Andalusi *Adab* in the Mamluk Period

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1 Introduction*

We currently know a lot about the enormous cultural transfer from the Islamic East that reached al-Andalus, particularly in the course of the 3th/9th century when Andalusī scholars started to visit the main Eastern centers of knowledge, resulting, as Isabel Toral-Niehoff stated, in “a creative incorporation of knowledge, textual material, cultural models and attitudes of Abbasid Baghdad in Umayyad Córdoba.”¹ We know less about the reception process, influence, and impact in the Islamic East of the vast amount of knowledge produced in al-Andalus, particularly when it comes to works belonging to the literary genre of *adab*. Compilations of this genre of *adab*, normally thematically arranged and presented in different chapters or books, gathered all the knowledge that an educated man was expected to possess. The first manifestations of this type of Arabic prose writing corresponded to the 8th century and happened especially in the Islamic East. *Adab*, however, reached a Golden Age during the 9th and 10th centuries due to the important work also carried out in al-Andalus.²

This paper intends to reconstruct the reception process in the Islamic East of the most important *adab* works of al-Andalus. It wishes to do so specifically for *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, the excellent *adab* compilation of the 10th-century Andalusī

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1 See Toral-Niehoff, History 78; Ramírez del Río, *Orientalización*; Chalmeta, Historiografía 353–404; Chafic, Introducción 51–7; Marín, Transmisión 87–108; Dū n-Nūn Taha, Importance 39–44.

2 See López, ¿Autor 169–93; Cheikh-Moussa, Considérations 25–62; Sadan, Ornate 339–55; Peña Martín and Vega Martín, El ideal 464–502; Veglisson, *El collar*.

author Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi (246–328/860–940).³ This *adab* encyclopedia⁴ was one of the first dated texts produced in al-Andalus that has been preserved, and its full impact inside and outside al-Andalus remains to be investigated.⁵ For this reason, after presenting a brief context for the author and his *‘Iqd al-farīd*, we will study the possible ways of transmission of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s main work to the Islamic East and its reception and influence in later Eastern *adab* works. Firstly, we will point out the first Andalusī sources that not only mention but also provide relevant information on Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi and his compilation. Secondly, we will analyze the presence and influence of the *‘Iqd al-farīd* in important Eastern sources, particularly during the Mamluk period.

2 *Al-‘Iqd al-farīd*: Authorship and Brief Context

Al-‘Iqd al-farīd, “The unique necklace,” was composed by the Andalusī author Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi (246–328/860–940) during the Cordovan Umayyad Caliphate (929–1031) and is one of the earliest and most representative examples of *adab* compilations. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi came from a local family of clients (*mawālī*) of the Umayyads. He had a long and successful career at the court of the Caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III (912–61)⁶ under whose reign he wrote this sophisticated and well-organized *adab* compilation.

Al-‘Iqd al-farīd, the only preserved work of the author, was composed with two main purposes: on the one hand, to spread the knowledge produced in the Islamic East in al-Andalus and, in doing so, train officials of the new Umayyad state; and on the other hand, to show the Andalusī literary capacity to the East. With this compendium of *adab*, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi managed to seal the process of “orientalization” in al-Andalus by treating the main historical, philological, and sociological aspects of Arab culture. As a result, his work soon became the most widely read work in al-Andalus.⁷

3 See Brockelmann, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, 676–7; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 92–4; Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen* 42–3; Haremska, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi i, 620–9; Veglisson, *El Collar* 120–3; Boullata, *Unique*.

4 For more on the *adab* genre in al-Andalus, see López ¿Autor 169–93; Soravia, Ibn Qutayba 539–65; Fierro, *El saber* 83–104.

5 For further information see, for instance, the articles of Toral-Niehoff, Book 134–51; History 61–85. See also Bray, *Abassid* 1–54; and Kilpatrick, *Classical* 2–26.

6 For more information about this caliph and the Umayyad Caliphate in al-Andalus, see Lévi-Provençal and García Gómez *España* 261–368; Fierro *Abd al-Rahman*.

7 For an extensive study on this, see Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen*; Guillén Monje, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi 306–13.

The Cordovan author divided his *adab* anthology into 25 books, and each of them is named after a gem pearl. As a result, the whole multivolume work appears as a perfect necklace of 25 precious pearls of very varied subject matter.

The way Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi chose to compose each book is common to other *adab* works; that is, it includes a large volume of *akhbār*, interspersed with prophetic traditions (*ḥadīths*), Quranic verses, proverbs, and poems.⁸ Despite the fact that this work was composed in the 10th-century Cordovan Caliphate, most of the *akhbār* came from Eastern sources, such as the *‘Uyūn al-Akhbār* of the 9th-century Iraqi polygraph Ibn Qutayba. And although the *‘Iqd al-Farīd* itself was composed and produced in writing, the reception and circulation of the collected *akhbār* would have been carried out in its majority, as Werkmeister states,⁹ by oral transmission.

Whereas the *akhbār* he collected were all oriental in origin, throughout the entire work of *al-‘Iqd al-farīd* Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi enriched all this material with the inclusion of comments, explanations, and criticisms, and with his own verses. Undoubtedly, the most important contribution of the author was his *urjūza*, a poetic composition in *rajaz* meter, dedicated to the Caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, with which he participated, in a significant way, in the legitimation of his caliphate.¹⁰

The Andalusī author dedicated an important space, particularly in the first books, to what we could call “serious issues,” the majority of them abstract concepts such as government, war, power, authorities, or embassies, showing the importance these issues had for Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi. On the contrary, the Andalusī compiler relegated to the last books those subjects he considered less serious and more concrete matters, such as food or jokes.¹¹

3 The Importance of the *‘Iqd* in al-Andalus: Andalusī Texts on Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi

Before studying the arrival and the impact of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s work in the Islamic East, it is important to introduce the first Andalusī sources that mentioned the author and his *adab* encyclopedia. Quite soon after his death, later

8 For instance, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s main source, the 10th-century Iraqi *adab* author Ibn Qutayba, see Ibn Qutayba, *‘Uyūn*.

9 Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen* 46.

10 See Fierro, *La legitimidad* 147–84; Pompa 125–52; *Abderramán*; Toral-Niehoff, *History* 61–85; Martínez-Gros, *L’idéologie*; Monroe, *Historical* 67–95.

11 See Veglisson, *El collar*; Boullata, *Unique*.

Andalusi sources started providing relevant data on Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi and his work, especially between the 11th and 12th centuries. Authors like Ibn al-Faraḍī (d. 403/1013) and Ibn Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī (d. 462/1069) recorded many fragments of his poetry, calling him “the Andalusī poet” but also praising Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s skills as an *adīb*. Thus, Ibn al-Faraḍī remarked that people from al-Andalus learned not only from Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s poetry but also from his prose.¹² Ibn Khāqān (d. 535/1140), for instance, stated:

وشهر بالأندلس حتى سار إلى المشرق ذكره

He was very famous in al-Andalus and his fame flew to the East.¹³

He also defended that it was not possible to criticize the *ʿIqd* because of its perfect and beautiful Arabic and that due to Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s talent and literary skills, his fame reached the Islamic East quite soon. But without any doubt, the most important Andalusī author who wrote on Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi was al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1095), a disciple of Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr and Ibn Ḥazm who left al-Andalus and settled in Baghdad, where he became an important source for the spread of materials dealing with al-Andalus.¹⁴ In his *Jadhwat al-Muqtabis fī taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, al-Ḥumaydī recorded Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s full biography and much data on his life and his poetry. The information collected by al-Ḥumaydī was used by both Andalusī and Eastern sources in their own works. Among other relevant information, he pointed out that Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s *dīwān*, today not preserved, was in Caliph al-Ḥakam II’s library.

Later, in the 13th century, al-Shaqundī wrote his famous *risāla* in praise of al-Andalus named *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus*, where Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi is mentioned as the greatest author of *adab* in al-Andalus.¹⁵

4 Eastern Reception of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*

Although it is not easy to specify the exact date that Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s work became known in the East, we will try to give an approximate answer to the following questions: How and when did Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s work become known

¹² Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʾrīkh* 81.

¹³ Ibn Khāqān, *Matmah* 270.

¹⁴ Al-Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwat* 151.

¹⁵ See the study and Spanish translation made by García Gómez, *Andalucía contra Berbería*, 43–141.

in the East? In what way was his work transmitted? And what kind of influence did it have in later Eastern *adab* compilations? Firstly, it is important to highlight that Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi composed, as he stated in his *Iqd*, poetry that could be easily remembered so that the *udabā’* and poets from al-Andalus who traveled to the East in search of knowledge (in addition to carrying out their religious obligations) could bring it with them. Against the background of Andalusis’ general sense that their merits were not being acknowledged in the East,¹⁶ this would allow them to prove to the Eastern scholars the literary level that al-Andalus had achieved:

وجعلت المقطعات رقيقة غزلة، ليسهل حفظها على السنة الرواة ... لتقوم به الحجة لمن روى
هذه المقطعات واحتج بها.

And I made sweet and delicate poems in order to facilitate their memorization to the poets ... to bring it as a sample to whom transmits these poems and made the pilgrimage with them.¹⁷

Contrary to other cases, in which the descendants and friends of an Andalusí scholar were instrumental in spreading their work,¹⁸ in the case of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, his offspring does not seem to have played any role in spreading Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s *Iqd*. He never left al-Andalus, and neither did his nephew, the physician Abū ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd Rabbihi (d. 342/953 or 356/966–7). A scholar from the 12th century named Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Rabbihi al-Hafid¹⁹ is considered a descendant of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi but does not quote his ancestor in his *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*.²⁰ A disciple named al-Aydi is also known, but no information is extant about how he may have transmitted his teacher’s work.²¹ The most reliable hypothesis, therefore, is that it was through Andalusí travelers to the East, not directly related to Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, that his work traveled outside al-Andalus.

16 For instance, the Buyid vizier al-Šāhib b. ‘Abbād (326–85/938–95) remarked that the *Iqd* of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi was only “our merchandise brought back to us.” See Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Irshād*, i, 463.

17 Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, *al-Iqd*, vii, 270.

18 See, for instance, in this volume, the article of Víctor de Castro about the diffusion of Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s work through his intellectual network. See also Fromherz, Ibn Khaldūn 288–305; Molina, The reception 663–80.

19 Puerta Vilchez and Rodríguez Figueroa, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi 609–19.

20 Ibid. 614–18; Ibn Sharīfa, *Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi*.

21 Al-Faraḍī, *Ta’rīkh* i, 82.

Regarding the moment when the reception of the work took place, we know that only a few decades after Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s death, an anthologist from Nishapur in the East, al-Tha‘ālibī²² (d. 429/1039) quoted in his geographically arranged literary compilation *Yatīmat al-dahr* a substantial amount of material that was taken from Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s work, especially from his poetry. He started writing his anthology in 994 to assemble the best literary production until his day, and he included a total of 470 poets and prose writers from different parts of the Islamic world. The fact that Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi was one of these *udabā’* that were mentioned in the *Yatīma*, and the quantity of material al-Tha‘ālibī quoted from him, indicates that the *‘Iqd* was already well known in the East at a relatively early stage.²³

As Bilal Orfali stated in *The anthologist’s art*, orality played a crucial role in the transmission of poetry and *akhbār* in al-Tha‘ālibī’s work. Much of the *Yatīma*’s information comes from 10th-century transmitters al-Tha‘ālibī met during their travels or their visits to Nishapur. The majority of these transmitters, as Orfali insists, came from the East and transmitted the poetry and *akhbār* of their own regions, as well as that of the regions they visited. The main transmitter of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s poetry for the *Yatīma* was an *adīb* from Nishapur and close friend of al-Tha‘ālibī named Abu Ṣā‘id ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Dust.²⁴ Apparently, the main source of Ibn Dust when transmitting poetry by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi was the Andalusī *faqīh* al-Walīd b. Bakr who had access both to Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s *‘Iqd* and his *dīwān*.²⁵ The information on Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi is introduced in the *Yatīma* with expressions such as: *أُنشِدْتُ* (*unshidtu*), that is, “it was recited to me,” or prefaced with a brief *isnād* or chain of transmitters. For instance, “(عن/’an) from Muḥammad b. Dust, from al-Walīd b. Bakr al-Faqīh al-Andalusī.” As it is well known, the *Yatīma* became widely known, and consequently, with its diffusion, the information included on Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s work also spread.²⁶

As for Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229), he states that he received the *ijāza* (authorization) to transmit the *‘Iqd* from Ibn Dīḥya (d. 633/1235), a famous Maghrebi author, who wrote, for example, a poetic compilation named *al-Muṭrib min ash‘ār ahl al-Maghrib* and who settled in the East:

22 See Orfali, *Anthologist’s*; Sources 1–47; Works 273–318.

23 See al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīmat* ii, 85–144.

24 See Orfali, Sources 45.

25 As noted before, al-Ḥumaydī states that Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi composed a 20 volume *dīwān* kept in the library of al-Ḥakam II.

26 See Orfali, Works 273–318.

وقد أجاز لي رواية كتابه الموسوم بـ «العقد» الحافظ ذو النسبين، بني دحية والحسين، أبو
الخطاب عمر بن الحسن المعروف بابن دحية المغربي

I received the *ijāza* of his book, known as the “*Iqd*” from the reciter, owner of two genealogies, Banī Dihya and al-Ḥusayn. Abū l-Khatāb ‘Umar b. al-Ḥasan, known as Ibn Dihya al-Maghribī.²⁷

Unfortunately, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s *Iqd* did not make a good impression in other quarters. There is the famous anecdote according to which the Buyid vizier al-Ṣāhib b. ‘Abbād (326–85/938–95) remarked when he read the book, “This is our merchandise brought back to us! We do not need it!” This reaction was recorded by Yāqūt in his *Irshād*²⁸ and confirms that Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s *adab* compilation was known in the East very soon, probably even during Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s lifetime.

In contrast, the *risāla* of the 10th-century author al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Qayrawānī addressed to Abū l-Mughīra b. Ḥazm (a relative of Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥazm, the famous author of the *Tawq al-ḥamama*), which was recorded in al-Maqqarī’s work from the 16th century, insisted on the idea of the good reception that the *Iqd* received in the East.²⁹

5 Encyclopedism: The Reception Process of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s Work during the Mamluk Period

In the Ayyubid and early Mamluk periods, there was a literary renaissance that has been studied by many scholars, such as Robert Irwin, Th. Emil Homerin, Hilary Kilpatrick, Ulrich Haarmann, and Elias Muhanna, to mention only a few.³⁰ Andalusī materials were taken into consideration as by then al-Andalus was associated with poetry (suffice it to mention the impact the *muwashshahat* had). The presence of many Maghrebi and Andalusī scholars who had settled,

27 Yāqūt, *Irshād* ii, 219–20.

28 Ibid., 214–5.

29 See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh* iv, 138–40.

30 For a general perspective of this period, see Homerin, *Reflections* 63–85; Franssen, *What* 311–32; Ghersetti, *al-Suyuti*; Haarmann, *Mamluk* 329–47; Irwin, *Mamluk* 1–29; Kilpatrick, *Beyond* 71–80.

especially in Egypt and Syria, also helped in spreading information about the Andalusí literary production.³¹

The Mamluk period was particularly famous for its encyclopedism. The impulse for anthologizing and compiling previous knowledge was carried out not only “because of the writers’ fear that all knowledge would be lost as a result of invasions or destruction of libraries,”³² as Elias Muhanna has remarked in *Encyclopaedism in the Mamluk period: The composition of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nuwayrī*, but also because of the vast amount of literature that circulated.³³ Scholars began to select and summarize the materials of their predecessors that they considered of great quality or relevance in order to pass it on to future generations. For instance, the Egyptian Ibn Mammātī summarized the anthology *al-Dhakhīra fī maḥāsīn ahl al-jazīra* (Book of the Treasure-house concerning the elegant aspects of the people of the [Iberian] peninsula) written by the Andalusí author Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī (d. 543/1147) and named the resulting work *Laṭāʾif al-Dhakhīra wa-ṭarāʾiq al-jazīra*, detailing the organization of the Andalusí work. Another important example is that of the distinguished author of the *Lisān al-ʿarab*, Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311),³⁴ who summarized important voluminous compendia written by earlier authors, such as *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi. Both cases are evidence that the Andalusí contribution to Arabic literature was known and appreciated by Eastern scholars.

Relevant information is also found in the Ashrafiyya library’s catalog that was studied by Konrad Hirschler in his *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and diversity in an Arabic library. The Ashrafiyya library catalogue*. The Ashrafiyya library, as Konrad Hirschler explains, is an important example of the book revolution initiated in the 9th and 10th centuries and of the popularization of libraries in the medieval Middle East. Founded in the 13th century in Damascus by the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Ashraf, the Ashrafiyya library was a minor institution with a remarkable collection of more than 2,000 books, many of them multivolume works composed in the late Ayyubid and early Mamluk periods. Thanks to the preservation of the Ashrafiyya’s catalog, we know that one of the books it held was Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi’s *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* and also the later summary of the *ʿIqd* carried out by Ibn Manẓūr. Therefore, contrary to what al-Ṣāhib b.

31 See Pouzet, Maghrébīns 167–93.

32 As, for instance, happened with the Ayyubid library in the citadel, destroyed by a fire in 1292. Irwin, *Mamluk* 1–29.

33 See Muhanna, *Encyclopaedism*.

34 He also epitomizes other earlier voluminous works, such as Ibn ʿAsākir’s *Taʾrīkh Dimashq* or Samʿānī’s *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Baghdād*. See Brockelmann, Ibn Manẓūr, 864.

‘Abbād had stated in the 10th century, three centuries later in the Mashriq, the need for Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* continued to be felt.³⁵

In addition to Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s work, there are other examples of Andalusī *adab* held in the Ashrafiyya library, for example, the *Bahjat al-Majālis* by Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr and later summaries of the *Bahja* and the *Dhakhīra* by Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī, although it is not clear if the Ashrafiyya also held the summary of this work made by Ibn Mammātī or if the title is mistaken and it is an anonymous collection.

6 Presence and Influence of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s Work in Mamluk Compilations

Adab compilations are extraordinary examples of the uninterrupted dialogue between oral and written sources and the juxtaposition of prose and poetry. Even though their structure, purpose, and organization differ from one to the other, the common idea was to collect the finest literary material and to preserve and ensure their circulation for future generations.

In the 12th and 13th centuries, *adab* works gained importance among the Mamluk elite, and this trend continued in later periods. The most popular *adab* compilation of this time was the *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* (*The ultimate ambition in the branches of erudition*) by al-Nuwayrī (667–732/1279–1332).³⁶

In his work, al-Nuwayrī relied basically on his contemporary, the Egyptian Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Yahyā b. ‘Alī al-Anṣārī al-Kutubī al-Waṭwaṭ (632–718/1235–1318), on the tradition of his Eastern forerunners, such as Ibn Qutayba, and also on Andalusī authors whose works served as model examples, such as that of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi.³⁷ Al-Nuwayrī’s *Nihāyat al-arab* combined prose, verses, or anecdotes. Just as Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi did, it omitted long chains of transmitters so that the reader could focus their attention on the content. The *Nihāyat* is divided into five books by which the author tried to create a comprehensive guide of the whole universe. In the first three books, the *ʿIqd* is one of the sources that was quoted by al-Nuwayrī and the *Dhakhīra* by Ibn Bassām is also used in book one.³⁸ The popularity of these Andalusī works is corroborated with quotations included by al-Qalqashandī (756–821/1355–1418) in his

35 See Hirschler, *Medieval*.

36 See Muhanna, *World*.

37 See al-Nuwayrī’s *Nihāyat* ii, 7–9, 22, 219–20; iii, 205–6, 219; iv, 2–4; vi, 5–6, 191–2, 211, 222; vii, 8, 186–8; x, 40.

38 Muhanna, *Encyclopaedism* 125–8, 180–5.

Ṣubḥ al-A'shā fī šinā'at al-inshā', considered by Hillary Kilpatrick “more a specialized administration manual than an *adab* encyclopedia.”³⁹

The texts that undoubtedly require the most attention in this context, however, are those by Ibn Abī Hajala⁴⁰ (725–76/1325–75), a poet and anthologist born in Tlemcen. In his work, we find evidence of his excellent knowledge of Andalusī literature. For instance, in his *Mujtabā l-udabā'* (The literateurs' pick), not preserved but mentioned in his *risāla Maghnātis al-durr al-naḥīs*, he relied on Ibn Bassām's *Dhakhīra* (conceived as a sequel to the *Yatīma*). Apart from this, in his much admired anthology on profane love, named *Dīwān al-ṣabāba*, Ibn Abī Hajala included poetry on this subject written by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi.⁴¹ In his compilation *Ṣahwat al-hazīn fī mawt al-banīn*, dealing with those who suffer the loss of a child, he added Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi's verses dedicated to his deceased son, for instance:

وقال ابن عبد ربه في ولده: [الطويل].
قطعت رجائي منك يا قطعة مني ذهب عن الدنيا أذهبها عني

And Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi said about his son:

I lost my hope, oh piece of me, leaving this world, you took it away of me.⁴²

Ibn Abī Hajala⁴³ also composed *maqāmāt*, and in his *Maqāma al-Kutubiyya*, he portrayed the decline of the 14th century's book market in Cairo, the reactions on the part of the elites to the rise of popular literary forms, and the circulation of books. He also provided data on which were the “must read” Andalusī works for achieving an adequate intellectual formation. These are *al-Iqd al-farīd* by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *Qalā'id al-'iqyān* by Ibn Khāqān, the *Dhakhīra* by Ibn Bassām, and Ibn Ṣā'id al-Andalusī's *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*.⁴⁴

Finally, the secretary of the chanceries of Syria and Egypt, Ibn Hījja al-Ḥamawī (767–837/1366–1434) wrote the *Qahwat al-inshā'*, a valuable source for Mamluk literature and history. This epistolary collection includes Ibn Hījja's own letters and documents written by his contemporaries or coming from

39 Kilpatrick, *Adab* i, 175–6; Genre 34–42.

40 See the studies carried out by Papoutsakis, *Anthologist's* 417–36 and Pomerantz, *Maqāmāh* 179–207.

41 Ibn Abī Hajala, *Dīwān* 29, 75.

42 Ibn Abī Hajala, *Ṣahwat* 82.

43 For the political events of this period, see Irwin, *Middle* 125–51; Van Steenberghe, *Order*.

44 Pomerantz, *Maqāmāh* 188–96.

foreign governments to which he responded. One of these letters mentioned the importance and fame of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s work, acknowledging it as one of the most valued of its genre.⁴⁵

Later, in the 16th and 17th centuries, authors like al-Maqqarī in his *Nafh al-ṭīb*, or Ibn al-‘Imād in his *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, again revealed the Eastern success of the *‘Iqd al-farīd*.⁴⁶

7 Conclusion

Further research needs to be carried out in order to detail, for example, which parts of the *‘Iqd* enjoyed greater impact, as shown in the summaries that were written on the work. Also, the manuscript transmission of this *adab* work needs to be studied. The evidence provided here demonstrates how Andalusis’ travels to the East in search of knowledge were the channels through which the reception of the Andalusī production took place and that the personalities and skills of those travelers were decisive in determining the success of such production, or lack thereof, regardless of the quality of the work. Al-Ṣāhib b. ‘Abbād’s dismissive remark on the *‘Iqd* as providing nothing new (in fact, it does contain very little Maghrebi materials) and as being a recycling of knowledge of Eastern provenance made sense in a 10th-century context in which the sources used by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi (and on which we have the excellent study by Werkmeister) were still available. Three centuries later, the *‘Iqd* would be appreciated by the Mamluk scholars precisely for such “recycling” of older materials, because by collecting it, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi not only preserved important previous works but gave them form and meaning.

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45 See Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī, *Qahwat* 315–9.

46 See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh* ii, 118–9, 511; iii, 158–9, 186–94; vi, 22–7, 145–6, 509–13; vii, 49–52, 69–73; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt* iii, 12–13.

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