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the *maqāmāt* of
badī^c al-zamān
al-hamadhānī

authorship, texts, and contexts

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The *Maqāmāt* of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī

Authorship, Texts, and Contexts

Bilal W. Orfali and Maurice A. Pomerantz



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To Masha, Sasha, and Michael

And to the memory of Walid Orfali (1948–2021)

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INTRODUCTION

Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī and His *Maqāmāt*

Maqāmāt (Cl. Ar. sing. *maqāma*) are a form of fictive short tales composed in rhymed prose (*saj'*) that have had a long history in the literary languages of the Middle East, especially Arabic and Hebrew. Over the course of a millennium, the *maqāma* form and its near relatives traveled across most major areas in the Islamicate World from Central Asia and beyond, becoming one of the most recognizable of pre-modern Arabic narrative types.¹

The littérateur (*adīb*) Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hamadhānī (358–398/959–1008) invented the *maqāma* while residing in the city of Nishapur in Central Asia in 380/990. Known during his lifetime as “The Wonder of the Age” (Badī' al-Zamān) in recognition of his remarkable linguistic ingenuity in the new style of Arabic poetics, al-Hamadhānī lived the life of a courtier who served and entertained the local *amīrs* of the Muslim states across the cities of western Iran and Central Asia.

Composed for the consumption of the intellectual cadres of the court and their acolytes, al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmas* reflect the nexus of aesthetic and pragmatic interests of a vibrant and competitive intellectual scene. Weaving together ornate prose letters (*rasā'il*) with occasional poetry, the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī tell the tale of how verbal mastery and cunning can sustain and protect a man on life's treacherous paths.²

Travel, performance, and trade inform each *maqāma* tale, as the characters circulate through a world in which words are the currency of exchange. The tales begin as the narrator goes to a new location (mosque, market, hospital) where he encounters a mysterious stranger who has a large audience gathered. This stranger often wears a disguise, uses mysterious language, or performs an ornate linguistic ruse to obtain money from his unwitting victims. Sometimes, the narrator recognizes the notorious trickster rogue; on other occasions he

1 For a general description, see Rina Drory, “Maqāma (Pl. Maqāmāt),” in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, ed. Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (Oxford: Routledge, 1998), 507–8; Devin Stewart, “The *Maqāma*,” in *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*, ed. D.S. Richards and Roger Allen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 145–58; Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002).

2 See Devin J. Stewart, “Professional Literary Mendicancy in the Letters and *Maqāmāt* of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī,” in *Writers and Rulers: Perspectives on Their Relationship from Abbasid to Safavid Times*, ed. Beatrice Gruendler and Louise Marlow (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2004), 39–47.

steals away undetected. At the end of the *maqāma*, the trickster often reveals himself offering wisdom about the real workings of the world. Deception and dishonesty are the only means for him to survive. And then, he is gone, only to appear in another locale in a new disguise.

The mobility of the *maqāma* is evident, too, in the movement of the text across intellectual fields and domains, through which the clever littérateur demonstrates the modes by which knowledge proves useful. The *adīb*'s intellectual forays are dramatized, as each *maqāma* of al-Hamadhānī displays a different field of erudition that turns on different tricks. In one *maqāma*, the trickster poses as a madman who debates a famed theologian in an insane asylum in southern Iran, in another the trickster is a false prophet attempting to bring a dead man back to life in Mosul. In a third, set in Ahwāz, he is a fraudulent doctor attempting to sell wondrous medical products to an unsuspecting audience. Each draws on specialized language and learning, expressing the ethos of learning known as *adab*, the capacity to take a little from every domain of knowledge. Throughout these tales, the trickster's mind and body never fully come to rest.

While Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī composed his *maqāmāt* to be read as a group with a common set of protagonists and narrative conventions, the sheer inventiveness and vitality of his *maqāma* tales defies the categorizations that have often been placed on them by later readers and critics. Even al-Hamadhānī's great follower, al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122), while acknowledging his indebtedness to Badīʿ al-Zamān, channels the multiple energies of al-Hamadhānī's *maqāma* into courses proper to his own time and preoccupations. Al-Ḥarīrī's *maqāmas* too would be rewritten and transformed over and over again in novel ways. Like its ever-wandering heroes, the *maqāma* form keeps moving on.

The *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī between Tradition and Modernity

The recent work of Ahmed El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics* contends that the intellectual classics of the late nineteenth century created the canon of classical Arabic literature. Although several key figures across Egypt, the Levant and Turkey were responsible for crafting the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī into one of the pre-eminent works of Classical Arabic literature, the modern study of the *maqāma* was a product of a process involving both Orientalist and Arab scholars.

Beginning in the eighteenth century, Orientalists had already considered the importance of the *maqāma* in general and the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī in particular. European Orientalists such as the Dutch scholar Everard Scheidius (1742–1794) produced the first partial print editions of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī. Scheidius' knowledge of the genre had doubtless come from his association with his teacher Albert Schultens (1686–1750) who had compiled a

Latin translation of the work of al-Ḥarīrī.³

Antoine Sylvestre de Sacy (1758–1838), however, fixed the place of al-Hamadhānī's work as an important model of the *maqāma* genre. De Sacy had included selections from al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmas* in his *Chrestomathie arabe, ou, extraits de divers écrivains arabes, tant en prose qu'en vers à l'usage des élèves de l'École royale et spéciale des langues orientales vivantes* published in 1826. De Sacy presented a copy of this work to his Egyptian student Rifā'ā al-Taḥṭāwī (1801–1873) following the successful completion of his exams in Paris in 1828. As al-Taḥṭāwī notes, de Sacy preferred the writing of al-Hamadhānī over al-Ḥarīrī (in the French edition of this book) even though de Sacy had famously prepared an edition of the latter. The *Chresthomatie arabe* was later published in Būlāq in Arabic in 1879 and may well have influenced later generations of intellectuals such as Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849–1905) as to the value of al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt*.⁴

With access to manuscripts in Istanbul, the Dār al-Jawā'ib Press established by Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq (1805?–1887) printed the first comprehensive edition of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī in lithograph in 1298/1881. Shidyāq himself was a practitioner of the *maqāma* form, including four *maqāmas* in the text of his remarkable *Leg over Leg (al-Sāq 'alā l-sāq)*. While he acknowledges al-Hamadhānī as the creator of the *maqāma* form, there is no evidence to suggest that he had read al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*.⁵ Yūsuf b. Ismā'il al-Nabhānī, who was in charge of the press at this time, states that his edition is based on two manuscripts which he had access to in the famed Ottoman collections (MS Aya Sofya 4283 and MS Nurosmāniye 4270).⁶

The high status of al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt* is most indebted to the well-known Egyptian reformer Muḥammad 'Abduh who produced the first modern print edition of the *Maqāmāt* in 1889. 'Abduh had worked on this edition and commentary on the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī while serving as the rector of the Sulṭāniyya modern school in Beirut.⁷

As El Shamsy notes, 'Abduh envisioned a clear relationship between language and ethics, a concept which had been drawn from his reading of premodern works. By producing printed volumes such as an annotated edition of the

3 See Chapter Three, "The Yale Manuscript."

4 Ahmed El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics: How Editors and Print Culture Transformed an Intellectual Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020), 77. See Rifā'ā Rafī' al-Taḥṭāwī, *An Imam in Paris: Account of a Stay in France by an Egyptian Cleric (1826–1831)*, trans. Daniel L. Newman (London: Saqi, 2011), 191.

5 Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq, *Leg over Leg: Or the Turtle in the Tree concerning the Fāriyāq*, ed. and trans. Humphrey Davies (New York: New York University Press, 2013), introduction.

6 Ibrahim Geris, "Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāma* of Bishr b. 'Awāna (*al-Bishriyya*)," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 14 (2011): 123.

7 El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*, 150, n.10.

Maqāmāt 'Abduh sought to position himself as an educated authority who could introduce students to the most towering figures of their literary heritage.

'Abduh makes plain in his introduction to his edition, that he is an admirer of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī, and that the text needs to see the light of day because of its importance as a model of Arabic *adab* that could serve as an educational tool in the modern era:

It has been said that he [al-Hamadhānī] composed more than four hundred *maqāmas*, however people have not been able to find more than a small number of them, roughly fifty which were recently published in Istanbul. Despite there being a small quantity, they are of great value, possessing many rare gems, and a multitude of different arts and disciplines, ranging through many different things, and the learned man (*'alīm*) will gain much from them, and an adolescent could follow them as a model.⁸

In the introduction to the edition, 'Abduh positions himself as a philological authority. He notes that there are two main obstacles to the use of the *Maqāmāt* in his own time, both of which are textual:

The first is what damage the copyists had caused in the language of the text through errors (*taḥrīf*) that had corrupted the text's foundation and changed its meaning with interpolations (*ziyāda*) which damage the originals and distract the mind from the intended meaning, and deletions, which obscure the stylistics and weaken the supporting structures. The person considering this book, if he is weak will be misled and become confused, while even a knowledgeable person will be prone to fail.⁹

Next, he lists the problems presented by the language of the work:

The second difficulty is the rarity (*gharāba*) of some of the words, the hidden nature of his references, and the obscurity of the manner in which he has constructed his expressions. Beginners would have difficulty in understanding the meaning of the text, whereas those of learning would have trouble in comprehending the import.¹⁰

8 Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, *Maqāmāt*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abduh (Beirut: al-Maṭba'at al-Kāthūlikiyya, 1889), 5.

9 *ibid.*, 5.

10 *ibid.*, 5–6.

In a passage evocative of the introductions to traditional Islamicate book culture, ‘Abduh describes how “one of the scions of the Arabs in Syria” asked him to work on the text of the *Maqāmāt* and produce a commentary (*ta’līq*). He notes with some flourish how he had “no precedent” in his work, and “no material except for his innate Arab nature and his literary taste” (*lā māddata lī illā ṭab‘ ‘arabī wa-dhawq adabī*). He remarks further that his commentary relied upon “major sources of language” (*ummabāt al-lughā al-ḥādīra*), “common proverbs” (*amthāl li-l-‘arab sā’ira*), and so on, that were useful to him in the editing of this work.¹¹

‘Abduh extends his own authority as an *‘ālim* and *adīb* asserting that this learning and sensibility allowed him to understand and convey the meaning and import of the work. He states that he was guided by the fact that al-Hamadhānī would have produced language that was grammatically coherent:

As for the correction of the text of the book, God has blessed us with a multiplicity of manuscript copies, even as it has increased the difficulty of choice between them. For their readings (*riwāyāt*) are often at odds with one another, and sometimes they are in agreement on what is neither good sense nor pleasing in form. In these circumstances, we resorted to the linguistic context (*al-waḍ‘ al-lughawī*), and common usage as our guides. The high-standing of the author among the scholars of language (*ahl al-lisān*) acted as our arbiter, and was the guide upon which we worked in our corrections.¹²

‘Abduh understanding of the role of the modern scholar privileged linguistic rectitude over the transmitted text. For instance, he states that in the case of multiple correct possibilities, he would select the most appropriate linguistically (*awlābā bi-l-waḍ‘*) either because it corresponds with other readings, or suits the surrounding linguistic context. ‘Abduh adds that he would preserve the other variants and place them in the footnotes to the text. Nowhere however does he mention the manuscripts upon which he relied, nor does he evince any interest in the history of textual transmission.

‘Abduh did not limit his authority to amend the text on grammatical or lexicographical grounds, but also assessed the contents of al-Hamadhānī’s *Maqāmāt*, particularly in excising those passages which he thought collided with his own sense of ethics and morality. He explained this act of suppression in the following terms:

11 *ibid.*, 7.

12 *ibid.*, 7–8.

It now seems necessary to mention that the author of the *Maqāmāt* al-Badī‘ (may he rest in peace) possesses a wide diversity of types of speech and some perhaps which would cause the cultured man of letters (*adīb*) some embarrassment in reading, and one of my stature would be ashamed in explicating its referent. Men should not seek to understand crude language (*sadḥaj*) or attempt to explore its import.¹³

‘Abduh then quickly moves to absolve al-Hamadhānī from any blame, by stating that he is not casting any aspersions that could taint the reputation of this great writer. Rather, he opines, “to every age there is a proper speech, and to every space there is a proper imagining” (*li-kull zamān maqāl, wa-li-kull khayāl majāl*) implying thereby that there were elements of al-Hamadhānī’s *adab* that are out of step with the current context and state of culture.¹⁴

‘Abduh’s main aim was to remove references to homoeroticism in the text by excising the *maqāma Shāmiyya* in its entirety¹⁵ and abridging some sentences from the *Ruṣāfiyya*¹⁶ and deleting unseemly words and expressions elsewhere. He grounds this radical editorial decision in the practice of religious scholars (*sunnat al-‘ulamā’*) offering that it was their prerogative to “refine and rectify, correct and abridge” (*bi-l-taḥdhīb wa-l-tamḥiṣ wa-l-tanqīḥ wa-l-talkhīṣ*) thereby eliding the models of linguistic and presumed ethical rectitude, and conjoining them with a reformist impulse. ‘Abduh finally notes that to have been silent on this issue (allowing the morally suspect passages in the text) would have proved an enticement to sin and error.¹⁷

‘Abduh’s edition and commentary on al-Hamadhānī’s *Maqāmāt* while raising the stature of the text and providing a print edition, still left many features of its history unexplored. Although his edition attempted to reconstruct an earlier version of the text based on linguistic and ethical rectitude, he did not adhere to the editorial practices which would have enabled a more historically grounded exploration of the text, paratext, and history. As such, even as his linguistic work at times illuminated the readings he chose, the text that he produced concealed important features of the text’s history, and at times obscured traces of its authorship.

13 *ibid.*, 7.

14 *ibid.*, 7.

15 See Chapter Six.

16 See Chapter Seven.

17 *ibid.*, 7.

A Wonder of the Age: Al-Hamadhānī among the Literary Critics of the Twentieth Century

‘Abduh’s edition of al-Hamadhānī’s *Maqāmāt* was a decisive moment in the history of this text and in many ways set the stage for its later reception by twentieth century critics. As writers of the Arabic *nabḍa* grappled with questions of authority and authorship, much of the early attention paid to al-Hamadhānī centered on his role in the innovation of the *maqāma* form. In the 1930s, scholars such as Zakī Mubārak (1892–1952) and Muṣṭafā Ṣādiq al-Rāfi‘ī (1880–1937) feuded with one another concerning al-Hamadhānī’s invention of the form.¹⁸ A generation later, Mārūn ‘Abbūd (1886–1962) writing in the early 1950s saw it as a “fruitless task” (*‘abthan*) to go in search of an author other than al-Hamadhānī as the creator. He states, “We closely examined his fifty-one *maqāmāt* and we saw much that al-Badi‘ had taken from others which he polished with his own style (*uslūbibi al-maṣnū‘*) and they became as if they were his own.”¹⁹

Scholars of the *maqāma* in the second half of the twentieth century have focused on a variety of different topics relating to Badi‘ al-Zamān and his *maqāmāt*. Much work has focused on the genesis of the *maqāma* form and its relationship to other works of Arabic literature such as those by by A.F.L. Beeston,²⁰ John N. Mattock,²¹ and more recently in the detailed literary historical studies of Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila culminating in his important monograph, *Maqama: A History of a Genre* published in 2002 which devotes more than a quarter of its pages to Badi‘ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī.²²

Theoretical and interpretative discussions first began in many ways from the perspective of possible linkages to the picaresque, such as in the work of James T. Monroe in 1983. Monroe’s book on al-Hamadhānī was wide-ranging, exploring both the generic qualities of the *maqāma* as well as attempting to interpret particular *maqāmas*, and address questions relating to the author’s biography.²³ The same year brought the highly nuanced work of Abdelfattah Kilito, which explored what he termed the cultural codes that were central to

18 Arthur Goldschmidt, *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Egypt* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999), 133 and 164–5.

19 Mārūn ‘Abbūd, *Badi‘ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1954), 35.

20 A.F.L. Beeston, “The Genesis of the *Maqāmāt* Genre,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 2 (1971): 1–12; Abdelfattah Kilito, “Le genre ‘séance’: Une introduction,” *Studia Islamica* 43 (1976): 25–51.

21 John N. Mattock, “The Early History of the *Maqāma*,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 15 (1984): 1–18.

22 Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002).

23 James T. Monroe, *The Art of Badi‘ az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī as Picaresque Narrative* (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 1983).

the construction of individual *maqāmāt*.²⁴

Of the two approaches, Kilito's work has proved the more generative, encouraging a diverse range of scholars such as Philip Kennedy,²⁵ Mohamed-Salah Omri,²⁶ Katia Zakharia,²⁷ and Fedwa Malti-Douglas to look further at the manner in which al-Hamadhānī constructed particular *maqāmas*.²⁸ Further biographical work and attention to al-Hamadhānī's letters and intellectual milieu is exemplified in the work of Everett Rowson,²⁹ Wadād al-Qāḍī,³⁰ Vahid Behmardi,³¹ and Devin Stewart.³² Noteworthy work has also been done on the prose stylistics and metrics of al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt* by Mahmoud Messadi³³ and Geert Jan van Gelder.³⁴

Scholarly attention to the *Maqāmāt* has been almost entirely based on studies of the standard edition of ʿAbduh as their starting point. This began to change in 1992 when Donald S. Richards published an important article examining

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- 24 Abdelfattah Kilito, *Les séances: Récits et codes culturels chez Hamadhani et Hariri* (Paris: Sindbad, 1983).
- 25 Philip F. Kennedy, "Some Demon Muse: Structure and Allusion in al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāma Iblisiyya*," *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures* 2 (1999): 115–35; idem, "The *Maqāmāt* as a Nexus of Interests: Reflections on Abdelfattah Kilito's *Les séances*," in *Writing and Representation in Medieval Islam: Muslim Horizons*, ed. Julia Bray (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 153–214.
- 26 Mohamed-Salah Omri, "'There is a Jāhīz for Every Age': Narrative Construction and Intertextuality in al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*," *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literature* 1 (1998): 31–46.
- 27 Katia Zakharia, "*Al-Maqāma al-Biṣriyya*: Une épopée mystique," *Arabica* 37 (1990): 251–90.
- 28 Fedwa Malti-Douglas, "*Maqāmāt* and *Adab*: 'Al-Maqāma al-Maḍiriyya' of al-Hamadhānī," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105 (1985): 247–58.
- 29 Everett K. Rowson, "Religion and Politics in the Career of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107 (1987): 653–73.
- 30 Wadād al-Qāḍī, "Badīʿ az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī and His Social and Political Vision," in *Literary Heritage of Classical Islam: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of James A. Bellamy*, ed. Mustansir Mir (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1993), 197–223.
- 31 Vahid Behmardi, "Rhetorical Values in Buyid Persia According to Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī," in *The Weaving of Words: Approaches to Classical Arabic Prose*, ed. Lale Behzadi and Vahid Behmardi (Beirut and Würzburg: Orient-Institut; Ergon-Verlag, 2009), 151–64.
- 32 Devin Stewart, "'Īsā b. Hišām's Shiism and Religious Polemic in the *Maqāmāt* of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008)," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* (published online ahead of print 2021).
- 33 Mahmoud Messadi, *Essai sur le rythme dans la prose rimée en arabe* (Tunis: Éditions Ben Abdallah, 1981).
- 34 Geert Jan van Gelder, "Rhyme in *Maqāmāt* or Too Many Exceptions Do Not Prove a Rule," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 44 (1999): 75–82.

several of the older manuscripts of al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*.³⁵ Richards pointed out significant discrepancies across various manuscripts of the work. In 2011, Ibrahim Geris offered a seminal criticism of Katia Zakharia's work that demonstrated the pressing need to return to the manuscript tradition prior to the work of interpretation.³⁶

Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī: Authorship, Texts and Context

Despite the large volume of studies on al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*, and the increasing sense that the standard nineteenth century editions of the *Maqāmāt* were flawed (or at least bowdlerized), scholars had not yet thoroughly examined the extant manuscript evidence available. In the year 2011, the authors of this book for the first time acquired digital images of the oldest manuscripts of al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*. Over the course of several years, and through the kindness and generosity of many individuals, Bilal Orfali and Maurice Pomerantz gathered more than 40 manuscripts including the major early witnesses to this important text.³⁷

Textual scholarship is often understood as aiming solely at the revelation of a putative Ur-text. While it cannot be denied that reconstructing the earliest possible layer of the textual tradition would be a useful starting point for future scholarship on the *Maqāmāt*, we believe that through investigations of the manuscripts, we are also exploring other important aspects of the text's life. Relying solely on the flawed nineteenth century editions not only compromises the results of modern scholars' investigations of al-Hamadhānī's text, but also prevents us from appreciating the literary culture that created this work. How were the individual *maqāmāt* composed? How were they performed? How were they recorded, lost, found, collected, and transmitted?

The broad concerns of the book are divided into three sections: authorship, texts, and contexts, although there are some overlaps across these fields. One constant is that each chapter in this volume investigates hitherto unstudied textual materials related to al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*. We hope that these studies encourage other scholars to continually revisit questions of textual history in their studies of pre-modern Arabic literature.

Part 1 of the book, Authorship, begins with two studies related to al-

35 D.S. Richards, "The *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī: General Remarks and a Consideration of the Manuscripts," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 22 (1991): 89–99.

36 Geris, "Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāma* of Bishr b. 'Awāna (*al-Bishriyya*)," 121–53.

37 The authors have also gathered a large number of manuscripts of the *Rasā'il* of al-Hamadhānī and are also working on this important neglected work.

Hamadhānī’s authorship. In Chapter One, “Ibn Fāris and the Origins of the *Maqāma* Revisited,” we review several theories about al-Hamadhānī’s reliance on earlier forms in the creation of the *maqāma*, and provide an edited fragment of a lost work by the well-known grammarian Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1005), which may have been an important model upon which al-Hamadhānī had drawn. Chapter Two, entitled “Assembling an Author,” describes the way that al-Hamadhānī’s individual *maqāmas* came to be included in manuscript collections in the years following his death. The study further suggests how al-Hamadhānī’s collection of *maqāmas* grew larger after his death, possibly on account of the ascendant fame of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī.

Part 2, Texts, presents the editions of four *maqāmas* attributed to al-Hamadhānī in the manuscript tradition, that were not included in Muḥammad ‘Abduh’s printing. Chapter Three, entitled “Lost *Maqāma*: the *Ṭibbiyya*,” provides the *editio princeps* of a *maqāma* on medicine, the *Ṭibbiyya*, and discusses its relationship to the other extant *maqāmas* of al-Hamadhānī. Chapter Four, “Three *Maqāmāt* Attributed to al-Hamadhānī,” provides the editions of three further *maqāmas* (*Sharīfiyya*, *Hamadhāniyya*, *Khātamiyya*), along with a discussion and analysis of their contents in relation to the extant corpus of al-Hamadhānī’s *maqāmāt*.

Part 3 of the book, Contexts, provides studies of several key *maqāmas* of al-Hamadhānī. Chapter Five, “*Adab* and Metamorphosis: The *Mawṣiliyya*,” is an edition, translation, and modern commentary on this *maqāma* in which Abū l-Faṭḥ famously attempts to raise a dead man from the grave. This commentary identifies sources from which al-Hamadhānī may have drawn, affording modern readers further context with which to explore this tale. Chapter Six, “What the Qadi Should not Hear: The *Shāmiyya*,” provides the first scholarly edition of this *maqāma*, which ‘Abduh excised from the 1889 Beirut printing. The study explores how this *maqāma* draws upon ideas about the limits of proper and improper speech. Chapter Seven of this volume, “A Fourth/Tenth Century Commentary on the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī,” offers a study and edition of a hitherto unknown commentary on the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī that we argue may be an example of auto-commentary. Even putting aside the important question of al-Hamadhānī’s authorship of the commentary, our proposed interpretation has profound implications for how the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī were understood by the first generations of readers, including the writers of *maqāmas* who followed him.

PART 1: AUTHORSHIP

CHAPTER ONE

Ibn Fāris and the Origins of the *Maqāma* Revisited

For Everett Rowson

Literary history knows perhaps no question more difficult than that of change. How do new literary forms emerge, and why? Are they products that coalesce slowly over time, borrowing their elements and attributes from pre-existing materials? Or are they transmuted and transformed under the intense power of an individual creative intelligence? Why do these moments of innovation matter in literary history? What is at stake in declaring something the first novel, *maqāma*, or sonnet?¹

Among the many genres of Arabic literature, there has been perhaps none to attract more attention than the invention of the *maqāma*. Unlike the *qaṣīda* (multi-thematic ode), the *ghazal* and the *risāla* (literary correspondence), the *maqāma* was a late arrival among the genres of Arabic literature. Because of this fact, scholars felt as if, through consulting roughly contemporaneous texts, they could witness the genre in the making. This availability of evidence made the story of the *maqāma*'s invention a fertile site of scholarly speculation in pre-modern Arabic literature.

The *maqāma* genre thus became an important locus for thinking about issues of creativity and imitation in pre-modern Arabic literature during the early part of the last century. Zakī Mubārak writing in the journal *al-Muqataṭaf* was interested in demonstrating that al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008) was not in fact the originator of the *maqāma* genre.² Drawing on a statement of al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 413/1022) in *Zahr al-ādāb* that al-Hamadhānī had “imitated” (and potentially stolen from) a previous lost work of Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933), known as the “Forty Stories” (*Arbaʿūn ḥadīth^{an}*) which in turn had many similar tales to those found in the “Sessions” (*Amālī*) of Ibn Durayd's disciple, al-Qālī (d. 356/967), Mubārak seemed poised to dethrone al-Hamadhānī as an innovator. Mubārak was sharply criticized for this assertion by Muṣṭafā Ṣādiq al-Rāfiʿī in a subsequent issue of the same journal.

1 On these questions and others, see David Perkins, *Is Literary History Possible?* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

2 Zakī Mubārak, “Aḥādīth Ibn Durayd,” *al-Muqataṭaf* 76 (1930): 561–64; A.F.L. Beeston, “The Genesis of the *Maqāmāt* Genre,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 2 (1971): 1–2.

While this controversy surrounding al-Hamadhānī's alleged borrowings from Ibn Durayd "has long since died out," questions of al-Hamadhānī's status as an innovator remained of interest to later scholars.³ A.F.L. Beeston in 1971 downplayed the fact that the plotlines of many *maqāmas* seemed to have been borrowed from other types of *majālis* literature. Nonetheless, he sought to define al-Hamadhānī's place as an innovator based on his use of rhymed prose (*saj'*) and his "frank admission that his stories are fictional."⁴ Through these descriptions of the innovative in al-Hamadhānī's text, Beeston hoped to discover why al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) had attributed to al-Hamadhānī such an important role as an originator of the form.⁵ Yet Beeston did not consider why such a question might have been of interest to al-Ḥarīrī. For what sort of readers might al-Ḥarīrī's invocation of his indebtedness to al-Hamadhānī matter?

Claims of originality and theft are valuations of authors, but also point to ways that critics of the time understood relationships between texts.⁶ In recent years, Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila and Philip Kennedy have looked beyond the simplistic nature of the earlier debate on originality and borrowing to ask the more interesting question of what al-Ḥuṣrī could have meant by stating that al-Hamadhānī had produced a poetic contrafaction (*mu'ārada*) of the work of Ibn Durayd. What were the similarities that al-Ḥuṣrī noted between Ibn Durayd's writing and the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī?

Hämeen-Anttila explored this possibility by examining the surviving work of Ibn Durayd, known as "The Description of Rain" (*Wasf al-maṭar wa-l-saḥāb*). He concludes that the two works share numerous similarities, and shows the importance of Ibn Durayd's work in its own right.⁷ Philip Kennedy, in his investigation of an anecdote involving Abū Nuwās' (d. ca. 200/815) finding love on the pilgrimage related by Ibn Durayd found a similar cause to revisit the debate from a new vantage point. Kennedy writes that this "long-drawn-out narrative of a largely jocular tone that holds us in suspense" possesses "formal and stylistic aspects" that are "redolent of the *Maqāma*."⁸ For both scholars,

3 Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002), 68.

4 Beeston, "The Genesis of the *Maqāmāt* Genre," 8–9.

5 Cf. al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1980), 11: *dhikr al-maqāmāt allatī abda'ahā Badī' al-Zamān*.

6 Heinrichs' work on the concept of *sariqa* shows well how this term encompasses a whole range of ideas which we might be more inclined to call intertextuality, Wolfhart Heinrichs, "An Evaluation of *Sariqa*," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 5/6 (1987–1988): 357–68.

7 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 72. He identifies the following lines of similarity: 1. rhymed prose, 2. *isnād*, 3. some kind of story, 4. philological interest, 5. ragged but eloquent hero, 6. first-person narration, 7. travel theme, 8. encounters are standing ones as opposed to sitting learned sessions.

8 Philip F. Kennedy, "Love in the Time of Pilgrimage or A Lost *Maqāma* of Ibn Durayd?,"

the question is not so much undermining al-Hamadhānī's authorship of the *Maqāmāt*, but rather as seeing the work as part of a larger development within the circles of *adab* and grammar from which al-Hamadhānī's work seems to have sprung.

Ibn Fāris, al-Hamadhānī, and the *Maqāmāt*

In this chapter, we explore an older claim about the *maqāma*, namely, that the form was first created by the teacher of al-Hamadhānī, Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Fāris b. Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb al-Rāzī (d. 395/1004). We do so by considering a rare fragment of Ibn Fāris' lost work, *Qaṣaṣ al-nahār wa-samar al-layl*. As we shall argue, this work appears to share much in common with the *maqāma* genre. It is not to be confused with Ibn Fāris' *al-Layl wa-l-nahār*.⁹

The hypothesis of Ibn Fāris' role in the origins of the *maqāma* predates the debate surrounding Ibn Durayd. Jurjī Zaydān (d. 1914) posited a prominent role for Ibn Fāris, imagining that al-Hamadhānī had borrowed his prose style from his teacher.¹⁰ More recently, Hādī Ḥasan Ḥammūdī's book entitled *al-Maqāmāt min Ibn Fāris ilā Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī* revived this theory, arguing for Ibn Fāris' influence and supposed precedence in the authorship of the *Maqāmāt*.¹¹

The importance of Ibn Fāris in the career of his student was already underscored by his closest contemporaries. Al-Tha'ālibī (d. 429/1038) states that Ibn Fāris

in *The Weaving of Words: Approaches to Classical Arabic Prose*, ed. Lale Behzadi and Wahid Behmardi (Beirut and Würzburg: Orient-Institut; Ergon-Verlag, 2009), 88 and 93.

9 Ibn Fāris, *al-Layl wa-l-nahār*, ed. Ḥāmid al-Khaḥfāf (Beirut: Dār al-Mu'arrikh, 1993).

10 See Hādī Ḥasan Ḥammūdī, *al-Maqāmāt min Ibn Fāris ilā Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī* (Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīda, 1986), 26.

11 Ibid. Ḥammūdī bases his claims for Ibn Fāris' influence on al-Hamadhānī on seven main pieces of evidence:

1– The four hundred *Maqāmāt* that al-Hamadhānī boasts to have authored must have been begun at the *majlis* of Ibn Fāris.

2– al-Hamadhānī praised Ibn Fāris in his letters.

3– al-Hamadhānī was proud of his knowledge of Ibn Fāris' works, such as the *Mujmal al-lughā* his memory of which became a topic in his debate with Abū Bakr al-Kh^wārizmī. He also imitated Ibn Fāris' other books such as *Qaṣaṣ al-nahār wa-samar al-layl* and his *Amālī*.

4– al-Hamadhānī followed Ibn Fāris' style in his poetry, and adopted several of Ibn Fāris' critical ideas in his *maqāmas*. Moreover, al-Hamadhānī would gloss his *maqāmāt* sometimes which indicates his reliance on the same lexicographical methods as Ibn Fāris such as the use of poetry to elucidate the meaning of rare words.

5– Ibn Fāris had become famous as a teller of tales (*qaṣaṣ*, *ḥikāyāt*, *raqā'iq*).

6– al-Tha'ālibī describes Ibn Fāris as combining the mastery of a scholar with the *zarf* of poets and epistolographers, comparing him with notable literary figures.

7– He argues that the character of 'Īsā b. Hishām is a representation of al-Hamadhānī's teacher, Aḥmad b. Fāris, both in name, experiences and qualities.

had been the teacher of al-Hamadhānī prior to the latter’s departure from the city in 380/990.¹² Al-Tha‘ālibī emphasizes the close relationship between the teacher and his student, stating that he “took all that he [viz. Aḥmad b. Fāris] possessed—he exhausted his knowledge and dried up his ocean.”¹³

The two men also wrote letters to one another over the course of their lives.¹⁴ Moreover, there were even some pre-modern readers who did believe Ibn Fāris to have played a role in the creation of the *maqāma*. MS Aya Sofya 4283 (692/1225) contains the following introduction:

These *maqāmāt* were dictated by the teacher Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hamadhānī in Nīshāpūr and he mentioned that he had composed them to be uttered in the voice of Abū l-Faḥ al-Iskandarī and to have been related by ‘Īsā b. Hishām, whereas others have mentioned that they were composed by Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Fāris and the report concerning this has become widely known. (*bādhibi al-maqāmāt amlāhā al-ustādh Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hamadhānī bi-Nīsābūr wa-dbakara annahu ansba’abā ‘alā lisān Abī l-Faḥ al-Iskandarī wa-rawāhā ‘an ‘Īsā b. Hishām wa-dbakara gbayrubu annabā min inshā’ Abī l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Fāris wa-tawātara al-khabar bi-dhālik*).



MS Aya Sofya 4283, fol. 2r

- 12 Abū Maṣnūr al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīmat al-dabr fī maḥāsīn abl al-‘aṣr*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Sa‘āda, 1956), 4:257.
- 13 Ibid. Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 21 notes the connection between the teacher and student stating “If we believe ath-Tha‘ālibī, the polymath Ibn Fāris taught everything he knew to al-Hamadhānī. Knowing the eminence of Ibn Fāris, though, this statement falls into the category of hyperbolic praise, not hard fact.”
- 14 Ibid., 21, who is rightly cautious about what one can deduce from the surviving evidence.



MS Aya Sofya 4283, fol. 2v

This introduction suggests that the claim that Ibn Fāris was, in fact, the author of the *Maqāmāt* appears to have been entertained by some scholars in the centuries immediately following its circulation and revived in the early twentieth century.

Ibn Fāris as an *Adīb* in the Fourth/Tenth Century

The reason for modern scholars' reluctance to attend to Ibn Fāris' importance in the genesis of the *maqāma* may relate to the survival of his work. Ibn Fāris has been known predominantly as the author of major works on the Arabic language, such as *Maqāyīs al-luġba* and *al-Muġmal fī l-luġba* (*Muġmal al-luġba*)¹⁵ and his *al-Šāḥibī fī fiqh al-luġba*, that he dedicated to the Buyid vizier, al-Šāḥib b. ʿAbbād (d. 385/995), which is a major contribution to philology.¹⁶

15 Ibn Fāris, *Muʿjam maqāyīs al-luġba*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1972); Ibn Fāris, *Muġmal al-luġba*, ed. Hādī Ḥasan Ḥammūdī (Kuwait: Maʿhad al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya, al-Munazzama al-ʿArabiyya li-l-Tarbiya wa-l-Thaqāfa wa-l-ʿUlūm, 1985).

16 Ibn Fāris, *al-Šāḥibī fī fiqh al-luġba wa-sunan al-ʿArab fī kalāmihā*, ed. al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaqr (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat ʿIsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1977).

Ibn Fāris’ interests went beyond the realm of language into *adab*. Al-Tha‘ālibī describes him as if he were not only a lexicographer, but rather a major *adīb*.¹⁷ He also preserves in his *Yatīmat al-dabr* the text of a *risāla* of Ibn Fāris in which he defends the literary production of the poets’ of his own time.¹⁸ The occasion for the authorship of the letter is the defense of a certain Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-‘Ijlī who was attacked for attempting to assemble a *Ḥamāsa* of contemporary poets. Writing directly to his critic, Ibn Fāris first assails the logic of the attack – why should imitation (*mu‘ārada*) be possible in fields like *fiqh* and *naḥw* and in many of the other technical skills (*ṣinā‘āt*) but not in poetry? Ibn Fāris then supplies numerous examples demonstrating the excellence of contemporary poets which well illustrate his capacious knowledge of the poetic works of the age. Al-Tha‘ālibī includes this letter in the entry of Ibn Fāris, likely because it accords well with al-Tha‘ālibī’s central aim of compiling an anthology of contemporary poets.

In addition to his forays into poetic criticism, Ibn Fāris also authored independent works of *adab*. His *Kitāb al-Layl wa-l-nabār* is a debate (*mufākbara*) which Ibn Fāris allegedly composed extemporaneously (*irtijāl^{mn}*) at the request of a young man from the province of Jibāl in Western Iran. The debate relies upon the use of logical proofs, poetry, anecdotes of the Arabs, and quotations from the Qur’ān, following roughly the pattern established by al-Jāḥiẓ for such works.¹⁹

Ibn Fāris’s *Kitāb Qaṣaṣ al-nabār wa-samar al-layl*

Given the great speculation on Ibn Fāris’s possible relationship to the origins of al-Hamadhānī’s *Maqāmāt*, an important piece of evidence regarding this relationship has not been yet discussed in modern scholarship. Ibn Fāris also composed literary stories which he termed *qaṣaṣ* and *samar*.

An excerpt that is identified as part of Ibn Fāris’ *K. Qaṣaṣ al-nabār wa-samar al-layl* is preserved in Leipzig, Vollers 870. The manuscript is part of the Rifā‘iyya collection 354 fol. 89v.²⁰ This passage has long been known to Western scholars, having been first mentioned in an article by H. Thorbecke (d. 1890) in 1875.²¹

17 Ibn Fāris is compared to Ibn Lankak (d. ca. 360/970) in Baghdad; Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/980) in al-Shām; Ibn al-‘Allāf (d. 318/930) in Fārs; and Abū Bakr al-Kh^wārizmī (d. 383/993) in Khurāsān. Only Ibn Khālawayh stands out as a grammarian and lexicographer. Whereas Ibn Lankak, Ibn al-‘Allāf and al-Kh^wārizmī were known as either poets, or prose writers.

18 al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīmat al-dabr fī maḥāsīn abl al-‘aṣr*, 401–5.

19 Ibn Fāris, *al-Layl wa-l-nabār*.

20 On this collection, see Boris Liebrecht, *Die Rifā‘iyya aus Damaskus: Eine Privatbibliothek im osmanischen Syrien und ihr kulturelles Umfeld* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016).

21 H. Thorbecke, “al-A‘ṣā’s Lobgedicht auf Muḥammad,” in *Festschrift H.L. Fleischer Zu*

The manuscript is a *majmū'a* that contains various works, among which are:

1. An index of the *Masmū'āt* of Abū Ḥusayn (al-Ḥasan?) 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ayyūb b. al-Bazzāz (d. 492/1098)
2. A letter of Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṣaqr al-Wāsiṭī (d. 498/1104)
3. A poem of 'Urwa b. al-Ward al-'Absī, compiled and related by Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Sikkīt (d. 243/857)
4. An *urjūza* of Bashshār b. Burd (d. 167/783)
5. *K. al-Muqtaḍab* by Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1002)
6. Text of the *Burda* by al-Būṣīrī (d. ca. 694–696/1294–1297)
7. *Qaṣīdat Bānat Su'ād* of Ka'b b. Zuhayr (d. first/seventh c.)
8. *K. al-Muqni' fī l-nahw* by Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ possibly composed ca. 240/854²²
9. *K. Qaṣaṣ al-nahār wa-samar al-layl* composed by Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004)
10. Poems and stories relating to Abū Dahbal al-Jumaḥī (d. ca. 125/743)
11. 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Baghdādī's (d. 390/999–1000) commentary on the *Khubṭa* of Ibn Qutayba's (d. 276/889) *Adab al-kātib*.

The *K. Qaṣaṣ al-nahār wa-samar al-layl* contains the poem of al-A'shā Maymūn b. Qays (d. after 629 C.E.?) which is entitled *al-Qaṣīda al-nabawiyya*.



MS Vollers 870, fol. 89v–90r

Seinem Fünfzigjährigen Doctorjubiläum Am 4. März, 1874 (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1875), 242.

22 Possibly this person is identical with Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Naṭṭāḥ al-Baṣrī, see F. Omar, "Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ," in *EP*, online.

Arabic Text of *Kitāb Qaṣaṣ al-nabār wa-samar al-layl*

من كتاب قصص النهار وسمر الليل

لابن فارس

روى سعيد بن عبد الرحمن بن حسان بن ثابت قال: أقبل أعشى بني قيس بعدما هاجر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وقد امتدح رسول الله صلى الله عليه بقصيدته هذه [من الطويل]:

أَلَمْ تَعْتَمِضْ عَيْنَاكَ لَيْلَةَ أَرْمَدَا
وما ذاك مِنْ عِشْقِ النِّسَاءِ وَإِنَّمَا
ولكن أرى الدَّهْرَ الَّذِي هُوَ خَائِنٌ²⁴
شِبَابٌ وَشَيْبٌ وَافْتِقَارٌ وَثَوْرَةٌ
وما زلتُ أبعي المالُ مُذْ أنا يافعٌ
وإتعابي²⁵ العيسِ المَرَاقِيلِ تَعْتَلِي
فإنَّ تَسْأَلِي عَنِّي فِيا رَبِّ سائِلٌ
ألا أَيُّهَذَا السَّائِلِي أَيْنَ أَصَعَدْتُ²⁶
فأما إذا ما أذْلَجْتُ فترى لها
وفيها إذا ما هَجَرْتُ عَجْرَقِيَّةً
أَجَدْتُ بِرَجْلَيْهَا النِّجَاءَ وَنَازَعْتُ²⁷
فما لكِ عِنْدِي مِشْتَكِي²⁸ مِنْ كِلَالَةٍ
متى ما تُتَاخِي عِنْدَ بابِ ابْنِ هاشِمٍ
نبيِّي يَرى ما لا ترونَ، وَذِكْرُهُ
لَهُ صَدَقَاتٌ ما تُغِيبُ وَنَائِلٌ
أَجْدَكَ لَمْ تَسْمَعْ وَصَاةَ مُحَمَّدٍ
إذا أَنْتَ لَمْ تَرْحَلْ بِزَادٍ مِنَ التَّقَى
نَدِمْتَ على أَنْ لا تُكُونَ كَمِثْلِهِ

وَعُدْتُ كما²³ عادَ السَّليْمُ مُسَهِّداً
تَناسَيْتَ قَبْلَ اليَوْمِ خُلَّةَ مَهْدَداً
إذا أَصْلَحْتُ كَفَّايَ عادَ فَأفْسَداً
فللهِ هذا الدَّهْرُ كيفَ تَرَدَّدَا
وليداً وَكَهْلاً حينَ شِبتُ وَأمرِداً
مَسافَةً ما بَيْنَ النَّحِيرِ فَصَرَخَداً
حَفِيٍّ عَنِ الأَعشى بِهِ حَيْثُ أَصْعَداً
فإنَّ لها في أَهلِ يَثْرِبَ مَوْعِداً
رَقِييْنِ جَدِّياً لا يُووِبُ وَفِرْقَداً
إذا خَلَّتْ جِرْبَاءَ الظَّهيريَّةِ أَصِيدَا
يَدَاها حِناًفاً لَيْباً غَيْرَ أَحْرَداً
ولا راحَةٍ حَتَّى تُلاقِي²⁹ مُحَمَّدَا
تُراحي³⁰ وتلقِي مِنْ فِواضِلِهِ نَداً³¹
أَغارَ لَعْمِري في البِلادِ وَأَنجَداً
وليسَ عَطَاءُ اليَوْمِ ما نِعَهُ غَداً
رسول³² الإلهِ، حينَ أَوْصَى وَأَشْهَداً
وَلاقَيْتَ بَعْدَ اليَوْمِ مَنْ قَد تَرَوَّداً
وأَنَّكَ لَمْ تُرْصِدْ لِمَا كانَ أَرْصَداً

الديوان: وعادك ما. 23

الديوان: خاتر. 24

الديوان: وأبتدل. 25

الديوان: يمت. 26

الديوان: نجا وراجعت. 27

الديوان: فآليت لا أرثي. 28

الديوان: ولا من حفي حتى تزور. 29

الديوان: تريحني. 30

الديوان: يدا. 31

الديوان: نبي. 32

فَإِيَّاكَ وَالْمَيْتَاتِ، لَا تَقْرَبْنَهَا³³
 وَلَا النَّصَبَ الْمَنْصُوبَ لَا تَنْسُكُنْهُ
 وَلَا تَسْخَرْنَ مِنْ بَائِسٍ ذِي ضَرَارَةٍ
 وَصَلَّ عَلَى حِينِ الْعَشِيِّ وَالضُّحَى
 وَلَا تَقْرَبِينَ جَارَةَ إِنْ سِرَّهَا
 وَلَا تَأْخُذْنَ سَهْمًا حَدِيدًا لَتَفْصِدَا
 لِعَاقِبَةِ وَاللَّهِ رَبِّكَ³⁴ فَاعْبُدَا
 وَلَا تَحْسَبَنَّ الْمَرْءَ يَوْمًا مُخْلَدًا
 وَلَا تَحْمِدِ الشَّيْطَانَ وَاللَّهُ فَاحْمِدَا
 عَلَيْكَ حَرَامٌ فَانكِحْنَ أَوْ تَأْبَدَا

قال: فقدم مكة وقال أين هذا الفتى من بني هاشم الذي يجاور الريح؟ قالوا: ما تصنع به يا أبا بصير؟ قال: أريد أن أمتدحه فأصيب من معروفه وأدخل في دينه. فقال القوم: والله لئن اجتمع علينا هجاء حسن وهجاء الأعشى لتفسدن أعراضنا. فقال أبو جهل: أنا أكفيكم الرجل. فأتاه فقال: يا أبا بصير، إن هذا الرجل يحرم الزنا وشرب الخمر ولا صبر لك عنهما، فهل لك أن نعطيك ولا نخيب سفرتك وترجع عامك هذا حتى ترى من رأيك، وإنما أراد بذلك أن يرجع لعله يموت فإنه كان كبير السن. قال: نعم. فأعطاه فلانص فركب واحدة منها فلما بلغ قاع منفوحة وقعت به فاندق فمات فأنزل الله تعالى في أبي جهل: وَكَانَ الْكَافِرُ عَلَى رَبِّهِ ظَهِيرًا (25: 55).

Translation

Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān b. Thābit said:
 [al-]A'shā of Qays came after the Prophet had made the *hijra* and he praised the Prophet with the following ode:

Was it not pain that made your eyes shut at night, while you were
 sleepless like a man bitten by a snake?

But that was not because you were in love with women, for you had
 forgotten the friendship of Mahdad.³⁵

Rather, I see fate coming like a traitor who corrupts whatever my hands
 set straight.

Youth and old age, poverty and wealth! My God, how fickle is fate!

I spent my life gathering possessions as a child, youth and man; both
 when my hair turned white and as a beardless boy.

I grew tired the swift she-camels that raced from Najir (in the
 Ḥaḍramawt) to Ṣarkhad (in 'Irāq).

Don't ask after me. How many a questioner tries to find out about al-

33 الديوان: تأكلتها.

34 الديوان: ولا تعبد الأوثان والله.

35 Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-Āmma li-l-Kitāb, 1970), 9:125, states that *Mahdad* is the name of al-A'shā's beloved.

A‘shā by praising him.

O you who wish to know where my camel is headed, know that it has an appointment among the people of Yathrib.

She has two guardians, the North Star that does not set, and the calf-star, when she travels by night.

In the heat of the day, she is like the chameleon whose neck is fixed facing the sun, yet she remains light of foot.

She moved her two hind legs striving for speed. She draws out her fore legs with flexibility, without stiffness.

You will hear no complaint from me of exhaustion, and you will not rest until you reach Muḥammad.

Whenever you set down your camel at the door of the sons of Hāshim, you find relief, and meeting the generosity from their numerous excellencies.

There is a Prophet who sees that which you do not. His fame, by my life, spreads throughout the lands high and low.

His giving of gifts never ceases. He is a generous man whose gift today does not prevent another tomorrow.

Is it true that you did not hear the admonitions of Muḥammad the Prophet of God when he appointed the people and they bore witness to his prophethood?

Should you pass away without piety’s provision, you will meet after your death one who had stored up good works.

And you will regret that you were not like him, and that you did not prepare the way that he had prepared.

So stay away from the corpses, and do not go near them. Don’t take an iron arrow shaft and spill animal blood to drink it.

Do not set up idols, and do not revere seeking a benefit. Worship God who is your Lord.

Do not ridicule a poor man who has tasted misfortune. Do not imagine that a man lives forever.

Pray in the evenings and in the mornings. Do not praise Satan, but God.

Do not approach your neighbor for she is not licit for you. Either marry her or keep far away.

He reported:

al-A‘shā approached Mecca, and he said, where is this young man from the sons

of Hāshim who accompanies the wind?³⁶

They said, “What do you want with him, Abū Baṣīr?”

He said, “I want to praise him, gain the benefit of his truth and enter into his religion.”

The people said, “By God, if the curses of Ḥassān [b. Thābit] and al-Aʿshā are united with one another our reputations will be completely destroyed!”

Abū Jahl said, “I will deal with this guy.”

So he went to him and said, “O Abū Baṣīr—this man declares adultery and wine-drinking unlawful—and you can’t do without these two things.

Do you wish us to give you some reward, so that your trip was not in vain, and that you return this year, that you might see what happens and act accordingly?

His [Abū Jahl’s] aim in [saying] that was for him to return where he might die [before the year was over], because he was elderly.

He said, “Yes.”

So he was generous gave him several youthful she-camels and he rode on back on them. When he reached the region of the valley of Manfūḥa [the poet’s home] his mount tread on him. He was broken and died. God then revealed concerning Abū Jahl [Q 25:55] “The disbeliever is ever a helper against his Lord.”

Different Recensions of the Poem and Tale

Text of the Poem

This poem of al-Aʿshā Maymūn b. Qays was first discussed by Thorbecke on the basis of MS Leiden 287 fols. 5v–8r.³⁷ The poem was included in the *Dīwān shʿir al-Aʿshā Maymūn b. Qays b. Jandal* compiled by Abū al-ʿAbbās Thaʿlab (d. 291/904) upon which Rudolf Geyer’s edition is based, and was thus included in the poet’s *dīwān* edited by Geyer in the main on the basis of an Escorial MS. copied in 661/1262.³⁸ Geyer stated that his predecessors Casiri and Derenbourg believed the commentary belonged to the famed Thaʿlab himself. However Geyer concluded after further study that the commentary did not belong to the time of Thaʿlab. Geyer proposed that the author of the commentary in the manuscript was an Andalusī scholar active at the end of the third-beginning of the fourth/ninth–tenth centuries.³⁹

36 This seems to be a reference to the increasing fame of prophet.

37 Thorbecke, “al-Aʿshā’s Lobgedicht auf Muḥammad,” 242.

38 Maymūn b. Qays al-Aʿshā, *Gedichte von Abū Baṣīr Maimūn ibn Qais al-Aʿshā, nebst Sammlungen von Stücken anderer Dichter des gleichen Beinamens*, ed. Rudolf Geyer (London: Luzac & Co., 1928), xvii. In our edition, we relied on Maymūn b. Qays al-Aʿshā, *Dīwān al-Aʿshā al-Kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Ḥusayn (Beirut: Dār al-Nahḍa al-ʿArabiyya, 1972).

39 al-Aʿshā, *Gedichte von Abū Baṣīr Maimūn ibn Qais al-Aʿshā, nebst Sammlungen von Stücken anderer Dichter des gleichen Beinamens*, xix.

As for the authenticity of the poem in praise of the Prophet, W. Caskel in the *EP* makes no mention of al-Aʿshā's panegyric, presumably counting it among the "verse which is not authentic" in the first part of the poet's *dīwān*. By contrast, Régis Blachère, while not fully committing to the reality of al-Aʿshā's visit to Mecca, nonetheless cites it as a possibility.⁴⁰

Did You Not Shut Your Eyes?

All of the different versions of this tale⁴¹ agree that al-Aʿshā went to Medina with the intention of visiting the Prophet. The *qaṣīda* opens in verses 1–2 with a *nasīb* in which the famed lover recounts his despair at the loss of his beloved. He then turns to decry fate which has both determined the course of his life in vv. 3–5. The travels and exploits of the poet mentioned in vv. 5–6 become the prehistory of his visit to Yathrib.

The arrival of al-Aʿshā is similar to that of a *jābili* poet at the court of an earthly king. After a short *raḥīl* section in which al-Aʿshā praises his mount for its travel through the heat of day and its carrying on through the night, the poet describes his arrival at the Banū Hāshim. Verses 13 and 15 frame the Prophet's excellence in terms of his worldly gifts and generosity, emphasizing that al-Aʿshā has come seeking to gain a reward for his ode of praise.

The poet however acknowledges the difference between the Prophet and an earthly king, for the poet announces that the Prophet's fame has been spreading beyond Medina. Whereas verse 16, chastises the polytheists from Quraysh for not heeding the Prophet's legatees.

Rather than praise or boasting, the concluding verses of the poem (vv. 18–23) are prohibitions to the unbelievers. The poet warns others to follow the Prophet's new religious strictures. He explicitly outlaws idolatry and pagan religious practices (vv. 19–20) and encourages prayer in the evenings and mornings (v. 22).

The themes of "Did You Not Shut Your Eyes" are recognizable within the broader paradigms of the early Islamic *qaṣīda* poem as identified by Suzanne P. Stetkevych in numerous works, such as the "lyric-elegiac prelude," the "Self-Abasement of the Journey," and the sections of "praise."⁴² What is of particular interest in the poem is the poet's insistence on answering questioners vv. 7–8, who wonder about his destination. The poem is, in a sense, a message to them to stop asking him about his purposes and acknowledge the supremacy of the

40 Régis Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe: Des origines à la fin du XVe siècle de J.-C.* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1964), 322.

41 See Appendix for the translations of the different versions of the tale of al-Aʿshā's visit to Medina.

42 Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, *The Mantle Odes: Arabic Praise Poems to the Prophet Muḥammad* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), 12.

Prophet's message, over even his own poetry.

Akbbār concerning al-Aʿshā's Visit to Medina

The *akbbār* surrounding al-Aʿshā's visit to Medina, while they echo themes found in this poem, also occasionally subverts them. In the following section we will discuss the relationship of the poem to the *akbbār* and attempt to place the particular *khabar* of Ibn Fāris within this larger tradition of storytelling.

Ibn Hishām (d. 213/828 or 218/833)

The account of al-Aʿshā's visit, as it is found in the *Sīra* of Ibn Hishām, frames the poet's encounter with the polytheists as the central drama of the poem.⁴³

The polytheists from Quraysh are the presumed targets of the poet's religious commands and prohibitions found in v. 19 and following. The account in the main turns on the fact that al-Aʿshā, while an exemplar of piety in his promotion of strictures against gambling and fornication, says nothing about wine in the poem. This proves his undoing, as the poet returns to his home (the location of which is unnamed) in order to drink, and dies prior to conversion.

The implicit claim is that the polytheists of Quraysh play upon the well-known weakness of the poet al-Aʿshā for drink. It is al-Aʿshā's own desire for wine that proves to be his undoing. He effectively trades the earthly pleasure of a year of wine drinking, for his eternal salvation. Al-Aʿshā, unable to shake his own habits and desires, makes a very poor wager and passes away without the provision of piety.

Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889)

Ibn Qutayba in his *Kitāb al-Shʿir wa-l-shuʿarāʾ* relates a version of al-Aʿshā's visit that, while similar to that found in the *Sīra* of Ibn Hishām, examines several new themes. Firstly, the time of the visit for this version is definitively the "truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya" which happened in Dhū al-Qaʿda 6/March 628.⁴⁴ Rather than a member of the tribe of Quraysh, he meets Abū Sufyān. Although the story turns on the Prophet's prohibition of wine-drinking, fornication, and gambling, the poet's desire for wine is not what undermines his visit to the Prophet as it was in Ibn Hishām's account. For each of these former pagan habits, al-Aʿshā describes in this story how he no longer desires them. In the case of fornication, the implication is that he has become older – as the text of the poem suggests. Similarly, in the case of gambling and wine drinking he will find substitutes in the new religion.

43 ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra l-nabawiyya*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Göttingen: Dieterischen Buchhandlung, 1858–1860), 2:255–56.

44 See the excerpt from Ibn Kathīr below which explains the logic of this dating with respect to the prohibition on wine.

Al-Aʿshāʾs wager, and his eventual downfall, are not the products of his own desires and habits, as much as they are a result of deliberate scheming on the part of the Quraysh to silence him. In this account, Abū Sufyān is the voice of the powerful Meccans who are cognizant that if a fine poet were to be against their cause, it would prove to be their eventual downfall. Therefore he offers the poet a wager, stating that “There is a truce right now between us and him [the Prophet]. Why don’t you go back this year and take back with you 100 reddish camels. If he proves victorious after the truce, then you can go to him. If we win, you have received a reward to offset the difficulty of your trip.” Once again, this is a bad choice by the poet al-Aʿshā who is thrown to the ground by his mount the moment he returns to his home in al-Yamāma.

al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967)

The version of the tale found in *Kitāb al-Aghānī* is related on the authority of ʿUmar b. Shabba (d. 262/878), who was well known for his *akhbār* on poets and the history of Medina,⁴⁵ and Hishām b. al-Qāsim al-Ghanawī (d.?) who is described by al-Iṣfahānī as an expert on al-Aʿshā.⁴⁶

In contrast to the previous two accounts, al-Iṣfahānī’s account underscores al-Aʿshā’s role as a praise poet. The story begins with the arrival of the poet al-Aʿshā in Mecca. The poem, “Did you not shut your eyes?,” is referenced, and then Quraysh mentions the fact that al-Aʿshā was famous as the “Singer of the Arabs.”

This version attempts to harmonize the two stories heard above. His debate with Abū Sufyān is similar to that as portrayed by Ibn Qutayba, with the addition of the qurʾānic prohibition of usury. Wine, however, is not dropped altogether. Rather, it seems that al-Aʿshā’s fame as a poet of wine is revived, and he is portrayed as wanting to return to drink some wine that he has hidden away at home.⁴⁷

The story ends in al-Iṣfahānī with reference to poet’s death at the famed location of Qāʿ [al-Manfūḥa] which was the poet’s home.

Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004)

Ibn Fāris’ version in the *Qaṣaṣ al-nabār wa-samar al-layl* relates the account on the authority of Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān b. Thābit, the grandson of the Prophet’s poet, Ḥassān b. Thābit (d. ca 54/673).

It includes the text of the poem, “Did you not shut your eyes?.” The text

45 See S. Leder, “Umar b. Shabba,” in *EF*, online.

46 The latter is mentioned in Régis Blachère, “Un problème d’histoire littéraire: Aʿshā Maymūn et son œuvre,” *Arabica* 10 (1963): 24–55, without any further information.

47 See Philip F. Kennedy, *The Wine Song in Classical Arabic Poetry: Abū Nuwās and the Literary Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 245ff.

differs in several marked ways from the texts we have mentioned above. For instance, the opening statement of al-Aʿshā “Where is this young man from sons of Hāshim who accompanies the wind?” seems to mimic the mode of address that a poet like al-Aʿshā might use. His next clause then contains a parallel in rhyme that echoes their meaning (*maʿrūfibi; dīnibi*). In his version like that of al-Iṣfahānī, the Meccan polytheists, as a group, are worried about the possible influence of al-Aʿshā’s blame poetry, especially if it is conjoined with that of Ḥassān b. Thābit. They are worried in particular about their own personal honor (*aʿrāḍanā*). Abū Jahl comes to the rescue of the threatened polytheists, by acting in the role of the leader of the Quraysh as Abū Sufyān does in Ibn Qutayba’s version. Unlike the situation in that story, Ibn Fāris portrays the Meccans as being alarmed at the possibility of being cursed by the poet al-Aʿshā.

Abū Jahl is here more manipulative than Abū Sufyān. For he tells al-Aʿshā about the Prophet’s prohibitions of fornication and wine-drinking and then states on al-Aʿshā’s behalf that he “cannot do without these two things” (*lā ṣabra laka ʿanhumā*). In some ways, this emphasizes the scheming of Abū Jahl, and minimizes the sense produced in previous versions that al-Aʿshā had made a strategic choice to forgo meeting the Prophet.

The qurʾānic quotation ending this section (*iqtibās*) “The disbeliever is ever a helper against his Lord.” (*wa-kāna al-kāfiru ʿalā rabbihī ṣabīran*) [Q 25:55]. This is a verse that commentators have often understood to explicitly refer to Abū Jahl, as an assistant to Satan.⁴⁸ Here it works to underscore the fact that the agency in this account largely belongs to Abū Jahl. He is carrying out a plan that the poet al-Aʿshā unwittingly falls victim; al-Aʿshā accepts the reward that is offered to him, and returns without asking even a question. In Ibn Fāris’ account, the powerful voice of the poet is silenced by the even more powerful forces of belief and unbelief which he had yet to personally experience.

Conclusion

Like his predecessor Ibn Durayd, Ibn Fāris had interests that went beyond the fields of lexicography and grammar and seem to have included a real engagement with *adab*. As the title *Qaṣaṣ al-nahār wa-samar al-layl* suggests, Ibn Fāris was interested in the telling of amusing stories in versions that were, like the *maqāma*, interesting both for their content and for their exemplarity in the art of storytelling.

Ibn Fāris, like al-Hamadhānī would later do, makes use of a commonly

48 See al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī: Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān*, ed. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī (Riyadh: Dār ʿĀlam al-Kutub li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 2003), 14:478.

known story. Outwardly the tale offers some resemblances to *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī. The theme of the *maqāma* is travel, the main protagonist is a poet. Moreover the plot of this story seems to turn on wit and deception, and the power of words. Both of these themes are prominent in the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī.

On the level of style too we can see some affinities to the Hamadhānian *maqāma*. Ibn Fāris' *qiṣṣa* or *samar* is prosimetric, mixing poetry and prose. Furthermore, it makes a measured use of *saj'*, a feature that is typical of Ibn Fāris' writing and similar to the later usage of al-Hamadhānī. Finally, dialogue is an important feature of this tale.

While it would be a great stretch to say that Ibn Fāris was influential in the formation of the *maqāma*, the little that survives from his work would indicate his imparting a rich education in *adab* to his student al-Hamadhānī.

Moreover, such influence from Ibn Fāris compels us to ask an important and surprisingly often overlooked question about the very literariness of the *maqāma*. Do we presuppose that the *maqāma*, because of its status in later accounts of literary history, at the time of its origination was a form associated more with the *adīb* rather than the *abl al-lughā*? Moreover, what did premodern claims about the authorship of the *maqāmāt* by such figures as Ibn Durayd and Ibn Fāris lend to the text? Were these claims, about authorship and origin, attempts to lend authority to the linguistic knowledge found therein?

While we are no closer to answering these questions than the earlier twentieth-century preoccupations with authorship, changing the focus on what authorship and originality meant for the fourth/tenth century is perhaps long overdue. How did readers estimate the value of the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī? Did they value originality in literary history as much as we do? It is our hope that researching the fragments that remain awakens us not only to the power of literary history to shape writers, but also may bring us closer to the way that writers viewed the works of others as well as their own.

CHAPTER TWO

Assembling an Author

For James Montgomery

Modern readers encounter a book assuming that the author has played a vital role in its creation. They anticipate (rightly or wrongly) that the name prominently displayed on the cover has played an active role in the making of the book: i.e., drafting the text; dividing the work into sections; and arranging the contents. In some cases, they might imagine that this author selected the pictures, decided on the captions, and have chosen such material features such as the typeface and paper. While readers know that editors and publishers often shape the final form of modern books in important ways, few would hesitate to affirm that the role of the author is central to the production of the modern book.

There were authors in the medieval Arabic world who were also involved in many aspects of the production of their own books. For instance, the author may have selected individual poems, letters, stories, or speeches. He may have considered their arrangement. He may have even made an autograph copy on particular paper and using particular ink. Alternatively, the author may have dictated the work aloud to multiple scribes, and authorized them to teach the work through the granting of an *ijāza*. The particular features of authorial control in an age prior to mechanical reproduction are certainly of vital concern to the student of classical Arabic literature in general and deserve greater awareness on the part of their modern students.

In this chapter, we address these problems of authorship and authorial control through a particular example: the collection of the *maqāmāt* of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008).

Most modern readers have been content to read the *maqāmāt* in 'Abduh's 1889 edition without reference to the earlier manuscript tradition, believing that the noted Muslim scholar had altered the text in various places only for the sake of moral propriety.¹ Yet as Donald S. Richards pointed out in an article of 1991,

1 James T. Monroe, *The Art of Badī' az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī as Picaresque Narrative* (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 1983), 112, "Serious problems exist concerning the textual transmission of the *Maqāmāt* by Hamadhānī yet many of these cannot be solved without the existence of a critical edition explaining the number and ordering of the *maqāmas* as they appear in different recensions," or more positively on p. 14, "It is my hope that the eventual appearance of Professor Pierre A. MacKay's critical edition of Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*

many of the hypotheses of modern critics about the text of al-Hamadhānī would not withstand scrutiny because the basic features of the text that were assumed to be the work of the author such as the titles of *maqāmāt* and their order, were clearly the product of later redaction and not the work of the author.²

Recent studies of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī suggest further difficulties in offering basic interpretations of the text of the *maqāmāt* in the absence of a critical edition based on a thorough study of the work's manuscript tradition.³ In an article entitled, "Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāma* of Bishr b. ʿAwāna," Ibrahim Geris demonstrates how a text that falls outside of the canon of al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt* in the standard editions, *Bishriyya*, is numbered as a *maqāma* in two manuscripts. Moreover, Geris demonstrates how modern scholars' reliance upon the late recension of ʿAbduh has led them to base their analyses on terms and expressions that are late interpolations of the text.⁴

In Part two of this book, we identify hitherto unknown *maqāmas* attributed to al-Hamadhānī. In Chapter Three, we discuss an unknown *maqāma* on medicine in the second oldest extant manuscript of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī, Yale University MS, Salisbury collection 63.⁵ We discuss its possible authenticity, noting that because of its early preservation in the corpus, *al-Maqāma al-Ṭibbiyya* is better attested than one-fifth of the *maqāmāt* included in the *textus receptus* and urge a re-evaluation of the textual history of al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*. In Chapter Four, we present three previously unknown *maqāmāt* attributed to al-Hamadhānī located in approximately one-fourth of the manuscripts, including a thirteenth/nineteenth century copy of a sixth/twelfth century manuscript, MS School of Oriental and African Studies 47280.

In this chapter, we focus primarily on the collection of al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt* in an effort to understand how the *Maqāmāt* in the absence of the author's direct participation came to be assembled into an independent literary work. The first section of the chapter surveys the earliest evidence for the circulation of al-Hamadhānī's work prior to the appearance of manuscripts. The next section considers the growth of al-Hamadhānī's collection from the sixth–

will provide future scholars with the means to correct any shortcomings attributable to faulty readings." Unfortunately, MacKay's edition has never appeared.

- 2 D.S. Richards, "The *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī: General Remarks and a Consideration of the Manuscripts," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 22 (1991): 89–99.
- 3 Ibrahim Geris, "Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāma* of Bishr B. ʿAwāna (*al-Bishriyya*)," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 14 (2011): 125–26, "The absence of a reliable critical edition of the *maqāmas* has had an adverse effect on a number of studies that have dealt with them, singly or as a whole, especially with respect to their nature, their sequence, their unity, their number, their poetics and the interpretation of some of them."
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Bilal W. Orfali and Maurice A. Pomerantz, "A Lost *Maqāma* of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī?," *Arabica* 60 (2013): 245–71.

tenth/twelfth–sixteenth centuries. The chapter then provides a list of the extant manuscripts of al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt* and divides them into three main families. The last section discusses how the manuscripts of al-Hamadhānī were influenced by the later tradition of authoring *maqāmāt* in collections.

Manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī

In a 1991 article entitled “The *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī: General Remarks and a Consideration of the Manuscripts,” Richards called attention to the problematic state of the tradition of the manuscripts of al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*.⁶ Comparing the contents of nine manuscripts collected from various European and Middle Eastern libraries, Richards demonstrated significant variation in the order of *maqāmāt*, leading him tentatively to divide these manuscripts into two main groups:

1. The “Ottoman period” group dating from the ninth/fifteenth century, represented by six manuscripts, each putatively containing 50 *maqāmāt* all in the same order.⁷
2. The “earlier” group dating from the sixth/twelfth century to the eighth/fourteenth century, represented by three manuscripts containing nineteen, thirty–three, and forty *maqāmāt*, in various orders differing from the Ottoman period manuscripts.⁸

The Circulation of al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt* prior to MS Fatih 4097

The *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī are works that can be read independently of one another. Nevertheless, certain of their features lend themselves to be read as a group. The recurrence of characters, the narrative device of recognition (*anagnorisis*), and the variation of the locales of action, point to an author conscious of the creation of a collection. Al-Hamadhānī himself refers to the *maqāmāt* of Abū l-Faḥḥ in the plural, as if the individual *maqāmas* acquired meaning from being a part of a presumed totality.

In all probability, al-Hamadhānī never compiled his own *maqāmāt* in a definitive written collection. Al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt*, nevertheless, circulated

6 Richards, “The *Maqāmāt*,” 89–99.

7 Ibid., 94 lists the following manuscripts from the Ottoman period: B.M. [British Library] Or. 5635 (16th c.); Cambridge 1096 (= Qq. 118) (964/1557); Nurosmaniyye 4270 (1064/1654); Fātiḥ 4098 (1116/1704); Āshir Efendi (1130/1718); Copenhagen (or Havn.) 224.

8 Ibid., 94–95 includes the following manuscripts in the “earlier group”: Fātiḥ 4097 (520/1126); Aya Sofya 4283 (622/1225); Paris BN 3923 (8th/14th c.).

and became known to his contemporaries as works of elegant prose. Abū Maṣṣūr al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1038) who had met and known al-Hamadhānī, quotes from the *maqāmāt* in both his *Thimār al-qulūb* and his *Yatīmat al-dabr*. He does so, however, treating the *maqāmāt* as elegant *exempla* of prose stylistics. If he was aware of the *maqāma* as a distinctive literary form he does not discuss this.⁹

Abū Ishāq al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 413/1022), also relates *maqāmāt* in the course of his compilation *Zabr al-ādāb*. His quotations are far more substantial than those of al-Thaʿālibī. He relates twenty *maqāmāt* in total throughout the volume. Al-Ḥuṣrī is conscious of the literary form of the *maqāmas* – which might explain his attempts to suggest their kinship to a work of Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933). Indeed, al-Ḥuṣrī identifies al-Hamadhānī’s *maqāmāt* as featuring the two characters who are named by the author: ʿĪsā b. Hishām and Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Iskandarī.¹⁰ When al-Ḥuṣrī quotes from the *Maqāmāt* he consistently refers to them as from the composition of Badīʿ al-Zamān from the *Maqāmāt* of Abū l-Faṭḥ (*min inshāʾ Badīʿ al-Zamān fī maqāmāt Abī l-Faṭḥ*). At one point, al-Ḥuṣrī states that the text which he is relating is “from the *Maqāmāt* of al-Iskandarī on beggary which he composed in 385/995” (*min maqāmāt al-Iskandarī fī l-kudya mim mā ansbaʾahu Badīʿ al-Zamān wa-amlābu fī shubūr sanat khams wa-thamānīn wa-thalāthmiʿa*).

Al-Ḥuṣrī relates al-Hamadhānī’s *maqāmāt* in the *Zabr al-ādāb* much as he does other works of poetry and prose – classifying them according to the subjects which they describe. Thus he relates the *Azādhiyya* in a section on the “description of food” (*waṣf al-ṭaʿām*).¹¹ Similarly, in the course of a discussion of al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Ḥuṣrī supplies a “*maqāma* that is related to the mention of al-Jāḥiẓ.”¹² Some of these groupings by al-Ḥuṣrī match modern generic classifications, such as a section of the work on the “abasement of the beggar” (*dbull al-suʿāl*) which prompts him to relate the text of the *Makfūfiyya*.¹³ In all of the above cases, al-Ḥuṣrī considers the individual *maqāmāt* as examples of the prose composition of al-Hamadhānī on various topics, and not as components of a particular written collection.

In his *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila posits the existence of an earlier, smaller collection of twenty to thirty of al-Hamadhānī’s

9 See al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1985), 203. For the quotations to *Yatīmat al-dabr*, see Ibrahim Geries, “On Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*,” *Middle Eastern Literatures* 8 (2005): 187–95, esp. 188. On the relation of al-Thaʿālibī and al-Hamadhānī, see Introduction.

10 al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zabr al-ādāb wa-thamar al-albāb*, ed. Zakī Mubārak and Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 1972), 1:305.

11 Ibid., 2:343.

12 Ibid., 2:543.

13 Ibid., 4:1132.

maqāmāt, circulating in North Africa. The evidence that Hämeen-Anttila adduces for this smaller collection of *maqāmāt* comes from a variety of sources: Richards' examination of the manuscripts (noted above); the statement of Ibn Sharaf al-Qayrawānī (d. 460/1067) in his *Rasā'il al-intiqād* that al-Hamadhānī's collection contains 20 *maqāmas*; and citations from twenty of the *maqāmāt* in al-Ḥuṣrī's *Zabr al-ādāb* noted above. Given the early date and provenance of these early witnesses to the *Maqāmāt*, Hämeen-Anttila suggests that they point to the existence of an early manuscript tradition containing twenty *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī, with most of the *maqāmāt* included in this early collection coming from the beginning of al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt* (according to the order of the standard edition of Muḥammad 'Abduh).¹⁴

The Growth of al-Hamadhānī's Corpus of *Maqāmāt* from the Sixth–Tenth/Twelfth–Sixteenth Centuries

MS Fatih 4097: The First Extant Maqāma Collection

MS Fatih 4097, dating to (520/1126), is a particularly important manuscript for the study of the *maqāma* genre. First, it is the oldest extant collection of al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt*. Second, it is bound with the collection of ten *maqāmāt* of Ibn Nāqiyā (d. 485/1092). The latter collection is distinctive because it is the first *maqāma* collection we know of to have a written introduction which identifies its author, and has a uniform hero that appears in all of the *maqāmāt*.

Although identified on the title page (fols. 1v, 2v.) as *Kitāb al-Maqāmāt al-arba'in* of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, the *Maqāmāt* in MS Fatih 4097 lacks an introduction. The *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī begin on fol. 2v with the *basmala* followed immediately by the phrase “*ḥaddatbanā 'Īsā b. Hishām.*” Subsequent *maqāmāt* are identified with numeric titles.

The most significant features of the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī in MS Fatih 4097 is that there are forty *maqāmas* in the collection. The number forty as many previous scholars have stated is suggestive of links to *ḥadīth* collections.¹⁵ Individual *maqāmas* can be understood as “reports” related by one individual about the sayings and actions of another. As such the collection of *musnad* that contains the reports of a particular companion of the Prophet, arranged according to narration.¹⁶

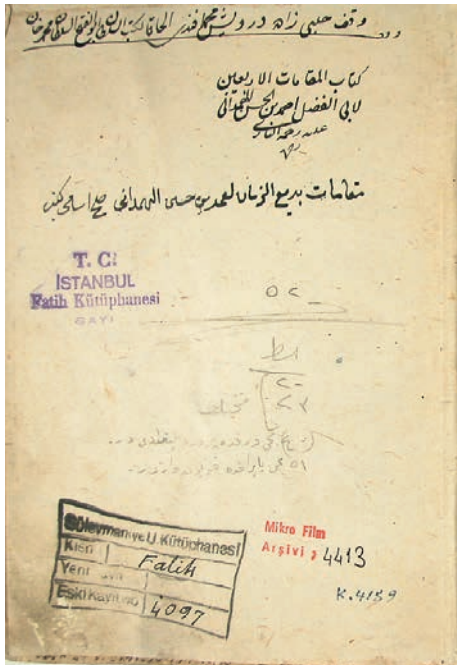
MS Fatih 4097 presents the *maqāmāt* in an order that differs considerably from

14 Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002), 118–19.

15 Jonathan A.C. Brown, *Hadith: Muhammad's Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2009), 53–54.

16 Gregor Schoeler, *The Genesis of Literature in Islam: From the Aural to the Read*, trans. Shawkat M. Toorawa (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 79.

the *Maqāmāt* in the standard edition. The two subsequent dated manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt*, MS School of Oriental and African Studies 47280 which is a nineteenth-century copy of a manuscript copied in the year 562/1166–1167 and MS Yale University, Salisbury collection 63 copied in 603/1206 also follow the order of MS Fatih. The fact that both manuscripts begin with the same core of the same forty *maqāmāt* in roughly the same order as MS Fatih suggests their filiation to MS Fatih and to one another.¹⁷



MS Fatih 4097, fol. 1r



MS Fatih 4097, fol. 2r

The Appearance of Two Collections of Fifty Maqāmāt post dating al-Ḥarīrī

Maqāmāt MS SOAS and MS Yale are also interesting in that they both contain fifty *maqāmāt*. Their “growth” appears to be a response to the rise in prominence of the collection of fifty *maqāmāt* authored by al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) completed in 504/1111–1112. Al-Ḥarīrī praised al-Hamadhānī in the introduction to his *Maqāmāt*. This sparked interest in the text of al-Hamadhānī as author of the

17 In some cases, the MSS Yale and SOAS provide materials that are missing from MS Fatih, such as the ending of the *Sijistāniyya* which is preserved in both of these MSS but not in MS Fatih (and the standard edition). This suggests that these two manuscripts may rely on a manuscript tradition independent from MS Fatih. For a reproduction of this ending see our article, “Maqāmāt Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī: al-Naṣṣ wa-l-makhṭūṭāt wa-l-tārīkh,” *Ostour*, 1 (2015): 38–55.

first *maqāma* collection.

The additional ten *maqāmāt* found in both MSS SOAS and Yale come from two main sources: the so-called “amusing anecdotes” (*mulaḥ*) of al-Hamadhānī and additional *maqāmāt*.

Mulaḥ

The *mulaḥ* are “miscellany of texts transmitted on the authority of al-Hamadhānī outside his main collections (*Maqāmāt* and *Rasā’il*) and put together by an anonymous collector,” as Hämeen-Anttila has described them.¹⁸ The *mulaḥ* do not mention the characters of either the narrator or trickster. As Ibrahim Geris has noted, however, the *mulaḥ* are not distinguished from *maqāmāt* in MS Aya Sofya. Subjecting these *mulaḥ* to further analysis and comparing them with similar stories found in other sources, Ibrahim Geris concluded that they are mainly pre-existing literary anecdotes which were related by al-Hamadhānī. They were included in some manuscripts of al-Hamadhānī by compilers who considered these anecdotes to be *maqāmāt*.¹⁹ In our further research on the topic, we noted that both MS SOAS and MS Yale include seven *mulaḥ* as *maqāmāt*. In both cases, the position of the *mulaḥ* come towards the end of the collection, positions 37–43 in the case of MS Yale, and positions 43–50 in MS SOAS.



MS Aya Sofya 4283, fol. 60v–61r

18 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 77.

19 Geris, “Badi’ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī’s *Maqāma* of Bishr b. ‘Awāna,” 136.

Additional Maqāmāt

Both MS SOAS and MS Yale include three additional *maqāmāt*. In MS Yale the three additional *maqāmāt* are: a letter that is described as a *mulḥa* in the Istanbul edition; the *Matlabiyya*; and the newly-discovered *Ṭibbiyya*.²⁰ MS SOAS also contains three additional *maqāmāt* (nos. 48–50) which we have named: *Hamadhāniyya*, *Sharīfiyya* [which is a *Maqāma* and *Risāla*], and *Khātamiyya*.²¹

Additions to the Manuscripts of the Tenth/Sixteenth Century

A large group of *maqāmāt* was added to the corpus in the tenth/sixteenth century [*Mighzaliyya*, *Nājimiyya*, *Khalafiyya*, *Nīsābūriyya*, *Ilmiyya*, *Mulūkiyya*, *Ṣufriyya*, *Sāriyya*, *Tamīmiyya*, *Khamriyya*]. This group includes all of the so-called “panegyric” *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī that al-Hamadhānī purportedly composed in 383/993 in celebration of the ruler, Khalaf b. Aḥmad.

**The Three Families: The Extant Manuscripts
of al-Hamadhānī’s *Maqāmāt***

We have identified three main families in our work on the manuscript tradition of al-Hamadhānī, which we have termed A, A¹, and B. We based our findings mainly on the order and contents of the manuscripts and not on their specific readings. A stemma based on a comparison of readings will be a focus of future research.

Family A

The first family A is the most heterogeneous. It includes the five oldest manuscripts: MS Fatih 4097, MS SOAS 47280, MS Yale 63, MS Aya Sofya 4283, and MS Paris 3923. These manuscripts vary greatly from one another. However, it is likely that both MS SOAS and MS Yale are related to MS Fatih 4097, or share a common ancestor, because of the common order of *maqāmāt*. The final two members of the family, MS Aya Sofya appears at times to foreshadow the later order of family B. Interestingly the final folio of MS Aya Sofya is from the *Shi‘riyya*, which suggests that the manuscript may have contained other *maqāmāt* no longer extant.

Manuscripts belonging to Family A:

1. Istanbul Fatih 4097 (520/1126)
2. London SOAS 47280 (thirteenth/nineteenth century)
3. Yale University 63 (603/1206)

20 See Orfali and Pomerantz, “A Lost *Maqāma* of Badī‘ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī?,” 248. See also Chapter Three.

21 See Chapter Four.

4. Istanbul Aya Sofya 4283 (692/1225)
5. Paris BN 3923 (eighth/fourteenth century)

Family A¹

The second family A¹ includes twenty manuscripts which date from the eleventh/seventeenth century until the thirteenth/nineteenth. These manuscripts all retain the order of MS Fatih 4097. The three supplementary *maqāmāt* appear in half of the manuscripts belonging to A¹.²²

Manuscripts belonging to Family A¹:

1. Edinburgh MS Or 49 (eleventh/seventeenth century)
2. Tehran Ilāhiyyāt 3/441 (eleventh/seventeenth)
3. Mashhad Razavī 4984 (1140/1727)
4. Tehran Millī Shuravī 20 (1110/1698)
5. Tehran Adabiyyāt 3/74 (twelfth/eighteenth)
6. Istanbul University A1227 (undated)
7. Damascus Asad Library 218 (1243/1827)
8. Tehran *Kitābkhānah-i wa-Markaz-i Asnād Majlis Shurā-yi Islāmī* 303 (1270/1853)
9. Tehran Majlis 2/5764 (1278/1861)
10. Istanbul University A234 (1296/1878)
11. King Saud University (1307/1889)
12. Tehran Majlis 621 (twelfth–thirteenth/eighteenth–nineteenth)
13. Tehran Majlis 631 (thirteenth/nineteenth)
14. Qom Gulpaygānī 4/4181–101/21 (thirteenth/nineteenth)
15. Tehran Šipāhsalār 7006 (thirteenth/nineteenth)
16. Mashhad Ilāhiyyāt 619 (thirteenth/nineteenth)
17. Tehran Malik 4/2357 (thirteenth/nineteenth)
18. Tehran Majlis 2/4113 (thirteenth/nineteenth)
19. Princeton University 2007
20. Tehran *Kitābkhānah-i Millī Jumhūrī-yi Islāmī-yi Irān* 8046 (undated)
21. Tehran Lithograph (1296/1878)

22 For the list of manuscripts, see the notes to the Arabic text of the three *maqāmāt*.

Family B

The third family B includes fifteen manuscripts dating from the tenth/sixteenth to the thirteenth/nineteenth century. The manuscripts in this family follow the order commonly known from the ‘Abduh edition. The family includes eleven additional *maqāmāt* [*Mighzaliyya*, *Nājimiyya*, *Khalafiyya*, *Nisābūriyya*, *‘Ilmiyya*, *Shi‘riyya*, *Mulūkiyya*, *Ṣufriyya*, *Sāriyya*, *Tamīmiyya*, *Khamriyya*] as a group at the end of the collections. Only one of this group, the *Shi‘riyya* is found in a manuscript prior to the tenth/sixteenth century.

Manuscripts belonging to family B:

1. Cambridge University Library 1096/7 (Qq. 118) (964/1557)
2. London BM Or. 5635 (tenth/sixteenth)
3. Istanbul Nurosmaniye 4270 (1064/1654)
4. Istanbul Fatih 4098 (1116/1704)
5. Istanbul Reisulkuttab 912 (1130/1717–1718)
6. Istanbul Hamidiye 1197 (1174/1760–1761)
7. Cairo Dār al-Kutub *mīm* 112 (undated)
8. Cairo Dār al-Kutub 1853 (1280/1863)
9. Cairo al-Azhar MS 271 (undated)
10. Cambridge MS Add. 1060 (1822)
11. Riyadh King Faisal Center 5930 (1282/1865)
12. Copenhagen, Cod. Arab. 224 (undated)
13. Istanbul Bayezit 2640 (undated)
14. Tehran Majlis 303 (1270/1853)
15. Tehran Majlis 5/8951 (9 Muḥarram 1250/18 May 1834)

	B	F	Q	B	K	Q	Q	M	A	H	M	W	M	J	B	A	A	S	J	S	I	H	A	B	G
	a	a	a	a	ü	a	i	a	s	i	ä	a	a	ä	u	d	h	ä	r	j	i	ä	h	a	a
	ş	z	z	l	f	r	r	w	a	r	r	r	k	h	h	a	h	s	r	i	ş	m	w	g	h
	r	ä	w	k	i	ı	d	s	d	r	i	f	h	h	a	a	h	ä	j	h	f	d	h	h	
	i	r	i	i	y	d																			
	y	y	y	y																					
	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	
	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	
FAMILY A	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Fatih 4097 (520/1126)																									
SOAS 47280 (13 th /19 th)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Yale 63 (603/1206)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	24	25	44	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	11
Aya Sofya 4283 (692/1225)	22	24	25	26	1		20	19		3	4		15	18	17	10	13	12	11		2	14			16
Paris BN 3923 (8 th /14 th)	2	3	7	11	13	8	14	15	16			5	4	6	17	9	10	18	12	19	1				20
FAMILY A ¹	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Edinburgh MS Or. 49 (11 th /17 th)																									
Istanbul University A1227 (undated)	1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Istanbul University A234 (1296/1878)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Tehran <i>Kitābkānab-i Majlis Shura-yi Islāmī</i> 303 (1270/1853)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Asad 218 (1243/1827)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Tehran Majlis 631 (13 th /19 th)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Tehran Majlis 2/5764 (1278/1861)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Tehran <i>Kitābkānab-i Milli Jumbūri-yi Islāmī</i> 8046 (undated)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Tehran Lithograph (1296/1878)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
King Saud University 814 (1307/1889)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Princeton MS 2007	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
FAMILY B	13	14	18	3	5	1	20	21	6	23	24	27	16	15	17	8	2	19	9	4	10	30	11	12	7
Cambridge 1096/7 (964/1557)																									
Nurosmāniye 4270 (1064/1654)	13	14	18	3	5	1	20	21	6	23	24	27	16	15	17	8	2	19	9	4	10	30	11	12	7
Fatih 4098 (1116/1704)	13	14	15	3	5	1	20	21	6	23	24	27	17	16	18	8	2	19	9	4	10	30	11	12	7
Cairo Dār al-Kutub <i>mim</i> 112 (undated)	13	14		3	5	1			6							8	2		9	4	10		11	12	7
Cairo Dār al-Kutub 1853 (1280/1863)	13	14	18	3	5	1	20	21	6	23	24	27	*	15	16	8	2	19	9	4	10	30	11	12	7
Cairo Al-Azhar ms. 271 (undated)	13	14	18	3	5	1	20		6				16	15	17	8	2	19	9	4	10		11	12	7
Cambridge MS Add. 1060 (1822)	2	3	7	11	13	8	14	15	16				5	4	6	17	9	10	18	12	19		1		20
Markaz Malik Faisal ms. 5930 (1282/1865)	13	14	18	3	5	1	20	21	6	23	24	27	16	15	17	8	2	19	9	4	10	30	11	12	7
EARLY PRINT EDITIONS	13	14	18	3	5	1	20	21	6	23	24	27	16	15	17	8	2	19	9	4	10	30	11	12	7
Istanbul Dār al-Jawā'ib (1298/1880)																									
Beirut 'Abduh (1889)	13	14	18	3	5	1	20	21	6	23	24	26	16	15	17	8	2	19	9	4	10	29	11	12	7
Kanfūr Cawnpore (1904)				3	5	1		10								7	2		8	4	9				6

Becoming a *Maqāma* Collection: Introductions, Characters, Closure

With the rise to prominence of al-Ḥarīrī's collection of fifty *maqāmāt* during the sixth/twelfth century, al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt* began to be understood within the framework of a *maqāma* collection. *Maqāma* collections such as al-Ḥarīrī and that of Ibn Nāqiyā, possessed introductions, identities of main characters, and occasionally, some notion of closure. In the following section we consider way in which al-Hamadhānī's manuscripts begin to conform to expectations about *maqāma* collections.

Introductions (Muqaddimāt)

Introductions were common to prose works in the fourth/tenth century. Thus if al-Hamadhānī had in fact collected his own work, it would have been natural for him to begin with an introduction.²³ From Ibn Nāqiyā onward, it was common for the author of a *maqāma* collection to indicate his own role in the composition of the collection in the first person in the introduction. While extant introductions to al-Hamadhānī's manuscripts do identify him as the author or transmitter of the *maqāmāt*, the fact that he is not the author of their introductions, distinguishes al-Hamadhānī's work from subsequent *maqāmāt* collections.

Of the manuscripts of al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt* copied prior to the tenth/sixteenth century, [MS Fatih 4097 (520/1126), MS SOAS 47280 (562/1166–1167), MS Yale Salisbury 63 (603/1206), MS Aya Sofya 4283 (692/1225) Paris BN 3923 (eighth/fourteenth century)] two preface the collection with introductions. The introduction in the SOAS manuscript is as follows, “This is what the esteemed teacher Abū l-Faḍl Badi' al-Zamān Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hamadhānī related from 'Īsā b. Hishām of the *maqāmāt* of Abū l-Faḍl al-Iskandarī” (*hādhā mim mā amlābu al-ustādh al-imām al-fāḍil Abū l-Faḍl Badi' al-Zamān Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hamadhānī riwāyat^{an} 'an 'Īsā b. Hishām min maqāmāt Abī l-Faḍl*).²⁴ MS Aya Sofya 4283 begins with the following introduction, “These *maqāmāt* were related by the teacher Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hamadhānī in Nishapur and he mentioned that he had composed them to be uttered in the voice

23 Bilal Orfali, “The Art of the *Muqaddima* in the Works of Abū Maṣū' al-Tha'libī (d. 429/1039),” in *The Weaving of Words: Approaches to Classical Arabic Prose*, ed. Lale Behzade and Vahid Behmardi (Beirut and Würzburg: Orient-Institut; Ergon-Verlag, 2009), 181–202. In *The Oral and Written in Early Islam*, ed. James E. Montgomery, trans. Uwe Vagelpohl (London: Routledge, 2006), 46, Gregor Schoeler draws attention to the Greek distinction between *hypomnēma*, “notes for private use,” and *syngamma*, literary works that are “redacted according to common rules.”

24 MS SOAS 47280, fol. 2r.

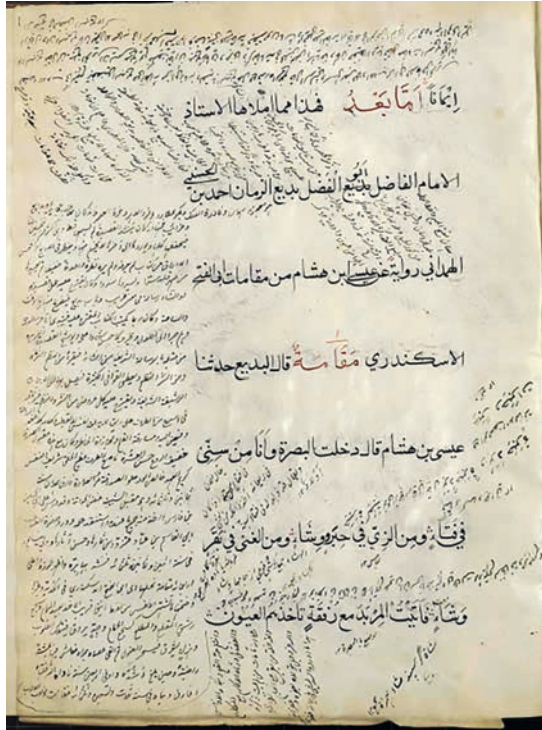
of Abū l-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī and to have been related by ʿĪsā b. Hishām, whereas others have mentioned that they were composed by Abū l-Ḥusayn b. Fāris and the report concerning this has become widely known” (*bādbibi al-maqāmāt amlāhā al-ustādh Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hamadhānī bi-Nisābūr wa-dhakara annahu ansbaʿabā ʿalā lisān Abī l-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī wa-rawāhā ʿan ʿĪsā b. Hishām wa-dhakara gḥayrubu annabā min insbāʿ Abī l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Fāris wa-tawātara al-khabar bi-dhālik*).²⁵ Interestingly, the fifth oldest ms. MS Paris 3923 (the only one of the five early manuscripts to include the letters (*rasāʿil*) of al-Hamadhānī) introduces al-Hamadhānī’s *maqāmāt* not as a separate work, but rather as “*maqāmāt* which he made and placed on the tongues of beggars” (*wa-min al-maqāmāt allatī ʿamilahā ʿalā alsinat al-mukaddīn*),²⁶ suggesting that the compiler still did not perhaps envision the work of al-Hamadhānī to be more than a sum of individual *maqāmas*.

Several later manuscripts of al-Hamadhānī such as MS Nurosmaniye 4270 copied in 1064/1654, MS Veliyuddin Efendi 2640 (1126/1714) and MS Reisulkuttab 912 copied in 1130/1717–1718, as Geries notes, begin with an introduction which appears to draw upon the language of al-Ḥuṣrī and Ibn Sharaf al-Qayrawānī’s *Rasāʿil al-intiqād*, which states that “Badīʿ al-Zamān forged (?) (*zawwara*) *maqāmas* which he composed extemporaneously (*badīh^{an}*) at the close of his literary sessions which he would attribute their narration to a storyteller he called ʿĪsā b. Hishām, who had heard them from an eloquent man named Abū l-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī.”²⁷ This introduction, it should be noted, is found only in one late family of manuscripts from the tenth/sixteenth century onwards, and is not in any of the early manuscripts.

25 MS Aya Sofya 4283, fol. 1v. The manuscript begins on fol. 1a with a prominent title page, referring to the work’s title as *al-Maqāmāt al-Badīʿiyya*, which were “related by (*min imlāʿ*) the *ustādh* Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hamadhānī.”

26 MS Paris 3923, fol. 3r.

27 Ibn Sharaf al-Qayrawānī, *Rasāʿil al-intiqād*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Jadīd, 1983), 20–21. Al-Sharishī (d. 619/1222) in his *Sharḥ maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafājī (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Thaqāfiyya, 1952), 1:15 repeats that al-Ḥarīrī also would compose *maqāmāt* extemporaneously (*irtijālan*) at the end of his *majālis* according to the suggestions of particular genres of composition by his audience.



MS SOAS 47280, fol. 2r



MS Aya Sofya 4283, fol. 2v

من صف الحفان ولا ادري كيف برى العلم من
الرجل ومن المقامات
التي علمها علي السنه المكثرة من مقامات القوم
قال وحديثا عيسى بن هشام قال حدثني

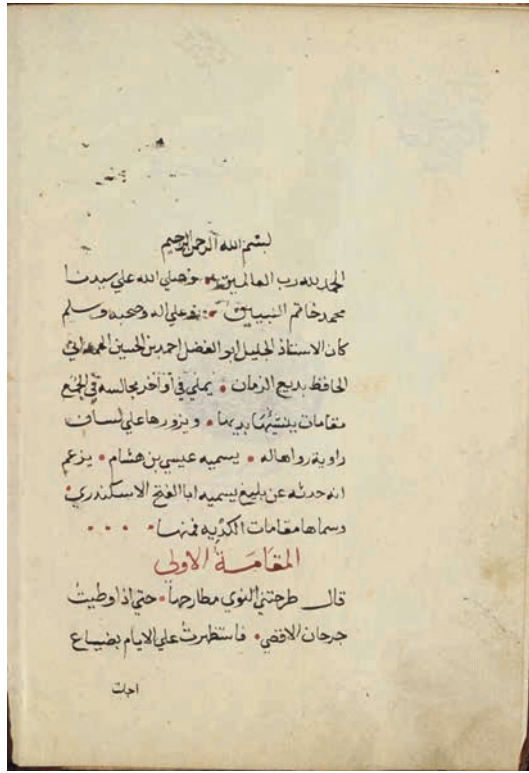
MS Paris BN 3923, fol. 5r

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على سيدنا
محمد وآله الطيبين وعلى آله وسلم كان
الاستاذ الجليل ابو الفضل احمد بن الحسين
الهدائي الحافظ يدع الزمان يلى في وارض
بحالته في الجمع مقامات ينسبها ليدعيها
ونزقها على لسان راويه رواها له
عيسى بن هشام يزعم انه حدث عن بليغ
تسميه ابا الفتح الاسكندر بن هشام
مقامات السكندر بن هشام
المقامه الاولى
قال حدثني عيسى بن هشام قال طرحتني
النوي مطارحها حتى اذا وطيت جرجان

MS Nurosmaniye 4270, fol. 1v

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين وعلى آله وصحبه
أجمعين كان الاستاذ ابو الفضل احمد بن
الحسين الهدائي الملقب ببديع الزمان
يلى في وارضها ليه فالجمع مقامات ينسبها
بديها ونزقها على لسان راويه رواها له
تسميه عيسى بن هشام يزعم انه حدث عن
بليغ تسميه ابا الفتح الاسكندر بن هشام
مقامات السكندر بن هشام
المقامه الاولى
حدثني عيسى بن هشام قال طرحتني النوي
مطارحها

MS Reisulkurtab 912, fol. 1v



MS Veliyuddin Efendi 2640, fol. 1v

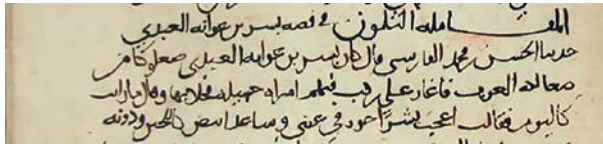
Main Characters

The second feature typical of the *maqāma* collection is the uniformity of the main characters of the narrator and the hero. In the case of the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī it is usually assumed that the *maqāmāt* are related by the character ʿĪsā b. Hishām and that the main protagonist is Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Iskandarī. The notion that a *maqāma* collection must have a consistent narrator and protagonist however, must have taken some time to evolve as the first readers of al-Hamadhānī interpreted the form of the *maqāma* in different ways.

For instance, Ibn Nāqīyā's collection of ten *maqāmāt* is uniform in their protagonist, but differs with respect to narrators. His collection of *maqāmāt* is held together through a unity of place, Baghdad, which is very different from the Hamadhānian prototype which is based on the travel of the narrator.²⁸ Al-Ḥarīrī's choice of a single narrator and protagonist for his collection, al-Ḥārith b. Hammām and Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī was influential for the remainder of the tradition of *maqāma* writing.

28 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 133–40.

The earliest collection of al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*, MS Fatih 4097, includes several instances of *maqāmāt* which are not related on the authority of 'Īsā b. Hishām. The *Bishriyya* in MS Fatih 4097, as noted by Ibrahim Geris, is related on the authority of al-Ḥasan or al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Fārsīnī.²⁹ At the time of authoring this article, Geris was unable to identify this person. In the opening letter of MS Paris 3923, al-Hamadhānī relates a poem of the poet Barkawayh al-Zinjānī, from a certain Abū 'Abdallāh al-Fārsīnī who may indeed be identical to the narrator of the *Bishriyya*. The *Ṣaymariyya*, similarly, is prefaced by the statement, "Muḥammad b. Ishāq, known as Abū l-'Anbas al-Ṣaymarī said." As has been noted by previous scholarship, Abū l-'Anbas was a historical personage who died in 275/888.³⁰



MS Fatih 4097, fol. 26r

If the identity of the narrator was not a common feature of the *maqāmāt*, perhaps the unity of the trickster character was important for the unity of the collection. However, the hero, as well, varies throughout the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī. While Abū l-Faṭḥ appears in the majority of the *maqāmāt*, there are other figures in the so-called panegyric *maqāmāt*, who play the role of the trickster.³¹

Indeed, in this regard, it is significant to note the modes by which al-Hamadhānī referred to the *maqāmāt*. In one instance, referring to criticisms made by his rival Abū Bakr al-Kh^wārizmī (d. 383/993), al-Hamadhānī wrote, "he prepared a slander against us for that which we have related of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Iskandarī" (*tajbīz qadḥin 'alaynā fī-mā rawaynā min maqāmāt al-Iskandarī*), which suggests that the *maqāmāt* belong to Abū l-Faṭḥ.³² The *Asadiyya maqāma* opens with the narrator 'Īsā b. Hishām stating, "From what was related to me of the *maqāmāt* of al-Iskandarī and his statements [there were statements and actions] that would make gazelles hear and the sparrow flutter."³³

29 Geris, "Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāma* of Bishr b. 'Awāna," 130, discusses the problem of al-Fārsīnī.

30 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 44.

31 Ibid., 60.

32 al-Hamadhānī, *Kashf al-ma'ānī*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Aḥḍab al-Ṭarābulṣī (Beirut: al-Maṭba'at al-Kāthūlikiyya li-l-Ābā' al-Yasū'iyyīn, 1890), 389–90; MS Paris 3923, fol. 2r.

33 In Muḥammad 'Abduh's edition, the line is rendered, "it was reported to me the *maqāmāt* of al-Iskandarī and his speech what a beast who takes flight would listen to and what a sparrow would flutter in response." (*kāna yablughunī min maqāmāt al-*

It is worth noting, too, that both of these passages demonstrate that al-Hamadhānī distanced himself from the immediate authorship of the collection. In the passage from his letters, al-Hamadhānī defends himself from the criticisms of his rival al-Kh^wārizmī, describing himself as simply the relator of the *Maqāmāt* of Abū l-Faṭḥ. Meanwhile, in the *Asadiyya*, al-Hamadhānī describes the *maqāmāt* as the exploits of al-Iskandarī as opposed to his speech (*maqālāt*).

Closure of al-Hamadhānī’s Corpus of Maqāmāt

The collection of forty *maqāmāt* found in MS Fatih 4097 is the oldest form in which we know the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī. And in some sense, the number forty, because of its associations in collections of *ḥadīth*, would seem to be a plausible end to a *maqāma* collection.³⁴ However because of al-Hamadhānī’s famed boast that he had authored more than 400 *maqāmāt* made in the course of his famed literary contest with Abū Bakr al-Kh^wārizmī, both medieval and modern scholars believed that the corpus of al-Hamadhānī’s *Maqāmāt* was “open.” That is, there was no one definitive collection of al-Hamadhānī’s *maqāmāt* and that the majority of his *maqāmāt* had not reached later readers.

The title page (fol. 2r) of MS Fatih 4097 preserves a marginal which is of great importance to the history of the corpus. This scribe is not the copyist of the main text of the manuscript, but rather provides alternate titles and numbering in the margins of the manuscript suggesting that he is working from another, now-lost, manuscript of al-Hamadhānī’s *Maqāmāt*. Having read the contents of MS Fatih 4097, the scribe identifies the *Khamriyya* and *Ṭibbiyya* as two *maqāmāt* that he has seen which are not found among the forty *maqāmāt*:

Iskandarī wa-maqālātihi mā yusghī ilayhi al-nafūr wa-yantafid labu al-‘usfūr) However, the earliest manuscripts MSS Fatih 4097, SOAS 47280, MS Yale 63, read *mā yusghī ilayhi al-fūr*. As Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1863), 6:241 notes, *fūr* is a term for gazelles. This rare word appears to have been replaced by *nafūr*, however, *fūr* is a case of *lectio difficilior*. The motif of a poet in dialogue with gazelles, is found in the *Dīwān Majnūn Laylā*, ed. Yūsuf Farḥāt (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1992), 149.

34 ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Kiliṭū, *Maḥbūm al-mu’allif fī l-turāth al-‘arabī* (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 2011), 20 suggests this.



MS Fatih 4097, fol. 2r

”رأيت له مقامتين ليستا هنا إحداهما خمريّة وأولها اتفق لي في عنفوان الشبيبة والأخرى طبيّة أولها عنّ لي الاجتياز ببلاد الأهواز وعدّة المقامات أربعمائة قاله مصنفها والثعالبي.“

I have seen two other *maqāmāt* belonging to him [viz., al-Hamadhānī]. The first is the *Khamriyya* which begins with ‘it happened to me in the flush of youth,’ and the second is the *Ṭibbiyya*, which begins with ‘I happened to pass through the lands of al-Ahwāz.’ There are four hundred *Maqāmāt* as both their author and al-Tha‘alibī assert.

As we have shown in our Chapter Three, the *Ṭibbiyya* is found in MS Yale 63,³⁵ while the *Khamriyya* does not appear until MS Cambridge 1096/7 dating to the 964/1557.

Attempts to close al-Hamadhānī’s text do not seem to have been definitive. In the sixth/twelfth century, the corpus of al-Hamadhānī’s *maqāmāt* as MSS Yale and SOAS show seem to have grown to include fifty *maqāmāt*. Following Richards suggestion, it seems that al-Hamadhānī’s collections grew in size to fifty *maqāmas* mainly in response to the existence of al-Ḥarīrī’s collection of fifty *maqāmāt*.³⁶

35 See Chapter Three.

36 Richards, “The *Maqāmāt*,” 98, “Here one might entertain the idea that, rather than Ḥarīrī imitating the size of Hamadhānī’s output, as has been suggested but is nowhere expressed by Ḥarīrī himself, the sum of fifty *maqāmas* found in the Ottoman Mss. is the result of efforts to effect the reverse, to bring Hamadhānī’s *oeuvre* up to the size of Ḥarīrī’s.”

Conclusion: The Closure of the Corpus

Thus we can see that the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī fundamentally differs from the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī in that it was authored as a collection. In the introduction to the work, al-Ḥarīrī states his claim to his authorship of the entire work.³⁷ He publicly affirmed his authorship of the work through the first public audition of the work in Baghdad upon his completion of the 50 *maqāmāt* in 504/1111–1112.³⁸ Moreover, the text of al-Ḥarīrī itself provides a sort of narrative closure. Al-Ḥarīrī's fiftieth *maqāma*, *Baṣriyya*, discusses the repentance (*tawba*) of the hero Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī providing a definitive conclusion to the whole. The hero finished his career in the home city of the author and the collection came to an end.³⁹

By contrast, al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt* remained "open" for many centuries following his death. In the MS SOAS we find the expression, "this is the end of what we have found of the *Maqāmāt*" (*hādhā ākhir mā wajadnāhu min al-maqāmāt*) as if the scribe were cognizant of the fact that more could be found.⁴⁰ For an author who had purportedly composed four hundred *maqāmāt*, the possibility seemingly remained for further additions of new *maqāmas*.

Later additions to the corpus seem to aim at defining certain features of his authorship and may possibly represent attempts at the closure of the corpus. Two of the three additional *maqāmāt* which we have recently published in MS SOAS (and ten other manuscripts in family B) discuss the return of Abū l-Faṭḥ to Hamadhān (the home city of al-Hamadhānī) which seems to echo the return of Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī to Baṣra (the home city of al-Ḥarīrī). It should be noted that there is no suggestion in these *maqāmas* that Abū l-Faṭḥ repents of his roguery.

The latest attested additions to the corpus of al-Hamadhānī first attested in the tenth/sixteenth century include the six panegyric *maqāmāt* that al-Hamadhānī purported wrote in celebration for the ruler Khalaf b. Aḥmad who reigned in Sīstān until 393/1003.⁴¹ When taken as a group, these *maqāmāt* include several different heroes in addition to Abū l-Faṭḥ, which is somewhat

37 Kiliṭū, *Mafhūm al-mu'allif*, 13. The controversies surrounding al-Ḥarīrī's authorship of the work, underscored throughout Kiliṭū's study, were perhaps reactions on the part of later critics to al-Ḥarīrī's strident claims of originality throughout the work.

38 Pierre A. MacKay, "Certificates of Transmission on a Manuscript of the *Maqāmāt* of Ḥarīrī (MS. Cairo, Adab 105)," *Journal of the American Philosophical Society* 61 (1971): 1–81.

39 Kiliṭū, *Mafhūm al-mu'allif*, 7.

40 E.g. MS SOAS, fol. 127v and MS Yale end with this formula. MS Fatih 4097, by contrast, states, "This is the end of the *maqāmāt*."

41 C.E. Bosworth, "Kalaf b. Aḥmad," in *EIr*, 15:362–63.

anomalous.⁴² However they are uniform in providing what was until the date of their addition to the corpus a missing feature: the context of their authorship.

Al-Hamadhānī has gone down in history as the creator of the *maqāma* genre. Yet he does not appear to have been the inventor of the *maqāma* collection. As this chapter has suggested, ideas about *maqāmāt* collections that emerged after al-Hamadhānī's lifetime shaped his literary legacy in significant ways. Thus the *maqāmāt* of the author known as the "Wonder of the Age" during his own lifetime, could be read by subsequent generations.

42 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 60.

PART 2: TEXTS

CHAPTER THREE

Lost *Maqāma*: The *Tibbiyya*

For Everett Rowson

Chapters One and Two considered al-Hamadhānī's (d. 398/1008) creation of the *maqāma* form and the way that this form eventually became a collection. In the following two chapters we turn our attention to four texts that we discovered in our survey of the manuscripts of al-Hamadhānī previously unknown to modern scholars. We provide the first editions of their texts along with a description of their contents and their relationship to the extant *maqāmas* ascribed to al-Hamadhānī.

The Yale Manuscript

One early and extremely important manuscript of al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt* that Donald S. Richards did not consider in his 1991 article on the manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt* is Yale University, Beinecke Library, Salisbury collection no. 63.¹ In comparison to the available published editions, the Yale manuscript provides far better readings. It should be included in the preparation of any critical edition of al-Hamadhānī's text.

The Yale manuscript contains 38 folios and measures 25.5 x 11.5 cm with 26 lines on a page. It is written in a good *naskhī* script in black and red ink and was copied in the year 603/1206. The name of the copyist is not provided in the text.²

The Yale manuscript has been known since the eighteenth century. Prior to its acquisition by Yale University Library in 1870, it was in the private collections of several distinguished Arabists. The first European owner of this manuscript was Everard Scheidius (1742–1794), Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Harderwijk in the Netherlands. Scheidius studied with Jan Jacob Schultens (1716–1778), the son of Albert Schultens (1686–1750). The latter had produced commentaries of the *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* and this may account

1 D.S. Richards, "The *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī: General Remarks and a Consideration of the Manuscripts," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 22 (1991): 89–99.

2 Leon Nemoy, *Arabic Manuscripts in the Yale University Library* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), 58.

for Scheidius’ knowledge and interest al-Hamadhānī’s work.³ It is likely that Scheidius acquired this manuscript of al-Hamadhānī’s *Maqāmāt* with the aid of the Dutch legation at Constantinople.⁴

Everard Scheidius began the preparation of a published edition of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī based on this manuscript. Scheidius’ notes identifying the fifty *maqāmāt* with roman numerals and variant readings from Paris MS 1591 are in the margins of the Yale manuscript.⁵ However, Scheidius appears not to have progressed beyond the transcription of the initial seven *maqāmāt*. Scheidius’ brother Jacobus published the first three *maqāmāt* and part of the fourth *maqāma* under the title *Consessus Hamadensis vulgo dicti Bedi. Al. Zamaan. e codice ms. Bibliothecae fratris sui*.⁶

The distinguished French Orientalist Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838) purchased this manuscript at an auction of Scheidius’ estate. In the second edition of his *Chrestomathie arabe* published in 1827, de Sacy included French translations of five of the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī.⁷ Although de Sacy followed the numbering of the Scheidius manuscript, and generally appears to have preferred its text, he supplied the titles of the *maqāmāt* found in Paris Arabe 1591.⁸ In the notes following his translation, de Sacy stated that in order to prepare a complete edition of al-Hamadhānī’s *Maqāmāt* it would be necessary to procure further manuscripts.⁹

Edward Eldridge Salisbury (1814–1901), Professor of Arabic at Yale from 1841 to 1856, purchased the Scheidius manuscript from the private collection of Silvestre de Sacy.¹⁰ In 1870, Salisbury presented this manuscript to Yale University, where the manuscript is currently housed in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

Folios 1r–32v of the codex represent 50 numbered *maqāmāt*. Similar to many manuscripts of the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī, the individual *maqāmāt*

3 See Arnoud Vrolijk, and Richard van Leeuwen, *Arabis Studies in the Netherlands: A Short History in Portraits, 1580–1950* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 82.

4 Personal communication, Dr. Arnoud Vrolijk, Curator of Oriental Manuscripts & Rare Books, Special Collections Department, Leiden University Library, July 19, 2011.

5 Pieter de Jong, *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Regiae Scientiarum* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1862), 106.

6 Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur (GAL)* (Leiden: Brill, 1943–1949), 1:93.

7 Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe, ou, extraits de divers écrivains arabes, tant en prose qu’en vers à l’usage des élèves de l’École royale et spéciale des langues orientales vivantes* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1826–1827), 243–58.

8 Ibid., 3:261.

9 Ibid., 3:262.

10 Nemoy, *Arabic Manuscripts in the Yale University Library*, 6.

are untitled.¹¹ Of the fifty numbered *maqāmāt*, seven [nos. 37–43] are the so-called “amusing anecdotes” (*mulah*) of al-Hamadhānī.¹² One of the *maqāmāt*, no. 50, is in the form of a letter that is also described as a *mulḥa* in the Istanbul edition.¹³ Five of the *maqāmāt* [*Baṣriyya*, *Fazāriyya*, *Balkhiyya*, *Kūfiyya*, and *Armaniyya*] are followed by a commentary that varies in both size and content.¹⁴ One *maqāma*, no. 48, is not attested in any other manuscript.

Folios 33r–36v, 38r–38v of the codex contain a series of prayers composed in artistic prose that vary in length. Folio 37r–37v appears to have been misplaced, as it contains unrelated information. The misplaced folio consists of three parts. The first part, which bears no heading, collects statements on the subject of *adab* by early scribes, littérateurs and philologists such as Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Kātib (d. 213/828), al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828), al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791), al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868–869), and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/660). The second part is entitled *fī l-khaṭṭ wa-l-qalam wa-l-balāgha* (On handwriting, penmanship, and eloquence) and contains Greek, Arabic and anonymous maxims on the subject of writing. The third and last group of statements in this folio assembles Greek, Persian and Arabic maxims on *ḥilm* (forbearance) and ends with two lines by Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī (d. 357/968) followed by two lines of verse by Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (r. 41–60/661–680). This folio ends with two statements on penmanship, which seem to have been incorrectly placed there by the copyist.

Maqāma 48: al-Maqāma al-Ṭibbiyya

Maqāma 48 of the Yale codex begins towards the middle of folio 30r. The *maqāma* starts with the usual *isnād*:

حدَّثنا عيسى بن هشام قال: عَنَّ لي الاجتيازُ في بلاد الأهواز، مع رِفْقَةٍ أنجاب وإخوانٍ وأصحاب،
حتَّى حَلَلْنَا الدُّوْنَقَ...

ʿĪsā b. Hishām has related [the following] to us: He said: It occurred

11 Richards, “The *Maqāmāt*,” 97.

12 Ibid., 95; see Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002), 77–80.

13 al-Hamadhānī, *Maqāmāt Abī l-Faḍl Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī* (Istanbul: Maṭbaʿat al-Jawāʿib, 1298 [1881]), 98. Significantly, in the MS Aya Sofya 4283 [fols. 59v–60r], the same letter is titled as *maqāma wa-risāla*.

14 de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, 262, notes the existence of glosses on the text of a small number of the *maqāmāt*, which he believed to have been authored by al-Hamadhānī. While these glosses do not provide a comprehensive exegesis of the *maqāmāt* such as that authored by al-Sharīshī (d. 619/1222) on al-Ḥarīrī, they do attest to the existence of a commentary tradition on the works of al-Hamadhānī; cf. Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 369.

to me to travel through the lands of Ahwāz, with noble companions, brothers, and friends until we alighted in Dawnaq...

Arriving at the village of Dawnaq, ʿĪsā and his fellow travelers encounter a man who is selling medicines. The man begins to address his audience eloquently, informing them of his great knowledge and skills as a healer. He then proceeds to read a series of medical prescriptions, detailing the rare substances in his medications and their various uses. Having thus impressed his audience, his son then takes his turn addressing the onlookers and urging them to purchase his medicines. They respond by offering the man and his son the contents of their purses. Impressed with the man’s talent, ʿĪsā then approaches the man and asks him how he came up with this trick. The man replies with verses suggesting that these ruses are his profession and the manner in which he provides for his children.

Maqāma 48 begins on line 19 of folio 30r and it ends on line 14 of folio 30v. However, as a result of a copyist’s error, there appears to be a major lacuna in the text in the middle of folio 30r line 28 [following the word *Aflātūn*]. Fortunately, the missing section of the text appears within the text of *maqāma* 34, starting from the last two words of line 29 of folio 24v. This section of approximately 47 lines in length ends on line 11 of folio 25v.¹⁵ Once the text has been restored, the *maqāma* appears to be complete.

The subject matter of this *maqāma* is medicine. Therefore we have decided to title *maqāma* 48: *al-Maqāma al-Ṭibbiyya*.¹⁶

15 This copyist’s error has also affected the text of several other *maqāmāt*. However, using the standard edition, al-Hamadhānī, *Maqāmāt Abī l-Faḍl Badī‘ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abduh (Beirut: al-Maṭba‘a al-Kāthūlikiyya, 1889), we have been able to reconstruct the state of the exemplar from which this manuscript was copied.

16 See also the reference in the cover of MS Fatih in Chapter Two.

Reproduction of Maqāma 48 in MS Salisbury 63



MS Yale University, Beinecke Library, Salisbury 63, fols. 24v–25r



MS Yale University, Beinecke Library, Salisbury 63, fols. 25v–26r



MS Yale University, Beinecke Library, Salisbury 63, fols. 29v–30r



MS Yale University, Beinecke Library, Salisbury 63, fol. 30v

Arabic Text of Ṭibbiyya

[المقامة الطَّبِيَّة]

حدَّثنا عيسى بن هشام قال: عَنَ لي الاجتيازُ في بلاد الأهواز، مع رِفْقَةِ أنجاب وإخوانٍ وأصحاب، حتَّى حَلَلْنَا الدُّونُقَ في بُقْعَةٍ فسيحة وفُرْضَةٍ مريحة في حاجةٍ نجيحة، فإذا نحن برجلٍ قد ضُرِبَ فُسْطاطُهُ وُسطَ بساطُهُ وضُعِفَ مِرْباطُهُ، وبين يديه قراطيسٌ قد مُلئتَ مَصْفوفاتٍ، وبازائها بَرَانِيٌّ قد أَعْمَتَ مَعَجُونًا،¹⁷ والرَّجُلُ قَاعِدٌ على كرسِيٍّ جَرِيدٍ وبين يديه خَدَمٌ وَعَبِيدٌ، وهو يقول: يا أهلَ الأهواز، أنا الحاذِقُ المُصِيبُ أنا المُطَبِّبُ النَّجِيبُ أنا المارستانيُّ العجيبُ، من رَأَيْتِي فقد رأى رسطاليس الرِّمَانِ وأفلاطونَ، أنا مترجمُ الأشكالِ وعارِفُ بَعْلِ النِّسَاءِ والرِّجالِ والوِلدانِ والأطفالِ، مُصِيبٌ فيما أعالجُه غيرُ مخطِئٍ، وقد حَلَلْتُ إقليدِسَ والمَجِسْطِي، أنقُبُ على المِزاجاتِ والأخلاقِ وأدركُ العِللَ الباطِنَةَ بالاستِنْباطِ وأنصُورُها كتنصُورِ الحكيمِ بقرطاس، أَعُوذُ على الهَمِّ فأزيَلُه عن المَهْمومِ¹⁸ وأستخرج العَمَّ الغافِصَ من دارِ¹⁹ المَغمومِ وأقلعُ الحُمَى الصَّالِبَ والنَّافِصَ عن المَحْمومِ، صناعتِي استخرجُ كَمِيَّةَ الشَّقِيقَةِ والصُّدَاعِ وعِلاجُ الأمراضِ المُسَقِّمَةِ والأوجاعِ أنقُبُ عليها بهذه السِّفوفاتِ والأنواعِ وهذه المَعْجوناتِ والمتاعِ، قال أرسطاطاليس الحكيمُ: ما من عِلَّةٍ عائِمَةٍ إلَّا ولها شجرةٌ قائمةٌ، وقال جالينوس: ما من عِلَّةٍ ثابتةٍ إلَّا ولها شجرةٌ ثابتةٌ، وقال وليُّنا عليُّ بن أبي طالبٍ عليه السلام: ما من عِلَّةٍ خانِقَةٍ إلَّا ولها شجرةٌ مُوافقةٌ، فانظروا أيُّها الأَجوادُ إلى هذه الصَّناعاتِ الجيادِ قد غَصَبَتْها²⁰ من الشَّوامِخِ والأطوادِ والتَّهائمِ²¹ والأنجادِ والبراريِ والبلادِ وأكثرَتَ فيها من الخُدادِ. ثمَّ أخذَ طَبَقًا مَنقوشًا كالديباجِ وملعقةً من السَّائمِ والعاجِ، وتقدَّم إلى أوَّلِ قِرطاسٍ منها وقال: يا سادة، وَخَشِيكَ خُرَاسانِيٍّ وَكَمونَ كِرمانِيٍّ²² وعاقِرَ قَرِحًا زارِبانِيٍّ،²³ معجونٌ بخَلٍّ مُجَنَّفٍ في الظِّلِّ، يعملُ في الإيارجِ القَوْلنجِيَّةِ وفي السُّدودِ الباطِنِيَّةِ، وفي المِزاجاتِ الفاسِدةِ والرُّطوباتِ الجامِدةِ، يطوي الكبدَ والطَّحالَ ويُلَيِّنُ الأعضاءَ والأوصالَ. ثمَّ تقدَّم إلى قِرطاسٍ آخرٍ وقال: بل هذا أَجَلٌ وأنفعُ، هذا إهليلجٌ هنديٌّ وفُرْصٌ راوُنديٌّ وأنيسونٌ مقدِسِيٌّ ورازِيانجٌ²⁴ بُرْجَمِينِيٌّ²⁵ ومَصْطَكِي الآنِيٍّ وَكُنْدُرُ عُمانِيٍّ ومَرَقَشِيثا ذَهَبِيٍّ وعاقِرَ قَرِحًا مَغْرِبِيٍّ وأزْرود²⁶ وحجر اللازوردِ مدقوقٌ مَنخولٌ بنِخْرَقَةٍ خَريرِ مَعجونِ بماءِ الوَرْدِ مُجَنَّفٍ في الشَّمْسِ، يعملُ في البَوْلِ والتَّقَطِيرِ ويمزُجُ الدَّمَّ والرَّحِيرِ والباطنةَ والظَّاهرةَ من البواسيرِ، والرَّقْرَقَةُ المُحدثةُ في الأمعاءِ والسُّدَّةُ الكامنةُ في الأحشاءِ والمادَّةُ المنصَّبةُ في الأعضاءِ، ينفَعُ في العَصَبِ من الضَّرْبانِ وفي القلبِ من الخَفَقانِ، نافعٌ من ضَرْبانِ الأصداعِ وصُداعِ الدِّماغِ، ومن الغَعْيانِ الغالبِ والحُمَى الصَّالِبِ. ثمَّ تقدَّم إلى قِرطاسٍ آخرٍ وقال: بل هذا أَجَلٌ وأنفعُ، غاريقونٌ روميٌّ وراوُنْدُ صِينِيٍّ وأفيثمونٌ إقْرِيطِيٍّ وسنا مَكِّيٍّ وعودٌ عربيٌّ وإذخَرُ حَرَمِيٍّ وسُعْدُ قُفْصِيٍّ، وتمَّراتٌ

17 كذا في الأصل ولعلَّه معجونات.

18 في الأصل: الهموم.

19 في الأصل: بدار.

20 في الأصل: عصتها.

21 في الأصل: البهائم.

22 في الأصل: كارماني.

23 في الأصل: زازباني.

24 في الأصل: رايانج.

25 في الأصل: پرخسي.

26 في الأصل: أزراود، ولعلَّه أنزروت.

سودٌ وورقُ العود، ونُخالَة النَّبْكِ وأقراصُ الشُّكِّ، وخيارُ شَبْرِ فلوسٍ وعِرْقُ الشُّعْدِ والشُّوسِ، يعملُ في زيادةِ الباهِ وتَقْيِيمِ اللِّهَاءِ ووجعِ الطَّحَالِ وضَرْبانِ الأُصدَاغِ، ولمن سألَ لعابَهُ على مَخَدَّتِهِ واشتكى مَعَصًا في مَعَدَتِهِ وحُكَاكًا في شَفْرَتِهِ وتَقْطِيرًا من مَبُولَتِهِ، لمن يأكلُ الطَّعامَ فيقْدِفُهُ ويشربُ الشَّرَابَ فيضَعِفُهُ، لمن كَثُرَتِ أسْقَامُهُ ودَامَتِ آلامُهُ وعافَ طَعَامُهُ،²⁷ هذا للمُنْفَسِدِينَ المِزَاجَاتِ في أصحابِ العِلَلِ والنُّجَاجَاتِ. ثمَّ تَقَدَّمَ إلى قِرطَاسٍ آخرٍ وقال: بل هذا أجلُّ وأنفعُ، هذا كِنزُ العَقَاقِيرِ المَجْتَمِعَةِ، قَبِجَةٌ نارِسْتَانِيَّةٌ وحَشِيشَةٌ أَرَجَانِيَّةٌ، مَدْقُوقَةٌ مَنخُولَةٌ، مَعَهَا حَبُّ الإيَارِجِ²⁸ وعِرْقُ البَسْبَاجِ،²⁹ وحَبُّ الأَمْلِجِ وجرادُ البُنْجِجِ، مَعَهُ كَمُونٌ بَرِّيٌّ وسَمَاقٌ مَغْرِبِيٌّ، وإقْلِيمِيَا فِضِّيٌّ وشاهِ ذَانِجٌ بَصْرِيٌّ، مَخْلُوطٌ بَورْقِ الثُّعْمَانِ وَيَزْرُ الثُّرُنْجَانِ، لمن غَشِيَتْ بُخَارَاتُ المَعِدَةِ عَيْنِيهِ وَفَتَحَتْ الأَقْرَامُ جَنَبِيهِ، لمن يأخُذُهُ رَبَوِيَّةٌ على فؤادِهِ ويرى الأحلامَ المَقْطُوعَةَ في رُقادِهِ، وذلك من الأَعْذِيَةِ الرِّدِّيَّةِ والبُخَارَاتِ السُّودَاوِيَّةِ، هذا فِعْلُهُ في الأَمْرَاضِ والأَدْرَانِ كِفْعَلِ الصَّابُونَ في الفُطْنِ والكَتَّانِ. ثمَّ قال: لا يَنْظُرُ لِهَذِهِ البَرَانِيِ المَوْضُوعَةِ وما فيها من الأَدْوِيَةِ المَجْمُوعَةِ والعَقَاقِيرِ المَرْفُوعَةِ إلا رَجُلٌ أَنهَكَتَهُ العِلَلُ المُسَقِّمَاتِ والأَمْرَاضِ المُبْرِحَاتِ، أين أصحابي، البَواسيرِ المُفْتَتِحَةِ والخِنازِيرِ المُقَرَّحَةِ والأَواكِلِ المَسْتُورَةِ³⁰ والخَبَائِثِ المُدَوَّرَةِ. ثمَّ سَكَتَ وقال لَزُغْلُولِهِ: أنتَ وشأنُكَ، فقام زُغْلُولُهُ وقال: يا أصحابَ الهِمَمِ العَالِيَةِ والمَكَارِمِ السَّامِيَةِ، ما لَكُمْ يَنْظُرُ بَعْضُكُمْ إلى بَعْضٍ في هَذِهِ الأَدْوِيَةِ الجامِعةِ والمَعْجُونَاتِ النَّافِعَةِ، هل هِيَ مُبَهَّرَجَةٌ فَتُخَلِّصُ أم غَالِيَةٌ فَتُرَخِّصُ، دُلُّوا عَلَيْنَا رَحِمَكُمُ اللهُ مَجْنُونًا كَثِيرَ السُّقُوطِ أو مُوسُوسًا كَثِيرَ التَّخْلِيطِ، دُلُّوا عَلَيْنَا رَحِمَكُمُ اللهُ أصحابَ العِلَلِ الرِّئِيَّةِ السَّلْبِيَّةِ، دُلُّوا عَلَيْنَا رَحِمَكُمُ اللهُ أصحابَ عِلَلِ البِرْسَامِ والشَّنَاجِ، رَحِمَ اللهُ امْرَأَةً نَقَلَ إلينا قَدَمَهُ وَخَلَعَ عَلَيْنَا كَرَمَهُ، ولَعَنَ إبْلِيسَ فَأَخَذَ ما يَنْفَعُهُ من هَذِهِ القِرطَاسِ، ولا يَرْجِعُ من النِّشَاطِ إلى الفُتُورِ وَيَنْزِلُ من الهِمَمِ إلى السُّرُورِ، لأنَّ الأَمْرَ في ذلكَ إليه والاعْتِمَادَ في قَلْعِ عِلَّتِهِ عَلِيهِ. قال عيسى بن هِشامٍ: فَلَقَدْ حَيَّرْتَنَا أَلْفَاظُهُ وَبَهَرْتَنَا أوصافُهُ، وَحَلَّتِ العُقُودُ عَن النُّقُودِ، واسْتُخْرِجَ الوَرَقَ بما في ذلكَ الطَّبَقِ ولاحْظَتَهُ الحَدَقَ وَحَلَّتْ لهُ الخِرْقَ، وَجَعَلَتْ أَخْذَهُ بناظِرِي وَأَدِيرُهُ في قَلْبِي وخاطِرِي، فَلَمَّا تَقَلَّلَ عَنهُ القِيامُ والقُعودُ وَصَدَرَ عَنهُ الطُّرَاقُ والوَفُودُ، وَأَمَكَّنَنِي الكَلامُ وَجَلَّأَ لي المَكانَ جِئْتُهُ بِالسَّلامِ، وَقَلْتُ: كيفَ اهْتَدَيْتَ إلى هَذِهِ الحِيلَةِ؟ فَأَنْشَأُ يَقولُ (من الخَفِيفِ):

إنَّ هذِي التي تَرَا [ها] معاشي
أنا يومٌ أبسطُ³¹ سَفو
حَمَمِي قائمٌ بقوتِ عيالي
منه قوتي ومنَّ جَداهِ رِياشي
في ويومٌ في صَنعَةِ الحَشاشِ
فإذا ما عَقَلْتُ ظَلُّوا بلا شي

27 في الأصل: عاف طَعَامُهُ.

28 في الأصل: اليارِجِ.

29 كذا في الأصل بالفارسيَّةِ، وتعريبه بالسفياج والسفياج.

30 كذا في الأصل، ولعله المتورِّة أو المنورة.

31 كذا الصِّدْرُ في الأصل، ولا يستقيم به الوزن. وقد يكون:

أنا يومٌ أبسطُ فيه سَفوفا تي ويومٌ في صَنعَةِ الحَشاشِ

إلا أنَّ التفعيلة الثانية من الصِّدْرُ تصبِحُ (مفتعلن)، وهو من جَوازاتِ (مستفعلن) لكنَّه لا يقع في الخَفِيفِ.

Translation of *Ṭibbiyya*

ʿĪsā b. Hishām has related [the following] to us:

He said:

It occurred to me to travel through the lands of Ahwāz, with noble companions, brothers, and friends until we alighted in Dawnaq,³² a wide area and comforting and successful at meeting desires, in need of satisfying desire. When, all of a sudden, a man appeared before us, his tent having been staked, his carpet having been unfurled, and his bundle unloosed. In front of him were papers filled with charts, and to the side of them were clay pots brimming with medicinal pastes.³³ The man was seated on a chair made of palm branches and attendants and slaves arrayed before him.

And he was saying, “Oh you people of Ahwāz! I am the skillful man who always hits the mark, the noble practitioner of the medicinal art, the wondrous hospital man! For he who looks at me sees the Aristotle of the Age and the Plato. I am the interpreter of forms, the illnesses of men and women, children and babes. In what I treat, my aim is true, I do not err. I have solved Euclid and the *Almagest*. And I have delved into temperaments and mixed humors,³⁴ and have recognized internal illnesses through the art of deduction. I see them in the same way as did the doctor, Hippocrates. I plumb anxiety’s depth and remove it from the one who is anxious. I extract the vexing sorrow from the home [?] of the aggrieved one, and I uproot both the heat and the chills³⁵ from the one whose temperature runs high. My art is to deduce the quantity of the migraine and the headache³⁶ and the cure of the root of the persistent maladies and

32 **Dawnaq**; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muṣjam al-buldān* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1977), 2:489, describes Dawnaq as a village in the vicinity of Nihāwand “possessing gardens” (*dhāt basātīn*).

33 **Maʿjūnāt**; Efraim Lev and Zohar Amar, *Practical Materia Medica of the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean According to the Cairo Genizah*, ed. Dominik Wujastyk, Paul U. Unschuld, and Charles Burnett (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 563–64, state that this is the “general name for medical cream, spread, paste or ointment.”

34 **Al-Mizājāt wa-l-akhlāṭ**; for *al-amzija*, see Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, ed. Idwār al-Qashsh and ʿAlī Zayʿūr (Beirut: Muʿassasat ʿIzz al-Dīn li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr, 1987), 3:1249.

35 **Al-Ḥummā al-ṣālib wa-l-nāfiḍ**; for *al-ṣālib*, see al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī, *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, ed. Mahdī al-Makhzūmī and Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarrāʾī (Baghdad: Dār al-Rashīd li-l-Nashr, 1980–1985), 9:128; Abū Maṣʿūd al-Azharī, *Tabdhīb al-lughba*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAwaḍ Mirʿib et al. (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 2001), 12:138; Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (Beirut: Dār Lisān al-ʿArab, n.d.), root (ṣ, l, b); for the meaning of *al-nāfiḍ*, see al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, 7:47; al-Azharī, *Tabdhīb al-lughba*, 12:133; Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, root (n, f, ḍ); for a description of *al-ḥummā al-nāfiḍ*, see Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 4:767.

36 **Al-Shaḥīqa wa-l-ṣudāʿ**; Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī fī l-ṭibb*, ed. Haytham Khalīfa

pains. And I explore them thoroughly with these medicinal powders³⁷ and types, these pastes and other instruments. Aristotle the philosopher said, ‘There is no disfiguring illness for which a plant does not exist [as a cure].’ Galen said, ‘No known disease exists for which there is not a flowering plant [to cure it].’ Our revered one, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said, ‘There is no strangling illness, without some corresponding plant [that will relieve it].’ So behold – Oh you magnanimous men – these excellent skills that I have wrested from the lofty heights and towering peaks, the highlands and the low, the barren lands and the settled. I amassed them through great effort!”

Then he took a plate that was engraved as if it were silk brocade, and a spoon made from silver and ivory, and he turned to the first sheet of paper, and said, “Oh good men: Khurāsānian Wormwood,³⁸ Kirmānī cumin,³⁹ pellitory⁴⁰ from Zāryān⁴¹ mixed into a paste with vinegar dried in the shade. It is effective in purgatives for colic⁴² and internal obstructions,⁴³ and in corrupt temperaments

Ṭ‘aymī (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 2002), 1:44; idem, *al-Taqsīm wa-l-tashjūr*, ed. Ṣubḥī Maḥmūd Ḥamāmī (Aleppo: Ma‘had al-Turāth al-‘Ilmī l-‘Arabī, 1992), 68–69; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 3:861, describes *shaqīqa* as a “pain arising in one of the sides of the head.”

37 **Safūfāt**; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 556, describe *safūf* as “Solid medication, usually finely ground or powdered.”

38 **Wakhshizak** *Artemisia judaica*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 319–22; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Jāmi‘ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa-l-aḡhdhiya* (Cairo: Būlāq, 1875) [Reprint: Baghdad: Maktabat al-Muthannā, 1964], 4:188, provides the variant spelling as *wakhshīzaq*; Dāwūd b. ‘Umar al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirat ūlī l-albāb wa-l-jāmi‘ li-l-‘ajab al-‘ujāb* (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Thaqāfiyya, n.d.), 339.

39 **Kammūn Kirmānī** *Cuminum cyminum* (*Apiaceae*); Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 159, mention Kirmānī cumin; Federico Corriente, *A Dictionary of Andalusī Arabic* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 461; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 2:562, mentions *kammūn kirmānī*.

40 **‘Āqir qarḥā** *Anacyclus Pyrethrum*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 464–65, provide the name “pellitory of Spain” for this perennial herb [see below], however they do not mention a variety from Eastern Iran; Ibn al-Jazzār, *Kitāb al-‘Iṭimād fī l-adwiya l-mufrada* (Frankfurt: Ma‘had Ta’riḡh al-‘Ulūm al-‘Arabīyya wa-l-Islāmiyya, 1305/1985), 147; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana fī l-ṭibb*, ed. Ḥakīm Muḥammad Sa‘īd and Sāmī Khalaf al-Ḥamārna (Karachi: Mu‘assasat Hamdard al-Waṭaniyya, 1973), 1:261, states that *‘āqir qarḥā* is *al-ṭarakhūn* (tarragon) and is found in the mountains of Bāmīyān.

41 **Zāryān**; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 3:126, states that Zāryān is a village at the distance of one parasang from Marw.

42 **Al-Iyāraj al-qawlanjiyya**; for *iyāraj*, see Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 561, describe this compound as a medicinal cream, however see Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*, 3:82, who describes *al-iyāraj li-l-qawlanj*; for colic (*qawlanj*), see Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, *Kitāb Jālīnūs ilā Ghalawqan fī l-ta’attī li-shifā’ al-amrāḡ*, ed. Muḥammad Salīm Sālīm (Cairo: al-Hay’ā l-Miṣriyya l-‘Āmma li-l-Kitāb, 1982), 248; al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Qawlanj* (Aleppo: Ma‘had al-Turāth al-‘Ilmī l-‘Arabī, 1983); Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 3:1468.

43 **Al-Sudad al-bāṭiniyya**; Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, *Kitāb Jālīnūs ilā Ghalawqan*, 248.

and in the moist solids. It covers the liver and spleen, and softens the limbs and joints.” Then he proceeded to another sheet and said, “This one is even more excellent and beneficial: Indian *myrobolan*,⁴⁴ Rāwandī pill,⁴⁵ Jerusalem aniseed,⁴⁶ Burjumīnī [?] ⁴⁷ fennel⁴⁸, Lentisk⁴⁹ from al-Ānī,⁵⁰ Frankincense from Oman,⁵¹ Golden Pyrite,⁵² Pellitory from North Africa,⁵³ Lapis lazuli⁵⁴ and *azrūd*⁵⁵ crushed and sifted through a silk cloth, made into a paste with rose water, and dried in

- 44 **Ihlilaj** *Terminalias* (*Combretaceae*); Ibn al-Jazzār, *Kitāb al-ʿItimād*, 6–7; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 218–21, mention the variety *ihlilaj hindi* [*Terminalia arjuana*]; Abū Maṣṣūr al-Harawī, *al-Abniya ʿan ḥaqāʿiq al-adwiya* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1344 [1965]), 1:20; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, 1:377; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 2:482, mentions the Indian variety; al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirat ūlī l-albāb*, 62 and 335 (*halilaj*).
- 45 **Qurṣ Rāwandī** *Rheum* (*Polygonaceae*); al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirat ūlī l-albāb*, 257, describes *qurṣ al-rāwand* as a compound with rhubarb (*rāwand*) as its main ingredient; Rāwand is also a city in the vicinity of Qāshān and Iṣfahān, see Yāqūt, *Muṣjam al-buldān*, 3:19.
- 46 **Anīsūn** *Pimpinella anisum* (*Apiaceae*); Ibn al-Jazzār, *Kitāb al-ʿItimād*, 147; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 102–4.
- 47 **Burjumīn** A village in the vicinity of Balkh; Yāqūt, *Muṣjam al-buldān*, 1:374.
- 48 **Rāzayānaj** *foeniculum vulgare*; Ibn al-Jazzār, *Kitāb al-ʿItimād*, 77; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 166–68; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 2:724; al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirat ūlī l-albāb*, 165.
- 49 **Maṣṭakā** *Pistacia lentiscus*; Ibn al-Jazzār, *Kitāb al-ʿItimād*, 40–41; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 203–5; al-Harawī, *al-Abniya ʿan ḥaqāʿiq al-adwiya*, 2:62; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, 1:248; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 2:593; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Tafsīr Kitāb Diyāsḡurīdūs*, ed. Ibrāhīm Bin Mrād (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1989), 127 and 288; al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirat ūlī l-albāb*, 299.
- 50 **al-Ānī**; Yāqūt, *Muṣjam al-buldān*, 1:245, incorrectly supplies the name as “al-lānī;” for the city of al-Ānī, see Canard et al., “Armīniya,” in *EP*, online.
- 51 **Kundur** *Olibanum*, *Bowellia carteri*; Ibn al-Jazzār, *Kitāb al-ʿItimād*, 46–47; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 168–71; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, 1:324–25; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Jāmiʿ*, 4:83; al-Bīrūnī, *Tafsīr Kitāb Diyāsḡurīdūs*, 125.
- 52 **Marḡashīthā** *Marcasite*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 470–71; al-Harawī, *al-Abniya ʿan ḥaqāʿiq al-adwiya*, 2:67; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, 1:339; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 2:604; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Jāmiʿ*, 4:152.
- 53 **ʿĀqir qarḥā** *Pyrethra*, *Anacyclus Pyrethrum*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 464–65; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, 1:261; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 2:662.
- 54 **Lāzhvard** $\text{NaAlSiO}_4 \cdot \text{CaSO}_4$; Ibn al-Jazzār, *Kitāb al-ʿItimād*, 70–71; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 195–96; al-Harawī, *al-Abniya ʿan ḥaqāʿiq al-adwiya*, 2:94; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 2:578; al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirat ūlī l-albāb*, 277.
- 55 **Azrūd**; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Jāmiʿ*, 1:23, states that it is the same as *ḥandaqūqā*, see Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 31, state that *ḥandaqūqā* is a general name for a similar species of *Fabaceae* (= *Papilionaceae*) however note that local varieties differ; **anzarūt** *Astragalus sarcocolla* (*Fabaceae*); Ibn al-Jazzār, *Kitāb al-ʿItimād*, 24; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 278–79; al-Harawī, *al-Abniya ʿan ḥaqāʿiq al-adwiya*, 1:50; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, 1:70; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Tafsīr Kitāb Diyāsḡurīdūs*, 241; al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirat ūlī l-albāb*, 60.

the sun. It is effective in the treatment of urine and its flow,⁵⁶ mixing the blood and in painful urination,⁵⁷ apparent and concealed hemorrhoids,⁵⁸ an ulcer that occurs in the intestines, and a hidden blockage in the bowels, and the build up of fluids in the limbs. It treats pulsations in the nerves and palpitations of the heart, it is effective against throbbing in the temples, and against headache, as well as overwhelming nausea⁵⁹ and persistent fever.”

Then he proceeded to another sheet and said, “This one is even more excellent and beneficial: Byzantine (*rūmī*) agaric,⁶⁰ Chinese Rhubarb,⁶¹ Cretan⁶² dodder of thyme,⁶³ Meccan Cassia,⁶⁴ Arabian Aloe wood,⁶⁵ Lemon Grass from the

56 **Al-Bawl wa-l-taqṭīr**; al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Hāwī*, 4:48; idem, *Kitāb Mā l-fāriq aw al-furūq aw kalām fī l-furūq bayn al-amrād*, ed. Salmān Qaṭāya (Aleppo: Maṭba‘at Jāmi‘at Ḥalab, 1987), 15–16; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 3:1575.

57 **Al-Zaḥīr**; al-Rāzī, *Kitāb Mā l-fāriq*, 12.

58 **Al-Bāṭina wa-l-zāhira min al-bawāsīr**; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 3:1509, discusses the types of hemorrhoids using the terms *al-nāti‘a wa-l-ghā‘ira* likely referring to the same phenomenon.

59 **Ghathayān**; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 3:1309.

60 **Ghārīqūn** *Agaricus sp.* (*Agaricaceae*); Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 89–91; al-Harawī, *al-Abniya ‘an ḥaqā’iq al-adwiya*, 1:27; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, 1:280–81; al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirat ūlī l-albāb*, 243; Ibn al-Jazzār, *Kitāb al-‘Iṭimād*, 8.

61 **Rāwand šinī** *Rheum*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 259–60, cite T-S AS. 179.283 for “Chinese Rhubarb.”

62 **Iqrīṭī**; Yāqūt, *Muṣjam al-buldān*, 1:236, provides the name of Crete as *aqriṭish*; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-mi‘ṭār fī khabar al-aqṭār*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1980), 51, states that on Crete there is “dodder of thyme (*afithimūn*), which has no equal or replacement;” see M. Canard and R. Mantran, “Iḳriṭish,” in *EP*, online.

63 **Afithimūn** *Cuscuta epithymum* (*Convolvulaceae*); Ibn al-Jazzār, *Kitāb al-‘Iṭimād*, 95–96; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 161, cite T-S Ar. 30.65 for *afithimūn iqrīṭī*; al-Harawī, *al-Abniya ‘an ḥaqā’iq al-adwiya*, 1:25; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, 1:54; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 2:391–92; al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirat ūlī l-albāb*, 59.

64 **Sanā makkī** *Cassia* (*Senna*) *esp. Cassia acutifolia* (*Fabaceae*); Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 129, cite T-S AS. 155.277 for *sanā makkī*; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, 1:238; al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirat ūlī l-albāb*, 201.

65 **‘Ūd ‘arabī** *Aquilaria agallocha*; Ibn al-Jazzār, *Kitāb al-‘Iṭimād*, 43; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 97–98, do not mention this variety of aloe; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 2:665, notes that this variety “comes from the Arab lands” (*bilād al-‘Arab*).

Shrine [of Mecca],⁶⁶ Sedge⁶⁷ from Qufṣ,⁶⁸ black dates,⁶⁹ the leaves of Aloe tree,⁷⁰ immortelle⁷¹ from Nabk,⁷² pills made from *Sukk*,⁷³ purging Cassia,⁷⁴ root of sedge⁷⁵ and liquorices.⁷⁶ It works to increase sexual potency and to lift the *uvula*,⁷⁷ [and is effective against] pains of the spleen and throbbing in the temples. And for the man whose saliva runs onto his pillow, and complains of a pain in his stomach, scratching in the corner of his eye, and urine dribbling from his bladder; for the one who eats food and then hurls it up, and the one who drinks wine and it wears him down; for the one whose illnesses have increased, whose pains have lasted, and who hates his food. This is for those of foul temperaments among those who are ill and those who suffer from abscesses.”⁷⁸

Then he proceeded to another sheet. He said, “This one is more excellent and effective. This is the treasure of compound medicines! [Bile] from a partridge⁷⁹

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- 66 **Idhkhar** *Andropogon schoenanthus*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 434–35, do not mention the *ḥaramī* variety; al-Harawī, *al-Abniya ‘an ḥaqa’iq al-adwiya*, 1:34; al-Anṭākī, *Tadbkirat ūlī l-albāb*, 39.
- 67 **Su’d** *Cyperus longus*; Ibn al-Jazzār, *Kitāb al-‘Iṭimād*, 72–73; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 284–85; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, 1:220; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 2:628; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Jāmi’*, 3:15; al-Anṭākī, *Tadbkirat ūlī l-albāb*, 188.
- 68 **Al-Qufṣ**; Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān*, 7:382, states that al-Qufṣ is a village between Baghdad and ‘Ukbara.
- 69 **Tamarāt** *Phoenix dactylifera (Arecaceae)*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 397–98; al-Harawī, *al-Abniya ‘an ḥaqa’iq al-adwiya*, 1:105.
- 70 **Waraq ‘ūd** *Aquilaria agallocha*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 97–98, do not mention the use of aloe wood leaves.
- 71 **Nukhāla** *Paronychia Arabica*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 555; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 2:622.
- 72 **Al-Nabk**; Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān*, 5:258, describes al-Nabk as a village between Ḥims and Damascus.
- 73 **Sukk**; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 568, describe *sukk* as a “confection, oriental aromatic remedy composed of date juice, gallnut, and Indian astringent drugs;” Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Jāmi’*, 3:24; al-Anṭākī, *Tadbkirat ūlī l-albāb*, 196.
- 74 **Khiyār shanbar fulūs** *Cassia Fistula*; Ibn al-Jazzār, *Kitāb al-‘Iṭimād*, 10–11; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 130–32; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, 1:173; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Jāmi’*, 2:83; al-Anṭākī, *Tadbkirat ūlī l-albāb*, 148.
- 75 **‘Irq su’d**; see above, note 67.
- 76 **‘Irq sūs** *Glycyrrhiza glabra (Fabaceae)*; Ibn al-Jazzār, *Kitāb al-‘Iṭimād*, 12–13; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 205, note the use of the liquorice root (‘*irq*).
- 77 **Taqyīm al-lahāt**; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 3:1110, describes the problem of the descent of the uvula (*suqūṭ al-labāt*).
- 78 **Khurājāt**; Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq, *Kitāb Jālīnūs ilā Ghalawqan*, 446.
- 79 **Qabaja** *Perdix sp. or Alectoris sp.*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 551, mention the use of partridge bile in T-S Ar. 43.155.

of Nāristān⁸⁰ and herb of Arrajān,⁸¹ pounded and strained, and with it, a *ḥabb al-iyāraj*,⁸² root of polypody,⁸³ seed of myrobalan,⁸⁴ roasted locust,⁸⁵ and with it Nigella seeds,⁸⁶ and Moroccan [North African] Sumac,⁸⁷ silver cadmium,⁸⁸ Baṣrī Cannabis seeds,⁸⁹ mixed with the leaves of the anemone,⁹⁰ and the seeds of the lemon balm plant.⁹¹ This medicine is good for one whose eyes have been veiled by the vapors of his stomach, and the pangs of hunger have torn his sides, and for the one whose heart is afflicted with a growth, and whose dreams are cut short in his bed, and this is a result of spoiled foods, and melancholic vapors. Its effect in diseases and tumors⁹² is like the effect of soap on cotton and linen.”

Then he said, “No one should look into these clay pots and the multi-purpose medicines and sublime medicaments, save a man who has been tested by the treatment of grave illnesses and serious maladies. Where are ‘my friends,’ the suppurating hemorrhoids, the scars of scrofula sores,⁹³ the concealed dental rots⁹⁴

80 Nāristān; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik* (Leiden: Brill, 1873), 357, locates Nāristān 10 parasangs from Hamadhān.

81 Arrajān; see Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān*, 1:142; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-mi‘tār*, 25.

82 Ḥabb al-iyāraj; see Lev and Amar, *Practical Material Medica*, 90, for the translation of *iyāraj* as purgative cream citing Cam. T-S. Ar. 41.72; al-Anṭākī, *Tadbkirat ūlī l-albāb*, 115.

83 ‘Irq baspāyaj *Polypodium vulgare*; Ibn al-Jazzār, *Kitāb al-‘I‘timād*, 96–97; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 246–47, note that the root of polypody serves as a stimulant, a remedy for problems of the chest, an expectorant, and a purgative; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 2:440; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Jāmi‘*, 1:92; al-Anṭākī, *Tadbkirat ūlī l-albāb*, 74.

84 Ḥabb al-amlaj *Terminalia emblica*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 218–21; al-Harawī, *al-Abniya ‘an ḥaqā’iq al-adwiya*, 1:23; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, 1:65; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 1:388; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Jāmi‘*, 1:54; al-Anṭākī, *Tadbkirat ūlī l-albāb*, 59.

85 Jarād al-bukhtaj *Schistocerca gregaria*; for the medicinal use of the locust, see al-Harawī, *al-Abniya ‘an ḥaqā’iq al-adwiya*, 1:134; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 2:461.

86 Kammūn barrī *Nigella sativa*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 362–64.

87 Summāq *Rhus coriara* (*Anacardiaceae*); Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 490–91.

88 Iqlīmiyā *Cadmia*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 122.

89 Shāhdhānj *Cannabis sativa*; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, 1:387; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 2:733; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Jāmi‘*, 3:50; al-Anṭākī, *Tadbkirat ūlī l-albāb*, 208.

90 Waraq shaqā’iq al-nu‘mān *Anemone coronaria* (*Ranunculaceae*); Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 334–35.

91 Bizr al-turunjān *Melissa officinalis*; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Jāmi‘*, 1:137; al-Anṭākī, *Tadbkirat ūlī l-albāb*, 92.

92 Adrān; Ibn Mañzūr, *Lisān al-‘arab*, d-r-n, states that according to doctors, *daran* [sing. of *adrān*] is a “small protuberance formed in the body.”

93 Al-Khanāzīr al-muqarraḥa; for a description of *scrofula* (*khanāzīr*), see al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*, 4:48; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 4:1940.

94 Al-Awākil al-mastūra; al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*, 1:408 and Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, 3:1080, refer to *al-awākil* as a form of tooth and gum disease.

and spheroidal malignancies?”

Then he fell silent.

He said to his boy, “Now it is your turn.”

The boy stood up and said, “Oh you men of noble intentions and sublime excellencies of character, why are you looking at one another concerning these multi-purpose medicaments and beneficial pastes? If they are too fancy for you, we will simplify them! And if they are too expensive, then we will make them cheaper! Indicate the way to us – may God have mercy upon you – to the crazed man who suffers many epileptic fits⁹⁵ or one who has become delusional and confounds his speech.⁹⁶ And show the way to those suffering from consumptive illnesses of the lungs⁹⁷ – may God have mercy upon you! – And show the way – may God have mercy upon you – to those suffering from inflammations of the head and paroxysms.⁹⁸ Indeed, may God have mercy on the man who brings his foot to us and confers upon us his generosity – curses upon Iblīs! – and then takes what benefits him from these sheets of paper. He will not go from activity to lassitude. Rather, he will descend from anxiety into a state of happiness. For the power in this matter belongs to Him, and the trust in the uprooting of his illness should be in Him.”

Īsā b. Hishām said, “His words had confounded us, and his descriptions had amazed us. Thus the knots of purse-strings unloosed coins, and precious metal was extracted by what was on that plate. Eyes regarded him, and tattered rags were opened for him. And I began to take him into my vision and turn his image over in my heart and mind. So when the number of those standing and sitting near him had grown few, and the night visitors and emissaries had departed, speech with him became a possibility and a space for me finally appeared.

Then, I approached him saying ‘hello,’ and asked, ‘How were you guided to this trick?’

He then recited, saying:

95 **Majnūn kathīr al-suqūt**; see Michael W. Dols, *Majnūn: The Madman in Medieval Islamic Society*, ed. Diana E. Immisch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 59, on al-Rāzī’s attempts to differentiate between epilepsy, melancholia, and mental confusion.

96 **Muwaswas kathīr al-takhlīṭ**; Dols, *Majnūn*, 50, translates *al-waswās* as “melancholic delusion;” on p. 59, he translates *takhlīṭ* as “serious confusion.”

97 **ʿIlal al-riʿiyya al-silliyya**; for a description of the various symptoms of *sill*, see al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*, 2:63, 4:271 and 5:561.

98 **ʿIlal al-birsām wa-l-shanāj**; al-Rāzī, *al-Taqsīm wa-l-tashjūr*, 206 (*birsām*); See Dols, *Majnūn*, 57–58, on the confusion between *birsām* (*phrenitis*) meaning “inflammation or illness,” referring to pleurisy (inflammation of the chest), and *sirsām* meaning “head inflammation.” The association with spasm or paroxysm (*shanāj*) in this location suggests the second interpretation.

This which you see is how I earn my living,
from it is my nourishment and from its benefit comes my attire

One day I spread out my medicinal powders,
and another I ply the trade of a *hashīsh* seller

My stupidity is for feeding of my offspring,
were I sane, they would remain with nothing

Analysis of *al-Maqāma al-Ṭibbiyya*

In his book, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila classifies the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī into six subgenres: picaresque and comic, beggar, philological and aesthetic, exhortatory, panegyric, and a group of *maqāmāt* that do not belong to any category.⁹⁹ According to Hämeen-Anttila's schema, *Ṭibbiyya* is a picaresque *maqāma*. In it, the usual hero, Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Iskandarī, relies upon his knowledge of medicine to trick his listeners into buying the cures that he is selling.¹⁰⁰

Wadād al-Qāḍī, in her article, "The *Maqāmāt* of Badī' al-Zamān and the Art of Masquerade," (*Maqāmāt Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī: Tiqniyyat al-qinā' wa-marāmihā l-fanniyya wa-l-fikriyya*) describes various physical and conceptual "masks" that Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Iskandarī employs to conceal his identity: an actual physical mask (*al-qinā' al-māddī al-ḥaqīqī*); a barrier (*al-qinā' al-ḥājiz*); the use of a circumstance or situation as a mask (*qinā' al-waḍ' aw al-ḥāl*); the name as a mask (*qinā' al-ism*); a geographical mask (*qinā' al-juḡhrāfiyyā*); an ethnic mask (*qinā' al-itḥniyya*); a mask of origin (*qinā' al-nasab*); a mask of religion (*qinā' al-dīn*); mask(s) of time and place (*qinā' al-zamān wa-l-makān*); mask of eloquence (*al-qinā' al-bayānī*).¹⁰¹ In this *maqāma*, Abū l-Faṭḥ adopts the mask of a healer who is selling rare and valuable medical compounds in order to earn his livelihood.

The structure of this *maqāma* conforms to the "rough pattern" of *maqāmāt* as described by Hämeen-Anttila: 1. *isnād* 2. general introduction–link 3. episode 4.

99 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 55.

100 Ibid., 55, n. 37 for Hämeen-Anttila's definition of the picaresque as "emphasizing the trickster nature of the main character (hero or antihero), in contrast to criminality." For a broader understanding of the picaresque in relation to al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt*, see James T. Monroe, *The Art of Badī' az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī as Picaresque Narrative* (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 1983) and Mahmoud Tarchouna, *Les marginaux dans les récits picaresques arabes et espagnols* (Tunis: Université de Tunis, 1982).

101 Wadād al-Qāḍī, "Maqāmāt Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī: Tiqniyyat al-qinā' wa-marāmihā l-fanniyya wa-l-fikriyya," in *Fī miḡrāb al-ma'rifa: Dirāsāt muḡdāt ilā Iḡsān 'Abbās*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Sa'āfin (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī; Dār Ṣādir, 1997), 461–82.

recognition scene (*anagnorisis*) 5. envoi 6. finale.¹⁰² The *maqāma* opens with the usual *isnād*, identifying the narrator as ʿĪsā b. Hishām. The general introduction provides the *mise en scène*: ʿĪsā and a group of travelers from al-Ahwāz arrive in the village of Dawnaq. Similar to many other of the introductions, the opening of this *maqāma* involves ʿĪsā’s travel to a new location.¹⁰³

The “link” of the *maqāma* occurs when suddenly the group comes upon the man who has just set up a shop in order to sell his cures. Like *Sijistāniyya*, where ʿĪsā meets Abū l-Faṭḥ in the market, in the *Ṭibbiyya*, too, ʿĪsā encounters Abū l-Faṭḥ in a public place offering advice to his audience.

The *Ṭibbiyya* consists of two episodes: in the first episode, Abū l-Faṭḥ addresses the audience; in the second, his son speaks. Abū l-Faṭḥ’s speech begins with a passage in which he proclaims his mastery of medical knowledge. Abū l-Faṭḥ’s statements here in *Ṭibbiyya* are reminiscent of several other passages in the *maqāmāt* in which he makes similar declarations about his own identity. These statements employ the first-person pronoun *anā* followed by a compound predicate, often by turns, revealing and concealing his identity.¹⁰⁴ Enumerating both his theoretical knowledge and practical skills, Abū l-Faṭḥ attempts to convince his audience of his unique prowess. He then calls on authorities in philosophy, medicine, and religion (represented by Aristotle, Galen and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, respectively) in order to convince his audience that there exists a cure for every disease. The conclusion of Abū l-Faṭḥ’s introductory speech, encourages his audience to consider these “excellent products” (*al-ṣanāʿiʿ al-jiyād*) that he has gathered from far and wide through his great efforts.¹⁰⁵

Abū l-Faṭḥ, then holding an ornate bowl and spoon, proceeds to read a series of medical prescriptions. The prescriptions allegedly describe the rare *materia medica* from which Abū l-Faṭḥ has composed the compounds that are arranged before him. Similar lists of *materia medica* were common in medical prescriptions, such as those found in the Cairo Geniza.¹⁰⁶ However, what is striking in this passage is the excessive use of the *nisba* adjective, which highlights both the rarity of the materials and the expertise and effort of their collector.¹⁰⁷

102 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 45. See also James T. Monroe, *The Art of Badīʿ az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī as Picaresque Narrative*, 20–24 and Abdelfattah Kilito, “Le genre ‘séance’: Une introduction,” *Studia Islamica* 43 (1976): 25–51.

103 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 53, notes the importance of the theme of travel in al-Hamadhānī.

104 See, for example, *Sijistāniyya*, *Adharbayjāniyya*, *Khamriyya*, *Maṭlabiyya*.

105 One cannot but wonder whether when Abū l-Faṭḥ is encouraging his audience to admire the “excellent products” (*al-ṣanāʿiʿ al-jiyād*), he intends the exotic *materia medica*, or rather, the “excellent skills” he displays in describing them.

106 Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 42–52.

107 For similar pairings of objects and locations as a device for suggesting rarity, see for example, al-Thaʿalibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī and Ḥasan Kāmil al-

Abū l-Faṭḥ’s prescriptions also list various ailments for which these medical compounds are cures. The language here also is similar to prescriptions found in the Cairo Geniza.¹⁰⁸ However, it is interesting to note the great variety of seemingly unrelated illnesses that Abū l-Faṭḥ alleges his compounds can cure.

In the final section of his speech, Abū l-Faṭḥ states that only an expert like himself tested by severe illnesses ought to examine the jars and the medical compounds within them. He then summons his audience to show him his “friends,” by which he intends a melange of wounds, sores, and infections.

The transition between episodes occurs when Abū l-Faṭḥ pauses and then indicates to his son that it is his turn to speak. The phrase with which he prompts his son to speak, “now, it is your turn” (*anta wa-sba’nuka*), is found in the *Bukhāriyya*. Interestingly, the phrase in the *Bukhāriyya* is used in an almost identical context, that of Abū l-Faṭḥ encouraging his son to step forward and speak persuasively in order to gain money from the audience.

The son’s speech differs from that of his father in that he focuses mainly on the immediacy of the sale. He offers the onlookers discounts and deals, while encouraging the audience to lead other customers suffering from various ailments to purchase their cures. He concludes his speech with a seeming guarantee of the efficacy of these medicines.¹⁰⁹

The “recognition scene” opens with ‘Īsā reporting on behalf of the crowd the collective amazement and wonderment at Abū l-Faṭḥ’s words and descriptions. Abū l-Faṭḥ’s use of ornate language in the course of trickery is a common motif in the *maqāmāt*.¹¹⁰ Significantly, it is in the course of ‘Īsā’s witnessing the sale and purchase of these medicaments that he begins to question the scene unfolding before him. ‘Īsā’s recognition of Abū l-Faṭḥ does not occur on the level of sight alone, but rather is effected through the act of internal contemplation, “And I began to take him into my vision and turn his image over in my heart and mind.” This motif of recognition through internal contemplation is also found in several of the *maqāmāt*.¹¹¹ The scene continues with ‘Īsā waiting for the audience to depart, in order to find a way to meet Abū l-Faṭḥ alone. In many of the *maqāmāt*, ‘Īsā’s solo confrontation of Abū l-Faṭḥ is also a common pattern, highlighting the actions that ‘Īsā takes in order to confirm his suspicions about

Ṣayrafī (Cairo: ‘Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1960), 119; idem, *Thimār al-qulūb*, ed. Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā’ir, 1994), passim; idem, *Zād safar al-mulūk*, ed. Ramzi Baalbaki and Bilal Orfali (Beirut: Orient-Institut, 2011), 40–41, and *Ṣaymariyya*.

108 Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 52.

109 One cannot but observe how he appears to refer to God’s agency, should the medicines fail, for whatever reason.

110 The motif is found in various forms in more than 20 *maqāmas*; see e.g., *Jāḥiẓiyya*, *Shi’riyya*, *Qarīḍiyya*, *Sijistāniyya*, *Bukhāriyya*, *Ilmiyya*.

111 See, e.g., *Qarīḍiyya*, *Irāqīyya*, *Iṣfahāniyya*, *Maṭlabiyya*.

the identity of Abū l-Faṭḥ.¹¹² ʿĪsā's question to Abū l-Faṭḥ, "How were you guided to this trick (*ḥīla*)?" confirms to Abū l-Faṭḥ ʿĪsā's knowledge of his identity. The motif of recognition through the discovery of a ruse (*ḥīla*) is present in several *maqāmāt*.¹¹³ And in one case, the *Iṣfahāniyya*, ʿĪsā asks the exact same question.

The *envoi* of the *Ṭibbiyya* provides the conclusion to the recognition scene as well as providing a fitting ending to the *maqāma*. In it, Abū l-Faṭḥ justifies his behavior by stating that he has a family for which he must provide. Elsewhere in the *maqāmāt*, he makes similar claims.¹¹⁴ His verse, "One day I spread out my medicinal powders, and another I ply the trade of a *ḥashīsh* seller" indicates his capacity to change and adapt in the face of the inevitable hardships of time (*dabr*). And as such, it refers by metonymy to his persona throughout the *maqāmāt*.¹¹⁵

The language and style of the *Ṭibbiyya* shares much with other *maqāmāt* attributed to al-Hamadhānī. For example, in the opening lines of the *Ṭibbiyya*, most of the lexical items, such as *ijtiyāz*, *bilād*, *rifqa*, *anjāb*, *ikhwān*, *aṣḥāb*, *ḥalalnā*, *buq'a*, *faṣīḥa*, *furda*, and *ḥāja*, appear elsewhere in the *maqāmāt*. The style of the *Ṭibbiyya*, especially the use of *saj'*, also reflects patterns found throughout al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt*.¹¹⁶

The subject matter of the *Ṭibbiyya*, medicine, is on first impression, unexpected. The topic is otherwise absent from both his other *maqāmāt* and his letters, and there is no evidence from biographical sources that al-Hamadhānī ever studied medicine.¹¹⁷ Medicine was often an important topic in *adab* works

112 See e.g., *Iṣfahāniyya*, *Jurjāniyya*, *Makfūfiyya*, *Qirdiyya*, *Bukhāriyya*, *Maṭlabiyya*; cf. Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 50.

113 See e.g., *Sāsāniyya* and *Armaniyya*.

114 See e.g., *Azādhiyya*, *Jurjāniyya*, *Baṣriyya*, *Bukhāriyya*, *Shīrāziyya*.

115 See e.g., *Azādhiyya*, *Jurjāniyya*, *Bukhāriyya*, *Balkhiyya*, *Makfūfiyya*, *Qirdiyya*, *Shīrāziyya*, *Nājimiyya*, *Baghdādiyya*, *Ḥamdāniyya*, *Iblisiyya*, *Armaniyya*, *Aswadiyya*, *Sāriyya*; for the concept of *dabr* as it relates to the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī, see al-Qāḍī, "Maqāmāt Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī," 480.

116 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 52. For a detailed study of al-Hamadhānī's distinctive use of *saj'*, see Maḥmūd al-Mas'adī, *al-Īqā' fī l-saj' al-'arabī* (Tunis: Mu'assasat 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abdallāh li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī', 1996); Geert Jan van Gelder, "Rhyme in *Maqāmāt* or Too Many Exceptions Do Not Prove a Rule," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 44 (1999): 75–82; Tamás Iványi, "On Rhyming Endings and Symmetric Phrases in al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*," in *Tradition and Modernity in Arabic Language and Literature*, ed. J.R. Smart (Richmond and Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996), 210–28.

117 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 15–33; Everett K. Rowson, "Religion and Politics in the Career of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107 (1987): 653–73; Wadād al-Qāḍī, "Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī and His Social and Political Vision," in *Literary Heritage of Classical Islam: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of James A. Bellamy*, ed. Mustansir Mir (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1993), 197–223.

of the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries. On the one hand, there are certainly doctors who were also littérateurs, such as Abū l-Faraj b. Hindū (d. 410/1019 or 420/1029) and Ibn Buṭlān (d. 458/1066). But there were also littérateurs who also wrote works dealing with medicine, such as al-Šāḥib b. ‘Abbād (d. 385/995) and Abū Maṣṣūr al-Tha‘ālibī (d. 429/1038), who were not doctors.¹¹⁸

Indeed there are other examples of medical *maqāmas* or *maqāma*-like writings in pre-modern Arabic literature. For example, Abdelfattah Kilito and Philip Kennedy have both explicitly compared Ibn Buṭlān’s *Physicians’ Dinner Party* to the *maqāmāt*.¹¹⁹ In the Mamlūk period, al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) wrote many *maqāmāt* in which medicine figures prominently.¹²⁰ In the middle of the nineteenth century, Nāṣif al-Yāzījī (d. 1871) includes a medical *maqāma* (*al-Maqāma al-Ṭibbiyya*) in his collection of *maqāmāt*, entitled *Majma‘ al-baḥrayn*. In this *maqāma*, a *shaykh* provides medical advice in a *madrasa*.¹²¹

Authenticity

After examining the themes, language, style, and subject matter of the *Ṭibbiyya*, we now must confront the question of its authorship. Who wrote this *maqāma*? There are three possibilities.

First, we must consider the possibility that the anonymous scribe who copied the Yale manuscript in the year 603/1206 is the author of the *Ṭibbiyya*. However, this seems hard to believe, because, as has been noted above, it was this scribe who confused the folios of the manuscript he was copying, and thus, is not likely to have been its author.

The second possibility is that the scribe has copied this *maqāma* from an older manuscript written sometime between 398/1008 and 603/1206 and that this person is the author of the *Ṭibbiyya*. Indeed, this seems plausible, because

118 Ibn ‘Abbād, *Rasā’il al-Šāḥib ibn ‘Abbād*, ed. ‘Adb al-Wahhāb ‘Azzām and Shawqī Ḍayf (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, 1947), 228–30; al-Tha‘ālibī, *Zād safar al-mulūk*, chapters 20–31.

119 Ibn Buṭlān, *The Physicians’ Dinner Party*, ed. Felix Klein-Franke (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985); Abdelfattah Kilito, *Les séances: Récits et codes culturels chez Hamadhānī et Harīrī* (Paris: Sindbad, 1983), 145; Philip F. Kennedy, “The *Maqāmāt* as a Nexus of Interests: Reflections on Abdelfattah Kilito’s *Les séances*,” in *Writing and Representation in Medieval Islam: Muslim Horizons*, ed. Julia Bray (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 171–75.

120 al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ Maqāmāt Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, ed. Samīr Maḥmūd al-Durūbī (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risāla, 1989); eight of al-Suyūṭī’s *maqāmāt* address medical topics: *Baḥriyya*, *Tuffāḥiyya*, *Durriyya*, *Dhababiyya*, *Rayāḥīn*, *Zumurrudiyya*, *Fustuqiyya*, *Miskiyya*.

121 Nāṣif al-Yāzījī, *Majma‘ al-baḥrayn* (Beirut: al-Maṭba‘a al-Adabiyya, 1885), 224–31.

none of the contents of the 603/1206 manuscript appear to be from a period after the lifetime of al-Hamadhānī. If this is the case, we must concede that this author possessed a thorough and deep knowledge of the themes, language, and style of al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt* in order to compose a work so well in tune with the rest of al-Hamadhānī's *oeuvre*. Indeed, if the *Ṭibbiyya* is a later author's imitation of a Hamadhānian *maqāma*, the author has chosen a very difficult subject matter and style, and appears to have carried out his plan flawlessly.

However, the fact that the *Ṭibbiyya* first appears in the manuscripts of al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt* sometime in the fifth/eleventh or sixth/twelfth century provides no clear proof of its being a forgery. Given that more than one-fifth of the *maqāmāt* that belong to the fifty-two *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī in the modern published editions (and are analyzed as al-Hamadhānī's own in modern scholarship) are not attested until around three centuries after the *Ṭibbiyya*, the work's authenticity should be taken more seriously. For as Richards noted, the *Mighzaliyya*, *Nājimiyya*, *Khalafiyya*, *Nisābūriyya*, *Ilmiyya*, *Shi'riyya*, *Mulūkiyya*, *Ṣufriyya*, *Sāriyya*, *Tamīmiyya*, *Khamriyya* do not appear in the manuscripts of al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt* until the tenth/sixteenth century.¹²²

It is worth mentioning that one other *maqāma*, the *Maṭlabiyya*, is also first attested as *maqāma* number 49 in the Yale Salisbury manuscript. But unlike the *Ṭibbiyya*, it is a part of the published editions. It is quite possible that the scribal error which divided the text of the *Ṭibbiyya* outlined above is the reason that it was not copied by later scribes, and thus did not become a part of al-Hamadhānī's later corpus.

The third possibility is that al-Hamadhānī himself is the author of this *maqāma* on medicine. However, to be able to determine this with any certainty, or to enquire about the nature of the corpus of al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt* as a whole, there needs to be a more thorough investigation of the history of al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt*.

122 Richards, "The *Maqāmāt*," 95–96. We have examined more than thirty manuscripts of al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt* including those examined by Richards, and have also come to the same tentative conclusion; see Chapter Two.

CHAPTER FOUR

Three *Maqāmāt* Attributed to al-Hamadhānī

For Abdelfattah Kilito

As we have seen in Chapter Two, while al-Hamadhānī's (d. 398/1008) individual *maqāmāt* served as the formal model for the writing of individual *maqāmas* for the subsequent authors of *maqāmas*, his collection of *maqāmāt* differed from the later *maqāmāt* collections in one fundamental way: al-Hamadhānī does not appear to have been the collector of the *maqāmāt* attributed to him.

Drawing on Badī' al-Zamān's boast that he had authored more than 400 *maqāmāt*, made in the course of his famed literary contest with Abū Bakr al-Kh̄wārizmī (d. 383/993), both medieval and modern authors have considered the Hamadhānian corpus to be "open."¹ That is, there was no definitive compilation of al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt*.

The first extant manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī, discussed in Chapter One, date from more than a century after the author's death. MS Fatih 4097 copied in 520/1126 includes forty *maqāmāt* in an order entirely different from the standard edition. The next two manuscripts in date, MS SOAS 47280 a thirteenth/nineteenth century copy of a manuscript dating to 562/1166–1167 and MS Yale Salisbury 63 dating to 603/1206 both include the same core of forty *maqāmāt* in the same order as MS Fatih 4097.

Unlike MS Fatih 4097, both MSS Yale and SOAS contain 50 numbered *maqāmāt*. Of the ten additional numbered *maqāmāt* in MS Yale, seven (nos. 37–43) are the so-called "amusing anecdotes" (*mulah*) of al-Hamadhānī included as an appendix to the Dār al-Jawā'ib edition. The three remaining *maqāmāt* include a letter that is described as a *mulḥa* in the Istanbul edition, the *Maṭlabiyya*, and the newly discovered *Ṭibbiyya* discussed in Chapter Three.

As we mentioned in our previous chapter on the *Ṭibbiyya*, the presence of additional *maqāmāt* in a manuscript of the sixth/twelfth century necessitates a serious re-consideration both of the authenticity of the *Ṭibbiyya* as well as the materials presently included in the Hamadhānian corpus.

Similar to MS Yale, MS SOAS also includes seven *mulah* as *maqāmas* nos. 44–50. MS SOAS also contains three additional *maqāmāt* (nos. 48–50) which

1 Everett K. Rowson, "Religion and Politics in the Career of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107 (1987): 653–73, esp. 669, note 84.

we have named: *Hamadhāniyya*, *Sharīfiyya* [which is a *Maqāma* and *Risāla*], and *Khātamiyya*. Similar to our previous chapter on the *Ṭibbiyya*, in this chapter we provide an *editio princeps* and study of these three *maqāmāt*.

The discovery of three *maqāmāt* attributed to al-Hamadhānī in MS SOAS, however, raises difficulties of a different nature than we described in our chapter on the *Ṭibbiyya*. For as we noted above, MS SOAS is a thirteenth/nineteenth century copy of a manuscript that dates to 562/1166–1167. In addition to MS SOAS, the three *maqāmāt* are present in nine other manuscripts dating from the eleventh–thirteenth/seventeenth–nineteenth centuries.

Manuscripts Utilized in the Edition

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

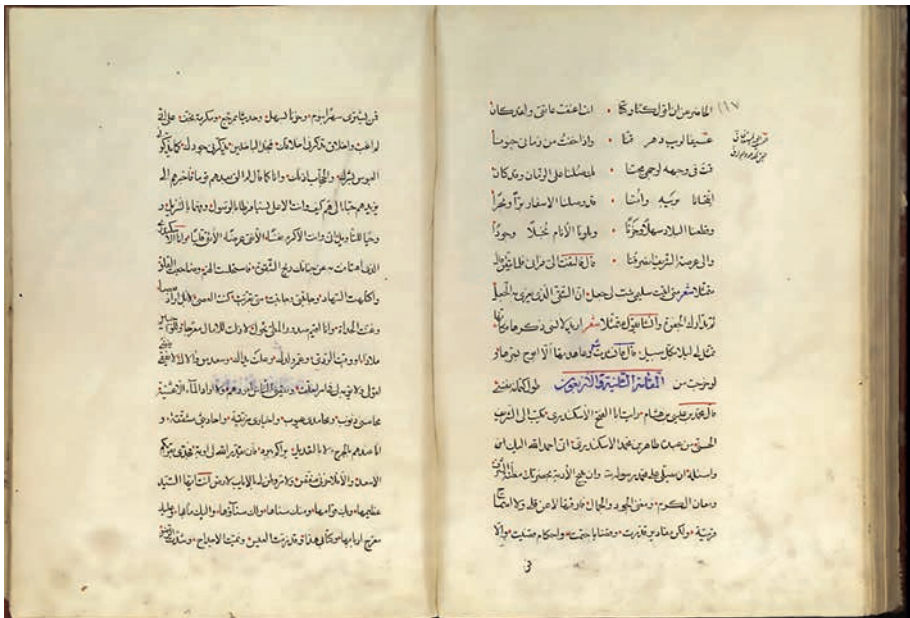
- A Damascus Asad Library (1243/1827)
- T1 Tehran *Kitābkhānah-i wa-Markaz-i Asnād Majlis Shurā-yi Islāmī* 303 (1270/1853)
- T2 Tehran *Kitābkhānah-i Millī Jumbūrī-yi Islāmī-yi Irān* 8046 (undated).
- T3 Tehran Majlis 631 (thirteenth/nineteenth)
- T4 Tehran Majlis 2/5764 (1278/1861)
- M Malik National Library and Museum 2358 (1243/1827–1828)
- L London SOAS 47280 (thirteenth/nineteenth century copy) of a MS dated to 562/1166–1167
- U Unknown manuscript provided by Wadād al-Qādī
- I Istanbul University A1227 (undated)
- P Princeton University 2007 (undated)
- E Edinburgh MS Or 49 (eleventh/seventeenth century)

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

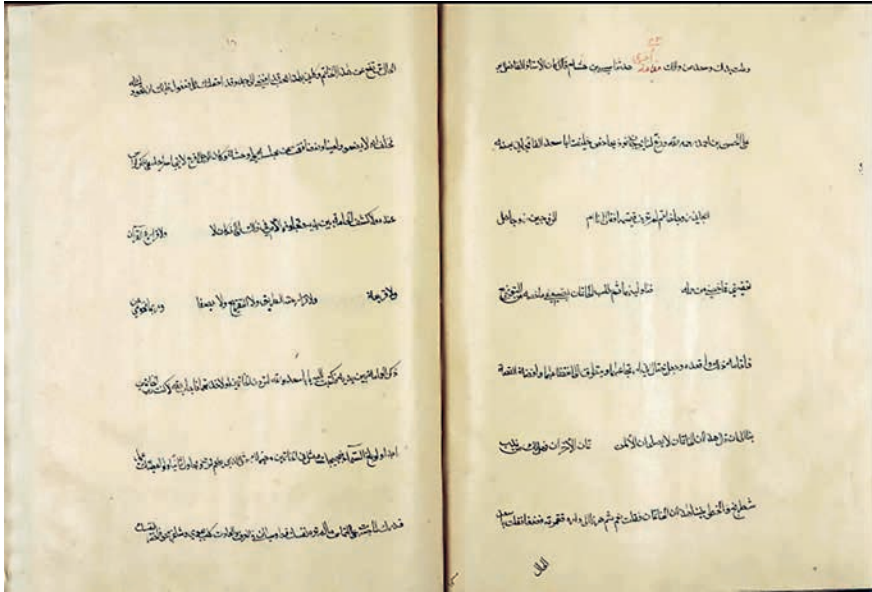
Samples of the Manuscripts



MS Istanbul University A1227, fol. 92r



MS Tehran Majlis 2/5764, fol. 124v-125r



MS SOAS 47280, fol. 122v-123r

Arabic Edition of the Three *Maqāmāt*

[المقامة الهمدانية]

قال عيسى بن هشام: ترامت بي أحداث الزمان وطمحات الليالي والأيام، حتى حططت رحلي بهمدان،² بلد زعامة الشريف الحسيني،³ فأقمته، وأذن لي⁴ إذنه. فلما تمكنت سواء مجلسه، بعد قضاء الحق بالتحية والثناء وحسن الرد، لحظت جلساءه فإذا المنتمي لابن⁵ المشرف الكاتب والثاني بالسكرية قد عاود الدعوة الأولى وأنتمى لبغداد فهو يهتم⁶ بالرصافة والجسر وبالجلد⁷ والقنطرة والبردان والكرخ وكرخايا والفصيل والخندق وبين السويس والرقعة وقطربل، وتلك الخانات⁸ والأزقة والشوارع،⁹ وقد خرج والله في مسلك الشاعر، فهو ولا دعبل وذووه ولا ابن هاني وأضرابه من نصر ابن أحمد¹⁰ شاعر البصرة، وهذا المتنبّي شاعر الشاميين لكنه للحسيني¹¹

2 في همدان: P.

3 الحسيني: E.

4 وأذن: T₁, T₂, T₄, A, M.

5 المسمّى بابن: T₄; المسمّى لابن: E.

6 بهم: T₁, T₂, T₃, L, M, I, E.

7 الجلد: سقطت من T₃, T₄.

8 الخانات: T₁, T₄, A, U, P, I, E.

9 والشوارع والأزقة: L.

10 نصر أحمد: T₁, T₂, T₃, T₄, A, M, U, P; يضرب أحمد: E.

11 للحسيني: E.

مثول الكعب الراتب، ورفَع عقيرته بصوتٍ جهيرٍ وصوتٌ¹² كأنه¹³ قصبٌ¹⁴ أجشٌ مهضمٌ [من الخفيف]:

مَنْ مُعِينِي عَلَى فُوَادٍ مُعْنَى
ولقد كادَ مِنْ تَذَكُّرِهِ¹⁵ طيد
أَيْنَ ذَاكَ الزَّمَانِ لَا أَيْنَ فَاذُدُّ
سَأَلْتَنِي عَنِ الزَّمَانِ وَلَيْلَا
مَرْحَبًا بِالشَّبَابِ بَانَ¹⁷ وَلَا أَهْدُ
لَا¹⁸ وَتِلْكَ الْأَيَّامُ مَا ذُكِرْتُ عِنْدُ
يَا لِيَالِي بِالْمَطِيرَةِ وَالكَرْ
هَلْ إِلَيْكَ لِي مَعَادٌ سُقَيْتُنَّ
هَيْدَبًا كُلَّمَا أَرَاكَتْ هَوَادِي
عَاشِقًا زَهْرَةَ الرِّيَاضِ إِذَا اسْتَدُّ
كَالشَّرِيفِ الَّذِي إِذَا ذُكِرَ الْمَجْدُ
وَإِذَا جَالَ²² فِي عِرَاصِ الْمَعَالِي²³
قُلْ لِرَبِّ الزَّمَانِ دُونَكَ مَنْ شِئْتُ
فِي ذِمَامِ الشَّرِيفِ ذِي الْمَجْدِ وَالْجَوِ
عَذْبُ مَاءِ الْعَطَاءِ²⁵ سَائِعٌ شَرِبَ النَّدَى
يَا ابْنَ خَيْرِ الْوَرَى وَمَنْ فَتَحَ الدَّ
أَنْتَ أَغْنَيْتَنِي بِإِحْسَانِكَ الْحَا
أَنْتَ أَعْتَقْتْ عَاتِقِي وَلَقَدْ كَا
وَإِذَا خِفْتُ مِنْ زَمَانِي جُنُونًا

كُلَّمَا قِيلَ دَيْرٌ حَتَّتَهُ حَنَا
سَبَّ خَبَايَا جَنَانِهِ أَنْ يُجَنَّا¹⁶
هُ وَكَيْفَ السُّلُوْ عَنْهُ وَأَنْتِي
تِ التَّصَابِي فَقَلْتُ كُنَّ فَبِنَا
لَا بِشَيْبٍ أَنَاخَ بِي فَأَبْنَا
مَدِي إِلَّا اسْتَهَلَّ شَأْنِي وَسَنَّا
خَ فِدَارَاتُهَا إِلَى دَيْرٍ¹⁹ قُنَّا
رُكَا مًا مُسْتَأْرَضًا مُرْجِحِنَا
هـ²⁰ تَرَاكَتْ أَعْجَازُهُ فَارْتَعْنَا
كَرَّ مَعْشُوقَهُ بَكَى فَأَرْنَا
دُ احْتَبَى²¹ لِلْحَيَاءِ فَرَضًا وَسَنَّا
مَرَّ فِيهَا قَبًّا وَسَنَّا وَعَنَا
تِ سِوَانَا عَلَى سِوَاءٍ فَإِنَّا
دِ وَحُسْنِ حِصْنٍ²⁴ الْعُلَى فَاغْلُ عَنَا
يَلِ لَا يُتْبِعُ الْعَطِيَّةَ مَنَا
هُ²⁶ عَلَيْنَا بِرَاحَتِيهِ وَسَنَّا
ضِرِّ عَنَّا أَنْ أَقُولَ كُنَّا وَكُنَّا
نَ عَسِيْفًا لِرَبِّ دَهْرِي قِنَّا
قُمْتُ فِي وَجْهِهِ لَوْجْهِهِ مِجَنَّا

- 12 صوت: سقطت من E.
13 كأنه: سقطت من T₃, T₄.
14 قصب: سقطت من T₁; قضيب: L.
15 تذكرة: U.
16 ولقد... يجنا: سقطت من T₂, T₃, T₄, A.
17 بان: سقطت من T₃; بان بالشباب: M.
18 لا: سقطت من M.
19 دار: U.
20 هواريه: U.
21 اجتنى: M.
22 جاء: L.
23 المعاني: T₂.
24 حُسنِ حِصْنٍ: T₁, M, P, E; حُسن: T₂, A, T₃, T₄; ولا يستقيم الوزن بأي منها.
25 العطايا: T₁, T₂, T₃, A, L, M, I, ولا يستقيم الوزن به.
26 قد فتح الدر: E, ولا يستقيم الوزن به.

بِكَ صَلُّنَا عَلَى الزَّمَانِ وَقَدْ كَا نَ امْتِحَانًا بَرِّيهِ²⁷ وَأَمِنَّا
 قَدْ وَصَلْنَا الْأَسْفَارَ بَرًّا وَبَحْرًا وَقَطَعْنَا الْبِلَادَ سَهْلًا وَحَزْنَا
 وَبَلَّوْنَا الْأَنَامَ بُخْلًا وَجُودًا وَإِلَى عَرَصَةِ²⁸ الشَّرِيفِ انْصَرَفْنَا

قال: فالتفت إليّ فرآني، فلما تيقن إليّ قال مُتَمَثِّلًا [من البسيط]:²⁹

مَتَى أَتَيْتُ سُلَيْمِي سَبَّ لِي جُعَلُ إِنَّ الشَّقِيَّ الَّذِي³⁰ يُعْرِي بِهِ الْجُعَلُ

ثم تدارك الجفوة وأنشأ يقول متمثلاً [من الطويل]:³¹

أُرِيدُ لِأَنسِي ذِكْرَهَا فَكَأَنَّمَا³² تَمَثَّلُ لِي لَيْلَى بِكُلِّ سَبِيلِ

قال: فأنشدتُ [من الطويل]:

وَعَاهَدْتُهَا أَلَا أَبُوحَ بِسِرِّهَا وَلَوْ خَرَجْتُ مِنْ طُولِ كِتْمَانِهِ³³ نَفْسِي

27 برأسه: A، T₂؛ بريية: P.

28 مهمه: L.

29 من شواهد النحويين، وفي معظم المصادر: إذا أتيت... انظر ديوان المعاني الكبير لابن قتيبة (بيروت: دار الكتب العلميّة، 1984)، 628 (وتخريج البيت في الهامش).

30 الذي: سقطت من T₁.

31 نُسب البيت لكثير عزة في خزنة الأدب للبغدادي، تحقيق عبد السلام محمّد هارون (القاهرة: مكتبة الخانجي، 2000)، 329:10، وهو في ديوانه، تحقيق قدرى مايو (بيروت: دار الجيل، 1995)، 276؛ ونُسب لجميل بن معمر في الوافي بالوفيات للصفدي، تحقيق أحمد الأرنؤوط وزكي مصطفى (بيروت: دار إحياء التراث العربي، 2000)، 60:3.

32 فكأنها: T₄، A، U، L، I؛ لكأنما: P.

33 كتمانها: U.

[المقامة الشريفة]

مقامة ورسالة لأبي الفتح الإسكندري

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

إني أحمدُ إليك الله³⁴ وأسأله أن يُصليَ علي محمدَ رسوله³⁵ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم، وأن يُبيح³⁶ الأوبة بحضرتك، مظنة الشرف ومعاني الكرم ومعنى الجود والجمال، فارقها لا عن قلبي ولا إسماع قرينة، ولكن مقاديرُ قدرت وقضايا حُيِّمت وأحكامُ قُضيت، وإلا فمن يشتري سَهْرًا بنومٍ وحَزَنًا بسَهْلٍ وحديثًا بمُرَجِّعٍ ومَكْرَمَةً بحَسْفٍ،³⁷ على أنني لم أُعِبْ وأخلاقُ تذكُرني أخلاقك، فبخلُ الباخلين يذكُرني جودك، كما يذكُرني العبوسُ بشركٍ والحُجَّابُ إذنك، وأنا كما قال [من البسيط]:

لَم أَلَقْ بَعْدَهُمْ قَوْمًا فَأَخْبِرُهُمْ إِلَّا يَزِيدُهُمْ حُبًّا إِلَيَّ هُمْ³⁸

وكيف وأنت الأعلى نسبًا، فرطًا بالرسول وفهيمًا بالتنزيلِ ووحيا للتأويل،³⁹ أتى وأنت الأكرمُ نفسًا الأتقى عرضًا الأتقى قلبًا، وأنا الإسكندري الذي اهتافت به عن جنابك ريحُ الشقوة، فاستحلست⁴⁰ اللهم وضاجعتُ القلقَ واكتحلتُ الشهادَ، وجانبتني وجانبت الرفادَ،⁴¹ متى تقربت كنت العصا لإبل أراد بعضًا، لا يُغضى لقولي ولا يُؤبه⁴² لي في أمرٍ، أخلُفُ ويُقضي الناسُ أمورهم، ولا أُرِدُ الماءَ إلا عشيبةً، محاسني ذنوبٍ ومحامدي عُيوبٍ وأخباري مُزيقةً وأحاديثي مُشَقِّقةً،⁴³ وأنا عندهم بالجرح لا بالتعديل، يبرأ بكم بردٌ،⁴⁴ فإن يقدر الله لي أوبةً فجدِّي بقربكم الأسعد، وإلا فلا حُزني مُنْقَصٌ ولا حرٌّ، ومن⁴⁵ لي بالإياب لأرضٍ أنت أيها السيدُ عظيمها وبك قوامها ومنكب سنامها⁴⁶ ولك سنانها⁴⁷ وإليك⁴⁸ مأبها وعليك مُعرجُ أربابها، وكتابي هذا وقد رُمّت العيسُ ونُميت الأحداجُ وشدّت الوُضُنُ وفَرَطتِ الهداةُ وغنّتِ الخداةُ، وأنا أقيم⁴⁹ صدورَ المطيِّ نحوك، لا زلتُ للأمالِ

34 الله إليك: T₁, T₂, T₃, T₄; A; الله: L.

35 رسوله محمد: U, P.

36 يتيح: U, I.

37 بسخف: T₃.

38 اللهم: L. والبيت لمرار (أو زياد) بن منقذ العدوي من قصيدة في معجم البلدان لباقوت الحموي (بيروت: دار صادر، 1977)، 3: 427.

39 بالتأويل: M.

40 فاستجليت: U.

41 وجانبت: سقطت من T₃, T₄.

42 ولأبويه: L.

43 مُنْقَعَةٌ: T₁.

44 كذا في: T₁, T₂, T₃, A, L; وسقطت من U, P; يراكم يبرد: T₄; يبرأ بكم يبرد: M; سرايكم يبرد: I.

45 ولمن: T₄.

46 ومنك سناها: T₁, T₂, T₃, T₄, L, M, I.

47 ولك سنأؤها: T₁, T₂, T₃, T₄, A, M, P, I.

48 وإلا إليك: M.

49 عقيم: L.

مُعَرَّجًا وللراجين ملاذًا ووقيت الردى وعمير ولدك وعلت يداك وسعد من والاك.⁵⁰

[المقامة الخاتمية]

حدثنا عيسى بن هشام قال: كان الأستاذ الفاضل أبو علي الحسن⁵¹ بن أحمد رحمه الله وزع لنا بجرجان توزيعاً خصّ خليفته أبا سعد القايجاني بعضه، وكان عند القايجاني زوجاً خاتم لم يُعرف قيمتهما،⁵² فقال: أنا أعطيك من هذين الزوجين زوجاً، هل تعفيني ممّا خصني⁵³ من جملة توزيعك؟ فناولنيهما،⁵⁴ ثمّ طلب الخاتمان⁵⁵ بضعتي ما خصه من⁵⁶ التوزيع. فأقامه ذلك وأقعده⁵⁷ وجعل يحتال في ارتجاعهما ويتطرق إلى انتزاعهما، وأفضت القصّة بنا إلى أن قال: هذان الخاتمان لا يصلحان إلا لمن معه الخاتمان الآخران، فهل لك من ندبٍ شطرنج والخطر بينهما⁵⁸ هذان الخاتمان؟ فقلت: نعم، ثمّ صرنا إلى داره فقمّرتُه فضعا، فقلت: يا أبا سعد، الحال ترتفع عن هذا الخاتم، وكأني بهذا اللعب قد أفضى إلى جدّ، وقد احتملتك على⁵⁹ ضغوك فإياك أن تعود لمثله، فحلف أنه لا يضاعو، ولعبنا وضعا، فقمّت عن مجلسه على وحشة، وكان الرجل أقرع لا يتجاسر أحد على ذكر الرأس عنده ولا كشف الهامة بين يديه، وتجاوز الأمر في⁶⁰ ذلك إلى أن كان لا القرع ولا القراع ولا المقرعة ولا قوارع القرآن⁶¹ ولا قريعة وسط قوم ولا قارعة ولا قارعة الطريق ولا التقرع ولا بصفا المشرق كل يوم تفرع،⁶² وربما تحومي عن ذكر العمامة بين يديه، فكتبت إليه: يا أبا سعد، والله لتردّ الخاتمين أو لاخذنهما منك، فأجاب: والله لا كنت رب الخاتمين أبداً ولو بلغ السماء ضحيجك، ومثلك في الخاتمين وهبتهما لك مثل الذي يطعم مرّة ويحاول ثانياً، ولو أعطيتك على قدرك لما جسرت⁶³ على التماس ما لم تره على نفسك قط، وسيان في العرف والعادة كلب يعوي وشاعر يهجو، فاختر لنفسك ما تختار فلن يصعب تقويمك وتاديبك والسلام. فكتبت إليه⁶⁴ [من الوافر]:⁶⁵

أبا سعدٍ رويدك في مراسك ولا تُبرز بكيدك لي وباسك
أقومرنا زبيدة ثمّ تضغو وتوعدني وعندك سور كاسك

- | | |
|----|---|
| 50 | وفاك: M. |
| 51 | بن الحسن: M. |
| 52 | قيمتها: T ₁ , T ₂ , T ₃ , M. |
| 53 | خصصتني: I. |
| 54 | فناولنيها: M. |
| 55 | طلب الخاتمين: T ₂ , T ₃ , T ₄ . |
| 56 | من: سقطت من T ₃ . |
| 57 | فأقلقه ذلك وأرقده: U. |
| 58 | بيننا: L. |
| 59 | عن: T ₁ , T ₂ , T ₃ , T ₄ , A, M. |
| 60 | إلى: U. |
| 61 | القوارع: T ₃ . |
| 62 | عجز بيت لأبي ذؤيب الهذلي من عينيه المشهورة، وصدرة: حتى كآني للحوادث مروّة، انظر ديوان الهذليين (القاهرة: مطبعة دار الكتب والوثائق القومية، 2003)، 1: 3. |
| 63 | جرات: U. |
| 64 | فكتبت إليه: سقطت من U. |
| 65 | الآبيات 1 و3 و4 في ديوان بديع الزمان الهمذاني، دراسة وتحقيق يسري عبد الغني عبد الله (بيروت: دار الكتب العلمية، 1987)، 87. |

أَعْرَكَ فَرَطُ حِلْمِي وَاحْتِمَالِي لِرُجْعِكَ خَاتَمِي بِلِ احْتِبَاسِكَ
فَإِنْ لَمْ أَرْتَجِعْهُ مِنْكَ صُغْرًا فَتَحْتُ عِمَامَتِي رَاسِي كَرَّاسِكَ

فلما أتته الأبيات أخذته ما قدم⁶⁶ وما حدثت وما كان يظنني أبلغ معه هذا المبلغ. وكتب إلي: يا فاعل يا صانع والله لأبدلن ألف ألف درهم عليك ولأقطعن لسانك ولتعلمن نبأه بعد حين⁶⁷. فكتبت إليه [من مجزوء الرجز]:

أَنْتَ وَإِنْ أَسْمَعْتَنِي فَلَا أَرَى أَنْ أَسْمِعَكَ
إِضْغَ لِنُصْحِي وَأَزَلُّ عَنِ احْتِمَالِي طَمَعَكَ
إِيَّاكَ أَنْ تَشْتِمَنِي وَذَلِكَ الرَّاسُ مَعَكَ

فعلّم أنّ باب الصواب غير الذي يقرع وأن طريق التوفيق سوى الذي يسلك، فاستعان بالكتاب عليّ يسألوني العفو عنه، وأخذنا الخاتميين منه، وقصدوني فاحتجبت، ثم كتبوا إلي: كُنَّا قَصْدَنَاكَ فَلَمْ يَنْفِقِ اللِّقَاءُ، وقد كُنَّا قَصْرْنَا الْقَصْدَ عَلَى الْحَالِ بَيْنَكَ وَبَيْنَ الْأَسْتَاذِ الْخَطِيرِ أَبِي سَعْدٍ لِنُعِيدَهَا⁶⁸ ونستدني بعينها ونذكرك المملكة⁶⁹ ونسألك المصلحة ويخرج كل منا من قلبه وكثيره إليك إن أوجبت. فكتبت إليهم [من مجزوء الرمل]:

سَادَتِي يَا مَعْشَرَ الْكُتُبِ لَابِ يَا أَهْلَ الرِّعَامَةِ
قَدْ جَرَّتْ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَ الـ قَايَجَانِي ظَلَامَةٍ
فَاسْمَعُوا مِنِّي كَلَامِي وَاسْمَعُوا مِنْهُ كَلَامَهُ
وَاحْكُمُوا بِالْحَقِّ لَا تَأْ خُذْكُمْ فِيهِ مَلَامَهُ
وَاطْرَحُوا الْمُرَّ مِنَ الْعَدُوِّ لِ أَمَامِي وَأَمَامَهُ
وَإِذَا قُمْتُمْ لِأَمْرٍ فَابْلُغُوا فِيهِ تَمَامَهُ
إِنَّ هَذَا النَّذْلَ مِنِّي رَامَ مَا أَشَوَى مَرَامَهُ
زَلَّ عَنِ يُمْنَاهُ خَيْرٌ وَشِمَالِي⁷⁰ عَنْ كَرَامَهُ
وَحَبَابِي⁷¹ خَاتَمِي فِيهِ رَوْزِ⁷² خَلِي نِظَامَهُ
ثُمَّ جَاءَتْهُ عَلَى مَا سَبَقَتْ مِنْهُ نَدَامَهُ
كَلِمًا لَا قَاهُمَا فِي إِصْبَعِي لِاقِي حِمَامَهُ
فَتَعَاطَى فِي ارْتِجَاعِ الشِّدِّ حِيءٍ إِبْرَارَ السَّهَامَةِ

66 تقدم: U.

67 سورة ص: 88.

68 لغيرها: U.

69 المهلكة: T₃، T₄.

70 وشمال: U.

71 وجاءني: U.

72 فيروزج: سقطت من U.

قَالَ لِي هَلْ لَكَ فِي اللَّعْدِ سَبِّ عَلَى سَمْتٍ 73 اسْتِقَامَةٍ
 قُلْتُهُ 74 لِي بَلْ وَلَكِنْ أَنْتَ أَضْعَى مِنْ نِعَامَةٍ
 تَمَّ لَا أُمْنَحَكَ الْجِدَّ مَ وَأَوْفِيكَ الْغَرَامَةَ
 فَتَعَاهِدْنَا لَا صَعُونا بِقُلَامَةٍ
 وَضَعَى طَوْرًا وَطَوْرِي نِ وَأَثْرَتْ احْتِشَامَةً 75
 تَمَّ لَمَّا ضَيَّقَ الضَّغْدَ هُوَ 76 عَلَى حِلْمِي حِرَامَةَ
 سَبَقْتُ مِنِّي يَمِينٌ لِأَمِيطَنَّ لِثَامَةَ
 قَلْتُ يَا مَنْ يَتَعَاطَا نِي بَضْعُوِ وَاسْتِضَامَةَ
 أَحْرَزِ الْخَاتَمَ عَنِّي وَابْدُلِ الْعِرْضَ غَرَامَةَ
 وَلَنْ لَمْ يَجْعَلِ الْخَا تَمَّ لِلْأَمْرِ خِتَامَةَ
 لِأَقِيمَنَّ لِمَخَازِيهِ الْقِيَامَةَ
 وَأُدِلَّنَّ عَلَى الرَّأ سِ الَّذِي تَحْتِ الْعِمَامَةَ
 وَسُيْعِنِي بِالْحَوَاتِي مَ وَلَكِنْ بَعْدَامَةَ
 بَعْدَ أَنْ أُخْلِي بِالذُّلِّ مِنْ الْمُخِّ عِظَامَةَ

ثمَّ تطاولت الأيام بيننا وجعل لا يَأْلَفُ بيننا ألفةً، واتفقَ أَنَا اجتمعنا يومَ عيدٍ على مائدةِ الأستاذِ أَبِي [عليّ]
 الحسن ابن أحمد رحمه الله فأمسكْتُ عن الطَّعام، فقال: ما لك لا تُطعم، فقلتُ وأشرتُ إلى القايجانِي
 [من الرجز]:

مهلاً أُنَيْتَ اللَّعْنَ لَا تَأْكُلْ مَعَهُ
 اسْتَعْفِ مِنْهُ وَتَجَنَّبْ قَرَعَهُ
 فَإِنَّهُ 77 يُنْجِي عَلَيْهِ إِضْبَعَهُ
 يَخُكُ تَلْكَ الْهَامَةَ الْمَلْمَعَهُ
 لَا تُدْنِهِ وَذَلِكَ الرَّاسُ مَعَهُ
 وَأَمْرُهُ إِنْ أَدْنَيْتَهُ أَنْ يَضَعَهُ
 إِنْ لَمْ يُزِيلْ 78 مِنْ حِمَاكَ مَوْضِعَهُ
 فَارِسِمَ لِقَرَّاشِكَ ذَا أَنْ يَصْفَعَهُ

فأطرقت الجماعةُ وبقي الأستاذُ الفاضلُ ثمَّ قال: يا مولاي إِنْ لَمْ تَحْتَشِمْنِي فَاحْتَشِمِ الْمَائِدَةَ وَأَهْلَهَا. فقلتُ:

73 سقطت ورقة من I حتى قوله: يعطي الخطر ثمَّ تناول الخاتمين.

74 قلتُ: T₁، T₂، A.

75 أمامه: U.

76 الطعن: U.

77 إنّه: M، U.

78 يزال: T₂، T₃، A.

أَطَالَ اللهُ بَقَاءَكَ مَا أَسْرَعَ مَا أَرَاكَ تَتَقَرَّرُ، وَحَيَاتِكَ الَّتِي تَعَزَّ عَلَيَّ لِأَنْشِدَنَّكَ أَلْفَ بَيْتٍ بَعْضُهَا يَلْعَنُ بَعْضًا إِلَى أَنْ يَعْطِينِي خَاتَمِيهِ عَطَاءً مُغْرِبًا.⁷⁹ فَقَالَ الْأُسْتَاذُ: أَمْرُ الْخَاتَمِينَ أَسْهَلُ، فَمَا السَّبَبُ الَّذِي أَحْوَجَكَ إِلَى مَا قُلْتَ؟ فَقَصَصْتُ الْقِصَّةَ عَلَيْهِ، فَمَالَ⁸⁰ إِلَيْهِ وَقَالَ: أَشْهَدُ أَنَّكَ سَاقَطُ الْهَمَّةِ إِنَّهُ مَا⁸¹ عَلِمْتُ أَنَّهُ قُمْرٌ أَرْقَمٌ⁸² يَعْطِي الْخَطَرَ، ثُمَّ تَنَاوَلَ الْخَاتَمِينَ مِنْهُ وَنَاوَلِيهِمَا⁸³ وَسَأَلَنِي السُّكُوتَ عَنْهُ وَعَاهَدْتُهُ أَنْ لَا أُزِيدَ. فَكَتَبْتُ إِلَيْهِ بَعْضَ كِتَابِهِ [من الهزج]:

أَنَا أَمَدُحُ مَوْلَايَ	فَلَا أَقْطَعُ أَنْفَاسِي
وَأَسْتَرْسِلُ فِي كَلَا	مِهِمَّ حَسَبَ إِيْنَاسِي
فَأَعْظِمُ حَاجَتِي عِنْدَ	كَ أَنْ تُجِبُهُ بِالنَّاسِ ⁸⁴
هَجَوْتُ الْقَايِجَانِيَّ	بِقَلْبٍ فِي الْهَجَا قَاسِي
وَلَا بِالْقَوْلِ فِي الْأَمِّ	وَلَا فِي الْأَخْتِ مِنْ بَاسِ
فَقُلْ فِي الْكَلِّ مَا شِئْتَ	وَجَلِّجْلِهِمْ بِأَجْرَاسِ
بَلْ هَبْ لِي وَلِلنَّاسِ	وَلِلْعِشْرَةِ وَاللَّكَاسِ
وَهَبْ لِلَّهِ يَا مَوْلَا	يَ خَرَمِي ذَلِكَ الرَّاسِ

وشكا القايجانِيَّ إلى الأستاذ ذلك، فكتبْتُ إليه [من الهزج]:

نَصَحْنَا الْقَايِجَانِيَّ	فَلَمْ يَصْغِ إِلَى التُّصْحِ
وَقَلْنَا كُنْ بَذَا الرَّاسِ	مَعَ النَّاسِ عَلَى صُلْحِ
فَلِلْحَافِظِ فِيهِ	لِسَانُ الْهَجْوِ وَالْمَدْحِ
وَتَلِكِ الْهَامَةُ الْبَيْضَا	ءٌ مِثْلُ الْوَرَقِ ⁸⁵ الطَّلْحِ
لَهُ فِيهَا إِذَا شَاءَ	مَقَالُ الذَّنْبِ وَالْقَدْحِ
فَلَمْ يُصْغِ إِلَى التُّصْحِ	وَقَدْ بَطَّ عَنْ الْقَرْحِ

Commentary and Analysis

al-Hamadhāniyya

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

79 مغرماً: U.
80 فما بال: U.
81 أوما: T₃.
82 تمر أو قمر: U، T₃؛ قُمْرٌ أَوْ قَمَرٌ: T₁، T₂، T₄، A، M.
83 وناولنيها: M.
84 الناس: T₂، T₃، T₄، ولا يستقيم الوزن به؛ بالبأس: I.
85 ورق: T₄، ولا يستقيم الوزن به.

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

The narrator observes that this man has also become a poet. But he is neither Dī‘bil [al-Khuzā‘ī] (d. 246/860), nor is he Abū Nuwās (d. ca. 200/815), nor the poet Naṣr b. Aḥmad [al-Khubza‘aruzzi] (d. 327/938) from Baṣra, nor al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965) of the people of al-Shām. Rather, unlike these poets, this man has remained at the court of al-Ḥasanī.

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

The poet then transitions to praise the *sharīf* in vv. 11 and following. Standard panegyric motifs praising the *sharīf*'s liberality (e.g. v. 14 (*jūd*), v. 15 (*‘aṭā*), v. 17 (*iḥsān*)) compete with the poet's description of his own overcoming the workings of fate. The theme of time first mentioned in v. 3, as the moment of lost reverie, is recapitulated in the course of the panegyric. Verse 12 summons the theme again with a direct address to time; and v. 19, in which the poet celebrates how through the aid of the patron he has vanquished time (*zamān*). In the final line of the poem, the poet hints cryptically about how he has “tested” people concerning their generosity and miserliness, and then talks about his trip to the court of al-Ḥasanī.

As the poet concludes his speech, he turns to the narrator, and examines him and becomes certain of his identity.⁸⁶ He then recites a line of poetry concerning a lover who is thwarted each time in his attempts to reach his beloved by a dung beetle (*ju‘al*). Setting up a situation in which the beloved is the patron, and the poet, is his beloved, the poet has inadvertently cast the narrator in the role of the beetle who prevents his love union with the patron. In order to rectify this, he then recites a verse attributed to the poet Qays b. al-Mulawwah (d. ca. 68/688) or Kuthayyir (d. 105/723) that states that wherever he goes, he finds his beloved

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

Laylā (or ‘Azza).⁸⁷ The narrator, ‘Īsā, then responds with another line of a lover promising his beloved that he will not reveal her secret.

al-Sharīfiyya [Maqāma and Risāla]

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

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

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

al-Maqāma al-Khātamiyya

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

Abū Sa‘d had two pairs of rings. He did not know the value of either of these. In *lieu* of paying the required sum to the narrator, he offered a pair of rings instead. ‘Īsā agreed to this exchange, and Abū Sa‘d handed over the rings. After doing this however, Abū Sa‘d learned that the two rings were worth more than double the required payment. He then schemed to get the two valuable rings back from ‘Īsā, pleading that it was not right for a man to have one pair of rings without the other.

Abū Sa‘d proposed to ‘Īsā that the two men play a game of chess at his home,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Verses one, three, and four of this poem are attributed to Badī' al-Zamān in his *Dīwān*.⁸⁸ The *maqāma* adds one verse to the three found in the *Dīwān* of Badī' al-Zamān which interestingly underscores the notion of the cheating and trickery practiced by Abū Sa'd.

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

After some time elapsed, the *ustādh* Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan invited 'Īsā to a banquet. Seeing that Abū Sa'd was among the invitees, he refused to eat. When queried for his reason by his host, 'Īsā pointed to Abū Sa'd al-Qāyijānī, at whom he cast poetic taunts and insults. The *ustādh* Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan then ordered Abū Sa'd to hand over the remaining rings to 'Īsā. Upon receiving the rings, he

88 Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, *Dīwān Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī*, ed. Yusrī 'Abd al-Ghanī 'Abdallāh (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1987), 87. Line 2 is an addition to the verse that we have been unable to locate elsewhere.

promised not to curse Abū Saʿd any further.

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

Conclusion

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

The three *maqāmāt* do share some important features with other well-attested *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī. The *Hamadhāniyya* for instance, does possess some features of the Hamadhānian picaresque *maqāma*. The theme of *dabr*, prominent throughout the *maqāmāt*, is consistently highlighted throughout the *maqāma*. There is also a scene of recognition (*anagnorisis*) – another typical formal feature of al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt*.

The *maqāma* and *risāla* which we have called the *Sharīfiyya* references the other *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī. It purports to be related not by the (fictional) narrator, ʿĪsā b. Hishām, but by his son, Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Hishām. It also appears to be an epistolary forgery. This falsehood, however, leads to another deception. Namely the forger, Abū l-Faḥ is not a real person. This piling of falsehood atop fraud is reminiscent of the rhetorical device of *takhyīl*, which offers faulty proof by proffer of a false proposition.⁸⁹

The *Kbātamiyya* also shares much with the *maqāma* tradition. For instance, the plot of the *maqāma* is basically a story of “relief after hardship” (*al-fāraj baʿd al-shidda*) in which the narrator suffers hardship (i.e., his mistreatment at the hands of a nefarious official) only to triumph in the end.⁹⁰ This *maqāma*

89 Geert Jan van Gelder and Marlé Hammond, ed. and trans., *Takhyīl: The Imaginary in Classical Arabic Poetics* (Exeter: Short Run Press, 2008), 11.

90 See A.F.L. Beeston, “The Genesis of the *Maqāmāt* Genre,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 2 (1971): 1–12; Julia Ashtiany [Bray], “Al-Tanūkhī's *al-Fāraj baʿd al-shidda* as a Literary Source,” in *Arabicus Felix: Luminosus Britannicus: Essays in Honour of A.F.L. Beeston on His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Alan Jones (Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, 1991), 108–28; Maurice A. Pomerantz, “The Play of Genre: A *Maqāma* of ‘Ease After Hardship’ from

includes three verses which are also found in the *Dīwān* of al-Hamadhānī, thus presenting “authentic” al-Hamadhānī material in the course of the narrative. Most of the main elements of the story in the *Kbātamiyya* can be derived from the motifs of the poem: the narrator’s struggle with the trickery of a man named Abū Saʿd; the narrator’s desire for the return of a ring and his extreme patience; the narrator’s verbal threat of Abū Saʿd and shaming him because of his baldness. The *maqāma* adds one verse to the three found in the *Dīwān* of Badīʿ al-Zamān which interestingly underscores the notion of cheating and trickery found in the *maqāma*, which is a common theme in the *maqāmāt*.

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

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

the Eighth/Fourteenth Century and Its Literary Context,” in *The Heritage of Arabo-Islamic Learning: Studies Presented to Wadad Kadi*, ed. Maurice A. Pomerantz and Aram A. Shahin (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 461–82.

Fig. 1. The Contents of the Earliest Manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī

	<i>MS Fatih 4097</i>	<i>MS SOAS</i>	<i>MS YALE</i>	<i>ʿAbdub ed.</i>
1. <i>Başriyya</i>	1	1	1	13
2. <i>Fazāriyya</i>	2	2	2	14
3. <i>Qazwīniyya</i>	3	3	3	18
4. <i>Balkhiyya</i>	4	4	4	3
5. <i>Kūfiyya</i>	5	5	5	5
6. <i>Qarīdiyya</i>	6	6	6	1
7. <i>Qirdiyya</i>	7	7	7	20
8. <i>Mawşiliyya</i>	8	8	8	21
9. <i>Asadiyya</i>	9	9	9	6
10. <i>Ĥirziyya</i>	10	10	24	23
11. <i>Māristāniyya</i>	11	11	25	24
12. <i>Waʿziyya</i>	12	12	44	26
13. <i>Makfūfiyya</i>	13	13	12	16
14. <i>Jāḥiẓiyya</i>	14	14	13	15
15. <i>Bukbāriyya</i>	15	15	14	17
16. <i>Adharbayjāniyya</i>	16	16	15	8
17. <i>Azādhiyya</i>	17	17	16	2
18. <i>Sāsāniyya</i>	18	18	17	19
19. <i>Jurjāniyya</i>	19	19	18	9
20. <i>Sijistāniyya</i>	20	20	19	4
21. <i>Işfāhāniyya</i>	21	21	20	10
22. <i>Ĥamdāniyya</i>	22	22	21	29
23. <i>Ahwāziyya</i>	23	23	22	11
24. <i>Baḡhdādiyya</i>	24	24	23	12
25. <i>Ghaylāniyya</i>	25	25	11	7
26. <i>Ruşāfiyya</i>	26	26	34	30
27. <i>Waşiyya</i>	27	27	26	41
28. <i>Dīnāriyya</i>	28	28	27	43

29. <i>Hulwāniyya</i>	29	29	28	33
30. <i>Bishriyya</i>	30	30	29	51
31. <i>Majā'iyya</i>	31	31	31	25
32. <i>Shāmiyya</i>	32	32	32	
33. <i>Maḍiriyya</i>	33	33	10	22
34. <i>Armaniyya</i>	34	34	33	36
35. <i>Şaymariyya</i>	35	35	30	42
36. <i>Iblisiyya</i>	36	36	45	35
37. <i>Aswadiyya</i>	37	37	46	27
38. <i>Trāqiyya</i>	38	38	47	28
39. <i>Nabīdiyya</i>	39	39	35	34
40. <i>Shīrāziyya</i>	40	40	36	32
41. <i>Matlabiyya</i>			49	50
42. <i>Ṭibbiyya</i>			48	
43. <i>Risāla 1</i>			50	
43. <i>Hamadhāniyya</i>		41		
44. <i>Risāla 2</i>		42		
45. <i>Khātamiyya</i>		43		
46. <i>Mulḥa #1</i>		44	37	
47. <i>Mulḥa #2</i>		45	38	
48. <i>Mulḥa #3</i>		46	39	
49. <i>Mulḥa #4</i>		47	40	
50. <i>Mulḥa #5</i>		48	41	
51. <i>Mulḥa #6</i>		49	42	
52. <i>Mulḥa #7</i>		50	43	
53. <i>Mighzaliyya</i>				31
54. <i>Nājimiyya</i>				37
55. <i>Khalafiyya</i>				38
56. <i>Nīsābūriyya</i>				39
57. <i>Ilmiyya</i>				40

58. <i>Shi‘riyya</i>				44
59. <i>Mulūkiyya</i>				45
60. <i>Şufriyya</i>				46
61. <i>Sāriyya</i>				47
62. <i>Tamīmiyya</i>				48
63. <i>Khamriyya</i>				49

PART 3: CONTEXTS

CHAPTER FIVE

Adab and Metamorphosis: The *Mawṣiliyya*

For Philip Kennedy

Scholars have often understood the texts that comprise al-Hamadhānī's (d. 398/1008) *Maqāmāt* as a point of origin. Yet key features of their style such as rhymed prose, rhetorical embellishment, and poetic allusion, draw from the common culture of fourth/tenth century Arabic *adab*. Rather it is the manner that al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmas* combine these individual qualities that creates a novel literary form. The Hamadhānian *maqāmas* as a series, too, present a variation on a theme, as each text unfolds, there are further opportunities for transformation. Like the protean characters that inhabit their imaginative spaces, the *maqāma* form proves ever-changing.

One good example of metamorphosis in al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt* can be found in the *maqāma* of Mosul. In this text, we meet a mad healer prophet and his partner, ʿĪsā b. Hishām, intervene in a funeral claiming to be able to revive the dead man. In the course of the story, this prophet figure transforms the somber scene of mourning into a comedy in which baffled onlookers from the town are seized by the possibility of the miracle. Will this stranger bring the corpse back to life? Is he truly a healer or a prophet? Is the man truly dead?

Those familiar with al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt* will suspect that this stranger is the hero Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Iskandarī in another disguise. And according to plan, after receiving food and gold from the townspeople, his powers prove unable to revive the corpse. Abū l-Faṭḥ and his companion exposed as frauds exit the town, dodging the slaps and blows of the angry townspeople.

The two heroes then travel to a new location where Abū l-Faṭḥ promises to save a group of villagers from an impending flood. Assuming the guise of the prophet Moses, Abū l-Faṭḥ commands the villagers to slaughter a golden heifer, and further, asks to deflower one of the village's virgin girls. The episode comes to a close when, in the midst of the very prayer act that was designed to save the inhabitants from the flood, Abū l-Faṭḥ and ʿĪsā flee the scene. Abū l-Faṭḥ describes how he has exchanged his false words for charity at the close of the *maqāma*.

Scholars of the *maqāma* have often focused on the ways that the plot often dramatizes the transformation of words into coins and the *Mawṣiliyya* is surely

exemplary of this.¹ Yet Abū l-Faḥḥ’s dramatic performance of “bringing the dead man back to life,” is not simply a picaresque tale, involving Qur’ānic themes, pre-Islamic and Islamic practices, and the role of prophets, healers and *littérateurs*, false and true.

As the following edition, translation and commentary, hope to convey, the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī contains many transformations which can be best observed through a reading attentive to the rhythms and resonances of the text. In this chapter we offer a new edition based on the oldest manuscripts of al-Hamadhānī’s works, an accompanying translation, and commentary. Through this we aim to call attention to the great artistry of the Hamadhānian *maqāma* on the level of words and their associations. Understanding the meaning of al-Hamadhānī’s *maqāma* often depends upon understanding the way that al-Hamadhānī has drawn upon the varied sources from which he has crafted his *maqāma* and how he has transformed them. While previous scholarship has pointed to the multiple sources of al-Hamadhānī’s plots and themes, we refocus attention on the words and imagery with the aim of demonstrating the interpretative gains of this approach.

While some might object that the closeness of our readings here is too narrow, we suggest that moments when the larger narrative structure of the *maqāma* seems to depend on a word-level association that macro-level analysis might gloss over, or miss. A good example of this type of problem can be seen in the image of the “golden heifer,” which has been already noted by critics such as Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, as symbolically uniting the episodes of the *maqāma*.² Our own readings of this passage while not substantially different, link this episode with several other Qur’ānic and post Qur’ānic stories, adding layers of meaning that future readers of the work may want to explore in greater detail.

Other phrases and terms in the *maqāma* which have been overlooked by previous scholars come in for a more sustained treatment here, such as the association of the mourners’ actions with prohibited pre-Islamic rites of mourning. Similarly we note plot elements of the *maqāma* that appear to have been borrowed from other sources, such as the story of the doctor bringing a man suffering apoplexy (*sakta*) back to life which we identify in al-Tanūkhī’s (d. 384/994) *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara* and a discussion in Ibn Sīnā’s (d. 428/1037)

1 See James T. Monroe, *The Art of Badī‘ az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī as Picaresque Narrative* (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 1983), 142–43; Devin J. Stewart, “Professional Literary Mendicancy in the Letters and *Maqāmāt* of Badī‘ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī,” in *Writers and Rulers: Perspectives on Their Relationship from Abbasid to Safavid Times*, ed. Beatrice Gruendler and Louise Marlow (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2004), 39–48.

2 Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002), 116–17.

al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb that seems to comment on the “diagnostic problem” mentioned in the *maqāma*.

One final note: we have consciously limited our choices of supplementary materials to those lexicons and literary anthologies which are closest in time to al-Hamadhānī in order to present the probable associations and resonances that would have occurred to the author and his audience.

Sigla

This edition of *al-Maqāma al-Maḥṣiliyya* is based on the following manuscripts:

F = Istanbul Fatih 4097 (520/1126)

B = Yale University, Beinecke Library, Salisbury 63 (603/1206)

L = London SOAS 47280 (thirteenth/nineteenth century). This is a nineteenth century copy of a manuscript copied in the year 562/1166–1167.

ع^٢ = Beirut ‘Abduh (1889)

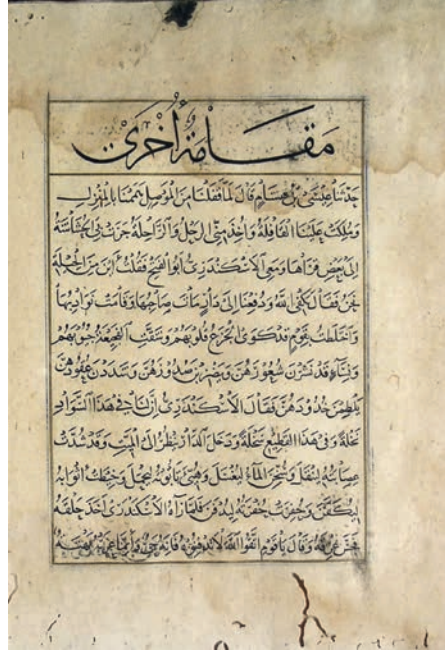
Samples of the Manuscripts



MS Fatih 4097, fol. 6r



MS Yale University, Beinecke Library, Salisbury 63, fol. 7v.



MS Aya Sofya 4283, fol. 39v.



MS SOAS 47280, fol. 26v–27r

Arabic Edition of *Mawṣiliyya*المقامة الثامنة³

[الموصليّة]

حدّثنا عيسى بن هشام قال لمّا قفلنا⁴ الموصل * وهممنا بالمنزل * فمُلكت⁵ علينا القافلة * وأخذ منّي الرّجل والرّاحلة * جررت⁶ الحشاشة إلى بعض قراها ومعني أبو الفتح الإسكندري⁷ فقلت أين من الحيلة نحن⁸ فقال يكفي الله وقمنا⁹ إلى دارٍ قد مات صاحبها * وقامت نوادبها * واحتفلت بقومٍ قد كوى الجنع قلوبهم * وشقّت الفجيجة جيوبهم * ونساءٍ قد نشرن شعورهنّ * يضربن صدورهنّ، وشددن¹⁰ عقودهنّ * يلطمن خدودهنّ * فقال الإسكندريّ لنا في هذا السّواد نحلة¹¹ * وفي هذا القطيع سخلة * ودخل الدّار فنظر¹² إلى الميّت وقد شدّت¹³ عصابته¹⁴ وسُخّن ماؤه ليغسل * وهيئ تابوته ليحمل * وخطت¹⁵ أثوابه ليكفن¹⁶ * وحفرت حفيرته¹⁷ ليدفن * فلمّا رآه الإسكندريّ أخذ حلقه * وجسّ¹⁸ عرقه * فقال يا قوم اتّقوا الله لا تدفونوه فإنّه¹⁹ حيّ وإنّما عرته بهتة * وعلته سكتة * وأنا أسلمه مفتوح العينين²⁰ * بعد يومين * فقالوا من أين لك ذلك²¹ فقال إنّ الرّجل إذا مات برد استه²² * وهذا الرّجل قد لمستّه * فعلمت أنّه حيّ فأدخل كلّهم إصبه في دبره²³ وقالوا²⁴ الأمر كما²⁵ ذكر * فافعلوا ما²⁶

-
- | | |
|----|--|
| 3 | (المقامة الثامنة): ف، ب؛ مقامة أخرى 8: ل؛ المقامة الموصليّة: ع. |
| 4 | (قفلنا): ب؛ وصلنا من: ف؛ قفلنا من: ل، ع. |
| 5 | (فمُلكت): ف؛ ومُلكت: ب، ل، ع. |
| 6 | (جررت): ف، ب، ل؛ جرت بي: ع. |
| 7 | (أبو الفتح الإسكندري): ف؛ الإسكندري أبو الفتح: ب، ع؛ بها الإسكندراني أبو الفتح: ل. |
| 8 | (من الحيلة نحن): ف، ب، ل؛ نحن من الحيلة: ع. |
| 9 | (وقمنا): ف، ب؛ وقمنا ودفعنا: ل؛ ودفعنا: ع. |
| 10 | (وشددن): ف، ب، ل؛ وجددن: ع. |
| 11 | (نحلة): ف، ب؛ نخلة: ل، ع. |
| 12 | (فنظر): ف؛ ينظر: ب، ل، ع. |
| 13 | (شدت): ب، ل، ع؛ شدّت: ف. |
| 14 | (عصابته): ف، ب؛ عصابته لينقل: ل، ع. |
| 15 | (وخطت): ف، ب، ع؛ وخطت: ل. |
| 16 | (أثوابه ليكفن): ف، ل، ع؛ أثوابه: ب. |
| 17 | (حفيرته): ف، ل؛ حفيرته: ب، ع. |
| 18 | (وجسّ): ف، ل؛ فجسّ: ب، ع. |
| 19 | (فإنّه): ف؛ فهو: ب، ل، ع. |
| 20 | (العينين): ف، ب، ع؛ العين: ل. |
| 21 | (ذلك): ف، ب، ع؛ ذاك: ل. |
| 22 | (استه): ف، ب، ل؛ إبّطه: ع. |
| 23 | (فأدخل كلّهم إصبه في دبره): ف، ب؛ فكلّ قد أدخل إصبه في دبره: ل؛ فجعلوا أيديهم في إبّطه: ع. |
| 24 | (وقالوا): ف، ل؛ فقالوا: ب، ع. |
| 25 | (كما): ف، ب، ل؛ على ما: ع. |
| 26 | (ما): ف؛ كما: ب، ل، ع. |

أمر * وقام الإسكندريّ إلى الميّت فنزع ثيابه ثمّ شدّه بعمائم²⁷ * وعلّق عليه تمائم * وألقه الزيت²⁸ * وأخلى²⁹ البيت * وقال دعوه * ولا تدعوه³⁰ * وإن سمعتم له أنيناً فلا تجيبوه * وخرج³¹ من عنده وقد شاع الخبر³² وانتشر * بأنّ الميّت قد نُشر * وأخذنا³³ المبار * من كلّ دار * واثالث علينا الهدايا من كلّ جار * حتّى ورمت أكياسنا³⁴ فضّةً وتبراً * وامتلأت رحالنا³⁵ أقطاً وتمراً * وجهدنا أن ننتهز فرصةً في الهرب فلم نجدها حتّى حلّ³⁶ الأجل المضروب * واستئجز الوعد المكذوب * فقال الإسكندريّ³⁷ هل سمعتم من هذا³⁸ العليل ركزاً * أو رأيتم منه رمزاً * قالوا³⁹ لا فقال إن لم يكن صوت⁴⁰ مذ فارقتّه * فلم يجي⁴¹ بعد وقته * دعوه إلى غدٍ فإنكم إذا سمعتم صوته * أمنتّم موته * ثمّ عرفوني لأحتال في علاجه * وإصلاح ما فسد من مزاجه * قالوا فلا⁴² تؤخّر ذلك من⁴³ غدٍ قال لا فلمّا تبسّم⁴⁴ نغر الصُّبح وانتشر جناح الضُّو * في أفق الجوّ * جاءه الرّجال أزواجاً * والنِّساء أفواجاً⁴⁶ * وقالوا نحبّ⁴⁷ أن تشفي العليل * وتدع القال والقليل * فقال⁴⁸ الإسكندريّ قوموا بنا إليه * ثمّ حذر التّمائم عن يديه⁴⁹ * وحلّ العمائم عن جسده * وقال أئيموه على وجهه * فأئيم * ثمّ قال⁵⁰ أئيموه على رجله⁵¹

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- 27 (شدّه بعمائم): ف، ب، ل؛ شدّه له العمائم: ع.
 28 (الزيت): ف، ب، ع؛ بالزيت: ل.
 29 (وأخلى): ف؛ وأخلى له: ب، ل، ع.
 30 (تدعوه): ف؛ تردعوه: ب، ل، ع.
 31 (وخرج): ف، ب، ع؛ ثمّ خرج: ل.
 32 (وقد شاع الخبر): ب، ع؛ وقد ساع الخبر: ف؛ سقطت من ل.
 33 (وأخذنا): ف؛ وأخذتنا: ب، ل، ع.
 34 (ورمت أكياسنا): ف؛ ورم كيسنا: ب، ل، ع.
 35 (وامتلأت رحالنا): ف؛ وامتلأ رحلنا: ب، ل، ع.
 36 (فلم نجدها حتّى حلّ): ف، ل، ع؛ فلم نجدها حلّ: ب.
 37 (فقال الإسكندري): ف، ل، ع؛ فقال: ب.
 38 (من هذا): ف؛ لهذا: ب، ل، ع.
 39 (قالوا): ف، ب؛ فقالوا: ل، ع.
 40 (صوت): ف، ب، ع؛ له صوت: ل.
 41 (يجي): ف، ب، ع؛ يجن: ل.
 42 (قالوا فلا): ف؛ فقالوا لا: ب، ع؛ فقالوا له لا: ل.
 43 (من): ف، ل؛ عن: ب، ع.
 44 (تبسم): ف؛ ابتسم: ب، ل، ع.
 45 (الضُّو): ف، ع؛ الضوء: ب، ل.
 46 (الرجال أزواجاً والنِّساء أفواجاً): ف؛ الرجال أفواجاً والنِّساء أزواجاً: ب، ل، ع.
 47 (نحبّ): ف، ب، ع؛ يجب: ل.
 48 (فقال): ف، ل، ع؛ قال: ب.
 49 (يديه): ف؛ يده: ب، ل، ع.
 50 (ثمّ قال): ف، ل، ع؛ وقال: ب.
 51 (رجله): ف، ب، ل؛ رجله: ع.

* فأقيم⁵² * فسقط رأساً⁵³ وطن الإسكندري⁵⁴ فيه * وقال هو ميّت فكيف أحياه⁵⁵ * فأخذه الخفّ⁵⁶ * وملكنه⁵⁷ الأكتف * وصار إذا رُفعت منه⁵⁸ يدٌ وقعت يدٌ⁵⁹ ثم تشاغلوا بتجهيز الميت وانسللنا⁶⁰ هارين حتى أتينا قريةً على شفير وادٍ يتطرقها⁶¹ * والماء يتحيتها * وأهلها مغتمون لا يملكهم⁶² غمض الليل * من خشية السيل * فقال الإسكندري يا قوم أنا أكفيكم هذا الماء ومضرتّه⁶³ * وأرد عن هذه القرية معرته⁶⁴ * فأطيعوني * ولا تبرموا أمرًا دوني * قالوا⁶⁵ وما أمرك قال⁶⁶ اذبحوا في مجرى هذا الماء بقرّة صفراء * وافتضوا بي جارية⁶⁷ عذراء * وصلوا خلفي ركعتين يشن⁶⁸ الله عنكم عنان الماء⁶⁹ * إلى هذه الصّحراء * فإن لم يثنه⁷⁰ فدمي لكم⁷¹ حلال قالوا نفعل ذلك فذبحوا البقرة وزوجوا⁷² الجارية وقام إلى الرّكعتين يصلّيها⁷³ وقال يا قوم احفظوا أنفسكم لا يقع منكم في القيام كبو * وفي⁷⁴ الرّكوع هفو * وفي⁷⁵ السّجود سهو * وفي القراءة لغو⁷⁶ * فمتى سهونا خرج أملنا باطلاً⁷⁷ * وذهب عملنا عاطلاً⁷⁸ * واصبروا على الرّكعتين فمساقتهما طويلة وقام للركعة⁷⁹ الأولى فانتصب انتصاب الجذع * حتى شكوا وجع الضّلج * ثم سجد⁸⁰ * حتى ظنوا أنه قد هجد⁸¹ * ولم يشعروا لرفع الرّأس⁸² حتى كبر للجولس

- 52 (فأقيم): ف؛ فأقيم ثم قالوا خلّوا عن يديه: ب، ع؛ فأقيم ثم قال خلّوا عن بدنه: ل.
53 (رأساً): ف، ب؛ رأساً بحمد الله وقال الإسكندري لا حول ولا قوّة إلا بالله العليّ العظيم: ل؛ رأسياً: ع.
54 (وطن الإسكندري): ف، ب، ع؛ ثمّ طنّ: ل.
55 (هو ميّت فكيف أحياه): ف؛ كيف أحياه وهو ميّت: ب؛ هو ميّت كيف أحياه: ل، ع.
56 (فأخذه الخفّ): ف، ب؛ فأخذه الخفّ: ل؛ فأخذه الجفّ: ع.
57 (وملكته): ف، ل، ع؛ وملكه: ب.
58 (منه): ف، ب، ل؛ عنه: ع.
59 (يد): ف، ب، ل؛ عليه أخرى: ع.
60 (وانسللنا): ف، ب، ل؛ فانسللنا: ع.
61 (وادٍ يتطرقها): ل؛ وادي يطرقها: ف؛ وادٍ السيل يطرقها: ب، ع.
62 (يملكهم): ف، ب، ع؛ يمكنهم: ل.
63 (ومضرتّه): ف؛ ومضرتّه: ب، ل، ع.
64 (معرته): ف؛ مضرتّه: ب، ل، ع.
65 (قالوا): ف، ب، ل؛ فقالوا: ع.
66 (قال): ف، ل؛ فقال: ب، ع.
67 (وافترضوا بي جارية): ف، ل؛ وافترضوا جارية: ب؛ وأتوني بجارية: ع.
68 (يشن): ف، ع؛ يثنّي: ب، ل.
69 (الماء): ف، ب، ل؛ هذا الماء: ع.
70 (ينثنه): ف؛ لم يثن: ب، ل؛ لم يثن الماء: ع.
71 (لكم): ف، ل؛ عليكم: ب، ع.
72 (وزوجوا): ف؛ وزوجوه: ب، ل، ع.
73 (يصلّيها): ف، ل، ع؛ يصلّيها: ب.
74 (وفي): ف؛ أو في: ب، ل، ع.
75 (وفي): ف، ب؛ أو في: ل، ع.
76 (وفي القراءة لغو): ف؛ وفي القعود لغو: ب؛ أو في القراءة لغو: ل؛ أو في القعود لغو: ع.
77 (أملنا باطلاً): عملنا باطلاً: ف، ل؛ أملنا عاطلاً: ب، ع.
78 (عملنا عاطلاً): ف؛ أملنا عاطلاً: ل؛ عملنا باطلاً: ب، ع.
79 (للركعة): ف، ب، ع؛ إلى الركعة: ل.
80 (ثمّ سجد): ف؛ وسجد: ب، ل، ع.
81 (قد هجد): ف، ب، ع؛ هجد: ل.
82 (يشعروا لرفع الرّأس): ف؛ يشجعوا للرفع الرّوس: ب؛ يحسروا لرفع الرّوس: ل؛ يشجعوا لرفع الرّوس: ع.

ثمّ عاد إلى السّجدة الثّانية ومكث فيها مثله ثمّ قام ابن الزانية * إلى الركعة الثّانية * وابتدأ بالفاتحة * وأتبعه بالواقعة * بقراءة حمزة * مدّة وهمزة * ثمّ مال إلى الركوع * بضرب من الخشوع * ونوع من الخشوع * استنزف فيها أرواح الجماعة ثمّ رفع رأسه ويده * وقال سمع الله لمن حمده * وقام * حتّى أيقنوا أنّه قد نام * ثمّ مال إلى السجود⁸³ وأومأ إليّ فقمنا وأخذنا⁸⁴ الوادي وتركنا القوم ساجدين لا⁸⁵ نعلم ما صنع الدّهر بهم وأنشأ أبو الفتح يقول [من المجتثّ]

لا يبعد الله مثلي	وأين مثلي أينا
لله قلعة ⁸⁶ قوم	فتحتها ⁸⁷ بالهويّنا
اكتلت خيراً ⁸⁸ عليهم	وكلت زوراً ومينا ⁸⁹

English Translation of *Mawṣiliyya*

‘Isā ibn Hishām told us:

When from the city of Mosul we came * we hoped that our travel had found its aim * the caravan we drove had been robbed bare * its mounts and bags were no longer there *

I dragged life’s last breath to a town nearby * where the Alexandrian Abū l-Faṭḥ was standing nigh *

I said, “Is there a trick for us?” *

He said, “God will suffice!” *

So to a house we went, its owner, dead and gone * where a troop of mourners wailed on and on * they were men whose hearts were seared by embers of pain * in grief their shirts were rent in twain * the women beat their breasts and let down their curls * they slapped their faces and tugged at their pearls *

The Alexandrian said to me, “In this black, lies heaven’s gift, in this flock, there’s a tender lamb.” * He entered the house and spied the dead * the water had been boiled, and they bound his head * a casket was prepped, a shroud had been sewn * and a grave had been dug for him alone *

When the Alexandrian had taken in it all * he put a hand on the man’s throat, took his pulse, and began to call *

83 (ومكث... السجود): سقطت من ب ول وع.

84 (فقمنا وأخذنا): ف؛ فأخذنا: ب، ل، ع.

85 (لا): ف، ب، ع؛ لم: ل.

86 (قلعة): ف، ل؛ غفلة: ع.

87 (فتحتها): ف، ل؛ غنمتها: ع.

88 (خيراً): ل، ع؛ خير: ف.

89 (وأنشأ... مينا): سقطت من ب.

“O people, fear God! * you must not place this body under the sod * he’s alive I declare he’s just had a fit * he’s unable to talk, believe me, that’s it * in two days’ time, I’ll return him back to you, his eyes wide open, like new.” *

They answered, “How do you know this, truth be told?” * He said, “When a man’s dead, his ass grows cold * I felt down there and it’s still warm as can be * it’s certain he’s alive, like you and like me” *

Then each one put a finger up the man’s round behind * They said “He’s right!” and were all of one mind * He went up to the man, his shroud he unwound * and upon his head, a large turban he bound * over the body’s midriff, a string of amulets were thrown * oil was placed in his mouth, then everyone left him alone *

Alex said, “Leave him be! Don’t interfere! * Be it a moan, a sigh, or a cough that you hear” *

News spread round the town that the dead had been raised * we received gifts from all quarters and were mightily praised * The neighbors all showered us with silver pieces and gold * Cheese and dates filled our packs, as much as they could hold *

All the while we were hoping to hit the road in flight * but the hour of our false promise was soon in near sight *

He said “Have you all heard a whisper from this guy? * Did you see a twitch of his limb? Or a blink of his eye? * Inform me at once so that I can use my medical skills. * I’ll fix what’s corrupt in his body, if God wills.” *

The group then said, “No, we’ve not heard a peep.” *

The Alexandrian replied, “Till tomorrow this can keep!” *

They said at once, “We’ll see in a day’s time no more” *

He said, “You have heard my word, the very oath I swore.” *

When the mouth of dawn smiled, and light’s wing had grown long, * one-by-one men came forth, throngs of women followed along. *

They said, “We wish you would cure him, and end all the talk.” *

He said, “Come along with us now, to the bed, let’s walk.” *

Then one-by-one the Alexandrian, the amulets he withdrew. * He unwound the turban, so that the man’s head was in view. *

Then he ordered all “Lay him out on the bed!” *

And the body of the man was outspread * Then he commanded them all, saying, “Stand him upright!” * And he stood! Then toppled headwards, a pitiful sight. *

The Alexandrian hummed and said to those hoping for a cure *

“The man is dead, there’ll be no revival here, that’s sure!” *

Slippers and slaps rained on him from everyone in town * No sooner was one hand lifted, than another came down * Finally though, by God, they remembered to bury their dead relative * And we stole away like men determined to live *

We kept fleeing until we came to a village near a flood plain * at the edge of a river swollen by rain. * All the residents of the place, stayed awake in their beds * thoughts of deluge and doom did float in their heads. *

The Alexandrian said to the villagers joined in fright *

“I will save you and your town from the waters’ awful plight *

The sole condition I seek is that only me you obey *

And that you do everything I command, and all that I say” *

So they said in one voice, “Oh sir what is your wish and desire? * We will do anything to save ourselves from a fate so dire” *

He said, “Place a gold heifer, in the flood’s path to slaughter! * And marry me to a virgin slave girl, a lovely young daughter * Then all should prostrate twice behind me when we pray *

If then the flood does not abate, my body is yours to slay” *

So the townspeople found a golden heifer and virgin girl * They slaughtered the cow, and he bored the fine pearl * The Alexandrian then went to the mosque in order to pray * He raised his voice aloud, urging men’s minds not to stray *

He said, “Oh you people! Protect yourselves, and do not stumble! * Do not slip in your bowing, lapse in your prostrations, or mumble! * For when we make a mindless slip in our duties to the Most High, our pious works become useless, our daily affairs go awry *

Be patient, dear sirs, between prostration numbers one and two * Though the distance between them is long, there is benefit for you” *

The Alexandrian was bent over so long, they believed he had dozed * But no one dared raise his head, for fear of being exposed. *

He then said, “Allah is Great!” which bid them to sit. *

He started bow number two, and they all did it * When all heads were low, he gave me the secret sign * We left them bowed in prostration, as had been his design *

Of those people of the valley, and the flood, we haven’t a clue * We don’t know what Fate has done to them, or is going to do *

The Alexandrian, Abū l-Faṭḥ, then recited a poem:

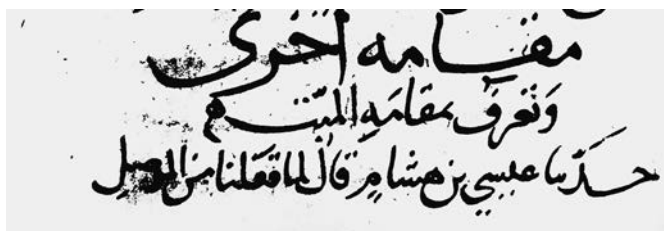
Let God not go far from me! For who is like me, who?

I’m quite unique, you see, there is no number two.

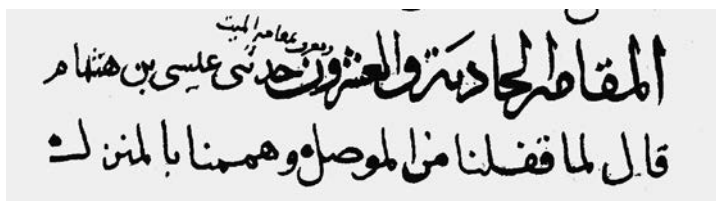
The fortress of men was for me the simplest prize.
From them I received charity, offering in return only lies.

Modern Commentary on *Mawṣiliyya*

Title: The *maqāma* is untitled in F, B, and L; Donald S. Richards notes that an early title for the *maqāma* is “The *Maqāma* of the Dead Man”⁹⁰ (*maqāmat al-mayyit*) found in MS Paris 3923, fol. 25r (copied in the eighth/fourteenth century) and MS Cambridge 1096/7, fol. 46r (copied 964/1557) in reference to the description of the body (*al-mayyit*) in l. 5 of the *maqāma*.



MS Paris 3923, fol. 25r



MS Cambridge 1096/7, fol. 46r

The root *q-f-l* evokes the “return of travelers home from a journey” as well as “the return of an army after a raid.”⁹¹ We prefer the reading of B over that of F (*waṣalnā min*) for the rhyme and meaning. The verb *qafala* is well attested in the openings of al-Hamadhānī’s *maqāmāt* e.g. *Ḥulwāniyya* (*lammā qafaltu min al-ḥajj fī-man qafala*) following B fol. 41v, and *Armaniyya* (*lammā qafalnā min tijāratin Armīniyya*), *Ḥirziyya* (*istakbartu Allāba fī l-qufūl*).

Lane defines *hamma bi-l-amr* as “He intended the affair, or purposed it; or desired it.”⁹² Cf. ‘Isā’s statement in the *Fazāriyya* (*wa-anā abummu bi-l-waṭan*), *Shīrāziyya* (*lammā qafaltu min al-Yaman wa-hamamtu bi-l-waṭan*).

“A place for alighting or descending and stopping” during the course of a

90 D.S. Richards, “The *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī: General Remarks and a Consideration of the Manuscripts,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 22 (1991): 97.

91 See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘arab* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 2000), root (q, f, l).

92 Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1863), 2:3044c.

journey, or “a place of settlement; a home.”⁹³ ‘Īsā b. Hishām’s desire to return home contrasts with the itinerancy of Abū l-Faṭḥ.

أخذ مني Note that ‘Īsā here underscores his personal loss.

الحشاشة “The last remains of the spirit in the heart or of life, and in one who is wounded.”⁹⁴

قراها the location of the action of the *maqāma* is one of the villages near Mosul. Abū l-Faṭḥ appears as a companion of ‘Īsā in other *maqāmas*, e.g. 33. *Maḍiriyya* and esp. 34. *Armaniyya* which also begins with the robbing of a caravan. The text of this *maqāma* does not imply that Abū l-Faṭḥ was robbed.⁹⁵

أين من الحيلة نحن The question implies that ‘Īsā will be aware of the trick. Note the reversal of standard word order known as *radd al-‘ajuz ‘alā l-ṣadr*.⁹⁶ This rhetorical device serves to underscore the importance of locating a trick.⁹⁷

يكفي الله “God will suffice.” Abū l-Faṭḥ’s pious trust in God’s sufficiency for His believers may be read as ironic in light of the later action of the *maqāma*. The notion of a traveler relying on God for provisions is common in Sufi literature.⁹⁸

قامت نوابها A *nādiba* is a female mourner. The term derives from the act of oral lament (*nadb*) uttered concerning the dead.⁹⁹ The term here may relate to the practice of the professional female mourner (*nā’iḥa*), employed by families at the time of their grief.¹⁰⁰ The use of the term *nawādib* here may signal an attempt to make a more explicit connection to the pre-Islamic practice.

شقت الفجيجة جيوبهم lit. “the misfortune has torn the collars of their shirts.” The act of rending clothes in mourning (*shaqq al-juyūb*) is explicitly forbidden in the Prophetic *ḥadīth*, “The one who slaps cheeks and rends garments, and wails in the way of the Jāhili Arabs, does not follow our religion.”¹⁰¹

93 See *ibid.*, 2:3031c.

94 *Ibid.*, 1:573c. See also, Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, root (ḥ, sh, sh) citing a poem of al-Farazdaq, cf. esp. Imru’ al-Qays, *Dīwān*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, n.d.), 39, and al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), 1:30.

95 Cf. Monroe, *The Art of Badī‘ az-Zamān*, 135.

96 See al-‘Askarī, *Kitāb al-Ṣinā‘atayn*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī and Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: ‘Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1971), 385.

97 Cf. ‘Abduh ed. (*ayna naḥnu min al-ḥīla*) which is also in B.

98 See Bilal Orfali and Nada Saab, ed., *Sufism, Black and White: A Critical Edition of Kitāb al-Bayāḍ wa-l-sawād by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Sūrjānī (d. ca. 470/1077)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 244 (#532 and #533) “Do not befriend anyone except for God [in your travels] for He will fully provide you with the necessities and will be only a footstep away from you (*yakfika l-muhimmāt wa-lā yufāriquka kbaṭwatan min al-kbaṭawāt*).”

99 See Leor Halevi, *Muhammad’s Grave: Death Rites and the Making of Islamic Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 116.

100 See Nadia Maria El Cheikh, *Women, Islam and Abbasid Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 46–47, and 53–54.

101 al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb et al. (Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-

نحلة a gift from God, cf. Q 4:4 “Give the women their dowries as gift.”

خُدودهنّ قد نشرن... makes explicit that women are those engaging in the mourning. The rituals attributed to the women (striking their cheeks, pounding their chests, and tearing at their necklaces) are demonstrative with those practices of mourning (*niyāḥa*) connected with the pre-Islamic past (*jābiliyya*) and consequently forbidden by the Islamic tradition.¹⁰²

سواد may refer here to the color of the clothes of mourning.¹⁰³ Pre-Islamic Arabs according to Goldziher, who also notes that al-Ma‘arrī (d. 449/1058) refers to black mourning clothes in his poetry.¹⁰⁴ The wearing of black clothes during funerals is expressly forbidden during the Ayyubid period.¹⁰⁵ Note also the proverbial phrase, “The sheep or goat, walks in blackness (*sawād*), and eats in blackness (*sawād*), and looks in blackness (*sawād*)” in Lane.¹⁰⁶

القطيع note the pejorative association of the gathered mourners with sheep.

سخلّة is a lamb or goat that has not yet been weaned.¹⁰⁷ The implication is that this would be both a vulnerable target and particularly tender. Note how this phrase casts the two protagonists in the role of hunters.

فدخل الدار Abū l-Faṭḥ enters the house and looks at the dead man as he is prepared for burial, he may already have seen the corpse’s “zone of shame” (*‘awra*) which extends from the “navel to the knees.”¹⁰⁸

فنظر إلى الميت the designation of the man as the dead (*al-mayyit*) foreshadows the later action.

وقد شدّت عصابته *‘iṣāba* is “a small thing that serves as a covering for the head.”¹⁰⁹

وسستنّ ماءه ليغسل *ghuṣl* is the total or major ablution needed for purification of a corpse.¹¹⁰ The water was heated for this action, but it had not yet taken place, so the corpse was impure.

خيّطت أثوابه ليكفن Halevi describes the debates surrounding the burial shroud.¹¹¹

جسّ عرقه “he felt the vein for a pulse.” The verb *jassa* means literally to touch with the hand.¹¹² Lane gives a medical meaning.¹¹³

Salafiyya, n.d.), 1297 (*bāb laysa minnā man ḍaraba al-khudūd*).

102 See El Cheikh, *Women, Islam and Abbasid Identity*, 43–44.

103 See Lane, *Lexicon*, 1:1462a.

104 Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, trans. S.M. Stern (Chicago: Aldine, 1966), 1:235.

105 See *ibid.*

106 Lane, *Lexicon*, 1:1462a.

107 See al-Jāhīz, *al-Ḥayawān*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām Hārūn (Cairo: al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1938–1945), 5:498.

108 See Halevi, *Muhammad’s Grave*, 68.

109 See Lane, *Lexicon*, 1:2060a.

110 See Halevi, *Muhammad’s Grave*, 71.

111 *Ibid.*, 95ff.

112 See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, root (j, s, s).

113 Lane, *Lexicon*, 1:422c. For the importance of ascertaining the pulse in diagnostic

لا تدفونوه يا قوم... the expression *yā qaum* is used 47 times in the Qurʾān. عرته بهتة the verb ‘*arā*’ is “said of a malady, and of a diabolical possession, etc., *It befell, or betided, him; attacked him; or occurred, or was incident or incidental to him.*”¹¹⁴ The term *bakhta* may mean temporary confusion here, perhaps in reference to Q 21:41.

The Question of Apoplexy: Medical Themes

علته سكتة The term *sakta* is a medical term roughly equivalent to the modern apoplexy defined by Ibn Sīnā as “that which disables the members of the body from feeling and movement, on account of a blockage in the chambers of the brain (*buṭūn al-dimāgh*).” Ibn Sīnā noted that in severe cases of apoplexy (*sakta*), “it is difficult to distinguish between the apoplectic patient and the dead man” (*lā yufarraḡ baynahu wa-bayn al-mayyit*) and he counseled that the difficult cases be delayed in their burial for seventy-two hours until the particularities of the case become clear.¹¹⁵

Apoplexy was often considered a difficult case by physicians. Al-Tanūkhī describes how an Egyptian doctor by the name al-Qaṭī‘ī intervened in a case of apoplexy. All other medical authorities (*ahl al-ṭibb*) had concluded that the man was already dead, and similar to the *maqāma*, his relatives were preparing to bury him. Al-Qaṭī‘ī dramatically stated that the man was still alive having suffered only a case of apoplexy (*sakta*), and if he happened to be wrong, the doctor argued that the other doctors had already declared him dead. The doctor commanded that he be left alone with the body of the man along with his family and ordered that a servant bring him a whip. The doctor proceeded to then whip the man’s body ten times, and then feel his pulse. He repeated the same action three times, feeling for a pulse after each round. He then showed the family that the man’s pulse was increasing. The man’s pulse continued to get stronger, until he finally moved, and then screamed. He then returned to his senses and was offered food and when his strength returned to him, he was cured of his apoplexy. The doctor was then asked how he knew of this treatment, and he told another story of a case he had witnessed while traveling when one of Bedouin guides of the caravan had fallen off his horse because of apoplexy. While the onlookers thought the man to be dead, the chief of the tribe then proceeded to beat the man, until he awoke. It was from witnessing this case that the doctor realized that the “heat of the blow had removed the

situations, see Peter E. Pormann and Emilie Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2007), 55.

114 See Lane, *Lexicon*, 1:2027c.

115 Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1999), 2:131.

man's stroke" and applied the same logic to the present case.¹¹⁶

Apoplexy also figures in accounts of al-Hamadhānī's death. Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) records the following in the biography of al-Hamadhānī:

I found at the end of his [al-Hamadhānī's] letters, which were compiled by the judge Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Dūst something akin to the following story: "This is the end of the letters. He died in Herat on Friday 11 Jumādā II 398. The judge said, 'I heard trusted individuals say that he died of a apoplexy (*al-sakta*) and they buried him quickly, but he awoke in his grave, and they heard his voice at night. When they exhumed his body, they found him having grasped at his own beard. He had died from the fright of finding himself buried alive."¹¹⁷

برداسته This phrase was bowdlerized by Muḥammad 'Abduh in his 1889 edition, where it reads *barada ibṭubu*. Note that this change also meant that 'Abduh had to alter the subsequent phrase, *fa-adkhala kullubum iṣba'abu fī duburih* as well. Note how the fraudulent "medical" determination of the man's live state also involved the real violation of his dead body.

مائم ابن سیداه (d. 458/1066) defines *tamā'im* as a speckled stone that is hung around the neck.¹¹⁸ The act of hanging amulets is outlawed in several *ḥadīths*, presumably for its association with pagan magical practices.¹¹⁹ D. Waines talks about the use of olive oil as a curative agent.¹²⁰

تجیبوه The speech of al-Iskandarī here and elsewhere in the *maqāma* is reminiscent of the rhymed incantations of the soothsayers (*kubhān*) and false prophets.¹²¹

وقد شاع الخير... قد نشر The root *n-sh-r* is used explicitly for the raising of a man from the dead e.g., Q 80:22.¹²² Note the contrast between the temporality of the report's spread, and the eternity of the miraculous deed reported.

116 al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, ed. 'Abbūd al-Shālījī (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1995), 3:152–53.

117 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968–1977), 1:129.

118 See Ibn Sīdah, *al-Mukbaṣṣaṣ*, ed. Muḥammad Nabil Ṭarīfī (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 2012), 4:22.

119 See Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'āda, 1950–1951), *ṭibb* 10. For more details, see T. Fahd, s.v., "Tamīma," in *EP*, online.

120 See D. Waines, s.v., "Zayt," in *EP*, online.

121 For some examples of speech of this type translated into English rhymes, see Geert Jan van Gelder, *Classical Arabic Literature: A Library of Arabic Literature Anthology* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 110–13.

122 See Lane, *Lexicon*, 2:2794a.

رحالنا Note that the bags which were first emptied in line one are now filled, signaling the readiness to depart.

الأجل المضروب evokes the common Qur’ānic term, *ajal musammā*, “stated term” for a human’s life. Here the phrase is ironic, relating both to the flight of the *maqāma*’s protagonists, and the “second” death of the corpse.

استنجز الوعد المكذوب lit. “that the false promise is fulfilled.” The term *wa‘d* is used for the promise of God’s reward of paradise for the good, and is used here ironically to refer to al-Iskandarī’s false promise to restore the dead man to health.

العليل Note that al-Iskandarī’s insistence that the man is suffering an illness in this line, is then taken up by his audience later.

أحتال في علاجه al-Iskandarī’s verbal choice evokes the trick (*hīla*) referenced in line two of the *maqāma*.

إصلاح ما فسد من مزاجه The term *mizāj* is a technical term relating to the constitution of the body, composed of the four humors of the body. The term *fasada* was used in contexts of “unsound constitution.”¹²³

فلما تبسّم ثغر الصباح... في أفق الجوّ Note the elegant intertwined twostage description of dawn and sunrise. The opening image of dawn breaking is conventional in Arabic poetry. Al-‘Askarī (d. after 400/1010), for example, cites a verse of Abū Nuwās (d. ca. 200/815), comparing the dawn to the bearing of white teeth.¹²⁴ Al-Tha‘ālibī (d. 429/1038) in his *Siḥr al-balāgha* records the second image of a bird spreading wings of light, describing the moment following the dawn’s break.¹²⁵

جاءه الرجال أزواجًا والنساء أفواجًا The passage recalls the division of genders noted in line three. Here the passage seems to imply the mode in which the audience gathered together, first the men came one-by-one, and then, the women came all-together. The term *afwāj* recalls Q 110:2. It serves to underscore the notion of gossip (*qāla wa-qīl*) concerning the actions of al-Iskandarī invoked earlier.

ال-Iskandarī orchestrates the event here through commands to his audience. This sequence of removing the amulets and the turban, literally (and figuratively) undoes the magical act begun in l. 11.

وقال فأنيّموه... فسقط رأسًا Note the manner in which the repeated pattern and echoing of verb forms (*anīmūhu... fa-unīm; aqīmūhu... fa-uqīm*) heightens the suspense

123 See *ibid.*, 1:2711a.

124 al-‘Askarī, *Dīwān al-ma‘ānī*, ed. Aḥmad Salīm Ghānim (Cairo: al-Hay’a l-Miṣriyya l-‘Āmma li-l-Kitāb, 2012), 1:666.

125 al-Tha‘ālibī, *Siḥr al-balāgha wa-sirr al-barā‘a*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Ḥūfī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1984), 23.

of the passage which is then closed with the non-rhyming phrase (*fa-saqāṭa ra'san*).

وطن الإسكندريّ بفيه The word *ṭanna* refers to a low noise, like the buzzing of flies; “it made a sound, [of a continued or a reiterated kind, and either low or sharp].”¹²⁶

This barely audible noise to be the first sign from al-Iskandarī of the ruse.

فهو ميّت فكيف أحياه The miracle of raising a man from the dead is attributed to ʿĪsā in Q 3:49 by the grace of God. Jesus’ blowing into a clay bird to give it life mentioned in Q 3:49 is implicitly contrasted here with the futile exhalation of al-Iskandarī in the previous *clausula*.

فأخذه الخفّ... يد The image of the two men physically beaten by numerous hands evokes the notion of prophets denied by their own countrymen.¹²⁷ Here the punishment is a literal striking with hands and feet, until the people become preoccupied with readying the corpse for burial.

قرية على شفير وادٍ The term village (*qarya*) is frequent in the Qurʾān and often refers to the unbelief of the inhabitants and its destruction (e.g., Q 15:4, Q 21:11, Q 26:208). The specification of the location of the village in a floodplain here rings similar to ‘a settlement by the sea’ that was tested in Q 7:163.

والماء يتحيفها... من خشية السيل The villagers’ fear of a flood is reminiscent of the *sayl al-ʿarim* referred to in Q 34:16. The passage is often thought to relate to the famed breaking of the dam at Maʿrib.¹²⁸

فأطيعوني ولا تبرموا أمراً دوني The call to obedience (*aṭīʿūnī*) is frequent in the Qurʾān esp. in the statements of Prophets, see e.g., Q 26:108, Q 26:110, Q 26:126 where it is a structuring element in the *sūra*. For the statement (*lā tubrimū amran dūnī*), cf. Q 43:79 in reference to the acts of sinners.

وما أمرك The use of the expression (*amr*) is common in the Qurʾān for God’s command or the commands of humans (including prophets) to one another. Note how the villagers’ question implies their belief.

126 See Lane, *Lexicon*, 2:1885a.

127 See Uri Rubin, “Prophets and Prophethood,” in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to the Qurʾān*, ed. Andrew Rippin and Jawid Mojaddedi (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), esp. ‘the reception of the prophets.’

128 On Sadd Maʿrib, see Robert G. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam* (New York and Oxford: Routledge, 2001), 26. For a recent detailed study see, Christian Darles et al., “Contribution à une meilleure compréhension de l’histoire de la digue de Maʿrib au Yémen,” in *Regards croisés d’orient et d’occident: Les barrages dans l’antiquité tardive*, ed. François Baratte et al. (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2013), 9–70.

Qur’ānic Themes: The Golden Heifer

اذبحوا في مجرى الماء بقرة صفراء For the *baqara ṣafrā’*, see Q 2:67–73. These verses relate how Mūsā related God’s commands to his people to sacrifice a cow Q 2:67 (*an tadhbahū baqara*). They ask him whether he is ‘making fun of them’ (*atattakbidhunā huzuwan*). The cow is to be Q 2:69 ‘yellow of bright color’ (*ṣafrā’u fāqi’un lawnubā*). Further the cow should be Q 2:71 ‘not broken to turn over the ground nor to water the tilled land, [but] kept sound with no blemish on her.’ The followers of Mūsā then in Q 2:71 ‘slaughter the cow – though they almost did not.’

The context of this command to sacrifice the cow is brought out in vv. Q 2:72–73:

And [recall] when you killed a soul
and disagreed concerning it,
and God brought out what you were concealing.
We said, ‘Strike him with part of it.’
Thus God brings the dead to life,
and shows you His signs,
so that you may understand.

The passage of the Qur’ān is commonly thought to refer to the sacrifice of the ‘red heifer’ commanded by Moses in Num. 19. In the passage from Numbers, the sacrifice is then used for removing the defilement from touching a corpse (see Num. 19.9–13) which also relates to themes in the first part of the *maqāma*. Deut. 21.1–9 also seems relevant which stipulates in cases of the discovery of a slain person discovered in a field, the elders of the town should slaughter a heifer ‘that has not been worked and has not been pulled in the yoke.’¹²⁹ The early Christian *Epistle of Barnabas* 8.1–7 reads Num. 19 typologically, identifying the sacrifice of the ‘red heifer’ as a type of Jesus.

Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) relates several versions of a story explaining the connection between the yellow cow of Q 2:69 and the murder of Q 2:71 by narrating a tale which appears to connect elements of the preceding Biblical tales while at the same time explains the elliptical language of the Qur’ān.¹³⁰ One common version recounts how one of the Banū Isrā’īl was very wealthy and had no offspring. His relative killed him, took the man’s wealth and cast him at the crossroads such that no one knew who his killer was. The man’s relative

129 For greater detail, see Heirinch Speyer, *Die biblische Erzählungen im Qoran* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1961), 345.

130 al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākīr and Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākīr (Cairo: Maktabat Ibn Taymiyya, n.d), 2:182–87.

then went to Mūsā and told him of the crime. Mūsā then instructed the Banū Isrāʾīl to find a yellow cow of the type described in Q 2:67–71. They found the yellow cow kept by an old woman, the Banū Isrāʾīl buy it at a high price, and slaughter it. They then touch the body of the slain man with the cow's corpse and the man comes to life. He then points out that the killer is none other than the man who complained to Mūsā.

The association of this passage concerning the miraculous raising of a man from the dead with the scene of a man being saved from death in the opening section of the *maqāma* suggests al-Hamadhānī's attempt to provide a link between the two episodes through this allusion to the Qurʾān. Note that al-Hamadhānī alludes to the famed yellow cow as an impossible object to find in one of his letters.¹³¹

فافتضوا بي جارية
Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871) recounts pre-Islamic rituals to sacrifice a virgin in order to encourage the flooding of the Nile.¹³²

ابن الزانية lit. the son of an adulterer. N. Calder discusses the question of whether bastards can lead the prayer.¹³³

حمزة Refers to Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb (d. 156/772 or 158/775) one of the seven canonical readings of the Qurʾān.¹³⁴ This reading is known for its prolongation of the *alif*.

اكتلت خيراً عليهم وكلت زوراً ومينا Cf. Q 83:1–3.

131 See al-Hamadhānī, *Kaṣḥf al-maʿānī wa-l-bayān ʿan rasāʾil Badīʿ al-Zamān*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Aḥḍab al-Ṭarābulṣī (Beirut: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Kāthūlikiyya, 1890), 531–33.

132 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-akbbāruhā*, ed. Charles Torrey (Leiden: Brill, 1920), 150.

133 See Norman Calder, “Friday Prayer and the Juristic Theory of Government: Sarakhsī, Shīrāzī, Māwardī,” *BSOAS* 49 (1986): 42

134 See Claude Gilliot, “Creation of a Fixed Text,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Qurʾān*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 51.

CHAPTER SIX

What the Qadi Should not Hear: The *Shāmiyya*

For Shawkat Toorawa

Much like modern television dramas, early Muslim authors explored the contours of their legal system by setting their stories in court. While these works of *adab* were not meant to be transcripts of court proceedings, they nonetheless shed light on ways that early Muslims understood and interacted with the law and the legal system. Moreover as another recent study has argued, such stories can shed light on features of the legal system that are not found in other more normative sources.¹

Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008) set one of his *maqāmas* in the courtroom. However, this work, entitled the *Shāmiyya*, has never been adequately studied. Muḥammad ʿAbduh, the first editor of al-Hamadhānī’s *Maqāmāt* considered the topic of the *Shāmiyya* to be in conflict with the sensibilities of his own day and excised it from modern editions of the *Maqāmāt*.²

ʿAbduh’s censorship of this work has arguably diminished the appreciation of some of the qualities of al-Hamadhānī’s collection. Scholars, moreover, have not been able to trace the influence of this work on the later tradition of *maqāma* writing. Al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) included four forensic *maqāmas* in his collection, the no. 9 *Iskandariyya*, no. 10 *Raḥbiyya*, no. 40 *Tibrīziyya*, and no. 45 *Ramliyya*. Of these, the *Ramliyya* is a close imitation of the *Shāmiyya* and suggests the way that al-Ḥarīrī drew upon and expanded al-Hamadhānī’s models.³

1 Intisar A. Rabb and Bilal Orfali, “Islamic Law in Literature: The Pull of Procedure in Tanūkhī’s *al-Faraj ba’da l-shidda*,” in *Tradition and Reception in Arabic Literature: Essays Dedicated to Andras Hamori*, ed. Margaret Larkin and Jocelyn Sharlet (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019), 189–206, esp. 189.

2 See Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, *Maqāmāt*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbduh (Beirut: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Kāthūlikiyya, 1889), 7. See translation of the ʿAbduh’s text in the introduction.

3 In her three articles on the *Ramliyya*, Angelika Neuwirth fails to draw any parallels between the *Shāmiyya* and the *Ramliyya*. See Angelika Neuwirth, “Women’s Wit and Juridical Discourse: A ‘Forensic *Maqāma*’ by the Classical Arabic Scholar al-Ḥarīrī,” *Figurationen: Gender – Literatur – Kultur* 6 (2005): 23–36; idem, “The double entendre (*tawriya*) as a Hermeneutical Stratagem: A ‘Forensic *Maqāma*’ by Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī,” in *The Weaving of Words: Approaches to Classical Arabic Prose*, ed. Lale Behzadi and Vahid Behmardi (Beirut and Würzburg: Orient-Institut; Ergon-Verlag, 2009); idem, “Adab

In this chapter, we provide a new critical edition of the *Shāmiyya* based on the oldest surviving manuscripts, accompanied by an English translation of the text. We then explore some of the historical, social, and legal questions raised by this *maqāma* and consider the background in which readers understood the *maqāma*. We suggest that al-Hamadhānī may have drawn upon earlier historical *akbbār* for some of the themes of the *Shāmiyya*, particularly one account which closely parallels the *Shāmiyya*.

Manuscripts Utilized in the Edition

In the following, we provide two editions of *al-Maqāma al-Shāmiyya* based on five main witnesses to the text, four manuscripts and one early edition:⁴

1. ف Istanbul Fatih 4097 (520/1126).
2. ب Yale University, Beinecke Library, Salisbury 63 (603/1206).
3. ل London SOAS 47280 (thirteenth/nineteenth century). This is a nineteenth-century copy of a manuscript copied in the year 562/1166–1167.
4. ج Jawā‘ib Edition (1298/1881) *Maqāmāt Abī al-Faḍl Badī‘ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī* (Qusṭanṭīniyya: Maṭba‘at al-Jawā‘ib, 1298 A.H.).
5. Istanbul Esad Efendi 3542 (20 Rajab 1016/10 Nov. 1607)

As we have shown in Chapter One, the manuscript tradition of al-Hamadhānī’s *Maqāmāt* has yet to be fully investigated by researchers. The first edition provided is based on the Jawā‘ib early modern edition and the three oldest known witnesses to the text of the *Maqāmāt* (MS numbers 1, 2, 3 above) with MS Fatih serving as the base text. The second edition is based on a later manuscript, Esad Efendi 3542 dated to 1016/1607 represents the manner in which changes and interpolations could enter the text of a *maqāma*.

Most notable perhaps is the introduction of the place name Multān in the first line of the *maqāma*. We believe that this is likely an interpolation in the text meant to rhyme with the dual form *imra‘atān* “two women” in reference to the two wives of the husband. It is worthy of note the city of Multān in al-Sind would have been known to al-Hamadhānī and his contemporaries. Given the fragmentary state of the manuscript tradition, however, it is impossible to know when and for what reason this variant emerged. There remain many

Standing Trial – whose Norms Should Rule Society? The Case of al-Ḥarīrī’s ‘*al-Maqāmah al-Ramliyyah*,’” in *Myths, Historical Archetypes and Symbolic Figures in Arabic Literature: Towards a New Hermeneutic Approach*, ed. Angelika Neuwirth et al. (Beirut and Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999).

4 See Chapter Two for an overview of the corpus of al-Hamadhānī.

other analogous cases of divergent readings waiting to be discovered within the Hamadhānian corpus.

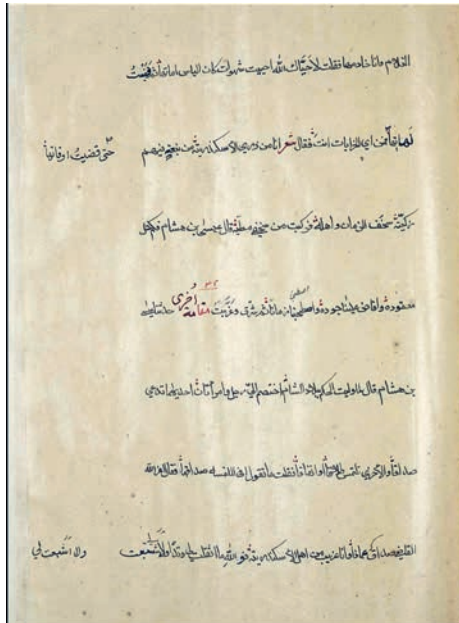
Samples of the Manuscripts



MS Fatih 4097, fol. 27v–28r



MS Yale University, Beinecke Library, Salisbury 63, fol. 24r



MS SOAS 47280, fol. 93r



MS Esad Efendi 3542, fol. 209v–210r

Arabic Text of *Shāmiyya*

المقامة الثانية والثلاثون

[الشامية]⁵

حدثنا عيسى بن هشام قال⁶ لما وليت الحكم بديار الشام⁷ اختصم إليّ رجلٌ وامرأتان إحداهما تدعى صداقًا * والأخرى تلتئمسٌ طلاقًا وإنفاقًا⁸ *
 فقلت⁹ ما تقول في الملتئمة صداقها؟
 قال¹⁰ أعزّ الله القاضي صدق عن ماذا؟ وأنا غريب¹¹ من أهل الإسكندرية فوالله ما أثقلت لي وتدًا *
 ولا أشبعت لي كبدًا * ولا عمّرت لي¹² خرابًا * ولا ملأت¹³ جرابًا *
 قلت¹⁴ قد تبطّنتها؟

- 5 (المقامة الثانية والثلاثون والشامية): المقامة الثانية والثلاثون: ف، ب؛ مقامة أخرى 32: ل؛ المقامة السادسة والعشرون الشامية: ج.
- 6 (قال): سقطت من ب.
- 7 (الحكم بديار الشام): ف؛ الحكم ببلاد الشام: ب، ل، ج.
- 8 (وإنفاقًا): ف، ب، ج؛ أو إنفاقًا: ل.
- 9 (فقلت): ف، ب، ل؛ فقلت للرجل: ج.
- 10 (قال): ف؛ فقال: ب، ل، ج.
- 11 (وأنا غريب): ل، ج؛ وأنت غريب: ف؛ وأنا رجلٌ: ب.
- 12 (عمّرت لي): ف، ل؛ أعمرت متي: ب؛ عمّرت: ج.
- 13 (ملأت): ف، ج؛ ملأت متي: ب؛ ملأت لي: ل.
- 14 (قلت): ف، ب؛ فقلت: ل، ج.

قال نعم * ولكن¹⁵ فما غير بارد * وتدياً غير ناهد * وبطناً غير والد * وعيباً غير واحد¹⁶ * وريقاً غير ريق * وطريقاً غير ضيق *

فعدلت إلى المرأة وقلت¹⁷ ما تقولين؟

قالت¹⁸ أيد الله القاضي¹⁹ هو أكذب من أمله * وأسمج من عمله * وأكثر في اللؤم من حيله * وأشد في الشؤم من دغله²⁰ * وأفسد عشرةً من أسفله * والله لقد صادفت²¹ من فمه صقراً * ومن يده صخرًا * ومن صدره سم خياط * لا يرشح بقيراط * ولقد زفت إليه بدنًا كالديباج * ووجهًا كالسراج * وعينًا كعين النعاج * وتدياً كحُقِّ العاج * وبطنًا كظهر الهملاج * وخصراً²² ضيق الرّناج * خشن²³ المنهاج * حارّ المزاج * صعب العلاج * ولكن كيف ألد²⁴ * ولا ينجز ما يعد * وهو يجدّ ويجتهد²⁵ * لو لم يخنه الوتد؟ *

فقلت للرجل قد رمتك بالعنة * ونسبتك إلى الأبنة * فمال إليها وقال است البائن²⁶ أعلم ألم أجعل تسعينك ثلاثين * ألم أعرك²⁷ في ليلة عشرين * حتى أسقطت الجنين؟ * فقالت اشهد أيها القاضي²⁸ على هذا الإقرار * فقال خدعتني يا دفار²⁹ * وقالت الثانية أصلح الله القاضي أسأل إمساكًا بالمعروف أو تسريحًا بإحسان * فقال الإسكندري كم نفقتها³⁰ في الشهر حتى أقدمه سلفًا؟ فقلت مائة في الشهر * تعينها على صروف³¹ الدهر * فقال لعلك قست شهري بشهرك * إن أمري دون أمرك * فقلت لا أنقصها عن هذا القدر *

-
- 15 (ولكن): ف؛ لكن: ب، ل، ج.
 16 (وعيباً غير واحد): ف، ب، ل؛ وعيباً عين واجد: ج.
 17 (فعدلت إلى المرأة وقلت): ب، ل؛ فقلت للمرأة: ف؛ فعدلت للمرأة: ج.
 18 (قالت): ف، ج؛ فقالت: ب، ل.
 19 (أيد الله القاضي): ف، ب، ج؛ أيدك الله القاضي: ل.
 20 (وأشد في الشؤم من دغله): وأشد من دغله: ف؛ وأشد في الشؤم: ب، ج؛ وأشد في الشؤم من وغله: ل.
 21 (من دغله... صادفت): سقطت من ب.
 22 (وخصراً): ف؛ وخصناً: ب؛ وحصناً: ل؛ وحثى: ج.
 23 (خشن): ب، ل، ج؛ حسن: ف.
 24 (ألد): ب، ل، ج؛ ألد: ف.
 25 (ولا ينجز ما يعد. وهو يجدّ ويجتهد): ف؛ وهو لا ينجز ما يعد وكيف ينجز وهو لا يجد وهو يجتهد: ب؛ وهو لا ينجز ما يعد وكيف ينجز ما يعد وهو لا يجد وهو يجتهد: ل؛ وهو لا ينجز ما يعد وكيف ينجز ولا يجد وهو يجتهد: ج.
 26 (فمال إليها وقال است البائن): ب، ل، ج؛ فقال است الناس: ف.
 27 (أعرك): ف، ب، ل؛ أعرك: ج.
 28 (أيها القاضي): ف، ب، ج؛ القاضي: ل.
 29 (دفار): ب، ل، ج؛ مكار: ف.
 30 (نفقتها): ف؛ يقيمها: ب، ل، ج.
 31 (صروف): ف، ب، ل؛ صرف: ج.

فقال هي طالق³² إن لم تعطها³³ نفقة شهرين³⁴ دون الأجل تضربه³⁵ * وقبل الماء تشربه³⁶ *
 فقالت المرأة اتق الله أيها القاضي في بنات صغار ليس لهن كادح سواه * ولا كاد إلا إياه³⁷ *
 فأمرت بتوفير ذلك على المرأة وعادا بعد شهرين³⁸ يلتمسان في النفقة فضلاً³⁹ * فقلت الطلاق يلزم
 القاضي إن نظر بينكما فغيبا غيبكما الله⁴⁰ *
 وأنشأ⁴¹ الإسكندريّ يقول [مجزوء الخفيف]:

رُبَّ قاضٍ عَلَى الْوَرَى جَائِرِ الْحُكْمِ نَافِذِهِ
 سَامِنِي بَدَلٌ مُعَوِزٌ⁴² وَنَضًا عَن نَّوَاجِذِهِ
 دَقْنٌ⁴³ مُعْطِيهِ بَعْدَمَا سَامِنِي فِي اسْتِ⁴⁴ أَخِيهِ

فقلت القاضي لا يسمع ما يكره ولأن⁴⁵ أحتمل هذا خير من أن أزن ذاك⁴⁶ * فانصرفا وخرجا وأتبعتهما
 من يعرف⁴⁷ خبرهما فرجع فقال سألته عن اسمه⁴⁸ فقال⁴⁹ أبو الفتح الإسكندريّ *⁵⁰

Esad Efendi 3542

مقامة أخرى

حدثنا عيسى بن هشام قال لما وليت القضاء ببلدة⁵¹ الملتان * اختصم إليّ رجلٌ وامرأتان * ادّعت
 أحدهما صداقاً * والتمست الأخرى طلاقاً أو إنفاقاً *

- 32 (طالق): ف؛ طالق ثلاثاً: ل، ج.
 33 (تعطها): ل، ج؛ تعطيتها: ف.
 34 (عن هذا القدر... شهرين): سقطت من ب.
 35 (تضربه): ف، ب، ل؛ بضربه: ج.
 36 (تشربه): ف، ب، ل؛ بشربه: ج.
 37 (إياه): ف، ل، ج؛ هو: ب.
 38 (شهرين): ف، ل؛ الشهرين: ب، ج.
 39 (فضلاً): ف، ب، ج؛ فيصلاً: ل.
 40 (فغيبا غيبكما الله): ف؛ فغيبا عينكما: ب؛ فغيبا عينكما: ل، ج.
 41 (وأنشأ): ف؛ قال: ب؛ فأنشأ: ل، ج.
 42 (معوز): ف، ب، ل؛ معجز: ج.
 43 (دقن): ف، ب؛ دقن: ج، ل.
 44 (في است): ل، ج؛ فست: ف؛ في: ب.
 45 (ولأن): ف؛ لأن: ب، ل، ج.
 46 (أزن ذاك): ل، ج؛ أزن ذا: ف؛ آذن ذاك: ب.
 47 (يعرف): ف، ب؛ تعرف: ل.
 48 (فرجع... اسمه): سقطت من ف.
 49 (فقال): ب، ل؛ فقيل: ف.
 50 (فانصرفا... الإسكندريّ): سقطت من ج.
 51 (بلدة): في الأصل مدينة وصوابه أعلى الكلمة.

قلت فما تقول في الملتمة صداقها؟

فقال أيها القاضي صداق عمّاذ؟ والله ما عمّرت خرابًا * ولا ملأت جرابًا * ولا أثقلت وتدًا * ولا أشبعت لي كبدًا *

قلت قد تبطنتها؟

قال نعم * لكن فمًا غير بارد * وثديًا غير ناهد * وبطنًا غير والد * وعيبًا غير واحد * وريقًا غير ريق * وطريقًا غير ضيق *

قال قلت فما تقولين؟

قالت أيها القاضي هو أكذب من أمله * وأسمح من عمله * وأكثر في اللؤم من حيله * وأشد في البخل من دخله * وأبح عشرةً من أسفله * والله لقد عاشرت من يده صخرًا * ومن فمه صقرًا * ومن صدره سمّ خياط * لا يرشح بقيراط * ولقد زُففتُ إليه بدنًا كالديباج * ووجهًا كضوء السراج * وعينًا كعين النعاج * وبطنًا كظهر الهملاج * وثديًا كحَقِّ العاج * وحضنًا ضيق الرّجاج * لئن المنهاج * صعب العلاج * حار المزاج * ولكن كيف ألد * وهو لا ينجز ما يعد * وكيف ينجز وهو لا يجد * وهو يجتهد * لو لم يخنه الود؟

فقلت يا هذا قد نسبتك إلى الغنة * وقدفتك بالأبنة *

فالتفت إليها وقال استُ البائن أعلم. ألم أجعل تسعينك ثلاثين * ألم أمخرك في ليلةٍ عشرين * حتى أسقطت الجنين؟

ف قالت أيها القاضي اشهد على هذا الإقرار * فقال خدعتني يا دفار *

ثم قلت فما تقول في الملتمة النفقة؟

فقال كم تفرض لها عقدًا * حتى أعجله نقدًا؟

فقلت مائة في الشهر * تعينها على صروف الدهر *

فقال أيها القاضي لعلك قست شهري بشهرك * إن أمري دون أمرك *

قلت لا أنقصها من المائة حبة واحدة.

قال فهي طالق ثلاثًا إن لم تزن لها أنت نفقة شهرين دون الأجل تضربه * وقبل الماء تشربه *

ف قالت المرأة الله الله أيها القاضي في بنات أطفال ليس لهنّ كاد⁵² سواه * ولا كادح إلاه *

فقلت يا غلام علي بالكيس فوزنت مائتين فمضيا وعادا بعد شهرين يتخاصمان في النفقة فقلت

الطلاق يلزم القاضي إن حكم بينكما فغيّبا عينكما *

فأنشأ يقول [مجزوء الخفيف]:

رُبُّ قاضٍ على الوَرَى	جائر الحُكْمِ نافذه
سامني بذلّ مُعوزٍ	ونصًا عن نواجذه
دَقْن مُعطيه بعدما	سامني في استِ آخذه

فقلت القاضي لا يسمع ما يكره ولأن أسمع أحب إلي من أودتي⁵³ فانصرفا فخرجا وأتبعتهما من يتعرّف خبرهما فرجع وقال سألت عن اسمه فقال أبو الفتح الإسكندري *

English Translation of *Shāmiyya*

‘Isā b. Hishām said:

When I was appointed judge in al-Shām * there came before me two wives and one man. * The first wife came asking for the bridal gift that now was her due, the other sued for a divorce and a stipend, too. *

So I said to him, “Good sir, what do you say * to the woman from you seeking her bridal gift today?” *

He said, “May God save the judge! Why the gift? What’s the reason? * I hail from Alexandria. I’m a stranger in this region. * This woman never fastened the peg of my tent to the ground! * Nor through her was ever my heart’s desire found. * Not once did she make my wasteland bloom, * nor did she fill my sack with foods to consume!” *

I then turned to him and said, * “But you took her to bed?” *

“Yes,” he replied, “But her breath was rank. * Her chest was as flat as a wooden plank. * Her womb would surely prove barren! * Countless are the ways she erred in. * The water from her mouth afforded no delight * and the path to her pleasure was no longer tight.” *

So I turned to her and asked “Do you have a retort?” *

She said, “May God offer you, O judge, His support! * This man’s falser than his hopes and needs * and viler than his deeds. * He’s more blameworthy than his tricks and deceits, * and more ill-omened than his base conceits. * In short, I’d say he’s a worse friend than his own butt cheeks! * And from his mouth for me there was only stale water * and a rock was all his hands would offer. * Tinier than a needle’s eye was his largess, * it weighed no more than a carat, maybe less. *

Before we were wed, my skin was a damascene brocade, * my face was a lamp, eyes were ewes, and my breasts from ivory cups made. * My belly was as flat as a race horse in full stride, * while my waist was cinched tight, though suitably wide. * Down below I possessed a native heat, * that was difficult for even skilled doctors to treat. * But how could a child from him be born, * when he couldn’t do what he had sworn? * For though he struggled and strove, * his stubborn ‘tent peg’ refused to move!” *

Then I said to the man, “Her speech contains a slight. *

She alleges you an impotent catamite.” *

He then turned to her, and related the saying, *

“the ass of the one milking the camel is more revealing”⁵⁴ *

Didn’t I make your ‘ninety thirty’?⁵⁵ * I raided your tent not one time but twenty! *
and made you abort your pregnancy?” *

She said, “Witness this, O qadi, all I said is honest and true” *

He turned to the women “You stinking wench! I’ve been cheated by you!” *

The second wife said, “May God support the honored qadi! *

I hope that he either holds my husband to account or allows me to be free!” *

Alexandrian said, “What monthly support do I owe, so I can pay an advance?” *

I said, “One hundred ought to shield her from the workings of chance.” *

Alexandrian said, “It seems you’ve measured my month against yours. *

My affairs are far humbler than what you suppose.” *

So I said, “I’ve decided I won’t lower her stipend one bit.” *

He said, “Well then either you’ll pay her stipend for two months more, *

Or I’ll divorce her as fast as you can drink a draught or before!” *

The wife said, “Please qadi fear God and show us mercy and rule in our favor! *

I have young daughters whose life depends on this man’s labor!” *

So I ordered the wife’s stipend be paid. *

In two months, they turned up seeking more aid. *

So I said, “If a qadi were to judge now, he would surely rule for divorce. *

So be gone with you, and may God make you scarce.” *

Then Alexandrian said:

Many a judge over people, with iniquity *

imposed upon me the humiliation of poverty *

His smile revealed the giver’s chin of pride *

While he made me into the taker’s backside *

I answered, “the qadi does not hear what is hateful

It is better that I endure this, than I permit that.”⁵⁶ *

54 See Aḥmad al-Maydānī, *Majma‘ al-amthāl*, ed. Na‘īm Zarzūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1988), 1:421–22, who interprets the saying as the following: The *bā’in* is the person who is to the left side of when milking a camel. The person on the other side known as the *mu‘allī* holds up the container to the camel’s udder.

55 The meaning of this expression is unclear.

56 The translation above reads *أذن* for *أذن* following MS Yale. However, it is also possible

After the two left, I ordered someone to track them in order to see,
He said, “I asked him his name,” and he said, “I’m Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Iskandarī.”

The *Maqāma*

Al-Maqāma al-Shāmiyya is composed of one long episode of two wives complaining before a qadi about their husband. The action of the *maqāma* can be divided into two main parts in which each wife tells her story to ‘Īsā b. Hishām.

The first wife demands her dowry (*mabr*) be returned to her. The husband claims that the wife is at fault, and paints his wife in the ugliest of physical descriptions. However, he readily admits to the qadi that he nonetheless took the woman to bed, thus consummating the marriage.⁵⁷

The wife’s testimony complicates matters. She alleges that she was extremely beautiful at the time of her marriage, and accuses her husband of ill-treating her and abusing her. Moreover, she claims that her husband has violated the marriage contract, by being impotent and the passive partner in a same-sex couple. In anger, the man then describes that he was so potent that he was able to have intercourse with her twenty times in a single night, and through such rough treatment caused her to miscarry. This would mean that the wife was, in fact, fertile, invalidating his initial claim that she was barren. Seizing upon this fact, the wife insists that all she said was true, whereupon her husband accuses her of having tricked him and he insults her in front of the qadi.⁵⁸ The scene concludes without ‘Īsā b. Hishām offering any judgment.

The second wife then begins her story of complaint. Unlike the first wife, she demands a stipend (*nafaqa*) from the judge, or that she be divorced from him. The husband wants to know the sum so that he can pay in advance. ‘Īsā b. Hishām, the qadi, sets the amount at one hundred *dirhams* per month. The husband answers that the judge does not recognize his poverty, and has unfairly offered too large a stipend. However, the woman insists that she needs the money for her daughters. So the qadi in this situation pays the stipend. When the two return seeking more money in two months, the qadi dismisses them,

to follow MS Fatih, اُز which would mean, “Better I endure this (insult) than pay you anything further.” On philological grounds both readings are possible. We believe that the former offers a slightly clearer meaning, however, it is far from certain.

57 If the man had not consummated the marriage, he would have been only liable for half of the *mabr*. However, the question of whether he was capable of consummating the marriage is at stake in the *maqāma* also.

58 Edward William Lane, *An English-Arabic Lexicon* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1874), 890b, notes that the insult is usually leveled at a female slave, and means, “O thou stinking one.”

threatening them with a judgment of divorce and exercising his right not to judge in the case.

After ʿĪsā b. Hishām dismisses them, the man recites a poem which makes plain that the entire scene before had been a series of ruses intended to mislead and obtain money from the judge. He further implies that in creating for himself the stigma of poverty, he had stolen money from the proud judges. His poem implies the sexual reversal in that the judge understands him as the weaker (penetrated) party. This reversal in turn upends the accusation of the man's wife earlier that he was an impotent catamite.

ʿĪsā b. Hishām having heard this poem replies with a legal maxim, "The qadi does not hear what is hateful" and suggests that in his eyes, it was better for him to have endured the cost of paying the wife's stipend and dismiss the couple from his presence, than continue to permit this illicit speech.

The *maqāma* concludes with the qadi sending someone to learn the identity of the man whereupon he learns that he was the famed trickster, Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Iskandarī. His shameless eloquence has gotten the better of the judge, ʿĪsā b. Hishām, and enabled him to live another day.

Legal Realities and Courtroom Dramas

Although this *maqāma* is lighthearted, the appearance before judges portrayed in this *maqāma* was a solemn procedure. It was the judge's moral responsibility to hear litigants and collect evidence from the plaintiff and the defendant.⁵⁹ Moreover, as Mathieu Tillier has noted, women's testimony before judges was often fraught with difficulty.⁶⁰ Judges and litigants had to contend with issues relating to the quasi-public nature of the judicial procedure and its clear potential for the revelation of intimate and scandalous details about the marriage.

Given the topics of family law, women's appearances at court often had the potential of touching on two central issues: money and sexuality. Tillier describes how one area of women's concern was the repayment of the dowry by the husband after the marriage and her receipt of a marital support (*nafaqa*). Suing for repayment of the dowry, was often a mode of provoking their husbands to divorce them.⁶¹ Common, too, was a claim that the husband was no longer providing marital support for the wife. According to Yossef Rapoport up until the seventh/thirteenth century, the *nafaqa* was usually considered to be an in-

59 See Wael B. Hallaq, *Shari'a: Theory, Practice, Transformations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 342ff.

60 Mathieu Tillier, "Women before the Qāḍī under the Abbasids," *Islamic Law and Society* 16 (2009): 280–301.

61 Yossef Rapoport, *Marriage, Money and Divorce in Medieval Islamic Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 73.

kind stipend of goods, such as food on the table. As in this *maqāma*, wives often sought assistance from the judge, placing him in the position of arbiter over the financial wherewithal of the husband, and the nature of his responsibilities towards his spouse.⁶² Both the questions themselves, and the relationship of the qadi to these questions are on trial in this *maqāma*.

It could be argued however, that an even greater propensity to scandal was the mere presence of the wife, her speech and the potential for the revelation of sexual matters. As Tillier notes, the jurist al-Khaṣṣāf goes to great lengths to describe how the delicate process of unveiling a woman in the court should transpire, such that while the qadi ought to see the woman, the less the other persons saw her, the better.⁶³ One basic issue related to the capacity of the woman to leave her residence in order to lodge her complaint with the qadi. Law books make it clear that only women who were of high enough social stature, were able to visit the qadi, and this fact may have some bearing on the interpretation of the *maqāma* as well.⁶⁴

Scholars of Islamic law are fortunate not only to have the proscriptive evidence from legal manuals, but also to be able to consult court records contained in the Cairo Geniza. While conventional scholarship on the Geniza pointed to the common presence of women in court as evidence for the relatively high status of women, recent work by Oded Zinger has argued to the contrary that women “encountered great difficulties when they tried to seek justice in communal courts.”⁶⁵ Similar to what was mentioned above, Zinger stresses that nature of the legal questions raised as well as the women’s very presence in the courtroom was a potential source of much scandal and shame.

Adab works offer further information on other dimensions of forensic dramas at Muslim courts. How do stories underscore the fears and anxieties of husbands about what impact their wife or wives’ appearance and complaint at court might contain? For instance, there are several tales related in which a woman complains to the jurist al-Sha‘bī of her husband’s ill-treatment of her. Learning of the ruling in his wife’s favor, the man complains that she has seduced al-Sha‘bī into unjustly judging on her behalf.⁶⁶ *Adab* tales discuss the ways that marital disputations before judges (because of their potentially salacious content) often contained testimony so indirect and vague that judges found themselves at a loss

62 Tillier, “Women before the *Qāḍī* under the Abbasids,” 282, citing al-Khaṣṣāf.

63 Ibid., 295.

64 Ibid., 296.

65 Oded Zinger, “Women, Gender and Law: Marital Disputes According to Documents of the Cairo Geniza” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2014), 68.

66 See Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Ḥayyān Wakī‘, *Akbbār al-quḍāt* (Beirut: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, n.d.), 3:416.

as to how to pass judgment.⁶⁷

In contrast to this, the litigants' speech in the *Shāmiyya* is at times however frightfully direct, and this may also have reflected legal realia. For instance, wife number one claims in this *maqāma* that her husband is not fulfilling his marital duties and that he is abusive and cheap. Male impotence (*unna*) was a possible ground for divorce, however it was difficult often for the wife to prove this.⁶⁸ Castration of the male, for instance, was immediate grounds for divorce, according to Ḥanafīs. In cases of impotence, however, judges commonly instituted a long waiting period (in one case up to a year) in which the male would be given the chance to regain his potency.⁶⁹ Related to this, is the question of a male willfully swearing an oath (*ilā'*) not to have intercourse with his wife for a certain period. In these cases, jurists considered the act to constitute harm (*maḍarra*) to the wife, and would allow the divorce to be accomplished.⁷⁰

Adab works of the fourth/tenth century considered cases of men with lack of

67 Abū 'Alī al-Muḥassin b. 'Alī al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, ed. 'Abbūd al-Shālījī (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1995), 3:227. One tale told by the *adīb* and practicing judge, al-Tanūkhī described a case that had come before Abū Sa'd al-Dāwūdī of a sufi woman who sought the judge's aid against her husband. When they came before the judge, the wife said, "This is my husband and he wishes to divorce me, and if you rule to prohibit him, he won't have the right to do this." The judge becomes interested wishing to know the way that Sufis view this matter and inquires further. The wife then describes the issue thusly: "He was married to me and his meaning (*ma'nā*) still present, but now his meaning has diminished from me, and my meaning which was in him has not diminished, and now it is necessary that I be patient until my meaning is no longer present in him, as his meaning has diminished from me." In this case, the judge is perplexed by the opaque language of Sufis and the tale makes light of this. However, it seems to suggest in the use of terms such as the (*qā'im*), which also means erect, suggesting that the woman's opaque language may have been a cover for other matters. See Florian Sobieroj, "The Mu'tazila and Sufism," in *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics*, ed. Frederick de Jong and Bernd Radtke (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 79–80, who understands the female Sufi's language to be "ridiculing the Sufi concept of annihilation in God and the terminology associated with it, or possibly, such annihilation in one's partner as a pedagogical preparation for attaining the highest goal."

68 This is to be distinguished from cases in which the man is incapable of consummating the marriage. Kecia Ali, *Sexual Ethics and Islam: Feminist Reflections on Qur'an, Hadith, and Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2006), 12, asserts that "all legal schools adopted the view that a marriage could be dissolved for impotence — that is, the husband's failure to consummate the marriage," however, she adds (p. 13) that "the vast majority of jurists went on to declare that she has no such right [to press a claim of impotence] once the marriage has been consummated."

69 Tillier, "Women before the *Qāḍī* under the Abbasids," 280–301.

70 On a case involving an analogy to *ilā'* see David S. Powers, "Four Cases Relating to Women and Divorce in al-Andalus and the Maghrib, 1100–1500," in *Dispensing Justice in Islam: Qadis and Their Judgements*, ed. Muhammad Khaled Masud, Rudolph Peters and David S. Powers (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 383–409, esp. 395.

desire for their wives on account of other reasons. In particular, a predilection for young boys is cited as a cause for impotence, presumably because the husband is not sexually aroused by the wife. This seems to be the implied connection between impotence and the desire to be anally penetrated (*ubna*) in the wife’s speech. As Khaled El-Rouayheb has noted, *ubna* was often understood as a disease in the case of grown men and treated thusly. *Ubna* was in the medical tradition believed to be a “pathological” desire that could no doubt cause a man so afflicted to not pay attention to his marital duties.⁷¹

Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī relates numerous stories that discuss the relationship between *‘unna* and *ubna*.⁷² In one of his tales, the husband himself declares that he is impotent (*‘anīn/‘innīn*) and seeks the judge’s intercession. After the judge subjects the man to a test, he determines that the man is not impotent, but is only aroused by the young male servants of the judge. The judge then orders the man to resume his marital duties and stop chasing after the young male servants of the judge.⁷³

In the case of the *Shāmiyya* the tale describes how the wife, through her accusation, tricks her husband by calling him impotent. He then responds by affirming his potency to such a degree that he claims to have such extraordinary potency that he caused her to abort a fetus. This, of course, then runs counter to his earlier claim that she was infertile. There is no shame that the litigants will not invoke and their dramatic speech leaves the qadi confused. This seems to be one of the central axes around which the courtroom drama turns.

The Fear of an Eloquent Woman

In addition to the fears and fantasies about the presence of women at court and the fears about the contents of their speech, there was a pervasive anxiety about women’s speech. As we have seen, the *Shāmiyya* contains not one, but two eloquent women, whose powers of oratory seem to threaten the husband with public embarrassment or worse.

The trope of the fear of an eloquent woman exposing her husband and besting her in the man’s game can be seen in other *adab* works contemporary with al-Hamadhānī. In *Accounts of the Female Visitors to Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān* (*Akbbār al-wāfidāt min al-nisā’ ‘alā Mu‘āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān*) of al-‘Abbās b. Bakkār

71 See Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic World, 1500–1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 19–21, discusses the “pathological” side of *ubna* which presumably would have distracted a man from his marital duties.

72 al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā’ wa-muḥāwarāt al-shu‘arā’ wa-l-bulaghā’*, ed. Riyāḍ ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Mrād (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 2012), 3:523–25.

73 Ibid., 3:523. See also *ibid.*, 3:496, which describes a wife’s complaint that a man who is penetrated becomes impotent (*al-ma’būn ‘innīn*).

al-Ḍabbī (d. 222/836–837) contains a story which turns on the extraordinary eloquence of the wife of the very learned (and eloquent) Abū l-Aswad al-Duʿalī (d. 69/688). The story recounts how once when Abū l-Aswad was advising Muʿāwiya (r. 41–60/661–680) on matters related to the religious sciences (*ilm*), a woman whose face was uncovered (*barzātun*) shows up seeking justice from the caliph with regard to her husband who has unjustly divorced her.⁷⁴ The caliph asks who her husband is, and she points out to Abū l-Aswad. The two then trade eloquent insults however it is the wife that bests the husband, vanquishing him with a direct display of rhetorical prowess, accusing him by turns of being a cheap, ignorant and ignoble man and shaming him before the caliph. Muʿāwiya is intrigued by the woman's eloquence and so invites her back during the evening prayer. At issue between the husband and the wife is the custody of their son, and the wife makes a powerful case that makes Muʿāwiya side with her. Abū l-Aswad despite his great learning and eloquence is no match for his own wife.

The *Shāmiyya* likewise contains a battle of eloquence between a man and wives. With regard to wife number one her speech seems to vanquish her husband and publicly shame him. Similarly, in the second section of the *maqāma* the wife appears to have the upper hand, hoping to use the means of the public display to obtain funds from her destitute husband. In both of these cases however the truth is not exactly what it appears to be to the qadi, ʿĪsā b. Hishām.

Before *Tawriya*: The Valences of Hidden Speech

Scholars of the *maqāma* have often pointed to the central role that double-entendre (*tawriya*) and euphemism play in the *maqāma*. Abdelfattah Kilito first pointed to the centrality of the concept of *tawriya* in al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī, by which he meant a figure that presumes a “proximate meaning” (*sens proche*) which acts a decoy, and a “distant meaning” (*sens lointain*) which is the real sense of the passage. For Kilito, the hero Abū l-Fatḥ in disguise as a blind or an aged man was himself an embodiment of the rhetorical figure of *tawriya*.⁷⁵ Monroe, citing this passage followed Kilito in this insight stating:

What is *tawriya*, if not a figure of speech that blurs the distinction between the (false) surface meaning of the word, and its (true) hidden meaning? Insofar as an ever-present tension between appearance and reality is one of the major features of the *Maqāmāt*,

74 See Lane, *Lexicon*, 1:187a, offers numerous definitions of this term, “A woman whose good qualities or actions or whose beauties are apparent: (ك:) or open in her converse; syn. متجاهرة: or as in some correct lexicons, disdainful of mean things, or of middle age, (كهلة) who is not veiled or concealed like young women.” [italics in original]

75 Abdelfattah Kilito, “Le genre ‘séance’: Une introduction,” *Studia Islamica* 43 (1976): 33.

the relationship between *tawriya* and *maqāma* pointed out by Kilito is a useful one.⁷⁶

Monroe then points out that the actual incidence of *tawriya* in the *maqāmāt* is rather rare, and notes that Kilito’s aim is to draw an analogy.⁷⁷ More recently, Angelika Neuwirth has written on the importance of the *tawriya* in al-Ḥarīrī’s *Maqāmāt*.⁷⁸ For Neuwirth, the image of the female is related to the figure of *tawriya*. Neuwirth suggestively describes the *maqāma*’s action as a form of meta-discourse, and notes that the forensic frames of several of al-Ḥarīrī’s *Maqāmāt* invite the reader to act in the place of the judge.

The term *tawriya* is not, however, a rhetorical figure that was discussed by fourth/tenth or fifth/eleventh century critics, although surely many traces of amphibology are commonly found in Arabic literary discourse from all periods. According to Bonebakker, the term was first dealt with formally by Usāma b. Munqidh (d. 584/1188).⁷⁹ Moreover, as we shall see, what is operative in this *maqāma* is not simply a ruse that is deployed for the cultivation of literary art. Rather, what seems evident in this *maqāma* is that the ruse is part of a larger theme about the necessity for euphemistic speech and masking because of the social context.

Al-Hamadhānī in this *maqāma* rather was elaborating the well-known concept of *kināya*. The device of *kināya* or euphemism is well-attested in the fourth–fifth/tenth–eleventh century literary culture for which al-Hamadhānī was writing. The term has been recently well discussed in an article by Erez Naaman, who emphasizes the sociolinguistic dimensions of euphemism as a manner of avoiding taboo subjects, even as he describes the different semantic range of euphemism and *kināya*.⁸⁰

76 James T. Monroe, *The Art of Badi‘ az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī as Picaresque Narrative* (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 1983), 97; Philip F. Kennedy, “The *Maqāmāt* as a Nexus of Interests: Reflections on Abdelfattah Kilito’s *Les séances*,” in *Writing and Representation in Medieval Islam: Muslim Horizons*, ed. Julia Bray (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 196, n. 209.

77 Kennedy too praises this insight of Kilito and Monroe and revisits the same example of the remarkable playfulness that al-Hamadhānī employs daring the reader to uncover allusions to the *kunya* of Abū l-Faṭḥ. Moreover, he wisely notes that Monroe has attributed an agenda to al-Hamadhānī that is “surely too rigid and serious.” *Ibid.*, 196.

78 Neuwirth, “The double entendre (*tawriya*) as a Hermeneutical Stratagem.”

79 See S.A. Bonebakker, “Tawriya,” in *EF*, online. See also S.A. Bonebakker, *Some Early Definitions of the Tawriya and Ṣafadī’s Faḍḍ al-xitām ‘an at-tawriya wa-‘l-istixdām* (The Hague and Paris: Moulton & Co., 1966), 24ff.

80 Erez Naaman, “Women Who Cough and Men Who Hunt: Taboo and Euphemism (*kināya*) in the Medieval Islamic World,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 133 (2013): 467–93.

Revealing and Concealing in the *Maqāma*: *Kināya*

The trope of *kināya* was already in common use by the writers of the fourth/tenth century and anthologists and literary critics were writing treatises devoted to it during (and shortly after) al-Hamadhānī's lifetime. As Naaman notes, a centrally important work on *kināya* was Abū Manṣūr al-Tha'ālibī's (d. 429/1038) *al-Kināya wa-l-ta'riḍ*. This can be supplemented by the very important work of Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī (d. 482/1089–1090), *al-Muntakhab min kināyāt al-udabā' wa-ishārāt al-bulaghā'*⁸¹

Throughout the *Shāmiyya*, *kināya* functions as a meta-signifier to masking what appear to be the scandalous elements of the litigants' speech before the judge. The *maqāma* begins with the figurative speech of the husband in ll. 4–5. His speech composed in balanced rhymed couplets. After stating that he is a foreigner (*gharīb*) originally from Alexandria, a revelation of his identity that is never considered by the judge, 'Īsā b. Hishām, the husband launches into series of abstract comparisons that approach the question from a great distance, as if he were denying the physical connection.

This woman never fastened the peg of my tent to the ground!
Nor through her was ever my heart's desire found.
Not once did she make my wasteland bloom,
nor did she fill my sack with foods to consume!

The husband's rhetorical aim, it seems, is to distance himself from the affair through euphemistic language.

The qadi 'Īsā b. Hishām however interrupts this line, by interjecting with the more direct (albeit euphemistic) verb, (*tabaṭṭantabā*) (lit. you placed your belly on top of hers). The husband then answers with a simple "yes" (*na'am*).

Forced to come closer to realia, the husband again employs *kināya*. Rather than even speak of his wife as a whole, he divides her into pieces. His description contains a list of negatives (lit. a mouth without coldness, breasts without lift, and a womb that cannot produce a child, and a vagina that was no longer narrow (i.e. pleasurable)). His language though, throughout this passage remains euphemistic. He does not affirm any quality of his wife, but rather relies upon the auditor/reader to make an inference.

Frustrated perhaps by this testimony, the qadi 'Īsā b. Hishām then turns to the wife to determine the truth value of his statements. The wife however proceeds down an opposite path to the husband. Rather than using figurative

81 See al-Tha'ālibī, *al-Kināya wa-l-ta'riḍ*, ed. Usāma Buḥayrī (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1997); Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, *al-Muntakhab min kināyāt al-udabā' wa-ishārāt al-bulaghā'* (Beirut: Dār Ṣā'b, 1980).

language to conceal, she intends to use *kināya* to reveal:

This man’s falser than his hopes and needs, and viler than his deeds.
 He’s more blameworthy than his tricks and deceits,
 and more ill-omened than his base conceits.
 In short, I’d say he’s a worse friend than his own butt cheeks!

In each of these phrases, she encourages the reader to dwell on the fact that the outward signs of her husband’s behavior are ironically less than his debased interior. In her speech, *kināya* becomes a mode of powerful implication at the depravity of her husband. And indeed, her final reference to his bottom (*asfalibi*), euphemistically suggests the base source of his depravity.

The wife’s subsequent speech recounts what she was like as a bride, borrowing terms used by men to describe female beauty. She counters his allegations of her unpleasantness with figurative language that implies her own sexual potency. Her references are drawn from poetry, the *tashbīh* “breasts like ivory cups” (*ḥuqq al-‘āj*) can be found in the *mu‘allaqa* of ‘Amr b. Kulthūm (d. ca. 40BH/584),⁸² whereas the “eyes of ewes” (*‘ayn al-ni‘āj*) can be found in the *mu‘allaqa* of ‘Abīd b. al-Abrāṣ (d. ca. 25BH/600).⁸³ Her description, too, however moves towards her privy parts, but does so in ways that euphemistically underscores her sexual power.

The woman’s final riposte however then casts a new accusation at the man:

“But how could a child from him be born, when he couldn’t do
 what he had sworn?
 For though he struggled and strove, his stubborn ‘tent peg’ refused
 to move!”

Taking her husband’s figure of the “tent peg,” she implies his impotence, figuratively castrating him. Even though she is still speaking in euphemism, the implication of the wife’s claim is clear. How can she be blamed as barren when he is impotent? The judge at this point is attempting to understand the meaning of their speeches, and delivers to the husband what he believes to be the import of the wife’s claims, namely that she alleges that he is impotent. Moreover, he connects this with the idea that he desires to be penetrated by other men, which was implied by the wife’s earlier speech. Once again, ‘Īsā b. Hishām attempts to understand the inference underneath the litigants’ use of *kināya*.

82 al-Tibrīzī, *Sharḥ al-qaṣā’id al-‘asbr*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo: Maktabat Muḥammad ‘Alī Ṣubayḥ, 1962), 487.

83 ‘Abīd b. al-Abrāṣ and ‘Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl, *The Dīwāns of ‘Abīd ibn al-Abrāṣ, of Asad, and ‘Āmir ibn aṭ-Ṭufayl, of ‘Āmir ibn Ṣaṣa‘ab*, ed. Charles James Lyall (Leiden and London: E.J. Brill; Luzac & Co., 1913), 20.

The husband then responds to the wife's accusation by employing a proverb (*mathal*) "the ass of the one milking the camel is more revealing" (*ist al-bā'in a'lam*). Al-Maydānī (d. 518/1124) in his *Majma' al-amthāl* states that the first person to utter this proverb was al-Ḥārith b. Zālim (d. ca 22BH/600). Al-Jumayḥ (d. 53BH/571) (who was known as Munqidh b. al-Ṭammāḥ) one day went looking for a herd of she-camels that belonged to him. He found that they had strayed into the land of the tribe of Murra. So he sought the help of al-Ḥārith b. Zālim who was from the tribe of Murra. Al-Ḥārith called all of the tribesmen who had one of his she-camels in the hopes of regaining his lost herd. All of the lost she-camels were returned except for one which was called al-Lifā'. He searched everywhere until he found the camel being milked by two men. He said to the two: "Get away from that camel, it doesn't belong to you!" And he fell on them with a sword. The milker (*bā'in*) at this moment passed gas, whereupon his partner (*mu'allī*) said to al-Ḥārith that the camel wasn't his. However, al-Ḥārith responded with the phrase that became proverbial, "the ass of the milker is more revealing."⁸⁴ In the immediate context, the term *ist* may be a *kināya* for the woman's pudendum. Therefore, he is attempting to affirm his potency once again by encouraging the qadi to examine the question even more closely.⁸⁵

The husband then is forced to reaffirm his masculinity by stating:

Didn't I make your 'ninety thirty'?
I raided your tent not one time but twenty!
and made you abort your pregnancy?

These lines are particularly coarse. The meaning of the first line is unclear and may be intentionally so. His closing act of "raiding tents" seems to be a *kināya* referring to the sexual act. The man's violent imagery is also clumsy. He admits that his wife was at one time pregnant, and thus he is contradicting himself. His attempt to cover himself with *kināya* has apparently failed and wife then seizes on his misstep.

The discussion between the second wife and qadi seems on the surface to be far more direct, yet here too implication and inference are central. The wife first swears that she wants her husband either to abide by what is right or let her go. Al-Iskandarī then appears to wish to lower the monthly stipend, implying his own poverty, while the wife desires to raise it by mentioning the presence of her daughters. Finally, when al-Iskandarī pretends that the cost is simply too high for

84 al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-amthāl*, 1:421–22.

85 al-Maydānī suggests that the meaning of the *mathal* is used for a situation in which "a person undertakes a particular task and is devoted to it, for he is more knowledgeable in it than the person who is not devoted to it, and does not undertake it;" *ibid.*, 1:422.

him and threatens a divorce, the judge steps in to resolve the situation and pays the stipend. When they return and seek an additional support, the qadi no longer wishes to pay this, saying that they ought to leave or he will rule for a divorce. Finally, at his wit's end, the qadi threatens to rule for a divorce between them.

The husband responds by reciting a poem that implies that this judge was not the first to unjustly stigmatized him both as a passive partner in sex and a poor man. Quoting from a judicial maxim, the qadi states that “the qadi does not hear what is hateful.” He then seems to affirm that by not inquiring further into the case and allowing them to leave with his stipend, is better than permitting their offensive speech. Abū l-Faṭḥ's shameless rhetoric has enabled him to live another day.

Conclusion: What the Qadi Should not Hear

Central to many of the texts that make up the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī is a common focus on the power of words. Al-Hamadhānī's *Shāmiyya* utilizes the frame of a courtroom drama to draw attention to how language functions. In so doing, it affords some new perspectives on the relation between figurative language, truth, and power.

Locating language play at the qadi's court, the *Shāmiyya* focuses on the manner that language may conceal realities in the face of power. Litigants at the court are forced on numerous occasions to resort to the figure of euphemism (*kināya*) to describe socially stigmatized acts and circumstances. *Kināya* thus acts in the *maqāma* as a mode of hiding truths in the face of power for the sake of keeping face.

As is so often the case in the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī, however, this reflects only one aspect of the multiple powers of language. For as the litigants speak in their rhetorically sophisticated metaphors, the qadi is forced to get at the root meanings and must think and then utter coarse and shameful things. As the judge and reader listen to the final poem of al-Iskandarī, it becomes clear that the litigants were not whom they had first appeared to the qadi, ‘Īsā b. Hishām.

By uttering a legal maxim that “the qadi does not hear what is hateful,” ‘Īsā b. Hishām seems to endorse the very trick that has been played against him. Refusing to establish the truth about the litigants for fear of the social stigma attached to this, he has been cheated out of money. The conventional morality of ‘Īsā b. Hishām fails to understand the cunning words of the trickster.

Present-day readers of this *maqāma* may note with some irony that this *maqāma* which is so attentive to the problems of euphemism, social conventions, and the truth was silenced by Muḥammad ‘Abduh. Reading this *maqāma* closely we can see, however, that al-Hamadhānī was not merely satirizing the

conventional morality of the qadi. Nor is the *maqāma* a mere picaresque trick.

The *maqāma Shāmiyya*, like many of the other *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī, challenges the reader to appreciate the power of language to create reality as well as reflect it. Like “temporary” marriages of the trickster portrayed in the text, the relationship between author and reader might be based on a false premise. However, the arguments surrounding these debates are both entertaining and useful. And, after all, isn’t this the very definition of what *adab* should be?

CHAPTER SEVEN

A Fourth/Tenth Century Commentary on the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī

For Devin Stewart

Scholars of the *maqāma* genre have long noted that although there are numerous extensive pre-modern commentaries on the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) nearly contemporary with the work attesting to its popularity, the work of al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008) does not have a work of pre-modern exegesis (*sharḥ*) devoted to it.¹ As Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila notes, “No commentaries on his [al-Hamadhānī’s] works were written before modern times.”² Most scholars presumed that it was for this reason, that Muḥammad ‘Abduh chose al-Hamadhānī to be the text of a long modern *sharḥ* was intended to aid nineteenth century readers in understanding this classic work.

Recent examinations of the earliest manuscripts of al-Hamadhānī have shown this not to be the case. While ‘Abduh’s decision to provide a “modern commentary” for the *Maqāmāt* was decisive for the modern reception of this work, his lack of clarity about its origins has had real consequences for the study of the *maqāma*. In producing his commentary, ‘Abduh suggested to most experts in the field that the text as he found it had no pre-modern glosses. However, as this chapter will demonstrate, there were commentaries on the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī, in the three oldest extant manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt*, including the first manuscript, Istanbul Fatih 4097 (dating to 520/1126), London SOAS 47280 (dating to 562/1166–1167), and Yale Salisbury 63 (dating to 603/1206).³ Commentaries continued to travel with manuscripts of the work until the late nineteenth century and in some cases survived into the nineteenth century lithograph edition of 1298/1880.⁴

The commentaries, however, are not only important for understanding the

1 Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, “Marginalia Haririana,” *Zeitschrift Für Geschichte Der Arabisch Islamischen Wissenschaften* 11 (1997): 256 provides a preliminary list of the extensive pre-modern commentary tradition on al-Ḥarīrī.

2 Idem, *Maqama: A History of a Genre* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002), 124.

3 For descriptions of these manuscripts see Chapter Four.

4 See Ibrahim Geries, “Badī‘ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī’s *Maqāma* of Bishr B. ‘Awāna (*al-Bishriyya*),” *Middle Eastern Literatures* 14 (2011): 123 and following for a description of the lithograph edition of 1298/1880.

reception of the work. Based on internal evidence, we will demonstrate that the commentary appears to be contemporaneous to the production of individual *maqāmas*, and may, in part, represent an auto-commentary composed by al-Hamadhānī himself. This fact has some important implications for how al-Hamadhānī as author understood his own *maqāmāt* and how the work was understood by the first audiences.

The Presence of Commentaries in the Earliest Manuscripts

Three of the earliest manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī contain commentarial portions as part of the text. We provide in the Arabic text the entirety of the commentary which survives in the manuscripts of al-Hamadhānī. This includes the following *maqāmas*: 1. *Baṣriyya*, 2. *Fazāriyya*, 5. *Kūfiyya*, 26. *Ruṣāfiyya*, 38. *Irāqiyya* 39. *Nahīdiyya*. In the case of 38. *Irāqiyya*, the commentary is integral to the text of the *maqāma*, and thus we do not supply it in the Arabic editions appended here. Commentaries are found in all three of the earliest MSS witnesses to the text (MS Fatih 4097 copied in 520/1126, SOAS 47280 copied in 562/1166–1167, and Yale Salisbury 63 copied in 603/1206). The manuscripts however are not all consistent in their contents. MS Fatih 4097 includes a commentary on 26. *Ruṣāfiyya* (ff. 21b–23b), and 39. *Nahīdiyya* (ff. 38a–39b).

Commentarial Sections Present in all Three MSS:

Ruṣāfiyya and Nahīdiyya

In MS Fatih, the text of the commentary of the *Ruṣāfiyya*, explaining the difficult terms for thieves and thievery in the text immediately follows the text of the *maqāma*. Whereas in the *Nahīdiyya*, the commentary is preceded by the phrase “and the commentary of this section is...” (*wa-tafsīruhu*). In neither case, are the commentarial explanations attributed to an outside commentator.

Owing to the confusion of the manuscript exemplar MS Yale Salisbury 63 is unfortunately missing the commentarial section of the *Ruṣāfiyya*.⁵ However the commentary of the *Nahīdiyya* is present in the manuscript and is set off by the phrase, “the commentary” (*al-tafsīr*). The SOAS 47280 manuscript attributes both the commentary on the *Ruṣāfiyya* and the *Nahīdiyya* to Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, prefacing them with the phrase, “Badī' said,” (*qāla al-Badī' raḥimahu Allāh*), suggesting that the copyist clearly believed these commentaries to have been composed by al-Hamadhānī.

⁵ See our discussion of this manuscript in Chapter Three.

Commentaries Present in MS SOAS and MS Yale

MSS SOAS and Yale additionally contain glosses on three additional *maqāmāt*: the *Baṣriyya*, the *Fazāriyya*, and the *Kūfiyya*. These are introduced in both MSS with the expression “the commentary” (*al-tafsīr*) without a specific attribution of an author. Their contents are roughly similar in lexical structure with a common pattern “as for his statement...” (*wa-amma qawlubu...*) or “the meaning (*ma‘nā*) of his statement.” It should be noted that this formula differs from the one found in the *Nabīdiyya* which simply supplies the meanings of the words of the *maqāma* directly following the statement (*al-nabīda al-zubda*) without any interposed verbiage.

Dating the Commentary

As we have noted, commentaries appear to have been integral to the text of two of the *maqāmas* found in MS Fatih 4097 (*‘Irāqiyya*, *Ruṣāfiyya*), and found directly after one of the *maqāmas* (*Nabīdiyya*). This would suggest that an impetus for commenting on the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī dates to the earliest layers of the text and was likely carried out by the author himself. Our investigations suggest that there is little to no commentarial material that is post-dates the fourth/tenth century. All of the references we were able to investigate appear to be consonant with the idea that this commentarial material was produced in or around the circles relating to al-Hamadhānī.

There are some additional indications of the proximity of the commentary to al-Hamadhānī. In the commentary on the *Baṣriyya*, the author suggests that he has heard poetry directly recited by Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Fāris (d. 395/1004), the well-known teacher of al-Hamadhānī. These verses are similarly attributed to Ibn Fāris by Ibn Aydamir (d. 710/1310) in his important anthology.⁶ The commentator also refers to lines by the poet Abū al-Ḥusayn Barkawayh al-Zinjānī al-Tulūl or Thulūl, who is a direct contemporary of al-Hamadhānī mentioned in the *Yatīmat al-dabr*.⁷ Details such as these would be difficult for a later author to replicate or invent, and thus must be regarded as important for establishing the date of this commentary.

6 Muḥammad b. Sayf al-Dīn Aydamir, *K. al-Durr al-farīd wa-bayt al-qaṣīd*, ed. Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt am Main: Ma‘had Tārīkh al-‘Ulūm al-‘Arabiyya wa-l-Islāmiyya, 1988), 2:227.

7 Abū Manṣūr al-Tha‘alibī, *Yatīmat al-dabr fī maḥāsin abl al-‘aṣr*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Sa‘āda, 1956), 3:407.

Manuscripts Utilized in the Edition

The texts of the *Maqāmas* is based on the following manuscripts:

1. ف Istanbul Fatih 4097 (520/1126).
2. ب Yale University, Beinecke Library, Salisbury 63 (603/1206).
3. ل London SOAS 47280 (thirteenth/nineteenth century). This is a nineteenth century copy of a manuscript copied in the year 562/1166–1167.
4. ع Beirut Muḥammad ‘Abduh’s edition (1889).

The text of the Commentary is based on ب and ل.

Samples of the Manuscripts



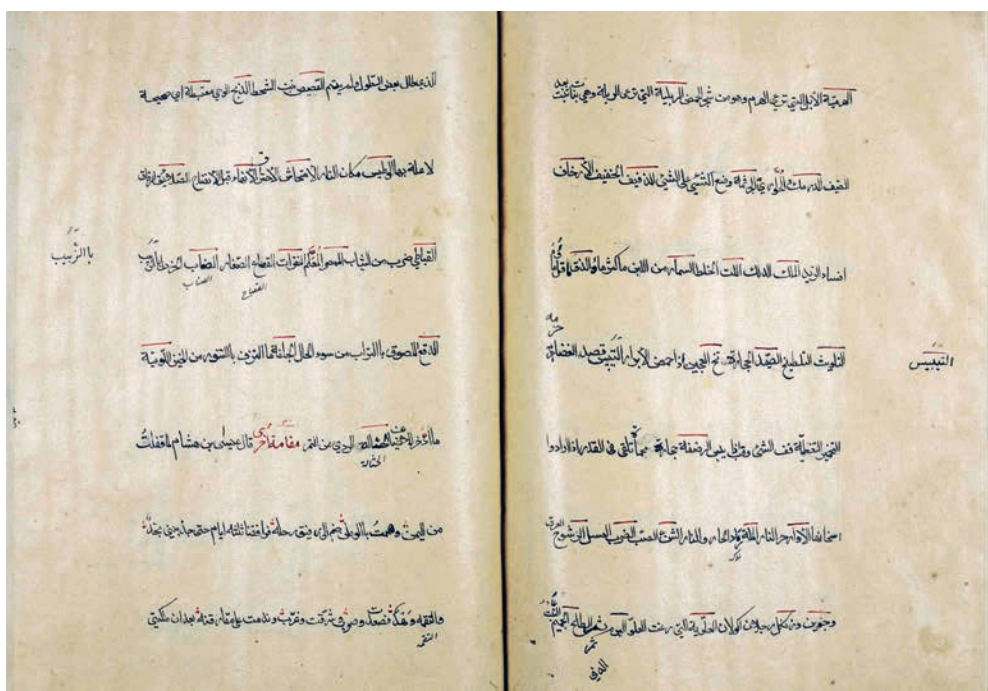
MS Yale University, Beinecke Library, Salisbury 63, fol. 2r



MS Yale University, Beinecke Library, Salisbury 63, fol. 26r



MS SOAS 47280, fol. 9v-10r



MS SOAS 47280, fol. 117v-118r

Text of Commentaries

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ⁸[المقامة الأولى البصريّة]⁹

حدّثنا¹⁰ عيسى بن هشام قال دخلت البصرة وأنا من سبّتي في فناء * ومن الزيّ في جبر ووشاء * ومن الغنى في بقر وشاء * فأتيته المبريد في¹¹ رفقة تأخذهم العيون وتحار فيهم الظنون¹² * ومشينا¹³ غير بعيد إلى بعض تلك المنتزهات¹⁴ * في تلك المتوجّهات * ومكّتنا أرض فحللناها * وعمدنا لقداح اللهو فأجلناها¹⁵ * مطرّحين للحشمة إذ لم يكن فينا * إلّا مبتا * فما كان أسرع¹⁶ من ارتداد الطرف حتّى¹⁷ عنّ لنا سواد * تخفضه وهاد * وترفعه نجاد * وعلمنا أنه يهّم بنا فأتلّعنا له حتّى أدّاه إلينا سيره ولقينا بتحيّة الإسلام * ورددنا عليه مقتضى السلام¹⁸ * ثمّ أجال فينا طرّفه فقال¹⁹ يا قوم ما منكم إلّا من يلحظني شزراً * ويوسّعني حزرًا²⁰ * وما ينبتكم عني أصدق متّي * أنا رجل من أهل الإسكندريّة * من الثغور الأمويّة * قد وطأ لي الفضل²¹ ورحبت بي عيس²² ونماني بيت²³ ثمّ جعجع بي الدهر عن ثّمه ورّمه وأبلاني بزغاليل²⁴ حمر الحواصل [من الرجز]

فَلَوْ يَعْضُونَ لِأَزْكَى 25 سَمُهُمْ
وَإِنْ رَحَلْنَا رَكْبُونِي كُلُّهُمْ

كَانَهُمْ حَيَاتُ أَرْضٍ مَّحَلَّةٍ
إِذَا نَزَلْنَا أَرْسَلُونِي كَأَسْبَا

- 8 (بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم): ف؛ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بالله تعالى أستفتح وبإفضاله أستنتج وعليه أتوكّل وأعضد وصلواته على نبيّه محمّد وآله أفضل الصلوات وأطيب التحيّات: ب؛ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله على جزيل نعمائه وجليل آلائه والصلاة على أكمل رسله وأفضل أنبيائه محمّد وآل محمّد سيّما على عليّ أعلى ألبائه شأنًا وأرجحهم إيمانًا أمّا بعد فهذا ممّا أملاها الأستاذ الفاضل أبو الفضل بديع الزمان أحمد بن الحسين الهمدانيّ رواية عن عيسى ابن هشام من مقامات أبي الفتح الإسكندريّ: ل.
- 9 سقط العنوان من ف؛ المقامة الأولى: ب؛ مقامة 1: ل؛ المقامة البصريّة: ع.
- 10 (حدّثنا): ف، ع؛ قال حدّثنا: ب؛ قال البديع حدّثنا: ل.
- 11 (في): ف، ع؛ مع: ب، ل.
- 12 (وتحار فيهم الظنون): ل؛ سقطت من ف، ب، ع.
- 13 (ومشينا): ف، ع؛ ومسينا: ب، ل.
- 14 (المنتزهات): ف، ب، ل؛ المنتزهات: ع.
- 15 (وعمدنا لقداح اللهو فأجلناها): سقطت من ف.
- 16 (أسرع): ف، ب؛ بأسرع: ل، ع.
- 17 (حتّى): ف، ب، ع؛ إذ: ل.
- 18 (مقتضى السلام): ب، ع، ل؛ مفضا الكلام: ف.
- 19 (فقال): ف، ب، ل؛ وقال: ع.
- 20 (حزرًا): ف، ب، ع؛ حزرًا: ل.
- 21 (وطأ لي الفضل): ف، ب، ل؛ وطأ لي الفضل كنفه: ع.
- 22 (ورحبت بي عيس): ب، ل؛ ورحيب عيش: ف؛ ورحّب بي عيش: ع.
- 23 (ونماني بيت): ب، ع؛ وأثناني نبت: ف؛ ونماني نبت: ل.
- 24 (وأبلاني بزغاليل): ف؛ وأتلاني زغاليل: ب، ل، ع.
- 25 (لأزكى): أزكى: ف؛ لذلي: ب؛ لذكى: ل، ع.

نَشَرَتْ²⁶ علينا البيض * وشمست بنا²⁷ الصُّفْر * وأكلتنا السود * وحطمتنا²⁸ الحُمر * وانتابنا أبو مالك
فما يلقانا خائر²⁹ إلا عن عُفْرِ³⁰ وهذه البصرة واديها من البصرة³¹ ماؤها هاصوم³² * وفقيرها مهضوم *
والمرء من خيرسه في شُغْل * ومن نفسه في كل * فكيف بمن [من الوافر]

يُطَوِّفُ ما يُطَوِّفُ نَمَّ يَأوي
كسَاهنَ البلى شُعْثًا فَنَمْسِي
إلى زُعْبٍ مُحَدَّدَةٍ³³ العيون
جِياعَ النَّابِ ضامِرَةَ البُطونِ

ولقد أصبحن اليوم وسرّحن الطَّرْفَ مِنِّي³⁴ في حَيِّ كَمَيْت * وفي بيت³⁵ بلا³⁶ بيت * وقلّبن الأَكْفَ
على لَيْت * ففَضَّضْنَ عُقَدَ الضَّلوع * وأفضن ماء الدموع³⁷ * وتداعين باسم الجوع * [من مجزوء
الكامل]

وَالْفَقْرُ في زَمَنِ اللَّئَا
رَغَبَ الكِرَامِ إلى اللَّئَا
م لِكُلِّ ذِي كَرَمٍ عَلامَه
م وتلكَ أَشْراطُ القِيامَه³⁸

ولقد اخترتكم أيها³⁹ السادة * فدلّنتني⁴⁰ عليكم السعادة * وقالت⁴¹ قَسَمًا إن لي فيكم⁴² لدَسَمًا * فهل
من فَتَى يُعَشِّيهنَّ أو يَغَشِّيهنَّ⁴³ * أم هل⁴⁴ من حرّ يُرَدِّيهنَّ أو يُغَدِّيهنَّ⁴⁵؟
قال عيسى بن هشام: فوالله ما استأذن على حجاب سَمعي كلامَ أبرع⁴⁶ ممّا سمعت⁴⁷ لا جرم إننا

- 26 (نَشَرَتْ): ف، ب، ل؛ ونشرت: ع.
27 (بنا): ف، ل؛ منّا: ب، ع.
28 (وحطمتنا): ف؛ وحطمتنا: ب، ل، ع.
29 (خائر): ف؛ أبو جابر: ب، ع؛ جابر: ل.
30 (عفر): ف، ب؛ عفر: ل، ع.
31 (واديها من البصرة): سقطت من ع.
32 (هاصوم): ف؛ هاصوم: ب؛ هضوم: ع؛ ضوم: ل.
33 (محددة): ف، ب، ع؛ مخزرة: ل.
34 (مئني): سقطت من ع.
35 (وفي بيت): ف، ب، ل؛ وبيت: ع.
36 (بلا): ف، ب، ل؛ كلا: ع.
37 (ففضضن عُقدَ الضلوع وأفضن ماء الدموع): ع؛ فضضن عُقدَ الضلوع وأفضن ماء الدموع: ف؛ فضضن
عقد الدموع وأفضن ماء الضلوع: ب؛ فضضن عُقدَ الدموع وأفضن ماء الضلوع: ل.
38 (رَغَبَ الكِرَامِ إلى اللَّئَامِ وتلكَ أَشْراطُ القِيامَه): سقطت من ف وب ول.
39 (اخترتكم أيها): ف؛ اخترتم: ب، ع؛ احترت بكم: ل.
40 (فدلّنتني): ف، ب، ل؛ ودلنتني: ع.
41 (وقالت): ف، ب، ل؛ وقلت: ع.
42 (لي فيكم): ف؛ لي فيهم: ب؛ فيهم: ل، ع.
43 (يُعَشِّيهنَّ أو يَغَشِّيهنَّ): ف، ب، ع؛ يُعَشِّيهنَّ أو يُغَدِّيهنَّ: ل.
44 (أم هل): ف، ب، ل؛ وهل: ع.
45 (يُرَدِّيهنَّ أو يُغَدِّيهنَّ): ف، ب، ل؛ يُغَدِّيهنَّ أو يُرَدِّيهنَّ: ع.
46 (أبرع): ف، ل؛ رائع أبرع: ب؛ رائع أرفع وأبدع: ع.
47 (سمعت): ف، ب، ل؛ سمعت منه: ع.

اسْتَمَحْنَا الْأَوْسَاطَ وَنَفَضْنَا⁴⁸ الْأَكْمَامَ وَنَحِينَا⁴⁹ الْجِيُوبَ وَنُلْتَهُ⁵⁰ مُطْرَفِي * وَأَخَذَتِ الْجَمَاعَةُ أَخْذِي * وَقَلْنَا لَهُ الْحَقُّ بِأَطْفَالِكَ فَأَعْرَضَ عَنَّا بَعْدَ شُكْرٍ وَقَاهُ * وَنَشَرْنَا مَلَأَ بِهِ فَاهُ *

التفسير⁵¹

يُقَالُ فُلَانٌ فِي فِتَاءٍ مِنْ سِنِّهِ إِذَا كَانَ فِي رِعَانِهِ أُخَذَ ذَلِكَ مِنَ الْفَتَى . وَالْوَشَاءُ جَمْعُ وَشِي . وَالْمِرْبَدُ مَوْضِعٌ بِالْبَصْرَةِ . وَمَعْنَى قَوْلِهِ تَأْخُذُهُمُ الْعِيُونَ يَعْنِي أَنَّهُمْ ظَرَفَاتٌ نِظَافٌ . وَمَعْنَى قَوْلِهِ مِسْنَا غَيْرَ بَعِيدٍ ، فَالْمَيْسُ التَّبِيخُشْرُ . وَأَمَّا قَوْلُهُ⁵² عَنَّ لَنَا سَوَادًا فَمَعْنَاهُ ظَهَرَ لَنَا شَخْصٌ ، قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ : إِذَا رَأَيْتَ بَلِيلًا⁵³ سَوَادًا فَلَا تَكُنْ أَجْبِنَ السَّوَادِينَ . وَمَعْنَى قَوْلِهِ تَخْفِضُهُ وَهَادٍ وَتَرْفَعُهُ نَجَادٌ فَجَمْعُ وَهْدٍ وَنَجْدٌ ، وَهُوَ الْمُنْخَفِضُ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ وَالْمَرْتَفِعُ مِنْهَا . وَمَعْنَى قَوْلِهِ فَاتَلَعْنَا لَهُ مَدَدَنَا⁵⁴ أَعْنَقْنَا إِلَيْهِ . قَالَ الْأَعَشَى⁵⁵ [مِنَ الْخَفِيفِ]

يَوْمٌ تُبْدِي لَنَا قُتَيْلَةً عَن جِيَدٍ تَلِيْعٍ تَرْيُنُهُ الْأَطْوَاقُ
وقال آخر [من الطويل]

ذَكَرْتُكَ لِمَا أَتَلَعْتُ مِنْ كِنَاسِهَا وَذَكَرْتُكَ سَبَاتٍ إِلَيَّ عَجِيْبٍ

وَأَمَّا قَوْلُهُ⁵⁶ قَدْ وَطَأَ لِي الْفَضْلُ فَمَعْنَاهُ أَنَّ⁵⁷ مَكَانِي مِنَ الْفَضْلِ وَطِيءَ . وَمَعْنَى قَوْلِهِ جَعَجَعَ بِي الدَّهْرُ عَن ثَمَّةٍ وَرَمَهُ أَيَّ أَعْجَزَنِي⁵⁸ وَحَبْسَنِي فِي مَوْضِعٍ سَوْءٍ . وَالنَّمُّ وَالرَّمُّ الْخَيْرُ . كَتَبَ ابْنُ زِيَادٍ⁵⁹ إِلَى ابْنِ سَعْدٍ⁶⁰ أَنَّ جَعَجَعَ بِالْحَسَنِينَ صَلَوَاتِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ⁶¹ وَأَصْحَابِهِ . وَمَعْنَى قَوْلِهِ⁶² أَتَلَانِي زَغَالِيلُ أَيَّ أُتْبِعُنِي أَطْفَالًا صَغَارًا . وَقَوْلُهُ حُمِرَ الْحَوَاصِلُ فَإِنَّهُ شَبَّهَهَا⁶³ بِفِرَاحِ الْقَطَا قَبْلَ أَنْ يَنْبِتَ شَعْرُهَا .⁶⁴

- | | |
|----|--|
| 48 | (ونفضنا): ف، ل، ع؛ وأفضنا: ب. |
| 49 | (ونحينا): ف، ع؛ ويحشنا: ب، ل. |
| 50 | (ونلته): ف، ب، ل؛ ونلته أنا: ع. |
| 51 | (التفسير): ب؛ تفسير: ل. |
| 52 | (وأما قوله): ب؛ وقوله: ل. |
| 53 | (رأيت بليل): ب؛ لقيت بالليل: ل. |
| 54 | (مددنا): ب؛ أي مددنا: ل. |
| 55 | ميمون بن قيس بن جندل، أعشى قيس، من شعراء الطبقة الأولى في الجاهلية، من شعراء المعلقات، ت. بعد 625/هـ. |
| 56 | (وأما قوله): ب؛ وقوله: ل. |
| 57 | (فمعناه أن): ب؛ فمعناه: ل. |
| 58 | (أعجزني): ب؛ أزعجني: ل. |
| 59 | عبيد الله بن زياد بن أبيه - ويلقب بأبي حفص. هو والي العراق ليزيد بن معاوية، ت. 67/هـ/686م. |
| 60 | هو عمر بن سعد بن أبي وقاص الزهري المدني، أمير، سيره عبيد الله بن زياد على أربعة آلاف لقتال الديلم، وكتب له عهده على الري، ت. 66/هـ/686م. |
| 61 | (صلوات الله عليه): سقطت من ل. |
| 62 | (ومعنى قوله): ب؛ وقوله: ل. |
| 63 | (شبهها): ب؛ شبههم: ل. |
| 64 | (شعرها): ل؛ شعره: ب. |

قال الحطيئة [من الطويل]

لِزُعْبٍ كَأَوْلَادِ الْقَطَا رَأَتْ خَلْفَهَا على عَاجِزَاتِ النَّهْضِ حُمُرٍ حَوَاصِلُهُ
وقوله نَشَزَتْ عَلَيْنَا الْبَيْضُ فَإِنَّهُ يَرِيدُ الدَّرَاهِمَ. وَشَمَسَتْ بِنَا⁶⁵ الصُّفْرُ أَي⁶⁶ الدَّنَانِيرُ. وَأَكَلْنَا الشُّودَ أَي
الليالي. وَحَطَّمْنَا الحُمُرَ أَي الدواهي. وَاتَّانَبْنَا أَبُو مَالِكٍ فَهُوَ الجُوعُ. يَقُولُ قَائِلٌ⁶⁷ [من الطويل]

أَبُو مَالِكٍ يَعْتَادُنَا فِي الظَّهَائِرِ يَزُورُ فَيُلْقِي رَحْلَهُ عِنْدَ جَابِرِ
وجابر ابن حبة الخبز. ويقال لقيته عن عُفْرٍ أَي على⁶⁸ فترة. وقوله وادبها من البصرة فمعناه من
الحجارة. قال الشاعر [من الطويل]

تَدَاعَيْنِ⁶⁹ بِاسْمِ الشَّيْبِ فِي مُتَلَّمٍ جَوَائِبُهُ مِنْ بَصْرَةَ وَسِلَامٍ

وأما قوله⁷⁰ فِي بَيْتِ بِلَا بَيْتٍ فمعناه بلا قوت. قال [من السريع]

أَصْبَحَ⁷¹ فِي الْبَيْتِ بِلَا بَيْتٍ يُقَلِّبُ⁷² الْكَفَّ عَلَى لَيْتٍ
وصاحب البيت يُرِيدُ الْكِرَى وَلَيْسَ فِي الْبَيْتِ سِوَى الْبَيْتِ

وأما قوله⁷³ [من مجزوء الكامل]

وَالْفَقْرُ فِي زَمَنِ اللَّثَا مَ لِكُلِّ ذِي كَرَمٍ عِلَامَهُ

فمن أبيات أنشدناها⁷⁴ أَبُو الْحَسَنِ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ فَارِسٍ زَكَرِيَّا⁷⁵ أَوْلَاهَا [من مجزوء الكامل]

أَيْنَ التَّقَانِيئُ يَا سَلَامَهُ دَامَتْ لِمَوْلَاكَ الْكَرَامَهُ
بَادِرٌ بِهِ لِمُجْوَعٍ مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ يَلْقَى حِمَامَهُ
فَلَقَدْ طَوَيْتُ وَقَدْ طَوَى غَيْرِي وَبِعْتُ لَهُ لِحَامَهُ
وَعَدًّا أَصْرَفُ سَرَجَهُ وَأَبِيْعُ بَعْدَ غَدِ حِزَامَهُ
وَالْفَقْرُ فِي زَمَنِ اللَّثَا مَ لِكُلِّ ذِي كَرَمٍ عِلَامَهُ
لَا تُعْجِبْنِكَ عِمَامَتِي فَالْفَقْرُ مِنْ تَحْتِ الْعِمَامَهُ

65 (وَشَمَسَتْ بِنَا): ل؛ وشمست: ب.

66 (أَي): ل؛ إلى: ب.

67 (قائل): ب؛ قائلهم: ل.

68 (على): ب؛ عن: ل.

69 (تداعين): سقطت من ب.

70 (وأما قوله): ب؛ وقوله: ل.

71 (أصبح): ب؛ أصبحت: ل.

72 (يقليب): ب؛ أقلب: ل.

73 (وأما قوله): ب؛ وقوله: ل.

74 (أنشدناها): ب؛ أنشدها: ل.

75 (فارس زكريا): ب؛ فارس: ل. أَبُو الْحَسَنِ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ فَارِسٍ زَكَرِيَّا الْقَزويني الرَّازي (ت 395هـ/1004م) لُغوي وإمام في اللغة والأدب، من شيوخ الهمداني.

أَمَا قَوْلُهُ إِنَّ فِيهِمْ لَدَسَمًا فَإِنَّهُ يَرِيدُ دَسْمَ الْيَدِ لَا دَسْمَ الْبَطْنِ. أَنشَدَنَا أَبُو الْحُسَيْنِ لِبِرَاكُوِيهِ التَّلُوِيَّيَّ 76
الزنجاني 77 [من البسيط]

قالوا افتدح ديسم الشاري فقلت لهم بالله بالله 78 ما في ديسم دسم

وأما قوله فاستمحننا له الأوساط فمعناه حللنا من أوساطنا ما كان عليها.

المقامة الثانية

[الفزارية] 79

حدّثنا عيسى بن هشام قال 80 كنت في بعض بلاد فزارة مُرتحلًا نجبية * وقائدًا جنبية * يسبحان بي سبّحًا وأنا أهُمُّ بالوطن فلا الليل يُثنيني بوعيده * ولا البعد يلويني ببيده * وظلت 81 أخطبُ ورقَ النهار * بعضًا 82 التسيار * وأخوضُ بطنَ الليل * بحوافر الخيل * فبينما أنا في ليلة يضلُّ بها الغطاطُ * ولا يبصر فيها الوطواطُ * أسيحُ سبيحًا فلا 83 سانحُ إلا السبع * ولا بارحُ إلا الضبع * إذ عنَّ لي راكبُ تامِّ الآلات 84 * ويطوي 85 إليَّ منشورَ الفلاة 86 * فأخذني منه ما يأخذ الأعزلُ من شاكي السلاح لكنني تجلّدت 87 فقلتُ أرضك لا أمُّ لك فدونك شرطُ الحداد * وخرطُ القَتَاد * وخصمُ ضخمٍ وحميةُ أزديةُ وأنا سلّمُ إن شئتُ 88 * فقل 89 من أنت * فإن قلتُ 90 سلّمًا أصبتُ * وخيرًا أجتبتُ 91 * قال نصيحُ إن شاورت * فصيح 92 إن حاورت 93 * ودون اسمي لثام 94 * لا تُميظه أعلام 95 * قلتُ 96 فما الطُّعمَة؟ قال 97 أجوب جيوبَ البلاد * حتّى أقعَ على جفنة جواد * ولي فؤادٌ يخدمه لسان * وبيانٌ يرّفقه بنان * وقصاراي

- | | |
|----|--|
| 76 | (لبراكويه التلوي): ل؛ ابن اللوة: ب. |
| 77 | براكويه الزنجاني المعروف بالتلول (أو التلول)، من شعراء بيتمة الدهر. |
| 78 | (بالله بالله): ب؛ والله والله: ل. |
| 79 | (المقامة الثانية): ف، ب؛ مقامة أخرى: ل؛ المقامة الفزارية: ع. |
| 80 | (حدّثنا عيسى بن هشام قال): ف، ب، ع؛ قال حدّثنا عيسى بن هشام: ل. |
| 81 | (وظلت): ف، ب، ل؛ فظلت: ع. |
| 82 | (ورق النهار بعضًا): ب، ل، ع؛ من ورق النهار بعض: ف. |
| 83 | (فلا): ف، ب، ل؛ ولا: ع. |
| 84 | (تامّ الآلات): ف، ب، ل؛ تامّ الآلات يؤمّ الأثلاث: ع. |
| 85 | (ويطوي): ف؛ يطوي: ب، ل، ع. |
| 86 | (الفلاة): ف، ب، ل؛ الفلوات: ع. |
| 87 | (لكنني تجلّدت): سقطت من ف. |
| 88 | (وأنا سلّم إن شئت): ف، ب، ل؛ وأنا سلّم إن شئت وحرّب إن أردت: ع. |
| 89 | (فقل): ف؛ فقل لي: ب، ل، ع. |
| 90 | (فإن قلت): ف؛ فقال: ب، ل، ع. |
| 91 | (وخيرًا أجتبت): ف؛ وقلت خيرًا أجتبت فمن أنت: ب، ل؛ فقلتُ خيرًا أجتبت فمن أنت: ع. |
| 92 | (فصيح): ف، ع؛ وفصيح: ب، ل. |
| 93 | (حاورت): ف، ب، ل؛ جاورت: ع. |
| 94 | (لثام): ب، ل، ع؛ لثام: ف. |
| 95 | (أعلام): ف، ب، ل؛ الأعلام: ع. |
| 96 | (قلت): ف، ل، ع؛ فقلت: ب. |
| 97 | (قال): ف، ل، ع؛ فقال: ب. |

كريم يُخَفِّف⁹⁸ لي جنبيته * وينفض لي⁹⁹ حقييته * كابن حُرَّةٍ طَلَعَ عَلَيَّ بِالْأَمْسِ * طلوعَ الشمس *
وَعَرَبَ عَنِّي بِغُرُوبِهَا لَكِنَّهُ غَابَ وَلَمْ يَغِبْ عَنِّي¹⁰⁰ تَذَكَارَهُ * وودَّع وشيئعتني¹⁰¹ آثاره * ولا يُبْنِكُ عنها *
أَقْرَبُ مِنْهَا * وأوماً إلى ما كان لِبَسِّهِ فَقُلْتُ شَحَاذًا * وَرَبَّ الكعبة أَخَاذًا¹⁰² * له في الصنعة نَفَاذ، بل
هو فيها أستاذ * ولا بدَّ من أن¹⁰³ ترشح له وتسمح¹⁰⁴ عليه فقلت يا فتى قد حَلَيْتَ¹⁰⁵ عبارتك فأين
شعرك من كلامك؟ فقال وأين كلامي من شعري؟ ثم استمدَّ غريرته¹⁰⁶ * ورفع عقيرته * بصوت ملاً
الوادي وأنشأ يقول: [من الطويل]

وَأَرْوَعٌ أَهْدَاهُ لِي¹⁰⁷ اللَّيْلُ وَالْفَلَا
عَرَضْتُ عَلَى نَارِ الْمَكَارِمِ عُودَهُ
وَخَادَعْتُهُ عَنْ مَالِهِ فَخَدَعْتُهُ
وَلَمَّا تَجَالَيْنَا وَأَحْمَدَ مِنْطَقِي
فَمَا هَزَّ إِلَّا صَارِمًا حِينَ هَزَّنِي
وَلَمْ أَلْقَهُ¹¹² إِلَّا أَعْرَّ مُحَجَّلًا
وَحُمَشْتُ¹⁰⁸ تَمَسُّ الْأَرْضَ لَكِنَّ كَلَا¹⁰⁹ وَلَا
فَكَانَ مُعَمًّا فِي السِّيَادَةِ مُخْوَلًا
وَسَاهَلْتُهُ فِي¹¹⁰ بَرِّهِ فَتَسَهَّلَا
بِلَانِي مِنْ نَظْمِ الْقَرِيضِ بِمَا بَلَا
وَلَمْ يَلْقَنِي إِلَّا إِلَى الصَّبْرِ¹¹¹ أَوْلَا
وَمَا تَحْتَهُ إِلَّا أَعْرَّ مُحَجَّلًا

فقلتُ له على رسلك يا فتى ولك ما يعجبني¹¹³ حكمتك فقال الحقيية بما فيها فقلتُ إنَّ وحاملتها
ثم قبضتُ بجمعي عليه فقلتُ¹¹⁴ لا والذي ألهمها لَمَسًا * وشقها من واحد¹¹⁵ خمسًا * لا نزيلها¹¹⁶
أو أعلم علمك * فحدر لثامه من¹¹⁷ وجهه، فإذا هو¹¹⁸ والله شيخنا أبو الفتح الإسكندري، فما لبثتُ
أن قلتُ: [من الهزج]

- 98 (يخفف): ف، ب، ل؛ يخفص: ع.
99 (لي): ف، ب، ل؛ إلي: ع.
100 (يغب عني): ف، ب؛ يغب: ل، ع.
101 (وشيئعتني): ب، ل، ع؛ وشيئعتني: ف.
102 (أخاذه): ب، ل، ع؛ أخاذه: ف.
103 (من أن): ف، ل، ع؛ أن: ب.
104 (ترشح له وتسمح): ف؛ ترشح له وتسمح: ب، ل؛ ترشح له وتسمح عليه: ع.
105 (حليت): ف؛ أحليت: ب، ل؛ جليت: ع.
106 (غريرته): ف، ب، ع؛ غديرته: ل.
107 (لي): ب، ل، ع؛ إلي: ف.
108 (وحمشت): ف، ب، ل؛ وخمست: ع.
109 (كلا ولا): ب، ل، ع؛ لا ولا: ف.
110 (في): ف، ب، ل؛ من: ع.
111 (الصبر): ف؛ السبق: ب، ل، ع.
112 (ألقه): ف؛ أره: ب، ل، ع.
113 (ما يعجبني): ف؛ فيما يصحبي: ب، ل، ع.
114 (فقلت): ف، ل؛ وقلت: ب، ع.
115 (واحد): ف، ب، ل؛ واحدة: ع.
116 (نزيلها): ف؛ ترايلنا: ب، ل؛ ترايلني: ع.
117 (من): ف، ب؛ عن: ل، ع.
118 (فإذا هو): ف، ب، ع؛ فإذا: ل.

تَوَشَّحَتْ أَبَا الْفَتْحِ بِهَذَا السَّيْفِ مُخْتَالًا
فَمَا تَصْنَعُ بِالسَّيْفِ إِذَا لَمْ تَكُنْ قَتْلًا؟¹¹⁹

[التفسير]

معنى¹²⁰ قوله يَسْبِحَانِ بِي سَبْحًا فَإِنَّهُ يَشْبَهُ سِيرَهُ¹²¹ بالسباحة. ومعنى قوله أهماً بالوطن أي أريد¹²² الوطن. قال الشاعر [من الطويل]

أَهْمُ بِأَرْضٍ وَالتَّجَشُّمُ نَحْوَهَا فَحَطِّي لِرَحْلِي حَيْثُ مَا أترَحَلُ

ومعنى¹²³ قوله فلا الليل يثيني بوعيده يصف شدته وهوله حتى كأنه يتوعد الساري. وأما معنى¹²⁴ قوله ولا البعد يلويني ببیده فالبيد جمع البيداء، تقول العرب في أمثالها بعض الوعيد يذهب في البيد. ومعنى قوله أخط ورق النهار بعصا التسيار أي أضرب به¹²⁵ الأرض، يقال¹²⁶ ذلك في السير والسرى جميعاً. قال الفرزدق¹²⁷ [من الطويل]

سَرَوَا يَخِيطُونَ اللَّيْلَ وَهِيَ تَلْفُهُمْ إِلَى شَعْبِ الْأَكْوَارِ مِنْ كُلِّ جَانِبِ

والتسيار تفعال من السير، تقول العرب في أمثالها فلان ألقى عصا تسياره إذا لم يسر. قال الراجز
والتنجم قد ألقى عصا تسياره

ومعنى قوله أخوض بطن الليل بحوافر الخيل فهو تعبير عن السرى. قال الفرزدق [من الطويل]

فَأَوْدَى¹²⁸ مِرَاحَ الدَّاعِرِيَّةِ¹²⁹ خَوْضُهَا بِنَا اللَّيْلِ إِذْ نَامَ الدَّثُورُ الْمُلْفَفُ

وأما قوله في ليلة¹³⁰ يضل بها الغطاط، الغطاط¹³¹ القطا واحدها¹³² غطاطة. قال الهذلي¹³³ [من الوافر]

- | | |
|-----|--|
| 119 | (فصغ ما أنت حليت به سيفك خلتالا): زيدت في ع. |
| 120 | (معنى): ب؛ قال البديع معنى: ل. |
| 121 | (سيره): ب؛ سيرهما: ل. |
| 122 | (أي أريد): ب؛ أريد: ل. |
| 123 | (ومعنى): ب؛ وأما: ل. |
| 124 | (وأما معنى): ب؛ ومعنى: ل. |
| 125 | (به): ب؛ بها: ل. |
| 126 | (يقال): ب؛ ويقال: ل. |
| 127 | أبو فراس همّام بن غالب الشهير بالفرزدق، شاعر معروف اشتهر بالهجاء، ت. 110هـ/728م أو 112هـ/730م. |
| 128 | (فأودى): ب؛ فافنى: ل. |
| 129 | (الداعرية): ب؛ الداعرية: ل. |
| 130 | (في ليلة): ب؛ ليلة: ل. |
| 131 | (الغطاط): ب؛ يعني: ل. |
| 132 | (واحدتها): ب؛ واحدتها: ل. |
| 133 | أبو أثيلة مالك بن عويمر بن عثمان بن حبيش الهذلي، لقبه المتنخل، من مضر، شاعر من نوابغ هذيل قبل الإسلام. |

وماءٍ قَدْ وَرَدَتْ أُمَيْمٌ طامٍ على أَرْجَائِهِ زَجَلُ الْغَطَاطِ
والعرب تصف الحَمَامَ بالهداية حتى إنهم يقولون¹³⁴ أهدى من القَطَا. قال الطَّرِمَاحُ [من الطويل]

تميمٌ يَطْرُقُ اللَّوْمَ أَهْدَى مِنَ الْقَطَا وَلَوْ سَلَكَتْ طُرُقَ الْمَكَارِمِ ضَلَّتِ

يقول إنَّ اللَّيْلَ لشِدَّةَ ظلمته لا يهتدي فيها القَطَا. وأمَّا قوله لا يبصر فيها الوطواط الخفّاش تقول العرب في أمثالها أَبْصَرَ بِاللَّيْلِ من الوطواط وله تفسيران، أحدهما أعلم بالليل والآخر أَبْصَرَ بِاللَّيْلِ، من الإبصار وهي الرؤية. ومعنى قوله أَسِيحٌ سَيِّحًا فمعناه أُسِيرَ سَيِّرًا عَنيفًا. قال الشاعر [من مجزوء الكامل]

وَأَرَى الْجِبَالَ بِكُمْ تَسِيحٌ حُحُّ أُمِّ الْجَمَالِ بِكُمْ تَسِيرٌ
وَأَمَّا قوله لا سانح إلا السَّبْعُ فالسانح ما وُلَاك ميامنه من الطَّيْرِ والوحش. قال الشاعر [من الكامل]

سَنَحَ الْغُرَابُ فُقُلْتُ وَصَلَّ يَسْنَحُ¹³⁵

والبارح ما وُلَاك مياسره، والعرب تتفاعل بالسَّانِحِ وتتنطير من البارح. قال الأعشى [من الرمل]

ما تَعِيفُ الْيَوْمَ مِنْ طَيْرٍ رَوْحٌ¹³⁶ مِنْ غُرَابٍ الْبَيْنِ أَوْ تَيْسٍ بَرَحٌ
وَأَمَّا قوله رَاكِبٌ تَامَ الآلاتِ فمعناه شاكي السَّلَاحِ. وقوله شرط الحِدادِ فمصدر¹³⁷ شَرَطَهُ إِذَا جَرَّحَهُ ولذلك سُمِّيَ شرط الحِجَّامِ ومِشْرَاطِهِ.¹³⁸ والحِدادِ السِّوْفِ والرَّمَّاحِ والنَّبَلِ وسائر الأسلحة،¹³⁹ قال الشاعر [من الوافر]

تَمَنَّى أَنْ يَزُورَ دِيَارَ لَيْلَى وَدُونَ مَزَارِهَا شَرَطَ الْحِدَادِ
وَأَمَّا قوله خرط القتاد فمعناه شوكته. قال الشاعر [من الكامل]

لَا تَطْلُبْنَهَا يَا يَزِيدُ فَدُونَهَا خَرَطُ الْقِتَادِ تَهَابُ شَوْكَتِهَا الْيَدُ
وَأَمَّا قوله حَمِيَّةٌ أَزْدِيَّةٌ فالأزد قبيلة يُضْرَبُ بها المثل في الحمية.¹⁴⁰ قال الشاعر [من الطويل]

إِذَا مَا شَرِينَا الْجَاشِرِيَّةَ لَمْ نُبَلِّ أَمِيرًا وَإِنْ كَانَ الْأَمِيرُ مِنَ الْأَزْدِ

قال آخر¹⁴¹ [من الوافر]

وَجَارُ الْأَزْدِ مَسْكَنُهُ التُّجُومُ

134 (يقولون): ب؛ ليقولون فلان: ل.
135 (يسنح): ب؛ يسنح لو أن زجري: ل؛ وتتم البيت في نسخ أخرى: لو أن زجري كان في المتنسح.
136 (من طير رَوْح): ب؛ في الطير الروح: ل.
137 (فمصدر): ل؛ والشرط مصدر: ب.
138 (ومشراطه): ب؛ ومشراطه: ل.
139 (وسائر الأسلحة): ب؛ والأسلحة كلها: ل.
140 (فالأزد قبيلة يُضْرَبُ بها المثل في الحمية): ب؛ فإن الأزد أحمى العرب: ل.
141 (قال آخر): ب؛ وقال الآخر: ل.

ومعنى قوله دون اسمي لثام لا تميظه أعلام فمعناه أنني لا أخبرك باسمي. أنشدني أبو عليّ القاشاني¹⁴² ولا¹⁴³ أدري أجاهليّ هو أم إسلاميّ أم عصريّ،¹⁴⁴ شعر [من الطويل]

وَلَيْلِ خُدَارِيّ الْجَنَاحِ مُخَدَّرِ الصَّـ
بَاحِ حَرَوْنَ النَّجْمِ رَحْبِ الْمَاكِمِ
أَمَطْتُ لِثَامِيهِ بِشُهْبِ أَسْنَتِي
وَشَقَقْتُ بُرْدِيهِ بِعُرِّ عَزَائِمِي

وأما قوله الطعمة فمعناه الحرفة وهو¹⁴⁵ التكبّس، ويُقال جابَ جيوب البلاد¹⁴⁶ إذا خرقتها وقطعها.¹⁴⁷ قال الله عزّ وجلّ¹⁴⁸ وَتَمُودَ الَّذِينَ جَابُوا الصَّخْرَ بِالْوَادِ.¹⁴⁹ وأما قوله يخفّف لي عن جنبتيه أي يعطيني ما عليها فيخفّف حملها، وفي هذا المعنى قول الشاعر [من الكامل]

تَرِدُ الْمَطِيّ بِنَا مَشَارِعَ جودِهِمْ
فَإِذَا وَرَدْنَ بِنَا وَرَدْنَ خَفَائِقًا
فَتُطِيلُ عِنْدَ وُروِدِهَا الْأَعْوَالَا
وَإِذَا صَدَرْنَ بِنَا صَدَرْنَ ثِقَالَا

وأما قوله طلع عليّ بالأمس طلوع الشمس فمعناه وقت طلوع الشمس فيكون نصبًا على الظرف كما يقولون أتيتك مقدم الحاجّ. وأما قوله قد أحليتَ عبارتك فمعناه وجدتها حلوا كما قالوا قاتلناكم فما أحببناكم وسألناكم فما أبخلناكم وشاعرناكم فما أفحمنناكم أي ما وجدناكم مفحمين بُخلاء جُبّناء.¹⁵⁰ وأما قوله رفع عقيرته فمعناه صاح صياحًا شديدًا وأصل ذلك أنّ رجلاً قُطعت رجله فرفعها¹⁵¹ وصاح ثمّ صار¹⁵² مثلًا لكلّ صائح. وأما قوله وَحُمَشْ¹⁵³ تَمَسُّ الْأَرْضَ لَكِنْ كَلَا ولا، فالأحمش السريع الخفيف يصف قوائم فرسه. قال الشاعر [من البسيط]

تُخْفِي التُّرَابَ بِأَطْلَافٍ ثَمَانِيَةٍ
فِي أَرْبَعِ مَشْهُنِّ الْأَرْضِ تَحْلِيلِ¹⁵⁴

أي أنّها تمسّ الأرض وكأنّها لا تمسّها لسرعة ما ترفعها. وأما قوله تجالينا فمعناه جلا على نفسه وجلوت عليه نفسي. وأما قوله على رسلك أي اتّمد. وقوله إنّ وحاملتها فمعناه نَعَم والناقّة التي هي الحقيبة عليها.¹⁵⁵ وقوله قبضتُ بجُمعي عليه أي بأصابعي أجمع. وقوله لا والذي ألهمها¹⁵⁶ لمسا فلان¹⁵⁷

142 (القاشاني): القاشاني: ب، ل. أبو عليّ الحسين بن أبي القاسم القاشاني، من شعراء اليتيمة.

143 (ولا): ل؛ فلا: ب.

144 (أم عصريّ): سقطت من ل.

145 (وهو): ب؛ وهي: ل.

146 (البلاد): ب؛ الأفاق: ل.

147 (وقطعها): سقطت من ل.

148 (عزّ وجلّ): ب؛ تعالي: ل.

149 سورة الفجر: 9.

150 (مفحمين بُخلاء جُبّناء): ب؛ أجنة بخلاء مفحمين: ل.

151 (فرفعها): ب؛ فأخذها: ل.

152 (صار): ب؛ صارت: ل.

153 (وَحُمَشْ): ب؛ حمس: ل.

154 (فِي أَرْبَعِ مَشْهُنِّ الْأَرْضِ تَحْلِيلِ): سقطت من ب.

155 (هي الحقيبة عليها): ب؛ عليها هذه الحقيبة: ل.

156 (ألهمها): سقطت من ب.

157 (فلان): ب؛ فإن: ل.

الأصابع حواسّ اللّمس. وقوله فَمَا تَصْنَعُ بِالسَّيْفِ إِذَا لَمْ تَكُ قَتَلًا فتضمين لأبيات وهذا البيت آخرها¹⁵⁸
[من مجزوء الوافر]

لَقَدْ¹⁵⁹ أُبْلِغْتُ مَا قَالَا فَمَا بَأَيْتُ مَا قَالَا
دَعِ السَّيْفَ لِمَنْ يَعْصِي بِهِ فِي¹⁶⁰ الْحَرْبِ أَبْطَالَا
وَصُغْ مَا كُنْتَ حَلَيْتَ بِهِ سَيْفَكَ¹⁶¹ خَلْجَالَا
فَمَا¹⁶² تَصْنَعُ بِالسَّيْفِ إِذَا لَمْ تَكُ قَتَلَا

المقامة الخامسة

[الكوفيّة]¹⁶³

حدّثنا عيسى بن هشام قال كنتُ وأنا فتىّ السنّ أشدُّ رَحلي لكلِّ عَماية * وأركض طرفي¹⁶⁴ إلى كلِّ
غَواية * حتّى شربت العمر¹⁶⁵ سائغه * ولبست الدهر¹⁶⁶ سابغه * فلمّا صاح¹⁶⁷ النهار بجانب ليلى
* وجمعت للمعاد ذليلى * وطئت ظهر المروضة * لأداء المفروضة * وصحبنى في الطريق رفيق¹⁶⁸ لم
أنكره من سوء فلمّا تخالينا وخيرنا بحالينا¹⁶⁹ * سفرت القصّة عن أصل كوفي * ومذهب صوفي *
وسرنا فلمّا حللنا¹⁷⁰ الكوفة ملنا إلى داره ودخلناها وقد بقل وجه النهار واخضرّ جانبه * ولمّا¹⁷¹ اغتمض
جفن الليل وطرّ شاربه * قرع علينا الباب¹⁷² * فقلنا من المنتاب؟¹⁷³ * فقال¹⁷⁴ وفدّ الليل وبريدُه *
وفلّ الجوع وطريدُه * وحرقّ قاده الضّر * والزمن المرّ * وضيّف¹⁷⁵ وطؤه خفيف * وضالّته رغيف * وجار
يستعدي على الجوع * والجيب المرقوع * وغريب أوقدت النار على سفره * ونبح العوّاء في¹⁷⁶ أثره *

- 158 (وهذا البيت آخرها): ب؛ وهي: ل.
159 (لقد): ب؛ ولقد: ل.
160 (به في): ب؛ في: ل.
161 (سيفك): ل؛ نفسك: ب.
162 (فما): ل؛ وما: ب.
163 (المقامة الخامسة): ف، ب؛ مقامة أخرى: هـ؛ ل؛ المقامة الكوفيّة: ع.
164 (طرفي): ل، ع؛ طوفي: ف، ب.
165 (العمر): ف، ب، ل؛ من العمر: ع.
166 (الدهر): ف، ب، ل؛ من الدهر: ع.
167 (صاح): ف، ب، ل؛ انصاح: ع.
168 (رفيق): ف، ل، ع؛ رفيقًا: ب.
169 (تخالينا وخيرنا بحالينا): ف؛ تجالينا وحين تخالينا: ب؛ تجالينا وخيرنا بحالينا: ل، ع.
170 (حللنا): ف؛ أحلّتنا: ب، ل، ع.
171 (ولمّا): ف، ب، ع؛ فلمّا: ل.
172 (علينا الباب): ف، ب، ع؛ الباب علينا: ل.
173 (المنتاب): ف، ل؛ القارع: ب؛ القارع المنتاب: ع.
174 (فقال): ف، ب، ع؛ قال: ل.
175 (وضيّف): ب، ل، ع؛ وضعيف: ف.
176 (في): ف، ب، ل؛ على: ع.

وُنُبذت خلفه الحصاة¹⁷⁷ * وَكُنِسَتْ بعده العرصات * نظيره¹⁷⁸ طَلِيح * وعيشه تَبْرِيح * ومن دون فرخيه مهأمه فيح * قال عيسى بن هشام قبضت¹⁷⁹ من كيسي قبضة الليث¹⁸⁰ * وبعثتها¹⁸¹ إليه * وقلت زدنا سؤالاً، نَزِدكَ نوالاً * فقال ما عَرِضَ عَرَفُ العود، على أَحَرَّ من نار الجود * ولا لُقِي وفد البر * بأعظم¹⁸² من بريد الشكر * ومن ملك الفضل فليؤاس * فلن يذهب العرف بين الله والناس * وأما أنت فحَقَّقَ اللهُ آمالك * وجعل اليد العليا لك * قال عيسى بن هشام ففتحنا له الباب وقلنا ادخل¹⁸³ فإذا هو والله شيخنا¹⁸⁴ أبو الفتح الإسكندري فقلت يا أبا الفتح شَدَّ ما بَلَغْتَ لك¹⁸⁵ الخصاصة * وهذا الوقت¹⁸⁶ خصاصة * فتبسّم وأنشأ يقول [من مجزوء الخفيف]

لا يَغْرَتُكَ الذي أنا فيه مِنَ الطَّلَبِ
أنا في ثَرَوَةٍ تُشَدُّ قُ لها بُرْدَةُ الطَّرَبِ
أنا لو شِئْتُ لا تَحُدُّ تُ سُقوفاً¹⁸⁷ من الذَّهَبِ

التفسير

صاح¹⁸⁸ النهار بجانب ليلي يعني الشيب ظهر في لحيته¹⁸⁹ كما قال الفرزدق [من الكامل]

وَالشَّيْبُ يَنْهَضُ فِي الشَّبَابِ كَأَنَّهُ لَيْلٌ يَصِيحُ بِجَانِبَيْهِ نَهَارٌ

والمَرُوضَةُ الناقية إذا رِيضت¹⁹⁰ عن صعوبة وأراد بالمفروضة الحجة. وقلنا¹⁹¹ تجالينا أي جلا كل واحد منا نفسه.¹⁹² وأما قوله قد بقل وجه النهار أي ظهر سواد الليل،¹⁹³ وقوله اخضر جانبه أي اسود. والعرب تقول لكل أسود أخضر ولكل أخضر أسود.¹⁹⁴ قال الله تعالى مُدْهَمَاتَانِ،¹⁹⁵ أي خضراوان من الري، وسمي سواد العراق سواداً لكثرة خضرته حتى إنهم يسمون الأسود أصفر. قال الأعشى [من الخفيف]

177 (الحصاة): ف، ب، ل؛ الحصيات: ع.

178 (نظيره): نضوه: ف، ب، ل؛ وفي هامش ف: نظيره؛ فنضوه: ع.

179 (قبضت): ف؛ فقبضت: ب، ل، ع.

180 (الليث): ف، ب، ع؛ الليث بلا ريث: ل.

181 (وبعثتها): ف، ل، ع؛ وبعثت بها: ب.

182 (بأعظم): ف، ب؛ بأحسن: ل، ع.

183 (ادخل): ف، ب، ع؛ ادخل فدخل: ل.

184 (هو والله شيخنا): ف، ع؛ والله: ب، ل.

185 (لك): ف؛ منك: ب، ل، ع.

186 (الوقت): ف؛ الزي: ب، ل، ع.

187 (سقوفاً): ف، ل، ع؛ شفاغاً: ب.

188 (صاح): ب؛ قوله صاح: ل.

189 (لحيته): ب؛ لحيتي: ل.

190 (إذا رِيضت): ب؛ رِيضت: ل.

191 (وقولنا): ب؛ وقوله: ل.

192 (نفسه): ب؛ نفسه عن صاحبه: ل.

193 (الليل): ب؛ الليل فيه: ل.

194 (والعرب... أسود): سقطت من ب.

195 سورة الرحمن: 64.

تِلْكَ خَيْلِي مِنْهُ وَتِلْكَ رِكَابِي هُنَّ صُفْرٌ أَوْلَادُهَا كَالزَّيْبِ

وقال الله تعالى جَمَالَةٌ صُفْرٌ¹⁹⁶ أي سود. وأمّا قوله¹⁹⁷ اغتمض جفن الليل فمعناه أن الليل كان مظلمًا. ومعنى قوله¹⁹⁸ طرّ شاربِه أي بدت أوائل سواده. وأمّا قوله فَلَ الْجُوعِ وطريده فالفلّ ما هزمته،¹⁹⁹ يقال رجلٌ فلٌّ وقومٌ فلٌّ؛ والطريد ما طرده،²⁰⁰ وإذا وُلِد للرجل ابنان فالأول طريدٌ الثاني. وقوله ضالّته رغيّف لم يُرد أنه ضلّ له رغيّف لكنّه عبّر عن أن يطلب رغيّفًا. وأمّا قوله يستعدي على الجوع والجيب المرقوع فإنّه²⁰¹ عبّر عن العريّ والعرب تخصّ بذلك الجيب حتّى إنهم ليقولون هو نقيّ الجيب طاهر الجيب. قال الشاعر [من الكامل]

قَدْ يُدْرِكُ الشَّرْفَ الْفَتَى وَرِدَاؤُهُ خَلَقَ وَجَيْبٌ قَمِيصِهِ مَرْقُوعٌ²⁰²

وأمّا قوله غريبٌ أوقدت النار في سفّره فإنّ العرب كانت تقول إذا اغترب الرجل فأوقدت نارًا على إثره لم يرجع وإذا نبج الكلب في أثره لم يرجع²⁰³ وإذا نبذت الحصاة خلفه وإذا كُنست الدّار بعده لم يرجع. قال الشاعر [من الكامل]

النَّارُ مَوْقِدَةٌ عَلَى سَفْرِهِ وَالنَّابِجُ الْعَوَاءُ فِي أَثَرِهِ
لَا تَكْحَلُ الْعَيْنُ الَّتِي سَعَدَتْ بِذَهَابِهِ أَبَدًا بِمُحْتَضَرِهِ

وأمّا قوله نِضُوهُ طَلِيحٌ فالنّضو البعير المهزول، والطليح المتعب، يقال طَلَحَ يَطْلَحُ. قال الأعشى [من الرمل]

فَأَشْتَكِي الْأَعْيَاءَ مِنْهُ وَطَلَحَ

وأمّا قوله عيشه تبريح فمعناه جهْدٌ،²⁰⁴ يُقال برّح به الأمر أي جهّده. وأمّا قوله من دون فرخيّه مهامّه فيحّ، فجمع أفيح وهو الواسع. وأمّا قوله قبضة الليث فمعناه بأطراف الأصابع وذلك أن²⁰⁵ الليث إذا مشى جمع التراب بقبضه.²⁰⁶

196 سورة المرسلات: 33.

197 (وأمّا قوله): ب؛ وقوله: ل.

198 (ومعنى قوله): ب؛ ومعنى: ل.

199 (هزمته): ب؛ هزم: ل.

200 (طرده): ب؛ طرد: ل.

201 (عبّر... فإنّه): سقطت من ب.

202 (مَرْقُوعٌ): ب؛ المرقوع: ل.

203 (وإذا نبج الكلب... لم يرجع): سقطت من ب.

204 (جهّد): ب؛ جحد: ل.

205 (أنّ): ب؛ لأنّ: ل.

206 (بقبضه): ب؛ بقبضته: ل.

المقامة السادسة والعشرون في وصف الطرّارين

[الرصافيّة] 207

حدّثنا عيسى بن هشام قال خرجتُ من الرّصافيّة * أريدُ دارَ الخلافة * وحمارةَ القَيْظ * تغلي بصدر
العَيْظ * فلما نصفتُ الطريقَ اشتدَّ الحرّ * وأعوّزني 208 الصّبر * فملتُ إلى مسجدٍ قد أخذ من كلّ
حُسن سرّه وفيه قومٌ يتأملون سُقوفه 209 * ويتذاكرون وُوقفه 210 * وأدّاهم عَجْزُ الحديث إلى ذكر اللصوص
وحيلهم * والطرّارين وعمليهم * فذكروا أصحابَ النّصوص * من اللصوص * وأهلَ اللفّ 211 والقفّ *
ومن يعمل بالطفّ 212 * ومن يحتال 213 في الصّفّ * ومن يخنق بالدّفّ * ومن يكمن في الرفّ إلى
أن يُمكن اللفّ 214 * ومن يبدّل بالمسح 215 * ومن يأخذ بالمرح * ومن يسرق 216 بالنّصح * ومن يدعو
إلى الصّالح 217 * ومن يقمش 218 بالصّرف * ومن يُنعس 219 بالطرف * ومن باهت بالترد * ومن أتحف
بالورد * ومن غالط بالعدل 220 * ومن جاءك بالقليل * ومن يسكن في السفلى 221 * وشقّ الأرض من
سُفل * ومن نوى بالبئح * أو احتال ببئرنج 222 * ومن بدّل نعليه * ومن شدّ بحبليه 223 * ومن تعرّض 224
في البير * ومن سار مع 225 العير * وأصحاب العلامات * وما تأتي 226 المقامات * ومن قرّ من الطوف
* ومن لاذّ من الخوف * ومن رطل بالأير 227 * ومن طير بالطير 228 * ومن لاعب بالسّير * وقال اجلس

- 207 (المقامة السادسة والعشرون في وصف الطرّارين): ف؛ المقامة الرابعة والثلاثون: ب؛ مقامة أخرى 26: ل؛
المقامة الرصافيّة: ع. وقد ذكر محمّد عبده في الهامش بعد العنوان: نذكر من هذه المقامة ما لا هجر فيه
ولا عيب يلحق قارئه ويضع من شأن ناقله فإنّ لكلّ أيامٍ كلامًا ولكلّ مقامٍ مقامًا وندع منها ما يخجل من
ذكره ولا فائدة في نشره.
- 208 (وأعوّزني): ف، ل، ع؛ وأعوّز: ب.
- 209 (سقوفه): ف، ب، ع؛ سفوفه: ل.
- 210 (وقوفه): ف، ب، ع؛ رفوفه: ل.
- 211 (اللفّ): ف، ب؛ الكفّ: ل، ع.
- 212 (الطفّ): ف، ل، ع؛ بالقفّ: ب.
- 213 (يحتال): ل، ب، ع؛ يعمل: ف.
- 214 (ومن يكمن في الرفّ إلى أن يُمكن اللفّ): ل، ب، ع؛ إلى أن يمكن الكفّ: ف.
- 215 (بالمسح): ف، ل، ع؛ بالمرح: ب.
- 216 (يسرق): ف، ل، ع؛ يحرف: ب.
- 217 (يدعو إلى): ف، ل، ع؛ يحدوا على: ب.
- 218 (يقمش): ف، ل؛ قمص: ب؛ قمش: ع.
- 219 (ينعس): ل؛ ينعش: ف؛ أنعس: ب، ع.
- 220 (ومن أتحف بالورد ومن غالط بالعدل): ف؛ ومن أتحف بالورد ومن غالط بالترد: ب، ل؛ ومن غالط بالورد
ومن كابر في الریظ مع الإبرة والخیظ: ع.
- 221 (ومن يسكن في السفلى): سقطت من ل، ب، ع.
- 222 (ببئرنج): ف، ب، ع؛ ببئرنج ومن حصل بالرهن ومن سفتج بالدين: ل.
- 223 (بحبليه): ف، ب، ل؛ بحبليه ومن كابر بالسيف: ع.
- 224 (تعرّض): ف؛ يفرح: ل؛ يصعد: ب، ع.
- 225 (ومن سار مع): ف، ل، ع؛ تعترض: ب.
- 226 (وما تأتي): ف؛ ومن يأتي: ب، ل، ع.
- 227 (ومن رطل بالأير): سقطت من ع.
- 228 (بالطير): ب، ل، ع؛ بالطير: ف.

ولا ضَيْر * ومن شَرِق 229 بالبول * ومن ينتهز القول 230 * ومن أطعمَ في السوق * بما يُنفخُ بالبوق 231 * ومن جاء بستوق 232 * وأصحاب البساتيق 233 * وسُرَّاق الزواريق 234 * ومن ضبر 235 في الصَّرح * ومن سلَّم في السَّطح * ومن دبَّ بسكَّين * على الحائط 236 من طين * ومن جاءك في الحين * يحيي بالرياحين، وأصحاب الطَّبْرزين * كأعوان 237 الدواوين * ومن دبَّ 238 بأين * على رسم المجانين * وأصحاب المفاتيح * وأهل القطن والريح * ومن جاءك 239 كالضيف * ومن كابر 240 بالسيف * ومن كابد بالربط * مع الإبرة والخيط 241 * ومن يقتحم الباب * على زيِّ من انتاب * ومن يدخل في الدار * على صورة من زار * ومن يدخل بالئين * على زيِّ المساكين * ومن يسرق في الحوض * إذا أمكن 242 في الحوض * ومن سلَّ بعودين * ومن حلَّف بالدين * ومن خالط بالرَّهن * ومن سَفَتَجَ بالعرض 243 * ومن أوعك 244 بالكيس * ومن زجَّ بتدليس * ومن أعطى المفاليس * ومن قَصَّ من الكُم 245 * ومن جال بالحكم 246 * ومن خاط على الصدر * ومن قال ألم تدر 247 * ومن عَضَّ * ومن شدَّ * ومن دسَّ إذا عدَّ * ومن لَجَّ مع القوم * وقال ليس ذا نوم 248 * ومن غرَّك 249 بالألف * ومن ردَّ 250 إلى خَلْف * ومن يسرق بالقيِّد * ومن يَألم للكيِّد 251 * ومن صافَع 252 بالنَّعل * ومن خاصم في الحق 253 * ومن عالج

- 229 (شَرِق): ف؛ يسرق: ب، ل، ع.
 230 (القول): ف؛ الهول: ب، ل، ع.
 231 (البوق): ف؛ في البوق: ب، ل، ع.
 232 (بستوق): ف، ل؛ ببستوق: ع.
 233 (البساتيق): ف، ل؛ البساتين: ع.
 234 (الزواريق): ف، ل؛ الرُّوازين: ع؛ ومن جاء... الزواريق: سقطت من ب.
 235 (ضبر): ب، ع؛ صَيْر: ف، ل.
 236 (الحائط): ف، ب، ع؛ حائط: ل.
 237 (كأعوان): ف، ل، ع؛ كالزعران: ب.
 238 (دبَّ): ف؛ دبَّ: ب، ل، ع.
 239 (جاءك): ب، ل؛ خال: ف.
 240 (كابر): ف؛ كافح: ب، ل.
 241 (ومن جاءك كالضيف ومن كابر بالسيف ومن كابد بالربط مع الإبرة والخيط): سقطت من ع.
 242 (أمكن): ف، ع؛ أمعن: ب، ل.
 243 (ومن سلَّ بعودين ومن حلَّف بالدين ومن خالط بالرَّهن ومن سَفَتَجَ بالعرض): ف؛ ومن حلَّف سفتج بالدين ومن سلَّ بعودين: ل؛ ومن سفتج بالدين ومن سلَّ بعودين ومن خالط بالرَّهن: ب؛ ومن سلَّ بعودين ومن حلَّف بالدين ومن خالط بالرَّهن: ع.
 244 (أوعك): ف؛ أودعك: ل؛ خالف: ب، ع.
 245 (قَصَّ من الكُم): ف، ل، ع؛ قَصَّ من الحكم: ب.
 246 (ومن جال بالحكم): ف، ب؛ ومن جاءك بالحكم: ل؛ وقال انظر واحكم: ع.
 247 (ألم تدر): ف، ل، ع؛ لليدر: ب.
 248 (وقال ليس ذا نوم): ف، ل، ع؛ قال أليس ذا وقت نوم: ب.
 249 (في ف فراغ موضع الكلمة).
 250 (ردَّ): ف، ب، ل؛ زجَّ: ع.
 251 (يَألم للكيِّد): ل، ع؛ يَألم الكيد: ف؛ عسا: ب.
 252 (صافَع): ف، ب، ع؛ صانع: ل.
 253 (الحق): ل، ع؛ الحق: ف؛ الحقن: ب.

بالشَّقِّ²⁵⁴ * ومن يدخل في السرب²⁵⁵ * ومن ينتهر النَّقْب * وأصحاب الخطاطيف * على الحَبَل من الليف * وانحسب²⁵⁶ الحديث إلى ذكر من ربح عليهم²⁵⁷ * فقال كهل منهم سأحدثكم بما يُضحك السامع * اعلّموا أنّي كنت بالمراغة * في صَفِّ الصاغة * فرأيت فتى قد بقل وجهه أو كاد كأنه العافية في بدن الجوّاري²⁵⁸ فما أخذته عيني حتّى أخذ قلبي وراودته بعشرين فلم يُجب * وثلاثين²⁵⁹ فلم يوجب * وارتقيت إلى خمسين فلم يُطلب * ثمّ جزت الخمسين فلم يكتب²⁶⁰ * وبلغت إلى المائة فلم يطب²⁶¹ * ثمّ ما بقيت حيلة إلاّ أعملتها * ولا حُطّة إلاّ احتملتها * وهو لا يزيدني غير الصدّ * ولا يمنحني غير الرّدّ * فينا أنا ذات ليلة في غير زبّها نائم مع جارية إذ عنّ لنا²⁶² في السطح²⁶³ سواد * فنظرت فإذا هو المراد * فقلت للجارية²⁶⁴ مهما سألتك عن شيء فلا تزيدني على بلى * ثمّ نزل وليس معه²⁶⁵ شعار إلاّ إزار وصدار وكمن في بيت بمأمن فوت * ومسمع²⁶⁶ صوت. فقلت للجارية²⁶⁷ أليس المركب المذهب في بيت الركاب * ومليح²⁶⁸ نائم خلف الباب؟ * قالت²⁶⁹ بلى. قلت²⁷⁰ الدواة المحلّاة أليست في²⁷¹ بيت الشراب * وطعج²⁷² عند الباب؟ قالت بلى. فقلت صندوق²⁷³ الثياب * أليس هو في بيت السرداب وتكين²⁷⁴ خلف الباب؟ قالت بلى. قلت فطيسي نومًا وليثت²⁷⁵ هنيهة للمكر * ثمّ غطت²⁷⁶ غطيظ البكر * وتحير الفتى بين بيت الركاب * وبيت الشراب * وبيت

- 254 (بالشَّقِّ): ل، ع؛ بالسبق: ف؛ بالتبق: ب.
 255 (السرب): ب، ل، ع؛ الشرب: ف.
 256 (وانحسب): ف؛ وانجرت: ب، ل، ع.
 257 يقول محمّد عبده (ع) في هذه الموضع: وأتى بقصة لأبي الفتح الإسكندريّ حذفناها لعدم الفائدة فيها مع وجود ألفاظ تنافي آداب هذه الأيام. وليس فيها من شيء يستحقّ الذكر سوى أنّ الليلة القمراء يقال فيها ليلة في غير زبّها وأنشد:
 وَطَيْفٌ سَرَى وَاللَّيْلُ فِي غَيْرِ زَبِّهِ ووافاه بدرّ التيمّ فأبيضّ مفرّقه
 (الجوّاري): ف، ب؛ السقيم والنضارة في حدود الجوّاري: ل.
 258 (وثلاثين): ف، ل؛ وثلاثين: ب.
 260 (ثمّ جزت الخمسين فلم يكتب): سقطت من ب، ل.
 261 (إلى المائة فلم يطب): ف؛ المائة فلم يكتب: ب؛ إلى المائة فلم يكتب: ل.
 262 (عنّ لنا): ف، ل؛ عنّ: ب.
 263 (السطح): ب، ل؛ الصطح: ف.
 264 (فقلت للجارية): ف؛ فقلت لجاريتي: ب؛ وقلت للجارية: ل.
 265 (معه): ف، ل؛ عليه: ب.
 266 (ومسمع): ب، ل؛ ويسمع: ف.
 267 (للجارية): ف، ل؛ لجاريتي: ب.
 268 (ومليح): ف؛ ومليح: ب، ل.
 269 (قالت): ف، ل؛ فقالت: ب.
 270 (قلت): ف، ل؛ فقلت: ب.
 271 (في): ف، ل؛ هي في: ب.
 272 (وطعج): ف، ل؛ وتكين: ب.
 273 (فقلت صندوق): ف؛ قلت فصندوق: ب؛ فصندوق: ل.
 274 (بيت السرداب وتكين): ف، ل؛ السرداب وطعج: ب.
 275 (وليثت): ف، ل؛ ثمّ ليثت: ب.
 276 (ثمّ غطت): ف؛ ثمّ غطت: ب؛ وغطت: ل.

السرداب²⁷⁷ * ثم عمد لصندوق الثياب²⁷⁸ * وقمت فدخلت²⁷⁹ وراءه وأهمه أنني أזור غلامي وتوهمني²⁸⁰ مثله * وكببته لجبينه * ودفعت²⁸¹ في سرقينه * وجعلت أعمد في الغلاف * وبأن تحت الثقاف * حتى أرتت * فحين أفقت * قمت ونهضت * وقلت اتق الله يا تكين²⁸² اجمع أطرافك في حفظ البيت وعدت إلى فراشي حتى أضت أناتي²⁸³ * واستوت قناتي * وطلب الفتى صندوق الثياب * فلم يجده وخرج من السرداب * يريد بيت الشراب * فلمّا حصل فيه قمت ودخلت على أثره وأهمته مثل الأول²⁸⁴ ويوهمني كذلك²⁸⁵ ثم أنمته على قفاه * أحشو حشاه * وأقبل فاه²⁸⁶ * فلمّا صببت * قمت وذهبت * وقلت نم يا طعج²⁸⁷ يقظان الفؤاد واحفظ البيت من اللصوص فخرجت²⁸⁸ وفتش الغلام البيت * فلم يجد²⁸⁹ فيه سوى البيت * وكأنه فطن للحال فخرج يريد السطح²⁹⁰ فقلت يا فتى ما لك والذهاب * وقد بقي بيت الركاب؟ * فقال اسكت قطع الله لسانك فقد²⁹¹ مزقت شرمي²⁹² * قلت فما جرمي؟ * ثم خرج وطلبتة بالمراغة فلم أجده * قال عيسى²⁹³ قلت للرجل هذا وأبيت الحديث²⁹⁴ فما الذي أردت بقولك ليلة في غير زبها * قال كانت قمراء * وأنشد [من الطويل]

وَطَيْفٌ سَرَى وَاللَّيْلُ فِي غَيْرِ زَيْهِ
وَوَافَاهُ بَدْرُ التِّمِّ فَايْبُضُّ مَفْرِفُهُ

فالتفت إليه فإذا هو والله شيخنا أبو الفتح الإسكندري²⁹⁵.

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- 277 (بيت السرداب): ف؛ وصندوق الثياب: ب؛ والسرداب: ل.
278 (ثم عمد لصندوق الثياب): سقطت من ب.
279 (وقمت فدخلت): ف؛ وقمت ودخلت: ب، ل.
280 (وتوهمني): ف؛ ولوهمني: ب؛ ويوهمني: ل.
281 (ودفعت): ف؛ ودفعته: ب، ل.
282 (تكين): ف، ل؛ طعج: ب.
283 (أناتي): ف، ل؛ وأناتي: ب.
284 (مثل الأول): ب، ل؛ مثل: ف.
285 (كذلك): ف؛ ويوهمني: ب؛ مثله: ل.
286 (أحشو حشاه وأقبل فاه): ف؛ وجعلت ألتم فاه وأحشو حشاه: ب؛ أكنم فاه وأحشو حشاه: ل.
287 (نم يا طعج): ف، ل؛ يا تكين نم: ب.
288 (فخرجت): ف؛ وخرجت: ب؛ فخرج: ل.
289 (يجد): ف، ل؛ نز: ب.
290 (السطح): ب، ل؛ الصطح: ف.
291 (فقد): ف؛ قد: ب، ل.
292 (شرمي): ف، ل؛ صرمي: ب.
293 (عيسى): ف؛ عيسى بن هشام: ب، ل.
294 (هذا وأبيت الحديث): سقطت من ل.
295 (فالتفت إليه فإذا هو والله شيخنا أبو الفتح الإسكندري): سقطت من ف، ل.

[تفسير] 296

قال البديع رحمه الله أهل الفصوص هم الذين ينقشون اسم من يريدون في فصّ مثل فصّهم ويركّبونه في خاتم مثل خاتمهم فيأتون داره عند غيبته ويجعلونه علامة منه فيأخذون به ما يريدون. وأمّا أهل الكفّ الذي يلمس فيسرق. والقفّ الذي يقفّ الدراهم بخفّة يده. والطفّ من التطفيف وهو النقص في الكيل والوزن. ومن يحتال في الصفّ يعني صفّ الصلاة لسرقة شيء. ومن يخنق بالدفّ وهو الذي يدخل الدار مع أصحابه فيأخذ بعضهم بحلق من يريد خنقه ويضرب الباقون في الدفّ لئلا يُسمع صوت المخنوق. ومن يكمن في الرّفّ وهو أن يقعد فيه ليجد غفلةً فيسرق. ومن يُبدّل بالمسح وهو الذي يجعل في فمه زيفًا ويتعرّض لنقدٍ جيد فيأخذ من الجيد فيزيقه ويمسحه ويبدله من زيفه. ومن يأخذ بالمزح هو الذي يأخذ المسروق فإن أحسّ به ردّه متمازحًا ولامه في إغفاله إياه. ومن يسرق بالنصح هو الذي يدخل على الصيارفة وبين يديه كيس من الدراهم فيعاتبه على وضعه بين يديه بالعراء ويقول له إنّ طرّارًا دخل على فلان وهو على حالتك فأخذ الكيس وقام فردّ الباب وأغلقه، وهو في جميع ما يحكيه فاعل له وصاحبه غافل عنه ذاهل عن نيّته فإذا به قد قام وأقفل الباب وفاز بالكيس. ومن يدعو إلى الصلح وهو الذي يلبس زيّ الشرطيّ فيقوم على رأس السوق وهو يصادره فيسعى بينهما ويفوز بقدر من المال. ومن يقيّمش بالصرّف هو الذي يحضّر الصيرفيّ فيأخذ ممّا بين يديه. ومن ينعسُ بالطرف هو الذي يُري صاحبَ الدراهم أنّه يعس فينعسه في البيت ويفوز بماله. ومن باهت بالنرد اللصّ يستصحب النرد فييسطه في البيت فإن أحسّ به ربّ البيت صاح ورأى أنّه يطالبه فلا ينصفه فيما قَمَر ولا يؤدّيه إليه فلا يزال به رافعًا صوته حتّى يفوز إمّا بشيءٍ أو ينجو منه. ومن غالط بالقرد وهو أن يكتري الملاعب بالقرد على باب دكان فيقصر صاحب الحانوت في حفظ الحانوت لأنّه يشتغل به فيأتي فيسرق. ومن أتحف بالقفل هو أن يحمل إلى التجار القفل المتمكّن السريع الانفتاح ثمّ يعود فيفتح ذلك. ومن شقّ الأرض من سُفل معروف. ومن نوّم بالبنج هو الذي يجعل البنج في القرصة ويأكل بين يدي من يريد أن يسرقه ويتحف له منه حتّى يأكله فيأخذه النوم. والتّيترج معروف. ومن بدّل نعليه هو الذي يدخل الحَمّام وله نعلان خلقتان فيبدّلهما بأجود منهما. ومن شدّ بحبليه هو الذي يشدّ الحبل باللحف وغير ذلك ممّا يكون على السطح ثمّ ينزل إلى الطريق ويجذب الحبل فيجرّ ما شدّه. وأصحاب العلامات الذين لكلّ واحد منهم علامة معروفة. ومن فرّ من الطّوف هو الذي يدخل الدار ليلاً فإذا علّم به قال إنّي فررتُ من الطّائف ومن لاذ من الخوف مثله. ومن رطل بالأير هو الذي يُدخل يده تحت ثياب الرجل يطلب دراهمه فإذا علم به صاحبه قال إنّي آخذ أيرك لأعلم وزنه يوهمه أن به أئنة. ومن طيرّ بالطير هو الذي يرسل حَمّامًا إلى الدور ثمّ يدخل فإذا علّم به قال جئت أخذ طائرًا لي دخل داركم. واللعب بالسّير معروف. ومن أطعم في السوق بما ينفخ في البوق وهو الذي يعطي الناس دواء الباه. ومن صَبَر²⁹⁷ في الصّرح هو الذي يلقي الحبل إلى السطح فيدخل منه إلى البيت. ومن حيا بالرياحين هو الذي يدخل بعلة ريحانة يهديها فيسرق. وأصحاب الطّبرزين هم

296 سقط تفسير هذه المقامة من ب لخلط في أوراق المخطوط.

297 في الأصل ل: صير في.

الذين يتشبهون بأصحاب السُلطان ويسرقون فإذا عُلِمَ بهم كسروا الباب وقالوا جئنا لنشخص صاحب الدار. ومن دبّ بأئين على رسم المجانين وهو الذي يُظهر أنه مجنون إذا فُطن به. وأصحاب المفاتيح هم الذين معهم مفاتيح يفتحون بها الأبواب والأقفال. ومن كافح بالسَّيف هو الذي يدخل الدور بغتة فيفجأ صاحب الدار على غرة فيقتله. ومن كابر بالريط مع الإبرة والخيط هو الذي مشى خلف أحد بإبرة فيخيط طرف ردايه على عاتق نفسه فإذا صاح الرجل أراه موضع الخياطة وقال له يجب أن تفعل مثل هذا. ومن يسرق في الحوض هو الذي إذا دخل إنسان الماء أخذ ثيابه. ومن سلّ بعودين هو الذي يقوم على السطح فإذا مرّ به العير أرسل خشبة كالمحجن فأخذ بها ما على الأجمال من أثوابٍ وغيرها. ومن حلف بالدين هو الذي يأتي الوجه من الناس فيدعي عليه شيئاً حقيقاً يعلم أنه لا يحلف في مثله ويقدمه إلى القاضي. ومن غالط بالرهن هو الذي يعطي التاجر كيساً مشدوداً يقول إنّ فيه حلياً من ذهب. ومن خالف بالكيس هو الذي يُبدي للرجل كيساً يخرج من كمّه فيه دراهم أو دنانير فيساومه على السلعة ثمّ يرده في كمّه وهو يماكس فإذا تمّ الأمر بينهما أخرج كيساً آخر يشبهه فيعطيه على أنه هو الأوّل وقد وزنه ونقده فلا يعيد النّظر فيه، فيذهب هذا بالسلعة ولا يكون في الكيس إلاّ الفلوس. ومن زجّ بتدليس هو الذي ينتقد دراهم غيره فيُدخل فيه الزيف ويرمي بالجيّد إلى كمّه. ومن قصّ من الكمّ هو الذي يقصّ من كمّه قطعة فإذا رأى إنساناً قد أخذ دراهم دفعها إليه ليصرّها فيها ثمّ يتعلّق به ويقول قد طرّني هذا فانظروا كمّي ينشدها ليحكّم له بها. ومن لجّ مع القوم وقال ليس ذا نوم هو الذي يدخل مع أصحابه مسجداً يرون فيه إنساناً نائماً ويُظهرون أنهم يريدون أن يدفنوا فيه شيئاً معهم له خطر ويقولون هذا الرجل ليس بنائم بعد فيتناوم الرجل طمعاً فيما عندهم حتّى إذا دفنوا ما يريدون جاؤوا فنزعوا ثيابه وأخذوها وهو يتناوم حتّى إذا خرجوا قام فأخرج الدّفين فإذا هو خرفّ وزجاج. ومن غرّك بالألف وهو أن يودع كيساً من تاجر فيه ألف فلس وفي رأسه قدر من الدنانير، ثمّ يعود فيستخرج منه ديناراً ويشتري منه ثياباً ثمّ يعود بعد يومين حتّى يستنظف الدنانير ويعود ويأخذ من التاجر الثياب بقيمة كثيرة ويستصحب تلميذه ليردّ ما لا يرضى في بيته معه والتاجر متوثّق بالرهن آمنّ بما في الكيس فيفوز بالثياب ويعود التلميذ خالياً. ومن ردّ إلى خلف تلميذ الصيرفيّ يواقف آخر ويدفع إليه كيساً من خلفه وعينه على الصيرفيّ ثمّ يقول قد طرّ وفرّ. ومن خاصم في الحقّ هو الذي يتعرّض لمن في يده دراهم ويريد أنه قد حصّل صدراً من الثياب يخاف بيعه ظاهراً ويذكر أنّ مبلغ قيمته ألف درهم ويُرغب المخدوع في اشتراؤه حتّى إذا قومه وتمكّن منه سأله عن الثمن هل حصّله فيريه الذي بيده ويذكر أنه ألف درهم وينكر الطرّار ويقول استلبت أنظر فإنّه ناقص ويلجّ المخدوع ويحلف عليه فيتناوله الطرّار متعرّفاً ويفوز به أو يصلح صاحبه على بعضه. ومن عالج بالشقّ هو الذي يشقّ الجيوب. ومن يدخل في السرب هو الذي يدخل فيه إلى أن يجد غفلة فيسرق. ومن ينتهز النّقب هو الذي ينقب البيوت. وأصحاب الخطاطيف هم الذين يشدونّ الخُطّافة في الحبل ويرسلونه من السطح إلى صحن الدار فيجذبون به ما يتعلّق به.

المقامة التاسعة والثلاثون

[النهيديّة] 298

حدّثنا²⁹⁹ عيسى بن هشام قال أقبلت³⁰⁰ مع نفرٍ من أصحابي إلى فناء خيمة التمسّ من أهلها قري³⁰¹ فخرج علينا³⁰² رجل حُرْقة³⁰³ قلنا³⁰⁴ أضياف لم يذوقوا منذ ثلاث عدوفاً³⁰⁵ قال فتنحى ثمّ قال فما رأيكم يا فتیان في نهيدةٍ فرّق كهامة الأصلع في جفنة رَوْحاءٍ مكّلة بعجوة حبة³⁰⁶ من أبقار³⁰⁷ جبار روض الواحدة منها تملأ الفم من جماعة خُمص عَطُش خمس³⁰⁸ يغيب فيها الضرس كأنّ نواها السن الطير يجحفون بها³⁰⁹ النهيدة مع أقبّ قد احتلين من الجلال³¹⁰ الهرميّة الرّبليّة³¹¹ أنشتهونها يا فتیان؟ قلنا³¹² إي والله³¹³ نشتهيها فقال الشيخ فقهه³¹⁴ وعمّمكم أيضاً يشتهيها ثمّ قال فما رأيكم³¹⁵ في ذرّمك كأنّها³¹⁶ قطع السبائك تُجرّثم على سُفرة جرشية³¹⁷ بها ریح القرظ³¹⁸ فيثب إليها منكم³¹⁹ فتى ذفيف خفيف لئن³²⁰ فيعجّنه من غير أن يرّجّفه أو يحشيه³²¹ ويزيله³²² دون ملك ناعم ثمّ يُلته³²³ بالسّمّار أو المذق لتأ³²⁴ غزيراً ثمّ يعمد إليه فيلويه ويدعه³²⁵ في ناحية الصّيداء حتّى إذا

- 298 (المقامة التاسعة والثلاثون): ف؛ المقامة الخامسة والثلاثون: ب؛ مقامة أخرى 39: ل؛ المقامة النهيديّة: ع.
 299 (حدّثنا): ف، ب، ع؛ قال: ل.
 300 (قال أقبلت): ف، ع؛ قال دخلت: ب؛ ملت: ل.
 301 (من أهلها قري): ف، ب، ل؛ القري من أهلها: ع.
 302 (علينا): ف، ب، ل؛ الينا: ع.
 303 (حُرْقة): ف، ب؛ حُرْقة فقال من أتم: ل، ع.
 304 (قلنا): ف، ل؛ فقلنا: ب، ع.
 305 (عدوفاً): ف، ب، ع؛ عدوفاً: ل.
 306 (حبة): ف؛ خبير: ب، ل، ع.
 307 (أبقار): ب، ف، ل؛ أكتار: ع.
 308 (خمس): ف، ب، ع؛ حمش: ل.
 309 (يجحفون بها): ب؛ لا يجحفون بها: ف، ل؛ يجحفون فيها: ع.
 310 (الجلال): ل، ع؛ الأحلاب: ف؛ الجلال: ب.
 311 (الهرميّة الرّبليّة): ف، ب، ع؛ الحرميّة الوبليّة: ل.
 312 (قلنا): ف، ب؛ فقلنا: ل، ع.
 313 (والله): ف، ب، ع؛ والله نحن: ل.
 314 (فقال الشيخ فقهه): ف؛ فقال الشيخ فقهه: ب، ل؛ فقهه الشيخ وقال: ع.
 315 (رأيكم): ف، ب، ل؛ رأيكم يا فتیان: ع.
 316 (كأنّها): ف، ع؛ كأنّه: ب، ل.
 317 (جرشية): ف، ب، ل؛ حرتية: ع.
 318 (القرظ): ف، ب، ع؛ القرظ: ل.
 319 (فيثب إليها منكم): ف، ب، ع؛ فيثب منكم: ل.
 320 (ذفيف خفيف لئن): ف؛ ذفيف أبق: ب؛ ذفيف لبو: ل؛ ريف لبو خفيف: ع.
 321 (أو يحشيه): ف؛ ويخشنه: ب؛ أو يخشنه: ل؛ أو يخشفه: ع.
 322 (ويزيله): ف، ل؛ فيزيله: ب، ع.
 323 (يلته): ف، ب، ع؛ بلته: ل.
 324 (لتأ): ف، ب، ع؛ لتأ: ل.
 325 (فيلويه ويدعه): ف، ع؛ فيلوته ثمّ يدعه: ب؛ فيلوته ويدعه: ل.

تَخَّ من غير أن يترزه³²⁶ عمد إلى قصد³²⁷ الغضا فأشعل فيه النارَ فلَمَّا خبت³²⁸ ناره مهَّد لقرموصه³²⁹
ثمَّ عمدَ إلى عجنه³³⁰ ففرطَحه بعدما أنعم تلويثه³³¹ ثمَّ دحا به عليها ثمَّ خمره فلَمَّا قَفَّ وقَبَّ أحال
عليه من الرضف ما³³² يلتقي به³³³ الأواران حتَّى إذا غطَّاهما على الملة المشاكهة تطبلق وتفلسج³³⁴
شفاقاً فأوحك قشرها³³⁵ رفاقاً فاحمرها³³⁶ احمراراً بُسْر الحجاز³³⁷ المشهور بأَم الجردان أو عذق ابن
طاب³³⁸ شن³³⁹ عليها ضَرَبَ بيضاء كالتلج³⁴⁰ إلى أوان رسوخها في الدهان³⁴¹ ويشرب لبن³⁴² الدرَمَك
ما عليه الضرب³⁴³ قُدِّمت إليكم فتلقُمونها لقمَ جوين³⁴⁴ أو زنكلٍ أفشستَهونها يا فتيان؟ قال فاشرأب كلُّ
واحد منَّا³⁴⁵ إلى وصفه وتحلَّب ريقه وتلمَّظ وتمَطَّق قلنا إي والله نشتيهها. قال فقهقه الشيخ وقال³⁴⁶
عممكم والله³⁴⁷ لا يُعغضها. فما³⁴⁸ رأيكم يا فتيان في عناق نجدية عُلوية بريّة قد أكلت البرم³⁴⁹ والشيخ
النجدي والقيصوم والهشيم³⁵⁰ وترتضب الجميم³⁵¹ وتملأت من القيصيص³⁵² فوري مخّها،³⁵³ وزهمت
كشيتيها تشحط³⁵⁴ مُعَبطة ثمَّ تنكس في وطيس حتَّى تنضج من غير امتحاش³⁵⁵ أو إنهاء ثمَّ تُقدّم

- 326 (يتزه): ل؛ يتز: ب، ع؛ ينفه: ف.
327 (قصد): ب، ل، ع؛ قصير: ف.
328 (فلما خبت): ب، ل، ع؛ فلما: ف.
329 (لقرموصه): ف، ل، ع؛ أفرشه به: ب.
330 (عجنه): ف؛ عجنه: ب، ل، ع.
331 (تلويته): ف، ب، ل؛ تلويته: ع.
332 (الرضف ما): ل، ع؛ الرضف: ف؛ الوصف ما: ب.
333 (يلتقي به): ف، ل، ع؛ يلتقي: ب.
334 (تطبلق وتفلسج): ف؛ تطبق وتفلج: ب، ل؛ يطبق وتفلج: ع.
335 (فأوحك قشرها): ف؛ وحكى قشرتها: ب؛ وحكى قشرها: ل، ع.
336 (فاحمرها): ف، ل؛ باحمرها: ب؛ واحمرها: ع.
337 (بُسْر الحجاز): سقطت من ل.
338 (عذق ابن طاب): ل، ع؛ وعدواني طاب: ب؛ عذر ابن طاب: ف.
339 (شن): ف، ل، ع؛ شن: ب.
340 (بيضاء كالتلج): سقطت من ل.
341 (الدهان): ف؛ حلال الدان: ب؛ خلال الدهان: ل، ع.
342 (لبن): ف؛ أب: ب؛ لب: ل، ع.
343 (الضرب): ف؛ من الضرب: ب، ل، ع.
344 (جوين): ف، ل، ع؛ حزيو: ب.
345 (واحد منّا): ف؛ منّا: ب، ل، ع.
346 (قال فقهقه الشيخ وقال): ف، ع؛ قال الشيخ قهقهه: ل؛ قال الشيخ وقال: ب.
347 (عممكم والله): ف؛ عممكم: ب؛ وعممكم والله: ل، ع.
348 (فما): ف، ب، ل؛ ثمَّ قال ما: ع.
349 (البرم): ب، ل، ع؛ اليوم: ف.
350 (والهشيم): ف، ب، ع؛ والهشوم: ل.
351 (وترتضب الجميم): ف؛ وترتضت الجميم: ل؛ وترتضت الجميم: ب، ع.
352 (القيصيص): ب، ل، ع؛ القيصص: ف.
353 (فوري مخّها): ب، ع؛ فوري شحمها: ل؛ فروي مخّها: ف.
354 (تشحط): ف، ل، ع؛ تسخط: ب.
355 (امتحاش): ب، ل، ع؛ انتجاس: ف.

إيكم وقد غَضَّ³⁵⁶ إهابها عن شَحْمَةِ بِيضَاءِ عَلَى خُوانٍ مَنْصَّدٍ بِصَلَائِقِ كَأَنَّهَا الْقِبْطِيَّ³⁵⁷ الْمَنْشَّرُ أَوْ الْقَوْهِيَّ الْمُمَصَّرَ قَدْ احْتَفَّتْهَا نُقْرَاتُ³⁵⁸ فِيهَا صِنَابٍ³⁵⁹ وَأَصْبَاغِ شَتَّى فَتَوْضِعُ بَيْنَكُمْ تِهَالَهُ³⁶⁰ عَرَقًا وَتَسَائِلُ مَرَقًا أَفْتَشْتَهُونَهَا يَا فِتْيَانُ؟ قَلْنَا إِي³⁶¹ وَاللَّهِ نَشْتَهِيهَا. قَالَ عَمَّكُمْ³⁶² وَاللَّهِ يَرْقِصُ لَهَا. فَوَثِبَ بَعْضُنَا إِلَيْهِ بِالسَّيْفِ³⁶³ فَقَالَ أَمَا³⁶⁴ يَكْفِي مَا بَنَا مِنَ الدَّقْعِ³⁶⁵ حَتَّى تَسْخِرَ بِنَا؟³⁶⁶ فَأَتْنَا ابْنَتَهُ³⁶⁷ بِطَبَقٍ عَلَيْهِ جِلْفَةٌ³⁶⁸ وَحِثَالَةٌ³⁶⁹ وَأَكْرَمَتْ مِثْوَانًا وَانصَرَفْنَا³⁷⁰ لَهَا حَامِدِينَ وَلَهُ ذَامِينَ.

التفسير

العدوف³⁷¹ الذواق. الحزقة القصير. النهيدة الزبدة. الفرق القطيع من الغنم. الروحاء الواسعة. العجوة ضرب من التمر. الجبار من النخل ما لا تبلغه اليد. الربوض العظيمة من النخل. الجحف الأكل. الجلاذ الكبار من الإبل. الهرمية من الإبل³⁷² التي ترعى الهرم وهو من شجر الحمض. الريلية التي ترعى الريلة³⁷³ وهو نبات ينبت بعد الصيف. الدرّمك الحواري. الجرثمة وضع الشيء على الشيء. الذفيف الخفيف. الأزحاف أفياد العجين. الملّك الدلك. اللتّ الخلط. السّمّار من اللبن ما كثر ماؤه. والمذق ما قلّ ماؤه.³⁷⁵ التلويث التلطّيح. الصيداء³⁷⁶ الحجارة. تخّ العجين إذا حمض. الإتراز التبييس. قصد الغضا حزمه. التخميم التغطية. قفّ الشيء وقبّ إذا يبس. الرضفة حجارة محمّاة تُلقي في القدر إذا أرادوا تسخينها. الأوار حرّ³⁷⁷ النار. الملة الرماد³⁷⁸ والنّار. الشنّ الصبّ. الضربّ العسل

- 356 (غَضَّ): ف؛ عَطَّ: ب، ل، ع.
 357 (القبطي): ف، ب، ل؛ القباطي: ع.
 358 (احتفَّتْهَا نُقْرَاتُ): ف، ل، ع؛ احتقنقتها نقوات: ب.
 359 (صِنَابٍ): ع؛ صِبَاعٍ: ب؛ صِبَابٍ: ف؛ ضَابٍ: ل.
 360 (تِهَالَهُ): ف؛ تِهَادِرٍ: ب، ل، ع.
 361 (قَلْنَا إِي): ف، ب، ع؛ قَلْنَا: ل.
 362 (عَمَّكُمْ): ف، ب، ل؛ وَعَمَّكُمْ: ع.
 363 (إِلَيْهِ بِالسَّيْفِ): ف، ب، ع؛ كَسِيفٍ: ل.
 364 (فَقَالَ أَمَا): ف؛ وَقَالَ مَا: ب، ل، ع.
 365 (الدَّقْعِ): ف، ب، ع؛ الْجَوْعِ الدَّقْعِ: ل.
 366 (بِنَا): ف، ب، ع؛ مَنَّا: ل.
 367 (ابْنَتَهُ): ف، ب، ع؛ آبِنَتَهُ: ل.
 368 (جِلْفَةٌ): ف، ب، ع؛ حَلْقَةٌ: ل.
 369 (وَحِثَالَةٌ): ف؛ وَحِثَالَةٌ لَوِيَّةٌ: ب؛ وَحِثَالَةٌ دَلْوِيَّةٌ: ل؛ وَحِثَالَةٌ وَلَوِيَّةٌ: ع.
 370 (وَانصَرَفْنَا): ف، ل؛ فَانصَرَفْنَا: ب، ع.
 371 (العدوف): ب؛ قَالَ الْبَدِيعِ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ الْغَدُوفُ: ل.
 372 (الهرمية من): ب؛ الهرمية: ل.
 373 (الريلة): سقطت من ب.
 374 (الأزحاف أفياد العجين): ب؛ الأرخاف إفساد الزيد: ل.
 375 (والمذق ما قلّ ماؤه): سقطت من ب.
 376 (الصيداء): ب؛ الصيد: ل.
 377 (حرّ): ل؛ حمر: ب.
 378 (الرماد): ب؛ رماد الحارّ: ل.

الأبيض.³⁷⁹ الرشوح العرق. جوين³⁸⁰ وزنكل رجلان أكلان. العلوية التي رعت العلو. البرم ثمر الطلح. الجميم النبات³⁸¹ الذي طال بعض الطول ولم يتم. القصيص نبت. وريّ المخّ اكتنز. الشحط الذبح الوحي. مغتبطة أي صحيحة لا علّة بها. الوطيس مكان النار. الامتحاش الاحتراق. الإنهاء³⁸² قبل الإنضاج. الصلائق³⁸³ الرقاق. القبطي³⁸⁴ ضرب من الثياب بيض. الممصّر المعلم. النقرات القصاع الصغار. الصناب الخردل بالزبيب. الدقع اللصوق بالتراب من سوء الحال. الجلفة ما التزق بالتنور من الخبز. اللوية ما أدخر للأضياف. الحثالة الرديء من التمر.

379 (العسل الأبيض): ل؛ العسل: ب.
 380 (جوين): ل؛ جوين: ب.
 381 (النبت): ل؛ البيت: ب.
 382 (الإنهاء): ل؛ إلا أنّها: ب.
 383 (الصلائق): ل؛ الطلائق: ب.
 384 (القبطي): ل؛ القباطي: ب.

APPENDIX

Translations of the Different Versions of the Tale of al-A‘shā’s Visit to Medina

Ibn Hishām (d. 213/828 or 218/833)

The story is told on the authority of Khallād b. Qurra b. Khālīd al-Sadūsī and other *shaykhs* of the tribe of Bakr b. Wā’il who are among *abl al-‘ilm*. He reports that A‘shā Banī Qays b. Tha‘laba b. Ṣa‘b b. ‘Alī b. Bakr b. Wā’il went out to see the Prophet, and he recited the following poem in praise of him.

["Did You Not Shut Your Eyes?"]

When he arrived in Mecca, or in its vicinity, one of the polytheists from Quraysh went out to meet him, and he asked him why he was there. So he told him that he had come in order to see the Prophet of God, and to convert to Islam.

He said to him, "O Abū Baṣīr, he prohibits fornication!"

He said, "That's something I really do not want."

He said to him, "O Abū Baṣīr, he has declared wine unlawful!"

He said to him, "Now that is something I still yearn for! I will go away and drink for an entire year, then I will come back and convert. So he left, but he died that year, and did not reach the Prophet of God. Ibn Ishāq said that it was the enemy of God Abū Jahl with his enmity, hatred and harshness against him, God would abase him in front of the Prophet when he saw him.¹

Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889)

They say that he [viz. al-A‘shā] went out seeking the Prophet during the truce of Ḥudaybiyya.

So Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb asked him where he was going. So he said, "I am seeking Muḥammad."

Abū Sufyān said, "He is the one who makes wine drinking, fornication, and gambling illicit."

He said, "As for fornication, it left me, I didn't leave it. As for wine, I have had as much of it as I desire, and gambling, well perhaps I'll find some substitute for it."

He said, "May I propose a better alternative for you?"

1 ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra l-nabawiyya*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Göttingen: Dieterischen Buchhandlung, 1858–1860), 2:255–56.

He said, “What is it?”

He said, “There is a truce right now between us and him [the Prophet], why don’t you go back this year and take back with you 100 reddish camels. If he proves victorious after the truce, then you go to him. If we win, you have received a reward to offset the difficulty of your trip.”

He said, “It is fine with me.”

So Abū Sufyān went with him to his home and gathered around his family members, saying, “Oh people of Quraysh! This is [al-]Aʿshā Qays. You know about his poetry, if he were to go to the Prophet, he would turn all the Arabs against us by his verse. So they gathered one hundred reddish she-camels, and he left. When he arrived near al-Yamāma, his mount cast him down to the ground and killed him.²

al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967)

We cite Ḥabīb b. Naṣr al-Muhallabī and Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jawharī, who cite ʿUmar b. Shabbah who cites Hishām b. al-Qāsim al-Ghanawī (who was an expert concerning al-Aʿshā) who says that [al-Aʿshā] came to the Prophet and he praised him with the poem which begins “Did you not shut your eyes?” And news of his approach came to the Quraysh who watched him on his path. They said, “He is the ‘Singer of the Arabs!’ Anyone he praises immediately is raised in esteem.”

So when he came to them, they said to him, “What do you wish Abū Baṣīr”

He said “I wish to visit this friend of yours so that I might convert to Islam.”

They said, “He prohibits you from the ‘gaps’ and he prohibits you from them, and all of these things accompany you and are consonant with your taste.

He said, “What are they?”

Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb said, “Fornication.”

al-Aʿshā said, “Fornication left me, and I didn’t leave it. Then what?”

He said, “Gambling.”

He said, “Perhaps if I meet him, I will obtain a substitute for gambling. Then what?”

He said, “Usury.”

He said, “I didn’t seek loans or offer them. Then what?”

He said, “Wine.”

He said, “Alas! I will return to small stash in a hollowed-out rock, so that I can drink it.”

Abū Sufyān said to him: “Shouldn’t there be something good out of what you strived for?”

² Ibn Qutayba, *al-Shiʿr wa-l-shuʿarāʾ* (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1964), 1:178.

He said, "What is it?"

Abū Sufyān said, "Between us and him [the Prophet] there is a truce. So you take 100 camels, and return to your land and your former ways. And you should see how our affair works itself out. If we are victorious over him, you have taken a substitute, and if he is victorious, you can come to him.

He said, "I don't dislike that."

So Abū Sufyān said, "Oh people of Quraysh, this is al-A^ʿshā! By God, were he to have come to Muḥammad and followed him, he would have stirred up the flames of the Arabs against you with his verse. So gather up 100 camels for him." And they did it.

So he took them and set off for his land. When he reached the valley of al-Manfūḥa [al-A^ʿshā's home], his mount cast him to the ground and killed him.³

Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176)

The *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq* quotes the version from the *Kitāb al-Aghbānī*, citing ʿUmar b. Shabbah with lines added from the subsequent *khbar* in the *Kitāb al-Aghbānī*.⁴

Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373)

Ibn Kathīr reproduces the text of Ibn Hishām and the entirety of the poem. He adds the following: This is how Ibn Hishām has related the story here [in the *Sīra* of the Prophet], but he took many exceptions to Muḥammad b. Isḥāq and this was one of the occasions that Ibn Hishām took exception. Wine was prohibited in Medina after the battle with the B. al-Naḍīr as will be seen below. So it seems evident that the intention of al-A^ʿshā to come over to the religion of Islam was after the Hijra.

In his poetry, the verse:

Oh you who wish to know where my camel is headed, know that it
has an appointment among the people of Yathrib

indicates this. It would have been more appropriate and fitting for Ibn Hishām to delay the mention of this story until after the Hijra and not mention it here. God knows best. Al-Suhaylī said: This is a mistake committed by Ibn

3 Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghbānī*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm et al. (Cairo: al-Hayʾa l-Miṣriyya l-ʿĀmma li-l-Kitāb, 1992), 9:125–26.

4 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abī Saʿīd ʿUmar b. Gharāma al-ʿAmrawī (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995), 61: 328–29; Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghbānī*, 9:126.

Hishām and those who follow him. For the people are in agreement that the prohibition on wine was not revealed after the battle of Uḥud in Medina. He [viz. al-Suhaylī] had said, that it was Abū Jahl b. Hishām in the house of ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a who spoke to al-A‘shā. But Abū ‘Ubayda said that it was rather ‘Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl in the *bilād al-Qays*, when he was approaching to the Prophet. [Al-Suhaylī] said: And his statement [viz. al-A‘shā’s]: Then I will come to him and convert. This act would not have removed him from his unbelief (*kufrihi*).⁵

al-Baghdādī (d. 1093/1682)

[He begins by repeating the report of Ibn Qutayba]

Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, the commentator on the *Dīwān* of al-A‘shā, states that: Upon the appearance of the Prophet, al-A‘shā set out, until he reached Mecca. He had heard the reading of books, so he decided to stay with ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a. Abū Jahl heard of this, so he came to him with a group of young men from Quraysh. He gave him a gift and then asked why he had come.

He said, “I have come to see Muḥammad. For I have heard of his mission in books, and in order that I might see what he says and to what he calls people. So Abū Jahl said, “He has outlawed adultery.” Al-A‘shā said, “I’ve gotten old, so I have no more need for adultery.” Abū Jahl said, “He has prohibited you from drinking wine.” He said, “What does he declare lawful?”

So they started to tell him the worst things they could about the Prophet. And they said, “Can you recite to us some of your poetry about him?”

So he recited, “Did You Not Shut Your Eyes.”

It is an excellent poem consisting of 24 verses.⁶ When he recited it to them, they said, “When this man praises someone, he certainly elevates his stature, and when this man curses someone he really lowers it. Who among us can turn him away from doing this?”

Abū Jahl said to al-A‘shā, “As for you, were you to recite to him this [*qaṣīda*] he wouldn’t accept it.”

They remained with him for a long time on account of his distress, until they had turned him away and he left suddenly⁷ until he reached al-Yamāma. He remained there for a while until he died.

Ibn Da‘ib and others report that al-A‘shā went out desiring to meet the Prophet, and recited poetry, until such a time that he was on the road, and his mount threw him, and killed him.

When the verses of his poem were recited:

5 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, ed. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī (Giza: Hajar, 1997), 4:250–54.

6 The version cited by Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) only contains 23 verses.

7 We read *min fawribi* “suddenly” instead of *min fawratibi* “out of his anger.”

I pledged that I would not inherit from a distant relative⁸
 Whenever you set down your camel at the door of the Banū Hāshim,
 you find relief, and meeting the generosity from their numerous
 excellencies⁹

The Prophet said, “He was almost saved.”¹⁰

8 The meaning of the word *kalāla* relates to Q 4:176 and Q 4:12. On the long history of exegesis of this term, see David S. Powers, *Mubammad is not the Father of any of Your Men: The Making of the Last Prophet* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), xi and following.

9 We read *fawāḍil* for *fawāṣil*.

10 ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn ‘Umar al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab wa-lubb lubāb lisān al-‘arab*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī li-l-Ṭibā‘a wa-l-Nashr, 1968), 1:177–78.

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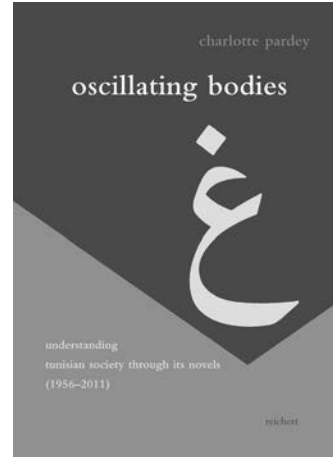
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through its Novels (1956-2011)

By Charlotte Pardey

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Oscillating Bodies offers insights into Tunisian society that are more than numbers and statistics. To do so, author Charlotte Pardey approaches the country and its people through carefully selected contemporary Tunisian novels. With specific consideration for the depiction and use of the human body in the novels a society appears that oscillates between different poles, such as that of tradition and modernity as well as various cultural influences. The book's five chapters describe Tunisia from its independence in 1956 until the revolutionary upheavals of 2010/2011 through novels. Oscillating Bodies can be read with various objectives: On the one hand it offers an introduction to Tunisian novels, its central motives, and themes. It lays the ground for future research that can join its effort in giving Tunisian literature its proper place in literary research. To do so, Oscillating Bodies makes arabophone and francophone novels accessible to an anglophone audience. On the other hand, the book offers insights into Tunisian society and explores the social context of the 2010/2011 revolutionary upheavals. Finally, through the concept of oscillation, it offers a perspective to read the post-colonial situation, a perspective that also lends itself for the study of other post-colonial societies and their literatures.

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Vol. 46: Ein leises Geräusch wie ein Gefühl des Sehns

Dichtung und Zeugenschaft zum faschistischen
Konzentrationslager in Libia Coloniale

Von Jonas Müller-Laackman

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“Ein leises Geräusch, wie ein Gefühl des Sehns”, so beschreibt ein Dichter die Schiffsgeräusche, während er – mit anderen Leidensgenoss:innen an Deck versammelt – zum berüchtigten Lager al-‘Agila deportiert wird. Die Geschichte der italienischen Konzentrationslager in der Kolonie Libia wird unter anderem über die Lagerdichtung erzählt, die von Überlebenden überliefert und im postkolonialen Libyen archiviert und in Teilen publiziert wurde. In der historischen Erforschung dieser Lager steht oft der Anspruch im Zentrum, sich von der eurozentrischen Kolonialgeschichtsschreibung zu lösen und dem Mythos des harmloseren italienischen Faschismus zu begegnen. Der Autor zeigt vor dem Hintergrund theoretischer Auseinandersetzungen mit dem Phänomen des Lagers, seiner traumatisierenden Potenziale und dem Umgang mit etwa europäischer Lagerliteratur, inwieweit die überlieferten Gedichte weit mehr als schlichte Tatsachenbeschreibungen darstellen und eine kritische Distanz zum Berichteten nicht zwangsläufig Zweifel an der Glaubwürdigkeit der Dichter:innen bedeutet. Die Gedichte stellen vielmehr literarische Werke in der Tradition der nomadischen Dichtung dar, sie sind arabische Lagerliteratur und somit subjektive Schilderungen von Leid und Ausnahmezustand im Konzentrationslager.

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This book explores important dimensions of the life of Badī al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*. The broad concerns of the book are divided into three parts (authorship, texts, and contexts) each consisting of individual chapters. Part One, "Authorship," begins with two chapter-length studies related to al-Hamadhānī's creative role as an author. Part Two, entitled, "Texts," presents the editions of four *maqāmas* attributed to al-Hamadhānī in the manuscript tradition, that were not included in Muḥammad 'Abduh's Beirut edition of 1889. Part Three, "Contexts," offers several studies and translations of key *maqāmas* of al-Hamadhānī. "Adab and Metamorphosis: The *Mawṣiliyya*" is an edition, translation, and modern commentary on this *maqāma* in which Abū l-Faṭḥ famously attempts to raise a dead man from the grave. "What the Qadi Should not Hear: The *Shāmiyya*" provides the first scholarly edition of this *maqāma*, which 'Abduh excised from his edition. The study explores how this *maqāma* draws upon ideas about the limits of proper and improper speech. The last chapter provides a study and edition of a hitherto unknown commentary on the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī that the authors argue may have been composed by Hamadhānī himself.

