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Philip F. Kennedy

*General Editor, Library of Arabic Literature*
كتاب جهات الأمة الخلفاء
من الحركات والإمامة المستقية
نساء الخلفاء
لتجدي الدين علي بن أتيحة
المعروف بابن الساعي
Consorts of the Caliphs
Women and the Court of Baghdad

Ibn al-Sāʿī

Edited by Shawkat M. Toorawa
Translated by The Editors of the Library of Arabic Literature
Introduction by Julia Bray
Foreword by Marina Warner
Volume editor Julia Bray

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Abbreviations

AD  anno Domini = Gregorian (Christian) year
AH  anno Hegirae = Hijrah (Muslim) year
art.  article
Ar.  Arabic
c.  century
ca.  circa = about, approximately
cf.  confer = compare
d.  died
ed.  editor, edition, edited by
EI2  Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second edition
EI3  Encyclopaedia of Islam, Three [Third edition]
EIran  Encyclopaedia Iranica
esp.  especially
f., ff.  folio, folios
fl.  flourished
lit.  literally
MS  manuscript
n.  note
n.d.  no date
n.p.  no place
no.  number
p., pp.  page, pages
pl.  plural
Q  Qur’an
r.  ruled
vol., vols.  volume, volumes
“Muted” was the epithet used to describe female subjects by the anthropologists Edwin and Shirley Ardener in an influential critique of their discipline and its methods, published in 1975; they identified a systemic problem, that field-workers consistently sought out the men’s story, set down what they heard, and attended above all to male activities; in most cases, the researchers had little access to women, but they also did not try to listen to them or elicit their stories. Consequently, women disappeared from the record, their voices were not registered, and the whole picture suffered from distortion.

The Ardeners provided a polemical but persuasive angle of view on a widespread discomfort with cultural assumptions, and their work spurred a new generation of readers and researchers to begin listening in to “muted groups” of individuals from the past, those muffled female participants whose “labour created our world” (to borrow Angela Carter’s phrase about storytellers, balladsingers, and other cultural keepers of memory). The impulse was part of the broadly feminist program of those years, but it grew larger than that political movement, as scholars in history, literature, social studies, and indeed almost every area of inquiry pursued the new archaeology, unearthing remarkable new material about women’s lives and deeds, and often bringing forgotten figures back to consciousness. The findings did not only fill in gaps in the view, but also transformed the whole horizon and realigned contemporary understanding in crucial ways. Historians such as Natalie Zemon Davis and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie excavated provincial archives and tuned in to the voices of female witnesses and defendants; literary scholars returned to and in some cases revived familiar and not unsuccessful writers (Christine de Pisan, Christina Rossetti, Emily Dickinson) to illuminate the social and psychological radiation of their works as women. Some of the ignorance—and the bigotry that arises from ignorance—began to lift, with many powerful reverberations for the position of women today. It is sobering to remember that less than a hundred years ago, Oxford and Cambridge did not award degrees to women (until 1920 and 1947 respectively), though they had begun to allow women to sit (successfully) for
the exams. Now women have reached numerical parity at undergraduate and graduate levels in many subjects, and have entered every discipline as teachers and professors—Maryam Mirzakhani has won the Fields Medal in Mathematics and Julia Bray holds the Laudian Chair of Arabic at Oxford. (I do realize that Julia Bray, as project editor of this volume, may dislike being singled out for praise, but her appointment seems to me a great cause for pride and pleasure, and so I hope she will not mind my drawing attention to it.)

If low expectations, combined with misunderstanding and social prejudice, have muted women in the Western tradition, the silence that has wrapped women in the East is even deeper. In the United States and Europe, the voices of women from the Islamic past are often eroticized and trivialized—through harem romances and desert epics, advertising and propaganda. Rimsky-Korsakov’s luscious music for *Shéhérazade* was adapted for Fokine’s ballet of 1910 and accompanies a plot in which orientalist assumptions of savagery, lasciviousness, slavery, and tyranny are taken to torrid extremes. Ways of selecting and presenting stories from the *Arabian Nights* have exacerbated the problem: heroines who are adventurous and courageous and have strong, interior passions and resourceful ideas (Zumurrud, Badr, Tawaddud, and many others—they abound in the work) were overlooked in favor of the insipid love interest, like the princess in *Aladdin*, who is almost entirely silent and, when she does speak, foolish. Collections of the *Arabian Nights* selected for children frequently cut the frame tale and present the Nights as a bunch of stories, without the decisive organizing principle provided by Shahrazad’s stratagem, thus muting the female storyteller as pictured in the book and omitting the crucial rationale, her ransom tale-telling.

*Consorts of the Caliphs* is a work of historical biography, not an anthology of fictions, and it gives voice to the spirited, learned, influential women of the medieval past in the Abbasid empire. It unbinds our ears and eyes to some of what they said and did. The author/compiler Ibn al-Sāʾī was himself a poet and a librarian, and through patient sifting of archival memories, both oral and written, he communicates precious echoes and fragments from a period spanning five hundred years: the earliest woman whose life he sets before us was the wife of Caliph al-Manṣūr (reigned 136–58/754–75), while the latest, Shāhān, died in 652/1254–55. In the entry on Zubaydah, who died in 532/1137–38, Ibn al-Sāʾī’s epitaph is brief: “She was lovely and praised for her beauty.” This is uncharacteristically reticent. For the early years, Ibn al-Sāʾī fills in the blanks with stories he has gathered from chains of sources; for the later period, within living memory,
he passes on what he has heard. Women’s words rise from the page in many regis-
ters—passionate high poetry, mordant quips and sallies, and prayerful thoughts. The effect is vivid and fleeting, a series of lantern slides within a laconic yet impassioned account that comes across clearly now and again but then breaks up or fades. Slaves, “dependents,” lovers and wives are glimpsed—dazzlingly accomplished individuals in some cases, who survive by their wits, risking all with their tongues; their adopted sobriquets give a flavor of their spiritedness: Ghādir (“Inconstance”), Ghaḍīḍ (“Luscious”), Qurrat al-ʿAyn (“Solace”), Ḍirār (“Damage”), Sarīrah (“Secret”), and even Qabīḥah (“Ugly”).

In other cases, the women, august or beggared, full of years or plucked before their time, pass by in a roll of honor, on a pervasive note of reverence and elegy. Ibn al-Sāʿī’s book conveys their mobility, the complexity of the roles they fulfilled, the variety of their ethnic and religious origins, and their high status. Their circumstances reveal the intermingling of ethnic origins and faiths. The term “slave” itself, used here after careful thought on the part of the translators and their editors, clearly needs more attention from historians, since the term, as habitually used in English, does not capture the ambiguities in the situation of Faḍl, for example, whose raunchy flytings the translators have met with matching boldness:²

He moaned and groaned and whined all night,  
And creaked just like a door-hinge.

Some of Ibn al-Sāʾī’s material reads like fabulist literature. Anecdotes and personalities have intermingled with the stories of the Arabian Nights and grown into the stuff of legend: the passion of Maḥbūbah and al-Mutawakkil, for instance, a brief, dramatic tale of mutual dreaming and reconciliation, appears in the complete cycle of the Arabian Nights (as rendered by Malcolm Lyons for Penguin or Jamel Eddine Bencheikh and André Miquel for the Pléiade). Hārūn al-Rashīd and the Barmakids, including the vizier Jaʿfar, have become mythic as well as historical heroes. However, the historically-minded author of Consorts of the Caliphs is also an accountant, and the enormous prices paid (one hundred thousand gold dinars to the slave ʿArīb for her own slave Bidʿah, for example) or spent on wedding gifts (thousands of pearls and heavy candles of ambergris for Būrān) are entered admiringly into the record. Munificence of this princely order occurs in the Arabian Nights, but it is rarely bestowed by powerful women, as we see here: even women who are slaves, if in favor, can dispose of treasure

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as they wish. This contradiction is one of myriad social details that raise further questions about the nature of women’s subjugation in the oriental, and specifically Abbasid, past.

This volume is the sixteenth title in the Library of Arabic Literature, and a most valuable addition to an invaluable series that is revolutionizing access to the corpus for non-Arabic readers like myself as well as establishing meticulous editions for those who can read the works in the original language. Ibn al-Sā’ī’s gallery of women poets, wits, singers, chess players, teachers, benefactors, and builders (of waterways, libraries, and law schools) transcends the collective, stereotypical character of great ladies as femmes fatales, wives, mothers, or concubines; his report lifts a veil of silence and allows us to overhear the hum of lyric, argument, wit, and elegy from women’s voices in the past. Its rich retrievals will prove marvelously inspiring, both for scholarship and for other creative work. One might dream of a new opera—about ’Inān? about Faḍl? about Būrān?—to do justice to the women who sing out from Ibn al-Sā’ī’s revelatory and enjoyable archive.

Marina Warner
Oxford
Preface

Nine of us, namely the editorial board of the Library of Arabic Literature (LAL)—Julia Bray, Michael Cooperson, Philip Kennedy, Joseph Lowry, James Montgomery, Tahera Qutbuddin, Devin Stewart, and Shawkat Toorawa—and LAL managing editor Chip Rossetti, intensively and collaboratively worked on the translation of *Consorts of the Caliphs* over the course of three editorial meetings, two in Abu Dhabi and one in New York. I was tasked by the group with editing the Arabic and with putting the volume together, and Julia Bray was designated the project editor, that is, the editor from the LAL board chosen to work closely with the editor. Given her expertise, she was also asked to write the introduction.

In 2010, when we first told colleagues how LAL would work—numerous stages and levels of close editorial scrutiny, the assigning of in-house project editors to each and every volume, master classes in editing and translating, and collaborative, workshopped translations—most, if not all, were skeptical. We hope that this volume, which was produced according to these principles and norms, will help alleviate any doubts about the possibility, viability, and desirability of such an enterprise, and that it will come to be seen as one model for how things can be done and—such is our hope—done well.

Shawkat M. Toorawa
Ithaca
Acknowledgments

The editorial board is grateful to the members of the collaborative academic alliance Radical Reassessment of Arabic Arts, Language, and Literature (RRAALL) for passing the *Consorts of the Caliphs* translation project on to the Library of Arabic Literature (LAL), and in particular to Joseph Lowry, the project’s *spiritus auctor*, who has been tirelessly committed to it.

We would like to thank Ian Stevens for early encouragement; Muhammet Günaydın of Istanbul University for obtaining a copy of the manuscript; and Gila Waels, along with Nora Yousif, Manal Demaghatrous, Antoine El Khayat, and Farhana Goha, for cheerful and expert assistance in Abu Dhabi. The feedback we received from audience members at the public panel discussion “Caliphs and their Consorts: Translating Anecdotes and Poetry in Ibn al-Sā’ī’s *Nisā’ al-Khulafā’*” in December 2012 in Abu Dhabi was immensely helpful—especially as we were reminded how important it is to translate for readers, not just for ourselves. The expert feedback of Richard Sieburth was invaluable, as were the participation of Maurice Pomerantz and Justin Stearns in an intensive translation workshop in Abu Dhabi in December 2013. Everyone at NYU Abu Dhabi and at NYU Press has been unfailingly supportive of us and of LAL.

* 

I am grateful to RRAALL for nurturing in me a love of collaboration in scholarship and to Philip Kennedy for turning the fantasy of the Library of Arabic Literature into reality and including me in that fantasy/reality. I know I must have done something right for so much of my “work” now to involve spending time in the superlative company of Philip Kennedy and James Montgomery. When you add Devin Stewart, Tahera Qutbuddin, Joseph Lowry, Michael Cooper, and Julia Bray to the mix, the company becomes unmatchable.

I must single out Julia. Not only did she save me from all manner of goofs and gaffes as I prepared the Arabic edition, and not only did her meticulous attention to every single word in this volume make it vastly superior—she also
Acknowledgments

provided me with the opportunity to collaborate, on a daily basis, with a consummate scholar and a dear friend. For this I am truly grateful.

It is also an honor to work with the outstanding scholar-translator-manager-editor-gentleman Chip Rossetti, the wonderful and resourceful LAL aide and assistant editor Gemma Juan-Simó, and our magician of a digital production manager, Stuart Brown. Martin Grosch’s and Jennifer Ilius’s maps adorn the volume beautifully, and Rana Siblini, Wiam El-Tamami, Marie Deer, and Elias Saba contributed invisibly but crucially.

The Department of Near Eastern Studies and the College of Arts and Sciences at Cornell University continue to provide me with superb milieux in which to thrive.

As for my family—Parvine, Maryam, Asiya (and Cotomili)—they are spectacular in indulging my obsessions and provide a constant and welcome reminder of what is truly important.

Shawkat M. Toorawa
Introduction

Tāj al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Anjab Ibn al-Sāʾī (593–674/1197–1276) was a Baghdadi man of letters and historian. As the librarian of two great law colleges, the Niẓāmiyyah and later the Munstanṣiriyyah, and a protégé of highly placed members of the regime, Ibn al-Sāʾī enjoyed privileged access to the ruling circles and official archives of the caliphate and contributed to the great cultural resurgence that took place under the last rulers of the Abbasid dynasty. This was an age of historians, and most of Ibn al-Sāʾī’s works were histories of one sort or another, but only fragments survive. The only one of his works that has come down to us complete is Consorts of the Caliphs. This too is a history insofar as it follows a rough chronological order, but in other respects it is more like a sub-genre of the biographical dictionary. It consists of brief life sketches, with no narrative interconnection, of concubines and wives of the Abbasid caliphs and, in an appendix, consorts of “viziers and military commanders.” This last section, however, is slightly muddled; it includes some concubines of caliphs and wives of two Saljūq sultans, as well as one woman who was neither; has a duplicate entry; and is not chronological, all of which suggests that it is a draft.

For the later Abbasid ladies of Consorts of the Caliphs, Ibn al-Sāʾī uses his own sources and insider knowledge, but for the earlier ones, he quotes well-known literary materials, drawing especially on the supreme historian of early Abbasid court literature, Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (284–ca. 363/897–ca. 972), author of the Book of Songs (Kitāb al-Aghānī). In this way, two quite different formats are juxtaposed in Consorts of the Caliphs: the later entries follow the obituary format of the chronicles of Ibn al-Sāʾī’s period; the earlier ones are adapted from the classical anecdote format of several centuries before, which combined narrative and verse in dramatic scenes. Many of the entries from both periods are framed by isnāds — the names of the people who originally recorded the anecdotes and of the people who then transmitted them, either by word of mouth or by reading from an authorized text. The names of Ibn al-Sāʾī’s own informants give an indication of what interested scholars and litterateurs in the Baghdad of his day. The meticulousness of the isnāds signals that Consorts of the Caliphs is a work
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of serious scholarship, as does the fact that Ibn al-Sāʿī’s personal informants are men of considerable standing.7

Ibn al-Sāʿī survived the Mongol sack of Baghdad in 656/1258 and lived on unmolested under Ilkhanid rule. Consorts of the Caliphs, which was written shortly before 1258,8 survives in a single late-fifteenth-century manuscript.9 This one small work is unique in affording multiple perspectives on things that have, over the centuries, been felt to be fundamental and durable in the Arabic literary and cultural imagination: the poetry of the heroines of early Abbasid culture; the mid-Abbasid casting of their careers and love lives into legend; a reimagining of the court life of the Abbasid period, along with the idealization of the court life of their own times, by Ibn al-Sāʿī and his contemporaries; and finally, the perspective of some two hundred years later in which the stories retold by Ibn al-Sāʿī were still valued, but lumped together in a single manuscript with an unrelated and unauthored miscellany of wit, wisdom, poems, and anecdotes.10

Ibn al-Sāʿī’s Life and Times: Post- and Pre-Mongol

What is it like to live through a cataclysm? When Ibn al-Sāʿī finished writing his Brief Lives of the Caliphs (Mukhtaṣar akhbār al-khulafa’) in 666/1267–68 (as he notes on the last page),11 it was as a survivor of the Mongol sack of Baghdad ten years earlier, in which the thirty-seventh and last ruling Abbasid caliph, al-Mustaʿṣim, had been killed. With al-Mustaʿṣim’s death came the end of the caliphate, an institution that had lasted more than half a millennium. Although the caliphate had shrunk by the end from an empire to a rump, the Abbasid caliphs, as descendants of the Prophet’s uncle, still claimed to be the lawful rulers of all Muslims. The late Abbasids ruled as well as reigned, asserting their claim to universal leadership by propounding an all-inclusive Sunnism and bonding with the growing groundswell of Sufism.12 Baghdad remained the intellectual and cultural capital of Arabic speakers everywhere.

After the Mongols arrived, all this changed. Egypt’s Mamluk rulers—Turkic slave soldiers—became the new Sunni standard-bearers, and Baghdad lost its role as the seat of high courtly culture. Ibn al-Sāʿī wrote Brief Lives in full consciousness of the new world order. The work dwells on the zenith of the caliphate centuries before and tells stirring tales of the great, early Abbasids, underlined by poetry. This is legendary history, cultural memory. After noting how the streets of Baghdad ran with blood after the death of al-Mustaʿṣim,13 Ibn al-Sāʿī recites an elegiac tally of the genealogy, names, and regnal titles of the
Introduction

whole fateful Abbasid dynasty, of whom every sixth caliph was to be murdered or deposed. The tailpiece of Brief Lives, by contrast, an enumeration of the world’s remaining Muslim rulers, is a prosaic political geography. Baghdad no longer rates a mention on the world stage. Culture is not evoked. The question that hangs unasked is: what was left to connect the past to the present?

Consorts of the Caliphs, Both Free and Slave, to give it its full title, is a kind of anticipated answer to that question. It is an essay in cultural memory written in the reign of al-Mustaʿṣim, but it shows no premonition of danger, even though the Mongols were already on the march. It represents the last two hundred years—the reigns of al-Muqtadī (467–87/1075–94), al-Mustazhīr (487–512/1094–1118), al-Mustadiʾ (566–75/1170–80), al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (575–622/1180–1225), al-Zāhir (622–23/1225–26), al-Mustanṣir (623–40/1226–42), and the beginning of the reign of al-Mustaʿṣim (640–56/1242–58)—as a golden age for the lucky citizens of Baghdad, thanks to the public benefactions of the great ladies of the caliph’s household. It is a miniature collection of vignettes juxtaposed with no reference to the general fabric of events, designed as a twin to Ibn al-Sāʾī’s now lost Lives of Those Gracious and Bounteous Consorts of Caliphs Who Lived to See Their Own Sons Become Caliph (Kitāb Akhbār man adrakat khilāfat waladihā min jihāt al-khulāfāʾ dhawāt al-maʿrūf wa-l-ʿaṭāʾ). Using wives and concubines as the connecting thread, it yokes the current regime to the age of the early, legendary Abbasids.

Today most of Ibn al-Sāʾī’s prolific and varied output is lost, although much of it was extant as late as the eleventh/seventeenth century and scattered quotations survive in other authors. Scholars disagree whether Brief Lives is really by Ibn al-Sāʾī, probably because, unlike Consorts of the Caliphs and the Concise Summation of Representative and Outstanding Historical and Biographical Events, the only other surviving work indisputably attributed to him, it has no scholarly apparatus. But it is certainly the work of a Baghdadi survivor of the Mongol sack, typical of a period which produced quantities of histories of all kinds (as did Ibn al-Sāʾī himself). As for Ibn al-Sāʾī, he was sixty-three when Baghdad fell. Outwardly, little changed for him in the eighteen years he still had to live: his career as a librarian continued uninterrupted. Perhaps the real cultural rift had occurred before the arrival of the Mongols. The supposedly happy and glorious reign of al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, “Champion of the Faith,” in which Ibn al-Sāʾī was born, was unprecedentedly totalitarian: according to one contemporary, the caliph’s spies were so efficient and the caliph himself so ruthless that a man
hardly dared speak to his own wife in the privacy of his home. Courtly life centered on al-Nāṣir as the teacher of true doctrine and keystone of social cohesion. The latter-day ladies of the caliph's household showcased by Ibn al-Sāʿī in * Consorts of the Caliphs* partake, in his eyes, of this godly ethos, and are public figures with political clout. On the face of it, they have nothing in common with the vulnerable aesthetes whose hothouse loves and whose music, poetry, and wit set their stamp on the early Abbasid court, and who are given far more space in * Consorts of the Caliphs*. These figures so fascinate Ibn al-Sāʿī that he stretches his book's brief to include a life sketch of one, the famous poet ʿInān, who may not have been a caliph's concubine.

* Consorts of the Caliphs* as Abbasid Loyalism

Why was Ibn al-Sāʿī so interested in Abbasid caliphs' wives and lovers? Why was he equally committed to the aesthetes and to the doers of good works? There are two answers. The first is that he was a fervent loyalist. About one third of all the writings ascribed to him were devoted to the Abbasids. Of the nineteen such titles listed by Muṣṭafā Jawād in the introduction to his 1962 edition of * Consorts of the Caliphs*, under the title *Cognizance of the Virtues of the Caliphs of the House of al-ʿAbbās* (*al-Inās bi-manāqib al-khulāfāʾ min Banī l-ʿAbbās*), the following were clearly designed to please, and as propaganda for, current members of the ruling house: *Cognizance of the Virtues of the Caliphs of the House of al-ʿAbbās* (*al-Inās bi-manāqib al-khulāfāʾ min Banī l-ʿAbbās*); *The Flower-Filled Garden: Episodes from the Life of the Caliph al-Nāṣir* (*al-Rawḍ al-nāḍir fī akhbār al-imām al-Nāṣir*), along with a life of a slave of al-Nāṣir, his commander-in-chief, Qushtimir (*Nuzhat al-rāghib al-muʿtabir fī sīrat al-malik Qushtimir*); a life of the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim (*Sīrat al-Mustaʿṣim bi-llāh*); and a collection of poems—“ropes of pearls”—in his praise, most likely composed by Ibn al-Sāʿī himself (*al-Qalāʾid al-durriyyah fī l-madāʾiḥ al-Mustanṣiriyyah*); a life of the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim’s two sons: how much was spent on them, details of their food and clothing, and the poems written in their praise (*Nuzhat al-abṣār fī akhbār ibnay al-Mustaʿṣim bi-llāh al-ʿAbbāsī*).

The caliphs were active in endowing libraries: al-Nāṣir that of the old Niẓāmiyyah Law College as well as that of the Sufi convent (*ribāṭ*) founded by his wife Saljūqī Khātūn, al-Mustanṣir that of the law college he had founded in 631/1233–34, the Mustanṣiriyyah. For grandees to add their own gifts of books was a way of ingratiating themselves with the ruler. Ibn al-Sāʿī was a
Introduction

librarian in both colleges, before and after the Mongol invasion, as already mentioned,34 so the following titles should be counted as part of his loyalist output: *The High Virtues of the Teachers of the Niẓāmiyyah Law College* (*al-Manāqib al-ʿaliyyah li-mudarrisī l-madrasah al-Niẓāmiyyah*) and *The Regulations of the Mustanṣiriyyah Law College* (*Sharṭ al-madrasah al-Mustanṣiriyyah*).35

How do the early Abbasid concubines of *Consorts of the Caliphs* fit into this program of glorifying the dynasty’s virtues? The first entries on them describe only their subjects’ physical and intellectual qualities. But about halfway through the book comes a pivotal entry, that on Ishāq al-Andalusiyyah, concubine of al-Mutawakkil and mother of his son, the great regent al-Muwaffaq. When she died in 270/883, during the regency, a court poet composed a majestic elegy on her, describing her public benefactions and her private, maternal virtues, which were also public in that her son was the savior of the state.36 Ibn al-Sāʾī lets the poem speak for itself, but the reader might be expected to know that al-Muwaffaq had been engaged for years in putting down a rebellion of black plantation slaves in lower Iraq, which had caused widespread damage and panic. He finally crushed it in the year of his mother’s death.37 Contemporary loyalist readers would certainly have made a connection between this tribute to the virtuous mother of a heroic son and the elegies collected by Ibn al-Sāʾī on “the blessed consort, Lady Zumurrud,” mother of the caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (*Marāthī al-jihah al-sāʿīdah Zumurrud Khātūn wālidat al-khalīfah al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh*).38

As *Consorts of the Caliphs* progresses, the theme of feminine virtue becomes more frequent. Thus Maḥbūbah, the slave of al-Mutawakkil, mourns him defiantly after his murder, at the risk of her life, and dies of grief for him.39 Dirār, concubine of the regent al-Muwaffaq and mother of his son, the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid, another great ruler, was “always mindful of her dependents.”40 The princess Qaṭr al-Nadā, wife of al-Muʿtaḍid, was “one of the most intelligent and regal women who ever lived”—sufficiently so to puncture the caliph’s arrogance.41 Khamrah, slave of the murdered caliph al-Muqtadir (son of al-Muʿtaḍid) and mother of al-Muqtadir’s son Prince ʿĪsā, “was always mindful of her obligations and performed many pious deeds. She was generous to the poor, to the needy, to those who petitioned her, and to noble families who had fallen on hard times”—the kind of encomium that Ibn al-Sāʾī goes on to apply to late-Abbasid consorts. Khamrah ends the sequence of early-Abbasid concubines; after her begins a series of virtuous Saljuq princesses and late-Abbasid models of female virtue whose merits clearly redound to the honor of the dynasty as a whole—merits...
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which in Ibn al-Sāʾī's time, at least before the Mongols, were highly visible in the streetscape of Baghdad, in the shape of the public works and mausolea ordered by these women. In this, important ladies of the caliph’s household were following the example of Zubaydah, the most famous of early-Abbasid princesses, well-known to every citizen of Baghdad and indeed to every pilgrim to Mecca, and Ibn al-Sāʾī, in recording their piety, good works, and burial places, is following the example of his older contemporary, Ibn al-Jawzī. According to Jawād, Ibn al-Sāʾī means “Son of the Runner” or merchant’s errand-man; if it is not a surname taken from a distant ancestor, but instead reflects a humble background—as Jawād argues, on the basis that Ibn al-Sāʾī’s father Anjab is unknown to biographers—then Ibn al-Sāʾī’s grateful descriptions of the later consorts’ public works may reflect the feelings of ordinary Baghdadis.

Virtue, however—loyalty or piety-based virtue that finds social expression—is not the whole reason why Ibn al-Sāʾī devotes so much space to the early-Abbasid concubines, since most of them are not virtuous at all by these standards.

The Early-Abbasid Consorts as Culture Heroines

The majority of the early-Abbasid consorts were professional poets and musicians. Ibn al-Sāʾī and his sources, which include nearly all the great names in mid-Abbasid cultural mythography, rate them very highly: ‘Inān “was the first poet to become famous under the Abbasids and the most gifted poet of her generation”; the major (male) poets of her time came to her to be judged. No one “sang, played music, wrote poetry, or played chess so well” as ‘Arīb. Faḍl al-Shāʾirah was not only one of the greatest wits of her time, but wrote better prose than any state secretary. Above all, they excel in the difficult art of capping verse and composing on the spur of the moment. Their accomplishments are essentially competitive, and it is usually men that they compete with. The competition is not only a salon game. For the male poets—free men who make their living by performing at court—losing poses a risk to their reputation and livelihood. The women who challenge them or respond to their challenge are all slaves (jāriyah is the term used for such highly trained slave women). Of the risks to a slave woman who fails to perform, or to best her challenger, only one is spelled out in Consorts of the Caliphs, in the case of ‘Inān, whose owner whips her. On the other hand, the returns on talent and self-confidence can be great, as is seen in the case of ‘Arīb, whose career continues into old age, when her verve and authority seem undiminished and she has apparently achieved a
wealthy independence.\textsuperscript{53} We are shown how, between poets, the fellowship of professionalism transcends differences between male and female, free and slave. But even in the battles of wits between a āriyah and her lover, where the stakes are very high—if she misses her step, the woman risks not just the loss of favor and position, but the loss of affection too, for many āriyahs are depicted as being truly in love with their owners—there is often, again, a touch of something like comradeship: a woman’s ability to rise to the occasion can compel her lover’s quasi-professional admiration. We should remember that nearly all the early-Abbasid caliphs composed poetry or music themselves, and they all considered themselves highly competent judges. Though the consorts’ beauty is routinely mentioned, when we are shown a cause of attraction, it is the cleverness, aptness, or pathos of their poetry that wins over the lover. The workings of attraction and esteem can be imagined and explored in the case of slaves as they rarely are in that of free women; and this, in addition to their talents and exquisite sensibility or dashing manners, is what makes the early-Abbasid āriyahs culture heroines, whose hold on the Arabic imagination persists through the ages.

Ibn al-Sā’ī’s Contribution

Unlike Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, the authority most cited in Consorts of the Caliphs,\textsuperscript{54} Ibn al-Sā’ī seems far less interested in music than in poetry. He was a poet himself, as indeed was almost any contemporary Arabic speaker with any claim to literacy and social competence. He and all his readers knew the wide range of available poetic genres, both ceremonial and intimate. As children, they would have been taught the ancient and modern Arabic poetic classics, and as adults, they might have written verse on public occasions and would certainly have composed poems to entertain their friends, lampoon unpleasant colleagues, or give vent to their feelings about life. The poetry of the āriyahs has its own place in this spectrum. It is occasional poetry: even when they write accession panegyrics or congratulations on a successful military campaign, the āriyahs keep them short and light.\textsuperscript{55} What is poignant about their poetry is its ephemerality: it captures and belongs to the moment. And what is especially moving about it is that (in the eyes of Ibn al-Sā’ī, who simplifies but does not traduce the complex vision of Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī) it is identical with the woman who composes it and her precarious situation. As Ibn al-Sā’ī tells it, the poetry of the slave consorts is an act of personal daring and moral agency, which finds
its reward in the love of the caliph and sometimes even in marriage. This is something considerable, contained in the small compass of the anecdote format.

There have not been many attempts, in modern scholarship, to make distinctions between the *jāriyahs* as poets and cultural agents, on the one hand, and as romantic heroines and objects of erotic and ethical fantasy, on the other. There are basic surveys of the sources; there is a pioneering study of the world of Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī’s *Book of Songs*; and, most recently, there is an exploration of the values underlying the competition between *jāriyahs* and free male poets and musicians. Medieval contemporaries were alive to the social paradox of the woman slave performer as a leader of fashion but also a commodity, an extravagance but also an investment for her owners, able to some extent to turn her status as a chattel to her own profit by manipulating her clients—and they satirized it unsympathetically. By comparison, modern reflection on female slavery and its place in medieval Islamic societies is unsophisticated. The time span of *Consorts of the Caliphs* is wider than that of the mid-Abbasid classics which have been the focus of modern scholarship until now, and the life stories it presents of female slaves bring together a greater range of backgrounds and situations and open up more complex perspectives.

Ibn al-Sāʿī’s special contribution to the subject is his seriousness and sympathy, the multiplicity of roles within the dynasty that he identifies for consorts, and his systematic, and challenging, idealization of the woman over the slave.

Julia Bray
Maps

1. The Abbasid Caliphate
2. Early Baghdad
3. Later Baghdad
4. Later East Baghdad

Note: The maps of Baghdad are based principally on Le Strange, Baghdad (1900), Jawād and Sūsah, Dalīl (1958), Makdisi, “Topography” (1959), Lassner, Topography (1970), and Ahola and Osti, “Baghdad.” In cases where precise locations are not known, the aim has been to give readers of Consorts an idea of the relationships between different places topographically. Outright conjectures are followed by a question mark.
The Abbasid Caliphate

Items in bold are mentioned in *Consorts of the Caliphs*

Design: Shawkat M. Toorawa
Cartography: Jennifer Illus
Design: Shawkat M. Toorawa
Cartography: Martin Grosch

Main Source: Le Strange, Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate

Later Baghdad
400–700 H [1000–1300 AD]

Items in bold are mentioned in Consorts of the Caliphs.
Note on the Edition

The Manuscript

There appears to be only one extant manuscript of Ibn al-Sāʿī’s *Jihāt al-aʾimmah al-khulafāʾ min al-ḥarāʾir wa-l-imā*, which is in the Veliyyuddin Library in Istanbul, bearing MS no. Veliyyuddin 2634. Muhammet Günaydın of Istanbul University kindly obtained a copy for us on CD from the Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi (Beyazit State Library) in 2012.

The manuscript has 58 folios, the first 48 of which consist of *Jihāt al-aʾimmah*. Folios 49–58 comprise a miscellany of stories, some humorous, some moralistic, culled from the *adab* literary tradition. The colophon to *Jihāt al-aʾimmah* appears on the verso of folio 48. It states that the copying of the manuscript was completed on 4 Rajab, 900 [March 30, 1495] by one Muḥammad ibn Sālim al-Ḥāni. It also mentions the fact that the book has been supplemented with “the consorts of princes and important viziers” (*maʿa mā uḍiṣa ilayh min mashhūrī [sic] jihāt al-sādat al-umarāʾ wa-l-jullah min al-wuzarā*). This refers to the fact that in the latter part of the book, Ibn al-Sāʿī includes entries about the consorts of a vizier and of several Saljūq sultans.

There are nine lines to each page in a legible Naskh hand. The text is in black ink. Red ink is used to indicate headings, thus the names and affiliations of the consorts; quotations, e.g. a horizontal line above the lām of (ل) and other such verbs; the ends of paragraphs or subsections; and the beginnings and endings of verses. In only one place (the “Saljūqi Khāṭūn” heading) is the manuscript illegible, but the missing words can be divined from the entry itself. There is the occasional—and by no means untypical—omitted word that is then written in the margin. That the scribe was also hasty, or even sloppy, is evident from the fact that the tail end of one anecdote and the beginning of another pertaining to one consort is entirely misplaced in the entry about another consort, and from features such as the listing of ordinal numbers out of order, or the misnaming of famous authors. The scribe also appears not to have been very knowledgeable about the subject.
Note on the Edition

Previous Edition


Jawād had a broad and deep knowledge of Ibn al-Sāʾī and of Baghdad; this is reflected not only in the edition, but also in his introduction about Ibn al-Sāʾī and his times, as well as his detailed footnotes identifying places, events, individuals, and references in other works. Jawād’s occasional faulty readings can be attributed to the quality of the manuscript reproduction. He is also more at ease with the political history of the 5th–6th/11th–12th centuries than with the literary history of the 3rd–4th/9th–10th centuries. For instance, he replicates a scribal error about Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī’s uncle; he has Ibn Abī Ṭāhir report an event that happened after Ibn Abī Ṭāhir died; and he tries to make sense of the scribe’s (أبوجر) when it appears to be an error for (لأبجر).

This Edition

In preparing this edition, I have had the benefit of access to a high-resolution full-color digital copy of the manuscript. This has allowed me to correct some of Jawād’s misreadings and to include material that he missed or omitted. I have also benefited greatly from Jawād’s edition and accordingly signal in the notes when I have adopted his reading or accepted a word he has interpolated to improve the sense. In keeping with LAL practice, I confine the notes to information about editorial choices. I do not provide references to other sources. Thus, in the entry on ‘Arib, for example, Jawād lists other entries and references to her in other works. The only time I do this is when Ibn al-Sāʾī himself quotes another extant work; if the work is not extant, or the quotation undiscovered, I so indicate.
Note on the Edition

The principles used in establishing the Arabic edition are as follows:

• I have abided by the LAL policy of minimal and crucial voweling except in poetry and the Qur’an. Fatḥah tanwīn is provided where deemed helpful.
• All consonantal shaddahs have been included.
• Waṣlahs only appear on conjoined alifs (e.g. preceded by wa- or fa-), in poetry, and in speech.
• The manuscript has both إسْهَانٍ and إسْهَانٍ. I have adopted the latter as the standard forms.
• The only punctuation used are periods at the end of paragraphs/sections and the occasional clarifying colon.
• I have aspired to format, paragraph, and indent consistently and in such a way as to clarify syntax and narrative sequence. Following LAL policy, I have numbered paragraphs.
• The entries themselves are also numbered for ease of reference.
• Following LAL policy, I do not provide in-text references to the manuscript pagination.
• Although I have “corrected” things like irregular number use (أَرْبع دُوَلَيْبَات), these are in fact nothing more than a standard feature of Middle Arabic or at least non-formal Arabic. Other Middle Arabic features include disappearance of case (e.g. يَزِيدُ for يَزِيدَ); unusual plurals (e.g. غَانِبَات); avoidance/disappearance of hamzah (e.g. الأَسْتَضْطُهَة); agreement with nearest antecedent (e.g. جُهَاثَاتُ لِلْخِلْفَاءِ سَأْجَعَلُهُم); repetition of بَين; words that are usually separate being written together (e.g. فيذا); and use of ُساَدُ for ُسِين (e.g. بالمصْرِ). These are all recorded in the notes. The only silent changes have been the “restoring” of final hamzahs, e.g. عُمْلَة or خَلِفَة, and of alifs, e.g. to الأَمْسِ.
• In the poetry, I identify only the main meter family, not the particular variant used; these appear also in the Index of Verses. I am grateful to Tahera Qutbuddin for going over these.
• The sigla used in the Arabic footnotes are: م = MS Veliyeddin 2634 and ج = Jawād’s edition.

In undertaking the edition, I benefited immeasurably from the knowledge, expertise, guidance, advice, and friendship of the project editor, Julia Bray.

Shawkat M. Toorawa
Note on the Translation

The project of translating Ibn al-Sāʾī’s *Consorts of the Caliphs* was first suggested by Joseph Lowry to the academic alliance Radical Reassessment of Arabic Arts, Language, and Literature (RRAALL), of which he and three other Library of Arabic Literature editors are members—Michael Cooperson, Devin Stewart, and myself, Shawkat Toorawa. Having successfully published a collaboratively authored book on Arabic autobiography in 2001, RRAALL was looking for a follow-up project. Lowry made the case that *Consorts of the Caliphs* captured our various and varied interests (the Abbasids, art and archaeology, ethnomusicology, gender, history, language, law, literature, the Saljūqs), that it was short, that it was divided into manageable parts, and that it was of inherent interest. By 2008, eight of us had translated consecutive portions and we had a complete if uneven working translation. In 2009, Lowry, Stewart, and I met in Philadelphia to even out the translation and subsequently dispatched it to Cooperson, who made many changes and suggestions. Then the project went quiet.

In 2009, when Philip Kennedy asked me what kinds of works I thought one might include in a “library of Arabic literature”—then still only an idea—I mentioned, among other works, Ibn al-Sāʾī’s little book. I even told him a “draft translation” was available. Later, when the Library of Arabic Literature (LAL) had become a reality, Kennedy (now the LAL’s General Editor), who hadn’t forgotten Ibn al-Sāʾī, mentioned the book to the board. In 2011, Julia Bray suggested that it was an ideal candidate for a collaborative LAL project and so, one morning in New York City, we resolved to take it on, with the blessings of RRAALL and of the LAL board. We realized—as we had been realizing and discovering with other LAL books that we had already edited—that the “draft translation,” in spite of the effort that had been put into it, was less a translation than it was an “Englished” version of the Arabic, in a prose that we have come to think of unflatteringly as “industry standard.”
Note on the Translation

Process

Our first act was to appoint a project editor from our own LAL editorial board, as we do with all our projects. We chose Julia Bray, who went through the “draft translation” and wrote a report describing what needed to be done to bring it up to LAL standard—something we require for all potential LAL projects. At the same time, we showed it to the distinguished translator Richard Sieburth. With Bray’s and Sieburth’s positive but critical feedback, we decided that it was best to start from scratch. We divided the book into five parts and assigned each part to a team of two; the ten people involved were the eight LAL board members, the managing editor, and Richard Sieburth. After our first workshop we presented our preliminary thoughts and samples of our work at a public event in Abu Dhabi. For the next workshop, we invited Justin Stearns and Maurice Pomerantz (both of New York University Abu Dhabi) to join us and we shuffled around the teams. After these teams had done their translations and conferred among themselves and with one another, I then collated their material, made the various parts consistent based on the principles and choices that we had agreed upon, and e-mailed the material to everyone to read through and ponder.

We held a final workshop during our May 2014 editorial meeting in New York City, where we projected the translation onto a screen and went through it all together, comparing it to the manuscript. At the end of three half-day sessions, we had thrashed out many issues, which involved, among other things, reversing course on certain key decisions. Then, in a final daylong session, Julia Bray (the designated project editor) and I (the designated editor of the book) spent a most genial day going through it all again line by line, establishing new principles, establishing consistency where it was not yet present, and deciding on shape and format. Julia then returned to Oxford and I to Ithaca.

I then went through the entire translation again, implementing all of our decisions, and when I was satisfied I sent it back to Julia Bray to vet carefully. I also sent it to Joseph Lowry for his feedback. After I had incorporated Joe’s feedback and intervened stylistically again myself, we sent the translation to Marina Warner, who very graciously agreed to write a foreword. Julia then sent me further detailed comments and annotations, which I addressed and incorporated, and she proceeded to write her introduction.

At that point, I set about producing fuller notes to the translation. I also prepared preliminary glossaries. LAL policy is to have one unified glossary of names, places, and terms, but in this case we felt that separate glossaries of the
Note on the Translation

authorities (authors and transmitters cited) and the characters featured in the anecdotes, of place names, and of realia would be far more useful to reader and scholar alike; we also decided that we would gloss every individual in the book. As I finished each constituent part, I sent it to Julia, who went over it very carefully. We would often catch a problem, or discover a reference that we wanted to insert, on our third or fourth exchange or read-through.

Once everything—front matter, Arabic edition and notes, English translation and notes, glossaries, indices—was ready, I sent it all off to Julia, in her capacity as project editor, so that she could vet it one last time and make any final crucial interventions. Once she gave the go-ahead, an executive editor—in this case James Montgomery, who made numerous valuable suggestions—did an executive review and then gave the green light to our managing editor, Chip Rossetti, to put the book into production.

The reason I have given such a detailed description of the process is that I want to highlight the fact that this is in every way a collaborative translation, and has been from the very beginning. It is true that in the final stages, Julia and I ended up making many decisions without the input of the rest of the group, but these were generally very small and/or stylistic decisions or else instances where we realized we had misinterpreted and therefore mistranslated something. Macro-level decisions were always taken as a group, after protracted discussion. As for the front and back matter, Julia and I collaborated extensively. And as I have described above, Joseph Lowry and James Montgomery had the opportunity to weigh in again.

Principles

The first and easily most important question we faced was whether and how to translate names, designations, and titles. The second entry in the collection, for example, is devoted to “Ghādir jāriyat al-Imām al-Hādi.” “Ghādir” is a nickname or pet name meaning “treacherous” or “inconstant.” We could not initially agree whether to render the name in English or keep it in Arabic. Not to translate a nickname would be to shortchange the English reader; she could, it is true, learn from a footnote what a name means, but she might miss the fact that the name means what it means every time it is used. The group also agreed, however, that the “meaning” might constitute an undue distraction and sound odd besides. There are names that are meaningful but which one might not wish to translate; imagine a Spanish text featuring a woman named Concepción—
Note on the Translation

one would likely not translate her name into the English “Conception.” We eventually decided to use Arabic names throughout. In the case of slaves, we provide a translation in quotation marks after the first occurrence (as it happens, typically in the heading), but use the Arabic name thereafter. In the case of the freeborn, however, we do not translate the name.

This decision extended to the titles of caliphs. The choice of a regnal title, whether made by the caliph himself or bestowed on him as heir apparent, was always significant and sometimes reflected a program; such is the case for al-Nāṣir li-Din Allāh (husband of Saljūqī Khātūn, no. 29 below), who aspired to be “The Champion of the Faith,” but even though Arabic readers will be very aware of the meanings of such titles, it is not the norm to translate them. As for the title *Imām* preceding a caliph’s name, that is one standard way of referring to a caliph, but it was clear to us that to use the title “Imam” in English would cause confusion, whereas to use “Caliph,” as we have, would be unambiguous. We also decided that the caliphal title “Amīr al-Mu’minīn,” literally “Commander of the Faithful” and routinely used as a form of address, could sound clumsy in some contexts in English; we opted instead for “Sire” or “My lord” in many, though not all, cases.

The word *jāriyah* in the phrase “Ghādir jāriyat al-Imām al-Hādī” is often translated “slave girl” or “singing-girl.” While some of us thought that the demeaning aspect of the word “girl” was a positive feature of the word in this case, appropriate for describing someone who was a slave, no matter how accomplished or respected, others of us thought it would be more powerful (if that is the right word) to use “female slave” or “slave”—and this view prevailed. In the end, we settled on “slave” alone. The Ghādir heading thus reads:

Ghādir
“Inconstance”
Slave of the Caliph al-Hādī

As for the English rendering of the names of characters and transmitters in the text, we occasionally shorten long genealogies to make them less unwieldy for English readers. Names of well-known figures that appear in the text in a form unfamiliar to modern readers (which is usually an indication of how familiar Ibn al-Sā’i himself was with them) are identified in the glossary.
Other decisions we made about the translation include the following:

- With a few exceptions (typically in the case of well-known figures or long genealogies), we render names the way they appear in the Arabic on first occurrence and thereafter shorten them to a standard form, e.g. Abū l-Faraj al-Īṣfahānī, al-Ṭabarī, or Thābit ibn Sinān.
- We only translate a professional designation—e.g. “the trustee ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ibn ‘Alī”—when we are confident that it was the profession of the individual in question, rather than the equivalent of a modern surname.
- We follow the spelling conventions of the Encyclopaedia of Islam Three.
- We render Saljūq names in Arabicized forms.
- In the longer isnāds—the succession or “chain” of transmitters of an anecdote or other item of information—we frequently use long dashes to separate the sources that intervene between Ibn al-Sā’ī’s own informant and the original source of the information, so as to make it easier for the reader to follow the transmission.
- We routinely substitute pronouns for proper names to make the meaning clearer. Occasionally we do the opposite, expanding a pronoun, to make attribution clearer to the reader; thus in §8.8.3, where the Arabic has simply “He said that,” we render it “Here our source, Abū l-ʿAynāʾ, notes . . . ”
- Because we use “Isfahan” for the city, we use “al-Īṣfahānī” for the personal name (even though we have retained the predominating “Īṣbahān” and “al-Īṣbahānī” in the Arabic, as explained in the “Note on the Edition” above).
- We have striven to make the poetry rhyme when the context or verse itself required it and used devices such as half-rhyme or assonance when the meaning of the verse or anecdote depended on it. When forcing a poem to rhyme in English would have meant altering the original meaning, we have not done so.
- Translations from the Qur’an are our own.

Note also:

- Though many anecdotes in Consorts of the Caliphs appear in other extant works, we do not provide cross-references (these are available in Jawād’s edition).
Note on the Translation

- We italicize the poetry to make it stand out from the rest of the text.
- The maps of Baghdad in some cases do not so much reflect precise locations as they do the topographical relationships between different locations.
- The first three glossaries—of characters; of authorities (authors and transmitters); and of places—contain all the names that occur in Consorts of the Caliphs. We also provide a fourth glossary, of realia.

Shawkat M. Toorawa, on behalf of the translators
Notes to the Front Matter

Foreword

1 Ardener, “Belief and the Problem of Women” and “The Problem Revisited.”
2 See Ibn al-Sāʾi, Consorts of the Caliphs, §13.5 below. References to Consorts of the Caliphs hereafter referred to by the paragraph number of the entry.

Preface

3 Details of how we workshoped and translated the book can be found in the “Note on the Translation” below.

Introduction

5 The “daughter of Ṭulūn the Turk” “who married one of her dalliances” (§35).
6 See I§30.5 and §§31–39 below.
7 See §10.2 and §16.2, where impressive isnāds serve in each case to introduce a two-line occasional poem.
8 See §30.4.1.
9 See “Note on the Edition” below.
10 See “Note on the Translation” below; for the text of the miscellany, see the “Book Extras” page of the website of the Library of Arabic Literature: www.libraryofarabicliterature.org.
11 Ibn al-Sāʾi, Mukhtaṣar, 142.
12 See Hartmann, “al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh”; and Hillenbrand, “al-Mustanṣir (I).”
13 Ibn al-Sāʾi, Mukhtaṣar, 127.
14 Brief Lives adopts this inaccurate periodicity for dramatic effect. In Consorts of the Caliphs, the following are mentioned as having been killed: the sixth Abbasid caliph, al-Amin (r. 193–98/809–13) (at §51); the tenth, al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–47/847–61) (at §15.6); and the eighteenth, al-Muqtadir (r. 295–320/908–32) (at §23.1).
16 See §30.4.1.
Notes to the Front Matter

17 See §26 (Khāṭūn), §27 (Banafshā), §29 (Saljūqī Khāṭūn). 'Īṣmah Khāṭūn (§24) founded a law college in Isfahan; Shāhān (§30) spent huge sums with Baghdadi tradesmen, and Khāṭūn al-Safāriyyah (§37) provisioned the pilgrim route.

18 Jawād’s bibliography gives the titles of fifty-six items. Items 1–7, 9, 12, 15, 17–24, 26, 34–37, 39, 43–46, 51, 53 and 55 are listed by the Ottoman bibliographer Ḥājjī Khalīfah (1017–67/1609–57); see Jawād, “Introduction,” 23–32, for references.

19 Ibn al-Sāʾi, al-Jāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣar. It originally went up to 1258, but of the original thirty volumes, only volume 9 (years 595–606/1199–1209) is extant; see Jawād, “Introduction,” 26, no. 21.

20 Against the attribution are Jawād, “Introduction,” 24, n. 4 and, seemingly, Lindsay, “Ibn al-Sāʾi.” Rosenthal, “Ibn al-Sāʾi,” 925, thinks it a “brief and mediocre history . . . unlikely to go back to [Ibn al-Sāʾi].” The attribution is silently accepted by Ziriklī, al-Aʿlām, 4:265, and Hartmann, “al-Nāʾṣir li-Dīn Allāh.” Robinson, Islamic Historiography, 117, argues that it is an epitome composed by Ibn al-Sāʾi as part of “a large industry of popularizing history” that had been practiced for centuries.

21 Ibn al-Sāʾi wrote several histories of the caliphs, including one whose title suggests it was in verse: Ṣaḥīḥ ṣaḥīḥ fī dhikr al-khulafāʾ al-ṣūkār (Versified Prose: the Noble Caliphs Recalled). This was presumably meant as an aide-mémoire, verse (ṣaḥīḥ) being more memorable than prose (ṣaḥīḥ). He wrote another “for persons of refinement” (ẓurafāʾ), Bulghat al-ẓurafāʾ ilā maʿrifat tārīkh al-khulafāʾ (Getting to Know the History of the Caliphs, for Persons of Refinement); see Jawād, “Introduction,” 32, no. 53, and 25, no. 17. Another example of his practice of recasting his own works was his commentary on the famous and difficult literary Maqāmāt (fifty picaresque episodes in rhymed prose and verse) of al-Ḥarīrī (446–516/1054–1122), which he produced in three sizes: jumbo (twenty-five volumes), medium, and abridged; see Jawād, “Introduction,” 32, no. 54, and 28, nos. 33 and 32.


25 §§2–7, 9–11, 13–19, 31; see also 34, 36.

26 §3.2.

27 Jawād, “Introduction,” 25, no. 15; see also 30, no. 47: Manāqib al-khulafāʾ al-ʿAbbāsiyyīn (The Virtues of the Abbasid Caliphs).

28 Jawād, “Introduction,” 27, no. 27.
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32 Jawād, “Introduction,” 17, quoting al-Qifṭī (568–646/1172–1248), Tārīḫ al-ḥukamāʾ, 177. This seems to have been in addition to the library installed in Saljūqī Khāṭūn’s mausoleum: see §29.2.1; and §29.2.2 for the Sufi lodge which according to Ibn al-Sāʿī was built not by Saljūqī Khāṭūn, but by al-Nāṣir in her memory.

33 See a later source that quotes Ibn al-Sāʿī as a witness to such donations, cited by Jawād, “Introduction,” 21.


35 Jawād, “Introduction,” 30, no. 48, and 28, no. 34.

36 §12.3.

37 On the Zanj rebellion, see Kennedy, The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates, 180–81.

38 See Jawād, “Introduction,” 29, no. 42. Zumurrud was a slave: see n. 100 in the main text below. She died in Jumada al-Thani, 599 [February, 1203], according to the sources quoted by Kahbālah in his dictionary of notable women, Aʿlām al-nisāʾ, 2:39. Ibn al-Sāʿī records her death a month earlier, in Rabiʿ al-Thani, and quotes part of a long elegy by a court poet “which I have given in its entirety in Elegies on the Blessed Consort Lady Zumurrud, Mother of the Caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh,” al-Jāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣar, 9:102, 279.

39 §15.6.

40 §21.1.

41 §22.1–2.

42 §23.3.

43 See the maps immediately following this introduction.

44 Zubaydah, the wife of Hārūn al-Rashid, was famous for provisioning the pilgrim route with wells and resting places.

45 Under the caliph al-Muqtafi (530–55/1136–60), Abū l-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Jawzī (ca. 511–97/1116–1201), head of two, then five, Baghdad madrasahs, enjoyed an “extraordinary career as a preacher . . . through his influence on the masses, he was politically important for those caliphs who, in their struggle with the military and the Saljūqs, followed a Ḥanbalī-Sunnī orientation. Diminishing influence under other caliphs was due to different policies adopted by them” (Seidensticker, “Ibn al-Jawzī,” 338). In his history, al-Muntaẓam fī tārīkh al-mulūk wa-l-umam, “Ibn al-Jawzī . . . several times uses the obituary sections of his regnal annals to highlight the virtues of the mothers or consorts of caliphs. It seems likely that this device serves to redeem the reigns of caliphs
who are not themselves wholly satisfactory from Ibn al-Jawzī’s viewpoint, and that it is meant to suggest a continuity of virtue in the Abbasid caliphate as a political institution” (Bray, “A Caliph and His Public Relations,” 36). Ibn al-Jawzī records the funerals or burials of notables, especially women, in considerable detail; so too does Ibn al-Sāʾī in Consorts of the Caliphs: see §21.2, §22.3, §23.2, §24.1, §25.2, §27.4, §28.1, §29.2.1, §29.2.2, §29.3, §32.1 and §33.1. One of Ibn al-Sāʾī’s works was devoted to cemeteries and shrines: al-Maqābir al-mashhūrah wa-l-mashāhid al-mazūrah; it has recently been edited. The work is referred to by Diem and Schöller in The Living and the Dead in Islam, 2:312, but they do not cite Consorts of the Caliphs.


Ibn al-Sāʾī’s sources for the early- to mid-Abbasid consorts include Abū l-ʿAynā’, Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, Abū l-Faraj al-İsfahānī, ‘Alī ibn Yahyā the astromancer, Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin the Sabian, Ibn al-Muṭṭazz, Jaʿfar ibn Qudāmah, al-Jahshiyārī, Jahżah, members of the al-Mawṣili family, al-Ṭabarī, Thābit ibn Sinān, and Thaʿlab; for all of these, see the glossaries.

§3.3.
§6.4.
§3.1: ʿInān; §6.5: ʿArīb; §6.7: an anonymous slave; §7.3: Bidʿah; §13.3; §13.5; §13.6; §13.9; §14.2: Faḍl; §15.3; §15.4; §15.5; §15.6: Maḥbūbah; §19.2; §19.3: Nabt.
§3.5; §3.7.
§6.5.

Ibn al-Sāʾī cites Abū l-Faraj al-İsfahānī as the author of the Book of Songs, but Abū l-Faraj al-İsfahānī also wrote a book devoted to women slave poets, al-İmāʾ al-shawāʿir, extant and available in two editions, both from 1983, one edited by al-Qaysī and al-Sāmarrāʾī (paginated), the other edited by al-ʿAṭiyyah (numbered). The texts of the two editions are not identical, but of our “consorts,” both have: ʿInān (pages 23–44/number 1); Faḍl (49–71/no. 3); Haylānah (95–96/no. 14); ʿArīb (99–112/no. 16); Maḥbūbah (117–20/no. 20); Banān (121–22/no. 21); Nabt (129–31/no. 25); Bidʿah (139–141/no. 29). These references are given here because al-İmāʾ al-shawāʿir is not among the otherwise comprehensive list of sources cited in Jawād’s footnotes to Jihāt al-aʾimmah. (For a more recent edition of al-İsfahānī’s book, titled Riyy al-ẓamā fī-man qāla al-shiʿr fī l-İmā, see Primary Sources in the bibliography.)

§13.4; §7.3; §7.4.

According to Ibn al-Sāʾī, Hārūn al-Rashīd married Ghādir (§2.1); we find the identical story in Ibn al-Jawzi, al-Muntaẓam, 8: 349, but al-Ṭabarī does not list her among Hārūn’s
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wives (The 'Abbāsid Caliphate in Equilibrium, 326–27). Faridah the Younger is said to have married al-Mutawakkil (§18.3); in the Book of Songs, in the joint entry on Faridah the Elder and Faridah the Younger, Abû l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (Kitāb al-Aghānī, 3:183), cites al-Ṣūlī as the authority for this; again, the “marriage” is not mentioned elsewhere. There is a question mark over these stories: the jurists would certainly have disapproved of a free man marrying a slave without first freeing her, but perhaps manumission is implied by the very word “marriage.” Two other such women are said to have married free men: Faridah the Elder marries twice, again with no mention of manumission (§11.1); and Sarirah—who had borne her owner a child and thereby gained her freedom when he was killed—marries a Hamdanid prince (§36.1).

57 In addition to Jawād’s footnotes to Nisāʾ al-khulafāʾ, see Stigelbauer, Die Sängerinnen am Abbasidenhof um die Zeit des Kalifen al-Mutawakkil; and Al-Heitty, The Role of the Poetess at the Abbāsid Court (132–247 A.H./750–861 A.D.).

58 Kilpatrick, Making the Great Book of Songs.

59 Imhof, “Traditio vel Aemulatio? The Singing Contest of Sāmarrā.”

60 Al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868), Risālat al-Qiyān/The Epistle on Singing-Girls; al-Washshāʾ (d. 325/936), Kitāb al-Muwashshāḥ, also known as al-Ẓarf wa-l-ẓurafāʾ, chapter 20. German and Spanish translations, as well as a partial French one, exist of Kitāb al-Muwashshāḥ: Das Buch des buntestickten Kleids, ed. Bellmann; El libro del brocado, ed. Garulo; Le livre de brocart, ed. Bouhlal.

61 Ali, Marriage and Slavery in Early Islam, is an important departure.

Note on the Edition

62 Joseph Lowry is preparing an edition of this material; when ready, it will be available on the “Book Extras” page at www.libraryofarabicliterature.org.

63 The colophon reads:

ٌکَبِ جِهَاتِ الأَثْرَةِ خطأً، مِنَ الطَّخَائِنِ وإِلَّا مَا أَضَفْتُ إِلَى مِنْ شَهُورِي جِهَاتِ السَّادَةِ الأَمَْرِ، وَلَجْلَةً مِنَ الْوَزَرَاءِ فِي يَوْمِ الْعَلَّا، رَأَى شَهْرُ رَجُبُ الْفَرْدِسِيَةِ أَشْحَاهِنَةَ وَصَلَّى اِلَهُ عَلَيْهِ سَلَّى تَمَيَّزَ صَلَّى إِلَهَهُ عَلَى وَسْلُ وَحِبَّيْنِهِ وَبَعْلُ الوَكِيلِ عَلَى بَدْمِ مَعْلُوْفَتِهِ طَيْفٍ سَمَّى سَمَّى الْخَلَاطُ.

When Abû l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī is quoted citing his uncle, حَيِّي (’ammi), for example, the scribe has the single name عُمَرُ, ‘Umar.

64 Ibn al-Sāʿī, Nisāʾ al-khulafāʾ.

65 Distributed by the German publishing house Verlag Hans Schiler.

66 Jawād also edited the sole surviving volume of Ibn al-Sāʿī’s annalistic history, al-Jāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣar, covering the years 595–606, or late AD 1199 to mid–1209, corresponding to the early years of Ibn al-Sāʿī’s life (he lived 593–674/1197–1276), and
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covering some of the material in the *Jihāt al-aʾimmah*, e.g. the entry on Banafshā. The *Jāmiʿ* was edited anew in 2011 and published in Damascus.

69 The opening pages of the manuscript may be consulted on the “Book Extras” page of the website of the Library of Arabic Literature, www.libraryofarabicliterature.org.

Note on the Translation

70 The other six members of RRAALL are Kristen Brustad, Jamal Elias, Nuha Khoury, Nasser Rabbat, Dwight Reynolds, and Eve Troutt Powell.
71 Reynolds, ed., *Interpreting the Self*. 
كتاب جهات الأمّة الخلفاء
من الخوارج والإماء

Consorts of the Caliphs
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

وَبِهِ ثَقْبٍ

أما بعدُ محمدٍ الله رَبُّ العالمينِ والصلاة على سيدها محمدٌ وآله
Ajmeen* فإني لما جمعت كلاً أخبار من أدركت خلافته ولدها
من جهات الخلفاء ذوات المعروف والعطا. أحببت أن أذكر
من اشتهر ذكرها من حظاها الخلفاء الحرائر مهنيً والإماء.
وَبِاللَّهِ التَّوفيقِ

١ مهني: لم ترد في ج.
In the name of God, Full of Compassion, Ever Compassionate,

in Whom I place my trust

By praising God, lord of all the worlds, I begin * and by pronouncing blessings upon our master Muḥammad and his kin. * Having compiled The Lives of Those Gracious and Bounteous Consorts of Caliphs * Who Lived to See Their Own Sons Become Caliph * I now wish to write * about famous favorites * whether consorts or concubines of caliphs. God grant me success!
حكمة بنت عيسى
زوجة الإمام أبي جعفر عبد الله المنصور

أخبرني عبد الوهاب بن علي الأمين بإجابة قال أخبرنا عبد الرحمن بن مجد الشيباني أخبرنا أحمد بن علي الحافظ أخبرنا الحسن بن أبي بكر أخبرنا أبو سهل أحمد بن محمد بن عبد الله بن زيد القزاز قال سمعت أبا العباس أحمد بن بختيئا يقول لما ماتت حكمة بنت عيسى زوجة المنصور وقف المنصور والناس معه على حفرتها ينتظرون بجي الجنازة وأبو دلامة فهم فأتى عليه المنصور فقال يا أبو دلامة ما أعدت لهذا المصنع قال حكمة بنت عيسى يا أمير المؤمنين قل ف phúc القوم.

قال: لم ترد في ر.
I cite the trustee ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ʿAlī who gave me license to cite ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, who cites master Ḥāmid ibn ʿAlī, who cites al-Ḥasan ibn Abī Bakr as saying that Abū Sahl Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Qaṭṭān said:
I hear Thaʿlab say:

When the caliph al-Manṣūr's wife, Ḥammādah daughter of ʿĪsā, died, al-Manṣūr and his retinue stood at the edge of the grave that had been dug for her and awaited the arrival of the funeral procession.

The poet Abū Dulāmah was in the procession. Al-Manṣūr turned to him and asked, “What have you brought us on this sad occasion, Abū Dulāmah?”

“The body of Ḥammādah daughter of ʿĪsā, Sire!” he replied, and everyone burst into laughter.
قال جعفر بن قدامة

كانت من أحسن الناس وجهًا وغناها وكان يحبها حبًا شديداً نيرة هي تفتيت يومًا عرض له فكر وسهوفًا منه حضر من خواصه فقال قد وقع
في فكره أني أموت وأنا أخي هارون يتزوج جارتي بعد أن بلي الخلافة
فقبل له نعمان بعذة وربّد أئمتلك فأمر بإحضار أخيه وعفته ما
خطر له فأجابه بما يحب من ذلك فقال لا أرضى حتى تخفف أني متي
مثّ لا نتزوجها مبعدًا وأشتوه عليه إلا يدان من الخ راجلاً وطلاق
الزوجات وعشق المصالح وتسبيل ما يملكه ثم أحق لها مثل ذلك تخفف
فلم يمض على ذلك إلا شهر ومات الهادي ويبع الرشد يبعث إلى
غادر وخطبها فقالت كيف نصنع بالأيمان فقال أكثر عن الكلّ وآخّ
راجلاً أجابه وتزوجها.
Ja’far ibn Qudāmah writes:6

Ghādir had the most beautiful face and voice and al-Hādī loved her intensely. As she was singing to him one day, a thought occurred to him. One of his close companions asked him why he was preoccupied.

“I’ve realized I’m going to die, and that my brother Hārūn will succeed me as caliph and marry my slave,” he replied.

“God forbid!” everyone exclaimed, “May you outlive us all!”

Al-Hādī summoned his brother and told him about his misgivings, and Hārūn did his best to reassure him. But al-Hādī insisted, “Swear to me that when I die, you will not marry her!”

He had Hārūn swear that if he broke his vow, he would perform the hajj on foot, divorce all his wives, free all his slaves, and distribute everything he owned as alms. Al-Hādī also had Ghādir make a corresponding vow.

Less than a month later al-Hādī died. Hārūn was given the oath of allegiance, becoming the caliph al-Rashīd, and immediately sent an emissary to Ghādir, asking for her hand in marriage.

“What shall we do about the vow?” she asked.

“I’ll pay an atonement for all the vows,” al-Rashīd replied, “and perform the hajj on foot.”

So she accepted his offer and he married her.
وراثداً شفقة بنا حتى إنه صار يضع رأسها في حجر فتنام فلا تدرك حتى
نتبه فيها هي نامعة ذات يوم أنتبهت فذعة تبكي فسألتها عن حالها فقالت
رأيت أخاك المسالمة في اليوم وهو يقول: [كامل]
أخلفت وعدي عندناا جاودت سحبان المعايب
وأنيت وحسبت سماك آل عائاش
وكان عنده الألف ألفي وأهل أيمن
وكان يدعاين إلى أهل أيمن
لا يحبب أهل أيمن الجدود
وأسر جمعاً ما له حب الخير
وكلما بقيت بين أعينه
والله يا أمير المؤمنين وكأن أسامها وكأن كتبتها في قلبي مما نسيت منها
كملة فقال لها الرشيده: [أضفْ أحلما] فقالت: كلما لم تظل تضطرب
وبرع حتى ماتت بين يديه وذلك في سنة ثلاث وسبعين ومانة.

1 تقضان وتُحرَف في م، وحلفت في. وكذا في ج. التصريب من المنتظم لابن الجوزي. ج، ص، ص 249.2: عدوات.
Al-Rashīd fell so deeply in love with Ghādir that he would place her head in his lap as she slept and would not move or shift position until she woke.

One day, she was asleep and woke up in a fright, sobbing. Al-Rashīd asked what was troubling her, and she said, “I’ve just seen your brother in a dream and this is what he said:

When the dead became my neighbors
the vow you took meant nothing to you.
You forgot me and broke your word
your vow was a shameless lie.7
Treacherously you bedded my brother:
‘Inconstance’—how well they named you!
I spend my nights with corpses,
you spend your days with dark-eyed beauties!
Curse your new love!
Disaster strike you!
Drop dead before morning!
As I am now, may you be too!

“I swear, Sire, I can almost hear him now! His words are graven on my heart and I can’t get them out of my mind!”

«Muddled nightmares!»8, al-Rashīd replied, comforting her.

“No, no!” she cried, trembling. Then she gave a shudder and died on the spot.

This happened in the year 173 [789–90].
عنان بنت عبد الله
جارية ناطفية

كانت شاعرة ظريفة ولها أخبار مدوّنة.

ذكرها أبو الفرج الإصبهاني في كتاب الأغاني فقال:

كانت عنان جارية النطاف صفراء مولدة من مولدت الآراء ولها
نضات وأذى وآشرها النطاف وهم الرشيد بن بنيها مع حبيبه وحبيبه منها
اشتهروا وما حببها به الشعراء مع حبيبه وحبيبه وحبيبه، وقيل إنها أحضرها ليبنها من سيدها فطلب تمنها مائة ألف درهم
فأخبرها الرشيد عنده ثم ركذها فتصدّق سيدها بثلاثين ألف درهم
فاما مات مولاها يعت ببناي ألف درهم.

وأعتقت بعد وفاة مولاها إما بعثك كان منه لها أو أنها ولدت منه.

وأعتقت بعد وفاة مولاها إما بعثك كان منه لها أو أنها ولدت منه.
'Inān was a poet and woman of wit about whom there is a written body of anecdotes.

Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī mentions her in the Book of Songs. He writes:

Al-Nāṭifī's slave ‘Inān was a blonde of mixed parentage, brought up and trained in al-Yamāmah.

Al-Nāṭifī had purchased her and al-Rashīd wanted to buy her from him. But ‘Inān's notoriety and the fact that many poets satirized her prevented him from doing so, although he was quite besotted and infatuated with her. The story goes that al-Rashīd sent for ‘Inān and offered to buy her from al-Nāṭifī, who named a price of one hundred thousand silver dirhams. Al-Rashīd agreed, kept her for a while, but then sent her back. Relieved, her master al-Nāṭifī gave away thirty thousand dirhams in charity.

When al-Nāṭifī died, she was sold for two hundred thousand dirhams.

‘Inān was the first poet to become famous under the Abbasids and the most gifted poet of her generation. The major male poets of the time would seek her out in her master's house where they would recite their verses to her and have her pass judgment.

When her master died, ‘Inān was freed—either because he had bequeathed her her freedom in his will or because she had borne him a child. ’
3. عنان

وروى الإصبهاقي بإسناده إلى مروان بن أبي حفصة قال
لقيني الناطق فدعاني إلى عنان قال فانطلق معي فدخل إليها قبلي
فقال لها قد جئت بأشهر الناس مروان بن أبي حفصة وكانت على
فقالت ابني عن مروان لي شغل فأهوى إليها بسوطه فضنهها به وقال لي
ادخل فدخلته وهي تبكي رأيتها الدموع تجري من عينيها فقلت [ سريع]
بك عنان مسيبلا دمعها كالنمر إذ ينسين من ختمه

قالت مسرعة [ سريع]

فقلت من يضنيها ظالماً تبكي يكنها على سوطه
قلت للناظف أعقل مروان ما يملك إن كان في الإنسان واجن أشعر
منها.

وحدث عن الجوهر قال حنّان عمر بن شيبة عن أحمد بن معاوية قال
قال رجل

تصفقت كبا فوجدت فيها بيتاً جهدت أن أحد من يبيه ثم أجد قال
لي صديق عليك ببيان جارية الناطق فأذنها فأنشدتها [ طويل]
وما رأيّ نشكوك لحب حني رأيت؟ تنفس من أحطاشي ونكّنا
قال بها تلبست أن قال [ طويل]

وبكي فما يأتيك رحمت إلهي إنه إذا ما بكي دمعاً بكئف له دما

1 كذا في م. وفي ج: لبنت.
Citing sources going back to Marwân ibn Abî Ḥafṣah, Abû l-Faraj al-Iṣfahânî reports that Marwân said:

One day I ran into al-Nāṭîfî, who invited me to come and meet ʿInân. We went to his house and he entered her room ahead of me saying, “Look, I’ve brought you the greatest poet of all—Marwân ibn Abî Ḥafṣah!”

ʿInân was not feeling well and said, “I have other things than Marwân to worry about right now!”

Al-Nāṭîfî struck her with his whip and called out to me, “Come on in!”

I entered and found her weeping. Seeing her tears, I extemporized:

ʿInân weeps tears that scatter
like a broken string of pearls.

She immediately responded with:

May the tyrant’s right arm wither
as his cruel whip unfurls!

“If any man or jinn¹² alive is a greater poet than she, I’ll free every single slave I own!” I said to al-Nāṭîfî.

Abû l-Faraj al-Iṣfahânî reports that al-Jawhari cites ʿUmar ibn Shabbah, who cites Aḥmad ibn Muʿāwiyah, who said:

I heard someone say:

While leafing through some books, I came across a verse that I was hoping someone could cap, but however hard I tried, I couldn’t find anyone. A friend said to me, “You should go see ʿInân, al-Nāṭîfî’s slave.” So I did, and I recited the verse to her:

He complained of love so long
that his whole body sighed and spoke!

Without a moment’s hesitation she rejoined with:

He weeps, and pitying him I weep—
he weeps tears, but on tears of blood I choke.
3. عيان

وأخيرًا، عن أحمد بن عبيد الله بن عمار عن عبد الله بن أبي سعد عن مسعود بن عيسى قال: أخبرني موسى بن عبد الله التميمي قال:

دخل أبو نواس على الناطق، وعثان جارية تبكي وتجدها على رزة في مصرع الباب، وقد كان الناطق ضربها فارسًا إلى أبي نواس أن يحركها.

فقال أبو نواس (منسح): "عثمان لو جذبت فثأتي من عصري بما أمان الرسول، ما يعني في آخر عمره أن "أمان الرسول يا أرسل إليه من مريح" آخر آية في سورة البقرة. فذ أمنها وإلى قسط طبع حبلي أن كُن حمستا.

فُذت عليه (منسح): علقت من لو أَيَّ على أنفسك سحابين وأقايرين ما كُنما.

فُذت عليه (منسح): لو نظرت عيني إلى جحيم، فَدَفِيني فسَوَّرها سَكَتَا.

وحدث عن جعفر بن قدمة عن أبي العيناء عن العباس بن رستم قال:

دخل أنا وأباان اللاحي على عثمان جارية الناطق في يوم من الصيف.

وهي جالسة في الحين، فقال لها ابن (سرير): لذته عظيم الصيف في لحش.

فقالت (سرير): 

م: متأذي.
Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī reports—citing Aḥmad ibn ʿUbayd Allāh, who cites ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Saʿd, citing Maṣʿūd ibn ʿĪsā—that Mūsā ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Tamīmī recounted the following:

Abū Nuwās went to see al-Nāṭifī and found his slave 'Inān weeping because her master had struck her. Her cheek was pressed against the door latch. Al-Nāṭifī made a sign to Abū Nuwās to compose a verse to get her to move and Abū Nuwās declaimed:

‘Inān, won’t you treat an old man with kindness?
I’m at «The Emissary believes and sets store . . . .»

—meaning he was at the “end” of his life, since the line «The Emissary believes and sets store in that which his Lord revealed to him . . . .» comes at the end of Surah Baqarah in the Qurʾan.13

‘Inān came back with:

If you persist in severing all bonds with me—
please don’t—then I’m “done” for.14

Abū Nuwās rejoined:

Ruthless, the one I love would destroy
the quick and the dead with no regret.

And ‘Inān came back with:

On granite trained, his languid eye
would sickness in the stone beget.

Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī reports, citing Jaʿfar ibn Qudāmah, who cites Abū l-ʿAynāʾ, that al-ʿAbbās ibn Rustam said:

Abān al-Lāḥiqī and I went to see al-Nāṭifī’s slave ‘Inān one summer’s day. She was sitting in a room cooled by dampened canvas sheets and a fan, and Abān said to her:

Summer’s pleasure is a room well fanned!

She replied:
6. عنان

٣،٩

قلت [خفيف]

كل يوم بأوحاني جديد تظلل الأرض عن بكاء ألمها،

قلت [خفيف]

فهى كألوسي من ثياب ينان جكلتها أنك اسم[tmp]

قللا! لىها مرضها بما أحسن ما قال جبر [طول]

ظللت أراطي صاحبي مجعداً، وقد علمني من هواك عقلُك

قلت غير متوقعة [طول]

إذا عقل الأحافى أشترى بكأت بسرا مره عن عليه نطول

وعلج جعفر بن قدامة وخطبة قال،

أنشدنا هبة الله بن إبراهيم بن المهدى قال أنشدنا أبي لعنان جارية

النافضي [كامل]

نغمي على حسننها موقعة، فوددت لوحيني مع أخسرات

لوسية، تدقي سبأني بأيامه إذا خطأ فرحها فنحن لا يكره أن تطول حيابي

قال أبو الفرج وهذه الأبيات رقت بها مولاها النظاف.

وروى أبو العيناء عن الجاز وغيره أن أبا نواس ألقى على عنان جارية النظاف بيتاً

هو... ٢

١ أنظم النافضي ما بين رمزى النجمة يعني من ص١١٠ حتي ص١٣٠ او أمًا [فتقال] هنا فاضي للسياق.

٢ نقصان في م.
Then I said:

*Every day new chamomiles
make the earth laugh from heaven’s tears.*

And she came back with:

*Like brocade on Sanaa silk
that traders bring from Yemen’s frontiers.*

Then Abān goaded her, saying, “Jarīr’s verse is certainly beautiful, the one which goes:

*I show a brave face to my companions
though your love has me on the hook.*

And without hesitation she came back with:

*When tongues are hocked by fear,
then eyes reveal all with a look.*

Ja’far ibn Qudāmah and Jaḥzah both report:

Hibat Allāh the son of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī recited the following verses, which his father had heard declaimed by al-Nāṭifi’s slave ‘Inān:

*My soul is given over to sighing,
if only it would depart with those sighs!*

*If my fate were in my hands
I would race to my demise.*

*No good remains now that you’re gone:
an outstretched life, I fear, before me lies!*
3. عنان

ذكر أبو الفرج أن عنان خرج إلى مصر وماتت هناك في سنة سبعة وعشرين وماتين.
Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī records that 'Inān journeyed to Egypt and died there in the year 226 [840–41].
عَضْضَ،
جَنَّة الأَمام الرَشِيد وأَمَّ ابْنِه حَمْدُونَة

ذِكر أَبُو جَعْفَر مُحَمَّد بن جَرير الطَّبَرْيَ في تَأْيِنْهُ أنَّ اسمه مُصَّنَّع رَوْت عِن مَظْلُومَة
جَانِيَة عَبَاسَة بْنَت المُهديّ كَانَت حَظْيَة عَنْدِه مُقَرَّبة لَهُ ماتت في خَلَافَتِهِ.

١٤
١ م: مصْنَع.
Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī writes in his *History* that her name was Muṣaffā, “Pure.” She was an authority on the poetry of Maẓlūmah, “Ill-Treated,” the slave of ʿAbbāsah, daughter of the caliph al-Mahdī.

Ghaḍīḍ was a favored concubine of al-Rashīd’s and part of his inner circle. She died during his caliphate.
هجيلانة

جارية الرشيد

أخذهما من يحيى بن خالد البريدي وكانت بديعة الجمال ظاهرة الكمال فحظيت عنه وأقامته مئة ثلاث سنين ثم مات ووجد عليها وجدًا شديدًا ثم قال بريئها [سريع]

قد قلتك كنا صمودك أنت(pt) وجالت أختنا في صدرك
اذهب فكلا وله ما سأرين بمَدْكِن شَيْءٍ آخر الدُّهْر

ورثها العباس بن الأحفص بأربعين بيتًا فأمر له الرشيد بأربعين ألف دِرْهُم لكل بيت ألف درهم وكانت وفاتها في سنة ثلاث وسبعين ومانة.

م: هيلامة. 22: قامتم.
Al-Rashīd got her from Yahyā ibn Khālid the Barmakid. She was extraordinarily lovely and accomplished. She enjoyed al-Rashīd’s favor until her death three years later. In his great sorrow he wrote the following elegy:

\[
\text{When they laid you in earth} \\
\quad \text{my breast was racked with grief.} \\
\text{I said to myself, “Die—} \\
\quad \text{there’s no more joy in life!”}
\]

Al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Aḥnaf composed a forty-line elegy on Haylānah, for which al-Rashīd gave him forty thousand dirhams—a thousand for each line. She died in the year 173 [789–90].
عُكْرُبُ المَأْمُومَةَ

قيل إنها ابنة جعفر بن سفيان بن خالد البرمكي لما انتهت دولة البرمكة سُرقت وهي صغيرة وبعد فآشراها الأمين مُحِّب بن الرشيد ثم اشترها أُخوُه المأمون عبد الله وكانت شاعة بُعيدة ومغنية محسنة.

أبنَيَّ أبو أحمد الأمين ونعِمَّ ناصر قال أُخُرَيْساً المبارك بن عبد الجبار الصَّيِّبَر في أُخُرَيْسَانَ إِبْرَاهِيم بن عمر البرمكي أُخُرَيْسَاً عبد الله بن جعفر الكبري حذفَا أبو بكر محمد بن القاسم الأُخُرَيْسَيْنَ قال حذفَا أَيَّ قال حذفَا أبو هاشم حذفَا سِمْعَةً بن هارون الكاتب قال حذفَا أَيَّ قَالَ حذفَا أَيَّ قال.

وجه أمير المؤمنين إلى أُهُلِ قَطْنَةُ البرمكة وقد أوقعهم وكانت ترمم أنها بئث جعفر بن سفيان من يسالهم عن أحوالهم وأمر أن لا يعاملهم أنه من قبله فصار إلى الفضل بن سفيان صلى الله وفَّال له ما حَبَّرَكَ ما حَبَّرَكَ حَكَّفَ [خفيف]

قَالَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ الصَّيِّبَرُ؟

سُلُّوْنَا أَنْ كَيْفَ فَهَنَّا فَهَّلْتُنَا مِنْ هُوَاءِ ذِيَّة مُّكِّفَ كَيْفَ يُكَونُ فَهَنَّ قَمَّتْ أُصَابَتَا عَنْتَ أَلْدَهْ يُأْفِكَنا إِلَيْهِ ذَٰلِكَ نَسْكِينُ؟

1: من إضافة من جل السياق. 2: نسكين. 3: أبو الفضل أبو بكر.
‘Arīb al-Maʾmūniyyah

“Ardent”

Member of the household of the caliph al-Maʾmūn

She was said to be the daughter of Jaʿfar ibn Yahyā ibn Khālid the Barmakid. She was stolen and sold as a child when the Barmakids fell from power. She was bought by al-Rashīd’s son al-Amīn, who then sold her to his brother al-Maʾmūn. She excelled as a poet and also as a singer and musician.

I was informed by the trustee ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ‘Ali—who cites Ibn Nāṣir, citing al-Mubārak ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Ṣayrafi, citing Ibrāhīm ibn ʿUmar al-Barmakī, who heard it from ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-ʿUkbarī, who heard it from Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Anbārī, who heard it from his father, Abū Muḥammad al-Anbārī, who heard it from Abū Hāshim, who heard it from Maymūn ibn Hārūn the state secretary—that ʿArīb used to tell the following story:

Hārūn al-Rashīd sent a messenger to my people—she meant the Barmakids, whom al-Rashīd had overthrown; she maintained that she was the daughter of Jaʿfar ibn Yaḥyā—to ask after them, having instructed him not to reveal who had sent him.

The messenger went to my uncle, al-Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā, and asked, “What news? What cheer?”

My uncle replied as follows:

“How are you?” they ask. Our answer is this—
“How do you think, when our star has set?
Our clan, victims of Fate’s caprice,
are evermore by misfortune beset.”

Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī writes:
1. عكربي

كانت عربية للأمونية تنمي أنها بنت جعفر بن يحيى بن خالد من امرأة شريفة ولها شعر وصحة في أشعار كبيرة وفناها دون مفرد.

من شعرها والصنعة فيها لها [سريع]

لا عكربي بصدك انك فعدت لي منك ألوان
و إن تذكرت ها حيلتي ما لي على قلبيك سلطان

وأني بعبد الرحمن بن سعد الله الديشتي عن أبي القاسم بن المرقدي قال أخبرنا أبو منصور محمد بن مهدي أحمد المكرمي أخبرنا أبو الحسن أحمد بن مهدي الصلاتي أخبرنا أبو الفرج الإصهاني قال حذني محمد بن مهدي وحيى بن علي قالا حذتنا حمد ابن حمادي قال قال لي أبي ما رأيت امرأة قط حسن وجها وأبدا وحناء وضريها وشعرها وليها بالشطرنج من عرب وما تشاء أن تجد خصيلة حسنة طريقة بارعة من امرأة إلا وجدتها فيها.

وهي عن أبي الفرج الإصهاني قال حذني محمصة قال حذني علي بن يحيى الفهمي قال خرجت يوما من حضرة المعتد فدرت إلى عريب فلما تر افرد من دارها أصاصي مطر ببل بابي إلى أن وصلت إلى دارها فارب دخلت إليها أمت باخذ شيا وتأت بطلعت فلبتها وأحترم الطعام فأذننا ودعت بالنبيذ وأخرجت جواريها ثم سألتني عن خبر الخليفة في أمسك ذلك اليوم وأيش كان صيته وعلى من قال فأخبرتني أن بنانا غناه [واز]

1. بن يحيى بن مهدي بن خالد.
2. أبو الحسن محمد بن الصلات.
3. علي بن يحيى المهمم.
4. كذا في م.
5. ولله بانان.
‘Arīb al-Maʾmūniyyah claimed to be the daughter of Jaʿfar son of Yāhā son of Khālid the Barmakid by a lady of noble birth. She was a poet and also set many poems to music; her collected songs form a discrete work.

The following is an example of one of her own poems that she set to music:

*Enough! I won’t be duped again.*
you’ve made me every kind of fool!
You change so often—what’s to be done?
your heart isn’t mine to rule.*

I was informed by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Saʿd Allāh al-Daqīqī, who cites Abū l-Qāsim ibn al-Samarqandī, citing Abū Manṣūr al-ʿUkbarī, citing Abū l-Ḥasan ibn al-Ṣalt, citing Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, who said: I heard from Muḥammad ibn Mazyad and Yāhā ibn ‘Alī, both citing Ḥammād ibn Isḥāq, who said that his father Isḥāq al-Mawṣili told him the following:

I never saw a more beautiful or refined woman than ‘Arīb, nor one who sang, played music, wrote poetry, or played chess so well. She possessed every quality of elegance and skill one could wish for in a woman.

The same source also quotes Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, who heard from Jaḥẓah that ‘Alī ibn Yāhā the astromancer told him:

One day, I left the caliph al-Muʿtamid’s court and headed for ‘Arīb’s place. Before I reached her house, I got caught in the rain and my clothes were soaked through.

When I arrived, my clothes were taken and I was given a ceremonial robe to wear. Food was brought and we sat and ate. Then ‘Arīb called for wine, dismissed her women, and asked me how the caliph had been earlier that day, what music he had listened to, and who had performed it.

I told her that Bunān had sung the following to the caliph:
عَرَب

ذِي كَلِفَ بِكَ جُرُعًا وَسَمَّى أَقْمَ الدُّوْلَةِ مُسْلِمًا
بَيْنَ فَتَايَ مُسْلِمًا وَكَانَ وَسَى بِهِ فَتَاي
جَوَّادَةً عَلَى خَطْرِ يَنْبُأَ أَقْمَ الدُّوْلَةِ تَحْصُرَ]
جَفْنُ حَفْوُهَا الْأَرْقُ نَجَفَ تَمَّ تَسْطِيقُ

فَأْمَرَتْ صِحَابَةُ لَهَا بِالصَّبِرِ إِلَى بِنَانٍ وَإِحْضَارهُ فَقَضَى إِلَى وَجَاء بِنَان
معهُ وَقَدَمَ إِلَى طَعَامٍ فَكَلَّ وَبَشَرَ أَنَّ بِهِ بَعْدَ فَاقِرُتْهُ عَلَيْهُ [وَا]

أَصَابَ الْبَيَاتِ الْعَذَّبَةِ وَصَاحَ الْفَحْصِ الْعَذَّبَةِ
فِي نَمَائِسٍ صَرْطَةِ كَانَ حَبَاسًا حَكْنَةً
تَزَكَّى أَبْوَاهُ بِجَزَائِهِ حَاسِبُ الْمَأْمَوْنَ تَخْرُقُ
فَقَتَدْ عَلَى بِسَانٍ أَكَّ جَفْنُ حَفْوُهَا الْأَرْقُ

قَالَ عَلِيّ بْنُ يَحْيَى
فَعَدَّل بِنَانٍ نَعْمَ الصُّوْت إِلَى شُعْرَا وَغَنَّا فِيهِ بُقِيَّةٌ يَوْمًا.

66

وَهَـوَهُ عَن جَمِيْرِ بْنَ قَدَامَةٍ قَالَ حَدِيثِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنَ المَهْرَازُ قَالَ
وَقَطَّعَ إِلَى رَقَعٍ لِكِعْرِب مَكَانَاتٍ مِثْلُهَا وَمُظَهَّرَةٍ فَقَرَأَهَا إِلَى
المَأْمَوْنِ وَقَدَ خَرَجَ إِلَى مُمَّا الصَّلَفُ لِزَفَّافِ بُورَانٍ [صَرِيعٍ]

إِلَمْ تُفَطَّلُكَ صَرْفُ الْحُلُوْلِ ُ يَزَبُّ بُورَانَ مِنْ الْدُّهْرِ
دُرُّةً حَيْدُرُ لَا يَزُرُّ نَحْجَهَا يَغْيِرُ َمْأُمَوْنَ الْغَلُوْالِ يَجْنُوحُ
حَتَّى أَسْتَفْنَ أَللَّهُ في جَجِيرٍ بُورَانَ كَيْدُ مِنْ جَجِيرٍ

م: بالمصير
6. ‘Arib

He weeps and grieves
   as the tribe leaves.\textsuperscript{27}
Anxious, uneasy,
   he was once carefree!
Love has put him in danger—
   of burning up.
And his lids are sleepless,
   wide open or shut!

When she heard this, she sent one of her people to fetch Bunān, who came at once. After he had had some food and wine, he was given a lute and ‘Arib asked him to improvise a song to the following verses of hers:

\begin{quote}
The rain has showered
   and the jonquil has flowered.
Fill a cup to the brink
   with bubbles that wink,
Whose splendorous glim
   almost burns the rim.
Now Bunān has sung to us:
   “And his lids are sleepless”\textsuperscript{28}
\end{quote}

Bunān applied the melody from the earlier song to these verses and sang them to us for the rest of the day.

The same source quotes Ja’far ibn Qudāmah as saying that Ibn al-Mu’tazz told him:

Some of ‘Arib’s correspondence came into my possession, notes in both prose and verse. The following is a letter she wrote to al-Ma’mūn when he had gone to Fam al-Ṣilḥ to marry Būrān:

\begin{quote}
Live happily ever after
   with Būrān!
A cherished pearl whose star
   follows the lofty course of Ma’mūn!
In a lap that’s surely blessed—
   Būrān’s!—kingship has come to rest.
\end{quote}
حدث علي بن شاذان الكثاب قال قالت عريش جارية الأموات
كت مع الوائق وهو يطوف على حجر جواريه عند خروجه إلى الأنهار
متزاماً فدخل إلى فوهة جارية كان يجسدها جدًا وكان يهوى أيضًا
وصيفة لها لم يكن يسأله بذلك غيري فاما رأته عند مولاتها دخلت خانتها
ونجبت وقامت على رأس فيدة وعلى رأسها عصابة مكون عليها
بالذهب (سرير)

عينتي بكي حذري آلبيين
ما أغرص في الرقة للعينين
لأس في الحب ولونه أو جمع من رقة القبين

فقال الوائق فهمت يا عرف قلت نم يا سيدي فكب على الأرض
بقضيب كان في يده (كامل)

ظهور الهوى وهمتكت أمستاره
والله خبن سبيله في مظلمه
فأغوص الموالي في هواك جاهراً فقلت عطيني آمنتها جهاره

خفنت الآيات وتضاءحها فقعت فيدة فقالت
يا سيدي عامل ما أنتا فيه فأمني على أمناك بقبولها فقال الوائق قد
فعلت خذلكي إليك يا عرب فأخذت يدها فما ملك نفسه أن انصرف
من خفثي مسرعاً وخلا بها وأمر ببغل دينار.

ذكر عبيد الله بن أحمد بن أبي طاهر أن عريش جارية الأموات توفيت في شهر ربيع
الأخير من سنة سبع وسبعين ومائتين وذكر أنه أن وفاتها كانت بسَرَم رأي عن
ست وتسعين سنة لآن مولدها في سنة إحدى ومائتين ومائت.

1 رد: لم ترد في ج.
According to the secretary 'Ali ibn Shadhān, ‘Arīb al-Ma’mūniyyah related:

I once accompanied the caliph al-Wāthiq as he made the rounds of his slaves before setting off on an outing to al-Anbār. He called on Farīdah, a slave he loved very much. He was also infatuated with one of Farīdah’s servants, and I was the only one who knew about it. When this servant saw al-Wāthiq with her mistress, she went to her dressing-room to fetch something. She came back and stood beside Farīdah, wearing a ribbon around her head on which the following words were written in gold:

*I fear to part—*

*my hot eyes smart.*

*Love hurts most*

*when sweethearts part!*

“‘Arīb, do you follow?” al-Wāthiq asked me.

“I do, my lord,” I replied.

Using a stick he was carrying, he wrote out on the ground the following lines, which I committed to memory:

*In full view, passion has rent its veil:*

*love’s best course is to be in plain sight.*

*Who cares for carpers? Speak your desire!*

*Lovers professed know the greatest delight.*

We laughed and Farīdah caught on. She said, “Sire, I see how it is with the two of you. Do your servant the kindness of accepting her.”

“With pleasure!” said al-Wāthiq. “‘Arīb, take charge of her.”

As I led her away, he was unable to keep himself in check and ran after me in his haste to be alone with her. And he ordered that I be given a thousand gold dinars!

‘Ubayd Allāh son of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir writes that al-Ma’mūn’s slave ‘Arīb died in the month of Rabi’ al-Thani, 277 [July–August, 890]. According to other sources, she died in Samarra at the age of ninety-six, which would mean she was born in the year 181 [797].
بدعة كبيرة
جارية عرب
مولاة الإمام الأموم

ذكر أبو الفرج علي بن الحسين الإسحائي أنها كانت أحسن أهل دهرها وجهها وغناها

وذكر ثابت بن سبان بن بُرُّة الطيب الصابئ في تاریخه أن اسمعی بن أيوب الغالبی
بَدْلٍ فيها لمريم مولاتها مائة ألف دينار على يدي أبي الحسن علي بن بحر المجتم
وسميته في ذلك عشرين ألف دينار فلمَّا خاطب علي بن بحر على في ذلك دعت
بدعة واعزتها إياه وسألتها هل تُحب وتختار البيع فرعقتها أنها لا تختاره فردت المال
وأعفترها من وقتها.

وحدث أبو الفرج الإسحائي عن عزة وكلبدعة قال
لَا قدِمُ المتضاد من الشام ومعه وصيف الحدام دخلت إليه بدعة في
أول يوم جلس فيه فقال لها يا بدعة أما ترين الشيب كيف قد اشتعل
في لحيته ورمى فقالت له بإمّْا إِنَّكِ اعْرَكَ اللَّهُ أَبُو حَرْثٍ تَرَى ولدك
قد شابوا فأتت والله في الشيب أحسن من الفطر وقررت طويلة حتى
قالت؟ هذه الآيات (حثث) ١ ٢

١ ٢ ٢٠ هـ. إن أحمد الناصر النصي بن الحكيم جرى بين عنان وأبان الألحاقي: أنظر ص ١٠.
Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī reports that she was the most beautiful and best singer of her time and that she was well regarded for the light verse she composed.

Thābit ibn Sinān the Sabian physician mentions in his *History* that Isḥāq ibn Ayyūb al-Ghālibī paid Bidʿah’s mistress ʿArīb one hundred thousand dinars for her, through the intermediary of ‘Alī ibn Yaḥyā the astromancer, to whom he promised a further twenty thousand dinars for his mediation.

When ‘Alī ibn Yaḥyā brought the matter up with ʿArīb, she summoned Bidʿah, introduced them, and asked her, “Do you consent, and do you choose to be sold?”

Bidʿah let her know that she did not, so ʿArīb returned the money and freed her on the spot.

Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī reports that Bidʿah’s handler ʿArafah related as follows:

When the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid returned from Syria with Waṣīf the Eunuch as his prisoner, Bidʿah went to see him the first day he held court.

“Bidʿah!” he said, “Can’t you see how my beard and hair «blaze white»?”

“My lord,” she replied, “May God give you eternal life, and let you see your own grandsons’ hair turn white! By God, your silvery hair is more beautiful than the moon.” She paused a while, then declaimed the following lines:
7. بيعة

ما ضربك الحبيب شتيتا بل رذل فيه جمالة
قد هكذبتلك الليثي والذ يحيى عاجلا
فصلك لنا في سرورم وأعزم بعينك بالآلاء
تريدك مديك يوم وليلة إفلا
في سرور وسرور ودلالة سبكلاء

قال
فصولها ذلك اليوم صلة سنة وحمل معها ثياباً كبرى وطيباً كثيراً.

47 وحدث عن عرفة أيضاً قال
لمأ قدر المعتضدني من حرب وصيف وجال به دخلت عليه بدعه فقالت
يا سيدي شتيتا والله هذه السفرة فقال دون ماك أت فيه يشب فاما
انصرفت ذلك هذا الشعر وغته [خفيف]

إن تك شبيت يا ملوك أجراني لأعزم عينيتك وخطوب
فكأنك مرادك للحبيب جمالة والنبيب آلميادي كان الأديب
قابل أضعاف ما مضى لكون في عيني وسلك وخشأض عيني وطيب

فطر المعتضدي ووصلها وخلع عليها.

57 وحدث محمد بن عران المرزباني عن المظفر بن مجي الشرازي عن عرفة صاحب بدعة
أنه دخل عليها وعينها رملة وهي تأكل باذخةة بوراية قال
فقلت لها أتأكلين هذا وعينك سكية قالت وإذا أحب الإنسان من يؤدي يتركه.

1: حمل: 20 مكت.
7. Bid‘ah al-Kabīrah

White hair has done you no harm
your beauty has only increased.
Time has polished you
and you are without flaw.
Flourish and be happy,
set your mind at rest.
With every day that passes,
your good fortune grows
In blessings and contentment—
your star is ascendant.

Al-Mu‘taḍid rewarded her with a magnificent gift and sent her home with many fine clothes and perfumes.

Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī also reports from ‘Arafah as follows:

When al-Mu‘taḍid brought Waṣīf captive from the battlefield, he received Bid‘ah, who said, “God, how this expedition has aged you, Sire!”

“Lesser things have turned a man’s hair white,” he replied.

As she was leaving, she sang the following poem she had composed:

Ruler of all the world, though you’ve aged and matured
through all the hardships you’ve endured
White hair makes you fairer—
wisdom’s sign, perfected in the bearer.
May you live twice as long again
in ease and plenty, in might and main!

Al-Mu‘taḍid was touched and rewarded her with a purse and ceremonial robes.

Muḥammad ibn ‘Imrān al-Marzubānī reports that al-Muẓaffar ibn Yahyā al-Sharābī cited ‘Arafah, the manager of Bid‘ah’s affairs, who related that one day he went to see Bid‘ah and found her eating a dish of Eggplant à la Būrān.35 Her eyes were inflamed so he asked, “Why do you eat it if it makes you cry?” “Do you leave someone you love just because he hurts you?” she replied.
ذكر ثابت بن سنان بن قرة في تاريخه أنَّ
بُدْعَةَ الكِبِيرَةِ جَارِيَةٌ عَرَبٌ تَوْفَّيَتْ لَمْ تُبَقَّيَ مِن ذَي لَحْجٍ سَنَةَ اثْنَاءِنَى
وَثَلَاثِمَا نَاءَةً وَصَلَّى عَلَيْهَا أَبُو بُكْرٍ بْنِ الْمُهَيْثِرِي بِبَالِ.
7. Bid'ah al-Kabīrah

Thābit ibn Sinān records the following in his History:

‘Arib’s slave, Bid’ah the Elder, passed away on the twenty-fourth of Dhu l-Hijjah in the year 302 [July 10, 915]. Abū Bakr the son of the caliph al-Muhtadi led the funeral prayers.
ـ ٨ـ

بُورانٍ

بنت الحسن بن سهل وممار المأمون

ذكر أبو جعفر بن جرير الطبري أنّ المأمون تزوجها في سنة اثنين وثمانين وثبت بها في شهر رمضان من سنة عشر وثبتت بنفسيه الأولى دخل عليها نثر عليها جذتها ألف درة كانت في صنعة ذهب فأمر المأمون أن يجمع جمعت كما كانت في الطبق ووضعها في حجر بوران وقال هذا تحلتك وأسالي حواتمك فأتت لها جذتها كففي سبدي وأسالي حواتمك فقد أمرك فسأنت الرضا عن إبراهيم بن الحذافة فتقال قد فعلت وسأنت الهذة إذن لأم جعفر في الج زادن لها وألستها أم جعفر البدعة الأموية وثبتني بها من ليلة وأودعت في تلك الليلة شمعة عبر فيهما أربعون ونّا في نور ذهب.

وأقام المأمون عند الحسن بن سهل سبعة عشر يوماً بعد الحسن في كل يوم ولحم
من معه ما يحتاجون إليه وخل الحسن على القواد على مراكبهم وحملهم ووصلهم

١ م: أبو بكر بن محمد بنز.
As Abû Bakr al-Ṣūlî notes, her given name was Khadijah but she was known as Būrān.

Al-Ṭabarî reports that al-Maʾmūn was married to her in the year 202 [817] and did not consummate the marriage until the month of Ramadan, 210 [December 825–January 826], in the town of Fam al-Ṣilḥ.³⁹

On their first night, Būrān’s grandmother ceremonially bestrewed her with over a thousand large pearls from a golden tray. Al-Maʾmūn then ordered that the pearls be gathered up. They were collected and returned to the platter. Al-Maʾmūn set the platter in Būrān’s lap and said, “This is your wedding present. Tell me what else you desire.”

Būrān’s grandmother said, “Do as your lord says. Tell him what you want, as he instructs!”

So Būrān asked him to pardon his uncle Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdî.⁴⁰

“Done,” said al-Maʾmūn.

Then she asked him to grant his stepmother Zubaydah permission to perform the hajj, to which he also agreed.⁴¹ For this Zubaydah rewarded Būrān with the Umayyads’ jewel-studded surcoat.⁴²

Al-Maʾmūn consummated the marriage that same night. For the occasion, a candle of ambergris weighing seventy pounds was lit and set in a candelabrum made of gold.⁴³

Al-Maʾmūn remained with his father-in-law al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl for seventeen days. Al-Ḥasan provided al-Maʾmūn and his entourage with all their needs every single day and also distributed ceremonial robes, horses, and cash to the caliph’s commanders, each according to his rank. The total outlay was fifty million dirhams.
8: بوران

وكان مبلغ النقية عليهم خمسين ألف دينار، وأمر بالمأمون بعد أن يدفع إلى الحسن عشرة آلاف دينار من مال فارس، وأتقلص جعلته إليه على المكان.

وكانت معدة مجلس الحسن فرقتها في قراءة وإصلاحها وخدمه.

وذكر أحمد بن الحسن بن سهل قال كان أهلنا يعتقدون أن الحسن بن سهل كتب رقعا فيها أسماء ضياعه ونشرها على القواد وعلى بني هاشم فن قت في بده رقعة منها فيها اسم ضيعة بث فتناءها.

وذكر أبو عبد الله الجهشياري أن عبده الواحد بن محمد هذته عن علي بن سهل

ابن أبان مولى الحسن بن سهل قال

نثر الحسن يوم الإملاك بنادق المنتر فأستباد الناس ذلك فأمر بكرها وأستخرج ما فيها ووكل بكل من النقط رجلًا يرقيها في بندقته فاذا گُمرت البنادق وجد فيها رقاع فقبض كل من وجد رقعة ما فيها من عقار أو غيره.

4:4:8

فقال إبراهيم بن العباسي [طويل]

 Ville-hentak أصْحَاهَا أدْلَت بعَضُها حَدَودًا ودَجَّلَنَّ أَكْثَرَهَا جَمْعَتُها أَنْتَلِيْنَ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِمِينَ وحَزَّتْهُ اثْنَئْيَانَ الْكَسْرَيْنِ أَلْكَتْكَمَا نَفْوَا يَحْتَا أَلْ لِكْبِيْرٍ وَالْرَّزْوَانِ أَلْ مَجْلَإُهَا أَلْ كَبْرِيْرُ وَالْمَوْسَلِيْنُ أَلْ وَجَدْنَهَا وَقَدْ دَوَنَكَ تِلْكَ وَهَمَّهَا

4:4:8

و روى الصوفي عن عون بن محمد قال حذفني عبد الله بن أبي سهل قال

لما بنى المأمون على بوران بن الحسن بن سهل وانحدر إليهم إلى ناحية

When al-Maʾmūn left, he ordered that ten thousand dinars from the tax revenues of Fārs be sent to al-Ḥasan. Al-Maʾmūn also granted him the revenues from the district of al-Ṣilḥ. These revenues, which had already been tallied, were brought directly to al-Ḥasan, who summoned his commanders, close officials, retainers, and servants and distributed the money among them.

Al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl’s son Aḥmad reported the following:

Our family used to talk about how my father wrote out the names of estates on slips of paper and strewed them among his commanders and among the members of the Hāshimī clan. Whoever got a slip with the name of a particular estate on it sent a messenger to take possession of that estate.


On the day of the marriage-contract celebration, al-Ḥasan scattered pellets of ambergris,45 a gesture that everyone at first found uncouth. Then al-Ḥasan ordered that the tossed pellets be cracked open. He assigned a man to each recipient to make sure his intentions would be carried out. When the pellets were split open some had slips of paper in them, each of which entitled the recipient to a piece of land or other allocation.

Ibrāhīm ibn al-ʿAbbās subsequently addressed the following poem to al-Ḥasan:

You are blessed with such in-laws! The proud are abased and the arrogant are humbled, through the glory of this troth. The Hāshimīs are reunited with Kisrā’s line:46
Kisrā’s progeny are honored by your oath.
Your sons are now the Prophet’s kin, and caliphs’ heirs, and successors of Kisrā and Hāshim both!

Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī cites ‘Awn ibn Muḥammad, who says that ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Sahl told him the following:

When al-Maʾmūn consummated his marriage to al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl’s daughter Būrān, he journeyed to his in-laws, sailing down the Tigris toward Wāsīṭ.
واسط فرش يوم البناء حصير من ذهب سمنفون وتُر عليه جوهر كِر
فجعل لباش الدَر يشرق على صفرة الذهب وما سماه أحد فوجه الحسن
إلى الأمام هذا نعاز، وبحب أن يُلقف فالامام لمن حوله من بنات
الخلفاء شرَّفَن أبا محمد فذُت كل واحدة مهن يدها فأخذت درة وبي
باق الدَر يلوح على الحصير الذهب فقال الأمام قال الله أبا نواس
لقد شبه بشي ما رأه قلط فاحسن في وصف الحَر والحِلاب الذي
فوقها فقال [بسيط]

كان صقرى وكبرى من واقعها حصنًا ذُر علي آخرين من الذهب
فكيف لو رأه معايلة.

وكان أبو نواس في هذا الوقت قد مات.

وحدث أبو علي الكلبي قال حديثي أبو الفضل الرهبي عن أبيه قال
لم تزوج الأمام بوران ابنة الحسن بن سهل أراد أن يَفْتَضَها طناَكاذ
حاست فقالت [أني أمر الله فلا تنسَجاوه] فنهى الأمام قولاها
فوت عنها.

ذكر الجهشياري أن أبا عبد الله بن حمدون ذكر أن بوران بنت الحسن قالت ترثي
المؤمن [خفيف]

أنتِ أميرُ علَيّ، أنتِ أميرُ علَيّ، صرُّت بعد الإمام للهيم فيَّا
كُنتِ أسطُر علَي اليمان فَمَا، مات صار اليمان يسطعُ عليه

1- قال: 2- كذا في م. وفي ديوان أبي نواس أيضاً. في خ: تفاعها.
On the day of the consummation, a gold-woven mat was spread for him, and many precious pearls were scattered on it. The whiteness of the pearls glittered against the gold of the mat, and no one wanted to touch them. Al-Ḥasan sent a message to al-Maʾmūn, saying, “These gems are a bestowal. Let the guests help themselves to them.”

So al-Maʾmūn turned to the princesses who were present and commanded, “Honor al-Ḥasan’s gift!” Each princess reached out and took one pearl, leaving the rest to glitter on the gold-woven mat.

All of a sudden, al-Maʾmūn exclaimed, “Damn that Abū Nuwās! He was able to describe scenes without ever having witnessed them! How brilliantly he described the froth on wine when he said:

*Bubbles like pearls on a floor of gold.*

Just imagine what he would have said if he’d seen the thing for himself!”

Abū Nuwās had by that time already passed away.

Abū ʿAlī al-Kawkabī reports that Abū l-Faḍl al-Rabaʿī told him that his father said:

Just as al-Maʾmūn was about to take Būrān’s virginity on their wedding night, her period started. She quoted the Qur’anic verse, «God’s command is nigh; do not be hasty» and al-Maʾmūn, realizing what she meant, leapt off her.

Al-Jahshiyārī writes that Ibn Ḥamdūn mentions the following poem composed by Būrān to mourn al-Maʾmūn:

*Weep, my eyes! The Caliph has passed on and I’m a captive to melancholy. Once I was the one who ravaged fate; now he’s gone, fate ravages me.*
ذكر هلال بن الخطين الكاتب أن بوران بنت الحسين بن سهل ولدت ليلة الاثنين ليلة ختام من صفر سنة النين وسمع ومرة الله بن أحمد بن أبي طاهر أن بوران توفيت يوم الثلاثاء، ثلاث بعين من شهر ربيع الأول سنة إحدى وسبعين ومائتين وقد بلغت من السنما مائتين سنة.

قلت وكانت وفاتها ببغداد لأنها كانت تسكن بالقصر الحسيني المنسب إلى أبيها الحسن ابن سهل وهذا القصر كان أولًا يسمي القصر الجفري نسبة إلى جعفر بن أبي بكر بن خالد البرمكي وهو أول بناه وضع في قدر الزمان بمدينة السلام.

أخيرًا أبو القاسم علي بن عبد الرحمن بن علي إذًا عن أبي مجد عبد الله: بن الحناب التميمي قال حدثنا أبو القاسم البقيع أخبرنا أشعى القاضية أبو الحسن المأموني أخبرنا أبو علي الأزدي حدثنا الجار قال حدثنا أبو الميتبان قال كان جعفر بن أبي بكر البرمكي شديد المشغف بالإنخوان كثيرة الحب للطيب قد أعطى اللذات قيده وجعل مواسم القصف والده أعياده وكثر ذلك منه وأشتهر عنه وكم الأعداء فيه بسبب حاله والده وأكبر عليه فله وقال له إذا لم تكن لك قدرة على الاستقرار في لهوك وشريك والكم لمجلس أنسك وملك فأتخذ نفسك قصرًا بالجد النوري تجمع فيه ندماءك وطيبك وقطع معهم زمانك وبعده عن أعين العامة وتحفي أموك على أكثر الخاصية ورفق القول فيك وقطع الكلام عنك كأنك أصل لشأنك عند سلطانك فعد جعفر إلى الجند الشرقي واتخذ به قصرًا شديد بناءه وأوسع فناءه وفساءه واتخذ فيه بساتً اذ رياض مخصبة مريرة وغريب به من أنواع الجزيرة يمر بكل تمرة بديدة وعك في إنفاق الأموال وجمع الصناع والرجال فاما قارب الفراق من بأنه صار إليه

١ م: مجد بن عبد الله. ٢ م: أبو جر. والقصص من أسئلة أخرى.
The state secretary Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin reports that Būrān was born on Monday night the third of Safar in the year 192 [December 6, 807]. But ‘Ubayd Allāh son of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir reports that Būrān died at the age of eighty on Tuesday the twenty-seventh of Rabi‘ al-Awwal in the year 271 [September 21, 884].

Būrān must have died in Baghdad, since she lived in the Ḥasanī palace, named after her father al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl. This palace was originally called the Jaʿfari palace, after Jaʿfar the Barmakid; it was the first building built in the early days of East Baghdad.

Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān informed me—citing Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Khashshāb the grammarian, with his permission, who cites Abū l-Qāsim al-Rabaʿī, citing the supreme judge Abū l-Ḥasan al-Māwardī, who cites Abū ʿAlī al-Azdī, who cites al-Jammāz—that Abū l-ʿAynāʾ related the following:

Jaʿfar ibn Yāḥyā the Barmakid was very attached to his friends and enamored of his singing-girls. He gave free rein to his pleasures and regularly scheduled days of revelry and dalliance. This became so excessive that he became notorious and tongues began to wag.

His father took him aside and reprimanded him in private for his conduct. “If you can’t enjoy your revelry and drink discreetly and keep your antics hidden,” he said, “then build yourself a palace on the East Bank where you can get together with your drinking companions and singing-girls. Over there, out of the public eye, your time can be your own and your affairs can remain largely hidden from the court. This will stop people talking, put an end to the rumors, and raise your standing with your sovereign.”

So Jaʿfar built a palace of vast proportions on the East Bank, with a large open court and a garden full of fruit trees of every kind. He poured great sums of money into it and employed an army of laborers and craftsmen to work on it.

When it was almost finished, he took his friends out to see it, among them the shrewd and clever Muʾnis ibn ʿImrān. Jaʿfar walked around the palace and found it to be superb. All his companions raved about how wonderful it was, except for Muʾnis, who was silent.

“What’s wrong?” Jaʿfar asked him, “Why aren’t you saying anything?”
ومعأصحابه وفيهم موسى بن عمران وكان عاقلاً لبياكماً فضاً به، وأستسدن وقال من حضر من أصحابه في ذلك فأدركوا القول وموسى سألك فقال له جعفر ‘لا تكون قال في ماذا قال لنا أصحابنا قال كناي قولهم ولا زادنا فيه وكان جعفر دُكَّاً فعلم أن تحت قول موسى معنى فقال وأنت أيضاً فقل قال هو ما قالوا قال أمتحنت عليك لتقول فقال له إذ أتيت إلا أن أقول فنصبر على الحق قال ثم قال أريد خلوا فاما خلوا قال أثيل فما أقول أو أختصر قال بل أختصر قال أسألك إن خرجت الساعة فررت بدار لبعض أصحابك تشبه دارك هذه أو نفاربا ماكت صادقاً أو قائله قال قد فهمت ما الرأي قال هو رأي إن أخبرته عن ساعتك هذه فات قال وما هو قال لمست أمشاك في أن أمير المومنين قد طلبك وسأل عن خبرك فأخبر أغليك قد ركب إلى قصرك فحورك من تأخرك فأطل اللبث هاها ثم أمض إليه من فورك وعلىك أثر الفبار فإذا سألك عن حاك يقل صرت إلى القصر الذي بنيته للأمامون ثم أعن ذلك من القول بما أنت أعلم به.

قال وكان جعفر قد ابتعد في هذا القصر ثلاثمائة وستين رفقة ما بين مجلس ومستشار وحجرة وخيش وخرابة وكب إلى كل ناحية بأن يتخذ لكل مقصورة فرض على مقدار أبيتها وكان القول قد كثر جداً في ذلك البنا، وماكب في استعماله من الفرح له.

م: فيهذا. 46 46
“About what?” replied Mu’nis.
“About what everyone else is talking about!”
“They’ve said it all; I’ve nothing to add,” said Mu’nis.
Ja’far was astute enough to realize that there was something behind Mu’nis’s words, and asked him pointedly, “But what do you have to say?”
“No, really,” replied Mu’nis, “it’s as they’ve said.”
“I demand that you speak!” Ja’far ordered.
“Since you insist I say something,” said Mu’nis, “can you handle the truth?”
“Of course I can,” replied Ja’far.
“It needs to be in private.”
When they were alone, Mu’nis asked, “Do you want the long version or the short?”
“Give me the short version,” Ja’far said.
“Imagine going out right now and finding that one of your own entourage had built a palace more or less like this one. What do you think you’d say? And how do you think you’d react?”
“Point taken,” said Ja’far. “What should I do?”
“What I’m going to suggest, you must do immediately or else it’ll be too late.”
“Which is?” asked Ja’far.
“I have no doubt that the caliph has been asking for you and been told that you’ve gone out to your palace. He’s probably annoyed with you for staying away so long. Stay a while longer, then rush to his palace and appear before him with your clothes still dusty. When he asks what you’ve been up to, say, ‘I’ve been out at the palace I’m building for al-Ma’mūn,’ then use your own discretion.”

Here our source, Abū l-ʿAynāʾ, notes that Ja’far’s palace had three hundred and sixty rooms, including formal sitting rooms, balconies, bedrooms, rooms furnished with dampened canvas sheets to cool the air, and storerooms. Ja’far had sent away for sets of rugs and cushions to be procured from every corner of the empire, all custom-made to fit each separate chamber. There was no end of talk and speculation about the building and the furnishings that had been ordered for it.
فأقام جعفر في القصر هُنئاً ثم مضى من فوره فدخل على الرشيد فسألَه عن خبره ومن أن جاء قال كتب في القصر الذي أُخبِثت له ولأسره بأمره فأرسل إليه رضي الله عنه برسالة منه في آخر ذلك.

فإنما أَتْحَت لِهْذَا القصر بجانب الشرقي في موضوع معنيد الهواء طيب الطير، ثم رياض زاهية ومياه جارية بعيدة من أصوات الناس والدخانين المؤذية والروائح المُلَثية ليسكحبوا حراضته ودايته وجواه، وقهور همائها، فبهذا مراجعه، وهي تزوّدته، وضفًّا، ويد جمعه، ومع ذلك فإنه تائف إلى الواحه جميعًا في اتخاذ فرش لهذا البناه على مقامه، وبيع شه. لم يَهِبُّ انتظاره إلى الآن وقد عُولظ على خرق أمير المؤمنين إن عارة أمينة، بل هبة وأُصُفر عليه وأقبل وجهه عليه وقال أي الله أن يقال عنك إلا ما هو لك وأن يُظَفح فيك إلا ما يرميك ويطيلك، والله لا سكينكم أحد، وسواك ولا تَمْلَع ما يجوز من المفارش إلا من خزانتنا وزال من نفس الرشيد. بات تلك الفعلة ما كان لحمل عليه من السعادات، وظهر بالقصر، وآن قطعت الأفواه عنه ولم يزل جعفر يتردد إليه في كل وقت. أوقات أفراحه ونزته ومرحه إلى حين واقعهم وآلائهم دولتهم إلى حين. كان يسمي القصر لجعفي.
Cutting short his stay, Jaʿfar hurried off to see al-Rashīd, who asked him where he had been and what he had been doing.

“I’ve been at the palace I’ve built on the East Bank for my master, al-Maʾmūn,” he replied.

“Oh, you built it for al-Maʾmūn, did you?” Hārūn asked.

“Absolutely, Sire,” he replied, “because on the night he was born, you honored me by placing him in my lap before placing him in your own, and honored me by making me his servant. Knowing full well how dear he is to you, I was inspired to build a palace for him on the East Bank, where the climate is moderate and the soil very good. It has flowering gardens and flowing streams and is far from noisy crowds, noxious vapors, and nasty smells. His nursemaids, wet nurses, housemaids and housekeepers can all live with him. There, his humors will be balanced and he will grow up healthy, clear-minded, pure-hearted, and intelligent, and he will develop superior understanding, a good complexion, and strong limbs. What’s more, I’ve sent away to all the provinces for custom-made furnishings, though there are still a few items I haven’t been able to obtain. I’m hoping I can rely on the caliphal treasury for a loan, or a gift...”

“A gift, of course!” said al-Rashīd. He then parted the curtain and faced Jaʿfar directly. “God forbid that anyone falsely accuse or slander you! May people only praise and honor you! You alone shall occupy that palace, by God! And we alone shall provide the remaining furnishings.”

Al-Rashīd’s suspicions were allayed by this ploy. Jaʿfar got to keep the palace and rumors about him ceased. He went there whenever he wanted to revel or relax, and continued to do so until the caliph al-Rashīd deposed the Barmakids and they fell from grace. Until that time, it was known as the Jaʿfarī Palace.
ذكر انتقال هذا القصر وكيف صار إلى الأمون وما أضاف إليه من الأبنية

ذكر بعضهم أن هذا القصر ظنَّ إلى الأمون وكان من أجمل القصور وأباه واحذره المواضع إليه وأثناها وإطلاقه على دلالة وكتابه في النظر وأسمائه بالوضاء والضج واسماً، بالقوى المشترق النائر والزهرة المونقة الزاهر فنزل بضاحيه وحل به سحي راحته وجوز على رياضه ذيله وطارد في ميدان سروه خيله ملتهٌ بكاسه معتدٌ بهواد وصار منزل صيدته وقصده ونجزه وفرسه وأقطع جمله من البرية فعندل ميادٌة أزكرها العلماء واللعب بالكرة والصصisspace ويجري جمع الوحش في أوقات تصيده وفعله باباً شريفًا إلى جانب البز واتخذ على أعلاه منظرة تشرف مواساةً لمن عنسه يصل من طريق خراسان وواجع هذان وأزدقان وأخرى على ذلك الباب نهرًا ساقه من نهر المعلٍ وآتقت عليه وقبلته من منزل برسم وحسته وأصطفه وغنايتهُ سُنيت الأمونية وهي الآن حلة الشارع الأعظم فهما بعقيدي المصطنع والزرازينُ.

ذكر انتقال هذا القصر إلى الحسن بن سهل وانتشاره به وما رزقه فيه من الأبنية

كان الأمون بخراشان مع والده فامًا lei والده هناك ذهب الأمون بخراشان وبيع أخوه الأمين بهداد وجرت الفتنة المظلمة إلى أن قتل الأمين رحمه الله عليه فاما وصل البريد بخبر قتله إلى الأمون أرسل الحسن بن سهل خليفة له على العراق لتنديم الأمر بها فورها بعد انقضاء فترة الأمين في سنة ثمان وتسعين وسنة ونذير القصر الأموني المذكور وتوّج الأمون بوران بن الحسن بن سهل مجاوًا بولاية عمها الفضل بن

How the Palace Became the Property of al-Maʾmūn; and the Additions He Made to It

According to one source, the palace subsequently became the property of al-Maʾmūn. Truly a splendid palace, it was the one he most cherished—because it overlooked the Tigris, was beautiful to behold, was enfolded by gardens and trees, and was adorned with brilliant and dazzling flowers. It was the palace in which he most preferred to spend his time. He would go there often to unwind, to stroll through its gardens, and to race his horses; he would thoroughly enjoy his stay and be rejuvenated by its fresh air. It soon became his main retreat for the hunt and the chase, and for picnics and outings.

In addition, he enclosed a large neighboring tract of land and built a racetrack for his personal guard, a polo-ground, and a game preserve where he could hunt. He built an entrance on its eastern side facing the open country. Above it, he built a platform that looked out over a vast expanse allowing a view of anyone arriving on the Khurasan Road and from the direction of Hamadhan or Azerbaijan.

He also diverted a watercourse from the Muʾallā Canal toward that entrance and had residences built along it and near it, assigning them to his retinue, courtiers and women. The area was known as al-Maʾmūniyyah. It is now the quarter through which passes the main thoroughfare between the Artificer's Archway and the Armorers' Archway.

How the Palace Became the Property of al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl; How It Was Named after Him; and the Additions He Made to It

When his father al-Rashīd died in Khurasan, al-Maʾmūn was with him and was given the oath of allegiance there; his brother al-Amīn was given the oath of allegiance in Baghdad. The great Civil War ensued, which lasted until al-Amīn was killed—may God have mercy on him. When the courier arrived and gave al-Maʾmūn the news that his brother had been killed, he sent al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl to be his deputy in Iraq. Al-Ḥasan reached Baghdad in the year 198 [813–14], at the end of the Civil War, and took up residence in the Maʾmūni Palace.

Al-Maʾmūn married al-Ḥasan's daughter Būrān, with her uncle al-Faḍl ibn Sahl serving as her legal guardian for the betrothal. When al-Maʾmūn arrived
سُهِل فَقَرُ قَدِمَ اللَّأْمُونَ مِنْ خَرَاسَانِ فِي يَوْمَ السَّبِتِ لَأَرِمٍ عَشْرَةٍ لِيَلَةَ بَيْنَ مِنْ صَفْرٍ مِنْ سَنَةِ أَرِمٍ وَكَانَ مِنْهُ مَنْخَالٌ إِلَى قَصَرِ الْخَلَافَةِ بِالزَّبَرَةَ بِالجَبَّانِ الْأَرِمِيِّ فِي سَكَّةَهُ وَبَقَى الْحَسَنُ مَنْ سَهْلٍ مَّقْتُهُ بِالْقَصَرِ الْلَّأْمُونِيٌّ إِلَيْهِ أَحْيَى عَرْسَ بُورَانَ بِقَمَ الصَّلِّي وَأَنْقَلَتْ إِلَى بَغَدَادَ وَأَنزَلَتْ بِالْقَصَرِ وَطَلَّهُ الْحَسَنُ مِنْ اللَّأْمُونِ فَكَبَّهُ لِهِ وَمَعْذَبَ السَّاعِ أَضَافَ إِلَيْهِ مَا حَلَّهِ وَلَغَبَ اسْمَ الْحَسَنِ عَلَيْهِ وَعَرَفَ بِهِ وَنَسَبَ إِلَيْهِ.

ذكر أحمد بن أبي طاهر في كتاب بغداد قالف حداثي بعض مشايخنا قال:

لما بني الحسن بن سهل قصره هذا جعل بين سوره وبين شفث دجلة
فضاء كبيرا فقيل له لو جعلته راكة على دجلة كان أحسن فقال ما أنا
والنزهة والإشراف إلى دجلة إنهما يفعل هذا أهل الفراق والبطالة ونحن
عن النزهة في شغل.

ثم اتباع الموقف بالله هذا القصر وزنه ثم هدمه المعتضدان بلموقع ونها وزاد فيه

ومنذ إلى حد نهر بين وزنه المكتفي.

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from Khurasan on Saturday the sixteenth of Safar in the year 204 [August 12, 819], he took up residence in the Khulḍī Caliphal Palace on the West Side of Baghdad. Al-Ḥasan remained at the Maʾmūnī Palace until Būrān’s wedding was concluded in Fam al-Ṣilḥ. When she was brought to Baghdad and lodged there, al-Ḥasan asked al-Maʾmūn for the palace and al-Maʾmūn gave it to him. It was then that al-Ḥasan made additions to it and that it came to be associated with him and his name.

Ibn Abī Ṭāhir says in his Book of Baghdad that one of his teachers told him:

When al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl renovated this palace, he left a large area unbuilt between its walls and the riverbank. Someone said, “You should have extended the palace walls all the way to the Tigris”; but he said, “When would I be able to stroll and gaze at the Tigris? That’s only for people with time on their hands. We are far too busy.”

Later, al-Muwaffaq bought the palace and took up residence there. The caliph al-Muʿtaḍid subsequently razed it, rebuilt it, made additions, and extended it up to the embankment of the Bin Canal. Al-Muktafī then lived there.
كان حظيلة عند الأمام مقرية إليه وكانت تعتني بأحمد بن يوسف ووزير الأمون وكان هو يقوم بخدمته وحائجه فأدت على الأمام في بعض الأمور فاتكر عليها وصار إلى الشماشية ولم يلها معه فاستعاضة نصرة خادم أحمد بن يوسف وحملته رسالة إلى مولاه تخبره وسألته التظف في إصلاح نية الأمام لئنا عزته الخادم ذلك دعا بدوابة وقصد الشماشية فاستأذن عليه فأذن إليه وقال أنا رسول قال فأذن لي في تأدية الرسالة فأذن له هذه الأيات وهي [كامل]

قد كان عشتبر صرارة مكروهًا فأظام أصم ظاهراً مغولًا
ثال الأزادي سؤالهم لا هنُّوا لأسألونا طراكنا وأطمنا
هنيئي أسبأ فنُذة آن أن ترى ضجٌّ وصرقاً مفاضلاً مظلومًا
قال قد فهمت الرسالة فكن الرسول بالرضار وجه ياسب الخادم خلها.
She was one of al-Maʾmūn’s concubines and part of his inner circle. She took al-Maʾmūn’s vizier, Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, under her wing. He in turn served her and looked after her interests.

On one occasion, she went too far with al-Maʾmūn. He rebuffed her, leaving her behind when he traveled to his residence in al-Shammāsiyyah. So she summoned Aḥmad’s eunuch, Nuṣrah, and gave him a letter for his master, describing her plight and asking him to devise a way to patch things up between al-Maʾmūn and her.

When Aḥmad learned what had happened, he rode to al-Shammāsiyyah and requested an audience with al-Maʾmūn, saying, “I come as a messenger.” Aḥmad describes what happened next:

Al-Maʾmūn gave me permission to deliver the message and I recited these verses to him:

Your censure before was a secret,  
today it’s public, no longer hidden.  
Our enemies have won—may they not rejoice—  
seeing you depart, leaving me forsaken.  
I erred, but it is your custom, even when wronged,  
to be lenient—may I be forgiven.

“Understood!” al-Maʾmūn said, “Now you can be a messenger of forgiveness,” and he sent Yāsir the Eunuch to bring Muʾnisah to him.
قُرَّة العين
مولاة المعتصم

جارية مولدة كانت حظية عند الإمام المعتصم بعهده رضي الله عنه وروى عنها
الفاضي أبو بكر أحمد بن كامل بن خلف بن شمسة وكنتي أدبية.

أباكم: أبو محمد الجنبادي عن أبي بكر الحنبلي قال أخبرنا أبو غالب الكرخي إذاً عن
عبد الله بن أحمد الأزرقي قال
حذفنا إبراهيم بن خلدة قال حذفنا أحمد بن كامل قال أنشدتنا قرة العين
المعتصمية [بسيط]

أنظر في بعين الصغر عن رأي لا تشاركين من أدنى على وجل
روحك وروحك من جمودان في قرن فكهف أمه ممن في حجره أنيمي

1 كذا في م، وفي ج: أبنا.
Qurrat al-ʿAyn

“Solace”

Dependent in the household of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim

She was a slave of mixed parentage and a favorite of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim—God be pleased with him. Judge Aḥmad ibn Kāmil transmitted literary material from her. She was very cultured and refined.

Abū Muḥammad al-Junābidhī informed us—citing Abū Bakr al-Ḥanbalī, who cites Abū Ghālib al-Karkhī, citing ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Azharī, who cites Ibrāhīm ibn Makhlad—that Judge Aḥmad ibn Kāmil said:

Qurrat al-ʿAyn, the slave of al-Muʿtaṣim, recited the following verses to us:

\begin{quote}
Look on me with an eye of pardon for my lapses;  
don’t leave me in fear and uncertainty.  
Your soul and mine are yoked together.  
How can we be apart without it killing me?
\end{quote}
قال أبو بكر محمد بن محيّه الصوفيُّ فريدةُ بالياء، وَهَمَا جاريتان مغنينا كبرُي، وَصغْرِي فَأُمّا الكبري فِهِذِهَ كَأَنْ جَارِيَةٌ مُولَدَةٌ شُيِّرَتُ بِالجَعَارِزٍ ثُمَّ قَعَتْ إِلَى الْرِّيْبِ يَوْمَ حَاجَبِ الرَشِيدِ قُعَّدَتْ السَّنَاءَ فِي دَارِ ثُمَّ صَارَتْ إِلَى الْبَرَامِكا قَلَّ فَقَلَ جَعْفَرٌ ابن مُحَمَّد الْبَرَمِيّ وَكَبِّبَ الْبَرَامِكا هِرْتُ فِيْدَةً الْمُذْكُورَةُ فَلَمْ يُحْلِمْ خَيْرَهَا وَطَلِبَ الرَشِيدُ فَلَمْ يُبْذَاهَا ثُمَّ صَارَتْ إِلَى الْأَمِينَ بَعْدَ مَوْتِ الرَشِيدِ فَكَانَتْ عَنْهُ إِلَى أَنْ قُتِلَ فِي الْحُرُمِ سِنَةِ ثُمَانِيَةٌ وَتِسْعِينَ وَمَا عُيْنَ فِيْدَةَ كُبْرَيَّةٌ الْمُذْكُورَةُ إِلَيْهِ بِبَنَانِ فَلَوْدَتْ لَهُ ابْنِهِ عَبْدُ الْلَّهُ ثُمَّ مَاتَ عَنْهَا فَتَرُوجُهَا الْمَسْنِدُ إِلَى الْحَرَّشِيْ فَاتَّعَهُ.
Farīdah

“Solitaire”

Member of the household of the caliph al-Amīn

According to Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, her name is correctly spelled “Farīdah” with a long “i.”\textsuperscript{56} Two slave singers went by that name, one older, one younger. This Farīdah was the older one.

She was a slave of mixed parentage who grew up in the Hijaz. She came into the possession of Harūn al-Rashīd’s chamberlain, al-Rabīʿ ibn Yūnus,\textsuperscript{57} and learned to sing in his household.

She then became the property of the Barmakid family. When Jaʿfar ibn Yabḥā was killed and the Barmakids were disgraced, Farīdah went into hiding. The caliph al-Rashīd searched for her without success. After al-Rashīd died, she became al-Amīn’s. She remained with him until he was killed in the month of Muharram, 198 [September, 813], when she fled.

She later married al-Haytham ibn Basām and bore him a son, ʿAbd Allāh. When al-Haytham died, she married al-Sindī ibn al-Ḥarashi, in whose household she died.
١٢

إسحاق الأندلسية

١١٢

فيما كتب به الكتاب

١٢٠

قال عبيد الله بن أحمد بن أبي طاهر في سنة سبعين ومائتين مائت إسماعيل أم الموت

٢٠٢

بمدينة السلام لإحدى عشرة ليلة بقيت من جمادى الآخرة ودفنت بالرصافة.

٢٠٢

فقال أبو أحمد بن علي بن محي الخليل يغري الموتى بأمه (طول)

١٢١

عراة فإن الحق يسيطع بنسلب وصرى قلدينا صتروف تSDK

٢٠٣

وما جعور إلا لا حكر صراع إذا لم يكن خُطى الله مهرب

١٢٢

على أنه لا يملك القلب لوعة على قلبه لا يقول من أمين تشكك

٢٠٤

إذا كاد سههم الله بل يصأب قلصبر أولى بالكريم وأصوب

٢٠٥

أعلم جدات الدنيا يسيطع بكما لا كلما تكسر وليل

٢٠٦

وصرح دارك المعمرة خلفها وفرقدها في عظم صبري عظم ما رئف فأصاعد الحزن لأصبر يقبع

٢٠٧

فمآ أOLS إلأ أشتان متفور بكما قد أنصشرت أو سألم سوف ينكب

٢٠٨

١ كذا في م. وفي ج: ما.
Isḥāq al-Andalusīyyah

“Isaac” the Andalusian

She was a slave of mixed parentage and belonged to the caliph al-Mutawakkil. She was one of his favorites and the mother of his sons Ibrāhīm al-Mu’ayyad and Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq.

ʿUbayd Allāh son of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir writes:

Isḥāq, the mother of al-Muwaffaq, died in Baghdad on the eighteenth of Jumada al-Thani in the year 270 [December 23, 883]. She was buried in al-Ruṣāfah.

ʿAlī ibn Yaḥyā the astromancer composed the following poem to console al-Muwaffaq on the death of his mother Isḥāq:

Take heart—fate gives, and fate takes away; be strong—nothing in this world remains constant.
For each one who gives in to grief, another withstands it: there is no escaping God’s commandment.
The heart cannot bear the sting of separation nor can the eye hold back its tears.
The arrow of death must hit its mark but noblest is he who stands firm.
Though the world teaches that nothing is forever we play on, and pay no heed.
It destroys one abode after another, and raises a new one, which falls as decreed.
Your loss is great—let your strength be greater!
Strength mends what grief has undone.
All of mankind is victim to disaster: disaster past, disaster yet to come.
قال: فالقصر بالاضافة عتاب,
و性感 بنكديس من الله واجب,
فإذا خنخص صديقى رأيتى أتسهبت,
فقد أطلت بغدا إذن وفأعمها,
كأفيلاحها للشفاء ساعه تغذى,
فولت وولى الحسد بعين تصبها,
من الفضيل ما عزى إليها وينصب,
وما معنا من أتقى الأجير ومن له,
قل كِبّرها إذا بعدهم فرحاً أن,
حق فيك ما كان من الله تطلب,
فأعطى في ذا وذاك سألها ما,
فأخى عكرا، وألقي فيها مسأها,
فإن الرزاء ما خطركن سهبحاً.

62 ٤ ٨ ٦٦

٠ : تفسير ٢ : مقدمة.
May her palace in Ruṣāfah stand forever,
watered by every passing cloud,
Singled out, as it deserves, for God’s blessings,
which pours down on it, day and night.
A shelter for piety, virtue and devotion,
all graced by self-command.
As at the time of the setting sun:
    Baghdad turned dark when she was gone.
She has passed; now praise follows her bier.
    Those who mourn her speak true—
She is not dead! She leaves behind the Prince
    and those who trace to her their line or due.
To die before you, when you fulfilled her hopes
    was all she asked of her Lord.
Both prayers He granted:
    her life-giving bounty still pours forth.
Take heart: her sacrifice safeguards you.
    Live on! Feared by enemies, beloved by your folk.
Accept this respite: the arrows of misfortune,
    so hard to bear, too easily find their mark.
فَضِلْ الشَّاعِرَةَ الْيَمَانِيَةَ

جاجية الإمام المسترجل على الله رحمة الله عليه

كانت جاجية شاعرة ماجينة من أطرف أهل زمانها ولها أخبار ملاح مدنية.

أبائي عبد الرحمن بن سعد الله الدقيق عن أبي القاسم بن السعدي قال:
أخبرنا أبو منصور المكيأخيرنا أبو الحسن بن الصلت قال: أخبرنا أبو الفرج
الاصبهاني قال:
كانت فضل مولدها من مولدات البصرة وبيها نشأت وكان مولدها
اليامنة.

ودكرها محمد بن داود ذكر أنها عهدية وكذلك كانت تزنين هي وتقول إن أنها علقت
بها من مويل لها من عبد القيس وإنها مات وهي حامل بها فضحتها ابنه فدلته على
سبيل الرق وذكر عنها من جهة أخرى أن أنها ولدتها في حياة أبيها فرية وأذنها فمال
توفي تجاً بعده على بنيها فبعثت فأشتراها محمد بن الفرج الرشيق أخ عمر بن الفرج
فأهدها إلى أيوب.

وكان اسماء أدبية فصيلة سريعة الهاجس مطبوعة في قول الشعر المتقدم لسائر
نساء زمانها فيه.

١ في البيت: لم ترد في ج.
Faḍl al-Shā‘irah al-Yamāmiyyah

“Boon” the Poetess from al-Yamāmah

Slave of the caliph al-Mutawakkil—God show him mercy

She was a poet who composed racy verse and was one of the greatest wits of her time. Many amusing anecdotes about her are preserved in books.

According to what was reported to me by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Saʿd Allāh al-Daqīqī—who cites Abū l-Qāsim ibn al-Samarqandī, who cites Abū Manṣūr al-ʿUkbarī, who cites Abū l-Ḥasan ibn al-Ṣalt—Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī described her as follows:

Faḍl was a slave of mixed parentage from Basra, where she was raised. She was born in al-Yamāmah.

She is also mentioned by Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd ibn al-Jarrāh, who writes that she was of the ‘Abd al-Qays tribe, a descent she also claimed for herself. As she told it, her mother had been the dependent of an ‘Abd al-Qays tribesman who got her pregnant and who died while she was expecting her. The tribesman’s son then sold her mother off and Faḍl was born into slavery.

According to another source, her mother gave birth to her while her father was still alive. He brought her up and educated her, but when he died his sons colluded to sell her. She was purchased by Muḥammad ibn al-Faraj al-Rukkhajī, the brother of ʿUmar ibn al-Faraj, who gave her to the caliph al-Mutawakkil.

She was dark-skinned, cultured, eloquent, and could think on her feet. Poetry came naturally to her, and she was better at it than all the other women of her time.
013. قصء الشعراء

ويهُ أخبرنا أبو الفرج الإصبهاني قال أخبرني محمد بن خلف حديثًا أحمد بن أبي طاهر قال:

جلبت فضل الشعراء من البصرة فاشتراها رجل من الفقاسين بعشرة آلاف درهم قام بها محمد بن الفرج الجيحي فأهداها إلى الطويل فكانت تجلس في مجلسه على كرسي تعارض الشعراء بحضرته فألقت عليها يومًا أبدال القاسم بن عيسى الجيحي (كامل)

قالوا عشقك صغرى فاجتهذوا أشهى الظلي إلى ما لم يكسب كأن حكمة لولو مشروعة ليست وحكمة لولو لم يشفق

فقالت فضل مغيبة له (كامل)

إن النطبة لا بلَّد مستوحى حكَّى تنذال بالعظام وشدك ولَّب لَب ليس يتنافع أربابك حكَّى يولف بالنظام ويشقق

ويهُ أخبرنا أبو الفرج الإصبهاني قال حديثًا عمري محمد بن خلف وجعفر بن قدامة قالا حدثنا أبو العيناء قال لما دخلت فضل الشعراء على المتلكل يوم أهديت إليه قال لها أشاعرة أت قالت كذا يتمعن من باعي وأشترائي فشتك وقال أنشدينا شيئًا من شعرك فأنشدته قولها (سرح):

إِسْتَقْبَلَ الْمَلَكٌ إِنَّمَا أُهْدِى عَامَّاٰلِثًا وَثَلَاثًا
جَعَلَهَا أَفْضَتْ إِلَى جَعَفْرٍ وَهُوَ أَنَّهُ سُيُبَّ بَعْدَ عَشَرِيَّةٍ
إِفَّأَ نَسْرَجُ بِإِسْمَارٍ أُهْدِيَ أَنْ تَمْلَكَ الْمَلَكَ مَمَاسِيًا

1 يومًا. لم ترد في ج. 20 محرم. 63 بن.
13. Faḍl al-Shāʿirah

Via the authorities listed above, 62 Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī cites Muḥammad ibn Khalaf, who cites Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, who told him:

Faḍl the Poetess was brought from Basra, and a slave trader bought her for ten thousand dirhams. Muḥammad ibn al-Faraj al-Rukkhajī then bought her and gave her to al-Mutawakkil. She would sit on a dais at his gatherings in full view and improvise responses to the verses declaimed by other poets.

One day, Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim ibn ʿĪsā al-ʿIjlī challenged her with:

_They said, “You love a girl too young.”_

_I said, “The best mount is unridden, unyoked;_

_What a difference between pearl that’s drilled and strung_

_and one that’s still unpoked!”_

Faḍl came back with:

_Riding is no pleasure till_

_the mount’s been broken to your will.

_And pearls are useless to their owners_

_until they’re drilled and strung._

Via the same line of transmitters Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī relates that he heard Muḥammad ibn Khalaf, Jaʿfar ibn Qudāmah, and his own uncle 63 say that they heard Abū l-ʿAynāʾ report the following:

When Faḍl the Poetess was brought before al-Mutawakkil the very day she had been given to him, he asked her, “Are you really a poet?”

“They who buy and sell me all say so,” she replied.

He laughed and said, “Recite some of your poetry for us,” and she recited the following verses:

_The Right-Guided Ruler acceded_

_in the year three-and-thirty._

_A caliphate entrusted to al-Mutawakkil 64_

_when he was seven-and-twenty._

_Let us hope, Right-Guided Ruler,_

_that your rule goes on for eighty._
لا قدس الله أمرأ ٍ لِيَل ٍ عند ذكائي ٍ كِنَمِثنا
قال فاستحسن الأيات وأمر لها محسين ألف درهم.

وهي خُيْرُنا أبو الفرج الإسْبَهَانِي قال خُيْرُنا محمد بن خلف بن المرزَبَان قال حَذَّقيَّ أبو العباس المرزوقي قال
قال المَتْوَلِّي لِمَي بن الجهم قال بينا وقل لفضل الشاعرة ثَجِيزَةً فقال على
أجْرِيَّي بِفَضْلٍ (بِسِيِّطِ)
لا ذِهَبْ إِنْتِوْكِي إِلَيْكَ فَمَم يَبِّذ عِنْدهَا مَلَافَاً
فأتربعت هيئةً ثمَّ قَالَتْ (بِسِيِّطِ)
وَلَمْ يَكُلِّ ضَمَرَعْكَ بُلَيْهَا تُضْطَالُ أَجْفَانُكَهُ مَرْدَاً
فَخَيْتَتْ فَكُرَّتَهَا عَشْصَكَا فَكَتَتْ وَجَدَهَا كَانَ سُلَاً

فطرت المَتْوَلِّي وقال أحسنت وحيتِي ففضل وأمر لها بألغي درهم.

وهي خُيْرُنا أبو الفرج الإسْبَهَانِي قال حَذَّقيَّي بن جعفر بن قدامة حَذَّقيَّ بن حمَّيد
قال
قلت لفضل الشاعرة أَجْرِيَّي (مَنْسَبِ)
من لَٰجَبٍ أَحَبَّ في صَغْرِية
فقالت غير متوافقة (مَنْسَبِ)
١ كذا في م، وفي ج دعاو. ٢٠ المَرْزَبَانِي. ٣ كذا في م، وفي ج تجهز.
13. Faḍl al-Shā‘irah

God bless you! On all who do not say “Amen”—
the curse of the Almighty!

Abū l-ʿAynāʾ said that the caliph liked the poem and gave her fifty thousand dirhams.

Via the same line of transmitters Abū l-Faraj al-Īṣfahānī cites Muḥammad ibn Khalaf,65 who said that he heard Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Marwazī report the following:

Al-Mutawakkil said to ʿAlī ibn al-Jahm: “Recite a line of verse and tell Faḍl the Poetess to pick up where you leave off.” So ʿAlī said: “Complete this rhyme, Faḍl:

*He sought in her a sweet relief,*
*but found her bitter orange.*”66

She thought for a moment, and came back with:

*He moaned and groaned and whined all night,*
*and creaked just like a door hinge.*
*She chewed him out, he died of love,*
*—and now I’ve met your challenge.*

Al-Mutawakkil was delighted by this. “Well done, Faḍl, well done!” he cried, and ordered that she be given two thousand dirhams.

Via the same line of transmitters Abū l-Faraj al-Īṣfahānī relates that he heard Jaʿfar ibn Qudāmah report that Saʿīd ibn Ḥumayd reported the following:

I said to Faḍl the Poetess, “Cap this:

*What help for one who loved in his youth?*”

And, without missing a beat, she came back with:
1. قصفر الشعراء

سَكَّةٌ أُحْدُوتَةٌ عَلَى كِبْرَةٍ

فَقَلَتْ [مسح]

مِنْ نَظْرَةِ شَكْفَةٍ فَأَرْقَكَةٍ

فَقَلَتْ [مسح]

فَكَانَ مَبِنِداً هَوَاءً مِنْ نَظْرَةٍ

فَمَنْ شَغِلَ هَنِئَاءً فَمَ قَالَ [مسح]

لَوْلَا أَلَا نَاتِيَ مَنْ كَيْدُ مَسْرُ الْلَّيْلِ يَزِيدُهُ فِي فَخْرِهِ

لَا يَنُصْرُهُ مَسْتَعِدُ يُسْكَعُهُ إِلَّا اللَّيْلِ فِي طَوْلِهِ وَفِي قَصَصِهِ

وَهَٰوَى أَخْبَرَنا أَبُو الْفَرْجِ قَالَ قَرَأْتُ فِي بَعْضِ الكِتَابِ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ المُمَتَّرْ قَالَ قَالَ قَالَ هُمُّ إِبْرَاهِيمُ بْنُ المُدُبٍّ

كَانَتْ فَضْلُ المَشَاعِرَةِ مِنْ أَحْسَنْ خِلْقِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ خَلْقًا أَفْصُصُهُمُ كَلاًّ وَأَبْلُغُهُمُ بِمَخَاطِبَةِ أَيْنِهِمُ بِمَخَابِرَةٍ فَقَلَتْ يَا سُعْيِدُ يَا سُعْيِدُ أَطْنَاكُمْ يَا أَبا عُمْشَانُ كِتَابُكُمْ فِي فَضْلِ رَقَاعَكُمْ وَقَبِيدَكُمْ وَتَخْرُجُكُمْ فَقَدْ أَحْذَتْ نَحْوُكُ فِي الكِتَابِ وَسَلَكَتْ مِنْكُمْ فَقَالَ فَلَيْسَ يَا أَخِي لَوْ أَخْذُ فِلْسَالِكُمُ وَكَيْراً يُؤْمِنُهُ وَأَمَاليْهُمْ عَنْهَا لَمْ أَسْتَغْفِرْهَا عَنْ ذَلِكِ

وَأَنْشِدْ أَبُو عَلِى الْرَّازِيَّ قَالَ أَنْشِدْنَا فَضْلُ المَشَاعِرَةِ لَنفْسِهَا [كَامِلٌ]

٨١٣
13. Faḍl al-Shāʿirah

*A story told now that he’s long in the tooth.*

So I said:

*A single glance made him sleepless and gaunt.*

And she came back with:

*It all began with a glance, in truth!*

Then after a moment’s thought, she went on:

*But for his hopes, he’d have died of grief
the long nights to his thoughts uncouth.
None was there to give relief,
on nights that dragged, or nights quick on the hoof.*

Via the same line of transmitters, Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī relates: I read somewhere that Ibn al-Mu’tazz quotes the following story told by Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mudabbir:

Few in God’s creation could match Faḍl the Poetess in elegance of handwriting, clarity of style, eloquence of expression, and in her ability to turn a phrase.

One day I said to Saʿīd ibn Ḥumayd, “I think you’ve been writing Faḍl’s letters for her. Not to mention tutoring her and giving her tips on composition. That’s why she sounds like you!”

“A nice thought!” he replied with a laugh. “If only she were getting it from me. No, in fact, I’m the one who’s been imitating her style, and cribbing from her letters. My friend, if the most talented and senior state secretaries were to imitate her, by God, it would set a whole new standard!”

Abū ʿAlī al-Rāzī recited the following verses composed by Faḍl the Poetess:
10. قسط الشعراء

الصبر نقص والظلمة بريدة وتداعي ذاتيّة وأنت تميدهم
أنت كوكأم أنت كوك إليك فإنك لا تستطيع سواهم الأضحى

وحدث أبو علي نظافة قال
خرج بعض الهاشميّين يوما من منزل بعض إخوانه في الليل ذرأى
امرأة ذات لباس وجمال وحولها نسوة قد حففنه بها وهي في وسطهن
فقال [رجأ]
إنْ أَحَكا أَظْلَمُ، مسَّتعَابٌ
وسمع النسوة فاجابه التي حففنه بها في أسرع من نفس [رجأ]
إلا يغبّه شكاقي الأحباب
فسأل عن المرأة فإذا هي فضل الشعراء.

ذكر محمد بن داوود الجراح في كتاب الورقة في أخبار الشعراء المحدثين قال
فضل الشعراء العبديّة مولأ المتولّي أشعار المرأة كانت في هذا العصر
ومن قولها في النحو [المتل]
قد بدأ شبيب ما هو لم يجده بالفكاك
فانتبه تفسير أبناه في السباق والمسامع
قبل أن تغضبنا عجوزه أشراح السمايم

ذكر بعض المؤرخين أن فضل الشعراء توفيت سنة سبع وخمسين ومائتين.

١: شعرا.
My resolve weakens, my torment grows;
you are distant, though you live nearby.
Should I complain of you, or complain to you?
This wretched lover cannot decide.

Abū ‘Alī al-Naṭṭāḥah related the following story:

One night, as he was leaving a friend’s house, a Hāshimi noticed
a good-looking woman dressed in fine clothes in the midst of a
group of women. He called out:

Those who go out after dark are suspect and shady

He said it loud enough for them all to hear. As quick as a wink, the
woman in the middle of the group called back to him:

Except for the lover who yearns for his lady!

He asked who the woman was, and it turned out to be Faḍl the
Poetess.

Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ, in his book *The Folio: Accounts of the
"Modern" Poets*, mentions her as follows:

Faḍl the Poetess, of the ‘Abd al-Qays tribe, was a dependent in
the household of al-Mutawakkil. She was the most accomplished
woman to write poetry in our time. Her poetry includes the fol-
lowing verses on daybreak:

The moon, so like you in beauty, my lord,
has driven away the darkness
Arise! Let’s take our fill:
a nighttime drink, a kiss
Before the sleepers’ souls return
and expose us.

According to one historian, Faḍl the Poetess died in the year 257 [870–71].
بُنَان

جعارة المستوکل

كانت شاعرة ذكرها أبو الفرج علي بن الحسين الإسبهاني في كتاب الأغاني.

أبا القاسم بن السهرقندٍ قال: قال أخباره أبو منصور المكي: قال أخباره أبو الحسن بن النجلي: قال أبو الفرج الإسبهاني: قال أخباره جعفر بن قدامة حذفي: يسبي بن علي المطرب قال حذفي الفضل بن العباس الهاشمي: قال:

حذفتني بئان الشاعرة قالت:

خرج المستوکل يوماً يمشي في صحن القصر وهو متوكى: على يدي ويد فضل الشاعرة فشى شبا: ثم أنشد قول الشاعر: [طويل]

فطلت أسبب أرضي خوف حمرها: وعلى حذفي لما كيَف تعبّد

ثم قال أجزي هذا البيت فقالت فضل: [طويل]

يصدّ عَذُبُ باللَّوُّدَة جَكَاهِدا: وينبغي عَذُبُ بالوُصُول وَأَبَرٌب

فقلت [طويل]

وعُنِّدَيْنِي لَهُ المُثِبَيْ علَّل حِكَاهَة فَأَنَا بُنَانٌ مَا بُنِي بِنَدْ وَلَا عُنْهُ مَهْرَبٌ

1 بئان.
Bunān

“Fragrances”

Slave of the caliph al-Mutawakkil

She was a poet and is mentioned by Abū l-Faraj al-Īṣfahānī in his Book of Songs.

I was informed by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Saʿd Allāh al-Daqīqī—who cites Abū l-Qāsim ibn al-Samarqandi, citing Abū Maṣʿūr al-ʿUkbarī, citing Abū l-Ḥasan ibn al-Ṣalt, who cites Abū l-Faraj al-Īṣfahānī, who cites Jáʿfar ibn Qudāmah, who was told by Yaḥyā son of ‘Alī the astromancer, that he was told by al-Faḍl ibn al-ʿAbbās the Hāshimī—that Bunān the Poetess told al-Faḍl ibn al-ʿAbbās the following anecdote:

One day, al-Mutawakkil went for a stroll in the palace courtyard, with me on one arm and Faḍl the Poetess on the other. After taking a few steps, he quoted these lines:

Fearing she’d leave, I learned how to please her, 
but my love only taught her to revile.

“Cap that,” he said, and Faḍl improvised:

He shrinks from my love, though I strive to come near, 
to the warmth of my touch he is chill.

Then I added:

Whatever he does, my affection endures—
ador him I must and I will!
محبوبة

جاریة الإمام المستوکل

ذكرها صاحب كتاب الأغاً.

أخیري عبد الرحمٰن بن سعید الله الواسطي، إذاً عن أبي القاسم بن السمرقندی قال.

أخیري أبو منصور المکری اخیرنا أبو الحسن بن الصلت اخیرنا أبو الفرج الإسحاکی.

قال محبوبة جارية المستوکل كانت موقعة شاعراً مغناً متقدمة في الحالتين

على طبقتها وكانت حسنة الوجه والغنا، أهداها عبد الله بن طاهر للستوکل على اللّٰهimag1 ما ولي الخلافة في جملة أرجحه جارية قیام وسوقوج فتقدمتهم جميعاً عنتد.

وهي اخیرنا أبو الفرج الإسحاکی قال اخیرنا جعفر بن قدامة اخیرنا بين خرذابه قال.

احشق علي بن الجهم قال.

كنى يوماً بحضرت المستوکل وهو يشرب ونحن بن يديه إذاً دفع إلى محبوبة فقحة مغلقة بغلالية فقحتها، وانصرفت عن حضرته ثم خرجت جارية لها ومعها رفعة دفعتها إلى المستوکل قرأها وضحكت ثم رمي الرقعة.

إلينا قراًّها إذاً فيها [مسح]

کذا ві м. وی ج. مقدمة. 2 کذا ві м. وی ج. ولی. 3 ج. إذا. 4 م. فقهها. 5 کذا. 6 م. کجا. 76 5 6
Maḥbūbah

“Beloved”

Slave of the caliph al-Mutawakkil

The author of The Book of Songs mentions her.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Saʿd Allāh al-Daqīqī informed me—citing Abū l-Qāsim ibn al-Samarqandī with permission, who cites Abū Manṣūr al-ʿUkbarī, citing Abū l-Ḥasan ibn al-Ṣalt—that Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī said:

Maḥbūbah, the slave of al-Mutawakkil, was of mixed parentage. She was foremost of her generation both as a poet and as a singer. She had a beautiful face and voice.

ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir gave her to al-Mutawakkil when he became caliph, as one of a group of four hundred slaves, some of them musically trained, others not. In his eyes, she surpassed them all.

Via the same transmitters, Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī relates that Jaʿfar ibn Qudāmah reported that Ibn Khurradādhbih reported that ʿAlī ibn al-Jahm said:

I was once in the presence of al-Mutawakkil when he was drinking. He handed Maḥbūbah an apple perfumed with a scented musk blend. She kissed it and took her leave. Then one of her slaves appeared with a piece of paper which she handed to al-Mutawakkil. He read it, laughed, and tossed the paper to me to read. This is what it said:
بأطيب فتاحة حكواتي
شاكي إجابة فأمشتي ذنبي
وفماراوي من شدة ألمك
للو أن تجاوني بهك للكت
إن ذلك لا تعلمين ما فلسفت
ففي قصد ذاك في جحدي
فإن تأملت عكبت بأن
قل فلم تأتي والله أحق إلا أستودها واسلم الآيات وأمر المكول عريب
وشارية فصمتنا في الشعر لعيني غني بهما بقية يومه.

وهي قال حدثنا جعفر بن قدمة حدثي علي بن يحيى المثيم قال
قال المكول لي علي بن الجهم وكان يدنس به ولا يحكم شيئا من أمره
يا علي ابني دخلت إلى قبيحة الشاعرة فوجدتها قد كتبست اسمي على خدها
بغالبة فوالله ما رأيت شيتا أحسن من سواد تلك الغالبة على بياض
ذلك الحذ فقلت في هذا شيتا كانت محبوبة جمالية من وراء الصدارة
تمعن الكلام فإني دعي على الدواء والذرح وأخذ يفزوفت على
البيئة [طويل]

وكانية يلمسك في أفعدى جعفر
فافسب مخضت للنسك من حيث آخر
لبن كنت في أقدم سطور بكسر
لقد أودعت قميصي من ألحنت أسطر
فبي من يكتب لفكك مائي
منطفي له فبقي أناس واهْتَمَا
ويا من متناها في السيرورة جعفر
من الله من سقيا فكُل نَبَث جعفر

---

م: جعفر.
15. Maḥbūbah

You—fragrance of an apple I had to myself—
you ignite in me the fire of ecstasy.
I weep and complain of my malady,
and of my grief's intensity.
If an apple could weep, then the one I hold
would shed such tears of pity.
If you do not know what my soul has suffered
look, the proof is my body.
If you gaze upon it, you will see
one unable to suffer patiently.

Every single person present found these verses utterly delightful. Al-Mutawakkil ordered both ʿArīb and Shāriyah to set the verses to music, and those were the only songs sung the rest of the day.

Via the same transmitters, Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī relates that Jaʿfar ibn Qudāmah reported that ʿAlī ibn Yaḥyā the astromancer said:

Al-Mutawakkil confided as follows to ʿAlī ibn al-Jahm, his close friend and confidant:

“I paid Qabīḥah the Poetess a visit and found that she had written my name on her cheek using a scented musk blend. I swear, ʿAlī, I’ve never seen anything more beautiful than that streak of black against her white cheek. Go ahead and compose a poem for me about that!”

Maḥbūbah was sitting behind the curtain, listening to us talk, and in the time it took for an inkstand and scroll of paper to be brought and for ʿAlī to formulate his thoughts, she had already improvised the following verses:

She wrote “Jaʿfar” in musk on her cheek,
how lovely that streak where the musk left its mark!
On her face she wrote just one line,
but she etched many more on my heart.
Who can help a master in thrall to his slave,
subservient in his heart, but plain to see,
Or one whose secret desire is Jaʿfar—
may he drink his fill from your lips!”

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قال: وَقَيلَ عَلَى بَنِ النَّجْحِمِ وَأَحْمَالَا يَنطِقُ بِحَرَفٍ وَأَمْرُ الْمَتَوَّلِ عَرِبَ فَغَنَّتَتْ

فِي هَذَا الشَّعْرِ.

وَهَبَ حَدِيشًا جعفَر بْنِ قَدَامَةٍ قَالَ حَدِيشُ مَوَلَّا يِنَ عَلَى بَنِ النَّجْحِمِ قَالَ

فَأَشْتَدَّ عَلَى بَعْدهَا عَنْهُ ثُمَّ صَلَّحَهَا بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ

جَنَّهُ يَوْمَ اِلْحَدِيثِ أَنَّهَا رَأَى فِي الْمُوْمِنِينَ أَنَّهَا قَدْ صَلَّحَهَا وَدَعَ أَحْيَادَهَا،

فَقَالَ اِلْحَدِيثُ أَنَّهَا رَأَيْتُهَا فِي خَيْرِهَا وَأُمِّيْ شَيْءٍ. تَصْنُعُ فِي جُعْفَر طَيْرًا أَنَّهَا

جَالَةَتْ فَغَنَّيْتُ الْقَالُ صِرَّ اِلْحَدِيثُ أَنَّهَا أَنْ تُقَدِّمُ إِلَيْهَا ثُمَّ قَالَ لِيِّ نَسِمْ بِعَلَى مَعَهُ شَيْءٍ، فَغَنَّيْتُ فِصِّيْئَا حَتَّى اِنْتِهَيْتُ إِلَى جَرْجِئْهَا إِذَا

هُيِّ فَغَنَّيْتُ [مَنْسَحَ].

أَذَرْ أَخْبَرَ عِنْدَ الْقَصَرِ قَالَ أَخْبَرْ أَيْنَهَا أَنْ أَشْكُو إِلَيْهِ وَلَا يُسْأَلُ مَنْيَ

حَتَّى كَأَنِّي مَرْكَبٌ مَغْصُوبٍ أَنْ يُسْتَلْعَ لَهَا فِي صَصِّيْلٍ مَكْسُورٍ فيَّ غَيْبَ اِلْحَدِيثُ أَنَّهَا فَغَنَّيْتُ حَتَّى أَنْ أَسْتَمْعَ لَأَحَدَنَا عَلَى عُقَدَةً إِلَى مَجْعُورٍ قَصَصَ مَرْحِيٍّ

قَالَ طَرَبَ الْمَتَوَّلِ وَأَحْسَنَهُ فَخَرَجَ إِلَيْهِ وَخَرَجَةً تَبَادِرَ أَخْبَرَهُ أَنَّهَا

رَأَيْتُهَا فِي الْمُوْمِنِينَ وَقَدْ جَاءَهَا فَغَنَّيْتُ هَذَا الشَّعْرُ وَغَنَّيْتُ بِهِ طَرَبٍ

ذَلِكَ الْمَتَوَّلِ وَأَقَامَ يَشَرِبُ مَعَهَا وَخَرَجَتْ إِلَيْهِ جَوَانِيْهَا.

وَهَبَ حَدِيشًا عَلَى بْنِ يَحْيَى أَنْ جَوْرَى الْمَتَوَّلِ تَفَرَّقَ بَعْدَ مُوْتِهِ فُصَارَ إِلَى وَصِيفَ

عَدَةٍ سَهْنٍ يَهُنَّ مَجْحَبَةٍ وَأَصْلُعُ يُوْمَ آمِرُ بِإِلْحَارِ جَوْرَى الْمَتَوَّلِ فَأَحْضَرَ وَعَلِيهِنَّ

١ م: صُلِحَهُ، كَيَّاهُ فِي ج. ٢ م: ثُمَّ جَنَّهُ، كَيَّاهُ فِي ج. ٣ كَيَّاهُ فِي م.
15. Maḥbūbah

ʿAlī ibn al-Jahm was dumbfounded at being upstaged like this. Al-Mutawakkil commanded ʿArib to set the poem to music.

Via the same transmitters, I cite Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, who relates that Jaʿfar ibn Qudāmah reported that ‘Alī ibn Yahyā the astromancer reported the following to him, via ‘Alī ibn al-Jahm:

Al-Mutawakkil had a falling-out with Maḥbūbah and found it very hard to be apart from her. In the end, the pair made up. Mean-while I went to see him. He told me he’d had a dream that they had been reconciled, so he called a servant and said to him, “Go find out how she is and and see what she’s doing.”

The servant returned and told him that she was just singing.

“Can that woman really be singing when I’m so angry with her?” he said to me. “Come on, let’s find out what she’s crooning about.”

We headed to her room, and this is what she was singing:

I wander the palace, but I see no one,
    no one will answer my plaint, it would seem.
I feel as though I’ve committed a sin,
    one I can repent of but can never redeem.
Will someone plead my case to a king
    who ended our quarrel when he came in a dream?
Yet when the dawn broke and the sun shone,
    he forsook me again and left me alone.

Al-Mutawakkil was visibly moved. Realizing he was there, she came out of her room, and I made myself scarce.

She told him that she’d had a dream in which he’d come to her and they’d made up. That was why she had composed the poem, put it to music, and sung it. Al-Mutawakkil was so touched that he decided to stay and drink with her. She made sure I was well rewarded.

Via the same transmitters, Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī relates that ‘Alī ibn Yahyā the astromancer had reported to him that the slaves of al-Mutawakkil were divided up after his death. Several of them, including Maḥbūbah, ended up going to Waṣīf.
الثواب الفاخرة الملؤية والحلية، وقد تزّيت وقطرن سوى محبوبة فإنها جاءت مرها مستالية عليها ثواب يباش غير فاخرة فغنى الجواري وطرن وشرن وطرب ثم قال لمحبوبة غنيّ أأخذت العودة غنت وهي تبكي [خفيف]

أي عضين يطيب لي، لا أرى فسيه جمعه.

ملحِّك أقد رأى عين حبي فشبلت معضّمًا
كل من كان ذاهباً مِّ وحدهن فقعد بهما
غني محبوبة أليثي لثوى ينشّرت
لا خَّتَّرَتْهُ يغائها لَّها وَفُتْرًا
فَنُوَّتْ أَحَضَّرُونَ أَعُلْ
يا بَيْبَ من أن يُصَمَّرَ

قال فاستنذ ذلك على وصفه، فهم بقتها ذاتها، فاستوهبها منه بما كان حاضراً توهبها له وأعثه وأمرها بأن تقيم حيث أحبت هُرجت إلى بجداد أنها تهتم بها وأحملت نفسها، حتى ماتت حزينة يرحمها الله تعالى وجزاها عن حسن الجهود وحفظ الوداد والرَّواء

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1. حشي
One day, as he was having his morning drink of wine, Waṣīf ordered that al-Mutawakkil’s slaves be brought before him. They arrived in all their splendor, adorned, perfumed, and dressed in brightly colored clothes bedecked with jewels, except for Maḥbūbah, who came dressed in plain mourning white and not wearing any makeup.

The slaves sang, drank, and made merry, as did Waṣīf. Carried away by it all, he commanded Maḥbūbah to sing. She picked up the lute and sobbed as she sang:

What sweetness does life hold for me
when I cannot see Jaʿfar?
A king I saw with my own eyes
murdered, rolled in the dust.
The sick and the sorrowful,
they can all heal;
But not Maḥbūbah—
if she saw death for sale,
She would give everything she has to buy it
and join him in the grave.
For the bereaved,
death is sweeter than life.

The song struck home. Enraged, Waṣīf was on the point of having her killed, when Bughā, who happened to be present, said, “Give her to me!”

Bughā took her, gave her her freedom, and allowed her to live wherever she pleased. She left Samarra for Baghdad where she lived in obscurity and died of grief.

May God have mercy on her and reward her for her devotion to the memory of her beloved master!
كانت من المفتيات المذكورة بالحذق ووجود الصنمة روى عنها القاضي أبو بكر أحمد بن كمال بن خلف بن شجرة.

وأت على الحافظ أبي عبد الله البغدادي قال: أخبرنا عيسى بن عبد المرزاق الفهني باللهجة أخبرنا أحمد بن محمد الإصهالي أخبرنا المبارك بن عبد الجبار الصغيري أخبرنا أبو علي أحمد بن عبد الواحد المعلم أخبرنا أبو الفرج المعاني بن زكريا الجريري قال حدثنا أحمد بن كمال قال:

سمعت ناشب المتوكلية قнести لإبراهيم بن المهديي [(مختصر)]

آتِ امساكَ مَسَكَتَنِو لَستِ بِالضبنان
هدْنِي أَسْأَلَ قَهْلاً مِثْنَا بِالْخَفْرَانَ
Nāshib al-Mutawakkiliyyah

“Cupid”

Member of the household of the caliph al-Mutawakkil

She was a singer renowned for her virtuosity and creative genius. Judge Aḥmad ibn Kāmil transmitted literary material from her.

When I studied with master Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī, he dictated this anecdote, which I read back to him.79

I was told this in Cairo by ʿĪsā ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Lakhmī. He cites Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Īṣfahānī, who cites al-Mubārak ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Ṣayrafī, who cites Abū Yaʿlā Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid the notary witness,80 who in turn cites Abū l-Faraj al-Muʿāfā ibn Zakariyyāʾ, follower of al-Ṭabarī’s school of legal thought, who was told by Judge Aḥmad ibn Kāmil:

“I heard Nāshib al-Mutawakkiliyyah sing the following lines by Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī:

You’re wrong to accuse me,
but slow to anger.
Did I err? If so, then grant forgiveness as a favor.”
فاطمة
بنت الفضل بن خاقان

كانت زوجة الإمام المعتر بآلهة محمد بن المتوكل مانت سنة ثلاث وسبعين وتمتتين 17.

ذكر ذلك أبو ظاهر الكحلي.
Fāṭimah

Daughter of al-Fatḥ ibn Khāqān

She was the wife of the caliph al-Mutawakkil’s son al-Mu’tazz. Abū Ṭāhir al-Karkhī records that she died in the year 277 [890].
ذكرها الصوفي فقال فردة بالباء، كانت جارية مغنية محسنة.

ذكرها أبو الفرج الإسحائي في كتاب الأغاني ونسب إليها الصنعة في صوت أبي العناية وهي قوله (منسح):

يا وافق قبالي لآوتيك أقصري ما كان عيشي ما منى أمي، فاكن عذبري معن كفتي به دمحمد قبالي باتيه، يعزى لا ربح يوم رأيشني كلها أحوض في الله منسبل البلاء، بين ندى تحت كأسهم عليهم كف شكادن أخوة.

كانت عند الإمام الواثق وكانت حظيّة عنده مقرة لديه وكانت على ملك عمرو

ابن بانة المغني فمأ مات الواثق بالله وبنى أحده الإمام المتولى على الله أهدياً له

فتروجها وحظيّة عنده وقيل بل أهدياً مولاها عمرو المتولى للواثق ثم صارت

إلى المتولّى فتروجها.
Farīdah  
“Solitaire”  
Wife of the caliph al-Mutawakkil

This is the younger Farīdah.\(^{81}\) Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī mentions her, noting that Farīdah is correctly spelled with a long “i.”

She was a slave who sang beautifully. In *The Book of Songs*, Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī credits her with setting to music the following verses by Abū l-ʿAtāhiyah:

> Poor heart, stop beating!  
> How could life be any worse?  
> Will no one take my part?  
> My heart bears witness my love’s bewitched me.  
> Before, when I was drunk with love,  
> I rushed to pleasure—my pants undone—  
> And the dark-eyed gazelle  
> pressed drinks on all my friends!

Farīdah belonged to the household of the caliph al-Wāthic, who kept her as a concubine and favorite although she belonged to the singer ʿAmr ibn Bānah. When al-Wāthic died, ʿAmr presented her to al-Wāthic’s brother al-Mutawakkil when he was given the oath of allegiance as caliph. Al-Mutawakkil married her and she became one of his favorites.

Some say it was al-Wāthic who received her from this same ʿAmr and that she subsequently became the property of al-Mutawakkil, who married her.
ذكرها أبو الفرج على بن الحسين الإصبهاني في كتاب الأغاني فقال:

"كانت مغنيتة حسنة الغناء، شاعرة سريعة الهاجس.

وقال ذكر أحمد بن الطيب عن بعض الكُتّاب:

"أنها عرضت على الإمام للمعصد على الله فآممتها في الغناء، والكتابة فرضيها.

ما ظهر له من أمرها ثم قال لابن حمدون فارضها فقال [رجز]

ّوُهِبْتُ نَفْسِي الْبُزُوْى ...

فقالت غير متوقفة [رجز]

... فجُكَّرْتُ لَكَ أَنْ مَسَكَّنَ...

فقال [رجز]

废气ت عبداً حاضماً ...

فقالت [رجز]

... يَسْلُكَ يِنْحَبَ سَلَكَ

فأمر المعصد بشرائها فأبعت ثلاثين ألف دينار."
Abû l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī mentions her in *The Book of Songs*, where he writes:

She was a singer with a beautiful voice and a poet with a gift for composing on the spot.

Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī quotes the following story from a state secretary:

Nabt was shown to al-Muʿtamid, who tested her skill in singing and penmanship. He liked what he saw and said to Ibn Ḥamdūn, “Give her a half-line of poetry to cap.” Ibn Ḥamdūn declaimed:

*I gave my soul to love . . .*

And she answered on the spot:

*. . . and love ruled like a tyrant.*

He continued:

*So I became a humble slave . . .*

And she rejoined:

*. . . and followed where he went.*

Al-Muʿtamid ordered that she be bought. She fetched a price of thirty thousand dirhams.
وَأَبَانِي عِبَادُ اللَّهِ، بُنيَّ بن سُعْدُ، الذَّيْنِيَانَ، بُنيَّ بن السَّمَعَنِيّ بن السَّمَعَنِيّ بن النَّصَبِيّ بن الأَحْمَدِيّ بن النَّصْبِيّ بن نَبِيّ بن إِبْرَاهِيمَ، فَقَالَ فِي مَسْرِحِهِ "١٩٠٦١، ٣١٤".

فَجَاءَتْ يَوْمًا على بِئْتِ جَارِيَةً مُّغْفَرَةً أَصْفْحَةً وَكَانَتْ حَسَنَةً الْوَجِّ وَالْغَنَاءَ

فَقَالَتْ لَهَا قَدَّ قَلَتْ مَصْرَعًا فَأَجِزَهَا فَقَالَتْ قَلِ فَقَالَتْ [بِسْمَة]

يَا بِنَتُّ حَسَنَتُكَ هَيِّنِي هَمْجَةً اَّلْفَّمَرَٰٰ<

فَقَالَتْ [بِسْمَة]

فَرَأَتْ آكِرَةً مَّسْبَقِيَّةً فَقَالَتْ [بِسْمَة]

وُطِبَّ تَنْفُكَّ مَثَلُ الْمَسْكَ قَدْ تَسْمَتْ رَيَا الْرَّيْاضَ عَلَيْهـٰ مَثْلُ ذَٰلِكَ الْأَنْخَرِ

وُفِّلَتْ رَكْبَتِيَّ وَبادِرْتِيَّ فَقَالَتْ [بِسْمَة]

فَهَلْ لَنَا أَيْكَ حَظٌّ مِنْ مُّؤْمِنِيَّةٍ أَوْ لَا فَكَآرِيَّ مَرَاضِيَ مِسْتَكَ بَالْتَبْطِيرِ

فَقَطَتْ عَنْهَا خَجَّاءً.

فَكَمَّرَ الْإِمَامُ بَعْدُ ذِلَّةً عَلَى اللَّهِ، قَالَ إِلَى هَلْفَيَّةٍ مَثْلِيَّ يَبْلُغُهَا أَفْلَتُهَا

۱۹۰۶۱، ۴۱۴
I was informed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Sa‘d Allāh al-Daqīqī—who cited Abū l-Qāsim ibn al-Samarqandī, who cites Abū Mašūr al-ʿUkbarī, citing Abū l-Ḥasan ibn al-Ṣalt, who cites Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, citing Jaʿfar ibn Qudāmah—that Ibn Abī Ṭāhir said:

One day I went to see Nabt, Mukhfarānah the Ladyboy’s slave. She had a lovely face and a beautiful voice. I said to her, “I’ve composed a half-line for you to cap.”

“Go ahead,” she said, and I declaimed:

_Nabt, your beauty outshines the moonlight_ . . .

She came back with:

. . . _and your beauty all but robs me of my sight._

I paused to compose the next half-line but she beat me to it:

_Your perfume is sweet as musk,_

_a breath from gardens in dawn’s dim light._

I thought for a bit, but again she got in before me:

_If you won’t deign to make me yours_

_I’ll not let you out of my sight._

Humiliated, I got up and left.

She was later presented to the caliph al-Muʿtamid who acquired her for thirty thousand dirhams on the advice of ʿAlī ibn Yahyā the astromancer.
خلافة
أمّ ولد المعتمد ومولاته

كانت حظيّة عهده جليلة القدر كان لها جارية اسمها نسيبة الكاتبة ذكرها أبو بكر

 أحمد بن ثابت الخطيب في تاريخه وقال

 حدثت عن أبي الطيب مجذود بن إسماعيل بن يحيى الوشاع روى عنها عبيد الله بن الحسين بن عبد الله البزاز الأندلسي.
Khallāfah

“Caprice”

Dependent of the caliph al-Muʿtamid and mother of his son

She was one of al-Muʿtamid’s favorites and highly esteemed. She had her own slave called Munyah, “Hope,” the Scribe, about whom al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī writes as follows in his History:

Munyah cites material from Abū l-Ṭayyib Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Yahyā al-Washšā’, and ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Bazzāz al-Anbārī cites her.
كانت جارية الإمام الموقع بن الإمام المتوكل على الله حظیة عند له ودته له الإمام المعتضد بالله وكان اسمها قبل ذلك خفیراً وكانت كثيرة البزر موالیها.

ذكرها أحمد بن أبي طاهر في تاريخه وقال ماتت في آخر جمادی الأولى من سنة ثلاث وسبعين ودفنت بجدران الرصافة.

قلت ولم تدرك خلافة ودتها بل توفیت قبله بسبیتة أیام فلهاذ لم أذكرها في كتاب أخبار من أدركت خلافة ودتها من جهات الخلفاء ذوات المرونة والعطاء.

١ كذا في م. وفي ج: خفیر. ٢ كذا في م. في ج: تعین. و هو خطأ.
Dirār

“Damage”

Mother of the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid

She was the slave of the regent\textsuperscript{84} al-Muwaffaq son of al-Mutawakkil, and enjoyed his favor. She bore him the future caliph al-Muʿtaḍid. Her name had formerly been Khafīr, “Bashful.” She was always mindful of her dependents.

Ibn Abī Ṭāhir mentions her in his chronicle as follows:

She died at the end of Jumada al-Awwal in the year 278 [early September, 891] and was buried in the Ruṣāfah Cemetery.

She did not live to see her son accede to the caliphate, as she passed away six days earlier. This is why I do not mention her in \textit{The Lives of Those Gracious and Bounteous Consorts of Caliphs Who Lived to See Their Own Sons Become Caliph}. 

\textsuperscript{84} Regent, a position usually held by a trusted nobleman serving the caliph.
قَطْر الْنَّدِي

بنت خُمْساَرُوْيِه بن أحمد بن طولون١

وُسِئِيَ آنِسَاءٍ

تزوِّجها الإمام المعتضِد بِالله وَهِيَ عند أبِيها بمصر وَوَصَلَتْ إلى بِغداد في شَهْر رَبيع
الآخِرَةُ من سنة اثنين وَمَائتين وَمَائتين وَرُفِتْ إليه وَكَانَ معَها من الجِهازِ ما لا يكَاد
أن يَوجِد مَثَلهُ في خُزان مَلوك الأَرض وَكَانَتِ من أَعْقَل النَّسَاء والْأَزَاسِهِنْ.

أَباَني أَبو القاسم عَلِي بن عبد الرحِمْن بن عَلِيَّ بن أحمد بن المَقْرِب عن أبي علي الْبَرْدَانِي
قال حَذَائِي أَخي أَبو غَالِب يوْسَف بن مَجَدْقَال

سمعت أَبي يقول يوْمَا وَقَد جَرِي ذَكرِه بِنْت أَحمد بن طِوْلُون زَوِّجة
المُعَتِضِد بِالله يَنْ المُعَتِضِد قَالَ لِها يوْمَا

بِيْمَا تَشْكِيِن الله إِذ جَعَل أمِيرِ المؤسِمين زَوْجَكَ فَقَتَلَ ما يَشَكِرُ بِهِ
أمِيرٍ المؤسِمين إِذ جَعَل أَحمد بن طولون مِن رَعِيَّتهِ.

ذَكر مَحَدِّن جَيْرٌ الطَّيْرِي أنْ قَطْر الْنَدْي بِقِيَتْ عَنْدَ الإِمَام المُعَتِضِد بِالله إِلَى أنْ
تَوْفَيْتَ عَنْهُ فِي السَّابِعِ مِن رَجب سَنَة سِبْعِ وَمَائتين وَمَائتين وَدَفَتْ دَاخِل قَصْر
الْخِلَافَةِ.

١ كُنْدا في م، وفي ج: يم. ٢٠ جرّة، وهُوَ حُظَطاً.
The caliph al-Muʿtaḍid married her by proxy while she was living with her father in Egypt. She arrived in Baghdad in the month of Rabiʿ al-Thani, 282 [June, 895]. Her dowry was so rich that it rivaled any royal treasury. She was one of the most intelligent and regal women who ever lived.

Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān recounted the following to me, citing Abū ʿAlī al-Bardānī, who quotes as his informant his brother Abū Ghālib Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad:

Once when al-Muʿtaḍid’s wife, the noble daughter of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, was mentioned, I heard my father say that al-Muʿtaḍid one day said to her:

“You’ve done well for yourself by marrying the caliph! What more could you thank God for?”

“You’ve done well for yourself,” she retorted, “this makes my father your subject! What more could you thank God for?”

Al-Ṭabarī states that Qaṭr al-Nadā lived with the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid until she passed away on the seventh of Rajab in the year 287 [July 8, 900]. She was buried in the precincts of the Caliphal Palace.
خمار

مولاًة المقتدر بالله جعفر بن
المتضاد وأمّ ولده عيسى

２２

حكى عنها ابن ابنها الأمير أبو عبد الحسن بن عيسى حكايته أخرى في بها الحافظ أبو
عبد الله البغدادي عن أبي الفرج الحزائي عن أبي علي بن مهدي قال سمعت الأمير
أبا عبد الحسن بن عيسى بن المقتدر بالله قال قال أبي أخبرتي وهو الذي خمر جارية
المقتدر بالله قالت

أستدعى المقتدر بالجواهر فأختار منها مائة حبة منها خمسون مسحوق
ونظمها سجية يبلغ بها فُرعت على الجوهر من وقوموا كل واحدة منها
ألف دينار وأكثر فكان إذا أراد أن يسهم استدعى بها ثم برزها إلى
 فأعلقتها في الموجة في خرطبة فاما تغل المقتدر ووقع النبه فأخذت في
جميلة ما أخذ فجعل الذي أخذها لا يدري ما هي.

２４３

ذكر هلال بن محسن الكاتب في تأريخه

أن خمر جارية المقتدر توفيت يوم الثلاثاء النصف من شهر ربيع الأول
من سنة ثمان وسبعين وثلاثمئة وتقدم بها تابوت ابنها عيسى فذفنا
بالترشيفة بالرصافة.

１ م، ر. عيسى المقتدر. ２ م، ر. قال أخبرتي. ３ م، قال (أي) أضيفت السياق. ４ م، والتصوب من ج،
５ م، أباها.
Khamrah

“Bouquet”

Dependent in the household of the caliph al-Muqtadir son of al-Mu'taḍid and the mother of al-Muqtadir’s son ʿĪsā

Khamrah used to tell the following story, and her grandson, Prince Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, the son of ʿĪsā, would retell it just the way she did. I heard it from master Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī, citing Abū l-Faraj al-Ḥarrānī, who cited Abū ʿAlī ibn Mahdī, who said: I heard Prince Abū Muḥammad, the grandson of al-Muqtadir, quote his father as saying, “My mother Khamrah, who was al-Muqtadir’s slave, related as follows:

Al-Muqtadir once called for some gemstones and picked out a hundred, fifty of which were spherical. He had them all strung as a rosary for his own use. The jewelers were asked to value it, and priced the stones at no less than a thousand dinars each.

Whenever he wanted to tell his beads, he would send for this rosary. When he was done, he would hand it to me and I would put it in a jewelry bag and lock it in the strongbox.

When looting broke out after al-Muqtadir’s murder, it was one of the many things taken. I expect that whoever took it had no idea what it was.”

The state secretary Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin mentions in his History:

Al-Muqtadir’s slave Khamrah passed away on Tuesday the fifteenth of Rabiʿ al-Awwal in the year 378 [July 3, 988]. The bier of her son ʿĪsā was carried alongside hers. They were buried near the caliphal tombs in the Ruṣāfah Cemetery.
وكانت كبيرة البز والمعروف والعطاء للفقريين والمجاوجين وأهل الاستحقاق وذوي الحاجات وأهل الموتات.
23. Khamrah

She was always mindful of her obligations and performed many pious deeds. She was generous to the poor, to the needy, to those who petitioned her, and to noble families who had fallen on hard times.
عَصْيَة حَاتُون

بَنت مَسلِك شاه بن أَلحَ آرْمسِلالان بن دَاود بَن سِيِّكَائيِل بن سِلْبَوق

كَانت رَئِيسة جَليلة مِن أُعقِل النِسَاء، وأُشْذَهنَّ حِزْمًا وسِبَادًا تَزْوِجَها الإِمَام المستَظهِر بَاللَّه رَضيَ اللَّه عَنْهُ وَهي إِسْبِهانَ فِي سَنَة الثَّانِيَة وَخَصْمَة وَجَاءت إِلَيْهِ بَعْدُ وَسَكَت بَدار الخَلافة وَدَخَلَبَا وَوَلَدتْهَا أَبا إِسْحَاق إِبْرَاهِيم فِي ثَايِ شَعبَان سَنَة خَمْسِ وَخَصْمَة وَتَوْفَيَ الْجَدِّي فِي جَمَاهِر الأَوْلِيَاء مِن سَنَة ثَانِيَة وَخَصْمَة وَدَفْنَ فِي تَرِكِ الإِمَام المَقْتِدر بَاللَّه بِالرَّضَا إِلَى جَنْب عِمَّهُ جُفَّر بَنِ المْقَتْدِي.

ثُمَّ إن عَصْيَة حَاتُون عَادَت إِلَى إِسْبِهان بَعْد وَفَاتِ الإِمَام المستَظهِر وَتَوْفَيَ وَدَفْنَت في مُدَرْسَتِهَا الَّتِي يَبْشَار سَوق العسكر وليس في الدِّيْنا مُدَرْسَة أَكَثَر مِنَهَا وَكَانَت قد وَفَتَهَا عَلَى أَصْحَاب الإِمَام أَبِي حَنْفِيَة رَحْمَة اللَّه عَلَيْهِ وَلَغَنهَا أَنَّهَا قَد خَرَتَ فِي يُوْمَهَا هَذَا وَلَيس لِهَا بَاب وَلَا يَمِكْنُنَّهَا.

١ كَذَا فِي مُرْحَبَة، وَقَدْ كَانَت.
She was a highly intelligent woman, an aristocrat and a virago. Her resolve was unswerving. The caliph al-Mustaẓhir—God be pleased with him—married her in Isfahan in the year 502 [1108–9]. She later came to Baghdad and took up residence in the Caliphal Palace. She conceived, and on the second of Shaʿban in the year 505 [February 3, 1112] gave birth to Prince Abū ʿĪsāq ʿIbrāhīm; he died of smallpox during the month of Jumada al-Awwal, 508 [October, 1114], and was buried in the mausoleum of al-Muqtadir in al-Ruṣāfah, beside his uncle Jaʿfar, son of the caliph al-Muqtadī.

Upon the death of al-Mustaẓhir, ʿĪsmah Khātūn returned to Isfahan, where she passed away, and was buried within the law college that she had founded there on Barracks Market Street. This was the biggest law college in the world. She endowed it for the followers of Abū Ḥanīfah—God show him mercy. I hear that nowadays it has become very run-down—it has no door and is uninhabitable.
بنت السلطان ملك شاه بن السلطان ألب أم سلطان

خطوها الإمام المنتدي بأمر الله ونفذ أبا نصر بن جهير في الخطبة إلى والدها وهو بإصبهان في شوال سنة أربع وسبعين وأربعمائة ثمانية إلى ذلك وعقد العقد هناك ونقل جهازها إلى بغداد على مائة وأربعين جمل، ومالانة نجل ودخلت بغداد في ذي الحجة سنة شعبان وسبعين وزفت إلى الخليفة في صفر سنة ثمانين ودخلت به ولدت له جمرًا في ربيع ذي القعدة من السنة ثم إنه أعرض عنها فطبت العود إلى بلادها فأذن لها فرحت من بغداد في سادس عشر شهر ربيع الأول من سنة تسعين وثمانين متوجة إلى خراسان ومعها ابنها الأمير أبو الفضل جعفر.

فصول الحب بعضها إلى بغداد ودخل والدها السلطان ملك شاه بغداد في شهر رمضان سنة خمس وثمانين مريضاً ومعه سبطه الأمير أبو الفضل جعفر بن الإمام المنتدي بأمر الله فاقام ملك شاه أينما وتوفي في النصف من شوال من السنة وأعيد الأمير أبو الفضل إلى دار الخلافة فاقام بها إلى أن توفي في الثالث والعشرين من جمادى الأولى سنة ست وثمانين وأربعمائة ودفن بالتبني الشريفية بالرصافة.

م: أربعمائة جمل وأربعين جمل ونصب من ج. ٢ م: ملكشاه. ٣ م: ملكشاه.
Māh-i Mulk

Daughter of Sultan Malik-Shāh son of Sultan Alp Arslān son of Dāwūd son of Mīkāʾīl son of Saljūq

In the month of Shawwal, 474 [March, 1082], the caliph al-Muqtadī sent Abū Naṣr ibn Jahīr to Māh-i Mulk’s father in Isfahan to ask for her hand in marriage. Her father gave his consent and the marriage contract was concluded there and then. One hundred and forty camels and one hundred mules were needed to carry her belongings to Baghdad.93 She arrived during the month of Dhu l-Hijjah, 47994 [March, 1087]. The bridal procession and the consummation of the marriage took place in the month of Safar, 480 [May, 1087]. She conceived Prince Jaʿfar, and gave birth to him later that year, on the fourth of Dhu l-Qaʿdah [January 31, 1088]. But then the caliph began to avoid her and she asked permission to return home. She left Baghdad for Khurasan on the sixteenth of Rabiʿ al-Awwal in the year 482 [May 29, 1089], accompanied by her son, Prince Jaʿfar.

Subsequently, news of her death reached Baghdad. Her ailing father, Sultan Malik-Shāh, brought Prince Jaʿfar—his grandson and the caliph’s son—back to Baghdad during the month of Ramadan, 485 [October, 1092]. A few days later, on the fifteenth of Shawwal [November 18, 1092], Malik-Shāh passed away. Prince Jaʿfar was taken back to the Caliphal Palace, where he remained until his own death on the twenty-third of Jumada al-Awwal in the year 486 [June 21, 1093]. The child was buried near the caliphal tombs in the Ruṣāfah Cemetery.95
خاتون
زوجة الإمام المستظهر بالله

كانت حظية عنده. توفيت في سنة ست وثلاثين وخمسين وكانت دارها حوالي 106 ولها ولأصحابها الهيئة العظيمة.
Khātūn96

Princess

Wife of the caliph al-Mustaẓhir

She was one of al-Mustaẓhir’s favorites. She passed away in the year 536 [1141–42]. Her palace was sacrosanct, for she and her retinue were held in great reverence.
بنت عبد الله الرومية

مولاة الإمام المستضيء بأمر الله مرضي الله عنه

كانت من خواصه وسرارته. لها المكانة الرفيعة عنده وذوته عالية والحكم النافذ والأمر والنهي. وكانت صاحبكة كبيرة للخير فائدة المعروف متفقة للقراء والمسلمين كبيرة الصدقة والرز. جعلت دارها بأسفل البلد على شاطئ دجلة مدرسة وقعتها على الحنانة ووقفت عليها وقفت قطرة على نهر عباس وعقدت جسرًا على دجلة.

وبنها لها الإمام المستضيء بأمر الله دارًا مجاورة لباب القرية الشريف على شاطئ دجلة فضاءت عالية البناء واسعة البناء. تستقبل على مقصورة وحجرات ومناظر ومزدحات يجاور هذه الدار أربعة: دوالب تنقي الماء. من دجلة إلى دار الخلافة المعظمة كل واحد منها أعلى من الآخر فأخذ الأول من دجلة والأثين من الأول والثالث من الثاني: والرابع من الثالث ومن تثبت هذه الدار أرثًا بإنشاء حجر جديد ينصب بين يدي هذه الدار إلى باب الوقعة بالبقل الغربي فصار ذلك فتنه الأمام ومنزلاً الماضى والعالم. أنشدته بعض الشعراء (خفيف).

ليست جميعًا يعاملون في عقد ٢٠٠٠ وما كان يجسده من موازي،
لم تجسده بعض أركان معقل بكثرة طراز.

Banafshā al-Rūmiyyah

“Amethyst” the Byzantine

Daughter of ‘Abd Allāh, dependent in the household of the caliph al-Mustaḍīʾ—God be pleased with him

The caliph held her in high regard and included her as part of his inner circle. She had authority and real power. She was also a godly, magnanimous woman who did all manner of good works and pious deeds. She looked after the poor and destitute and performed many righteous acts of charity. She converted her palace on the banks of the Tigris in Lower Baghdad into a Ḥanbali law college and continually increased its endowment. She also had a stone bridge built over the ‘Īsā Canal and a pontoon bridge fixed across the Tigris.

The caliph al-Mustaḍīʾ built her a palace on the banks of the Tigris next to the Willow Gate of the Caliphal Palace. It was a lofty structure, with a spacious courtyard and numerous verandahs, apartments, belvederes, and promenades. The palace was adjacent to four waterwheels that brought water from the Tigris to the magnificent Caliphal Palace. Each wheel was positioned higher than the previous one, so that the first would take water from the Tigris, the second from the first, the third from the second, and the fourth from the third. When this palace was completed, Banafshā had a new pontoon bridge built connecting it to the Raqqāh Gate on the West Side. This was put at the disposal of the general public and was a promenade for noble and commoner alike. I once heard the following verses declaimed about it:

Nothing measures up to the bridge’s beauty:
   a beauty unparalleled, without compare.
Banafshā has embroidered her name on the Tigris
   an azure carpet, the bridge her signature.98
تقف
وتكلم بناء هذه الدار وتمت عمارتها في سنة تسع وستين وخمسين وتمت بضمك
كبراً بسوق الخنازير قريبًا من العقد الجديد.

وعلمت أنها كانت في عيد الفطر في كل سنة تخرج ركّة الفطر صاعًا من قرطبة تقول
هذا ما فرضه الشريع علي وأنا لا أفع من مثله بهذا فخرج صاعًا من الذهب العين
وتآمر بتقره على الفقراء وأعتقت حلقًا من المواشي الجواري والمماليك.

وثقت يوم الجمعه التاسع والعشرين من شهر ربيع الأول من سنة ثمان وخمسين
وتمت صلاة وصلي عليها بعد صلاة العصر بمحسن السلام من دار الخلافة وحملت في
الماء إلى الجانب الغربي فصلى عليها بباب تربة الجهة السعيدة والدة الإمام الناصر
لدين الله ورضي الله عنه للجوار لمعرف الكربه رحمة الله عليه ثم دفت داخل القرية
المذكورة وذلك قبل وفاة صاحبة القرية أم الإمام الناصر لدين الله ورضي الله عنها.
The palace was completed and fully furnished in the year 569 [1173–74]. Banafshā also built a large mosque in the Bakers’ Market close to the Iron Archway.99

I have heard that every year on the Eid al-Fitr Festival she would donate the stipulated measure of dates to the needy and say, “This amount fulfills my religious obligation, but I hardly think it is enough for someone of my position.” She would then donate an equivalent measure of gold coins to be distributed among the poor. She would also free a large number of slaves, both male and female.

She passed away on Friday the twenty-ninth of Rabiʿ al-Awwal in the year 598 [December 27, 1201]. Her funeral prayers were held in the Courtyard of Peace in the Caliphal Palace, following the late afternoon prayer. Her body was then carried by boat to the West Side and funeral prayers were again held for her at the gate to the mausoleum of the blessed consort, the mother of the caliph al-Nāṣir—God be pleased with him—which is adjacent to the mausoleum of Maʿrūf al-Karkhī—God have mercy on him. Banafshā was buried there even before the caliph al-Nāṣir’s mother, for whom the mausoleum had been built, had herself passed away—God be pleased with her and her son.100
شُفّ خواتن التركية
عَتِيِّقة الإمام المستضيء بأمر الله رضي الله عنه وأمه ولده
الأمير أبي منصور هاشم

كَانَتْ اِمْراَةٌ صَالِحَةٌ تَوْفِّي مَوَالِها الإِمامَ المستضيء بأَمَرِ اللَّهِ وَهِي فِي الْحَيَاةَ ثُمَّ وَلَدَهَا ١٠٨. الأَمِيرُ أَبِي مَنْصُورٍ وَعاَشَتْ بِعَدَّةٍ مَّدْةٍ طَوِيلَةٍ وَتَوَفَّى عَشِيَّةً الْثَلَاثَاءَ تَاسِعٌ عَشَرٍ رِجْبً مِّنْ سَنَةٍ ثُمَّ وَسَمَّتْ وَصّلَّى عَلَيْهَا يَوْمَ الأَرَاذِعِ بِصَحِّ السَّلَامُ وَدَفَنَتْ بِتَربَةٍ الرَّصَايَةِ رَحْمَهَا اللَّهُ.

١١٤
Sharaf Khātūn al-Turkiyyah

Lady “Honor” the Turk

Manumitted slave of the caliph al-Mustaḍīʾ, God be pleased with him, and mother of his son Prince Abū Manṣūr Hāshim

She was a devout woman. Her master, the caliph al-Mustaḍīʾ, died during her lifetime, as did her son, Prince Abū Manṣūr, whom she long outlived.

She died the evening of Tuesday the nineteenth of Rajab in the year 608 [December 27, 1211]. Funeral prayers were held for her on Wednesday in the Courtyard of Peace, and she was buried in the Ruṣāfah Cemetery—God have mercy on her.
سكوني خاتم

بنت السلطان قلی آرسلان بن مسعود ملك الروم
مزوجة الإمام الناصر لدين الله رضي الله عنه

قامت بغداد طالبة لله في موسم سنة تسع وسبعين وخمسين وشجعت وعادت
إلى بلدها سنة ثمانيين وخمسين فقامت هناك تمانية عشرة شهراً ثم خطب الإمام
الناصر لدين الله قدس الله روحه فزوجته منه وأنفذ إلى إحدا من جاهيها ودخل بها
وأعطاؤها من الجوهر الثمينة وتحف الجلفاء والملوك ما لا تعرف قيمته وصادفت منه
تبروك عظيمة فقامت عنه مدة سبيرة في أرغد عيش وأصفها درب اللون
فاستلمت من غضارتها وفينها ولحقت بالفاضرين ووجد الناصر لدين الله من الحز
عليها والأسف على فراقها ما منعه من الأكل والشرب أياماً وترك دارها بجمع ما
فيها من الأفشيات والأثاث على حالها سنين عديدة لا تُنف ولي يؤخذ منها شيء.

كنت قد اختارت أن تنفيذ ربة إلى جانب مشهد عون ومعين ولي علي عليه
السلام بالجانب الغربي في مشعة الكح لتتفرغ في إنا إذا مات فشغ في بئاتها ثم
تصعد حيطانها قامة حتى أدركها أهلها فدفت فيها وقعت بئاؤها وقعت فيها خروج
من الكتب النفيسة تحار لمن طلبها بالرهم.

وأشن الإمام الناصر لدين الله رضي الله عنه إلى جانب ترتيب ملج البناء
واسع النفايق ووقفه على الصوفية وغرس بين يديه بستاناً أيضًا يشرف على دجلة وسطي

١

١١٦
Saljūqī Khātūn

Princess Saljūqī

Daughter of Qilij Arslān ibn Maṣʿūd, ruler of Anatolia, and wife of the caliph al-Nāṣir, God be pleased with him

She came to Baghdad on her way to perform the hajj in the pilgrimage season of the year 579 [1183–84] and returned home in 580 [1184–85]. Eighteen months later, the caliph al-Nāṣir of sacred memory sought her hand, and they were betrothed. He then sent an escort to bring her to Baghdad, consummated the marriage, and gave her priceless jewels and gifts fit for caliphs and kings.

She met with extraordinary favor on his part but only lived with him in the most comfortable and agreeable circumstances for a short time before death struck its sudden and untimely blow. She was plucked from a life of luxury and joined the ranks of the departed. Al-Nāṣir was so grief-stricken at her passing that he could not eat or drink for days. For many years her house was left just as it was, with all of its draperies and furnishings intact; it was never opened, nor was anything ever taken from it.

She had chosen to construct a mausoleum for herself at the Karkh landing on the West Side, beside the shrine of ʿAwn and Muʿīn, the descendants of ʿAlī—peace be upon him. Construction began, but before the walls were the height of a man, her time came, and it was only completed after her burial. A library of valuable books was installed there by bequest in perpetuity, to be lent against a deposit.

Next to her mausoleum, the caliph al-Nāṣir—God be pleased with him—built a splendid lodge with a large inner court which he endowed for the use of the Sufis. He had a pleasant orchard planted in front of it, overlooking the Tigris and irrigated by a waterwheel that drew from the river. He endowed
بدولاب من مانها ووقف عليه وعلى ترمتها رفقة كثيرة غذية النمو والدخل وأمر أن نيزع عنها في كل سنة يُخرج من الصدقات في طريق مكة شيء كبير من الماء والزادة، وكسوة والنعل وأدوية المرضي يُخرج مبلغًا من أهل الدين والصلاح.

قرأت بخط الأخي أبي الفرج بن الجوري:

توفيت سلميّة خاتون زوجة الخليفة في ليلة الاثنين ثاني شهر ربيع الآخر من سنة أربع ومائتين وخمسين وصلى عليها في النافذة وقعد لها في العزاء ثلاثة أيام إلى أن تزوجها حضر الوزير والأكابر والأمراء والعلماء، وقعدوا ليالي الجمع والأثنين وفرق مال وأثر موتها في دار الخليفة آثراً عظيماً رحمها الله.
many properties that generated produce and income to support both the Sufi lodge and her mausoleum.

He also arranged for someone to perform the hajj every year on her behalf; for quantities of alms to be handed out on the pilgrimage route to Mecca, including water, provisions, clothing, sandals, and medicine for the sick; and for a number of devout and virtuous persons to be sent on the hajj.

I read the following in the hand of Ibn al-Jawzi:103

Saljūqī Khātūn, the wife of the caliph, died on the night of Monday the second of Rabiʿ al-Thani in the year 584 [May 31, 1188]. The funeral prayers were held for her in the Tāj Palace, and for three days condolences were received at her mausoleum. In attendance were the vizier, notables, commanders, and scholars, all of whom continued to pay their respects on Thursday nights and Sunday nights. Alms were distributed to the poor in her name. Everyone in the Caliphal Palace was genuinely grief-stricken. May God have mercy on her.
كانت جاريةً روميةً على ملك ختامون بنت الأمير سُنْتَر الطويل الناصري زوجة الأمير جمال الدين بكالاك الناصري اعتنَّت بتآديها وتمكينها وشمسها فظهرت عليها آثار السعادة ومخلل المغابة فلمّا بِعَن الامام المستنصر بالله أهداها له في غُرَّ جُوا شحتت عنه من ينهّ وتدّمّت وصارت لها المنزلة الرفيعة والمكانة العالية والمقدَّم الذي لا يصل إليه غيرها من الحرب والاختصاص.

وصار لها باب مفرد وديوان وكلاة ونواب وخِدَم وباشِرة جميلة وأُرجِّت في الأموال تصرف فيها على حسب إيجارها وأختيارها وتأمر، ونبيّح بِعَن أمر وأنفُذ حكم.

حذّرت بعض نواب دينّها أنها عملت حساب شهريّة لما أُطلق فيه إلى السيرخة والزلاكشة والصغيرة والقَطَّان والحَزَّان والجوهرين وأرباب الصناع على اختلاف صنائعهم: ألف دينار ومائة ألف دينار وخمسة مئات ألف دينار.

وكانت كبيرة البز والجاهز والتفقد للفقراء والأرامل والأيتام دفعت مئة الصدقات مئات.

إلى الخير راغبة في فعله حبّة لأهله.

Shāhān

“Regina”

Dependent in the household of the caliph al-Mustanṣir of sacred memory

She was a Byzantine slave belonging to Khatā Khātūn. Khatā Khātūn was the daughter of the commander Sunqur al-Nāṣirī the Tall and the wife of the commander Jamāl al-Dīn Baklak al-Nāṣirī. Khatā Khātūn took such care of Shāhān’s instruction and training, and showered her with so much attention, that everything about her suggested that she was destined for great things. When the caliph al-Mustanṣir was given the oath of allegiance, Khatā Khātūn presented Shāhān to him as a gift, as part of a group of slaves. Shāhān alone among them became his concubine and achieved a level of favor and intimacy that no one else could attain.

Shāhān went on to hold her own independent court and had a fiscal office, agents, functionaries, servants, and a splendid retinue. She spent liberally from her funds just as she pleased, and her authority on all matters was unquestioned.

I was informed by one of her fiscal officials that she made a monthly account of what was paid out to the tinsmiths, the weavers of embroidered cloth, the goldsmiths, the general merchants, the cloth merchants, the jewelers, and the craftsmen of various types. The disbursement came to some one hundred and five thousand three hundred and sixty dinars.

She performed many pious acts of charity and was known for her attention to widows, orphans, and the poor, to whom she always gave alms. She was good, sought the good, and loved those who did good.
ولا توقَّي مولاها الإمام المستنصر بالله كرم الله ممّا وعده سيّدة ومولانا الإمام المستنصر بالله أمير المؤمنين أبيّ الله شريف دولة القاهرة، وبلغته أماليه في الدنيا والآخرة أجرًا على عادتها في الآركان وفترّضتها من التجيل والإعظام وفقها بجوارها، وخدمها وأتباعها وحندها إلى الدار التي نشأت بها وعُدت معرُوفة بدار نفثة المجارورة لباب القرية الشريف وقد ذكرت تأليف بناء هذه الدار في الأيام المستنصرت؟ للجهة بفناش.

ثم في الأيام الناصرية سكن الله عهودها صوب الرحمه والرضوان حيث أقام بسكنى هذه الدار على حما حاتون بنت سنقر الطويل الناصري أضيف إليها ما كان يجاورها من الجوان ودوار وأنشى فيها بستان ونقل إليها من جميع الأشجار فصار بإعث الدار مليم الأزهار وأجتيل إليها المياه من الدواوين التي تأتي بسنين الدار العذبة ومقابل هذه الدار بستان خاخر وشجر مهتز زاهر ومشرّع باهراً. فالجالس في مناظر هذه الدار يشرف على دجلة وجزيرها فهي نهزة الهٰو وفرحة القلب الشرون ورَّبَّ له البوابون والفرنخون والمشاهية وأُرِّيت على جميع مكن يُصل إليها في الأيام المستنصرت سكن الله عهودها صوب الرحمه والرضوان من الرائب والجاري من الخز الفنور وجُعل في يدها عدل ملازم جميع النهار مندًا لما تأمر به وعندما ما يجري على يد الخدم المختصين فيدمنتها.

ومثبًّا ما يجري على يد الخدم المختصين بخدمتها.

وحيث قد أثبت ما شرطته من ذكر أخبار جهات الخُلفاء سأ**(ب)هم؛ بهم ليس له ذكر ممن ينسب إلى الأمراء والوزراء.
When Shāhān’s master the caliph al-Mustanṣir passed away—God honor his grave and make Paradise his final resting place—he was succeeded by his son, Our Master the Commander of the Faithful, the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim—God support his noble and invincible reign and cause him to attain his desires in this world and the next. Al-Mustaʿṣim treated Shāhān with all the reverence, respect, and honor to which she was accustomed. He moved her—along with all her slave women, servants, retinue, and attendants—to the palace where she had been raised by her previous owner, Khatā Khâtūn. It was known as Banafshā’s Palace and was adjacent to the Willow Gate in the caliphal precinct. It was constructed for the caliphal consort Banafshā during the reign of al-Mustaḍīʾ, as I mentioned earlier.

When Khatā Khâtūn was granted permission to reside in the palace, during the reign of the caliph al-Nāṣir—may God water those bygone days with the rain of divine mercy and pleasure—shops and houses were built nearby. A garden was laid out within it and all types of trees were transplanted there. It was always full of delicious fruits and beautiful flowers. The water was supplied by the waterwheels which irrigated the gardens of the Great Palace.

Facing this splendid palace is another stunning garden, filled with colorful fruit trees, creating a remarkable and breathtaking view. Anyone seated on its belvederes looks out over the Tigris and its pontoon bridge. It is a sight for sore eyes and a delight for the sorrowful heart.

The caliph also provided Shāhān with doormen, attendants, and footmen. She continued to receive from the Noble Treasury all the stipends and allowances she had received during the reign of al-Mustanṣir—may God water those bygone days with the rain of divine mercy and pleasure. An official notary was charged to remain at her door the entire day, ready to carry out her orders and to approve everything performed by the servants assigned exclusively to her.

Now that I have done as I promised and recorded the consorts of caliphs, I move on to ones not yet mentioned, namely consorts of commanders and viziers.
روت عن مولاها روى عنها أبو بكر بن العلاف الشيرازي الفروي.

أخيرًا الحافظ أبو عبد الله البغدادي عن أبي القاسم الأرجي عن أبي الرجاء أحمد ابن محمد الكسائي قال كتب إلي أبو نصر عبد الكريم بن محمد الشيرازي قال أنشداني الفاضل أبو الفضل زيد بن علي الرازي قال أنشداني أبو علي الحسين بن أبي القاسم الفاشاني أنشدنا أبو بكر بن العلاف قال

أنشدنا دولة جارية عبد الله بن المعتر فالت أنشدنا عبد الله بن المعتر

[وافر]

وقت على الْفَرْتِ وَلَيْسَ تَجْرِيَ سَفْسَةُهَا لِنْفَقُصانٍ الْفَرْتِ
قُلْتَ أَنْ ذَكَرْتَ ذَلِكَ فَاضْ دَمْعِي كَأَجْزَاهُمْ تَجْرِيَ العُجُدُ صَافِتِ

Dawlah

“Fortune”

Slave of the caliph Ibn al-Mu‘tazz

She transmitted literary material from her master, Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, and the grammarian Abū Bakr ibn al-‘Allāf al-Shīrāzī transmitted material from her.


Dawlah the slave of Ibn al-Mu‘tazz recited this poem to us, which she said Ibn al-Mu‘tazz had recited to her:

I stood by the Euphrates:
the boats were motionless in low water.
Then I remembered you, tears flowed,
and, as if driven by stormwinds, the boats sped by.
حـيـاـة خاتونـ

جارية الإمام الظاهر بأمر الله رضي الله عنه

كانت جارية تركية الجنس حظيّة عند مقرية إليه أمّ وقد لعنت بموت وصارت حرة. توفيت يوم الجمعة سادس صفر من سنة تسع وثلاثين وستمائة وصلي عليها في صن السلام أخرجت من باب البشري وحملت إلى تربة الإمام المستضيء بأمر الله فدفنت هناك.

١ م: وتلائم وأنسوب من ج.
Ḥayāt Khātūn

“Lady Life”

Slave of the caliph al-Ẓāhir—may God be pleased with him

She was a slave of Turkic origin, a favored and trusted concubine, and the mother of one of his sons. She was manumitted upon his death and became a free woman.

She died on Friday the sixth of Safar in the year 639 [August 16, 1241], and funeral prayers were held for her in the Court of Peace. Her body was borne through the Bushrā Gate to the mausoleum of the caliph al-Mustaḍī’ and buried there.
جهة تعرف
باب جوهير
نسبةً إلى أحد خدمها

كانت جارية ترکیة من حفظا الإمام الظاهر بأمر الله أيضًا لها قرب وختصاص ۳۳ توفي في حادي عشري لمجرم من سنة سبعة وثلاثين وثمانية وصلى عليها أستاذ الدار العزيزة مؤيد الدين أبو طالب محمدٌ بن العلمي ودعت بالطيب الشريقة بالصلاة.
A consort known by reference to one of her servants as Bāb Jawhar\textsuperscript{105} “Gate of Jewels”

She was a Turkic slave who was also a favorite of the caliph al-Ẓāhir. She was in his inner circle and had privileged access to him.

She died on the twenty-first of Muharram in the year 639 [August 1, 1241]. The majordomo of the Great Palace, Muʿayyad al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad ibn al-ʿAlqamī, led the funeral prayers for her, and she was buried near the caliphal tombs in the Ruṣāfah Cemetery.
مولاوة العباس بن الحسن ومزير المقتداس بإله

روث عن أبي بكر الحسن بن علي بن أحمد بن بشار بن العلاف الشاعر شيخًا من شعره. روى عنها أبو عبد الله محمد بن المعلل الأزدي المصري في أماليه.

قرأ على الخلف أبي عبد الله البغدادي عن ذكر بن كامل الخذاء عن أبي نصر محمود ابن فضل الإصبهاني قال أخبرنا أبو القاسم علي بن حسين الرفيق أخبرنا أبو الحسن الماوردي جذبتنا أبو عبد الله محمد بن المعلل إماه قال أنوشتا قبيحة مولاوة العباس.

أبو الحسن قالت أنوشتا أبو بكر الخلاف البغدادي نفسه [خفيف]

قل مل تبيّنم المريض قلوك ودع صحيحة لما دا مريضًا
لا تطلع عنده الأطباطش فديتذا دطيلة من استقامة ضعيفًا
قل له كيف أنت واعظ له الله وجعله عن أهل له الالهي
فكذا كان من يعود مسبيلا لم يكن عسايده وكان غضيبًا

أنباني محمد بن عبد الواحد الهاشمي عن أبي محمد عبد الله قال أخبرنا المبارك بن عبد الجبار إذا قالت أخبرني أقصى القضاء أبو الحسن على البصري قراءة عليه جذبتنا أبو عبد الله محمد بن المعلل بن عبد الله الأزدي إمالة قال أنوشتا قبيحة مولاوة العباس.

أبو الحسن قالت أنوشتا أبو بكر بن الخلاف لنفسه [متقارب]

١ ذاك في حاشية م. مرضا: سافطة من م. ١٠٠ م. ج: محمد بن عبد الله.
Qabīḥah

“Ugly”

Dependent in the household of al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Ḥasan, vizier to the caliph al-Muqtadir

She is the source for some of the verse of the poet Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan ibn al-ʿAllāf, and Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Muʿallā transmits from her in his Dictations.

I read with master Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī—who cited Dhākir ibn Kāmil the shoemaker, who cited Abū Naṣr Maḥmūd ibn Faḍl al-Iṣfahānī as saying: it was related to us by Abū l-Qāsim al-Rabaʿī, who was informed by the supreme judge Abū l-Ḥasan al-Māwardī, citing Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Muʿallā in dictation—that Qabīḥah quoted this poem, which she heard from Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan ibn al-ʿAllāf himself:

Tell the one who bores the sick:
“If you visited a healthy man, you’d make him ill.”
Do not sit long with him,
or his disease will lengthen and spread.
Just say hello and wish him well
and quickly leave the sufferer.
Visitors who overstay
aren’t well-wishers, just insufferable.

Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid the Hāshimī related to me—citing Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Khashshāb, citing al-Mubārak ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Ṣayraḥī, who cited, with permission, the supreme judge Abū l-Ḥasan al-Māwardī, who quoted Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Muʿallā in dictation—saying that Qabīḥah quoted this poem which she heard from Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan ibn al-ʿAllāf:
كان كالمصرع للحكام،
وحكب في أملا كاذب,
وقام الذي صنعته برزته,
فقيق أوائله ساي السائل.
فل أدركته بيناء أبله,
فقد كُتبت تشكيله في ظاهر,
سكت بكيا فتيان البيتان.
ودام كبيش خداً السكنون,
فلا يعتن بالسكنين لنفسه.

1: يفتين.
It is as though you are in death’s throes
your body about to depart.
Sped to your appointed time
after hopes false and deceptive.
Those you once protected
urge you now begone:
From hearse-bearers to corpse-washer
to pall-bearers, to the one who lays you in the grave.
Mortgaged to the House of Decay,
you gained a fleeting bargain.
You used to dwell, seen, above ground
now you dwell unseen beneath it.
You leave a sturdy house
for a dark, decrepit abode,
A house with living inmates,
for a house of the dead.
Let no man deceive himself:
woe to the self-deceived!
سُيَت النساء بنت طولون التركي

كتبت ذات أموال عظيمة وفمه ظاهرة وعطاً وافراً

غرأت على البديل محمد بن الحسن الشافعي فلقت له ترأت على أبي عبد الله الجنبلي

بإصبهان فأنى به قال أنا أبا أبو الحسن الجوهري قال آخر في طفر بن الداعي العلواني

في كتبه عن أبي الحسن محمد بن القاسم الفارسي قال سمعت أبا نصر منصور بن عبد

الله الأصبهاني يقول سمعت علي بن عبد الجبار الصوفي يقول

زوجت سُيَت النساء بنت طولون لعبه من ليتها فألقت في وفتهما مائة

الف دينارفم تلبت الكثير من دهرها حتى رأتها في سوق بغداد تعرض

للسعود فرآها بعض الأغنياء فعرفها فقال لها أين ماكانت فيه من النفس

قالت كأرصد نواح الدهر يبنا وركت دياربا بلاحق. قال فاذتمنت

قالت من بطني طعاما فقال هذا وكي انصرفى إلى المنزل وأمر بها بشرة

اللاخ! درهم فتالت يا أخي عليك بما لك بارك الله لك فيه أما إنه قد

كان علينا أكثر من ذلك فلم يبق وأقت شيئا وولت وهي تقول [مديده]

١ م: ظفر يس ٢ م: ألف
She was extremely wealthy but also conspicuously munificent, prodigal, and openhanded.

When I studied with the Shāfiʿī notary witness Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī, I said to him, “Didn’t you study with the Ḥanbalī jurist Abū ʿAbd Allāh in Isfahan?” He confirmed that he had, and added: We learned the following from Abū l-Maḥāsin al-Jawharī, who reported that Ẓafar son of the ‘Alawī missionary quoted from his book citing Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Fārisī, who cited Abū Naṣr al-Manṣūr ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Iṣfahānī, saying he heard ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Jabbār the Sufi say:

Sitt al-Nisā’, daughter of Ṭūlūn, married one of her dalliances and spent one hundred thousand dinars on her wedding banquet. Not long after, I saw her in the marketplace in Baghdad, reduced to begging. A rich man recognized her and asked, “Where are the comforts of your previous life?”

“We expected the ravages of Fate to come lay waste to our lands—and so they did,” she replied.

“Is there any way I can help you now?” he asked.

“Yes, fill my belly with food.” she replied.

“Follow my agent home,” he said, “and he will give you ten thousand dirhams.”

“My brother,” she said, “keep your money, and may God bless you. I once had far more, but it did not last.” Sitt al-Nisā’ then took something to eat, and said as she turned away:
دع الدنيا لما شقيقتها سيعضم من ذبائحها
أري الدنيا وإن مدخلاً تسن على فضائحها
فقال تقدمنا مرحة نصيبيك من زواجها
فإن سروها سام وتحتفان في مستنقعها
ومظهرها بغضونه يذهب إليه نواحها

1: معرفة، والنصب من ج.
35. Sitt al-Nisā’

*Leave the world to its lovers,*  
soon to be its casualties.  
*Its praises are sung,*  
but I see its indignities.  
*Beware its seductive perfume:*  
its scent is lethal.  
*Its joys are poison,*  
its favors fatal.  
*How soon its eulogist*  
becomes its elegist.
ذكر ثابت بن سنان بن قرة أنها كانت مولدة سمرة حسنة الغنية وكانت لأبي ابن حجدون النديم فاشتراها منها أبو بكر محمد بن رائق الأمير بثلاثة عشر ألف درهم وأخذ منه ابن حجدون ألف دينار على سبيل الخلافة ورَزَق منها أبو بكر وله لَم يعش وقت ابن رائق عنها فتروجها أبو عبد الله الحسين بن سعيد بن حمدان وتوفي يوم الثلاثاء لثلاث عشرة ليلة خلت من رجب سنة ثمان وأربعين وثلاثمائة.
Thābit ibn Sinān mentions that she was dark-skinned, of mixed parentage, and that she sang beautifully.

She belonged to the daughter of the caliph’s drinking companion, Ibn Ḥamdūn. The commander Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Rāʾiq purchased her from Ibn Ḥamdūn’s daughter for thirteen thousand dirhams and Ibn Ḥamdūn took another thousand dinars from him as a brokerage fee. She gave Ibn Rāʾiq a son who did not survive, and Ibn Rāʾiq himself was killed while she was still in his possession. Then the Hamdanid Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd married her.

She died on Tuesday the thirteenth of Rajab in the year 348 [September 19, 959].
خكاتون السفرية

كنت حظيلة السلطان ملك شاه ولدت له عمداً وسُجنًا وكانت تتذكّر وكان لها سبيل يَخرج إلى طريق مكة.

وبثأت عن أمه وأهلها حتى غزت مكانهم ثم بذلت الأموال من أثراً بهم فلم يوصوا إليها ودخلت أمه عليها وكانت فأرقتها منذ أربعين سنة جلت بين جواز يشبهها حتى تنظر هل ترواها أم لا فلما سمعت الأم كلامها نهضت إليها فقلت:

ولما توقفت خاتون قد للسلطان محدود في الرز.

وهذه المرأة، 3 في نوادر التاريخ لأنهم قالوا لا نفهم امرأة ولدت خليتين أم ملكين سوى ولادة بنت العباس فإنها ولدت ليء الملك الوليد وسليمان ووليدان ووليدان واليًاً وحلفاء ولي فهد ووليد رشيد ووليد فهد ووليد لؤلؤة؟ وابنهم وليًاً واليًاً وليًاً فها ولدت الوليد بزيادة؟

م: واعتقل، 2 أصابه هرا (الذكر) للسخاء. 3 ج: وليًا. 4 ج: وليًا. 5 م: وليًا. 6 ج: وليًا.
Khātūn al-Safariyyah

“Lady of Safar”

She was the concubine of Sultan Malik-Shāh and bore him Muḥammad and Sanjar. She was exceedingly pious and regularly provisioned pilgrims on the route to Mecca.

She searched for her mother and her family till she found out where they lived, and paid someone a large sum to bring them to her. Her mother had not seen her for forty years; when she arrived, Khātūn surrounded herself with slaves who looked like her to see whether her mother would still recognize her. The moment she heard Khātūn speak, her mother sprang up, went to her, kissed her, and they embraced. The mother converted to Islam.

When Khātūn passed away, her stepson Sultan Maḥmūd received condolences for her.

She is one of those unusual women cited by historians as one of only four known to them to have given birth to either two caliphs or two kings:

To ʿAbd al-Malik, Wallādah daughter of al-ʿAbbās bore al-Walīd and Sulaymān, both of whom became caliph.

To al-Mahdī, al-Khayzurān bore al-Hādī and al-Rashīd, both of whom became caliph.

To al-Walīd, Shāh-i Āfrīd bore Yazīd and Ibrāhīm, both of whom became caliph.

And to Malik-Shāh, this woman bore Muḥammad and Sanjar, both of whom became sultan.
خاتم
زوجة السلطان ملك شاه

وهي أم السلطان محمود توفي أبوه وهو صغير فولي الملك بعده بتدبير أمه وكان معها عشرة آلاف مملوك تركي دُرَّت الملك وقادت الجيوش إلى أن توفيت في شهر رمضان من سنة سبع ومائتين وأربعمائة ولمائة مائتين أتمَّ أمر أبها محمود بموتها وتعقب ذلك موتها في شؤال من السنة المذكورة.
She was the mother of Sultan Maḥmūd, whose father passed away while he was still a boy. He succeeded his father to the royal throne under the regency of his mother, who had in her service ten thousand Turkic slave soldiers. She directed the affairs of state and commanded the military until she passed away in the month of Ramadan, 487 [September, 1094]. When she died, Maḥmūd’s rule became untenable. His own death followed soon thereafter, in the month of Shawwal of the same year [October, 1094].

113 Khātūn
114 Wife of Sultan Malik-Shāh
بُيِّدة بنت بَرْكِيَامُرْق

زوجة السلطان مسعود كانت جميلة موصوفة بالحسن توفيت في سنة تسعين وثلاثين

٣٩
Zubaydah

Daughter of Berkyaruq and wife of Sultan Masʿūd

She was lovely and praised for her beauty. She passed away in the year 532 [1137–38].
Notes

1 Ḥammādah's father ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī was the paternal uncle of the caliph al-Manṣūr.

2 The Arabic has al-Ḥāfiẓ, “the memorizer,” meaning someone who has mastered one or more subjects.

3 The Arabic has a longer genealogy: Abū Sahl Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ziyād al-Qaṭṭān.

4 The Arabic has: Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Yahyā Thaʿlab.

5 The caliph is asking Abū Dulāmah, a well-known poet, what elegy he has composed. Abū Dulāmah’s answer shows him living up to his reputation as a jester.

6 The work from which Ibn al-Sāʾī is citing is not extant.

7 There are no missing or indistinguishable words but the meter makes clear that the verse is incomplete in the MS.

8 Aḍghāth aḥlām is an expression used in Q Yūsuf 12:44 («These are confusing dreams— we’re unskilled at dream interpretation.») and in Anbiyāʾ 21:5 («Some say, “Muddled dreams!”, and others say, “He has made it up.”»). In the former, this is how Pharaoh’s advisers characterize his dream, one which will later be correctly interpreted by the Prophet Joseph. In the latter, this is how some of the Prophet Muḥammad’s interlocutors characterize the Qur’anic revelation.

9 The fact that ‘Inān’s father has no patronymic and that his given name, ʿAbd Allāh (“God’s servant,” a synonym of “Muslim”), was one quite often chosen by converts suggests that he may have been a convert.

10 His name appears as both al-Nāṭifī and al-Naṭṭāf in the entry; we have elected to use only al-Nāṭifī. The name means “seller of sweet nut brittle.”

11 When a slave bears her owner a child, under the law she is supposed to be automatically manumitted upon his death.

12 Jinn were reckoned better poets than humans.

13 Verse 285 is the penultimate verse of Surah Baqarah. The surah has 286 verses, but liturgical recitation of the end of Surah Baqarah invariably consists of reciting both verses 285 and 286.

14 In his line, Abū Nuwās cleverly uses a Qur’anic verse with which Surah Baqarah finishes; ‘Inān’s verse is not only in the same meter and rhyme as his, as was expected, but also
Notes

plays on the concept of “finishing” by using the verb *khatama* used to describe finishing a recitation of the entire Qur’an.

15 A reference to the Abbasid armies’ summer campaigns.

16 The material from this point (f. 6a in the MS) through the end of §3.10 (both marked with asterisks), is incorrectly placed by the copyist in Bid’ah’s entry (at §7.3, also marked with an asterisk). We have restored that material to ‘Inān’s entry, as does Jawād (see Ibn al-Sā’i, *Nisā’ al-khulafā’*, 51–53, 65).

17 The opening words of the line are slightly different in Jarīr’s published *Dīwān*, 372.

18 We have not succeeded in replicating the paronomasia in the use of ‘ʿaliqa and ‘alūq (both ‘-L-Q) by Jarīr and ‘aqala (-Q-L) by ‘Inān, though “hook” and “hocked” are an attempt to evoke this.

19 There is a lacuna here as ‘Inān’s response is not included the manuscript. This is also precisely the end point of the material mistakenly placed in Bid’ah’s entry (referred to in n. 16 above).

20 Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 759, has “Ghusāṣ” (غُصَّ), not “Ghaḍīḍ” (عَضْدَ), but al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 3:392, identifies her guardian as “al-Ghaḍīḍi,” suggesting that “Ghaḍīḍ” is correct. Al-Ṭabarī also mistakenly has “Qaṣf” (عَصَف) for “Muṣaffā” (عَصِيف), which Bosworth corrects in al-Ṭabarī, *The ʿAbbāsid Caliphate in Equilibrium*, 352 (and cf. 328, n. 1103).

21 Or possibly “Helena,” though the pet name which we render “Voilà” seems more likely. It is explained as a contraction of “Here she is now,” which she would reportedly say whenever someone called her.

22 Four lines appear in al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Aḥnaf’s extant *Dīwān*, 79.

23 The Arabic has Abū Aḥmad al-Amin. We have standardized this to his given name, to match the reference in §1, for the convenience of the English reader.

24 The name of the younger al-Anbārī’s father does not appear in the Arabic; we have supplied it.

25 This anecdote does not appear to be in any of al-Ṣūlī’s extant works.

26 Or Banān (“Fingertips”); but see Kilpatrick, *Making the Great Book of Songs*, 328 and *passim*. Note that this is the male singer Bunān, not the female poet Bunān who is the subject of entry §14 below.

27 The description of the poet grieving at the departure of the tribe, and therefore the beloved, is one of the most famous topoi in Arabic poetry.

28 This is a quotation from the closing line of the song Bunān had sung earlier to the caliph.

29 This is Farīdah the Younger, the subject of entry §18 below.
She was bought and freed by al-Mu'tasim, thus "al-Ma'mūn's slave 'Arib" (*Arib jāriyat al-Ma'mūn*) here is merely an identification, not a description of her status when she died.

Or ninety-three years old by solar reckoning.

This is a very large sum.

Waṣīf was captured in ʿAyn Zarbah, near al-Maṣṣīṣah (modern-day Misis/Yakapınar), in Dhu l-Qaʿdah of 287 [November, 900]; al-Mu'tadid's first day back in Baghdad was the twenty-first of Dhu l-Hijjah in the year 287 [December 17, 900]: see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 2200, and al-Ṭabarī, *Return of the Caliphate to Baghdad*, 91.

An echo of Q Maryam 19:4 («my head blazes gray»).

Eggplant à la Buran (or Eggplant Burani) is still a popular and widely available Iranian dish.

His name appears both as Thābit ibn Sinān ibn Qurrah and as Thābit ibn Qurrah. As several members of his family have the same name, we refer to him as Thābit ibn Sinān.

Bidʿah's funeral, the very last item reported by al-Ṭabarī in his *History*, is regrettably belittled as trivial by Rosenthal, the English translator, in al-Ṭabarī, *Return of the Caliphate*, 207, n. 978.

Al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl served al-Maʾmūn as secretary, general and governor, but never held the title of vizier; Ibn al-Sāʾī's use of the title here is honorific.

Būrān was only ten years old when they were married and eighteen when the marriage was consummated. See *Eliran*, “Būrān.”

An Abbasid prince who was dragged into political life by al-Maʾmūn's opponents and briefly proclaimed the anti-caliph. Al-Maʾmūn's forces captured and imprisoned him, but he was indeed later pardoned.

Wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd and mother of al-Amin, who took her son's side against al-Maʾmūn; they were later reconciled.

A sleeveless surcoat, studded with large pearls, rubies, and other gems. See “jewel-studded surcoat” in the Glossary of Realia.

The Arabic here says "40 mann." The value of a mann varied between 700 and 850 g (see *El2*, "Makāyil"); the candle thus weighed between 62 and 75 lbs. Since the number 70 is frequently approximate, it seemed appropriate to translate this as "seventy pounds."

This account does not appear in the extant part of al-Jahshiyārī's *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ wa-l-kuttāb*; Ibrāhīm Şālih includes it as a supplement to his 2009 edition.

The verb rendered as "strewed" is *nathara*, a term used to describe the showering of money and other valuables on joyous occasions, such as weddings and military victories. See §8.4 below and “bestowal” in the Glossary of Realia.
Notes

46 Hāshimī is the name given to anyone tracing descent from the Prophet Muḥammad, typically through his daughter Fāṭimah. The eponym, Hāshim, was Muḥammad’s great-grandfather. Kīsrā, from the Persian Khusraw, is a generic title applied to rulers of the Persian royal family, the Sassanids.

47 This is from Q Naḥl 16:1.

48 By this reckoning, she would have been born in 191/806, not 192/807.

49 The Arabic has “Madinat al-salām,” thus Baghdad, but the eastern part of Baghdad must be meant.

50 The Arabic has Muḥammad ibn ’Abd Allāh. There is some uncertainty about Ibn al-Khashshāb’s exact name in the sources, but the consensus is Abū Muḥammad ’Abd Allāh, adopted here.

51 The manuscript has “Abū Jaz[z]” (أبوجا), which appears to be a copyist error. The conjectural al-Jammāz is based on the fact that this name appears in §3.10 above.

52 So named with reference to “The Eternal Paradise” of the Qur’an; see the glossary of places.

53 This anecdote does not appear in the extant volume of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir’s Kitāb Baghdād.

54 According to Yāqūt, Mu’jam al-buldān, the Bīn Canal was also known as the Bil Canal.

55 Al-Shammāsiyyah is a northeastern suburb of Baghdad, so al-Ma’mūn is not traveling far.

56 Al-Ṣūlī is clarifying that her name is “Farīdah” (فريدَة), with a long “i”, rather than “Faran-dah” (فراندة) with an “n.” The undotted forms are identical.

57 Although al-Rabīʿ ibn Yūnus was indeed Hārūn’s chamberlain, he held that position before Hārūn became caliph.

58 Ishāq is a masculine name.

59 Faḍl is a masculine name.

60 That is, she is claiming descent from a “pure” Arab tribe.

61 The Rukhkhajī brothers were politically prominent.

62 That is to say, those listed in §13.2.1.

63 His paternal uncle, namely al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad.

64 The Arabic uses his given name, Ja’far.

65 Here for the first time he is cited in the Arabic by his fuller name: Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn al-Marzubān.

66 ʿAlī ibn al-Jahm uses an uncommon variant of a standard metrical form, something Faḍl’s well-attuned ear catches, since she produces her response in the same variant. There is no “bitter orange” in the Arabic, nor a “door-hinge.” We used “orange” as the rhyme word in order to try and convey the difficulty of the challenge posed by ʿAlī ibn al-Jahm.
Notes

67 At this juncture—as we have conveyed with the English too—Saʿīd ibn Ḥumayd does not retain the rhyme, though he does retain the meter. Faḍl nevertheless abides by the rhyme set by the original verse produced by Saʿīd.

68 She means wine.

69 Or Banān ("Fingertips"), as held e.g. by Jawād (in Ibn al-Sāʿī, Nisāʾ al-khulafāʾ, 91, n. 1).

70 The Arabic has ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭaḥḥān. We have standardized this to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Saʿd Allāh al-Daqīqī to match the reference in §6.4, for the convenience of the English reader. Like al-Daqīqī, al-Ṭaḥḥān means “Flour Seller.”

71 Probably the Hārūnī Palace built by al-Mutawakkil in Samarra on the banks of the Tigris.

72 We have replaced the origin name “al-Wāsiṭī” that appears in the Arabic with “al-Daqīqī.” See n. 70 above.

73 Probably the Hārūnī Palace in Samarra.

74 This blend, ghāliyah (lit. “expensive”), was apparently so called because of its costly ingredients. See further the glossary of realia under “scented musk blend.”

75 Preferring the reading qabbalat-hā (قَابِلَتُهَا), “she kissed it,” to the manuscript’s qallabat-hā (قَلَبَتُهَا), “she turned (or looked) it over.”

76 Jaʿfar is not only the caliph al-Mutawakkil’s given name, but also a word that means “river” or “stream.” Maḥbūbah’s desire to be given something to drink by/from jaʿfar is thus a play on words. We have rendered it “drink . . . from your lips.”

77 The Arabic has mawlāya, “my patron”; as ʿAlī ibn Yahyā is undoubtedly meant, however, we have used his name here.

78 The Arabic has ʿālīk, third-person masculine. We emend it, reading it as third-person feminine ʿālīk. Alternatively, one could read the latter as first-person ʿālīk: this would give, “I tried to reconcile them and then went to see him.”

79 One important method of scholarly transmission was for students to write down the teacher’s words and then read this back to the teacher for verification.

80 A person regularly engaged by a judge as a witness to contractual obligations or to the character of persons appearing in court.

81 For the older Farīdah, see §11 above. For the point about the spelling of the name, see n. 56.

82 On transvestism, see Rowson, “Gender Irregularity.”

83 In the Arabic, the name appears as Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿThābit al-Khaṭīb. The “al-Khaṭīb” in his name is not an honorary title or a reference to a forebear: he was in fact a khaṭīb, a man who gave Friday sermons.

84 The Arabic has “Imām” as his title. This title is usually reserved for caliphs, whereas al-Muwaqqaf was regent, which is how we have rendered it.
Notes

85 Qaṭr al-Nadā is a nickname meaning "Dewdrop," but she is not a slave.

86 The caliph’s point is that Qaṭr al-Nadā should be grateful for an alliance that has wed her, the daughter of a provincial governor, to the caliph himself, and her point is that he should be grateful that her father, a potentate in his own right, has now returned, through his daughter’s marriage, to the caliphal fold.

87 The Arabic has “honorable tombs” (al-turab al-sharīfah), a characterization that recurs in §25.2 and §33.

88 Khâtūn is a title (of Soghdian origin) borne by the wives and female relatives of high-ranking Saljūqs. The name ʿIṣmah means, among other things, “modesty.”

89 "Sultan" does not appear before Alp Arslān’s name in the Arabic, but does so in the next entry; we have accordingly added it here to be consistent.

90 This was two years later, in 504/1010–11.

91 Al-Mustaẓhir died in 512/1118 and ʿIṣmah Khâtūn in 536/1141–42.

92 Māh-i Mulk, also called Muh Malak and Malik Khâtūn.

93 There is dittography of the number four hundred. Other accounts record different numbers of camels and mules. This represents the best reconstruction.

94 The Arabic truncates the date 479 to ’79 here, and later also 480 to ’80 and 482 to ’82: we use the expanded forms.

95 He was five years old.

96 This is the same person as ʿIṣmah Khâtūn (§24 above). The confusion is evidence of the fact that the latter part of Consorts of the Caliphs was still a work in progress and in draft form.

97 Banafshā is also “Violet.” Her father may have been a convert to Islam: he has no patronymic, and his name, ʿAbd Allāh, “God’s servant,” a synonym of “Muslim,” was quite often chosen by converts. See n. 9.

98 Banafshā’s name is reported to have been carved on the bridge; the poem likens it to ṭirāz embroidery (see Glossary of Realia).

99 See Mākdisī, “Topography of Baghdad.” The Iron Archway was sometimes known as the New Archway and might conceivably be meant here instead (Iron: جهید بید; New: جهید بید), but as the Bakers’ Market appears to be further west, this does seem to be an iron archway, of which there were several.

100 Al-Nāṣir’s mother, Zumurrud Khâtūn, was a Turkic slave. She too endowed buildings for use by the Ḥanbalīs in Baghdad.

101 Properly, Kuhc Arslan.
Notes

102 The pious phrase after ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib’s name is usually “may God be pleased with him” (raḍiya Allāh ʿanhu). The use of “peace be upon him” (ʿalayhi l-salām) is unusual, but not unheard of; it is routinely used after ʿAli’s name by Shi’ites, for instance.

103 This is likely from Ibn al-Jawzī’s Durrat al-iklīl, which covered the years 574–90/1178–94. See Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntaẓam, 18:255, n. 2.

104 These verses do not appear in the extant Dīwān of Ibn al-Muʿtazz.

105 The sources do not pronounce on the precise meaning of the name.

106 Although Qabīḥah means “ugly,” she was probably quite beautiful. It was not uncommon to give someone a name with the opposite meaning, either ironically or to ward off the evil eye. Cf. her namesake, mentioned in §15.4 above.

107 I.e. not the grammarian Ibn al-ʿAllāf cited in §31 above.

108 Cf. n. 47 above.

109 Her name means “[Noble] Lady among women” or “Queen among women.”

110 The Arabic has Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd here, perhaps to avoid the confusion of two consecutive scholars called Abū ʿAbd Allāh.

111 A town in Khwārazm, though the geographical sources do not specify precisely where.

112 Scholarly consensus is that Ibrāhīm’s mother was not Shāh-i Āfrīd, the granddaughter of Yazdagird III, but rather the slave Suʿār.

113 Her given name was Terken, but it is not mentioned by Ibn al-Sāʾī.

114 Maḥmūd was only four years old when his mother placed him on the throne. She was put to death; Maḥmūd died of illness soon after her.
The Abbasid Caliphs

1. Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ
2. Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr
3. al-Mahdī
4. al-Hādī
5. Hārūn al-Rashīd
6. al-Amin
7. al-Maʾmūn
8. al-Muʿtaṣim
9. al-Wāthiq
10. al-Mutawakkil
11. al-Muntaṣir
12. al-Mustaʿīn
13. al-Muʿtazz
14. al-Muhtadī
15. al-Muʿtamdī
16. al-Muʿtaṣīb
17. al-Muktafi
18. al-Qāhir
19. al-Muṣṭādir
20. al-Rādī
21. al-Muttaqi
22. al-Mustañī
23. al-Muṭīʿ
24. al-Tāʾī
25. al-Qādir

Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ
133–37/750–54
Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr
137–59/754–75
al-Mahdī
159–69/775–85
al-Hādī
169–70/785–86
Hārūn al-Rashīd
170–94/786–809
al-Amin
194–98/809–13
al-Maʾmūn
198–218/813–33
al-Muʿtaṣim
218–28/833–42
al-Wāthiq
228–33/842–47
al-Mutawakkil
233–47/847–61
al-Muntaṣir
247–48/861–62
al-Muʿtazz
252–56/866–69
al-Muʿtamdī
257–79/870–92
al-Muṣṭādir
256–57/869–70
al-Muṣṭādir
259–62/872–86
al-Muṭīʿ
333–35/944–46
al-Qādir
381–423/991–1031
al-Tāʾī
364–81/974–91
The Abbasid Caliphs

155
The Early Saljūqs

Saljūq

Mīkāʾīl

1a. Ṭughril

431–55/1040–63

1b. Dāwūd

431–52/1040–60

2. Alp Arslān

455–65/1063–73

3. Malik-Shāh I

465–85/1073–92

4. Maḥmūd

485–87/1092–94

5. Berkyaruq

487–98/1094–1105

6. Malik-Shāh II

498–511/1105–11

7. Muḥammad I

498–511/1105–11

8. Sanjar

511–52/1118–57
Chronology of Women Featured in *Consorts of the Caliphs*

Note: An interrogation mark is used when a death date is not known and relative placement represents educated conjecture.

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<td>Individual</td>
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Glossary of Names

Note: Individuals are listed according to the way we have rendered the names in the translation. When we include other parts of the name, this reflects Ibn al-Sāʾī’s usage. We occasionally supply other parts of the name in the gloss. Transliteration follows the conventions of EI3. Note the following differences between the conventions of EI2 and EI3: EI2 uses ḍj instead of j and ḳ instead of q; thus, for instance, one would search for Saldjūḳ in EI2, but Saljūq in EI3. Turkic names are also differently rendered: thus, Barkyāruḳ in EI2 but Berkýaruq in EI3.

Characters

Abān al-Lāḥiqī (§3.8) (d. ca. 200/815) Poet of the early Abbasid period born into a family of Jewish ancestry in Basra, patronized by the Barmakids. He made a name for himself writing panegyrics, versifications of prose works from the Persian and Indic traditions, and lampoons.

al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Aḥnaf (§5) (d. ca. 192/807) Leading early love poet at the Abbasid court and a favorite of Hārūn al-Rashīd, whom he apparently accompanied on military campaigns. His poetry was highly regarded and frequently set to music. He composed an elegy on Haylānah (§5).

al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Ḥasan (§34) (d. 296/909) Al-Jarjarāʾī, vizier of the caliphs al-Muktāfī and al-Muqtadir. He was killed by a partisan of the short-lived caliph Ibn al-Muʿtazz. Qabīḥah (§34) was a dependent in his household.

ʿal-Abbās ibn Rustam (§3.8) (fl. second/eighth c.) Associate of the poet Abān al-Lāḥiqī.

ʿAbbāsaḥ (§4) (d. early to mid-third/ninth c.) Abbasid princess, daughter of al-Mahdī, half-sister of Hārūn al-Rashīd and Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī. Her supposed marriage to Jaʿfar ibn Yahyā the Barmakid was popularly believed to have been the cause of the rift between Hārūn and Jaʿfar that led to the Barmakid downfall.
Glossary of Names

**Abbasids** Dynasty of caliphs that ruled the Islamic empire 132–656/750–1258. Their capital, Baghdad, was founded by the caliph al-Manṣūr in 145/762.

ʿAbd Allāh (§3) (fl. second/eighth c.) The father of ʿInān (§3). Judging by his generic given name he was likely a convert to Islam.

ʿAbd Allāh (§11) (fl. third/ninth c.) Son of Farīdah al-Aminiyah (§11) and al-Haytham ibn Bassām.

ʿAbd Allāh (§27) (fl. sixth/twelfth c.) The father of Banafshā (§27). Judging by his generic given name he was likely a convert to Islam.

ʿAbd-al-Qays ( §§13.2.2, 13.10) Old East Arabian tribe.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd ibn Ḥamdān (§36) (fl. fourth/tenth c.) Scion of the Hamdanids, a family in Abbasid service before they established their own dynasty in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries in northern Iraq and Syria. Sarīrah (§36) was married to Abū ʿAbd Allāh.

Abū Ahmad al-Muwaffaq See al-Muwaffaq.

Abū ʿAlī al-Naṭṭāḥah (§13.9) (d. after 300/913) State secretary and litterateur. Some of his poetry and a large quantity of his prose, principally epistolary to Ibn al-Muʿtazz and others, survives.

Abū l-ʿAtāhiyah (§18.2) (d. ca. 210/825) Major court poet of modest beginnings. He wrote love poems about ʿUtbah, a slave belonging to the caliph al-Mahdī’s cousin, and became famous for ascetic verse. Many of his poems were put to music.

Abū l-ʿAynāʾ (§§3.8, 3.10, 8.8.2, 8.8.3, 13.4) (d. ca. 282/896) Litterateur and poet originally from Basra, known for his repartee and quick wit. He became blind at the age of forty. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir compiled a book of anecdotes concerning him, many of which are quoted by Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī.

Abū Bakr (§7.6) (fl. late third/ninth to early fourth/tenth c.) Son of the caliph al-Muhtadi, but not selected to be his successor. He was at court in 302/915, as he led the funeral prayer for Bidʿah al-Kabīrah (§7).


Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim ibn ʿĪsā al-ʿIjlī (§13.3) (d. between 225/840 and 228/843) Poet, musician, litterateur, military commander under the caliph al-Amin, and governor under the caliph al-Mu’tazzim.

Abū Ḥanīfah (§24.2) (d. 150/767) Jurist, theologian, and eponym of the Ḥanafi school of legal thought, favored by the early Abbasids. He may have had a hand in planning the construction of the city of Baghdad.

Abū Ishāq ʿĪbrahim (§24.1) (d. 508/1114) Abbasid prince, son of the caliph al-Muṣṭaḥfīr and ʿĪsāmah Khātūn (§24) daughter of Malik-Shāh; he died of...
smallpox at the age of two and was buried next to Prince Abū l-Faḍl Ja'far in the Ruṣāfah Cemetery.

Abū Ja'far 'Abd Allāh al-Manṣūr (§1)  See al-Manṣūr.

Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr al-Mustanṣir bi-llāh (§§30, 30.1, 30.4.1, 30.4.2)  See al-Mustanṣir.

Abū Mansūr Hāshim (§28)  (fl. sixth/twelfth c.) Abbasid prince, son of the caliph al-Mustaḍīʾ and Sharaf Khātūn (§28).


Abū Naṣr ibn Jahīr (§25.1)  (d. 483/1090) Founding member of the politically active Jahīr family who all but monopolized the vizierate during the protectorate of the Great Saljūqs, i.e. starting in 454/1062, when Abū Naṣr assumed the position, and continuing for the next five decades.

Abū Nuwās (§§3.7, 3.10, 8.4)  (d. ca. 198/813) Celebrated Abbasid poet, confidant and court companion of the caliph al-Amīn. He was highly accomplished and versatile. The genres in which he excelled included wine poetry (khamriyyāt), hunting poetry (ṭardiyyāt), and love poetry addressed to both men and women.

Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn (§22.2)  (r. 254–70/868–84) Son of a male slave given to al-Maʾmūn by the governor of Bukhara. The caliph al-Muʿtazz appointed him governor of Egypt, which he ruled autonomously, establishing the Tulunids as a dynasty. The mosque he built in Cairo in 259/872 still stands.

Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf (§9)  (d. 213/828) Private secretary to al-Maʾmūn, and one of his intimates, he came from a family of secretaries and scribes from Kufa. By virtue of his aphorisms in prose and in verse, he has come to be regarded as a “secretary-poet,” a typically “modern” (muḥdath) type of amateur man of letters.

ʿAlī ibn al-Jahm (§§13.5, 15.3–15.5)  (d. 249/863) Prominent Abbasid poet and litterateur. He was close to the caliph al-Mutawakkil but jealous courtiers caused him to be exiled to Khurasan. Among his famous poems is an elegy to al-Mutawakkil.

ʿAlī ibn Sahl ibn Abān (§8.3.3)  (fl. third/ninth c.) A dependent of al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl.

ʿAlī ibn Yahyā the astromancer (§§6.5, 7.2, 12.3, 15.4, 15.5, 15.6, 19.4)  (d. 275/888) Prominent courtier, poet, musician, and man of learning from the al-Munajjim family of caliphal companions and astromancers. He was a companion to a succession of caliphs and an important patron of writers and
poets at his family estate, where he amassed an impressive library; he also put together a library for the caliph al-Mutawakkil’s secretary, al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān.

**Alp Arslān (§§24, 25)** (r. 455–65/1063–72) Saljūq Sultan. He focused largely on military campaigns, leaving the administration of empire to his famous vizier, Niẓām al-Mulk.

**al-Ḥārūn al-Rashīd** (§§6.1, 8.10, 11) (d. 198/813) Regnal title of Muḥammad ibn al-Rashīd; he succeeded his father Hārūn al-Rashīd as caliph. He was killed in the Civil War with his brother al-Maʾmūn, who then assumed the caliphate.

**ʿAmr ibn Bānah (§18.3)** (d. 279/892) Son of a government scribe, a singer during the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn and his immediate successors, and author of two songbooks. He was the owner of Farīdah (§18), whom he presented to the caliph al-Mutawakkil (or possibly the caliph al-wāthiq).

**ʿArafah (§7.3–7.5)** (fl. third/ninth c.) Legal representative of Bilḍah al-Kabīrah (§7) and handler of her affairs.

**ʿArīb al-Maʾmūniyyah (§6; §§7.2, 7.6, 15.3, 15.4)** (d. 277/890) The most famous female musician of the third/ninth century. She was sold by her Christian wet nurse to a slave trader and bought by the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd’s boatmaster, who raised and educated her. She maintained that she was the daughter of Jaʿfar the Barmakid. She was owned by the caliphs al-Ḥārūn and al-Maʾmūn, bought and freed by the caliph al-Muʿtasim, and had liaisons with numerous caliphs.

**Bāb Jawhar (§33)** (d. 639/1241) Turkic slave who was a favorite of the caliph al-Zāhir.

**Banafshā al-Rūmiyyah (§27; §30.4.1)** (d. 598/1201) Wife of the caliph al-Mustaḍīʾ, a very pious woman who engaged in many acts of charity and who was an important patron of the Ḥanbalīs, for whom she endowed a law college.

**Barmakids (§§6.1, 6.2, 8.8.4, 11)** A family of viziers and administrators, originally Buddhists from Balkh, who served the first five Abbasid caliphs. Yaḥyā ibn Khālid ibn Barmak, foster father and tutor to the future Hārūn al-Rashīd, was an extremely important patron of poetry and scholarship. For reasons that remain unknown, Hārūn al-Rashīd deposed the Barmakids in 187/803, imprisoning and executing many of them.

**Berkyaruq (§39)** (r. 485–98/1092–1104) Saljūq sultan, the son of Malik-Shāh. His reign included confrontations regarding succession with Terken (see
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Khātūn (§38), Malik-Shāh’s wife, who seized power on behalf of her infant son Maḥmūd ibn Malik-Shāh.

Bid‘ah (al-Kabīrah) (§7) (d. 302/915) Slave belonging to ‘Arib (§6), a dependent in the household of the caliph al-Ma’mūn, and reputed to be the best and most beautiful singer of her time. She was admired by al-Mu’taḍid.

Bughā (al-Ṣaghūr or al-Sharābī) (§15.6) (d. 254/868) Abbasid commander, close collaborator of Waṣīf al-Turkī, very likely a member of the Samarra-based Turkic military slave corps. He likely had a hand in—or even organized—the assassination of the caliph al-Mutawakkil and the civil war in Baghdad in 251/865.

Bunān (or Banān) (§6.5) (fl. third/ninth c.) Male singer who performed for several caliphs including al-Mutawakkil, al-Muntaṣir, al-Muṭazz, and al-Muʿtamid and who had an affair with Faḍl al-Shāʾirah (§13).

Bunān (or Banān) (§14) Slave of al-Mutawakkil; a poet mentioned by Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī in the Book of Songs.

Būrān (§8; §§6.6, 7.5) (d. 271/884) Her given name was Khadījah; she was the daughter of al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl, the caliph al-Maʾmūn’s deputy in Iraq. She was betrothed to al-Maʾmūn at a young age, was married to him when she was eighteen, and long outlived him.

Dawlah (§31) (fl. late third/ninth c.) Slave of the caliph Ibn al-Muʿtazz, a transmitter of literary material, and a poet in her own right.

Ḍirār (§21) (d. 278/891) Slave of the regent al-Muwaffaq; she bore him the future caliph al-Muʿtaḍid.

al- Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā (§6.2) (d. 193/808) Son of Yaḥyā the Barmakid and brother of Jaʿfar ibn Yaḥyā, influential in the court of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and tutor there to the crown prince al-ʿAmīn. His political views may have contributed to the downfall of the Barmakids. He was imprisoned in 187/803 and died some years later.

Faḍl al-Shāʾirah (§13; §14.2) (d. ca. 257/870–71) “Faḍl the Poetess,” slave of the caliph al-Mutawakkil, one of the most accomplished poets, women of letters, and wits of her time.

Farīdah (§18; §6.7) Slave who belonged to the singer ‘Amr ibn Bānah but whom the caliph al-Wāṭhiq kept as a concubine. When al-Wāṭhiq died, ‘Amr gave her to al-Mutawakkil (or she may have belonged to al-Wāṭhiq). Al-Mutawakkil married her.

Farīdah al-Amīniyyah (§11) Slave of mixed parentage who grew up in the Hijaz. She belonged successively to al-Rabiʿ ibn Yūnus, the Barmakids,
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and the caliph al-Amīn. She fled after al-Amīn's death and married al-Hay-tham ibn Bassâm and, later, al-Sindi ibn al-Ḥarashi.

Fāṭimah (§17) (d. 277/890) Daughter of the Turkic courtier, diplomat, and commander al-Fatḥ ibn Khāqān; she was the wife of the caliph al-Mutawakkil's son, al-Mu'tazz, who later became caliph.

Ghaḍid (§4) (d. before 193/809) Slave of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and mother of his daughter Ḥamdūnah.


al-Hādī (§§2.1.1, 37.4) (r. 169–70/785–86) Fourth Abbasid caliph, son of the caliph al-Mahdī. He was hostile to his brother Hārūn, whom he imprisoned, but who succeeded him when he died suddenly. Hārūn then married al-Hādī's favorite Ghādir (§2).

Ḥamdūnah (§4) (fl. early third/ninth c.) Daughter of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd with Ghaḍid (§4).

Ḥammādah bint 'Īsā (§1) (d. 164/780–81) Daughter of 'Isā, the paternal uncle of the caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Maḥsūr. She was married to al-Maḥsūr.

Ḥanbalī (§§27.1, 35.2) Member of the school of legal thought named for Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855). Ḥanbalis and Ḥanbalism were favored by several ladies of the later Abbasid dynasty.

Hārūn al-Rashīd (§§2.1, 2.2, 3.2, 4, 5, 6.1, 6.2, 8.8.4, 8.10, 11, 37.4) (r. 170–93/786–809) Fifth Abbasid caliph, son of the caliph al-Mahdī and al-Khayzurān, a slave from Yemen whom al-Mahdī freed and married. Hārūn's wives included his cousin Zubaydah, Ghādir (§2), and later Ghaḍid (§4), who bore him a daughter, Ḥamdūnah.

al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl (§§8, 8.3.1, 8.3.2, 8.4, 8.8.1, 8.10, 8.11) (d. 235/850) Zoroastrian convert to Islam employed by al-FAḍl ibn Yaḥyā the Barmakid. Al-Ḥasan's daughter Būrān (§8) was married to the caliph al-Ma'mūn, whom her father served as a high official. Al-Ma'mūn gave him the Ja'farī Palace, which he in turn gave to his daughter.

Hāshimī (§§8.3.2, 8.3.4, 13.9, 14.2, 34.3, and n. 45) Member of the clan to which the Prophet Muḥammad belonged, so named for his great-grandfather. Also refers to anyone tracing descent from the Prophet Muḥammad, typically through his daughter Fāṭimah.

Ḥayāt Khātūn (§32) (d. 639/1241) Slave of Turkic origin belonging to the caliph al-Ẓāhir and mother of one of his sons. She was manumitted upon his death.
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Haylānah (§5) (d. 173/789–90) Slave of Hārūn al-Rashīd, obtained from Yahyā ibn Khālid the Barmakid. When she died, the poet al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Aḥnaf composed an elegy to her. A neighborhood in west Baghdad is named for her.


Ibn Ḥamdūn, Abū ʿAbd Allāh (§§8.6, 19.2, 36) (fl. late third/ninth c.) Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm, a poet and a member of the Ḥamdūn family of caliphal court companions.

Ibn al-Muʿtazz (§§6.6., 13.7, 31) (d. 296/908) ʿAbbasid prince, son of the caliph al-Muʿtazz; very significant poet, litterateur, and literary theorist, and an expert on the lives of early Abbasid poets, especially the “moderns” (muḥdathūn). He was installed as caliph at the age of forty-nine, on 20 Rabiʿ al-Awwal, 296/17 December 908, and assassinated the same day.

Ibn Rāʾiq (§36) (d. 330/942) Abū Bakr Muḥammad, chief of police and chamberlain under the caliph al-Muqtadīr, then governor of Basra and Wāsiṭ under the caliphs al-Qāhir and al-Rāḍī, respectively. He was killed by the Ḥamdānids, who saw him as a threat. As the first person to hold the title amīr al-umarāʾ (commander-in-chief of the army) under the Abbasids, he ushered in a period of militarism and the political decline of the Abbasids.

Ibrāhīm ibn al-ʿAbbās (§8.3.4) (d. 243/857) al-Ṣūlī, well-known poet, state secretary, and governor, from a family of Turkic origin. He was the great-uncle of the scholar and court companion Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī and a nephew of the poet al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Aḥnaf.

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī (§§3.9, 8.2, 16.2) (d. 224/839) Abbasid prince, son of al-Mahdī and Shiklah, a Daylamī concubine. A poet, composer, and musician, he was reluctantly drawn into political life by al-Maʾmūn’s opponents and proclaimed counter-caliph. His partisans were soon defeated by al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl and he went into hiding. He was captured, briefly imprisoned, then pardoned by al-Maʾmūn.

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mudabbir (§13.7) (d. 279/892–93) High official, courtier, and litterateur. A companion of the caliph al-Mutawakkil, he was removed by enemies at court and imprisoned by them and later again by rebels associated with the Zanj slave rebellion in southern Iraq. He escaped and was later briefly vizier to the caliph al-Muʿtamid. He was the author of prose works and poems, many of the latter addressed to ʿArīb.
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Ibrāhīm ibn al-Walīd (§37.4) (r. 126/744) Thirteenth caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, who reigned for only a few months. Ibn al-Sā`ī inherits a common error by identifying Ibrāhīm as the son of the royal Shāh-i Āfrīd, granddaughter of Yazdagird III; his mother was in fact a slave by the name of Su`ār.

Ibrāhīm al-Mu`ayyad (§12.1) (fl. third/ninth c.) Son of the caliph al-Mutawakkil and Isḥāq al-Andalusiyah (§12), a slave of mixed parentage.

ʿInān (§3) (d. 226/840–41) Slave who belonged to a certain al-Nāṭifī. Poets, including such renowned ones as Abū Nuwās and Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣah, came to al-Nāṭifī’s home to have ʿInān pronounce on their poetry.

ʿĪsā (ibn ʿAlī) (§1) (d. 164/780–81) Paternal uncle of the caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr. His daughter Ḥammādah (§1) was married to al-Manṣūr. The ʿĪsā Palace and the ʿĪsā Quarter in West Baghdad were named for him.


Isḥāq ibn Ayyūb al-Ghālibī (§7.2) (d. 287/900) Official who later in life was in charge of security in Diyār Rabī`ah in northern Iraq.

Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (§6.4) (d. 235/850) The greatest musician of his day, leader of the “classical school,” a popular courtier, litterateur, and a source of much palace history. In addition to books on music, he also produced a list of the “Top Hundred Songs” for the caliph al-Wāthiq, a genre which Abū l-Faraj al-İsfahānī later developed on a much larger scale in his Book of Songs.

ʿIṣmah Khātūn (§§24, §26) (d. 536/1141–42) Daughter of Sultan Malik-Shāh and sister of Sultan Muḥhammad. She was married to the caliph al-Mustaẓhir and bore him a son, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, who died young. When al-Mustaẓhir died she returned to her native Isfahan where she famously endowed a Ḥanafī law college.

Jaʿfar (§§24.1, 25.1, 25.2) (d. 486/1093) Prince Abū l-Faḍl, son of the caliph al-Muqṭadi and Māh-i Mulk (§25), daughter of Sultan Malik-Shāh. He died at the age of five and was buried in the Ruşāfah Cemetery.

Jaʿfar ibn Yahyā ibn Khālid the Barmakid (§§6.1–6.3, 8.8.1–8.8.4) (d. 187/803) Son of the mentor and vizier of Hārūn al-Rashid. He was very close to Hārūn and was his chief aide until Hārūn imprisoned and executed him in obscure circumstances. The change in fortune and subsequent downfall
of the Barmakid family is often attributed to Ja’far’s supposed marriage to ʿAbbāsah, al-Rashid’s sister.

*Jamāl al-Dīn Baklak al-Nāṣirī* (§30.1) (d. 635/1237) Royal slave soldier and commander. He was married to Khatā Khātūn, who raised Shāhān (§30).

*Khallāfah* (§20) (fl. late third/ninth c.) Dependent of the caliph al-Mu’tamid; she bore him a son. She had a learned slave of her own called Munyah the Scribe.

*Khamrah* (§23) (d. 378/988) Mother of the caliph al-Muqtadir’s son ʿĪsā, remembered for her piety and generosity.

*Khatā Khātūn* (§§30.1, 30.4.1, 30.4.2) (fl. seventh/thirteenth c.) Daughter of the commander Sunqur al-Nāṣirī the Tall and a Turkic slave by the name of Qaṭr al-Nadā; wife of the commander Jamāl al-Dīn Baklak al-Nāṣirī. She raised and educated Shāhān (§30), whom she presented to the caliph al-Mustanṣir. She resided in what was once the palace of Banafshā (§27).

*Khātūn* (§24 and §26) See ʿIṣmah Khātūn.

*Khātūn al-Safariyyah* (§37) (d. 466/1073–74) Concubine of Sultan Malik-Shāh and the mother of his sons, Muḥammad and Sanjar.

*al-Khayzurān* (§37.4) (d. 173/789) Slave of Yemeni origin who was freed and married to the caliph al-Mahdī. She was the mother of the caliphs Mūsā al-Hādī and Hārūn al-Rashid and of a daughter, al-Banūqah.

*Khumārawayh* (§22) (r. 270–82/884–96) Second Tulunid ruler of Egypt and Syria, whose relations with the Abbasid regent al-Muwaffaq were strained. He offered his daughter Qaṭr al-Nadā (§22) to the caliph al-Mu’taḍid’s son ʿAlī, but al-Muṭaḍid married her himself. Khumārawayh was a patron of scholarship and the arts.

*Kisrā* (§8.3.4, n. 45) Persian Khusraw, applied to monarchs of the royal family of the Sassanids, who ruled Persia before the Arab Muslim conquests.

*Māh-i Mulk* (§25) (d. ca. 484/1091) Daughter of Sultan Malik-Shāh and Terken Khātūn (§38); wife of al-Muqtādī and mother of their son Jaʿfar, who died young. She is also referred to in sources as Muh Malak and Malik Khātūn.

*Maḥbūbah* (§15) (fl. second half of the third/ninth c.) Slave of the caliph al-Mutawakkil, described as one of the foremost singers and poets of her generation. When al-Mutawakkil died she became the property of Waṣīf, whom she angered, whereupon Bughā asked for her and freed her.
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al-Mahdī (§§4, 37.4) (r. 775–85) Third Abbasid caliph, the father of two future caliphs, al-Hādī and Hārūn al-Rashīd, whose mother was his wife and former slave al-Khayzurān; of ʿIbrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī, whose mother was his slave and wife Shiklah; and of ʿAbbāsah, who was married to Jaʿfar the Barmakid.

Maḥmūd (§§37.3, 38) The son of Sultan Malik-Shāh and Terken Khātūn (§38). When Malik-Shāh died, Maḥmūd was only four years old and was Sultan (r. 485–87/1092–94) under the regency of his mother. He and his mother were soon killed by other claimants.

Malik-Shāh (§§24, 25, 25.2, 37.1, 37.4, 38) (r. 465–85/1072–92) Saljūq Sultan, the son of Alp Arslān. During his reign the Saljūq empire reached its greatest extent. He is praised in the sources as a noble and generous ruler. His wife Terken Khātūn (§38) bore him Māh-i Mulk (§25), who married the caliph al-Muqtaḍī. His daughter ʿIṣmah Khātūn (§24, 26) was married to the caliph al-Mustaẓhir. His concubine Khātūn al-Safariyyah (§37) was the mother of his successors, Muḥammad and Sanjar.

al-Maʾmūn (ʿAbd Allāh) (§§6, 6.1, 6.6, 7, 8, 8.2–8.6, 8.8.2, 8.8.4, 8.9, 8.10, 9) (r. 197–218/813–33) Seventh Abbasid caliph, the oldest son of Hārūn al-Rashīd. His mother, Marājil, a Persian concubine from Khurasan, died when he was young and he was raised by his stepmother Zubaydah, the mother of his brother and rival al-Amīn. He married Būrān (§8), the daughter of his general al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl. His slaves included ʿArīb (§6) and Muʾnisah (§9). He was both a soldier and an intellectual.

al-Manṣūr (§1) (r. 136–58/754–75) Second Abbasid caliph and brother of the first caliph, al-Saffāḥ; both were children of Sallāmah, a Berber slave from North Africa. He was the founder of the new Abbasid capital, Baghdad. He married Ḥammādah (§1), daughter of his uncle, ʿĪsā.

Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣah (§3.5) (d. ca. 181/797) Famous and accomplished oratorical poet from a family of poets originally from Yamāmah, as was ʿInān (§3), in whose entry he is mentioned.

Masʿūd (§§29, 39) (r. 529–47/1134–52) Saljūq sultan, grandson of Sultan Malik-Shāh.

Maẓlūmah (§4) Slave belonging to ʿAbbāsah; Ghaḍīḍ (§4) transmitted material from her.

Muʿayyad al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad ibn al-ʿAlqamī (§33) (d. 656/1258) Majordomo (ustādh-dār) of the Caliphal Palace at the time of the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim’s accession, and subsequently his vizier.
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Muḥammad (§§37.1, 37.4) (498–511/1105–18) Saljūq sultan, son of Sultan Malik-Shāh with Khātūn al-Safariyyah (§37).

Muḥammad ibn al-Faraj al-Rukhkhajī (§§13.2.2, 13.3) (fl. early third/ninth c.) The son of Faraj al-Rukhkhajī and the brother of ʿUmar al-Rukhkhajī, he purchased Faḍl the Poetess (§13) and offered her to al-Mutawakkil. Both Faraj and ʿUmar were prominent state secretaries under al-Maʾmūn and subsequent caliphs.


Mukhfarānah (§19.3) (fl. third/ninth c.) A mukhannath (cross-dresser or lady-boy) who owned Nabt (§19) before al-Muʿtamid purchased her.

Muʿnis ibn ʿImrān (§8.8.2) (fl. late second/early ninth c.) Companion of Jaʿfar the Barmakid.

Muʿnisah (§9) (fl. early third/early ninth c.) Byzantine slave and one of al-Maʾmūn’s favored concubines.

Munyah (al-Kātibah) (§20) (fl. late third/late ninth c.) Slave belonging to Khallāfah (§20), the concubine of al-Muʿtamid. Munyah was a scribe and has an entry in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī’s biographical work History of Baghdad.

al-Muqtadī bi-Amr Allāh (§§24.1, 25.1) (r. 467–78/1075–94) Twenty-seventh Abbasid caliph. He tried to reconcile opposing Sunni factions in Baghdad, expelled the vizieral Jahīr family, and attempted to control Saljūq influence on the caliphate. To that end he married Māh-i Mulk (§25), the daughter of Sultan Malik-Shāh.


al-Mustanṣir bi-llāh (§§30, 30.1, 30.4.1, 30.4.2) (r. 623–40/1226–42) Thirty-sixth Abbasid caliph, eldest son of the caliph al-Zāhir and a Turkic slave. He founded the Mustanṣirīyyah law college and patronized other buildings and institutions; the Mustanṣirīyyah survived the Mongol invasions and has recently been restored. Khatā Khātūn presented him with the
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Byzantine slave Shāhān (§30), whom she had raised and trained. A work on al-Mustanshir’s caliphate by Ibn al-Sā‘i does not survive.


al-Musta‘zhir bi-llāh (§§24.1, 24.2, 26) (r. 487–512/1094–1118) Twenty-eighth Abbasid caliph, whose rule coincided with the early Crusades. He played the role of peacemaker among the warring Saljuqs and married ‘Iṣmah Khātūn (§24), the daughter of Sultan Malik-Shāh and sister of Sultan Muḥammad.


al-Mu‘tasim bi-llāh (§§10, 10.1, 10.2) (r. 218–27/833–42) Eighth Abbasid caliph, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd and the slave Māridah.

al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh (§§12.1, 13, 13.2.2, 13.3–13.5, 13.10, 14, 14.2, 15, 15.2–15.6, 16, 17, 18, 18.3, 21.1) (r. 232–47/847–61) Tenth Abbasid caliph, son of the caliph al-Mu‘tasim and Shujā‘, a Khwārazmī slave, he was a patron of poets and musicians. He replaced the old administrators and Turkic military governors with his favorites, such as al-Fatḥ ibn Khāqān, and with his own sons. One son, al-Muntaṣir, conspired with the disgruntled Turkic guard and assassinated him.

al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh (§§8.12, 12.1–12.3, 21.1) Regent and virtual caliph (256–78/870–92) during the caliphate of his brother al-Mu‘tamid. He was the son of al-Mutawakkil and the slave Ishāq (§12), who died in the year that he finally crushed the Zanj slave rebellion. The slave Dirār (§21) bore him the future caliph al-Mu‘taḍid.

Nabt (§19) (fl. third/ninth c.) A slave belonging to Mukhfarānah the Ladyboy, subsequently purchased by al-Mu‘tamid. She was an accomplished poet and singer.

Nāshib al-Mutawakkiyyah (§16) Slave in the household of the caliph al-Mutawakkil, renowned for her singing.
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al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (§§27.4, 29, 29.1, 29.2.2, 30.4.2) (r. 575–622/1180–1225) Thirty-fourth Abbasid caliph, son of the caliph al-Mustaḍī’ and Zumurrud Khātūn, a Turkic slave. He is credited with restoring power and sovereignty to the caliphate and with reform. He was married to Saljūqī Khātūn (§29), the daughter of Qilij Arslān, and was very attached to her.


Nuṣrah (§9) (fl. third/ninth c.) Eunuch of al-Maʾmūn’s vizier, Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf.

Qabīḥah (§15.4) (d. 254/868) Byzantine slave of the caliph al-Mutawakkil, renowned for her poetry and also her beauty, hence her apotropaic nickname Qabīḥah, “Ugly.” Al-Mutawakkil’s favorite concubine, she bore him two sons, the future caliph al-Muṭazz and the Abbasid prince Ismāʿīl.

Qabīḥah (§34) (fl. late third/ninth c.) Dependent in the household of al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Ḥasan, vizier to the caliph al-Muqtadir. She is the source for some of the verse of Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan ibn al-ʿAllāf.

Qaṭr al-Nadā (§22) (d. 287/900) Daughter of Khumārawayh and wife of the caliph al-Muṭaddīd.


Qurrat al-ʿAyn (§10) (fl. third/ninth c.) Slave and favorite of the caliph al-Muṭaddīd.


Sabians (§7.2) The Sabians of Harran followed an old Semitic polytheistic religion, with strong Hellenistic influences. By claiming to be the monotheistic Şabiʿūn mentioned in the Qur’an, they avoided religious persecution.

Saʿīd ibn Ḥumayd (§§13.6, 13.7) (d. ca. 250/864) A member of a noble Persian family, he was an accomplished prose stylist and headed the chancery under the caliph al-Mustaʿīn. He and Faḍl al-Shaʿirah (§13.6) were lovers.

Saljūqī Khātūn (§29) (d. 584/1188) Saljūq princess and beloved wife of the caliph al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh, who died two years after their marriage. She was also known as al-Akhlāṭiyyah, i.e. of Akhlāṭ, a town at the northwest corner of Lake Van.
Glossary of Names

Sanjar (§§37.1, 37.4) Saljuq ruler (r. 490–511/1097–1118), then sultan (r. 511–52/1118–57), son of Sultan Malik-Shah and his concubine Khâtûn al-Safariyyah (§37).

Sarirah (§36) (d. 348/959) Slave of Ibn Râ‘iq whom he purchased from Ibn Ḥamdûn. When Ibn Râ‘iq died, the Hamdanid Abû ‘Abd Allâh al-Ḥusayn ibn Sa‘îd married her.

Shâhân (§30) (d. 652/1254–55) Byzantine slave belonging to Khatâ Khâtûn, who trained her and later presented her to the caliph al-Mustanṣîr. She enjoyed the caliph’s highest favor, held her own court, and engaged in many acts of patronage and piety.

Shâh-i Áfrîd (§37.4) (fl. second/eighth c.) Granddaughter of Yazdagird III, wife of the Umayyad caliph al-Walîd and mother of his sons, Yazîd and Ibrâhîm, both of whom became caliphs.

Sharaf Khâtûn al-Turkiyyah (§28) (d. 608/1211) Manumitted slave of the caliph al-Mustaḍî and mother of their son, Abû Manṣûr, whom she outlived.

Shâriyah (§15.3) (fl. third/ninth c.) Singer from Basra who was bought and trained by Ibrâhîm ibn al-Mahdî and who then herself had many students. She was a proponent of Ibrâhîm’s style, unlike ‘Arîb (§6), who favored the classical style of Isḥâq al-Mawṣîlî.

al-Sindi ibn al-Ḥarashî (§11) (fl. late second/eighth to early third/ninth c.) Husband of Farîdah al-Aminîyyah (§11). Like his uncle ‘Abd Allâh ibn Sa‘îd the governor of Wâsiṭ, al-Sindi was a supporter of al-Âmîn before joining al-Ma‘mûn.

Sitt al-Nisâʾ (§35) (fl. fourth/tenth c.) Daughter of Tûlûn the Turk, and a wealthy and prodigal woman whose fortunes turned.


Sunqur al-Nâsirî the Tall (§30.1) (fl. late sixth/twelfth to early seventh/thirteenth c.) Turkic royal slave soldier and commander. He was the father of Khâtûn Khâtûn, the woman who raised and trained Shâhân (§30).

Tûlûn the Turk (§35) (fl. fourth/tenth c.) Father of Sitt al-Nisâʾ (§35).

‘Umar ibn al-Faraj al-Rukhkhajî (§13.2.2) (fl. early third/ninth c.) The brother of Muḥammad, both of them sons of al-Faraj al-Rukhkhajî. ‘Umar and his father were prominent state secretaries under al-Ma‘mûn. ‘Umar was one of the officials who purchased the land for the construction of the palatine city of Samarra.
Glossary of Names

**Umayyads** (§8.2)  Dynasty of caliphs who ruled the Islamic empire, principally from their capital Damascus, from 41/661 to 132/750, when they were overthrown by the Abbasids.

**al-Walid ibn ‘Abd al-Malik** (§37.4)  (r. 86–96/705–15) Sixth caliph of the Umayyad dynasty.

**Walladah bint al-‘Abbās** (§37.4)  (fl. first/seventh to second/eighth c.)  High-born woman of Arabia, from the Qays tribe. She bore the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik two sons, al-Walid and Sulaymān, both of whom became caliph.

**Waṣīf** (§§7.3, 7.4)  (d. 288/901) Turkic eunuch and general belonging to Muḥammad Ibn Abī l-Sāj, an Eastern Iranian noble. He was captured by the caliph al-Muṭaḍid.

**Waṣīf** (§15.6)  (d. 253/867) Turkic eunuch and military slave of al-Muṭaṣīm, and a general in the Abbasid army. He served as chamberlain to the caliphs al-Muṭaṣīm, al-Wāṭiq, and also al-Mutawakkil, whom he betrayed.

**al-Wāṭiq** (§§6.7, 18.3)  (r. 227–32/842–47) Ninth Abbasid caliph, son of al-Muṭaṣīm and a Byzantine slave, Qarāṭīs. Although Farīdah (§18) belonged to the singer ʿAmr ibn Bānah, she lived with al-Wāṭiq, who kept her as a concubine and favorite. He was also infatuated with one of her slaves.

**Yahyā ibn Khālid the Barmakid** (§§5, 6.1, 6.3)  (d. 190/805) The most powerful of the Barmakids, father of al-Faḍl ibn Yahyā and Jaʿfar ibn Yahyā and foster father, mentor, and tutor to the future caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. He was briefly imprisoned under the caliph al-Hādī, but as soon as Hārūn al-Rashīd came to power he made him his vizier. Yahyā sponsored and patronized the translations of works from Sanskrit and Middle Persian into Arabic. Abān al-Lāhiqī’s versifications were apparently done at his behest.

**Yāsir** (§9)  (fl. third/ninth c.)  Eunuch in al-Maʾmūn’s service.

**Yazid ibn al-Walid** (§37.4)  (r. 126/744) Twelfth caliph of the Umayyad dynasty. He overthrew his predecessor but ruled only six months.

**al-Ẓāhir bi-Amr Allāh** (§§32, 33)  (r. 622–23/1225–26) Thirty-fifth Abbasid caliph, remembered as just and pious; he ruled only nine months.

**Zubaydah** (§8.2)  (d. 216/831) Her real name was Amat al-ʿAzīz bint Jaʿfar. She was the granddaughter of the caliph al-Manṣūr (who nicknamed her “little butter-ball,” zubaydah), wife of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, and mother of the caliph al-Amin. A religious woman, she performed many pious and
charitable acts including the provisioning of pilgrims and the building of wells on the road to Mecca, which became known as Zubaydah’s Road (Darb Zubaydah) (see Map 1). There was also a leasehold in north Baghdad named for her (see Map 2).

**Zubaydah** (§39)  (d. 532/1137–38) Zubaydah Khātūn, daughter of the Saljūq sultan Berkyaruq and wife of the Saljūq sultan Maš'ūd, the grandson of Malik-Shāh.

**Zumurrud Khātūn** (n. 98)  (d. 599/1203) Turkic slave and mother of the caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh. She was pious, charitable, and politically active. She strongly supported the Ḥanbali legal school and endowed a law college for them. She had her own mausoleum built during her lifetime.

**Unnamed Characters**

**Female servant** (§6.7)  belonging to Farīdah (the younger); the caliph al-Wāthiq was infatuated with her.

**Grandmother of Būrān** (§8.2).

**Mother of Khātūn al-Safariyyah** (§37.2).

**Authorities Cited by Ibn al-Sā‘ī**

Note: All the individuals are from Baghdad or based there unless otherwise noted.

**Authors of Written Works Cited by Ibn al-Sā‘ī**

**Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī** (§§6.3, 8.1, 8.4, 11, 18.1)  (d. 335/946) Muḥammad ibn Y aḥyā, a leading literary scholar, author, anthologist, chess master, and court companion of several caliphs. Al-Muqtadir appointed him tutor to his sons, including the future caliph al-Rāḍī. His surviving works provide a great deal of information about poetry and the court. Ibn al-Sā‘ī cites him without specifying the work.

**Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī** (§§3.2, 3.5–3.9, 3.11, 6.4, 6.5, 7.1, 7.3, 7.4, 13.2.1, 13.3–13.7, 14.1, 14.2, 15.2–15.6, 18.2, 19.1, 19.3)  (d. ca. 360/971) ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn, important litterateur and anthologist whose works rely on his considerable knowledge of both poetry and music and on a wide network of literary and scholarly contacts. The monumental *Book of Songs* (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*), compiled over fifty years, and the slim *Slave Poetesses*
Glossary of Names

(al-Imāʾ al-shawāʿir) are important sources for *Consorts of the Caliphs*, though Ibn al-Sāʾī mentions only the former by name.

**Abū Tāhir al-Karkhī** (§17) (d. 479/1086–87) Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan, scholar of Hadith known for his piety and author of a history that does not survive.

**Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin** (§§8.7, 23.2) (d. 448/1056) State secretary, author, and historian belonging to a family of Sabian scholars and secretaries. His works include a general history, a history of viziers, and *Rules of the Abbasid Court* (*Rusūm dār al-khilāfah*), a volume on administrative matters and protocol at the Abbasid court. Ibn al-Sāʾī quotes his *History*.

**Ibn Abī Tāhir** (§§8.11, 13.3, 19.3, 21.2) (d. 280/893) Aḥmad, bookman, author, literary critic, and anthologist of Persian origin. His history of Baghdad (*Kitāb Baghdād*) was mined by al-Ṭabarī and other historians, including Ibn al-Sāʾī in *Consorts of the Caliphs*; only one volume is extant.

**Ibn al-Jawzī** (§29.3) (d. 597/1200) Abū l-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAlī, major Ḥanbalī jurist, theologian, exegete, historian, preacher, and prolific author, particularly influential during the caliphate of al-Mustaḍīʾ (r. 566–74/1171–79), when he was in charge of several madrasahs during the period of the so-called “Sunni revival.” His *Muntaẓam*, an eighteen-volume history (in the published edition) covering the creation of Adam to 574/1178, survives, though Ibn al-Sāʾī quotes from a nonextant part.

**Jaʿfar ibn Qudāmah** (§§2.1.1, 3.8, 3.9, 6.6, 13.4, 13.6, 14.2, 15.3–15.5, 19.3) (d. 319/931) State secretary and litterateur who belonged to the circle of Ibn al-Muʿtazz. He is cited by Abū l-Faraj al-Īṣfahānī and described by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī as a learned scholar and author. None of his works survive.

**al-Jahshiyārī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh** (§§8.3.3, 8.6) (d. 331/942) Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdūs, politically active scholar. He is known principally for his *Book of Viziers and State Secretaries* (*Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ wa-l-kuttāb*), of which the one surviving volume shows him to be interested in intellectual and literary matters as well. Ibn al-Sāʾī cites a passage from a nonextant part.

**Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Thābit al-** (§20) (d. 463/1071) Hadith scholar, preacher, theologian, and author, notably of *The History of Baghdad* (*Tārīkh Baghdād*), an encyclopedia of several thousand scholars who lived in Baghdad or passed through it.

**Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ** (§§13.2.2, 13.10) (d. 296/908) Important state secretary and administrator under several Abbasid caliphs; highly
regarded litterateur and anthologist. His book on poets, *The Folio (al-Waraqah)*, is extant, but a work on viziers exists only in fragments.


**al-Ṭabarī (§§4, 22.3)** (d. 310/923) Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr, polymath originally from Ṭabaristān. His vast Qurʾan commentary and his monumental universal history, *The History of Prophets and Kings (Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulāk)*, are important in themselves as well as for the numerous lost works they cite.

**Thābit ibn Sinān (§§7.2, 7.6, 36)** (d. 365/975) Physician and scientist from a family of Sabian physicians originally from Harran, author of a highly regarded history of Baghdad covering the years 295–362/908–74. This *History (Tārīkh)* is a continuation of al-Ṭabarī’s and was itself continued by Thābit’s nephew, Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin.

**ʿUbayd Allāh son of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir (§§6.8, 8.7, 12.2)** (d. 313/925) Author of a history of Baghdad, of which only extracts survive, a continuation of his father’s *Book of Baghdad (Kitāb Baghdād)*, a political, literary, and cultural history of the city. ʿUbayd Allāh was friendly with members of the Munajjim family of courtiers and litterateurs.

**Ẓafar ibn al-Dāʿī al-ʿAlawī (§35.2)** (fl. fifth/eleventh c.) Son of a prominent ʿAlawī missionary, and jurist who studied with al-Karājikī. He wrote a work titled *Amālī (Dictations)*.

**Individuals Appearing in Lines of Transmission**

Note: An asterisk (*) before a name means that Ibn al-Sāʿi had direct personal contact with that individual.

**al-ʿAbbās ibn Rustam.** See Characters.

**ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Saʿd (§3.7)** (d. 274/887) Cites Masʿūd ibn ʿĪsā for an anecdote about ʿInān (§3).

**ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Sahl (§8.4)** (fl. third/ninth c.) Cited by ʿAwn ibn Muḥammad for an anecdote about Būrān (§8).

**ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (§1)** (fl. sixth/twelfth c.) Transmitter, son of a well-known Hadith scholar.
Glossary of Names

*ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Saʿd Allāh al-Daqīqī (§§6.4, 13.2.1, 14.2, 15.2, 19.3) (d. 615/1218) Prominent Hadith scholar and one of Ibn al-Sāʾī’s informants. He was known as al-Ṭaḥḥān as well as al-Daqīqī, both of which mean “Flour Seller” (which may have been his or his father’s profession), and as al-Wāsiṭī, “of Wāsiṭ.”

*ʿAbd al-Wāḥab ibn ʿAlī (§§1, 6.2) (d. 607/1210) Abū Aḥmad al-Amīn, highly respected and learned religious scholar, also known as Ibn Sukaynah. “al-Amīn” means trustee (lit. trustworthy), i.e. an individual to whom judges would entrust the property of orphans and minors as well as property that was in dispute during legal proceedings.

ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Muḥammad (§8.3.3) (fl. fourth/tenth c.) Informant of al-Jahshiyārī and Muḥammad ibn ʿImrān al-Marzubānī; he transmitted from Maymūn ibn Hārūn.

Ibn Ḥamdūn, (§§8.6, 19.2, 36) (fl. third/ninth c.) Abū ʿAbd Allāh, member of the Ḥamdūn family of caliphal court companions. See also Ibn Ḥamdūn in Characters.

Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Marwazī (§13.5) (fl. third/ninth c.) Cited by Muḥammad ibn Khalaf for an anecdote about Faḍl al-Shāʿirah (§13.5).

*Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī (§§16.2, 31.2, 34.2, 35.2) (d. 643/1245) Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd, historian, Hadith scholar, and director of the Muṣtansiriyyah Law College in Baghdad; also known as Ibn al-Najjār. His numerous works include a continuation of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī’s History of Baghdad (Tārikh Baghdād).

Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥanbalī (§35.2) (d. 610/1213–14) Ḥanbalī jurist in Isfahan, with whom Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī studied.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Maʿallā (§§34.1–34.3) (fl. late third/ninth c.) Author of several works, including one titled Dictations (Amālī). He was also known as al-Azdī (“of Azd”) and al-Baṣrī (“of Basra”).

Abū ʿAlī al-ʿAzdī (§8.8.2) (fl. fourth/tenth) Cited by al-Māwardī for an anecdote about Jaʿfar the Barmakid (§8.8.2).

Abū ʿAlī al-Bardānī (§22.2) (d. 498/1105) Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, leading Ḥanbalī Hadith scholar.


Abū ʿAlī ibn Mahdī (§23.1) (fl. fourth/tenth c.) Transmitter of an anecdote reported by al-Muqtadīr’s grandson about Khamrah (§23).
Glossary of Names

Abū ʿAlī al-Kawkabī (§8.5) (d. 327/939) al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Qāsim, litterateur and transmitter who reported from Abū l-Faḍl al-Rabaʿī, Abū l-ʿAynāʾ and others.

Abū ʿAlī al-Naṭṭāḥah See Characters.


Abū l-ʿAynāʾ See Characters.


Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan ibn al-ʿAllāf (§§34.1, 34.3) (d. 318/930) Poet and scholar of poetry. He was an intimate of the caliph Ibn al-Muʿtazz, to the extent that a poem lamenting the death of his cat was thought by many to be an elegy on the caliph.


Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Anbārī (§6.2) (d. 328/940) Accomplished philologist, author of linguistic treatises, and teacher, known as Ibn al-Anbārī. His transmissions are quoted by Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī in the Book of Songs (Kitāb al-Aghānī).

Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī See Authors.

Abū l-Faḍl al-Rabaʿī (§8.5) (fl. third/ninth c.) Transmitter cited by Abū ʿAlī al-Kawkabī for an anecdote about Būrān (§8.5).

Abū l-Faḍl Zayd ibn ʿAlī al-Rāzī (§31.2) (fl. fourth/tenth c.) Judge cited by Abū Naṣr al-Shīrāzī for an anecdote about Dawlah (§31).

Abū l-Faraj al-Ḥarrānī (§23.1) (d. 476/1083) ʿAbd Allāh, cites Abū ʿAlī ibn Mahdī for an anecdote about Khamrah (§23).

Abū l-Faraj al-Muʿāfā ibn Zakariyyāʾ al-Jarīrī (§16.2) (d. 390/1000) Judge; highly regarded scholar of jurisprudence, grammar, and other disciplines; follower of al-Ṭabarī’s Jarīrī school of legal thought; and prolific author. His surviving work, a literary anthology designed to cheer and uplift, The Good and Sufficient Companion and Consoling Counsellor (al-Jalis al-ṣāliḥ al-kāfī wa-l-anīs al-nāṣīḥ al-shāfī), draws on a wide circle of informants.
Glossary of Names

Abū Ghālib al-Karkhī (§10.2) (d. 525/1131) Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Bāqī, cited by Abū Bakr al-Ḥanbalī for an anecdote about Qurrat al-ʿAyn (§10). His reputation as a reliable transmitter was questioned by some.

Abū Ghālib Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad (§22.2) (fl. fifth/eleventh c.) Brother of Abū ‘Alī al-Bardānī, who cites him for an anecdote about Qaṭr al-Nadā (§22).


Abū l-Ḥasan al-Māwardī, ʿAlī (ibn Muḥammad) al-Baṣrī (§§8.8.2, 34.2, 34.3) (d. 450/1058) Renowned Shāfiʿī jurist who held high office under several caliphs and author of numerous important treatises on law, government, and philology.


Abū Hāshim (§6.2) (fl. fourth/tenth c.) Cites Maymūn ibn Hārūn for an anecdote about ‘Arib (§6).


Abū ʿAlī al-Qāsim al-ʿArīb (§6.4, 13.2.1, 14.2, 15.2, 19.3) (fl. sixth/twelfth c.) Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, transmitter of hadiths and literary-historical material and member of a family of Hadith scholars.

Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn (Aḥmad) al-Khashshāb (§34.3) (d. 567/1172) Wide-ranging scholar, chiefly remembered as a grammarian.

Abū Muḥammad al-Anbārī (§6.2; n. 24) (d. ca. 304/916) Al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad, philologist, father of the equally prominent philologist Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Anbārī.

Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, son of ʿĪsā (§23.1) See Characters.

Abū Muḥammad al-Junābidhī (§10.2) (d. 611/1214) ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Abī Naṣr, scholar, also known as Ibn al-Akḥār, who counted among his students the scholar and manumitted slave Yāqūt, whose encyclopedic dictionary of literary geography and bio-bibliographical dictionary are indispensable sources for scholars.


Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Faḍl al-Iṣfahānī (§34.2) (fl. sixth/twelfth c.) Cites Abū l-Qāsim al-Raḥāʾī for an anecdote about Qabiḥah (§34).

*Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (§8.8.2) (d. 630/1233) Son of the prominent author, historian, preacher, and public figure Ibn al-Jawzī, and one of Ibn al-Sā‘ī’s informants.

*Abū l-Qāsim al-Azajī (§31.2) (d. 593/1196–97) ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAlī, one of Ibn al-Sā‘ī’s teachers. “Azajī” refers to the Azaj Gate (Bāb al-Azaj), where there were several law colleges and many gatherings of legal scholars.

Abū l-Qāsim ibn al-Samarqandī (§§6.4, 13.2.1, 14.2, 15.2, 19.3) (d. 536/1142) Ismāʾīl ibn Ahmad, preeminent Hadith scholar, originally from Damascus.

Abū l-Qāsim al-Rabaʿī, ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (§§8.8.2, 34.2) Important transmitter who studied with the great scholars of his day and was the teacher of a great many others.

Abū l-Rajāʾ Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Kisāʾī (§31.2) (fl. sixth/twelfth c.) Cited by Abū l-Qāsim al-Azajī for an anecdote about Dawlah (§31.2).

Abū Sahī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Qaṭṭān (§1) (d. 359/969–70) Learned scholar of Hadith; also transmitter of poetry and literary material, notably from the grammarians al-Mubarrad and Thaʿlab. “Al-Qaṭṭān,” “the Cotton Carder,” may refer to his profession or that of a forebear.

Abū l-Ṭ ayyib Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Yaḥyā al-Waṣṣāʾ (§20) (d. 325/937) Grammarian and litterateur, tutor to the slave Munyah the Scribe. His Brocade (Kitāb al-Muwashšā) is a book of prose and poetry on refined behavior, elegant lifestyle, and chaste love.

Abū Yaʿlā Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-ʿAdl (§16.2) (d. 438/1047) Scholar of Hadith. The profession “al-ʿAdl” means “notary witness,” i.e. an individual on whom judges call to vouch for witnesses and for testimony.

Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhir See Ibn Abī Ṭāhir in Authors above.

Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥāfiẓ (§22.2) (fl. fourth/tenth c.) Cites al-Ḥasan ibn Abī Bakr for an anecdote about Hammādah (§1). The title “al-Ḥāfiẓ,” “master,” implies that he had mastered one or more disciplines or subjects.

Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl (§8.3.2) (fl. third/ninth c.) Son of al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl.

Aḥmad ibn Kāmil (§§10.1, 10.2, 16.1, 16.2) (d. 350/961) Abū Bakr ibn Khalaf ibn Shajarah, wide-ranging scholar and litterateur, appointed judge (qāḍī) in
Kufa. He was a sometime follower of al-Ṭabarī’s short-lived Jarīrī school of legal thought.

Aḥmad ibn Muʿāwiyah (§3.6)  (fl. third/ninth c.) Transmitter of material to ʿUmar ibn Shabbah.

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Islāmī (§16.2)  (d. 576/1180) Prominent Hadith scholar, known as al-Silāfī; originally from Isfahan, he settled in Egypt.

Aḥmad ibn al-Tayyib al-Sarakhī (§19.2)  (d. 286/899) Multifaceted scholar, accomplished and prolific author, and the most prominent disciple of the philosopher al-Kindī.

Aḥmad ibn ʿUbayd Allāh (ibn ʿAmmār) (§3.7)  (d. 314/926) Friend of the poet Ibn al-Rūmī and of the scholar Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd, who employed him. He later worked for the vizier al-Qāsim ibn ʿUbaydallāh.


ʿAlī ibn al-Jahm  See Characters.

ʿAlī ibn Sahl ibn Abān  See Characters.

ʿAlī ibn Shādān (§6.7)  (fl. early third/ninth c.) Abū l-Ḥasan, Baghdadi Hadith scholar, known also as al-Jawharī (“the jeweler”) and al-Kātib (“the state secretary”).

ʿAlī ibn Yahyā the Astromancer  See Characters.

ʿArafah  See Characters.

ʿArib al-Maʿmūniyyah  See Characters.

ʿAwn ibn Muḥammad (§8.4)  (fl. third/ninth c.) Al-Kindī, important informant for Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī.

Dḥākir ibn Kāmil al-Ḥadhdhāʾ (§34.2)  (d. 591/1195) Transmitter known for his quiet demeanor and considerable knowledge of traditions. The name al-Ḥadhdhāʾ suggests that he and/or his father was a shoemaker by profession.

al-Faḍl ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Hāshimī (§14.2)  (fl. third/ninth c.) Cited by Yahyā, the son of ʿAlī ibn Yahyā the astromancer, for an anecdote about Faḍl al-Shāʿirah (§13).

Ḥammād ibn Isḥāq (§6.4)  (fl. third/ninth c.) Courtier; son of the great musician Ishāq al-Mawṣili, whose books and songs he transmitted.

al-Ḥasan ibn Abī Bakr (§1)  (fl. fourth/tenth c.) Transmitter cited by Aḥmad ibn ʿAli for an anecdote about Ḥammādah (§1).
Hibat Allāh son of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī (§3.9)  (d. 275/888) Son of the Abbasid prince Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī.

Ibn Khurradādhbih (§15.3)  (d. ca. 300/912) ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿAbd Allāh, geographer and musicologist whose Book of Routes and Realms (Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik) is extant, as are fragments of a work on music and musical instruments (Kitāb al-Lahw wa-l-malāhī).

Ibn al-Muʿtazz  See Characters.


Ibn al-Sāʿī  (d. 674/1276) ʿAlī ibn Anjab al-Sāʿī, librarian at the Niẓāmiyyah and Muṣtansiriyyah Law Colleges in Baghdad, author of Consorts of the Caliphs and as many as a hundred other historical and literary-historical works, most of which survive only in quotations by later authors.

Ibrāhīm ibn al-ʿAbbās  See Characters.

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī  See Characters.

Ibrāhīm ibn Makhlad (§10.2)  (d. 410/1020) Important transmitter, cited by ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Azharī for an anecdote about Qurrat al-ʿAyn (§10).

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mudabbir  See Characters.

Ibrāhīm ibn ʿUmar al-Barmakī (§6.2)  (d. 445/1053) Hadith scholar. His surname comes from the village of al-Barmakiyyah in Iraq where his family lived.

ʿĪsā ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Lakhmī (§16.2)  (d. 629/1231) Alexandrian informant of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī. He was principally a scholar of Qurʾan recitation.

Ibrāhīm ibn al-MAwṣuli See Characters.

Jahzah (§§3.9, 6.5)  (d. 324/936) Aḥmad ibn Jaʿfar, descendant of the Barmağids. He was a musician, poet, and wit who kept company with Ibn al-Muʿtazz and Ibn Rāʾiq. He wrote books on food and music and reportedly also wrote a work about the caliph al-Muʿtamid.

al-Jammāz (§§3.10, 8.8.2) (d. mid-third/mid-ninth c.) Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAmr, satirical poet and friend of Abū Nuwās. He did not gain favor at court, though late in life he is said to have been summoned by al-Mutawakkil.

al-Jawhari (§3.6)  (d. 323/935) Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Basran scholar and the most significant transmitter of material from ʿUmar ibn
Glossary of Names


Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣah See Characters.

Masʿūd ibn ʿĪsā (§3.7) (fl. late third/ninth c.) Cited by ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Saʿd for an anecdote about ʿInān (§3). He was also known as al-ʿAbdī.

Maymūn ibn Hārūn (§6.2) (d. 297/910) State secretary, litterateur, and one of Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī’s informants for the Book of Songs (Kitāb al-Aghānī).

al-Mubārak ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Ṣayrafī (§§6.2, 16.2, 34.3) (d. 500/1107) Baghdadi scholar, known also as Ibn al-Ṭuyūrī.

* Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Hāshimi (§34.3) (d. 640/1242–43) Transmitter and Hadith scholar. He was a descendant of the caliph al-Mutawakkil; he was also known as Ibn Shufnayn.


Muḥammad ibn Mazyad (§6.4) (d. 325/937) Author and transmitter of literary and historical material. He was the secretary of the famous grammarian and philologist al-Mubarrad. He was also known as Ibn Abī l-Azhar.

Mūsā ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Tamīmī (§3.7) (fl. third/ninth c.) Cited by Masʿūd ibn ʿĪsā for an anecdote about ʿInān (§3).

al-Muẓaffar ibn Yāḥyā al-Sharābī (§7.5) (d. 348/959) Scholar and transmitter who counted among his students Muḥammad ibn ʿImrān al-Marzubānī. His grandfather “al-Sharābī” was cupbearer to the caliph al-Mutawakkil.

Saʿīd ibn Ḥumayd See Characters.

Thaʿlab (§1) (d. 291/904) Abū l-ʿAbbās Ahmad ibn Yāḥyā, famous grammarian and philologist, court tutor, and author of numerous classic works, some of which are extant.

ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Azharī (§10.2) (d. 435/1043) Prolific transmitter.

ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Bazzāz al-Anbārī (§20) (fl. fourth/tenth c.) Authority who transmitted from the female slave, Munyah the Scribe.

ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-ʿUkbarī (§6.2) (d. 387/997) Pious Hadith scholar, known also as Ibn Baṭṭah, whose Ḥanbalī activism led the caliph al-Rāḍī to condemn Ḥanbalism.
Glossary of Names

ʿUmar ibn Shabbah (§3.6) (d. 262/878) Authority on poets, literary material, and historical events; author of numerous books, including a lost History of Medina (Tārīkh Madīnah). Material transmitted by his students, notably al-Jawhari, is quoted extensively by Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Jahshiyāri and others.

Yahyā ibn ʿAlī (§§6.4, 14.2) (d. 300/912?) Abū Aḥmad Yahyā ibn ʿAlī ibn Yahyā, scion of a prominent family of courtiers, astrologers, caliphal companions, and men of learning active in the Abbadid court for two centuries, who bore the surname Ibn al-Munajjim after an ancestor who had served as a court astrologer. Yahyā was an accomplished poet, music theorist, philosophical theologian, and literary historian. He taught Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī and is widely quoted by Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī.
Glossary of Places

Note: Paragraph references are provided only for those places specifically mentioned by Ibn al-Sā’ī.

**Alexandria**  A city in northern Egypt, on the Mediterranean (see Map 1).

**al-Anbār** (§6.7)  A town on the left bank of the Euphrates, about 60 kilometers east of Baghdad (see Map 1).

**Armorers’ Archway** (§8.9)  (‘Aqd al-Zarrādīn)  An archway on the Road of the Two Archways, which ran north and parallel to the Mu’allā Canal in the area north of the caliphal palaces on the East Bank (see Map 4).

**Artificer’s Archway** (§8.9)  (‘Aqd al-Muṣṭaniʿ)  An archway on the Road of the Two Archways, which ran north and parallel to the Mu’allā Canal in the area north of the caliphal palaces on the East Bank (see Map 4).

**ʿAyn Zarbah**  Anatolian town (modern-day Misis/Yakapınar) near Adana, where Waṣīf the Eunuch was captured by al-Muʿtādī (see Map 1).

**Azaj Gate**  A gateway in the later city of Baghdad that opened to the south. It was the site of numerous law colleges (see Map 4).

**Azerbaijan** (§8.9)  (Ādharbayjān)  A province of Iran, in the Caucasus, to the west and southwest of the Caspian Sea (see Map 4).

**Baghdad**  The city founded by the caliph al-Manṣūr as the new Abbasid capital in 145/762. Construction was completed in 149/766. The fortified Round City he called Madīnat al-Salām, “City of Peace.” The caliph al-Mustaʿṣim surrendered the city to the Mongols in 656/1258—during the lifetime of the author of *Consorts of the Caliphs* (see Maps 1–4).

**Bakers’ Market** (§27.2)  (Sūq al-Khabbāzīn)  Located in the northern part of later Baghdad. It was near this market and the Iron Archway that Banafshā had a mosque built (see Map 4).

**Balkh**  An important ancient city, the center of Buddhism and Zoroastrianism. The Barmakids were originally from Balkh (see Map 1).

**Banafshā’s Palace** (§§27.2, 30.4.1)  Palace built for Banafshā by the caliph al-Mustaḍī’ in 569/1173–74. Shāhān also lived there (see Map 4).
Glossary of Places

Basra (§§13.2.1, 13.3) A port in southern Iraq and a major intellectual center (see Map 1).

Bīn Canal (§8.12) (Nahr Bīn or Nahrabīn) A transverse canal flowing west (from the Nahrawān Canal) to the Tigris. The construction and diversion of canals were a major factor in irrigation and in the supplying of water (see Maps 3, 4).

Bushrā Gate (§32) A gate on the western side of the Tāj Palace grounds (see Map 4).

Cairo (§16.2) City founded in Egypt by the Fatimids in 358/969 as their capital; subsequently one of the great metropolises and centers of commercial, cultural, and military activity (see Map 1).

Caliphal Palace (§§22.3, 24.1, 25.2, 27.2, 27.4) Magnificent palace begun by the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid in 289/902 and completed by his son al-Muktāfī. It was located south of the former Ḥasanī Palace, along the Tigris. It was known as the Tāj Palace and also the Great Palace (see Maps 3, 4).

Diyār Rabīʿah Province of northern Iraq (see Map 1).

Euphrates (al-Furāt) (§31.2) One of the two great rivers of Iraq, flowing from the mountains of southeastern Turkey. It lies to the west of Baghdad (see Map 1).

Fam al-Ṣilḥ (§§6.6, 8.2, 8.10) The point where the Tigris and Sillas divide, north of Wāsit; site of the estate of al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl (see Map 1).

Fārs (§8.3.1) The Arabic term for Persia (see Map 1).

Hamadhan (§8.9) (Hamadhān) A city in central Iran (see Map 1).

Ḥanbālī law college (§27.1) A madrasah founded by Banafshā on the site of her former palace, by the Azaj Gate (see Map 4).

Harran Town situated at the confluence of important caravan routes in northern Mesopotamia. Its intellectual and cultural importance was due in part to the school of Sabian translators based there (see Map 1).

Hārūnī Palace One of approximately twenty palaces built by al-Mutawakkil in Samarra, and the one where he spent most of his time.

Ḥasanī Palace (§8.8.1–8.12) A palace built by Jaʿfar the Barmakid on the East Bank, southeast of the Round City and at some remove from it. It was first known as the Jaʿfari Palace and then, when it passed to al-Maʿmūn (who built an adjoining polo ground, racecourse, and game preserve), as the Maʿmūnī Palace. Al-Maʿmūn gave it to his father-in-law, al-Ḥasan ibn
Glossary of Places

Sahl, and it became known as the Ḥasanī Palace. Its history is described in detail in *Consorts of the Caliphs* (see Maps 2, 3, 4).

Haylānah Quarter A neighborhood in western Baghdad named for Hārūn al-Rashīd’s slave Haylānah (see Map 2).

Hijaz (§11) A region of Western Arabia, in which are located both Mecca and Medina.

Iron Archway (§27.2) *(ʿAqd al-Ḥadīd)* Located in the northern part of later Baghdad, near the Bakers’ Market and the mosque built by Banafshā (see Map 4).

ʿĪsā Palace Palace on the west bank of the Tigris belonging to ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī; because of the palace, the area was known as the ʿĪsā Quarter (see Maps 2, 3, 4).

Isfahan (§§24.1, 24.2, 25.1, 35.2) Major Iranian city, which flourished especially after the fifth/eleventh century (see Map 1).

Ishāq al-Andalusiyyah’s palace (§12.3) This was located in Ruṣāfah (see Map 2).

Jaʿfarī Palace See Ḥasanī Palace.

Karkh (§29.2.1) Name of area to the west and southwest of the Round City of Baghdad. Served by numerous canals, it was an important mercantile area. From the fourth/tenth century onward it had a significant Shi‘i population (see Maps 2, 3, 4).

Karkh landing (§29.2.1) A landing place for boats on the ʿĪsā Canal (see Map 4).

Khuld Palace (§8.10) *(Qaṣr al-Khuld, Qaṣr al-Khilāfah)* Caliphal palace built by al-Manṣūr to the northeast of the Round City, at a strategic point between the military areas of Ḥarbiyyah and Ruṣāfah. It was so named with reference to “The Eternal Paradise” (jannat al-khuld; cf. Q Furqān 25:15). Built 158/775, reportedly at the coolest spot in Baghdad (see Maps 2, 3, 4).

Khurasan (§§8.9, 8.10, 25.1) A region that today includes northeastern Iran, Afghanistan, and parts of central Asia. The Abbasids received strong support from Khurasan when they overthrew the Umayyads; it was in Khurasan (in Marw) that al-Maʾmūn was initially based (see Map 1).

Khurasan Road (§8.9) A main road running from the Bridge of Boats to the Khurasan Gate. It was so named because it extended in the direction of Khurasan to the northeast (see Maps 2, 3).

Lake Van A landlocked lake in present-day southeastern Turkey.

Maʾmūnī Palace See Ḥasanī Palace.
Glossary of Places

Maʾmūniyyah Quarter  The name of the area that lay outside the caliphal palace walls on the East Bank. It took its name from the former presence there of al-Maʾmūn’s palace and grounds. When the area was destroyed by flooding, it was rebuilt by al-Muqtaḍī (see Map 4.).

Mausoleum of the caliph al-Nāṣir’s mother (§27.4)  Shrine of Zumurrud Khātūn, located north of the mausoleum of Maʿrūf al-Karkhī (see Map 4).

Mausoleum of Maʿrūf al-Karkhī (§27.4)  Shrine of a prominent early Sufi of Baghdad (d. 200/815–16), in Karkh in West Baghdad. It still stands (see Map 4).

Mausoleum of al-Mustaḍīʾ (§32)  On the left bank of the Tigris, just north of the ʿĪsā Canal (see Map 4).

Mausoleum of Saljūqī Khātūn (§29.2.1–2)  A mausoleum that Saljūqī Khātūn built for herself near the Karkh Landing and across the canal from the shrine of ʿAwn and Muʿīn (see Map 4).

Mecca (§§29.2.2, 37.1)  Pilgrimage city in the Hijaz, on the eastern coast of the Arabian peninsula, connected to Baghdad by several pilgrim routes, including the famous Darb Zubaydah (see Map 1).

Muʿallā Canal (§8.9)  An offshoot of the Mūsā Canal, serving the southern part of eastern Baghdad. It was named for a freedman of the caliph al-Mahdī who later commanded Hārūn al-Rashīd’s forces (see Maps 2, 3, 4).

Mustanṣiriyyah law college  A famous and magnificent madrasah (law college) where Ibn al-Sāʿī held a position as librarian. It was founded by the caliph al-Mustanṣir in 631/1234, north of the Tāj Palace. It survived the Mongol destruction of Baghdad, has recently been restored, and is now part of Al-Mustanṣiriyyah University (see Map 4).

Niẓāmiyyah law college  A famous madrasah (law college) founded in 457/1065 by Alp Arslān’s minister, Nizām al-Mulk, in the southern part of the city on the east bank of the Tigris. Ibn al-Sāʿī held a position there as librarian (see Map 4).

Pontoon bridge constructed by Banafshā (§§27.1, 27.2, 30.4.2)  Located near Banafshā’s Palace and connecting the East Bank to the Raqqah Gate (see Map 4).

Raqqah Gate (§27.2)  The gate to the Raqqah Gardens on the west bank of the Tigris, opposite the Tāj Palace (see Map 4).

al-Ruṣāfah (§12.3)  One of the three original northern sections of Baghdad, on the eastern bank, so named for a paved causeway across the swampy area.
Glossary of Places

of the Tigris. It was directly opposite the Khuld Palace and itself included a palace and estates granted to Abbasid families and military commanders. Construction began in 151/768 and was completed in 159/776. In later times, the tombs of the Abbasid caliphs were located here, along the riverbank (see Maps 2, 3).

Ruṣāfah Cemetery (§§9, 21.2, 23.2, 24.1, 25.2, 28, 33) Site of the tombs of many Abbasid caliphs (and others) (see Maps 2, 3).

Samarra (§§6.8, 15.3, 15.6) (Sāmarrāʾ or Surra man raʾā) Palatine town on the east bank of the Tigris, 125 kilometers north of Baghdad. The city was laid out by al-Muʿtaṣim in 221/836 and occupied by the Abbasid caliphs until 279/892. Its heyday was under al-Mutawakkil (see Map 1).

al-Shammasiyyah (§9) One of the three original northern sections of Baghdad (the other two being al-Ruṣāfah and Mukharrim), to the east of al-Ruṣāfah. The Barmakids had their residences here (see Map 2).

Shrine of ʿAwn and Muʿīn (§29.2.1) The shrine of two descendants of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, just south of the mausoleum of Maʿrūf al-Karkhī in Karkh (see Map 4).

Soghdia A region of Central Asia lying beyond the Oxus River.

Stone bridge (§27.1) A bridge constructed by Banafshā over the ʿĪsā Canal (see Map 3).

Sufi lodge (§29.2.2) Built by al-Nāṣir after 584/1188 next to the mausoleum of Saljūqī Khātūn, east of and across the canal from the shrine of ʿAwn and Muʿīn in Karkh (see Map 4).

Ṭabaristān A coastal plain region on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea (see Map 4).

Tāj Palace (§29.3) (al-Tāj, Qaṣr al-Tāj) See Caliphal Palace (and see Map 4).

Talas The Arabic name for Ṭarāz, a settlement (named for a river) where in 133/751 a battle was fought between the Chinese governor and an Arab commander. It is said that the Chinese prisoners taken captive here introduced papermaking to the Arabs (see Map 4).

Tigris (§§8.4, 8.9, 8.11, 27.1, 27.2, 29.2.2, 30.4.2) (Dijlah) A major river flowing south from southeastern Turkey through Iraq. The Round City of Baghdad was founded on its left bank and went on to occupy both banks, close to the ruins of the ancient Sassanian capital of Ctesiphon. This placement was important, as the Tigris, together with the systems of canals, watercourses, and waterwheels, supplied water to the caliphs and to the populace (see Maps 1–4).
Glossary of Places

Wāsiṭ (§8.4) An agricultural town and administrative center on the Tigris in central Iraq (see Map 1).

Willow Gate (§§27.2, 30.4.1) (Bāb al-Gharabah) One of the principal gates of the Tāj Palace grounds. It was so-called for a willow tree growing there (see Map 4).

al-Yamāmah (§§3.2, 13, 13.2.1) Part of the Najd region in the central Arabian peninsula (see Map 1).

Yemen The southwestern part of the Arabian peninsula (see Map 1).
Glossary of Realia

alchemy See sickness below.

ambergris (‘anbar) (§§8.2, 8.3.3) A waxy substance produced by the digestive system of sperm whales which, when dried, acquires a pleasing fragrance. It was used both as an incense and on the person. See also scented musk blend below. On ambergris, see Kemp, Floating Gold.

astromancy (§§6.2 [poem], 6.6 [poem]) Attention to the stars was important to the Abbasids. Scholars practiced astrology as well as astronomy (al-Ma’mūn built an important observatory), and the two professions were combined in astromancy, from which several members of the Ibn al-Munajjim (astromancer) (§7.2 and passim) family of courtiers and caliphal companions and advisers took their name. See Pingree, “Astrology.”

atonement for vows (takfīr) (§2.1.1) The conditions of atonement described here are a combination of those imposed for the breaking (ḥinth) of a major oath.

bestowal, bestrewal (nithār) (§§8.3.3, 8.4) From nathara, “to scatter,” as it describes gifts scattered, strewn, or distributed either on a festive occasion such as the marriage described here or as largesse by superiors to inferiors, which is also relevant here. See EI2, “Nithār.”

bridges (jīsr, qanṭarah) (§§27.1, 27.2, 30.4.2) There were two main kinds of bridge in Baghdad: pontoon bridges, which were supported by boats floating side by side; and stone bridges.

candelabrum (tawr) (§8.2) Can be made of any metal. The one al-Ma’mūn gave Būrān was of solid gold.

ceremonial robe(s) (khilʿah, pl. khilaʿ) (§§6.5, 7.4, 8.3.1) An item of clothing (or several) conferred on someone to honor them. Often embroidered with bands of inscription bearing the giver’s name and titles, called tirāz (see below). See EI2, “Khilʿa,” and Sourdell, “Robes of Honor.”

chess (shaṭranj) (§6.4) A game widely played by the elite in the Abbasid period. It is no surprise, therefore, that ʿArīb was accomplished at chess.
Glossary of Realia

The caliphal companion Abū Bakr al-Ṣūli, quoted in the paragraph before the one that mentions ‘Arīb’s prowess at chess (§6.3), is said to have been the greatest chess player who ever lived. “Al-Sulī’s Diamond” was a chess problem that was only solved a thousand years later, by Russian grand master Yuri Averbakh. See Shenk, The Immortal Game, 38, 239.

dampened canvas sheets (khaysh) (§3.8, §8.8.3)  Khaysh is canvas, but the fact that the room is being cooled means that the sheets have been dampened and suspended and are being swung back and forth with a cord. This creates a draft of cool air.

dinar (dinār) (§6.7 and passim)  A gold coin originally weighing approximately 4.25 grams. It was the basis of the monetary system and a symbol of status and wealth. It was worth approximately ten times as much as a silver dirham in the second/eighth century and twenty-five times as much by the third/ninth century. (Danānir, the plural of dinār, was the name of a famous slave belonging to the Barmakids, unmentioned in Consorts of the Caliphs. On her, see Ziriklī, A’lām, 2:341).

dirham (dirham) (§3.2 and passim)  A silver coin, originally weighing just under 3 grams, in use up to the Mongol period. It was worth one tenth of a gold dinar in the second/eighth century but had fallen to one twenty-fifth by the third/ninth century and was sometimes much lower.

drinking, drinking companions  See wine below.

Eggplant à la Būrān (§7.5, 8)  Or eggplant Burānī (bādhinjān Būrānī). Būrānī is a generic term in Iranian cuisine used to describe dishes prepared with yogurt and cooked vegetables, served hot or cold. Būrān, the daughter of al-Hasan ibn Sahl and the wife of al-Ma’mūn, is credited with having created it, hence the name. See ELiran, “Būrān” and “Būrānī,” and Davidson, The Oxford Companion to Food, “buran.”

Eid al-Fitr (ʿĪd al-Fiṭr) (§27.3)  Festival of the Fast-Breaking, observed on the first of Shawwāl, the month following Ramaḍān. It is marked by a special congregational post-sunrise prayer, often held outdoors. The distribution of alms (called zakāt al-fitr or ṣadaqat al-fiṭr), usually one measure (sā‘) of dates, is obligatory. See also stipulated measure below.

eunuch (khādim) (§§7.3, 9)  These individuals were an important part of the military and of caliphal and domestic households; some achieved very high positions. On eunuchs, see Ayalon, Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans.
funeral procession (janāzah) (§1) The body, wrapped in a white cloth, is placed in a bier and then either carried, or passed along, on the shoulders of men. (For the funeral procession, see the poems at §§12.3 and 34.3.) Carrying the bier is regarded as virtuous but, especially in the case of a large funeral, some mourners wait at the gravesite for the arrival of the bier.

game preserve (ḥayr) (§8.9) An enclosed area, typically for the hunt.
given the oath of allegiance (būyi ʿa) (§§2.1.1, 8.10, 18.3, 30.1) The caliphs were recognized when they were given the oath of allegiance (called the bayʿah) by senior officers of state, a mutually binding pledge. On this practice, see EI3, “Bayʿa.”
gold-woven mat (ḥaṣīr min dhahab) (§8.4) A mat woven with gold thread, later found among the treasures of the Fatimids (see Ibn al-Zubayr, Book of Gifts and Rarities, 235); an object that traveled, as did the Umayyad surcoat (see below under “jewel-studded surcoat”).
grant of revenues (§8.3.1) During the period in question, this practice referred to the granting of the revenues from a given piece of land or (as here) administrative district, a donation known as iqṭāʿ. See EI2, “Iḳṭāʿ.”
humors (§8.8.4) Ancient Greek medicine and its heirs held the view that the balance of four bodily fluids, the “humors,” was responsible for one’s health. See Isaacs, “Arabic Medical Literature.”
hunting (§8.9) An important pastime of the caliphs. It is described in detail in a genre of poetry especially devoted to it (ṭardiyyah).
jewel-studded surcoat (al-badanah al-Umawiyyah) (§8.2) This was a short sleeveless surcoat (or waistcoat), studded with large pearls, rubies, and other gems. It belonged to ‘Abdah, who was the granddaughter of the first Umayyad caliph and the wife of the tenth caliph. It came into the possession of ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alī (d. 147/764), the uncle of the Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr, when he defeated the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān ibn Muḥammad. Hārūn al-Rashīd offered it to Zubaydah. See Ibn al-Zubayr, Book of Gifts and Rarities, 121–23 and 275 n. 6.
lute (al-ʿūd) (§§6.5, 15.6) Properly an oud. The Arabic al-ʿūd may be the origin of the European word “lute,” but the Arabic instrument is not the ancestor of the European lute; rather, the two share a common ancestor. See Farmer, History of Arabian Music.
marriage-contract celebration (imlāk) (§8.3.3) From amlaka, “to enter into a marriage contract,” this word refers specifically to the expenditures made on the occasion of the signing of the marriage contract.

mausoleum (turbah) (§§24.1, 27.4, 29.2.1, 29.2.2, 29.3, 32) The later entries in Consorts of the Caliphs bear witness to the increasing popularity of this type of funerary monument among the ruling classes of Baghdad. See EI2, “Turba.”

paper (ruqʿah) (§§8.3.2, 8.3.3, 15.3) Paper is said to have entered Abbasid society after the capture of Chinese papermakers at the Battle of Talas in 751. Paper was certainly replacing papyrus and other writing materials by the late second/eighth century. And by the third/ninth century, books were proliferating thanks to the availability of paper. See Bloom, Paper Before Print.

polo (ṣawlajān) (§8.9) A game that originated in Persia, played by royals. As with so many Sassanian customs, it was adopted by the Abbasids.

racecourse (maydān) (§8.9) Horse racing was a regular pastime of the elite and the caliphs. When they built palaces, they built adjoining racecourses. The racecourse in Samarra has been excavated. See Northedge, “Racecourses at Sāmarrā’.”

ribbon (ʿiṣābah) (§6.7) Wearing a ribbon on one’s brow is a fashion attributed to ʿAbbāsah, the sister of Hārūn al-Rashīd. See Ibn al-Zubayr, Book of Gifts and Rarities, 307 n. 9, and Ziriklī, Aʿlām, 5:35.

rosary (subḥah) (§23.1) A string of beads, usually ninety-nine beads separated into sections of thirty-three, with one bead at the head of the rosary (called the imām).

scented musk blend (ghāliyah) (§15.3–15.4) An ointment made of a blend of musk, ambergris, and aloeswood. It was called ghāliyah, “expensive,” because its principal ingredients were so costly. See Ibn al-Zubayr, Gifts and Rarities, 260, n. 4.

sickness: “would sickness in the stone beget” (§3.7) This is an image from alchemy, which held that there were esoteric processes that could alter the nature of the elements. See Hill, “Literature of Arabic Alchemy.”

stipulated measure (sāʿ) (§27.3) Before the end of the month-long Ramadān fast, every Muslim is required to distribute one sāʿ of grain or other food. The sāʿ, a cubic measurement, varied in quantity, but is somewhere between two cupped handfuls and five pints.
Glossary of Realia

*Sufi lodge (ribāţ) (§29.2.2)* A piously endowed residential establishment built for use by members of a Sufi order. Novices were trained there. See *EI2*, “Ribāţ.”


ṭirāz (§27.2) Fabric with woven or embroidered inscriptions, a practice possibly started by the Umayyad caliph Hishām (r. 105–25/724–43). See *EI2*, “Ṭirāz,” and Sergeant, *Islamic Textiles*, 7–15.

*wedding present (niḥlah) (§8.2)* A relatively rare word for “present.”

*wine (nabīdh, khamr); drinking; drinking companions (§§6.5, 6.5 [poem], 8.4 [poem], 8.8.2, 13.10 [poem], 15.3, 15.4 [poem], 15.5, 15.6, 18.2 [poem], 23 [Khamrah’s name], 36)* Wine (*khamr, nabīdh*) was made of grapes or dates and variously mixed with other ingredients. Drinking played a very important part in the life of many of the Abbasid elite, including the caliphs. The morning drink and the after-dinner drink were considered part of refined behavior, and caliphs chose their drinking companions from the social and cultural elite. Khamrah’s name, meaning “Bouquet” (§23), is a reference to wine. See Kennedy, *Wine Song*. 
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Baghdad


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Further Reading


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About the Editor and Translators

About the Editor

After school in Paris, Hong Kong and Singapore, **Shawkat M. Toorawa** went to the University of Pennsylvania, where he discovered Arabic literature and took a BA (Hons) in Arabic and Islamic Studies, an MA in modern Arabic literature, and a PhD in medieval Arabic literature. He has taught Arabic at Duke University, medieval French literature and Indian Ocean studies at the University of Mauritius, and worked in a family import/export company in Kuala Lumpur and Port-Louis. He joined Cornell University in 2000, where he is now Associate Professor of Arabic Literature and Islamic Studies. His current interests include: the Qur’anic lexicon, in particular hapaxes and rhyme-words; the literary and writerly culture of Abbasid Baghdad; the Waqwaq Tree and the Waqwaq islands; the 18th century Indian author Āzād Bilgrāmī; modern Arabic and world poetry; Creole-language Mauritian literature; translation; and SF film and literature. His books include: *Ibn Abi Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr and Arabic Writerly Culture: A Ninth-Century Bookman in Baghdad* (2004, paper 2010); a revision/translation of Gregor Schoeler’s *The Aural and the Read: The Genesis of Literature in Islam* (2009); and *Arabic Literary Culture, 500–925* (2005), co-edited with Michael Cooperson.

About the Translators

**Julia Bray** is the Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, and a fellow of St. John’s College. She writes on medieval to early modern Arabic literature, life-writing, and social history, has contributed to the *New Cambridge History of Islam* (2010), to *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography 1350–1850* (2009) and to cross-cultural studies such as *Approaches to the Byzantine Family* (2013), and has edited *Writing and Representation in Medieval Islam* (2006).

**Michael Cooperson** is Professor of Arabic language and literature at UCLA. He has translated Abdelfattah Kilito’s *The Author and His Doubles*, Khairy Shalaby’s *Time Travels of the Man Who Sold Pickles and Sweets*, and Jurji Zaidan’s
About the Editor and Translators

The Caliph’s Heirs: Brothers at War. He is a co-author, with the RRAALL group, of Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition; and co-editor, with Shawkat Toorawa, of The Dictionary of Literary Biography’s Arabic Literary Culture, 500–925. Most recently, he edited and translated Virtues of the Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Volume One (2013) and Volume Two (2015).

Philip F. Kennedy is Associate Professor of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies and Comparative Literature at New York University and Vice Provost for Public Programming for the NYU Abu Dhabi Institute. As author or editor, Kennedy has published several writings on Arabic literature, including most recently Scheherazade’s Children (2013), co-edited with Marina Warner.

Joseph E. Lowry is Associate Professor of Arabic and Islamic studies in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Pennsylvania. His publications include Early Islamic Legal Theory (2007) on the scholarship of jurist al-Shāfiʿī and an edition and translation of -Shāfiʿī’s Epistle on Legal Theory (2013).

James E. Montgomery is Sir Thomas Adams’s Professor of Arabic at the University of Cambridge and Fellow of Trinity Hall. He is the author of numerous works on Arabic letters, including most recently Two Arabic Travel Books: Ibn Faḍlān, Mission to the Volga (2014), for the Library of Arabic Literature, and Al-Jahiz: In Praise of Books (2013).

Tahera Qutbuddin is Associate Professor of Arabic Literature at the University of Chicago. Her scholarship focuses on intersections of the literary, the religious, and the political in classical Arabic poetry and prose. She was awarded a fellowship from the Carnegie Corporation of New York for her current research on Arabic oratory (khaṭābah). She is the author of Al-Mu’ayyad al-Shīrāzī and Fatimid Da’wa Poetry: A Case of Commitment in Classical Arabic Literature (2005) and editor and translator of A Treasury of Virtues: Sayings, Sermons, and Teachings of ‘Alī (2013).

Chip Rossetti is the Managing Editor of the Library of Arabic Literature. He is a Ph.D. candidate in Arabic literature at the University of Pennsylvania. He has translated a number of Arabic novels, including Sonallah Ibrahim’s Beirut, Beirut (2014), Ahmed Khaled Towfiq’s Utopia (2013), and Magdy El Shafee’s graphic novel Metro (2012). In 2010, he won a PEN America Translation Fund grant...
About the Editor and Translators

for his translation of Muhammad Makhzangi’s short story collection *Animals in Our Days*.

**Devin J. Stewart** is Associate Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies at Emory University. His research interests include Islamic law, the Qur’an, Islamic sectarian relations, medieval Arabic prose literature, Islamic biography and autobiography, and Arabic dialects. He has written on the Qur’an, Shi‘i Islam, and Islamic legal education, and is most recently the editor-translator of *Disagreements of the Jurists: A Manual of Islamic Legal Theory* (2015).

**Shawkat M. Toorawa** is Associate Professor in the Department of Near Eastern Studies at Cornell University, where he teaches Arabic, comparative, medieval, Near Eastern, and world literature. He writes and thinks about Arabic belles-lettres, the Qur’an, Abbasid Baghdad, and modern literature generally.