

## Durham E-Theses

# The diwan of Abu Al-Hasan Al-Tihami 

Al-Furayh, Osman Saleh

## How to cite:

Al-Furayh, Osman Saleh (1969) The diwan of Abu Al-Hasan Al-Tihami, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/9931/

## Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a link is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.
Please consult the full Durham E-Theses policy for further details.

THE DIWAN OF'

ABŪ ALmASAN ALmTIHAM $\overline{\operatorname{I}}$

THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF M.A. BY

OSMAN' SALEH AImFURAYH

## SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM, U.K.

JNE 196.9:

## PREFACE

There was an abundance of poots in the fourth and fifth centuries. Üfiortunetely, little is known of their work. There were many whose works were not published and I chose Abū-alHasan al-Tihāmi because I was impressed by his poems. The Alexandria copy, published in 1893 contains many grammatical and poetical mistakes. In 1964 a second edition was published in Damascus, but this was little better than its predecessor. I, therefore, decided to present an edition of al-Tihami's Dīwan at the University of Durham for a higher degree. I chose the Paris Manuscript as the principal copy, bocause it is cloerer, contains more pooms and less mistakes.

This thesis is concemed only with the Diwan of Abū-al-Hasan al-Tihamī. The introduction gives a brief picture of his background, his life, his style and the poetry of his time. The first part considers the life and time of al-Tihami. The second part describes the historical background, the patronage system, poetry as propaganda, religious poetry, and discusses the merits and faults of political poetry before al-Tihàmi. The third part considers the Dīwan; editions and manuscripts. How representative is the Diwan of contemporary literature? How well does the Dīwan reflect the political conditions of the day? Lastly the themes and style are compared with other poets of his time ana before him. The fourth part is a complete edition of the Diwan, with additional poems from various manuscripts.

I would like to thank all these friends who helped me in different aspects of my work. My supervisor, Dr. R. Austin, Mr. \& Nrs. M. Willstrop, Mr. A. T. Farouki, Fiss B. Atkins and all the staff of the library in the School of Oriental Studies. I also owe a great deal to my dear wife, who has supported me during my study and helped to sustain me through my difficulties. Last, but not least, I would like to thank Riyād University who gave me the opportunity to pursue my studies.

Transliteration


Vowels
u short dammah
a short fathah

i short kasrah
us long dammah
ज.

$\bar{a}$ long fathah
1
i long kasrah

$$
5
$$

Diphthongs

ai or lay
r

CHAPTER I

PAFT I
The Winor Dynasties

Barly in his reien al-Mutawakkil divided the provinces of the empire amongst his sons. Both abroad and at home rebellion prevailed, and this led to further division. Minor States had arisen in Iraq, Persia, iggypt and Syria. Althoueri this division of the empire had the advantage of spreading culture on the one hand, on the other it created political problems for the minor States. We are going to discuss each of these important States.
$\frac{\text { Tuluni/s in Egypt : }}{!}$
During the preceding decades Egypt had generally been ruled by deputies of the "nbbasid princes or the Purkish cenerals, who preferred livine in the capital. In 868 Bayakbek, the Turk, had become the ruler of Egypt. He sent 'Ahmad b. Ţūū, the son of a Turkish slave, TȲIun, from Bukhara to Egypt as his deputy. 'Ahmad spent a number of years in military service on the Byzantine Irontier. He became part of the Caliph's court as his Father $\mathbb{T} \bar{u} l u \bar{n}$ was the commendant of al-Mu'tasim, the Caliph's bodyguard. 'Ahmad was the deputy ruler in Egypt and had attempted to build up his position. In 872 he persuaded the government of Baghdäd to recall 'Ahmad b. al-ivuabbir; the director of finances, who had controlled this office in the country since 856. From then on Ibn Tūlun gradually witharew from this control by a fixed payment of tribute. The Caliph, al-wuhdi, had given him the power to organise a slave army when he delegated the subjugation of the refractory governor of Palestine to him.

The Tūūnis had cultivated the land and had a flourishing
textile incustry. EEypt's prosperity enebled them to compete with the Caliph in the magnificence of his court. 'Ahmad had founcled a new city quarter on the exampie of the new residence created in Samara'. This quarter hed been set up north-east of the old national copital of Fustat (old Cairo) in an area given in fief to his officers and functionaries, and, therefore, called, al-Qata.'i. This was the result of the weakness of the centrel government in Baghdiad.

Drering the period of al-Muqtadin, the Caliph, there had boen disturbances which had made it difficult lor the Caliph to consclidate his power. In 929 the unruliness of his own troops Iorced him to abdicate in favour of his brothers, Muhammad alQahir. From that time the ministers and governor had been able to control the country. Al-Qāhir found himself unable to keep control so he called on his brother, al-liugtadi, to take over the position again. He himself led troops against Mu'nis when Muhammad b. Yaqūt withdrew to the capital again. Al-liugtadir knew very well that he was going to his death and, therefore, he put on the silver Kafṭan, the black band of the raboāsids, and over that the mantle of the prophet, and girded himself with the latter'ssord and red belt. After a short struggle he was killed on 3lst OctoDer, 932. Although Mu'nis wished to put the Caliph's son, Ahmad, who had taken the field at his father's side, on the throne, the latter's uncle, al-Qāhir, succeedea again in taking over the control he had already enjoyed once before for a short time. The minister, Ibn Muglah; the police prefect, Ibn Yaqūt, and the emir, Fiu'nis, vied for influence over the Caliph. When he attempted to get rid of his minister, the latter conceived a plan to overthrow him and replace him with Nuktafi's son. When the conspiracy came to light prematurely Mu'nis was deposed and executed, althougi Ibn kuqla was able to save himself. Dressed as a beggar, he travelled around tine country stirring up hatred against the Caliph. In April 934 the

Caliph was attacked in his palace, blinded and imprisoned since he refused to abdicste. The throne was seized by Mugtadir.'s son, ar-Radi $\bar{i}$, but he had to relinquish the power to Ibn Yáaū, and then to Ibn Muqlāh. Al-inuaffor, the Celiph, had deposed the wizier and appointed the fovernor of Wasit and Besra, Munamad b. Rā'iq, to Amir al'Umara' and not only gave him supreme command of the armies but also made him head of the entire government, even granting him the princely honour of having his name designated in the Friday services. By this he limited himself to being the supreme religious leader of the believers, which was what remained to all his successors.

## The'Ikhshiois:

The Fïtimids were founded in North Africa, mainly when 'Hbaydall̄̄h b. Muhammad had come to the throne with the assistance of his father's emissary, Abū 'Abdullah, in 910. 'Ubaydallah had managed to establish himself sufficiently to embark on conquests. His armies subjugated the west as far as Morocco and he envisaged the conquest of Egypt. In 91.4 his army took Alexandria and the Fayyün, but was soon driven out again. His son, Abū al-Qāsim Muhammad al-Qa’im, in 921, had advanced to upper Egypt, but he was decisively defeated by al-Muqtadir's General, Mu'nis. These attacks by the Fattimid had been repelled by Munammad b. Tughj who
 served the Caliph in Baghdād and Huhammad had come to Egypt as governor at this time. Two yours later he was able to establish his powor. In 937 he was able to potition the Caliph, ar-Madi, to oluvate him above tho rank of an ordinary eovernor by beatowing on him the title of 'Ikhshid, which the ruler of his family in his native Firghānah had borne before their subjugation by Islam. He then began to defend his position against Ibn Ra'iq, , who was Amíral-'Umará'. However, Ibn Ŕg'iq was finally compelled to concede to the 'Ikhshid, the Sinai peninsula and the southern
part of Palestine as far as Ramlah in return for a payment of tribute. The 'Ikhshī had assumed the position of 'Amīr al'Umara', and was already necotiating with the Caliph, al-Huttaqi, soon after Ibn-Rä'iq's aeath. But the secure possession of a rich province like igypt attracted him more than contending with Turinish Generals, therefore, he attempted to secure his position in Egypt through the building up of his Syrian outpost. Trouble had arisen between him and Sayffad-Dawlah i. Hamdan, who was attempting to extend his nower to Damascus. Sayf-ad-Dawlah finally, however, compelled him to leave Dimascus.

In 946 an Abyssinian eunuch called Käfur took over the regime after the death of 'Ikhshid on behalf of 'Ikhshid's sons, 'Unūjur and 'Alī. After ' 1 ' $\bar{i}$ 's death Kāfūr was also personally appointed by the Caliph with Egypt in 966 . Kafur wns still able to defend Egyot and Syria against the Hamdanids and Fätimids, but when Käfur died in 968 his position was taken by a grandson of the first 'Ikhshid, called Abū al-Fawäris 'Ahmad. He was young enough to be able to exert his authority. The fourth Fätimid Caliph, al-Mu'iz li-dinillah, resumed his dynasty's plans for the conquest of Egypt. He left this dan to his former Greek slave, Jawhar, an army leader who in 958 had been able to secure the Fatimid domination of the wost. In 969 Jawhar set out with his army from Raqqādah towarcis Egypt, and before he reached the gates of Alexandria he received an Egyptian envoy announcing the submission of the country. A few months later the Egyptian army rallied its forces. Jawhar, without any difficulty, beat them back in a battle near the pyramids of Gizah. In July of the same year he moved into the Egyptian national capital, where he was able to establish the Fätimid caliphate in Egypt.

The Buwayhid:
When the 'Abbāsid Caliphate was weak meny minor dynasties had sprung up all over the Caliphate. We have already seen two

Turkish dynasties in Egypt, Tūlunis and 'Inhshíds. In the East of the Empire there was a new dynasty. A Daylamite called Mirdawīj had overthrown the 'Alid Zaydites ruling in Tabaristan on the southern bank of the Caspian Sea, and made himself independent. In his service was his countryman, Buwayh, father of the three brothers who had established their dynasty in the Eastern province and in Iraq.
'Alī b. Buwayh was g'overnor of Karaj, south east of Hamadan. In 932 he revolted against his Suzerai'n (Mawl $\bar{a}$ ) and occupied Isfahān after driving out Caliph Qähir's garrison. Mirdāwīj
was still able to punish the rebels and drove them out of the city to return the city to the Caliph. During this time rAl $\bar{i}$ was able, in alliance with his borhters al-Hasan and 'Ahmad, to extend his powar in Iran. In 934 he conquered Shirāz and set up his residence. His brother, al-Hasan, was advancing on Media when Mirdawi j was assassinated by his Turkish troops in 935, while the third brother, 'Ahmad, had already conquered Kirman.

These disturbances in the east of the empire had affected the regime in Baghdad. The conditions there had become ripe for Buwayhià intervention. Al-Nuttaq $\bar{i}$, the successor of Al-Rädi, had been merely a plaything in the hands of the generals. He entered into negotiations with the 'Ikhshid of Egypt, trying to avert the danger of his generals and rulers. The Turk, Amir Tusun, would not let him do that; he seized him and had him blinded. Niuttaqi's son and successor, al-Mustakfi, was equally powerless. He could neither satisfy the troops' demands for pay, nor ward off the famine threatening Baghdad. Al-Mustakf $\bar{i}$ thought it worthwhile to look towards this new power coming the East for assistance. He welcomed the Buwayhid 'Ahmad, who was advancing westward from Kirman, as a saviour. He was able to seize ilasit after a battle with al-Baridi and Tusun. In December 945 he entered Baghdād. The Caliph designated him as 'Amīr al-'Umara', with the
honourary title of hu'iz ad-Dawlah. However, soon afterwards, the Buwayhid took firm control. They began to show it, when they made al-Mustakf $\bar{i}$ succumb to the fate of his ancestors and accused him of heving dealt with the enemies of the Buwayhid. His successors, al-Mutti" (946-974) al-Ta'i" (974-991) and alQādir (991-1003), were still merely puppets of the Buwayhids. In fact they were powerless having to be content with right of the coinage, still mintea in their name, and the Friday sermon which mentioned them as rulers. However, they could not keep their dynasty firm, they could only maintain their power in interminable skirmishines with the Arab tribes of Mesopotamia, and with the mountain people of Iran who were showing increasing inclination to revolt. Although the Buwayhid Dynasty had been able to maintain its power through these interminable skirmishings, they could not maintain peace. Hasan, son of 'Adud ad-Dawlah, in 976 wrested the territories of all his brothers and cousins away from them and united Iran and Iraq under his rule. This power had already dissolved in 983 as a result of the contentions of his sons. In 1029 Majd ad-Dawlah b. Fakhr ad-Dawlah, the ruler of the eastern provinces, was removed by the Turk, Mahmüd b. Subuktigin; in 1055 al-Malik at-Ranim, the ruler of Iraq, was removed also by Seljuq Tughril Beg. Both Majd ad-Dawlah and al-Melik al-Rahīm ended their lives in prison.

## Hamdāniàs:

Among these lesser dynasties who come to maintain domination over the ${ }^{\text {S }}$ Abbāsid Caliphate was genuine Arab dynasty founded in 890 by Hamdan, the head of the Taghlib tribe. Hamdan had seized the fortress of Mardin in upper Mesopotamia in alliance with the Kharijites. Although the Caliph had imprisoned him for his co-operation with the Kharijites, he was pardoned after his son, Husayh, defeated the Kharijites. In 905 Husayn's
brother, Abū-l-Hayja', was appointed governor of Mausil under Muntadir. He ruled until hise death in 929 , supported from 920 by his son Hassan who no loneer held extonuivo power.

Hasan, after his victories over Mesopotamia and Northern Syria, had to exercise his power over the Caliph, al-Miuttaq $\bar{i}$, who had to flee to Kausil with his amir al-'Umara', ibn Rä'iq, from al-Barid $\bar{i}$ and his brother who were making repeated attacks on Iraq from their province in Khuzistān. Al-Hasan b. Hamdān took this opportunity and had Ibn Rā'iq murdered and then he forced the Caliph to transfer Ibn Réa'iq's office to him together with the honourary title of Nāsir ad-Dawlah. At the same time his brother Ali had received the title of Sayf ad-Dawlah. The brothers were able to conduct the Caliph back to his capital, Baghdād. Nāsir ad-Dawlah was able to retain his provinces in Mausil, Mesopotamia and Damascus, even after the Bowayhid Mu'iz ad-Dawlah had occupied Baghdād. Nāsir ad-Dawlah was accorded the name of Buwayhid in the Friday services. At any rate Nasir ad-Dawlah survived until he was declared incompetent and imprisoned by his om son, Abu-Taghlib. It is thought that his son had done this with the approval of his family since $N$ äsir was a dospot. He was not content with the monstrous taxes which oppressod his sulajectis, he :llso looked to tho day whon the bulk of the land property in the country was in his own possession. He died in 968 in imprisonment. His son had managed to survive for a short time in Mausil. His brothers and family had lost their independence soon after his death in 979, as vassals of the Buwayhids and Fātimids.

Sayf ad-Dawlah's fame was maintained by his victory over the Byzantines. He had won greater fame than his brother Nasir because he had realised the impossibility of maintaining his position in Irac as the Caliph major-domo against the Turks and Buwayhid. He, therefore, turned towards Syria, and wrested

Aleppo in 945 from the 'Ikhshid of Egypt. Since he failed to extend his power to Damascus, he, therefore, found his life's work in the struggle ageinst the Byzantium. Sayf ad-Dawlah was able to survive in his own territory, although he professed himself a vassal of the Fatimics when they came to power in Egypt. He pledged his life to the struggle against the Byzantium. In the earlier centuries the wars against the Byzentines were raids and skirmishes around fortresses. The advantage swung back and forth between the Arabs and the Byzantines. Sayf ad-Dawlah was encouraged by his patriotism to launch his very first campaign against the Byzantines in 949 which ended with a setback. He won great booty the following year when he launched another attack against them.

Three years passed without any major incident, as if both sides needed breathing space. A class of professional soldiers had grom on both sides of the frontier and during longer interludes of peace had exchanged cultural values. Although the Byzantine Emporor formed a great army against the Arbs, he suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Suyfad-Dawlah. Five years later the Byzantines defeated the Arabs, mainly through the prowess of John Tzimisces. In 962 Sayf ad-Dawlah was himself severely defeated by Nicephorus. Aleppo itself had.fallen into the hands of the Greeks, who were devastating and pillaging the land round about. Although Sayf ad-Dawlah was already crippled on one side by a stroke, he still managed to fend off successfully an attack by the Greeks within two years of their victory over him. In 967 Sayf ad̈-Dawlah and his grandson Sa'id ad-Dawlah held aleppo until 1002.

## The Fatimids:

The Fätimids were known by this name as they were directly descended from Fatimah, the daughter of luhammad the prophet and Al $\bar{i} \mathrm{~b}$. Ab: $\bar{i}-\mathrm{T} \overline{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{lib}$. They had established their empire in the West
during al-Muqtadir's reign, which was one of much disorder, largely because of his youth and the control exercised over him by his mother, his women, and his servant. His administration was influenced by women servants while he was occupied in pleasure. In his reign the land fell into ruin, the treasuries were emptied, and different sects arose. He was deposed, then reinstated, and finally put to death. The Fatimid empire arose in the west in 910 at the hand of SUbaydallah. He was the son of Muhammad alHabīb who was living in Salamiyh near Hamāh. Among those who had been attracted by his teaching was a man named Abu-'Abdallah in South Arabia. He gained the allegiance of some Kutamah Berbers in Mecca on a pilgrimage and they placed themselves under his command. He went with them to their country and gathered an army around him to fight against the 'Aghlabids.

In 909 the last of the 'Aghlabids, Ziyādat-Allāh II, was defeated by 'Abdallah who came with the Berbers from South Arabia, so decisively that Ziyadat-Allah had to flee to Mesopotamia. Al-Muqtadir, the Caliph, had commanded the governor of Egypt to help the Aghlabid regain his empire, but he refused to obey. Abu-'Abdallah established himself in ar-Raqqadah the Aghlabid's residence. Not long afterwards Nuhammad, the Fätimid, died. His son, 'Ubaydallāh, escaped the Caliph by fleeing to Africa. Although he was held captive for a time by the governor
 910 and raised him to the throne in ar-Raqqadah. The Fatimid had gained a strong position in the West, ignoring the Caliph of Baghdād by claiming to be the sole rightful heir to the Caliphate.
'Ubaydallāh had already suppressed an uprising by Abu'Abdallah and he needed to consolidate his power to embark on conquests. In fact, his troops had subjugated the west as far as Morocco. He also envisaged the conquest of Egypt. His army took Alexandria and the Fayyum in 914, but this attack had misfired and he was soon driven out. His son, al-Qā'im Abū al-Qasim

Muhammad, had pressed on as far as upper Egypt, but in 921 was decigivoly dofeatod by Mu'nis, eeneral of Mugtadir, the Caliph. After 935 leypt had been ablo to keep the Fitimide from ita borders for some time. In the meantime Fatimid were engaged in extending their rule in the west which had been stopped by the Spanish Umayyad Caliph, 'Abd-al-Rahman III at Ceuta.. Once again the rule of the Fatimids was seriously imperilled by an uprising of the Kharijite Berbers of the Zenata tribe in Aures. The leader of this dispute, $A b \bar{u}$ Yazīd, had fallen into the hands of the new Caliph, al-Mausūr Abu-Tāhir Isma'il in 947. The new Caliph also preferred to establish himself securely rather than extend his empire. When his son, al-Mu'izz li-Din allah took his seat on the throne of the empire he provided welfare and tranquillity in Africa. He also placed a large army under the command of Jawhar, who wrote repeatedly to al-Mu'izz requesting that Egypt, Syria and Hijjaz were brought into perfect order and that a prayer should be offered up in his name throughout all those countries. This news gave al-Mu'izz the utmost satisfaction and, as soon as his authority was consolidated in Egypt, he set out after proclaiming Bulukkīn b. Zirī as-Sinhajī his lieutenant governor in Africa. Al-Mu'izz took with him an immense sum of money and a number of influential and powerful chiefs to Egypt. He entered Alexandria on Saturday 29th May 973. Some time after he left Alexandria and on 6 th June 973 he stopped at Guiza. Jawhar went forth to meet him. Three days later al-Musizz passed the Nile and proceeded to Cairo. It was after al-Mu $f_{i z z}$ that Cairo received the surname (al-quanuitah al-Murizziyah) Murizzian Cairo, the city having been built for him by his general, Jawhar. Jawhar had divided the new city up into blocks for various categories of people.

Under the rule of the Fatimids Egypt enjoyed reasonable peace; $\mathrm{Mu} \mathrm{f}_{i z z}$ and his successor, al- ${ }^{\text {Az }} \overline{i z}$, gave the country foundations of sound administration. The third Fátimid to rule Egypt, al-Hakim

Abu 人Alī al-Mansūr, (996-1020) made a special name for himself though less by services to the country than by being abnormal.

In the year of 1010 al-Hākim caused some of his generals and ministers to be put to death. Among them were al-Husayn, son of Jawhar, the General of al-Ku'izz, al-Husayn b. 'Ammar and "Alī, the father of al-Wazīr al-Maghribī al-Husayn b. raī one of al-Tihāmi's pitrons, al-Maghribī, who fled to Ramlah and induced Prince Hassān b. Mufarrij, who governed that town, to take a stand against his Suzerain. But in spite of the support afforded by Abū-al-Futūh al-Hasan b. Ja'far, the Sharif of Mecca, who was defeated, the undertaking failed; the prince of Ramlah came to terms with al-Hākim. Then al-Wazir al-Maghribī fled to Iraq and to the Eastern region, where he filled high positions in the service of the princes of these countries. Al-Hākim of Egypt forestalled Hassan and Sheriff of Mecca. Al-Hākim sent troops to fight against Hassān and the latter was defeated. He spent two years with his father without means of support. During these two years Hassan's father had died. Then Hassan went to Egypt trying to mend the broken relationship with al-Hakim. The latter had granted Hassān Ramlah in Palestine. Hassan, for one reason or another, was not entirely satisfied to be subordinate to the other. He was the chief of the tribe of Tai and this made him cling to his dignity. Hassān was trying to take the opportunity to free himself from such obligations towards al-Hakim. Hassañ was aware of the political trouble between alHakim and other tribes. He realised thet al-Hakim was in fear of Banu Qurrah, a tribe living in the province of Barqa, anciont Cyrenaica, who were in favour of the 'Umayyad Caliphate of Spain. They had embraced the cause of Abu-Rakwah, a native of Spain when he had revolted against al-Hakim in 1004-5. Banu-Qurrah had defeated the troops which al-Hakim had sent to set up the revolution in Barqah.

[^0]At the beginning of the fourth century the Fatimids' weaknesses became more evident. The successors of al-Hakim lived luxuriously and proved incapable of curbing the mercenaries. Fātimids were unable to maintain rule in Syria and Palestine; which had always been menaced by minor rulers.

## PART II

$$
\text { Abū-al-Hasan al-Tihañ } \bar{i}
$$

His Origin
His full name was Abū-al-Hasan 'Alī b. Muhmmad al-Tihami from Tihāmah of the Hijāz.

The most important of his biographers are Ibn Khallikan (Wafāat al-'A'yāre:) Ibn Taghrī Barada, "ar-Nujum az-Zähira", Ibn al-'Imād "Shadharāt al-Dhahab", Abū-l-Fid̄a, ....í "Tarikh alBashar". Tihāmi is the relative adjective from Tihāmah, a name given to Mecca. The same name is also given to the mountains and other regions from the extensive province between Hijaz and the frontiers of Yemen. Ibn Khallikan ${ }^{(2)}$ was not sure whether it was from the city of Mecca, or from the province, that the poet took his surname.

Others, such as Ibn al-Wardī, in his book, "Tārikh Ibn alWardi" quoted al-Tihāmi's "Ra'yyah" elegy on the death of his son, and a report on his execution in Cairo. Al-Tha' $\bar{a} l i b \bar{i}$, in Tatimmat al-Yatimah, merely quoted some of his poems, which were not more than sixty lines long chosen from various poems.

Al-Bakharzi ${ }^{-}$(3) who died 467 A.H., was the only person who gave us any information. Although he was too close to al-Tihami's time he did not say more than that al-Tihami was of ordinary stock; then he devoted himself to Banu al-Jarrāh and served them in his eulogies. He went to Egypt to try to gain a place in the government. Friends deceived him with the result that he met his death in prison.

Al-Dhahabī ${ }^{(4)}$ says "al-Tihami was a religious person born in Yemen, who visited Damascus, Iraq and Persia. Later he settled in Ramlahand went to Ekypt as a secret envoy for Hassan b. al-Mufarrij and was killed secretly".
(2) Wafayat al-'A'yān III,
(3) Dumyatu al-Qasr p. 24
(4) Siyar 'Álám al-Nubala Ms. XIII, p. 341

Al-Tihāmi's biographers were not sure whether he took his surname from the city of Mecca or from the province of Tihamah. Al-Tihāmí, himself, sometimes mentioned Mecca as his hometown while sometimes he was longing to be in Hijaz among his people there, (6) and at other times he praised his country as a whole.

Looking through his poems we could say that he came from Mecca for the following reasons:

1. Mecca was mentioned in his poems, more than other places in the region.
2. Al-Tihānī'a (beloved's home wins between Tithlīth (9) and Najrän is the nearest region of Yemen to Mecca.
3. That the blessed Prophet Muhammad was surname al-Tihāmí, because he came from Mecca. Al-TihāmI could have his surname for the same reason.
It is possible that al-Tihāmi was born in Yemen, although there was no prove to support al-Dhahabi's opinion, but we could ? say that his early life was in Mecca, and his upbringing was also in Mecca for the reasons mentioned above, so we are going to discuss his life in Mecca and his travels through the Islamic Empire.

## His Birth

We have no evidence about his date of birth. From one poem written in 398 A.H. to al-Kämil in Shīāa, it would appear that he had left his hometown at an early age. He says in this poem "I accompanied my camel for exactly twenty years, until I came to Shīraz.' (11) It would seem that he left his hometown in 378. It would appear from another poem (12) that he left home when he was aged, between fifteen and twenty years old. He was enthusiastic in this poem. "If circumstances deceive man, countries would not do that". He continued in his enthusiasm and said, "If man had

| $(5)$ | See page 219 L. 4 |
| :--- | :--- |$\quad$ (9) Yaqūt Mu' jam al-Buldān II, 15

[^1]reached twenty years old, and did not possess any glory in his lifo, it would be nothing to be proud of".

This means that he left his hometow searching for a better life before he was twenty years old.

His Life
I - In Mecca
Al-Tihāmi haid spent. his early life in Mecca. He left Mecca when he was fifteen years old. As we mentioned, he was ambitious looking for a better living, but he could not find what he wanted in an unstable society like Mecca. Many powers had dominated Mecca. The ${ }^{\text {Abbāsid }}$ of Baghd̄ad were dominating the country in 359 A.H. ${ }^{(13)}$ The Fatimid of Egypt had been able to dominate Mecca in 363. (14) Between these two states was al-Qaramitah, the third power which had also been able to control Mecca for a while. Miúr?

In 363 A.H. the Fätimids ruled Mecca. When al-Murtaz, the Fatimid, died in 365 A.H. his successor, al- ${ }_{\text {Az }} \overline{i z}$, feared the troubles which could stem from the 'Abbāsid. So in 369 A.H. he sent Bādīs b. Zayrī al-Șinhājī from Egypt to lead pilgrims in Mecca and to make the Fatimids' position stronger.

## II - In Egypt

Al-Tihami $\bar{i}$ during his time in Mecca, was trying to find himself a good position, but the unstable political atmosphere made the situation difficult. It is possible that al-Tihāmi went to Egypt for the simplereason that Mecca at that time was under the Fätimids of Egypt. He thought that opportunities were greater in Egypt, since Egypt was the capital of the Fatimid Caliphate and contained Egypt, Syria, Hijaz andiNorth Africa. Under the Fatimids Egypt enjoyed reasonable peace and tranquillity; Murizz and his successor, al- Aziz, gave the country the foundations of a sound administration. Al-Tihāmi tried to show how he was fitted for a position in the Government. It could be argued from his

[^2]poems that he went to ligypt to try to cause trouble for the

 against the authorities in Egypt. He assumed the title of the commander of the faithful" and called himself al-Rāshid Billah. He went to Banc al-Jarrāh in Palestine seeking their support. AlㅋTihami, during the time of the revolution, was in Egypt. From his poems it would appear that he came to Egypt in an effort to obtain a high position there:
"I came to Egypt in high hopes, but I return with nothing except failure and excema." (16)

## III - In Syria

Al-Tih $\bar{a} m \bar{j}$ left Egypt to go to Damascus and Palestine in search of a better life. He praised $A b \bar{u}-r_{A b d a l l a / M u n a m m a d ~ a l-~ h / ~}^{\text {L }}$ / Nașibi and met many distinguished persons there. He tried to settle in Ramlah where Mufarrij b. Dughful and his son Hassān lived, but the trouble between them and the governors of Egypt and Syria prevented him from establishing himself. The political situation in Palestine was not less difficult then it was in Mecca. In Palestine the tribes of Tai/ and Banu-Salih were indifferent to the authorities in Egypt. Al-Tihami thought that he could miss his chance in this political atmosphere.

IV - In Iraq and Persia
He first went to Iraq and Musil where he thought he could find a better living. He began writing his eulogies to rulers and other important people in the Caliphate. Ib al-Dhahabi (17) says that he praised In ${ }^{1} A b b \bar{a} d$ in Iraq, but we have no evidence in his Diwān to support Ion al-Dhahabi's opinion. There is nothing to show who was the first person to whom al-Tihami dedicated his praise, but there is little doubt that al-Tihāmi left Damascus to meet people and to improve his social standing. It is likely that he met Qirwāsh b. al-Muqallid the ruler of Mausil and Kufah.
(15) Ib Kathīr al-Bidayah XI, 309
(16) See page 15 L .12
(17 Siyar 'A lam al-Nubala' Ms. XIII, 341

He then left Qirwāsh to 'Amad where he praised 'Ubaydullah b. Dimmah. He also went to Shiraz where he met al-Kamil, but could not stay there long either because of the cold climate. The year he was in Shiraz was especially cold and rainy causing floods in many areas. (18) From the eulogies he wrote to the rulers in Iraq and Persia, or even other distinguished people, it would appear thet he was unhappy during his time in Iraq and Persia. Many people were jealous of him there, ${ }^{(19)}$ either because he came from a country under different rule, or because the general political situation was unstable. So people had to be more careful about those who came from such countries as Mecca, Egypt and Palestine which were dominated by the Fatimid, successor of ", ${ }^{\prime}$ Abbäsid in those countries.

Ministers rarely lasted long in office and this situation did not help al-Tihāmi to fulfill his ambitions.

## Back to Ramlah

Al-Tihāmí, therefore, felt he could not remain in Irag. Ho had in mind to fo to Pillestine, where ho had been boforo, looking for a permanent home. When al-Tihämi held been there proviously he had met distinguished persons such as al-Mufarrij b. Dughful and his son, Hassan, Chief of the Tribe of Tai. He reached Ramlah about 400 A.H., which was when Hassān b. al-Mufarrij had become stronger. Not long afterwards al-Wazir al-Maghribī came to Ramlah when al-Kakim of Egypt killed his father and his uncle. Probably al-Tihàmī had met al-Wazir al-Maghribi in Egypt so he looked for his opportunities there and he agreed to co-operate with him to persuade Hassān b. al-Mufarrij to ask Abū-alFutū̆, the governor of Mecca, to come to Palestine in order to declare himself for the second time as ruler of Hijaz and Palestine. Hassān had agreed and when Abū al-Futūh was on his way to Ramlah, al-Hakim had received the news about this plot so he

[^3]offered plenty of money to Ban al-Jarrāh and cut off Hejaz share in the state budeot. During this time al-Wazir alMaghribi was in fear of the outcome so he fled to Iraq while alTihāmi fled to Array (20) This incident had been reported in many sources but only Ib Khaldūn mentions al-Tihāmí's part in this plot.

Al-Tihāmi chose to go to Arrays, because he did not want to follow al-Wazīr al-Maghribi to Iraq where he had been unhappy. When the situation in Mausil had settled down and Qirwäsh had become stronger, with al-Wazīr al-Maghribī as his secretary, alTihämi went there and praised them both. But once again al- chinile Tihāmi was not satisfied with his life in Iraq. He finally decideed to go to Palestine hoping to stay with Hassān b. al-Mufarrij who was to become the ruler of Ramlah after his father's death. Al-Tihāmi was eager to obtain a good position with Masan, who, he hoped, would be interested in his welfare. (21) He was tired of travelling too, and saw so many unworthy people in high places that he began to lose interest. (22)

Al-Tihāmi explained to Masan that he had tried many ways of gaining wealth and position, but that he could not do better thin stay with him giving up everything to praise him. (23)

Al-líhàmi settled permanently at Mamiah and hold the post of preacher there. He married there, but life deceived him again and his only son, died very young. Despite the fact that al-Tihēmi was very unhappy on the death of his son, he showed those who were envious of him that he could overcome difficulties.

## His Death

When he lost his son al-Tihāmi thought that he would continuse his political work. In 415 a. (24) Hassän b. al-Mufarrij was
(20) In Khaldun IV, 217 (23) Page 279 Line 13
(21) See page 279 L. 13
(24) Ib al-'Adim Tarikh (22) See page 13 L. 8
independent in his rule of Ramlah. He was looking for another tribe to co-operate with him in order to be safe of the govern- from ors of Egypt. He thought of Banu Qurrah who were settling at Gīza in Egypt. Hassān chose al-Tihāmi to go there to convert Banū Qurrah. Al-Tihami went in secret to Egypt bearing letters from Hassān to Banu Qurrah. He was arrested and questioned by the authorities. He replied that he was from Tamim. From their investigations they learned that he was al-Tihami, the poet. He was then cast into prison at Dār al-Bunūd in Cairo on the 27 th of Rabi' the second 416 A.H. ( 28 th June, 1025 A.D.) and executed secretiy on the 9 th of Jamada the first in the same year, ( 8 th Jum. July, 1025 A.D.) (25)
(24) Ibn al- Adīm $^{\text {A }}$ Tārikh Halab I $p, 224$
(25) Ibn Khallikān Wafayat al-'A'yan III; pages 60-62

CHAPTER II

## EULOGY IN THE FOUKTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES

Poets wrote eulogies in return for material assistance in praise of the rulers for what they did for the country. In the 'Abbäsid period, Caliphs used to gather together as many poets as possible to write under the patronage of the court.

Poets were usually dependent on the bounty of Caliphs and were drawn to the capitals. (1) In the fourth century, because of the division of the empire, minor states had arisen so that poets were no longer attracted to the capitals.

Al-Mutanabbī was born at Kūfah in 303 A.H. ( 905 A.D.) (2) He wis an ambitious young man. He saw himself as a prophet, founded a new religion in the plains round the little town of Samawah. In a very short space of time, he was overthrown by Lu'lu', the 'Ikhshídite general in command at Hims and was cast into prison, in which he remained until he acknowledged the true faith. Rulers now offered him many gifts. Al-Mutanabbī reached Sayf ad-Dawlah's court, and composed such beautiful poems in his honour that the names of both poet and patron are always associated.

A personal matter arose between el-Mutanabbī and the Persian philologist, Ibn Khālawāyh, who lost his self-control so much that he struck al-Mutanabbi in the face with a key. After nine years of understanding between al-Mutanabbi and his patron Sayf ad-Dawlah, al-Mutanabbī quitted Aleppo dissatisfied with what Sayf ad-Dawlah was doing for him. He went to Egypt and offered his services to the foe of the Hamdanid dynasty, Käfur, the 'Ikhshidite prince. But this attempt ended in disappointment for political reasons. Kāfur said, "A man who has claimed the gift of prophecy after Muhammad, the prophet, might also claim authority over Kafūr." Al-Mutanabbī, enraged, fled to Baghdād, where
(1) Ibn Rashíq al- Umdah II 150
(2) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt I, 103
the ruler was al-Wazīr al-Muhallabī, who wanted to be the object of the illustrious poet's praise. But the poet would not grant him this honour and departed to go to radud ad-Dawlah, the Buwayhid of Shiraz in Persia.

Poets in the fourth century were free to choose the patron they wanted and to go anywhere they liked. In the fourth and fifth centuries there were poets who represented the opposite pole to al-Tihāmī's predecessors. The old poet praised a man only for what he was. In the Islamic period people were busy with their new religion. Poets, therefore, dovoted themselves to $?$ writing poems in praise of Muhammad and Islam. Muhammad, the prophet, praised Hassān b. Thabit, when the latter was encouraging Muslims to stand firm and strong against their enemies and compose poetry for this purpose. The prophet said, "Your poems were a more effective weapon than arrows".

During the 'Umayyad period we find that poetry was being used as propaganda for the 'Umayyads and the 「Alids. There were three aspects of this poetry:-

1. Those poets, who were in favour of the 'Umayyad and wrote propaganda poetry for the Umayyad and for their right to the caliphate, were attracted by the money which was paid by the authorities of the ${ }^{4}$ Umayyad.
2. Those poets who were not actually in favour of the 'Umayyad, but found themselves writing propaganda poetry for them, although their sympathy was with the Alids. The poet, al-Farazdaq, who knew the fickleness of his fellows, told Husayn, the son of rAli, who claimed to be the right caliph, ${ }^{\text {r }}$ that although their hearts were, with him, their swords would be with the Umayyads.
3. Those poets who were composing their poetry only for the Alids were more honest and faithful, because they knew that "Alid had no material power, as the 'Umayyad had, to persuade poets to praise them


Some of the 'Alids' poets were extremist. They liked 'Al $\bar{i}$ and his family, but on the other hand they hated the first two Orthodox Caliphs, Abu-Bakr and 'Unar, and others of the prophet's kinsmen. This kind of propaganda was out of favour from a religious point of view, because people did not like to hear of read insults to the prophet's kinsmen and followers. The best example was al-Sayyid al-Himyari. (4)

So, propaganda poetry was successful and popular politically, but not so religiously.

Propaganda can change the standing of a community, the Banū Anf al-Näqah for instance; they hated their surname until al-Hutay'ah, the poet, praised them saying:
"They are of the Tribe of 'the she-camel's nose! Others are the tails, who would consider the she-camel's nose to be equal to its tail?"

Then they were proud of this surname.
Another example was the Barmacides of the great and noble Persian family, who directed the affairs of the Caiiphate by their great influence and generous patronage of learning. Lavish hospitality and wise administration brought lustre to the reign of the first "Abbāsid caliphs, until the time of Härūn al-Rashid, (6) whose jealousy led him to destroy this family, when his poets (7) were singing.
"Would that Hind had fulfilled to us her promise, and healed our souls of their suffering: Would that she had acted independently for once. It is the weakling who does not act independently". (8)
Finally it is worth mentioning the merits and faults of the representatives of political poetry before al-Tihāmi. There were many representatives even though this period lacked upheavals
(4) Isbahānī, 'Aghanī XII, 276-277
(5) Ion Rashíq 'Umdah I, 26
(6) Ibn Khallikan Wafayat I 292
(7) Ibn Khaldūn Muqaddimah, page
(8) Arberry, Arabic poetry page 40
comparable in scale to previous centuries.
Al-Mutanabbī's political poetry was based on fact, especially those splendid eulogies written in favour of that cultured prince, Say ad-Dawlah, with whom al-liutanabbī lived for nine years ass an intimate friend and comrade in arms. This sort of atmosphere Eave the poet confidence in himself to speak for a whole people. What he said was noted and even influenced public opinion: He usually distanced himself from the theme and even from his personal feelings. So al-Mutanabbi's charactor dominated his theme, because he believed what he said, and the public no doubt believed it too.

The other poet, with opposite view to al-Mutanabbi, was Ib Hānī from Maghrib (Spain), who was born at Seville in 316 A.H. He attached himself to al-Murizz, the Fatimid. (9) He believed in the doctrine of transmigration of souls, in which some of the Shirr rah also believed and this was important. He exaggerated his eulogies to his patron so much that he placed him on a level with Jesus Christ, and further-more he gave his patron the authority of God in matters such as fate and divine decree.

Once we recognise the limits within which the poet worked, we can see that he failed to reach his readers on some points which he believed they shared with him.

[^4]
## Chapter III

THE DIWAN

Although al-Tihāmi had held the post of preacher, (Khatābah), unfortunately, we have nothing of his works except his Diwan. It would appear from Ib Khallikan's (1) statement: "Al-Tihami only produced a small volume of poems, but the greater parts are exquisite", that al-Tihāmi has no other work apart from the . Diwan.

The Diwan has been published twice:

1. Firstly in 1893 in Alexandria, pages 4-144, size $21 \times 14.5 \mathrm{~cm}$.
There is an introduction (pages 2-4) in the beginning.
2. Secondly in 1964 in Damascus. pages 4-239, size $23 \times 16 \mathrm{~cm}$. There is an introduction (pages $A-D=P-S$ )
A cursory comparative study reveals that these are more or less identical, except that the Damascus copy says in the introduction:
"Although we followed the al-Ahram'scopy there were many errors in both the poems and the names of people mentioned in the . Diwan".

Damascus's copy was interpreted, but still has some errors $\gamma$ and omissions.

Manuscripts:


There are twelve copies available, each one of them is different, except that four of them are more or less identical. These four copies are Madinah, Egypt, Escorial and Lieden. Most her manuscripts were undated, except the Madinah and Damascus copies.
(1) Waf̄̄̄yāt III, 60 Hajjī Khalīfah, Kashf al-Dhunūn Col. 771

I PARIS - National Library Copy No. 5056
106 pages. Size: 20xl2.5 cm.
23 lines per page.
Naskh script in black ink. Undated, papers -yellowish, fol
not too thick. Heading and marginal notes in black ink.
 عبـنَ
Ending:

II Vatican Library Copy No. 4/1109
114 pages. Size: $20.7 \times 15 \mathrm{~cm}$.
21 lines per page.
Naskh script in black ink. Heading in red ink, marginal notes in red and black ink. Papers old, but thick. Date on the margin 1096 A.H.
Beginning: $\quad$ قال
Ending:




III Turkey Koprulu Copy No. 1248
86 pages. Size: $20 \times 15 \mathrm{~cm}$.
23 lines per page.
Naskh script dated 1051 A.H. Alphabetically arranged.
Beginning:

Ending: تُ
-


HYDERABAD State Library Copy No. 110 Diwan
174 pages. Size: $20.5 \times 15 \mathrm{~cm}$.
17 lines per page.
Naskh script in black ink, marginal lines and heading in red ink. Incomplete at end. Undated.
Beginning:

Ending:




IUBLIN, The Chester Beaty Library Copy No. 4838
114 pages. Size; $17.8 \times 13.3 \mathrm{~cm}$
19 plus 4 marginal lines per page.
Naskh script undated.
Beginning:
区

Ending:

VI SPAIN, Elescorial Copy No. 383.L
165 pages. Size: $23 x 14$ cm.
17 lines per page.
Naskh script in black ink. Undated.
Papers, yellowish, rather thick.
Heading and marginal lines in red ink.
Beginning:


Ending:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { "i }
\end{aligned}
$$

VIII

CAIRO, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyyah Copy No. 595. Adab.
240 pages, plus one on the last page poem for the scribe. Size: $23.5 x 16.5 \mathrm{~cm}$.
14 lines per page.
Naskh aoripte in black ink. Heading and marginal lines in rod and black ink. Undated
Beginning: $\quad$ تالْ
Ending:
(31
促
MADINAH, 'Arif Hikmat Library Copy No. 132
179 pages. Size: $25 \times 17.5 \mathrm{~cm}$.
17 lines per page,
Naskh script in black ink, dated 1266 AsH.
Hes,ding in red ink. Marginal notes are different from the copy's script.

Beginning:
家

Ending:


IX LEIDEN Copy No. Cod. 2682
132 pages. Size: 20x16 cm.
21 lines per page.
Naskh script. Undated.
Beginning:
 -

Ending:

X BERLIN, Copy No.
117 pages. Size: 20xl5 cm.
Naskh script alphabetically arranged, undated.
There is an introduction on page 1 , in it his name was written thus:
"Abu al-Fath Bade al-Dīn Alī b. Muhammad al-Tihāmī".
 نُ
Ending:

XI LONDON, British Museum, Copy No. 3789
pages, size:
20 lines per page.
Naskh script in black ink. Undated.
Beginning: ${ }^{\circ}$位
Ending:



XII
DAMASCUS, Zahiriyyah Library Copy No. 5078
39 pages, size: $20 \times 14 \mathrm{~cm}$.
21 lines per page.
Naskh script. Dated 1346 A.H.
 : خـَ

Ending:



The Diwan in general represented the prosaic style. This fancy style became fashionable in al-Tihami's days. The Qasídah followed the prose style. This was not unusual because the pass-
ion for rhymed prose spread in the fourth century. The life of the empire had changed by division. There were many minor states, each with their own income and stimulating their own culture. Poets and writers found favour in these minor states and many writers, such as al-Wazīr al-Muhallabi, and al-Sahib b.'Abbad, and ${ }^{\text {Ib n }} \quad V$ al-'Amīd became ministers. Literature and culture prospered in this century. Thus men of letters became ministers.

Al-Tihami began his poems with a compliment, then came the main subject, and he ended with a prayer for his patron.

Literature came under the influence of the new way of life. Prose came under rules and divided into themes in the same way as poetry: greeting, eulogy, elegy, friendship (Ikhwāniyyāt) and praise of the rulers (Sult̄̄niyyāt). Ib n al-'Amīd was the leader of this vogue. (3) He was a poet, too, as were many of the writers of this time. The influence of the writer on al-Tihami is manifest in his use of (Say') and maxims and in ending his Qasidah with a prayer.
(2) Pages, eg. $1,17,51$ etc.
(3) Tha'alibi, Yatimah III, 2

Al-Tihami took a pride in his poems so he saw his Qasídah like a bride in her magnificent wedding-dress on her glorious night. He thoueht his Qasidah ever more beautiful. He also thought the words and the meanings: of his Qasidah turned the paper on which it was written into a beautiful meadow. Some poems, however, could make the paper less beautiful. (4) His poems, to him, seemed to be new, despite the passing of time. (5)

He intended to show the greatness of his poems and to make the readers believe that his main interest was the person he was praising. He meant this, but only to serve his Qasīdah, he said, "My poems become more beautiful than the diamond when dressed in your praises". (6)

Al-Tihami has different views about poetry; he believed poetry to be a demending and serious subject.
(7) Some poems will be remembered because they are records of history.

He compared poems with people and showed that there is both good and bad poetry in the world.

Close study of his Diwan shows that his language is easy to understand. His expression is simple, yet powerful. He used words not of Arabic origin, such as "al-Mashkhalab" which is a Nabatī word, but still used in Iraq. (10) These words, however, were known in some parts of the Arab world.

Poets tried to show how they could absorb the current culture and also how they were widely travelled and knowledgable in the daily language of the people. (11) Al-Mutanabbi used unusual expressions in his poems, (12) striving after uncommon metaphors and similes. This marks all the poetry of the fourth century.
(4)
(5) pee page 200 lines $8,9,10$
(6)
See page 77 line 10
(7)
(8) page 35 lines 6,7
(8)
(9) See page 134 line 1
(10) Ibn Manzūr, $\frac{\text { Lisān }}{\text { Ara }}$
(11) Page 15 lines $2,3,4$ (12). Thalalibi Yatimah, í
pages $111,114 \& 115$

A radical effort was made to change the custom of apostrophis-. ing the deserted encampment ('ATLA L) ${ }^{(13)}$ in the opening lines of an ode. In the line translated below, Abu-Nuwās gives a description of wine instead of 'Atla 1 .
"The description of the Atla 1 is old-fashioned, what you must now describe is wine".

The fourth and fifth centuries were the time of developing. culture. A rich store of ideas and elegance of diction was brought into Arabic poetry.

Spring was not mentioned in pre-Islamic poetry, even during Islamic and Umayyad periods, but with the development of culture songs of spring became fashionable. Al-Sanūbarī, who died in 334 A.H. was the first to sing of snow:
"Gild the cup with wine, lad, for it is a silvery day Veiled in white is the air, bedecked in pearls, as though in bridal display." (16)

In al-Tihāmi's Diwan we don't find such description, althoügh we find the Shi'at's thoughts of Imam, who was the high authority $X$. in the state. Al Mutanabbi also adopted the Shi'at theory of transmigration of souls. (18)

The following lines were not in his Diwan. Ibn Khallikān mentioned them and said, "he has surpassed all competition when he says:"(19)
"His gifts are ample; yet he thinks them small, though the copious rains of autumn are shamed (by their abundance) compared with the beneficence which he sheds around the swollen cloud would be called a vapour and oceans, rivulets".(20)
(13) Nicholson. A Literary History of the Arab. 286
(14) Abu-Nuwas. Diwan - page 539
(15) Mez Renaissance of Isha page 263 (16) Tha'alibi Nathr al-Nazm page 141


Most of his Diwan has graceful passages. The following lines were contained in a long Qasīdah in praise of al-Wazir alMaghribī:
"When the lips of the flowers on the hills and those of our (mortal) beauties were smiling, I asked my friends which were the fairest to the sight, "I know not".

Said he: "All of them are anthemis blossoms". Similarly Ib n Sana' al-Mulk, who died in 608 A.H. ${ }^{(21)}$ says: "I hesitated, thinking the teeth (of my beloved "Sulaima") to be anthemis buds, and taking these for teeth I, therefore, kissed them ell to dispel my doubts, and every person who feels earnest (in such matters) would do the same"

Al-Mutanabbi praised his patron for his triumph over the enemies of Islam, but al-Tihami does not have this opportunity. It was common in the fifth century for the poet to praise his patron for such triumph, but the main impression we have of fifth century poetry are poems celebrating the New Year, Easter, Ramadan, the end of the month of Fast, Mihrajan, and the birth of a son or daughter. Al-Sharif al-Radi followed this method.

It would appear that al-Tihāmis style was popular in his time and some of his poems were related to other poets, such as Qirwāsh b. al-Muqallad (23) and al-Wazīr al-Maghribī. (24) There was nothing odd about this since we know that al-Tih $\bar{a} \overline{\bar{i}}$ had praised these two persons and maybe they read his poems.

The fourth and fifth centuries produced many poets of a similar style so al-Tihāmi did not come under the close scrutiny of his contemporaries. During these centuries al-Tihāmī stood side by side with al-Mutanabbī and al-Sharif al-Radi.
(21) Ib Khallikān V 112
(22). Sharif al-Radī Diwan, page 381 Tha'alibi Yaíímah II pages $79-86$
(23) Al-Bajcharzī, Dumyat_al-Qasr, page 13
(24) Ib Khallikän Wafayät

## Themes of his Diwan:

There are seven principal themes in al-Tihāmís Diwans Eulogy, Elegy, Love Poetry (ghazal), Friendship (Ikhwaniyyāt), Glory (Fakhr), Enthusiasm (Hamasah) and Asceticism.

His Diwan reflects the political condition of his time, the situation being unsettled. The empire had divided into minor states; Egypt, under the Fatimids, was slipping more and more out of the sphere of influence of the Baghdad Caliphate. The tribes and governors of Syria and Palestine had submitted to the Fatimid Caliphate which was represented in Syria, Palestine and the Hijaz. Al-Tihami left his hometown at an early age. He was interested in travelling to gain experience of life, which. he drew from the observation of persons and events. His poem of eulogy (25) to Ion al-Furāt showed how al-Tinami was eager to obtain a good position in the government and also how his intelligence fitted him for such position. But when he failed to achieve his aims he left Egypt for other countries. He met differont, distinguished persons. He was trying to satisfy everyone he met, because he realised that the times were troubled ones. (26)
"Be always like your Time, when you fight. If it stands upright, be upright, but stumble when it causes men to stumble. If Time's aspect is serene to you, be serene. But if it is fickle in many ways, be a tiger".

Many disputes occurred in the regions of Syria, Palestine and Hijaz. Tribes and governors revolted against the authorities. The Tribe of Taghlib had dominated Aleppo and brought the whole of Northern Syria under Say al-Dawlah's rile. For twentythree years he continuously harried the Byzantines on the fronttiers of Maia Minor, but although he gained some glorious victorLen, which hin laureate, al-Mutanabbi, has immortalised, tho fortune of war went in the long run steadily against him. His
(25) Page 299 Lin
(26) See page 154 lines 5,6
successors were unable to prevent their little kingdom from being crushed between the Byzantines in the north and the Fatimids in the south.

Al-Tihāmi was trying to gain favour with Hassān b. alMufarrij, Chief of the Tribe of Taí, in Palestine. He praised him and his father for their bravery and their greatness. He was, therefore, trying to find a patron in the person of Hassan as al-Mutanabbī did with Sayf al-Dawlah. The difference between the two patrons, Sayf al-Dawlah and Hassan, was that Sayf alDawlah had a good reputation which his martial exploits against the enemies of Islam had richly earned for him in the eyes of his contemporaries. This was enhanced by the conspicuous energy and munificence with which he cultivated the arts of peace. Hassān could not have gained such triumphs. He was not interested in settlements, but only in causing trouble for the authorit-. ies. The incident mentioned previously when al-Tihami and alWazīr al-Maghribi tried to persuade Hassān to disobey al-H̄̄akim of Egypt and unite his country with the Hijaz under Abū-alFutū̆ domination illustrates this. Hassān was interested in such a plan, but when al-Hakim of Egypt made him an offer, he plotted against $A b \bar{u}-a l-F u t \bar{u} h$ who returned to Mecca.

Al-Tihāmi fled to al-Rayy. After a time he came back to Ramlah, when Hassān's father died, with hopes of mending his relationship with Hassān. He explained to Hassān that he had tried many ways of gaining wealth and position, but that he could do no better than to stay with him, giving up everything in order to praise him:
"I have come back to you. If I am to be fortunate, let it be now".
(27) See page 279 line 13

Al-Tihāmī settled for some time at Ramlah in Palestine with his patron Hassān, whose position improved. After his father's death he became the actual governor of Ramlah in 415 A.H.

Al-Tihāmi also mentioned in his Diwan disturbances caused by other tribes, such as Banū Kilāb. He praised 'Ali b. Abd alWāhid, the Qāā of Tripolī in Lebanon, whom al-Hākim of Egypt appointed to support Mansūr b. Lu'lu' against Banū-Kilāb in Syria who had revolted against the authorities. (28) Al-Tihami mentioned this incident praising the Qadi for his triumph over them.

## Themes

## Eulogy:

Bulogy 1 e mont common in his Diwan $(30)$ nd the purpose of oulogy in general, ia, of course, to praine. Therofore, the sentiments exe not always sincere, but rather designed to gain favour for the poet.

Al-Tihāmi constantly sought wealth and position'with emphasis in his poetry on the generosity of the person he is praising. In an appropriate metaphor al-Tihāmi sees poverty as a dangerous enemy and the generosity of his patron as the weapon with which poverty will be destroyed.

In his eulogy al-Tihāmi used relevant description. For instance, he praised al-Wazir al-Maghribī, whom we understand to be a fine writer of Persian origin. Therefore, he has the opportunity to gain the wisdom of a Persian, and to write in the language of the Arab. (33)

He also thanked the camels because they were instrumental in his meeting his patron, and says that because of this, the feet of the camel should be kissed.

| (28) | Ibn al-'Adīm - Tarikh Halab I, 199 . (33) | See page 51 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (29) | See page 61 lines 4-13 P. 63 L. 1-12 (34) | See page 131, |
| (30) | See page 88 eg. | lines 1 \& 2 |
| (31) | See page 321, lines $11 \& 12$ |  |
|  | \& page 322, line 1 |  |
| (32) | Ibn Khallikan-Wafayat 1, page 429 |  |

Al-Tināmi used (alkhat̄̄bah) preaching as another form of praise. He clearly knew how effective al-Khatäbah wns bociune he held the post of preacher at Ramlah in Palestine. The name of the patron would be repeated every week at Friday's service and also at other times according to the suitability of the occasion. He realised that al-Khatābah is no less effective than poetry. Al-Tihāmi said how every country was eager to be under his patron's rule. Even the pulpits were proud, because his name issued from them.

Poets compare the person whom they are praising with such things as the sea, the rain and the wind. To the Arab, the North wind represents evil, and the South wind represents good; the East wind is soothing and the West wind is harsh. So just as the one who al-Tihàmi praised is generous, he is also hard. He is the North wind when he is fighting his enemies, because he is unrelenting towards them, and on the other hand he is the South wind to his own people, because he is generous. (35)

Al-Tihāmi's eulogies also emphasise his religious thoughts. His faith was reflected in the person he praised. He said, "If he (the one who is praised) is wealthy, his wealth consists in his generosity, because he is indifferent to the vanities of the world. He awaits the evening in order to pray, while other people are waiting for sleep.

Al-Tihàmi was influenced by the styles used in his time:
"There is no fault in them, except that their women are niggardly (in matters affecting their dignity), But they must be so, since their generosity requires it". (37)
Another example of his use of words can be seen in the following lines of his eulogy. (38)
"The ends of their spears were bowing down, as in prayer, to the hearts of their enemies, while the spear heads were the prayer-leader".


Eulogy was very popular in the fourth and fifth centuries. AlTihamī was dependent on his poems. He once asked his patron to give him more and more, and if the patron did, his eulogy to him would be a beautiful garden of all the different kinds of flowers: (39)
"I am really a meadow, if you should water it (with your gifts),
This praise would be transformed into the brightest flowers".

He usually used the traditional method at the beginning of his eulogies; he began with love-introduction, as did most of the Arab poets. Only rarely did he begin directly with the subject itself. It is a fact that the poems which plunged immediately into the subject were shorter than those which began with love poetry or other means of introduction. (40)

## Elegy:

Al-Tih $\bar{a} m \bar{i}$ wrote only four elegies, three of them on the death of his son and one on the death of his cat.

Al-Tihami, in his elegies, followed the normal pattern which does not begin with love poetry. There are a few exceptions who begin elegy with love poetry, such as Durayd b, alSummah.

In terms of quantity eulogy comes first in al-Tihāmi's poems, but in terms of quality elegy holds that distinction. Al-Tihāmi's elegy is important for two reasons; firstly because of its clarity and secondly because his fame hinges upon it. It is unfortunate that he wrote so little. The two elegies on the death of his son (42) are well-know, but the third (43) is held to be of less significance. The fourth (44) was written on the death of his cat, but it is not a good example of his work, even were we to

| (39) See page 161 line ll | $(42)$ | See pages 106,114 |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (40) See e.g. page 167 line 2 etc | $(43)$ | See page 224 |  |
| $(41)$ | Ib Rashiq al-'Umdah II 121 | $(44)$ | See page 203 |

suppose that he wrote it on the death of a person- a common device in al-Tihami's time. Some poets dedicated elegy to one person at the same time implying another, using animals to hide identity. This was done for political reasons, or because in the fourth century poets were fond of metaphor and comparison.

There is no evidence to prove, however, that al-Tihami wrote this elegy on the death of a person, but it is thought that he really did write it on the death of his cat.

Al-Tihām's elegies to his son were sincere expression of love. Although al-Khanse'wrote elegies on the death of her brothers, (46) she showed less feeling for them than al-Tihämi did for his son.

Al-Tihāmi immediately launched into his elegy, and this is considered proof of his ability. (47) In this instance he began his elegy saying that everyone has to die at the appointed time:

> Tyrant of man: Imperious Fate
> I bow before thy dread decree Nor hope in this uncertain state To find a seat secure from Thee.
> Life is a dark, tumultuous stream With many a care and sorrow foul, Yet thoughtless mortals vainly dream That it can yield a limpid bowl.

Think not that stream will backward flow, Or cease its destind course to keep, As soon the blazing spark shall glow, Beneath the surface of the deep. (48)

This idea was expressed by Shakespeare in Hamlet: "Thou know'st "tis common, all that lives must die Passing through nature, to eternity".
It is worthy of note that al-Tihami began his elegy with maxims, discussing life and death, stressing how people try to make the best of their lives, otherwise, when they die, they
(46) Diwan al-Khansa', pp. 123/148

Al-'Abbasi, Ma'āhid al-Tansīs IV 242
(48) Translation by Carlyle, Specimens of Arabian Poetry Page 88
will have no choice in their destiny. (49)
For the critic elegies on the death of children are a difficult subject, ${ }^{(50)}$ but al-Tihāmī used various poetical themes to show how he was hoping to see his child become a man, brave and intelligent. Some of his biographers chose lines from his two olegies, others ohose the two oomplete elegies. AlBākharzī said, "I wrote al-Tihāmi's elegy for myself and I learnod it by heart!
(51)

In using these themes al-Tinamī was trying to present his elegy in a way which allowed him to express his paternal feeling. He tried to find an excuse for himself at the burial of his son, as he spread dust over his son's body. (52) To show how sad he was, he imagined that he could not sleep because of his grief. He could not close his eyes, because he felt as if he had no eyelids or eyelashes. (53)

His elegies, then, were of the highest merit, largely because they were written in honour of his son - a subject, whioh because of the love he bore him, was an inspiration. The poetry was written from al-Tihāmi's heart. Al-Tihāmī's elegy may not have been original or inspired; Al-Mutanabbi's theory was that the poem is road, and perhaps one's footstep could fall on the other. (54) He said that to answer someone who asked him, "Why did you borrow your meaning and ideas from others?".

So we cannot blame al-Tihāmī for similarities of meaning and idea, also we cannot say that his elegy was not original. To be fair we said al-Tihāmí's elegy is original, because he presented it in a different form. It is possible that his elegy was inspired by his predecessor, Muhammad b. Abd al-Malik alZayyat's elegy on the death of his adopted son's Mother.
(49) cf. Gertrude, Hamlet Act I, Scene II
(50) Ibn Rashiq al-Jmdah II 124
(51) Dumayat al-Qasr 46
(52) See page 114 Iines $10 \& 11$
(53) See page 116 , line 6
(54) Ibn Rashiq al 'Umdah II, 222
(55) Ibid II 215

Al-Tihami used some of the same meanings, but then many meanings and ideas are common property for all. An example to support this is Shakespeare's view of death expressed through Gertrude in Hamlet, which al-Tihami shared.

## Love Poetry:

Al-Tihāmi has no such separate theme of love poetry. We have to bear in mind that al-Tihami lived in the fourth and fifth centuries and we have already considered life during that period both from a literary aspect and politically. This encouraged individuals dominating society which ultimately led to the weakening of the community. Everyone in general and literary men in particular had to struggle for their liveliehood. Poets travelled about the country seeking high position. This may be one reason for less love poetry in that period. AlTihami told his beloved that he could not stay with her since he wanted to go to seek a good living elsowhere. (56)

Al-Tihami's love poetry was not as aienificant as his elegies or eulogies. However, if his love poetry is to be believed he was too good to be true, because he neither allowed himself to kiss his beloved, nor even in his imagination. It is possible that he was trying to show that he was a religious man. When he is about to compare wine with his beloved's saliva, he says, "I asked God's forgiveness".
"She has a saliva - I asked God's forgiveness more delicious and more tasty than wine".(57)

Furthermore, if the phantom of his beloved tried to kiss him he would put something between her lips and his for fear of sinning, either because of the actual kissing or because of - as he thought - her saliva was wine. (58)
(56) See page 321 lines 11,12
(57) See page 163 line 10
(58) See pages 129 line 12,130 line 1

From his religious views, it appears he believed in platonic love. The fact that al-Tihami refers to his beloved as a phantom indicates that he intends to see his beloved during his sleep; he sometimes wants sleep to give him more chance to see his beloved.

> "She sent you her phantom to occupy you, but, unfortunately, the night has come .to an end". $(60)$

Although her phantom keeps visiting him, she sometimes seems to be ungenerous to him, if her shadow does not appear before him during sleep.
"If she knew that her phantom will come to me, she, by all means, will prevent heim from coming".

Sometimes he seems to be proud of himself and is no longer interested in such love, because he wants to struggle for living:
"Her phantom had visited me, but no longer, She left because she saw my sword beside me".(62)

Al-Tihami's love poetry was simple and elegent. The use of the phantom of his beloved makes poems more elegant. This type. of love poetry was often used before al-Tihàmí; Al-Buhturí was one of those poets who had often used this type. (63) Al-Tihāmī frequently used names of girls in his love poetry, such as 'Ulwah and Hamdah, which were commonly used by poets.

His love poetry was a mixture of platonic and religious ideas. He wanted to compose love poetry and to be honest and faithful to his beloved, but he feared committing a sin if he produced such poetry:
"I never committed sins during sleep,
So how can I commit sins during daytime". (64)
(56) Se-page 330 line 4
See page 230 line 4
(61) See page 142 line 3
(62) See page 210 line 3
(63) Ibn Rashiq al-'Umdah II, page 95
(64) See page 287 lines $4-6$

His love poetry was only a means to begin his poems and to find an excuse to say to his imaginary beloved:
"I have no time for love, I am going to find my way to a better position:

General notes on his poems:
Apart from the two main themes in his Diwan, eulogy and elegy and the love-poetry introducing his subject, he wrote other themes which we have mentioned before.

1. Maxims:

These were used in his poetry for two reasons:
a) This traditional use was common in his time.
b) He held the post of preacher at Ramlah for a time, and he would use such maxims in preaching, so this had an effect on his poetry.
2. Glory:

Al-Tihāmī was an ambitious man and we saw how willing he was to travel to better himself.
3. Friendship: ('Ikhwāniyyāt)

There are some friendship poems which tried to explain his ambition to his friends. He also wrote poems from prison at Dar al-Bunūd describing his grief at being imprisoned without any sense of guilt.
4. Asceticism: (Zuhdiyyāt)

This kind of poetry was not common in his poems. There is (66) one poem of this type, others were found among his elegies. The poem was seven lines long, trying to preach to people that no one could be happy merely for his wealth, but one should prepare oneself for the coming life, by doing good and performing God's orders.

Close study of his Diwan shows that his language is easy to understand, his expression is simple, yet powerful and flexible.

Al-Tihami, however, manged to preserve the language of his poetry in each of the themes he used. The beauty of these lines illustrate his skill:
"You are a wise man who knows that he is doing. You rid yourself of that which is evil and retain that which is good".(67)
"In the palanquin on the camel's back a beautiful girl
She has a glowing fresh face".(68)
He went on to doboribe hor botany when ho and
"Everyone who is ardently in love is willing to be the Black Stone (in the Ka' bah) which that beautiful girl kissed". (69)

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## I - Arabic

1. Al-'Adab fī Z̧ill Banī Buwayh by M. Ch. Al-Zuhayrī
2. Al-' ${ }^{\prime}$ 'lām by Khayr al-Dīn al-Zinkalī (1954-1959)
3. Al-'Aghanī by Abū-al-Faraj al-'Isfahānī (Cairo 1927)
4. Al-Bayān Wa al-Tabyyin by al-Jāhiz (Cairo 1948)
5. Al-Bidayah Wa al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārikh by Ibn Kathīr (Cairo 1932)
6. Al-Darā'ir Wa Mā Yajūz Lishsh̄̄̄rir Düna al-Näthir by M. Sh. al-'Alūsī (Cáairo 1341 A.H.)
7. Al-Fakhrī fi al-'Ad̄̄b al-Sultāniyyah by Ibn Tabūtabū (London 1947)
8. Al-Fanu Wa Madhahibuh fi al-Shi $\boldsymbol{r}_{\mathrm{r}}$ al- $\mathrm{r}_{\mathrm{Arabi}}$ by Sh. Dayf (Beirut 1956)
9. Al-Kamil $f \bar{i}$ al-Tārīkh by Ibn al-'Athīr (Cairo 1953)
10. Al-Kashkūl by Baha'u al-Dīn al- 「Amilī (Cairo 1961)
11. Al-Murshid ilā Fahm Ash'āral-'Arab A. Tayyb (Cairo 1955)
12. Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah by Ibn Taghrī Barad̄à (Cairo 1932)
13. Anīs al-Julas $\bar{a}$ ' fī Sharh Diwan al-Khansa' interpreted by Louis Cheikho (Beirut 1896)
14. Al-Shī rru Wa al-Shu'ara' by Ibn Qutaybah (Cairo 1364 A. H. )
15. Asrār al-Baläghah by Abd al-Qahīr al-Jurjānī (Egypt 1947)
 (Cairo 1907)
16. Al-Wafī bil-Wafayāt by Salah al-Dīn al-Safadī
17. Dīwān - Al-Tihāmī (Alexandria 1893)
18. Dīwān - Al-Tihāmi (Damascus 1964)
19. Dīwān - Abū Tammām (Cairo 1957)
20. Dīwān - Al-Buhturī (Beirut 1962)
21. Dīwān - Al-Sharīf al-Radī (Beirut 1961)
22. Diwān - Hassān b. Thābit (London 1910)
23. Dīwan - Jamīl Buthaynah (Cairo 1958)
24. Dīwān - Mihyār al-Daylamī (Cairo 1925)
25. Dīwān - Abū Nuwās (Beirut 1962)
26. Dīwān - Abū Firās al-Hamdānī (Beirut 1944)
27. Dumyat al-Qaṣr by al-Bakharzī Abū al-Hasan 'Alī (Aleppo 1930)
28. Fawāt al-Wafayāt by Al-Kutbī Muhammad b. Şhākir (Cairo 1951)
29. Hadīth al-'Arbi ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ ' by T Tāhā Husayn (Cairo 1937)
30. Kashf al-Zunūn 'An 'Asmä', al-Kutub Wa al-Funūn by Hajji Khalīfah (Istanbul 1960)
31. Kharīdat al-Qasr Wa Jarídat al-'Asr (Syria Section) by al-'Imād al-'Isfahānī (Damascus 1964)
32. Máa al-Mutanabbī by Ț, Taha Husayn (Cairo 1949)
33. Ma ${ }^{\text {ºhhid }}$ al-Tansīs_'Alā Shawahid al-Talkhīs by Al-'Abbūsi Abd al-Rahman b. Ahmad (Egypt 1947)
34. Mu'jam al-'Udab̄̄' by Yaqūt al-Hamawí (London 1927)
35. Muljam al-Buldān by Yuqūt al-Hamawi (Beirut 1955)
 Yousuf Ilian Sarkīs (Egypt 1928)
36. Mukhtarat al-Barūdī by M.S. A1-13 arūdī (Cairo 1327 A.4)
37. Murūj al-Dhahb Wa Ma'adin al-Jawhar al-Mas'ūdi (Paris 1877)
38. Mir'āt al-Jinān by al-Yafi' $\bar{i}$ (Haydarabad 1337 A.H.)
39. Masr $\mathrm{Fi}_{\mathrm{i}}$ (Ahd al-'Ikhshīdiyyīn by Dr. S.I.Al-Kashif (Cairo 1950)
40. Nathr al-Nazm Wa Hal al- ${ }_{\text {Aqd }}$ by Al-Tha'ālib̄̄ Abū Mansūr 'Abd al-Malik (Egypt 1917)
41. Nuzhat al-'Absār. bi Tara'f al-Akhbār by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abdallah b. Dirham (Damascus 17. d)
42. Shadhrāt al-Dhahab by Ibn al-'Imēd Abū al-Falāh 'Abd al-Hayy '(Cairo 1950)
43. Subh al- $\mathrm{F}_{\mathrm{A}}$ 'shā by Abū-al-'Abbās Ahmad al-Qalqashand $\bar{i}$
(Cairo 1922)
44. Tārīkh al-ÁArab by Ph. Hittīi (Beirut 1954)
45. Tärīkh 'Adēb al-Lughatu al-'Arabiyyah by Jurgi Zaydān
46. Tārīkh al-Bashar by Abu-al-Fidā Ismā'il b.'Alī (1286 A.H.)
47. Tarikh al-Dawlah al-Fatimiyyah by H.I.Hasan (Cairo 1958) 50. Taríkh al-Islām al-Siyāā̄ by H.I.Hasan (Cairo 1948)
48. Tarīkh ibn al-Wardī
49. Tarīkh ibn Khaldūn by Abdul-Rahmān ibn Khaldūn (Beirut 1967)
50. Tarikh al-Tamadun al-Islāmi by Jurji Zaydān (Cairo
51. Tatimmat al-Yatīmah by al-Tha'alibī (Tehran 1353 A.H.)
52. Wafayāt al-'A'yān by .ibn Khallikān (Cairo 1948)
53. Ytīmat al-Dahr by al-Tha'ālibī Abū-Mansūn ${ }^{9}$ Abdul-Malik (Damascus 1888)
54. Zahar al-Ādāb Wa Thamar al-'Alb̄̄b by Abū Ishaq Ibrāhīm al-Husari (Cairo 1953)
55. Zubdatu al-Halab fī Tarīkh Halab by Abū-al-qūaīm b. al-'Adim (Damascus 1951)

## II - Engiish

1. Arabic Poetry by A.J.Arbetry (Cambridge 1965)
2. Arabic Literature an Introduction by A.R.Gibb (London 1926)
3. A Literary History of the Arabs by R.A.Nicholson (Cambridge 1953).
4. A Literary History of Persia by E.G.Browne (Cambridge 1929)
5. A History of Arabic Literature by C.Huart (London 1903)
6. A.History of Egypt in the Middle Ages by Lane Poole Stanley (London 1924)
7. Al-Fakhrī by Ibn Tabatabā, Translated from the Arabic by C.E.Whitting (London 1947)
8. Arabic Foetry by A.J.Arberry (Cambridge 1965)
9. Hamlet by William Shakespeare (1604)
10. Ibn Khallikan's Blographical Dictionary translated from the Arabic by Baron MacGuckin de Slane (Oriental Translation Fund 1842-71)
11. Specimens of Arabian Poetry by J.D.Carlyle (London 1810)
12. The Arab Ph. Hittī (Beirut 1958)
13. The Renaissance of Islam by A. Mez, Translated from German by Kh. Bakhsh (Patna 1937)
14. Al-Qāmūs al-Muhīt by al-Fayrūz Abādī (1330 A.H.)
15. A1-Mukhassas by Ibn Sīdah (Egypt 1316 A.H.)
16. Arabic-English lexicon by E.W.Lane (London 1863-93)
17. Eliās' Modern Dictionary Arabic-English by E.A.Elias (Cairo 1950)
18. Elias' Modern Dictionary English-Arabic by E.A.Elias
(Cairo 1951)
19. Lisān al-'Arab by Ibn Manzūr (Beirut 1955-56)
20. Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic by Hans Wehr
Edited by J.M.Cowan (Wiesbaden 1961)
21. Taj al-'Arūs by al-Zabīdī (Egypt 1306 A.H.)

## IV - Manuscripts

1. BERLIN - Depot der Staatsbibliothek Copy No. 7650
2. CAIRO - Dār al-Kutub al-Miariyyah Copy No. 123 Adab
3. DAMASCUS - Dār al-Kutub al-Z̄̄hiriyyah Copy No. $h$
4. DUBLIN - The Chester Beatty Library Copy No. 4838
5.: EL ESCORIAL - Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial Copy No. 383.L.
5. Hydarabad - Hydarabad State Library Copy No. 110
6. IStan bul - Köprülü Copy No. 1248
7. LEIDEN - Biblitheek der Rijksuniversiteit Copy No. 2040
8. LONDON - The British Museum Copy No. 1049
9. MADĪNAB - Sheikh al-Islām ('Arif Hikmat) Library Copy No. 132
10. PARIS - Bibliotheque Nationale Copy No. 5056
11. VATICAN - Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Copy No. 1109

## "

1. BERLIN ..... 4
2. CAIRO$\ddot{\theta}$3. DAMISCASi却
3. DUBLIIN$\rightarrow$
4. EL IRSCORIAL N
5. HAYDARABAD ..... г
6. ISTANBUL. ..... 5
7. LPIDEN: ..... $J$
8. LONDON: ..... $\stackrel{-1}{ }$
9. MADINAH ..... $\Gamma$
10. PARIS ..... 9
11. VATICAN ..... ف

لبمكلنئه الحن الحميم
[كا قـا فيبا


-










(












 ,




$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { - " }
\end{aligned}
$$



 نِني
و وشثِّ نَ ند سُ ( كَّ أَ بَ





















 (9)


- تمخئ
(II)



[ Job]

 .
- إْنَ إِاْذَ





،
(

قافــة النــا

茥





i. الِّانَ









- عُليه











- "شَّ
- (ぃ)
(II)

(LC)


10 ب - ثوّب
 -


Co. بـ، نلـ - واصبح •


- CV.
. 1 ( 1


بلبén
بلبقِ
.



 وسعدنا باعتها الونديه كا أسعد النه جدَّ الأدب




$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 小i-rijco cu (II) }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { sla الـ - (N) } \\
& \text { 4-i ان (i§) }
\end{aligned}
$$

 c

 C
 C C
( $q$ : C -
[1" ${ }^{(1)}$

 [






 فَتِّ نِيْلِ

  ك Co

 لـ - ستّا الريب





- وليس كلا





 يبتن له القَلبُ كما أُشَّ

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ( اللبـ } \\
& \text { (N) } \\
& \text { (9) }
\end{aligned}
$$

(c)


فهن مبلخ "


(a)
(d)
! !



اء

(1.)

c - C
، تُ cف - الشغبا
به لـ - ونالـتـبن



c ب -









 قُما
,.


(1.) ب - تد نال
(111)

بـ






(c)











 (


 (n)










（．







 (8)... التضهنا
 ! !



 -- م - كأني












هو '种 . c



,

(v)


لْتُنَ نَّ

.


وقفت 9ִها sالسـان أك
"
(1.)
(i1)

veal - ب ( 1 v)
ن

隹 (10)




-د. د.

- ل5 -
- 

به بد ــ مرتب بهرتب - ق - مريب بمريب. ب - التُتِن -

- ع- في أقآ






 و

.



- م مجرب cN
= (q) نياه فا عرب مصرب في تُريب؛ .



دص -
ت - .يكمي






نتع با (c) (4) دو أ إبوته بغة وج






 (2) (2)








ب- با لرباهة :


نا




 ?

$\qquad$




 ك ك





، الوبيات النربهِّ نيإة مه: ت ت ،ف .









1.




-


$-\underset{i}{i}-b$

- siaco
- "

和能 می< قَ




- 





 نشَ
 كـ - فا ختغو' به



$[$ (1) مستِ بِّ促 0 لِّ
 $\underbrace{\sim}_{\text {( ) }}$ ولَ .
. .

 ب.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { - }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ( } \varepsilon \text { ( لـد } \\
& \text { - م } \\
& \text { (i) } \\
& \text { rible }-v
\end{aligned}
$$




 (rj);
 عَ نتذ كا


1.

 لوكانَ لِ فيكلِّمْتُبتب شعٌ
相 $\because$ - Su


$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ق6 } \\
& \text { الزبا }
\end{aligned}
$$






- لهصن


 M
 .




- 






 لتّى' لُّ


1. .
 (

















 لـَ






[ $4, b$ ]
(1) 3 (
 (2)

$\dot{\sim} \ddot{\sim} \rightarrow \dot{\text { b }}$ ज
ァِ

- نَ
 $\underset{\sim}{\sim}$
(v)
[ (i)

1. 

(4).
(..);


( 9 ( 1 )


 مرضاية :





:
(... 促 (2) 9

 "




 "ِما" طيs" الأجيال



 . $\therefore-5(A)$

مـالترب؛


$$
\therefore s, s, p+0 \cos (1 .)
$$











 وِا
 بن كل ماقنَ





[4,

(c) (
( 0 )..., , ك
(穴) (r)
نé یَ




(1.)"



s

"

- بِيا من فب: و > والنتكلة (1)

$$
12-c(x)
$$



- (IN)

، ط

.
-

- با
- ع

- 

号 "(2) "ه
 aسَّحهم







، قا
-

- (


- ج-2
 بدسُنكت


- 







 تِيايَّ قد .


- كَّ السماء خ ثانَ
 .







مك -(نقّدم بكان بكما شاب).


(

<الزبيا دة م - > .

准 $\xrightarrow{C}{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\circ}$



ت - لد

-     - > -
- لـد - بِّن المهن
- 

، م

co


 (ध)

\}





 لـ (... داء (1) - $\vdots_{5}^{\prime}-j$.保 -

 د - فتـتـت عنـ 4 أه


ra








 و'لd

-










$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { - o } \\
& \text { - - ب ( } \text { - } \\
& \text { (1.) } \\
& \text { - }
\end{aligned}
$$

[ (1) [尼 طنَّ . .


و




 - قَ -- - إن خان

[ $1 \sim$ - 0 ] و6



-
[uab]

لِلِ كسـا






- مcjc öc

قافيـة الج















 م (1)


و- ج- د د


 "









 "

 - الك - (心) \& $=$ = ات = ( -

重 L باوُo ن "

 (0)



-


ط - نفـدــــم
ط - فيه ماتّا
با
. Scio

 (Q)











 - فَ -- SCch





 وتد ذكرت (ردماكا) فبي "البيت الذي سِسبقه . c

[
(1) ${ }^{\text {(1) }}$
(c)



- مُنِّ لَّ

 هَ
 خَجْلَ


بَ بَ

و -
- 



(1)



.




1.


 ك -



الن بإدة من : لك .
النزبّ دة هن : لـ .
الزبِ دة من: ب ب

[山َّ

 ${ }_{c \rightarrow c}$
 , (n) كْ

الز بادة من ك ك

-
ك - ظلبمأ هذاه:
 بك كت - تموج

( (







 اُنيقة يجهع ولو







 - 度
-غ - تثنـت

- كـ - أشم
- .














.
















 --b

家






- 










 "
 zul

ح
 قد قْلِّبْ اله









 كـ












 "باابن عكي" "أعدني بالتنى كثر مأُعديتن بالسَّماح

و -- الـذا

ف - قد يُّهسا النا

(c)

ح
 ح次 [ C C
 في عنَ ماشُق نون الè
 C C



 - المربا د د هن : بـ .


 بادهنَّ غدأة













 , هو ما اتبنه ح - الظبّن -









..

 b به - خ

 ع c -

انَّهِ غَا








 نه


ذ- بياضمكانفا:
 ن.

 الd (1) (

 الـارةمن : ب<د، ط، لـ.


Glorl sa



 Llgrg






 ح 2

- فيا
 -












.


(1)
 © [ ${ }^{\text {© }}$
 اُخ دعوتّلُ
(o)
- عنه فنَ




אالـبا

人 ب--ف البـد
- كـ


 تُ

－ح恲

 ：

1．て＇剰真


ح＜بـى c c
 －

－ $2 d-3$



 فاجتِ ( )



 ح, الَّ
i. هم بخب 'طنّ آَّملٍ فيه الَّ

 -




ح . بـ ـ هو من بـا
屋



(1) ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{B}, \cdots, s$

وِ (9)
( E$)$
ثمَّمَ آِ

سـ.

 هن



.



- CL-



- 

(4) (البيانة زبادة من : فن .

(1)

[


تمماءّتح غليَ فقال: " اتطروا منبالبابمن الشهاء" "ورجدوا "التّهامي"



تمم قال :

 = (0)

 ولها
 ؟- أَسكرني .

 في:



قافية اللدال












 (a)

(0) ب ب ب (0)
$\therefore$ (7)
盅
(A) (
.






(1)




-




(9) ${ }^{-}$ (n) ${ }^{\prime}$






$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { - ب- ددهما يكبِّ دونونهدها }
\end{aligned}
$$


-s - فـ -

ف - بأحـث، "

- غيرمعحبرْ

V.

屏 من
 نَ (v)




(a).

1.览



 -



-


.







 كَ مَةٍ !

1. اُن قلت (2).
促

 (

الْ با با



 ي $5 \rightarrow$ تر "



 "

1. (v)
[n)

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { c } \\
& \text { ح } 6 \\
& \text { • } \\
& \text { ح - هـَّ بـتـت }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { لـ لِ }
\end{aligned}
$$

[

 انية للبد


- لت






 (
 ( تٌ

- ( . . - د
 - س، قه -
- 



هم من يٍِ
 لـ الشه تموهم






1.





 .




(1)



0 اما ا بتدى يومًا بنعَى أحادها ويا



.. ©



 يليعت口بي الوزن
 cics .

s (1) Co (c)











- با بـ دة من:



 -
 و -

"



 النت




1.     - 

- زـ -
 ت تِه الزبا دةمن ت ، فـ












 .


 c

 نِّبِ - أن دي -




- 








-1- - ولقلبه
 ب- - هو
 istrle - cicoscóos
.

 ه ه هـهِّ
 سL oد دوَ
 بَ

1. 0 (o)

.

 - فن - هi
 -
(1)


 إحْ (o)





 لند

 ب- جد باله : -

- 

 - -
 -0313; ظن - يِديي

Ar



 -

[Job] co
:
 .

 ك.
( $)_{5}$
 $0>$ 守 ح
 ونآ هِ هِ药 ا


كِ د
 (ی)" نَ



 (v). v
1.














-位



 (a)

 -

فـ - ح'لفنز .



النز الٌ دة من : فن


ب < > - ومداده
-
 CD



- .








النه با دة من فن
ف - قبالما
- b
- ل - ل








$$
\begin{aligned}
\hline \text {. }
\end{aligned}
$$

(1) -
[
 لَ ,
-


 (ع) اله



 (خزن





 الزبإده من: : تـ،




-










بلة








．．

 بc $\therefore$ 官位和 تِّ


 كو كیف





 .
. ふِ

(※) (6)


o > الْ
依


嵐



ب - الهد
,
-


[د ${ }^{(1)} 1$

 (())





 (7)




 - $\dot{\sim}$














(1)

怔

عَاذِلِّ غْ


























.



ب -




 ا . .

[ 3,6$]$

 (c) (c)


 اُ اُسْمُ لَنَّني

.. 1



فنَ إ ذا届 = [1)

 (回)




 .

.

 (1) الزبا م
 (




(1)





$1 \cdot v$
[0'9]
(1)
 أَكا أُ
 | $\mid$



-
[oly]
(1) : وقال|

سـ
 .

[400]







[006]

自








 لـ



يِّي وُتِتُ تِشا


 s ك








4




 ك





.



- كـ

co

 (c)
- بِّ





㢄 بِ
.


Tu -
-
 blo - procicor
(1)

 ©

- r


 يU

 (i)

ذا
 - - - -- J -
 ط- فاستهب ششاني

 (c) $r$, (اسبتن انت
的

 ابَ القذال وكلغعیصاكٌ


1.



































قاليس
















 ,








 ب - فلمهلا اقتضتها -











، فَ -



-



-     - 







c د ـ ـ جد تروحت .

[]
(1) وقال أ يضت











 أنالولاه مأفانَ بلا
 له يُ





 فا بق واساملمادا ات الثَمسـى في الد نيا وماقابل الفداة الأصِل

[Jeb]
(u, وقالفي الـَ
 مِذكنَّ يا بكَّا








ل


 "



|  |
| :-- |


[
وقال في الــــح (1)












 نت الذي گَمت بالجُود

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { فق - فُ }
\end{aligned}
$$

[Job]
(1) وقال فيا









rov

(1) قو ل في الغَنَ ل
 (c)





أناخوا


(


ron
[بab]
(1) وقال اُبضـَ








- ب - الهوأني
roq

قافية الــي




 (s) |( , (0) (0)
․



ع - واننتـن

ح - ربجت

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { - } \\
& \text {. . }
\end{aligned}
$$

 كهُ بَن ,
























r













שר





㢄






،




 .






-بَّة النّ مبمجات
 النَبِّا く

r7o
 هِ



 (c) (a)据 (0)
1.





ব
 C


7ר





- حَ层
 وقِمة المك ماجادت بي هِ


屏


- 


 كا人

 بِ مَن بَّ
 ي




-
 قِضي بَآحال وفَيْنِ مواهِ














.



 (1) ملل
-




 (1)




 '
--





 - (c)隹

准




، ب - بتمام C
( ( ) -
؛









.

 C
居
C7 - 2 ( كـ
rver









TVE
[b




-




, : وك















 (






- اهِ为 كِّ





(ب)
c
c




- 


 (1)

1.


 -












rva


 ومنَنَ









.








- طباءَ صَادَها قنَّا مُ بَينٍ







-،
| انْزبإدة منَ \gg













 6-sins



 وهُ اُ








c
 -














كـ
-

- 5

C


 ( أمانَامن. - (7) [ (7)




- فن -
- 


 C ، النْ البّدة












الن البادة من بقية النـخ .
( الون C

[
وقال يملح أباطا هـع عبد النه

(r)

 |'








- غيم

和


 - a م ا لك - بيا ضن مطان ( ومازودت نيلغ بلى إن )
 (c)'



 (N)


1.






 بَ - أجبه




 كُ

 هِ (ع) ${ }_{\text {(s) }}$ (8)





$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { - - } \\
& \text { ¢ } \\
& \text { ( }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { c }
\end{aligned}
$$










..











- (c)
 كلاهِئٌ منهم









(2)




1. 









 ـِهَجْ


 ع عنك s

1.



C
c
 وإذا أُتَّمال (1)























-







[J06] c1 وقال أيضـا









 .








 (2)







 (1)









 ب- ب- لصيق









i وليِيَ يف قِب اللونير.












1.



p.l















- هِهبتْ نَصبي


 كا
(. أه



 - ج C


ץ.

 بَّ

-


-
و (



[ط [





 كل للذينَ زَ


U .


انْندت كك بهواية هذه الفصيدة •





- امن ] v فَ




















[ط
(1) وقال| (1)



- لّدأَبكَ




[بوبه]
وقال أَيضًا







[


غلبـك سِلام



- غ

4 (










 C (
wll

(1)


[106]
قافيَية اكـُّون











 - ت < ب - بح

 - ب ت تندن
c


ץ




















 [ $]$


1. ${ }^{\text {[ }}$ [



النبا

(

 النا


وإذا الأتىَى




- [ ولنّ







(النا c .







 [سَهُمَ !





،


الن

، النزيا دة من فْ .





- جُبَر الأ نام
 لّه دَّ جَ


1. فاسِم


 - الن بإبا (


 [أوجحتهُ










 -
 ' ف - بالنوال
 النزبِدة هن فَ •









 عنَّ



 منكلِّ بيضًا

2. ونَ


 بina - poduocul (e)

(1)

$$
\text { (7) بِّامن نِي } \rightarrow
$$

(1)
 ولهاسِلاح لانيضَّ


o كَّانَّ الخلذال rَّ
 اُيام






 ( ) (8)

Prr

















[20~0
(1) وتالُ أَبِّا



-

[Jo6]
(1)



ه النٍ

- بـ
s قافنة



 كَّنَc











世「フ

 （1） ［



 olईَ




－Scsce








 6) ${ }^{6}$




 cicbis (ت) (首



Yヶへ












$\qquad$ ＜
－ك́




 （2）







 أ⿰亻⿱丶万⿱⿰㇒一乂




 －
 ، النبإدة من ظهك．
r.

[

ليهنَ











 كَانَّ تألقَّ أَّ
 ( )








 (








 منحتلك عذهاء إذا اماثنَ التِّيِّ أع


 c隹
 C النّ

 ( 1 ( 4










117


 فَ













 وol







 - (c)

يذان . - (V)
 وتَا تبا










$\qquad$ (

 ( - 6 C (a












 (c) ت c (


- ( ) ( ) (











 -




0 的 فا سفح بنجٍِ ماء عينلُ إنَّا للعـا ولـا












 اُوْ



 (
 - بكه ( (ع) ( ) (ix - - (o) ن
 ( ( $)$





 $r^{\prime}$ ق${ }^{\text {and }}$



. . [

(1)الزيا 1 (1)
(











1．．．



$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 边 }
\end{aligned}
$$


 [









-b ن




 [






 $r$ يخفي النمان فضا

(





 اطنا


 ( (







 (c)

 -

189





- ${ }^{1}$ !





1. 



(x)

Ir.

 قد كَفَانالَخْيال ولونَ









-
. ( ) - الدم - ( الد (
(1)









. . . .
 وله S
 co






 (气) (\%)

 ينّبع الُّمحح أَ


(2)

عد . ره؟ وردت (مدة) بالت، المفتوحه نِ و.

צw





 لو (9)





-
(c) - لوجيت (c)
 (§) د ـ ـقدت "بنغي

๗と












- قدكانهعفv


 أهدى نا طيe







(0) (0) (





- وللمجَّ







- 




(0) (
 (V) د ـ ـ ولو قـبـرن



 (1) [ (1)










- Sccic














 Y
 S، 2 ن م)

- e C ل
 -
 (.) بيكد-النْب
 (1).








 يجلو بيا

 ( ) -

［1（1）










$\qquad$

 （ ）ف（


$\backslash \Sigma \backslash$
أمآْ


(
[











- 


(
.

-
(














-     - (
 - . - (0) ب ( - با ب (v)














$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ? }
\end{aligned}
$$






- وتختال أعواد المنابه باسه4























- 2 (1)

 ( ( (0) كا فَ النَّع-أسبابمج

 -- (u)










- تا -
 .
[











 c c
















(C) ( . -名 (

 (9) د - - وهلملمن قصد وحسانكهبة .












(1) با
(ع) (


$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { "cicco } \\
& \text { - بَ }
\end{aligned}
$$















 Cف فا -



(1)

 (ع)

 وفمأَ أُسْلَا














 !





-

-












 (1)










 [ ©












lov

















 c














- فِ -
- .












 ( o















 << بغ د - وألتى'

















.




 C
 (أعنا









 .



- ل
(انزيإدة فن ف
(
c



















 (












 c Cर فَ - فد اذذ مي دهوميّع لبڭله •

























 ( بَ c ( - 的余 با
 - (7) ( ) ( ) -












 - (1)


Iv.























 ( < با با ـ ـ والنباب دجنه .

 (c) (c)









 - ب ب ( -- مc

ivr

 للَّقَع فيّه وللجوا









- 

we


















































 (1)
[
(1) وقاليمـرح ديشم



-









 - ( ) ( ) - ( - دِ (v) (
 (a) -











 -



 ذ - ذلd
 .

















[
(1) : وقالأيضـا أِّا













(x) (x) كت (2)


- 攵


































 وبِلِلِ منتْ لُةٍ تُشِ









(1)











(الز

لابيـنْ بيج !
 فانـهـم عالي إمابعـهِنٍ أولُجَ





























 (c)




 ن







19.

 ولوساد الصَّبوح نِيبِحِ







- (G)



 ש (


 -
[


































[J06]




- تِ



(1) وقال أُ بِّبأ




- 


[406]



[80
(1) وقال ألِهِا




- Sلـ
[خفيني] [
قا فــة اللسِّـن

(1) ابن طاهـ الفرعنا










 -









 ولقدقلت للَّنَمان مeتالًا



.

r..









 .
 (ख) بقية النــخ زهواً .
Y. 1
[in


 وفي. كـ - البتيان للتهامي
[ط [
(1) وقال أيضتا




$20^{3}$.
[ط [
قافــة
(1) وتقال يسثي قِطُاً كا




 ولكَنَّ أ يدي الحادنات




- 

组

[طـ






 , كَ




















:











 (1)

 -
T.V






 [ [






 (r) [( ) "


- و (₹)







. $\rightarrow$ ن هus بِ


 (0) النَا
- $\rightarrow$ ها



r. $q$
(c) كهِهتَ جوا



(


[وافم]










1. 





 -











1. ونَأي مجِّ



- (1)
sher .
 فْ


 (ك)






- .

- الو (
( 1


 تُر (1)


(
- ب ب بلا نجـيع (c)
[بسيط] [
(1) وقال أ














. -









 أح

 -
 -



 ( ( ) ,



$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { - • بلا }
\end{aligned}
$$

TIV
[منتح][
(1) وقالأ لِضا غي الغنص




[مُتْارُب"]
قافيَ




- بَ









 - ( $v:$ :













$$
\text { z ح من غيث • ب } 4 \text { د- من خاب : }
$$

 - .
 .


 ؤَشَيتَ مُنتظِّاً للبَوِا






(. .









[ 106 6]
قافية الéَا فِ





























五 غالزبـ دة هن دْ
[00~ (1): وقاليسثي ولده












 با كيْ موجعدة في ظط

rro
[ 1065 ]
(1) وقال أليضín




[ قانَبَة الكَفـع




 غَصصصتُبام




riv






[Jo6]
(1) وقال (1)








V.




، ج، جا بكن تُّجيث - مresi - ic R


[
(1) وقالil







- 安



- 

[كامل] ]
قا فية الكَّ ما








1.



 ؛












-

 -











 -













.







 (4)





1 -
. (

ruo







 -













?
 - با


ruv
اُشاحَت بالوَداع وقدتَلاقت عُقود الَّبَّه والَّمع المُّالِ






 (x) ${ }^{(x)}$




(1)





-





1. فَنَّئُ مجنُ














 !

re.
ولويَجلو كاء المنَ







فغ - ضلال


وقاليمدح أ با القاسم هبة الله بن علي بن حيدهة






 فِيأ صبول الشَّنايا با
















1.




 "
.















 (



ذَابِهُو







 (1)


-




․





 C











 ! --















 (و) ( - ه ( - (

［خفيف＂












－طْمصوجودة في ت






[^0]:    (1) Ibn Khaldūn IV p. 124

[^1]:    FAll references that begin "See page...." refer to the Arabic text.

[^2]:    (13) Ibn al-'Athīr Kāmè VII, 40
    (14) Ibid VII, 58

[^3]:    (18) Ibn Kathī Bidäyah XI 239
    (19) See page 259 L. 4

[^4]:    (9) Ib Khallikān Wafayāt IV, 49

