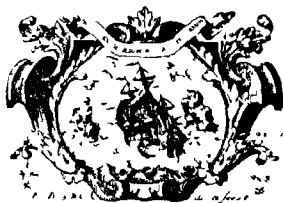


LIFE AND WORKS OF IBN ER RÛMÎ

'ALI IBN EL 'ABBÂS, ABÛ EL ḤASAN,
A Baghdad Poet of the 9th Century of the Christian Era.

HIS LIFE AND POETRY

By
RHUVON GUEST



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46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, W.C.1
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PREFACE

To most of those who concern themselves with Arabic literature, Ibn er Rûmî was known for a long time merely as one of the foremost Arabic poets of the 9th century of our era and as the hero of a celebrated anecdote. Little more could be learnt about him from the authorities then available. A small amount of further information is to be found scattered in books that have been published within the last twenty-five years. During that time also a considerable part of his poetry has been made accessible by publication, whereas previously none of it had been printed except a small number of lines or passages occurring as citations in the works of others, and his *diwân* has proved to be in some respects the most important source for the circumstances of its author and his doings. Hence a good deal of further light has been obtained and detailed lives of Ibn er Rûmî have been produced depending largely on his poems, both those which have been published and those which remain in manuscript.

Room has been left, however, for further study of the same kind. One of the objects here is to facilitate the reading of Ibn er Rûmî's poetry and special attention is given to his progress in his career and his relations with those with whom he came into contact, matters that have not been considered closely before. The poverty of the historical material that has to be used causes a difficulty that should be mentioned. Apparently abundant, particularly in the form of biographies some times of great length, its omissions and its vagueness are apparent as soon as it comes to be tested and it is seen how little definite fact of interest it contains, even concerning the most prominent personages.

I have to thank Barrada Bey, former Director of the Egyptian Library, for enabling me to obtain a photographic reproduction of the excellent manuscript of the poems of Ibn er Rûmî which is preserved in the Library. Miss Murray Brown and the late Sir Stephen Gaselee kindly helped me to obtain specimen photographs from the Escorial and Nuri Osmaniya, Constantinople, Libraries, for which also I have to express my thanks to the Library authorities. I am indebted to Professor Gibb for reading part of the proofs and for other help, also to Dr. Fulton for reading the other part when Professor Gibb had to leave the country on service.

R.G. 1944.

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IBN ER RŪMĪ

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Tāhirids of Baghdad. Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Ṭāhir.—Rebuffed by him, satirises him and El Mustā'in.—Change of attitude to Tāhirids after siege of Baghdad.—Ibn Marīmma and Banī Abī Shaikh, 'Uḡbaidallāh ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Ṭāhir.—Sulaimān ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Ṭāhir.—'Uḡbaidallāh ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Ṭāhir down to about 270.

Sāmarrā Better opportunities for a poet there than at Baghdad, his praises of viziers and other officials The vizier Ibn el Khaṣīb—The vizier Aḥmad ibn Isrā'īl, Aḥmad ibn Thawāba.—Ibn Bulbul on his becoming head of dīwān eḍ ḍiyā'.—Invitations to Sāmarrā—Ibrāhīm ibn el Mudabbār.—Other residents at Sāmarrā: Alī ibn Yahyā—Jahza.—El Mu'tamid.

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Wahb family 'Uḡbaidallāh ibn Sulaimān; Aḥmad ibn Sulaimān, Wahb ibn Sulaimān, El Hasan ibn 'Uḡbaidallāh.—El Qāsim ibn 'Uḡbaidallāh, poems to 'Uḡbaidallāh ibn Sulaimān, El Hasan ibn 'Uḡbaidallāh—El Qāsim—'Amr en Nasrānī, Ez Zayyāj—El Akhfash.—Ibn Fīrās—Niftawarīh

I

Ibn er Rūmī, 'Alī ibn el 'Abbās ibn Juraij, Abū el Ḥasan, was born at Baghdad in 221–836. He was a maulā (client) of 'Uḡbaidallāh ibn 'Isā ibn Ja'far ibn el Manṣūr¹

Ibn er Rūmī's father was one of the Rūm, a term used with different meanings so that it does not give a precise indication of nationality. Here it probably means the Greeks of the Lower Empire. His mother, Ḥasana, seems to have been of Persian origin.² From their names, his grandfather, Juraij, was a Christian and his father, El 'Abbās,

was a Muslim. The maulâ relationship almost certainly implies that El' Abbâs had been converted to Islam at the hands of his patron 'Ubaidallâh ibn 'Îsâ, doubtless having been a slave to whom 'Ubaidallâh gave his freedom on that occasion.³ 'Ubaidallâh himself appears to have been undistinguished, but he belonged to a family of rank, closely related to the 'Abbâsîd Khalîfs of his time. 'Îsâ, the father of 'Ubaidallâh, was a first cousin of Hârûn er Rashîd on the paternal side and was also the brother-in-law of that celebrated khalîf, being the brother of his well known wife, Zubaida.⁴

Ibn er Rûmî claims a noble or royal ancestry once or twice. He says "And afterwards I am in a lofty mountain the fillets of whose head are wisps of mist, lodged there by noble ancestors, accustomed to depriving kings of their crowns."⁵ And also "If I do not visit a king by means of whom I can conquer misfortunes, then there will not have engendered me Yûnân the father of kings."⁶ The claim is not to be taken seriously. It seems to have been customary to attribute a royal ancestry to almost any Persian or Greek, and Ibn er Rûmî himself while declaring that "Cæsar (Qaişar)" is one of his forefathers gives Kîsrâ as an ancestor to a friend and in different poems makes the same assertion of three others.⁷ Moreover, Ibn er Rûmî contradicts his own pretension. He says "Only we seek by praising him an elevation from his name for ourselves and high rank, dignities the like of which our fathers did not build up for us, which we hope to bequeath to our sons."⁸ His claim to be one of the ancient Greeks (Yûnân) is likely to be equally baseless. It is put forward not only in the line mentioning Yûnân cited above, but also in his saying "We children of Yûnân are a family possessed of intellect and glory and toughness (wood that is tough to bite)!"⁹

Ibn er Rûmî never says a word about his patron, 'Ubaidallâh ibn 'Îsâ, who may perhaps have died before the poet was born. If Ibn er Rûmî is to be believed, his own father was a man of some position. He says: "I am . . . the son of one among you who was continually asked for aid and commended (for his response)."¹⁰ He does not mention his father otherwise, unless the following statement of his is to be taken literally. "There raised up for me its walls after establishing its foundation, a father who said, "You are destined for honour."¹¹ He is speaking of a palace of dignity, in which he imagines himself to be dwelling.

The childhood and youth of Ibn er Rûmî were spent at Baghdad, as he tells us himself. He says of it "A town in which I was the companion of youth and boyhood and wore (the robe of) life when it was new."¹² There is some ground for believing that his family at the time were in a position of moderate ease. His talent for poetry declared itself early. A short poem, pointed to as his first effort, was composed when he was in the elementary school (*kuttâb*).¹³

He alludes once to advanced studies in learning which he had pursued in company of a friend¹⁴ Perhaps one of his teachers was Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, a man of Baghdad who was of note as a historian and philologist, and died at Sāmarrā' in 245.¹⁵ Otherwise nothing appears about his education, except what can be deduced from his works. His poems show some acquaintance with Arab and also with Persian history, but it is doubtful whether his knowledge in these respects went beyond what was current among educated fellow countrymen of his time. He alludes to many historical persons and to some horses or other animals real or legendary which have long been proverbial and are still known to most Arab-speaking people, like Ḥātim the pattern of generosity, Qārūn the possessor of immense riches, Dāhis the racehorse. He mentions others, too, such as Shabīb, El Jaḥḥāf and the horses Rakhsh and Shūbdāz (i.e., Shabdīz), probably better known in Mesopotamia when he wrote than they are now. Ibn er Rūmī's geographical allusions range from Sīn to Ṭanja and Ifranja, but rarely consist of more than the names of places, associated now and then with some product for which they were noted. They include a considerable number of mountains in Arabia. Ibn er Rūmī shows some acquaintance with the poetry of Imr el Qais, En Nābigha edh Dhubyānī and Labīd and cites a verse or two from each of them. He alludes also to the poems of Zuhair, El Akhtal, El Farazdaq and Jarīr, El Ba'īth, Abū Nuwās, and Di'bīl.

It is recorded that he admired poetry by Ḥusain ibn Ḍahhāk and that he plagiarised a verse by Ibrāhīm ibn el 'Abbās ibn Ṣūl. It would seem that he cites Dhū er Rumma as an authority¹⁶

Ibn er Rūmī speaks of hunting parties during his early youth when he and his companions setting out in the morning would bring down many waterfowl with their bows.¹⁷ This is evidently a genuine reminiscence, but the account of his hunting the antelope and killing the bull with his spear¹⁸ which forms part of the prelude of one of his poems is doubtless imaginary. There is little else in his poems to suggest that he knew anything of the desert. The camel, landship as he calls it, is hardly ever mentioned by him.¹⁹

He began to practice his profession early. One of his poems that must have been written before he was not more than 20 or 21 can be seen from its contents to have been preceded by one or more others that were being talked about. It is an attack on the Qāḍī Abū Ḥassān es Ziyādī for finding fault with his poetry. In two other poems of about the same date Ibn er Rūmī exults at the Qāḍī's death. All three pieces are violent and brutal in their language and particularly outrageous when the age and position of the Qāḍī are considered. Abū Ḥassān had been appointed Qāḍī of the East side of Baghdad in 241 and died about ninety years old in the following year.²⁰

At the outset of his career Ibn er Rūmī may well have expected to profit by having had for his patron a not very distant relative of the reigning Khalīfs. His attitude towards the Abbasids at the start is probably expressed by a poem declaring that while they are ready to shed their blood for him, his devotion for them is such that he would think it little in their defence to sacrifice his life.²¹ Other poems indicate a gradual change of feeling. In one of them he urges the Abbasids to be just and to reward the praise of poets as they would punish their satire.²² In another he appeals to them, if they will not aid him, to be neutral, neither for him nor against him.²³ In a third, written when he was 29, he abuses the Abbasid khalīfs venomously. Thus "But you are blue (of eye), your faces are decorated, you sons of Rūm, by colours of the Rūm, pure white" and he then goes on to accuse the 'Abbasids of abominable practices, not to be particularised.²⁴

TAHIRIDS OF BAGHDAD

Till later than this time Ibn er Rūmī would have had no opportunity of seeing any of the 'Abbasid khalīfs. They resided at Sāmarrā to which their court had been removed a year or two after Ibn er Rūmī was born. All the leading men of the state, the principal civil officers, the chiefs of the military and others of rank and position had moved away from Baghdad to the new capital. Still Baghdad did not decay in consequence. It continued to flourish as a great commercial town.²⁵ The Ṭāhirid family, semi-independent vassals of the khalīf, had established a hereditary right to govern Baghdad and some adjacent territory, as well as to rule over the province of Khurāsān and other dependencies of the khalīfate in the East. One of the family, Muhammad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Ṭāhir, had been appointed governor of Baghdad by his brother the viceroy of Khurāsān when Ibn er Rūmī was 16 years of age, and on the death of his overlord in 248 kept this office, but was promoted to holding direct from the khalīf. Accordingly he would then have been able to expend for his own purposes the annual tribute from Baghdad amounting to 13,000,000 dirhams (say £650,000) which he had been obliged to send to Naisābūr when he was subordinate to the viceroy who resided there.²⁶ Thus he was the first of the Ṭāhirid Governors with whom Ibn er Rūmī would have been able to come into contact and at one time, if not always, must have been extremely affluent. He was, moreover, a cultivated man and a poet and his house was the resort of men of learning and talent.²⁷ Ibn er Rūmī would naturally have taken the first opportunity of endeavouring to obtain his support. He courted him, but appears to have failed to gain his favour. He never to have received any reward for a long poem of praise

which he addressed to him.²⁸ Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh may have abstained from rewarding Ibn er Rūmī because he was not satisfied with his panegyric or simply because he was stingy. Ibn er Rūmī suggests both reasons in a string of remonstrances and reproaches. "Oh thou whom no praise pleases and at whom not to rail is much,"²⁹ is an example of these expostulations. Another imputing avarice begins "Many a miser makes himself a man of culture as a device for those that praise to keep back from him and it succeeds."³⁰ One most insulting runs "I came to you as a poet and you found fault with my verses; it was a mistake and error on my part. You bring an ancient proverb to my mind—He that kisses the nether quarter has for his reward—wind."³¹ It would seem as if Ibn er Rūmī began his protests in moderate language and got more and more violent. It would be difficult to go beyond one in which Ibn er Rūmī tells Muḥammad that his family have disgraced his ancestors and made them be cursed in their graves and had they know what their descendants would do they would have buried their children alive, and that if one decent fellow could be found Muhammad would be dead and no one give him a thought.³² This incitement to assassination may be the last of the series. One near the last is contained in an elegy for Yahyâ ibn 'Umar, an Alīyid who revolted near Kufa in 250 and was killed in battle by the men of Muhammad ibn 'Abdallāh. In this poem after abusing the 'Abbâsīd khalīfs as mentioned above Ibn er Rūmī says to the Ṭāhirīds "By my life Ibn Ṭāhir (i.e., Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh) has fired all hearts with hatred of you that will last as long as the wind groans."³³ Here he reviles not only Muhammad ibn 'Abdallāh but also the whole of the Ṭāhirīd family.

A year later Ibn er Rūmī had changed his attitude towards the khalīf El Musta'in and the Ṭāhirīds. El Musta'in had fled from Sāmarrâ to Baghdad. The Turks had renounced him for El Mu'tazz and were besieging him in the town. The defence was under the command of Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh. Ibn er Rūmī now appears as a strong partisan of the defenders. Instead of the contemptuous pity he had formerly shown for El Musta'in, he speaks of him with veneration, almost as a holy being. He anticipates the arrival of a host of Ṭāhirīds from Khurâsân to rescue their sovereign and boasts of the power of the Ṭāhirīds and their readiness to exert it in a good cause.³⁴ The result of the siege, however, was to expose the Ṭāhirīd weakness. Khurâsân afforded no help and Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh was obliged to surrender. It would seem that Ibn er Rūmī was one of those who accused him of having betrayed El Musta'in when making terms.³⁵ Nevertheless, when Muḥammad died towards the end of 253 Ibn er Rūmī mourned him in two elegies. In one of them he says that Muḥammad was lamented by the people who had enjoyed the justice of his rule.³⁶

Here may be mentioned the acquaintance of Ibn er Rūmī with Ibn Mārimma, though there is nothing to indicate the date of the poem respectfully begging for assistance that he addressed to him. It can hardly be doubted that the man in question was of the same family as the Ibn Mārimma known in history as having been accidentally the cause of the overthrow of El Musta'in. He belonged to a district some 30 miles north of Hilla and died in 251.³⁷

A family with whom Ibn er Rūmī and his brother Muhammad can be seen to have been on terms of familiar acquaintance at about the same date were the Ahl Abī Shaikh, who belonged to Wāsīt. This family were friends of the tutor of El Mu'ayyad, the brother of the Khalīf who was put to death in 252.³⁸ They are to be distinguished from the 'Āl Shaikh who came to the fore in the year referred to and after rebelling in Syria and being driven out of that province became governors of Āmid. Ibn er Rūmī praises 'Isā ibn esh Shaikh and his son Ahmad, apparently when they were in power there.³⁹

Muhammad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Ṭāhīr was succeeded by his brother 'Ubaidallāh ibn 'Abdallāh, who had been his lieutenant, and of all the Ṭāhīrids was the most distinguished for culture and literary achievement. He was the author of a number of books and a poet of acknowledged merit. Born at about the same time as Ibn er Rūmī he survived him for several years.⁴⁰

Ibn er Rūmī's *diwān* contains more poetry addressed to him than to any other person, except one or two. The total amounts to more than two thousand verses. From this mass of material it is easy to see generally the footing on which Ibn er Rūmī stood with 'Ubaidallāh ibn 'Abdallāh, but so few of the poems can be dated that they afford little means of following the progress of their friendship during an acquaintance of thirty years or more. Ibn er Rūmī liked 'Ubaidallāh and respected him. He rarely complains of him and when he does so almost always uses moderate language. He praises him for his courage, generosity, learning, penetration, for having strengthened the Khalīfate, put the affairs of the Ṭāhīrids in order and for having purified Baghdad.⁴¹ He commends his poetry. "If you would," he says, "you could emulate the seas in your abundance and in the quick answers of poetry the sprites of 'Abqar'"⁴² He acknowledges what he owes to him. "He has enslaved me by his kindness so that he has made me humble, notwithstanding that to others I have rebellion in my soul,"⁴³ he declares, and "Many and many a favour has he done to me and many great services has he rendered."⁴⁴ He expresses his trust and his regard by "I am certain that with you I am in a hill that has some height (consisting of) what the ribs cover—he means the heart or hidden thoughts) I cannot do without you so long as the sun rises even though the pouring water courses run with sustenance."⁴⁵

A poem of great length congratulating 'Ubaidallâh on the *mihrajân* and containing a description of the reception held by him as governor of Baghdad on that occasion is probably one of the first addressed to him by Ibn er Rûmî. In the course of it, Ibn er Rûmî speaks thus of the appearance of 'Ubaidallâh to the assembly: "On the throne there was displayed a brow casting a ray that bars it from the view, allowing the eye a glance and then preventing its lid from maintaining its vision, so that thereby it has a guard from any eye that would seek to meet it with disrespect"⁴⁶ Such fulsome adulation would have been ridiculous after the power of the Tâhirids had begun to decline conspicuously. When 'Ubaidallâh first became governor the signs of the decay of the Tâhirid kingdom had hardly become obvious although its weakness had been growing for some time.

One of the first manifest reverses of the Tâhirids was the loss of the province of Tabaristân to the 'Aliyid El Ḥasan ibn Zaid after a series of wars which were concluded by 255 A H.

In that year Sulaimân ibn 'Abdallâh, who had been expelled from Tabaristân where he had been the Tâhirid governor, was appointed governor of Baghdad in the place of his brother 'Ubaidallâh ibn 'Abdallâh. The latter was angry at being superseded, he seized all the money in the treasury and withdrew, so that on arrival Sulaimân found himself greatly embarrassed by want of funds. In the quarrel between the two brothers Ibn er Rûmî appears on the side of 'Ubaidallâh. He wonders how the Khalîf can have chosen Sulaimân after his failure in Tabaristân, for what general, he asks, will face death when one who flies has such a splendid reward as being governor of Baghdad⁴⁷ He says that on the coming of Sulaimân, Baghdad is like a woman beating her breast in mourning⁴⁸ and speaks of the brigandage of Muhammad ibn Aus, one of the followers of Sulaimân from Khurâsân, who caused disturbances in Baghdad by his misconduct when he came there⁴⁹ One of the poems in the *dîwân* celebrates the reconciliation between Sulaimân and 'Ubaidallâh, the date of which does not appear though it seems probable that it was not long deferred⁵⁰

At any rate, when Sulaimân was governor Ibn er Rûmî tried to win his favour. His *dîwân* contains three poems in praise of him.

One of them emphasizes Sulaimân's extraordinary generosity, "He is a king who does not consider that gifts are deserving of any arts; for him it is enough that a man with expectations of him should come and make his request."⁵¹ Another is almost as enthusiastic about his liberality.⁵² A third is chiefly concerned with a petition. Ibn er Rûmî represents that he had a house at Baghdad, which was his home and he had sworn never to sell or to see in the possession of anyone else. He had known it in the prime of his youth and it was like a body to his spirit. An evil neighbour had wronged and

deceived him with regard to it. He had done things which had damaged the house, wishing to force Ibn er Rûmî to sell it to him, and Ibn er Rûmî appeals to Sulaimân for redress.⁵³ It is recorded elsewhere that Ibn er Rûmî's opponent in this affair was a merchant of the name of Abû Kâmil and that Sulaimân would not help the poet. For this reason, it is said, Ibn er Rûmî attacked Sulaimân in verse,⁵⁴ but it appears also that Sulaimân had rejected Ibn er Rûmî's praise.⁵⁵ Ibn er Rûmî holds him up to ridicule in numerous short pieces, nearly all harping on his failure in battle. Sulaimân is mocked as being a tawny lion in his own house, but a fox in a fight⁵⁶; he is said to have two left hands⁵⁷ in contradistinction to his ancestor Ṭâhir the ambidexter; all that was amiss with the robe of honour with which Ibn er Rûmî had invested him was that it did not fit⁵⁸. Some of the poems contain remarkably coarse and insulting taunts.⁵⁹

Ibn er Rûmî asserts that Sulaimân ibn 'Abdallâh destroyed El Mu'tazz.⁶⁰ The ground for this accusation does not appear. On the contrary, it seems impossible that Sulaimân can have had anything to do with the death of that Khalîf, who was murdered by the Turkish military at Sâmarrâ, as was his successor, El Muhtadî, less than a year afterwards. At this time the existence of the Khalîfate was threatened by anarchy and by rebellion. The Ṣaffarids in the East and the savage Zanj insurrection in South Mesopotamia were the most formidable dangers. A poem by Ibn er Rûmî on the capture of Baṣra by the Zanj in 257⁶¹ gives an idea of the sensation in the Islamic world produced by the desecration of one of the most famous and flourishing Muhammadan cities with the massacre of a large part of its inhabitants.

It does not appear how long Sulaimân ibn 'Abdallâh remained governor of Baghdad, but by 259 he had been replaced by 'Ubaidallâh ibn 'Abdallâh, for after the Ṣaffarid Ya'qûb ibn el Lath entered Naisabûr in that year and made a prisoner of the Ṭâhirid viceroy, thus putting an end to the Ṭâhirid dynasty, the Khalîf confirmed 'Ubaidallâh as governor. 'Ubaidallâh remained in office till 262, when he was replaced by his nephew, Muḥammad ibn Ṭâhir, the late viceroy, who had been held as a prisoner by the Ṣaffarids and had managed to escape at their defeat in their advance on Baghdad during that year. 'Ubaidallâh became governor for the third time in 266, but on this occasion he acted, at least nominally, only as lieutenant of the reigning Ṣaffarid, the titular governor, so appointed as a compliment intended to conciliate a vassal of doubtful loyalty.⁶² He appears to have been still governor in 269, but had given up the post in 271.⁶³

Among the poems of Ibn er Rûmî that can be dated, one congratulates 'Ubaidallâh ibn 'Abdallâh on the mihrajân and adḥâ of 260⁶⁴; one, on his fortieth birthday in 263, when he was able to

say that he had forty children⁶⁶; one, on the naurauz of 266⁶⁶; a fourth, on his appointment by the Ṣaffarid 'Amr as his lieutenant in the same year⁶⁷; and one on the fiṭr of 271.⁶⁸

SĀMARRĀ

It will be shown that before the last mentioned year Ibn er Rūmī was living at Sāmarrā and that altogether he probably spent a good deal of time there, though perhaps, as the dates given above suggest, without separating himself completely from Baghdad.

Sāmarrā, with the court and the large body of officials centred in the town, was a more favourable field to a poet than Baghdad. Among the higher officials, especially the viziers and heads of government departments, he might hope to find generous patrons, for most of them appreciated literature and prided themselves on their knowledge of the Arabic language and many were extremely wealthy. From the army, powerful and affluent as some of the officers were, he could not expect much, as they were generally foreigners. To show how little the Turkish and other soldiery counted with Ibn er Rūmī, his *diwān* does not contain a single poem addressed to one of the great military leaders nor does he allude to any of them except in a very small number of slight incidental mentions. Ibn er Rūmī admired the Turks, nevertheless, for their courage and military virtues and devotes a short poem to praising them for these qualities.⁶⁹

It can be seen that Ibn er Rūmī turned to Sāmarrā at an early stage in his career, though perhaps he did not go there till considerably later. One of the earliest of his poems to which a date can be given is a short piece of compliment to Ahmad ibn el Khaṣīb whilst he was vizier, either to El Muntaṣir in 247 or to El Musta'in in the year following, when he would have been living at the capital.⁷⁰

This little composition of seven verses does not look as if it was complete in itself, and may be supposed to be all that has been preserved of a laudatory address of much greater length in its original form. From Ahmad ibn Isrā'il, doubtless whilst he was living at Sāmarrā as vizier to Mu'tazz from 253 to 255, Ibn er Rūmī obtained an allowance, presumably in return for a poem of praise, perhaps one to which three flattering verses found in his *diwān* belonged.⁷¹ He says to the vizier concerning this allowance. "I have heard touching the allowance you made that you have discontinued it. In your notorious meanness you have all the excuse you can desire."⁷² The allowance is probably alluded to also in a mention of a delay in payment found in another poem to the vizier.⁷³

At about the same date Ibn er Rūmī appears to have been seeking the favour of (Abū el 'Abbās, Aḥmad) Ibn Thawāba at Sāmarrā. This personage held various offices; the most important was that

of secretary to the Turkish leader Bâyakbâk who was put to death at Sâmarrâ in 256 during the reign of El Muhtadî. Ibn Thawâba had been attacked by a certain El Kaukabî and Ibn er Rûmî "defended his honour" by a poem extolling him and his family and abusing his assailant. In the course of it Ibn er Rûmî calls Ibn Thawâba a "king," and says that by his policy the spear drinks blood,⁷⁴ so that it is likely that at the time his power was at its zenith. Besides, the El Kaukabî who is reviled may be a rebel of that name last heard of in 253,⁷⁵ Ibn er Rûmî also congratulates (Abû es Şaqr, Ismâ'il) Ibn Bulbul on his being appointed head of one of the departments at Sâmarrâ, the dîwân ed dîyâ', a post he appears to have obtained in 255,⁷⁶ and he congratulates Ibrâhîm ibn el Mudabbar on his escape in 257 from imprisonment with the Zanj.⁷⁷ Ibrâhîm was one of the foremost members of the bureaucratic class, he had held various high offices at different times, was a poet and a writer of distinction, he had been a friend of Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallâh ibn Ṭâhir by means of whom he obtained his release from prison in the reign of El Mutawakkil and was also a friend of Ibn Bulbul.⁷⁸ Sâmarrâ was doubtless his home and on his escape from the Zanj he would have made his way thither.

The effect of Ibn er Rûmî's defence of Ibn Thawâba was an invitation from him to visit him at Sâmarrâ, as can be seen from a long poem in which Ibn er Rûmî excuses himself from going, either by land or by water, setting out as a reason, doubtless partly in joke, the perils of the journey each way and suggesting that his reward might be sent to him instead.⁷⁹ The request seems to have been complied with, for another poem mentions that Ibn Thawâba had sent a present and that it did not come up to expectation, and presses for a regular allowance of the same amount.⁸⁰ There are only a few other poems to Ibn Thawâba and one or two to his brother Muhammad, and one or two others disparaging the family,⁸¹ so it is probable that Ibn er Rûmî did not keep up with them for long.

Ibn er Rûmî's congratulations to Ibn Bulbul must have produced an invitation to Sâmarrâ from him also. In a poem Ibn er Rûmî answers such an invitation from him, excusing himself and saying, "Let your present visit me instead so that I may be cheered with it and prepare for meeting you. I should not be the first of those afar or your neighbours to whom it had paid a visit."⁸² Ibn el Bulbul, as will be seen, was associated closely with Ibn er Rûmî later in his life. As to Ibrâhîm ibn el Mudabbar, a long formal praise poem addressed by Ibn er Rûmî to him is likely to have been later than his escape. Even in this poem there is a remark that shows pretty clearly that lavish giving was not Ibrâhîm's strong point—"Do you consider that after having been generous with your life you can be sparing of your gifts? May God preserve you from being a miser,"⁸³ and

the same thing is suggested in another poem to Ibrâhîm, where Ibn er Rûmî says to him "You are not constituted with that sort of liberality by which you will be generous with the generosity of one acting on compulsion."⁸⁴

It is clear that Ibrâhîm did not reward Ibn er Rûmî sufficiently. Ibn er Rûmî makes several attacks on him for his meanness and for vices that he, like several of his colleagues, seems actually to have had. As an illustration of Ibn er Rûmî's rudeness to him, he says to him "Tell me what art you used to make the people shout that you (may you not be preserved!) are a generous man For that will be more acceptable than what you give, since knowledge in my view is the most profitable thing,"⁸⁵ and speaking of him "When I looked into his history it was if I had dug up his corpse after it had been three nights in the grave."⁸⁶ Ibn er Rûmî's friendly relations with Ibn el Mudabbar were probably short and are not likely to have lasted till he became vizier to 'El Mu'tamid, a post that he was holding in 269.⁸⁷

Of those in attendance on the khalîf at Sâmarrâ, whom Ibn er Rûmî appears to have met at the period in question, the most notable was 'Alî ibn Yaḥyâ el Munajjum, a distinguished courtier. He was the regular companion of all the khalîfs from El Mutawakkil to El Mu'tamid, except El Muhtadî, a poet, a man of science and historian, one fond of learning in all its branches, a generous patron of learned men, the owner of a library at Karkar near Baghdad open to students and resorted to by people from distant parts. He had received a total of some 300,000 dinars in rewards and presents from El Mutawakkil and similar amounts from the other khalîfs and had been employed in various offices.⁸⁸ Ibn er Rûmî addresses him in nearly thirty poems, most of which are short. Some of them were written on occasions such as the mihrajân, the naurauz, the ifṭâr, after an illness, on the death of a daughter. A long set piece is probably the first of the series.⁸⁹ It contains nothing to date it, but seems to have been earlier than Ramadân 260, for one of the other poems can be given that date.⁹⁰ One of the other poems was probably written by Ibn er Rûmî at Baghdad and sent to 'Alî ibn Yaḥyâ at Sâmarrâ. Here Ibn er Rûmî speaks of a letter frôm 'Alî ibn Yaḥyâ with a gift, described by the poet as small, a drop of assistance, which he had been assured would be followed by a steady rain, and he presses for the fulfilment of this promise, either by means of a further gift from 'Alî himself or from some generous colleague of his, suggesting that a hundred dinars from him or from Ibn Bulbul would be no novelty.⁹¹ Elsewhere Ibn er Rûmî generally praises 'Alî ibn Yaḥyâ for virtues such as piety, liberality, affability, wisdom in business of the state. He seems to have been attached to him. Occasionally he remonstrated with him, but always respectfully and without

bitterness. Ibn er Rūmī probably kept in touch with 'Alī ibn Yahyā until the end of his life. He died in 275 at Sāmarrā.⁹²

In Jahḡa, Ibn er Rūmī encountered a courtier of a different stamp, a clever witty, disreputable fellow, accepted at court on account of his talent and his accomplishments, but not respected. Jahḡa was versed in grammar, language, astrology and other branches of learning, and was noted as a player on the drum, but he was mean and not careful of his person. He was in regular attendance on the khalīf El Mu'tamid and possibly on some of his predecessors.⁹³ Ibn er Rūmī was on familiar terms with him. He jests with him on his ugliness which he says was redeemed by the beauty of his music.⁹⁴ Once he asks Jahḡa not to fail to speak well of him in every assembly and to clothe his verse with song, i.e., to set it to music.⁹⁵ Another time he asks him to support a request of his to Ibn Bulbul.⁹⁶ It would seem that Jahḡa disappointed him.⁹⁷

Although two of Ibn er Rūmī's poems are addressed to El Mu'tamid, there is nothing to suggest that he ever appeared before that khalīf or any other at Sāmarrā. One of the poems to El Mu'tamid is a short congratulation on the festival of mihrajān (autumn equinox), composed in 260 at the instance of a singer called Bunān and presented by Bunān to the khalīf, perhaps because Ibn er Rūmī was not at Sāmarrā at the time.⁹⁸ The other, also a short congratulation, relates to a success obtained by one of his officers at the time that the Zanj were increasing in power and Es Ṣaffār was marching on Baghdad, when in order to meet the emergency El Mu'tamid had moved forward from Sāmarrā to El Madā'in. This was in 262.⁹⁹

EL MUWAFFAQ

Throughout most of his reign El Mu'tamid was a mere cipher. The virtual ruler was his brother El Muwaffaq. It was he who saved the khalifate when it was at the point of ruin, brought the Turkish and other troops to order, beat back Es Ṣaffār, extinguished the Zanj rebellion after it had lasted fourteen years and made head against the Ṭulūnids and other refractory vassals. El Muwaffaq did not obtain control without a struggle. Affairs must have been completely in his hands when he was able to appoint a minister of his own. In 265 he raised Ṣā'id ibn Makhlad to that position, but with the title of secretary only. Ṣā'id had held high office previously. He had been a Christian and was converted on his last promotion. One of his brothers, El Ḥasan ibn Makhlad, had been vizier to El Mu'tamid for short periods and had held other government posts. Another brother, 'Abdūn ibn Makhlad, who always remained a Christian, was a man of great influence and had an official position. Ṣā'id's son, El 'Alā', had public employment of importance.

After distinguishing himself in the service of El Muwaffaq, Şâ'id was disgraced in 272. He and several members of his family were all arrested at the same time and their property was confiscated. He had become intolerably haughty, but his wealth is likely to have been as much the cause of his overthrow as his overweening pride. He died in prison in 276. The fate of 'Abdûn and El 'Alâ', imprisoned about the same time, is not recorded.

Ibn er Rûmî never mentions El Ḥasan ibn Makhlad, who had fled to Egypt in 266. The first member of the family of Şâ'id whom he approached would seem to have been El 'Alâ'. A long formal praise poem to him preserved in his *diwân* seems to have been written somewhere about the year mentioned, for in it there is an allusion to the feelings of a man past forty¹⁰⁰. He describes this production as most excellent poetry,¹⁰¹ nevertheless he felt the need of a recommendation for it and he applied to the celebrated grammarian and author, El Mubarrad, for one. His application takes the form of a poem in which he praises El Mubarrad and represents that he has constantly exerted himself on his behalf by speaking in his favour.¹⁰² Perhaps El Mubarrad would not do what Ibn er Rûmî asked and this explains the only other poem to him in Ibn er Rûmî's *diwân*, a violent attack containing the most poisonous abuse.¹⁰³

Through El 'Alâ', as he tells us, Ibn er Rûmî got access to his father.¹⁰⁴ He includes Şâ'id in some exaggerated compliments in his first poem to El 'Alâ' where he goes to the ridiculous length of saying that "All praise that is not directed to Ibn Sâ'id (El 'Alâ') or to his father, Sâ'id, is vain."¹⁰⁵ His first regular address to Şâ'id appears to be a very long and elaborate poem which can be seen to have been written after the beginning of 270.¹⁰⁶

Perhaps some of Ibn er Rûmî's poems to El 'Alâ' have been lost. Those preserved in the *diwân* are remarkably few, considering that Ibn er Rûmî appears to have been associated closely with El 'Alâ' for some years. From what is forthcoming something can be gathered about El 'Alâ' to add to the little that can be found otherwise. It is difficult to suppose that he can have been so young as ten when Ibn er Rûmî turned to him first, but it is clear that he was extremely young for a position of authority.¹⁰⁷ Baghdad was in El 'Alâ's sphere and 'Ubaidallâh ibn 'Abdallâh as governor of the town was subordinate to him there.¹⁰⁸ The Ṭâhirid, 'Ubaidallâh, was no longer the dazzling being on whose brow the eye could not bear to rest for more than a moment, as he had been described by Ibn er Rûmî a dozen years before.¹⁰⁹ He is found presenting a book of flattering poems to El 'Alâ' of his own composition to which the poet was commissioned to reply and the condescending and patronising tone of the answers preserved shows that El 'Alâ' regarded him merely as a humble sycophant.¹¹⁰ El 'Alâ' occupied himself with science

and philosophy.¹¹¹ Exactly what the office was that he filled, does not appear, but his duties seem to have taken him at times to Wāsiṭ,¹¹² which was probably the centre of the government of Muwaffaq from the time that the Zanj were expelled from it in 267 till after the degradation of Šā'id.

In praising El 'Alā', Ibn er Rūmī uses conventional compliments and generalities of a kind that might be made to apply to any one, so that they do not give the impression of sincerity. He hints that his reward has not come up to his expectation, though, as he says, this was doubtless the result of a deliberate design and in the end he will reap rich benefits.¹¹³ His glorification of Šā'id is one of the longest and most elaborate of his compositions, but Šā'id seems to have paid little attention to it.¹¹⁴ In another poem Ibn er Rūmī presses Šā'id to read it,¹¹⁵ showing how he neglected it. In it the tribe of Madhhij is praised as being that of Šā'id's ancestors, for Šā'id, though well known to be a Mesopotamian, made an absurd claim to Arab descent. Ibn er Rūmī speaks of Šā'id's generosity and of his firmness, his wise policy and good omen, and recalls some of his achievements in the war of the Zanj and in suppressing other rebels, one of whom, the sailor of Qunnā, is not noticed by the historians.

After the downfall of Šā'id and his son, Ibn er Rūmī did not conceal his dislike of them. He regrets his long poem in praise of Šā'id and contradicts the good he had said of him in it. He declares that he was an impostor, claiming falsely to be an Arab, that he squandered the public money so as to threaten national bankruptcy and that his policy was the cause of rebellion east and west. He includes El 'Alā' in his condemnation, calling him the stupid son who exercised himself with the fables of Aristotle and resorted to astrology in order 'to bridle fate.'¹¹⁶ He takes the opportunity to disparage Šā'id in a later poem.¹¹⁷ He makes only two allusions to 'Abdūn and his sons, both of them most insulting ¹¹⁸

Whilst Šā'id was in power, Ibn er Rūmī praised one of the Banī Faiyāḍ, an influential Persian family who owned lands near Dair 'Aqūl watered by the Nahrawān canal.¹¹⁹ The head of the family seems to have been one Muhammad whom Ibn er Rūmī describes as "the lord of all the officials (*sayyid el kuttāb turran*)," and congratulates on the completion of a mansion which he describes with some detail.¹²⁰ Ibn er Rūmī also compliments 'Alī and his brother El Ḥasān, sons of Muḥammad ibn el Faiyāḍ,¹²¹ in a poem of which the prelude seems to indicate that the poet was then not far past the age of forty.¹²² The poem, which can be dated with certainty in the time of the ministry of Šā'id, is addressed to 'Alī and takes a peculiar form. The poet recounts how he thought of him in a journey which he took down the river to Nahr Abū Khaṣīb close to the sea at its mouth and traces his return from there to Sāmarrā

where he was overjoyed to meet him again. By his allusion to the unburied dead lying about on every side at a station between Ubulla and Baṭā'ih it is evident that the time in question must have been in the Zanj war and Nahr Abū Khaṣīb would have been inaccessible to the government side until the fighting was over or nearly at an end. The date can therefore be put as somewhere near the beginning of 270.¹²³ One may wonder whether this journey was undertaken by Ibn er Rūmī as a follower of El 'Alā' or Ṣā'id, the latter of whom played a part of some prominence in the last Zanj campaigns.

Another Persian family of importance with whom Ibn er Rūmī was in contact at this period, perhaps for the first time, was the Banī Nūbukht. They were settled at Nu'māniya, in the neighbourhood of which a piece of land had been granted to them by the second 'Abbasid khalif as a reward for an encouraging prediction made at the time his fortunes were at a low ebb.¹²⁴ The principal member of the family in the latter part of the 3rd century of the hijra, Abū Sahl (Ismā'il ibn 'Alī), was a man of learning, and a distinguished theologian and writer. It is said that in the diwān of the khalifs he held a position second only to the vizier, but perhaps this applies to the end of his life rather than to the earlier part of it when Ibn er Rūmī was acquainted with him. Abū Sahl was prominent among the leaders of the Shī'a and is probably to be regarded as having founded the twelve imām sect by his doctrine that the twelfth imām remained concealed until the time that he would reappear and show himself in public.¹²⁵ He was born in 235 or 237 and thus was contemporary with the eleventh imām (231-260). The longest of Ibn er Rūmī's poems to Abū Sahl may be supposed to represent his first approach to him. Here Ibn er Rūmī says of Banī Nūbukht that when Ṣā'id had chosen them for his service he was delighted with them and he appears to be alluding to the overthrow of the Zanj when he declares that under Ṣā'id "The good auspices of their ancestors struck down the foolish wretch with a disaster that would efface the black of the front (feathers?) " referring apparently to the black followers of "the evil one" This poem accordingly would have been written between 270 and 272. In the course of it Ibn er Rūmī declares that in Nu'māniya he will meet in Abū Sahl a benefactor and live there in ease under his shade, a brother of his by favour, a lord by right, to whom he is bound by the ties of friendship in consequence of the love of both for the rightful imāms of the family of Hāshim, their sincerity in unifying God and their defence of the true religion in meetings. He says too, that from Abū Sahl he had sought money and learning and found him an abundant source of both, and when he called to him in his distress, Abū Sahl had responded in such a way as to make him indifferent if any one neglected him afterwards. Abū Sahl had restored the monuments of ancient kings

the historians tell us nothing about him at this period, except that he was vizier to El Mu'tamid for a short time in 265, it appears from what Ibn er Rûmî says that he took an active part in bringing El Mu'tamid to the throne, even joining personally in fighting that followed the death of El Muhtadî. This fighting also is not mentioned otherwise. He says to Ibn Bulbul "The state is to be felicitated on your having put right what was going wrong in it and on your having guarded from wrong what was right. You made it Ja'farite (i.e., subject to descendants of Ja'far el Mutawakkil) again after a hankering for the Wathiqites through which, had you not turned it back, it would have run away, by means of Bârashûh and lads that have a place among those who are loyal to their masters and advise them well. Many a wise plan did you lay before them, which, but for you, oh opener of doors, would not have been broached. You kept with them, moreover, on the day they encountered their miserable enemies when the tusk of war was disclosed in a grin."¹⁴⁰ Likewise emphasizing the part taken by Ibn Bulbul in the fighting "With many a powerful cut—many a wide wounding thrust—many a deadly shot with the bow did his hands flash quickly in defence of his imâm upon a day when many a hand was smitten off. Enquire about him concerning this of the war of El Muhtadî and its leaders, both the victors and the vanquished."¹⁴¹

Perhaps the following allusion to a splendid reward from Ibn Bulbul may relate to the same incident, the reward having been given for the poems which have been cited "You have filled my hands with gifts and my heart with affection, which run over (in my palms?) and in my bosom. For you have given me such a present that if another had given it, I should have been made to despair of his ever giving me anything else, inasmuch as you have given splendidly and one can hope only for the repetition of a trifling gift (he that hopes hopes only for, etc.)"¹⁴² Probably also can be referred to the same period verses by Ibn er Rûmî to the effect that Ibn Bulbul is the one good man in Sâmarrah¹⁴³ and his allusion to Ibn Bulbul as a generous giver in the letter to 'Alî ibn Yahyâ mentioned above.

It may be supposed that soon after Şâ'id ibn Makhlad became minister to El Muwaffaq in 265 Ibn Bulbul became his follower and left Sâmarrah. What is certain is that Şâ'id was the enemy of Ibn Bulbul who went in mortal fear of him, and when Şâ'id was disgraced and imprisoned in 272, Ibn Bulbul became his custodian and took his place as secretary or vizier to El Muwaffaq.¹⁴⁴

The longest of Ibn er Rûmî's poems to Ibn Bulbul relates to his promotion in that year, for it applauds the discrimination, whereby El Muwaffaq had obtained an excellent vizier.¹⁴⁵ There is a similar shorter poem¹⁴⁶ and another, a featureless eulogy, that seems to belong to about the same date, for it contains an allusion to the

poet's having just passed the age of 50.¹⁴⁷ A poem which shows Ibn Bulbul at Wāsiṭ as minister must have been written early in his term of office.¹⁴⁸ Ibn er Rūmī was probably living at Wāsiṭ at that period as one of Ibn Bulbul's followers: there is a poem in which he declares that he has two souls, one at Wāsiṭ and the other at Sāmarrā in the hand of a friend, that is that he was constantly thinking of a friend there whilst being at Wāsiṭ.¹⁴⁹ The exact date at which the government was transferred back to Baghdad does not appear, but it was probably in 273. Ibn er Rūmī has a poem speaking of how Baghdad was revived when Ibn Bulbul returned to the city.¹⁵⁰

The complimentary addresses of Ibn er Rūmī to Ibn Bulbul that date from this period have one notable characteristic: they hardly ever refrain from begging, sometimes rudely and querulously. For instance, Ibn er Rūmī says to Ibn Bulbul in one of them "I complain to you of dire need, and poverty endured patiently, which have worn me exceedingly"¹⁵¹, in another "I do not consider that the reward of poetry is a debt that you owe nor do I regard myself as a creditor. But I feel that you will hold it to be an obligation of your high station, inasmuch as the gracious will have a gracious thought. And if fortune should prevent your bounty from reaching me, I do not consider that you are to be blamed for not giving me anything"¹⁵²; remonstrating, "How is it that the reward of my verse is not weighed out when measure after measure of it have gone on?"¹⁵³ and "Why am I not rewarded when every one else receives a portion, including those than whose merits my faults are better?"¹⁵⁴; and "My tongue is unceasing in uttering your praise, and never rests; therefore, my accumulating a debt whilst I am under your shade is a reproach to you announced in the plainest language", and "I have a generous friend of whom for a long time I have spoken much and favourably, but he has not diminished my creditors nor has he increased my possessions and whenever I look at the way in which I praised him, I perceive how wrong I was."¹⁵⁵

Ibn er Rūmī may have had exaggerated expectations from Ibn Bulbul on his reaching the highest position next to the sovereign and have been disappointed because his previous acquaintance with him did not obtain for him what he had hoped, and Ibn Bulbul, on the other hand, may well have become weary of Ibn er Rūmī's importunity and of his complaints. It can be seen that ultimately he kept the poet at a distance. He says to Ibn Bulbul "How long are we to be treated vilely as if we were dogs? How long will there be this torture? Whenever I come intending to pay my respects, the doorkeeper turns me away from meeting you,"¹⁵⁷ and again, "Many a slight that I have suffered from you and from your wretched doorkeeper was not slight (with a similar play on words)."¹⁵⁸ That

a complete rupture occurred is shown by Ibn Rûmî's words to Ibn Bulbul, "Quickly did I receive the reward of weakness; as for you take care that you do not get the reward of insolence! weakly I had hoped for what was in your possession and I was punished by failing to win and succeed. . . . You have let me go out of your hands into the hands of God and He is enough for me without any man. My food is not what you produce for me. The Creator of all that has form is the Producer of food!"¹⁵⁹

Several poems by Ibn er Rûmî mocking Ibn Bulbul may all be believed to date from after the rupture, with the exception of one laughing at him on his appointment to the *diwân*¹⁶⁰ when Ibn er Rûmî had also praised him, as mentioned above, so that Ibn er Rûmî was praising him and mocking him at the same time

He twits Ibn Bulbul with his lowly origin "His mother was a seller of vinegar sauce and his father was one, too."¹⁶¹ He also ridicules his claim to belong to the tribe of Shaibân, which was obviously absurd, like the claim of Şâ'id to descent from Madhîj Ibn er Rûmî ridicules Ibn Bulbul's pretensions to Arab birth several times, in language such as the following "He became a man of Shaibân when he was on the point of becoming old; the fellow made an extraordinary mistake."¹⁶² Ibn Bulbul was very sensitive with regard to the question, and when Ibn er Rûmî in a eulogy said of him, "They declare that he belongs to Shaibân, but I reply that it is indeed not so," intending to pay him a great compliment by means of the next phrase, Ibn Bulbul thought that he was insulting him and refused to listen to Ibn er Rûmî's protestations and explanations and would not hear the following words "Certainly not, but unto him belongs Shaibân, for many an ancestor has been elevated in honour by one of his descendants, just as 'Adnân was elevated by the Prophet of God'"¹⁶³

From what Ibn er Rûmî says in his poems, it can be seen that Ibn Bulbul was good looking, but short of stature, also that he had some learning. Ibn er Rûmî alludes to the comeliness of Ibn Bulbul several times and once says of him, "You have now become possessed of both defects together—shortcoming and shortness." . . . Oh, philosopher, who is master of many of the wise sayings which are handed down by tradition and thinker of thoughts!"¹⁶⁴ In two poems Ibn er Rûmî refers to some scandals or quarrels in which Ibn el Bulbul had part. One alludes to the marriage of a girl where he says to Ibn Bulbul, "You take his wife from him by force and refuse him his rights"¹⁶⁵; another, addressing Abû el 'Abbâs ibn el Furât: "Qâfiya has come to complain to you, Ibn el Furât, against Ibn Bulbul Her fellow wives have had dowries, but she has not had a dowry, though she has more right to a dowry . . . than the others."¹⁶⁶ Another passage where Ibn er Rûmî says to Ibn Bulbul, "You were wedded to a Nu'mâ of whom you were not the equal

in rank, and God preserved her (from you) by divorcing her,"¹⁶⁷ may also refer to some matrimonial experience, or simply to the loss by Ibn Bulbul of his possessions when he was disgraced, Nu'mâ being taken, not as a proper name but merely in its ordinary sense of blessing

El Muwaffaq had put his son Abû el 'Abbâs under arrest and entrusted Ibn Bulbul with his custody. Whether Abû el 'Abbâs had been on bad terms with Ibn Bulbul before does not appear, but during his imprisonment he feared that Ibn Bulbul would take his life. On the death of El Muwaffaq in 278, his power passed to Abû el 'Abbâs, who was released just before El Muwaffaq expired, El Mu'tamid remaining a cipher. One of the first acts of Abû el 'Abbâs was to revenge himself on Ibn Bulbul. He threw him into prison and submitted him to such treatment that he died within two or three months or according to some, had him put to death in a barbarous way.¹⁶⁸

Ibn er Rûmî exulted over Ibn el Bulbul on his downfall. Whilst he was still alive, he writes, "I seem to see him in his prison where his garments of life, comfort and glory are but rags, his underclothes are sackcloth eating into his skin, his ornaments, fetters and neckplates of wrath." Ibn er Rûmî continues, "He wasted and was dishonest with the tribute and he thought that every one else was weak so he attacked the princes and plotted against them,"¹⁶⁹ perhaps alluding to designs of Ibn Bulbul against Abû el 'Abbâs. After Ibn Bulbul's death, Ibn er Rûmî says of him, "God struck him down with a thunderbolt of Banî Hâshim more deadly to him than the *siyîl* stones (would have been); he used all the cunning that he could, but his cunning was made to fail. Then there flowed the blood from that slave and the tears of the mourning woman ran down likewise in a stream. So let him who wails for him make long his wailing, for he is in the seventh hell where wailing continues for long!"¹⁷⁰ Afterwards he continued to nourish hatred for Ibn Bulbul during the rest of his life. He disparages him, regrets having praised him and speaks slightly of him in passages of which some must have been written shortly before his own death.¹⁷¹

Ibn er Rûmî complains that Ibn Bulbul gave preference to poets less accomplished than himself. "How is it right that in the field of honour of which you are the holder one that brays is made to run in front of one that neighs?"¹⁷² He seems from what he says to have been accepted by Ibn Bulbul so far as to be admitted as a regular member of the circle of his followers and allowed subsistence, but not to have been acknowledged as Ibn el Bulbul's titular poet, for that position was held by one Abû el Ḥasan el Khuzâ'i.¹⁷³

It can be seen that it was during the time that Ibn el Bulbul was minister to El Muwaffaq that Ibn er Rûmî praised (Ishâq ibn

Muḥammad) Ibn Ka'b el Baqar el Mansûrî, an 'Abbâsîd of some distinction whom Ibn Bulbul had appointed to the *ḥisba*. Several poems in the *diwân* of Ibn er Rûmî are addressed to this person. In one of them, Ibn'er Rûmî, seeks to win for him the friendship of Aḥmad ibn Ismâ'il, Ibn Sumaï', of whom nothing appears.¹⁷⁴

Two of the poems in Ibn er Rûmî's *diwân*, one of them an apology and the other a remonstrance, were written to be spoken by (El Ḥusain ibn 'Alî, Abû 'Abdallâh) El Bâqutâ'î to Ibn el Bulbul. This Bâqutâ'î had been secretary to Ibn Thawâba in the reign of El Muhtadî and at some time afterwards was in charge of *diwân el mashriq*. He was a noted critic. Ibn er Rûmî had known him earlier, for he praises El 'Alâ' ibn Şâ'id for appointing him to some office.¹⁷⁵

A few of Ibn er Rûmî's poems are addressed to El Muwaffaq himself, but it does not appear that at any time he was associated closely with that prince. The earliest that can be identified is one headed "to 'Alî ibn Yaḥyâ". It commemorates the defeat of Eş Şaffâr in 262 and is a tribute to one who had the credit of having obtained this victory for the Khalîf by animating his troops with courage when they were about to despair, an achievement that certainly was attributable to El Muwaffaq rather than to 'Alî. "You it is whose word cheered the *maulâs* and made them firm, after their fortune had failed them and they were at the point of death or on the brink. Had you not been their physician then, they would not have been restored."¹⁷⁶ Another is a formal panegyric written after the defeat of the Zanj by El Muwaffaq in 270, it does not give particulars of any of El Muwaffaq's exploits.¹⁷⁷ A third refers to some incident which does not seem to be mentioned by the historians. It adjures El Muwaffaq not to forsake his man (*walî*) or he will make the other followers of the Khalîfs disloyal for ever afterwards.¹⁷⁸

There are several incidental allusions to El Muwaffaq in other poems. One of them gives some useful details with regard to his conduct of the Zanj war.¹⁷⁹ Others refer to his having made certain appointments, viz, Ibrâhîm ibn en Nadîm to attend the circle of the court¹⁸⁰; Ishâq ibn Ibrahim as an envoy on a mission which proved successful¹⁸¹, one Abû el Fawâris to some unspecified post.¹⁸²

EL MU'TADID

Less than a year after the death of El Muwaffaq, his son and successor Abû el 'Abbâs put aside the son of El Mu'tamid and had himself proclaimed heir to the throne. El Mu'tamid died a few months later, poisoned some say by Abû el 'Abbâs, who then became khalîf with the title El Mu'taḍid. 'Ubaidallâh ibn Sulaimân ibn Wahb succeeded Ibn Bulbul as vizier.

Among those with whom Ibn er Rūmī was associated at about this time was (Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad) eṭ Ṭā'ī. This personage had been made governor of Kūfa in 269 and held the post, with the addition of various other charges, until he was arrested in 275.¹⁸³ Et Ṭā'ī must have been soon restored to favour, for by the beginning of the reign of El Mu'taḍid he was farming a number of districts near Baghdad in return for a large daily payment to the treasury.¹⁸⁴ He favoured the Qarmathian movement dishonestly, by taking money from Qarmathian converts for tolerating them.¹⁸⁵ The first complimentary poem to Et Ṭā'ī in Ibn er Rūmī's dīwān is a lengthy panegyric which can be dated in 275.¹⁸⁶ Before this Ibn er Rūmī had written a poem attacking him for seizing the son of one of the officials as a hostage when he was afraid of being assailed while Ibn Bulbul was vizier at Wāsiṭ—that is in 273 or thereabouts.¹⁸⁷ Later, probably during the reign of El Mu'taḍid, Et Ṭā'ī must have promised Ibn er Rūmī an allowance, for the poet is found pressing for the fulfilment of such a promise.¹⁸⁸ Et Ṭā'ī died in 281.

At the same period Ibn er Rūmī was able to do a service to a friend. (Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ubaidallāh), ibn 'Ammār, nicknamed El 'Uzair (Ezra) by Ibn er Rūmī, was accomplished but, in spite of his talents, found it difficult to make a living, and Ibn er Rūmī endeavoured to help him by writing poems for him to use as his own and by recommending him to friends. One day not long before the fall of Ibn Bulbul a certain functionary, Muhammad ibn Dā'ūd ibn el Jarrāh, came to visit Ibn er Rūmī and he took the opportunity of introducing Ibn 'Ammār to him. The two became friends. Muhammad ibn Dā'ūd was out of employment at the moment, but when the Wahb family came into power he was given a good post and Ibn 'Ammār prospered as he advanced. Ibn 'Ammār was abominably ungrateful to Ibn er Rūmī, he spoke ill of him and found fault with his poetry.¹⁸⁹ Remonstrances failed to produce any effect and Ibn er Rūmī proceeded to attack him by satire.¹⁹⁰ But he seems to have been reconciled with Ibn 'Ammār before he died, as one of his last poems consists of a petition to Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd written for him.¹⁹¹

Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd was a follower of the Banī el Furāt, a family which was disgraced with Ibn Bulbul, but was restored to favour under the Wahb regime not long afterwards and given high positions in the government. Ibn er Rūmī can be seen to have been on friendly terms with both Aḥmad ibn el Furāt and his younger brother, 'Alī the celebrated vizier of Muqtadir in after years. It can be seen that Ibn er Rūmī was acquainted with Aḥmad in Ibn Bulbul's lifetime, that he felt himself under considerable obligations to him, that their association was close and lasted for a substantial period. Ibn er Rūmī recommends Aḥmad ibn el Furāt to one of the viziers,

presumably to 'Ubaidallāh ibn Sulaimān, in preference to an Ibn 'Abdūn.

With 'Alī ibn el Furāt, Ibn er Rūmī's acquaintance was probably slighter.¹⁹²

About the time of the accession of Mu'taḍid to the Khalifate, in 279, perhaps a little before, Ibn er Rūmī's brother, Muḥammad, died. His mother had died somewhat earlier. He speaks of these losses as recent in his remonstrance to Ibn Ammār.¹⁹³

He speaks of the loss of his brother as recent also, in a poem to Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad el Wāthiqī, who at the time that it was written was in charge of the *shurṭa* or police of Baghdad, and had sent him an order to remove from a house of his that had been the subject of a dispute.¹⁹⁴

He speaks of it likewise to 'Ubaidallāh ibn 'Abdallāh, who had become governor of Baghdad for the fourth time in 276 and probably held the post for a couple of years till the death of El Muwaffaq, when a new governor was appointed and, it would seem, the government appropriated the palace of 'Ubaidallāh on the ground that it belonged to his office. Ibn er Rūmī represented that his brother had been in the employment of 'Ubaidallāh and begged to be allowed to take his place,¹⁹⁵ a request which does not appear to have been granted. In another poem Ibn er Rūmī presses 'Ubaidallāh to write a persuasive letter to his namesake (i.e., the vizier, 'Ubaidallāh ibn Sulaimān ibn Wahb) desiring him to grant Ibn er Rūmī a thousand (dirhams) and suggesting that he himself should add an equal gift.¹⁹⁶ Hence it can be seen that after El Muwaffaq died 'Ubaidallāh ibn 'Abdallāh did not come greatly impoverished at once, though it is known that ultimately he became indigent through loss of employment and deprivation.¹⁹⁷ Most of Ibn er Rūmī's complaints of 'Ubaidallāh ibn 'Abdallāh may be referred with probability to the period of 'Ubaidallāh's declining fortunes; they speak of his failure to give rewards and his delays and his preference for others.¹⁹⁸ Ibn er Rūmī's squabbles with El Baihaqī, 'Ubaidallāh's titular poet, may have been rather earlier.¹⁹⁹

El Mu'taḍid himself is the subject of some twenty poems in Ibn er Rūmī's *diwān*, none of them long, most of them quite short, with nothing in any of them to suggest that it was recited by the poet to the Khalif. Several are congratulations on the marriage of El Mu'taḍid to the Tulunid princess, Qaṭr en Nadā in 282, some written after the event and others in anticipation.²⁰⁰ Others are congratulations on the accession of El Mu'taḍid,²⁰¹ on the *fiṭr* festival,²⁰² on his return from a victory,²⁰³ and on various other occasions, condolence on the death of his mother,²⁰⁴ lines on his hunting the lion,²⁰⁵ a camel-driving song written at the request of a camel driver who was one of Ibn er Rūmī's neighbours.²⁰⁶ There is also a piece that

commemorates a remarkable example of El Mu'taḍid's stern justice.²⁰⁷

There are several incidental allusions to El Mu'taḍid. One of them refers to his service in the Zanj war, without telling us much about them²⁰⁸; another recommends Banī Wahb to him immediately after the overthrow of Ibn Bulbul²⁰⁹; one speaks of the expedition to Balad on which he started in Ṣafar 280²¹⁰; one of his expedition against Ahmad ibn 'Isā ibn esh Shaikh of which the start may have been the same or perhaps a year later²¹¹, another mentions his altering the Naurūz in 282.²¹² Ibn er Rūmî also mentions the appointment by El Mu'taḍid of one Sālum ibn 'Abdallāh to the office known as the *zimām*.²¹³

Ibn er Rūmî was on friendly terms with two other members of the Abbasid family who may be noticed here. There is hardly anything to give an indication of the date of his association with them. One was 'Abd el Malīk ibn Ṣālih, who seems to have been a strong supporter of his. Ibn er Rūmî declares his sincere affection for him, in consequence of which, he says, he is able to ask him for whatever he wants without being bashful. Elsewhere he tells him that he has brandished him at need, i.e., taken him as a sword of defence against poverty. He declares also that, if the vizier fails him and 'Abd el Malīk stands by him, all is well.²¹⁴ The vizier of whom he speaks here may be Ibn Bulbul. He gives an account of an entertainment at 'Abd el Malīk's house, including a description of a beautiful black slave girl to whom 'Abd el Malīk was devoted, made at his request.²¹⁵ The other was 'Abd el Malīk's brother, Ahmad. He had promised Ibn er Rūmî a dress and the poet presses for it, saying that Ahmad is the goal of his aspirations.²¹⁶

Another Abbasid, 'Isā ibn Mūsā ibn el Mutawakkil, is mocked for his avarice by Ibn er Rūmî in three or four poems.²¹⁷

The Banī Ḥammād are praised by Ibn er Rūmî in a poem which he seems to have written towards the end of his life. They were a family which for several generations included men of religious learning in the school of Mālik. Some of them had been Qāḍīs of Baghdad.²¹⁸ Ibn er Rūmî would have known something of them throughout his life. His earliest allusion to one that can be dated is a condolence on the death of Ḥammād ibn Ishāq which occurred in 267. He had at one time been Qāḍī of Baghdad.²¹⁹ Ibn er Rūmî seems to have been in fairly close relationship with Ḥammād's son, Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥammād, whose generosity he praises in two poems, in each of which he asks him for some of his cotton. In a third poem he sympathises with him sincerely on the death of a nephew.²²⁰ He also praises, Ḥammād's brother, Ismā'īl, who was probably the most distinguished member of the family, had written some books and had been employed on one or two important missions, besides

being Qâdî of Baghdad for many years. Ismâ'il died in 282.²²¹ Ibn er Rûmî has a poem expressing sympathy with Ismâ'il's son El Hasan on an illness of his father's ²²²

The year after the death of Ismâ'il ibn Hammâd, his cousin Yûsuf ibn Ya'qûb became Qâdî of the East side of Baghdad, apparently adding this office to that which he already held as Qâdî of Baṣra and Wâsiṭ.²²³ We see that Ibn er Rûmî was accused to him of irreligion. He hastens to defend himself against the charge and says that Yûsuf's two sons will testify in his favour ²²⁴ In the poem relating to this matter, Ibn er Rûmî refers to a riot caused by a sudden increase in prices, for which the populace appear to have held the Qâdî responsible so that they stoned him in his house ²²⁵ The riot is not mentioned in the historical sources available

'Alî ibn 'Abdallâh ibn el Musaiyab el Kâtib was one of the intimate friends of Ibn er Rûmî in his latter years. The poet praises him for hospitality which will take no refusal. In another poem he speaks of Ibn Musaiyab's trustees attending a feast graced with wine and music. He calls him the poet of the Persians, just as Imr el Qais was the poet of the Arabs. Ibn el Musaiyab was probably in easy circumstances. Poems showing the terms of his friendship with Ibn er Rûmî are two in which he mentions the death of a daughter of Ibn el Musaiyab and exhorts him not to fail to respect omens. Also a third consisting of coarse abuse, apparently to be taken in jest rather than as the sign of a quarrel. The daughter spoken of died in 278. Ibn Musaiyab survived Ibn er Rûmî and wrote a life of him, at least one passage from which has been preserved.²²⁶

Another friend, Ahmad ibn Bishr El Marthadî appears in Ibn er Rûmî's *diwân* several times. He was employed in the office of the royal estate (*dîwân el khâṣṣa*) of El Muwaffaq and must have been a man of learning. He had written books on literary subjects.²²⁷ In nearly all the poems he addresses to him, Ibn er Rûmî asks him for something. In one of them it is for wine. The most frequent request is for fish. It appears that Ibn Bishr had promised to furnish Ibn er Rûmî with fish regularly. He sent the fish once only. The fish became a standing joke between them. Ibn er Rûmî wears it rather thin. Out of ten poems to Ibn Bishr, only one does not mention the fish. The longest of the poems, written to congratulate him on the birth of a son, contains a recommendation of Ibn 'Ammâr so it can be dated as about 278 ²²⁸

A short poem to another official, Asad ibn Jahûr, asking him for help in an emergency appears to belong to the same period.²²⁹

Another friend of Ibn er Rûmî who comes into view first at about the time of the overthrow of Ibn Bulbul is Abû 'Uthmân en Nâjim. He was cultivated and literary, a poet himself and able to repeat most of Ibn er Rûmî's verse. When he is introduced to us he is in Ibn

er Rūmī's company, unable to accept an invitation to go to the house of Muḥammad ibn Da'ūd ibn el Jarrāḥ, because he was obliged to attend the service of Ibn Bulbul. He appears with Ibn er Rūmī again when the host is absent after an invitation and again visiting him on the day of his death. There are no poems to Abū 'Uthmān, apart from a couple of uncomplimentary lines, but a few verses and allusions that point to a close association between Ibn er Rūmī and him. In a passage in Dhail Zahr el Adāb, Ibn er Rūmī is called Abū 'Uthmān's master (*ustādh*). He must have been many years older so that Abū 'Uthmān may well have been a pupil.²³⁰

Whilst Abū 'Uthmān en Nājim was with him, Ibn er Rūmī wrote a long facetious poem for the tongue of one Abū Bakr et Ṭalaqānī, that is as if spoken by him, to serve as pleasantry. His only other poem to this personage is a short remonstrance on tardiness in giving, so perhaps their acquaintance was slight. The comic poem suggests, however, terms of familiarity. Ibn er Rūmī seems to speak elsewhere of his matchless culture, and it is known that Et Ṭalaqānī composed poetry. He appears to have been in the service of the government.²³¹

Of Salāma ibn Sa'īd el Ḥājib, sometimes called merely El Ḥājib, it is related that once he asked Ibn er Rūmī and Abū 'Uthmān to his house to spend a pleasant day, promising wine and other refreshments, but when they went they found the door shut against them. Ibn er Rūmī wrote an elaborate protest, which with a few other poems to Salāma is preserved in his dīwān. It is difficult to make out on what terms with one another he and Salāma stood.

One of his poems praises Salāma without reserve, commending his generosity and calling him the prince of the generous. The protest for what after all must have been the result of some misunderstanding or mistake seems to have been meant to be facetious, but the other poems consist of abuse so scurrilous that they can hardly have been humorous. One might suppose that Salāma was at first a valued patron and afterwards Ibn er Rūmī had quarrelled with him. It appears, however, that Salāma was Ibn er Rūmī's "man" (*ghulām*), an expression that suggests that he was a follower or disciple. Salāma had written "a hundred sheets" of poetry.²³²

Another person described as a *ghulām* of Ibn er Rūmī and said also to have written the same amount of poetry as Salāma is Mithqāl (Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb el Wāsiṭī). He had come to settle in Baghdad and on his arrival Ibn er Rūmī used to ascribe the authorship of some of his own satires to him. There is an example of a satire written for Mithqāl in Ibn er Rūmī's dīwān. The only poem in it addressed to him consists of a few verses of mild reproof. Mithqāl died before Ibn er Rūmī.²³³

Ibn er Rūmī in a poem speaks of a reception at the house of Sulaimān ibn el Ḥasan ibn Makhlad, attended by himself and also by the poet

El Buḥturî. The date of the reception cannot have been far before or after 280, in which year Sulaimân would have been 19 years old. Only one other meeting between Ibn er Rûmî and El Buḥturî is recorded, though the two probably knew one another well.²³⁴

WAHB FAMILY

The principal patrons of Ibn er Rûmî after the fall of Ibn Bulbul were the Banî Wahb. This family belonged originally to Wâsiṭ. They had been in government employment since Umayyad times and could boast of continuous service for more than a century and a half.²³⁵ The members of the family whom Ibn er Rûmî mentions in his poems are Sulaimân ibn Wahb, his three sons, Aḥmad, Wahb and 'Ubaidallâh, and the two sons of 'Ubaidallâh, El Ḥasan and El Qâsim.

Sulaimân ibn Wahb, the head of the family in the middle of the 3rd century, began employment as a scribe of El Ma'mûn at the age of 14. He held various offices and was vizier to El Muhtadî, also to El Mu'tamid for a short period. He was employed for a little while by El Muwaffaq, but was arrested by him in 265 and remained in prison till he died in 272.²³⁶

Sulaimân's son, Aḥmad, was a poet and author, he held some high positions in the government service and died in 285.²³⁷ His son, Wahb, was in the government service before 260 and appears to have been still living in about 280.²³⁸

Sulaimân's other son, 'Ubaidallâh ibn Sulaimân, had important government employment early. He was secretary to the Turkish leader Mûsâ ibn Bughâ (261-4) and then added to his duties that of secretary to the heir apparent, El Mufauwiḍ, and to El Muwaffaq. He was employed together with his father by El Muwaffaq only in order that the treasure of Mûsâ ibn Bughâ should be discovered and then was arrested with his father but was not kept perpetually in prison like him, for when he became vizier to El Mu'tamid in 278, he was not a prisoner but was living obscurely in poverty at Madîna. He remained vizier until his death in 288 at the age of 62.²³⁹

'Ubaidallâh's son, El Ḥasan, was given charge of several government offices, but his father made him appoint deputies to some of them by whom he was virtually superseded. He was learned and had written a commentary on Euclid. He died in 284.²⁴⁰

His other son, El Qâsim, was in the service of the government, probably from the time that 'Ubaidallâh became vizier. In the time of Eṭ Ṭâ'î (that is before 281), he was receiving a salary of 500 dinârs a month for some post connected with the army. Ṭabarî mentions him first in 283, in which year, when his father 'Ubaidallâh went to the province of Jabal (and possibly also during a short visit

of his father to the same province in the previous year), he acted as deputy vizier. He was fierce and cruel and guilty of several outrageous crimes, of which the murder of Aḥmad ibn eṭ Ṭaiyib by forgery consisting of the interpolation of his name in a list of criminals condemned to death by El Mu'taḍid, the murder of 'Amr ibn Laith and his treacherous putting to death of Badr el Mu'taḍidî, are examples. He was fond of wine drinking and dissipation. He died in 291 over thirty years old.²⁴¹

Ibn er Rûmî addresses several poems to the family of Wahb collectively, generally praising them and complimenting them, but occasionally complaining of them and attacking them. It is remarkable that though it appears from what Ibn Rûmî says that he was attached to the family long before their return to power in 278, none of his poems to them seems to have been earlier than that event. In one of his last important compositions he declares that for years he had been watching the star of Wahb, regarding it as his share of prosperity, if their luck sank weeping tears of sorrow and if it rose again rejoicing at its reappearance . . . until when God had made success appear to them he had been marked out for the most protracted unemployment.²⁴² In a poem to Şâ'id and El 'Alâ' at the time of their disgrace in 272 Ibn er Rûmî tells them that their regime will be 'kicked out' by a better—that of the Wahb family on their restoration, showing that at least as early as the year mentioned he was a partisan of theirs.²⁴³ Ibn er Rûmî's complaints against the Bani Wahb and his attacks on them were probably the result of a feeling of neglect and disappointment and date from the last years of his life, like the example which has been given. Once he accuses them of having revived the religion of the cross and busied themselves with building churches and demolishing mosques and with annulling what the khalîf Ja'far (El Mutawakkil) had chosen as the garb of every infidel.²⁴⁴

Ibn er Rûmî mentions Sulaimân ibn Wahb and his son Ahmad, each only once incidentally.²⁴⁵

Sulaimân's son Wahb is the subject of more than a dozen short pieces. Nearly all of them mock him for an unfortunate breach of manners. He had disgraced himself by an involuntary act considered particularly shameful in Arabia and as the lapse occurred in an assembly before the vizier the scandal was flagrant. This "slip of Wahb," which had a wide notoriety, occurred in 258.²⁴⁶ Once or twice Ibn er Rûmî calls Wahb "ṣâhib el barîd" or "our barîdî,"²⁴⁷ so Wahb was postmaster, either general or local, whether at the time of the incident or not does not appear. In one poem Wahb is praised and asked to excuse Ibn er Rûmî his kharâj,²⁴⁸ so that at that date Wahb had charge of the tax.

Ibn er Rûmî praises 'Ubaidallâh ibn Sulaimân ibn Wahb in several

poems. In one of them he declares that 'Uбайдallâh has restored the religion of Muḥammad after it had come to a desperate pass.²⁴⁹ In another that may have been written in 281, for Ibn er Rûmî speaks in it of passing the age of 60, he does not hesitate to give 'Uбайдallâh advice. He urges him not to fail to recognize the claims of his son El Ḥasan to advancement and not to keep him at a distance from the khalif, for it would strengthen the position of his brother El Qâsim to have him by him rather than weaken him.²⁵⁰

The number of poems addressed by Ibn er Rûmî to 'Uбайдallâh's son El Ḥasan is small compared with that to his other son El Qâsim, but it would seem that for some time Ibn er Rûmî and El Ḥasan must have been extremely close friends. Thanks to El Ḥasan, Ibn er Rûmî obtained a grant of a maintenance allowance from Et Ṭâ'î, which may or may not have been paid. At one time, he says, El Ḥasan cheered him when fortune was desolating. His pleading to the vizier for El Ḥasan has been noticed above. He had evidently offended El Ḥasan in some way. In two poems he asks for pardon. In one of them begs him to remember that he was once a comfort to him in his sorrows and his favourite companion at wine. Once he calls El Ḥasan "king."²⁵¹

'Uбайдallâh's younger son El Qâsim was Ibn er Rûmî's principal patron. Ibn er Rûmî addresses more poetry to him than to any one else. El Qâsim is said to have been invested with important duties ever since he became 14.²⁵² It is stated also that he made Ibn er Rûmî an allowance before the Wahb family returned to power (i.e., in 278).²⁵³ 'Uбайдallâh was living in poverty when he was made vizier, so El Qâsim must have had some independent office or other means of his own before his father came back thus into grace.

At one period Ibn er Rûmî was high in El Qâsim's favour, but ultimately, he became estranged from him. The estrangement seems to have been gradual, but even when the two were on friendly terms there were ups and downs in their relationship.

For instance, after the restoration of the Banî Wahb El Qâsim neglected to continue the allowance he had made to Ibn er Rûmî previously,²⁵⁴ and it is on record that El Qâsim treated Ibn er Rûmî with rudeness in the autumn of 278,²⁵⁵ when the family had been back in authority for only a few months.

In the following year, however, Ibn er Rûmî is found praising El Qâsim enthusiastically.

"He has begun by giving so much," he says, "that there is no need for him to give again. I have nothing to do but feed favoured in his rich pasture. He has overwhelmed me with a flow of presents like rain or like a torrent rushing down from a height. I must not complain, still his gifts have imposed on me the task of counting the grains of sand in the desert of Zarûd."²⁵⁶ He appears to have

been still on excellent terms with El Qâsim at the beginning of 280. Probably the estrangement between them did not begin to get serious before the end of 281 or early in 282.

Accordingly a number of poems containing acknowledgments of favours and not dated can be ascribed to the period 278-281. They give an idea of the benefits that Ibn er Rûmî received. One of them, that seems to have been written when El Mu'tamid was still alive contains the following:—"When they ask me whether I hope for anything, I reply that a man will continue to hope so long as he has not obtained his hope, just as a traveller will not cease from journeying till he has arrived and alights, and I have fulfilled the hope I entertained by means of the son of the vizier and what he has given and lavished."²⁵⁷ And elsewhere, He (El Qâsim) has brought me what is beyond the power of any other helper and I have adorned for him (a robe) beyond the power of any other weaver,"²⁵⁸ He means given him better praise than any one else could. Elsewhere again, "he has shown all the indulgence and liberality which we have heard related of the family of Barmak"²⁵⁹ In other poems he says of El Qâsim "Often has his kindness come to me before any promise of our meeting."²⁶⁰ "He has never ceased to promote me and benefit me, till the envy of my envier did him harm"²⁶¹; "which of your possessions (oh, Qâsim) do you not give unto us, from which of your lights do you not give light to us?"²⁶² El Qâsim "While young in years is old in knowledge, firm in judgment before the time of firm judgment"; "His generosity has brought me (Ibn er Rûmî) to an easy life" . . . "I fight against the heat in his thin vests and against the cold in his stuffs of wool and silk and in his fur."²⁶³

There are a few other poems containing unqualified praise of the same kind. Some celebrate special occasions, as the birth of children,²⁶⁴ a festival,²⁶⁵ condolence on the death of a son,²⁶⁶ a message in an illness.²⁶⁷

Many poems to El Qâsim contain requests, more or less urgent, or complaints, ranging from mild to strong and bitter. Ibn er Rûmî may well have wearied and disgusted him by importunity and repeated murmuring. Perhaps he began to annoy him by presuming on his position. At any rate, the *diwân* contains some admonitions that would have been likely to exasperate one who had a violent temper.

Thus Ibn er Rûmî lectures El Qâsim on what is due to a man of culture—obviously meaning himself.²⁶⁸ In another composition he exhorts him on the consequences of doing evil.²⁶⁹ Elsewhere he enjoins on El Qâsim to perceive the right course of action for himself.²⁷⁰ Again he tells him not to be angry with his architect,²⁷¹ and similarly he reads him a lesson as to his behaviour to his clerks.²⁷²

A request that Ibn er Rûmî makes to El Qâsim several times is

to be given a post or regular employment. It is easy to understand how the poet would have preferred a settled income to the chance of getting more from casual gifts. Ibn er Rûmî, moreover, explains his position himself. He says to El Qâsim: "The time since my hand knew the bounty of your hands is so short that it would stop an importunate beggar from begging, but rewards according to what I see are like bursts of rain, whereas an allowance is a steady down-pour and grateful freshness . . . and a little that lasts is better and more desirable. . . . Secure my service, therefore, by the wage of a servant satisfactory to me by its amount and regularity. A small portion will content me."²⁷³ Ibn er Rûmî presses a similar request in another poem in the form of bitter irony. He declares that El Qâsim "Was about to employ me in a place of work, but he saw that my being in service would give new strength to my sins and that my toiling would cause me fatigue which would produce for me many ailments instead of my being in good health. He therefore guarded my life from his dividing it up between my wrong doing and my suffering"²⁷⁴ El Qâsim does seem to have met Ibn er Rûmî's request so far as making an allowance is concerned, though the allowance does not appear to have been settled very securely, for when El Qâsim was on the point of setting out with El Mu'taḍid from Baghdad on an expedition, Ibn er Rûmî writes to him, "make some one responsible for the sustenance you have granted me. It is becoming that what has been bestowed should be made secure."²⁷⁵ Whether El Qâsim acceded or not, it seems that the allowance was never put on a satisfactory basis. Ibn er Rûmî is still referring to it in one of his latest poems, where he says to El Qâsim "After having brought me to life yesterday will you put me to death to-day, by spurning me and keeping me at a distance when I deserve to be brought near? If I am fit for anything then employ me according to my ability for my food but if not, then give me my maintenance as infirm."²⁷⁶

One of Ibn er Rûmî's complaints is that he was made to attend the inferior entertainment of the singing girl Jullanâr instead of that of another called Dubsîya.²⁷⁷ Elsewhere he has a grievance that he was not treated with the respect to which he was entitled in that he was not announced particularly but thrown in with the common herd and worse to him than this, he says, was his knowing that El Qâsim did not consider that he had been wronged by the affront.²⁷⁸ In another poem after lamenting El Qâsim's coldness, Ibn er Rûmî says of him, "I complain to God of injustice never dispelled, from which I am continually receiving the worst of treatment"²⁷⁹ Again, in reproach to El Qâsim, Ibn er Rûmî says "When fortune failed, I had provided myself with the generous for that, but what preparation can I make, if my provision fails?"²⁸⁰ He wants little; "Every

place in the forenoon is hard to your servant, therefore make smooth a resting place for him under your shelter."²⁸¹ He feels sure that El Qâsim will help him. He says to his wife "God will produce ease after distress by means of the gifts of Abû Ḥusain (El Qâsim)."²⁸² His friends refuse to help him when he can have recourse to El Qâsim: "My brethren forbid me their watering places and relegate me to the ocean by his channels, saying, shall we give drink to one who can water at the flood, as may be said to a maulâ of whom you are the patron, O Qâsim."²⁸³

Ibn er Rûmî appears to have offended El Qâsim by some particular action. He protests that he will not complain or be ungrateful for favours so long as the heaven continues to revolve. On the contrary he has ever tried to strengthen the link between them, for there is no leaving of the portion from him which he has secured . . . but that he had heard somehow that El Qâsim was displeased and that was grievous to him.²⁸⁴ Perhaps his special offence may have been refusing to break off a friendship El Qâsim had desired him to give up. About this matter all that has been found is an allusion in one of the poems.²⁸⁵ In spite of what he says of the cruelty and injustice of El Qâsim he prays for him, "May you ever be rain to those who make request, may you ever be anger to those who produce vexation, notwithstanding that you have rewarded me with harshness, although indeed I am not guilty of any crime, and that you have cared for others and neglected me, contrary to your upright balance (fair justice) "²⁸⁶ He regrets that El Qâsim has a poor opinion of him. "I have come to a place of mourning because you think badly of me."²⁸⁷ He asks El Qâsim, "Is there any way to renew your affection? Can anything be made new again after it is worn out?"²⁸⁸

Ibn er Rûmî complains to one El Ḥusain ibn Badr that El Qâsim, who had been his hope, had turned against him and begs him to speak to El Qâsim and induce him to excuse him from his service.²⁸⁹ It seems from another poem that Ibn er Rûmî had requested El Qâsim's leave for him to absent himself in order to treat an illness (perhaps a malady of the eye) and from the terms in which Ibn er Rûmî makes the application, excusing himself and asking for forgiveness when he does so, that El Qâsim had objected, probably because he did not consider the reason genuine. Ibn er Rûmî may be supposed to have gone away then without leave.²⁹⁰ In another poem he is found saying to El Qâsim "Though my precaution has hidden my person from you, I have not let your rope go from my hand (not cut off irretrievably). I did not fly, knowing and assured that thus, if you were to shoot, I should elude your arrows, but I made off because I was certain that (before long) you would sheathe your blade in your clemency."²⁹¹ At one time, according to Ibn er Rûmî, El Qâsim who had covered him with his favour had thought of punish-

ing him, but had been kept from doing so by his magnanimity. He had been made to think that Ibn er Rūmî would commit a crime, of which he would never be guilty—that of reviling him.²⁹² In another poem he refers to the tales of wrong-doers against him and protests emphatically that he has not said a part of what they make out and repeat.²⁹³ Again, Ibn er Rūmî assures El Qâsim that there is no need for him to fear his satire. His mouth is sealed against speaking ill of him though his condition is not concealed (and accuses El Qâsim of injustice)²⁹⁴ Elsewhere he tells him that he will be protected from the sharpness of his tongue by his heart's remembering the sharpness of El Qâsim's sword²⁹⁵ All the same, Ibn er Rūmî did not always refrain from attacking El Qâsim, if certain poems in his *diwân* are rightly attributed to him. In one of these he says that El Qâsim holds him cheap and he looks forward eagerly to cutting away from him and being at a distance²⁹⁶ In another he declares that El Qâsim "Has broken my liberty and with his miserable gifts has fastened my tongue with a knot"²⁹⁷ In a third he expresses his dislike for El Qâsim in strong terms²⁹⁸ Some virulent abuse addressed to El Qâsim is not, however, directed at his patron, but at another individual whose name happened to be the same.²⁹⁹

Jealousy was doubtless the cause of bad feeling between Ibn er Rūmî and some of El Qâsim's followers. One of them, 'Amr, a Christian and apparently a man of some means and position, seems to have been in the employment of El Qâsim as his secretary. Ibn er Rūmî quarrelled fiercely with him. He appealed to El Qâsim several times for help against him, saying that 'Amr had insulted him, and abusing him, declaring that he was like a dog, but only had the dog's bad qualities³⁰⁰ His poems concerning 'Amr appear to have amused El Qâsim, but there is nothing to suggest that he gave Ibn er Rūmî any satisfaction—indeed El Qâsim's reply to one of his complaints against 'Amr was to forbid him admittance to his presence³⁰¹

In one of his poems about 'Amr, Ibn er Rūmî gives a view of El Qâsim's intimates. He cannot understand, he says, how he can make a friend of 'Amr when he has so many estimable companions and then proceeds to enumerate the most distinguished members of his circle, unfortunately not always in such a way that they can be identified, now³⁰² Among the number were the physician, Abû Ishâq; another Abû Ishâq known as Ez Zajjâj, the grammarian, friend of El Firâsî, presumably El Akhfash, El Firâsî or Ibn Firâs.

The physician Abû Ishâq, who is only mentioned once in the *diwân*, seems to be unknown otherwise.

Ez Zajjâj, one of the foremost pupils of El Mubarrad, through whose recommendation he became tutor to the children of 'Ubaidallâh ibn Sulaiman and afterwards to those of El Mu'taqid, was one of the

principal jurists of his time. Ibn er Rûmî mentions him in only one other poem, again speaking of him as a member of El Qâsim's circle. In the first passage he speaks of his pleasant jokes, his abundant ideas and mastery of correct language. According to Mas'ûdî, numerous good stories of Ez Zajjâj and Ibn er Rûmî were in existence at one time.³⁰³

El Akhfash, 'Alî ibn Sulaimân, Abû el Ḥasan, known as El Akhfash eṣ Ṣaghîr to distinguish him from three other Akhfashes, had studied under El Mubarrad and others. He is the râwî of El Mubarrad's Kâmil. On the recommendation of El Mubarrad he had been employed as tutor by Ibrâhîm ibn el Mudabbar, to whom he became companion also. He used to banter Ibn er Rûmî on his superstition and this led to a quarrel between them,³⁰⁴ but he had charged Ibn er Rûmî with passing off the satires of another as his own and had also found fault with some of his poetry and these were among the causes of conflict between the two. Ibn er Rûmî attacked El Akhfash in satire. Three poems of this kind are found. In one of them Ibn er Rûmî says: "I say to one who tells me that he showed work of mine to El Akhfash and he did not admire it, you failed in what is due to poetry when you submitted it to a critic so plainly blind. He has never made or transmitted a verse, he is neither the lion of poetry nor yet its jackal. If he declares that he does transmit, then it is only like a book ignorant of the contents it brings together. In putting me forward for his praise did you seek to obtain me honour? Whoever he supports, is humbled. Or did you wish to do me harm by exposing me to his carping? Whoever he attacks, is safe."³⁰⁵ The poem gets ruder and ends with coarse and disgusting insults. The two other satires consist also of outrageous abuse. Ibn er Rûmî became reconciled with El Akhfash eventually and then praised him in glowing language, saying of him: "You may see how every difficulty yields to him as a true wife gives way to her spouse. Oh you who thirst for the truth go to him for drink, he will give you what is right once and again, he is an ocean but of fresh water, not salt, nor (God forbid) is he shallow."³⁰⁶ After the reconciliation the relations between the two became strained again and Ibn er Rûmî warned El Akhfash of what he might expect if he became angry with him once more, but the quarrel does not seem to have been revived.

Ibn Firâs, or El Firâsî as he is called in the enumeration, Abû el Ḥasan, is evidently identical with Muḥammad ibn Firâs, who appears at a later date as a follower of El Qâsim, remarkable for his jealousy.³⁰⁷ Otherwise we learn from Ibn er Rûmî nearly all that can be said about him. Ibn er Rûmî's longest poem to Ibn Firâs, consisting of more than 100 verses, is a strong appeal to him for his friendship and favour. In the course of it, Ibn er Rûmî refers to the high position Ibn Firâs has attained—presumably as a follower

of El Qâsim, and mentions that by his good fortune others have benefited, including 'Amr, that is the secretary of El Qâsim, and others like 'Amr. He speaks of his being light (in the balance with El Qâsim) after prevailing weight and accuses Ibn Firâs of having caused the change in his state, professes that he liked Ibn Firâs before he met him, offers to praise him but, if this is not accepted, threatens satire.³⁰⁸

In another poem, Ibn er Rûmî implores Ibn Firâs to speak in his favour to El Qâsim.³⁰⁹ It would seem that Ibn Firâs did not meet Ibn er Rûmî's wishes and there was an estrangement between them in consequence. Ibn Firâs's refusal to give his assistance is referred to in a passage that may perhaps imply that Ibn er Rûmî considered that he was under some obligation to him, possibly only because he had praised him expecting to obtain his help in return. He says of Ibn Firâs, "There was a serf whom I granted what he ordered, hoping for what he could have given but refused, so I became like one who worships a figure he has carved or one who looks for sustenance to the idol he has set up, whereas had he but been pressed by satire, he would have groaned at the biting of its iron."³¹⁰ The quarrel is likely to have led to disputes in the presence of El Qâsim. There is an example of one when Ibn Firâs asks the meaning of an outlandish word and Ibn er Rûmî answers him in a mocking way.³¹¹ A whole series of satirical poems addressed to Ibn Firâs by Ibn er Rûmî may be explained by a gradual increase in the hostility between them. They run through the grades between mild reproach and virulent abuse, in which the mother and women of Ibn Firâs are accused of profligacy. Here Ibn Firâs is mocked for avarice, as if that was a notorious failing of his.³¹²

Whether Niftawaih, Ibrâhîm ibn Muhammad, was one of El Qâsim's circle or not, does not appear, but, like Ez Zajjâj and El Akhfash, he was a pupil of El Mubarrad. He was a grammarian and a historical writer of merit and is praised by El Mas'ûdî. Ibn er Rûmî seems to have disliked him and attacked him in a satire full of gross abuse. Niftawaih was with the poet on the day that he died.³¹³

Ibn er Rûmî speaks once of his own place in El Qâsim's circle which he had vacated and wonders whether El Firâsî and Ez Zajjâj will observe the bond of brotherhood and say "the seat of your maulâ filled is better than when it is empty." This was in the lifetime of the singer Bustân, for he asks to be brought near at her chanting. He refers to being refused admittance in a poem in which Bustân is alluded to as deceased. Perhaps after he had lost the special position as a member of the circle he had had at first he was allowed to attend El Qâsim from time to time as a less privileged follower.³¹⁴

II

Death of Ibn er Rûmî, how he was murdered, first version — second version, also untrue. — Date of death doubtful — Poets with whom Ibn er Rûmî was associated. — Women with whom Ibn er Rûmî's poems show that he was acquainted. — Mostly gairnas; description of gairna — Ibn er Rûmî's family mother, aunt, brother, wives, children. — Ibn er Rûmî's description: build, dress, character, etc — His superstition, belief, his being a shî'a — Accused of irreligion. — Drinks wine, fond of listening to singing. — Fond of eating — His financial circumstances.

Poems. — Existing manuscripts. — Printed versions — Description of his poems. — Eulogies, remonstrances satire — Ghazals — Descriptive poems — Strife poems, didactic ones — Licentious poems, elegies — His vocabulary, his own commentaries — Opinion of Arab critics on his work — Remarks as to his merits.

Ibn er Rûmî died in 283 or 284, poisoned at the order of El Qâsim. He had begun to be troublesome and El Qâsim was not the man to hesitate at murder in order to free himself from an embarrassment. He employed Ibn Firâs to administer the poison. The two detailed accounts of Ibn er Rûmî's death agree so far, but in other respects they are in conflict and neither of them can be accurate. The earlier one, that of El Huşrî, is to the effect that when Ibn er Rûmî became a favourite of El Qâsim, the latter's father, 'Ubaidallâh ibn Sulaimân, desired to see him and after he had done so urged his son to make away with the poet. He found him dangerous as he might at any time, by a word or two, fasten an eternal disgrace on the Wahb family. 'Ubaidallâh worded his admonition enigmatically. Ibn Firâs interpreted it to El Qâsim and undertook to carry it into effect. He contrived to make Ibn er Rûmî take poison in a *lauzîna*, a confection of almonds served in a goblet. When Ibn er Rûmî had done so, he felt that he had been poisoned to death and got up to depart. El Qâsim, in whose presence he had been sitting, asked him whither he was going. "Where you have sent me," he replied.³¹⁵ The impossible feature of this story is that it makes out that 'Ubaidallâh had not seen the poet until shortly before his death, whereas his poems show clearly that he had been in close touch with 'Ubaidallâh for some years.

The second account, that of Ibn Khallikân, does not give 'Ubaidallâh any part in the affair. It tells us that El Qâsim, the vizier of El Mu'taḍid, was afraid of the satire of Ibn er Rûmî and his reckless use of foul language, so he made an emissary of Ibn Firâs who gave Ibn er Rûmî a poisoned biscuit (*khushknânga*) to eat while he was

in the vizier's audience hall. After Ibn er Rûmî had taken the poison and answered El Qâsim that he was going where he had sent him, El Qâsim added, "Then convey my greeting to my father," and Ibn er Rûmî retorted that he was not bound for hell fire³¹⁶ The addition and the retort are obviously false, seeing that El Qâsim's father survived Ibn er Rûmî by four years or more and it is strange that Ibn Khallikân and others who have repeated the story have failed to notice this fatal objection to it³¹⁷ It may be thought that the description of El Qâsim in this account as vizier is another error, but it seems that it is not wrong El Qâsim's father was certainly vizier at the time, but El Qâsim acquired the title of vizier also in his father's lifetime Ibn er Rûmî actually calls El Qâsim vizier in more than one of his poems.³¹⁸ Even without the spurious addition the anecdote is not at all likely in itself It is related of another historical personage, always a suspicious sign³¹⁹

The year of Ibn er Rûmî's death is doubtful The biographers prefer 283/896,³²⁰ and nothing has been found in Ibn er Rûmî's poems to show that it was later On the other hand, according to Yâqût, the well known epigram on the death of El Ḥasan ibn 'Ubaidallâh was foisted by its author, the poet Ibn Bassâm, on Ibn er Rûmî, who must, therefore, have lived till 284, since El Ḥasan died in that year³²¹ There is, however, reason to doubt Yâqût's statement³²²

There is the same uncertainty as to the date of the death of El Buhturî, which occurred at about the same time Different authorities give the year of his death as 283, 284, 285 or 286³²³

A good part of the energies of Ibn er Rûmî was taken up in a constant bickering with rival poets who, therefore, require some notice in his life, though little information about them is forthcoming. Those known to us only by their being mentioned in Ibn er Rûmî's *diwân* are Khâld el Qaḥṭabî,³²⁴ Esh Shaukî, Abu Ḥaṣṣ el Warrâq, Ahmad ibn Ḥuraith,³²⁵ Ibn Khansâ', a follower of Et Ṭâ'î, Abû Yûsuf ed Daqqâq,³²⁶ Ibn Abî el Jahm, Ibn Bûrân,³²⁷ Ibn Abî Qurra of Basra, Abû el Ḥasan el Khuzâ'î, Abû el Mustahill, a half crazy beggar poet of Karkh, Abû Suwaid ibn Abî el 'Atâhiya, apparently a son of the famous poet, who died in 213. Those mentioned elsewhere, not it seems, of much note as poets, are Şâ'id ibn Ḥumaid,³²⁸ Fuḍail el A'raj of Kûfa,³²⁹ Sau'ar ibn Abî Sharâ'a of Baṣra whose father had been a close friend of Ibrâhîm ibn el Mudabbar when he was governor of that town,³³⁰ El Baihaqî, who has been mentioned above and was a follower of 'Ubaidallâh ibn 'Abdallâh³³¹ Two only are well known poets Ahmad ibn Abî Ṭâhir, the author of many books, but not remarkable for his merit,³³² and El Buhturî, who is accounted the greatest Arab poet of his time.³³³

Khâld el Qaḥṭabî is Ibn er Rûmî's principal butt, the subject of more than sixty of his satires, in a few of which Esh Shaukî is associated

with him. Abû Ḥafṣ el Warrâq is another favourite mark of Ibn er Rûmî's ridicule and abuse; about half as many satires are addressed to him as to Khâlid. Nearly every one of the other poets named is mocked or reviled in several pieces of the same kind. The aim of the satires was to render the victims contemptible or odious and the usual method was to make disgraceful and degrading charges against them, quite regardless of fact, it would seem. There is thus little to be learnt from these compositions. In one of them Ibn er Rûmî probably gives his actual opinion of the poetry of Aḥmad ibn Abî Ṭâhir when he declares that it is mediocre, neither hot nor cold,³³⁴ but he himself contradicts his condemnations of the poetry of El Buḥturî. In a poem which cannot be earlier than 278 he testifies to the excellence of El Buḥturî as a poet, while at the same time protesting against the judgment of a critic who had decided that El Buḥturî was a better poet than he³³⁵. El Buhturî is said not to have resented Ibn er Rûmî's satire, and to have sent him a present, not in order to induce him to stop his attacks, but out of pity.³³⁶ It would seem that the acquaintance of Ibn er Rûmî with El Buhturî lasted for a considerable time³³⁷.

There is nothing to show that Ibn er Rûmî ever met Ibn El Mu'tazz, who flourished at Baghdad in his day, though he was younger by more than twenty years. It is said, however, that Ibn El Mu'tazz's metaphors were recommended to him and he explained why he was not able to equal some of them.³³⁸

Ibn er Rûmî's poems mention a number of women with whom he was acquainted. Qusṭantîna appears from the heading of a short poem in which he jests with her rather freely to have been the slave (*jāriya*) of a certain Umm Ḥabîb.³³⁹ She was evidently identical with the Qusṭantîna whom El Jâhîz mentions together with Zālûm, as maidservants of Umm Ḥabîb (*imâ'*) and examples of female attendants of people of rank who used to go to and fro on commissions and appear in public.³⁴⁰ The Zālûm in question may be the same as the Zālûm whose name occurs in one of Ibn er Rûmî's preludes.³⁴¹ Qusṭantîna may be the same as the Qusṭantîna described in the heading of one of Ibn er Rûmî's poems as the wife of El Khallâl.³⁴²

Umm 'Alî would seem to have been the wife of El Qâsim ibn 'Ubaidallâh.³⁴³ Bustân, her slave, was a singer and player on the lute. Other women of El Qâsim who were singers and players were 'Ajâ'ib, a Turkish girl, Jullanâr, also a dancer to the drum and cymbals³⁴⁴; Ghannâ³⁴⁵; Dubsiya, whose performance Ibn er Rûmî preferred to that of Jullanâr³⁴⁶; Bîd'a, 'El Qâsim's favourite.³⁴⁷ When Bustân died Ibn er Rûmî mourned her in a lengthy and somewhat tedious elegy.³⁴⁸

Duraira, a slave and a singer and player, to whom Ibn Bishr el Marthadî was attached, is praised by Ibn er Rûmî in three poems.

One of them, a particularly graceful one, is said to have been composed at the request of Ibn Bishr. Strangely enough in another poem Ibn er Rūmī abuses Duraira most coarsely.³⁴⁹ The name of the beautiful black slave girl in praise of whom Ibn er Rūmī composed a poem for her lover 'Abd el Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ is not given.³⁵⁰

The girl Shāḡī praised by Ibn er Rūmī was the slave of 'Ubaidallāh ibn 'Abdallāh and a skilful musician. Her master, ashamed at being a writer of songs, used to attribute his compositions of this kind to her. She was living in the reign of El Mu'taḡid.³⁵¹

Waḡīd, "the slave of 'Anhama," and Mazlūma who flourished in the time of Banī Wahb, were singers and players and are praised by Ibn er Rūmī.³⁵² Waddān and Muzaffar are girls he mentions incidentally. Nujh el Khādīm was devoted to the former and Mu'taḡid's follower Badr to the latter.³⁵³ Murāmī el Kūfiya seems to have been a friend of Ibn er Rūmī.³⁵⁵ Qāfiya was one of Ibn Bulbul's wives.³⁵⁴

There were some women for whom Ibn er Rūmī had a dislike. Shunṭuf "the low woman (*karrā'a*)," is a constant object of brutal ridicule. She was a vile singer.³⁵⁶ Kunūz and a singer called Shāḡhīl, women of Salāma ibn Ṣa'īd, are also abused³⁵⁷ and so is Kunaiza in four coarse poems.³⁵⁸ Muḡibb, the mistress of one Ahmad ibn Ṣa'īd is handled very rudely.³⁵⁹ Fahm who sang in the presence of 'Isā ibn Hārūn is mocked³⁶⁰ and also Nuzha, a singer contrasted unfavourably with Duraira.³⁶¹

Few of the women named by Ibn er Rūmī can have been associated with him before the last years of his life. With one or two exceptions, they were *qainas*—slaves skilled in music. Most of these *qainas* seem to have been members of private households, like the followers of El Qāsim. There was another description of *qaina* whose position should be understood to appreciate his allusions to them. These were the slaves whose masters made money out of their playing and singing. Visitors might go to the houses of their masters (*muqaririns*) to listen to the music or a *qaina* might be hired out for an entertainment when she would be accompanied by a guardian (*raqīb*) or by a duenna (*hāfiẓa*). Such *qainas* played an important part in the social life of Baghdad and other Islamic towns in Abbasid times.³⁶² There was nothing necessarily improper about their profession, but as it required them to attract men, it was likely to lead them into evil courses, and actually it would seem that few of them were virtuous.³⁶³ Thus the term *qaina* comes to be used almost as equivalent to prostitute and the verb for frequenting *qainas* (*taqāyan*), to give oneself up to debauchery.³⁶⁴ When Ibn er Rūmī speaks of the fascination of the *qaina* telling us that one captivated by a *qaina* should not be blamed he has in view one of this class and the thrall whom she has brought under her spell (*rabīf*).³⁶⁵ His contemptuous

lines as to the way to quiet a disobedient *qaina* obviously refer to a woman of a disreputable character.³⁶⁶

A good many people mentioned by Ibn er Rūmī in his poems are not noticed in the historical sources available and we know nothing more about them than their names. Some of those among them whom he praises would seem to have been quite obscure and humble persons.³⁶⁷

As to Ibn er Rūmī's family, his father has been referred to above. The death of his mother when he was between fifty and sixty has been mentioned. He mourns his mother in a long poem, which seems somehow rather conventional and artificial, though he declares his love for her and says that he would rather have died himself than have lost her.³⁶⁸ She had a sister who was dear to him and died before her.³⁶⁹ His brother Muḥammad Abū Ja'far had started in life as secretary (*kātib*) to "a man who dismissed him after a while."³⁷⁰ It has been noticed above that he died in the service of 'Ubaidallāh ibn 'Abdallāh not long after the death of his mother. The capacity in which Muhammad was employed by 'Ubaidallāh ibn 'Abdallāh is not stated. There are two short poems by Ibn er Rūmī interceding for him with employers,³⁷¹ but there is nothing to show to what persons the poems were addressed or to what period precisely they relate. Two verses mourning this brother appear in Ibn er Rūmī's *dīwān*, presumably the remains of a longer poem.³⁷² He refers to his loss in another poem where he seems to indicate that the brother was a twin of his.³⁷³

Ibn er Rūmī speaks several times of his being married. Once when about to marry he asks for a gift from a friend called Ibrāhīm.³⁷⁴ Towards the end of his life he appears to have been without a wife for a time, as in one of his poems to El Qâsim he says that he has no bedfellow³⁷⁵ and presumably it was then that a woman suggested to him that he should marry.³⁷⁶ But either before or after this while he was a follower of El Qâsim he had a wife, as he speaks of his declaring when his wife raised her hands to heaven in supplication, that God would help them through him.³⁷⁷ A poem, probably a fragment, laments the death of one of his wives.³⁷⁸ It is not certain whether he had only three sons or more than three and whether some of his sons survived him or all died in his life time. One of his sons, Muḥammad, is the subject of an elegy which shows that he died very young, having an elder and a younger brother both small children.³⁷⁹ His poems contain two more elegies on sons of his, one unnamed³⁸⁰ and the other called Hibat allāh,³⁸¹ but it does not appear whether these two were living at the time of the death of Muḥammad or born later.

According to what Ibn er Rūmī tells us himself,³⁸² he was of slight build, but lean and tough,³⁸³ and he was ill favoured.³⁸⁴ He was

noted for wearing dirty clothes³⁸⁵ and appears to have presented an insignificant figure³⁸⁶ His dress included a turban,³⁸⁷ and the durrâ'a, a kind of coat resembling the *jubba*, but having the two front ends sewn together to about the middle of the breast.³⁸⁸ The turban was not usual at the period for people of his class and he replies several times to challenges for wearing it, one of his reasons being to hide his being bald³⁸⁹

Ibn er Rûmî declares of himself that he is a lion in spirit,³⁹⁰ a speckled viper³⁹¹—that is as small, but as quick and deadly as one—aloes seasoned with aconite.³⁹² He boasts of his judgment and his abilities. "I am not able," he says, "to make war against an army, but men of war get light from my counsel."³⁹³ He says also 'When I look fairly and squarely I do not ever find that I am wanting in the balance,'³⁹⁴ and "My gratitude is near at hand, my grudge likewise, both good and evil last with me."³⁹⁵

One who knew him says that he was extremely changeable, quickly reversible, irritable, impatient, excessively superstitious, passing all bounds in that direction, very apprehensive, continually on the look out for omens, and those who met him would find him like one listening in alarm³⁹⁶ His superstition took the form of a belief in omens Various stories are told of the ridiculous way in which he was influenced by them His quarrel with El Akhfash originated by the latter's using as a jest names that Ibn er Rûmî considered unlucky. For instance, he would knock at the door and when asked who was there would say "*harb ibn muqâtil*"³⁹⁷—terribly ill omened words Sometimes when Ibn er Rûmî would go to his own door he would fall back from it terrified, because he had seen a one-eyed neighbour of his through a chink, he would not open the door then to go out and once he kept his house closed in this way for three days³⁹⁸ A friend who visited him in his last illness found him persuaded that he would die through mistaken auguries After crossing the bridge at Baghdad, he told him, he had gone to the left instead of to the right, and asked for a street with an unlucky name instead of an auspicious one and so forth³⁹⁹ Illustrations of his extraordinary belief are found in his poems. In one of them he shows by means of names that the breaking of the rudder of a vessel in the Tigris was really a blessing in disguise⁴⁰⁰ In another that calling the first born El 'Abbâs will lead to seven sons in the family because seven (*sab'a*) has the same radical letters⁴⁰¹

As an excuse for not accepting an invitation to Sâmarrah Ibn er Rûmî sets out in a poem all the perils of the journey whether it is performed by land or by water, and the account has been taken as an illustration of his timidity It seems, however, that it is meant to be humorous.⁴⁰² From what he says it seems that he had been to Makka on the pilgrimage.⁴⁰³ Nothing has been found to show

that otherwise he had ever been outside Mesopotamia or within it further than from Sāmarrâ to Baṣra and the sea.

As to Ibn er Rûmî's religion, he tells us that at one time he worshipped idols and his having done so was one of his greatest sins.⁴⁰⁴ This can hardly be meant literally. Perhaps "the idol which he put on a level with God" was some practice that he followed or some doctrine that he cherished. The poem in which the statement occurs belongs to the early part of his career, for in it he declares that he is crowned with being the maulâ of Abû (read Ibn) el 'Abbâs,⁴⁰⁵ and it has been shown that he had begun to abuse the Abbasids before he was thirty.⁴⁰⁶ The dirge on Yahyâ ibn 'Umar written by Ibn er Rûmî just before he reached that age contains enthusiastic praise of the house of 'Alî. Hence Ibn er Rûmî was called a *shî'a*. El Ma'arri noticing this, says that in his opinion Ibn er Rûmî merely followed the way of thinking of other poets.⁴⁰⁷ There is, however, another poem in which Ibn er Rûmî declares himself strongly, praising 'Alî to whom he says that the Prophet bequeathed the leadership of Islam and deploring that he himself had not shed his blood in the 'Ahyid cause.⁴⁰⁸ Moreover, Ibn er Rûmî's partisanship is indicated by his association with prominent members of the *shî'a*, particularly Abû Sahl, to whom he declares that he was bound by ties of religion, as has been mentioned above.⁴⁰⁹ It is true that in spite of this Ibn er Rûmî does not hesitate to tell El Mu'tadid that he had acquired the heritage of the Prophet,⁴¹⁰ and the statement is not consistent with the *shî'a* belief. Possibly it may be explained by his having altered his religious views near the end of his life. Ibn er Rûmî also declares that he was a firm Mu'tazilite.⁴¹¹ In the accusation of irreligion made against him to Qâḍî Yusuf we have only his defence and no details of the charge. He protests to the Qâḍî: "God knows that my religious belief is one that He approves, both as regards what is seen and what does not appear. I have not left the road with it nor has it become at all like that of those astray."⁴¹²

In his practice Ibn er Rûmî was certainly very lax. He broke the religious law by drinking wine. The principal Islamic jurists differ on this subject, he tells us. Abû Ḥanîfa declares that *nabîdh* wine is lawful and what is forbidden is "*mudâma*" (strong wine) and intoxication, but Mâlik rules that both kinds of wine are on the same footing and both are prohibited. By taking the first part of the sayings of each as being correct, Ibn er Rûmî is able to drink strong wine without transgression.⁴¹³ Once or twice in his poems Ibn er Rûmî asks for wine to be given to him, and there is no doubt that he used to drink it, indeed he says as much, though, at a late age and in a moment of repentance, he changed his mind and forbade wine drinking.⁴¹⁴ About fourteen of his poems, mostly short, describe wine, recommend it and praise it.⁴¹⁵

To the devout the excuse of Ibn er Rûmî for drinking wine would have been particularly objectionable, because it makes fun of the great Islamic legists. His remarks on Ramaḍân would have been as offensive. He calls it a tedious unwelcome month, quick to come and slow to pass, one that stops all pleasure and is blessed only by its length.⁴¹⁶ More scandalous if not actually blasphemous, is a line in which he tells a patron that if he had lived in the time of the Prophet, God would have inspired the Qur'ân with his praise.⁴¹⁷

Ibn er Rûmî was evidently fond of women and if he can be believed, had carried on intrigues with more than one.⁴¹⁸ Out of his own mouth he can be convicted of a vice that is not to be particularised.⁴¹⁹ One of his preoccupations even up to the end of his life was listening to singing.⁴²⁰ Whether early or late in his career he resolved to reform and cast the burden of his sins down from his shoulder.⁴²¹ In a poem he boasts of having mended his ways and refused an assignation.⁴²²

One of the weaknesses of Ibn er Rûmî was eating excessively.⁴²³ His poems show that it is true that he indulged himself in this respect. A man had found fault with his eating and in his reply, which is in verse, he admits a breach of table manners.⁴²⁴ He makes a similar admission in answering a reproach to him from a woman called Quṣṭanṭîna.⁴²⁵ He is said to have been particularly fond of fish and Ibn Bishr el Marthadî promised him a supply every week, but stopped it after one week.⁴²⁶ Several of his poems are concerned with food—besides the fish promised by Ibn Bishr, "hauwârî" loaves,⁴²⁷ qatâ'if,⁴²⁸ lauzînaj,⁴²⁹ bananas,⁴³⁰ a fowl preceded by "tharâ'id,"⁴³¹ an elaborate dish of Ibn er Rûmî's invention,⁴³² are spoken of.

It is a little surprising to find that Ibn er Rûmî was an admirer of ascetism, but perhaps he was attracted by feats that were beyond his own powers. He speaks several times of ascetics in an approving way, emphasising their privations and their fears as they prayed for forgiveness from their sins so that they might be saved. Once or twice he describes a splendid angel, an 'Adanîya—a hûrî whom they could look forward to as their reward.⁴³³

In conclusion, Ibn er Rûmî tells us something about his financial circumstances. He depended largely on his poetry for a living, but he had some other resources as well. It has been seen that he occasionally received large gifts from affluent patrons, though there is nothing to suggest that the amounts were anything like as great as those obtained by Abû Tammâm and other poets.⁴³³ From others there are mentions of payment in kind or of promises of presents of this sort, suggesting that sometimes his reward for his praises or other work was small; they include wine,⁴³⁴ wheat,⁴³⁵ cotton,⁴³⁶ fish,⁴³⁷ perfume,⁴³⁸ a dress (this might be a most expensive article),⁴³⁹

a mule.⁴⁴⁰ The property of Ibn er Rûmî can be seen to have included the house in Baghdad he had occupied till he was over thirty, the subject of his petition to Sulaimân ibn 'Abdallâh⁴⁴¹; a house there, apparently not the same, referred to in his application of some twenty years later to El Wâthiqî⁴⁴², a site or land presumably at Baghdad mentioned in his poem to the vizier 'Ubaidallâh ibn Sulaimân one of the last he wrote⁴⁴³; an estate that he was tending at the time that a house belonging to him, whether one of the above or another, was burnt, when as he tells us much of the wealth he had collected was destroyed.⁴⁴⁴ He refers to the land tax on his estate twice⁴⁴⁵ and speaks once of locusts having destroyed one of his crops⁴⁴⁶

His possessions seem to have been greater in his early life than they were near the end of his days. Even at the beginning of his career he can hardly have been affluent, for in one of the first of his poems that can be dated, which must have been composed when he was twenty-one or younger, he speaks of those who are envious of him notwithstanding that his abode is humble and poverty has made its home there fast⁴⁴⁷. He tells 'Ubaidallâh ibn 'Abdallâh, however, that once he had plenty of money but he had severe losses⁴⁴⁸. This is supported in an appeal to 'Ubaidallâh ibn 'Abdallâh which is presumably earlier where he asks if a reward is refused him because he is independent and not one of the "hungry jaded ones"⁴⁴⁹. In his last years he speaks of his poverty⁴⁵⁰. He is likely to have exaggerated his need, particularly when asking for money, still he would seem at times to have been actually in distress. When he is banished from the presence of El Qâsim he makes out that he is being subjected to starvation,⁴⁵¹ and in one passage talks of getting a living from the contributions of a number of friends, as though he had nothing of his own left⁴⁵². He was extravagant and ran quickly through anything he got hold of. This he admits to El Qâsim himself⁴⁵³.

POEMS

The Fihrist says of the poems of Ibn er Rûmî "His poetry was arranged without reference to the order of the alphabet, the relator from him being El Musaiyabî, and Eş Şûlî made it up in alphabetical order. Then Abû eţ ʿĀyib, the *warrâq* of Ibn 'Abdûs, collected it from all the copies current, adding to each version, the alphabetical one and the other, about a thousand verses."⁴⁵⁴

El Musaiyabî is doubtless Ibn er Rûmî's friend 'Alî ibn el Musaiyab, Eş Şûlî, the well known author and collector of poetry, who died in 335; Ibn 'Abdûs is presumably El Jahshiyârî, author of *kitâb el wuzarâ'*, who died in 331, Abû eţ ʿĀyib has not been found mentioned elsewhere.

El Musaiyabî would have been a first rate authority for Ibn er Rûmî's work and his edition is not likely to have included any spurious poems. Eş Şûlî's recension would seem not to have differed from it except in arrangement, as Abû et ʿAiyib added the same number of verses to both. There is nothing to show how far the additions of Abû et ʿAiyib were genuine. It may be observed that they may have been made as much as sixty years or even more after the death of Ibn er Rûmî and poems were being attributed falsely to Ibn er Rûmî even in his lifetime.⁴⁵⁵

The Fihrist gives no indication of the total amount of Ibn er Rûmî's collected poetry. The hundred sheets which it tells us were produced by Ibn er Rûmî's men, Salâma and Mithqâl, would have amounted to about 1,500 verses apiece.⁴⁵⁶

There are three thirteenth century manuscripts of the poems of Ibn er Rûmî in existence.

(1) "The Cairo Manuscript," Cairo, Royal Library No. 139. The poems arranged according to the order of the alphabet. In an excellent naskh handwriting, fully vocalised, 298 folios, 25 lines to the page. Complete down to near the end, finishing with a poem ending in the letter hâ'. Probably wanting not much more than one or two folios at the end.

-This MS, which is not dated, appears to have been written in the 13th century. One of its former owners was Yalbughâ es Saifî.

(2) "The Constantinople Manuscript" Constantinople, N.O. 3859/60. The poems arranged according to the order of the alphabet. Being the second and third parts of a version in four parts, consisting of poems ending in dâl to dâd (261 fols.) and in dâd to kâf (252 fols.)⁴⁵⁸ In a good clear naskh handwriting, fully vocalised, 15 lines to the page. Written in the year 652.

(3) "The Escorial Manuscript." Escorial Library 2/277. Poems arranged according to subjects. In an elegant naskh handwriting, fully vocalised, 290 folios, 15 lines to the page. Written in the year 652.⁴⁵⁹

This copy and the preceding were both written for the library of Ahmad ibn el Amîr el kabîr Dâ'ûd ibn el Amîr el kabîr Yûsak el Hadhabânî er Rawâdî.⁴⁶⁰

Besides these thirteenth century manuscripts, three other manuscripts are recorded that seem to be of little value, viz, (a) Cairo, Royal Library 592, containing the poems ending in dâl to dâd, dated 1282. Doubtless a copy of the second volume of the same version as (2); (b) Cairo, Royal Library No. 137. Copied from the Cairo Manuscript; (c) Leiden No. 610. The poems down to the end of those rhyming in tâ'. If this is a part of the version of the Constantinople manuscript, it may be useful.

For the purpose here a reproduction of the Cairo manuscript has

been used and a few specimen photographs of the Constantinople and Escorial manuscripts.

The Cairo MS. has two verses to the line, but a good deal of space is taken up by headings. The number of verses it contained, when complete, would have been about 26,000. The Constantinople MS. has only one verse to the line. The total number of its verses, when complete, may have been about the same as the total of the Cairo MS., but our material is not sufficient for a precise estimate and the total may have been substantially greater. The order of the poems and the wording of their headings is not identical with those of the Cairo MS. and there are poems in it probably a good many—that do not occur in the Cairo MS.⁴⁶¹ The Escorial MS. has only one verse to the line. The total number of its verses would have been less than a third of the Cairo total, so that it represents selections from Ibn er Rūmī's work. There are, however, poems in the Escorial MS. that do not appear in the Cairo MS.⁴⁶²

From the above it would seem that the Cairo and Constantinople MSS are different recensions. It is likely that the Escorial MS. derives from the same original as the latter.⁴⁶³

All three MSS. are written and pointed carefully. Nevertheless, none of them is by any means entirely free from errors. An idea of the frequency of misreadings in the Cairo MS. can be got from the work of Muhammad Salīm. This MS can be corrected sometimes by the Constantinople MS. At the same time, it supplies good corrections not infrequently to the Constantinople one. See⁴⁶⁴. A number of rather curious mistakes in the Cairo MS. consist of a confusion between the letters zā and ḡād and once or twice between other letters.⁴⁶⁴

PRINTED VERSIONS OF IBN ER RŪMĪ'S POEMS

Only a portion of Ibn er Rūmī's poems has been published. The printed versions include

(a) *Ibn Rūmī. Diwān.* Text in Arabic fully vocalised. Edited by Shāikh Muḥammad Sharif Salīm and furnished with a full Arabic commentary in the form of footnotes. Volume I, containing the poems down to the end of those that rhyme in b pp. 577. Cairo, 1917. All published.

(b) *Ibn er Rūmī. Diwān.* Selections from his poems. Text in Arabic. Edited by Kāmil Kīlānī, with a preface by 'Abbās Maḥmūd el 'Aqqād. Pp 503. Cairo, 1924.

(c) *Ibn er Rūmī.* Selections from his poems. In "The life of Ibn er Rūmī from his poetry" (*haiyātuhu min shi'rihi*). Arabic text by 'Abbās Maḥmūd el 'Aqqād. Pp. 392. Cairo. Not dated (about 1930).

None of these books states the source from which it is taken, but all three seem to be derived from the Cairo MS. ; (b) appears also to draw some poetry from Murûj.

(a) Is carefully printed, the few typographical errors that occur having nearly all been corrected in the erratum. The commentary is thorough and shows ability and judgment. The editor appears always to record any departure from his text. History is not his strong point but altogether his work is very good and one may be grateful to him and to Aḥmad Ḥishmat Bâshâ at whose expense the volume was produced. It is to be regretted that there is no prospect of this edition being carried any further.

(b) Has a vowel point here and there and occasionally a note giving the meaning of a rare word. As a rule the printing is quite good, but it is nothing like so careful as that of (a) and there are a good number of slips and mistakes. As an illustration, on one page nine readings different from the Cairo MS. are found and they all seem to be errors.⁴⁶⁵ The editor has aimed at making a popular book. The selections are given journalistic headings, lines are left out without any indication of the omissions. The order is sometimes varied. The rubrics of the original, which give valuable information, are not reproduced and even the persons to whom poems were addressed are not always shown.

In (c) 'Aqqâd's selections from Ibn er Rûmî's poems are of the same kind as those of Kâmil Kîlânî and treated in a similar way, but carefully printed. In his life of Ibn er Rûmî in this volume 'Aqqâd does not attempt to follow the career of Ibn er Rûmî but confines himself to some of his circumstances and his disposition and work. For his purpose he has read the dîwân with close attention and he misses very little.

(a) May be estimated to contain a little more than 3,600 verses, (b) about 7,000 verses, (c) about 1,100 verses, but a good many of the verses in (b) and in (c) are printed in one or in both of the others. Consequently nothing like half the poems in the Cairo MS (1) of Ibn er Rûmî's dîwân are printed in the three books.

A considerable amount of the poetry of Ibn er Rûmî is quoted in books that have been printed, such as Nuwairî's *Nihâyat el arab*, El Mas'ûdî's *Murûj*, Ibn Rashîq's *'Umda*, El Ḥuşrî's *Zahr er Âdâb* and its *Dhail*.⁴⁶⁶ Among the quotations in these books and others there are found verses and poems that do not appear in the Cairo MS.

If the Cairo MS. represents the recension of Es Şûlî, additions occurring in the Constantinople MS. the printed books mentioned and elsewhere may be derived wholly or for the most part from the additions of Abû eṭ Ṭayyib.

It seems likely enough that some of the poetry ascribed to Ibn er Rûmî is spurious, but it would be difficult to distinguish that which

is not of his own composition. One somewhat important piece not included in the Cairo MS. is probably genuine, since it was repeated not many years after his death to the Khalif El Mustakfi.⁴⁶⁷

Even if the poetry in the Cairo MS. could be accepted above as all the authentic work of Ibn er Rûmî which has reached us, the amount that has survived would be considerably greater than that of other Arabic poets of his time. We might estimate it broadly as not far from twice as much as that of Buhturî and three or four times that of Abû Tammâm. Nevertheless, it can be seen from the Cairo MS. itself as well as from other indications that the MS. does not include nearly all that he wrote.

Probably the whole of his poetry was never collected. One of his companions relates how he was able to turn out a long poem in the course of a few hours, hardly introducing any correction⁴⁶⁸. With such rapidity of composition, his fertility was probably very great. In the Cairo MS. several of his poems are stated to be fragments or all that it has been possible to find⁴⁶⁹. There are several others, too, not described as fragments, that appear certainly not to be complete. Some of these have been noticed above. There are poems also from which can be inferred the existence of others not forthcoming. Examples are those concerning the allowance granted by the vizier Ahmad ibn Isrâ'îl, which obviously must have been a reward for a eulogy that is not preserved in the MS.⁴⁷⁰ It is noticeable that some of the important fragmentary poems belong to the early part of Ibn er Rûmî's career and that the proportion of poems attributable to the last five or six years of his life when he was a follower is disproportionate when compared with those of an earlier time. The paucity of poems to El 'Alâ' has been referred to. Perhaps the number of his replies to 'Ubaidallâh for El 'Alâ' may be taken as giving some indication of the amount of the poetry that has been lost. There should have been a reply for every letter of the alphabet, but the number of the replies is but seven⁴⁷¹. This suggests that what has perished may be as much as threequarters of the whole.

DESCRIPTION OF IBN ER RÛMÎ'S POETRY

Ibn er Rûmî's poems include every variety of composition known to Arab poets of his time. Eulogy (*madîh*), as being his principal means of livelihood, is represented in them most strongly. His regular set panegyrics are sometimes extremely lengthy. The longest of them contains nearly three hundred verses. Such poems are not extremely numerous. They are reserved as a rule for Ibn er Rûmî's most influential supporters, to none of whom many are addressed, while these personages and less important patrons are the objects of numerous shorter and less formal ones⁴⁷². The panegyrics

usually start with a prelude, which is at times very long, extending to a hundred verses or more. The subject of the prelude varies. Sometimes it is the more or less conventional *nasīb*, consisting of the love of women with the celebration of their beauties and graces; another common theme is the loss of youth preventing the capture of gazelles who formerly were willing prey. Other subjects are wine, a garden, how the worthless float up to the surface while the meritorious sink. Exceptional are the description of the reception held by the governor of Baghdad on a feast day and a dialogue between imaginary objects.⁴⁷³ Sometimes the prelude is omitted altogether and the poem goes straight to its main purpose.⁴⁷⁴ Occasionally an interlude of the same character as a prelude is introduced into the body of the poem.⁴⁷⁵

Ibn er Rûmî's praise consists generally of flattery, exaggerated compliments attributing to his patrons merits that as a rule they did not possess, though naturally when they were endowed with good qualities or had done remarkable things he emphasized their excellence. He makes no secret of his want of sincerity. Once he says that God has reproached poets for saying what they do not do but they are not guilty of this alone for they say what princes do not do,⁴⁷⁶ another time that but for 'Ubaidallâh (ibn 'Abdallâh, his patron and friend), he would have spoken of himself as one who praises a vile crew and seeks the bounty of the stingy.⁴⁷⁷

Ibn er Rûmî's eulogies often end with petitions, not infrequently accompanied by complaints of neglect and expostulations. Remonstrances of this kind also form the subject of separate poems. Such protests come under the heading of reproach (*'utâb*). Stronger censure is classed under the description of condemnation (*dhamm*). It generally applies to inanimate objects but occasionally to persons. Ibn er Rûmî's condemnation includes a series of poems on the evils of time and on the people of the age.⁴⁷⁸

Satire (*hijâ'*) is regarded as Ibn er Rûmî's domain, the field in which he is pre-eminent. There are numerous satirical pieces among his poems, consisting of hundreds of verses, the total amount being exceeded only by his eulogies. Ibn er Rûmî's satires may be divided into those where the attack is moderate and where it is outrageous. In the former division one finds pieces, generally short, ridiculing individuals for some defect or fault, such as goggling eyes, too long a beard, meanness, avarice, or cowardice. Here the mockery is forcible, but usually not wanting in humour, as when he declares that Abû Firâs is such a miser that he not only makes his guests fast but also is too mean to let them have the reward of fasting.⁴⁷⁹

The virulent satires include many long poems and are made up of abuse as coarse and disgusting as possible. Generally they attack assailants of Ibn er Rûmî, people who had insulted him, found fault with his dress, habits or with his poetry, or those who had incurred

his dislike in some other way, often rival poets. He just throws mud, meant to stick. He connects the person attacked with odious things, accuses him of abominations, defames his mother, his daughter, or his wife or women. He prides himself on the blasting fierceness of these attacks leading to ruin without hope of recovery, i.e., utter loss of good name and credit.⁴⁸⁰ In his foulness he does not differ from other Arabic poets of the period otherwise than in degree. Abuse of the poets by one another seems to have been regarded as a form of poetical exercise. At any rate it was not taken very seriously. Thus Bashshâr satirised by Ḥammâd admires the ingenuity of his opponent in contriving to pack five separate insults into one verse whereas Jarîr had never succeeded in bringing in more than three.⁴⁸¹ Ibn er Rûmî often introduces his long satires by a prelude, his object being to make them attractive so that they should be read. He says that he refrains for fear of punishment, from attacking those in a high position even when they are eclipsed, for they may recover their power, or if they are overthrown utterly to attack them would be mean,⁴⁸² but he does not observe the rule he says he follows. His attacks on Ṣâ'id and Ibn Bulbul after their downfall are bitter and ungenerous.

Ibn er Rûmî is noted for his *ghazals*. Their number is not great, not a quarter those of Abû Nuwâs. Most of them relate to women, a fair number to youths. In several of them a lover addresses the object of his affection direct, declaring his devotion, making an appeal or recalling a parting or some other incident. Now and then the lover and his mistress join in a dialogue. Sometimes the lover describes his condition or his feelings, speaking of his suffering or of his loyalty, his constancy or his submissiveness. In some he praises the beauties of the beloved, the redness of her cheeks, her freshness, the beauty of her teeth or the beauties of the female sex generally—ivory bosoms and so forth. Occasionally the subject is an incident like the doings of mischief makers or taking leave at the time of separation. The names of three women occur in the ghazals, but it seems unlikely that any of them refers to an actual person.

Ibn er Rûmî is noted also for his descriptions (*ausâf*). His purely descriptive poems are few and generally short. They include three or four relating to gardens, one or two concerning the clouds, one on the flax plant, one on the Raziqî grape. Some of his best descriptions form part of his preludes.

He has a few 'strife' poems, concerning the dispute between the narcissus and the rose, in which he supports the claim of the narcissus to be the better.

He has a number of didactic poems with subjects such as fortitude, in praise of good actions, urging that good deeds should be completed, condemning rancour, praising it, recommending prudence,

prohibiting cowardice. There are also reflections and maxims to be found in other poems. This part of his work represents the studies in philosophy in which Ibn er Rŭmî is said to have engaged.⁴⁸³

He has also a number of short epigrammatical pieces.

His elegies (*marâthî*) are few and generally unimportant. That in which he mourns his second son is an exception. It is full of feeling and has been singled out as one of the best works of its kind.⁴⁸⁴

His licentious poems cannot be passed over without a word. Most of them come under the heading of ribaldry (*mujân*). They are not all of the same type but they agree in all being shamelessly obscene. None of them is long and most of them are quite short. They are not at all numerous and so they do not form an important part of Ibn er Rŭmî's work. His reputation for coarseness rests rather on his satires, many of which are as gross or worse.

Ibn er Rŭmî seems usually to have recited a poem to the person concerned and then given him a copy. Occasionally, it can be seen, he sent out copies speculatively without leave to people who sometimes refused to accept them because they did not want to reward him.⁴⁸⁵

Paper had been introduced in the Khalifate years before his time, but had not become by any means the sole writing material, so that it may be worth while to collect what can be gathered as to the fabrics he alludes to and used. He asks to be repaid the cost of a sheet (*tirs*) on which a rejected poem had been written.⁴⁸⁶ The word gives no indication what the substance was, but it would seem that it must have been fairly expensive. He mentions *qirtâs* several times,⁴⁸⁷ but it can hardly have the special meaning of papyrus where he asks for his *qirtâses* to be returned to him so that they may serve as the tops of jars (*dastîja*),⁴⁸⁸ or where he speaks of *qirtâses* fluttering (*khâfiqât*) in the hands of Banî Wahb.⁴⁸⁹ In the first of these two passages it might stand for parchment, in the second for paper. The *ṭumârs* which he says delight Banî Makhhlad⁴⁹⁰ are not likely to have their special meaning of papyrus either, seeing that papyrus in the *dîwâns* appears to have been discontinued before he was born.⁴⁹¹ Of one of his poems it is mentioned that it was written on parchment (*raqq*).⁴⁹² He refers to *waraq*,⁴⁹³ and talks of the expense of his *waraq* and *warrâq*, but one cannot be certain that by *waraq* he means paper.⁴⁹⁴ The *warrâq* here was the copyist who engrossed the poem for presentation.

Ibn er Rŭmî's language is terse and his vocabulary is large, but his style is generally not difficult and his Arabic is much the same as the literary Arabic of the present day, so that a large part of his poetry can be understood without trouble by educated speakers of Arabic now, as can be seen from the extensive extracts from his poems published by Kâmil Kilânî and 'Aqqâd, who rarely find it

necessary to add any word of explanation for the reader. That some of it was not easy to follow even in the poet's life time, is shown by his having felt it useful to send commentaries on certain poems to such masters of Arabic as 'Ubaidallâh ibn 'Abdallâh 'Alî ibn Yahyâ and Ibn Bulbul. He explains indeed that the commentaries were not meant for them, but only for those who did not know the meaning of rare words (*gharîb*).⁴⁹⁵ Though he is not particularly addicted to unfamiliar expressions, his poems altogether contain a good many, including words not given in the dictionaries, both nouns and verbal forms. He uses a few Persian words which had perhaps become part of the Arabic of Baghdad when he wrote.⁴⁹⁶

It is not to supposed, of course, that Ibn er Rûmî's poetical language represented the common every day speech of the town. He wrote in a more or less artificial idiom, determined largely by grammarians. It did not come natural to him. This appears when he admits that in a letter to a friend he has made errors⁷ (*saqatât*) and been guilty of grammatical mistakes (*lahn*).⁴⁹⁷ Also in a long poem which he got back twice from 'Ubaidallâh ibn 'Abdallâh for revision and amendment where he speaks of remedying defects,⁴⁹⁸ one may believe that he is referring to lapses of the same kind. Probably most of the criticisms of Ibn er Rûmî's poetry which are mentioned relate to breaches of grammatical rules, though the only one of which details are given is concerned with the way in which a poem was started.⁴⁹⁹ His dispute with the grammarian El Akhfash has been noticed. He calls him "the one who puts me right (*muqawwimî*)"⁵⁰⁰ Any faults in the way of using vulgar language are likely to have been "ironed out" of Ibn er Rûmî's poems by his editors.

OPINION OF ARAB CRITICS ON IBN ER RÛMÎ

El Marzubânî (+384) says of him. "He was the first poet of his time after El Buhturî, the most fertile, the best at description, the most biting (*ablagh*) in satire, the widest in range in every kind and variety of poetry and rhyme. In that art he took a way that others would find it hard to follow, imposing on himself conditions which are not necessary; he would intersperse his language with terms of logic under which he would group his ideas generally and afterwards explain them in detail most graphically and in the most elegant words. In satire he is at the head, not equalled by any one of his epoch as regards the abundance of his matter and the foulness of his utterance. I do not know of any one, great or small, whom he praised and did not afterwards attack, whether he had treated him well or failed to reward him as he deserved. Therefore, he did not get much profit from composing poetry, for men of position avoided him and

his poetry was the cause of his death. He suffered from a melancholic ailment which broke out from time to time and made him change."⁵⁰¹

Ibn Rashîq (+451): He has every right to the name of poet, considering his inventiveness and admirable versatility, and satire was so much connected with him that he became renowned for it, so that the saying was "better at satire than Ibn er Rûmî." He that does a thing much is known by it. The satire of Ibn er Rûmî all the same is not better than his laudation, nor is there more of it, but a little evil is a great deal."⁵⁰²

El Huşrî (+413 or 453) does not give an opinion as to the capability of Ibn er Rûmî as a poet, either in his *Zahr el âdâb* or in its *Dhail*, but in the latter book gives an example of his extraordinary facility of composition enabling him to produce a very long poem on an incident, in the course of the day in which it happened, without a single correction. In this story Ibn er Rûmî declares that he hardly ever corrects any poem he makes.⁵⁰³

Khatîb (+403) says of Ibn er Rûmî, "One of the poets who have produced much work, he excelled in panegyric, ghazal, satire and description (ausâf)."⁵⁰⁴ Sam'ânî (+506) appears to copy Khatîb in speaking of Ibn er Rûmî's achievement, but says in addition that he was distinguished for his metaphors, whether as an augmentation of the account of Khatîb or as a mistake.⁵⁰⁵

El Ma'arrî (+449) in *Risâlat el ghufrân* says of Ibn er Rûmî, that his culture was greater than his wit,⁵⁰⁶ but what he appears to have in view by this remark is Ibn er Rûmî's superstition.

Es Safadî (+764) says of him "Ibn er Rûmî was a virile poet who searched deeply for ideas. When he took up an idea he would keep on following it out until he left of it nothing over or remaining and thus he is awkward at times. His images are unusual and good. And when a thought pleased him he would repeat it in many places in various rhymes. The two Khâlidîs (+350 and 380) say "We have never seen any one like Ibn er Rûmî, when he was alone in possession of an idea he would handle it well, but if he received it from another, he would fail with it." I (Es Safadî) say "The reason for that is that he was a virile poet, so that if he took the idea untouched he would do well with it and bring out with regard to it the best that could be said, but he would only take it from one as virile as himself and that would be after the other had taken the thought untouched and gone away with the best of it, leaving only the bad."⁵⁰⁷

Critics of his own land are agreed that El Buhturî is a better poet than Ibn er Rûmî, Westerns are likely to give Ibn er Rûmî the preference. El Buhturî may be more elegant in language and more polished, Ibn er Rûmî appears more spontaneous and less conventional. In some of Ibn er Rûmî's poems, such as his lament for his son, there is

a warmth and depth of feeling not to be surpassed, and there is a ring of genuine contempt and scorn in his satire doing something to redeem part of his worst grossness. Ibn er Rûmî displays keen observation in his descriptions, some of which give vivid impressions of individuals by means of a few sharp touches. Some excellent ones concerning natural objects are to be found in his preludes and in other parts of his works, but they are not very frequent and love of nature, for which he has been commended, does not seem to have been a particularly prominent characteristic of his. His wit is undeniable and one may wonder at his ingenuity in finding new things to say even in the process of adulation, which he carries not infrequently to tedious length. A noticeable feature of his poetry is the coherence of its argument in contrast with that of some other Arabic authors of his time where distinct propositions but slightly connected with one another are brought together. Another point that will be remarked is his enterprise in making experiments in the form of interludes and dialogue introduced into his poems, and also of the impersonation of a character found in one or two of them, modes of expression that appear hardly to occur in other Arabic poetry of the period, so that Ibn er Rûmî may be considered to be their inventor or discoverer, as he cannot well have got them from anyone else. He has varying success with these novelties and brings them in sparingly. If they had been developed by others they might have resulted in the addition of a dramatic element to Arab poetry, but they were neglected by his successors. What Ibn er Rûmî tells us about events and conditions of his own times is little, but it is more than is usual with his colleagues.

Ibn er Rûmî's influence on his successors must have been considerable. He appears to have been studied by El Mutanabbî El 'Ukbarî in his commentary on El Mutanabbî cites him nearly forty times for examples of verses by which El Mutanabbî was inspired. We find him cited also in *El Yatîma* and in many other works. Ibn Sîna studied him and produced a book of selections from his poetry which is lost.⁵⁰⁸

As a classic, Ibn er Rûmî's work deserves a complete edition. The philological value of a reliable text would be considerable. The large quantity of his poetry and the impropriety of a part of it, have no doubt prevented such an edition being produced hitherto. Perhaps the task may be undertaken in Egypt where so much has been done for Arabic literature in modern times. The Cairo manuscript would no doubt form the basis and the other material available would be utilised.

TRANSLATIONS OF A FEW OF IBN ER RŪMÎ'S POEMS

PRAISE

I

In praise of 'Uḡaidallāh ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Ṭāhir.

D 63a.

Gray hair has appeared in my head to remove the blindness of my heart, as wind clears away clouds that have assembled, for surely when the welcome signs of broad dawn are seen it will (soon) dispel the night ; my back is bent, the failure of my powers bars my vision and my hearing. Time was my sight would cross a wide expanse of desert to its aim and my hearing cover a league to take in a moderate shout, but now vicissitudes have blotted out my youthfulness which disappears protracted, so that I have become a revered uncle to a maiden to whom once I would have been a brother. In this there is nothing strange, for as events buffet a man they make him old, but what is strange is that it should disturb me I am not one to be moved or to exclaim when fate afflicts him.

Take comfort then and think of that, do not forget to praise a man, whose face is brilliant as the moon, who has between his eyes a sacred sign which dissipates the fear of one alarmed who sees it, a succourer to whom should you appeal, Ibn Qâsim, for aid against time when it brings misfortune he would give you help, one of the line of Mus'ab who stand higher than summits of greatness, people of whom men loath to give them their due readily commend the generosity and valour, conspicuous when the race of enterprise is run. By them the tale of eminence is headed and by no other will be concluded.

Pass every bound in praise of Ibn Ṭāhir and exceed, you will not be reproached for excess concerning him Oh Abū Ahmad, lion of the land, its rain when a year of dearth has left no marrow in the bone, who dwells for ever in a mountain at a level higher than the eyrie where the griffin lays its eggs and brings forth its young! When he goes in the odour of his good repute it seems as if he was perfumed with fragrant musk. At his door his suitors make their camels kneel and did they not, the camels would stop there by themselves. When you take him by the hand you will touch gushing springs of liberality. At his promise the earth is moved towards him and

salt regions produce herbage, at a threat of his, it quakes and if his displeasure is full, mountains will fall in turn and sink into the ground. You will not meet a learned man of note more erudite in the various branches of science or sounder, nor will you see a fire like his in war, so deadly and consuming to his enemies. He is the horse that kings have made run in the race and long have found victorious. If an age wants a boast it is boast enough to have produced him. When he is at the head of the sons of Muṣ'ab and they are captains of valiant youths, whatever land of the enemy he wishes he will tread, what ever land of the enemy he wishes he will subdue.

He is the Ṭāhir (pure) descendant of those Ṭāhirs who have gone before, without any of them having worn honour impugned or sullied. By him God strengthened the khalifate when its support had grown exceedingly weak and perished.

To one who seeks praise from me like the praise I have given him since my affection has been established and become the marrow of my bones I say, Away, I shall never see in your ash any spark that one like me can fan into flame.

2

The beginning of the prelude to a long poem in praise of El Muwaffaq's minister, Ṣā'id ibn Makhlad.

D 64.

Is there between your ribs a live coal blazing at what is past or is regret uprising? My friends, for nothing sadder than for loss of youth the water of the eye is heated and prepared. So blame me not because my tears run for that—a sea of tears for it would be but little, nor wonder at a strong man weeping—a rock at times will split and yield a spring. A man's youth is his courage and his strength, when it is gone, how can he still be firm? The loss of youth is death tasted in full, whereas in death the taste of death is lost. My youth was taken from me bit by bit—the worst bereavements come time after time, the blackness of my cheeks was stripped away, as was their whiteness when I was a lad, and for that whiteness fair I got instead a wretched white continually blackened. How different were those different kinds of white, one pleasing and one ugly and odious. The latter laughs in my head and in my beard and white hair is the worst most painful laughter. The sight of me would once clear eyes of dust and now they ache to see me and are sore.

These eyes you speak of are they not the eyes whose dints your heart lamented when your head was black? How is it then you sorrow when you see that they have turned away to shoot at others? You used to suffer when their arrows struck you, now you complain because they pass you by.

Thus are those shafts, those upon whom they fall and those from whom they turn alike are smitten, they go aside and then we find their swerving is like their striking on the heart, indeed more wounding. At times they are averted from us and it is as if they were directed at us.

3

To Duraira

a slave girl skilled in music whom they bought Ibn Bishr el Marthadî fell in love with her and asked Ibn er Rûmî to describe her So he wrote the following.

D 280b.

Duraira makes us love all music-making girls, as she, too, makes us hate them all She makes us love them, because she is one of them, notwithstanding that the rest are far beneath her in degree, and because they have the privilege of imparting tunes to her mouth, her hand and her lute and they are sanctified by being her servants, submitting humbly to her in service She wears the crown and the other girls in her company cast their eyes down before her crown, a crown of beauty with a crown of graciousness added, two crowns to which we have long been slaves

On the other hand, I perceive that she makes us hate them, because she does not leave them any place. She has lodged in our bosoms as does one who is of surpassing beauty and transcendent grace, thus driving them out of hearts in the love of which they had made their homes. The poor creatures, therefore, come to seek for help to defend them from the tyranny of Duraira She wrongs every one who is young and sings all such complain of the injustice of Duraira

She has a face to which it might have been said, "Be matchless, marvellous, peerless," and so it was, with two eyes that shoot with a look of which the arrows are piercing, striking down her adversaries, on a slender bough whereon you may kiss the apples and touch the pomegranates. When you see her form displayed you will find a figure like a reed and (a garment of) purple dye Her hue is ever the same, that of the freshly gathered rose, however much her fancy may vary, so that when she is devoted to one enamoured of her dislike will change her suddenly and she will forsake him She is perfect in all respects, you will not find any fault in her but that she does not (always) hold to her word Whenever you listen to her singing you will hear a song that will drive away care and sorrow, able to end the grief of some, able likewise to stir up grief. Whenever you may kiss her mouth you will meet there wine and sweet herbs—nectar like wine in perfume and a breath as fragrant as the North wind after it has wandered through gardens.

She was given a diminutive name advisedly for fear of the evil eye, though she is the highest of singers in rank and station, so she was called Duraira (little pearl), but she is Durra (a pearl) of great value which commands a high price. A people in the days of their ignorance when they had seen her would have set aside their idols and adored her. She is my dream when I sleep, my thought, my joy, my wish when I am awake, notwithstanding that my rest has broken faith with me ever since I became entangled in her treacherous net. Every heart will long for her right through her life. When she casts the shafts of pure charm one after another, we call out for mercy, but she has no compassion on those smitten by her as she urges her moving lute. In spite of all we shall love her ever, so long as our spirits love our bodies. If without any crime on our part she has been given dominion over our hearts, yet she is the sweetest despot to reign.

Tell one who finds in her a shortcoming that he is wrong, ridiculous, denies rather belies what he sees. Is it her countenance he disapproves? it cannot be; or does he disparage her comely neck or her arms and legs filling her bracelets and anklets or her splendid hair or her fresh voice as with it she echoes the chords of her lute or her captivating waywardness? To us there is not in her one reproach, only her closeness with her favour has troubled us. She is miserly in granting even in permitting a vision of her to appear to us at times. She is a blessing resembling a privation; God in her has given us exceeding profit and trial. Often has she made the day long for her lover, often shortened time for him, for when she sings eternity is but a short day and when she is unkind we lose our sleep.

Oh you who ask me how I praise her liberality you will find I have a clear answer. She has allowed us to see her and hear her, yet she has left all her lovers thirsty. Is there none who for the love of God will say to her when she refuses the wine of her mouth to those who are parched, "Give joy to those lips by your nectar, oh you, who give joy to the ear, make a just division among the senses, some of which your unfairness has made mad with longing. Is it right to grant some what they wish for and give only denial to others? So let us kiss your lips as you showed yourself to us and allowed us to hear you and do not leave our love unsatisfied."

Duraira, indeed I love you, although I have suffered humiliation in my love! Oh, sandhill with a willow bough upon it! oh, tresses that exhale the perfume of musk and moringa! I long to bite fingers of yours for which I have long bitten my fingers in disappointment, when you made the strings of your lute rain pearls and coral on your listeners. Since I fell in love with you I have never had from you the least favour, open or secret, but that I pass my nights in a daze, watching the wandering stars.

I have made my description. He that disputes it, let him come to

me, I will give him proof. We have the sight of her and we hear her, they are enough for any one who seeks for explanation.

4

Mazlûma (victim of injustice), A girl player.

D.27a.

Oh, spray of fresh pearls gladdening to the eye and heart, the day that showed you unto me was kind, and it is not right to cavil at a benefactor, still it did bring me a pang later, so that now my tears pour in showers.

Victim, it is not you who are the victim in the eyes of the people of the East and West, rather the victim is a slave of yours, doomed to die without having committed any crime, whose heart you have robbed him of openly. So long as you live, may you never cease to do so such robbery!

How is it that those hostile to you are at ease, while those friendly are in distress? You have made peace with those at war with you, happy are they, but those at peace with you are at war.

Without an effort you have become to my spirit as it were another spirit lodged between its sides. May God help me to endure my raging thirst by means of a draught of the sweet nectar of your mouth.

Love of the Victim, do not pass away, but grow stronger, of you I shall never have enough! Victim, you have made our hearts your booty and we are content at being plundered.

Your playing does not pass its measure with your singing nor does your voice go beyond your music. The impression of both on the inner sense is that of rain in time of drought. You surpass other singers as much as Banî Wahb, those stars of the world, surpass all in grace and graciousness combined, having each in a degree by itself impossible to equal.

REPROACH

D 191a.

Ibn er Rûmî said, remonstrating with an eminent personage

You pretend to have forgotten about me, you will not give me my rights, you are discourteous to me, you sadden me by your behaviour. All this is because I am a victorious arrow with the point directed at the enemy and the notch towards you.

Can you neglect to tend me when it is long since you planted me and my roots have struck deep into your soil? A gleam of lightning from you appeared, but failed to keep its promise of rain, whereas my lightning has never failed to keep its promise to you.

SATIRE

I

On Khâlid el Qaṭṭabî, a poet.
Slightly modified.

D.39a.

Khâlid you have been altogether wrong.
You did not try to win my love in the right way
It was stupid of you to court it with banter.
You did not remember how many others were seeking it.
Had you approached it with compliment,
You would have been one of its most successful suitors,
Like your daughter when she engaged to have it,
And became the chief of those who enjoy it.
Fie on you, an elder of experience,
Trying for a thing and failing to obtain it,
While a tender novice of a girl
When she wants it contrives to take the proper course.

2

On a singer called Fahm

D 133b

I was with the emir 'Isâ ibn Hârûn on a day in July Fahm sang
I was so shaken by the chill that it might have been the coldest day
in winter.

GHAZALS

I

D.283a

How is it that the fonder I become the more you turn from me,
oh, you towards whom I would obey the summons of death ?

She answered, It is because the crosses of love take away from
a lover a part of what he has won from the eye and from the heart.
The trials of love wear him and alter his complexion. Changes like
these are the worst of faults. Desires will follow their promptings
only to attractive objects not to those that are repellent We who
are beautiful are delighted by the beautiful only (let not a lie delude
you), only by one with a face so bright you might think him a sword
lately come from the smith. We do not mingle love with the fear
of God so that we should feel compassion for those who suffer the
torture of love and estrangement. Nor will we ever give our joy

in this world in exchange for joy thereafter. Such as we in return for credit never pay money down.

2

D.213b.

Oh, you who resemble the moon in beauty and in being far out of reach, be kind, a rock may sometimes gush out a crystal spring.

3

D.281a.

When I take her in my arms my soul still yearns for her. What approach is there closer than an embrace? I kiss her mouth so as to stay my torment, but I remain more distracted than before. The fervour that I suffer is not to be abated by anything the lips can draw. It seems that my heart will not satisfy its thirst till it sees our spirits blending.

THRENODY

D.706.

On the death of the second of his three sons.

Though it is vain your weeping gives some ease, be lavish then, my eyes, for one is lost as dear as you to me, my son whom my hands to the earth consigned, noble the offering, miserable the giver!

Out on the fates, how cruelly they shoot expressly at the very centre of the heart! Stern death has singled out my midmost boy, oh, why the central jewel of the necklace choose? Just when his promise let me augur well, and in his actions signs of virtue mark, death screened him from me so that he is distant near, at hand but far. Concerning him the fates fulfilled their threat and it was hope that failed to keep its word. Little he tarried twixt the cradle and the grave, its rocking he had not forgot when he was tombed. The water of his life shrank ere its full, losing its coolness and its freshness then. Bleeding persisted with him till it turned him saffron from the colour of the rose. For all that could be done he drooped and withered as a sprig of myrtle withers. Ah, for that spirit with which many dropped, as pearls drop from a string that lacks a knot!

I wonder that my heart split not for him, though it be hard as rock. I would have prayed to have been sent before, that death had sought me out instead of him. Only my Lord willed otherwise, the master has his will and not the slave. I'd not have changed him gladly for God's recompense, even perpetual life in Paradise, freely I'd not have given him for aught. Only I have been reft of him by force and for the wrongs of time there is no remedy.

Though I am blessed with two more sons besides, I'll think of him so long as camels groan in Najd. Children are like our powers, one we lose troubles us always and is sorely missed. Each has a place no other one can fill for any man, if he be weak or firm. When hearing goes, can the sight take its place? or if the eye, can the ear guide as well?

Truly my state has altered since he went, would that I knew how things have changed for him. In mourning him, I mourn my every joy and give up all the pleasure in my life. Oh, fragrant herb, dear to the eye, the nose and heart, I long to know are you what I recall. I'll give you water while my eyes yield tears, though to pour tears is not of any service. Oh, eyes of mine help me, to earth I've granted treasure more precious than I ask of you. If sleep kept you from weeping, I'd excuse you, but what sleep is there for one whelmed with grief? Ease of my eye, you have made it weep for long and left it sorer than a malady! Ease of my eye, could the quick save the dead, my soul had been a ransom for you first of all! It seems I never have enjoyed a hug or your sweet savour cradled or at play.

They blame me for the grief for you I show, what I conceal is many times as great. Muhammad, there is nothing deemed relief that does not give me yet another stab. I view your brothers who are left and they kindle my sorrow quicker than a match, for when they play some childish game of yours they sear my heart, not purposely, with fire. I have no consolation from them then, the pain they stir I suffer by myself.

Whilst you are lonely in a desolate land, in one of cheer I dwell a solitary. When Death invites a mission to his camp gladly would I be of that company. Some ask the object of their love a boon, my boon would be a visit from your shade in sleep. My greeting is, the peace of God be yours and rain from clouds with lightning flash and thunder.

SHORT POEMS AND APHORISMS

I

D 265a.

You should not blame a man who weeps his youth unless because he does not weep for it with blood. The worst of youth is the ache that comes after its intoxication, a pain as intense as are its delights. We can never see it clearly as it is until we have become old and worn out, just as the virtue of the sun does not appear until the earth is beset with darkness. Many a thing is not manifested by its existence until it has ceased to be.

2

D 244a.

I learned what men are worth from a reverse, to me a profit although thought a loss. Indeed, oh, people, to know you after being ignorant and deceived was gain enough. Long had I erred in charging my heart with respect for men not worthy of esteem and God has now relieved me of this burden by a trial showing me the right course. Ever gracious is He!

3

D.245a

I see that life is a pledge to death, and health likewise a pledge to sickness. When my time is pleasant I am disturbed because of my certain knowledge that it must end like a dream. One in an existence waiting for it to come to an end is wretched though he is at ease.

4

D 227b

Point out the way to good, you will attain the goal of one who does it. If you can, be the least means towards it. Know that not to maintain your place degrades it unless you forget it so as to do a service to one whose hope is on it. At times indeed to sink one's rank renews it, just as a burnisher restores a sword.

5

D 12b

I see that the fortunate get good fortune without trouble, but it eludes all others, however much they tire themselves by striving. When the zenith is in its path a star will pass overhead, but when not, to hope that it will do so is vain.

6

D.294a.

I see that you abhor the clash of the sword and yet long for every good thing. If you have not endurance to withstand at least contrive to stand without.

7

He says concerning untrue oaths

D 189a.

I make no bones about an oath when pressed and there is trouble. Is it a crime to use the name of God as a defence from hardship too great to bear?

8

D.9b.

When the earth is decked with the narcissus it rivals with it the stars of the sky.

9

D.88a.

The faults of one with few are always counted, while those too many to enumerate are left alone.

10

D.81b.

Be not a coward because there is but one life. Death, too, is only one. A man will not be cowardly unless he holds or fears that when he dies he will not rise again.

HISTORICAL

Part of a fragment of a poem.

The subject is the dispute between El Mu'tazz, who claimed the Khalifate and El Musta'in the reigning Khalif. El Mu'tazz besieged El Musta'in in Baghdad and ultimately compelled him to resign in his favour. The poem must have been written in 251 during the war between the two.

D.43a.

. . . Mu'tazz, resign the Khalifate forthwith ; God will not robe with what He took away. Hope you to wear a garment He stripped off ? No, no, the milk has passed out from the udder. Even before your crimes He would not have you, and so He made you slip below that station and filled it with one worthy and approved, elect, agreeable to His majesty. Could He accept you after such ill-doing ? Away, your claim to reign is vain and false.

Look how with troops all Khurasan is swarming ; it sends to aid its brother a cloud clamorous, like ocean when night flings its breast upon it and winds have lashed its sides so that it heaves, horses with veteran warriors for their riders, lions in thickets of Khatt spears not reeds, in coats of mail their vital parts protected, their heads with helmets or with casques surmounted. These Mus'abites are men who will slay kings, if to slay them should prove to be their duty, for they are ready to maintain the right, heedless of blame from any when they do, loyal they are where other men are false,

they make their anger and their pleasure those of God. Before to-day the populace have found that in a war it is their wont to conquer.

Oh, guilty of your father's death and war on his avenger, you deserve all censure; you evil claimants to the throne remember, those who contend with God for power must lose. Your father honoured you with the succession, the worst return from sons you gave your father. The rightful imam has a stronger title, although your claim is based on closer kinship. He drew the sword of vengeance when you did not and ever seeks for what you have neglected.

He kept among his people for a while, making no sign nor any preparation, for God in him at that time had a secret He hid from us and from him like the future, to guard him from an enemy whose mischief would have blazed out in sudden conflagration—rather the Giver of all good did screen him so as to spare him toil and tribulation until He had made smooth his way before him and tamed the wild unbroken steeds of empire, then out there shone the splendour of his visage as brilliant as a firebolt piercing darkness

NOTES

1.—For the names of Ibn er Rûmî and his parentage, date and place of birth, see the biographical notice of him in Ibn Khallikan, Cairo edition, A.H. 1310, 1-350. Juraij is vocalised by Ibn Kkn., 1-286.

2.—Ibn er Rûmî himself says of his origin:

وكيف اغضى على الدنيا والعرس خؤولى والروم اعمامى

(How can I submit tamely to disgrace seeing that the Persians are my maternal uncles and the Rûm my paternal uncles.) D. 266b.

, and in another place:

انائ الروم توفيل وتوفيلس ولم يبدنى ربعى ولا نست

(My ancestors were Rûm, Tûfil and Tûfilus; Rab'î did not beget me nor did Shabath.) D. 46a.

The relative adjective Es S-j-rî is attached to the name of his mother's father, 'Abdallâh, in Marzubânî, p. 289, but it is probably corrupt, and having regard to what he says, Es Sijzî "of Sijistân" seems likely to have been the true reading.

3.—It was usual for a convert to become the maulâ of the person at whose hands he became a Muslim, but this was not a necessary condition of the maulâ relationship, so it was possible for the convert to take some other patron. See the Mabsût of Sarakhsi, Cairo, viii, 91-92.

4.—'Îsâ ibn Ja'far ibn el Maṣṣûr held various offices and was employed in negotiations between El Amîn and El Ma'mûn. Ṭabarî mentions him last in A.H. 195.

5.— وبعد فاني في مشمخر عصائب راسه قطع الصباب
احلسه اياه كرام بتيحان الملوك دوو اعتصاب

ان لم ارر ملكا اشجى الخطوب به فلم يلدنى ابو الاملاك يونان D. 30a.

7.—Ibn er Rûmî says, speaking of himself and Abû Sahl: D. 273b.

وعند ابن كسرى لاين قيصر مقعد اذا سابه العصران احدى الهصاب

(And with the son of Kîsrâ there is a seat for the son of Cæsar, when night and day impose on him one of the various kinds of wrong.) D. 252b.

, of El Qâsim ibn 'Ubaidallâh:

ان ابن كسرى وما تباعدت الروم بانسابها عن العرس

(You are the son of Kîsrâ and the Rûm in their genealogies are not far away from the Persians.) D. 143b

, of 'Alî ibn Yahyâ:

عهد كسرى نعيم عيش من ابن كسرى وحسن مليه

(There renewed) the time of Kisrâ a pleasurable life and agreeable diversion afforded by the son of Kisrâ (*i.e.*, 'Alî).

D. 1b.

of Banî el Faiyâd:

وجدير بذاك ابناء كسرى وهل الاسد ناسيات العضاض

(And proper for that (achievement in war) are the descendants of Kisrâ; for can the lions forget how to bite?)

D. 156a.

8.— غير انا نريغ بالمدح فيه رفعة باسمه لنا وسناء
رتبا لم تشد لنا مثلها الآباء نرجو توريشها الأبناء

D. 2b.

9.— ونحن بنو اليونان قوم لنا حجي ومجد وعيدان صلاب المعاجم

D. 253b.

10.— انا من علمت مكانه واين الذي ما زال فيكم يستعان فيحمد

D. 90b.

11.— شاد لي السور بعد توطية الأس اب قال انت للشرف

D. 179b.

12.— بلد صحبت به السببية والصي ولبس في العيس وهو جديد

D. 93b.

13.—Ibn er Rûmî's first poem begins:

اجعفر حزت جميع العيوب فما فيك من حله تمدح

(Oh Ja'far, you possess every fault, there is not in you any quality that can be praised.)

D. 62a.

14.—He speaks to the friend, who is not named, of their being together:

ايام نسرح في مراد واحد للعلم تتجع القلوب غريه

(In the days during which we pastured in the same field of learning where our hearts sought to gain that which was rare.)

D. 30b.

15.—Muḥammad ibn Ḥabîb, an author learned in history and in genealogy, occurs often as an authority in Aghânî. Wustenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber* No. 59, *Khaṭîb* No. 751. He appears to be the only contemporary Ibn er Rûmî mentions in that way. He is cited only two or three times in short glosses to the poems in the Cairo MS. See 282b, 180a.

Tha'lab and Qutaiba have been said also to have been masters of Ibn er Rûmî, on the strength of Aghânî, book 6, in which 'Alî ibn el 'Abbâs, once with the addition of Er Rûmî, appears several times relating from them to the author (pp. 185-7, 191, 194, 207, 208). The claim cannot be admitted, for this 'Alî ibn el 'Abbâs cannot have been our poet, who died the year before the author of Aghânî was born or, perhaps, in the same year.

16.—Ḥusain ibn eḍ Ḍaḥḥāk, who died at a great age in about the middle of the third century of the hijra, was called by Ibn er Rûmî the best at ghazal and wittiest of the poets. Aghânî 6-186. For the verse plagiarised, Aghânî 9-29. Ibrâhîm ibn el 'Abbâs ibn Şûl died in charge of diwân eḍ ḍiyâ' in 243 A.H. Aghânî 9-21. Dhû er Rumma is cited twice in glosses which may have been written by Ibn er Rûmî himself.

D. 37a.

17.—The poem about Ibn er Rûmî's fowling in youth begins:

بكيت فلم تترك لعينيك مدماً

D. 168a.

18.—In the passage in Ibn er Rûmî's long poem in praise of Şâ'id ibn Makhlad beginning:

وقد اغتدى للوحش والوحش هجد ولو نذرت بي لم بت وهي هجد
فيسقى بي الثور القصي مكانه بحيث يراعيه الأصل الخفיד

D. 65a.

19.—He says.

سفة من سفن البر بحكمه تجرى اذا ما اتخذت السوط محذافاً

(A tight ship of the land that will go when you take the scourge as an oar)

D. 186b.

and: وماء كفقد الماء اعلاه عرمض للمستمحين واسفله حرم
وسائره ملح احاح مرني حبيب كربه ورده حين يورد
سقى به خوصاً حراجيح بعد ما سقى ماءها التهجير خمس عرم

(And at water not like water, its surface green slime for those who scoop, its bottom foul black mud, the rest of it salt, bitter, turbid, bad, hateful to arrive at when it is reached for drink, I have watered sunk-eyed weary camels after their not having drunk for days had given their moisture to the midday heat.)

D. 67a.

20.—Khatib No. 3877. In the course of one of them Ibn er Rûmî says:

لما ثوى عاف بطى الارض حفته لكن حواءه ارناح لها سقر

D. 106b.

In another:

يا منكرا وبكيراً اوجعاه فلقد حلوتما قليل الخير ملعون

D. 277b.

And in speaking of his criticism of his poetry:

عابوا قريصى وما عابوا بمعرفه ولن ترى الشمس ابصار الحفافيش

D. 151a.

21.— يهون دون دمي دماءم وأرى قليلا دونهم قتلى

D. 222a.

22.— نبي هانم مالى اراكم كالكم تجورون احياناً وانتم ألو عدل
كما لو هجاكم شاعر حل قتله كذاك فاوقوا مدحه ديه القتل

D. 214a.

23.— وقد كنت ارجو منكم خير ناصر على حين خذلان اليمين شالها
فان كنتم لم تحفظوا لى موده ذماماً فكونوا لا عليها ولا لها

The short piece including these two verses is found in Ḥuşrî, 3-105. It is not in the Cairo MS. of the diwân.

24.— ولكنكم زرق يزين وجوهكم بنى الروم ألوان من الروم نبع

The passage in question occurs in the lament for Yahyâ ibn 'Umar and thus can be dated in 250.

D. 51b.

25.—Bib. Geo. Ar. VII, 254. Ya'qûbî mentions here that the move was made in 223.

26.—The dates of the appointment of the Tâhirid governors are given by Ḥamza el Iṣbahânî. Ya'qûbî, Bib. Geo. Ar. VII, 308 mentions the annual revenue of Khurâsân, all of which was expended by the Tâhirids on what they thought proper, and the 13,000,000 dirhams which in addition were sent to them from Baghdad, besides presents.

27.—Khatîb No. 2932, which contains a notice of him.

28.—Ibn er Rûmî's poem in praise of Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallâh is stated in the heading to have been very long. Only a fragment of it, consisting of 86 verses, is preserved. It begins:

الا نسيًا نفسي حديق البابل بمسموله صفراء من نحر بابل

(Oh make me forget the disturbing thoughts just arising, by means of a cool golden draught of the wine of Bâbil) D. 231b.

As to the refusal of Muhammad ibn 'Abdallâh to reward him, he says:

مدح ابا العباس اطلب رفته غنى من رفته وهما سعري

(I praised Abû el 'Abbâs (i.e., Muhammad ibn 'Abdallâh) seeking for his assistance, but he disappointed me of his help and found fault with my poetry.) D. 99b.

, and in a poem addressing Muḥammad directly.

الا لى سعري لم مطلب مثوتى ولم نوب من محل ولم نوب من عسر

(I wish I knew why you delay my reward, in as much as you are not to be charged either with avarice or with poverty.) D. 102b.

29.—ايا من ليس برصيه مدح وعفو السم عنه له كثر

D. 103a.

30.—وكم من يخل قد نادى حله ليحجم عنه المادحون فأحموا

D. 251b.

31.—اتتك شاعراً فهجو سعري وكانت هفوه مى وعلطه

لقد اذكرنى مثلاً قديماً حراء مقل الوحاء صرطه

D. 160b.

32.—ادا حسن اخلاق قوم فبئساً حلقتم به اسلامكم آل طاهر

جوا لكم ان تمدحوا وجيم لموانم ان يستموا فى المقابر

ولو كان فى الناس ابن حر وحره لم ولم يحظر على بال داکر

D. 110b.

33.—لعمري لقد اغرى القلوب ابن طاهر سغضائكم ما دامت الرخ نأح

D. 51b.

34.—All this is found in a fragment of a poem evidently written in Baghdad at the beginning of the siege when help from Khurâsân was hoped for. It begins:

اسى الشباب رداء عنك مستلبا ولن يدوم على العصرين ما اعتقا

D. 42b.

Ibn er Rûmî's previous attitude towards El Musta'in is shown by verses beginning:

صبراً امير المؤمنين فإله يجزي الصابرين

D. 279a.

35.—It seems likely that this is the explanation of a charge of treachery by the Tâhirids in lines said to be concerning Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallâh beginning:

يا طاهرين لا طهور لكم من حيلة الغدر آخر الابد

D. 86a.

36.—Both the elegies are short. Their first lines are:

ان النية لا تبقى على احد ولا تهاب اخا عز ولا حشد

(Surely Death does not spare any one nor is it afraid of a man of might or one who has many followers)

D. 71b.

, and:

بات الامير وبات بدر سائنا هذا يودعنا وهذا يكشف

(Our prince and the full moon of our sky were this night, one bidding us farewell and the other in eclipse.)

D. 182b.

37.—Ibn er Rûmî's Ibn Mârimma was called 'Alî ibn el Qâsim. The poet speaks to him in a way that suggests that he was rich and influential. The other's name was Aḥmad. For his history with Bâghir and El Musta'in, see Tabarî 3-1535.

38.—Sulaimân ibn Abî Shaikh el Wâsiṭî died in 246 A.H. He lived at Baghdad. His grandfather had been born in 40 A.H., the year of the death of 'Alî. Khaṭîb No. 4630. He is often cited as an authority in Aghânî. Ibn er Rûmî mentions his sons Aiyûb and Aḥmad.

The family had jested with Ibn er Rûmî's brother, Muhammad, when after he had become secretary to a man for a short period, his employer had lost his post, declaring that the loss was due to Muḥammad's ill omen. Just after a visit of Aḥl Abî Shaikh to Ibn Sa'dân the tutor of El Mu'ayyad, the prince lost his life. Muḥammad was then able to retort that their ill omen was worse than his, since it presaged death. Ibn er Rûmî composed verses on the subject, beginning:

قل لاأيوب والكلام سجال والجوابات ذات يوم تدال

اسكتوا بعدها فلا تذكروا الشؤم حياً فانتم آجال

(Say to Aiyûb, when contending in speech for superiority for one day the answers will come round in turn, Be silent after that and do not mention evil omen, out of modesty, for you are the end of life (i.e., when you appear.)

D. 217a.

He answers a poem in which Aḥmad is accused of having no religion where the writer of it says:

ان في واسط العراق رجال كلهم شاهد عليك امين

(There are men in Wâsiṭ in 'Iraq every one of whom is a trustworthy witness against you.)

Ibn er Rûmî's reply for Aḥmad begins:

يأين حسان لا تشكن في دى نى ولا تقتسمك في الظنون
فهو توحيد ذى الجلال وتصدي قى الذى بلغ الرسول الامين

(Ibn Hassân, have no doubt about my religion, let not suspicions about me disturb you. It is unification of the Lord of majesty and belief in what the faithful apostle has imparted (to us).) D. 292b.

39.—'Isâ ibn esh Shaikh was sent to be governor of a province of Syria in 252, and when he saw the disturbances in other parts of the Khalifate, seized Damascus. He was driven out of Syria in 256 and went to Armenia. He was at Amid as governor in 266 and died in 269 governor of Armenia and Diyâr Bakr. He was succeeded by his son Aḥmad. Ibn el Athîr.

40.—'Ubaidallâh was born in 223 and died in 300. Khaṭîb No. 5479, Ibn Kkn. 1-273. Fihrist gives the titles of four books of his.

41.—The following are examples of the praises of Ibn er Rûmî to 'Ubaidallâh ibn 'Abdallâh:

صاحب الحربه التى تنفث الموت كنفب الافعى ذعاف السام

(He is the bearer of a lance which spits out death as a serpent spits deadly poisons from its mouth.) D. 269a.

يهتز للذل والحفاظ ادا هز عوياً لغيه طربه

(He is moved to giving lavishly and to defending the right where the feelings of one astray move him to pursue his error.) D. 38a.

ائت فضائله عليه من ندى يعسى العفاه ومن حى مطبوع
وتقى هلوع من وعيد الهه من نائبات الدهر غير هلوع

(His virtues speak well of him: liberality that seeks out those who wish to find subsistence, natural intelligence, the piety of a man in dread of the punishment which his God has threatened, but not in dread of the accidents of time.) D. 167a.

ستشف الغيوب عما يوارى بعين جلمه الانسان

Addressing 'Ubaidallâh (You see through mysteries to what is behind them with an eye of which the pupil is clear) D. 286b.

به ايد الله الخلافة بعد ما وهى كل وهى ركنها فتفسح

(By him God strengthened the khalifate after its corner had become excessively feeble and weak.) D. 63a.

يا ايها السيد الذى طهر به من المكرات بغداد

(Oh Lord by whom Baghdad has been cleansed of abominations.)

D. 97a.

42.— لو شئت ساجلت البحور غزاره وباده قرض الشعر جنة عبقر

D. 124a.

As regards the poetic talent of 'Ubaidallâh, Ibn er Rûmî says also:

من الشعراء الاعدى قرحة وعلامة بحر من العلم مفعم
اذا ما جرى فى حلبة عريه تخلف عن شاويه قس واكم

(He is one of the most agreeable poets in talent, very learned, a brimming sea of knowledge; when he runs a race in a troop of Arab horse, Quss and Aktham are behind at his two goals.) D. 240b.

43.— تعبدنى بالعرف حتى استذلنى على ان فى نفسى على غيره طفوى
D. 7b.

44.— رب نعمى له على ونعمى واياذ له لذي جسام
D. 269b.

45.— ومستيقن انى لديك برودة لها شرف مما تجى الاضالع
فلسب غنياً عنك ما ذر شارف ولوسال بالروى التلاع الدوافع
D. 172b.

46.— وتجلى على السرير جبين دو شعاع يحول دون العان
يمكن العين لمحـه ثم ينهى طرفها عن اداسة اللطآن
فله منه حاجب قد جاء كل عين يرويه سامتهان
D. 285a.

47.— نفلوه على الهزائم بغد اد كان قد اتى بفتح جليل
ما اراهم بذلك الفعل الا زهدوا الناس فى البلاء الجليل
من نخوض الردى اذا كان من فر اثابوه بالثواب الجزيل
D. 213b.

48.— حاء سلمان بنى طاهر فاجتاح معتزنى المعتصم
كان بعداد لدن ابصر طلعتة نائحه بلتدم
مستقبل منه ومسدر وجه يحيل وقعا مسهزم
D. 248a.

49.— اتاها فلرل اركانها واسلى ابن اوس على الصعلكه
(He (Sulaimân) came to it (Baghdad) and shook its corner stones and he called Ibn Aus to brigandage.) D. 201b.

50.—The first line of the poem relating to the reconciliation is:

للناس عيد ولى عيدان فى العيد اذا رأيتك يابن الساده الصيد

(Others have a festival but I have two festivals on the festival when I see you, oh son of proud lords.) D. 71a.

From this it would seem that the reconciliation took place at the beginning of Shauwâl, probably of the year 255.

51.— ملك لا يرى اللهى يستحق الوسائلا حسب راحيه لديه انه حاء سائلا
D. 228a.

52.—This is a poem of 30 verses beginning:

رحل من هوىب وكل شمس ستكسف او ستعرب حين تسمى

53.— ولى وطن آليت ان لا ايبعه وان لا ارى غيري له الدهر مالكا
عهدت به شرخ الشباب ونعمة كنعمه قوم اصبحوا فى طلالكا
D. 135b.

تقد الفته النفس حتى كأنه لها جسد ان نان غودرت هالكا
 وحب اوطان الرجال السهم مآرب قضاها الشباب هنالك
 اذا ذكروا اوطانهم ذكرهم عهود الصبي فيها محوا لذلك
 وقد ضامنى فيه لثيم وغرى وها انا منه معصم بحبالكا

D. 202b.

54.—See Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr el Ādāb*, 3, 99, 104.

55.—He says:

يا سليمان لا الومك فى ردك سعري وهل نلام البهيمه

(Oh Sulaimān, I do not blame you for sending back my poetry; can a dumb beast be blamed?)

D. 245b.

56.—هو الاسد الورد فى نصره ولكنه ثعلب المعركه

D. 201b.

57.—له شالان حاز اربها عن دى الممين سد ما احلفا

D. 180b.

58.—شنتت عليه حله ليس عيبها سوى انها طلب تطول ويقصر

D. 107a.

59.—Notably the poem beginning:

يا سائلى باميرنا وبآفه نحس فؤاده

(Oh you who ask me about our amīr and about a plague that has stung his heart.)

D. 73a.

60.—See above, note 48.

61.—Ibn er Rūmī's dirge on Basra begins:

داد عن مقتلئى لديد المام سعلها عنه بالدسوع السحام
 اى نوم من بعد ما حل بالنصره ما حل من هباب عظام

D. 270a.

It ends with a call to arms for the rescue of some of the captives and for revenge. But the people of Mesopotamia had long lost any military qualities and it is not likely that there was any response.

62.—Ḥamza el Iṣbahānī gives details of these appointments. Most of them are mentioned also by Ṭabarī.

63.—His son Muhammad was acting as his deputy in 269 (Ibn el Athīr 7, 159). Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir was in charge in 271 (do. p. 168).

64.—The poem of congratulation begins:

جری الأحنى رسل المهرجاں كانها معاً فرساً رهان

D. 277a.

Whence it appears that one followed closely on the other. The year seems to be the same as that referred to in note 98.

65.— لي اربعون من السنين واربعون من الولد

D. 72b.

66.—This poem begins:

شهر نسك قرينه يوم هو صار بعد البعاد مثل اخيه

and in the heading it is stated that the naurauz in the month in question fell on 1 Ramaḍān. According to Ḥamza (p. 180), the naurauz of 266 fell on 26 Sha'bān.

67.—The poem begins:

خصيم الليالى والغوانى مظلم وعهد الليالى والغوانى مذم

D. 238b.

68.—It begins:

تنافستك من الاعياد اربعة شتى على اربع شتى من الملل

D. 231a.

69.—As regards the unpolished language of the Turks of Sāmarrā in the middle of the third century of the hijra, see Ṭabarī 3, 1544.

Ibn er Rūmī's poem in praise of the Turks begins:

ترى شبه الآساد فيهم مبيناً ولكنهم ادهى دهاء وانكر
وجوههم عند اللقاء وجوها والحاظهم الحاظها حين تنظر

(You may see the likeness of lions plain among them, only they are more clever in cunning and more deadly. Their faces at the time of the encounter are the faces of those; their looks are the looks of those, too, when they look.)

D. 110b.

70.—It begins:

ادركت آخر ما ادرك اوله يا بن الخصيب ورب عندك النعم

(May you attain the end of that which you have attained the beginning, oh Ibn el Khaṣīb, and may the benefits you enjoy increase!) D. 264b.

71.—They begin:

يرى ما وأى عنه الرحاء كما وأى وما وعدت منه الطنون كما وعد

(He considers that what hope assures is what he has assured and what surmises promise has been promised by him), i.e., he considers himself bound to fulfil expectations.

D. 77a.

72.— اتانى عن جاريك ان قد قطعته وفى لؤمك المشهور ما شئت من عذار

D. 129a.

73.— فعلام اسنع واجبى وعلام اسطل سرمدى

(So why should I be refused what is my right and why should I be put off everlastingly?) D. 77a.

74.— ملك يظل اذا غدا تتعاور الايدى ركابه

وبكيد يروى القنا علقا ويغتضب اغتضابه

D. 14b.

75.—See Ṭabarī index.

76.—It would seem that Abu Nūḥ 'Isā ibn Ibrāhīm was in charge of the dīwān eḍ ḍiyā' whilst Mūsā ibn Bughā was all powerful in the reign of El Mu'tazz. See Nishwār, Rev. Ac. Damascus, 1930, p. 149. Abu Nūḥ was murdered during that reign in 255, when Ibn Bulbul would have succeeded him.

That the year mentioned was about the date of the appointment appears also from a poem to Ibn Bulbul that must have been written between 272 and 278 A.H. while Ibn Bulbul was minister to El Muwaffaq, where Ibn er Rūmī declares that he has been praising Ibn Bulbul for twenty years:

على اننى مؤمك الاقدم سائل بذاك وامتنع ماح عشرين حجه كلا

D. 277b.

This is supported by what Ibn er Rūmī says to Ibn Bulbul in a poem that probably dates from early in their acquaintance:

اتيتك فى عرض مصون طويته ثلاثين عاماً فهو ابيض ناصع

(I come to you wearing a carefully kept robe of honour which I have preserved folded up for thirty years so that it is dazzling white.) D. 167a.

Probably meaning that he was (some) thirty years old at the time.

77.—This poem of five verses begins:

سمى خليل الله لا رلب مثله يعيدك من كيد العداة معيده

(Oh you who are called after the friend of God may The One who protected him protect you ever like him from the craft of the foe.) D. 96b.

78.—Yāqūt, Udabā', 1-292. Aghānī index. Mudabbār thus in the Cairo MS. throughout and thus also in the Mushtabih for the same personage, so Ibn Khallikān is probably wrong when he makes his name Mudabbir (2-345).

79.—Ibn er Rūmī says in this poem to Ibn Thawāba:

الا ماجد الاخلاق حر فعالة سارى عطاياه عطايا السحاب
كثل ابى العاس ان نواله نوال الحيا يسعى الى كل طالب
يسير نحو عرفة فيزورنى هنيئا ولم اركب صعاب الركائب

D. 23b.

80.—Ibn er Rūmī says of the gift:

ما استقل قليلا انت نادله ذكراك اياى بالمعروف معروف

(I do not think little of a little given by you. Your remembering me kindly is in itself a kindness.)

and he says afterwards:

وجهت محوى معروفاً تعاطمنى الا لقدرك ان الحى مكشوف
والعود احمد قول جرى مثلاً وعرف مثلك بالعودات موصوف
فأجره لى ان النفس قد ألفت آثار كميك والمعروف مالوف

(You sent me a present which would have been great to me but for your position—the truth must be disclosed. To repeat is more commendable is a saying that has become a proverb and a present from one like you has the quality of repetition. Therefore make (it into) an allowance, I am accustomed to the effects of your hands and what is well known is familiar.)

81.—One of the attacks on Banî Thawâba begins:

بنات ثوابه ما في الانام اخلق منكم ولا اقل

(Banât Thawâba in the whole world there are none more miserable and more dull than you.) D. 223a.

Another: اهل الوزر والامانة والدين جميعاً وكل ثقل ثقل
غيركم يا بنى ثوابه يا من ليس سى لبغضهم بعديل

(I can bear sin, trust, debt and any heavy burden, all but you, Banî Thawâba, you of whom there is nothing equal to my hatred.) D. 233b.

82.—

ازرى نوالك آتسره واعتد عتادى للقيانكا فلست ناول من راره من الأبعدين وجيرانكا
D. 202a.

83.—اترك بعد النفس بحل بالهوى الله جارك ان تكون بخيلا
D. 224a.

84.—ولست بمجبول على ذلك البدى قتلى حوادا جوده جود مجير
D 132b.

85.—قل لى بايه حيله اعلمتها هتفوا بانك لا حفظ حواد
وتلك احسن من نوالك موقعاً والعلم افضل ما اراه يعاد
D. 88b.

86.—تحتب عن احاره فكأنما نسب صده بعد من ثلاث
D. 46b.

87.—Yâqût Udabâ' 1,292 mentioned his having been the vizier of Mu'tamid on the Khalif's flight from Sâmarrâ, which occurred in that year.

88.—A life of 'Alî ibn Yahyâ is given by Yâqût, Udabâ, 5-459. A very brief notice, in Khatîb No. 6572.

89.—This poem of 117 verses is far the longest of those addressed to 'Alî ibn Yahyâ. It begins:

ساب رأسى ولاب حين مسيب وعيب الرمان عر عيب

(My head is grey though it is not time for growing grey. The wonders of time are not strange i.e., one cannot be surprised at what time does.)
D. 10b.

90.—The piece, which from what is said in it seems to have been written at the beginning of Ramadân, in summer, refers to the first day of the month having been the first of the week—

اول السهر اول الاسبوع طلع الطالعان خير طلوع

D. 165b.

The conditions were fulfilled in the year referred to when the first of Ramaḍân corresponded with Sunday, 20 June 874.

91.—وما المائة الصفراء منك بدعة ولا من اخيك الاربعى ابي الصقر

D. 112b.

92.—Yâqût, Udabâ' 5-476.

93.—Yâqût, Udabâ' 1,383.

94.—يا رحمتى لمناديه تجنموا الم العون لله الادان

D. 287b.

95.—لا تدع محصراً تحقق فيه حسن ظى والقول جم فنونه
واكس شعري من النسيد نسيداً كالغناء المسذرات لحونه

D. 283a.

96.—The poem making this petition is stated in the heading to be addressed to Jahza and another. It begins:

نقال والقال لى معجب فطلب وما انا بالعاب

D. 45b.

97.—Ibn er Rûmî says to him:

سألتك حاجة فسعيب فيها سعيدي سحبه اعتذار

(I asked you for a thing and you exerted yourself about it with a remissness the result of which was excuse.) D. 131a.

98.—According to the heading of the poem the mihrajân and adhâ followed one another, and the nearest conjunction of the kind during the reign of El Mu'tamid was in the year 260 when the adhâ fell on 26 September. The poem begins:

عيدان اعشى ومهراجان ما صم مثلها اوان

D. 276b.

99.—These details are given in the heading of the poem. It begins:

لما استقل بك الطريق الى العدا لا رلب سلك نحو رسد مسلحا

(When you set out on the road against your enemies, may you never cease to follow a path towards what is right! . . .) D. 201b.

100.—كفى المرء وعظاً اربعون بفارطب ولو لم يعظه سسه المعارط

(Forty (years) that have passed are enough to a man as an admonition even when his grey hair is delayed and does not warn him) D. 161a.

101.—El Mubarrad had condescended to visit El 'Alâ' and formed the opinion that he was liberal with praise but close with cash. Marzubânî, 450.

Ibn er Rûmî says to El Mubarrad:

لى مدح قلته فى سيد لم تزل يهدى له الشعر الوفود
من حير الشعر من اسمعه فوعاه قال روض وبرود

D. 92a.

102.—He says to him:

وَمِمَّا أَنْكَ الْمَرْءَ الَّذِي حَبَهُ عِنْدِي سِوَاءَ وَالسَّجُودِ
لَمْ أَزَلْ قَدَمًا وَقَلْبِي وَيَدِي وَلِسَانِي لَكَ مَذْكَتٌ جُنُودِ
شَاهِدْ أَنْكَ بِحَرِّ زَاخِرٍ لَكَ مِنْ نَفْسِكَ مَذْ بَلِّ مَدُودِ

D. 91b.

103.—He says of him in the course of it:

فَاعْطِهِ يَا اللَّهَ النَّاسَ مِنْيْتهِ وَلَا تَبْقِ لَهُ سَمْعًا وَلَا بَصِيرًا

(Therefore, Lord of Mankind, grant him his wish and do not leave him either hearing or sight!)

D. 101b.

104.—Ibn er Rūmī says:

إِلَى ابْنِ بِي عَنْ صَاعِدٍ وَانْتِجَاعِهِ وَقَدْ رَادَهُ الرُّوَادُ قَبْلِي فَاحْذُوا
وَلِي بَأْبِي عَيْسَى إِلَيْهِ وَسِيلَةٌ يَفْكَ بِهَا أَصْفَادَ عَانٍ وَيَصْفِدُ

D. 65a.

105.—وَكُلُّ مَدْعٍ لَمْ يَكُنْ فِي ابْنِ صَاعِدٍ وَلَا فِي ابْنِهِ صَاعِدٌ فَهُوَ حَابِطٌ

D. 161a.

106.—In this long poem to Šā'id there is an allusion to the slaying of Šāhib ez Zanj, which occurred at the beginning of 270, viz. :

قَتَلَ الَّذِي اسْتَحْيَا النِّسَاءَ وَأَصْبَحَتْ وَئِيدَتُهُ فِي الْبَرِّ وَالْبَحْرِ تَوَادٌ

said of El Muwaffaq

D. 66a.

107.—Ibn er Rūmī says of El 'Alā' :

رَأَى رَضِيْعًا كُلَّ مَاضِيٍّ بِصِيْرَةٍ فَقَالُوا جَمِيْعًا قَدْ سَتُودُ
فَصَدَقَهُمْ مِنْهُ لَعَشْرَ كَوَامِلٍ خُلُوْنَ لَهُ طُودٌ بِهِ الْاَرْضُ تُوْتِدُ

D. 67a.

(All those of keen perception who saw him when a babe said, every one—A hillock that will become a mountain. And when he had lived for ten complete years there made their words true, his being a mountain making firm the earth.)

108.—El 'Alā' invited to punish the poet El Buhturī for theft—of verses, is asked to hand him over to 'Ubaidallāh ibn 'Abdallāh:

سَلَطَ عَلَيْهِ عَبِيدُ اللَّهِ أَنْ لَهُ سَيْفِينَ ذُو خَطْبٍ تَتَرَى وَذُو شُطْبٍ

D. 31b.

109.—See above, note 46.

110.—The book consisted of sayings on gratitude in prose and verse, with praise of El 'Alā' at the end, arranged according to the letters of the alphabet. Seven of the replies of Ibn er Rūmī to 'Ubaidallāh's compliments are preserved, each rhyming in a different letter. See D.8a.

111.—Ibn er Rūmī refers to his preoccupation with these works. He calls him more than once "ḥakīm el iqlīm", e.g., D. 247—l. 3 a.f.

112.—In one place Ibn er Rûmî says of El 'Alâ':

ولست وإن غائته عنى واسط بغائلة عنى عطاياه واسط

(And though Wâsiṭ snatches him away from me, still Wâsiṭ does not snatch his gifts away from me.) D. 161b.

And another poem alludes to an accident to a vessel in which El 'Alâ' was travelling to Wâsiṭ, an accident explained by the poet to be really a portent of good augury:

رأيت منكسر السكان ظاهره هول وتاويله فال لمنجك

D. 208a.

113.— له في تديرير ولله قبله سيثمر لى ما اثمر الطلع حائط

D. 161b.

114.—This poem to Şâ'id contains 232 verses. It begins:

ابن ضلوعى جرة تتوقد على ما مضى ام حسرة تتجدد

D. 64b.

Ibn er Rûmî excuses himself for its length:

لم اطلها كما اطل رشاء ماتح ساء ظنه بقليب

D. 11b.

115.—He presses Şâ'id to read it:

اول ما اسئل من حاجة ان تقراء الشعر الى آخره

D. 99a.

116.— قلت دالية اعانتني الج ن عليها لا شك دون الانيس
مادحاً صاعداً بها وعلاء مطنباً في الخسيس وابن الخسيس

واعترى كاذباً الى آل كعب وانتمى زيه الى باذغيس
واستباح الاموال يعمل فيهم ن بلا مدفع ولا تنفيس
نفقات كادت نفلس بيب المال اقصى نهايه التفليس

شوؤم راي اتي على الشرو وال غرب من المدعى الدعى النحيس

وثنى بابنه السفينه المعنى باساطير ارسطاطاليس . . كي يزم القضا قسراً

D. 142b, 143a.

117.—Namely four verses evidently written some years after Şâ'id's death since they refer to the overthrow of Ibn Bulbul, in the course of which he says of Şâ'id:

دعى هذا الانام فكان ذئباً احص وما الذياب وما الرعا

(He was the pastor of men here, but he was a mangy wolf, and what have wolves to do with the care of a flock.) D. 1b.

118.—In the poem beginning:

اگر مخيلات الامانى لموعها واشقى نفوس الشائمية طموعها

D. 176a.

written, it would seem, either just before Šā'id was disgraced or soon after and in another poem which begins:

ابا حسن حمدى متى ما بغيته رخيص وان اعرضت عنه فغال

D. 233a.

119.—El Buḥturī gives these indications in poems to 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn el Faiyāḍ and to Bānī el Faiyāḍ. See his diwan, Bairūt, 1911, 2, pp. 534 and 615.

بجتوى نشرهم ولو ملأ الارض نجود العاقول او اغواره
انزلتهم فنه ديار اباد وعباب الصفيح بدمى شقاره

كم اصابوا خليفه فيه لخمأ واميراً فخمأ يهاب جواره
وادا النهروان ساح عليهم وتقرب رباعهم اسهارة
راح عنه الزنتون مسع الافة ياء والحل ناسقاً جهاره

120.—The poem to Muhammad (ibn el Husain) ibn el Faiyāḍ begins:

دار اس وقرار واعتلاء واقتدار

and in the course of it he says of the house:

مثل الفردوس فى الدنـ يا بليعاً دا احتصار
بمان كالرواسى ومجان كالصحارى
وحكاها فى سناء ما اكتسته من سوار
تجذب من حير نجد ملكت ايدى التعار
دا سائل حسان من صغار وكبار
نسرت اسرة كبرى دستبداً فى دوار
او رماة فى طراد حلف سرب او صوار
او رغيل من حير الو حنى مشبوب الحضار

D. 105a.

121.—The poem praising 'Alī and El Ḥasan begins:—

لهف نفسى على العيون المراض والوجوه الحسان مثل الرياض

D. 155b.

122.—Viz.:

و فى مجهم البيض ييضاً اعقبتهن اربعون مواضى

D. 155b.

123.—The poem begins:

ذكربك حين القت بى عصاها البوى يوماً بنهر ابى الحصب

D. 41a.

124.—The story is told in Ṭabarî 3, 317-8.

125.—For Abû Sahl, see Fihrist; also *Khândân-i-Naubakhtî*, Tihân, 1933. The name according to Sam'ânî is Naubakht or Nûbakht. In the Cairo MS. of Ibn er Rûmî's *Dîwân* it appears regularly as Nûbukht. and it is clear that this was the pronunciation of Ibn er Rûmî, for he says in one place:

يا بن نوبخت المزور على البخ تغالى فى سيرها والعراب

D. 33a.

ولما احتاج دو العاءين صاعد
وس مسم اذ فلدوا ما نقلدوا
بوار الاعادى وانقصاء الملاحم
رى الحائى السؤوم بن جدودم
عدا وهو مسرور بهم غير نادم
نداهيه تمحو سواد المقادم

سالتى بنعمانيه الخير منعا
اعسى بها فى ظله عسى ناعم

اخ لى فى حكم التفصيل سيد
يرى انتى من خر حظ لصاحب
يحكم صمم الحق غير مؤام
واعتده من خير حظ لخدام
ويدخ اسباب الموده يسا
مؤدبا الارار من آل هاسم
واحلاصا التوحد لله وحده
وندبيننا عن ديه فى المقاوم

واما ابو سهل فالى رأيته
طلب لديه المال والعلم راعاً
بمجمع الخيرات لا رعم راعم
فالفيته بعض الجور الخضارم
وعدت به من كل سى اخافه
احاب دعائى اد دعوب معاسراً
تليه لا احفل الدهر بعدها
تجدد آثار الملوك ولم تزل
فالفيته بعض الحال العواصم
فمن نائم عنى ومتاوم
ندى صمم عنى ولا متصام
لما اسسوه نانناً غير هادم

D. 253a.

قد فرأنا كتابك الحسن الطم
ووقفنا على خطاك اياى
127.— فلعناه لؤلؤا منسوقاً
فأصبح واقفاً موسوقاً

إن تكن عاشقا لعبدك تعسو
انت من راشنى اثيث رياشى
عاشقاً لم تزل له معسوقاً
وكسى اللحم عطى المعروقا
واقفانى بحى سلطان ودى
مجرىا ذاك سنة لى ما دا
قسمه ما دتمتها وطسوقا
م نهار لليله موسوقا

لك يوم من الندى ذو ماء لم تزل ثرة الفروغ دفوقا
شفع يوم من الحجى ذو حجاج تدع الشبهة الثبوت زلوقا
تجبا من خليفة وامير كلفا البحر ان يسد بشوقا

هز للماء عزمة كعصا موسى فاعنى عموده مفروقا

لو ترانا في بطن اسناية النير ل لا بصرت هاربا مرهوقا
هاربا من مغوثة كم اغاثت من لهيف ونفست مخنوقا

D. 194a.

128.— اذا الدهر اعطاني رأى مثل رايه فباراه جودا واقتدى بفعاله
وان من دهر مرة بعطية تناولني في ضيقتي بنواله

D. 233b.

129.— لا يراني اهلا لملك الطهارى ولا موضع العطايا الرغاب

D. 32b.

130.— رقعة من معاتب لك ظلت ولها في ذراك مشوى سهان

D. 276b.

131.— ليس يرضى ما جدد عن نفسه بنوال كل يوم يرتجى
لك جار كلما قلت جرى فتشوقت له قيل انقطع

D. 170a.

132.—The complaint about the horse begins:

ركبت فصاحوا الصلاة الصلاة من بين كهل ومن اسرد

D. 91a.

133.— ما بال ديناريك عنى اعرضا وتصديا لشكايتي وتعرضا

D. 157b

134.— اتزعم انى ان وليت قريه رايت ازورارى عن صديقى من الفرض

D. 159a.

135.— طلب كساء منك اذ انت عامل على قرية النعمان تعطى الرغائب

D. 12b.

and he refers to the same thing again in the poem beginning:

كسائى كسائى انه الدرب بيننا فلا تدع الثغر المخوف بلا درب

D. 14a.

136.— لقد رأيتك واليا مستعليا ولقد رأيتك فى الحديد مقيدا

D. 81a.

137.—In one of them he refers again to the present spoken of before, a dress that was delayed long after it was promised.

D. 12b.

138.—‘Alî ibn el ‘Abbâs en Nubukhtî died nearly 80 years old in 324 (or in 329). He must have been well acquainted with Ibn er Rûmî and visited him in his last illness. Yâqût, Udabâ’ 5-229, Khaṭīb 12-25, Şûlî, Râdî 76.
139.—‘Abdallâh ibn Waṣîf en Nâshî was the father of ‘Alî, a poet noted for his devotion to the family of the Prophet and a believer in their right to the imamate. Yâqût, Udabâ’ 5-235.

140.— ليسنى الملك ان اصلح فاسده وان حرس من الافساد ما صلحا
ردده جعفرى الرأى بعد هوى فى الواقيه لو لم نشه جمحا
بيارسوح وقتان لهم قدم وى من وفى لمواليه ومن نصحا
يا رب رأى صواب قد فتح لهم لولاك يا فاح الابواب ما افتحا
ولم تزل معهم فى يوم وقعتهم بالحائس وناب الحرب قد كلفا

D. 53a.

141.— كم صربه رعلاء بل كم طعنه بحلاء بل كم رميه إديح
خطر بها كفاء دون إمامه فى طل يوم للأكف مطح
سائن يدلك عنه حرب المهدي وكاسها من ناطح ونطح

D. 57b.

These lines contain some peculiar words not found in Lane's Dictionary.

142.— ملأب يدي جدوى وولى موده بدقفا فى (المحتدين) وفى الصدر
انلب نوالا لو سواك اناله لآيسى من عوده آحر الدهر
لأنك اعطيت الجريل واما يرحى المرحى عوده السائل الرر

D. 127b.

143.— بلاد اناس ترى كلسها يعاف حلائى انسانها
ولولا ابو الصقر لم سقمهم سواق السحاب بهتاتها

D. 283a.

144.—See Nishwâr 263.

145.— لله ختاره ما كان اعلمه نكل ما فيه للرحمن رضوان
وللموفق نصير يصره بالخط والاس طراً عنه عيان
اهدى انه وزيراً دامناحه لم مختلف فيه اسرار واعلان

The poem including these lines contains 239 verses. It is the “Dâr el Baṭṭikh” of Fakhrî.

D. 274b.

146.—A poem of 82 verses. In the course of it he says of Ibn Bulbul:

عاب الموفق واستكماه عيبته فلم يصادفه بن الذم والذام

D. 250a.

147.— فكرب فى خمسين عاماً خلب كانب امامى ثم خلفتها

D. 44b.

148.—This appears from the heading of the poem. It relates to the kidnapping by Eṭ Ṭā'i of a son of an official when Ibn Bulbul was vizier at Wāsiṭ. D. 24 bis.

149.— غريب له نفسان نفس بواسط ونفس بسامرا بكف حبيب
D. 42a.

150.— ولا اتي بغداد بعد قنوطها وفترة داعيها وايباس عودها
D. 67b.

The expression (*ba'da*) *fatrat dā'ihā*, after the interval of the cessation of her summoner to prayer, suggests that the prayer for the sovereign was restored to Baghdad on Ibn Bulbul's arrival. The date when Baghdad was made the capital again, if taken from this point, would have been about 273, for El Muwaffaq had certainly taken up his abode in Baghdad by 275 (Ibn el Athīr 7-173) and Ibn Bulbul, his vizier was at Wāsiṭ in 272—after he became the vizier.

151.— اشكو اليك حصاصه وتحملا قد برحا بي ايما تبرج
D. 58a.

152.— ولس اري ثواب الشعر ديا عليك ولا اري نفسي غربا
ولكى اراك تراه حقا لحدك والوسيم يري وسيا
وان عاي القضاء نداك عني فلس اراك في منعي مليا
D. 261a.

153.— ما بال شعري لم توزن مثوته وقد مصت منه اوزان واوزان
D. 275a.

154.— مالي حرم وخط الناس كلهم من دنوبي خير من وسائله
D. 228a.

155.— لي لسان ما زال يطريك في الذ ثروفي النظام غيرما مستريج
وارنكب الديون اياي في ظلك يهحوك باللسان الفصيح
D. 54a.

156.— كريم كثر قدا وطاب فيه اقوالى
فما قلل عرامى وما كثر اموالى
اذا عاينت مدحيه اراه دالك اغفالى
D. 218a.

157.— كم نسام الاذى كآنا كلاب كم الى كم يكون هذا العتاب (لعله العقاب)
كلما جئت قاصدا لسلام ردى عن لقاءك البواب
D. 42a.

158.— ورب هون لقيت منك ومن حاجبك الدون لم يكن دونا
D. 287b.

159.— قد عجبت بي عقوبة الخور وانت فاحذر عقوبة البطر
خرت فأملت ما لديك فعو قبت بفوت النجاح والظفر

اسلمتني من يدك في يدي الله وحسبي به من البشر
رزق لسب الذي تسببه مسبب الرزق منسئء الصور

D. 123a.

160.— عجب الناس من الى الصقر اذ ولى بعد الاجارة الديونا
ولعمري ما ذاك اعجب من ان كان علجا فصار من شيانا
ان للجد كيمياء اذا ما مس كلباً احاله انسانا

D. 295b.

161.— وكانت امه كحاحه وابوه كذا كحاحا

D. 64a.

162.— سئين حين هم بان يسنيا لقد علط الفتى علطا عجيبا

D. 36b.

163.—The anecdote is told in Zahr el ādāb 1-318. The lines referred to are:

قالوا ابو الصقر من سيبان قلب لهم كلا لعمري ولكن مه سيبان
وكم اب قد علا ناس ذرى سرف كما علا برسول الله عدنان

D. 273b.

164.— اصبح حزب الميصيين معا نقصير سعى صوى الى قصر

يا ايها الفيلسوف ذو الحكم الجمه بما روى ودو الفكر

D. 123b.

165.— تعصبه اهله وتمنعه حقوقه

D. 123b.

166.— جاءك يستعدك قافيه يابن العراب على أوى الصقر
مهب صرائرها وما مهرب (نرا) ولهى احو بالمهر

D. 107a.

167.— زوج نعمى لم تكن كفؤها فصانها الله تطليق

D. 189a.

168.—Ibn el Athîr, Murûj, Faraj ba'd esh shidda 1-148, Nishwâr 78. El Muwaffaq had Abû el 'Abbâs arrested at Baghdad in 275.

169.— كانى به فى محس وثيابه من العمر والعماء والعزاسال
غلائله الامساح ناكلن جلده وحلته اقياد سخط واغلال

اضاع وخان الفى واستصعب الورى واصبح يغتال الملوك ويحتال

D. 228a.

- 170.— فرساه بكوكب هاشمي كان ادهى له من السجيل
ولقد كاد ما استطاع ولكن جعل الكيد منه في تضليل
سأل ذاك النجيع من ذلك العد ودمع الباكيات كل مسيل
وليطل معول عليه عويلا انه في لطي طويل العويل

D. 215b.

171.—For instance:

فاعتبر بان بلبل ان فيه عبرة لامرئ أعد وعاء

D. 6b.

- 172.— ما حق ميدان مجد انب صاحبه اجراء ناهقه قدام صاهله

D. 228a.

173.—This appears from the heading of a poem addressed to Abû el Ḥasan and Jahza, beginning:

نقالب والعال لى معجب فقلب وما انا بالعات

D. 45b.

174.—El Manṣûrî, whose name seems to have been Ishâq, was the son of Muḥammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Îsâ ibn el Mansûr nicknamed Ka'b el Baqar. His father had been employed by the Khalifs in 251-7 (Tabarî) Ibn er Rûmî's *diwan* includes three long poems to him and some shorter ones. In one of the poems he speaks of Ibn Bulbul as king, that is evidently during his vizierate. He says:

وارتحي ان بدوم لى ديم من عارض فى الساء دى وطف
اعنى انا الضقر انه ملك فى مصب للعيون مشرف

D. 179b.

175.—El Bâqutâ'î appears to have been one of the clerks of Aḥmad ibn Thawâba in the reign of El Muhtadî and later to have become promoted to be head of *dîwân el mashriq* (Aghânî 20-68). Yâqût who mentions him in his *Geographical Dictionary* (1-476), says that he has noticed him in his *Udabâ'*, but the notice is not in the printed edition. Yâqût calls the place from which his appellation derives Bâqatâyâ or Bâqatayâ; the *dîwân* has Bâqutâ'î wherever it gives the vowels. El Bâqutâ'î appears several times as one of the *râwis* of Tanûkhî in Nishwâr, Rev. Ac. Damas, 1930, and once there (p. 207) as one of the leading officials (*shuyûkh el kuttâb*) He appears to have been promoted by El 'Alâ ibn Şâ'id, for Ibn er Rûmî says of him:

وهو الذى احتاره العلاء ابو عيسى حكيم الاقليم مذ فظا

D. 247a.

- 176.— انب الذى نعش الموالى ريه حتى استقلوا
من بعد ما كب الجدو د بهم فاشموا او اطلوا
لو لم يكن انت الطيب ب لهم هنالك ما اطلوا

D. 221b.

177.—It begins:

شغل الحب عن الرسوم وان غدت مثل الوشوم

D. 271a.

178.—فمن مبلغ عى موفى هاسم
وصاحب عهد المسلمين الذى غدا يخاف ويرجى للعظيم من الامر
يمينا لئن اتم خدلتكم وليكم لتستفسدن الاولياء يد الدهر

D. 101b.

179.—It says, apostrophising El Muwaffaq, and introducing more than thirty verses on the Zanj war:

حصرت عميد الرنج حتى تحاذل قواه واودى راده التروء

D. 66a.

180.—In a poem beginning:

ايها السيد الذى احاره السيد العا وموضعا للخلال

D. 234a.

181.—Ibn er Rûmî says of this appointment:

نامل ابن الفهم والحرم والتى لباعى سفير فوق كل سفر
فابصرها فيك الموفى كلها فولاك ما ولاك عمر نكر

D. 113b.

182.—In a long poem beginning:

لا بدع ان يحك الفتى فكا لصحكته الكبر

D. 97a.

It can be seen that the name of Abu Fawâris was Ahmad ibn Sulaimân and that the appointment was made when Ibn Bulbul was vizier.

183.—Ṭabarî and Murûj give details, including the dates.

184.—Hilâl, 11, gives particulars of the payment. The total amounted to 7000 dinars a day.

185 —Ṭabarî.

186.—The date is established by the incidents the poem records. It is evident that it was written before the arrest of Eṭ Ṭâ'î. Its first line is:

طاب الحيال وعن ذكرارك ما طافا وكان اكرم طف طاروق صافا

D. 185a.

187.—This poem has been referred to above (note 144). It begins:

لقد رأينا عجا من العجب بن جهادى وجهادى ورحب

D. 24 bis a.

188.—He says:

امالنا فك اسوال محصله وطبا فيك مرفوع عن الطنى
وقد نضعت ارزاقا نمس بها وكان وعدك والإبحاز فى فرن

D. 284b.

189.—For Ibn ‘Ammâr *Khaṭīb* No. 1983; *Yâqût*, *Udabâ*, 1-223; *Fihrist*, 148. Ibn er Rûmî recommends him to Abû Sahl in one of his poems, where he says of some undeserving people and of him:

مكنوا من رجال ميس وطيأ ت واهنى بنا على الاتاب
كأين عمار الذى تركته حمقات الزمان كالرتاب
من قى لو رأيت لرأت عي ناك علماً وحكمة فى ثياب

; and he recommends him to Bishr el Marthadî:

ولى لديكم صاحب فاضل أحب ان يرعى وان يصحبا

D. 33b.

D. 25a.

Ibn ‘Ammâr died in 314 or in 319. He was a *shî’a* and an author of note. One of his books was entitled “The History of Ibn er Rûmî and Selections from His Poetry”. Another was an account of Sulaimân ibn Abî Shaikh.

Muḥammad ibn Dâ’ûd ibn el Jarrâh was a first cousin of Şa’id ibn Makhlad, Muwaffaq’s minister. He was also a well-known author (*Fihrist* 128). He was born in 243 and died in 295 See Bowen, *Ali ibn Isâ*.

190.—Ibn er Rûmî’s remonstrance to Ibn ‘Ammâr begins:

ايها الحاسدى على صحتى العسر ودمى الرمان والاحوانا
حسداً هاجه على ثلب شعري ولقائى معساً عصانا

His satire:

كان العرير رماناً لا در در العرير

D. 279a.

D. 132b.

191.—The petition begins:

ايادى بنى الجراح عدى كثيرة واكثر منها اسها لا تكدر

D. 129a.

and according to the heading was written in the poet’s last illness.

192.—Ibn er Rûmî’s poem mentioned above in which he refers to the complaint of Qâfiya to Ahmad ibn el Furât seems to have been written before Ibn Bulbul’s downfall. As to the poet’s acquaintance with Ahmad, he says to him in another poem:

فيا نائى الى المال ويا بايى الى العلم
أدم عرمك فى امرى على ما كان فى القدم

(Oh way of mine unto wealth, oh way of mine to knowledge, keep your resolve with regard to me as it has been for long!) D. 257a.

His recommendation to the vizier begins:

قل للوزير ادام الله غبطته انظر الى ابن فرات وابن عبدون
هل قد نظرت فلا تعين اشغها فليس ذو الرأى فى حظ بمغنون

(Say to the vizier, God perpetuate his happiness, look at Ibn Furât and at Ibn ‘Abdûn—no, you will have looked and you are not deceived as to

which is the better, one who has sound judgment is not deceived as to his portion.) D. 288b.

The only poem that refers to 'Alî ibn el Furât consists of three complimentary verses addressed to him.

193.—The poem of remonstrance has been referred to already (Note 190). In the course of it, Ibn er Rûmî says:

ليت شعري ماذا حسدت عليه ايها الظالمى اخاى عانا
اعلى اننى ظمئت واخنى كل من كان صاديا ريانا
ام على اننى امسى حسيرا وارى الناس كلهم ركبانا
ام على اننى ثكبت سقيى وعدمت النراء والاوطانا

(I wish I knew at what you are envious, oh you who wrong me my friendship plainly, is it because I am thirsty and everyone else has had his fill, or because I am made to walk dropping with fatigue while I see all other people ride, or because I am bereaved of my brother and have neither riches nor home?) D. 279a.

194.—The heading of the poem to El Wâthiqî states that he was in command of the shurta at Baghdad when it was composed. Tabarî mentions El Wâthiqî first in 286 and the appointment of El Mu'tadid's vassal Badr to command the shurta of Baghdad in 278 and again in 279. In the course of the poem to El Wâthiqî, Ibn er Rûmî says:

عاقبى ان اطليل انك تستعر و عرس الساء مجدا وطوله
واربعاى فى كل يوم من الار عاح عن مرل احب روله
فيه عاقبى الاله من السكو وفك البلاء عى كبوله
بعد جهد حملت منه ضروبا ليس انفالهن بالمحمولة
ومصاب سقه الروح مى صمن الحسم سقمه ونحوله
باحى بل بوالدى بل نفسى لب نفسى من قبله مثكوله

(I am prevented from being lengthy because your eminence takes in the length and breadth of praise—is infinite, and because of my fear of being turned out of a house where I love to dwell, where God, Most High, cured me of malady and affliction cast off its fetters after I had endured all kinds of trouble the burdens of which were more than I could bear and a bereavement a fragment of my self which ensured illness and leanness to my body, that my brother, nay my father, no my very self, would that I had been mourned myself before he went.) D. 236b.

195.—Tabarî records that 'Ubaidallâh was appointed to the shurta of Baghdad in 276 as deputy of 'Amr ibn el Laith and says that in 283 the house that had belonged to him was being put to a public use. The poem in which Ibn er Rûmî mentions his bereavement to him and petitions for his brother's place begins:

امسى دمشقى الامير ودهره ملو عليه بركه وجرانه
والى عليه مصيبتين افاضتا عبرانه واستدكتا احزانه

(Misfortune has pressed heavily on the servant of the amīr—thrown its breast and neck on him, two losses have come to him in succession that have made his tears flow and his sorrow blaze.) D. 284a.

196.—The poem asking for the recommendation contains the following:

حاجتي ايها الامير كتاب لا يخل التوكيد منه بحرف

شافع لي الى سميك في اجراء الف له حقيقته الف

(What I want from you, oh amir, is a letter, in which emphasis shall not in any way be wanting . . . pleading for me to your namesake that he would make me an allowance of a thousand (dirhams) which is indeed a thousand.) D. 179a.

197.—The falling of the affairs of 'Ubaidallāh ibn 'Abdallāh into disorder during the reign of Mu'taḍid is alluded to in Aghānī 8-44. *Khaṭīb* No. 5479 also speaks of the financial distress in which he found himself. Mu'taḍid is said to have made gifts to him from time to time.

198.—Two of the poems of complaint call 'Ubaidallāh the amīr, and thus are likely to have been earlier, three are short remonstrances.

199.—El Baihaqī, called in the heading of one of Ibn er Rūmī's poems Ibrāhīm and the poet of 'Ubaidallāh ibn 'Abdallāh (D. 149b), is presumably the author of *El mahāsin and el masāwī* (Encycl. Islam 592)

Ibn er Rūmī devotes eight poems to him containing much coarse abuse.

200.—The marriage was proposed in 279.

201.—This poem begins.

اقبل دوله هي الاقبال فأقامت وزال عنها الزوال

D. 215b.

202.—There are four separate poems concerning the fitr, apart from allusions in poems relating to Qatr en Nadā, viz., beginning

(1) قدم الفطر صاحباً مودوداً ومضى الصوم صاحباً محموداً

D. 77a.

(2) اقل الفطر وهو يحككك جوداً مطعماً مطعماً عليك سعوداً

D. 78a.

(3) اهني الفطر بوجه الامام اليس قد عاين بدر التام

D. 249a.

(4) مرح الناس ان نهياً في اله طر لهم بالسهار اكل الطعام

D. 249a.

203.—The poem begins:

قدست قدوم البرء بعد سقام على دار الاسلام ودار سلام

D. 250b.

From it one learns that the victory was won with the sword sheathed. The campaign referred to may have been Mu'taḍid's first expedition to *Mausil*, on which he set out early in 280 and returned after an absence of two or three months.

204.—Beginning:

عبي هذا ربيع الدمع فاحتسدا وأبلياي بلاء غير نعدير

D. 119b.

205.—Beginning:

يا صائد الأسد ان صدكها لجامع خلتن من رشد

D. 80a.

206.—Beginning:

قل لاسر المؤمنين المعتاد رعايه الله له بالمرصاد

D. 75b.

207.—An officer called Shashdâ' had killed one of his men in a fit of rage, and Mu'taqid insisted on the murderer being put to death, notwithstanding the representations of Badr and other officers, who pleaded that he was a valuable man and the victim had no friend (*walî*), saying that he was the friend of those who had none. The poem begins:

يا طالبا عند الامام هواده مهلا وحسبك مندرا سسداء

D. 5a

208.—In the long poem praising Şâ'id ibn Makhlad.

D. 66a.

209.—In the poem relating to the overthrow of Ibn Bulbul. Ibn er Rûmî says of Banî Wahb: to Abû el 'Abbâs

عليك ولى العهد بالقوم إسم ادا وكلوا نالملك لم بك احلال

(Heir to the throne, take that party, when they are entrusted with power, nothing will go wrong.)

D. 228b.

210.—Tabarî The poem in question begins:

يا مجده الروم فى بطارقها وحكمه الروم فى مهارفها

D. 189a.

211.—The allusion is in the heading of a poem to El Qâsim and says that he had resolved to go to Âmid with El Mu'taqid to fight (Ahmad) Ibn 'Îsâ ibn esh Shaikh. Presumably the intention to go was changed, El Mu'taqid did not make a campaign against Âmid till 285. The poem begins:

سيدى انب ساحص مصحوب وصاعى الكم مسوب

D. 39b.

212.—The fiscal year was solar, and, owing to a faulty calendar, slightly too short, so that its beginning receded gradually from the correct date by the sun, with the consequence that the taxes due at the beginning of the year had to be paid at earlier and earlier times in the season. Adjustments were made to meet the difficulties caused in this way. See *Encyclopædia of Islam*, under *navrûz*. The poem mentioning the alteration begins:

قدم قدم البدر ييب سعوده وامرك عال صاعد كصعوده

D. 78b.

213.—In the course of a long poem to Sâlim, Ibn er Rûmî says:

من مبلغ صفوة الامير ابى ال عباس عن كل حامد اثره
ان قد تولى الزمام صاحبه بحكمه احكمت له سره

D. 104a.

214.—In one poem:

ان عهدى اذا تنكر عهد الجديد وان حبى لنامى
مقة خالطت فؤادى ودبت فى عروق ومخنت فى العظام
فعلى قدر ذاك اسأل حاجا قى وامتاحها بغير احتشام

and in another:

اذا ما نبا عنى الوزير واتم عتادى فلم رجاكم من تحوما
هزرتك للحرمان فاقطع وبينه فما زلت صمصاما اذا هز صما

D. 261a.

D. 261a.

215.—The poem praising the black slave girl begins:

تبارك الله حالى الكرم ال بارع من حمأة ومن علق

D. 192a.

216.—In a poem beginning:

انا العباس قد زكت الحمار وطاب الليل واحتوى السهار
وى العدوات والاصال برد يحب له الكساء المستزار

D. 131b.

217.—See *Khatib* 12, 25 One of the most celebrated of Ibn er Rûmî's short satires concerns him:

يقتر عيسى على نفسه وليس بباق ولا خالد
فلو يستطيع لتقتيره تنفس من منحر واحد
عذرناه ايام إعدامه فما عذر دى بحل واجد
رضيت لتفريق امواله يدى وارث ليس بالحامد

(*Isâ* is mean unto himself, though he is neither lasting nor eternal. He is so sparing that if he could, he would breathe through only one nostril. We excused him when he had nothing, but what excuse has a miser who has all? I am glad that some heir will scatter his wealth and not be grateful to him (for amassing it).)

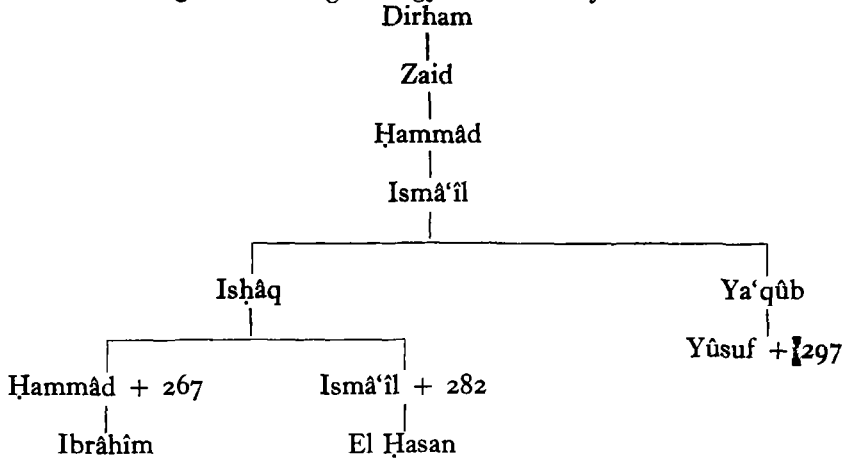
D. 73b.

218.—In praising Banî Hammâd, Ibn er Rûmî makes special mention of *Ismâ'il ibn Ishâq* and refers to the *walî el 'ahd* meaning no doubt El Mu'taḍid. The poem can therefore be dated in 278 or 279. He says:

أل حماد غدوتم اخصل الرايين رشقا
هنا الله ولى ال عهد منكم ما تلقا
فلقد لقي نصحا منكم لم يك مذاقا

D. 188b

The following shows the genealogy of the family:



219.—Khatîb No. 4262.

220.—In one of the two poems to Ibrâhîm, Ibn er Rûmî says:

فاقسم لنا من ريع قطك حصه ان الكريم لمرتبه قسم

and in the other:

بص ابو عيسى علينا نقطه كان انا احمى ليس محاضر
وفي جود ابراهيم طال نقاؤه لنا عوض معتاصه عمر حاسر

D. 251a.

D. 105b.

221.—Khatîb 3318. The poem to Ismâ'il ibn Ishâq begins:

نحمد الله حين من واقنا بعد ما كاد كوكب الارض يرقا

D. 191b.

222 —This poem begins:

وقتك يد الاله ابا على ولا حجب بساحك الخطوب

D. 18b.

223.—Khatîb No. 7630.

224.—Ibn er Rûmî's defence to Yusuf begins:

احمد الله مددنا ومعيدا حمد من لم نزل اليه ميبا

D. 25b.

225.—The allusion to the stoning of the Qâdî includes the following:

وثب السعر ونه فاستحلوا رجم فاض وكان ذاك عجيبا
ما لهم لا سقايم الله غيثا بل عداانا من السماء صيبا
ما على حاكم من السعرام ما دا عليه ان كان عاما جديا
أليه امر السحاب ام التسعير تبا لذاك رأيا غريبا

(When prices jumped up suddenly they felt justified in stoning a Qâdî: that was strange. Whatever induced them, may God not refresh them with

rain but rather pour down chastisement from the sky on them in a burst! What has a ruler to do with the course of prices? What fault of his is it if the year is a bad one? Is he concerned with the movements of the cloud or with fixing prices? This would be nonsense, the idea is absurd.)

The text has shî'r for si'r in both places, obvious clerical errors. D. 26a.

226.—In the *Dîwân* his father's name is given generally as 'Abdallâh, once as 'Ubardallâh, as in *Yâqût*, *Udabâ* 2,224. Ibn er Rûmî says of him:

رجل يسع المولى بالسيف الى ان يكن نحو حوانه
امن معتميه منه ولكن ما لمعفيه مطمع في امانه

(He is a man who will pursue with the sword one who retreats until he ensconces himself at his board. Whoever asks him for anything is safe from him, but he who excuses himself has no hope of safety.) D. 284a. Also:

أدرك ثقاتك انهم وقعوا في رجس معه ابنه العنب
فهم بحال لو نصرب بها سبج من عجب وس عجب
رحابهم ذهب على درر وشرابهم در على ذهب

(Join your trusty friends, they have fallen amidst narcissus with which there is wine and they are in a state which were you to see it would cause you to glorify God from pleasure and wonder. Their flowers are gold on milk, their wine is pearl on gold) D. 12a.

The condolence on the daughter:

فتحك المهرجان بالحول والعمور ارانا ما اعقب المهرجان
كان دالك قدك استك الح ره مصوعه بها الاكفان

(Your beginning the year with the cross-eyed and one-eyed has shown us what the year makes follow on. One of the things is the loss of your good daughter for whom her shrouds have been dyed.) D. 278a. and as to omens:

فدع الهزل والتصاحك بالطير ره فالصبح مشع مجان

(Stop joking and laughing about bad omens; good advice is a valuable thing that costs nothing.) D. 278a.

as to his Persian poetry:

يا شاعر العجم الكرام كما كان ابن حجر شاعر العرب

(Poet of the honourable Persians, as Ibn Hujr was the poet of the Arabs.) D. 11b.

A line from Ibn er Rûmî's jocular abuse:

قمرته الفرخ على صفائه فإني وكعب عن دوائه

(I beat him, the rascal, in spite of his cheating, but he would not pay and I was afraid to remedy his malady.) D. 10a.

For the date, see *Zahr el âdâb* 2-171.

The specimen of Ibn Musaiyab's life of Ibn er Rûmî is given in *Yâqût*, *Udabâ* 2-224. In the passage from *Zahr* referred to above there is probably another.

227.—*Khaṭīb* No. 2396, where he is called “the historian (*akhbârî*)”. *Yâqût*, *Uḍabâ*’ 2-57, *Fihrist* 129

228.—For the story of the fish, see *Dhail Zahr el âdâb* 239. In only one of Ibn er Rûmî’s ten poems to Bîshr is there no allusion to the fish.

229 —A few anecdotes about Asad ibn Jahûr are given in *Nîshwâr*. He was governor of Kûfa in 277 and later in attendance on the vizier, ‘Ubaidallâh ibn Sulaimân ibn Wahb.

230 —Abû ‘Uthmân Sa’îd ibn el Husain ibn Shaddâd el Mîsma’î. *Fawât* 1-217 *Fihrist* 123. *Yâqût*, *Uḍabâ*’ 2-226, Ibn *Khallikân* 1-351, *Dhail Zahr el âdâb* 108, 241. In one of his poems, Ibn er Rûmî threatens in joke that Abû ‘Uthmân will lead a raid on the table of a friend who had offended him. D. 17b. He died about forty years after Ibn er Rûmî—in 324.

231.—This Abû Bakr et Tâlaqânî is doubtless identical with Abû Bakr Ahmad ibn Muhammad et Tâlaqânî mentioned in *Fihrist* 167 as a scribe (*Kâtib*) and as having produced fifty pages of poetry. The comic poem begins:

ابو عتار والرومي من عاسه القصر
سبحان الى القصر طوال الدهر والسمير

D. 127a.

The mention of Abû ‘Uthmân here gives the indication of date.

— For Salâm’s invitation and failure to open his door to his guests, *Dhail Zahr el âdâb* 241. Ibn er Rûmî’s protest begins:

عجلك يان الحاحب الحاحب واين يتحوسى الهارب

(Ibn el Hâjib, the Hâjib (door-keeper) saved you, but where can a fugitive find safety from me?)

D. 17a.

In his praise of Salâma, Ibn er Rûmî says.

ما عاس لى ابن سعد فان سائى كسر

and:

على الكرام اسر وانت دالك الامر

(So long as I have Ibn Sa’îd alive, my dignity is great) and (The generous have a prince and you are that prince).

D. 110a.

Fihrist 166, *Marzubânî* 452, where, by some mistake, his name is given as Muhammad ibn Ahmad.

233.—*Marzubânî* 448, *Fihrist* 166, *Ya’qûb Uḍabâ*’ 5-222.

234. Sulaimân later was vizier. He was 43 years old in 304. See Bowen ‘*Alî ibn ‘Isâ*.

Ibn er Rûmî is said to have related himself how he visited ‘Ubaidallâh ibn ‘Abdallâh in company with El Buhturî, when the question which was the better poet Abû Nuwâs or Muslim came up. Abu Nuwâs, *Dîwân ed Âṣâf*, p. 13.

235.—See Ibn *Khallikân* 1-216.

236.—Ṭabarî, Aghânî 20-67, Fakhri 223.

237.—Yâqût, Udabâ' 1-136.

238.—His full name is given in one of Ibn er Rûmî's verses:

ان وهب بن سليمان بن وهب بن سعيد هتكت ضرطته ستر ابيه من بعيد

Little more appears about him than what can be learnt from Ibn er Rûmî's dîwân.

239.—Ibn Khallikân 1-274, Aghânî 20-72. His first post of consequence was that of deputy to Ḥasan ibn Makhlad in the dîwân ed dîyâ'—this would have been before 249. Faraj 1-150. As to his being at Madina in retirement when appointed vizier, Nishwâr 1-164.

240.—Qifî 113, Yâqût, Udabâ' 2-417, 5-319.

241.—Ṭabarî, Hilâl, Fihrist, Ibn Khallikân 1-352, where a date in 291 some months earlier than that in Hilâl is given for his death, Faraj ba'd esh shidda 1-103, Nishwâr. It is evident that he was very young when Ibn er Rûmî came into contact with him first.

242.—Ibn er Rûmî says:

مضب سنون أراعى نجم دولكم فيها واعتدها قسمي من الدول
ان عاب حظكم استعبرت من اسف له وان قفل استشرب بالقفل
حتى اذا اطلع الله السعود لكم خصص بالعطلة الطولى من العطل

D. 238a.

243.—Ibn er Rûmî says:

ستكسع مكم دوله حان بينها بدوله صدق قد اطل رجوعها
تقوم بها من اهل وهب عصاه تحب علىصبح الملوك صلوعها

D. 176b.

244.—Ibn er Rûmî says:

متى آل وهب يرتجى الرى حاتم اذا كتم ملاك سبل الموارد
لقد ددتمونا عن مسارب. جه وعرقتموا في نغمها كل جاحد
وأحييتم دين الصليب وقتم بتشييد اعمار وهدم مساحد
وابطال ما كان الخليفة جعفر تحيره زيا لكل معاند

D. 93a.

245.—In the mention of Sulaimân ibn Wahb there is nothing to suggest that Ibn er Rûmî knew him. As regards Sulaimân's son Aḥmad, Ibn er Rûmî merely composes for El Qâsim an answer to a letter of his.

246.—Wahb's lapse occurred in the presence of the vizier 'Ubaidallâh ibn Yahyâ ibn Khâqân. The historian Balâdhuri satirised Wahb for his bad manners. Fihrist 113. It is referred to also in Aghânî 20-68. Ibn er Rûmî says that the incident announced the death of Muflih, who was killed in 258.

وتعت الينا مفلحا سقيا له من فارس منع الحرم وحاط

D. 163b.

247.—For instance:

اتت من يريدنا فلكة

D. 125b.

248.—Ibn er Rûmî says:

وهب نا واهب الهبات اللواقى قصرت دونها الهبات الرغاب
هب لراجيك ما عليه فان اسمك وهب ووسمك الوهاب

D. 22a.

249.—Ibn er Rûmî says, referring to 'Ubaidallâh ibn Sulaimân after the downfall of Ibn Bulbul:

وان عبيد الله للراس منهم ولو لا مكان الراس لم نك اوصال
بلاقى عبيد الله دين مجد فداوته كفاه وفى الدين إعضال

D. 228b.

250.—Ibn er Rûmî says in the poem referred to:

فر منك الغزال يا لابس السيه ب فرار الغزال من صياده
وإذا اصطادك السيب فطارده ب عرالا فليس بالمصطاده
لسب عد الطراد من فانصيه انب عند الطراد من طراده
فعرآء ان اس ستين

(The gazelle flies from you, oh one who has put on old age, as a gazelle flies from its hunter When greyness has taken you and you chase a gazelle you will not capture it. At the chase you will not make it your quarry, rather at the chase you will be one of its quarries So accept that patiently, one who is sixty . . .)

D. 83b.

Also in the same poem, which must have been written soon after El Mu'taḍid took charge of affairs, he says to 'Ubaidallâh:

قد بولى الامور معتصد نال له اصحب ثانيا لاعتصاده
سبطك الاكرم المبارك رأيا ورواء وحق طيب ولاده
لا تباعده من امامك ما أس طعب فليس الصواب فى اعاده
ليس يوهى احاه سدك ايا ه نه بل يرد فى استداده
اهد القاسم الوحيد اخاه

D. 84a.

251.—There are some ten poems to El Ḥasan, a few of them long. The total number of their verses is less than 500. The maintenance allowance from Et Ṭā'î has been referred to before (Note 183). The following are extracts from poems by Ibn er Rûmî to El Ḥasan

وادكر وقب من النسيان اسواءه كوني سرورك فى ايام احزانك
ايام اتيك ندمانا فتقلنى ولا ترى ان ندمانا كندمانك

D. 203a.

عفوا فانا عبيد ان صمدت لنا يجد قائلنا منا غير اقرا نك

D. 203a.

قد فعلت القبح وهو سيهي خطاء فانعل الجليل بعمدك
 ملكا يلبس الطويل من العمر ويحظى ويحبر الاولياء

D. 203a.

D. 2b.

252.—Ibn er Rûmî says of El Qâsim:

فتى لم يرل مذ عد عسرا واربعاً لكل جليل مريضى او مريضاً

D. 154b.

253.—The allowance made by El Qâsim before the Wahb family returned to power is alluded to in the heading of a poem which runs:

وكان القاسم بحرى عليه رزقا قبل الدولة فلما اب الدولة سها عنها

133a.

254.—The failure to continue the allowance after the restoration of the Wahb family is mentioned in the heading referred to in the preceding note. The poem itself shows that the family had been in power again some months before it was written, for it contains the following lines

لهبك ان قد مر من صدر دولة سهور نوال بعدهن شهو

255.—Shortly after the mihrajân in that year (October 891), the Wahb family having come to power in June. *Husri* 2, 171.

256.—احل البدء لى فاعنى عن العو د ما بى الا اختلال الودود

عنتى سيه نجاء محى ال قطر والسيل مقبلا من صعود
 لسب اسكوه غير ان لهاه كفتى إحصاء رمل زرود

The date of the poem in which this passage occurs, appears from the heading, which tells us that El Mu'taḍid was heir apparent when it was composed.

D. 70a.

257.—قالوا انا مل مامولا قتل لهم يومئ المرء ما لم يبلغ الأمل
 مثل المسافر لم ينك من سفر حتى اذا هو وافى رحله تولا
 وقد بلع الذى امل من امل نابى الوزير وما اعطى وما بذلا

D. 216b.

Mu'tamid, as well as Mu'taḍid, seems to be mentioned in the course of the poem in which these verses appear, so that its date is probably 279.

258.—حاشى بما يعيا به كل رابد وحبرت ما يعيى به كل حائك

D. 209b.

259.—ارانا عيانا كل غفو ونائل سمعنا بمدكويرها فى البرامك

D. 209b.

260.—كم زارنى معروفه من قبل وعد بالتقاء

D. 7b.

261.—ما انكك يرفعى وينفعنى حتى أضر بجاسدى حسده

D. 75b.

- 262.— فإى أموالك لم تعطنا وإى أنوارك لم نقبس
D. 137b.
- 263.— حديث سن كبير معرفه محتك قبل حين محتكه
صيرنى جوده الى فسح ال عيس فاغيب طاللى مسكه
اقاتل الحر فى علائله والقر فى خزه وفى فكه
D. 202a.
- 264.—On the birth of a child, while Mu'taḍid was still only heir apparent, begins:
يمن الله طلعة المولود وحما اهله بطول السعود
D. 69a.
- 265.—On the nairûz festival, begins:
طاب نيرورك فى يوم الخميس وحرى محرى سعيد لا نحس
D. 140a.
- 266.—On the death of one of his four sons, begins:
مواهب وهاب وفى بعضها بعضا نسلك من مرزوها الاحر او ترصى
D. 154a.
- 267.—During his illness, begins:
تجافت بنا منذ استكيب المراقد لنا لا بك السكو الذى اب واحد
D. 27b.
- 268.—In a poem beginning:
حق الأديب لازم لدى الكرم فان ناسى حقه فقد ظلم
D. 246a.
- 269.—In a poem beginning:
الخير مصوع بصانعه فمى صعب الخير اعقك
D. 210b.
- 270.—Ibn er Rûmî says to El Qâsim:
يا ايها الموعوظ فى بسكره ابصر هداك فى العطاء بصائر
D. 128b.
- 271.—And he says to him:
شظن على مهندسك الملقى وما هو كفاء سخطك بالصمير
فكيف اذا اسأت القول فيه فكيف اذا اعزمت على النكير
D. 118b.
- 272.—And:
كتاب دولتك الميمون طائرها اخنوا وهم اسوأ الكتاب احوالا
عبيد خدمتك المعطون جهدهم فى غاية الجهد اقتارا واقتالا
فاعطف عليهم بفصل نك ينعسهم يا واحد الناس احسانا واجالا
D. 217b.

- 273.— عهد كنى بفضل كفيك عهد يمنح السائل الملح السؤال
غير انى ارى الجوائز وبلا وارى الرزق ديمة وطلالا

وقليل يدوم ارجى واجبى

فارتعن خدمتى باجراء جار ارتضيه كفاية واتصالا
والذى ارتضيه جزء صغير ولك السوداء العظيم احتمالا

D. 213a.

- 274.— هم بشغلى بمعمل فرأى ان اصطراقي يجم آثامى
وان دأبى يجر لى تعباً يكثر بعد الصبح اسقامى
فصان عمرى عن ان يقسمه بين ذنوبى وبين آلامى

D. 272b.

- 275.— سيدى انت شاخص مصحوب وضياعى اليكم منسوب
فاقم لى بما رزقت ضمينا فجميل ان يضمن الموهوب

The heading of the poem which contains these verses states that when it was written El Qâsim had prepared to go with Mu'tadid to Âmid. The expedition intended for Âmid was probably the Khalif's second expedition to Mauṣil, which left Baghdad towards the end of 281 (January 895).

- 276.— ألحييتى بالاسم ثم تميتى برفضى واقصائى وحقى ان ادنى

اذو آلة فاستخدمونى لآلتى بقوى او لا فارزقونى مع الزنى

D. 9b.

- 277.—See the poem beginning:

فى جلتار واختها دهبية يابن الوزير لعاتب متعجب

D. 28a.

- 278.—⁴He says:

لكن نبئت مع اللغيف بمسمع ويمنظر للشامتين ومعلم
واشد من ظلم الاذنين وسائلى علمى بظنك اتنى لم اظلم

D. 249a.

- 279.—اشكو الى الله ظلما لا انكشاف له ما زلت ارزق منه شر ارزاق—

D. 191b.

- 280.—خان الزمان فاعدت الكرام له فمن اعد اذا ما خائض العدد—

D. 80a.

281.— نبت البقاع يجنب عبدك ضاحيا فامهد لعبدك في ذراك مقبلا
D. 212b.

282.— اقول لما رأيت عرسى تسترزق الله باليدين
سيجعل الله بعد عسر يسرا يجدوى ابي الحسين
D. 296a.

283.— على دين ثقيل انت قاضيه يا من يحملنى دينى رجائيه
وقد هانى اخوانى مواردكم ووكلونى الى بحر سواقيه
نالوا انسى من الطوفان موده كما يقال لمولى انت واليه
D. 297a.

284.— لك الخير انى استزيد ولا اشكو ولا اكفر النعماء ما جرت الفلك
بلى ربما حاولت توثيق عروه وليس لحظ منك احرزته ترك
اتانى بظهر الغيب انك عاتب وتلك التى رحب الفضاء لها ضحك
D. 206b.

285.— فان قلت لى دع وصل من انب واصل صدد بطرف العين والقلب راثم
ولاحظته والخوف بينى وبينه كما يلحط الماء الطباء الخوائم
كذلك لا اشرى ولاءك طائعا بما ملكته عبد شمس وهاسم
ولو سامنى ذاك الورير ابيته وانكره النكر الذى هو صارم
أأترع احدى مقلتى لاختها كذا طائعا انى هناك لآثم
احبكما حبا مع القلب اصله واطرافه حنن النجوم السواجم

In other parts of this El Qāsim is called "wazīr ibn el wazīr". D. 263a.

286.— فلا زلت غيضا على سائل ولا زلت غيظا على راغم
وان كنت اعقتبى جفوه وما انا والله بالجارم
ورعيب غيرى واغفلتى خلافا لميزانك القائم
D. 264a.

287.— اصبحت فى ماتم من سوء رأيكم والناس فى عرس منكم وفى عيد
D. 81b.

288.— هل من سبيل الى تجديد ودكم وهل يجدد شىء بعد إخلاق
D. 191a.

289.—In the poem beginning:

الدين، والعلم والنعماء والشرف نأبى لجارك ان يبنى له التلف
D. 187a.

290.—He says:

استودع الله حسن رأيك في عبد تلافيته وقد هلك

يغيب ان غاب والنصحة والود رفيقه حيث ما سلك
طاف به علة فعالجها فاعتركت والعلاج معتركا

وان اخلاسه ليكرثه لكن عودا بعينه بركا

وعبدك العبد لا يخلفه عن حظه غير ما نشاء لك
فادن له في علاج علته واقل من العذر ما نشاء وحكا

The meaning of the fourth line is plain, but what it alludes to does not appear. 208b.

291.— حلف بمن يردك لي مردا كريما انه بالامر امك
لئن اخفى حذارى عك شخصي لما ارسلت من كفى حبك
ولم اهرب على ثقته وعلم بانى ان رميت افوت نيك
ولكن هرب على يقين بانك معمد في الحلم نصلك

D. 208b.

292.— وسيد قد غمرنى أعمه يحلم عنى وتحوم حومه
لكنه يساه عى كرمه وانى من جاء حرمه وهم جرما ليس مثلى يجرمه
وهم عنى قد عربت اشتمه وذاك عزم ليس مثلى يعزمه بل انما يشتمه موهمه

D. 260b.

293.— بلغ البعاه علي حيب ارادوا والله كاندغم بما قد كادوا
وهو السهيد علي انى لم اقل بعض الذى قد ابدؤا واعادوا

D. 81a.

294.— سد السداد مئى عما يريكم لكن فم الحال منى غير مسدود

D. 68b.

295.— سيحبك ان تلقى لسانى صارما تذكر قلبى ان سيفك صارم

D. 263a.

296.— رخصت معاملتى على رجل وليغلون عليه ما رخصا
ولاحرصن على قطيعته ويعاده اضعاف ما حرصا

D. 153a.

297.— هاض حريتى واوثق باله زور من نيله لسانى عقدا

D. 85a.

298.— لو انكم محتى وعائتى فررت من قربكم الى السقم

D. 250b.

299.—The poem headed “to El Qâsim” and beginning:

يا من اذا ما رآه عين والده بين الرجال اقام بالمعاذير

D. 125a.

was doubtless not addressed to the son of the vizier, but to a certain El Qâsim ibn ‘Ubaidallâh ibn el ‘Abbâs, who is the subject of another longer satire of the same kind.

300.—There are some fourteen poems concerning ‘Amr, several of them quite short. In the one referred to, which was spoken to El Qâsim, Ibn er Rûmî says:

وحبك يا عمرو به طول وفي وحوه الكلاب طول
فاين منك الحياء هل لى نا كلب والكلب لا يقول
والكلب من سأنه العدى والكلب من سأنه العلول
مقاع الكلب فك طراً رول عها ولا رول
وفيه اسياء صالحات حاكها الله والرسول

D. 229b.

‘Amr is called the secretary (*kâtib*) of El Qâsim in the heading of the poem beginning:

وقائل كف نهجو عمرا وعمرو معد

D. 94a.

301.—Ibn er Rûmî speaks of amusing El Qâsim by ‘Amr in the poem which begins:

لا يعضبن اعمر من له خطر فليس يرضى لصيى من له خطر

D. 115b.

His complaint to El Qâsim about ‘Amr with regard to which he says “the reply was that I was refused admittance” (فكان حوائى ان محب) is in another poem which begins:

ارقب كائى ب ليلى على الجمر اراعى كرى بين السهاكن والنسر

D. 107b.

302.—The following is the enumeration in full, as it stands.

هذا على ان فيه فصل بكرمه
مثل الفراسى والحوى صاحبه
ذاك الذى لم يزل طرفا وناديه
وكالطيب ابى اسحاى ان له نفعا
وما نسيب ابا اسحاى مائزنا
بحر المعاي ثقاف اللفظ قمته
وكيف انسى امراء تحبى محاسه
وكالطيف زيف انه لهب
ذاك الذى لم يزل طيبا ومنفعه
للافصل ولم لا مسح العرر
وكاللقب فهو العنج والخور
كأن محصره الاصداغ والطرر
سببا اذا ما اجحف الضرر
ذلك انفكاهات سيف محوه المير
اذا بعاجم فيه البدو والحصر
ذكره عندى اذا ما ماتت الذكر
ذاك له حركات كلها شرر
كان مشهده الاصال والبكر

اقهمت لو لم تحببنا حرارته من برد عمرو بنا القدر
ولى الى ابن فراس عودة وجبت علي بحق انه . . . وزر

D. 116b.

It will be seen that there are several difficulties, perhaps due to corruptions in the text.

303.—Murûj, Cairo, 2,352.

304.—Yâqût, Udabâ', 5, 220. El Akhfash had accused Ibn er Rûmî of passing off as his own satires which had been composed by Mithqâl, Ibn er Rûmî's man (ghulâm), saying that now that Mithqâl had died Ibn er Rûmî's satire had stopped. Ibn er Rûmî then invited El Akhfash to choose a rhyme for a satire and when he had done so, produced a satire in that rhyme which could not be mistaken for the work of any one else.

305.— قلت لمن قال لى عرض على الاخفنى ما قلته فإ حمده
قصرت بالشعر حين تعرضه على ميين العمى اذا انتقده
ما قال شعراً ولا رواه فلا ثعلبه كان لا ولا اسده
فان يقل اننى رويت فكا لدقتر جهلا بكل ما اعتقده
ارست زينى بأن تعرضنى لدحه فالذليل من عصده
ام رمت شينى بان تعرضنى لثله فالسليم من قصده

D. 89b.

306.— وتراه تدينه كل عوصاء كما دانت الخليفة بعل
يا ظاء الى الصواب ردوه يسقم الصواب علا ونهلا
هو بحر من البحور فراب ليس ملحا وليس حاشاه مخلا

D. 216a.

After the reconciliation:

حذار عرامى ونظار فائما يظلمك قطع من الرجز مرسل
ولا تحسبن الصلح انصل التى ولا اننى فى هدنة العلم اغفل

D. 217b.

307.—Muhammad ibn Firâs, Abû el Hasan, recommended El 'Abbâs ibn el Hasan to El Qâsim and then became jealous of him at about the time of El Qâsim's death. Nishwâr Rev. Ac. Arabe, 1930, p. 433.

308.— تظؤل يا قريع بنى فراس فانك من ذوى الأيدى الطوال

وقد مكنت من درج وثاق فلا تجبن من الرتب العوالى

وقد حطيت بظلمك رذايا يطاطيء ذكرها صيد القذال

كعمرو وكانداد لعمرو الا يا قوم الكفر الجلال

ونقصى بعد رجحاني لديه وقد يش الموازن من عدالى
لقد اوقعت من امرين امرا اتي منه فسادى اوعبالى

هويتك ناسيا قبل التلاق هوى حدئا تكهل باكتهاالى

رويدك اننى كاسيك برداً جديدا من قريض غير بالى
تنافسه سامع سامعيه ويطوى متشدده على اختيال
مديحا ان تشبه يكم مديحا من الحلل المحبرة الغوالى
وان نظمه تجعله هجاء اشد على الكريم من النبال

D. 224b.-225b.

309.—Ibn er Rûmî's request for intercession is:

سألتك بالاصل الذى انب فرعه واشفع بالفرع الذى انب اصله
اذا انت ودّع الوزير فقل له نقخ ابن الروى بما انب اهله

D. 230b.

310.— ووعده وحب له حكمه واسلب منكود موهوه
فكتب كعائد منحوه ومسترزى رزى منصوه
ولو قد الخ عليه الهجاء حرجر من عض كلويه

D. 30a.

311.—The verses in question begin:

وسألت عن خبر الجرامض طالبا علم الحرامض

D. 158a.

312.—The poems beginning as follows are examples:

بحيل يصوم اصافه ويحل عنهم ناجر الصيام

D. 248b.

and

يا ابن فراس لك ام فاحره فاسقه من النساء عاهره

D. 125a.

313.—Murûj 1-5; Fihrist 261; *Khatîb* No. 3205; *Yâqût*, Ud. 1-307; *Ibn Kkn*, 1-11, 1-351, 1-495.

314.— ليت شعرى عن الفراسى والر جاج هل يريان منى الاخاء
فيقولان ان موضع مولا لك عمير اشف منه خلاه
أدن تخصى اذا شذب لك بستان . . .

D. 5b.

315.—*Dhail Zahr el Âdâb* 241.

316.—1, 351.

317.—The absurdity is duly pointed out by 'Aqqâd.

318.—For instance, he says in a poem to El Qâsim:

فدى نفسه من قبح وجهى سيد وزير ابوه سيد وزير

D. 128b.

and in another poem to him:

يقى الوزير بن الوزير وعيشه تأمل مليا هل على العفو نادم

D. 263a.

He calls El Qâsim usually "son of the vizier", the few poems calling him vizier being doubtless his latest ones to him.

319.—The anecdote is told of El Maṣṣūr and his vizier Ibn Abî el Jahm (Fakhri 139).

320.—Jumâdâ I of the year 283 (July 896) is the date given by Marzubânî.

289 and Khaṭīb (12-26) cites him for the same year, but adds "and it is said 284". Ibn Khallikân mentions the 28th Jumâdâ I in 283 (15th July, 896) as the date and gives as alternatives 284 and 276. The latter year is clearly out of the question, as the Wahb family did not come into power till 278 and Ibn er Rûmî mentions events as late as 282.

321.—The epigram, addressed to the vizier, 'Ubaidallâh ibn Sulaimân, condoles with him on the death of one son and on a second affliction as great, the other, remaining alive It is:

قل لابي القاسم المرزا قاتلك الدهر بالعجائب
ما لك انى وكان ربا وعاسى ذو الشين والمعائب
حياه هذا كروب هذا فليس تحلو من المصائب

(Say to the bereaved Abû el Qâsim, Time has faced you with wonders; a son of yours who was an ornament has died, one who is a disgrace and full of faults is alive. The survival of one is as bad as the death of the other, so you are never free from affliction)

322.—Yâqût (Udabâ' 5-318-9) appears to be the only authority for ascribing to Ibn er Rûmî the epigram and other poetry by Ibn Bassâm. He seems to cite Marzubânî, but the latter's article on Ibn Bassâm says nothing of the sort.

According to one statement the epigram was composed by another poet, Abû el Hârith en Naufalî, and given out as the work of Ibn Bassâm. Yâqût, Ud. 5-320, Ibn Kkn. 1-352.

323.—Khaṭīb No. 7321.

324.—Ibn er Rûmî put forward his first satires on El Qaṭabî, i.e., Khâlid, as the work of Miṭṭḡâl. Marzubânî 448.

325.—Called El Huraithî once.

326.—Perhaps identical with Abu Yûsuf ed Daqqâq el Lughawî, Aghânî 17-2, and, if so, probably considerably older than Ibn er Rûmî.

327.—Called also Ibn el Khabbâza.

328.—Aghânî. He was imprisoned in the reign of El Mu'tašim and so must have been much Ibn er Rûmî's senior.

329.—Marzubânî 315; Yâqût 1-404.

330.—Aghânî.

331.—See note 194. With El Baihaqî is associated two or three times El Bain, which may stand for a person, though it does not look like a proper name.

332 —Yâqût Ud., 1-152.

333.—Aghânî.

334.—Ibn er Rûmî says:

فقدك يا بن ابي طاهر واطمعت ثكلك قتل العسا
فلا رد سعرك برد السراب ولا حر سعرك حر الصلا

D. 9a.

335.—The poem cannot be earlier than 278, because it alludes to the downfall of Ibn Bulbul, who was overthrown in that year. In the course of it Ibn er Rûmî says:

وما بي تصب البحترى ولبه وان صال فل داب يوم على فل
شهد له بالعتى فى السعر مخلصا وما انا فيه بالهجين ولا البعل

D. 229b.

The critic is El Bâqutâ'î, to whom the poem is addressed.

336.—'Aqqâd p. 240. The original authority is not stated.

337.—Ibn er Rûmî was in conflict with El Buhturî in the time of El 'Alâ' (Note 108) and attended a reception at which El Buhturî was present in about 280 (Note 234). He gives an account also of a visit with El Buhturî to 'Ubaidallâh ibn 'Abdallâh ibn Tâhîr, when the question was raised whether Abû Nuwâs or Muslim was the better poet (Dîwân Abu Nuwâs, ed Âşâf, p. 13).

338.—Ibn Rashîq, 'Umda 2-225.

339.—The poem begins:

ذرىنى قسطنطين آكل سهوقى ويسمنى انى بذلك راصى

D. 157b.

340.—Risâlat el qiyân, p. 61.

341.—The prelude forms part of a poem in praise of El Muwaffaq, written after his defeat of the Zanj in 270 and beginning:

سغل المحب عن الرسوم وان عدب مثل الوشوم

D. 271a.

342.—El Khallâl is described as the husband of Qusṭanṭīna in the heading of a poem beginning:

انا غيران ولا زوجة لى بل على النعمة عند ابن خلف

D. 181a.

343.—In a poem on El Qâsim in which he speaks of his way of living, Ibn er Rûmî says that Umm 'Alî has a flock of fair ones:

لام على ربرب فيه آنس من العين

D. 209b.

344.—The flock referred to in the preceding note consisted of 'Ajâ'ib, Bustân and Jullanâr, whose merits are described.

345.—Ibn er Rûmî says, when banished from the presence of El Qâsim:

ادن شخصى اذا شدت لك بستان وغنت غناها غناء

D. 5b.

346.—See note 276 above.

Dubsîya was a cupbearer and "drove the cups by means of the wine poetry of Ishâq (el Mauṣilî)".

اما ودسية الكبرى بحضرتكم تحدو الكؤوس بماخورى اسحاق

D. 191a.

347.—Bid'a was a Greek. Ibn er Rûmî says of her

من بنات الروم لا يكذبنا لونها المسروق عن منصبها

D. 13b.

She seems to have been identical with Bid'at el Kubrâ, to whom Ibn er Rûmî addresses a poem, much of which is taken up with remonstrances to El Qâsim. Bid'a is mentioned elsewhere as the handmaid (jâriya) of El Qâsim when he was vizier. Nishwâr 50.

348.—The elegy begins:

يا هل من الحادثات من وزر الخائف المستجير ام عصر

D. 99b.

349.—The principal poem in praise of Duraira begins:

حببت دره القيان اليا مثل ما بغضت اليا القيانا

D. 280b.

The satire begins:

ويلك يا قد الفرستوجه ما انت والله بمغنوجة

D. 49a.

350.—See note 215 above.

351.—Aghânî.

352.—The owner of Wahîd is mentioned only in the heading of the single poem in praise of Wahîd (D. 93a). Bani Wahb are mentioned in the poem to Mazlûm (D. 27a.)

353.—According to the poems referring to them or their headings. Muẓaffar had written some ungrammatical poetry for her master and Ibn er Rûmî corrected it and put its metre right.

354.—Ibn er Rûmî writes to Murâmî (strange name for a woman) pressing her to fulfil his request. He says:

اربنى منك فى امرى نهوضاً بين ان شغلك بى كسغلى

D. 213b.

355.—Note 165 above.

356.—Shunṭuf is the subject of some twenty poems, all very coarse. Of her singing he says, for instance:

وان سكوتها عندى لبشرى وان غناءها عندى لنعى

D. 169a.

357.—See note 227 above.

358.—They declare that she was a bad singer and attack her character.

359.—Muḥibb is accused of profligacy.

360.—In the heading of the verses concerning Fahm, 'Îsâ ibn Hârûn is styled "the amîr".

361.—Ibn er Rûmî says of the two:

دريرة تجلب الطربا وتزهه تحلب الكربا

D. 17a.

362.—The *qama* as an institution was pre-Islamic. For instance, she is alluded to by El A'shâ. Some of the *muqaiyins* were men of position. Thus "Ibn Ramîn (Zamîn, Yamîn) was the most eminent (*ajall*) *muqaiyin* in Kûfa (Aghânî 13-132)". Ibn er Rûmî has a couple of verses on a beautiful *qaina* whose *raqib* is always ugly:

ما بالها قد حسنب ورقيبها ابدأ مسح قبح الرقباء

D. 2b.

A ḥâfiza is mentioned by him elsewhere

وقد عدم المعصوم فيه رقيبہ کما عدم القيناب فيه الحوافط

D. 165a.

The *qainas* afforded the one opportunity of female society beyond that of the family and El Aghânî and other books show how popular they were. From Aghânî it can be seen that there were *qamas* at Kûfa (12-106, 13-128) at Baghdad (2-122) and at Madîna. The *qamas* mentioned by Jâhîz in his *risâlat el qiyân* must have belonged to Baṣra. Of several owners of *qainas* it is said that the nobles used to come to their houses, e.g., Ibn Nafîs (Aghânî 13-115).

363.—As examples one might take 'Arîb (not 'Uraib) and Danânîr.

Objectors to visits to *qamas* in the *risâlat el qiyân* of Jâhîz declared that most people who went to their houses did so for libertinage rather than to hear music (p. 65).

364.—The expression is used of the poet 'Alī ibn Jahm and his associates in Baghdad (Aghānī 9-112). 'Alī's poem on the house of El Mufaḍḍal in which he lodged there shows what a disreputable place it was.

365.—Ibn er Rūmī says:

لا نلح من تفتنه قينه فان تصحيف اسمها فتنه

D. 287b.

and

ولاح في القيان ققلت سهلا ربيت بنبل اوتار القيان

D. 282a.

366.—In the short poem beginning:

اذا تعاصت قينة مرة فلا تجمشها بتفاحة

D. 53b.

367.—People who can hardly have been of any distinction are the "parties" to whom Ibn er Rūmī sometimes addresses his compliments. For instance:

عجبت لقوم يقبلون مدائحي ويأبون تشويبي وفي ذلك معجب

D. 13a.

and:

لله در عصابه حالستهم وقر المجالس عند طيتس الطائش

D. 148a.

and those to whom he says:

ما كان مثلي مادحا امثالكم لولا اسهامي ضامن الارزاق

D. 188b.

368.—In his elegy on her:

عزيز علينا ان تموتى واننا نعيش ولكن حكم الموت فاحتكم
ولو قتل الموب المداء بذلته ولكننا يعتام رائله العيم

D. 259b.

369.—This appears from verses containing the following:

اراني وامى بعد فقدان احتها وان كنب في رفه بها وصلاح
كفرخ قطاه الدويان جناحها فبات الى حضن نغير جناح

D. 58a.

370.—According to the heading of the poem beginning:

قل لايوب والكلام سجال والجوابات دات يوم تدا

D. 217a.

371.—In poems beginning:

اعره منك اصغاء وفيها يضي لك عذره ضوء الشهاب

D. 41b.

and

يا ليت شعري والحوادث جمة هل اشتكى دهرى وانت صديقي

D. 199a.

372.—The first verse is:

وتسلىنى الايام لا ان لوعتى ولا حزننى كالشئ ينسى فيعزب

D. 14a.

373.—He says:

اخى والى وترى كان مولدنا معاً وربنى الايام حيب ربا

D. 42b.

374.—He says:

ما نزوجتها على غير نامـ لك فانظر اجائز ان اخب

D. 27b.

375.—Viz.:

ومينى بلا فجمع لدى القر وللوعد سادن مخصوب

D. 40b.

376.—He alludes to it in the poem beginning:

وقائله بالصبح لم لا تزوح فقلب لها عرى الى القرن احوح

D. 48b.

377.—

اقول لما رأيت عرسى ستروى الله باليدين
سيجعل الله بعد عسر يسرا لجدوى أبى الحسن

D. 296a.

378 —Probably a fragment. It begins:

عنى سحا ولا سحا جل مصابى عن الكاء

D. 5a.

379.—The elegy on Muhammad begins:

كأوكى يسفر، وان كان لا يجدى فخودا هدا اودى بطركم عندى

D. 70b.

380.—That on the unnamed son begins:

حماه الكرى هم سرى فتاوبا فباب يراعى اللحم حتى بصوبا

D. 26b.

381.—That on Hibat allāh:

يا هل يخلد منظر حسن لمع او محبر حسن

D. 288a.

382 —A very detailed picture of Ibn er Rûmî has been produced by a writer from indications found in his poems, but one may wonder whether the inferences drawn from what the poet says about himself are always justified. For instance when he tells us that gazelles took refuge in his shade it can hardly be concluded that he was tall.

383.—He says:

انا من حف واستوى ما يثقل ارضا ولا يسد فضاء

D. 5b.

and:

انا لىب اللبوب نفسا وان كس بجسمى ضئيله رقنساء

D. 6b.

and in a short poem headed "concerning Sau'ar ibn Abi Shurā'a" but apparently referring to himself

إذا كنت ذا عود صليب فيكفيني القليل من اللها

D. 9a.

384.—He describes his own ugliness in a poem beginning:

من كان يبكى الشباب من جزع فلست ابكى عليه من جزع

D. 167b.

; He refers to it also in a poem to El Qāsim:

جزى الله عنى قبح وجهى سعادة كما قد جزاه والاله قدير

D. 128b.

It is hardly a contradiction that he tells us that in his youth the sight of him used to rejoice the eye of young women:

وكنت جلاء للعيون من القذى فقد جعلت تقذى لشيبى وترمد

D. 64b.

385.—وكان وسخ الثياب

Şafadî, B. M. Or. 6587, Fol. 80 seq. contains this detail.

386.—This is the impression left by En Nāshî's reminiscence of him—Yâqût, Udabâ' 5-235.

387.—Yâqût, Udabâ' 5-235. Here En Nāshî reports that he used to wear the durrâ'a. He himself tells us that he does not care to put on durrâ'ahs or the qabâ and disliked the qalansuwa:

ولكنى مذ كب طفلا ويافعا ومقتبلا اغرى بيبض القلانس
ولا اشتهى لبس الدزاريع والقباء ولا ذاك مما ارتضى فى الملابس

D. 135a.

388.—See Lane, Dictionary.

389.—In the poem cited in note 387 and in two others.

390 and 391.—In the passage cited in note 383.

392.—لا يحسبنى امرؤ تمرا ولا اقطاً فاننى الصبر المأدوم بالبیس

D. 151a.

393.—ولست مقارعا جيشا ولكن برأى يستضىء ذوو القراع

D. 168a.

394.—نظرت بعين انصاف وعدل فلم ارقط ميزانى خفيفا

D. 181b.

395.—شكرى عتيد وكذاك حقدى للخير والشر بقاء عندى

D. 82a.

396.—Dhail Zahr el âdâb, 242. The original authority for this character of Ibn er Rûmî is not named.

397.—Yâqût, Udabâ', 5-222, Dhail Zahr el âdâb, 243.

398.—Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, 5-242; Dhail Zahr el ādāb, 243.

399.—*Khaṭīb* No. 6387.

400.—See the poem beginning:

رَأَيْتَ مِنْكَ السَّكَّانَ ظَاهِرَهُ هَوْلٌ وَتَأْوِيلُهُ قَالَ لِنَجَاكَ

D. 208a.

401.— وَقَدْ تَفَالَبَ لَهُ زَاكِرًا كُنَيْتُهُ لَا زَاكِرًا ثَعْلَبًا

يَصُوغُهَا الْعَكْسُ أَبَا سَابِعٍ

D. 25a.

402.—In the poem to Ahmad ibn Thawāba, beginning:

دَعِ اللّٰهُمَّ إِنْ اللّٰهُمَّ عَوْنُ النَّوَائِبِ وَلَا تَجَاوِزْ فِيهِ حَدَّ الْمَعَانِبِ

D. 22b.

403.—He says, lamenting two friends:

وَدَدْتُ لَوْ تَمَّ لِي حُجِّي بِقَرْبِهِمَا مَا كُلُّ مَا سَتْتَهِيهِ الْمَسُّ يَتَمُّ

(I had hoped to have completed my pilgrimage by being with them. Not everything that the soul desires comes to pass.) D. 198b.

404.— قَدْ كُنْتُ بِاللَّهِ مُشْرِكًا وَثَنًا فَرَّالٌ شَرِكِي وَصَحَّ إِسْلَامِي
اسْتَغْفِرُ اللَّهَ مِنْ عِبَادَتِهِمْ فَانْهَاهَا مِنْ عَظِيمِ آثَامِي
طَالَبُ صَلَاقٍ لَهَا وَرَافِدُهَا صَوْبِي مِنْ مَالِهِمْ وَاحِرَامِي

D. 266b.

405.— وَقَدْ تَتَوَجَّعُ مِنْ وِلَاءِ أَبِي الْعَبَّاسِ بَا حَا يَسْمُو بِهِ السَّامِي

D. 266b.

406.—See above, note 24.

407.— وَمَا أَرَاهُ إِلَّا عَلَى مَذْهَبِ غَيْرِهِ مِنَ السَّعْرَاءِ وَمِنْ أَوْلَعٍ بِالطَّيْرِ

Risālat el ghufrān 2, 81.

408.—

وَارِثُ السَّجْدَةِ

عَنْ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ الْمُرتَضَى لِكِتَابِ اللَّهِ حَقًّا وَالسَّنَنِ
مُرتَضَى أَوْصَى إِلَيْهِ مُصْطَفَى وَأَمِينٌ لَمْ يَخَالِفْ مُؤْتَمِنٌ

وَمِنْ التَّقْصِيرِ صَوْنِي مُهْجَتِي فَعَلْتُ مِنْ أَمْنِي إِلَى الدُّنْيَا رُكْنَ

D. 290b.

El Husain ibn el Hasan whom Ibn er Rūmī addresses in this way has not been identified and was probably not a very important member of the Aliyid line.

409.—See note 126. Other prominent Shī'as with whom Ibn er Rūmī was connected included Ibn Bishr el Marthadī, Ibn 'Ammār and En Nāshī.

410.—

رجع الملك جديدا كالذى كان فى بدأته حين طلع دولة شبيبها (شبيبها) ذو كنية
وسم الملك بها وهو جدع كنيه السفاح اهداها له مع ميراث النبى المتبع

D. 168a.

411.— ارفض الاعتزال رايا كلا لهنى (لانى) به ضنين

D. 284a.

As a Mu'tazilite, Ibn er Rûmî accepted the doctrine of free will. He refers to it in poems noticed by 'Aqqâd (211), e.g.,

اين اختيار بخير حسناته ان كنت لست تقول بالايجاب
شهد اتفاق الناس طرافى الهوى ونفاوت الابرار والفجار

D. 102b.

and

الخير مصنوع بصاحبه فتمى صنعت الخير اعقبك
والشر مفعول بفاعله فتمى فعلت الشر اعطبك

D. 210b.

Ibn er Rûmî also alludes to the exercise of will in:

يصرفه المختار ما فتارة يراد فىأتى ويذاد فيذهب

D. 24b.

412.— يشهد الله ان ديبى دين يرتصيه شهاده وبغيا
لم اعاد به الطريق ولا احمى لدين المعاندين نسيبا

D. 26a.

413.— احل العراق النبيد وشربه وقال الحرامان المدامه والسكر
وقال الحجارى الشران واحد قلت لنا بين اختلافها الخمر
سأخذ من قوليهما طرفيهما واشربها

D. 111a.

414.—He says:

فدع شربها اد اصبح الرأس مسرقا محاذرة ان يصبح القلب مظلما

D. 250b.

415.—Only one of the poems on wine is longer than four verses. As a specimen there may be taken one whose first verse is:

وسمول ارقها الدهر حتى ما توارى قذاتها بلبوس

D. 140b.

416.—There are four poems on Ramadân. The longest, which has ten verses, begins:

شهر الصيام وان عطمت حرمة شهر طويل ثقل الظل والحركة

D. 204b.

417.— لو كنت فى عصر النبى محمد اوحى الاله بمدحك ^{تتويلا}

D. 224a.

418.—He tells us the type of woman he likes in a poem beginning:

أحب كل غاده الحاظها تكلم

D. 246a.

For a clandestine visit, see the poem beginning:

زارت على غفله من الحرس تهدي إلى السلام في الغلس

D. 146a.

419.—He condemns himself in a very gross poem which begins:

رب غلام وجهه لا يفصح في بيت عز لا يرام مسرحه

D. 62a.

420.—In one of his later poems to El Qâsim he says:

والغناء السديد سدوا وضرباً
وحسى عرفان آل بان وبان سرنا معيا رواء
طلب عسرا كواملا في معايه ه أعنى واسمح الانحاء

D. 6b.

421.—He says:

سألتح باصطباع العرف صدرى وأعدم كاهلى ثقل الذنوب

D. 20b.

422.— وقائله بين أتراسها اما يتقى الله دا في دمي
الا ليته رار مستحفيا اذا رقدت اعين اليوم
فانقع من قرنه عله بقلبي من حبه الاقدم
اتتى الرساله عنها نذاك على مطوى ليس بالاعجمي
وانأسها انى حافظ لأسياحها دمه المسلم

D. 272a.

423.— كان ابن الرومى منهوما في الماكل وهى التى قتلتها

Dhail Zahr el âdâb 239.

424.—Ibn er Rûmî says:

أأن اصطبعت ولقمتى معصومه اسات تهجونى ذلك ظالما
عيب لعمرى غير ان لم آبه عمدا فهى هافيا لا جارماً

(Is it because I dipped my morsel after it had been in my mouth that you have begun to mock me unfairly? Certainly it was wrong, only I did not do it deliberately, therefore hold that I made a slip, not that I committed a crime.)

D. 260a.

425.— درى قسطنطين أكل شهوتى وتبسمنى انى بذلك راضى

(Qusṭanṭīna let me eat as much as I want and suffer indigestion, I am content with that.)

D. 157b.

426.—See above, note 228.

427.—In a poem beginning:

ما ان سمعنا من طعم حاصر نعتده لعجاء الزوار

D. 110b.

428.—Described as a kind of pancake. Mentioned in a poem:

واتت قطائف بعد ذاك لطائف ترضى اللهاة بها ويرضى الخنجر

D. 106a.

A short poem on qatâ'if, which has been ascribed to Ibn er Rûmî appears to be actually the composition of 'Alî ibn Yahyâ. See Dhail Zahr el âdâb 236.

429.—A confection. Ibn er Rûmî says to Ibn Bishr:

لا يخطئني منك لوزينج اذا بدا أعجب او عجبا

D. 25b.

430.—Ibn er Rûmî says:

للموز احسان بلا ذنوب ليس بمعدود ولا محسوب

D. 22a.

431.— وسميطة صفراء دينارية ثمنا ولونا زفها لك حرور (جوذر)

D. 106a.

432.—Murûj 2-387. This poem is not in the Cairo MS.

433.—There are six poems on the subject. As an example there may be taken one beginning:

بات يدعو الواحد الصمد في ظلام الليل منفردا

D. 95b.

One of the allusions to the angel begins:

غصن من البان في وشاح ركب في مغرس رداح

D. 55a.

433a.—According to Aghânî, Abû Tammâm more than once received a reward of 1000 dinârs for a poem. The largest reward of Ibn er Rûmî mentioned is 100 dinârs.

434.—See note 415.

435.—He says to one man:

سألت قفيزين من حنطة لجدت بكر من النع واد

D. 184b.

and to another:

فتموذ بحنطة الكشك منها عائداً بالجميل عود الكرام

D. 261a.

436.—He makes a request for cotton:

فاقسم لنا من ريع قطنك حصاة

D. 251a.

437.—See note 426.

438.—He says that what he wants is:

وهو البخور الذي حصلنا من ملكه قتره في البهاره

D. 114a.

439.—For two mentions of a promise of a dress by Muḥammad ibn 'Alī en Nūbukhtī, see note 135. Ibn er Rūmī says to another:

فعل بالکساء فان قلبی الیه مستهام مستطار

D. 131b.

and to another:

ان تکسنى یکسک المعروف من کشب ثوبا جمیلا تراه اعین الفطن

D. 276a.

440.—As to the promise of a mule he says:

هو بغل اوعدتنيه فان اخلفت ضاهب اخلاقه اخلاقک

D. 205a.

441.—See note 53.

442.—See note 194.

443.—As to the property, he says:

احین اسرت الدهر بعد عتوه وطلب منه کل ناب ومخلب

تهصمنى اتى ونغصب حهرة عقارى وفى هاتيك اعجب معجب

He refers to it also in another poem of the same period.

D. 28a.

444.—He says referring to the fire:

ويعد فان عدرى فى قصورى عن الباب المحجب ذى البهاء
حدوث حوادث منها حريق تحيف ما جمع من الثراء

D. 1b.

445.—Pleading to be excused tax, he says to Wāḥb ibn Sulaimān:

وهب يا واهب الهب اللوائى قصر دونها الهب الرغاب
هب لراجيك ما عليه فان اسمک وهب ووسمک الوهاب

D. 22a.

and to 'Ubaidallāh ibn 'Abdallāh:

حط ثقل الخراج عنى وقد کا ن کارکان یذبل وشام

D. 269b.

446.—Ibn er Rūmī says:

لى زرع اتى عليه الجراد عادنى مند رزيتہ العواد
کنب ارجو حصاده فأتاه قبل ان يبلغ الحصاد حصاد

D. 76b.

447.—He says:

یحاسدونى ویتى بیت مسکنه قد عشش الفقر فيه اى نعشيش

D. 151a.

448.—He says to 'Ubaidallāh ibn 'Abdallāh:

وقد کنت ذا وفر من المال فاقتنى به جذع جم الحوادث ازم

D. 241b.

449.—Also to 'Ubaidallāh ibn 'Abdallāh:

اتحرمني لاني مستقل واني لست كالرزحي السغب

D. 29b.

450.—He says to Ibn 'Ammār, at the age of about sixty:

ايها الحاسدي على صحتي العسر ودى الزمان والإخوان

D. 279a.

451.—He says to El Qâsim:

فقوم بما دون المجاعة انها سهام حداد بل سيوف صوارم

D. 263a.

452.—Also to El Qâsim:

لى خمسوں صاحباً لو سألت ال قوت فيهم أليتهم سمحاء

D. 6b.

453.—To El Qâsim again:

كلما جدب لى تعلك فى الج ود فبذرت يمنه وشالاً

213a.

454.—Page 165.

455.—See note 320.

456.—It was half that of Muslim, which in the printed edition may be estimated as about 3,600 verses Fihrist tells us that Muslim's poetry amounted to two hundred sheets or folios

457.—This MS. has been corrected systematically. It contains, as part of its text, a very small number of explanatory notes or alternative readings—perhaps two or three dozen altogether.

458.—In this MS. there is a poem rhyming in l on sayfa 192 sol of No. 3860 whereas the last poem of the volume rhymes in k. The arrangement is, therefore, not always strictly alphabetical.

459.—From a note on the title page "One of the books of Khalil ibn Aibak eš Şafadî. At Damascus 764", it appears that at one time the copy belonged to that well-known author. The year is that of the death of Es Şafadî.

460.—Though the amîrs mentioned ought to be identifiable, they are not mentioned in the books at hand.

Hadhabânî, Rawâdî are Aiyûbid nisbas. See Ibn Khallikân, 2-376, s.v. Şalāh ed Dîn ibn Yûsuf.

461.—For instance, two satires out of three on Abû Hafs in the Constantinople MS. 3859, 65 sol do not appear in the Cairo MS, nor does a poem in the Constantinople MS 3860, 252 sag. The heading of a poem in Constantinople 3859, 2 sag runs "yamdaḥ el Qâsim wa yuhannihi"; that of the same poem in Cairo 87a omits yamdaḥ, but adds that El Mu'taqid was the heir apparent at the time, a fact the other MS. does not mention. In this poem one finds *jadûd* having little milk in Cairo for the *judûd* of Constantinople, the former being obviously right; in Cairo 87a, 1-19 one finds *el ḥuşûn* which makes no sense, whereas Constantinople has *el ghuşûn*, doubtless only a slight slip for *el ghudûn*, which must be the correct reading; Cairo 130a 1-8 has *tujîl*, but Constantinople 3859, 130 sol has *tukhtîl* and the latter appears to be correct.

462.—In twelve photographs of pages of the Escorial MS. which have been examined, six poems which have not been found in the Cairo MS. appear, *viz.*, two on fol. 238b, three on fols. 189b, 190a and one on fol. 1,289b.

463.—After a poem to El Qâsim (D. 114b) there are a few lines of eulogy headed "and the following is a piece of mine" (*waqult*) which may perhaps mean that the lines in question were addressed by the editor to El Qâsim. If so, the editor, as a contemporary, may have been Eş Şûlî.

464.—Zâ is used for dâd several times, *e.g.*, zanâ for danâ 23b, 1-2; dâd for zâ in one or two places, *e.g.*, kadâ'iz for kaza'iz, 165a 1-18. Otiose alif is frequent throughout the MS. Sîn in a few places is distinguished by three dots below it, dâl in one or two places by a single dot under it. Hamza medial is rarely indicated by the sign hamza, generally only by the supporting yâ which is dotted.

465.—Page 479.

466.—With the exception of two that have rhymes which are not included in the Cairo MS., all the eight citations from Ibn er Rûmî in Murûj, Cairo 2, 351-3, are to be found in the Cairo MS., but there are some very considerable differences in the text of two of them. In Nuwairî's Nihâya the number of poems ascribed to Ibn er Rûmî which are not in the Cairo MS. is large. Out of thirty citations in volume 2 of this book, only nineteen have been traced in the MS. Two out of three pieces in 'Umda 2, 82, 225, and verses in Zahr el Âdâb 1,317 and 3,105 are not in the Cairo MS.

467.—The piece printed on 2-387 of Murûj, beginning

يا سائلي عن مجمع اللذات سألته عنه انعم العباد

This poem is found in the Escorial MS, 290a.

El Mustakfi was Khalif from 333 to 334.

468.—His companion En Nâjûm. Dhail Zahr el âdâb, 241.

469.—See D. 31a, 42b, 48b, 127b, 169a, 197a, 212a and 231b.

470.—See note 66. Another example is an allusion in a satire on one Abû Aiyûb to a poem in his praise which is not in the Cairo MS. See D. 35a, l. 10.

471.—See note 110. For the answers, see D. 8a, 32b, 47a, 60a, 63b, 86b, 96b. It is possible, of course, that Ibn er Rûmî did not complete his task of answering.

472.—Thus of some fifty-four poems addressed to 'Ubaidallâh ibn 'Abdallâh, the two longest consist of 209 and 272 verses and only four of the others exceed 100 verses each. The long poem to Şâ'id ibn Makhlad contains 232 verses (D. 64b); the longest to Ibn Bulbul, 239 verses (D. 277a); the longest to El Qâsim, 215 verses (D. 5a).

473.—Examples of preludes: Loss of youth, 42b; old age, 10b; 63a, 97a, 153b, 161a, 197a; garden, 144a, 255b, 261a; wine, 231a; vicissitudes of time, 32b; reception at Baghdad 284b; dialogue, 2b, 74a.

474.—In D. 189b there is an example of a praise poem of 99 verses without any prelude.

475.—Examples of interludes: D. 23b, ll. 1-10; 67a, l. 10-15.

476.— يقولون ما لا يفعلون مسبة من الله مسبوبة بها الشعراء
وما ذاك فيهم وحده بل زيادة يقولون ما لا يفعل الأمراء

D. 4b.

477.— لو لا عبيد الله قلنا ولم اخف رفق الجناح
يا مادم القوم لنا م وطالبا نيل الشحاح

D. 54a.

478.—There are between twenty and thirty poems of this kind.

479.— بخيل يصوم اضيافه فيبخل عنهم باجر الصيام
يدس الغلام فيوليههم جفاء فيشتم مولى الغلام
فيحتالوا بخلا لان يفتروا على رقت القول دون الطعام
لقد جاء باللوم من قصه وتم له البخل كل التام

D. 248b.

480.— لا تحسبن عرامي ان منيب به احدى المواعظ او بعض التجاريب
بل البوار الذي ما بعد موقعه نفع نوعظ ولا نفع بتجريب

D. 12b. /

481.—Aghânî 13-84.

482.—D. 27a.

483.—Risâlat el ghufrân 2-74.

484.—D. 70b.

485.—One of these was Ibrâhîm ibn el Mudabbar to whom he says:

اردد على قراطيسي ممزقة كيا تكون رؤوساً للساتيج

D. 48a.

and

رددت على مدحي بعد مطل

D. 67b.

he says⁴ to a number of other people:

قل للذين مدحتهم فكأنما مسخوا كلابا غير ذات خلاق
ردوا على صائفها سودتها نيكم بلا حق ولا استحقاق

D. 188b.

486.—He says:

ان كنت من جهل حق غير معتذر وكنت من رد مدحي غير متشب
فاعطني ممن الطرس الذي كتبت فيه القصيدة او كفارة الكذب

D. 26b.

487.—Incidentally:

قد مشقنا في قراطيسك هاتيك الرقاق

D. 196a.

اظن القراطيس في مصركم تخونها ريب دهر خؤون

D. 278a.

اتبخل بالقرطاس والخط عن اخ

D. 278b.

488.—See above, note 485.

489.—He says:

والقراطيس خافقات بايديهن كرهوب خافقات البنود

D. 69b, 1-18.

490.—He says:

يلاحظ دنياه فاحلى متاعها طواميرها في عينه وشموعها

D. 176b.

One may notice also *سهارقها* in D. 189b where *سهارق* is apparently the plural of *سهرى* of which the plural is said in Kazimirski's Dictionary to be, irregularly, *سهارى* and the word to mean a sheet of paper as well as a sheet of papyrus.

491.—The *diwāns* of Egypt, first written on scrolls (*ṣuhuf mudraja*), were written in parchment (or leather) books (*julūd*) under the Abbasids: then under Ja'far ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khālid paper (*kāghadh*) was brought in and came into general use (Maq. *Khīṭat* Wiet 2 33-4 Jahshiyārī Fol. 45b foot).

492.—منتحكما بيضاء في صدر حافظ وان مثلت سوداء في روى راقم

D. 259b.

493.—He says:

حسرتى للورى المك توب فيه مثل هدرك

D. 211a.

494.—He says:

رصيت مما كنت أملتة بأجر وراق وغرم الورى

D. 189a.

495.—He excuses himself for vocalising a poem in which he praised Ibn Bulbul. D. 27a. A commentary, whether by Ibn er Rūmī or some editor, is attached to a poem to 'Ubaidallāh ibn 'Abdallāh D. 36b. Of another poem it is said "He (Ibn er Rūmī) copied it out for him ('Ubaidallah ibn 'Abdallah) and explained its unusual expressions (*gharīb*) and he did the same for 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā D. 206a; He apologises to Ibn Bulbul for adding a commentary. D. 201b.

496.—*E.g.*, *badbakht* D. 171b, l. 9a, f; *mākhūrī* wine poetry D. 191a, l. 15; *durūz*, apparently seams D. 134a, l. 8; *akwāsh*, ears D. 150b, l. 15; *shabrūz* 134a, l. 22; *dastaband* 105b, l. 1, 68a, l. 17; *dastija* D. 91a, l. 3; *kadkhuda* 50a, l. 20; *farastuja* 49a, l. 2; *dastanbuya* D. 296b; *kurūd* 69a, l. 22; *bīl*, spade D. 214a, l. 15.

497.—He says:

وان سقطاتي في كتابي تتابعتم فلا تلحنى فيها جنيب على ذهني
ظلمت فان الحن فظلمك خلتي جنى زلتى والظلم شر من اللحن

D. 278b.

498.—He says:

لم احتشم كرها (اي القصيدة) عليك ولا سدى منها مواضع الخلل

D. 220b.

499.—Among the places where criticism of Ibn er Rūmī's poetry is spoken of are D. 21a. This poem contains the well-known line:

قد تحسن الروم شعراً ما احسنه العريب

; D. 53b, D. 76a.

He says:

ونكرتم ان كان صدر قصيده ذكرى غصن سعم وكثيبه

D. 30b.

500.—D. 216a.

501.—Page 289.

502.—1-255.

503.—Page 241.

504.—12-23.

505.—Ansāb 263a.

506.—2-73.

507.—B.M. Or. 6587, Fol. 80 seq.

508.—Kashf ez Zūnūn, 1-498.

يُبَشِّرُ بِالْقُرْآنِ الَّذِي قَدْ نَحْنُ بِأَنْتَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ خَيْرَ الْأَسْمَاءِ
ظَهَرَتْ بِمَا بَقِيَ فِي سِتْرِكَ نَهْدٌ وَمَا كَانَ لَوْ جَزَدَتْهُ بِكَ هَامٌ

وَقَالَ

فِي ذِي قَافٍ بَتِ طَوْلُوتُ إِلَيْهِ

يَا أَيُّهَا الْعَرَبُ الَّذِي قَدِ رَتَّ لَهُ بِالْيَمْرِ وَالْبَرَكَاتِ سِتْرُ الْعَجَمِ
اسْعُدِي بِمَا كَسَّوْهُمَا بِأَلْأَنْظَارِ تَبَا فَوْقَ الْمَطَالِبِ وَالْهَمِ
ظَهَرَتْ بِمَا فِي نَظَرِهَا بِحُجَّةٍ وَمَيِّزَهَا نَبْلًا وَعَقِيهَا حَرَمٌ
شَمْسُ الْعَوْنِ رَفَّتْ إِلَى قُرَى الرَّجَاءِ فَتَكَشَّفَتْ بِهَا عَيْنُ الدُّنْيَا الظُّلَمِ

وَقَالَ

يُعِينُهُ بِالْفِطْرِ

فِيهِ النَّاسُ أَنْ تَهْمَا فِي الْفِطْرِ لَمْ تَمْ بِالْغَارِ أَكْلُ الطَّعَامِ
وَرَأَيْنَا الْأَنَامَ يَفْرُخُ فِي الْفِطْرِ بِعَادَاتِهِ مِنَ الْأَطْعَامِ
أَيُّدُ اللَّهِ تُلْكُهُ وَرَعَاهُ وَسَعَاهُ وَخَاطَبُهُ مِنَ الْأَسْمَاءِ
فَهُوَ الْمَرْجِيُّ لِأَنَّهُ يُعْضِدُ اللَّهُ بِهِ مَا وَفَى مِنَ الْأَسْلَامِ

وَقَالَ فِيهِ

وَمَا كُنْتَ لِحُكْمِي فَاسِخًا زَيْنُ الْعَرَبِ لَوْ كُنَّا إِذْ خَلَقْتَ لَدَيْكَ الدَّلَاجُ
مَنْ سَمِعْنَا الْعَاوَنَ فِي ذَلِكَ أَمْ يَحْيَى نَقَّاسُ مَا كَانَ الْإِذْ
أَجَاذَ وَأَنْ تَرْتَمِي الرُّمُوزَ وَنَحْنُ بِجَفِّ عَيْنِنَا لِحُكْمِ
مَوْلَاكَ مُتَمَلِّقُونَ وَبَطْلَانِي وَجْهِي فَصَانِي وَلِكِ الْفَصَاءِ بَاطِلُ
عَلَى دَاهٍ مِنْ بِنْدِ ذِكِّ شَيْءٍ لَهُ وَأَوْسَى بِأَنْوَاعِ الْعَرْشِ
فَكَرَّ عَيْنَا أَلَسْتَ بِكَ حَكَمٌ تَمُورُكَ بِخَلْقِي مِنْكَ الزُّنُودُ
فَأَبْ لَأَا وَحُصْنُ جَانَةٍ وَأَنْتَ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ الْعِزُّ فَانْجِ

وَقَالَ بَمَلْحٍ

وَابْنُ لُحَيْدٍ فِي مَدْحِهِ فَلَا يَنْفِي وَنُفَيْتَ بِهِ حُجَّتِي الْحَقِّقَتِ الزَّالِيَةً
كَيْ تَطْلُبَ الْبَعْدَ مَا زَالَ أَمْسُهُ مِنَ النَّجْمِ مَا عَنِيَ بِمَا لَيْسَ بِهَا
الْمُخْتَصَرُّ لَا تَلْطَفْ طَائِفَتِي وَأَبْصُرْ مِنَ الْعَيْشِ وَأَهْلَهَا
وَأَرْأَى كَيْدَ الْخَيْسَرِ وَمَدَانَةَ مَا تَجَسَّسْتُ عَلَى مَا لَا يَحْتَسِبُ
وَلَا تَبْ سَهْدِي ضَالِحًا وَأَنْتَ فَحْصِي مُنَوَّمًا وَجَيْشِي رَاغِبًا
عَنْدَ الْعَرَبِ وَمَا يَرَى

وَقَالَ مَلْحُ أَبُو الْيَلْبِ

[illegible]

وَأَعْنَى الْقَمَرِ وَحَاطَ الْعَقَى مَا لَمْ يَخْطُ وَالْبَدَدُ شَيْءٌ
 عِنْدَ الْإِلَهِ مِنْ عَذَابٍ لَا إِلَهَ خَيْرُ الْمُلُوكِ وَخَيْرُ السُّوَبِ
 فَأُصْحَى وَأَسَى وَقَدْ اجْتَمَعَتْ عَلَيْهِ بَاهُوَاهُ مِنَ الْفَسَادِ
 وَظَلُّوا وَبَاتُوا بِهِ أَمِينٌ فِي ظِلِّ عِشْرِ لَيْلِ الْوَرْدِ
 لَيْلِ الْيَهْنِ إِذْ تَرَاهَا سَعُورًا وَرَدَّهَا وَمَا أَنْ تَرَى مِنْ غِنَى
 يَدَاهُ يَمِينًا لِحَنَّهُ إِذَا شَاءَ عَلَى الظُّبَى بِالْعَلَقِ
 وَطُورًا شِمَالًا لِكَنَّهُ إِذَا شَاءَ مَحْمَدٌ وَاللَّيْ وَأَسْبَغُ
 مَهِيْبٌ إِذَا سَارَ فِي جَيْشِهِ وَقَدْ لَاحَ حُكُوكُهُ فَأَمَّا
 أَشَارَتْ إِلَيْهِ قُلُوبُ الْوَنُكِ وَكُنَّ النَّارُ وَغَضِبَ الْحَدُوفُ
 بِالسَّبَبِ فَالْتَمَسَ رَفْدَهُ فَإِنَّكَ تَقْرُبُ مَا تَحْرَقُ
 وَهَلْ تَتَعَدَّى الرِّشَاءُ أَمْ تَزِيدُ الْفَرَاتِ إِذَا مَا مَهِنْ
 الْأَفَارِجَهُ وَآخِشَهُ إِنَّهُ هُوَ الْغَيْثُ فِيهِ الْحَيَا وَالصَّبْرُ
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 هُوَ الْيَقِينُ أَنْتَ الْيَقِينَةُ لِرَأْسِكَ أَوْ رَأْسِ قَرْنٍ فَاقْ
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