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This book, originally a dissertation at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University in Frankfurt am Main (1977), and enlarged in the present edition with additional sections, deals with the sources of the Kitab al-'Iqd al-farid of the Andalusian author Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, who lived in the second half of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century AD. The book belongs to the so-called adab-works, defined by Hilary Kilpatrick as follows: 'The adab encyclopedia is a work designed to provide a basic knowledge in those domains with which the average cultured man may be expected to be acquainted (UEAI, 10th Congress, Edinburgh, 1980, Proceedings, ed. by R. Hillenbrand, 1982 pp. 34-42). H. Kilpatrick, 'The Adab Encyclopedia: A genre in classical Arabic literature'.

Giving examples of this kind of works, she says: 'The best-known example of an adab encyclopedia is Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's Al-'Iqd al-farid, but it is not unique. It is indebted to Ibn Qutayba's 'Uyun al-akhbar, probably the first in the genre, and a number of later writers imitated its author's intention, though not in its exact form'. In this last sentence she already states a certain dependence of the 'Iqd on Ibn Qutayba's 'Uyun which she considers as one of its sources. In Werkmeister's words adab literature not only serves as edifying and entertaining literature, but also as a systematic recapitulation of common general and special knowledge expected from a cultivated Muslim secretary.

The authors of adab works were compilers who collected traditions and texts from religious and profane sciences. In choosing texts and traditions, every individual compiler followed his own preferences, according to individual, political, religious or other factors in his time.

In this study the author wants to investigate, to what extent Ibn 'Abd Rabbih made use of in manuscript existing works and to what extent he bases himself on the living educational tradition (the 'seances' or majalis) in compiling his 'Iqd.

Werkmeister chose the 'Iqd for his research of the way in which Arabic learning and scientific traditions were passed on to following generations, in view of the fact that the problem of the dependence of the 'Iqd on earlier works like Ibn Qutayba's 'Uyun and Jāhiz's Al-Bayān wa-t-Tabyin, was posed earlier, although these works could not be considered as direct sources of the 'Iqd. This was also the case with another work with the same aim as the 'Iqd, namely Mubarrad's Kāmil.

So a well-known problem posed itself: to what extent was there an effective oral tradition of learning, and to what extent was that tradition based on written sources. The question about oral tradition was dealt with i.a. by Blachère in the fifties and by Sezgin in the seventies. According to Blachère oral traditions were fixed in writing only in the beginning of the ninth century AD and also in this century traditions of learned men were often completed by the oral traditions of their students.

According to Sezgin however, fixation of oral traditions began much earlier, namely as early as at the time of the Prophet's Companions and their direct successors. Lost isnāds can be reconstructed from later works. At first his thesis was limited to the domain of traditions of the Prophet. Later on he also applied his theory to the fields of history and poetry (thus furnishing counter-arguments against possible theories of exclusive oral composition of Arabic poetry).

Sellheim does not agree with the position of Sezgin, and is of the opinion that the learned men at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century AD did not base their material on existing writings, and their works are only partially extant in writing in the form of lecture notes and dictate cahiers by their students and pupils.

In the present work Werkmeister wants to follow the starting point of Sellheim, and tries to show that also at the end of the ninth century AD and the beginning of the tenth, oral tradition had not yet lost its significance apart from written sources. The written sources may not have played such an important role in compiling the 'Iqd. He wants to compare the versions of the different traditions and sections of the 'Iqd with the versions in previous works, also looking at the persons to whom traditions in certain fields are usually ascribed and examining loose traditions and groups of traditions according to their chains of deliverers (isnāds).

Also he wants to consider the relations of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih with the educational traditions, i.e. what he heard from his teachers and informants. The difficulty is, however, that Ibn 'Abd Rabbih has a great dislike for mentioning the isnād of a tradition. This attitude of his is very different from that of the compiler of the Kitab al-Aghānī, who seems to have had a special predilection for mentioning isnāds (sometimes as a kind of literary device perhaps: Dr. Khayrallah declares for instance on Ishahāni's section about Majnūn that the isnād should be considered on occasion as a literary, not as an historiographical device) 1). Whereas the sources of the Aghānī are clearly given in exhaustive isnāds and consequently examined by scholars like Blachère, Zolondek and Fleischhammer, isnāds are often missing in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's work. This fact was already recognized by Hilary Kilpatrick, who observes (ibid., p. 36): 'Less of a scholar than his model [Ibn Qutayba's 'Uyun, rev.]. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih leaves out isnāds for fear of boring his audience and provides much sketchier introduction for his information'.

So Werkmeister has a more difficult job to do in determining the sources of this work, and thus he gives a contribution to the study of tradition and education, as to what extent the material was handed down orally and to what extent by means of written sources.

As far as the question of oral or written transmission is concerned, especially with regard to the early Islamic period, the last word has not been said yet. The problem will from now on have the attention of the scholars, as has been shown again recently by Schoeler's paper at the 12th Congress of the U.E.A.I. about 'Die Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung der Wissenschaften im frühen Islam' (Malaga, 1984).

The present work gives a good insight in the later tradition of science and literature, especially in Muslim Spain.

In his introduction Werkmeister gives an exposé of the object of his research and the different problems connected with the oral and written scientific transmission within the framework of the educational system. He gives a definition of an *adab* work, quotes briefly the point of view of Sezgin and Sellheim (both from Frankfurt) about how these traditions were handed down, why he chooses the *I′qd* of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, and the less frequent occurrence of the *iṣnād* in this work as compared to Isbahani's *Aghānī* and Ibn Qutayba's *Uyun* (pp. 9-15).

In the Second Chapter he gives an overview of life and works of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih. He also gives an overview of the 25 chapters of the *I′qd*, which are classified as precious stones, chapters devoted to kings, wars, generosity, ambassadors, behaviour at the courts, sciences, proverbs, kinds of food, caliphs, women, singing, jokes, etc. (pp. 16-34).

In the Third Chapter the author speaks about the use of *iṣnāds* and sources in the *I′qd*. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih himself is quoted in his preface (he leaves out *iṣnāds* to facilitate reading and make it short, and to avoid difficult and prolix style) and also other works which have the same attitude towards *iṣnād* are pointed at. There are many traditions without *iṣnād*, or with only defective mentioning of sources or anonymous sources. Those with *iṣnād* are a minority. On the basis of this inventory, the author comes to a number of conclusions to proceed further on. The author wants to establish first what kind of relationship exists between the *I′qd* and previous written sources. It is also important to try to relate other texts, mentioned by name by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih himself, and texts which may be of thematic interest, to the *I′qd* and compare them with it.

The mentioning of sources for the material not based on written works, should be statistically evaluated. This makes it possible to determine for instance which group of learned men has been mentioned more frequently and from what period they are. Consequently should be examined how their traditions arrived in Spain and if this material was already extant in writings. (pp. 44-56).

In the Fourth Chapter the author speaks about the problem of the fixation of the written sources. Various opinions have been expressed in the past according to which the *I′qd* probably depended upon several other works. But these opinions were always marginal and within the context of other research. The present author wants to look at this problem systematically. He wants to confront certain thematic passages from the *Uyun al-Akhbār* of Ibn Qutayba, the *Al-Bayān wat-Tahyīn* of al-Jāḥiẓ, the *Kāmil* of al-Mubarrad and others. A thematic ordering of the sources is therefore important, also an index of persons and themes or subjects may be useful in order to determine which passage of the *I′qd* corresponds with passages in other works. (pp. 57-188).

In the Fifth Chapter sources and authorities which had a function in the educational tradition are summed up. It is often difficult to trace back the origin of traditions because of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's aversion to use *iṣnāds*. The best thing to do is to look at parallel traditions in other works which are provided with these *iṣnāds*. The trans-
formants of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih. So the 'Iqd can be seen as a proof that even at the end of the third/ninth and the beginning of the fourth/tenth century a voluminous work as the 'Iqd is based principally on a living educational tradition and only in special and limited cases on texts which were definitely fixed in writing and existing as books. Also in the Islamic West one did not limit himself to excerpting existing works and remoulding them. (pp. 463-469).

The painstaking efforts of the author of this book have made it possible for us to get an insight in the manner of compilation and the structure of a famous adab-work like the 'Iqd, and at the same time we know more about the manner in which science was handed down : that there was, on the one hand, the utilization of written works, which were definitely finished, on the other hand an educational system in which the oral transmission played a role, next to extant note-books of pupils and students. Especially for the later period we are rather certain about how transmission of science took place. The dispute between Sezgin and Sellheim, however, concerns mainly earlier periods : there still remain questions about the role of written texts in these earlier periods. But that was, of course, beyond the scope of Werkmeister's research.

Concerning Andalusia, Werkweister's thesis is also corroborated by a recent study I have made of (and I am still occupying myself with) the recently discovered Leiden manuscript of the Diwan of Ibn Khafaja, the famous Andalusian poet who lived from 1058 until 1139 in the province of Valencia. In this manuscript, Leiden Or. 14.056, we find several hitherto unknown poems of his hand, and also some akhbâr on the superiority and efficacy of poetry. Several of those anecdotes are to be found in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's 'Iqd in a slightly different form perhaps, but in a different order, accompanied by anecdotes, which are not in the 'Iqd. This may give an indication about the way in which compilers made choices, and how they put together the chosen material in a new manner.

The passage begins at 9b with five anecdotes from other sources than the 'Iqd, although the first anecdote contains two lines of poetry which are occurring also in 'Iqd III:205 (ed. Ahmad Amin). Then follow anecdotes 6-16 which are all of them retraceable in the sixth book of the 'Iqd, but in another order:

Ibn Khafaja's diwan (Leiden ms.): 'Iqd
6. (12a) Ibrahim ibn al-Mahdi prisoner of al-Ma'mun:
VI:36
7. (12b) Mu'awiya and 'Abdallah ibn Ja'far; Fakhrata hint Qaraza:
VI:17-19
8. (13b) Abu Hanifa and the wine drinking corn measurer:
VI:15
9. (13b) The judge al-'Uqas al-Makhzumi and the singing drunkard:
VI:14
10. (13b/14a) About ash-Shabibi and the 'Iraqi governor Bishir ibn Marwan and the female slave with the lute:
VI:14
11. (14a) 'Urwa ibn 'Udhayna and a woman about poetry lines:
VI:16
12. (14a) The Prophet and 'A'isha about the admissibility of the Prophet and a singing female slave:
VI:8
13. (14a) 'Abdallah ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Uways about the Prophet:
VI:7-5
14. (14b) Between Sulayman ibn Yasar and Sa'd ibn 'Ali Waqqas:
VI:8
15. (14b) Anecdote of 'Ubayd ibn Umayr about the Prophet and the Psalmist David:
VI:9
16. (14b) Opinions of philosophers about melodies; Plato:
VI:4.

Two more anecdotes are following about music and songs 17-18.

At the end of the book Werkmeister made some interesting tables from which we can see which passages in the 'Iqd are corresponding with passages in earlier adab-works. We can see e.g. the corresponding passages about singing in the Kamil of al-Mubarrad and the 'Iqd. From this we can also learn for instance that none of the above quoted anecdotes from the Diwan of Ibn Khafaja have parallels in or are derived from al-Mubarrad's Kamil.

Other schemes in the book show the dependence of learned men of later generations on earlier generations, e.g. which scholar was a pupil of which previous masters, on whose sources his learning is based and so on.

Not only in his appendices, but in the entire book, Werkmeister has shown a remarkable erudition and has convincingly proved to us, how at the time of the 'Iqd, there was still a living educational tradition from which — rather than from definitively fixed texts — adab-compilers drew their material.

Amsterdam/Leiden, April 1985

A. SCHIPPERS

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