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‘Umâra’s Elegies and the Lamp of Loyalty.

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‘Umâra’s Elegies and the Lamp of Loyalty

1

In historical sources and in ‘Umâra al-Yamanî’s *Dîwân*, we can find numerous interesting details about the demise of one dynasty (the Fâtimids) and the hesitant beginnings of the new dynasty (the Ayyûbids).¹

‘Umâra’s poetry offers us an insight into the society in which he lived and worked as a poet and a diplomat. Anyone who has read his poetry will have ascertained that the poet, in addition to conventional elements such as hyperbolic eulogies and *nasîb* style introductions, also conveys facts: the month in which a murder took place, the murderers who have to be punished. All these details appear in the poetic text. However, the poet’s opinion of the Fâtimid Dynasty remains concealed. Sometimes he appears opposed to them, particularly, in a formal sense, in connection with the format of the *shahâda*, as on this subject he had

¹ ‘Umâra, Najm al-Dîn, Abû Ȣamza, b. Abi l-Hasan ‘Alî b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Zaydân al-Ḥakamî, al-faqîh al-Yamanî, of the tribe Sa‘d, of the tribal conglomeration Madhhij, an author of Arabic poetry and prose, born 515/1121 in Murṭâن in the Wâdî Wasâ‘ in Yaman, was executed in 569/1174 in Cairo, by order of Ȣalâh al-Dîn [Saladin] b. Ayyûb. The Memoirs and part of the poetry by ‘Umâra were edited by Hartwig Derenbourg: ‘Oumâra du Yémen sa vie et son œuvre, vol. I *Autobiographie et récits sur les vizirs d’Egypte, Choix de poésies* (Fîhi al-Nukat al-‘asriyya fi akhbâri l-wuzarâ‘i l-Misriyya), Paris 1897; vol. II (Partie arabe), *Poésie, épîtres, biographies, Notices en arabe par ‘Oumâra et sur ‘Oumâra* (Fîhi Takmîlu Dîwân Shî‘ri ‘Umâra al-Yamanî wa-Nubadhu min Tarassulâtihi wa-Tarâjimihi wa Muntakhabâtu li-‘Umâra al-Yamanî wa-fi Sratihi wa-fi Akhbâri Zamânihi wa-Mu‘âşirîhi wa-Fîhrîtu Asmâ‘i l-Rijâli wa l-Nisâ‘i wa l-Duvali wa l-Kutubi wa-Ayqân Fîhrîtu l-Buldâni wa l-Umami wa l-Qabâ‘ili wa l-Milâl), Paris 1902 [edition of the Arabic text of ‘Umâra’s Memoirs in full, the Arabic text of the *Dîwân*’s poems only in part and his prose work]; vol. II (Partie Française) *Vie de ‘Oumâra du Yémen*, Paris 1904 [study in French of the Memoirs

and incidentally a partial translation of some poems]. Vols. I and II (Arabic) and Vol. II (French) form part of *Publications de l’école des langues orientales vivantes*, IV^e série — X, XI (partie française), Paris 1897, 1904. —These volumes will be referred to as *Nukat-Diwan* and *Nukat-Diwan* (French).

In this article the present author used for the poetical text quoted, in particular the manuscript D of Saint Petersburg (mentioned by Derenbourg in his *Avant-propos*, 1897), a copy of which became available to him due to the very generous help and assistance of Dr Anas B. Khalidov of the Institute of Oriental Studies, St Petersburg State University —This manuscript to be referred to as: ms. D. Another manuscript used was the Manuscript photocopy 1551 Adab see *Fîhrît al-Makhtûṭât al-Muṣawwarah* I, al-Adab, *qism* III, Cairo 1980, p. 164: a photocopy of the *Dîwân* ‘Umâra al-Yamanî which derives originally from a manuscript in the Khizânat al-Ustâdh Muhammad al-Manûmî, Rabat. The author gratefully mentions Dr Ayman Fu‘âd Sayyid of the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts, Cairo, who was so kind to provide him with a photocopy. —This manuscript to be referred to as: ms. Rabat.

no desire to conform.² Yet, at other times, he appears to accept the content of all the important viewpoints of the Fâtimid ideology: their lineage from Fâtimâ, the special position of the Imâm which is referred to in the Koran and in the poetry of the poet himself.

It would appear that the poet considers his poetry to be on the same level as the prose style text of the Koran.³ His references to contemporary political events are shrouded in ambiguity. However, as the names of the people being praised are not omitted, there are several poetical passages which enable us to deduce both events and opinions, albeit the poet ensures that the latter remain vague by moving forward in a meditative style. This meditative style is intimated in the opening verses of some poems; the poet asks rhetorical questions without giving a clear answer.

1.1

In certain poems this phenomenon is perceptible, particularly in poems dedicated to the praise of an Imâm or a Vizier. Without going into the contents in detail, it is possible, at this point, to examine a couple of opening verses which illustrate the special manner in which 'Umâra opens his poems. A number of opening lines follow. In a poem to rhyme *jimâli*, in praise of the already deceased Imâm al-Zâfir and the newly appointed Vizier Tâlâ'i' al-Malik al-Şâlih, verses 1 and 2 read as follows:

وَضِيَاءُ بَدْرٍ أَمْ حَنِينُ جَمَالٍ
سُقِيَ الْوَحْيُ مِنْهَا بِنَوَءٍ شَوَّالٍ

١ أَسْمَاءُ قَدْرٍ أَمْ سَمَاءُ جَلَالٍ
٢ وَمَقْرُ مَلَكٍ أَمْ قَرَارَةُ رَحْمَةٍ

² The Shî'a version of the *shahâda* has an extra phrase, *hayya 'alâ khayri l-'amal*. This led to a difference of opinion with members of the Sunna, who, on the authority of 'Umar, preferred to eliminate this phrase. Compare Qâdî Abû Ḥanîfa al-Nu'mân ibn Muḥammad ibn Maṇṣûr ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥayyûn al-Tamîmî al-Maghribî (who was an Ismâ'îlî official when he died in Jumâdâ II, 363 H.), *Da'â'im al-Islâm wa-Dhikr al-Halâl wa l-Hârâm wa l-Qâdâyâ wa l-Aḥkâm*, ed. Asaf Fyzee (Fayzî), Cairo third edition 1985 (1951), I, 142: "Jâbrâ'il said to the Prophet, 'Oh Muḥammad! Summon the people in this way to the *ṣalât*!' It was told on the authority of Abû Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alî (God be pleased with him), who said: 'The *adhâñ* was *hayya 'alâ khayri l-'amal*! (= Come to the best work!). And as such they were ordered in the days of Abû Bakr and in the early days of 'Umar. Later 'Umar ordered the removal and elimination of this word from the *adhâñ* and from the opening of the *ṣalât*. For this he was heavily criticized. Then he said: 'If people hear that the *ṣalât* is the best work, they will consider the *jihâd* an unimportant matter and

disregard it.' They all persisted in following 'Umar in this matter until the present day, and no longer adhered to the words of the Prophet, arguing according to 'Umar's proposition!..."

'Umâra as a Shâfi'iite *qâdî* and diplomat, agreed with 'Umar and, in so doing, it would appear that he stood in opposition to the ideology of the Ismâ'îlî creed. However, see article *infra*.

³ See P. Smoor, "The Master of the Century" Fâtimid poets in Cairo" in *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* (73), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, eds. U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet, Leuven (Belgium) 1995, p. 150, where 'Umâra speaks about the Biographies of the Imâms in an exaggerated manner: "Biographical data which we copy out of the Sûras, which have no reason to be abolished or replaced. / Our spirit took it upon himself to describe these "Lives" in words of poetry with you as their subject, but Gabriel took care of the prose." (Verses 11-12 from the poem to rhyme *maghbûu*, ed. Derenbourg, *Nukat-Diwan* 305-307, ms. D folio 133 verso-135 recto, ms. Rabat p. 159-161.)

- 1 Is it a heaven determined by fate (*qadar*) or a heaven of majesty, and the glow of a full moon or the desires of camels?
- 2 Is it the station of a kingdom or the foundation of Compassion, from where the Revelation was watered by the rain clouds from Shawwâl?⁴

In a passage in praise of Vizier al-Sâlih viewed as an individual in his own right, we hear in the poem (rhyme *wa-yaghâdabu*) the following lines:

لَهُ خَاطِرٌ يَرْضَى مِرَارًا وَيَغْضَبُ تَفِيضٌ شَعَابٌ الْهَمٌّ مِنْهَا وَتَنْضَبُ	١ هَلْ الْقَلْبُ إِلَّا بِضْعَةٌ تَتَقَلَّبُ أَمْ النَّفْسُ إِلَّا وَهْدَةٌ مَطْمَئِنَةٌ
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- 1 Is the heart then a bodily organ in which a spirit revolves, one which is sometimes satisfied but at other times angry?
- 2 Or is the soul something other than a silent ravine, from which the stream of Care sometimes overflows and at other times subsides?⁵

Finally we can find a similar tone in the opening of the poem (to rhyme *maṣ’adu*), written for the last Imâm al-‘Âdîd:

أَمْ دَسْتُ نُسْكٍ فَوْقَهُ لَكَ مَصْعَدٌ أَمْ صَرْحٌ عَزٌّ بِالنَّجُومِ مُمَرَّدٌ	١ أَسْمَاءُ مُلْكٍ تَحْتَهَا لَكَ مَقْعَدٌ وَرْوَاقٌ مَجْدٌ أَشْرَفَتْ حُجْرَاتُهُ
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- 1 Is it the heaven of a kingdom below which there is a seat for You, or the throne of godliness above which there is a place of ascension for You?
- 2 Is it a portico of fame, the rooms of which are high, or a Palace of glory plastered with stars?⁶

1.2

Concerning the murders of either Imâms or Viziers, we not only witness their consequences in the appearance of (funeral) elegies according to convention but supplemented by actual details. We also see how the prevailing politics (of a Vizier or an Imâm) are supported. For example, the dynastic line is endangered when a child Imâm dies childless.

⁴ Derenbourg, *Nukat - Diwan* does not include this poem. Ms. D does not include the poem either. It is, however, in Ms. Rabat, p. 171-173 (page numbering). A poem to rhyme *hanîn jîmâli*, consisting of 52 lines. Ms. Rabat: ‘He said in praise of al-Zâfir and his Vizier al-Sâlih, ...’

⁵ Derenbourg, *Nukat - Diwan*, p. 174-177; in this edition are the verses 1-28, 46-51. Ms. D, folio 20 recto-21 verso, ms.

Rabat p. 60-63. The poem to rhyme *wa-yaghâdabu* has in total 66 lines.

⁶ Derenbourg, *Nukat - Diwan*, p. 197 (= verses 1-3). Ms. D, folio 39 verso - 40 recto. The poem to rhyme *maṣ’adu* comprises a total of 24 lines in Ms. D. The version in ms. Rabat, p. 71-73, has 51 lines, however, verse 1 is missing due to a lacuna in the ms.!

He is succeeded by his uncle's son, a cousin. We can read how the poet attempts to defend this, despite the fact that this precedent had already been set.⁷

‘Umâra was an outsider who came from the far Yaman. He had, however, become uprooted because in his home town Zabîd, the political struggle for power was so prevalent that the poet no longer felt at home. Fortunately for him, at that very moment in time, the Sharîf of Mecca created an ambassadorship for him.⁸ Hence he travelled to Egypt. There he came into contact with the Fâtimid dynasty, which appeared to be degenerating into a situation of increasing chaos.

Just a couple of months before the arrival of ‘Umâra in the land of Egypt, the Imâm al-Zâfir had been murdered by the son of his Vizier.⁹ And this event, which occurred in 549 H., heralded the dawn of a period in which the careers of the Imâms and Viziers changed rapidly! Their careers never seemed to end with a nice pension and a country retreat on the Nile. No, the Fâtimid age was one in which both careers and lives frequently came to an abrupt end. It was difficult for a murdered person to lay claim to an elegy, because after such an incident no elegy could be composed. For instance, the murder of a Vizier was, in the eyes of the succeeding Viziers, viewed as a normal execution.¹⁰ However there is one exception to this, that of the Vizier Țalâ'i', who despite a fairly effective attack, did not die immediately but managed for one day to deal with government business from his death bed! This Țalâ'i' became the subject of at least three elegies which were composed immediately after the event, or after a period of a year, or at the moment when his remains were transported to their final resting place.

⁷ When the Imâm al-Âmir was murdered by a secret division of the Nizâris, there was no son to succeed him. Instead of a son, he was succeeded by a cousin, namely Abu l-Maymûn ‘Abd al-Majîd ‘al-Hâfiż'. This situation would have been acceptable to ‘Umâra given his attitude in the later period, when the cousin al-‘âqid succeeded to the throne of the Imamate.

⁸ The Sharîf of Mecca was the newly installed Amîr al-Qâsim ibn Hâshim ibn Fulayta who had sent ‘Umâra as an ambassador from Mecca to al-Qâhira in Egypt in the year 549/1155.

⁹ Imâm al-Zâfir, Abu l-Manṣûr Ismâ'il ibn al-Hâfiż was murdered by the son of his Vizier, a certain Naṣr ibn ‘Abbâs. For some time the body of the Imâm remained hidden under a tile, above which was an air shaft, in Naṣr's house in al-Qâhira. This incident occurred in the period between mid Muḥarram and the end of Muḥarram 549 H. See Abu l-‘Abbâs Shams al-Dîn ibn Khallikân (who lived from 608 to 681 H.), *Wafayât al-a'yân wa-anbâ' abnâ' al-zamân*, edition Ihsân ‘Abbâs, Beirut 1968, I, 237-238. Also Shihâb al-Dîn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhâb al-Nuwayrî (lived 677-733 H.), *Nihâyat al-arab fi funûn al-adab*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amîn and Muḥammad Ḥilmî Muḥammad Aḥmad, vol. 28, Cairo 1992, p. 316, "When al-Zâfir came to him, Naṣr ibn ‘Abbâs killed him, dug a hole for him under a marble tile and buried him." About the air shaft and other particulars, Abû Bakr ibn ‘Abd Allâh ibn Aybak al-Dawâdârî, *Kanz al-durar wa-jâmi' al-ghurâr*, vol. VI *Al-durra al-muḍî'a fi akhbâr al-dawla al-Fâtimiyâ*, edition Ṣalâh ad-Dîn al-Munaggid, Cairo Wiesbaden 1961, p. 564, "When the edges

of night were being drawn back, al-Zâfir arrived in disguise, ‘Abbâs came out to meet him with a drawn sword in his hand. And he said: 'Woe unto Thee: a Caliph who accepts an order from young boys!' Whereupon he grabbed him, slit his throat and buried him in the *bâdhhanj* (the air shaft) in the Dâr al-Mâ'mûnî in al-Suyûfiyyîn. Immediately and with haste, ‘Abbâs rode to the Palace and said: 'Ask if I may have an audience with our Master al-Zâfir, concerning an important matter'".

¹⁰ As a result of the murder of Vizier Țalâ'i' al-Malik al-Şâlih, and in general the matter of a person being murdered in the Imâm's Palace and the question as to whether such an event should necessarily mean the end of the victim's Vizierial dynasty, reference should be made to the Memoirs of ‘Umâra. ‘Umâra, *Nukat - Diwan* p. 146, introduces the successor to the Vizier, murdered during Ramaḍân 556 H., by recalling the month Ṣafar in 559 H. The writer ‘Umâra recalls his recollections of the relevant literary meeting in the following words: "One evening, after Ruzzik had become Vizier, we were all assembled at his house. All those present who possessed literary talents had woven both sympathy and congratulations into their poetry — in honour of this great disaster and also enormous blessing [the succession]. When we had recited our poems, he said: 'Were the head of al-Şâlih to have been knocked off in the Palace, you must know that it would not have been legitimate for me to accept the monarchy after his death! Had there not been the valorous action of ‘Alî ibn al-Zabad on that day, then the head of al-Şâlih would not have been preserved.'"

2

Firstly, in order to consider a number of lines from the poems, I would like to be more specific about some details of the attack on Ṭalâ’i’.

We do not need to know a great deal to be able to understand what went on during the period contemporaneous with ‘Umâra. It is, however, important to know that Ṭalâ’i’ was a fanatical Shî’ite adhering to the creed of the Twelver Shî’ites. He did not, therefore, belong to the same ideology as the Fâtimids, nor was he an Ismâ’îlî or an Arab; he was, in fact, an Armenian.¹¹

2.1

In the year 556, there were incidents which omened the fatal attack on Ṭalâ’i’ (al-Malik al-Şâlih).¹² Apparently ‘Umâra visited the Vizier regularly and had, in fact, paid a visit

¹¹ On the Armenian Viziers of ‘Umâra’s time, see the general overview in the Chapter, “The Nuşayî Banû Ruzzîk and the End of Armenian Vizierial rule in Egypt”, in Seta B. Dadoyan, *The Fatimid Armenians: Cultural and Political Interaction in the Near East*, Leiden 1997, p. 154-178. For a reference to the Armenian historical sources on Ṭalâ’i’ ibn Ruzzîk and Ruzzîk ibn Ṭalâ’i’ as *Les derniers vizirs fatimides d’origine arménienne*, see Angèle Kapoian-Kouymjian, *L’Égypte vue par des Arméniens (xi^e-xvii^e siècles)*, éditions Fondation Singer-Polignac, Paris 1988, p. 3.

¹² Apart from what follows in the text of this article, there were other ominous incidents from an earlier date: According to Jamâl al-Dîn Abu l-Mahâsin Yûsuf ibn Taghîrî Bârdî al-Atâbakî (who lived from 812 to 874), *al-Nujâm al-zâhirâ fî mulâk Miṣra wa l-Qâhira*, photocopied edition Dâr al-kutub Cairo, V, 345 there was an incident which took place on an earlier date: “al-‘Âdîd found this Ṭalâ’i’ difficult to endure, therefore, he took steps to have him murdered. On the tenth of the month Rajab, in the year 556 H., al-Şâlih Ṭalâ’i’ arrived at the Palace of the Caliphate. There he was attacked by a Bâṭînî, who, using a dagger, stabbed him in his head and, subsequently, his neck. He was carried into his house. The Bâṭînî was killed and the King, Şâlih Ṭalâ’i’ ibn Ruzzîk, died the following morning.” [It is possible that this report alludes to an earlier assassination attempt, one which was unsuccessful.]

According to Shihâb al-Dîn ‘Abd al-Râhîm ibn Ismâ’îl ibn Ibrâhîm al-Maqdisî al-Dimashqî known as Abû Shâma (who lived from 599 to 665 H.), *Kitâb al-Rawdatayn fî akhbâr al-dawlatayn l-Nâriyya wa l-Şalâhiyya*, edition Ibrâhîm al-Zaybaq, Beirut 1997, I, 391 (ed. Cairo 1288 H., vol. I, 124-125), there had been an earlier premonition in the presence of a Preacher Zayn al-Dîn ‘Alî ibn Ibrâhîm ibn Najâ, known as Ibn Nujayya: “He was a renowned preacher from Damascus who died in Egypt in 599 H. This preacher had apparently been invited by Fâris al-Muslimîn, al-Şâlih’s brother [however, it was in fact al-Şâlih himself who was meant, as he also bore this honorary

title], during Sha'bân in the year of the assassination attempt [556 H.]. Given a piece of poetry which al-Şâlih gave to the Preacher, it would appear, that al-Şâlih had had a premonition: I kept your company for a long time, but when you departed in the camel’s litter, the separation caused a desolate loneliness to fall upon my heart. / The most amazing thing is that on the day of your departure I remained, but my heart in my innermost soul remained no longer. / I am of the opinion that the distance between myself and my loved ones is comparable to the vast distance between East and West. / Oh! Renew pain and sorrow Oh soul, because after this separation we will never meet again!”

This same Preacher would later be the traitor in the conspiracy against the Ayyûbids to restore the Fâtimids, and so would ‘Umâra, by his actions, be betrayed. See *Rawdatayn* edition Zaybaq I, 391 note 4.

According to Taqî al-Dîn Abu l-‘Abbâs Aḥmad ibn ‘Alî al-Maqrîzî (who died 845 H.), *Kitâb al-mawâ’iz wa l-i’tibâr bi-dhikri l-khiṭâṭ wa l-āthâr al-mâ’rûf bi l-Khiṭâṭ al-Maqrîzîyya*, Bûlâq 1270 H., II, 293-294 (under the heading “Jâmi’ al-Şâlih”), we find the following details about a premonition or an incident of a similar nature: “Each year he [Ṭalâ’i’ al-Malik al-Şâlih] transported large quantities of provisions for the ‘Alids who were (serving) in the shrines (*mashâhid*). Men of scholarship from every country came to him. He never disappointed the hope of anyone who came to him. On the morning before the night in which he was murdered, he said: “On a night such as this the Amîr al-Mu’mînîn ‘Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib was killed — may Allah be pleased with him!” He ordered a full water sack to be brought to him and he washed himself and did the *ṣalâṭ* according to the views of the Imâmiyya: 120 knee bends (*rak’â-s*); in this way he spent the night. Then he went outside to ride away, however, he stumbled and his turban fell from his head and was nearly ruined (*wa-tashawwashat*). He went and sat down in the Dâr al-Wizâra and ordered Ibn al-Ḍayf to be brought to him. He was responsible for making

only a couple of days before these events took place. In some lines of his Memoirs, *al-Nukat al-‘asriyya fī akhbâr al-wuzarâ’ al-Miṣriyya*, ‘Umâra tells us how Ṭalâ’i‘ had a premonition of his own death. The Vizier said the following,

<p>ت عيون يقظانة لا تنامُ ليت شعري متى يكون الحِمامُ</p>	<p>نَحْنُ فِي غَفَلَةٍ وَنَوْمٌ وَلِلْمَوْ قَدْ رَحَلْنَا إِلَى الْحِمَامِ سِنِينًا</p>
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- 1 We are in a state of negligence and sleep, but death has watchful eyes which do not sleep.
- 2 For years we have journeyed towards the final day of our life (*himâm*). Oh, if only I knew when that end would come.

But Ibn Taghrîbârdî gives a strange variation of this,

<p>(...)</p>	<p>قَدْ دَخَلْنَا الْحِمَامَ عَامًاً وَدَهْرًاً</p>
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For a year and an age we have been going to the “bath house” (*hammâm*). Oh, if only I knew when the end would come.¹³

2.2

This is a reference to the role of Fate, but perhaps also a reference to certain dissatisfied people who had previously organised a conspiracy. The leader of the conspiracy was an aunt of al-Fâ’iz, the aunt of the renowned child-Imâm who, owing to a nervous disposition, was constantly crying. In 555 H., the child Imâm died —possibly from natural causes.¹⁴ During his precarious existence, this first plot had never come to his knowledge: “he was in another valley of confusion.” The conspiracy was, however, discovered in time and Ṭalâ’i‘ had the aunt executed secretly. Ṭalâ’i‘ remained as the Regent for the newly installed Imâm al-‘Âdîd, who incidentally was not more than ten or eleven years old! Nevertheless, the intrigues continued to flourish. A younger aunt of al-‘Âdîd attempted a repeat of the same.

the turbans for the Caliphs and the Viziers, a task for which he was highly paid. When he began to repair the turban, a man said to al-Ṣâliḥ: We allow our Master to seek refuge in Allah! Allow what has happened to be sufficient to be viewed as an affair which can be interpreted as an omen. And if our Master is of the opinion that the ride must be postponed, allow him to act in this way! In reaction to this (al-Ṣâliḥ) said: “Derivations from omens are the work of the Devil. There is no reason to postpone the departure!” Thus that which was destined to occur, occurred, that is the attack upon him. He returned borne by others, and subsequently died, as already stated.” [end of the chapter.]

Regarding the above refer to the French translation in Derenbourg, *Nukat - Diwan (French)*, p. 158-161, in which the omens mentioned can be found.

¹³ See Derenbourg, *Nukat - Diwan* p. 49, as compared to Ibn Taghrîbârdî, *Nujûm V*, 360.

¹⁴ According to Ibn Khallikân, *Wafayât* III, 493, al-Fâ’iz Abu I-Qâsim Ṭâsâ was born on 21 (or 11) Muḥarram, 544 H. and, after the murder of his father al-Zâfir, he was installed on a Thursday, towards the end (*salkh*) of the month Muḥarram 549 H. He died on 17 Rajab 555 H. See al-Maqrîzî, *Itti’âz al-ḥunâfâ bi-akhbâr al-a’immati l-Fâṭimiyyâna l-khulâfâ*, ed. Muhammad Ḥilmî Muhammad Aḥmad, Cairo 1973, vol. III, 238-239.

She wanted to hire assassins, and both black and white people offered their services.¹⁵ The still young Imâm al-‘Âdîd was possibly involved in the planning of a new attack as will be specified further on in the course of this study.

One Monday during Ramaðân, Țalâ’î had an audience with Imâm al-‘Âdîd. The aunt had, in the meantime, secretly assembled two gangs. One of these sat, unknown to themselves, behind a bolted door and could, therefore, do nothing. The other gang mounted an attack. There was a professional assassin, one Ibn al-Dâ’î [or Ibn al-Râ’] involved. Having completed his discussion with the Imâm, Țalâ’î, accompanied by his son Ruzzîk, walked through the Golden Room, Qâ’at al-Dhahab, towards the front door in order to leave the Imâm’s palace.

The Chamberlain, one *amîr* Ibn Qawâm al-Dawlah, an Imâmî Shî’ite like the Vizier, had ordered the room to be cleared. While this was being done the Chamberlain became involved in a long conversation with the Vizier and with a majordomo, the *ustâdâr* ‘Anbar al-Raba’î [or ‘Anbar al-Rîfî]. Everyone had gradually disappeared, apart from the Vizier and a few others, among them his son Ruzzîk, when suddenly the hidden gang attacked. Initially there were so few people present that Țalâ’î was vulnerable. His son, Ruzzîk, tried to defend him but was himself injured in his right arm. Using a sword Ibn al-Dâ’î stabbed Țalâ’î in the stomach and disemboweled him.

The plan was to decapitate Țalâ’î. This was, however, prevented by the intervention of an *amîr* ‘Alî ibn al-Zabad. He did his absolute utmost to defend the Vizier and the struggle was so intense that ibn al-Zabad’s sword was broken into pieces. Whereupon, Ibn al-Zabad threw himself on top of Țalâ’î in order to protect him with his own life.

Țalâ’î did eventually die but not until a day or two later. Mounted on a horse and wearing his turban, he was, thanks to the bravery of the *Amîr*, able to make his way to the Vizier’s palace which was situated nearby. No decapitation had taken place and the Memoirs of ‘Umâra lead us to understand that this fact saved the Dynastic line, the son Ruzzîk was

¹⁵ There were two attempts to organise an assassination. The first failed but the second was successful. See Jamâl al-Dîn Abu l-Mahâsin Yûsuf ibn Taghrî Bardî al-Atâbakî (who lived from 812 to 874 H.), *al-Nujâm al-zâhira*, photocopied edition Dâr al-kutub Cairo, V, 314:

“At the time when Caliph al-Fâ’iz was under guardianship of his aunt, the oppression of the Palace organised by Țalâ’î ibn Ruzzîk became serious, therefore, this aunt began to plan the murder of Țalâ’î ibn Ruzzîk. She distributed money to a value of 50,000 Dînâr for this purpose. Ibn Ruzzîk knew about this. He had her walk into a trap and, with the help of *Ustâdhs* and the ethnic Slavs (*Šaqâlibâ*), he secretly killed her. The Caliph was, at this point, in another valley of confusion (*wa l-Khalîfa fi wâdîn âkhar mina l-idârâbî*). After this event Ibn Ruzzîk transferred the guardianship of al-Fâ’iz to his youngest aunt. He caused her to be in a good humour and he corresponded with her. However, that failed to protect him against her. No,

rather she organised his murder. In this action she was encouraged by the friends of her murdered sister. She organised two groups, one, comprising strong black people, she stationed in the door of the basement room (*sîrdâb*), in the dark porch through which one entered the room, and the other, comprising of a number of people one of whom was a soldier, namely Ibn al-Râ’î [Ibn al-Dâ’î], she positioned in the storeroom. The latter group entered the room on the fifth of the month of Ramaðân in the year 556 H. [Later, on a certain day, scil., 19 Ramaðân] when he (al-Šâlih) returned from saluting the Caliph, the Šâhib al-Bâb happened to be an *Amîr* called Ibn Qawâm al-Dawla who was of the Imâmî persuasion. According to word of mouth, it was he who ordered the porch to be cleared of people, allowing no one to remain behind, after which he (al-Šâlih) was detained in a long conversation with an *Ustâdh* called ‘Anbar al-Raba’î.”

able to succeed his dying father. In this situation, it is unnecessary to consider any more details about the assassination other than those which are essential to our understanding of 'Umâra's elegy.¹⁶

There is a parallel report from Abû Shâma, in which we can read the following:

"In the year 556 H., al-Şâlih ibn Ruzzîk [= Țalâ'i] was killed in Egypt. The cause of the murder lay in the fact that an aunt of al-‘Âdîd had conspired to have him killed. Money had been sent to the amîrs. Al-Şâlih heard of this and asked for the money to be given back. He was already wary of al-‘Âdîd's aunt. She hated him, because Şâlih had taken control of the command over the State (the *Dawla*) and because he controlled the money. As a result of her actions, Şâlih had a number of *amîrs* killed and kept the *Dawla* under close control.

Following this al-‘Âdîd's aunt organised a further deception. She gave abundantly to the racial group of Negroes, in order that they would attack him. They sat hidden in a room in the Hall of the Palace.

On 19 Ramaḍân, Şâlih rode to the palace. There, he greeted al-‘Âdîd. Later he went outside. Accompanied by loud shouts, the gang attacked him.

Al-Şâlih stumbled in the hem of his own cloak. One of the attackers stabbed him with a sword and injured his neck by cutting through one of his two neck muscles. He was carried to the front door of the Palace. His son, Ruzzîk received an injury to his shoulder. After returning to his own house, al-Şâlih gave instructions to his son and one hour later, on the same day, he died." — Thus far, this report appears to be based on Ibn Abî Tayy. After this passage, Abû Shâma quotes a beautiful piece of rhyming prose written by the well-known Kâtib 'Imâd al-İsbâhânî, in which the whole event is summarized even more concisely. In translation we can hear 'Imâd saying the following:

"So the Sun of Virtue was obscured and the price of poetry was cheap. The guide and pillar of knowledge fell. The space for excellence was narrow. The *ruz'*, the disaster was commonplace for Ibn Ruzzîk. And the change of the *Dahr* controlled that King. Egypt remained, therefore, tainted and ominous in her share of fate; with a lowered standard and as a destroyed monument, until the second Yûsuf became its king [scil., Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb Şâlîh al-Dîn who was to be the founder of the new Ayyûbid Dynasty!]."¹⁷

¹⁶ Ibn Taghrî Bardî, *al-Nujûm al-zâhîra* V, 314-315; more on Țalâ'i as a poet in Şâlîh al-Dîn Khalîl ibn Aybâk al-Şafâdî, *al-Wâfi bi l-Wafayât*, vol. XVI, ed. Wadâd al-Qâdî, Wiesbaden 1982, p. 503-506 (no. 552 Țalâ'i al-Malik al-Şâlih wazîr Miṣr). On the information of new Arabic sources, it is now possible to quote with some changes Yaakov Lev, *State and Society in Fatimid Egypt*, Leiden 1991, p. 62, where it should read differently as follows: "On 17 Rajab 555/23 July 1160, al-Fâ'iz died. He was succeeded by his nine year-old *cousin* who assumed the reigning title al-‘Âdîd. During the twilight of the Fatimid imamate, Sitt al-Quşûr proved to be capable and determined in her efforts to preserve the Fatimid dynasty. [Țalâ'i] Ibn Ruzzîk, the saviour of yesterday, posed a fresh

danger to the imamate. He himself was a Shî'i belonging to the Imâmî branch and his religious policy aimed at undermining of the Ismâ'îlî character of the State. He also forced al-‘Âdîd to marry his daughter. Both developments were viewed with obvious apprehension by the Fatimid royal family. Sitt al-Quşûr enlisted the support of black troops who murdered Ibn Ruzzîk (19 Ramaḍân 556/10 September 1161). The liquidation of Ibn Ruzzîk changed nothing; his son Ruzzîk al-Malik al-‘Âdîl became the vizier while Sitt al-Quşûr paid with her life for the conspiracy she had plotted. Ruzzîk, however, was unable to establish himself firmly in Cairo."

¹⁷ Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawdatayn fi akhbâr al-dawlatayn al-Nûriyya wa l-Şâlîhiyya*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 391 (= ed. Cairo 1288 H., I, 124).

3

When our poet ‘Umâra rewrites these events in one or more of his funeral elegies, the content is adapted to the prevailing conventions (within literature) for these elegies. I do not intend to discuss these conventions, as existing studies have already made these familiar enough.¹⁸

What could be of interest to us, in this connection, is the manner in which a number of the events described still penetrate through the conventional framework. And what about the Shî‘ite background of the murdered Vizier? We must also be aware that ‘Umâra restricted himself exclusively to his own Shâfi‘ite tinted orthodoxy.

3.1

In his elegy to rhyme *qaṣīrū*,¹⁹ we see, at the beginning, that he is clearly adhering to convention. The elegy begins with some sentences, of which I would like to mention the following: --- life is but a borrowed article of clothing, and the living must return it. The people want the love of this World, but it is not pure in its love and those in love are dazzled---,

وقال يرثي الملك الصالح	
١ طمُعُ المرءُ في الحياة غُرورٌ	
٢ وحياةُ الإنسـان ثوبٌ مُـعـارٌ	
٣ يفرـحُ المرءُ بـالـمـسـرـةِ أـحـيـا	
٤ وطالـ ما هو شـربٌ فـغـرـتـ وـعـزـتـ	
٥ ونـرـيـدـ الصـفـا مـنـ وـدـ دـنـيـا	
٦ وـلـكـمـ وـاثـقـ بـها خـدـعـتـهـ	
٧ وـلـكـمـ قـدـرـ الفتـى فـأـتـتـهـ	
٨ ضـاعـ تـدـبـيرـ حـازـمـ لـمـ يـغـبـهـ	

¹⁸ See for example P. Smoor, “‘Death, the Elusive Thief’: The Classical Arabic Elegy”, in *Hidden Futures Death and Immortality in Ancient Egypt, Anatolia, the Classical, Biblical and Arabic Islamic World*, eds. J.M. Bremer, Th.P.J. van den Hout and R. Peters, Amsterdam University Press 1994, p. 151-176. Idem, “Elegies and Other Poems on Death by Ibn al-Rûmî” in *Journal of Arabic Literature* XXVII (Leiden - New York 1996), p. 49-85. Idem, “Ibn al-Rûmî : his elegies and mock-elegies for friends and foes” in *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 15 (Venezia 1997), p. 93-118.

¹⁹ ‘Umâra’s poem to rhyme *qaṣīrū*, a poem of 97 lines of verse. Ms. D, folio 65 recto - 67 verso; lacking in ms. Rabat, where the rhymes ending on the consonant *râ’* and (in alphabetical order) the rhymes up till those on ‘ayn are incomplete or totally missing. This poem has been partially edited by Derenbourg, *Nukat - Diwan* p. 51-52 (= vss. 1, 7, 17, 19-20, 25-26, 33, 92-97) and p. 225-227 (= vss. 9-16, 42-54). The identical poem is also partially quoted in historical sources like *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 393-394 (ed. Cairo 1288 H., vol. I, 125-126) and *al-‘Imâd al-Isbahâni al-Kâtib, Kharîdatu l-qaṣîri wa-jarîdatu l-‘aṣri, qism shu‘arâ‘i l-Shâm*, edition Shukrî Fayṣal, Damascus 1964, III, 120-121. See APPENDIX A.

In mourning al-Malik al-Şâlih, he said the following:

- 1 Man's desire for life is futile and those with far-reaching ambitions are remiss therein.
- 2 And the life of man is but a borrowed garment, one which the borrower must return.
- 3 Occasionally humankind is joyful, having a reason for delight, however, unfortunately this joyful feeling does not endure.
- 4 So long as he is drinking it, it deceives and is precious, but in the delight of it wickedness becomes visible for the eye.
- 5 We desire the purity of the love of the Dunyâ, however, in her purity there was always obscurity.
- 6 How many who trusted her has she deceived, but then again they were in love and blinded by her love!
- 7 And how often has a hero striven, only to be overcome by disasters, which he was unable to suspect.
- 8 The calculations of a determined person have perished, because of him there was some one, above him, who controlled the command and calculation.

Here we are not far from the themes which we also encounter in the work of the poet al-Ma'arrî, who lived more than a century before 'Umâra.

However, in one of the following passages, verse 9, 'Umâra mentions the day on which the murder took place. It was a Monday and, simultaneously, we can observe that this reference to a day, and possibly a month, is a new element within an elegy. It is as though it is an obituary, in which the date must be mentioned. Monday is in the nature of the event ominous:

٩	لَيْتَ يَوْمَ الْاثْنَيْنِ لَمْ يَتَبَسَّمْ	عَنْ مُحَيَّاهُ لِلِّيَالِي تَنْوِيرٌ
١٠	طَلَعَتْ شَمْسُهُ بِيَوْمٍ عَبُوسٍ	حَيْرَ الطِيرَ شَرُّهُ الْمُسْتَطِيرُ
١١	وَتَحْلَى صَبَاحُهُ عَنْ جَبَينِ	إِثْمَدُ الْلَّيْلِ فَوْقَهُ مَذْرُورٌ

- 9 Oh had Monday but failed to smile, then light could not have come to the nights which unveiled Monday's face. (Monday, thus the day on which al-Malik al-Şâlih died.)
- 10 Its sun came up on a sombre day, whose widely dispersed anger disconcerted the birds.
- 11 Its morning displayed a forehead, on which the black antimony of the night was scattered.

The vicissitudes themselves are shocked by the disaster that took place and,

١٢	صَبَحَ الْمَجْدَ فِي صَبِيحةِ ذَاكِ الْيَوْمِ غَبْرَاءُ صَيْلَمُ عَنْقَفِيرُ	وَعَلَيْهَا كَانَ الزَّمَانُ يَدُورُ
١٣	بَلَغَ الدَّهْرُ عِنْدَهَا مَا تَمَنَّى	شَاهَدَتْهُ مِنْ جُورِهِ تَسْتَجِيرُ
١٤	حَادِثٌ ظَلَتِ الْحَوَادِثُ مِنْ	

وَتَكَادُ السَّمَاءُ مِنْهُ تَمُورُ
 رَاتِ خَطْبٍ لِهِ النَّجُومُ تَغُورُ
 لَا يُرَاعِي إِذْنَاً وَلَا يَسْتَشِيرُ
 سَاخَ تَحْتَ التُّرَابِ مِنْهَا ثَبِيرٌ
 قَدْرُ أَمْرُهُ عَلَيْنَا قَدِيرٌ
 فَسِيَعْلَمُنَّ مَا جَنَى التَّبْدِيرُ
 سُورَةُ الْخَمْرِ شَارِبٌ مُخْمُورٌ
 قُدْتُ صَعْبًاً آباؤه مُشْهُورٌ
 سَكَنَ الصَّعْفُ وَاسْتِكَانَ النَّفُورُ
 تَشْتَفِي لَوْعَةً بِهِ وَزَفِيرٌ

١٥ تَرْجَفُ الْأَرْضُ حِينَ يَذَكُّرُ عَنْهُ
 ١٦ طَبَقَ الْأَرْضَ مِنْ مَصَابِ أَبِي الْغَا
 ١٧ فَضَّ خَتْمَ الْحَيَاةِ عَنْكَ حِمَامٌ
 ١٨ وَتَرَقَّتْ إِلَى ثَبِيرٍ خَطُوبٌ
 ١٩ مَا تَخَطَّى إِلَى جَلَالِكَ إِلَّا
 ٢٠ بَذَرَتْ عُمْرَكَ الْلَّيَالِي سِفَاهَا
 ٢١ سُوفَ يَصْحُو سَكْرَانُ وَقْتٍ وَيَلْقَى
 ٢٢ قَلْ لِصَرَفِ الرَّدِيِّ بِأَيِّ زَمَانٍ
 ٢٣ وَبِأَيِّ الرُّقَى تَوَصَّلَتْ حَتَّى
 ٢٤ يَا غَيَاثَ الْأَنَامِ هَلْ فِي لِقَاءٍ

12 A Grey Earth (*ṣaylamun*, ‘anqafīru) greeted the Glory in the morning of that day.

13 That morning the Fate of Time achieved what it desired, and time was in the habit of rotating around it [earth].

14 A disastrous event, one so serious that when the vicissitudes saw its injustice they sought refuge from it.

15 The earth trembled when reference was made to it, and the heavens almost billowed.

16 An important event covered the earth due to the misfortune of Abu l-Ghârât, causing the stars to sink away.

17 A death broke the seal of life with You, because it neither paid attention to permission nor asked for advice.

18 The Disasters climb on high towards the mountain Thabîr. And fate has this mountain (Thabîr) sink into the sand.
 [or in a different translation : The Disasters climb on high towards the mountain Thabîr. May a cursed one sink into the sand because of these (disasters)!]

19 Nothing stepped forward towards Your majesty, apart from a twist of fate, which had extreme power over us.

20 The nights have ruined your life in a foolish way, hence they shall know what this waste has brought about.

21 The man drunk for a single moment will become sober again and the intoxicated drinker will discover the headiness of the wine.

22 Say against the action of Destruction: “With which reins have you led a recalcitrant, one whose forefathers are renowned ?

23 And through which magic amulet have you reached causing tremors to be calmed and fears put to rest ?”

24 Oh support of humankind, is it still possible that there will be a meeting through which the blazing lamentations are cured ?

The disaster rose on high, against the figure of the Vizier, who had now become a massive mountain. But fate allowed the mountain (Thabîr) to sink into the sand, or someone allowed this to happen and should be punished accordingly. In response to the terrible attempted assassination we hear the poet lament the impossibility of dedicating another sort of poem to the victim,

٢٨ عُطَلَ الْمَدْحُ وَالنَّسِيبُ وَقَامَتْ قَدْمُ لِلرِّثَاءِ وَهِيَ عَشَورٌ

28 Eulogy and *nasîb* have been defeated and a basis (*qadam*) has been laid for the lament (*rithâ'*), although this also foundered.

In this context the word *qadam* has a double entendre, it is used both in the sense of ‘basis’ and in the sense of ‘foot’; the intention is that the reader / listener should be made to think about the stumbling foot of the Vizier.

The phenomenon “anxiety” and “worries” (*hamm, humûm*) now appears as a well-known theme in the elegy. But the poet also describes in a few lines the protection granted by the shrine of the deceased one: it has become an asylum for those who come to visit it. The poet beseeches the deceased one in various urgent tones:

٢٠	يا أبا الوفد والضيوف تفضلْ
٢١	وأَجْرَهُمْ أَنْ يُحْجِبُوا عَنْ ضَرِيعِ
٢٢	فَلَعَلَّ الْعِيَانَ يُشْفِي صُدُورًا
٢٣	وَبَعِيدُّ عَنْكَ السُّلُوُّ بِشَيْءٍ
٢٤	سُوفَ تَمْضِي وَحْزُنْنَا مُسْتَجَدٌ
٢٥	لَا يَظْنَنَّ الزَّمَانُ أَنَّكَ تُنْسِي

بِقَرَاهِمْ وَغَيْرِكَ الْمَأْبُورُ
حَلَّ فِيهِ مِنْكَ الْعَزِيزُ الْمُجِيرُ
فَغَيْلَاتٌ مِنْ هُمُومِهِنَّ الصُّدُورُ
وَلَكَ الْفَكْرُ مُوْطَنٌ وَالضَّمِيرُ
بَعْدَ ذَا الشَّهْرِ أَشْهُرٌ وَشَهُورٌ
عَظِيمٌ الْحَطَبُ فَالسُّلُوُّ عَسِيرٌ

30 Oh Father of the Delegation and of the Guests ! Be so good as to entertain them, whilst others than Yourself have to be urged on with a needle !

31 And give them Your protection, in order that they are not screened off from a memorial vault (*darih*), into which a part of You, the distinguished protector, has descended.

32 Maybe seeing with one’s own eye will cure the spirits, because the hearts were murdered (*ghîlat*) by their anxieties.

33 And far from you comfort is sought in other things. Thought and consciousness live with You in one place.

34 You will pass by but, after this month, our sorrow renews itself with months and months.

35 Do not allow Time to assume that You are forgotten: the disaster was immense and to forget it is therefore difficult.

Luckily the deceased cannot really be dead, because his eulogy is renowned and keeps him alive. Furthermore, he is under consideration for a visit from the angel Rîdwân, who as you know, guards the gate to Paradise. *Munkar* and *Nakîr*, the revenging angels, must stay away :

٤٠	وَانطَوَى ذَلِكَ الْبَسَاطُ وَعَهْدِي
٤١	لَا تَظْنُنَ الْأَيَّامُ أَنَّكَ مِيتٌ
٤٢	لَكَ رَضْوَانٌ زَائِرٌ وَلِقَوْمٍ

40 This carpet was rolled up, although previously I had known it as being cultivated by knowledge and benefaction.

41 The Days must not suspect that You are dead, because one whose eulogy is widely spread can never die.

42 To You Ridwân (the angel of Paradise) is a visitor, but for others who went down on that day (*fîhi*) there is *Munkar* and *Nakîr*.

3.2

This is followed by verse 45, in which an allusion is made to the assassination, suggesting that it can be interpreted as an attempt to completely eliminate the Vizier’s Dynasty. That plan, however, failed and the son Ruzzîk ibn Țalâ’î²⁰ was able to function as his father’s successor. The poet ‘Umâra is also aware of this,

٤٥	وَأَنَّى لِلَّهِ أَنْ يَتِمَ عَلَيْهَا
	مَا نَوَى حَاسِدٌ لَهَا وَكَفُورٌ

45 Allâh refused to fulfill the plans made for it (the State, or *Dawla*) by a jealous and unbelieving person.

The conspirators acted during the holy month of Ramadân; they had broken the oaths of fidelity which they had sworn and, as though that were not enough, they had not complied with the rules of loyalty (*walâ’*), although, according to the Ismâ’îlî creed, this was an important pillar.²⁰ Furthermore they desecrated the Palace of the Imâm. Evidently it was really considered to be a *haram*, in which the Imâm, in principle, functioned as the Ka’ba. One thing which is certain is that the veils of the *haram* were torn:

٤٦	ضَيَّقُوا حَفْرَةَ الْمَكِيدَةِ لِكَنْ
٤٧	تَجَرَّوَا عَلَى الْقُصُورِ بَغْدَرٍ
٤٨	حَرَمٌ آمِنٌ وَشَهْرٌ حَرَامٌ

²⁰ On the *walâ’* or the loyalty obligatory for the Ismâ’îlî toward the Imâm, see P. Smoor, “The Master of the Century’ Fâtimid poets in Cairo” in *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* (73), Egypt and

Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras, p. 139; also P. Smoor, “Palace and Ruin, a Theme for Fâtimid Poets?” in *Die Welt des Orients* XXII (Göttingen 1991), p. 102-104.

46 The quarry of slyness was made narrow, but the pit has become frightening for those who have broken their oaths.

47 They were shameless in their betrayal of the Palace, even though the lamp of fidelity within gave light.

48 A safe Ḥaram and a holy month, whose handles and protective veils were crudely torn.

According to ‘Umâra’s vision, the Imâm was unable to protect the Vizier from the aggressive gang, even though he, the Imâm, was an exalted figure.

٤٩ لا صيام نهارٌ لا إمامٌ ظهورٌ أخْمَصَيْهِ تُرْبٌ

49 No fast hindered them, nor an *Imâm* who appeared, while the dust adhering to the soles of his feet was pure.

3.2.1

We suspect on the basis of the suggestions in the historical texts, that al-‘Âqid did, in fact, indirectly take part in the conspiracy.²¹ ‘Umâra, however, refuses to accept this, on the contrary, the Imâm becomes angry with the murderous gang,

²¹ Al-‘Âqid did in fact, indirectly take part in the conspiracy, thus according to several historical sources:

According to Ibn Khallikân (who lived from 608 to 681 H.), *Wafayât* II, 528 (= *tarjama* 311 on al-Şâlih ibn Ruzzîk): “In the period following the death of al-Fâ’iz, whilst al-‘Âqid was governing, al-Şâlih retained his position in the Vizierate. Furthermore, with the marriage of his daughter to al-‘Âqid, his prominence increased. Subsequently, he allowed himself to be misled by a long period of peace. Al-‘Âqid was under his power and in his captivity. However, when that went on for too long, he (al-‘Âqid) organised a plot to have him killed. Hence, he came to an agreement with a group of soldiers from the Dynasty, who were known as the Awlâd al-Râ’î and the plans were settled. He determined on a place in the Palace where they could remain hidden. There they were to remain in readiness only to emerge for him. Thus, when al-Şâlih passed by, either during the day or at night, they were to kill him. One night they were sitting in readiness for him when he left the Palace. (Hearing him) they stood up in order to go out to him, however, one of them went to unlock the door but inadvertently locked it. Consequently, they had to sit and wait for another day (...).”

According to Şâlih al-Dîn Khalîl ibn Aybak al-Şafâdî (who lived from 696 to 764 / 1297 to 1363), *Kitâb al-Wâfi bi l-Wafayât*, XVI, edition Wadâd al-Qâdî, Wiesbaden 1982, p. 503, “When Al-Fâ’iz died, al-‘Âqid received the *bay’â* and Ibn Ruzzîk continued as his Vizier; al-‘Âqid married Ibn Ruzzîk’s daughter and fell under his power. The latter was subsequently misled by a period of peace and terminated the salaries of the elite group (*naqada arzâq al-khâssâ*). Hence, a number of this group were hidden in the Palace in order to ambush him and, with

the full knowledge of al-‘Âqid, they attacked and murdered him in the year 556 H.”

According to al-Ḥâfiẓ al-Dhahabî (who died in 784/1347), *al-‘Ibar fî khabar man ghabar*, edition Abû Hâfir Muḥammad al-Sâ’id ibn Basyûnî Zaghlûl, Beirut 1985, III, 26: “In the year 556 H., Talâ’îf ibn Ruzzîk initially an Armenian but later the Vizier of Egypt, at which time he was known as al-Malik al-Şâlih, died. He had gained authority in the year 49. He was a scholarly man, an excellent poet, a *râfiḍî*, one who gifted much away and was greatly praised. Having installed al-‘Âqid, he had him marry his daughter. He later cancelled the salaries of the Amîrs, causing them to plot against him-on the instructions of al-‘Âqid (*bi-ishâratî l-‘Âqid*). He came to the aid of the Shi’ites as a hot iron bar [*lal-sikka al-muḥammâh*].” According to Ibn al-‘Imâd al-Imâm Shihâb al-Dîn Abu l-Falâh ‘Abd al-Hayy ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-‘Akârî al-Ḥanbâlî al-Dimashqî (who lived from 1032 to 1089), *Shâdarât al-dhahab fî akhbâr man dhahab*, edition Maḥmûd and ‘Abd al-Qâdir al-Arnâ’ût, Beirut 1991, vol. VI, 296 (*sub anno* 556 H.): “In that year Talâ’îf ibn Ruzzîk, the Armenian, who subsequently became the Misrî, al-Malik al-Şâlih, Vizier of the country of Egypt died. He had made himself master of affairs in the year 49. He was both a scholar and an excellent poet, a Shi’ite, extremely generous and highly praised. After he had given the *bay’â* to al-‘Âqid, he had him marry his daughter and he reduced (*naqqasa*, not *naqâda*, ‘destroyed’ as in other sources, PS.) the salary of the Amîrs, after which, on the instructions of al-‘Âqid (*bi-ishârat al-‘Âqid*) they conspired against him and killed him in the porch (*dîhlîz*) during Ramaḍân. He came to help the people of Shi’ism as the hot iron bar [*sikka al-muḥammâh*].”

٥٢	غَضِبَ الْعَاصِدُ الْإِمَامُ فَكَادَتْ
٥٣	أَدْرَكَ الشَّارَ مِنْ عِدَاهُ بَعْزِمٍ
٥٤	وَاسْتَقَامَتْ بِنَصْرِهِ وَهَدَاهُ

52 Al-‘Âdîd, the *Imâm*, became angry whereupon the rocks almost melted for fear of him.

53 Taking a resolute decision, he wreaked revenge upon his enemies, and in his diligence there was no weakening.

54 Due to his support and just leadership the Argument of Allâh was given its rightful position and the brave warriors fought on.

After verse 43 of this poem, as a result of the poet touching upon the question of the succession, another section of the poem has already been opened:

٤٣	حَفِظْتَ عَهْدَكَ الْخِلَافَةَ حَفْظًا
٤٤	أَحْسَنْتَ بَعْدَكَ الصَّنْيَعَةَ فِينَا

43 The Caliphate has truly kept its contract with You, because You are both suited to and worthy of it (the contract with the Caliphate).

44 After your death the Caliphate gave us something good in return, thus Your absence and Your presence became as one. [The successor compensates for the loss of *Talâ'i*.]

The Caliphate is personified and appears to want to extend the contract it has with the deceased father in favour of the son Ruzzîk (who, incidentally is also known as al-‘Âdîl, along with the *laqab* “al-Mâlik al-Nâshîr”, both names originating from the *Imâm*). It is, according to our poet, this successor who must protect the people in the Palace. We are given the impression that the Palace is a *haram*, the inhabitants of which are, themselves, supposed to represent the *Ahl al-bayt*. But we are able to establish that ‘Umâra himself remains extremely reserved because he refrains from applying the Shî‘ite formulas in the *Shahâda*. He merely wants to use the special position of the *Imâms*, in order to improve his description of them, and enhance the level of his praise. But the Viziers also occupy their highly important position as the supporters of the *Imâms*’ Dynasty. The poet expresses his certain belief that the newly installed Vizier al-‘Âdîl Ruzzîk will never fall victim to an attack like the one his father had to suffer, as is evident from verse 84 in the poem on rhyme *qaṣîru*,

٨٠	حَمَلُوا مُلْكَهُمْ وَحَاطُوا حِمَاهُمْ
٨١	أَهْلُ بَيْتٍ إِذَا نَصَّتُكَ عَنْهُمْ
٨٢	لَمْ أَعْرِهُمْ شَهَادَةً مَعَ أَنِّي
٨٣	سَادُهُمْ أَبْلَجُ يُقْدِيَهُمْ مِنْهُمْ
٨٤	عَادِلٌ أَقْسَمَتْ صِرُوفُ الْلِّيَالِي

80 They (the Viziers) bore their monarchy aloft and protected their sacred territory (*himâ-hum*). Over it they formed a bracelet and a wall.

81 Here are *Ahl Bayt* (members of the Prophet's family, scil., the Imâms); when I advise you not to mix with them, they remain the core, whereas human nature is no more than the peel which surrounds it.

82 I did not lend them a *Shahâda*, although I borrowed from their Excellence for the sake of my *madîh*.

83 They were governed by a Brilliant Leader, for whose father both large and small were prepared to sacrifice themselves

84 As far as Âdil is concerned, the changing of the nights swore that they would not assault him during his time.

3.2.2

But eventually this elegy to rhyme *qâṣîru* becomes less impressive when we see how 'Umâra clearly begins to push his own interests into the forefront; he is afraid that, being a foreigner, he will be driven out of Egypt:

٩٤ كنْتُ أَخْشَى بَأْنَ يَقُولُ الْمَنَادِيُّ أَيَّهَا الضَّيْفُ جَفَّ عَنْكَ الْغَدَيرُ

(Nukat 51-52)

94 I was afraid that the Crier would say: Oh guest! The lake is unattainable, for you it has run dry.

Should we think of the Lake of Khumm where everything began for the good Shî'ite? Encapsulating this poem, we see, at the end of it, both a statement about 'Umâra's own situation and an allusion to the Shî'a background of the murdered Vizier.

3.2.A.1

According to the conventions of an elegy, the famous elegy to rhyme *dhâhiluh* is appropriately detailed and organised; in this elegy 'Umâra poses numerous rhetorical questions about the deceased. Thus this poem satisfies the conventions of elegies far better than the poem (to rhyme *qâṣîru*). The demands which were placed on 'Umâra regarding the composition of this poem were higher. According to one of the manuscripts, it was intended for a wider public than simply the successor, his brothers, uncles and in-laws, all of whom belonged to the Ruzzîk clan. We can deduce that the public was both distinguished and more general from the information that the recitation of the poem (to rhyme *dhâhiluh*) took place in the square in front of the high cupola (*îwân*) within which was the highly placed window (*shubbâk*) of the Imâm.²² From there the *Imâm* could look down on his

²² For more information on the significance of the *îwân* and *shubbâk*, see Ibn al-Ṭuwâyîr Abû Muhammâd al-Murtâqâ 'Abd al-Salâm ibn al-Ḥasan al-Qaysarânî (lived 524-617 / 1130-1220), *Nuzhat al-muqlatayn fi akhbâr al-dawlatayn*, reconstruction

and edition by Ayman Fu'âd Sayyid, Stuttgart Beirut 1992, p. 96-100.

For the architectural design of the *îwân*, reference should be made to the descriptions of architectural remains in the

servants, amongst whom, were for example, the Vizier and the most senior Qâdî and Dâ‘î, as well as the bodyguards next to the stirrup of the Vizier. Moreover, in the opening lines of this poem we can read: “To mourn the loss of al-Şâlih Talâ‘î ibn Ruzzîk and to congratulate his son on gaining the kingship, he said (this poem); he recited it [literally: “her”, because the *qaṣîda* is grammatically feminine] in the Iwân, in the presence of al-‘Âdîd.”

3.2.A.2

In this important elegy, the customary questions can be heard, frequently repeated: Who has done this deed or that generous act previously? Then there are sorrowful observations about the individual who is greatly missed and announcements opening with introductions which seem virtually standard, for example: “As though the deceased had never done this or that, as though he had never been this and that!”

– We can establish a plan which would give an impression of the theme of this poem. Within this framework, a summary of ‘Umâra’s funeral elegy (to rhyme *dhâhiluh*) follows. Due to its conventional literary style, and the radical events it relates, this elegy became extremely acclaimed; it is quoted in numerous historical sources. In the first five lines rhetorical questions follow one another, all of these are formulated in the first person singular. We can hear that which the poet tells us and, in order to help the reader acquire some insight into the intentions of the poet, we shall, in summary, discuss the phraseology of the poem. ‘Umâra says approximately the following:

– Is there anyone here who is well-informed? Because I wish to ask for insight from one who is knowledgeable, for I am bewildered. I heard something which bewildered me. I would rather have been deaf, and if only the messenger had been mute!

– Is there an answer or a liberating solution possible? That answer must be given to the Desires; it is not intended for the people but rather for their personified Wishes. The answer shall, however, be negative because anything which is vain, a characteristic in the form of every type of personified Wish, cannot possibly defeat the true disaster. Wishes are powerless as counterweights, and cannot surpass disasters.

I saw (the poet is speaking) a throne but saw no-one sitting on it: – Is he absent being temporarily replaced by another, or even worse: – has he departed for ever? A paronomastic figure of speech, *tajnîs*, follows here with two interpretations of the word *wujâh*: There is sorrow on the faces (*wujâh*), because the distinguished (*wujâh*) have now become orphans.

Oh the podium of the Throne without contents! Afterwards there were disasters.

You were a mountain.

[However, the mountain has now disappeared and the poet recalls what the deceased could have done, had there not been someone who eliminated him.

Maghrib dating from the Fâtimid era, for example the designs and photographs in Georges Marçais, *L’Architecture musulmane d’Occident, Tunisie Algérie Maroc Espagne Sicile*, Paris 1954, specifically p. 78-89 in chapter II (‘Le domaine des Fatimides

la Sicile musulmane et normande’); also consult Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture Form, Function and Meaning*, Edinburgh University Press 1994, p. 437-442 in chapter VII (‘The Palace’).

Hence the poet asks repeatedly who was responsible for the fact that the deceased is no longer able to function.]

– Who caused the mountain to tremble, causing an earthquake and the mountain to sink away. Who closed the gate of the kingdom silencing both outgoing and incoming orders? Who stopped warriors and Koran readers from their planned attack on the Polytheists? Who suppressed the spear and caused it to be broken in a narrow space? Who broke the sword? Who robbed Islam of its jewellery? Who caused such an excellency to be silenced as the speaker in front of crowds? What sort of racket was that, after the silence of worship [the attack is being referred to here], the body is penetrated by it and it loses limbs [the person being attacked is wounded.]

A passage follows in which the lines repeatedly begin with: As though, as though never ...

As though Abu l-Ghârât had never created a cloud as black as night. As though his sword had never embroidered the folds / mountain passes red. As though at his stirrup the infantry had never competed with the cavalry. As though no lance has ever been raised above armour, as though no horses have ever been under the saddles. As though his glances were never divided between a good devotee and an enemy who pretends. As though he had not faced up to the prayer niche (*mihrâb*, which also means 'the warrior') and the war with, on the one hand, strong repression and, on the other, with benefaction.

[The following passage from the poem suggests that only fate, or Time, were responsible for the state of affairs. Through the *Dahr*, it is as though he (the deceased) never functioned and never existed.]

Time's Powers of Understanding have gone mad, and they commit suicide. [Namely by allowing the murder of this Vizier to take place!]

Who will the days still be proud of after the death of Talâ'i?

How can he descend whilst his moon stations (*mandâzil*) remain far above the *Simâk* stars?

The ambitions of fate and its ultimate destination achieved their goal and surpassed even the far-reaching ambitions of the heart of an ambitious man; thus the ways of the heart and of fate were equally long and far-reaching.

The ultimate destinations are ensnaring traps which are even able to catch the heavenly luminaries of the Ruzzîk clan! Yet their gleaming spearheads gave light during nights of hospitality.

Oh his Lament! Such were his virtues! Give, even now, a summary of his characteristics!

We, the poet and his entourage, must continue to cry, otherwise we would have been being insincere. And will my tongue ever be able to mourn (for another) having praised him, and will I still be able to suppress that tongue of mine? Will my heart not be preoccupied with cares? Will I still be able to write poetry?

3.2.A.3

[The poet speaks about himself and offers condolences to the son of Țalâ’i‘, al-‘Âdil Ruzzîk ibn Țalâ’i‘. He is clearly concerned about his future career during the new Vizirate of al-‘Âdil Ruzzîk.]

- Leave me alone ! Do not condemn my sorrow, because a rain cloud passed away.
We mourn for him, our children will become orphans and widows.
What will Allah, after his pure deeds, do with us ? Will we remain here as guests ?
Shall I, after his death, still be able to find a benefactor ?
Shall I find a cornerstone, seek refuge with a King ?
With al-‘Âdil, the son of al-Şâlih ?
I say, and I speak the truth,
The authority of [Țalâ’i‘] Ibn Ruzzîk has remained, Ruzzîk [the forefather] is a lion.
He is Glorious, the Cub makes the Lion superfluous ; his ‘Âdil still acts on behalf of Şâlih.
He, Şâlih, gave up the heavy burdens he had borne, and bore them no longer.
Another Bearer raised the burden up again :
[line 49] He is a Full Moon, a *badr* on the throne, even when other Full Moons went down. He is a branch come in his place, a descendant.
- [A figure of speech follows, namely that of *iltifât*, this means that the poet now unexpectedly addresses himself to the son and successor; moreover, he does so using comforting and condoling sentences which are directed towards him in a straightforward manner.]
– [line 52] You have always remained his eyes’ Consolation for this day : The Highest Treasure. [The heir to the throne is the last refuge for Țalâ’i‘ until the moment of his death, only in this way can the Dynasty be retained by the Ruzzîk clan.]

3.2.A.4

[Gradually the poet moves on to a description of the duty to revenge, which was so successfully realised by the son and succeeding Vizier.]

- If he (the deceased) had lived, he would have been delighted by Your deed.
I [the poet speaks again] excused the Days, excused a wrongdoer, the criminal Time, because the anger of Time sometimes works for the good of humankind.
Specifically, You corrected the human beings ; out of anxiety the pregnant woman had an abortion.
You have put out the fires of the Polytheists, the cooking pots of the Angry bubbled.
You restored the good reputation of the *Dahr*. The affairs of the people were in chaos. He organised them again. Upon him and upon them their Sublimities rise on high. Due to him the weak survived. He is the hand and arm, they are the fingers.

Oh you who are jealous of him ! Beware of his mangonels and his shots. His sea will drown you.

Oh innocent sparrows ! His vultures throw themselves upon you !

Oh you who teach foolishness ! The pregnant cannot escape from that. Yes, even one who is infertile, acquires an everlasting pregnancy due the physical conception of all this foolishness !

Oh you who drink the water of Rebellion, this well is a place where the heart can be purified from hate.

You did not count on the millstone of Death turning around above you, nor its bulky body (*kalākil*) resting upon you.

One group is kept away by the sword. The ignoramus is destroyed by the sword (*i. e.*, through decapitation).

Your canine teeth are damaged and you cannot eat his reputation. He is a Rock: no canine teeth remain.

[line 70] You do not refrain from arousing enmity through an obituary. However, descending to the sea meant: Death for everyone who wanted to carry it out.

[In other words, the dangerous conspiracy would rebound onto the head of the conspirators. Those who caused the obituary to be circulated were well-known to 'Umâra, but we can merely surmise that the conspiratorial circles around the Imâm's Palace were being referred to, in particular the aunts of al-'Âqid. They were, in any event, the ones who were mentioned by al-Maqrîzî. The extent to which the expectations of the aunts were disappointed is also described by al-Maqrîzî, *Itti'âz* III, 247.²³ 'Umâra continues his poetical report of the assassination in words to the following effect:]

²³ On Monday, 19 Ramadan, al-Şâlih, according to his custom, rode on horseback to greet the Caliph. After the ritual of the greeting in the Qâ'at al-Dhahab had been completed, he went outside to the Halls where a certain *Ustâdh* walked in his path. The name of this *Ustâdh* was 'Anbar al-Rîfî, and he caused al-Şâlih to halt and then engaged him in a long conversation. Thereupon Ruzzîk ibn al-Şâlih arrived on the scene, subsequently, al-Şâlih was attacked by two men who came outside and jumped upon him. A warrior's cry went out (*fa-waqa'ati l-ṣayha*).

Al-Şâlih stumbled over his fringes and hems. Ibn al-Râ'î trod on him and pounced upon him with a sword which cut through one of the two veins in his neck. The 'Abîd (Blacks) hit him with their swords and cut through his bowels; they (the swords) sank into his flesh and paralysed his spinal cord. [In the text from al-Maqrîzî, we see repeatedly that during each of the consecutive events surrounding the collapse of the Vizier and his eventual death, the Vizier himself recites a line of poetry. It is, of course, a pertinent question as to whether there would have been sufficient time to compose these improvised lines of verse, even although the sources say that this Vizier had a collection of poems attributed to him!]

– He placed his hand on his wound and recited the following (rhyme *fa-hâti-hâ*),

إِنْ كَانَ عِنْدَكُمْ يَا زَمَانُ بِقِيَّةٍ مَا تُهْبِئُنِي بِالْكَرَامِ فَهَبُّنِي

If there is still a remnant within You, Oh Time! with which you can revile the nobles, then bring it here!

And Ruzzîk ibn Ṭalâ'i' [the son who a moment later entered the narrow corridors] was wounded in his right arm. They (the

attacking assassins) pushed forward in great numbers against al-Şâlih, who fell over onto his face and whose blood poured forth. Subsequently, the Amîr ibn al-Zabad came to his assistance and covered him with the *mandîl* (turban) from Dirghâm ibn Sawâr, because he [al-Şâlih] had already removed his *mandîl* from his head. He was carried to his horse and mounted on it in readiness to ride. However, he had not yet come to his senses. Husayn ibn Abi I-Hayjâ' remained behind at the Palace in order to fight against the Blacks until he had killed 50 men. After al-Şâlih had been mounted on his horse with his wound bound, the Sayyida aunt, 'amma, looked out from the Palace and saw him riding. She said: "By God, we are damned!"

Once he was in his house and had regained his senses, he said: "May Allah have compassion on you Oh 'Abbâs!" He sent for al-'Âqid in order to reprimand him regarding the fact that he had agreed to his (al-Şâlih's) murder. And that despite his (al-Şâlih's) wonderful deed during his (al-'Âqid's) inauguration as Caliph! On hearing this, the latter swore that he had had no knowledge of the attack and had not agreed to it.

As he died, he (al-Şâlih) recited the following lines:

وَمَا ظَفَرُوا لَمْ يُقْتَلُ بِطَائِلٍ فَعُشْتُ شَهِيدًا ثُمَّ مَتَ شَهِيدًا

When I was murdered, they gained no success. Because I both lived as a martyr and died as a martyr!

When the final third of the Monday night arrived, the 20th of the month of Ramâdân, he died and was buried in al-Qâhira. Whereupon, his remains were transferred to the Graveyard (*al-Qarâfa*). And al-'Âqid rode on horseback and the army marched behind his coffin.

– They turned away [this could be a play on words referring to the slipping and stumbling of Vizier al-Malik al-Şâlih, who appeared to pay no attention to the inadequacies of the members of the court] from the slipping of your sandals. However, Time bowed before them, without regard for its own sandals.

Are the Inadequate superior in every century? And does the Obscure destroy the man of reputation?

Foolish tops reached to the Seven stars, the rabble made itself master over the distinguished ones of time.

Look! The *Amîr* of the Believers (‘Alî) was too high for the normal people, yet he was murdered by Ibn Muljam! During the Battle of Uhud, Hamzah was killed by a javelin thrown by Wahshî.

– Daybreak comes for You! [who is being referred to? --- For both the deceased and the heir to the throne there was a daybreak. The successor must, however, immediately assume authority and for him daybreak was not being used metaphorically but literally. At the first dawn following the murder, the son of the assassinated Talâ‘î was immediately installed!].

Honour is your reward [Honour directed towards the successor to the throne who must assume responsibility the following day]!

3.2.A.5

Now the *Dawla* ‘Âdiliyya comes into being. The people wish to destroy the *Dawla*, others were sure that this was a cord of Allah, firmly plaited.

There then follows an additional part of the poem which is directed more personally towards Ruzzîk, the heir: this additional part which belongs to this poem to rhyme *dhâhiluh* can be found in al-Kâtib al-İsfahânî, in his *Kharîda*, *qism shu‘arâ’ al-Shâm*:

– A desolate place is made famous by the smile of Glory, naturally the Glory of Ruzzîk. Because this Glory camped in the place which was previously so lively but which is now governed by loneliness. Other kings will achieve excellence having this Radiant figure in their midst [it is true that Ruzzîk was merely one of the Âl Ruzzîk]. Just like his father, this Lion has armour, this Mountain has a sling for the sheath of this sword. [Here the metaphor is linked to the actual description.]

He rewards ‘our’ word, a word which he had always wanted to say himself.

– Thus according to the poet: what the poet, namely ‘Umâra, says does not originate from himself but is inspired by Ruzzîk’s good characteristics, ones which Ruzzîk already had. And ‘Umâra remains as the spokesman who interprets the meaning of his master.

[Here the summary of the poem to rhyme *dhâhiluh* ends.]

3.2B.1.

The complete text and explanation, including as far as is possible an interpretation, follows below. Therefore, we are still considering the elegy (to rhyme *dhâhiluh*) by 'Umâra written on the death of Ṭalâ'i' al-Malik al-Ṣâlih.²⁴

According to the text of one manuscript, which goes into considerable detail about the circumstances surrounding the presentation of the poem, there are reports that the poem was recited by the poet himself in the Palace of the Imâm:

‘He wrote it when mourning the loss of al-Ṣâlih Ṭalâ'i' ibn Ruzzîk and congratulating his son with the Kingship. He recited it (the *qasîda*) in the *Îwân* in the presence of al-‘Âdîd:

وقال يرثي الصالح طلائع بن رزيك ويهني ولده بالملك وأنشدها بالإيوان بحضور العااضد،

١	أَفِي أَهْلِ ذَا النَّادِي عَلَيْمٌ أَسَائِلُهُ
٢	سَمِعْتُ حَدِيثًا أَحْسَدُ الصُّمَّ عِنْدَهُ
٣	فَهَلْ مِنْ جَوَابٍ تَسْتَغِيثُ بِهِ الْمُنْتَهِيٰ ²⁶
٤	وَقَدْ رَأَيْنِي مِنْ شَاهِدِ الْحَالِ أَنِّي
٥	فَهَلْ غَابَ عَنْهُ وَاسْتَنَابَ سَلِيلَهُ
٦	فَإِنِّي أَرَى فَوْقَ الْوِجْهِ كَآبَةً
٧	فِيَا أَيْهَا الدَّسْتُ الَّذِي غَابَ صَدْرُهُ
٨	عَهِدْتُ بِكَ الطُّوْدَ الَّذِي كَانَ مُفْزِعًا
٩	عَهِدْتُ بِكَ الطُّوْدَ الَّذِي سَاخَ فِي الشَّرَى

- 1 Is there amongst the people of that clan an informed polyhistor, one to whom I may address a question? Because, due to what is happening to me, I have lost my insight and become bewildered.
- 2 I heard a report which made me become jealous of the deaf, a report which bewildered those who had knowledge of it and rendered mute those who reported it.

²⁴ Poem to rhyme *dhâhiluh*. Ms. D, folio 129 recto-131 recto, ms. Rabat p. 186-190 and ms. Gotha folio 87 verso - 92 verso. In total 78 verses. In the edition Derenbourg, *Nukat-Diwan*, p. 50 (verses 1-2, 4, 6, 35, 37-39) and p. 303 (verses 7-26). Several fragments of the poem also appear in a number of other sources, for example in Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawdatayni fî akhbâr al-dawlatayni l-Nûriyya wa l-Ṣâlihiyya*, edition Ibrâhîm al-Zaybaq, Beirut 1997, I, 393 (ed. Cairo 1288 H., vol. I, 125); al-‘Imâd al-Isfahânî al-Kâtib, *Kharîdat al-qâṣr wa-jâridat al-‘âṣr, qism Shu‘arâ’ al-Shâm*, edition Shukrî Fayṣal, Damascus 1964, vol. III, 119-120. The introduction as given in the text above, is based on ms. Gotha, folio 87 verso.

According to Ms. D and Ms. Rabat p. 186 (which is slightly more detailed) the introduction to the poem is simply: “In order to mourn the loss of al-Malik al-Ṣâlih (Ṭalâ'i' ibn Ruzzîk), he said ...”

²⁵ MSS. Gotha and Rabat: ويحزن.

²⁶ Ms. Gotha: المَا.

²⁷ MSS. Gotha and Rabat: منصوباً.

²⁸ MSS. Gotha وَمَا and Rabat.

²⁹ This line of verse appears in the margin of ms. D, in both ms. Gotha and in ms. Rabat, it is included in the text of the poem itself.

- 3 Is there an “answer” through which the people can ask for help? Something which enables the idle to conquer the reality of disaster?
- 4 What caused me as a witness to the situation to have doubts is the fact that I actually saw the throne in Egypt, but no-one claimed it as his.
- 5 Is he maybe absent and has he asked his descendant to be a substitute, or did he choose a departure without hope of reunification?
- 6 On the faces (*al-wujûh*) I see sorrow, which indicates that the distinguished ones (*al-wujûh*) are his orphans.
- 7 Oh carpet of the throne whose Contents have disappeared; subsequently disasters and confusion billowed (overhead).
- 8 I knew You previously as a Mountain, which normally caused fear, specifically when the kingdom was beset by disasters.
- 9 I knew You previously as a mountain which had sunk into the ground, although in every land it caused fear and trembling.

3.2B.2

[After this the poet continues with a passage which repeatedly asks the questions which are considered conventional in an elegy: ‘‘Who ... what caused this disastrous interruption and this sudden loss?’’]

- 10 فَمَنْ زَلَزلَ الطُّودَ الَّذِي، كَانَ مُفْزِعًا³⁰ إِذَا نَزَلَتْ بِالْمُلْكِ يَوْمًا نَوَازِلُهُ³¹
- 11 وَمَنْ سَدَّ بَابَ الْمُلْكِ وَالْأَمْرِ خَارِجٌ³² إِلَى سَائِرِ الْأَقْطَارِ مِنْهُ وَدَاخِلُهُ³³
- 12 وَمَنْ أَكْرَهَ الرُّمْحَ الرُّدَيْنِيَّ فَالْتَّوَى³⁴ وَأَرْهَقَهُ حَتَّى تَحَطَّمَ عَامِلُهُ
- 13 وَمَنْ عَوَّقَ الْقَارِيَّ الْمَجَاهِدَ بَعْدَ مَا أَعْدَتْ³⁵ لِغَزْوِ الْمُشْرِكِينَ جَحَافِلُهُ
- 14 وَمَنْ كَسَرَ الْعَصْبَ الْمَهَنَدَ فَاغْتَدَى³⁶ وَأَجْفَانُهُ مَطْرُوحةً وَحَمَائِلُهُ
- 15 وَمَنْ سَلَبَ الْإِسْلَامَ حَلِيلَةَ جِيدَهُ³⁷ إِلَى أَنْ تَشَكَّى وَحْشَةَ الطُّوقِ عَاطِلُهُ³⁸
- 16 وَمَنْ أَسْكَتَ الْقَضْلَ³⁹ الَّذِي كَانَ فَضْلُهُ خَطِيبًا إِذَا التَّقَتْ عَلَيْهِ مَحَافِلُهُ
- 17 وَمَا هَذِهِ الضَّوْضَاءُ مِنْ بَعْدِ هَيْبَةٍ⁴⁰ إِذَا خَامَرَتْ جَسْمًا تَخَلَّتْ مَفَاصِلُهُ⁴¹

³⁰ This line appears in the margin of Ms. D, but in the text of ms. Gotha it reads:

الذِي سَاخَّ فِي الشَّرِّ وَفِي كُلِّ أَرْضِ خُوفَةٍ وَزَلَازِلَهُ
وَمَنْ عَوَّقَ الغَازِيَّ الْمَجَاهِدَ بَعْدَ مَا أَجْدَ

³¹ Also in ms. Gotha.

³² Ms. Gotha: ... وَمَنْ عَوَّقَ الغَازِيَّ الْمَجَاهِدَ بَعْدَ مَا أَجْدَ

³³ Ms. D and ms. Gotha, but ms. Rabat

وَمَنْ كَشَرَ الرُّمْحَ الْمَهَنَدَ فَأَمْسَى ...

³⁴ Thus mss. D and Gotha, but in ms. Rabat it reads differently: وَمَنْ سَلَبَ الْأَيَامَ حَلِيلَةَ جِيدَهَا إِلَى أَنْ تَشَكَّى حَلِيلَةَ (جِيلَةَ?) الطُّوقِ حَامِلَهُ

³⁵ Ms. D and Gotha, however, this line of verse does not appear in ms. Rabat.

³⁶ Not in ms. Rabat.

10 Who has made the mountain tremble, a mountain which normally brought fear by causing its quakes to descend on the kingship ?

[10b] Who has made the mountain, which has now sunk into the earth, tremble, whilst in every place on earth it caused fear and earthquakes ?]

11 Who shut the door to the kingdom, whilst its orders went out to every land and then came back again ?

12 Who suppressed the Rudaynî spear until it quivered, and who led it into a tight spot so that its front parts shattered ? [In the narrow corridors of the Palace the spear was of no use against the swords of the armed assassins.]

13 Who halted the diligent Koran readers and warriors (*i. e.*, *qâri'* and *ghâzî*), when their legions were equipped [were renewed] for the attack on the Polytheists ?

14 Who broke the Indian sword, so that its sheath and belt were thrown away ?

15 Who robbed Islam of the jewels around its neck, so that those who no longer had necklaces complained about their desires for one ? (or: Who robbed the Days of the jewels around their necks, so that the wearer complained about the force of the necklace ?)

16 Who reduced the Excellency to silence, whose excellence was a preacher when crowds surrounded him ?

17 And what sort of commotion is this after so great an honour: when it penetrated into a body then many accompanying limbs fell off.

[After this, a passage follows with observations regarding the reality which could have been, if death had not intervened, “As though the deceased had not done or never did this and that ...”]

بِرِيكَ سوادَ الليلَ فِيهَا قَسَاطِلُهُ
وَلَا طَرَّزَتْ ثُوبَ الْفِجَاجِ مَنَاصِلُهُ³⁸
يَنَافِسُ فِيهِ فَارِسَ الْخَيْلِ رَاجِلُهُ
كَمَا مَرَحَتْ تَحْتَ السَّرْوَحِ صَوَاهِلُهُ
جَمِيلِ السَّجَایَا أَوْ عَدُوٌ يَجَمِيلُهُ
مِنَ الْبَاسِ⁴⁰ وَالْإِحْسَانِ مَا اللَّهُ قَابِلُهُ
وَلَا شَكَ إِلَّا⁴¹ أَنَّهُ جَنَّ عَاقِلُهُ
وَلَمْ يَكُنْ فِي أَبْنَائِهَا مَنْ يُمَاثِلُهُ

١٨ كَانَ أَبَا الْغَارَاتِ لَمْ يُنْشَئُ³⁷ غَارَةً
١٩ وَلَا لَعْتُ بَيْنَ الْعَجَاجِ نُصُولَهُ
٢٠ وَلَا سَارَ فِي عَالِيِّ رَكَابِهِ مَوْكِبُ
٢١ وَلَا مَرَحَتْ فَوْقَ الدَّرُوْعِ يَرَاعَةً
٢٢ وَلَا قُسْمَتْ الْحَاظَةُ بَيْنَ مُخْلِصٍ
٢٣ وَلَا قَاتَلَ³⁹ الْحَرَابَ وَالْحَرْبَ عَامِلًاً
٢٤ تَعْجَبَتْ مِنْ فَعْلِ الزَّمَانِ بِنَفْسِهِ
٢٥ بِمَنْ تَفْخَرُ الْأَيَامُ بَعْدَ طَلَابِعِ

³⁷ Thus mss. D and Gotha, but ms. Rabat ما شَنَّ

³⁸ Ms. Gotha ولا لَعْتُ بَيْنَ فَجَاجِ نُصُولَهُ ولا طَرَّزَتْ ثُوبَ الْفِجَاجِ مَنَاصِلُهُ however, ms. Rabat has a lacuna:

ولا لَعْتُ بَيْنَ ... نُصُولَهُ ولا طَرَّزَتْ ثُوبَ الْفِجَاجِ مَنَاصِلُهُ

³⁹ Ms. Gotha and Rabat ولا قَابِلَ

⁴⁰ Ms. D مِنَ النَّاسِ

⁴¹ Ms. Rabat ولا شَكَ عَنِي

- 18 As though Abu l-Ghârât had never launched an attack, during which the dusty clouds showed You the blackness of the night.
- 19 As though his swords had not glittered amidst the dust, nor embroidered the carpet of the mountain roads (with red blood).
- 20 As though next to his high stirrups no procession walked in which the infantryman competed with the cavalryman.
- 21 As though there was no lance vibrating above the armour, as though under the saddles no snorting horses frolicked.
- 22 As though his glances were not divided between a dedicated person with beautiful qualities here and an enemy who double-crossed him there.
- 23 As though he did not oppose the Warrior (*mîhrâb*, also: “prayer niche”) and the War like one who brings oppression and benefaction, as much as Allah would accept of it. [As though he did not stand in front of the prayer niche (*mîhrâb*) and at the front of the war in order, in respect of the People and Benefaction, to undertake anything which Allâh would accept.]
- 24 I was surprised about what Time did with its own soul. It was under no doubt that its (*i. e.*, Time’s) rational being had gone quite mad.
- 25 Who will the Days be proud of after *Talâ’i’*, because amongst the sons of the Days there was no-one who resembled him.⁴²

⁴² In the margin of verse 25 in manuscript D, folio 130 verso, there is a reference to verse 15 of a poem to rhyme *bi-dimâ’ihâ* which appears in the same manuscript D, folio 2 recto. In the margin of verse 25 of poem (*dhâhiluh*) the following Arabic words have been written,

(سبقَ له مغنى هذا البيتِ في همزيتها التي رثا بها جدة العاضد حيث قال
وللثديمنَ إذا افترقتَ الخ)
in translation this reads: “The theme of this verse has already appeared in the *hâzîyya*, where he (scil., ‘Umâra) mourns the loss of al-‘Âqid’s grandmother in the following words, “You will certainly be sorry when she has disappeared.” Here the poet is referring to the following passage of 3 lines from ‘Umâra’s poem to rhyme *bi-dimâ’ihâ*,

يا دهرُ ما لكَ لَمْ تَمَنْ بِعَثْقَانِها
أولمْ تَكُنْ يَا دهرُ مِنْ عَنْقَانِها
فَلَتَدْمِنَ إِذَا افترقْتَ وَلَمْ تَجِدْ
فِي الرَّايِ مِنْ يَغْنِي كَفْضُلَ غَنَانِها
أَفَلَا حَفَظْتَ لَهَا أَجَلَ فَضْبِيلَةَ
أَنَّ الْإِمَامَ يُدْعَى مِنْ أَنْتَانِها

The lines 14-16 speak about al-‘Âqid’s grandmother, who has unjustly been eliminated by the *Dahr*:

14. Oh *Dahr*! What is wrong with you that you failed benevolently to bestow freedom upon her? Were you not yourself, Oh *Dahr*, one of her freed slaves? / 15. ‘You will certainly be sorry when she has disappeared’ as you will be unable to find anyone who holds an opinion which counterbalances the excellency of her rich insight! [scil., the insight of al-‘Âqid’s grandmother appears to be indispensable.] / 16. Have you [Oh *Dahr*!] not received the greatest benefaction from her, namely the fact that the Imâm was considered to be one of her sons?

[Ms. D folio 1 verso - 2 verso and ms. Rabat p. 34-36, ed. Derenbourg p. 155-157 (lines 1, 6-8, 28-40)]

– The *Dahr* must, therefore, experience regret. The grandmother of

al-‘Âqid should not have died. The *Dahr* should have released her. She should have escaped from death, because the *Dahr* was in fact enslaved by her. – In these lines, we are also offered proof of the high authority which al-‘Âqid’s grandmother enjoyed, she had probably more influence than her son despite him being the Imâm! In the introductory lines of this identical poem (*bi-dimâ’ihâ*), the poet secretly inserts an allusion to the grandmother’s name ‘Wafâ’ (Fidelity). According to Ibn Taghrî Bardi, *al-Nujâm al-zâhirâ* V, 288, 295 and 307, al-‘Âqid’s mother was called ‘Sitt al-Munâ’, whereas his grandmother was called ‘Sitt al-Wafâ’. In line 4, the poet seems to imply that, despite the sinister interests of ‘the nights’, his ambitions are connected to ‘the fidelity of life’, *i. e.*, life’s fidelity, but in reality the allusion is to *Wafâ* as partaking of life. Compare the introductory lines of the poem:

وقال يرثي جدة العاضد في تمام سنتها
1 لو كان ينفع أن تجود بمنها
عَنْ لِجَادَتْ أَخْيَنْ بِدَمَائِهَا
2 لَاكَ حَطَبَ الْمَوْتَ أَصْبَحَ عَلَيْهَ
قَسْرَتْ حُطَّى الْأَمَالَ دُونَ شَفَائِهَا
3 تَرْجُو مَسَلَّةَ الرِّمَانَ وَلَمْ يَرِلْ
كَدْرُ الْلَّبَابِيِّ مُؤَلِّعًا بِسَفَائِهَا
4 مَرَجَتْ لَنَا كَأسَ الْحَيَاةِ بِعَذَرَهَا
وَتَعْلَقَتْ آمَالُ بِرَوَافِهَا

On the first anniversary of the death of al-‘Âqid’s grandmother, he said the following words to mourn the loss of her:

1. If it were useful for an eye to give her water, then many eyes would already have given their blood. / 2. But the disaster of death has become a sickness (*‘illa*), one for which the steps of hope are too short, hence there is no cure. / 3. You hoped to be able to make peace with Time, however the murkiness of the nights has been smitten by the purity of the nights. / 4. For us, they (the nights) have mixed the cup of life with the treachery of life, and our hope went hand in hand with life’s fidelity (*bi-wafâ’i-hâ*). See APPENDIX F.

وقد حَيَّمَتْ فوْقَ السِّمَاكِ مَنَازِلُهُ
سَعَتْ مِنْهُمُ الْأَقْدَارُ⁴³ فِيمَا تُحَاوِلُهُ
تُمَدُّ لصَيْدِ النَّيَّارَاتِ حَبَائِلُهُ
مَشَاوِرُهُ وَقْتَ الْقِرَى وَمَشَاوِلُهُ
خَصَائِصُهُ مَأْثُورَهُ وَخَصَائِلُهُ
تُصْدِقُ دُعَوَى الْمَادِحِينَ فَضَائِلُهُ
حَتَّى جَفَّ هَامِي الدَّمْعِ⁴⁴ أَوْ كَفَّ هَامِلُهُ
وَمَالِي لَمْ تَخْذُلْ لِسَانِي خَوَالِهُ
وَحَرَّ الْأَسَى شُغْلُّ عَنِ الشِّعْرِ شَاغِلُهُ
فَلَا عَاشَ ذَاوِيْهِ وَلَا اخْضُرَ ذَابِلُهُ

٢٦ أَتَنْزَلُ بِالْهَادِيِّ الْكَفِيلِ صُرُوفُهَا
٢٧ وَتَسْعَى الْمَنَايَا مِنْهُ فِي مُهْجَةِ امْرَئٍ
٢٨ جَبَائِلُ لَمْ يَعْلَقُنَ إِلَّا بِأَرْوَعٍ
٢٩ يَبِيتُ وَمَنْ زُهْرَ الْأَسْنَةِ فِي الدُّجَى
٣٠ أَنَادَبَهُ قُلْ كَيْفَ شَعَتْ فَهَذِهِ
٣١ وَعَدَدُ سَجَایَا أَبْلَجَ الْوَجْهَ أَبْيَضَ
٣٢ كَذَبْنَاهُ فِي دُعْوَى الْوَفَاءِ بِعَهْدِهِ
٣٣ أَيْرُثِي لِسَانِي مَجْدَهُ بَعْدَ مَدْحَهِ
٣٤ أَلَمْ يَكُنْ فِي قَلْبِي مِنَ الْهَمِّ وَالْجُوَى
٣٥ سَيْذَبْلُ رَوْضُ الشِّعْرِ مِنْ يَوْمَهِ⁴⁵

26 Will their changes cause the Just leader and the Warrantor to descend, although his places of descent (*manâzilu-hu* his moon stations) were arranged above the *Simâk* constellation (*khayyamat*)?

27 With him the destiny of Death reached into the heart of a person, just as far as the ambitions of Fate reached into everything which that heart had ever tried to do.

28 They are traps, unattached except to a Radiant One whose snares were stretched in order to catch the shining planets.

29 He passed the night, whilst in the darkness his features (*mashâ'iruhu*) and torches (*mashâ'iluhu*) consisted of sparkling shining spearheads, precisely at the moment of hospitality.

30 Oh Mourner for him! Say how you would like it to be; but these are his characteristics and posture, as they were passed down.

31 Give a summary of the characteristics of someone who has a serenely pure face, whose excellent qualities are confirmation for the pretensions of eulogists.

32 We have lied to him in pretending to be loyal to his bond, as soon as the flowing tears have dried or as soon as the abundantly flowing tears cease.

33 Having praised him, will my tongue deplore his Glory? How is it possible that my tongue is not hampered by various forms of reserve?

34 Was my heart not occupied by cares, through suffering and the heat of sorrow, such that I was utterly and completely kept away from poetry?

35 The garden of poetry will have wilted since that day of his [or: since he grew up],—may what is withered in the garden never come back to life, may what has wilted never become green again.

⁴³ Ms. Rabat: سَعَتْ هَمَمُ الْأَقْدَارِ

⁴⁴ Ms. Rabat: سَابِقُ النَّدْمَعِ

⁴⁵ Ms. Gotha: بَغْدَ ثُبُوَّهِ

3.2B.3/4

[The poet's ego dominates the next lines: will the poet continue to enjoy the hospitality of the Ruzzîk clan?]

سِيَّاتِكُمْ طَلُّ الْبَكَاءِ وَوَابِلُهُ
 تَقْسِعُ عَنِّي وَابْلُ كَنْتَ آمِلَهُ
 وَأَوْلَادُنَا أَيْتَامُهُ وَأَرَامِلَهُ
 وَقَدْ غَابَ عَنِّي مَا بِي⁴⁶ الْدَّهْرُ فَاعْلَمُ
 فَيِسْكُنُ أَمْ يُطْوِي بَيْنِ مَرَاجِلِهِ⁴⁸
 أَجَالِسُهُ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ وَأَوَاكِلَهُ
 إِلَى مَلَكِ عَمَّ الْبَرِيَّةِ نَائِلَهُ
 أَقَابِلُ وَجْهَهُ الْبَشَرَ حِينَ أَقَابِلَهُ
 إِذَا شَهَدَتْ بِالصَّدْقِ يَوْمًا دَلَائِلَهُ
 وَرُزِّيْكُ لِيَثُ الْغَابِ غَابَ بَاسِلُهُ
 وَنَابَ لَنَا عَنِ الصَّالِحِ فِيهِ عَادِلُهُ⁵⁰
 وَلَكِنْ تَوَلَّى ذَلِكَ الشَّقْلَ حَامِلُهُ
 مِنَ الْعَزِّ حَتَّى قِيلَ أَوْنِسَ آهَلُهُ
 بَدَا طَالِعًا فِي الدَّسْتِ إِنْ غَابَ آفَلُهُ
 فَبُورِكَ مِنْ نَجْلٍ وَقَدْسَ نَاجِلُهُ
 وَفِي فَرْعَهُ أَخْلَاقُهُ وَشَمَائِلُهُ
 وَقَاصِيَةُ الدَّخْرِ الَّذِي كَانَ بِأَخْلِهِ⁵²
 تَجَلَّتْ لَهُ عَنْ كُلِّ فَضْلٍ مَخَائِلُهُ
 وَقَدْ يَعْذِرُ الْجَانِي مِنَ النَّاسِ عَاذِلُهُ
 وَقَدْ أَجْهَضَتْ مِنْ شَدَّةِ الْخُوفِ⁵⁶ حَامِلُهُ

٣٦ دَعَوْنِي فَمَا هَذَا بِوقْتٍ بِكَائِهِ
 ٣٧ وَلَا تُنْكِرُوا حَزْنِي عَلَيْهِ فَإِنَّنِي
 ٣٨ وَلَمْ لَا نَبْكِيْهُ وَنَنْدُبُ فَقْدَهُ
 ٣٩ فِيَا لِيَتَ شِعْرِي بَعْدَ حَسْنِ فَعَالِهِ
 ٤٠ أَيْكَرَمُ مَثَوَى طَيْفِكُمْ⁴⁷ وَغَرِيبِكُمْ
 ٤١ وَهَلْ تُنْعَمُ الدُّنْيَا عَلَيَّ بِمُنْعِمٍ
 ٤٢ سَأَوِي إِلَى رُكْنِ شَدِيدٍ وَالْتَّجِي
 ٤٣ إِلَى الْعَادِلِ بْنِ الصَّالِحِ الْمَلِكِ الَّذِي
 ٤٤ أَقُولُ وَقُولُ الْحَقُّ فَرِضٌ عَلَى الْفَتَى
 ٤٥ أَلَا إِنَّ سُلْطَانَ ابْنِ رَزِّيْكَ لَمْ يَزِلْ⁴⁹
 ٤٦ هُوَ الْمَجْدُ أَغْنَانَا عَنِ الْلَّيْثِ شَبَلُهُ
 ٤٧ تَوَلَّى وَقَدْ خَلَى⁵¹ عَلَائِقَ ثَقْلِهِ
 ٤٨ فَكَانَ كَرْجَعُ الْطَّرْفِ وَحْشَةَ آهَلِهِ
 ٤٩ وَمَا هُوَ إِلَّا مَجْدُ بَدَرٍ وَسُودَدٍ
 ٥٠ وَفَرْعُونُ كَرِيمُ الْأَصْلِ سَدَّ مَسَدَّهُ
 ٥١ وَمَا ضَرَّ هَذَا الْمَجْدُ غَيْبَةُ أَصْلِهِ
 ٥٢ وَمَا زَلْتَ قَبْلَ الْيَوْمِ قَرَّةُ عَيْنِهِ
 ٥٣ وَلَوْ كَانَ حَيَا سَرَّهُ فَعْلَكَ الَّذِي
 ٥٤ عَذَرْتُ بِهِ⁵³ الْأَيَّامَ مِنْ بَعْدِ عَذْلِهَا⁵⁴
 ٥٥ تَدَارَكَتْ هَذَا الْخَلْقَ عَدْلًا وَرَأْفَةً⁵⁵

⁴⁶ Thus in mss. D and Rabat, but Ms. Gotha ما بنا

⁴⁷ MSS. Rabat and Gotha: مَثَوَى طَيْفِكُمْ D مَثَوَى طَيْفِكُمْ but Ms. Gotha: أَيْكَرَمُ مَثَوَى طَيْفِكُمْ

⁴⁸ MSS. Rabat and Gotha: أَمْ نَطَرُ بَيْنِ مَرَاجِلِهِ

⁴⁹ Ms. Rabat: تَرَلَى

⁵⁰ This line of verse does not appear in ms. Rabat.

⁵¹ Ms. D: وَقَدْ جَلَى

⁵² Ms. Gotha: نَائِلَهُ. This line of verse does not appear in ms. Rabat.

⁵³ Ms. Gotha: بَكَ

⁵⁴ Ms. Rabat: مِنْ بَعْدِ عَزِلَهَا

⁵⁵ Ms. Rabat: وَخُضْنَةً

⁵⁶ Ms. Gotha: مِنْ شَدَّةِ الْهُولِ

و سكنتها والشرُّ تغلّي مراجلهُ
 تبيّنَ فيها ميّلهُ و تحامّلهُ
 و دبرّها مُستَجَمِعُ العَزْمِ كاملاً
 فهمْ ساعدُ الملكِ العقيمِ و كاهلهُ⁵⁸
 أنافتْ أعلاليهِ و أرستْ أسفالهُ
 بهم قام صاغيهمْ و أُسندَ مائلهُ
 و هم عند بطشِ الراحتينِ أناملهُ
 به منجنِيقاتِ الردى و جنادلهُ
 تزيدُ على بيضِ البحارِ جداً وله
 بكمْ وقد انقضَّتْ عليكمْ أجادلهُ
 فهلاً لقاحٌ لا يطرقِ حاملهُ⁶¹
 فذا موردٌ لا بدَّ تصفو منهالهُ
 رحَى الموتِ أو أَنْ تُلقى علَيْكُمْ كلاكِلهُ
 سيرجعُ مُنْقاداً إلى الحلمِ جاهلهُ⁶³
 وعادَ بلا نابٍ عن الصَّخْرِ آكِلهُ
 يُعافُ ورودُ البحْرِ و الموتُ ساحلهُ
 ودانَ لهم حافي الزمانِ⁶⁶ وناعلهُ
 حقيرٌ و يودي نابَةَ الذِّكْرِ خاملهُ
 ويسطُو⁶⁸ باغيَانَ الزمانِ أراذلُهُ
 يُقاسَ بِحَلْقٍ وابنُ مُلجمٍ قاتلُهُ
 بحرَبةٍ و حشِيشَيِّ أُصيَّتْ مقاتلهُ
 و حمداً على الأَحْرِ الذي لك آجلهُ⁶⁹
 يُقامُ بها فَرْضُ الهدى⁷⁰ ونوافلهُ
 أُينْقَضُ حَبْلُ اللَّهِ وَاللَّهُ فاتلهُ

وأطفأتَ نار الشركِ⁵⁷ بعد التهابها
 وأحسنتَ ذكرَ الدهرِ بعد إساءة
 وكانتْ أمورُ الناسِ فوضى فسادها
 (ب)، أغرَّ لهُ من آلِ رزِيكَ أسرةً⁵⁸
 به وبهم لا فرقَ الله شملَهُمْ
 تساندَ مثلَ البَزْلِ منهمُ عصابةٌ⁵⁹
 هو الكفُ⁵⁹ والبَاعُ الطويلُ إذا سطوا⁶⁰
 فيها حاسديهِ حاذروا أنْ تصيبَكمْ
 ويغرقكمْ من بحرِهِ⁶⁰ فيضُّ زاخِرٌ
 ويا أيّها الطيرُ البُغاثُ كأنّي
 رويدَكمْ يا مُلْقِحِيَها سفاهةً⁶¹
 ويا واردي ماءِ العُقوقِ تَأيَّدوا⁶²
 أراكِمْ أمنْتُمْ أنْ تُدارَ عليكمْ
 ألا إِنَّ جَمِيعاً يَرْدَعُ السيفُ جمَعَهُ⁶³
 لقد ضرَّتْ أنيابُكمْ عن صفاتِهِ⁶⁴
 ولم يَتَرَكُوا التشغيبَ نَعِيَاً⁶⁵ وإنما
 لقد صَفَحُوا عن زَلَّةِ النعلِ منكمْ⁶⁶
 أفي كلِّ عصْرٍ يَسْتَطِيلُ مُقصِّرٌ⁶⁷
 ويعُظُّوا⁶⁷ الشَّرَى نَحْوَ الشُّرَيَا سفاهةً⁶⁸
 وهذا أميرُ المؤمنينِ أَجَلُّ أَنْ⁶⁹
 وَحْمَزَةُ أَوْدِي يَوْمَ أَحْدٍ وَإِنَّمَا
 فشكراً على الفجرِ الذي لك عاجلهُ⁷⁰
 وهُنَيَّتها من دولة عادلية⁷¹
 أرادَ أَنَّاسٌ تَقْضَهَا⁷¹ فَنَأَكَدَتْ

⁵⁷ Ms. Gotha: نار الشر

⁵⁸ This line only in Ms. Gotha.

⁵⁹ Ms. Gotha: هُمُ الْكَفُّ but Ms. Rabat: هو الكهفُ

⁶⁰ Ms. Gotha: من بحرِهمْ

⁶¹ MSS. Rabat and Gotha: فهذا لقاحٌ لا يطرقُ حائلهُ

⁶² According to MSS. D and Gotha, however, ms. Rabat: تُرْقُوا

⁶³ According to ms. Rabat: سيرجعُ مُنْقاداً إلى السيفِ جاهلهُ :

⁶⁴ Ms. Gotha: لقد ضرَّتْ أنيابِكمْ عن صفاتِهِ تهمُّ

⁶⁵ Ms. Gotha: ولم يَشْرُكُوا الشَّيْعَةَ نَعِيَاً

⁶⁶ Ms. Rabat: ودانَ له حافي الأنام

⁶⁷ Ms. Rabat: وَعَطَرُوا

⁶⁸ Ms. Rabat: وَسَطَرُوا

⁶⁹ Ms. Gotha:

شكراً على الفجرِ الذي لك عاجلهُ وَحْمَزَةُ أَوْدِي على الحمدِ الذي لك آجلهُ

⁷⁰ According to MSS. D and Gotha, however, ms. Rabat: فُرُضَ النَّدِي

⁷¹ Ms. Gotha: حَلَّها

36 Leave me alone, for this is not the moment to mourn for him. The dew and the torrent of lament will still come to you.

37 Do not condemn my sorrow over him, because a rain cloud has drifted from me, one for which I had hoped.

38 But why should we not mourn and grieve for the loss of him? Because our children are now orphans and widows.

39 Oh if I but knew about his pure deeds and what, now that he has gone from us, the *Dahr* will do with us?

40 Will the place of residence of your guest (scil. ‘Umâra) and your stranger be respected, so that he may continue to reside there, or will his periods (of residence) be wound up by a farewell?

41 And, after his death, will the world bestow on me a benefactor, one with whom I can sit and upon whom I can rely?

42 I shall take refuge in a strong cornerstone and seek shelter with a king whose gifts are common to all humankind:

43 With al-‘Âdil, the son of al-Şâlih, the king in whom, when I met him, I encountered the countenance of joy.

44 I say,—and the word of truth is a duty for the hero [scil., the poet] as one day his prognostic signs will be witnesses to truthfulness:

45 Certainly, the authority of [Talâ'i'] Ibn Ruzzîk has not ceased, because Ruzzîk [the forefather] is a lion of the woods even although his brave warrior has been overcome.

46 He is Glory, whose Cub has made the Lion superfluous for us. And in him comes for us the “Just One” (‘Âdilu-hu) in place of the “Pious One” (*an Şâlihin*).

47 He has gone hence and has manifested the straps of his heavy burden. But the (other) Bearer has taken this burden upon himself once more.

48 It was as if the glance looked back towards the loneliness of a place where Glory had resided, so that people could say: Look, its inhabitants are once again in company!

49 It is nothing other than the glory of a full moon (*badr*) and a dominion, a thing which appeared rising above the throne, even though the other had gone down.

50 A branch, noble down to its roots, came in his place: May he be as blessed as a descendant and may his father be sacred!

51 This glory was not spawned by the absence of his foundation. Because in this branch of his both his character and good qualities can be found.

52 For this day, you did not cease to be the ‘Comfort of his eye’, the Highest Treasure he had ever caught. [according to ms. Gotha, or ms. D: which he sparingly preserved.]

53 Were he still alive, Your deed would have delighted him, a deed through various aspects of which, excellence is revealed.

54 On behalf of him [or ms. Gotha: ‘on behalf of You’] I excused the Days after they had been blamed,—sometimes someone even excuses the wrong-doer amongst the people.

55 You have corrected these beings with justice and with an embrace (by the sword), because anxiety has already caused the pregnant to undergo a miscarriage.

56 You have put out the fires of the Polytheists, after they had been burning brightly. You have brought them (the fires) to rest, although the cooking pots of the Angry bubbled.

57 You have restored the good reputation of the *Dahr*, after he had done something wicked, an action in which his tendentious and unreasonable treatment was made evident.

58 The affairs of the people were in chaos, but he managed and organised them: with a good and perfect resolve.

[58b] A Radiant One, whose family consists of the *Al Ruzzîk*, because they are the arms and shoulders of the childless king.]

59 Through him and through them,—may Allâh not scatter their groupings!—May his Sublimities rise on high, and his lower parts be securely anchored—,

60 A mass equal to experienced men [with wisdom teeth] supported one another, due to him the weak survived and the crooked were assisted.

61 He is the hand and the long arm, when they are powerful; they are the fingers, when he presses the palms of the hands together.

62 Oh you who are jealous of him! Take care that, on account of him, you are not affected by his mangonels and deadly shots!

63 A raging flood from his sea will have you drowned: his streams are more than the white sea.

64 Oh innocent sparrows! It is as though I see that his vultures have thrown themselves upon you.

65 Go calmly, you who bring foolishness to them! This is a conception from which the pregnant cannot escape! [or according to mss. Rabat and Gotha: ... ‘This is a conception from which not even the infertile can escape!’]

66 Oh you who descend into the water of the Rebellion, Be strong! [or according to another ms.: ‘be careful!’] This is a well where the watering places purify the heart (from hate)!

67 I see that you relied upon the fact that the millstone of Death would not be revolved above you and that its bulky mass (*kalâkiluh*) would not be thrown down upon you.

68 Certainly, there is a group whose attack will be combated by the sword: the ignoramus will eventually be traced back to the sword. [for decapitation, the version from ms. Rabat is better.]

69 Your canine teeth became damaged when they named his qualities, whoever would eat his reputation turned away from this Rock without their canine teeth.

[69b] Suspicions have caused your teeth to strike against their qualities, but the eater returned from the Rock without teeth!]

70 They did not fail to arouse enmity through an obituary, but the descent into the sea had to be avoided so long as its shores were equivalent to Death. [Ms. Gotha differently: ‘You did not fail to act appropriately, dishevelling your hair, as on hearing an obituary, however, the descent ...’]

71 They have turned away from the slipping of your sandals, although Time [or according to ms. Rabat: ‘humankind’] has subordinated itself to them, shod both with and without sandals.

72 Is, in every age, anyone who fails in his duties and is contemptuous in fact superior ?
And does an obscure person destroy precisely the man with an exemplary reputation ?

73 The peaks reach foolishly towards the Seven Stars, and the rabble make themselves masters over the distinguished ones of time.

74 This one, the *Amîr* of the Believers, is too high to be compared to the ordinary people, but even so Ibn Muljam was his murderer.

75 And Hamza was lost at the Battle of Uhud [the battle between Mohammad and the Meccans]: it was only a javelin thrown by Wahshî which was able to affect his vulnerable parts.

76 Thanks are intended for the daybreak which came rapidly for You. There is praise for the reward which finally came to You.

77 May You be congratulated with a *Dawla ‘Âdiliyya*, into which both the obligatory and voluntary aspects of Just Leadership [or: ‘aspects of Benefaction’] have been brought to bear.

78 People wanted to break it (the *Dawla*) [or according to ms. Gotha: ‘People wanted to disband it, ...’], however, it was strengthened ! Will the cord of Allah be broken, when Allâh himself has plaited it?⁷²

⁷² Regarding the murderers ‘Umâra gave his own commentary in the poems. What is striking is that he compares the murderer who drew up the plans to Ibn Muljam and, in so doing, he relates all the events to the domain of ‘Alî and the tragic circumstances surrounding his life. The descendants of ‘Alî had experienced the same fate. And, according to the following poem (‘Umâra poem in rhyme *al-i‘zâmi*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 342-344, ms. D folio 165 verso-167 recto, ms. Rabat p. 211-214), this same fate befell the pious Vizier. This poem was from a later period and intended as an ode to Imâm al-‘Âdîd and his Vizier al-Kâmil al-Malik al-Nâshîr, son and successor to Talâ‘î. However, in the lines of ‘Umâra, quoted below, we, once again, hear him recalling the murder, which, from the perspective of this poem, had occurred one year earlier:

(وقال في شهر رمضان يدح العاضد روزيرو الكابل وقال أيضاً يدح وزبره
الناصر بن الصالح وذلك في رمضان سنة سبع وخمسين وخمسمائة (...))

وطلاقن رهن الصدّى والهاء
إني ليخزنني طلوع هارلَه ٢٨

منه إلى شوالٍ غير ظلام
وأحب شعبانًا لأنّي لا أرى ٢٩

ظلامٍ وبحضور نداءٍ عذبٍ طام ٣٠

روي نداءٍ مفاصلي وعظامي
ومن العظام أن سلوككَ يعدّما ٣١

يا ابن القوام بصادمٍ قوام
فقضى لأخيكَ خيرٍ خلبيقةٍ وإمامٍ ٣٢

سيّان (سيّين) لولا العدالُ في الأحكام
مُغريًّا بمنشرِ العلمِ والأعلامٍ ٣٣

أطفاكَ من لقحاتهِ بضرامٍ ٣٤

28. The ascent (*tulû‘*) of his crescent moon caused me sorrow, whilst Talâ‘î is the pledge for the *şadâ* and the souls' owls. / 29. I hold Sha'bân (the 8th month) dear, because I see nothing of it going to Shawwâl (the 10th month) apart from darkness. [scil., the month Ramaqân placed between Sha'bân and Shawwâl should appear in mournful black.] / 30. May wine moisten Your earth, a thirsty place of martyrdom, and a sea whose moisture is sweet and overfull. / 31. It would be a great unforgivable sin if, through comforting distractions, I were to forget You after Your dew had provided my limbs and bones with water. / [Here the figure of speech *iltifât* follows, the murderer is addressed directly: ...] 32.—Ibn Muljam [thus according to ms. Rabat, ms. D has the incorrect version “Ibn Shâwar”] I established a custom which you revived, Oh Ibn al-Qawâm, towards one who fasted and one who was Superior (Qâwwâm, scil., the deceased Talâ‘î). / 33. Abû Shujâ‘ al-‘Âdîl Ruzzik ibn Talâ‘î] pronounced judgement on you, as the best Caliph and Imâm passed judgement on your brother [scil., Ibn Muljam]. After the burial of his father ‘Alî, al-Hasan ibn ‘Alî ordered that ‘Abd al-Rahmân ibn Muljam be beheaded, see Abu l-Faraj al-Isfahâni, *Maqâtil al-Tâlibiyîn*, ed. al-Sayyid Ahmad Saqr, Beirut no date but not before 1946, p. 41]. / 34. You have tasted death just as you had made another taste it [scil., the Vizier who died at your hand]. You two would not have been equal, if there had not been justice in the laws. / 35. You have gathered up the life of a Radiant Person, one who was always crazy about the spreading of scholarship and flags. / 36. You have extinguished the light of Allah, but His fully flaming gusts of wind did not fail to extinguish you.

3.2B.5

Here the poem could end were it not that an extra passage about Ruzzîk is mentioned on p. 123-124 of 'Imâd al-İsfahânî al-Kâtib, *Kharîda, Qism Shu'arâ' al-Shâm* III, in the passage about 'Umâra. It appears, therefore, to be referring to a missing piece of text, an extra fragment of the funeral elegy to rhyme *dhâhiluh!* In particular, the first two lines of the following fragment could easily be interpreted as an elaboration and explanation, with reference to verse 48 of the poem (to rhyme *dhâhiluh*) as previously quoted on the basis of the *Dîwân* manuscripts. The *nasîb* motif of a deserted region is provided with a countermovement. The desolation of the remaining empty space is brought to an end by the arrival of the son, who will once again bring Glory to life or carry it on. It was on that new life that 'Umâra had placed his hopes, because then he would be able to continue as a Guest of this Dynasty of Viziers:

<p>تَبَسَّمَ عَنْ شَغْرِ التَّبَاهَةِ خَامِلُهُ وَجَادَ بِهِ طَلْلُ السَّمَاحِ وَوَابِلُهُ مَحَافِلُهُ تُزْهَى بِهِ وَجَحَافِلُهُ وَتُلُوَى عَلَى الطُّورِ الْمُنِيفِ حَمَائِلُهُ بِلَا سَبِبٍ أَفْضَالُهُ وَفَضَائِلُهُ عَلَى أَنَّهَا مِنْ بَعْضِ مَا هُوَ قَائِلُهُ</p>	<p>١ إِذَا نَزَلْتُ أَبْنَاءُ رُزْيِكَ مَنْزِلًا ٢ وَخَيَّمَ فِي أَرْجَائِهِ الْمَجْدُ وَاعْلَى ٣ مَلُوكُهُمْ فَضْلٌ بَأْبَلَجَ مِنْهُمْ ٤ تُزَرُّ عَلَى الْلَّيْثِ الْغَضَنْفَرُ دَرْعُهُ ٥ تَفَيَّضُ عَلَيْنَا كُلَّ يَوْمٍ وَلَيْلَةٍ ٦ يُشَيِّبُ عَلَى أَقْوَالِنَا مُتَبَرِّعًا</p>
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48/1 When the sons of Ruzzîk descend to a place, then the desolation and the insignificance of that place smile with the teeth of glory.

48/2 And then glory and sublimity camp in that region and it is generously supplied with the dew and torrents of generosity.

48/3 Kings, to whom excellence comes from a Radiant One amongst them, whose gatherings and armies are proud of him.

48/4 Over the powerful Lion his armour is tied, and the slings are placed on the towering Mountain.

48/5 His excellencies and virtues flood us every night and day without reason.

48/6 Whilst out of voluntary benevolence he rewards our pronunciations, because they are a part of what he actually wanted to say.
[I did not find these lines anywhere in the manuscript of the poem to rhyme *dhâhiluh*!]

3.3

Approximately one year later the coffin was taken from the Vizier's Palace to the Tomb, which had been prepared by the prospective tenant's surviving son. The grave was situated in the *Qarâfa* in Cairo.

In the poem to rhyme *hirâru*, which ‘Umâra wrote for this special ceremony, several more allusions are made to the actual events surrounding the assassination.⁷³ In so doing, he does, in my opinion, depart from the conventions for elegies. Once again the name of a day is mentioned, this time it is a Thursday, apparently the day that the coffin is moved, the *nuqlat al-tâbût*.⁷⁴

After an introduction about tears and fires of grief, Thursday emerges. As that was the day of the *nuqlâ*:

وقال في يوم الخميس وقد نُقل الصالح من الدار التي كان بها مدفونا بالقاهرة إلى
تربة بالقرافة

ومقيّدَ الزَّفَرَاتِ وَهِيَ حَرَارُ
يُذَكَّى بِهِ مِنْ حَدًّ وَجْدَكَ نَارُ
فَلْدِيَّ مِنْهُ مَشَاعِرُ وَشَعَارُ
وَارِ وَفِي صَدْرِي صَدَىٰ وَأَوَارُ
وَلَهَانُ لَمْ أَتْرَكْ وَمَا أَخْتَارُ
يُودِي لَهَا بَعْدَ الْحَوَارِ حَوَارُ
قَلْبُ لَسائِلِهِ الْهَمُومُ قَرَارُ
أَنَّ الصَّغَارَ مِنَ الْهَمُومِ كَبَارُ
أَسْفَاً فَكِيفَ وَقَدْ طَمَا التَّيَارُ
خَطْبُ بَأْنَفِ الدَّهْرِ مِنْهُ صَغَارُ
قُطْبًا رَحِيَ الدُّنْيَا عَلَيْهَا تُدَارُ

- ١ يا مطلقَ العَبَراتِ وَهِيَ غَزَارُ
- ٢ مَا بَالُ دَمْعَكَ وَهُوَ مَاءُ سَافَحٌ
- ٣ لَا تَتَخَذْنِي قَدْوَةً لَكَ فِي الْأَسَى
- ٤ خَفَّضْ عَلَيْكَ فَانْ زَنَدْ بَلِيَّتِي
- ٥ إِنْ كَانَ فِي يَدِكَ الْخِيَارُ فَانْتِنِي
- ٦ فِي كُلِّ يَوْمٍ حَنِينُ مُضَلَّةٌ
- ٧ عَاهَدْتُ دَمْعِيَّ أَنْ يَقْرَرْ فَخَانِي
- ٨ هَلْ عِنْدَ مَحْتَقَرٍ يَسِيرُ بَلِيَّةٍ
- ٩ قَدْ كُنْتُ أَشْرَقُ مِنْ ثَمَادَ مَدَاعِي
- ١٠ عَمَّ الْوَرَى يَوْمُ الْخَمِيسِ وَخَصَّنِي
- ١١ مَا أَوْحَشَ الدُّنْيَا غُدَيَّةً فَارَقْتُ

⁷³ Umâra's poem on rhyme *hirâru*, a poem of 83 lines of verse. Ms. D, folio 69 verso - 71 verso; lacking in ms. Rabat. This poem has been partially edited by Derenbourg, *Nukat-Diwan*, p. 63-65 (= vss. 12-14, 17, 19, 21-22, 37-38, 54, 56-57, 61-62) and *Nukat-Diwan*, p. 145 (= vss. 46, 48, 50-53) and *Nukat-Diwan*, p. 229-231 (=vss. 1-8, 20, 36, 45-47, 49, 68-83). The identical poem is also quoted partially in *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 394-396 (ed. Cairo 1288 H., vol. I, 124, 126-127). Derenbourg translated a number of lines from this poem in French, see *Nukat-Diwan* (French) II, 189 (vss. 1-10, 17-22, 37-41, 45-47, 54-59). See APPENDIX B.

⁷⁴ In folio 69 recto, ms. D says in the introduction to the poem to rhyme *hirâru*: "On Thursday, the day on which al-Šâlih was transferred from the House in al-Qâhira, where he had been buried, to a tomb in the *Qarâfa*, he said the following:"

Derenbourg, *Nukat-Diwan*, p. 63, in his Memoirs (*al-Nukat al-‘asriyya*), the poet ‘Umâra says the following about the poem on rhyme *hirâru*: "When he [Ruzzîk ibn Šâlih] transferred al-Šâlih's coffin to the Burial place, I composed a qâṣîda, in which I mentioned both the shrine (*mashhad*) and the manner in which the murderers were eventually caught. This *qâṣîda* is long.

On Thursday, when al-Şâlih was transferred from the house, in which he had been buried, in al-Qâhira, to the tomb in the *Qarâfa*, he said the following:

- 1 Oh thou who makes the tears flow freely and abundantly and who binds the warm sighs !
- 2 What does it matter to your tears, which are flowing water, that within them a fire is lit by the keenness of Your sorrow ?
- 3 Do not use me as an example for your comfort, because I have both the senses and the characteristic of these tears.
- 4 Calm yourself, because the tinder of my ordeal has a hidden fire and in my breast are both thirst and blazing fervour.
- 5 Although the choice was in your hand, I would be saddened without consolation and what would remain for me to choose ?
- 6 Every day I feel a homesickness for a desert, where sand-rocks (*hawâru*) destroyed any distant conversation (*bu'da l-hiwâri*) which ever existed.
- 7 I agreed with my tears that they would cease, but a heart betrayed me; for anyone who questions it (the heart) the cares are simply stationary.
- 8 Is it maybe the insight of one despised, who has barely been put to the test, that causes small cares to become great ?
- 9 I was already choking with grief in the remaining pools of my tears, and how will it be when the stream has become overfull ?
- 10 The Thursday dominated human nature, and me, in particular, it overtook by disaster, whereby the proud nose of the *Dahr*-signified humiliation (for all the others).
- 11 How desolate the World was on the day it said farewell to a Rotating Axis, around which the millstone of the World was rotated !

After the conventional opening, the Thursday is brought to the fore, because the *nuqlâ* was on this day. But the poet could also have been thinking about the Monday of the previous year, the day, shortly after the murderous attack, on which the Vizier died. Despite everything, there was, on the day of the murderous attack, one favourable event: the Vizier managed to live for at least one hour or longer, maybe even half a day, and his head was not, therefore, in a position to be hacked off and carried in triumph by the murderers to the Vizier's palace. The aunts were not simply disappointed but mortally shocked, when they saw that the wounded Vizier was able to leave the Imâm's palace mounted on a horse and even wearing a turban on his head.

“By God, we are damned! (*Ruhnâ wallâhi*)”, one of the aunts had called out aghast, as she looked out of a window in the Palace.

We can hear the poet express his sorrow in words in the following manner:

– The world has become desolate and like a rotating millstone. However, this stone has broken loose as the rotating axle of this heavy mass has disappeared. The pastures of benefaction of this Vizier are now desolate and deserted. Only tombstones are cultivated. Commentaries suggest that this image of 'Umâra's indicates the influence of a line of verse from Abû Nuwâs, in which this antithesis had already been employed: the houses are not completely deserted but rather inhabited by a disagreeable folk,

If houses are inhabited by those whom we do not love, then the graves are now inhabited by those whom we do hold dear.⁷⁵

Fortune stumbled when the bier was carried away. –We are reminded of the stumbling of the Vizier. An extra verse, not in the *Dîwân* but originating from another source, informs us that the entire universe wanted to join in the mourning. Indeed the constellations of the Bear, both the Great Bear and the Little Bear, wanted to break their chain of stars in order to have the loose pearls of stars fall to the ground as scatterings of tears. The people look on. The bier was of such a sublime size and worth that both the size and the definition of Fate were belittled by it. The *Imâm* is present, walking in front of the covered bier. Other people in authority walk barefooted. At this point, the poet allows himself to be drawn into the atmosphere of *Shî’ite* holiness, because we hear that he is certain that the Five Pure people of the *mubâhala*–oath give their send-off to the deceased!

١٢	خَرِبْتُ رِبْعَ الْمَكْرُمَاتِ لِرَاحِلٍ ⁷⁶
١٣	نَعْشُ الْجُدُودُ الْعَاشَرَاتُ مُشَيْعٌ
١٣ب	نَعْشٌ تَوَدَّ بَنَاتُ نَعْشٌ لَوْ غَدَتُ
١٤	شَخَصُ الْأَنَامُ إِلَيْهِ تَحْتَ جَنَازَةً
١٥	سَارَ الْإِمَامُ أَمَامَهَا فَعَلِمْتُ أَنْ

12 The grazing areas of benefaction were destroyed by a traveller, by one who cultivated the tombstones even though they were deserts.

13 Whilst the bier of floundering fortune was carried off, eyes became blind at the sight of the bier.
[in the *Rawdatayn* this one verse derives from a long fragment of 41 lines:]

13b A corpse’s bier, the stars of the Great Bear and the Little Bear would be pleased if their constellations were scattered due to sorrow on account of him.

14 The people stared at him, whilst he was under the cover of the bier (*tahta jinâza*), through the sublimity of its “size” (*qadrahâ*, of the bier) the “size of fate itself” (*al-aqdâr*) was humbled.

15 The *Imâm* walked straight ahead of it (in front of the *jinâza*), then I knew that the Five Pure People (*al-khamsatu l-âthâr*) had paid their last respects.

The bier, on top of which the “floundering fortune” (*na’sh al-judûdi l-âthirâti*) was carried, disappeared from the Vizier’s Palace. Five Pure people, Muslims, accompanied in spirit this bier and coffin, and here is evidence for the belief in the Five (*al-khamsatu l-abrâr*) of the *Mubâhala* oath, which these Five once collectively swore against the unbelievers of *Najrân*, in the distant past of the Early Islam.

⁷⁵ Abû Nuwâs, from the elegy dedicated to the ‘Abbâsid Caliph al-Amîn, *Der Dîwân des Abû Nuwâs*, edition Ewald Wagner, Wiesbaden 1985, vol. I, p. 299.

⁷⁶ According to *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 394: لِوَاجِدٍ

⁷⁷ According to *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 394: عَشِيشَتُ

⁷⁸ Verse 13b is only found in *Nukat-Diwan* 63 and *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 394.

⁷⁹ According to *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 394: الْخَمْسَةُ الْأَثَّارُ

At that time, in the company of Hasan, Husayn, Fâṭima and ‘Alî, Muḥammad swore against the unbelievers of *Najrân*, who had, in turn, also sworn an oath.⁸⁰

Now it appears that the same mystical events have to take place, in connection with the transportation of the corpse. The dead body appears to be extremely holy. That is not surprising, we know that the Vizier al-Malik al-Ṣâliḥ had, during his earthly life, insisted that the Imâm al-‘Âdîd (he whose foot-soles were pure) marry his [Ṣâliḥ’s] daughter. Al-‘Âdîd was not really in favour of this match and the politically charged girl provided him with no heirs. However, a connection with the *Imâmate* naturally strengthened the position of the Vizier. It is beyond doubt that other sacred places will be jealous of a coffin which is so holy,

حَفَّتْ مَلَائِكَةً بِهَا أَنْوَارٌ	وَمَشَى الْمَلُوكُ بِهَا حُفَّةً بَعْدَمَا
فِي جَانِبِيهِ سَكِينَةً وَوَقَارُ	فَكَانَهَا تَابُوتٌ مُوسَى أُودِعَتْ
وَهُوَ الصَّالِحُ الْمُخْتَارُ	لَكِنَّهُ مَا ضَمَّ غَيْرَ بَقِيَّةِ الْإِسْلَامِ
بُنِيَتْ لِنُقْلَتِهِ الْكَرِيمَةِ دَارُ	أَوْطَنَتْهُ ⁸¹ دَارَ الْوِزَارَةِ رَيْشَمَا
عَلَمًا يُحَجِّ فَنَاؤُهُ وَيُزَارُ	حَتَّىٰ إِذَا شَيَّدَتْهَا وَنَصَبَتْهَا
تَابُوتِهِ وَعَلَى الْكَرِيمِ يُغَارُ	وَتَغَيَّرَ الْهَرْمَانِ وَالْحَرْمَانِ فِي

- 16 Barefooted the Kings walked with it (the *jinâza*), after angels had caused a rustling—angels with lights.
[Rawdatayn, *haffat malâ’ikatun bihâ aṭhâru*. Ms. D reads: *haffat malâ’ikatun bihâ anwâru*, ... i. e., after pure angels had encircled it, ... after shining angels had encircled it.]
- 17 As though it were the coffin of Mûsâ, on either side of which were entrusted the “Godly Rest” (*sakîna*) and Dignity.
- 18 But it contained nothing other than the remains of Islam, namely al-Ṣâliḥ al-Mukhtâr. [the style figure of *iltifât*, where the poet is heard addressing himself directly to the son Ruzzîk, probably begins here:]
- 19 — You have given him the Dâr al-Wizâra as a home, whilst in the meantime another house was built to receive the noble transfer of his remains.
- 20 After which You have taken care of it and set it up as a beacon, to the square of which people make pilgrimages and pay visits.
- 21 The two pyramids and the two sacred areas (Mecca and Medina) were jealous of each other in regard to his coffin, and men are jealous of the noble.

The chosen place appears to be *Miṣr* (old Cairo) which was situated next to *al-Qâhira* and became a safe region thanks to the deceased. Due to the Sublimity of this deceased, even the air above the coffin and above *Miṣr* was transformed to a well nigh intangible

⁸⁰ See article “Mubâhala” by W. Schmucker, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (New Edition), Brill Leiden.

⁸¹ According to Rawdatayn, ed. Zaybaq, I, 394: أَفْطَنَتْهُ

entity which could be qualified as ether (*athîr*)! Yes, the holiness of the Vizier ensures that above the cloth over the bier there is ether; and both the city and the whole of Egypt have now become a sacred place:

حسدتْ فرّاقَهَا⁸² لِهِ الْأَمْصَارُ
يَرْجُو مُثُوبَةً قَصْدَهَا الزُّوْارُ
فَجَرِي لَهُ مِنْ عَفْوِكَ الْإِيَثَارُ
حَرَمْ وَأَنْكَ صَافِحٌ غَفَارُ

٢٢ آثَرْتَ مِصْرًا مِنْهُ بِالشَّرْفِ الَّذِي
وَجَعَلْتَهَا أَمْنًا بِهِ وَمَثَابَةً
٢٣ هَذَا الْأَثِيرُ غَدًا بِهَا مَتَعْلِقًا
٢٤ اعْلَمْتَنَا تَجْمِيلَ صَفْحَكَ أَنْهَا
٢٥

- 22 You preferred to choose Misr as a result of which it is honoured, whereas the other *Misr*-s (plural *amsâr*, the ancient garrison towns), feel envious of its (Misr's) cemetery.
- 23 You have turned it into a safe region and abode, where the visitors hope for a reward for the fatigues of their journey.
- 24 Look, this “ether” is attached to it (the *Jinâza*, the cloth over the bier), because through Your forgiveness it acquired preference.
- 25 Through the benefaction of Your forgiveness You have informed us, that it (the cloth) is a *haram* and that You are an all effacing Forgiver.

The son and heir to the Vizirate, who is now being addressed, is responsible for defending the family honour. Once again the poet directs himself to the son with recollections about the nobility of his father: —your father is the most noble, who departed to his grave. All that remains for humankind is to cultivate his traces. As an *Imâmî Shî’ite*, the father had probably wanted to lie in Baghdad as an embalmed body next to the other *Imâm*-s from the ‘Alidic line of *Imâm*-s, eventually the Twelvers. This wish was however impossible to honour, not only for political reasons but also on account of the great distance and the fact that the unexpectedness of the death meant no preparations had been made. We hear how the poet applies *husn al-ta’lîl*, *i. e.*, the style figure of fantastic aetiology.

Without citing the actual reason, the poet states that al-Kâzima near Baghdad was not a suitable place for the deceased; this burial place for *Shî’â* holiness near Baghdad⁸³ would, in fact, be too insignificant for the preservation of the remains of this great Vizier. As a person from the *imâmî madhhab* he would be too important to lie amidst the ‘Alid-s, who had themselves always had their graves there. And it is here that ‘Umâra places his fantastic aetiology.

⁸² According to *Nukat-Diwan*, 64 and *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 394: حَسِدْتُ فَرَاقَهَا

⁸³ Al-Kâzima, the poet presumably had in mind the shrine of *al-Kâzimayn* (presently known as *al-Kâzimiyâ*), in the northern region of Baghdad, wherein the tombs of two holy ‘Alawî

persons can be found, namely Mûsâ al-Kâzim (died 183/799) and Muhammâd al-Jawâd (died 220/835), see for more details H. Halm, *Die Schia*, Darmstadt 1988, p. 38 and 40.

‘Umâra, who himself came from a noble Arabic tribe, draws attention to the excellence of Ṭalâ’i’. Without mentioning that this Vizier was originally an Armenian, he decides that Ṭalâ’i’ was better than the full-blooded Arabic poet al-Farazdaq. Through his grandfather Ghâlib and the sub-tribe Dârim, Farazdaq allied himself with the tribal conglomeration of Tamîm.⁸⁴ However, Ghassân was the patron tribe with which the Armenian Ṭalâ’i’ had, as a client, become allied. Hence we hear from ‘Umâra:

٢٦	وأبوك أولى من غدا لضريحة
٢٧	ليقول من يرث الليالي بعدها
٢٨	وأبوك أعظم أن يقاس بأشظم
٢٩	أين الفرزدق من علاك وغالب

والأمر أمرك ذمة وذمار
يفبني الورى ويُعمر الآثار
أضحتى بكافظمة لهن جوار
بل دارم بل يعرب ونزار

- 26 Your father is the most worthy, who went to his grave. The command is now for you to give protection and to defend the family honour.
- 27 Allow those who inherit the nights, after us (our death), now simply to say the following: “Humankind will come to grief; only the traces will be cultivated.”
- 28 And Your father is too great ever to be compared to those skeletons which acquired a resting place next to Kâzima (the area of the *Shî’ite* shrines in Baghdad).
- 29 Where is Farazdaq in relation to Your Exaltedness,—and Ghâlib, or rather Dârim? Or rather Ya’rub and Nizâr?⁸⁵

The deceased Vizier is transported in his coffin and ‘Umâra compares him to a loved one on her camel, as she disappears forever out of the sight of her lover:

٢٠	قد قلت إذ نقلوه نقلة ظاعن
٢١	ما كان إلا السيف جدد غمده

نَزَحَتْ بِهِ دَارْ وَشَطَّ مَزَارْ
بِسَوَاهُ وَهُوَ الصَّارُمُ الْبَتَّارُ

⁸⁴ Perhaps the comparison with al-Farazdaq as a poet was also intended to compare the excellent talent of this poet with the poetical talents of Ṭalâ’i’ who was indeed trying to become somewhat more than a minor poet. Compare the article P. Smoor, “Al-Farazdaq’s Reception by Contemporaries and Later Generations” in *Journal of Arabic Literature* XX (1989), 115-127.

⁸⁵ On Nizâr: apparently ‘Umâra is seen here to refer to the political poetry of poets like Jarîr and al-Farazdaq, compare on this the article “Nizâr b. Ma’add, Common Ancestor of the Greater Part of the Arab Tribes of the North” by G. Levi Della Vida in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (New Ed.), VIII, 82. But there might be a hidden allusion here to “Nizâr b. al-Mustanṣîr the Fâṭîmid claimant” see the article by H.A.R. Gibb in *op. cit.* VIII,

83. Apart from this instance of an allusion to the name of an important person contemporary to the poet ‘Umâra, we find him elsewhere referring and alluding to another name. Thus we might surmise a play on words in the first line of the poem to rhyme *jimâli*, ‘Is it a heaven determined by fate or a heaven of majesty, and the glow of a full moon (*badr*) or the desires of camels (*jimâli*)?’ See above, note 4—the allusion would be to Badr al-Jamâli, the Armenian Vizier who had once restored the *Imâmate* of the Fâṭîmid al-Mustanṣîr and who might be seen as an example for Ṭalâ’i’, the Armenian Vizier of later date. [For this suggestion I thank Dr Han den Heijer, Director of the Netherlands-Flemish Institute for Archaeology and Arabic Studies in Cairo.]

٨٦ بِرْحَابَةٌ يَتَشَعَّشُ الآثَارُ
أُخْرَىٰ فَنَوْءٌ سَحَابَهُ مَدْرَارُ
مَاذَا الَّذِي رُفِعَتْ لَهُ الْأَسْتَارُ
فَوْضَىٰ فَلَا إِذْنٌ وَلَا اسْتِيمَارُ

٢٢ وَالْبَدْرُ فَارِقٌ بَرَجَهُ مَتَبَدِّلٌ
٢٣ وَالْغَيْثُ رَوَىٰ بُلْدَةً ثُمَّ انْتَحَىٰ
٢٤ يَا مَسِيلَ الْأَسْتَارِ دُونَ جَلَالِهِ
٢٥ مَا لَيْ أَرَىٰ الزَّوَّارَ بَعْدَ مَهَابِهِ

30 I said, when they transported him like a beloved woman in a camel's litter: 'With him is a residence far removed, and far away is the place to visit'!

31 He was nothing other than a sword the sheath of which had been renewed by another (sword). That is a Cleaver and Chopper!

32 Nothing other than the Full Moon which had deserted his constellation and exchanged it for a roomy space where traces were left behind to shine.

33 A rain shower provided a region with water then it moved on to another place, because the rain stars of his clouds are extremely abundant.

34 Oh thou who hast lowered the veils over his Majesty: what is that for which veils were once raised?

35 Why do I see visitors in great confusion after their demonstration of respect: there is no longer any question of Permission nor Succession of orders.

The Vizier was not only a beloved woman carried away in a camel's litter. He was, in another way, also a Full Moon, but one which could no longer be found at its moon station; only the remaining traces were still visible. Due to his kindness towards humankind he was like Rain and like the stars which announce the coming of rain. He was a majesty, one who, from now on, no longer exists. The poet is more specific: –Visitors to the Court of the Vizier became confused, what were they to do? No questions could be asked and no orders were being given. Once again the deceased was called upon: Oh Warrantor of Mohammed's clan! Oh Henchman of this clan (*A-kafila âli Muhammadin wa-walîyyahum*)! You find yourself at a place and in a time, when the morals and customs of every Henchman apart from yourself consist of denial, that alone and nothing else.

The recollections of the poet naturally turn to the loyal assistance which the Ruzzîk clan and Talâ'i' gave to the *Imâm*'s Dynasty when it faced great danger. At that point the support from Talâ'i' as *walî* was an absolute certainty. However, this same *walî* has now been betrayed by the henchmen of the *Imâm*.

This *Imâm* should, for his part, have been a *walî* for Talâ'i', the cementing of a friendship between one *walî* and another *walî*. Instead, however, the historian even suggests that *Imâm* al-‘Âdîd was not in fact dissatisfied with this assassination. In this light we must also consider the pronouncement from Talâ'i', "May God have mercy upon you, oh ‘Abbâs!"

⁸⁶ According to *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 395: بُرْجَاهُ بِتَشَعَّشَعِ الْأَثَارِ

– Does Ṭalā'i' perhaps, in his final all-seeing moments, become aware that 'Abbâs himself had also run the risk of being a victim of murder at the instigation of his chief, *Imâm* al-Ζâfir via Naṣr ibn 'Abbâs? The latter was a tried and tested killer more or less bought by various financial gifts.

In this situation, the previous Vizier 'Abbâs was certainly forced to react directly. He could do nothing other than, without waiting, strike immediately: his *Imâm*, al-Ζâfir the *Imâm* of his period, died first because Vizier 'Abbâs did not hesitate and refused to allow himself to be murdered first. Subsequently 'Abbâs was, of course, punished by the residents of the *Imâm*'s Palace. Maybe Ṭalā'i' was only thinking about this situation when he made his pronouncement, at least if the information from al-Maqrîzî regarding Talâ'i's last words is correct.

In verse 37 of the poem *hirâru*, an elaboration of both the murder itself and the pursuit of the murderers begins.

The murderers must be punished, but also those in high places who were behind the deed and conspired against the deceased Vizier.

There follows an insinuation regarding the name of the Vizier with his honorific al-Malik al-Σâliḥ, in short Σâliḥ. In this connection, the poet lists the activities of the Koranic Prophet Σâliḥ, mentioning all the miracles and evidence described there, including the well-known camel from the rock. This camel could not, according to the Koran, enjoy its share of the scarce water for long, because Qudâr, a representative from a race of unbelievers, offered, together with his companions, to cut through the heel tendons of the wonder camel. He was perhaps one of a number of fellow murderers; no individual could be held responsible for murder and blood feuds. Similarly, the murder of Ṭalâ'i' was planned by an aunt but carried out by a whole group of conspirators, the beginning and the end of an analogous event in the century of 'Umâra.

The poet informs us who his contemporary *Imâm* and his Regent were, the combination of whom he appears to regard as an harmonious entity. He has, at the very most, covert criticism of the Palace circles surrounding the *Imâm*:

٣٦ أَكَفِيلَ آلَ مُحَمَّدٍ وَلِيَّهُمْ إِنْكَارٌ
فِي حَيَّثُ عَرَفُ وَلِيَّهُمْ إِنْكَارٌ
جَهْلًا عَلَيْكَ^{٨٧} وَآخَرِينَ أَشَارُوا
٣٧ غَضَبَ الإِلَهُ عَلَىٰ رِجَالٍ أَقْدَمُوا

36 Oh Warrantor of the Clan of Mohammed and Friend of them, whereas the 'urf, the good deed of other friends consists of denial!

37 May the Deity be wrathful towards those who in ignorance rose up against him and towards others who gave instructions.

‘Umâra elevated the *wazîr* to a rank not far under that of the Koranic Prophets. The murdered *wazîr* is namely made equal with the wonder that was brought to pass by the Koranic Prophet, Şâlih. What kind of miracle was this? It had to do with a She Camel which appeared out of a huge boulder. The godless Qudâr and his evil accomplices slaughtered this She Camel and in so doing made themselves guilty of a sort of murder. The murdered *wazîr*, al-Malik al-Şâlih, is similar to the She Camel, and even the *Imâm* himself is supposed to be similar to the Prophet Şâlih. The She Camel, which had been the “argument” of the Koranic Prophet against an unbelieving people, has the same position as the *wazîr*, who functioned as the *Imâm*’s “argument”,

٣٨ لا تعجنْ لِقُدَّارٍ نَاقَةَ صَالِحٍ وَقُدَّارٌ فَلَكُلٌّ عَصْرٌ صَالِحٌ

38 Do not be surprised on account of Qudâr of the She Camel of Şâlih, for each century has its Şâlih and its Qudâr. [According to ms. D, folio 70 verso.]

[Do not be surprised because of Qudâr, Oh She Camel of Şâlih, for each century has its Şâlih and its Qudâr. According to *Rawdatayn* I, 126 and *Nukat-Diwan*, 64.]

Here we have an example of history repeating itself, for that which formerly happened to the Prophets with their miraculous sign occurs once again with reference to the *Imâm*-s and their *wazîr*-s.

[Compare Sûra 27, 48-49: “And there were in the city nine persons who made mischief in the land and did not act aright. They said: Swear to each other by Allah that we will certainly make a sudden attack on him and his family by night...”]

3.3.1

Coincidentally, the murder-loving aunt of *Imâm* al-‘Âqid had used her financial subsidies to hire a number of Negro troops and this gives ‘Umâra the chance to use an attractive figure of speech: he poses an antithesis between the “blacks” and the “whites”. This sort of contrast was a popular figure of speech among the poets of the New School. In consequence we have the following line:

٣٩ وَخَجَلْتَا لِلْبَيْضِ كَيْفَ تَطَاوَلْتَ سَفَهَا بِأَيْدِي السُّودِ وَهِيَ قِصَارُ

39 Oh, what disgrace, due to the Whites (white and glittering swords, *li l-bîdi*), and how haughty they were in their folly (*taṭâwalat*), in the hands of the Blacks (*bi-aydî l-sûdi*) whose hands were not sufficient (*qaṣîra*).

3.3.2

A second antithesis is that between “going too far / being haughty” and being “short / insufficient”. We almost see a paronomasia appear, an incomplete paronomasia, between the word *a’bud*, in the sense of (the class of) “slaves” and *‘abîd*, in the sense of Godly “servants” of the Vizier,

٤٠ وَ حَسْرَتَا كَيْفَ انْفَرَدْتَ لَاَعْبُدِ
وَعَبِيدُكَ السَّادَاتُ وَالْأَحْرَارُ

40 Oh what sorrow, how alone you were when opposed by these “slaves” (*a'bud*), while your “pious slaves” (*'abîd*) are Gentlemen and Nobles.

3.3.3

The Vizier was so powerful that he has qualifications which are attributed to God. For he is able to *khudhlân*, to “withdraw from” someone the ability to obtain (*iktisâb*), for better or for worse, anything from their actions. Thus the Vizier could have rendered his opponents powerless, had it not been for the fact that Predestination was not on his side:

٤٣ وَلَقَدْ ثَبَتَ ثَبَاتٌ مُقْتَدِرٌ عَلَى
خَذْلَانَهُمْ لَوْ سَاعَدَ الْمُقْدَارُ
٤٤ وَتَعَرَّرَتْ أَقْدَامُهُمْ لَكَ هَيْبَةً
لَوْ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَكَ بِالذِّيْوَلِ عَثَارٌ

43 You were firm with the firmness of an Almighty who was able to “abandon / withhold mercy from” them (*Muqtadirun 'alâ khidhlâni-him*), had Predestination only worked with you !

In verse 44 there is once again a paronomasia, which as a figure of speech embellishes the poem, but which also emerges from the actual situation: in the report by Abû Shâma (based on Ibn Abî Tayy), there is mention of a stumbling, “al-Şâlih stumbled on the hem of his own cloak”. But in 'Umâra's poem the phenomenon of stumbling also occurs in the case of the enemies, however, the enemies stumble because they are confused and intimidated by the majesty of the victim :

43 You were firm with the firmness of an Almighty ...
44 Their feet would have stumbled out of respect for You, had you not stumbled over your own hem !

3.3.4

In the historical report the protective action was also mentioned, the intervention, by Abû Hasan 'Alî Ibn al-Zabad. In the poem by 'Umâra, this action is also referred to, probably at the special request of Ruzzîk as the son whose arm or shoulder was injured by the murderers and, therefore, could take little further part.

The poet addresses his travelling companions and warns them both not to expect important information from any living being but the reliable tale of the sword,

٤٥ وَلَقَدْ وَفَى لَكَ مِنْ صَنَاعَكَ امْرُهُ
بِشَنَائِهِ تَسْتَسْمِعُ السُّمَّارُ
٤٦ أَوْفَى أَبُو حَسْنٍ بِعَهْدِكَ عِنْدَمَا
خَذَلَتْ يَمِينَ أُخْتَهَا وَيَسَارُ
٤٧ غَابَتْ حَمَاتُكَ وَاثْقَينَ وَلَمْ تَغُبْ
فَكَانُهُمْ بِحُضُورِهِ حُضَّارُ
٤٨ لَا تَسْأَلَا إِلَّا مَضَارِبَ سِيفِهِ
فَلَقَدْ تَزِيدُ وَتَنْقُصُ الْأَخْبَارُ

عنْ غُرْرَةٍ لِجَبِينِهَا إِسْفَارُ وَانْفَلَّ مِنْهُ مَضْرُبٌ وَغَرَارُ لِمَّا انْتَهَتْكَ صُوَارُمْ وَشَفَارُ مِنْ خَمْرِهَا أَسْفَأً عَلَيْكَ خُمَارُ	٤٩ لَقِيَ الْمَنِيَّةَ دُونَ وَجْهِكَ سَافِرَاً ٥٠ حَتَّىٰ إِذَا انْقَطَعَ الْحُسَامُ بَكَفَهُ ٥١ أَلْقَى عَلَيْكَ وَقَايَةً لَكَ نَفْسَهُ ٥٢ إِنْ لَمْ يَذْقُ كَاسَ الرَّدَى فَبِقَلْبِهِ
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45 Amongst Your employees one man was loyal to You, the evening speakers ask for his eulogy to be heard.

46 Abû Ḥasan loyally fulfilled the oath with You when a right hand let its sister down and vice versa.

47 Your protectors were absent in their trust, but you [Oh Abû Ḥasan] were not absent,—then it appeared as though they were present simply due to his presence!

48 You must both ask nothing, apart from asking the sharp edge of his (Ibn al-Zabad’s) sword, because the information is sometimes more and sometimes less. [Only the sword’s information is sufficient.]

49 He met his Fate in order to protect your visage, and to reveal a noble blazing quality,—the forehead (of this noble quality) displayed this (the blaze).

50 But when the sword broke in his hand and the cutting edge and sharpness were damaged,

51 He threw himself upon you to protect You, whilst slashing and sharp swords were directed towards You. [Ibn al-Zabad survived the attack and only later under Ḍirghâm was he executed.]

52 If he has not drunk from the well of destruction, then there is in his heart a remnant of drunkenness from its wine —from sorrow for You.

Verse 48 is, of course, an allusion to the well-known line from Abû Tammâm about the sharpness (*hadd*) of the sword and the division (*hadd*) between seriousness and play, between life and death.⁸⁸ Verse 48 is about the sword of Ibn al-Zabad, which breaks in two during the skirmish. Together with the following lines, verse 49 makes reference to the brave actions of Ibn al-Zabad, which prevented the Vizier being instantly decapitated.

This complex of lines, in which the bravery of al-Mukarram Ibn al-Zabad is so accurately described, is unusual in an elegy. In my view ‘Umâra was very original in this respect. He deviates radically from the stereotype images. Although he appears to have had a request from Ruzzîk to mention the honourable role of Ibn al-Zabad again, this particular piece of portrayal of the actual events on that dramatic Monday makes a deep impression on the public.

⁸⁸ Abû Tammâm’s poem to rhyme *wa l-la’ibi*, in honour of the ‘Abbâsid Caliph al-Mu’tâsim billâh ibn Hârûn al-Rashîd on the occasion of his victory over the fortified Byzantine city of ‘Ammûriyah, where the first lines read as follows: 1. In its reporting of events, the sword is more sincere than books because in its sharpness lies the division between seriousness and play. / 2. Swords with white blades, not the black of

letters of a document, in the text of which lies the revelation of doubt and uncertainty. / 3. Genuine scholarship lies in the shining stars of the spears which glitter between both armies and not with the seven shining heavenly lights. / 4. Where is the story of the astrologers? ... (*Dîwân Abî Tammâm bi-sharh al-Khaṭîb al-Tibrîzî*, ed. ‘Azzâm Cairo, 1964, vol. I, p. 40 f.)

In the next part of this poem to rhyme *hirâru*, we hear the poet idly wishing that the murdered Vizier had been able to witness, with his own eyes, the punishment of his assassins. When talking about the murderers the poet is moved to curse, and yes, maybe as a result of this the punishments do not fail to occur. The heir to the throne, the son of *Talâ'i*, apparently achieved complete success, because in verse 59 the poet says the following about the murderers: “They flew away (...) then it was as though they had never flown away!”

٥٣	هي وقفه رُزق المكرّم حمدّها
٥٤	أحلّت دار كرامة لا تُنْقاضي
٥٥	يا ليت عينك شاهدت أحوالهم
٥٦	وقع القصاص بهم وليسوا مُقْنعا
٥٧	ضاقت بهم سعة الفجاج وربما
٥٨	وتوهّموا أن القرار مطيبة
٥٩	طاروا فمد أبو الشجاع لصيدهم
٦٠	آماد أعمار البرية مدة

وعلى رجالِ لومُها والعازُ^{٨٩}
أبداً وحلَّ بقاتليك بوارُ
من بعدها ورأتَ إلى ما صاروا
يرضى وأين من السماء غبارُ
نام العدوُ^{٩٠} ولا ينامُ الشارُ
تُنجي وأين من القضاء فرارُ
شَرَكَ الردى فكأنهم ما طاروا
تجري إلى غياتها الأعماُرُ

53 It is a persistence (*waqfa*) for which al-Mukarram is provided with praise. However, for other men that persistence means “lowness” [*lu'mu-hâ*, or according to ms. D *lawmu-hâ*, *i. e.*, “reproof”] and disgrace.

54 May You be placed in a Residence of Nobility (*Dâr karâma*) one which will never end, and may Ruin descend upon Your murderers.

55 Oh had Your eye but beheld their situation, after this (“persistence” in the murderous attack); had it but seen what became of them !

56 May punishment fall upon them and may they not be like “a persuasive person who satisfies the people”. Indeed, how far is the dust removed from heaven !

57 May the space of the mountain paths become frighteningly narrow for them. How frequently did the enemy of revenge (*nâma l-'adûwu*, or *nâma l-walîyyu*, “the warden of revenge”) sleep, but revenge itself never slept.

58 They imagined that the flight was a mount which would rescue them, but where is an escape from judgment (*mina l-qadâ'i firâru*) ?

59 They flew away, but *Abû l-Shujâ'* (scil., the son *al-'Âdil*) tightened the net of ruin in order to hunt them; then it was as if they had never flown away.

60 The same aims of the periods of life contain a certain interval of time, but towards its end all the periods of life are set in motion.

Finally, the poet concludes this section of the poem with a couple of lines in which he speaks comfortingly to the deceased Ṭalâ’i‘ (verses 61-66): — the path of his death resembles that of ‘Alî the *waṣîyyu*, the heir to the Prophet, and that of the heroic uncle of Mohammed, Ḥamza who was killed during the Battle of Uhud by a javelin thrown by the insignificant person Wahshî. The deaths of other ‘Alid-s, including Ḥusayn, are mentioned by the poet in order to comfort the deceased Vizier in his martyrdom. In any event, thanks to his loyalty, the Congregation of Ahlmad has been preserved, according to the poet who is, in fact, making reference to the salvation of the Fâtimid Dynasty by the hand of Ṭalâ’i‘.

In the closing verses 67-83, the poet praises the successor who is also offered condolences, even though it is a year later. Then, the poet once again turns to loyalty, not in this case so much to that of the Vizier in respect of the *Imâm*, but rather to that of the poet himself in respect of the new Vizier, the son of Ṭalâ’i‘.

٦١	فتَهَنَّ بِالْأَجْرِ الْعَظِيمِ ^{٩١} وَمِيتَةٌ
٦٢	مَاتَ الْوَصِيُّ بِهَا وَحَمْزَةُ عَمِّهِ
٦٣	نَلْتَ السَّعَادَةَ وَالشَّهَادَةَ وَالْعُلَى
٦٤	وَلَقَدْ أَقْرَرَ الْعَيْنَ بَعْدَكَ أَرْوَاعُ
٦٥	لَوْلَا جَمِيلٌ وَلَائِهِ لَتَفْجَرَتْ
٦٦	لَمْ أَسْتَقِمْ لِحَفْظِ أُمَّةِ أَحْمَدَ
٦٧	النَّاصِرُ الْهَادِيُّ الَّذِي حَسَنَتْهُ
٦٨	مَلْكٌ جَنَاحِيُّ سَيْفِهِ وَسَنَانِهِ
٦٩	جَمِعْتُ لَهُ فَرَقَ الْقُلُوبَ عَلَى الرَّضِيِّ
٧٠	وَهُمَا اللَّذَانِ إِذَا أَقَامَا دُولَةً
٧١	وَإِذَا هُمَا افْتَرَقَا وَلَمْ يَتَنَاصِرَا
٧٢	يَا خَيْرَ مَنْ نُقْضَتْ لَهُ عُقْدُ الْحُبْيِ
٧٣	وَمُضِتْ أَوْامِرُهُ الْمَطَاعَةُ حَسْبُ مَا
٧٤	إِنَّ الْكَفَالَةَ وَالْوَزَارَةَ لَمْ يَزُلْ
٧٥	كَانَتْ مُسَافِرَةً إِلَيْكَ وَتَبَعَّدَ الْمَأْخَطَارُ

^{٩١} According to *Nukat-Diwan*, 64 and *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 395: فَتَهَنَّ بِالْأَجْرِ الْجَزِيلِ

^{٩٢} *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 396:

إِنَّ

ملِكًاً لِزَنْدَ الْمُلْكِ مِنْهُ أَوَارُ
عَنْهَا السَّرُوجُ وَحُطَّتِ الْأَوْكَارُ
وَقِيُودُهَا التَّارِيخُ وَالْأَشْعَارُ
وَكَبَتْ وَرَائِي قُرْحُ وَمِهَارُ
إِلَّا إِذَا مَا لَزَّهَا الْمُضْمَارُ
سَبَقَتْ وَلَمْ يُبْلِلْ لَهُنْ عَذَارُ
بِأَقْلَلِ مِنْهَا تُبْسِطُ الْأَعْذَارُ
يُرْضِيُكَ مِنْهَا الْجَهْرُ وَالْإِسْرَارُ

٧٦ حَتَّى إِذَا نَزَلْتُ عَلَيْكَ وَشَاهَدْتُ
٧٧ الْأَقْتُ عَصَاهَا فِي ذَرَاكَ وَعُرِيَّتْ
٧٨ لَهُ سِيرَتَكَ الَّتِي أَطْلَقْتَهَا
٧٩ جَلَّتْ فَصْلَى خَاطِرِي فِي مَدْحَهَا
٨٠ وَالْخَيْلُ لَا يُرْضِيُكَ مِنْهَا مَخْبِرُ
٨١ وَمَدَائِحِي مَا قَدْ عَلِمْتَ وَطَالَمَا
٨٢ إِنْ أَخْرَتْنِي عَنْ جَنَابِكَ مَحْنَةً
٨٣ فَلَدِيَّ مِنْ حُسْنِ الْوَلَاءِ عَقِيْدَةً

- 61 Be thankful for an abundant salary and a path of death, along which the best have already walked before You.
- 62 The *Waṣīyyu* ('Alī) died due to that path of death and Ḥamza, his uncle, and the son of Fāṭima and Ja'far the *Tayyār*.
- 63 May You acquire Happiness, Martyrdom and Sublimity both alive and dead. I consider that as true pride !
- 64 After You had gone hence, the eye was cooled by an admirable person ; had he not been there, then there would have been no resolve for Sublimity.
- 65 Had his wonderful loyalty not been there, the rivers of misfortune would have burst forth and the desired goals would have collapsed.
- 66 – Then he would not have acted justly to protect the congregation of Ahmad, through him the fatherlands and the aims were cultivated.
- 67 Al-Ḥāfiẓ, the Just Leader, whose beautiful qualities are excuses for the bad qualities of our time.
- 68 A king, – “retribution” by his sword and his spear is a-not-to-be-revenged “natural disaster” (*jubār*) on every tyrant (*jabbār*) who fails to obey him.⁹³
- 69 Through him the various parties of hearts were united in satisfaction : both the Sword and *Dīnār* were their uniters.
- 70 When these two maintain a Dynasty, then it subjects itself and there is for it a continuing existence.
- 71 When they separate and fail to support one another, the enemy becomes mighty and the Helpers (*al-anṣār*) are humbled.
- 72 Oh the best, for whom the fastenings of the crouching-clothes were loosened, and to whom Severance and Continuation came !

⁹³ Compare *Lisān al-‘Arab*, “*jubārun ya’ni saylan*. *Kullu mā ahlaka wa-afsada*: *jubārun*. *Al-Tahdhīb*: *wa l-jubāru al-hadaru*. *yuqâlu*: *dahaba damu-hu jubāran*. *Wa-ma’nâ l-ahâdîthi*: *an tanfalita l-*

bahîmatu l-‘ajmâ’u fa-tuṣîbu fi inflâti-hâ insânan aw shay'an fa-jurhû-hâ hadarun, wa-kadhâlika l-bîru al-‘âdiyyatu yasqûtu fihâ insânun fa-yahliku fa-damuhu hadarun ...”

73 Whose effective orders took place in accordance with the requirements of introduction and execution :

74 The Regency and the Vizierate, whose excellence will always remain attributable to You through a sign and an instruction ;

75 They themselves travelled to You and the dangers were far away as long as they (the dangers) themselves were not mounted.

76 Subsequently, the Vizierate and the Regency descended to You and saw a king who had hidden a flaming glow in the tinder box of kingship.

77 They threw the travelling staff down under Your protection and the saddles were taken from them (from the mounts of Vizierate and Regency).

78 What a wonderful Biography You have, one to which You gave free rein, but which was set down by Historiography and Poetry.

79 That biography was full of majesty and thus my inner self composed a *salât* prayer in praise of it, and behind me full-grown horses and foals bowed down.

80 A message about horses failed to satisfy You, except when the race track confined them.

81 My odes are exactly as You have already learnt, because they have existed for a long time without there being any reproach.

82 If an ordeal determines that I remain behind, then excuses are scattered for less than that.

83 I have a Creed consisting of beautiful loyalty and the overtness and the covertness of that creed will please You.

Apart from the elegies which have already been described and in which the memories are still fresh and the hurt clearly portrayed, there are other poems which comprise more allusions and have fewer pronouncements. These poems were composed by ‘Umâra, at a later date, although they are to be found in the poet’s *Dîwân*. In these poems recollections of the dramatic events surrounding the murder of Talâ’i‘ still play an important role, albeit more in the background. It is possible that the poet apprehended that he would never again meet such an art lover and Maecenas during his sojourn as a guest of the Dynasty in Egypt.

4

The elegies which we have looked at so far, are not very explicit about the religious beliefs of someone like Talâ’i‘ al-Malik al-Şâlih. Nevertheless, there is certainly one ode, not an elegy, dedicated to this Vizier in which more reference is made to his *Shî‘a* inclinations.

Being a fanatical follower of the *Imâmiyya-Shî‘a*, al-Malik al-Şâlih wanted to hear understanding for the un-acknowledged position of Mohammed’s nephew and son-in-law, ‘Alî and the descendants of ‘Alî. ‘Umâra accommodates this feeling: In the ode intended for al-Malik al-Şâlih he introduces a passage in which, in order to please his addressee, he mourns the *Ahl al-Bayt*.

4.1.

This occurs in the poem (rhyme *al-hâni*)⁹⁴ where, in verse 19, our poet proposes replacing a *nasîb*-section [the erotic elegiac introduction which we frequently encounter as a section of a poem] by a discussion about injustice towards the descendants of 'Alî. A complaint about Fate could also be considered appropriate here:

١٩ واجْعَلْ حَدِيثَ بَنِي الْوَصِيِّ وَظَلْمَهُمْ تَشْبِيبَ شَكْوَى الدَّهْرِ وَالْحَدْلَانِ

19 And make the discussion about the sons of the *Wasîyyi* (= 'Alî) and the injustice which affected them (the sons) part of an erotic-elegiac introduction to the Complaint about Fate and its treachery.

A clever play on words with paronomasia can be found in the same poem when the Umayyads are criticized. Ziyâd ibn Abîhi, the renowned Governor and persecutor of the *Shî'ites* in Kûfa, ensures that an “increase” (*ziyâda*) of wickedness occurs. The consequence is that Yazîd [the proper name is like the verbal form *yazîdu*, “he increases”] now has an opportunity to appear as the Umayyad Caliph:

٢٥ فَأَتَى زِيَادٌ فِي الْقَبِيعِ زِيَادَةً تَرَكَتْ يَزِيدَ يَزِيدُ فِي النُّقْصَانِ

25 Thus Ziyâd [ibn Abîhi] came bringing such a great increase (*ziyâda*) in wickedness that this still allowed Caliph Yazîd a further increase in imperfection.

In the meantime, as we know, things were going very badly for the followers of 'Alî; who were originally so perfect: the rubbish which can sometimes be seen lying on mountain paths, proves to be their entrails.

٢٧ لَهْفِي عَلَى النَّفَرِ الَّذِينَ أَكْفُهُمْ غَيْثُ الْوَرَى وَمَعْوَنَةُ الْلَّهْفَانِ

٢٨ أَشْلَاؤُهُمْ مَزْقٌ بِكُلِّ ثَنِيَّةٍ وَجُسُومُهُمْ صَرْعَى بِكُلِّ مَكَانٍ

27 How sadly I sigh for people whose hands were no more than Rainfall for humanity and Food for the sorrowful,
28 Their entrails are rubbish in every mountain pass. Their bodies have been cut down at every place.

But fortunately Vizier al-Şâlih is prepared to help these poor descendants of 'Alî:

٢٩ مَا كَانَ أَوْلَاهُمْ بِهِ لَوْ أَيْدَوْا بِالصَّالِحِ الْخَتَارِ مِنْ غَسَانٍ

31 How appropriate it would have been for them, if they had been supported by al-Şâlih the Chosen One from Ghassân. (i.e., Talâ'i' ibn Ruzzîk al-Malik al-Şâlih).

⁹⁴ 'Umâra's poem on rhyme *al-hâni*, a poem of 51 lines of verse.

Ms. D, folio 181 verso - 183 recto; ms. Rabat p. 223-224.

This poem has been partially edited by Derenbourg, p. 362-364 (= vss. 1-5, 14-32). Ms. D introduces the poem as

follows: He said in praise of al-Şâlih and to the lamentation of the Ahl al-Bayt. In ms. Rabat the first 9 verses are missing, due to a lacuna. See APPENDIX C.

4.2.

For the Fâtimid Imâm, ‘Umâra naturally had to adopt another, more ideological, tone. In the ode (rhyme *bi-hamdihi*), we see the poet giving complete recognition to the Rights of the Fâtimid *Imâm*.⁹⁵ He is authoritative just as the so called Argument of Allah, and is, therefore, not only praised in the odes of the poet, but also by the Koranic *Sûra*-s. The implication of this train of thought is obvious: the poet’s poetry and the *Sûra*-s of the Koran have achieved the same level in their manner of eulogising. This is, incidentally, a thought which appears more than once in ‘Umâra’s poetry, a thought which does not only appear in the figure of speech the Hyperbole. We can recall the *Shî'a* creed of the followers of the Extreme which went too far in its attribution of Godly characteristics to the *Imâm*. The poet also states that this *Imâm*, [he means al-‘Âdîd,] is a rightful claimant as successor to the Prophet. The poet is, however, forced to acknowledge that the paraphernalia of the Prophet Mohammed, for example the Mantle and the Sceptre, are lacking in this Fâtimid Dynasty.

4.2.1

‘Umâra refers emphatically to the continuation of the *Imâm*-s’ Dynasty, despite the murders which have recently been carried out. Although the Fâtimids would prefer the succession to go from father to son, the poet acknowledges the line of succession which is eventually realised. When *Imâm* al-Zâfir was murdered his son al-Fâ’iz succeeded him as the child *Imâm*. However, when this very young child *Imâm* al-Fâ’iz died (possibly poisoned?), after a sickly existence, he was succeeded by a cousin. Indeed, al-‘Âdîd was the son of the deceased child *Imâm*’s uncle, Yûsuf. Yûsuf, who was also murdered, was the son of *Imâm* Abu l-Maymûn al-Hâfiż, who had died of natural causes.

‘Umâra accepts the succession by a cousin and in so doing follows the ruling political line. Most probably he was following the Ruzzîk Viziers and their clan. Al-‘Âdîl al-Malik al-Nâşir, son of the murdered Vizier Talâ’î, insisted on recognizing the ruling *Imâm* al-‘Âdîd. But then again the poet acts as though this al-‘Âdîd is not simply the object of the Vizier’s choice, in fact quite the reverse, al-‘Âdîd is himself the *dramatis persona*. This *Imâm* was personally entitled to appoint the son of the murdered Vizier. However what does remain surprising, is the thought that the courses of both the Imamate and the Vizierate are paved from the cradle. Accordingly, both Dynasties support each other and we can see that the poet prolongs the symbiosis of both rulers as far as he can, and that he does so within the ideological sphere. To illustrate this further it is appropriate to quote the relevant passage.

⁹⁵ ‘Umâra’s poem on rhyme *bi-hamdihi*, a poem of 39 lines of verse. Ms. D, folio 44 verso - 45 verso; ms. Rabat p. 85-87. This poem has been partially edited by Derenbourg, *Nukat-*

Diwan, p. 201-202 (=vss. 1, 11-13). The introduction reads, “He says in praise of the *Imâm* al-‘Âdîd the following:...” See APPENDIX D.

[Both ms. D and ms. R read here the introduction as follows:
“He said in praise of the *Imâm al-‘Âdîd*:”]

وَتَنَزَّلَتْ سُورَ الْكِتَابِ بِحَمْدِهِ
هُدِيَتْ بَصِيرَةُ حَائِرٍ عَنْ قَصْدِهِ
عَفْوًا وَلَمْ يَبْلُغْ بَدَائِيَّةَ جُهْدِهِ⁹⁶
أَحْيَا مَعَالِمَهَا بِوَاضِعِ رُشْدِهِ

فُقْدَانُكُمْ لِقَضِيبِهِ وَلِبُرْدِهِ
إِلَّا كَمَا بَيْنَ الْحُسَامِ وَغَمْدِهِ
فِي تَاجِهِ وَفَرِيدَةَ فِي عَقْدِهِ
خَلَّ الْإِطَّالَةَ وَخَتَّصَ فِي عَدِّهِ
شَرْفًا وَلَا تَتَعَدَّ نَحْوُ مَعَدِهِ
بِشَلَاثَةٍ وَرَثُوا الْهُدَى مِنْ وَلَدِهِ
أَضْحَتْ بَنُو رَزِّيْكَ سَاعِدَ عَصَدِهِ
أَوْفَتْ عَلَى حَلِّ الزَّمَانِ وَعَقْدِهِ
بَأْتَمْ بَاعِ فِي الْعُلَى وَأَمَدَهِ
مِنْهُمْ وَلَا كُنْ جَائِرٌ فِي رِفَدِهِ
حَمَلَ الشَّدَائِدَ قَبْلَ وَقْتِ أَشْدَهِ
كَانَتْ مُهَمَّدَةً لَهُ فِي مَهْدِهِ

قال يمدح الإمام العاضد
١ يا خير من نظم المديح لجده
٢ يا حجّة الله التي بضيائها
٣ أنت الذي بلغ النهاية في العلى
٤ ورث الهداة الراشدين إماماً
(...)
٧ ما ضرك والمصطفى لكم أب
٨ ما بين آلات النبي وآل
٩ شرف غدوات أبا محمد ذروة
١٠ مجد يقول إذا عدت نجومه
١١ واذكر أبا الميمون يعتل ذكره
١٢ الحافظ المحفوظ عند مغيبه
١٣ من ظافر أو فائز أو عاضد
١٤ قوم أحللهم الزمان مراتباً
١٥ الباسطون ثوابهم وعقابهم
١٦ ورث الكفالة عادل⁹⁷ في حكمه
١٧ نيطت حمائلها بعاتق أروع⁹⁸
١٨ وتيقنت رتب الوزارة أنها

- 1 Oh thou, the best, in honour of whose fame the *madîh* is composed, and in whose praise the *Sûra*-s of the Book have descended.
- 2 Oh Argument of Allâh, through whose light the insight of those who are confused and directionless is once again set straight.
- 3 Thou art the one who spontaneously achieved the extreme in sublimity, without even having to exert the minimum of Your effort.
- 4 From the Leaders of the rightful way (*al-hudâta al-râshidîna*) he inherited an Imamate the characteristics of which he brought back to life through his clearly just leadership.
(...)

⁹⁶ Ms. Rabat:

⁹⁷ Ms. Rabat:

ولم يبلغ ببداية جهده
ورث الكفالة عادلاً

⁹⁸ Ms. Rabat:

بعاتق أروع

- 7 When al-Muṣṭafâ becomes a father to You, then it does You no damage that your followers miss his sceptre and his mantle.
- 8 What is between the paraphernalia (*al-âlâti*) of the Prophet and his family (*âlihi*), is nothing other than that which is between the sword and the sheath.
- 9 An honour, in the crown of which You, Oh Abû Muḥammad,⁹⁹ have become a pinnacle, a unique pearl in a string of pearls.
- 10 “Glory”,—When You count its stars, it says: “Forget the explanation and limit Yourself to the counting alone.
- 11 Record only Abu l-Maymûn, then his reputation will increase in honour, and do not refer to his *Ma’add*.¹⁰⁰
- 12 —Al-Ḥâfiẓ who in his disappearance is preserved by three of his descendants, all of whom have inherited just leadership.
- 13 Three, namely Zâfir, or Fâ’iz, or ‘Âdîd in the support of whom the Banû Ruzzîk became an arm.
- 14 A group of people, which Time has placed in high ranks watching the loosening and the fastening of Time,
- 15 Ones who extend their reward and punishment with the longest and most perfect arm in sublimity.
- 16 One Just (*Âdîl*) in his government, but Unjust toward his benefactions, inherited the Regency,
- 17 The straps of which were hung on the shoulders of a Radiant One (*Arwa’*) who, even before the time of his maturity, had borne great disasters.
- 18 And the ranks of the Vizierate knew with absolute certainty that it was destined for him from his cradle (*kânat mumahhadatan fî mahdihi*).

4.3

The greatness of the *Imâm* can, however, also be depicted in another way, so as we ascertain in the poem to rhyme *aktharu*.¹⁰⁰ A general outline of the content of this poem (*aktharu*) is appropriate here, particularly as it will offer greater insight into contemporary opinion in regard to the *Imâm* al-‘Âdîd, an opinion which, it appears, is shared by our poet.

⁹⁹ “Abû Muḥammad” was the *kunya* of the *Imâm* ‘Abd Allâh al-‘Âdîd.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Umâra’s poem on rhyme *aktharu*, a poem of 47 lines of verse. Ms. D, folio 63 verso – 65 recto; ms. Rabat p. 97-

100. This poem has been partially edited by Derenbourg, *Nukat-Diwan*, p. 222-225 (= vss. 1-2, 17-47). See APPENDIX E.

4.3.1

The poet truly gives the impression of being sympathetic towards the position of the extreme *Shī'ite*-s who regard the *Imām* as a superior divine being. This is surprising, given that in the poem (rhyme *al-hānī*) at least, the poet distances himself from the characteristic format of the *shahāda* which was accepted by the *Shī'ite*-s. The content of the poem (rhyme *aktharu*) now follows, initially without 'Umāra's poetic phraseology.

—The *Imām* al-‘Ādīd is highly praised due to the Seven *Mathānī* (scil., the Koran) which were proclaimed in his honour, furthermore, he originates from Hāshim and the Prophetic genealogical palm tree. [There follows an *iltifāt*, in which the poet speaks directly to the one being praised:] People look at You and recite one of the sayings, namely: “Praise be to Allah”, “There is no God but Allah”, “Allah is extremely great!” [by using these sayings 'Umāra is devoting more attention to the position of the extremists than to that of the orthodox.] People kissed the dust for You. The Palace is a *Riwāq*, higher than the Pyramids. And it is also a Paradise through which the river Kawthar flows, and You are a *qibla* in the *haram*, whilst the Vizier is equivalent to the *labbay-ka Allahumma* cry of the Pilgrims [those who cry out “At Your service Oh Lord!”] You are a sun of Just Leadership, and Ṭalā'i‘ is the morning of that sun but he is in addition a “king”. The life of Ṭalā'i‘ is now being relived by his son Muhyi l-Dīn. The son's name is al-Nāṣir al-Muhyī. And his immediate family, the Banū Ruzzīk have risen as high as the stars. The poet finishes with an observation about the level of the Vizier: For Your Sublimity Kisrā and Qayṣar are too small.—

We should now pay more attention to the interesting details which appear in a particular passage of the poem in question (*aktharu*), where the *Imām* is being described in his Palace in al-Qāhira.

4.3.2

In this poem the *Imām* is a cosmic phenomenon, and as such is treated with reverence by the river of fertility, the Nile, which recognises him as its superior. On the other hand there is the *Imām*'s Palace which is in no way inferior to Paradise and which stands equal to the hallowed ground around the Ka‘ba; whilst the Nile, now conceived in another way, is considered equal to the river of Paradise the Kawthar. In this paradisiacal region the *Imām* is like God because the *qibla* is directed towards him! However, the Vizier is, in this context, regarded as being somewhat lower: nothing more than the exclamation of Pilgrims who have as their motto the well-known cry *Labbayka Allahummā!* This they have us hear, chanting such words as “Prepared to serve You Oh God!”

Both depictions: a shy Nile which approaches the enormous figure of the *Imām*, and the *Imām* as an inhabitant of Paradise, can be found in the poem to rhyme *aktharu*.

4.3.3

In this ode (rhyme *aktharu*) also intended for *Imâm al-‘Âdîd*, the laudatory poetry is according to our poet “really” less significant in format and worth than the actual qualities of the *Imâm*. This means that the poetry just as it originates from the minds of the poets must raise itself in accordance with his holy personage. Viewed cosmically, moreover, al-‘Âdîd has created an effect, for we see how the river Nile appears to be shy. “Nile” mumbles excuses and stumbles and is covered in dust in his eminent presence:

٥	نَظَمْتُ خَواطِرُهُمْ مَدِيْحَ خَلِيفَةٍ
٦	الْعَاصِدُ الطَّهَرُ الَّذِي أَعْرَاقُهُ
٧	مِنْ هَاشِمٍ حَيْثُ التَّقَتْ شَعْبُ الْعُلَىٰ
٨	مِنْ دُوْحَةٍ نَبَوِيَّةً أَغْصَانُهَا
٩	لَمْ يَقْسِعْ وَبَلُّ الْهَدِيِّ مِنْ فَوْقُهَا
١٠	إِنَّ الرَّعَايَا اسْتَبَشَرَتْ بِخَلِيفَةٍ
١١	نَظَرُوا إِلَيْكَ وَأَكْبَرُوكَ مَهَابَةً
١٢	وَتَسَابَقُوا لَثَمَ التَّرَابَ كَائِنُهُ
١٣	عَنَتِ الْوِجْهُ وَمَا طَلَعَتْ فِيمَا يُرَىٰ
١٤	حَتَّىٰ حَلَّتْ رَوَاقَ عَالِيَّةَ الدُّرَا ^{١٠٢}
١٥	شَبَهَتُهَا وَالْمَاءُ يَجْرِي تَحْتَهَا
	(...)
٢٢	وَافَاكَ فِيهِ النَّيلُ وَهُوَ مِنَ الْحَيَا
٢٣	قَدْ جَاءَ مَعْتَدِرًا إِلَيْكَ وَتَائِبًا
٢٤	لَوْ لَا تَعْشُرَهُ بِأَذِيَالِ الشَّرَّىٰ
٢٥	لَوْ لَمْ تُغْبِرْ بِالنَّدَىٰ فِي وَجْهِهِ
٢٦	وَلَوْ أَنَّهُ لَاقَى رَكَابَكَ أَبِيسًا ^{١٠٣}
٢٧	وَلَقَدْ عَدْمَنَاهُ فَنَبَتَ نِيَابَةً
٢٨	إِنْ كَانَ مِنْ نَهَرٍ فَكَفُكَ لُجَّةً
٢٩	شَتَّانَ بَيْنَكُمَا أَبَحْرٌ وَاحِدٌ
٣٠	فِي كُلِّ وَقْتٍ فِيْضُ جُودِكَ حَاضِرٌ

¹⁰¹ Ms. Rabat:

ثُمُرٌ

¹⁰² Ms. Rabat:

ثُرَابٌ عَالِيَّةُ الدُّرَا

¹⁰³ Ms. Rabat:

صَافِيَاً

5 Their ideas have poetically formulated the praise of a Caliph, one in whose eulogies the Seven *Mathâni* were imparted.

6 Al-‘Âdîd is the Pure One, the origins of whose veins are purer than water from the clouds.

7 From Hâshim, where the branches of Sublimity meet each other, and where the springs of benevolent dew began to spout.

8 From a Prophetic Palm tree, whose branches will bear fruit due to the radiance of the *Imâm*’s genealogical line.

9 The downpour of Just Leadership has scarcely vanished from above it, before your Forefather Haydar had it pour down.

10 The subjects rejoice in a Caliphate, in whose face the face of Time itself can rejoice.

11 They looked at You and declared You great in their respect. One said: “Praised be Allâh”, another said: “No God but Allâh”, a third said: “*Allâhu akbar!*”

12 They tried, in relation to one another, to be the first to kiss the dust, as though its fragrant smell had turned it into melted musk and amber.

13 The faces were submissive and nothing was visible to the eye apart from a forehead which had become dusty in the dusty earth.

14 Until You alighted in an archway (a *riwâq*, according to ms. D; in “a tomb” according to ms. R) with high ceilings, compared to which the tops of both pyramids fell short.

15 I compared them (the ceilings) and the water, which flowed under them, to an eternal garden under whose protection the Kawthar starts to flow.

(...)

22 To You came the Nile, which through fearfulness is shy, now and then he puts one foot forward, only to draw it back again.

23 The Nile came to You with its excuses, full of repentence for its earlier sins, and one like You forgives !

24 If he (the Nile) had not stumbled over the edges of the world, then no dust would have been scattered over him.

25 If You had not scattered (*tughabbir*) dew / good deeds in his face like sand, then a greyish colour would never have appeared on him.

26 If he had met Your stirrup with a pure bright colour, then Your very troubled cloud of dust (from the war) would have troubled him.

27 We had missed him, but You came in his place, with replacements: the rich became considerable, and the needy became rich.

28 If he is made from a river, then Your hand is a cruel sea. If he is made from rain, then Your downpours are more abundant.

29 What a difference there is between you two ! Is one river the same as a hand, whose noble fingers are indeed more rivers ?

30 At every moment there is an abundance of your goodness present amongst us, but its (the Nile’s) gift is sometimes absent and then once again present.

However, after these attractive metaphors follow a number of rather ugly images, two examples of which I will quote:

فالصالحُ الهاديٌ عليها يجحرُ¹⁰⁴
فهو الشعارُ لأهلها والمشعرُ
فطلائعُ منها الصباحُ المسفرُ

٣٦ إنْ كنْتَ فِي وَجْهِ الْخِلَافَةِ مُفْلَحٌ
٣٧ أَوْ كنْتَ فِي حَرَمِ الْإِمَامَةِ قَبْلَهُ
٣٨ أَوْ كنْتَ لِلإِسْلَامِ شَمْسَ هَدَايَةٍ

- 36 If You (Oh al-‘Âdîd) are an “eye” in the face of the phenomenon “Caliphate” then the Vizier al-Şâlih is the “eye socket” (which protects the eye).
- 37 If You are a *qibla* [the direction of the ritual prayer] within the holy area of the “Imamate”, then the Vizier is the enthusiastic pilgrims’ prayer of “*Labbay-ka*”, which men in that area can hear being called out.
- 38 Or if You are a Sun of Just Leadership for Islam, then *Talâ’i’* is its bright and shining morning.

5

Perhaps, in view of the passages of poetical lines of verse just quoted above, ‘Umâra was eventually positive in his political and even human feelings towards the child *Imâm* al-‘Âdîd—who incidentally by some historians had been accused of conniving with the murderous attack on the Pious Vizier (al-Malik al-Şâlih). The poet probably saw the symbiosis between *Wizâra* and *Imâma* as an absolute necessity. I will not at this stage enter into the question of how ‘Umâra adapted to the demands of the subsequent Ayyûbid Dynasty. Admittedly, he also wrote elegies lamenting the father of Saladin, who incidentally died in the latter part of our poet’s life.

5.1

Finally, in the framework of the idea of symbiosis, it is probably worth our while considering one other elegy. As usual, only half of the poem (to rhyme *al-wâhidi*) I am referring to is published in Derenbourg’s edition.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Ms. Rabat: فالصالحُ الهاديٌ عليها مُجْهَرٌ

¹⁰⁵ ‘Umâra’s poem on rhyme *al-wâhidi*, a poem of 8 lines of verse. Ms. D, folio 56 verso; lacking in ms. Rabat. This poem has been partially edited by Derenbourg, *Nukat-Diwan*, p. 214 (= vss. 1-4). The identical poem is also partially quoted in

historical sources like *Rawdatayn*, edition Zaybaq, II, 293-294 (ed. Cairo 1288 H., vol. I, 223) and Abu l-Fidâ’al-Ḥâfiẓ Ibn Kathîr (died 774 H.), *al-Bidâya wa l-nihâya*, Bayrut Riyadh 1966, XII, 277 (*sub anno* 569 H.).

It concerns an elegy of only 8 lines dedicated to the *Imâm* al-‘Âdîd himself! Considering the fact that this latter *Imâm* had the good fortune to die in time, Saladin could not officially execute him. Al-‘Âdîd was, incidentally, fairly concurrent and aroused little aggression. At the end of his career, the *Imâm* was more or less forced to relinquish his last mount to a messenger of Saladin, after which, and until his death, he led a very private life within the domain of his Palace. A certain Mu’taman al-Khilâfa, an “*ustâdh ... min akâbiri khuddâmi l-qasri*”,¹⁰⁶ a personal eunuch and chief of the guard protecting the *Imâm*, undertook action to save the *Imâmate* as a military power but was, unfortunately unsuccessful. In his elegy, we can observe that ‘Umâra names this Mu’taman by name. In doing so, he once again diverges from the stereotype images of the elegy. Here, just as in other elegies, ‘Umâra once again refers to the greatness of the Dynasty, and he reflects with nostalgic longings on the generosity from which he was able to benefit. In particular the empty rooms in the *Imâm*’s palace made a deep impression on him:

١	أَسَفُ الْعَقِيمِ عَلَى فَرَاقِ الْوَاحِدِ	أَسَفِي عَلَى زَمْنِ الْإِمَامِ الْعَاصِدِ
٢	جَمِحَاتُ رَاسِي فِي يَمِينِ الْقَائِدِ	زَمْنُ دُفِعْتُ إِلَى سَوَاهِ وَأَذْعَنْتُ
٣	أَمْرَائِهِ أَهْلُ الشَّنَاءِ الْخَالِدِ	جَالَسْتُ مِنْ وَزَرَائِهِ وَصَحِبْتُ مِنْ
٤	لِلضِيْفِ أَوْثَقَ عَاصِدَ وَمَسَاعِدَ	وَوَجَدْتُ مِنْ جُودِ الْإِمَامِ وَجُودِهِمْ
٥	يَا ابْنَ النَّبِيِّ مِنْ ازْدَحَامِ الْوَافِدِ	لَهْفِي عَلَى حُجَّرَاتِ قَصْرِكَ إِذْ خَلَتْ
٦	كَانُوا كَأَمْوَاجِ الْخِضَمِ الْرَاكِدِ	وَعَلَى انْفَرَادِكَ مِنْ عَسَارِكَ الَّذِي
٧	فَكِبَا وَقَسَرَا عَنْ صَلَاحِ الْفَاسِدِ	قَلَّدْتَ مُوتَنَنَ الْخَلَافَةَ أَمْرَهُمْ
٨	مَا عَوَدْتُكُمْ مِنْ جَمِيلِ عَوَادِ	فَعَسَى الْلَّيَالِي أَنْ تَرُدَ إِلَيْكُمْ

- 1 My sorrow for the time of the *Imâm* al-‘Âdîd is like the sorrow of the infertile for the demise of her only one.
- 2 One time passed, and I was driven into another time. And the passionate ideas in my head subjected themselves to the right hand of the guide.
- 3 I was a guest of his Viziers and I accompanied amongst his *Amîr*-s those who were eternally eulogised.
- 4 I experienced in the generosity of the *Imâm* and of that of his *Amîr*-s, a very reliable Helper (*awthaqa ‘âdidin*) and Assistant.
- 5 Oh my sighs about the rooms in your Palace, now that they—Oh descendant of the Prophet!—are empty, without the jostling of the envoys.

¹⁰⁶ According to *Taqî al-Dîn Abu l-‘Abbâs Ahmâd ibn ‘Alî al-Maqrîzî* (who died 845 H.), *Itti’âz al-ḥunâfâ bi-akhbâr al-a’immati l-Fâṭîmiyyîn al-khulâfâ*, edition Muḥammad Ḥilmî Muḥammad Ahmâd, Cairo 1971, III, 311.

- 6 And Oh, about your isolation without your armies which were like waves in the Silent Ocean (immobile due to their multitude).
- 7 You entrusted Mu’taman al-Khilâfa with the command over them, but he stumbled and was remiss with respect to the Welfare of the Depraved (*salâh al-fâsid*).
- 8 Maybe the nights will bring back to You the pleasure of the customs, to which they had previously accustomed You.

The final words in verse 7 imply that the “Welfare of the Depraved” was not brought to a halt by al-‘Âdîd’s Chief Eunuch. But what did ‘Umâra actually mean when he used this terminology? In any event the “Welfare of Religion” [*salâh al-dîn*] managed to maintain its position and even to spread itself throughout the countries of the Levant.

APPENDIX A

Poem to rhyme *qaṣīru*,¹⁰⁷

وطويل الآمال فيها قصير
 واجب أن يرده المستعير
 ناً وهيئاتٌ أن يدوم السرور
 وبَدَتْ في الشرور منها السرور
 لم يزَلْ في صفائها تَكْدِيرٌ
 وهو مُغْرِي بِحُبِّها مغْرُورٌ
 نُوبٌ لم يُحْطِ بها التَّقْدِيرُ
 مَنْ لِهِ الْأَمْرُ فِيهِ وَالتَّدْبِيرُ
 عن مُحِيَّاه لليالي تَوَوِّيرٌ
 حَيْرَ الطَّيرَ شَرُّ الْمُسْتَطِيرُ
 إِشْمَدُ اللَّيلَ فَوْقَهُ مَذْرُورٌ
 يَوْمٌ غَبْرَاءُ صَيْلَمٌ عَنْقَفِيرٌ
 وَعَلَيْهَا كَانَ الزَّمَانُ يَدُورُ
 شَاهِدَتْهُ مِنْ جُورِه تَسْتَجِيرُ
 وَتَكَادُ السَّمَاءُ مِنْهُ تَمُورُ
 رَاتِ خَطْبٌ لِهِ النَّجُومُ تَغُورُ
 لَا يَرْاعِي إِذْنًا ولا يَسْتَشِيرُ
 سَاخَ تَحْتَ التُّرَابِ مِنْهَا ثَبِيرٌ
 قَدَرٌ أَمْرُهُ عَلَيْنَا قَدِيرٌ
 فَسِيَّعَلَمْنَ ما جَنَى التَّبْدِيرُ

وقال يرثي الملك الصالح
 ١ طَمَعُ المرء في الحياة غرورٌ
 ٢ وحياة الإنسان ثوبٌ مُعَارٌ
 ٣ يفرح المرء بالمسرة أحيا
 ٤ وطال ما هو شربٌ فغررتْ وعزتْ
 ٥ ونريد الصفا من ود دنيا
 ٦ ولَكُمْ واثقٌ بها خَدَعْتُه
 ٧ ولَكُمْ قدر الفتى فَأَتَتْهُ
 ٨ ضاعَ تَدْبِيرٌ حازِمٌ لم يَغْبُهُ
 ٩ لَيْتَ يَوْمَ الْاثْنَيْنِ لم يَتَبَسَّمْ
 ١٠ طَلَعَتْ شَمْسُه بِيَوْمٍ عَبَوْسٍ
 ١١ وَتَجَلَّى صَبَاحُه عَنْ جَبَينِ
 ١٢ صَبَحَ الْمَجْدُ فِي صَبِيحةِ ذَاكِ الْيَوْمِ
 ١٣ بَلَغَ الدَّهْرُ عِنْدَهَا مَا تَمَنَّى
 ١٤ حَادَتْ ظَلَّتْ الْحَوَادِثُ مَمَّا
 ١٥ تَرْجَفَ الْأَرْضُ حِينَ يَذَكُّ عَنْهُ
 ١٦ طَبَقَ الْأَرْضَ مِنْ مَصَابِ أَبِي الْغَا
 ١٧ فَضَّ خَتَمَ الْحَيَاةِ عَنْكَ حَمَامٌ
 ١٨ وَتَرَقَّتْ إِلَى ثَبِيرٍ خَطُوبٌ
 ١٩ مَا تَخَطَّى إِلَى جَلَالِكَ إِلَّا
 ٢٠ بَذَرَتْ عُمْرَكَ الْلَّيَالِي سِفَاهَا

¹⁰⁷ ‘Umâra’s poem to rhyme *qaṣīru*, a poem of 97 lines of verse. Manuscript D (Petersburg), folio 65 recto - 67 verso; lacking in ms. Rabat, where the rhymes ending on the consonant *rā'* and in alphabetical order the rhymes op till those on ‘ayn are incomplete or totally missing. This poem has been partially edited by Derenbourg, *Nukat-Diwan*, p. 51-52 (= vss. 1, 7, 17, 19-20, 25-26, 33, 92-97) and p. 225-227 (= vss. 9-16, 42-

54). The identical poem is also partially quoted in historical sources like Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawdatayni fi akhbâr al-dawlatayni l-Nâriyya wa l-Šalâhiyya*, ed. Ibrâhîm al-Zaybaq, Beirut 1997, I, 393-394 (ed. Cairo 1288 H., vol. I, 125-126) and al-‘Imâd al-Isbahâni al-Kâtib, *Kharîdatu l-qaṣri wa-jâridatu l-‘asri, qism shu‘arâ’i l-Shâm*, edition Shukrî Fayṣal, Damascus 1964, III, 120-121.

Poem to rhyme *qaṣīru*, see ‘Umâra's Elegies and the Lamp of Loyalty, footnote 19.

In mourning al-Malik al-Ṣâliḥ, he said the following:

- 1 Man's desire for life is futile and those with far-reaching ambitions are remiss therein.
- 2 And the life of man is but a borrowed garment, one which the borrower must return.
- 3 Occasionally humankind is joyful, having a reason for delight, however, unfortunately this joyful feeling does not endure.
- 4 So long as he is drinking, it deceives and is precious, but in the delight of it wickedness becomes visible to the eye.
- 5 We desire the purity of the love of the *Dunyâ*, however, in her purity there was always obscurity.
- 6 How many who trusted her has she deceived, but then again they were in love and blinded by her love!
- 7 And how often has a hero striven, only to be overcome by disasters, which he was unable to suspect.
- 8 The calculations of a determined person have perished, because of him there was some one, above him, who controlled the command and calculation.
- 9 Oh had Monday but failed to smile, then light could not have come to the nights which unveiled Monday's face. [Monday, *i. e.*, the day on which al-Malik al-Ṣâliḥ died.]
- 10 Its sun came up on a sombre day, whose widely dispersed anger disconcerted the birds.
- 11 Its morning displayed a forehead, on which the black *kohl* of the night was scattered.
- 12 A grey earth (*ṣaylamun ‘anqafīru*) greeted the Glory in the morning of that day.
- 13 That morning the Fate of Time achieved what it desired, and time was in the habit of rotating around it [earth].
- 14 A disastrous event, one so serious that when the vicissitudes saw its injustice they sought refuge from it.
- 15 The earth trembled when reference was made to it, and the heavens almost billowed.
- 16 An important event covered the earth due to the misfortune of Abu l-Ghârâṭ, causing the stars to sink away.
- 17 A death broke the seal of life with You, because it neither paid attention to permission nor asked for advice.
- 18 The Disasters climbed on high towards the figure of the Vizier, who has now become a heavy mountain. But fate has made this mountain (Thabîr) sink into the sand.
- 19 Nothing stepped forward towards Your majesty, apart from a twist of fate, which had extreme power over us.
- 20 The nights have ruined your life in a foolish way, hence they shall know what this waste has brought about.

٢١ سوفَ يَصْحُو سَكْرَانُ وَقْتٌ وَيَلْقَى

٢٢ قَل لِصَرْفِ الرَّدِي بِأَيِّ زَمَانٍ

٢٣ وَبِأَيِّ الرُّقْيٍ تَوَصَّلَتْ حَتَّى

٢٤ يَا غَيَاثَ الْأَنَامِ هَلْ فِي لَقَاءٍ

٢٥ يَا أَمِيرَ الْجَيُوشِ هَلْ لَكَ عِلْمٌ

٢٦ إِنَّ قَبْرًا حَلَّتْهُ لِغَنِيٍّ

٢٧ هَلْ يُسَاوِي بِلَشْمٍ تُرْبَكَ دَاءُ

٢٨ عُطْلَ الْمَدْحُ وَالنَّسِيبُ وَقَامَتْ

٢٩ إِنْ أَقْمُ فِيكَ وَالرَّثَاءُ جَبَانٌ

٣٠ يَا أَبَا الْوَفْدِ وَالضَّيْوَفِ تَفَضَّلْ

٣١ وَأَجْرَهُمْ أَنْ يُحَجِّبُوا عَنْ ضَرِيعِ

٣٢ فَلَعَلَّ الْعَيَانَ يَشْفَى صُدُورًا

٣٣ وَبَعِيدٌ عَنْكَ السُّلُوُّ بِشَيْءٍ

٣٤ سُوفَ تَمْضِي وَحَزَنْنَا مُسْتَجَدٌ

٣٥ لَا يَظْنَ الزَّمَانُ أَنْكَ تُنْسِى

٣٦ يَحْسَنُ الصَّبْرُ فِي الْبَلَاءِ وَهَذَا

٣٧ سَخِنَتْ بِالْبُعْدِ عَنْكَ عَيُونٌ

٣٨ أَنْسَتْ بِالْحَدَادِ فِيكَ إِلَى أَنْ

٣٩ سَهَرَتْ حَيَّرَةً عَلَيْكَ وَنَامَتْ

٤٠ وَانْطَوَى ذَلِكَ الْبَسَاطُ وَعَهْدِي

٤١ لَا تَظْنُ الْأَيَّامُ¹⁰⁸ أَنْكَ مِيتُ

سُورَةُ الْخَمْرِ شَارِبٌ مَخْمُورٌ
فُدْتَ صَعْبًا آباؤهُ مَشْهُورٌ
سَكْنَ الصَّعْفُ وَاسْتِكَانَ النَّفُورُ
تَشْتَفِي لَوْعَةً بِهِ وَزَفِيرُ
أَنَّ حَرَّ الْأَسَى عَلَيْنَا أَمِيرٌ
إِنَّ دَهْرًا فَارْقَتْهُ لِفَقِيرٌ
جَرَهُ فَقْدُكَ الْأُجَاجُ الْمَرِيرُ
قَدَمُ لِلرَّثَاءِ وَهِيَ عَشُورُ
فَمَدِيْحِي كَمَا عَلِمْتَ جَسُورُ
بِقَرَاهِمِ وَغَيْرِكَ الْمَأْبُورُ
حَلَّ فِيهِ مِنْكَ الْعَزِيزُ الْمُجِيرُ
فَغَيَّلَتْ مِنْ هُمُومِهِنَّ الصُّدُورُ
وَلَكَ الْفَكُرُ مُوْطَنٌ وَالضَّمِيرُ
بَعْدَ ذَا الشَّهْرِ أَشْهَرُ وَشَهُورُ
عَظَمُ الْخَطْبُ فَالسُّلُوُّ عَسِيرُ
فَادِحُّ مَا عَلَيْهِ مِنَّا صَبَورُ
كَنْتَ حَيَا وَطَرْفَهُنَّ قَرِيرٌ
شَحَبَتْ أَوْجُهُ وَطَالَتْ شُعُورُ
مُقْلُّ فِي وَفَائِهَا تَقْصِيرٌ
وَهُوَ بِالْعِلْمِ وَالنِّدَى مَعْمُورٌ
لَمْ يُمْتَ مِنْ ثَنَاؤهُ مَنْشُورٌ

- 21 At a certain point in time your drunken followers will become sober again [The man drunk for a single moment will become sober again], and the drunken drinker will discover the intoxication of wine.
- 22 Say against the action of Destruction: “With which reins have you led a recalcitrant, one whose forefathers are renowned?
- 23 And with what magic amulets have you caused tremors to be calmed and fears to be silenced?”
- 24 Oh support of humankind, is it possible that there can be a meeting at which burning longings are cured?
- 25 Oh *Amîr* of the Armies, have You any knowledge that the heat of sorrow has become an *amîr* over us?
- 26 Because the grave into which you descended is rich, truly the Time which you have left is poor.
- 27 Is the sickness brought on by the bitter and incessant loss equivalent to the kissing of your grave?
- 28 Eulogy and *nasîb* were frustrated and a foundation for the *rithâ’* came into being, although this also foundered.
- 29 If I go and stand beside You and the *rithâ’* is of a cowardly nature, then my *madîh* is, as You know, extremely brave.
- 30 Oh Father of the Delegation and of the Guests! Be so good as to entertain them, since others than Yourself have to be goaded with a needle!
- 31 And give them Your protection, in order that they are not screened off from the memorial (*darih*), into which a part of You, the distinguished protector, has descended.
- 32 It may be that seeing with one’s own eye will raise one’s spirits, because their hearts were murdered (*ghîlat*) by their anxieties.
- 33 And only far from You comfort could be sought in other things. Thought and consciousness live with You in one home.
- 34 You will pass by but, after this month, our sorrow will renew itself with months and months.
- 35 Do not allow Time to assume that You are forgotten: the disaster was immense and to forget it is therefore difficult.
- 36 Perseverance is wonderful in the face of disaster, but the latter is crushing and, amongst us who persevere, there is no-one who can combat it.
- 37 Eyes have become hot due to the great distance from You; had You lived, then their sight would have been cooled.
- 38 They have become so used to mourning You, that their faces have turned pale and their hair grown long.
- 39 They (the eyes) kept vigil at night in confusion about You, but other eyeballs slept — ones remiss in their fidelity.
- 40 This carpet was rolled up, although previously I had known it as being cultivated by knowledge and benefaction.
- 41 The Days must not suspect that You are dead, because one whose eulogy is widely spread can never die.

٤٢ لك رضوان زائر ولِقُومٍ
 ٤٣ حفظت عهْدَكَ الْخَلَافَةُ حفظاً
 ٤٤ أحسنت بعْدَكَ الصُّنْيَعَةَ فِينَا
 ٤٥ وَأَبَى اللَّهُ أَنْ يَتِمَّ عَلَيْهَا
 ٤٦ ضَيَّقُوا حَفْرَةَ الْمَكِيدَةِ لَكُنْ
 ٤٧ تَجَرَّوْا عَلَى الْقُصُورِ بَعَدْرٍ
 ٤٨ حَرَمٌ آمِنٌ وَشَهَرٌ حَرَامٌ
 ٤٩ لَا صِيَامٌ نَهَا هُمْ لَا إِمَامٌ
 ٥٠ اخْفَرُوا ذَمَّةَ الْهُدَى بَعْدَ عِلْمٍ
 ٥١ وَإِذَا مَا وَفَتْ خُدُورُ الْبَوَادِي
 ٥٢ غَضِبَ الْعَاصِدُ الْإِمَامُ فَكَادَتْ
 ٥٣ أَدْرَكَ الشَّأْرَ مِنْ عَدَاهُ بَعْزَمٍ
 ٥٤ وَاسْتَقَامَتْ بِنَصْرِهِ وَهَدَاهُ
 ٥٥ إِنْ مَضَى كَافِلٌ فَهَذَا كَفِيلٌ
 ٥٦ دُولَةُ صَالِحِيَّةٍ خَلْفَتْهَا
 ٥٧ نَشَرَتْ ذَكْرَهَا وَأَحْيَتْ عُلَاهَا
 ٥٨ لَوْ رَأَتْ عَيْنُهُ فَعَالَكَ قَرَّتْ
 ٥٩ كُلٌّ مَا أَنْتَ فَاعِلٌ مِنْ جَمِيلٍ
 ٦٠ شَرَفٌ بَادْخُ وَمَجْدٌ رَفِيعٌ
 ٦١ أَعْقَبَ الدَّهْرُ بُؤْسَهُ بَنَيْمٍ
 ٦٢ مَا شَكَوْنَا كَسْرَ النَّوَائِبِ حَتَّى
 ٦٣ نَصَرَ النَّاصِرُ الْعَلَى بِالْعَوَالِي

هَلْكُوا فِيهِ مُنْكَرٌ وَنَكِيرٌ
 أَنْتَ مِنْهَا بِهِ خَلِيقٌ جَدِيرٌ
 فَاسْتَوْتَ مِنْكَ غَيْبَةً وَحُضُورٌ
 مَا نَوَى حَاسِدٌ لَهَا وَكَفُورٌ
 ضَاقَ بِالنَّاكِثِينَ ذَاكَ الْحَفِيرُ
 وَسِرَاجُ الْوَفَاءِ فِيهَا مُنْيِرٌ
 هُتَكْتَ مِنْهُمَا عُرَى وَسُتُورٌ
 ظَاهِرٌ تُرْبٌ أَخْمَصِيَّهُ طَهُورٌ
 وَيَقِينٌ أَنَّ الْإِمَامَ خَفِيرٌ
 بِذِمَّامِ فَمَا تَقُولُ الْقُصُورُ
 فَرَقَّا مِنْهُ أَنْ تَذُوبَ الصُّخُورُ
 لَمْ يَكُنْ فِي النِّشَاطِ مِنْهُ فُتُورُ
 حَجَةُ اللَّهِ وَاسْتَمِرَّ الْمَرِيرُ
 أَوْ وَزِيرٌ يَغْبُ فَهَذَا وَزِيرٌ
 دُولَةٌ عَادِلَيَّةٌ لَا تَجُورُ
 هَكَذَا هَكَذَا يَكُونُ النَّشُورُ
 وَاسْتَقَرَّتْ بِسَاكِنِيهَا الْقُبُورُ
 فَهُوَ عَنْهُ مَخْلُدٌ وَمَأْثُورٌ
 يَسْتَوِي فِيهِ أَوْلُ وَآخِيرٌ
 رُبَّ حُزْنٍ فِي الطَّيِّ مِنْهُ سُرُورٌ
 قَيْلٌ فِي الْحَالِ كَسْرُكُمْ مَجْبُورٌ
 وَكَنْعَمَ الْمَوْلَى وَنَعْمَ النَّصِيرُ

42 To You Riḍwân (the angel of Paradise) is a visitor, but for others who descended on that day (*fîhi*) there is *Munkar* and *Nakîr*.

43 The Caliphate has truly kept its contract with You, because You are both suited to and worthy of it (the contract with the Caliphate).

44 After Your death the Caliphate gave us something good in return, thus Your absence and Your presence became as one. [The successor compensates for the loss of Ṭalâ’i‘.]

45 Allâh refused to fulfill the plans made for it (the State, or *Dawla*) by a jealous and unbelieving person.

46 The hollow of slyness has been made narrow, but the pit has become frightening for those who have broken their oaths.

47 They were shameless in their betrayal of the Palace, even though the lamp of fidelity within gave light.

48 A safe Ḥaram and a holy month, the handles and protected veils of which were crudely torn.

49 No fast hindered them, nor the appearance of an *Imâm*, who appeared with the dust adhering to the soles of his feet still pure.

50 You should defend the protective contract of this Just Leadership, being informed with certainty that the *Imâm* is both protector and protected !

51 When the women’s tents of the steppes are loyal to the rights that are due, what then will the Palaces say [about al-‘Âdîd] ?

52 Al-‘Âdîd, the *Imâm*, became angry whereupon the rocks almost melted for fear of him.

53 Taking a resolute decision, he heaped revenge upon his enemies, and in his diligence there was no weakening.

54 Due to his support and just leadership, may the Argument of Allâh be given its rightful position and may the brave warrior fight on.

55 If a *Kâfil* (a Regent) is passed by, then he is now the *Kafîl* (the new Regent); if a Vizier is absent, then this (the other one) is the Vizier.

56 A *Dawla* Ṣâlihiyya is succeeded by a *Dawla* ‘Âdiliyya, a state which does no injustice.

57 It (that state) has spread its renown and brought its sublimity to life: in time the resurrection shall come about.

58 If his eye (the eye of Ṭalâ’i‘) had seen Your deeds it would have been comforted, and the graves, with their inhabitants, would have come to rest.

59 All the beautiful things which You do, shall on his authority, be made eternal and will be preserved as a tradition.

60 An extremely high honour and a sublime glory, in which the First and the Last will be equal.

61 May the *Dahr* allow something comfortable to follow his Disaster. Happiness is enclosed in the folds of great sorrow.

62 We complained about bone-breaking disasters, until, in respect of this, it was said: “Your fracture has been mended.”
 [about the son of Ṭalâ’i‘ the poet says:]

63 Al-Nâṣir (the son of Ṭalâ’i‘) has helped Sublimity with the blade of a lance. How good the master is and how good the helper !

ورتاجٌ ومنبرٌ وسدِيرٌ
خَفَ شوقاً إِلَيْهِ دَسْتُ وَقُورُ
أَنْ أَمْرَ الْوَرَى إِلَيْهِ يَصِيرُ
وَهُوَ كَنْزٌ لِمُلْكِهِمْ مَذْخُورٌ
وَلَهُ الْعِيرُ قَبْلَهَا وَالنَّفِيرُ
وَاللَّيَالِي إِلَيْهِ فِيهَا تُشِيرُ
مَلَكُ أَبْلَجُ وَمَلَكُ كَبِيرُ
يَرْجِعُ الْطَّرْفُ عَنْهُ وَهُوَ كَسِيرُ
نُجُومٌ مِنْ حَوْلِهِ وَبُدُورُ
وَهُوَ قُطْبٌ بِهِ رَحَاهُمْ يَدُورُ
مَا لَهُمْ مِنْ صَعُودَهُنَّ جُذُورُ
وَالْغَيُوْثُ الَّتِي نَدَاهَا بُحُورُ
مِرْجَلُ الشَّرِّ وَالبَلَاءِ يَفُورُ
تَرَكُوهَا مَهَابَةً وَهِيَ صُورُ
بِذِكْرِهِ تَقْلِدُهَا ذِكْرُ
أَيُّ طَرْفٍ يَضْرِرُ وَهُوَ ضَرِيرٌ
فَهُمْ فَوْقَهُ سَوَارٌ وَسُورٌ
فَهُمُ الْلَبُّ وَالْأَنَامُ الْقُشُورُ
لَمْ يَحِيِّ مِنْ فَضْلِهِمْ أَسْتَعِيرُ
بِأَبْيَهِ صَغِيرُهُمْ وَالْكَبِيرُ
أَنَّهَا فِي زَمَانِهِ لَا تُغَيِّرُ

٦٤ مَلَكٌ طَالَ مَا تَمَنَّاهُ تَاجٌ
٦٥ لَوْ جَدَ الدَّسْتُ قَبْلَهُ مِنْ وَقَارٍ
٦٦ مَا شَكَكْنَا وَفِي الظُّنُونِ يَقِينٌ
٦٧ لَمْ يُلْقَبْ ذُخْرَ الْأَئْمَةِ إِلَّا
٦٨ لَمْ تَزَرْ بَابَهُ الْوِزَارَةُ إِلَّا
٦٩ لَمْ يَحْزُ مَرْتَبَةَ الْكَفَالَةِ إِلَّا
٧٠ مَا أَرَادَ الْجُلُوسِ إِلَّا تَجَلَّى
٧١ يُشْرِقُ الدَّسْتُ مِنْهُ عَنْ نُورِ وَجْهِ
٧٢ هُوَ شَمْسُ الْهُدَى وَابْنَاءُ رَزِيكٍ
٧٣ هُمْ يَمِينٌ عَلَى الْعَدَى حِينَ يَسْطُو
٧٤ رَكِبُوا صَهْوَةَ الْعُلَى بِصَعُودٍ
٧٥ الْلَّيَوْثُ الَّتِي رَدَاهَا عَتِيدٌ
٧٦ سَكَنُوا طَائِشَ الْقُلُوبِ وَكَانَتْ
٧٧ وَأَقَامُوا مَيْلَ الرِّقَابِ إِلَى أَنْ
٧٨ عَزَّ ذُو الْمَلَكِ مِنْ عَيْنِ الْأَعْادِيِّ
٧٩ عَمِيَّتْ عَنْ كَمَالِهِمْ كُلُّ عَيْنٍ
٨٠ حَمَلُوا مُلْكَهُمْ وَحَاطُوا حَمَاهِمْ
٨١ أَهْلُ بَيْتٍ إِذَا نَصَحْتُكَ عَنْهُمْ
٨٢ لَمْ أَعْرِهِمْ شَهَادَةً مَعَ أَنِّي
٨٣ سَادَهُمْ أَبْلَجٌ يُفَدِّيَهُمْ مِنْهُمْ
٨٤ عَادِلٌ أَقْسَمَتْ صَرْوَفُ الْلَّيَالِي

64 He is a king, one desired by the Crown for a long time, just like a porch, a pulpit and a domed gateway (*sadîr*).

65 Had the throne of his time been serious in its dignity, then a dignified throne would now be light-footed due to its longing for him (the son).

66 We had no doubts, because within conjecture there is certainty, namely that the command of the people will fall to him.

67 He could not acquire the honorific, “Treasure Chest of the *Imâm* s”, without having been a treasure which was well-preserved for their monarchy.

68 The Vizirate did not visit his portals, without being already in the possession of a caravan of camels and a bugle.

69 He would not have acquired the rank of Regency, had the Nights not designated him for the position.

70 He did not desire to sit on the throne, unless this manifested a brilliant king and a great monarchy.

71 The throne shone through the light of his face, and eyes were ruined by looking at him.

72 He is the Sun of Just Leadership, and the sons of Ruzzîk are the stars and full moons around him.

73 They are a right-hand against his enemies, when these become powerful. But he is the Axis around which their Millstone can turn.

74 They rode on the back of sublimity in an ascending line, so steeply that, due to their ascendancy, they no longer had roots.

75 They are “Lions” (*luyûth*) who cause destruction and “downpours” (*ghuyûth*) whose dew consists of oceans.

76 They have brought passionate hearts to rest, although the cauldron of Anger and Ordeal has tended to bubble.

77 They corrected the proud inclining of necks, until they left them behind inclined in respect.

78 The possessor of Monarchy was elevated in the eyes of the enemies by swords (*dhukûr*), which were girded on by manly heroes (*dhukûr*).

79 Every eye was dazzled by their perfection; but what eye can be damaged if it is already blind? [*i. e.*, all the others are inferior.]

80 They (the Viziers) bore their monarchy and protected their sacred territory (*himâ-hum*). On top of that they were a bracelet and a wall (*siwârun wa-sûru*).

81 Here are *Ahl Bayt* (members of the Prophet’s family, scil., the *Imâm* s); I advise you not to mix with them, they remain a core, while human nature is no more than the peel which surrounds it.

82 I did not lend them a *Shahâda*, although I borrowed from their Excellency for the sake of my *mâdih*.

83 They were governed by a Brilliant Leader, for whose father both large and small were prepared to sacrifice themselves

84 As far as ‘Âdil is concerned, the changing nights swore that during his lifetime they would not assault him.

أَعْنَيْنَاهُ عَمَّا يَقُولُهُ الْمُشَيرُ	٨٥	سَاسَ أَمْرَ الْوَرَى بِعَزَمٍ وَحَزْمٍ
تَنْحَنِي تَحْتَ ثَقْلِهِنَّ الظَّهُورُ	٨٦	مُسْتَقْلٌ ثَقْلَ الْحُطُوبِ الْلَّوَاتِي
وَاطْمَأْنَتْ عَلَى بَدِيهِ الْأَمْوَرِ	٨٧	رَضِيَتِهِ النُّفُوسُ طَوْعًا وَكَرَهًا
وَالنَّدَى لِلرَّدَى أَخَّ وَنَصِيرُ	٨٨	نَصَرَ الْجُودَ بِاسْهُ وَالْعَطَايَا
خَبَرُ الْجَوَدِ عَنْهُمْ مَسْطُورُ	٨٩	طَالِعاً سِيرَةَ الْمُلُوكِ فِيهَا
مَا لَهُ فِي بَنِي الزَّمَانِ نَظِيرُ	٩٠	وَانْظُرُوهَا لِتَعْلَمُوا فَضْلَ مَلِكٍ
بَلْ طَيِّبٌ وَرَبُّ غَفُورٌ	٩١	إِنَّ مَصْرًا بِعَدْلِهِ وَنَدَاهُ
ذَهَبَ النَّاقِدُ السَّمِيعُ الْبَصِيرُ	٩٢	لَا يَقُولَنَّ جَاهِلٌ بِالْقَوْافِي
بِمَعَاذِيرٍ ^{١٠٩} أَهْلَهُنَّ خَبِيرُ	٩٣	فَالْمَرْجَى أَبُو شُجَاعٍ عَلِيمٌ
أَيْهَا الْضِيَفُ خَفْ عَنْكَ الْغَدِيرُ ^{١١٠}	٩٤	كُنْتُ أَخْشَى بِأَنْ يَقُولَ الْمَنَادِي
لَكَ ظَلَّيْ حِيثُ الْمَحَلُّ الْأَثِيرُ	٩٥	فَابْتَدَانِي بِفَضْلِهِ قَائِلًا لِي
حَاسِدٌ لِي مِنْ أَجْلِهَا وَغَيْرُ	٩٦	ثُمَّ أَسْدَى الْيَدَ التِّي كَلَّ خَلٌّ
مُضِمِّرٌ حَبَّهُ وَهَذَا شَكُورُ	٩٧	مَلِكَ الْقُلُوبِ وَاللُّسُانِ فَهَذَا

^{١٠٩} Nukat-Diwan, p. 52: بِمَقَادِيرِ أَهْلَهُنَّ خَبِيرٌ

جَفَّ عَنْكَ الْغَدِيرُ

85 May he rule over the affairs of mortals with resolution and strength: may we be sufficient for him, so that his aide does not have to utter a word.

86 He considers the burden of Disasters as something petty, but the backs of others are stooped under its weight.

87 Souls are content with him, voluntarily and involuntarily, and they have faith in respect of unexpected affairs.

88 His force supports magnanimity and gifts. And “Dew” is the brother and supporter of “Destruction” (scil., *nadâ* versus *radâ*).

89 You both should research (*Tâli‘â*) the Biography of the kings, because therein lies the message of magnanimity, penned on their authority.

90 Look at the Biography, so that You will understand the excellency of a king, one who had no equal under the sons of time.

91 Truly, due to his justice and merciful dew, Miṣr has become “a safe country and an extremely forgiving Lord”.

[regarding the qualities of the son of Ṭalâ’i‘:]

92 In particular do not allow someone ignorant of rhymes to say: ‘The critic who listened attentively and had great insight has now departed.’

93 Because the One on Whom we settled our expectation, Abū Shujâ‘, is very knowledgeable and highly experienced in the standards and vicissitudes of the people of the rhymes.

94 I was afraid that the Crier would say: Oh guest! The lake is unattainable, for you it has run dry.

95 Thereupon, he turned his grace towards me as he said to me: ‘You will obtain a place of excellence in my shadow’,

96 After which he stretched out his hand, and thus is every friend exceedingly jealous of me.

97 Oh King of the heart and the tongue, the former nourishes his love and the latter is extremely grateful.

APPENDIX B

In the poem to rhyme *hirâru*, which 'Umâra wrote for this special ceremony, several more allusions are made to the actual events surrounding the assassination.¹¹¹ Once again the name of a day is mentioned, this time it is a Thursday, apparently the day that the coffin is moved, the *nuqlat al-tâbût*.¹¹²

وقال في يوم الخميس وقد نُقل الصالح من الدار التي كان بها مدفونا بالقاهرة إلى
ترية بالقرافة

ومقيّدَ الزَّفَرَاتِ وَهِيَ حَرَارُ
يُذْكَرُ بِهِ مِنْ حَدٌ وَجْدُكَ نَارُ
فَلْدَىٰ مِنْهُ مَشَاعِرُ وَشَعَارُ
وَارِ وَفِي صَدْرِي صَدِيٌّ وَأَوَارُ
وَلَهَانُ لَمْ أَتْرَكْ وَمَا أَخْتَارُ
يُودِي لَهَا بَعْدَ الْحَوَارِ حَوَارُ
قَلْبُ لَسائِلِهِ الْهَمُومُ قَرَارُ
أَنَّ الصَّغَارَ مِنَ الْهَمُومِ كَبَارُ
أَسْفَا فَكَيْفَ وَقَدْ طَمَا التَّيَارُ
خَطْبُ بَأْنَفِ الدَّهْرِ مِنْهُ صَغَارُ
قُطْبَا رَحَى الدُّنْيَا عَلَيْهَا¹¹³ تُدَارُ
عُمِّرْتُ بِهِ الْأَجْدَاثُ وَهِيَ قَفَارُ

- ١ يا مطلق العبرات وهي غزار
- ٢ ما بال دمعك وهو ماء سافح
- ٣ لا تتخذني قدوة لك في الأسى
- ٤ خفّض عليك فان زند بليّتي
- ٥ إن كان في يدك الخيار فانّي
- ٦ في كل يوم حنين مُضلة
- ٧ عاهدت دمعي أن يقرّ فخانني
- ٨ هل عند محترق يسير بليلة
- ٩ قد كنت أشرق من شماد مدامعي
- ١٠ عم الورى يوم الخميس وخصبّني
- ١١ ما أوحش الدنيا غدية فارقت
- ١٢ خربت ربوع المكرمات لراحل¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ 'Umâra's poem on rhyme *hirâru*, a poem of 83 lines of verse. Manuscript D (Petersburg), folio 69 verso - 71 verso; lacking in ms. Rabat. This poem has been partially edited by Derenbourg, *Nukat-Diwan*, p. 63-65 (= vss. 12-14, 17, 19, 21-22, 37-38, 54, 56-57, 61-62) and *Nukat-Diwan*, p. 145 (= vss. 46, 48, 50-53) and *Nukat-Diwan*, p. 229-231 (= vss. 1-8, 20, 36, 45-47, 49, 68-83). The identical poem is also quoted partially in *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 394-396 (ed. Cairo 1288 H., vol. I, 124, 126-127). Derenbourg translated a number of lines from this poem in French, see *Nukat-Diwan* (French) II, 189 (vss. 1-10, 17-22, 37-41, 45-47, 54-59).

¹¹² In folio 69 recto, ms. D says in the introduction to the poem on rhyme *hirâru*: "On Thursday, the day on which al-Şâlih was

transferred from the House in al-Qâhira, where he had been buried, to a tomb in the *Qarâfa*, he said the following: ..." Derenbourg, *Nukat-Diwan*, p. 63, in his Memoirs the poet 'Umâra says the following about the poem on rhyme *hirâru*: "When he [Ruzzîk ibn Şâlih] transferred al-Şâlih's coffin to the Burial place, I composed a *qaṣida*, in which I mentioned both the shrine (*mashhad*) and the manner in which the murderers were eventually caught. This *qaṣida* is long." For the extra line 13b which is lacking in the manuscripts, see *Rawdatayn* I, 124, 126-127, where a number of lines from poem to rhyme *hirâru* are cited in quotation.

¹¹³ According to *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 394: عليه

¹¹⁴ According to *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 394: لواحد

Poem to rhyme *hirâru* , see ‘Umâra’s Elegies and the Lamp of Loyalty, footnote 73.

On Thursday, when al-Şâlih was transferred from the house in which he had been buried in al-Qâhira, to the tomb in the *Qarâfa*, he said the following:

- 1 Oh Thou who makes the tears flow freely and abundantly and who stifles the warm sighs ;
- 2 What does it matter to your tears, which are flowing water, that within them a fire has been kindled by the sharpness of Your sorrow ?
- 3 Do not use me as a source for your comfort, because I have both these feelings and these characteristics.
- 4 Calm yourself, because the tinder of my ordeal has a hidden fire and in my breast are both thirst and blazing fervour.
- 5 The choice is in your hands, I am inconsolably sad and what choice remains for me ?
- 6 Every day I feel homesickness for the desert, where sand-rocks (*hawâru*) have destroyed any distant conversation (*bu‘da l-ḥiwâri*) which ever existed.
- 7 I agreed with my tears that they would cease, but my heart betrayed me ; if anyone asks about it, care is resident within it.
- 8 Does a lowly man have the opinion that a small trial is a great disaster ?
- 9 I am already choking with grief in the remaining pools of my tears, and how will it be when the stream has become overfull ?
- 10 That Thursday dominated human nature, and myself in particular, it overwhelmed with disaster, whereby the proud nose of the *Dahr* signified humiliation for all people.
- 11 How desolate the World was on the day when it said farewell to the Rotating Axis around which the millstone of the World was rotated !
- 12 The grazing areas of benefaction were destroyed by a traveller, by one who cultivated the tombstones even though they were deserted.

عَمِيتٌ^{١١٥} بِرَؤْيَةِ نَعْشَهُ الْأَبْصَارُ
 وَنَظَامُهَا أَسْفَأً عَلَيْهِ نُثَارُ^{١١٦}
 خُفِضَتْ بِرَفْعَةِ قَدْرِهَا الْأَقْدَارُ
 قَدْ شَيَّعْتَهَا الْخَمْسَةُ الْأَطْهَارُ^{١١٧}
 حَفَّتْ مَلَائِكَةً بِهَا أَنْوَارُ
 فِي جَانِبَيْهِ سَكِينَةً وَوَقَارُ
 إِلِّسْلَامٌ وَهُوَ الصَّالِحُ الْمُخْتَارُ
 بُنِيَّتْ لِنُقْلَتِهِ الْكَرِيمَةِ دَارُ
 عَلَمًا يُحَجِّ فَنَاؤُهُ وَيُزَارُ
 تَابُوتَهُ وَعَلَى الْكَرِيمِ يُغَارُ
 حَسَدَتْ فَرَاقَهَا^{١١٩} لِهِ الْأَمْصَارُ
 يَرْجُو مَثُوبَةً قَصْدَهَا الزُّوَارُ
 فَجَرِيَ لَهُ مِنْ عَفْوِكِ الْإِيْثَارُ
 حَرَمُ وَأَنْكَ صَافِحٌ غَفَارُ
 وَالْأَمْرُ أَمْرَكَ ذَمَّةً وَذَمَارُ
 يَغْنِي الْوَرَى وَيُعْمَرُ الْآثَارُ
 أَضْحَى بِكَاظِمَةِ لَهِنْ جَوَارُ
 بَلْ دَارُمْ بَلْ يَعْرُبُ وَنَزَارُ
 نَزَحَتْ بِهِ دَارُ وَشَطَّ مَزَارُ

١٢ نَعْشُ الْجُدُودُ الْعَاثِرَاتُ مُشَيَّعٌ
 ١٣ بِنَعْشٌ تَوَدَّ بَنَاتُ نَعْشٌ لَوْ غَدَتْ
 ١٤ شَخْصُ الْأَنَامُ إِلَيْهِ تَحْتَ جَنَازَةَ
 ١٥ سَارَ إِلِّيَّمُ أَمَامَهَا فَعَلَمْتُ أَنْ
 ١٦ وَمَشَى الْمُلُوكُ بِهَا حُفَّةً بَعْدَمَا
 ١٧ فَكَانَهَا تَابُوتُ مُوسَى أَوْدَعَتْ
 ١٨ لَكَنَّهُ مَا ضَمَّ غَيْرَ بَقِيَّةَ
 ١٩ أَوْطَنَتْهُ^{١١٨} دَارَ الْوَزَارَةِ رَيْشَمَا
 ٢٠ حَتَّى إِذَا شَيَّدَهَا وَنَصَبَتْهَا
 ٢١ وَتَغَيَّرَ الْهَرْمَانُ وَالْحَرْمَانُ فِي
 ٢٢ آثَرْتَ مَصْرَا مِنْهُ بِالشَّرْفِ الَّذِي
 ٢٣ وَجَعَلْتَهَا أَمْنَا بِهِ وَمَثَابَةَ
 ٢٤ هَذَا الْأَثَيْرُ غَدَا بِهَا مُتَعْلِقاً
 ٢٥ اعْلَمْتَنَا تَجْمِيلَ صَفَحَكَ أَنَّهَا
 ٢٦ وَأَبُوكَ أَوْلَى مَنْ غَدَا لِضَرِيْحِهِ
 ٢٧ لِيَقُولَ مَنْ يَرِثُ الْلِّيَالِيَ بَعْدَنَا
 ٢٨ وَأَبُوكَ أَعْظَمُ أَنْ يَقَاسِ بِأَعْظَمِ
 ٢٩ أَيْنَ الْفَرْزَدَقُ مِنْ عُلَّاكَ وَغَالِبُ
 ٣٠ قَدْ قُلْتُ إِذْ نَقَلُوهُ نُقْلَةً ظَاعِنِ^{١١٩}

^{١١٥} According to *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 394: عَشَيْتُ.

^{١١٦} Verse 13b is only found in *Nukat-Diwan*, 63 and *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 394.

^{١١٧} According to *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 394: الْخَمْسَةُ الْأَطْهَارُ.

^{١١٨} According to *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 394: أَقْطَنَتْهُ.

^{١١٩} According to *Nukat-Diwan*, 64 and *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 394: حَسَدَتْ فَرَاقَهَا:

13 Whilst the bier of floundering fortune was carried away, eyes became blind at the sight of the bier.
 [in the *Rawdatayn* this one verse derives from a long fragment of 41 lines:]

13b A corpse’s bier: the stars of the Great Bear and the Little Bear would be pleased if their constellations were scattered in sorrow because of him.

14 The people stared at him, whilst he was under the cover of the bier (*tahta jinâza*), through the sublimity of its “size” (*qadrahâ*, of the bier) the “size of fate itself” (*al-aqdâr*) was humbled.

15 The *Imâm* walked straight ahead of it (the *jinâza*), then I knew that the Five Pure People (*al-khamsatu l-aṭhâr*) had paid their last respects.

16 Barefooted the Kings walked with it (the *jinâza*), after bright angels had caused a rustling sound.
 [Rawdatayn: *haffat malâ’ikatun bihâ aṭhâru*. Ms. D reads: *haffat malâ’ikatun bihâ anwâru*, ... i. e., after pure angels had encircled it, ... after shining angels had encircled it.]

17 As though it were the coffin of Mûsâ, on either side of which were stationed the “Godly Rest” (*sakîna*) and Dignity.

18 But it contained nothing other than the remains of Islam, namely al-Ṣâlih al-Mukhtâr.
 [the style figure of *iltifât* referring to the son Ruzzîk probably begins here:]

19 You have given him the Dâr al-Wizâra as a home, whilst in the meantime another house has been built to receive the noble transfer of his remains.

20 After You have constructed it and set it up as a beacon, then to its square people will make pilgrimages and pay visits.

21 The two pyramids and the two sacred areas (Mecca and Medina) were jealous of each other in regard to his coffin, and men are jealous of the noble.

22 You preferred to choose Miṣr as a result of which it is honoured, whereas the other *miṣr*-s (plural *amṣâr*, the ancient garrison towns), feel envious of its (Miṣr’s) cemetery.

23 You have turned it into a safe region and abode, where visitors hope for a reward for the fatigues of their journey.

24 See this “ether” is attached to it (the *Jinâza*, the cloth over the bier), because through Your forgiveness it has acquired preference.

25 Through the benefaction of Your forgiveness, You have informed us, that it (the cloth) is a *haram* and that You are an all-effacing Forgiver.

26 Your father is most worthy and went to his grave. The command is now yours; protect and defend Your family’s honour.

27 Allow those who inherit the nights after us (i. e., after our death), now simply to say the following: “Humankind will come to grief; only the traces will be cultivated.”

28 And Your father is too great ever to be compared to those skeletons which acquired a resting place next to Kâzîma (the area of the *Shî’ite* shrines in Baghdad).

29 Where is Farazdaq in relation to Your Sublimity? And Ghâlib, or rather Dârim? Or rather Ya’rub and Nizâr?

30 When they transported him like a beloved woman in a camel’s litter, I said: “His residence is far removed, and far away is the place we visit!”

بسواهُ وهو الصارمُ البَتَارُ
 برحابةٍ يتشعشعُ الآثارُ¹²⁰
 أخْرَى فنَوْءٌ سحابه مدرارُ
 ماذا الذي رُفعتْ لَهُ الأستارُ
 فوْضَى فلا إِذْنٌ ولا استيمارُ
 في حيثُ عرفُ ولِيَّهم إِنْكَارُ
 جَهَلًا عَلَيْكَ¹²¹ وآخَرِينَ أشاروا
 فلَكُلٌّ عَصْرٌ صالحٌ وقُدَارُ¹²²
 سَفَهَا بِأَيْدِي السُّودِ وهي قِصارُ
 وعَبِيدُكَ السَّادَاتُ وَالْأَحْرَارُ
 رَصْدُوكَ في ضيقِ الحالِ بِحيثُ لَا السُّخْطَىٰ مُتَّسِعٌ ولا الخَطَارُ
 لَوْ كُنْتَ مُتَرُوكًا وَمَا تَخْتَارُ
 خَذْلَانَهُمْ لَوْ سَاعَدَ الْمَقْدَارُ
 لَوْ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَكَ بِالذِّيُولِ عَثَارُ
 بِشَنَائِه تَسْتَسْمِعُ السُّمَارُ
 خَذَلَتْ يَمِينُ أَخْتَهَا وَيَسَارُ

٢١ ما كَانَ إِلَّا السِّيفَ جُدُّدَ غَمَدَهُ
 ٢٢ وَالبَدْرُ فَارِقَ بِرْجَهُ مُتَبَدِّلًا
 ٢٣ وَالغَيْثَ رَوَى بُلدَهُ ثُمَّ انتَحَى
 ٢٤ يَا مُسْبِلَ الْأَسْتَارِ دُونَ جَلَالِهِ
 ٢٥ مَا لَيْ أَرَى الزُّوَّارَ بَعْدَ مَهَابَةِ
 ٢٦ أَكَفِيلَ آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَوَلِيَّهُمْ
 ٢٧ غَضَبَ إِلَهٌ عَلَى رِجَالٍ أَقْدَمُوا
 ٢٨ لَا تَعْجِبْنَ لِقُدَارِ نَاقَةِ صَالِحٍ
 ٢٩ وَخَجَلْنَا لِلْبَيْضِ كَيْفَ تَطاوَلْتَ
 ٤٠ وَحَسْرَتَا كَيْفَ انْفَرَدْتَ لَا عَبْدٍ
 ٤١ رَصَدُوكَ في ضيقِ الحالِ بِحيثُ لَا السُّخْطَىٰ مُتَّسِعٌ ولا الخَطَارُ
 ٤٢ مَا كَانَ أَقْصَرَ بَاعَهُمْ عَنْ مُثْلِهَا
 ٤٣ وَلَقَدْ ثَبَتَ ثَبَاتٌ مُقْتَدِرٌ عَلَى
 ٤٤ وَتَعَثَّرَتْ أَقْدَامُهُمْ لَكَ¹²³ هِيَّةٌ
 ٤٥ وَلَقَدْ وَفَى لَكَ مِنْ صَنَائِعِكَ امْرَءٌ
 ٤٦ أَوْفَى أَبُو حَسْنٍ بِعَهْدِكَ عِنْدَمَا

¹²⁰ According to *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 395: بُرْجَاهُ بِتَشَعَّشَ الآثارُ

¹²¹ According to *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 395: عليه: فَلَكُلَّ دَهْرٍ نَاقَةٌ وَقُدَارٌ

¹²² According to *Nukat-Diwan*, 64:

لَا تَعْجِبْنَ لِقُدَارِ نَاقَةِ صَالِحٍ فَلَكُلٌّ عَصْرٌ صالحٌ وَقُدَارٌ

and according to *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 395: لا تَعْجِبَا لِقُدَارِ نَاقَةِ صَالِحٍ فَلَكُلَّ دَهْرٍ نَاقَةٌ وَقُدَارٌ
¹²³ According to *Rawdatayn*, ed. Zaybaq, I, 395: بِكَ

31 He was nothing other than a sword whose sheath has been renewed by another (sword). That is a Cleaver and Chopper!

32 He was nothing other than the Full Moon which had deserted its constellation and exchanged it for a roomy space where the tracks which were left behind now shine.

33 A rain shower provided a region with water then it moved on to another place, because the rain stars of his clouds are extremely abundant.

34 Oh thou who hast lowered the veils over his Majesty: what is he now for whom veils were once raised?

35 Why do I see visitors in great confusion after their demonstration of respect: there is no longer any question of Permission nor Succession of orders.

36 Oh Warrantor of the Clan of Mohammed and Friend of them, although the ‘urf, the good deed of other friends consists of denial,

37 May the Deity be wrathful towards those who in ignorance rose up against him, and towards others who plotted against him.

38 Do not be surprised on account of Qudâr and the she Camel of Şâlih, for each century has its Şâlih and its Qudâr. [According to ms. D.]
 [Do not be surprised because of Qudâr, O She Camel of Şâlih, for each century has its Şâlih and its Qudâr. Thus according to *Rawdatayn* I, 126.]

39 Oh, what disgrace, due to the white blades (white and glittering swords, *li l-bîdi*), and how haughty they were in their folly (*tatâwalat*), in the hands of the Blacks (*bi-aydî l-sûdi*) whose reach was short (*qaşîra*).

40 Oh what sorrow, how alone you were when opposed by these “slaves” (*a‘bud*), while your “pious slaves” (*‘abîd*) are Gentlemen and Nobles.

41 They leered at You in a narrow land, where neither the spear nor the vibrating lance had leeway.

42 For such an event the failure of their arms was extreme, if You had only been freed to do that which You chose!

43 You were firm with the firmness of an Almighty who was able to “withhold mercy from” them (*Muqtadirun ‘alâ khidhlâni-him*); had Predestination only worked for You!

44 Their feet would have stumbled out of respect for You, had you not stumbled over your own hem!¹²⁴

45 Amongst Your employees one man was loyal to You; the evening speakers ask for his eulogy to be heard.

46 Abû Hasan loyally fulfilled the oath with You when a right hand let its sister down and vice versa.

¹²⁴ Compare as a comment on the lines of verse which will follow in the text, what ‘Umâra remembers in his Memoirs, *Nukat-Diwan*, p. 145: “Reports concerning al-Mukarram ‘Alî ibn al-Zabad: this person was an exaggerator who was excessive in his *madhab*, without anyone being aware of this. In his fidelity to the Banû Ruzzik he was Nuşayritic in his loyalty and creed. He was with al-Şâlih on the day of the Golden Room. He fought vehemently to defend him and carried on wielding

his sword until it broke in two. When he no longer had a sword, he threw himself on top of al-Şâlih as he was lying in the hall of the corridor, protected him with his own body. The swords continued to be directed towards him until al-Şâlih stood up and more people flocked in. I mentioned him in a *Qaşîda*, in which I mourned al-Şâlih on the day on which his bier (*tâbûl*) was transported to the burial ground. In that *Qaşîda* the report regarding Ibn al-Zabad states the following: ...”

فَكَانُوهُمْ بِحُضُورِهِ حُضَارٌ
فَلَقَدْ تَرَيْدُ وَتَنْقُصُ الْأَخْبَارُ
عَنْ غُرْرَةِ لِجَبِينِهَا إِسْفَارٌ
وَانْفَلَّ مِنْهُ مَضْرُبٌ وَغِرَارٌ
لَمَّا انْتَهَتِكَ صَوَارُمْ وَشَفَارُمْ
مِنْ خَمْرِهَا أَسْفَأَ عَلَيْكَ خُمَارٌ
وَعَلَى رِجَالٍ لَوْمُهَا وَالْعَارُ¹²⁵
أَبْدَا وَحْلَّ بِقَاتِلِيكَ بُوَارُ
مِنْ بَعْدِهَا وَرَأَتِ إِلَى مَا صَارُوا
يَرْضِي وَأَيْنَ مِنْ السَّمَاءِ غَبَارُ
نَامَ الْعَدُوُ¹²⁶ وَلَا يَنْامُ الشَّارُ
تُنْجِي وَأَيْنَ مِنْ الْقَضَاءِ فَرَارُ
شَرَكَ الرَّدَى فَكَانُوهُمْ مَا طَارُوا
تَجْرِي إِلَى غَيَايَاتِهَا الْأَعْمَارُ
دَرَجَتْ عَلَيْهَا قَبْلَكَ الْأَخْيَارُ
وَابْنَ الْبَتْولِ وَجَعْفُرَ الطَّيَارُ
حَيّاً وَمِيتاً أَعْدَ¹²⁸ ذَا لَفَخَارُ
لَوْلَاهُ لَمْ يَكُنْ لِلْعُلَى اسْتَقْرَارُ
خُلُجُ الْبَلَى وَتَدَاعَتِ الْأَوْطَارُ
عَمِرْتُ بِهِ الْأَوْطَانِ وَالْأَوْطَارُ

٤٧ غَابَتْ حَمَاتُكَ وَاثْقَينَ وَلَمْ تَغْبُ
٤٨ لَا تَسْأَلَا إِلَّا مَضَارِبَ سِيفِهِ
٤٩ لَقِيَ الْمَنِيَّةَ دُونَ وَجْهِكَ سَافِرَا
٥٠ حَتَّى إِذَا انْقَطَعَ الْحُسَامُ بِكَفِهِ
٥١ الْقَى عَلَيْكَ وَقَايَةً لَكَ نَفْسَهِ
٥٢ إِنْ لَمْ يَذْقُ كَاسَ الرَّدَى فَبِقَلْبِهِ
٥٣ هِيَ وَقْفَةُ رُزْقِ الْمَكْرُمِ حَمْدَهَا
٥٤ أَحْلَلْتَ دَارَ كَرَامَةَ لَا تَنْقُضِي
٥٥ يَا لَيْتَ عَيْنَكَ شَاهَدَتْ أَحْوَالَهُمْ
٥٦ وَقَعَ الْقَصَاصُ بِهِمْ وَلَيْسُوا مَقْنِعَا
٥٧ ضَاقَتْ بِهِمْ سَعَةُ الْفَجَاجِ وَرَبِّمَا
٥٨ وَتَوَهَّمُوا أَنَّ الْقَرَارَ مَطْيَّةً
٥٩ طَارُوا فَمَدَّ أَبُو الشَّجَاعِ لِصِيدِهِمْ
٦٠ آمَادُ أَعْمَارَ الْبَرِيَّةِ مَدَّهُ
٦١ فَتَهَنَّ بِالْأَجْرِ الْعَظِيمِ¹²⁷ وَمِيَّتَهُ
٦٢ مَاتَ الْوَصِيُّ بِهَا وَحْمَزَةُ عَمِّهِ
٦٣ نَلْتَ السَّعَادَةَ وَالشَّهَادَةَ وَالْعَلَى
٦٤ وَلَقَدْ أَقْرَرَ الْعَيْنَ بَعْدَكَ أَرْوَعُ
٦٥ لَوْلَا جَمِيلُ وَلَائِهِ لِتَفْجِرَتْ
٦٦ لَمَّا اسْتَقَامَ لِحْفَظِ أَمْمَةِ أَحْمَدٍ¹²⁸

¹²⁵ According to Nukat-Diwan, 145:

لَوْمُهَا وَالْعَارُ

¹²⁸ Rawdatayn, ed. Zaybaq, I, 396:

إِنْ

¹²⁶ According to Nukat-Diwan, 64:

نَامَ الْوَلِيُّ وَلَا يَنْامُ الشَّارُ

¹²⁷ According to Nukat-Diwan, 64 and Rawdatayn ed. Zaybaq, I,

فَتَهَنَّ بِالْأَجْرِ الْجَزِيلِ

395:

47 Your protectors were absent in their trust, but you [Oh Abū Ḥasan] were not absent—then it appeared as though they were present simply due to his presence!

48 You both must ask no one, apart from asking the sharp edge of his (Ibn al-Zabad’s) sword, because information is sometimes too much and sometimes too little. [Only the sword’s information is sufficient.]

49 He met his Fate in order to protect your visage, and to reveal a noble blaze for a noble forehead.

50 But when the sword broke in his hand and the cutting edge and sharpness were damaged,

51 He threw himself upon You to protect You, whilst slashing and sharp swords were directed towards You. [Ibn al-Zabad survived the attack and only later under Dirghâm was he executed.]

52 Though he did not drink from the well of destruction, then there is still in his heart a remnant of drunkenness from its wine—out of sorrow for You.

53 It is persistence (*waqfa*) for which al-Mukarram is provided with praise; however, for other men that persistence means “lowness” [*lu’mu-hâ*, or according to ms. D *lawmu-hâ*, *i. e.*, “reproof”] and disgrace.

54 May You be placed in a Residence of Nobility (*Dâr karâma*) which will never end, and may Ruin descend upon Your murderers.

55 Oh had Your eye but beheld their situation after this (“persistence” in the murderous attack); had it but seen what became of them!

56 May punishment fall upon them and may they not be like “a persuasive person who satisfies the people”. Indeed, how far is the dust removed from heaven!

57 May the space of the mountain paths become frighteningly narrow for them; and how frequently did the enemy of revenge (*nâma l-‘adûwu*, or *nâma l-walîyyu*, “the warden of revenge”) sleep; but revenge itself never slept.

58 They imagined that the flight was a mount which would rescue them; but where is an escape from judgment (*mina l-qadâ’i firâru*)?

59 They flew away, but Abū l-Shujâ’ (scil., the son al-‘Âdil) tightened the net of ruin in order to hunt them; then it was as if they had never flown away.

60 Every human life spans a period of time, but towards the end all the periods of life are set in motion.

61 Be thankful for an abundant salary and a path of death, along which all the best have already walked before You.

62 The *Waṣîyyu* (‘Alî) died on that path, and Ḥamza, his uncle, and the son of Fâṭima and Ja‘far the *Tayyâr*.

63 May You acquire Happiness, Martyrdom and Sublimity both alive and dead. I consider that true pride!

64 After You had gone hence, the eye was cooled by an admirable person; had he not been there, then there would have been no resting place for Sublimity.

65 Had his wonderful loyalty not been there, the rivers of misfortune would have burst forth and the desired goals would have collapsed.

66 Then he would not have acted justly to protect the congregation of Ahmad, through whom the lands and their goals (*al-awtânu wa l-awtâru*) were satisfied.

عن سِيَّات زَمَانِنَا أَعْذَارُ
في كُلِّ جَبَارٍ عَصَاهُ جَبَارٌ
وَالسِيفُ جَامِعُهُنَّ وَالدِينَارُ
دَانَتْ وَكَانَ لِأَمْرِهَا اسْتِمْرَارُ
عَزِّ الْعَدُوِّ وَذَلَّتْ الْأَنْصَارُ
وَغَدَا إِلَيْهِ النَّقْضُ وَالْإِمْرَارُ
يَقْضِي بِهِ الْإِيْرَادُ وَالْإِصْدَارُ
يَؤْمِنَى إِلَيْكَ بِقَصْدِهَا وَيُشَارُ
كَانَتْ مُسَافِرًا إِلَيْكَ وَتَبَعَّدَ السَّأْخَطَارُ
حَتَّى إِذَا نَزَلَتْ عَلَيْكَ وَشَاهَدَتْ
عَنْهَا السَّرُوحُ وَحُطِّتِ الْأَوْكَارُ
وَقَيْوَدُهَا التَّارِيخُ وَالْأَشْعَارُ
وَكَبَّتْ وَرَائِي قُرْحٌ وَمَهَارٌ
إِلَّا إِذَا مَا لَرَّهَا الْمَضْمَارُ
سَبَقَتْ وَلَمْ يُبَلَّ لَهُنَّ عَذَارُ
بِأَقْلَلِ مِنْهَا تُبْسِطِ الْأَعْذَارُ
يُرْضِيَكَ مِنْهَا الْجَهْرُ وَالْإِسْرَارُ

٦٧ النَّاصِرُ الْهَادِيُّ الَّذِي حَسَنَتْهُ
٦٨ مَلِكُ جَنَاحِيَّةٍ سَيِّفِهِ وَسَنَانِهِ
٦٩ جَمِعَتْ لَهُ فِرَقَ الْقُلُوبَ عَلَى الرَّضْيِ
٧٠ وَهُمَا اللَّذَانِ إِذَا أَقَاماً دُولَةً
٧١ وَإِذَا هُمَا افْتَرَقاَ وَلَمْ يَتَنَاصِرَا
٧٢ يَا خَيْرَ مَنْ نُقْضِتْ لَهُ عَقْدُ الْحُبُّ
٧٣ وَمُضْتُ أَوْامِرُهُ الْمَطَاعَةُ حَسْبُ مَا
٧٤ إِنَّ الْكَفَالَةَ وَالْوِزَارَةَ لَمْ يَزِلْ
٧٥ حَتَّى إِذَا نَزَلَتْ عَلَيْكَ وَشَاهَدَتْ
٧٦ أَلْقَتْ عَصَاهَا فِي ذَرَالَكَ وَعَرِيَّتْ
٧٧ لَهُ سِيرَتَكَ الَّتِي أَطْلَقْتَهَا
٧٨ جَلَّتْ فَصْلَى خَاطِرِي فِي مَدْحَهَا
٧٩ وَالْخَيْلُ لَا يُرْضِيَكَ مِنْهَا مَخْبِرٌ
٨٠ وَمَدَائِحِي مَا قَدْ عَلِمْتَ وَطَلَمَا
٨١ إِنْ أَخْرَتْنِي عَنْ جَنَابِكَ مَحْنَةً
٨٢ فَلِدِيَّ مَنْ حُسِنَ الْوَلَاءُ عَقِيَّدَةً

67 He is al-Nâṣir, the Just Leader, whose beautiful qualities are excuses for the bad qualities of our time.

68 A king, —the “retribution” by his sword and his spear is a *jubâr* [a “natural disaster” not to be avenged] on every tyrant (*jabbâr*) who fails to obey him.¹²⁹

69 Through him the various parties of hearts were united in satisfaction: both the Sword and the *Dînâr* were their uniters.

70 When these two maintain a Dynasty, then it subjects itself and it continues its existence.

71 When they separate and fail to support one another, the enemy becomes mighty and the Helpers (*al-ansâr*) are humbled.

72 Oh the best, for whom the fastenings of the waiting clothes were loosened, and to whom Severance and Continuation came!

73 Whose effective orders took place in accordance with the requirements of introduction and execution:

74 The Regency and the Vizierate, the excellence of which will always remain attributable to You through a sign and an instruction;

75 They themselves travelled to You and danger was far away because the fences had not been jumped.

76 Subsequently, the Vizierate and the Regency descended upon You and saw a king who had the fervour to ignite the tinder box of kingship.

77 They threw their travelling staff down under Your protection and the saddles were taken from them.

78 What a wonderful Biography You have, one to which You gave free rein, but it was set down by History and Poetry.

79 That biography was full of majesty and thus my inner self composed a prayer (*ṣalât*) in praise of it, and behind me full-grown horses and their foals bowed down.

80 A message about the horses fails to satisfy You, except when the race course confines them.

81 My odes are exactly as You have already learnt, because they have existed for a long time without there being any reproach.

82 If an ordeal determines that I remain behind, excuses have been proffered for less than that.

83 I have a Creed consisting of beautiful loyalty and the overtess and the covertness of that creed will please You.

¹²⁹ Compare *Lisân al-‘Arab*, “*jubârun ya‘nî saylan. Kullu mâ ahlaka wa-afsada: jubârun. Al-Tahdhîb: wa l-jubâru al-hadaru. yuqâlu: dhahaba damu-hu jubâran. Wa-mâ‘nâ l-ahâdîthi: an tanfalita l-*

bahîmatu l-‘ajmâ‘u fa-tuṣîbu fi infilâti-hâ insânan aw shay'an fa-jurlu-hâ hadarun, wa-kadhâlikâ l-bîru al-‘âdiyyatu yasqûtu fîhâ insânun fa-yahliku fa-damuhu hadarun ...”

APPENDIX C

The poem to rhyme *al-hâni*,¹³⁰

وقال يمدح الصالح ويرثي أهل البيت	١
شأنُ الغرام أجلٌ أن يلحناني	٢
أنا ذلك الصبّ الذي قطعت به	٣
ملئت زجاجة صبره بضميره	٤
غدرتْ بموثقها الدموع فغادرتْ	٥
عنّفتْ أجفاني فقام بعذرها	٦
يا صارفاً نحوبي عنانَ ملامه	٧
اقصرْ عليك فطال ما أشجانِي	٨
كلفي بعزته الذي أجانِي	٩
يقرأ غرامي من صحيفة خَدَه	١٠
متعتبٌ ¹³¹ أهدَى إلَيَّ عتابه	١١
وأتى على حَذَرِ الوشاة وخيفتي	١٢
أيروفُني هيفُ الغصونِ إذا انشَتَ	١٣
لو لم يكن في البانِ من أعطافهِ	١٤
يا صاحبِيَّ وفي مجانية الهوى	١٥
أب بي ما يذودُ عن النَّسيبِ أَقْلَهُ	١٦
قبضَتْ على كفَ الصَّبَابَةِ سَلْوةٌ	١٧
أمسي وقلبي بين صَبَرٍ خاذلٍ	
قد سهَلتْ حَزْنَ الكلامِ لِنَادِبٍ	

¹³⁰ ‘Umâra’s poem on rhyme *al-hâni*, a poem of 51 lines of verse. Manuscript D (Petersburg), folio 181 verso – 183 recto; ms. Rabat p. 223-224 (page numbering). This poem has been partially edited by Derenbourg, *Nukat-Diwan*, p. 362-364 (= vss. 1-5, 14-32). Ms. D introduces the poem as follows: He said in praise of al-Şâliḥ and to the lamentation of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. In ms. Rabat the first 9 verses are missing, due to a lacuna.

¹³¹ Ms. Rabat: مُتَعَبِّبٌ

¹³² Ms. Rabat: وخيفتي عَيْنُ الرَّقِيبِ وصَوْلَةُ الْغَيْرِيَانِ

¹³³ This line (14b) in the poem to rhyme *al-hâni* is only found in ms. Rabat.

APPENDIX C

Poem to rhyme *al-hâni*, see ‘Umâra’s Elegies and the Lamp of Loyalty, footnote 94.

He said in praise of al-Şâlih and in lamentation of the *Ahl al-Bayt* the following:

- 1 The affair of love is too majestic for me to be bashful and ashamed, even if I were tender and sympathetic.
- 2 I am that lover within whom the bond of love has cut short desirable oblivion.
- 3 The lamp glass of his breast has been filled with his conscious thoughts, so that the hidden parts of his affair are clearly visible to the hater.
- 4 The tears betrayed the oath, thus they left my secret behind, a prisoner in the hand of overt proclamation.
- 5 Those tears treated my eyelids harshly, then Sorrow brought an excuse for them, a Sorrow which denounced the hidden reserves of the eyelids (*i. e.*, the tears were denounced).
- 6 Oh thou who turned towards me the reins of your reproach: the pull of my reins has now been averted from desire!
- 7 Let me be brief with You, because for a long time, I have been tormented by a lonely spot, through which my sorrows have been nourished by my thoughts.
- 8 It was my lovesickness for his nobleness which forced me to seek refuge in my submission, because he is a malefactor and criminal.
- 9 His love for me can be read from this sheet of paper (his cheek), through the countenance of contentment and the sombreness of wrath.
- 10 Whenever he disappeared, he bestowed upon me his reproach, like a renewed contact which was enacted in the form of aversion.
- 11 He came, watchful of the gossip-mongers and the aggression of the jealous [*wa-sawlati l-ghayrân* according to ms. D, but *wa-sawlati l-‘arbân* “and the aggression of the Bedouins” according to ms. Rabat].
- 12 Shall the slenderness of the twigs suit me if they bow in lovesickness, displaying a benificent and well-formed posture?
- 13 Were there no similarity in the flanks of the *Bân* tree, then the twigs of the *Bân* tree would no longer be beautiful. [the comparison is turned round here: the *Bân* tree has to resemble the beloved one’s posture of beauty.]
- 14 Oh my two friends! In “the avoidance of love’s passion” lies the directive of the Just Path, but what do you two think of that?
- 14b The least of what is within me is sufficient to keep the *nasîb* far away; and the most insignificant thing levels the path for the obsession of my spirit.
- 15 Oblivion took the hand of Lovesickness in its grasp and it forbade insight to lend an ear to rebellion.
- 16 In the evening I came with my heart between false perseverance, far-reaching toughness and close solicitude.
- 17 The fast moving camels of sorrow (*ahzân*) have made the rough ground of speaking level for anyone who wishes to mourn the clan (*Âl*) of the Envoy.

إِنْ فَاتَ نَصْرٌ مَهْنَدٌ وَسَنَانٌ
تَشْبِيبٌ شَكْوَى الدَّهْرِ وَالْخَذْلَانِ
سَفَهَا وَشَنَتْ غَارَةَ الشَّنَانَ
وَتُقَابِلُ الْبَرَهَانَ بِالْبُهْتَانِ
ظَهَرَ النَّفَاقُ وَغَارِبُ الْعَدْوَانِ
لَمْ يَبْنِهَا لَهُمْ أَبُو سَفِيَانَ
أَخْذُوا بِشَأْرِ الْكُفْرِ فِي الْإِيمَانِ
تَرَكْتُ يَزِيدَ يَزِيدُ فِي النُّقْصَانِ¹³⁵
وَتَشَبَّهَتْ بِهِمْ بَنُو مَرْوَانَ
غَيْثُ الْوَرَى وَمَعْوَنَةُ الْلَّهَفَانِ
وَجَسُومُهُمْ صَرَعَى بِكُلِّ مَكَانِ
بَاعَتْ جَزِيلَ الرِّبْحِ بِالْحُسْرَانِ
بِالنَّصْ فِيهِ شَوَاهِدُ الْقُرْآنِ
بِالصَّالِحِ الْخُتَارِ مِنْ غَسَانِ
كَمْ أُولَى أَرْبَى عَلَيْهِ الثَّانِي
وَزَمَانَهُ فِي سَالِفِ الْأَزْمَانِ
مِنْ فَضْلِهِ عَمَّا تَرَى الْعَيْنَانِ
سَحَبَتْ مَطَارِفَهَا عَلَى سَحْبَانِ
لَوْ انْهُمْ مُدْحُوا بِكُلِّ لِسَانٍ
وَرَعْ يَسِيرُ بِسِيرَتِهِ الْمَلَكَانِ
بَشَرُ¹³⁷ الْوَلِيُّ وَهَيْبَةُ السُّلْطَانِ
حَدُّ¹³⁸ الشَّرِي وَمَعَاقِدُ التِّيجَانِ

فَابْذلْ مَسَايِقَةَ الْلِسَانِ وَنَصْرُهِ
وَاجْعَلْ حَدِيثَ بَنِي الْوَصِيِّ وَظَلْمَهُمْ
غَصَبَتْ أَمْيَةُ إِرْثَ آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ
وَغَدَتْ تُحَالِفُ¹³⁴ فِي الْخِلَافَةِ أَهْلَهَا
لَمْ تَقْنِعْ أَحْلَامُهَا بِرَكْوِبِهَا
وَقَعْدَهُمْ فِي رُتْبَةِ نَبُوَيَّةٍ
حَتَّى أَضَافُوا بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ أَنْهُمْ
فَأَتَى زِيَادُ فِي الْقَبِيْعِ زِيَادَةً
حَرْبُ بُنُوْ حَرْبٍ أَقَامُوا سُوقَهَا
لَهَفِي عَلَى النَّفَرِ الْذِيْنَ أَكْفُهُمْ
أَشْلَأُهُمْ مِزْقُ بِكُلِّ ثَيَّةٍ
مَالَتْ عَلَيْهِمْ بِالْتَّمَالِئِ أُمَّةٍ
دُفِعُوا عَنِ الْحَقِّ الَّذِي شَهَدُتْ لَهُمْ
مَا كَانُ أَوْلَاهُمْ بِهِ لَوْ أَيْدُوا
أَنْسَاهُمُ الْخُتَارَ صِدْقُ وَلَائِهِ
لَيْتَ الْلِيَالِي أَسْلَفْتُهُمْ نَصْرَهُ
كَيْمَا يَرَوَا أَنَّ السَّمَاعَ مُقَصِّرٌ
يُنْشَئُ لَهُمْ فِي كُلِّ وَجْهٍ مَدْحَةً
وَيَوْدُ¹³⁶ مِنْ فَرْطِ الْحَبَّةِ فِيهِمْ
مَلَكُ تُرَاعُ بِهِ الْمُلُوكُ وَعِنْدَهُ
مُتَغَيِّرُ الْأَوْصَافُ فَوْقَ جَبَيْنِهِ
تَعْنُو الْوُجُوهُ إِذَا رَأَتُهُ فَيُلْتَقِي

¹³⁴ Ms. Rabat: وَغَدَتْ تُحَالِفُ¹³⁵ Ms. Rabat: فِي الْطَّعْيَانِ¹³⁶ Ms. Rabat: وَتَوَدُّ¹³⁷ Ms. Rabat: لُّسْكُ¹³⁸ Ms. Rabat: حَدُّ

- 18 When the support of the Indian sword and the spearhead slips away, use the tongue and its support.
- 19 And make the discussion about the sons of the *Waṣīyi* (= ‘Alî) and the injustice which affected them into part of a love song introducing a complaint about Fate and its treachery.
- 20 In foolishness Umayya has usurped the inheritance of the clan (*Āl*) of Mohammed: the attack of the hater has begun.
- 21 The succession has come within the Caliphate of their family: proof (*al-burhân*) has been set against beautifully polished non-sense (*al-buhtân*).
- 22 Their long-suffering characters were not content merely to ride on the back of Hypocrisy and the camel hump of Enmity.
- 23 Nor were they merely content to sit together in a prophetic circle, which Abū Sufyân had never built for them,
- 24 But they even added to all of that by taking revenge on Belief on behalf of Disbelief!
- 25 Thus Ziyâd [ibn Abîhi] came bringing such a great increase (*ziyâda*) in wickedness that this allowed Caliph Yazîd a still further increase in imperfection.
- 26 It was a war in which the market was organised by the Banû Ḥarb (scil., the family of Abû Sufyân). And the Banû Marwân behaved in the same way.
- 27 How sadly I sigh for those people whose hands were no more than Rainfall for humanity and Food for the sorrowful,
- 28 Their entrails are shredded in every mountain pass. Their bodies have been struck down in every place.
- 29 A congregation (*umma*) held its assistance back from them, thereby selling abundant profit in exchange for loss.
- 30 They were shut off from the Truth, in favour of which the special reference in the Koran bore witness.
- 31 How appropriate it would have been for them, if they had been supported by al-Ṣâliḥ the Chosen One from Ghassân. (i.e., Ṭalâ’i^c ibn Ruzzîk al-Malik al-Ṣâliḥ).
- 32 His sincere loyalty ensured that they had forgotten (the earlier) Mukhtâr. How many a winner is overtaken by the one in second place!
- 33 Oh that the nights had given his victory and his time to these people in earlier days,
- 34 So that they could see his excellence; for hearing alone is insufficient.
- 35 For them an ode has been composed on every aspect, an ode which has dragged its silky garments over Saḥbân (who was so renowned for his eloquence).
- 36 Due to an exaggerated love for them, people desire them to be praised in every language.
- 37 A king who startles other kings, however, has a godfearing attitude (*wara’*), which the Two Angels themselves will imitate in their biographies.
- 38 He is changeable in his qualities: on his forehead is the godliness of the Holy man but also the awe which radiates from a Sultan.
- 39 Countenances were subservient when they saw him, whereupon two things met each other: the cheek of the earth and the straps of the crown. [even kings bowed into the dust before al-Ṣâliḥ.]

هَدَفَا لِأَسْهِمِ خَفَّةٍ¹³⁹ وَهُوَانِ
 غَصْبَ النُّفُوسِ إِذَا التَّقَى الْجَمْعَانِ
 قَعْسَاءَ جَلَّتْ¹⁴⁰ خَوْفَهَا بِأَمَانِ
 بَغَرَائِبِ الْمَعْرُوفِ وَالْعَرْفَانِ
 رَوْضَ الْغَنَى وَمَنَابَتِ الْإِحْسَانِ
 فِيهِ وَلَكِنْ لَيْسَ فِي الْإِمْكَانِ
 وَنَقَعَتْ مِنْهَا غُلَّةَ الظَّمَانِ
 وَوَقَفَتْ حِينُ أَرَى الْعُلَى وَيَرَانِي¹⁴²
 عَنْ مُسْتَقْرَرِ الْأَهْلِ وَالْأَوْطَانِ
 قُرْبًا وَمِنْ نَادِي النَّدَى أَدْنَانِي¹⁴³
 وَيَكِلُّ عَنْ أَدْنَاهُ شُكْرُ لِسَانِي
 فَمَتَى أَقْوَمُ بِشَكْرِ مَا أَوْلَانِي

إِنَّ الْوَزَارَةَ لَمْ تَنْزَلْ مِنْ قَبْلِهِ
 حَتَّى أَتِيحَ لَهَا أَغْرُرُ مُتَوَجِّ
 فَإِذَا لَهَا بَعْدَ الْهُوَانِ بَعْزَةٌ
 وَأَبَانَ نُقْصَانَ الْمُلُوكِ كَمَالُهُ
 يَرْعَى سَوَامِ الظَّنِّ بَيْنَ رِجَائِهِ¹⁴¹
 لَوْ أَمْكِنَتْهُ النَّيَّرَاتُ لَأَصْبَحَتْ
 غَيْثٌ يَغْتَنِي مُتَرَعَّاتُ حَيَاضِهِ
 وَرَأَيْتُ لَيْثَ الْغَابِ فِي عَرَينِهِ
 وَلَقَدْ أَلَمَ بِهِ الرَّجَاءُ مُهَاجِرًا
 فَأَنَّالِنِي فَوْقَ الرَّجَاءِ وَزَادَنِي
 كَرَمٌ يَقْلُلُ كَثِيرٌ مَدْحَى عَنْهُ
 مَنْ كَانَ لِي شَرْفٌ بِنَظَمِ مَدِيْحِهِ

¹³⁹ Ms. Rabat: خِفَّة

¹⁴⁰ Ms. Rabat: حَلَّتْ

¹⁴¹ Ms. Rabat: رَجَابَه

¹⁴² Ms. Rabat: وَيَرَانِي

¹⁴³ This line and the two lines following which form the ending of this poem to rhyme *al-hâni*, are not found in ms. Rabat as

there appears to be a lacuna. Ms. Rabat page 225 continues with the text, line 7, of another poem on the rhyme *al-agħâni* dedicated to Taqî al-Dîn, see ed. Derenbourg p.383-384.

40 Before his time, the Vizierate was constantly a target for the arrows of mockery and contempt [or according to ms. Rabat: “... a target for the arrows of fear and contempt”],

41 Until she (the Vizierate) was appointed to be the most radiantly crowned figure, despite the (lost) souls, when two armies came up against each other.

42 And after the slander, they received “esteem with a broad chest” which took away her anxiety (*khawfahâ*) through the granting of a safe asylum (*amân*).

43 Through special aspects of decency and religious knowledge, his perfection has demonstrated clearly the shortcomings of the kings.

44 The Cattle of Conjecture as to whether benefits might be granted grazed among the pastures, in gardens of abundance and nurseries of benevolence.

45 If the “celestial luminaries” [*al-nayyirât*, celestial bodies or planets] had made it possible for him, then they would have ended up in him — but that was not possible.

46 He is the “rain” through which the overfull pools have become rich and from where I quenched the thirst of the thirsty.

47 I saw the Lion of the Forest in his lair, and I remained standing on the spot where I saw Sublimity whilst it could also see me.

48 Hopeful expectation visited him [scil., the poet himself], when he began to leave the homestead of his *ahl* [wives and children].

49 He gave me more than I had hoped for and brought me closer and allowed me to approach the meeting of the charitable dew (*wa-min nâdî l-nadâ adnâ-nî*).

50 A noble deed; in comparison to it, much of my praise is too scant and the gratitude from my tongue is too weak for the least of this largesse.

51 It is he, through whom I am honoured by composing his eulogy in poetry. But when will I stand up in gratitude for that which he has bestowed upon me ?

APPENDIX D

In the ode (rhyme *bi-hamdihi*), we see the poet giving complete recognition to the Rights of the Fâtimid *Imâm*.¹⁴⁴

وَتَنَزَّلَتْ سُورَ الْكِتَابِ بِحَمْدِهِ
هُدِيَتْ بَصِيرَةُ حَائِرٍ عَنْ قَصْدِهِ
عَفْوًا وَلَمْ يَبْلُغْ بِدَائِيَةَ جُهْدِهِ¹⁴⁵
أَحْيَا مَعَالِمَهَا بِوَاضِعِ رُشْدِهِ
فَهُمَا تُرَاثُ عَنْ أَبِيهِ وَجَدِهِ
إِلَّا وَلِيَ خَلِيفَةً فِي عَهْدِهِ¹⁴⁶
فَقَدْ أَنْكُمْ لِقَاضِيَّهِ وَلِبُرْدِهِ
إِلَّا كَمَا بَيْنَ الْحُسَامِ وَغَمَدِهِ
فِي تَاجِهِ وَفَرِيدَةً فِي عَقْدِهِ
خَلَلِ الْإِطَالَةِ وَاحْتَصَرَ فِي عَدِهِ
شَرْفًا وَلَا تَتَعَدَّ نَحْوُ مَعَدِهِ
بِشَلَاثَةِ وَرَثُوا الْهُدَى مِنْ وَلَدِهِ
أَضْحَتْ بَنُو رَزِّيْكَ سَاعِدَ عَضَدِهِ
أَوْفَتْ عَلَى حَلِّ الزَّمَانِ وَعَقْدِهِ
بِأَتَمِّ بَاعِ فِي الْعُلَى وَأَمَدِهِ
مِنْهُمْ وَلَكِنْ¹⁵¹ جَائِرٌ فِي رَفِدِهِ
حَمَلَ الشَّدَائِدَ قَبْلَ وَقْتِ أَشْدِهِ

قال يمدح الإمام العاضد
يا خير من نظم المديح لجده
يا حجّة الله التي بضيائها
أنت الذي بلغ النهاية في العلى
ورث الهداة الراشدين إماماً
إن يفتخر بنبوة ووصية
إذا تنزل دون ذلك لم يجد
ما ضرك والمصطفى لكم أب
ما بين آلات النبي وآلته¹⁴⁷
شرف غدوت أبا محمد ذرورة¹⁴⁸
مجده يقول إذا عدت نجومه
واذكر أبا الميمون يعتل ذكره¹⁴⁹
الحافظ المحفوظ عند مغيبه
من ظافر أو فائز أو عاضد
قوم أحللهم الزمان¹⁵⁰ مراتباً
الباسطون ثوابهم وعقابهم
ورث الكفالة عادل في حكمه
نيط حمائلها بعاتق أروع

¹⁴⁴ 'Umâra's poem on rhyme *bi-hamdihi*, a poem of 39 lines of verse. Manuscript D (Petersburg), folio 44 verso - 45 verso; ms. Rabat p. 85-87. This poem has been partially edited by Derenbourg, *Nukat-Diwan*, p. 201-202 (=vss. 1, 11-13). The introduction reads, "He says in praise of the *Imâm al-'Aqîd* the following: ..."

¹⁴⁵ Ms. Rabat: يُبَلُّغُ بِدَائِيَةَ جُهْدِهِ

¹⁴⁶ Ms. Rabat:

¹⁴⁷ Ms. Rabat:

¹⁴⁸ Ms. Rabat:

¹⁴⁹ Ms. Rabat:

¹⁵⁰ Ms. Rabat:

¹⁵¹ Ms. Rabat:

لم يجد لولا ولِي خليفة في عهده
ما بين أكاف النبي وآلته
شرف غدوت أبا محمد ذرورة
واذكر أبا الميمون تعدد ذكره
قوم أحللهم للزمان مراتباً
ورث الكفالة عادل في حكمه منهم ولكن

APPENDIX D

Poem to rhyme *bi-hamdihi*, see ‘Umâra’s Elegies and the Lamp of Loyalty, footnote 95.

Ms. D: He said in praise of the *Imâm* al-‘Âdîd the following:

Ms. Rabat: He said in honour of al-‘Âdîd the following:

- 1 Oh Thou, the best, in honour of whose fame the *madîh* is composed, and in whose praise the *Sûra* s of the Book have descended.
- 2 Oh Argument of Allâh, through whose light the insight of those who are confused and directionless is once again set straight.
- 3 Thou art the one who spontaneously achieved the height of sublimity, without even having to exert the minimum of effort.
- 4 From the Leaders of the rightful way (*al-hudâta al-râshidîna*) he inherited an Imamate whose characteristics he brought back to life through his clear and just leadership.
- 5 If he is proud of a Prophethood and a *Waṣîyah*, then it is rightful that they are both an inheritance from his father and forefathers.
- 6 Should anyone descend from without, then nothing would be found apart from the successor to the throne of the Caliph.
- 7 When al-Muṣṭafâ becomes a father to You, then it does not harm You that your followers miss his sceptre and his mantle.
- 8 What is between the paraphernalia (*al-âlâti*) of the Prophet and his family (*âlihi*), is nothing other than that which is between the sword and the sheath. [according to ms. Rabat: “What is between the Prophet’s pack-saddle and his family, is nothing other than ...”]
- 9 An honour, in whose crown You, Oh Abû Muḥammad,¹⁵² have become a pinnacle, a unique pearl in a string of pearls.
- 10 “Glory”,—When You count its stars, it says: “Forget the explanation and limit Yourself to the counting alone.
- 11 Record only Abu l-Maymûn, then his reputation will increase in honour; and do not refer to his Ma‘add.”
- 12 Al-Ḥâfiẓ who in spite of his disappearance is preserved by three of his descendants, all of whom have inherited just leadership.
- 13 Three, namely Zâfir, or Fâ’iz, or ‘Âdîd in the support of whom the Banû Ruzzîk became a strong arm.
- 14 A group of people, whom Time has placed in high ranks to watch the loosening and the fastening of Time,
- 15 Ones who extend their reward and punishment with the longest and most perfect arm of sublimity.
- 16 One Just (*‘Âdîl*) in his government, but Unjust toward his benefactions, inherited the Regency,
- 17 Whose straps were hung on the shoulders of a Radiant One (*Arwa’*) who, even before the time of his maturity, bore great disasters.

¹⁵² “Abû Muḥammad” was the *kunyâ* of the *Imâm* ‘Abdallâh al-‘Âdîd.

18 وَتَيَقَّنَتْ رُتْبُ الْوِزَارَةِ أَنَّهَا
 19 لَقَدْ¹⁵⁴ أَعْضَرَ الدَّسْتَرَ بَعْدَ كَفِيلِهِ
 20 مَلِكٌ يَرِدُ الْأَلْفَ إِلَّا أَنَّهُ
 21 جَزَلَانُ يُعْتَصِرُ النَّدَى مِنْ كَفَهِ
 22 يُرِضِي رِمَاحَ الْخَطْبِ بِسْطَةُ باعِهِ
 23 وَتَظَنُّ لَامِعَةَ الْبَوَارِقِ فِي الدُّجَى
 24 لَا تَغْتَرِرُ بِبَشَاشَةِ مِنْ بِشَرِهِ
 25 طَالَتْ بِهِ هَمَمُ الْعُلَى وَتَقَاسَرَتْ
 26 مَطَلَّتْ عَوَاطِفُ حَلْمِهِ بِوَعِيَهِ
 27 مَلِكَ الْجَوَانِحَ¹⁵⁷ فَاللَّسَانُ بِحَمْدِهِ
 28 وَقَفَتْ مَدَائِحُنَا عَلَيْهِ لَأَنَّهُ
 29 يَا عَاصِدًا دِينَ إِلَهٍ وَقَائِمًا
 30 تَهْنِيَكَ فِي الْعَصْرِ¹⁵⁹ الشَّرِيفِ سَلَامَةُ
 31 وَلَعَتْ بِهِ نَارُ الْخَلِيلِ وَأَطْفَئَتْ
 32 اللَّهُ صَانَ عَلَيْكَ مَهْبِطَ¹⁶⁰ وَحِيهِ
 33 شَبَهَتْ قَصْرَكَ وَالْخَلَائِقُ حَوْلَهُ
 34 بِالْبَيْتِ وَالرُّكْنِ الْحَلَقُ¹⁶² رُكْنَهُ
 35 وَلَوْ أَنِّي وَجَهْتُ شِعْرِي نَحْوَكُمْ
 36 شِعْرُ لَوْ أَنَّ الْبَحْرَ عَبَّ عَبَابُهُ

كَانَتْ مُمَهَّدَةً لَهُ مِنْ مَهْدَهِ¹⁵³
 أُنْسًا كَفَى الْأَيَّامَ وَحْشَةَ فَقَدَهِ
 لَا يَلْتَقِي الرَّاجِي بِنَبَوَةِ رَدَّهِ
 كَرَمًا وَيَقْتَدِحُ الرَّدَى مِنْ زَنْدَهِ
 وَمَضَارِبُ الْهَنْدِي¹⁵⁵ قُوَّةُ زَنْدَهِ
 بِيَضَا تَجْرِدُهَا فَوَارِسُ جُرْدِهِ
 فَالسَّيْفُ يَلْمَعُ وَالرَّدَى فِي حَدَّهِ
 هَمَمُ الْلَّيَالِي أَنْ تَجْيِيَ بَضِّدَهِ¹⁵⁶
 عَفْوًا وَقَارَنْتُ النَّجَازَ بِوَعْدِهِ
 مُسْتَخْدِمٌ وَكَذَا الْفَوَادُ لَوْدَهُ¹⁵⁸
 مَا عَنْدَهَا إِلَّا الَّذِي مِنْ عَنْدِهِ
 لَوْلَاهُ مَا عَرَفْتُ إِقَامَةَ حَدَّهِ
 عَفَّتْ عَلَى خَطَأِ الْحَرِيقِ وَعَمَدَهِ
 بِسَرِيرَةِ ذُخْرَتْ لَكُمْ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ
 وَمَقَرَّ رَحْمَتِهِ وَجَنَّةَ خَلْدَهِ
 تَعْنُو عَلَى حَرَّ الْجَبَنِ وَخَدَهِ¹⁶¹
 وَالْوَافَدِينَ إِلَى نَدَاكَ بِوَفْدِهِ
 لَكَفِيْتُكُمْ حَرَّ الْحَرِيقِ بِبَرَدِهِ
 وَطَمَّتْ عَلَى الدُّنْيَا غَوَارِبُ مَدَهِ¹⁶¹

153 Ms. Rabat: في مَهْدَهِ
 154 Ms. Rabat: ولَقَدْ
 155 Ms. Rabat: الْهَنْدِ
 156 Ms. Rabat: بِنَدَهِ
 157 Ms. Rabat: الْجَوَانِحُ

158 Ms. Rabat: بَوْدَهُ
 159 Ms. Rabat: فِي الْقَصْرِ
 160 Ms. Rabat: مَهْبِطٌ
 161 Ms. Rabat: تَعْنُو عَلَى حَرَّ الْجَبَنِ وَوَجَدَهِ
 162 Ms. Rabat: وَالرُّكْنُ الْمُحْلَقُ

18 And the ranks of the Vizierate knew with absolute certainty that it was destined for him from his cradle (*kânat mumahhadatan fî mahdihi*).

19 After (the death of) its Regent, he (the successor) returned happiness to the Throne as sufficient compensation, sufficient for the days to bear the sorrow of their loss.

20 He is a king, who withstands thousands, but anyone who hopes never encounters the haughtiness of his withstanding.

21 A generous giver from whose hand the dew is pressed like generosity and through whose tinder ruin burns (*al-radâ min zandihi*).

22 The outstretching of his arm makes the spears of al-Khattâ content, and the strength of his wrist (*quwwatu zandihi*) satisfies the sharp edge of the Indian sword.

23 And you surmise that the swords which the riders of the short-haired horses draw are flashes of lightening in the darkness.

24 Do not be deceived by the friendliness of his happy countenance, because the sword flashes whilst destruction lies in its sharpness.

25 The ambitions of Sublimity enable him to reach far, whilst the ambitions of the nights do not succeed in attaining a level of equal height.

26 His sympathetic long-suffering postponed, of its own accord, his threat but his promises are always honoured.

27 He took possession of the body, hence the tongue was made subservient to his eulogy, and similarly the heart to the love of him.

28 Our odes were a property in mortmain (a *waqf*) for him, because in them there was nothing other than that which was derived from him (namely gifts).

29 Oh ‘Âdîd (Oh Supporter) of the religion of the Deity and Oh Provider! Had he never been, then the establishment of his Koranic law would never have been known.

30 May You in the noble Palace be congratulated on a preservation which may wipe away the sin and wilfulness of the Fire !

31 The Fire of Abraham (*al-Khalîl*) was in love with him, but it was blown out by a secret of Yours, which after Abraham has remained preserved.

32 May Allâh, who sent down His revelation and the source of His compassion and the garden of His eternity, protect You !

33 While the people roundabout submit themselves to the noble forehead and its cheeks (i.e., yours), I compare your Palace

34 To the House (scil., the Ka‘ba), where the smooth corner (of that cheek) is Its [smoothly worn-off] Cornerstone ; and those who come for your blessing I compare to Its arriving Pilgrims.¹⁶³

35 Supposing I had sent my poetry to You then, with its cooling (*bard*), I would have protected You against the heat of the fire.

36 A poem: suppose that the sea were to undulate savagely and the heights of its tide were to flood the *Dunyâ*,

¹⁶³ In line 34 of this poem to rhyme *bi-hamdihi*, there is the suggestion of a style figure of paronomasia (*tajnîs*), at least it is implied: *al-wâfidîna ilâ nadâka*, “those who came for Your

blessing, “and *al-wâfidîn ilâ nadâika*, “those who came to visit as pilgrims answering Your call.”

ما سدٌ في الإطفاء بعضَ مسدَّه
ورفعُتْ بالجاه خاملَ مجده
وستَرْتُمْ كَرَمًا معاِيبَ فَقدِهِ¹⁶⁴

٢٧ وأعانَهُ فَصْلُ الشتاء بِشَلْجهِ
٢٨ أَغْلَيْتُمْ بِالجُودِ قِيمَةَ سَعْرَهِ
٢٩ وسَدَّدْتُمْ بِالنَّقْدِ خَلَّةَ فَقْرَهِ

APPENDIX E

The greatness of the *Imâm* can, however, also be depicted in another way, so as we ascertain in the poem to rhyme *aktharu*.¹⁶⁵

مَا نَقُولُ وَأَنْ فَضْلَكَ أَكْثَرُ¹⁶⁶
أُمْرَ الْمُقْلُ بِفَعْلِهَا وَالْمُكْثُرُ
أَضْحَتْ خَطَايَاهُمْ بِمَدْحُوكَ تُغْفَرُ
أَنْ يَحْمُدوهُ مَدْيَ الزَّمَانِ وَيَشْكُرُوا
فِي مَدْحُوكَ السَّبَعُ الْمَثَانِي تَنْشَرُ
فِي الْأَصْلِ مِنْ مَاءِ الْغَمَامَةِ أَطْهَرُ
وَغَدَتْ يَنَابِيعُ النَّدَى تَتَفَجَّرُ
بِالْغُرُّ مِنْ نَسْلِ الْأَئُمَّةِ تُنْتَرُ¹⁶⁸
حَتَّى تَحَدَّرَ مِنْهُ جَدُوكَ حَيْدَرُ
وَجْهُ الزَّمَانِ بِوَجْهِهِ مُسْتَبْشِرُ
فَمُسْبِحٌ وَمَهَلَّلٌ وَمَكْبِرٌ
مِنْ طَبِيهِ مِسْكٌ يُذَابُ وَعَنِيرٌ
إِلَّا جَبِينٌ فِي التُّرَابِ مُغَفَرٌ

قال يَدْحِ الْإِمَامَ الْعَاصِدَ
قال أَيْضًا يَدْحِ الْعَاصِدَ وَيَهْنَئُهُ
الشِّعْرُ يَعْلَمُ أَنْ قَدْرَكَ أَكْبَرُ¹
لَكِنْ مَدْحَوكَ خَدْمَةً مَفْرُوضَةً²
وَمَتَى يَقُومُ بِعَصْبِ حَقِّكَ مَعْشَرُ³
شَرُفُوا بِخَدْمَةِ ذَا الْمَقَامِ فَجَهَدُهُمْ⁴
نَظَمْتَ خَوَاطِرُهُمْ مَدِيْحَ خَلِيفَةً⁵
الْعَاصِدُ الطَّهَرُ الَّذِي أَعْرَاقَهُ⁶
مِنْ هَاشِمٍ حَيْثُ التَّقَتْ شَعْبُ الْعَلَى⁷
مِنْ دَوْحَةِ نَبَوَيَّةِ أَغْصَانُهَا⁸
لَمْ يَقْسِعُ وَبَلْ الْهَدَى مِنْ فَوْقُهَا⁹
إِنَّ الرَّعَايَا اسْتَبْشَرَتْ بِخَلِيفَةً¹⁰
نَظَرُوا إِلَيْكَ وَأَكْبَرُوكَ مَهَابَةً¹¹
وَتَسَابَقُوا لَشَمِ التَّرَابِ كَائِنَهُ¹²
عَنَتِ الْوَجْهُ وَمَا طَلَعَتْ فَمَا يُرَى¹³

¹⁶⁴ Ms. Rabat: معايبٌ نَقْدُهُ

¹⁶⁵ 'Umâra's poem on rhyme *aktharu*, a poem of 47 lines of verse. Manuscript D (Petersburg), folio 63 verso - 65 recto; ms. Rabat p. 97-100. This poem has been partially edited by Derenbourg, *Nukat-Diwan*, p. 222-225 (= vss. 1-2, 17-47).

¹⁶⁶ Ms. Rabat: The first line of poem to rhyme *aktharu* reads differently:

فَالْحُقُّ يَعْلَمُ أَنْ فَضْلَكَ أَكْبَرُ مَا نَقُولُ وَأَنْ قَدْرَكَ أَكْبَرُ

¹⁶⁷ Ms. Rabat: وَمَتَى يَقُومُ بِحَقِّ مَدْحَوكَ مَعْشَرُ

تُشَبِّرُ

37 And the season of winter were to help it with its snow, then despite its raging, the sea would not have achieved even a part of the effect of the poetry.

38 You have raised the value of his reward through generosity and You have, through pride, raised his glory which had become obscure.

39 And with coins You have filled the breach of his poverty and, with magnanimity, You have covered the shame of his deficiency. [or on the basis of ms. Rabat: "... and with magnanimity You have wiped out the deficiencies of his evil coins."]

APPENDIX E

Poem to rhyme *aktharu*, see ‘Umâra’s Elegies and the Lamp of Loyalty, footnote 100.

He said in honour of the *Imâm* al-‘Âdîd the following:

1 The poetry knows that Your dimensions are larger than anything we say, and that Your excellency is greater.

2 But praising You is a compulsory duty, an act to which both those who compose a small amount of poetry and those who compose a lot are commanded.

3 When a multitude achieves the deeper truth of praise for You, then through the praise of You their sins are forgiven.

4 They are honourable through their duty towards this rank (*dhâ l-maqâm*), because their utmost efforts consist of them praising and thanking him for as long as there is time.

5 Their conceptions have poetically composed the praise of a Caliph, one in whose praise the Seven *Mathâni* were proclaimed.

6 Al-‘Âdîd is the Pure One, the origins of whose veins are purer than cloud water.

7 He is from Hâshim, where the branches of Sublimity met each other, and where the sources of benevolent dew began to spout,

8 From a Prophetic Palm Tree, whose boughs will bear fruit due to the radiant ones belonging to the *Imâm* s’ genealogical line.

9 The rain shower of Just Leadership has not disappeared, it remains above, until Your forefather Haydar [scil., ‘Alî] pours out from it.

10 The subjects rejoice in a Caliph, in whose face the face of Time itself can rejoice.

11 They look at You and declared You great out of respect. One said: “Praised be Allâh”, another said: “No God but Allâh”, a third said: “*Allâhu akbar!*”

12 They tried, in relation to one another, to be the first to kiss the dust, as though its fragrant smell had turned it into melted musk and amber.

13 The faces were submissive and nothing was visible to the eye apart from a forehead which had become dusty in the dusty earth.

أَمْسَتْ ذُرَا الْهَرَمِينِ عَنْهَا تَقْصُرُ
بِالْخُلْدِ أُجْرِيَ فِي ذِرَآهَا الْكَوْثَرُ
فَكَانَهَا الْفَلَكُ الْمُحِيطُ مُصَوَّرُ
أَضْحَتْ تَوْرَخُ بِاسْمِكُمْ وَتُسْطَرُ
لَمْ يَنْصُرِمْ وَمَقْدَمْ وَمَؤْخَرُ
مِنْ بَيْنِهَا يَوْمٌ أَغْرِيَ مُشَهَّرُ
شَهْبُ الْأَسْنَةِ فِي دُجَاهَا تَزَهَّرُ
سَرُّ بِإِثْنَاءِ الْجَوَارِ ¹⁷² مُضْمَرُ
خَجْلٌ يَقْدُمْ رَجْلَهُ وَيَؤْخُرُ
مِنْ ذَنْبِهِ الْمَاضِي وَمِثْلُكَ يَعْذِرُ
مَا كَانَ مَذْرُورًا ¹⁷³ عَلَيْهِ الْعَثِيرُ
مَا لَاحَ قَطُّ عَلَيْهِ وَجْهٌ أَغْبَرُ
صَرْفًا لَكَدْرَهُ الْعَجَاجُ الْأَكْدَرُ
عَزَّ الْغَنِيُّ بِهَا وَأَثْرَى الْمُعْسَرُ
أَوْ كَانَ مِنْ مَطْرِ فَوْبِلُكَ أَغْزَرُ
كَيْدُ أَنَامِلُهَا الْكَرِيمَةُ أَبْحَرُ
فِينَا وَنَائِلُهُ يَغِيبُ وَيَحْضُرُ
مِنْ نِعْمَةٍ ¹⁷⁵ اللَّهُ الَّتِي لَا تُكَفِّرُ
أَضْحَى بِهَا كَسْرُ الْبَرِّيَّةِ يُجْبِرُ
تَمْضِي لِيَالِيهِ وَأَنْتَ مُعَمَّرُ

١٤ حتى حللت رواق عالية الذرا ¹⁶⁹
١٥ شبهتها والليل ¹⁷⁰ يجري تحتها
١٦ وإذا اختصرت القول في تشبيهها
١٧ شرفت أمير المؤمنين مواسم ¹⁷¹
١٨ قسمت كما قسم الزمان فحاضر
١٩ وأجلها يوم الخليج فإنه
٢٠ يوم خلعت عليه ليل عجاجة
٢١ يوم كان الجيش تحت قتامه
٢٢ وافاك فيه النيل وهو من الحيا
٢٣ قد جاء معتدرا إليك وتأببا
٢٤ لو لا تعشره بآذیال الشري
٢٥ لو لم تغبر بالندي في وجهه
٢٦ ولو انه لاقى ركابك أبيضا ¹⁷⁴
٢٧ ولقد عدمناه فثبت نيابة
٢٨ إن كان من نهر فكفك لجة
٢٩ شتنان بينكمما أبحر واحد
٣٠ في كل وقت فيض جودك حاضر
٣١ وعلى الحقيقة لا المجاز فإنه
٣٢ كسر الخليج عباره ¹⁷⁶ عن منه
٣٣ فتمل موسمه وعمرا خالدا

¹⁶⁹ Ms. Rabat:

ثراب عالية الذرا

¹⁷⁰ Ms. Rabat:

والماء

¹⁷¹ Ms. Rabat:

محابس

¹⁷² Ms. Rabat:

الجوانح

¹⁷³ Ms. Rabat:

مزورا

¹⁷⁴ Ms. Rabat:

صافيا

¹⁷⁵ Ms. Rabat:

أغنم

¹⁷⁶ Ms. Rabat:

كسر الخليج عمارة

14 Until You alighted in a *riwâq*, an archway (according to ms. D; in “a tomb” according to ms. R) with high ceilings, compared to which the tops of both pyramids fell short.

15 I compared them (the ceilings) and the water, which flowed under them, to an eternal garden under whose protection the Kawthar starts to flow.

16 And if I summarise the words when I compare it, then it is as though the surrounding heavenly sphere is being portrayed.

17 Oh Lord of the Believers: the *mâhâbis* were full of honour being stamped and dated in Your name. [*mâhâbis* according to ms. Rabat, plural of *muâbas* and of *mâhbûs*: mortmain, *i. e.*, the *waqf* “properties” for example war horses; according to ms. D, the *mawâsim*: “festive parades” were full of honour ...]

18 Just as the time is divided, the gatherings which were not interrupted were divided up, both earlier and later.

19 The most distinguished of the feasts is the Day of the *Khalîj*, because this is, amongst them, a radiant and revealing day.

20 A day over which You threw the mantle of a nightly sea, within the darkness of which the meteors of the spears shone.

21 A day, as though the army was a secret under its dust, hidden within its smothering clouds.

22 To You came the Nile, which through fearfulness is shy, now and then it puts one foot forward, only to draw it back again.

23 The Nile came to You with its excuses, full of sorrow for its earlier sins, and one like You forgives !

24 If it (the Nile) had not stumbled over the edges of the world, then no dust would have been scattered over it.

25 If You had not scattered (*tughabbir*) dew / good deeds in its face like sand, then a greyish colour would never have appeared on it.

26 If it had met Your stirrup with a pure bright colour, then Your very troubled cloud of dust (from the war) would have troubled it.

27 We had missed it, but You came in its place, with replacements: the rich became considerable, and the needy became rich.

28 If it is made from a river, then Your hand is a cruel sea. If it is made from rain, then Your downpours are more abundant.

29 What a difference there is between you two ! Is one river the same as a hand, of which the noble fingers alone are more rivers ?

30 At every moment there is an abundance of your goodness present amongst us, but its (the Nile’s) gift is sometimes absent and then once again present.”

31 Thus in reality, not metaphorically, because he is a part of a benefaction from Allâh for which everyone must be grateful.

32 The “Breaking of the *Khalîj*” must be considered as a benefaction, through which the breach in humankind can be healed. [Or on the basis of ms. Rabat: the *Khalîj* broke its headdress: –a benefaction, through which the breach in humankind can be healed.]

33 Thus long enjoy its (the *Khalîj*–) feast and an eternal life, during which the nights will pass by whilst You become old.

عزّت بها ^{١٧٧} فهو ال�باءُ الأَكْبَرُ
 تَهْدِي إِذَا ضَلَّ السَّمِيعُ الْبَصَرُ
^{١٧٨} فالصَّالِحُ الْهَادِي عَلَيْهَا يَجْعُرُ
 فَهُوَ الشِّعَارُ لِأَهْلِهَا وَالْمُشَعَّرُ
 فَطَلَائِعٌ مِّنْهَا الصَّبَاحُ الْمَسْفُرُ
 بَدَأَ اللِّسَانُ بِهِ ^{١٧٩} وَثَنَى الْخَنْصَرُ
 وَعَلَىٰ يَرْوَقُ الْعَيْنَ مِنْهَا مَنْظُرُ
^{١٨٠} يُطْوَى بِهَا نَشَرُ الشَّنَاءِ وَيُنَشَّرُ
 وَوَسِيلَةٌ لَهُمْ تُصَانُ وَتُذَخَّرُ
 أَضْحَتْ عَظِيمَةٌ كُلُّ خَطْبٍ تَصْغِرُ
 دُونَ الْبَرِّيَّةِ لِلْكَوَاكِبِ مَعْشَرُ
 أَنَّ الزَّمَانَ بِهِمْ يَتَبَيَّهُ وَيَفْخَرُ
^{١٨٢} كَسْرَى وَقَصْرَى عَنْ نَدَاهَا قَيْصَرُ
^{١٨٣} عَضْدُ يَذَلُّ بِهِ الْعَدُوُّ وَيُقْهَرُ

٢٤ وَتَهَنَّ أَيَّامَ الْكَفِيلِ وَدُولَةٌ
 ٢٥ هَادِي الدُّعَاءِ كَفِيلٌ دُولَتُكَ الَّتِي
 ٢٦ إِنْ كُنْتَ فِي وَجْهِ الْخِلَافَةِ مُقْلَدَةٌ
 ٢٧ أَوْ كُنْتَ فِي حَرَمِ الْإِمَامَةِ قَبْلَهُ
 ٢٨ أَوْ كُنْتَ لِلْإِسْلَامِ شَمْسَهُ هَدَايَةٌ
 ٢٩ مَلْكٌ إِذَا عُدَّ الْمُلُوكُ وَفَضْلُهَا
 ٤٠ شَيْمٌ يَرْوَقُ الْأَذْنَانِ مِنْهَا مَسْنَعٌ
 ٤١ أَحْيَا بِعُحْيِي الدِّينِ سِيرَتَهُ الَّتِي
 ٤٢ ذَخَرُ الْأَئَمَّةِ مِنْ خَلَافَتِ هَاشِمٍ
 ٤٣ النَّاصِرُ الْمُحْيِيُّ الَّذِي بَغَانَاهُ
 ٤٤ شَرُفَتْ بَنُو رُزَيْكَ حَتَّىٰ أَنَّهُمْ
 ٤٥ وَتَوَاضَعُوا وَالدَّهَرُ يَعْلَمُ وَالْعَلَىٰ
 ٤٦ الشَّائِدُونَ عَلَىٰ كَبَا مِنْ دُونَهَا
 ٤٧ فَلَيَسْلَمُوا لِلْعَاصِدِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ

^{١٧٧} Ms. Rabat:

بِهِ

^{١٧٨} Ms. Rabat:

يَجْعُرُ

^{١٧٩} Ms. Rabat:

بِهَا

^{١٨٠} Ms. Rabat:

وَيُنَشَّرُ

^{١٨١} Ms. Rabat:

مِنْ خَلَافَةِ هَاشِمٍ

^{١٨٢} Ms. Rabat: وَقَصَرٌ عَنْ مَدَاهَا قَيْصَرٌ

^{١٨٣} In ms. Rabat, the last line of poem to rhyme *aktharu* reads differently:

فَأَسْلَمُوا لِلْعَاصِدِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ عَضْدُ يَذَلُّ بِهِ الْعَدُوُّ وَيُقْهَرُ

34 And be happy with the “Days of the Regent (*al-kafil*)” and a *Dawla* which through them has become distinguished, because that is the greatest happiness.

35 The Leader of the Propagandists is the one responsible for Your *Dawla*, one who leads justly when those of sharp hearing and clear sight stray.

36 If You (Oh al-‘Âdîd) are an “eye” in the face of the phenomenon “Caliphate” then the Vizier al-Şâlih is the “eye socket” (which protects the eye).

37 If You are a *qibla*, the direction of the ritual prayer, within the holy area of the “Imamate”, then the Vizier is the enthusiastic pilgrims’ prayer of “*Labbay-ka*”, which men in that area can hear being called out.

38 Or if You are a Sun and Just Leader for Islam, then Țalâ’i‘ is its shining morning.

39 A king, when kings and its excellency are enumerated, then the tongue begins with him and later the little finger does the same again:

40 Character traits which are suitable for the ear to hear, and Sublimity a suitable spectacle for the eye.

41 Through the Reviver of Life he had his Sîra revived, through which the diffusion of praise was both folded up and opened.

42 The Treasure Trove of the *Imâm*s of the caliphs of Hâshim, and a continuous bond for them who were protected and preserved:

43 Al-Nâṣir the Reviver, through whose effective qualities the enormity of every disaster is made small.

44 The Banū Ruzzîk were honourable until they, risen above humankind, became a multitude of Stars.

45 They were humble and the *Dahr* and Sublimity are fully aware that the Time was haughty and proud of them,

46 They who built a Sublimity under which Kisrâ pined away and for which Qaysâr was too small.

47 Let them be free of shortcomings for al-‘Âdîd ibn Muḥammad, a Buttress through which the enemy is humbled and overpowered! [On the basis of ms. Rabat: “Thereupon they gave al-‘Âdîd ibn Muḥammad a Buttress through which the enemy is humbled and overpowered.”]

APPENDIX F

(funeral elegy dedicated to Wafâ, grandmother of the *Imâm al-‘Âdîd*)Poem to rhyme *bi-dimâ’ihâ*, see ‘Umâra’s Elegies and the Lamp of Loyalty, footnote 42.

‘Umâra’s commemorative elegy dedicated to al-‘Âdîd’s grandmother, written one year after the event of her death [she was probably one of *Imâm al-Fâ’iz*’s aunts], to rhyme *bi-dimâ’ihâ*, see *Nukat-Diwan*, p. 155-157 (verses 1, 6-8, 28-40), and ms. D folio 1 verso – 2 verso,¹⁸⁴ and ms. Rabat p. 34-36:

وقال (أيضا) يرثي جد العاضد في تمام سنتها	١ لو كان ينفع أن تجود بمنها
عين لجادت أعين بدمائها	٢ لكن خطب الموت أصبح علة
قصرت خطى الآمال دون شفائها	٣ ترجو مساملة الزمان ولم يزل
كدر الليالي مولعا بصفائها	٤ مزجت لنا كأس الحياة بعدرها
وتعلقت آمالنا بوفائها	٥ مثل الأفاعي سمعها وذوقها
لا يستبين دواوها من دائها	٦ أواما ترى الدنيا استمر خلافها
في عهدها حتى على خلفائها	٧ طرقت جناب العاضد بن محمد
بغفانه من يرجى الغنى بفناها	٨ مؤيد تلقى النوايب نفسه
في كل نائبة بحسن عزائها	٩ ورث النبي سريره ما في الورا
لولاه من ينبعنك عن أبنائها	١٠ فإذا المهنئ والمعزى أحسنا
فيكم فقد هديا بنور ضيائها	١١ ولقد يعز علي ذكر فقيدة
عوضتها عن مدحها برشائها	١٢ لم أرثها بالشعر إلا بعدها
أضحت لسان الدهر من شعرائها	١٣ غدرت به الأيام وهي عبيدها
وكذا الليالي وهي بعض إمائها	١٤ يا دهر ما لك لم تمن بعثتها
أولم تكن يا دهر من عتقائها	١٥ فلتندمن إذا افتقرت ولم تجد
في الرأي من يعني كفضل غنائها	١٦ أفالا حفظت لها أجل فضيلة
أن الإمام يُعد من أبنائها	١٧ ما ضر من عقد اللواء بأمرها
أن لا تقود الجيش تحت لوائها	

¹⁸⁴ In ms. D, lines 3-10 and 22-29 of poem to rhyme *dimâ’ihâ* are almost unreadable due to stains on the pages of the manuscript.

¹⁸⁵ In ms. Rabat the second halfverse reads differently:
في كل نازلة بحسن عزائها

APPENDIX F

Text and Translation of poem *bi-dimâ’ihâ*, a funeral elegy dedicated to al-‘Âdîd’s grandmother, who was known by the name Wafâ,

On the first anniversary of the death of al-‘Âdîd’s grandmother, he said the following words to mourn the loss of her:

- 1 If it were useful for an eye to give its water, then many eyes would already have given their blood.
- 2 But the disaster of death has become a sickness (*illa*), one for which the steps of hope are too short, hence there is no cure.
- 3 You hoped to be able to make peace with Time. However, the murkiness of the nights has been smitten by the purity of the nights.
- 4 For us, they (the nights) have mixed the cup of life with the treachery of life, and our hope goes hand in hand with its (life’s) fidelity (*bi-wafâ’ihâ*).
- 5 Their poison and their Fast Death are just like vipers, and their remedies cannot be distinguished from their sicknesses.
- 6 Do you not see how the differences of opinion of the World continue for all time, in its own time even with regard to the Caliphs?
- 7 It knocked on the door of His excellency al-‘Âdîd, Mohammed’s offspring, with Ruin (*fanâ’*) for her, in whose forecourt [*bi-fanâ’ihâ*] people’s hopes for wealth were placed.
- 8 He is a person who has been granted authority, one whose soul met disasters, every disaster, with precious comfort.
- 9 The Prophet inherited the Mystery from amongst the people. Had he never been, who would have been able to pass on its secrets?
- 10 Thus when the one who is congratulating and the one who is comforting both do something good in Your eyes, then they are both justly guided by its radiance (scil., that of the Mystery).
- 11 It is difficult for me to remember a lamented one, for whom I have replaced a eulogy of her by mourning for her.
- 12 I did not mourn her in poetry until the tongue of the Dahr had become one of her poets.
- 13 The days have betrayed her, although they were her male slaves. So did the nights, despite being her female slaves.
- 14 Oh *Dahr*! What is wrong with you, why did you not benevolently grant her freedom? Were you not, Oh *Dahr*, one of her freed slaves?
- 15 You will certainly feel remorse when she has disappeared as you will be unable to encounter anyone who, regarding an opinion, provides as much as the wealth of her excellency ever provided.
- 16 Have you not retained the greatest benefaction from her, namely that the *Imâm* is considered to be one of her sons?
- 17 For one on whose orders the flag is tied up, there is no damage if she herself does not lead the army under her flag.

هَزَّوا قَنَا الْرَّاِيَاتِ عَنْ آرَائِهَا
تَهَمَّ هُمُومَ النَّفْسِ عَنْ بُرَحَائِهَا
مَا فِي رَقَابِ النَّاسِ مِنْ نَعْمَائِهَا
نُسِيَّتْ مَعْانِي الْفَضْلِ مِنْ أَسْمَائِهَا
مَا عَنْدَهَا مِنْ فَضْلِهَا وَحَبَائِهَا
نُورَيْ سَنَا إِحْسَانَهَا وَسَنَائِهَا
أَضْحَى بِنُوكَ الزُّهْرِ مِنْ أَعْضَائِهَا
يَا بَدْرَهَا الْهَادِي نَجُومُ سَمَائِهَا
لَا بُدَّ حَتَّمًا مِنْ وَجُوبِ قَضَائِهَا
نَزَلتْ بِهَا فِي عَزَّهَا وَعَلَائِهَا
مَا أَمَلَتْ مِنْ سُؤْلَهَا وَرَجَائِهَا
فَاغْضُضْ جُفُونَكَ عَنْ قَبِحِ جَفَائِهَا
فِي كُلِّ مُعْتَرَكٍ عَلَى أَعْدَائِهَا
وَبِشَارَرٍ تَاهَتْ عَلَى وَزَرَائِهَا
إِلَّا وَكَانَ النَّصْرُ مِنْ قَرَنَائِهَا
إِلَّا وَرَدَّا ضِيقَهَا بِرَحَائِهَا ¹⁸⁶
لَا تَقْدِرُ الدُّنْيَا عَلَى نُظَرَائِهَا
وَإِلَى دَوَامِ عُلَاهُ ¹⁸⁷ مِنْ فُقَرَائِهَا

إِنْ لَمْ تُعَدَّ مِنَ الرِّجَالِ فَإِنَّهُمْ
قَالُوا مَضَتْ سَنَةٌ وَفِيهَا سَلْوَةٌ
فَأَجَبْتُمْ إِنَّ السَّلْوَةَ يَعُوقُهُ
مَا هَذِهِ مِنْ إِذَا بَعْدَ الْمَدِي
وَكَفَى بِهَا طُولَ الزَّمَانِ مُذَكَّرًا
وَفُرُوعُ دَوْحَتِهَا التِّي أَبْقَتْ لَهَا
فِي كُلِّ عُضُوٍّ حَزَّةٌ لِفَقِيَدَةٌ
شَمْسٌ بِنُوكِ الْغُرْ بُورَكَ فِيهِمْ
أَمَّا إِذَا كَانَ الْحَمَامُ فَرِيْضَةً
فَلَيَهُنَّهَا أَنَّ الْمَنِيَّةَ إِنَّمَا
لَمْ تَنْتَقِلْ حَتَّى رَأَتْ فِي نَفْسِهَا
وَإِذَا الْلَّيَالِي أَمْتَعَتْكَ بِشَارَرٍ
كَافِي خَلَاقَتِكَ التِّي نُصْرَتْ بِهِ
بِالْكَامِلِ افْتَخَرَتْ عَلَى أَمْرَائِهَا
سَيِّفَا إِمَامَتِكَ التِّي مَا إِنْ سَطَتْ
مَا ضَيَّقَتْ عَطَانَ الْمُلُوكِ مُلْمَمَةً
وَأَطْنَنَّ أَيَّامًا سَمَحْنَ بِشَارَرٍ
أَنَا مِنْ عِدَادِ الْأَغْنِيَاءِ بِفَضْلِهَا

18 Even though she was not counted amongst the men, there were still those who brandished the flags on their lances on the authority of her insight.

19 They said: “A year has passed by, and therein is comfort which stills the cares of the soul, so that it no longer has a fever.”

20 Then you answered: “Obscurity is kept away by the fact that her benevolence weighs on our shoulders.

21 This lady is not one of those who, when the interval of time is far advanced, are such that the importance of excellency is forgotten in connection with her name.”

22 It may be sufficient for her that in the course of time there is a recorder who records how much we benefit from her favours and gifts.

23 The branches of the *Dawha* Palm allowed two lights to remain for her: thunder and lightning from her generosity and her high rank.

24 In every part of the body there is violent grief for her who is so sadly missed. Your shining sons, however, have become a part of her limbs.

25 She was a Sun! But Your dazzling sons ‘Blessed may they be’ are the stars of the heaven, oh thou, who art heaven’s Justly Guiding Full moon!

26 When Death is a compulsory action (which it is one’s duty to suffer), it can never be avoided,

27 – Then it may please her that the fate of death only descended upon her in the moment of glory and Sublimity.

28 No sooner did she change places, than she saw in her soul that for which she had hoped and asked, that which she had desired:

[In the next passage, the poet applying the figure of style *iltifât*, speaks directly to the *Imâm* al-‘Âdîd with congratulatory formulas. He describes both the Vizier Shâwar ibn Mujîr (who succeeded after Ruzzîk ibn Talâ‘î) and his eldest son the amîr Abû Shujâ‘ al-Kâmil ibn Shâwar, — both the father and the son died later on, in 564 H.]¹⁸⁸

29 When the nights allow You to enjoy Shâwar, then close Your eyes to the ugliness of their bleak aversion.

30 It is sufficient for Your Caliphate that it is supported by him in every battle against her enemies.

31 Through al-Kâmil, the Caliphate was proud of her *Amîr* s and, through Shâwar, it felt conceited about her Viziers.

32 They are two swords from Your Imamate, which had no power apart from the fact that Victory was one of her steadfast friends.

33 Scarcely was the fatherland of the kings troubled by disaster before they both restored her distress to relaxation.

34 I think that (the sort of) Days which gave Shâwar permission to be unique, have made it impossible for the World to replicate such days.

35 I belong to the number who have become rich through their excellency, and I am one of those who feel the need for the continuation of Your sublimity.

¹⁸⁸ Al-Maqrîzî, *Itti‘âz al-*hunafâ’** III, 256.

فَغَدَى ثَنَائِي مِنْ جَمِيلِ ثَنَائِهَا
فَسَرَى الْمَدِيْحُ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ أَصْوَائِهَا
قَدْ كَانَ فِي عَيْنِيْ وَجْهًا شَائِهَا
لَا تَحْلُلُ الْأَيَامُ عَقْدًا وَلَا إِنْهَا
إِلَّا سَوْالُ اللَّهِ طُولَ بَقَائِهَا

٣٦ مَدَحْتَهُ مِنْ قَبْلِي مَضَارِبُ سَيْفِهِ
٣٧ وَسَرَتْ مَكَارِمُهُ تُضْيِءُ بَخَاطِرِي
٣٨ حَسَنْتَ وَجْهَ الدَّهْرِ عِنْدِي بَعْدَمَا
٣٩ إِذَا تَوَالَى الْجَوْدُ صَارَ عَقِيْدَةً
٤٠ لَمْ تُبْقِ لِي أَيَّامُ فَضْلِكَ حَاجَةً

- 36 Before my action, he (Shâwar) was praised by the edges of his sword. My praise has become part of their beautiful eulogy.
- 37 His vain qualities were illuminated by my opinion. The *madîh* intended for him journeyed from the lights of these qualities.
- 38 You have made the face of the *Dahr* beautiful for me, after it had been, in my eyes, a misshapen face.
- 39 When Charity becomes continuous, then it becomes a creed (*aqîda*). The Days will never dissolve the contract of their loyalty (*walâ'i-hâ*).
- 40 The Days of Your excellence allow no wish of mine to survive, unless it is the request of Allah that they be allowed to continue for an extremely long time.