

ABU BAKR IBN 'AMMAR,

HIS LIFE AND POETRY

AN ABSTRACT

Abu Bakr Ibn'Ammar (422/1031-477/1084) was one of the most prominent poets and statesmen of Muslim Spain during the age of the Muluk al-Tawaf.

He was born in the same year that witnessed the downfall of the Umayyad dynasty and died only a few years before the start of the Almoravid regime in 484/1091.

This thesis which deals with his life and poetry consists of an introduction and 15 chapters. The introduction deals mainly with the difficulties which face those who undertake Andalusian studies, HIS LIFE AND POETRY. information and contradiction. The sources of this thesis

BY

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THESES SUBMITTED EXTERNALLY TO THE  
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON FOR THE PH. D.  
DEGREE IN ARABIC. AUGUST, 1958.

The biography of the poet is divided into 15 chapters. As there has been no reliable biography for the poet, it was necessary in order to clear the obscurity which had wrapped his name and correct the erroneous conceptions about him, to make this biography from the original sources, making full use of his own poetry and that of his compatriots, the thing which was not given any real weight before.

The last 5 chapters deal with his poetry. At first the opinion of the Andalusian critics about the poet was made clear, then their criteria was discussed so that their judgement

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AN ABSTRACT

Abu Bakr Ibn'Ammar (422/1031-477/1084) was one of the most prominent poets and statesmen of Muslim Spain during the age of the Muluk al-Tawaif.

He was born in the same year that witnessed the downfall of the Umayyad dynasty and died only a few years before the start of the Almoravid regime in 484/1091.

This thesis which deals with his life and poetry consists of an introduction and 15 chapters. The introduction deals mainly with the difficulties which face those who undertake Andalusian studies, namely the scarcity of information and contradiction. The most important sources of this thesis are also discussed in the introduction. Their value as reliable sources of information is considered. A plan for the thesis is also drawn here.

Chapter one is a brief survey of the history of the period. Chapter two is a more detailed study of the poetic revival, its different phases, the causes that led to it, and the part which the Muluk al-Tawaif had played.

The biography of Ibn'Ammar engages the next 8 chapters. As there has been no reliable biography for the poet, it was necessary in order to clear the obscurity which had wrapped his name and correct the erroneous conceptions about him, to make this biography from the original sources, making full use of his own poetry and that of his compatriots, the thing which was not given any real weight before.

The last 5 chapters deal with his poetry. At first the opinion of the Andalusian critics about the poet was made clear, then their criteria was discussed so that their judgement

might be clearly appreciated and the poet's place among the other Arab poets be shown. The poetical career of the poet has been followed in a special chapter in which the different factors which directed his composition were made clear. The themes of the poet, his imagery and diction and the value of his poetry as a source for the study of the age engage a long chapter. In the last chapter the different collections of his poetry, which have unfortunately been lost, are considered.

The Arabic part of this thesis is a collection of his extant poetry, compiled from original sources. They are arranged according to the alphabetical order of their rhymes with a few explanatory footnotes.

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# INTRODUCTION

The age of the CHAPTER XIV (5th/11th PAGE century) was the  
The Themes of Ibn 'Ammār. 70. It was,  
indeed, one of the most brilliant periods in the history of Arabic  
literature. CHAPTER XV Never had 86 many prominent  
poets flourished in any Arab country. The popularity of  
their List of European References. 89 own country  
but was extended to all Arab countries.

It will be unnecessary elaboration to enumerate the names  
of all the prominent poets. The names of many of them will  
be repeatedly mentioned hereafter. Ibn 'Ammār, whose life and  
poetry will be the material for this thesis was the brightest  
star in this constellation. As a poet and as a statesman he  
won the admiration of his compatriots. Unfortunately he was  
unwisely neglected, partly because - as Ibn Sa'ad said -  
his bad deeds eclipsed his good words, (2) and partly because of  
the loss of a large portion of his poetry.

This thesis is composed of three parts, the first of  
which is allotted for the study of the history and the literary  
history of the age of Ibn 'Ammār.

This is necessary for the understanding of many of the  
events in the poet's life as well as his poetry. Though it  
may be true that no great poet ever owed any great part of  
his genius to his age, yet a man's mind as regards its level  
personal constituents must needs be moulded by his time.

The second part is allotted to the study of the life  
and character of the poet, the third part to the study of his  
poetry: his themes, his metres, his diction, his imagery and  
the various collections of his poetry.

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(1) al-Shaqqūnī, in his famous critical epistle (Nahḥ al-Ḥikm  
Vol. II p. 33) considers this age as even brighter, as  
far as literature (Adab) is concerned, than the age of  
the Banū Hāshim in Aleppo (4th/10th).

(2) al-Shaqqūnī II f. 124.

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

The age of the petty kings (5th/11th century) was the golden age for Arabic literature in al-Andalus. It was, indeed, one of the brightest periods in the history of Arabic literature especially poetry.(1) Never had so many prominent poets flourished in one Arab country. The popularity of their odes was not simply restricted to their own country but was extended to all Arab countries.

It will be unnecessary elaboration to enumerate the names of all the prominent poets. The names of many of them will be repeatedly mentioned hereafter. Ibn 'Ammar, whose life and poetry will be the material for this thesis was the brightest star in this constellation. As a poet and as a statesman he won the admiration of his compatriots. Unfortunately he was undeservedly neglected, partly because - as Ibn Bassam said - his bad deeds eclipsed his good words,(2) and partly because of the loss of a large portion of his poetry.

This thesis is composed of three parts, the first of which is allotted for the study of the history and the literary history of the age of Ibn 'Ammar.

This is necessary for the understanding of many of the events in the poet's life as well as his poetry. Though it may be true that no great poet ever owed any great part of his genius to his age, yet a man's mind as regards its less personal constituents must needs be moulded by his time.

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---

(1) al-Shaqundī, in his famous critical epistle (Nafḥ al-Ṭīb Vol. II p. 38) considers this age as even brighter, as far as literature (Adab) is concerned, than the age of the Banū Hamdān in Aleppo (4th/10th)

(2) al-Dhakhira II f. 124. have been printed. Part II which contains the biography of Ibn 'Ammar is in manuscript form in Dār al-Kutub al-Šarīya.

At the end of the thesis are appended all the poems of Ibn<sup>ʿ</sup>Ammār which I have collected listed according to the alphabetical order of their rhymes.

Very few details are known about Ibn<sup>ʿ</sup>Ammār's life, and most of these have to be inferred from obscure remarks about himself in his own poetry. He is often mentioned by Andalusian writers: but their concern is to praise his poetry, not to write his biography. Certain events of his life and certain poems are told and retold in many books with great variations. Sometimes the names of persons and places are corrupted. The same poem is sometimes attributed by different authors to different poets. Dates are seldom given correctly if given at all. An event is supposed to have happened at a certain place by one of the authors and at another place by another author. Often no place at all is given as the theatre of one of the important events. This sort of thing might occur in the same book. Nafh al-Tib is a good example. This is mainly due to the method which al-Maqqari had followed in the compilation of his encyclopedia. He has quoted freely and extensively from earlier authors. He does not attempt to reconcile his authorities when they conflict. Often he is not aware of such conflict but when he is he says simply "God only knows which is the truth." His style is free from the straining after rhetorical effect that disfigures the works of many of his compatriots, and in addition to many extracts from works now lost, the anecdotes with which his book is enlivened and the miscellaneous information incidentally conveyed, make it not only most entertaining to read, but also one of the most valuable sources for our knowledge of Andalusian life and literature.

Now that I have mentioned Nafh al-Tib, it is relevant to mention something about a few of my important sources. Kitāb al-Dhakhira fī Mahāsin Ahl al-Jazīra, (1) of Ibn Bassām

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(1) Only parts II, III & IV have been printed. Part II which contains the biography of Ibn<sup>ʿ</sup>Ammār is in manuscript form in Dār al-Kutub al-Masriya.



is by far the most important book that dealt with the subject of Andalusian poetry. It is one of the oldest of the existing books on this subject(1) and it covers a very wide field of knowledge and is written in plain unaffected style, on the model of Kitāb al Yatīma of al Tha'libī.

Ibn Bassām, who was not much of a historian, as he himself confesses(2), acknowledges his indebtedness to the great reliable historian Ibn Ḥayyān, author of Kitāb al-Muqtabas and Kitāb al Matīn, from whose books he quotes freely and extensively. When he failed to find what he wanted in Ibn Ḥayyān's books he depended on his own memory.(3) Unfortunately the period in which Ibn 'Ammār had flourished, had not been covered by Ibn Ḥayyān, and Ibn Bassām's knowledge had failed him in more than one instance and was corrected by the subsequent authors who had read his book.(4) Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that Ibn Bassām wrote his famous anthology in Seville, where the events of the life of Ibn 'Ammār were still fresh in the minds of those who had witnessed them.

Another important book, to which mention should be given here is Galāyid al-'Iqyān(5) of al-Fath b. 'Ubayd-Allāh al Qaysī known as Ibn Khāqān, which was written twenty years after Kitāb al-Dhakhīra.

Al-Fath, as the holder of the title of 'wazīr' and as a famous poet and a great writer of prose, had contacts with many great men of his age, some of whom were outstanding figures at the time of Ibn 'Ammār.

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(1) It was written in 502/1109.

(2) Al-Dhakhīra II p: 24.

(3) Ibid p.24.

(4) See the criticism of Ibn al-Abbār (al-Ḥulla f: 99) to Ibn Bassām's faulty information, which he describes as فاحش الغلط i.e. serious blunder.

(5) This book has several editions.

Thus his knowledge of the generation which preceded his own was drawn from authentic sources. He tells us, for example, that in 503 A.H., he met Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Tāhir, the Lord of Murcia who had been deposed by Ibn 'Ammār in 471/1078, and had long conversations with him. (1) He also tells us that he had met Ibn al-Labbāna, one of the court-poets of al-Mu'tamid and a historian of some merit, and obtained some information from him concerning his patron. (2) He says that he was present when Ibn 'Ammār's bones were dug out from the ditch in which they had been buried when he was killed. He remarks that his fetters were still twisted round his dry shin-bones like serpents. (3) Nevertheless, this valuable book suffers two serious defects. It is written in a highly ornamented style in which the sense is sacrificed for the sound, It is also composed of ambiguous phrases and far-fetched allusions which show that the author was writing not for uninformed but for well-informed readers interested only in the elegant style. He says, for example, about Ibn 'Ammār, " For a long period he was obscure, then he was elevated to the summit; he was endowed with a clear vision. Luck favoured him and improved his lot and brought the impossible within his reach." (4)

Ibn al-Fath was a contemporary of Ibn Bassām but he was not on friendly terms with him. He incorporated long passages from al-Dhakhīra in his book without bothering to acknowledge his indebtedness to its author. Ibn Bassām, according to Ibn Saīd, sued him for this act of plagiarism.

Kitāb al-Mu'jib of 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Marrākushī (5) contains a lengthy and detailed biography of Ibn 'Ammār

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(1) Qalāyid p. 69.

(2) Ibid p. 6

(3) Ibid p. 86.

(4) Ibid p. 86.

(5) He was born in Morocco in 581/1185. Sometime later he went to al-Andalus in pursuit of knowledge. In Seville, where he spent most of his time he found himself interested in the study of the life and poetry of Ibn 'Ammār. He wrote Kitāb al-Mu'jib in 620/1224.

in which he had brought out many interesting facts about the poet which had escaped previous authors. One of the great merits of this book is the plain style in which it is written. In apologetic terms the author tells us that at the time when he started to write the biography of Ibn'Amr many of the things he used to know about the poet had escaped his memory, and in the end he again apologizes for his exuberance. It is noticeable that 'Abd al-Wāhid avoids giving dates but when he does he is not always correct. This might be due to the fact that he was writing his book from memory and he had no reliable sources.

At last, Al-Hulla al-Siyarā(1) of Abū 'Abd Allah b. al-Abbār (594/1198 - 635/1238) should be mentioned. Although this book is of a comparatively later date and although its author quotes from Ibn Bassam and Ibn Khāqān, yet we find in it things which we do not find elsewhere. Some of the important books written about Ibn'Amr from which Ibn al-Abbār quotes or to which he refers are lost.

Of these are the Diwan of Ibn'Amr compiled by Abu'l-Tāhir Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Tamīmī al-Saraqustī; (2) and al-Tarikh al-Majmu fi Akhbar al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Qāsīm (Ibn Qāsīm) al-Shilbi whom Ibn al-Abbār finds more reliable than Ibn Bassam(3) and Akhbar Ibn 'Amr(4) by Ibn Bassam, the author of al-Dhakhira.

In the end of the biography of the poet he tells us that he is aware of the difficulties which face those interested in Ibn'Amr, so he was careful to make things easy for them by writing an adequate biography as no other man, as far as he

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(1) This book is still in manuscript form although parts of it had been edited by Dozy & Muller.

(2) Al-Hulla fs 94,95,96,97,99,104.

(3) Ibid fs 95,96,97,98,99,103.

(4) Ibid f 98.

knew, had done before; his apology for this elaboration is that the excellence of what he was quoting is sufficient justification. (1)

Other books and manuscripts are mentioned in their appropriate places, in the footnotes and in the list of references.

PART III

Background.

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(1) Ibid f: 103 ولعل عذر الاجادة يقام لم الاطاله

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The year 422/1031 marks the final downfall of the Umayyad Caliphate. (1) In that year, the Cordovans tired of a series of revolutions and counter-revolutions which had devastated Cordova and its royal suburbs of Zahra and Jabira, forced Hisham III (al-Mu'tad) to abdicate in favour of an elected council of elders presided over by Abu'l Hasan b. Jahwar (422/1031 - 435/1043).

Thus Cordova entered upon a new era of tranquillity and progress; but the domain of Abu'l Hasan did not extend beyond the outskirts of Cordova itself. Long before that date, many independent petty kingdoms were established in

PART ONE

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the Umayyad Empire, by Slave 'Asid generals (Saqaliba), Berber factions and men of native breed ('Usta andalusia) who claimed to be Arabs. They threw off all allegiance to Cordova.

Abu'l Hasan who was a man of much wisdom and courage, tried to reunite the country, but in the face of the great opposition offered by the petty kings (Muluk al Ta'ifa as they came to be known in history, or Reyes de Taifas as the Spanish chroniclers would call them) he was forced to give up the idea and he was satisfied with the empty title of Shaykh al-Jama'ah and acted as an arbitrator between the different factions.

Cordova itself was too weak to stand alone; and for a while it was the bone of contention between its two stronger neighbours the Banu Dhu'l Nuja of Toledo and the Banu 'Abbad of Seville. Finally it was annexed by Seville during the reign of al-Butamid.

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(1) The power of the Caliphate had been only nominal since the rise of al-Mansur and his two sons al-Mu'izz and al-Mu'izz who assumed the title of Hajib (Prime Minister) and were virtually the supreme power in the state. The Umayyad Caliphate was temporarily interrupted by the Banu 'Abbad Caliph al-'Abbas al-Qasim. (407/1016-415/1023)

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Thus Cordova entered upon a new era of tranquillity and progress; but the domains of Abu'l Hazm did not extend beyond the outskirts of Cordova itself. Long before that date, many independent petty kingdoms were established in different parts of what used to be the Umayyad Empire, by Slave Amīr general (Ṣaqālib), Berber factions and men of native breed ('Usba Andalusia) who claimed to be Arabs. They threw off all allegiance to Cordova.

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By far the largest, the strongest and the richest of all the petty kingdoms was that of <sup>the</sup> Banu Abbad in Seville which was established in 414/1023 at the end of the reign of the Hammudite Caliph al-Qasim b. Hammud. A council of elders was elected with Ibn al-Hawzani, Ibn Hajjaj, Ibn Yarim and Abu Bakr al-Zubaydi as members and al-Qadi b. Abbad as its president. Ibn Abbad acted with great ability and sagacity to spare his town a similar destiny to that of Cordova.

He pretended that he had found the Umayyad Caliph Hisham II who had disappeared from Cordova during the first civil war that brought al-Mahdi to the throne. He proclaimed him Caliph and assumed ~~from~~ the title of hajib. He invited the different petty kings to come to Seville, or send deputations to pay homage to their lord. But he found no response.

After his death in 433/1042 his son Abbad took his place as the president of the council. The ambitious young man eliminated all the other members and governed the town as an absolute king assuming the royal title of al-Mu'tadid and also kept the title of his father-Hajib carrying out his father's pretence about the caliph Hisham II.

He renewed the invitation to the petty kings asking them to pay him allegiance as the hajib of Hisham but with no success. So he threw away his silk glove, announced the death of Hisham and resorted to more effective means. By a number of quick and ruthless moves which earned for him the title of the most blood-thirsty man in the history of Muslim Spain, he enlarged his kingdom at the expense of his weak Berber neighbours.

A league was formed to oppose his plans by the kingdoms of Badajoz and Granada and he encountered stubborn resistance but at the intercession of Abu'l Walid b. Jahwar of Cordova, an armistice was agreed upon in 433/1051. His son al-Mu'tamid by combining diplomacy and strength enlarged his

kingdom by adding to it Cordova and Murcia and ~~other~~ other minor towns.

The Eastern coast with its hinterland was shared by the Amirid Slav generals and the descendents of al-Mansūr. Abu'l Jaysh Mujahid al-Amiri occupied Denia and the Balearic islands: Ibiza, Majorca and Minorca. Khayrān and his brother Zuhayr availed themselves of Almeria which they were forced to yield to Banū Sumādih, and Murcia which was later taken by the Banū Tāhir. 'Abd al-'Azīz, a grandson of al-Mansūr occupied Valencia.

In the North and North-west three fairly large kingdoms were established: the Banū Hūd in Zaragoza, the Banū Dhu'l Nūn in Toledo and the Banu'l Aftas in Badajos. These three kingdoms being the neighbours of the Christian states suffered more than the other Muslim kingdoms from the common enemy. For this reason their capitals, consecutively, were called the upper front, the middle front and the lower front.

In the south, south-west and in the west there were many Berber kingdoms of which the most important was that of the Banū Zayri in Grandada which alone survived the 'Abbadid war of Annexation.

Beside these, there were many minor kingdoms. Some of them preserved their independence to the very end, others survived for brief periods and were annexed by the stronger ones; some of them were very small not more than mountain forts, other's were fairly large. To enumerate them will be unnecessary elaboration. It is enough to mention two of them, because they come in the biography of Ibn 'Ammār. The kingdom of Banū Razīn in al-Sahla known as Shanta Marta al-Sharq and Albarracin was famous for the heroic part it played in the war against the Christians. 'Abd al-Malik b. Razīn distinguished himself as the patron of musicians and was proud of his friendship with Ibn 'Ammār.<sup>(1)</sup> The Banu

(1) Ibn 'Ammār's poem No. 68 is a reply to another poem which he had received from Ibn Razīn.



Labbūn of Lorca and Marbitif were also on good terms with Ibn 'Ammār, when everybody else seemed to be working against him. When Ibn al-Yas' inherited their throne he surrendered it to al-Mu'tamid.

These short-sighted tyrants, caring only for their individual thrones, threw themselves at the feet of their common enemy, the king of Castile, to supply them with mercenaries whenever they were not strong enough to carry on alone their offensive or defensive responsibilities. Partly for this reason and partly to escape the raids which the enemy made in all directions, almost all the petty kings became tributaries to the king of Asturias Leon and Castile Alfonso VI.

This brave and shrewd king, preparing for the final blow, <sup>was</sup> patient enough to watch his enemies destroy one another, while he was strengthening his army with the immense contributions he was exacting out of them all in anticipation of the final moment.

Meanwhile, a young fanatical power had emerged from the chaotic circumstances in north Africa. The Almoravids (al-Murabitun)<sup>(1)</sup> unified by religious rigour and the inspiring leadership of Yūsuf b. Tashfīn subjugated all Morocco in a short period and was ready in time to save al-Andalus.

When Alfonso VI. moved to strike his final blow, he found himself face to face with Yūsuf b. Tashfīn who accomplished the miracle of uniting the petty kings for the first and only time in their history. A bloody battle, fought at al-Zallāqa (Sacralias) on the banks of Guadiana, between Badajoz and Merida, on Friday 12th Rajab 479/Oct. 23/1086 resulted in the victory of the Muslims.

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(1) They were also known as al-Mulath thāmūn, because they were all veiled (from <sup>l</sup> = veil), and the Lamtūniyūn because the majority of them came from the Berber tribe Lamtūna, a branch of the Sanhājā tribe.

Yusuf, being certain that the petty kings could not remain united, or able to defend themselves against the raids of the Castilians who were soon on their feet again gave orders to his generals to wipe out these kings.

"Once this was achieved in 484/1091, a new era started in al-Andalus.

The poets, who had hitherto been confined to the narrow court circle, which limited their productions to eulogies and flatterings to the Caliph found a new scope for their talents.

The great freedom of behaviour set aside many religious restrictions. Wine-drinking was no longer regarded as a sin. Drinking-feasts were held in public in the gardens and on river-banks. (1) There, poets gathered, improvisations were made, and critical remarks were passed.

Love-making between the two sexes was facilitated by the unhampered contact of men and women, thanks to the abolition of the veil and the harem institutions. Love-poetry was widely diffused in this 'healthy' atmosphere.

Meanwhile, perverted love was not uncommon. Good looking women inspired many poets with their compositions. These youthful slaves were carefully trained to serve their masters and their boon companions and contribute much to their share of pleasure. Some of them were given a good education in poetry and literature; many of them could sing and play on different musical instruments. Ibn 'Ammār and his bosom friend Ibn Wabbūn were famed for their perverted love and the poems inspired by it.

(1) al-Shequnī describes the beautiful boys of the Guadalquivir and says that they were famous as the companions of singers and wine-drinkers. Such care-free gatherings were not disapproved of unless they led to perturbations and quarrels (Nafh II p. 143).

CHAPTER II.

POETRY DURING THE MULUK AL-TAWAĪF PERIOD

Although al-Andalus during the Mulūk al-Tawāif period showed clear signs of military degeneration, economic instability and social desintegration, yet as regards poetry, it entered upon the most brilliant period in its history. The poets, who had hitherto been confined to the narrow court circle, which limited their productions to eulogies and felicitations to the Caliph found a new scope for their talents.

The great freedom of behaviour set aside many religious restrictions. Wine-drinking was no longer regarded as a sin. Drinking-levies were held in public in the gardens and on river-banks.(1) There, poets gathered, improvisations were made, and critical remarks were passed.

Love-making between the two sexes was facilitated by the unhampered contact of men and women, thanks to the abolition of the veil and the harem institutions. Love-poetry was widely diffused in this 'healthy' atmosphere.

Meanwhile, perverted-love was not uncommon. Good looking cup-bearers inspired many poets with their compositions. These youthful slaves were carefully trained to serve their masters and their boon companions and contribute much to their share of pleasure. Some of them were given a good education in poetry and literature; many of them could sing and play on different musical instruments. Ibn 'Ammār and his bosom friend Ibn Wahbūn were famed for their perverted love and the poems inspired by it.

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(1) al-Shaqundī describes the beautiful banks of the Guadalquivir and says that they were famous as the rendezvous of singers and wine-drinkers. Such care-free gatherings were not disapproved of unless they led to perturbations and quarrels (Nafh II p. 143).

(1) Tawāif al-Riyāḥ p. 3.

(2) Al-Muḥibb p. 114

Moreover, in this age, the Andalusian poet, who had been servile to the often unjustified conception of the supremacy of the Mashriq over the Maghrib began to feel his own individuality. Owing to the decline of Baghdad, the reputation of the Eastern scholar and poet was no longer in absolute ascendancy, as it used to be during the Cordovan Caliphate. Originality and not successful imitation became the motto of the day. The poets started to draw their inspiration from what they saw and felt rather than from what they read or heard.

The beginning of this period had witnessed the challenge of the western scholar and poet to classical values. Ibn Hazm, Says, " Let us avoid (in this book) the tales of the bedouins and the ancients. Their path differs from ours. It is not my policy to ride the camel which was ridden by another man nor adorn myself with borrowed jewels." (1)

Ibn Wahbun, on hearing al-Mu'tamid admiring the verses of al-Mu'tanabbi retorted that the beauty of the verses of this Mashriq poet was due to the rich prizes he used to receive from his benefactors.(2)

The petty kings played a very important role in the advancement of poetry. Beside sharing with their subjects the national zeal for versifying, the petty kings vied with one another in patronizing poets. They offered them munificent bounties, and, in many cases, living quarters in their royal palaces.

al-Mu'tadid reinstated in Seville the Diwan al-Shu'ra which was originally created in Cordova by al-Mansur. Therein were registered the names of all the court poets and the amount of their gratuities. Once a week they were allowed to present themselves before him to recite their eulogies in the order of their merit which was decided by the king

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(1) Tawq al-Hamama p. 3.

(2) Al-Mutrib p. 114

himself. A certain poet tells us that he used to be the fourth in the list but he was promoted to the second rank. al-Mu'tadid appointed Ibn Jakh al-Sabbagh as the head of the Diwan al-Shu'ra with the privilege of being the first poet to recite, when he listened to one of his excellent odes.

This king sent for poets all over the country inviting them to his court and sent them presents and promised them more. When he learned that Ibn Sharaf the famous Gayrawan poet left his home and settled in Toledo, he sent him a message inviting him to Seville. The poet who was not unaware of the bad reputation of the cruel king declined the invitation and sent him a poem expressing his apprehension of meeting with the fate of many of the victims of the king of Seville. (1)

al-Mu'tadid also severely punished a Sevillian trader who confessed to him that he refused to help Ibn Rashiq the poet of Gayrawan to join al-Mu'tadid. (2) Ibn Rashiq who had left his native town, as did Ibn Sharaf, went to Sicily. On hearing of the generosity of the king of Seville and his liberality to poets, he was keen to go to him, but his heart's desire was not realised until he died. (3)

al-Mu'tadid, cruel as he used to be was lenient with the poets and tolerant <sup>of their</sup> arrogance. Once he asked Idris b. al-Yaman to praise him. The proud poet answered that he would not do so unless he received his reward of a hundred dinars in advance. al-Mu'tadid smiling advanced the reward. (4)

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(1) Dhakhira IV. p. 142.

(2) Masalik al-Absar f 32.

(3) Ibn Rashiq (Author of al-Umda) left Gayrawan to Sicily in 458 and settled in Mazara where he died in 456/1064 or 463/1070.

(4) Nafh al-Tib II p. 140 and also repeated in p. 382.

e.g., Ibn Amr and Ibn Bayha.

(4) Abu'l Hasan al-Ru'ri, the blind poet from Gayrawan, Abu'l Arab and Ibn Hamid of Sicily were the most famous poets who settled in Seville during the reign of al Mu'tadid; besides there were many minor poets who did likewise.

His son al-Mu<sup>t</sup>amid inherited the refined taste of his father. He was a distinguished poet and a lover of poetry.

Abd al-Wāhid likens him to Hārūn al-Wāthiq Billāh, the Abbasid, in his intelligence and literary knowledge. "His verses," says Abd al-Wāhid "unfold themselves like rich hangings, and the poets and the men of letters crowded round him in numbers greater than had ever before been seen in any court of Spain. Of the various forms of human knowledge the cultivated literature and the fine arts alone. In addition he combined all kinds of personal virtues: liberality, modesty integrity and other similar virtues; in short I do not know a praise-worthy human trait with which God had not liberally endowed him. Of all the benefits which Spain received from her conquest down to this day Mu<sup>t</sup>amid is certainly one of, if not the greatest." (1)

The poets who were allowed to present themselves before his father once a week, (2) were raised to the level of boon-companions and were allowed to see him as often as they pleased. Many of them were counted among his friends even before he sat on the throne. (3) He favoured them, protected them against the scheming of their jealous enemies, and pardoned their misconduct. He even chose his prime-ministers from among them: first Ibn Zaydūn, and Ibn<sup>'</sup>Ammār; the leading figures among the poets of the period.

Seville during his reign became the Caaba of poets. His court became the resort of the learned, the rendezvous of poets, the direction towards which all hopes were turned and the haunt of men of excellence: so much so that there never was a king at whose court a greater number of eminent men were assembled. They flocked to it from all parts of the country as well as from North Africa and Sicily. (4) Like his father, he sent

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(1) al-Mu<sup>j</sup>ib p. 101.

(2) On Mondays, according to al-Maqqari Nafh II p. 468.

(3) e. g., Ibn<sup>'</sup>Ammār and Ibn Zaydūn.

(4) Abu<sup>'</sup>l Hasan al-Husri, the blind poet from Qayrawān, Abu<sup>'</sup>l Arab and Ibn Hamdis of Sicily were the most famous poets who settled in Seville during the reign of al Mu<sup>t</sup>amid; besides there were many minor poets who did likewise.

invitations to the poets of North Africa and Sicily. Ibn Khalīkān tells us<sup>(1)</sup> that he sent five-hundred dinars to Abu'l 'Arab of Sicily and an equal sum to al-Husri of Qayrawān to prepare themselves for the journey to Seville.

The tales of his generosity to poets were legendary. On hearing that his court-poet Ibn Wahbūn said: "Observance of promises has vanished,

"People no longer practice it or even think of it. It is as fabulous as the legendary gryphon of the tale that a poet once was given a thousand ducats," He ordered the poet be given two thousand ducats.<sup>(2)</sup>

On another occasion Abu'l 'Arab al-Siqilly praised al-Mu'tamid and was given a rich prize of newly minted coins. Not satisfied with that, the poet pointed to a beautiful glass statuette of a camel with two pearls for eyes and which was adorned with jewels, and said, "My Lord, Your rich reward cannot be carried except by a camel." "You may take the camel, it will carry all your loads." said al-Mu'tamid. <sup>(3)</sup>

What has been said about the kings of Seville may be said with some reservation about all the petty kings especially al Mutawakkil of Badajoz, al Mu'tasim of Almeria, Ibn Razin of al-Sahla, Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Tāhir of Murcia and Ibn 'Abdalāziz of Valencia. The first three were poets of some merit and the five of them were allotted places in biographical dictionaries of literary men.

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(1) Wafayāt II P. 432.

(2) al-Mufjib P. 102.

(3) Nafh al-Tib II p. 423 and repeated on p. 478.

Almost every court had its own court-poets whose names were connected with it,(1)but the majority of the poets of the period went from one court to another eating on all tables and selling their odes to any buyer, carrying with them gossip from court to court.(2)

The only great poet who declined the invitation of the petty kings and refused to meddle with the life in the courts was Ibn Khafāja.(3) Later on, however, he left his native town in the island of Shuqr (Jacar) between Jativa and Valencia, and went to the courts of the Almoravid princes, and addressed numerous panegyrics to Abū Ishāq, Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Tashīfin.

As a result of this combination of favourable circumstances. Andalusian poetry entered upon a new era marked by originality, realism and individualism. The production of poetry had increased immensely. The art of improvisation was cultivated on a national scale.(4)To answer in an improvised verse was the most appreciated of intellectual accomplishments. Naturally much cheap stuff was produced but the predominant poetical productions of this period compare favourably with that of the other Andalusian periods and that of al-Mashriq.

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- (1) Ibn 'Abdūn and Banū al Qubturnu in Badajoz, Ibn al-Haddād and 'Ubāda in Almeria, Ibn Wahbūn in Seville, Ibn Hasdāy in Zaragoza.
- (2) Such poets included Ibn 'Ammār, Ibn al-Labbāna, al-Nihli, al-Husri and Ibn Jākh al-Sabbāgh.
- (3) al-Dhakhira III p.173.
- (4) Yāgūt (1179-1229) in Muġam al-Buldān, article SHILB says about the native town of Ibn 'Ammar,  
"I have heard innumerable persons, say that its people, with but few exceptions, are makers of verse and devoted to belles-lettres (adab). If you passed by a farmer standing by his farm (feddan) and asked him about poetry, he would at once improvise on any subject that you might demand."  
The same thing had been said, earlier, by al-Idrīsī (+1157) in his book Description de la Afrique et de l'Espagne p.180; and later by al-Qazwini (1203-1283) in his book Athār al-Bilad p. 364.



CHAPTER III

CHILDHOOD AND EARLY LIFE

Abū 'Umar 'Amr b. 'Amr b. al-Huwayy b. 'Amr al-Nahri<sup>(1)</sup> was born at Sagorafa (Satorbar) near Silves (Silves)<sup>(2)</sup> in the year 422/1031. His ancestors\* says 'Abd al-Wāhid,<sup>(4)</sup> had no share of feudalism or modern times. No one of them had been mentioned (by the historians) as having anything to do with glory.\* His mother was called Shams (or Shumaysa).<sup>(5)</sup>

Before he was nine, he was sent to receive his primary education at the hands of al-A'īn al-Shantamarri<sup>(6)</sup> in Silves. Then he went to Cordova for further education.<sup>(7)</sup> For an unspecified reason, he left Cordova and went back to Silves and started to earn his living by composing panegyrics for money. He wore a high cap and a garment of goat skin<sup>(8)</sup> and rode on a donkey and went from place to another in pursuit of money. He himself tells of his early attempts of making a living by this means. He says that he composed a few lines and sent them to one of the rich tradesmen in Silves. He was rewarded by a sackful of barley. Far from feeling the insult, he kept the empty sack till he was able to return it to its owner full of silver coins, with the comment that, had it been filled with corn he would have returned it full of gold coins.<sup>(9)</sup>

PART TWO

Biography.

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- (1) From the Yamanite tribe of Nahra b. Haydan.
  - (2) In Portugal.
  - (3) This year had also witnessed the fall of the Umayyad dynasty (Supra p. 7).
  - (4) al-Nu'jib p. 114.
  - (5) al-Dhakhira II p. 136; al-Kullia f. 102.
  - (6) Abu'l Hajjaj Yusuf b. 'Isa, the famous grammarian was born in Santamaría del Garro in 410/1019-20. See Brockelmann.
  - (7) Possibly in the company of his tutor who went to Cordova in 453/1061-62.
  - (8) This amusing dress of Ibn 'Amr was described by Ibn Tahir, the deposed governor of Murcia who had been Ibn 'Amr in the days of need. (al-Kullia f. 90; al-Dhakhira III p. 3).
  - (9) al-Dhakhira II f. 122; al-Nu'jib p. 114. See infra p.

CHAPTER III

ORIGIN AND EARLY LIFE

Abū Bakr Muhammad b. Ammār b. al-Husayn b. Ammār al-Mahri<sup>(1)</sup> was born at Shanṭabūs (Estombar) near Shilb (Silves)<sup>(2)</sup> in the year 422/1031.<sup>(3)</sup> "His ancestors" says 'Abd al-Wāhid,<sup>(4)</sup> had no share of fame in olden or modern times. No one of them had been mentioned (by the historians) as having anything to do with gl'ory." His mother was called Shams (or Shumaysa).<sup>(5)</sup>

Before he was nine, he was sent to receive his primary education at the hands of al-A'lam al-Shantamarri<sup>(6)</sup> in Silves. Then he went to Cordova for further education.<sup>(7)</sup> For an unspecified reason, he left Cordova and went back to Silves and started to earn his living by composing panegyrics for money. He wore a high cap and a garment of goat skin<sup>(8)</sup> and rode on a donkey and went from one place to another in pursuit of money. He himself tells us of one of his early attempts of making a living by this means. He says that he composed a few lines and sent them to one of the rich tradesmen in Silves. He was rewarded by a sackful of barely. Far from feeling the insult, he kept the empty sack till he was able to return it to its owner full of silver coins, with the comment that, had it been filled with corn he would have returned it full of gold coins.<sup>(9)</sup>

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(1) From the Yemante tribe of Mahra b. Haydan.

(2) In Portugal.

(3) This year had also witnessed the fall of the Umayyad dynasty (Supra p. 7)

(4) al-Mu'jib p. 114.

(5) al-Dhakhira II p. 136; al-Hulla f. 102.

(6) Abu'l Hajjāj Yūsuf b. 'Isa, the famous grammarian was <sup>cf. p. 309</sup> born in Santamaria del Garve in 410/1019-20. See Brockelmann.

(7) Possibly in the company of his tutor who went to Cordova in 433/1041-42.

(8) This amusing dress of Ibn'Ammār was described by Ibn Tahir, the deposed governor of Murcia who had been Ibn'Ammār in the days of need. (al-Hulla f: 90; al-Dhakhira III p. 8).

(9) al-Dhakhira II f. 122; al-Mujib p. 114. See Infra p.

(7) al-Mu'jib p. 114.

(8) Poem No. 58. al-Mu'jib p. 114. al-Hulla f: 95. Caloyid p.

Al-Mu'tadid's victory over the Berber kings (about 444/1052) and his renown for his encouragement of poets attracted Ibn 'Ammār to Seville with the purpose of felicitating the king with one of his panegyrics. (1) The king was so delighted that he appointed him as minister and ordered his name to be registered in the 'Diwan al-Shu'ara'. (2)

In Seville, (3) at this occasion and not in Silves as Ibn al-Abbār says (4) Ibn 'Ammār made acquaintance with Muhammad b. 'Abbād, (5) the heir-apparent. This acquaintance was turned into a profound friendship which lasted for twenty-five years.

When al-Mu'tadid appointed his son al-Mu'tamid as the Governor of the newly-conquered territories which included the town of Silves, he sent Ibn 'Ammār with him in the capacity of minister to the great satisfaction of both young men.

In Silves, at the palace of Sharajib, the two young men who had kindred tastes for poetry and a common love for pleasure, enjoyed a carefree-life (6) al-Mu'tamid decreed that his friend should be the first person to enter his room in the morning and the last person to bid him good-night. At times he would insist on his spending the night with him and share with him the same pillow.

Rumours of a shameful relation between the two young men, came to the ears of al-Mu'tadid, who in order to protect the name of his son banished Ibn 'Ammār. With broken hearts the two men separated. Ibn 'Ammār went to Zaragoza. (7) From there he sent to al-Mu'tadid one of his beautiful panegyrics (8) and

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(1) Poem No. 33.

(2) al-Kharīda f: 123

(3) al-Mu'jib p. 117.

(4) al-Hulla f: 94.

(5) Muhammad, after falling in love with his future wife I'timād adopted the title of Mu'tamid by which he came to be known. His other titles were al-Mu'ayyad and al-Zāfir. al-Mu'tamid was born in 432/1040.

(6) This life was well described by al-Mu'tamid in poem addressed to Ibn 'Ammār - see Diwan al-Mutamid p. 11.

(7) al-Mu'jib p. 111.

(8) Poem No. 58. al-Mu'jib p. 111. al-Hulla f: 98. Calayid p.

begged him to forgive him. He also sent a poem to Ibn'Zaydūn<sup>(1)</sup> the Prime-Minister of al-Mu'tadid, praising him and asking him to intercede for him with al-Mu'tadid.<sup>(2)</sup> Nothing could induce al-Mu'tadid to forgive him and allow him to go back to Seville.

With al-Mu'tadid's death in 461/1069 ended the banishment of Ibn'Ammār. He hurried back to Seville to join his friend. From this time his story was closely linked with that of the king of Seville and thus ended the ambiguity which had shadowed his life in many by-gone days.

In the beginning, al-Mu'tamid who ran the state without changing the personnel of his father did not entrust Ibn'Ammār with any particular post. Yet Ibn'Ammār's place in the court was far above that of the Prime-Minister<sup>(3)</sup> or any other personality in the court. He was second only to al-Mu'tamid. He spent long hours with al-Mu'tamid in the court while the king was running the affairs of the state, or in private jousts when they were enjoying themselves in the company of beautiful maids singing and dancing and filling the cups with wine, or strolling leisurely at the banks of the river and the meadow of silver ( *مسج الفضة* ) or in the company of other poets like Ibn Wahbūn and Ibn al-Labbāna.

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(1) Ibn Zaydūn was born in Cordova in 394/1003 and after an eventful life he joined al-Mu'tadid in Seville in 441/1049 and continued to be the prime-minister of his son al-Mu'tamid until he died in Seville on 15th Rajab 463/17th. April 1071.

(2) Poem No. 54.

(3) The Prime-Minister or Dhu'l Wizāratayn was the most senior official in the state after the king and the hājib. The hājib who deputised for the king was usually the heir-apparent however young he might be. (al-Mu'tadid was the hājib of the Qādī of Seville, al-Mu'tamid was the hājib of al-Mu'tadid and al-Fath was the hājib of al-Mu'tamid.) The Dhu'l Wizāratayn or the holder of the two ministries: that of the sword and that of the pen was responsible to the king, in his absence to his hājib. His senior officials or heads of departments were called ministers ( *وزراء* ) all the others were called clerks ( *كتبة* plural of *كاتب* ) (See Mugaddima p. 235).

(5) Supra p. 17

(6) al-Dhakira II p. 122.

This relationship aroused the jealousy of many people the most important of whom was the pretty queen i'timād who felt that Ibn'Ammār was keeping away her husband from her, and Ibn Zaydūn(1) who started to feel bitterly that his authority was challenged by this intruder.

al-Mu'tamid thought it wise to send him away from Seville for a while and appointed him Governor of Silves.(2) Ibn'Ammār travelled in great pomp. al-Mu'tamid himself came to see him off and addressed him with a poem(3) in which he asked him to give his best wishes to Sharajib palace and those places which had been the stage of a happy life for both of them in the past. (4)

When he arrived in Silves he asked about the tradesman who had given him the barley to reward him for his benevolence.(5) Ibn Bassam, however, in his usual manner of discrediting the deeds of Ibn'Ammār, said that the poet who had been all the time chewing the insult was waiting for the opportunity to take his revenge upon the tradesman. He says that Ibn'Ammār gave him back an equal amount of barley to that which he had received from him before and in addition gave him a sackful of silver coins and said to him, "Had it not been for certain considerations I would have punished you severely; if you had filled the sack with barley, you would have received it back full of gold dinars.(6)

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(1) At first the relation between the two men was good. Ibn Zafir tells in *Badai al-Badaih* (p.100 and quoted by al-Maqqari *Nafh II* p.164) of a pleasant day spent by the two men and Ibn Khaldun, which had been spoilt for them by an unfortunate accident which befell their cupbearer.

(2) al-Mujib p.118;

(3) Supra p. 19.

(4) al-Fath (Qalayid p.32) says that Ibn'Ammār was sent to Silves in the capacity of Minister to the new Governor al-Rādī, son of al-Mu'tamid, while on page 5 he says that he only went on a tour of inspection with Abū Bakr b. al-Qasīra, when al-Mu'tamid addressed that poem to him. Ibn al-Abbār (*Hulla f* 94) says that he went to Silves on a tour of inspection. متن هذا ما عاها

(5) Supra p. 18

(6) al-Dhakhīra II f: 122.

No one explains why he did not repay his debt when he came earlier to the town as the minister of al-Mu'tamid when the latter was appointed as the governor of the town. (1)

The whole story, however, is dismissed by Nykl without any argument as pure fantasy (2).

led a strong army and besieged Cordova. As the city was too weak to give any effective resistance Abu'l Waleed b. Jahwar sent his son Abd al-Malik to al-Mu'tamid asking his help against the invader. al-Mu'tamid at once sent a small force of three hundred men and coupled it with an army of one thousand men led by his able generals Khalaf b. Najah and Muhammad b. Martini. (3)

Although there is no definite hint in ancient authors as to the participation of Ibn'Amr in this move, we are inclined to believe that he accompanied al-Mu'tamid's army. There was a secret plan to be carried out. al-Mu'tamid could trust no one except Ibn'Amr. We also find him in Cordova immediately after its conquest conspiring with Ibn Martini against Ibn Kayfun. (3)

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(1) al-Bayān al-Mughrib III p. 260; *Maal* p. 150

(2) Aschbesh (p. 51) says that the army was led by al-Mu'tamid's son - Muhammad (al-Mu'tamid had no son by that name being himself called Muhammad) and Ibn'Amr.

Nykl (H.A.P. p. 156) says that al-Mu'tamid appointed Ibn'Ukasha as the commander of the army which he despatched to Cordova. This is a mistake as all the ancient authorities had agreed that Ibn'Ukasha had been in the service of al-Mansur against al-Mu'tamid and it was he who killed Prince Abd. ... of al-Mu'tamid and Governor of Cordova.

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(1) *Supra* p. 19 p. 355.

(2) H.A.P. p. 154.

CHAPTER IV

IBN'AMMĀR GOES INTO ACTION

Soon enough the occasion for Ibn'Ammār to display his ability presented itself. al-Māmūn of Toledo(1037/1075 ) led a strong army and besieged Cordova. As the city was too weak to give any effective resistance Abu'l Walid b. Jahwar sent his son Abd al-Malik to al Mu'tamid asking his help against the invaders. al-Mu'tamid at once sent a small force of three hundred men and coupled it with an army of one thousand men led by his able generals Khalaf b. Najab and Muhammad b. Martīn.(1)

Although there is no definite hint in ancient authors as to the participation of Ibn'Ammar in this move, we are inclined to believe that he accompanied al-Mu'tamid's army. There was a secret plan to be carried out. al-Mu'tamid could trust no one except Ibn'Ammar. We also find him in Cordova immediately after its conquest conspiring with Ibn Martin against Ibn Zaydun.(3)

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(1) al Bayān al-Mughrib III p. 260; Asmal p. 150

(2) Aschbaeh (p.51) says that the army was led by al-Mu'tamid's son - Muhammad (al-Mu'tamid had no son by that name being himself called Muhammad) and Ibn'Ammār.

Nykl (H.A.P. p. 158) says that al-Mu'tamid appointed Ibn'Ukāsha as the commandar of the army which he despatched to Cordova. This is a mistake as all the ancient authorities had agreed that Ibn'Ukāsha had been in the service of al-Māmūn against al-Mu'tamid and it was he who killed Prince Abbad, son of al-Mu'tamid and Governor of Cordova.

(3) al-Dhakhira II p. 355.

(3) al-Dhakhira II p.p. 354-55.

The allied armies of Cordova and Seville defeated the Toledans at the gates of Cordova. Not satisfied with this, the Cordovan army followed the enemy beyond the walls of the city leaving the allies behind. Ibn'Ammār who had been secretly contacting the prominent men of Cordova, occupied the garrisons of the city, arrested Ibn Jahwar and the members of his family and declared the sovereignty of al-Mu'tamid over the city.(1)

al-Mu'tamid was extremely pleased with the success of his plan and appointed his son 'Abbād(2) Governor of the city. Ibn Zaydūn, the Prime Minister and the native of Cordova was happy for the turn of events. He could now settle in Cordova for the rest of his days. He was hailed by his people. This aroused the jealousy of Ibn'Ammār and his friend the general Ibn Martīn who advised al-Mu'tamid to send Ibn Zaydūn back to Seville. The old man, who was in ill-health was greatly disappointed and died a few months later. This filled his son Abū Bakr, who later became the Prime Minister of al-Mu'tamid with bitterness against Ibn'Ammār.(3)

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- (1) The date given by Aschbach (p.52) for this event i.e. 452/1060 makes it ten years before the reign of al-Mu'tamid.
- (2) Abū Amr Siraj al-Dawla was the eldest son of al-Mu'tamid. As al Mu'tamid had married his mother al-Rumaykiya about 451/1059 he could not have been more than twelve years then.
- (3) al-Dhakhira II p.p. 354-55.



IBN ' AMMĀR AND ALFONSO

At the death of Ibn Zaydūn, Ibn 'Ammār was appointed Prime-Minister. He was soon faced by a serious test. Alfonso VI, who had given al Mamūn support in his Cordova campaign, seeing that al-Mu'tamid's tribute had not been sent in time, came in person to collect it. Partly for this reason and partly to check the advance of al Mu'tamid on the territory of his ally and partly to increase the amount of the yearly tribute due from al-Mu'tamid, the king of Castile approached the defenseless town and for a moment it seemed as though nothing could stop Alfonso VI from entering the city.

Ibn 'Ammār went immediately into action. He ordered a very beautiful and expensive set of chess to be made for him. The pieces were carved from ebony and sandalwood, encrusted with gold. He employed all his wits to induce Alfonso into a game of chess on the condition that if Alfonso lost, he would grant whatever Ibn 'Ammār might demand. On the other hand if he won he would get the unique set of chess. After some reluctance, which was over-come by the advise of his counsellors<sup>(1)</sup> Alfonso accepted Ibn 'Ammar's terms. Ibn 'Ammār won, and demanded the immediate withdrawal of Alfonso and his army from Sevilian territory. Alfonso, greatly indignant, but unable to break his word complied with the terms of the game. The tribute for that year was paid double.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) The story says that Ibn 'Ammār paid them generously to help him carry out his plan.

(2) al-Mu'jib p.p. 119-/21.

Commenting on this incident which had been unacceptable to many subsequent historians Glerke (The Cid p. 147) says wisely, "The story though strange according to modern and western ideas, is not so improbable as to warrant the rejection of the testimony of the Arabic historian by whom it is told."

THE GRANADA EXPEDITION

The ambitious king of Seville, found in his new Prime-Minister an ambitious and capable man. After the capture of Cordova he set his heart on the annexation of Granada, the capital of <sup>the</sup> Banu Zayrī. With the death of Bādīs b. Habbūs (1), and the kingship of his underaged grandson 'Abdullāhi, the hopes of al-Mu'tamid were revived. Alfonso sent to 'Abdullāhi asking him to pay twenty thousand dinars which he had imposed on him as a yearly tribute. The inexperienced young king refused to pay the money. He thought that there was no danger from Alfonso as long as Ibn Dhu'l Nūn stood between him and Granada. He did not expect that the christian king would be aided by any Muslim against his Muslim brothers. (2)

Ibn 'Ammār, who was carefully watching the result, on knowing King 'Abdullāh's answer to Alfonso hastened to meet the latter at Bagha, and promised to give him fifty thousand dinars if he would help him to conquer Granada. A fort was built at Ballilush near Granada and the city was besieged for a long while until 'Abdullāh was forced to go in person to Alfonso to negotiate peace. He agreed to pay on the spot, thirty thousand dinars to Alfonso and ten thousand dinars as an annual tribute. He also agreed to yield to Ibn 'Ammār the three castles of Aṣṭalīr, Qāshtrō and Mārtush. Ibn 'Ammār was not happy with the turn of events but could not argue with Alfonso. (3)

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(1) Arab historians give two alternatives for the date of the death of Bādīs: 465 and 469, p. 205 (see Tibyān p. 205)

(2) Tibyān p. 69.

(3) Ibid p. 73.

(4) Abu'l Husayn, Ubaydillah son of al-Rumaykiyah.

(2) Poem No. 3.

THE TUDMIR CAMPAIGN

After the failure of his plans by the interference of al-Mu'tamid, al-Mamun retreated to Toledo to prepare for another attempt. He led a strong army against the Banu Abd al-Aziz of Valencia, the allies, of al-Mu'tamid. At the order of al-Mu'tamid, Ibn'Ammar hurried with the small ready force to combat al-Mamun, to enable al-Mu'tamid meanwhile to prepare a strong army. Ibn'Ammar's plan was to organise the resistance by forming an army from Valencia and Murcia which was also threatened by al-Mamun.

Unable to raise any effective force from Valencia and Murcia and afraid lest the promised army from Seville should not reach him in time, Ibn'Ammar of his own initiative hurried to Barcelona and asked for military help from count Ramon Bereguer II in return for ten thousand gold dinars. He left al-Rashid(1), son of al-Mu'tamid with the count and took with him the nephew of the count as a hostage to ensure the fulfilment of the treaty.

al-Mamun took the allied force by surprise and won an easy victory. In spite of the defeat, the count of Barcelona asked Ibn'Ammar to pay the money which was promised to him and on seeing Ibn'Ammar's reluctance seized him and put him and al-Rashid in fetters.

al-Mu'tamid, who had hitherto, been unaware of the turn of events headed toward Jaen with a strong army. On learning what had happened, he was furious. Meanwhile, Ibn'Ammar was released to go to al-Mu'tamid and secure the the count's money. He was terrified of the vexed king and for a while contemplated flight. Then he sent him <sup>an</sup>apologetic poem (2), which succeeded in dispelling the king's wrath. He asked Ibn'Ammar to join him to advise him on the whole problem.

(1) Abu'l Husayn, Ubaydillah son of al-Rumaykiyah.

(2) Poem No. 3.

The latter complied, and the money was sent to the count, though most of it was in debased coins.

Apparently Ibn'Amr convinced al-Mu'tamid of the disloyalty of Ibn Tahir and held him responsible for the defeat of the allies before the Toledo army and asked his permission to conquer Murcia and punish him.

Ibn'Amr secured the co-operation of Ibn Rashiq the Lord of the castle of Buj (Velez Rubio) on the route from Seville to Murcia, and bought the loyalty of the nobility of Murcia who acted as a fifth column against Ibn Tahir. (2) The plan worked successfully and the town surrendered to Ibn Rashiq who led Ibn'Amr's army. When Ibn'Amr received Ibn Rashiq's letter which carried the pleasant news he prepared a magnificent procession for the occasion on which he spent a large sum of money from the public treasury. Al-Mu'tamid watched him closely and when he came to bid him farewell, he said to him, "You may leave, O Ibn'Amr, protected with the providence of God, and do not think I have been blind to your schemes." Ibn'Amr retorted "I know that you are not blind, but you are not in a position to object." (3)

Ibn Rashiq met him outside the gates of Murcia and led the way to the royal palace where he spent the rest of the day. The next day Ibn'Amr sat on the throne and allowed the nobility to congratulate him and the poets were introduced to recite his praise. (4)

(1) Ibn Tahir was a friend of al-Mu'tamid, al-Path (Gaillyid p. 60) reproduces a letter written from him to the latter. Ibn al-Athar (al-Fuila f. 91) however, says that Ibn'Amr on seeing the weakness of Ibn Tahir when he went to his court felt that he was an easy prey and worked to remove him and take his place.

(2) Contrary to all Arab historians, Dja'zy (S. I. p. 679) says that Ibn'Amr sought the help of the count of Barcelona in his war against Murcia.

(3) Fuila f. 97.

(4) Ibid f. 97.

CHAPTER V

IBN'AMMĀR IN MURCIA

Apparently Ibn'Ammār convinced al-Mu'tamid of the disloyalty of Ibn Tāhir(1) and held him responsible for the defeat of the allies before the Toledan army and asked his permission to conquer Murcia and punish him.

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(1) Ibn Tāhir was a friend of al-Māmūn. al-Fath(Qalāyid p.60) reproduces a letter written from him to the latter.

Ibn al-Abbār(al-Hulla f.91) however, says that Ibn'Ammār on seeing the weakness of Ibn Tāhir when he went to his court felt that he was an easy prey and worked to remove him and take his place.

(2) Contrary to all Arab historians, Doyzy(S.I.p.679) says that Ibn'Ammār sought the help of the count of Barcelona in his war against Murcia.

(3) Hulla f. 97.

(4) Ibid f. 97.

THE TREATY BETWEEN AL-MU'TAMID AND ALFONSO

The last service which Ibn'Ammar rendered to al-Mu'tamid was the negotiation of a treaty with Alfonso VI, the terms of which obliged Alfonso to help al-Mu'tamid against all his enemies and recognise the frontiers of the kingdom of Seville, while al-Mu'tamid pledged to pay generously for Alfonso's service and to give Alfonso a free hand in Toledo.

Alfonso was so pleased with Ibn'Ammār for concluding this treaty that he presented him with two rings. But to the great dismay of Ibn'Ammār, these two rings occasioned the ridicule of Ibn'Abd al-'Azīz who described them as the rings of vassalage and protection.(1) Ibn'Ammār retaliated by a lampoon(2) in which he told Ibn'Abd al-'Aziz that it did not become a noble man to use sarcasm.

On the other hand al-Mu'tamid was not as pleased as Alfonso with the vague terms of the treaty. On the contrary his suspicions were aroused. He began to doubt the loyalty of Ibn'Ammār. This, together with the conduct of Ibn'Ammar in Murcia in copying his master in the way he dressed and initialled his royal decrees(3) and the independent policy he adopted were good reasons to turn al-Mu'tamid against his former friend.

Moreover, the enemies of Ibn'Ammar in the court of al-Mu'tamid, especially Abū Bakr b. Zaydūn, who was appointed Prime-Minister, in place of Ibn'Ammār and who did not forgive Ibn'Ammar for what he had done to his father, wasted no time in weaving the threads of the conspiracy against Ibn'Ammār. He was accused of ill-treating al-Rashid and the other members of the family of al-Mu'tamid. He was also accused of employing his relatives in key positions and of selling the

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- (1) *أمان* and *أمان*  
(2) Poem No. 32  
(3) al-Hulla f. 97.  
(4) Tibyan p. 81.

(7) By Muhammad he probably means himself while by Ahmad he means al-Mu'tamid b. Abd.

frontier castles for money to cover the high expenses of his luxurious life. (1)

Al-Mu'tamid sent a poem to Ibn'Ammār in which he accuses him of having changed, and reminds him of the good old days when there was no third person between them. (2) Ibn'Ammār replied with a long poem, denying the charge and blaming al-Mu'tamid for listening to his slanderers. (3) All misunderstanding might have been removed, had it been destined that the two men should meet and discuss things face to face. Unfortunately for both of them, it was too late when they actually met. The slanderers had their way.

Al-Mu'tamid asked Ibn'Ammār to free Ibn Ṭāhir who was imprisoned in Mant Ghut (Monte Agudo). (4) Ibn'Ammār refused to obey and started to bargain with the freedom of his captive. Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-ʿAzīz of Valencia, the friend of al-Mu'tamid and Ibn Ṭāhir and the enemy of Ibn'Ammār, took Ibn Ṭāhir's part, and at the initiative of al-Mu'tamid pledged to hand over the castle of Jumla (5) which was under Abū Bakr Ibn Mūsā, a relative of Ibn Ṭāhir to Ibn'Ammār. Ibn'Ammār carried out his own part of the bargain but the others refused to carry out theirs. This treacherous act so much enraged Ibn'Ammār that he immediately composed a poem (6) in which he incited the Valencians to rebel against the Banū 'Abd al-ʿAzīz and surrender the town to Muhammed or Ahmad, (7) or if they should fail to do so, he warned them to

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(1) Aschbach (p. 65) - claims that the cause of al-Mu'tamid's anger with Ibn'Ammār was the fall of Toledo into the hands of Alfonso which came as a consequence of the ominous treaty which Ibn'Ammār had concluded with Alfonso in the name of al-Mu'tamid. But the fall of Toledo in 478/1085 happened one year after the death of Ibn'Ammār (Infra p. 45)

(2) al-Hulla f: 97.

(3) Poem No. 10.

(4) al-Hulla f: 92.

(5) This castle was a constant danger to the safety of Murcia. See Galāyid p. 62.

(6) Poem No. 31.

(7) By Muhammed he probably means himself while by Ahmed he means al-Muqtadir b. Hūd.

be ready for the terrible punishment which would be inflicted upon them by a brave warrior of the Banū Ammār.

This empty boast occasioned the sarcasm of al-Mu'tamid who composed several lines and inserted them in Ibn'Ammār's poem, mocking the Banū Ammār and the poet's mother, Shams. Ibn'Ammār, this time enraged beyond control, retaliated in a most venomous satire(1) ridiculing the nomadic forefathers of al-Mu'tamid, his cheap wife al-Rumaykiya, his short sons with their long forelocks. Worst of all he revealed the secret of his past relation with the young prince and concluded the satire by threatening to expose more of the secrets of this 'brave warrior, who was stingy with his food and lax in safe-guarding the honour of his family.(2)

Ibn Abd al-ʿAziz employed a Jewish spy who obtained for him a copy of the satire in Ibn'Ammār's own handwriting, and sent it immediately to al-Mu'tamid by a carrier-dove. Needless to say, al-Mu'tamid's pride was deeply wounded. He made a secret arrangement with Ibn Rashīq and drew for him a plan to get rid of Ibn'Ammār and govern Murcia in his place. While Ibn'Ammār was outside the town,(3) Ibn Rashīq gave his orders that all the gates should be closed and strongly guarded.(4) When Ibn'Ammār came back and learned of his general's treachery he was frightened and fled to safety.

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(1) Poem No. 56.

(2) Some historians attribute the poem to the enemies of Ibn'Ammār. Others specifically mention the name of al-Rumaykiya as the composer of the poem (Wafayāt IV p. 58)

(3) ʿAbdullāhi b. Buluqqīn says that al-Mu'tamid was innocent of what had been attributed to him by Ibn'Ammār. He describes the words of Ibn'Ammār as those of rogues and

(4) villains *أرازل و أرازل* (See Tibyān p. 80)

(3) Abdullāhi b. Buluqqīn says that he went to Alfonso to secure his help against al-Sahla and the other neighbouring kingdoms (Tibyān p. 80)

(4) A'māl p. 160, al-Mu'jib p. 122, al-Mughrib I p. 390.

Ibn al-Abbār (al-Hulla f:98) says that Ibn'Ammār was in Murcia, when Ibn Rashīq instigated the soldiers to ask for the arrears of their pay and threatened him with arrest; so he fled to safety.



CHAPTER VI

WHITHER IBN 'AMMĀR ?

Another dark period in Ibn 'Ammār's life ensued. al-Fath says that he hesitated for a while. He composed a poem<sup>(1)</sup> and sent it to al-Mu'tamid expressing his bewilderment and reminding him of the good old days. al-Fath goes on to say that al-Mu'tamid was deeply moved and replied to him with another poem expressing his deep sympathy with, and extending his pardon to the poet, but al-Mu'tamid's reply only increased his apprehensions and he decided not to go back to al-Mu'tamid.<sup>(2)</sup> al-Fath's unsupported narrative is contradicted by the other historians who say that the said poem was composed on an earlier occasion.<sup>(3)</sup> Secondly, it is most unlikely that Ibn 'Ammār would ever think of joining al-Mu'tamid after what had happened. Thirdly, it is not understood why the friendly reply of al-Mu'tamid should increase the apprehensions of Ibn 'Ammār. What else did he expect? Lastly, how could al-Mu'tamid forgive Ibn 'Ammār so readily? Three years later when he fell into his hands, forgiveness was not given, in spite of the intercession of many people.<sup>(4)</sup> Ibn Bassām and Ibn al-Abbār say that Ibn 'Ammār, after his flight from Murcia, went to Valencia where he met Ibn Tāhir who censured him for his stupidity which led to the loss of Murcia to both of them.<sup>(5)</sup>

Ibn Bassām says that when Ibn 'Ammār passed by Valencia after his flight from Murcia, Ibn 'Abd al-Aziz sent him food and wine and other good things but did not go out to meet him.

(1) Poem No. 3.

(2) Qalāyid p. 94.

(3) Supra p. 27.

(4) Infra p. 43.

(5) al-Dhakhīra III p.8  
al-Hulla f: 90

He said to him bitterly:-

"O Abu'l 'Ayña, neither ~~and~~ you nor me !

يأيا العينا . لا أنت ولا أنا - وكان ابن عار أخفش .

Ibn'ammār was very grateful for the hospitality and sent him a poem(1) expressing his thanks for it, yet blaming him for not sending respectable men to meet him. It seems most unlikely for Ibn'ammār to pass through or near Valencia in view of all that had passed between him and Ibn'abd al-ʿAzīz and Ibn Tahir. As it is not easy to dismiss the opinion of these authors we tend to presume that the alledged visit of Ibn'ammār to Valencia happened a few years after his flight from Murcia when he entered into the service of al-Mū'tamin b. Hūd. al-Mu'tamin's relation with Ibn'abd al-ʿAzīz was good. al-Mustain, son of al-Mu'tamin, was married to the daughter of the king of Valencia during the reign of his father. It was a great occasion to which the outstanding men of al-Andalus were invited. Ibn Tāhir apologised in the most touching terms. (See Qalāyid al-Iqān p. 69).

Under such circumstances it would not be impossible to find Ibn'ammār in Valencia but not otherwise.

Ibn'ammār went to Alfonso to seek his help against Ibn Rashīq. When the <sup>king</sup> of Castile heard his story, he said, "O Ibn'ammār, you have been telling me the story of robbery - how one thief stole something, another thief stole it from him only to lose it to a third thief." It is said that the cause of this cold reception was the rich presents which were sent by Ibn Rashīq to Alfonso.(2) In contrast with this, ʿAbdūllah b. Baluqqīn says that Alfonso offered Ibn'ammār employment in his service and describes the nature of the work of Ibn'ammār as sabotage and espionage against al-Qādir b. Dhu'l Nūn. When, he was exposed he was compelled to run away to Ibn Hūd.(3)

We tend to accept the theory of Ibn Buluqqīn, not only because he was contemporary with the events, but also because - as it is said Alfonso held a very good opinion of Ibn'ammār and used

(1) Poem No. 58.

(2) al-Hulla 198.

(3) Tibyān p. 80.

to speak of him as the 'Man of the Peninsula'.(1) In his policy of weakening all Muslim states, moral values meant little to Alfonso.

After leaving Silves, Ibn Ammar went to Zaragoza, where he got a warm welcome from al-Mu'tamid b. Hūd. (2) He entered in service and made friends with the minister Abū 'l-Fadl b. Hādī; the Fatwa says that he was also appointed with another of the court-poets, al-Ḥajjāb, to write in favour of Hantachay. (3)

Ibn Ammar was in bad spirits and tried hard to drown his sorrows in wine-drinking, to which he had indulged himself so much that he was criticized by those who knew him. Far from recovering from depression he imposed his critics saying that he resorted to wine-drinking to avoid their loathsome company. (4)

Ibn Ammar then went to Cordia, which had been under Muḥammad al-Bawāb b. Hūd. (5) Ibn al-Abbār, says that from Cordia, Ibn Ammar sent a long poem (6) to al-Mu'tamid. Ibn al-Abbār corrects Ibn Bassām who says that the same poem had been sent to al-Mu'tamid on an earlier occasion viz when the poet who was banished from Silves joined al-Mu'tamin b. Hūd.

Ibn al-Abbār asserts that when Ibn Ammar first went to Zaragoza before A.H. 460 it was before the reign of al-Mu'tamin who was crowned in Jumādā I, 474. It is clear that Ibn Bassām had made a mistake about the name of al-Mu'tamin. It must have been during the reign of al-Mu'tadīr as Ibn al-Abbār says but we accept Ibn Bassām's opinion that the nine-poem was composed by Ibn Ammar when he was banished from Silves. al-Mu'tamid's reign is comparable to the poet's earlier poems;

(1) al-Mu'jib p. 119. -Halla f. 98.  
(2) He was a converted Jew. al-Fath (Qalāyid p. 191-194) writes favourably of him as a poet.  
(3) See Naḥḥ al-Tib II: 420 and al-Mughrib II p. 444.  
(4) Poem No. 23.  
(5) al-Halla f. 99.  
(6) Poem No. 53.

CHAPTER VIII

IBN'AMMĀR IN ZARAGOZA

After leaving Alfonso, Ibn'Ammār went to Zaragoza, where he got a warm welcome from al-Mutamin b. Hūd.(1) He entered in service and made friends with his minister Abu'l Fadl b. Hasdāy the famous poet.(2) He was also acquainted with another of the court-poets who later deserted poetry in favour of butchery.(3)

Ibn'Ammār was in low spirits and tried hard to drown his sorrows in wine-cups, in which he had indulged himself so much that he was criticised by those who knew him. Far from recovering from drunkenness he lampooned his critics saying that he resorted to wine-drinking to avoid their loathsome company.(4)

Ibn'Ammār then went to Lerida, which had been under Husām al-Dawla b. Hūd.(5) Ibn al-Abbār, says that from Lerida, Ibn'Ammār sent a long poem(6) to al-Mu'tamid. Ibn al-Abbār, corrects Ibn Bassām who says that the same poem had been sent to al-Mu'tadid on an earlier occasion viz when the poet who was banished from Silves joined al-Mu'tamin b. Hūd.

Ibn al-Abbār asserts that when Ibn'Ammār first went to Zaragoza before A.H. 460 it was before the reign of al-Mutamin who was crowned in Jumāda I, 474. It is clear that Ibn Bassām had made a mistake about the name of al-Mu'tamin. It must have been during the reign of al-Maqtadir as Ibn al-Abbār says. But we accept Ibn Bassām's opinion that the mim-poem was composed by Ibn'Ammār when he was banished from Silves: first, because it resembles the poet's earlier poems;

(1) Qalāyid p. 94; al-Hulla f. 98.

(2) He was a converted Jew. al-Fath (Qalāyid p.191-194) writes favourably of him as a poet.

(3) See Nafh al-Tīb II: 420 and al-Mughrib II p. 444.

(4) Poem No. 23.

(5) al-Hulla f: 99.

(6) Poem No. 53.

secondly because it is most unlikely that Ibn'Ammar ever wrote to al-Mu'tamid after his flight from Murcia;(1) and thirdly because Abd al-Wahid supports Ibn Bassam's version as to the time in which the poem had been composed,(2) and lastly because in the poem he mentions Abbad (al-Mu'tadid) praising him asserting that no one was his equal.

Ibn'Ammar went back to Zaragoza. Al-Mu'tamin then wrote to al-Mu'tamid asking him to allow the poet's family join him in Zaragoza but al-Mu'tamid refused to grant him that favour and warned al-Mu'tamin against Ibn'Ammar's treachery.(3)

The Ambitious king of Zaragoza thought of exploiting Ibn 'Ammar's talents to fulfil his dreams of power. "He did not know," says 'Abdullah b. Buluqqin, "that the successes of Ibn 'Ammar were derived from the lucky star of al-Mu'tamid rather than the genius of his minister."(4)

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(1) Supra p. 32

(2) al-Mujib p. 111.

(3) al-Hulla f: 99.

We do not know the members of the family of Ibn'Ammar referred to by Ibn'al-Abbār. Neither do we know anything about his marriage or the date in which it happened. There is however, a clear reference to one of the members of Ibn'Ammar's family made by Ibn Bassam (al-Dhakhira III p. 9). This author says that the son of Ibn'Ammar in dire need after the death of his father resorted to Ibn Tahir who was kind enough to share with him the little that had been left to him since he was robbed of his throne by the poor boy's father.

(4) Tibyān p. 81.

Ibn'Ammār was indeed able to render a great service to al-Mu'tamin by recapturing a castle which had revolted. He approached the walls with a small escort and demanded and obtained an interview with the leader of the rebels who had been, formerly, one of his acquaintance. To this he went accompanied by his two faithful slaves Jābir and Hādī to whom he had given instructions. As their master gave his hand to the man, they plunged their knives into his body. The rebels on seeing the fate of their leader and shocked by the suddenness of the treacherous act surrendered their weapons. (1)

is some his a messenger offering him the garrison on certain conditions. Ibn'Ammār not suspecting foul play, went with a small force along narrow and dangerous paths till he came to a point where no one could advance except by the help of some body pulling him from above. When he overcame the last obstacle he was arrested and put in fetters.

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(1) His death took place while Ibn'Ammār was in Zaragoza.

(2) Ibn Bassām (al-Bugharī II f: 137) and Ibn al-Athār (al-Hulla f: 99) say that the garrison fell to 'Abd al-Jabbār and his brother Ibrahim b. Suhayl the slaves of Siraj al-Dawla after the death of their master.

Ibn Sa'id says that the lord of Segura, then, was 'Atā al-Dawla Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Saḥb (al-Bugharī I p. 390 and al-Bugharī II p. 85). 'Abd al-Wahid, alone, says that the lord of Segura was called Ibn Mubarak (al-Mujib p. 123).

(3) Ibn Bassām, always doubting the intentions of Ibn'Ammār says that he was planning to secure the garrison for himself and deceive al-Mu'tamin as he had deceived al-Mu'tamid before. (see al-Bugharī II f: 137).

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(1) al-Hulla F: 99.

Soon afterwards another opportunity offered itself to Ibn'Ammār to prove his fidelity to his new Lord. Al-Mu'tamin had been for a long time planning to capture Segura the strongly fortified mountain garrison of Siraj al-Dawla b. Iqbāl al-Dawla b. Mujāhid.

When Sirāj al-Dawla died,<sup>(1)</sup> and the lordship of the garrison fell to 'Atād al-Dawla,<sup>(2)</sup> the hopes of al-Mu'tamin were revived. Ibn'Ammār offered his help, promising al-Mu'tamin to secure it for him.<sup>(3)</sup> At the head of a strong army he advanced towards the garrison. On seeing him coming, 'Atād al-Dawla sent him a messenger offering him the garrison on certain conditions. Ibn'Ammār not suspecting foul play, went with a small force along narrow and dangerous paths till he came to a point where no one could advance except by the help of some body pulling him from above. When he overcame the last obstacle he was arrested and put in fetters.

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specific reason he was put in chains (al-Mujib p. 123).

(2) al-Dhakhira II f: 137; al-Hulla f: 102.

(3) Poem No. 39.

(4) Poem No. 39.

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His soldiers were ordered to fly for safety. (1) The date of this event is given by Ibn Bassam and Ibn al-Abbār as the 24th of Rabi'I, 477. Ibn'Amr, from his cell wrote a poem (2) to his friend Ibn Hasdāy imploring him to write to him for he found consolation in reading poetry. He described to his friend the great knight and barrenness of the mountain upon which he was imprisoned. (3) He wrote another poem (4) to his friend Abū Ja'far b. Jurj expressing his resignation to the will of God.

all the prisoners of the castle of Segura and the Banu Hūd, (3) al-Hūd had his share of the spoils of the battle and sacks of hay, (4) and set forth to Segura, where al-Bu'tayid was waiting for them.

All the way Ibn'Amr seemed to be in high spirits. His belief in his lucky star was limitless. He improvised verses which expressed hope rather than despair. (5)

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(1) al-Mu'jib p. 123.

(2) Ibn Sa'īd says that when al-Bu'tayid of Almeria heard of his captivity he sent some one to buy him for him, because of his enmity towards him, and so did al-Bu'tayid. (al-Mughrib I: 390).

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(1) Qalāyid p. 95; al-Hulla f: 100.

(2) 'Abd al-Wahid, however, says that Ibn'Amr was turned out by the Banū Hūd who began to distrust him. Ibn'Amr, in his search for a safe refuge, went to Segura. At first he was welcomed by Ibn Mubārak but later, without a specific reason he was put in chains (al-Mu'jib p. 123).

(2) al-Dhakhira II f: 137; al-Hulla f: 102.

(3) Poem No. 39. 21, 67, 72.

(4) Poem No. 39.



IBN ' AMMĀR SOLD

Ibn 'Ammār, horrified by the thought of rotting in his dungeon, suggested to his captors to sell him in an open auction to the highest bidder and convinced them that he was worth a fortune. (1) The date of the auction was fixed and it was given publicity all over the country. Among those who sent their agents were al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād and al-Mu'tasim b. Sumādiḥ. (2)

al-Mu'tamid's son - al-Rādi - succeeded in eliminating all the participants in the auction and was handed Ibn 'Ammār. (3) al-Rādi had him put on the back of a mule between two sacks of hay, (4) and set forth to Cordova, where al-Mu'tamid was waiting for them.

All the way Ibn 'Ammār seemed to be in high spirits. His belief in his lucky star was limitless. He improvised verses which expressed hope more than despair. (5)

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(1) al-Mu'jib p. 123.

(2) Ibn Sa'id says that when al-Mu'tasim of Almeria heard of his captivity he sent some-one to buy him for him, because of his enmity towards him, and so did al-Mu'tamid. (al-Mughrib I: 390).

This suggests that the idea of the sale did not originate in Ibn 'Ammār or his captors.

(3) 'Atād al-Dawla, Lord of Segura by selling Ibn 'Ammār, caused Hakam b. al-Khaluf, the poet, to satirize him for this act of greed; and assure him that by doing so he had brought for himself ever-lasting shame. (See al-Mughrib II p. 68.)

(4) al-Hulla f: 100.

(5) Poems Nos. 2, 21, 67, 72.

(4) al-Hulla f: 102.

(3) al-Mu'jib p. 125.

CHAPTER VIII  
IN THE HANDS OF AL-MU'TAMID

The procession arrived in Cordova on Friday, 6th Rajab, 477/November 8th, 1084.<sup>(1)</sup> In a unique and rather strange narrative, Ibn Bassām on the authority of Abu Umar al-Faradi who was an eye-witness, tells us that all the nobility of Cordova went out to meet the procession and pay homage to Ibn'Amnār. They were expecting al-Mu'tamid to forgive him and restore to him his previous position.<sup>(2)</sup>

He was then brought in chains before al-Mu'tamid who reproached him bitterly, and brought his concubines to laugh at him and mock him.<sup>(3)</sup> He was then thrown into a boat and was sent down the river to Seville. There he was taken to the Qasr al-Mubārek and was locked in one of its cells. Al-Mu'tamid himself kept the key and allowed no one to touch it.<sup>(4)</sup> He was brought several times before al-Mu'tamid to be reprimanded. On such occasions he used to be silent, his head down-cast while his tears flowed down his cheeks. When he dared to speak he said, "My Lord, I deny nothing of the charges which have been directed to me. If I did even lifeless things I would testify against me. I have committed the gravest mistakes. But I beg you to forgive me." "Your crime is beyond pardon," said al-Mu'tamid.<sup>(5)</sup>

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(1) al-Dhakhīra II f: 139. al-Hulla f: 102.

(2) al-Dhakhīra II f: 140.

(3) al-Mu'jib p. 124.

(4) al-Hulla f: 102.

(5) al-Mu'jib p. 125.

Several pleas of intercession had been sent to al-Mu'tamid from Ibn'Ammār's friends but they did not move his heart. Ibn'Ammār, however, did not despair. From his cell he addressed al-Mu'tamid <sup>with</sup> "touching poems" which had they been addressed to Fate, it would have abandoned its cruelty or to the orbits they would have ceased to rotate, but they did not have any effect because his doom was sealed." (1)

If nothing could induce al-Mu'tamid to forgive Ibn'Ammar, only his love of good poetry kept him from applying the death penalty to the traitor. Ibn'Ammar misunderstood the feeling of al-Mu'tamid and thought that pardon was not impossible after all. He wrote of his conviction to Prince al-Rashid. (2) His minister Isa b. al-A'tam having by a glance known the contents of the letter, went out and divulged the secret to Ibn'Ammar's enemies, who spread the contents of the letter making some scandalous additions with which Abd al-Wahid would not defile his book. (3) The story reached al-Mu'tamid through his wife al-Rumaykiya. al-Mu'tamid's blood boiled within him. He rushed to Ibn'Ammar's cell holding a battle-axe. (4) He asked Ibn'Ammar whether he had written anything

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(1) al-Mu'jib p. 125. See poem No. 11.

(2) al-Dhakhira II f: 142; al-Hulla f: 102.

(3) Abd al-Wahid (al-Mujib f: 127) says that Ibn'Ammār wrote of his conviction to Prince al-Radi; which seems less probable, as al-Rādi who brought him from Segura had shown him no sign of friendship all the way. Al-Rashid was not so unfriendly and it was the Minister of al-Rashid who divulged the secret of Ibn'Ammar's letter to the Prince.

(3) al-Mu'jib p. 128.

(4) The same axe was presented to al-Mu'tamid by Ibn'Ammār who had received it as a present from Alfonso (Galayid p. 102)

(7) al-Dhakhira II f: 142.

to anyone about being pardoned. Seeing that there was no way for denial, he confessed, throwing himself at the feet of the king. Al-Mu'tamid struck his head with the axe several times and left him a cold corpse. On seeing the axe fixed in Ibn'Ammār's head al-Rumaykiya exclaimed, "Ibn'Ammār had been turned into a hoodoo,<sup>(1)</sup> avenging herself for Ibn 'Ammār's satire which ridiculed her son's long forelock.<sup>(2)</sup>

According to Abd al-Wāhid<sup>(3)</sup> al Mu'tamid ordered a funeral to be held. The dead body was cleaned and put in a shroud. Al-Mu'tamid himself led the funeral prayers. Then he ordered that Ibn'Ammār should be buried inside the palace. Ibn al-Abbār, however, quoting Muḥammad b. Salām<sup>(4)</sup> of Silves, one of the dearest friends of Ibn'Ammar, says that the poet's body was dragged in its bloody rags to a ditch inside the palace and an old wall was broken over it. <sup>(5)</sup>

Al-Fath asserts that he was present many years later, when the bones of Ibn'Ammār were dug out from beneath a broken wall inside the palace of al-Mubārak. Al-Fath noticed that the fetters were still bent like black snakes round the poet's dry shinbones.<sup>(6)</sup> An eye-witness told Ibn Bassām of the same story.<sup>(7)</sup>

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(1) Nafh al-Tib Vol. II p. 451.

Ibn Sa'īd (al-Mughrib I p. 391) says that this comment was made by al-Mu'tamid himself.

(2) Poem No. 65.

(3) al-Mu'jib p. 129.

(4) This man was the Chief of Police (Sāhib al-Madīnah) See al-Dhakhira Vol. I part I p. 354)

(5) al-Hulla f: 103.

(6) Qalāyid p. 74. Tab III p. 356.

(7) al-Dhakhira II f: 142.

(8) Muslim historians did not agree upon the exact date of the battle of al-Zalīqa. Many of them give the date as 479 (Nafayāt IV p. 120; Shadhrah al-Dhahab III p. 362; al-Kamil X p. 52; al-Rawḍ al-Mi'wān p. 83; al-Mughrib p. 28; al-Hulla al-Dhakhira pp. 40-41.) Abd al-Wāhid, however, gives the date as 480 (al-Mu'jib p. 135) while Ibn Khaldūn gives even a later date - 481 (Vol. VI p. 186). European historians are unanimously of the opinion that it took place in 479/1083 (Dozy 698; Stanley Lane-Poole p. 179, Gonzalez Palencia p. 84)

(7) Spanish Islam p. 689.

THE YEAR OF IBN AMMĀR'S DEATH

Abd al-Wahid fixes the death of Ibn'Amr in the year 479(1) Ibn Dihyah(2) and Ibn Khallikān(3), however, give the alternative date of 477. Ibn al-Imād(4), on the authority of Ibn Khallikān gives the same date.

The year 477 seems to be the correct date. The sequence of events as given by the historians shows that he could not have survived for long after he had been brought in that year, in fetters, before al-Mu'tamid.(5) He was never mentioned in connexion with the grave events that happened in 478 and 479 i.e. the fall of Toledo and the battle of al-Zallāqa.(6)

It might be argued that he was in prison, completely detached from social and political life; but Ibn'Amr's biographers show us clearly that al-Mu'tamid was pre-occupied with the problem of Ibn'Amr from the day of his captivity till his death, which shows that he was worried by no greater problem.

Dozy, who does not give a date for Ibn'Amr's death, seems to have come to the same conclusion when he says, "Such was the tragic end of Ibn'Amr. Throughout Arab Spain it caused a profound impression, which however, was not of long duration, for grave events which took place at Toledo, and the advance of the Castilian army, soon diverted men's thoughts into other channels."(7)

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(1) al-Mu'jib p. 127.

(2) al-Mutrib p. 157.

(3) Wafayat VI p. 53.

(4) Shadharat al-Dhahab III p. 356.

(5) Supra p. 42.

(6) Muslim historians did not agree upon the exact date of the battle of al-Zallāqa. Many of them give the date as 479 (Wafayat IV p. 120; Shadharat al-Dhahab III p. 362; al-Kāmil X p. 52; al-Rawd al-Mi'tār p. 83; al-Mutrib p. 28 al-Hullāh al-Mawshiya pp 40-41.) Abd al-Wahid, however, gives the date as 480 (al-Mu'jib p. 135) while Ibn Khaldūn gives even a later date - 481 (Vol VI p. 186). European historians are unanimously of the opinion that it took place in 479/1083 (Dozy 698; Stanley Lane-Poole p. 179, Gonzalez Palencia p. 84)

(7) Spanish Islam p. 689.

Oddly enough, Nykl says; "The date of this event (Ibn 'Ammar's execution) is given almost correctly by Ibn Khalikan: 476/1083-1084. al-Marrakushi's date (479/1086) is wrong."<sup>(1)</sup> First, Ibn Khalikan's date is 477 and not 476. Secondly, it was not necessary to bring this approximate date when the same author had mentioned only a few lines before, that Ibn 'Ammar "was brought to Cordova on Friday, 6 Rajab 477/ November 8, 1084, and later was sent to Seville where he was imprisoned in a room in the castle called al-Mubarak."<sup>(2)</sup> Nykl does not explain why he thinks the date given by al-Marrakushi is wrong.

Although Ibn Sallam claims<sup>(4)</sup> that this single ritha is the only ritha (elegy) composed by the contemporaries of Ibn 'Ammar on his death, yet he quotes in a later part of his book,<sup>(5)</sup> the elegy of Abu Ja'far b. Jurj on the death of Ibn 'Ammar. The same poem is quoted by Ibn Said.<sup>(6)</sup>

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(1) Al-Dhakhira II, p. 142.

(2) Salafid p. 102.

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(1) Hispano - Arabic Poetry p. 162.

(2) Ibid p. 162.

(6) al-Muqrib II, p.p. 306 - 307. For the text of the poem see the Diver of Ibn 'Ammar p. 90.

ELEGIES AT THE DEATH OF IBN'AMMĀR

Ibn Wahbūn composed an elegy on the death of his friend Ibn'ammār, of which only a single line is extant:

"Oddly enough, I weep sorrowfully for his death,

"But I say, 'May Allah protect the hand of his executioner from paralysis."

Ibn Bassām<sup>(1)</sup>, al Fath<sup>(2)</sup> and Ibn al-Abbār<sup>(3)</sup> consider this line as an exclusive evidence that al-Mu'tamid killed Ibn'ammār with his own hands.

Although Ibn Bassām claims<sup>(4)</sup> that this single line is the only ritha (elegy) composed by the contemporaries of Ibn 'ammār on his death, yet he quotes in a later part of his book<sup>(5)</sup> the elegy of Abu Ja'far b. Jurj on the death of Ibn'ammār. The same poem is quoted by Ibn Saïd. <sup>(6)</sup>

to say in the manner of tashif<sup>(1)</sup> that modesty is an adornment ( ) while Ibn'ammār wanted to say in the same manner, "and obscenity is a defect" . Commenting on the brilliance of Ibn'ammār on this occasion, al-Baqerī says "It is unsurpassed ! " <sup>(2)</sup>

It has also been related as a proof of Ibn'ammār's intelligence, that when he was brought in fetters to Cordova al-Baqerī<sup>(3)</sup> was observed galloping from the city to-

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- (1) Al-Dhakhīra II f: 142. On seeing him, Ibn'ammār took off  
(2) Galāyid p. 102.  
(3) al-Hulla f: 102. who seemed perplexed on seeing what Ibn  
(4) al-Dhakhīra II f: 142. profession is alleged. The captive  
(5) Ibid III p. 152.  
(6) al-Mughrib II p.p. 306 - 307. For the text of the poem see the Diwān of Ibn'ammār p. 90

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(1) Or corruption; it was a kind of mental exercise very popular then.

(2) Nath al-Tib Vol. II p. 510.

(3) Supra p. 42

(4) al-Mu'jib p. 125.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHARACTER OF IBN'AMMĀR.

When we study the poetry and the facts of Ibn'Amṣār's life, the incontestable truth appears that he was a man of brilliant intellect. A couple of queer incidents suffice to illustrate this gift of his. One day while he was walking with al-Mu'tamid in the streets of the town of Seville, an immoral woman shouting and calling names met them. al-Mu'tamid, in disgust pointed to the quarter in which the lime-washers lived and said "الجيارين". Ibn'Amṣār understood the hint of al-Mu'tamid and commented, pointing to the quarter in which the plaster-makers lived and said "والجباسين". When the curious people who were gathering about the women asked Ibn'Amṣār about the meaning of their words, they were astonished to learn that al-Mu'tamid, expressing his abhorrence of what he heard wanted to say in the manner of tashīf(1) that modesty is an adornment (الحيازين) while Ibn'Amṣār wanted to say in the same manner, "and obscenity is a defect" والخناسين. Commenting on the brilliance of Ibn'Amṣār on this occasion, al-Maqqari says "It is unsurpassed ! "(2)

It has also been related as a proof of Ibn'Amṣār's intelligence, that when he was brought in fetters to Cordova by al-Rādi(3) a horseman was seen galloping from the city to the approaching procession. On seeing him, Ibn'Amṣār took off his turban. The man who seemed perplexed on seeing what Ibn'Amṣār had done, joined the procession in silence. The captive whispered to the man next to him, " That horseman was sent to take off my turban," and the man confirmed what Ibn'Amṣār said.(4)

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(1) Or corruption; it was a kind of mental exercise very popular then.

(2) Nafh al-Tib Vol. II p. 610.

(3) Supra p. 42

(4) al-Mu'jib p. 125.



The greatest two men of his age, who knew him too well, recognised and admired the cleverness of Ibn'Am̄ar. Alfonso VI used to say, "Ibn'Am̄ar is the Man of the (Iberian) Peninsula." (1) al-Mu'tamid never ceased to praise his wits even after he had killed him with his own hand. (2)

Ibn'Am̄ar was exceptionally sensitive. A kind word or deed deeply touched him and he would not fail to express his gratitude in the most striking and sincere manner. His subsequent reward to the Silvan barley-trader is a good example. (3)

His kind treatment of Ibn Tāhir who was captured by him on the fall of Murcia in his hands is another example. (4)

He used to apologise for the smallest mistake, and was greatly upset if the smallest charge was directed to him. He was not aggressive but he would not forgive those he were aggressive to him. His revenge was terrible and was usually more than the culprits deserved. He had no sense of humour and would not tolerate sarcasm. (5) He was over conscious of his humble birth and the smallness of his eyes (6) and did not tolerate any comments in this respect. "Ibn'Am̄ar" says Dozy, "not having been brought up like the Prince (al-Mu'tamid) in wealth and luxury, but having on the contrary, been familiar from his earliest days with struggles, cruel disappointments and poverty, had imagination less fresh, less joyous, less youthful; he could not refrain from a vein of irony; on many points he was sceptic. One Friday, the two friends were proceeding to the mosque, when al-Mu'tamid hearing the Mu'ezzin (Mušdhhin) announcing the hour of prayer, improvised a verse, asking Ibn'Am̄ar to add another rhyming with it:

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(1) Ibid p. 119.

(2) Infra p. 59.

(3) Supra p. 21.

(4) Supra p. 29.

(5) Supra p. 30.

(6) al-Hulla f: 90; Qalāyid 1957.

"Hark ! the muezzin announced the hour of prayer,"  
"and trusteth that therefore God will forgive him his many  
sins." added Ibn'Ammār

"May he find happiness, since he beareth witness to the  
truth !" continued the Prince:

"Provided that he believedh in his heart that which his  
tongue uttereth" retorted the vizier with a smile."<sup>(1)</sup>

It is not irrelevant to allude to a strange incident  
to which great importance was attached by Ibn'Ammār's bio-  
graphers. It is told that when Ibn'Ammar was in Silves as a  
minister of his Young Governor Muḥammad b. 'Abbād, was so  
close to his heart that the prince gave orders that his friend  
should be the first person to see him in the morning and the  
last person to bid him good-night. At times he would insist  
on him to spend the night with him on the same pillow.

One night, it is told, Ibn'Ammār half asleep heard a  
voice ordering him to take care against al-Mu'tamid who  
would kill him one day. Unable to ignore the mysterious  
voice having heard it several times during that night he be-  
came fully awake, and trembling with fear, he got out of his  
bed completely naked and hid himself underneath a mat in one  
of the dark corners.

Missing him, al-Mu'tamid summoned his guards and ordered  
them to look for him everywhere. When he was discovered and  
brought before al-Mu'tamid he could not answer the questions  
of the prince who was greatly amazed at the behaviour of his  
friend. When at last he mastered his senses and explained  
the whole matter al-Mu'tamid unable to hide his tears told  
him that those were only nightmares and to kill his best  
friend was to commit suicide.

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(1) Spanish Islam p. 663.

(2) See also *Nafh al-Tib II* p. 346.

(3) Poem No. 34.

(4) *Supra* p. 38.

(5) e.g. Segura, Tudmir campaign, the conquest of Cordova and  
the siege of Granada.

The story though strange does not seem to be impossible. It could have been invented after the poet's tragic death, but still, a man of Ibn'Amr's sensitiveness, accustomed to misery and disappointment, suddenly finding himself in a sea of happiness might think that fate was mocking him and imagine himself hearing and seeing things.

At any rate, Ibn'Amr completely forgot that night's events and nothing in his future life showed that he was fearful of a tragic end at the hand of al-Mu'tamid.

He was kind and benevolent especially to the needy poets among whom he had many friends to whom his favours were extended. (1) He gave them what they asked without hesitation. He helped many of them to high position and fame. He searched for them in the remote places and looked after them. In Almeria he found a number of poets waiting for their rewards at the door of al-Mu'tamid. Seeing their need he went to the king and improvised a poem reminding him of the poor 'gang' outside his palace asking him to give them what they were expecting. (2)

One day he said jokingly to Ibn al-Labbāna al-Dāni (of Denia) "Come in O Dāni (داني) without the alif (أ)". He meant دني = base. The poet retorted "I am coming in O Ibn'Amr (عمر) without the mim (م)". He meant عار = shame. Ibn'Amr smiled and did not punish the daring poet.

He was a man of great personal courage. His daring adventures startled his contemporaries. Sometimes he was madly reckless. The method by which he regained the rebellious castle for al-Mu'tamid (3), under the risk of losing his own life is sufficient proof of his courage. He took an active part in many battles and led many armies (4) when he could draw plans and stay behind in safety.

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(1) Ibn Wahbūn the famous poet was referred to as the 'pet' of Ibn'Amr مبيعتة by Ibn Bassām.

(2) Poem No. 34.

(3) Supra p. 38.

(4) e.g. Segura, Tudmir campaign, the conquest of Cordova and the siege of Granada.

He was sincere to his friends and boasted of his sincerity. (1) He did not give up his friendship easily but made all his effort to preserve it. He did not forget his friends however long the term of separation might be. He denied the charge of faithlessness with all his might. (2)

He was a voluptuary who indulged himself in the sensual pleasures until he was criticised for wine-drinking in a society which tolerated wine drinking. His numerous poems about ephebes were considered by al-Hijāri as a proof of his sexual relations with them. (3)

On account of his suspicious behaviour he was separated from Prince al-Mu'tamid by the order of al-Mu'tadid. In his extant poems there is no evidence of sexual relationship except in his satire addressed to al-Mu'tamid in which he accuses the king of tempting him with money to commit immoral deeds with him. He confesses that he yielded to the temptation. (4)

He was vain. He struggled for recognition. Nothing would displease him more than to be overlooked. He blames Ibn 'Abd al-Āzīz for failing to come in person to meet him as he passed near Valencia. (5) He boasts of himself of his ancestors the Banū 'Ammār, of his tribe Mahra, of his qualities and of his poetry. His escorts were described as even more pompous than those of al-Mu'tamid. In Murcia it was said, he acted like a king, taking for his example no less than the mightiest of all the petty kings al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād.

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(1) Poem No. 18.

(2) Poem No. 59.

(3) Nafh al-Tib Vol. II p. 470. The comment of al-Hijāri. Shows that poets used to say thing which they did not practice.

(4) Poem No. 56.

(5) Poem No. 62.

(1) Supra p. 24.

(2) Supra p. 24.

(3) Ansil al-Ālam p. 190.

(4) Supra p. 31.

(5) Supra p. 32.

(6) al-Mu'allaq f. 71

Ibn'Ammār's chief offence in the opinion of those who knew him was treason. His betrayal of al-Mu'tamid after the friendship of twenty-five years could not be forgiven him. His venomous satire was regarded as the creation of the Devil.

Now breach of trust was a common feature during the period of the Mulūk al-Tawāif. al-Mu'tamid himself betrayed the Banū Jahwar when they asked him help against the Banū Dhu'l Nūn.(1) Ibn Rashīq's betrayal of Ibn'Ammār had already been mentioned.(2) Mān b. Sumādih, the founder of the Fajibid dynasty at Almeria committed an act of treason against 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī 'Amir when the latter appointed him governor for Almeria, and declared himself independent.(3)

Ibn'Ammār was, moreover, justified in his behaviour. al-Mu'tamid had been listening to the words of the enemies of Ibn'Ammār, the most important of whom was Abū Bakr b. Zaydūn, son of Ibn Zaydūn the poet, who could not forgive Ibn'Ammār for what he had done to his father. Ibn'Ammār had warned al-Mu'tamid against the conspiracies of these calumniators. Moreover al-Mu'tamid joined hands with Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, the enemy of Ibn'Ammār, and both men worked for the scape of Ibn Tahir from his prison.(4)

At last it was al-Mu'tamid who started the "war of words". His parody vexed Ibn'Ammār who retaliated with a satire.(5) Ibn'Ammār apologised and people expected al-Mu'tamid to forgive his fallen friends; but he did not forgive him.

al-Mu'tamid was one of the lucky few who are loved by everybody, whose sins are readily forgiven and whose enemies are cursed by all. Ibn al-Abbār who wrote his book a century and a half after the death of al-Mu'tamid says, "Today people weep for him still".(6) Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn incurred

(1) Supra p. 24.

(2) Supra p. 32.

(3) *Āmal al-Ālām* p. 190.

(4) Supra p. 31.

(5) Supra p. 32.

(6) *al-Hullā* f. 71

the désaffection of ancient and modern historians for his maltreatment of al-Mu'tamid. Ibn al-Athīr considers the deed of Yūsuf as that of a mean man. (1) Dozy finds who appears to be sympathetic with al-Mutamid<sup>finds</sup> the king of the Almoravids in contrast with his victim 'achurl and a barbarian' and does not fail to find evidence. Commenting on the attitude of al-Mu'tamid towards the treachery of Ibn'Ammār, the authors of 'Arabic Spain' say, "One can understand that a man who found it so hard to believe evil of one who had once been his friend, and so difficult to refuse forgiveness until angered past control, would be betrayed again and again by persons of less honourable character; and indeed Ibn'Ammār's case was by no means the only case in point. (2) al-Mu'tamid, He failed to keep his throne in Murcia, he could not make strong allies, he failed miserably in the Segura plan with the result that he lost his freedom and could have lost his life. He was of less value to al-Mu'tamid than he had been to al-Mu'tamid.

Success and failure should not be regarded as the standard by which a man's ability or disability be judged. Many able generals had lost battles to inferior enemies. The obvious fact about Ibn'Ammār is that he was a man of an inexhaustible energy. He could not live idle. He was greatly bowed at Lerida and Zaragoza when there was nothing for him to do. Even when he was in prison at Segura he was longing for action and this was the reason why he suggested to his captors to sell him. He expected one of the kings of Spain (Christian or Muslim) to

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(1) al-Kāmil Vol 10 pp. 76 - 79.

(2) Arabic Spain p. 219.

ried out the plans of al-Mu'tamid on many occasions, he followed his own initiative on many others. He was not a dumb tool. The Tudmir campaign and the conquest of Murcia were his own plan and execution.

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(1) e.g. 'Abdullāh b. Buluggin, the deposed king of Granada. See Tibyān p. 84.

CHAPTER X

IBN 'AMMĀR AS A STATESMAN

Ibn 'Ammār was an active, comstant and busy man, to whom serious matters were entrusted. The popular idea that poets make poor men of affairs is certainly not valid in his case. During his active career he held the important posts of vizier, governor, Prime-Minister, general and ambassador. He was the right arm of al-Mu'tamid for whom he gave counsel, executed plans, conquered territories and negotiated treaties with his enemies and allies with great ability and initiative.

His enemies<sup>(1)</sup> ascribe his successes to the lucky star of al-Mu'tamid and find proof in his failure after he became hostile with al-Mu'tamid. He failed to keep his throne in Murcia, he could not make strong allies, he failed miserably in the Segura plan with the result that he lost his freedom and could have lost his life. He was of less value to al-Mu'tamid than he had been to al-Mu'tamid.

Success and failure should not be regarded as the standard by which a man's ability or disability be judged. Many able generals had lost battles to inferior enemies. The obvious fact about Ibn 'Ammār is that he was a man of an inexhaustable energy. He could not live idle. He was greatly bowed at Leriāa and Zaragoza when there was nothing for him to do. Even when he was in prison at Segura he was longing for action and this was the reason why he suggested to his captors to sell him. He expected one of the kings of Spain (Christian or Muslim) to buy him to make use of his services.

Although he simply carried out the plans of al-Mu'tamid on many occasions, he followed his own initiative on many others. He was not a dumb tool. The Tudmīr campaign and the conquest of Murcia were his own plan and execution.

(1) e.g. 'Abdullāhī b. Buluqqīn, the deposed king of Granada.  
See Tibyān p. 81.

In his policy he was prompted by his love of the Abbadids, who like himself came from Yemenite origin, who were strong and generous and satisfied his vanity. He was moved by his unbending hatred of the Berbers. He rejoiced over their defeats when he could do nothing more than to rejoice. He likened them to the Jews and branded them as *Khawārij*. Later he entered with the Berber king of Granada in a tiring war which was about to deprive the latter of his throne. al-Mu'tamid was less hostile with the Berbers after Ibn'Ammār left him. Like al-Mu'tamid<sup>(1)</sup> he admired the Christians. There is not a single unfriendly reference to the Christians in his poetry. We have been told that he had some friends among the counsellors of Alfonso VI<sup>(2)</sup>. He was on friendly terms with Alfonso himself, from whom he received many presents including the battle axe by which he was killed.<sup>(3)</sup> When he lost Murcia he resorted to him for help. Twice we see him fighting side by side with the Christian soldiers, as mercenaries, against the Berber kingdoms of Toledo in the Tudmir campaign, and Granada. Abdullāhī b. Buluqqīn tells us that he entered the service of the king of Castile and conspired against the king of Toledo, al-Qādir b. Dhu'l Nūn.

When he disappeared from the life of al-Mu'tamid, the policy of the king of Seville was basically changed. His relation with Alfonso was strained while he became more friendly with the Berbers. The final result was the battle of al-Zallaqa in which he fought against the Christians side by side with the Berbers of Spain and Morocco. Had Ibn'Ammār's relation with al-Mu'tamid continued to be as good as it used to be, the battle of al-Zallaqa could have been avoided or at least deferred.

(1) "... the Christians of Seville, had cause to grieve for the fall of al-Mu'tamid, for he protected them throughout his reign and allowed them the free exercise of their religion... and al-Mu'tamid even employed Christians about his person e.g. Ibn al-Margari, one of his favourites, who was a Christian of Seville and a distinguished poet. (Arabic Spain p. 224).

(2) Supra p.25.

(3) Supra p.43.

(3) al-Shakīra III, p. 9.



One of the most effective weapons of Ibn'Amr̄ to which he resorted often was bribery. We have already seen that when Alfonso VI hesitated to play with him a game of chess on his own terms, it was the king's consellers, generously paid by Ibn'Amr̄, who convinced him to accept the terms of Ibn'Amr̄. We have also seen that he bribed the aristocracy of Murcia to buy their allegiance against their ruler Ibn Tāhir; he also bribed the leading men of Cordova and bought their help against the Banū Jahwar.

The most effective weapon Ibn'Amr̄ employed was assassination. He had in his service two cut-throats: Jabir and Hadi who did not hesitate to carry out their master's orders. It was they<sup>who</sup> stabbed the rebel who went against al-Mu'tamin b. Hud. (1) They accompanied him also when he went to Segura to capture it in the same way but he and his two men were duped. He depended so much on their loyalty that he used to say:

"If I am broken Jābir (literally Healer) will heal my broken bone,

"If I am lost Hādī (Literally Guide) will lead my steps to the right path." (2)

Ibn Bassām tells us that when he released Ibn Tahir, he gave him a sealed letter to al-Mu'tamid in which he spoke unfavourably about Ibn Tahir and induced al-Mu'tamid to kill him. Ibn Tāhir, suspicious of the contents of the letter opened it and was greatly disturbed to the extent that he changed his plans and headed towards Ibn'Abd al-'Azīz of Valencia. He wrote a strong protest to Ibn'Amr̄ asking him about the crime which, in his opinion, deserved the death penalty. (3)

Ibn'Amr̄ was afraid that Ibn Tahir by the help of al-Mu'tamid might try to force him out of Murcia, so he gave him a stab at the back.

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(1) Supra p. 38 . See also al-Hulla f. 99.

(2)

فإذا كسرت فم خدن جابر وإذا ضللت فم آخر حادي

(3) al-Dhakhira III p. 9.

For all this, Ibn'Ammār appeared to the petty kings as the most formidable statesman and was a menace to their thrones. This is the reason why they flattered him. Every one thought that he was too witty to be executed by al-Mu'tamid. Every one expected him to be restored to his previous position and the noble men of Cordova and Seville came out to meet him and express their loyalty to him, when he was in fetters.(1)

PART THREE

Poetry.

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(1) Supra p. 42.

CHAPTER XI.

THE OPINION OF THE ANCIENT CRITICS ABOUT

IBN 'AMMAR AS A POET

Ibn 'Ammār's contemporaries as well as subsequent authors, thought highly of Ibn 'Ammār as a poet. He himself was conscious of the beauty of his lines and he likens them to "the garden upon which a soft easterly wind blows", to "A cloth woven with golden threads", and to "the fragrant musk".(1)

Al-Mu'tamid expressed his admiration of Ibn 'Ammār's poetry in a practical manner. After listening to one of his odes(2), he was so pleased that he appointed him vizier. (3)

Al-Mu'tamid was a great lover of good poetry and above all of the poetry of Ibn 'Ammār. In reply to one of his courtier's who criticized the poetry of Ibn 'Ammār, al-Mu'tamid said, "You may degrade his **Poetry.** as you will, but as to his poetry no-one can find anything faulty," and he refuted the men's criticisms.(4)

Ibn 'Ammār's friends, including the Muluk al-Fawaif and other outstanding figures of the period who exchanged with Ibn 'Ammār messages written in verse expressed their great admiration of Ibn 'Ammār's poetry and found it very flattering to establish a literary relation with this poet.

Ibn Bassam says, "His poetry invaded the East and the West, was carried to Syria and Iraq by the tongues of narrators and mixed with the songs of camel-drivers. He was an unrivalled poet and unparalleled magician.(5)

Ibn al-Abbar says "Ibn 'Ammār was the unchallenged poet of al-Andalus, but his evil deeds eclipsed his good words. He indulged in wine drinking and enjoyed committing treason.(6)

(1) Poem No. 53.

(2) It is the above mentioned poem.

(3) al-Kharida p. 123.

(4) al-Mujib p. 127.

(5) al-Ishakhiya II fi 122.

(6) al-Halla fi 95.

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(2) It is the above mentioned poem.

(3) al-Kharīda p. 123.

(4) al-Mu'jib p. 127.

(5) al-Dhakhira II f: 122.

(6) al-Hulla f: 95.

'Abd al-Wāhid says, " He was one of the great poets who followed the model of Ibn'Hāni (The al-Mutanabbī of the west) and he surpassed him in the majority of his compositions. His diwan enjoys great publicity in al-Andalus. All my tutors extolled him. Some of them compared him with al-Mutanabbī but that rank is beyond his reach."(1)

Many Andalusian critics believed that he was the equal of his contemporary Ibn Zaydūn (The al-Buhturī of the west.)(2)

It is related that when al-Hijārī, author of Kitāb al-Mushib went to 'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'īd (The grandfather of 'Ali b. Mūsa - author of Kitāb al-Mughrib) he was not allowed to get in. al-Hijārī took a piece of paper and wrote to the vizier, "My Lord, at your door stands a man who has come all the way from Silves with a poem that reads,

'Your fame has directed my steps towards you...'

"I hope that my Lord would not turn away a man from Silves with a poem like this."

When 'Abd al-Malik read the message, he exclaimed, " A man from Silves, with a poem like this! This must be Ibn'Ammar raised from the dead! Bring him in !"(3)

The feelings of al-Hijārī and Abd al-Malik were typical of those of their compatriots.

Al-Himyari says that Silves boasts of the fact that Ibn' Ammar belongs to it.(4)

Al-Fath introduces him as Matbū(5) i.e. unaffected and spontaneous, an epithet which can be applied to a poet only after the consideration of the majority of his compositions.

(1) al-Mu'jib p. 111

(2) Wafayat IV p. 52. ; Al-Kharīda f: 123. al-Muṭrib p. 156.

(3) al-Mughrib II p. 35.  
Nafḥ al-Ṭib II p. 505.

(4) Al-Rawḍ al-Miṭṭār; Shilb.

(5) Qalāyid p. 86.

(6) Qalāyid p. 35.

(7) al-Mughrib I p. 390.

(8) al-Bakhira II p. 304.

As is natural, many of Ibn'Ammar's poems passed without occasioning any remarks. Many others, however, were favourably commented upon.

Abd al-Wahid extols his famous ra-poem<sup>(1)</sup> which was addressed to al-Mu'tadid and adds that that poem contains a beautiful line, the equal of which he had never read in his life either in ancient or modern poetry.<sup>(2)</sup>

Of the same poem al-Shaḡundī says, "It is more widely circulated than a parable and more pleasant to hear than the news of the arrival of the beloved."<sup>(3)</sup>

Al-Imād speaks highly of the fiery images and beautiful style and selected rhymes of the dāl-poem (also addressed to al-Mu'tadid).<sup>(4)</sup>

One of the poems of Ibn'Am̄mār which found great popularity on account of its beauty is the ha-poem addressed to al-Mu'tamid.<sup>(5)</sup> "Its balsam heals the wounded hearts, and secures pardon for the gravest of sins," says Ibn'al-Khatib.<sup>(6)</sup> Commenting on the same poem Abd al-Wāhid says, "Had it been addressed to fate it would have abandoned its cruelty. If the planetary orbits heard it they would have stopped their rotations."<sup>(7)</sup>

Abu'l Tāhir al-Tamīmī comments favourably on the same poem.<sup>(8)</sup> al-Faṭḥ describes the Segura poem addressed to Ibn Ḥasday as miraculous<sup>(9)</sup> though it is brief.<sup>(9)</sup> Ibn Sa'īd admires the style of his Satire addressed to al-Mu'tamid.<sup>(10)</sup>

Ibn Bassām comments on one of his lines as being "sweetly expressed light, and appealing to the heart."<sup>(11)</sup>

To appreciate the opinions of these critics, it would be helpful to make a brief survey of their criteria.

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- (1) Poem No. 33.
  - (2) Infra p. 77.
  - (3) Nafh al-Tib II p. 141. al-'Imād heard this poem recited in Baghdad. He also heard the ha-poem in 'Irāq (Kharida f: 123).
  - (4) al-Kharida f: 125.
  - (5) Poem No. 11.
  - (6) A'amāl p. 161.
  - (7) al-Mu'jib p. 125.
  - (8) al-Hullā f: 101.
  - (9) Qalāyid p. 95.
  - (10) al-Mughrib I p. 390.
  - (11) al-Dhakhira II p. 301.

CHAPTER XII.

"THE RUDIMENTS OF ANCIENT CRITICISM"

The pioneers of literary criticism like al-Asma' Abu Amr b. al-'Alā, and their adherents, who were philologists by profession derived their criteria from the characteristics of pre-Islamic poetry and were of the conviction that the Jahilite poets had attained the highest degree of perfection. Nothing could be regarded as superior to what they had composed. Nothing that deviated from their classical method was acceptable to them. "Linguistic considerations," says Nicholson, "entered largely into this prejudice. The old poems were studied as repositories of the pure classical tongue and were estimated mainly from a grammarian's standpoint."<sup>(1)</sup>

Ibn Qutayba exposes these critics when he says, "Some of our learned doctors praised fake verse on the grounds that its composer was one of the ancients, while denouncing good poetry because it was composed by one of their contemporaries."<sup>(2)</sup>

These critics had no definite values besides their false conviction. They did not trust even their own taste. One of them might praise a certain poem believing that it was composed by an ancient poet, but on learning that it was not, he would not hesitate to dismiss it in the most belittling terms.<sup>(3)</sup> Abu Amr b. al-'Alā used to say, "If al-Akhtal were a pre-Islamic poet, I would not regard any other poet as his superior."<sup>(4)</sup> Al-Akhtal being an Umayyad poet, was regarded as inferior to all the Jahili poets. This same critic used to say, "Some of the modern poets often compose good poetry; that I sometimes feel a slight temptation to memorize some of it."<sup>(5)</sup>

(1) Literary History of the Arabs p. 285.

(2) Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'ara' p. 5.

(3) A good example for this is the comment of Ibn al-'A'rabi on the poetry of Abū Tammām. See Akhbār Abi Tammām p. 175.

A similar comment is attributed to al-Asma'ī on the poetry of Ishaq al-Mawsili. See al-Wasatah p. 48.

(4) Aghani Vol. VIII : 172.

(5) Al-Shir wa al-Shuara p. 7.

With the advance of thought and the defeat of the pro-Jahilite prejudice, (1) this primitive school was superseded and the 'modern' poets established their reputation and imposed themselves on their contemporaries. They were judged according to their own merits, but very strictly.

" If the poet expresses an idea which has been expressed before, or even if it bears the slightest resemblance to a previous composition, people (i.e. critics) will readily say, ' he stole the line of so and so, or he plundered the expression of this poet or that' when <sup>the</sup> poet might not have heard of that line before. It is as if to them co-incidence of thought is impossible. When the poet discovers a fresh idea or explores an unknown path his poetry would not be acceptable unless couched in the sweetest and most appealing words." (2) The poetic diction became smaller. Archaic words went out of use and words which had been overused by the public were avoided by the poets. The difficulties that faced the poets for a while seemed to be unconquerable. A new way out of this dilemma was soon discovered. " When the modern poets" says al-Jurjāni, "considered the poetry of the ancient poets, they discovered that certain lines were more widely read and memorised than others for the figures of speech they contained. They deliberately copied them and stuffed their poetry with these devices." (3)

Thus the school of the 'al Badī' in poetry appeared. Critics consider Muslim b. al-Walīd as the founder of this school. He was followed by Abū Tammām who surpassed and eclipsed him and made himself the centre of attraction. Books were written on the 'al Badī'. Discussion circles were held. New standards were created. A clearly shaped school of criticism emerged. The old values were challenged. The modern poets found great support and were triumphant.

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(1) Nicholson (L.H.A. p. 288) attributes this to the Persian ascendancy resulting from the triumph of the Abbasid House that shook the old arrogant belief of the Arabs in the intellectual supremacy of their race.

(2) al-Wasāṭh p. 47.

(3) Ibid p. 35.



Al-Sūlī says, "The compositions of the poets since the days of Bashshār is remarkable for the boldness of its conception and the simplicity of its diction. The modern poets conceived of new ideas and produced original imagery. Their poetry is greatly admired and has become the topic of discussion in literary circles." (1)

Ibn Qutayba was certain that if the modern poets were judged aesthetically, not philologically nor chronologically, they would stand a fair chance with the ancient poets. (2) Al-Tha'ālibī asserts that his contemporaries surpass their predecessors in tenderness and elegance. (3)

Ibn al-Mu'tazz, the author of Kitab al-Badī', the first book written on the subject, says about Abu Tammam, "Whosoever denounces his poetry which stirs the heart, pleases the soul, and captures the mind betrays his own ignorance." (4)

The new style was carried to al-Andalus and was very popular there. Ibn Shuhayd, one of the outstanding critics and poets says, "Ṣarī al-Ghawānī (i.e. Muslim b. al-Walid), Bashshār b. Burd and Abu Nuwās employed the existing verbal devices and invented many new ones. Abu Tammām followed them. He employed the jinas device to an excess. At present, people do not like the verse which is devoid of the jinas and other devices." (5)

Ibn Bassām, one of the outstanding exponent of the new school in al-Andalus says, "Excellence in the field of poetry is not a monopoly of the ancients....The modern poet has much to be proud of." (6) He describes the al-badī' as "the back-bone of poetry....the standard by which its merits are judged, and through which good poetry is distinguished from what is spurious." (7)

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(1) Akhbār Abī Tammām p. 176.

(2) al-Shif' wa al-Shufarā' p. 6.

(3) Yatīmat al-Dahr I p. 2.

(4) Akhbār Abī Tammām p. 176.

(5) al-Dhakhira II p. 203.

(6) Ibid p. 2.

(7) Ibid p. 6.

Another Andalusian critic, Ibn Saīd al-Maghribī, in appreciation of the al-Badī says, "The Ancient poets constructed the body of poetry and the modern poets ornamented it.(1)

A good poet according to the standards of this school is he who employs the al-badi devices of jinas (assonance and alliteration), tibatq (antithesis) metaphor, simile, personification, etc., in every line in a novel and original manner.

He should be very careful as regards his diction and must avoid archaic and obsolete words and colloquial expressions and must captivate his readers by the beauty and strangeness of his style. Language was not only a medium of expression but a source of aesthetic beauty.

He should compose poetry on every theme, however, trivial and frivolous it might appear. To these critics no theme was unpoetic. He should avoid the style of the ancient poets who weep over the deserted abode of the beloved and describe their long and tiring journey to their benefactors. The poems need not be as long and loosely connected as the traditional qasidas. One or two lines are enough if the poet succeeds in presenting a simile or a metaphor.

Putting these standards in mind it is not difficult to see why Ibn'Amr found universal admiration, why he was compared with the most famous andalusian poets 'i.e., Ibn Hanī and Ibn Zaydūn, why his poems are quoted<sup>by</sup> many authors, why many of his lines are isolated from their original places and circulated among the literati.

Ibn'Amr's violation of the moral codes to which Ibn al-Abbās refers(2) did not lower his position as a poet. Moral standards do not <sup>count</sup> in the criteria of the school of the al-badi. Abu Nuwās who was considered as a moral degenerate was highly esteemed as a poet.

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(1) Unwau al-Murqisat p. 3.

(2) Supra p. 59.

"If impiety and heretical ideas should be considered and the poet be deposed on account of them, it would be necessary to deprive Abu Nuwas of the title of poet and exclude his name from books."(2) It is obvious that the Andalusian critics paid no attention to the moral defects when they judged his poetry.

The first period began with his earliest endeavours at making verse and ends with the death of al-Mu'tamid in 461/1069. In this period Ibn'Amr represented the wandering poet who composed panegyrics for money. Most of his compositions were poems of praise many of which had been lost, some of them were destroyed by the poet himself in a later period as a token of gratitude to al-Mu'tamid.(1) Abu'l Tahir al-Fazlî made a great effort to collect all the poems of Ibn'Amr but he did not find anything except the panegyrics which were addressed to al-Mu'tamid and a few other unimportant fragments.(2)

In these poems, Ibn'Amr reaches the climax of his craftsmanship. He employs a forceful diction in the manner of Ibn Hani and verbal devices in the manner of the school of Abû Tammâm. He incorporates expressions from old poets, parables and Koranic verses.

656 It is common among beginners to imitate their famous predecessors. They start by memorizing their compositions and try to copy them. So they take a long time before they

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(1) al-Wasata p. 50.

(2) A modern Irish critic says, "...morality is not the immediate concern of art as such. The aim of art is not to make a good thing but a beautiful thing... And when he has given the form of beauty to his work, the artist as artist, has fulfilled his work... No doubt there is much art, there may even be poetry, that is neither good nor evil, that is simply beautiful or the reverse." of course.  
Stephen J. Brown: The Realm of Poetry (Dublin 1921)  
p.p. 178 - 179.

CHAPTER XIII

THE POETIC CAREER OF IBN'AMMĀR.

Ibn'Ammar's life as a poet is clearly divided into three periods, each of which complied with a definite period in his actual life.

The first period began with his earliest endeavours at making verse and ends with the death of al-Mu'tamid in 461/1069. In this period Ibn'Ammar represented the wandering poet who composed panegyrics for money. Most of his compositions were poems of praise many of which had been lost, some of them were destroyed by the poet himself in a later period as a token of gratitude to al-Mu'tamid.<sup>(1)</sup> Abu'l Tāhir al-Tamīmī made a great effort to collect all the poems of Ibn'Ammar but he did not find anything except the panegyrics which were addressed to al-Mu'tamid and a few other unimportant fragments.<sup>(2)</sup>

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It is common among beginners to imitate their famous predecessors. They start by memorizing their compositions and try to copy them. So they take a long time before they shake off their servile bonds and regain their individuality.

(1) Or so thinks Ibn al-Abbār ( See al-Hulla f: 94.)

(2) al-Hulla f: 95.  
(al-Dhakhira II f: 122)

(2) Ibn Bassām who is less sympathetic with Ibn'Ammar says that he was ashamed of those poems and was too laughty to compose poems for money. So he destroyed his earlier panegyrics and abandoned the theme of moah.

After the death of al-Mu'tadid Ibn'Ammār's luck changed for the better. He went back to Seville and joined al-Mu'tamid who was extremely pleased to have him back again. He led a carefree life, full of sensual pleasures. His relation with the new king of Seville was not a formal one. He was his bosom friend and his boom companion.(1)

There was no place for those affected oratorical panegyrics. They were abandoned in favour of short spontaneous (sometimes improvised) poems.

To this period belong Ibn'Ammar's wine songs, his love poems, his descriptive poems, his ikhwaniyyat and other poems of a similar nature.

The third period begins with the failure of the Tudmir campaign and the captivity of Ibn'Ammār in Barcelona.(2) The luck of Ibn'Ammār began to ebb. His relation with al-Mu'tamid was shadowed. The enemies of the poet found an attentive ear from al-Mu'tamid. At last the relation of the poet with his former friend was severed. After an eventful period the poet fell in the hand of al-Mu'tamid. He <sup>was</sup> put in chains, thrown into a cell and then executed.

During this period, Ibn'Ammār's prevailing sentiment was one of profound sadness and disappointment. This cast a heavy shadow on his spirit and was echoed in his poetry. At last his wicked enemies succeeded in bringing the friendship of twenty-five years to ashes.(3)

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(1) Once, after a long separation al-Mu'tamid wrote to his wife that he would join her if God willed and if Ibn'Ammār consented.

ان شاء ربى أو شاء ابن عمار  
Ibn'Ammār gave his consent in one of his poems (No. 37)

(2) Supra p. 27.

(3) Poem No. 19.



CHAPTER XIV

THE THEMES OF IBN 'AMMAR

PANEGYRICS

Ibn 'Ammar composed poems on almost all the traditional themes. The necessities of life compelled him to start with the panegyric.<sup>(1)</sup> His extant panegyrics are mainly addressed to al-Mu'tadid. In them he preserves the form of the traditional poem. They are generally longer than his other creations.<sup>(2)</sup> He usually starts them with an irrelevant subject like wine or love;<sup>(3)</sup> then he passes to his main theme, accumulating all the conventional virtues to his friend,<sup>(4)</sup> employing the traditional similes i.e. brave as the lion, generous as the sea, steadfast as the mountain etc etc., and inventing new ones: green as the fore-locks, eloquent as the sword in battle.

For these poems, he chooses special traditional metres (namely tawil and Kamil) and forceful diction very similar to that of Ibn Hani.<sup>(5)</sup> Yet in spite of all these obstructions which repel good taste and natural feelings, no one can read them without seeing that, for all his false style, Ibn 'Ammar had laid his fingers on many a fact and image never before touched in poetry. The poets before in in describing the sword, liken

(1) Supra p. 18.

(2) Perhaps the longest of them all is the one addressed to al-Mu'tadid when the poet was banished at Zaragoza. Ibn al-Abbār says that it was in more than ninety lines. Sixty-four lines are left of this poem. (No. 58)

(3) He does not introduce his panegyrics with the description of the traditional journey like Ibn Hānī and Ibn Darrāj.

(4) Here are some of his commonly used words:

(أ) ساحة • فضل • بر • طلاقة • تدي • جود • ذكاء • رحمة • وقار • عدل • وفاء • شرف •  
(ب) نوال • عطاء • معروف • تحفة • هدية • إيادي • صنيع • جميل •  
(ج) شكر • ثناء • مدح • حمد •

(5) Ibn Hānī al-Andelusi, one of the outstanding poets during the Umayyad Cordovan Caliphate employed archaic and obsolete words to the extent that he was regarded as the head of a new school. Al-Ma'arri commented on his poetry saying that it was like a hand-mill grinding horns.

it to the lightening and the shooting star. In contrast to this he says,

"In war, your sword is an eloquent orator, more so than Ziyad, the palm of your hand is the pulpit (of this orator).<sup>(1)</sup>

Thus he combines a famous proverb أصح من زياد and an innovated image.

No wonder these poems, more than all the other productions of the poet won the universal admiration of the neo-classical critics.

We should mention here that the rithā', (elegy) which is usually connected with the panegyric<sup>(2)</sup> is neither found in his diwan nor referred to by his biographers. The reason for this is not clear at all. It might be that his elegies are lost or that he did not compose any elegies.<sup>(3)</sup>

"Vanished from my sight all my time was morning.

"Because I was in the company of (the sun) al-Bath"<sup>(1)</sup>

He also drank with al-Bachid and likened his palace to that of Harun al-Bachid, Seville to Baghdad, And his singer

(1) Poem No. 38.

(2) They say مدح الميت i.e. the elegy is the praise of the dead. Usually court poets excelled in the panegyrics and the elegy.

(3) Although at the death of al-Mu'tamid he was not in Seville, yet one would expect of him to write an elegy on the deceased king, at least to please al-Mu'tamid.

(1) Poem No. 15.

(2) Poem No. 17.

(3) Poem No. 28.

(4) Poem No. 51.

(5) Poem No. 23.



WINE SONGS

Ibn' Ammār's love of wine, much to the disgust of the Alfaqih, knew no bounds. He spent most of his leisure hours drinking wine in the company of good-looking cup bearers -- usually epebes.

Wine songs are accordingly numerous in his diwan. They are usually short poems for which he chooses light metres and gentle words and they do not contain, except rarely any verbal devices.

When the weather was fine and he felt like drinking, he would send one of these poems to a friend or a number of friends inviting them for a drink. He was a boon-companion of al-Fath with whom he spent one night drinking till the day dawned. When one of his slaves came to remind him that it was already morning he shouted at him,

"Vanish from my sight! All my time was morning.

"Because I was in the company of (the sun ) al-Fath)(1)

He also drank with al-Rashid and likened his palace to that of Hārūn al-Rashid, Seville to Baghdad, and his singer to Ishaq al-Mawsilī(2). His boon-companions included Ibn Zaydūn (3) and many other famous poets like Ibn Wahbūn and Ibn al-Labbāna.

He venerated wine and regarded it as a bride of noble birth who should not be wedded to a mean man (4). He regarded it as a escape from the frivolities of vain men(5). He told al-Mu'tadid to celebrate his victory against the Berbers by

- 
- (1) Poem No. 15.
  - (2) Poem No. 47.
  - (3) Poem No. 75.
  - (4) Poem No. 61.
  - (5) Poem No. 23.

drinking wine.(1) He boasts that he was a wine drinker who at times drank the blood of his enemies.(2)

He draws many of his images from wine. He likens apples to solid wine(3) The sword of al-Mu'tadid bent in his hand effect of a good poem resembles the effect of ancient wine.(5) effect of a good poem resembles the effect of ancient wine.(5)

In the field of battle, the fighters resembled a company of wine drinkers, passing round, not the cups, but death, while the swords that looked like strings played to them deadly music.(6) The poet tells us that he drank the bitter cup of separation until he was intoxicated beyond recovery.(8)

only one of his earlier poems(5) do we sense the touch of real love. In the poem he speaks of the pains of separation, of paleness, sleeplessness and tears. There is a touch of nostalgia in the poem and longing for Seville, the home of the beloved(4). In this poem of twenty-two lines he repeats the word heart (heart) in eight places.

(4) Although the love of speeches was practiced on a national scale, it was regarded as a vice. Ibn'Amir was

- (1) Poem No. 22.
- (2) Poem No. 31.
- (3) Poem No. 20.
- (4) Poem No. 30.
- (5) Poem No. 64.
- (6) Poem No. 57.
- (7) Poem No. 38.

(8) Here are some of the words we often come across in his verses :-

- (أ) رحيق • خمر • معتقة • مدام • راح • صافية • شعول • مشعشة •
- (ب) أنس • سمر • فنا • تفريد • معاقرة • منادمة • عريدة •

(3) Poem No. 38.  
(4) This suggests that the poem was inspired by the poet's love of al-Mu'tadid.

LOVE POEMS.

Ibn'Amr was extraordinarily sensitive to human beauty. It gave him the most profound pleasure to look at a beautiful female or ephebe.(1) But the effect of beauty on him was short-lived because of his lustful temperament. To him beauty was a 'feast' and not an idol.

In his love poems he sang of the rosy cheeks, the beautiful large eyes, the soft forelocks(عذار), the pearl-like teeth, the soft thin long fingers, the thin waist, the high hips, the branch-like stature and the round breasts. (2)

The majority of his creations express sensual love. In only one of his earlier poems(3) do we sense the touch of real love. In the poem he speaks of the pains of separation, of paleness, sleeplessness and tears. There is a touch of nostalgia in the poem and longing for Seville, the home of the beloved(4). In this poem of twenty-two lines he repeats the word قلب (heart) in eight places.

(1) Although the love of ephebes was practiced on a national scale, yet it was regarded as a vice. Ibn'Amr was criticised for it. Ibn al-Binni was compelled to live in disguise for his adventures in this field. Ibn'Amr himself lampoons al-Mu'tamid as a 'lover of men' who pretends to love women. An erroneous interperation of one of Ibn'Amr's lines misled Nykl(H.A.P.P.XXVI) to believe that the love of ephebes did not go beyond kissing and embracing. He thinks that the relation between Ibn'Amr and al-Mu'tamid was of that nature.

(2) Here are some of his favourite words

- (أ) سالفه • عذار • ثدى • خد • مقلة • جبين • محاجر • أنامل • قد • طارض • لمسى •  
جفون • عنق • زوائب •  
(ب) حلة • فلالة • وشاح • قناع • لثام •  
(ج) عقد • قرط • خلخال • طوق • سلك • حللى •  
(د) عنبر • مسك • كافور • ند • خلوق • مندل •  
(هـ) حسناء • فرط • خريدة • كاصب • هروس •

(3) Poem No. 38.

(4) This suggests that the poem was inspired by the poet's love of al-Mu'tamid.

In one of his single lines(1) he tells his beloved that, if he considers the poet's love as a sin, than the lover will not repent.

In another line(2) in which he combines praise with Qhazal he says that the justice of his patron spread the sense of security, the wolf made peace with the Gazelle. The poet impores his beloved not to get frightened if a 'wolf' visited him.

He devotes one of his love poems(3) to the description of a long-necked slave of al-Mu'tamin who was dressed in a coat of armour. He complains of the cruelty of this ephebe ( a slave who is in reality the master of us all, ' whose heart is as hard as his dress, and the poet expresses his jealousy of the slave's master for owing this treasure.

In another poem(4) he describes two Jahwarid beautiful slaves who accompanied him<sup>on</sup> one of his journeys. One had black hair and the other golden hair. He preferred the former and conversed with him all the way and commemorated the happy day with this poem in which he expresses his admiration for black hair and his indifference to golden hair. He adds that the Banu Jahwar (who had already lost their throne) were like the suns that set, leaving behind them charming colours on the western horizon. He asserts that he won no favour from the beautiful slave except simple conversation.

As the people around him knew this weakness of Ibn'Ammar's, they used to send their petitions to him with good looking ephebes and he would grant what they demanded.(5)

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(1) No. 7.

(2) No. 8.

(3) No. 24.

(4) No. 71.

(5) See poem No. 26.

The poems in which the poet expresses his love for women are few in number and are lifeless. In one of them he addresses a slave girl called *نعم المحل*, he starts every line with one of letters that make the name of the girl. (1)

Many of Ibn'Ammār's images are drawn from human beauty. A beautiful poem resembles a beautiful maiden, with long sweet-smelling hair, beautiful lips and a long neck wearing a necklace. (2) Pears resemble breasts and apples look like cheeks. The sun appears and disappears behind the clouds like a beautiful slave girl veiling and unveiling before purchasers. (3) The garden is like a beautiful maiden dressed in a colourful frock of roses with a necklace of dew-drops, or like a beautiful ephebe with rosy cheeks and greenish fore-locks. (4) The verses of al-Mu'tasim resemble a necklace of bright pearls on the neck of a bride (5) Apples resemble the cheeks of an ephebe, and pomegranates the breasts of a maiden. (6)

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(1) Poem No. 48. Al-Mu'tamid has a similar poem, the key letters of which make the name of I'timed (his wife). See the Diwan of al-Mu'tamid p. 8.

(2) Poem No. 18.

(3) Poem No. 28.

(4) Poem No. 33.

(5) Poem No. 46.

(6) Poem No. 20.

(7) Poem No. 23.

(8) Poems No. 11, 12, 13.

(9) Poem No. 17.

(10) Poem No. 52.

(11) Supra p. 32.

SATIRES

Ibn'Am̄mār was not essentially a satirist. He lacked that attitude of mind which created a satirist out of a poet like Ibn al-Rumi i.e., sarcasm. His satires, though few, were venomous and do not win for him the sympathy and admiration of his readers. He does not ridicule his victims in the pleasant manner of Ibn al-Rūmī but insults and threatens them with destruction in the manner of al-Mutanabbī. In his panegyrics addressed to al-Mu'tadid he includes the lampoon of the king's enemies and describes them as heretics, Jews and Kharijites(1) and expresses his delight at their defeat and urges the king to destroy their remnants.

He also lampooned the Banū 'Abd al-Āzīz and threatened them with fire and sword and induced their subjects, the Valencians, to rise against them and get rid of their ominous regime.(2)

He lampooned the people of Zaragoza(3) who blamed him for his self-indulgence, and told them that he loathed them and sought to avoid their company by resorting to wine.

He satirized his enemies who worked for his downfall and revealed their dishonesty.(4)

In a poem of two lines he expresses his hatred for the name of al-Andalus because of the empty titles of Mu'tadid and Mu'tamid which reminds him of the cat that copies the lion.(5) In another couplet (6) he ridicules a bad singer who sang for him while he was drinking wine and tells him that his bad singing is the the procured punishment inflicted upon him for wine-drinking.

The most famous of all Ibn'Am̄mār's satires, however, is that with which he addressed al-Mutamid and to which reference had already been made.(7)

- 
- (1) Poems Nos. 33, 22, 30.
  - (2) Poem No. 31.
  - (3) Poem No. 23.
  - (4) Poems. Nos. 11, 12, 18.
  - (5) Poems No. 17.
  - (6) Poems No. 52.
  - (7) Supra p. 32.

BOASTFUL VERSES ( FAKHR )

The Diwan of Ibn'Ammar contains a few instances in which the poet boasts of his talents. In one of his poems he says,

"I am Ibn'Ammar ! No one can underrate me except him who underrates the sun and the moon.

"My tongue and my intellect are the treasures of rare gems. They are like the bow and the string that send the arrow (that does not miss the target)

"If you find me behind my equals, you should not wonder. The cream of books is always reserved for the last chapters."<sup>(1)</sup>

In the poem which he addressed to the Valencians inciting them against the Banū 'Abd al-ʿAzīz<sup>(2)</sup> he boasts of himself as the brave warrior of the Banu Ammar, a man who combines cruelty and leniency, who does not sleep even if the stars do, who had worn the garments of glory since he was a baby, who sometimes drinks wine and sometimes drinks the blood of his enemies. He tells them openly that he deserves to rule them, more than the Banū 'Abd al-ʿAzīz.

On learning that the Zaragozans had criticised him for indulging himself in drinking wine and describing him as a vain man he asked them,

"... Who, beside myself, had led powerful armies to the battle field?

" Who, beside myself, had given much to the poor and needy and was not stingy with his money?"<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Poem No. 36.

(2) Supra p. 31.

(3) Poem No. 23. Apparently Ibn'Ammar was as generous as he claims to be. Abu Isa b. Labban, one of his powerful friends says that his generosity reminds him of Hatim. (See footnote on poem No. 18.)

When he learned that some of the Mulūk al-Tawaif had sent their agents to the Lord of Segura to buy Ibn'Ammār from him, the poet said, "I find myself in the market exposed for sale ! " "By God, he who buys me for all his money will not be the loser."

In many of his ikhwaniyyat he boasts of his honesty, truthfulness, readiness to extend a hand of friendship even to ungrateful people. (1) In one of these poems he says to al-Mu'tamid,

" If I fail to thank you with a sincere heart

" May I be deprived of my faith and noble birth." (2)

In many of his panegyrics he boasts of the beauty of his verses.

He writes first, sometimes his poems are replies to other poems which he had received. On such an occasion he has no option about his metre and his rhyme. His reply should be made in the same metre and rhyme. It was his custom to praise the poem to which he was replying, pretending that it was like a garden, a beautiful ephete or maiden, ancient wine, stars, magic, a necklace of precious gems or perfume.

\* Literally : brotherly poems.

(1) Here are some of his common words:

(ألف) - ورد - ألبان - حبة - سيار - ورد - ألبان

(1) See, for example poem No. 18.

(2) Poem No. 19.

جائع - قران - حبو - رضا - سلع - حور - احبار - ناطة - ألبان - تيسول  
 ربة - أبل - ريسان - سراد - مسند



The theme IKHWANIYYAT \* very from a simple invitation

In spite of his restless desire for power, Ibn'Amr, contrived to retain a natural sweetness in his dealings with his fellow-men which has left many happy memories. Unlike his great contemporary Ibn Zaydūn<sup>he</sup> did not write in prose. His messages to his friends were written in verse. Many of such poems were superficial and worthless. A few of them, however are first class poems especially those poems in which he expressed his hope in the continuation of friendship as a security against enemies; or in which he apologized to a friend for an actual or alleged mistake, or in which he expressed his gratitude for a favour extended to him. (1) (2) A similar remark was made

Sometimes he writes first, sometimes his poems are replies to other poems which he had received. On such an occasion he has no option about his metre and his rhymes. His reply should be made in the same metre and rhyme. It was his custom to praise the poem to which he was replying, pretending that it was like a garden, a beautiful ephebe or maiden, ancient wine, stars, magic, a necklace of precious jems or perfume.

(1) Although some of these poems contained praise we could not include them among this panegyrics, because they do not

\* Literally = brotherly poems.

(1) Here are some of his common words:

(2) أخاء • وداد • ألفة • تحية • سلام • وداع • لقاء •

(3) الجفاء • عذر • خذلان • نوى • سفر • رحيل • فقد • فراق • بعد • وحشه • سلوان •

جاصع • فقران • غمو • رضا • سماح • عذر • ائذار • شناعة • أنس • قبول • رجاء • أمل • منى • مراد • سعد •

The themes of these poems vary from a simple invitation to drink to a combination of sentiments. He apologized, offered thanks, reproached, praised or (1) asked for a favour in these poems. The most popular of these poems is the ha-poem which he sent from his prison in Seville in which he combined apology with hope and praise of al-Mu'tamid and the lampooning of his own enemies. His style and meaning in this poem reached a high level of excellence. Nowhere else had he exhibited this degree of craftsmanship.

Lisān al-Dīn b. Al-Khaṭīb who read this poem more than three centuries later expressed astonishment at the failure of this poem to secure forgiveness for the poet and blamed al-Mu'tamid for his cruelty. (2) A similar remark was made by Abū Bakr b. ḤAtiyah. (3)

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(1) Although some of these poems contained praise we could not include them among this panegyrics, because they do not resemble the traditional panegyric (Madh) in form and spirit. They were free from that sense of veneration with which the poet regarded al-Mu'tamid. The poet in these poems is addressing equals rather than superiors.

(2) A'mal al A'lām p. 162.

(3) AL-Hulla f. 101.

NATURE IN IBN'AMMĀR'S POETRY.

Ibn'Amṡār, we are told, loved to stroll along the banks of Guadalquivir and spend long hour in the Silver Meadow.

But he did not impolate his personality at the shrine of nature. His appreciation was mainly sensual and aesthetic, serving to supply the poet with some of the fanciful material of his art, for use in the more buoyant moments of his muse. He loved to drink wine while surrounded by beautiful natural scenery.

He does not devote any complete poem to the description of a natural scene; but we seldom find a poem in his diwan which is devoid of imaged drawn from nature. He feels gratitude creeping inside him like water in the green branch.(1) The wrath of al-Mu'tamid blows on him like not winds, but he cries "how wonderful is this soft breath! A friendly smile from al-Mu'tasim is like a cloud that pours rain in the time of drought.(2) Gratitude resembles a garden adorned with the flowers of friendship.(3) Kind words resemble the whispering breath.(4) al-Mu'tadid's horsement look like a necklace of pearls round the neck of the mountain.(5) A favour extended by al-Mu'tadid to the poet, resembles the dew-drops on the petals of the rose.(6) The heads of the enemies of al-Mu'tadid on the king's lance resemble fruits on branch.(7)

- 
- (1) Poem No. 3.
  - (2) Poem No. 6.
  - (3) Poem No. 18.
  - (4) Poem No. 19.
  - (5) Poem No. 22.
  - (6) Poem No. 22.
  - (7) Poem No. 33.

(1) ...  
 (2) ...  
 (3) ...  
 (4) ...  
 (5) ...  
 (6) ...  
 (7) ...

(2) Poem Nos. 56, 58, 28.  
 (3) Poem No. 29.

He borrows the names of flowers and fruits for the limbs of his beloved. Cheeks resemble roses and apples; breasts resemble pomegranates and plums, eyes resemble narcissus etc., etc. (1)

Here and there we find in the diwan of Ibn'Amr̄ a more detailed picture. (2) His vivid description of the mountain of Segura (3) in which he is however, his greatest achievement in this field. He says in this poem which was addressed to Ibn Hasday:

"Help your friend even with a poem,

"That revives his spirit as the dew revives the sleep/flowers.

"His riding camels had carried him far, where there is no desert nor sea.

"All his companions had fallen down one by one: Asleep without sleep: drunk with no wine.

"Along mountain paths that led to a barren crest which had seen no rain before.

"A crest which is very high. It resembles the ladder which the genis climbed to reach Lyra.

"A horrifying crest upon which one can not trust his vision. Even the full moon looks like a ghost.

"A castle is built thereupon, neighbouring the eagles and stars.

"A powerful castle, dressed in a gown of dignity, which inspires awe because of its height and haughtiness.

"Its hand grasps the reins of the wind and drives its

ere are some of his popular words:

(1) روض • حديقة • بستان • شجر • فخن • ثمر • جفئى • زهر • نور • ورد • نرجس • آتاج • سوسن • آس • (1)

(2) روض • حديقة • بستان • شجر • فخن • ثمر • جفئى • زهر • نور • ورد • نرجس • آتاج • سوسن • آس • (3)

تبا • مطر • برق • رعد • نهو • بحر • نو • قطر • فهم • غمام • كهوور • سحاب • ظل • ندى

جا • نسيم • صبا • قبول • نفحة • ربا •

د) عشى • نهار • سحر • اصليل • فجر • صباح • ليل •

ه) اشهب • ادهم • احم • اسمر • اخضر • احمر • مذهب • شمس • ناصع • منق • ابيض • اسود • اصفر • افر • حفاف •

{ 2) Poems Nos. 54, 58, 28.

{ 3) Poem No. 29.

IBN'AMMĀR'S POETRY AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION.

The historian who studies the age of the Muluk al-Tawaif finds some useful hints in the poetry of Ibn'Ammar. The poet, as we have seen, had connection with many of the outstanding figures of his age and addressed some of his poems to some of them. He mentions a few of his outstanding acquaintances and friends by name, like al-Mu'tadid 'Abbād, his son al-Mu'tamid whom he calls al-Mu'ayyad, Muhammed and Abu'l Qasim. He mentions the latter's wife al-Rumaykiya, and his sons al-Rashid, al-Fath al-Mamun, and al-Rādi.

Of the petty kings he mentions Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz the 'pale' king of Valencia, Ibn Tahir the 'sarcastic ominous' king of Murcia, the Banu Jahwar 'the setting suns', Bādīs of Granada 'the thirsty bird with a broken wing', Ibn Ishāq of Carmona 'the leader of gazelles in the den of the lion', al-Mu'tasim of Almeria and his father Ma n b. Sumādh. Of the other outstanding men he mentions Abu'l Walid (b. Zaydun), Abu'l Hassān (b. Ilyās), Abū Jafar b. Jurj and Adud al-Dawla.

Of the capitals of the Muluk al-Tawaif he mentions Seville (Hims), Almeria, Carmona, (1) Silves, Granada, Valencia, Silves and Segura. He also mentions Yawmīn 'the mother of all villages' (2) from which the Banu Abbad emigrated to Seville.

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(1) Ibn'Ammar's lines on Carmona were quoted by Yāqūt in Mu'jam al-Buldān (CARMONA) although wrongly attributed to Ibn Sāra.

(2) Subsequent historians quoted Ibn'Ammar's line which contained the name of the village when they spoke of the origin of Banu 'Abbād.

(3) For full details see the index of proper names.

From the poetry of Ibn'Ammār one may learn a little about the society in Muslim Spain in the 5th century. People used to send rich presents to their kings on festive occasions. Prisoners were allowed to correspond with their friends. Music, singing, dancing and wine drinking was practiced publicly in the southern parts of Muslim Spain while in the areas which bordered the Christians, people shunned these luxuries and were religious and tough and were always on the alert. They did not tolerate any sort of impiety and softness. (1)

Presents and petitions were sent with good looking youths. The most popular kinds of presents were wine, flowers and fruits. The Andalusians were not ashamed of practising all kinds of professions and trades. No one looked down upon another on account of his trade. Yahia the butcher and Ibn Jāmi, the dyer, who were both poets were Ibn'Ammār's friends.

Ibn'Ammār has also recorded in his poetry some of the important events which happened during his life-time like the victory of al-Mu'tadid against the Berber, his acquisition of Carmona and the retirement of Ibn Tahir to Valencia after he surrendered his throne of Murcia to Ibn'Ammar.

He had employed a certain elegy on three different occasions after making the necessary changes, for which practice he incurred the mockery of Ibn Bazzaz who likens the poem to the grave in which many people had been buried, quoting the simile of Abu'l'Alā al-Ma'arī:-

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(1) Ibn'Ammār loathed them and described their country as 'the land of the a'ājim' or non-Arabs. See poem No. 58.

- (1) Supra p. 52.
- (2) al-Bullāq p. 52.
- (3) See poem No. 58.
- (4) al-Bullāq p. 52.

CHAPTER XV

THE DIWAN OF IBN'AMMĀR

We do not know whether Ibn'Ammar had collected all his poems in one volume or not. Ibn Bassam and Ibn al-Abbar's statement that Ibn'Ammar had destroyed all his panegyrics which were not addressed to al-Mu'tadid as a token of gratitude to al-Mu'tamid(1) suggests that those poems were written and preserved till they were destroyed. This also suggests that other poems were written and preserved by the poet himself. Ibn al-Abbar also tells us that Abu'l Tāhir al-Tamīmī took upon himself to collect the poetry of Ibn'Ammar in one volume and spared no effort in this and found that all the panegyrics which were addressed to other men beside al-Mu'tadid were completely lost. (2)

Apparently Ibn'Ammar borrowed the old poems and adapted them to subsequent occasions. We find one of his old poems addressed to Ibn Zaydūn corrupted at a later date and addressed to al-Mu'tamid.(3)

A similar practice was followed by Ibn Zaydūn. He has employed a certain elegy on three different occasions after making the necessary changes, for which practice he incurred the mockery of Ibn Bassām who likens the poem to the grave in which many people had been buried, quoting the simile of Abu'l'Alā al-Ma'arī:-

(4) فاحك من تراحم الأضداد ويعلم قد صار لحداء مرار

- (1) Supra p. 67.  
(2) al-Hulla p. 95.  
(3) See poems Nos. 3, 4, 5.  
(4) al-Dhakhira II p. 369.

(7) al-Mutran p. 161.

In Kitāb al-Dhakhīra, however, we find a long poem (1) addressed to Ibn Zaydūn which apparently survived the poet's destruction of some of his poems. And probably escaped Abu'l Tāhir al-Tamīmī, for he does not refer to it as an exception. Ibn al-Abbār who read the collection of Abu'l Tāhir al-Tamīmī found two poems which escaped Abu'l Tāhir, so he copied them in his copy of the collection of Abu'l Tāhir. (2)

Ibn Bassām selected a number of Ibn'Amr's poems and (3) gave them the title of Nukhbat al-Ikhtiyār fi Ash'ār Ibn'Amr. Another collection of the poetry of Ibn'Amr was made by Ibn Bashrūn al-Mahdī entitled al-Mukhtār min Sh'ir Ibn'Amr. (4) Another collection with explanatory comments was compiled by Ibn Qasim of Silves, entitled Diwān Ibn'Amr. (5)

Abd al-Wāhid tells us that when he went to al-Andalus, he found the Diwān of Ibn'Amr in wide circulation. (6) He does not say that he saw this copy of the diwan, neither does he give the name of the compiler of this copy.

Ibn Dihyah who quotes in his anthology of Andalusian poetry a few examples of Ibn'Amr's poetry, tells us that this poet's verses are numerous and recorded (شعره مدون كثير) and that he is only giving some of the choice poems. (7)

None of these collections, as far as we can tell is extant.

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- (1) Poem No. 54.  
(2) Al-Hulla f. 104.  
The poems in question are Nos. 34 and 36.  
(3) al-Hulla f. 98.  
(4) al-Kharīda f. 127.  
(5) al-Hulla f. 94.  
(6) al-Mu'jib p. 111.  
(7) al-Mutrib p. 161.



LIST OF WORKS BY EUROPEAN AUTHORS.

The appended collection of Ibn 'Ammār's poems comprises over six hundred lines, in seventy-six poems and fragments varying in length between one line and sixty-four lines. They have been extracted from a number of sources, many of which are still in manuscript form, e.g. al-Dhakhīra part II, al-Hulla and al-Kharīdah. Consequently a large part of Ibn 'Ammār's poetry has been, so far, out of circulation.

- 6 - Ferdinand and Isabella (in 3 vols.) By W.H. Prescott. London 1841.
- 7 - Hispano-Arabic Poetry. By R.A. Nykl. Baltimore 1946.
- 8 - Historia de la Literatura Arabigo - Espanola. By A. Gonzalez Palencia. Barcelona 1945.
- 9 - A History of Arabic Literature. By Clement Huart. ( an English Translation ) London 1903.
- 10 - A literary History of the Arabs. By R.A. Nicholson. Cambridge 1930.
- 11 - The Moors in Spain. By Stanley Lane-Poole. London 1888.
- 12 - Poetic Interpretation of Nature. By J.C. Shairp. Edinburgh 1877.
- 13 - The Realm of Poetry. By H.J. Brown-Sublin 1921.
- 14 - Spain. By H.E. Watts. London 1914.
- 15 - Spanish Islam. By R. Dozy. Translated into English By F.G. Stokes. London 1913.
- 16 - A study of Poetry. By Bliss Perry. London 1921.

Note:

For the Arabic references and those translated into Arabic see the end of the Arabic Text.

LIST OF WORKS BY EUROPEAN AUTHORS.

- 1 - The Arab Civilisation. By Joseph Hell. (Translated into English by Khuda Bukhash) Cambridge 1926.
- 2 - Arabic Literature. By H.A.R. Gibb. London 1926.
- 3 - Arabic Spain. By Bernard and Ellen M. Wishaw. London 1912.
- 4 - The Cid Campeador, By H. Butler Clerk. New York 1897.
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Note:

For the Arabic references and those translated into Arabic see the end of the Arabic Text.

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  - (٢) القسم الأول - المجلد الثاني - القاهرة سنة ١٩٤٢ .
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عدد الأبيات	المعرض	المصاحف	الصفحة	رقم التصيد
<u>تأنيده الكاف</u>				
٨	كامل	( لقاك )	٥٤	٤٨
١٢	كامل	( لقاكا )	٥٥	٤٩
<u>تأنيده اللام</u>				
٤	كامل	( تحصيل )	٥٦	٥٠
٢	بسيط	( النجل )	٥٧	٥١
٢	سريع	( الفضل )	٥٨	٥٢
٣	كامل	( يخيل )	٥٩	٥٣
٢٨	كامل	( الوصول )	٦٠	٥٤
٤	سريع	( المال )	٦٢	٥٥
١٣	متقارب	( حالا )	٦٣	٥٦
٥	كامل	( قولاً )	٦٤	٥٧
<u>تأنيده الميم</u>				
٦٤	طويل	( الحمام )	٦٥	٥٨
١٧	كامل	( منام )	٦٨	٥٩
٣	خفيف	( العشم )	٦٩	٦٠
٢	واقر	( لنام )	٧٠	٦١
٦	طويل	( رسم )	٧١	٦٢
٢	طويل	( يتسم )	٧٢	٦٣
٢	كامل	( النعم )	٧٣	٦٤
<u>تأنيده النون</u>				
٢	كامل	( كالأرسان )	٧٤	٦٥
٢	مجث	( العمون )	٧٥	٦٦
٢٧	كامل	( يكهنى )	٧٦	٦٧
٩	طويل	( الدنى )	٧٨	٦٨
٢	خفيف	( لجهن )	٧٩	٦٩
<u>تأنيده الهاء</u>				
٣	واقر	( الندى )	٨٠	٧٠
٥	متقارب	( الشها )	٨١	٧١
٦	كامل	( أهبه )	٨٢	٧٢

عدد الآيات	الموضوع	المطالع	الصفحة	رقم التصيد
٥	وانس	( فريد )	٢٨	٢٤
٢	مقارب	( رده )	٢٩	٢٥
		<u>قائمة الراء</u>		
٥	بسيط	( نظري )	٣١	٢٧
٣	كامل	( أخضر )	٣٢	٢٨
١٣	كامل أحد مضمر	( الزهر )	٣٣	٢٩
١٣	مقارب	( كسر )	٣٤	٣٠
٢٨	كامل	( النار )	٣٥	٣١
٨	كامل	( بالتقدير )	٣٧	٣٢
٣٧	كامل	( السرى )	٣٨	٣٣
٣	كامل	( المنصور )	٤٠	٣٤
١	بسيط	( والقمر )	٤١	٣٥
٣	بسيط	( والقمر )	٤٢	٣٦
٥	بسيط	( السارى )	٤٣	٣٧
٢٢	كامل	( اواره )	٤٤	٣٨
٤	مقارب	( مشهورا )	٤٥	٣٩
٢	طويل	( الدهر )	٤٦	٤٠
		<u>قائمة السين</u>		
٢	طويل	( الشمس )	٤٧	٤١
١	كامل	( مجانس )	٤٨	٤٢
٢	موجت	( بوسا )	٤٩	٤٣
		<u>قائمة الميم</u>		
٣	طويل	( دع )	٥٠	٤٤
		<u>قائمة النان</u>		
٢	طويل	( رقيق )	٥١	٤٥
٨	طويل	( المنسق )	٥٢	٤٦
٣	طويل	( اسحق )	٥٣	٤٧



الفهرست الثانيه بالقوافى وبيان الألفاظ وعدد الأبيات

رقم التصيد	الصفحة	المطالع	المعروض	عدد الأبيات
<u>قافية الهمزة</u>				
١	١	( والذكا )	مطلع البسيط	٤
٢	٢	( شرا )	رجز	٥
<u>قافية الهاء</u>				
٣	٣	( صعب )	طويل	١٤
٤	٤	( الركب )	طويل	٩
٥	٥	( الجذب )	طويل	١٢
٦	٦	( التجارب )	طويل	١٥
٧	٧	( أتوب )	طويل	١
٨	٨	( رحب )	طويل	١٢
٩	٩	( بابسه )	كامل	٢
<u>قافية الشا</u>				
١٠	١٠	( الحوادث )	طويل	١٤
<u>قافية الحاء</u>				
١١	١١	( وأضح )	طويل	١١
١٢	١٢	( جرح )	مجزوء الرمل	٢
١٣	١٣	( السطح )	مجزوء الكامل	٣
١٤	١٤	( أفتح )	وافر	٢
١٥	١٥	( الفتح )	بسيط	١
١٦	١٦	( الهارج )	مختارف	١٣
<u>قافية الدال</u>				
١٧	١٧	( معتد )	بسيط	٢
١٨	١٨	( صمادى )	كامل	٤٩
١٩	٢١	( يؤكد )	طويل	٨
٢٠	٢٢	( نهود )	كامل	٩
٢١	٢٣	( الرشيد )	خفيف	٣٠
٢٢	٢٥	( تهدى )	طويل	٣٧
٢٣	٢٧	( جد )	طويل	٣

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 طن بن ظافر (صاحب يدائع الهدائه)  
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 بنو عطار  
 القتح (صاحب التلائد)  
 القتح (ابن الممتد)  
 قدار (طائر ناقة صالح)  
 العامون بن الممتد (انظر القتح)  
 محمد رسول الله  
 محمد (انظر الممتد)  
 محمد بن القاسم القهسري  
 المصنف (الحاجب جعفر بن همام)  
 الممتد  
 الممتد  
 الممتد  
 الممتد  
 الممتد  
 ممن بن صامح  
 المقتدر بن هسود  
 المقرئ (صاحب النفع)  
 المنصور بن أبي طامر  
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	أبو الوليد (انصار ابن زهدون)
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٠٣٩	زياد بن أبيه
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٠ ٧١، ٣١، ١١	بنو عبد العزيز
٠ ٥٧	عبد الله بن الطلاء
٠ ٨٩	عناد الدولة

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٠ ٣٢	ابن زيدون (أبو الوليد)
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٠ ٢٦	ابن شرف القيروانى
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٠ ١٠	ابن العطرز
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	أبو عيسى بن لبيون

الذيل الثاني

رشاه ابن عمار

لما قتل المعتد ابن عمار رشاه ابن وهبون فقال :-  
عجبا له أبكته طلع مداحس وأتول لا شلت يمين القاتل (١)  
كما رشاه الشاعر أبو جعفر بن جرح فقال :-

قد طالما صر المرء ابن عمار	مستدرجا بأمان وأخطار
يمل له ويملن كل ما وطير	وللمقادير فيه أي أوطار
استدرجته لما قد أدرجته به	حتى أتت لعناياه بمقدار
مرارد خفيت عنه معادرها	والحين ما بين إيوان وأصدار
وهل تعرف قوم خالد أبدا	ولو قدما القوم موصولا بأعار
وهل متع حال دائم أبدا	والدهر رهين بأتهال وأدبار
متوزم يمل منه إلى وزر	وكم تحمل من أعما أوزار
والمرء محتجب شرا وبغيبه	خبروا لا شكل أبطان وأظهار
تأتى الأمور إذا أتبلن مشكلة	لكن تقاسمها تفرى بأدبار
وإس مكثيل أمرا كمدببر	ما خالط الليل كالساري بأثوار
ومن يقده الهوى أشقى به	للمهطلين بهطل وطار

(١) الذخيرة ٢ ق ١٤٦ - القلائد ص ١٠٦ . الحلة المسيرة ق : ١٠٣  
(٢) الذخيرة ٣ ص ١٥٢ ووردت بعض الأبيات في المغرب ٢ ص ٢٠٦ .

الدليل الأول

بمع ابن عمار

لما باع عتاد الدولة ابن عمار للراضى بن المعتمد  
نظم الشاعر حكيم بن الخليل هذه الأبيات في هجائه :-

مثل ابن عمار بمال وهبل  
قد جاءه من قبل أهل الطماع  
ينبوا إذا تذكروها السماع

بعث ابن عمار بمال وهبل  
صرى لقد تاهمت فيه السذبي  
نوطن النفس على سببها

ركب المعتمد في بعض الأيام قاصدا الجامع والوزير أبو بكر بن  
طار يسأله فسمع أذان مؤذن فقال المعتمد :

هذا المؤذن قد بدأ بأذانه

فقال ابن عار :

يرجو بذلك العفو من رحمانه

فقال المعتمد :

طوبى له من شاهد بحقيقة

فقال ابن عار :

ان كان قد ضميره كسبانه

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فتح الطوبى ج ٢ ص ٢٤٦



"ولمغنى أنه دخل سوقه فبلغه خبر يحيى القصاب (١) المرقسطي  
فركب فرطيه ولحم خرفانه بين يديه فأشار بن عار إلى اللحم  
وقال : *سبح الله مؤمن قال القصاب*

لحم سباط الخرفان مهزول

قال : يقول للمغنين : مه زولوا

نفع الطيب ج ٢ ص ٢٤٢

راجع بدائع البدائ ص ٩٠ .

(١) يحيى هذا كان أديبا شاعرا فترك مهنة الأدب ووصل  
جزارا . فأمر الطاجب ابن هود أبا الفضل ابن حسداى أن  
يوخه على ذلك فكتب إليه -  
تركت الشعر من دم الأصابه وطلت إلى التجارة والقصابه  
فأجابته يحيى بتصيده يقول فيها :

ومن لم يدرك قدر الشئ طابه	تعب طي مألوف القصابه
لما استبدلت منها بالحجابه	ولو أحكمت منها بعض شئ
طصت فلام احتصل الصابه	ولو تدرى بها كلفي ووجدى
وحول من بني كلب صابه	وانك لو طلعت طي مهزولا
هزير صير الأضام طابه	لها لك ما رأيت وقلت : هذا
بأن العجد قد حزنا لابه	وكم شهدت لنا كلب وهسر
أتر الذعر فهم والمصابه	فتكنا في بني الصنزي فستكا

راجع نفع الطيب ج ٢ : ٤٢٠

فقال ابن خلدون :

مضى تعاملنا ومضى خليفته

ومضى يوم وما أدراك يوم

فقال ابن صار :

تكثرنا فأشفاق وجهه

هما فخارتا راح وروح

نفع الطب ج ٢ ص ١٦٤ - ١٦٥

راجع بدائع البدائيه ص ١٠٠

راجع نفع الطب ج ٢ ص ١٦٥

ومن حكايات أهل الأندلس في خلق العذار والطرب والظرف  
وفور ذلك كسفرة الارتجال ، ما حكاه صاحب بدائع البدائع قال : أخبرني  
من أثنى به بما هذا معناه :

قال :

خرج الوزير أبوهكر بن عمار والوزير أبو الوليد بن زيدون ومعهما  
الوزير ابن خلدون من اشبيلية الى مغارة لهنى عباد بموضع يقال له القنت  
تحف بها مروج مشرقة النوار متمسمة الأنجاد والأفوار متمسمة عن ثغور  
النوار في زمان يبع سقت الأرض السحب فيه بوسمها وولمها وجلتها في زاهر  
لميسها وحلمها ، وأرداف الهات قد تأزرت بالأرز الخضف من نباتها ، وأجساد  
الجداول قد نظم النوار قلائده حول لباتها ، وسحار الزهر تعطر أندية  
النسائم عند هباتها ، وهناك من المهار ما يزرى على عداهن النصار ، ومن  
الفرجس الريان ما يهزأ بنواص الأصفان .

وقد نورا الانفراد للهو والطرب ، والتتزه في روض النبات والأدب .  
ويعثوا صاحبها لهم يسمى خليفه هو قوام لذتهم ونظام مسرتهم لباتهم بنوخذ  
يذهبون اليهم بذهبه في لجين زجاجه ، ويرمونه منه بما يقض به تحريكه  
للطرب عن القلوب وازطاجه . وخلصوا لانتشاره ، وترقب عوده على آشاره .  
فلما بصروا به مقبلا من أول الفج بادروا الى لقاءه ، وسارعوا الى تحويه  
وتلقائه .

واتفق أن فارسا من الجند ركض فوضه فصدمه ووطن عليه فبهشم  
أظلمه ، وأجرى دمه ، وكسر فعال التيهذ الذي كان معه ، ونسرق  
من شطهم ما كان الدهر قد جمعه . ومضى على قوائمه راکها حتى  
خفى على العين ، خائفا من متعلق به يحين بتعلقه الحين .  
وحين وصل الوزراء اليه ، تأسفوا عليه ، وأفضوا في ذكر الزمان وعدواته والخطب  
والوائمه ودخوله بطوام المضرات ، على تمام المسرات وتكديره لأوقات المنعمات بالآفات  
المؤلمات فقال ابن زيدون :

أظلمه والحقوف بنا مطيفه وتأمين والدمون لنا مخيفه

قال علي بن ظافر وأخبرني أيضا ( من أشق به ) أن سبب  
 اشتهاه ابن جامع هذا أن الوزير أبا بكر آبن عار كان كثير الوفاة  
 على طوك الأندلس لا يستقر ببلدة ولا يستقره عن وطنه وطن • وكان  
 كثير التقلب لما يصدر عن أرباب المهمن من الأدب الحصن •  
 فبلغه خبر ابن جامع هذا قبل اشتهاه • فرطى جانبته وهو  
 أخذ في صناعة صباغة والنهل قد جرطى يديه ليللا،  
 وأطد نهارها ليللا، فأراد أن يعلم سرعة خاطره فأخرج زنده وسده  
 بوضاه من فير سوه وأشطر الى يده وقال :

كم بمن زند ووند

قتال :

طاب من وصل وصل

فحجب من حسن ارتجاله ومهارة العمل واستعماله وجذب  
 بضعبه وبلغ من الأحسان اليه غاية وسعه •

نفع الطيب ج ٢ ص ٣٤٣

راجع بدائع البدائيه ص ٨٠

قال في قوله تعالى (من أنزلناه) أو أنزلناه  
 اعتبار من ينسخ هذا أو يغيره كما في قوله تعالى  
 من أنزلناه لا يغيره هذا ولا ينسخه من أنزلناه  
 كقولنا لا يغيره هذا أو يغيره من أنزلناه  
 فإنه من أنزلناه هذا أو يغيره من أنزلناه  
 كما في قوله تعالى (من أنزلناه) أو أنزلناه  
 وأما قوله تعالى (من أنزلناه) أو أنزلناه  
 فإنه من أنزلناه هذا أو يغيره من أنزلناه  
 كما في قوله تعالى (من أنزلناه) أو أنزلناه

الأمانة



فإن من أنزلناه هذا أو يغيره من أنزلناه  
 كما في قوله تعالى (من أنزلناه) أو أنزلناه  
 وأما قوله تعالى (من أنزلناه) أو أنزلناه  
 فإنه من أنزلناه هذا أو يغيره من أنزلناه  
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 فإنه من أنزلناه هذا أو يغيره من أنزلناه  
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 فإنه من أنزلناه هذا أو يغيره من أنزلناه  
 كما في قوله تعالى (من أنزلناه) أو أنزلناه  
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 فإنه من أنزلناه هذا أو يغيره من أنزلناه  
 كما في قوله تعالى (من أنزلناه) أو أنزلناه

خلعت عليه من صفات أبيه  
لى من رضاء ومن أمان أخيه (٢)  
شكرا له وتومنا بيننا  
من صفحة الراض بما أدريه  
بذل الشفاعة أى عذر فوسه  
فومن أسرت فتشنى تفنديه

قالوا : أتى الراض قتلت : لعلها (١)  
قال جرى فعمى المؤيد وأهها (٢)  
قالوا : نعم فوضعت خدي في الشرى  
يأبها الراض وان لم تلقىنى (٤)  
هيك احتجبت لوجه طريه من  
سهل طى بمدك الكريمة أحرفنا

الزيفو ج ٤ ق ١٢٩  
الحلة السهراء ق ١٠٠  
القلائد ص ٨٨

بعث ابن عمار بهذه الأبيات الى الراض بن المعتضد  
حينما وصل الى شقورة موفدا من قبل أبيه لاستلام ابن عمار  
من صاحب شقورة .

وكان ابن عمار يطمح في لقاء الراض وشفاعته ولكن الراض  
حجبه ونمسه لقاءه . فقال هذه التصودة يتفأل بمقدمه  
واسمه واسم أخيه المؤمن .

(١) ح : لعله (٢) ح : وأهيب (٣) يتفأل ابن عمار باسم الراض والمؤمن  
ولدى المعتضد فيقول هما رضا وأمان من المعتضد (٤) ق : يلتقني

حلوا اللّمس جوهري الثنايا	تعلقت جهري النجمار
رقاق الحواشي كوام السجايا	من الفراء البيض أسد الزمان
وتبقى محاسنها بالمشايا	ولا فرو أن تشرب الشارقيا
لما قطعه من ظهور الصايا	ولا وصل الا جان الحديد
ولامت الى خضره في التايا	شفت المثلث للزطران

النخبة ص ١٤٤

نفع الطيب ج ٢ ص ٢٠٧

قال المقرئ قال ابن بسام : قال ابن الراسي بن الحسن  
 سائر ابن صار في بعض أسنانه فلا مان من بني جهري  
 أحدهما أشقر المذار والآخر أخضره فجعل يميل بحديثه  
 للمخضر المذار . ثم قال مرتجلا . . . . . الأبيات .  
 ومعناه أن ابن صار أخضر المثلث لدخول الزطران فيه  
 لشبهه بمذار الأشقر وأحب خضرة التايا وهولون طمام  
 يصنع بالكورة لشبهها بمذار الأخضر منهما .

(١) ج ١ ص ١٤٤ (٢) ج ١ ص ١٤٤ (٣) ج ١ ص ١٤٤  
 روى المصنف فيقول ج ١ ص ١٤٤ (٤) ج ١ ص ١٤٤

له الندى الروح والندى  
قلمته وجهك المسنى  
شرفته أنت والنسبى

اهوك ليهك من مناد  
هأنا بالباب صدق سن  
شرفه والداه باسم

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الطبة السيرة ص ٦٤

المطرب ص ٢٠

نفع الطوب ج ١ ص ٥٠٤

كتب المعتمد الى ابن عار الأبيات التالية يدعوه لمشاركته  
فى مجلس أنس :

وحان من يومنا المشى  
وقد ظمنا وشم وى  
يا ليتك ساعد السمن

قد زارنا النرجس الزكى  
ونحن فى مجلس أنس  
ولى نديم فدا سمين

فرد ابن عار بهذه القطعة .



ذهبها في قوارة من لجهين  
زهر الحسن من ينان الينين

وسمها من الفنا قد أسالت  
فاجتت حولها العينون بلطف

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الطلة السيرة ق ١٠٤

كتب المصنف الى ابن عمار الأديب الطالعة يدعيه ليشاركه  
في غلبتي أليس  
تد زارنا الرجس الزكسى  
ومن في غيبتي أليس  
وان لم يسم فعدا غيبتي  
بالتسند ياعد النشوي  
زيد بن عمار يهتد الطالعة

وسوقني الأحوال مقبلة الدنى  
وأجمل من وشى الربيع وأحسنا  
فبت سمعوا للمسناء وللمسنا  
وأذنى وكسى بالغناء والهنى  
تعاورت الاسماء فيورك والكسنى  
يطوق أظانا ويخرس ألسنا  
يناشر فيها الطبع وردا وسسنا  
وتزهى طى عطفه وشيا مسنا  
لتظعن طورا بالكلام والقسنا

١ - هصرت لى الآمال طيبة الجنى  
وألستنى النعمى أغنى من الندى  
وكم ليلة أحظيتنى بحضورها  
أطل نلتسى الكارم والعلا  
٥ - سأترن بالتعويل ذكوك كسلا  
لأوسمتنى قولا وطولا كلاهما  
وشهرقتنى من قطعة الروض بالتى  
تروق بجسد الملك قدا مرصما  
٦ - فقدم هكذا يا فارس الدست والوفى

المطرب ص ٤٥

قلائد العتيان ص ٥٢

نفع الطيب ج ١ ص ٣١٢

كتب ذو الرئاستين أبو مروان عهد الطك بن رزين صاحب السهيلة  
(شنتمره الشسوق) الى ابن عار بهذه الأبيات : -

إذا كنت فى ودى سرا ومعلنا  
بود ابن عار؟ لقلت لها : أنا  
فكيف يطهب العوش أو حسن العنى ؟

ضمان طى الأيام أن أبلغ العنى  
فأن تسأل الأيام : من هو مفرد  
فأن حالت الأيام بمنى وينسه  
فرد طيه ابن عار بهذه الأبيات .

فأهنا يفتح من رضاء مومن  
طق يشد طيه كنفه ضنين

٢٦ - يفتح ان تازاته مستولا  
٢٧ - ولخلص اليك من اطلاقه (٧)

أجيد من رضاء مومن  
فد صورا المنسنة والمنسنة  
أدري رضاء بالذمة والذمة  
صارت المنسنة صورا والمنسنة  
يكون أطلاق يشرح المنسنة  
يظهر رضاء الطبع رضاء والمنسنة  
ويجس في رضاء رضاء والمنسنة  
لظن رضاء بالذمة والمنسنة

وأبصر النفس أذن من النفس  
وم ليلة أطلاق بالمنسنة  
أطل نفس التليم والمنسنة  
سمازن بالذمة لكونه المنسنة  
أوسعتن رضاء وطلا كذا  
ويبركتي من لظنة الرضاء  
تكون بوجد الملك كذا  
١ - مندم هكذا يا رضاء المنسنة والرضاء

الذخيرة ج ٢ ق ١٤٠  
الحلة السيرة ق ١٠٠

- (١) الحلة - يهدى (٢) الحلة - مولى (٣) الحلة - رضاء
- (٤) نسخة أخرى من الذخيرة - لعلا (٥) الحلة - در بطن قصر
- (٦) الحلة - من (٧) الحلة - اليه من أبنائه • وقد سقطت من
- أول البيت كلمتان في الحلة •

كتب ذو القعدة سنة ١٠٠٠ هـ  
(مكتبة المشرق) إلى ابن عاربهذه الأبيات :

ألا كتبت في رضاء رضاء  
يود ابن عار الكفاليا وألا  
لكن يظن المومنين أ

فبان في الأيام أن أبلغ المنسنة  
فإن حال الأيام من مومنين  
فإن حال الأيام من مومنين  
يود طيه ابن عار بهذه الأبيات •

أرقلت ما في نفسه يكوييني  
يسرى النسيم بها على داره من  
يسم الجملاد الحصون بعد الحين  
عظيمة من دنوا ولا من دمن  
حتى خشيت طوبه شرط اللين  
لو أن أمرى نسي يد العأمون  
وكفان<sup>(٣)</sup> من فوق كفاك<sup>(٣)</sup> ودون  
فر النني بذابة المسكين  
لولا<sup>(٤)</sup> أيسرة وجهه الميمون  
ورسا بهضيته على التكمين  
بجنى وفجر صفوه بميمون  
ودنا اليهم من خلال قصون  
يتوسمون نعيمه بظنون  
وهب النني في فرة وسكون  
الا الدطا<sup>٥</sup> يعان بالتأمين  
ورمى يدي باللولو المكسون  
ان لم تغثنى رحمة تنجيني  
أواجهه فتلاصت بسفوني  
ان لم يعد الفتح لي بيمون  
بطل على حرب<sup>(٥)</sup> الولي<sup>(٥)</sup> أمسون  
مستظهر من لفظه بمكين  
بتواضع من<sup>(٦)</sup> حزة لاهون  
وضجة من رحمة وحسين  
شوسا فما يرسونه بميمون  
الا يرفح يد ووضغ جبين

١ - فلا سألت شفاعة العأمون  
٢ - ما ضمرو لو نهبسته بتحمية  
٣ - وهزرت منه قلبي يقلب سيفه  
٤ - مالي انبهه ناظرا لم ينف عن  
٥ - وأهز من عطف ثناء عطفه  
٦ - يدي<sup>(١)</sup> من العأمون أوثق صفة  
٧ - امرى الى مولى الهه أمره  
٨ - حيث استوى النضمان عفا والتقى  
٩ - ملك طوى ستر المهابة شخصه  
١٠ - جهل سا بذرايته الى العلا  
١١ - فتوقد الجنيات كل روحه  
١٢ - ذلت لأيدي المجتئين تطوفه  
١٣ - ونأى لأبصار الغفاة فأنسما  
١٤ - بحر اذا ركب العفافة سكونه  
١٥ - واذا طما للذنب لم يسمع به  
١٦ - كم أسكب العذب الثرات على نسي  
١٧ - واليم تد أصبحت نسي فترات  
١٨ - بعدت سواحله على وأدركت  
١٩ - لا شك في أنى فريق عهابه  
٢٠ - يانتع جردها غاية فسارس  
٢١ - من قدم من حده بكيفية  
٢٢ - واترن شفاهك الكريمة تحده  
٢٣ - في شكة من هيبسة وسكونه  
٢٤ - فأبوك من يفسى العلوك بساحه  
٢٥ - ما يعرض الجهار منه لحاجة



كم من شجاع قدته تحت الردى  
روى ليضروب • فابتدعت بظمنسة

بدم من الأوداج كالأرسنان  
ان الرماح بدائسه الفرسان

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الخريدة ق ١٢٧

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الخبره ج ٢٥٧

فيها الطير من ٢ من ٢٨١

في ظل أكاف النعم  
من تحت أذيال النعم

بالإسالة بقنا بها  
من فوق أكاف السرا

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حلمة الكسيت ص ٢٧٦

نفع الطيب ج ١ ص ٤٤

وسمى بالحصنى ولو يتسم  
ولا اهتمز علف الفصن دون تسم

١ - تراء لعنى ان اردت سبرتى  
٢ - فاشم عرف العسك دون تشق

من ارم اكم السسب

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الخشيرة ج ٢ ق ١٢٢

مخاطب الشاعر ابن العطر الشاعر \*



بوجه صديق في اللقاء وسهم  
 فما ضرّ لو ساعدتم بنسبهم  
 واحتال للفضل احتيال كسهم  
 فلم تعلمونا منهم بزعمهم  
 سماحك بالأنس اقتضاه فسهم  
 وان لم أفسر عن نشره بشهم

١ - تناهيتهم فسي برنا لو سـمـم  
 ٢ - وسلمتم راح المشاشية بيوتنا  
 ٣ - سألتهم الصبر الجليل عن العلا  
 ٤ - ضنتم بأعلاق الرجال عن الندى  
 ٥ - ولكن ساستمدى الوفاة واقضى  
 ٦ - وأنتى على روض الطلائفة بالجننا

الخبيرة ج ١ ق ١٢٦  
 رسائل الشاعر ابن الخطير الشاعر

الخبيرة ج ٢ ق ١٢٩

الخبيرة ق ١٢٦

ولائد العقيان ص ١٣ ( مع اختلاف في ترتيب الأبيات ) ١-٢-٣-٦-٤-٥

الحلة السيرة ق ١٨ ١-٢-٣-٦-٤-٥

يخاطب ابن عمار بنى جد العزيز وكان قد اجتاز ببليسية فأرسلوا  
 له برّاً مع قوم أفعال ولم يخرجوا للقائمه .

عروها لا تزف الى الكسب  
 أضفت اليها خدي فسلام  
 لما نرى لو ما نرى  
 واحل للقلوب انوار  
 لم تملوا حيسم  
 حياك بالأسى الكسب  
 وان لم أيسر حيسم

خذها مظا استهديتها  
 ودونكا بها تدعى فستاة  
 ١ - سئلتم راج اليها  
 ٢ - سئلتم العير العير  
 ٣ - سئلتم بأطلاق الرمال من القدي  
 ٤ - سئلتم ما تعدي الرمال  
 ٥ - وألن في يوم الطلائع باليسا

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الزخوة ج ٢ ق ١٢٩  
 تلائد العريان ص ١٠  
 نفع الطيب ج ٢ ص ٥٠٤

نظم ابن عمار هذين البيتين وبعث بها رماثيون  
 وثاقحين وشكروها الى صديقين له طلبا منه ذلك .

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الزخوة ج ٢ ق ١٢٩  
 الخسدة ق ١٢٦  
 تلائد العريان ص ١٢ ( مع اختلاف في ترتيب الأبيات )  
 المطا السورال ١٨  
 يخاطب ابن عمار بن عبد العزيز وكان قد ابتاع بئسها فربما  
 له بئرا مع نسى أقال ولم يخبرها للكسب

فيه طاب الجنى وفاح المشم  
وشرى طاطر وقصر أشم  
ضهر أشهب وسبك أحمر

كل قصر بعد الدمشق يذم  
منظر رائق وماه نكسور  
بسمت فسوه والليل والفجر هدى

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قلائد العقيان ص ٨٧

نفع الطيب ج ١ ص ٢١٩

نفع الطيب ج ١ ص ٢١٤

قصر الدمشق من قصور بني أمية فسى  
قرطبة ولعل ابن صار رآه فى إحدى زياراته ل تلك المدينة •  
وتنسب بعض الروايات هذين البيتين للحاجب أبى عثمان  
جعفر بن عثمان الصحفى •

وكفى بطيفك لو يزور مستقام  
قرب المدى دون اللقاء هـ  
هيهات أميال النوى أمروا  
قد قام منها لو طمعت مستقام  
وصلت إلى حديقة وسددام  
مسا وزر عليه سنه خستام  
هي قطعة البستان وهي كلام  
ومن القوافي فوقهن حستام  
حلو اللبس حاجي الجذون فلام  
ألف وطرش طرضيه لام  
ما ذا تقول إذا استشف صام ؟  
أولم يقدرن للوفاء زممام ؟  
لو كان تحت يد القضاء خصام  
مرجوة وإلى الضميمة ظلام  
جرها تباعد منك فهيه ملام  
صدرت لم يعلق بسحك نام  
ولقد نزل تحية وسلام

١ - أهلا بقرئك لو يطول مستقام  
أأذنت بالمهد الجديد وانما  
وكعبت توهم للنوى أميالها  
لولا الصحيفة ما سلوت فأنسها  
٥ - وصلت إلى مع الأصوب وانما  
برد من الكافور نغم درجه  
من قطعة هي قطعة الدياج أو  
وكان أسطرها فصوص أراكمة  
تأدمتها والراح يلهب كأسها  
١٠ - وشاكلا حنا فعانق قده  
أيه أبا الحسن اخترت قتل لنا ؟  
هل حاد بين من مذهب عن واجب ؟  
أو هل تلجج منطلق نسي حجة  
والسمن مشكورة وفيثات الفسنى  
١٥ - ولقد جريت إلى التي تلبسدتها  
فوردت لم تلحق لغيبك ربيبة  
١٧ - وطن صفوك السلام تحمية

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المعنى ٥٢ - من قلائد العتقان ص ٩٨ .

كتب إليه ابن صار إلى ذي الوزارتين أبي الحسن  
بن اليسع وقد آب من إحدى سفراته .

- ٥٥ - أفرمكن في النفوس محسب
- ٥٦ - تبوأ من لحم وثديك مقعد
- ٥٧ - أيا القاسم اتهدبا اليك فانا
- ٥٨ - محملة عذرا فأنتك جملة
- ٥٩ - أنا العبد في ثوب الخضوع لو انني أرى الهدرتاجي والنجوم خواتمي
- ٦٠ - وما عز في الدنيا مراد لمجدب
- ٦١ - ولكن ذاك الظل اندي قضاة
- ٦٢ - وانى اذا انصفت بعدك خادم لدهرى وكان الدهر عندك خادمسى
- ٦٣ - تراك تتسمت الذي قد اذته
- ٦٤ - ولا فروان حوتك بالطيب روضة
- + اليها عظيم في نفوس الأطناسم
- + مكان رسول الله من آل هاشم
- + ثناوك مسكى والتواني لظائمي
- + من الفضل لم استوفها بتراجسي
- + ولا احاسي في الأفاق ورد لطائمي
- + لضاح وذاك البرق اشفى لشام
- + بأرضك ام طابت ظمك مقارصسى
- + سمحت لها بالعارض المستراكم

الذخيرة ج ٢ ق ١٢٦ - ١٢٧  
 الذخيرة ق ١٢٣  
 ونهايات الأمان ج ٤ ص ٥٢  
 المعجب  
 فتح الطيب ج ١ ص ١١  
 شرح العظام ج ٢ ص ٢ الأبيات ١٥ - ١٦ - ١٨ - ١٧  
 الحلة المسورة ق ١١ - المطلع وحده

أرسل ابن عار هذه القصيدة من ~~مخطوطة~~ إلى المعتضد حين ثورق بيوتيه وبين  
 المعتضد . وقد ذكر ابن الأبار ان القصيدة تنهف على تمحين بيتا .  
 والأبيات التي امامها علامة + لم ترد الا في الذخيرة أما الابيات المقوسة فلم  
 ترد في الذخيرة .

وقد انفردت إحدى نسختي الذخيرة بذكر الأبيات ٢٥ - ٢٦ - ٢٧ .

- (١) المبالغ في غير الذخيرة  
 طى والا ما بكاء الخطائمي .  
 (٢) في غير الذخيرة - ذكرت بها  
 (٣) في غير الذخيرة - تمر طينا  
 (٤) في هذا البيت اتواء وهو اختلاذ حركة الروى - وقد ورد هذا البيت منفردا في  
 الذخيرة ج ١ مجلد أول ص ٣٦١ .  
 (٥) في غير الذخيرة - الا مقلدا (٦) في غير الذخيرة - حميلة .

- ٢٨ - قد يتهم لم يحشوا حرص طعمر  
 ٢٩ - ونكفا الأمام فمير حوائج  
 ٣٠ - وانى لأدعو ان دعوت لاسمع  
 ٣١ - اريد حياة البهين والبهين قاتلى  
 ٣٢ - ونهت اخوان الصفا تفهموا  
 ٣٣ - لقد هموا ظلما على غير طاب  
 ٣٤ - ولو ان عوا من هنالك زارنى  
 ٣٥ - أجز نيهول الليل سابقه الدجى  
 ٣٦ - فأورد وردى صافيا كل شامت  
 ٣٧ - وفض لمن يلقى بوجه مكاره  
 ٣٨ - وما هو الا لثم كف محمد  
 ٣٩ - ان اتقت لى فالعدو مساعدى  
 ٤٠ - وأى حياه طويه أى سورة  
 ٤١ - له هزة فى الجود معتقدية  
 ٤٢ - اذا ندرت لحم بذكواه فخرها  
 ٤٣ - أبى أن يراه الله غير (٥) كلف  
 ٤٤ - اذا جر أذيال الجوش الى المهدا أطامته أو جرت نيهول الهزائم  
 ٤٥ - ومن مثل عاد ومن مثل قومه  
 ٤٦ - (ماوك مناخ المز فى مصائبهم  
 ٤٧ - هم البيت ما فهو الظبا لبنك  
 ٤٨ - اذا قصر الروح الخطا نهشت بهمهم طوال العوالى فى طوال المعاصم  
 ٤٩ - وألغا أبيت من أن تروى ولم تعمز بجز النواصى أو بجز الحلاتم  
 ٥٠ - ندامى الوض يحرون بالموت كأسها اذا رجعت اسبابهم بالججاجم  
 ٥١ - هناك القنا مجرورة من حفاظ  
 ٥٢ - ألكى بالتسلم منهم الى قنى  
 ٥٣ - اذا ركوا فانظره أول طاعن  
 ٥٤ - (رقت حواشى الطبع بطلوبانه
- ولا نهيموا ان نهيموا طصرف ناسم +  
 بأرب أرب أو حزامه حسانم +  
 صهب وأشكو ان شكوت لراحمم +  
 وأرجو انتصار الدهر والدهر ظالمسى +  
 ودموا لفاض عهدى الماستقادم +  
 طهم ولا مساو ضامة فمير لاسم +  
 لزوت وماعدو الزمان بمسدائم +  
 واركب ظهير العزم صعب الشكائم +  
 والهس حدى ضانها كل شمام +  
 حياه فألقاه بوجه مكارم +  
 وشكين كسى من نواصى العظام +  
 على كل حال والزمان مسالم +  
 كما كسنت فى الروى ردهم الأرائم +  
 تهب الى التثيت شمل الدرأهم +  
 طوت طى من خجلة ذكر عاتم +  
 حياه (٥) كيف أو صالمة فسانم  
 لوت حروب أو يدور موااسم +  
 وشوى العمالى بين تلك المعالم  
 بأس ولا فمير التناهد طاسم  
 وهم الظبا مهزوزة من عزائم  
 تهادت به جود النيهول الصالدم +  
 وان نزلوا فارصده آخر طاعم  
 وجوه العمالى وافحات العاسم

- ١ - طي " والا ما يبلج الحوائم  
٢ - وعنى آثار الرعد صرخة "الب  
٣ - وبالبيت زهو النجوم حدادها  
٤ - وهل شققت موج الرياح جوهها  
٥ - خذوا بين ان لم تهتدوا كل سابع  
٦ - من العايسات الدهم الا التفاتة  
٧ - طوى بين عرض الوجد فوق قوائم  
٨ - وخاض بين الظلم حتى حبت  
٩ - ألا قاتل الله الجياد فأنها  
١٠ - أشكب ولا تتساب مرة مشفق  
١١ - كماها الحيا برد الشهاب فأنها  
١٢ - تذكرنى (٢) العهد الصبا فأنها  
١٣ - لوالى لا ألوى طي رشد لاقم  
١٤ - أنال سهادى من صون نواعس  
١٥ - واول لنا بالسد بين معاطف  
١٦ - بحيث اتخذت الروض جارا تزورنا هذايه فى أيدى الرياح النوايسم  
١٧ - تسور الدنيا (٣) لها كأنها  
١٨ - تملحننا انفسه فردها  
١٩ - وبتنا ولا واش يحسن كأنسنا حلتنا مكان السرور من صدر كاتسبم +  
٢٠ - سقتنا بها الشمس النجوم ومن بدت له الشمس فى قطع من الليل فاحسبم +  
٢١ - هو العيش لا ما أشتكه من السرى  
٢٢ - وصحة أقوام يهز طباعسبم  
٢٣ - صحالوك هاسوا بالعلى فتدروا جلود الأفاضى تحت بعض النعاسبم +  
٢٤ - تدانى وما غير السموف ازاهبر  
٢٥ - وما حال من خلق بلاد أطرب  
٢٦ - يتبع لى تم مقامى عدهسبم  
٢٧ - يقولون لى د ع ايدى العيس انها  
وفى " والا ما بكه الفسائم (١)  
لثار وهز البرق صفحة صبار  
لشموى ولا قامت له فى عاتم  
لشموى وهل حفت حنين الدوائم +  
لريح الصبا فى اثره أنف رافم  
الى فرة اهدت الى ثمر باسم  
توهضته منهن فوق قوائم  
له مرط بين النجوم العسائم +  
نأت بين عن ارض القلا والمسكان  
رحمن وما تمتاد زفسرة نسائم  
بلاد يها عك الشهاب تمانين  
قدحمت بنار الشوق بين الحماز  
هائى ولا أتميه عن فوى هائم  
وأجنى طابى من فزون نواعسبم  
من النهر تتساب انساب الأرائم  
بمحبت اتخذت الروض جارا تزورنا هذايه فى أيدى الرياح النوايسم  
كواشع تمشى بوننا بالنعاسبم  
بأعوار أنفاس وأزكى العباسبم  
وبتنا ولا واش يحسن كأنسنا حلتنا مكان السرور من صدر كاتسبم +  
سقتنا بها الشمس النجوم ومن بدت له الشمس فى قطع من الليل فاحسبم +  
هو العيش لا ما أشتكه من السرى  
وصحة أقوام يهز طباعسبم  
صحالوك هاسوا بالعلى فتدروا جلود الأفاضى تحت بعض النعاسبم +  
تدانى وما غير السموف ازاهبر  
وما حال من خلق بلاد أطرب  
يتبع لى تم مقامى عدهسبم  
يقولون لى د ع ايدى العيس انها  
لديهم وما غير الغمود كاتسبم (٤)  
والقت به الأقدار أرض أطبم +  
وقد رسفت رجل السرى الأدهم +  
تؤدى الى ايدى الملوك الخضار +

ولدى نصح ان أردت قهولا  
 في حلفتهم متى اعتدلت نزلوا  
 لوجدتني بدل المدو خسلها  
 وانهج لرأيك في النجاج سسلها  
 صزا فقد يدع المنزه لاملها

١ - عدى حديث لو سمعت قهولا  
 ٢ - ياراكما ظهرو التجنى راكضيا  
 ٣ - الله درك لو طلعت حسيقتي  
 ٤ - خذ من هان هواك يوما للنهس  
 ٥ - وافق من الأنف الذي تعتمده

٦ - طوي من عرس العبد لول التام  
 ٧ - وقاص من النبال على حوته  
 ٨ - ألا تامل الله الحياق فأسيا  
 ٩ - أشكركم فغاب بروتشال  
 ١٠ - كفاها الحيا بوز الشياق لأيا  
 ١١ - فذكرني الكيد الصيا لأيا

الذخيرة ج ٣ ص ٦

مخاطب الشاعر في هذه الأبيات أبا عبد الرحمن بن طاهر  
 بن اثناء ما وقع بينهما طويلا بها رقعة كتاب وجه بها اليه .

١٦ - عمت اعتدلت الزور جارا نزلوا  
 ١٧ - عسر الدوا كم طاب لها  
 ١٨ - ففاننا انما في ردينا  
 ١٩ - وثنا ولا وان نفس كالمنا حلتا بكن النسر من حيدر كالمسهم  
 ٢٠ - عاتل بها النفس النجم من يدته النفس في قطع من الولد الأصم  
 ٢١ - هو المنهلا ما أشكركم من السرى  
 ٢٢ - رجمة الزمان بجز طيا فمسهم  
 ٢٣ - محالها طيسرا بالملق كدورها بلود الأمان معتمدين النما فمسهم  
 ٢٤ - تداي وما نور السيف اراهم  
 ٢٥ - وما حال من خلق بلاد أظرب  
 ٢٦ - راجح ان لو تاملت فداكهم  
 ٢٧ - يكرن في يد عدي النفس تبا

١٦ - عمت اعتدلت الزور جارا نزلوا  
 ١٧ - عسر الدوا كم طاب لها  
 ١٨ - ففاننا انما في ردينا  
 ١٩ - وثنا ولا وان نفس كالمنا حلتا بكن النسر من حيدر كالمسهم  
 ٢٠ - عاتل بها النفس النجم من يدته النفس في قطع من الولد الأصم  
 ٢١ - هو المنهلا ما أشكركم من السرى  
 ٢٢ - رجمة الزمان بجز طيا فمسهم  
 ٢٣ - محالها طيسرا بالملق كدورها بلود الأمان معتمدين النما فمسهم  
 ٢٤ - تداي وما نور السيف اراهم  
 ٢٥ - وما حال من خلق بلاد أظرب  
 ٢٦ - راجح ان لو تاملت فداكهم  
 ٢٧ - يكرن في يد عدي النفس تبا



أنا خروا جمالا وحازوا جمالا  
 ونم فعمس أن تراها خيالا  
 د ولم تر للنار فيها اعتعلا  
 ن رهكمة ما تساوى عتقلا  
 ع لثم النجارين عسا وخالا  
 أقاموا طيها ترونا طورا  
 وأنت اذا لحت كنت الهللا ؟  
 وأرشف من فيك ماء زلالا  
 م فتنبع جهنك ألا حلالا  
 شفيناك دا وأعطيت مالا  
 وأهدتك سترك حالا فحالا  
 منعت القرى وأبحت العملا  
 وقدمنا عهدتك تهوى الرجالا

١ - ألا حق بالفرب حيا حلالا  
 ٢ - وعن يومسهن أم القسرى  
 ٣ - لتسأل عن ساكنها الرما  
 ٤ - تخيرتها من بعث الهجا  
 ٥ - فجاءت بكل قصير الذرا  
 ٦ - تصارف القدود ولكنهم  
 ٧ - أتذكر أيامنا بالصبا  
 ٨ - أطنق منك القضب الرطيب  
 ٩ - واقنع منك بدون الحسرا  
 ١٠ - وكم ليلة يستها شاكا  
 ١١ - سأعتك عرضك شيئا فشيئا  
 ١٢ - فيها طامر الخويل يا زبدها  
 ١٣ - أراك تنورى بحب النساء

هذا البيت من قصيدته الأبيات ١٠٢ - ١١١

نفع الطيب ج ٢ ص ٤٥١  
 الخريدة ق ١٢٧ الحلة السمرق ق ١٠٢ الأبيات ١ - ٢ - ٣ - ١١  
 المغرب ج ١ ص ٣٩ • البيتان ١ - ١٢ شذرات الذهب ج ٢ ص ٣٥٧  
 البيتان ٤ - ٥  
 وفيات الأعيان ج ٤ ص ٥٥ البيتان ٤ - ٥  
 هذه القصيدة أفلح ما تضمنته شعر ابن عمار في الهجاء  
 وفيها هجا المعتد وزوجته وبنه انتقاما من المعتد الذي  
 سخر منه حينما نظم قصيدته رقم ٣١  
 واخفى ابن عمار القصيدة ولكن ابن عبد العزيز استطاع أن يحصل  
 على نسخة بخط يده وأرسلها إلى المعتد وكانت أكبر أسباب قتله  
 ويقال انها مدسوسة عليه •

رأسي بأنواع من المال  
أخدمه صعدة اتسبال  
من ضمنى بالثمن الفالى  
فى صلحة من تدرك العالى

١ - أصححت فى السوق يتادى طسى  
٢ - فهل فتى يتاعنى ماجسد  
٣ - تالله لاجار طسى مالىسه  
٤ - أروح بها مولاي من حقة

١ - حماره الكسوف وكسوف  
٢ - أشدرك رأيتك بالصعبا  
٣ - أشدرك عند الكسوف الرطب  
٤ - أشدرك منك يدور الحمار  
٥ - أشدرك ليلة يفتيا شمسها  
٦ - أشدرك عند غروب الشمس  
٧ - أشدرك فى الليل يا يمدحا

الدخيرة ج ٢ ق ١٢٧

قلائد العقيان ص ١٥ ( البيتان ١ - ٣ )

المعجب ص ١٢٢ ( البيتان ١ - ٣ )

المغرب ج ١ ص ٢١٠ ( البيتان ١ - ٣ )

نظم الشاعر هذه الأبيات حينما توافد المشترون من مدون  
شراء ابن حار ومن بينهم الراضى بن المعتد ورسول للمعتصم .

وقلت لأعيان ج ١ ص ٥٥ البيتان ١ - ٣

هذه القصيدة أطلعها فتمتد عمر ابن حار فى البيت  
وقبيلها عيا المعتد ورويت غيره اتفاقا من المعتصم السدى  
منه حقا نظم قصيدته ونظم ٣١

والجنى ابن حار القصيدة ولكن ابن حار المور استطاع أن يجعل  
فى نسخة بخط يده وأرسلها إلى المعتد وكانت أكثر أساليب القصيدة  
وقال أنها منسوبة إليه .

والآن بعد فسي الظلام  
٢٨- فلکم أتيت بشيئها

وورد ظليل فسي المتهل  
وهي الصنوعة من وشيل

١- نقله لبار فسي النسب  
٢- أوج بها لولا من النسب  
٣- نقله لبار فسي النسب  
٤- أوج بها لولا من النسب  
٥- نقله لبار فسي النسب  
٦- أوج بها لولا من النسب  
٧- نقله لبار فسي النسب  
٨- أوج بها لولا من النسب  
٩- نقله لبار فسي النسب  
١٠- أوج بها لولا من النسب

١- نقله لبار فسي النسب  
٢- أوج بها لولا من النسب  
٣- نقله لبار فسي النسب  
٤- أوج بها لولا من النسب  
٥- نقله لبار فسي النسب  
٦- أوج بها لولا من النسب  
٧- نقله لبار فسي النسب  
٨- أوج بها لولا من النسب  
٩- نقله لبار فسي النسب  
١٠- أوج بها لولا من النسب

الذخيرة ج ١ ص ٢٢٣ - ٢٢٤

دهوان ابن زهدون (نقلا عن الذخيرة) ص ٤١٧

كتب ابن صابر هذه التصديقة بعد أن فرق المعتضد  
بينه وبين ابنه المعتضد وهو يمدح ابن زهدون  
ويروي أنه أن شافع له ضد المعتضد .  
فقال ابن زهدون بن المعتضد بن المعتضد

١ - كيف اهتزت على الذليل ؟

وقلتني وزعمت أن  
وطيك جامعت العدا  
يا قاتلي وصدامي  
٥ - ما أليس الفعيل الجميل

فهزت في خلق الكوسم  
ردموني حتى أجسبتك  
جد بالقليل فإن نفسي  
واذكر حل في زمن تطمناه  
١٠ - ان سحب الأذيال ما

ونحل من سيف الفدير  
والروني مطور تنم  
والشمس نورقها خلال  
ايان يجدر الوعد من

١٥ - وهز كذا البرق نسي  
يا برق أوديسة الحمى

مع يشلب مجربها  
وايح على شرفات حص  
فانذا جلاك أبو الوليد  
٢٠ - فاقرفه من قبله ملاما

يا ضرة الزمن البهم  
وصح القلم القصير  
أطمت أنس خسادم  
لم استحل صا عهد  
شفع هابتك الجميلة  
فلئن أجهت لرافسب

وقطعت أسباب الوصول ؟

الذنب مني للتمسك  
واليك طلت عن العذول  
في صفحتي أهدى دليل  
بذلك الوجه الجميل  
ورا ٥ خلق البخيل  
ثم حدثت عن السبيل  
صنك تشع بالقليل  
بصافية شمول  
بين الخليج السيل النخيل  
بغثة الظل الظليل  
طيه أنفاس القبول  
الفهم من طرف كليل  
ورق السحاب كالصول

الآنقاق مرفسة النصول  
تفديك نفس من رسول  
ما شئت من تلك الطلول  
قراءة الشرف الأصيل  
بناظر اليقظ النبيل  
يقضي حسن القبول  
وعزة الأدب الذليل  
على شها الرمح الطويل  
ذكراك بالشكر الجميل  
ت مع الزمان المستحيل  
بي لدى الطك الجليل  
وأقلت عشرة من القليل

انا عبيدك أو يقول صدق  
أترى القبول صرت اليك بنفحة  
وهل استطالك من ثنائي ططف ؟

• ما أيقن الفصل العاشر

ليرت في خلق الكرم  
ويعتني حتى أوسيت  
جد بالتفصيل أن تفسري  
بالكر حلز ومن لطيفة  
• انه ان يصب الأليل هنا  
ويحل من سيفه اللين  
والروح مطسور تفسر  
والشخص يرتبها خلال  
ليان يمدد الرصيد من

الخريدة ق ١٢٥

بارك أرمية النوى  
من يشبه مرسيا  
وأصح في شرفه حتى  
لانا جلاك أوه الزيد  
• كالتربة من تولى سلاما  
بالخبرة الرمن اليهم  
وبكم القم الكسبر  
أطمت أسر خستهم  
لم استقل هنا عبيد  
شبع غايته للجايعة  
لكن أجه لرائحة

:الحق مذمم وأنت بخسيل  
ما ادعته فكان منك قبول ؟  
ان الكرم الى الثناء يسهل

• ذلك الرصد الجرسيل  
• ولا • خلق الراسيل  
• تم حنته حسن الراسيل  
• منك طبع بالكراسيل  
• بمسالمة شمسيل  
• يرضى الفليح التي الفاسيل  
• بخسة الفيل الفاسيل  
• طينة أظن الفاسيل  
• التسمم عمن طرف كرسيل  
• رول المصطب كرسيل  
• الأستساق برهانية الفاسيل  
• فديك لفسى عمن ريسيل  
• ما شئت من تلك الفاسيل  
• لبارة التسمم الأفسيل  
• بتلسم الفيل الفاسيل  
• يلقى حسن الفاسيل  
• بكرة الأهب اللافاسيل  
• هو شيا الرشح الفاسيل  
• ذواك بالفسر الجاسيل  
• مع الزمان الفاسيل  
• من لدى تلك الفاسيل  
• وأنت منيرة الفاسيل

مجان مخلصك من الفضل  
فأشرب فأنتست الوهم في حبل

فتى أبو الفضل قلنا لسه  
فأراه حمد على شـهـبها

الخريدة ق ١٢٢

هنت ما وترب جودها أبسدا  
كأنها في جمال وامتاع ذرى

لمن يرجمه في شوب من البخل  
خود من السرم في درع من الأسل

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الخطبة السمرية ق ١٠٤ رأيات المرزبان ص ١١٠ منسوبة لجهد الله بن الطلاء

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الخطبة ق ١١٧

بهدي علاك ولا جبرى تحصيل  
أهدا وطرف بالعجاج كحصيل  
أهدا وآجال الصداة تحصيل  
تركبت بموت الطال وهى ظلمول

لله درك ما تعلق ناظـورى  
وجه بمعدسة الدلاص متنوع  
وسد بأمال المفاة بسنانها  
صرت بسوع المجد منها أنها

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الخريدة ق ١٢٢



والروض مرتاح السى لقسهاكا  
هات النعى الا أجساب بيهاكا  
تخذت أكف سقاتها أفلاكا  
مسروقة الأنفاس مسن رهساكا  
زهرا وترتبه طيبك اراكا  
وطت طيه الشمس شعس سناكا  
فعل النوادي حدقت لتراكا  
سحرا فهوهم أنسه ذكراكا  
فلقد وردت العجد قهل كذاكا  
حتى ارتوت بدم العداة قسناكا  
وتحكمت فيهم شمسار ظسهاكا  
وأنتك تمسحب ليلسها دنهاكا

١ - الكأس ظائمة السى يمناكا  
٢ - والد هوجار فى هناك لا تقبل  
٣ - فأدر باناق الزجاج<sup>(١)</sup> كواكبا  
٤ - راحا اذا هب التسم حسبتها  
٥ - فى مجلس وسط الريح بساطه  
٦ - سقط الندى فيه سقوط نداكا  
٧ - روض تفتح زهره فكأنسه  
٨ - يسرى على ربهاته نفس الصبا  
٩ - رد مورد اللذات عذبا صافيا  
١٠ - لم ترو من راح ولا من راحة  
١١ - مرحت جهادك فى منازل خير  
١٢ - فهناك قد بلغت دينك حقه

الخريدة ق ١٢٧

الذخيرة ج ٢ ق ١٢٧

وفى الخريدة ق ١٢٥ وردت الأبيات ١ - ٢ - ٤ - ٦ - ١٠  
مخاطب الشاعر المعتضد وكان قد أهل من علة

(١) الخريدة - المسرور

وهيها طرب السى لقسماك  
 شهددا ومناى نسبه صناك  
 ولقد تروىك مقلتى فستراك  
 ذاك المحل لفسور أن القساك  
 فأنال رسا من لذيسك اسماك  
 كأس القصور تسديرها عيناك  
 والنضيل للمحكى لا للحاكي  
 حتى أمد يسدي الى مجسناك

١ - نفسي وان قدبتها تهبواك  
 عجا لهذا الوئل أصبح بيننا  
 ما بال قلبى حين رامك لم يعل  
 الله أعلم ما أزرر لحاجة  
 ٥ - لمت الرقيب اذا التقينا لم يكن  
 متنزها فى روض خدك شاربها  
 حكك الفصون جمال قدت فانتنت  
 ٨ - لا تفرس ياروضة معظورة

حتى اذوتهم العداك  
 فكنت لهم سطر سيناك  
 وأنت تصيب لياها ديناك

١ - لم تروى راج لا من راحة  
 ١ - برحت ينادك فى منازل خمر  
 ٢ - لبتك قد بالفتى عفاك

الحلة المسيرة ق ١٠٤

وقد ضمن ابن عار فى اوائل الايهات اسم تهنه :

نعم المحل

الاشيرة ج ١ ص ١٧٧  
 فى التمهيد ص ١١٨ وبت الأيهات احد ٢ احد ١ احد ١  
 يناظف الشار المعتمد وكان قد ايل من هذه

(١) التمهيد ص المسير

ها أنت أنت • وذي حمص واسحق  
وان تشابه أخلاق وأعمال  
واحضر بساتيك ما دارت بيننا سباق

ما ضر أن تحمل اسحق وموصله  
أنت الرشيد فدع من قد سمعت به  
لله درك داركها مشعشة

ذاك النمل ليس أن التمسك  
لأن بيننا من لا يمسك  
كأن التمسك ليس يمسك  
والنمل المسك لا يمسك  
حتى أنت يمسك أن يمسك

أحبه الركب إذا التمسك لم يكن  
هزما من ركب خبده يمسك  
حك التمسك يمسك  
٨ - لا يمسك يمسك

فتح الطوب ج ٢ ص ٤٨٢

أنشد ابن عمار هذه الأبيات في مجلس الرشيد  
بن القمند بعد أن دارت الكأس وتمكن الأئس وذهب الطرب  
به كل مذهب •

- ١ - أَلظنك ؟ أم كَأَس الرحيمُ الممتق ؟  
وتظلمك ؟ أم سلك من الدر ناصع  
بمشت بها يقطعنة الروض قطعة  
ثلاثة أبيات وهيها انما  
٥ - هو السحر أسرى في النفوس من الهوى وكيف يكون السحر في لفظ منطوق  
أمتصما بالله والحرب ترتضى  
دعنى العطايا للرحيل وانسى  
٨ - وانى وان غربت عنك فأنما  
وخذلك ؟ أم روض الريح المعسق  
بروق طي جود المروس العطسوق  
شمتت بها عرق النسيم المخلط  
بمشتت بها الجوزاء في صفح مهروق  
بأبطالها والخيل بالخيل تلتقى  
لأنرق من ذكر النوى والتفسيق  
جوهنك شمس والعربة مشرقى

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تلاشد العقيان ص ٨٩  
تلاشد العقيان ص ٤٨  
المطسرب ص ١٦  
الأبيات الثلاثة الأخيرة  
الأبيات الثلاثة الأخيرة

قال ابن عمار هذه الأبيات يسودع بها الممتصم . وقد  
كأن تقدم الممتصم اليه بقطعة شعر من ثلاثة أبيات .

طس نهر مثل السماء رقيق	وجارية مثل الهلال ألفقتها
فألت طيه الشمس ثوب عقيق	تجلى لنا الأصباح وهو زمرّد
بعضها فوق النجم المشفق	بعضها يتلوه الروح الفاضل
بعضها الجوارح في طبع عبق	ثلاثة آيات وفيها العسس
بعضها في النجوم في لظ عقيق	هـ وهو النجم أسود في اللون ومن
بعضها بالنجم بالشمس في لظ عقيق	أحضا بالله والعرب ترصص
بعضها في النجوم والنجم في لظ عقيق	دعوى العتاة للرجل والنس
بعضها في النجوم والنجم في لظ عقيق	أ- وإن كان فيه صفت فأنس

هذا النص لابن عمار في وصف زورق من الحلة السمرية ق ١٠٤

ثلاثة العتاة من ٨١  
 ثلاثة العتاة من ٤٨  
 العتاة من ١١  
 قال ابن عمار هذه الأبيات يروى بها العتاة  
 كان يجمع العتاة إلى ثلاثة عشر من ثلاثة أبيات

وأطيقته فانظر لمهدك أودع  
تصاه فان شئت ارتجاعى فأرجع  
توتقت لهما بالشئع المشئع

أنا المطبق المسجون لامن سجنته  
حرام حرام أن ترائى عيون من  
وا حسن حال الود ان سجنته يد

هذا النص لا ينحصر في ذلك بل هو من الحظ السورة في ١٠٤

اللاخيره ج ٢ ق ١٢٢

قالها الشاعر يخاطب بها المؤتمن وكان قد أمر بسجن فسلام  
كان ابن عار مهواه فانقطع هذا عن الركوب للمؤتمن ووجه له  
بهذه الأبيات فلما قرأها ضحك وأمر بإطلاق الفلام •

أما الطريق المسجون لأم سحابة وأخيه فالتسليم لك أوجع  
شقورة شمس دار من وشورها زاد موسى  
مدمت هرور فيلها فالتسليم موسى

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المعجب ص ١٢٤

شرح لاصية المعجم ج ١ ص ١٥٦

رواية البيت الأول في المعجب :

بؤسى شقورة عسدى أرى على كل موسى

وقد شرح محقق الكتاب البيهقي في الهامش بقوله :

يعنى بهرون أبا مؤازره • وهذا خطأ وخطأ " مثله ما جاء

في كتاب " ابن عمار " لثروت أباطه ( مصر ١٦٥٤ ) ص ١١٣ من أنه :

فقد التصير إشارة الى قوله تعالى ( واجعل لى وزيراً من أهلى •

هرور أخى • أشدد به أزرى ) وهو يطلب موسى الذى يقتضيه •

ولعل الصواب ما جاء في شرح لاصية المعجم من أنه دخل

حطاً بحسن شقورة • فالتصير يظن بها صورت فلم يجد

فاستعمل موسى بدلا منها •

تسر يدور بكوكب في مجلس  
 كالخصن هزته الصبا بتنفس  
 ويدير أخرى من حاجر نرجس  
 ومصرف الفرس التصدير المحبس  
 خشن القناع على عذار أمسلس  
 ككشف الظلام عن النهار المشمس  
 كالمرصع في اللجام العجوس  
 ومطابليث الغاب ظبي المكس  
 حوراء قائمة بسكو المجلس

١ - وهو يشبه يستن المدام كأنه  
 ٢ - متأرجح الحركات تتدلى ويحسه  
 ٣ - يستن بكأس في انامل سون  
 ٤ - لها حامل السيف الطويل نجساده  
 ٥ - ايامك بادرة الوفى من فارس  
 ٦ - جهم وان حصر القناع فأنما  
 ٧ - يطفئ ويلعب في دلال عذاره  
 ٨ - مسلم فقد قصف القنا فمن النقا  
 ٩ - ما بكأسك قد كفتا مقلنة

المعجم ص ١١٤

شرح لامية المعجم ج ١ ص ١٤١

رواية البيت الأول في المعجم :

قلائد العقيان ص ٨٨

نفع الطيب ج ١ ص ٣٠٦

ارتجل ابن صار هذه الأبيات في ملوك للمؤتمن بن هـ  
 دخل على مولاه لمستأذنه في الخروج الى مكان ذكره .  
 وكان الفتى مدججا بالاستلاح . فلما رآه ابن صار بهبه جماله  
 فطلب من المؤتمن ان يكون هو السائق . فلم يأب المؤتمن  
 أن يجيب طلب ابن صار . في حين لامية المعجم من انه دخل  
 حيا يحيى بن سفيان . قال بن سفيان يحيى بن سفيان لم يصد  
 الاستعمل العيسى بدلا منها .



تجهيم وجه الأنتق واعطت النفس  
فإن كان هذا منكاً عن توافيق

٢ - يشار بكس في التلح سوزن

٤ - ما حائل أنيفه الطول نجساده

٥ - ما لك بامرة الوي بمن لليس

٦ - جهيم وإن حصر الكفاح لأبنا

٧ - حيطان واحصب إن دلال طاره

٨ - حيلم لك تصد الكفا من الكفا

٩ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

١٠ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

١١ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

١٢ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

١٣ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

١٤ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

١٥ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

١٦ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

١٧ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

١٨ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

١٩ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

٢٠ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

٢١ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

٢٢ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

٢٣ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

٢٤ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

٢٥ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

٢٦ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

٢٧ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

٢٨ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

٢٩ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

٣٠ - ما بكسك تمد كفا طلسا

لأن لم تلح للمين أنت ولا الشمس  
وضعكاً أنس نوبنيكاً أنس

وغير أخرى من حجابهم نوبس

وهو ك القرن القصور العنسي

خشن الكفاح من حذار أمسلس

كسيف الظلام من الكيفار الشمس

كلهم من إن اللجم العنسي

وما يلوك الغلاب من الكسيس

خورا كالمسة بكر العنسي

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خورا كالمسة بكر العنسي

خورا كالمسة بكر العنسي

الخريسة ق ١٢٦

نفع الطهيب ج ٢ ص ٥٠٤ ونوه أن المعتصد اصطبح فس  
م فسم مع أم الروع واحتجب عن القدما . فكتب اليه  
ابن صا هذيق الهمتين فكان رد المعتصد :

خليلي قولاً هل طي ملامسة  
وأهدى بأكراس المصدام كواكبها  
سلام سلام أنتما الأنتس كلسه  
إذا لم أهب إلا لتضرتني الشمس  
إذا أهدرتها العين فشت لها النفس  
وان قمتا أم الروع هي الأنتس

أدالكم أم وحشة جرهما الدهر  
على جفوة منكم وإن علم المر  
عصوب وخلق مثل منزلكم وعبر  
إلى شيعتي عذر ولا يودي محسو

١ - أخواتنا هل حال من دوننا أمر  
٢ - بختكم بقلباننا وكان نزولنا  
٣ - وما هو إلا مفاتيح كهـوائكم  
٤ - ثقوا بي إذا عن اللقاء فما اهتدى

الشمس في ١١٦

الذخيرة ج ٢ ق ١٧١  
خاطب الشاعر بهذه الأبيات أهل شقرة وكان قد نزل

بهم في بعض حركاته فالتفتوا عن لقائه استهجاناً منه .

وأحد روايات السند كوكبا عن أن أبا أيوب السخري حدثنا أن

علاء بن خاتم حدثنا أن أبا أيوب السخري حدثنا أن أبا أيوب

السخري حدثنا أن أبا أيوب السخري حدثنا أن أبا أيوب

السخري حدثنا أن أبا أيوب السخري حدثنا أن أبا أيوب

السخري حدثنا أن أبا أيوب السخري حدثنا أن أبا أيوب

السخري حدثنا أن أبا أيوب السخري حدثنا أن أبا أيوب

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| ١ - كَأَنِّي أَرَاكَ يَا جَمِيلًا              | تَقُولُ وَتَهْمِسُ نَحْوِي مَشْمُورًا   |
| ٢ - سَأَلْتُ لِمَ رَجَعَ هَذَا مَعِي           | وَنَهَى فَلَمْ أَرَ إِلَّا أَسْمِيرًا   |
| ٣ - وَهَلْ يَمْلِكُ الْمَرْءُ مِنْ أَمْرِهِ    | تَهْمِسًا فَيَنْقُذَهُ أَمْ دَيْهِيمًا  |
| ٤ - هُوَ الْقَدَرُ الْحَقْمُ بِعَيْنِ الْفَتَى | وَإِنْ كَانَ بِالْدَهْرِ طَبَا بِصِيرًا |

الذخيرة ج ٢ ص ١٢٧

نظم الشاعر هذه الأبيات من سجته في حمن شقيقه وهو  
مخاطب بها الوزير أبا جعفر بن جين وكان قد اجتاز به •

ونعيسة - فاستمذبهه - أواره  
عدائه في حكمه أحساره  
يا حبهذا • وحبهذا أضواره  
زها فظنوه وما يخساره  
شرف المهند أن ترق شقاره  
ولها حسب الهلال سواره  
أو أن ذاك النسم طاد سواره  
خذلته من دمي إذا أنصاره  
وأقام عذري إذ أطل عذاره  
وأحاط بالليل المهيم خاراه  
رقياً ولكن القلوب سواره  
أزرت طي آفاته أزاره  
تصرى إلى بحرته أسطاره  
فسكوت سكر لا يفوق خساره  
للبين من حسب القلوب جواره  
وأذاب فيه القلب وهو سواره  
قد أحرقت عود الحفارة ناره  
قلبي وذابت هذه أسواره  
لسواره فاقص منه سواره  
بالهخل لولا ان حصا داره  
وتفجرت لي بالندی أنهاره  
وإذا قدحت الفصن طار شراره

١ - جاء الهوى فاستشمره - عواره  
٢ - لا تطلبوا في الحسب عزا انما  
٣ - قالوا : أضربك الهوى • فأجبتهم  
٤ - قلبي هو انظار المقام لنفسه  
٥ - عورتسونى بالتحول وانما  
٦ - وشتم لفراق من آلتسه  
٧ - أحسبتم السلوان حسب نسيمه  
٨ - أن كان امها القلب من فوط الجوى  
٩ - من قد قلبى إذ تثنى قسده  
١٠ - أم من طوى الصبح المنير نقابه  
١١ - فصن ولكن النفوس رباضسه  
١٢ - سخرت بهدر التم فرتسه كما  
١٣ - ما زال لعل الرصل من فتكاته  
١٤ - حتى سقانى الدهر كأس فواته  
١٥ - ووقفت في مثل المحصب مرتقا  
١٦ - حيران أعصى الطرف وهو سواره  
١٧ - ولئن يذبه وهو مشواه فكم  
١٨ - ان يهته أنى أضعت لحسبه  
١٩ - قلبيهن قلبي أن شكاه وشاحه  
٢٠ - فوحشه لقد انتدبت لوصفه  
٢١ - ببلد رمتني بالمنى أفصانه  
٢٢ - ببلد متى أذكوه هيج لوصتى

المعجب ص ١١٢

وقد ورد منها في القلائد ص ٨٦ الأبيات : ٣ - ٤ - ٥ - ٦ - ١٠ - ١١ - ٢٢  
وفي رايات البهزمن ص ٢٧ الهيمت ٥

كما تتابع خطف البارق المصارى  
ان شئت فسي البحر فاركب ظهرو سباحة أو شئت في الجو فاركب ظهر طيار  
مباحات تصرك واتركني السبي داري  
ذات الوشاح وخذ للحبيب بالثشار  
كما تجارب أطهار بأسيحار

مولاي هدي لما تهوى مساعدا  
حتى تحل وحفظ الله يكلوننا  
وقبل خلع نجاد السيف فاسح السبي  
ضما ولشما يغني الحلى بونكا

٧ - أحسب المليون حسب نسوة  
٨ - إن كان أبا القاسم لوط البوي  
٩ - من قد تلبس الـ ثوبى فسيده  
١٠ - أسلمت طوبى العبد لله المجد

الحلة المصراة ق ١٤

١ - أسلمت طوبى العبد لله المجد  
٢ - هذه الأبيات كتب بها ابن عمار المعتقد . وكان هذا  
قد كتب إلى إحدى نساء يتشوق إليها ومنها باللقاء فسي  
أبيات جاء فيها  
..... ان شاء . . . . . بي أو شاء ابن عمار  
٣ - ولم يشر جامع ديوان المعتقد إلى القطعتين .  
٤ - وكان عليه وهو مشهور  
٥ - إن بيته أن أبيت الحسين  
٦ - الملقبون تلبس أن شئت وشاحه  
٧ - أسلمت طوبى العبد لله المجد  
٨ - أسلمت طوبى العبد لله المجد  
٩ - أسلمت طوبى العبد لله المجد  
١٠ - أسلمت طوبى العبد لله المجد  
١١ - أسلمت طوبى العبد لله المجد  
١٢ - أسلمت طوبى العبد لله المجد

أولان ذاك التسم طار فزاره  
خذلته من دعوى إذا أضره  
وألم طوبى إذ أظلم فصاره  
وألم طوبى لئلا يهجم خاربه  
رقبا ولكن القرب فصاره  
أبت في آياتيه أزاره  
..... ان شاء . . . . . بي أو شاء ابن عمار  
١٣ - أسلمت طوبى العبد لله المجد  
١٤ - أسلمت طوبى العبد لله المجد  
١٥ - أسلمت طوبى العبد لله المجد  
١٦ - أسلمت طوبى العبد لله المجد  
١٧ - أسلمت طوبى العبد لله المجد  
١٨ - أسلمت طوبى العبد لله المجد  
١٩ - أسلمت طوبى العبد لله المجد  
٢٠ - أسلمت طوبى العبد لله المجد

المعجب من ١١٢

وقد ورد فيها أن القلائد من ٨٩ الأبيات ١ - ٢ - ٣ - ٤ - ٥ - ٦ - ٧ - ٨ - ٩ - ١٠ - ١١ - ١٢ - ١٣ - ١٤ - ١٥ - ١٦ - ١٧ - ١٨ - ١٩ - ٢٠

الا طى جاهل بالشمس والقمر  
كالمسهم يحدد بين القوس والوتر  
فوائد الكتب يستلحقن فس الطور

أنا ابن عار لا اخفى طى بشعر  
وهن لطفى وذهنى كل مسابقة  
ان كان أخسرى دهرى فلا عجب

وقد خلق نورا المذبح السرى  
فما زلت انا طى العلى بفسحة  
الشمس والليل والليل والليل  
الشمس والليل والليل والليل  
الشمس والليل والليل والليل  
الشمس والليل والليل والليل

الحلقة المسيرة ق ١٠١

رايات العريين : ٦ البيتان الأول والأخير . وفى البيت الأول ٠٠٠  
طى أحد والشطرة الأخيرة هكذا :

فوائد الكتب قد يلحقن بالطور

شرح المقامات ١ : البيتان الأول والأخير . ونها ٠٠٠ طى أحد



يا أيها الطك الذي شاد العملا  
بنفاً تصوك صفة أديبة  
زنوا اليك بنات أفكارهم

ممن أبوه وخاله المنصور  
لا زال وهو بجمعهم معصور  
واستهطوك فهل لبين معصور ؟

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- ٢٤١ - الحلة الشعراء ق ١٤٠

ارتجل ابن صار هذه الأبيات أمام المعتصم وكان قد  
رأى الشعراء الذين مدحوه يفتقون أمام باب قصره  
ينتظرون طأه الذي تأخر عنهم .



٢٨- السيف أفصح من زياد خطبة  
 ٢٩- ما زلت تغنى من هذا لك راجيا  
 ٣٠- حتى حلت من الرئاسة محجرا  
 ٣١- شققت بسيفك أمة لم تعتقد  
 ٣٢- أعمرت رمحك من رؤس كاتهم  
 ٣٣- وصفت درعك من دماء ملوكهم  
 ٣٤- والوكها كالروض زارته الصبا  
 ٣٥- نعتها وشوا بذكوك مذهبها  
 ٣٦- من ذا ينافحنى وذكوك مندل  
 ٣٧- فلئن وجدت نسيم حدى طائرا

فى الحرب ان كانت يمينك عنبراً  
 فضلا وتغنى من عننا وتجبوا  
 أحوى وضمت منك طرفنا أحورا  
 آلا الهيمود وان تسعت بسر بسر  
 لنا رأيت الفصن يمشق مشمرا  
 لنا رأيت الحصن يلمس أخمصا  
 وحنا طيه الظل حتى نسورا  
 وفقتنها مسكا بحمدك أزنورا  
 أوردته من نار فكري مجسورا  
 فلقد وجدت نسيم بسر أطلسورا

النخبه ح ٢٢ ق ١٢٦

قلائد العقول ص ٦٩ المطرب ص ١٥٧ نفع الطيب ح ١ ص ٣٠٦  
 المغرب ص ٣١١ الأبيات ١- ٢- ٣- ٤- ٥- ٧- ٨- ١١- ١٢-  
 ١٤- ٣١- ٣٢- .

رسالة الشقدي (نفع الطيب ٢ : ١٤١) البيتان ٣١- ٣٢  
 المعجب ص ١١٥ الأبيات ١- ٢- ٨- ١٣- ٢٧- ٣٠- ٣١- ٣٢- .  
 وفحات الأمان ج ٤ ص الأبيات ١- ٢- ١٠- ١١- ١٢- .  
 رايات المرزبين ص ٢٦ الأبيات ١- ٢- ٣- ٤- ٥- ٧- ٨- ١٣- ١٠-  
 ١١- ١٢- ١٦- ١٤- ٣٢- ٣٣- ٣٤-  
 ٣٥- ٣٦- .

عنوان العرقصات والمطربات ص ٢٤ الأبيات ١- ٢- ٣- ٤- ٥- ٧- ٨-  
 حلبة الكومت ص ٣٥٦ الأبيات ١- ٢- ٣- ٤- ٥- ٧-  
 شذرات الذهب ج ٣ ص ٣٥٦ الأبيات ١- ٢- ١٠- ١١- ١٢- .

فى هذه القصيدة يعدهج ابن صار المعتقد وتعد أشهر قصائده قال فيها  
 الشقدي " ٠٠٠ سارت أشود من مثل وأحسب الى الامع من لقاء حبيب وصل . "

والنجم قد صرف العنان عن السرى  
لما استرد الليل منا المـسـمـرا  
وشيا وتلده نداءه جوهـرا  
خجلا وتاه بأسبهن مـسـمـرا  
صاف أطل طى رداه أخضـرا  
حتى حسبنا كل هضب تـصـمـرا  
سيف ابن عباد يفرق عـسـمـرا  
والجو قد ليس السرداه الأغمـرا  
من ماله العلق النفوس الأغمـرا  
ونحاه لا يردون حتى يصـمـرا  
والذ في الأجان من سنة الكسرى  
نار الوفى الآلى نار القـسـرى  
والطرف أجرد والحمام جوهـرا  
لما سقانى من نداء الكوشـرا  
لما سألت به الفعام المعطـرا  
من لا تسابقه الرياح اذا جـمـرى  
من لامة مثل السحاب كهمـورا  
عنها وأسمر قد تقلد أسـمـرا  
كالروض يحسن منظرا أو مشـمـرا  
فوأيته فى راحتيه صـمـورا  
فقراتيه فى راحتيه مفسـمـرا  
حتى حسبنا كل تـسـمـرا  
وجنت به روض السرور مـسـمـرا  
اسمى بشكر أو أموت فأغمـرا  
منه بوجه مثل حمدي أزهمـرا  
تنبو وأيدي الخيل تعشر فى البـمـرى  
ان كنت شهبهت المواكب اسـمـرا

١ - أدر الزجاجة فالنسيم قد انبرى  
٢ - والصبح قد أهدى لنا كالمسره  
٣ - والروض كالحصن كماه زهمـره  
٤ - أو كالفلام زها بورد خمدوده  
٥ - روض كأن النهر فيه معصم  
٦ - وتكلمت بالزهر صلح هضابه  
٧ - وشبهه ربح الصبا فتخاله  
٨ - مهاد المضمير نائل كسه  
٩ - طق الزمان الأخطر المهدى لنا  
١٠ - ملك اذا ازدحم الطوك بمسورد  
١١ - أندى طى الأكباد من قطر الندى  
١٢ - قداح زبد المجد لا ينفك من  
١٣ - اختار أن يهب الخريدة كاعبا  
١٤ - أيقنت أنى من ذراه بجنة  
١٥ - وظمت حقا أن رعى مضرب  
١٦ - من لا توازنه الجبال اذا احتبى  
١٧ - تاد المواكب كالكوكب فوقها  
١٨ - من كل أبيض قد تقلد أبيضها  
١٩ - ملك يروقك خلقه أو خلقه  
٢٠ - وسعت باسم القطر حتى زرته  
٢١ - وجهت معنى الجود حتى زرته  
٢٢ - فاح الثرى متعظرا بهتائه  
٢٣ - هصرت يدى ضمن الندى من كه  
٢٤ - حسبى من التصنع الذى اولاه أن  
٢٥ - مهاد الملك الذى وصل المسمى  
٢٦ - طاهر صدر الومح يكهم والظلمبا  
٢٧ - لاشى أقرأ من شفار حسامه

قل للوزير وأبي وزير  
 ان الوزارة لولمست رداها (١)  
 وأرى الفلاحة جل ماتتني به  
 وصلت دطبتك التي اهديتها  
 وأظنها للظاهرى فان تكمن  
 فرسا رهان أنما قد جاراها  
 وإذا سلك سبيله فخطبة  
 وأرى بلنسية وأنت تدارها

- ٨

أن يتبع التدمير بالتدمير  
 وقف على التمييز والتوقير  
 وحماك في التصدير والتفكير  
 في خاتم التأمين والتأمين  
 فجزيرة (٢) التقديس والتطهير  
 بالتقول في التقديم والتأخير (٣)  
 كي تتبع التصدير بالتصوير (٤)  
 سينالها التدمير من تدمير

من طاه العنق القوي الأسيطرا  
 ونساء لا يردون حتى يمشوا  
 والد في الأجلان من سعة الكسرى  
 نار الرهس الألى نار الكسرى  
 والحرف أجود والتصنيف جوهرا  
 لنا سلطان من يدها الكسرى

الذخيرة ج ٢ ق ١٢٣  
 الحلة السيرة ق ١٧  
 قلائد المقيان ص ٦٦

يخاطب الشاعر ابا بكر بن عبد العزيز الذي سافر من ابن صار  
 لثمنه بخاتمين كان ألفونسو قد أعطاهما اياه فقال هما خاتم  
 التأمين وخاتم التأمير والظاهرى هو ابو عبد الرحمن بن ظاهر الذي  
 انتزع ابن صار مرسية سنة وكانت فيه دطبة .

- (١) الحلة والقلائد سلك سبيلها (٢) المصدران - فخليقة
- (٣) يدها في المصدرين ولعل يوما أن يصير نقشها في ظهنة التقديم
- والتأخير . (٤) هذا البيت لم يوجد الا في الذخيرة .

١- فاح القوي خطيرا يظلمه  
 ٢- كسرى يدي من القوي من كسرى  
 ٣- كسرى من القوي الذي لواه أن  
 ٤- عاد الملك الذي وصل القوي  
 ٥- كسرى وسدر الحج يحكم والقوي  
 ٦- كسرى أترا من ظاهر كسرى

٢٧- توموا الى السدار الخبيثة فانهبوا

تلك الذخائر من خبايا السدار  
بأمر وضاح الجبين نضار

٢٨- وتموضوا من صفرة حشوية

النخبة ٢٠ في ١٣٥

قلائد العتيان ص ٦٣

الحلة السيرة ق ١٠١ ١-٢-٣-٤-٥-٦-٧-٨-٩-١٠-١١-١٢-١٥

قال ابن صار هذه القصيدة ونحطها ابن المطرز الشاعر يحسب  
أهل بلنسية طي أبي بكر بن عبد العزيز لأن هذا قد كان طاهد ابن  
صار طي اطلاق سراح أبي عبد الرحمن ابن ظاهر مقابل اخلاء حصن  
جملة لابن صار . ولكن ابن عبد العزيز نكث العهد بعد أن أطلق ابن صار  
سراح ابن ظاهر .

ولما بلغت الأبيات المعتمد أضاف عليها ساخرا بعد البيت رقم ١٥ الأبيات التالية :-

ومتوجا في سالف الأعمار	والشاربين لهامة الجبار	والمنهضين الفار بعد الفار	فن الأكار من بني الأحرار	وبيت جارهم عزيز الجار	كأنتها المقدان مع التمار	شرفاته في خضرة الأشجار	نضحت جوانبه بعماء نضار	في ساحقة تجاوب الأطيار	فيه الهك طوارق الأتسار	طلب الرجال وسامى الأسوار	لك حارس بأسنة وشنار	كست الوجوه الغرثوب الفار	نحو الكفاة شعلة من نار	تركوا الأداة قصيرة الأعمار
الأكرمين مسودا وصلكا	والعوثين طي العيال بزادهم	الناهضين من الصهود الى العلا	ان كوشروا كانوا الحما أو فوخروا	يضح مؤلمهم يؤمل سيبه	تهكي عليهم شهبوس بعسيرة	يبكي لها القصر المنيف تألات	ما ضاحكته الشمس الا خلته	تهكي القيان تجاوبت أوتارها	يا شمس ذاك القصر كيف تدخلت	لما تملك شعوب حتى جاوزت	كم كان من أسد هنالك خادر	من قومك الزهر الوجوه اذ الوفى	من كل اشوس خائف في لجة	لما ناهم للعلل صغارهم

(١) ح : خسر (٢) هذا البيت لا يوجد في ق (٣) هذا البيت لا يوجد في ق

(٤) لعله يتصد بمحمد نفسه وأحمد المقتدرين هود (٥) ح . ذله

(٦) ق : وحاد من سنن العلا (٧) ق : آوى (٨) ق : نأى (٩) ق : هلا

(١٠) ق : عذار (١١) ق : دنت (١٢) ق : فجاة طرفتين .

- ١ - بشر<sup>(١)</sup> بالنسبة وكانت جنة
- ٢ - قدرت ونما بالعهد وتلما
- ٣ - يا أهلها من ظئب أو حاضر
- ٤ - جازوا بني عبد العزيز فأنهم
- ٥ - ثوروا بهم متأولين وتلبدوا
- ٦ - هذا محمد أو فهذا أحمد
- ٧ - جاء الوزير بها يكشف ذيلها<sup>(٥)</sup>
- ٨ - نكث اليمين وجار من سنن التقى<sup>(٦)</sup>
- ٩ - آلى لينصر من نها المشوى به<sup>(٧)</sup>
- ١٠ - بر اليمين ولم يعرض نفسه
- ١١ - ما كنتم الا كأمية صالح
- ١٢ - هذا ونصمك بأشمام طائر<sup>(٨)</sup>
- ١٣ - لا بد من مسح الجبين فلما
- ١٤ - هيهات يطمع في النجاة لطالب
- ١٥ - كوف التغلب بالخديعة من يمدى
- ١٦ - رجل تطعمه الزمان فجاهه
- ١٧ - ليس القناد الى الجميل فان يهيج
- ١٨ - طين بأفراض الأمور مجرب
- ١٩ - ماى اذا برزت اليمه ضم
- ٢٠ - ما زال مذ قدت يدها ازاره
- ٢١ - كشاف مظلة وسائس أمية
- ٢٢ - عجبها لأشمط راضع يمدى الوض
- ٢٣ - شراب أركواس العمدام وتارة
- ٢٤ - جوار أذيال القننا ظنوا به
- ٢٥ - وكانكم بنجومه ورجومه
- ٢٦ - وأنا النصيح فان قبلتم فاتركوا

أن قد تدلت في سواه السنار  
 هز الوضى سعى الى الفسدار<sup>(٢)</sup>  
 وتطينها من راسخ أو طارى<sup>(٣)</sup>  
 جروا اليكم أسوأ الأتسدار  
 ملكا يقوم على العدو بـسـتار  
 وكلاهما أهل لتلك السـلـار<sup>(٤)</sup>  
 عن سوءة سواى وطار صـسـار  
 وقضى على الأتسبال بالأدبـسـار  
 ودهاه خذلان من الأ نصـسـار  
 ونفوسكم لصراع الفجـسـار  
 فوماكم ممن طاهر بقـسـسـار  
 ورمى دياركم بالألم جـسـسـار  
 لطمته قدرا فهو ذات سـسـسـار  
 ساع اذا ونست<sup>(١١)</sup> الكواكب سـسـار  
 رجل الحقيقة من ينى صـسـسـار  
 حالين<sup>(١٢)</sup> فى الأحلاء والأمـسـسـار  
 يدع العنان كهيشه التـسـسـار  
 فطن بأسرار المكائد دار  
 مولى اذا التفت طيهه سدـسـار  
 قسا فأدرك خصية الأشـسـسـار  
 نفاع أهل زمانه ضـسـسـسـار  
 منه وطود فى القننا الخـسـسـسـار  
 شراب أركواس السدم العـسـسـار  
 قد زاركم فى الجحفل الجـسـسـار  
 تهدى الحكم فى سـسـسـسـار  
 آثارها خسيرا من الأشـسـسـار

- |                         |                              |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| وأصفت ديتك فمن كـ       | ١ - وثبت لريك فومن فـ        |
| مر الحفظا بحلو الظـ     | ٢ - وتمت تطالبنى الناكـ      |
| ب أطلعت رأيك فوسها تمـ  | ٣ - وطاطلة من سماء الحـ      |
| ل حتى تتقدم جيش الفكـ   | ٤ - ولم تتقدم بجيش الرجا     |
| ل فن فرس كهك ذاك الثـ   | ٥ - لأن يجنك الفتح ذاك الأصـ |
| ت تتقم من خدها ما صـ    | ٦ - تعاطى الخواج حتى برز     |
| د دهم الفوارس بيض الفـ  | ٧ - وأقبلتها الخول حمر المنو |
| ر ونورا ولم ينجهم من مـ | ٨ - فكروا فلم ينجهم من مـ    |
| س وفاحت نفوسهم كالزـ    | ٩ - ودارت دماؤهم كالكمـ      |
| وعهد رمحك حتى انكـ      | ١٠ - فعاتر سيفك حتى انكـ     |
| وناب عن التهروان النهـ  | ١١ - وكم نبت في حريمهم من طـ |
| ة يريح الحديثة فـ       | ١٢ - تمتع فقد ساقتك الحيا    |
| ر ولا سر ريك من لا      | ١٣ - وعش في نعم ودم في سـ    |

القلائد ص ٩٢

وقد ورد في الخريف<sup>١٤٦</sup> الأبيات ٣ - ٤ - ٥ - ١٠ - ١١  
 وفي هذه القصيدة يمدح ابن عار المعتضد طي أثر  
 نصر من انتصاراته العديدة طي البربر .

- |                          |                               |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| كالطل يوقظ نائم الزهـ    | ١ - أدرك أخاك ولو بقافية      |
| في فخر مودة ولا بحـ      | ٢ - فلقد تقاذفت الركاب بهـ    |
| وتساقطوا مكبرا بلا خصـ   | ٣ - طفحت صحابته بلا سفة       |
| حتى من الأنسواء والتظـ   | ٤ - بممايح أدت الى جـ         |
| جملته مرقاة الى النـ     | ٥ - طال كأن الجن ان صردت      |
| حتى استقرت بصفحة البـ    | ٦ - وحش تناكرت الوجوه بهـ     |
| تسرين من فلك ومن وكـ     | ٧ - تصورتهم بين خائفتي        |
| عافيه من كسر ومن كـ      | ٨ - متحير سال الوقار صلـ      |
| فجاءها من تحفته تجـ      | ٩ - ملكت هان الريح راحت       |
| يمهل فقد أبلت في العـ    | ١٠ - مأوى العزيز وقد نصحت فأن |
| وأطعت أمر ضيع أمـ        | ١١ - ووصلت خدمة قاطع سـ       |
| ستأثرا بالحسد والشـ      | ١٢ - دع ذا وصلنا فهو مؤثر     |
| تمحو الذي كتبت بهـ الدهـ | ١٣ - واكتب اليها ليهـ         |

تلايد العتيان ص ١٥ .

كتب ابن صار هذه القصيدة وهو في سجن شقرة  
مخاطب فيها الوزير أبا الفضل بن حسداى .

يقول الفتح عن شعرا بن صار الذي كاتب به اخوانه من  
سجن شقرة " فجا" بما أعجز وأطال فان الأحسان وهو قد أوجز . "

دون السماء دخان عود أخضر  
منشورة في تربة من عسبر  
أمة تعرض نفسها للفستري

يوم تكاثف فمه فكانه  
والظل مثل برادة من فضه  
والشمس أحيانا تلوغ كأنها

بجانبه بركة إلى الشمس  
على أنيقته بخصبها البسيط  
تسرى من ذلك ريسن وأستبر  
بظلمة عين كعسبر ريسن كعسبر  
تبدأت بين فمها أوجع  
بجهد فهد أوجع نفس العسبر  
وأوجع أوجع أوجع أوجع  
بجهد بالهيد والتسبر  
عند الذي كره يسر العسبر

و... قال أن الحق أن عسبر  
١ - وحى تكوت الريسن عسبر  
٢ - أوجع عسبر بين العسبر  
٣ - عسبر نال الريسن عسبر  
٤ - ذلك كان الريسن عسبر  
٥ - أوجع العسبر عسبر  
٦ - أوجع عسبر عسبر  
٧ - أوجع عسبر عسبر  
٨ - أوجع عسبر عسبر  
٩ - أوجع عسبر عسبر  
١٠ - أوجع عسبر عسبر

نفع الطيب ج ٢ ص ٢٤٠

ونسب صاحب العسبر (٢ : ١٧) هذه الأبيات للأسعدين  
ابراهيم بن بلطه وزاد طهما البيتين الآتين :

ولدى صرف مدامة مشمولة      تلقى الظلام بوجه صبح مسفر  
وأنها مما تحبك أتسعت      الأ تطيب لنا اذا لم تحضر

ولم ينسب فهو صاحب العسبر هذه الأبيات للأسعد . ولقد ترجم  
له الفتح في المعجم ص ٨٢ وابن بسام في الذخيرة ١ - ٢ : ٢١٠ والحمودي  
في الجذوة ص ١٦٦ . وابن دحية في العسبر ص ١١١ .

وأورد له الحمودي وابن بسام أبياتا قريبة الشبه بهذه يقول فيها :  
لو كنت شاهدنا ضربة أسننا      والعزني تهكينا بعيني مذهب  
والشمس قد مدت أديم شعاعها      في الأرض تفتح فهو أن لم تذهب  
خلت الرذاذ برادة من فضة      قد غرقت من فوق نطح مذهب

فربما اختلط الأمر بهذه الأبيات على صاحب العسبر .



- ١ - فتأوك النجح لو أظفته سفوى
- ٢ - وقصرك الهيت لو أنى قضيت به
- ٣ - لم يثن هك هانى سلوة خطوت
- ٤ - لكن مرتنى هنك خجلة سافت
- ٥ - ( لو اختصرتم من الأحسان زرتكم
- ووجهك الصبح لو أظفته نظسرى (١)
- حجى وكك منه موضع الحجر
- على قوادى ولا سمنى ولا بتسرى
- كفانى العذر فيها قول معتذر
- والعذب بهجر للأقراطى الخصر (٢)

الذخيرة ج ٢ ق ١٢١

المطرب ص ١٦

الذخيرة ج ٢ ق ١٢١

المطرب ص ١٦

الخريدة ق ١٢٦

— الأبيات ٣ — ٤ — ٥

— الأبيات ٣ — ٤ — ٥

نسخ الطيب ج ٢ ص ٢٦٥

توجه ابن عار بهده الأبيات لابن زين - كما يقول ابن بسام - أو للوزير  
 محمد بن القاسم القهري - كما يقول الآخرون • وكان الشاعر قد اجتاز بهلده  
 ولم يعرج طوه فلامه على ذلك •

على الثلاث بوجه صحيح  
 لا تطلب لنا إلا لم تطير

(١) هذا البيت انفراد بذكره ابن بسام

(٢) هذا البيت لأبي العلاء المعرى من قصيدة يمدح بها أبا الرضا النصيصي مطلقها :-

يا ساهر الهرق أيقظ رائد السمر      لعل بالجزع أعوانا على السمسهر •

وأورد له المعرى ابن بسام أبياتاً تروى للشاعر بهذه يقول فيها •  
 لو كنت شاحداً بما أسبغت      وبالطرفه فكيف يحوى مسددي  
 والخمر قد صبت أدم شعاعها      في الأرض فمخج غير أن لم تذهب  
 قلت الراد براد من كمنسة      قد فوكت من قول تلخ مذهب  
 لربما انقطت الأمر بهده الأبيات على صاحب المطرب •

بوجه أبي الحسن من رده  
ب قرأت الشفاعة في خده +

قرأت كتابك مستشفا  
ومن قبل نفس ختام الكتاب

+ ورد هذا النص في نفع الطيب ج ٢ ص ٣٨١ .  
وتكرر في نفس الكتاب ج ٢ ص ٥٠٠

وقد بحث ابن صرار بهذين البيتين الى أبي العطف  
ابن الدباغ الذي كاتبه من قبل شافعا لفلام طبر لسه  
مزار .

- |                            |                                 |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| أطال في ثديتي على تقسيمه   | ١ - يقول تم ان المؤيد تسيد      |
| تري ليعني يوسب من حسنه     | ٢ - يا تم (الماذا الشرا) تانمة  |
| ساحه بالفسلا في حسنه       | ٣ - أر حشني والساح فادته        |
| فليس في مثله (٣) سوى حسنه  | ٤ - الحد لله ان يكن حرجا (٢)    |
| أجملها رفية الى حسنه       | ٥ - وحيلة ان ولدت حسنه          |
| من طرفه لم أخفه من حسنه    | ٦ - لو صحوا (٢) كفي الفرد ارمته |
| مرتعا بالشعرا من ريسه (كأ) | ٧ - ليكن على القلب طارش زجبل    |
| كالبحر في جزره وفي حسنه    | ٨ - أشرفيتو من جوانبه           |
| يؤنس من برتسه من ريسه      | ٩ - يارب بشو برحمة وحيا         |

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الدخوة ج ٢ ق ١٤٣ ( ماذا السابح والثامن )

الحلة السعيرة ق ١٠٣ •

نظم الشاعر هذه الأبيات وهو في سجن شقوره حينما وقد الراضين  
 بن المقصد لشعرا •

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(١) الحلة - نزلت (٢) الحلة - جرح (٣) الحلة عليها (٤) الحلة - سامحوا •

وقد بعث ابن سار يهدين اليه من ابن العار  
 ابن الدياق الذي كلفه من قبل فاعلم لفلان طير لسه  
 عشار •

- ١ - وأعيد<sup>(١)</sup> من ظمء الروم صراط
- ٢ - تما قليا وشن<sup>(٢)</sup> طيمه درط
- ٣ - نيهل الخلق جاني الخلق مولى
- ٤ - بكيت وقد دنا ونأى رضاه
- ٥ - وان فتى تملكه بنقيد
- ٦ - يقي على قلب طوى زجبل
- ٧ - أشرف من جوارحه
- ٨ - يارب يشر برحمته وحيا

- بما التيق من دمعى نرسد
- فناهره واطمنه<sup>(٣)</sup> حديد
- هو العلى ونحن له عهد<sup>(٤)</sup>
- وقد يكسى عن الطوب الجليد
- وأحسز رقبه لفتى سويد
- وما بالشعور من ريبه (١)
- كالمسور في حزه ريس عبيد
- رؤس من يربسه ون ريبه

الذخيرة ج ٢ ق ١٢٦ وق ١٢٢ •  
 القلائد ص ١٥٦ •

نفع الطوب ج ١ ص ٢٠٨ (الطلع والشمس)  
 المطرب ص ١٥٦ •

نظم الشاعر هذه الأبيات في مملوك للمؤتمن •

- (١) نفع - وأحسوز (٢) قلائد - وشن (٣) قلائد ونفع نهاطه وناهره
- (٤) هذا البيت انفراد بروايته ابن بسام •

نقصتم على الراج أدمن شسورها  
ومن ذا الذي تاد الجهاد الى الوش  
فديتكم لم تفهموا السر انما

وقلتم فتى لهو وليس فتى جسد  
سواى ومن اعلى كورا ولم يكسد  
قلوبكم جهدى فأبعدتكم جهدى +

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+ قلائد العتبان ص ٨٧ • الحطة السيرة ق ١٨

نفع الطيب ١ ص ٢٨٢ •

وقد قال ابن عار هذه الأبيات يخاطب أهل سمرقند  
التي لجأ إليها بعد فراره من مرسية •

٢٨ - سولا عجب أن لم يدن بك سبارق  
 ٢٨ - هفتا بیکر فی القسوج نکحمتها  
 ٢٩ - تحطت من السيف الخضيب بصفحة  
 ٣١ - ودونکها من تشیح فکری حلقة  
 ٣٢ - ألد من العذب القراح طی الصدى  
 ٣٣ - وما هذه الأشعار الا مجامير  
 ٣٤ - وکنت نثرت الفضل فی وانسما  
 ٣٥ - وما أنا باغ من نسدک بقدرما  
 ٣٦ - فأقسم لو قسمت جودک بیستنا  
 ٣٧ - تمنعت بما هندی من النعم التي

فليس جمال الشمس فی الأهن الرمد  
 وما تبضت فیر المنية من نسد  
 وقامت من الرصح الطويل طی تد  
 مطرزة العطفين بالشکر والحسد  
 وأطهب من وصل الهوى قلب الصد  
 تقسوع فيها للندی تطسيع النسد  
 نثرت سقيط الطل فی ورق السورد  
 يضاف لتأملی وبعزى السى ودى  
 طی تدرا التأويل نزت به وحدى  
 يفسرها تولى تمنعت بما هندی +

+ هذا النص من القلائد ص ٩ وأورد ياقوت (معجم البلدان : قرمونة)  
 الأبيات ١٤ - ١٥ - ١٦ ضبوطة لابن صارة .  
 وفى الخريدة ص ١٢٥ وردت الأبيات ١ - ٢ - ٤ - ٥ - ٦ - ١٣ - ١٤  
 ١٥ - ١٦ - ٢٠ - ٢٦ - ٢٧ - ٢٩ .

وقد قال العماد عن هذه القصيدة التي يمدح فيها ابن صار  
 المعتضد ويهينه بفتح قرمونة وهزيمة البربر : ما ألهب استعار استعاراته  
 وأتوى نظام نظامه وما أروى رويته وأعطر ندى تديسه .

(١) ياقوت : متجلا .

١ - الا للمعالي ما تمسيد وما تيسدي  
 ٢ - نواك كما اخضر العذار وتكسية  
 ٣ - جنيت ثمار النصر طيبة الجنة  
 ٤ - وتلدت أجياد الرهي رائق الحلى  
 ٥ - بكل فتى طارى الأشجاع لا يس  
 ٦ - يكرنم طعن كسامعة النيرا  
 ٧ - نجوم سماء الحرب ان يدج ليها  
 ٨ - خميس تودي من يهوك يمهق  
 ٩ - سبيدر ولكن من مطالعه الوفس  
 ١٠ - فتى ثق بين الخائل مقدم  
 ١١ - سقيت به دوما عذاتك مخصبا  
 ١٢ - وجدته نحو الملوك محاربا  
 ١٣ - ورب ظلام سار فيه الى العدا  
 ١٤ - أطل على ترمونة متبلجا (١)  
 ١٥ - فأرطها بالسيف ثم أصارها  
 ١٦ - فما حسن ذاك السيف في راحة العلى  
 ١٧ - لك الله ان كانت عذاتك بمخصبا  
 ١٨ - يهودا وكانت يهرا فانتض الظنبا  
 ١٩ - أقول وقد نادى ابن اسحق تومعه  
 ٢٠ - لقد سلكت نهج السبيل الى الردى  
 ٢١ - كأنى بهارس وقد حط رحله  
 ٢٢ - الى الفرس الجارى به طلق الردى  
 ٢٣ - يحن الى فرناطة فوق متبينه  
 ٢٤ - ظفرت بهم قارتح وأرض كوسها  
 ٢٥ - معتقة أهدت الى الورد لونها  
 ٢٦ - وأكر ما يلهيك عن كاسك الوفى  
 ٢٧ - وما الملك الا حليلة بك حسنبا

وفى الله ما يخفيه ها وما يسدي  
 كما خجلت من دونه صفحة الخسد  
 ولا شجر فهو المتفيسة الملسد  
 ولا درر فهو النطيمة الجسود  
 الى فصرات الموت محكمة المسود  
 يضاف الى ضرب كطاشية الهسود  
 يدور بهم أفواجها فلك المسعد  
 حكاك كما قد الشراك من الجلسد  
 وليت ولكن من برائنه الهسندى  
 جنى الموت في فكه أحل من الشهيد  
 فأجفك من روض الندى ثمر الحسد  
 فوافاك بقتاد الملوك من الجسد  
 ولا نجم الا ما تطلع من فسد  
 مع الصبح حتى قلت كانا على وعد  
 من النار أثواب الحداد على القسد  
 وما برد تلك النار في كبد العسد  
 لبعض • فكل منهم جميعا الى فرد  
 وأهشهم صومعها بالسفة لسد  
 لأرضك يرتاد العنبة من بعد  
 ظبا دعت من ظابة الأسد السورد  
 الى الفرس الطاوى عن الفرس النهيد  
 سرهما قنوا عن لجام وعن ليد  
 كما حن مقصوص الجناح الى الورد  
 بروقا لها من عودها ضجة الرسد  
 وجادت برهاها على العنبر السورد  
 وعن نغاط العود نغمة مسجد  
 والا فافضل السوار بلا زسد

ظائب الشخص لى اهتا هيد (٧)  
 وأنا اشققتك من هيد  
 اتجلبت شدتى وذا اب حيدى

٢٨ - يعتنى نازح المكان مطسل  
 ٢٩ - مثوق مستجيب الى من ترهب  
 ٣٠ - لو اظلت طى رحمة عينه

الذخيرة ج ٢ ق ١٤١ ( باعدا الهمتين ٤ - ٥ )  
 الحلة المبراة ق ١٠٠ ( الأبيات ١ - ٢ - ٣ - ٤ - ٥ )

- (١) الحلة - ظاهر برهدى (٢) الحلة - كروح
- (٤) نسخة أخرى من الذخيرة - بفضلك
- (٦) نسخة أخرى من الذخيرة - الجيوش
- (٣) الحلة - وانتحيب
- (٥) نسخة أخرى من الذخيرة - مردود
- (٧) كذا في نسختي الذخيرة



قاصدا بالسلام قصر الرشيد  
 وتناثر في صحفه كالقريش  
 ضجتي في ملاحلي وقريش  
 قلت اني رسول بعض العبيد  
 فاجتني طاعة المحصب البعيد  
 بقا الشكين والتمهيد  
 وردود على النوى مسودود  
 المجد وبارضة الندي والجدود  
 ولعاني وطيب على التمهيد  
 لقوة محوة الجفاح صود  
 صرع وناطس مسز\* ود (٥)  
 من ثنا طيب وذكر حصيد  
 وذلول من المعاني مسرود  
 طوقت منك أي طسوق وحصيد  
 أنت بدر النجم تحت سنا الشمس أتكم على سنا السعود  
 أنت ربحانة الملا ليني عباد السادة الكرام الصود  
 أنت اما اهضتم درة التاج فوند الصام وسطى الرشيد  
 وأذا ما مدحتم نكسة الخطبية فن الحديث بهتت القصود  
 وأذا ما ركبتم الخيل صدر الجيش<sup>(٦)</sup> كمين اللوا قلب الحصيد  
 أنت فهم ان يحتموا ليلة القدر وان يحتمون يوم العيد  
 وصفات جلت عن التحصيد  
 وسنا للى سنى مسودود  
 لا مزيد طيسه للمصيد  
 شاب فيه حلاوة التوحيد  
 كالوع البشور بالتأيد  
 قال أحسنت همزة المسويد  
 صح سنى وجهك الأفر المسويد

١ - قل لبرق الغمام ظهر الهيد<sup>(١)</sup>  
 ٢ - فقلب في جوه كقوادى<sup>(٢)</sup>  
 ٣ - وانحدر<sup>(٣)</sup> في صلاح الرهد تحكى  
 ٤ - فاذا ما اجتلاك أو قتال ما ذا  
 ٥ - بعض من أبعده تلك الليالى  
 ٦ - فجزاك الاله من ملك حر  
 ٧ - من مطوح عهد الوثا مطاع  
 ٨ - سكت أشدو طيك يا دوحسة  
 ٩ - اذ جتلى تد بذلك<sup>(٤)</sup> طلسق  
 ١٠ - وأنا اليوم تحت ظل عساق  
 ١١ - ألقها بناظر خائق اللحص  
 ١٢ - غير أنى سأصطفى لك جهدى  
 ١٣ - في تليل من التوائى كهر  
 ١٤ - كلمات كأنها الدر نطسما  
 ١٥ - أنت بدر النجم تحت سنا الشمس أتكم على سنا السعود  
 ١٦ - أنت ربحانة الملا ليني عباد السادة الكرام الصود  
 ١٧ - أنت اما اهضتم درة التاج فوند الصام وسطى الرشيد  
 ١٨ - وأذا ما مدحتم نكسة الخطبية فن الحديث بهتت القصود  
 ١٩ - وأذا ما ركبتم الخيل صدر الجيش<sup>(٦)</sup> كمين اللوا قلب الحصيد  
 ٢٠ - أنت فهم ان يحتموا ليلة القدر وان يحتمون يوم العيد  
 ٢١ - فهنيئا أبا الحسين خلال  
 ٢٢ - وشرف على الجميع بمن  
 ٢٣ - وهنيئا من المؤيد حنط  
 ٢٤ - لك في نفسه العزيزة حسب  
 ٢٥ - وطن لحظه النزه طلسوع  
 ٢٦ - وأذا ما شدا بذكوك شاد  
 ٢٧ - فعلام السوى يصح وضاه

١ - خذها كما سقرت اليك خذود

٢ - دررا من التلاح تتشرب بوننا

٣ - خذها وتاولها التدام فأنسها

٤ - وشغلت بالأجام نضرا انه

٥ - عذرا اليها انما هي أوجه

٦ - ايه وعدي من فرائك أوعسة

٧ - أنظرت من صوم بفرتك التي

٨ - لكه لهلتا التي من أجاسها

٩ - لكه جفاني قد يلك الكسب

١٠ - السواك الهم تحت ظل فسلاف

١١ - انما التبحر بانظر خلق المصنوع

١٢ - انما يرى ما يلقى للجهدي

١٣ - الذي قيل عن الكواكب كبر

١٤ - انما التبحر انما التبحر

١٥ - انما التبحر انما التبحر

١٦ - انما التبحر انما التبحر

١٧ - انما التبحر انما التبحر

١٨ - انما التبحر انما التبحر

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٢٩ - انما التبحر انما التبحر

٣٠ - انما التبحر انما التبحر

أو أوجست في راحتك نيسود

ولها بأجساد الفطون عسود

راح زهاها في الشتاء جمسود

شكل الجمال وحده المصسود

بعض تارتها عسود سسود

يعزى اليها ثابت ونوسود

كانت هلالا كان عنه العسود

هذا الزمان يمثلته مصسود

ولما في راسب في الفسود

لنورا بصرا المصاح عسود

سبون وفلاطون سسود (٥)

من عا طيب وذكر عسود

والول من الفطس سسود

نوتت منك أي سسود

انما التبحر انما التبحر

انما التبحر انما التبحر

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انما التبحر انما التبحر

بفضل نوال واهتمامك بمسئولتي  
مطالع سعدى في سمالك أسعد  
وهدت بما أوليت والمود أحمد  
ونفق روض من ندادك تعهد  
حديث كما هب التسميم المنورد  
الى شكر احسان أفهب فأشهد  
تقوم طوبها آية النصح تعهد  
ولا كومت نفسي ولا طاب مسولد +

١ - أفي كفي يوم تحفة وثقتك  
٢ - لقد فاز قدح في هواك وقابلت  
٣ - تبرعت بالمعروف قبل سؤاليه  
٤ - فأناق حوض من ندادك تجس  
٥ - أما وضع زارني بجمالسه  
٦ - لقد همز أطاف القواني وهزني  
٧ - فإن أنا لم أشكوك صادق نية  
٨ - فلاصح لي دين ولا برمذهب

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+ هذا النص من القلائد ص ١٢ •  
وهو يمدح المحتشد •

الزخيرة ج ٢ ص ١٥٨

+ هذا النص من ٨، القلائد ص ١٦ .

ورود في المغرب ج ١ ص ٣١١ البيتان ٢٩ - ١٥

ورود في الخريدة ق ١٢٦ . البيتان ٣٨ - ٢٩

ورود في رايات المبرزين ص ٢٨ البيت ١٥ وفيه وسوادها بسواده  
وقد كتب ابن صار هذه القصيدة - وهي أطول تصانده - ومحت  
بها إلى أبي عيسى بن ليهون الذي كان قد أرسل إليه تصديدا يعاتبه  
على أنه اجتاز به ولم يعرج عليه يقول فيها :

وهت لذكوك ألسن الورد  
خلوه حتى كت أنت الهادي  
ان الكرم طليسة الحساد  
تتهين الأشيا بالأضداد  
أسد المعين به ودر النادي  
أمل الحبيب ونجعة الموتاد  
أصبحن كالأطواق في الأجداد  
وفخار كعب في قهول اسواد  
ظلمنا وصبح العدل عندك باد  
موصولة الأفعال بالأوساد  
لصحيح ظني أو صريح وادادي  
وأرى ولاك مقلبي وسنادي  
جعل الظلي بدلا من الأضاد  
صوب النعام المستهمل الفادي  
من نور هني أو سواد فؤادي

ختمت بحصرك أصر الأجواد  
وسبقت أملاك الزمان التي مدي  
وقدوت أكثرهم حسودا في العلاء  
هدا بفضلك نفس كل معاند  
وقفت بمنفك العميون فلاحات  
وأنتك وافة الرجال تقابلت  
وتدرون قد حطن هك سوارقا  
فضل أرانا جود حاتم طي  
ايه أبا بكر أنظلم ساحتي  
عجبا لو هك كيف تمسك يد  
ولسبب جودك كيف لم تصم به  
اني لمعتد أخاك موثلي  
وأصول منك على الزمان بمنصل  
فمضى مملك داتها أو ناكها  
ولمحت رحلت لقد حطت بمنزل

+ هذا النص من القلائد ص ١٦

وهو يصفى النفس

٢٧- أفديك من حرّ تعبد بـره  
 ٢٨- فلقد ظفرت من اقتبالك بالمنى  
 ٢٩- وأرحت من بعينى بمعهدك فى ندى  
 ٣٠- وشددت منك يدى بعلق مضفة  
 ٣١- متعللين على الوفاة بعلية  
 ٣٢- جمحوا الى ظلمى فسمت جماحهم  
 ٣٣- واستبطنوا حقدنا ووسن جوانحى  
 ٣٤- ولكم دعى فى الأخاء أمرته  
 ٣٥- حتى اذا رفض الوفاة رفضته  
 ٣٦- لا ذنبلى فى طرد سائمة الهوى  
 ٣٧- أنا قد رضيتك فارضى وأعدنى  
 ٣٨- أنى لمن ان دعوت لنصرة  
 ٣٩- أزكيت دونك للعدى حدق القنا  
 ٤٠- صلنى أصلك وصل فديتك بى أصل  
 ٤١- ولت الى الوفاة محركا  
 ٤٢- ولئن بلغت الى رضى فربما  
 ٤٣- وطى تظاهرتنا الضمان بقلبة الامداد  
 ٤٤- وزعمت تتلم ساحة ما بيننا  
 ٤٥- كلا فما التسوية من شيعى ولا  
 ٤٦- لا بد من ذاك المطار وان صددت  
 ٤٧- سفر ان استعدت فأمضى  
 ٤٨- خذها نتيجة منك لو دادها

شكوى وقتل له الفدا والفسادى  
 ولنت أتص ظمى وصرادى  
 ظل فمت طى وشير مهناد  
 ونفضتها بزطائف أنسكار  
 ضحك الطبيب لها مع المصاد  
 ولقيت شدتهم بلوسن قصادى  
 طبع يسل سخام الأحقاد  
 جذب ابن سفوان بضبح زياد  
 وانضت منه بطوب المسيلاد  
 منه على السرح الوميل الصادى  
 ان كت محتاجا الى الأمداد  
 يوما بساطا حجة وجبالاد  
 وخصمت هك بألمن الأضاد  
 بك واحدى اتخذك صنادى  
 ايه فما خطرت بعطف جمادى  
 ألفتنى لرضاك بالمسراد  
 ثم بكسرة الحصاد  
 ظلما وصبح المعدل هدى بساد  
 لى الجميل بمعادة من صادى  
 هو اللوالى اعين مسوادى  
 حرص وأجعل من ثنائك زادى  
 بمر بها قال لها شقبادى

وسليت أطاق العظمى صعدى  
سعدى الهه وحثنى اسعدى  
نفسى فخلت عن بنى عباد  
ينبيك أنك مالك لتسعدى  
تستفك صفو أحسبه وأعدى  
فناه حاليمة بنسور ودادى  
لجنى وزرعك قد أتى لحصاد  
لرضا تلبى منك خير مسناد  
حكم لأنكر أن تكسون الهادى  
من خدر فكركنى حلى الأثناد  
فهداه حاليمة الطلى والهنادى  
صلة الحبيب أتى بلا مسعاد  
حظ الكهيم وخطبة الأجداد  
فكسوتهم مذهبها بأيمادى  
ببهاضة وسوادها بسواد  
كافور قرطاس بمسك مسداد  
حسن الجزاء بها وهسى القادى  
ماه الفوات ولا شوى بمسداد  
خضم الد ووجه عذر بساد  
الرمح الطويل كتابة بطراد  
استطاعت متنى منير وجواد  
حمل الحسام طومك حلى نجاد  
ترك الرئاسة مهنة القواد  
وصفا مزاجا كالسحاب النجادى  
كشرف الأيام بالأعماد  
ككناية الآلاق نسي الأمداد

١ - هطلت من حلى السروج جسادى  
٢ - وثبتت قوسى عن مسير هسزنى  
٣ - وسليت من ثوب الصرورة والنهيسى  
٤ - ان لم أحلك من فوادى مسنولا  
٥ - وأخص جانبك الرفيع بخدمه  
٦ - وأرد بذكرك من ثنائسى روضة  
٧ - حتى تبين أن فرسك قد دنا  
٨ - ياسيدى وأنا الذى ناديتك  
٩ - أعطاك فضل الابتداء ولو جرى  
١٠ - الله در قبلىة أهرزته  
١١ - فرطه طارة الذوائب واللمسى  
١٢ - خلعت الى مع الأصيل فعارضت  
١٣ - خط من النظم البديع أفادنى  
١٤ - وشى سفت يدك الصناع برتسه  
١٥ - يفدى الصحيفة ناظرى فيها  
١٦ - أدى تحييتك الكريمة طيبها  
١٧ - ولقد تعيون لو اطنت قسدره  
١٨ - لكن هجرت . فما استقل بنشأتى  
١٩ - عذرا ففك لكل طالب حجة  
٢٠ - بك فاخر القلم القصير وطاول  
٢١ - ولك الفصاحة أو لسيفك كلما  
٢٢ - تثبت طومك حلى الوزارة مثلما  
٢٣ - وتتوجت منك القيادة بالذى  
٢٤ - أنت الحلال الحورق طيبه  
٢٥ - من معشر تتشرف الأذوا بهم  
٢٦ - جلوا فحلوا فى الأنام مكانه

(٣) سماع (٢) معتقد فيها ومعتقد  
كالهجر يحكى انتقالها صورة الأسد (٥) +

(١) ما يتبعه عندى ذكر أندلس  
أسما (٤) معلقة فى فور موضعها

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+ هذا النس من الخريدة ق ١٢٣ ، وفوات الأمان ج ٤ ص ٥٥ .  
شذرات ج ٣ ص ٣٥٧ . رايات ص ٢٨٤ والأشهر أن هذه الأبيات  
لاهن رشيق . وكان صاحبه ابن شرف القيروانى قد دناه للذهاب معه  
الى الأندلس فرد طيه بهذين البيتين .  
وقد ورد البوتان غير منسوبين فى نفع الطيب ٢ : ٤٧٥ كما وردا  
فى نفع الطيب ١ - ١١ منسوبين لاهن رشيق وكذلك فى معجم الأدباء  
ج ٧ ص ١٦ .

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(١) رايات - ن : ياقوت . ما يزهدينى فى أرض أندلس . (٢) رايات : تظهير  
(٣) ياقوت . مقتدر فيها ومعتقد (٤) ياقوت رايات : القاب  
(٥) شذرات - رايات ياقوت : صولة

نزلت وشركك للسياح  
 دواع الى البلد النازح  
 فما هم من طمك الراجح  
 فقد بمن الصبح للامح  
 فلكه الى سعدك اللابح  
 فما يغلبون من الناصح  
 زناد الوضي لهد القاصح  
 طي بأسك الهادم الناطح  
 لما عتقت لسدة الناكح  
 طي نائم دونها طامح  
 قد صرح الجسد للمازح  
 أيا فجرة القصر اللامح  
 ورد ندى بحرك الزاخر الطامح

طي اليمن والطائر المسائح  
 وما امتجت الا وقد هيبتك  
 والا فكم خوف من خوف جهلا  
 تكلف حقوقك لا لا تسامح  
 ومن يعترضك بأوداجسه  
 ومك يوجرون ومك ينصحون  
 وما كان أنصفهم لو رموا  
 ولا عجب لثبوت القبالع  
 فلولا امتناع النظارة الكصاب  
 خلعت الكرى في لباس العملا  
 هنيئا فانت طوبك الطسوك  
 وما أخوتني عنك النجم  
 ولا ألتبى لم يثنى عن

\* هذا النص من الفرقة 127 وولدت الأبيات ج 4 ص 28  
 فدرات ج 2 ص 257 ورايات ج 286 والأشهر أن هذه الأبيات

الذخيرة ج 6 ق 127 - 128 • المتن •

قالها في العتيد حين نزوله في بعض الحصون • كما ورد  
 في فتح القليب 1 - 11 شعور لا ين ربحه وكذلك في جميع الأبيات  
 ج 2 ص 11

- (1) ورايات من ديوانه ما ورد في أول أبيات (2) ورايات في القليب
- (2) ديوانه ما ورد في العتيد (3) ديوانه ورايات في القليب
- (4) فدرات - ورايات في القليب و مسبوقة



البيك منى فلولي كنه صبح

وكيف لا وصغيري الحاجب الفتح

هذا النص من الحطة السيرة ق ١١ • كان ابن عار يسمر  
مع الفتح الى أن شارف الصبح فقال أحد الضياع قعد  
انصدع الفجر • فود طيه ابن عار بهذا البيت •



ب الجندود في معنى السطاح  
ه الجند من طرق السراج  
ف نجد قليلا بالسراج +

ياواضحا فصح السطاح  
ومطابقا يأتي وجسرو  
أسرفت في هو الضميا

---

+ هذا النص من القلائد ص ٥٢ ، أصل الأعلام ص ١٩٢ ،  
الخريدة : ق ١٢٨ المغرب ج ٢ ص ١٩٨ .

وكان ابن عمار أرسل بهذه الأبيات للمعصم بن صامح  
يستأذنه في الرحيل بعد أن طال تواجده بالعريفة فود طيبة  
المعصم :

ياواضحا في شكوه  
هلا رقت بمهجتي  
ان السطاح بهجرتكم  
أصل السطاح مع الصباح  
فقد التكره في السراج  
والله ليس من السطاح

(١) المغرب : الجندون

كف هذا التهد منى      فتلبي منه جـ  
هو في صدرك تهد      وهو في صدري رصح +

+ هذا النص من نفع الطبيب جم ص ٢٠٧ . قال المقرئ :  
وقال أبو العرب بن معيشة الكنانى المسمى : أخيرنى شيخ  
شيخ من أهل أشهدية كان قد أدرك دولة آل عباد  
وكان عليه من اثر كبر السن ودلائل التعمير ما شهد له  
بالصدق ويطاق بان قوله الحق . قال : كنت فى صباه  
حسن الصورة بديع الخلقة لا تلمحنى عين أحد الا ملكست  
قالبه وخابت قلبه وسلمت له وأظلت كربة . فهنا أنا واقف  
على باب نارنا ان بالوزير أبى بكر بن هار قد أتى من موكب  
زجل على فرس كالصخرة الصماء قدت من قفة الجهل فحسين  
حاذانى ورأى اشواب الى يظارنى وهبت الى يتألمنى شمس  
دفع بمنصورة كانت يهده فى صدري وأنشد . . . . .

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| وذكر ان طابت اجلى وأوضح             | ١ - سجاياك ان طابت أئدى وأسجح            |
| فأنت الى الأدى من الله تجسح (١)     | ٢ - وان كان بين الخطتين منزلة            |
| عدائى (٢) وأن آتوا على (٣) وأنصحووا | ٣ - حنائك فى أخذى برأيتك لا تلجح         |
| بخوض عدوى اليوم فيه وبمخرج          | ٤ - وأن رجائى أن ضدك فسر ما              |
| يكران فى لعل الخطايا فوصح           | ٥ - ولم لا وقد أسلفت ودا وخدمت           |
| أما تفسد الأيام (٥) فمت تصلح        | ٦ - وهينى وقد أعيت أعمال (٤) ففسد        |
| له نحو روح الله باب ففتح            | ٧ - أقتنى بما بينى وبينك من رضا          |
| بهيبة رحمتى منك تمحو وتمصح          | ٨ - وعفا على آثار جرم سلككها (٦)         |
| فكل انا بالذى فيه يفضح (٩)          | ٩ - ولا تلتفت (٧) قول الوشاة ورأيتهم (٨) |
| بزورهنى عبدالعزیز مستوشح            | ١٠ - سواتك فى أمرى حديث وقد أتى          |
| إذا فبت لا أنتك آسو وأجسح           | ١١ - وما ذاك الا ما طمت فأنسى            |
| أشاروا تجاهى بالشعات ورححووا (١١)   | ١٢ - كأنى بهم لا در لله درهم (١١)        |
| فقلت : وقد يعنفو فلان ويصفح         | ١٣ - وقالوا : سيجزه فلان بفعلية (١٢)     |
| ولكن حلما للمؤيد أرجح               | ١٤ - الا ان بطشنا للمؤيد يرتع            |
| سوى أن ذنبى واضح مقصح (١٥)          | ١٥ - وماذا على الواشون أن يتزهدوا (١٤)   |
| صفات (١٦) يزل الذنوب عنها فيسفع     | ١٦ - نعم لى ذنوب • فبر أن لطفه           |
| الى فيدرونو • أو على فهنسج          | ١٧ - طيه سلام (١٧) كيف داربه الهوى       |
| أموت ولى شوق الهه سبرج              | ١٨ - وبينه ان مت الملو فأنسى             |
| ستفتح لو أن الحطام يجلسح +          | ١٩ - وبين ضلوعى من هواه ترمسة            |

النخبه ج ١٢٩ ق ١٠٠  
 + هذا الفص من القلائد ص ١٠١، المعجب ص ١٢٥ الحلة السيرة ق ١٠٠  
 وقد ورد منها فى أعمال الأعلام الأبيات ١-٢-٤-٥-٦-٧-١٢-١٣-١٤-١٦-١٧ •  
 وهذه القصيدة آخر ما وصلنا من شعر ابن عمار • وهى على الأرجح آخر ما نظم  
 من الشعر • وقد وجه بها من سجنه فى اشبهلية الى المحقق •

- (١) قسح : اجنح (٢) ح : وشائى (٣) ق و ح : طى (٤) ح : وهينى قد (٥) ق ح : الأعمال  
 (٦) ق و ح : حنوته (٧) ل ح : تستمع (٨) ح : زور الوشاة واقكهم ق : رأى الوشاة وقولهم  
 (٩) ق ح : يرشح (١٠) ق : تحيلتهم (١١) هذا البيت لا يوجد فى ح (١٢) ح : بذنبه  
 (١٣) ق ح : يروح (١٤) ق ح : الأعداء (١٥) ح : ثابت (١٦) ق : صفات (١٧) ق ح : سلام طيه

- ١ - لك المثل الأعلى وما أنا حمارث  
٢ - ولا شاركه الشمس في وانسه  
٣ - فديتك ما للبشر لم يسر برتسه  
٤ - أظن الذي بيني وبينك أذهبت  
٥ - تتكوت لا أني لئنضلك ناكسر  
٦ - ولكن ظنون ساعدتها سخائم  
٧ - أبعد انقضا خمس وعشرين حجة  
٨ - مضت لم توب مني أمور شسوائب  
٩ - حلت يداي هكذا وتركيتني  
١٠ - وهل أنا الا عد طاهك السقي  
١١ - أعد نظرا لا توهمن الرأي انه  
١٢ - ستذكوني ان بان جلي وأصحت  
١٣ - وتطلبيني ان قاب للرأي حاضر  
١٤ - أعوذ بعهد نطقه بك أن يسرى
- ولا أنا ممن فترته الحوادث  
لئنأي بحظي منك ثان وثالث  
ولا نفحت تلك المسجيا الدماث  
حلاوته عنى الرجال الأخابث  
لدى ولا أني لعهدك ناكسث  
كما ساعدت صوت الماني مثالث  
تجانت لنها همها الخطوب الكوارث  
ولا تليت عنى مساع خسبائث  
نهابها وللأيام أمد عسوابث  
اذا مت عنها قام بعدي وارث  
تديما هفا كلب وأدرك رائث  
تهن يكفيسك الحساب الرثائث  
وقد ظاب منى للخواطس باعث  
تحل صراه العاقبات النوائث +

+ هذا النص من الحلة السنسيرة ق ١٢ .

وقد أرسل بهذه الأبيات الى المعتد هذ بداية الخلاف  
بينهما بعد توثيقه من ملك مرسومة . وكان المعتد قد أرسل له بيتين  
بملاحظة أبيات يقبول فيها :-

تغير لي فمن تغير حمارث      ورب خليل فترته الحوادث  
أحارث ان شورك فيك فدالما      نعمنا وما بيني وبينك ثالث

وقد ظننت هذه الأبيات له . وهي في الواقع لابراهيم بن العباس  
الصولي . انظر الأظنى ج ٩ ص ٢١

ولعل المعتد قد استشهد بها .

اهداء يومك جنته من بابسه  
وكسوت متن البحر بعض شوايه +

حلاوه في الرجال الأتيسه  
قدي ولا أن لبيدك أكتسبه  
كلا ماغيت حيوه الطار باليسه  
تواضعت لينا تقيا العلويا الكاربه  
ولا كليت من صياح شمسبها  
توليا ولأشم ليمد شمسبها  
لداسته شقيا كم بعدى باره  
كيتا هذا كلب يادرك باليسه  
من يكيتك النصار الرابسه

لما رأيت الناس مختلفون (١) فسي  
فيمتت نحو الشمس شبه اهليها (٢)  
أذن الذي يمشي ويضاهي أذنيه  
تأخره لا أن يفتنك لاكتسبه  
ولكن تفرق ماغيتبها مستطام  
أيمد لغيا شمس وهيون حيا  
عنه لم يرب على أهور شمسبها  
مطعمها من مكنها وبركسبها  
يهدل أنا لا بعد طافت الساري  
أف أهداها لا يوسن قراري ليمد

+ هذا النص من القلائد ص ٨٧ ، المطرب ص ١٦ ، الحطية ق ١٠٣ .  
وقد كتب به ابن عار الى المعتد في يوم عيد . وكان الناس  
قد انتقوا في أنواع الهدايا للمعتد فأكتفى هو بان أرسل  
شوا أصغر وأختر أزرق ومعها البستان .

(١) مطرب : مختلفون (٢) مطرب : اهليها . حله : اياتها .

- |   |                               |
|---|-------------------------------|
| ١ - أشاتك ربح أم جفاك حبيب              | قليلك فضفاض الوداء رحيب       |
| ٢ - إلى الله اشكو أن مالك في دمي        | شريك وبالي في هواك نصيب       |
| ٣ - أتدريين من كلفت عينيك تطلبه         | وتلتفتي لا يستفيد غريب        |
| ٤ - <sup>بقترة</sup> من مهرة الخيل ترمى | بأعلام تصرفي الوفي وترويب     |
| ٥ - تماموا بلخضم فاستهلت سماؤهم         | بغشون منها ذائب وسليب         |
| ٦ - بدور ولكن السماء محسار              | وأسد ولكن المرصن حروب         |
| ٧ - مزحت فأني يابنة القيل لم أكن        | لأنسي سرا ضمتته قلبوب         |
| ٨ - بأشهد تومسي أن طرفك من دمي          | بري وإن كان القصور يرويب      |
| ٩ - وكيف أرى في العذر نهجا لسالك        | وهبك بالملك الوفي ترويب       |
| ١٠ - فتى نبح العذر انقضاء وناعسه        | فلا تحكسي أن الوفاء غريب      |
| ١١ - والفبين الذنب والظبي قدسه          | فلا تجزعي أن زار يبعك نيب (١) |
| ١٢ - أعز ينير الملك منه بكوكب           | له في سما المشكلات تقوب       |

هذا النص من التلايد من ٨٧ ، الطوبى من ١٦ ، النظم في ١٠٢ .  
 وقد كتب به ابن عمار إلى المعتضد في يوم عيد . وكان الناس  
 قد انقضوا في أنواع البغايا المعتضد فألقى هو يان أرسل  
 في يوم عيد .

الذخيرة ج ٢ ق ١٢٦ - ١٢٧

(١) طوبى (٢) طوبى ، أحاديثه ، الدنيا  
 قالها في المعتضد

(١) هذا البيت جاء طردا في الذخيرة ج ١ مجلد أول ص ٣٠١  
 قال عنه ابن بسام " ومن اللفظ الطبع الطيار الخفيف الريح " .



فذلك ذنب لست منه أتوب +

لكن كان ذنبي للزمان محبتي

+ هذا النص من الذخيرة ١ - ١ ص - ٦٥

(١) هذا البيت في نسخة من الذخيرة ج ١ عند أول ص ٦٥  
قال هو ابن ميمون "وهو الكتاب الطبع في دار الكتب بدمشق"

سوقف<sup>(٢)</sup> فيها عند وتصح التجارب  
 على الهدى كمرات بحسن المواهب  
 وسقت على القول من كلتا نسب  
 أجر لمانى بعض تلك المواهب  
 يبرود<sup>(٣)</sup> من حر الحشا والتسرائب  
 قرات جوابي عن سطور المواكب  
 بعثت الى حرسى ثلاث كتاب  
 وما لذي لى يوما على عقب صاحب  
 ألحت على وجهي بنمى الجواب  
 تقابلت دفعا فى صدور الكنائس<sup>(٤)</sup>  
 تعودت من ريسان تلك الضرائب  
 ركمت الى منفاك هوى الجنائس<sup>(٥)</sup>  
 وقضيت من رؤياك أوكد واجب  
 وظلمت للمانى ثقال الحسائب  
 وفورك يقضى بالظنون الكواكب +

١ - فديتك لا تزهد قسم<sup>(١)</sup> بقية  
 ٢ - وابق على الخلمان أن لديهم  
 ٣ - تكفتنى بالنظم والنثر جاهدا  
 ٤ - وقد كان لى لو شئت رد وانما  
 ٥ - ولا بد من شكوى ولو بتنفس  
 ٦ - كتب على رسى عهد نسيت  
 ٧ - ثلاثة أبيات وههيات انما  
 ٨ - وكوف يلد العيش فى حب سيد  
 ٩ - وتقبل هجوت عن بعض كبرى جفوة  
 ١٠ - سلكت سبيلى للزيارة قبلها  
 ١١ - وما كت مرتادا ولكن لنفحة  
 ١٢ - ولو لمعت لى فى سمالك برقة  
 ١٣ - فقبلت من يمنك أظب مشرع  
 ١٤ - وأنت خفيف الظهور الامن النوى<sup>(٦)</sup>  
 ١٥ - سواك يعنى قول الوشاة من العدا

+ هذا النص من القلائد ص ٥١ ، المطرب ص ١٦٠ ، الخريدة ق ١٢٧

وقد خاطب ابن عار بهذه الأبيات المعتم بن صادق صاحب  
 المرية ردا على أبيات ثلاثة بعث بها اليه المعتم معاتبها  
 يقول :

وزهدنى فى الناس معرفتى بهم  
 فلم تبنى الأيام خلا تسمرنى  
 وطول اختبارى صاحبها بعد صاحب  
 هاديه الا ساكنى فى المواكب  
 من الدهر الا كان احدى النواكب  
 ولا قلت أرجوه لدفع طمسة

(١) مطرب .: وم (٢) مطرب : سوقف (٣) مطرب : يخفف  
 (٤) فى مطرب .: تقدم البيت ١١ على البيت ١٠ (٥) مطرب : الصائب  
 (٦) مطرب : وأنت (٧) مطرب : الندى .

- ١ - تأملت منك البدر في ليلة الخطب
- ٢ - وجردت من محروس رأيت مرهفا
- ٣ - وما زلت من نعتك في ظل ليلدة
- ٤ - إذ العيش في أفاء ذلك بارد
- ٥ - أحين سقى صوب اتفاقك ساحق
- ٦ - تثبت لعطف لو تثبت مدائن حصن
- ٧ - أما انه لولا عوارفك السقي
- ٨ - لما زدت طير الود عن شجر القلي
- ٩ - ولكن سأكني بالوفاء عن الجفا
- ١٠ - وان نفتحني من سمالك حوجف
- ١١ - وانى اذا قلدت جاهك مطلبى
- ١٢ - أينظلم في عيني كذا تصرد الجسى

ونلت لديك الخصب في زمن الجسد  
 تولت به خول الحوادث عن حرس  
 تذكري أيامها زمن الحسب  
 فمن مرتح خصب الى مورد عسب  
 فتعصبا ما هز روضي في تسرب  
 طيه وسرب قد بدلت به سرب  
 جرت في مجرى الماء في الفصن الرطب  
 ولا صفت وجه الحد من كف العتسب  
 وأرضي بهحد بعدما كان من تسرب  
 سأهتف يا برد النسيم طن تسلبى  
 وأخفتت فيه قلت يا زمنى حسبى  
 وهو يكنى شفرة الصارم العسب

+ هذا النص من الحلة السمرية ق ١٦

وكان ابن عمار قد مدح ابن زيدون ولكنه بعد ذلك نقل أبياته  
 في خطاب المعتمد . انظر القصيدة السابقة وقد أهداه ابن عمار  
 كل قصائده التي مدح به رجلا قبل المعتمد توددا من ابنه  
 المعتمد .

وكان ابن عمار قد مدح ابن زيدون ولكنه بعد ذلك نقل أبياته في خطاب المعتمد . انظر القصيدة السابقة وقد أهداه ابن عمار كل قصائده التي مدح به رجلا قبل المعتمد توددا من ابنه المعتمد .

(١) مطرب: يوم (٢) مطرب: سحر (٣) مطرب: سحر  
 (٤) في مطرب: نظم البيت ١١ من البيت ١٠ (٥) مطرب: السلب  
 (٦) مطرب: رأيت (٧) مطرب: السدي

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| ١ - أصدق ظني أم اصبح الى صبحي                                 | وأضئ عزيبي أم أضح مع الركيب                     |
| ٢ - إذا انقصدت في رأيي مشيت مع الهوى وان اتعقبه نكبت طي عسقبى | يعفوها ما قد تعرض من ذنبي                       |
| ٣ - وانى لتتوهى الهك مسودة                                    | توهى بعدى <sup>عند</sup> <sup>أمن</sup> من قرسي |
| ٤ - لما أحجب الأيام فوما قضت به                               | وارجسوك للحب الذي لك في قلبى                    |
| ٥ - أخافك للحق الذي لك في دمي                                 | ولا غرو يوما أن يغفل عن عزيبي                   |
| ٦ - وكم قد فرقت بينك من ضربة                                  | عاطفها ما بين شرق الى غروب (١)                  |
| ٧ - ولا بد ما بيني وبينك من شفا                               | فلم يبق الا أن تخطف من عسقبى                    |
| ٨ - وأطم أن العفو منك سحبة                                    | الى الدهر لم يرضع لنا نائمة سوسى                |
| ٩ - ولن حسنت لو أمت ببعضها                                    |   |

الذخيرة ج ٢ ق ١٢٤

تعد أوردنا هذا النص لكامله لما فيه من اختلاف شديد بين  
 الرواية المتقدمة • انظر القصيدة السابقة في باب ابن جني  
 ولقد نقل ابن الأثير هذا النص عن ابن بسام ببعض التحريف  
 في الحطة ق ١٥ •

(١) هذا البيت سقط من الحطة •

- ١ - أأسلت<sup>(١)</sup> تصدا أم أصوح مع الركوب ؟  
٢ - وأصحت لا أدري أني البعد راحتى  
٣ - إذا انقصدت في أمرى مشيت مع الهوى  
٤ - طى أننى أدري بأنك صـوثر  
٥ - أهلبك للحق الذى لك فى دمى  
٦ - أهظلم فى عني كذا<sup>(٢)</sup> قصر الدجسى ؟  
٧ - حنائيك فيما أنت شاهد نصحه  
٨ - وما جئت شيئا فيه ينى لطالب  
٩ - سوى أننى أسلقتى لعلمى  
١٠ - وما أعزب الأيام فيما قضت به  
١١ - أما أنه لولا عوارضك السى  
١٢ - لما سمعت نفسى ما أسوم من الأذى  
١٣ - ساستمع الرحصى لديك ضراصة  
١٤ - فإن لفحتنى من سفاك<sup>(٣)</sup> حرجف
- تقد صرت من أمرى طى مركب صعب  
فأجمعه حلى . أم الحظ فى القسرب  
وإن أتعبته نكست طى قسبى  
طى كل حال ما يزعج من كسرى  
وأرجوك للحب الذى لك فى قلبى  
وتنبو بكفى شفرة الصارم المضرب  
وليس له فهو انتصاحك من حسب  
يضاف به رأى الى العجز والعجب  
قللت بها حدى وكسرت من قسرى  
تربى بعدى فك آتى من قسرى  
جرت فى مجرى الماء فى الغصن الرطب  
ولا قلت ان الذنب فيما جرى ذنبى  
وأسأل سقيا من تجاوزك العسب  
سأهتف يا برد التميم طى قلبى

هذا النص فى القلائد ص ١٣ . وقد وردت فى الخزينة ق ١٢٦ الأبيات ١ - ٢ - ٣ - ٤ - ٥ - ٦ - ٧ - ٨ - ٩ - ١٠ - ١١ - ١٢ - ١٣ . كما وردت فى الحلة السيرة ق ١٤ الأبيات ١ - ٢ - ٣ - ٤ - ٥ - ٦ - ٧ - ٨ - ٩ - ١٠ - ١١ - ١٢ - ١٣ - ١٤ نقلا وقد بعث ابن عمار بهذه القصيدة الى المعتد بن عباد وقد كان ظمها طيه . فوض عنه وأرسل له أبياتا أخرى يقول فى مطلعها كما يقول الفتح  
لدى لك المتبى تزاح من العتب وسحكى عدى لا يضاف الى ذنبى  
وقد وردت هذه القصيدة فى الذخيرة ١ - ٢ : ١١٠ وورد مطلعها  
اصدق ظنى أم اصبح الى صبحى فاضى عزمى أم اصبح الى الركوب  
وورد مطلع قصيدة المعتد التى يرد بها طيه هكذا  
تقدم الى ما اهدت عدى من الرحب ورد تلتك المتبى حجابا من العتب

(١) خ : أأركب (٢) خ : كذا (٣) كذا فى ق و خ ولملها لفحتنى .



يا ضد الدولة المصطفى  
ماذا ترى في اصطلاح يوم  
نسرته من يمدى زمان  
وقد ظمنا وتحسن ارض

من جوهر النيل والذلاء  
مذهب الصبح والمساء  
لم يقسم الرزق بالسوا  
الك يا رحمة السماء

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(١) هذا النص من القلائد ص ٨٧.

محتويات الديوان

- (١) مقدمة ربعة المصنف
  - (٢) كلمة شكر لاصحابه
  - (٣) التصانيف
  - (٤) أبيات الأجازة
  - (٥) ما قيل في بيع ابن عمار
  - (٦) ما قيل في رثاء ابن عمار
  - (٧) الفهرست الأولى بالأعلام
  - (٨) الفهرست الثانية بالتوافي - وبين الأثرين وعدد الأبيات
  - (٩) المراجع العربية
- من ص ١ الى ص ٨٢ •  
من ص ٨٣ الى ص ٨٨ •  
ص ٨٦ •  
ص ٩٠ •

(١) هذا النص من الثلاث ص ٨٧



## كلمة شكر

اننى مدين بالشكر لأستاذى العلامة البروفسور  
ر. ب. سارجنت استاذ الأدب العربى بمعهد الدراسات  
الشرقية التابع لجامعة لندن لتوجيهاته القيمة ونصائحه  
التي حانى بها منذ بداية عهدى بالدراسات  
الأندلسية وحتى انتهيت من هذه الرسالة ..

كما اننى مدين بالشكر لزميلى الدكتور احسان عباس  
لأطنته لى فى الحصول على بعض المراجع من مكتبته  
الخاصة ولتقديمه لى الى بعض أصدقائه فى مصر  
ممن لهم اتصال وشيق بالمخطوطات الأندلسية . وأخص  
بالذكر والشكر منهم الأساتذة محمد رشاد عبدالطلب  
الامين الساطد لمكتب احياء المخطوطات العربيه التابع لجامعة  
الدول العربيه ونؤاد السيد أمين مكتبة المخطوطات العربيه  
فى دار الكتب العربيه ومحمد أبو الفضل ابراهيم المسئول عن  
قسم الأدب بدار الكتب العربيه ..

واننى لمدين أيضا بالشكر للأساتذة الكرام امنا  
مكتبات معهد التربية ببخست الرضا وجامعة الخرطوم وجامعة  
القاهرة .

فاليهم جميعا أتقدم بخالص شكرى ..

أما من ناحية الترتيب الزمني فإننا نستطيع أن نرتب  
جزءاً من القصائد حسب تاريخ نظمها . ولكن هناك  
جزءاً آخر لا نستطيع أن نجزم فيه بشيء . فهو أننا  
نكون أكثر اطمئناناً إذا أرجعنا كل قصيدة إلى إحدى  
فترات ثلاث في حياة الشاعر (انظر تفاصيل ذلك في  
صلب الرسالة) .

وقد ذيلنا الديوان بذكر ما قيل في يوم الشاعر  
ومقتله من شعر المعاصرين له إذ أنه بذلك  
تتكمّل الصورة عنه .

وعسى أن ينفذ الله بعطس هذا بعض الحاديين  
على دراسة الأدب الأندلسي والله العوفى والمستعان ،،،

مصطفى عوض الكريم

الخرطوم يوليو ١٩٥٨

مقدمه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

بين يدي القارئ عدد من قصائد الشاعر الأندلسي  
أبي بكر محمد بن عمار هي كل ما استطعنا العثور عليه  
في بطون الكتب والمخطوطات التي وقعت بين يدينا .

وليست هذه القصائد بحال هي كل ما نظمه الشاعر  
الأندلسي ولاجل ما نظم . فقد ضاع الكثير من أشعاره .  
ومن يدري فلعل من يأتي بعدنا يوفق في العثور  
على المزيد منها .

وقد اتخذنا من كتاب الذخيره أصلا نقلنا عنه  
القصائد وقابلناه بخيره . ولم نجد من هذا الاتجاه إلا  
حيث لم نعثر على النص عند صاحب الذخيره أو حرنا  
عليه في مكان آخر برواية أوفى وأتم .

وقد رتبنا القصائد ترتيبا أبجديا حسب القوافي  
إذ أن هذه الطريقة فوق أنها أكر الطرق انتشارا  
في ترتيب القصائد تيسر على الطالب الرجوع إلى القصائد  
أكر من الترتيب حسب المواضيع وتاريخ النظم وهما  
الطريقتان اللتان يتبعهما بعض الناس في ترتيب القصائد .

ففي حالة أشعار ابن عمار نجد أن الشاعر لا يتقيد  
كثيرا بالمواضيع التقليدية فليس لدينا من نثره شيء كما  
أن اخوانياته تتناول أكر أفاض الشعر فيها هاب واحذار  
وأهداء واستهداء وشفاة واستشفاع وشوق وتهنئة وسدح  
ووصف وفيه ذلك من الأغراض التي قد تكون عند غيره  
أبوابا قائمة بذاتها .



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

بين يدي التاريخ هذه من تصانيف الشاعر الأندلسي  
أبي بكر محمد بن عمار من كل ما انتظمه الشعر طبعه  
في بطون الكتب والمخطوطات التي وقعت بين يدي

وحيث هذه التصانيف يحال من كل ما كتبه للشاعر  
الأندلسي لإجل نظم . فقد فرغ الكفر من أشعاره .  
ومن يدرى العمل من يأتي بعدنا يوفق في العثور  
على المزيد منها .

وقد احتضنا من كتاب الفخيرة أيضا تلكا وهذه

**« ديوان ابن عمار »** الأبيات الأ

حيث لم ~~تجد~~ ~~تجد~~ ~~تجد~~ الفخيرة أو غيرها  
غيره في مكان آخر بوزارة أوقاف وأتم .

وقد رجنا التصانيف ترتيبا أبجديا حسب الترتيب  
الذي أن هذه الطريقة نرى أنها أكثر الطرق انتشارا  
في ترتيب التصانيف غير أن الطالب الرجوع إلى التصانيف  
أكثر من الترتيب حسب التواريخ والنظم وهذا  
الطريقان اللذان يصبها بعض الناس في ترتيب التصانيف .

في حالة أشعار ابن عمار نجد أن الشاعر لا يعيد  
كثيرا بالتواضع القديمة التي لدينا من قوله فهو كما  
أن نواياك تتناول أكثر أوضاع الشعر فيها طاب وأظفار  
وأمداء واستبداء وشفاة واستنطاق وشوق وشفاة وسنج  
وصك وغير ذلك من الأبيات التي قد تكون قد سمع  
أبيات قديمة بذاتها .

