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PhD thesis

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IBN BASSĀM AS A LITERARY HISTORIAN,  
A CRITIC AND A STYLIST:  
A STUDY OF AL-DHAKHIRA.

BY  
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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my family, to whose devoted efforts and sacrifices I owe the fact that I have been able to extend the period of my education thus far.

وعلم الله تعالى أنّ هذا الكتاب لم يصدر إلا عن صدر مكلوم الأحناء ، وفكر  
خامد الذكاء ، بين دهر متلوّن تلوّن الحرباء ، لانتباضي كان من شنتريين  
قاصية الغرب ، مفلول الغرب ، مروّع السرب .

ابو الحسن علي بن بسّام الشنترييني

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Miss Brenda Robinson carried out the typing. I thank her for putting up with my illegible handwriting.

Finally, I should mention the kindness of all my family for their moral and financial support. To all I extend my sincere thanks and my deep appreciation.

ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to study the celebrated literary-historical and critical work, al-Dhakhīra of Ibn Bassām, from a number of aspects that have until now received either inadequate attention or no attention at all. It is divided into two parts, the first of which is concerned principally with the author and his work in their historical and critical context. There are six main sections in this part:

The cultural background of the fourth and fifth centuries;

Ibn Bassām's life;

Ibn Bassām's education and literary career;

The background to al-Dhakhīra;

Ibn Bassām's regional system and some of his critical attitudes;

Ibn Bassām's literary criticism.

The second part consists of an attempt to analyse, in different ways, a number of sample passages of Ibn Bassām's writing, in order to examine the techniques underlying his artistic composition. It is not claimed that the means by which his effects were obtained were necessarily self-conscious; it seems, however, worthwhile to investigate any characteristics that can be identified and analysed, if we are to be able fully to evaluate and appreciate the literary qualities of the best Arabic prose-writing. This part concludes with a summary of the characteristics of Ibn Bassām's style that emerge from the detailed analyses.

Finally, the names of all the literary figures dealt with in al-Dhakhīra are listed in an appendix.

INTRODUCTION

Ibn Bassām's al-Dhakhīra has always constituted one of the principal sources for knowledge of the literary scene in al-Andalus during the sixth century of the Hijra. As such, it has necessarily attracted a good deal of attention and been subjected to a certain amount of close study. Much of this attention and study, however, has been devoted to it in its capacity as a source-work, that is to say that scholars, of all periods, have studied it, and cited it, for the sake of the information that it contains. It has received far less attention than it deserves - if we except a mass of incidental, and somewhat general, acclaim - as a work of literature in its own right. One of the objects of this thesis is to attempt, in however limited a way, to rectify this omission.

al-Dhakhīra is, ostensibly, a work of literary history: at the same time a collection of almost two hundred biographies and a comprehensive anthology of the literature of the author's own country in his own time. It is a massive work, consisting of 4 volumes, each divided into 2 parts, and it admirably fulfils its ostensible function, while, inevitably, telling us a good deal about the author's own tastes and prejudices. It is, however, much more than a mere work of literary history. Ibn Bassām has a claim to be one of the greatest stylists of any period in Arabic literature; it would be difficult to match the fluency and limpidity of his saj<sup>c</sup> (the medium in which all the most important parts of his masterpiece are written), as a

sustained tour-de-force, anywhere else in Arabic. Of course, other authors sometimes rise to the same heights, and it must be admitted that he himself sometimes disappoints. Nonetheless, the overall effect of his prose-writing in al-Dhakhīra is such as to compel admiration, even in those who are least attracted to this artificial and often affected style of composition.

This thesis falls into two distinct parts. Part I attempts to deal with al-Dhakhīra as a work of literary history and criticism: to set it in its historical and critical context and, to some extent, to evaluate it. In doing so, it necessarily draws upon the work of others in this field; at the same time, however, it endeavours to break new ground, to settle certain disputed questions, such as the dating of the work, and to consider aspects of it that have hitherto been neglected. Part II attempts to examine, in some detail, the literary qualities of the work, with particular emphasis on Ibn Bassām's stylistic technique. It had been hoped to add a further section, in which comparisons might be made between Ibn Bassām and other writers of saj<sup>c</sup>; unfortunately, considerations of both space and time precluded this. It is intended, however, that a study of this nature should be undertaken at a later date; in the meantime, perhaps the methods of analysis tried out here will be of interest, and even use, to others who wish to look closely into the ways in which Arab authors set about composing their prose.

PART I

IBN BASSĀM AND AL-DHAKHĪRA

THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE  
FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES



The cultural movement in al-Andalus blossomed during the period of the Caliphate of Córdoba. It included every sphere of scientific and literary activity, and one of its results was the creation of a distinct Andalusian scientific and literary character. There must have been a number of factors involved in the steady development and growth of this movement; it is these that I shall now attempt to examine. The role played by al-Nāṣir and his son was considerable; Córdoba, in his time, enjoyed stability and security, and this period may be considered the Golden Age of al-Andalus.

He provided the Andalusians with all their cultural requirements, in such matters as facilitating the purchase of books and encouraging teachers from the east to settle in the west. Subsequently he urged scholars to write books on all the various branches of knowledge, and particularly the linguistic sciences, which flourished under the tutelage of al-Qālī, who came to al-Andalus in 340 A.H. Prominent in this field were Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī and Ibn al-Qūṭiyya. Among the most eminent historians were Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Rāzī, nicknamed al-Tārīkhī, and <sup>c</sup>Arīb b. Sa<sup>c</sup>d. Scholars who devoted themselves to biography included Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Barr al-Qurṭubī, Ibn al-Farḍī, Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Marwānī and Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh al-Khushnī. In tafsīr and hadīth there were many celebrated scholars, such as Ibn Maḥāsin <sup>c</sup>Uthmān b. Muḥammad and Ibn al-Ḥajjām Ya<sup>c</sup>īsh b. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd, as there were also in fiqh, such as <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Abī Dulaym, Yaḥyā b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī and Mundhir b. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd al-Ballūṭī.

The star of philosophy was not dimmed, either, in that period; many philosophers came to the fore: Ṭarīf al-Rūṭī, Muḥammad b. Mufarrij al-Mu<sup>c</sup>āfirī, Rashīd b. Muḥammad and Ābān b. <sup>c</sup>Uthmān. The status of medicine was also notable. A whole host of skilled doctors appeared, such as Sa<sup>c</sup>īd b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Rabbih, Aḥmad b. Yūnus and his brother <sup>c</sup>Umar. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, known as al-Sirrī, and Abū Bakr b. <sup>c</sup>Īsā were distinguished in mathematics and engineering.

A modern scholar has remarked on the phenomena of the cultural life in al-Andalus at the time of the Caliphate of Córdoba, enumerating them thus:

- "1. This evident participation in most of the branches of knowledge, in fact, this palpable genius for most of the spheres of culture, so that we find Andalusians who were prominent in various different sciences and arts.
2. The manifest diffusion of free-thinking, and the encouragement and admiration of scholars, whatever views they might hold.
3. The attention paid by the majority of the Andalusians to the philosophical and natural sciences, such that this period may justly be counted among the very few in which it was possible for Andalusian culture to maintain a strong connection with philosophies and systems of natural science.
4. The strong connection with some Greek and Latin learning, by means of translations.
5. The appearance of an Andalusian national spirit in cultural life. This is fully evident in the concern shown with collecting the Andalusian (literary ?) heritage, with writing the history of al-Andalus and the biographies of its famous men, in the various fields - poets, scholars, judges,

grammarians and other littérateurs and thinkers".<sup>1</sup>

Other features that contributed to this flourishing were economic prosperity and political stability, and travelling within the country was easy. There were also many people rich enough to indulge their interest in learning and the rulers supported many who were not. Ḥāzim Khidr<sup>c</sup> Abd-Allāh<sup>2</sup> explains this cultural flowering in the eleventh century as being the result of the interest of various caliphs, who encouraged and protected learning and scholars to the extent that they sent parties of the latter to the east to study, and also to purchase books and authoritative traditions. The Kitāb al-Aghānī appeared in al-Andalus earlier than in the east, thanks to al-Ḥakam's willingness to pay an extremely high price for a copy.

al-Nāṣir and al-Ḥakam\* also encouraged the establishment of schools throughout al-Andalus and saw to it that they were supplied with books. The library of al-Ḥakam, which is supposed to have numbered 400,000 volumes<sup>3</sup>, was sold at the break-up of the caliphate and dispersed throughout al-Andalus. Other private libraries were dispersed at the same time, so that a sudden diffusion of resources of culture took place. Further factors were undoubtedly two concrete historical events, the destruction of al-Qayrawān and the Norman conquest of Sicily, which caused the immigration to al-Andalus of numerous literary and scholarly figures, such as Ibn Ḥamdīs and Abū al-<sup>c</sup>Arab al-Siqillī.

"The break down of the caliphate, political division, military degeneration and internecine wars among the Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if profoundly altered the cultural spectrum of al-Andalus.

The fragmentation that followed distributed the benefits of that civilization more evenly throughout the major cities of the land...Whereas before poets had flocked to Córdoba they were now welcomed in almost every petty capital of the former empire."<sup>4</sup>

The Mulūk al-Ṭawāif themselves played a vital role in this cultural diffusion through their constant support of writers, poets and scholars. In fact many of them were personally distinguished in one or more of these spheres, such as Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. <sup>c</sup>Abbād al-Qādī Abū al-Qāsim and his son <sup>c</sup>Abbād b. Muḥammad al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tadid bi-Allāh, called Abū <sup>c</sup>Umar, and al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid b. al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tadid. Furthermore the cultural development which al-Andalus underwent during this period was not restricted to one particular social class, but contributed to by various classes; women in particular played a prominent part. Although overshadowed by the caliphate of Córdoba, of which it was, in a sense, the fruition, the period was culturally one of the most distinguished in the history of al-Andalus:

فاشتمل هذا القطر الغربي لأول تلك المدة على بيتي حسب ، وجمهـوري أدب ، مملكتان من لخم وتجب ، مصرتا بلاده ، وأكثرتا رواده ، فأتاه العلم من كبل فح عميق ، وتبادره العلماء من بين سابق ومسبوق ، وكلما نشأ من هذين البيتين أمير كان الى العلم أطلب ، وفي أهله أرغب ، والسلطان سوق يجلب اليه ، ما ينفق لديه ، حتى اجتمع في الجانب الغربي على ضيق أكنافه ، وتحيف العدو قصمه الله لأطرافه ، ما باهى الأقاليم العراقية ، وأنسى بلغاء الدولة الديلمية فقلما رأيت فيه ناثرا غير ماهر ، ولا شاعرا غير قاهر ، دعوا حرّ الكلام فلبى ، وأرادوه فما تآبى ، وطريقتهم في الشعر الطريقة المثلى التي هي طريقة البحثري في السلاسة والامتانة ، والعذوبة والرصانة .

وأنا أورد في هذا القسم بعض ما انتهى إليّ من حرّ كلامهم ، في نشرهم ونظامهم مشوبا ذلك كله بفتون فوائد ومعارف من أخبار يحسن الوقوف عليها . على أن الذي بلغني من شعر كلّ قطر ، ثماد من بحر ، ونقطة من قطر ، ولقد فاتني كثير من الكتاب والوزراء ، وجملة من أعيان الشعراء ، ممن كان في ذلك التاريخ ، منهم من لم أسمع بذكره ، ومنهم من لم يسمح نقدي بإثبات ما بلغني من شعره ، وربما أجريت ذكر أحدهم غير مبوّب عليه ، ولا مشير إليه ، اما لشيء أجاد فيه ، واما أن يتعلق ذكره بذكر من أجريه ، وقد أبدأ بذكر الرجل لمكانه من الاحسان ، لا لتقدمه من الزمان ، أو ما يدعو اليه القول من نسق خبر ، أو موجب نظر ، فأول ما ابتدأت به من أهل حمص آل عبّاد لنباهة ذكرهم ، مع جودة شعرهم<sup>5</sup>.

The more prominent of these two courts was that of the Banū<sup>c</sup> Abbād in Seville, an aristocratic Arab family, descended from Lakhm, who greatly favoured literature, the son of the founder of the dynasty, al-Qādī Muḥammad b. Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl b. Abbād, himself being a poet, as was his son al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tadīd, whose dīwān was collected by his nephew. His grandson al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid was also a poet king, and al-Marrākushī says of him: "He would not appoint any minister unless he was a literary man and a poet, and greatly talented, and thus he assembled a collection of poet-ministers such as no-one else had ever assembled"<sup>6</sup>.

He was the most distinguished poet among the Mulūk al-Ṭawāif. "He was serious only when writing elegies and excellent only when writing love poems". His sons and his daughter , Buthayna, were poets as well. Ibn Bassām wrote a monograph on his poetry entitled al-I<sup>c</sup>timād<sup>c</sup> alā mā Saḥḥ

min Shi<sup>c</sup>r al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abbād, which is lost.

Among the celebrated literary figures at the <sup>c</sup>Abbādid court was Abū Ḥafṣ b. <sup>c</sup>Umar b. al-Ḥasan al-Hawzanī. "The possessor of (Seville's) soul, the light of her sun, the tooth that is revealed when she smiles, and the sole man in her by whose hand affairs are ravelled and unravelled". Abū Bakr b. <sup>c</sup>Ammār, the most prominent poet at the court, apart from al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid himself, "was a poet who could not be competed with, an eloquent man who could not be vied with; when he lauded, he brought down the goats (from the mountains), and when he satirised, he made the solid rocks listen; when he wantoned, particularly on the subject of adolescent boys, he produced eloquence that could not be expressed in words".

The Banū al-Afṭas of Badajoz, like the Banū <sup>c</sup>Abbād, were a cultured dynasty, and numbered chiefly among their scholarly and literary members al-Muḏaffar and al-Mutawakkil.

al-Mar ākushī refers to al-Muḏaffar thus: "al-Muḏaffar was one of the most dedicated people in collecting together the various literary sciences, especially grammar, language, poetry, anecdotes and history. He compiled a book in the style of al-Ikhtiyārāt of al-Rūḥī and the <sup>c</sup>Uyūn al-Akḥbār of Ibn Qutayba. This book, called al-Muḏaffarī, consisted of ten parts.<sup>7</sup>

Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abdūn was the most celebrated of those who attached themselves to the Banū al-Afṭas. Among the others whom we know of were:

1. Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ayman, described by Ibn Bassām as follows:

وكان أبو عبد الله محمد بن أيمن بأفئنا أعجوبة الدهر ، وفريد العصر ،  
وفارس ميدان النظم والنثر ، اشتهر في حملة الأعلام ، اشتهار البدر في السماء ،  
وتلاعب بغرائب الكلام ، تلاعب الأفعال بالأسماء .

2. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maqānā al-Ishbūnī, who was famous for his eulogising Ibn Ḥammūd of Málaga.

The court of the Banū al-Afṭas was notable for being frequented by a number of literary families, in which ability descended from one generation to the next. The Banū al-Qubṭūrunna were an example; one of their more prominent members was al-Wazīr Abū Bakr <sup>c</sup>Abd Al<sup>c</sup>Azīz b. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd al-Baṭalyūsī, who was secretary to al-Mutawakkil b. al-Afṭas and then, after the fall of the dynasty, to Ibn Tāshfīn. In the section denoted to him, Ibn Bassām refers to the Banū al-Qabṭūrna as follows:

"They were among the cavaliers of wounds and speech, and the carriers of swords and pens, of noble family and distinguished origin. They received knowledge, one great man from another, and they transmitted it one to another".<sup>8</sup>

Among the poets of lesser acclaim, we may mention Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. al-Bayn, who wrote in the style of Muḥammad Ibn Hānī, and Dhū al-WiZāratayn Abū Muḥammad b. Hūd.

The Banū Ṣumādiḥ were also great patrons of poets and scholars. Their capital, Almería, was an active scholarly centre. al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taṣim b. Ṣumādiḥ in particular was famous for his encouragement of literature. He himself was an adīb of great capabilities and used to hold his own Majālis for discussion every Friday. Among the poets closely linked with al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taṣim were Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Ḥaddād, Ibn <sup>c</sup>Ubādah,

Ibn Mālik al-As<sup>c</sup>ad b. Ballīṭa and Abū al-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Muḥaddith.<sup>9</sup>

The Banū Ṣumādih showed as great an interest in adab and poetry as the Banū <sup>c</sup>Abbād and the Banū al-Aftas. The sons of al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taṣim were poets, in particular Abū Marwān <sup>c</sup>Ubayd Allāh, called <sup>c</sup>Izz al-Dawla, who sent many of his poems to his father, while he was a prisoner of Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn. A number of the distinguished ministers of the Banū Ṣumādih were also considerable poets, among them al-Wazīr al-Kātib <sup>c</sup>Umar b. al-Shahīd al-Tujībī, called Abū Ḥafṣ, and Abū al-<sup>c</sup>Abbās b. al-<sup>c</sup>Arīf (1088-1141) about whom al-Ḥumaydī says that he was a famous poet with great authority in literature, was fluent in speech and respected by the Umarā' of his country. <sup>10</sup>

Of the other Mulūk al-Ṭawāif, we may mention the Banū Dhī al-Nūn. Although there is no indication that they played a large role in encouraging adab, a number of famous writers were attracted to their court, among them b. Arfa<sup>c</sup> Rās, a writer of Muwashshahāt, Ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>īd, the author of the well-known Ṭabaqāt al-Umam, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. Fattūh, the author of Kitāb al-Ighrāb fī Raqā'iq al-Ādāb, and the botanist Ibn al-Baṣṣāl al-Ṭulayṭulī.<sup>11</sup>

In fact, it seems that the Banū Dhī al-Nūn were more interested in encouraging the sciences than in encouraging poetry and literature, and that they were not very generous to practitioners of these latter. Indeed, al-Māmūn b. Dhī al-Nūn is described by b. Ḥayyān as being a miser, who did not offer any prizes and from whom no-one obtained anything, so that his palace was filled with unskilled poets.<sup>12</sup>



The lesser dynasties in the south, such as the Banū Munād and the Birzāliyyūn, were mainly concerned with warlike activities and gave very little attention or patronage to literature or learning. The only exceptional example was Mujāhid al-<sup>c</sup>Āmirī, King of Denia and the Balearics, who was unlike the rest of al-Fityān al-<sup>c</sup>Āmiriyya and was described by Ibn Ḥayyān as unique among the kings of his age, since his court was attended by a great number of scholars and poets. Ibn Bassām mentioned him as a well-rounded scholar who was devoted to the study and criticism of poetry but was never generous to poets. Dhū al-Wizāratayn <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṭāhir, to whom Mujāhid entrusted the governorate of Murcia, was also a prominent writer and scholar. His style was compared to that of al-Ṣāhib b. <sup>c</sup>Abbād. Ibn al-Abbār says that he was superior to all other scholars and Udabā' of his time.<sup>13</sup>

In Zaragoza, Mundhir b. Yaḥyā al-Tujībī was very generous to poets and was therefore praised by many of them, as for example, by Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī, in his qasīdah:

بشراك من طول الترحل والسرى      صبح يروح السفر لاح فأسفرا

The rule of Yaḥyā al-Tujībī was short-lived and was soon superseded by that of the Banū Hūd, who greatly encouraged all kinds of learning and made Zaragoza a centre of literary activity, similar to Seville under the Banū <sup>c</sup>Abbād. In fact, some of the Banū Hūd were themselves scholars, for example, Abū Ja<sup>c</sup>far al-Muqtadir and his son al-Mutamin, both of whom were prominent in philosophy, mathematics and astronomy. Among the most celebrated

scholars in Zaragoza in the 11th century was Ibn Bājja who wrote extensively, leaving about twenty-seven books on various subjects, and whose writing had a great impact on the philosophical ideas of Abū al-Walīd b. Rushd. Another philosopher and writer in Zaragoza was Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭushī, the author of Sirāj al-Mulūk, who lived during the reign of al-Musta<sup>c</sup>īn b. al-Mu<sup>t</sup>amin. 17

Besides the philosophical activity in Zaragoza, there was a lively literary movement, headed by such poets as Abū al-Faḍl b. Ḥisdāy about whom Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṭāhir wrote:

انّ أبا الفضل له فضله      وأين في الناس فتى مثله

Poetic ability appears not to have been confined to court circles.

The 5th century was undoubtedly the most prolific in literature in the whole history of al-Andalus. Ibn Bassām is not the only source we have for this period; we have many others, such as Qalā'id al-Iqyān and Matmah al-Anfus of Ibn Khāqān, Bughyat al-Multamis of al-Dabbī, Nafh al-Tīb of al-Maqqarī, A<sup>c</sup>māl al-A<sup>c</sup>lām, and al-Ihāṭa fī Akhbār Gharnāṭa, al-Hulla al-Sirā' of Ibn al-Abbār, Jadhwat al Muqtabas of al-Ḥumaydī, al-Sila of Ibn Bashkawāl, al-Dhayal wa -al-Takmila lil-Sila of <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik al-Marrākushī.

Although the general pattern during the period of the Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if was one of great interest in, and encouragement of, scholars, littérateurs and philosophers, nevertheless, as has been indicated, there were some kings who did not conform to it. Of these, the best example is al-Mustakfī of Córdoba, who was described by Ibn Bassām as being illiterate,

idle, and notorious for his addiction to alcohol. During his reign, Córdoba was transformed from a thriving centre of culture into a stagnant city. Some of the Berber Kings were more interested in efficiency in warfare than in encouraging literature and knowledge. There was in addition, a number of poets and scholars who preferred to keep aloof from involvement in political life and tended to express their ideas simply in letters to one another. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of these people, the most prominent of whom were Ibrāhīm b. Khafājah and Ibn Sharaf al-Qayrawānī. al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tadid found great difficulty in persuading Ibn Sharaf to join his court and the latter expressed his attitude in the bayt:

أحبك في البتول وفي أبيها      ولكتي أحبك من بعيد

Unusually, women also participated in the literary flowering of al-Andalus. It should be mentioned that women, in al-Andalus, contrary to those in the East, enjoyed a large degree of freedom, and this played a large part in their contribution. Some of them were private tutors to the daughters of Kings, some even had their own majālis. Among the prominent women of the 5th century were Ḥafṣa bint al-Ḥājj, Umm al-Karam bint al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taṣim b. Ṣumādiḥ and Zaynab al-Mariyya.<sup>15</sup> al-Maqqarī also mentions al-Ghassāniyya al-Bajjāniyya, whom he considers an adībah of the 4th century, but who, according to Muṣṭafā al-Shak<sup>c</sup>ah, lived during the fifth century.<sup>16</sup> In Granada, a number of prominent women poets appeared, the most famous of whom was Ḥamda bint Ziyād al-Muaddib, known as

Khansā' al-Andalus.

In Granada also, we hear of Nazhūn al-Gharnāṭiyya, who was famous for her elegant style in poetry. In Seville, there was also a number of renowned women poets, among them Maryam bint Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb al-Anṣārī and Buthayna bint al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid b. <sup>c</sup>Abbād. However, the most famous of the poetesses of al-Andalus in the 5th century was Wallāda bint al-Mustakfī bi-Allāh, who is always associated with Ibn Zaydūn. She lived for most of her life in Córdoba, where her career flourished.

Of lesser fame were Muhja al-Qurṭubiyya al-<sup>c</sup>Abbādiyya, who was a concubine given as a gift to al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid b. <sup>c</sup>Abbād by Mujāhid al-<sup>c</sup>Āmirī of Denia, and I<sup>c</sup>timād, the concubine of al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid b. <sup>c</sup>Abbād, known as al-Rūmaykiyyah. As an indication of the high degree of brilliance attained by women in poetry, we are told that al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid b. <sup>c</sup>Abbād went on a river journey accompanied by his Wazīr, Ibn <sup>c</sup>Ammār. It was a windy day, and Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abbād asked Ibn <sup>c</sup>Ammār to complete the hemistich:

صنع الريح من الماء زرد

The latter could not answer instantly, but a woman washing clothes on the bank broke in with:

أيّ درع لقتال لو جمـد

Besides the comparatively few famous women poets and scholars, there were many royal concubines, too, who were greatly interested in poetry, literature and learning. This was partly due to the fact that they lived in the palaces which were the centres of literary activity. Most of

them made the most of the easy economic circumstances in which they lived and of the abundance of books that was available to them and became experts in literature. In some cases, the prices of concubines were greatly enhanced by their wide knowledge. It is said that Hudhayl b. Khalaf b. Razīn, one of the Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if, paid three thousand dinars for a slave girl belonging to al-Ṭayyib Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh al-Kinānī. She is described by Ibn Ḥayyān as: "the most elegant girl of her age, with unmatched qualities in singing, adab, literature, poetry, nahw and playing with swords and daggers"<sup>14</sup>. There were also at that time many other Rūmiyyāt slave-girls who were "stars in the heaven of understanding and cavaliers in the arena of learning". Ibn Bassām cites part of a treatise by Ibn al-Kittānī concerning his educating and supervising four slave girls whom he raised from a state of complete ignorance to such a level of erudition that they were able not only to copy a large number of books on various aspects of learning, but were even able to indicate the correct inflexions of the words that they copied. This level of education was also attained by male slaves; Ibn Abī <sup>c</sup>Āmir had a slave boy who was unequalled in learning. He disputed with Ṣā<sup>c</sup>id and silenced him. Ibn Bassām also refers, on this subject, to the book by Ḥabīb, Kitāb al-Istizhār wa-al-Mughālaba <sup>c</sup>alā man Ankara Fadā'il al-Saqāliba which contained many other similar stories.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Faṭīs, for example, kept six female scribes at work copying books that he could not buy; and very high prices were paid for prized works copied by them.<sup>19</sup>

About one century after Ibn Bassām, al-Shaqundī wrote another work exalting the merits of al-Andalus over those of al-Maghrib. A good part of this work deals with the major cities of al-Andalus, and their superiority to those of al-Maghrib; the larger part, however, consists of a comparison of the scholars and literatures of both countries. This, while dealing with all fields of knowledge, concentrates on the outstanding poets of al-Andalus, and quotes generously from their poems. This procedure had already been adopted by Ibn Bassām (d. 542) in al-Dhakhīra and Ibn Khāqān (d. 529/533) in Qalā'id al-<sup>c</sup>Iqyān. Both men dealt mainly with contemporaries and immediate predecessors. Among those whom al-Shaqundī mentioned in his treatise were the Fuḡahā' Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, Abū Bakr Ibn al-<sup>c</sup>Arabī, Abū al-Walīd b. Rushd al-Akbar, Abu al-Walīd b. Rushd al-Aṣghar, Abū <sup>c</sup>Umar b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Barr, author of Kitāb al-Istizhār and Kitāb al-Tamhīd, and Abū Bakr b. al-Jadd, the linguist Ibn Sīdah, author of Kitāb al-Muhkam and Kitāb al-Samā' wa al-<sup>c</sup>ālam and al-Mukhassas, scholars of Naḥw such as Ibn al-Sayyid al-Baṭalyūsī, historians such as Ibn Ḥayyān and Udabā' such as al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān, Ibn Abī al-Khiṣāl, Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī, Ibn Wahbūn, Ibn Shuhayd, and Ibn Bassām himself. In short, it can be said that al-Shaqundī's treatise was more concerned with the literary than the scientific merits of the scholars of al-Andalus. It also gives us a detailed account of the motives and reasons behind the flowering of the last two centuries.

It is interesting to note that this treatise was the result of a controversy between him and a Berber who claimed the superiority of North Africa over Al-Andalus. In an apologetic vein, al-Shaqundi states that to place al-Maghrib above al-Andalus is like giving precedence to the left hand over the right hand or like claiming that night is brighter than day. He then enquires whether there is a man like so-and-so who excels in this or that discipline, and he proceeds to enumerate a large number of talented individuals who, in his estimation, would do honour to any court anywhere in the Muslim world.<sup>20</sup>

He makes it quite clear, with a wealth of detail, that the Banū<sup>c</sup> Abbād were pre-eminent in the literary flowering of the 5th century, and he praises their efforts in the patronage of philosophers and scholars. He also describes the literary decline under the Almoravids. As an instance of the lack of understanding of literature shown by Yūsuf Ibn Tāshfīn, he relates the story of al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid b. <sup>c</sup>Abbād's asking him if he knew what had been said by certain poets who had just recited eulogies of him. "I don't know", replied Ibn Tāshfīn, "but they wanted bread". Furthermore, when al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid wrote a letter to him, in which he quoted the two bayts of Ibn Zaydūn:

بنتم وبتا فما ابتلت جوانحنا      شوقا اليكم ولا جئت مآقينا  
حالت لفقكم آيامنا فغدت      سودا و كانت بكم بيضا ليالينا

Ibn Tāshfīn asked the person reading the letter to him if al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid was requesting him to send him black and white slave girls. The reader explained the point of the lines,

and Ibn Tāshfīn then replied to al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid "our tears flow for you and our heads ache after your departure".<sup>21</sup>

This is somewhat unfair of al-Shaqundī, since there is, in the first place, no real justification for generalising about the Almoravids' comprehension of literature from that of Ibn Tāshfīn; and in the second place, there was no particular reason why Ibn Tāshfīn should have taken any interest in poetry, and many reasons, given his religious outlook and his political and military preoccupations, why he should not. al-Shaqundī is concerned to elevate the people of al-Andalus, at the expense of the Moroccans, and he should not be altogether trusted as an authority in this respect. In fact, according to <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Wāhid al-Marākushī, Ibn Tāshfīn used to invite literary men in large numbers to his court, such as Abū al-Qāsim b. al-Jadd, called al-Aḥḍab, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Qabṭūr *nukh*, Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī al-Khiṣāl and his brother Abū Marwān, Abū Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Abdūn.<sup>22</sup> Also, when Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm, the Almoravid, succeeded to the rule of Zaragoza, he respected Ibn Bājja and gave him an unequalled position, despite his heretical tendencies.<sup>23</sup> Thus scientific and literary activities continued much as before, and many of the poets who appeared during the period of the Mulūk al-Ṭawāif continued to flourish under the Almoravids. Palencia says: "Andalusian poetry did not die during the period of the Almoravids but in fact adapted itself to the new political and social circumstances. The culture of al-Andalus remained distinctive and the successors of Yūsuf Ibn Tāshfīn were so greatly influenced by it that they appeared to be more Andalusian than African."<sup>24</sup>



1. Aḥmad Haykal, 192-193. Aḥmad Amin 82.
2. Ḥāzm Khidr <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh, 40-63.  
\*Iḥsan <sup>c</sup>Abbās, 43-52. Muḥammad Labīb, 55. <sup>c</sup>Abd Al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz  
<sup>c</sup>Atīq, 154-156. Ibrāhīm Baydūn, 312-326.
3. R.A. Nicholson, 419.
4. James T. Monroe, 17.
5. Ibn Bassām 2, 1, 12-13.
6. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Wahid al-Marākushī, 74, Muḥammad labīb 68.
7. Ibid, 52, Mustafā al-Shak<sup>c</sup>a, 104.
8. Ibn Bassām 2, 2, 753-754.
9. Ibn al-Abbār 2, 82-83.
10. al-Ḥumaydī, 302.
11. Muḥammad <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh <sup>c</sup>Inān, 104. Ibn Bassām, 1, 2, 770.
12. Ibn Bassām, 1, 4, 136.
13. Ibn al-Abbār, 2, 118.
14. Muḥammad <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh <sup>c</sup>Inān, 284.
15. al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad Makki, 88-89. al-Maqqarī, 4, 169-287.  
Aḥmad Amīn, 3, 228-231.
16. Mustafā al-Shak<sup>c</sup>a, 144.
17. Ibn <sup>c</sup>Adhārī al-Marakushi 3, 307-308.
18. Ibn Bassām 3, 1, 320.
19. Ibn Bashkawāl, 1, 303-305.
20. al-Maqqarī 3, 186-224.
21. Ibid, 3, 190-191.
22. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Wahid al-Marākushī, 122-124.
23. Muḥammad <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh <sup>c</sup>Inān, 283.
24. García Gómez, 27-28.

IBN BASSĀM'S LIFE

At the beginning of the second half of the fifth century A.H. (eleventh century A.D.), al-Andalus witnessed the birth of one who would become a very distinguished literary historian, one of the most famous of the men of his time; that man was Abū al-Ḥasan <sup>1</sup>Alī Ibn Bassām al-Ṭaghlibī<sup>2</sup> al-Shantarīnī<sup>3</sup> al-Andalusī<sup>4</sup>.

Despite the abundance of references to Ibn Bassām which are made in the subsequent literature, where Ibn Bassām is frequently quoted and his work clearly relied upon, nevertheless it is virtually impossible to form a complete biography of the man from these.

He was a wealthy Lusitanian, born at Santarem during the rule of the Banū al-Afṭas, but, forced to leave in quest of a livelihood when the rule came to an end<sup>5</sup>, he earned his living with his pen<sup>6</sup>. He is said to have been of the tribe of Ṭaghlib. In fact, this is what Ibn Bassām himself asserts in his book al-Dhakhīra, where he reports writing to Abū al-Ḥakam <sup>7</sup>Amr Ibn Mudhhiḡ al-Ishbīlī.

|                                |                              |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| يا دوحة العلم والآداب والحكم   | يهني قدومك كلاً يا أبا الحسن |
| يا عمرو الآ لكى ألقاك في الحطم | مذ غبت ما رنقت عيني الى سنة  |
| وكنت من مذحج في السؤدد العمم   | ان كنت من تغلب في بيت سؤدها  |
| رحنا نسيبين في علم وفي فهم     | فلم يضرنا تنائي النسبتين وقد |
| لا الجيل جيلك فاعذرهم ولا تلم  | والعذر في زمن أن جئت في أمم  |

In the second of these verses about his descent from Taghlib he also indicates that his family was an honoured one.

Abū al-Ḥakam, in his turn, confirming that Abū al-Ḥasan belonged to Taghlib, replies:

من تغلب أنت في علياء مركزها      فمن يباريك في مجد وفي كرم  
قوم أراد ابن هند أن يضيئهم      فأوطأوا الرأس منه أخصم القدم

The foregoing verses make it evident that Ibn Bassām was of noble descent and wealthy family.

As we have mentioned before, despite the fact that al-Dhakhīra is regarded as a source for many literary scholars, none of these sheds enough light on Ibn Bassām's life to provide adequate information for a biography. This silence is open to two-fold interpretation:

1. According to al-Maqqarī, his fame was of such magnitude that a biography was considered unnecessary<sup>8</sup>.
2. Aḥmad Makki asks why the sources avoided writing in depth about Ibn Bassām, seeing that he had played an important role in defending his country, by setting down his thoughts (and wearing out his pen) to the glory of his nation. He believes that a large number of works were written about Ibn Bassām, but that the tragic catastrophies in al-Andalus caused the majority of these either to be burnt or buried<sup>9</sup>.

Ibn Bassām was born at Shantarīn<sup>10</sup> during the rule of the Banū al-Aftas. Shantarīn, which is nowadays called Santarem, is a town in Portugal located on the top of a very high mountain, the other side of which is a cliff face. It is situated about fifty kilometres from Lisbon on the right bank of the river Tagus, which floods its banks, providing fertile land for the peasants to grow grain and other crops.

The town is famous for its strategic position, and control of it changed hands a number of times. After being under the control of the Muslim king of Badajoz, al-Mutawakkil, it was taken by Alfonso VI, king of Leon in 486 A.H./1093 A.D. and given as a gift to Alfonso's relative, the king of Játiva. In turn, it was taken in 504 A.H./1111 A.D. by the Almoravids, under the leadership of Sīr Ibn Abī Bakr Ibn Tāshfīn, and then by Alfonso Henriques, king of Portugal, in 543 A.H./1148 A.D. Though the Almoḥades, under the leadership of Abū Yaḳūb Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min, tried to recapture it in 580 A.H./1184 A.D., they failed. The date assigned to this attempt by Ahmad Makki, 679 A.H./1280 A.D., must be wrong, because Abū Yaḳūb Yūsuf died on 28 Rabī' al-Awwal, 580 A.H.<sup>11</sup> It seems to me that Makki is confusing Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min Ibn 'Alī and Yūsuf Ibn Yaḳūb Ibn 'Abd al-Haqq, who died on 1 Dhū al-Qa'da, 706 A.H.

Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī and other scholars called Ibn Bassām.

There are in fact many literary scholars called Ibn Bassām, which leads sources astray and causes them to attribute al-Dhakhīra to the wrong one. Among those who commit this error is Hājji Khalīfah<sup>12</sup>, who attributes al-Dhakhīra to the Baghdadī poet, Abū

al-Ḥasan Ibn Bassām al-Bassāmī<sup>13</sup>. I think that Ḥājji Khalīfah confuses the two scholars because of the similarity of the kunyas and the isms, in spite of the great differences between them in respect of period and homeland. Whilst Ismāʿīl Bāshā al-Baghdādī draws our attention to the mistake of Ḥājji Khalīfah, he nevertheless makes a similar mistake in considering that Ibn Bassām was from Santa Maria<sup>14</sup>.

Ibn Bassām himself points out in al-Dhakhira that the similarity between his name and that of the Baghdādī poet causes some confusion. He narrates an instance in this regard which also shows his sense of humour and his quick wit. He says: "When for the first time I went to see Ibn ʿAbdūn, the minister, who was surrounded by his companions, after having heard my name from certain of my friends, he asked me: " 'Are you really ʿAlī Ibn Bassām?' 'Yes', I replied. 'Do you still satirise your father, Abū Jaʿfar, and your brother, Jaʿfar in your verses?' he asked. I asked him: 'Are you 'Abd al-Majīd?' 'Yes', he replied. I asked again: 'Does Ibn Munādhir still write love-poetry to you?' All who were present laughed at this riposte. I have said that ʿAlī Ibn Bassām was one of the most intelligent men of his time, and that no-one, whether Amīr, Wazīr, or even a member of the poet's own family, young or old, was safe from his satire. "

ʿAbd al-Majīd was one of the most handsome people of his time, and Ibn Mundādhir loved him and composed love-poetry to him, such as the ode which contains this verse:

فلو ان الأيام أخذن حيا      لعلاء أخذن عبد المجيد

'Abd al-Majīd died in the prime of his youth at the age of twenty.

This anecdote seems to indicate that Ibn 'Abdūn was on good terms with Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī, probably on account of his education and literary reputation.

al-Bustānī mentions a third Ibn Bassām. He said: "We do not know anything about Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Bassām, except that he was skilful in his job as muhtasib, probably in Egypt in the thirteenth or fourteenth century".<sup>16</sup>

A modern scholar Muhammad Tāhir Ibn 'Ashūr, who edited Sariqāt al-Mutanabbī wa-Mashkil Ma'anīhi, ascribed this book to Ibn Bassām; he says in his introduction: "As far as the identity of the author of this book is concerned, I am of the same opinion as other scholars, i.e. that he is the Ibn Bassām who also wrote al-Dhakhīra fī Mahāsin Ahl al-Jazīra, and I am inclined to rely on the statement on the last page of the manuscript: "written by Ibn Bassām al-Nahwī, the author of al-Dhakhīra"."

It seems to me that Ibn 'Ashūr's attribution of this book to our Ibn Bassām is mistaken, because Ibn Bassām does not mention it in the list of books written by him. The editor of al-Dhakhīra, Ihsān 'Abbās, rejects the attribution of it to Ibn Bassām, even though he gives no reason for doing so. No other source mentions it as by Ibn Bassām. Moreover, Ibn 'Ashūr mentions three other persons called Ibn Bassām. As has already been said, Ibn Bassām was born in Shantarīn, and we know from his own statement in the introduction to al-Dhakhīra that he spent his youth there. There

is disagreement, in the scanty sources, as to the date of his birth. One account gives this as 477 A.H.<sup>17</sup>, without mentioning any authority, while another source says that this was the year in which Ibn Bassām left Shantarīn for Lisbon<sup>18</sup>. Since Ibn Bassām himself says that he was in Lisbon in that year, it can hardly have been the year of his birth<sup>19</sup>. Ibn Bassām's statement also appears to refute Muhammad ʿAbdallāh ʿInān's attribution of his departure for Lisbon to the year 480 A.H.<sup>20</sup>.

This mistake may be ascribed to his negligent reading of al-Dhakhīra; he puts forward no evidence for his assertion. Furthermore Nykl's hypothesis that Ibn Bassām was born in 462 A.H./1069 A.D.<sup>21</sup>, in which Chejne follows him<sup>22</sup>, does not hold water, because it would entail his having been no more than fifteen years old when (as he reports) he attended the literary majālis in the palace of the Banū al-Aftas; this would demand an unlikely degree of maturity. The exact year of his birth is not known but it was probably about 450 A.H. This means that he would have been about 27 years old when he began attending the literary majālis. Ibn Bassām frequently travelled between Shantarīn and Lisbon during the seven or eight years that he remained in Portugal. He left reluctantly, shortly before the capture of Shantarīn by Alfonso VI, king of Castile, in 485 A.H./1092 A.D.<sup>23</sup>

In al-Dhakhīra he vividly depicts his hardships and bewilderment, and the prevailing political disorder, comparing it with the ease and comfort, and the political stability, that he had previously known:



"God (who is exalted) knows that this book issues only from a breast the ribs of which are injured, and from thought the sagacity of which is fading, amid an age whose colour changes like that of the chameleon. I retired from Santarem, in the far West, with notched edge and frightened breast, after my resources, old and new, were spent, and both external and internal things had suffered depletion, by reason of the continuous incursions of the peoples of the West upon us in the middle of that land. We were secure there, through nobility of descent, against lack of income, and the resources that we had stored away insured us against disturbance in the land until the Westerners destroyed that order for us. If a sandgrouse is left alone at night it will sleep. When fear increased there, I hastened out with my family onto the highway, towards a desert in which the eye disbelieves the ear and in which sufferings are donned as a garment".<sup>24</sup>

مهامه لم تصحب بها الذئب نفسه      ولا حملت فيها الغراب قوادمه

When Ibn Bassām came to Seville he was very dejected and the prey of many worries, as aptly expressed by the verse of al-Mutanabbī:<sup>25</sup>  
"The greater part of my soul was gone upon my arrival; I hoped that I could live on what was left of it".<sup>26</sup>

From the above quotation it can be inferred that Ibn Bassām criticised the society of Seville, bitterly bemoaning its people's complete preoccupation with material things, and their lack of interest in culture. As he says: "I had no society but my solitude, no sustenance but the remains of my travelling provisions;

culture was to be found there even less than loyalty, The cultivated man was rarer than the winter moon, and the value of everyone was merely what he possessed. The leaders of the society of every city were its ignoramuses and the sole aim of every individual was to keep his possessions secure, even if this caused his dignity to be dented, and to increase his gold and silver at the expense of his religion and honour".<sup>27</sup>

However, his hardships did not last for long. A new prince appeared with an interest in literature, to whom Ibn Bassām dedicated al-Dhakhīra. That Ibn Bassām did not specify the name of this prince has baffled scholars. Nykl claims that the name was not legible in the manuscript used by Dozy, but that it is likely that the Dhakhīra was dedicated to Abū Bakr Ibn Ibrāhīm, governor of Granada, the husband of 'Alī Ibn Yūsuf's sister.<sup>28</sup> Ihsān 'Abbās thinks that the dedicatee may have been Sīr Ibn Abī Bakr, who recaptured Seville while Ibn Bassām was writing his book.<sup>29</sup> We prefer Ihsān 'Abbās's theory to that of Nykl: first, because it is more plausible that he should have dedicated his book to Sīr Ibn Abī Bakr, with whom he was living in Seville, than to Abū Bakr Ibn Ibrāhīm, who was living in Granada, as Nykl mentions elsewhere; secondly, there is no evidence that Ibn Bassām ever went to Granada. If he did go to Granada and dedicate his book to its ruler, why should he not have mentioned this in his book, as he mentioned his first meeting with Ibn 'Abdūn? Thirdly, Ibn Bassām, in his introduction, describes the unpleasant time that he at first spent in Seville until the emergence of a new prince, whom he speaks of as embodying the hopes of the poor, as revivifying knowledge, and as representing a refuge for scholars. It seems more probable, since

Ibn Bassām says a great deal about this new king, that he may have made him the dedicatee of his book.

Ibn Bassām lived through the end of the period of the Mulūk al-Tawā'if, the whole of the Almoravid period, and the beginning of the Almohade period. Although during the first of these periods al-Andalus showed clear signs of military degeneration, economic instability, social disintegration and political conflict, as far as poetry was concerned, it entered upon the most brilliant period in its history.<sup>30</sup> This era was very fertile and prosperous for literature, the kings were very generous to men of letters and were also often themselves literary men and critics. This may explain why many more distinguished poets, literary men and philosophers appear in this period than at any other time during the history of al-Andalus, with the exception of the final period of the Caliphate.

Ibn Bassām was born in this literary environment; he spent some time in Badajoz with the Banū al-Aftas, and in al-Dhakhīra he speaks of their success in tempting poets and literary scholars to come and dwell there. Praising al-Muzaffar, he says that he was "the unique literary king of his time, who compiled and composed a sublime and distinguished work, in 50 volumes, entitled al-Muzaffarī, containing arts, sciences, biographies, and everything else that is related to literature; this made him immortal, and unique among poets and literary men. I will devote a chapter to him in this book. If it were about the ranks of the Sulama', I should regard him as the furthest pole and purpose of it. He was a severe critic of poetry and would say that anyone whose poetry was not like that of

al-Mutanabbī or Abū al-‘Alā’ would do better not to recite it”.<sup>31</sup>  
While Ibn Bassām was in Lisbon he met Abū ‘Āmir Ibn al-Asīlī, whom he described thus: "Abū ‘Āmir was a traveller and universally regarded as a poet and writer. He was said to have a noble origin. He visited Lisbon while I was there, bringing letters of introduction from al-Mansūr to its ruler, in whose court he was welcomed and well-treated. I visited him for the first time in his house, where he had a company of literary men with him."<sup>32</sup>

Ibn Bassām frequented men of letters, and in their company he established a good relationship with the minister and jurist, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muhammad Ibn Ibrāhīm. Ibn Bassām praised him as "the core of the heart of that clime" and said that his assembly in Lisbon was "the target of the pith of poetry and prose".

"He was killed unjustly there - may God elevate his rank and kill his killers - and when that bright and shining moon was eclipsed, and all of a sudden the horizon became dark, on that day in the West the hands of calamity were unfastened, for men had lost the one who used to enlighten them with his views, which they would accept as the stars accept the rays of a sun".<sup>33</sup>

Later, in 480 A.H., Ibn Bassām left Lisbon for Seville, where he met the king al-Mu‘tamid Ibn ‘Abbād, during whose reign it was famous for its literature, and literary men prospered there. One of the scholars whom he met there was Abū al-Hasan al-Baghdādī, known as al-Fikkīk. Ibn Bassām describes him thus: "al-Fikkīk was a short, ugly man; once I saw him wearing a red and white striped ṭāq, with a green turtūr on his head and a blue turban

wrapped round it. He was reciting a poem before al-Mu'tamid, containing the line

وأنت سليمان في ملكه      وبين يديك أنا الهدهد

and he made those who were present laugh. I also heard him recite, in the course of an ode on al-Mu'tamid:

أبا القاسم الملك المعظم قدره      سواك من الاملاك ليس يعظم  
لقد أصبحت حمص بعدلك جنّة      وقد أبعدت عن ساكنيها جهنم  
ولي بحماك الربع عام وأشهر      أزخرف أعلام الشناء وأرقم  
وأنفقت ما أعطيتني ثقة بما      أوئل فالدينار عندي درهم  
وقلبي الى بغداد يصبو وانني      لنشر صباها دائما أتسم

Furthermore, while in Seville, Ibn Bassām made frequent visits to the house of Abū Bakr al-Khūlānī, which was a meeting-place for literary men. He said: "I was at the house of Abū Bakr al-Khūlānī, the astronomer, in Seville, one day with a group of literary men, and we started talking about witty quotations in panegyric and satire, and one of them recited the quotation that came to his mind from what al-Ḥamdawī said about al-Taylasān and Sa'īd's ewe:

وسألتني عن الحسن بن وهب      وعمّا فيه من كرم وخير

Then one of them cited the work of another poet, who had quoted al-Nābigha's verse:

يا سائلني عن خالد عهدي به      رطب العجان وكفه كالجلمد  
كالأقحواني غداة غب سماءه      جفت أعاليه وأسفله نـد

While we were engaged in this rarefied conversation, al-Fikkīk came in and said that better than anything we had recited were some verses that he claimed to have composed, satirising al-Badī<sup>6</sup>:

رأيت البديع على اربع  
وقد عاينته عيون البشر  
يقول وقد شرعت خلفه  
كماة الفحول رماح الكمر  
فلا وأبيك ابنة العامري  
لا يدعي القوم أنني أفر

The company did not reply to him, apparently because he was so foolish and so brash, and al-Fikkīk became extremely self-satisfied, because the members of the assembly had said nothing to contradict him. This made me angry, and I said: You have said nothing, and those who are present have not been silenced by you. You have tried only to imitate the scribe of Bakr, who quoted some of Imru' al-Qays' verses, but you have failed to equal him . He said:

حديث أبي الفضل شيء نكر  
إذا ما تذكرته أقشعر  
مررت به وعليه الغلام  
ومن خلفه ذنب مستطر  
فلا وأبيك ابنة العامري  
ما هاب مني ولم يزدجر

The foregoing provides us with vivid examples of Ibn Bassām's interest in attending literary gatherings, and playing an important part as a literary critic in them.

In Seville he was in constant touch with literary men, among them Abū Muhammad Ibn <sup>Ḥ</sup>Abd al-Jabbār al-Ṣiqillī, of whom he said: "He was also one of those who came to al-Mu<sup>Ḥ</sup> tamid, and he was of the number of those whom I met and talked to and whose poetry I listened to."<sup>35</sup>

In Badajoz, Ibn Bassām met Abū Bakr Ibn al-<sup>Ḥ</sup>Attār al-Yābisī and heard him recite the following poem:

يحد عزمك نصلت القنا السلبا  
كيف اضطربت به قدست من جبل  
وضاق حتى لو استنهضت طرفك أن  
وكان كالسيف ألقى فوق صفحته  
وكان من بعض ما أهدت مكارمه  
الى نجائب خوص في حقائبها  
قدما وأججت في ماء الطبا لها  
لو دكت الأرض من حوله ما اضطربا  
يجتاب طامحه في وثبة وثبا  
مدارج الريح من تكسيره شطبا  
سوابق لو تباري بارقا لكبا  
ما شئت من شرف يستنفد الحقا

Later still, Ibn Bassām left Badajoz for Córdoba, to try to earn his living by his writing. Here again he encountered numerous literary figures: "While I was in Córdoba at the beginning of my visit there in 494 A.H., Hilāl Ibn al-Adīb entered and caused me to listen to some wonderful poetry by this Abū Bakr".<sup>37</sup> He also says elsewhere that he was in Córdoba in 493. He also met Ahmad Ibn Qasim al-Muhaddith, about whom he said: "He was the eyeball of the age and the cheek of the time in his prominence in prose and poetry".<sup>38</sup> He had a considerable literary correspondence with him. He also met Abū Bakr Ibn Abd al-ʿAzīz, whom he described as "the blowing of the East and South winds of excellence, and the furthest and the closest point of this craft".<sup>39</sup>

He remained in Córdoba for a long time, attempting to read all the books available and maintaining his literary contacts. In 503 A.H., Ibn Bassām returned to Seville, as he mentions in his chapter on Abū Abd Allāh Muhammad Ibn Abī al-Khisāl: "I had isolated myself, in order to write this part of this compilation, throughout the year 503 A.H.<sup>40</sup> When I came to transmit the writings that I had found of the scribes of this eastern part of al-Andalus, I did not find

anything by this man either in prose or in verse. One of my friends wrote to him about this and also urged me to correspond with him there. He received our two letters while he was on his way to Seville with a company of soldiers".<sup>41</sup>

Here again he was concerned to earn his living by writing. The amount of money that he received from the rich elite was, in Dozy's view, merely the equivalent of the fees that contemporary authors received from their publishers.

He became one of the most prominent men of letters. He died at an advanced age, in 542 A.H./1147-1148 A.D.<sup>42</sup> Al-Baghdādī's statement in Idāh al-Makhūn, that he died in 586<sup>43</sup>, can hardly be accepted.

There is no record of Ibn Bassām's having travelled outside al-Andalus; his movements seem to have been restricted to a (fairly extensive) circuit of its principal cities, Lisbon, Seville, Córdoba. He states clearly, in his account of Abū Ja'far Ahmad Ibn al-Dawdīn al-Balansī, that he was in Lisbon in 477 A.H.:<sup>44</sup>

هو أحد من لقيته وشافهته ، وأملى علي نظمه ونشره بالأشبونه ، سنة

سبع وسبعين ، ومما أنشدني من شعره في الغزل قوله :

علمني في الهوى علي كيف التصابي على وقاري

أطلع لي من دجاء بدرا لم يدر ما ليلة السرار

فحاد بي عن طريق نسكي وظلت مستأهلا لنار



It is evident from what he says that this journey was for the express purpose of talking to literary men, attending their Majālis, collecting their poetry and prose and discussing literary matters with them.

He was a frequent visitor to the majlis of the wazīr al-Faḡīh Abū Abd Allāh Muhammad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fihri, in Lisbon:

" وكان الوزير الفقيه أبو عبدالله محمد بن ابراهيم ، سويداء قلب ذلك الأقليم ، ومجلسه بالأشبونة مرمى جمار المنثور والمنظوم ، هو المقتول هنالك المظلوم ، - رفع الله درجته ، وقتل قتلته - ، ولما كسف ذلك النير المشرق ، وأظلم عليهم بغتة الأفق ، انطلقت بالغرب يومئذ أيدي الدهماء ، اذ عدموا من كان يفيض عليهم أنوار الآراء ، فيقبلونها قبول الكواكب لشعاع ذكاء ، ويدني من لباناتهم ما شمع ، يستنزل بها ما امتنع ، بآراء سديدة الأنحاء ، كالسيوف في المضاء ، وسياسات لطيفة : من شدة ولين ، وحركة وسكون ، وكنت قد علقت منه في ذلك الغرب بالحيل المتين ، وأسندت منه الى شبير الحصين ، وتبوأت منه أرحب مربع ، وأخصب مرتع ."

It was from him, for example, that he received information about, and specimens of the poetry of Abū Zayd b. Maqānā:

أخبرني الوزير الفقيه أبو عبدالله محمد بن ابراهيم الفهري المقتول بالأشبونة بوفع الله منزلته ، وقتل قتلته - قال : كان أبو زيد بن مقانا قد انصرف شيخا الى وطنه عندنا ، بعد أن جال أقطار الأندلس على رؤساء الجزيرة ، قال : فمررت به يوما بقريته التي تدعى بالقبذاق من ساحل شنترة ، وبيده مزبرة ، فلما رأيته ملت اليه ومال الي ، وأخذ بيدي وجلسنا ننظر في حراث يحرث بين يديه ، فاستنشدته فأنشدني ارتجالا لوقتته :

أيا عامر القبذاق لا تخل من زرع  
وان كنت ذا عزم فلا بد من رحى  
فما أرض قبذاق وان جاد عامها  
وإن أنجبت شيئا وزادت تواترت  
بها قلة من كل خير ونفعة  
تركت الملوك الخالعين برودهم  
وأصبحت في قبذاق أحصد شوكتها  
فان قيل تهجوها وأنت تحبها  
ومن يصل نزر وشيء من القرع  
سحابية لا تستمد من النبع  
بموفية عشرين من حزم الزرع  
إليها خنازير المفاوز في جمع  
كقلة ما تدري لدي من السمع  
علي وسيري في المواكب والنقع  
بمزبرة رعشاء نابية القطع  
فقل ان حب الخل من شرف الطبع

He also heard the poetry of al-Shaykh Abū al-Hasan <sup>6</sup>Alī Ibn Ismā<sup>6</sup>il al-Qurashī al-Ishbūnī through the good offices of Abū <sup>C</sup>Abd Allāh Ibn Ibrāhīm. Of this man he says:<sup>45</sup>

أنشدني الوزير الفقيه أبو عبدالله بن ابراهيم قال : أنشدني أبو الحسن  
الطيطل لنفسه يصف نملة :

وذات كشح أهيف شخت  
زنجية تحمل أقواتها  
كأنما آخرها قطرة  
أو نقطة جامدة خلفها  
تسري اعتسافا ولقد تهتدي  
تشدد في الأرض على أرجل  
تشهد أن الله خالقها  
كانما بولغ في النحت  
في مثل حدي طرف الجفت  
صغيرة من قاطرات الزفت  
قد سقطت من قلم المغني  
في ظلمة الليل الى الخرت  
كشعرة المخدج في النبات  
رازقها في ذلك السميت

In Lisbon, too, he had friendly relations with Abū 'Amir Ibn al-Asīlī, whose house he frequented, together with a group of literary men:<sup>46</sup>

Sometimes, however, Ibn Bassām does not name his source for his material or indicate where or when he acquired it, for example: "more than one of the literary men of our age has told me"<sup>47</sup> and again, "one whose information I do not reject told me, on the authority of al-Faqīh Abū al-Muṭarrif al-Shaḥbī on the authority of al-Faqīh Abū ʿUmar Ibn ʿĪsā."<sup>48</sup>

#### Ibn Bassam in Seville for the first time

Ibn Bassām went to Seville (for the first time) during the reign of al-Muṭamid Ibn ʿAbbād. Seville was then a great centre for the learned and the literary men, and Ibn Bassām was able to meet a large (if unspecified) number of them, evidently at a number of different majālis, one of these figures being Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baghdādī, known as al-Fikkīk:<sup>49</sup>

من جملة هذه الطائفة الطارئة المذكورة ، على الجزيرة ، ومع بديهة كانت له قوّة ، توفي على الرويّة ، استهدم عدّة قصائد ، لغير واحد ، من أهل الشام والعراق ، وغيرها من تلك الآفاق ، وكان مع ذلك حلو الحوار ، مليح التندر ، يلهي ويضحك من حضر ، ولا يضحك هو اذا ندر ، وفيه يقول النحلي:

لو بيع يوما فكيك      وبين فكيه درّة  
ضربت من يشتريه      بخرية ألف مرّه

Another was Abū Muhammad ‘Abd al-Jabbar Ibn Hamdis al-Siqilli, to whom he devoted a short account:<sup>50</sup>

أحد من وفد أيضا على المعتمد ، وهو من جملة من لقيته وشافهته  
وأسمعي شعره ، وهو شاعر ماهر يقرطس أغراض المعاني  
البديعة ، ويعبر عنها بالألفاظ النفيسة الرفيعة ، ويتصرف  
في التشبيه ويغوص في بحر الكلام على در المعنى الغريبه

Abū Bakr Ibn al-‘Attār al-Yābisi al-Dār:<sup>51</sup>

ويابسة من الجزائر الشرقيه ، وهي من الأندلس في سمت دانية ، وهو من  
جملة من لقيته وأنشدني شعره ، ولم أحفظ منه عند تحريري هذه النسخة  
الا أبياتا من قصيدة في المعتمد أولها :

بحد عزمك نصلت القنا السلبا      قدما وأججت في ماء الطبا لهبا

He met Abū Bakr again, in 486 A.H., at Badajoz:<sup>52</sup>

ومن الحسن في تشبيه الخيل بالبحر ، قول بعض أهل العصر ، وهو الأديب  
أبو بكر ابن العطار الياسي ، من شعر أنشدنيه لنفسه ببطليوس سنة  
ست وثمانين :

والجيش قد جعلت أبطاله مرحا      تختال عن خيلاء السبق العتق  
إذا تسعرت الهيجاء أخمدها      ما في معاطفها من ندوة العرق  
هي البحور ولكن في كواثبها      عند الكريهة منجاة من الغرق

He met Abū Bakr al-Khulānī, whom he mentions in his account of  
ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Mursī:<sup>53</sup>

وكنت يوما بدار أبي بكر الخولا ني المنجم ، فاتفق أن دخل علينا عبدالجليل  
وفي كمة صلة المعتمد من ضرب السكة لديه ، قيمتها ثلاثة آلاف درهم ، فرفع  
اليه اشر ذلك قصيدته التي أولها :

ما الشعر مرتجلا أو غير مرتجل      ببالغ كنه ذاك السؤدد الجلل  
بأي لفظ ألقى منك ذا شيم      لولا حلاها لكان الدهر ذا عطل  
لا حلة الشمس مما قد أحاوله      ولا نظام النجوم الزهر من عملي  
وسائلين أجدا في مباحثي      خذا حديثي عن الأملاك والدول

#### Ibn Bassām in Córdoba

One of those whom he met in Córdoba was Abū al-ʿAbbās Ahmad Ibn  
Qāsim al-Muhaddith. This meeting took place in 493 A.H.:<sup>54</sup>

أبو العباس هذا في وقتنا بحضرة قرطبه ، مقلّة عين العصر ، وصفحة وجه  
الدهر ، تبريزا في النظم والنثر . وقد أثبت من كلامه قطعة تنبئ عما  
طالعه من علوم . ونظر فيه من أنواع التعاليم ، على صغر سنه . ولدانة  
غصنه .

He also met, at this time, Abū Hātim al-Hijārī:<sup>55</sup>

ولما ابتدأت بتحرير هذا الكتاب ، وأنا بقرطبة سنة ثلاث وتسعين نظرت  
في مبيضات كانت عندي لأهل هذا الاقليم ، فلم أجد لأبي حاتم شيئا من منشور  
ولا منظوم ، فاستهديت قطعة من أشعاره وما عسى أن يتعلق بها من ملح أخباره  
وتكرر عليه رسولي هنالك ، فمطلني في ذلك .

He also met, in 494 A.H. (still on his first visit) Abū Bakr ʿAbd  
al-ʿAzīz, with whom he subsequently maintained a correspondence:

" كنت بحضرة قرطبة أول سفري اليها سنة أربع وتسعين ، فدخل عندي هلال بن الأديب ، وقرع سمعي من شعر أبي بكر هذا بكل حسن غريب ، فكتبت معه أخطب فيها وده ، وأستجلب ما عنده ."

He also met Abū Bakr al-Dānī at Córdoba:<sup>56</sup>

" وكان أبو بكر هذا قد رحب ببطليوس مشواه ، وأجزل صاحبها قراه الى أن مل وارتحل ، واجتمعت به بعد بقرطبة ، فأنشدني لنفسه وقد ندم على فراق بطليوس :

|                     |                       |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| رضى المتوكل فارقته  | فلم يرضني بعده العالم |
| وكانت بطليوس لي جنة | فجئت بما جاءه آدم     |

He conversed with the wazīr Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Muhammad Ibn Shammākh, with whom he had discussions and exchanged verses:<sup>57</sup>

"من ذلكما أنشدني لنفسه من جملة أبيات اندرجت له في رسالة موشحة عارض بها بديع الزمان في طريقته ، وضربها على قالب سبيكته يقول فيها :

|                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| أودت بنخوة أهل حمص بديعة | ملأت قلوبهم على حفاظا    |
| فتشت فيهم قارضا يأتي بها | فكأنما فتشت فيها القارظا |

#### Ibn Bassām's return to Seville and his settling there

Here he frequently visited the Qādī Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī, from whom he received a generous amount of material. In his account of Abū al-Mughīra Ibn Hazm, Ibn Bassām says:<sup>58</sup>

" قلت أنا : ولعمري ما عقه ، ولا بخسه حقه . وأخبرني الفقيه الحافظ أبو بكر ابن الفقيه أبي محمد ابن العربي عن الفقيه أبي عبدالله الحميدي قال : كان لشيخنا الفقيه أبي محمد بن حزم في الشعر والأدب نفس واسعة ، وباع طويل ، وما رأيت أسرع بديهته منه ، وشعره كثير ، وقد جمعته على حروف المعجم " .

Other notable figures with whom he mixed included Abū Ishāq Ibn Khaf āja:<sup>59</sup>

" وأخبرني أنه لما أفلح من صوته ، وطلع شنية سلوته ، والكهولة قد حنكته ، وأسلكته من الارعواء حيث أسلكته ، رأى أنه مستيقظ ، وجعل يفكر في ما مر من شبابه ، وفي من ذهب من أحبابه ، ويبكي على أيام لهوه " and 'Abd al-Majīd Ibn 'Abdūn al-Yābirī al-Fihri:<sup>60</sup>

" من ذلك ما أنشدنيه لنفسه ، مما خاطب به الوزراء الكتاب بني سعيد ابن القبطورنه ، حين خرج عن بطليوس مستوحشا ، حسبما وصفتـــــــــــــــــــــــــه "

|                          |                           |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| أخلائي وفي قرب الصدر     | ظبا تقضي على قمم الدهور   |
| وقد ضمت جوانحنا قلوبا    | أبت غير القصور أو القبور  |
| إذا الكرماء نامت فوق ضيم | فما فضل الكبير على الصغير |
| فقبل أبي الدنيا قيس عبس  | ولم يصغي الى قول المشير   |
| لئن عشروا وليس لعا جواب  | فلا علقت بطون من ظهور     |
| ولا سمعوا بها الا بصم    | ولا نظروا بها الا بعور    |

The wazīr and secretary Ibn al-Qāsim<sup>61</sup>

" انتهى ما أثبتته من كلام الوزير أبي القاسم ، وهو أبهى من النجوم وأبهر وأسرى من النسيم وأسير ، وكنت جديرا باستقصاء أخباره وحميد آثاره لاسيما ومزاره كتب ، وبينني وبينه من ذمام الأدب ، والتزام الطلب ، سبب ونسب ،

ولكن النوائب زاحمت ضائري ، وضربت خواطري ، فما دفع الي عفواً تلقيته  
ووعيته ، وما كانت فيه أدنى كلفة رجوته وأرجيته ، ولا بأس من الزيادة ان  
انتهجت سبيل ، والله نظر جميل ، وفيه مطمع وتأميل .

and Ibn Quzman: 62

ومن شعر أبي بكر بن قزمان مما أنشدنيه لنفسه ، قوله :

ركبوا السيول من الخيول وركبوا فوق العوالي السمر زرق نطاف  
واستودعوا الخلل الجدول واصطفوا بيض الرؤوس من الحباب الطافي  
وتجملوا الغدران من مآذبيهم مرتجة الا على الأكتاف  
وأنشدني أيضا لنفسه :

قلت للعين حين أذرفت على الخد دموعا لا تستفيق انهما لا  
جزعا من صدود أحوركم حير بالا وكم جنى بلبلالا  
لا ترومي مثال ما لن تنالي والمحيه كما رأيت الهللا  
فأجابت لقد أطلت مثالا هو أنأى من الهلال منالا  
ان بدر السماء يطلع للأبصار ممسى ومصباح وزوالا  
وإذا ما استسر آب وقد داب اكتئابا من أن يغيب وصالا  
وهو البدر قد أجد ملالا واجتبابا كما أجد كمبالا  
يتوارى من العيون نهارا ومع الليل لا يزور خيالا  
وأنشدني له أيضا :

لا تطمئن الي أحد واحذر وشم واستعد  
فالكل كلب مؤسد الا اذا وجدوا اسد

ومن شعر أبي الحسن علي بن عبد العزيز بن زيادة الله الطنبلي ، مما أخذته  
عنه ، قوله :

كم بالهوادج يوم البين من رشا يهفو عليه وشاح جائل قلقل  
وكم برامة من ريم يفارقنا ليهفان يثنيه عن توديعنا الفرق  
ونرجس كفرند السيف ساهرنسي معللا بنسيم عرفه عب



والنجم كَفَّ يَحْيِيْنَا بِهَا الْأَفْق  
في أوجه الحادِثاتِ الجونِ تَأْتَلِقُ  
يَكادِ يَنْجَابُ مِنْ أَضْوَائِهَا الْغَسَقُ  
ماءُ النِّعِيمِ عَلَيْهِ النَّوْرُ وَالسُّورِقُ

نادمته وشباب الليلِ مَقْتَبِلِ  
في فتية كنجوم السعدِ أوجههم  
نلهو برقراقة صفراءِ صافية  
يسعى بها مرهف كالغصنِ نَعْمَه

1. Ibn Bassām, 1, 1, 11. Ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>īd, 1, 417. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, 5, 105. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Wāḥid al-Mar<sup>c</sup>ākushī, 125. al-Maqqarī, 3, 458. al-Zarkalī, 5, 72. Ibn Khaldūn, 3, 304. Brockelmann, 1, 579. Encyclopedia of Islam, 2, 734. García Gómez, 56. <sup>c</sup>Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, 7, 43. Ibn <sup>c</sup>Adhārī al-Mar<sup>c</sup>ākushī, 2, 255. Ibn al-Abbār. A.2, 39. Ibid. B, 220. al-Nuwayrī, 1, 359. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, 135, 190. A. González Palencia, 288. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Jabbār, 496. Fuād Afrām al-Bustānī, 2, 363. Kuliyyat al-Ādāb, 1974, 5. al-<sup>c</sup>Arabī, 1966, 97. al-Risāla, 1936, 138. al-Thaqāfa, 1951, 660. al-Adīb, 1946, 3. Amjad al-Ṭarābulṣī, 198.
2. Ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>īd, 1, 417.
3. al-Maqqarī, 3, 458, al-Zarkalī, 5, 72. <sup>c</sup>Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, 7, 43. Brockelmann, 1, 579. al-Bustānī, 2, 363. A. González Palencia, p288. García Gómez, 56.
4. Yāqūt, 12, 275. <sup>c</sup>Umar Riḍā, 37, 43. <sup>c</sup>Umar al-Daqqāq, 250. al-Baghdādī Isma<sup>c</sup>īl Bāshā, 1, 702. Ibn Ḥawqal, 1, 110.
5. Nykl, 219.
6. Anwar Chejne, 277.
7. Ibn Bassām, 2, 2, 597-598.
8. al-Maqqarī, 3, 458.
9. Aḥmad Makkī, 207.
10. al-Ḥimyarī, 113-114.
11. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, 4, 305-306.
12. Ḥājji Khalīfa, 1, 825.

13. Ibn Khallikān, 3, 363. Yāqūt, 14, 139. al-Mas<sup>c</sup>ūdī, 4, 297.  
Ibn al-Abbār, B. 188. al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, 12, 63.  
al-Jahshyarī, 333-335. al-Marzubānī, 105.
14. Isma<sup>c</sup>īl Bāshā al-Baghdādī, 1, 720.
15. Ibn Bassām, 1, 1, 144. Ibid, 3, 1, 498.
16. Buṭrus al-Bustānī, 2, 363.
17. <sup>c</sup>Umar Riḍā, 3, 43.
18. A. González Palencia, 288.
19. Ibn Bassām, 3, 2, 703.
20. Muḥammad <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh <sup>c</sup>Inān, 418.
21. Nykl, 220.
22. Chejne, 277.
23. Aḥmad Makkī, 219.
24. Ibn Bassām, 1, 1, 19.
25. Nykl, 219.
26. Dīwān al-Mutanabbī, 18.
27. Ibn Bassām, 1, 1, 20.
28. Nykl, 219.
29. Ibn Bassām, 1, 1, 25.
30. Muṣṭafa al-Karīm, 15.
31. Ibn Bassām, 2, 2, 640-641.
32. Ibid, 3, 2, 857-862.
33. Ibid, 3, 2, 862-866.
34. Ibid, 4, 1, 368-370.
35. Ibid, 4, 1, 320.
36. Ibid, 4, 1, 376.
37. Ibid, 2, 2, 536.
38. Ibid, 1, 2, 905.
39. Ibid, 2, 2, 535.
40. Ibid, 3, 2, 787-788.

41. Aḥmad Makki, 220.
42. al-Maqqarī, 3, 458.
43. Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl Bāshā, 3, 541.
44. Ibn Bassām, 3, 2, 703.
45. Ibid, 3, 2, 865-866.
46. Ibid, 2, 2, 786-787.
47. Ibid, 2, 2, 797.
48. Ibid, 3, 2, 862-863.
49. Ibid, 2, 2, 806.
50. Ibid, 1, 2, 848.
51. Ibid, 4, 1, 368-369.
52. Ibid, 4, 1, 320.
53. Ibid, 4, 1, 376.
54. Ibid, 2, 1, 464.
55. Ibid, 2, 1, 515.
56. Ibid, 1, 1, 905.
57. Ibid, 3, 2, 654.
58. Ibid, 3, 2, 673.
59. Ibid, 1, 2, 840.
60. Ibid, 1, 1, 172.
61. Ibid, 3, 2, 648.
62. Ibid, 2, 2, 711.
63. Ibid, 2, 1, 322.
64. Ibid, 2, 2, 785.

IBN BASSĀM'S EDUCATION AND  
LITERARY CAREER

The second half of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth century witnessed great cultural activities, represented by a large number of talented men of letters and poets. This movement was not confined to an elite, but was the common possession of many of the people of al-Andalus, as we have already seen in the previous chapter. The Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if and their ministers had an important role in sustaining the cultural movement of this hundred years; in addition, a very large number of the people of al-Andalus participated in composing poetry and writing prose.

Each of them cultivated more of the sciences and arts of their time than their Eastern contemporaries, reading every important book which was available in those fields. Almost all classes were acquainted with their heritage and possessed a good understanding of the culture of that century; thus a great number of literary men and poets emerged, surpassing the contemporary Udabā' of the East. Among those on whose superiority their contemporaries and successors agreed was Abū al-Hasan <sup>ʿ</sup>Alī Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī, the author of al-Dhakhīra fī Mahāsin Ahl al-Jazīra. Although this is the only book that remains to us from his large and varied output, it is one of the greatest importance, because it contains a wealth of literary information that is indispensable for the study of the poetry and prose of the period. No-one can read it without recognising that Ibn Bassām was a man of tremendous erudition. No doubt, he received as wide an education in the arts

and sciences as any other men of his time and place, but recognising where his true aptitude lay, he restricted himself in his writing to literature and the history associated with this literature. One cannot really say that Ibn Bassām is a good source for historical data about the wars and events of his time which appear in his book; for these he depended principally on Ibn Ḥayyān, one of the most famous and reliable authorities of the period. He was the first to write a specialist work on a particular period, concentrating upon both its history and its literature and the close connection between them. He had no wish to write on the whole literature of the Andalusian people from the conquest to his own time; he confined himself to the fifth century A.H. He kept strictly to these limits except in Part Four, which he devoted to the ḡdaba' of the East and of Qayrawān who travelled to al-Andalus, studied there, and became integrated into its population.

Ibn Bassām's writing on subjects other than literature in al-Dhakhīra, both in prose and verse, his linguistic, grammatical and prosodical observations, and his concern with Arab genealogies, are of secondary importance. He displayed a patriotic defence of the excellence of the people of al-Andalus in literature - in fact this was his avowed purpose in writing al-Dhakhīra - but he did not neglect the heritage of the East. One finds him quoting al-Mutanabbī, Imru' al-Qays, Abū Tammām, al-Buhtūrī, al-Maḥarrī, Ibn al-Rūmī, Ibn al-Muḥtazz, al-Farazdaq, Jarīr, al-Khansā', among others, in elucidation, or illustration of his criticism, and for the sake of comparing the poetry of the East with the poetry of the West. The examples that he presents are very numerous, but, except

on rare occasions, he gives no reasons for his approval or disapproval of the poetry or prose that he quotes; he merely gives what may be considered as his general view of literature, expressed invariably in intricate sajʿ. Another factor which gives Ibn Bassām and his book great historical and literary value is that he includes in it large portions of Ibn Ḥayyān's Kitāb al-Matīn, which is lost; al-Dhakhīra represents the most important repository of its contents. Ibn Bassām relied heavily upon it; especially for his historical material, being himself no great historian; where, however, he found that Ibn Ḥayyān's account was incomplete, he added information of his own.

Let us, however, return to Ibn Bassām's cultural background. Ibn Khaldūn illustrates this in a chapter entitled "The various methods of education in the Islamic countries": "The Spanish method is instruction in reading and writing as such. That is what they pay attention to in the instruction (of children). However, since the Qur'ān is the basis and foundation of (all) that and the source of Islam and (all) the sciences, they make it the basis of instruction, but they do not restrict their instruction of children exclusively to (the Qur'ān). They also bring in (other subjects) mainly poetry and composition, and they give the children an expert knowledge of Arabic and teach them a good handwriting. They do not stress teaching of the Qur'ān more than the other subjects. In fact, they are more concerned with teaching handwriting than any other subject until the child reaches manhood. He then has some experience and knowledge of the Arabic language and poetry. He has an excellent knowledge of handwriting, and he would have a thorough acquaintance with scholarship in general, if the tradition of scholarly instruction (still) existed in (Spain), but he does not, because



the tradition no longer exists there. Thus, (present day Spanish children) obtain no further (knowledge) than what their primary instruction provides. It is enough for those whom God guides. It prepares (them for further studies), in the event that a teacher (of them) can be found.<sup>1</sup>

In his Rihlah judge Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī made a remarkable statement about instruction, which retains (the best of) the old, and presents (some good) new features. He placed instruction in Arabic and poetry ahead of all the other sciences, as in the Spanish method, since, he said, poetry is the archive of the Arabs. Poetry and Arabic philology should be taught first because of the (existing) corruption of the language. From there, the (student) should go on to arithmetic and study it assiduously, until he knows its basic norms. He should then go on to study the Qur'ān, because with his previous preparation, it will be easy for him." (Ibn al-'Arabī) continued: "How thoughtless are our compatriots in that they teach children the Qur'an when they are first starting out. They read things they do not understand and work hard at something that is not as important for them as other matters". He concluded: "The student should study successively the principles of Islam, the principles of jurisprudence, disputation, and then the Prophetic traditions and sciences connected with them". He also forbade teaching two disciplines at the same time, save to the student with a good mind and sufficient energy.

"This is judge Abū Bakr's advice. It is a good method indeed.

However, accepted custom is not favourable to it, and custom has greater power over condition (than anything else). Accepted custom gives preference to the teaching of the Qur'ān. The reason is the desire for the blessing and reward (in the other world resulting from knowledge of the Qur'ān) and a fear of the things that might affect children in 'the folly of youth' and harm them and keep them from acquiring knowledge. They might miss the chance to learn the Qur'ān. As long as they remain at home they are amenable to authority. When they have grown up and shaken off the yoke of authority, the tempests of young manhood often cast them upon the shores of wrongdoing. Therefore, while the children are still at home and under the yoke of authority, one seizes the opportunity to teach them the Qur'ān, so that they will not remain without knowledge of it. If one could be certain that a child would continue to study and accept instruction (when he has grown up), the method mentioned by the judge would be the most suitable one ever devised in East or West".<sup>2</sup>

Children often received much of their instruction at home. Ibn al-Far dī says:

والفقيه أحمد بن بقي بن مخلد كان قاضي قرطبة ، لا أعلمه سمع من غير أبيه  
وكان زاهدا فاضلا<sup>3</sup> .

Ibn Ḥayyān also mentions an example:

وكان لمحمد بن عبد الله بن مسرة أخ من ذوي الفضل يسمي إبراهيم ويكنى أبا  
اسحق ، سمع من أبيه ومن الخشني وابن وضاح ، ورحل مع أبيه عبد الله فسمع  
من جماعة<sup>4</sup> .

The mosque: the mosque played an influential role in Islamic learning. In fact, it constitutes the most ancient centre of learning in the Islamic world. The mosques of al-Andalus were no exception; in them were taught Qur'ānic exegesis, the science of the recensions of the Qur'ān, jurisprudence, Tradition, logic, philosophy, linguistics, and the natural sciences: medicine, pharmacy, botany.<sup>5</sup>

Ibn Khaldūn has described the primary stage of a child's education, and it is likely that Ibn Bassām received this kind of education as a boy. We have, however, no information about his early teachers. As he grew up, he seems to have read any book which was available to him; we know that he was from a wealthy family and so had the opportunity of buying books, and it is possible that there was a private library in his parents' house. He travelled to other cities in search of education, which he acquired both from books and from meetings with literary men, ministers, and poets, in Santarem, Lisbon, Seville and Córdoba. Such educational travel was general, and encouraged, under the Mulūk al-Tawā'if. Ibn Bassām devoted a good deal of time and effort to acquiring his education in this way. He had valuable contacts with many learned men, but unfortunately he does not always specify the sources from which he derived his information, often contenting himself with such vague statements as: "More than one of the poets or ministers of Seville told me ...".

There is no trace in Ibn Bassām's writing of any teacher under whom he may have studied, except for one possible reference, where

he quotes something on the authority of Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī. It is a distinct possibility that Ibn al-'Arabī<sup>7</sup> may have been a teacher of his, but it is also possible, as I have said before, that he studied entirely by himself. At all events, this is the single clue we have as to the sources of his education. He himself tells us of the efforts that he made, and the pains that he took, in producing his book in the form in which he wished it to be:

على أن عامة من ذكرته في هذا الديوان ، لم أجد له أخبارا موضوعة ، ولا أشعارا مجموعة ، تفسح لي في طريق الاختيار منها ، إنما انتقدت ما وجدت ، وخالست في ذلك الخمول ، ومارست هناك البحث الطويل ، والزمان المستحيل ، حتى ضمنت كتابي هذا من أخبار أهل هذا الأفق ، ما لعلني سأري به على أهل المشرق<sup>8</sup> .

Ibn Bassām left behind him at least seven works, some of which were poetry and some prose. Unfortunately, all but the first of those listed below are lost; however, it is probably the most valuable book for the literary history of al-Andalus.

1. Kitāb al-Dhakhīra fī Mahāsin Ahl al-Jazīra, in four volumes.

This, the only book of his that has come down to us, is his best-known work.

2. Kitāb al-Itimād 'Alā mā Sahha min Shi'r al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād.

He collected in this book the poetry authentically attributed to al-Mu'tamid. It is mentioned in his chapter on al-Mu'tamid in

al-Dhakhīra; he probably found that he could not include all of Ibn 'Abbād's poetry and the information about him in al-Dhakhīra and so devoted a separate book to him.

3. Kitāb Nukhbat al-Ikhtiyār min Ash'ār Dhī al-Wizāratayn Abī Bakr b. 'Ammār. In this book he presented a selection of Ibn 'Ammār's poetry. It may be the same work as that referred to by Ibn al-Abbār as Akhbār Ibn 'Ammār.<sup>9</sup>

4. Kitāb al-Iklīl al-Mushtamil 'Alā Shi'r 'Abd al-Jalīl b. Wahbūn. He was a famous poet at the court of the Banū 'Abbād. Ibn Bassām devoted a chapter of 46 pages to his poetry and prose in al-Dhakhīra.

5. Kitāb Silk al-Jawāhir min Tarsīl Ibn Tāhir Amīr Mursiya. Ibn Bassām devoted a chapter (in the first volume of the third part) of al-Dhakhīra, consisting of 78 pages, to Ibn Tāhir. It includes a number of the epistles which he addressed to eminent men of al-Andalus, such as Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Ibn Hūd 'Imād al-Dawla, al-Muzaffar the ruler of Lérida, al-Qādir bi-Llāh b. Dhī al-Nūn.

6. Kitāb Dhakhīrat al-Dhakhīra. He mentions this book in his chapter of al-Dhakhīra on Ibn Sāra al-Shantarīnī: "I have seen many pieces of his satire which surpassed in number the stones of the desert ... and I put some of this in my book Dhakhīrat al-Dhakhīra."

"ولقد رأيت له عدة مقطوعات في الهجاء ، تربي على حص الدهناء ، وهو فيه صائب السهم ، نافذ الحكم ، طويت عليه كشحا ، وأضربت عن ذكره

صفحة ، وربما ألمعت منه بالأقل ، لترى فتستدل ، ولو استجزت أن أثبت في هذا الكتاب ، بعض ما له في هذا الباب ، لتحققت أنه بالجملة بائقة محاجاة ، وصاعقة مهاجاة ، وقد كتبت من ذلك في كتابي المترجم بـ " ذخيرة الذخيرة " جملة موفورة ، له ولطوائف كثيرة ، وفيما أوردت مع ذلك من شعره ، لما أجريت من ذكره ، حجة فصل ، وشاهد عدل .

7. Kitāb Sirr al-Dhakhīra. He mentions this book in his chapter of al-Dhakhīra on Abu Marwān 'Abd al-Malik b. Razīn, where he speaks about his satire:

|                   |                       |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| أخس بمجلس معشر    | ما فيه إلا الطنز بر   |
| جلساؤه قوم شقيا   | ل كلهم خبت وشـر       |
| ما فيهم إلا دنـي  | أو غـيبي أو مـضـر     |
| أسد على ثلب الكرا | م وان وزنتهم فـذـر    |
| هذا يغوث بل أضـ   | ل وذا يعوق وذاك نـسـر |
| ذاك المحل كواد عو | فليس يلقي فيه حـسـر   |

Ibn Bassām commented on these verses:

وهذا من طرق تلك الرجز التي تعسفها وحده ، وبعض الشؤون التي عول فيها على ما عنده ، إذ هذا المثل يضرب للسيد المنيع الذي غلب الناس على السيادة أو قسرهم على ما تعين منهم وأراده ، ولو ألمعت في هذا الكتاب بشيء من التفسير لاجتلبت كل ما قيل فيه ، ولنشرت ما خفي على ذي الرياستين من مطاويه ، وقد ذكرت من ذلك جملة موفورة ، في كتاب : " سر الذخيرة " ١١

There is a citation in the Badā'ih al-Badā'ih of Ibn Zāfir that causes Nazha Ja'far al-Mūsawī to conclude that Ibn Bassām had a teaching circle in which the Dhakhīra was studied: "The Shaykh Abū al-Khaṭṭāb 'Umar Ibn al-Ḥasan b. Diḥya al-Kalbī informed me, by licence of al-Ustādh al-Mufid Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim Khalaf Yūsuf al-Shantarīnī, known as Ibn al-Abrash, on the authority of Abū al-Ḥasan b. Bassām in the Kitāb al-Dhakhīra". 13

This may indeed indicate something of the sort, but it is unlikely that Ibn Bassām had many students, if he was able to devote himself to his writing. In any case, it is not clear why the Dhakhīra, which was presumably available freely, required subsequent authority for its statements. It would seem that the point of the citation might be to establish that Ibn al-Abrash was a student of Ibn Bassām.

"Although I have not cared for poetry as a vehicle, adopted it as a source of income, or become accustomed to it as a lodging or a resort, I have nevertheless visited it at times and glanced at it with interest but not obsession, anxious to preserve my soul's nobility from its humble status and raising the tread of the sole of my foot above its (lowly) position; when its wine was mixed and its cups went round, I have not tasted it but only smelt it, and I have been a boon companion only in conversation".<sup>11</sup>

In his introduction he expresses certain opinions about poetry, objecting to it in several cases on moral grounds; thus, it was not necessarily merely his lack of talent and inspiration in this field that caused him to value poetry less highly than prose.

Ibn Saʿid, in his Kitāb al-Mughrib, quotes three bayts of a poem of Ibn Bassām, which he says represent the higher level of his poetry.

عهدت الكأس واليدن التمام

تغص به الحديقة والمدام

ألا جاذن فلا شان سوى ما

ولا تكسل برويته ضبابا

فان الرّوض ملتشم الى أن      توافيه فينحط اللّشام

He goes on to say, rather oddly: "this is of a high class. His prose, in the Kitāb al-Dhakhīra, also indicates his class, but the poetry of his own that he cites in it is inferior".<sup>14</sup>

These verses, in which Ibn Bassām refers to a pleasant, carefree, comfortable existence, come, according to Nazha Ja<sup>c</sup>far al-Mūsawī, from that early stage of his life, before he left Santarem for the miseries of travel and eventual residence in Seville.<sup>15</sup>

These two apparently contradictory statements must mean that, although Ibn Bassām was capable of producing poetry of a commendable level of artistry, in Ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>id's opinion, he did not, for whatever reason, include any of his better poetry in al-Dhakhīra. There are parts of three poems of Ibn Bassām quoted in the Dhakhīra. One of these is a poetic epistle that he sent to Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, requesting him to send him some of his rasā'il, in order that he might use them in his book:

|                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| رفيع العماد قريع الحسب    | أبا بكر المجتبي للأدب    |
| ويعرب عنك لسان العرب      | أيلحن فيك الزمان الخوون  |
| لديهم وما النبع مثل الغرب | وتعدل في الفهم بالحاضرين |
| إذا فأرى الدرّ كالمخشب    | أراك بعين أراهم بها      |
| بقرطبة عجمها والعرب       | لقد كان جيل الوري أدهما  |
| فأسفر عن واضح ذي شنب      | الى أن تبسم عنك الزمان   |
| يفلل حدّاه بيض القضب      | فجئت كما شئت ذا مقول     |
| وروض ذوى وزلال نضب        | فوا حزنا لزناد كبا       |
| ولا لك في أفقهم من أرب    | وما كان جيلك هذا الأنام  |



وطبعك ينفث عن لؤلؤ  
فأين العميد وعبدالخميد  
وأين البديع وشمس المعالي  
ولما سمعت هلالا يعيد  
شفعت بها لو وقت ذمتي  
وخامرني حب سمعي لها  
فقلت جريز يجيد القريض  
وقرطبة بدلت بالعراق  
فجئتك خاطب ود فلا  
وان لم يكن أفقنا واحدا  
تنظّمه في نحور الكتب  
وما حويا من خطير الخطب  
بديعك مدّ عليهم طنّب  
قوافي لؤلؤك الهنّخب  
بواجبها اذ عليها وجب  
كأني خلوت ببنت العنّب  
والآن جاد بحوك الخطب  
أم الأرض تحملنا من كثب  
تردّ أبا بكر من قد خطب  
فينظّمنا شمل هذا الأدب<sup>16</sup>

This poem, being as it is simply a versified letter, is of no very high quality. It is extravagant in its praise of the addressee, speaking in the highest terms of his ancestry, and his distinction in literature - which was in all probability unknown personally to Ibn Bassām, since although he had heard a great deal about Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, he had experienced great difficulty in contacting him. It takes the form of a conventional madīh poem, as might be expected, and its generous use of badīʿ is typical of its time.

The second poem of his that he includes is one on the return of one Abū al-Hakam ʿAmr Ibn Mudhhiḡ from a journey. Again, this is an unremarkable work, full of the usual hyperbole, and significant only in so far as it helps to illustrate Ibn Bassām's wide circle of acquaintance, and the customary correspondence that was maintained among this acquaintance.

وقدم أبو الحكم من بعض أسفاره ، فكتبت اليه أنا بأبيات منها :

يهني قدومك كلاً يا أبا الحكم  
مد غبت ما رتقت عيني الى سنة  
ان كنت من تغلب في بيت سوّدها  
فلم يضرنا تنائي الصّبّمين وقد  
والعذر في زمن أن جئت في أمم  
يا دوحة العلم والأدب والحكم  
يا عمرو الآ لكي ألقاك في الحلم  
وكنت من مذحج في السوّد العمم  
رحنا نسيبين في علم وفي فهم  
لا الجيل جيلك فاعذرهم ولا تلم

Ibn Bassām includes in the Dhakhīra a number of references by the authors with whom he deals to his own poetry. For example, he quotes a poem by Abū al-ʿAbbās, rhyming with his own name, in which Abū al-ʿAbbās extravagantly praises some verses that Ibn Bassām had addressed to him. The verses in question are not known to survive, since Ibn Bassām did not record them in the Dhakhīra:

يا ماجدا ينمي الى بسّام قد ذبت بين محبة وهيام

There is another poem by Abū al-ʿAbbās in which he describes Ibn Bassām's poetry:

لا حشو فيه ولا معازلة به  
ويرى البديع به بغير تكلف  
متقسّم متقابل متطارداً  
ان رمت تشبيهاً أثبت بكل ما  
أو رمت تشبيهاً قرنت مشبهاً  
سلس على الأسماع والأفهام  
ما بين منفرد وبين تروأم  
متجانس متطابق الأقسام  
يجد الشجي من لوعة وغرام  
بمشبه في غاية الاتمام

أو رمت مدحا لم تكن متطلبًا ما ليس في الممدوح من أحكام  
حذا بما تأتي ومعرفة به وتصرفًا في أفق كل المرام

There is further praise of Ibn Bassām's poetry in a qasida by  
Abū Bakr b. 'Uḥāda al-Qazzāz, one of the best known of the  
Washshahūn of al-Andalus.

Ibn Bassam introduces it immediately after quoting Abu al-Abbās'  
poem:

يا منيفا على السماكين سام      حزت فضل السباق من بسام  
قد خبرت الوري فلم أفهم إلا      ثقال الأفهام والافهام  
وتأملت منك نكتة بغدا      د لباب العراق معنى الشام  
شك ذهني في أن يرى بصري مث      لك حتى لخلتني في المنام  
ان تحك مدحة فأنت زهير      أو نسيبا فعروة بن حزام  
أو تباكر صيد المها فابن حجر      أو تبغي الديار فابن خدام  
أو تدمّ الزمان وهو حقيق      فأبو الطيب البعيد المرامي

Having been told of Ibn Bassām's high opinion of his work, Abū  
al-Abbās replied with some fulsome praise of his own, in which he  
commends Ibn Bassām's general literary distinction, and compares  
him favourably with several eminent literary figures of the past.

لما بلغه جمعي لهذا التصنيف خاطبني برقعة استفتحها بهذه الأبيات :  
يا من تكلف جمع المجد في ورق      أنا أناديك جهرا غيل تعريض  
ذهبت عصرك يا من شعره ذهب      بالمذهبات فأتبعنا بتفضيض  
فشبه تبرك متلوا بفضتنا      جان خود على لباتها البيض  
يا سيدي وعمادي ، طال بقاؤك ، ودام علاؤك ، تكلفت من العناية بتنويهي ما  
دل على محتدك الكريم ، ونصابتك السليم ، على انتمائك من المجد الى دوحه

ساقها قويم ، وطلعها هضم ، ولولا ثقتي بتميزك ، وظهورك في هذه الصناعة  
وتبريزك ، ما اجترأت على أن أجري بما كتبت اليك به كفاً ، ولا أن أخطئ  
متباهاً بها حرفاً ، فهي تجري منك على يدي نقاد ، وأنا اذ عليك أنشر بزّي  
أضع الشوب في يدي بزاز .

وكتب اليّ أيضاً في مثله أول ورودي بقرطبة ، وقد بلغه ثنائي عليه بمجلس  
بعض الأعيان فيها :

|                      |                        |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| يا دوحة المجد الكريم | وسلالة الشرف الصميم    |
| والغرة الغراء فـي    | وجه النشير وفي التنظيم |
| قد كان نام زماننا    | عن كشف آثار العلوم     |
| حتى أتيت منبها       | جفنيه تنبيه النسيم     |
| فرددته يقظان يحو الـ | محو عن تلك الرسوم      |
| انّ الصباح اذا انجلى | جلى المنام عن التّووم  |

من الواجب كان - أعزك الله - عليّ وعلى من ينتسب الى أدب ، ويتعلّق منه  
بأدنى سبب . أن يمتطي اليك ظهور العيس المهرية ، وصهوات الجياد الأعوجية ،  
حيثما استقرّ مكانك ، وشبت ايوانك ، فكيف اذا جلاك مصباح بلادنا بضياءه ،  
وسترك ليل عراضا بظلمائه ، فانتظمتك معنا هذه الجدران التي جلت عنها  
قدرا . وسموت رفعة وخطرا . ولكنّ المهيب لا يجسر عليه ، ولا تنقل قدم التقدم  
بداهة اليه . بل يرتقب منه المتوصل لفضة في عرض ناحية ، أو لحظة تقع على  
ساحته ، تجعل الأولى سيلا ، والأخرى هاديا ودليلا .

ولقيت فلانا فأنهى اليّ كلامك فيّ ، وأنت ممّن لا يجارى خطابا ، ولا يبارى كتابا  
وجوابا ، براعة في لفظ يتبرّج في ملاء الوشي الصنعاني ، ويتصدّي في أريية  
العصب اليماني ، ونظم ودّ الربيع لو توشّح به تفصيلا ، ونشر كنش العقبود ،  
وتفويف البرود ، والغرر البيض في الطرر السّود . ان نظمت فصريع صريع ، والبديع  
غير بديع ، وان نثرت فالصاحب صاحب ، وقابوس ذو بوس ، وهذا باب لو استقصيته  
فيك غاية الاستقصاء ، واستقرّيته نهاية الاستقراء ، لتغلغل بنا الكلام ، الى  
نقاد الأمدة والأقلام .

وفي فصل منها : ولما كنت متي انحرفت الى النشر ، أو انصرفت الى الشعر  
أجريت فيهما بعدك بالخطر ، وضربت منهما عقبك بذي الفقار ، رأيت أن أتبع  
بعضه بعضا ، حتى أجلو عليك وردهما جنيا غضا ، فهك النشر يجلو ، والنظم يحلو .

Abū 'Amr b. Mudhhiġ wrote a qasīda praising Ibn Bassām, in which no single line is without some reference to Ibn Bassām's virtues, talent or genealogy; in this he departed completely from the ancient tradition of madīh, with its conventional commonplaces, that was still frequently employed. In speaking of the firmness, sweetness and delicacy of Ibn Bassām's poetry, Abū 'Amr overstates his case, and the burden of his poem is principally an indication of Ibn Bassām's standing with his contemporaries. Nevertheless, with its clear statements and its simple vocabulary, it is well-constructed as an organic unity, and is not devoid of artistic merit. Abū 'Amr was a well-known and capable poet, and this encomium of Ibn Bassām is not unworthy of him.

يا من تناول حرّ اللفظ من أمم  
لو أنّ جوارح لفظك تهديه الى حجر  
هذي جوارح جسمي كلّها أذن  
حاشا لنيلك أن تخفى معالمه  
ان كان للنيل عرنين تدلّ به  
اردد أنوف الليالي وهي راغمة  
من تغلب أنت في علياء مركزها  
قوم أراد ابن هند أن يضيّمهم  
مآثر قسمت بين الورى وغدا  
رأيت نفثة مصدر بعثت بها  
لم تغض مني بالشكوى الى طلل  
سافر بطرف أو انظر هل ترى يقظا  
حوادث لم تزل بالحرّ لاعبة  
وبيننا قربة ليست أو اصرها

بذي غرارين مثل الصارم الخدم  
لما استجيز عليه الوصف بالصمم  
مذ جاء منك بأذني لؤلؤ الكلم  
وهنّ أشهر من نار على علم  
حسنا فأنت به أبهى من الشمم  
ما لم تكن لك في الاذعان كالخدم  
فمن يباريك في مجد وفي كرم  
فأوطأوا الرأس منه أخصم القدم  
للتغلبيين منها أوفر القسم  
منّي الى متلظي الصدر محتدم  
ولم تبت عاكفا مني على صنم  
يحلّ من طلب الأيّام في حرم  
كما تلاعبت الأيسار بالزلم  
22 ما بين آدابنا مجفوة الرحم

We may perhaps again see the high opinion in which Ibn Bassām was held by another contemporary, Abū <sup>Amir</sup> b. al-Aṣīlī, in the following exchange. At the same time, it seems also to afford us a rare glimpse of a friendly and indeed jocular relationship between Ibn Bassām and another person.

وهبط أيضا الى الاشبونه أيام كوني بها وقد أصبحه المنصور الى قائدها  
كتبا في معناه ، فحسن بها مشواه ، وأجزل بها قراه ، وزرته ونزلت  
عليه في منزله أول التقائي به في لمة من أهل الأدب ، فلما انصرفنا عنه  
خاطب كل واحد منا بأبيات شعر يشكر على ما تهيأ له هنالك من البر  
واعتمد بمخاطبته أيضا غلاما وضيء الوجه وسيما ، وكان زاره معنا ، يسمى  
عيسى ، وخرج في وصفه الى النسيب ، فمن شعره مما خاطبني به أبيات أولها :

|                              |                               |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| يا دوحة العلم والآداب والخطب | ومن غدا فارسا في حلبة الطلب   |
| ماذا تحيط به من علم مسألة    | سألته منك بين الجد واللعب     |
| ورد الخدود وورد الروض أيهما  | أجل عندك ياذا العلم والأدب    |
| وقهوة الريق والصهباء واحدة   | أم قهوة الريق تخزي قهوة العنب |
| وما سألتك عن جهل بأمرهم      | لكن نزعته الى شيء من الطرب    |

فراجعته بأبيات منها :

|                             |                                  |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| طوقت كل أديب طوق لؤلؤة      | عرفتها من بحور العليهم والأدب    |
| لكن أجدت روِّي السين من شغف | اذ همة الليث في المسلوب لا السلب |

فراجعني بأبيات قال فيها :

|                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| ايه أبا حسن يراقم الصحف      | ما ان أجدنا روِّي السين من شغف           |
| لكن طربت لما ألقاه من حرق    | وما أكابده من شدة الكلف                  |
| وما انتفاعي بمحبوب أفارقه    | عمّا قريب ولم أبح سوى الدنف              |
| هذا الذي في الهوى قسرا يزهذي | ولو سكت لكان العذر غير خفي <sup>23</sup> |

We have already discussed Ibn Bassām's poetry and his position as a poet among his contemporaries. Here we should mention another aspect of his writing, namely the epistles which he addressed to the udabā' of his time, requesting some of their poetry and prose for inclusion in al-Dhakhīra. Here, for instance, is his epistle to Abū Bakr Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz:

كَلَّ يَبْلُغُ - أَعَزَّكَ اللَّهُ - مِنْ حَسَنَاتِ نَبِيكَ وَفَضْلِكَ ، وَمَعْلُوباتِ حَسْبِكَ  
وَنَسْبِكَ ، مَا يَحْدُثُ إِلَيْكَ طَرِبًا فِي الْمَوْتَانِ ، فَضْلًا عَنِ الْحَيَوَانِ ، وَمَا زَلَّتْ  
أَسْمَعُ فَاتَطَّلَعُ ، وَاسْتَشْعُرُ ، فَأَسْتَبْصِرُ ، وَأَحْنُ إِلَى مَفَاتِحِ الْخُطَابِ ، وَقَلِّمًا  
يَقَعُ إِلَّا بِأَسْبَابِ ، إِذَا الدَّخُولُ لَا يَكُونُ إِلَّا عَلَى بَابِ ، وَعِنْدَهُمْ - عَلَى عِلْمِكَ  
- أَنْ الْهَجُومَ عَلَيْهِ ، دُونَ سَبَبٍ يَدْعُو إِلَيْهِ ، نَوْعٌ مِنَ الْجَفَاءِ ، وَضَرْبٌ مِنْ  
مَفَارِقَةِ الْحَيَاءِ ، وَلَا يَسْتَجِيزُهُ إِلَّا مَنْ كَانَ عَنِ الْأَدَبِ بِمَعْزَلِ ، وَلِلْأُمُورِ غَيْرِ  
مَحْصَلِ ، وَمَعَ هَذَا فَإِنَّ الزَّمَانَ شَأْنَهُ الْبِخْلُ إِذَا اسْتَعْطَى ، وَالْمَطْلُ إِذَا  
اِقْتَضَى ، وَرَبٌّ مَرْغُوبٌ فِيهِ لَا يَنْفَقُ ، وَمَحْرُوصٌ عَلَيْهِ قَدْ سَدَّتْ دُونَهُ الطَّرِيقُ  
وَمَذْ دَخَلَتْ الْحَضْرَةُ ، فِي هَذِهِ السَّفَرَةِ ، تَحْدُثُ بِلِقَائِكَ ، لِأَكْتَبَ اسْمِي فِي  
دِيْوَانِ أَوْلِيَائِكَ ، فَارْتَقِبْتَ ذَلِكَ إِارْتِقَابَ الْمَائِمِ لِلْهَيْلِ ، إِلَى أَنْ كَتَبْتَ  
هَذِهِ الْأَحْرَفَ مَعَ صَدِيقِنَا أَبِي الْحَسَنِ الْفَاضِلِ هَيْلًا ، فَلَكَ الْفَضْلُ بِمَا لَكَ مِنْ  
شَرَفِ خَيْمِ ، وَمُحْتَدِ كَرِيمِ ، فِي الْغَضِّ عَلَى مَا تَرَاهُ مِنْ زِيُوفِ ، وَالْمَرَاجِعَةِ  
إِنْ تَأْتَتْ عَنْهَا وَلَوْ بِقَلِيلِ حُرُوفِ ، فَهَذَا الْخُطَابُ ، الَّذِي قَرَعْتَ بِهِ هَذَا  
الْبَابَ مِنْ مَوَاطِلِكَ ، وَجَعَلْتَهُ سَلْمًا إِلَى مَخَاطِبَتِكَ ، أَسْ يَقُومُ عَلَيْهِ  
24  
بَنِيَانِ ، وَغَرَسَ سَتَلْتَفَ فَوْقَهُ أَفْنَانَ وَهَمْسٍ سَيَكُونُ بَعْدَهُ اِعْلَانٌ .

Abū Bakr's reply is a suitably self-depreciating one, in which he too indulges in a somewhat extravagant eulogy of Ibn Bassām.

فراجعني أبو بكر برقعة قال فيها : وقفت - أعزك الله - من كتابك الكريم ،  
المضمّن من البرّ العميم ، ما أيسره يشغل الظهر ، ويستنفد الشكر ، ويستعبد  
الحرّ ، ورأيتك - رأيت أملك - تخطب من مودّتي ما ليس بكفو لخطبتك ، ولا بازا  
جلالة رتبتك ، لكّته فضل ملكت زمامه ، وأعطيت مقوده وخطامه ، ولا شك أنّ  
صديقنا أبا الحسن - أعزكما الله - أنطقه هواه ، ونامت عن الخبرة عين رضاه  
فسمع بالمعيدي لا أن تراه ، ولعمري لقد أحرّت الجواب فرقا من كشف السرّ ،  
وارادة التماذي في تدليس الأمر ، ثمّ علمت أنّ فضلا وضع في يديك ، وقصر عليك ،  
يوسعني في النقد طولاً ، كما شرفّفتني في البدء قولاً ، وعند اللقاء أنهى عذري ،  
وأعرفك حقيقة قدرتي ، ان شاء الله .

ومبقي مشاهد فخر العرب  
ومن سبك الشعر سبك الذهب  
وأين الكفّي له ان خطب  
ولما تحيّيك زهر الشهب  
ولما تحجّبك بيض القضب  
ومن هذه لك غيل أشب  
ورقيت منها قمّي الرتب  
نحوك وهو بعيد الطلب  
يدخله صدقه والكذب  
محض وأكثره مؤتشب  
نظم القريض ونثر الخطب  
أن لم يكن قاضيا ما يحب  
فاذ لم أجب نهجه لم أجب  
فجاءتك تسجد أو تقترب  
أرغب من سيدي ما رغب  
بخط على صفحات الكتب  
" قرأت الكتاب أبرّ الكتب "   
فأين عليّ لنا أو حلب

أمحيي معاهد رسم الأدب  
ومن نظم الفضل نظم الجمان  
بدأت فلبيك من خاطب  
أتحتلّ يا بدر في أفقنا  
ويهترّ نصلك في غمدهم  
فمن تلك جلاّسك الواصلون  
تساءت علينا مساعي العلا  
لك الفضل حرّكتني للنهوض  
وحدّثت عني وهذا الحديث  
فمعدرة أنّ بعض المقال  
برئت اليك من الزائفين  
وعمدا تأخّر عنك الجواب  
تعرّضت شأوك يوم الجزاء  
وأقدمني العذر والاعتراف  
ولولا الحياء لقد كنت قبل  
لأبقيت ذكرني بما صغته  
قواف تعطل في وزنها  
وان تك أحمد هذا الزمان



In another epistle, which he wrote while in Córdoba, in 493 A.H., when he began to write al-Dhakhīra, he demands from Abū Ḥatīm al-Hijārī some of his poetry, and choice stories connected with it. The immediate occasion of this letter was the fact that al-Hijārī, having already been asked a number of times for this material, was temporizing: Ibn Bassām tries, successfully, to shame him into complying:

" وقد تواتر عليك النبا أني جمعت من الرسائل الأندلسية والأشعار العصرية ، جملة موفورة ، لطوائف كثيرة ، ممن تحقق عندي أن حليته التي تحلى بها من صوغ طبعه ، وحلله التي نشرها من نسج فكره وأضربت ، عن من ارتبت ، إذ باعة الشعر أكثر من عدد الشعر ، ولما كنت أبا حاتم خاتمة أئمة هذا الشأن ، أحببت أن أجعل كلامك واسطة هذا الديوان ، إلا أنني رأيت لك من الإمتناع ، بتلك الرقاع ما حدثت عليك أنك قلت : هذا ابن بسام كما أخرجته الروم من بلاده ، وصفرت يده من طارفه وتلاده ، وقدم قرطبة بقدوم الضرورة على تلك الصورة ، يريد أن يشخذ المدينة ، في أبواب الكدية ، فاتخذ تأليف هذه الشذور القلائد ، سببا أن يسبي عذارى القصائد ، في حجر أربابها ، ويسلبها عن أصحابها ، حتى إذا قيّد لفظها ومعناها ، وجليت عنده اتاها ، وقد أبعدت مرامك ، أن كنت ظننت بي ذلك وكلا أبا حاتم ، فانك لي لعين الظالم ، ان نسبتني لهذا العجز ، وأتسي أحق أن أطيل لسيف غيري الهز ، وقد شهدت الأشهاد ، بتلك البلاد ، أن لي بديهة قوية ، توفي على الروية ، إلا أنني أبا حاتم لا أجري في ميدانك ، ولا أعدّ من أقرانك ، فسقى الله بلادا أنجبتك وان كانت حجازية ، فان معانيك عراقية ، وألفاظك حجازية ، والله مدينة الفرج ، فلقد تتحدث منك عن أنموذج بيان ، مخلى الطريق للجريان .

فلما وردته الرقعة ، زمّ عن الجواب قلمه ، وكلّف الإيجاب قدمه ، وورد من حينه عليّ ، ونشر مبيّضاته بين يديّ ، يقيمه الخجل ويقعد ، وقد صبغه كما صبغ اللجين العسجد " .

One of the most distinguished men of letters and prose writers of this time was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad Ibn Abī al-Khiṣāl. He conducted a correspondence with Ibn Bassām, which the latter includes under the title Fuṣūl min Nathrihi. He says: "I isolated myself to write this third part of al-Dhakhīra, in 503 A.H., when I had finished copying what I had of the correspondence of the writers of the Eastern side of al-Andalus.



I could not find any prose or poetry by this man, so one of my friends wrote to him in this matter and also encouraged me to correspond with him there (in Seville); so both epistles reached him, while he was passing by the vicinity of Seville with a group of his people". It seems that Ibn Bassām's letter to Abū 'Abd Allāh did not survive; Abū 'Abd Allāh's reply is quoted:

" وأجابني أيضا برقعة قال فيها : وصل من السيد المسترق ، والمالك المستحق - وصل الله أنعمه لديه ، كما قصر الفضل عليه - كتابه البليغ ، واستدراج المريغ ، فلولا أن يصلد زند اقتداحه ، ويرتد طرف افتتاحه ، وتنقبض يدي انبساطه ، وتغيب صفة اغتباطه ، للزمت معه مركز قدري ، وضمن سيره صدري ، لكنه بنفثة سحره يسمع الصم ، ويستنزل العم ، ويقتاد الصعب فيصحب ، ويستدرّ الصّجور فتطلب ، ولما فجاني ابتلاؤه ، وقرع سمعي نداؤه ، فرزعت الى الفكر ، وحقق القلب بين الأمن والحذر ، فطاردت من الفقر أوابد قفر ، وشوارد عفر ، تغيّر في وجوه سوابقها ، ولا يتوجّه للحقاق لوجيها ولا حقها ، فعلمت أنها الاهابة والمهابة ، والاصابة والاسترابة ، حتى أيأستني الخواطر ، وأخلفتني المواطر ، الآ زبرجا يعقب جوادا ، وبهرجا لا يحتمل انتقادا ، وأني لمثلي والقريحة مرجاة ، والبضاعة مزجات ، ببراعة الخطاب ، وبزاعة الكتاب ، ولولا دروس معالم البيان ، واستيلاء العفاء على هذا الشأن ، لما فاز لمثلي فيه قدح ، ولا تحصل لي في سوقه ربح ، ولكنّه

جوّ خال ، ومضمّار جهال .

وفي فصل منها : وأنا أربأ - أعزك الله - بقدر الذخيرة " عن هذه النصف الأخيرة ، وأرى أنها قد بلغت مداها ، واستوفت حلاها ، وإنما أخشى القحح في اختيارك ، والاخلال بمختارك ، وعلى ذلك فوالله ما من عادتي أن أثبت ما أكتب في رسم ينقل ، ولا في وضع المراتب عندنا مخاطب نتحقر له ونحتفل ، وإنما هو عفو فكر ، ونشر ذكر ، وقد وجهت من المنظوم طيها ما حضر ، وعذري اليك - أعزك الله - في أنني خطت والنوم مغازل ، والقر منازل ، والريح تلعب بالسراج ، وتصول عليه صولة الحجاج ، فطورا تسدده سنانا ، وتارة تحركه لسانا ، وآونة تطويه حبابة ، وأخرى تنشره ذؤابة ، وتقيمه ابرة لهب ، وتعطفه برة ذهب ، أو حمة عقرب ، وتقوسه حاجب فتاة ذات غمزات ، وتتسلط على سليطه ، وتزيله عن خليطه ، وتخلفه نجما ، وتردّه رجما ، وتستل روحه من ذباله ، وتعيده الى حاله ، وربما نصبته أذن جواد ، ومسخته حدق جراد ، ومشقته حروف برق ، بكف ودق ، ولتمت بسناه قنديله ، وألقت على أعطافه منديله ، فلا حظ منه للعين ولا هداية في الطرس لليدين ، والليل زنجي الأديم ، تبري النجوم ، قد جللنا ساجه ، وأغرقتنا أمواجه ، فلا مجال للحظة ، ولا تعارف إلا بلفظة ، ولو نظرت فيه الزرقاء لاكتطت ، أو خضبت به الشبية لما نصلت ، والكلب قد صافح خيشومه ذنبه ، وأنكر البيت وطنيه ، والتوى التواء الحباب ، واستدار استدارة الحباب ، وجلده الجليد ، وضربه الضريب ، وصعد أنفاسه الصعيد ، فحماه مباح ، ولا هرير ولا نباح ، والنار كالصديق أو كالرحيق ، كلاهما عنقاء مغرب ، أو نجم مغرب .

26

استوفي يا معتمدي هذا الفصل ، ولك في الاغضاء الفضل .

The florid, self-conscious and virtually impenetrable language of the first section is to a great extent redeemed by the rather charming, if overdone, conceits of the second; the picture of the dog is particularly felicitous. It would be interesting to know just how much effort went into the composition of such a piece, how seriously it was intended to be taken, and what Ibn Bassām's reaction was on receiving it. Presumably, since he saw fit to include it, he regarded it as meritorious; however, it falls considerably below the standard of his own work, at its best.

وله من أخرى يعتذر من استبطاء المكاتبة :

ولو وفّت الأيّام جاشت صدورها      بما ضمّنته أو تبلّغ ما عندي  
ولو جرت الخمس الرياح تضرعت      بما استنشقتّه من ثنائي ومن ودي  
ولو كان عهد للغزاة جددت      لكم كلّ ما أبقى الجديدان من عهد  
ألم تسألوا والقلب رهن لديكم      فيخبركم عني بمضمرة بعدي  
فلو قبلتني الحادثات مكانكم      لأنهبته وفري وأوطأته خدي  
ألم تعلموا أنّي وأهلي وواحدي      فداء ولا أرضى بتفدية وحدي

A writer subsequent to Ibn Saʿīd, al-Shaqundī, in his epistle on the superiority of the people of al-Andalus to those of Morocco, says about Ibn Bassām:

وهل لكم في الاعتناء بتخليد مآثر فضلاء اقليمه والاجتهاد في حشد محاسنهم  
مثل ابن بسّام صاحب الذخيرة .

Many of the later literary historians of al-Andalus and the East also admired Ibn Bassām and praised him in their books. Ibn Saʿīd said of him in the chapter about Abū Naṣr al-Faṭh Ibn Khāqān: <sup>28</sup>

الدهر من رواة قلائده ، وحملة وسائطه ، وابن بسّام أكثر تقييدا ، وعلمنا  
مفيدا ، والفتح أقدر على البلاغة ، وكلامه أكثر تعلقا بالنفس .

In spite of saying, however, that Ibn Khāqān was a better writer than Ibn Bassām, Ibn Saʿīd expressed his surprise that an author as talented as Ibn Bassām should have appeared from the West of al-Andalus:

العجب أنه لم يكن في حساب الآداب الأندلسية ، سيبعث من شترين قاصية  
الغرب ، ومحل الطعن والضرب ، من ينظمها قلائد في جيد الدهر ، ويطلعها  
ضرائر للأنجم الزهر ، ولم ينشأ بحضرة قرطبة ولا بحضرة اشبيلية ولا غيرهما  
من الحواضر العظام من يمتعض امتعاضه لاعلام عصره ، ويجهد في جمع حسنات  
نظمه ونشره ، وسل الذخيرة ، فانها تعنون عن محاسنه الغزيرة .  
<sup>29</sup>

Modern authors have also been able to point out mistakes in Ibn Bassām, for example, Aḥmad Haykal remarked on his assumption that the addressee of Ibn Shuhayd's al-Tawābi<sup>c</sup> wa-al-awābi<sup>c</sup>, named simply as Abū Bakr, was Abū Bakr Ibn Ḥazm, in which assumption he was followed by others such as Ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>id: "This is impossible, since Abū Bakr Ibn Ḥazm died some time before Ibn Shuhayd wrote his epistle, as stated by his brother Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥazm in Tawq al-Ḥamāma!" Haykal suggests that Ibn Bassām, knowing that Ibn Shuhayd had a relationship with the Banū Ḥazm, and that there had been an Abū Bakr in the family, jumped to an unwarranted conclusion without checking his dates. He thinks it likely that Ibn Shuhayd's Abū Bakr was one known as Ishkimiya<sup>t</sup>, who had accused him of plagiarism and whom he rebukes in his epistle.<sup>31</sup>

Dozy prefers Ibn Khāqān to Ibn Bassām. This I feel to be an idiosyncratic and mistaken view. In the first place, the sheer size and comprehensiveness of the Dhakhira, with al-Qalā'id and al-Matmah, must assure him a position that the other cannot attain. In the second place, as far as style and language are concerned, we have only to read Ibn Bassām's contemporaries to learn what their opinion of him was.

In fact, Ibn Khaqān's style is full of obscurities, and his judgements are often extremely subjective, depending on whether or not he agrees with the writer he is criticising. Of modern Arab writers on the subject, it will suffice to quote what 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Barquqī says, comparing the two: "Ibn Bassām is distinguished from al-Fath Ibn Khaqān by several things, the most important of which is that one does not find in his style the loud bombast that one does in the style of al-Fath. One finds Ibn Bassām to be a skilful critic, often commenting on what he has selected in such a way as to demonstrate his firm grasp of literature. In addition, he provides more comprehensive and valuable information than al-Fath. One finds him chaster in language, more impartial in what he says; and one does not find in him the vilification that one finds in al-Fath.

In spite of the general praise that Ibn Bassām's work received in his own time and subsequently, it was not without critics. The principal charge made against him was that of plagiarism, particularly from Ibn Hayyān. Since Ibn Bassām specifically refers to this in Part Four, and, in fact, always acknowledges his sources, this charge can hardly be sustained. He was not a historian, as we have said; when he considered it necessary to introduce some historical background, he had to rely on others. Ibn al-Abbār, in al-Hulla as-Sirā', refers to Ibn Bassām's historical shortcomings, comparing him with Ibn Qāsim al-Shilbī:

هذا ما أورد ابن بسام من خبر ابن عمّار في هذه القضية ، وابن قاسم  
السّليبي - في تاريخه المجموع في أخبار المعتمد محمد بن عبّاد - أمتن  
علما بها ، وأحسن سردا لها .

As a specific example, let us take the following passage of

al-Dhakhīra:

وأولّ تعلّقه بالمعتمد كان حين وجّهه لحرب شلب أبوه ، فنزع ابن عمّار اليه ،  
وبلغ من المنزلة لديه ، أن غلب عليه ، وبعد انتبازه شلب ، وفراغه من تلك  
الحرب ، صحبه بحضرة اشبيلية ، وأحضره معه مجالس أنسه ، الى أن أوجس خيفة  
في نفسه من أبيه المعتضد ، ففرّ عن البلد ، ولحق بشرق الأندلس ، وتمكّن بها  
من المؤتمن يوسف بن أحمد بن هود ، فخاطب المعتمد بهذا القصيد الفرييد ،

عليّ والآ ما نياح الحمائم      وفيّ والآ ما بكاء الغمام

about which Ibn al-Abbās has these critical comments to make:

ومن فاحش الغلط قول ابن بسّام أنّ ابن عمّار قال هذه القصيدة لما خاف من  
المعتضد لغلبته على ابنه المعتمد ، ففرّ من اشبيلية ولحق بشرق الأندلس ،  
وتمكن من المؤتمن بن هود . قال : ومن هنالك خاطبه بها ، فلما قرعت سمع  
المعتمد وجّه عن ابن عمّار على الترغيب والتمكين واستوزره عدة سنين ، الى  
الميفات المضروب والأجل المكتوب ، حكى ذلك في " كتاب الذخيرة " .

وفي أخبار ابن عمّار من تأليفه - ولا أدري كيف غاب عنه - أن ما ادعاه  
- لو صحّ - كان قبل الستين أو الخمسين وأربعمائة ، وولاية المؤتمن في جمادي  
الأولى سنة أربع وسبعين - ولقائل أن يقول : لعل ابن عمّار صحبه في حياة  
أبيه المقتدر ، وهو اذ ذاك مرشّح لمكانه ، فيلزمه أن يأتي على مقاله بما  
يوّمّنه من ابطاله . والمتعارف أنّ ابن عمّار لم يصحب المؤتمن بسرقسطة ، الآ عند  
فراره من مرسية . فغلط ابن بسّام لا خفاء به ولا امتراء فيه .

1. Ibn Khaldūn, 3, 301-302.
2. Ibid. 3, 303-305. Dīwān Ibn Darrāj al-Qastallī, 26.
3. Ibn al-Far ḡī, 1, 33.
4. Ibn Ḥayyān, 5, 34.
5. Muḥammad <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Ḥamīd <sup>c</sup>Isā, 266-280; see Muḥammad Ben Aboud, Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh, 197-205.
6. Ibn Bassām, 2, 2, 806.
7. Ibid, 1, 1, 172.
8. Ibid, 1, 1, 16.
9. Ibn al-Abbār, 2, 148.
10. Ibn Bassām, 2, 2, 835.
11. Ibid, 3, 1, 116.
12. Ibid, 1, 1, 18.
13. Ibn Zāfir, 80.
14. Ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>īd, 1, 418.
15. Naziha Ja<sup>c</sup>far al-Mūsawī, 54-55.
16. Ibn Bassām, 2, 2, 538-539.
17. Ibid, 2, 2, 597.
18. Ibid, 1, 2, 906-907.
19. Ibid, 1, 2, 908.
20. Ibid, 2, 2, 597-598.
21. Ibid, 1, 2, 905-907.
22. Ibid, 3, 2, 863.
23. Ibid, 2, 2, 539-541.
24. Ibid, 2, 2, 537-538.
25. Ibid, 3, 2, 654-655.
26. Ibid, 3, 2, 790-792.



27. Ibid, 3, 2, 797-798.
28. Ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>īd, 1, 259-260.
29. Ibid, 1, 417-418.
30. al-Maqqarī, 3, 193.
31. Aḥmad Haykal, 380.
32. Ibn al-Abbār, 148.

THE BACKGROUND TO AL-DHAKHĪRA

The disagreement that has prevailed until now among scholars concerning the time and place of the composition of al-Dhakira appears to be totally unnecessary\*.

We are given a definite date and place for its beginning by Ibn Bassām himself:

ولمّا ابتدأت بتحرير هذا الكتاب ، وأنا يومئذ بقرطبة سنة ثلاث وتسعين ، نظرت في مبيّضات كانت عندي لأهل هذا الاقليم ، فلم أجد لأبي حاتم فيها شيئاً من منشور ولا منظوم ، فاستهديت قطعة من أشعاره وما عسى أن يتعلّق بها من أخباره ، وتكرّر عليه رسولي هنالك ، فمطلني في ذلك<sup>1</sup>

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\*Muṣṭafā al-Shak<sup>c</sup>a believes that Ibn Bassām wrote it in Seville. Muṣṭafā al-Shak<sup>c</sup>a, Manāhiḡ al-Tālīf<sup>c</sup> inda al-<sup>c</sup>Arab p.636. Naz ha Ja<sup>c</sup>far al-Mūsawī is uncertain as to the year in which he began to write, but suggests that it was not before 494 when she supposes that Ibn Bassām went to Córdoba for the first time. N.J. al-Mūsawī, Ibn Bassām:Dirāsa Adabiyya Tārikhiyya p.67 (she is probably relying on al-Dhakhīra for this suggestion). See Ibn Bassām 2, 2, 536.

Muḡammad Abd Allāh<sup>c</sup> Inān believes that the work was composed after the downfall of the Mulūk al-Ṭawāif, i.e. in 502 or 503 A.H. Muḡammad<sup>c</sup> Abd Allāh<sup>c</sup> Inān, Duwal al-Ṭawāif p.417-418. It seems likely that none of these three had access to the passage quoted above, the edition that was available to them being incomplete.

The years 502 and 503 are certainly mentioned by Ibn Bassām but apparently in the context of the completion of Vols. 2 and 3:

As far as the date of its completion is concerned, we have no clear information. There are, however, two pieces of internal evidence that indicate dates by which it had not been completed. The first is his reference to the death of al-<sup>ع</sup>Āma al-Ṭulayṭulī:<sup>2</sup>

وكان بالأندلس سرّ الاحسان ، وفردا في الزمان ، إلا انه لم يطل زمانه ، ولا امتدّ  
أوانه ، وأعتبط عندما به أعتبط ، وأضحت نواظر الآداب لفقده رمدة ، ونفوس أهله  
متفجّعة كمدّة .

We learn from Ibn al-Khaṭīb that this took place in 525 A.H. The second is somewhat less conclusive, but is nevertheless suggestive. He cites a Urjuza of Abū Ṭālib b. <sup>ع</sup>Abd al-Jabbār in which <sup>ع</sup>Alī b. Yūsuf, the second Almoravid Amir, is mentioned:

فاذا أراد الله نصر الدين      استصرخ الناس ابن تاشفين  
فجاءهم كالصبح في أثر غسق      مستدركا لما تبقى من رمق

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In the chapter on Abū <sup>ع</sup>Abd Allāh Ibn Abī al-Khiṣāl, Ibn Bassām says:

فلما انتهيت الى نقل ما كان وقع اليّ من هذا المجموع في شهر سنة ثلاث وخمسمائة  
لم أقع لهذا الرجل على كلام في نثار ولا نظام ، فكاتبه بعض الاخوان في ذلك  
ونشطني أيضا على مخاطبته هنالك ، فوردت عليه الرقعتان وهو مجتاز على اشيلية  
في جملة أهل العسكر .

ذكر الجانب الشرقي من جزيرة الأندلس ، وتسمية من نجم في أفقه من كواكب العصر ،  
ويرز في ميادينه من فرسان النظم والنثر ، من أوّل المدّة المورّخة صدر هذا الكتاب  
الى وقتنا الذي هو سنة اثنتين وخمسمائة حسما شرطنا .

وافى أبو يعقوب كالعقاب  
وواصل السير الى الرّلاقة  
للّه درّ مثلها من وقعة  
وثلّ للشرك هناك عرشه  
فوجب ألخع لذي الخلاءه  
واتمل الأمر على نظمام  
وانصرفت على العدرّ الكره  
فتلك خيل اللّه في العدرّ  
ثمّ وليّ عليّ بن يوسف  
فجرّد السيف من القراب  
وساقه ليومها ما ساقه  
قامت بنصر الدين يوم الجمعة  
لم يغن عنه يومه أذفنه  
وصرّحوا ليوسف بالطاعة  
وامتدّ ظلّ اللّه للاسلام  
ورجع الجمع كأولى مرّه  
تعيث في الرواح والغدرّ  
3 مهتديا حكم أبيه يقتفي

Alī ruled from 500 to 537 A.H., so that this reference does not, at first sight, necessarily give us a later date than 525. However, in al-Hulla al-Mūshiya of Ibn al-Khaṭīb a further two lines of this same Urjūza are given, in which Tāshfīn b. Alī is also mentioned.

وبعد ذلك الليث تاشفين  
وأنت الفتن والأرزاء  
غضب ظلما ملكه المكين  
واستحكمت في أهلها الأهواء 4

As he reigned from 537 to 539, we may perhaps be justified in concluding that al-Dhakhīra was not completed before, at any rate, 537.

It has been suggested that Ibn Bassām may have dictated the Dhakhīra to his students rather than actually writing it himself, and also that he may have left it in the form of notes that were afterwards collected and published by others. These suggestions are based on two points: first, that Ibn Bassām refers to his work variously as Kitāb, a Majmū<sup>c</sup> and a Dīwān<sup>5</sup>; and second, that he refers to himself interchangeably as Ibn Bassām and Abū al-Ḥasan. It has been pointed out that the only other example that we have among Andalusī writers of the second phenomenon is that of Ibn al-Qūṭīyyah, in his Tārīkh Iftitāh al-Andalus<sup>6</sup>, which is unanimously agreed to be the work of his students, on the basis of his notes. Makkī thinks that the same may well be true of Ibn Bassām's Dhakhīra. There seems to be some confusion in his argument here, however, since he also maintains that Ibn Bassām had no opportunity of teaching.

Makkī cites two passages that in his view indicate that Ibn Bassām was not the author. On the first he says: "We cannot understand the following passage concerning Ibn Zaydūn:

وله - أي ابن زيدون - من رسالة حذف أبو الحسن رحمه الله هنا أكثرها ، ولم يذكر منها إلا قطرة من وابل ، أو نفثة من سحر بابل ، وها أنا مثبتها على تواليها إشادة بحسن معانيها ، واستفادة من سني آدابه فيها<sup>7</sup>.

"It is impossible that Ibn Bassām should have been the author of this, even though its saj<sup>c</sup> is very similar to his, and its content strongly resembles the kind of thing that he says. It is all the more interesting, because it occurs in all the manuscripts of the book that we have. We can only suppose that this Abū al-Ḥasan is someone other than Ibn Bassām himself, who shared his Kunya, and is one of the sources that Ibn Bassām cites. This, however, is a conjecture for which there is no evidence."

On the second, which also occurs in the section dealing with Ibn Zaydūn:

ومما أغفل ابن بَسَّام من نسب أبي الوليد الصحيح الأقسام ، النازح عن الأطماع والأوهام ، المصدق قول الجعفرية فيما ينص من الإلهام قوله .<sup>8</sup>

he says: "This text provides clear evidence that its author was someone other than Ibn Bassām, who wrote the name Ibn Bassām by mistake".<sup>9</sup>

The conjecture that it was someone other than Abū al-Ḥasan who gave the book its final form is more plausible than the suggestion that some interpolator added these passages. This latter passage, like the former, occurs in all the manuscripts that we have; the single one in which it is missing has a blank at this point, starting with this passage and extending for some pages.

There are two other passages, not noticed by Makkī, in which Ibn Bassām is referred to, clearly by someone else:

ومن بدائعه العقم المستنزلة للعمم ، وما أرى أبا الحسن تجافى عنها غاضاً منها .

لكن قدر أعجله ، أو زمن لم يسمح له ، ولأمر ما عطل هذا الورق ، وأحال على الأيام أن تستنطق ، فالجهد لله الذي لم يشكلنا بها ، ويسرنا لإكتتابها .<sup>10</sup> وهذه نبذة من كلامه الواقع من هذا السفر ، مكان الوساطة من عقد البكر ، جمعها أبو الحسن في مسودة هذا التأليف ، ورأيته قد ألمع منها عند التحرير بالنزر اللطيف على عادته من إيثار الإختصار واقتضاب ما يتخلص على الإنتقاء والإنتخاب ، وقد رأيت أن أحبر منها هذه الأوراق التي بقيت بيضاء ، بما يخجل الروض أريضا ، ويزري بالمسك فريضا ، تحفظا بتلك الآثار الكرام أن تعفو ، وخوفا على تلك الأنوار الوسام أن تخبو .<sup>11</sup>

The suggestion that the interpolator had seen both a first and second version of al-Dhakhīra, or at least of part of it, is of considerable relevance for the history of the work. We cannot, however, tell from these passages what the status of the interpolator, or interpolators, was.

The section on Abū<sup>c</sup> Āmir b. al-Faraj is clearly an addition. It is not listed in Ibn Bassām's general index, in the introduction, and it does not occur in all the manuscripts. It appears to derive from Matmah al-Anfus by al-Faḥ Ibn Khāqān, although falsely ascribed by Ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>īd to the same author's al-Qalā'id. Probably, too, the section on Abū<sup>c</sup> 'Isā b. Lubūn is taken from al-Faḥ b. Khāqān, since it shows similarities to his account, in al-Qalā'id, and again is neither mentioned in Ibn Bassām's index nor found in all the manuscripts. There is a strange phenomenon that occurs twice in *ft. 3*, namely the inclusion of two biographies of the same person. We find both Abū<sup>c</sup> Jāfar b. Aḥmad and Dhū al-Wizāratayn Abū<sup>c</sup> Abd Allāh b. Abī al-Khiṣāl distinguished in this way, although in



both cases the two headings differ slightly. The biographies, however, are totally at variance, and it has been remarked that the first of each pair coincides with the account given in al-Qalā'id, which may be assumed to be the source. Thus, in all these cases, there is clear evidence for later interpolation, by a not very observant student or scribe. The fact that none of these additional biographies occurs in all the manuscripts of al-Dhakhīra probably suggests that they were added by a scribe.

Nazh<sup>a</sup> Ja<sup>c</sup>far al-Mūsawī believes that there are a number of indications that suggest that Ibn Bassām did, in fact, complete the Dhakhīra himself. First, he mentions a dedicatee, although he does not name him:

وهذا الديوان نيّة لم يفصح عنها قول ولا عمل ، وأمنية لم يكن منها حَوْل ولا حَوْل :  
كامن بين العيان والخبر ، كمن النار في الحجر ، وجار بين اللسان والقلب جري  
الماء في الغصن الرطب ، الى أن طلع على أرضها شهاب سعدها وتمكينها ، وهبت  
لها ريح دنياها ودينها ، ونفخ فيها روح تأميلها وتأمينها ، ملك أملاكها ،  
12 وجذيل حكاكها ، وأسعد نجوم أفلاكها ، "فلان" شمال المظلوم ، ومال السائل والمحروم .

He would hardly have dedicated the work before completing it, but it is strange that the dedicatee should be referred to as fulān. There are three possibilities here: one is that he had not decided who the dedicatee was to be when he drafted his introduction, and that he wrote in general eulogistic terms that could be applied to any dedicatee he chose; the second is that, at the time of drafting, he could not remember precisely the full name of the dedicatee, and so

left a blank, to be filled in later. Both of these possibilities suggest that he left the work unfinished and that it was put together after his death. A third possibility is that he did in fact give the name of the dedicatee, but that this was at some later stage removed, either deliberately for whatever reason, or accidentally, perhaps because the name was illegibly written in a copy, or because it was an unfamiliar one. This, of course, would imply that he did complete the Dhakhīra in his own lifetime.

The likelihood that Ibn Bassām finished and published the Dhakhīra himself is increased by his remarking that he was asked by people to make further copies of it, and that he found them enthusiastic to obtain it.

ولمّا سئلت أيضا إنتساخ هذا الديوان ، ورأيت شره أهل الزمان ، الى الإقتباس من نوره ، بما يلتقطونه من شذوره ، أحببت أن يجوب الآفاق ، وتسير به الرفاق ، وعليه من إسم من له جمع ، وإلى جوانبه العلية رفع ، طراز به تنفق سوقه ، ولا تضيع ان شاء الله حقوقه .<sup>13</sup>

Since this remark occurs in the introduction, it would seem likely that this introduction or at least part of it, was written after the appearance, in sections, of the complete work and that it was intended as an introduction to a kind of second edition, or at least an edition published as a whole. His reference, in *Pl.*4, I, to the accusations of plagiarism that had been made against him, is inconclusive, since these may have been directed against his earlier works. It is, however, equally and perhaps more probable, that it is criticism of the previously issued sections of the Dhakhīra

that is in question, since the way in which the remark is phrased, and also Ibn Bassām's denial of the accusation, seems to suggest that it applies to something that may be considered as a major work.

وأذكر بفعلة ابن العريف في صاعد بعض ما منيت أنا به في خبر هذا التصنيف مع غير واحد من أهل وقتي ، إذ سردت في بعض قصمه كلام ابن حيّانهم ، وكان على ما تقدّم وصفه متكلم أو انهم ، فلمّا أعوزني لفظه في بعض ما سقت ، ولم أجده في كلّ حديث نسقت ، رجعت الى نحيزتي ، واستمطرت غريزتي ، وماؤها جامد ، ورمادها هامد ، كما قال سابق :

أخلقت جدّتي وبنان شبابي واستراحت عواذلي من عتابي

وأنا يومئذ باشبيلية ، أتصرف مضطراً في بعض الأعمال السلطانية . والكلام إذا لم يحكه قلب فارغ ، ولم يسبكه لبّ من ظلماء الشغل بازغ ، لم يبرق تطريزه ، وعلى ذلك لما اندرجت لي فيه كلمات رائقات ، في أوصاف مختلفات ، وبلغت فيه أمد المراد ، بألفاظ أعيان ومعان أفراد ، انشال عليّ فيها الكلام ، انشال الغمام ، قالوا : نعم ما صتّف ابن بسّام وأتقن ، لو لم يستعن ، وما أحسن ما قصّص ، لو لم يتلصّص . ولله درّهم فالدأماء لا يزيّد من القرّيّ وذكاء لا تضيء من الدرّيّ . بل درّ درّ أبي الطيّب من شاعر نطق بالبدّيّ ، وجرى على عتق جدّه الكندي ، واستولى على الأمد بقوله إذ صدق :

|                          |                           |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| أتيت بمنطق العرب الأصيل  | وكان بقدر ما أحسبت قيلي   |
| فعارضه كلام كان منه      | بمنزلة النساء من البعول   |
| وليس يصحّ في الأوهام شيء | إذا احتاج النهار الى دليل |

That Ibn Bassām was, at any rate, contemplating the appearance of his work as an actual book can not be doubted. In his introduction, again, he acknowledges his debt to al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālībī and says that he is following his method of compilation, as seen in the Yatīmat al-Dahr. The title itself of the Dhakhīra imitates that of al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālībī's work. There is no way of knowing whether or not Ibn Bassām is responsible for the form in which the Dhakhīra appeared. However, there is more evidence for his having completed it himself than there is for its having been assembled by someone else after his death. The question is not perhaps of the greatest importance, but there appears to be no real reason why we should believe the Dhakhīra to be anything other than what it claims to be.

There are a number of other passages that may be adduced as evidence for Ibn Bassām's own authorship:

1. "I have not touched on any of the poems of the Marwānīd dynasty or of the encomia of the Amirīd dynasty, since Ibn Faraj al-Jayyānī was of the same opinion as myself concerning justice and shared my view of pride, and he wrote the Kitāb al-Hadāiq about the literary beauties of the people of his time, in imitation of the Kitāb al-Zahra of al-Iṣfahānī. I have avoided what he wrote about and have not touched on anything that he compiled."
2. "I have confided myself to this compilation, which I have called Kitāb al-Dhakhīra fi Mahāsin Ahl al-Jazīra, of the wonders of their learning and the marvels of their prose and verse that which is sweeter than the whispering of lovers . . . . . "

3. "As for most of those whom I have mentioned in this treatise, I was unable to find written information concerning them, or collections of poetry by them, from which I could easily make a selection. I have been able to criticize only what I could find. I was not in any way remiss in this matter; I devoted to it lengthy study and the time that I could afford, until I had filled this book of mine with so much information concerning the people of this region that it may perhaps have exceeded the measure for the people of the East".<sup>15</sup>

It is possible that the work was based on lectures, which were dictated to his students. When these were written out, he would correct them and arrange them, perhaps adding or altering passages here and there. It is highly likely, at any rate, as has been suggested, that passages were interpolated, either by students or by scribes.

#### IBN BASSĀM'S PREDECESSORS AND SUCCESSORS.

The first stage in the tradition of compilation into which Ibn Bassām fits is that of the early books of Tabaqāt which gave accounts of a number of poets, presented a quantity of their poetry, and attempted some kind of classification. The poets were selected according to various criteria: period, region, tribe or name. Among the best-known of these early works are: Tabaqāt al-Shu<sup>c</sup>arā' of Ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī (d. 232 A.H.); al-Shi<sup>c</sup>r wa-al-Shu<sup>c</sup>arā' of Ibn Qutayba (d. 276 A.H.); and Mu<sup>c</sup>jam al-Shu<sup>c</sup>arā' of Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Imrān b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh al-Marzubānī (d.c. 380 A.H.).

Among the other Eastern predecessors of Ibn Bassām were:

1. Hārūn b. <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr al-Munajjim Al-Baghdādī (d.388 A.H.), the author of al-Bāri<sup>c</sup>, which is devoted to accounts of Muwalladūn poets. This book is regarded as the first to specialize in one particular period. In it, he collected the best poetry of 161 poets, beginning with Bashshār b. Burd and ending with Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b.Ṣāliḥ.
2. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tazz (d.296 A.H.). In his Ṭabaqāt al-Shu<sup>c</sup>arā', composed at the same time as al-Bāri<sup>c</sup>, he collected the work of poets who praised the Abbasids. This book is regarded as the third most important, after that of Ibn Sallām and Ibn Qutayba.
3. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Jarrāh (d.296 A.H.). He composed two books: in the first, Akhbār al-Shu<sup>c</sup>arā', he deals with poets all having the same name, regardless of their time or place. The second, al-Warāqa (edited by <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Wahhāb <sup>c</sup>Azzām and <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Sattār Farrāj) deals with 23 poets and poetesses who enjoyed a good relationship with the Abbasids.
4. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālibī (d.429 A.H.) the author of Yatīmat al-Dahr. He also wrote many books on linguistics, adab, and history, his total production being almost 90 works. The Yatīma is a Ṭabaqāt book of poets of the 4th century that proceeds on a geographical basis, beginning with the farthest East and ending with al-Andalus.
5. <sup>c</sup>Alī b. al-Hasan al-Bākhari (d.464 A.H.), famous for his Dumyat al-Qaṣr wa-Zahrat Ahl al-<sup>c</sup>Asr. He himself was a poet, philologist, literary man and prose writer. He was

a good friend of Abū al-Ḥasan b. Zayd al-Bayhaqī. Ibn Khallikān reports that his poetry filled a large volume, and also that he compiled a supplement to Dumyat al-Qasr, called Wishāh al-Dumya.

6. Sa<sup>c</sup>d b. <sup>c</sup>Ali b. al-Qāsim al-Anṣārī al-Warrāq al-Ḥaḏīrī called Abū al-Ma<sup>c</sup>ālī (d.568 A.H.). He is famous as an auctioneer (dallāl) of books. He compiled Zīnat al-Dahr wa-<sup>c</sup>Uṣrāt Ahl al-<sup>c</sup>Asr wa-Dhikr Latā'if Shīr al-<sup>c</sup>Asr. This book is a supplement to Dumyat al-Qasr. He continued the work of al-Bākhazī. He also compiled books such as Lumaḥ al-Mulaḥ and al-I<sup>c</sup>jāz fī al-Ahājī wa-al-<sup>c</sup>Alghāz.
7. <sup>c</sup>Imād al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Safī al-Dīn, known as al-<sup>c</sup>Imād al-Isbahānī (d.597 A.H.). He is famous for his Kharīdat al-Qasr wa-Jarīdat al-<sup>c</sup>Asr. This book includes poets from the 5th century up to 572. It was divided into four parts: Syria, Egypt and Sicily; the Maghrib and al-Andalus; Iraq; and Persia. He wrote several other books such as al-Barq al-Shāmī fī Akhbār Ṣalāh al-Dīn wa-futūḥātihi, a Dīwān and some epistles. He also compiled a supplement to al-Kharīda called al-Sayl <sup>c</sup>alā al-Dhayl.

Among the Andalusī predecessors of Ibn Bassām were:

1. <sup>c</sup>Uthmān b. Rabī<sup>c</sup>a al-Andalusī (d.310 A.H.), who compiled Tabaqāt al-Shu<sup>c</sup>arā' bi-al-Andalus. It is suggested that he was influenced in this by al-Bārī<sup>c</sup> of <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Hārūn b. Yaḥyā.
2. Abū al-Faṭḥ b. Nāṣir b. Raqqās b. <sup>c</sup>Ayshūn al-Shadhūnī (d.338 A.H.) who was a philologist, Qurān reciter, grammarian, linguist and poet. He compiled al-Shu<sup>c</sup>arā'

min al-Fuḡahā' bi-al-Andalus. Most of his poetry deals with asceticism and aphorisms.

3. Muḥammad b. Hishām b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz b. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd al-Khayr al-Marwānī (d.340 A.H.) compiled Akḥbār al-Shu<sup>c</sup>arā' bi-al-Andalus.
4. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Mughīth al-Anṣārī (d.352 A.H.), from Córdoba. It is said that al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir excused him from taking part in a raid on the Christians in 352 A.H., only on condition that he compiled a book on the poetry of the Umayyad caliphs, in imitation of al-Awrāq of al-Ṣūlī on that of the Abbasids. This, it seems, he managed to do before his death in the same year.
5. Muṭarrif b. <sup>c</sup>Isā b. Labīb b. Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif al-Ghassānī (d.377 A.H.), the author of al-Ma<sup>c</sup>ārif fī Akḥbār Kurat al-Bīrah wa-Ahlihā wa-Fawā'idihā wa-Aqālimihā waḡhayr Dhalika min Manafi<sup>c</sup>ihā.
6. Another luminary of al-Mustanṣir's reign was Abū <sup>c</sup>Umar Aḥmad b. Faraj al-Jayyānī (d.359 A.H.). He dedicated his al-Hadāiq to al-Mustanṣir. According to al-Ḥijārī, he was unrivalled in the 4th century as a compiler of Andalusian poetry. Ibn Bassām himself, in his introduction, acknowledges his debt to him. al-Hadāiq is unfortunately lost, but we know something of it from al-Ḥumaydī, who tells us that al-Jayyānī imitated in it, at the request of al-Mustanṣir, al-Zahrah of Abū Bakr b. Dāwūd al-Isbahānī. Whereas, however, al-Isbahānī had one hundred chapters each containing one hundred verses, al-Jayyānī had two hundred chapters, each containing two hundred verses, exclusively by Andalusī poets.



7. <sup>c</sup>Alī b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Muḥsin al-Fattūhī (d. 384 A.H.), of Seville, compiled al-Mustajād min Fi<sup>c</sup>lāt al-Ajwād.
8. Abū Bakr <sup>c</sup>Ubāda b. Mā' al-Samā' (d. 419 A.H.) was a student of Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī, and a renowned poet. He is particularly famous as a pioneer in the composition of Muwashshahāt. Ibn Bassām refers to him in the Dhakhīra, describing him as a master of poetic construction and a great innovator, but he does not mention Muwashshahāt. More strangely, perhaps Ibn Bassām does not mention, either, his book, Akhbār Shu<sup>c</sup>arā' al-Andalus.
9. Abū al-Walīd Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Amir b. Habīb al-Ishbīlī (d. 440 A.H.). Ibn Bassām mentions that he compiled a book about the poetry of al-Andalus called al-Badī<sup>c</sup> fī Faṣl al-Rabī<sup>c</sup>. He was killed by al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid.
10. al-Fath Ibn Khaqān, Abū Naṣr al-Fath b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh al-Qaysī, killed 22 Muḥarram 529 A.H. He compiled two books:
  - 1) Maṭmah al-Anfus; 2) al-Qalā'id, divided into four parts:
    - a) Maḥāsin al-Ruāsā' wa-Abnā'ihim wa-Darj Unmūdhajāt min Musta<sup>c</sup>dhab Anbā'ihim.
    - b) Fī Ghurar Ḥulyat al-Wuzarā' wa-figar al-Kuttāb al-Bulaghā'
    - c) Fī Luma<sup>c</sup> A<sup>c</sup>yan al-Qudāt wa-Lumaḥ A<sup>c</sup>lām al-<sup>c</sup>Ulamā' wa-al-Surāt.
    - d) Fī Badā'ī<sup>c</sup> Nubahā' al-Udabā' wa-Rawā'ī<sup>c</sup> Fuḥūl al-Shu<sup>c</sup>arā'

Followers of Ibn Bassām in al-Andalus in this genre of compilation include the following:

1. Abū <sup>c</sup>Umar <sup>c</sup>Uthmān b. <sup>c</sup>Alī al-Ishbīlī (d. 549 A.H.) compiled Simt al-Jumān wa-Saqīt al-Marjān. This book is regarded as a supplement to the Maṭmah al-Anfus and Qalā'id al-Iqyān.

2. Abū Bahr Ṣafwān b. Idrīs b. °Abd al-Rahmān b. °Isā al-Tujībī al-Mursī (d. 598 A.H.). He compiled Zād al-Musāfir, concerning the literary men and prose writers of al-Andalus in the sixth century, as a supplement to the works of Ibn Bashkawāl, and he collected the latter's poetry and prose in a book called °Ujjālat al-Mutaḥaffiz wa-Badāhat al-Mustawfiz.
3. Ibn al-Abbār, Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. °Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Qudā°ī (d. 735 A.H.). He was from Valencia and was a secretary to several of the Almohades, including Abū Zayd b. al-Sayyīd Abī °Abd Allāh b. al-Sayyid Abī Ḥafṣ b. °Abd al-Mumin b. °Alī. He compiled many books, among them al-Hulla al-Sīrā', which is a collection of the biographies of the umarā' of al-Andalus who wrote poetry. He compiled other books as well: al-Mu°jam fī Aṣḥāb al-Qādī al-Imām Abī °Alī al-Ṣadafī b. Sukkara; al-Takmila li-Kitāb al-Sila (Ibn Bashkawāl); I°tāb al-Kuttāb wa-Tuḥfat al-Qādim, which he intended as a supplement to the Zād al-Musāfir of Ṣafwān b. Idrīs.
4. The Banū Sa°īd. They were extremely interested in literature and took part in compiling al-Mughrib; this is a supplement to al-Ḥijārīs al-Mushib. Among them was °Abd al-Malik b. Sa°īd (d. 560 A.H.), his son Muḥammad (d. 589 A.H.), Abū Ja°far Aḥmad (d. 559 A.H.), Mūsā b. Sa°īd (d. 673 A.H.), °Alī b. Sa°īd al-Maghribī was born between 605 and 610 A.H., at Qal°at Yaḥṣub; he was a student of Abū °Alī al-Shilā°bīnī, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Riyāḥ and Ibn °Uṣfūr. He compiled al-Mughrib, the full title of which is Kitāb Falak al-Arab

al-Muḥīt bi-Hulā Lisān al-<sup>c</sup>Arab. It is divided into two parts: al-Mughrib fī Hulā al-Maghrib and al-Mushriq fī Hulā al-Mashriq.

Another book by Ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>īd, which follows a similar pattern, is Rāyāt al-Mubarrazīn wa-ghāyāt al-Mumayyazīn. It contains 314 poems by 140 poets of al-Andalus and al-Maghrib, arranged according both to their place of origin and their social position. <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd compiled al-Qidh al-Mu<sup>c</sup>allā fī al-Tārīkh al-Muḥallā, about Arabic literature in general, which includes a section entitled Nashwat al-Tarab fī Tārīkh Jāhiliyyat al-<sup>c</sup>Arab, and another entitled Maṣābīh al-Zalām fī Tārīkh al-Islām. This book is no longer existant, but we possess the summary by Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Khalīl.

5. Ibn Diḥya Abū Ḥafṣ <sup>c</sup>Umar b. al-Ḥasan b. <sup>c</sup>Alī (d. 633 A.H.). He compiled a most important collection of poems by poets from al-Andalus, Africa, Sicily and the Balearic Islands, called al-Muṭrib fī Ash<sup>c</sup>ār Ahl al-Maghrib. It covers the period from the second century to the beginning of the seventh. It also contains important historical information.
6. Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb (Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd al-Salmānī) (d. 776 A.H.) compiled al-Katība al-Kāmina fī man laqīnāhu bi- al-Andalus min Shu<sup>c</sup>arā<sup>ʾ</sup> al-Miā al-Thāmina. This contains accounts of one hundred and three poets, divided into four classes, according to their occupations:
  - a) Orators/preachers and Sufis: 19 poets.
  - b) Qurān reciters and teachers: 11 poets.
  - c) Virtuous qādīs: 24 poets.

d) Amirs' chamberlains: 49 poets.

After ~~three~~ centuries the literary compilation movements started again.

1. Abū al-<sup>c</sup>Abbās Aḥmad b. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafāji (d. 1069 A.H.)  
He is one of the Egyptian quḍāt who travelled between the cities of al-Andalus. He compiled several useful books, such as Rayḥānat al-Alibbā' wa-Zahrat al-Ḥayāt al-Dunyā, Shifā' al-<sup>c</sup>Alīl fīmā fī Kalām al-<sup>c</sup>Arab min Dakhlīl, Sharḥ Durrat al-Khawwāṣ fī Awhām al-Khawāṣṣ, Nasīm al-Riyād fī Sharḥ Shifā' al-Qādī <sup>c</sup>Iyād and <sup>c</sup>Ināyat al-Qādī wa-Kifāyat al-Rādī. These books are published; some others are not published, such as Khabāyā al-Zawāyā <sup>b</sup>imā fī al-Rijāl min al Baqāyā, Rayḥānat al-Nudmān, Dīwān al-Adab fī Dhikr Shu<sup>c</sup>arā' al-<sup>c</sup>Arab and al-Sawāniḥ. The most important for us is Rayḥānat al-Alibbā' wa-Zahrat al-Ḥayāt al-Dunyā. He collected copious examples of poetry and wrote short accounts of the contemporary poets of Syria, Egypt, al-Maghrib and the Arabian Peninsula.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF REGIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN AL-ANDALUS.

The interaction of people and ideas continued unhampered among the Muslim countries, despite the political animosity dividing them. Freedom of movement between the East and al-Andalus remained almost unbroken. Several authors - Ibn Khayr (d. 1180), al-Ḍabbi (d. 1203), Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 1324), al-Maqqarī (d. 1632) among others - give an impressive list of talented men who came from the East and settled in al-Andalus and of Andalusians who went to the East in search of education and other pursuits. These men no doubt left an indelible mark upon the religious, social, political and intellectual life of al-Andalus.

Consequently, Eastern influence on al-Andalus can hardly be underestimated. From the beginning of the conquest until the middle of the eleventh century, al-Andalus looked to the East for inspiration and guidance in practically all pursuits. In fact, Andalusian scholars were satisfied to emulate and imitate Eastern authors in grammar and lexicography, Quranic studies, the study of the Prophetic Traditions, Poetry, belles lettres, mathematics, geography, botany and philosophy. Favourable comparison with Eastern standards was generally considered the mark of excellence. Henceforth, the Hispano-Arabic scholar was satisfied only with exceeding the status of his Eastern counterpart.

Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064), one of the most brilliant minds of Islamic culture, called attention to Andalusian creativity in a famous treatise. He lamented that Andalusian talent was not given the recognition it deserved; he mentioned some of the native scholars who were equal or even superior to any talent the East had ever produced. In the following verses, Ibn Hazm displays self-praise, but also the bitterness of not being appreciated or noticed, let alone honoured in his homeland:

I am the sun shining in the sky of knowledge,  
my only fault is that I rose in the West:  
Had I risen in the firmament of the East,  
nothing would have been lost then of my fame!  
I have a deep love for the Iraq regions, and  
no wonder that a lover finds himself lonesome here.<sup>17</sup>

A contemporary of Ibn Ḥazm, Abū al-Walīd Ismaʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Ḥimyarī, called Ḥabīb, (411-440) compiled an anthology of Andalusian nature poetry, entitled al-Badīʿ fi Faṣl al-Rabīʿ, in the introduction to which he also complains about the concentration of attention on the literature of the East, at the expense of that of the West.

فلَمَّا رأيت ذلك جمعت هذا الكتاب مضمنا ذلك الباب ولست أودعه الآ ما ذكر لأهل الأندلس خاصة في هذا المعنى اذ أوصافهم لم تتكرر على الأسماع ولاكثر امتزاجها بالطباع ، فتردها شيفة وتردها تيفة ، واتما ذلك لتضييع أهل بلدهم لأكثرها ، وغفلتهم عن جلها انكارا لفضلها مدة بقاء أهلها ، فاذا انقضوا تأسفوا بقدر ما كانوا تنسفوا ، وحينئذ لا يجدون الا قليلا يغيب في كثيرها ، وثمانادا يغيب عند بحورها ، ولعصري ان هذه العلة مما صحت استغرابها ، وأكدت استحسانها واستعذابها .

وأما أشعار المشرق فقد كثر الوقوف عليها والنظر اليها حتى ما تميل نحوها النفوس ، ولا يروقها منها العلق النفيس مع أتي استغني عنها ولا أحوج اليها بما أذكره للأندلسيين من النثر المتبدع والنظم المخترع ، وأكثر ذلك لأهل عصري ، اذ لم تغب نواذرهم عن ذكري .

وأما من بعد عصره ، وكم فيهم من طيل قدره ، فقلما أوردت لهم شيئا للعة التي تقدم ذكرها منها من اهمالها وتضييعها . ولأهل المشرق في تأليف أشعار شعرائهم ، وتدوين أخبار علمائهم ، الفضل علينا ، والسبق لنا ، حتى لقد يجمعون خشيتها مع حسنها ، ويضيفون لحنها الى لحنها ، لا لقلّة مير بها ، بل تحرجا عن تركها ، ولو جرى أهل الأندلس على تلك الطريقة لأوردت على الحقيقة ، أمثال ما أوردت ، وأمّاعاف ما اجتلبت ، لكن أهل المشرق على تأليفهم لأشعارهم ، وتثقيفهم لأخبارهم ، مذ تكلمت العرب بكلامها ، وشغلت بنثرها ونظامها ، الى هلمّ جرا لا يجدون لأنفسهم من التشبيهات في هذه الموصوفات ، ما وجدته لأهل بلدي على كثرة ما سقط منها عن يدي ، بالقلعة التي ذكرتها عنها وقلّة التهمم بها وعلى قرب عهد الأندلس بمنطلي الاسلام فكيف بمنطلي الكلام ، ولو تأخروا عن ادراك المشرقيين في كل نحو وغرض ، وتقهقروا عن لحاقهم في كل جوهر وعرض ، لكانوا أحقّ بالتأخر ، وأحرىء بالتقهقر . فكيف يرى فظهم وقدسقوا في أحسن المعاني مجتلى ، وأطيبها مجتنى ، وهو الباب الذي تضمنته هذا الكتاب فلم فيه من الاختراع الفائق ، والابتداع الرائق ، وحسن التمثيل والتشبيه ما لا يقوم أولئك مقامهم فيه ، والفضل الجميل لذي الوزارتين القاهمي الجليل المنقطع المثل ولاينه الحاجب الشهاب الشاقب ، نثرة عبّاد ، ورحمة الله على العباد ، مولّي وسيدّي ، أبقاهما اللّٰه سترا عليّ . فهما اللذان أقامت مقعد الهمم ، يد اهتبالهما ، وأمطرت أرض الفطن ، سماء أفضالهما فدّرت الدرر ، من تلك الفكر التي يسعيان لتحسين مرادهما ، وتحسين مرادهما .

وتأمل أيها الناظر في كتابي تأمل اليقظ المتقّد ، والمميّز المنتقد ، تر  
أغرب التشبيهات ، وأعجب الصفات ، وأبرع الكلمات ، لمن كان حواليهما من  
مسند اليهما ، معول عليهما ومتصرّف بين أيديهما ، ومتورط على أيديهما .  
وانّما ذلك لترادف احسانهما ، وتعاقب امتنانهما ، وقديما قيل اللّٰها تفتح  
اللّٰها ، ويقدر ذلك أعملوا الفكر وأنعموا النظر فنظموا في جودهما دررا من  
الكلام ، لا تسلك على سلكها غير الأيّام ، وكسوا جميل فعلهما جملا من الجمال  
تبقى بقاء الليال . فله درّهما من ملكين نفقا سوق الأدب الكاسدة ، وأصلحا  
حال العلم الفاسدة ، فكثر المنتحلون لها ، والتحلّون بها ولولاهما - أطال  
اللّٰه بقاءهما وأدام اعتلاءهما - ما انفردت لهذا التآليف ، ولا شغلت فكري  
بهذا التصنيف ، ولا منيت نفسي به ولا وثقت بها في ترتيبه . لكن بفضلهما  
الجزيل ، وفعلهما الجميل ، لاح السبيل وعملت كيف أقول فجزاهما اللّٰه عمّا  
يوليان من الأيادي الحسان التي تداركتنا ..... جزاء يجوز رضاهما ، بل  
يجوز مناها .

This complaint was voiced to some degree by a number of Andalusian authors, principal among whom are Ibn Khāqān (d. 529/535 A.H.). In his book Maṭmaḥ al-Anfus, he says:

فطلت من الوزير أبي العاص حكم بن الوليد عند من رحب وأهل ، بمكارمه وانهل  
ونديني الى أن أجمعها في كتاب وأدركني من التنشيط الى اقبال ما ندب اليه ،  
وكتابة ما حتّ عليه ، فأجبت رغبته ، وخطيت بالاسعاف لبته ، وذهبت الى ابدائها ،  
وتخليد عليائها ، وأمليت منها في بعض الأيّام ، ثلاثة أقسام : ( القسم الأوّل )  
يشتمل على سرد غرر الوزراء ، وتناسق درر الكتاب والبلغاء . ( القسم الثاني )  
يشتمل على محاسن أعلام العلماء ، وأعيان القضاة والفهاء . ( القسم الثالث )  
يشتمل على سرد محاسن الأدباء ، النوابغ النجباء . وسميتها " مطمح الأنفس ، ومسرح  
التأنس ، في ملح أهل الأندلس " وأبقيتها لذوي الآداب ذكرا ، ولأهل الاحسان فخرا ،  
يساجلون به أهل العراق ، ويحاسنون بمحاسنها الشمس عند الاشراق .

MOTIVES BEHIND THE WRITING OF AL-DHAKĪRA

Ṭāhā Ḥusaġn states in his introduction to al-Dhakīra, that there were two motives which induced Ibn Bassām to compile his book. One was his love for his homeland, al-Andalus, and his desire to prove its superiority in literature and knowledge, and to impress upon his contemporaries the wonders of Andalusian culture, particularly as he saw that while his own people were passionately fond of Eastern literature they were neglecting their own. The second factor was his desire to imitate al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālibī in his book al-Yatīma in which he described the literature of his contemporaries.

Makkī, on the other hand, does not acknowledge the second factor, saying that "in spite of Ibn Bassām's approval of al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālibī, and his admiration for his method in al-Yatīma, and also despite the fact that he describes him as:

رأس المؤلفين في زمانه ، وامام المصنفين بحكم قرانه .

his motive in writing al-Dhakhīra was not either to imitate al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālibī or to compete with his contemporary al-Faḥ Ibn Khāqān".<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, Makkī emphasises the first factor which induced Ibn Bassām to write al-Dhakīra, stating that the incentives were to defend his homeland and reveal the glories of his nation.

Ṭāhā Ḥusaġn appears to be vindicated by what Ibn Bassām himself declares in his own introduction:

فان شمة هذا الأدب ، العالي الرتب ، رسالة تنشر وترسل ، وأبيات تنظم وتفصل  
تنشال تلك انشبال القطار ، على صفحات الأزهار ، وتتمل هذه اتصال الفلاذ ، على  
نحور الخرائد ، وما زال في أفقنا هذا الأندلسي القمي الى وقتنا هذا من فرسان  
الفتيين ، وأئمة النوعين ، قوم هم ما هم طيب مكاسر ، وصفاء جواهر ، وعدوبة موارد  
ومصادر ، لعبوا بأطراف الكلام المشقق ، لعب الدجى بجفون المورق .



وحدوا بفنون السحر المنمّق ، حذاء الأعشى بينات المحلّق ، فصّبوا على قوالب  
النجوم ، غرائب المنثور والمنظوم ، وباهوا غرر الضحى والأصائل ، بعجائب  
الأشعار والرسائل ..... إلا أنّ أهل هذا الأفق ، أبو الأمتابعة أهـل  
المشرق ، يرجعون الى أخبارهم المعتادة ، رجوع الحديث الى قتادة ، حتّى لو  
نعق بتلك الآفاق غراب ، أو طنّ بأقصى الشام والعراق ذباب ، لجثوا على هذا  
صنما ، وتلو ذلك كتابا محكما ، وأخبارهم الباهرة ، وأشعارهم السائرة ، مرمى  
القصيّة ، ومناخ الرديّة ، لا يعمر بها جنان ولا خلد ، ولا يصرف فيها لسان ولا يد  
فغاطني منهم ذلك ، وأنفت ممّا هنالك ، وأخذت نفسي بجمع ما وجدت من حسنات دهري  
وتتبّع محاسن أهل بلدي وعصري ، غيرة لهذا الأفق الغريب أن تعود بدوره أهـلّة ،  
وتصبح بحاره شمادا مضمحلّة ، مع كثرة أدبائه ، ووفور علمائه ، وقديما ضيّعوا  
العلم وأهله .  
20

"al-Dhakhīra was no more than an Andalusian attempt to imitate al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālībī. The Andalusians had a passion for imitating the people of the East in the various scientific and literary spheres, in addition to their interest in actual Eastern works. For instance, Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abd Rabbihi in his Iqd followed the pattern of Ibn Qutayba's Uyūn al-Akhbār. As al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālībī divided his book into four parts in accordance with the four parts of the Islamic world, Ibn Bassām also divided his book into four parts, devoting three of them to the literature of the three Andalusian regions, the central, the Western and the Eastern and the fourth to the literary immigrants who came to al-Andalus from North Africa and the East". 21

1. Ibn Bassām, 3,1,654.
2. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Jaysh al-Tawshīh, 231.
3. Ibn Bassām, 1,2,994.
4. Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Ḥulal al-Mushiya, 141.
5. Ibn Bassām, 1,1,14.
6. al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad Makkī, Dirāsat Andalusīyya, 45.
7. Ibn Bassām, 1,1,408.
8. Ibid, 1,1,424.
9. al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad Makkī, 246-247.
10. Ibn Bassām, 1,1,523.
11. Ibid, 1,2,635.
12. Ibid, 1,1,20.
13. Ibid, 1,1,21-22.
14. Ibid, 4,1,20-21.
15. Ibid, 1,1,12-16.
16. Abū al-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī, 1-3.
17. Anwar Chejne, 149.
18. Ibn Khāqān, 8, 2.
19. Makkī, 224.
20. Ibn Bassām, 1,1,11-12.
21. Amjad al-Ṭarabulsī, 189.

IBN BASSĀM'S REGIONAL SYSTEM AND SOME  
OF HIS CRITICAL ATTITUDES

In spite of the fact that al-Andalus is more or less a homogeneous unit, Ibn Bassām, imitating al-Thaālibī, divided it in his book into four main regions. al-Thaālibī's approach is appropriate to the East, since that is a large and varied region. The fact that al-Andalus, as we have already said, is more or less homogeneous, led Ibn Bassām, instead of demonstrating the effect of regional environment upon his writers, to make a comparison between those of al-Andalus and those of the East. The main stimulus behind his compilation of al-Dhakhīra was clearly to show that his country's writers were equal in merit to those of the East. A glance at Ibn Bassām's divisions shows that, for example, Seville's writers considerably outnumbered those of Córdoba. Ibn Bassām did not, however, investigate the reasons for this superiority, unlike al-Thaālibī, who gave environmental reasons for the tendency of the poets of certain regions to produce better work than those of others. For instance, he believed that Syria was more fertile for literature than other regions because it was close to the original home of the Arabs, particularly al-Ḥijāz; the language of its people was thus purer than that of the people of Iraq because the latter was tainted by their proximity to the Persians and Nabateans. The people of Syria, then, combined the pure language of the Bedouin and the refined language of civilisation:

" والسبب في تبريز القوم قديما وحديثا على من سواهم في الشعر قريهم من خطط العرب ولا سيّما أهل الحجاز ، وبعدهم عن بلاد العجم وسلامة السنتهم من فساد العرض لألسنة أهل العراق بمجاورة الفرس والنمط ومداخلتهم إليّاهم ، ولمّا جمع شعراء العصر من أهل الشام بين فصاحة البداوة وحلاوة الحضارة " <sup>1</sup>

To support his case, instead of giving such reasons for the superiority of the literary talent of certain regions to that of others as did al-Thaālibī, Ibn Bassām quoted the prominent Eastern scholar Abū 'Alī al-Qālī, who expressed immense admiration for Andalusian literature in general.

" وقد حكى أبو علي البغدادي الوافد على الأندلس في زمان بني مروان قال : لمّا وصلت وأنا أعتبر من أمرّ به من أهل الأمصار ، فأجدهم درجات في الغباوة وقلة الفهم بحسب تفاوتهم في مواضعهم منها بالقرب والبعد ، حتّى كأنّ منازلهم من الطريق هي منازلهم من العلم محاصّة ومقايسة . قال أبو علي : فقلت : ان نقص أهمل الأندلس عن مقادير من رأيت في أفهامهم ، بقدر نقصان هؤلاء عمّن قبلهم فسأحتاج الى ترجمان ، بهذه الأوطان .

قال ابن بسّام : فبلغني أنّه كان يصل كلامه بالتعجّب من أهل هذا الأفق في ذكائهم ويتغكّى عنهم عند المباحثة والمفاتشة ، ويقول لهم : انّ علمي علم رواية ، وليس بعلم دراية ، فخذوا عنيّ ما نقلت ، فلم آل لكم أن صحّحت " <sup>2</sup>

Even in this respect Ibn Bassām imitated al-Thaālibī, who supported his case by citing Ibn Abbād:

" وأخبرني جماعة من أصحاب أبي القاسم إسماعيل بن عبّاد أنّه كان يعجب بطريقتهم المثلى التي هي طريقة البحتري في الجزالة والعدوبة والفصاحة والسلاسة ، ويحرص على تحصيل الجديد من أشعارهم ، ويستملي الطارئين عليه من تلك البلاد ما يحفظونه من تلك البدائع واللطائف حتّى كتب دفترًا ضخم الحجم عليها ، وكان لا يفارق مجلسه ولا يملأ أحد منه عينه غيره ، وصار ما جمعه فيه على طرف لسانه وفي سن قلمه ، فطورا يحاضر في مخاطباته ومحاوراته ، وتارة يحلّه ويورده كما هو في رسائله " <sup>3</sup>

Ibn Bassām also adopted al-Thaālibī's own words when speaking about the region of Seville:

" حتى اجتمع في الجانب الغربي على ضيق ، أكنافه ، وتحيف العدو قصمه اللـه  
لأطرافه ، ما باهى الأقاليم العراقية ، وأنسى بلغاء الدولة الديلمية ، فقلما  
رأيت فيه ناثرا غير ماهر ، ولا شاعرا غير قاهر ، دعوا حرّ الكلام فلبى ،  
وأراده فما تأبى ، وطريقتهم في الشعر الطريقة المثلى التي هي طريقة البحري  
في السلاسة والمتانة ، والعذوبة والرصانة " .<sup>4</sup>

The main reasons that stimulated Ibn Bassām to compile his book was his national consciousness, which we have already discussed. He was prejudiced in favour of this country and his people and seized every opportunity to praise them. Much of his critical evaluation reflects this, for example:

I have confided to this compilation, which I have called "Kitāb al-Dhakhīra fī Mahāsin Ahl al-Jazīra", of the wonders of their learning and the marvels of their prose and verse that which is sweeter than the whispering of lovers, part restraint and part caution, and more delectable than the service of wine to the melody of the third and highest string of the lute.... I should introduce in this chapter some of the wonderful things that have occurred to the people of al-Andalus, and some of the extraordinary things that have been heard from them.

These hostile neighbours made the Andalusians insecure about their own identity. They were, therefore, very conscious of their own individual language and culture. He realised that the writers of the West in general and of Andalus in particular were neglected by literary critics and scholars, compared with those of the East, so

he compiled al Dhakhīra to draw attention to their merits.<sup>6</sup>

al-Thaālibī, as is well-known, limited himself to the comparison of the writers of Iraq with those of Syria, to the exclusion of those of the rest of the Islamic world. Muhammed Muḥyī al-Dīn Abd al-Ḥamīd criticizes al-Thaālibī for his neglect of these other writers. Muḥammad Abd Allāh al-Jādir disagrees with this criticism. "Had this critic had a second thought he would have realised that al-Thaālibī's preference for the poets of Syria and Iraq was due to the grace of poetry that God bestowed upon these two regions. This can be attributed to their immediate contacts with the roots of genuine and original Arabic poetry, and because these regions had been the centres of the Islamic Empire for four successive centuries for Arabic poetry while no other region could compete with them".<sup>7</sup>

Ibn Bassām picked up this self-restriction of al-Thaālibī in his introduction:

"وبالجملة فأكثر أهل بلاد هذا الأفق أشرف عرب المشرق افتتحوها ، و سادات أجناد الشام والعراق نزلوها ، فبقي النسل فيها بكل إقليم ، على عرق كريم ، فلا يكاد بلد منها يخلو من كاتب ماهر ، وشاعر غير قاهر ، ان مدح ما كُثِرَ عنده بكثير ، وان هجا أجزّ لسان جرير ، وعدا عدياً عن مدح ذويه ، وأنسى جرولا العواء<sup>8</sup> في أشرف قوافيه ، وان تغزل أربى على الساحرات فنونا ، وأزرى بالفانيات مجونا "

Ibn Bassām tried to show that the poetic merits of the Andalusians outweighed those of the people of Iraq, Syria and the rest of the Islamic East. Ibn Bassām divided al-Dhakhīra into four parts:

1. The first was devoted to the writers of Córdoba and its surroundings.
2. The second was devoted to the writers of Seville, its surroundings and the Western part of the Andalusian peninsula. He adopted a chronological classification of writers only in the section of this part that deals with Badajoz and the Atlantic region.

" قد قدّمت في صدر هذا القسم أنّ الجانب الغربيّ من الجزيرة ، لأوّل تلك الفتنة المبيرة ، الواقعة بقرطبة في آخر دولة بني عامر ، اشتمل على بيتي حسب ، وجمهوري أدب : مملكتان من لحم وتجب ، فوفد عليه لذلك كلّ أديب ، واستوطنه كلّ أغرّ نجيب . وقد جئت بجملة موفورة ، لطوائف كثيرة ، وجماعة أعداد ، كانوا بدولة بني عباد ، من أرباب هذا الشأن ، فلنذكر الآن من نشأ من أرباب المنشور والمنظوم ، يعقر هذا الاقليم ، ولنقدّم منهم

3. The third was devoted to the writers of the Eastern side of the Andalusian peninsula.
4. The fourth was devoted to writers who came to al-Andalus from elsewhere; he said in the introduction to this part:

" قد استوفيت في ثلاثة الأقسام ، جملة مما انتهى اليّ من محاسن النثر والنظام ، لمن نشأ بالجزيرة من الأعيان الأعلام ، من أوّل تاريخ هذا المجموع الـ وقتنا . ولنعقب ذلك بحول الله وتأييده بذكر من هاجر اليها من تلك الآفاق وطرأ عليها من شعراء الشام والعراق ، ممّن تبجح ذراها ، وتسربل نعماتها ، ونجم في أفلاكها ، وخيم في ظلال أملاكها . ولم آت بهذه الفرقة من أرباب هذا الفنّ الذي أنا في اقامة أوده ، متعزّزا من ذلّة ، ولا مستكثرا من قلّة ، ولا لأنّي لم أجد من أعيان وزرائنا وكتّابنا من هو أبعد غاية ، ولا أبهر آية ، ولكتّهم أسندوا الى أعلامها ، وتردّدوا بين جميمها وجمامها ، فصاروا ممن أهلها بالوفادة عليها " وخلق أوطانهم اليها ، مع أنّ هذه الطائفة لم يسم



الآ بالأندلس ذكرهم ، ولا طار الآ بمدح ملوكننا شعرهم ، وكم في شعرائنا  
ممن عاصرني ولم أسمع بذكره ، ولا وقع اليّ شيء من شعره ، ولعلّه كان  
أخلق بأن يذكر ، وأحقّ بأن تتلى آياته وتسطر ، لكن يبلغ المرء جهده ،  
والاحاطة لله وحده .

وقد أثبتّ أيضا آخر هذا القسم طرفا من كلام أهل المشرق ، وان كانوا  
لم يطرأوا على هذا الأفق ، حذو أبي منصور الشعالبي ، فأنه ذكر في  
يتيمته نفرا من أهل الأندلس فعارضته أو ناقضته ، والأدب ميدان يليق  
به المتاح ، ويستحسن فيه الجماع .

Ibn Bassām was the first to adapt this method of  
division by region to the literary history of al-Andalus.  
He was imitated in his turn by others such as Ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>īd  
in al-Mughrib Fī Ḥulā Ahl al-Maghrib.

al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālibī was the first literary critic actually  
to reject calssical in favour of contemporary poetry.<sup>11</sup>  
This is exemplified in his introduction to al-Yatīma:

"The first preoccupation of authors has been to  
arrange in order, to classify, to grade and to collect  
the works of the ancient poets, and to anthologise their

gasīdas. How many brilliant books have they produced, and how many magnificent 'necklaces' have they strung, which the present time depreciates only by the eye's sinking beneath the outwornness of their newness and the shabbiness of their robes, the ear's rejection of their repetitiveness and the heart's weariness of their reiteration; while the beautiful things produced by the people of this age, which possess the sheen of youth, the delight of newness, the sweetness of modernity and great merits, in spite of the quantity of criticism that they have received, are not included in any book that brings together their scattered members or strings their disconnected beads".<sup>12</sup>

Ibn Sharaf al-Qayrawānī, the famous literary critic of the fifth century, tried to make a balance in his literary criticism between ancient and contemporary poetry:

"Beware of two things: first, do not allow your veneration for an ancient renowned poet to impel you to approve too quickly of what you hear of his poetry; and second, do not allow your lack of regard for a popular contemporary poet to make you scorn what is recited to you of his poetry. To do so constitutes an offence against the rules, and injustice on the part of the judges. Only when you have carefully considered the utterances of both should you cast your judgement for or against them".<sup>13</sup>

Ibn Bassām once again followed al-Thāalibī in this respect and expressly limited himself in al-Dhakhīra to consideration of his own age:

" وياربّ مُحسن مات احسانه قبله ، وليت شعري من قصر العلم على بعض الزمان ، وخصّ أهل المشرق بالأحسان ؟ ..... والاحسان غير محصور ، وليس الفضل على زمن بمقصور ، وعزيز على الفضل أن ينكر ، تقدّم به الزمان أو تأخّر ، ولحق الله قولهم : الفضل للمتقدم ، فكم دفن من احسان ، وأخمل من فلان . ولو إقتصر المتأخرون على كتب المتقدمين ، لضاع علم كثير ، وذهب أدب عزيز " .<sup>14</sup>

"I have compiled this book from the selected masterpieces of the most distinguished literary men of this time and place .... I have not gone beyond the people of my age, and specifically those whom I have seen myself or those whom my contemporaries have met. Every repetition is heavy and every reiteration is tedious. I have limited myself to the fifth century A.H."<sup>15</sup> His reasons for confining himself to the 5th century may be summarised thus:

1. Classical poetry had been overstudied; further consideration of it was a waste of time and effort.

" اذ كلّ مرّدّد ثقيل ، وكلّ متكرر مملول ، وقد مجّت الأسماع : "يا دار ميّة بالعلياء فالسند " ، وملّت الطباع : " لخولة أطلال بيرقة شهيد " ، ومجّت : " قفا نيك " في يد المتعلّمين ، ورجعت على ابن حجر بلائمة المتكلفين ، فأما " أمن أمّ أوفى " فعلا آثار من ذهب العفا . أما آن أن يصمّ مداها؟ وكم من نكتة أغفلتها الخطباء ، وربّ متردّد غادرته الشعراء " .<sup>16</sup>

He preferred, therefore, to pay attention to contemporary literature as being of more general concern and interest. Al-Jurjānī had expressed this view before him, as well as al-Thāālibī and Ibn Sharaf.

2. Andalusian literary critics had neglected the masterpieces of their age, and there was thus a gap to be filled. He believed that poetry should be elegant and easy; poets should avoid obscure and unusual language and should be precise in their expression. He makes this clear in his biography of Muḥammad Ibn Masūd.

".....، وكان شاعرا مجودا. جزل المقاطع ، حسن المطالع ، جيد الابتداع ، لطيف الاختراع ، كثير الغوص على دقيق المعاني ، حسن الاستخراج للألفاظ الرائقة والتصرف لمستعمل الكلام " .

And in his biography of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Dānī:

" كان أبو بكر شاعرا يتصرف ، وقادرا لا يتكلف ، مرصوص المباني ، ممتزج الألفاظ والمعاني ، وكان من امتداد الباع ، والانفراد بالانطباع ، كسيف الصقل الفرد ، توحد بالابداع وانفرد " .

His dislike of obscurity and strange language is implied in his biography of Abū al-Ḥasan b. Hārūn al-Shantamrī:

" وأبو الحسن هذا سهل الكلام ، بارع النظام ، ممن اغترف من بحر الكلام بكلتا يديه ، وجذب ثوب البيان من كلا طرفيه " .

and in his biography of Abū al-Ḥasan b. Ḥuṣn al-Ishbīlī:

" من مشاهير شعراء المعتضد أيضا ، أحد من راس سهام الألفاظ بالسحر الحلال ، وشق كمام المعاني عن أبيين من محاسن ربّات الحجال ، بين طبع أرق من الهواء ، وأعذب من الماء ، وعلم أغزر من القطر ، وأوسع من الدهر " .

His preference for natural poetry to artificial and affected poetry appears in his biography of Abū al-Ḥasan Sāliḥ Ibn Sāliḥ Al-Shantamrī:

" وأبو الحسن غربيّ النشأة ، شنتمري الأفق ، شاعر ناثر ، وله من المعرفة بلسان العرب حظ وافر ، وكلامه في المماثلة والسجع ، جار على الطبع ، ذاهب بين الجزالة والخلوة .

SOCIAL RANK AND LITERATURE IN AL-DHAKHĪRA

During Ibn Bassām's time, Andalusian society was undergoing social and political disorder, similar to that in the East at the same time. He appreciated that the education and interests of the rulers determined the literary trends in a society. The Banū 'Abbād and Banū al-Aftas exemplified this:

" فاشتمل هذا القطر الغربي لأول تلك المدّة على بيتي حسب ، وجمهوري أدب ، مملكتان من لحم وتجب ، مضرتابلاده ، وأكثرتا رواده ، فاتاه العلم من كل فج عميق ، وتبادره العلماء من بين سابق ومسبوق ، وكلما نشأ من هذين البيتين أمير كان<sup>17</sup> الى العلم أطلب ، وفي أهله أرغب ، والسلطان سوق يجلب اليه ، ما ينفق لذيّه " .

In this respect again, Ibn Bassām was not far removed from al-Thā'libī:

" ولما جمع شعراء العصر من أهل الشام بين فصاحة البداوة ، وحلاوة الحضارة ، رزقوا ملوكا وأمراء من آل حمدان وبنو ورقاء هم بقية العرب والمشغوفون بالأدب والمشهورون بالمجد والكرم ، والجمع بين آداب السيف والقلم ، وما منهم إلا أديب جواد يحب الشعر ، وينتقد ، ويثيب على الجيد منه فيجزل ، ويفصل من إنبعثت قرائحهم في الإجابة ، فقادوا محاسن الكلام بألين زمام ، وأحسنوا وأبدعوا ما شاءوا " .<sup>18</sup>

The Banū 'Abbād contributed largely to the flourishing of contemporary literature. Some of them were themselves poets and encouraged others by their example; for instance, Abū al-Qāsim Muhammad Ibn 'Abbād competed with others in composing poetry and practising rhetoric.

Poetry flourishes when it finds encouragement and support from the rulers and declines when they neglect it.

The Mulūk al-Ṭawāif, as has already been shown, gave support and encouragement to writers. They competed with one another as to the number of poets they had at their court. Writers poured into the court of the Banū Abbād, who were extremely generous to them. Ibn Bassām devoted a section of Part two of al-Dhakhīra to the literary activity of this court.

Literary figures prominent there included Abū Ḥafṣ, Amr al-Ḥasan al-Huzanī, al-Qādī Abū al-Walīd al Bājī, Abū Amir b. Maslama, Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad b. Abd al-ʿAzīz al-Muallim, Abū al-Walīd Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad called Ḥabīb, and Abū Jafar Aḥmad Ibn al-Abbār.

Some of these writers came to the court of the Banū Abbād from other parts of al-Andalus and some from the East. Ibn Bassām devoted the fourth part of al-Dhakhīra to these immigrants.

Unlike the Banū Abbād, Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Aftas did not encourage the production of mere quantity of poetry but was greatly concerned with quality.

The same is true of Abū Yahyā Muḥammad b. Mān b. Ṣumādīḥ al-Tujībī of Almería.

" رجب الفناء ، جزل العطاء ، حلّما على الدماء والدهماء ، طافت به الآمال ،  
واتسع في مدحه المقال ، وأعملت الى حضرته الرجال ، ولزمه جملة من فحول  
شعراء الوقت كأبي عبد الله بن الحدّاد ، وأبي الفضل بن شرف القيرواني  
وابن عبادة ، وابن الشهيد وغيرهم ممّن لم يعلق بسواه سببا ، ولا شدّ الى  
غير ذراه كورا ولا قتباً " .  
19

Ibn Bassām adopted a hierarchical principle in including writers in al-Dhakhīra, giving preference to

Kings, then to courtiers, and so on:

" وبدأت بذكر الكتاب ، إذ هم صدور في أهل الآداب ، إلا أن يكون من له حظ من الرياسة ، أو يدعو الى تقديمه بعض السياسة ، فأول من ذكرت من قرطبة من كان بها من ملوك قريش في المدة المورخة من أهل هذا الشأن ثم من تعلق بسلطانهم ، أو دخل في شئ من شأنهم ، وتلوتهم بالكتاب والوزراء ، ثم بأعيان الشعراء ، ثم بطوائف من المقلين منهم . وكذلك فعلت في كل قسم : بدأت بالملوك ثم أستمر على ما وصفته من الترتيب ، وأنتظم على ما شرحت من التبويب " .<sup>20</sup>

Nazha Jafar al-Mūsawī is critical of this principle as having obvious defects.<sup>21</sup> She quotes, as an example, this passage on Abū al-<sup>ع</sup>Alā b. Zuhr:

" ومع أنه أعلى قدرا ، وأبهر ذكرا ، من أن يعبر الدهر عن علاه ، أو يدعي الشعر أنه من حلاه ..... ولولا ترتيب اقتضاه التأليف ، واقتضى به التصنيف ، لحل ذكره من هذا الديوان محلّ زحل من الفلك ، والتاج من مفرق الملك " .

This principle was also a reason for his neglecting much good literature of that period, by obscure writers, and by other people, who had no opportunity of being connected with any of the Kings, or who were not inclined to put their literary output at the service of the upper classes, and who thus missed the path of fame and obtained neglect as their portion. <sup>ع</sup>Abd al-Azīz al-Dānī is a prominent example of this.

" وكانت لأبي بكر وأخيه عبدالعزيز همة تعرضهما للصدور ، وتترامى بهما الى معالي الأمور ، إلا أن أبا بكر كان أوسعهما في الأدب مجالا ، وأكثرهما على صنعة الشعر إقبالا ، ومال عبدالعزيز الى التجارة فحسنت طريقته ، وحمدت خليقته ، وكان له مع ذلك أدب دلّ على نبهه ، وشعر يستحسن من مثله ، إلا أنه لم يرضه مكسبا ، ولا اتخذته الى أحد من الملوك سببا ، فذهب عن أكثر الناس ذكره ، ومات قبل موته شعره " .<sup>22</sup>

Ibn Bassām's predilection for this principle forced him sometimes to mention works of little artistic value:

" وأنشد الشعر النازل لإرب يتعلق به ، أو لخبر أذكره بسببه ، وقد أذكر الرجل  
لنباهة ذكره ، لا لجودة شعره " .<sup>23</sup>

24

" وقد أذكر الشاعر ليس له شعر كثير ، ولا احسان مشهور ، اما لاشتهار ذكره ،

Further, he gives as a reason for doing this the fact that he is following al-Ṣulī:

" مع أنه قد رويت أشعار أولى النباهة والأعيان ، على قديم الزمان ، لشرف قائلها  
مع قلة طائلها ، وقد رأيت أبا بكر الصولي أثبت لملوك بني أمية وخلفاء بني  
العبّاس ، ما لو صدر مثله لصغار الناس لاستهجن ، أو طرأ لضعفاء السوق لاستصغر ،  
فلنا في الصالي أسوة في اثبات هذا النوع من الشعر ان وقع في كتابنا هذا " .<sup>25</sup>

Perhaps he is also, consciously or unconsciously, imitating al-Tha<sup>c</sup>alibī:

" والشرط في هذه الأخرى ايراد لبّ اللبّ وحبّة القلب ، وناظر العين ، ونكتة الكلمة ،  
وواسطة العقد ، ونقش الفصّ ، مع كلام في الإشابة الى النظائر والأحاسن والسرققات ،  
..... فان وقع في خلال ما أكتبه البيت والبيتان مما ليس من أبيات القصائد ،  
فلأنّ الكلام معقود به ، والمعنى لا يتمّ بدونه ، أو أنّ ما يتقدّمه أو يليه مفقور  
اليه ، أو لأنّه شعر ملك أو وزير أو رئيس خطير أو امام من أهل الأدب والعلم  
كبير ، واثما يتفق مثله ذلك بالانتساب الى قائله لا بكثرة طائله " .<sup>26</sup>



Though he took rank as a criterion for consideration in his work, at the same time he was far too sensitive a critic to neglect artistic criteria:

..... وأقدّم الآخر لاشتهار احسانه ، مع تأخر زمانه .

Again, in his introduction to the second volume:

وقد أبدأ بذكر الرجل لمكانه من الاحسان ، لالتقدمه من الزمان ، أو لبعض ما يدعو اليه القول من نسق خبر ، أو موجب نظر .

Similarly, in the third:

وقد أثبتت أيضا في هذا القسم من الشعراء والكتّاب ، ورؤساء أهل الآداب ممن كان في ذلك الأوان الى وقتنا هذا ، من عرف مكانه ، واشتهر احسانه ، وقدمت من تقدم في حلبة البيان ، دون من سبق في الزمان ، على ما شرطت في صدر هذا الديوان .

He sometimes deviates from his principle but he gives clear and reasonable evidence to justify this, as in the section devoted to Yūsuf Ibn Hārūn al-Ramādī:

ولم يحضرنى من شعر أهل العصر في وصف هذا الطرف إلا ما أثبتت ، وكانت لهم عندي في صفته عدّة مقطوعات وجملّة أبيات ، سقطت من ذكري ، وطارت من شرك صدري ، وتعلّق بحفظي أشعار لمن تقدّمهم من أهل هذا الأفق ، ممّن تقدّم زمانه ، وشهر احسانه بالقول ، في صفة الخيل ، رأيت اثباتها اذ لها موقع بهذا الموضع .

Religion and morality were important factors in his literary criticism; in this he resembled Ibn Ḥazm and others. This is, in fact, a deep-rooted issue in the history of Arabic literature. al-Aṣmaʿī, for instance, refused to paraphrase either satirical poetry or any poetry that in any way appeared to resemble, or be based on, the Qurʾān.<sup>27</sup> The same is true of al-Bāqillānī, who disapproved of the Muʿallaqa of Imruʿ al-Qays for moral reasons. Ibn Sharaf was rather extreme when he said that morality was an essential factor in the literary criticism of a poem.

Ibn Bassām greatly disliked poetry that alluded to heresy or unbelief, or used philosophical terminology. He was reluctant to include in his book satire or defamatory, profligate poetry. He bitterly criticised poets who circulated satirical poetry, as in the chapter on Abū Marwān <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. Ziyādat Allāh al-Ṭubnī:

"ولمّا صنت كتابي هذا عن شين الهجاء ، وأكبرته أن يكون ميدانا للسفهاء ، أجريت ها هنا طرفا من مليح التعريف في ايجاز القريض ، ممّا لا أدب على قائله ، ولا وصمة أعظم على من قيل فيه . والهجاء ينقسم قسمين : قسم يسمونه هجو الأشراف ، وهو ما لم يبلغ أن يكون سبا مقذعا ولا هجوا مستبشعا ، وهو طأطأ قديما من الأوائل ، وثلّ عرش القبائل ، إنّما هو توبيخ وتعيير ، وتقديم وتأخير ، كقول النجاشي في بني العجلان ، وشهرة شعره تغني عن ذكره ، واستعدوا عليه عمر بن الخطاب ، وأنشدوه قول النجاشي فيهم فدرأ الحدّ بالشبهات . وفعل مثل ذلك بالزبرقان حين شكا الحطيئة ، وسأله أن ينشد ما قال فيه ، فأنشد قوله :

دع المكارم لا ترحل لبغيتها      واقعد فاتك أنت الطاعم الكاسي

فسأله عن ذلك كعب بن زهير فقال : واللّه ما أؤدّ بما قال له حمر النعم . وقال حسان بن ثابت : لم يهجه واثمّا سلح عليه بعد أن أكل الشيرم ، فهمّ عمر بعقابه ثمّ استعطفه بشعره المشهور .

وقد قال عبد الملك بن مروان يوما : احفظوا أحسابكم يا بني أميّة ، فما أؤدّ أن يكون لي ما طلعت عليه الشمس وأنّ الأعشى قال فيّ :

تبيثون في المشتى ملاء بطونكم      وجاراتكم غرشي بيتن خمائما

ولمّا سمع علقمة بن علاثة هذا البيت بكى وقال : أنحن نفعل هذا بجاراتنا ؟ ودعا عليه ، فما ظنك بشيء يبكي علقمة بن علاثة ، وقد كان عندهم لو ضرب بالسيف ما قال حسّ ! ؟ وقد كان الراعي يقول : هجوت جماعة من الشعراء وما قلت فيهم ما تستحي العذراء من إنشاده في خدرها .

ولمّا قال جرير :

فغصّ الطرف أنّك من نمير      فلا كعبا بلغت ولا كلابا

أطفأ مصباحه ونام ، وقد كان بات ليلته يتململ ، لأنه رأى أن قد بلغ حاجته  
وشفي غيظه . . . . . والقسم الثاني هو السباب الذي أحدثه جرير وطبقته ،  
وكان يقول : اذا هجوتم فأضحكوا . وهذا النوع منه لم يهدم قط بيتا ، ولا عيّرت  
به قبيلة ، وهو الذي صتا هذا المجموع عنه ، وأعفيناه أن يكون فيه شيء منه ،  
28  
فإنّ أبا منصور الثعالبي كتب منه في يتيمته ما شأنه وسمه ، وبقي عليه اشمه .

He rejected poetry that consisted largely of abuse,  
such as much of that of Jarīr, al-*farazdaq* and al-Akḥṭal.  
In doing so, of course, he deprived us of access to an  
important genre of poetry, . . . which would have given us a  
deeper insight into the political, social, economic and  
educational circumstances of the period.

It must be said that his strict adherence to religion  
and morality did not prevent him altogether from quoting  
pieces of satirical poetry, as in his biography of Abū Amir  
Ibn Shuhayd:

|                           |                           |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| أبو جعفر رجل كاتيب        | مليح شبا الخطّ طو الخطابة |
| تملاً شحماً ولحماً ومما   | يليق تملّؤه بالكتابة      |
| وذو عرق ليس ماء الحياء    | ولكته رشح فضل الجنابة     |
| جرى الماء في سفله جري لين | فأحدث في العلو منه صلابه  |

" وليت شعري ما التصريح عند أبي عامر اذا سمى هذا تعريفاً ؟ ولولا أنّ الحديث  
شجون ، والتتابع فيه جنون ، والكلام اذا لان قياده ، سهل اطراده ، واذا قرب  
بعضه من بعض ، لم يفرّق فيه بين سماء وأرض ، لما استجزت أن أشين كتابي  
29 بهذا الكلام البارد معرضه ، البعيد من السداد غرضه ، وقد يطفى القلم ، وتجمع الكلم .

On Wallāda bint al-Mustakfī:

" وكانت تزعموا - تقرض أبياتاً من الشعر ، وقد قرأت أشياء منه في بعض  
التعاليق ، أضربت عن ذكره ، وطويته بأسره ، لأنّ أكثره هجاء وليس له عندي  
إعادة ولا إبداء ، ولا من كتابي في أرض ولا سماء " 30

On Abū al-Qāsim Khalaf b. Faraj al-Ilbīrī, called  
al-Sumaysir:

" وله مذهب استفرغ فيه مجهود شعره ، من القدح في أهل عصره ، صنت الكتاب عن ذكره "

and on Abū Muḥammad Abd Allāh b. Sāra al-Shantarīnī:

" ولقد رأيت له عدّة مقطوعات في الهجاء ، تربي على حصى الدهناء ، وهو فيه صائب  
السهم ، نافذ الحكم ، طويت عليه كشحا ، وأضريت عن ذكره صفحا ، وريّما ألمعت  
منه بالأقلّ ، لترى فتستدلّ ، ولو استجزت أن أثبت في هذا الكتاب ، بعض ما له  
في هذا الباب ، لتحققت أنّه بالجملة بائقة محاجات ، وصاعقة مهاجات ، وقد  
كتبت من ذلك في كتابي المترجم بـ " ذخيرة الذخيرة " جملة موفورة ، لــــه  
ولطوائف كثيرة ، وفيما أوردت مع ذلك هنا من شعره ، لما أجريت من ذكره ،  
حجة فصل ، وشاهد عدل " .

Unfortunately, however, this book, Dhakhīrat al-Dhakhīra,  
which would have shed further light on his approach to literary  
criticism, is no longer extant.

He criticised Abū Marwān b. Ḥayyān for his satirical  
tendency:

" ومع ذلك فقد كان سهما لا يينمي رميّه ، وبحرا لا يينكش آذيّه ، لو ثلب الماء ما  
نقع ، أو تعرّض لابن ذكاء ما سطع ، يتناول الأحساب قد رسخت في التخوم ، وأنافت  
على النجوم ، فيضع منارها ، ويطمس أنوارها ، بلفظ أحسن من لقاء الحبيب غبّ  
الوعد ، وأمکن من عذر الطبيب عند العود .<sup>31</sup>

He quoted many examples from Ibn Ḥayyān's book, but  
he refrained from mentioning the names of those of who were  
satirized, lest he should disgrace his book:

" وهذه فصول مقتضبة من طويل كلامه في تاريخه ، وكنيت عن أكثر من به صرّح ، رغبة  
بكتابي عن الشين ، وبنفسي عن أكون أحد الهاجيين ، الآ في بعض أخبار ملوك  
الطوائف ، لما تعلق بذكرهم من فنون المعارف " .<sup>32</sup>

And again:

" وكان عندهم بقرطبة خاتمة المتكلمين وجمهور المحسنين ، على ما تراه ركب من  
ائم ، واحتقب من ظلم ، وتناول من عرض ، وأطبق من سماء على أرض ، عجيــــا

بافتنانه ، وتعجبا من بيانه ، وتنبيها على مكانه من علو القدر ومشهور احسانه وعجائبه أكثر اعلاما ، وأشهر أياما . وأكثر ما وجدته من كلام هذا الشيخ الباقعة ففي هذا الباب - أعني الدّم - أحفى شباة قلمه ، وظلّد أوابد كلمه . ولو وجدت له في سواه شيئا أستشهد به على فضله ، وأجعله ذريعة الى الثناء بنبله ، لكنت له أجمع واليه أسرع . وعلى كلّ حال فقد سلم على لسانه أمير بلده أكبر أهل زمانه ، أبو الحزم ابن جهور ، وابنه بعده ، فجرى لهما بأيمن طائر ، ولم يعرض لذكرهما إلا بخير ، وقد أثبت من ذلك ما دلّ على الاحسان ، وفي بشرط الديوان<sup>33</sup> .

The following are extracts from Ibn Ḥayyān, which Ibn Bassām quoted in this way:

" ونعي الينا فلان ، وكان فظا قاسيا ظنينا جشعا جبارا مستكبرا قليل الرحمة نزر الاسعاف زاهدا في اصطناع المعروف ، أحد الجبابرة القاسطين على الرعيّة ، المجرئين على ردّ أحكام الشريعة وكان مهلكه - زعموا - من طاعونة طلعت عليه ببعض أطرافه<sup>34</sup> فتجاسر على قطعها بفراط جهالته ، فمات معذبًا في الدنيا ولعذاب الآخرة أشدّ .

" وفلان ساذج الكتابة ، بين الجهل والتخلف ، طلق اللسان بالخنا والهجر ، أحد الأفسال من أولي النباهة ، عظيم البطالة والباطل ، ومن كلّ حلية جميلة عاطل ، من رجل عيّ اللسان ، مثلوم الجنان ، قدم الخلقه ، طويل اللحية متهاقت ، لم ييرهف الأدب طباعه ، ولا استخرج منه كلمة حكمة " .<sup>35</sup>

Ibn Bassām was not as extreme as Ibn Ḥazm vis-à-vis his religious criteria of literary criticism. In this respect he was very close to al-Sūlī, who once said: "I have never thought that infidelity reduces the value of poetry or that pure faith increases its merits."<sup>36</sup>

Ibn Bassām expressed exactly this sentiment:

<sup>37</sup> " ولكن ليست ضعة المرء في نفسه بذهبة جوهرية الأدب المرگب في الانسان " .

Al-Jurjānī adopted the same view:

" فلو كانت الديانة عارا على الشعر ، وكان سوء الاعتقاد سببا لتأخر الشاعر ، لوجب أن يمحى اسم أبي نواس من الدواوين ، ويحذف ذكره اذا عدّت الطبقات ، ولكان أولاهم بذلك أهل الجاهليّة ، ومن تشهد الأمة عليه بالكفر ، ولوجب أن يكون كعب بن زهير وابن الزبير وأضرابهما ممن تناول رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلّم وعاب من أصحابه بكما خرّسا مفحمين ، ولكنّ الأمرين متباينان ، والدين بمعزل عن الشعر " .<sup>38</sup>

IBN BASSĀM'S ATTITUDE TO LICENTIOUS LITERATURE

Ibn Bassām was not so strict about citing licentious poetry in al-Dhakhīra as he was about citing satirical poetry, for example, he quoted the following poem in his biography of Abū al-Mughīra:

" وأما صفات المعذرين من الغلمان ، فقد جرت خيول فرسان هذا الشأن ، بهذا الميدان  
وتفتنوا في ذلك نشرا ونظما ، وتطاردوا فيه مدحا وذمّا . وممن ذمهم من أهل  
عصرنا عبد الجليل ، حيث يقول :

|                             |                        |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| وأمرد يستهيم بكلّ واد       | وينصب للشجى خذاً صليبا |
| دعوت دعاء مظلوم عليه        | وكان الله مستمعا مجيبا |
| فطوّقه الزمان بما جناه      | وعلق من عذاريه الذنوبا |
| وأخذه أبو بكر الداني فقال : |                        |
| بدا على خده عذار            | في مثله يعذر الكئيب    |
| وليس ذاك العذار شعرا        | لكنما سرّه عجيب        |
| لما أراق الدماء ظلما        | بدت على خده الذنوب     |

ولعبد الجليل في هذه الصفات عدّة مقطوعات ، فتح بها جراب السخف ، ولم يستتر  
39  
فيها من العقل بسجف

He comments on another poet:

ولم أسمع في ذمّ من عزل عن ولاية حسنه ، أحسن من قول بعض أهل عصرنا وهو أبو  
الحسن البرقيّ في أبيات تستندر بجملتها وهي :

|                             |                          |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| ألآن لمّا روّضت وجناتسه     | شوكا وأضحت سلوة العشاق   |
| واستوحشت منك المحاسن واكتست | أنوار وجهك واهي الأخلاق  |
| أنشأت تبذل لي الوصال تصنّعا | خلق اللئيم وشيمة المدّاق |
| هلاّ وصلت اذ الشمائل قهوة   | واذ المحيّا روضة الأحداق |
| فلكم أطلت غرام قلب موجع     | كم قد ألّب اليك بالأشواق |
| ما كنت الآ البدر ليلة تمّه  | حتى قضت لك ليلة بمحاق    |
| لاح العذار فقلت : وجه نازح  | انّ ابن دأية مؤذن بفراق  |

Again, he cites verses by Ibn al-Haddād satirising al-Sumaysir:

يا أهل غرناطة نيكوا سميركم      ففي رميلينا عنه لنا شغل

and verses of praise and satire composed by al-Ḥasan Ibn Wahb:

وسألتني عن الحسن بن وهب      وعمّا فيه من كرم وخير  
فقلت هو المهذب غير أنّي      أراه كثير أرخاء الستور  
وأكثر ما يغتنيه فتاه      حسين حين يخلو بالسرور  
"فلولا الريح أسمع من بحجر      صليل البيض تقرع بالذكور

وأنشد بعضهم قول الآخر ، وضمّن بيت النابغة فقال :

ياسائلي عن خالد عهدي به      رطب العجان وكفه كالجمد  
"كالأقحوان غداة غبّ سماءه      جفت أعاليه وأسفله ندّ "

فدخل الفكّيك ونحن من هذا الحديث المستطرف على طرف ، فقال : أحسن من جميع ما أنشدتم أبيات زعم أنّه قالها في البديع يهجوّه وهي :

رأيت الربيع على أربع      وقد عاينته عيون البشر  
يقول وقد شرعت خلفه      كمامة الفحول رماح الكمر  
" فلا وأبيك ابنة العامريّ      لا يدعي القوم أنّي أفر

Ibn Bassām often criticized the poets whose biographies he wrote; for example, he was rather unhappy about the arrogance shown by al-Fikkīk:

" فكان الجماعة لم تجبه لكثرة حمقه ، وفجاجة خلقه ، ثمّ حرّكت الفكّيك أريحية العجب لسكوت أهل المجلس عنه هنالك ، فكأته غاظني ذلك ، وقلت : لم تأت أنت بشيء ، ومن حضر لم يصمت عنك ، وإنّما أردت أن تحذو حدو كاتب بكر حيث يقول وضمّن أبيات لامرئ القيس ، فقصرت عنه وهو قوله :

حديث أبي الفضل شيء نكر      إذا ما تُذّكرته أقشعر  
مررت به وعليه الغلام      ومن خلفه ذنب مستطر

" فلا وأبيك ابنة العامري " ما هاب منّي ولم يزدجر  
فقال وقد قام عنه الغلام وماذا عليك بأن تنتظر  
وراكبه فوقه مثلما " أكبّ على ساعديه النمر " 40

Ibn Bassām said that when he had spoken of al-Fikkīk in these terms, the latter remained silent.

Yet again, he cited this verse of Ibn al-Abbār:

زارني خيفة الرقيبا مريبا يتشكى القضيبي منه الكثيبي

on which he commented:

" ولقد ظرف ابن الأبار واستهتر ما شاء وندر ، وأظنه لو قدر على ابليس السذي  
تولّى له نظم هذا السلك ، وأوطأ له شبح هذا الملك ، لدبّ اليه ، ووثب أيضا  
عليه ، وأبو نواس سهل هذا السبيل للناس حيث يقول :

نكنا رسول عنان والرأي فيما فعلنا  
فكان خبزا بملح قبل الشواء أكلنا

Ibn Bassām referred to these verses as "jokes". If he had had a rigid religious attitude, he would have refrained from mentioning them at all.

He said that al-Amīn commanded Abū Nūwās to stop writing verse such as the following, which he did not scruple to quote:

قد هجرت المدام والندمانا وتمتعت ما كفاني زمانا  
ونهاني خليفة الله أن لا أقرب الخندريس والغلمانا  
وخشيت الهلال ان لم أطعمه ودعتني نفسي اليهم عيانا  
وغزال سقيته الراح حتى أضعفت منه مقلّة ولسانا  
قال لا تسكرتني بحياتي قلت : لابدّ أن ترى سكرانا



ت فان شئت فاقضها يقظانا  
ثم أصغى لما أردت فكانا

انّ لي حاجة اليك اذا نم  
فتلكاً تلوّكوا بانخناث

• واشتهار شعره يمنعني من ذكره .

وممن سلك أيضا هذا السبيل من الشعراء المجاهرين بالمجون ، الناطقين بالسنة  
الشياطين ، الفرزدق ، بقوله :

41

وقصّر عن باع العلا والمكارم

هما دلتاني من ثمانين قامة

Ibn Qutayba had cited this kind of language before  
Ibn Bassām and refers to this in the introduction to  
\*Uyūn al-akhbār\*:

" واذا مرّ بك حديث فيه افصاح بذكر عورة أو فرج أو وصف فاحشة فلا يحملتك

42 الخشوع أو التخاشع عن أن تصعّر خدك وتعرض بوجهك فإن أسماء الأعضاء لاتؤثم  
• واتّما المآثم في شتم الأعراض وقول الزور والكذب وأكل لحوم الناس بالغيب "

Ibn Bassām's religious principles do not seem to  
interfere with his citing of a considerable quantity of  
obscene verse, even those containing very basic terms for  
parts of the body and the activities associated with them.  
The following are some examples of the total quantity; it  
is noticeable that he makes little or no comment on most  
of them.

وكتب اليه بعض الفتيان شعرا يعرض فيه بسبه ، فوقع الخفاجي على ظهر رقعته  
وقال :

ومعرّض لي بالهجاء وهجره  
فلئن نكن بالأمس قد لطنا به  
وهذا كقول البديع للخوارزمي :  
ومتى التقينا ناك شعري شعره  
وقال أيضا يناقض السّميسر :

بدا لي منك نبل وانطباع  
سأجعل بيننا حيث التقينا  
وبين يديك أمر لا تكلسه  
ستلقي في غد طفلا بزيعا  
ترى صباحا من الكافور بّما  
فما استهواك فاتركه ودعه  
إذا ارتعد الحسام وراق حسنا  
هو الجدّ الذي لا هزل فيه  
كبير السنّ زاد على ثمان  
فان يك صاحبا وأردت زورا  
أترضى أن يقال أبو فلان

وقال أيضا بعض أهل العصر يناقضه ، واستطرد فيه الى هجوه استطرادا ظريفا :

ان كنت تهوى مليحا  
واهو الصغار ففيهم  
دع الكبار لقوم  
ومن أناشيد الثعالبي :

لي أير أراحي الله منه  
نام اذ زارني الحبيب عنادا  
حسبت زورة لشقوة جدي  
صار همّي به عريضا طويلا  
ولعهدي به ينيك الرسولا  
فافترقنا وما شفيينا غليلا

قرأت في بعض الملح خبرا له بهذا الموضع ، بعض موقع ، قال بعضهم : مشيت  
فاذا أنا بصديق من أهل اليسار خارجا من دار بغيّ فقلت له : أياكون عندك  
أربع حرائر ، وأكثر من ستين سريّة ، وتأتي مثل هذه الدنيّة ؟ ! فقال :  
اسكت . مثل أيري مثل الكلب يباح من طراً عليه ولا يتعرّض لمن اختلط به .<sup>45</sup>

قال أبو جعفر ابن أحمد :

جار ذا الدهر علينا  
وإذا الدهر يجور  
كان شرطياً أبونا  
وأخي اليوم وزيـر  
أنا مأبون صغير  
وهو مأبون كبير<sup>46</sup>

وأنشدت لأبي عامر بن زهرة الصائغ من دانية في ابن هند هذا ، إذ طَلقت عليه  
امراته :

لا تلوما نجل هند  
يا خليلي وكفا  
فهو في الناس رشيد  
أبصر الغي فكفا<sup>47</sup>  
طلق الفرج ثلثا  
وابتنى بالزب ألفا

IBN BASSĀM'S ATTITUDE TO TRUTH IN POETRY

Ibn Bassām resembled Ibn Ṭabāṭabā in his attitude to truth and falsehood in literature, considering that a writer should avoid falsehood. He rejected hyperbolic and untruthful description, requiring that a writer should refrain, for example, from attributing cowardice to the courageous, or avarice to the generous.

His attitude was that of a conservative man, intent on truth and disliking literature that strayed from it. On Abū Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdūn's verses:

|                                  |                              |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| أفي كلّ عام في العلا فتكة بكر    | ملكتم فأسجح لا أبأ لك يا دهر |
| وانّ ابن خلدون لمفقودها صخر      | رشته فقلنا انها لتمامر       |
| ولولا المساعي الزهر لانقطع الذكر | مضى لم يرث عنه الرئاسة وارث  |
| فلم يك منه لا غدير ولا زهر       | وما كان الا الغيث اقلع جملة  |
| وقد ملكتني من اعنتها فهـر        | فيا ليتني بين العوالي وبينه  |
| ضرابي وان كانت لها الاعين الخزر  | لاطبق منه بالعشا حدق القنا   |

He comments:

فيا لأبي محمد بن عبدون في الحرب الزبون ، مجتاً ليس بحصين ، ليته كلما شهد  
وقيعة كان كمجنّ ابن أبي ربيعة ، حسبه الكتب من الكتاب ، وكفاه اعتناق القضب  
من خرط القواضب ، وأرى فهرا لو ملكته يومئذ أعنتها ، وجعلت اليه سيوفها  
وأستتها ، لمات ميتة ضحاكية ، أو حيّ حياة فهرية قطنية ، ولخرّ البيت وعموده ،  
وضاع الرعيل ومن يقوده .<sup>48</sup>

Ibn Abdūn was not truthful concerning himself in his poem; he exaggerated in his description of his participation in warfare. For this Ibn Bassām criticized him and laughed at him. He required writers to be truthful in relating historical events. When he heard the poem of Abū Bakr al-Dānī, in praise of al-Mutamid b. Abbād:

في نصره الدين لا أعدمت نصرته  
تلقي النصارى بما تلقى فتنخدع  
تنيلهم نعماً في طيها نقيم  
سيستضّر بها من كان ينتفع  
وقل ما تسلم الأجسام من عرض  
إذا توالى عليها الرّي والشبع  
لا يخبط الناس عشوا عند مشكلة  
فأنت أدري بما تأتي وما تدع

He comments:

وهذا مدح غرور ، وشاهد زور ، وملق معتف سائل ، وخديعة طالب نائل ، وهيهات بل حلت الفاقرة بعد بجماعتهم ..... وفي ذلك يقول بعض الشعراء :  
حثوا مطاياكم عن أرض أندلس  
فما المقام بها الآمن الغلط  
فالشوب ينسل من أطرافه وأرى  
ثوب الجزيرة منسولا من الوسط  
ولعمري لو قضي بالسماح على العيان ، واستغنى بالإقناع عن البرهان ، واطمأن قلبه الى التمويه ، وقد رآه محضاً لا شك فيه ، لكان كلام الداني أبي بكر ، في ذلك المعنى  
المتقدم الذكر ، برتبة ذمه أليق ، وفي حليته اجمع واسبق . . . . . 49  
Ibn Bassām criticized Abū Bakr al-Dānī for writing

lying propaganda; he felt that he could not remain silent when he saw the truth being violated.

On a poem of Ibn Darrāj al-Qasṭallī in praise of Mubāarak and Muẓaffar:

فكم جزت من بحر اليّ ومهمه  
يكاد ينسيّ المستهام اذكارك  
أذو الحظ من علم الكتاب هداك لي  
أم الفلك الدوّار نحوي أدارك  
وكيف رضيت الليل ملبس طارق  
وما ذرّ قرن الشمس إلا استنارك  
وكم دون رحلي من بروج مشيدة  
تحرم من قرب المزار ، مزارك  
وأرضي سيول من خيول مظفر  
وليلي نجوم من رماح مبارك

He comments:

فكان في اهدائه الكلام ، الى أولئك العبيد اللثام ، كمن يهدي الهنم الى الصنم ،  
ويجعل الخمار على وجه الحمار .  
50

A counter example is provided by his reaction to a poem of Abū Bakr b. al-Malik in praise of al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid:

سكن اشتياقك ما عدا عما بدا  
لم يطف وجدك انما هي شعلنة  
والعضب يستره القراب وربما  
والروض يبعث بالنسيم كناثما  
سكران من ماء التعميم وكثما  
ياوي الى زهر كأن عيونـه  
زهر يفوح به اخضرار نباتـه  
ويبيت في فنن توهم ظلـه  
كم قد ركبت اليك كاهل همـه  
أبغى لديك العيش أخضر يانعـا  
يقظان تحسني الكواكب ناظرـا  
وإذا تكتفني النهار لبستـه  
رطب الجوانح في اليباب كأثما اس

أرويت أم حمت الخطوب الورد  
كالسيف جرده المقام وأغمد  
خشت مضاربه الرقاق من الصدا  
أهداه يضرب لاصطباحك موعدا  
غناه طائره وأطـرب ردا  
رقباء تقعد للأحبة مرصدا  
كالزهر أسرجها الظلام وأوقدا  
بالصبح في عين القرارة مرودا  
كادت تغالط في أخيه الفرقد  
فأجوب جنح الليل أسفع أسودا  
فيها يراقب للغزاة مولدا  
وهجا لفوحا أو سرايا مزبدا  
تهديت في الماء الخفي الهددا

لو قطع المفازة التي اهتدى فيها أصحاب رسول الله ، صلى الله عليه وسلم ،  
ببيت الضليل حيث يقول :

تيممت العين التي عند ضارج يفيء عليها الضل عرمصها طامي  
ما زاد على ما وصف ، فكيف في رقعة من الأرض مساحتها يومان ، لراكب أتان ،  
أكثر بلاد الله ماء ، وأرطبها هواء ، إلا أنه والله قال فأجاد ، وخيـل  
فسحر وزاد . وليس هذا البيت في شعر امرئ القيس في أكثر الروايات . وفي  
العرب عشرة رجال يسمون كلهم بامرئ القيس .  
51

He admired the concepts in these verses and regarded the poet's slight exaggeration as imaginativeness. He insisted that a writer should be true to himself and to reality.

IBN BASSĀM'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS INFIDEL IDEAS AND  
PHILOSOPHICAL TERMINOLOGY:

He was averse to the mention of infidel ideas and philosophical terminology. He also had a distaste for poets who tried to imitate the images of the Qurān. For example, on Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī's praise of Abū al-Aṣḡagh 'Īsā Ibn Saīd al-Qaṭṭā:

أفي مثلها تنبو أياديك عن مثلي      وهذي الأمانى فيك جامعة الشمل  
وكنت ومفتاح الرغائب ضائع      ملاذي فهذا بابها ضائع القفل  
وانني في أفياء ظلك أشتكبي      شكية موسى اذ تولتى الى الظل

He commented:

وهذا البيت من لفظ القرآن العزيز ، وقد أقدمت على مثل هذا جماعة من الشعراء  
من محدثين وقدماء ، فمن غال متسور ، ومن آخذ معتذر ، قال أبو العلاء :  
كنت موسى وآفته بنت شعيب      غير أن ليس فيكما من فقير

He said: "A contemporary of mine, Ḥassān Ibn al-Maṣṣīsī, borrowed this ma<sup>c</sup>nā in his praise of al-Mutamid b. 'Abbād:

كبت شعيب اذ زقت لموسى      ولكن للشراء هنا مزيد

And again:

ومن آخر من ركب هذا الأسلوب في مكابرة الحقائق ، وأضل من ذهب هذا المذب الغريب ؛  
من الاجتراء على الخلق والخالق ، المنفتل بقوله :  
وقد كان موسى خائفا مترقبا      فقيرا وآمنت المخافة والفقرا

Because of his religious scruples, he criticized al-Munfātil for his poem in which he praised Ibn al-Nighrilah al-Isrāīlī:

|                                  |                                 |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| أحاجيكم هل يَمّموا الضال والسدرا | أبى قلبي المعمود أن يسكن الصدرا |
| بدور ولكننا أمنا سراهرها         | بحور ولكن لا نرى دونها بـ       |
| غيوث اذا ما المحل شبّ ببلدة      | كهوف اذا جاءت بنا أرضه كـ       |
| يخالون من فرط الحياء أذلتة       | فانّ نداهم علّم النظم والنشرا   |

and commented:

وهذه القصيدة اندرج له من الغلو فيه ، ما لا أثبتة ولا أرويه ، وأبعد الله المنفتل فيما نظم فيه وفصل ، وقبحه وقبح ما أمّل .  
وله في هذه القصيدة من الغلو في القول ، ما نبرأ منه الى ذي القوة والحول ، وهو قوله :

|                               |                                  |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| ومن يك موسى منهم ثم صنوه      | فقل فيهم ما شئت لن تبلغ العشرا   |
| فكم لهم في الأرض من آية ترى   | وكم لهم في الناس من نعمة ترى     |
| أجامع شمل المجد وهو مشئت      | ومطلق شخص الجود وهو من الأسرى    |
| فضلت كرام الناس شرقا ومغربا   | كما فضل العقيان بالخطر القطرا    |
| ولو فرقوا بين الضلالة والهدى  | لما قبلوا الا أناملك العشرا      |
| ولاستلموا كفيك كالركن زلفة    | فيميناك لليمنى ويسراك لليسرى     |
| وقد فزت بالدنيا ونلت بك المنى | وأطمع أن ألقى بك الفوز في الأخرى |
| أدين بدين السبت جهرا لديكم    | وان كنت في قومي أدين به سرا      |
| وقد كان موسى خائفا مترقبا     | فقيرا وأمّنت المخافة والفقرا     |

He inveighed against him for the weakness of his religion:

فبح الله هذا مكسبا ، وأبعد من مذهبه مذهبها ، تعلق به سببا ، فما أدري من أي شؤون هذا المدلّ بذنبه ، المجترى على ربّه ، أعجب : التفضيل هذا اليهودي المأفون على الأنبياء والمرسلين ، أم خلعه اليه الدنيا والدين ؟  
حشره الله تحت لوائه ، ولا أدخله الجنة الا بفضل اعتنائه .  
53



He also criticized al-Sumaysir for his poem:

ليس لمن له قـدرة  
أو لا فما حيلة مستضعف  
نسبته منها فهذي وذا  
من كان مخلوقا من الأرض اذ  
حتى ترى الجثة مطروحة  
فعندها يأمن ما يتقني  
هذا علي مذهبا ثم قد  
لقد نشينا في الحياة التي  
باليتنا لم نك من آدم  
ان كان قد أخرجه ذنبه  
كلأخذ عند الرزء بالصير  
ليس له فضل على الدّر؟  
تحت الذي حدّ له يجري  
رغب لم يطلع على السّر  
والنفس في عالمها تسري  
وعندها يعلم بالأمر  
قيلت مقالات ولا ادري  
توردنا في ظلمة القبر  
أورطنا في شبه الأسر  
فما لنا نشارك في الأمر؟

and commented:

والسميسر في هذا الكلام ممن أخذ الغلوّ بالتقليد ، ونادى الحكمة من مكان بهيد ،  
صرّح عن عمي بصيرته ، ونشر مطويّ سيرته ، في غير معنى بديع ، ولا لفظ مطبوع ،  
ولعلّه أراد أن يتبع أبا العلاء ، فيما كان ينظمه من سخيف الآراء ، ويا بعد ما  
بين النجوم والحصاء ، وهبه ساواه في قصر باعه ، وضيق ذراعه ، أين هو من حسن  
ابداعه ، ولطيف اختراعه ؟<sup>54</sup>

He felt that al-Sumaysir wished to emulate the  
achievement of al-Maarrī, but fell well short of doing

so:

فاته كان - زعموا - ممن وسع هذه الخلال ، وجمع هذه الأحوال ، حاشا التي في السرة  
فاته انتبذ عنها ، وبريء الى أصحابه الشعراء منها . وما ينقضي التعجب من  
السميسر ، فاته لما سمع المتنبي يقول :  
أبوكم آدم سنّ المعاصي  
وعلمكم مفارقة الجنان  
حسده على غلوّه فقال بيته المتقدم الذكر :  
ان كان قد أخرجه ذنبه  
فما لنا نشارك في الأمر ؟

والسميسر في هذا كما يحكى عن بعض الرواة قال : كان أحد المخنثين قد تسربل المجون

وعبد البطالة والجنون ، حتّى مَحّ شبابه ، وأقصر أترابه ، ولم يدع عارا الآ ركبهُ  
ولا اثما الآ ارتكبه ، فطاف به طائف اعتلال ، بعد طول املاء من اللّه وامهال ، فكان  
يقول : أي ربّ ، بأيّ ذنب أخذت ، وعلى أيّ جريرة عوقبت ؟ هذا كان استغفاره ، حتّى  
محا الموت أخباره .

ولعبد الجليل بن وهبون قصيدة في رثاء الأستاذ أبي الحجاج يوسف بن عيسى المعروف  
بالأعلم ، أوّلها :

|                             |                               |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| آل يذوب وصخرة خلقها         | نفسى وحسي ان وصفتهما معا      |
| علمي لما امتسكت لها أرجاء   | لو تعلم الأجيال كيف مآلها     |
| تعيها القلوب وتغلب الأهواء  | انّا لنعلم ما يراد بنا فلم    |
| وعلى طريق الصحّة الأدواء    | طيف المنايا في أساليب المنى   |
| جلبت عليك الحكمة الشنعاء    | بتعاقب الأضداد مما قد ترى     |
| ولفانّ ههل عقت الأبناء      | ماذا على ابن الموت من ابصاره  |
| وأبي بحيث تواصت الغبراء     | أيغرني أن يستطيل بي المدى     |
| في طبعه لو صحّت الآراء      | لم ينكر الانسان ما هو ثابت    |
| أن تستوي من جنسه الأعضاء    | ونظير موت المرء بعد حياته     |
| أموتنا لو تشعر الأحياء      | دنف يبكي للصحيح واتّما        |
| أو تنقضي من شخصها الحوباء   | وسواء أن تجلى اللحاظ من القذى |
| حيث استقلّ بها الثرى والماء | ما النفس الآ شعلة سقطت الى    |
| ومن الخلاص مشقّة وعنساء     | حتّى اذا خلصت تعود كما بدت    |

He made fun of him in his comments:

لعلّ عبد الجليل اكتسب في هذا البيت والذي قبله من العمل بحقيقة النفس ما جهله  
في وصفه لها قيل أنّها " آل يذوب " وما أعجب أيضا قوله عن جسمه بأنّه صخرة ،  
خلقاء ، اللهمّ ، إنّ ان كان عني بذلك رأسه لأنّه كان يلقّب بالدمغة . وذهب هنا من  
صفة النفس الى مذهب كلامي ، كقول بعض أهل بلدنا وهو أبو عامر ابن سوار الشنتريني  
من جملة أبيات :

|                             |                         |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| وبنوا في الطين فوقى ما بنوا | يا لقومي دفنوني ومضوا   |
| وبكوني أيّ جز أيّ بكونوا    | ليت شعري اذ رأوني ميّتا |
| مركز التعفين أم نفسي نعووا  | أنعوا جسمي فقد صار السى |

كيف ينعون نفوسا لم تنزل  
قائمت بحضيض وبجـو  
ما أراهم ندبوا في سـوى  
فرقة التأليف ان كانوا دروا

and again:

وهذا معنى فلسفيّ ، قلّما عرّج عليه عربيّ ، واثّما فزع اليه المحدثون من الشعراء ، حين ضاق عنهم منهج الصواب ، وعدموا رونق كلام الأعراب ، فاستراحوا الى هذا الهذيان استراحة الجبان الى تنقّص أقرانه ، واستجادة سيفه وسنانه ، وقد قال بعض أهل النقد انّه عيب في الشعر والنثر أن يأتي الشاعر أو الكاتب بكلمة من كلام الأطباء ، أو بالفاظ الفلاسفة القدماء ، وانّي لأعجب من أبي الطيّب ، على سعة نفسه ، وذكاء قبسه ، فانه أطال قرع هذا الباب ، والتمرّس بهذه الأسباب ، وكذلك المعريّ : كثر به انتزاعه ، وطال اليه ايضاعه ، حتّى قال فيه أعدوه وأشياعه ، وحسبك من شرّ سماعه ، والى الله مآله ، وعليه سؤاله .

واثّما سلك عبدالجليل في هذا المعنى سبيل القائل حيث يقول :

ياسالكا موثلا يكلّمننا  
عرج أخبرك خالص القائد  
جسمك والنفس خلّتا عرض  
وكلّ خلّ لخلّه قائم  
والنفس تلقى الخلود ان خلصت  
والجسم لا باقيا ولا خالد

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He did not believe in the use of such things in poetry and considered them to be meaningless verbiage. He though that the Muḥdathūn employed them because they lacked the ability to use elegant Classical Arabic.

He admired the poetry of al-Mutanabbī and Abū al-<sup>Alā'</sup>al-Marrī in spite of their using philosophical concepts and terms; on these verses by Abū Ghassān al-Mutaṭabbib:

حكم كأس المنون أن يتساوى  
ويحلّ البليد تحت ثرى الأ ر  
أصبحت رمة تزايل عنها  
وتلاش كيانها الحيوانسي  
في حماها الغبي والألمعي  
ضكما حلّ تحتها اللوذعي  
فضلها الجوهري والعرضي  
وأودى تقويمها المنطقي

He commented:

وهذا كلام من الالحاد ، على غاية الاضمحلال والفساد ، فليس تساوي الناس في  
الموت والفناء ، حجة في عدم البقاء ، والمراتب في دار الجزاء .  
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It is clear from all this that there were two  
contradictory forces at work in Ibn Bassām, his religious  
and moral sentiment, which inclined him to reject all that  
was damaging to the faith, and his artistic judgement, which  
inclined him to separate literature from religion in the  
criteria that he applied to it.<sup>57</sup>

#### IBN BASSĀM'S PREFERENCE FOR TRADITIONAL STYLE IN FORMAL POETRY

He preferred the use of classical and plain modes of  
expression, because he was a conservative literary critic,  
and recommended that poets should employ the language and  
style of Pre-Islamic and early islamic poetry. In the  
chapter devoted to Abū-Marwān Ibn Sarrāj, he included  
several elegies:

وأكثر من أبنه في ذلك اليوم أطال في مدح ابنه ، وليس من عادة أئمة الشعراء  
المقتدى بهم الاكثار من مدح المعزّي في تأبين حميمه المتوقّي ، وانما يلمون به  
الماما بعد التوفر على ندبة ميّته والاشباع في ذكر ما فقد من خصاله ، ثم الكر  
على تسكين جأشه ، وحضه على التعزّي اتقاء لربه ، هذه طريقة فحول الشعراء .  
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الحكم حكمك في القاري وفي البادي  
عليك يا مورد الحادي على الهادي  
فصح شيبك في أفق النهب بـ  
فألق سمعك واستجمع لايرادي  
على جديس ولا طسم ولا عـ  
بال مامة من بيضاء سنـ  
وعيدت للرزايا آل عبـ  
منها تصرع أضدادا بأضـ  
بعود طلح وأسيافا بأغمـ  
بالأرقت ابن أبيه أو يعبـ  
شبحا بموت ولا سلقى بميـ  
خبا ولكئها شكوى على العـ  
واستأنفت نشر أنسوار وأوراد  
أفق العلا نيري هدي وارشـ  
أكرابها واحتبي في حلمك النـ  
زانت مطالع آباء وأجـ  
علما بجهل وإصلاحا بإفسـ  
سقى صداها غريض الرائح الفـ  
وكان ملء الرّبي يرمي بأزبـ  
على السها حملوه فوق أعـ

ما منك يا موت لا واق ولا فـ  
قدّم أناسا وآخر آخرين فـ  
يا نائم الفكر في ليل الشباب أفق  
سطني عن الدهر تسال غير أمـ  
نعم هو الدهر ما أيقنت غوائلـ  
ألقت عصاها بنادي مارب ورمـ  
وأسلمت للمنايا آل مسلمـ  
ما لليالي أقال الله عثرتنـ  
فلت قنا سمهر شلت أناملـ  
فحوضه من حسين الخير أو حسـ  
بعدا ليومك يا نور العـ  
لهفي عليك خبا فيه سناك ومـ  
لا شمس قبلك زادت بالغروب سنا  
أطلعت ذكرك لما غبت وابـ  
لما ملأت دلاء الهـ  
وطبقت بك آفاق العـ  
غضت عنانك أيدي الدهر ناسـ  
لا درّ درّ ليال غورتنـ  
فما سمعنا ببحر غاض في جـ  
ولا بطود رسا تحت الثرى وسـ

أعجوبة قصرت من خطو كلّ حجي  
لقد هوت منك خانتها قوادمها  
ومقرم كان يحمي شول قرطبة  
ومنها :  
من للعلوم اذا ما ضلّ ناشدها  
من للحديث اذا ما ضاق حامله  
من للتلاوة أو من للرواية أو  
شق العلوم نظاما والعللا زهرا  
مضى فلله ما أبقت وما أخذت  
فلم يكن في قوى منها ولا آد  
بكوكب في سماء المجد وقّاد  
أستغفر الله لا بل شول بغداد  
في ظلمة الشكّ بعد النير الهادي ؟  
ذرا بما تن وايضاح واسناد ؟  
من للبلاغة بعد العاد والبادي ؟  
شبين ما بين رواد ووراد  
أيدي الليالي من المفدي والغادي

He commented on this poem:

وهذه القصيدة طويلة سلك فيها أبو محمد طريقته في الرثاء ، الى الإشارة والإيماء  
بمن أباده الحدشان من ملوك الزمان ، وقد نسق ذكرهم على توالي أزمانهم في قصيدة  
اندرج له كثير من البديع فيها ، ..... واقتفى أبو محمد أثر فحول القدماء ،  
من ضربهم الأمثال في التآبين والرثاء ، بالملوك الأعزة ، وبالوعول الممتنعة في  
قلل الجبال ، والأسود الخادرة في الغياض ، وبالنسور والعقبان والحيات في طول  
الأعمار ، وغير ذلك مما هو في أشعارهم موجود ، فأما المحدثون فهم الى غير ذلك  
أميل ، وربّما جروا أيضا على السنن الأول .<sup>59</sup>

He was in complete agreement with the conventional views on  
Madīh and Rithā:

وأجمع أئمة الأدباء ، أنّه لا فرق بين المدح والرثاء ، إلا أن يقال : أودى وعدم  
به كيت وكيت وشبهه ، مما يعلم أنّ الممدوح ميّت ، هذا اذا كان المؤبّن ملكا أو  
ذا صيت وقدر ، كقول النابغة في حصن بن حذيفة بن بدر :  
يقولون حصن ثمّ تأبى نفوسهم فكيف بحصن والجبال جنوح

وألفاظ النساء ، أشجى في الرشاء ، من كثير من الشعراء ، لما رغب في طباعهن  
من الخور والهلع ، وألفاظ الناس مبنية على كثرة التفجع كما قال حبيب :

لولا التفجع لادعى هضب الحمى وصفا المشقر أنه مجزون

ولذلك عروا المراثي من ألفاظ النسيب ، وجرت بذلك سمة البعيد والقريب ، على  
قديم الزمان ، إلا ابن مقبل فاته قال في رثائه لعثمان بن عفان رضي الله عنه :

ولم تنسني قتلى قريش طعائنا تحملن حتى كادت الشمس تغرب

ودريد في تأبين أخيه ، تغزل أيضا فيه ، والشاذ لا يلتفت اليه ، ولا يعول عليه .  
ومن أشد الرشاء صعوبة على الشعراء ، تأبين الأطفال والنساء ، (لا ترى أبا الطيب -  
وهو الذي قال ، فأصاحت الأيام والليال ، قد عابوا قوله في رثائه أم سيف الدولة :

سلام الله خالقنا حنوط على الوجه المكفّن بالجمال

وقالوا : ما له ولهذه العجوز يصف جمالها ؟ وتعصّب له بعضهم وقال : انها استعارة  
، فقيل : انها استعارة حداد في عرس ، وكذلك قوله في أخته :

ولا ذكرت جميلا من فعائلها الأ بكيت ولا ودّ بلا سبب

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ولولا الإطالة ، وأنها تفضي الى الملالة ، لزدنا ، فلنرجع الى ما وعدنا .

THE EFFECT OF PERSONAL CIRCUMSTANCES ON LITERATURE

Ibn Bassām was unique in appreciating the personal factors such as friendship and social life that influence the works of a writer, even the most high-ranking, to whom he gave priority.

He juxtaposed the works of writers with common literary characteristics which were the result of their common personal environment. In al-Dhakīra he devoted a chapter to three men who displayed similar literary characteristics because they were under the same influential factors of time and place:

فصل في ذكر ثلاثة من رجال الأندلس جمعهم وقت وزمان ، واشتمل عليهم شان وأوان ،  
ونسقهم شبه ، وكلهم وان كان جاهرا بالنفار غزله ، وجذبت البطالة والاستهتار  
أذياله ، واستفرص بلسانه ، أعيان أهل زمانه ، حتى تحاماه الناس ، وانحرف عنه  
التقليد والقياس ، فله من الاحسان مكان لا يجهل ، ومن التقدّم في هذا الميدان  
حكم لا يمدل ، ولأمر ما أطلعتهم في أفق ، ووضعتهم على نسق ، والهراء لمسهيه ،  
دون قرابته وذويه ، وسأنشر ما نظمت ، وأوضح ما أبهمت ، وأذكرهم رجلا رجلا ،  
وأسرد من قصصهم تفاصيل وجملا ، وأكتب من أشعارهم ونوادير أخبارهم ، بما يقفك  
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على احسانهم ، ويعجبك من اشتباههم واقترانهم .



He realised that the physical circumstances of writers had an influence on their productions, as he demonstrated in his biography of Abū al-Ḥasan Sāliḥ b. Sāliḥ al-Shantamrī: وأبو الحسن غربيّ النشأة ، شتمري الأفق ، شاعر ناشر ، وله من المعرفة بلسان العرب حظ وافر ، وكلامه في المماثلة والسجع ، جار على الطبع ، ذاهب بين الجزالة والحلاوة ، من رجل شديد الحياء ، كثير الانقباض والانزواء ، يرى الكتابة عليه من أشق الأشياء ، لا لنبو طبع وقلة أدب بل لضعف عصب . فكان لا يكتب الرقعة إلا في مدّة ، وكثير من الكتاب . يشق عليه الكتاب ، لزمانة تكون في يده ، أو افراط ضعف في خطه .

He also realised that another influence on a writer was the family from which he came. He devoted several chapters to those who came from distinguished literary families, such as that on Abū Marwān <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. Ziyādat Allāh al-Ṭubnī and Abū al-Ḥasan <sup>c</sup>Alī Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz b. Ziyādat Allāh al-Ṭubnī, and that on Abū al-<sup>c</sup>Alā' Zuhr b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. Zuhr al-Ayādī, Abū Marwān Ibn Muḥammad and his son Muḥammad b. Marwān, Abū Bakr <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz b. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd al-Baṭalyūsī, Abū al-Ḥasan Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. al-Jadd. Abū Baḥr Yūsuf b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Ṣamad, and Abū Umar b. al-Bājī:

١- أبو بكر عبد العزيز بن سعيد البطيني : أحد فرسان الكلوم والكلام ، وجملته السيوف والأفلام ، من أسرة أصالة ، وببيت جلالة ، أخذوا العلم أولاً عن آخر ، ورووه كابراً عن كابر ، ولله درّه فائمه ، وأخويه أبا طلحة وأبا الحسن محمد ، منتهى قول القائل ، وأعجوبة الأواخر والأوائل ، ثلاثة كهفمة الجوزاء ، وإن أربوا على الشمس في السنا والسناء ، امتروا أخلاف الفخر فأمطرتهم شيعا ورياً ، وهزوا بجذوع النظم والنثر فاساقت عليهم رطبا جنياً ، ولم يحضرنى من أشعارهم ومستظرف أخبارهم حين اخراجي هذه النسخة من هذا المجموع إلا ما أثبتته لأبي بكر منهم خاصة ، وهو علم بردهم ، وواسطة عقدهم .

٢- قد قدّمت ذكر بني الجّد ، وذكرت أنهم كانوا صدور رتب وبحور أدب ، توارثوه نجيباً عن نجيب ، كالرمح أنبوا على أنبوب ، مع اشتهارهم بصحبة السلطان ، وشفهم على وجه الزمان . وأبو الحسين هذا كان من أسنى نجوم سعدهم ، وأسمى هضاب مجدهم ، ولولا ما خلا به من معاقرة العقار ، وتمسك بأسبابه من قضاء الأوطار ، لملأ ذكره البلاد ، وطبق نظمه ونثره الهضاب والوهاد . وقد استكتبه ذو الوزاريتين أبو بكر ابن عمّار أيام حربه بمرسية ، وله معه أخبار مذكورة ، وعنه رسائل مشهورة .

٣- وهو يوسف بن أبي القاسم خلف بن أحمد بن عبد الصمد ، جدّهم الأول كان السمح بين مالك بن خولان ، أحد أمراء الأندلس في ذلك الأوان ، قبل دخول بني مروان ، من تقديم عمر بن عبد العزيز . وهؤلاء الصمديون قوم من ذوي الهيئات ، متقدّمون في الكتابة وأدوات أهل النباهات ، وأصلهم فيما أخبرت من اقليم الشبتان من كورة جيان وخدم أبو القاسم والد أبي بحر الخزانة في الميرية زمان زهير وخيران ، وفي دولة المنصور بعدهما ، ومات في دولة ابن صمادح سنة ثمان وأربعين ، وبنوه وقرابته أكثر خدمة الميرية .

He referred to the general educational level of writers and its influence on their works. Critics discussed this subject before, such as Ibn Qutayba, who remarked on the defects to be found in the poetry of scholars and the low standard of achievement that they tended to display.<sup>62</sup> Ibn Bassām referred to the same phenomenon:

على أنّ أشعار العلماء على قديم الدهر وحديثه بيّنة التكلّف ، وشعرهم الذي روي لهم ضعيف ، حاشا طائفة منهم خلف الأحمر ، فإنّ له ما يستندر ، وقطرب له أيضا ما يستعزب ، كقوله وقد رويت لغيره :

ان كنت لست معي فالذكر منك معي      يرعاك قلبي وان غيّبت عن بصري  
فالعين تبصر من تهوى وتفقدده      وناظر القلب لا يخلو من النظر  
والخليل بن أحمد ، له أيضا بعض ما يحمد ، ومورّج السدوسي ، وابن دريد من الشعراء العلماء ، وكذلك من علماء البصرة أبو محمد اليزيدي وبنوه ، وهو القائل في حمّويه ابن أخت الحسن الحاجب :

ان فخر الناس بأبائهم      أتيتهم بالعجب العاجب  
قلت وأدغمت أبا خاملا      أنا ابن أخت الحسن الحاجب  
ومن هذا أخذ دعبل قوله :

سألته من أبيه      فقال دينار خالبي  
فقلت دينار من هـ      فقال والي الجبال  
وابن مناذر أيضا عالم شاعر ، وأبو محمّد السعدي ، وهو الذي يقول :

تصيح لكسرى حين تسمع شبيها      بصمّاء عن ذكر النبيّ صدوف  
وتغرق في اطراء ساسان وابنه      وما أنت من أعلامهم بشريف

ومن العلماء الشعراء أحمد بن أبي كامل وهو القائل :

لا أرى فيما أرى شبيها      لك غير البدر في الظلم  
غير أنّ البدر ليس له      لحظة تدعو الى السقم

ومن الرواة الأخباريين محمد العتبي وهو القائل :

رأين الغواني الشيب لاح بمفرقي فأعرض عني بالخدود النواضر  
هؤلاء أعيان العلماء الشعراء بالمشرق ، ممن علا شعرهم ديباجة ورونق ، فأما  
من سواهم كيونس والأخفش وأبي عمرو بن العلاء وسيبويه والفرّاء وسائر أصحابهم  
فأكثر الرواة لم يسمع لهم بشعر ، والكسائي الذي يقول : " انما النحو قياس  
يتبع " له شعر ضعيف ، بين التكلف . فأما أبو عبيدة فله شعر يضحك ، لا سيما  
قوله في ابن أخي يونس النحوي ، وكان يسمّى خرّك ، لم أر أن أكون من رواته  
اذ هو معدود في هناته .

وللأصمعي قصيدة في بني برمك أكثر فيها من الغريب ، وما أتى بغريب ، وكذلك  
من علماء الكوفة جماعة مثل خالد بن كلثوم ، وأبي عمرو الشيباني ، وابن  
الأعرابي وأصحابهم ، زعم ابن المنجم أنّه لم يسمع لهم بشعر .  
وأما العلماء الشعراء بأفقنا هذا الأندلسي من حين استفتحت الجزيرة التي  
آخر دولة بني عامر ، فقد تقدّم المصنّفون قبلي الى تدوين نثرهم ونظمهم ،  
فأغنانني عن ذكرهم ، وانما شرطت ذكر أهل عصري ممن شاهدته بعصري ، أو لحقه  
بعض أهل دهري .

1. al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālibī al-Yatīma, 1, 6-7.
2. Ibn Bassām, 1, 1, 14-15.
3. al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālibī al-Yatīma, 1, 7.
4. Ibn Bassām, 2, 1, 12.
5. Ibid, 1, 1, 14.
6. Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, 61.
7. Muḥammad <sup>c</sup>Abdullāh al-Jādir, 211-212.
8. Ibn Bassām, 1, 1, 33-34.
9. Ibid, 2, 2, 639-640.
10. Ibid, 4, 1, 7-8.
11. Muḥammad <sup>c</sup>Abdullāh al-Jādir, 242.
12. al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālibī, al-Yatīma, 1.
13. Ibn Sharaf, 28.
14. Ibn Bassām, 1,1, 12.
15. Ibid, 1, 1, 12-13.
16. Ibid, 1, 1, 13.
17. Ibid, 2, 1, 12.
18. al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālibī, al-Yatīma, 1, 7.
19. Ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>īd al-Mughrib, 2, 195.
20. Ibn Bassām, 1, 1, 32.
21. Nazha Ja<sup>c</sup>far, 160-161.
22. Ibn Bassām, 3, 2, 667.
23. Ibid, 1, 1, 32.
24. Ibid, 3, 2, 887.
25. Ibid, 2, 1, 42.
26. al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālibī al-Yatīma, 1, 5.
27. al-Mubarrad, 3, 36.
28. Ibn Bassām, 1, 1, 544-546.

29. Ibid, 1, 1, 307.
30. Ibid, 1, 1, 432.
31. Ibid, 1, 2, 574.
32. Ibid, 1, 2, 586.
33. Ibid, 1, 2, 601.
34. Ibid, 1, 2, 590.
35. Ibid, 1, 2, 595.
36. al-Ṣūlī, Akhbār Abī Tammām, 172.
37. Ibn Bassām, 1, 2, 883.
38. al-Jurjānī, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz, 64.
39. Ibn Bassām, 1, 1, 144-145.
40. Ibid, 4, 1, 369-370.
41. Ibid, 2, 1, 152-153.
42. Ibn Qutayba, <sup>c</sup>Uyūn al-Akhbār, 1, 12.
43. Ibn Bassām, 3, 2, 604.
44. Ibid, 1, 2, 900-901.
45. Ibid, 2, 1, 152.
46. Ibid, 3, 2, 758.
47. Ibid, 3, 2, 900-901.
48. Ibid, 2, 2, 720.
49. Ibid, 2, 1, 249-250.
50. Ibid, 3, 1, 11-13.
51. Ibid, 2, 1, 454-455.
52. Ibid, 1,1, 78.
53. Ibid, 1,2, 764-765.
54. Ibid, 1, 2, 889-890.
55. Ibid, 2, 1, 479-480.
56. Ibid, 2, 1, 481-482.
57. Nazha, 236.

58. Ibn Bassām, 1,2, 821.
59. Ibid, 1, 2, 816-821.
60. Ibid, 2, 1, 489-490.
61. Ibid, 3, 2, 757.
62. Ibn Qutayba, 10.
63. Ibn Bassām, 1, 2, 825-826.

IBN BASSAM'S LITERARY CRITICISM



To a large extent, classical Arabic literary criticism depended on the personal attitude and taste of the critic who naturally derived his knowledge and appreciation from his wide reading and the works of previous critics, linguists and grammarians.

al-Jurjānī believes that literary criticism should depend mainly on the personal taste and views of the critic:

والشعر لا يحبب الى النفوس بالنظر والمحاجة ، ولا يحلّى في الصدور بالجدال والمقايسة ، واثما يعطفها عليه القبول والطلاوة ، ويقربه منها الرونق والخلوة وقد يكون الشيء متقنا محكما ، ولا يكون طوا مقبولا ، ويكون جيّدا وثيقا ، وان لم يكن لطيفا رشيقا .

وقد يجد الصورة الحسنة والخلقة الثامة مقلية ممقوتة ، وأخرى دونها مستحلاة موموقة ، ولكل صناعة أهل يرجع اليهم في خصائصها ، ويستظهر بمعرفتهم عند اشتباه أحوالها .<sup>1</sup>

al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālibī, again, in his al-Yatīma has the same approach to the appreciation of a literary work. In evaluating the poetry of al-Mutanabbī, for example, he says:

وأنا مورد في هذا الباب ذكر محاسنه ومقابحه وما يرتضي وما يستهجن من مذاهبه في الشعر وطرائقه وتفصيل الكلام في نقد شعره والتنبيه على عيونه وعيوبه والاشارة الى غرره وعرره وترتيب المختار من قلائده وبدائعه ، بعد الأخذ بطرف من طرف أخباره ومتصرفات أحواله ، وما يكثر فوائده وتحلو ثمرته ، ويتميز هذا الباب به عن سائر ابواب الكتاب كتمييزه عن أصحابها ، بعلو الشأن في شعور الزمان والقبول التام عند أكثر الخاص والعام .<sup>2</sup>

al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālibī was the first to imply that Andalusian writers were worthy of critical consideration by comparing them with Eastern writers. In his account of Abū<sup>c</sup> Umar b. Darrāj al-Qastālī, he compares the latter with al-Mutanabbī:

كان بمقع الأندلس كالمتمنّي بمقع الشام ، وهو أحد الشعراء الفحول<sup>3</sup>

Ibn Bassām considers that a literary critic, when passing judgement on poetry, should have regard to his personal literary taste, and the environment that stimulated the poet to compose his poem. This approach is apparent in his comparative literary studies of the fifth century A.H. In formulating views on any poet or prose-writer, Ibn Bassām depends, therefore, on his own personal taste, which derives from his wide aural and written experience, and, in particular, from his continuous attendance at the literary majālis that were held at the court of the Banū<sup>c</sup> Abbād. His biographies of literary men of the fifth century indicate that he followed al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālībī's approach in comparing Andalusian writers with Eastern ones; for instance, he writes, comparing Abū al-Qāsim with al-Jāhīz and Badī<sup>c</sup> al-Zamān in prose and with<sup>c</sup> Amr b. Kulthūm in poetry:

قريع وقتنا ، وواحد عصرنا ، ممن استمرى أخلاف النظم والنثر ، فدرت لــــه  
بالبيان أو بالسحر ، فان تكلم فأبو بحر ، أو نظم فكلثوم بن عمرو .....  
ومع ذلك فلم يدع مساجلة الاخوان ، ومراسلة من يرتسم بهذا الديوان من بني  
الأوان ، بما يشهد أنه بديع الزمان ، وفارس الميدان<sup>4</sup>

He actually quotes al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālībī's comparison that we have just mentioned. He also makes a comparison between Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Khafāja and al-A<sup>c</sup>shā and Hassān b. Thābit because they were famous for a single type of poetry:

الناظم المطبوع ، الذي شهد بتقديمه الجميع ، المتصرف بين حكمه وتحكمه البديع  
..... ان مدح فلا الأعشى للمطّق ، ولا حسّان لأهل جلق ، وان تصرف في فنون الأوصاف  
فهو فيها كفارس خفاف<sup>5</sup>.

He is biased in favour of Andalusian writers, wishing to demonstrate that they are better than those in the East, as he implies in his introduction:

نشر لو رآه البديع لنسي اسمه ، أو اجتلاه هلال لولاه حكمه ، ونظم لو سمعه كثير  
ما نسب ولا مدح ، أو تتبعه جرول ما عوى ولا نبج .<sup>6</sup>

He reiterates this in another context:

فلا يكاد بلد منها يخلو من كاتب ماهر ، وشاعر قاهر ، ان مدح ما كثير عنده  
بكثير ، وان هجا أجز لسان جرير ، وعدا عديا عن مدح ذويه ، وأنسى جرولا  
العواء في أثر قوافيه ، وان تغزل أربى على الساحرات فنونا ، وأزرى بالفانيات  
مجونا .<sup>7</sup>

In another example of this type of comparison, he comments on Ibn Zaydūn's verse:

وصلنا فقبلنا الندى منك في يد بها يتلف المال الجسيم ويخلف  
البيت معنى مليح ، ولفظ صحيح ، إلا أنه كما تراه ، لفظ بيت البحري ومعناه .  
ويقول بعض أدبائنا ان ابن زيدون بحري زماننا وصدقوا ، لأنه هذا حذو الوليد  
الآن أبا الوليد في بعض قصائده كابن حميد سعيد .<sup>8</sup>

Here Ibn Bassām again employs the comparative method, in this case comparing Ibn Zaydūn with al-Buhturī.

Again, commenting on this verse:

ته أحتمل واستطل أصبر وعز أهن وول أقبل وقل أسمع ومرأطع

He compares Ibn Zaydūn with Ibn Washmagir, al-Şāhib b. <sup>c</sup>Abbād and Badī<sup>c</sup> al-Zaydūn al-Hamadhānī:

بيته المعروف ، وأحسن لعمرى ابن زيدون في هذا التقسيم ، ودفع بالحديث في  
صدر القديم ، ولو قرع سمع أبي منصور ، بما في تضاعيف هذا التصنيف من  
الشذور ، لما كان عنده ابن وشمكير بمذكور ، ولا أغرب بغرائب صاحب ، ولا  
ببديع البديع .<sup>9</sup>

In some instances, instead of generalising, he takes a specific work of the writer under discussion as the basis for one side of his comparison, without comparing works directly. As an example we may take the following passage, on a poem by Abū<sup>c</sup> Umar b. Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī:

لعلك يا شمس عند الأصيل      شجيت لشجو الغريب الدليل  
فكوني شفيعي الى ابن الشفيح      وكوني رسولي الى ابن الرسول  
وهذه القصيدة له طويلة ، وهي من الهاشميات الغرّ ، بناها من المسك والدرّ ، لا  
من الجصّ والآجرّ ، لا بل خلّدها على الدهر ، وسرّ بها مطالع النجوم الزهر ، لو  
قرعت سمع دعبيل بن علي الخزاعيّ ، والكميت بن زيد الأسدي ، لأمسكا عن القول ،  
وبرئا اليها من القوّة والحول ، بل لو رآها السيّد الحميري ، وكثير الخزاعيّ ،  
لأقامها بيّنة على الدعوى ، ولتلقياها بشارة على زعمهما بخروج الخيل من رضوى ،  
وقد أثبت أكثرها اعلانا بجلالة قدرها ، واستحسانا لعجزها وصدورها .  
10

An example of his directly comparing individual works, in which he sees influence from one to another, is the following, in which he compares a poem by Ibn Burd:

أعنبر في فمه فتّتا      أم صارم من لحظه أصلتا  
يا شاربا ألثمني شاربا      قد همّ فيه الآس أن ينبتا  
انظر الى الدّاهب من ليلنا      وامزج بماء الدّهب المنبتا

with one by Ibn al-Mutazz:

قد صاد قلبي قمـر      يسحر منه النّظـر  
بوجنة كأنمما      يقدح منها الشـرر  
وشارب قد هـمّ أو      نمّ عليه الشّعـر  
ضعيفة أجفانه      والقلب منه حجر

كأثمًا مقلته من فعله تعتذر  
الحسن فيه كامل وفي الوري مختصر

In spite of the direction of the influence, he decides in favour of the imitator, on the grounds that his language is almost colloquial.

وليست يد ابن برد فيه عن مرماه بقاصرة ، ولا صفقته حين جراه بخاسرة ، بل ساواه وزاد ، وأجاد ما أراد . ألا ترى قول ابن المعتز على تقدمه : " قد همّ أو نمّ عليه الشعر " لا يكاد يخرج عن لفظ العامّة ، وابن برد جمع في بيته بين بابين من أبواب البديع : فجانس بين الشارب والشارب ، وأنبا أن محبوبه في آخر درجة من المرودة ، وأول درجة من اللّحية ، بإشارة عذبة ، وعبارة حطوة رطبة ، دون تطويل ، ولا تشقيل ؟<sup>11</sup>

This would seem to display a certain amount of pro-Andalusian bias.

In spite of his professed objective, he is prepared to acknowledge the inferiority of an Andalusian writer to an Eastern one, particularly when he regards the former as having been influenced by the latter. For example, in his biography of Abū<sup>c</sup> Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Mas<sup>c</sup>ūd, he concedes the latter's subordination to the Iraqi Ibn Ḥajjāj:

كان ظريفا في أمره ، كثير الهزل في نظمه ونثره ، وأراه فيما انتحاه ، تقيل  
منهاج سميّه وكنيّه محمد بن حجّاج بالعراق ، فضاقت ساحته ، وقصرت راحتّه ،  
وأعياه الصّريح فمدق ، ولم يحسن الصّهيل فنهق .<sup>12</sup>

Ibn Bassām sometimes does not specify the differences between the Andalusian and Eastern writers and their productions, but confines himself to generalisations. He nevertheless contrives to imply that the Andalusian representative has great, and perhaps greater, merits.

An example of this is provided by the following passage:

وقال حسان بن المصّمي يداعب ابن جهور :  
شكوت اليه بفرط الذّنْف      فأنكر من علّتي ما عرف  
فجئنا ابن جهور المرتضى      فقيه الملاح وقاضي الكلف  
كذا تقتلون مشاهيرنا      اذا مات هذا فأين الخلف ؟  
وأرى حسانا أراد أن يسلك من هذه السبيل ، مسلك ابن معمر جميل ، في قصيدته  
حيث يقول :

وقلت لها : اعتديت بغير جرم      وغبّ الظلم مرتعه وبييل

فجاء بين الشعريين ما بين الشاعريين ، وبين القطعتين ما بين الزمانيين ، على أنّ  
محاسن حسان كثيرة ، وحسناته مشهورة ، وانّما ألمعت منها بقليل ، لزهدي في التطويل.<sup>13</sup>  
Ibn Bassām does not only compare Andalusian writers with those  
of the East; he also makes comparisons between one Andalusian  
writer and another. For instance, in the biography of Abū  
Tammām Ghālib, known as al-Ḥajjām, he asserts that the latter  
has unsuccessfully followed the method of al-Ramādī:

وكان معدودا في شعراء عصره ، إلا أنّه كان متخلفا في شعره ، لأنّ طبعه كان ينبو  
عن السهل ، ولا يلحق بالفصيح الجزل ، وربّما ندرت له أبيات في النظام ، كرمية  
من غير رام ، ووجدته قد سلك في الأوصاف طريقة الرّمادي ، فغرق في بحبوحة ذلك  
الوادي وقد أخذت هنا من شعره بطرف ، يعرب عمّا به ذكر ووصف.<sup>14</sup>

He makes his comparison not only in general terms but specifically  
by comparing actual works. Thus, in writing about Ibn Darrāj  
al-Qaṣṭallī's verse:

فمن حرّة جليت بالجلء      وعذراء نصّت بنصّ الدّميل

he says that it resembles the following by <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Sharaf  
al-Qayrawānī:

بات كرسيتها الجلء فأضحت      في ثياب الجلء للناس تجلى

He then comments upon Ibn Sharaf:

وانتحي ابن شرف ، فيما وصف من فتنة قيروانه ، منحى القصطلي في شكوى  
زمانه ، والحديث عن الفتن ، فكاشر البحر بوشل مشفوه ، وجارى الريح بكودن  
لا فضل فيه .<sup>15</sup>

Sometimes Ibn Bassām quotes comparisons made by "the writer's contemporaries" without naming them:

في ذكر الشيخ أبي علي بن اسماعيل القرشي الأشبوني :  
وكان يعرف عندنا بالطيطل ، ممن نظم الدرّ المفصل ، لا سيمًا في الزهد ، فإن  
أهل أوانه ، كانوا يشبهونه بأبي العتاهية في زمانه .<sup>16</sup>

He specifically relies, however, on the comparison and criticism of Ibn Hayyān; as can be seen in the following passage:

وقد ذكره أبو مروان بن حيّان في غير ما موضع من كتابه فقال :  
كان أبو عامر يبلغ المعنى ولا يطيل سفر الكلام ، وإذا تأملته ولسنّه ،  
وكيف يجرّ في البلاغة رسنه ، قلت عبد الحميد في أوانه ، والجاحظ في زمانه .  
والعجب منه أنّه كان يدعو قريحته الى ما شاء من نشره ونظمه في بديهته  
ورويته ، فيقود الكلام كما يريد من غير اقتناء للكتب ، ولا اعتناء بالطلب ،  
ولا رسوخ في الأدب ، فاتّه لم يوجد له ، رحمه الله - فيما بلغني - بعد موته ،  
كتاب يستعين به على صناعته ، ويشحذ من طبعه إلا ما لا قدر له ، فزاد ذلك  
في عجائبه ، واعجاز بدائعهم . وكان في تنميق الهزل والنادرة الحارّة أقدر  
منه على سائر المطبوعين ، فلم يقصّر عن غايتهم .  
وله رسائل كثيرة في فنون الفكاهة وأنواع التعريض والأهزال ، قصار وطوال ،  
برز فيها شأوه ، وبقاها في الناس خالدة بعده . وكان في سرعة البديهة  
وحضور الجواب وحدّته ، مع رقة حواشي كلامه ، وسهولة ألفاظه ، وبراعة أوصافه ،  
ونزاهة شمائله وخلائقه ، آية من آيات الله خالقه ، من رجل غلبت عليه البطالة

فلم يحفل في آثارها بضياع دين ولا مروءة ، فحظ في هواه شديدا حتى أسقط شرفه ، ووهّم نفسه راضيا في ذلك بما يلذّه ، فلم يقصر عن مصيبة ، ولا ارتكاب قبيحة .

وكان مع ذلك من أصحّ الناس رأيا لمن استشاره ، وأضلّهم عنه في ذاتهم ، وأشدّهم جنائية على حاله ونصابه . وكان له في الكرم والجود انهماك ، مع شرف وبطالة ، حتى شارف الاملاق ، فمضى على هذه السبيل رحمه الله . انتهى كلام ابن حيّان .<sup>17</sup>

Ibn Bassām, as has already been indicated, depends on his own personal taste in making his literary critical judgements; he has a predilection for rhetorical poetry as long as he considers the poet to be maṭbū<sup>c</sup> (non-artificial). He considers that writers should strike a balance between a totally modern and a totally classical style. He compares the same writers' poetry and prose:

ونثر أبي عمر ، دون نظمه الرائق بكثير .<sup>18</sup>

He will sometimes state that a writer is, in his view, generally undervalued. For example, he comments on Abū<sup>c</sup> Umar Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī:

وأنا أقول : إنّ من ذكره لم يوفه حقّه ، ولا أعطاه وفقه ، ولا استوفى تقدّمه وسبقه ، ولو أوفى الأيّام ، واستنفذ القراطيس والأقلام . وقد أتيت أنا ممن شعره بما يبهر نيّرات الألباب ، ويظهر خفيّات الأسباب ، ومن نشره ما يبهر العقول ، ويباهي الغرر والحجول ، ويسامي التيجان والأكاليل ، ويسهل التقليد والتأويل .<sup>19</sup>

He greatly admires Ibn Zaydūn:

فأمّا سعة ذرعه ، وتدفق طبعه ، وغزارة بيانه ، ورقّة حاشية لسانه ، فالصبح الذي لا ينكر ولا يردّ ، والرمل الذي لا يحصى ولا يعدّ .<sup>20</sup>



but he is prepared to criticize his work when necessary:

قال ابن زيدون في ابن جهور ، وكتب بها اليه من السجن :

في حضرة غاب صرف الدّهر خشيته عنها ، ونام القطا فيها ولم يثر  
حرمته منه وحظّ الناس كلّهم لهذه العبرة الكبرى من العبر  
وقول ابن زيدون : " في حضرة غاب صرف الدّهر خشيته " ..... البيت مع الذي بعده ،  
لم يخله من برد ، ولا أقامه على ساق نقد ، وخير منهما ما وصف من خبر التاجر  
مع أبا دلف وقد مرّ به في مكان ، فوطيء له طرف طيلسان ، فقال له : يا أبا دلف

21

ليس هذا كرجك ، هذه حضرة أمير المؤمنين ، الشاة والذئب يشربان فيها من اناء واحد ،

He praises specific points in Ibn Shuhayd's poetry, without

ever, *in fact* , indicating why he finds them admirable;

it is most likely that Ibn Bassām praises these specific

points or images and finds them admirable because he

considers them both original and appropriate in their

contexts. In his view, they are examples of powerful

imagination:

وقد ضارع أبو عامر هذا محاسن الطبقة العالية البغدادية المضارعة التي بان

فيها قوّته ، ولدنت اختراعاته ومقدرته ، فصار يتناول المعنى الحسن فيصيّره

محسنا بحسن مساقه ، فمنها وصفه للنحل والعسل : واسعة الأكفال والصدور مرهفة .

• ووصف البرغوث فقال : أسود زنجي • ووصف البعوضة فقال : مليكة لا جيش سواها .

• ووصف الثعلب فقال : أدهى من عمرو • فهذه أوصاف لو رامها غيره لكبا جواد

22

• بنانه ، ونبا حسام لسانه .

He can show a certain dry irony in his criticism; for example,  
on these lines of Ibn Sharaf al-Qayrawānī:

يا حاسديه على علا خطت لــــه سبق القضا بالنون بعد الكاف

يخلي الدّيار من الجسوم ويجتنني ثمر الرؤوس وطرفة الأطــــراف

فكأتما الأجسام بعد رؤوسها أبيات شعر ما لهنّ قــــواف

أظنّ ابن شرف ، فيما وصف ، شبه الأجسام دون رؤوسها بأبيات شعره في هذه

القصيدة ، فليست لها مبادئ ولا قوافي ، وما أمتري أنّ الغربية فلّت غرب طبعه ،

23 . وغسلت عن جوانحه ، وأطفأت نار قرائحه .

Ibn Bassām pays much attention to original and creative poetic expression and concepts. He does his best, with modest success, to collect all the original and innovative poetic expression of the Andalusian poets. In this he again follows al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālībī, who much appreciates innovative poetry dealing with the unavoidable vicissitudes of life. Among examples of this type of poetry he mentions the following three lines by Abū al-Qāsim al-Shayzamī:

|                            |                                |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| ولا تبع طيب مفقود بموجود   | قم فأسقني بين خفق الناي والعود |
| قال السرور له قم غير مطرود | كأسا اذا أبصرت في القوم محتشما |
| 24 تزوج ابن سحاب بنت عنقود | نحن الشهود وخفق العود خاطبنا   |

He does not, however, define what he means by Ikhtirā<sup>c</sup> (innovation). In commenting, for example, on the verses by al-Faqīh Ibn Qālūs:

|                               |                          |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| وأرى إعارتها أجل العار        | اعطاء مثلي للمقصر نقيصة  |
| (لا) والجواد ب (لا) لئيم نجار | ان المقصر حكت صورة شكلها |

He is content to say:

وهذا من الاختراع البديع ، والتشبيه المطبوع .

("This is a novel invention and a natural and spontaneous simile"). Ibn Bassām does not mean that this is a type of simile which belongs to the rhetorical branch of Badī<sup>c</sup>. He is using the term Badī<sup>c</sup> as equivalent of "novelty" or "novel".

On Abū<sup>c</sup> Umar b. Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī's poem:

ولمّا تدانت للوداع وقد هفّا      بصيري منها أنة وزفير  
تناشدني عهد المودة والهوى      وفي المهد مبعوم النداء صغير  
عبيّ بمرجوع الخطاب ولغظّه      بموقع أهواء النفوس خبير

He comments:

ومنها في وصف وداعه لمن تخلفه ، وذكر ابنه الصغير ، بما لا شبيه له ولا نظير ،  
25  
ولا مثيل ولا عديل .

In all this, as we have said, the influence of al-Tha<sup>c</sup>alibī is evident. He comments on al-Sharīf al-Raḍī's verse:

هّن القسي من النحول فان سما      طلب فهنّ من النجاء الأسم<sup>26</sup>

"How well he has linked the lance and the arrow. I do not think that anyone has anticipated him in this".

Ibn Bassām does not attempt to depreciate the poetic imagination of Eastern writers; on a verse by Abū Firās:

وأنقذ من ثقل الحديد ومسه      أبا وائل والدهر أجدع صاغر  
وآب ورأس القرمطي أمامه      له جسد من أكعب الرمح ضامر

He comments:

ولم أسمع في صفة الرأس المصلوب على الرمح أحسن من قول أبي فراس يخبر عن  
27  
سيف الدولة وقد أنقذ أبا وائل التغلبي من الأسر ، وقتل أسره .

He distinguishes between Maṭbū<sup>c</sup> and Muwallad poetry, adopting the position of al-Qayrawānī:

وما زالت الشعراء تخترع الى عصرنا هذا وتولد ، غير أن ذلك قليل في الوقت  
والتوليد : أن يستخرج الشاعر معنى من معنى تقدمه ، أو يزيد فيه زيادة ،  
فلذلك يسمّى التوليد ، وليس باختراع ، لما فيه من الاقتداء بغيره ، ولا يقال  
28  
له أيضا " سرقة " اذا كان ليس آخذا على وجهه .

He gives a number of examples of Tawlid without defining it, as Ibn Rashīq does. He comments on these lines:

|                        |                        |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| وجاءت مواقيته بالعجب   | ويوم تفتن في طيبه      |
| قد اسقى وعن زهر قد شرب | تجلّى الصباح به عن حيا |
| بونار بوارقها تلتهب    | وما زلت أحسب فيه السحا |
| وقد قرعت بسياط الذهب   | بخاتي توضع في سيرها    |

وقد قال بعض أهل عصرنا وهو أبو بكر ابن بقي فذهب به مذهبا عجيبا ، وولد  
معنى غريبا :

|    |                     |                        |
|----|---------------------|------------------------|
| 29 | خلتها في ليلي وحش   | يا لك من برق ومن ديمة  |
|    | كف النجاشي الى حاتم | سوطا من العسجد تومي به |

Commenting on the following verses by Abū al-Walīd Ismāʿīl, called Ḥabīb:

|                     |                   |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| مدام تعتق بالناظرين | وتلك تعتق بالأرجل |
|---------------------|-------------------|

He says:  
وهذا البيت مما أغرب به على الألباب ، وأغرب فيه عن موضعه من الصواب ، وبينه  
وبين قول أبي الطيب شبه بعيد ، ولكن لأبي الوليد فضل التوليد ، وحسن من  
النقل ليس عليه مزيد .

|                               |                               |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| انظر اذا اختلف السيفان في رهج | الى اختلافهما في الخلق والعمل |
| هذا أعدّ لريب الدهر منطلتا    | وعدّ ذاك لرأس الفارس البطل    |

20

He is greatly concerned with the form in which an utterance is couched and with the rhetorical embellishments which were abundant in the literature of the sixth century. He separates concept and expression in poetry. In his view, a beautiful concept can be expressed in simple language. The poetic expression need not be difficult or complicated. As an example of this

he cites the following line of Ibn <sup>c</sup>Ammār:

أخافك للحقّ الذي لك في دمي وأرجوك للحبّ الذي لك في قلبي

He comments on it as follows:

وهذا البيت على سهولة مبناه ، من أحسن ما قيل في معناه ، وبمثله فلتنخدع  
الألباب ، وتستعطف الأعداء للأحباب ، إلا أنّ المصراع الأوّل كأنّه شيء تكهّنه من  
شانه ، وطيرة ألقاها الله تعالى على لسانه ، وصدق كان له في عنقه ربق ، وفي  
دمه حقّ ، احتال له فناله ، والمرء يعجز لا المحالة .<sup>31</sup>

Although he appreciates this kind of poetry, he does not hesitate to suggest sometimes certain changes that might be made in specimens that he does not favour. As an example we may quote his comment on the following two lines of Abū Bakr:

عليك أبا عبد الله خلعتها لها البدر طوق والنجوم دلائل  
وما هي إلا الدهر في طول عمرها وان لم يكن فيها الضحى والأصائل  
ويا لهذا البيت ما أحسن مذهبه ، وأبداع منتواه ومنقلبه ، إلا أنّه أتى بالدهر  
مسلوب الضحى والأصائل ، فلم يزد على أن جلاه في زيّ عاطل ، لا بل أبرزه في  
مسوح شوهاء شاكل ، وليت شعري أيّ شيء أبقى للدهر المظلوم ، بعد ضحاه الناصعة  
الأديم ، وآصاله المعتلة النسيم ؟ هل بقي إلا ليله الأسود الجلباب وهجير  
السائل اللعاب ؟ ولو قال لمدوحه : " وتلك العلا فيها الضحى والأصائل "   
لأبرز قصيدته رقافة البرود ، شقافة العقود ، ولأفاد ممدوحه بهذه الكلمة  
مدحا لا يسعه المقال ، ولا تفي به القصائد الطوال .<sup>32</sup>

Here Ibn Bassām employs his poetic ability in criticizing Abū Bakr's line:

وما هي إلا الدهر في طول عمرها وان لم يكن فيها الضحى والأصائل

He therefore revises the second hemistich of the line and changes it into:

"وتلك العلا فيها الضحى والأصائل "

and thinks that had the poet done so he would have expressed in this single hemistich more than can be expressed in a complete poem.

He also criticizes poets who deliberately use uncouth or strange, far-fetched expressions, which appear to him inharmonious.

He does not only disapprove of plagiarism, but he also disapproves of certain kinds of novel poetic styles, individual methods of expression and new concepts or images that he finds in the works of certain poets.

For example he writes of Ibn Razīn's following lines:

|                    |                      |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| أخس بمجلس معشر     | ما فيه إلا الطنز برّ |
| جلساؤه قوم ثقر     | ل كلهم خبث وشقر      |
| ما فيهم إلا دنبي   | ء أو غبيّ أو مضرّ    |
| أسد على ثلب الكرا  | م وان وزنتهم فذرّ    |
| هذا يغوث بل أضـ    | لّ وذا يعوق وذاك نسر |
| ذاك المحلّ كواد عو | ف ليس يلقي فيه حرّ   |

وهذا من طرق تلك الزيزاء التي تعسّفها وحده ، وبعض الشؤون التي عوّل فيها على ما عنده ، اذ هذا المثل يضرب للسيد المنيع الذي غلب الناس على السيادة ، أو قسرهم على ما تعيّن منهم وأراده ، ولو ألمعت في هذا الكتاب بشيء من التفسير لاجتلبت كلّ ما قيل فيه ، ولنشرت ما خفي على ذي الرياستين من مطاويه ، وقد ذكرت من ذلك جملة موفورة ، في كتاب : " سرّ الذخيرة " .

In his critical language, he is almost invariably oblique. He expresses his approval or disapproval in rhetorical imagery, as is appropriate to his style of saj<sup>c</sup>.

For example, on the following three verses, also by Ibn Razīn:

أدرها مداما كالغزاة مـزّة  
وتبدو الى الأبرار دون تجسّم  
تلين لرائيها وتأبى على اللمس  
على أنّها تخفى على الذهن والحسّ  
لآلء قد رقعن في لبة الشمس  
إذا شععت في الكاس خلت حبابها

His comment runs as follows:

البيتان الأولان من هذه القطعة صبح بلا صبح ، وجسد بلا روح ، استأذن بهما على  
34 قول الحسن فما وصل ، ونددن حول ذلك المقطع المستحسن فما تحضّل له ولا حصل .

صبح بلا صبح is an ambiguous expression. It could mean either "a morning without drink" or "a morning without light or brightness"; "a cloudy or dull morning". He implies that the poem is a lifeless or soulless piece of work, a dead poem that lacks movement and feeling .

He is clearly a widely-read critic, and sometimes corrects what he believes to be false attributions of poems, on the grounds that they display a particular style or diction that he can identify. For example, he comments on a poem attributed to Abū Ja<sup>c</sup>far Aḥmad Ibn al-Abbār:

لم تدر ما خلّدت عيناك في خلدي  
أفديك من زائر رام الدنو فلّم  
من الغرام ولا ما كابدت كـبـدي  
خاف العيون فوافاني على عجل  
يسطعه من غرق في الدّمع متقـد  
معطلا جيده الآ من الغيـد  
من ذلك الشّب المعسول بالبرد  
عاطيته الكأس فاستحيت مدامتها  
وصيرته يد الصهباء طوع يـدي  
حتى إذا غازلت أجفانه سنـة  
فقال ككك عندي أفضل الوسـد  
أردت توسيده خدي وقلّ لـه  
وبت ظمآن لم أصدر ولـم أرد  
فبات في حرم لا غدر يذعـره

بدر ألمّ وبدر التّم ممتحسق      والأفق محلوك الأرجاء من حسد  
تخيّر الليل فيه أين مطلعــــــــه      أما درى الليل أنّ البدر في عضدي  
وقد رأيت من يروي هذه القطعة لادريس بن اليماني ، وهو الأشبه بما له من الألفاظ  
والمعاني ، وهي لمن كانت له منهما رائقة ، ومتأخرة سابقة ، في التزام العفاف  
مع السلاف ، وما سمعت بأبدع منها لأحد من أهل هذا الأفق . وانّما أثبتّ هنا بعض  
مقطوعات في معناها لأهل المشرق ثمّ أعود لايراد ملح أهل أفقنا " وأرجع اليها  
وأكرّر عليها ، وأقدّم أولا الحديث : " من أحبّ فعفّ ومات فهو شهيد " ، والعفاف مع  
البذل ، كالاستطاعة مع الفعل ، ولله درّ صريع الغواني ، فهو صاحب بديع في أكثر  
35  
المعاني .

Sometimes he praises a poem or a prose work on the grounds that it has been followed and imitated by many other poets or writers. Such a work he seems to rank very highly. Its having been imitated constitutes for him a measure of its greatness. As an example of this, he cites Ibn <sup>c</sup>Ammār's poem:

وما حال من خلّي بلاد أعارب      وألقت به الأقدار أرض أعاجم  
يقبّح لي قوم مقامي عندهم      وقد رسفت رجل السرى الأداهم

He comments as follows:

أما معاني هذه القصيدة فمحبّة مسلوكة ، ومضغة ملوكة ، قد كثر تجاذب الشعراء  
36  
أهدابها ، وقرعوا بابها ، حتّى صارت كالجمال المذلل ، والمهيح من السبل .

He criticizes Ibn Baqī's verses:

ورنا نرجس الربى بعيون      وجلا الورد عن محيا وسيوم  
وبدا معصم الخليج فخطت      فوقه الريح أسطرا من وشوم  
سوف تدري الهموم أيّنة راح      أخذت من أرواحنا والجسوم  
بنت دن رعت ببيداة نفسي      فهي تعدو به كعدو الظليم  
كرمت في حدائق غرسوها      لكرام فسميت بالكروم



طفّت بالأيك فاستهلت دموعي      لحمام تبكي فراق حميم  
تتغنى الثقيل حتى كأن قد      نشر الله معبدا من رميم  
عجمة أعربت بوجد دقيق      وكلام مقطّع من كلام

لو لم يتجاوز معبد الثقيل الى سواه ، لكان لأبي بكر ما ادّعه ، وقرب منه ما تكلفه وتعاطاه .

Here, he seems to have misunderstood Ibn Baqī's reference to Ma<sup>c</sup>bad, whose fame as a singer was based on his mastery of the "heavy rhythms" which were called the "first heavy" and the "second heavy", according to Ishāq al-Mawṣilī's musical theory on which the Kitāb al-Aghānī was based. His comments continue as follows:

وأسحر منه وأولى بالحكمة وفصل الخطاب ، أبو العلاء حيث يقول ، يصف الأبل :  
كأن المثاني والمثالث بالضحى      تجاوب في غيد رفعن طوال  
كأن ثقيلًا أولًا تزدهى به      ضمائر قوم في الخطوب ثقال  
ولعمري لو شبه سجع الحمام ، بخفائف الغريز وأهزاج حكم الوادي ، لكان أحسن  
عبارة وأفتق إشارة .  
وأما قوله : " كلام مقطّع من كلوم " فأشقى للقلوب من اعتلال النسيم ، وأحلى  
على الأكباد من محاورة الطرف السقيم .  
37

The comparison that he makes between Ibn Baqī's and al-Ma<sup>c</sup>arrī's lines is very interesting and significant. This type of comparison is one of his favourite critical methods and examples of it can be found throughout al-Dhakhīra. The whole comment reveals Ibn Bassām's wide knowledge of Arabic singing, singers and musical theory during the Umayyad period.

He does not confine his critical remarks to the literary works with which he deals. He often establishes a link between the personality of the poet and his poem, and tries to understand the poem in the light of the poet's personality. Here is an example of this approach:

وكان أبو بكر الداني مع جودة شعره يخلط أمره كله من أوله الى آخره عجب يخل  
به وبأدبه ، فلا تزال عقده تنحل عند من يحتل به ، حتى يرجع على عقبه ، اذ  
كان أعجب الناس تهافتا ما بين قوله وفعله ، وأحظهم في هوى نفسه ، وأهتكم  
لعرضه ، وأجرأهم على ربه ، له في هذا الباب أخبار مشهورة ، وأغراض مذكورة .  
38

He formulates no general theory of rhetoric, but he says quite a lot about individual aspects of it. The simile engages his attention a great deal. He expresses his admiration, though not without some reservations, for al-Sumaysir's simile in the following two lines:

بعوض جعلن دمي قهوة      وغنّيني بضروب الأغنان  
كأن عروقي أوتارها      وجسمي رباب وهنّ القيان

ولعمري لقد أصاب في أن جعل جسمه الرّباب ، وكان تشبيه البعوض بالفتيان أولى  
من القيان ، فاليهم كان ينزع ، وبهم زعموا كان يقول ويسمع ، وفيهم لم يزل  
يسجد ويركع .  
39

Here again Ibn Bassām tries to establish a link between the poet's work and his personality. He criticizes al-Sumaysir on the grounds that his simile does not bear much relationship with his personality, since he was more inclined towards young pretty boys than towards female singers (qīyān).

He criticizes Ibn <sup>c</sup>Ammār for his dissolute personal life, partly, but not entirely, because it colours his poetry:

يجري ابن عمّار في أكثر ما له من الأشعار جري الجموح ، ولا يقنع بالكناية عن مذهبه إلا بالتصريح ، لأنه كان - سمح الله له - مع ما مكن في دهره من تدبير الاقليم ، أو انبسطت بنانه في التأخير والتقديم ، واجترأ على الأيّام ، واقتاد من الجماهير العظام ، زير قيان وغلمان ، وصريع راح وريحان ، أمله - زعموا - كان بين شرب كاس ، وشمّ آس ، وجدله في نصب حباله ، لغزال أو غزالة ، ترى ذلك كثيرا في أشعاره ، وتسمعه أثناء أخباره ، حتى ثل ذلك عرشه ، وأوهن بطشه ، وطأطأ من سموه ، وساقه صاغرا الى يد عدوه ، ألا تراه كلما نظم أو نثر ، تغتّى بالناي والوتر ، وتحلّى بالحسن والحدور ، وعاب على أهل سرقسطة وأنكر من هيئات الثغور ما عرف ، ووصفهم بما وصف ، كأنه لم يسمع قول الأوّل :

ومن تكن الحضارة أعجبتـه      فأَيّ رجال بادية ترانا

ولا قول أبي العلاء :

من كلّ أروع لم تأشر ضمائره      للثم خذّ ولا تقبيل ذي أشبر  
لكن يقبّل فوه مسمعي فرس      مقابل الخلق بين الشمس والقمر

الى غير ذلك مما هو أوضح ، من أن يشرح ، في أكثر الأشعار ، وما ينقضي عجيبي من ابن عمّار أن ينكر تلك الهيئة ، على أهل ثغر ، أبناء قتلى ، ويقايا أسرى.

He sometimes follows earlier critics in his interpretations of certain verses. He writes, for example, of Abū al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Sarrāj's lines:

عمري أبا حسن لقد جئت التّي      عطفـت عليك ملامة الاخوان  
لما رأيت اليوم ولّى عمـره      والليل مقتبل الشبية دانبي  
والشمس تنفض زعفرانا في الربى      وتفت مسكتها على الغيطان  
أطلعتها شمسا وأنت عطارد      وحففتها بكواكب الندمان  
فأتيت بدعا في الأنام مخلّدا      فيما قرنت ولات حين قران  
ولهيـت عن خلّي صفاء لم يكن      يلهيها عنك اقتبال زمان  
غنيا بذكرك عن رحيق سلسل      وحدائق خضر وعزف قيـان  
ورضيت في دفع الملامة أن تـرى      متعلّقا بالعدر من حسـان

وهذا رواه الديباج الخسرواني ، ورونق العصب اليماني ، ولمثله فلتنشرح الصدور

ويتشوّف السرور ، ويذعن المنظوم والمنثور ، ألا ترى ما آنق استعاراته ، وأرشق  
اشارات ، وأقدر على الاتيان بالتشبيه دون أدواته ، وكذلك طبعه في سائر  
مقطعاته . 41

This seems to suggest that he regards metaphor as  
a higher type of image than simile (the أداة of the  
التشبيه signifies the particle)  
is taken from al-Aṣma<sup>c</sup>ī's judgement on two lines of ghazal:

هل الى نظرة اليك سبيل      فيروي الصدى ويشفي العليل  
انّ ما قلّ منك يكثر عندي      وكثير ممّن تحبّ القليل

al-Aṣma<sup>c</sup>ī asked Ishāq from whom he was reciting and  
Ishāq replied that the poet was a bedouin. al-Aṣma<sup>c</sup>ī  
declared that the poetry was surely "Khusruwanian brocade". 42

In fact he borrows a good deal of his criticism from  
his predecessors, usually just single sentences, or even  
phrases. Another example of a possible borrowing from al-  
Aṣma<sup>c</sup>ī is the following:

أبو الربيع سليمان بن أحمد القضاعي

من قدماء الأدباء - كان - بذلك الشجر ، ومن كتّاب العصر المتصرّفين في النظم  
والنثر ، وكلامه يجمع بين الحلاوة والجزالة ، ويتصرّف في لطائف الصنعة وكان  
يعمد الى خسيس المعاني فيقيم لها أودا ، بسلاطة لسانه ، وقوّة مادته وحسن بيانه .

al-Aṣma<sup>c</sup>ī had been asked by al-Tawzī who was the best  
poet. He said:

من يأتي بالمعنى الخسيس فيجعله بلفظه كبيرا ، أو الكبير فيجعله خسيسا ،  
أو ينقضي كلامه قبل قافيته ، فاذا احتاج اليها أفاد بها معنى . 43

There is nothing new either in his remarks regarding the following lines of Ibn al-Rūmī; similar remarks regarding them had been made by a number of earlier Arab critics and rhetoricians:

يفترّ ذاك السواد عن يقق      من شغرها كاللآليء النسق  
كأنّها والمزاج يضحكها      ليل تفرّى دجاه عن فلق  
وفضل كلام ابن الرومي على سواه ، أنّه قدّم في التشبيه لمعناه مقدّمة أيّدته  
ووطأت له الآذان ، وأصغت الأفهام الى الاستحسان وهي قوله : " يفتّر ذاك السواد  
44  
عن يقق " .

This may be taken as an example of his concern with simile, poetic language and structure. He again uses the comparative method of criticism.

He also admires the simile regarding flies used by Ibn<sup>c</sup> Abdūn, Abū Bakr al-Baṭalyūsī, Ibn al-Rūmī and<sup>c</sup> Antara:

وله من أخرى ، وهي قصيدة فريدة فضح بها الأوائل ، وصرّح فيها عن كلّ طائل ،  
والمرء مخبوء تحت لسانه ، وشرفه بنفسه لا بزمانه ، أولها :

ساروا ومسك الدياجي غير منهوب      وطرّة الشرق غفل دون تهذيب  
على ربي لم يزل شادي الذباب بها      يلهي بآنق ملفوظ ومضروب  
كالغيد في قبب الأزهار أذرعه      قامت له بالمشاني والمضاريب  
وصفة ابن عبدون للذباب : أجاد فيه ما أراد ، وقد تناول هذا المعنى أبو بكر  
بن سعيد البطليوسي ، فقال من قصيدة :

كأنّ أهازيح الذباب أساقف      لها من أزاهير الرياض محاريب  
وأخذه ابن عبدون من قول ابن الرومي يصف روضا :

وغرّد ربعي الذباب خلالعه      كما حثت النشوان صنجا مشرعا  
وكانت أهازيح الذباب هناكم      على شدوات الطير ضربا موقعا  
وانّما اخترعه أوّلا عنتره بقوله :

فترى الذباب بها يغتني وحده      هزجا كفعل الشارب المترنم

غردا يحكّ ذراعه بذراعاه فعل المكبّ على الزناد الأجدم

وهذا من التشبيه الذي ما له شبيه ، ولم يجسر عليه أحد ، غير أن ذا الرّمّة  
نقل معنى الصفة الى الجندب فقال :

كانّ رجله رجلا مقطف عجل اذا تجاوب من برديه ترنييم

والمقطف : راكب الدّابة القطوف ، فنقل صفة يدي الذباب الى رجل الجندب فأحسن  
الأخذ ، وكأنته لم يعرض لعنتره في معناه .<sup>45</sup>

Other Andalusian literary critics also paid a great deal of attention to the subject of simile and wrote many books on it, such as Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt min Ash<sup>c</sup>ār al-Andalus by Ibn al-Kittānī al-Mutaṭabbib and Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt by Ibn Abī <sup>c</sup>Awn.

Another example of his concern with simile is his remark on this verse:

شباب أفق همّ أن يشبهها بادرت سعيًا هل رأيت الذيبا ؟

He comments:

وهذا التشبيه عند أهل النقد نوع من أنواع الإشارة ، لأنّه أشار الى تشبيه لونه  
بالماء الذي غلب على اللبن فصار كلون الذئب .<sup>46</sup>

Like other Arab critics and rhetoricians before him, he regards a certain type of simile, of which we have an example here, as Ishāra (allusion). Here, he is in fact quoting Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī, on whom he generally relies heavily.

Ibn Bassām's concern with metaphor was equal to, if not greater than, his concern with simile. Sometimes he comments on the skill of a poet in adapting or remoulding

a simile or image already used by another poet. As a good example of this he gives al-Ramādī's line:

ولم أرى أحلى من تبسم أعين . . . غداة النوى عن لؤلؤ كان كأمنا

the image in which, he says, is derived from Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abd Rabbih's line:

وكأنما غاص الأسى بجفونها . . . حتى أتاك بلؤلؤ منشور

His comment on the two lines runs as follows:

فاحتال الرمادي حتى أتى باللؤلؤ وعوض من الغائص التبسم ، ووقعت له استعارة  
التبسم للعين موقعا لطيفا ، وإنما هو للشغور ، بسبب توسط اللؤلؤ الذي هو  
للعين والشغور ، فنسخ المعنى نسخا ، وقلبه قلبا .  
47

He pays a great deal of attention to the vocabulary of the poet. He criticizes Ibn Shammākh's use of the word "كيس" in his line:

فلولا علاه عشت دهري كله . . . وكيس كلامي لا أحلّ له عقدا

He finds the use of this word ludicrous, that is to say it is out of context and totally inappropriate. He then compares it with Abū Tammām's use of ماء الملام which had often been criticized by Arab critics before him.

واستعارة كيسا للكلام من مضحكات الأنام ، وقرأت في أخبار صاحب ابن عبّاد قال :  
كنا نتعجب من قول أبي تمام : " لاتسقني ماء الملام " ، ونستبشع استعارته له ماء  
حتى عذبت عندنا ب " حلواء البنين " في قول أبي الطيّب :

وقد ذقت حلواء البنين على الصبا . . . فلا تحسبيني قلت ما قلت عن جهل

He then compares both of these expressions with al-Mutanabbī's expression حلواء البنين , which he praises very highly. He

also criticizes any far-fetched images or similes on the grounds that they bear no relationship to reality. He gives the following lines of al-Mutanabbī's as an example:

مسرة في قلوب الطيب مفرقتها      وحسرة في قلوب البيض واليلب  
وفي قوله :  
ألا يشب فلقد شابت له كبد      شيئا اذا خضتته سلوة نصلا  
وفي قوله :  
لم يحك نائلك السحاب وانما      حمت به فصيبها الرضاء

It is obvious that he does not find Abū Tammām's metaphor any worse than many other metaphors that are found in his works, and in those of other well-known poets such as Ibn al-Ṭilā' al-Mahdawī and Abū Ḥaṣṣ Ibn Burd:

أفاقت بك الأقطار من برص البلوى  
ولأبي حفص بن برد من أهل أفقنا شيء مضحك على رشاقتة وهو قوله :  
يا شاعر الحسن بي ترقق      لا تقتلني كذا بديها  
وأعجب من الصاحب بن عباد حين لم يجد من استعارات أبي تمام شيئا ينعاه إلا  
48 قوله " ماء الملام " وليس هذا بأعجب من قوله : " هو كوكب الاسلام آية ظلمة " .

Ibn Bassām finds it very surprising that Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abbād should have singled out Abū Tammām's metaphor ماء الملام as a bad example. He could have also mentioned in this respect Dhū al-Rummah's metaphor ماء الصباية , which seems to have influenced Abū Tammām.

Dhū al-Rummah's well-known line reads as follows:

49 أعن ترسمت من خرقاء منزلة      ماء الصباية من عينيك مسجوم



In contrast with the foregoing metaphors, Ibn Bassām gives the following as an excellent example:

جاری أباه فأقبلا وهما يتعاوران ملاءة الحضر

He comments on this line:

50

" يتعاوران ملاءة الحضر " أبدع استعارة ، وأنصع عبارة .

He also admires Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥazm's verse:

فأبحت سرح اللهو مرتاد الهوى ومنعت طير الوجد أن يترثما

" ومنعت طير الوجد أن يترثما "

من لطيف الاشارة ، ومليح الاستعارة ، أو ما به الى الكتمان ، ايماء يأخذ بمجامع  
51

البيان .

In dealing with plagiarism, Ibn Bassām adopts the terminology of previous critics and rhetoricians: Ihtidām, Ightisāb, Ikhtilās, Ikhfā' al-Sariqa, Qubh al-Akh dh, Afdaha Sariqatan, Ijtilāb, Intihāl, Ighāra, Nazar, Naskh, Mulāḥaza, Ilmām, Taqṣīr al-Ākhidh <sup>c</sup>an al-Ma<sup>2</sup> Khudh minhu and so on.

The following examples may be cited:

١- وابن فتوح هذا كثير الاهتدام والاعتصاب والاختطاف والاستلاب لاشعار سواه ، قبيح  
الأخذ في كل ما انتحاه .

٢- لا أظلم الليل ولا أدعبي أن نجوم الليل ليست تغور  
ليلي كما شاءت فان لم تجد طال وان جادت فليلي قصير

وممن بلغ الغاية في الانصاف لما سلم له من الاستلاب والاختطاف قول ابن بسام  
البغدادي . وهذا بجملته منقول من قول علي بن الخليل ، حيث يقول :

لا أظلم الليل ولا أدعبي أن نجوم الليل ليست تزول  
ليلي كما شاءت قصير اذا جادت وان ضنت فليلي طويل<sup>52</sup>

٣- وأبو الوليد بن زيدون على كثير احسانه كثير الاهتدام ، في النشار والنظام

In using this terminology he does not define, or distinguish between Iḥtidhā, Akhdh and Sariqa. It is clear that he was influenced by such earlier critics as Abū Hilāl al-<sup>c</sup>Askarī, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Karīm al-Nahshalī and Ibn Rashīq.<sup>53</sup>

When he deals with plagiarism, he often takes pains to point out the subtle differences between the old and the new image or simile. As an example of this we may take Abū Nūwās's lines:

قرارتها كسرى وفي جنباتها      مها تدرّيبها بالقسي الفوارس  
54 فللراح ما زرت عليه جيوبها      وللماء ما دارت عليه القلائس

on which Ibn Bassām comments:

يريد أن حدّ الخمر بلغ نحور هذه الصورة ، وزيد الماء فيه فانتهى الشراب الى  
فوق رؤوسها ، وفائدة هذه معرفة حدّها صرّفا ، من حدّها ممزوجة .

He says: It is said that Abū Nūwās derived this concept from Imru' al-Qays's line:

55 فلما استطابوا صبّ في الصحن نصفه      وشجّت بماء غير طرق ولا كدر  
فجعل الشراب والماء نصفين ، لقوّة الشراب ، فتسلّق الحسن عليه ، وأخفاه بما ،  
شغل به الكلام ، من ذكر الصورة المنقوشة في الكأس ، إلا أنّها سرقة مليحة .

He then traces a possible descent of this concept through the works of al-Nāshī, Ibn al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tazz, al-Mutalammis and Abū Tammām b. Rabbāh.

He takes much the same attitude to plagiarism as a number of his predecessors, who differentiated between good

and bad examples of this practice. For example, Yaḥyā b.

<sup>c</sup>Alī al-Munajjim says:

وَحَقٌّ مِنْ أَخَذَ مَعْنَى وَقَدْ سَبَقَ إِلَيْهِ أَنْ يَصْنَعَهُ أَجُودَ مِنْ صِنْعَةِ السَّابِقِ إِلَيْهِ ، أَوْ  
يَزِيدُ فِيهِ عَلَيْهِ حَتَّى يَسْتَحِقَّهُ ، فَأَمَّا إِذَا قَصَرَ عَنْهُ فَاتَّهَ مَسِيءٌ مَعِيْبٌ بِالسَّرْقَةِ  
مَذْمُومٌ فِي التَّقْصِيرِ .<sup>56</sup>

Abū Hilāl al-<sup>c</sup>Askarī says:

ليس لأحد من أصناف القائلين غنى عن تناول المعاني ممّن تقدمهم والصب على قوالب  
من سبقهم ، ولكن عليهم - إذا أخذوها - أن يكسوها الفاظا من عندهم ، ويبرزوها  
في معارض من تأليفهم ، ويوردها في غير حلتها الأولى ، ويزيدوها في حسب  
تأليفها ، وجودة تركيبها ، وكمال حليتها ومعرضها ، فإذا فعلوا ذلك فهم أحقّ  
بها ممّن سبق إليها .<sup>57</sup>

Ibn Bassām, in his turn, considers that plagiarism is only  
justified by the addition to the borrowed concept of  
something individual on the part of the plagiarist:

ومثل هذه المعاني التي ذكروا مما انفرد به كلّ واحد من الشعراء لا يكاد  
يتناولها حاذق إلا قصر ، إلا أن يزيد زيادة تظهر ، ولذلك ما تحامى الناس  
أشياء كثيرة من المعاني التي أخذت حقها من اللفظ ، ولم يبق فيها فضلا تلتمس  
والقرائح تتفاضل .<sup>58</sup>

He is influenced by the views of earlier Andalusian critics,  
such as Ibn Shuhayd, in accepting plagiarism, provided that  
a poet uses it skillfully, as, for example, when he conceals  
the link between his image and the original by using a  
different metre and rhyme and by elaborating the image or  
adding new elements to it. This type of plagiarism he  
finds acceptable:

وقد تقدّم القول من تحيّل حدّاق الصناعة في أخذ المعاني أن تترك القافية  
والوزن وكذلك يجب أن يقصد الى التطويل إذا قصر المتقدّم .<sup>59</sup>

We can perhaps see here the influence of Ibn Shuhayd:

إذا اعتمدت معنى قد سبقك إليه غيرك فأحسن تراكيبه ، وأرق حاشيته ، فأضرب  
عنه جملة ، وإن لم يكن بدّ ففي غير العروض التي تقدّم إليها ذلك المحسن ،  
60 لتنشط طبيعتك ، وتقوى متّك .

in whom again we may, in turn, see the influence of al-  
Jurjānī (d. 366 A.H.):

فإنّ الشاعر الحاذق إذا علق المعنى المختلس عدل به عن نوعه وصفه ، وعن وزنه  
ونظمه ، وعن رويّه وقافيته ، فاذا مرّ بالغيّ الغفل وجدّهما أجنبيّين متباعدين ،  
61 وإذا تأملهما الفطن الذكيّ عرف قرابة ما بينهما ، والوصلة التي تجمعهما .

He also reminds his readers that not every concept or image  
that resembles an old one is necessarily derived from the  
old one. Similar concepts and images may occur to poets  
independently of one another:

وإذا ظفرت بمعنى حسن ، أو لفظ مستحسن ، ذكرت من سبق إليه ، وأشرت إلى من  
نقص عنه ، أو زاد عليه ، ولست أقول : آخذ هذا من هذا قولاً مطلقاً ، فقد  
تتوارد الخواطر ، ويقع الحافر على الحافر ، إذ الشعر ميدان ، والشعراء  
62 فرسان .

The last part of this passage seems to derive from al-Mutanabbī.  
It is possible, too, that Abū<sup>c</sup> Amr b. al-<sup>c</sup>Alā', as quoted in  
the same passage of al-<sup>c</sup>Umda may also have been in Ibn Bassām's  
mind at the time:

سئل أبو الطيّب عن مثل ذلك فقال : الشعر جادة ، وربّما وقع الحافر على موضع  
الحافر . وسئل أبو عمر بن العلاء : أرأيت الشاعرين يتفقان في المعنى  
ويتواردان في اللفظ . لم يلق واحد منهما صاحبه ، لم يسمع شعره ؟ قال: تلك  
63 عقول رجال توافت على ألسنتها .

What he regarded as bad plagiarism he criticises severely:

ومدّ ابن مالك في رسالته هذه أطناب الاطناب ، وشنّ الغارة فيها على عدّة شعراء  
وكتّاب ، من جاهليين ومخضرمين ومحدثين ومعاصرين ، ولو ذكرت من أين استلّـب  
واختطف ، جميع ما وصف ، وانصرف الى كلّ أحد كلامه ، نشره ونظامه ، لحصل هو  
64  
ساكتا وبقي باهتا .

He criticises Ibn Mālik on the grounds that he takes everything that he says from others. If he were to trace back all that Ibn Mālik has borrowed, he would leave him with nothing at all. Some of his comments on literary thefts are perhaps designed to display his own wide knowledge of Arabic poetry. For instance:

وهذه السرقة كما قال بديع الزمان في التنبيه على الخوارزمي في بيت أخذ وزنه  
ومعناه وبعض لفظه ، ان كانت قضية القطع تجب في الربيع ، فما أشدّ شفقي على  
جوارحه أجمع ، ولعمري ما هذه سرقة ، إنّما هي مكابرة محضة ، وأحسب أنّ قائله  
لو سمع هذا لقال : هذه بضاعتنا ردتّ اليّنا ، فحسبت أنّ ربيعة بن مكدّم وعتيبة  
بن الحارث ما كان يستحلّان من النهب ما استحلّه ، إنّما كانا يأخذان جلّه ، وهذا  
65  
الفاضل قد أخذه كلّه .

Ibn Bassām sometimes exaggerates and makes extravagant claims regarding plagiarism. As one of many examples of this, we may cite his comment on the verse of Abū Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Majīd Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abdūn:

وعاون على استنجان طبع بهيّة      ترقص في ألفاظهن المعانيـا  
" ترقص في ألفاظهنّ المعانيـا " من سرقاته الغربية ، واختلاساته العجيبة ، تدقّ  
عن أعداد من المباني ، وانّها من خفيّات المعاني ، وأراه أنا من قول ادريس بن  
اليمني ، فايّاه أراد ، وان ملح وزاد ، حيث يقول :  
ثقلت زجاجات أتتنا فرغـا      حتّى اذا ملئت بصرف الـراج  
خفت فكادت تستطير بما حوت      وكذا الجسوم تخـبئ بالأرواح

There is only a very slight connection between these lines. He also recognises plagiarism of style, as opposed to that of concept. He considers, for example, that al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid, on one occasion, at least, has inappropriately composed in a feminine manner, in fact imitating the style of al-Khansā':

فلو عدتما لاخترتما العود في الثرى اذا أنتما أبصرتما في الأسر  
كأنه من أشعار النساء ، وأراه ينظر الى قول الخنساء في صيغة المبني ، وان  
خالفه في المعنى وهو :

66 فلولا كثرة الباكين حولي على اخوانهم لقتلت نفسي

He draws attention to the plagiarism of poetry from prose and vice versa, such as his comment on this sentence:

يسعى بلا رجل ويصول بلا كف

وهذا محلول من قول أبي الطيب حيث يقول :

67 وما الموت الا سارق دق شخصه يصول بلا كف ويسعى بلا رجل

In dealing with plagiarism, he makes stylistic comparisons between writers. He discusses the subject of internal plagiarism, i.e. the repetition of concepts, images, and expression in a writer's own work. He comments on a verse of Ibn Darrāj:

وقد قدح التحجيل من حلق الشكل

وذو غرة معروفة السبق في المدى

وقال أبو الوليد بن زيدون :

بتصهاله ما ناله من أذى الشكل

ثوى صافنا في مريب الهون يشتكى

وكرره ابن زيدون في موضع آخر فقال :

68

تخوّنه شكل وأزرى به ريبط

وأن الجواد الفاتت الشاؤ صافن

Ibn Bassām displays great interest in extemporaneous poetry. Under the influence of Ibn Rashīq's chapter on poetic improvisation in al-Umdah, he has a long chapter on this subject, which begins:<sup>69</sup>

وقد فرّق حدّاق النظر بين البديهة والارتجال ، فجعلوا الارتجال ما كان على طريق  
الانهمار والتدقّق لا يتوقّف فيه قائله ، كالذي وقع للفرزدق اذ أمره سليمان بن  
عبد الملك بضرب عنق أسير رومي ودسّ اليه بعض بني عيس سيفاً كهاما فنبا حين  
ضرب به وضحك سليمان ، فقال الفرزدق :

فان يك سيف خان أو قدر أبى  
فسيف بني عيس وقد ضربوا به  
كذاك سيوف الهند تنبو ظباتها  
ولو شئت قط السيف ما بين أنفه  
لتأخير نفس حينها غير شاهد  
نبا بيدي ورقاء عن رأس خالد  
ويقطعن أحيانا مناط القلائد  
الى علق دون الشراسيف جاسد

ومن الشعراء من شعره فيهما وعند الأمن والخوف سواء ، بهقدار قدرة كلّ أحد ،  
وسكون جأشه ، وقوّة غريزته ، كهديبة بن الخشم ، وطرفة بن العبد ، ومرة بن  
محكان السعدي ، اذ يقول وقد أمر مصعب بن الزبير بقتله :

بني أسد ان تقتلونني تحاربوا  
ولست وان كانت اليّ حبيبة  
تميما اذا الحرب العوان اشعلت  
ببأك على الدنيا اذا ما تولت

In a chapter devoted to Ibn <sup>C</sup>Ammār in the second part of al-Dhakhīra, Ibn Bassām praises him for his skill in improvisation:

فصدرت هذه الاشعار ، يومئذ عن ابن عمّار ، وهو في قيود الحديد ، وقالها على  
البديهة والارتجال ، في تلك الحال ، من شدّة الاعتقال ، وباليناجيه البلبل ،  
قد تيقن أنّه لا يفلت ، ولا ينظر الاّ الى عدوّ يشمت ، والموت يلاحظه من حيث لا يتلفت ،  
اذ كان المعتمد قد أحضره في تلك الحال غير ما مرّة بين يديه ، ويعدد ذنوبه عليه ،  
ولو قال كل قصيد ورواه حولا كاملا ، في أمن ودعة ، وفرط شهوة أو شدّة حميّة وعصبية ،  
لما زاد على ما أجاد ، فكانت هذه القصائد القلائد ، مع ما تشتمل من البدائع  
والروائع ، رقى لم تنفع ، ووسائل لم تنجع ، واذا سبق القدر ، فلا ورد ولا صدر .<sup>71</sup>

As examples of improvised poetry by other Andalusian poets he cites a number of poems by Ibn Shuhayd and Mumin b. Sa<sup>c</sup>id. He concludes:

والبدية والارتجال في هذه الأشعار الأندلسية وان لم تلحق بالأشعار المشرقية ،  
ولا فيها كبير طائل ، ولا تقرب مما الصقته اليها من أشعار الأوائل فهي نحوي  
في هذا المجموع الذي انتحيت ، وطلقي الذي اليه جريت ، ولذلك ما أثبتت  
مذالها ومصونها ، وكتبت غثها وسمينها ، والأدب طريق يسلكها الصحيح والأجرب ،  
72 وسوق ينفق فيها الدرّ والمخشب ، ولأخرج من جدّ الى هزل ، وأنتقل من حزن الى  
سهل .

There is nothing new in Ibn Bassām's critical method and terminology. He follows those used by previous critics and rhetoricians, such as Ibn Rashīq, Ibn Sharaf, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Karīm al-Nahshalī. The two Jurjānīs, al-Jāhiz and al-Āmidī.

al-Dhakīra contains citations from works which do not survive anywhere else, such as letters written by the Banū al-Bājī. Thus it is not merely a critical work, but also a literary source. He does his best to preserve a scholarly accuracy, and he sometimes apologises to his readers for being unable to resolve some confusion concerning his subject's works. For instance, in the chapter devoted to Abū <sup>c</sup>Umar al-Bājī, he says:

ونقلت ما أثبت في هذا المجموع من رسائل بني الباجي من قراطيس تعاليق ،  
وبطاق وقعت الى تفاريق ، منسوبة لهم في الحملة ، وربما اختلطت رسائل  
الابن والأب لهذا السبب ، وهذا الذي أصف وأشرح ممّا لا يضرّ ولا يقدح ، لاسيما  
في رواية حكاية لا يخلّ بها نسبتها الى من لم يحكها ، وفي نشر نسيجة لا يغضّ  
من بهجتها اضافتها الى من لم يحكها ، واتّما هي ملح منشور أو منظوم ، وليست  
بحقائق علوم ، فنتكلّف في صحّة الأسانيد ، والفرق بين سعيد وسعيد ، والفصل  
ما بين عبيد وعبيد . وعلى أيّ حال ورد هذا المجموع ، من مجهول أو معلوم ،  
في منشور أو منظوم ، فبديع رائق ، ومتأخّر ان شاء الله سابق . 73



## SUMMARY

1. In discussing a verse, or verses, of poetry, Ibn Bassām generally refers to similar lines, or lines which may have served as models, in the works of earlier poets, both from Andalus and from the east. An example of this is his discussion of Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abdūn's description of the flies (P. 167, above). He gives the impression of wishing to display his prodigious memory for literary instances.
  
2. His critical judgements cannot be called precise; he has a predilection for "beautifying" his style in a variety of different ways, and for expressing himself in metaphors of a distinctly poetic nature. His writing is "artistic" and often fantastic; it is certainly not "critical" or "scholarly" in the way that that of many earlier writers on literary history is, such as that of al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālībī, Ibn Shuhayd, Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abd Rabbih. Ibn Bassām is, in fact, a "litterateur" rather than a critic, so far as his style and expression are concerned; the description of someone as nādiratu al-falaki al-dawwār, wa-u<sup>c</sup>jūbatu al-layli wa-al-nahār (the rarity of the revolving firmament, and the wonder of the night and the day), while picturesque, cannot be said to be detailed and informative criticism.
  
3. He is only rarely original in his critical views and his analyses. In his discussions of the content of lines or of poetic tropes, he often relies on the views of previous critics, like Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī, Abū Hilāl al-

<sup>c</sup>Askarī and <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Karīm al-Nahashlī, on these very points, without, however, necessarily reproducing their actual words. For example, in referring to two lines of <sup>c</sup>Antarah, which we have already mentioned, he says: "This unequalled simile ... (wa-hādhā al-tashbīh al-ladhī ma lahu shabīh)"; other critics say that it is "unique" (yatīm = literally "orphaned", or aqim = literally "barren", or something similar).

4. He does not use a great deal of precise scholarly, critical or rhetorical terminology in his discussions of such things as plagiarism or figures of speech, and he is by no means innovative in such as he does use; it all belongs to his linguistic, critical and rhetorical predecessors, from the east, the Maghrib and al-Andalus. In this, as in his specific criticism, he particularly depends upon such writers as Ibn Rashīq, al-Nahashlī, al-Jurjānī and Abū Hilāl al-<sup>c</sup>Askarī.
5. He alludes to a number of rhetorical, linguistic and grammatical points, in connection with style and expression; he also makes a number of observations concerned with correct and incorrect prosody.
6. He makes frequent comparisons between eastern and Andalusian poets and prose-writers, chiefly in order to present his fellow-countrymen in a superior light. He also, however, sometimes compares one Andalusian author with another.

7. He does not offer any analysis of his critical judgements or any clarification of the obscurities that are often present in them. Nor, in spite of his great erudition and familiarity with the methods of previous critics, does he produce any coherent, clear-cut critical theory that attempts either to reconcile their contradictory views or to establish new principles of its own. It is quite clear that, in the main, he is concerned solely with the poetry of his contemporaries in al-Andalus, even if he does pay a certain amount of attention to that of the east, in his wish to be fair in giving credit for the introduction of new themes and means of expression.

8. He sometimes provides information concerning the occasion to which a poem refers, or other data essential to the elucidation of an allusion, as for example, in the line of Abū Ja<sup>c</sup>far b. al-Abbār:

لَا تَدْعُهَا قَهْوَةً كَرَضِيَّةً      لَمْ يَدْعُهَا نَوْحٌ إِذْ خَافَ الْفَرْقَ

where he explains that the second hemistich is an allusion to the hadīth alleging that the tree from which Adam ate in the Garden of Eden was a grape-vine.

9. He is not greatly concerned to give references to the sources from which he takes his texts. In this he resembles Qudāmah b. Ja<sup>c</sup>far, and it is perhaps possible that he is deliberately following him in this practice.

However, the principal reason is probably that, since the majority of those whom he quotes are his contemporaries, there is no point in his doing so; in many cases the works are not yet widely disseminated, and the text that he has received from the author himself is as good as one could possibly have.

1. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz al-Jurjānī, 100.
2. al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālībī, 1, 79.
3. Ibid, 1, 439.
4. Ibn Bassām, 2, 1, 285-286.
5. Ibid, 3, 1, 541.
6. Ibid, 1, 1, 11-12.
7. Ibid, 1, 1, 33-34.
8. Ibid, 1, 1, 377-379.
9. Ibid, 1, 1, 372-373.
10. Ibid, 1, 1, 88.
11. Ibid, 1, 1, 510-511.
12. Ibid, 1, 1, 549.
13. Ibid, 1, 2, 451.
14. Ibid, 3, 2, 820.
15. Ibid, 1, 1, 91-92.
16. Ibid, 2, 2, 797.
17. Ibid, 1, 1, 192-193.
18. Ibid, 1, 1, 66.
19. Ibid, 1, 1, 61-62.
20. Ibid, 1, 1, 339.
21. Ibid, 1, 1, 350.
22. Ibid, 1, 1, 219.
23. Ibid, 4, 1, 221-222.
24. Muḥammad <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh al-Jādir, 323.
25. Ibn Bassām, 1, 1, 83.
26. al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālībī, 2, 299.
27. Ibn Bassām, 1, 1, 315.
28. Ibn Rashīq, a, 1, 263.
29. Ibn Bassām, 1, 1, 516-517.
30. Ibid, 2, 1, 134-135.

31. Ibid, 2, 1, 407-408.
32. Ibid, 2, 2, 634-635.
33. Ibid, 3, 1, 116-117.
34. Ibid, 3, 1, 114-115.
35. Ibid, 2, 1, 135-136.
36. Ibid, 2, 1, 274-377.
37. Ibid, 2, 2, 630-631.
38. Ibid, 3, 2, 692.
39. Ibid, 1, 2, 888.
40. Ibid, 2, 1, 373-374.
41. Ibid, 1, 2, 823-824.
42. Mansur Ajami, 10.
43. Abū Hilāl, 395.
44. Ibn Bassām, 1, 1, 150.
45. Ibid, 2, 2, 689-702, Ibn Rashīq, Q, 69.
46. Ibn Bassām, 1, 1, 368, Ibn Rashīq, A, 1, 302, Ibn Bassām,  
3, 2, 851-854.
47. Ibn Bassām, 1, 1, 322.
48. Ibid, 1, 2, 841-844.
49. Dhū al-Rumma, Dīwān, 567.
50. Ibn Bassām, 2, 1, 512.
51. Ibid, 2, 2, 610.
52. Ibid, 1, 2, 770-773.
53. Gustave E. von Grunebaum, Journal of Near Eastern Studies,  
3, 235-242.
54. Abū Nūwās, Dīwān, 361.
55. Imru' al-Qays, Dīwān, 111.
56. al-Marzubānī, 294.
57. Abū Hilāl, 202.

58. Ibn Bassām, 2, 2, 703-705.
59. Ibid, 1, 1, 322.
60. Ibid, 1, 1, 287.
61. <sup>c</sup>Ali Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz al-Jurjānī, 204.
62. Ibn Bassām, 1, 1, 19.
63. Ibn Rashīq, A. 2, 289.
64. Ibn Bassām, 1, 2, 752.
65. Ibid, 1, 2, 773-774.
66. Ibid, 2, 1, 70.
67. Ibid, 1, 1, 157.
68. Ibid, 1, 1, 81.
69. Ibn Rashīq, 1, 189.
70. Ibn Bassām, 4, 1, 36-38.
71. Ibid, 2, 1, 428.
72. Ibid, 4, 1, 44-45.
73. Ibid, 2, 1, 187.

PART II

IBN BASSĀM AS A STYLIST



IBN BASSAM AS A STYLIST

There are two different aspects that it has seemed worth investigating, in an attempt to arrive at some kind of overall view of the style of Ibn Bassām's prose-writing. In fact, these two are probably inseparable, but, for our purposes, it has been practicable to treat them as separate. The first is more tangible than the second, since it is concerned more with the mechanics of the writing. This is not necessarily to say that Ibn Bassām deliberately set out to produce a specific rhythmical effect at a given point; clearly, rhythm in writing, even in saj<sup>c</sup>, is something that is instinctive, rather than contrived. Nevertheless, it is easier to pin down than other characteristics of a style, and it is for this reason that the first section of this part is devoted to it, and to rhyme, which, in this type of writing, is its intimate companion. The system that has been adopted in representing rhythm on the page is that which is generally used for scanning verse, a series of long and short marks, indicating the quantity of the vowels, as they would function in verse. This may appear to be somewhat bold, since, in verse, quantity and stress are not always congruous; however, in Arabic verse they coincide to a very considerable degree, and thus it is, we feel, not inappropriate to represent saj<sup>c</sup> in quantitative terms, since, in many ways, it is more akin to verse than to prose. For this reason, too, we use the terms "metre" and "scansion" in speaking of the patterns of long and short syllables that we find in our analyses, even though these may not be thought of as customarily applying to prose rhythms.

In the second part, the analyses have been made in a somewhat impressionistic way, and different passages have been differently approached. Not all of the points that might have been brought up have been; certain considerations have tended to dominate, at the expense of others that might, perhaps, have been given equal weight. At all times, however, the object of the analyses has been to endeavour to show the contribution of the part of the passage under discussion to the effect produced by the passage as a whole.

Some of the terminology adopted may require explanation. The term "unit" is used throughout to designate a section of saj<sup>c</sup> that is approximately equivalent to a "hemistich" in terms of verse. The phrase "outside the scheme" indicates that the clause or phrase to which it is applied may be regarded as preceding a passage, or units, of saj<sup>c</sup>, rather than constituting part of it, or them.

RHYME AND RHYTHM IN THE PROSE OF IBN BASSAM: AN ANALYSIS OF  
SELECTED PASSAGES.

1

1, 1, 336

أبو الوليد ابن زيدون

كان أبو الوليد صاحب منشور ومنظوم ، وخاتمة شعراء مخزوم ، أحد من جرّ الأيّام  
جرّاً ، وفات الأنام طرّاً ، وصرف السلطان نفعا وضرّاً ، ووسع البيان نظماً ونشراً ،  
الى أدب ليس للبحر تدفقه ، ولا للبدر تألّقه . وشعر ليس للسحر بيانه ، ولا  
للنجوم الزهر اقتترانه . وحظّ من النثر غريب المباني ، شعريّ الألفاظ والمعاني .

--U --- UU--  
صاحب منشور ومنظوم

--U UU-- UU--U  
وخاتمة شعراء مخزوم

أبو الوليد is outside the scheme. The second unit is two syllables longer than the first. The scansion of the two units is completely different, except for the first three syllables (disregarding و) and the last 2 . The rhyme words have the same sense but are from different roots.

--U --- UU--  
أحد من جرّ الأيّام جرّاً

--U --- UU--  
وفات الأنام طرّاً

أحد is outside the scheme; the remainder is almost identical in scansion between the units. The meaning of the first unit is vague; the meaning of the second is clear.

--U --- UU--  
صرف السلطان نفعا وضرّاً

--U --- UU--  
ووسع البيان نظماً ونشراً

Again there is almost an identical scansion between units; they are quite similar to the previous two units except that there is the extra syllable in the verbs, and, نفعاً and, نظماً are inserted. نثراً is a less good rhyme than the others, and it seems rather uninventive to repeat the نثر - نظم root contrast so soon, even though the order is reversed. Possibly, however, this is deliberately perverse, since it would not be expected, especially in view of the weak rhyme of نثراً. I do not think that it is particularly effective, though.

- - - - -  
الى أدب ليس للبحر تدققه

- - - - -  
ولا للبدر تألقه

After the common introduction: الى أدب, the two units are the same length, if we include و. How does الى connect with <sup>the</sup> previous statement?

- - - - -  
وشعر ليس للسحر بيانه

- - - - -  
ولا للنجوم الزهر اقتترانه

The two units are of identical length, except that شعر is again a common introduction, so that <sup>the</sup> second is, in fact, longer. They are syntactically identical to each other and to the two previous units; الزهر is inserted in the second. The sense of سحر is ambiguous (cf. the use of سحر twice, in different senses - p.209, below: once with بيان).

وَحَظَّ مِنْ النَّشْرِ غَرِيبَ الْمَبَانِي

شَعْرِيَّ الْأَلْفَاظِ وَالْمَعَانِي

The second unit is shorter than the first, except that *وَحَظَّ مِنْ النَّشْرِ* is really introductory again, so that the second unit is effectively longer. It is somewhat bold to repeat *نَشْر* again, especially (indirectly) contrasted this time with *شَعْرِيَّ* rather than *نَظْم* , *شَعْرِيَّ* , also repeats *شَعْر* in the previous couplet.

*الْمَبَانِي* is surely a strange expression? *حَظَّ مِنْ النَّشْرِ* suggests *المعاني* as the rhyme, which more or less necessitates *الألفاظ* as its pair; this makes a double *مُضَاف إِلَيْهِ* inevitable in the second unit, and so makes this unit naturally longer.

2

191-11

أبو عامر أحمد بن عبد الملك ابن شهيد

وكان أبو عامر شيخ الحضرة العظمى وفتاها ، ومبدأ الغاية القصوى ومنتهاها ، وينبوع آياتها ، ومادة حياتها ، وحقيقة ذاتها ، وابن ساستها ، نادرة الفلك الدّوّار ، وأعجوبة اللّيل والنهار ، ان هزل فسجع الحمام ، أو جدّ فزئير الأسد القُرغام ، نظم كما اتّسق الدرّ على النحور ، ونشر كما خلط المسك بالكافور ، الى نوادر كأطراف القنا الأملود ، تشقّ القلوب قبل الجلود ، وجواب يجري مجرى النفس ، ويسبق رجح الطرف المختلس .

كان أبو عامر / شيخ الحضرة العظمى وفتاها

ومبدأ الغاية القصوى ومنتهاها

Leaving كان أبو عامر out of account, the second unit has two extra syllables, but the central section is identical between units. There is parallelism in and شيخ وفتى and مبدأ ومنتهى and also chiasmus, in that شيخ = منتهى and فتى = مبدأ i.e. first and last. الغاية القصوى is a very vague expression.

وينبوع آياتها

ومادة حياتها

وحقيقة ذاتها

وابن ساستها وأساتها

ومعنى أسمائها ومسمياتها

The first three units all have eight syllables, but different scansion. Two longer units follow, of eleven and fourteen syllables respectively.

The fourth unit has a semi-rhyme in the middle ساستها which makes one dubious about the pattern of the series because so far it is shorter than the first 3 (6 syllables). However, one then realises that this is not the rhymed word, which in fact comes fairly quickly thereafter, taking one somewhat by surprise. The fifth unit has ها in the middle, but this time one does not expect a rhyme pause at this point, and indeed the unit continues for a further seven syllables.

نادرة الفلك الكدّوار

- - - - -  
 - - - - -  
 وأعجوبة الليل والنهار

Excluding **و**, there is the same number of syllables in both units, but they have a different scansion. **الدَّوَار** linked with **الفلك** gives expectation of **النهار** as possible rhyme, which necessitates **الليل**.

- - - - -  
 - - - - -  
 ان هزل فسجع الحمام

- - - - -  
 - - - - -  
 أو جدّ فزئير الأسد الضرغام

A different number of syllables. There is a play on the word **سجع** . **الحمام** does not lead one to expect a particular rhyme, and in fact it is not until **زئير** occurs that a lion becomes the obvious contrast with **حمام** ; it is still not clear what the rhyme will be, so a suspense is maintained.

- - - - -  
 - - - - -  
 نظم كما اتسق الدّر على النحور

- - - - -  
 - - - - -  
 ونثر كما خلط المسك بالكافور

The construction is parallel throughout, and the scansion is identical for the first nine syllables in each unit.(excluding **و** ). Although the remainder of the first unit is actually longer, the long syllables of **بالكافور** give it equal weight, if not more. The "stringing" sense of both **نظم** and **اتسق** creates the image in the first unit; the "scattering" sense of **نثر** does not necessarily have any connotation until



we come to **المسك** , which is frequently associated with "scattering" in poetry. **المسك** perhaps leads to an expectation of **الكافور** as the rhyme word, but not inevitably.

— — — — —  
الى نوادر كأطراف القنا الأملود

— — — — —  
تشقّ القلوب قبل الجلود

The second unit is shorter than the first for the first time; also for the first time the second unit continues the sense rather than being parallel (even though it is a relative clause). **الجلود** is dictated as a rhyme by **الأملود**. There is a possible ambiguity in the second: **قبل** can mean both 'before' and 'rather than'.

— — — — —  
وجواب يجري مجرى النفس

— — — — —  
ويسبق رجع الطرف المختلف

The units are the same length. The last seven syllables of each have identical scansion. The first three syllables of the second (excluding **و**) are the reversal of the first three syllables of the first.

3

3, 1, 24

أبو عبد الرحمن بن طاهر

كان أبو عبد الرحمن بن طاهر أحد من جمع الحديث الى القديم ، وارتقى من رياسة الأقاليم الى سياسة الأقاليم ، واتفق لبني طاهر بالفتنة المطغية ، رياسة كورة مرسية ، — في خبر أضربت عنه لطوله ولأتي قد أوردته في كتابي المترجم بـ " سلك الجواهر من ترسيل ابن طاهر " — فكان أبو عبد الرحمن يكتب عن نفسه بهذا الأفق ، كالمصاحب ابن عباد بالمشرق ، وله رسائل تشهد بفضله ، وتدلّ على نبيله ، لا سيّما اذا هزل فأنه يتقدم على الجماعة ، ويستولي على ميدان الصناعة . ولمّا خبط أبو بكر ابن عمّار سمرات ملوك الأندلس بعصاه ، وتردّد ينتجعهم بمكايده ورقاه ،

وإنما كان يطلب سلطانا ينثر في يديه سلكه ، وملكا يخلع على عطفه ملكه ، جعل أبا عبد الرحمن ابن طاهر موقع همّه ووجه أمّه ، ولمّا ألقى المعتمد الى ابن عمّار بيده ، وقلّده - على ما شرحناه في أخباره - تدبير دولته وبلده ، بعثه على حرب ابن طاهر بغناء لنفسه ، وبناء على أسّه ، فأقبله وجوه الجياد ، وأخذ عليه الثغور والأساد ، حتّى فتّ في عضده ، وانتزع سلطانه من يده . ولمّا قال عزمه وفعل ، وقام وزن أمره واعتدل ، مدّ يده وبسطها ، وكفر نعمة ابن عباد وعمطها ، وانتزى له من حينه على مرسية وقعد بها مقعد الرؤساء ، وخاطب سلطانه مخاطبة الأكفاء ، مستظهاً على ذلك بحرّ الأذيال ، وافساد قلوب الرجال ، معتقدا أنّ الرياسة كأس يشربها وملاءة مجون يسحبها ، فقيّف له يومئذ من عبد الرحمن بن رشيق ، عدوّ فسي ثياب صديق : من رجل مدره ختر ، وجذيل خديعة ومكر ، فلم يزل يطلع عليه من الشنايا والشعاب ، حتّى أخرجه من مرسية كالشهاب ، وأبو عبد الرحمن بن طاهر في أثناء تلك الحال ، متردد بين النكبة والاعتقال ، فبعد لأي ما سعى له الوزير أبو بكر بن عبدالعزيز ، زعيم بلنسية - كان غفي ذلك الأوان ، فخلص بعد أبو عبد الرحمن ، خلوص الثريّا من يد الدّبران ، والتقى هو وابن عمّار ببلنسية بعد ذلك ، وقد استوى الغالب والمغلوب ، وضضع الطالاب والمطلوب ، وكان ابن عمّار أخفش ، فقال له ابن طاهر ، وكان كثير النوادر: كذا يا أبا العيّن ، لا أنت ولا أنا . فصار ابن عمّار مع ابن رشيق تحت المثل : " أنفقت مالي وحجّ الجمل " .

ولابن طاهر عدة نوادر أحرّ من الجمر ، وأدمغ من الصخر : أرسل اليه ابن عمّار وقت القبض عليه ، وهو معتقل بين يديه ، يعرض له خلعة يتسرّبلها ، ويشير اليه بكرامة : هل يقبلها ؟ فقال لرسوله : لا أختار من خلعه - أعزّه الله - الآفروة طويلة ، وغفارة صفيّلة . فعرفها ابن عمّار واعترف بها على رؤوس أشهاده ، وبحضرة من وجوه قواده وأجناده ، وقال : نعم إنّما يعرّض بزيب يوم قصده ، وهيئتي حين أنشدته ، فسبحان من يعطي ويمنع ، ويرفع من يشاء ويضع .

كان أبو عبد الرحمن بن طاهر

— — — — —  
أحد من جمع الحديث الى القديم

— — — — —  
وارتقى من رياسة الأعلام الى سياسة الأقاليم

The two units have quite different lengths and scansion. They resemble each other in that each has two almost identical patterns joined by الى . The second unit has a play on different words of the same radicals الأقاليم رياسة - سياسة and also the jingle of الأعلام

— — — — —  
واتفق لبني طاهر بالفتنة المطغية

— — — — —  
رياسة كـورة مرسية

The respective lengths of the units are reversed from the previous two. There is nothing very *unusual* here. The scansion of the second unit is rather monotonous. The rhyme is poor. The second unit is a continuation of the sense, not a parallel.

— — — — —  
في خبر — ابن طاهر

Here there is no rhyme at all, except in the title of the book طاهر - الجواهر ; it constitutes a parenthesis, in which rhyme is perhaps inappropriate.

— — — — —  
فكان أبو عبد الرحمن / يكتب عن نفسه بهذا الأفق

— — — — —  
كالصاحب ابن عبّاد بالمشرق

This is scarcely saj<sup>c</sup> at all; there is only a perfunctory effort to rhyme.

--U UU - UU-U UU  
وله رسائل / تشهد بفضله

- - -U U-UU  
وتدلّ على نباهه

Parallel construction with very short units. The second is one syllable longer. Again, the rhyme is poor. He has perhaps not really got into his stride in this piece yet.

--U -UU-UUUUUUUUUUU-U -U -U--  
لا سيّما اذا هزل فانه يتقدم على الجماعة

--U ---U ---U  
ويستولي على ميدان الصناعة

This is improving now: different scansion and length, parallel construction. He inserts an extra word ميدان in the second unit.

--UUUU - --UUUU - --U - - -UUUU -UU  
ولما خبط أبو بكر بن عمّار سمّرات ملوك الأندلس بعصاه

--UU -UU -UUUU -UU  
وتردد ينتجهم بمكايده ورقه اه

The first unit is apparently much longer, but the name intervenes, so that the second is effectively longer. There is a remarkable correspondence of 1 long, 5 short and 1 long syllables at the end of each. There are a great many short syllables in general, especially in the second.

--U-U - UU - -- -UU -U -U-U  
وانما كان يطلب / سلطانا ينشر في يديه ساكه

-- UU - -UU - -U  
وملكا يخلع على عطفه ملكه

The two units have the same length, excluding 9, but different scansion; the verbs and last words correspond.

جعل أبا عبد الرحمن بن طاهر / موقع همّه

ووجه أمّه

There is nothing interesting here, except for the slightly different scansion.

ولمّا القى المعتمد الى ابن عمّار بيده

وقلّده ( ) تدبير دولته وبلده

The parenthesis does not really count, except to delay the rhyme, but this is probably not part of the artistic effect. There is nothing much to be said about this pair. They are parallel, but they also advance the narrative.

بعثه على حرب ابن طاهر / بغاء لنفسه

وبناء على أسّه

Again, there is nothing interesting. We have merely two short parallel phrases, slightly different in form.

فأقبله وجوه الجياد ، وأخذ عليه الشغور والأسداد

The second unit has a couplet الشغور والأسداد where one word would do, to give extra length and weight. Again, the two are parallel, but advance the narrative.

حتّى فتّ في عضده

- 0 - 00 - - 000 -  
وانتزع سلطانه من يده

Again, an extra word is added for length and weight. Again, the two are parallel, but advance the narrative.

- 00 00 - 0 - - - 0  
ولمّا قال عزمه وفعل

- 0 - 00 - 0 - 0 - 0  
وقام وزن أمره واعتدل

An extra word is added in the second, once again. In each the first verbs correspond  $\text{قال} - \text{قام}$  the second are varied. The scansion is quite similar, given that the length is different.

- 0 000 000 0 -  
مدّ يده وبسطها

- 0000 0 - - 0 - 0000 -  
وكفر نعمة ابن عبّاد وغمطها

The last words have identical scansion.

- 00 - 00 - 0000 0 - 00 - 00 - 00 -  
وانتزى له من حينه على مرسية / وقعد بها مقعد الرؤساء

- - 00 - 0 - 00 - 00 -  
وخاطب سلطانه مخاطبة الأكفّاء

The roots  $\text{قعد}$  and  $\text{خطب}$  are both repeated.

- - - - 0000 - 0 - 0 - -  
مستظهِراً على ذلك بجرّ الأذيال

- 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 -  
وافساد قلوب الرجال

The second unit again has an extra word.

- - - - -  
معتقدا أنّ الرياسة / كأس يشربها

- - - - -  
وملائة مجون يسحبها

Again, an extra word is inserted. There is identical scansion towards the end of the units.

- - - - -  
فقيظله يومئذ من عبدالرحمن ابن رشيق

- - - - -  
عدوّ في ثياب صديق

There is nothing interesting here but the rhyme and the opposition. There is continuation of sense rather than parallelism.

- - - - -  
من رجل مدره ختر

- - - - -  
وجذيل خديعة ومكر

There is a couplet in the second where one word would do. The two words have the same meaning, as does also the final word of the first.

- - - - -  
فلم يزل يطلع عليه من الثنايا والشعاب

- - - - -  
حتى أخرجه من مرسية كالشهاب

There is metrical correspondence in the last word in each unit. There is continuation of sense, rather than parallelism. Considering the length of the passage, there is comparatively little to say about it. It has none of the deliberate

artistic complexity of 191. Many of the rhymes are not very complex, and names interfere with the flow a great deal. No doubt, because it is narrative rather than descriptive, the need to advance the action overrides the author's concern with the intricacy in his saj<sup>c</sup>, even though there are a number of cases where the second unit is parallel rather than additional. Rhymes are never sustained for more than two units. One characteristic that emerges is the very frequent use of a common introductory phrase, followed by two parallel rhyming phrases, which are comparatively short. Very often the second of these is lengthened and strengthened with an extra word, either forming a mudāf-mudāf ilayh or a couplet. It is not perhaps a terribly impressive passage.

- - - - -  
 وأبو عبد الرحمن بن طاهر / في أثناء تلك الحال

- - - - -  
 متردد بين النكبة والاعتقال

There is nothing much here to comment on, except for the doublet after بين : it is reminiscent of previous doublets, and contrasts with the slightly extended, but straightforward, مضاف - مضاف اليه construction in the first unit. The sense is continued

- - - - -  
 فبعد لأي - عبد العزيز

No rhyme - intermission in saj<sup>c</sup>.

- - - - -  
 زعيم بلنسية - كان - في ذلك الأوان



فخلص بعد أبو عبد الرحمن  
خلوص الشرياً من يد الدبران

This is the first example of triple rhyme - and rhyme with a name. The first two continue the sense; the third qualifies the second, in a very fanciful manner, which contrasts with the very matter of fact narration of the rest.

والتقى هو وابن عمّار ببلنسية بعد ذلك

No rhyme - another intermission.

وقد استوى الغالب والمغلوب  
وضعف الطالب والمطلوب

Here we have almost identical scansion and parallelism.

وكان ابن عمّار أخفش

No rhyme - intermission.

فقال له ابن طاهر ، وكان كثير النوادر

*al.*

There is nothing remarkable here. The most fortuitous rhyme seems to produce a deliberately casual effect, which is slightly spoilt, in retrospect, by the repetition of

نواذر two lines later.

-----  
فخلص بعد أبيو عبد الرحمن  
-----  
خلص الشريبا من بيد الدبران

This is the first example of triple rhyme - and rhyme with a name. The first two continue the sense; the third qualifies the second, in a very fanciful manner, which contrasts with the very matter of fact narration of the rest.

-----  
والتقى هو وابن عمّار ببلنسية بعد ذلك

No rhyme - another intermission.

-----  
وقد استوى الغالب والمغلوب  
-----  
وضعف الطالب والمطلوب

Here we have almost identical scansion and parallelism.

-----  
وكان ابن عمار أخفش

No rhyme - intermission.

-----  
وقال له ابن طاهر ، وكان كثير النوادر

There is nothing remarkable here. The almost fortuitous rhyme seems to produce a deliberately casual effect, which is slightly spoilt, in retrospect, by the repetition of  
نوادير two lines later.

— — — — —  
كذا يا أبا العيـاء

— — — — —  
لا أنت ولا أنا

Saj<sup>c</sup> within saj<sup>c</sup>. This is a quotation of someone deliberately aiming for effect. It is not very special (perhaps spoilt by the obscurity of (أبا العيـاء)).

— — — — —  
فصار ابن عمّار مع ابن رشيق تحت المثل ، انفقت مالي وحجّ الجمل

The names again artificially prolong the first unit. The second is effectively longer. The rhyming of the introduction with the proverb is effective and necessary, because the proverb has no internal rhyme.

— — — — —  
ولابن طاهر عدّة نوادر / أحرّ من الجمر

— — — — —  
وأدمغ من الصخر

Here we have almost identical scansion in parallel units, which is very typical of normal saj<sup>c</sup>. It does not advance the narrative, and the rhyme is poor.

— — — — —  
أرسل اليه ابن عمّار وقت القيض عليه

— — — — —  
وهو معتقل بيـن يديـه

Here we find identical scansion in the last four syllables in both units, although the syntax is quite different. This is perhaps more typical of saj<sup>c</sup> advancing the narrative.

- - - - -  
يعرض له خلعة يتسربلها

- - - - -  
ويشير اليه بكرامة هل يقبلها

From له and بكرامة, we have almost identical scansion, although quite different syntax. The only difference is the long syllable of هل instead of يتسربلها as a rhyme is determined by يقبلها

- - - - -  
فقال لرسوله : لا أختار من خلعه - أعزّه الله

A common introduction, advancing the narrative.

- - - - -  
الآفروة طويلة

- - - - -  
وغفارة صقيالة

There is similar scansion in the doublet, which this time is not just a conventional doublet, but part of the story.

- - - - -  
وعرفها ابن عمّار واعترف بها

- - - - -  
على رؤوس أشهاده

- - - - -  
وبحضرة من وجوه قواده وأجناده

There is a play on the words وجوه and رؤوس. The two words in the second unit, واجناده قواده give extra length and weight, although we already have a longer prepositional phrase. The perfectly good rhyme قواده anticipates the ending, which actually has the same form as the original rhyme word; the identical scansion of رؤوس أشهاده and وجوه قواده

(at least until the end of the second) also leads one to expect the rhyme there, and so maintains the tension, which is then overridden.

--- ع --- ع --- ع --- ع --- ع --- ع --- ع --- ع  
وقال نعم انما يعرض / بزبي يوم قصده

--- ع --- ع --- ع --- ع  
وهيئتني حين انشدته

The scansion in two units of this couplet is very similar. The difference in the forms of the verbs قصده and انشدته keeps it from banality, as perhaps does the variation between حين ويوم also.

--- ع --- ع --- ع --- ع --- ع --- ع --- ع --- ع  
فسبحان من يعطي ويمنع

--- ع --- ع --- ع --- ع --- ع --- ع --- ع --- ع  
ويرفع من يشاء ويضع

The subtlety here lies in the different scansion of apparently similar, but actually different syntax, since من has different syntactical functions and يضع is parallel with يرفع not يشاء, whereas يمنع is parallel with يعطي

أبو بكر محمد بن عمّار

وكان غريب المطلع ، شليبي المقطع ، شنبوسي المصيف والمربع ، إلا أنّ شعره غريب وشرق ، وأشأم في نغم الحداة وعلى السنة الرواة وأعرق ، لا جرم فاته كان شاعرا لا يجارى ، وساحرا لا يبارى ، اذا مدح استنزل العصم ، وان هجا أسمع الصم ، وان تغزل ، ولا سيّما في المعذرين من الغلمان ، أسمع سحرا لا يعرفه البيان ، وكيف لا يرغب في شعره ، ويتنفس فيما ينفث به من سحره ، وهو يضرب في أنواع الابداع

بأعلى السهام ، ويأخذ من التوليد والاختراع بأوفر الأقسام ، وقد أثبت منه فبي  
هذا الديوان ، ما يشتمل على غرائب الحسن والاحسان ، وأدرجت في أثناء مقطوعات  
أشعاره ، نكتا ولمعا من نواذر أخباره ، وذكرت آخر أمره مع المعتمد ومباشرة  
قتله له بيده ، وأخرجت شرح صفة الحال ، من البدأ الى المآل .

وكان غربيّ المطلع  
شليبي المقطوع ، شنبوسي المصيف والمربيع

The first two units (after وكان ) are identical. The third has a longer adjective and an extra word.

الآن شعره غرب وشرق

وأشام في نغم الحداة

وعلى السنة الرواة وأعرق

This section has a fairly complex structure; أشام وأعرق  
has the same scansion as غرب وشرق , with which it  
is, of course, parallel. However, it is interrupted by  
another parallel couplet, which rhymes within the main  
couplet, and has very similar scansion between its two units  
and also very similar scansion (except for the final - -  
where the main couplet has - - ) to the main couplet.  
There is some advancement of sense - أشام وأعرق is  
a development of شرق .

--- - - - -  
لا جرم فاته كان / شاعرا لايجارى  
--- - - - -  
وساحرا لا يبارى

This is a simple parallel couplet with identical scansion.

- - - - -  
اذا مدح استنزل العصم  
- - - - -  
وان هجا أسمع الصمّ

This is another parallel construction, with very similar scansion.

- - - - -  
وان تغزل ولا سيّما في المعذّرين من الغلمان  
- - - - -  
أسمع ساحرا لا يعرفه البيان

You expect ان تغزل to follow the pattern of the previous two and to rhyme with them, even when the parenthesis begins.

You do not expect the rhyme to be made with the end of the parenthesis. It is perhaps strange to use أسمع in consecutive sentences, but it is used in different ways. There is a reference to a Ḥadīth, as elsewhere.

سحر is repeated from two couplets earlier ( ساحرا ), and is to be repeated again, as a rhyme-word, in the following couplet (but in a different sense).

- - - - -  
وكيف لا يرغب في شعره  
- - - - -  
ويتنافس فيما ينفث به من سحره

There is great disparity in length of units.

— — — — —  
وهو يضرب في أنواع الابداع

— — —  
بأعلى السهام

— — — — —  
ويأخذ من التوليد والاختراع

— — —  
بأوفر الأقسام

Here we have two alternating rhymes, with long and short units corresponding. There is rather different scansion in both; this is less surprising in the long units than in the short. The two long units are at first sight parallel in sense. The two short ones develop the metaphor of ميسر begun by the verbs at the beginning of the longer units, the second part of the metaphor being the result of the first.

— — — — —  
وقد أثبت منه في هذا الديوان

— — — — —  
ما يشتمل على غرائب الحسن والاحسان

There is little correspondence here in length or scansion. This is not surprising, perhaps, since the sense continues over the first unit rhyme. The extra words in the prepositional phrase in the second unit serve to weight the sentence appropriately.

— — — — —  
وأدرجت في أشناء مقطوعات أشعاره

— — — — —  
نكتا ولمعا من نوادر أخبـاره



Again, there is little correspondence in scansion, but the length of the units is the same. The prepositional phrase in the first unit is weightier this time than that in the second. Since, again, the sense continues over the first unit rhyme, no doubt the intention is to provide some contrast with the previous couplet. It is not quite satisfactory.

— — — — —  
وذكرت آخر أمره مع المعتمد

— — — — —  
ومباشرة قتله له بيده

I am not sure if this is meant to be a rhyme or not. I think it is probably meant just to suggest one and to leave the reader/hearer wondering, especially in view of the incongruity of the subject matter and the jaunty rhythm. Is it a slightly tasteless joke?

— — — — —  
وأجريت شرح صفة الحال

— — — — —  
من المبدأ الى المال

Again, there is no real correspondence in scansion. The lengths are not greatly different, but there is no great significance in that. The second unit is a somewhat unnecessary (for the sense) addition that merely serves to round off the paragraph resoundingly with an internal parallelism. There is a parallelism in مبدأ and مال , i.e. first and last.

أبو عبيد البكري

وكان بأفئنا آخر علماء الجزيرة بالزمان ، وأولهم بالبراعة والاحسان ، وأبعدهم في العلوم طلقا ، وأنصعهم في المنثور والمنظوم أفقا ، كأن العرب استخلفته على لسانها ، أو الأيام ولته زمام حدانها ، ولولا تأخر ولادته ، وعهدة فسي زيادته ، لأنسى كنيه المتقدم الأوان ، ذرب لسان ، وبراعة اتقان ، لايجمع الزمان حبه إلا كما يوئلف كتبه ، ولا يهز البرق حسامه ، إلا كما يصرف أعلامه ، ولا يتدقق البحر إلا كما يجيش صدره ، ولا يكون السحر إلا كما يروق نظمه ونشره ، وله تقدم سبق . وسلف صدق . وقد كان لسلفه بغربي جزيرة الأندلس امرة قعدوا منها مقعد أكابر الأمراء من الخروج عن الطاعة ، والاستبداد عن الجماعة ، ولهم في ذلك وللمعتضد قريع أقرانهم ، الذي طم واديه على قريانهم ، أخبار ذكرها ابن حيان وقد ألمعت منها بلع ليتصل الكلام ، ويستقم النظام .

وكان بأفئنا

— — — — —  
آخر علماء الجزيرة بالزمان

— — — — —  
وأولهم بالبراعة والاحسان

كان بأفئنا is introductory to a parallel couplet.

There is an obvious contrast in أول - آخر . The two units are approximately the same length; the substitution of هم for علماء الجزيرة makes it appear that the second unit will be shorter, but this is compensated for by the two words after ب . The rhyme is not perfect.

— — — — —  
وأبعدهم في العلوم طلقا  
— — — — —  
وأنصعهم في المنثور والمنظوم أفقا

The first part of each unit is almost identical metrically and syntactically (also with the first part of the second



--- - - - -  
ولا يتدقق البحر إلا كما يجيش صدره

--- - - - -  
ولا يكون السحر إلا كما يروق نظمه ونثره

This forms a subdivided couplet, similar in pattern to the previous two, but the first half of the first unit rhymes with the first half of the second unit, and the second half of the first with the second half of the second. The first half of the first unit is longer than the first half of the second unit, but the second half of the first unit is shorter than the second half of the second unit, because of the (inevitable) insertion of *نظمه*

--- - - - -  
وله تقدم سبق  
--- - - - -  
وسلف صدق

The rhyme here is minimal. The second unit is shorter than the first.

6

1, 2, 827

أبو مروان عبد الملك بن محمد بن شَمَّاخ

وأبو مروان هذا أحد من شافهته وذاكرته ، وأنشدني شعره ، وكان باهر الضوء ،  
صادق التوء ، ينفث بالسحر ، في عقد النظم والنثر ، ويوفي على أنواع البديع ،  
إيفاء نيسان على محاسن فصل الربيع ، إلى علم أعذب من الماء ، وأكثر من حصي  
الدهناء ، وفهم أذكى من الشمس ، وأجرى من النفس في النفس ، ولولا أنه احتضر ،  
لبحر الشمس والقمر ، وقد أجريت من نظمه ونثره ، ما يشهد باسمه ، ويدل على  
سعة علمه .

--- - - - -  
أحد من / شافهته

--- - - - -  
وذاكرته

-- --  
وأنشدني شعره

Here we have a simple initial doublet, the second unit of which only slightly amplifies the sense of the first, followed by a non-rhyming unit, as something of a surprise.

-- --  
وكان / باهر الضوء  
-- --  
صادق النوء

This is another exactly parallel doublet, slightly longer than the previous one; the first unit is vague in reference, the second unit much more precise, and establishes the "star" image for both units.

-- --  
ينفت بالسحر  
-- --  
في عقد النظم والنثر

The rhyme here is poor, but perhaps dictated by the content, the Qurānic image. The sense is continuous, and the couplet may represent a deliberate hiatus in genuine parallelism.

-- --  
ويوفي على أنواع البديع  
-- --  
ايفاء نيسان على محاسن فصل الربيع

These two units are not precisely parallel, in that the second amplifies the sense of the first and continues the construction rather than repeating it. نيسان anticipates الربيع as the rhyme word. Expansion of the second unit is achieved by the insertion of the subject نيسان between the verbal element and على and by insertion of the explanatory فصل between the plural noun and

its (rhyming) مضاف اليه . It prolongs the sense of the previous couplet in a slightly unexpected way, with a different sense of أوفى

الى علم / أعذب من الماء  
وأكثر من حصى الدهناء

The second unit of this couplet is lengthened in a conventional way. The image is changed violently into a contrast between water and the desert.

وفهم / أذكى من الشمس  
وأجرى من النفس في النفس

This couplet is parallel to, though not rhyming with, the previous couplet. The second unit is again longer, but is expanded in a different way from the previous couplet. The first halves of both are syntactically identical, but metrically slightly different.

The image is again changed violently into a contrast between sun and breeze. The rhyme is not quite complete, but the تجنيس compensates somewhat for this.

ولولا انه اختصر  
لبهر الشمس والقمر

Again, the rhyme is not perfect.

The two units are about the same length, but are complementary not parallel, in sense. بهر and شمس are introduced again, but in combination this time.

كما أعجز من نظم ونثر  
وسبق أكثر من تقدم وتأخر

Once more, the rhyme is imperfect, but it is related, also imperfectly, to that of the previous couplet. The last two

words in the second unit are longer, but equally so, than the last two words in the first unit which are also equal. There appears to be a deliberate visual, but not syntactical, similarity between

أعجز من

أكثر من

وقد أجريت من نظمه ونثره

This is a kind of new common introduction, which lies outside the scheme.

ما يشيد باسمه ، ويدل على سعة علمه

The rhyme is imperfect, which is strange for the ending of a paragraph; otherwise this is an unremarkable parallel. The second unit is as usual, longer than the first; this is achieved by the use of a longer preposition and the addition of one word.

سعة

7

1, 2, 670

أبو حفص عمر بن الشهيد

وأبو حفص هذا في وقتنا كان فارس النظم والنثر ، وأعجوبة القران والعصر ، ونهاية الخير والخير ، رقم يرود الكلام ، ونظم عقود النثر والنظام ، وهو وان لم يزر لملك ، ولم تدر عليه رضى ملك ، فليس يمتأخر عن طبقات المحسنين ، ولا يسكت طبقات الكتاب المجيدين . وقد أخرجت في هذا الفصل من بارع كلامه ، في نثره ونظامه ، ما يشهد برسوخ أعلامه ، وشهرة أيامه .

أبو حفص عمر ابن الشهيد

فارس النظم والنثر

This appears to be saying nothing. How many times have we seen a similar expression?

أعجوبة القران والعصر

Again, this is banal in the extreme. It is perhaps relieved by القران (which means what, exactly - the conjunction of stars, i.e. a particular moment, as opposed to العصر the age/epoch in general?)

نهاية الخير والخير

"The acme of practice and theory - in poetry and prose".

The three constitute an ascending trio - ascending to the

utmost extravagance. This has surely not been thought out;  
it is a purely mechanical eulogy.

رقم برود الكلام

This still appears mechanical. The image is not uncommon.

ونظم عقود النثر والنظام

Ibn Bassām is now repeating himself; the **نظم** root has  
three times occurred so far, and **نثر** twice. The writing  
is again mechanical. **الكلام** makes **النظام** almost inevitable.

وهو وان لم يزر لملك

ولم تدر عليه رحي ملك

He starts to be specific here, and marks this with a poor  
rhyme and an unimaginative **tajnīs**. It may represent irony,  
after the earlier extravagance.

فليس بمتأخر عن طبقات المحسنين

What does **مكسبين** mean here? Doing well in literary terms,  
or in general terms? Are we meant to think of **طبقات الشعراء**  
and especially **الفحول** ?

ولا بسكيت طبقات الكتاب المجيدين

It looks as though **الفحول** were in Ibn Bassām's mind.

The horse-race image (perhaps) clarifies the preceding one.

It certainly picks up the first image **فارس النظم والنثر**  
Perhaps too, **الكتاب المجيدين** illuminates the sense in which  
**المحسنين** is intended.

وقد أخرجت من بارع كلامه

في نثره ونظامه

Ibn Bassām is really insisting on **نثر ونظم** roots; this  
must be deliberate. **كلام** is also emphasised. **كلام - نظام**  
twice, in so short a passage, must be intended to arouse  
comment.



--- ٧-٧ ٧٧-٧-٧  
بما يشهد برسوخ أعلامه  
--- ٧٧-٧  
وشهرة أيامه

With the two preceding units, we have four rhymes. The last two allude to heroic (pre-Islamic) Bedouin matters: أعلامه = way-posts or flags (probably the former) and أيامه = battles, as well as days. Thus they reinforce the فارس image. Altogether, this is rather a stilted passage, even if it betrays some loss of interest on the part of Ibn Bassām. In these units, what exactly he means by شهرة أيامه and رسوخ أعلامه is far from clear. I suspect that he is more concerned with the establishment of his image than with characterising his subject.

8

1,2,549

أبو عبد الله محمد بن مسعود

وكان - رحمه الله - ظريفا في أمره ، كثير الهزل في نظمه ونثره ، وأراه فيما انتحاه ، تقييل منهاج سميّه وكنيّه محمد بن حجاج بالعراق ، فضاقت ساحته ، وقصرت راحته ، وأعياه الصريح فمدق ، ولم يحسن الصهيل فنهق . ولما كان هذا المجموع كتاب أدب ، وعقدا يجمع الدرّ والمخضب ، رأيت أن لا أخليه من ذكره ، وهذه فصول من نظمه ونثره .

وكان - رحمه الله -

--- ٧-٧  
ظريفا في أمره

He could simply have said ظريفا

ظريفا في أمره is unnecessary, except for the rhyme.

---  
كثير الهزل في نظمه ونثره

It is not a very good rhyme, either, and a banal conjunction of نظمه ونثره. However كثير الهزل does actually tell us something, together with ظريفا

---  
وأراه - في العراق

We are now given some solid information, contained in real prose. There are just two, not very important, internal rhymes سميه - كنيته and حجاج - منهج. What exactly are the connotations of محمد بن حجاج ?

---  
فضاقت ساحته

---  
وقصرت راحته

i.e., "He had neither the scope nor the ability to emulate Muhammad Ibn Ḥajjāj". Could وقصرت راحته imply meanness as well?

His lack of ability is then particularised:

---  
وأعياه الصريح فمدق  
ولم يحسن الصهيل فنهق

He was entirely second-rate. Ibn Bassām is enjoying himself, as usual when criticising adversely. All of this sheds a very interesting light on what he means by ظريفا

---  
ولمّا كان هذا المجموع كتاب أدب

Are two meanings of أدب hinted at here? The second leads one to expect the exclusion of the subject, but this is not realised.

So far, the suspense is maintained.

وعقداً يجمع الذُّرَّ والمخسلب

The suspense is almost resolved, if the reader knows what  
المخسلب is.

رأيت أن لا أخليه من ذكره

The suspense is completely resolved, but in a sneering way  
أن لا أخليه .

وهذه فصول من نظمه ونثره

This is Bathos. It is dismissive and a return to the second  
unit. It is deliberate repetition, in the same order,  
reminding us that when the phrase first appeared, all we  
knew was that he was كثير الهزل and طريفاً  
Much has intervened since then, enlarging on his two traits.

9

12, 788

أبو بكر بن ظهار

وكان أبو بكر هذا من فتيان الألوان ، ثم اعتبط وماء معرفته غير ممتاح ، وركن  
ابداعه غير مراح ، في شرح شببته وأوان ظهوره ، ولولا ذلك لبزّ أهل الآفاق ، رقة  
وحسن مساق . وأكثر ما وجدت من شعره ففي مدح أبي المغيرة بن حزم ، إذ كان قد  
ميّزه تهيّيز مثله من صيارفة النثر والنظم . وحديث عن بعض من جعل الانتجاع بهذا  
العلق الذي نحن في اقامة أوده من أجلّ ذخائره وعدده ، أنّه انتجع أبا بكر بن  
ظهار ، وكان من الاقلال في غاية ، ومن قلّة ذات اليد في نهاية ، وقصده في ذلك  
بخمسة أبيات شعر أنشدتها سقطت من ذكري ، فباع ابن ظهار ثوبه ووجه اليه بثمنه .

وكان أبو بكر هذا .

من فتيان الأدباء في ذلك الأوان

فتيان connotes "young and valiant" with a hint of "wild".  
The internal rhyme is most unusual. There is no corresponding rhymed unit.

ثمّ اعتبط وماء معرفته غير ممتاح  
وركن ابداعه غير مسراح

This is narrative, with metaphors describing the consequences of اعتبط . The first is clear, the second is almost clear, but what is the precise meaning of مراح ? The metaphors, unusually, are completely unconnected; the connotation of "water" is "nourishment", and that of "pillar/column" is "strength, support".

في شرح شيبته وأوان ظهوره

The non-rhyming unit perhaps introduces a further desolate note, especially as the image is of "flowering/sprouting". The repetition of أوان - from the internal rhyme above - seems deliberately prosaic; is there any special significance in the use of this word?

ولولا ذلك لبرّ الأفاق  
رقّة وحسن مسباق

This is still narrative, in a sense. The interest lies in what the rhyme to الأفاق will be.

لبرّ أهل الأفاق is simply hyperbole.

وأكثر - حزم

This is simple prose, somewhat unexpectedly rhyming with the next unit.

— — — — —  
اذ كان قد ميّزه تمييز مثله من صيارفة النثر والنظ

which rather depreciates his subject;

مثله من صيارفة

must be derogatory.

This depreciatory tone is maintained.

— — — — —  
وحدثت عن بعض من جعل الانتجاع بهذا العلق الذي نحن في اقامة أوده  
— — — — —  
من أجل دفاتره وعدده

is هذا العلق sarcastic? Possibly not; it may be just  
regretful.

— — — — —  
أته انتجع - ظهار

This is simple prose.

— — — — —  
وكان من الاقلال في غاية  
— — — — —  
ومن قلّة ذات اليد في نهاية

What is Ibn Bassām's true mood here? It is surely not  
mocking, although it appears so. However, having regard  
to the circumstances previously described, and to the response  
made to the regret, a mocking tone would surely be out of  
place.

OTHER ASPECTS OF HIS STYLE: SELECTED PASSAGES.

1

أ، ٢، ٦٤٣

أبو جعفر أحمد بن عباس .

كان أبو جعفر هذا قد بدأ أهل زمانه في أربعة أشياء :

المال أولاً : لم تجتمع - زعموا - عند أحد من نظرائه ما اجتمع عنده  
من عين وورق ، ودفاتر وخرق ، وآنية ومتاع ، وأثاث وكراع .  
والعجب : فلم يكن الفضل بن يحيى ، ولا معلمه عمارة بن حمزة ، ولا  
عبيد الله بن ظبيان ، ولا مطعم بن جبير ، في ذلك إلا بعض قوى سببه ،  
وحشالة واطيء عقبه .

والبخل : حتى لو أن الجاحظ رآه ما ضرب في البخل مثلاً ، ولا ذكر  
في رسالته رجلاً . له في ذلك أخبار تخرق سجع العادة ، وتضيق عن  
قبول الزيادة .

والكتابة : وهي أقل أربعته ، وعلى كل حال فله فيها يد ، ونفيس  
ممتد ، وفيها يوم وغد ، وعدة وعدد .

وقد ذكر ابن حيّان من أين غرب وطلع ، وكيف طار حتى وقع ، وأنا  
مثبت من ذلك في هذا المكان ، ما يليق بهذا الديوان ، بعد اثبات  
بعض فضائله ، واستخرج ما حضرنى من رسائله .

Ibn Bassām's sense of humour is shown here. الكتابة  
is all that he has really any business to talk about. The  
first line leads one to expect the usual flattering and  
imprecise description of intellectual qualities and literary  
abilities. المال is rather a shock. There follows quite  
a neat enumeration of types of possession ( خرق  
ورق ، متاع ، كراع are clearly simply for the rhyme but  
أثاث ، آنية ، دفاتر are not).

مال is a shock, but one becomes reconciled to that. عجب gives one a new shock. Ibn Bassām is being uncomplimentary. How well-known are the people referred to? In order to achieve the proper effect they should be very well-known. He does not prolong the images, as one might expect; they are quite plain, striking and effective.

البخل gives an even greater shock; self-esteem is one thing, but miserliness is a definite fault. He has changed his technique; he does not now enumerate names, as with عجب . He just mentions الجاحظ , which is both clever and literary. There is quite an economical feeling about the two parallel doublets - ( زيادة ، عادة ) are more complete rhymes than ( رجلا and مثلا ).

Finally, we come to الكتابة ; we have almost lost sight of this kind of thing by now. Even then he begins by saying that it is the least of the four things, although he concedes that Abū Ja<sup>c</sup>far wrote quite a lot (which he expresses in a rather jingly fashion, with four rhyming members, two single and two double).

2

١, ٢, ٧٧٥

أبو المطرف عبد الرحمن بن فتوح

بلغني أنه كان يعرف بابن صاحب الاسفيريّا ، من مشاهير الأدباء ، وله شعر كثير إلا أنّ احسانه نزر يسير . وله تأليف في الأدب ترجمه بكتاب " الاغراب في رقائق الآداب " ، ورفعته الى المأمون يحيى بن ذي النون ، وتصنيف آخر سمّاه بكتاب " الاشارة الى معرفة الرجال والعبارة " ، وكتاب سمّاه " بستان الملوك " ، رفعه الى ابن جهور أيام امارته بقرطبة .

وحدّث عن نفسه أنّه صبّ أبا حفص بن برد الأصغر ، وجاذبه أذيال المذاكرة ،  
وراكضه أفراس المحاضرة ، حتى وقفه - بزعمه - على البديع والبيان  
على حقيقتهما ، ووضحت له جادّتهما ، وعرفه أنحاءه ، وكاشفه  
أجزائه ، قال ابن فتوح : فمتى رمنا معنى أطلقنا عليه بزاة البحث ،  
وأخذناه أحسن أخذ ، وصدناه دون كلال فهم ، ولا نيوّ لسان ، إلا أنّ أبا  
حفص يشقّ علينا جملة في الملح القصار ، أضعاف شفوفا عليه في مطوّلات  
الأشعار .

قال ابن بسّام : وابن فتوح هذا كثير الاهتدام والاعتصاب ، والاختطاف  
والاستلاب ، لأشعار سواه ، قبيح الأخذ في كلّ ما انتحاه ، وشعره كثير  
البرد ، وبينه وبين ابن برد من مسافة البعد ما بين القطب الثابت ، والقصب  
النابت . وقد أثبت في هذا المجموع من شعر الرجلين ، ما يتبيّن به الصبح  
لذي عينين ، على أنّي ظلمت ابن برد ولم أعدل ، إذ لا يمثّل بينهما  
بأفضل ، وأين مواقع السيل ، من مطالع سهيل ، وهو معه كما يقابل الصباح  
بمصباح ، وتبارى الرياح بجناح . وأكثر شعر ابن برد مليح السرد متمكن  
القوافي لا تكاد له قافية تخرج من مركزها ، وقوافي ابن فتوح قلقنة  
موضوعة في غير مكانها ، نازلة في غير أوطانها .  
Who is is not entirely clear,

whether the subject or his father.

The next sentence is very bald; it begins as though  
it were a simple statement, possible even preceding a saj<sup>c</sup>  
description of the subject's literary qualities. It is a  
surprise, then, to have the إلا أنّ clause follow. It is  
very early in the passage to introduce a sharp note, or  
indeed criticism at all.

Then, however, Ibn Bassām quietly goes on, as though  
nothing had happened, to detail the titles of his prose  
works and his dedicatees.

There follows indirect speech by Ibn Fattūḥ, which is  
fairly bombastic (Is it Ibn Fattūḥ's own or Ibn Bassām's?).  
There is a doublet describing Ibn Fattūḥ's intellectual



stimulation by Ibn Burd, and then his (still thanks to Ibn Burd) success - بزعمه is a nice touch; then Ibn Bassām, rather naughtily, quotes Ibn Fattūḥ talking elevatedly about hunting for a معنى (this section is not in Saj<sup>c</sup>). Ibn Bassām then resumes his own words and, taking up the metaphors صا د , أخذ of Ibn Fattūḥ, produces 2 rhyming doublets:

كثير الاهتدام والاعتصاب

والاختطاف والاستلاب

all concentrating devastatingly on: لاشعار سواه and follows it with a shorter parallel clause rhyming with سواه with more or less the same meaning, but rather more general, and expressing overt disapproval - قبيح . He describes Ibn Fattūḥ's poetry as كثير البرد . Is this a play on ابن برد ? The comparison with Ibn Burd is nicely done, with one letter difference in both noun and adjective.

القطب الثابت - والقصب النبات

Even then, Ibn Bassām feels that he has been unfair to Ibn Burd, and gives further comparisons, after which he makes a definite statement about the poetry of each. It is not clear precisely what he means by concentrating on qawāfī. Does his criticism imply a really inept use of rhyme on the part of Ibn Fattūḥ? The sentence about Ibn Burd's poetry is not saj<sup>c</sup>, whereas the crushing one about Ibn Fattūḥ's poetry is saj<sup>c</sup>; both units of the latter are quite simple, and parallel, but finishing the whole section with the second unit shorter, and simpler (it has only one epithet), than the first achieves a quiet but definitive annihilation of the subject.

ابو محمد بن مَالِك الصَّرْضِيّ <sup>حج</sup>  
وكان فرداً من أفراد الشعراء والكتاب ، وبحراً من بحور المعارف  
والآداب ، شقّ كلام الكلام عن أفانين النور والزهر ، ورفل من  
النثر والنظام بين الأصال والبكر ؛ ولم يقع إليّ من شعره ونثره ، إلا  
نُبذة كإيماء المريب بذات صدره ، وفيما أثبت منها ما يُعرب<sup>٢</sup> بذكره ،  
ويُعرب عن عجيب أمره . وأقام بالمرية مدةً تحت ضنك معيشة مع  
عدة مدائح ، رفعها لأمرها ابن صمادح ، فلما كان يوم عيد أنشده  
شعراً.

He begins with two almost exactly parallel phrases, the only differences between them being variations in the metaphors. The first of the two constitutes a simple factual statement, which in spite of its vague exaggeration, is immediately comprehensible; the second amplifies the first, this time with a metaphor, although such a common one as to be virtually a dead metaphor. The next two units consist of separate sentences, of somewhat similar, but by no means identical construction, in that both begin with a verb, one of which has a direct object (actually an idāfa construction) and the other takes a preposition with two dependent nouns; both sentences have a preposition in the middle - the first follows this with a mudāf and two mudāf ilayhis; the second with two parallel dependent nouns. The metaphors used in these two sentences are true metaphors of considerable extravagance, the first being, again in spite of its vague exaggeration, quite clear in meaning, the second being somewhat obscure in intention, although apparently conveying some specific information.

The third two units convey a familiar meaning, the actual statement, as far as سبحة, being purely informative; the simile, however, is not immediately clear, on account of the ambiguity of مريب. One can, after some thought, work out that the مريب must make other people suspect, rather than suspect himself. The next two units

are almost totally banal, being notable only for the parallelism of *يعرب* and *يغرب*, the customary *عجيب* added to the second unit, and the rather poor rhyme of *أمره* and *ذكره*.

The next two units are informative and of no great interest technically; it must have been convenient that *مدائح ابن صمادح* rhymed (although not very well) with *مدائح*.

4  
أبو عمر بن عيسى الالبيري 12, 247

من أفراد الزّهاد - كان - في ذلك الأوان ، ومع ما كان أدير عليه يومئذ من الأمور ، وجعل اليه من التقديم والتأخير ، فأتى وجدته خالص الأدب ، (محصد السبب) ، ذهب بفضوصه وعيونه ، وتلاعب بمنشوره وموزونه ، وتصرف بين مذاله ومصونه ، إلا أن أكثر ما ألفيت له من المقطوعات والأبيات ، في الزهد والعظات ، وقد كتبت منها ما هو من شرط هذا المجموع .

*كان* is postponed here to provide the rhyme with *أوان*.  
How many times have we seen expressions similar to this:

من أفراد الزّهاد  
من أفراد الشعراء والكتاب  
من أفراد العصر

The precise meaning of these two units is not clear, somewhat unusually for Ibn Bassām, who on the whole is more precise than this when referring to the lives, rather than the literary abilities, of his subject. We must suppose that his audience were presumed, in this case, to know something of the career of Ahmad, or, perhaps,

that there was some delicate political point that he did not wish to make explicit. The more probable implication is that Ahmad had some important position, in which he was able to exercise **تقديم** and **تأخير** over others, but the phrasing is such that it is just possible that he was himself the object of these.

If the former is the case, **التقديم والتأخير** seem to be enlargements on **الأمر** rather than explanatory of them; thus the two units have here more of a parallelism than of the more common narrowing and defining relationship.

**فاني وجدته خالص الأدب**

This is another vague phrase, clearly of approbation, which may be made more explicit by the accompanying unit.

**محمد السبب**

What exactly does **محمد السبب** mean here? Are we meant to think of **قوي الأسباب**, implying a firmly-rooted education. This perhaps, although still vague, indicates the sense in which **خالص** is to be understood.

**ذهب بفصوه وعيونه**

**وتلاعب بمنشوره وموزونه**

**وتصرف بين مذاله ومصونه**

He begins this series of three units with a general and obscure remark, which he then defines more closely, and then again, while further defining, somewhat modifies. It is possible that **مصونه** is his point of departure, although it is equally possible that **موزونه** is, on the grounds that **منشوره وموزونه** is a far more

obvious pair than either of the others. Certainly, it does not appear probable that فصومه وعيونه gave rise to this sequence.

إلا أنّ أكثر ما ألفيت له من المقطوعات والأبيات ، في الزهد والعظات

It seems likely that the poetry في الزهد والعظات is part of مصونه , so that Ibn Bassām is here further developing and narrowing down his statements in the preceding three units. He seems to lose interest in his rhymes, to some extent, being content with three rather feeble sounding feminine plural endings (if, that is, المقطوعات والأبيات are intended to provide an internal rhyme). It looks as though المقطوعات والأبيات were designed both for this not very impressive rhyme and also to indicate that this poet's work survived only in very small fragments.

5 12,486

أبو حفص ابن برد الأصغر

كان أبو حفص ابن برد الأصغر في وقته فلك البلاغة الدائر ، ومثلها السائر ، نثت فيها بسحره ، وأقام من أودها بناصع نظمه وبإراع نثره ، وله اليها طروق ، وفي عروقتها الصالحات عروق ، إذ كان جدّه أبو حفص الأكبر - على ما تقدّم ذكره - واسطة السلك ، وقطب رحى الملك ، بالحضرة العظمى قرطبة ، وقد تقدّم من أخباره المأثورة ورسائله المشهورة في أخبار سليمان ، وغيره من ملوك بني أبي عامر وبني مروان ، أول ما يشهد أنّ آل برد جمهور كتابة ، ومحور خطابة ، وقد فخر أبو حفص هذا بذلك في كتابه الموسوم بـ " سرّ الأدب وسبك الذهب " .

Ibn Bassām makes the first unit longer than the second by referring to the mudāf ilayhi of the first simply by a pronoun in the second. It is not very clear whether there is any particular point in the juxtaposition of the two metaphors. The sense given is, as often, one of vague but extravagant praise. Neither مثل nor فلك has any particular appropriateness in connection with بلاغة although the participles describing both are ones frequently associated with their nouns. In the next two units the subject is described as having done two somewhat obscure things to بلاغة, the first of which must surely refer to the Qurān, and the second of which can be paralleled elsewhere in Ibn Bassām (Chapter on أبو حفص بن برد الأكبر, 1, 1, 103); both perhaps imply the improvement of what is unsatisfactory - in this case, no doubt, in

بلاغة in general, rather than Abū Ḥafṣ's own. It is not made entirely clear, either, what the means are by which he has made this improvement, بارع and ناصع also being vague terms of approbation. Note, incidently, a kind of internal rhyme between these two.

In the next two units, the second is made longer than the first in a manner familiar in Ibn Bassām's writing. It looks as though the first عروق (roots) was his starting point here; this gave him the عروق : مصدر (penetration) as an obvious play on words, which then led him to طروق - in the first unit - giving again a somewhat vague sense, and by no means an obvious one.

It is, presumably, implied that Abū Ḥafs's grandfather was also well-known for his *بحرعة*, but the metaphors used to describe him do not make this plain. Indeed, they suggest or rather the second does, the first being completely non-committal as to the area in which he was central, that he was an important figure in the state, rather than in literature. It is interesting to note that these two units are cited verbatim from the account of Abū Ḥafs al-Akbar; one might have expected Ibn Bassām to produce some variation on what he wrote there.

He proceeds to elaborate on the grandfather's literary accomplishments and how these foreshadow those of the rest of the family, in two fairly uncomplicated units (although with an internal rhyme *مشهور - ماثور* in the first), followed by two rather more sophisticated ones, which may include a purely visual internal rhyme, one that was intended to mislead readers,

*جمهور كتابه - كور خطابه*

محور خطابه

is reasonably clear, both in sense and image; is obscure in image, although fairly clear in gist. The only rhyme in the final section is that in the name of Abū Ḥafs's book, which itself is slightly strange, since *سر* and *بك* do not appear to be parallel.

The whole passage, although quite vivid in its vocabulary, is, at the same time, incoherent in its imagery, imprecise in its information and extravagant in its airy eulogy.



أبو الحسن صالح بن صالح الشنتمري

وأبو الحسن غربيّ النشأة ، شنتمريّ الأفق ، شاعر ناثر ، وله من المعرفة  
بلسان العرب حظّ وافر ، وكلامه في المماثلة والسجع ، جار على الطبع ،  
ذاهب بين الجزالة والحلاوة ، من رجل شديد الحياء ، كثير الانقباض  
والانزواء ، يرى الكتابة عليه من أشقّ الأشياء ، لا لنبوّ طبع وقليّة  
أدب ، بل لضعف عصب ، فكان لا يكتب الرقعة إلا في مدّة . وكثير من  
الكتاب يشق عليه الكتاب ، لزمانة تكون في يده ، أو افراط ضعف في  
خطه . وفيما أثبتّ هنا من نوعي كلامه ، في نشره ونظامه ، شاهد  
على ما وصفته به ، ومنبّه على فهمه وأدبه .

This is a particularly interesting account, since Ibn Bassām is not indulging merely in loose eulogy, but has something definite to say throughout.

It is not at all clear why he should avoid a rhyme in the first two units; such a course is most uncharacteristic, and one would suppose that he could have produced a rhyme if he had wished to do so. It would seem, then, that he felt that a more arresting effect would be made by not rhyming, and it may be that he does this simply for a contrast with his usual technique. It rather depends on what he is saying. It looks, at first, as though the second unit is just an elaboration of the first, pinning down Abū al-Ḥasan's Western domicile more precisely. It may, however, be that, by not rhyming, Ibn Bassām is pointing out a contrast between Abū al-Ḥasan's place of growing up and his place of residence, a contrast that would have passed unnoticed if he had rhymed.

غربيّ , as well as meaning "Western" in general, which it would certainly be taken to in a rhymed couplet, may also mean "from the Algarve"; this would be more likely to be noticed if the reader received a shock from the lack of rhyme.

The next two units are fairly standard, with little hard information, and a characteristic pattern; the second is perhaps disproportionately long, especially after the semi-internal rhyme شاعر - نائر - one wonders if a further rhyme is to come, and one is kept in suspense.

The next two units, as is frequent at least once in a passage of Ibn Bassām's prose, reverse the usual order of length. They are straight forward and informative, except for the slight obscurity of مماثلة ('correspondence', i.e. something like سجع ?) It is ironical, no doubt deliberately, that السجع has a rather poor rhyme in

الطبع ; one expects the next unit to rhyme again, since it is parallel, syntactically, if not in sense, with جار على الطبع , but it does not, thus, perhaps, drawing particular attention to the technical literary critical terms, حلوة and جزالة , طبع .

The next three units, describing Abū al-Hasan himself, follow a familiar pattern; augmentation of the second unit by an extra noun, and the change to a relative clause in the third unit. Positive information, once again, is conveyed. The next two units depend, syntactically, on the third unit of the preceding group; they are parallel,

except for the negative-positive variation, and again the normal length order is reversed, presumably to emphasize the real reason for Abū al-Hasan finding writing painful. The repetition of طبع , for which there is no real need, must be for the sake of emphasis on this quality as being preeminent in Abū al-Hasan. It is not clear if عصب is to be understood literally or metaphorically; زمانة , a little later, perhaps hints at a literal intention, but it is difficult to say. Once again, the following unit might have been expected to rhyme, but does not. Here, however, it is not parallel to the preceding second unit; it is much more like the third unit of the previous section in its syntactical relationship to the first and second units, except that it is not, this time, a relative clause, Ibn Bassām has produced a further variation: first, he had a third unit parallel to the second, but not rhyming with it; then he had a relative clause additional to two parallel phrases (not independent clauses), but rhyming with them; now he has a separate elaborating sentence, not rhyming with the two parallel preceding phrases. These variations are all, until this last sentence, dependent on what has gone before, back to كلامه . Incidentally, في مدة is a somewhat surprising conclusion; one expects something meaning 'with effort, difficulty.'

The rhyme in the next two units, which constitute, together with the following two, a general reflection on the particular situation just described, is rather feeble, especially with the introduction of a second, and less common maṣḍar of kataba; it may be intended as an

ironical illustration of what Ibn Bassām is saying. There is certainly an element of the ludicrous in the 'writers' finding 'writing' painful. The sense of 'book' is probably also intended to be present: those who 'write' professionally are often incapable of the sustained effort of producing an actual 'book'. The reasons given in the next two units, again with a fairly perfunctory rhyme, also have a comic element: physical disability and poor handwriting are hardly what one would associate with professional كِتَاب. The pattern of these two units is again a familiar one. The تكون in the first unit is slightly odd; as it is unnecessary, it must have a point; perhaps it is present simply for the balance of the phrase; perhaps it introduces a further touch of irony.

The next two pairs of units are, as is often the case with such concluding sections, not particularly remarkable. Yet again, there is an apparent reversal of length-pattern in one and two, except that فيما أثبت هنا is really outside the scheme. The pattern of three and four is typical, except for the almost non-existent rhyme.

The poverty of rhymes is noticeable throughout this passage. ما وصفته به is rather vague, especially if it excludes فهمه وأدبه; there does not appear to be a great deal left.

أبو الوليد اسماعيل بن محمد الملقب بحبيب

كان سديد سهم المقال ، بعيد شأو الروية والارتجال ، والأديب أبو جعفر بن الأثير هو الذي أقام قناته ، وصل - زعموا - مرآته ، فأطلعـه شهابا شاقبا ، وسلك به الى فنون الآداب طريقا لاحبا ، ولو تحاماه صرف الدهر ، وامتدّ به قليلا طلق العمر ، لسدّ طريق الصباح ، وغبّر في وجوه الرياح ، توفي ابن اثنتين وعشرين سنة ، فذهب بأكثر ما كان في ذلك الوقت من حسنة ، وقد أعرب عن ذلك من أمره بأبيات شعر قرأتها على قبره ، وله كتاب سمّاه ب " البديع في فصل الربيع " جمع فيـه أشعار أهل الأندلس خاصة ، أعرب فيه عن أدب عزيز ، وحظّ من الحفظ موفور ، وقد أخرجت من نثره ونظمه ، ما يشهد بغزارة علمه وفهمه .

The pattern of the first units is fairly familiar, with the insertion of الروية to lengthen the second. روية and بعيد provide an internal rhyme. روية and ارتجال are frequently contrasted: composed poetry and improvization. The archery metaphor, although not particularly common, is in line with the other military and sporting metaphors that Ibn Bassām favours. The informational content seems to be greater than it in fact is; we are not actually told very much here.

The second two units, apart from telling us who his mentor/patron was, are not much more informative. The metaphors are apparently incongruous: the straightening of the lance perhaps ties in with the archery metaphors above, and may indicate some kind of sharpness in satire - or, on the other hand, merely an ability to make a point in general; the polishing of the mirror, again, perhaps connotes an ability to reflect things as they are - possibly in satire once more. The parenthetical زعموا , which

is very common in Ibn Bassām, may be ironical, but may simply be an idiosyncrasy with no special significance. The third two units, which again follow a familiar pattern, with an elegant variation in the reference of the two indefinite accusative nouns and adjectives to different things, are equally vague: the two possible senses of شاقب, 'shining' (obviously appropriate to شهاب - a favourite word of Ibn Bassām's) and 'penetrating,' once again possibly point to satire; the second unit is singularly uninformative, unless we can extract a second sense from لاحب, both 'conspicuous' as a conventional epithet qualifying طريقا, and 'stripping flesh from the bone.' If we are right in attributing two meanings to شاقب, this would seem probable, and would add a certain point to the unit, which nonetheless remains somewhat flat. The next two couplets tell us a little more, although they are still couched in vague terms. The basic meanings of صرف and طلق are similar; the insertion of فليلا is typical of Ibn Bassām, both for its lengthening effect and for the sense - only a little would have been enough. The two apodotic units are purely rhetorical: the pattern is again familiar; the implication of the second unit is, presumably, speed; that of the first is obscure, although it must surely refer back to طريقا لاحبا. With the next two units we come at last to some hard information, at least in the first; the second is a rhetorical embellishment. (It is noteworthy, incidentally, that Ibn Bassām uses three verbs

of motion + ب in this short passage - he has a tendency to labour particular constructions within a small compass). Rhyming, so blatantly, a plain statement of someone's dying at a certain age seems somewhat tasteless, but this may not have struck his readers in this way.

In the next two units من أمره appears to have been inserted merely for the sake of the balance of the sentence and the semi-rhyme.

The next sentence is purely informative and contains no rhyme, apart from the internal one in the title of the book, and no rhetorical devices at all. The repetition of أعرب عن in the next unit is odd; I can see no particular point to it. The pattern of this unit and its accompanying one is again familiar; the similar meaning of غزير and موفور perhaps displays a somewhat uncharacteristic lack of invention.

The last two units are very typical of Ibn Bassām's method of concluding an account. بغرارة , coming so soon after غزير may seem a trifle clumsy; possibly, however, Ibn Bassām wishes to link abundance of all three things.

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أبو منصور عبد الملك بن اسماعيل الشعالي

كان أبو منصور - وقته - راعي تلعات العلم ، وجامع أشات النثر والنظم ، أسوة المؤلفين في زمانه ، وإمام المصنفين بحكم قرانه ، سار ذكره سير المثل ، وضربت إليه آباط الابل ، وطلعت دواوينه في المشارق والمغرب ، طلوع النجم في الغياهب ، وتواليفه أشهر مواضع ، وإبهر مطالع ، وأكثر راو لها وجامع ، من أن يستوفيا عدّ أو صفّ ، أو يوقيا حقوقها نظم أو رصف ، وقد أخرجت من نشره فصولا أدرجها في أثناء كتبه ، ومن نظمه جملا وتفصيلا

أعرب بها عن تفرق طبعه وتدفق أدبه ، تشارك الأرواح في الأجساد ،  
وتقعد للاقتراح بالرماد .

In the first two units, we must suppose that the second to some extent explains the first. The herd image is clearly presented in the latter, but the precise implications of *تلعات العلم* are not clear, until (perhaps) we come to *جامع أشتات* , which seems to continue the same image, that of gathering in what has gone astray, and thus suggests, at least, that the *تلعات* may be high places, difficult of access. The length pattern of the two units is a familiar one. The parenthetical *وقته* must be present simply to balance, and divide, the first unit. It cannot be intended to convey information. The pattern of the second two units is again familiar, with a differentiation of the sense of the augmented prepositional phrase in the second from that of the simple one in the first, even though they both convey essentially the same import. The actual information contained in the couplet is somewhat more concrete than that in the first couplet, if still rather rhetorical and hyperbolic.

The third couplet has yet another familiar pattern. The first unit really clarifies the second (somewhat unusually), which would be a little obscure without it. It should be noticed that there is a contrast of outward and inward motion in the two.

In the next couplet the first unit is longer than the second, and the second is dependent on the first, with a mudāf masdar construction. Partly, no doubt, the more



usual length relationship is reversed to provide variety; at the same time, however, المغرب could hardly appear without المشارق , so that the adverbial phrase of the first is necessarily long.

The precise sense of the next three units is somewhat vague. It looks as though مواضع refers to rank and مطالع refers to stars again; in fact, the following couplets seem only to refer to the last unit of the three, since numbering or putting in order in any way is scarcely relevant to أشهر or أبهر . The pattern of these five units is quite simple: the third is augmented with respect to the first and second; the fourth and fifth depend, in parallel, on the first three; the fifth is augmented with respect to the fourth.

The next two units are again more or less parallel, except that أخرجت which is common to both, being external, clearly contrasts in meaning with أدرج in the first unit, but with nothing in the second. The second unit, too, is considerably augmented with respect to the first. The imagery in the two is not coherent; as far as there can be said to be any in the first, it refers to packing away and folding; in the second, it is based, right at the end, without any preparation, on two aspects of the movement of water.

The subject of the verbs in the last couplet, the two units of which are almost parallel syntactically, is presumably the فصول ، جمل and تفاصيل that have just been mentioned. If this is the case, the sense of the first unit is reasonably straightforward; that of the

second, while superficially clear, is obscure. "They sit in wait for invention" is a difficult concept to apply to things that must be the products of invention. Is it perhaps a quotation, which Ibn Bassām has used without really thinking what he was saying?

The solid information content of this whole passage is extremely small. Almost all of it consists of extravagant eulogy. The only hard facts that we learn from it are 1) that the subject was famous, 2) that he was visited a lot, and 3) that he wrote a large number of works.

9 1, 2, 853

أبو محمد غانم

وكان أبو محمد غانم بن وليد ، ونسبه في بني مخزوم ، قد بدأ وقته أهل ذلك الاقليم ، في أنواع التعاليم ، فرد عصره ونسيج وحده ، في تناهيه جده ، متفننا جرى في ميدان السبق ، وفقها قرطس أغراض الحق ، وكان في هذا الباب الذي ولجنا فيه من أهل الروية والبدية ، حدث عنه الفقيه أبو عبد الله بن عميثل وكان من خاصته اللازمين له والآخذين عنه .

The first unit, to مخزوم , has no accompanying rhyming unit, presumably deliberately, since مخزوم presents no difficulties for a rhyme ( منظوم comes swiftly to mind, and it may be that this is what Ibn Bassām intends his audience to expect). However, it could also, just, be thought of as an introductory half-rhyme for the next two units. In these we have one of Ibn Bassām's fairly frequent reversals of the normal relative length, with the shorter second unit dependent on the first.

تعاليم is a slightly surprising word to indicate what must be knowledge or skills, rather than teaching. We also have one of Ibn Bassām's favourite parenthetical وقتہ. The syntax of the first four lines of this piece is somewhat unusual, with the خبر of كان considerably delayed. When it comes, in the second couplet, it is both something of an anticlimax, with the banality of the first unit, and something of a puzzle, with the lack of precision of جده in the second (given the freedom of Ibn Bassām's rhyming, we cannot be certain whether to read جَد or جَد , and neither seems more probable than the other). The next two units continue the خبر of كان , either as a hāl or as two parallel phrases to فرد عصره ، ونسيج وحده ; in sense, the first is both comprehensive ( متفينا ) and vaguely eulogistic, the second is specific ( فقيها ) and, while apparently giving definite information, actually somewhat unclear concerning the precise things that he put on paper.

The next unit, as it appears in the edition, should probably be divided at فيه . This couplet, *if so regarded* , is informative, with a slightly clichéd conclusion. The final three units are more or less completely narrative, with the exception of the description of Abū Abd Allāh, in which a sort of double rhyme occurs, as a rather rudimentary couplet.

أبو جعفر بن اللّمائي

وكان أبو جعفر هذا وقتة أحد أئمة الكتاب ، وشهب الآداب ، من سخرت له فنون البيان ، تسخير الجنّ لسليمان ، وتصرف في محاسن الكلام ، تصرف الرياح بالغمام . طلع من ثناياه ، واقتعد مطايها ، وله انشاءات سرية في الدولة الحمودية ، اذ كان علم أدبائها ، والمضطلع بأعبائها ، الآتي لم أجد عند تحريري هذه النسخة من كلامه الآ بعض فصول له من منشور ، هي ثماد من بحور ، وقد أخرجت من براعته ما يشهد له بالفضل في صناعته ، والتقدم على أكثر جماعته .

The first unit is, in a way, made longer than the second artificially, since أحد clearly continues its sense; thus, Ibn Bassām achieves a slightly unusual effect by purely formal means. We may, perhaps, see a contrast of static respectability and dynamic brilliance in the metaphors used here; we should also bear in mind the metaphor شهب الحرب , 'heroes'.

The structure of the following two sentences, both of which consist of two units, is almost the same, except for some subtle variations. The pattern:

( من ) + verb + preposition + idāfa, which is straightforward in the second sentence, is not so in the first, as the verb is passive, the preposition has an attached pronoun that refers back to من and the subject is provided by the idāfa. Thus, the variation occurs, as it were, in the first sentence, while that on which the variation is formed occurs in the second sentence. In the second units

of the two sentences, there is a similar parallelism of structure, in fact, a much closer one, in that the pattern is virtually identical: idāfa of verbal-noun + noun + preposition governing noun, and the mudāf ilayhi is in both cases subjective; the difference is merely one of sense, in that Sulaymān, who appears governed by a preposition, controls the Jinn, whereas the clouds, which appear governed by a preposition, are controlled by the winds.

The next two units, which are approximately equal in length, are obscurely metaphorical. Evidently they connote aspiration and, perhaps, achievement; the image of the second is clear, but that of the first not entirely so; but the association of طلع and شيا seems to be a common one, c.f. *the verse of Suhaym b. Wathīl al-Riyāhī*;

أنا ابن جلا وطلع الشيا متى أضع العمامة تعرفوني

The next two units convey some information, the name of the family clearly forcing the rhyme; it is not actually stated what form his انشاءات took, but since Ibn Bassām nowhere indicates that he wrote poetry, we may perhaps assume that they consisted largely of رسائل. This is supported by the second of the next two units, since clearly the 'burdens' referred to were those of administration. The pattern of these two units is a familiar one; considerable variation in both syntax and sense is achieved in a very short space, with a chiasmus of animate and inanimate nouns.

The next unit is really purely informative, with a

short, rhyming accompaniment attached, containing quite a vivid and appropriate image.

In the final three units we find considerable complexity. First we have a progression from a preposition and one noun من براعته to two prepositions and two nouns بالفضل في صناعته to one preposition (with another understood) with one simple noun and an idāfa والتقدم على جماعته . There is also a succession, perhaps again almost a progression, of dependence: the second unit depends on the first, the third is parallel to the second part of the second, but dependent on a preposition in that second unit. The addition of أكثر in the last section is typical of Ibn Bassām's style.

١١

٣٦٥ ، ١

أبو الأصغ بن أرقم

أحد كتاب الجزيرة المهرة ، والنقدة الشعرة ، ممن نهض في الصناعة بالباع الأسد ، وأخذ فيها بالساعد الأشد ، وجدّ في معاناتها ، واقتصر على كسب آلاتها ، وجمع أدواتها ، وارتاض في طريقها معيدا ومبديا ، ورمى السى أغراضها مصيبا ومخطيا ، حتّى تدرّج في مدارجها ، وخرج على جميع مناهجها ، واطّلع من ثناياها ، وأشرف على خباياها ، وجرت بينه وبين طائفة من أهل هذا الشأن ، في ذلك الزمان هنات ، في ما انتقدوا عليه من ألفاظ وكلمات وتقعير واستعارات بعيدة ، وكانت تلك الطائفة قد أسندت في ذلك الى ابن سيده ، وقد أوردت من ذلك ما يليق بالديوان ، ويستوفي جملة الاحسان .

First two units: the second is shorter than the first, and parallel to it only in being mudāf ilayhi to أحد ; it

employs two noun plurals of the same form as the adjectival plural مهرة , the second of which may be considered as ambiguous in function-either qualifying the first adjectivally or as a nominal supplement to it (a badl). Although the information conveyed is commonplace, the manner in which it is conveyed is striking.

The second two: These are virtually syntactically identical, the second again being slightly shorter than the first, with the compensation of الساعد against الباع. The metaphor of the second is reasonably clear, that of the first is not, unless it is similar to that of the second, which acts as a clarification of it. This seems to be the case, but Ibn Bassām's normal practice makes it unlikely (should الأسد be الأمد ? If not, what is the significance of سيد here?).

The next three: A very typical sequence in Ibn Bassām. The first two are syntactically parallel, the second being lengthened by the addition of the mudāf and having a longer verb and preposition; the third is parallel to the final part of the second. The sense of the first is straightforward, but vague; that of the second is more specific; that of the third is virtually identical with the part of the second with which it is parallel, but leaves one wondering if something extra is intended.

The next two: Almost identical syntactically, but with a difference of function in the prepositional phrases, the second apparently being more necessary to the sense of

the sentence. They convey the same information, more or less, through different metaphors, the second of which is the more obvious (is the first drawn from the training of horses?).

The next two: These follow a familiar pattern, in being, first, dependent on the two previous units, and secondly, of the relative proportions that they are: The first has a longer verb, the second is lengthened by the added mudāf. The variation achieved by not using مخارجها is also typical.

The next two: Another familiar pattern: again the metaphor in the second parallel sentence is more obvious than that in the first. The first must imply that the subject aspired high in his craft (incidentally, the whole passage from على خباياها to وأخذ فيها is pervaded by أه - 10 occurrences) but the actual metaphor is unclear. The reference is presumably to السناب طلاع (c.f. 246), where the noun means 'mountain passes', implying something that requires effort in its attainment, and it would seem that the image is of one looking down on a concealed valley from the surrounding hills, having succeeded in climbing, from outside, to the pass that gives access to it.

The next section: Ibn Bassām here, if the text is correct, seems to be experimenting, perhaps with humorous intentions. The simplest means of analysing this section - one can scarcely refer here to 'units' - is to set it out according to the rhymes:



وجرت — من أهل هذا الشأن  
في ذلك الزمان  
هناك  
في ما انتقدوا — من الفاظ وكلمات  
وتقعر واستعارات  
بعيدة  
وكانت — في ذلك إلى ابن سيده

A certain pattern is discernible: one word, *هناك*, ,  
*بعيدة*, follows a long and short unit that rhyme together,  
although not at the end of the short unit, this being  
occupied by the single word, which, in the case of *هناك*  
establishes the rhyme for the following long and short  
unit, and in the case of *بعيدة* establishes the rhyme for  
the final sentence of the section. The separate words, too,  
produce an effect; in the case of *هناك*, the subject  
of the sentence is almost unnaturally postponed; in the  
case of *بعيدة*, the adjective that is of significance  
in indicating the quality that was found reprehensible  
in the *استعارات*, if not the *الفاظ وكلمات* ( and perhaps  
the *تقعر* also), is finally supplied, against all  
reasonable expectation, and at the same time disturbs the  
balance of the four nouns.

It is rare to come across a passage of saj as  
*intricate* as this, especially when the language in  
which it is phrased is so comparatively simple.

The final two units: These revert to a familiar pattern, with the mudāf and the longer verb of the second extending the concluding clause to produce a final, somewhat vague-sounding, but satisfactorily comprehensive, cadence.

12.

4, 1, 364

أبو بكر بن الحسن المرادي القروي

وكان أبو بكر هذا فقيها فطنا ، وشاعرا لسانا ، ممن جمع براعة الفقهاء ،  
وبراعة الشعراء النبهاء ، وتصرف تصرف المطبوعين ، وتكلم بالسنة المجيدين ،  
أشعار كصفحات البذور ، ودواوين كأشباح البحور ، وتقلب أبو بكر بين السهول  
والحزون ، تقلب الميل بين أطباق الجفون ، وقلت دولة من دول ملوك الطوائف  
بالأندلس الآ وقد ابتغى إليها وسيلة ، وأعمل في الهجوم عليها حالا وحيلة ،  
فتنزوي عن مكانه انزواء الخائف من الرصد ، وتغص بأحسانه غص العين بالرمد ،  
ثم كثر إلى أمراء المرابطين بالمغرب فانخرط في أسلاكهم ، ووقع آخرا منهم  
إلى محمد بن يحيى بن عمر ، فاقتعد صهوة منبره ، وولي قضاء معسكره ، وأخذ  
ينجد ويغور ، وطقق يدبّر ويدبّر ، وانما أراد أن يسلك في حمل دول المرابطين  
مسلك عبد الله بن ياسين ، ولم يدر أنها أقدار محتومة ، وحظوظ مقسومة ، فلم  
يحصل إلا على بعد السفر ، وانقطاع العين والأثر ، وتوفي رحمه الله بدكسول  
من بلاد الصحراء ، حيث لا يروق وجه النهار ، ولا يحمد صوب القطار .

The first two units: A conventional beginning, with modest variation in the form of the nouns.

The second two units: The second is lengthened by addition of one word. Ibn Bassām perhaps intends one to think that

الشعراء provides the (rather poor) rhyme and then to be immediately proved wrong. (براءة twice cannot be correct).

The third two units: Syntactical parallelism here is varied by a prepositional phrase in place of the masdar of the main verb. It seems clear that poetry has been concentrated upon here as the sole topic; both مطبوع and مجيد are, as far as I know, technical terms in poetic criticism. The first unit is vague in sense until elucidated by the second. تصرف seems an odd verb to choose.

The fourth two units: An abrupt break occurs - if the text is correct. The only connection is poetry. The units are almost exactly parallel, but for the reversal in length of the first and second nouns. The sense of both, which <sup>is</sup> clearly commendatory in general, is unclear in detail: how do poems resemble the face (?) of the moon, and how do diwāns resemble the open sea? It is probably easier to interpret the latter, as referring to great bulk; the former may connote either clarity or beauty, but, if beauty, in what respect?

The fifth two units: These present a familiar pattern, with the masdar of the verb in the first constituting a comparison in the second. The sense of both, while perfectly clear in general terms, is, as so often in Arabic, of uncertain application in particulars; it requires the elucidation of the succeeding units. The mudāf ilayhi to the masdar is necessitated by the construction. The idāfa after بين in the second unit

varies the two nouns dependent on بين in the first.

The sixth two units: The fairly length introductory main clause, common to both, is the essential part of the elucidation of the preceding two units; the parallel, but varied 'relative' clauses, which actually specify what the subject did, are subordinate both in syntax and sense. The second is expanded in a familiar way, with the qualification that حالا is inserted here purely as a filler: It would yield no sense were it not for its association with حيلة.

The seventh two units: It is, perhaps, slightly unusual to find two units of this length exactly parallel in syntax. The parallelism is not precisely maintained in the orientation of the sense, and the similes are of quite different types, but the similarity of pattern is striking. Another unusual feature is the apparent continuation, in the first unit, of the image of the preceding two units: The precise significance of the simile is not clear, but it appears to refer to fear of an ambush. This perhaps makes the force of the simile in the second unit all the more powerful; I think a degree of irony is detectable in both, which is pointed by the contrast of احسانه and رمد. The further implied contrast between رمد and the clear-sightedness suggested by رمد adds a further dimension.

The eighth two units: As not infrequently happens, an introductory sentence is inserted, to which both refer. This is designed solely to advance the narrative, and incidentally serves to vary the pace of the passage. The parallel units in this case, which follow a familiar

pattern, the second being lengthened by the addition of بنفسه, compensated for by the longer verb in the first, also advance the narrative, but less directly.

The ninth two units: Here again we have a narrative introductory sentence and two almost exactly parallel narrative units. The combination is precisely similar to that of the preceding two units, as is no doubt intended to be obvious, but there is, of course, no common rhyme.

The tenth two units: These are syntactically exactly parallel and differ formally by the length of only one syllable, but present a contrast in that the sense of the first is vague and that of the second fairly precise. It is not clear whether the second is intended to illuminate the first; one could make a case either way.

The eleventh two units: After a large number of parallel units, a welcome variation is provided by the second being dependent on the first, and by the disparate length of the two. The rhyme is an obvious one, but it is probably governed by the desirability of introducing ياسين.

The twelfth two units: We return to strict parallelism, with a short common introduction. The units here are the shortest in the passage, as befits the decisive sense. The abrupt effect of the anticipatory pronoun adds to this effect.

The thirteenth two units: Another slight variation is added by the common introduction this time leading into a familiar pattern of the lengthening of the second unit by an added mudāf ilayhi as well as a longer mudāf. There

is also a contrast between the prosaic and matter-of-fact  
انقطاع العين والأثر and the metaphorical بعد السفر

The fourteenth two units: Once again an introductory sentence advances the narrative, before the passage concludes with two almost parallel static units. Neither of these conveys an immediately assimilable image. It is clear that both are intended as derogatory characterization of the desert, but precisely how is obscure:

"Where the face of the day (the sun?) gives no pleasure and the pouring down of (rain-) drops is not praised".

13 4, 2, 475

أبو القاسم الحسين بن علي المغربي

كان أبو القاسم نجما مطالعه الدّول ، وبحرا عبابه القول والعمل ، وروضة تقوت القلوب نفحاتها ، وتقيد الأبصار صفاتها وموصوفاتها ، أمّا العلماء فعيال عليه ، وأمّا العظماء فلعب في يديه ، وأمّا الأعلام فبعض شيعته وانصاره ، وأمّا الأقاليم فبين إيراده وصداره ، وأمّا مكانه من العلم الحديث والقديم ، وسبقه الى غايته المنثور والمنظوم ، واقدامه على المهالك ، وتلاعبه بالأملك والممالك ، فأشهر من الصباح ، وأسير من الرياح .

The first two units: The formal pattern of these is familiar, with the added القول lengthening the second, against the compensation of the shorter عبابه . It is not unusual, either, to encounter totally different metaphors in each, with the more specific in the second; but it is somewhat unexpected to find this second one the less

grandiloquent. The first presumably implies that the subject held office in a number of states. The exact point of عاب in the second is not altogether clear, unless it is that the "billows" are only on the surface of something much greater. The rhyme is a disappointing one.

The second two units: Again, it is not uncommon for a construction to be continued over more than one couplet. Almost inevitably, Ibn Bassām varies his pattern, by producing two parallel clauses referring to one subject, this time verbal rather than nominal. The lengthening of the second by one word is to be expected; it is not clear that we are to see more significance than a rhetorical flourish in the related pair.

The third two units: These appear very straightforward, with a simple lengthening of the second. This is no doubt intentional, as leading up to greater complexities.

The fourth two units: These continue the work of the preceding two and are also reasonably straightforward, although less so than the former. The tajnis provides a further dimension, and the change of construction, which interrupts the parallelism only minimally, introduces an elegant variation. A slight hesitation is induced by الأقاليم, since the reader is uncertain what can be said about them in terms congruous with what has been said about the other three subjects; the somewhat mystifying response is quickly perceived to refer back to the first unit of the piece.

The fifth two units: Here, what at first promises to be a further couplet of the same type as three and four turns out to be two parallel protaseis with variations in their second halves: The first has a noun qualified by two adjectives, the second a mudāf and two mudāf ilayhis. The meaning of the first unit is vague, that of the second specific.

The sixth two units: Instead of the expected apodosis/apodoseis, we have two further parallel protaseis, still of a simple kind, with one additional word lengthening the second. Again, the sense of the first is vague compared to that of the second. However, considerable tension has now been, quite economically, created. What can Ibn Bassām say, in one couplet, about these four disparate things? It has to be something that will apply to all four, since otherwise it would be difficult to sort out what applies to what.

The seventh two units: The two protaseis are produced, and the tension is resolved; the answers are something of an anticlimax, as in the exact parallelism of the two, but this perhaps contributes to the completeness of the relief. Everything is neatly tied up.

This is a rather formal piece of rhetorical composition, almost severe in its measured development.



أبو الربيع سليمان بن أحمد القضاي

من قدماء الأدباء - كان - بذلك الثغر ، ومن كتاب العصر ، المتصرفين في  
النظم والنثر ، وكلامه يجمع بين الحلاوة والجزالة ، ويتصرف في لطائف  
الصنعة ، وكان يعمد الى خسيس المعاني فيقيم لها أودا ، بسلاطة لسانه ،  
وقوة مادته وحسن بيانه ، فان كان في كلامه بعض الطول ، فهو غير مملول ،  
لظريف ألفاظه واستعاراته التي يفخم بها التافه الحقير ، ويقتل المنزور  
الكثير ، وفي ما أثبتت ها هنا من فصول اقتضبتها من رسائله وانشاءاته  
ما هو الشاهد العدل على ما أجرئته من صفاته .

The first three units: The rhymes are undistinguished, but it seems clear that they are intended as such. The pattern is 1 - 2 (+3 dependent on 2), but the second is almost too short to count as a parallel to the first, and the third is really the parallel unit. The sense is trite in the extreme, and the manipulation of the units is not imaginative enough to inject much interest into them. The next section is chiefly remarkable first for not rhyming (one would certainly expect a rhyme for الجزالة where in fact we find الصنعة , since the sentiments expressed are fairly conventional, and not very informative) and second for the criticism explicitly stated in ويعمد , which is in a sense reversed, although ironically, in فيقيم لها أودا , still without rhyme.

The second two units: These complete the preceding section and explain the immediately foregoing paradoxical assertion. At first, since rhyme seems to have been

abandoned, we are tempted to think that وقوة مادته may be the single parallel to بسلطة لسانه; the vagueness of the phrase - what does مادة refer to here? - encourages a lessening of our expectations, but we then realise that it is only the first half of a double second unit, the rhyme word of which perhaps explains, by implied contrast, what we are to understand by مادة .

The third two units: The passage is greatly tautened by the reversal of the usual order of length of units and the adversative sense of the second. The meaning of the couplet is quite clear, but our interest is maintained by a certain doubt as to whether we are to be given further reasons for this assertion, since it might be thought of as being consequential upon the previous section.

The fourth two units: We are indeed given further reasons here, but we do not find a rhyme where we anticipate it - الفاظه and استعارات both arouse expectations, which are disappointed in succession. When the rhyme does come, it does so somewhat abruptly: the second unit is made to appear even shorter than it is (There is no counterpart to بها ) by the measure of المنزور as opposed to التافه . At the same time, the sense of the second unit is a little obscure, since, at first sight, it seems to contradict the sense of the rest of the sentence.

The fifth two units: I am not sure if we expect a rhyme at all here. Ibn Bassām often does not rhyme in sections such as this. We are held for some time in suspense; I think انشاءاته , which is, after all, mere padding,

hints that there may be one. However, the second unit also proceeds for a while in a way that does not really suggest that rhyme is forthcoming. At the very last moment the tension is resolved, in a slightly cheeky way, the rhyme being both unexpected and obvious.

This passage is a rather curious one. It is not, I think, very well composed, even though the technique is fairly subtle in places. Ibn Bassām is clearly enjoying a mild joke, but his handling of his material is perfunctory, and I suspect that he was not much in sympathy with his subject.

15

2, 2, 753

أبو بكر عبدالعزيز بن سعيد البطليوسي

أحد فرسان الكلوم والكلام ، وحملة السيوف والأقلام ، من اسرة أصالة ، وبيت  
جلالة ، أخذوا العلم أولاً عن آخر ، ورووه كائرا عن كابر ، ولله درّه فاتّه ،  
وأخويه أبا طلحة وأبا الحسن محمدا ، منتهى قول القائل ، وأعجوبة الأواخ  
والأوائل ، ثلاثة كهقعة الجوزاء ، وان أربوا على الشمس في السنا والسنا ،  
امتروا أخلاف الفخر فأمطرتهم شبعاً ورياً ، وهزّوا بجذوع النظم والنشـر  
فأساقت عليهم رطبا جنياً ، ولم يحضرنى من أشعارهم ومستظرف أخبارهم حين  
أخراحي هذه النسخة من هذا المجموع إلا ما أثبتته لأبي بكر منهم خاصة ، وهو  
علم بردهم ، وواسطة عقدهم .

The first two units: A fairly straightforward pair of units with parallel syntax and (almost) syllable count, both dependent on أحد . Virtual tajnis between كلام + كلوم and أقلام . Six words, all plural but one ( كلوم = kind

of collective), and that is <sup>the</sup>rhyme-word; two different plural forms of the participle. The instruments with which the items in the first unit are produced are given in the same order, presumably deliberately, since a chiasmus would have been possible, in order to produce an effect of simplicity.

The second two units: Again, a very close parallelism, with common من ; the first unit, even without من , is slightly longer than the second, thus redressing the balance of the preceding couplet, although the difference in both is negligible.

The third two units: Parallel again, again with the first unit longer than the second, this time more significantly. A modest rhetorical variation in the repetition of كابر . The first three couplets form a progression, which modifies the strict internal parallelism.

The next section interrupts this rhyming parallelism briefly, although the names of the brothers constitute an alternative type of parallelism. However, the former type is quickly resumed.

The fourth two units: These form a characteristic pattern, with the idāfa in the first and the two parallel mudāf ilayhis in the second. The general laudatory intention is clear, although the precise sense is vague.

The fifth two units: Parallelism is abandoned here, in both syntax and length, the connection between the two depending entirely on the astronomical image. The doublet  
السنا والسنا seems to be purely rhetorical; intensification

rather than differentiation seems to be the purpose.

The sixth two units: These contain, more or less, a double rhyme in each. There is a sustained parallelism of syntax, with variations: the verbs of the first halves are of different lengths, as are those of the second halves, chiastically. (Note, however, that there is a correspondence in length, and almost in sound, between the verbs of the two halves of the first unit, whereas those of the second are completely different); the mudāf of 1a is accusative, whereas that of 2a is governed by ب, and the mudāf ilayhis are respectively single and double; the verb of 1b takes a direct object, whereas that of 2b requires عليهم; the second object of 1b consists of two parallel nouns, whereas the object of 2b consists of a noun (adjective really) qualified by an adjective. The two units contain quite different metaphors, one nomadic, the other sedentary, but both connected with nourishment.

The next section is purely information and does not immediately fulfil the promise hinted at by the early internal couplet, with customary variation:

أشعارهم ومستظرف أخبارهم

The seventh two units: These provide a somewhat meagre conclusion, with a rather poor rhyme. The metaphor of adornment, however, connects them.

عبد الوهاب بن نصر المالكي البغدادي

كان أبو محمد في وقته بقية الناس ، ولسان أصحاب القياس ، وهو أحد من صرف وجوه المذهب المالكي ، بين لسان الكناني ، ونظر اليوناني ، فقدّر أصوله ، وحرّر فصوله ، وقرر جملة وتفصيله ، ونهج فيه سبيلا كانت قبله طامسة الآثار ، وكان أكثر الفقهاء ممن لعته كان أقرب سندا ، وأرحب أمدا ، قليل مادة البيان ، قليل شباة اللسان ، قلّما فصل في كتبه غير مسائل يلقفها ولا يثقفها ، ويؤوبها ولا يرتبها ، فهي متداخلة النظام ، غير مستوفاة الأقسام ، وكلّهم قلّد أجر ما اجتهد ، وجزاء ما نوى واعتقد . وقد وجدت له شعرا معانيه أجلى من الصبح ، وألفاظه أظى من الطّفـر بالنّج ، ونبت به بغداد ، كعادة البلاد ، بذوي فضلها ، وعلى حكم الأيام في محسني أهلها ، فخلع أهلها ، وودّع ماءها وظلّها . وقد حدّثت أنّه شيّعه يوم فصل عنها ، من أكابرها ، وأصحاب محابرها ، جملة موفورة ، وطوائف كثيرة ، وأتته قال لهم عندما وقفهم للتوديع ، وعزم عليهم في الرجوع : واللّه يا أهل بغداد لو وجدت بين ظهرانكم رغيّفين كلّ غداة وعشية ، ما عدلت ببلدكم بلوغ أمنية ، والخبز عندهم بيومئذ ثلاثمائة رطل بمثقال .

واستقرّ الفقيه أبو محمد بمصر ، فحمل لواءها ، وملأ أرضها وسماؤها ، واستتبع سادتها وكبرائها ، وتناهت اليه الغرائب ، وانثالت في يديه الرغائب ، فمات لأوّل ما وصلها ، من أكلة اشتهاها فأكلها ، زعموا أنّه قال وهو يقلّب ، ونفسه قد تصعدّ وتصوّب " لا اله الا الله ، اذا عشنا متنا " . وكانت وفاته بها رحمه الله سنة اثنتين وعشرين واربعمائة . وقد أخرجت من شعره ما يروق العيون ، ويفوق الهشور والموزون .

The first two units: These follow a familiar pattern, with the additional mudāf lengthening the second. The sense of the first is strange, yet I think, comprehensible.

The second two units: There is a common first clause + بين introducing these, which are precisely parallel. I imagine that there is a play here on the two senses of وجه, in view of the anatomical allusions in the two units. كناني probably refers both to the glibness of the Egyptians and Malik's Egyptian origin. It is curious to find لسان repeated in such a short space.

The third three units: These are unremarkable, with the third unit lengthened by an extra object, and by the longer rhyme word. Again the virtual repetition - فصول - is unusual.

The fourth two units: A familiar pattern again, with a common introduction, and precise parallelism.

The fifth two units: These constitute the beginning of a kind of parenthesis consisting of ten units, in which the subject is implicitly praised by contrast.

Again, we find a common introduction to two short, precisely parallel, rhyming phrases, the sense of which, while clear in general terms, is vague in its particular reference.

The sixth two units: These are almost precisely parallel, and form the predicate of the main verb of the introduction to the preceding two units. كليل and كليل are obviously very close in sound. لسان occurs a third time, now as a rhyme word. It is perhaps slightly unusual in Ibn Bassam to find two units like this without any variation.

The seventh two units: Once again, there is a common introduction to two precisely parallel clauses; this time, however, they rhyme internally and not with each other,

except for the final هـ .

The eighth two units: Here we find more characteristic variations: the lengthening of the second with غير ; the different form of the participles, one active and one passive; and the different patterns of the mudāf ilayhis, one singular and one plural.

The ninth two units: These have a short common introduction, with parallelism modified by the additional verb, and the longer first word, in the second. The point of this sentence, as opposed to the actual meaning, is not clear.

The tenth two units: Yet again, there is a common introduction. The parallelism is modified by the additional masdar + preposition in the second. The sense of this second comparison is perfectly clear but is curiously abstract.

The eleventh two units: Here Ibn Bassām embarks upon a fairly lengthy piece of narrative, in which, somewhat unusually, he incorporates a high proportion of short rhyming units. In this case, we have something of a jingle, with no parallelism.

The twelfth two units: These continue the sense of the previous two units; at least, the first continues that of the second of the latter. The second here is rather more loosely attached. The last two words of each (in the case of the first, the complete unit) rhyme in a way. There is considerable disparity in length and no parallelism, except in the syntax of the rhyming words themselves. The second unit, in fact, is really parallel



to the second of the preceding two units, plus the first unit here, so that an interesting clash is produced between sense and rhyme.

The thirteenth two units: These return to a simple and typical pattern, with an additional noun lengthening the second.

The next section: Here we have a non-rhyming introduction to two pairs of units, the first of which is dependent on the second. The patterns of them are again very straightforward, as is the sense of the whole passage.

The sixteenth two units: A common introduction precedes two parallel clauses, both dependent on عندما. The second is lengthened by the substitution of هم عليهم for هم and, visually, but not actually, by that of في for ل.

The seventeenth two units: These have little in common but the rhyme, and the first person verb at the beginning. The second is shorter than the first, even when the preamble is discounted, which is rather unusual in a rhetorical utterance.

The next section: This is an explanatory sentence and an introduction to a passage of poetry, without any rhyme at all. After the verse quotation, another short narrative passage follows, in which two names are rhymed, but no other artistic manipulation is evident. A further introductory sentence and another verse quotation follows.

The next three units: After a brief introduction, we find a familiar pattern of three parallel units of increasing length: the second has an additional object,

as does the third, but in this last, each of the three words is longer than its counterpart in the second.

The next two units: These are almost exactly parallel; the rhyme words are of exactly the same pattern, the verbs are of different forms but have a very close visual, and aural, resemblance - the principal difference is the greater length of the prepositional phrase in the second. The general sense of the five units is plain, but the specific reference is vague.

The next two units: Narrative. The second of these is both longer and dependent upon the first. There is no parallelism except for the form of the verbs at the end of each. ل ج,ل seems rather to contradict the implications of the previous five units.

The next two units: These consist of an introduction, followed by two quasi-parallel circumstantial clauses, the tense of which is different. The second is lengthened by the addition of one verb, and by a longer subject. The change of subject is typical, as is the use of the two verbs of contrasting meanings in the second. The passage concludes with a quotation, introduced by the previous two units, and with a brief informative statement, neither of which rhyme.

In spite of its length, and the amount of rhyming units in it, this passage does not contain any very remarkable features. It displays no great degree of artistic composition or imaginative use of language.

أبو القاسم محمد بن عبد الله بن الجَدِّ  
قريع وقتنا ، وواحد عصرنا ، ممن استمرى أخلاف النظم والنثر ، فدرت  
له بالبيان أو بالسحر ، فان تكلم فأبو بحر ، أو نظم فكلثوم بن  
عمرو ، حتى اذا أخذ في الجدال ، أو تفقه في علم الحرام والحلال ،  
فرويدك حتى ترى الصبح كيف يسفر ، وثبح البحر كيف يزخر ، وهو على  
نباهة الذكر ، وعلوِّ القدر ، وشرف المحلِّ من فهر ، قد لزم داره ،  
وطوى أخباره ، واقتصر على عفة من المعيشة رزقها ، فهو يتبرّض جميعها ،  
لا بل يتزوّد نسيمها ، والشمس وان سترها الضباب فغير خفيّة السّناء ، ولا  
مجهولة الغناء ، وكان على عهد المعتمد قد تقلّد وزارة ابنه يزيد ، فلم  
يزل معه عليّ الشان ، نابه المكان ، حتى كان من أمره ما كان . وهو  
اليوم في وقتنا قد اضطرّ اليه أهل قاعدة لبلة فولّوه خطّة الشورى ،  
وألقوا اليه مقاليد الفتوى ، فمهد لذلك جانبا من كفايته ، واحتسب  
فيه جزءا من عنايته ، على كره منه شديد ، ومرام في التزايد من العلم  
بعيد . وعلى ذلك فلم يدع مساجلة الاخوان ، ومراسلة من يرتسم بهذا  
الديوان ، من بني الأوان ، بما يشهد له أنه بديع الزمان ، وفارس  
الميدان ، وقد أثبت له بهذا الديوان ، ما يقيم له أوضح برهان .

The first two units: Poor rhyme, conventional hyperbole.

Almost precisely parallel.

The second four units: Presumably these are meant to rhyme, although they do not do so very convincingly. The sequence is somewhat unusual in the way in which the first unit is the longest, even subtracting ممن . The metaphor of 1 and 2 is not uncommon, but is well sustained. The point of أو in البيان أو بالسحر is obscure. If it is a genuine alternative, one of the two must apply to النظم and the other to النثر , in which case a chiasmus is to be presumed. The greater proportional length of 4 and 3 is

usual. The names are odd: we have met أبو بحر before; is it al-Jāhiz? He is usually called عمرو بن بحر; and surely the poet is عمرو بن كلثوم not عمرو بن كلثوم?

The third two units: These are syntactically parallel, and follow a standard pattern, with a longer verb and a double idāfa in 2.

The fourth five units: The rhyme, again, is poor, but the division according to sense is quite - not very - interesting. 1 and 2 are parallel phrases in the apodosis to the preceding two units, with a common introduction of a somewhat unusual type. The variation in the parallel phrases is standard, with an idāfa in 2 taking the place of a simple noun in 1. The sequence 3, 4 and 5 all parallel, but with 5 varied, so that the rhyme word is delayed until after مـــــــ, is a typical device to produce suspense; this appears not to be easily relaxed, since فهر is an unusual (?) word, of obscure meaning (?). Thus, the expected, but delayed, denouement is not forthcoming.

The fifth two units: An abrupt change of direction takes place. The data become almost concrete, although 2 is metaphorical, whereas 1 is starkly literal.

The next unit: A non-rhyming unit is suddenly interposed, the metaphor of which reverts to units 3 and 4.

The sixth two units: These are precisely parallel, if one omits فهو and لا بل. The metaphor appears to alter slightly, although still of a liquid.

The seventh two units: Common introduction and two parallel phrases: another common device. غناء is a strange word to apply to the sun; it really breaks the metaphor by referring back to the subject of the passage and perhaps

explains      فهر .

The next unit: Non-rhyming; purely narrative.

The eighth three units: Common introduction and two parallel phrases, followed by temporal clause, somewhat mischievously unexplicit, and also rhyming on the same root as 2.

The ninth two units: Common introduction and two parallel clauses, synonymous in sense, slightly varied.

The tenth two units: Almost precisely parallel, with 2 slightly shorter than 1.

The eleventh two units: A familiar pattern; two parallel phrases with 2 lengthened by inclusion of two prepositions plus nouns, in place of preposition plus pronoun.

The twelfth seven units: This is a very long sequence of one of Ibn Bassām's favourite rhymes. The first five are all connected, quite coherently. 1 and 2 are parallel, after a common introduction, but with maximum variation: 1 is a simple idāfa; 2 has a precisely similar mudāf, but the mudāf ilayhi is a relative clause, of moderate length. 3 qualifies the relative clause of 2, quite shortly. 4 and 5 are parallel, with variations, after a common introduction, which constructs with the verbs implicit in the mudāfa of 1 and 2, giving the impression of a slightly impatient resumption of the informative element of the sentence, after a digression; the parallel phrases, however, are mere clichés, which again slow the sentence down. 6 makes a new start, quite abruptly, but not disruptively. It indicates that it is putting an end to the section, but naughtily (?) uses as its rhyme the two identical words with which 2 finished.

This, if anything, emphasises the finality of the unit - except that a dependent clause is still to come. There is no parallelism here, which in one way makes one think that there may be a further parallel phrase or clause to come, although the thumping effect of برهان seems decisive.

This passage is really quite a good one. Ibn Bassām keeps the reader at arm's length for a while with his seemingly careless rhyming; his metaphors, however, are lively, and the information conveyed is considerable. He varies his pace and his devices; he inserts non-rhyming elements, and he concludes with one outrageous string of rhymes. I think that I detect a derisive tone in what is being said, which is admirably complemented by the manner in which it is said.

18

2, 1, 105

أبو عامر بن مسلمة

طائل الدهر ، وعلم بردة ذلك العصر ، وأحد جهابذة الكلام ، وجماهير النشار  
والنظام ، من قوم طالما ملكوا أزمة الأيام ، وخصموا بالسنة السيوف  
والأقلام ، لم يزالوا أقمارا في آفاق الكتائب ، وصدورا في صدور المراتب ،  
وكان أبو عامر هذا من شرفهم بمنزلة الفص من الخاتم ، وبمكان السر من صدر  
الحازم . ولما ثلّت تلك العروش الأموية ، واختلت تلك الدولة القرطبية ،  
تحيز إلى المعتضد ، لأملك قديمة كانت له في البلد ، فعاش بفضل وفره وتصون  
عن الدخول في شيء من أمره ، إلا عن زيارة لمام ، ومنادمة في بعض الأيام ،  
جذبه إليها ، وغلبه مضطرا عليها ، ولم يزل يتخادع له عن ذلك استدفاعا  
لسره ، ومداراة على بقية عمره ، حتى مات مستورا بماله ، مبقى على  
أشكاله ، وله منظوم مطبوع ، ونشر بديع ، وقد وقع إلي من املاء اتسه ،

وغرائب أدواته ، تأليف جمعه للمعتضد سمّاه على ما اقتضاه مطابقة الزمان ، ومذهب الأوان " حديقة الارتياح في صفة حقيقة الراح " دل على كثرة روايته ، وجودة عنايته ، الى غير ذلك من نظمه ونشره ، وأوردت منه طرفا شاهدا على ما أجريت من ذكره .

The first two units: The usual kind of variation, with the additional mudāf in the second. It is interesting that Ibn Bassām clearly feels that ذلك is necessary for reasons of rhythm; it is hardly necessary for reasons of sense.

The second two units: Another common kind of variation, with two mudāf ilayhis. One would not have thought that جماهير had very complimentary connotations.

The third two units: These continue the rhyme of the preceding two. It is, I suppose, a kind of syncopation to make the protasis (two parallel clauses) do this, while the apodosis (two parallel phrases) does not. The variations in the two clauses are standard, with a preposition governing the mudāf in the second and the additional mudāf ilayhi. The use of أزمة الأيام as a counterpart to السنة السيوف والأقلام is quite satisfying, the former having a doubled consonant in either word, the latter two different consonants in either, and the two words separated.

The fourth two units: Here we have exact parallelism, with only a difference in the pattern of the corresponding words. (The first صدر can hardly be correct: بدور might be suggested, but Ibn Bassām may well have written something better). The actual sense of صدر المراتب is obscure; clearly المراتب has something to do with الأقلام in the way that الكتائب has with السيوف. One might also suggest that a double play on words is intended, with the root of الكتائب being associated with writing, and that of المراتب with arranging or drawing up ranks of soldiers .

The fifth two units: A familiar pattern; a common introduction and two parallel phrases. One expects the addition of a mudāf (although not perhaps صدر so soon after صدر), but one does not expect بمكان as a replacement for بمنزلة. Since this is utterly unnecessary for the sense, and indeed بمكان is rather less satisfactory than بمنزلة, it can only be intended to introduce another variation of rhythm.

The sixth two units: Beginning of a narrative passage, in a slightly ornate way, with two parallel clauses as the protasis of a temporal sentence. The parallelism is fairly precise; there is nothing noteworthy, apart perhaps from the variation in the use of تلك, once with a plural noun and once with a singular.

The seventh two units: The apodosis of the temporal sentence is contained in the first of them. The second is



dependent on this and explanatory of it. Except for the (unsatisfactory) rhyme, there is no similarity between the two at all. One may wonder why the word تحيّر is used; perhaps it is meant to contrast with the very ordinary wording of the second unit?

The eighth two units: Semi-narrative; again, two dissimilar sentences, except for their being parallel from the point of view of the narrative. One small point to notice is that, in contrast to the usual pattern, there is an idāfa in the first and none in the second.

The ninth two units: Here again, we have an idāfa, very prominently in the first, and at first just مناذمة in the second. We expect this to be mudāf and are brought up short when it is not. The flow is restored, however, although in a banal manner, with an idāfa after the preposition.

The tenth two units: A very commonplace variation in parallelism, with a hāl participle in the second.

The eleventh two units: A common introduction, with two parallel phrases indicating purpose. The variations in the parallelism are typical: the different verb forms, the longer preposition in the second, the addition of the mudāf. There is some ambiguity in the pronoun of شَرِه, just as there was with وفره in 8 and with بماله in 12.

The twelfth two units: The parallelism here is again varied in a familiar manner, with different forms of the passive participle, a longer preposition in the second and a longer rhyme word. The sense of the second is less

specific than that of the first; this is unusual but not unprecedented.

The thirteenth two units: Presumably منظوم is used both for variation and for rhythmical purposes, since نظم would have given an exact parallel to نثر .

The first unit has a much more ponderous feel than the second; whether this is intended to say something about the relative merits of the subject's poetry and prose is hard to tell.

The fourteenth two units: Common introduction, followed by two parallel phrases governed by من , the second with an additional mudāf. The second, in fact, is more or less decorative, and its sense somewhat obscure.

The fifteenth two units: Common introduction, followed by two parallel phrases. The first is, unusually, slightly longer than the second.

The next section: This consists only of a rhyming book title.

The sixteenth two units: Commonplace exact parallelism. Conventional sense.

The seventeenth two units: (If intended to be considered as such at all). Purely informative. Offhand semi-rhyme. Not a very interesting or imaginative passage.

19 2, 2, 811

أبو بكر محمد بن سوار الأشبوني

وأبو بكر في وقتنا واحد عصره ، وله عدة قصائد في ملوك قطره ، قالها تحبباً لا تكسباً ، وعمر مجالسهم بها وفاء لا استجداء . فلما خلع ملوك الأندلس حالت به الحال ، وتقسمة الأديار والاقبال ، ثم أسره العدو يعقب محنة ، وبين أطباق فتنة . وقيد بقورية من عمل الطاغية ابن فرذلند ، ثم خرج من وثاقه ، خروج البدر من محاقه ، وتردد في بلاد أفقنا يحمله قرب على بعد ، ويكله سعيد السعد ، حتى ضاقت عنه الخطوب ، ومآله

السرى والتأويب ، واتفق له أن أسمع الله صوته من وراء  
البحر المحيط الفقيه الأجل قاضي القضاة بالمغرب ، وسلالة  
الأطيب فالأطيب ، أبا الحسن علي بن القاسم بن عشرة ،  
فأجابه وأباه ، وجذب بضبعه واستدناه ، فأعاد هلاله بدرا ، وصيّر  
خلّة خمرا ، ولبني القاسم في الجود خيم كريم ، ولهم تقدّم مشهور  
معلوم ، بلغني أن جدّهم الأكبر أحمد بن المدير ، حامل تلك الفضائل ،  
وصاحب الأعمال الجلائل ، اذ كان أحد نجوم تلك الآفاق ، ببلاد السّام  
والعراق ، واشتهار معرفة قدره ، يمنع عن ذكره ، لكنني ألمع هنا  
بلمعة من أمره .

The first two units: Not a very good rhyme, but no parallelism either. A fairly common contrast of vague eulogy in the first and specific information in the second. A somewhat subdued beginning.

The second two units: Here we find a kind of internal rhyme in each unit, with no common rhyme. Both are dependent, in parallel, on the preceding two, which is not known until they begin. The latter half of each is syntactically parallel, with a variation in the length of the masdars in the second unit. The first half of each is also parallel, but with much greater elaboration in the second unit.

The third two units: A familiar pattern, with a common introduction, and parallelism, with variations: the first as the same root in the verb and the subject, separated by a prepositional phrase referring to the object; the second has a longer verb, with an object, pronoun and two parallel, formally identical subjects, with tibāq.

The fourth two units: Again, a common introduction, and parallelism, with variations. This time the parallel elements are simply prepositions governing nouns, the second unit being lengthened by an idāfa.

The next unit is purely narrative and does not rhyme.

The fifth two units: Another familiar pattern, containing a simile, the first unit containing the main statement, the second necessarily containing an idāfa with the masdar of the verb in the first, but giving the overall impression of parallelism by echoing in its second half, the second half of the first.

The sixth two units: Again a common introduction, and parallelism. Here the parallelism is almost exact, except for the longer subject in the second, compensated for by the longer-sounding verb in the first. The vague sense of the first, supplemented by the specific sense of the second, is also familiar.

The seventh two units: Another familiar pattern: the double subject of the second is compensated for by the longer verb and prepositional phrase of the first. The meanings of both are not much different in specificity.

The eighth two units: A fairly lengthy common introduction, of fairly straightforward narrative, is followed by two parallel units that more or less rhyme, both referring to the same person; the first is informative, the second much less so and probably included largely for the sake of the (not very good) rhyme.

The next unit simply gives the name of the person referred to, without rhyming.

The ninth two units: We return to another familiar pattern; the two simple verbs + objects in the first are paralleled by a verb + preposition + noun + pronoun (referring to one of the objects in the first) and by a longer verb + object. The two pronouns in the first refer to different people; the two in the second refer to the same person.

The tenth two units: In combination with the two preceding units, these represent a progression from simple, factual statement, through a more metaphorical statement, to a realm of complete metaphor, where the gist of the information to be conveyed is clear enough, but is almost swamped by the metaphors. In this vague culminative imagery, we find, as is not infrequent, that parallelism is more strictly adhered to than in the more prosaic sections. In fact, the parallelism is almost complete here; the verbs are of different forms, and the first nouns are of different lengths, but apart from this, the units are identical in form. They say the same thing in two different images, one extremely fanciful, and astronomical, one more everyday and practical.

The eleventh two units: In a way, these reverse the previous two, in that the fanciful metaphor comes first. The parallelism, too, is varied in a familiar way. The name of the family (+ج) is set against في الجود . لهم is stated, and perhaps understood, as applying to only the first.

Concrete noun + adjective is countered with abstract noun + two adjectives. The fanciful image is vivid; the more prosaic statement is rather ordinary.

The twelfth two units: Here we have, again, a common introduction, consisting principally of a name, as the subject to two parallel predicates, neither of which tells us very much. The mudāf ilayhis of these units are modestly varied.

The thirteenth two units: The second unit is simply a continuation of the first; in fact it is an expansion of the concluding phrase of the first, and there is, as might be expected, no parallelism. الأفاق , as so often, leads to العراق as a rhyme, which in turn requires الشام to precede it; it is difficult to say which occurs to the writer first, but the inevitability of the rhyme is not really affected by this doubt, and contrivance is certainly clear.

The fourteenth three units: The second is dependent on the first; the rhyme between them, which is not very good, is almost internal. The rhyme of the third is also not very good, and the reader is perhaps left wondering to which of the two preceding rhymes it is meant to be closer - probably the first (?). The lack of parallelism causes the sentence to move quickly, as does the variation in the approach to the rhyme words: 1. mudāf + mudāf + mudāf ilayhi; 2. preposition + noun; 3. noun + preposition (with different kind of function) + noun. The sense of the جمع root is

held in doubt, too; there is something of a play on words here. Nonetheless, the ending is somewhat subdued; there is no sense of climax, which is appropriate, since a long illustrative quotation follows.

20 4, 1, 124

أبو الفتوح ثابت بن محمد الجرجاني

من جملة من وفد أيضا على البلد في ذلك الأوان ، وكان الغالب على أدواته علم اللسان ، وحفظ الغريب والشعر الجاهلي والاسلامي ، الى المشاركة في أنواع التعاليم ، والتصرف في حمل السلاح ، والحدق بالآلات الجندية ، والنفاد في معاني الفروسية ، فكان الكامل في خلال جمّة . طرأ على الجانب منذ صدر الفتنة للذائع من كرمه ، فأكرم نزله ، ورفع من شأنه ، وأصبحه ابنه المرشح - كان - لسلطانه ، فلم يزل له بها المكان المكين الى أن تغيّر عليه يحيى بتغيّر الزمان ، وتقلب الليالي والأيام بالانسان ، ففارقه ولحق في غرناطة بعسكر البرابرة ، فحلت به من أميرهم باديس الفاقرة .

A most unusual passage. One is not sure for a while if it is artistic prose or ordinary prose. في ذلك الأوان acts as a signal. Since there is really no need for it as far as sense is concerned, and since أوان is a very common rhyme word, it is almost certain that a rhyme will follow. So it does, although the second sentence has virtually no connection with the first. Although a rhyme has occurred, it can hardly be said that the style or the language are elevated, apart

perhaps from *أدواته*, which is a slightly odd word in the context, but seems to be something of a favourite with Ibn Bassām. The next five units are not elevated either, although they are not entirely without rhetoric, nor is there any rhyme, although the opportunity presents itself and the parallelism would seem to invite it. One might perhaps say that *الجنديّة* was introduced to rhyme with *الفروسية* but, even if it is, it scarcely demonstrates a masterly technique. It is not clear how more than one thing can be *الغالب*.

The next unit is presumably intended to follow up what has come before.

We now move into narrative, where after two further unrhyming sentences, it looks possible that, if a rhyme is to come at all, it will come in a unit parallel to *فأكرم نزله*. However, this opportunity is passed over, and *من شانه* arrives. This again looks a probable word with which to rhyme, but the beginning of the next unit does not look promising. However, *لسلطانه* is inserted, quite unexpectedly. We still do not know, however, if this was deliberate and if it suggests a return to rhyme in general or not. It looks, again, as though rhyme has been abandoned, as we proceed with the unadorned narrative, until we reach *بتغيير الزمان*, which shocks us into thinking: "surely this is not intended to rhyme with *المكان* towards the beginning of the sentence, where there is no break, an adjective *المكين* following it?" We are soon



drawn off this false trail, however, when وتقلب appears, since this must obviously be parallel to بتغير; nonetheless, although we now find the expected two mudāf ilayhis, the rhyme is missing - unless الأيام is meant to be some kind of half-rhyme. But, just as we have given up, بالأنسان is delivered. After this static passage, we switch, still a little disorientated, back into narrative, and البرابرة has the feel of something with which to rhyme; when الفاخرة comes, however, which is not a very good rhyme, we are not quite sure if the rhyme has arrived, but it has, and the passage is finished. We are left in the air, and not quite knowing whether there was rhyme in the passage or not. This is quite a clever variation in presentation.

The mysterious - كان - appears in this passage. If it is correct, it can only mean, as far as I can see "who had been fostered ", i.e. the equivalent of الذي كان مرشحا. It is still a very odd phenomenon, and such a usage could hardly be reconciled with regular Arabic syntax.

أبو اسحاق ابراهيم بن علي بن تميم المعروف بالحصري

كان أبو اسحاق هذا صدر الندي ، ونكتة الخبير الجلي ، وديوان اللسان العربي ، راض صعابه ، وسلك أوديته وشعابه ، وجمع أشتاته ، وأحيا مواته ، حتى صار لأهله اماما ، وعلى جدّه وهزله زماما ، وطنت به الأقطار ، وشدت اليه الأقتاب والأكوار ، وأنفقت فيما لديه الأموال والأعمار ، وهو يقذف البلاد بدرر صدفها الأفكار ، وسلوك ناظمها الليل والنهار ، عارض أبا بحر الجاحظ بكتابه الذي وسمه بـ " زهر الآداب ، وثمر الألباب " ، فلعمري ما قصر مداه ، ولا قصرت خطاه ، ولولا أنه شغل أكثر أجزاءه وأنحائه ، ومرج يحبو حمى أرضه وسماؤه ، بكلام أهل العصر دون كلام العرب ، لكان كتاب الأدب ، لا ينازعه ذلك إلا من ضاق عنه الأمد ، وأعمى بصيرته الحسد ، ثم أخذ بعد ذلك في انشاء التواليف الرائقة ، والتصانيف الفائقة ككتاب " النور والنور " وكتاب " المصون من الدواوين " الى عدة رسائل وأشعار ، أندى من نسيم الأسحار ، وأذكى من شميم الأزهار ، وقد أخرجت من كلامه ما لا ينكر فضله ، ولا ينشي مثله إلا مثله ، وكانت وفاته - فيما بلغني - سنة ثلاث وخمسين وأربعمائة .

The first three units: A common introduction followed by three parallel phrases of increasing length, with slight variations: 1. simple idāfa; 2 and 3 idāfa + adjective. The long vowels of 3 give it a weightiness suitable to the comprehensiveness of its meaning. In addition there is the sharp contrast between the singleness, and implied sharpness, of صدر and نكتة and the all-embracing solidity and rectangularity of ديوان

The second four units: Two pairs, all four units being

parallel syntactically, and all referring back to اللسان العربي which gives even greater weight to that unit.

The first two of these four are varied by the different verb patterns and by the additional object in 2. The images are disparate, but both relate to Bedouin life. The second two are almost the same length, but are varied by the different patterns both of verb and noun. The images this time are possibly to do with farming (?) and so from settled life.

The third two units: A typical pattern; parallel syntax with a longer preposition and an extra noun in the 2nd (two nouns opposite in meaning here). The rhyme words are not only of the same pattern but are phonetically almost identical.

The fourth five units: A highly organised passage. It is comparatively unusual to find so many units with the same rhyme, and yet it is most appropriate here, with the developing series of metaphors, as reinforcing the integrity of the passage. The first two units, to some extent, follow the pattern of the preceding two, with a longer preposition and an extra noun in the 2nd (two nouns of very similar meaning this time). I think it likely that الأقطار is intended to suggest قطار, in order to pave the way for the metaphor in the second.

The third unit is again syntactically parallel to the first two; as might be expected, it is varied, but only minimally, with a longer verb and a longer prepositional phrase. The two nouns are still of the same pattern. As far as the sense is concerned, الأعمار comes as something of a shock. The

verb has prepared us for *الأموال* , but *الأعمار* adds a new dimension to the development of the picture, adding to the suggested image of a journey the clear implication that it is a hazardous one through the desert. The implication is also present that something valuable is the object of the quest. This is made explicit in 4 and 5. Here we find a common introduction and two parallel dependent nouns plus relative clauses. The relative clauses are varied in a familiar manner, with different patterns in the subject nouns and an extra noun in the predicate of the second. One does not really expect the rhyme to continue in 4; perhaps in 5 one is more prepared for it and as soon as *الليل* occurs, it is inevitable. The parallel clauses and the *النهار* rhyme (this is the first rhyme in the section to be of a different pattern) indicate fairly conclusively that the section is finished. The sense of the last unit is not immediately obvious, except in so far as it must be amplifying that of 4, but it is most likely intended to suggest that the process of thought is a lengthy and arduous one and that the effort that has gone into the production of the precious merchandise enhances its value.

The next section: Explanatory sentence, with merely the rhyme of the subject's book title.

The fifth two units: A couplet of no great interest. It is not easy to see the point of the *tajnis*, which is hardly a subtle one.

The sixth four units: We have here two pairs of rhyming units, the first of which is parallel after *ولولا أنه* , the second of which consists of (1) a phrase dependent on the first unit of the first pair, and (2) the apodosis of

the conditional sentence. The protasis seems awkward, with 1(2) interrupting the flow of the clause, without adding much with its curious metaphor, and with the redundant أَنْحَاءَهُ and بِمَاءِهِ, which do not even provide a good rhyme ( سَمَاءَهُ appears actually to detract from the sense, and to be present only for the sake of providing a couplet with أَرْضَهُ ). Then again, there seems to be inadequate connection between كِتَابُ الْأَدَابِ (an odd phrase, surely: "The book of ādāb" (?)) and the following couplet, which looks as though it should be a relative clause, but, formally, is not. This section is, technically, rather unimpressive.

The seventh two units: A familiar pattern: a common introduction and two parallel clauses, varied in a normal manner - different verb patterns, and a preposition + pronoun in the first and a noun + pronoun in the second. The import of the metaphor in 1 is not clear.

The eighth two units: A common, informative introduction, with two parallel noun + adjective phrases, exactly parallel, with a double rhyme. They both constitute clichés, and their use seems to imply some loss of interest in Ibn Bassām in what he is saying.

The ninth two units: Two book titles, each of which more or less rhymes.

The tenth three units: 2 and 3 are exactly parallel, and very close phonetically; both depend on 1. The rhyme words

are of the same pattern. The images from nature seem to continue the garden metaphor hinted at in the book titles; They are actually rather banal, and it may be that Ibn Bassām is not being altogether sincere.

The eleventh two units: Common informative introduction, with two clauses dependent on  $\mathcal{L}$ , very neatly differentiated with respect to the function of the noun qualified by the pronoun referring to  $\mathcal{L}$  in each, and with the complication of the introduction of a noun qualified by a pronoun referring to the subject of the piece in the position where it rhymes with a noun qualified by a pronoun referring to  $\mathcal{L}$ .

The scheme is:-

|           |               |   |
|-----------|---------------|---|
| 1st unit: | negative verb | subj.<br>noun + $\mathcal{L}$ pron.                               |
| 2nd unit: | negative verb | obj.<br>noun + $\mathcal{L}$ pron.                                |
|           |               | ↓<br>subj.<br>(same) noun + (same) pron.<br>(with different ref.) |

This is a very uneven piece. There are some excellent parts, as regards both technique and imagery, and there are some that are either clumsy or just dull.

أبو عبد الله بن محمد بن سليمان بن الحنّاط الكفيف  
وأبو عبد الله بن الحنّاط هذا زعيم من زعماء العصر - كان - ورئيس من رؤساء  
النظم والنثر في ذلك الأوان ، وجمرة فهم لفحت وجوه الأيام ، وغمرة علم  
سالت بأعلام الأنام ، فكم له من وقدة لا يبرأ أميمها ، ونكزة لا يسلم سليمها  
وكانت بينه وبين أبي عامر بن شهيد بعد تمكّنه بأسبابه ، وانحياشه - كان -  
الى جنابه ، مناقضات في عدة رسائل وقصائد أشرفت أبا عامر ، وأخذت عليه  
بفروج الهواء ، وقد أوردت من ذلك ما يكون أنطق لسان بنباهة ذكره ، وأعدل  
شاهد على براعة قدره .

The first two units are of a fairly conventional nature,  
being almost syntactically identical, and introducing both  
العصر and النظم والنثر , which are extremely frequent at  
the beginning of such a passage. رئيس and زعيم are  
almost synonymous. النظم is, as so often, introduced,  
as a couplet with النثر , partly in order to lengthen  
the end of the second unit. The odd - but not infrequent in  
Ibn Bassām - position of كان is justified here by its rather  
unexpected use as a rhyme with الأوان ; this has the  
appearance of being something of an afterthought, the principal  
rhyme being النثر and العصر .

The second two units are syntactically almost identical - more  
nearly identical than the preceding two - and both transfer  
Abū Abd Allāh predicatively into feminine metaphors, with  
corresponding feminine verbs. These two metaphors provide  
a kind of Tibāq, in that they represent two different elements  
out of the four: fire and water. جمرة is mudāf with a

word that differs only in one radical from a word with which it is often associated: غمرة فحم instead of فهم is mudāf with علم , which does not produce the same effect, but has a parallel, in meaning, between علم and سالت , possibly acts as a Tibāq with لفت . فهم in conveying a sense of rapidity as opposed to gradualness. وجوه apparently has its surface sense of "faces", which can be scorched by a fire, but may, at the same time, imply the greatest people; this would perhaps fit better with الأيام . أعلام can, again, bear a similar sense, but also, apparently, has a surface meaning, "way-marks/ boundary marks", capable of being swept away by water; الأنعام fits equally well with either sense of أعلام .

The third pair of units, which this time are syntactically and morphologically completely identical (excluding, of course, فكم له من ) specify more particularly than does the second pair (even though we can perceive, by hindsight, that this was implied there) the area of literary activity in which Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh excelled. This is fairly clearly hijā'. Two distinct, but similar, metaphors are employed here, and the nouns that introduce them are represented as attributes of Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh, rather than personifications of him. وقدة does not seem to be intended to convey any particular form of striking, except that أميم indicates "wounded in the brain"; نكرة clearly implies the biting of a snake, or something similar, as does سليم , which, in its turn, provides an opportunity for Jinās with يسلم .



The next section consists of two common introductions, or rather, one that is divided into two parts, the first of which is followed by two units, which, while syntactically identical, appear to change the referents of their possessive pronouns - at least, if the metaphor is consistent, it seems to require this. In addition, the second is made longer than the first principally by means of a longer preposition, but also, perhaps by the long vowel of انحياشه (actually the same number of syllables as تمسكه). The parenthetical كان is difficult, as often in Ibn Bassām, to explain, following the second part of the common introductory sentence.

The couplets أخذت - الهواء and أشرفت - بالماء at first sight seem to be parallel, with the second, as is common, slightly longer than the first, by virtue of the two words for one بفروج الهواء - بالماء. In fact, the second is, in a way, explanatory of the first, since it describes, in greater detail, the process أشرفت بالماء. The reintroduction of the element of water leads to the mention of a third element, namely air. The absence of the fourth element, earth, is perhaps a little disconcerting, unless we consider that it is represented - though surely only retrospectively - by جناب, or indeed by one of the persons named.

The final two couplets, again after a common introduction, are again syntactically identical, varied by the different patterns of لسان and شاهد and by the longer preposition in the second. The identical scansion of the last two words in each produces a weighty conclusion. The sentiments, and/indeed the metaphors, are somewhat uninteresting and certainly hyperbolic.

## CONCLUSION

From the analysis that we have made of the various passages of Ibn Bassām's work, we may indicate some of the general characteristics of his style, giving examples that have not always occurred in the passages analysed.

### 1- Variation of length and metre in units of saj<sup>c</sup>, for example:

وقلت دولة من دول الطوائف بالأندلس إلا وقد ابتغى إليها وسيلة ، وأعمل في الهجوم عليها حالا وحيلة .

Obviously, in producing a parallelism between the two clauses dependent on الإلا وقد , he could, as the balancing clause to ابتغى إليها وسيلة , write وأعمل عليها حيلة . However, he finds it more aesthetically pleasing to create assymetry between the two by means of introducing في الهجوم and حالا (it is noticeable that there is still internal symmetry in the second clause, and, indeed, this seems to be the principal reason for the introduction of حالا , although it also provides tajnis with حيلة ).

Another example, where, in addition to the necessary insertion of السيوف , which enhances the sense, the mechanical correspondence is broken by the ب attached to السنة , is:

من قوم ملكوا أزمة الأيام ، وخصموا بالسنة السيوف والأقلام .

Sometimes additions are made, it would seem, for the sole purpose of achieving a variation, as in:

جذبه إليها وغلبه مضطرا عليها

Ibn Bassām generally prefers to have the second unit, or the last of a longer series, longer than the first, or the preceding ones, although on occasion the contrary occurs,

particularly in the course of an elaborate passage of saj<sup>c</sup>.

2- The use of unusual, and often obscure, imagery, e.g.:

تقلب أبو بكر بين السهول ، تقعد للاقتراح بالمرماد • جمهور كتابــــــــــــــــة •  
أشعار كصفحات البذور • والحزون • تقلب الميل بين أطباق الجفــــــــــــــــون •  
تغصّ بإحسانه غصص العين بالرمــــــــــــــــد • and دواوين كأشاج البحور •

There are numerous other examples: حظ من النثر • أحد من جرّ الأيام • جزّ  
This last is particularly strange, since one would expect rain and clouds in the desert to be praised, and indeed it is for this reason that rain is called غيث . It may be that the desert is here thought of as being so hostile that even rain can do no good.

3- Frequent use of perfectly, or almost perfectly, balanced units, from the point of view of both metre and syntax, in contrast to the assymetrical units referred to in 1 above, e.g.:

صرّف السلطان نفعا وضرا ، ووسع البيان نظما ونثرا  
بحر علم لا ينزح ، وجبل حلم لا يزحــــــــــــــــزح  
شمس الزمان وبدره ، سرّ الأحسان وجهره ، ومستودع البيان  
ومستقرّه •

أندى من نسيم الأسحار ، وأذكى من شميم الأزهار  
In this last example, the two parallel subordinate phrases that rhyme with the phrase on which they depend also incorporate almost complete internal rhyming.

4- Frequent use of very short rhyming expressions, such as:

ناثر وشاعر ، وشهاب متألق ، نثر فسحر ، ونظم فنمنم

These, however, are often interspersed in much longer units, which may have no inherent rhymes of their own, such as:

ولم يحضرنى من أشعارهم ومستظرف أخبارهم حين اخراجي هذه النسخة من هذا المجموع  
الآ ما أشبته لأبي بكر منهم .

5- Frequent use of words of opposite meaning or implication within the same sentence (tibāq), e.g.:

صرّف السلطان نفعا وضرا

and:

وكان أبو عامر شيخ الحضرة العظمى وفتاها ، ومبدأ الغاية القصوى ومنتهاها

where منتها contrasts with فتى and مبدأ with شيخ

chiastically, on the axes, respectively of the non-contrasting

الغاية القصوى and الحضرة العظمى

Again,

(which we can relate also to 1 and 3 above):

وأبو محمد في وقتنا سرّ الدهر المكتوم ، وشرف فهر الحديث والقديم

and:

من رجل لم يثبت له قائم ولا حصيد ، ولا سلم عليه قريب ولا بعيد

6- The tendency to play on words, as in:

فان هزل فسجع الحمام ، وان جدّ فزئير الأسد الضرغام

where the word سجع has two senses, that of the 'cooing of doves' and, of course, that of 'rhymed artistic prose'.

7- The common use of virtual synonyms, such as:

من رجل مدره ختر ، وجذيل خديعة ومكر

فورده وعشب بلادها ناب وظفر ، وصوب عهادها دم هدر ، وما لها لا عين ولا أثر ،

وملوكتها أزداد ، وأهواء أهلها ضغائن وأحقاد ، وعزائمهم فساد وافساد .

8- The frequent repetition of the same root in the same sentence, generally in the form of the maf<sup>c</sup>ūl muṭṭlaq of a verb already used, e.g.:

- اشتهر في حملة الأقلام ، اشتهار البدر في السماء .
- خرج من وثاقه ، خروج البدر من محاقه .

Similar to this is the repetition of the same actual form of the root, generally muḍāf to the object of comparison, e.g.: مطه من العلم ، محل الصواب من الحكم ، واقتداره على النشر والنظم .  
اقتدار الوتر على السهم .

9- There are a fair number of instances of the use, at various points in the work, of identical, or very similar expressions, mostly of a rather vague laudatory nature, such as:

- تلاعب بالمنثور والموزون ، تلاعب الرياح بأعطاف الغصون .
- تلاعب بالملوك بأفئنا ، تلاعب الرياح بالأغصان .
- فتنزوي عن مكانه ، انزواء الخائف من الرصد .
- من وادي الحجارة ، فرد من أفراد العصم .
- وأبو بكر في وقتنا واحد عصمه .
- فلم يبعد أن أصبح نسيج وحده .
- كان أبو بكر في ذلك العصر شيخ الصناعة ، وامام الجماعة .
- وكان بحر براعة ، ورأس صناعة ، وزعيم جماعة .
- فتصفحه تعلم انه بحر النظام ، وبقية الأعلام .
- وبينه وبين أبي علي بن رشيق ماج بحر البراعة ودام ،  
• ورجع نجم هذه الصناعة واستقام .
- حتى تضاءلت الهضاب عن قدره ، وماجت الأرض بيحره .
- تدفقت بها بحور الأدب ، وطلعت منها نجوم الكتب .
- وكان أبو عبدالله محمد ابن أيمن بأفئنا أعجوبة الدهر .
- وفريد العصر ، وفارس ميدان النظم والنش .
- فاته يتقدم على الجماعة ، ويستولى على ميدان الصناعة .
- من قدماء الأدباء - كان - بذلك الشجر ، ومن كتاب العصر ،  
• المتصرفين في النظم والنشر .

10- Although the repetition that he indulges in may cause a certain irritation in the reader, Ibn Bassām nevertheless possesses a considerable command of imagery and rhetorical facility, as shown, for example in the following passage:

وكان أبو جعفر وقته أحد الأعلام ، وفرسان الكلام .

نفث بالسحر ، واغترف من بحر . قريع وقتنا ، وواحد عصرنا .

11- The not infrequent exceeding of two sentences or phrases with the same rhyme; three or four units of saj<sup>c</sup> occur often, and, on occasion, as many as seven are used.

وعلى ذلك فلم يدع مساجلة الاخوان ، ومراسلة من يرتسم بهذا الديوان ، من بني الأوان ، بما يشهد له أنه بديع الزمان ، وفارس الميدان ، وقد أثبت له بهذا الديوان

12- A certain predilection for the use of proper names as rhyme-words, for instance:

ما يقيم له أوضح برهان .

زعيم بلنسية - كان - في ذلك الأوان

فخلص بعد أبي عبد الرحمن ، خلوص الشريا من يد الديوان

وأقام بالمرية تحت ضنك معيشة مع عدة مدائح ، رفعها لأميرها ابن صمادح

13- Deliberate self-restraint from saj<sup>c</sup>. This is comparatively infrequent, and is presumably for the purpose of relief, and also for that of imparting important information in circumstances when rhyme is either inconvenient or unsuitable. Two examples of this will suffice:

وأبو بكر في وقتنا على صغر سنه شهاب فهم ونبل ، قلما يخلو شعره من بديع ،

وأخرجته فتنة طليطلة - جبرها الله - الآتي خبرها في القسم الرابع من هذا

المجموع .

لم يحضرنى من أشعارهم ومستطرف أخبارهم حين اخراجي هذه النسخة من هذا المجموع ،

الآ ما أثبتته لأبي بكر منهم خاصة .

- 14- Tendency to hyperbole. This is a feature of most saj<sup>c</sup>. In Ibn Bassām, it is noticeable not only in the expressions that he repeats (see 9 above), but also in those that occur only once or twice, such as:

نهاية الخبر والخبر ، أو لبّد أهل الآفاق

It is most prominent in eulogistic utterances.

- 15- The derivation of images from a limited number of sources. Ibn Bassām's range here is wide, but he has certain classes of image that he uses significantly often, for example, those derived from martial or sporting pursuits, from desert life, and particularly from natural phenomena, such as the sea, the sun, the moon, mountains, plains, etc.

For example:

أبو بكر بن سليمان المعروف بابن القصير ، هو في وقتنا جمهور البراعة ، وبقية أئمة الصناعة ، وعذبة اللسان العربي ، وسويداء قلب هذا الأقليم الغربي ، بحر علم لا ينزح ، وجبل حلم لا يتزحزح .

- 16- The use of humour and satire. This is only occasional in Ibn Bassām. It may be that it is not always apparent, and that it occurs more frequently than is realised. However, among quite clear instances, we may cite the following:

وكان - رحمه الله - ظريفا في أمره ، كثير الهزل في نظمه ونثره ، وأراه فيما انتحاه ، تقبيل منهاج سميّه وكنيته محمد بن حجاج بالعراق ، فضاقت ساحته ، وقصرت راحته ، وأعياه الصريح فمدق ولم يحسن الصهيل فنق ، ولما كان هذا المجموع كتاب أدب ، وعقدا يجمع الدرّ والمخضب ، رأيت أن لا أخليه من ذكره ، وهذه فصول من نظمه ونثره .

A similar mood can be seen also in this passage:

كان أبو جعفر هذا قد بذ أهل زمانه في أربعة أشياء :

• المال أولا

• والعجب

• والبخل

• والكتابة

where another characteristic of Ibn Bassām's style is also to be found, namely that of enumerating the qualities, talents or possessions of his subject. This may also be exemplified, although not, this time, in a humorous or satirical vein, by another passage:

من جملة من وفد أيضا على البلد في ذلك الأوان ، وكان الغالب على أدواته علم اللسان ، وحفظ الغريب والشعر الجاهلي والاسلامي ، الى المشاركة في أنواع التعاليم ، والتصرف في حمل السلاح ، والحذق بآلات الجندية ، والنفاد في معاني الفروسية ، فكان الكامل في خلال جملة .

17-The use of internal rhyme, in addition to final rhyme. This occurs quite frequently, as for example:

بحر معرفة لا تعبره السفن ، ولو جرت بشهواتها الرياح ، وطود علم لا ترقى اليه  
الظن ، ولو سما بها الامساء والاصباح ، وأدب لا تعبر عنه الألسن ، ولو أمدتها  
الأوتار الفصاح .

Sometimes units rhyme alternately, e.g.:

من ذلك الأفق طلعت نجوم الكلام ، فأضاعت البلاد ، ونشأت غيوم النشار والنظام ،  
فطبقت الهضاب والوهاد .



18- Quotation or allusion. Ibn Bassām very frequently alludes to earlier poetry. For example, there is a clear reference in this passage, which occurs in the biography of Ibn Abī al-Khiṣāl:

بحر معرفة لا تعبده السفن ولو جرت بشهواتها الرياح

to the qasīda of al-Mutanabbī beginning:

بم التعلل لا أهل ولا وطن  
ولا نديم ولا كأس ولا سكين  
ما كل ما يتمنى المرء يدركه  
تجري الرياح بما لا تشتهي السفن<sup>1</sup>

In a passage in the biography of Abū Bakr <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz b. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd al-Baṭalyūsī:

أحد فرسان الكلوم والكلام ، وحملة السيوف والأقلام ، من اسرة أصالة ، وببيت

جلالة ، أخذوا العلم أولا عن آخر ، ورووه كائرا عن كابر .

We can see, perhaps, a resemblance to some lines of Ibn Khazīm on Bishr b. Marwān (although such conceits are not infrequent elsewhere in early verse):

من فرع آدم كائرا عن كابر  
حتى انتهيت الى أبيك العنيس<sup>2</sup>

In the biography of Abū al-Walīd ḥassān b. al-Miṣṣī, the passage:

يحسبان كل بيضاء شحمة ، ويتخيلان كل ضوء نجمة

may well derive from the verse (anonymous):

وكننا حسينا كل بيضاء شحمة  
عشية لاقينا جذام وحميرا

which, in its turn, comes from the proverb:

ما كل بيضاء شحمة<sup>3</sup>

Again, the expression in the biography of Abū al-Muṭrif <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. Fākhir, known as Ibn al-Dabbāgh:

ونجا برأس طمرة ولجام

may be supposed to allude to Ḥassan b. Thābit's reproach to al-Ḥārith b. Hishām on his flight:

ترك الأحبة أن يقاتل دونهم  
ونجا برأس طمرة ولجام<sup>4</sup>

The passage from the biography of Abū <sup>c</sup>Amir b. Maslama:

لم يزلوا أقمارا في آفاق الكتاب ، وصدورا في صدور المراتب

is reminiscent of Abū Tammām's:

إذا الخيل جابت قسطل الحرب صدعوا      صدور العوالي في صدور الكتاب<sup>5</sup>  
and, in Kitāb al-sinā<sup>c</sup>atayn, p. 243, we find:

أناس إذا ما استحكم الروع كسروا      صدور العوالي في صدور الكتاب  
In the Introduction to al-Dhakhīra, Ibn Bassām writes:

وعبرت عن أكثر ذلك ، بلفظ يتتبع الهم بين الجوانح ، ويحل العصم سهل الأباطح .

which he echoes, in a way, in the biography of Ibn Burd al-Akbar:

وقلد أبو حفص هذا ديوان الانشاء بعد ابن الجزيري ثم كتب عن سليمان المستعين  
وغيره من أمراء الفتنة فأسمع الصم بيانا ، واستنزل العصم ابداعا واحسانا .

This may well be an allusion to the lines of Kuthayyir<sup>c</sup> Izza:

وأدنيته حتى إذا ما سيثني      بقول يحل العصم سهل الأباطح<sup>6</sup>  
Elsewhere, Ibn Bassām gives his views on poetry, thus:

لم أذقه إلا شميما ، ولا كنت إلا على الحديث نديما

indicating, almost certainly, his familiarity with, among others, Abū Nuwās:

أيها الرائخان باللوم لوما      لا أذوق المدام إلا شميما  
فأصرفها إلى سواي فأنسي      لست إلا على الحديث نديما<sup>7</sup>  
Again, in the Introduction, he says:

فوصلت حمص بنفس قد تقطعت شعاعا ، وذهب أكثرها التيعا .

which is reminiscent both of al-Mutanabbī:

حتى وصلت بنفس مات أكثرها      وليتني عشت منها بالذي فضلا<sup>8</sup>  
and, perhaps, of Qutrī b. al-Fujā'a:

أقول لها وقد طارت شعاعا      من الأبطال ويحك لا تراعي

Further examples of Ibn Bassām's propensity in this direction are:

1. On Abū Muḥammad <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Jalīl b. Wahbūn al-Mursī:

وكانت له في أثناء ذلك همة تترامي الى العلا ، ترامي السيل من أعالي الزبي .

which may recall Abū Tammām:

لا تنكري عطل الكريم من الغنى فالسيل حرب للمكان العالي

2. On Abū al-Faḍl Ja<sup>c</sup>far b. Muḥammad b. Sharaf:

وباسم صاحبها أنجد ذكره وغار

recalling al-A<sup>c</sup>shā:

9

نبي يرى ما لا يرون وذكره أغار لعمرى في البلاد وانجدا

3. From the Introduction:

ويا ربّ محسن مات احسانه قبله

ومات قبل موته شعره : repeated in the biography of Ibn al-Labbāna:

perhaps alluding to Di<sup>c</sup>bil b. <sup>c</sup>Ali al-Khuzā<sup>c</sup>ī:

سأقضي بييت يحمد الناس أمره ويكثر من أهل الروايات حامله

10

يموت رديء الشعر من قبل أهله وجيده يبقى وان مات قائله

4. On Abū Ḥafṣ b. Burd al-Aṣghar:

كان أبو حفص ابن برد الأصغر في وقته فلك البلاغة الدائر، ومثلها السائر ،

which is quite similar to his remark on Abū <sup>c</sup>Āmir b. Shuhayd:

نادرة الفلك الدوار ، وأعجوبة الليل والنهار

both probably deriving from Abū <sup>c</sup>Umar b. Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī:

في أهل دار كالكواكب والنوى بعد النوى فلك بهم دوار

to say nothing of the allusion in the former to Qur'ān

(113, 4 الفلق al-Falaq).

5. Speaking of the Muwashshah form:

وهي أوزان كثر استعمال أهل الأندلس لها في الغزل ، تشق على سماعها مصونات

الجيوب ، بل القلوب .

recalling al-Mutanabbī:

تشق القلوب قبل الجلود<sup>11</sup>

راميات بأسهم ريشها الهدب

As might be expected, Ibn Baṣṣām also frequently cites, or refers to, passages from the Qur'ān. When, for example, he writes, in this biography of Abū Muḥammad <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Majīd b. <sup>c</sup>Abdūn:

وصدر يسع رحلك الشتاء والصيف

the reader is instantly reminded of:

لايلاف قريش ، ايلافهم رحلة الشتاء والصيف فليعبدوا ربّ هذا البيت ، الذي  
أطعمهم من جوع وآمنهم من خوف .<sup>12</sup>

On occasion he adapts quite extended passages. For instance, this passage, from the biography of Abū Bakr <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz b. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd al-Baṭalyūsī:

امتروا أخلاف الفخر فأمطرتهم شيعا وربيا ، وهزوا بجذع النظم والنثر فأساقط  
عليهم رطبا جنيا .

is surely taken directly from Sūrat Maryam(25), :

وهزي اليك جذع النخلة تساقط عليك رطبا جنيا .<sup>13</sup>

Among many other examples of Qur'ānic citation and allusion, two further ones may be given here; they are to be found in the biographies of:

1. Abu <sup>c</sup>Amir al-Tākarni :

كان أحد من مرق من ظلمائها ، وآوى الى جبل عصمه من مائها .

cf. Sūrat Hud (43), :

14

قال سأوي الى جبل يعصمني من الماء

2. Abū al-Faḍl Ja<sup>c</sup>far b. Muḥammad b. Sharaf:

وهو اليوم بها قد طلق الشعر ثلاثا ، ونقض غزله بعد قوة انكاشا .

cf. Sūrat al-Nahl (92), :<sup>15</sup>

كالتى نقضت غزلها من بعد قوة أنكاشا .

Finally in the biography of Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan al-Murādī:

انزوا<sup>ء</sup> الخائف من الرصد

we may probably see an allusion to Sūrat al-Jinn (9), :

وان كنا نقعد منها مقاعد للسمع فمن يستمع الآن يجد له شهابا رصدا<sup>16</sup>

In addition to references to poetry and the Qur'ān, there are clearly many other literary allusions in Ibn Bassām's writing. In all probability, these are even more frequent than one is likely to realise. Many expressions and images give the impression of being taken from elsewhere rather than being of Ibn Bassām's own creation. It has proved impossible, however, to identify any specific source for these:

ذهب بفضوصه وعيونه ، وتلاعب بمنشوره وموزونه ، وتصرف بين مذاله ومصونه  
وقمر أفقها الذي ملأ الصدور والعيون ، وديوان علمها المذال والمصون ،  
ومسترق كلمها المنشور والموزون .

At all events, it is possible to point out a few examples, such as that in the biography of Abū Muḥammad <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Abī <sup>c</sup>Umar b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Barr al-Nimrī:

17

لما رأى أبو محمد أنه قد بلاء بصفقة خسران ، وإن العشاء قد سقط به على سرحان .

Here we find an allusion to a proverbial saying, of which there are two explanations given: the first, and more obvious, is that a man went out to seek his supper but fell in with a wolf, which ate him instead; the second makes Sirḥān the name of a man, Sirḥān b. Mu<sup>c</sup>tib, who killed a man of the B. As'ad who grazed his beasts on private pasture-land that he was guarding.

When he says, in the Introduction:

وأنسى جرولا العواء في أثر قوافيه .

he is alluding to al-Huṭay'a's response, when asked who was the best poet, as reported by Ibn Qutayba:

فحسبك والله بي ..... إذا رفعت إحدى رجلي على الأخرى ثم عويت عواء الفصيل

الصادي في أثر قوافيه .<sup>18</sup>

His remark, also from the Introduction:

وانتقلت من الجد الى الهزل .

is reminiscent of al-Mas<sup>c</sup>ūdī on al-Jāhiz:

كتب الجاحظ مع انحرافه المشهور ، تجلو صدأ الأذهان ، وتكشف واضح البرهان ،  
لأنه نظمها أحسن نظم ، ورففها أحسن رصف ، وكساها من كلامه أجزل لفظ ، وكان  
إذا تخوف ملل القاريء وسامة السامع خرج من جد الى هزل ، ومن حكمة بليغة الى  
نادرة ظريفة .<sup>19</sup>

When he says, in his biography of Abū<sup>c</sup> Abd Allāh Muḥammad  
b. Sharaf:

وقد نبت شفرته ، وطفئت جمرته .

he is most probably alluding to Abū Hilāl al-<sup>c</sup>Askarī's  
remarks concerning common metaphors:

<sup>20</sup>  
أطفئت جمرته .

Quite frequently, he falls into actual poetic metre, or  
something approximating very closely to it, at least for a  
few feet. This is probably unconscious on his part. As  
examples, we may cite the following:

فات الأنام طرا . وشعر ليس للسحر بيانه .

We find in his style a very considerable fondness for  
alliteration, and an advanced degree of sophistication  
in its use, quite apart from its employment in the actual  
rhymes of his saj<sup>c</sup>. Consider, for example:

شق كمام الكلام عن أفانين النور والزهر

with its progression of kāf, mim, long a, nūn and rā'.

Ibn Bassām is not very precise in his use of critical terms.

When, for example, he says of a poet: وله منظوم مطبوع

we cannot tell whether he wishes to indicate that the  
poetry in question is devoid of artificiality and badī'<sup>c</sup> or  
elegant and passionate, and when he follows this statement

with: ونشر بديع again we cannot tell whether he means that it is skill fully varied and innovative or full of the different figures of badī<sup>c</sup>. Are the two phrases intended as complementary or contrastive?

He is not, of course, merely or even primarily either a critic or a biographer, even though the whole of his large work is ostensibly devoted to criticism and biography. The style in which he chooses to compose his essays amply demonstrates that. He is essentially a "man of letters", an adīb, intent upon making his own contribution to artistic prose writing as important as, or more important than, that of any of his subjects.

In all saj<sup>c</sup>, there is the danger of prolixity, of repetitiveness, of saying the same thing in various different ways. Ibn Bassām does not always avoid this danger. It is difficult, for example, to see that the second unit adds greatly to the force of the statement here:

ممن نهض في الصناعة بالبيع الأسد ، وأخذ فيها بالساعد الأشد  
or even here:

شرفهم بمنزلة الفص من الخاتم ، وبمكان السر من صدر الحازم  
There is perhaps rather more justification for the latter, but it still gives a distinct impression of having been introduced principally for the sake of having a couplet.

He is, without doubt, extremely skilled in the manipulation of words, within the confining bounds of the medium in which he chooses to express himself. His saḥḥ<sup>c</sup>, which he does not hesitate to interrupt with ordinary prose on occasions, is one of the most supple examples of this genre that one could hope to find. He varies the length of the units and their relationship to one another, sometimes having one unit dependent upon the one preceeding it, sometimes having it parallel to it, sometimes making it more specific, sometimes making it less so. One of his favourite constructions is that exemplified by the following passage, in which he first splits a sentence in the middle, for the sake of rhyming, by using the maf<sup>c</sup>ūl mutlaq in idāfa:

كان أبو محمد قد حلّ من كتاب الإقليم ، محل القمر من النجوم  
and follows it with a second split sentence, usually again rhyming with the first, either with a very similar sense, or, as here, with a completely different one:

وتصرف في التأخير والتقديم ، تصرف الشفرة في الأديم

This example also demonstrates another characteristic of his writing, in that we are left in some uncertainty as to what precisely he means by al-ta'khīr wa-al-taqdīm. He does not depend on the introduction of unusual or obscure words to create his effects; indeed, most of the actual words that he uses are perfectly familiar. The not infrequent obscurity that we encounter in his writing comes from the images into which he weaves these words, as, for example, when he says of Abū Manṣūr al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālibī:

تفقد للاقتراح بالمرصاد



As a representative example of his saj<sup>c</sup>-composition at its best and most limpid, devoid of any affectation, awkwardness or dubious taste, perhaps we may conclude with this passage, from his biography of al-A<sup>c</sup>ma al-Tulaytulī:

له أدب بارع ، ونظر في غامضه واسع ، وفهم لا يجارى ، وذهن لا يبارى ، ونظم كالسحر الحلل ، ونشر كالماء الزلال ، جاء في ذلك بالنادر المعجز ، فـ في الطويل منه والموجز ، نظم أخبار الأمم في لية القريض ، وأسمع فيه ما هو أطرف من نغم معبد والغريض ، وكان بالأندلس سرّ الاحسان ، وفردا في الزمان ، إلا أنه لم يطل زمانه ، ولا امتد أوانه ، واعتبط عندما به اغتبط ، وأضحت نواظر الآداب لفقده رمة ، ونفوس أهله متفجعة كمدة . وقد أثبت ما يشهد بالاحسان والانطباع ، ويثني عليه أعتة السماع .

1. Dīwān al-Mutanabbī, 471-473.
2. Abū Hilāl al-<sup>c</sup>Askarī, Kitāb al-Ṣinā<sup>c</sup>atayn, 104-105.
3. al-Maydānī, 2: 169.
4. Dīwān Ḥassān Ibn Thābit, 1: 29.
5. Dīwān Abī Tammām , 215.
6. Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, 2: 73.
7. Dīwān Abī Nuwās, 325.
8. Dīwān al-Mutanabbī, 18.
9. al-Aqlām, 122, 36.
10. Ibn Rashīq, 1, 114.
11. al-Ibāna <sup>c</sup>an Ṣariqāt al-Mutanabbī, 28.
12. al-Qurān al-Karīm <sup>sūrat</sup> Quraysh, 106.
13. Sūrat Maryam, 25.
14. Sūrat Hūd, 43.
15. Sūrat al-Nahl, 92.
16. Sūrat al-Jinn, 9.
17. Faṣl al-Maqāl, 362. al-Maydānī, 2: 221.
18. Ibn Qutayba, 242-243.
19. al-Mas<sup>c</sup>ūdī, 4, 109.
20. Abū Hilāl, 366.

APPENDIX

THE LITERARY FIGURES OF AL-DHAKHĪRA

أبو جعفر أحمد بن محمد ابن الأبار الخولاني

1. Abū Ja<sup>c</sup>far, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Abbār al-Khulānī al-Ishbīlī. One of the greater poets under al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid. Fl.c. 430 A.H.

أبو العباس أحمد ابن قاسم المحدث

2. Abū al-<sup>c</sup>Abbās Aḥmad b. Qāsīm al-Muḥaddith. A noted Ḥadīth specialist, who also wrote poetry.

أبو جعفر ابن أحمد الداني

3. Abū Ja<sup>c</sup>far, b. Aḥmad al-Dānī. From Denia, where father was a member of Mujāhid's shurṭa. Ṣāhib Dīwān al-Inshā' under al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid.

أبو عبدالله محمد ابن عبدالرحمن ابن أحمد يعرف بالأحمر

4. Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam b. Sulaymān b. al-Nāṣir al-Amawī al-Qurashī, called al-Aḥmar. Student of Ibn al-Sarrāj. Died 542 A.H.

أبو الأصغ عبد العزيز ابن محمد ابن أرقم

5. Abū al-Aṣḡagh, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Arqam. From Guadix, but lived at Almería. Spent some time with Iqbāl al-Dawla <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Mujāhid at Denia, then returned to Almería, where al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taṣim b. Ṣumādih sent him, with Abū <sup>c</sup>Ubayd al-Bakrī and al-Qādī Abū Bakr b. Ṣāhib al-Aḥbās, some time after 460 A.H., as envoy to al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid. Author of al-Anwār fī Durūb al-Ash<sup>c</sup>ār, which he also epitomised as al-Aḥdāq. Died during reign of al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid.

أبو الحسن علي ابن عبدالله ابن علي يعرف بابن الاستجي

6. Abū al-Ḥasan, <sup>c</sup>Alī b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. <sup>c</sup>Alī, called Ibn al-Istajī. From Córdoba, but settled in Seville. Faqīh,

grammarians and poets. Some of his work included in Abū al-Walīd's (see 36 ) al-Badī<sup>c</sup> fī Faṣl al-Rabī<sup>c</sup>.

أبو طاهر محمد ابن يوسف الأشكوري

7. Abū al-Tāhir, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ashkūrī. Poet. From village in province of Zaragoza. Respected by Banū Hūd, but wrote most of his madiḥ for al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taṣim b. Ṣumādiḥ, of Almeria.

أبو الأصغ عبد العزيز ابن عبدالرحمن الناصر

8. Abū al-Aṣḡagh, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir. Prose writer and poet. Addressed many poems to al-Ma'mūn al-Qāsim b. Ḥammūd, the caliph at Córdoba. Lived at Zaragoza under patronage of Mundhir b. Yaḥyā al-Tujībī, but later moved to Valencia. Died 452 A.H.

أبو عامر ابن الأميلي

9. Abū <sup>c</sup>Āmir, b. al-Aṣīlī. Distinguished prose writer and poet of Mukhammasāt. From noble family of Zaragoza. Travelled much in al-Andalus.

أبو بكر محمد المظفر ابن عبدالله ابن مسلمة يعرف بابن الأفتس

10. Abū Bakr, Muḥammad al-Muḡaffar b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Maslama, called Ibn al-Aftas. Established dynasty in Badajoz. Author of 50 volume work, al-Tadhkira or al-Kitāb al-Muḡaffarī. His rule lasted from 437 to 456 A.H.

أبو عبدالله محمد ابن أيمن

11. Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh, Muḥammad b. Ayman. Wazir of al-Mutawakkil (38) after Abū al-Walid al-Ḥaḍramī. Poet and prose writer. Quarrelled with Ibn al-Dabbāgh when the latter also became, for a time, wazir.

أبو عمر يوسف ابن جعفر يعرف بابن الباجي

12. Abū <sup>c</sup>Umar Yūsuf b. Ja<sup>c</sup>far, called Ibn al-Bājī. Faqīh and prose writer. His grandfather Yūsuf, his sons Ja<sup>c</sup>far and <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh, and his grandson Yūsuf b. Ja<sup>c</sup>far were also well-known rhetoricians. Travelled in the East; appointed Qādī of Aleppo. Returned to al-Andalus where he was patronised by al-Muqtadir b. Hūd of Zaragoza.

أبو حفص ابن برد الأكبر

13. Abū Ḥafṣ b. Burd al-Akbar. Clerk in Dīwān al-Inshā' and later Wazīr under al-Mansūr b. Abī <sup>c</sup>Āmir; later clerk for Sulaymān al-Musta<sup>c</sup>īn (see 174 ). Eloquent rhetorical poet. Grandfather of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Burd al-Aṣghar. Died 418 A.H. at Zaragoza.

أبو حفص ابن برد الأصغر

14. Abū Ḥafṣ al-Aṣghar, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Burd. Teacher of Aḥmad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. <sup>c</sup>Umar b. Shuhayd. Author of Risāla fī al-Sayf wa-al-Qalam, Risāla fī al-Nakhla and Sirr al-Adab wa-Sabk al-Dhahab. 440 A.H.

أبو محمد عبدالله ابن الفقيه أبو عمر ابن عبدالبرّ

15. Abū Muḥammad, <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. al-Faqīh Abū <sup>c</sup>Umar b. Abd al-Barr al-Nimrī. Clerk to Mujāhid, al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid and al-Muḥaffar b. al-Aftas. Subsequently became wazīr to <sup>c</sup>Abbād. Died 474 A.H. at Denia.

أبو عمر فتح ابن برلوصة البطليوسي

16. Abū <sup>c</sup>Umar, Faṭḥ b. Barluṣa al-Baṭalyūsī. Poet. No further information.

أبو عبدالله محمد ابن أحمد البزلياني

17. Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bizilyānī. From Malaga. Served Ḥabbūs b. Māksin until the latter's

defeat by al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid in 443 A.H., when he became scribe to <sup>c</sup>Abbād's son al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid. Killed by al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid for his part in revolt of the latter's son Isma<sup>c</sup>il.

أبو بكر يحيى ابن عبدالرحمن ابن بقي

18. Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. Baqqī. From Zaragoza or Toledo. Wrote 3000 Muwashshahāt as well as many other poems. Died 540 A.H. at Wādī Āsh.

أبو عبيد عبدالله ابن عبدالعزيز البكري

19. Abū <sup>c</sup>Ubayd, <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz al-Bakrī. Born 432 A.H. Author of adab works such as: Sharḥ al-Amālī, Faṣl al-Maqāl, and geographical works, such as: al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik and Mu<sup>c</sup>jam mā Ista<sup>c</sup>jam.

الأسعد ابن ابراهيم ابن أسعد ابن بليطة

20. al-As<sup>c</sup>ad b. Ibrāhīm b. As<sup>c</sup>ad b. Ballīṭa al-Qurṭubī. Poet and great traveller within al-Andalus. Died c. 440 A.H.

أبو عامر البامري

21. Abū <sup>c</sup>Āmir al-Bamārī. Travelled to East and settled in Egypt. Self-styled Qur'ān teacher. Otherwise no information is given.

أبو عبدالله محمد ابن البين

22. Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh, Muḥammad b. al-Bayn. One of the most eminent poets of Badajoz. Follower of Muḥammad b. Hānī.

أبو عامر ابن التاكربي

23. Abū <sup>c</sup>Āmir, b. al-Tākarnī, Muḥammad b. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd. Prose-writer and poet. Participated with Mubārak and Muḥaffar in administration of Valencia after overthrow

of <sup>c</sup>Āmirid dynasty. Supported <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān when he took over.

أبو جعفر أحمد ابن عبد الله ابن هريرة القيسي الأعمى التطيلي

24. Abū Ja<sup>c</sup>far, Aḥmad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Hurayra al-Qaysī al-A<sup>c</sup>mā al-Tutīlī, Abū al-<sup>c</sup>Abbās. Prose writer and poet. Wrote Muwashshahāt. Died 525/527 A.H.

أبو الحسن علي ابن محمد التهامي

25. Abū al-Ḥasan, <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Muḥammad al-Tuhāmī. A friend of the wazir al-Maghribī (129). Employed by Ḥassan b. Mufarraḡ, during his revolt against the Fatimids, as agent among the Banū Qurra at Barqa. Captured there and imprisoned. Killed by the Fatimids in 416 A.H.

أبو منصور عبد الملك ابن اسماعيل الثعالبي

26. Abū Manṣūr, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. Isma<sup>c</sup>il al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālibī. 350-429 A.H. Born Nisābūr. Author of Yatīmat al-Dahr, Latā'if al-Ma<sup>c</sup>rifa, al-Tamthīl wa-al-Muḥāḡara, Fiḡh al-Luḡha, etc.

أبو الحسن ابن محمد ابن الجد

27. Abū al-Ḥasan, b. Muḥammad b. al-Jadd b. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd. From distinguished Fihri family. Secretary to Abū Bakr b. <sup>c</sup>Ammār at Murcia.

أبو القاسم محمد ابن يحيى ابن فرح ابن الجد

28. Abū al-Qāsim, Muḥammad b. Yaḡya b. Farah b. al-Jadd al-Fihri, called Ibn al-Aḡḡab. From Silves, but lived in Seville. Brother of al-Hāfiḡ Abū Bakr b. al-Jadd. Prominent poet and rhetorician. Died 415 A.H.

أبو الفتح ثابت ابن محمد الجرجاني

29. Abū al-Faḡḡ, Thābit b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī al-<sup>c</sup>Adawī.



350-431 A.H. Adīb and logician. Studied in Baghdad under <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Salām al-Baṣrī and al-Rabī<sup>c</sup> b. Jinnī. Emigrated to al-Andalus in 406 A.H., where he served Mujāhid and taught grammar and poetry. Killed by order of Bādīs Ibn Ḥabbūs for conspiracy.

أبو جعفر ابن جرح

30. Abū Ja<sup>c</sup>far, b. Jurh. From noble family of Elvira. Lived at Córdoba. Wazīr to Ibn <sup>c</sup>Ammār at the time of his revolt at Murcia.

يحيى السرقسطي يعرف بالجزان

31. Yaḥyā al-Saraqustī, known as al-Jazzār. Butcher turned poet. Wrote madih for Banū Hūd. Subsequently abandoned poetry and resumed butchery, for which Ibn Hūd reprimanded him through his wazīr, Ibn Hisday.

أبو مروان عبد الملك ابن ادريس الجزيري

32. Abū Marwān, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. Idrīs al-Jazīrī. Secretary and wazīr to <sup>c</sup>Āmirids. Imprisoned but afterwards released by al-Manṣūr. Said to have been strangled in prison by black slaves, at the instigation of the wazīr <sup>c</sup>Īsā b. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd al-Qaṭṭā<sup>c</sup> in 394 A.H.

أبو الحسن علي ابن عمارة جلال الدولة

33. Abū al-Ḥasan, <sup>c</sup>Alī b. <sup>c</sup>Ammār, Jalāl al-Dawla b. <sup>c</sup>Ammār. Ruler of Tripoli after death of uncle, al-Qādī Abū Ṭālib b. <sup>c</sup>Ammār, in 464 A.H. At death of Fatimid al-Mustanṣir in 487 A.H., sided with Nazzar, one of two claimants. Killed by al-Musta<sup>c</sup>lī, the other claimant, when he won.

أبو الحزم جهوز ابن محمد ابن جهوز ابن عبيد الله ابن محمد

34. Abū al-Ḥazm, Jahwar b. Muḥammad b. Jahwar b. <sup>c</sup>Ubayd

Allāh b. Muḥammad. Wazīr who ruled Córdoba after deposition of Hisham b. Muḥammad al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid bi-Allāh in 422 A.H. Died 435 A.H.

أبو الوليد اسماعيل ابن محمد يعرف بـ حبيب

35. Abū al-Walīd Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl b. Muḥammad, called Ḥabīb. A student of Ibn al-Abbār. Rāwī and extemporiser. Author of al-Badī fī Faṣl al-Rabī<sup>c</sup>. Said to have died at the age of 22, but according to another version, killed by al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid at the age of 29, in 440 A.H.

أبو مروان عبد الملك ابن غصن الحجاري

36. Abū Marwān, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. Ghuṣn al-Ḥijārī al-Khulānī. From Guadalajara. Imprisoned by al-Ma'mūn b. Dhī Nūn; released by Ibn Hūd. Author of two works: 1. Risālat al-Sijn wa-al-Masjūn wa-al-Hazn wa-al-Maḥzūn; 2. al-<sup>c</sup>Ashr Kalimāt. Died 454 A.H. at Granada.

أبو حاتم الحجاري

37. Abū Ḥātim al-Ḥijārī. Prose writer, poet, orator, doctor and soldier. From Guadalajara. Moved to Córdoba after collapse of Mulūk al-Ṭawa'if. Corresponded much with contemporary scholars.

أبو تمام غالب يعرف بالحجام

38. Abū Tammām, Ghālib, known as al-Ḥajjām. Poet. From Calatrava. Captured by Alfonso VI 476 A.H. Learnt trade of cupping. Wrote in style of al-Ramādī.

محمد ابن أحمد ابن الحداد

39. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥaddād, called Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh. From Wādī Āsh. Author of al-Mustanbaṭ, on prosody.

Lived in Almeria, and served al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tašim Muḥammad b. Ma<sup>c</sup>n b. Ṣumādih. Wrote many madiḥ poems to him; left him for al-Muqtadir b. Hūd in Zaragoza in 461 A.H. Later returned to Almeria and died there 480 A.H.

أبو محمد علي ابن أحمد ابن سعيد ابن حزم

40. Abū Muḥammad, <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd b. Ḥazm b. Ghālib. Mutakallim, but mentioned by Ibn Bassām as a poet. Author of al-Ṣādi<sup>c</sup> wa-al-Rādi<sup>c</sup>, Kitab al-Jāmi<sup>c</sup>, al-Imāma wa-al-Siyāsa, Jamharat Ansāb al-<sup>c</sup>Arab, etc. Died 456 A.H. at Córdoba.

أبو الوليد محمد ابن يحيى ابن حزم

41. Abū al-Walīd, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥazm, cousin of Abū al-Ḥakam . . . A distinguished adīb and poet, particularly in ḥitāb poetry.

أبو المغيرة عبدالوهاب ابن سعيد ابن حزم

42. Abū al-Mughīra <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Waḥḥāb b. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd b. Ḥazm. Cousin of Ibn Ḥazm (author of Tawq al-Ḥamāma). Scribe and wazīr to <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hishām, al-Mustazḥir. Prolific poet. Died 420 A.H.

أبو مروان عبدالملك ابن هذيل ابن رزين حسام الدولة

43. Abū Marwān, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. Hudhayl b. Razīn Dhū al-Wizāratayn, Husām al-Dawla. 436-496 A.H. Succeeded his father, al-Ḥājib <sup>c</sup>Izz al-Dawla Abū Muḥammad, who established dynasty in 401 A.H.

أبو الفضل حسداي ابن يوسف ابن حسداي

44. Abū al-Faḍl, Hisdāy b. Yūsuf b. Hisdāy. Prose writer. From distinguished Jewish family at Zaragoza; patronised by Banū Hūd.

أبو الحسن علي ابن عبدالغني الكفيف يعرف بالحصري

45. Abū al-Ḥasan, <sup>c</sup>Alī b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Ghanī, al-Kafīf, known as al-Ḥuṣrī. Poet and prose writer. Went to al-Andalus after destruction of Qayrawan (c. 450 A.H.). After downfall of Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if migrated to Tangier. Died 488 A.H.

أبو اسحق ابراهيم ابن علي ابن تميم يعرف بالحصري

46. Abū Ishāq, Ibrāhīm b. <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Tamīm known as al-Ḥuṣrī. From Qayrawān. Was warrāq by trade. Author of Zahr al-Ādāb wa-Thamār al-Albāb, Kitāb al-Nūr wa-al-Nawr and Kitāb al-Maṣūn min al-Dawawīn. Died 453 A.H. (but according to Ibn Rashīq - and Ibn Khallikān - 413).

أبو الحسن علي ابن حنن الاشبيلي

47. Abū al-Ḥasan <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Ḥiṣn al-Ishbīlī. A wazīr of al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid, and a celebrated poet.

أبو محمد عبدالجبار ابن حمديس الصقلي

48. Abū Muḥammad, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Jabbār b. Ḥamdīs al-Ṣiqillī. 447-527 A.H. Distinguished Sicilian poet. Travelled to al-Andalus and met Ibn Bassām.

أبو عبدالله ابن الحناط محمد ابن سليمان الرعييني

49. Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥannāt, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Ru<sup>c</sup>aynī. Poet and polymath; theologian, astronomer, physician, philosopher, grammarian and adīb. Had many disputes in both prose and poetry with Abū <sup>c</sup>Āmir b. Shuhayd. Died 437 A.H.

أبو مروان حيان ابن خلف ابن حسين ابن حيان

50. Abū Marwān, Ḥayyān b. Khalaf b. Husayn b. Ḥayyān al-Qurṭubi. 377-469 A.H. Studied under his father, Ahmad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz al-Naḥwī and Sa<sup>c</sup>īd al-

Baghdādī. Greatest historian of al-Andalus of his time. Author of al-Matin, al-Muqtabas, al-Batshat al-Kubrā, Akhbār al-Dawla al-<sup>c</sup>Āmiriyya and Tārīkh fuqahā<sup>3</sup> Qurtuba. Secretary of al-Mansur.

أبو اسحاق إبراهيم ابن الفتح ابن عبدالله ابن خفاجة

51. Abū Ishāq, Ibrahim b. al-Faṭḥ b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Khafāja. 450-533 A.H. One of the most distinguished poets of al-Andalus of any period. Known as Jannān al-Andalus and Ṣanawbarī al-Andalus. Lived at Alcira.

أبو عبدالله محمد ابن مسعود ابن طيب ابن خلعة

52. Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh, Muḥammad b. Mas<sup>c</sup>ūd b. Ṭīb b. Khalṣa. 465-540 A.H. Prominent man of letters. From Segura. Served Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Lamtūnī, both in Córdoba and in Zaragoza. Author of a number of works, such as Zill al-Ghamāma wa-Tawq al-Ḥamāma, Sirāj al-Adab and Mi<sup>c</sup>rāj al-Manāqib.

أبو عبدالله ابن خلعة الضريز النحوي

53. Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh, Ibn Khalṣa al-Ḍarīr al-Naḥwī al-Shadhūnī al-Dānī. One of the most distinguished grammarians and poets of his day. Lived at Denia. Fl.c. 440 A.H.

أبو أحمد عبدالعزيز ابن خيرة القرطبي

54. Abū Aḥmad, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz b. Khayra al-Qurṭubī, called al-Munfatil. One of the most distinguished poets and prose writers of Elvira under the Mulūk al-Ṭawāif.

أبو عمر أحمد ابن دراج القسطلبي

55. Abū <sup>c</sup>Umar Aḥmad b. Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī 347-421 (428) A.H. He worked as a clerk for al-Manṣūr b. Abī <sup>c</sup>Āmir. The most noteworthy poet of al-Andalus of his time. Mentioned by al-Tha<sup>c</sup>ālibī as being "as famous in

al-Andalus as al-Mutanabbī in the East ".

أبو جعفر أحمد ابن الدودين البلنسي

56. Abū Ja<sup>c</sup>far, Aḥmad b. al-Dūdīn al-Balansī. Poet whom Ibn Bassām met in Lisbon in 477 A.H. Travelled in Iraq and Khurasān, and became well-known to rulers of those regions.

محمد ابن ديسم الاشيلي

57. Muḥammad b. Daysam al-Ishbīlī. Poet under al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid.

أبو علي الحسن ابن علي ابن رشيق القيرواني

58. Abū <sup>c</sup>Ali, al-Ḥasan b. <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Rashīq al-Masīlī al-Qayrawānī. Extremely celebrated writer on poetry. Born either 370 or 395 A.H. Father a goldsmith. Went to Qayrawān in 406 A.H. and later served at court of Amīr al-Mu<sup>c</sup>izz b. Bādīs. After destruction of Qayrawān in 443 A.H., escaped to Sicily, where he died, either in 456 or 463 A.H. Author of al-<sup>c</sup>Umda fī Ṣinā<sup>c</sup>at al-Shi<sup>c</sup>r wa-Naqdihi, Shu<sup>c</sup>arā<sup>ʿ</sup> al-Unmūdhaj, Qurrādat al-Dhahab, etc.

أبو العلاء زهر ابن عبد الملك ابن زهر الأيادي

59. Abū al-<sup>c</sup>Alā<sup>ʿ</sup>, Zuhr b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. Zuhr al-Ayādī. Poet, mathematician, and physician. Wrote many poems in praise of Husām al-Dawla b. Razīn. Travelled to the East. After deposition of Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abbād served under al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid. Later served under Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn. Died 525 A.H. at Seville.

زهير الفتى

60. Zuhayr al-Fatā. Saqlabī Mawlā of the Banū <sup>c</sup>Āmir.

أبو زكريا ابن الزيتوني

61. Abū Zakariyyā, b. al-Zaytūnī from Fez. Poet. Travelled in al-Andalus, where met Ibn Zaydūn and recited before al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tadid.

أبو الوليد ابن زيدون أحمد ابن عبدالله

62. Abū al-Walīd Ibn Zaydūn, Aḥmad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh.  
394-463 A.H. His father, a faqīh in Córdoba, was of Makhzūm Quraysh, his mother of Qays. Courtier of al-Musta<sup>c</sup>in; elevated by Abū al-Walīd b. Jahwar and sent on embassies. Died in Seville. Poet and author of several prose works, such as al-Risāla al-Jiddiyya and al-Risala al-Hazaliyya.

أبو محمد عبدالله ابن سارة الشنتريني

63. Abū Muḥammad, <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Sāra al-Shantarīnī. Lived in Seville, Almeria and Granada. Made living as Warrāq (copyist). Travelled extensively in al-Andalus to teach language. Grammarian and hijā' poet.

أبو عبدالله محمد ابن السراج المالقي

64. Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Sarrāj al-Mālaqī.  
Poet and prose writer. Served the Banū Ḥammūd.

أبو مروان ابن عبدالله ابن السراج ابن عبدالله

65. Abū Marwān b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. al-Sarrāj b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh.  
400-489 A.H. from Córdoba. Qurān and Ḥadīth specialist.

سراج ابن عبد الملك ابن سراج ابن عبدالله ابن محمد ابن سراج

66. Sirāj b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. Sirāj b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Sirāj. 439-508 A.H. From Córdoba.  
Scholar of language and literature.

أبو بكر عبدالعزيز ابن سعيد البطليوسي

67. Abū Bakr <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz b. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd al-Baṭalyūsī. One of three brothers known as Banū al-Qubṭurna. Prose writer. Scribe to al-Mutawakkil (146); later served Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn. Died 520 A.H.

- أبو الحسن ابراهيم ابن محمد ابن يحيى يعرف بابن السقاء
68. Abū al-Ḥasan, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, known as Ibn al-Saqqā'. Appointed as mudabbir by Abū al-Walīd b. Jahwar of Córdoba. Became extremely rich. Killed 455 A.H.

- أبو القاسم خلف ابن فرج الالبيري يعرف بالسميسر
69. Abū al-Qāsim Khalaf b. Faraj al-Ilbīrī, called al-Sumaysir. Distinguished poet, especially in Hijā'; wrote Muzdawaj poetry. Satirised Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs and had to take refuge with the Banū Ṣumādiḥ.

- أبو بكر محمد ابن سوار الاشبوني
70. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Sawwār al-Ishbūnī. Poet. Wrote much madīḥ to various of Mulūk al-Ṭawāif, but not for mercenary reasons. Briefly detained by Almoravids; after release wandered round al-Andalus, before settling with Abū al-Ḥasan <sup>c</sup>Alī b. al-Qāsim b. <sup>c</sup>Ishra in the Maghrib.

- عبدالعزیز ابن محمد السوسي
71. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Susī. Poet at court of Yaḥya al-Ma'mūn b. Dhī al-Nūn. Fl.c. 455 A.H.

- أبو محمد ابن السيد البطليوسي
72. Abū Muḥammad, b. al-Sayyid al-Baṭalyūsī. 444-521 A.H. Prose writer and grammarian. Served al-Qādir bi-Allāh b. Dhī al-Nūn, of Toledo, al-Musta<sup>c</sup>īn bi-Allāh b. Hūd, of Zaragoza, and Ibn Razīn, of al-Sahla.

- أبو جعفر أحمد ابن عبد الله يعرف بابن شانجة
73. Abū Ja<sup>c</sup>far, Aḥmad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh, called Ibn Shanja. Of the circle of Abū Marwān (see below 78) for 40 years. Ibn Bassām says he was well-versed in poetry, but cites little. "Rapacious and ill-natured". Died 414 A.H.



أبو الفضل جعفر ابن محمد ابن شرف

74. Abū al-Faḍl, Ja<sup>c</sup>far b. Muḥammad b. Sharaf. Poet and prose writer. From Qayrawān, which he left for Borj, in province of Almeria, 447 A.H. Abandoned poetry for study of medicine. Author of books on various subjects: Amthāl, Akhbār, Adab, and poetry. Died 534 A.H.

أبو عبدالله محمد ابن شرف القيرواني

75. Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh, Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Qayrawānī. Prolific poet and prose writer. al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid tried, unsuccessfully, to attract him to his court. Eventually settled at court of Yaḥyā al-Ma'mūn b. Dhī al-Nūn. Author of Kitāb A<sup>c</sup>lām al-Kalām, Kitāb Abkār al-Afkār, Sājūr al-Kalb, Nujh al-Talab, Risālat Qat<sup>c</sup> al-Anfās, and Maqāmāt. Corresponded with Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī.

أبو مطرف المالقي عبدالرحمن ابن قاسم الشعبي

76. Abū al-Muṭarrāf al-Mālaqī, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥman b. Qāsim al-Sha<sup>c</sup>bī. 402-497 A.H. Faqīh of Malaga.

أبو مروان عبدالملك ابن محمد ابن شماخ

77. Abū Marwān <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Shammākh. Brother of Ja<sup>c</sup>far. Poet. Wrote poems to other literary figures of his time, such as <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Ḥamdīn.

أبو حفص عمر ابن شهيد التجيبي

78. Abū Ḥafs, <sup>c</sup>Umar b. al-Shahīd al-Tujībī. Fl. 440 A.H. at Almeria. Writer of Maqāmāt and prolific poet.

أحمد ابن عبدالملك ابن عمر ابن محمد ابن عيسى ابن شهيد

79. Aḥmad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. <sup>c</sup>Umar b. Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Isā b. Shuhayd. 383-426 A.H. Prominent writer in Córdoba. Author of Hānūt <sup>c</sup>Attār, Risālat al-Tawābi<sup>c</sup> wa-al-Zawābi<sup>c</sup>, and Diwān.

سعيد ابن الحسن ابن عيسى البغدادي الطبري

80. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd b. al-Ḥasan b. <sup>c</sup>Īsā al-Baghdādī al-Ṭabarī. Adīb.  
From tribe of Rabi<sup>c</sup>at al-Faras. Came to al-Andalus  
from east in 380 A.H. Served al-Manṣūr b. Abī <sup>c</sup>Āmir,  
then his successor, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar. Left  
Córdoba during fitna and went to Saltis in 403.  
Eventually settled in Sicily, after considerable  
travelling. Author of al-Fuṣuṣ. Died 417 A.H.

أبو الحسن صالح ابن صالح الشنتمري

81. Abū al-Ḥasan, Ṣāliḥ b. Ṣāliḥ al-Shantamrī. Celebrated  
poet and great prose-writer of 5th century. Known  
for his natural use of rhyme. Troubled by nervous  
disorder.

أبو المطرف عبدالرحمن ابن فاخر يعرف بابن الصباغ

82. Abū al-Muṭarrāf, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. Fākhir, known as  
Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh. Considerable poet. First served  
al-Muqtadir b. Hūd, then al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid b. <sup>c</sup>Abbād, in  
Seville, who employed him to negotiate with al-  
Mutawakkil b. al-Aḫṭas. Exiled by al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid after  
quarrel with Ibn <sup>c</sup>Ammār; went to al-Mutawakkil in  
Badajoz, then returned to Zaragoza, where he was killed.

أبو عبدالله محمد ابن الصباغ المقلبي

83. Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh, Muḥammad b. al-Ṣabbāgh al-Ṣiqillī.  
Poet and prose writer. Corresponded with Abū Ḥafṣ  
al-Qu<sup>c</sup>aynī.

أبو اسحق ابراهيم ابن خيرة يعرف بابن الصباغ

84. Abū Ishāq, Ibrāhīm b. Khīra, called Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh.  
From Seville. Poet. Nothing known, except mentioned  
by Ibn Maslama.

أبو المطرف ابن مثنى ابن عبد الرحمن ابن صبغون

85. Abū al-Muṭarrāf, b. Mathnā b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān b. Ṣabghūn. Son of one of the most distinguished faqīhs of Córdoba. Lived in Valencia. Became wazīr to al-Ma'mūn b. Yaḥyā b. Dhī al-Nūn. Died 458 A.H.

سليمان ابن محمد المهري المقلبي

86. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad al-Mahrī al-Siqillī. Poet. Wrote madīh of various Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if. Arrived in al-Andalus in 440 A.H., after visiting Africa.

أبو يحيى محمد ابن معن ابن صمادح التجيبي

87. Abū Yaḥyā, Muḥammad b. Ma<sup>c</sup>n b. Ṣumādiḥ al-Tujībī. His grandfather, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣumādiḥ, Abū Yaḥyā, was the owner of Washqa and its surrounding area. He first served Hishām, then Sulaymān, who entrusted him with the ministerial positions of Dhū al-Wizāratayn. He was defeated by his cousin Mundhir b. Yaḥyā al-Tujībī and died about 484 A.H.

أبو يحيى رفيع الدولة ابن صمادح

88. Abū Yaḥyā Rafī<sup>c</sup> al-Dawla b. Ṣumādiḥ, son of al-Mu<sup>c</sup>ṭaṣim b. Ṣumādiḥ. Poet, mostly of ghazal. Corresponded with Abū Yaḥyā b. Matrūḥ in poetry.

أبو بكر يوسف ابن عبد الصمد

89. Abū Bakr, Yūsuf b. Abd al-Ṣamad. Poet and prose writer. From noble family, famous as writers, originally from Jaen. Grandson of al-Samiḥ b. Malik b. Khulān, son of al-Qāsim (d. 448 A.H.), served in treasury under Khayrān and Zuhayr at Almeria, in government of al-Manṣūr b. Abī <sup>c</sup>Amir, and finally in government of Ibn Ṣumādiḥ. Died 480 A.H.

أبو عبدالله جعفر ابن محمد ابن مكي ابن أبي طالب

90. Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh Ja<sup>c</sup>far b. Muḥammad b. Makkī b. Abī Tālib al-Qaysī. Teacher and companion of Ibn Bushkawāl. Considerable scholar of language and literature. Collected large library. Died 535 A.H.

أبو عبدالرحمن محمد ابن أحمد ابن اسحاق ابن طاهر

91. Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. Tāhir Dhū al-Wizāratayn. King of Murcia, succeeding his father in 455 A.H. Well known for epistolatory style. Ibn Bassām compiled a collection of his letters: Silk al-Jawāhir min Tarsīl Ibn Tāhir. Died 507 or 508 A.H.

أبو مضر ابن علي السعدي التميمي الطبري

92. Abū Muḍar b. <sup>c</sup>Alī al-Sa<sup>c</sup>dī al-Tamīmī al-Ṭubnī, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. Ziyādat Allāh. 339-456 A.H. Poet in Córdoba. Travelled extensively in the East and the Maghrib.

أبو الحسن علي ابن عبدالعزيز ابن زيادة الله الطبري

93. Abū al-Ḥasan, <sup>c</sup>Alī b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz b. Ziyādat Allāh al-Ṭubnī. Relation of (93). Poet who recited his poetry to Ibn Bassām. No other information given.

أبو الوليد أحمد ابن عبدالله ابن طريف

94. Abū al-Walīd Aḥmad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Tarīf. Wrote elegy on Ibn al-Sirāj. Otherwise no information given.

محمد ابن مالك الطغرني

95. Muḥammad b. Mālik al-Taghnarī, called Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh al-Aṣghar. From Granada. Wrote several elegies on al-Wazir al-Faqih Abū Marwan b. Sirāj. Ibn Bassām rated him highly.

أبو الحسن علي ابن اسماعيل القرشي الاشيلي يعرف بالطيطل

96. Abū al-Ḥasan <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl al-Qurashī al-Ishbīlī called al-Taytal. From Córdoba. Faqih and Muḥaddith.

Wrote ascetic poetry in the style of Abū al-<sup>c</sup>Atahya

أبو بكر ابن ظهار

97. Abū Bakr b. Ṣahhār. Author of much madīh poetry to Abū al-Mughīra b. Ḥazm, well-known for his generosity, although poor.

أبو عبدالله ابن عائشة

98. Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh, b. <sup>c</sup>Ā'isha. Governor of Valencia under <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, then appointed Chief Accountant in Morocco. Accomplished mathematician and adīb. Friend of Ibn Khafāja.

أبو بكر ابن عامر

99. Abū Bakr, b. <sup>c</sup>Āmir. 422-477 A.H. From Silves. Wazīr, poet and prose writer. Celebrated for hijā' and humorous verse. Killed by al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid.

أبو القاسم القاضي محمد ابن عباد

100. Abū al-Qāsim, al-Qāḍī Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Abbād Dhū al-Wizāratayn. Former of <sup>c</sup>Abbadite dynasty. Scholar, patron and poet. Died 433 A.H.

أبو جعفر أحمد ابن عباد

101. Abu Ja<sup>c</sup>far, Aḥmad b. <sup>c</sup>Abbād. Wazīr to Zuhayr al-fatā, (see 60). Prose writer and rhetorician. Great book collector, said to have amassed 400,000. Also known for love of money. Killed by Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs, at Granada.

أبو محمد عبدالمجيد ابن عبدون

102. Abū Muḥammad, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Majīd b. <sup>c</sup>Abdūn. Wazīr and secretary to Banū al-Afṭas, then to Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, at fall of the former. Celebrated poet, best known for <sup>c</sup>Abdūniyya, on al-Mutawakkil. Classed by Ibn Bassām as one of four distinguished secretaries of his age, with Ibn al-Qaṣīra (see 136 ), Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abd al-

Ghafūr (see 119 ) and Abū al-Qāsim b. al-Jadd  
(see 29 ).

أبو العرب الصقلي مصعب ابن محمد ابن أبي الفرات

103. Abū al-<sup>c</sup>Arab al-Siqillī, Muṣ<sup>c</sup>ab b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Furāt b. Zurara al-Qurashī al-<sup>c</sup>Abdarī. 432-506/7 A.H. Born in Sicily. Left for al-Andalus when Normans took Sicily in 465 A.H. Poet at court of al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid, and, after latter's capture by Almoravids, at court of Naṣir al-dawla of Majorca.

أبو محمد ابن ذي الوزارتين المشرف أبي مروان ابن عبدالعزيز

104. Abū Muḥammad b. Dhī al-Wizāratayn al-Mushrif Abī Marwān b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz al-Lakhmī al-Ishbīlī. 462-536/540 A.H. From Cordoba. Studied under Abū al-Walīd al-<sup>c</sup>Utbī, Abū <sup>c</sup>Ubayd al-Bakrī and others. Wazīr to Ibn al-Hājj al-Lamtūnī but ran away. Later returned and was reappointed as wazīr, in Fez and elsewhere in the Maghrib, Zaragoza and Valencia.

أبو بكر ابن عبدالعزيز

105. Abū Bakr, b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz. From noble family. His father was a secretary of the wazīr, Abū <sup>c</sup>Amir b. al-Tākarnī in Valencia. Himself appointed wazīr to <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz, called al-Muḥaffar. Died 456 A.H.

أبو الوليد محمد ابن عبدالعزيز المعلم

106. Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz al-Mu<sup>c</sup>allim. A wazīr of al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid. Distinguished poet and prose writer; also composed Maqāmāt.

- أبو الأصغ ابن عبدالعزیز
107. Abū al-Aṣḡagh b. Abd al-ʿAzīz. Adīb and poet.  
Nothing known about him, except mentioned by al-Ḥumaydī.
- أبو الفضل محمد ابن عبدالواحد البغدادي الدارمي
108. Abū al-Faḍl, Muḥammad b. Abd al-Wāḥid al-Baghdādī al-Dārimī. 388-454/5 A.H. From learned literary family. Went to Qayrawān during rule of al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (introducing al-Thaʿālibī's Kitāb al-Yatīma) in 439 A.H. After destruction of Qayrawān returned to al-Andalus, first to Toledo, then to Susa and Denia, during time of Ibn Mujāhid, then to Valencia, then back to Toledo.
- أبو محمد عبدالوهاب ابن نصر المالكي البغدادي
109. Abū Muḥammad, Abd al-Wahhāb b. Naṣr al-Mālikī al-Baghdādī. Poet and faqīh from Baghdad. Visited al-Andalus, but settled in Egypt. Died 422 A.H.
- أبو علي العسقلاني الحسن ابن محمد ابن عبدالصمد ابن أبي الشخاء
110. Abū ʿAlī, al-ʿAsqalānī, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Abī al-Shakhbā, known as al-Mujīd Dhū al-Fadīlatayn. Poet and prose writer. al-Qādī al-Fādīl is said to have used his works in the writing of his own treatises. Died 482/486 A.H.
- أبو بكر عبدالله ابن محمد ابن العطار اليباسي
111. Abū Bakr, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAṭṭar al-Yābisī. From al-Dār, in province of Denia. Wrote madīḥ to al-Muʿtamid.
- أبو بكر محمد ابن عبدالملك ابن عيسى ابن قزمان
112. Abū Bakr, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿIsā b. Quzmān. Prose writer and rhetorician. Scribe to al-Mutawakkil (320). A cousin of Ibn Quzmān, the Zajal-poet. Died 508 A.H.

أبو بكر محمد ابن عيسى الداني يعرف بابن اللبانة

113. Abū Bakr, Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Isā al-Dānī, known as Ibn al-Labbāna. Mother was shop-keeper, selling laban. Prose writer and poet. Favourite of al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid. Among his works are: Manāqil al-Fitna, Nazm al-Sulūk fī Wa<sup>c</sup>z al-Mulūk and Saqīt al-durar wa-laqīt al-Zahar. Died 507 A.H. in Majorca.

أبو أحمد ابن عيسى الالبيري

114. Abū Aḥmad b. <sup>c</sup>Isā al-Ilbīrī. Lived in Granada. Poet, adīb and theologian. Died 429 A.H.

أبو الخطاب عمر ابن أحمد ابن عبد الله ابن عيطون

115. Abū al-Khaṭṭāb, <sup>c</sup>Umar b. Aḥmad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. <sup>c</sup>Aytūn al-Ṭulayṭulī. Poet and rhetorician. Wrote many poems to various of Mulūk al-Tawā'if, notably al-Mutawakkil b. al-Muzaffar of Badajoz. Fl. c. 474 A.H.

غانم ابن وليد ابن محمد ابن عبد الرحمن المخزومي

116. Ghānim b. Walīd b. Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī. Faqīh, teacher, and adīb. Died 470 A.H.

أبو عامر أحمد ابن غرسية

117. Abū <sup>c</sup>Āmir, Aḥmad b. Gharsiya. A Christian from the Basque country, captured in youth. Educated by Mujahid. Acquired great skill in Arabic rhetoric. Addressed epistle to Ibn al-Kharraz in which he praised his own people and satirised the Arabs.

أبو محمد ابن عبد الغفور ابن ذي الوزارتين أبو القاسم

118. Abū Muḥammad, b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Ghafūr b. Dhī al-Wizāratayn, Abū al-Qāsim. Distinguished adīb. Grew up under al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid. Secretary in Marrakesh C. 531 A.H.



أبو القاسم محمد ابن عبد الغفور

119. Abū al-Qāsīm, Muḥammad b. Abd al-Ghafūr. A friend of al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid, who composed an elegy on him. Grandfather of Abū Muhammad Abd al-Ghafūr (see 119 ). Author of Ihkām San<sup>c</sup>at al-Kalām.

أبو الحسن حكم ابن محمد غلام البكري

120. Abū al-Hasan, Ḥakam b. Muḥammad Ghulām al-Bakrī. Considerable prose writer and (for earlier part of his career) poet. Served Banū Abbād.

أبو المطرف عبد الرحمن ابن فتوح

121. Abū al-Muṭarrif, Abd al-Raḥmān b. Futūh, called Ibn Ṣāhib al-Isfirīyyā. Author of al-Ighrāb fī Raqā<sup>3</sup>iq al-Adāb, dedicated to al-Ma'mūn Yaḥyā b. Dhī al-Nūn, and al-Ishāra ilā Ma<sup>c</sup>rifat al-Rijāl wa-al-<sup>c</sup>Ibāra, dedicated to Ibn Jahwar of Córdoba.

أبو عامر ابن الفرغ ذو الوزارتين

122. Abū Āmir, b. al-Faraj Dhū al-Wizāratayn. From noble and scholarly family. Became wazīr in Toledo, first to al-Ma'mūn b. Dhī al-Nūn, and then to his son al-Qādir. Accomplished composer of Muwashshahāt.

أبو الوليد القاضي عبدالله ابن محمد ابن يوسف الفرضي

123. Abū al-Walīd al-Qādī, Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, called al-Far dī. Author of Akhbār shu<sup>c</sup>arā' al-Andalus, Kitab fī al-Muṭalif wa-al-Mukhtalif, Tārīkh al-<sup>c</sup>Ulamā' wa-al-Ruwāt li-al-<sup>c</sup>Ilm bi-al-Andalus.

أبو الحسن عبد الكريم ابن فضال القيرواني الطواني

124. Abū al-Ḥasan, al-Qayrawānī al-Hulwānī, Abd al-Karim b. Fadḍāl. Poet. Travelled in Sicily and al-Andalus. Died 479 A.H.

أبو الحسن البغدادي يعرف بالفكيك

125. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baghdadī, known as al-Fukayk. Poet, celebrated for improvisation. Migrated to al-Andalus from east. At court of al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid, who imprisoned him for unbelief.

عبد الله ابن القبيلة السبتي

126. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. al-Qābila al-Sabtī. Poet. Met Ibn <sup>c</sup>Ubāda al-Qazzāz at Almeria. Not Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Shaltishī, Ibn al-Qābila.

القاسم ابن حمود

127. al-Qāsim b. Ḥammūd, brother of <sup>c</sup>Alī, (see 173 ). Caliph in Córdoba. (1) 408-412 A.H. (2) 413-414 A.H. Killed by his nephew Yaḥyā b. <sup>c</sup>Alī, who ruled in Cordoba between al-Qāsim's two caliphates.

أبو القاسم الحسين ابن علي المغربي

128. Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. <sup>c</sup>Alī al-Maghrībī. Born 370 A.H. Hāfiz, mathematician and calligrapher. Author of al-Munakhkhal, summary of Ibn al-Sikkī's Iṣlāh al-Mantiq, for which he was praised by Abū al-<sup>c</sup>Alā' al-Ma<sup>c</sup>arri in al-Ighridiyya and personal correspondence.

أبو عبد الله ابن محمد ابن قاضي ميلا

129. Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh, b. Qādī Mayla Muḥammad. Poet and prose writer from Algiers. Mentioned by Ibn Rashīq in al-Unmudhaj.

أبو الطيب عبد المنعم القروي

130. Abū al-Ṭayyib, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Mun<sup>c</sup>im al-Qarawī. Prose writer and poet. Immigrated to al-Andalus. Pupil of Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Barr al-Siqillī. Wrote Hadīqat al-Balāgha wa-Dawhat al-Barā<sup>c</sup>a. Also wrote epistle rebutting Ibn Gharsiya. Died 493 A.H.

أبو عبد الله محمد ابن عيادة يعرف بابن القزاز

131. Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh, Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Ubāda, called Ibn al-Qazzāz. Distinguished poet and prose writer. Wrote Muwashshahāt. Died c. 422 A.H.

أبو الربيع سليمان ابن أحمد القضاعي

132. Abū al-Rabī<sup>c</sup>, Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Qudā<sup>c</sup>i. Prose writer and poet. Corresponded with Yūsuf al-Islāmī. Wrote in style of Muḥammad b. Hānī al-Andalusī.

عيسى ابن سعيد يعرف بابن القطاع

133. <sup>c</sup>Īsā b. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd called Ibn al-Qaṭṭā<sup>c</sup>. Of the Banū al-Jazīrī. Administrator of the <sup>c</sup>Āmirid dynasty. In charge of Dīwān. He became very rich. Killed by <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. Abī <sup>c</sup>Āmir 397 A.H.

أبو عمر ابن قالوص

134. Abū <sup>c</sup>Umar b. al-Qālūs. Secretary and later wazīr to Ibn Hūd. Author of much prose and poetry.

أبو بكر ذو الوزارتين محمد ابن سليمان القضاعي الاشيلي

135. Abū Bakr, Dhū al-Wizāratayn Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Qulā<sup>c</sup>i al-Ishbīlī. Envoy of Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abbād to others of Mulūk al-Ṭawāif and to Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, whom he later served. Poet and prose writer. Died 508 A.H.

أبو بكر ابن القوطية

136. Abū Bakr b. al-Qutiyya. From Seville, but settled in Córdoba, where he became chief of police. Author of Kitāb al-Af<sup>c</sup>āl and Kitāb Iftitah al-Andalus. Grammarian. Died 367 A.H.

محمد ابن الكتاني المتطبب

137. Muḥammad b. al-Kittānī al-Mutaṭabbib. Wrote prose and some poetry. Learned in medicine, logic and philosophy. Best known work Muḥammad wa-Su<sup>c</sup>dā. Fl.c. 400 A.H.

أبو عمر يوسف ابن كوثر الشنتريني

138. Abū <sup>c</sup>Umar Yūsuf b. Kawthar al-Shantarīnī. Mentioned only as a poet who wrote very little.

أبو عيسى ابن لبون ذو الوزارتين

139. Abū <sup>c</sup>Isā, b. Labbūn, Dhū al-Wizāratayn. Companion of al-Qādir b. Yaḥyā, of Toledo. Qādī and wazīr in Valencia under Abū Bakr b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz. Subsequently became ruler of Marbitar in the province of Valencia, but relinquished it to Abū Marwan <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik b. Razīn (44), ruler of Santa Maria del Oriente. Remained there with Ibn Razīn until his death; also said to have died at Zaragoza.

أبو جعفر أحمد ابن أيوب يعرف بابن اللماي

140. Abū Ja<sup>c</sup>far, Aḥmad b. Ayyūb, called Ibn al-lamma<sup>2</sup>ī. In charge of Dīwān al-Inshā<sup>2</sup> for Hammūdids, particularly al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Hammūd. Died 465 A.H. at Malaga.

أبو بكر عبادة ابن ماء السماء الانصاري

141. Abū Bakr <sup>c</sup>Ubād b. Mā<sup>2</sup> al-Samā<sup>2</sup> al-Anṣārī. Student of Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī. One of the most distinguished poets of al-Andalus. Author of Akhbar Shu<sup>c</sup>arā<sup>2</sup> al-Andalus. Wrote Muwashshahāt in distinctive style. Died 419 or 421 A.H.

أبو محمد ابن عبد الملك القرطبي

142. Abū Muḥammad b. Mālik al-Qurṭubī. Poet and prose writer at Almeria. Lived in obscurity under Banū Ṣumādih, but received advancement under Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn.

مبارك مولى المنصور ابن أبي عامر

143. Mubārak. Mawlā of al-Mansūr b. Abī <sup>c</sup>Āmir. Assistant administrator of the Sāqiya in Valencia; dismissed but reinstated by the wazīr <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān b. Yassār, 441 A.H. Subsequently became King of Valencia. Built ornate palaces and gardens. From undistinguished background. Had little interest in literature.

أبو طالب عبد الجبار يدعى المتنبى

144. Abū Ṭālib <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Jabbār, called al-Mutanabbī, from Island of Shaqar. Writer of historical Urjuza, and also of Ghazal.

عمر ابن مظفر المتوكل

145. <sup>c</sup>Umar b. al-Muẓaffar called al-Mutawakkil. King, poet and prose writer. There was hostility between him and his brother Yaḥyā. Killed with his son by the Almoravids 487 A.H.

مجاهد يعرف بابي الجيش

146. Mujāhid, known as Abū al-Jaysh. King and poet. Mawlā of the <sup>c</sup>Amirids. Sone of Christian woman. Became ruler of Denia and Algeciras. Conquered Sardinia. Respected by scholars, who were attracted to his court.

أبو الحكم عمر ابن مذحج ابن الحسن الاشيلي

147. Abū al-Ḥakam, <sup>c</sup>Amr b. Mudhḥij b. Ḥasan al-Ishbīlī. No information, except that Ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>īd al-Baṭalyūsī and Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abdūn wrote verses in his honour.

أبو بكر الفقيه ابن حسن المرادي القروي

148. Abū Bakr, al-Faqīh b. Ḥasan al-Murādī al-Qarawī. From Morocco; travelled considerably in al-Andalus. Eventually returned to Morocco and served Almoravids. Appointed qādī in army at al-Aghmāt by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. <sup>c</sup>Umar. Corresponded with Abū Muḥammad <sup>c</sup>Abd al-

<sup>c</sup>Azīz al-Tunusī on scientific topics. Died at Dakūl.

أبو القاسم الشريف المرتضى

149. Abū al-Qāsim, al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā. Poet, faqīh, adīb and grammarian. Author of Tayf al-Khayāl and many other works.

عبدالرحمن ابن محمد يدعى المرتضى

150. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, called al-Murtaḍā. Son of al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh. Appointed as caliph of Eastern side of al-Andalus. On his way to fight al-Qāsim b. Ḥammūd of Córdoba, defeated and killed in battle by Zāwī b. Zīrī of Granada, in 409 A.H.

القاسم ابن مرزقان

151. al-Qāsim b. Marzuqān. A wazīr, poet and prose writer under the Banū <sup>c</sup>Abbād.

أبو المطرف المستظهر بالله عبدالرحمن ابن عبدالجبار الناصري

152. Abū al-Mutarraf al-Mustazhir bi-Allāh <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Jabbār al-Nāṣirī. Caliph in Córdoba for 47 days in 414 A.H. Assassinated. "A clever and ingenious writer". He wrote both prose and poetry, as well as being a rhetorician and orator.

محمد ابن عبدالرحمن الناصر المستكفي

153. Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir al-Mustakfī. 336-416 A.H. Father of Wallāda (181). Caliph in Córdoba. "Ridiculous and mean" ruler. Poisoned after 16 months rule.

أبو عبدالله محمد ابن مسعود الغساني البجاني

154. Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh, Muḥammad Ibn Mas<sup>c</sup>ūd al-Ghassānī al-Bajjānī. Poet, best known for poetry to al-Ṭalīq al-Qurashī, a slave whom he loved. Imprisoned by al-Manṣūr for atheism.

أبو عبد الله محمد ابن مسعود

155. Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh, Muḥammad b. Mas<sup>c</sup>ūd. From Córdoba. Prose writer and poet. His poetry was particularly humorous and was compared to that of Muḥammad b. Hajjāj in Iraq. Ibn Bassām did not consider him accomplished, but al-Ḥijārī appears to have thought him distinguished.

أبو عامر محمد ابن مسلمة القرطبي

156. Abū <sup>c</sup>Amir Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Qurṭubī. Celebrated poet and prose writer. Left Córdoba for Seville during the rule of al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid. Author of Hadīqat al-Irtiyāh fi Ṣifat Haqīqat al-Rāh. Corresponded with Idrīs b. al-Yamānī and Ibn al-Abbār.

أبو عبد الله محمد ابن مسلم

157. Abū <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh, Muḥammad b. Muslim. One of the greatest writers of epistles of his time. His collected epistles are known as Tayy al-Marāḥil.

أبو محمد عبد الله ابن خليفة المصري

158. Abū Muḥammad, <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Khalīfa al-Qurṭubī, known as al-Miṣrī. Spent some of early life in Egypt. Served al-Ma'mūn b. Dhī al-Nūn, and later al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid. Criticised by Ibn al-Labbāna in Saqīt al-Durar for not remaining faithful to al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid after his capture by Almoravids. Died 496 A.H.

أبو الوليد حسان ابن المصيصي

159. Abū al-Walīd, Ḥassan b. al-Miṣṣīṣī. With Ibn <sup>c</sup>Ammar and Ibn al-Milaḥ (168), one of the most eminent poets of Silves. Served al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid.

مظفر مولى المنصور ابن أبي عامر

160. Muzaffar. Mawlā of al-Mansūr b. Abī <sup>c</sup>Āmir. Participated with Mubārak in administration of Valencia. Subsequently took control of Jativa.

محمد ابن عبدالله ابن عامر ابن محمد ابن عبدالملك المعافري

161. Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. <sup>c</sup>Āmir b. Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik al-Mu<sup>c</sup>āfirī. Grandson of <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik who accompanied Ṭāriq b. Ziyād. Rose to importance under Hishām al-Mu'ayyad, being in the household of his mother Ṣubḥ. Usurped caliphate from Hishām in all but name. Transferred seat of caliphate from al-Zahra to al-Zāhira. Died 392 A.H.

هشام ابن محمد الناصري

162. Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Nāsirī, called al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tadd. Caliph at Córdoba 417-422 A.H. Brother of al-Murtaḍā, Caliph of Eastern Side of al-Andalus 408-409 A.H.

المعتضد بالله

163. al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tadid bi-Allāh. Succeeded his father, Muhammad b. <sup>c</sup>Abbād (see 101 ) at the age of 26. At first called Fakhr al-Dawla. An arrogant and tyrannical ruler. Wrote many poems which were collected by his nephew Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl. Died 461 A.H. at Córdoba.

أبو القاسم المعتمد على الله

164. Abū al-Qāsim, al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid <sup>c</sup>alā Allāh, also called al-Ẓāfir and al-Muayyad. 432-488 A.H. Born at Beja, near Seville. Succeeded his father, al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tadid bi-Allāh (see 164 ). A brave King, good poet and critic. Captured by Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn in 484 A.H. and imprisoned at Aghmat, in the Maghrib, where he remained until his death.



أبو اسحاق ابراهيم ابن معلى

165. Abū Ishāq, Ibrahim b. Mu<sup>c</sup>allā. Poet and rhetorician. Wrote madiḥ for al-Muqtadir b. Hūd, of Zaragoza. Travelled much in al-Andalus.

أبو زيد عبد الرحمن ابن مقان الاشيلي

166. Abū Zayd, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maqāna al-Ishbīlī. Celebrated poet of the West of al-Andalus, under al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid.

أبو بكر الفقيه ابن الملح

167. Abū Bakr, al-Faqīh b. al-Milah. From distinguished Lakhmid family. Poet. Died 500 A.H.

مندر ابن يحيى

168. Mundhir b. Yahya. Ruler of Zaragoza. He began as a common soldier and received advancement under the final <sup>c</sup>Amirids. Famous for horsemanship, generosity and magnanimity. Killed by cousin, <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Ḥakam, 430 A.H.

أبو محمد ابن الطلاء المهدوي

169. Abū Muḥammad, b. al-Ṭallā, al-Mahdawī. Poet. Wrote madiḥ on al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid and Ibn <sup>c</sup>Ammar. Poetry known for lack of badī<sup>c</sup>. Corresponded with Abū Bakr al-Khulānī al-Munajjim.

أبو الربيع سليمان ابن مهران السرقسطي

170. Abū al-Rabī<sup>c</sup>, Sulaymān b. Muhrān al-Saraqustī. Prose writer and celebrated poet. Attended majlis of wazīr Abū al-Aṣḥagh <sup>c</sup>Isā b. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd at Córdoba. Fl.c. 410.

أبو الحسن مهييار ابن مرزويه الديلمي

171. Abū al-Ḥasan, Miḥyār b. Marzuwayh al-Daylamī. poet. Zoroastrian converted to Islam. Died 428 A.H.

علي ابن حمود ابن ميمون ابن ادريس الناصر لدين الله

172. <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Ḥammūd b. Maymūn b. Idris al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh.  
Of the Banū Hashim. Caliph in Córdoba 407-408.  
Assassinated by three Saqaliba. He ruled 22 months.  
أبو أيوب المستعين بالله سليمان ابن الحكم ابن عبدالرحمن الناصر
173. Abū Ayyūb al-Musta<sup>c</sup>in bi-Allāh Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam  
b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh. Caliph in  
Córdoba. (1) 400 A.H. (2) 403-407 A.H. He wrote both  
prose and poetry.

أبو بكر ابن نصر الاشبيلي

174. Abū Bakr, b. Naṣr al-Ishbīlī. Adīb and poet from  
Seville. Mentioned by Abū al-Walīd.

أبو الوليد النحلي

175. Abū al-Walīd, called al-Niḥlī. Poet. First served  
Ibn Ṣumādih, then al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid, to whom he wrote Madīh,  
while writing hijā' on Ibn Ṣumādih. He later returned  
to Almeria, having obtained Ibn Ṣumādih's forgiveness,  
but afterwards left again.

اسماعيل ابن يوسف ابن النخريلا الاسرائيلي

176. Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl b. Yūsuf, called Ibn al-Naḡhrīla al-Isrā'īlī.  
Wazīr to the ruler of Granada, Bādīs, in which post  
he was succeeded by his son Yūsuf, who was murdered  
by the populace. Conspired with Banū Ṣumādih against  
Bādīs. Corresponded with Ibn Ḥazm.

أبو الحسن علي ابن محمد ابن سعيد ابن هارون الشنتمري

177. Abū al-Ḥasan, <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Muḥammad b. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd b. Hārūn  
al-Shantamrī. From family that ruled in Santa Maria  
de Algarve until deposed by al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid b. <sup>c</sup>Abbād in  
444 A.H.

أبو محمد ابن هود ذو الوزارتين عبدالله

178. Abū Muḥammad, b. Hūd Dhū al-Wizāratayn <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh. Cousin of al-Muqtadir b. Hūd who exiled him from Zaragoza. Went round the Mulūk al-Ṭawāif, beginning with the Dhū al-Nunids in Toledo, and ending with al-Mutawakkil b. al-Aftas, who made him governor of Lisbon, but later removed him.

أبو حفص عمر ابن حسن الهوزني

179. Abū Ḥafṣ <sup>c</sup>Umar b. al-Ḥasan al-Hawzanī, 392-460 A.H. Wazīr and faqīh. Travelled in East 440-458, when returned and settled at Seville. Killed by al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid.

ولادة بنت المستكفي بالله محمد ابن عبدالرحمن

180. Wallada bint al-Mustakfi bi-Allāh Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. <sup>c</sup>Ubayd Allāh b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir. Talented poetess, who had her own majlis in Córdoba. In love with (1) Ibn Zaydūn; (2) Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abdūs, but died unmarried 484 A.H.

القاضي أبو الوليد سليمان ابن خلف ابن سعيد ابن أيوب الباجي

181. al-Qāḍī Abu al-Walīd Sulaymān b. Khalaf b. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd b. Ayyūb al-Bājī. Faqīh and Muḥaddith. Spent 13 years in East; three years in Baghdad from 426 A:H. to study fiqh, on which he then wrote a number of works, such as: al-Muntaqā, Iḥkām al-Fuṣūl fi Ahkām al-Uṣūl. Died 474 A.H. at Almeria.

أبو محمد عبد الجليل ابن وهيون المرسي

182. Abū Muḥammad, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Jalīl b. Wahbūn al-Mursī. One of the most distinguished poets of the west of al-Andalus. Served al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid b. <sup>c</sup>Abbād (see 165 ). Ibn Bassām collected his poetry in al-Iklīl al-Mushtamil <sup>c</sup>alā Shi<sup>c</sup>r <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Jalīl. Died 533 A.H.

أبو علي ادريس ابن اليماني العبدري الياسي

183. Abu <sup>c</sup>Alī, Idrīs b. al-Yamānī al-<sup>c</sup>Abdarī al-Yābisī.  
From Qastallat al-Gharb, but brought up and educated  
in Denia. Travelled much in al-Andalus. Composed  
madih poetry on Iqbāl al-Dawla <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Mujāhid al-  
<sup>c</sup>Āmirī. Would never compose for a fee of less than  
100 dinārs. Died in 470 A.H.

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