Durham Research Online

Deposited in DRO:
06 October 2017

Version of attached file:
Accepted Version

Peer-review status of attached file:
Peer-reviewed

Citation for published item:

Further information on publisher’s website:
https://doi.org/10.4000/anisl.2521

Publisher’s copyright statement:

Use policy

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

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

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the full DRO policy for further details.
A New Source for the Poetry of Ibn Maṭrūḥ (1196–1251)

Summary: This article discusses the oldest surviving manuscript of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's Dīwān, which was not used to prepare any of the four printed editions of this work. It also presents a number of challenging literary historical issues in Ibn Maṭrūḥ's oeuvre in the hopes of outlining the complexities of his poetic career and identifying future avenues for research.

Keywords: Ibn Maṭrūḥ, Ayyubid Poetry, Manuscripts, Textual Criticism, Arabic Poetry, Crusades

Perhaps owing to their political careers, the Egyptian poet Ǧamāl al-Dīn Yahyā b. Īsā b. Maṭrūḥ (592–649/1196–1251) and his close friend and compatriot Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr (581–656/1186–1258) have received considerably more attention than other Arabic poets active in the period from 1200 to 1800. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr has the distinction of being the first Arabic poet to have had his complete works translated into English and Ibn Maṭrūḥ's Dīwān has been published four times in the past century and a half; three times in the past thirty years. This state of affairs runs counter to the widely acknowledged scholarly disregard for Arabic literature produced during the period 1200–1800. It is regrettable, however, that in the case of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's poetry this exceptional attention has not achieved much. Indeed it is disappointingly typical of the field of pre-modern Arabic literature that subsequent editions of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's Dīwān have not built on previous efforts and have failed to make use of the oldest manuscript source of the Dīwān. It is perhaps due to the

1. Acknowledgments: I would like to thank the librarians at the School of Oriental and African Studies (London), American University in Cairo, Institut dominicain d'études orientales (Cairo), and Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin for their help with this project. I would also like to thank Profs Adam Gacek and Elias Muhanna for their help with an inquiry about the donor of the SOAS MS.
2. The edition and translation of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr's poetry was undertaken by Edward Henry Palmer (1840–82) and published in 1876–77. Information about Ibn Maṭrūḥ's Dīwān is given below and in the bibliography.
3. In addition to the manuscript that is the subject of this article, the editors failed to make use of ʿUmar Wafīq Șābir's 1994 MA Thesis.
preceding that they have not made much of an impact on our understanding of XIII-century Arabic poetry.

Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s ʿDīwān was first printed in Constantinople at the al-Ǧawāʿib Press on 15 Rajab 1298/13 June 1881 in an edition prepared by the in-house editor (musahḥih) Yusuf al-Nabhānī. It was printed at the end of the ʿDīwān of ʿAbbās b. al-ʿAlnaf (d. before 193/809) and included a long excerpt from Ibn Ḥallikān’s (d. 681/1282) ṭayyāt al-ʾayān wa-anbāʾ al-ẓamān recounting the poet’s life. This edition of Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s ʿDīwān is 54 pages long and contains 106 poems by him, a total of 818 verses. There is no mention of the source-text(s) used to create this editio princeps, but it was almost certainly one or both of the two manuscripts of the ʿDīwān available in Istanbul libraries. The ʿDīwān of Ibn Maṭrūḥ is preserved in the following MSS, the oldest of which (SOAS Arabic MS 13248) has never been utilized before.

Manuscripts of the ʿDīwān

1. SOAS Arabic MS 13248 [Symbol: SOAS]

82 poems over 27 folios. A total of 577 verses. The poems in this MS are indexed to the four printed editions in the concordance that is appended to this article. This MS—the oldest surviving recension of Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s ʿDīwān—is a XVth-century copy and shares a codex with the ʿDīwān of Ibn Nabīh (d. 619/1222). The MS is not dated...
but the copyist ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī—known as Ibn Šams—died in 856/1452. The codex was donated to SOAS by one E. J. Portal on 31 August 1921.⁹

2. Köprülű (Istanbul) MS 1266 [Symbol: K]

29 folios. This MS of the Dīwān begins with SOAS 1. In his 1911 description of the Köprülű collection of Arabic manuscripts, Otto Rescher wrote that the manuscript is not dated and “barely more than two hundred years old”, but ‘Awād Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ reports that it was written at the end of Rabi’ al-Awwal 1012/1603 and was copied by one Umran b. Muḥammad al-Maġribī.⁴⁶ Al-Ṣāliḥ’s dating is corroborated by the more recent catalogue of Köprülű manuscripts, though this only records that the MS was copied in the xth/xvith century.” The MS is part of the Fazıl Ahmed Paşa collection.

3. Baghdad Awqāf MS 490 [Symbol: Baghdad]

Copied in 1044/1634 by Ramaḍān b. Mūsā al-ʻAṭīfī. According to Ḫusayn Naṣṣār, this MS of the Dīwān follows the same ordering of MSS K and V.¹² The Dīwān is part of a collection (mağmū′), which also includes the Dīwān-s of al-Ṣābb al-Ẓarīf (661/1263–688/1289), Ibn Nabīh (d. 619/1222), Ḫusām al-Dīn al-Ḥāǧirī (d. 622/1225), Manjak (d. 1080/1669).¹³

4. British Library MS OR 3853 [Symbol: BriLib.]

42 poems over 15 folios.¹⁴ The poems in this copy of the Dīwān are arranged alphabetically by rhyme-letter. Copied in Radā‘ al-ʻArūṣ (Yemen) in 1088/1677. This

---

⁹. Personal communication with SOAS library staff. Prof. Elias Muhanna put me in touch with Prof. Adam Gacek who had no additional information about the identity of this donor.


¹¹. Şeşen et al., 1986, 2:44.


¹⁴. See Rieu, 1871, no. 1073-1 and Ibn Maṭrūḥ, Dīwān, ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, p. 259.
version of the *Dīwān* begins, like MS Rylands, with Amin 26 (see discussion of this poem and its disputed authorship below). It ends with a *dībayt* poem (Amin Rub.2).

5. Veliyüddin Efendi (Beyazit State Library, Istanbul) MS 3208 [Symbol: V]

Like the 1881 al-Nabhānī ed., this recension shares a codex with the *Dīwān* of ‘Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf, which precedes it.  

15 According to Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, this recension follows the order of MS K and was copied in 1122/1710.

6. John Rylands (Manchester) MS 464 [476] [Symbol: Rylands]

37 poems over 18 folios. The poems in this copy of the *Dīwān* are arranged alphabetically by rhyme-letter. The MS is not dated, but Mingana suggests the copy was made c. 1720. It begins—like MS BriLib,—with Amin 26 (see discussion of this poem and its disputed authorship below). It ends with al-Nabhānī 78 (see discussion of this poem below).

7. Haram Library (Mecca) MS [Symbol: Mecca]

143 Poems. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār is the only editor to have used this MS. He describes it briefly in the introduction to his edition but does not give a shelfmark.  

17 According to him, the end of the MS was missing from the copy he used. This MS of the *Dīwān* begins with SOAS 1 and ends with SOAS 26. The MS contains no information about the copyist or date or location of copying, but Naṣṣār records a reader’s note dated 1089/1678.

8. Berlin MS Sprenger 1127-1 [Symbol: Berlin,]

This MS and MS Berlin, (see number 9 below) share a single codex and 66 folios between them. MS Sprenger 1127-1 falls on ff. 1, 2, 7–24, and 53–66. This MS begins

---

17. See Mingana, 1934, pp. 772–73.
with al-Nabhānī 62 followed by al-Nabhānī 75; it ends with Amin 88. It was copied by
al-Darwiš Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Harīrī al-Ḥalabī around 1750 according to
Ahlwardt. 20

9. Berlin MS Sprenger 1127-3 [Symbol: Berlin,]

This MS of the Dīwān shares a codex with the previous MS. 21 This MS (MS Sprenger
1127-3) falls on ff. 25–29, 41–52. It includes a unique introduction by the anonymous
compiler of the collection. 22 The collection begins with Amin 98 and ends with Amin
93.

10. ʿAsad Žāhiriyā Library (Damascus) MS 9982-taş [Symbol: Damascus]

41 poems over 15 folios. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār is the only editor to have used this MS. 23 It
follows a similar order to that found in MSS Rylands and BriLib. 24 The MS is not
dated but Naṣṣār records a reader's mark dated 1283/1866. It begins with SOAS 9 and
ends with al-Nabhānī 103. It is unlikely that it ends with Naṣṣār 208 as Naṣṣār has it in
his edition. This poem, attributed elsewhere to Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī (320–57/932–
68), is rather part of the anthology that follows on from the Dīwān of Ibn Maṭrūḥ in
this codex. Naṣṣār says that a copy of this MS is available at the Juma Almajid Center
for Culture and Heritage (Dubai); one of two copies of MSS of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's Dīwān
available at that library.


An anonymous poetry anthology containing a single poem of 12 vv. by Ibn Maṭrūḥ
(al-Nabhānī 75). 25 Ibn Maṭrūḥ's poetry is cited in numerous pre-modern anthologies

---

25. See Rieu, 1846, no. 630-2; and also Ibn Maṭrūḥ, Dīwān, ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, p. 273.
so al-Ṣāliḥ’s use of this particular MS anthology in his edition cannot be regarded as entirely systematic.

Printed editions of the *Dīwān*

The *Dīwān* has been published a total of four times in editions based on one or more of the above manuscripts, except for the oldest manuscript (MS SOAS) which has never been used. A concordance of these editions and MS SOAS is appended to this article. NB: throughout this article, I refer to Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s poems by their left-most position in the concordance table found in the appendix.

1. ed. Yūsuf al-Nabhānī, Constantinople, 1298/1881

2. ed. Ğawda Amin, Cairo, 1989

   Based on al-Nabhānī ed. and MSS K, BriLib, Berlin, Berlin2. 232 poems divided into four sections: the *Dīwān*, a section of seven rubā’īyyāt (scil. dūbayt poems), and two supplements of poems found in other sources: one of poems attributed exclusively to Ibn Maṭrūḥ (*mulḥaq* 1) and one of poems attributed to him as well as others (*mulḥaq* 2). In the concordance these appendices are coded as Rub, M1, and M2 respectively. A few poems are unique to this edition. A total of 1768 verses.\(^\text{26}\)


   Based on al-Nabhānī ed. and MSS K, BriLib, Rylands, Berlin, and BriLib. 185 poems, including some unique to this edition. A total of 1376 verses.

4. ed. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, Cairo, 2009

   Based on al-Nabhānī ed. and MSS K, V, Baghdad, BriLib, Damascus, and Mecca; MS Rylands was consulted but not used. 261 poems, including all of those in the al-Nabhānī ed. and some unique to this edition. A total of 1998 verses.

---

\(^{26}\) This edition is mentioned in Claude Gilliot’s 1991 round-up of editions (pp. 361–2).
It is regrettable that these scholars spent a great deal of time and energy going over old ground while at the same time failing to incorporate the oldest source of Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s *Dīwān* in their editions. SOAS Arabic MS 13248 does not contain any poems not extant in the printed editions of the *Dīwān*, but the order of poems it preserves is unique, it offers many textual variants, and indeed the selection of the poems in the manuscript itself is important evidence for the reception of Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s literary production. It is worth noting, too, that Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s *Dīwān* is appended to the *Dīwān* of Ibn Nabih (d. 619/1222) in MS SOAS. The copy of Ibn Nabih’s *Dīwān* preserved in the MS codex was copied in 848/1444 and it is likely that the *Dīwān* of Ibn Maṭrūḥ was copied around the same time. The colophon of Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s *Dīwān* is not dated but it states that the copy was made by one ‘Alā’ al-Din al-Ḥalabī—known as Ibn Šams—a copyist at al-Madrasa al-Ḡamāliyya (Aleppo) who died in 856/1452. The bundling of these two *Dīwān*-s by two Ayyūbid-era, ninth/tenth-century Egyptian poets into a single codex betokens an indigenous literary history based on chronology, geography, and genre that was the direct forerunner of our orientalist literary history, which has perversely sidelined the careers and legacies of poets like Ibn Nabih and Ibn Maṭrūḥ. These poets remain important in Arabic-language scholarship because they are associated with a particular historical narrative that continues to be politically relevant for Arab scholars (especially Egyptians), but they are remembered for their political careers as much as their poetry.

The clearest example of this trend is the attention devoted to a poem—purportedly by Ibn Maṭrūḥ—on the occasion of Louis IX’s defeat at the Battle of Fariskur on 3 Muḥarram 648/7 April 1250 and his subsequent imprisonment. The poem is given in all four of the printed editions of Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s *Dīwān* but it does not occur in the oldest recension (MS SOAS) so I refer to it here as al-Nabhānī 11. The poem was well known in the pre-modern period and while it is not found in MS SOAS it is found in many other near-contemporary and later sources, including several of the MSS.

---

28. See SOAS Arabic MS 13248, f. 92b and Gacek, 1981, no. 58.
29. Louis IX (1214–1270) participated in the seventh crusade and died at the beginning of the eighth. He was canonized by Pope Boniface VIII in 1297.
used to prepare the printed editions of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's Diwān. Nevertheless, we cannot be certain of the poem's authenticity without further investigation. This is no impediment, however, to the poem's popularity, which continues to this day: the first two words of the poem “qul lī-l-Fransīs” turns up more than 200,000 hits on Google and the poem itself was even featured in a sermon on the virtues of Egypt (fäḍāʾīl Mīṣr) by the extremist Saudi cleric Muḥammad al-ʿArifī broadcast on the Murid al-Ǧanna satellite television channel on 22 December 2012.

قال عندما كسر ملك المعظم الفرنسي واعتقله بدار فخر الدين بن لقمان وقيده بقيد من ذهب ووكل به خادماً:

1. Tell the Frenchman when you see him,

Sincerely, from a loquacious and eloquent man,

---


31. See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wno_06cY7UQ>.
2. May God reimburse you for what has passed:

   the deaths of the worshippers of Jesus Christ (yasūʿ al-masih).

3. You came to Egypt, wanting to seize her;

   You thought that the [sound of] pipes blowing, you drum, was just the wind.\textsuperscript{32}

4. But then death drove you toward a black steed

   And the open spaces before your eyes became narrowed.

5. You left after you deposited your companions

   —because of your despicable behavior—in the bottom of their crypts.

6. Fifty thousand, none of them can be seen

   who aren't dead or wounded, taken prisoner.

7. May God bring you another day like that one,

   Perhaps then Jesus (īsā) will be relieved of you.

8. If all that has taken place pleases your Pope;

   How often has perfidy hidden behind advice?

9. Then take him for your soothsayer

   for he is more sage than a peer or one of your slain comrades.

10. And tell them, if they harbor a desire to return,

   to take their revenge or even for a purpose sound,

\textsuperscript{32} Ṭabl means “drum” most often, but can also mean “people” (i.e. al-nās). I understand its use here as an istihdām, in which both meanings of the double entendre are intended, just like the other semantically linked word in the hemistich: zamr, which is a wind instrument but is also itself linked etymologically to another word of the same root meaning “group of men” (zumra). See further Lane, \textit{An Arabic-English Lexicon}, s. rr. “ṭ-b-l” and “z-m-r”.
11. That Ibn Luqmān's house still stands where it did, and the shackles are here, and so is the eunuch Ṣabīḥ.

Sectarian feeling can also be detected in another poem from Ibn Maṭrūḥ's Dīwān; one we might call an invective (hiǧāʾ) epigram. In this poem (SOAS 55), Ibn Maṭrūḥ derides the people of Damascus for taking Saturday as a leisure day, calling it a Jewish tradition (sunnat al-yahūd). You've decided Saturdays should be a day of rest, although that's a Jewish habit. Isn't it impious enough that you drink water from [the river] Yazīd.

The last hemistich of this epigram hinges on a double entendre (tawriya) in which the tributary of the Baradā river is deliberately confused with the ruler who ordered it to be dug, the caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (d. 683), who is reviled by many Muslims as the villain of the Battle of Karbalāʾ.

Disputed dāliyya (Amin 26)

Two of the MSS (Rylands and BriLib,) used to compile the printed editions of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's Dīwān begin with a poem that is elsewhere said to have been written by Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (d. 608/1211). A marginal comment in MS Rylands itself corroborates this attribution. The poem is also found

---

33. According to al-Qalqašandi, Šubḥ al-aʾšā (8:38), Louis IX was imprisoned in the house in which the head of the chancery (ṣāḥib dīwān al-inšā) Faḫr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Luqmān would stay when he traveled to Mansoura. The building survives as a museum.

34. See Enclit', s.v. "Sabīt" [A. Rippin].


in MS Damascus according to Naṣṣār who reports that the order of poems in MSS Rylands, BriLib, and Damascus is similar and unlike that of the other MSS he consulted. According to Amin, MS BriLib, only contains Ibn Matruh’s ḡazal poetry and can thus be contrasted with MS SOAS, which includes more of his mādīḥ output.  

In addition to making use of MS SOAS, one hopes that the next editor of Ibn Matruh’s Diwan will be able to establish the different recension traditions represented by the extant Diwan MSS. In the Diwan of Ibn Matruh, this poem (Amin 26) survives as a ten-line erotic poem (ḡazal), but in the Diwan of Ibn Sanʿ al-Mulk these verses are part of a much longer (46 vv.) praise poem (mādīḥ) for the judge Ḡamāl al-Din Asʿad b. al-Ḡalis. Diwan editors determine their own strategies for dealing with material whose authorship is disputed and this poem is a lens through which we can see each of the three modern editors’ approaches to the problem.  

Al-Ṣāliḥ discusses the disputed attribution of the poem, determines that the poem was not written by Ibn Matruh, and decides not to include it in his edition of the Diwan for that reason.  

Naṣṣār and Amin, on the other hand, both include the poem in their edition, but it is only Naṣṣār who acknowledges the poem’s disputed attribution in a footnote. Scholarly opinions on the poem’s authorship may differ, but there is literary historical value in documenting the poem as it occurs in some of the MSS of Ibn Matruh’s Diwan that have come down to us. Elsewhere I have proposed treating poems like these as poems in parallel in order to cope with situations in which positivist tendencies in literary history encourage us to flatten the complexity and disorder that surround literary creation, transmission, and reproduction. I find it vital and germane to record and make sense of the fact that for some anthologists, Diwan-compiler, scribes, and readers in the centuries following Ibn Matruh and Ibn Sanʿ al-Mulk’s deaths, a poem by one could have been plausibly

38. Ibn Matruh, Diwan, ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, p. 263. He does, however, include another poem attributed to both Ibn Matruh and Ibn Sanʿ al-Mulk (Amin 98).  
39. Talib, 2013. This is not exactly the same situation as that described by Paul Zumthor’s notion of mouvance, or Bernard Cerquiglini’s variance, though it is of course related to and derivative of these. See also the discussion of Naṣṣār 81 and Naṣṣār 212 below.
attributed to the other. I find it equally thought-provoking that a ten-line *ğazal* poem can exist both on its own as well as within a 46-line *madīḥ* poem.

In the interest of brevity, I do not reproduce and translate the 46-line *madīḥ* poem attributed to Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk, rather only the ten-line *ğazal* poem attributed to Ibn Maṭrūḥ. However, for purposes of comparison, I have numbered the verses as they correspond to the 46-line *madīḥ* poem found in Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk’s *Dīwān*.

[1] من الطويل 

فَقَبَلَتْهُ فِي أًلْخَدْ تَسْمِعِينَ أَوْ إِنْدَِّي

[2] دِّنّوُتْ وَقَدْ أَبْدَى أَلْكَرِي مَنِهِ مَا أَبْدَئٌ

[3] وَايْبَصَرْتُ فِي خُطْيَةِ مَاءَ وَخُطْيَةٍ

[4] أَقْرَأْنِ لَنْنَا ظَاتِرُ بَيْنَكَ وَكَيْهِ

[5] تَلَّهَبَ مَاءٌ أَلْخَدْ أَوْ سَلْلَجَّرِيَّةٍ

[6] فِي أَجْمَرْرٍ مَا أَذَّكَرْ رِبْيَ مَاءَ مَا أَذَّدٌ

[7] وَهَلَّ أَمْسَأْتْ أَلْصَادْرَ أَنْ يُعْكَشُ أَلْلَنْيَ مَاَّلْتَهْدَا

[8] فِهْلَا نَهْيَتْ أَلْجُحَرَ أَنْ يُعْكَشُ أَلْلَنْيَ مَاَّلْتَهْدَا

[9] بَلَوْمٌ عَلَيْهِ مَنْ يِهْيَبُ يِبْدُونِهِ

[10] بِتَعْقِيِبٍ مُّنِّ لَوَجَاءُ لَهُ يَوْصِلَهُ

[11] وَمَا كُلُّ مَعْصِولاً أَلْلَنْيَ يَجُلْبُ أَلْهَوْيَ

[12] وَمَا كُلُّ مَعْصِولاً أَلْلَنْيَ يَجُلْبُ أَلْهَوْيَ

[13] وَفِي أَلْقَلِبِ نَأْلَ لِلَخْلِيْلِ تَرَقَفُ ثَثَّ

[14] وَرَيَّيْعُ أَلْذِي أَمْوَةُ يُرْؤُي شَراَبَةً الَّ

1. I drew near when sleep had revealed what it was going to reveal of him.

and then I kissed him ninety times or just once.

2. I could see the surface of his cheeks was moist and verdant:

What’s sweeter than pasture, what’s more pleasant than a rose?

7. To one who tells me I should leave him, I say:

“By pointing a finger, you’ve only guided me toward him.”

3. The water of his cheek blazed, or [perhaps] its coals coursed,
O coals! Is anything more fragrant? O water! Is anything more dew-like?

8. Won't you stop your mouth from sweetening your lips? 
And won't you order your chest to suppress your sighs?

4. Those who love him are rebuked only by those who fall for someone else, 
For one who loves colocynth knows nothing of honey.

9. I’d give my life for one who, if he were to grant me a meeting, 
May I never enjoy happiness again after that!

5. Not every sweet-lipped one succeeds in attracting adoration, 
And not every smooth-necked one can rob men of their wits.

13. Fire blazes in my heart for this friend (al-ḥalil) 
But I haven't tasted either its calm or its cold.40

20. Where the one I love lives, the waters 
quench the thirsty and the soil cures sore eyes.

Insofar as conflicted attributions are puzzles for editors to tease out and reconcile as best they can, this poem is a particularly rich example of the challenge of parallel poetry in Arabic. Even if we concede, prima facie for the purpose of analysis, that the author of the verses is Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk, we cannot conclude that Ibn Maṭrūḥ or those who composed and copied his Dīwān did not reassemble Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk’s madiḥ verses into the ḡazal poem reproduced and translated here. It is implausible that such an intervention would have gone unremarked upon by Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s contemporaries, especially in the hothouse atmosphere of Arabic literary circles in which plagiarism was a grave, if common, accusation. Nevertheless even if we are inclined to grant Ibn

40. See Quran XXI, al-Anbiyā’, 69. Ibrāhīm, the subject of the Quranic verse, is known as Ḥalil Allāh or the Friend of God; see also II Chronicles 20:7; Book of James 2:23.
Sanā’ al-Mulk the status of author—tendentious thought it may be—we cannot rule out the possibility that Ibn Maṭrhūh was responsible for this pastiche, if it is indeed a pastiche. I concede that it is far less plausible for Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk to have repurposed verses originally authored by Ibn Maṭrhūh, but I intend simply to point to the critical interstice between what we suppose and what the literary historical material reflects. Beyond the question of authorship, such a confused attribution also furnishes us with important information about the reception of these two poets in the tradition, their affinity as artists, and anxieties of influence.

Textual Histories

Elsewhere in the MSS of Ibn Maṭrhūh’s Dīwān, we encounter another instance of poems in parallel; this time, a rather more typical case of what Bernard Cerquiglini has called variance.41 Al-Nabhānī 81 is a 4-line ḡazal poem (recorded in MSS K, V, Berlin, Baghdad, and Mecca), which Ibn Maṭrhūh is said to have sent to one Muẓaffar al-Dīn b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Miṣri. Another poem (Amīn 113, 6vv)—which appears in MSS Rylands, BriLib, and Damascus, and shares the same metre (basīṭ) and rhyme-letter (lām) as al-Nabhānī 81—can be read alongside it in parallel.42 To facilitate this parallel reading, I will reproduce the text and translations of both poems side-by-side.

\begin{tabular}{ll}
| Amīn 113 | al-Nabhānī 81 |
\end{tabular}

---

42. This poem appears in Ibn Maṭrhūh, Dīwān, ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, no. 119 (five lines).
15 of 36

[1] أَلْلَهِ وَقُوْهُ وَقَدْ رَفَّىٰ الْمُهَيْنِ الْمُجَّلَّلِ
[2] وَبِالْخُمُورِ إِذَا أَحْمَرَتْ مِنَ الْخَجْلِ
[3] وَبِالْخُمُورِ إِذَا مَا هَيَّرُتْ خَيْفَتُ
[4] وَبِالْخُمُورِ إِذَا أَوْمَثَتْ إِلَى الْقَبْلِ
[5] لَأَنْسَى عِنْدِي عَلَى مَا فَيْكَ مَنْ ضَلْفٍ
[6] أَخْلَقَ مِنَ الْأَوَّلِ الْمُخَافُفِ الْقَبْلِ

** أَخْلِقَ مِنَ الْأَوَّلِ بَعْدَ الْبَعْضِ فِي الْقَبْلِ

[4] أَحْبَابِي لَا وَمَا بَيْنِي وَبَيْنِكُمْ
[5] مَنْ أَذُوْدًا وَمَا رَأْيُهُ بِمَسْتَمْتَجِلٍ
[6] لَعْنَ عَنْكُمْ بَعْدَهَا تَفْسِيْ مَنْ أَمْل

43. This variant hemistich recorded in MS Rylands is given in Ibn Maṭrūḥ, Diwān, ed. Naṣṣār, p. 171n.
1. [I] swear by large, languid eyes, and blushing cheeks.
2. and her body swayed by slenderness, and her lips leaning in for a kiss.
3. For all that you boast, you’re still dearer to me than security to a coward.
4. My dears—no, there is no love between us, nor can my affection be moved—
5. If I should have the pleasure of seeing you, My soul won’t look forward to anything
   else after that
   If God should will that I have the pleasure
6. of seeing you, I’d give you all the life I’ve got.

MS SOAS also helps to clear up a dispute between the editors about an exchange of poems between Ibn Maṭrūḥ and Muḥaḍḏab al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥiyamī (d. 642/1245). It is stated in MS SOAS that Ibn al-Ḥiyamī sent the following poem to Ibn Maṭrūḥ when the latter was working in dīwān al-mawārīṯ, i.e. the probate office or office responsible for inheritances:

وكتب إليه الشيخ مهذب الدين ابن الخيمي أيام كان على ديوان المواريث:

[من الطول]

44. On this author, see ‘Amr, 2005 and the numerous biographical sources cited there. This poem does not appear there, however. The other two editions of the Ḍīwān (Nāḡī and Zāḥid (eds), 2008; Maḥfūẓ (ed.), 1970) were not available to me.
45. SOAS Arabic MS 13248, ff. 82b–83a.
The Miḥyar of Egypt is favored by us, I record,

and I’ve given up calling on the Miḥyar of Persia.⁴⁶

The distance between them, when it comes to poetry and prose, is

like measuring between one who walks and one on horseback.

A young man in whom the Sultan detected

perception; the diwan is suited only to a deliberate man.

So he put him in touch of the funds of legacies, to protect

them from leaking at the hands of those frightened by lions.

[It’s] as though Ibn Maṭrūḥ resurrected Ibn Aḥmad,

and revived Ibn Fāris from a great distance.⁴⁷

For every commander of rhetoric has a squire,

so don’t send anyone else off with your horse.

In his reply to Ibn al-Ḥiyāmī, Ibn Maṭrūḥ uses the same metre and rhyme-letter, but he self-consciously does not mimic the recurrent rhyme-word used in the original poem:⁴⁸

---

⁴⁷ For the identities of Ibn Aḥmad and Ibn Fāris, see Ibn Maṭrūḥ, Diwān, ed. Naṣṣār, p. 71n.
⁴⁸ SOAS Arabic MS 13248, f. 83a.
O Sender, ears have been filled with wisdom by
rhyming verses adorned like virgin brides.

Trendy verses that [befuddle the minds of] a befuddled nation,
maidens-verses that put beautiful maidens to shame.

A refined woman sent to us by a refined man,
who [se identity was] signaled by all the unruly rhymes.

Toward anyone but her owner, she's a difficult ride,
she disobeys, and won't be led by anyone who tries.

A six-liner, if al-Ma’arrī were to say to it: “I've brought a seventh [verse]”

It would [still] come after the fifth [verse].

I gave the R and S a try, but it locked me out,

---

49. Naṣṣār suggests that Ibn Sulaymān here refers to Abū ‘Alā’ al-Ma’arrī (see Ibn Matrūḥ, Diwān, ed. Naṣṣār, p. 71n). Sulaymānā is written thus in the SOAS MS, though one would want to read it as Sulaymānā for the sake of the metre.
with a powerful protector [between us].

You have secured it, locked the gate behind you

and stationed a horseman at [the door of] every single house/verse.\textsuperscript{50}

The printed editions of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's \textit{Dīwān} do not agree on the order and authorship of these two poems. Al-Nabhānī and Naṣṣār incorrectly identify the author of the first poem as Ibn Maṭrūḥ and the second as Ibn al-Ḥiyamī; whereas Amin and al-Ṣāliḥ present the poems with the correct attribution as now corroborated by MS SOAS.

A recurrent rhyme-word, like that found in Ibn al-Ḥiyami's poem above, is known as the \textit{radīf} (or "the one who rides behind"), and is relatively rare in Arabic poetry as compared to Persian poetry.\textsuperscript{51} Nevertheless—as perhaps another indication of the diversification of literary styles and forms in Ibn Maṭrūḥ's age—we find the following poem (al-Nabhānī 78) with the \textit{radīf} of \textit{kadā} in Ibn Maṭrūḥ's \textit{Dīwān}. This bold poem follows the Mutanabbian model of presenting the poet-patron relationship as that of a lover and his reluctant beloved.

\textit{من الطويل}

\textsuperscript{50} The final hemistich includes a double entendre (\textit{tawriya}) that sums up Ibn Maṭrūḥ's reply: the Arabic word \textit{bayt} means both “dwelling” and “poetic verse” and the horseman (\textit{fāris}) he refers to is the rhyme-word repeated in each verse of Ibn al-Ḥiyami’s poem.

\textsuperscript{51} See \textit{Encisl}, s.v. “Radīf” [W. P. Heinrichs].
1. I fell in love with [one as pretty as] a full moon, his face shines like so.

If he sauntered past, you’d think his body were a branch like so.

2. When his large, dark eyes gaze happily,

they launch arrows at the heart of his lover like so.

3. When he appears, everyone says “There is no moon but he,”

and they all prostrate themselves before him like so.

4. After I chastised him, I said to him, as he lay his cheek on

his right hand, lost in thought, like so
5. “I’d give my life for you, O you my soul’s only desire, tell me
   will I ever share your bed on a guarded night like so?”

6. And he answered, wearing a grin,
   “I’m here with you now so see to me” and I said, “like so[?]”

7. And I spent a while in the pleasure of his embrace, kissing
   his mouth until he, in his drunkenness, listed to one side like so.

8. “Aren’t you afraid of the gossips?” he asked, “Don’t you want to hide
   from enemy eyes for the gossips [surround us] like so?”

9. So I said to him, “By God, O object of my dreams,
   “I’ve come clean with everyone about my feelings for you, like so.”

10. “And I’ve revealed my secret and spurned those who chastise me.”

    He was silent, his eyes downcast, when he made a signal with his finger like so

11. And said, “Didn’t I just warn you? I
    “like to keep things discreet?” So I answered him like so:

12. “O breeze—please God—won’t you
    “give my greetings to the one whom I love who has me like so?

13. “And tell him that this desperate one ‘Put his trust in me
    “to deliver a greeting like so.”

14. Perhaps if he receives his servant’s greeting,
    he’ll ask how I’m doing, with a flick of his finger, like so.

15. I swear by God and His noble
face that I will go to the grave, clinging firmly like so,

16. if he shuns me, turns away from me, teases me,

and the bond[s] of affection between us become frayed like so.

17. I cling to Sultan Ayyūb, my lord,

the one, who more than all others, is generous like so.

Paratexts

According to paratextual evidence, a number of poems in Ibn Maṭrūḥ's Diwān are said—according to the headings of the poems themselves—to have been delivered as letters, though this may have been a literary conceit (see SOAS 11, 14, 16–21, 24, 34–36, 38, 41–4, 47–50, 54; al-Nabhānī 10, 18, 29, 31; Naṣṣār 56, 81, 146, 164). Ibn Ḥallikān notes that Ibn Maṭrūḥ and Bahā’ al-Dīn Zuhayr sustained their close friendship by exchanging poems about what was happening in their lives by post.52 Other headings in Ibn Maṭrūḥ's Diwān indicate the events that occasioned, or purportedly occasioned, the poem's composition and delivery, thus linking the literary texts to contemporary events in the poet's private and professional lives. Ceremonial poems include a poem on the occasion of al-Malak al-Muġīṭ’s circumcision (SOAS 10), the capture of Jerusalem in 1239 (al-Nabhānī 13), the construction of a bathhouse (al-Nabhānī 25), and the death of Faḥr al-Dīn Yusuf b. Muḥammad at the battle of Mansoura on 5 Dū al-Qa‘da/9 February 1250 (Naṣṣār 131). One five-line poem (al-Nabhānī 9) by Ibn Maṭrūḥ is said to have been written to grace the entrance of a house built by his patron al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (d. 647/1249). Poems inspired by events in Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s personal life include a poem on visiting Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d.660/1262) after going to the bathhouse (SOAS 33), visiting the tomb of al-Šāfiʿī (SOAS 37), visiting the tomb of the Prophet Abraham (Amin M1.5), a poem to accompany a gift (SOAS 16), and a poem chastizing Ibn Ḥallikān (d. 681/1282) for not visiting (SOAS 36).53

52. Ibn Ḥallikān, Wafayāt, 6:263.
53. On the latter, see Ibn Ḥallikān, Wafayāt, 6:262 and al-ʿAynī, ʿIqd, 1:61.
MS SOAS, like the printed editions of the Dīwān, records a series of poems that Ibn Maṭrūḥ dictated to his kinsman ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAli b. Ġayāṭ al-Quraší, who was permitted to transmit them as well as the date on which he heard them.54 These thirteen poems (a total of fifty-five verses) appear to have been composed in Cairo over a period of less than two weeks from 9–20 Rajab 648/7–18 October 1250 during which Ibn Maṭrūḥ meditated on his own mortality.55 While contemporary and near-contemporary biographers do not agree on the date of Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s death, none of them put his death as early as 648/1250.56 If we follow Ibn Ḥallikān, who claimed to have been present at his friend’s funeral and burial, this sequence of poems on impending mortality predate the poet’s actual death by nearly a year, and come a year after the death of his one time patron al-Malik al-Šālīḥ in Shaʾbān 647/November 1249. It appears, according again to Ibn Ḥallikān, that Ibn Maṭrūḥ was depressed and was in danger of losing his sight; this is likely what prompted the poet’s meditations on mortality.57

Indeed among this sequence, we find a poem that purports to dramatize a conversation between the dreadful poet and his fatalist wife (SOAS 71):58

[من الطويل]

54. These poems are SOAS 60–72.
55. The dates and the location of this activity are recorded in the headings of this poem sequence reproduced in the printed editions as found in some of the MSS of the Dīwān as well as in MS SOAS, ff. 88b–91a.
56. There are two accounts of Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s retirement from public life: (1) Ibn Ḥallikān records that Ibn Maṭrūḥ retired to his home in Cairo after the death of al-Malik al-Šālīḥ in Šaʾbān 647/November 1249 but (2) Ibn Wāṣīl records that he continued to serve the Ayyūbid administration at a high level until the assassination of al-Malik al-Muʿāẓẓam Tūrān-Shāh in Muḥarram 648/May 1250. (See Ibn Maṭrūḥ, Dīwān, ed. Ġ. Amīn, pp. 29–32.
58. I reproduce here the MS SOAS text of the poem, which differs from the printed editions. NB: the final hemistich is defective.
1. When she asked me, “What's with all this worry? Why do you fear God, the Most Gracious Benefactor?”

2. “Because I know what I’ve done,” I told her,

   “and I know that when I meet him, I’ll be held to account.”

3. She said, “If only you'd think of the day you'll stand before God,⁵⁹

   It would all be easier for you to bear”.

4. So I said to her, “You've pointed me toward all that is good.

   If I were a more resolute man, I wouldn't have been so ignorant.”

5. It is enough simply to remember what the Prophet has said,

   for he is the one who pleads on our behalf in all things,

6. When he was asked, he answered: “Do it.” And

   in another report, he said, “Be reasonable and entrust your fate in God?”

The last poem in this sequence is a ḏūbayt poem that Ibn Maṭrūḥ is said to have uttered when he was “near death” (’inda wafātiḥ), which is followed in SOAS and other MSS by another

⁵⁹. See Quran VI, al-ʻAtrām, 30.
five *dūbayt* poems (six out of seven total *dūbayt* poems attributed to Ibn Maṭrūḥ).\(^{60}\) Indeed many of the poems in the SOAS MS are short, of what we might call epigrammatic length:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poem length</th>
<th>Number of poems</th>
<th>Percentage of total (lines)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40 or more lines long</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20–39 lines long</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10–19 lines long</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5–9 lines long</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 or 4 lines long</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 or 2 lines long</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 82 poems in the MS SOAS, 40 of them are two-liners. This is perhaps typical of a broader trend in poetic composition in the XIII century away from performative set-piece poetry; a trend that would only accelerate in the XIV and XV centuries. Ibn Maṭrūḥ did of course write and deliver long panegyric poems for the political leaders who were his patrons, but he also wrote a number of shorter poems, including poems written to and for his peers. These short poems spanned several genres: elegy (*ritā*: see al-Nabhānī 7), panegyric (*madiḥ*: see al-Nabhānī 16), riddle (*luğz*: see SOAS 47–8), erotic (*gazal*: see SOAS 52–3), and invective (*hiğā*: see SOAS 55–9), and because of their wit and ease of circulation, they proved irresistible to anthologists.\(^{66}\) Another example of Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s legacy is the emulation of his work by later poets. Al-Šawkānī records in his *al-Badr al-ṭālī' bi-maḥāsin man ba'd al-qarn al-sābī'* that the Yemeni poet Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad (d. c. 1080/1669) composed a poem with the same rhyme as Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s poem SOAS 5—a panegyric in

---


\(^{66}\) The anonymous collector of MS Berlin, uses the term *maqāṭi* to describe some of Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s poems. See also al-Šafādī, *al-Wāfī*, 2:77–8. For more on *maqāṭi*, see my forthcoming study *How do you say “Epigram” in Arabic?* (Leiden 2016). Ibn Maṭrūḥ is one of the poets cited in the xvth-century anthology *Kitāb Naṣr zahr al-ḥadāʾiq wa-durr al-naẓm al-fāʾiq* (225 ff.) that was recently sold by Bernard Quaritch of London for £7500 on 24 March 2014. This manuscript was later acquired by the special collections library at NYU Abu Dhabi. I would like to thank Nicholas McBurney of Heywood Hill and Virginia Danielson, Nicholas Martin, and Maurice Pomerantz all of NYU Abu Dhabi for their generous and prompt replies to inquiries about this manuscript.
praise of al-Malik al-Aṣraf I (d. 635/1237)—and that it was one of his most outstanding compositions.62

The heretofore unused SOAS MS of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's Dīwān is unlikely to change radically what we know of the poet's career and output, but it is an important source for understanding the contemporary and near-contemporary reception of the poet's work, and it is indeed crucial for understanding the textual history of the poet's Dīwān and the as-yet uninvestigated history of its recensions. It is also a signal example of the inefficient and rather haphazard treatment of material used for the study of Arabic literary history. Ibn Maṭrūḥ's name and the vague outline of his poetic career is widely known, but this manuscript of his Dīwān—like its overlooked and underappreciated contents—has something new to tell us, if we only care to look.

Concordance of Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s poetry

This concordance allows readers to trace versions of Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s poems (or those attributed to him) across four printed editions as well as the heretofore unknown and oldest recension of Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s Ḍīwān (SOAS Arabic MS 13248). Key: Nab = al-Nabhānī ed., A = Amīn ed., Ṣ = Ṣāliḥ ed., Naṣ = Naṣṣār ed., IH = poem by Ibn al-Ḥiyāmī (discussed above), Rub = rubā’īyyāt section in A, M1 = first mulḥaq in A, M2 = second mulḥaq in A.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>86b</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>86b</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>86b</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>86b–87a</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>87a</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>87a</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>87a</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>87a–87b</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>87b</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>87b</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>87b</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>87b–88a</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>81a</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>81a</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>88a</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>81a</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>81a</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>88a</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>81b</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>81b</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>88a</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>81b</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>81b</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>88a–88b</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>81b–82a</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>81b–82a</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>88b</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>82a–82b</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>82a–82b</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>88b–89a</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>82b</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>82b</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>89a</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IH</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>82b–83a</td>
<td>45,1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>82b–83a</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>89a</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>83a</td>
<td>45,2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>83a</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>89a</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>83a–83b</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>83a–83b</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>89a–89b</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>83b</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>83b</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>89b</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>83b</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>83b</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>89b</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>83b–84a</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>83b–84a</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>89b–90a</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>84a</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>84a</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>90a</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>84a–84b</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>84a–84b</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>90a–90b</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>84b</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>84b</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>90b</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>84b–85a</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>84b–85a</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>90b–91a</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nab</td>
<td>vv</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>vv</td>
<td>Ş</td>
<td>vv</td>
<td>Nab</td>
<td>vv</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>vv</td>
<td>Ş</td>
<td>vv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>vv</td>
<td>Ş</td>
<td>vv</td>
<td>Naş</td>
<td>vv</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>vv</td>
<td>Ş</td>
<td>vv</td>
<td>Naş</td>
<td>vv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>vv.</th>
<th>$|$ vv.</th>
<th>Na$|$ vv.</th>
<th></th>
<th>vv.</th>
<th>$|$ vv.</th>
<th>Na$|$ vv.</th>
<th></th>
<th>vv.</th>
<th>$|$ vv.</th>
<th>Na$|$ vv.</th>
<th></th>
<th>vv.</th>
<th>$|$ vv.</th>
<th>Na$|$ vv.</th>
<th></th>
<th>vv.</th>
<th>$|$ vv.</th>
<th>Na$|$ vv.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Rub.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1.2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>M1.3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>M1.4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>M1.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>M1.9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1.11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>M1.12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>M1.13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1.15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>M1.16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>M1.17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1.19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>M1.20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>M1.21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1.23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>M2.1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>M2.2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2.4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>M2.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>M2.6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2.8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>M2.9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>M2.10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M2.12</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>...</th>
<th>154</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>M2.13</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>...</th>
<th>153</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>M2.14</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>...</th>
<th>155</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>M2.16</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>...</th>
<th>160</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M2.17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>M2.18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>M2.19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>M2.20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2.21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>M2.22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>M2.23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>M2.24</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2.25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>M2.26</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>M2.27</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>M2.28</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2.29</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>M2.30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>M2.31</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>M2.32</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2.33</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>M2.34</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>M2.35</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>M2.36</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2.37</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>M2.38</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>M2.39</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>M2.40</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2.41</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>M2.42</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>M2.43</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>M2.45</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2.46</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>M2.47</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Works Cited

Primary Sources


Ibn Maṭrūḥ, Ğamāl al-Dīn Yahyā, Dīwān, SOAS Arabic MS 13248.

—, Dīwān, ed. Yūsuf al-Nabhānī, Maṭba’at al-Ḡawā’ib, Constantinople, 1298/1881.


Secondary Sources


*Defter-i Küttüphane-i Velîyüddin*, Mahmut Bey Matbaası, Dersaadet [Istanbul], 1304/1886.


Ṭalas, Muḥammad As’ad, al-Kaššāf ‘an maḥṭūṭat ḥazā’īn kutub al-Awqāf, Baghdad, 1953.