

## Additional Marginalia

*Translated and annotated by Ignacio Sánchez and Geert Jan van Gelder*

This appendix contains marginal additions – especially poetry – that cannot be properly handled in footnotes to the main text and yet deserve to be edited and studied. The order of these marginalia presented below corresponds with the order of the biographies in IAU’s work.

### AII.1

Poem added by a copyist on the title page of MS B (fol. 1a).<sup>1</sup>

By some scholar, on the diseases of which physicians died, though each of them was skilled in the knowledge of them:

Hippocrates passed away, struck with hemiplegia;

Plato died, suffering from pleurisy(?).<sup>2</sup>

Aristotle died of consumption;

likewise that Galen of theirs, suffering from an intestinal illness.

And Abū ‘Alī<sup>3</sup> died of a colic:<sup>4</sup>

neither instruments nor his *Canon*<sup>5</sup> availed him.

O you who hold fast to medicine to be cured by it,

relying on it, enthralled by it:

1 Metre: *kāmil*. Also, with variants, in a MS of *Imtiḥān al-alibbā’ li-kāffat al-aṭibbā’* by Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Sulamī (on whom see IAU Ch. 15.34), see Dietrich, *Medicinalia*, 195–196 (lines 1–3, 5); for a rhymed German translation, see Bürgel, *Allmacht und Mächtigkeit*, 181 and idem, *Ärztliches Leben und Denken*, 19. For two more epigrams, added by a copyist to the opening folio of a Paris MS of Ibn Abī Uṣaybī’ah’s work, see Sanguinetti, ‘Extraits’, 1, 234–236 (Arabic and French translation).

2 *Mubarsam*, from *birsām*, which is often translated as ‘pleurisy’. Arabic dictionaries connect it with Persian *bar-sām* ‘disease, swelling, or inflammation in the breast’. In the medical literature there is much confusion with *sirsām* or *sarsām* (*sar-sām*: Persian for ‘head inflammation’) meaning ‘severe headache’, sometimes called ‘phrenitis’. See e.g. Dols, *Majnūn*, 57–58, Carpentieri, ‘On the Meaning of *Birsām* and *Sirsām*’.

3 Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna). Compare the epigram on his death in IAU Ch. 11.35.5.

4 The form *sajaj* is not in the dictionaries (cf. *sajj*: ‘severe diarrhoea’). The version in Dietrich, *Medicinalia* has *saḥjah* (cf. *Lisān al-‘Arab*: *al-saḥaj*: *dā’ fi l-baṭn qāshir minhu*).

5 *al-Qānūn*, Ibn Sīnā’s chief medical work.

Medicine is no medicine, unless it is the word of Him  
who says to the non-existent: 'Be!', and it is.<sup>6</sup>

## AII.2.1

Marginal verses in MS R (fol. 83a) referring to al-Kindī's remarks about the poem in Ch. 10.1.10. The copyist does not indicate the origin of this fragment, but the anecdote can be found in al-Ibshihī's *Mustaṭraf*. Al-Kindī, upon listening to the fourfold rhetorical division that begins with 'Four things from you' (*fa-fi arba' minnī ...*), recited an epigram containing a fivefold *taqsīm* with a similar opening (*fa-fi khamsah minnī ...*). al-Kindī considered that it was more eloquent because the five parts correspond with the five senses.<sup>7</sup>

I [i.e. the copyist] say: I [i.e., al-Kindī] have seen a division (*taqsīm*) that is better and more excellent than this one; Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abd Allāh,<sup>8</sup> who was related to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon him, said:

Five things in you are sweet to five things in me:  
your saliva in my mouth, so good to sip,  
Your face in my eye, your touch in my hand,  
your speech in my ear, your scent in my nose.

You may see that this is better than the first [epigram] because the author's intention is to use a rhetorical division (*taqsīm*) and he does it according to the five senses, but God knows better!

## AII.2.2

In margin of MS R (fol. 83b) there are some anecdotes to illustrate 1AU's comment on al-Kindī's miserliness in Ch. 10.1.12. Some of these stories can be found in al-Jāḥiẓ's *Book of Misers* (*K. al-Bukhalā'*), which has a section on al-Kindī.<sup>9</sup>

6 A phrase occurring several times in the Qur'an; e.g. al-Baqarah 2:117: «*When He decrees a thing He merely says, 'Be!', and it is*».

7 In this anecdote these verses are attributed to 'al-'Alawī, see al-Ibshihī, *Mustaṭraf*, ii:22. These verses are attributed to Ibn Ṭabāṭabā al-'Alawī (d. 322/934), author of *'Iyār al-shī'r*; see *EAL*, 'Ibn Ṭabāṭabā', and note to the poem in Ch. 10.1.10.

8 The copyist must have understood that the al-'Alawī mentioned in the anecdote was not Ibn Ṭabāṭaba, but Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Alawī (d. 252/866–867 or 255/868–869), who belonged to the Alid family; on him see Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, iii:154.

9 See the '*qiṣṣat al-Kindī*' in al-Jāḥiẓ, *Bukhalā'*, 81–93.

I [i.e. the copyist] say: the miserliness of the shaykh [al-Kindī] and his shameful deeds are illustrated by what Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī reports in his *History*:<sup>10</sup>

One day one of the female servants of his mother came to [al-Kindī's] house with an empty jug and said: 'Your mother wants you to give her fresh water.' He replied: 'Go back, fill the jug in her house and bring it back.' When she returned, he asked her to empty the jug, and when she did so he filled it with water from a cooling amphora.<sup>11</sup> When she left, he said: 'We took from her an essence without quality and gave her an essence with quality'.<sup>12</sup> [al-Kutubī] also reports that al-Kindī used to eat dates and give their pits to a wet-nurse of his to whom he would say: 'Content yourself with the sweetness that they have preserved'.<sup>13</sup> And 'Amr Ibn Maymūn<sup>14</sup> said: 'One day, when I was having lunch at al-Kindī's house, a neighbour came by and I invited him to join us, but the man said: "By God, I have already eaten!" To which al-Kindī replied, "After 'by God!' there is nothing more to say!", thus effectively pinning the man's hands behind his back: if he moved to eat with him, he would be an unbeliever'.<sup>15</sup> End of quote.

#### AII.2.3

In margin of MS R (fol. 83b), an anecdote condemning al-Kindī's ideas, next to Ch. 10.1.12.<sup>16</sup>

10 Muḥammad ibn Shākir al-Kutubī (d. 764/1363) was a Damascene historian; see *Et*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Kutubī' (F. Rosenthal). Only two works by al-Kutubī have come down to us, the *Uyūn al-tawārikh*, which has survived partially, and the *Fawāt al-wafayāt*. The anecdotes about al-Kindī are not in the editions of these works.

11 In Arabic, *muzammalah* is an amphora or vessel used to keep a supply of cold water either by burying it in the ground or wrapping it in isolating cloth; see Nasrallah, *Annals*, 450.

12 Cf. this anecdote in al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxviii:479; al-Jāhīz has the same story with al-'Anbarī as protagonist instead of al-Kindī, see al-Jāhīz, *Bukhalā'*, 113.

13 Cf. this anecdote in Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxviii:479.

14 The name seems to be a corruption of 'Amr ibn Nuḥaywī who was acquainted with al-Nazzām and al-Kindī and appears in two anecdotes in al-Jāhīz, *Bukhalā'*, 17, and 38. Ibn Nuḥaywī was an official (*āmil*) under al-Ma'mūn and son-in-law of Mūsā ibn Abī l-Faraj ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk; see al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍarah*, i:132; also van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, iii:208.

15 See a version of this anecdote in al-Jāhīz, *Bukhalā'*, 17; and, with the same wording of MS R in Ibn Nubātah, *Sarḥ al-'uyūn*, 233.

16 This anecdote occurs in al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxviii:480.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khāqān<sup>17</sup> said: ‘I have never seen al-Kindī alive, but I saw him in dreams as he has been described. I asked him: “What has God done with you?”’ Al-Kindī replied:

– As soon as He saw me He said: «*Depart to that which you had rejected as lies!*»<sup>18</sup>

May God save us from His wrath! Al-Kindī died in 281 [894–895].

#### AII.2.4

Marginal verses in MS R (fol. 83b) copied next to the poem in Ch. 10.1.13 and given as an additional example of al-Kindī’s poetry.

[al-Kindī] also said, describing a *qaṣīdah*:<sup>19</sup>

The wind, in its course, would fall short of its extent,  
arrows would be unable to strike as it does.

Camel drivers and singers have plundered its beauty  
so that mounts and wine are moved on by means of it.

#### AII.3.1

Gloss of the poem of Ibn Shibl al-Baghdādī in Ch. 10.51.2 in MS R (fol. 98a), quoting a poem by al-Buḥturī.

I say [i.e. the copyist]: Ibn Shibl took this motif from al-Buḥturī’s poem [?],<sup>20</sup> the beginning of which is:<sup>21</sup>

Slowly, revolving sphere!

...<sup>22</sup>

[?] In this poem the author follows the method of the philosopher-sages. This<sup>23</sup> is taken from al-Buḥturī’s verse in the aforementioned poem:

17 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was the brother of ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khāqān, the vizier of al-Mutawakkil. He was associated with Ibn Ḥanbal, from whom he transmitted questions on jurisprudence (*masā’il*); see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta’riḫ Baghdad*, x:277.

18 Q al-Mursalāt 77:29.

19 These verses can be found, attributed to al-Kindī, in Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkirah*, v:408; and Ibn Nubātah, *Sarḥ al-‘uyūn*, 234.

20 The Arabic is corrupt at this point beyond any possible emendation.

21 Cf. al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, 959 (no. 380, verses 1 and 5 respectively).

22 Unfortunately, the second half of this verse is difficult, as is clear from the several variants of the words *taṣarrāfu* (or *tuṭawwifu*, or *taṣarrāfu*, or *taṣarraqu*) and *jubārū* (or *khiyārū*). The word *jubār* has nothing to do with *jabr*, the technical term for ‘predestination’ (it means ‘unretaliated’ among other things). But it seems that al-Buḥturī addresses the universe as if it is Destiny or Fate.

23 I.e., vs. 14 of Ibn Shibl’s poem, ending ‘long wishes and short terms’.

We have high hopes  
that we cherish, but short lives.

## AII.3.2

Marginal gloss in MS R (fol. 98b), referring to the elegy for Ibn Shibl's brother in Ch. 10.51.3.

This motif was taken from the [following] verses of Maḥmūd al-Warrāq:<sup>24</sup>  
A man would like to last forever; but he  
can be certain that what lasts forever is extinction.  
Whenever he spends a day, that day spends part of him,  
and when an evening falls, the evening spends him.<sup>25</sup>  
The more his body increases, the more his life decreases:  
There is no growth when life decreases.  
Day and night: nothing remains with them,  
nor do they, after all things have gone, last forever.

## AII.3.3

Also referring to the elegy for Ibn Shibl's brother in Ch. 10.51.3 there are two verses from al-Ma'arrī copied in the margin of MS R (fol. 98b).<sup>26</sup>

If Gabriel were to fly away from Time for the remainder  
of his life, he would not be able to go outside of Time.<sup>27</sup>  
They have asserted that the celestial spheres are subject to decay:  
If this be true, then impurity is like purity.

## AII.4

Verses from Ibn Hānī' copied in MS R (fol. 98b), in the margin of section Ch. 10.51.2.<sup>28</sup>

24 Maḥmūd ibn Ḥasan al-Warrāq (d. ca. 230/845) was a poet of the early Abbasid period who lived in Baghdad, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Warrāq' (G J. van Gelder). For this poem cf. Maḥmūd al-Warrāq, *Dīwān*, 67 (*hamzah* no. 2).

25 It is difficult to render the verb *ṭawā*, used three times ('to fold, envelop', 'to spend, pass [time]').

26 Cf. al-Ma'arrī, *Luzūmiyyāt*, 1:374 (no. 131, verses 4–5).

27 Translation by R.A. Nicholson, see Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Poetry*, 156. [The following line is not there.]

28 Ibn Hānī' (d. 362/973) was an Andalusī poet who worked at the court of the fourth Fatimid caliph, al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusī' (F. Dachraoui). For these verses, see. Ibn Hānī, *Dīwān Ibn Hānī* (ed. al-Bustānī), 168.

The shining stars will perish though they rise,  
 as will the two light-givers, sun and moon.  
 Though they may appear, where they rise, to be  
 neatly strung, they will surely be scattered,  
 And though the revolving sphere travels with them at night,  
 it will surely surrender them and be split asunder.

## AII.5

Marginal addition in MS R (fol. 107a) from Barhebraeus' *Mukhtaṣar*,<sup>29</sup> with a story of Awḥad al-Zamān's conversion to Islam that differs from the one given by IAU in Ch. 10.66.5.<sup>30</sup>

It is said that the reason behind Awḥad al-Zamān's conversion to Islam was the illness of certain Seljuq king. [The physician] was summoned from Baghdad and he travelled to [the court], he treated the king until he was cured and was rewarded with copious presents, including money, riding beasts, clothing, and other precious gifts. When he returned to Iraq, loaded with riches beyond measure and garbed in beautiful apparel, he heard that Ibn Aflaḥ<sup>31</sup> had lampooned him with these verses:<sup>32</sup>

We have a Jewish physician whose stupidity  
 is apparent from his mouth when he speaks.

He wanders bewilderedly (*yatih*) – a dog is above him in status –  
 as if he were still wandering in the wilderness (*al-tih*).

Upon hearing that, Awḥad al-Zamān knew that he would not be shown respect for the graces bestowed upon him unless he embraced Islam. He strengthened his resolve about it, but then he realized that his grown-up daughters had not converted and that they would not inherit from him when he died. Awḥad al-Zamān implored the caliph to be magnanimous and allow his daughters [to receive] his wealth, even if they had kept their

29 Barhebraeus (d. 685/1286), Ibn al-'Ibrī in Arabic, was a member of the Syriac Orthodox Church; although he was also a physician he is mainly known by his works on history and philosophy and his translations. On this author see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn al-'Ibrī' (J.B. Segal).

30 Cf. Barhebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar*, 210; also Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 323 (conversion story), and 325 (diseases).

31 Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī ibn Aflaḥ (d. 535/1141), *kātib*, poet, and critic. See al-'Imād al-Iṣfahānī, *Khariḍah (al-'Irāq)*, ii: 52–69, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii:389–391, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xx:435–438.

32 These verses are quoted by IAU in an entirely different context (Ch. 10.64.2) and attributed to Amin al-Dawlah, who hated Awḥad al-Zamān.

faith. The caliph agreed to that and once he was reassured, [Awḥad al-Zamān] publicly professed his conversion and continued teaching and tending the sick happily. But fate turned its back on him when he aged. His brilliance faded and was struck by diseases that his medical knowledge was unable to fight, suffering a degree of pain that neither his body nor his heart were able to endure: he lost his sight, he lost his hearing, he contracted leprosy – may God save us from the vicissitudes of fortune, restrictions and monetary distress! When [Awḥad al-Zamān] felt his death close, he prescribed that his [testamentary] executor had his tombstone engraved with these words: ‘This is the tomb of Awḥad al-Zamān Abū l-Barakāt, one who is a lesson to others (*dhī l-‘ibar*),<sup>33</sup> the author of the *Lessons in Wisdom* (*ṣāhib al-mu‘tabar*):’<sup>34</sup>

End [of the quote, from] Abū l-Faraj Ibn al-‘Ibrī.

#### A11.6

A riddle epigram copied after the colophon of MS Sb (fol. 186b), which corresponds with the end of Ch. 10.68 (section on Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl, also known as Ibn al-Qaṭṭān). It is apparently on some insect or other. The word after ‘a riddle’, perhaps giving the solution, is smudged and illegible.<sup>35</sup>

A riddle:

One you see walking on six,  
 but if it stands up, it stands on four.  
 It eats while the king (?) is in ...,  
 it sits with the lion in one place;<sup>36</sup>  
 It drinks the blood of all mankind  
 and does not respond when called.

33 This is an example of *jinās* since ‘*ibar*’ means both ‘lessons’ and ‘tears’. *Dhī l-‘ibar* could be also translated as ‘a tearful one’, implying that his suffering serves as a warning example of the vicissitudes of time.

34 On The Lessons of Wisdom (*K. al-Mu‘tabar*), see Ch. 10.66.9 title no. 1.

35 Metre: *mutaqārib*. The riddle was copied, and possibly composed, by the copyist, Ibrāhīm al-Jawāliqī, in 713/1313.

36 Reading and interpretation unclear. Perhaps *qaṣ‘ihī* is to be emended to *qaṣrihī*, and the sense “It eats even when the king in his castle”. Perhaps *mawḍī‘ī* is an irregular pausal spelling of *mawḍī‘ī(n)*, in which case the translation is ‘it sits (reading *yajlisu*) with the lion in one place’.

## AII.7

Two lines of verse at the top of an otherwise empty page of MS Sb (fol. 187a).<sup>37</sup>

I consoled my heart with being together [with a loved one] but it was of  
no avail.

It persisted while I was resolved to cure it with abandoning [him].

Another:

Time is nothing but thus, so bear it patiently:

loss of wealth or separation from a loved one.

## AII.8.1

Marginal verses by Ibn Sīnā in MS R (fol. 127a), copied before the beginning of the long book-list (11.13.7.9):

Ibn Khallikān says:<sup>38</sup> To the Raʿīs [Ibn Sīnā] are attributed the two verses quoted by al-Shahrestānī at the beginning of his book *The furthest steps [in dialectical theology]* (*Nihāyat al-aqdām [fi ʿilm al-kalām]*):<sup>39</sup>

I have roamed all those familiar spots

and made my eyes travel between those landmarks;

But I saw nothing but people putting their hand, perplexed,  
on their chin or gnashing their teeth in regret.

[Ibn Khallikān] says: 'Sīnā' is written with a non-punctuated *sīn* [i.e. not *shīn*] vocalised with *kasrah*, a silent *yā'* marked with two points below, and a *nūn* vocalized with *fathah* and followed by an *alif* with *hamzah* (*alif mamdūdāh*).<sup>40</sup>

37 The first line has not been found elsewhere. The second (with a slight variant) is found, anonymously, in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (ed. Zakkār and Zirikli), iv:1013 (= ed. al-Dūrī et al., iii:74), and attributed to Abū l-Aswad (presumably al-Duʿālī, d. ca. 69/688) in al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, ii:71. It is not found in his *Dīwān*. It has also been attributed to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, see ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, *Dīwān*, 29.

38 Cf. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii:161 (for the poem), and ii:162 (for the orthography of the name).

39 Al-Shahrestānī (d. 548/1153) was an Ashʿarī theologian, see EI<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Shahrestānī' (G. Monnot).

40 One does find Ibn Sīnā' with *hamzah* in the sources, but mostly it is without *hamzah*. Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs* (SYN) says: 'Sīnā, *maqṣūrah*: ancestor of al-Raʿīs Abū ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ...'.

## AII.8.2

Prayer copied in the margin of the biography of Ibn Sīnā (Ch. 11.13.7),<sup>41</sup> in MS R (fol. 125a); for an illustration of the folio, see Fig. 4.6 in Volume One.<sup>42</sup> This marginal text has been collated with the versions preserved in Istanbul MS Esat Efendi 3688 (fols. 138b–139a) and Istanbul MS Ḥamidiye 1448 (fols. 449a–449b).

This was written (?) by the Raʿīs [Ibn Sīnā] asking for forgiveness for drinking wine:

O God, Who have no associate whom I could ask from, nor a vizier whom I could bribe! I yield to Your will only, since Yours is the grace bestowed upon me. I have disobeyed You in my ignorance and You have the evidence against me. I follow the Lord of the Messengers, Muḥammad the illiterate Prophet – may God cherish him and his family; I acknowledge that this wine is illicit, and I am aware of the exemplary punishments that await their drinkers in the Afterlife according to their degrees. If You have established them as You promised to the pious, Your power will judge me and Your Preordination will requite my [deeds].

The dispositions of human natures are pulling the rein of my soul, which enjoins wrongdoing,<sup>43</sup> towards seeking pleasure in drinking wine. This is for two reasons: First, [wine] is used as medicine in unhealthy lands to protect against the harms of pestilent airs and the seasonal changes that result from the Sun's distance from or closeness to the earth,<sup>44</sup> and the interaction of the material qualities in the world of coming-to-be and passing-away. Second, the abidance by the testimony given in Your Glorious Book, the wellbeing of people, and the opinion of the majority [of Muslims] show that in certain cases

41 Ibn Sīnā is the author of a medical work on the benefits and harms of wine, not listed by IAU; his affection for wine is reported in biographical sources and earned the condemnation of pious Muslims (Gutas, *Avicenna*, 209–213). This homily is not explicitly mentioned by IAU either, although it should be one of those listed under the generic title *khūṭab* both in the short (Ch. 11.13.3.2 no. 39) and the long bibliographies (Ch. 11.13.8 no. 63). Although it has survived in several manuscripts, this homily does not seem to have been edited (Gutas, *Avicenna*, 509, GPW 6.c).

42 Fig. 4.6 in the essay in Vol. 1 titled “The Textual and Manuscript Tradition of Ibn Abī Uṣaybīʿah’s ‘*Uyūn al-anbāʿ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*”, by Igancio Sánchez.

43 Reference to Q Yūsuf 12:53.

44 Literally, to the *sphaera recta* (*al-falak al-mustaqīm*), which is the celestial sphere as appearing to the inhabitants of the equatorial region, where the celestial equator passes through the zenith; see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Falak’ (W. Hartner).

[wine] has been rendered lawful as long as it is used to [improve] people's health, and to bring strength into the human frame, in accordance with the words [of Muḥammad], God bless and cherish him and his family: 'Whoever has a sound nature has a sound religious conduct'.

If I have yielded to them immoderately and inebriation (*sukr*) has distracted me from gratitude (*shukr*), You are the One that may forgive my faults and pardon my offences. Because You are the All-Powerful, and this would be most becoming of You. and because pardon and mercy, are two attributes with which You describe Yourself.<sup>45</sup> Forgive me, with the power You hold over me, and under the obligation of atoning for my sins. If I have trespassed Your sacred boundaries, or transgressed the prohibitions of Your law, it is because my mind was blinded. O God, fill the sight of my mental vision with that which will turn me away from what it [i.e., my sight] made easy for me and what it made to appear beautiful to my soul, according to Your words: «*Beautiful for people is the love of lusts*».<sup>46</sup> Because You are the First Cause, and intermediaries have no distinction in terms of free acts, for they are, in truth, created. God, grant me a place among those who are close to the Highest Holiness and far from the depths of Hell [?].<sup>47</sup>

## AII.9

These verses by Abū l-'Atāhiyah, copied in the margin of MS R (fol. 101b), refer to the poem of Ibn Ṣafīyah in Ch. 10.63.3.<sup>48</sup>

By Abū l-'Atāhiyah, on the same motif:

When ants grow wings  
in order to fly, their perdition is nigh.

45 These are among the ninety-nine names given to God in Islamic tradition: *al-'Afuww* (the Forgiver) and *al-Raḥmān* (the Merciful).

46 Q Āl 'Imrān 3:14.

47 The last word in the three manuscripts consulted (*m-h-h-ḍ-m* in R; *m-j-h-ḍ-m* in the Istanbul MSS) seems to be a mistake. The root *j-h-ḍ-m* exists, but the meanings associated with it do not make any sense in this context. The substantive *Jahḍam* means 'someone with a big head and a round face', and also 'lion'; the verb *tajahḍama* means 'to put on airs'; see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. ج ه م. The Istanbul MSS read 'in the fire *al-m-j-h-ḍ-m*', whilst MS R reads 'in the depths *al-m-h-h-ḍ-m*'.

48 Abū l-'Atāhiyah, *Dīwān*, 49 (no. 44, verse 9).

## AII.10

Marginal addition to the biography of Abū l-‘Alā ibn Zuhr (Ch. 13.61.1) in MS R (fol. 144a), taken from Ibn Khallikān.<sup>49</sup>

Ibn Khallikān says:

He [Abū l-‘Alā’ ibn Zuhr] belonged to a family of religious scholars, generals, learned men and viziers; they all reached elevated positions, and were close to the rulers, who executed their commands.

Ibn Diḥyah says in his book *al-Muṭrib*:<sup>50</sup> Our master, that is Ibn Zuhr, was a language stronghold and a fresh-water source of medicine. He used to memorize the poetry of Dhū l-Rummah,<sup>51</sup> which comprises one third of the Arabic lexicon, while he [i.e., Ibn Zuhr] also had a commanding knowledge of all what physicians and philosophers have said.

Often some people laid their cheeks on their hands,  
 overcome by sleep in the morning, like me;  
 I kept pouring wine for them and drinking what they left,  
 until I got drunk and they were affected by what also affected me.

## AII.11

Anecdote copied in the margin MS R (fol. 152a) next to the biography of al-Tamīmī (14.14), likely taken from Ibn al-Athīr’s *al-Kāmil fī l-ta’rīkh*.<sup>52</sup> The poem is by al-Ḥasan ibn Bishr al-Dimashqī,<sup>53</sup> lampooning the vizier Ya‘qūb ibn Kiliš.<sup>54</sup>

According to certain historian, al-‘Azīz<sup>55</sup> – God bless him – was a merciful king prone to pardon and this story serves as example of his mercy: There was in Egypt a poet who indulged in satire. He wrote a lampoon of the vizier Ya‘qūb ibn

49 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv:434.

50 Ibn Diḥyah (d. 633/1235) was an Andalusian poet and anthologist, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn Diḥya’ (F. De la Granja). For this quotation cf. Ibn Diḥyah, *Muṭrib*, 206–207.

51 The remark on Dhū l-Rummah’s poetry, with its very extensive vocabulary, was also made of al-Farazdaq, see *Aghānī*, xxi:395.

52 See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ix:82.

53 No further information has been found about this poet.

54 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ix:82; Barhebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar*, 178; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti‘āz*, i:298.

55 Nizār Abū Maṣṣūr al-‘Azīz bi-Allāh (344–386/955–996), was the fifth Fatimid caliph; see *EI* *Three*, ‘al-‘Azīz bi-llāh’ (P.E. Walker).

Killis<sup>56</sup> and Abū Naṣr,<sup>57</sup> the secretary of the chancellery, and behaved insolently by saying:

Say to Abū Naṣr, the secretary at the Palace,  
 who applies himself to wrecking the rule:  
 ‘Wreck the firm bonds of the realm for the Vizier, then you’ll gain  
 from him handsome praise and repute.  
 Give, or deny, and do not fear anyone,  
 for the master of the Palace is not in the Palace.  
 He does not know what is meant by it,  
 and when he knows, then what does he know?’

The vizier complained to al-‘Azīz and recited the poem to him. [Al-‘Azīz] replied: ‘We are together in this since we both have been lampooned, join me then in forgiving him.’ Such was his magnanimity and forgiveness; may God bless him.

## AII.12

Added perpendicularly in margin of biography Ch. 15.1.4 in MS L 107a and incorporated to the main text of MS Gb (fol. 12a).<sup>58</sup>

O for the resolution of a truthful man of nobility<sup>59</sup>  
 whose truthfulness renews his resolve among truthful people,  
 Who jealously guards his breaths, lest they be spent  
 while he wastes them on what they do not deserve!

## AII.13

As a marginal addition to biography Ch. 15.11.2.1 in MS R (fol. 171b), a poem by al-Jilyānī, transcribed (rather imperfectly) by the copyist from al-Jilyānī’s *Dīwān al-ḥikam wa-maydān al-kalim*.<sup>60</sup>

56 Ibn Killis was the vizier of the caliph al-‘Azīz bi-Allāh, see *EI Three*, ‘Ibn Killis’ (P.E. Walker).

57 Ibn al-Athīr gives the name Abū Naṣr ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn al-Qayrawānī, no further information has been found about this secretary.

58 These verses are not found in ABHR, Müller, Riḍā, and al-Najjār. Metre: *ṭawīl*.

59 *Nabāḥah* can also mean ‘intelligence, alertness.’

60 Metre *basīṭ*. The edition of this work by Fakhri Ṣāliḥ Sa‘īd (1975) was not accessible to us. This and the following poem are found in the manuscript of *Dīwān al-ḥikam* in the Bodleian Library (MS Marsh 470, fols. 142a and 144b; hereafter DḤ). This poem is introduced there with *wa-qāl fi s[anat] 584 wa-hiya i’tibāriyyah*, ‘and in the year 584 [1188–1189] he composed [the following], a poem of contemplation.’

How often can this poisoned<sup>61</sup> body be treated with a curative antidote,  
 when illness is part of its nature?  
 Its natural disposition is discordant in its structure;  
 thus what should be combined in it is fractious in it.<sup>62</sup>  
 If it flees from phlegm, from the coldness of which one should be wary,  
 it will be troubled by the burning of the blaze of yellow bile.  
 If it feeds itself copiously, eating its fill will give it indigestion,  
 but if it takes food on alternate days only, it will suffer from hunger.  
 5 Superfluities are generated in it that beset it;  
 when they are in commotion, it is as if it is struck by the falling sick-  
 ness.<sup>63</sup>  
 It wants to go to the privy, when the mounting superfluity is descending,  
 or to women, while its reason's governor is deposed.  
 The robe of its health – its joins<sup>64</sup> are threadbare;  
 All its lifetime the body is being patched up.  
 But for his delusion, a discriminating man would not turn  
 to a site in which spot the word 'body' is heard.<sup>65</sup>  
 Thus all features of defect or traits of deformity  
 are carried and the natural disposition of the body put down.  
 10 And his limit<sup>66</sup> in him ...<sup>67</sup> mortal;  
 when will he reap life while death is sown?

## AII.14

On right margin of the biography in Ch. 15.11.2.1 in MS R (fol. 171b), a poem by al-Jilyānī, also copied from *Dīwān al-ḥikam*.<sup>68</sup>

A wine glass and a pair of trousers, whenever they are together  
 in a convivial gathering, and clothes that are unwrapped:<sup>69</sup>

61 *Malsū'*, literally 'stung (e.g. by a scorpion)' or 'bitten (by a snake)'.

62 The translation of this hemistich, with its profusion of prepositional phrases (*bihi, fihī, minhu*), is not wholly certain. *Taṣḍīr* (lit., 'splitting') is an antonym of *jam'* ('combining').

63 *Maṣrū'*.

64 *Awṣāl*, 'joins', 'joints', 'ties', or 'limbs'.

65 There is an allusion to the ancient motif in Bedouin poetry of stopping at an abandoned campsite where the poet has once been.

66 Or 'definition'?

67 Reading and translation of the first hemistich unclear.

68 Metre *ṭawīl*. In DḤ the poem is introduced with *wa-qāla fī s[anat] 569 wa-hiya ... ḥyāh* ('and in the year 569 [1173–1174] he composed [the following], a poem of ...'). Reading and meaning of the last word are unclear.

69 *Ishtināl*, 'wrapping oneself in a garment'; *taṣadda'a*, 'to be split, scattered'.

They are like two flints striking fire;  
 see, a blaze quickly fills the sky!  
 Smoke rises like a black night,  
 sparks fly up like lightning in a rain shower, intermittently.  
 But for these trousers that rouse one's passion  
 people could benefit from the wine glass, brimful.  
 Every kind of affliction is hiding in these trousers:  
 so fasten them, so that you may be saved from all evil!

## AII.15

Poem by Ibn 'Unayn<sup>70</sup> on a young servant of Ibn al-Muṭṭrān called 'Umar copied in MS R (fol. 177b) in the margin of the biography Ch. 15.23.2.1.<sup>71</sup>

I [i.e., the copyist] say: This 'Umar is mentioned by Ibn 'Unayn in his poem entitled 'The Shears of Good Reputations' (*Miqrāḍ al-a'rāḍ*),<sup>72</sup> in which he lampooned all the inhabitants of Damascus, and which opens with:

Ribs that enclose misery,  
 eyes that burst forth with bucketfuls!  
 In it, he turns to Ibn al-Muṭṭrān, the physician:  
 I wonder if I shall see my lord al-Muwaffaq swagger  
 in its<sup>73</sup> spacious courtyards,  
 Walking leisurely, with 'Umar behind him,  
 swaggering like an oryx cow in a herd!  
 Whenever my lord looks at him,  
 he is mad with love and shows a marvellous conceitedness.  
 He is a motherf ...;<sup>74</sup> there are few that resemble him

70 Ibn 'Unayn (d. 630/1233) was a satirical poet from Damascus; see *ET*<sup>2</sup>, 'Ibn 'Unayn' (Ed.).

71 See Müller, *Lesarten*, 52–53. This marginal comment with the poetry, except the fourth line, is found in Ibn Zāfir al-Azdī, *Badā'ī' al-badā'ih*, 403.

72 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Ibn 'Unayn, *Dīwān*, 179–180. Ibn 'Unayn (d. 630/1233) was banished by Saladin on account of this poem.

73 viz., of Damascus.

74 The verb *tabaḍrama* is connected by the lexicographers (al-Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs*, and cf. al-Tha'ālibī, *Fiqh al-lughah*, 231) with *baḍram*, 'signet ring' and explained, bizarrely, as 'being stupid while wearing a signet ring, gesturing in people's faces'. Instead, it is far more likely derived from the common expression *māṣṣ/āḍḍ baḍr ummik* (an obscenity of the 'motherfucker' variety, on which see Nawas, 'Sucker of One's Mother's Clitoris'). Al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās*, makes the connection, which is also clear from a line by Abū Tammām (... *ḥir-immīyyatun yastannu fihā l-tabaḍrumū*, *Dīwān*, iv:422). The sense seems to be 'to be worthy of being addressed with (the insult mentioned)'.

among people, except that al-Raḥbī<sup>75</sup> is a motherf ... too.  
 He claims that he with his wisdom  
 taught Hippocrates the art of medicine.

## AII.16

Additional verses by Sa'd al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz written in the margin of MS R (fol. 182b), at the end of his biography (Ch. 15.35).<sup>76</sup>

From al-Maqrīzī's *History of Egypt*<sup>77</sup> I copied the following poem by this Ibrāhīm al-Sulamī:<sup>78</sup>

O you that have moved far away<sup>79</sup> from me, who have not kept  
 the covenant with me nor observed the ancient covenants:  
 Be joined with us again, as you once were,  
 and blacken with letters the face of aloofness!<sup>80</sup>  
 But if you assert that I am unjust,  
 ask (me) to swear: I shall not do it again.

75 Identified by the editor of Ibn 'Unayn's *Dīwān* as Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī (on whom see Ch. 15.36).

76 Metre: *sarī*.

77 Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), the famous and prolific Egyptian historian; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Maqrīzī' (F. Rosenthal).

78 I.e., Sa'd al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Sulamī. From the word *khīṭaṭ* written at the end of the poem it appears that this *History of Egypt* is al-Maqrīzī's *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār*, known as *al-Khīṭaṭ*; but the lines have not been found in the edition of Būlāq, AH 1270 (AD 1853) or in Fu'ād Sayyid's edition.

79 Reading *na'ā* instead of the unmetrical and incomprehensible *nāda*.

80 "To blacken the face" of something is to discredit or dishonour it; the blackness also alludes to the ink of letters.