū Tammām's attention to uncommon ideas. Examples for unusual images and ornate expression can be seen on pp. 556 (line 9), 112 (line 5),

1. Hamasae, I, 709.

438 (lines 13,14).

Although such pieces are few, the rest of the selections are full of meaning; throughout the anthology, original thoughts are strikingly apparent. Some of these were borrowed by Abū Tammām in his own poetry and several examples of such borrowing have been pointed out by al-Marzūqī,¹ al-'Askarī² and al-Tibrīzī.³ Al-Sūlī⁴ too, confirms Abū Tammām's borrowings, but asserts that he made improvements and left on them the imprint of his personality.

Unlike some of the anthologists before him, Abū Tammām was not primarily introducing selections of well established fame. Although extracts from famous poems are included, a large body of the selections attained fame only after their appearance in the anthology.

Although earlier anthologies did not include pieces of Rajaz, except for a few in al-Aṣma'īyyāt, Abū Tammām included in his work 27 pieces in this metre. It is

1. al-Marzūqī, III, 1239.

2. Hamasae, I, 395.

3. Ibid, I, 709.

4. al-Sūlī, Akhbār Abī Tammām, p.53.

almost certain that earlier anthologies excluded pieces of Rajaz because this metre was generally regarded as insufficiently dignified for serious and grand poetry. Abū Tammam, however, apparently had a better opinion of this metre.

Most of the selections, however, are in the grander metres, especially al-Ṭawīl, al-Basīṭ and al-Kāmil; the metre, al-Ṭawīlīs clearly predominant in the anthology.

Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī remarked that there are three pieces in non-canonical metres, which were not included by al-Khalīl and al-Aḫfash.¹ These are the pieces by Ta'abbata - Sharrā's mother (p.414), Sulmiyy b. Rabī'ah (p.506) and a woman of Makhzūm (p.780). The metres show some resemblance to the canonical metres al-Madīd or al-Ramal, al-Basīṭ and al-Sarī'.

Similarly, al-Tibrīzī remarked² that the piece by Ruwaishid b. Kathīr (p.77), which is in al-Basīṭ metre, exhibits an unusual rhyme scheme.

1. *Hamasa*, I, 824. al-Jawāliqī, fol. 3A.
 2. *Hamasa*, I, 78.

It has been observed by Hārūn¹ and Nāsif² that Abū Tammām very frequently quoted poets belonging to his own tribe. Although this is so, such quotations are not very numerous and their inclusion does not necessarily prove that he is biased, since he would naturally quote those poets with whom he was most familiar.

Together with the chorus of acclamation with which the anthology has been met,³ some attacks have also been made. According to al-Mas'ūdī,⁴ some people went as far as to call the anthology "The Failure ^{كتاب الخيبة}" Such obviously prejudiced attacks were often directed at controversial masters such as Abu Tammām and al-Mutanabbī.

Perhaps the most constructive piece of criticism is the critique made by Hamzah b. al-Husain and quoted by al-Tha'ālibī⁵. In it four critical remarks are made : (1) that some lines or extracts are repeated, (2) that some extracts do not fit their chapters, (3) that others

1. al-Marzuqi, I, 9.

2. Nāsif, p.32.

3. Hamasae, I,2 - al-Baghdādī, Khizānah, I,173 - Ibn Khallikān, I,151.

4. al-Mas'ūdī,

5. 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad Abū Maṣṣūr al-Tha'ālibī, Yatīmat al-Dahr, ed Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, (Gairo, 1366A.H., 1947 A.D.), III, 398 seq.

exhibit prosodical faults, and (4) that the compiler chose defective versions of some selections.

Although no illustrative examples are given in this critique, there are selections in the anthology that seem to bear out these remarks, and a study of them is, therefore, necessary.

(1) Repetitions. There appear to be four repetitions : two in the first chapter (pp.793, 314 - 393, 189), one in the second (pp.438, 474) and one in the sixth (pp.694, 752). Referring to one of these, Mr. Nāsif suggests that the compiler might have done it merely through negligence.¹ It is clear, however, that the compiler had reasons for these repetitions. Sometimes he wished to display different versions or wordings of the repeated lines; this is obvious in the pieces by al-Nābighah al-Ja'dī (438,474), 'Unaif b. Zabbān (pp.793,314) and Sālim b. Quhfān (pp. 694,752). Another and perhaps more artistic reason was to reveal the different shades of meaning of the repeated verses in various contexts. The following line by al-Ḥuṣain b. al-Ḥumām is as good as any for illustration.² It reads:

نَفَلَقَ هَامًا مِنْ رِجَالِ أَعْرَازَةٍ . : عَلَيْنَا وَهُمْ كَانُوا أَعْتَقَ وَأَظْلَمَا

In its context on page 93, the emphasis is clearly on the

1. Nāsif, p.30.

2. Hamasae, I,93, 189

first hemistich, which contains the idea that the warriors advance boldly and fight fiercely even if they have to split the skulls of those relatives who confront them. Whereas in the second context on page 189, the emphasis is shifted to the second hemistich, since the whole piece here is meant to justify the warriors' attack on their relatives who proved unjust and ungrateful.

(2) Misplaced extracts. Apart from some extracts whose position is disputed,¹ there are five which certainly do not fit their chapters. They are as follows:

I Two pieces in the first chapter (pp.149 and 154). The first is on hospitality and the second is a satire. Both would fit better in chapters six and five respectively.

II. The fragment in chapter III on page 504, in which 'Umar b. Qamī'ah sighs over his past youth. This is out of place in a chapter on manners.

III. Two misplaced pieces in the last chapter, "Disparagement of Women". They are on a cock and, as al-Marzūqī suggests,² would fit chapter seven, which is entitled "Descriptions".

(3) Prosodical faults. The faults mentioned are al-Iqwā'

1. al-Marzūqī, II, pp.527,590,628,756. - III, 1267.

2. al-Marzūqī, IV, 1885.

and al-'Īṭa' الإقواء والإيطاء. There are hardly any examples of these in the anthology.¹ In any case, although al-Iqwā' and al-'Īṭā' have come to be regarded as faults, they were accepted in ancient poetry.² Even later compilers have not hesitated to include poems containing these faults if such poems were sufficiently great.³ It is, therefore, no mistake on Abū Tammām's part to include some lines that exhibit such ancient features. Moreover, as stated previously, Abū Tammām was indifferent to the prosodical rules, which had then been newly formulated and included in his anthology some non-canonical pieces, thus preserving some ancient features which would otherwise have been forgotten.

(4) Defective Versions. That the compiler chose such versions is by no means proved. As stated before, there are many revisions, which have improved appreciably on the originals. Although this shows that Abū Tammām lacked the accuracy usually expected of reliable rhapsodists, it does not necessarily prove that the versions adopted are defective. However, there are some examples of تصيف

1. al-Tib. I, pp.448,815 (11.18,19), 500(11.5,20).

2. Ibn Sallām, ٥٥ - Ibn Rashīq, I, 165.

3. Muhammad b. al-Mubārak, Muntahā al-Ṭalab, I, Fol. 164.

in the anthology;¹ but such slight mistakes are usually found in early works; they are simply unavoidable.

. . .

As well as the scholars of previous centuries, modern scholars, Arabs and Arabists, are favourably impressed by the anthology.

The judgement of early scholars is expressively summed up in the dictum "No anthology of extracts could surpass 'al-Ḥamāsah' in excellence." Of the modern scholars, Sir Charles Lyall writes,² "The high level of excellence which is found in its selections, both as to form and matter, is remarkable." "What strikes in the class of poetry of which the Ḥamāsah is a specimen, is its exceeding truth and reality, its freedom of artificiality and hearsay, the evident first-hand experience which the singers possessed of all which they sang."

1. Al-Jawālīqī, Fols. 30, 31, 36.
2. Lyall, Encyc. Brit. XII, 870.

CHAPTER VI

"ANTHOLOGIES OF EXTRACTS COMPILED
IN THE THIRD CENTURY A. H."

The compilation of al-Ḥamāsah by Abū Tammām marked the beginning of a succession of anthologies consisting of extracts classified according to subject matter. In this chapter, however, only those compiled in the third century will be considered.

Abū Tammām himself, who initiated the vogue, compiled about four anthologies of extracts besides his most famous one, al-Ḥamāsah.¹ Al-Baghdādī, the author of the Khizānah, possessed a copy of one of these, namely "مختارات أشعار القبائل"². According to al-'Amidī,³ this is a selection of the output of the tribes.⁴ Al-Baghdādī, whose copy might come to light one day, judged this anthology inferior to al-Ḥamāsah.

Another of Abū Tammām's selections, namely "Fuḥūl al-Shu'arā'" is mentioned by Brockelmann and al-'Āmilī

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- L. Al-'Āmidī, al-Muwāzanah, 23 - Ibn al-Nadīn, 165 - Al-Tibrīzī, 1.3seq.
 2. Al-Baghdādī, Khizānah, I. 173.
 3. Al-'Āmidī, al-Muwāzanah, 23.
 4. In his Khizānah, al-Baghdādī supplies us with many quotations from this anthology. See: al-Maimānī, Iqlīd, 100.

as existing¹ in Mashhad in Iran. To our disappointment, however, an examination of the Mashhad Ms. proved that, although the first page bears the title mentioned, the contents consist merely of a portion of al-Hamāsah² interlined with excerpts from al-Tibrizi's commentary.

One of these four selections, however, has survived and was available for this study. It is entitled "al-Wahshiyyāt" and is preserved in Istanbul.³

Two other anthologies of extracts were compiled in the third century. These are "Kitab al-Hamāsah" by Abū Tammām's disciple, al-Buhturī (ob. 284 A.H.) and "Kitab āl-Zahrah" by the Zāhīrī jurist, Ibn Dāwūd (ob. 297 A.H.)

1. Brockelmann, II, 76 - Al-'Āmilī, XIX, 493
2. Ms. no. 15: 29,83/4, Mashhad, Iran.
3. Ms. no. 330, Topkapu Sarayı Kutuphanesi - Photographic copy, no. Adab 2297, Dār al-Kutub, Cairo.

(a) "AL-WAHSHIYYĀT" or "AL-HAMĀSAH AL-SUGHRĀ"
by ABU TAMMAM.

The unique Ms. of this anthology, preserved in Istanbul, is dated 637 A.H. It bears the name of the copyist alone, without mentioning the authority from whom it was received.

The brief preface to this Ms., however, sheds some light on the original work and how it was disseminated. It says, "This is the book, 'al-Wahshiyāt', which was compiled by Abū Tammām Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Tā'ī - may God have mercy on him - after he had made his larger selection, al-Ḥamāsah. The compiler did not disseminate the work himself, but the Ms., written in his own handwriting, was found after his death; it is entitled 'Kitāb al-Wahshiyāt'.¹

As is obvious from its title page, the preface and the colophon, this anthology has a dual title, "al-Wahshiyāt" and "al-Ḥamāsah al-Sughrā", two names which are used interchangeably.² It seems, however, from contemporary and later references to this work, that the first title prevailed.

So far as can be traced, the anthology has been mentioned in three references. In his "I'jāz al-Qur'ān", al-Bāqillānī mentions it by its title "al-Wahshiyāt".³ In his commentary on "al-Ḥamāsah", al-Tibrīzī also mentions the anthology by the title "al-Wahshiyāt", but he says, "al-Wahshiyāt" is a collection of long poems.⁴ This statement is not an

1. Al-Wahshiyāt, Fol.2.

2. Ibid, Fols. 1, 2, 243

3. Al-Bāqillānī, I'jāz, 177

4. Al-Tibrizi, Hamasa, I, 3

accurate description of the existing work, which consists for the most part of ^{short} passages. The complete poems included number about 15, of which 9 contain more than 12 lines each,¹ and only three poems exceed 20 lines each.² If al-Tibrizī's statement is correct, he cannot be speaking about the existing work. If, as is more probable, he is doing so, he is inaccurate. Al-'Ainī (ob. 855 A.H.) quotes three lines by al-La'īn al-Manqarī and states that they appear in the work "al-Wahshī."³ Since the lines already mentioned appear on Fol. 52, the work named by al-Ainī can only be the present anthology.

The long awaited edition of this anthology may be available very soon. Prof. "Abd al-'Azīz al-Maimanī of ^{عليگر} has prepared the edition which is now in the press in Cairo.⁴

Linguistically, the title, al-Wahshiyāt may mean "the archaic poems" or "the poems that are little known or less frequently quoted." Judging by the contents of the anthology, the first interpretation seems hardly applicable: the selection, though it certainly contains a difficult vocabulary, cannot by

1. Fols. 12, 17, 33, 42, 96, 109, 129, 131, 132.

2. Fols. 33, 42, 96.

3. Mahmūd al-Ainī, Sharḥ al-Shawāshid al-Kubrā, (Bulaq, 1299) II, 404

4. Mr. Mahmud Muhammad Shākir gave this information in response to enquiry in 1961 and added that the work was being printed under his supervision. It has since been published in Cairo, but after the completion of the present thesis.

any means be considered archaic. Besides, the fact that most of the pieces included are not widely quoted supports the second interpretation.

As to the title, "al-Ḥamāsah al-Suḡhrā," it was a common practice for an author writing two or three books on the same subject to give them all the same basic title, qualified by a particular adjective for each book indicating its size (e.g. al-Kubrā, al-Wuṣṭā and al-Suḡhrā)¹. According to 'āl-Āmidī, Abū Tammām himself did this when he named two anthologies of tribal poetry "al-Qabā'ilī al-Akbar" and "al-Qabā'ilī."² It is almost certain therefore that Abū Tammām gave this anthology the above title in contrast to his larger selection "al-Ḥamāsah".

The 507 pieces included in this anthology are divided into 10 chapters practically identical to those in the larger anthology, at Ḥamāsah. Only Ch.VIII in the present one differs from its opposite number; it is on "Old Age", one of the favourite classical themes, whereas the corresponding chapter in al-Ḥamāsah is on "Journeys". This discrepancy is referred to in the introductory sentence to the former chapter.³

1. Yaqut, Irshad, VII,300 - al-Maimanī, I alīd, 17

2. Al-'Āmidī, al-Muwāzanah, 49

3. Fol.231. The sentence mentioned reads "

باب المشيب . هذا بدل من باب "السير والناس"

As in the larger al-Ḥamāsah, the first chapter of this anthology, which is on valour, has the lion's share of the selections; it forms more than one third of them. The other 9 chapters make up the rest of the selections; the chapter "al-Mārāthī" has 56 pieces, "al-Adab" 37, al-Nasīb 56, "al-Hijā" 60, "al-Samāḥah wal-Adyāf" 61, "al-Ṣifāt" 10. "al-Mashīb" 13, "al-Mulaḥ" 9 and "Madhammatu al-Nisā'" 4.

Another point of similarity between the two anthologies, al-Ḥamasah and al-Waḥshiyvāt, is that the subject-matter of corresponding chapters is more or less identical. The pieces included in the new chapter, "al-Mashib" treat of (1) greyness of hair and of how it repels women, confirms old age and heralds the inevitable end, (2) past youth which cannot be regained and (3) the weakness of old age.

A careful study of this anthology shows that the compiler maintains the same criteria and considerations which he applied to the first anthology, al-Ḥamāsah.

These are as follows:

(1) Selecting pieces that are likely to meet with universal approval regardless of the compiler's personal inclinations.

The bulk of the selections conform to "عمود الشعر", i.e.

the recognised rules or standards of classical poetry; thus they are likely to have been highly appreciated by almost all connoisseurs irrespective of their different schools of criticism. The anthology, however, does include a few pieces that suit Abū Tammām's personal taste. The piece by al-Ḥusain b. Muṭair,¹ for instance, is obviously ornate and full of figurative images of the kind Abū Tammām welcomed in poetry.

(2) Confining the selection to little known works.

This is not done merely by selecting from the works of the less famous poets but more effectively by culling those pieces, by both known and obscure poets, which were rarely circulated and hardly known. Even from those poets whose diwans were collected, the compiler selected some pieces which, presumably because they were not known to the collectors of these diwans, were not included in them. The following are some illustrations:

(1) Included in the anthology are 7 pieces by Tufail al-Ghanawī.² Only part of one of these appears in the appendix to Tufail's diwan edited by Krenkow.³ The pieces

1. Fol. 227. 2. Fols. 76, 79-80, 90, 102, 146, 184, 204.

3. The poems of Tufail Ibn "Awf al-Ghanawī, ed. F. Krenkow, (London 1927), 57.

which are not included in the diwan total 30 lines.¹

(2) The pieces selected from al-Majnūn, Qais b. al-Mulawah, are 8, four of which do not appear in al-Wālibī's version of al-Majnūn's diwan.²

(3) The piece by "Abīd b. al-abras³ is not found in the collected works of this master-poet edited by Lyall.⁴

(4) The pieces by A'shā of Sulaim⁵ and A'shā of ^aBnū Tha'lab⁶ are not found among the poems by the A'shās collected by Tha'lab.⁷

The result of thus limiting this anthology is that it includes quite a number of pieces for which it is the earliest source and sometimes the only source. There are, of course, however, a number of selections which appear in other early sources.

1. Fols. 157, 159, 161, 171.
2. Qissat al-Majnūn wa Lailā, redacted by Abū Bakr al-Wālibī, (Būlāq, 1294 A.H.)
3. Fol. 117.
4. The Diwans of "Abīd Ibn al-Abras, ed. C. Lyall.
5. Fol. 125.
6. Fol. 213.
7. Gedichte Abu Baṣīr, pp. 274, 282.

(3) Quoting with latitude. Complete accuracy in quotation has been sacrificed for the sake of improving the selections. As in "al-Hamāsah", this is done either by changing some words or phrases in the original texts or by altering the order of lines.¹ As far as collation with the original texts has been possible, these changes do not appear very serious.

The fact that "al-Wahshiyyāt" has been mentioned only in a few references and that only one Ms. of it has survived indicates that this anthology was not famous. Indeed, the anthology had hardly any chance to achieve great fame since it was fundamentally a mere imitation of the great "al-Hamāsah", and was moreover later in date and shorter.

In quality, however, "al-Wahshiyyāt" is a first class collection; yet as al-Bāqillānī implies,² it falls short of its model.

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1. Compare, for instance, the pieces by Humaid b. Thawr on Fols. 232, 163 and 235 with the original texts in his diwan, edited by "Abd al-'Aziz al-Maimanī (Cairo 1951), pp. 7 - 8, 17 - 27, 52.
 2. al-Bāqillānī, I'jāz, 172.

(b) "KITĀB al-HAMĀSAH" by al-BUHTURĪ.

After Abū Tammām's own endeavour to emulate his "al-Ḥamāsah" by compiling "al-Wahshiyyāt", the second attempt at imitation came from Abū 'Ubādah al-Buhturī, who also named his work "Kitāb al-Ḥamāsah."

It seems that this imitative anthology failed to rival its model and thus enjoyed little admiration. This is confirmed by the fact that, whereas about thirty commentators found it worth while to work on the Ḥamāsah of Abū Tammām, none was stimulated to write a single commentary on the Ḥamāsah of al-Buhturī. Moreover, although this anthology was reckoned among al-Buhturī's works by early writers such as Ibn al-Nadīm,¹ Yāqūt² and Ibn Kallikān,³ the author of "Khizānat al-Adab", who is renowned for his wide acquaintance with literary works, states that he has never heard of it.⁴

Only one Ms. of this anthology is extant and is preserved in Leiden.⁵ In 1909, the trustees of the De Goeje

1. Ibn al-Nadīm, 165.
2. Yāqūt, VII, 228.
3. Ibn Kallikān, II, 234.
4. Al-Baghdādī, III, 591
5. Brockelmann, I, 81.

fund published a photographic reproduction of this Ms. together with indexes made by Profs. Geyer and Margoliouth. In 1910 a careful edition made by Le père L. Cheikho appeared in Beyrouth.

The anthology, which contains 1453 extracts, is divided into 174 chapters. Each chapter is devoted to a particular topic which is carefully defined by an introductory sentence such as:¹

Ch.I: What is said on spurring oneself to face hardships (of war)

Ch.48: What is said about those who, when times are good, turn their backs on their friends and avoid them, but who, when they fall on bad times, renew the ties of friendship.

Scholars have varied in their judgements on the value of this classification. Nöldeke points to its practical usefulness for quotations and for elucidating the meaning of the pieces included.² Hannā al-Fākhūrī notes that such a wide classification makes it clear that the contents of

1. Kitāb al-Hamāsah, ed. Cheikho, 1, 3.

2. Th. Nöldeke, Beitraege zur Kenntniss der alten Araber, (Hannover, 1864), 183 seq.

al-Buhturī's anthology cover most of the poetic topics.¹ 'Abd al-Salām Rustum claims that by this classification a sort of psychological analysis is provided since the chapters treat of the different incentives in human life.²

On the other hand, Nicholson, though he admits the convenience of this classification, argues that "the division into a great number of sections, each illustrating a narrowly defined topic, seriously impairs the artistic value of the work."³

In considering these views, it is important to observe that while each chapter is on a particular, restricted topic, the thematical sequence of the material clearly shows that the 174 chapters form six homogeneous groups as follows:

(1) Chs. 1 - 27, which consist of extracts on valour and war-themes, form one group parallel to the chapter, al-Ḥamāsah in Abū Tammām's anthology.

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1. Ḥannā al-Fākhūrī, Tārīkh al-Adab al-Arabī, (Beirut 1953), 515.
 2. 'Abd al-Salām Rustum, Taif al-Walīd, (Cairo 1947), 206 seq.
 3. Nicholson, 130.

- (2) Chs. 28-48 are on bonds of friendship and thus form one harmonious group.
- (3) Chs. 49-57 form one group on the inevitability of death.
- (4) Chs. 58 - 115 are all on noble traits of behaviour.
- (5) Chs. 116 - 123 are on youth and old age.
- (6) The remaining 51 chapters are on miscellaneous and generally unrelated topics. Some among them, however, follow one another harmoniously, since they treat of connected themes: chs. 136-137 are on "true and simulated virtues"; chs. 140 - 146 on "chatter and silence"; chs. 151-155 on "loyalty to and support of one's relations"; and chs. 172 - 173 on "bearing false witness".

This shows that, although the compiler did not indicate these groups, he must have had them in mind. Had he marked the groups and given each one a particular title, the anthology would have looked like the "al-Ḥamāsah" of Abū Tammām in general outline. (Possibly al-Buhturī wanted to avoid this.)

However this may be, the existing detailed classification is convenient for quotation and elucidation as Nöldeke observed. The opinion that the anthology covers a wide range of poetic topics seems true at first sight, since there are 174 chapters on different topics. As previously

shown, however, not all the major poetic topics are covered. There is not one single chapter on "love" or "satire" or even on the compiler's favourite topic "descriptions of nature, architecture and other features of civilized life." Elegies, moreover, are put last, and the pieces included are by women-poets alone; whereas in Abū Tammām's anthologies elegies are rightly given a more important position and come second, next to poetry on valour. Panegyrics are also excluded, but as in the case of al-Ḥamāsah, this is not a serious omission, since extracts of these can be and are included under other headings in the anthology.¹ The classification, therefore, though undoubtedly helpful in dealing with numerous narrow themes, does not cover all the major topics.

Although the argument² that the classification provides a kind of psychological analysis seems popular with Arab writers, it cannot be substantiated. Many chapters, it is true, are on various aspects of human behaviour, but there are others which are not so: ch.21, for instance, is on "swords that rebound in fighting", and no. 118 is on "praise of grey hair and old age." Even those chapters

1. Piece no. 137, p.33 and see ch.75, p.128.
 2. Al-Fākhūrī, p. 515.

which deal with human behaviour cannot be regarded as providing serious psychological analysis, unless the term is applied with great latitude. Didacticism is clearly the main aim of such chapters.¹

As to Nicholson's view, he does not clearly explain why numerous chapters on narrow topics should impair the artistic value of the work. Perhaps he considered that the extracts were on the whole too short. The detailed classification adopted may have obliged the compiler to select many such short pieces. A very clear example of this necessity can be seen in a piece by Yazīd b. al-Hakam; it occurs in its entirety in the *Ḥamāsah* of Abū Tammām,² but in the present anthology it has been split into three shorter pieces appearing in three different chapters.³ Short pieces, however, are not necessarily devoid of artistic value: Arabs appreciated these and also even single verses, to which, as will be explained in the next chapter, several anthologies were devoted.

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1. In support of this view see chs. 32, 47, 97.
 2. *Ḥamāzae Carmina*, I, 529.
 3. *Al-Buhturī*, 69, 137, 174.

To sum up, this classification, though detailed, does not cover all the poetic topics; neither does it provide any serious psychological information. It is certainly, however, original, convenient and of artistic value.

Al-Bāqillānī and al-Ṣūlī relate two incidents which reveal al-Buhturī's views about selecting poetry. In the first, al-Buhturī is said to have questioned the competence of the grammarian Tha'lab and the rest of those "who study poetry but never compose it" to judge poetry. "Only those who have undergone the experience of composing poetry", says al-Buhturī, "and thus tackled its complexities, are qualified to judge it."¹

In the second incident, al-Buhturī illustrated the previous view by criticising adversely a piece selected by Tha'lab, and in support of his opinion, he cited another piece which he considered superior. From an examination of this second piece, al-Ṣūlī concludes that al-Buhturī selects only what resembles his own works, which embody his ideals about poetry.² Later on al-Marzūqī concurred with al-Ṣūlī in this conclusion.³

1. Al-Bāqillānī, 176.
2. Al-Ṣūlī, Akhbār al-Buhturī, 135 - 137.
3. al-Marzūqī, Sharḥ Diwān al-Ḥamāsah, I, 14.

As far as style is concerned, although al-Buhturī was known to be on the whole an adherent of عمود الشعر (i.e. the rules of classical poetry), he had individual mannerisms such as simplicity of diction, the occasional use of figurative language and a fondness for sub-dividing lines into balanced parts.¹

To ascertain, therefore, whether al-Buhturī, in his anthology, adheres to his ideals about poetry, it is necessary to examine, (a) the poetic topics selected, and (b) the stylistic characteristics of the pieces.

As mentioned before, three major topics have been left out of the anthology: satire, descriptions of natural and civilized life, and love. It may be argued that the first topic was excluded perhaps because al-Buhturī disliked satirical poetry: according to al-Isfahānī² and Yāqūt,³ he had no gift for satire. The poet, however, was a master of description and quite at home with erotic poetry. The exclusion of these topics therefore is inconsistent with the poet's own preferences.

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1. Al-Sūlī, Akhbār al-Buhturī, 86, 87, 135 - 137 - Yāqūt, VII, 226 - Tāhā Husain, Min Hadīth al-Shi'r wal-Nathr, (Cairo 1948), 119 - 132 Al-'Amidī, al-Muwāzanah, 15.
 2. Al-Isfahānī, XVIII, 167
 3. Yāqūt, VII, 226.

Moreover, it is quite obvious, as Nöldeke first noted¹, that didactic poetry is predominant in the anthology. One of the masters in this field, namely Ṣālih b. 'Abd al-Quddūs,² is quoted as frequently as 46 times. Since the compiler himself was not renowned for didactic poetry, of which he wrote little, it is surprising that he is so much concerned with it. Moreover, those whose taste the compiler must have had to consider, namely al-Mutawakkil, the Caliph of the age, and al-Fath b. Khāqān, the Vezir to whom the anthology was dedicated³, would, to judge by their lives,⁴ have appreciated an extra portion of hedonistic rather than didactic poetry.

It thus appears that, in the choice of poetic topics, al-Buhturī was not influenced entirely by his own preferences.

As regards style, the pieces selected are on the whole classical in style, but their most noticeable quality is simplicity of diction. According to al-Ṣulī, al-Buhturī was advised by al-Fath b. Khāqān to use a simple style in his own work so that the Caliph, at Mutawikkil, whose

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1. Nöldeke, Beiträge, 376-387.
 2. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Tārīkh, IX, 304
 3. Al-Buhturī, 277.
 4. Yāqūt, VI, 116 - Rustum, 15

linguistic knowledge was limited, could understand and appreciate his poems.¹ Al-Buhturī seems to have observed this advice in making the selection, not only by choosing pieces which are fairly simple but also by taking the liberty of changing the wording wherever he considered greater simplicity desirable. An instance of this can be seen in a line by al-Tirimmāh; in the diwan of this poet and in the Hamāsa of Abū Tammām, this line reads:²

إذا ذكرت مسعاة والده اضطني . . ولا يضطني من شتم أهل الفضائل
اضطني

When quoted by al-Buhturī, the unmouthable word ^{اضطني} is changed and the line reads:³

إذا ذكرت مسعاة والده استحي . . ولا يستحي من عيب أهل الفضائل

Similarly, in the Hamāsa of Abū Tammām occurs the hemistich:⁴

أقول لنفس حين خوّد رأها

In the Hamāsa of al-Buhturī this hemistich becomes:

أقول لنفس لا يجاد بمثلها

which is obviously a simpler version.⁵

1. Al-Ṣulī, Akhbār al-Buhturī, 86 seq.
2. The poems of Tufail b. 'Awf al-Ghanawī and al-Tirimmāh b. Hakīm al-Ta'ī, ed. F. Krenkow, (London, 1927), 158 - Abū Tammām, Hamasa, 111.
3. Al-Buhturī, Hamasa, 251.
4. Abū Tammām, Hamasa, 178.
5. Al-Buhturī, Hamasa, 10.

Numerous examples of internal divisions in the lines¹ and of figurative language² occur in the anthology.

In style, therefore, it seems that al-Buhturī applies his own ideals to a noticeable extent, whereas the reverse is true in his choice of topics.

As mentioned before, this anthology was not greatly admired and critics have often pointed out that it was hardly studied or quoted or mentioned by early Arab writers.³ Perhaps this lack of success was due to the following faults:

(1) The neglect of some major topics. As every great poet was expected to tackle all the major topics, a great anthology must have been expected to do just the same. Of the topics which the anthology lacks, two, love poetry and satire, were major ones⁴, and their absence certainly reduces the value of the work.

1. Ibid, pieces nos. 47 (p.17), 1306 (p.240)

2. Ibid, 231.

3. Ign. Goldziher, Zur Hamāsa des Buhturī, J.R.A.S. (1897), p. 330.

4. Qudāmāh, 42 - al-'Askarī, Diwan al-Ma'ānī, I, 92.

(2) The excessive emphasis on didactic poetry. Although didactic poetry was undoubtedly appreciated by Arabs, it seems that an excess of it was not greatly welcome. Ibn Rashīq states that Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Quddus, whose poetic ability was recognised, was nevertheless regarded as "inferior to his colleagues" because of his excessive use of didactic poetry.¹

(3) The inclusion of mediocre and simple pieces. Together with many excellent pieces, the anthology includes mediocre and noticeably simple pieces. As indicated by Ibn al-Nadīm² and 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī,³ Arabs had a low opinion of simple poetry.

The fact that the anthology includes about 30 pieces occurring in the Ḥamāsah of Abū Tammām⁴ might be regarded a minor defect. However, al-Buhturī does not merely repeat these pieces as they are: he either appends

1. Ibn Rashīq, ed. al-Na'sānī, I, 193.

2. Ibn al-Nadīm, 68

3. 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, Asrār al-Balāghah, ed. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, (Cairo, 1358 A.H.), 124 - 125.

4. Pieces nos. 2, 3, 6, 11, 63, 96, 110, 137,
153, 160, 179, 218, 221, 245,
284, 299, 308, 315, 377, 515,
591, 640, 645, 669, 700, 931,
972, 1308, 1387, 1392, 1448, 1452.

additional lines¹; or splits a piece into shorter quotations to fit more than one chapter;² or gives different versions;³ or tries his hand at some improvements.⁴ Moreover, to repeat some of the material of other anthologies was a recognised practice.⁴

Whether or not these are true reasons for the limited success of the anthology, it would in any case have been hardly possible for this or the rest of the imitative works to rival the outstanding al-Hamāsah of Abū Tammām.

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1. Nos. 377, 972, 1308, 1452.
 2. Nos. 315, 700, 931: compare these with the piece on page 539 in al-Hamāsah of Abū Tammām.
 3. No. 63: compare with the piece on page 322 in al-Hamāsah.
 4. Compare no. 1448 with the piece on page 482 in al-Hamāsah, especially the first line which reads here:
 أقول لنفسي في خفاء الومها
 whereas in al-Hamāsah, it reads أقول لنفسي في الخلاء الرمها
 Obviously the phrase في خفاء is an improvement since the other phrase في الخلاء has unpleasant associations.

(C) "KITĀB AL-ZAHRAH" by Ibn Dawūd al-Isfahānī.

In 1932, A.R. Nykl of the oriental institute of the University of Chicago, in collaboration with Ibrāhīm Tūḡān of Nāblus, edited the first half of the anthology "al-Zahrah" by Abū Bakr Muhammad b. Dāwūd al-Isfahānī (ob. 297 A.H.) This edition is based on the unique Ms. preserved in Cairo, and dated 718 A.H.¹ The editors, who were not aware of the existence of the second part, thought that perhaps the compiler "never found sufficient patience to produce the second half."²

However, two Mss. of the second half later turned up in the "Bibliotece Reale di Torino" and in Baghdad. According to C.A. Nallino, the ^uTorin Ms. is incomplete;³ but fortunately that in Baghdad seems to be complete.⁴

The edited half consists of extracts of love-poetry. As to the second half, the compiler states in the preface that it contains extracts on "the rest of the poetic topics."⁵

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1. Abū Bakr Muhammad Ibn Abī Sulaimān Dāwūd al-Isfahānī, Kitāb al-Zahrah, ed. A.R. Nykl, (Beirut 1932), Introd.3.
 2. Ibid, 5.
 3. Carlo A. Nallino, Kitāb al-Zahrah, Oriente Moderno, (Roma 1933), 490.
 4. Brockelmann, III, 137.
 5. Ibn Dāwūd, Introd. 4.

According to the information supplied by al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, it appears that the compiler's greatest concern was with love-poetry,¹ and apparently it was due to the amatory selections that the anthology became famous.

The contents of the edited half are not merely assembled haphazardly. Rather they echo and illustrate the compiler's own theory about human love - a theory that provides the key to the understanding of this anthology.

. . .

It appears that in evolving his theory about love, Ibn Dāwūd was influenced by three main factors: his inborn susceptibility to women, his religious upbringing and his reaction to al-Hallāj's mystical theory about spiritual love for the Divine.

According to al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, Ibn Dāwūd did not conceal that in affairs of the heart, he was always in dead earnest.² In his youth, his passionate nature led him to soak himself in love-poetry.³ It was ^{not} noted, however, that he indulged in any love-affairs. The only information

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1. al-Khatīb, Tārīkh, V, 259.
 2. Ibid, V, 262.
 3. Ibid, V, 259.

in this connection is that, just before his death, he spoke about his intensely passionate nature and indicated that he had been moved by love but had never given practical expressions to his feelings (apart, presumably, from marriage). This was perhaps due to the reserved religious atmosphere by which he must have been surrounded.

Dāwūd, the compiler's father, was the founder of the Zāhirī juristical school and an eminent religious figure.¹ Although he approved of his son's interest in love-poetry², he seems to have succeeded in inculcating the principles of self-control and continence into his son. This caused Ibn Dāwūd's passion to be platonized, thus introducing into his approach to women an element of refined chastity.

When al-Hallāj announced his mystical views, including the doctrine of directing man's love completely towards the Divine as the supreme object,³ the jurists of the age, especially Ibn Dāwūd, reacted fiercely. They refuted al-Hallāj, excommunicated him and furnished religious justifications for his execution.⁴

It is almost certain that, as a reaction to the mystical theory about love, jurists and non-mystical thinkers

1. Al-Khatīb al-Baghdādi, VIII, 369.

2. Ibid, V, 259.

3. Louis Massignon, al-Halladj, Ency. of Islam, II, 240.

4. Louis Massignon, La passion d'al-Hallāj, (Paris 1922), 161-182.

emphasised the human course which man's love should naturally take. This explains that although Ibn Dāwūd frequently cites religious quotations in support of his views about love,¹ he regards it always as a completely human matter.² For him, love is simply a human feeling between man and woman, and should be expressed with dignity.³ Later on, the famous jurist, Ibn Hazm, adopts this theory and enlarges upon it in his treatise "The ring of the dove."⁴

. . .

In his introduction, the compiler states that the selections in the first half, which is devoted to love-poetry, are divided into 50 chapters of 100 verses each. (The second half, which deals with the rest of the poetic topics, is similarly divided). "Each chapter (in the first half)", he says, "is on one of the emotional experiences which lovers undergo. Chapter-titles are in the form of short proverbs."⁵

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1. Ibn Dāwūd, pp. 14, 66.
 2. Ibid, p.5, to quote Ibn Dāwūd, "لأن هذا الأمر ليس من أمور الديانات"
 3. Ibid, p.66.
 4. A.R. Nykl, The Dove's Neck-ring, (Paris 1931), Introd. LXI Ibn H'azm al-Andalusi, Le collier du pigeon, ed. Leon Bercher, (Alger 1949); see pp. 14-16, where Ibn Hazm quotes Ibn Dawud.
 5. Ibn Dāwūd, p.4.

About the sequence of these chapters, he writes, "The sequence of the chapters corresponds to that of the experiences they represent. I began with explanations of the nature of love and its causes, then the various experiences which lovers go through when already in love, and finally came to the theme of faithfulness between lovers during their lives and after the death of their partners.¹"

This scheme is maintained fairly well throughout the anthology. Some chapters, however, do not include exactly 100 verses;² but this is a minor inconsistency.

What is really striking is the fact that the compiler, though opposed to mystics, approaches his subject in a typically mystical way. In his basic classification and in many places in his comments, he expresses the idea that lovers go through certain states of mind which he terms "Ahwāl" and sometimes "Marātib".³ One cannot help marking the similarity between such states and the mystical ecstasies and stages of spiritual progress.

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1. Ibn Dāwūd, p. 5.
 2. Ibid, see, for instance, ch.31, p.227.
 3. Ibid, pp. 5, 19. Also see pp. 9, 25 for the expressions, al-Zāhir - and al-Bātin.

Whether Ibn Dāwūd applied these mystical terms and expressions because he was really convinced of their truth or merely to parody his opponents the Sūfīs is not known for certain. It has been related, however, that he plainly said that he made his selection "playfully".¹ This might support the parody suggestion; but judging by the general tone of his writing, it seems more probable that Ibn Dāwūd was serious when he applied these terms.

Ibn Dāwūd's own views about love are usually expressed in prose as introductions to the chapters. These views are not so comprehensive as those advanced by Ibn Hazm in "Tawq aḥ Ḥamāmah"; but of course the "Tawq" is a detailed analysis, whereas Ibn Dāwūd's views are merely incidental comments. It seems, however, that "al-Zahrah" may have been, to say the least, a source of ideas for Ibn Hazm in his study of the subject.²

The compiler clearly states that he has not the slightest desire to cite pieces on erotic love" since this is immoral and prohibited by religion." He adds, however, that "reference to meetings between lovers and, within limits, to their expressions of love can be reluctantly allowed."³

1. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, V, 259.

2. Massignon, La passion. I, 169 - Ibn Dāwūd, Introd., 1-2.

3. Ibid, 75 - 76.

This rather vague statement may be illustrated by pieces on page 68 which speak of lovers permitting physical familiarities without committing serious sins. Apart from a few such pieces, which are somewhat erotic, the remaining pieces are platonic.¹

Nevertheless, being well-known as a religious figure, the compiler was taunted by his opponents for the latitude he allowed himself in including the erotic pieces. Though never denying that "it is imperfect to include such pieces"², the compiler defended his position by drawing attention to those pieces in his anthology which speak of continence and obedience to religious commandments.³

The selection has been made from the works of poets famous and obscure from the pre-Islamic period up to the compiler's times. As Nykl observed, some of the pieces included are not found in the diwans of their composers.⁴

Like other anthologists, who selected extracts, the compiler takes noticeable liberties in quotation, especially in putting together lines which are far apart in their original poems.⁵

1. Ibid, 64, 68 (L.6).
2. Ibn Dāwūd, 75-76.
3. Al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, Tārīkh, V, 261.
4. Ibn Dāwūd, Introd., 7.
5. Ibid, 2.

The quality of the selections varies considerably. Indeed since the compiler confines his large collection to one single subject he is bound to include works of varying standard.

Nykl notes that "the principal value of "al-Zahrah" consists in its being a collection "on one subject",¹ but as he had not seen the second half, in which "the rest of the poetic subjects" are tackled, his opinion cannot be substantiated.

This anthology, however, has two unique features:

(1) That, while love-poetry is given the fourth position in the "Ḥamāsah" of Abū Tammām and is entirely neglected in Buḥturī's "Ḥamāsah", it is here put first, and forms one complete half of the whole work. The compiler explains that as poems usually open with amatory preludes, he follows the same fashion and begins his selection with love-poetry. This is obviously a mere excuse, since, as previously mentioned, he does so because of his great interest in such poetry. The result is that the first half forms the largest collection of extracts on this subject.

1. Ibid, 6.

(2) That the edited half illustrates the compiler's views on love, and is perhaps the first poetic work to be inspired by doctrinal motives.

. . .

The three anthologies already studied are the work of three eminent figures renowned for their vast knowledge of poetry and not known to have perpetrated any literary forgery. Moreover, most of the contents of these anthologies are verifiable; they appear in the diwans of their composers and in other literary sources. These facts indicate that the works before us are, generally speaking, trustworthy. When quotation is made from them, however, it should be remembered that the compilers took liberties with the original texts.

CHAPTER VII

ANTHOLOGIES OF SINGLE VERSES

1

In the surveys of early anthologies contained in "historical outlines" of Arabic literature, attention is focused only on anthologies of complete poems and of extracts and no reference is made to anthologies of single verses.¹

Perhaps this is because most of these anthologies have been lost and the few surviving have been made available to the modern student only fairly recently. "Kitāb al-Ma'ānī al-Kabīr" by Ibn Qutaibah and "Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt" by Ibn Abī 'Awn, for instance, were edited only about 1950.

Another probable reason for the neglect of such anthologies is that selections of single verses may not have been regarded by some scholars as anthologies proper but merely as collections of couplets of special interest, primarily linguistic, and more or less similar to the

1. Brockelmann, I, 67 et seq. - Blachère, 141-152. - Nicholson, 128 et seq. al-Asad, 573-591 - *Shawqī Daif, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, (Cairo, 1960), 176 seq.*

numerous literary books on topics such as "al-Maisir wal-Qidāh" by Ibn Qutaibah¹ and "al-Wuhūsh" and al-Nakhl wal-Karm" by al-Aṣma'ī², which were in fact, to quote Prof. Arberry, "as pegs on which to hang strings of assorted verses containing key-words of philological interest"³.

The truth is that the selections of single verses, though they often serve linguistic ends, do not do so completely. Some, such as "Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt"⁴, an anthology of verses containing excellent and rare similes, and the apparently lost anthologies of maxims and proverbs were purely literary. Moreover, the anthologies usually called "Abyāt al-Ma'ānī" (of which only two have survived), which consist primarily of verses difficult to understand, are not, as might be thought, compiled with philological aims only, though the selections are certainly of philological value. Rather the compilers are motivated by literary considerations, since most of the verses are selected because they contain unusual images and original

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1. 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim, al-Maisir wal-Qidāh, ed. Muhib al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, (Cairo, 1343 A.H.)
 2. 'Abd al-Malik b. Quraib al-Aṣma'ī, al-Wuhūsh, ed. R.Geyer, (Wien 1888).
'Abd al-Malik b. Quraib al-Aṣma'ī, al-Nakhl wal-Karm, ed. A. Haffner, (Beirut 1908)
 3. Arberry, The Seven, 47
 4. Ibn Abī 'Awn, al-Tashbīhāt, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mu'īd Khān (Cambridge 1950)

ideas. Commenting on one of the lines selected, Ibn Qutaibah states that Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' marvelled at the unusual idea expressed in this line¹. The concern with linguistic matters, however, which is undeniably noticeable in "Abyāt al-Ma'ānī" is no sufficient reason to exclude such works from the accounts of Arabic anthologies.

. . .

Before and after the invention of the Arabic Qaṣīdah, not only short pieces but also single lines have had their recognised status. According to al-Batalyūsī, the pre-Islamic poet, Tarafah b. al-'Abd composed a single line on wine ; this line was apparently sung before the king, al-Mundhir b. Mā' al-Samā' and has survived as "a line in its own right"². Similarly, composing single verses in al-Rajaz metre was a common practice exercised even by the Prophet on some occasions³. The fact that such verses were apparently

1. Ibn Qutaibah, Ma'ānī, II, 753

2. Al-Batalyusi, al-Iqtidāb, 348

3. *Ibn Manẓūr*, vii, 217

improvised does not necessarily imply that they lacked seriousness or artistic value.

The aim in all poems was for every line to stand out distinctly from every other, and to be as self-contained in meaning as possible. This was clearly stated by many critics¹ and was implied in the popular simile that a poem was a number of pearls assembled as a necklace². In his "Qawā'id al-Shi'r", the grammarian Tha'lab advances a detailed theory that sums up Arab views about the relation of verses to the whole poem. The gist of this theory is that each line should be complete in its sense and possess intrinsic artistic value. Tha'lab maintains that even each hemistich should preferably possess this quality and that lines depending on others in grammar and sense are the least poetical³.

This view is corroborated, from a different standpoint, by early critics who state that not only owing to their long poems but also to their remarkable lines do poets attain fame⁴. In his account of al-A'shā, Ibn Sallām

1. Tha'lab, L'Arte poetica, 201.

2. Al-Ma'arrī, Risālat al-Ghufran, 241

3. Tha'lab, L'Arte poetica, 183 seq

4. Ibn Sallām, 44 & 47 - Al-Sūlī, Akhhār al-Buhturī, 172

used, but usually for lines meant to be proverbs or regarded as such by critics¹. According to al-Buhturī, 'Alī b. al-Jahm calls such lines "Hits" and states that without such lines any poem is a "wash-out *الواش*"².

According to references in early bibliographies and sources, no fewer than twenty anthologies of single verses were compiled between the second and fourth centuries A.N. Only three of these, however, have reached us. These are "Kitāb al-Ma'ānī al-Kabīr" by Ibn Qutaibah, "Kitāb Ma'ānī al-Shi'r" by al-'Ushnāndānī³ and "Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt" by Ibn Abī 'Awn. In "al-Manthūr wal-Manẓūm" by Ibn Taifūr, there is a chapter entitled "The Unique Verses", which consists of one hundred and thirteen selected lines⁴. Although this is only a chapter in a long work, it can be regarded as a short anthology in its own right, thus raising the number of the extant anthologies to four.

1. Ibn Abī 'Awn, 1 - Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, 16 - al-'Āmidī, al-Mu'talif, 154

2. Al-Sūlī, Akhbār al-Buhturī, 172 seq.

3. Abu Uthmān Sa'id b. Hārūn al-'Ushnāndānī, Kitāb Ma'ānī al-Shi'r, (Damascus 1922)

4. Ibn Taifūr, Fols. 60A seq.

In "Khizānat al-Adab", moreover, al-Baghdādī makes many quotations from two of the apparently lost anthologies. These are by Ibn al-Sikkīt and by al-Batalyūsī and each is entitled "Abyāt al-Ma'ānī"¹. The quotations given by al-Baghdādī give a fair indication of the kind of material included in the original works².

Judging by the contents of the available anthologies, the extracts quoted by al-Baghdādī, the comments found in the literary sources and of course the titles of the works, one can roughly classify these anthologies into three main groups :

1. Anthologies of verses difficult to understand. These are commonly entitled "Abyāt al-Ma'ānī" or "Ma'ānī al-Shi'r". Al-Suyūtī asserts that they are so named because the verses included are so difficult to understand that the help of scholars has to be sought³. So far as can be traced, fourteen anthologies of this kind were compiled by the following authors :

1. Al-Maimanī, Iqlīd, 1

2. See, for instance, Khizānah, I, 510 ; II, 301 ; III, 484

3. Al-Suyūtī, al-Muzhir, I, 578

1. Abū al-Hasan Sa'īd b. Mas'adah al-Akhfash (ob.210 A.H.)¹.
2. Al-Aṣma'ī, (ob. 216)².
3. 'Abd al-Rahman, al-Aṣma'ī's cousin (third century)³.
4. Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Ḥātim al-Bāhilī (ob.231)⁴.
5. Ibn al-A'rābī (ob.232)⁵.
6. Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd b. Hārūn al-'Ushnāndānī (third century)⁶.
7. Abū al-'Amāithal 'Abd Allāh b. Khulaid (ob.240)⁷.
8. Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Yahyā, Tha'lab (ob.291)⁸.
9. Ibn al-Sikkīt (ob. 246), (two anthologies)⁹.
10. Ibn Qutaibah (ob.276).
11. Al-Buḥturī (ob. 284)¹⁰.
12. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. Darastawaihi (ob.347)¹¹.
13. Al-Batalyūsī¹². (ob. 521).

II. Anthologies of memorable lines usually treated as proverbs.

The common title for such anthologies is "al-Abyāt al-Sā'irah" or "al-Amthāl al-Sā'irah". The following are the compilers of such works:

1. Abū al-Minhāl, 'Uyainah al-Muhallabī (ob.170)¹³.
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|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Yāqūt, IV, 244. | 2. Ibn al-Nadīm, 55. |
| 3. Ibid, 56. | 4. Ibid, 56 - Yāqūt, I, 406. |
| 5. Yāqūt, IV, 245. | 6. The Qutaibah, Ma'ānī, Introd. |
| 7. Ibn Qutaibah, Mā'ānī, Introd. | |
| 8. Yāqūt, IV, 245. | |
| 9. Ibn Khallikān, II, 234. Ibn al-Nadīm, 165. | |
| 10. Yāqūt, II, 152. | 11. Al-Baqhdādī, Khizānah, I. 510. |
| 12. Al-Baqhdādī, Khizānah, I. 9. | |
| 13. Ibn al-Nadīm, 48. | |

2. Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkārī (ob.275)¹.
3. Tha'lab².
4. Ibn Abī 'Awn (ob.322)³.

III. Anthologies of verses exhibiting literary excellence.

These are "Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt" and "Kitāb al-Isti'ārāt"⁴ by Ibn Abī 'Awn, together with the chapter, "The unique verses" by Ibn Taifūr.

The anthologies in the last two groups are more or less confined to their specific fields, whereas the anthologies in the first include, in addition to difficult verses, proverbial citations and lines of artistic excellence.

Since most of the works in question are lost, it seems best to deal first with the anthologies in general under the previous classification and then to examine the existing works.

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1. Ibn al-Nadīm.
 2. Al-'Āmidī, Al-Mu'talif, 154.
 3. Ibn Abī 'Awn, 1.
 4. Ibid, 1.

I. Anthologies of difficult verses.

There are many indications that some of the verses considered difficult have provided a challenge not only to the layman but also to professional scholars. Referring to one of these verses, Ibn Qutaibah states that al-Asma'ī was not able to explain it!¹ About another he states, "None of those I asked knew its meaning except Abū 'Amr b. al-'Ala'.² Moreover, twice in "Kitāb al-Ma'anī al-Kabīr", it is stated that Abū 'Ubaidah approached Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā', the eldest of scholars then alive, for illumination on difficult lines, and that in both cases the answer was, "Long ago died those who were acquainted with the real meaning."³

A study of the contents of "Kitāb al-Ma'anī at Kabīr" by Ibn Qutaibah and "Ma'anī al-Shi'r" by al-'Ushnāndānī and the available quotations from the similar works shows that the difficulties in understanding such verses are mainly of four kinds. (a) Philological difficulties. These arise from the inclusion of a vocabulary that is either (1) archaic, or (2) from less common regional dialects, or (3) used in unusual meanings or contexts.

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1. Ibn Qutaibah, Ma'anī II, 772 (line 3) & 773 (L.14).
 2. Ibid, II, 1015.
 3. Ibid, II, 912 & 1137.

In a few cases difficulties are caused by grammatical irregularities.¹

Some of the archaic vocabulary was not known even by the foremost philologists of the age. The word, "dahk", for instance, was unknown to al-Aṣma'ī, who enquired about its meaning from Ibn Abī Tarafah.² An example of regional vocabulary is found in the line by Abū Dhu'aib,³ in which the poet uses the word "Sibb" - a Hudhaili equivalent for the standard word "Sabab". An uncommon use of the word "Ṣaidan صَيْدَان" in the sense of "a king" occurs in a line by Ru'bah. Referring to this, al-Aṣma'ī says, "Only in this line has the word "Ṣaidan" been used in this sense."⁴ Similarly, the word "Alaṣṣ أَلَصَّ", is used in a line by Imru' al-Qais in the phrase أَلَصَّ الضُّرُوسُ (teeth not separated by spaces), whereas according to al-Aṣma'ī the only usual idiom is أَلَصَّ الْإِلَيْتَيْنِ.⁵

(b) Ambiguities in meaning. These may be caused either by images or expressions. An example of an ambiguous image is found in the line by Abū Dhu'aib, in which ribs are likened

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1. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Ma'ānī, II, 646 (L.7), 1025 (L.8).
 2. Ibid, II, 619.
 3. Ibid, II, 619 (L.2).
 4. Ibid, I, 478.
 5. Ibid, I, 221.

to arrows which have lost their tips. The point of resemblance is not quite clear in this verse and has been variously interpreted as referring to the vibrations of such arrows or to their sound.¹ Ambiguity of expression occurs in the invocation in verse no. 90 in al-²Ushnāndānī's collection, which can be interpreted equally well as favourable or otherwise.² Less puzzling than this is the line by al-Parazdaq in which he praises his folk. In deciding what quality was being praised in this line, al-Aṣma'ī and Abu 'Ubaidah differed widely.³

(c) Difficulties arising from a lack of background information.

This information is either (1) about the circumstances of composition, or (2) about ancient customs mentioned in the verses, or (3) about certain details, which require special knowledge to be understood.

For example, in a verse by a poet from Sulaim, a strange statement is made that the scorpion administers justice in the poet's quarters. Ibn Qutaibah sheds light on this verse by relating an incident about a person who had seduced one of the poet's womenfolk and was stung by a scorpion.⁴ Without knowledge of this incident, the poet's statement already

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1. Ibid, II, 627.
 2. Al-²Ushnāndānī, 107.
 3. Ibn Qutaibah, Ma'anī, II, 956.
 4. Ibid, II, 676.

mentioned cannot be understood.

A line by Ibn Ahmar shows the necessity of information about some ancient customs. In this line the poet speaks about a joint of goat which is lawfully eatable even if the goat was not slaughtered but merely died. According to Ibn Qutaibah, this is a reference to a certain pre-Islamic custom, which has apparently been abandoned.¹

Verses that require special knowledge to be understood are numerous. The knowledge required is mostly about animals,² plants,³ and places.⁴

(d) Poetic puzzles. Ibn Qutaibah relates that Hammād al-Rāwiyah and other playful literary people gathered for drinking wine and occupied themselves solving poetic puzzles.⁵ This indicates that such puzzles were mainly meant to be games: certain lines were composed in which the meaning was expressed enigmatically and the reader had to guess what was being referred to. Some of the poetic puzzles, however, were certainly composed for serious reasons. Verse no.46 (in al-'*Ushnā*dānī's anthology), for instance, was composed by a prisoner of war who wanted to warn his people against

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1. Ibid, II, 683 (L.9).
 2. Ibid, II, 646 (L.12), 691 (L.15).
 - 3,4. Ibid, II, 612, 614, 623.
 5. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Shi'r, 483.

the enemy's coming attack.¹ The verse was intentionally equivocal to convey this serious information.²

II. Anthologies of proverbs.

Although the anthologies of proverbial lines are all lost, ample data about such lines can be found in the following sources:

(1) The two anthologies, "Kitāb al-Ma'ānī al-Kabīr" and "Ma'ānī al-Shi'r". These include many examples of lines prefaced by the sentence " وهذا مَثَلٌ ". This can mean either "This is a proverb" or "This is a metaphorical image", and is used to introduce both types of lines.³

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1. Al-'Ushnāndānī, 57.
 2. Al-Baghdādī mentions a book entitled "Kitāb al-Alghāz" by Abū al-Ma'ālī Sa'd b. 'Alī b. al-Qāsim al-Ansārī. Judged by its title, this work must have been a collection of poetic puzzles. The book, however, is apparently lost. For examples of poetic puzzles see Ibn Qutaiba's Kitāb al-Ma'ānī, I, 486 (10), 377, II, 1044 (10), 1099 (4), 1188 (8), 1189 (11), III, 1076 (5) and al-'Ushnāndānī's Ma'ānī, 46, 82, 52 (2), 53 (6).
 3. Ibn Qutaibah, Ma'ānī, II, 861 (1), 879 (9), 882 (11), 883 (2).

(2) Early collections of Arabic proverbs. Of these the two by al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbi¹ and al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salamah² include a few, though ancient, specimens of poetic proverbs. Those by Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī³ and al-Maidānī⁴ contain quite a good number of poetic proverbs, ancient and modern, up to the dates of these compilers.

(3) The chapter on "poetic proverbs" in "al-Mustatraf" by al-Abshaiḥī (ob. 852 A.H.)⁵. This consists of 176 proverbs arranged according to the alphabetical order of the rhyme-letters and belonging to ages up to the eighth century A.H.

From the above material one can obtain a fairly clear idea about (1) the meaning of "al-Bait al-Sā'ir - al-Mathal al-Sā'ir" as it was understood by early poets and critics, (2) the number of proverbs contained in any one line, and (3) the relation between "the poetic proverb" and the current prose proverbs.

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1. Al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbi, Am-thāl al-'Arab, (Constantinople 1300 A.H.)
 2. Al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salamah, Ghāyat al-'Arab (Constantinople 1301 A.H.) - also see: Al-Fākhīr, ed. C.A. Storey (Leyden 1915).
 3. Abu Hilāl Hasan b. 'Abd Allah al-'Askarī, Jamharat al-Amthāl, (Cairo 1310 A.H.).
 4. Ahmad b. Muhammad Al-Maidānī, Majma' al-Amthāl, (Cairo 1310. A.H.)
 5. Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad al-Abshaiḥī, al-Mustatraf Fi Kull Fann Mustatraf; (Cairo 1279), I, 37-43.

As with the prose proverb, critics, in the course of time, have stressed different aspects of proverbial verse. This is quite clear from the specimens of verses before us and from the definitions of "al-Mathal al-Sā'ir" advanced by early critics.

The earliest definition is that by Ibn Qutaibah, who, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, defines the "Mathal" by reference to the following line by al-Rā'ī:

كَخَانٍ مَرْتَحِلٍ بِأَعْلَى تَلْعَةٍ .. نَحْرَتَانِ ضَرَمَ عَرَجًا مَبْلُولًا

"The camel", says Ibn Qutaibah, "when overloaded, stretches its neck and vainly tries to support its weight on its chin. Therefore this line applies to any person who, when overburdened with duties, seeks the support of those who cannot help him."¹ In explaining the meaning of "al-Mathal al-Sā'ir", Ibn Abī 'Awn quotes two lines both of which accord with the definition of Ibn Qutaibah.²

Later on another definition is advanced by Abū Hitāl al-'Askarī. He states that "al-Mathal al-Sā'ir" is a sage maxim that gains wide currency and becomes a quotable saying. "Should such a line be little quoted", says al-'Askarī, "it cannot be regarded as a proverb but merely as a wise utterance."³ Ibn Rashīq seems to concur with al-'Askarī,

1. Ibn al-Nadīm, 56.

2. Ibn Abi 'Awn, 1.

3. Al-'Askarī, Jamharat al-Amthāl, 5.

and adds that the poetic proverb is sometimes called "mathal sharūd" because it spreads widely, like "a runaway camel that roves everywhere."¹

These definitions, though obviously different from each other, are not contradictory; rather they are complementary. Some of the ancient proverbs answer the first definition by the inclusion of similes that have caused the lines to be quoted; while others are clearly didactic in the sense of the second definition.

There are, however, some proverbial lines which cannot be classified according to either of the previous definitions, for instance, the following line by Abū Dhu'aib, which is included in "al-Mustatraf".

وتجلدي للشامتين أربهم .. أَيْ لَرَيْبِ الدَّهْرِ لَا أَتَضَعُ

It is true that the line implies the wisdom of not giving way to grief if misfortunes fall; but this is not explicitly stressed. It appears that the main purpose of this line is to express the poet's defiance of those who gloat over his misfortunes. The line therefore is regarded as a proverb neither because it contains an applicable simile nor because of its implied wisdom, but because of its usefulness as a forceful quotation when troubles beset someone or when his enemies rejoice maliciously at his misfortunes.

1. Ibn Rashīq, al-'Umdah, ed. al-Na'sānī, I, 189.

Abū al-Muhawwish al-Asadī says that the poetic proverb is usually expressed in one line only.¹ About the minimum length of a proverb, Hammād al-Rāwiyah holds that one hemistich and even one quarter of a line can stand alone as an independent proverb.²

Ibn Rashīq goes further and maintains that one line can include up to six proverbs, but he states that such plurality damages the poetic spontaneity. He also asserts that, if several proverbs are included in one line, these proverbs should be metrically balanced and contained within the metrical divisions.³

Judged by the available examples of poetic proverbs, Ibn Rashīq's strictures appear unreasonably sophisticated: it is rare to find several proverbs in one line, and if this does happen, they do not always follow the metrical divisions. Ibn Rashīq shows himself aware of the latter fact, when he quotes the following line by al-Nābighah:

وَأَسْتَبْتَبِقُ أَخَا لَا تَلْمُهُ . عَلَى شَعَثٍ . أَيُّ الرِّجَالِ الْمَهْدَبُ

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1. Ibn Qutaibah, *al-Shi'r*, 16.
 2. Ibn Rashīq, *al-'Umdah* (ed. al-Na'sānī), I, 189 seq.
 3. *Ibid.*

The last clause (أي الرجال المهذب) is clearly a proverb, but does not fit the metrical divisions. In order to make it fit, either one "Watid" should be prefixed to it, or two "Sababs" from the beginning should be omitted.

It appears that poetic proverbs are regarded as being in a class apart from the rest of Arabic sayings merely because of their metrical form.¹ They are not otherwise different from prose-proverbs either in subject-matter or in technique: both treat of similar themes and in both it is their practical moral wisdom, their pithiness and their imaginativeness which have caused them to become widely quoted.

There are, moreover, many examples of borrowings between these two forms of proverbs. For instance, the prose proverb (خير قويسي سهما) is derived from a line by Khālid b. Mu'āwiyah.³ Poetic proverbs either quote prose proverbs⁴ or merely refer to them on the assumption that

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1. Quranic and Prophetic proverbs are also treated separately as a class, but apparently on religious grounds.
 2. Al-Maidānī, Majma', I, 6.
 3. Al-Dabbī, Amthal, 12.
 4. Al-Maidānī, Majma', I, 179 (for the line by Bishr b. Abī Khāzim)

they are known.¹ For metrical reasons, quoted proverbs are sometimes reworded.²

III. Anthologies of excellent lines.

The verses included in these anthologies show, generally speaking, originality of thought and mastery in the use of imagery.

In the chapter "The Unique Verses", it is clear from the verses that Ibn Taifūr selects that he considers original ideas important. This is made still clearer by the critical comments on these verses. Guided by these comments one can say that the verses included contain five kinds of ideas which are original or expressed in an original way:

a) Unusual ideas. A recognised example is a line from the Mu'allaqah of Imru' al-Qais, in which he rebuffs those who reproach him for indulgence in love and calls them grim enemies; yet he admits the sincerity of their advice.³

1. Al-Dabbi, Amthal, 79 (for the line by al-Nābighah)

2. al-Dabbi, Amthal, 21 - al-Maidānī, Majma', II, 108 (al-Mukhabbat's line) - Ibn Qutaibah, Ma'ānī, I, 501 (L. 14)

3. This line reads:

ألا رُبَّ خصمٍ فيك ألوى رددته .. نصيحا على تغذاله غير مؤتمل

Ibn Taifūr comments that only in this line is advice regarded as a token of enmity and yet appreciated.

b) Novel ideas. There is an example in another line from Imru' al-Qais's Mu'allaqah, in which he screams in exasperation at the night for being so agonisingly long; yet he foresees that the coming day will not be any better for him.¹ Ibn Taifūr comments that Imru' al-Qais was the first to introduce the idea of being simultaneously agonised and detached enough to see that things would not improve.

c) Ideas based on observations not previously made.

This is exemplified by the line of al-Nābighah, in which he states that, when his people's army marches, hawks and predatory birds follow it knowing that the enemy will be defeated and the victims will provide abundant food.² According to Ibn Taifūr, al-Nābighah was the first to draw attention to the behaviour of predatory birds in war-time.

d) Novel images. One of these is expressed in a line by Imru'al-Qais, in which he likens the top of the hill,

1. Reference to the line:

2. Reference to the line:

إلا أيها الليل الطويل ألا انجل .. بصبح وما إلا صباح منك بأمثل
إذا ما التقى الجيشان خلق فوقهم .. عصائب طير تهدي بعصائب

Thubair, in a drizzle, to a distinguished chief wrapped in a striped cloak.¹ Ibn Taifūr asserts that this image was entirely novel.

e) Terse but comprehensive expressions. The verses exhibiting these are mostly descriptions, such as the lines on horses selected from Imru' al-Qais's Mu'allaqah. There is also a panegyrical line by al-Nābī'ghah, which was selected because, to quote Ibn Taifūr, "it is unparalleled in its comprehensiveness." Intensity of expression has always been acclaimed; it indicates the writer's depth of understanding.

The emphasis on "originality of thought" as a major poetic quality gave rise to the practice of tracing and bringing together verses, (usually called *الأمشابه والنظائر*), containing analagous ideas, and to the study of literary plagiarism in general. This can be clearly seen in the work of Ibn Taifūr already mentioned and in "Kitab al-Ma'ānī al-Kabīr".²

Mastery in the use of imagery is stressed by Ibn Abī 'Awn, who, in the preface to his anthology (Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt) states that what counts most in poetical work

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1. Reference to the line: *كأن تبييرا في عرائين وبله . كبير أناس في مجادٍ منمزل*
 2. Ibn Qutaibah, Ma'ani, I, 12 (14), 28 (12), 214 (3), 367 (2), 435, II, 897, 899.

is the apt use of: (1) proverbial citation, (2) similes, and (3) metaphors. He confirms, moreover, that of these three kinds of imagery similes are the most important artistically because they require "delicacy of thought and feeling and a great sense of discernment between things."¹

The verses in "Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt" belong to periods ranging from pre-Islamic times to the fourth century A.H., thus providing the student of Arabic similes with abundant and representative material. The comments of the author, however, are no great help, since they are usually brief and general.

The main quality stressed throughout the anthology is the "uniqueness" of similes. The term used by Ibn Abī 'Awn is التشبيه الواقعي النادر²; and for similes lacking this quality he uses the expression تشبيه قديم متعارف³ (a "worn-out" image).

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1. Ibn Abī 'Awn, 1.
 2. Ibn Abī 'Awn, 20.
 3. Ibid, 32.

Most of the verses in "Ma'ānī al-Shi'r" of al-Ushnāndānī contain similes which are ancient and representative of Bedouin imagery.¹

In the preface to "Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt", Ibn Abī 'Awn expressed his intention of compiling an anthology of verses containing metaphors.² It is not known whether or not this intention was fulfilled; but the work is not reckoned among the publications of this writer known to either early or modern bibliographers. In "Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt", however, there are some examples of verses containing metaphors indicating the kind of material likely to have been included in the anthology mentioned if it was ever compiled.³ Ibn Abī 'Awn makes it clear,

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1. Some examples of this are:
 Old sandals are like decayed remnants of quails (P.20)
 Shadows of camels, when the sun is overhead, are like extra hooves. (P.31).
 Stars are like dogs' eyes. (P.97).
 Mossy waters look like shabby garments. (P.96).
 2. Ibn Abī 'Awn, 1.
 3. Ibid, 16 (1), 19 (15), 22 (4), 23 (15), 85 (4), 120 (1), 123 (4), 186 (4).

moreover, that his criterion for selecting such verses is that the metaphors expressed should be noticeably uncommon.¹ The examples provided obviously accord with this criterion.

Another kind of figurative device that gains the attention of anthologists is that what Ibn Qutaibah terms "Mathal"². As mentioned before, this term applies to proverbs as well as metaphorical images. Considered in the second application, it is rather wide: it applies sometimes to simple metaphors³ but mostly to multiple and kinetic metaphorical images.⁴ This explains why a certain line by al-Huṭai'ah quoted in both "Kitāb al-Ma'ānī"⁵ and "Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt"⁶ is treated by Ibn Qutaibah in the first as "Mathal" and by Ibn Abī 'Awn in the second as "Isti'ārah". Numerous examples of "Mathals" are supplied in "Kitāb al-Ma'ānī al-Kabīr" and "Ma'ānī al-Shi'r".

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1. Ibn Abī 'Awn, 1.
 2. Ibn Qutaibah, Ma'ānī, see for instance I, 559 (14).
Ibn al-A'rābī applies the same term (II, 934), so does al-'Ushnāndānī. (24 (12), 29 (8).
 3. al-'Ushnāndānī, 24 (12).
 4. Ibn Qutaibah, Ma'ānī, II, 922 (17), 947 (10), 961 (11), 1002 (1).
 5. p. II, 1021.
 6. p. 1.

II

(a) Kitāb Ma'ānī al-Shi'r al-Kabīr by Ibn Qutaibah.

The last Arab scholar to have seen a complete version of "Kitāb al-Ma'ānī al-Kabīr" by Ibn Qutaibah was al-Baghdādī, who, in his "Khizānat al-Adab," states that this work consists of two large volumes.¹ In a monograph which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1921, Dr. F. Krenkow made it known that he had located the first volume of this work in Aya Sofiya in Istanbul, and that in 1919 he had located the second volume of the same work in the India Office in London. Krenkow states that an examination of these two volumes proved that they are complementary halves of the same work, written by the same copyist.²

In 1949, an edition of the Mss. mentioned appeared

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1. Al-Baghdādī, Khizānah, I, 9.
 2. Dr. F. Krenkow, the Kitāb Ma'ānī al-Shi'r by Ibn Qutaibah, J.R.A.S., (London 1921), 119.

in Hyderabad. The main work was done by Dr. Krenkow. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Yahyā al-Yamānī, who looked through the work before it was printed, added some marginal comments.¹

It seems that the title of this anthology has been slightly modified by the copyists. Ibn al-Nadīm knew it as "Kitāb Ma'ānī al-Shi'r"², whereas al-Suyūtī and al-Baghdadi refer to it as "Kitāb Abyāt al-Ma'ānī".³ Even in the extant Mss., which are written by the same copyist, the anthology is named "Kitāb Ma'ānī al-Shi'r"⁴, abbreviated sometimes to "Kitāb al-Ma'ānī"⁵, but usually sections of chapters are prefaced by the title "Abyāt al-Ma'ānī".

This alteration of the title seems to have confused Prof. Brockelmann, who, in an article in the Encyclopaedia of Islam⁶ does not appear certain whether or not these different titles apply to the same work.

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1. Ibn Qutaibah, Ma'ānī, I, Intro. p. seq.
 2. Ibn al-Nadim, 77.
 3. Al-Suyūtī, al-Muzhir, I, 578-
Khizanah, I, 9.
 4. Ibn Qutaibah, Ma'ānī, I, 181 (L.4), 365 (L.1).
India Office Ms.no. 3828, Fol. 86.
 5. Brockelman, Ibn Kutaiba, Ency. of Islam, II. 399.

In his "Geschichte", however, Brockelmann seems certain. He states that, "to judge by Ibn al-Nadīm's review of it in his "al-Fihrist", the anthology "Ma'ānī al-Shi'r" is not the same work as that preserved in the Mss. of Aya-Sofiya and the India Office.¹ Brockelmann's opinion is based on the fact that in Ibn al-Nadīm's review, the chapter titles are mostly different from those in the existing work.

However, if this work is re-examined in the light of Ibn al-Nadīm's review, the differences in question appear insignificant; they are due either to Tashīfs (i.e. mistakes in copying), or to the substitution of section-titles for chapter-titles, or to a slight alteration in titles made by the copyists. Moreover, some chapters are wanting in the existing work and others are apparently misplaced or repeated, thus causing more confusion.

The following is a detailed comparison between the existing Mss., as edited by Krenkow, and the original seen by Ibn al-Nadīm:

1. Brockelmann, II, 225.

1. Ch.I. in Ibn al-Nadīm's review is named "Kitāb al-Faras", whereas in the existing work, the name is "Kitāb al-Khail." According to "Lisān al-'Arab", "al-Khail" is a generic name for "al-Faras".¹
2. Ch.II, entitled "Kitāb al-'Ibil", is lacking in the extant work. This chapter, however, is referred to on page 788 in the printed edition.
3. Ch.III is entitled "كتاب الجرب", which is obviously a mistake for "كتاب الخرب", the title of Ch.VI in the printed edition.
4. Ch.IV is entitled "كتاب العرور". This can only be read "كتاب القدور", which is the title of the first section in Ch.III in the printed work.
5. Ch.V, entitled "Kitāb al-Diyār", is lacking in the extant work. This chapter is, however, mentioned on page 1192 in the printed version.
6. Ch.VI, entitled "Kitāb al-Riyāh" is lacking.

1. Ibn Manzūr, VIII, 38.

7. Ch.VII is entitled "Kitāb al-Sibā' wal-Wuhūsh".

Guided by the definition of (al-Sibā') given by Ibn Qutaibah in his other book, "Uyūn al-Akhbār",¹ one can see that the title mentioned fits the contents of Ch.II in the printed version, which has no title.

8. Ch.VIII is entitled "Kitāb al-Hawāmm" (insects and vermin). In the existing work, this must be the title for Ch.IV, which deals with such creatures. The title-page of this chapter is lacking but the section title on p.677 is *ضروب من الهوام*, which is more or less the same as "al-Hawāmm".

9. The title of Ch.IX, which is "al-Aymān wal-Dawāhī", though different from that of Ch.V in the printed work, fits the contents of this chapter well. Moreover, the fact that "al-Aymān"² and "al-Dāhiyah"³ are used as section-titles in the printed work suggests that the difference mentioned is mere latitude on the part of the copyist.

10. According to Ibn al-Nadīm, Ch.X is named *النساء والعزل*, which obviously makes no sense. This title may well be a mistake for *النساء والمعزل*, which is a section-title on page 682 in the edited work. This guess gains support from the

1. 'Abd Allah, b. Muslim. Ibn Qutaibah, "Uyūn al-Akhbār", ed. Ahmad Zakī al-'Adawī (Cairo 1925).
 2. p.836.
 3. p.857.

fact that, in this edition, the subject matter of pages 682-790 is homogeneous; it is all about mammals, whereas the rest of the chapter to which these pages are appended is on insects and vermin. Perhaps the sections following the title *الشيء والمعز* were originally an independent chapter, which became misplaced.

11. Ch.XI, entitled *كتاب النسب والبن*, seems to be partly missing. There are, however, three sections (pp.502 et seq.) irrelevantly appended to ch.III in the printed work whose subject-matter answers this title. Moreover, the word *النسب* occurs in the section title on page 502. It is probable therefore that these sections originally belonged to the missing chapter.

12. Ch.XII, entitled *تصنيف العلماء*, is wanting in the printed work.

This investigation points to the conclusion that the anthology edited by Krenkow is the same work as that described by Ibn al-Nadīm, but also shows that the Mss. of Aya Sofiya and the India Office do not represent the whole work of Ibn Qutaibah, and that some of the sections included in these Mss. are misplaced.

Only the India Office Ms. has been available for this study, and an examination of this Ms. shows that it is made

up of several quires of different kinds of paper.

Probably the binder of the Ms. put together what he found of this work and failed to put some quires in their right position.

Ch.VII in the printed work is almost undoubtedly a mere cogglomeration of sections entirely unrelated in subject matter. One of these sections¹ is a repetition of the contents of the first section of Ch.V. The remaining sections originally belonged to different chapters and have been misplaced in binding. Similarities of subject matter make it fairly easy to trace the proper positions of these sections.²

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1. III, 1174 (باب المطايع في وصف الشعر والشعراء).
 2. The section, al-Maisir is about distribution of joints of she-camels exacted as forfeits in gambling; it might therefore have belonged either to the chapter "al-ʿIbil" or "al-Adyāf". The section al-Tatayyur fits well with a section of the same title on page 267. The section al-ʿĀthār is about the tracks of animals; it might have belonged to the section al-Zibā' wal-Baḡar (p.695). The sections al-Marāthī and al-Shaib wal-Kibar go well in ch.V, which is on calamities. "Al-Adab" is mostly about hospitality and therefore might have originally come from Ch.III.

The edited version of this anthology consists of seven chapters on the following subjects: (1) horses, (2) predatory animals and birds, (3) feeding and hospitality, (4) Hawāmm (insects, rodents, scorpions, snakes, etc.), (5) malice, threats and misfortunes, (6) war, (7) miscellaneous subjects.

As mentioned before, chapters III and IV have some irrelevant material appended to them, which almost certainly was not so appended in the original.

In Ch. III there are 4 sections which seem to have belonged to the missing chapter, al-Diyār¹, and 4 others which may have belonged to the chapter named by Ibn al-Nadīm "al-Nasab wal-Laban".² As mentioned before, also, there are in Ch. IV 6 sections which are self-contained and appear to have formed an independent chapter on mammals.³

Each of the seven chapters is divided into several sections, not always of equal length. One section may include 109 selections,⁴ while another may include only two.⁵

The selections themselves are mostly single lines. Some, however, are short passages and there are a few

1. pp. 473-502.

3. II, 682 - 792.

5. I, 42.

2. I, pp. 502-611.

4. I, 502.

selections of hemistiches.¹ Long passages are rarely included,² and appended to the first chapter, there are two long pieces of Rajaz.³

Some of the verses selected are quoted twice in different contexts. For example, line 1 on page 1 is quoted on page 719. This line is about cows being frightened by the galloping of horses, and is clearly suitable for quotation in the sections on horses and in that on cows.

Each selection is followed by adequate explanation, and if a selection has more than one line, the explanatory comments are usually interlined.

Since the anthology consists basically of lines difficult to understand, abundant philological information is included. The compiler, however, pays equal attention to clarifying the ideas and images dealt with in the

1. I, 8, 30.
3. I, 176 et seq.

2. II, 621.

selected verses. Moreover, he shows himself concerned with poetic borrowings: wherever relevant, he quotes verses which are analogous in theme or technique to those he includes.¹

The compiler of the anthology, 'Abd Allah b. Muslim b. Qutaibah, is indisputably a famous and reliable scholar.² The authorities from whom this compiler received his information are also of high reliability and reputation. They are Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā', al-'Asma'īs ('Abd al-Malik and his cousin 'Abd al-Rahmān), Abū 'Ubaidah, al-Riyāshī, Abū Hātim al-Sijistānī, Ibn al-A'rābī and al-Akhfash.³

On the authority of these eminent scholars, the present work is likely to be trustworthy. Moreover, as Dr. Krenkow's researches show, most of the contents of this anthology proved verifiable. They appear in the diwans of their composers or in other reliable early sources.

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1. I, 12 (14), 28(12), 214(3), 367(2), 433, 435 - II, 612, 897, 899.
 2. Al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, Tārīkh, X, 170.
 3. I, 1, 2, 3, 120, 193, 171 - III, 934.

(b) Kitāb Ma'ānī al-Shi'r
by al-'Ushnāndānī.

In 1922, an ancient Ms. of this anthology came into the possession of a literary group in Damascus, called "Jam'iyat al-Rābiṭah al-Adabiyyah", who entrusted the task of editing it to five of the members, Khaṭīl Mardam, Salīm al-Jundī, Aḥmad Shākīr al-Karmī, Halīm Dammūs and 'Abd Allah al-Najjār.¹ No information about the Ms. has been given, but probably it is the one that is preserved in the library, al-Zāhiriyyah, in Damascus.²

The editors were apparently not acquainted with the other Mss. of this work preserved in Cairo and the Escorial³. The edited version, however, seems trustworthy: it informs us on the title page that this is Ibn Duraid's version of the anthology and that this scholar read his Ms. before the compiler, al-'Ushnāndānī, and obtained his authority for the publication.⁴

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1. al-'Ushnāndānī, Ma'ānī, Introd., 3.
 2. Brockelmann, II, 167.
 3. Ibid.
 4. p.6.

The fact that what we possess is Ibn Duraid's version of the anthology gave rise to some confusion about the authorship of the work. In opposition to the early bibliographers, who attribute the anthology to Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd b. Hārūn al-'Ushnāndānī, Dr. Krenkow thinks that Ibn Duraid is the real author - a suggestion that has been accepted by Prof. Brockelmann.¹

Dr. Krenkow bases his suggestion on the fact that the Ms., though read before al-'Ushnāndānī was written by Ibn Duraid and on the observation that the commentary on the verses selected exhibits Ibn Duraid's peculiarities of style, known to Krenkow through his revision of the writer's lexicon, "al-Jamharah".²

Although it is obvious from the title-page of the anthology that it is Ibn Duraid's version, it is equally obvious that Ibn Duraid merely edited what he had received from his master, al-'Ushnāndānī. This is made even clearer

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1. Brockelmann's, II, 167.
 2. F. Krenkow, Kitāb Ma'ānī-sh-shi'r, J.R.A.S., (London 1924), 134.

by the last sentence in the preface,¹ the sentence introducing each selection and the colophon², which confirm that Ibn Duraid was a mere transmitter of the anthology.

It is probable that the commentary exhibits the characteristics of Ibn Duraid's style; but, since stylistic similarities between disciples and masters are not infrequent it is likewise probable that these characteristics are the same as those of al-'Ushnāndānī. This internal evidence is, however, inconclusive since all of al-'Ushnāndānī's works have been lost.³

It is possible that the anthology was delivered by al-'Ushnāndānī in a series of lectures and that Ibn Duraid recorded them freely leaving on them his own imprint, as is inevitable in such cases.

Early bibliographers were almost certainly right in thinking that this anthology is the work of al-'Ushnāndānī. Ibn Duraid, who edited it, might have occasionally reworded some passages here and there. The whole of the existing version, however, had al-'Ushnāndānī's authorisation.

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1. It reads: قال: أنشدني أبو عثمان الأشجناني سعيد بن هارون، قال:
 2. The colophon reads: آخر ما عن أبي عثمان من المعاني
 3. Brockelmann, II, 167.

The anthology contains 111 selections, most of which have two lines each; the remainder consist either of single lines or of three lines each.

In contrast to Ibn Qutaibah in his anthology, the compiler here does not classify the selections. Indeed with such a scanty number of verses no serious classification can be expected. In a few cases, however, two successive selections may have similar subjects. Selections nos. 88 and 89, for instance, are on swords, and nos. 101 and 102 are on horses.

The verses selected are mostly anonymous; only about 15 verses bear the authors' names and they belong to periods ranging from pre-Islamic times to the date of the compiler.¹ It is extremely difficult to ascertain the dates of the anonymous verses.

Judged by their themes and images, the selected verses are clearly representative of Bedouin poetry. Apart from the usual Bedouin themes of generosity,² vengeance,³

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1. Selections nos. 5, 8, 10, 11, 18, 19, 33, 39, 40, 42, 43, 47, 61, 62, 84, 92.
 2. Selections nos. 1, 5, 7.
 3. Selections nos. 9, 11, 17, 32, 78, 107.

blood-money,¹ midday² and nocturnal journeys³ and descriptions of animals,⁴ there are several references to Bedouin practices which sound entirely alien to non-Bedouins. Some of these are:

1. Quenching thirst by bleeding the nose of a she-camel and drinking the flowing blood.⁵
2. Slaughtering camels to drink the liquid squeezed out of their paunches.⁶
3. Warming milk up by dropping hot stones into milk-pots.⁷
4. Rationing water during a shortage by pouring it on a stone in the measuring jug; the amount that covers the stone is one ration.⁸

1. Selections nos. 31,50,57.
2. Selections nos. 21,23,39.
3. Selections nos. 13,16,24,26,
4. Selections nos. 10,59,82,83,101,102,104
5. p.13.
6. p.80.
7. p.65.
8. p.50

Examples of Bedouin images have been mentioned before and the Bedouin atmosphere and modes of expression are clearly felt throughout the anthology.

The verses selected are all explained, sometimes at length. The commentary, like that of the previous anthology, cites illuminating verses and verses on parallel themes.¹

The compiler, al-'Ushnāndānī, was an eminent philologist.² Al-Anbārī refers to him as one of the great authorities on the language.³ The authorities from whom he received the material of his collection are mainly the famous scholars, Abu 'Ubaidah, al-Akhfash, al-Tauzī, Abū 'Amr al-Jarmī.⁴ In editing the work, Ibu Duraid, who was himself a keen

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1. See, for instance, p.128.
 2. *Al-Suyūfī, Bughyah, 258*
 3. Al-Anbārī, *Nuzhah*, 139.
 4. The anthology, p.6.

student of classical poetry,¹ consulted Abū Hātim al-Sijistānī on various points, thus giving added authorisation to the work.

The authority of all these great scholars suggests that the present work is reliable. The detailed verification of the verses selected seems impossible since for the most part they are anonymous. Most of the poetic quotations included in the commentary, however, proved verifiable.²

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1. al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, TārīKh Baghdād, II, 195. - Ibn al-Nadīm, 61.
 2. F. Krenkow, Kitāb Ma'ānī-sh-Shi'r, 136.

III

(a.) Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt by Ibn Abī 'Awn

This is the first, and perhaps the only finished work of three anthologies which Ibn Abī 'Awn intended to compile. The one before us is a selection of verses containing similes ; the other two , if ever compiled, would have been selections of verses containing metaphors and proverbs respectively.¹

In 1936, Dr. M. 'Abdul Mu'īd Khān of Hyderabad located an Ms. of this work in Cairo; and in 1946 he prepared an edition of the anthology based on the Cairo Ms. and two others. This careful edition was published in the "Gibb Memorial" series, Cambridge 1950.

. . .

The anthology may seem at first sight to have been intended as an anthology of passages rather than of

(1) Ibn Abī 'Awn, p.1

(2) Ibid, Introd., XIII, XVI et seq.

verses.

In fact this is not the way the compiler himself regards his anthology. In the preface, he makes it clear that his aim is to select verses¹ rather than long or short extracts. In the first five chapters, the compiler maintains this plan fairly accurately. In the sixth chapter, however, he relaxes his self-imposed restriction by indicating that while some lines can be taken out of their context with their complete sense unimpaired, there are others which are not completely self-contained. He states that, to make lines of the latter kind as intelligible and comprehensible as possible, and to ensure that they are fully appreciated, it is sometimes necessary to quote them in their context.²

Having given himself this licence, the compiler included selections of passages, both short and long.

It must be noted, however, that some of the long passages are quoted not merely because they clarify

1. p.2. The text reads: أثبت لك في هذا الكتاب أبياتا من التشبيه مختاره
2. p.30.

the meaning of a certain line among them, but because they include a succession of similes. For instance, the piece by Ibn al-Mu'tazz on p.194, consists of 14 lines, each of which contains at least one simile. These could almost equally well have been quoted as 14 separated verses.

The contents of ^{the} anthology are divided into 91 chapters according to subject-matter. Up to Ch.50, almost every three or four successive chapters tend to be on associated topics, while the remaining chapters are on miscellaneous subjects. The material contained in the first 50 chapters could be grouped under the following broad headings :

- Ch.1. Quranic similes and introductory remarks.
- Chs. 2-5 On planets
- 6-8 On horses and other animals
- 9-11 On journeys in the wilderness.
- 12-24 On women and their charms.
- 25-30 On war and weapons.
- 31(& 36-37) rain, springs and meadows
- 34-35 On wines and drinking vessels.

- 38-40 On nights and night thoughts.
- 41-42 On death and old age.
- 43 On poetry.
- 44-49 On sexual matters.

It is obvious from this survey and from the remaining chapters that the compiler does not show any serious attempt to arrange the 91 chapters of his anthology in a logical sequence. Chs. 44-49, which are on sexual matters, would have fitted well after chs. 12-24, which are on charms of women, and to these chs. 55 and 56, which treat of the beauty of faces, eyes and cheeks, could have been quite logically added. Similarly Ch.81 could have been followed well by ch.88 since both are on "beards". Other examples of illogical arrangement can easily be perceived.

. . .

Dr. Khān shows himself rather over-sympathetic when he assesses the criteria of the compiler. "here", writes Dr. Khān, "Ibn Abī 'Awn has formulated a principle for the criticism of Arabic poetry and has applied it to a vast field of poetic thought¹." Referring to Ibn Abī 'Awn's

(1) Ibn Abī 'Awn, introd.XIV.

theory about the importance of similes, metaphors and poetic proverbs, Khān writes¹, "The appreciation of poetry according to the merits of the creative imagination of its authors had not really found a place in Arabic rhetoric before Ibn Abī 'Awn."

Although Ibn Abī 'Awn was the first to group together these three devices as the most important modes of poetic expression, others long before him, had recognised and appreciated their importance. Similes, the nucleus of the present anthology, had been clearly stressed by Ibn Abī 'Awn's predecessors, Ibn Sallām,² Ibn Qutaibah³ and Ibn Taifūr⁴. In his "al-Shi'r wal-Shu'arā'", Ibn Qutaibah had made it even clearer that "the apt use of similes is a recognised criterion of good poetry."⁵

Ibn. Abī 'Awn's importance lies in the fact that his theory led him to produce an anthology unique of its type.

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1. Ibn Abī 'Awn, Introd. XV
 2. Ibn Sallām, 46, 67 - 80.
 3. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Sh'r, 21 et seq.
 4. Ibn Taifūr, Fol. 61
 5. p.21

The compiler of the anthology is referred to in early sources as an infamous heretic who was publicly condemned and crucified.¹ Although heretics are not necessarily unreliable in transmitting literary information, their reputation, rightly or wrongly, often becomes soiled.

However, this may be, Dr. Khān tries in his edition to verify the contents wherever possible. This investigation shows that the bulk of the contents are verifiable and almost certainly genuine. The genuineness of the remainder cannot, without further investigation, be accepted on the compiler's authority.

(b) The Chapter "The Unique Verses" by Ibn Ṭaifūr¹

This is a short but comprehensive chapter included in the eleventh volume of the large work, "al-Manthūr wal-Manzūm" by Ibn Ṭaifūr. It consists of 113 lines from the works of only five poets: 45 lines by Imru' al-Qais, 24 by Zuhair, 24 by al-Nābighah, 13 by al-A'sha and 7 by Qais b. al-Khaṭīm.

(1) Yāqūt, I.296

(2) Ibn Ṭaifūr, al - Manthūr, Fols. 60A - 62A.

All these lines are quoted from the most famous compositions of these poets. For instance, 12 lines among those selected from Imru'al-Qais are extracted from his Mu'allagah and 9 from his second most famous poem rhyming in Lām,¹.

In fact, Ibn Ṭaifūr appears to have confined his selection to lines that were universally acclaimed, thus supplying us with lines typically representative of Arab taste.

The only other attempt known to me to collect such lines was made by Abū Hilāl al-'Askārī in his anthology "Diwān al-Ma'anī". In this anthology, al-'Askārī begins almost every chapter by quoting what were considered the most excellent lines on the theme about to be treated. Usually such lines are prefaced by phrases like: "The most excellent line in Arabic on self-praise² - on panegyric³ - on love⁴ etc."

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- (1) It opens
 (2) Al-'Askārī, Diwān al-Ma'anī, I, 76, 78, 81
 (3) Ebid I, 15, 24, 29, 31, 32, 34, 37, 38, 41, 43
 (4) Ebid, I, 76

ألا أنعم صباحاً أيها الطلل البالي

أغزل بيت قالته العرب

أفخر بيت قالته العرب
 أمدح بيت قالته العرب

Unlike his contemporary critics, Ibn Ṭaifūr interlines his selection with critical comments and gives explicit reasons for his preference. Other critics pass general and rather vague judgments which never clarify the criteria applied.

EPILOGUE

I

LATER ANTHOLOGIES

This study has been confined to those anthologies compiled between the end of the first century and the beginning of the fourth A.H. and which seem most original and important. Between the fourth and seventh centuries, however, several anthologies were compiled, of which 8 are extant. Although these appear to be of secondary importance as sources of early poetry, they include useful information and possess merits of their own.

It is beyond the scope of this study to attempt any serious review of these works, but a brief reference to them may be pertinent.

The eight anthologies mentioned fall into three groups:

(1) Anthologies of complete poems. These are "Mukhtārāt

Ash'ār al-'Arab" by Ibn al-Shajarī (ob. 542 A.H.) and "Muntahā al-Ṭalab Fī Ash'ār al-'Arab" by Muḥammad b. al-Mubārak b. Maimūn (ob. in the 6th century A.H.).

2. Anthologies of extracts classified according to subject matter (and not imitating "al-Ḥamāsah"). These are "al-Ashbāh wal-Nazā'ir" by the two Khālīdīs, Abū Bakr Muḥammad (ob. 350 A.H.) and Abū 'Uthmān Sa'id (ob. 390 A.H.), "Dīwān al Ma'ānī" by Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (ob. 395 A.H.) and "al-Muntahā" by Abū Mansūr al-Tha'ālibī (ob. 429 A.H.)

3. Anthologies compiled in emulation of "al-Ḥamāsah" of Abū Tammām. These are "al-Ḥamāsah" by Ibn al-Shajarī, "al-Ḥamāsah al-Maghribiyyah" by Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Bayyūsī al-Andalusī (ob. 653 A.H.) and "al-Ḥamāsah al-Baṣriyyah" by Abū al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Faraj al-Baṣrī (ob. 657 A.H.).

To these eight, two anonymous anthologies can be added. These are "Majmū'at al-Ma'ānī"¹ and "Ṭarā'if al-Ṭuraf"² - both consist of extracts arranged according to

1. Majmu'at al-Ma'ānī, (Constantinople, 1301 A.H.).

2. Ṭarā'if al-Ṭuraf, Ms. No. 3767 Ayasofia, Istanbul. As stated in its preface, the anthology consists of 1,000 verses divided into 12 chapters, the number corresponding to that of the signs of the Zodiac.

their subjects.

I. IBN AL-SHAJARĪ'S "MUKHTĀRĀT SHU'ARĀ' AL-'ARAB"

The unique Ms. of this anthology, which is preserved in Cairo, is dated 542 A.H. and said to be written by the compiler himself, who died in the same year.¹ The work was first published in 1306 A.H., then well edited by Maḥmūd Ḥasan Zinātī in 1344 A.H. (1926 A.D.).

It consists of three parts: the first contains 12 poems by 11 poets, the second 25 by 4 poets, while the third contains 22 poems and pieces by al-Ḥuṭai'ah alone. The poets are pre-Islamic save for one Mukhadrim, al-Ḥuṭai'ah.

Perhaps Goldziher was the first scholar to draw attention to this work since he found in it an important source for the works of al-Ḥuṭai'ah, whose diwan he was editing.² Similarly, in editing the diwans of 'Abīd b. al-Abras and Bishr b. Abī Khāzim, Lyall and 'Izzat Ḥasan turned to this anthology in which they found some poems

1. Ms. No. 585, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, Cairo.

2. Der Diwan Des Garwal b. Aus al-Hutej'a, ed. I. Goldziher, (Leipzig 1893).

not occurring elsewhere.¹ All this makes the anthology as famous and as important as the earlier anthologies.

Without disputing the value of this work, there are good reasons to think that it consisted of three parts of different works put together by some unknown authority and that the attribution of it to Ibn al-Shajarī is utterly false. The grounds for this suggestion are as follows:

1. This work is not mentioned among Ibn al-Shajarī's publications by any of those who wrote about his life and works,² not even by his closest student Ibn al-Anbārī.³
2. All the authorities for the three parts belong to the third century A.H., whereas Ibn al-Shajarī lived in the fifth.⁴
3. The third part opens with the sentence,

” قال أبو حاتم سهل بن محمد السجستاني، أخبرنا الأصمعي قال: .. ”

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1. The diwan of 'Abīd, ed. Lyall, poems Nos. 25, 26, 27, 28. Diwan Bishr, ed. 'Izzat Ḥasan, Introd.
 2. Ibn Khallīkān, II, 183. - Ibn al-Qiftī, III, 356. - Al-Suyūṭī, Bughyat al-Wu'āh, 407. - Yāqūt, VII, 247.
 3. Ibn al-Anbārī, Nuzhah, 485-489.
 4. Mukhtārāt, I, 27, 30; II, 24, 33; III, 3.

and the name of Abū Ḥātim is repeated in five different places in this part, thus giving the strong impression that it is the work of Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī and not of Ibn al-Shajarī.

4. The three parts do not resemble one another: in the first, one poem is selected from each poet (save for al-Mutalammis who contributes two) and the poems are given with hardly any comments; in the second, each poet contributes several poems and some comments are included; the third part is written in the fashion of a diwan, with several comments. Had the three parts been written by the same author, he would most probably have been careful to make them more homogeneous.

5. Taken in conjunction with the previous points, the coincidence between the date of the Ms. and that of Ibn al-Shajarī's death seems strange.

For these reasons the authorship of Ibn al-Shajarī seems very questionable. The third part is very likely a portion of Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī's version of the diwan of al-Ḥuṭai'ah, since, as mentioned before, it bears his

name, and since it seems to have been al-Sijistānī's practice to split the diwans he collected into separate parts for convenience, as is seen in his version of the diwan of Tufail b. 'Awf al-Ghanawī.¹ The other two parts may or may not be the work of al-Sijistānī.

Historically, he was a contemporary of the authorities mentioned in these parts, but this fact cannot alone prove his authorship. Whoever may have been the compiler or compilers of these parts, al-Shajarī's authorship is almost certainly unacceptable.

2. MUNTAHĀ AL-TALĀB

In his introduction to the anthology, the compiler, Ibn Maimūn, states that it consists of 1,000 poems divided into 10 parts of 100 poems each. "I included", says Ibn Maimūn, "the selections of al-Mufaddal and those of al-Aṣma'ī, the Naqā'id of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, the poems mentioned by Abū Bakr b. Duraid in his book "al-Shawārid", the best poems of Hudhail and those mentioned by Ibn Sallām in his "Tabaqāt". The compiler adds that he chose

1. Diwan Tufail, ed. Krenkow, pp. 20, 29 & 43.

from each poet the best of his works.¹

It is regrettable that only about a quarter of this work (in manuscript form) has survived.²

3. AL-ASHBĀH WAL-NAZĀ'IR (which is not "Ḥamāsāt al-Khalidiyyain" as many mistakenly think)³

This is a collection of unclassified extracts. The compilers' method is to provide several pieces on the same narrow theme, accompanied by critical comments pointing to the borrowings between the pieces provided: this arrangement is then repeated with other themes. This work is a valuable reference for poetic plagiarism.

4. DIWĀN AL-MA'ĀNĪ - a collection of extracts well classified into 12 chapters.

Like the two Khālidīs, the compiler points to the poetic borrowings, but the striking feature of this work is that the compiler frequently states the reasons for his

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1. Ms. No.42943 'Umūmiyyah & 53 Adab Shīn Khuṣuṣiyyah, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, Cairo, Fol. I.
 2. S.M. Husain, Notice of an unknown anthology of ancient Arabic poetry, J.R.A.S., (London 1937), 433.
 3. Al-Khālidīyān, Al-Ashbāh, Introd. p. ٥

preferences.¹

5. AL-MUNTAHAL

It is not known for certain whether this anthology was compiled by al-Tha'ālibī or by Abū al-Fadl al-Mikālī, as Ibn Khallikān indicates. However this may be, the anthology consists of short extracts classified into 15 chapters according to subject matter.²

6-8 THE IMITATIVE HAMASAS

The three works mentioned imitate "al-Hamāsah" of Abū Tammām in title and in general outline, though they have individual deviations. Ibn al-Shajārī does not devote a special chapter to pieces on "Hospitality", but he includes such pieces in the chapter on "Panegyrics".³ He also divides the pieces on "Love"⁴ and those on "Descriptions"⁵ into several sub-divisions, thus causing the classification of his anthology to appear greatly

1. Also see p.277 of this thesis.

2. Abū Mansūr al-Tha'ālibī, Al-Muntahal, ed. Ahmad Abū 'Alī, (Alexandria, 1319 A.H., 1901 A.D.)

3. Hibat Allāh b. 'Alī Ibn al-Shajārī, Kitāb al-Hamāsah, ed. Krenkow, (Haiderabad, 1345 A.H.), p.95 seq.

4. Ibid, pp.145 - 195.

5. Ibid, pp.197 - 264.

different from that of Abū Tammām. Moreover, he includes a special chapter, "On blaming friends",¹ which has no corresponding chapter in Abū Tammām's work.

In both "al-Ḥamāsah al-Maghribiyyah"² and "al-Ḥamāsah al-Baṣriyyah"³ there is a chapter entitled "al-Zuhd wal-Mawā'iz" (i.e. Asceticism+moralising) in place of the chapter "al-Mulah (i.e. Humourous pieces.)

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1. Hibat Allāh b. 'Alī Ibn al-Shajarī, Kitab al-Ḥamāsah, ed. F. Krenkow, (Haiderabad, 1345 A.H.), p.66.
 2. Al-Ḥamāsah al-Maghribiyyah, Ms. No.4079 Fatih, Istanbul.
 3. Al-Ḥamāsah al-Baṣriyyah, Ms. No.3804, Nuruosmaniye, Istanbul.

II

CONCLUSIONS

In the previous chapters the anthologies have been studied individually. From the conclusions established in these chapters, an outline of the anthologies as a whole can be construed as follows:

1. Types of anthologies. The earliest anthologists were rhapsodists who aimed at selecting complete Qaṣīdas. This was almost certainly because the Qaṣīdah came to be considered the perfect form of poetic composition. In the third century A.H., two novel types of anthology were introduced by poets and scholars respectively: 1) anthologies of extracts classified according to their topics, 2) anthologies of single verses of special interest (literary or linguistic).

Anthologies of complete Qaṣīdas are mostly arranged by grouping together the works of each contributing poet, whereas those of extracts and single verses are usually divided into chapters according to subject matter.

2. Anthologists' Commentaries. In anthologies of single verses, the compilers usually include explanatory comments which are indispensable to the understanding and appreciation of these works. In other types of anthologies no such comments are included except in "Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab" (in which the comments may or may not be the compiler's).¹

3. The preservation of the works. Most of the works have been well preserved and edited. There are, however, some exceptions: a) The three printed works thought to represent "al-Aṣma'īyyāt" do not cover the whole of the original anthology. b) "Kitāb al-Ma'ānī al-Kabīr" is incomplete in its edited form, and its last chapter is a conglomeration of sections coming from different places in the original. c) No editions of "Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab" are satisfactory.

1. Al-Asad, 587.

4. The reliability of the anthologies. The anthologies treated are on the whole reliable, though in those of extracts, the compilers take excessive liberties in quotation. Although such liberties are serious faults from the point of view of accuracy, they resulted in revisions of artistic value: some improve the original texts, while others create new ideas not contained in the original form. These revisions, however, differ in quality according to the anthologists' poetic talents.

5. Anthologists' Considerations and Aims. Two main considerations influenced almost all the anthologists: literary excellence and the preservation of little known works. There are, however, other influences in individual anthologies:

- a) pedagogical usefulness (al-Mufaddaliyyāt)
- b) linguistic value (Kitāb al-Ma'ānī al-Kabīr and Ma'ānī al-Shi'r)
- c) the inclusion of famous works (Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab)
- d) personal literary preferences (al-Ḥamāsah of al-Buḥturī)
- e) the application of a literary theory (al-Tashbīhāt)
- f) the illustration of a philosophy (al-Zahrah).

6. The Criteria of literary excellence. In anthologies of complete poems, the criteria of literary excellence are: a) the great length of poems, b) a true representation of the poets' characteristics, c) acclamation by general opinion or expert connoisseurs, d) a difficult vocabulary, e) the inclusion of lines containing novel ideas and images, f) the use of dignified and elaborate metres, g) mastery in the use of difficult rhymes.

In anthologies of extracts, the criteria differ according to the compilers' personal inclinations (Abū Tammām selected pieces excellent by classical standards, al-Buhturī chose what resembled his own compositions, and Ibn Dāwūd selected what presented well the topics in which he was interested regardless of literary standards).

Whenever literary excellence is aimed at in anthologies of single verses, the criteria are: a) originality of thought, and b) mastery in the use of imagery.

7. Repetition. It is noticeable that some selections occur in more than one anthology. The anthologist who makes such a repetition usually has one of these considerations in mind:

- a) the desire to concur with another anthologist (al-Asma'ī and al-Mufaḍḍal)
 - b) the provision of another version of the material repeated (al-Qurashī)
 - c) an attempt to improve on such material (al-Buhturī).
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