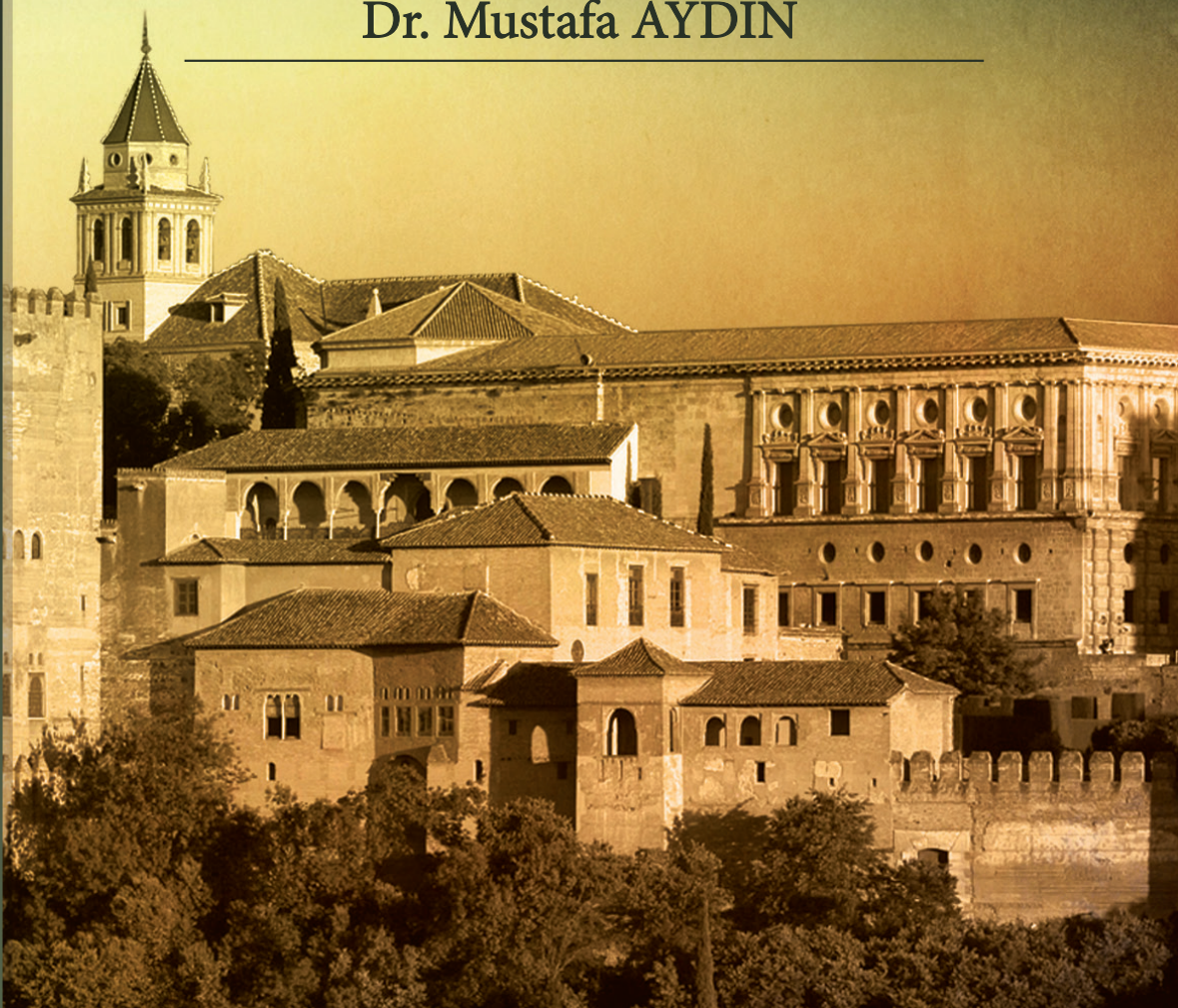


Andalusian Poet and Writer

Ibn Suheyd

Dr. Mustafa AYDIN



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Ibn Suheyd

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DR. MUSTAFA AYDIN

ANDALUSIAN POET AND WRITER

IBN SUHEYD

Istanbul – 2009

My Beloved Father,

From the year on when I started to write this book, the pride and excitement that I feel is so deep thanks to your encouragement through a hidden happiness on your face and the lightening of your green eyes. You could imagine how much I would desire to publish this book in your lifetime.

From the first day of my life to the last day of yours, you had always implemented me the value of life with great care and your teaching of the importance of education, research, contemporarily, commonsense, study and definitely study have already started to yield their results.

The trees you planted have grown up and started to produce fruits for you that you would definitely like to taste. These trees are not satisfied with the fruits, they also have branches and new fresh buds. The roots coming from that pine are approaching you to hug and get more shelter under this huge tree's shade. Ignoring their smallness, these arms were in the dream of coiling around you.

Dear Father,

I have been struggling not to write this dedication here because this is nothing besides your huge experience in science and arts, but the publishing house is so insistent. Because I was already sure that the sorrow of the first farewell day with you was still keeping its freshness and I felt very emotional; within this psychology I thought it was impossible to write this dedication. And now, I think I am right...

Dear father, you devoted all your life to the GOD and therefore to the humanity and nature. Peace be upon you my beloved father. Rest in peace in your eternal life. I will never deprive of the path you instructed to me. We will feel you nearby and have your sight and care with us all the time. The science TORCH you lighted for us will go forever. Your starting point will improve to educate more teachers, open up more charity houses and the works coming up your valuable hands will increase forever...

Rest in peace.

Istanbul, 23 April 2006

PREFACE

Andalusia, which used to be a centre for Islam-Europe relations in the Middle Ages, owns a wealthy background in terms of its culture and history. Andalusia has been the subject matter for numerous research with its multi-cultural and ethnical structure. Despite the fact that several research has been carried out in the west, however, there is no or little work about Andalusian culture and history in our country. Thinking that it would contribute supplying this deficiency, we have decided to revise and publish my doctorate thesis I prepared in 1992, "Ibn Suheyd and His Literary Personality".

In Andalusia, scientific and cultural activities increased when the political unity was obtained. There were remarkable progress in history, literature, law, philosophy, and religion. Particularly, Cordoba had become one of the most striking scientific centers of the world. In a period of retrogression in Europe, the studies in Andalusia had transported the advancements of East into the European mainland and took place in the course of enlightenment.

Science was the primary concern to establish the political stability in the period of conquest and settlement, studies on literature had failed. Nevertheless, administrators paid attention to science and literature, showed close interest to scientists and men of letters, and rewarded them when the political stability restored. This attitude had given rise to bringing up of several poets and literary men. On the other hand, some rulers had written poetry, even they chose some of their viziers and administrators out of poets and literary men. Therefore, Andalusia is of great importance in terms of poetry and literature.

Throughout the eight centuries -from the moment they arrived at Spain in the year 92/711 and until the last Muslim left in the year 892/1492- Muslims had established a different sort of political and social environment which was neither identical to the place they were living at that time nor to the place they used to live. It is indisputable that the different religion, languages, ethnical components, and cultures had contributed a lot to the rise of such an atmosphere.

Even though Arabs started to expand their own culture into Spain with the conquest, they couldn't manage to expand their culture as successfully as their political expansion. However, after the conquest, in the following two centuries Andalusia had turned into a scientific center of its own peculiarity where any kind of scientific research was carried. Besides the top-level education in this scientific center, some important advancements had also been noted in relation with libraries and books. In the neighbourhood of Andalusia, various scholars rose in the fields of religion, philosophy, literature, poetry, philology, history, science, medicine, arts, etc.

Our concern Ibn Suheyd is also among the eminent personalities appeared in Andalusia with polished poetrical and literary skills. Ibn Suheyd, who has a significant role in Andalusian literature and poetry, is also of great importance for Arabic literature in general. Though he was under the influence of eastern literature and poetry, Ibn Suheyd, who developed his own literary style with the use of varied subjects in his writings, died in an early age but he made name for his writings.

Our project is composed of an introduction and three following parts. In the introduction part, we provided a brief history of Andalusia. In the first part, we wrote about science and literature in Andalusia. Thus, we could outline the scientific and literary circumstances of the time before Ibn Suheyd, and examine the atmosphere which he was born and bred in. In the second part, we handled the life of Ibn Suheyd beginning from his childhood. Here, we wrote about his family, the way he was brought up, his relationship with governmental administrators, and the governmental positions he was given. It is also in this part that we tried to familiarize the works of Ibn Suheyd in detail. In the third part, we attempted to display his literary personality. We represented his reputation in Arabic prose and verse with the help of some examples from his poetry and literary outputs. It is here again in this last part that we mentioned his evaluations on literature and history of literature.

I am grateful to my respected advisor Prof. Dr. Nasuhi Ünal, who guided and instructed me to make a research in this subject with his scientific experience and patient and warm hearted attitudes. I am also thankful to reverend Prof. Dr. Ahmet Savran, Prof. Dr. N. Hafız Yanık, Prof. Dr.

Ahmet Suphi Furat, my beloved brother İbrahim Hakkı Aydın and his wife Şaduman Aydın, and my colleagues in the Arabic Language and Literature Department especially for their help and self-sacrifice in gathering the necessary sources in the writing process.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A SHORT HISTORY OF ANDALUSIA (PRIOR TO THE PERIOD OF IBN SUHEYD)

A- POLITICAL HISTORY

Today's Spain¹, whose written history lies back to 1000 B.C. and which has been the fatherland of many different nations, has been called as "Andalusia" by Muslims. The origin of the word Andalusia (Endelüs) has not been determined exactly. In Spanish it is called Andalusia and formerly it was only used to mean "Spain of Muslims". The name of "Andalusia" is accepted to be driven from the name of Vandalian people (Vandalus)² (Vandalicia / Vandal Country) who had lived in the east part of Germany and stayed 18 years in the south part of Spain before moving to North Africa in the 5th Century³.

After Spain was conquered by Muslims, Arabs used the name of Andalusia for the whole region from Gibraltar to the Pyrenees.⁴ Yet the operation of Christians to regain Andalusia, which started in 718 and lasted 8 years, became the cause of constriction in the ascendance of the

¹ The region, which is surrounded by the Mediterranean Sea in the west and the Atlantic Ocean in the north, north-west and south-west, lies in the west of Portugal, north of France and Andorra. For detailed information about the names and the history of Spain which is known as "Hispania" before the conquest, see: "Spain", EB, IV/251-56; "Espagne", NLU, I/668-70; Mu'nis, *Fecrü'l-Endelüs*, p. 537; "Spain", ML, VI/449-472; "Spain", DIA, XXIII/161-162.

² Vandals who are known as "Vandales" or "Vandals" lived in Denmark Archipelago. They came towards south and settled in the south of Spain in 412 A.D. Due to the political ensuing events, they were obliged to take shelter in the north Africa. However, Vandals lost their national identity as time passed. See "Vandals", EB, XXII/972-73; "Vandal", NLU, II/1006.

³ See: Provencal, *Historie de l'Espagne musulmane*, IV/45; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsi mine'l-feth ila süküti'l hilafe*, p. 13-14; Özdemir, "Andalusia" DIA, XI/211.

⁴ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsi*, p. 14.

Muslim after the 11th Century and in the end the name Andalusia was used only for Granada⁵ Emirates.⁶

The name Andalusia is still used in Spain and known as the region including Cordoba⁷, Malaga⁸, Ronda⁹, Granada and Seville¹⁰ cities. The conquest of Andalusia was fulfilled in the period of Walid Abd al-Malik (d. 96/715)¹¹ the caliphate of Umayyad Dynasty (85-95/705-715). In order to conquer Spain, Musa bin Nusair (d. 99/717)¹², the governor of north Africa in that period, decided to get his longstanding plan underway encouraged from the fact that the pioneer forces he had sent

⁵ Granada, (Girnata) the south part of Spain, was the last Muslim city and the capital of Ziries and the Nazari Dynasty. Granada became an important city after the settlement of Ziries of Berberian stock. The city, which showed economical improvement because of its existence on African arteries of commerce, was conquered by the Christians at the beginning of 1500s. For extensive information see: Yakut, *Mu'cemu'l-buldan*, IV/195; Hillenbrand, "Granada", Dictionary of the Middle Ages, V/651-53; "Granada", EB, X/620-21; "Granada", ML, V/317-18; Özdemir, "Girnata", DIA, XIV/51-57.

⁶ Özdemir, "Andalusia", DIA, XI/211; "Andalusia", IA, IV/270.

⁷ Cordoba was founded in 152 B.C. In 93/711 it was conquered by the Muslim. It was the capital of Andalusia Ummayyad Dynasty from 139/756 to 634/1236 till its conquest by the Christians. For extensive information see. Ibnu'l Esir, *el-Lübab fi tehzibi'l-ensab*, III/25; Yakut, *Mu'cemu'l-buldan*, IV/234-35; "Cordoba", EB, VI/438; "Cordoba", IA, VI/1023-25; "Cordoba", ML, III/56; Hitti, *History of Islam: Political and Cultural*, III/778.

⁸ Malaga, a harbour city in the south of Spain, was conquered by the Muslim in 93/711. Malaga, which became a self-governing city after the decadence of Andalusia Umayyad Dynasty, was conquered by the Christians in 893/1487. See. "Malaga", EB, XIV/705-706; "Malagna" NLU, II/126; "Malaga", ML, VII/283.

⁹ Founded by the Romans, Ronda is one of the most ancient settlements of Spain, placed in the province of Malaga borders. See. "Ronda", EB, XIX/522; "Ronda", ML, X/684, "Ronda", IA, IX/758-59.

¹⁰ Located in the south of Spain, Seville (İşbiliyye) was conquered by the Muslims in 93/712. The city, that became a self-governing province in 423/1031, was conquered by the Muslims in 446/1248. The city becoming a self governing one in 423/1031 got under the rule of Christians in 446/1248. See. Ibn Izari, *el Beyanu'l-muğrib*, II/20; Ibnu'l Esir, *el-Lübab*, III/61-62; Ibnu'l Kutuyye, *Tarihu ihtitahi'l-Endelus*, p. 35-36, "Seville", EB, XIX/399-401; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/780; "Seville", ML, XI/227.

¹¹ About the life and activities of Walid Abd al-Malik see. El-Mesudi, *Murucu'z-zeheb*, III/165-82; "Velid I", IA, III/292-97

¹² See. El-Makkari, *Nefu't-tib*, II/146-49, 212-16; Ibn Hallikan, *Vefeyatu'l-a'yan*, III/19-26; Ferruh, *Tarihu'l-edebi'l-Arabi*, IV/40.

came back with much booty without much resistance of the Visigoths¹³. Finally, he sent one of his commanders Tarik b. Ziyad to Spain with an armed force consisted of 300 Arabs and 10.000 Berbers¹⁴. In 92/711¹⁵ in the region called Lekke Valley¹⁶, Islamic armed force under the command of Tarik b. Ziyad defeated¹⁷ the Vizigoths' army that was ruled by King Rodrik (d. 92/711)¹⁸ and is said to have consisted of approximately 40.000-100.000 warriors.¹⁹

After the triumph in 92/711, Musa b. Nusayr²⁰ moved to Spain with an army consisted of approximately 18.000 soldiers. Since many cities were conquered consecutively, Spain became a state which was governed by the governors that were appointed by Andalusia whose capital city was Damascus.

¹³ Visigoths, who were an ancient group of people in Germany, went forward from the coasts of Danube River to Spain. Visigoths after having founded a great kingdom in Spain, they lost their self-governing identity by the conquest of Muslims. For extensive information, see: "Visigoths", ML, XII/622.

¹⁴ Muslim Berbers, whose origins came from North Africa, had an active part in the conquest of Spain as the Arabs did. Berber population and domain increased owing to the fact that many of them immigrated to Andalusia in the following years after the conquest. However, many of the Berbers went back to their native land since the economical structure of Andalusia started to get worse after the outbreak of war between them and the Arabs. Although they were few in number, they were very effective as a political power in history. For extensive information, see: Provencal, *Historie de l'Espagne musulmane*, IV/52-53; Peres, *Esplendor de al-Andalus*, p. 263; Chejne, *Historia de Espana Musulmane*, p. 03; Lağzivi, *Edebü's-siyase ve 'l-harb fi'l-Endelus*, p. 68-70; "Barbarie", *IB*, III/427-28; "Berberiler", *IA*, II/525-34.

¹⁵ Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/117; Heykel, *el-Edbu'l-Endelusi*, p. 25

¹⁶ The region located in South Spain is known as "Rio Salado". see Heykel, *el-Ebedü'l-Endelüsi*, p. 26; Hitti, *History of Muslims*, III/777

¹⁷ Ibnu'l-Kutiyye, *Tarihu iftitahi'l-Endelus*, p. 33; Abdulvâhid, *Dirâsât fi't-târihi'l-Enelusî*, p. 187; İbrahim, *et-Târîhu'l-İslâmi'l-âm*, p. 312.

¹⁸ The king of Visigoths, Rodrik, who is known as "Ludrik", "Ruzrik" or "Lazrik" in Arabic language and "Rodrigo" or "Roderick" in the western languages, lost his life and his country after his country entered the war with Tarik b. Ziyad. For extensive information see: Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/117; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/772; "Rodrigo", ML, X/627-28.

¹⁹ Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/254; *Ahbâr Mecmû'a*, p. 17-18; İbrahim, *et-Târîhu'l-İslâmi'l-âm*, p. 308.

²⁰ Ibnu'l-Kutiyye, *Tarihu iftitahi'l-Endelus*, p. 35-36; el-Belazuri, *Futuhu'l-buldan*, p. 330; Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Endelusi*, p. 27.

According to some sources, Tarık's main aim was claimed to reach Damascus through conquering Istanbul²¹. Yet, having learned Tarık's aim, since Musa wanted to fulfil his purpose to conquer Istanbul on his own²², and being jealous of Tarık²³, he sent Tarık a message in order for him to stop the conquest action. It was also rumoured that Musa, having seen that the conquest action continue, moved to Spain to stop Tarık²⁴.

Umayyad caliph of the period Velid b. Abdilmelik worried about the failure of the conquest action and he sent messages to Musa and Tarık in order for both of them to return to Syria ceasing the conquests that had reached the lands of Franks (France) going beyond Pyrenees. Both of the commanders returned to Damascus with a lot of booty according to the commands they were given.²⁵

Due to the conquests of Tarık and Musa, Spain became a new state of Umayyad Dynasty with the name of Andalusia. As a result of the fore stated conquests, a new period, that influenced social, intellectual and political life in Spain, started witnessing the confrontation of different nations that came from different origins and from different religions. In time, as a result of the combination of two different societies, the differences started to disappear and caused the birth of Andalusia Islamic civilization.

Musa returned Damascus²⁶ conveying the government of the region, that had been conquered by him, to his son Abdulaziz²⁷ in 96/714. The

²¹ For extensive information about the events that happened in that period, see. Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/117.

²² Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/785

²³ El-Kelbi, who had been the governor for about 5 years, joined the military forces to conquer.

²⁴ Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/117; el-Belâzûrî, *Futûhu'l-buldân*, p. 331

²⁵ Ahbâr Mecmû'a, p. 27; Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/117; el-Belâzûrî, *Futûhu'l-buldân*, p. 331

²⁶ *Ahbâr Mecmû'a*, p. 27; Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/118; Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Endelüsî*, p. 27; Üçok, *History of Islam*, p. 64.

²⁷ The first governor of Andalusia, Abdulaziz b. Musa got married with Egilo, a widow of king Roderick. He was executed because of the rumors that the commander changed his religion to Christianity. See. Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/785; Üçok, *History of Islam*,

period, which started with Abdülaziz and lasted till the period when Abdurrahman I (d. 172/788)²⁸ moved to Spain to found an Umayyad Emirate in 138/756, is called “Province Period” –Period of Governors- (95-138/714-754). In this period that lasted 40 years, Andalusia, whose provincial centres were respectively İşbiliyye (Sevilla) till 97/715 and Cordoba, was governed by 21 governors who were assigned by caliph²⁹. The number of the governors in such a short period demonstrates how instable the political conditions of the period were. Andalusia witnessed the fights³⁰ for the throne in the period when the Arabs settled the land. Despite the chaotic political situations and fights, the conquests were continuously performed in many different directions. The most important of these military attacks were upon France. It is rumoured/related that the army that was in command of the governor of Andalusia called Anbase b. Suheym el-Kelbi (d. 107/725)³¹ approached 40km. to Paris³² in 104-107/721-726.

The Abbasids assumed the reigns of government in 132/750 and they ordered the massacre of the Umayyads. Having escaped from the massacre, Abdurrahman b. Muaviye agreed with the people who remained loyal to the Umayyadians in 138/755. He moved to Andalusia and conquered Cordoba, the centre of the government. He

p. 66/67; Atçeken, “the first commander of Andalusia Abdülaziz b. Musa b. Nusayr and Murder of him”, p. 65-87

²⁸ Known as “ed-Dâhil” or “Sakr Kureys” the first commander of Andalusia Umayyad Abdurrahman b. Muâviye, is the grandson of the last caliph of Umayyad Hisâm b. Abdulmelik (126/743). Abdurrahman running away from Umayyad massacre, first went to North Africa then to Spain and he established the Umayyad Andalusia Emirates. For further information see: Ibnu’l-Kûtiyye, *Târihu iftitâhi’l-Endelüs*, p. 45 the others. ; Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/262; Ibnu’l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/35-42; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/795-805; Üçok, *History of Islam*, p. 64.

²⁹ Mu’nis, *Fecru’l-Endelüs*, p. 611-14; Heykell, *el-Edebu’l-Endelüsî*, p. 58; Lağzivî, *Edebü’s-siyâse*, p. 29-30.

³⁰ For further information about the events in this period see: Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/118-20

³¹ El-Kelbi, the governor for almost 5 years involved in a variety of conquer movements in Andalusia: see. Mu’nis, *Fecru’l- Andalusia*, p. 271.

³² Mu’nis, *Fecru’l-Endelüs*, p. 271.

became the governor³³ of the city dismissing Yusuf- el-Fihri³⁴ (d. 142/759). Thus the period of province/governorship ended and a new period called Andalusia Umayyad Dynasty, that would last 300 years, started (138-414/756-1023)

Ethnical and religious differences between people forming society in Andalusia caused them to reckon within each other. At first, the conflicts started to appear between Arabs and Berbers then they went on in Arab groups. There were some different causes for various conflicts within social groups, yet the main and the focal point of these conflicts had two main reasons. The first reason was bigotry of the tribe³⁵. Starting from the *Cahiliye* (ignorance) period, bigotry is accepted to be the main reason for the fights and even wars within the Arabs. The second main reason was the matter of distribution of the conquered land. The lands, that had been conquered, were shared without considering a legal collocation/arrangement³⁶. The arbitrary act in the distribution of the gained lands caused disagreement within various Arab groups. One of the main reasons of the commotion of the Berbers³⁷ was that the Arabic reserved the productive land for themselves but gave the unproductive ones to the Andalusians. The rebellion of the Berbers was repressed by the Arabs but soon after this time the Arabs started fighting with each other³⁸.

The Christian section which took the advantage of the infighting of the Moslem groups gathered together again and rebelled against the Moslems and moreover they were victorious in these rebellions³⁹.

³³ The last governor of Andalusia Yusuf el-Fihri was killed in the battle against I. Abdurrahman. See Brockelmann, *Islâm Civilizations*, p. 191; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/793.

³⁴ Ahbâr Mecmû'a, p. 49; Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/121; Ibnu'l-Kûtiyye, *Târîhu iftitâhi'l-Endelüs*, p. 47; Heykel, *Dirâsât edebiyye*, s. 222; Brockelmann, *History of Islam*, p. 191; Uçok, *History of Islam*, p. 89.

³⁵ Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/120; Heykel, *Dirâsât edebiyye*, p. 224; Uçok, *History of Islam*, p. 66-67.

³⁶ Mu'nis, *Fecru'l-Endelüs*, p. 621.

³⁷ Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, IV/52-53

³⁸ Chejne, *Historia*, p. 103; Mu'nis, *Fecru'l-Endelüs*, p. 226-29.

³⁹ Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/262; Heykel, *Dirâsât edebiyye*, p. 224.

While Andalusia was witnessing these infightings, similar disturbances were happening in the Umayyad Empire in the east. The hidden and obvious actions that had started in year 102/720 eventually caused the end of Umayyads in year 133/750. Abbasids who took the rule started fight towards the previous rulers of the dynasty. In this fight only Abdurrahman⁴⁰ b. Moawiya who had an important role in the establishment of Andalusia Umayyad Emirate⁴¹ saved himself by moving to Spain⁴². He started the period of Andalusia Umayyad Emirate which was going to continue till year 316/929 by making the Andalusia, which was managed bounded firstly to Umayyad, then to Abbasids, an independent government.

Abdurrahman I, made the Qays and Yemenis remain loyal to him by giving them goods and position who represented the two big groups of the quarrel⁴³. He made this to provide the unity of the country by getting in touch with the quarrelling tribes. During 30 years under his rulership⁴⁴, in addition to providing the political stability by suppressing the internal chaos, he brought people who are loyal to Umayyad Dynasty on important duties by making new arrangements at administrative and military fields⁴⁵. He brought the borders of the emirate into safety by developing defending regions at the zones which are close to lands under the Christian dominance⁴⁶.

Abdurrahman I left almost a fully stabilized country to his son Hisam. (D. 180 /796)⁴⁷. Hisam did not come across a serious instability except a

⁴⁰ See Lağzivî, *Edebü's-siyâse*, p. 70-71. for mevalis who are non Muslims with oriental origin.

⁴¹ Reşid Yusuf, *Târîhu'l-âdâbi'l-Arabiyye*, II/127; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/796-98; Uçok, *History of Islam*, p. 91.

⁴² Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/262; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/793; Lağzivî, *Edebü's-siyâse*, p. 30.

⁴³ The conflicts between Qays and Yemenis see. Lağzivî, *Edebü's-siyâse*, p. 30-31.

⁴⁴ *Ahbâr Mecmû'a*, p. 105

⁴⁵ Mu'nis, *Fecru'l-Andalusia*, p. 826

⁴⁶ Provencal, *Histoire*, V/31-32.

⁴⁷ Hisâm b. Abdurrahman was known for his good-natured behaviour, loyalty to religion, trustworthiness and justice. For further information about his personality and the period see: Ibnu'l-Kûtiyye, *Târîhu iftitâhi'l-Andalusia* p. 64-69; *Ahbâr Mecmû'a*, p. 109-112; el-Humeydî, *Cezvetu'l-muktebis*, p. 10; Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/124-25.

throne fight which lasted short⁴⁸. With the encouragement of Hisam, who had a religious personality, the religious sect Maliki took the place of Evzai⁴⁹ sect by spreading in Andalusia.

Hakem I, who substituted Hisam after him (d. 206/822)⁵⁰, pacified the commotions of his uncles in exchange of goods and domains, but on the other hand, the movements of Muvelledin⁵¹ which were starting to be heard for the first time, made Hakem so busy.

Another important event that made Hakem I so busy was the rebellion of the Christians in the north. As a result of this, Barcelona⁵² was distracted by the Franks⁵³. However, Hakem I left an Andalusia to his son

⁴⁸ Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/124-25.

⁴⁹ Founder of the denomination Ebû Amr Abdurrahman b. Amr b. Yuhmid el-Evzâi (ex. 157/774) and about his denomination see: Ogüt, “Evzâi”, *DİA*, XI/546-48.

⁵⁰ Known as er-Rabadî or Ebu'l-Âs for the biography and his period, I. Hakem b. Hişâm b. Abdurrahman (180-206/796 822) see: Ibnu'l-Kûtiyye, *Târîhu iftitâhi'l-Endelüs*, p. 64-69; *Ahbâr Mecmû'a*, p. 113-21; el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 10; Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/43-50; Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/125-26; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, I/338-44; Ibn Izârî, *el-Beyânu'l-muğrib*, II/68-80; Provencal, *Histoire*, IV/99-122.

⁵¹ The word “Muvelledun”, is the plural of the subject form of the Arabic verb “vellede”. “Muvelled” means a servant or concubine who is raised under the same conditions as his lord’s children even they were born outside the lands under the dominion of the Arabs but then brought among them or those who were born among the Arabs. Furthermore, the person whose mother isn’t Arab is also called “Muvelled”. (See: et-Taberi, *History*, III /171; Ibn Manzur, *Lisanu'l -Arab*, IV/485-86; el-Bustani, *Muhitu'l-muhit*, II/2226). In the field of literature, the term “Muvelledun” is used for the poets coming after “muhadramun” (the poets that lived both in the Islamic period and “Cahiliyye” period). In Andalusia, “Muvelledun” means one of the ethnic groups that generates Moslem population. Investigators were conflicted about the origin of the word “Muvelledun”. But what can be understood from the knowledge given is that, the word Muvelledun was used for the children of the local people who had become Moslem, and for these children who were raised considering Islamic belief and for the generations after them. see: Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Andalusia*, p. 37-43; Provencal, *Histoire*, IV/46-48; Mu'nis, *Fecru'l-Endelüs*, p. 365; Lağzivî, *Edebü's-siyâse*, p. 73-75.

⁵² Barcelona located in the north east of Spain was conquered by collaboration made by Tarık and Musa in 94/713. see Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/117; “Barcelona”, *EB*, III/103-104; “Barcelona”, *ML*, 153-54.

⁵³ Provencal, *Histoire*, IV/119.

Abdurrahman (d. 238/852)⁵⁴ II, in which the rebellions had almost ended, and that may be considered political stability⁵⁵.

Abdurrahman II, who was a brilliant statesman, continued the tranquility, which was carried out by his father, mainly by reconstruction and abode activities.⁵⁶ At the period of Abdurrahman II (238/822-852), there was an evident increase in taxes and in addition to agriculture and reconstruction activities.⁵⁷ This success achieved by Abdurrahman II also showed itself at foreign politics.⁵⁸ The borders taken over Hakem I, were protected and furthermore good diplomatic relations were established with the Byzantine Empire.⁵⁹

There were a lot of rebellions and commotions in the second half of the century III. / IX at Andalusia. In the sources, this period is named as the corruption period (el-*fitnetu'l kubra* -the big corruption-) or the crisis period. The congruent of the rebellions in this period, happened later only towards the end of the Andalusia Umayyad Caliphate. In the sources this period is named as "corruption".

The disagreements in the period of governors happened between the Arab conquerors and Berbers and these conflicts continued comparatively at the first years of the emirate. However, in the period of Hakem I, most of the interior rebellions had been started by Muvelledun. The commotions hadn't totally stopped at the period of Abdurrahman II even if they slowed down. The rebellions that had started after the death of Abdurrahman II suddenly broke out and spread all over Andalusia except Cordoba and a lot of murderous and sequent collisions happened between the Arabs and the mutineers.

⁵⁴ For further information about II. Abdurrahman b. Hakem's life and his time see: Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/127-30; Ibnu'l-Kûtiyye, *Târîhu iftitâhi'l-Endeliis*, p. 75-85; *Ahbâr Mecmû'a*, p. 122-25; Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/113-19; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, I/344-50; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, IV/76; Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/99-102; el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 10; Provenca, *Histoire*, IV/163.

⁵⁵ See Provençal, *Histoire*, IV/99-122.

⁵⁶ Lağzivî, *Edebü's-siyâse*, p. 32.

⁵⁷ Provençal, *Histoire*, IV/163.

⁵⁸ Provençal, *Histoire*, V/19

⁵⁹ Provençal, *Histoire*, IV/161

Another point of the commotions that happened during this period is that some rebellions were started by the Christian priests whose separatist views were based on religious basis⁶⁰. These priests created a discussion atmosphere about Hz Muhammed and Hz. Isa and their virtuous degree, and this caused murderous collisions between the Christian and Moslem sections⁶¹. Emir II, who realized that these movements had an aptitude of disperse, he arranged a meeting in Andalusia at 238/852 which the existing priests joined and convinced them to give over such kind of behaviour. Meanwhile, the archbishop of Cordoba named Eulogio (d. 245/859)⁶² who had a very active role in these rebellions was put in prison. But Eulogio was free at the period of Muhammad who replaced his father Abdurrahman II after his death and Eulogio continued his same separatist aims rapidly⁶³.

By the death of Abdurrahman II in 238/852, in Andalusia the establishment and settling down period was closed and a new period began which included the periods of Muhammad (d. 273/886) and Münzir (d. 275/888)⁶⁴, (273-275/886-888)⁶⁵ and the period which was

⁶⁰ Dozy, *Historia*, II/135; Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, V/8. 61 See Brockelmann, *The Crescent*, p. 204; Hitti, *History of Islam*, IV/779-843; "Leon", EB, XIII/895

⁶¹ Brockelmann, *Islam Civilizations*, p. 194; Dozy, *Historia*, II/135; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/815.

⁶² Eulogio who was set free after pledging that he wouldn't do actual rebellions and commotions, was swung when he started the same rebellions during Emir Muhammed period. See: Hitti. *The Islam History*. III /815; Eulogio. *ML*, IV/435; Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*. p. 52.

⁶³ Dozy, *Historia*, II/135; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/815.

⁶⁴ The fifth crown of Umayyad government Muhammed Abdurrahman El-hakem, acceded to the throne when he was 29 years old and he was an emir nearly for 35 years. For detailed information, see: Ibnu'l Kutuyye, *Tarihu iftitahi'l Endeliüs*, p. 86-110, Ahbar Mecmua, p. 126-31, el-Humeydi, *Cezve*, p. 11, Ibnu'l Abbar, *El-Hulle*, I/119-20, Ibn Haldun, *el-iber*. IV /130-32; Brockelmann. *The Islamic nations*. p-194-95. The Heykel, *el-Edebul-Endelusi*, p. 117-18

⁶⁵ Münzir b. Muhammed who stayed on the throne only for a short time died when he was young. There are different stories about his death, whether he died as a result of a disease or he was killed by his brother Abdullah who replaced the throne after him. For detailed information about Münzir's Life and activities, see: Ibnu'l-Kutuyye, *Tarihu iftitahi'l Endeliüs*. p. 113-14; Ahbar mecmua, p. 132, Ibn Hayyan, *el-Muktebes*, III /45 VD. El Humeydi, *Cezve*, p. 11, Ibn Azari, *El beyanul-muğrib*, II /118, Lisanuddin,

ruled (275-300/888-912) by Abdullah (d. 300/912)⁶⁶. In history books this period was named as “the first corruption period”⁶⁷.

Muhammad who took on the government wasn't as successful as his father in government policy⁶⁸ and besides this, in addition to lots of domestic chaos, the attacks by Normans to the eastern and southern borders resulted in a big instability and chaos in the country. Muvelledun played a leading role in these domestic commotions. The most important of the domestic commotions is the Omar Hafsun commotion (d. 315 /928)⁶⁹ who gathered a lot of Arab and Spanish mutineers around him and urged the government for a long time. Despite all his efforts, Muhammed could only achieve to slow down these commotions⁷⁰.

During the short reign of his son Munzir, who replaced Muhammad when he died in 273/886, nothing changed despite the military expeditions. After the death of Munzir in 275/88, his brother replaced him. The rebellions and commotions went on pushing the country to political impotence. The first of the most important of these movements were the commotions of Muvelledun which aimed at throwing all the Arabic people from the Spanish (Iberian) peninsula and based on

A'malu'l-a'lam. p. 25. Ibn Haldun, *el- Iber*. IV /132; Brockelmann. *The Islamic nations*. p. 195

⁶⁶ Abdullah b. Muhammed b. Abdurrahman died at the age of seventy two. He wrote literary essays and poems on lyric poems. He was the last Andalusia commander who used the title of “Emir”. For further information about his life and time see: Ibnu'l-Kûtiyye, *Târîhu iftitâhi'l-Endeliüs*, s. 115-18; *Ahbâr Mecmû'a*, s. 133-34; Ibn Hayyân, *el-Muktebes*, III/11-14, 29-31; el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 12; Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/136-37; Brockelmann, *Islam Civilizations*, p. 195-96.

⁶⁷ Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Endeliüsî*, p. 116

⁶⁸ Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/130-31.

⁶⁹ Omar b. Hafsun who came from the Visigoth origin officiated in the Muslim army for some time and then he revolted to the government and drawback to a mountainous district with a group of mutineers. Within the durations he was effective, he succeeded in renouncing of Cordoba with the other regions. Sometime Ibn Hafsun established relations with the caliphate of Abbasids to make himself nominated as the Andalusia governor, But when he failed his purpose, he turned over to his grandfather's religion and he got the name “Samuel”. For detailed information, see: *Ahbâr Mecmu'a*, p. 133-34; Ibn hayyan-el- Muktebes, III /50-2, 89-92, 120-22_Ibn Haldun, *el -Iber*. IV/ 140; Hitti, *The History of Islam*. III/7818-19

⁷⁰ Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Endeliüsî*, p. 118.

racism⁷¹. The second were the commotions which were started by some prestigious people to establish an independent emirate in their own regions. In addition to these rebellions and commotions, the scarcity that broke out in 275/888 had been effective especially at the south regions of Andalusia.

Due to all these negative evaluations several emirates accrued. The fact that the famished commonwealth began to take part in hi-jacking⁷², plundered and rebelled forced the already languished supreme power to its final decline⁷³.

With his death, Abdullah left behind an Andalusia that had lost its political integrity. After Abdullah, his grandson Abdurrahman en-Nâsir III of Andalusia (d. 350/961)⁷⁴, also starting the “Andalusia Caliphate Period” (316-422/929-1031), ascended to the throne.

During the period that started with Mohammad, who ascended the throne after the death of his father Abdurrahman II and went on with his sons Munzir and Abdullah, civil commotion and insurrections against central authority boomed. Especially in Mohammad’s last five years the economic decline and lack of experience in central administration weakened the authority of the state. Broadly considering the circumstances of the state in Abdurrahman III period;

1. Andalusia had lost its political integrity, most parts of the upper borderline of Tuleytula and South Andalusia had become separate emirates.

⁷¹ Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Endelüsî*, p. 118.

⁷² Ibn Hâkân, *Matmahu'l-enfûs*, p. 39.

⁷³ Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/816.

⁷⁴ III. Abdurrahman b. Muhammed, ascending the throne on the age of twenty three, after securing the states political stability in 316/929 gained the title ‘en-Nasir’ and declared himself caliph. III. Abdurrahman b. Muhammed is the first to use the ‘caliph’ title, his antecedents used “emir” and “emiru’l Mü’minin”. During his fifty years (300-350/921-961) long reign, he set Andalusia among the most powerful states. For detailed information, see: Ahbar Mecmu’a, p. 135-38; el-Hummeydi, *Cezve*, p. 12-13; Inbu’l abbar, el-Hulle, I/197-200; Ibn Haldun, *el-İber*, IV/137-44; Brockelmann, *The Crescent*, p. 196-202; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/816; “Andalusia Umayyads”, İA, IV/252-54

2. Due to the authority gap, mainly caused by civil commotion and insurrections it had become impossible to collect taxes which led to the fact that the coffers of the state were all emptied.
3. By reason of consecutive civil commotions, a social fusion could not be set.
4. Availing themselves of the actual circumstance of the state, Christian monarchies had found an opportunity to expand.

Abdurrahman III spent twenty years of his fifty years on-holding reign to political integrity. He got into communication with the insurgents and had them one by one bound to central authority. With the power forcing out of political integrity, in the year 316/929 he declared himself caliph with the title “en Nasır” and the “Andalusia Caliphate Period” (316-422/929-1031)⁷⁵ began.

With Abdurrahman III, ummatism policies, the Arabian aristocrat population declined, and the ethnic inequality between the different ethnic groups forming the population of Andalusia had also come to an end⁷⁶. With Abdurrahman III the state had become a structure in which the absolute control and authority went under the control of the caliph. This led to reaction of the racists⁷⁷ and until that date privileged Arabian aristocracy. The Christian and the Muvelledûn took great delight in that, for as much as the reason for the commotion and insurrections caused by these population classes always happened to be the ethnic inequality. With this regulation, Abdurrahman III gained their allegiance. Besides, he also made some other regulations on managerial staff positions and made it possible for other ethnic groups than the Arabian to serve⁷⁸.

As soon as Abdurrahman III had stabilized the internal institutions he concentrated on the threat of the external enemies. Upon this intention, he founded the biggest deep sea fleet of his period and organized 345/956

⁷⁵ Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/825; Lağzivî, *Edebü's-siyâse*, p. 33-35.

⁷⁶ Abbas, *Târîhü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/22; Peres, *Esplendor de al-Andalus*, p. 258-59; Lağzivî, *Edebü's-siyâse*, p. 33.

⁷⁷ For the topic of Arabian racism and the importance it presents for the Arabian, see: İhsan en-Nass, *el-Asabiyyetu'l-Kailiyye ve asaruha fi's-şi'ri'l-Emevi*, p. 11-50

⁷⁸ Dozy, *Historia*, II/375-76.

military expeditions to North Africa and destroyed⁷⁹ the at that time ruling Fatimi⁸⁰. On the other hand, he also organized successful expeditions resulting in ensuring the national borders, establishing diplomatic relations with different nations and stabilizing foreign policies⁸¹.

In the period of Hakim II (350-366/961-976), who ascended the throne after the death of his father Abdurrahman III, the policies on entrusting the non-Arabian with managerial staff positions continued and gave help to enforcing the fusion of different ethnic groups. In the fifteen years of his regency Hakan II brought off the difficult task of maintaining both internal and external matters on top. To the end of his life, due to paralysis, he handed⁸² his throne over to his son, Hâcib⁸³ Cafer el Mushafi (d. 372/983)⁸⁴. One of the notable events of the Hakan II period is that el-Mansû b. Ebî Âmir (d. 393/1002)⁸⁵, also the founder of the

⁷⁹ Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/829

⁸⁰ Since the founder, Ubeydullah (279-323/910-934) adduces originating from the daughter of Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him), Fatima they are known as Fatimi. The Fatimi caliphate, being the biggest Shiite state, was founded after affordable and persistent struggles against the Baghdad Abbasi Caliphate in the year 297/909 in Tunisia. Thanks to expanding means, the capital was moved to Cairo in 363/973. Henceforth 427/1035 the deterioration period began and by 567/1171 they decayed. For detailed information, see : “The Fatimi” *IA*, IV/521-26; Hitti, *History of Islam*, IV/889-1001; Uçok, *History of Islam*, p. 128-29.

⁸¹ Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/824; Lağzivi, *Edebü's-siyâse*, p. 34.

⁸² Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/144

⁸³ At the East, the duties of the “hacib” include the reception of guests who wanted to meet the caliph and organize them. (Hitti; *History of İslam*, II/489). At Andalusia it is differentiated in that form that the “hacib” is above all viziers and is the head-vizier. He is the intermediary between the caliph and the viziers. See: Ibn Haldun, *Mukaddime* I/611-18; Brockelmann, *The Crescent*, p. 203; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/883; Salih, *en-Nuzumu'l-İslamiyye*, p. 306. el-Hummeydi, *Cezve*, p. 10; Ibnu'l-Abbar, *el-Hulle*, I/43-50; Ibn Haldun, *el-İber*, IV/125-26; el-Makkari, *Nefhu't-tib*, I/338-

⁸⁴ For further information about Ebu'l-Hasan Ca'fer b. Osmân el-Mushafi see: el-Humeydi, *Cezve*, p. 175-76; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 240; el-Makkari, *Nefhu't-tib*, I/592-94; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, II/119.

⁸⁵ Under the pseudonym el-Mansur, Mohammad b. Abdillah b. Ebî Âmir originally from Yemen, came with his grandfather's army. (For his life and deeds see: Ibn Haldun, *el-İber*, IV/147; Hitti, *History of Islam*, IV/841-44; Brockelmann; *The Crescent*, p. 203-204; Na'nai, *Tarihu'd-devleti'l-Emeviyye*, p. 425-41; Heykel, *el-Ebedü'l Endelüsi*, p. 264-66) The biggest aim of Ibn Ebî Âmir was to die in the battle field. At last he

Âmirî Dynasty, made a name of himself in the political existence of Andalusia. Being in young ages during Hakan II dynasty years, we see that Ibn Ebî Âmir planned on capturing the throne and applied it progressively. Starting with the occupation of a financial servant, thanks to his achievements in the palace, he gained both the appreciation of the caliph and of his Baskian wife Aurora (Sabiha)⁸⁶ and worked himself successively to the top; undertaking the duties of the Kadhi, caretaking field officer, auditor and at last to hâcib.

While Hakem II was still alive, in the year of 366/776 bequeathed he the throne to his son Hisâm II⁸⁷ and subsequently died. Being the third caliph of the Andalusia Umayyad, Hisâm II ascended to the throne with the title ‘el-Uyyed billâh’⁸⁸. But Ibn Ebî Âmir, being the most favoured by Hakan II and still the absolute power of the state, placed Hisâm II⁸⁹, the caliph by reason of young age under his guardianship⁹⁰. Resulting in the *hâcibship*, also called the Âmirian period, began and lasted till the year of 399/1008⁹¹. We will concentrate on the political events in detail while we analyse Ibn Suheyd’s, born in this period, life and poems.

reached his aim during his fifty second wartime, and it was written on his gravestone as: “you may see the history of his time with the works he did in the past.”; “nobody would come back like him again and save the borders of Andalusia as he did.” See: Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 266; Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 413.

⁸⁶ Being of Baskian origin, Aurora is a clever and intellectual woman. She was the favourite of Hakem II, after conversion into Islam she was renamed as Sabiha. See: *Ibn Hazm, Tavku’l-hamame*, p. 19; Brockelmann, *History of Islam*, p. 203.

⁸⁷ Hisam ascended the throne with the title “Müeyyed billah” at the age of twelve. The absolute right bearers of the period were his mother Aurora and Hacib e-Mansur. Hisam came into power twice; in 366-399/976-1008 and 400-403/1009-1012. There is no definite information about his death after he was dismissed from the throne, but el-Humeydi mentions 403/1012 as a date. See: Ibn Hazm, *Tavku’l-hamame*, p. 19; el-Humeydi, *Cezve*, p. 17; Ibn Haldun, *el-İber*, IV/147; Na’nai, *Tarihu’d-devleti’l Emeviyye*, p. 511-14 “Endülüs Emevileri” *IA*, IV/252-55.

⁸⁸ Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/147; Brockelmann, *Islam Civilizations*, p. 203; “Andalusia Umayyad”, *IA*, IV/253-54.

⁸⁹ Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 126.

⁹⁰ Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/148.

⁹¹ Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/148-50; Brockelmann, *Islam Civilizations*, p. 203-206; Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 264; Lağzivî, *Edebü’s-siyâse*, p. 35-37.

Ibn Ebî Âmir annulled the army of Slav⁹² origins composed of security forces, and instead, constituted a loyal troop of guardsmen which took their origins in North Africa. Right after that, maybe to show the ineffectiveness of Hisâm II, in order to attenuate the glory and grandeur of the caliph's palace, ez-Zehrâ⁹³, let Ibn Ebî Âmir build himself a magnificent palace named Medinetü'z-Zâhire⁹⁴ in the east of Cordoba. Ibn Ebî Âmir had his name stamped on money and seals⁹⁵, and had his name preached in khutbas like caliphs did. According to Ibn Haldûn, Ibn Ebî Âmir organized prosperous military expeditions expanding the state borders, and applied strict politics on the Christian principalities and monarchies in the north. Outreaching his former caliphs and administrators, he gave a greater importance to the north African policies, and did his best endeavor to prevent Shi'a expansion onto the Andalusian territory⁹⁶.

After the triumphant wartime against the Kingdom of Leon⁹⁷, Ibn Ebî Âmir gained the title 'el-Mansûr billâh'⁹⁸, and while he was still alive, he

⁹² Although in the early stages all prisoners of war brought from the northern countries used to be called "Slav", later on all slaves and prisoners brought from outside the borders were called so. Generally they were brought at young age, converted into Moslems and charged in army. See: Brockelmann, *The Crescent*, p 204; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/829; "Slav", *EB*, XX/773-9.

⁹³ This palace was let constructed by Abdurrahman III, at the instigation of his concubine ez-Zehra. Built on a hill overlooking Cordoba, it was one of the most glamorous palaces of Europe. For detailed information see: Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/144; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, I/524-25; Brockelmann, 1964: 204; Hitti, *History of Islam*, Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 183-84; Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape and Vision in Palaces of Islamic Spain*, p. 53-85; Ruggles, "*Madinat al-Zahra and the Umayyad Palace*", p. 25-32

⁹⁴ Medinetü'z-zâhire one of the gorgeous palace of the time, which was built by el-Mansûr has no remnant today. For further information, see. Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/148; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/842; Na'nâî, *Târîhu'd-devleti'l-Emeviyye*, p. 442.

⁹⁵ Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/148.

⁹⁶ For further information about el-Mansûr's north African politics, see: Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/148; Na'nâî, *Târîhu'd-devleti'l-Emeviyye*, p. 456-62

⁹⁷ Kingdom of Leon was once located in the north west of contemporary Spain, and the capital of which still exists with the same name. It became one of the cities which gave tax to the Andalusia Umayyad founded by el-Mansûr in 378/987. See: Brockelmann, *Islam Civilizations*, p. 204; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/779-843; "Leon", *EB*, XIII/895.

⁹⁸ Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/148; Brockelmann, *Islam Civilizations*, p. 204; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/842; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 264.

passed on his hâcibship to his son, Abdulmelik (d. 399/1008)⁹⁹, in the year of 381/991. When el-Mansûr died while he was returning from his fifty second battle in the year 393/1002¹⁰⁰, his son replaced his father with the title ‘el-Muzaffer’. Besides his palmy outstands¹⁰¹, Abdulmelik took after his father and put down all the commotions and insurrections with military forces. Although he did well on administrating the state authority in his six years of hâcibship; his brother Abdurrahmân b. Ebî Âmir (d. 400/1009)¹⁰², having desires on Abdulmelik’s power, poisoned him to death. This event caused a disorder in the society¹⁰³.

Succeeded to the throne after his brother, Abdulmelik el-Muzaffer, Abdurrahman b. Ebî Âmir was by far ambitious than his father and brother. Taken the title of “en-Nâsir li dinillâh”, Abdulmelik exerted pressure on caliph Hisam, who was already ineffectuated by the time, to publicise an edict¹⁰⁴ in the year 399/1008, testifying that after his death Abdurrahman b. Ebî Âmir will ascend the throne. However, the Umayyads, whose rights were shorn off the throne by this edict, rebelled while Abdurrahman was on a campaign, and forced Hisam to abdicate

⁹⁹ For further information about Abdulmelik b. Ebî Âmir who took the control of the country after his father’s death with the nickname “el-Muzaffer” see. Ibn Hazm, *Tavku’l-hamâme*, p. 20, 33; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 373-74; Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/148; Brockelmann, *Islam Civilizations*, p. 204-205; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/845; Na’nâî, *Târîhu’d-devleti’l-Emeviyye*, p. 469-83; Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 266; “Andalusia Umayyad”, *IA*, IV/255.

¹⁰⁰ Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/148

¹⁰¹ Na’nâî, *Târîhu’d-devleti’l-Emeviyye*, p. 445.

¹⁰² Abdurrahman b. Ebî Âmir becoming vizier after his brother took the denomination “en-Nâsir li dinillah”. He was disliked by the habitants and especially by the clergy. As his mother was the daughter of one of the Christian kings, he was nicknamed as “Sanchol”. See: Ibn Hazm, *Tavku’l-hamâme*, p. 20, 49; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 373-74; Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/148; Brockelmann, *Islam Civilizations*, p. 205; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/845; Na’nâî, *Târîhu’d-devleti’l-Emeviyye*, p. 483-93; Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 254; “Andalusia Umayyads”, *IA*, IV/254-55; Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *al-Andalus*, XXIX/254.

¹⁰³ Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/148-49; Brockelmann, *Islam Civilizations*, p. 205; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/845; Heykel, *el Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 266; Nykl, *Hispano Arabic Poetry*, p. 69.

¹⁰⁴ Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/148; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/845; Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *al-Andalus*, XXIX/254.

in favor of Mohammad II (d. 401/1010)¹⁰⁵, one of the grandsons of Abdurrahmân III. They then imprisoned Hisam and let Mohammad II ascend the throne with the title of “el-Mehdi billâh¹⁰⁶”.

Abdurrahmân b. Ebî Âmir was killed by the servants of Mohammad II on the way back home. All the instabilities that started with Hisâm II, went in the Âmirian period (366-399/976-1008) as civil commotions based on ethnicity, struggles for the throne and foreign threats on. All of these negativities, brought Andalusia to the past when it was under the command of inner stabilities and eventually in the period of Muhammed II who sat on the throne with the title of El-Mehdi, the country came close to a collapse.

When Muhammed II became the caliphate, the first thing he did was razing el-Medinetu’z-zahire to the ground, which was built as a spite to Ez-Zehra Palace by Ibn Ebi Amir. Later he dissociated from Berbers, who were very faithful to Amiris, from their position and he killed all those who didn’t affirm his caliphate¹⁰⁷. El-Mehdi seemed like a bloodthirsty, cruel person with these actions. Soon, all of the groups showed their grudge to El-Mehdi by rebelling. They descended the caliphate, and they brought Süleyman b. Hakem from the Umayyad dynasty, with the appellation of “el-Musta’in billah¹⁰⁸” to the caliphate¹⁰⁹. The old caliph El-Mehdi, who was in the hands of the

¹⁰⁵ Muhammed b. Hisâm b. Abdilcebbâr b. Abdirrahman en-Nâsir, with the denomination “el-Mehdî” was killed before his second caliphate. see: el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 18-19; Ibn Hazm, *Tavku’l-hamâme*, p. 49; Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/150; Brockelmann, *Islam Civilizations*, p. 205; Na’nâî, *Târihu’d-devleti’l-Emeviyye*, p. 509-511

¹⁰⁶ Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/150; Brockelmann, *Islam Civilizations*, p. 205

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/149-51; Brockelmann, *Islam Civilizations*, p. 205; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/846.

¹⁰⁸ Süleyman el-Musta’in, who had a very devoted character to science and literature, sat on the throne twice between 401-402 /1009-1010 and 404-407 /1013-1016, when the Andalusia Umayyad government was in a big confusion and close to tumbling down. For detailed information, see: el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 19-22; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I /35-48; Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV /150-51; Hitti, *The History of Islam*, III / 846; Na’nai, *Tarihu’d-devleti’l-Emeviyye*, p. 507-509, 514-18

¹⁰⁹ Ibn Hazm, *Tavku’l-hamâme*, p. 48; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehire*, I/36; Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 345.

rebellions, tried to be in cooperation with some schismatic groups and started a movement against Süleyman but he couldn't reach his aim and he was killed. After this throne struggle which lasted too long, Süleyman el-Musta'in, who was chosen as a caliph a short time ago, was dethroned and at 401/1010, Hisam II was assigned as a caliph again¹¹⁰.

The country which was totally collapsing, fell in more troubled positions because of the throne changes during very short periods. At the period of Hisam II, especially the commotions of Berbers, their plunder of the palace Medinetu'z-Zehra and Cordoba, they put the sword on the community and the outspreading of some fatal diseases over the country, encouraged the foreign enemies.

At the years of 402 / 1011, the country was in chaos¹¹¹. The Berbers couldn't succeed in capturing Cordoba even if they besieged the city. But in 403/1012, they ravaged the city. They killed innocent people and experts of science and literature. Süleyman el-Musta'in, who was in cooperation with Berbers, accended the throne again at 404 / 1013 and he had to leave all his rulership and prestige to his rebellious proponent, Berbers¹¹². However, the people of Cordoba called for the help of

¹¹⁰ Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/150-51; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/846.

¹¹¹ Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/151; "Andalusia Umayyads", *İA*, IV/255.

¹¹² Brockelmann, *History of Islam*, p. 205; "Endülüs Emevileri", *İA*, IV/255; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 345; Na'nâî, *Târihu'd-devleti'l-Emeviyye*, p. 514-18.

governor of Sebte¹¹³ Ali b. Hammud (d. 408/1018)¹¹⁴, who was a member of Idrisi dynasty¹¹⁵.

Having been supported by the Berbers, he conquered Cordoba and declared himself the caliph. Because of this reason a new term called Hamuddies Period, which will last approximately 11 years, started (407-418/10017-1027)¹¹⁶. Süleyman el-Musta was assassinated and then Ali b. Hammud was assassinated in the same way after a short time¹¹⁷. The end of Hisam II, by means of which Suleiman was dethroned, has not been revealed, yet. While some claim that he died in those chaotic years, some claim that he escaped from Spain and died somewhere in the east having lived in a small way. When Ali b. Hammud was assassinated by the supporters of the Ummayyadians, Abdurrahman I V (d. 408/1018)¹¹⁸ was

¹¹³ The city, located on the coast of North Africa, was built by Phoenicians. At the fifth century, Sebte was invaded by Vandals and went under the territory of Byzantines, Arabs and Berbers in turn. It was acceded into the domain of the caliphate of Andalusia Umayyads by Abdurrahman II at 319/931. It went under the conduct of Morocco which got its independence at 1956. See: Ibn Hazım, *Tavku'l-hamame*, p. 102; Yakut, *Mu'cemü'l-büldan*, III/182-83; Hitti; *The History of Islam*; III /779; Cueca; *EB*, V /176; Septe; *ML*, XI / 191

¹¹⁴ For detailed knowledge about Ali B. Hammud, The founder of the Hammudi dynasty, see; Ibn Hazım, *Tavku'l Hamame*, p. 155-5 el-Humeydi, *Cezve*, p. 22, Ibn Haldun, *El-Iber*, IV /152-53; Brockelmann, *The Islamic Nations*; p. 205 - 206; Hitti; *The history of Islam*; III /847/48; Heykel; *el-edebü'l-Endelüsi*, p. 345

¹¹⁵ When Idris b. Abdillah, who was the grandson of Prophet Muhammed, couldn't succeed in a commotion he partook, he escaped and came near to Morocco at North Africa. He constituted an empire which lasted for 200 years under his leadership. This dynasty which was the first dynasty that the Shia built in history, was brought to an end by Hakem II, who was a caliph of Andalusia Umayyads. See: Ibn Hazım, *Tavku'l-hamame*, p. 155; Ibn Haldun, *el- Iber*, IV /12-14; Hitti, *The History of Islam*, III /705-706

¹¹⁶ Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/152-53; Na'nâî, *Târîhu'd-devleti'l-Emeviyye*, p. 518-23; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 345.

¹¹⁷ Brockelmann, *Islam Civilizations*, p. 205; Provencal, *La Civilisation arabe en Espagne*, p. 186.

¹¹⁸ About extensive information related to Abdurrahman b. Muhammed IV who was the 13th caliph of Umayyad Dynasty at the age of twenty-two see. Ibn Hazım, *Tavku'l-hamame*, p. 49; Hitti, *Islamic History*, III/846; "Umayyads in Andalusia", *IA*, IV/255.

declared as the caliph titled “el-Murtaza” and he was also killed after a few weeks¹¹⁹.

Because of the fact that people in Cordoba in a continuous search of a caliph, they declared Ali b. Hammud’s brother Kasim b. Hammud (d. 427/1035)¹²⁰ as the caliph titled “el-Me’mun¹²¹”. Since Kasim had been aware of Berbers’ unreliable attitudes, he searched for some other supporters, yet his search caused uneasiness and discomfort among Berbers. Ali b. Hammud’s son Yahya b. Ali (d. 426/1034)¹²² worked for his own end taking the advantage of the chaotic situation of the country, with the help of the Berbers¹²³, dismissing his uncle, he acceded to the throne (412-413/1021-1022). Yahya b. Ali imprisoned his uncle Kasim, having dethroned him, and then executed him by reason of incitement to revolt. Particularly because of the revolts and commotions in the period between 407-413/1016-1022, when the region was under the Hammudies’ directorship, brought the state to ending¹²⁴.

People in Cordoba, that had not been governed by a member of the Umayyad Dynasty for the last seven years, took their arms and chased Yahya b. Ali and his supporters out of the town¹²⁵. They declared the independence of Cordoba and Abdurrahman V (d. 414/1025)¹²⁶ of Umayyad Dynasty was called to the throne by

¹¹⁹ Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/846

¹²⁰ About extensive information related to Kasim b. Hammud who remained upon his throne between the years 408-412/1018-1021 and who dethroned by his nephew, see: el-Humeydi, *Cezve*, p. 22-24; Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/158; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/848; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 346.

¹²¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 12; Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/158.

¹²² For further information about the last representative of Hammûdî in Andalusia, see: el-Humeydi, *Cezve*, p. 22-24; Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/158; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/848; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 346.

¹²³ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 346

¹²⁴ Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/153; Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *al-Andalus*, XXIX/255, 268

¹²⁵ Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *al-Andalus*, XXIX/272.

¹²⁶ For extensive information related to Abdurrahman b. Hisam V who was the 14th caliph of Umayyad Dynasty, see: Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/48-59; el-Merrakuşi, *el-Mu'cip*, p. 54-55; Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/153; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/846; Na'nai, *Tarihu'd-devleti'l-Emeviyye*, p. 523-25.

the title of “el-Mustahzir” (413/1023)¹²⁷. In those years the country was divided into several emirates which supposedly dependent on the central authority¹²⁸. Abdurrahman, who was devoted to literature and poetry, had an end which was not different than the end of the caliphs prior to him. He was killed in such short time which no more than 45 days after having acceded to the throne¹²⁹. After Abdurrahman, Muhammed III (d. 416/1025)¹³⁰, the new caliph, who is a member of Ummayyad Dynasty, was acceded to the throne under the name of “el-Mustekfî billah” (414-416/1023-1025). Because of the fact that Muhammed III was fond of wallowing in pleasure¹³¹, his people hated him¹³². The people of Cordoba were obliged to apply to Hammudies¹³³ for the second time, having seen that Muhammed III promoted unqualified people to the chairs such as the chair of vizierate or having poisoned some important people such as the important scientists of the period. A group of squires from local notable of Cordoba who were driven away applied to Yahya b. Hammed who had been ruling at Maleka and wanted him to rescue them from this condition. Muhammed III was arrested and murdered although he tried to escape because he was worried due to the news that Yahya was going to attract to Cordoba. Yahya attended Cordoba by going along with request of the local notable after a while he delivered the governors of the city to a commander and he turned back to Maleka at 417/1026.

¹²⁷ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/48, 78; Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *al-Andalus*, XXIX/255, 273.

¹²⁸ Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/151

¹²⁹ Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, II/12; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/155.

¹³⁰ For extensive information related to Muhammed III who was the 15th caliph of Umayyad Dynasty, see: el-Merrakuşî, *el-Mu'cip*, p. 55-56; Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/152; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/847; Na'nai, *Tarihu'd-devleti'l-Emeviyye*, p. 525-31.

¹³¹ Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/847

¹³² For further information about the biggest canon lawyer and man of literature that Andalusia brought up, Ebû Muhammed Ali b. Ahmed b. Sa'id b. Hazm, see: Ibnu'l-Imâd, *Şezerâtü'z-zeheb*, III/299/301; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/167-90; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, VII/16-17; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, V/59; Corriente, *Arabic Literature*, p. 133; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/215; Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 426-28; Pellat, “Ibn Hazm”, p. 27-87; Brockelmann, *Suppl.*, I/692-94.

¹³³ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 346-47; Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *al-Andalus*, XXIX/277.

Consequently, he had committed the city to himself but the community wasn't satisfied with the comment with the administration of this Berber community origin commander¹³⁴. They declared Hisam III¹³⁵, from the Umayyad origin as a caliphate with the title of 'el-Mu'tezz billah' when the governors of the city increasingly got worse situation. The community of Cordoba gathered and started to see abating of the caliphate as the solution when Hisam III couldn't stabilize the administration¹³⁶ which had become totally complicated because of the rebellions and commotions happening during years 413-422/1022-1033. Finally, the notables of the city gathered in 422/1034 and decided to abate the caliphate and entrusted the governance of the city to the "*Majlis-i Mesveret*", which stood for contemporary State Council¹³⁷. As we deal with Hammudi¹³⁸ which was broken off by Umayyad caliphate at last in these years 422/1031¹³⁹ ended by dethroning Hisam III. In this period many states raised¹⁴⁰ and then was conquered by Christian Kingdoms¹⁴¹.

B. SOCIAL AND ECONOMICAL LIFE

1. Ethnic Origin

Andalusia, after being a state bounded up to Umayyad Empire whose centre was in Damascus, socially formed in two different ways, namely religious differences and ethnic origin. Andalusia society that was

¹³⁴ Heykel, *Literature of Andalusia*, p. 347.

¹³⁵ There is no exact information about the death of Hişâm b. Muhammed b. Abdilmelik b. Abdirrahman, last caliph of Andalusia Umayyad between the dates 418- 422/1027-1031. It is said that it might be 428/1036 see: Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, II/26-30; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/848; Heykel, *Literature of Andalusia*, p. 347.

¹³⁶ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, III/515; Dozy, *Historia*, p. 584; Dickie, "Ibn Suhayd", *al-Andalus*, XXIX/255; Heykel, *Literature of Andalusia*, p. 347.

¹³⁷ Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/848; Dickie, "Ibn Suhayd", *al-Andalus*, XXIX/283; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 348.

¹³⁸ Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/154-55; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/851.

¹³⁹ For the period known as "Mulûku't-tavâif" see: Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/152; Brockelmann, *Islâm Civilizations*, p. 206-207; Abbas, *Târîhu'l-edeb*, II/6-31.

¹⁴⁰ Nykl, *Hispano Arabic Poetry*, p. 69.

¹⁴¹ Brockelmann, *Islâm Civilizations*, p. 232; Nykl, *Hispano Arabic Poetry*, p. 70.

divided up into two groups in terms of religion, Muslims and non-Moslems, consisted of Christian originated Spanish, Arabians constituting Muslim part, Berbers and Muslims who were not eastern originated Arabian. As Muslims came to Andalusia after conquest or came there from outside, they were called Vafidis¹⁴². The other group consisted of slaves brought from Europe.

Arabians, the first group that forms Vafidis, came to Andalusia from east at different times and in different number of groups. In the year 93/712 the first group that entered Andalusia with Musa b. Nusayr and that made up of mostly Kureys people was called Belediyyun and in the following year 97/716 the second group consisted of Syrians was called Samiyyun¹⁴³. Berbers that held the majority in the army of Tarik b. Ziyad, the Andalusian Conqueror, came to Andalusia from North Africa. Mevali, the last group of Vafidis, came to the country with Arabians, they were dependent on Arabians, and in the course of time they forgot their own origin. Arabians, who were less in number and inhabited in cities at the beginning¹⁴⁴, dominated the administrative life and also socio economic life though less in number from the conquest till that year 422/1031 when the domination of Andalusian Umayyads ended. Tribe conflicts and partiality dating back to Pre-Islamic period were seen generally within Qays and Yemenis as well as frequently within Andalusians. Although Berbers had an important role in the achievement of conquest and were more in number when compared to Arabians, they were not efficient in administrative life as Arabians¹⁴⁵ were. However this situation changed when Ibn Ebi Amir came into power. Berbers became influential in governmental ranks and especially in the administration of army. They had a chance to recognize Islam religion by means of Arabians and in a short period of time they began to speak Arabian.

Although Mevali having come from east and mostly Persian originated was less in number, they had an important role, which was different from

¹⁴² For the group of Arabs, Berbers in Andalusia, see: Lağzivî, *Edebü's-siyâse*, p. 66-71.

¹⁴³ el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 5; Provencal, *Histoire*, IV/51.

¹⁴⁴ Hâlis, *İşbiliyye fi'l-karni'l-hâmis*, p. 32.

¹⁴⁵ It is said that the population of Berberries was about twelve thousand during the conquer of Andalusia. : Hâlis, *İşbiliyye fi'l-karni'l-hâmis*, p. 29.

their position in east, in political and administrative life in Andalusia due to their support granted for Muslim Andalusia's establishment.

“Muvelledun” composed by Spain's local people who converted to Islam, form the Muslim majority since the midst of III/IX centuries. Due to the tribal partiality that lasted till the *Cahiliyye* (Ignorance) Period, some Arbian assumed themselves superior to Muvelledun. This led to the hostility between Arabs and Muvelledun and also from time to time it led to wars between these two classes¹⁴⁶. In the period of Abdurrahman III due to some precautions taken for warranting economical and political stability, spreading education, opening positions in administrative area for these people, and putting an end to tribal perception; hostility between Arabians and Muvelledun ended up in the course of time¹⁴⁷.

Another group of Muslim people in Andalusia composed of slaves called “memalik” were sold by slave dealers in various bazaars in Spain after having been gathered from various districts in Europe and especially from Slavic districts at young ages. In the period of Muslim Andalusia, all slaves were called “Sakalibe¹⁴⁸” which means Slavs though they were not Slav originated. This ethnical group which is called Sakalibe, began to make its authority felt since Abdurrahman ed-Dahil period (756-789)¹⁴⁹.

Spanish originated people whose ex-religion was Christianity and Judaism, had right to protect their life and goods, religion, sanctuary, customs within the terms of treaties. However they had to pay *jizya* tax and tribute in return. This group of people was influenced by Islamic culture in the course of time. They began to use Arabic as literary language and spoke this language along with their mother tongue. They were imitating Muslims in many aspects of their daily lives. As a consequence, this group was called “Musta'ribun” which means “under the effects of Arabisation”. This class, which held important positions in

¹⁴⁶ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 118.

¹⁴⁷ Hâlis, *Işbiliyye fi'l-karni'l-hâmis*, p. 66 vd.

¹⁴⁸ For further information about Sakâlibe see: Lağzivî, *Edebü's-siyâse*, p. 71-73; Hâlis, *Işbiliyye fi'l-karni'l-hâmis*, p. 32.

¹⁴⁹ Brockelmann, *Islâm Civilizations*, p. 191.

various organizations of army and government, contributed to administrative, social and economical life. As this group was aware of Arabic and Latin, they functioned as a bridge between Andalusia and other European countries for cultural interaction.

The main factor that bounded these groups which had totally different ethnical origins was the formation of Andalusian people as a result of interaction of Arabs who were accepted as the superior class with these groups in the course of time. Arabs whose population did not exceed forty thousand and who was in minority when compared to local people were main potentials for Islamisation and Arabisation¹⁵⁰. Western scientists and eastern scientists have always put forward contrasting ideas about whether Andalusian society was mostly of Arabic blood or of Spanish blood. While eastern scientists claim that society is carrying a small ratio of Spanish blood, western scientists especially Spanish researchers like Asin Palcios and Julian Ribera defend the opposite. Besides, Ahmet Heykel reports that Julian Ribera assumes that Arabians were assimilated by Spanish people completely, by advancing a mathematical theory. Ribera proves his theory by claiming that when Arabs came to Spain in an attempt of war they continued their life by marrying women or girls that were Spanish originated as they had not brought their own wives with themselves. He tried to prove that Andalusian society were Spanish Muslims¹⁵¹ by claiming that mother of Abdurrahman ed-Dahil (131-172/731-788) who was the founder of Andalusian Umayyad State was not an Arabian, she could be accepted half-Arabian and also she claimed that the ratio is very small after comparing the blood of the following emirs.

Eastern researchers claim that Andalusian people were descending from Adnan and Kahtan Tribes since it was assumed that children were of their father's blood and these people had Arabian ancestors therefore the whole nation was accepted as bearing the same features as Arab originated people.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 30-31.

¹⁵¹ Heykel, *Literature of Andalusia*, p. 35-36.

¹⁵² Heykel, *Literature of Andalusia*, p. 34-35.

However, we are of the opinion that these people physically resemble to the people in west and mentally resemble to the people in east. If we consider that the number of Arabs who came to Andalusia was about forty thousand and the Spaniards were of millions, it would be more appropriate to say they were much alike Spanish in terms of physical appearance. Keeping that in mind, when we put aside these exceptional discrepancies, in terms of factors like belief, culture, literature and art they could be considered as Arabs.

The second group of Vafidis that migrated Andalusia¹⁵³ consisted of Berbers. They came along with the Arab invaders and played as much important role in the conquering the area as Arabs. Following the successful conquest many other Berbers migrated to Andalusia from North Africa¹⁵⁴. Unlike Arabs, Berbers settled in Andalusia in groups¹⁵⁵. Muslims that are east-oriented non-Arab of the third group of Vafidis called *Mevali*, came into Andalusia along with the Syrian soldiers. The group which was few in numbers in the beginning has shown a considerable increase due to migration of Mevali groups from Andalusia after the fall of Umayyads. The services of Mevali group have been ranging from both administrative to military duties¹⁵⁶. With the increase in social level of Mevali, the value of the term Mevali increased.

The minorities within the Andalusian society has been reflected into the political life and caused administrators to take precautions like the use of military force in order to preserve political unity. Still, these precautions were not sufficient enough to stop the bloody inner-conflict that brought the end of Andalusia.

When looked over the ethnic background of the administrators assigned during the reigns of emirates, it could be seen that administrative posts

¹⁵³ There is no definite information in the sources about the immigration to Andalusia whether they were by means of ship or land route. When we take social and economic conditions of the period into consideration, it was first made by land route, then by the ship with the development of economy.

¹⁵⁴ Provencal, *Histoire*, IV/52-53.

¹⁵⁵ Provencal, *Histoire*, IV/52-53; Peres, *Esplendor de al-Andalus*, p. 265.

¹⁵⁶ Ibn Hayyân, *el-Muktebes*, II/22-49; Mu'nis, *Fecrû 'l-Endeliüs*, p. 404.

were mostly held by Arabs¹⁵⁷. But with the policy that was followed by Abdurrahman III, racial bigotry was left aside and a moderate public policy was adopted instead. Thus the ethnic groups with different origins have slowly lost their introvert characteristics. Even the Arabs who had given importance to bigotry since the period of *Cahiliye* (ignorance), started to relate themselves not to their own tribe but to a city or a region. As the tribal dependences of the Arabs tended to be lost, it was tried to retrace the ancestors of Andalusian Arabs in the reign of Hakem II Hakeem¹⁵⁸.

2. Social Ranks

The ethnic and religious differences in the Andalusian society were observed among the various social levels which consisted the society. Prior to the Arab conquest, Spanish society was a composition of diversified strata. On top of the social pyramid were the privileged noblemen and land owners¹⁵⁹.

Another rank of the society was called “rank of freemen” that consisted of small farmers and tradesmen. This rank covered the majority of the society and was working in bad conditions and working in the land that belonged to feudal lord under heavy tax.¹⁶⁰

The most crowded rank “slaves rank” were considered as materials rather than human. The illogical management of the masters towards slaves caused rebellion from time to time¹⁶¹.

¹⁵⁷ For detailed information about the administrators See: Ibn Hayyân, *el-Muktebes*, II/3-40; Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/343.

¹⁵⁸ Peres, *Esplendor de al-Andalusia*, p. 258-59.

¹⁵⁹ Chejne, *Historia*, p. 6.

¹⁶⁰ Mu'nis, *Fecrû'l-Endelüs*, p. 473-74.

¹⁶¹ For further information see: Dozy, *Historia*, II/35; Mu'nis, *Fecrû'l-Endelüs*, p. 473-74.

Mr. R. Rozy states the role of the conquest upon the ranks that have huge differences: Arabian conquest had been different for Spanish. Because this conquest meant a revolution which had helped the country suffering from injustice and evil. The number of estate owners increased not only by ending the management of privileged rank that imposed pressure and ascendance but also by distribution of impounded lands to public. Undoubtedly, this application has become one of the reasons of development of agriculture. Additionally the life conditions of middle and low rank have started to improve. Islam religion was more tolerant in liberation of slaves when compared to Christianity. The prophet Mohammad instilled liberation of the slaves. Thus liberating slaves has become an indication of piety¹⁶². The condition of farmers that cultivate the land in return of money has improved. The social differences between groups that consisted of Andalusia society that combined a mosaic with the participation of Arabs and Berbers were obvious though it may not be compared to what it used to be following the settlement of the change of Islamic influence on Andalusia society, probably in XI. Century it is most probable that it had an influence on social structure of Europe¹⁶³.

It can not be considered true to say Arabs and the other groups were in same rank. Arabs were called Eşraf (notables) and the rest of the public was Amme (public)¹⁶⁴. Not valid for all though, it was seen that Arabian tribes were looking down on the ones other than themselves. We think that it was because of the feeling that they felt so snob due to conquering many countries and as being the soldiers carrying the banner of Islam. Their feeling had not changed immediately after local people have become Muslims. These Arabs who came to Spain as soldiers, have not fully accepted principles that displays the equity and brotherhood of the Muslims.

Besides, the condition of local people had improved considerably that can not even be compared to Visigoth period. As said before, middle and

¹⁶² Dozy, *Historia*, II/49-51.

¹⁶³ For further information about influence of reform movements on Europeans in Andalusia. See. Guichard, *Les Musulmans de valence et la reconquete: (XIe - XIIIe siecles)*, Parts I. and II.

¹⁶⁴ For further information see. Provencal, *Histoire*, V/93-129.

lower classes had important problems in Visigoth period. After the Islamic conquest, social ranking had ended in vast percentage and there had been improvements in the life standards of people called lower and middle class in Visigoth period. With the new regulations to own a land, the monopoly of richness was prevented¹⁶⁵.

3. Religious Structure

Spanish society was in great discrepancies in terms of either religion or social, ethnicity. Local people were divided into three groups¹⁶⁶ in terms of religion; Christians, Jews and Pagans. Almost all of the sources agree that Muslim conquests forced Spanish people to accept Islam¹⁶⁷. Thus the agreement¹⁶⁸ made within the first years of conquest between local rulers and Muslim conquerors assure that local people will not be forced to shift religion and family problems to be solved freely.

Thus, the considerable increase in the number of Muslim population strengthens the possibility that local people were encouraged to become Muslims both by administrators and Muslims. Some resources claim that this increase is due to provide a majority in number of Muslims who were once a minority¹⁶⁹. It can be said that the socio-economic conditions had been influential for the local Muslims called Muvelledün in accepting Islam. One of the major issues can be identified as the economical condition. When compared to Visigoth period it can be seen that the economical conditions are better. Muslim conquerors had been tolerant to people and let them solve their juridical issues¹⁷⁰ in their own courts.

Spanish conquerors started a revolution on Spanish people who were living in ranks either economically or religious in both social and economical lifestyle. This was because Islam treated people and gave

¹⁶⁵ Dozy, *Historia*, II/35; Provencal, *Histoire*, IV/46.

¹⁶⁶ Chejne, *Historia*, pg 16.

¹⁶⁷ Heykel, *Litature of Andalusia*, p. 38.

¹⁶⁸ Provencal, *Histoire*, IV/21.

¹⁶⁹ Provencal, *Histoire*, IV/46.

¹⁷⁰ Dozy, *Historia*, II/48.

them freedom equally¹⁷¹ and majority of people to have become Muslims were slaves or middle class As understood, one of the main factors of accepting Islam was that new conquerors took precautions that avoids difficulties the middle and lower classes had during Visigoth society. Dr. Rozy explains the reason of accepting Islam in middle and lower ranks as: “It can not be considered a strange thing that slaves accepted Islam without hesitation in return to their freedom¹⁷²”.

As understood from the explanation above, one of the factors of accepting Islam is difficulties that the middle and lower classes had in Visigoth period and Muslims’ eluding these difficulties. Additionally, we can infer that the debates, over Christian belief brought up deep disagreement and the possibility that this caused hesitations on Christian people, might have been one of the reasons to accelerate Islamisation. Another factor to accelerate is the mutual relations between Arabs and Berbers that came Spain along with the local people. One of the main relations is that Berbers married Arabian women These women established a cultural bridge between Arabs and Berbers by means of marriage¹⁷³. They learnt Arabic in a very short time and we can infer that by means of local people their language was learnt. Doubtlessly, this development in languages displayed itself in cultural values.

Specifically, within the period of Abdurrahman I. (139-172/756-788) many people started using Arabic in big cities like Cordoba, İşbiliyye and Tuleytula as a result of cultural and literary activities¹⁷⁴ in order to make Arabic a common language. In parallel to fast spread of Arabic Islam increased in Andalusia. Such that the Christian priests, who felt anxious about this fast spread, started to provoke Christians against Muslims¹⁷⁵. Government managed to stop the action after a ten-year hassle¹⁷⁶.

The reason of accepting Islam is said to be, at the time of Mohammad (208-273/828-886), the tax rate was increased due to corruption of

¹⁷¹ Dozy, *Historia*, II/48-52.

¹⁷² Dozy, *Historia*, II/49-51.

¹⁷³ Provencal, *Histoire*, IV/52.

¹⁷⁴ Chejne, *Islamisation and Arabisation in al-Andalus*, p. 69.

¹⁷⁵ Chejne, *Historia*, p. 36.

¹⁷⁶ Dozy, *Historia*, II/82-114.

financial situation and decrease in treasure income therefore the Christian people who were in difficulty in paying those tax burdens accepted Islam¹⁷⁷

We can see from the social and economical events in Andalusia, Islamisation continued from conquest to decline period. But it is impossible to say that people living in Spanish peninsula accepted Islam as a whole. The research on these indicate that, Islamisation accelerated by the end of VIII. Century and when reached to XIII century, non-Muslims were in minority¹⁷⁸. During our research we have not come across with a resource that indicates there was a sound census among people who have different religions. In this regard, the figures do not go far beyond the estimates and assumptions.¹⁷⁹

After victory, Andalusia society, in terms of religion, is divided in two groups as Muslims and non-Moslems¹⁸⁰.

In the early years of conquest, as a result of the spread of Islam in Andalusia, Muslims of Spanish origin, initially “Mesaleme”¹⁸¹ later named as Muvelledûn, also joined to the segments of Arabs, Berbers and Mevalis. This sector which is initially in the minority, as well as by increasing the spread of Islam, became the majority of Muslim population since the second half of the III/IX century.

Non-Muslims making up the other sector of the society, in terms of religion, was composed of Christians and Jews. “Persian”, “Mozarabs” or “Musta'ribûn”¹⁸² named as the Christians initially constituted the majority of Andalusia society¹⁸³. However, when Islamism spread in Spain, their population became gradually less but they had enough population to make themselves being felt. The churches of Mustaribs

¹⁷⁷ Dozy, *Historia*, II/135.

¹⁷⁸ Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain*, p. 33-35.

¹⁷⁹ Ibn İzârî, *el-Beyânu 'l-muğrib*, II/91.

¹⁸⁰ Provencal, *Histoire*, IV/5.

¹⁸¹ Hâlis, *Işbiliyye fi'l-karni 'l-hâmis*, p. 31.

¹⁸² Mu'nis, *Fecrû 'l-Endelüs*, p. 415; Chejne, *Historia*, p. 107; Hâlis, *Işbiliyye fi'l-karni 'l-hâmis*, p. 31.

¹⁸³ Peres, *Esplendor de al-Andalus*, p. 262; Chejne, *Historia*, p. 107.

who arranged their lives as they wished were protected and allowed to be done new ones¹⁸⁴. They had rights to keep their customs and traditions in the legal cases. When they had a legal cases with Muslims, An Muslim judge who knew the rules of Islam and Christianity was responsible of those cases. Mustaribs who paid jizya and taxes¹⁸⁵ was living¹⁸⁶ especially in Kurtuba, İşbiliyye, Gırnata, Belensiye¹⁸⁷ and Tuleytula¹⁸⁸.

Generally, Mustaribs were interested in agriculture and they were mercenary¹⁸⁹ in the army. In addition to their native language ‘Latin’, they spoke Arabics. Mustaribs who had an important place in the politics of Andalusia played active roles in emirate and the time of II. Abdurrahman. They started their activities by starting a religious action which is led by body of clergy in Cordoba as a response to Islam is being spread among Spanish Christians. Although this action was suppressed, this time, we see that the same group had an active role with their hostile attitudes against the government during the Muvelledun actions which happened in the “incitement era” and was a dark period in the Andalusia history.

Jews making up Non-Muslim population were in the minority¹⁹⁰. Before victory, Jews were kept under heavy religious pressure by Christians¹⁹¹ and because of this, they welcomed Spain’s conquest by Muslims. Furthermore, it was said that they helped Muslims. This good

¹⁸⁴ Provencal, *Histoire*, IV/233.

¹⁸⁵ Chejne, *Historia*, p. 107.

¹⁸⁶ There were some who promoted to the degree of general. see Peres, *Esplendor de al-Andalus*, p. 275.

¹⁸⁷ The city of harbour located on the east coast of Spain is known as Valencia today. The city was captured by Christians in 36/1238. see Yâkût, *Mu’cemu’l-buldân*, I/490-91; “Valensiye”, *İA*, XIII/176-78.

¹⁸⁸ Chejne, *Historia*, p. 147.

¹⁸⁹ The city located in the north-east of Kurtuba and in the middle of Spain, is known as Toledo today. Muslims got the control of the city in 96/714. , Then the Christians captured the city after 609/1212. see. Yâkût, *Mu’cemu’l-buldân*, I/39-40; “Toledo”, *İA*, XII/427-30.

¹⁹⁰ For detailed information about Jews in Andalusia. see. Lağzivî, *Edebü’s-siyâse*, pg 77; Mu’nis, *Fecrü’l-Endelüs*, p. 521; Uçok, *History of Islam*, p. 62.

¹⁹¹ Mu’nis, *Fecrü’l-Endelüs*, p. 521; Uçok, *History of Islam*, p. 62.

relationship¹⁹² between Muslims and Jews went on during the Islamic domination in Andalusia. Between Jewish and Muslim administrators who had an important place in political and commercial life didn't have serious problems¹⁹³.

It seems some discriminations between muslims. The big part of army were Arabian and especially they were Damascus. Therefore conquest and the following period of governors and a great deal of Andalusia Muslims belong¹⁹⁴ to Evzai¹⁹⁵ sect. Maliki domination were almost approved by muslims. In addition, they become official sect of the government by spreading in HiDamascus period¹⁹⁶. Apart from Yahya b. Yahya el-Leysi (d. 234/848)¹⁹⁷, Andalusia emir Hisam b. Abdurrahman who go to the east for education, place the most important role on this spread¹⁹⁸.

By Kasım b. Muhammed (d. 276/889) entered to the Şafii Andalusia sect in III\IX century. Time to time some kind of bureaucrats adopt this sect. In the middle of the III. /IX. centuries, by means of muhaddis Kâsım b.

¹⁹² el-Merrâkuşî, *el-Mu'cib*, pg 35-38; *Ahbâr Mecmû'a*, pg 22; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/784.

¹⁹³ Peres, *Esplendor de al-Andalus*, pg 268-76; Hâlis, *İşbiliyye fi'l-karni'l-hâmis*, pg 33; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, pg 38-49.

¹⁹⁴ Staute, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 79.

¹⁹⁵ For further information about Evzai, a religious sect founded by Ebû Âmir Abdurrahman b. Muhammed rejecting all the beliefs except Qur'ân and Sunna. see Ibnu'l-Imâd, *Şezerâtü'z-zeheb*, I/241-42; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, V/163; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, IV/94; Brockelmann, *Suppl.*, I/308-309; Sezgin, *GAS*, I/516-17; Karaman, *History of Islam*, p. 227-28.

¹⁹⁶ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 79; Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/57; Abbas, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/27-28.

¹⁹⁷ For further information about Ebû Muhammed Yahyâ b. el-Leysî who was originally Berberrien. see Ibnu'l-Faradî, *Târîhu ulemâi'l-Endelüs*, II/186-87; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 495-98; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, II/9-12; Ez Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, IX/223-24; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 80.

¹⁹⁸ Ibnu'l-Kûtiyye, *Târîhu iftitâhi'l-Endelüs*, p. 64; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 79; Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/57.

Muhammed (d. 276/889)¹⁹⁹, Şâfiî sect began to spread into Andalusia. Over time, some leading bureaucrats of Andalusia adopted this sect²⁰⁰.

Zahiri sect was one of the accepted sects. Although this sect moved to Andalusian, it couldn't find the chance to spread since Hacib Mansur b. Ebi Amir Maliki with effect of fukaha tried to take the activities of this sect in Andalusia²⁰¹.

Harici and Shiisim, which had a chance to spread in the North of Africa due to the fact that they continued their relationship with their Berberi relatives in North Africa²⁰². Within the period of North African originated Hammudis during Hisam Period²⁰³, who were tightly connected to shia principles, Shia sect has found an opportunity to spread even though a little²⁰⁴.

In the period of North African origin Hammudis (407-418/1017-1027) who were closely linked to Shi'i principles, Shi'i had a possibility to spread. It could not be said that Hammudi administrators who knew any kinds of dominance on Sunni would lead to important political conflicts were successful²⁰⁵.

4. Economic Life

Andalusia, one of the most crowded and wealthy countries of Europe during its period. Its economy was based on agriculture, industry and trade. Tanning which took an important place among the handicrafts also

¹⁹⁹ For further information about Kâsım b. Muhammed b. Seyyâr el-Kurtubî el-Beyânî who studied science with the eminent members of Safi Denomination in the East and worked to spread the principles of the idea of the denomination in Andalusia. see. ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, VI/15; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, VIII/122; Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/183.

²⁰⁰ Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/183.

²⁰¹ Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/184.

²⁰² Mu'nis, *Fecrü'l-Endelüs*, s. 172-203; Chejne, *Historia*, s. 103.

²⁰³ For the spread of denomination of Mâlikî in Andalusia. see Provencal, *Histoire*, IV/304-308; Dozy, *Historia*, II/59

²⁰⁴ El-Ibâdî, *Dirâsât fî târîhi'l-Mağrib*, p. 109.

²⁰⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 15.

took an important place in Andalusia economy. Tanning, patterning the leather and decorative art products were transferred to North Africa and European countries through Andalusia. Sericulture, which is brought to Spain by Muslims, developed precisely. As well as the production of glass, rice, copper, porcelain, gold, silver, iron and lead products, diamond resources such as yakut in Maleka made the sector the first in the input of the country. Weaving always took the first place among the industrial products of the country²⁰⁶.

Agriculture took an important place in Andalusia economy. Agriculture which was performed with simple methods before the invasion had been done very efficiently²⁰⁷. To achieve this goal many irrigation systems had been built. In open spaces, that were transformed into gardens, sugar cane and cotton were cultivated as well as seeds products along with some fruits such as an apricot, a peach, a pomegranate and an orange²⁰⁸. Especially on Spain peninsula whether earth or climate are concerned with the agricultural is efficient in South East plains. This situation is one of the presents that has been inherited by Muslims to Spain and still exists²⁰⁹.

Industrial and agricultural products produced in Andalusia were above the internal consumption of the country. Cotton, olive, oil and the other industrial products were exported through İsbiliyye and Maleka channels which were the biggest port cities. And then these products were transferred to India and Middle Asian countries via Iskenderiye and Istanbul port. Especially, commercial activities fulfilled with Damascus, Baghdad, Mecca were so intensive²¹⁰.

Financial system of state improved in accordance with its model in Eastern part. Dinar, gold and dirham were valid as monetary unit. Those

²⁰⁶ Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/834-35; Brockelmann, *Islam Civilizations*, p. 198; Provençal, *el-Edebu'l-Endelüs*, p. 91-93.

²⁰⁷ el-İbâdî, *Dirâsât fî târîhi'l-Mağrib*, p. 152-56.

²⁰⁸ For the products grown up in Andalusia. See. Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/835; Brockelmann, *Islam Civilizations*, p. 198-99; Hâlis, *İsbiliyye fî'l-karnî'l-hâmis*, p. 37.

²⁰⁹ Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/836; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 54.

²¹⁰ Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/837; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 54-55.

monetary unit kept their validity for the Christian Kingdoms in North for ages²¹¹.

Generally, when we deal with Andalusia economy, it can be clearly seen that the prosperity of the country was well and the coffers of the state were rich, except the period of the political instability and scarcity of the country²¹².

5. Public Works

No opportunity was found to improve construction activities since foundation and settlement took the first place in governors period. Abdurrahman first focus on foundation of cities under his throne, after having provided political stability and co-operation in the country²¹³. There is no doubt that the most important facilities are like aqueducts that brings drinking water to Cordoba, builds city walls²¹⁴ for providing security, it is the palace named “Munyettu’r-Rusafe”²¹⁵ as an expression of yearning to the East and which reminds the cities of Syria. In the garden of palace, he had implanted peach and pomegranate trees, which were not known in Andalusia in that period, and a date-palm that was brought from Syria. Having seen that date-palm, Abdurrahman the first felt himself to be alienated from the country which was governed by himself. Then he gave utterance to his feelings of aspiration as in the poem that is quoted below:

“In the middle of er Rusafe, away from the country of the date-palm, in the land of the west, a date-palm appeared to us²¹⁶.” In addition to the

²¹¹ Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/838.

²¹² Mu’nis, *Fecrū’l-Endelüs*, p. 172-203; Chejne, *Historia*, p. 103.

²¹³ Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 77.

²¹⁴ Heykel, *Dirâsât edebiyye*, p. 225; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/800.

²¹⁵ While in Arabic “Munye” means “a thing desired”, it is said that the word was borrowed from old Egypt with the meaning of “garden”. see Heykel, *Dirâsât edebiyye*, p. 225; Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/801.) For the social life in the palace. see. Staute, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 77.

²¹⁶ Ibnu’l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/37; er-Rikâbî, *Fi’l-edebi’l-Endelüsî*, p. 83; Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 89.

fore-mentioned works, Mescid-i Cordoba²¹⁷ is one of his important works. In the period of Abdurrahman II, mosques were built all around the country in parallel to the rise of Islam.”²¹⁸

Also in economy, significant renewals were seen. There were awakenings in commercial facilities besides important increase in agricultural products. Andalusia became a significant bazaar where luxuries goods of eastern merchants were sold²¹⁹. Those brought up important increase in government’s income. In the period of Abdurrahman III, income continued to increase.²²⁰

1600 mosques²²¹ in Cordoba in period of Abdurrahman III show how widespread those facilities were. Abdurrahman III made “Medine’tuz-Zehra” Palace built on a hill with Cordoba view to his concubine. The Palace whose construction began in 325/936 was five kilometer away from Cordoba. The palace bore rooms for caliphs and high officials, barracks for guardians, and a mosque for worship and education. Precious stones used in the construction and donation of the palace were brought from Istanbul and South Africa²²². In the middle of the palace, there were fruit gardens²²³. For this reason lots of watering channels were built for the irrigation of thousands of gardens and great attention was taken to increase yield.

²¹⁷ Being completed in 170/786 , Mescid-i Kurtuba was widened by the commanders and caliphs after Abdurrahman I. The mosque was one of the gorgeous buildings in that period. see. Hitti, History of Islam, III/801; Brockelmann, *Islam Civilization*, p. 199; Ruggles, “The Great Mosque of Cordoba”, p. 159-62.) When Kurtuba was captured in 634/1236 by Christians, the mosque changed into a cathedral that we can stil see today. In Spain it is known as “La Mezquita”. see. Hitti, History of *Islam*, III/801; Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 77; a. mlf. *Dirâsât edebiyye*, p. 225.

²¹⁸ Ibnu’l-Kûtiyye, *Târîhu iftitâhi’l-Endelüs*, p. 88; Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 77.

²¹⁹ el-İbâdî, *Dirâsât fî târihi’l-Mağrib*, p. 152-56.

²²⁰ Provencal, *Histoire*, V/19. Ibnu’l-Kûtiyye, *Târîhu iftitâhi’l-Endelüs*, p. 88; Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 77.

²²¹ el-Makkarî, *Nefhu’t-tîb*, I/540.

²²² el-Makkarî, *Nefhu’t-tîb*, I/565-66; Ibn Hâkân, *Kalâidu’l-ikyân*, I/65; Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/144; Brockelmann, *Islam Civilizations*, p. 200-201; Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 183-84.

²²³ Yetkin, *Islam Architecture* , p. 39.

“Medinetu’z-Zahira” Palace built by Hacib Ibn Ebi Amir in 368/978²²⁴, was not lesser than ez-Zehra Palace considering its architecture and size. Poem of Muhammed b. Şehis that describes ez-Zehra Palace shows the value of the palace at that time.”

فَأَتَتْ مَحَاسِنُهَا مَجْهُودَ وَاصِفِهَا فَأَلْقَوْا كَالسَّكْتِ وَالْإِيجَازِ كَالْخَطْلِ
بَلْ فَضَّلْنَاهَا فِي مَبَانِي الْأَرْضِ أَجْمَعِهَا كَفَضْلِ دَوْلَةٍ بَانِيهَا عَلَى الدُّوَلِ

“Its (palace’s) beauty went beyond the power of the one that describes it. From now on speaking and shutting up, laconism and chatting are same.”

“On the contrary his supremacy over all buildings of the world resembles supremacy of its creator’s government over the others”²²⁵

In the period of Hisam II who gives great importance to knowledge made twenty one free boarding school built in Cordoba for the education of poor children²²⁶. The construction of fifty thousand kiosks, more than one hundred thousand buildings for general purposes and seven hundred bathrooms²²⁷ during his caliphate period shows the development of Andalusia clearly.

6. Administrative Organizations

Central and local method of managements in Andalusia was not different from each other fundamentally²²⁸. Chair of presidency was inherited by another person. Titles of “caliph” or “emiru’l-mü’minin²²⁹” began to be used for the emperor who had been called “emir” since 317/929. Andalusian Umayyad emperors had a widespread authority. They were the leader of the society and commander-in-chief and also they had

²²⁴ Brockelmann, *Islam Civilizations*, p. 204.

²²⁵ Abbas, *Târîhu’l-edeb*, I/113.

²²⁶ Ibn İzârî, *el-Beyânu’l-muğrib*, II/240.

²²⁷ Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 183.

²²⁸ For further information about the administrative methods used by Muslims in some regions of Andalusia and North Africa. see. Provencal, *Edebu’l-Endülüs and târihuhâ*, p. 74-110.

²²⁹ Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/137.

authority to assign whoever they want to administrative functions and dismiss the ones they want.

As they generally did not have a base for the assignments of heir to the throne when the emperor was alive, this situation sometimes led to quarrels for throne. The person who was on duty with the title of hacib which is equal to prime minister now was a mediator between caliph and viziers.²³⁰

In the period of Abdurrahman III, title of “zu’l-vizareteyn” was given to some viziers and hacibs. “Zu’l-vizareteyn” means the one who holds civil military power²³¹. In Andalusia, this title was first given to vizier Ahmed b. Abdulmelik b. Suheyd by Abdurrahman III²³². He was liable for Hacib authority in east, entrance and exit organization of the ones that were accepted to see caliphs and emirs that are equal to general secretary today in accordance with regulations. In the period of Abbasi II²³³, they undertook the guidance of the caliph besides their previous duties. Following viziers, there are clerks. Clerks and viziers formed assembly called court²³⁴.

Counties outside Cordoba were governed by a civilian and a military officer with the title of governor assigned by the government. Sometimes governors were appointed to the big cities that had great political importance. Caliph personally or Muslim judges that were assigned by caliph inspected legal and judicial events. Those Muslim judges was bounded up to head judge in Cordoba. Common and criminal events were in the interest of the police called “sahibu’ş-şurta”. In Cordoba, judge titled “sahibu’l-meزالim” conduct lawsuits against officers and managers charged in public and governmental works²³⁵.

²³⁰ Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/833; el-İbâdî, *Dirâsât fî târîhi’l-Mağrib*, p. 146.

²³¹ el-İbâdî, *Dirâsât fî târîhi’l-Mağrib*, p. 147; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu’t-tîb*, I/380; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 190-91; Ibnu’l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/237-39.

²³² Ahmed Dayf, *Belagatu’l-Arab*, p. 43; Provençal, *Histoire*, IV/345.

²³³ Ibrahim, *et-Târîhu’l-İslâmi’l-âm*, p. 527.

²³⁴ Ibrahim, *et-Târîhu’l-İslâmi’l-âm*, p. 570.

²³⁵ Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/833.

Hacib Ibn Ebi Amir rearranged military organizations besides those said above with a told above and replaced a tribal organization consisting of troop system²³⁶.

CHAPTER ONE

SCIENCE AND LITERATURE IN ANDALUSIA

A. EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Naturally we can't say that Andalusia had a distinct culture in the first century following the conquest. For as much as the Arabs arriving at the Iberian Island at different times and different groups²³⁷ and since they were raised with the orient soul and culture they couldn't be considered as Andalusians. The men of letters of that period were the ones who were born in the east and moved pretty soon after the conquest to Andalusia. Especially the Andalusia emirs who were excessively adherent to the east brought the men of letters to Andalusia even in the following periods. Including el- Kali (d. 356/ 965)²³⁸ and Said el- Lugavi. Apart from the

²³⁶ Hitti, *History of Islam*, III/842.

²³⁷ Provencal, *Histoire*, IV/51.

²³⁸ Ismail b. el-Kâsım el-Kâlî, a well-known linguist, came to Andalusia in 330/941 and settled in Kurtuba. He wrote his famous work "el-Emâlî" also known as "en-Nevâdir" there. see. el-Kâlî, *el-Emâlî*, preface, Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/130-31; Ibnu'l-Imâd,

men of letters, oriental singers played an important role spreading the Andalusia literature as well. It is doubtless that the greatest effect belongs to the singer Ziryab Death (230/845)²³⁹. After coming to Andalusia he erected a musical school which can be considered as an institution. In this way, music had the opportunity to spread widely in Andalusia²⁴⁰.

All sources in education and culture were brought to the peninsula from the east²⁴¹. This dependence on the east in the first century had reflected to almost each kind of literature and the other sciences. Because of this reason, some major similarities were shown between Andalusia and the eastern literary works. Although a literature appeared, which had brought in some similarities, had come true during the time, basic methods in Arabic literary works had never changed. In our opinion, it is not right to say that Andalusia literature is a copy of East Literature in accordance with the seemingly common characteristics in East and Andalusia literature. When we look at the event from different points of view, we believe it will be wrong to think that Arabian people from Andalusia came here from the east and as a result, it is a normal situation for them to maintain their originals and spreading the copies.

Although Arabic people, who directly migrated from the east to Andalusia in the years following the conquest, entered in the environment, which was completely different from the place they got used to living; they never erased the legends of their ancestors and the places were hold in their minds by these legends. According to them, the literary works which were created by a habitant full of wild animals,

Şezerât, I/18; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/139; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, I/319-20; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, II/286.

²³⁹ Famous musician Ziryab, whose real name was Ebu'l-Hasan Ali b. Nâfi, spent half of his life in Baghdad. After staying with Abbasid caliph, el-Mehdî (ö. 169/785) and Hârûn er-Reşîd (ö. 193/809) for a while, Ziryab first came to Magrib and spent the rest of his life in Andalusia. He was known as "Ziyab" who was described as a bird with a beautiful voice. For detailed information, see. Ibn Sa'îd, *Unvânu'l-murakkasât*, p. 147.

²⁴⁰ Ibnu'l-Kûtiyye, *Târîhu iftitâhi'l-Endelüs*, p. 83-84; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, IV/118-19; Provencal, *Edebu'l-Endülüs ve târîhuhâ*, p. 7; Abbas, *Târîhü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/57; el-Fâhûrî, *el-Câmi'*, p. 896.

²⁴¹ 241Provencal, *Edebu'l-Endülüs ve târîhuhâ*, p. 5; el-Fâhûrî, *el-Câmi'*, p. 899; Rosen, "The Muwashshah", p. 165.

gazelles, camels, sand hillocks and desert were mature enough to become a precedent²⁴².

The poem that the first Arabian ruler Abdurrahman told when he saw someone traveling to the east is the best example of showing how much Arabian people missed their homeland:

“Hey! The rider traveling to my country! Give my kind regards to some acquaintances.”

“As you can see my body is in a place, my hearth and the owners are somewhere else.”²⁴³

In other sciences, the situation was not different from the time period which consisted of all governorship period and first fifty years of emirate period. All sources were consisted of works which were written in the East. These works were brought to Andalusia by not only Arabian rulers visiting the east but also Scholars, who were supported by Arabian rulers, coming from the east. The religious man, who were needed to keep the Islamic movement, which was vital for the Arabic people in Andalusia, continued its ordinary process, also took a vital part in this transition. That's why; topics on religious sciences were on the top. Moreover, in order to activate this movement²⁴⁴, ten ancillaries were sent to North Africa and Andalusia²⁴⁵.

Especially at the beginning, Andalusia Literature was considerably influenced by Arabian Literature in the East. For instance, giving the names of famous poets who were born grown up in the East to the popular poets from Andalusia as nicknames²⁴⁶, can be seen as a basic indicator of the admiration towards East and so the effect of Eastern Literature on Andalusia Literature. However, it doesn't mean that man of

²⁴² Staute, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, pg. 85.

²⁴³ Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/36; er-Rikâbî, *Fi'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, p. 82; Heykel, *Dirâsât edebiyye*, p. 226; a. mlf. *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 90.

²⁴⁴ People who could meet the friends and relatives of Prophet Muhammed.

²⁴⁵ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 60-61.

²⁴⁶ For further information about the nicknames given to Andalusian poets, see. eş-Şebîbî, *Edebu'l-Magâribe*, p. 12-13; er-Râfî, *Târihu âdâbi'l-Arab*, III/254.

letters from Andalusia did not produce something new. Although traditional structures and subjects in the East continued their existence, literary works of Andalusia were produced as the time went on. The most important one of these shone itself in the poems. As we are going to mention it, the MUVAŞŞAH type of poems in which wine and love were the themes, appeared in a completely different structure from the traditional poem in the East with regard to the structure, rhythm and rhyme.

Especially, even a brightness about the scientific and literary life parallel to the developments was seen on executive, commercial and economical fields in the era of Abdurrahman II²⁴⁷. In this framework knowledge transfer from East to Andalusia was started and along with this, lots of Andalusians had gone to East for their education, some easterner Islam wisers had gone to Andalusia as well.

Andalusia had become one of the distinguished countries of the world in terms of politics, economic, cultural fields in the era of Abdurrahman III. who declared himself as the Caliph receiving the title of En-Nasır. Some authors of the period wrote booklets on virtues of the Andalusia by feeling the deservedly proud of being an Andalusian.

One of the important reason of mutual visits between easterner and Andalusian intellectuals continued in the era of Abdurrahman III. was to vitalize Arabic that was about to disappear in Andalusia. Because at the beginning in Andalusia, Arabic was spoken by Arabs who were just a small minority and in time, it had the danger of extinction among the Berberi dialects and residents' speaking Latin. Andalusian administrators had operations in eliminating the danger. Because of this reason, while they were making alluring proposal to the eastern intellectuals, they sent lots of students to the east to learn science. These visits, doubtlessly, had a significant role in transmitting developments and innovations about scientific and literary fields from the East²⁴⁸. As a result of these activities, Arabic was widely used in Andalusia. Since the mid 4th and

²⁴⁷ Ibnu'l-Kûtiyye, *Târîhu iftîâhi'l-Endelîs*, p. 75; Mubarek, *La Prose Arabe*, p. 237.

²⁴⁸ Chejne, *Islamization and Arabization*, p. 69.

10th centuries, Arabic had been the common language of Andalusia. One of the Christian clergyman who was panic about Arabic's fast development told the followings to his Christian fellow:

"I see all my fellow brothers enjoy to read Arab's poets and stories. I also witnessed my fellow brothers examine the Muslim wises' and philosopher's religious opinions. All these struggles were made in order to speak a clear and fluent Arabic not for criticizing Muslims. I wonder if we are able to find a person who reads Bible or Apostle's and Prophet's work of arts in Latin. What a pity that today's young Christians read nothing except for Arab language and literature."²⁴⁹

In addition to the scientific literary and official Arabic language, daily language of people called Ammiyye that we see in Arabic countries now had survived in the Andalusia²⁵⁰. Moreover, in some situations even scientist used local language to explain the subjects that are difficult to understand.²⁵¹

And furthermore, as we will point it out next, this daily language of people was reflected even in poems. The increased use of Arabic language caused Islam to become widespread.

As a result of these measures about wide spreading the education, while there were a few literate people except for clergymen through the end of 4th and 10th centuries, lots of Andalusians were literate²⁵². Even this example is enough to see the influence of Andalusia administrators' on education. This university was established before el-Ezher²⁵³ in Cairo and Nizamiye Medresesi²⁵⁴ in Baghdad and never decimated its students against ethnicity, race and religion. A lot of scholars were brought from

²⁴⁹ Chejne, *Historia*, p. 167; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 40.

²⁵⁰ Mubarek, *La Prose Arabe*, p. 233; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 43.

²⁵¹ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 45

²⁵² Chejne, *Historia*, p. 36; er-Rikâbî, *Fi'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, p. 59.

²⁵³ el-Ezher University was built in 362/972. see. Hitti, *History of Islam*, IV/993.

²⁵⁴ The Nizamiye madrasah was build in 458/1065. See Hitti, *İslâm Tarihi*, II/630-34.

different muslim countries to teach these universities. Among these, we see Ibnu'l-Kutiyye (died in 367/977)²⁵⁵ and Ebu Ali el-Kali.

Especially, in the period of Hakem II. who was a scientist, scientific studies were encouraged and scientists were in state patronage. Hakem II. who behaved liberally to the scientists set up twenty seven schools to provide free of charge education only to the students in capital, Cordoba. Cordoba University²⁵⁶, built in 169/785 by Abdurrahman III. , was one of the best universities of the time²⁵⁷.

The university which was established before Madrasah in Baghdad was giving education to the students who come from different parts of the world. Scholars were brought from different Islamic countries in order to give lessons. Among these scholars Ibnu'l-Kutiyye (d. 367/977), one of the famous language scholars of Baghdad was Ebu Ali el-Kali de.

At the library which was built by Hakem II in Cordoba, it is reported that there were about 400. 000 handwritten manuscripts which were brought from other countries and Hakem II owns most of them. These handwritten manuscripts were collected and taken cover after Islamic power demolished the Spain peninsula. Today, they are kept in Escorial library which is located close to Madrid and very famous around world.

As an extension of education Hakem II and the other caliphs and emperors who followed him, gave salary to the teachers who work in common education intuitions el-Mansur when b. Ebî Amir'in took control, studies philosophy, logic and astronomy were blocked with

²⁵⁵ Ibnu'l-Kûtiyye, whose real name is Ebû Bekr Muhammed b. Ömer'nin, has done valuable works and studies in the fields of language, tradition and history. See Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 58-59; el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 71-72; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 102; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, III/73; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, VII/201; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, III/199.

²⁵⁶ Provencal, *Histoire*, IV/88.

²⁵⁷ the catalog "Les Manuscrits Arabes de l'Escorial" of the "Escorial" library was published in two volumes by Hartwig Derenburg between 1884-1903. See Hitti, *İslam Tarihi*, III/897.

pressure of fukaha, other science studies continued, many manuscripts were copyrighted and continued relationships with east²⁵⁸.

Caliphs and Emir chose viziers from the people who have ability to write risale. “el-Veziru’l-katip” title is one of the most important position besides this. The vizier, who has this title, has over superiority on other viziers. Hatip, katip and poet nicknames were very popular²⁵⁹. All those things show how enlightenment Occupy in Andalusia. Political issues develop in a good way, taking the country in to the rapid end throne fights, Although domestic and civil commotion, Andalusia people didn’t fall behind in science.

Especially, The scientific and literary parliaments²⁶⁰ which were established under the protection of Emir and top officers, played a great role to keep alive the scientific movements.

Literacy level reached its peak in Andalusia where a three-level education system was present. The first level starts at the age of six and continue six or seven years, during this period, Arabic and poem were being taught.

In the second level, education was given with teachers whose names are “şuyuh” in a certain schedule language, literature, canon law, comment, hadith, medicine, mat, and chemistry.

Teachers were getting their salary from government, foundations or guardians of children²⁶¹. Reading, listening and dictation were applied as a method.

In the level three education was for only specializing. The madrasahs were opened from the beginning of V/XI centuries, many travels were done in to Cairo, Damascus, Mecca and Medina. Students were getting

²⁵⁸ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 270-73.

²⁵⁹ el-Fâhûrî, *el-Câmi'*, p. 892.

²⁶⁰ er-Rikâbî, *Fi'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, p. 71, 77; Vernet, *Literature Arabe*, p. 112, 129.

²⁶¹ For detailed information about the methods in Andalusia. see Arié, *España Musulmana*, p. 359 vd.

diploma in order to show their ability for teaching at the end of this travel²⁶².

B. LITERARY SCIENCES

1. POETRY

a. Governorship Period

During governorship period²⁶³, poem was completely a prolongation of eastern poem. This period forms the transition phase of eastern literature to Andalusia without any change. In poems of eastern poets among Vafidis, special to Andalusia, a different feature from the East is not seen. Only, those two verses of Ebu'l-Ecreb Ca'vene b. es-Simme (d.

²⁶² Hitti, *İslam Tarihi*, III/892-93; Arié, *España Musulmana*, p. 357-62.

²⁶³ Provençal, *Edebu'l-Endülüs ve târîhuhâ*, p. 6; el-Fâhûrî, *el-Câmi'*, p. 899; Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l Arabî*, IV/40.

138/756)²⁶⁴ who came to Andalusia among other poets with Vafidis, has reached to our present day.

ولقد أراني من هواي بمنزل
والعيش أغيث ساقط أفناؤه
عالٍ ورأسي ذو عذارٍ أفرغ
والماء أطيبه لنا والمرتع

‘Because of my love I see myself: I’m in a high house, my hair is long and plaited’

‘Living; a clump with dangling branches, the best water and meadow is ours²⁶⁵’

Another important poet whose name has reached to our present day is governor Ebu’l-Hattar Hisam b. Dirâr el – kelbî (d. 129/746)²⁶⁶ who came to Andalusia during the period of Emevî caliph Hişâm b. Abdilmelik (105-125/724-743). Following verse has been taken from one of his poems which came to present day.

فَإِنَّكُمْ بَنِي مِرْوَانَ قَيْسًا يَمَانًا وَفِي اللَّهِ إِنْ لَمْ تُنْصِفُوا حَكَمَ عَدَلٌ

‘O ye children of Mervân! You gave our blood to Kays’. Even though you are not fair, there are Hakem and Adl adjectives of Allah²⁶⁷.

Doubtless, there were also poets whose poems and names were forgotten. Although it is not possible to analyze this period’s poem in a literal sense, it is clear that it was a prolongation of eastern poem.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁴ For detailed information about Ca’vene b. es-Simme el-Kilâbî see el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 189-90; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 261-62; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu’t-tîb*, III/177, 225; Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 61-62.

²⁶⁵ Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 62.

²⁶⁶ Ebu’l-Hattâr Hişâm b. Dirâr being the state of governor between 125/742 in Andalusia is a persian poet. For detailed information about Ibnu’l-Kûtiyye see, *Târîhu iftitâhi’l-Endelüsî*, p. 42-44; *Ahbâr Mecmû’a*, p. 48, 57-61; el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 188; Ibnu’l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/61-66; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu’t-tîb*, II/22-26.

²⁶⁷ Ibnu’l-Kûtiyye, *Târîhu iftitâhi’l-Endelüsî*, p. 42.

²⁶⁸ Ahmed Emin, *Zuhru’l-İslam*, III/156; er-Rikâbî, *Fi’l-edebi’l-Endelüsî*, p. 84; Hâlis, *İşbiliyye fi’l-karni’l-hâmis*, p. 84.

b. Emirate Period

Naturally, domestic and foreign political stability of the country during Abdurrahman's period brought a revival in literature and scientific activities. Besides stability, the biggest share to excite this revival certainly belongs to eastern scholars²⁶⁹. Those scholars were either supporters of Emevîs²⁷⁰ who escaped from violence of Abbasî, or those who were influenced by the nature and therefore immigrated to Andalusia. Nevertheless, those who went to the East to receive scientific education and returned back to Andalusia also gave a big contribution to this revival. In the beginning this revival showed itself in theological science and Arabic language²⁷¹.

The type of the poem which was written by poets whom we can consider from Andalusia during the period of emirate, was mostly in classical eastern poem style²⁷², although it had first indications special to Andalusia. Basic subjects of classical Arabic poetry such as description, commendation, boasting, heroism etc. were also first themes of Andalusia poetry. Besides, Andalusian poets remained loyal mostly to features of the eastern poetry from the perspectives of depicting at the way of classical ode as form and style, choosing places unique to eastern geography²⁷³ as places of actions.

Specifically, during the period of Abdurrahman II, writers and poets found a chance to use their crayons freely by making use of the indulgence they were given to. Apart from this freedom, they mentioned the issues to keep the peace and wealth though out the country. Some Andalusian Poets imitated not only Classical Arabian poets but also some eastern poets like Bessar b. Burd (167/784)²⁷⁴ Ebu Nuvas (198/814)²⁷⁵,

²⁶⁹ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 78.

²⁷⁰ Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/121.

²⁷¹ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 78-80; Abbas, *Târîhü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/38, 62.

²⁷² Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/64.

²⁷³ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 81.

²⁷⁴ See Ibn Kuteybe, *eş-Şi'r ve 'ş-Şu'arâ*, II/643-46; Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 159; Ibnu'l-Îmâd, *Şezerât*, I/264-65; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/72; *Suppl.*, I/108-111; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, II/24; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, III/44; Şevki Dayf, *fî 'ş-Şi'ri'l-Arabî*, p. 148-157 for

Muslim b. el-Velid (208/823)²⁷⁶, Ebu Temmam (231/845)²⁷⁷ and Ebu'l Atahiyye (211/826)²⁷⁸. This interaction, as indicated before, was a result of the intense touch of the east. As a matter of fact wine poems were moved to Andalusia by Abbas b. Nasih (238/852)²⁷⁹ and were popular amongst other poets²⁸⁰.

The wine issue not handled before was commented by Yahya el-Gazal (250/864)²⁸¹ as:

the detailed information about Beşşâr b. Burd el-Ukaylî that wrote good similes even though he was blind.

²⁷⁵ See Ibn Kuteybe, *eş-Şi'r ve ş-Şu'arâ*, II/680-706; Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 228; Ibn Hallikân, *Veşeyât*, I/373-77; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/74-76; *Suppl.*, I/114-18; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, II/20; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, XIII/170 for the detailed information especially about Ebû Nuvâs Ali b. el-Hasan b. Hânî during Abbasids that was famous for his poems about wine.

²⁷⁶ See Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 228; Ibn Hallikân, *Veşeyât*, I/156-58; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/76; *Suppl.*, I/118-19; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, VIII/20; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, XII/23; Şevki Dayf, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, III/253-68 for the detailed information about Müslim b. el-Velîd el-Gavânî el-Ensârî whose ghazals are so famous during the Abbasids.

²⁷⁷ See Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 165; Ibn Hallikân, *Veşeyât*, I/214-18; Ibnu'l-Îmâd, *Şezerât*, II/72-74; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/83-84; *Suppl.*, I/133-37; Şevki Dayf, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, III/268-88; a. mlf. *fi's-şi'ri'l-Arabî*, p. 219-46 for the detailed information about Habîb b. Evs et-Tâî whose anthologies and odes are so famous.

²⁷⁸ See Ibn Kuteybe, *eş-Şi'r ve ş-Şu'arâ*, II/675-79; Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 227; Ibn Hallikân, *Veşeyât*, I/125-30; Ibnu'l-Îmâd, *Şezerât*, II/25-26; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/76-77; *Suppl.*, I/119-20; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, II/285; Şevki Dayf, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, III/227-53 for the detailed information about Ebu'l-Atâhiyye İsmail b. el-Kâsım b. Suveyd b. Keysân belonging to the 'Zühd' Poets Group during Abbasids.

²⁷⁹ See Ibnu'l-Faradî, *Târîhu ulemâi'l-Endelüs*, I/340-41; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, I/343; II/261-62; Abbas, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/49, 51 for the detailed information about Ebu'l-Alâ Abbâs b. Nâsîh es-Sekafî el-Cezîrî that was influenced by especially the poets of 'Muhdes' by going to the East.

²⁸⁰ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 128; Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/106.

²⁸¹ The poet of II. Abdurrahman named Yahyâ b. Hakem el-Bekrî el-Ceyyânî was interested in astronomy and philosophy besides literary science. el-Gazâl who had political capability was sent to many different countries as an ambassador. For detailed information about el-Gazâl known with his wine and descriptive poems. see el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 351-53; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 485-86; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, II/254-64; Brockelmann, *Suppl.*, I/148; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, IX/173; Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/115-21; Abbas, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/49, 51.

ولما رأيت الشرب أكدت سماؤهم تَأَبَّطْتُ زَقِّي وَاحْتَبَسْتُ عَنَّا
فلما أثبت الحان ناديت ربّه فهبّ خفيف الروح نحو ندائي

“When I realized that the drinkers’ drinks were consumed, I placed my wine bottle under my armpit and trapped my stress”,

“When I arrived at the pub, I called in the barman, he scampered to my voice.”

Regarding “zuhd” handled by Ebu’l-Atahiyye²⁸², These ode lyrics by Emir Abdullah b. Muhammed are the first examples of that kind of poetry in Andalusia.

يُرَاوِعُهُ الْأَجَلُ حَتَّامٌ يُلْهِيكُ الْأَمَلَ
حَتَّامٌ لَا تَخْشَى الرَّدَى وكأنه بك قد نزل
أَغْفَلْتُ عَنْ طَلَبِ النَّجَا ولا نَجَاةَ لِمَنْ غَفَلَ

“Hey you, the poor puppet of the inevitable fate! How long will your dreams distract you?”

“How long will you face the death that surrounds you?”

“Nearly at the dawn of the destruction, how long will you not be afraid of it?”

“Cause your search for salvation; you have been an infidel since there is no salvation for infidels?”²⁸³

All the same with these topics, the illustration of nature depicted by the poets of every era in the eastern part of the world became a leading topics²⁸⁴ that was depicted by the poets frequently in Andalusia which was a source of inspiration in terms of natural beauties. When the country

²⁸² *Ahbâr Mecmû’a*, p. 134; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu’t-tîb*, I/352-53; Ibn İzârî, *el-Beyânu’l-muğrib*, II/152

²⁸³ *Ahbâr Mecmû’a*, p. 135.

²⁸⁴ Hâlis, *İşbiliyye fi’l-karni’l-hâmis*, p. 105; er-Rikâbî, *Fi’l-edebi’l-Endelüsî*, p. 124.

reached peace and prosperity in the times of Abdurrahman II. , people started to arrange entertainments for themselves more frequently. These meetings had some literary aspects and so in these meetings, the illustration of topics such as love, wine and nature was depicted in poems²⁸⁵. Abdurrahman II. who gave weight to science and scientist and who had a literary talent²⁸⁶ depicted one of the Andalusia gardens in this poem:

وَعَقُودُ الْقَطْرِ تُنْزَرُ	مَا تَرَاهُ فِي اصْطِبَاحِ
لُ عَلَى مِسْكِ وَعَنْبَرٍ	وَنَسِيمِ الرُّوضِ يَخْتَا
فَهُوَ فِي الرِّيحَانِ يَعْزُرُ	كَلَّمَا حَاوَلَ سَبَّاقًا

“Things you saw in the morning were the rain drops falling out like a necklace.”

“The cool wind of the garden blows with beautiful scents.”

“Whenever it tries to pass it, it goes though and finds it among the sweet smelling flowers.”²⁸⁷

As you can see, a modern style and simple, clear, definite, apparent and melodious words dominated to the Andalusia poetry of the time instead of Bedouin style.

Like in the East, in Andalusia, except from innovative poets, there was a group of poets who stickled to old poetry and who never ignored its fundamentals.

Even if these poets dealt with the contemporary topics, the style and form were similar to Arabian poems. The innovative current/ movement in the East and Andalusia did not influence these poets.

²⁸⁵ Hâlis, *İşbiliyye fi'l-karni'l-hâmis*, p. 105-106; er-Rikâbî, *Fi'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, p. 124.

²⁸⁶ Ibnu'l-Kûtiyye, *Târîhu iftitâhi'l-Endelüs*, p. 75; Ahbâr Mecmû'a, p. 122.

²⁸⁷ Ibn Sa'îd, *el-Muğrib fi hule'l-Mağrib*, I/50-51; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsi*, p. 129.

In Muvedellun movements²⁸⁸ started during the reign of Hakem I and based on Asabiyye, the use of poetry as a weapon brought poets nearer to the old poetry.

In the struggle for power between Arabs and Spanish Muslims, both sides strived for proving that their ancestors were superior in terms of race, bravery and generosity. In this struggle, Ahtal (95/713)²⁸⁹, Cerîr (110/728)²⁹⁰ and Farazdak (115/728)²⁹¹ of satarist poets of Umayyad period took the genre of “nakaid²⁹²” as a model in which they satirized each other. They didn’t throw away the old one, maybe because of the feeling that they had to use this system; on the contrary, the conditions connected them to the past more and more.

According to Ahmet Heykel’s report, one of the Muvelled poets’ couplets below which humiliate the Arab, represent the Asabiyyah between the Arab and the Muvelled parties.

وفي القلعة الحمرَاء تَدْبِيرُ زَيْعَهُم
ومنها عَلَيْهِمْ تَسْتَدِيرُ الْوَقَائِعُ
كما حَصَدَتْ آبَائَهُمْ فِي ضَلَالِهِمْ أَسْنَتُنَا والمرهفاتُ القَوَاطِعُ

²⁸⁸ Ibnu’l-Kûtiyye, *Târîhu iftitâhi’l-Endelüs*, p. 69; Mu’nis, *Fecrû’l-Endelüs*, p. 365; Abbas, *Târîhü’l-edebi’l-Endelüsî*, I/98.

²⁸⁹ For detailed information about the poet from the Umayyad period Ebû Mâlik Gıyâs b. es-Salt Ibn Kuteybe, *eş-Şi’r ve’s-şu’arâ*, I/375-80; el-Kureşî, *Cemhere*, p. 421-25; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/45-49; *Suppl.*, I/83-84; ez-Zirkli, *el-A’lâm*, V/318; Kehhâle, *Mu’cem*, VIII/42; Abbûd, *Edebu’l-Arab*, p. 125-27; İhsan en-Nâss, *el-Asabiyyetu’l-kabiliye*, p. 452-63.

²⁹⁰ For detailed information about poets from the Umayyad period Cerîr b. Atiyye b. Bedr el-Kelbî el-Yerbû’î Ibn Kuteybe, *eş-Şi’r ve’s-şu’arâ*, I/374-80; el-İsfahânî, *el-Agânî*, VIII/389; el-Kureşî, *Cemhere*, p. 415-20; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/53-55; *Suppl.*, I/86-87; ez-Zirkli, *el-A’lâm*, II/111; Kehhâle, *Mu’cem*, III/129-30; Abbûd, *Edebu’l-Arab*, p. 137-39; Blachere, *Târîhu’i-edebi’l-Arabî*, p. 570-84

²⁹¹ For detailed information about poets from the Umayyad period Ebû Firâs Hemmâm b. Gâlib et-Temîmî. Ibn Kuteybe, *eş-Şi’r ve’s-şu’arâ*, I/381-92; el-Kureşî, *Cemhere*, p. 403-13; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/49-52; *Suppl.*, I/84-86; ez-Zirkli, *el-A’lâm*, XI/96-97; Kehhâle, *Mu’cem*, XIII/152; Abbûd, *Edebu’l-Arab*, p. 132-33; Blachere, *Târîhu’i-edebi’l-Arabî*, p. 584-97.

²⁹² The plural form of “Nakide” is “nakâid”, its the name for poems that are used to satire poets and give response. see İhsan en-Nâss, *el-Asabiyyetu’l-kabiliye*, p. 419-30; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu’l-Arab*, I/326.

“The reason of this tower’s being red is moving away from god. Because of this the realities surround the tower all around. I swear on the sharp swords, their fathers got harms from the starvation and exiguity to which we caused.²⁹³”

Against to this poem one of the Arab poet answered with nabaid rules like this:

مَنَازِلُنَا مَعْمُورَةٌ لَا بَلَا قَعُ وَقَلْعُنَا حُصْنٌ مِنَ الضَّيْمِ الْمَانِعِ
وَفِيهَا لَنَا عِزٌّ وَتَدْيِيرُ نَصْرَةٍ وَمِنْهَا عَلَيْكُمْ تُسْتَتَبُ الْوَقَائِعُ

“Our houses aren’t under control of anyone. They are alive and strong to destroy and prevent the cruelty.”

“That is why we have honor by our victory, and realities and rights are going out from this tower to you.²⁹⁴”

In this way, it was the way that Andalusian poets often applied to the source for describing the wars

with regards to the content and style of poems among not only Andalusian Muslims²⁹⁵ but also between Andalusians and outer enemies; besides it is a sign of dependence to the past.

Andalusian Poetry in Emiratian Age was carrying some differences apart from the classical eastern poetry besides the tendency towards eastern poetry. We can order that these characteristics, innovation in themes, the difference in treating to the themes, coming forth sensuality and the folk poetry in genre of *muvaṣṣaḥ* is seen at the end of this period.

Ebu’l-Muḥaṣṣa (d. 2006/821)²⁹⁶ is accepted as a first poet who has treated the theme in that poet:

²⁹³ Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 134

²⁹⁴ Abbas, *Târîhü’l-edebî’l-Endelüsî*, I/98; Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 134.

²⁹⁵ Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 136

وَحَضَعَتْ أُمُّ بَنَاتِي لِلْعَدَا	إِذْ قَضَى اللَّهُ بِأَمْرِ فَمَضَى
وَرَأَتْ أَعْمَى ضَرِيرًا إِنَّمَا	مَشِيهِ فِي الْأَرْضِ لَمِسَ بِالْعَصَى
فَبَكَتْ وَجَدَا وَقَالَتْ قَوْلَهُ	وَهِيَ حَرَى بَلَغَتْ مِنِّي الْمَدَى
فَفَوَّادِي قَرَحَ مِنْ قَوْلِهَا	مَا مِنْ الْأَدْوَاءِ دَاءٌ كَالْعَمَى
كَانَ حَيًّا مِثْلَ مَيِّتٍ قَدْ تَوَى	وَإِذَا نَالَ الْعَمَى ذَا بَصَرٍ

“My daughters’ mother obeyed the enemies. If it was a breast of God, it had been occurred.”

“My wife has seen a miserable blind man walking by lying on his cane.”

“He cried to the worry. He said his words as he arrived his destination.”

“My heart tore apart because of his words. No pain is like blindness.”

“If a blind man sees again, he is like a man who was reborn.”²⁹⁷

In this poem, Ebu’l-Muhaşşa approached the theme of a man who has sense of sight what he feels after losing the sense of sight. Ahmed Heykel named Ebu’l-Muhaşşa as treating the theme in this form firstly²⁹⁸.

Ebu’l-Muhaşşa, implies the despair he felt at the loss of his visual sense not directly and in an exaggerated way but effectively. He emphasizes the existence of both his daughters and his wife by not saying the name of his wife as the other poets usually do but he does it by saying ‘my daughters’ mother’. After using the implication in this way, he describes a blind person’s psychological mood in detail.

²⁹⁶ For details about the very first poets from the Umayyad period Ebû Yahyâ Âsım b. Zeyd et-Temîmî see el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 377; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 513; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu’t-tîb*, IV/167.

²⁹⁷ Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 86.

²⁹⁸ Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 87.

When we analyze the poem which he read at the time he saw a date tree in the garden Abdurrahmanın Rusafe we see that sentimentality masters the poem not description while he performs the description theme.

تَبَدَّتْ لَنَا وَسَطُ الرُّصَافَةِ نَخْلَةً تَنَاءَتْ بِأَرْضِ الْعَرَبِ عَنْ وَطَنِ النَّخْلِ
فَقُلْتُ شَبِيهِي فِي التَّغْرِيبِ وَالنَّوَى وَطُولِ التَّنَائِي عَنْ بَنِي وَأَهْلِي

‘A date tree appeared in the west land away from the date country in the middle of er-Rusafe. ’

I said to him “You are lonely. You look like me as you left your children and family and you have felt upset for a long time.”²⁹⁹

The poet doesn’t describe the height, color and its fruit in his poem. While he represents the date sentimentally, he imagines it in the shape of a human-being and shows the great similarity between the tree and himself. In the same way we see that there is sentimentality in the poem he read to a passenger who was traveling to the east.

أَيُّهَا الرَّكِيبُ الْمِيمُ أَرْضِي أَقِرَّ مِنْ بَعْضِي السَّلَامَ لِبَعْضِي
إِنَّ جِسْمِي كَمَا تَرَاهُ بِأَرْضِ وَفُؤَادِي وَمَالِكِيهِ بِأَرْضِ
قَدْ قَضَى اللَّهُ بِالْفِرَاقِ عَلَيْنَا فَعَسَى بِاجْتِمَاعِنَا سَوْفَ يَقْضَى

“The rider who travels to my country! Take remembrances from one of my pieces to the other.”

“As you may see, my body is in a place, my hearth and its owners are in another place.”

“God assigns us to be alone. Maybe one day he may let us to be closer³⁰⁰.”

²⁹⁹ Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/37; Abbas, *Târihü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/91-92.

³⁰⁰ Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/36; Heykel, *Dirâsât edebiyye*, p. 226; a. mlf. *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 90; erRikâbî, *Fi'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, p. 82.

In this poem the poet considers himself in two different places. He thinks that he is broken up between Andalusia and east. He emphasizes that in spite of his body is in Andalusia, his hearth and the ones he hungers for are in east.

We don't have absolute information about poets of that period. The ones which we know their names and poems are the emperors and the aristocrat poets. Information about the poets of the society is comparatively few³⁰¹.

c. Muvaşşah

Doubtless, the biggest difference which detaches Andalusia poems from eastern poems during emirates period and later periods was public poems called 'Muvaşşaha' or 'Tavşih' which appeared during the last period of Emirates³⁰².

The name of Muvassah was derived from the word "visah³⁰³" that is necklace or leather rope used by women, consisted of two separate parts, each of which was decorated with pearl and jeweler of that kind in a way that each of the two parts is in order but designed differently.

Andalusiaians inspiring from pieces of clothes which carried patterns called 'gusns' which were regular but different from each other, named this kind of poems as 'Muvaşşah'³⁰⁴,

There are different points of views about the inventor and the person who brought in this kind of poems which were different in form, style as well as rhythm and rhyme³⁰⁵. But the view where most people agree is that we

³⁰¹ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 86.

³⁰² For detailed information about poems from the Umayyad period see Provençal, *Edebu'l-Endülüs ve târihuhâ*, p. 21-41.

³⁰³ Abbas, *Târihü'l-edebe'l-Endelüsî*, II/220; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, III/158; "Muvaşşah, *İA*, VIII/866

³⁰⁴ Ferruh, *Târihu'l-edebe'l-Arabî*, IV/422; Abbas, *Târihü'l-edebe'l-Endelüsî*, II/220.

³⁰⁵ For detailed information see Ibn Haldûn, *Mukaddime*, p. 584; eş-Şik'a, *el-Edebu'l-Endelüsî*, p. 373; Abbas, *Târihü'l-edebe'l-Endelüsî*, II/217; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*,

don't have any muvaşşah poems which belong to this poet although it is said that the person who used Muvaşşah type of poems for the first time was Mukaddem b. Mu'afa el-Kabri (death 300/912)³⁰⁶.

From the Muvaşşah poems which reached to present day, it is understood³⁰⁷. that the poet who put this

type of poems into texts for the first time was Ebü Bekr Ubade b. Mai s-sema (death 422/1030)³⁰⁸ Ubade el-kazzaz (death 422/1030)³⁰⁹ coeval of Ubade was one of the first poets who became distinguished at Muvaşşah poems. In later periods muvaşşahs became more popular in Andalusia and later on some poets read Muvaşşah poems in the east too³¹⁰.

Muvaşşah poem type came out as a unique poetry genre in the second half of III/ IX³¹¹ century as to meet the needs of social life in Andalusia in terms of indicating the inner harmony between music and poetry³¹². It is usually used in get together accompanied by alcoholic drinks and literary meetings. Besides public interest, governors and Sultans showed

III/165; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 213; Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 107-170.

³⁰⁶ For the information about Emîr Abdullah b. Muhammed' poet Mukaddem b. Mu'âfâ el-Kabrî see el- Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 33; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 360-61; Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/156; Ibn Haldûn, *Mukaddime*, p. 584; Sezgin, *GAS*, II/696-97; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 213.

³⁰⁷ See Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 84; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 283-84; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/468-80; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, IV/52-53; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, IV/30; Sezgin, *GAS*, II/689-99 for the detailed information about Ebü Bekr Ubâde b. Abdillâh b. Muhammed b. Ubâde that is one of the greatest poets in the world.

³⁰⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 44-45; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/478-79; Şevki Dayf, *fî'ş-şi'ri'l-Arabî*, p. 452; eş-Şik'a, *el-Edebu'l-Endelüsî*, p. 373; Ferruh, *Târihu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/427.

³⁰⁹ For information about the writer and poet Ebü Abdillâh Muhammed b. Ubâde from Andalusia see Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/801-805; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, III/411-92; Ibn Haldûn, *Mukaddime*, p. 584; Şevki Dayf, *fî'ş-şi'ri'l-Arabî*, p. 452; Abbas, *Târihu'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, II/230.

³¹⁰ Ibn Haldûn, *Mukaddime*, III/306; Zeydan, *Târihu'l-âdâbi'l-lugati'l-Arabiyye*, III/16; "Muvaşşah, *ÂA*, VIII/867.

³¹¹ Ibn Haldûn, *Mukaddime*, p. 583 eş-Şik'a, *el-Edebu'l-Endelüsî*, p. 371.

³¹² El-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, III/165; Şevki Dayf, *fî'ş-şi'ri'l-Arabî*, p. 451; eş-Şik'a, *el-Edebu'l-Endelüsî*, p. 371; Sâlim, *Kurtuba hâdiratu'l-hilâfe fî'l-Endelüs*, p. 184-85.

great interest towards Muvassah poetry and these poets were even taken under preservation³¹³.

It is stated that eastern poets read muvaṣṣah like poems during dark and later periods³¹⁴. But it is not possible to agree with the rumblings that muvaṣṣah rooted in the east and developed in Andalusia. Because muvaṣṣah is a kind of poem which was born among Arabic and Spanish people in Andalusia and it differs from classical Arabic in many aspects. As in every fine art, it is quite natural that muvaṣṣah was influenced by both eastern poems and Spanish folk poems before and after the conquest.

Muvaṣṣah poems used to be written in accordance with grammar rules. The sections which formed the poem were in the same rhythm and was expressed by certain terms. The entrance part of muvaṣṣah is called 'Matla'. This part was also called 'gusn' or 'mezheb'. Matla consists of two or four lines. Those lines which called Gusn can be in harmony in rhyme or they can be in different rhymes. It is not necessary for muvaṣṣah to start with a matla. Muvaṣṣah which starts with matla is called 'et-tam' the one which doesn't have matla is called 'el-akra'³¹⁵, which means 'missing'

The part which comes after matla is called 'devr'. A devr consists of three or more lines so called 'simt'. In general a devr is in the same rhythm and in different rhyme order with matla. Simts which forms devr can be in one line or one verse consisting of two lines³¹⁶.

³¹³ El-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, III/181; Goldziher, *A Short History*, p. 135; Nicholson, *A Literary History*, p. 416; eş-Şik'a, *el-Edebu'l-Endelüsî*, p. 372.

³¹⁴ "Muvaṣṣah", *İA*, VIII/867; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 147.

³¹⁵ El-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, III/158; eş-Şik'a, *el-Edebu'l-Endelüsî*, p. 375; Abbas, *Târihü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, II/235; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 140; "Muvaṣṣah", *İA*, VIII/866; Rosen, "The Muwashshah", p. 167.

³¹⁶ "Muvaṣṣah", *İA*, VIII/866; Ferruh, *Târihu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/433; eş-Şik'a, *el-Edebu'l-Endelüsî*, p. 375.

The part after devr is called ‘kafla’. Kafla, is in harmony with matla for its number of gusns and rhyme. It is not constant but generally muvaşşah contains five or six kafla. The part which contains

Devr and the following kafla is called ‘beyt’ or ‘cüz.’³¹⁷

The last kafla which is the brief of whole muvaşşah is called ‘harca’. If the poet doesn’t say anything important which will attract listeners’ attention in this part, then he will quote from the poem of another poet. To make it more understandable by people and to attract people’s attention by reading the poem in a musical atmosphere, some muvaşşahs used Arabic and Latin words which were common among the public³¹⁸.

Parts of muvaşşah can be organized as below if we show rhyme order with letters.

Gusn A Gusn B] Matla or Mezheb

Simt C

Simt C Devr

Simt C

Gusn A Gusn B Kafla] Beyt

Simt D

Simt D Devr

³¹⁷ “Muvaşşah, *İA*, VIII/866; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu ’l-Arab*, III/158; eş-Şik’a, *el-Edebu ’l-Endelüsî*, p. 377; Abbas, *Târîhü ’l-edebî ’l-Endelüsî*, II/235; Heykel, *el-Edebü ’l-Endelüsî*, p. 140.

³¹⁸ “Muvaşşah, *İA*, VIII/866; Nicholson, *A Literary History*, p. 457; Şevki Dayf, *fî ’ş-şi ’ri ’l-Arabî*, p. 452; Heykel, *el-Edebü ’l-Endelüsî*, p. 138, 144; Latham, *Arabian an Islamic Studies*, p. 87

Simt D

Gusn A Gusn B Kafla] Beyt

Simt E

Simt E Devr

Simt E

Gusn A Gusn A Harca] Beyt

The following muvaşşah of Ebü Bekr b. Zuhr' is a good sample for this:

أَيُّهَا السَّاقِي إِلَيْكَ الْمُشْتَكِي قَدْ دَعَوْنَاكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَسْمَعِ
وَنَدِيمِ هِمْتُ فِي غَرْتَوْشِرِبْتُ الرَّاحِ مِنْ رَاحَتِي
كَلِمَا اسْتَيْقَظْتُ مِنْ سُكْرَتِهِجَذَبَ الرَّقَّ إِلَيْهِ وَاتَكَى وَسَقَانِي أَرْبَعًا فِي أَرْبَعِ

‘O ye cupbearer. The complaint is for you. We invited you although you didn’t hear’.

“The one whom I am in love with because of the bright face”

“My drink mate whom I drank wine with”

“Whenever I get sober from that drink”

“He pulls drink bag towards himself and serves me a perfect drink.”³¹⁹

Although the structure of a modeling muvaşşah can be seen like that, the type wasn’t determined since there are no certain rules. But there is a sample which was put into practice with aruz rhyme

³¹⁹ El-Bustânî, *Udebâu ’l-Arab*, III/165; Ferruh, *Târîhu ’l-edebi ’l-Arabî*, IV/43.

Those verses which were taken from the muvaṣṣah of one of the poets of Andalusia vizier Ebü Abdullah b. hatib is another sample of this poem:

يَا زَمَانُ الْوَصْلُ بِالْأَنْدَلُسِ	جَادَكَ الْعَيْثُ إِذَا الْعَيْثُ هَمَى
فِي الْكُرَى أَوْ خَلْسَةُ الْمُخْتَلِسِ	لَمْ يَكُنْ وَصْلُكَ إِلَّا حُلْمَا
يَنْقُلُ الْخَطُوعُ عَلَى مَا تَرْسُمُ	إِذْ يَقُودُ الدَّهْرُ أَسْبَابَ الْمُنَى
مِثْلَ مَا يَدْعُو الْوُقُودَ الْمَوْسِمِ	زُمَرًا بَيْنَ فُرَادَى وَمِثْنَى
فَعَفُورِ الْأَرْهَارِ فِيهِ تَبَسَّمَ	وَالْحَيَا قَدْ جَلَّلَ الرَّوْضُ سَنَا

“O ye the meeting time in Andalusia, those time clouds has been kind to you by making it rain a lot”.

el-bustani, Udebau'l – Arab, III / 165; Ferruh, Tarihu'l – edebi'l – Arabi, IV / 43.

“But meeting you there, wasn't anything else but a dream seen in a sleep or a stolen opportunity.”

“As in the pilgrimage of Hadj walking in lines of twos or threes, time sends hopes one by one.”

“Rain made a silk dress for the garden. There, gorgeous light of flowers are smiling.”³²⁰

Ömer Ferruh has been suggesting that muvaṣṣahs had influenced European poem since it had rich contents for rhythm and rhyme and told that:

“European poem was quite poor until they get in touch with Arabs through Andülüsia. ' Europeans took muvaṣṣah type of poems which are told in many rhythms and rhymes from Arabs and adapted it to themselves. European literature researchers also searched this type of poem among their poems for a long time. Eventually, those who made researches about French, German and Italian literature came to an

³²⁰ Ibn Haldûn, *Mukaddime*, III/301.

agreement that this was an imitation of Arabic poem. European poem was influenced directly from Arabic poem, in addition to this English poem was influenced from Arabic poem through Italian Poem³²¹ Muvaşşah type of poems essentially were composed of lyrics for the songs sung with string musical instruments, therefore composed subjects had been in harmony with this purpose. Until the end of V. / XI. centuries; compliment, drink and gazelles were the main subjects for muvaşşahs but by the time nature narration, devotion, risa, mysticism, criticism and mucun were also among the subjects that processed.”³²²

d. Caliphate Period

In Caliphate Period (316-422/929-1031) political and social stabilization of the country by III. Abdurrahman and the welfare helped literary and scientific activities increase. Encouragement of caliph and other upper level administrators for the favor of science, their support to scientists and the attitudes to provoke scientists to come to Andalusia have been one of the main factors for this scientific revival. For example, when Ebü Ali el- Kali arrived in Andalusia, He was welcomed with a big respect by Abdurrahman III. and was charged to grow up his heir Hakem II. ³²³

El- Kali had been one of the most important figures for eastern culture to reach Andalusia. Books of the poets such as Imru'l- Kays (Death 545 A. D)³²⁴ Zuheyr b. Ebi Sulma (Death 615 A. D)³²⁵ el- Aşa (Death 629 A. D)³²⁶ en-Nebiğa (Death 604 A. D)³²⁷ el-Hansa (Death 24/645)³²⁸ Cemil

³²¹ Ferrûh, *el-Hadâratu'l-insâniyye*, p. 23.

³²² El-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, III/172; “Muvaşşah, *İA*, VIII/868; Abbas, *Târîhü'l-edebe'l- Endelüsî*, II/235; eş-Şik'a, *el-Edebu'l-Endelüsî*, p. 405-406.

³²³ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 184.

³²⁴ See Ibn Kuteybe, *eş-Şi'r ve's-Şu'arâ*, I/50-75; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/15; *Suppl.*, I/48-50; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, I/351-52; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, II/320 for the detailed information about the poets such as -Kays b. Hucur b. el-Hâris el-Kindî belonging to during the Age of Ignorance.

³²⁵ See Ibn Kuteybe, *eş-Şi'r ve's-Şu'arâ*, I/76; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/23; *Suppl.*, I/47-48; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, III/87; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, III/186 for the detailed information about those poets such as Zuheyr b. Ebî Sulmâ el-Muzenî belonging to the Age of Ignorance³²⁵

³²⁶ See Ibn Kuteybe, *eş-Şi'r ve's-Şu'arâ*, I/178-89; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, I/212-24; ez-Zirkli *el-A'lâm*, VIII/200-201; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, XIII/65; Sezgin, *GAS*, II/130-

b. Ma'mer (Death 82/701)³²⁹ Ahtal, Cerir and Farazdak who belong to dark term and Islamic term, had been carried to Andalusia by el- Kali himself.³³⁰

As it happened during previous periods, while some of the caliphate period poets followed eastern poets, some of them special to Andalusia, dealt with the subjects which differ from eastern poems.

The most distinctive feature of this period was that the features which allocate Andalusia poems from eastern poems began to be seen more clearly. While some of the poets dealt with the subjects such as praising, complement, criticism, elegy, wisdom, narration, apologizing, love and heroism in classical panegyric style³³¹, others dealt with contemporary subjects suitable to the time and atmosphere as eastern new poets did.

It can clearly be seen that Ibn Abd Rabbih (death 328/940)³³² who often dealt with devotion in his poems, was under the influence of Ebü Temmam in the poem in which he handled the subject of pen.

32. for the detailed information about Meymûn b. Kays b. Cendel b. Bekr b. Vâil belonging to the Age of Ignorance. See Ibn Kuteybe, *eş-Şi'r ve 'ş-Şu'arâ*, I/92-105; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/13; *Suppl.*, I/45; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, I/185-96; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, III/92; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, IV/188 for the information about Ziyâd b. Muâviye belonging to the Age of Ignorance.

³²⁷ See Ibn Kuteybe, *eş-Şi'r ve 'ş-Şu'arâ*, I/260-64; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/34-35; *Suppl.*, I/70; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, II/89; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, III/160 for the detailed information about the poets of Muhadram like el-Hansâ Tumâdır bint Amr b. eş-Şerîr.

³²⁸ See Ibn Kuteybe, *eş-Şi'r ve 'ş-Şu'arâ*, I/260-64; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/34-35; *Suppl.*, I/70; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, II/89; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, III/160 for the detailed information about el-Hansâ Tumâdır bint Amr b. eş-Şerîr belonging to the poets of Muhadram.

³²⁹ See Ibn Kuteybe, *eş-Şi'r ve 'ş-Şu'arâ*, I/346-55; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/44; *Suppl.*, I/78-79; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, II/134; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, III/92 for the detailed information about Cemîl b. Abdillâh b. Ma'mer el-Uzrî regarded as the leader of Uzri Ghazel kind an done of the poets of Islamic period.

³³⁰ Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/187.

³³¹ Çetin, *Eski Arap Şiiri*, p. 80-81.

³³² See Sihabuddin Ebu Omer Ahmad b. Abd Rabbih, Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 51-53; el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 94-96; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 137-140; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, VII/49-52; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/161; *Suppl.*, I/250-51; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, I/197-98 for the detailed information about Şihâbuddin Ebû Ömer Ahmed b. Abd Rabbih.

<p>أَدَارُهُ فِي صَحِيفَةٍ سَحَرَا نَصَرَ عَنْهَا وَنَسَمِعُ الْبَصَرَا إِنْ تَسْتَبْنَهَا وَجَدْتَهَا صَوْرَا يُخَاطِبُ الشَّاهِدَ الَّذِي حَضَرَا</p>	<p>بِكَفِّهِ سَاحَرَ الْبَيِّنِ إِذَا يَنْطِقُ فِي عُجْمَةٍ بِلَفْظَتِهِ نَوَادِرُ يَقْرَعُ الْقُلُوبَ بِهَا يُخَاطِبُ الْغَائِبَ الْبَعِيدَ بِمَا</p>
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“There is such a big power in his hand, if he writes it on pages, he will fascinate the one who reads it.”

“Its words come out of its mouth with difficulty, even if we don’t listen to it we hear it with oureyes.”

“it fills hearts with rare words and commands, If you think these in your heart you will see that a picture comes into being.”

“At that moment it addresses to the person indeed who is far away, as if he is nearby.”³³³

Ebû Temmam has been telling like that about the topic of kalem:

<p>يُصَابُ مِنَ الْأَمْرِ الْكَلِّ وَالْمَفَاصِلِ بِأَثَارِهِ فِي الشَّرْقِ وَالْغَرْبِ وَإِلِ وَأَعْجَمُ أَنْ خَاطَبْتَهُ وَهُوَ رَاجِلٌ</p>	<p>لَكَ الْقَلَمُ الْأَعْلَى الَّذِي يَشْبَاهُهُ لَهُ رَيْقُهُ طَلٌّ وَلَكِنْ وَقَعَهَا فَصِيحٌ إِذَا اسْتَنْطَقْتَهُ وَهُوَ رَاكِبٌ</p>
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“You have such a precious pen that kidneys and knuckles get into trouble with its tip.”

“Ink of the pen falls like little drops of the rain, but the trace that it leaves in the east and west is like a flood.”³³⁴

³³³ Er-Rikâbî, *Fi'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, p. 118; Sâlim, *Kurtuba*, p. 169; Abbas, *Târîhü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/183; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 232.

³³⁴ Ebû Temmâm, *Divân*, III/122-23.

“If you make it talk when there is a saddle on it is a good Arab and if you address it when you are a pedestrian it a Persian”

One of the leading poets in Andalusia who perfectly dealt with the topic of wisdom is Ibn Hani

(Death 363 / 972) ³³⁵ whose expressions are understandable, impressive and clear.

In one of his odes where he praises one of the emperors, he has been telling this:

وَرُوحٌ هُدًى فِي جِسْمٍ نَوْرٍ يَمُدُّهُ شُعَاعٌ مِنَ الْأَعْلَى الَّذِي لَمْ يَجْسَمْ	
وَمُنْتَصِلٌ بَيْنَ الْإِلَهِ وَبَيْنَهُ	مُمرٌّ مِنَ الْأَسْبَابِ لَمْ يَنْصَرِّمْ
إِذَا أَنْتَ لَمْ تَعْلَمْ حَقِيقَةَ فَضْلِهِ	فَسَائِلٌ بِهِ الْوَحْيِ الْمَنْزَلُ تَعْلَمُ
عَلَى كُلِّ خَدٍّ مِنْ أَسَارِيرٍ وَجْهَهُ	دَلِيلٌ لِعَيْنِ النَّاطِرِ الْمُتَوَسِّمِ

“This true soul in a heavenly body doesn’t get its power from an object, but Allah.”

“There is a curly, but unbroken link which is the result of several events between it and Allah.”

“If you don’t know where this excellence comes from, then ask it to the inspiration which brings the light down, you will learn.”

“There is a sign on his cheeks for the eyes which looks sincerely and accurate.”

³³⁵ See Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 74-79; Ibnu’l-Îmâd, *Şezerât*, III/41-44; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, IV/421-24; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu’t-tîb*, III/443-44 for the detailed information about the life and literary personality of Ebu’l-Kâsım Muhammed b. Hânî el-Ezdî el-Endelüsî that is famous for his extremity in abusive language in his glorifications and poems.

“There is a sign for eyes looking faithfully and with accuracy on her beautiful cheek.”

Lastly, he finishes his eulogy with these verses:

وَرُوحٌ هُدًى فِي جِسْمِ نَوْرٍ يَمُدُّهُ شُعَاعٌ مِنَ الْأَعْلَى الَّذِي لَمْ يَجْسَمْ
وَمُتَّصِلٌ بَيْنَ الْإِلَهِ وَبَيْنَهُ مُرٌّ مِنَ الْأَسْبَابِ لَمْ يَتَصَرَّمْ
إِذَا أَنْتَ لَمْ تَعْلَمْ حَقِيقَةَ فَضْلِهِ فَسَائِلٌ بِهِ الْوَحْيِ الْمَنْزَلِ تَعْلَمُ
عَلَى كُلِّ خَدٍّ مِنْ أَسَارِيرِ وَجْهِهِ دَلِيلٌ لِعَيْنِ النَّاطِرِ الْمُتَوَسِّمِ

“There are arriving eulogies laid as geared pearls while I am near or far of her.”

“If these eulogies go Damascus with the aim of gone Iraq, their aims happen”

“These eulogies are exceeding the value of a community, but they are minor according to value of high imam.”

“What poem rhymes will I concatenate? In which majors will I interpose you?”

“If you help me, I try to be obedient to you even if I live one thousand years.”³³⁶

In some of the eulogies of Ibn Hani we touched, It's seen the effects of Arabic poets and the wealth of passages, the effects of musical style of eulogies and Ebu Temman and el-Mütenebbi (death 354/965)³³⁷ in the letter of the law.

³³⁶ Ibn Hânî, *Dîvân*, p. 315 vd.

³³⁷ See Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/62-66; ez-Zehebî, *Şezerât*, III/13-16; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/86-8; *Suppl.*, I/138-42; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, II/309-362; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, I/110-111; Zeydan, *Târîhu'l-adâb*, II/555-59; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, I/201-204; Şevki Dayf, *fî ş-şi'ri'l-Arabî*, 303-349 for the detailed information about Ebu't-Tayyib Ahmed b. el-Huseyn, nicknamed as “el-mütenebbi” since he insisted on the being of prophe, and being one of the poets of Abbasids.

We will mention about the eulogies of er-Ramadi (death 403/10013)³³⁸, the one of the popular poets of that period. It's seen the effects of Abbasian period poets especially Ebu Nuvas in the eulogies of mentioned about alcohol.

وَهَلْ هُمْ غَيْرُ عَشَّاقٍ أَصِيبُوا	بِفَقْدِ حَبَائِبٍ وَمُنُوا بِهَجَرِ
أَعَشَّاقَ الْمَدَامَةِ إِنْ جَزَعْتُمْ	لِفِرْقَتِهَا فَلَيْسَ مَكَانَ صَبْرِ
تَضَوَّعَ عَرْفُهَا شَرْقًا وَغَرْبًا	وَطَبَّقَ أَفْقَ قُرْطُبَةٍ بِعِطْرِ

“They are not the lovers tested about to lose their lovers.”

“The lovers of wine mudame! If you are hurt because of the break-up, It's not the place of being patient.”

“Her charming odor is evolved to east and west and her charming odor is covered the horizon of Cordoba³³⁹.”

The big difference of Andalusian poems to east poems is that the theme of depiction had been handled in an unprecedented style. Sea wars, gardens, cities, buildings, war ships, war tools and facilities and wracks were figured with the excellent capability by the Andalusian poets. Moreover, orient list James Dickie claims Andalusian poems are full of depiction that overshadows poem's subject and effects the fluency of poem in a negative way³⁴⁰.

³³⁸ See el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 369-73; Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 69-74; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, III/71-72, 364-65; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/318-19; *Suppl.*, I/478; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, IX/336 for the detailed information about Ebû Ömer Yusuf b. Hârûn el-Kindî that is famous for his glorification, satire, description and especially wine kinds of poems.

³³⁹ el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 14-15; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 210-11.

³⁴⁰ Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, p. 299.

In addition to these, Andalusian poets Ebu Nuvas and Buhturi are interested type of wine poems. There are lots of poems telling alcohol, alcohol assemblies, alcohol tumblers and saloons in the style of them³⁴¹.

Er-Remadi says these while figuring the war ships:

كَأَنَّهَا اِعْرَاءَ حَبَشَانَ	وَالسُّفُنُ قَدْ جَلَّلَهَا قَارُهَا
خَيْلٌ يَصْنَعْنَ لِمَيْدَانِ	كَأَنَّهَا فِي دَارِ مِضْمَارِهَا
فِي الْجَوِّ مُنْقَضَةٌ عَقَبَانِ	كَأَنَّهَا وَالْمَاءَ مَيْدَانِهَا
كَأَنَّمَا تَرْمِي بَنِيرَانَ	تَرَى الْمَقَازِيفَ أَحْنَائِهَا

“Caulked high ships look like Ethiopians’ horses.”

“They look like getting ready to compete in a hippodrome.”

“These ships fall from the sky by breaking to the water like racetrack.”

“You think the paddles near the ships like shooting.”³⁴²

Ali b. Ebi-l Huseyn³⁴³ figures the pikes like these:

لَهَا مِنْ قُلُوبِ الْمُجْرِمِينَ مَنَازِلُ	بُرُوجُ مِنَ الْخَطِيئِ فِيهَا كَوَاكِبُ
وَمِنْهَا لَهَيْبٌ وَالِدُحَّانِ الْقَسَاطِلِ	كَأَنَّ صِرَافًا فِي الْوُغَى مَتَاجِجًا
فَأَقْلَامُهُ عِنْدَ الْكُمَاةِ الدَّوَابِلُ	بِهَا يُكْتَبُ الْفَتْحُ الَّذِي صَحَفَهُ الْعَدَا

“There are signs and stars being formed from pikes. These pikes have stages being formed from sinner hearts.”

³⁴¹ Provençal, Edebu'l-Endülüs ve târîhuhâ, p. 5-7; Peres, Esplendor de al-Andalus, p. 43; er-Rikâbî, Fi'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî, p. 120.

³⁴² Abbas, *Târîhü 'l-edebi 'l-Endelüsî*, I/96.

³⁴³ See el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 308; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 413; Abbas, *Târîhü 'l-edebi 'l-Endelüsî*, I/95-96 for the detailed information about the poet Ali b. Muhammed b. el-Huseyn whose death date has not been known, and who has been supposed to be dead during the period of sower of dissent(399-422/1009-1031).

“Pikes are like woods blaze like ember and black smokes.”

“Conquests blocked by enemies are written by the heroes whose pens are their pikes.³⁴⁴”

Another feature of this period is that poets joined the wars³⁴⁵ and figure these wars in a realistic way. Ibn Derrac (death 421/1030)³⁴⁶ tells the war he joined as a commander like these:

وَأَسْفَرَ عَنْ إِقْدَامِكَ النَّصْرُ وَالْفَتْحُ	تَبَيَّنَ عَنْ إِشْرَاقِ غَرَّتِكَ الصُّبْحُ
مصادرُها عَزَّ وموردها نَجَحُ	وَقَرَّتْ عُيُونُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ بِأُوبَةِ
وَعَرَفَ نَسِيمُ الرُّؤُوسِ مِنْ طَيِّبِهَا نَفْحُ	كَأَنَّ شُعَاعَ الشَّمْسِ مِنْ نُورِ هَدْيِهَا
إِلَى مَتَجَرِّ جَنَاتٍ عَدْنٍ لَهُ رِيحُ	ضَرَبَتْ بِحِزْبِ اللَّهِ فِي الْأَرْضِ مَقْدَمًا

“The day brightened because of your beautifulness and conquests eventuated with your coming.”

“When you turn back, Muslims got happy. The reason of this happiness is accomplishment.”

“Sun rises are emanated from the lights of the right way of happiness, soft wind of garden meets with the smell of her.”

“You pioneered the ones who walk on the way of God and you supposedly put it into an action. And this profit is Adn³⁴⁷ heavens.³⁴⁸”

³⁴⁴ Abbas, *Târihü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/95.

³⁴⁵ Abbas, *Târihü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/93.

³⁴⁶ See el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 110-14; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 158-61; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/59-102; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/135-39; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, III/195-96; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, I/204 for the detailed information about Ebû Amr Ahmed b. Muhammed b. Derrâc el-Kastallî that is one of the most important poets during Andalus.

³⁴⁷ See Ra'd Sûresi, 13/23; Nahl Sûresi, 16/31; Meryem Sûresi, 19/61 verses. Here cites the frequently-used term of “Cennâtu Adn”.

³⁴⁸ Abbas, *Târihü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/94 vd.

Four a hundred and fifty versed poem³⁴⁹ that Ibn Abdi Rabbih told the wars Abdurrahman II. fought had a different value in the matter of reflecting historical events.

Andalusia, having a very beautiful natural construction, is a source of inspiration every period. Andalusian poets are good at figuring the gardens, rain, trees, flowers and sky. Doubtlessly, nature matters totally effect the this period of Andalusian poem.

Nature matters are not only accommodated in poems but also in prose. Cloud, cold and especially flowers are figured in these poems also occurring wine depiction³⁵⁰.

Ubeydullah b. Yahya (death 297/909)³⁵¹ described roses and their short life as follows:

وبان حميد الأنس والعهد رائقه	تَخَلَّتْ مِنَ الْوَرْدِ الْأَيْبِ حَدَائِقُهُ
فَسُرَّ مَلَاقِيهِ وَسَيَّى مَفَارِقَهُ	فَمَا كَانَ إِلَّا الطَّيْفَ زَارَ مُسْلِمًا

“Gardens are absent from beautiful roses, times when they smelt nice and also good people of the time disappeared with them.”

“This is nothing but a dream giving happiness when a Muslim comes and pain when he goes away.”³⁵²

Sa'id b. Muhammed (death ?)³⁵³ tells its eulogy about daffodil like these:

³⁴⁹ See. Ferruh, *Târihu'l-edebe'l-Arabî*, IV/198 vd.

³⁵⁰ el-Fâhûrî, *el-Câmi'*, p. 940; er-Rikâbî, *Fi'l-edebe'l-Endelüsî*, p. 130; Abbas, *Târihu'l-edebe'l-Endelüsî*, I/106.

³⁵¹ See el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 269; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 355; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 210-11 for the detailed information about Ubeydullah b. Yahyâ b. İdrîs that lived in the period of III. Abdurrahman

³⁵² el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 269

أَرَعَمْتَ أَنَّ الْوَرْدَ مِنْ تَفْضِيلِهِ حَجَلٌ وَنَاجِلُهُ الْفَضِيلَةُ عَانِدُ
 إِنْ كَانَ يَسْتَحْيِي لِفَضْلِ جَمَالِهِ فَحَيَاؤُهُ فِيهِ جَمَالٌ زَانِدُ
 وَالنَّرْجِسُ الْمَصْفَرُّ أَعْظَمُ رِيْبَةً مِنْ أَنْ يَحُولَ عَلَيْهِ لَوْنٌ وَاجِدُ
 لَيْسَ الْبَيَاضُ بِصُفْرَةٍ فِي وَجْهِهِ صِفَةً كَمَا وَصَفَ الْحَزِينُ الْفَاقِدُ

“Do you think the rose is ashamed of its smell because of its
 beautifulness or a virtuous man swerve?”

“If the rose is ashamed of its smell, it increases its beautifulness.”

“You make a big mistake when you ascribe daffodils wit only yellow
 color.”

“Daffodil also wears white with yellow on its face, this situation
 is like figuring the loser of it with sadness.”³⁵⁴

Poems wishing mercy and clemency from caliph and vizier in the time of
 confusion of the internal political stability, frequent arresting and
 beginning of confinement events became prevalent. el-Mushafi (death
 372/983)³⁵⁵ who is arrested by el-Mahsur Ibn Ebi Amir calls upon him to
 touch his heart like these:

هَبْنِي أَسَأْتُ فَأَتَيْنَ الْفَضْلُ وَالْكَرَمُ إِذْ قَادَنِي نَحْوَكِ الْإِدْعَانُ وَالنَّدَمُ
 يَا خَيْرَ مَنْ مَدَّتْ الْأَيْدِي إِلَيْهِ أَمَاتَرْتَنِي لِشَيْخٍ نَعَاهُ عِنْدَكَ الْقَلَمُ
 بَالَعْتُ فِي السَّخَطِ فَاصْنَحْ صَفْحَ مَقْتَدِر إِنَّ الْمُلُوكَ إِذَا مَا اسْتَرْجَمُوا رَحِمُوا

³⁵³ See el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 228; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 305; Abbas, *Târîhü’-ede bi’l-Endelüsî*, I/110 for the detailed information about Sa’îd b. Muhammed b. Ferrâc, gaining fame for his poems about the descriptions of nature, and coming from Andalus

³⁵⁴ Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 228; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 306.

³⁵⁵ See el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 187-88; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 257; Ibnu’l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, II/257-67; Ibn İzârî, *el-Beyânü’l-muğrib*, II/254; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu’t-tîb*, I/592-94; ez-Zirikli, *el-A’lâm*, II/119 for the detailed information about the poet and writer Ebu’l-Hasan Ca’fer b. Osmân b. Abdillâh that was assigned to the governorship during the period of III. Abdurrahman, assigned to the state of vizierate during the period of II. Hakem, and the state of ‘Haciblik’ during the period of II. Hişâm.

“Think that I have committed a crime. Where are favor and liberality? I have committed it because of compliance and regret.”

“The one who is most favorable! Don’t you feel sore for an old a pen ululate him near you?”

“You overdid because of anger. Excuse with the excuse of the one who is equal to revenge! Because kings consider when they cry on one’s shoulder.”³⁵⁶

Andalusian poets recite poems about scientific matters, advice, festivals, historical events, palace and magnificent buildings and majesty of Andalusian Amevi caliphs in addition to these.

Another characteristics of the poems of the time is the beginning of the use of Arabic words in poetry of the time and its deprivation of the previous features. These words were not only used by Muvassah poets, but outsiders as well. Having been in the written form for the first time by Ebu Bekr Ibn Kuzman (death 555/1160)³⁵⁷, this literary trend in poetry gave birth to “Zecel” as a literary genre especially after they are used by contemporary poets as well.

e. Zecel

After muvassah style of poem was popular in Andalusia, Andalusia poets started to enhance a new style of poem possessing Arabic and Latin words in order to enable people to be able to understand it easily and feel it as part of their social lives. They called it “zecel” without obeying the grammar rules. Zecel means dancing and singing. At first, zecel was recited only among society especially during V. /XI centuries. After that, It was been popular by starting to write in fifth and ninth century by all society. The oldest sample of zecel belongs to Ibn Kuzman who is

³⁵⁶ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 281.

³⁵⁷ See Ibn Haldûn, *Mukaddime*, III/307; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, IV/22-25; Provençal, *Edebu'l-Endülüs ve târîhuhâ*, p. 21-24; Goldziher, *A Short History*, p. 137; Nicholson, *A Literary History*, p. 417; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, VII/214; Kehmâle, *Mu'cem*, XI/106 for the information about Ebû Bekr Muhammed b. Îsâ b. Kuzmân el-Asgar.

thought to be real creator of the this poem. Zecel like muvassah starts with the mezhep and matla including four gusns. After, devr comes. Each devr finishes with the kalfa. There is no rhyme harmony among devrs. Zecel is performed by singers and a chorus accompanied by relevant musical instrument.³⁵⁸

At the end of III/IX centuries, we see that poems are slowly taking the style of prose and using a name of “kaside”. This state often caused debates among scholars to decide whether this poetry genre advocates are more like prose writers or both or pros and poetry –talented literary figures. Ibn Suheyd and Ebu Muhammed Ibn Hazm (456/1063)³⁵⁹ are the pioneers of the new type of Poetry.

IV/X. Century witnessed a tremendous increase in the number of poets and from an ordinary peasant to a noble, there were many poets all over the country. This happened in such a way that “Emirs” got into a competition among their peers³⁶⁰ in terms of the number of poets under each of their preservation. This period also caused a tendency towards alcohol and women and religious feelings started to weaken, this was also reflected in many literary works of that time³⁶¹.

³⁵⁸ See Ibn Haldûn, *Mukaddime*, III/307-14, 320, 324; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, III/182; Goldziher, *A Short History*, p. 135, 137; Nicholson, *A Literary History*, p. 417; eş-Şik'a, *el-Edebu'l-Endeliûsi*, p. 447-62; Şevki Dayf, *fî'ş-şi'ri'l-Arabî*, p. 453-54; Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 31-106 for the further information about Zecal.

³⁵⁹ See Ibn Hazm, *Tavku'l-hamâme*, mukaddime; Ibnu'l-Îmâd, *Şezerât*, II/299-300; el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 308-11; Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 55-56; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 415-18; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/167-80; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, III/325-30; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, II/77-84; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/505-506; *Suppl.*, I/602-607; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, V/59 for the detailed information about Ebû Muhammed Ali b. Ahmed b. Sa'id b. Hazm that was one of the greatest writers, poets, and the canon lawyers during the period of Andalus.

³⁶⁰ Pellat, *La Poesie Andolouse*, p. 57, Ahmed Emin Zuhru ; İslam, III/156

³⁶¹ Nykl, *Hispano Arabic Poetry*, s. 72. Peres. *Esplendor de al-Andalus*, s. 372.

The notable poets of the time were Ibn Abdi Rabbih, Ibn Hani er Ramadi, Ibn Derrac el Kastalli, Ibn Hazm, Ibn Zeydun (died 463/1070)³⁶², Munzir b. Sa'id el-Balluti (died 355/966).³⁶³

When we examine Andalusia Poetry from the beginning until Ibn Suheyd, we see three important poetic styles.

- 2) The first one is a poetic that that are similar and under the influence of Arabic poetry. These similarities were in terms of subject, theme and style. This type of poetry ad always struggled to survive all times, especially the following years of Congest and establishment period.
- 3) The second is the type of poetry which followed the poetic genre of the poets of Abbasi time. This genre which was notable during Emir period, continued to survive all times. The poets of this period reflected similar topics, themes and style of the eastern poets but additionally, they also included wars, war properties, ruins and other things which were not common in eastern poetry.

The first two types explained above reflected easily understandable elements of the poetry and they were both more or less effected by the orientalist poetry.

5. The third type of poetry of this time is totally different from orientalist poetry in that they used different form, theme and alienations in their literary work.

³⁶² About Andelucian scientist and poet Ebu'l-Velid Ahmed b. Abdullah b. Zeydun el-Mahzumi. Look el-Humeydi, *Cezve*, p. 130- 31, Ibn Hakan, *Matmah*, p 60-61, ed-Dabi, *Buğye* p. 186-87, Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, p I/336-428, Ibn Hallikan. *Vefayat*, p. I/139-141, el-Makkari, *Nefhu 't-tib*, p I/627-34, Brockelman, *GAL*, I/324-25, *Suppl*, I/451, ez-Zirikli, p *el-A 'la*, I/151-52.

³⁶³ Munzir b. Sa'id b. Abdullah b. Abdulmelik who is knowledgeable in religious matters as well as literature about whom please refer to el-Humeydi, *Cezve*, p. 348-49, Ibn Hakan, *Matmah*, p. 37-46, ed_Dabbi, *Buğye*, p. 465-66; el- Makkari, *Nefhu, 't Tib*, I/368-76; Brockelman, *Suppl*. P. I/484; ez-Zirikli, *el-A 'lam*, VII/229.

The common features of the poets belonging the three poetic styles are natural description. It takes its roots from beautiful Andalusia gardens, rivers, coastlines and palaces. These were explained in very artistic way in their poem.

2. PROSE

During the century following the conquest the state of prose was not different from poetry. The prose of this period was made up of “dressings and risales”. Especially during the period if Islamic spread, Speakers and secretaries were brought from the east to Andalusia in order to encourage people during wars which was of great importance socially and politically. Very few of prose samples of the time could reach to our age. The addressing of this period was full of faked words and lacking from “tekellüf”.³⁶⁴

It was quite natural for those poets to carry the features of their ancestors to their new land Andalusia. In the same period, what was valid for Andalusia prose was prominent in terms of lengthy Risales, using literary arts at the beginning and at the end, using religious terms and harmonic advisory expressions.³⁶⁵

From the speakers and secretaries of this period, only a few could reach to the present age. Addressing to people of that time was more important than poetry because the main mission was gain victories in spreading Islam and enlarging the boundaries of the Empire. Those Risales written by Emirs themselves as official documents continued political messages as well as literary value. The risalet written by Musa b. Nusayr to a Christian leader is a very notable one for us an it states:³⁶⁶

³⁶⁴ El-Fahuri, *el-Cami'* p. 902.

³⁶⁵ For information about Governors period please refer to rf. Abbûd, *Edebu'l-Arab*, p. 339; Blachere, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, p. 871-82; Şevki Dayf, *fî'n-nesri'l-Arabî*, p. 99-113; a. mlf. *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, II/405-22; Lağzivî, *Edebü's-siyâse*, p. 88.

³⁶⁶ Tudmir is one of the heads of the government before the Conquest. (Ref. Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 65) There was a place of living with the same period in Andelucia. Ref to. Yâkût, *Mu'cemu'l-buldân*, II/19.

“To Abdulaziz b. Mûsâ b. Nusayr’ Tumor”³⁶⁷

“We are happy with the success. We are promising in the name of Allah that we will not deprive of you and Christian fellows from their properties. Their siblings and wives will not killed or taken. They will also be free with their religious beliefs. Churches will stay up. There will be no slaves. But we will never have anybody as our enemy among us. Our security is important. There will be nothing done beyond our knowledge.”³⁶⁸

Prose did not get a noticeable advance during the emirate period. At the beginning, the declamation from the Cahiliyye period until the Umayyad period, legacies, booklet, muhaverat, and similar literary documents³⁶⁹. The first source for Andalusians in the cultural and literary fields were the East not inside of country.

The speech in below was given by Emir I. Abdurrahman to his friends before making war with last Andalusia governor Yusuf el-Fihri, gives us an opinion about declamation of that period.

“We will lay the foundation of the building. Today, we will live mortification of the century, or we will live honor and pride of the century. You were very patient at this time. We will have the things that we like in the rest of our life.”³⁷⁰

The prose of this period shows similarities with the poetry in terms of imitating the East, though it couldn’t get enough advance as poetry. Imitating east in poetry, besides the first indications which belongs to

³⁶⁷ Tudmir is one of the christians before the Conquest. (Ref. . Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 65) There was a place with the same name at that period in Andelucia. Ref. Yâkût, *Mu’cemu’l-buldân*, II/19.

³⁶⁸ Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 65.

³⁶⁹ Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 110.

³⁷⁰ Heykel, *Dirâsât edebiyye*, p. 229; a. mlf. *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 112.

Andalusia appeared in this period. Prose booklet was limited only to Muhaverat and legacies in this period.³⁷¹

Prose showed a change similar like in East during this period. The most noticeable of this change the style of Abdulhamid b. Yahya el-Katip (death 132/749) and el-Cahiz (death 255/868)³⁷² became effective on Andalusia booklet. Especially, el-cahiz became very well-known in Andalusia and some of his books arrived in Andalusia while he was alive. In the booklet which was written by II. Abdurrahman to his clerk, repeating short sentences shows us, he was affected by el-Cahiz's style.³⁷³

“We did an investigation about you. The things that we brought with recognizing you. But we did this for helping you and because of electing you. we gave you permission to get help from expert clerks. choose the people that you trust and believe. We will help until you learn procedures and have information about services, inspect our written documents and during your education.”³⁷⁴

The booklet was written by Velid b Abdirrahman b Ganim(ö 272/886)³⁷⁵ in order to approach to emir Muhammned b. Abdirrahman and getting high positions from him, it is one of the best examples of booklets of that time.

³⁷¹ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 111.

³⁷² Ebû Osmân Amr b. Bahr b. Mahbûb el-Câhiz el-Kinânî who was one of the Arabic Literature had forwarded eyes and very ugly as well. Because of that, he was not suitable for being a secretary. For his life and literary Works, refer to Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 57, 169, 220, 321; es-Sem'ânî, *el-Ensâb*, III/154-55; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/413; III/140-44; Zeydan, *Târihu âdâbi'l-lugati'l-Arabiyye*, II/475-77; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, II/260; Şevki Dayf, *el-Fen ve mezâhibuhu fi'n-nesri'l-Arabî*, p. 154, 188; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/152; *Suppl.*, I/239, 421; Kehhâle, *Mu'cemü'l-müellifin*, VII/7-9.

³⁷³ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 171.

³⁷⁴ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 172.

³⁷⁵ Being the Vizier for Emîr Muhammed b. Abdirrahman Velîd b. Abdirrahman b. Abdilhamîd b. Ganîm, rf. *Ahbâr Mecmû'a*, p. 131; Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/141; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, III/372-73; Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, IX/140.

“It is not enough to pray for Emir’s—may God make him everlasting-benefactions. His hands were elevated for delivering benefaction. Whenever I approach him with thankfulness, He showed me his kindness. It must require to pray because of his benefactions. But it was difficult to pray for me and I was at a loss. Besides, I am not thinking not to say something or not to work.”³⁷⁶

The speech between Emir Muhammed bin. Abdurrahman and one of his close relatives is one of the best examples which reach our present day.

“Emir: The situation is going bad though your words are to the contrary and, it says that you want to escape from a lie. If you accept your sin, and want to be forgiven, it will be more beautiful for you. I show you solutions in order to cover your mistakes

“Servant: I was covered by sin and also covered full of mistake. I’m surely a human. Don’t I have the right to apologize?”

Emir: Slow down on something that you want. There is service in front of you, there is forswearing at your back. there is no place between this two things for sin. Because it is very common to be forgiven for you”³⁷⁷

During the reign of Abdurrahman III the stability that was constituted caused an increase in the production of prose works and also caused the production of works that are intrinsic to Andalusia. In the leadership of el-Kali, eastern wise men and their works were brought to Andalusia, besides this, many Andalusian people were sent to the East for education. Caliphs, viziers, governors gave great importance to science and scientists.

We understand that great advance was seen in the field of prose during caliphate period. The effect of east was seen in the booklets in the pervious period, besides for the first time some works were written in the

³⁷⁶ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 172-73.

³⁷⁷ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 173.

field of prose³⁷⁸. It was started to present some Andalusian authors using the same works written in the east as a source. This period literature contains Quotations from the Quran, hadith, poems from Cahiliyye period and proverbs. It had a specialty called sexily³⁷⁹. Great importance was given to official documents in this period. People who wrote well were appointed to very important positions like vizier and acyclic. Among these people are, Ibn Caver(ö393/1006)³⁸⁰, Ibn obi Amir and el-Mustafa. Women were appointed as a clerk in official correspondences during caliphate period

Hacib Ibn Ebi Amir set up a council which contains the clerks³⁸¹. The clerks in this council were assigned to write down wars and other important events. The affects³⁸² of el-Cahiz and also Ibnu'l Amid were seen on works in this period (d. 360/970)³⁸³. This can clearly be seen in the following booklet of Ebu Mervan el-ceziri (ö394/10049)³⁸⁴:

“If you –may God help our emir el-Mansur - defend yourself against enemies with their tactics if you show your greatness against their pride, you will be their shelter. However my morality is very clear on you like a rising sun. It is more sweet than clouds which water us.”³⁸⁵

³⁷⁸ el-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, II/185.

³⁷⁹ Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/200-201.

³⁸⁰ Abdulmelik b. Cevher Ebû Mervân, who was also a Vizier during the period of III. Abdurrahman, rf. el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 282; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 376; Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/321-22; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 248.

³⁸¹ el-Fâhûrî, *el-Câmi*, p. 904.

³⁸² Detailed info about Ebu'l-Fadl Muhammed b. el-Amîd, who was one of the prose based literary figure of the period of Abbasi rf. Ibnu'l-Îmâd, *Şezerât*, III/31-34; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, II/467-70; Abbûd, *Edebu'l-Arab*, p. 315-16; Brockelmann, *Suppl.*, I/453; Şevki Dayf, *fi'n-nesri'l-Arabî*, p. 205-212.

³⁸³ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 333.

³⁸⁴ Ebû Mervân Abdulmelik b. İdrîs el-Ezdî el-Cezîrî, who was a Divan secretary during the period of el-Mânsûr Ibn Ebî Âmir, rf. el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 280; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 374; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, I/529-33, 586-88; Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, IV/301; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, VI/180.

³⁸⁵ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 334.

We see quotations from Quran in the booklet which is written by Ibnu'l-Burd el-Ekber(ö418/1012)³⁸⁶ to el-Muzaffer Ibn Ebi Amir in this period:

“May God not separate you from accuracy. God created the world without needing them. God gives them time to calculate their duties and try them. God created them in different types and categories. Some of them obeyed to God but some of them rebelled against God. There is a special group between these two groups, they mixed good and bad duties, and they committed crime at the same time. Maybe Allah recommends them to for swearing. If Allah wanted that Allah would create the people as a single Ummad³⁸⁷. Ummad are still different as Allah created them. The person who is afraid of Allah and aware of his crimes to forswearing from Allah is the one who is happy.”³⁸⁸

Te'lifi prose formed two groups which contained literary history and literature books. The books in the field of literary history contain some information about hal translation, muhtarat, poem and poets. Among these books, we can count Usame b. Rebî'a el-Kurtubi's (ö310/922)³⁸⁹ Tabakatu's-şu ara Bi'l Endelüs, Muhammed b. Hisam el-Mervani's (d. ?)³⁹⁰ Ahbaru's -şu'ara bi'l Endelüs and Muahmmmed b. Mugis' (ö352/963)³⁹¹ Şi'ru'l-hulefa min beni Umeyye'si with Ebu Ahmed b. Frec el-Ceyyani's (d. 366/976)³⁹² Kitabu'l-Hadaik.

³⁸⁶ Abaout Ebû Hafs Ahmed b. Muhammed b. Burd, who was a poet of the time rf. el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 199; Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 24-25; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/123; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, I/424-26, 586; Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, I/99; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, I/65.

³⁸⁷ Rf. Mâide Süresi, 5/48.

³⁸⁸ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 338.

³⁸⁹ About Usâme b. Rebî'a rf. el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 305; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 411; Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, IV/366; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, VII/253.

³⁹⁰ About the Works of Muhammed b. Hişâm el-Mervânî rf. el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 95-96; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 13; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 254.

³⁹¹ About the Andelucian Abdullah b. Muhammed b. Mugîs, who is also known as Ibnu's-Saffâr rf. el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 252-53; Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, IV/264; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, VI/141

³⁹² About the work of Ahmed b. Muhammed b. Ferec el-Ceyyânî, “Kitâbu'l-hadâik” which was only given importance by Andelucian poets in their poems rf. el-Humeydî,

The effect of East is seen in the field of prose like the other fields. When you look at the names of the prose that is shown above, most of them were translated from other books with the same names³⁹³. The books which were translated generally contained poetry, language declamation, naked literature. The books translated in this field are Ibn Abdi Rabbih's el-Ikdu'l-ferid³⁹⁴, el-kali's el-Emali, el-husri (d. 413/1022)'s Zehru'l-adab³⁹⁵, and our research topic Ibn Suheyd's Risaletu't-tevabi ve'z-zevabi and his work Tavku'l-hamâme³⁹⁶ on Ibn Hazm's philosophy.

3. LANGUAGE AND GLOSSARY

The studies in the field of language and glossary of Andalusia people started late with comparison to other fields³⁹⁷. Until el-kali, Kitabu nevadiri'l-luga was translated, glossary studies were only the translations of the books which were written in the east³⁹⁸. For example, one of the most important sources in this field was Halil b. Ahmed's (ö175/791)³⁹⁹

Cezve, p. 104; Ibn Beşkuval, *es-Sıla*, I/5-6; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 151; Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, I/201-202.

³⁹³ el-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, III/185; el-Fâhûrî, *el-Câmi'*, p. 902.

³⁹⁴ Ibn Abdi Rabbih divided this work into twenty five chapters and this work includes history, poetry, prose, belagat, nakd, aruz, music, manners and traditional values and each chapter has a special name. For detailed information Rf. el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 101-104; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 148-151; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, VII/49-52; Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, I/197-98; el-Fâhûrî, *el-Câmi'*, p. 905-908.

³⁹⁵ About the Works of Ebû İshak İbrahim b. Ali el-Husrî el-Kayravânî, who was an Andelucian speaker and poet rf. el-Husrî, *Zehru'l-âdâb*, mukaddime, ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 223-24; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, I/44; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, I/64; Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/375-77.

³⁹⁶ For detailed information of this work of Ibn Hazm, which means "Pidgin Necklace" rf. Abdülkerîm, *Ibn Hazm*, p. 187-216; el-Fâhûrî, *el-Câmi'*, p. 918-19; Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/540-41.

³⁹⁷ Şevki Dayf, *el-Medârisu'n-nahviyye*, p. 288; Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 235-57.

³⁹⁸ Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/185; el-Fâhûrî, *el-Câmi'*, p. 899.

³⁹⁹ See Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 63-64; Ibnu'l-Îmâd, *Şezerât*, I/274-77; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/307-10; el-Kıfî, *İnbâhu'r-ruvât*, I/376; es-Sîrâfî, *Ahbâru'n-nahviyyîn*, p. 38; Attâr, *Mukaddimetu's-sihâh*, p. 95-98; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/98-99, 159-60; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, II/163; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, IV/112 for the detailed information about the life and works of Ebû Abdîrrahman el-Halîl b. Ahmed el-Ferâhîdî (el-Fürhûdî) el-Basrî that was one of the forerunners of prosody and syntax knowledge.

book *Kitabu'l-ayn*⁴⁰⁰ was brought in to the Andalusia at about the end of III/IX century. This book was condensed by EbuBekr ez-Zubeydi (ö379/989)⁴⁰¹. Muhammed b. Eban el-Kurtubi's(ö382/992)⁴⁰² glossary *Kitabu'l-alem* was one of the first dictionaries in Andalusia

As was the case for other literary genres, Andalusia language experts were affected by eastern scholars in the field of literature and followed them in many subjects. el-Kali, Cahiliyye and most of Islamic period poets el-Ferra (d. 207/822)⁴⁰³, el-Muberred (d. 285/898)⁴⁰⁴, Sa'leb8ö291/904)⁴⁰⁵, Ibn dureyd(d. 321/934)⁴⁰⁶, Ibn Kuteybe ed-dineveri (d. 276/889)⁴⁰⁷, Ibn

⁴⁰⁰ For detailed information about the very first arabic words "*Kitâbu'l-ayn*" see Kâtib Çelebi, *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, II/1441-44; -Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, II/165; Dervîş, *Me'âcimu'l-Arabiyye*, p. 13-19; Yakub, *el-Me'âcimu'l-lugaviyyetu'l-Arabiyye*, p. 45-46; Nassâr, *el-Mu'cemu'l-Arabî*, I/174-244.

⁴⁰¹ For detailed information of the poet and linguist Muhammed b. el-Hasan b. Bişr ez-Zubeydî el-İşbilî being the state of "Kadî", and the being state of "hoca" to II. Hişâm' see el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 43-46; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 56-57; Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 53-55; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, IV/6, 8; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, VI/312; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, IX/198; Şevki Dayf, *el-Medârisu'n-nahviyye*, p. 291.

⁴⁰² For detailed information about Muhammed b. Ebân b. Seyyid b. Ebân el-Kurtubî and his dictionary "*Kitâbu'l-âlem fi'l-luga*" printed a 100 times see Kâtib Çelebi, *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, II/1121; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, I/81; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, I/168.

⁴⁰³ For detailed information about the literary man, linguist Ebû Zekeriyâ Yahyâ b. Ziyâd b. Abdillâh who is a member of the Kûfe see Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 98-100; es-Sîrâfî, *Ahbâru'n-nahviyyîn*, p. 34; Ibnu'l-Îmâd, *Şezerât*, II/19-20; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, II/194-98; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/118; *Suppl.*, I/178-79; Şevki Dayf, *el-Medârisu'n-nahviyye*, p. 192-223; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, IX/178; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, I/198-99; Nassâr, *el-Mu'cemu'l-Arabî*, I/68-71; II/347-49.

⁴⁰⁴ For information about the famous linguist Ebu'l-Abbâs Muhammed b. Yezîd el-Ezdî from Basralı see Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 87-88; es-Sîrâfî, *Ahbâru'n-nahviyyîn*, p. 96; Ibnu'l-Îmâd, *Şezerât*, II/190-91; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, II/304-308; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/109-110; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, VIII/15.

⁴⁰⁵ For detailed information about the well known and ekol of Kûfe language Ebu'l-Abbâs Ahmed b. Yahyâ b. Zeyd b. Şeybânî see Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 110-11; Ibnu'l-Îmâd, *Şezerât*, II/207-208; es-Sîrâfî, *Ahbâru'n-nahviyyîn*, p. 26; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/51-53; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/121-22; *Suppl.*, I/181-82; Şevki Dayf, *el-Medârisu'n-nahviyye*, p. 224-37; Nassâr, *el-Mu'cemu'l-Arabî*, I/225-31.

⁴⁰⁶ For detailed information about the member of the Basra language ekol Ebû Bekr Muhammed b. el-Dureyd el-Ezdî see Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 91-92; Ibnu'l-Îmâd, *Şezerât*, II/289-91; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/112-14; *Suppl.*, I/172; Nassâr, *el-Mu'cemu'l-*

durusteveyh (d. 347/958)⁴⁰⁸ and many Andalusia Language experts' books were carried to Andalusia⁴⁰⁹. Without a shadow of doubt, these works played a great role in directing the Andalusia language experts.

The first serious language studies in Andalusia started after el-Kâlî's (330/941) arrival⁴¹⁰. el-Kâlî published a lot of books together with teaching of a lot of students. Some of the books he had his students publish were *el-Emâlî*, *Kitâbu'l-bârî fi'l-luga* ve *Kitâbu'l-maksûr ve'l-memdûd*⁴¹¹. The most famous of the students he trained are Ebû Bekr Muhammed b. ez-Zubeydî and in the area of history Ebû Bekr b. el-Kûtiyye. In *Kitâbu'l-lahni'l âmme written by ez-Zubeydî* he started to evaluate the words in terms of faked or lahn since Latin words were getting to be used widely in Andalusia. Ibnu'l-Kûtiyye was especially interested in History besides other areas of science⁴¹².

One of the most important improvements in the language in Andalusia was the encouragement of the use of some Andalusia expressions and words and the contribution of the gaining of these words of the Andalusia language. These new expressions were basically used for administrative terms, names of plants, commerce terms, the names of tools and daily

Arabî, I/68-71; II/447-49, 504-26; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, VI/310; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, IX/189-90.

⁴⁰⁷ For information about Ebû Muhammed Abdullah b. Müslim b. Kuteybe ed-Dineverî interested in the art of Literary criticism see Ibnu'l-Îmâd, *Şezerât*, II/169; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/124-27; *Suppl.*, I/184-87; Nassâr, *el-Mu'cemu'l-Arabî*, I/18-21, 45-47; Şevki Dayf, *Târihu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/611-23.

⁴⁰⁸ For detailed information about the persian language and syntax scientist Ebû Muhammed Abdullah b. Ca'fer b. Durusteveyh see Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 93-95; Ibnu'l-Îmâd, *Şezerât*, II/289-91; es-Sirâfî, *Ahbâru'n-nahviyyîn*, p. 26; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/51-53; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/112-14; *Suppl.*, I/172; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, VI/204; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, VI/40.

⁴⁰⁹ Abbas, *Târihu'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/65; Ferruh, *Târihu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/187.

⁴¹⁰ Şevki Dayf, *el-Medârisu'n-nahviyye*, p. 290.

⁴¹¹ About this work, refer to. Şevki Dayf, *el-Medârisu'n-nahviyye*, p. 498-529; Abbas, *Târihu'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/64; er-Rikâbî, *Fi'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, p. 71; Mubarek, *La Prose Arabe*, p. 231; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 186.

⁴¹² Şevki Dayf, *el-Medârisu'n-nahviyye*, p. 291.

phrases⁴¹³. Besides these expressions, Andalusia people used different dialects besides Latin. Furthermore, a lot of Arabs learnt Latin as well. On the other hand they used Latin nicknames as Sancho, Yuvanuş, Batra, Saka etc.⁴¹⁴

In time a hybrid language composed of Arabic and Latin came up to use among people during their daily lives.⁴¹⁵

4. OTHER SCIENCES

When I. Abdurrahman Era was started, the establishment period was nearly done and most of the threats coming from outside were diminished. With the establishment of exterior security, regularity in domestic life and social orders were started to be established⁴¹⁶. These movements in social life were also spreader in to scientific studies, literature and arts. During all these improvements we see the elevation of the status of women especially in music. Abdurrahman I. Was highly talented in poetry, prose and Belagat and he built a palace called er-Rusâfe and reserved a part of this palace named *Dâru'l-medeniyyât*⁴¹⁷ for musical performances. Together with the women musician gathered from the east, Spanish women were also doing music there. This part was renamed as *Dâru'l-muganniyât* was the basis of all efforts of that kind. The most prominent musician of the time was Ziryâb, who came to Andalusia during the time of Emîr II. And he trained a lot of singers in *Dâru'l-muganniyât*, which was the base stone of music then. With Ziryâb in Andalusia, music studies were devolved as a subcategory of musical studies. Most probably the talents of music of Ziryâb was also transmitted to his children and each of them had been prominent figures in different areas of fine arts playing musical instruments⁴¹⁸. These efforts were appreciated by all population of the time. The expansion of

⁴¹³ For this idiom and expressions please refer to Abbas, *Târîhü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/82-85.

⁴¹⁴ Abbas, *Târîhü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/86-87.

⁴¹⁵ Mubarek, *La Prose Arabe*, p. 232; Abbas, *Târîhü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/87.

⁴¹⁶ Mu'nîs, *Fecrü'l-Endelüs*, p. 836.

⁴¹⁷ Heykel, *Dirâsât edebiyye*, p. 225; a. mlf. *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 186 vd.

⁴¹⁸ er-Rikâbî, *Fi'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, p. 84; Abbas, *Târîhü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/59.

musical entertainments accompanied with alcoholic drinks triggered the expansion of music as an art in Andalusia. Music and musicians always received appreciation and preservation by the Administrators in Andalusia.

With the Caliphate Period, a lot of on history and geography were started to be published as done in the east. The first works in this area were produced by Muhammed b. Mûsâ er-Râzî (d. 273/886)⁴¹⁹ and after his death, his son and grandsons continued to publish works of the same kind. One of the masterpieces of the time is *Ahbâr mecmû'a*.⁴²⁰ During this research a substantial amount of knowledge is gathered from this book but unfortunately it is not certain who was it written by, most probably it was prepared by a commission⁴²¹ of that time.

The printed books of that time in Andalusia are Ibnu'l-Kûtiyye's *Târîhu iftîâtî'l-Endelûs* and Ahmed b. Abdilmelik b. Suheyd's *et-Târîhu'l-kebîr*.⁴²² and in the same period a famous doctor Arib b. Sa'd (d. 379/980)'s *Sîlatu't-târîhi't-Taberî*.⁴²³ In the following period, dome works in the area of translation were also produced.

As was the case in other scientific areas, religious studies a lot of Andalusia religious scientists were come up with influence of East⁴²⁴. Due to the excursions to Cairo, Begat, Damascus, Mecca ve Medina, the new publications were followed closely. From the III/IX centuries on, a lot of scientist had come up in the area of "Tefsir". Since the Arabic

⁴¹⁹ Refer to the one of the first historians of Andelucia Muhammed b. Mûsâ er-Râzî hakkında bk. el-Makkarî's, *Nefhu't-tîb*, III/111; Palencia, *Târîhu'l-fikri'l-Endelûsî*, p. 197; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, VII/338; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, XII/62.

⁴²⁰ *Ahbâr Mecmû'a*, p. 5-11.

⁴²¹ el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 90; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 131.

⁴²² Detailed information about this work of more than 100 volumes and in which the historical events until 393/1012 were included can be found in Ibn Beşkuval, *es-Sıla*, p. II/355.

⁴²³ In this work, Arib b. Sa'd el-Kurtubî who is a poet and writer as well, wrote the historical events of the period of 291/903-320/932. For more information please refer to Ibn el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 176; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 240; Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, II/257; Ibn İzârî, *el-Beyânu'l-muğrib*, II/254; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, II/119.

⁴²⁴ Abbas, *Târîhü'l-edebi'l-Endelûsî*, I/38.

people migrating to Andalusia was Syria originated, at the beginning the influence of Evzâî fikh was common. After the establishment of Andalusia Amevi Republic some of the people went to the East to study and they belonged to Maliki sect, therefore from the period of Hisam I. It became the main sect (Mazhab) in Andalusia.

Although Maliki population and scientists did not appreciate them fully, some Şafii and Zahiri sected people were also producing scientific works⁴²⁵. Some scholars like the historian Ibnu'l-Kûtiyye, Munzir b. Sa'îd el-Ballûtî, who belonged to Zahiri sect were among those scientists working on Fıkıha. Kâsım b. Asbağ (d. 340/951)⁴²⁶ and Ibnu'l-Faradî (d. 403/1013)⁴²⁷ were among those working on both hadith and Fıkıha.

In the beginning, because of religious oppressions, philosophical studies have started in the field of religion in Andalusia⁴²⁸. The first philosophical actions, with the stability in caliphate age, increased in belief and thinking fields. As other scientific fields, Andalusian intellectuals followed the Easterners in philosophy. Yahya b. Yahya (death 315/927)⁴²⁹ proposed the first important ideas in philosophy. He went to the East and trained by the intellectuals of the East. And then he went back to Andalusia and founded his philosophical ideology on Mu'tezili view. Ibn Meserre (death 319/931)⁴³⁰ was impressed by Greek philosophy. In religion, he adopted Mu'tezili's view. He opened out his ideas freely and he had lots of supporters during the reign of Hakem II

⁴²⁵ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, s. 190; Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/185.

⁴²⁶ About Ebû Muhammed Kâsım b. Asbağ el-Beyyânî ref. to Ibn el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, s. 311; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, s. 433-34; Ibnu'l-Îmâd, *Şezerât*, II/357; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, IV/47-49.

⁴²⁷ About Ebu'l-Velîd Abdullah b. Muhammed Ibnu'l-Faradî please ref. to Ibn el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, s. 237-39; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, s. 321-23; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/614-16; Ibnu'l-Îmâd, *Şezerât*, II/168; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, III/105-106; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, II/129-30; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/412; *Suppl.*, I/578-79; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, IV/265.

⁴²⁸ Atâullah, *Târîhu'l-âdâbi'l-Arabiyye*, II/130.

⁴²⁹ About Ibnu's-Semîne who is also known as Yahyâ b. Yahyâ please refer to Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/193; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, IX/224; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, XIV/236.

⁴³⁰ About Muhammed b. Abdillâh b. Meserre please refet to Hitti, *İslam Tarihi*, III/922; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, VII/95-96; Abbas, *Târîhü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/31-38.

who gave freedom to scientist. But after el-Mansûr Ibn Ebî Âmir was appointed hacib, as a result of his restrictive measures on Mu'tezili he stopped his studies.⁴³¹

Until Ibn Suheyd age, there were no important actions in the field of philosophy. Ibn Suheyd's mate, Ibn Hazm criticized these philosophical actions strictly.

During the following periods, some scientists like Ibn Bâcce (d. 533/1138)⁴³², who was a mathematician and astronomer as well, the writer of *Hayy b. Yakzân* Ibn Tufeyl (d. 581/1185)⁴³³ and Ibn Rüşd (d. 595/1192)⁴³⁴ are some prominent figures of the philosophers and scientists of Andalusia of that age.

Muslims from Andalusia continued their mathematics studies as applied and theoretical. These scientific studies were supported by the government and they were mostly on commercial mathematics, the measurement of land and tax calculations. The first important scientist in mathematics in Andalusia is Moslem b. Ahmed el-Macritî (d. 398/1007)⁴³⁵ who is the publisher of *Risâletu'l-usturlâb*.

⁴³¹ Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/193-94; Dalkılıç, "İbn Hazm Perspektifinden Endülü's'te Mu'tezile", s. 99.

⁴³² About Ebû Bekr Muhammed b. Yahyâ b. es-Sâîğ b. Bâcce et-Tucîbî, a muslim philosopher of western İslamic world refer to Ibnu'l-İmâd, *Şezerât*, IV/103; Ibn Hâkân, *Kalâidu'l-ikyân*, IV/931-47; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, IV/429-31; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, III/373-74; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/601; *Suppl.*, I/830; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, VIII/6.

⁴³³ About Ebu'l-Velîd Muhammed b. Ahmed b. Muhammed b. Rüşd who was one of the greatest thinkers and philosophers of the middle east please refer to ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 54; Ibnu'l-İmâd, *Şezerât*, IV/320; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, I/155; III/185-86; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/479-80; *Suppl.*, I/662; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, VI/16.

⁴³⁴ About the work of Ebû Bekr Muhammed b. Abdilmleik b. Tufeyl', a medical scientist of that age, in which he studied about the power of creation without parents and human power refer to Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, VII/134; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/602-603; *Suppl.*, I/831-32; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, V/128; Zeydan, *Târîhu'l-âdâbi'l-lugati'l-Arabiyye*, IV/109.

⁴³⁵ About Mesleme b. Ahmed el-Macritî hakkında bk. Ferruh, who can be supposed to be the teachers of a lot of andelucian scientists, refer to *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/190-91; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, II/358; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, XII/234; Abbas, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/73.

At this term, a big progress occurred in medicine. Said b. Abdi Rabbih and et-Tasrif limen aceze ani't-te'lif and Halef b. Abbas ez-Zehravi are the important doctors of the Caliphate period. These improvements in the area machine attracted the attention of the neighboring countries and many Christian kings went to Andalusia to see those doctors. In the same time the doctor of II. Hakem produced a 30-volumed medical encyclopedia named *et-Tasrif* and it became an important source for his followers.⁴³⁶

In Andalusia, the translation firstly started at Abdurrahman's III age. At first, Christian priests helped these studies by translating them from Latin to Arabic. Byzantium emperor sent to Abdurrahman III a pictured plant book, which was a history book, *Diyskuriyds and Paulus Ocoslus*. They were the first books translated into Arabic.⁴³⁷

As the number of the books on Science and literature increased, the demand from people towards them were also improved accordingly. New books of that kind were printed. Christians named Mozarap from Spain translated Arabic books into Latin and Latin ones into Arabic⁴³⁸. Besides the translation of important books from Latin and Greek, some Hebrew and Persian books were also translated into Arabic.⁴³⁹ In addition, the ambition of collection of books of Emirs and Caliphs⁴⁴⁰ caused an increase in the number of the books brought to Andalusia. to the translation of important Greek these some Persian and Hebrew books were translated into Arabic.⁴⁴¹

II. Hakem was allocated a separate building for printing and publication to encourage translation studies for scientists including el-Kâfî'. Besides

⁴³⁶ About the Andelucian doctor and literary figure Ebû Osmân Sa'îd b. İbrahim b. Muhammed b. Abd Rabbih and his works please refer to el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, s. 213; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, s. 293; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, III/150; Heykel, *el-Edebi'l-Endelüsî*, s. 191.

⁴³⁷ About Andelucian doctor Ebu'l-Kâsım Halef b. Abbâs ez-Zehrâvî refer to Brockelmann, *İslâm Milletleri*, s. 211-12; Hitti, *İslâm Tarihi*, III/915-16; ez-Zirkli, *el-A'lâm*, II/358; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, IV/105; Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/193.

⁴³⁸ Hitti, *İslâm Tarihi*, III/915.

⁴³⁹ Provençal, *La Civilisation arabe*, p. 87; Abbas, *Târîhü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/66.

⁴⁴⁰ Abbas, *Târîhü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/67.

⁴⁴¹ er-Rikâbî, *Fi'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, s. 74.

the translation of many sources, important references were also duplicated.⁴⁴²

Afterwards, translation became the most important thing. In translations Cordoba and Tuleytula were opened some translation centers ⁴⁴³and a lot of Arabic books were translated to Latin, Spanish, German and Italian. And translations from these languages were made to Arabic.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴² Abbas, *Târihi 'l-edebi 'l-Endelüsî*, I/68.

⁴⁴³ Hitti, *Islâm Tarihi*, III/933-34.

⁴⁴⁴ For detailed information about translated Works, refer to Vernet, *La Cultura Hispanoarabe en Oriente y Occidente*, s. 47, 80 vd.

CHAPTER TWO

IBN SUHEYD'S BIOGRAPHY AND HIS BOOKS

A- BIOGRAPHY

His is generally called Ebu Amir b. Abdilmelik b. Suheyd⁴⁴⁵. His full name is Ebu Amir Ahmed b. Ebi Mervan Abdilmelik b. Mervan Zi'l-vizareteyn el-A'la Ahmed b. Abdilmelik b. Ömer b. Muhammed b. Isa b. Suheyd b. El Vaddah b. Rezzah el-Eşca'i⁴⁴⁶ el-Kurtubi⁴⁴⁷. His name is just Ahmed, and his nickname is Ebu Amir, but he is known as Ibn Suheyd⁴⁴⁸.

Ibn Suheyd's family⁴⁴⁹ is known as el-Vaddah b. Rezzah with their ancestors. In 64/684, El-Vaddah⁴⁵⁰ was together with Ed Dahhak b. Kays el-Fihri⁴⁵¹ in Merc Rahit War.⁴⁵² The war was between Kelb⁴⁵³ and

⁴⁴⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *e-Tevâbi' ve 'z-zevâbi'*, p. 7; Ibnu'l-Îmâd, *Şezerâtü 'z-zeheb*, III/230; el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü 'l-muktebis*, p. 133; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü 'l-mültemis*, p. 191; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/191; Yâkût, *Mu'cemü 'l-udebâ*, III/220; **Ibn** Hâkân, *Matmahü 'l-enfüs*, p. 16; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyâtü 'l-a'yân*, I/118; ez-Zehibî, *Siyeru a'lâmi'n-nübelâ*, I/157; Brockelmann, *GAL, Suppl.*, I/479; Sezgin, *GAS*, II/697-98; Kehhâle, *Mu'cemü 'l-müellifîn*, I/302.

⁴⁴⁶ One of the famous members of the Kays tribes showing off to el-Eşca', Eşca' b. Reys b. Gaftân b. Sa'd b. Kays Aylân'. See Ibnu'l-Esîr, *el-Lübâb*, I/64.

⁴⁴⁷ el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü 'l-muktebis*, p. 133; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü 'l-mültemis*, p. 191; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyâtü 'l-a'yân*, I/118; ez-Zehibî, *Siyer*, I/157; el-Makkarî, *Nefhü 't-tîb*, I/621; Ibnu'l-Îmâd, *Şezerâtü 'z-zeheb*, III/230.

⁴⁴⁸ ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, I/157; Heykel, *el-Edebü 'l-Endelüsî*, p. 367.

⁴⁴⁹ For detailed information about the vet el-Vaddâh b. Rezzâh in Damascus see Ibn Suheyd, *e-Tevâbi'*, p. 7; el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü 'l-muktebis*, p. 133; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü 'l-mültemis*, p. 191; Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle'ti's-siyera*, I/237-38; el-Makkarî, *Nefhü 't-tîb*, I/621.

⁴⁵⁰ For detailed information about Kelb the member of an arabic tribe belonging to the Kahtânîs see Ibn Sa'd, *et-Tabakâtu 'l-Kübrâ*, I/334-35; Yâkût, *Mu'cemü 'l-büldân*, II/164-65; Ibnu'l-Esîr, *el-Lübâb*, III/104-106.

⁴⁵¹ For detailed information about Kays the member of an arabic tribe belonging to the Adnânîlere see Ibn Sa'd, *et-Tabakâtu 'l-Kübrâ*, I/127-28; Ibnu'l-Esîr, *el-Lübâb*, III/69.

⁴⁵² Detailed information about the "Merc Râhit Savaşı" see Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 7; el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü 'l-muktebis*, p. 133; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü 'l-mültemis*, p. 191; Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/238; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/116; el-Makkarî, *Nefhü 't-tîb*, I/621.

Kays⁴⁵⁴ tribes. So, Ibn Suheyd's ancestors came from Kays tribe. It was an Arabic tribe. His family was also known as "Benu'l-Vaddâh"⁴⁵⁵ in later periods. As we understand from these explanations, Ibn Suheyd comes from one of the noble Arabic families and he praises his ancestors in the following lines:

من شُهَيْدٍ في سرها ثم من أَشْجَع في السر من لباب اللباب

"In this tribe there is Suheyd in essence and within the essence there is Esca."⁴⁵⁶

Ibn Suheyd was also effected by the race war occurred in Damascus during the period of Umayyads and spreader the tribes of Kays and Kelb and especially in the IV/X. Centuries Arabs living in Andalusia was affected⁴⁵⁷ so was Ibn Suheyd himself.

Suheyd b. Isa b. Suheyd⁴⁵⁸ was Ibn Suheyd's grandfather and Ibn Suheyd came from Suheyd family, and he was the first to come to Andalusia during the period of Abdurrahman I escaping from the Abbasi oppression⁴⁵⁹. As did the other Umayyad supporters Suheyd b. Îsâ who had the talent of writing poetry, came to Andalusia by getting away from

⁴⁵³ ed-Dahhâk b. Kays el-Fihri is as tall as Fihri from the Kureys tribe. He was a well known person in Damascus and the leader of the Kays tribe. He fought against Umayyad calife Mervân b. Hakem in the "Merc Râhit Savaşı". He was beaten and killed in that war. See et-Taberî, *Târih*, II/474; el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü'l-muktebis*, p. 133; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü'l-mültemis*, p. 191; İbnu'l-Esir, *el-Lübâb*, I/64.

⁴⁵⁴ el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü'l-muktebis*, p. 133; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü'l-mültemis*, p. 191; İbnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/238; Yâkût, *Mu'cemü'l-udebâ*, III/221; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/116.

⁴⁵⁵ el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü'l-muktebis*, p. 133; Yâkût, *Mu'cemü'l-udebâ*, III/221; ez-Zehbî, *Siyer*, XVII/1501;

⁴⁵⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, s. 104; *Dîvân*, s. 36; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/258.

⁴⁵⁷ Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, I/34 vd.

⁴⁵⁸ For detailed information about the first ancestors of writers and poets Suheyd b. Îsâ b. Suheyd in Ibn Suheyd's Andalusia see el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü'l-muktebis*, p. 238; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü'l-mültemis*, p. 317.

⁴⁵⁹ Dickie, "Ibn Suhayd", *al-Andalus*, XXIX/244.

Abassis in Abdurrahman I age⁴⁶⁰ and then he came to Andalusia. He worked for government there.

He describes this station as follows:

“Those coming from his family were served as governors, scientists and vizier during Umayyad period in Andalusia and worked under the control of Caliphs.”⁴⁶¹

Îsâ b. Suheyd, the son of Suheyd b. Îsâ was appointed as Hacib⁴⁶² by Abdurrahman II in 218/833 and during the period of Muhammed b. Abdurrahman he was appointed as the Vizier.⁴⁶³

Ibn Suheyd's great-grandfather, Abdûlmelik b. Ömer, in 317/929, was appointed a vizier⁴⁶⁴ by Abdurrahman III. Abdûlmelik b. Ömer's son and Ibn Suheyd's grandfather, Ahmet b. Abdûlmelik was the person who was appointed to the highest degree in the government. Books on the subject inform us that Ahmed b. Abdûlmelik had a title which was “zu'l-vizareteyn”⁴⁶⁵ after he had given valuable gifts to Abdurrahman III. In the introduction that Butrus el-Bustânî, wrote to et-Tevâbi' ve'z-zevâbi' about the first usage of the title of “zu'l-vizâreteyn”⁴⁶⁶, he put a different view forward saying that the person of that title was the father's grand father of “Ibn Suheyd Ahmed b. Abdûlmelik, who was the vizier of the Emavi caliph Abdurrahmân III”⁴⁶⁷. But there is a compromise in sources

⁴⁶⁰ el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü'l-muktebis*, p. 238; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü'l-mültemis*, p. 317; Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/238; Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *al-Andalus*, XXIX/244

⁴⁶¹ Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/238.

⁴⁶² Ibnu'l-Kutiyye, *Târîhu iftitâhi'l-Endelüs*, 78; el-Abbâdî, *Dirâsât fî tarîhi'l-Mağrib ve'l-Endelüs*, p. 146; Provençal, *Histoire*, I/286.

⁴⁶³ Ibnu'l-Kutiyye, *Târîh*, 88-89; Provençal, *Histoire*, I/287.

⁴⁶⁴ Provençal, *Histoire*, I/286; “Ibn Suhayd”, *EI*, III/938; Ahmed Dayf, *Belagatü'l-Arab fî'l-Endelüs*, p. 43.

⁴⁶⁵ el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü'l-muktebis*, p. 131; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü'l-mültemis*, p. 190-91; Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/237-39; el-Makkarî, *Nefhü't-tîb*, I/380; Provençal, *Histoire*, IV/345; Ibn Mansûr, *A'lâmü'l-Mağribi'l-Arabî*, p. 51.

⁴⁶⁶ el-Bustânî, *e-Tevâbi' ve'z-zevâbi'* (preface), p. 7.

⁴⁶⁷ el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü'l-muktebis*, p. 133; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü'l-mültemis*, s. 190; Ibn Sa'id, *el-Muğrib fî hule'l-Mağrib*, I/78; Yâkût, *Mu'cemü'l-udebâ*, III/221; Kehhâle, *Mu'cemü'l-müellifîn*, VI/187.

about the grandfather's father of Ibn Suheyd Abdulmelik b. Ömer. And they also agree that in Andalusia, the title of "zu'l-vizâreteyn" was used by him for the first time. We strongly believe that the result was reached as a consequence of a name similarity.

Resources emphasize that the title of "zu'l-vizâreteyn" was endowed to Ahmed b. Abdulmelik in return of various invaluable presents presented by him to Abdurrahmân III. Yet, sultans enjoying giving presents to those around them were also prone to receiving the same in return as well⁴⁶⁸. Considering the huge value of these presents, one can easily understand that it was nearly impossible to be able to give such presents to the others based on their own wealth. Most probably, the grand father of Ibn Suheyd was obtained these valuable presents as tax payments, or present or another type of payment during his administrative duties. It is Ibn Suheyd himself to give us that intuition. Ibn Suheyd's father, Ebû Mervân Abdulmelik b. Ahmed (death 393/1003) was fifty nine years old when Ibn Suheyd was born and he also served in various upper rank administrative duties and during his 9-year-governership in the eastern region he returned with the certificate⁴⁶⁹ of a huge land. We understand this from Ibn Suheyd's own words below:

"el-Mansûr, -God Bless him- appointed my father to eastern region. He became the governor of Tudmir and Belensiye for nine years. When things went wrong in this region, he wrote to el_Mansur: "the size of the master's share does not effect the small size of the slave's. I also respect that and ensure to preservation of that. It has been a long time for me to be apart

⁴⁶⁸ According to sources, Ahmed b. Abdulmelik had given to caliph the following presents: "Five hundred golds, four hundred orname golden liras, two hundred sucks of silver coins, valuable woods for buhurdans, misk and gafur, thirty pieces of silk, five excellent rugs, ten furs seven of which were from Horasan foxes, six suits made of Iraqî silk, forty eight day, a hundred night dresses, a hundred samurai für, six large tents, raw silk, gold and silver ornamented silk, thirty wool carpets, a hundred prayer rugs, fifteen silk carpets, a hundred armours worn during ceremonies, one thousand shield, a hundred thousand arrows, fifteen Arabic horses, a hundred horses, five mules, sixty slaves of whom forty were men and twenty were women." see Ibn Haldûn, *Kitâbü'l-iber*, IV/138; el-Makkarî, *Nefhü't-tîb*, I/356-362; a. mlf. *Azharü'r-riyad*, II/261-65; el-Abbâdî, *Dirâsât*, s. 147.

⁴⁶⁹ Provençal, *Histoire*, I/195.

from my family and friends. I am fed up with duty. I am content with what I have. Yet, I am tired of working. Therefore, based on my father's request, el-Mansur - God Bless him - took my father from his post. My father returned Cordoba with four hundred thousand gold coins, a hundred thousand small suckful gold, four hundred pairs of trained animal, two hundred selected slaves of Slav race. In those days when life conditions were severe, my father's salary was seventy Mudy wheat and an amount of barley which was enough for eighty animals. My father wrote a letter to el-Mansûr asking to give back all those he brought with him. But in his reply, el-Mansur said: "If we wanted to take what we give you back, we would not give them to you. Since we were afraid that your immediate needs would be very low, we gave them to you. You did not have anything except for what we gave to you. We gave you two hundred Mudy⁴⁷⁰ of barley so that you could live comfortable during the rest of your life."⁴⁷¹

From the expressions of Ibn Suheyd we understand that administrators of that time had a lot of wealth from various ways. Additionally, it is clearly seen that his father Ebû Mervân had very close relations with the sole authority of that time Hâcib el-Mansûr.

Ebû Mervân often took place in wars journeys with el-Mansûr and appointed to the post of vizier by him.⁴⁷²

Having been very skilled in administrative duties, Ebû Mervân was also very good at literary sciences besides hadith and history.⁴⁷³ He had been well known with his work of history "*et-Târihu'l-kebîr fî ahhbâri ale's-*

⁴⁷⁰ Müdy, is a measure for volume in Egypt and Damascus. 1 mudy is 19 sa. (Ref. el-Müncid, Beyrut, 1998, s. 752) 1 Sâ' is 2917, so Ebû Mervân's salary was 389 kilos of wheat.

⁴⁷¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, s. 8; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/199.

⁴⁷² el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü'l-muktebis*, s. 133; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü'l-mültemis*, s. 190; Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/240; Ibn Sa'id, *el-Muğrib*, I/192.

⁴⁷³ el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü'l-muktebis*, s. 280; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü'l-mültemis*, s. 374; Abbas, *Târihü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/271.

sinîn ”⁴⁷⁴ In this a hundred-volumed work Ebû Mervân wrote about the historical events from 40/660 to his time. ⁴⁷⁵

Ibn Suheyd’s father Ebû Mervân had a disease called Nikris⁴⁷⁶ and towards the end of his life and he started to live his restful life⁴⁷⁷ in *Münyetü’l-Muğîra*⁴⁷⁸ where only statesmen would live. His father’s getting rid of life at this period also affected Ibn Suheyd negatively. He explained this state of him in a letter he wrote to Mu’temen (died. 453/1063)’e⁴⁷⁹ as follows:

“My father who was a servant of your people deprived from the way of life and started another life for the hereafter when left his desires and wishes and he burst in tears.”⁴⁸⁰

No information is available in literature about whether Ibn Suheyd had any brothers. But from a letter he wrote about his relations between his family and higher administrators he talks about his brother Musa who died at an early age, we understand that he had a brother. In the letter he says:

“The closeness and funniest side of the relations with Mansur is his getting Musa from my father, mixing him with his own sons and making him his children’s foster. God took him. My brother Musa grew with your food, slept in your bed. During life we build our palaces and in death we purify our graves.

⁴⁷⁴ About this work refer to Ibn Beşkuval, *es-Sıla*, II/355; Ibnu’l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/240; Ibn Sa’îd, *el-Muğrib*, I/199; Abbas, *Târihü’l-edebi’l-Endelüsî*, I/271.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibnu’l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/240.

⁴⁷⁶ This illness is called “nikris” among the public. See “Nikris”, *ML*, IX/357.

⁴⁷⁷ The place, Mansûr’s Palace is around “el-Medînetü’z-zehra”. See Ibnu’l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/240; Provençal, *Histoire*, I/190; III/373; Abbas, *Târihü’l-edebi’l-Endelüsî*, I/272; Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *al-Andalus*, XXIX/247.

⁴⁷⁸ Here in Mansr’s Palace “a place near el-Medînetü’z-zehra”. Ref. Ibnu’l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/240; Provençal, *Histoire*, I/190; III/373; Abbas, *Târihü’l-edebi’l-Endelüsî*, I/272; Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *al-Andalus*, XXIX/247.

⁴⁷⁹ Mu’temen, Hâcib Abdurrahmân b. Ebî Âmir’s son. Real name is Abdülaziz b. Ebî Âmir and he was Belensiye governor in 412/1021 and stayed there until his death. Ref. Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/193; III/249; Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 77.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/194.

Therefore by joining the friendship of present and future with you, we established the same amity for the world and hereafter.”⁴⁸¹

As seen above, Ibn Suheyd comes from an aristocratic cultured and rich family.

1. His Childhood

Ibn Suheyd was born in the year 382/992 in Cordoba⁴⁸², probably in his father's house in Munyet-ul Mugira. During that period Hacib Mansur⁴⁸³ was governing the country. Suheyd family was in close relation with the Umayyad caliphs in terms of political cooperation and friendship. Same were effective for their relation with Hacib Mansur and his sons who would take over the identical duties⁴⁸⁴. Owing to this amiable relationship with the Amiris, Suheyd family besides having had so many economical and professional benefits, a long term close connection was established between two families. Having brought up in such an environment Ibn Suheyd always had a privilege among Amiris. An incidence that took place at the age of 5 between him and Hacib Mansur was a clear evidence for this friendship.

“When I was 5 years old, on a rainy day I was before Mansur. I remember that day clearly. Words fail me when I remember his interest and kindness to me. One day when he saw that the apple he was eating had raised my appetite, he gave it to me and ordered me to eat it. As my mouth is small I couldn't get a bite from it. And my hands were not big enough to hold it either. El Mansur had cut it into pieces by

⁴⁸¹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/190.

⁴⁸² Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi'*, p. 7; el-Humeydi, *Cezvetu'l-muktebis*, p. 136; ed-Dabbi, *Bugyetu'l multemis*, p. 193; Ibnu'l-Imad, *Sezerat*, III/230; Yakut, *Mu'cemu'l-udeba*, III/221; ; Ibn Hallikan, *Vefeyat*, I/118; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lam*, I/157; Kehhale, *Mu'cemu'l-muellifin*, I/302; Sezgin, *GAS*, II/697.

⁴⁸³ See. Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/147; Brockelmann, *The History of Islam Nations*, p. 204; Monroe, “The Dîwân of Ibn Shuhaid”, *BSOAS*, XXXV, p. 144.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibn Mansur, *A'lamu'l-Magrib*, p. 51; Chejne, *Historia*, p. 192.

his teeth and fed me. Afterwards he called Nasir⁴⁸⁵. Nasir came before him with a young man called Ebu Sakır. Mansur told Nasir to take this child to his mother and accompany with him. They held me in my hands trying to make me walk faster. Due to the heavy rain, I couldn't keep up with them. Mansur became angry and told them not to pull him, take him on their shoulders and carry him gently. They did what they were ordered and took me to his generous and fair mother. His mother took me to the cushion where she was sitting. She was carrying a crown on her head. I have never forgotten the beauties and valuable items I saw in that house. Everybody in the house was announced of my presence there. Maids were rushing through the rooms as butterflies. They were all in unique, expensive clothes. The honorable lady ordered them to give me a thousand out of her share and three thousand dinar out of her husband's share. I left the palace as a rich man. Before visiting el Mansur I went to my father directly. I had the thought that he wouldn't seize the items I was given. I was thinking of giving the money to the servants, my friends and the people in the neighborhood. But after giving his friends some part of money he sent the rest to his treasure. I was totally upset, disappointed. No matter how I tried to hide my anger, I could not help it. Mansur happened to learn about what had happened. He sent me 500 dinars and made my father swear on his life that he would leave me free on how to spend this money. I received so many gifts and left. Those days of my life are still told in Munyetul Mugira.”⁴⁸⁶

We understand from the above text that Amiris and Suheyd family had close relationship and Ibn Suheyd had no economical problem during his childhood. But beside this it is seen in *et Tevabi* that Ibn Suheyd in the first 8 years of his life had no big happiness. The events that took place

⁴⁸⁵ Abdurrahman b. Ebi Amir is son of el-Mansur and called 'Nasir'. See. Ibn Hazm, *Tavku'l-Hamame*, 20, 49; Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/148

⁴⁸⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi*, p. 8-9; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/194-96.

during this period between him and his father had left a great impact on himself and this fact had reflected upon his works. Seclusion of his father is one of the important events in Ibn Suheyd's childhood period that darkened his life.⁴⁸⁷ His father as well as for himself had also brought the same restrictions to his son's life and this fact made his life unbearable. His pain is obvious in a letter he wrote to Mutemen.

“My father has left worldly pleasures and dedicated himself to the heavenly ones. He compressed my feelings and spoiled my determination. He took away my silk clothes. This made a great impact upon my childhood and gave me great suffering. At that period I was only 8 and in linen clothes. At that time I met vizier Ibn Meseme⁴⁸⁸ when he visited my father. He asked me how I was and what I had been into. I replied back crying and complaining. He mentioned my situation to Muzaffer and he immediately called me. When I was before him he ordered and they gave me silk clothes and a noble horse. Moreover one thousand dinars. Then he appointed me as a surta; a high position according to my age. I left the place in great pride. At that period I even could not stand a moment next to my father.”⁴⁸⁹

Although Ibn Suheyd states that he was eight years old at that period, according to the resources he was probably at the age of ten or eleven⁴⁹⁰.

Taking into consideration that Ibn Suheyd was born in 382/992 it is understood that when this event took place Ibn Suheyd was not 8 but 10 or 11 years old. He points out that meanwhile his father was in

⁴⁸⁷ Abbas, *Tarihu'l-edebi'l-Endelusi*, I/273; Ibn Mansur, *A'lamu'l-Magrib*, III/55; Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *al-Andalus*, XXIX/258.

⁴⁸⁸ About Ebu Amir Abdullah b. Muhammed b. Mesleme who is Mansur's diwan secretary and man of letters See. el-Humeydi, *Cezvetu'l-muktebis*, p. 257; ed-Dabbi, *Bugyetu'l-multemis*, p. 336-37; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/25, 194.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi*, p. 9; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/194-95.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi*, p. 9; Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Endelusi*, p. 266; Brockelmann, *The History of Islam Nations*, p. 204; “Andalus Omayyats”, *IA*, IV/254-55.

convalescence period⁴⁹¹. As we know his father had passed away⁴⁹² in the year 393/1003 our view grows stronger.

In the text above we learnt that Ibn Suheyd was appointed as a surta yet he was only a child at that age. In our opinion he wasn't responsible in act (de facto). As already known Pendulous was divided into two: large surta and small surta. Large one was consisted of important people and relatives⁴⁹³. The small one was consisted of public. Belonging to an aristocratic family we consider that Ibn Suheyd was holding this title as a sign of honor.

2. His Youth and Education

There is no literal source that shows Ibn Suheyd had been educated by a special teacher in any period of his life. But he was surrounded by many aristocratic Arabs⁴⁹⁴ that inspired him to read all the works of important authors and poets. It is obvious that he learnt a lot from his environment. But unlike his friends he had no tendency towards religious learning⁴⁹⁵. His bohemian way of life led him into literal issues. His famous work *e-tevabi* and *z-zevabi* states his interest clearly:

The days of satire writers inspire me a lot. I am pretty much fond of them and try to say literal words as they do. I read all the collections, I respected all the teachers. My enthusiasm grew bigger. I felt thirst for science.⁴⁹⁶

As these words seem a bit exaggerated actually they are not. Because Ibn Suheyd belongs to a family of great viziers, clerks and poets. It is natural that he also possessed these talents. Besides, he had the appropriate environment he needed. His social and cultural environment included

⁴⁹¹ Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/194.

⁴⁹² Ibnu'l-Abbar, *el-Hulle*, I/240; Ferruh, *Tarihu'l-edeb*, IV/319; Sezgin, *GAS*, II/698.

⁴⁹³ Salih, *en-Nuzumu'l-Islamiyye*, p. 334.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi*, p. 88; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/246; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lam*, III/52; Abbas, *Tarihu'l-edebi'l-Endelusi*, I/293; Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Endelusi*, p. 367.

⁴⁹⁵ Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Endelusi*, p. 368.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 88; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/246.

many aristocrats⁴⁹⁷. He learnt a lot from the poets and clerks as he was in close relation with official authorities in the government. Due to this fact in his early ages he managed to compete with elders⁴⁹⁸, moreover he analyzed the works of orientalist poets and literates throughout his own masterpiece. Otherwise it would be naïve of him to comment on them. It is for sure that by these researches he made a great progress in terms of his scientific and literal capabilities⁴⁹⁹. For instance he considers el Buhturi⁵⁰⁰ as his teacher in his work.

His family made a great contribution to develop his scientific and literal talents. It is impossible to detect the dimensions of this impact. His father passed away when he was at the age of ten or eleven in the year 393/1002 therefore he contributed to his scientific development largely⁵⁰¹. Although he had some relatives on his mother's and father's sides the sources do not state any information about his family relationships.

While indicating that in the family of *e-Tevâbi' ve 'z-zevâbi'* there was a great talent of poetry. He indicates this with a single word about his uncle.⁵⁰² But from this limited knowledge, we can hardly understand anything about whether he lived in the same time with Ibn Suheyd and died in the same period of time.

After his father's death, especially Hâcib Muzaffer b. Ebî Âmir and some upper rank statesmen became spouses for Ibn Suheyd. The vizier of the time and a famous poet and writer Cezîrî is one of them⁵⁰³. When Ceziri died after being accused of organizing a complot against Hâcib Muzaffer

⁴⁹⁷ el-Fahuri, *el-Cami'*, p. 904; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 333.

⁴⁹⁸ Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Endelusi*, p. 369.

⁴⁹⁹ Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Endelusi*, p. 368.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi'*, p. 102; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/257.

⁵⁰¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi'*, p. 73; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/295; Ibnu'l-Abbar, *el-Hulle*, I/240; Dickie, "Ibn Suhayd", *al-Andalus*, XXIX/252.

⁵⁰² Ibn Sa'id, *el-Muğrib fi hule'l-Mağrib*, I/85.

⁵⁰³ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 26; Ibn Hazm, *Tavku'l-hamâme*, p. 88; el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü'l-muktebis*, p. 280-81; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü'l-mültemis*, p. 374-75; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehire*, I/103; Ibnu'l-Esîr, *Lubâb*, I/278; el-Makkarî, *Nefhü't-tib*, I/529-533, 586-88; Provençal, *Histoire*, II/279; Ferruh, *Târîhü'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/324-26; Abbas, *Târîhü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/181-82.

b. Ebî Âmir and put in prison. He was assassinated there in 394/1004⁵⁰⁴ and Ibn Suheyd was only twelve then. As reported by Ibn Bessâm, Ceziri wrote poems and the following to Ibn Suheyd when he was in prison and in his poems he asks Ibn Suheyd whether the first or last picked roses spread fine odors.⁵⁰⁵

“Tell the vizier whose grace and services are raining to us apparently,”

“When does the rose smells better and nice ?” When it is freshly picked or later on?”⁵⁰⁶

Butrus el-Bustânî wrote that vizier Cezîrî sent this poem to Ibn Suheyd to be able to survive in his heart and improve his talents towards poetry.⁵⁰⁷ Ibn Suheyd, responded to Cezîrî’ye⁵⁰⁸ with the following lines reached to our age.

وَشَاكَهَتْ شِعْرَهُ حُسْنِيًّا رَسَائِلُهُ	يَا سَيِّدًا أَرَجْتَ طَيِّبًا شَمَانِلُهُ
وَلَا الَّذِي كُلَّفَ التَّفْضِيلَ جَاهِلُهُ	وَسَائِلًا لِي عَمَّا لَيْسَ يَجْهَلُهُ
تَنْسَى أَوَاجِرُهُ طَيِّبًا أَوَانِلُهُ	الْوَرْدُ عَهْدًا وَتَشْرًا صِنُوْ عَهْدِكَ لَا

“Dear my master of you with beautiful smell in your existence and pamphlets are like poems.”

“You are asking me what you know. The person you are asking the question is not illiterate about the answer.”

“Rose is just like your conversation in terms of its fine odors

⁵⁰⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 26; Ibn Hazm, *Tavku’l-hamâme*, p. 88; Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *al-Andalus*, XXIX/252; Provençal, *Histoire*, II/279; Abbas, *Târihi’l-edebi’l-Endelûsî*, I/181-82.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 121.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 26; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/192.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 26.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 73; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/295; Ibnu’l-Abbar, *el-Hulle*, I/240; Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *al-Andalus*, XXIX/252

and the smell of end can not replace the beginning.”⁵⁰⁹

The lines above with the same rhythm and rhyme of Cezîrî shows how an eleven-or twelve-year old child Ibn Suheyd was talented towards the art of poetry.

Apart from writers and poets in his family and being under the preservation of important statesmen, Ibn Suheyd had a very highly effective creative talents towards the art of poetry. In fact, Ibn Hayyân (d. 469/1076)⁵¹⁰, showed great appreciation towards his talents and indicated his feelings about in the following lines.

“The most interesting aspect of him is his usage of words as they came from inside of him and in a very natural way without regarding of the books he read, or a desire he felt or being a literary authority in the area of literature. “God bless him.” To my knowledge he left nothing containing information of his literary art and nature of work except for some simple information without any literary value. This caused him to have a lot of dim points in his literary personality”.⁵¹¹

There is also no information about Ibn Suheyd’s being a medical scholar besides literature except for Yakût’s report from Ibn Hazm⁵¹², el-Humeydî ve ed-Dabbî⁵¹³ and his works that reached to our time do not contain any information about his medical works. WE believe that what intended in his poems were, as clearly shown in his poems, the excellent description of parts of the body and spiritual aspects or his having some general knowledge in the area of medicine. Some authors of his time reported that he was also knowledgeable in the area of medicine and based this idea on Ibn Suheyd’s talking about el-Fârâdî’ and saying that

⁵⁰⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi’*, p. 26; *Dîvân*, p. 121; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/218-19.

⁵¹⁰ Details about the life of Andelucian historian and literary scholar Ebû Mervân Hayyân b. Halef b. Huseyn b. Hayyân b. Muhammed b. Hayyân el-Kurtubî e- Ref. el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü’l-muktebis*, p. 200; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü’l-mültemis*, p. 275; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/1-2; Ibnu’l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/219; Ferruh, *Târîhü’l-edebi’l-Arabî*, IV/615-18.

⁵¹¹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/192.

⁵¹² Yâkût, *Mu’cemü’l-udebâ*, III/223.

⁵¹³ el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü’l-muktebis*, p. 136; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü’l-mültemis*, p. 193.

they were talking mostly about literature, law, medicine and philosophy.⁵¹⁴ But, as we mentioned above, talking about different subjects of science and giving opinions about them do not indicate that the speaker has an education or is a scientist in those areas.

Ahmed Dayf, reports that in the presence of a scientific personality of Ibn Suheyd Greek philosophy had a very important role.⁵¹⁵ The start of the translation of Latin books into Arabic⁵¹⁶ with the efforts of Christian monks definitely played an important in shaping the public opinion in Andalusia during the period of Abdurrahman III. During the period of Ibn Suheyd, as it was too natural to have a lot of books translated from Latin into Arabic, it was equally interesting to see that twelve-year-old showed great interest to collect and read these books in that period. When we examine Ibn Suheyd's works, literary personality we see that he was not so interested in history and religious sciences and in the following verses we see how he criticized Ibn Hizam because of his religious opinions:

“My Şafii brother coming from a noble family took his sword of his words.”

“Away from the right path, away from reality, and personality, he opposed the Mu'tezili ideas.”

“During every fight, he took his sword on the pulpit and wanted to get on horseback.”⁵¹⁷

Although Ibn Suheyd never mentioned his education on naive science, he displays a contemporary view in this field. In his harshly criticism of Halîl b. Ahmed (d. 175/791) and Sîbeveyh (d. 180/796)⁵¹⁸ he said that

⁵¹⁴ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/222.

⁵¹⁵ Ahmed Dayf, *Belagatü'l-Arab*, p. 48.

⁵¹⁶ Abbas, *Târîhü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/67.

⁵¹⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 142-43; *Dîvân*, p. 71; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/293.

⁵¹⁸ About Ebû Amr b. Osman b. Kanber, a pioneer for Basra nahiv Ref. es-Sîrâfî, *Ahbâru'n-nahviyyîn*, p. 48; Kehhâle, *Mu'cemü'l-müellifîn*, VIII/10; Brockelmann, *GAL*, V/252; *Suppl.*, I/160; Şevki Dayf, *el-Medârisu'n-Nahviyye*, p. 57-63; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, II/160.

the science of nahiv could only be way not an aim for a literary person.
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His plans were effected negatively from the political conditions of his country and his lack of hearing had always been an important obstacle in his life.⁵²⁰ We don't know for sure whether the hearing problem was an innate one or came up later but we are sure that he was always under the struggle of his hearing problem.⁵²¹ This ailment always prevented Ibn Suheyd from his ambition of being a secretary general.⁵²²

This problem made him an introvert person. As is the case for a lot scientist, a disability of any kind is compensated through performing excellent arts in any field of life, therefore Ibn Suheyd compensated his inability of hearing through the art of poetry. This feeling encouraged his already existing talent of poetry. This state of Ibn Suheyd resembles the cases for el-Câhiz (d. 255/868)⁵²³, el-Ma'arrî (d. 449/1046)⁵²⁴, Beşşâr b. Burd (d. 167/783-84)⁵²⁵, Beethoven (1770-1827)⁵²⁶ ve Byron (1788-

⁵¹⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* , p. 117; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/268-69.

⁵²⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* , p. 9; *Dîvân*, p. 121; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/243.

⁵²¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* , p. 21; *Dîvân*, p. 121; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/243; Mubarek, *en-Nesru 'l-fennî*, II/369; Brockelmann, *İslam Milletleri*, p. 207.

⁵²² Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* , p. 9; *Dîvân*, p. 121; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/243

⁵²³ Ebû Osmân Amr b. Bahr b. Mahbûb el-Câhiz el-Kinânî who was one of the important people of Arabic literature had huge eyes and very ugly figure. For his life and literary personality Ref. Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 57, 169, 220, 321; es-Sem'ânî, *el-Ensâb*, III/154-55; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/413; III/140-44; Zeydan, *Târîhu âdâbi'l-lugati'l-Arabiyye*, II/475-77; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, II/260; Şevki Dayf, *el-Fen ve mezâhibuhu fi'n-nesri'l-Arabî*, p. 154, 188; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/152; *Suppl.* , I/239, 421; Kehhâle, *Mu'cemü'l-müellifin*, VII/7-9.

⁵²⁴ About the poet and writer Ahmed b. Abdillâh b. Süleyman b. Muhammed innately blind Ref. Şevki Dayf, *el-Fen ve mezâhibuhu fi's-şi'ri'l-Arabî*, p. 376-406; Zeydan, *Târîhu âdâbi'l-lugati'l-Arabiyye*, II/569-573; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/354; *Suppl.* , I/448; Kehhâle, *Mu'cemü'l-müellifin*, I/290-94; Karaarslan, *Ebu'l-Alâ el-Ma'arrî*, p. 10 vd.

⁵²⁵ For Ebû Muâz Beşşâr b. Burd el-Ukaylî whose poems were always shown as excellent examples his he was innately bilind Ref. Ibn Kuteybe, *eş-Şi'r ve's-şu'arâ*, p. 643-646; Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 181, 401; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/271-74; Sezgin, *GAS*, II/455-57; Şevki Dayf, *Târîhu'l-edeb*, III/201-202; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, II/36-59; Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, II/92-96; Muhtar, "Beşşâr b. Burd", *DİA*, VI/8-9.

⁵²⁶ Ludwig van Beethoven, a dutch originated composer of Germany was the son of a poor family and he was very well known with his cocertoes. He started to lose his

1824)⁵²⁷ who were also with physical disabilities but reached the summit of their arts.

Hâcib el-Muzaffer, who was great help him during his life died in 399/1008 when Ibn Suheyd was only seventeen and in the desire of reaching to an important place in poetry. ⁵²⁸ As we mentioned before, with the death of Muzaffer, “A corruption Period⁵²⁹” period started in Andalusia and contributed in time to the destroy of Andalusia Umayyad State.

3. His Position at the Corruption Period

After Muzaffer, his brother Abdurrahman b. Ebi Amir who got him poisoned and caused his death according to some researchers became a hacip. When Abdurrahman, who is known as Sanchuelo or Sanchol in the history, became a hacip, he got the title of ‘en-Nasır li dinillah⁵³⁰. He made himself enunciated a crown prince to Caliphate. ⁵³¹ Hisam II who was in an ineffective position by going too far at ambition according to his father and brother. He moved on more than his father and brother at ambition and he made himself enunciated as the caliphate to Hisam II. The response of the public of Cordoba towards the advert of throne turned to a rebellion and commotion. The rioters killed Abdurrahman

hearing ability in 1800s and gradually he became completely deaf. For detailed information, Ref. “Beethoven”, *NLU*, I/178; “Beethoven”, *EB*, III/317-322; “Beethoven”, *ML*, II/241-42.

⁵²⁷ On yaşında “Lord” unvanı alan ve başıboş bir hayat süren George Byron who was named as Lord when he was ten and he was limbing. His literary talents put him on the summit of his art. For detailed information, Ref. “Byron”, *NLU*, I/260; “Byron”, *EB*, IV/478-484; “Byron”, *ML*, II/718-19.

⁵²⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 9; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü’l-mültemis*, p. 374; Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/149.

⁵²⁹ Corruption period is the last perion of Andelucian Emevies and contains the years of 399-422/1009-1031 Ref. Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, s. 342.

⁵³⁰ Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/148; Brockelmann, *Islam Nations*, p. 203; Heykel, *el-Edebu’l-Endelusi*, p. 266; Hitti, *Islamic History*, III/845; “Andulusia Omayyats” *BC*, IV/254.

⁵³¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi*’, p. 10; Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/148.

⁵³²at 399 / 1099 and they dethroned Hisam II and committed to prison.

Consequently the period of Hacıplık which filled an important place at the period of Andalusia Umayyads, in other words the dynasty of Amiris ended. The rebellions who enunciated Muhammed b. Hisam II as a caliphate with the title of Mehdi Billah⁵³³ destroyed the palace named Medinetü'z-Zahire⁵³⁴ completely and they started a big disruption and massacre in the city⁵³⁵.

It is for sure that Ibn Suheyd who was only 17 years old when these events happened was really upset because of the positions Of Amiris who composed his close family environment. Even if he wasn't aware of what kind of a future was waiting for the country, he was going to continue the caliphate at the period of corruption which was going to last for a quarter century and he was going to be a witness of the tragedies which were going to turn the capital city to a wreck⁵³⁶.

Butrus El Bustani claims that Ibn Suheyd was a vizier at the period of Amiris⁵³⁷. But this opinion of him is not correct. Because the period of hacibs had lasted with the murder of Abdurrahman b Eni Amir at 399 /1099. ⁵³⁸ We couldn't see any knowledge from the work of arts of Ibn Suheyd which reach today, that he had a position except the mission of Şurta⁵³⁹ which was given to him Hacib Muzaffer at the period of Amiris. We think that el-Bustani means the position of Şurta⁵⁴⁰ which was equal to vizierate at the managerial structure⁵⁴¹ of those days.

⁵³² Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi'*, p. 10.

⁵³³ Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/150.

⁵³⁴ Hitti, *Islamic History*, III/846.

⁵³⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi'*, p. 11; Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/149-151; Brockelmann, *Islam Nations*, p. 205.

⁵³⁶ Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Andalusia*, p. 342; Monroe, "The Dîwân of Ibn Shuhaid", *BSOAS*, XXXV, p. 144.

⁵³⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi'*, p. 9

⁵³⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi'*, p. 10; Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/150; Brockelmann, *Islamic Nations*, p. 205; Hitti, *Islamic Nations*, III/845.

⁵³⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi'*, p. 9.

⁵⁴⁰ Surta means today's police chief.

⁵⁴¹ Hitti, *Islam History*, III/833.

We don't have enough knowledge about what Ibn Suheyd had done during the first years of corruption. Even if his origin was based on Umayyads, he was very close to the Amiris. Ibn Suheyd was one of the first to suffer because of the bad conditions they had to face and the destroy which the new caliphate had started. Probably when the rebellions destroyed the el-Medinetü'z Zahire, they had also destroyed the Munyetu'l Muğira where the residence of Suheyd family was. But except the very little knowledge he had given us by his poems, he didn't obviously uttered these events. *Lisanuddin Ibnu'l Hatip* (died 776/1374-75)⁵⁴² is spiting a long ode which is expressing the position of Cordoba especially and the damage at the period of corruption⁵⁴³. C. Pellat is telling that he has some doubts about if this poem belongs to Ibn Suheyd or not even if he gives place to this ode at The Council. The first verse of the such ode is:

مَا فِي الطُّلُولِ مِنَ الْأَحْيَاءِ مُخْبِرٌ فَمَنْ الَّذِي عَنْ حَالِهَا نَسْتَخْبِرُ؟

“There is nobody who will tell us about the lovers among the remnants. Who are we going to ask how our lovers are?”⁵⁴⁴

In one of the letters Ibn Suheyd wrote to ⁵⁴⁵ Mu'temen he notifies the following lines:

من فتنَةٍ قد أُسْلِبْتُ ظُلُمَاتُهَا بَيِّدَ الْمَطَالِمِ
عَمَّهَتْ لَهَا أَحْلَامُنَا وَكَانَهَا أَضْعَاثُ حَالِمِ
وَتَضَائِلَتْ أَجْرَامُنَا فِيهَا بِمُوبِقَةِ الْجَرَائِمِ
وَتَحَوَّلَتْ فِيْنَا الدُّنَا بِي الرُّأْسِ وَإِبْنُ الْمَجْدِ رَاغِمِ
وَأَدَارَ كُلِّ صَغِيرٍ قَدَ رِ الْمُنْتَهَى أَرْحَى الْعِظَائِمِ

⁵⁴² See. Ibnu'l-Hatib, *A'mâlu'l-a'lâm*, p. 105-106

⁵⁴³ See. Ibn Suheyd, *Diwan*, p. 64-67.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *Diwan*, p. 64.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibn Sa'id, *el-Muğrib fi hule'l-Mağrib*, I/78; Abbas, *Târihü'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/279.

“This corruption that came on torsion like curtains.”

“Our minds got into confusion as having a very confusing dream.”

“This corruption became small with respect to the assassinations within it.”

“When honored people were in daydream, they made heads from the feed.”

“Extremely little people became administrators for highly important people.⁵⁴⁶”

We can't know what kind of a behavior Ibn Suheyd had towards Mehdi. But if his warmth towards Amir is considered, we can say that the relationships weren't excellent. Anyway, the Mehdi period didn't last too long. He had acquired the hatred of the public of Cordoba foremost the Berbers by his actions. Mehdi was dethroned at 400/1009 and Süleyman b. Hakem was declared as the caliphate with the title of Musta'in. The old caliphate Mehdi didn't consent to this and he started struggling but he couldn't succeed and finally he was killed by the proponents of the new caliphate Süleyman⁵⁴⁷. The public of Cordoba who couldn't achieve the stability at the struggle of the throne, deposed Süleyman and they declared Hisam II, who was at the jail, as a caliphate again⁵⁴⁸ at 401 / 1010, but anyway Süleyman, who had the support of the Berbers, sat on the throne again⁵⁴⁹.

Probably because Ibn Suheyd ended his protest towards the center of caliphate which he acted since the acceding of Süleyman to the throne,

⁵⁴⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi'*, p. 14; *Dîwân*, p. 154-55; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/202.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi'*, p. 14; Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/150; Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Endelusi*, p. 345.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/150; Hitti, *Islamic History*, III/846.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi'*, p. 11; Brockelmann, *Islam Nations*, p. 205; Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Endelusi*, p. 345.

there could be seen a comfort and moderating in these verses of the ode which he sent to Süleyman when there was the authority of Süleyman.”

وَمَا لِلَّذِي وَلَّى بِهِ الْبَيْتُ حَسْرَةً	بَكَيتُ وَلَكِنْ حَسْرَةً لِلَّذِي بَقِيَ
لَعَلَّ نَسِيمَ الرِّيحِ تَأْتِي بِهِ الصَّبَا	يَنْشُرُ الْخُزَامِي وَالْكَبَائِ الْمُعَبَّى
كَانَ عَلَيْهَا نَفْحَةٌ عَيْشُمُسِيَّةٌ	أَتَتْ مِنْ جَنَابِ الْمُسْتَعِينِ الْمُؤَفَّقِ

“I cried not because I have missed what split took and brought away”

“Perhaps the wind brings the breezes that are full of the smell of tulips and frankincense’s”.

“As it were the smell⁵⁵⁰ of Abşemsiyye⁵⁵¹ on him which comes by the succesfull el-Mutsa’in”

Ibn Suheyd may have referred to the dethrone of Mehdi at his first verse. But we can’t have a definite judgment because there is no sign except the comfort he feels due to the sitting of Musta’in on the throne.

We can see that Ibn Suheyd started coming to the palace after Musta’in sat on the throne⁵⁵². Because they were containing to build literary councils at the palace of the caliphate despite the bad conditions of the country consequently Cordoba. In one of these councils, Ibn Suheyd defended⁵⁵³ himself in front of Musta’in because of some words against him.

وَبُلَّغْتُ أَقْوَامًا تَجِيْشُ صُدُورُهُمْ	عَلَيَّ وَإِنِّي مِنْهُمْ فَارِغُ الصَّدْرِ
أَصَاخُوا إِلَى قَوْلِي فَأَسْمَعْتُ مُعْجَزًا	وَعَاَصُوا عَلَى سِرِّي فَأَعْيَاهُمْ أَمْرِي
فَقَالَ فَرِيقٌ لَيْسَ ذَا الشَّعْرِ شَعْرُهُ	وَقَالَ فَرِيقٌ أَيْمُنُ اللَّهِ مَا نَدْرِي

⁵⁵⁰ Absems, Abdu’s-sems b. Abdi Menaf. (No information about the subject). See. Ibnu’l-Esir, *Lubab*, I/315-16.

⁵⁵¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi*, p. 16; *Dîvân*, p. 113; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehîre*, I/320.

⁵⁵² Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi*, p. 16.

⁵⁵³ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi*, p. 17; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehîre*, I/273; Ibn Mansur, *A’lamu’l-Magrib*, III/55.

وَأَنِّي الَّذِي سَبَقًا عَلَى عِرْقِهِ يَجْرِي

أَمَّا عَلِمُوا أَنِّي إِلَى الْعِلْمِ طَامِحٌ

“I heard about some people who has devilry feelings towards me But I don’t have those devilry feelings towards them.”

“They listened to me and I made them listen leaving them at a loss. They were aware of my secret but my situation left them at a loss.”

“While a group of them were saying ‘this poem isn’t his’, another group said that ‘We promise God that we don’t know’.”

“Didn’t they know that I was so curious about science and that science had been flowing in my vessels before?⁵⁵⁴”

These verses are signposting the talent of Ibn Suheyd at poetry and what kind of arguments⁵⁵⁵ and gossips were being made at the literary councils of that period. Furthermore, the names that are being mentioned in this text where we excerpt this poem, the names that are being mentioned by Ibn Suheyd are very important personalities for himself and the society he was living in. Here another subject that is noteworthy for us is that this drafting takes place in *et-Tevabi ve’z-zevabi*. We think that Ibn Suheyd wrote his pamphlet at the first years of the corruption period. Because Ibn Bessam, who we trust completely, is enouncing that he is dedicating⁵⁵⁶ the pamphlet of Ibn Suheyd to Ebu Bekir Yahya Ibn Hazm⁵⁵⁷ Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I / 245. Butrus el-Bustani is speaking about Ebu Bekir as a friend of Ibn Suheys without giving his name at the beginning of the pamphlet. If we consider that Ebu Bekir was born at 379/ 989 and died at 401 / 1011 because of cholera⁵⁵⁸ when he was 22, it is definite that Ibn Suheyd had written his pamphlet at the year when Musta’in first sat on the throne (400-401 / 1010-1011)⁵⁵⁹ or at the first months just

⁵⁵⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi*, p. 123; *Dîvân*, p. 68; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehîre*, I/273

⁵⁵⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi*, p. 122-23; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehîre*, I/273.

⁵⁵⁶ el-Humeydî, *Cezvetu’l-muktebis*, p. 374; ed-Dabbî, *Bugyetu’l-multemis*, p. 500; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/245. Butrus el-Bustani, at the beginning of the booklet, Ibn Suheyd refers to Ebu Bekir as his friend without giving his name.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/245.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibn Hazm, *Tavku’l-hamame*, p. 154; Provençal, *Histoire*, I/64.

⁵⁵⁹ Mubarek, *en-Nesru’l-fenni*, I/319.

following it. We think that the sections which we observed that were written after that date in the pamphlet had been added to the pamphlet later.

We don't know what Ibn Suheyd was doing when Hisam II was a caliphate for the second time⁵⁶⁰. If there is one thing we know, that is the murders and the destructions⁵⁶¹ raged Cordoba. Musta'in gained the hatred of the public of Cordoba because he gave all his authority to Berbers who supported him to sit on the throne. The Cordoba's called Ali b. Hammud, the vali of Sebte, for help hereupon the Berbers gradually redoubled their pressure. Ali b. Hammud went to Cordoba at 407 / 1016 and he killed el-Musta'in. Then he declared himself as the caliphate and he got the title of Nasir⁵⁶². Consequently the period of Hammudis (407-418/ 1016-1027) ⁵⁶³ had started who had a voice in the management of Andalusia approximately for 11 years.

Soon Ali B. Hammud had the doom of el-Musta'in who he had dethroned and he was murdered at 408 / 1018⁵⁶⁴. When IV. Abdurrahman who was chosen the caliphate after Ali was killed⁵⁶⁵ a few weeks later, Kasim b. Hammud, the brother of Ali b. Hammud was enunciated as the caliphate. (408-412 / 1018-1022). ⁵⁶⁶ The Berbers, made a cooperation with Yahya bail, THE SON OF Ali b. Hammud⁵⁶⁷, because of the attitude of Kasim towards them. They dethroned Kasim brought his nephew the Yahya b. Ali to the caliphate (412-413/102) The Cordoba's, who weren't satisfied of Hammers because of their management of the country, sent away Yahya from the city and they announced

⁵⁶⁰ "Ibn Suhayd", *EI*, III/938; Salim, *Kurtuba hadiratu'l-hilafe fi'l-Endelus*, p. 75; Vernet, *Literature Arabe*, p. 114.

⁵⁶¹ Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/151, 345.

⁵⁶² Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/151, 345.

⁵⁶³ Hitti, *Islamic History*, III/848.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/153; Hitti, *Islamic History*, III/846.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi*, p. 11; Hitti, *Islamic History*, III/846.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/153.

⁵⁶⁷ Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Endelusi*, p. 364

Abdurrahman V. from the Umayyad origin as a caliphate with the title of el-Mustahzir. (413 / 1023)⁵⁶⁸.

We have enough and informative language about what Ibn Suheyd had done at the period of Hammudis. As far as we know, a lot of scientists, like Ibn Hazm who was a conservative Armenian follower, didn't consent the repressive attitudes of Hammudis and their managing of the city and they left Cordoba, but Ibn Suheyd preferred to stay in Cordoba⁵⁶⁹. But nonetheless, Ibn Suheyd faced a lot of harsh events at the period of Hammudis⁵⁷⁰. Feth b. Hakan is narrates those days of Ibn Suheyd as: At the period of Alevi⁵⁷¹, the scorpions were getting closer towards him. His relatives and his acquaintances left him. Time grimaced to him. He lived a lot of bad things and he was sleepless for many nights. He ran out of money. He fell to a very bad position⁵⁷².

Ibn Suheyd didn't give any knowledge about why and when he was poisoned even if he was indicating that he was put in prison at the period of Hammudis⁵⁷³. Henri Peres had suggested that the real reason why he was put in jail was that his marginal behaviors against the principles which the Hammudis put in action at Andalusia⁵⁷⁴. But if we consider the rulers of Hammudi, we come to the conclusion that this opinion of Peres isn't very right. Because it is known that Kasım B. Hammud was passive against the events⁵⁷⁵ and Yahya b. Hammud and Ibn Suheyd were close friends⁵⁷⁶. In this situation, the sight that Ibn Suheyd was imprisoned at the period of Ali b. Hammud when the rebellions raised too much. (407/1016). Because the ruler ship of Ali Hammud continued till 408/1017⁵⁷⁷.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/48; Ibn Haldun, *el-Iber*, IV/153.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi*, p. 14; Ibn Hazm, *Tavku'l-hamame*, p. 155; Salim, *Kurtuba hadiratu'l-hilafe fi'l-Endelus*, p. 175; Vernet, *Literature Arabe*, p. 114.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi*, p. 110-111; *Dîwân*, p. 41-44; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/263; Ibn Hakan, *Matmahu'l-enfus*, p. 20; el-Makkari, *Nefhu't-tib*, III/360-62.

⁵⁷¹ Hammûdîler are mentioned as Alawip. See. Ibn Hazm, *Tavku'l-hamame*, p. 155-56.

⁵⁷² Ibn Suheyd, *Diwan*, p. 41.

⁵⁷³ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi*, p. 17.

⁵⁷⁴ Peres, "Ibn Suhayd", *al-Andalus*, XXIX/265.

⁵⁷⁵ Peres, "Ibn Suhayd", *al-Andalus*, XXIX/264.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 18; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/321

⁵⁷⁷ Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/152; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 348.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *İ'tâbu'l-küttâb*, p. 203.

But Ibnu'l Abbar claims that Ibn Suheyd was imprisoned at the period of Yahya Hammud's ruler ship because of the squealing of his enemies⁵⁷⁸.

Even though we don't have enough and certain knowledge about who Ibn Suheyd imprisoned by and why, it is certain due to the historical events and the poems he told during his prison days. We don't think that he was imprisoned because of a political reason. Because even though Ibn Suheyd was excessive in many ways, he didn't have an excessive political opinion. As we mentioned before, the reason why Ibn Suheyd was imprisoned was probably because of his behaviors that were opposite to the social and cultural environment of that period and his enemies that knew how to use these behaviors against him. These events took away his youth, his science and the most beautiful days of his life.

We see that Ibn Suheyd had close relationships with people from the Amiri dynasty. According to Ibn Hayyan (d. 469/1076), Ebu Amir Muhammed b. Muzaffer (421/1030)⁵⁷⁹, left Cordoba just after the Amiris were suspended from the ruler ship and he made a name for himself as Mu'tasim with his followers at the Ceyyan⁵⁸⁰ zone for as short time. After living an adventurous life, he died at a castle where he sheltered at 421 / 1030⁵⁸¹.

نَعِيَ ضُرَّهُ عِنْدَ الْإِمَامِ فَنَأَلَهُ عَدُوٌّ لِأَبْنَاءِ الْكَرَامِ حَسُودُ
جَنَى مَا جَنَى فِي قُبَّةِ الْمَلِكِ غَيْرُهُ وَطُوقَ مِنْهُ بِالْعَظِيمَةِ جِيدُ
أَفُوهُ بِمَا لَمْ آتِهِ مَتَعَرِّضًا لِحُسْنِ الْمَعَانِي تَارَةً فَأَزِيدُ
فَإِنْ طَالَ ذِكْرِي بِالْمُجُونِ فَإِنِّي شَقِيٌّ بِمَنْظُومِ الْكَلَامِ سَعِيدُ

⁵⁷⁸ About Hacib el-Muzaffer Abdulmelik Ebî Âmir's son Muhammed b. Muzaffer See. Ibn Hazm, *Tavku'l-hamâme*, p. 33; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/303-305; Abbas, *Tarihu'l-edebe'l-Endelüsî*, I/279.

⁵⁷⁹ Hâcib el-Muzaffer Abdulmelik Ebî Âmir oğlu Muhammed b. Muzaffer hakkında bk. Ibn Hazm, *Tavku'l-hamâme*, s. 33; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/303-305; Abbas, *Târihu'l-edebe'l-Endelüsî*, I/279.

⁵⁸⁰ About Ceyyan which is at the North of Cordoba and at he South of Gîrnata is known as Jean at the present day. see. Yakut, *Mu'cemu'l-buldân*, II/195-96; "Jean", *ML*, VI/648; "Jean", *EB*, XII/865.

⁵⁸¹ Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/303-30

وَهَلْ كُنْتُ فِي الْعُشَّاقِ أَوَّلَ عَاقِلٍ هَوَتْ بِحِجَاهِ أَعْيُنٌ وَخُدُودُ؟
فَإِنْ طَالَ ذِكْرِي بِالْمُجُونِ فَإِنَّهَا عَظَائِمُ لَمْ يَصْبِرْ لَهَا جَلِيدُ
فِرَاقٌ وَشَجْوٌ وَاشْتِيَاقٌ وَذِلَّةٌ وَجَبَّارٌ حُفَاطٌ عَلَيَّ عَتِيدُ
مُفِيمٌ بِدَارٍ سَاكِنُوهَا مِنَ الْأَدَى قِيَامٌ عَلَى جَمْرِ الْحِمَامِ قُعُودُ
وَقُلْتُ لِصَدَاحِ الْحَمَامِ وَقَدْ بَكَى عَلَى الْقَصْرِ إِلْفًا وَالذُّمُوعُ تَجُودُ
أَلَا أَيُّهَا الْبَاكِي عَلَى مَنْ نُحِبُّهُ كَلَانًا مُعْنَى بِالْخَلَاءِ قَرِيدُ
إِلَى أَنْ بَكَى الْجُدْرَانُ مِنْ طُولِ شَجْوِنَا وَأَجْهَشَ بَابُ جَانِبَاهُ حَدِيدُ
أَلَا إِنَّمَا الْأَيَّامُ تَلْعَبُ بِالْفَتَى نُحُوسٌ تَهَادَى ثَارَةً وَسُعُودُ

Ibn Suheyd, is protecting himself whilst he is expressing himself by talking about himself as a third personality at this poem he wrote:

“He mentioned about the harm he has been exposed to the imam: An enemy who envied the children of honorable people harmed him.”

“Another one committed a crime in Melik’s palace. Thus, he was found responsible for the great disaster.”

“Sometimes I exaggerate the things that I didn’t do by saying nice words.”

“Even if I tell my unhappiness so much in an obscene poem, I am actually happy.”

“I am not the first lover among the lovers whose mind is taken away by the eyes and cheeks!”

“The events are being exposed by a kind of verse by me. This shows that my sayings are such powerful that even strong people do not have the ability to bear them.”

“I told about the bad people, separation, longing, despair, weakness and worthlessness that had a deep effect on me.”

“I am staying in such a terrible place that the people who are staying beside me there are lying on a death’s fire because of their being tortured.”

“I said to the pigeon singing while crying towards the palace due to its love and longing that:”

“The one who is crying and shedding your tears for your beloved! We are both left alone and have been obliged to unbearable burdens.”

“We have cried so much together that even the walls and the iron gate cried because of our sadness.”

“Days are playing with this young man. They sometimes bring unhappiness and sometimes joy to him”.⁵⁸²

Ibn Hayyan narrates such an event that shows the closeness between Ebu Amir Ibn and Ibn Suheyd:

“Muzaffer had a comfortable and peaceful life in Cordoba, but he left Cordoba in worry when the things started to go wrong. He had some nice characteristics such as his inclination to literature and giving praise to other people more than himself. Moreover, he used to make a good impression on his friends and his friends’ sayings were always valuable for him. The one who remembered him among his friends was Ebu Amir b. Suheyd. They witnessed lots of events together. I saw them in Muzaffer’s drink meeting one night. They had a beautiful little girl who was serving drinks beside them and the girl’s name was Esma. Esma was serving them very well and she stayed with them until morning although she was a little child. Thus, they were amazed at this little girl and Muzaffer wanted Ibn Suheyd to describe this little girl so he said that”:

أَفْدِي أُسَيْمَاءَ مِنْ نَدِيمٍ	مُلَازِمٍ لِلْكُؤُوسِ رَاتِبٍ
فَقَدْ عَجِبُوا فِي السُّهَادِ مِنْهَا	وَهِيَ لِعَمْرِي مِنَ الْعَجَائِبِ
قَالُوا تَجَافَى الرُّقَادُ عَنْهَا	فَقُلْتُ لَا تَرُقْدُ الْكَوَائِبِ

⁵⁸² Ibn Suheyd, *Divan*, p. 41-43; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehire*, I/263

“All the people who drink alcohol continuously worth the sacrifice to Useyma.”

“They were just astonished to see Useyma not sleeping and I honestly swear that this is a wondrous thing.”

They said that, “Sleep has just forsaken her”; but I replied to them “Stars never sleep”⁵⁸³

Ibn Bessam narrates that Ibn Suheyd is praising Muzaffer by these lines:

جُمِعَتْ بِطَاعَةِ حُبِّكَ الْأَضْدَادُ وَتَأَلَّفَ الْأَفْصَاخُ وَالْأَعْيَادُ
كَتَبَ الْقَضَاءُ بِأَنَّ جَدَّكَ صَاعِدٌ وَالصُّبْحُ رَقٌّ وَالظُّلَامُ مَدَادُ

“Muslim, Jewish and Christian festivals came to an agreement and gathered for the obedience of your love.”

“Your mightiness is written on the destiny. In this writing day light was used as paper and darkness as ink.”⁵⁸⁴

Another example for the events⁵⁸⁵ having passed between Ibn Suheyd and Muzaffer is Ibn Suheyd and his friends were having a bath one day in a Turkish bath. Then, Ibn Muzaffer sent them a message and emptied the bath. Ibn Suheyd is narrating that he wrote a verse informing about this to Muzaffer⁵⁸⁶.

Even though both this verse⁵⁸⁷ and the previous poems with facts are giving us information about the close relationship between Ibn Suheyd and Muzaffer, it is not enough for us to understand how close these are to each other. However, the important point here is the writers and the poets are still gathering in this councils and continuing their literary arguments

⁵⁸³ Ibn Suheyd, *Diwan*, p. 39; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/304; el-Makkari, *Nefhü't-tib*, III/244.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *Diwan*, p. 45; Ibn Bessâm, *ez- Zehîre*, I/303.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehîre*, I/301

⁵⁸⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *Diwan*, p. 92-93; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehîre*, I/301.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibn Izari, *el-Beyânu'l-mugrib*, III/175; Ibnu'l-Hatib, *A'mâlu'l-a'lâm*, p. 190.

and disputations in spite of the major complexities and troubles through the whole country.

On the other hand, we can see that the relationships between Ibn Suheyd and the son of Muzaffer's uncle, Mutemen Abdulaziz b. Abdurrahman are much more closer and clear. Some certain letters which were written by Ibn Suheyd to Mu'temen (the son of Hacib Abdurrahman b. Ebi Amir) reached us today by Ibn Bessam. Ibn Suheyd displays his personal point of views about various subjects in these letters written for different reasons. Ibn Suheyd mentioned about his close friend sometimes as Mutemen and sometimes as Abdulaziz. He is praising Abdulaziz in one of his poems like this:

“At last I saw Abdulaziz whom I desired to see. The darkness has been scattered in to pieces due to his radiance.”⁵⁸⁸

Most of his work “*et-Tevabi' ve'z-zevabi*” consists of his letters written to Mutemen Abdulaziz. In these letters, the poems in which he praises Mutemen also take place⁵⁸⁹. In addition to these poems⁵⁹⁰, Ibn Suheyd's relationships with Amiris, their close interest in him⁵⁹¹, his financial situation⁵⁹², his love for Cordoba and his talent in prose can be obviously seen in his letters.

In one of these poems the date of which couldn't be confirmed, he seems to be encouraging Mutemen to occupy Cordoba:

“Just fight against the attacks without yielding in an ambitious manner. For you are the one who joins those wars.”

“When people who are dumb like animals speak about this matter, keep your promise to the calling person, just listen him carefully.”

⁵⁸⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 140; *Diwan*, p. 79; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/210.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/194-97; Ferruh, *Târîhü'l-edebe'l-Arabî*,

⁵⁹⁰ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/197-98; Ferruh, *Târîhü'l-edebe'l-Arabî*, IV/454.

⁵⁹¹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/207-208; Sâlim, *Kurtuba hâdiratu'l-hilâfe fi'l-Endelüs*, p. 175.

⁵⁹² See. Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/199-203, 205-207, 209-10.

Ibn Suheyd wrote poems in order to mention about his loyalty towards both the people of Hammudi and Umayyad Dynasty in Hammudis period. However, we cannot confirm the exact dates of these poems.

We could just detect the date of one poem of Ibn Suheyd during this period. That is the dirge which he sang upon the president judge's, Ibn Zekvan's death in 413/1022. In his work, Feth b. Hakan gave place to all of this dirge some couplets of which were found in *et-Tevabi*' and *'z-zevabi*. Some couplets of this dirge are like this:

"With his going, I forgot the nights. We lost you, the best mankind in an unlucky way."

"If the man had done good and useful deeds, he wouldn't be the one really dying. However, Islam had gone away with him."

"While he was leaving, many people came from everywhere and took place beside him as if they were his relatives."⁵⁹³

Although Ibn Suheyd had poems he wrote during Hammûdî period to indicate his loyalty to Umayyad Sultan and some important people, their exact date of writing is not known. So far we could only define the date of only one of his poems. That is an elegy he wrote upon the death of Ibn Zekvân'in⁵⁹⁴ 413/1022'. The whole of this elegy some of whose verses we found in *et-Tevâbi*' *ve 'z-zevâbi*' is being mentioned by Feth b. Hâkân⁵⁹⁵ in his work. Some of the verses of that elegy are as follows:

"With his depart, I forget the nights." Hey the best of human kind, we lot you in an unlucky manner."

"If a person did something good in his life, the death is not

⁵⁹³ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 156; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/203.

⁵⁹⁴ Andalusian head Müslim judge and scientist, For more information on Ebu'l-Abbâs Ahmed b. Abdullah b. Herseme b. Zekvân see. Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 23; el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü'l-muktebis*, p. 129; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü'l-mültemis*, p. 186; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/263; Ibnu'l-Hatîb, *A'mâlu'l-a'lâm*, p. 44, 49; Ferruh, *Târihü'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/367, 589.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibn Hâkân, *Matmahü'l-enfus*, s. 19-20; el-Makkarî, *Nefhü't-tîb*, I/359.

he himself, only Islam has gone with him.”⁵⁹⁶

“When he was being taken to the graveyard, a lot of people gathered around him as if they were his kinship.”⁵⁹⁷

4. Being the Vizier

The year following the death of Ibn Zekvân (414/1023), has great importance for Ibn Suheyd. In this year, people of Cordoba had thrown Yahyâ b. Ali' and they appointed V. Abdurrahman b. Hişâm' as the caliph with the nick name of el-Mustahzir.⁵⁹⁸ The first thing Abdurrahman V. Did was to take some Umayyad originated people among whom was Ibn Suheyd to the post of viziership.⁵⁹⁹ Ahmed Heykel said that Abdurrahman V. Was very respectful to scientists and that is why they promoted them by giving these high-rank posts.⁶⁰⁰ Whatever reason it had happened, at the end Ibn Suheyd was taken to the post of viziership as his ancestors did before.

After Ibn Bessâm, said based on Ibn Hayyân that Ibn Suheyd was a vizier, he wrote about his personality as the following way:⁶⁰¹

“Among these viziers Ebû Âmir Ibn Suheyd, a person from Cordoba, was putting people in a very big disappointment with his kindness, handiness, laziness, easy going nature of him, contradictions between his words and actions, the worst of all, his indifference against his desires and dignitary. He was not obedient to God as well.”⁶⁰²

⁵⁹⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, s. 23.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibn Hâkân, *Matmahû 'l-enfûs*, s. 19; el-Makkarî, *Nefhû 't-tîb*, I/359.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/48; Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/153; el-Merrâkuşî, *el-Mu'cib*, s. 55; Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *İ'tâbu 'l-küttâb*, s. 205.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, II/13; Ibn Sa'îd, *el-Muğrib*, I/85; el-Merrâkuşî, *el-Mu'cib*, s. 55; Ahmed Emin, *Zuhru 'l-İslâm*, III/144; Abbas, *Târîhü 'l-edebi 'l-Endelüsî*, I/278; Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, s. 274, 581; Peres, *La Poesie Andolouse*, s. 57.

⁶⁰⁰ Heykel, *el-Edebü 'l-Endelüsî*, s. 370.

⁶⁰¹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/50.

⁶⁰² Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/50.

Although the reign of Abdurrahman V. Lasted only forty seven days⁶⁰³, the importance of this period is that Ibn Suheyd had managed to reach such a high rank as a vizier as his ancestors did before although he could not become a secretary as it was his greatest desire.⁶⁰⁴ Thus, after years of desire and enthusiasm, he finally got the position of the vizier in a legal way.

About Ibnu'l-Abbâr's being a secretary of Ibn Suheyd'in el-Mustahzir'⁶⁰⁵ anything is not available in any other sources about this. Probably it could be because of the fact that the at that period were also having the title of Secretary as well. As he indicates himself, his deafness always prevented him from being a secretary.⁶⁰⁶ During his viziership Ibn Suheyd had the chance of being good friends with Ebû Muğîra Ibn Hazm (d. 438/1046)⁶⁰⁷ and Ebû Hafs Ahmed b. Burd el-Ekber (d. 418/1027)⁶⁰⁸ Among theses Ahmed b. Burd, was they president of the Assembly during Muzaffer period. When Muzaffer came into throne he became a vizier. He is one of the richest people of Cordoba.

The new caliph had a bad influence over the aristocratic part and gained the antipathy⁶⁰⁹ of them by his regulations concerning the ministers. In

⁶⁰³ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/55; Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, II/12; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, s. 370.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibn Mansur, *A'lâmu'l-Mağrib*, s. 53; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, I/369.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *Î'tâbu'l-küttâb*, s. 205.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/243; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/369; Dickie, "Ibn Suhayd", *al-Andalus*, XXIX/253-54; Brockelmann, *İslam Milletleri*, s. 207.

⁶⁰⁷ For more information on the cousin of the well-known islamic law scholar Ebû Muhammed Ibn Hazm, writer and poem Ebû Muğîra Abdulvahhâb b. Ahmed b. Abdirrahman b. Sa'îd b. Hazm see. el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü'l-muktebis*, p. 291-92; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü'l-mültemis*, p. 393-94; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/132; Ibn Hâkân, *Matmahü'l-enfüs*, p. 31-34; el-Makkarî, *Nefhü't-tîb*, I/616-18, 620-21; II/79-81; III/353-54; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/265-77; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, I/330; Ferruh, *Târihü'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/487-90.

⁶⁰⁸ For detailed information on writer and poem Ebû Hafs Ahmed b. Burd el-Ekber see. el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü'l-muktebis*, p. 119; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü'l-mültemis*, p. 172; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/103-123; Ibn Hâkân, *Matmahü'l-enfüs*, p. 24-25; Ibn Sa'îd, *el-Muğrib fî hule'l-Mağrib*, III/44; el-Makkarî, *Nefhü't-tîb*, I/424-26; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/256-64; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, I/99.

⁶⁰⁹ Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 274, 581.

addition to that, he just caused a big reaction⁶¹⁰ in the society by bringing heavy tax systems in order to adjust the economy. El-Mustahzir could not be successful in his country's management.

Because his personality had more tendency towards literary subjects⁶¹¹ instead of management of government affairs. Even worse, the situation of the country was not easy to handle so after a short time, Cordoba folk brought the Mohammad as a caliph in 414/1024 instead of him. So Ibn Suheyd could not stay as a vizier much longer⁶¹².

5. His Relationships with Hammudis and his Trip to Maleka

When. Muhammed III. became a caliph, he just had el-Mustahzir killed⁶¹³ and he imprisoned the vizier Ebu Muğira Ibn Hazm. Upon these events, Ibn Suheyd sensed that he would be the next victim. For this reason, he left Cordoba and went to Yahya b. Hammud in Maleka⁶¹⁴. Yahya b. Hammud supported and encouraged Ibn Suheyd to come to Maleka at that time⁶¹⁵. After V. Abdurrahman had been killed, Ibn Suheyd lost all of his hope, but when he was in this desperate position, Yahay b. Hammud cared for him so much and persuaded him to come to Maleka⁶¹⁶. Ibn Suheyd is calling out possibly in one of his oldest poems below:

“I salute you, yet this gratitude is not a greeting but a worry for people.”

⁶¹⁰ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/48-59.

⁶¹¹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/55; Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, II/13.

⁶¹² Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, II/12.

⁶¹³ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/55; Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, II/12.

⁶¹⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 138; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/321; Pellat, “Ibn Hazm, Ibn Suhayd et la Poesie arabe”, p. 91

⁶¹⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 18; Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 277; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 370; Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *al-Andalus*, XXIX/278

⁶¹⁶ Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *al-Andalus*, XXIX/278.

“I did not tighten my teeth because of regret. However, there will be people tomorrow who will tighten their teeth because of regret.”⁶¹⁷

It is obviously seen in these lines that Ibn Suheyd has no intention of begging to Hammudis. Also, in the following lines, he is inciting them to occupy Cordoba.

“And this is my home, just demolish it and knock down the masts”⁶¹⁸.

After that Ibn Suheyd, Ibn Suheyd is stating that he will be on Hammudis side if he is treated badly:

“If the Omayyads just abuse my rights”⁶¹⁹, I will go to Haşimis”⁶²⁰.

It is realized that these lines were written after Mohammad II came to the throne. We do not have any definite information about how long Ibn Suheyd stayed in Maleka and when he left from there. We assume that he left Maleka after. Mohammad left the throne and ran away in 416/025⁶²¹. Even though it could not be confirmed which month he stayed there, it became precise that Ibn Suheyd stayed in Maleka in 414-416/1023-1025 during Mohammad was at power.

Even Ibn Suheyd had wanted to stay in Maleka more; it was not possible for him to stay for a long time as his passion for Cordoba⁶²² was much more than anything. Another proof of Ibn Suheyd’s staying in Maleka for

⁶¹⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 139; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/321.

⁶¹⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 139; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/321.

⁶¹⁹ Soyları Mağrib’te hüküm süren İdrisîlere ve dolayısıyla da Hz. Ali’ye dayandığı için Hammûdis are also called Hâşimis because their dynasty reach for İdrisis, rulers of Mağrib and for Hz. Ali see. Ibn Hazm, *Tavku’l-Hamâme*, p. 155-56; Özdemir, “Hammûdis”, *DİA*, XV/496.

⁶²⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi’*, p. 19; *Dîvân*, p. 139; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/321.

⁶²¹ Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 347; Hitti, *İslamic History*, III/847.

⁶²² Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 177; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/208.

a short period of time is that almost all of his literary works were written in Cordoba ⁶²³

After Yahya b. Hammud combined Cordoba to his management, he did not stay in the city and returned to Maleka. Then, he left the management of the city to the commander Ebu Cafer b. Musa⁶²⁴. We do not know exactly what Ibn Suheyd had done in Cordoba in the period of Ebu Cafer. In spite of this, we can see that Ebu Cafer takes place in his literary world. An event passing between them is told below:

“Ebu Cafer send his vizier and asked about me to a group of people including Ibn Burd (died in 450/1058)⁶²⁵, Ebu Bekr Mervani⁶²⁶, Ibn Hannat (died in 437/1046)⁶²⁷ and Tubni (died in 457/1064)⁶²⁸. Moreover, he told them to bring him there. The vizier sent his own ambassador with a gorgeous horse to me. I went there and I entered the council. When I went inside, all the people sitting inside stood up and came towards me to salute, yet Ebu Cafer was not there. After a while, Ebu Cafer came inside in long clothes humming on his own. I saluted him like a honorable man and he replied in the same way, too. At that moment, I understood that he was a very haughty man. My friends were listening to him carefully. When I asked them the reason for all these things going on, Hannati told me that the vizier would read a small part of his own verse and he would

⁶²³ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 19; Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 370.

⁶²⁴ Ibn Suheyd'in risalesinde sık sık bahsettiği For more information on Ebû Ca'fer Ahmed b. Mûsâ, frequently mentioned by Ibn Suheyd in his tractate, see. Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/307; Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/154.

⁶²⁵ For more information on writer and poem Ebû Hafs Ahmed b. Burd el-Asgar see. el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü'l-muktebis*, p. 115-16; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü'l-mültemis*, p. 164-65; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/486-535; el-Makkarî, *Nefhü't-tîb*, III/545-46; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, I/206-207; Ferruh, *Târihü'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/510-14.

⁶²⁶ No information found on this person.

⁶²⁷ For more information on Ebû Abdillâh Muhammed b. Süleyman b. el-Hannât who has great talent on language and literature see. el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü'l-muktebis*, p. 57-58; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü'l-mültemis*, p. 77-78; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/427-53; el-Makkarî, *Nefhü't-tîb*, III/288-89; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, VII/20; Ibn Sa'îd, *el-Muğrib*, I/121, 124.

⁶²⁸ For more information on islamic law and literature master Ebû Mervân Abdulmelik b. Ziyadullah b. Muhammed Tubnî see. el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü'l-muktebis*, p. 248-85; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü'l-mültemis*, p. 378-79; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/535-47; el-Makkarî, *Nefhü't-tîb*, II/496-511; VII/48-49; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, IV/303

want us to confirm if he was a poet or not. Upon this, I realized that they wanted me to approve this confirmation, I asked him to read a poem.”⁶²⁹

It is certain that this event which Ibn Suheyd narrated happened between the dates 417-418/1026-1027 because Ebu Cafer who was left as a minister in Cordoba in 417/1026 by Yahya b. Ali was dismissed from the city by the help of Mucahid el-Amiri (436/1047) 630 in the year 418/1027.⁶³⁰

It is clearly seen in Ibn Suheyd's letter to Mucahid that they had been friends since their childhood⁶³¹, but as the time went by, Mucahid became more powerful⁶³² and this led to his becoming a commander⁶³³ and as a result, Mucahid's pride caused problems between Ibn Suheyd and him.

“We just chose literature before we were separated, the events happened, the days surrounded us, the nights threw us and the status left us. At that time desires had united and the houses came nearer. We used to look for a solution in order to diminish the complaints and drive away the curses when one of us became proud and good relationships spoiled. Time is deceiving. However we gain nothing. We were humming pigeon songs in blue sea. Then, days caused us trouble. They made us feel the burden over us. It gave us things like pearl beads. It also brought the joyful wind to you. It brought a lot of blessings from Tihame⁶³⁴ and Necd⁶³⁵. You just rode on the Gemini zodiac. You expanded like stars and spread all around. When you were invited to the war, you were kept safe by the Süreyya star. I compression the leaders of the

⁶²⁹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/306; el-Makkarî, *Nefhü't-tîb*, III/610-11.

⁶³⁰ For more information on Ebu'l-Ceyş Mucâhid b. Abdillâh el-Âmirî see. Ibn Hazm, *Tavku'l-Hamâme*, p. 118; Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, II/117; Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/164-65; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, VIII/177; Ferruh, *Târîhü'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/386-87.

⁶³¹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/227.

⁶³² Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/164.

⁶³³ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/227.

⁶³⁴ For more information on Tihâme dessert see. Yâkût, *Mu'cem*, II/63-64.

⁶³⁵ See Yâkût, *Mu'cem*, II/261-64 about Necd, a place in Arabic peninsula.

time. You started not to correspond with me any more for fear that we may visit you and take your time. And also you turned your face from us and not behaving as it was before. Pity on you!.. How come you take all the good deeds back in such a short time. Then I added that having senses towards is something splendid. Administration by Generousness and goodness should be appreciated and accepted. Perhaps Emirs work hard and compete with each other. That is why he was appointed to protect him. Arrival is possible with the heart not with pen. Seeing is possible with dreams not with the body. I forwarded towards love and tried to keep my words, and then years passed.”⁶³⁶

Being very sorry about the attitude of Mucâhid towards him, who was one of the strongest men of the time in Andalusia, he once decided to stay a bit backwards from him but because of the time conditions⁶³⁷ he could not stay away but close to him. In fact in those days Suheyd was in trouble with “Ibnu’l-Faradî ailment⁶³⁸”, the term he himself used often in his poems. To be able to get rid of that he had to be close to Mucâhid and gain his sympathy. Therefore he decided to introduce Ibnu’l-Faradî’ to Muvaffak Mucâhid’.

Being very sad about the fact that Mucâhid, who was one of the famous persons of this period, didn’t pay attention to him; Ibn Suheyd decided to ignore Mucâhid, but due to the ifs and buts he couldn’t. At these days there was the “Ibnu’l Faradî” problem. In order to protect himself from this threat Ibn Süheyd was forced to gain Mucâhid’s appreciation, so he decided to make this thrust known to Mucâhid.

To reach his goal, Ibn Süheyd mentioned Faradî in one of his risaliyes⁶³⁹.

⁶³⁶ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/228.

⁶³⁷ Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/223

⁶³⁸ See Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/216, 217, 222 for information about Hâlid b. Yezîd Abdullah b. el-Faradî who is interested in chemistry from Suheyd’s statements it is understood.

⁶³⁹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/220

His dirge that he wrote to Ibn Ebi Abde (death 420/1029)⁶⁴⁰ must have been written in those days⁶⁴¹. Ibn Edi Abde is also a member of an aristocratic family like Ibn Suheyd. He lived like Ibn Suheyd and died around 420/1029.⁶⁴²

6. Consultancy to Hişam III.

In his poem below in which Ibn Suheyd humiliates Ibn Faradi and poets to the signs about who would be in power after the death of Abdurrahman IV⁶⁴³ in Andalusia

“He, who didn’t rest till no one of the Hisam brothers was left.”⁶⁴⁴

“Dear holy God! Please beware him⁶⁴⁵ his whole life of his evil.”

The commonwealth thought that by banishing Yahya b. Ali who had been left in the name and behalf of Ebu Caferi 418/1027⁶⁴⁶, the political stability of Andalusia could only be secured by a member of the Umayyad dynastic family. And they took action the same year by announcing Hisam III. Brother, Abdurrahman IV. Caliph 418/1027⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴⁰ See el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü'l-muktebis*, p. 196; ed-Dabbî, *Buğyetü'l-mültemis*, p. 270-71; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/255 for information about Ebu Abde Hassan b. Malik b. Ebi abde who is a linguist and man of letters member of a Endulisian aristocratic family.

⁶⁴¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 100; *Dîvân*, p. 143; Ibn Hâkân, *Matmahü'l-enfûs*, p. 27; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/255.

⁶⁴² Ibn Hâkân, *Matmahü'l-enfûs*, p. 27; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/255

⁶⁴³ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 179.

⁶⁴⁴ Means Ibnu'l-Faradî. Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 179.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 179; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/255.

⁶⁴⁶ Heykel, *el-Edebü'l-Endelüsî*, p. 37.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/152; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/28, 304; Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 585; Abbas, *Târihu'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/278.

But the political stability of Kutuba was so corrupted that Hisam III couldn't acquire his authority until the year of 420/1029⁶⁴⁸. Hisam III. could not set from the expected success and devolved his power⁶⁴⁹ the Hakem b. Said⁶⁵⁰. This annoyed the commonwealth of Kutuba.

We see that Ibn Suheyd, who was promoted by Hisam III. to the administrative function⁶⁵¹ of a undersecretary, has a political duty for the first time. Hakem tried to secure the public revenue by laying hand on the mosques revenues, which was stopped but the objection of the poor. Hakem was annoyed by that action and he released a fireman that was written by Ibn Suheyd⁶⁵². On this (ferman) order, Ibn Bessam reports to Ibn Hayyam:

“Ibn Suheyd read this firman in 421/1030 in front of the commonwealth. And right after that in a very crowded mosque. This firman impressed the commonwealth, they left discussing about it”. “In those days, Ebu Amir Ibn Suheyd, had just pledged alliance to the Hisam Mutezz state and read this eulogy in the caliphates annual jubilee⁶⁵³. He underplayed Mutezz's cruel policy on the poor and the Moslems and by doing so he fanned the flame⁶⁵⁴ on killing them. In his eulogy to Hisam III Ibn Suheyd calls out to Hisam:”

وَرَوَيْتُ عَنْكَ مِنْ دَمِ الْأَعْدَاءِ	أَحْلَلْتَنِي بِمَحَلَّةِ الْجَوَزَاءِ
حَالِي وَبَلَّغَنِي الزَّمَانَ شِفَائِي	وَطَعَمْتُ لَحْمَ الْمَارِقِينَ فَأَخْصَبْتُ
نَحْتِي كَانَهُمْ بَنَاتُ الْمَاءِ	وَرَأَيْتَنِي كَالصَّقَرِ فَوْقَ مَعَاشِرِ
مِمَّا رَفَعَتْهُمْ نُجُومَ سَمَاءِ	وَلَمَحْتُ إِخْوَانِي لَدَيْكَ كَانَهُمْ

⁶⁴⁸ Provençal, *Histoire*, II/338-39.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/28, 304; Provençal, *Histoire*, II/338; Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 587.

⁶⁵⁰ Hakem b. About Sâid el-Hâik el-Kazzâz see Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/304; Provençal, *Histoire*, II/338-39.

⁶⁵¹ Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 587; Peres, *La Poesie Andolouse*, p. 108; Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *al-Andalus*, XXIX/280.

⁶⁵² Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, III/520.

⁶⁵³ See. Peres, *La Poesie Andolouse*, p. 304-305 for the ceremoniep.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, III/520.

عَبَّثْتُ بِطَاعَتِهِ يَدُ الْأَهْوَاءِ	لَا يَرْحَمُ الرَّحْمَنُ مَصْرَعَ مَارِقٍ
نَكَدَ وَقَدْ أَوْدَى أَخُو السُّفَهَاءِ	الْحَقُّ بِهِ إِخْوَانُهُ فَحَيَاتُهُمْ
بَجَلُوا فَنَالُوا خِطَّةَ الْبُخْلَاءِ	سَاعِدُ بِذَلِكَ وَدَعْ مَقَالَ مَعَاشِرِ
لِلشَّمْسِ يَرْقُبُهَا مَعَ الْجَرَبَاءِ	مَنْ لَمْ يُفِدْكَ سِوَى الرِّيَّاحِ فَخَلَّهِ
وَمَخَافِرِ الْأَبَاءِ لِلْأَبْنَاءِ	وَدَعِ الْقَلَائِسَ فِي السَّحَابِ يُسَقِّهَا
فِي كُلِّ مَعْنَى شُبَّهُوا بِنِسَاءِ	إِنَّ الرِّجَالَ إِذَا تَأَخَّرَ نَفَعُهُمْ
لِللِّسَانِ هَذِي الْحَيَّةِ الرَّقْشَاءِ	أَنَا صِلُهُمْ عِنْدَ الْخِصَامِ فَخَلَّهُمْ

“You praised me to the constellations on heaven. And I drank deep from the blood of our enemies.”

“I ate of the flesh of the mutineers, I recovered and fell alive.”

“I thought of myself like the hawk over the weak and mortal commonwealth.”

“You raised up your fellows to heaven and made them shine like stars.”

“God doesn’t mercy those who have become slaves of their temptations and disobey and die.”

“Send his brothers with him, this ignoble liar. Because their lives are torment for the rest and the friends of the abandoned is dead.”

“Help him. Don’t listen to those who take their sides by the penurious.”

“Let those who don’t let you benefit from them except their wind they cause outside, let them watch the sun like chameleons.”

“Let those turbaned also outside⁶⁵⁵, let them wet themselves with the waters of the clouds. And let being proud of their fathers to the sons.”

⁶⁵⁵ Fiques are meant by the words turbanet.

“If the benefits of men suffer under delay; they will be in full acceptance of my word like women.”

“I am like a baneful snake to them. Let them to this white snakes tongue.
656’

With his firman, having stroked a responsive chord among the commonwealth before⁶⁵⁷, Ibn Suheyd gained heavy reactions from the fauna when he abolished⁶⁵⁸ the caliphate the Fukaha accused of being a betrayer⁶⁵⁹.

Being already tired of the political and social conditions of the state; in the year of 422/1031⁶⁶⁰ the commonwealth gathered together and forced Hisam III to abandon Cordoba. Right after that the city was given to a council that was under the directorship of Ebu’L Hazm Cevher 659, It is thought that Ibn Suheyd and Ebu’L Hazm Cevher knew each other very well, because it is again well known⁶⁶¹ that the two families had been knowing each other since the Abdurrahman III period.

7. His Friends and Enemies

Being a blue blooded writer; it is quite possible that he had as many enemies like friends. In memoir books which are about his life and his literary works it is not clear, like other parts of his life, this is also another dark side.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 16-17; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, III/520.

⁶⁵⁷ Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 587; Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *al-Andalus*, XXIX/282.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/152; Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 348; Hitti, *İslâm Tarihi*, III/848; Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *al-Andalus*, XXIX/283; Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 589.

⁶⁵⁹ For more information about Ebu’l Hazım Cevher b. Muhammed b. Cevher b. Ubeydullah who is a member of an Endulisian aristocratic family see Ibnu’l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, II/30-34; el-Humeydî, *Cezvetü’l-muktebis*, p. 260; el-Makkarî, *Nefhü’t-tîb*, I/302-304.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibnu’l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, II/33; Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/155; Heykel, *el-Edebü’l-Endelüsî*, p. 348.

⁶⁶¹ Ibnu’l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/238.

But it is quite sure that due to the fact of descending from a family; that he undertook administrative functions like vizier and clerk. And this will form our basis when we are analyzing Ibn Suheyd's works about the period's administrators and caliphs. Of course, we will not be able to argument and source all the relationships Ibn Suheyd had to them.

Ibn Suheyd used to be liked⁶⁶² by all emirs and bureaucrats, be except of some⁶⁶³, ; but by most of the literary and science class he rather was disliked. The most important reason for that was that he had a free mind, preferred a life of a tramp, was a flippan, and had a self-opinionated and vocal tone. Despite his characteristics he used to nourish good feelings to his friends and associates who treated him well; as we can see from the Amirs who were in their bad days and were not betrayed⁶⁶⁴ by Ibn Suheyd.

The most fundamental source in which we can find information about Ibn Suheyd's friends and enemies is his book "et Tavabi' ve z'-zevabi". In this booklet he tells us about the important persons in his life. About his enemies we can see that the following conversation between Cahiz Abdulhamid and Ibn Suheyd takes place:

"We have heard that you are not rewarded for what you have done, and are still not exhausted for your mourning. When they asked me "Who is the harshest one to you?" I replied "Two neighbors who live next door, the third is the one who behaves cruelly towards the miserable." And they said "Do you mean Ebu Muhammed, Ebu'l Kasım, and Ebu Bekr⁶⁶⁵?" as I replied with "Yes" they asked what I had found out about them. That was my response: "Musta el Muhammed spoke about me bad and a group helped him. After I found out what they all had said about me, I responded by a poem". I do not want to say much about Abu Bekr,

⁶⁶² Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 24; Abbas, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/280.

⁶⁶³ Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/58-59; Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Endelüsî*, p. 371.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 24; Abbas, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/280.

⁶⁶⁵ See Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 122; *Dîvân*, p. 68; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/273 for the poem.

just that he has a demon (cin, djeen). About Ebu'l Kasım, he used to be a trustful person but after that he lay about on me I lost it. ⁶⁶⁶

In this section, Ibn Suheyd is not naming the person who is not in favor of, these are pseudonyms. Therefore we can not be sure who this pseudonyms belong and refer to. For example Brutus el Butsani says about the pseudonym Ebu Muhammed : " We do not know whether there exists another Ebu Muhammed and a relationship between Abu Muhammed Ibn Hazm exists or not, nor an information about another acquaintanceship to a "Ebu Muhammed" is known⁶⁶⁷. On the other side we have no information about a possible conflict with Ibn Hazm neither.

Known as Ibnu'l Faradi and having a disagreement on several themes with Ibn Suheyd; el-Kaidi Ebu Muhammed Abdullah's other pseudonym is Ebu'l-Velid⁶⁶⁸. Due to all this information's it is rather regarded that by "Ebu Muhammed" el-Kaidi Ebu Muhammed Abdullah is referred to and a high possibility that they have quarreled with each other tends to find greater acceptance. We know that both used to be friends, however, it is well known that men of letters used to argue because of envy⁶⁶⁹.

El-Bustani questions and doubts the pseudonym is "Ebu Bekr" and suggests: "Ebu Bekr may mean Ebu Hazm. Because we do not know anything else from the introduction that is made in "et Tavabi' ve z'-Zevabi". When Ibn Suheyd mentions him in his booklet he says:" How can they let a child reign. He shackled the palm and down fell some dates."⁶⁷⁰

The Ebu Bekr that is mentioned here is Ebu Bekr Ubade d. Maissema (death 419/1028)⁶⁷¹ or could be, also known as Iskimiyat, a consistently criticizing clerk⁶⁷² Ebu Bekr.⁶⁷³

⁶⁶⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 122-23; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/272-73.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 28.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 28.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 29.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 87; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/246.

⁶⁷¹ For more information about Andalusian poet who brought Acrostic poetry into today's form see bri el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 293-94; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 296-98; Ibn

We think that el-Bustani disregarded some points about the pseudonym Ebu Bekr; the possibility that Ibn Suheyd to his own defense in front of Mutsa'in used the same lines as in his booklet "He has a constitution that countenances and encourages him"⁶⁷⁴ and in his booklet "I swear to my holy God, there is a constitution that countenances and encourages him"⁶⁷⁵. Due to this big resemblance they could be the same person. If we take into attention that both sentences are almost the same we can think about the person mentioned in them that they are referring to one single person. So we can say that Ibn Suheyd is talking about Ebu Bekr; Ebu Bekr Hazm and the "Ebu Muhammed"⁶⁷⁶ could be Ebu Bekr's brother, the famous men of letters, philosopher, poet Ebu Muhammed Ali Ibn Hazm. The relationship between Ibn Suheyd and Ebu Muhammed goes back to their childhood ages.⁶⁷⁷ Both families, Suheyd and Hazm had the same social status and were known for their immediacy⁶⁷⁸ to the Amiri family. Ibn Suheyd had good and friendly feelings⁶⁷⁹ for Ebu Muhammed. Like also el-Bustani is stating there used to be an intimate friendship⁶⁸⁰ between the two; but still the irritation between the two men of letters was alive and normal.

Ibn Hazm could only come back to Cordoba in the year of 409/1019; he had been forced to leave the city in 404/1013⁶⁸¹ He and Ibn Suheyd wrote each other in Ebu Hazm's years of separation.⁶⁸² We know that there

Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/468-89; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu 't-tîb*, IV/52-53, 109 vd. ; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, IV/30; Şevki Dayf, *Târîhu 'l-edebi 'l-Arabî*, I/230-31; eş-Şik'a, *el-Edebu 'l-Endelüsî*, p. 373.

⁶⁷² See Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/230 for Ebu Bekr Muhammed b. Kâsım İskimiyyât who is an Andalusian secretary killed in riot period.

⁶⁷³ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 30.

⁶⁷⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 123; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/273.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 88; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/246

⁶⁷⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 87; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/245.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 87; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/245; Ahmed Emin, *Zuhru 'l-İslâm*, III/149; Peres, *La Poesie Andalousse*, p. 90.

⁶⁷⁸ el-Makkarî, *Nefhu 't-tîb*, II/83.

⁶⁷⁹ See el-Makkarî, *Nefhu 't-tîb*, II/83.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 29.

⁶⁸¹ Pellat, "Ibn Hazm, Ibn Suhayd et la poesia arabe", p. 51.

⁶⁸² Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/116; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, I/157; Pellat, "Ibn Hazm, Ibn Suhayd et la poesia arabe", p. 55; Peres, *La Poesie Andalousse*, p. 90.

used to be a strong friendship between the two Ibn Suheyd sent a poem to Ibn Hazm in his final days, saying that Ibn Hazm shall not forget about him⁶⁸³. From this poem we can see how they stood to each other⁶⁸⁴. But whatever his state was, it is quite sure that Ibn Suheyd had some problems with the other men of letter of the Musta period⁶⁸⁵.

Another of Ibn Suheyd's close friends was again someone out of the Hazm family; Ebu Mugira Abduvahhab Ibn Hazm; also son of Ebu Bekr; (death 420/1029)⁶⁸⁶ Their friendship goes back until their childhood ages.⁶⁸⁷ Both took their parts in the divan assembled by V. Abdurrahman⁶⁸⁸.

The third name mentioned by Ibn Suheyd; Ebu'l Kasım is, also known as Ibnu'l Iflili, İbrahim b. Muhammed b. Zekeriyya el Kurtubi (death 441/1049)⁶⁸⁹. Ebu'l Kasım was older than Ibn Suheyd, he was born in 352/963 in Cordoba. He was very famous and liked for his explanations of the divan poets of the East⁶⁹⁰. His relationship to Ibn Suheyd goes far

⁶⁸³ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 25; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/50, 329; Pellat, "Ibn Hazm, Ibn Suhayd et la poesia arabe", p. 57-58; Ahmed Emin, *Zuhru'l-İslâm*, III/144; Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Endelüsî*, p. 371.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 110-11; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/329; Abbas, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/283.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 17.

⁶⁸⁶ For more information about secretary and poet Abdulvahhâb b. Ahmed b. Abdîrrahmân b. Sa'îd b. Hazm b. el-Muğîra see Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 87; el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 291-92; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 393-94; Ibn Beşkuval, *es-Sıla*, II/380-81; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/132-166; Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 22-24; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, I/620-21; Pellat, "Ibn Hazm, Ibn Suhayd et la poesia arabe", p. 57.

⁶⁸⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 25; Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 22; Abbas, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/283; Pellat, "Ibn Hazm, Ibn Suhayd et la poesia arabe", p. 57.

⁶⁸⁸ Pellat, "Ibn Hazm, Ibn Suhayd et la poesia arabe", p. 57.

⁶⁸⁹ For more information about Andalusian language expert Ebu'l-Kâsım İbrahim b. Muhammed b. Zekeriyyâ

el-Kurtubî who is known as Ibnu'l iflili or İflili see el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 151-52; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 213; Ibn Sa'îd, *el-Muğrib*, I/72-73; Ibn Beşkuval, *es-Sıla*, I/93-94; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/241-42; III/230; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/12; Abbas, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/282; Er, "İflilî", *DİA*, XXI/512-13.

⁶⁹⁰ Ibn Beşkuval, *es-Sıla*, I/93.

back; because Ibn Suheyd talks about him in his booklet “et Tavabi’ ve z’-zevabi” as a “middle-sized, short hair, bulky nodded, hitching man”⁶⁹¹

Ibnu’l İflili might also like Ibn Suheyd abdicated the city in the Fitne period. We have no definite information about that; but we see that, like many bureaucrats, he became closer to the Hammudi. In his booklet to Ibnu’l İflili Ibn Suheyd wrote:

“I made some investigations on the man who did all this harm to you. They told me that it was Ibn Feth⁶⁹². As I investigated on the details of it, I discovered that it was him. And I said ‘This pitiful thing happened to us. We have been shot by this revengeful and betraying lorry. There exists a long story between this animal like human and us.’”⁶⁹³

Ibn Suheyd mentions Ibnu’l-İflili in et-Tevabi and ve’z-zevabi as follows;

“Muhammed b. Abdirrahman Müstekfi⁶⁹⁴ assigned İflili as clerk after Ibn Burd⁶⁹⁵. However the style of İflili was not elegant, as he followed the far-fetched style of the masters. He did not apply the method of the talented clerks and did not obey them”⁶⁹⁶.

Although Ibn Suheyd respected Ibnu’l İflili, the disagreements between the men of letters about the scientific matters resulted in some problems between them. Ibn Suheyd reflects his anger as follows:

“There is nothing wrong about anyone in the group except Ebu’l Kasım. He is more skillful than the others in terms of art. He gave them lots of goods. He acquired talent from the poets he accompanied and gained pride and elegance from the authors and clerks. He made use of

⁶⁹¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi’*, p. 124; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/273.

⁶⁹² Most probably this person can be Ca’fer b. Feth who is a friend of Ibnu’l Faradi and a consultant of Yahyâ b. Ali b. Hammûd. See Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/214.

⁶⁹³ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/214.

⁶⁹⁴ Points to III. Muhammed b. Abdirrahman who became caliphate after V. Abdurrahmân See. Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/152; Hitti, *Islamic History*, III/847.

⁶⁹⁵ Refers to Ibn Burd el-Asgar. See. el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 115-16; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/486-535.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/282.

introduction of evidence when he accompanied with mathematicians. He learned the rules from the debaters and the substance of speech. He claims that science is in his palm, seriousness and joke totally belong to him. He is the most vengeful person in the group. He does his best to discard the people who are more benevolent and famous than him. In my opinion he should dwell outside Cilkiye⁶⁹⁷ or Islamic lands so that he cannot hear any word of an orator, any whisper of a poet and he can be an average person. Another wondrous event is that each clerk wrote something for the sultans and every poet praised him. However booklets and poems belonging to them were not related. He tried to make his poems and booklets related but none of his students esteemed. Deprived is deprived although he gave currants to the children at mosques, he bought nutshells to the women at public houses for their lips. The people of those two classes recite their own poems and follies, they also relate İfili's poems and booklets and they sing near the fountains and thrash dumps. He is the meanest person all over the world. We never fail in respect for him. However some said that "his walk is not that of, his face is not that of a man of letters, either. His way of sitting does not befit scholar's and his nose does not suit to an author, his tune is not like an author's tune." and that made him feel ill at ease"⁶⁹⁸.

Ibn Suheyd went too far⁶⁹⁹ by calling Ibn Feth "a monkey"⁷⁰⁰ quoting the Quran. He satirizes Ibn Feth who is the person he hates most and who started a quarrel between himself and Ibnu-l-İfili as follows:

"The people have never seen a horned monkey like him before".⁷⁰¹

"This monkey has no capacity to understand the words told him and say a good word. The illicit is permissible for him and he is the leftover of Israelite who says "We said to them: "Be you monkeys, despised and rejected. So we made this punishment an example for those in front of it and those behind it, and a lesson for Al-Muttaqin (the pious)". Unless his

⁶⁹⁷ About Cilikiye See. Yâkût, *Mu'cem*, II/157.

⁶⁹⁸ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/241-42.

⁶⁹⁹ See. Bakara, 2/65-66.

⁷⁰⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 175; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/215; Dickie, "Ibn Suhayd", *el-Andalus*, XXIX/269.

⁷⁰¹ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 175-76; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/215.

family was the continue of Hisam dynasty that made me poor by their generosity and lessens me by their blessings⁷⁰²; I would think of harm for his home, go to his home with a plunderer group, and set his home on fire considering the verse⁷⁰³ which was a warning for Lut society. According to us, this house is a pool where immoral girls gather, marry men in return for mehir, and where love fish swim. God forbid you from the evil of this monkey.”⁷⁰⁴

Ibn Suheyd says that Ibn Feth is the foster⁷⁰⁵ of el-Faradi. He tells that story about el-Faradi who is one of his enemies and who is interested in chemistry:

“One day I went to see him and get relaxed without knowing his interest. His door was ajar and the doorman was not at his place. I went in and an illiterate child whom I first saw there came along me and said that they had been waiting for me for a long time. I walked to a house which was covered with a huge cloud and spreader various scents. All of a sudden, verse of “*Then wait you for the Day when the sky will bring forth a visible smoke. Covering the people, this is a painful torment*”⁷⁰⁶” came into my mind and I wanted to run away. Then I returned and found myself in ember. I was brought to a house in where there were black bearded ghosts holding beavers and hammers. When they saw me, they shouted “This person who came without permission betrayed you, kill him immediately”. I was frightened as I was thinking of death and told them “Blessing misled you because you are unaware of wisdom. You do not know who want and you are hurrying up?” They asked me who I am, and I told them “I am the one who takes the pain and kills it, who finds the truth by intelligence and who tells the fathers good news of born children”. Then they asked, “By fire or water?” I replied “By both of them and also by air”. They apologized. When I asked, “Where is Ebu

⁷⁰² See. Sure Bakara, 2/65-66.

⁷⁰³ See. Sure Hûd, 11/82.

⁷⁰⁴ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/215-16.

⁷⁰⁵ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/274; Abbas, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/281.

⁷⁰⁶ Sure Duhân, 44/10-11.

Abdillah?” they told me that he secluded to obtain the oil of a valuable stone.”⁷⁰⁷

When Süleyman el-Musta was about to take the throne, Ibn Suheyd wrote a poem to advise him of Ibnu’l Faradi and to make him take precautions. However Ibn Suheyd called off sending the poem when his accession was delayed⁷⁰⁸. On the other hand, one of his friends couldn’t button up his lips and told his secret to Ibnu’l Faradi which brought about a strong hatred against him. Ibn Suheyd explains the situation as follows:

“After keeping this event secret for a long time, I told it to someone whom I trust. However he didn’t keep his promise. It was as if I shared it with wind. The die is cast and he learned about my secret, his hostility got stronger. At the end he decided to take revenge. At the period of el-Mustahzır the hostile attitude of that louse got stronger. He left no stone unturned to destroy and suppress me. However, faith interfered his plans”.⁷⁰⁹

After that we see that Ibn Suheyd is getting closer with Mucahid and he is trying to warn him about Ibnu’l Faradi. Mucahid addresses him as follows in the booklet written to Muvaffak:

“How can el-Muvaffak take heed someone of that position? God forbids me from accepting that louse’s lies and also from his hostility. For his own good, he should be aware of himself that he can see he is the worst of the bad and the weakest of the weak.”⁷¹⁰

And we see Ebu Abdillah Ibn Hannat around Ibn Suheyd. Hannat had good relations with Hammudis and he was assigned as a clerk⁷¹¹ although he was a blind person. The debates and the arguments between Ibn Suheyd and Ibnu’l-Hannat who was interested in medicine, astronomy,

⁷⁰⁷ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/221-22.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 119.

⁷⁰⁹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/222-23.

⁷¹⁰ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/224-25.

⁷¹¹ Ibn Sa’îd, *el-Muğrib*, I/123.

cosmology, philosophy besides literature⁷¹² were held through a high language⁷¹³ The main reason of this conflict was the disagreement about declaration, the social differences between families and dissimilar characters. Ibnu'l Hannat points out these differences distinctly in his analysis of Ibn Suheyd's literary character:

“Going into too much detail is a coercion and summing up is a wisdom. The substance of the ideas is like an arrow used to achieve the goals of speech. Ebu Amir is going into too much detail and lengthening the poem”. “While doing this, he becomes arrogant when he thinks he is better than the other in terms of his judges about literature and rhetoric. He finds fault with man of letters and accuses intellectuals of ignorance.”⁷¹⁴

Ibnu'l Hannat says as follows when he sent his poem, of which he was proud, to his friend in order to humble Ibn Suheyd's pride:

“Read this poem to Suheyd. And then want him respond with a poem which is in the same rhyme and meter, and in the same tone. You'll see that he will comprehend the value and supremacy of the ones other than himself.”⁷¹⁵

When they asked his ideas about the HisamIII, Ibnu'l Hannat replied,

“He chose me as a clerk and he also befriended Ibn Suheyd. These are enough to understand his character. I am a blind person and he is deaf.”⁷¹⁶

Despite the conflicts between them, he couldn't help crying and ululating when he heard his announcements of death.⁷¹⁷

⁷¹² Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/438.

⁷¹³ el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 57; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/437.

⁷¹⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 36; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/440, 443; Abbas, *Târîhu'l-edebe'l-Endelüsî*, I/290.

⁷¹⁵ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/440.

⁷¹⁶ Abbas, *Târîhu'l-edebe'l-Endelüsî*, I/280-81.

⁷¹⁷ el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, III/263.

Those people who stood in the first rank of his enemies, disturbed him, made mockery of his political and social life, tried to harm his literary life. However those people who took place in his poems and booklets due to their behaviors brought about Ibn Suheyd's improvement in the field of criticism and moreover he wrote his greatest work *et-Tevabi* and *ve'z-zevabi*.

The people who did not like Ibn Suheyd, those who had good company with him were not limited with those mentioned here. We have focused on the people whom he mentioned in his works that still survive. Kadi Ibn Zekvan, Ebu Hafs b. Burd (450/1058)⁷¹⁸, the Clerk, Ebu'l Asba' el-Kureşi, Ebu'l Velid ez-Zecali⁷¹⁹, Ebu Ca'fer Ibnu'l-Lumai (d. 465/1073)⁷²⁰ whom he mentioned⁷²¹ in the events that took place in his work *et-Tevabi* and *ve'z-zevabi*, and also Hasan b. Malik b. Ebi Abde for whom Ibn Suheyd wrote an elegy after his death can be mentioned among the people who befriended him.⁷²²

In the light of these explanations, we see that Ibn Suheyd had good relationships with the top executives of state including the emperors of the period. Amiris came first among them. His close relationship with Mu'temen continued till his death. Both of them showed their feelings in their exchange letters. His relationship with Abdurrahman V from Emevis who was a literary lover was so good that he became his ministry⁷²³ Yahya b. Ali from Hammudis showed concerned for Ibn

⁷¹⁸ About Ebû Hafs b. Burd el-Asgar See. el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 107-108; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 153; Yâkût, *Mu'cemu'l-udebâ*, V/41-42; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/486-535; Ibn Sa'îd, *el-Muğrib*, I/86-91; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, III/545-46; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, I/206.

⁷¹⁹ About Ebu'l-Velîd ez-Zecâlî who is Ibn Suheyd's close friend See. Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 20; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/333; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/376.

⁷²⁰ About Ebû Ca'fer Ahmed b. Eyyûb el-Lumâî, one of the most important writers of the period, See. Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 25; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 505; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/617-42; Ibn Sa'îd, *el-Muğrib*, I/446-47; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, III/196 vd.

⁷²¹ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 143; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/255.

⁷²² Abbas, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Endeliüsî*, I/285.

⁷²³ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/50.

Suheyd. He helped him in his bad days and made him leave Cordoba which was destroyed by sedition and dwell in headquarters in Maleka⁷²⁴

8. His Last Days and His Death

Ibn Suheyd became paralyzed when he was just forty three years old at the beginnings of the year 425/1034. The resources show that this illness did not cover all his body and did not have negative effect on the brain and his literary skill. Also his poems written at that period of illness show the same results. Ibn Bessam gives the following information:

“He was not capable of moving and turning left and right. He needed a stick or a person to lean when he wanted to walk.” Ibn Hakan expresses that he was carried with a palanquin at that time. Some resources report that he was suffering of dyspnea besides his illness”.

During this period when his friends visited him frequently, he thought of his old days by reciting poems. He helped them to solve their problems. The poems he wrote are among the most famous ones oh him. In this poem in which he put his real genuine and wit forward, he inclined to confront with God and review his whole life. His desire of this was to be completely away from hypocrisy. In a poem he sent to Mu'temen, he expresses his life and time as follows:

“I returned the life I lead there and put myself completely in those memories.”

“I went to those days I spent in the spring of my life and cried dreaming all the memories.”

In one of his poem he sent to Ebû Muhammed Ibn Hazm when he became seriously ill⁷²⁵, the whole days he spent pass through his eyes and he feels that to return to the beginning is impossible yet:

⁷²⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 138; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/321

⁷²⁵ Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *el-Andalus*, XXIX/292.

“When time of death came I felt that I could only live a life of a spark- length.”

“Allah’s blessings be upon him. I am leaving. The things left from departing beloved are enough for you.”⁷²⁶

When he dreams the days back, at times he feels very resentful and pity to the days full opportunities he spent:

تَأَمَّلْتُ مَا أَفْنَيْتُ مِنْ طُولِ مُدَّتِي فَلَمْ أَرَهُ إِلَّا كَلَمْحَةٍ نَاطِرٍ
وَحَصَلْتُ مَا أَدْرَكْتُ مِنْ طُولِ لَذَّتِي فَلَمْ أَلْفِهِ إِلَّا كَصَفْقَةِ خَاسِرٍ
وَمَا إِلَّا رَهْنٌ مَا قَدَّمْتُ يَدِي إِذَا قَادَرُونِي بَيْنَ أَهْلِ الْمَقَابِرِ

“I thought the times I spent in my life and knew that they were so short as a single wink.”

“When I gather all those I earned and all pleasures I tasted I see that they were only a commerce in loose.”

“When they leave me in the graveyard, I understand that I am nothing but an accused of what I did in the world.”⁷²⁷

When his illness deepened and he became stuck in the house, he wrote in a more pitiful manner as it is in the following lines.

“This illness made my feet so weak that a walking stick is no more good for me, and I can not go out of my house.”⁷²⁸

When he believed that he was dying, he realized for sure that nothing in the world was worth while. He articulates his feelings in the following verses saying that if he had the chance of reborn, he would prefer a different type of living.

⁷²⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, s. 116; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/329.

⁷²⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, s. 73; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/332.

⁷²⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, s. 126; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/329.

“When I saw that life had already gone and death arrived,”

“I preferred to be in a ditch on a mountain to preserve me from the wind.”

“Living a very restful life, I would prefer to sew the land and drink the water of valleys.”⁷²⁹

Then, he indicates his unfair from death with following lines.

“Ey two of my friends! Believe that if there is a person asking for death, I asked for it for fifty times.”⁷³⁰

When his death comes closer we see that his pessimism⁷³¹ became fear and desperation and he even thinks about committing a suicide

“I even thought to kill myself in darkness. Did anybody ever want this before?”⁷³²

In his another poem he clearly confesses his thoughts:

“I feel pity for myself and I cry, for I wanted to kill him in hard times.”⁷³³

Even though his health was decorating, his strong bonds towards life kept him from trying such a way. As he expresses in the following lines, he consents to death when faith and time for death come closer:

“The young who was bitten by death and got hit by the arrow of death in the eye greets you.”

⁷²⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, s. 110; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/329; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/374.

⁷³⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, s. 110; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/329.

⁷³¹ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 186; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/331.

⁷³² Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâb'i*, p. 19; *Dîvân*, p. 126; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/328.

⁷³³ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâb'i*, s. 19; *Dîvân*, s. 126; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/328.

“When the claw of death takes his life, the joy of life within me makes the separation easier.”⁷³⁴

In another poem, he expressed his feelings as follows:

“It’s no wonder that I die when the time comes. Then my situation will justify the kind of end I will have.”

“It is a wonder though, that there is love inside me like sparks spreading out from ember.”

“And that love stirs me up while the death hugs me and makes me excited even when I am about to die.”⁷³⁵

And in the following poem, we see that he accepts this as the appreciation of God and consents to the divine faith.

“I have always assented to the appreciation of God and I believed in his justice.”⁷³⁶

In one of his other poems, he expresses his feelings as follows:

“I take refuge in God from the evil that happens with the help of divine order and decision.”⁷³⁷

When he feels that he is so close to death, he does not neglect apologizing from God:

“I am taking refuge in God for the truths he knows and the sins I have committed so far.”⁷³⁸

⁷³⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 127; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/329.

⁷³⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 74; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/332.

⁷³⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 126; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/328.

⁷³⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 186; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/331.

Ibn Suheyd who got prepared for his death, displays an example of determination with the following lines:

“When they commemorate me when the earth covers my bones, the tears fall down as if it pours rain.”

“They say: Ebu Amir the Great died. Before him his fathers died too.”

“When the time for death comes, neither the words of an orator nor the verse of a good poet are accounted.”⁷³⁹

The lines mentioned here are taken from the poems that Ibn Suheyd sent to his friends. In these poems he says farewell to his friends and wants them not to forget him after his death. In the poem that Ebu Muhammed wrote for Ebu b. Hazım, he expresses his wish clearly:

“Who will inform Ibn Hazım, my right hand man, when I have troubles and become poor?”

“When you lose me, do not forget to cry, to praise me, and talk about my days and good habits.”

“I will rest in peace when I am commemorated after my death. Do not deprive me of that peace. This is like a medicine for the ill.”⁷⁴⁰

In the following lines taken from one of his last poems Suheyd says farewell to his friends as follows:

“I commit my friends and their conversations, the youth holding dignity and glory to the trust of god.”⁷⁴¹

⁷³⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 111; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/329.

⁷³⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 73; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/332.

⁷⁴⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 110-11; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/329.

Ibn Suheyd became totally disabled twenty days before his death. He almost turned into a stone as in the utterance of Ibn Bessam⁷⁴². He should have felt great pain even in a small movement that he even considered to commit suicide⁷⁴³, as we have mentioned before. The claim of some sources that he became mentally disabled,⁷⁴⁴ probably comes from his such attitudes.

Ibn Suheyd passed away at the age of 43 on the 29th of Cumada'l-ula 426 (12th of April 1035)⁷⁴⁵. He was buried by a crowd of congregation. While telling about this procession Ibn Bessam says that, "The crowd at his funeral has never been seen in no one's funeral before."⁷⁴⁶

Although Ibn Suheyd willed that the funeral namaz is performed with an elegant ceremony by a devout friend of him named Ebu Amr el-Hassar⁷⁴⁷, his will wasn't taken into account.⁷⁴⁸ This duty was performed by Ebu Hazm Cevher b.Muhammet b. Cevher after a glorious funeral procession⁷⁴⁹ and the body was buried to the cemetery of Ibn Suheyd Ümmü Seleme.

İhsan Abbas says that, Ibn Suheyd, in his will, wanted his tomb to be built with bricks and closed only by soil without wood etc. put on the surface⁷⁵⁰.

⁷⁴¹ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 115; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/333.

⁷⁴² Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/328; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/371.

⁷⁴³ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 126; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/328; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/372.

⁷⁴⁴ el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 136; ed-Dabbî, *Bugye*, p. 193.

⁷⁴⁵ el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 135; ed-Dabbî, *Bugye*, p. 193; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/33; Yâkût, *Mu'cemu'l-udebâ*, III/221; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/118; Brockelmann, *GAL, Suppl.*, I/479; Sezgin, *GAS*, II/697-98; Kehhâle, *Mu'cemu'l-muellifîn*, I/302.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/335; Ibnu'l-Imâd, *Sezerat*, III/230; Ibn Sa'îd, *el-Mugrib*, I/85.

⁷⁴⁷ About Ebû Amr el-Hassâr, see ed-Dabbî, *Bugye*, p. 193.

⁷⁴⁸ ed-Dabbî, *Bugye*, p. 193; Abbas, *The History of Andalusian Literature*, I/289; Dickie, "Ibn Suhayd", *el-Andalus*, XXIX/295.⁷⁴⁸

⁷⁴⁹ el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 135; ed-Dabbî, *Bugye*, p. 193.

⁷⁵⁰ Abbas, *The History of Andalusian Literature*, I/289.

It is no doubt that Ibn Suheyd's death afflicted many poets and men of letters, because a great many of poets and men of letters wrote poems and essays expressing their sorrow⁷⁵¹. Among these, Ibn Burd el-Asgar, one of the biggest poets brought by Andalusia, gave utterance to his sorrow for Ibn Suheyd's death as such:

“For which of your attributes my eyes shall cry. I do not have the strength to count them.”

“For your strength reaching up to the stars, or for your superior grace?”

“Or for your generosity continuing to flow like a race horse running with the storms?”

“Or for your pencil picking up expression flowers in the papers?”⁷⁵²

“The Suheyd family became famous with him in the world. Everybody is mortal in the world other than God.”

Actually this family blew over after Ibn Suheyd's death as Ibn Burd told.

Ibn Hakan has such a good account of Ibn Suheyd that he never doubts he died all purified out of all his sins. He says: “The illness that caught him through the end of his life lasted a few years. I think God wanted to purify him out of his sins by giving this illness to him. He clearly made this illness a helper for him.”⁷⁵³

When we look at his late time poems we see that he tended to God and asked for his forgiveness.⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁵¹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/445-57.

⁷⁵² Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/335-36.

⁷⁵³ Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 21.

⁷⁵⁴ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/333.

Ibn Suheyd wished to be buried by the tomb of his friend Ebu'l-Velid ez-Zecali. He wanted this poem and testament to be written on his tombstone.⁷⁵⁵

“In the name of the gracious and creator God. “*Say: This is a good message. You deny it.*”⁷⁵⁶ Here is the tomb of sinful Ahmed b. Abdilmelik b. Suheyd. He died believing that there is no other God, God is one and only, he has no companion or akin, Hz. Mohammad (s. a. v.) is his subject and prophet, heaven and hell and the afterlife is a right, it is no doubt that the doom’s day will come, God will revive all the one’s in the cemetery. He died believing and testifying all these at such and such time.”⁷⁵⁷

The poem Ibn Suheyd wanted to be written on his tomb stone is like this:

أَحْبَبِي قُمْ فَفَدَّ أَطْلُنَا	أَنْحُنْ طَوْلَ الْمَدَى هُجُودُ؟
فَقَالَ لِي: لَنْ نَقُومَ مِنْهَا	مَا دَامَ مِنْ قَوْفِنَا الصَّعِيدُ
تَذْكُرُ كَمْ لَيْلَةٍ لَهَوْنَا	فِي ظِلِّهَا وَالزَّمَانُ عَيْدُ
وَكَمْ سُرُورٍ هَمَى عَلَيْنَا	سَحَابَةٌ ثَرَّةٌ تَجُودُ
كُلُّ كَأَنَّ لَمْ يَكُنْ تَقْصَى	وَشَوْمُهُ حَاضِرٌ عَتِيدُ
يَا وَيْلَتَنَا إِنْ تَنَكَّبْنَا	رَحْمَةً مَنْ بَطِشُهُ شَدِيدُ
يَا رَبِّ عَفْوًا فَأَنْتَ مَوْلَى	قَصَرَ فِي أَمْرِكَ الْعَبِيدُ

“Oh my friend! Resurrect, it has already been a long time. Are we going to be asleep forever?”

“He told me: As long as we have this soil on us, we can never wake up from this sleep.”

⁷⁵⁵ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/333.

⁷⁵⁶ Sâd Sûresi, 89/67-68.

⁷⁵⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâb'i*, p. 20; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/333; Mubarek, *en-Nesru 'l-fennî*, II/376.

“Do you remember, many nights, we would play under its shadow during the feast times.”

“Much happiness poured on us like generous and fertile clouds.”

“All these passed by as if they never happened, only evil is left behind.”

“If angry God’s grace denies us, pity on us.”

“Oh my God! Forgive us. It is no doubt that you are the owner of everything. Your subjects are at fault in obedience.”⁷⁵⁸

9. His personality

We see that Ibn Suheyd turned to God and asked for forgiveness in full submission in his last days. No doubt that what makes him so sensitive is his having a life against the principles of Islam and its sense of beautiful ethic. His contemporaries wrote about his disapproved habits and behaviors rather than his good deeds. Anyhow he didn’t have an approved life as he himself confessed.⁷⁵⁹

The first of his cruised and disapproved habits is his insobriety. Ibn Sa’id explains this habit of him as such: “His lust for wine is stronger than the lust birds have for the branches of the trees. His company with the wine is longer than his being apart from it.”⁷⁶⁰ Nevertheless we know that all the commanders and statesmen drank liqueur heavily as frequenters of liqueur houses in Andalusia then, without any fear from God.⁷⁶¹

⁷⁵⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâb’i*, p. 20; *Dîvân*, p. 46-47; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/334.

⁷⁵⁹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/333.

⁷⁶⁰ Ibn Sa’id, *el-Mugrib*, I/123.

⁷⁶¹ Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 17-18.

As though appreciated by the Christians, one of his habits that the Moslems really disapproved of was his close and sincere relationship⁷⁶² with the Christians. Liqueur being at the core of this relationship increased this aversion. Feth b. Hakan says that Ibn Suheyd told this poem⁷⁶³ after a happy night in one of the churches in Cordoba:

“Its wine mixed with the essence of youth, in the saloon of the barkeeper, I wandered among the young, who made pillows out of the alcohol bags, are degraded before the Holy Priest.”

“He persuaded me to binge wine from his cup. He made an oath with his looks and his palm bowing his head.”

“When the worship time came the bell tolled. To the echo of the tolling I opened my eyes.”

“Elegant people were eating pork there and drinking urine.”⁷⁶⁴

Henri Peres makes a different approach to Ibn Suheyd’s experience and poem, he shows this as a proof of the natural level of relationship between Andalusia Muslims and Christians called Mu’taribun, and this Christian community made their religious exercises comfortably and freely.⁷⁶⁵

According to what Ibn Hayyan conveyed, another disapproved attribute of Ibn Suheyd is his being a slave of his desires, and he even did not

⁷⁶² Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 18; Ahmed Dayf, *Belagatu 'l-Arab*, p. 42; Mubarek, *en-Nesru 'l-fennî*, II/369.

⁷⁶³ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâb 'i*, p. 22; Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 18; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu 't-tîb*, I/525.

⁷⁶⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 81; Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 19; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/260; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu 't-tîb*, I/525.

⁷⁶⁵ Peres, *La Poesie Andalouse*, p. 38, 277, 278; *Esplendor De al-Andalus*, p. 281 .

refrain from degrading his honor in any case⁷⁶⁶. Ibn Bessam conveys from Ibn Hayyan:

“Aimlessness and idleness governed the nature of this man. He never cared for neither losing his faith nor his dignity during his life. He felled for his desires and wishes to the level of trampling his dignity. To satisfy himself with pleasure, he never hesitated to make any ugly action.”⁷⁶⁷

Ibn Suheyd was criticized a lot because of his lust for women and his writing poems of mucün genre. Especially because of these behaviors divergent to religion,⁷⁶⁸ he was sentenced to prison at the time of Hammudis. He could not be persuasive in this poem which he wrote when he was in prison:⁷⁶⁹

“Because of its happiness and joy it has on me, there is nothing else other than the unique poem in the world.”

“I sometimes say things I did not do with beautiful words in hyperbolic.”

“Although I tell about my unhappiness too much in Mucün genre, I am happy.”

“Among the lovers, am I the first lover who is blinded by eyes and cheeks.”

“If I am exposing the events in mucün genre poem, this comes from their being too impressive for strong people.”⁷⁷⁰

Another attribute of Ibn Suheyd is his attitude towards women. Besides his lust for women, his using the women, he knew by any occasion or he

⁷⁶⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâb'i*, p. 21; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/193.

⁷⁶⁷ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/193; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/369.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâb'i*, p. 21; Ibn Mansûr, *A'lâmu'l-Magrib*, III/55.

⁷⁶⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâb'i*, p. 17-21; Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *I'tâbu'l-küttâb*, p. 203; Peres, *La Poesie Andalouse*, p. 108.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 41.

is close, as a material for his poems and his exposing them, made chaste women stay away from him.⁷⁷¹ Ibn Hakan reports this event about this subject.

He had a place, near the door of the mosque that he spent in the day time. This place was never precluded from neither his poems nor his narrations. He was sitting there with a group of his close and playtime friends at the twenty seventh night of Ramadan Month... Meanwhile a concubine of a person from the elite of Cordoba, veiled not to be recognized and seen by others, passed with other concubines and a child with a branch of a mersin tree and like a gazelle playing in the woods. When she saw Ibn Suheyd at a glimpse, she turned her looks away quickly with the fear that he may recognize and expose her. When Ibn Suheyd saw her, he exposed her and unveiled her secrets with this poem:

“There is a reason to call a person, who looks from under the veil, to the service of God and good.”

“She came swinging like a gazelle caring and loving its baby in the heights.”

“She came close walking proud, reached to the crowd of men.”

“When she strolled around us it felt as if spring has come.”

“She doted upon her offspring. So I told her, do not be afraid.”

“When she was running away, the trail of her scented dress looked like a snake creeping on the ground.”⁷⁷²

⁷⁷¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâb'i*, p. 22; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, I/622; Ibn Mansûr, *A'lâmu'l-Magrib*, III/55; Ahmed Emin, *Zuhru'l-Islâm*, III/144.

⁷⁷² Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâb'i*, p. 110; *Dîvân*, p. 94; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/264; Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 18; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, I/263.

Besides our having no doubt about this event and poem, which is reported by Ibn Hakan, belongs to Ibn Suheyd, in our opinion there is nothing to exaggerate about women in this poem. However he expressed his feelings about this subject in many of his poems, which he could not avoid even in his late years.

Another disapproved characteristics of Ibn Suheyd, as we mention frequently, is his pride and arrogance which awarded him with many enemies and made him criticized relentlessly. This very characteristic was the one that governed his personality. In our opinion the real reason of his writing the work named *et-Tevabi' ve'z-zevabi* was nothing else but to satisfy his desire in this area. In another words, his real aim in writing this work is to show his literary talents, and to prove his competence in writing in prose, verse and in the other literary styles to his contemporaries.

When Ibn Suheyd says “an Arab youngster⁷⁷³ insulted by the foreigners”, seemingly affected by asabiyah he praises about his origins and he is proud of his odes’ being competitive with the old poets in form, style and content, which is another dimension of his pride and arrogance⁷⁷⁴. At one time when he got poor, in his pamphlet that he wrote to the Mu’temen he says, “This subject of yours inhales from a self that takes its power from the star and sorrow from the dark. If it wasn’t for the enthusiasm of that self, the world would be in dark.”⁷⁷⁵ His talking about himself like this is the most exaggerated form of pride and arrogance.

“Besides Ibn Suheyd’s excessive pride and arrogance we mentioned above, his generosity is one positive aspect of his character, which he conserved since he was a child. Ibn Suheyd, who showed his generosity in any case in his youth, was cruised relentlessly because of this attitude by Ibn Hayyan: “He became absorbed in generosity together with aimlessness and idleness, he lost all his wealth, finally he

⁷⁷³ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 139; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/321.

⁷⁷⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 150-58; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/197-203.

⁷⁷⁵ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/197.

became poor and died in this position⁷⁷⁶.” Although Ibn Hayyan criticizes Ibn Suheyd for his attitude, one tradition of social life of his time was that bureaucrats, as a necessity of benevolence, give away their property instead of saving them. As Yakut says, this generosity of Ibn Suheyd came from his not attaching value to the earthly possessions. However while Ibn Hayyan criticized Ibn Suheyd⁷⁷⁷, he also said “He was the one who showed the most right way when asked, but also the one who was the most idle that committed the most offense towards his desire.”⁷⁷⁸

Zeki Mubarek infers to the similarities between Ibn Suheyd and La Fontaine (d. 1695)⁷⁷⁹, saying: “It is highly amazing⁷⁸⁰ that French critics explain the same characteristics of La Fontaine when they criticize him.” As it is known La Fontaine looked for solving the social problems of the day by personifying the animals.⁷⁸¹

As it is apparent in some of his literary works, Ibn Suheyd asked for the help of some of the statesmen⁷⁸² to get over from the financial states that he was in. Moreover Ömer Ferruh assessed this attitude⁷⁸³ as “He praised the governors to earn a living.” There is actuality in this evaluation. Because in one of his pamphlets that he wrote to the Mu'temen, in case the land he required was given to him, he would honor and talk about his good deeds⁷⁸⁴ in the society.

⁷⁷⁶ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/193.

⁷⁷⁷ Yâkût, *Mu'cemu'l-udebâ*, III/230.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/197.

⁷⁷⁹ For further information about famous French writer La Fontaine who shows similar character with Ibn Suheyd and who is known for his works in which animals speak see *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)* p. 4-22; “La Fontaine”, *EB*, XIII/590-91; “La Fontaine”, *GB*, VII/15; “La Fontaine”, *NLU*, II/6; “La Fontaine”, *ML*, VII/767; Perin, *The History of French Literature*, p. 228-29; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/371.

⁷⁸⁰ Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/371.

⁷⁸¹ Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/371.

⁷⁸² Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/197.

⁷⁸³ Ferruh, *Târîhü'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/454.

⁷⁸⁴ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/197.

For us his not valuing the possessions and behaving generously comes a little bit from his artistic character. Moreover his not trying to conserve his place in the elite class he was in, his not thinking to go poor and becoming dependent to others after having lived in luxury and prosperity leaded him to excessive generosity. He states the reasons that leaded him into generosity in the poem he wrote in cahiliyye style:

“I lighted two fires for the walkers at night. The night traveler saw the light of these two fires like the two lovers under the stars of Süreyya.”

“And a person came by, who shivered and shook, had no power to send away what he had experienced.”

“I told him to come by the fire in the smoke. And he asked if there was any fire without smoke.”

“I tried to bring him next to the fire that has a non-stop blaze for the guests.”

“I was feeding him with small pieces of bread and lamb as he ate.”

“He went on eating and drinking continuously until he quit in fatigue.”

“I made his bed and he laid on it, slept. His cheeks were hot with the alcohol.”

“He was our guest like that for a long time. We cherished and respected him saying fair words.”

“When he was in joy, dressy beautiful women sang to him playing lute, cymbal and kiysar.”

“He stayed with us until he wanted to leave missing his family.”

“I gave him what he would need, and he mentioned my name everywhere.”⁷⁸⁵

We do not know the amount of Ibn Suheyd’s possessions and source of income. Besides it is highly possible that he inherited a great wealth from his father. On the other hand, though as a sign of respect given to him yet in his childhood, in return to his nomination as a vizier to the country capital, today’s police commissioner, it is certain that he had a good salary⁷⁸⁶ in return.

His being in wealth does not necessarily mean that he did not become poor in time. We think that it is not right to evaluate Ibn Suheyd’s excessive generosity totally as a carefree prodigality. Moreover he himself in the pamphlet below he had written to the Mu’temen, expresses that he became poor and dependent in position, even he could not mention about this to anybody.

“There is no food left other than the morsel to be swallowed and no fruit other than the tasteless fruit to be picked up... Everything has run out and I started to doubt about my future. Because I can not ask for help from anybody but you. Even if this subject of yours licks the earth, melts in his clothes, he shall not call upon to no other way. Because this subject of yours inhales from a self that takes its power from the star and sorrow from the dark... Vizier Abbas, promised to give a village to me. However I could not have that village because mayhem broke out and the conditions degraded in that region. I require you to show your virtue, grace and guidance to enable me to have this promised land. Doubtlessly I will show my thanks and compliments, and express your qualities and virtues in the public as you like and approve.”⁷⁸⁷

It’s not true to say that he appealed to Mu’temen taking into consideration to Ibn Suheyd’s speech above. He used considerate words

⁷⁸⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 167-69; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/311-12.

⁷⁸⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 9; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/195.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/197.

to behave kindly while asking a favor from an authorized person, because in many occasions, because of his nature, he behaved like a sophisticated, kind and gentleman. The following poem shows his character in this way.

“Even if a self-esteemed person starves to death, he acts as if he is not hungry.”

“In his hunger that burns himself, it seems happiness in his eyes and on his face.” ⁷⁸⁸

In another poem he introduces himself as below:

“Neither bad events could depress me nor could anybody underestimate my allowance.”

“I can go through the terrible events bravely and nothing can stop me. Even when my enemy is angry, I still go through to him.”

“I don’t talk with uneducated people by notifying them. I do my works by myself. Also days help me.”

“Although the enmity is the top I rise above them with my patience and I show grandeur”

“In public opinion my language is neither soft and nor there is a lie in my speech.”

“I never say anything untrue even to my brother even if he gets angry with me.”

“If you want to be a brave, manful and leader person in the public you need a clean purity and a tongue which tells the truth.”

⁷⁸⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 161; Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 17.

“Knowledgeable person boasts about his science in the public. However, within an assemblage he prinks with his chastity.”⁷⁸⁹

Ibn Suheyd, never praised Mu'temen in his booklets and he never read him a poem for the aim of demanding capital and estate from him. He only expressed the respect to last attorney of Amiri's. As we said before Ibn Suheyd was closer to Amiris' then Emevi's. For this reason, when Amiris sanded away from the government and he was under compulsion to Cordoba which he was emotionally bound with, he felt great sadness but he didn't feel the same when Emevies collapsed. It was not important for him who is managing Cordoba. For him, the important point for him was not who ruled Cordoba, but it was Cordoba itself while he was living in it. At this point we recognize that Ibn Suheyd's allegiance was only limited with the city not the country. He had to leave his hometown Cordoba once. When Mu'temen invited him to Belensi he refused this offer kindly with a letter and in his letter he expressed his feelings⁷⁹⁰ to Mu'temen, the situation he was in and his passion to Cordoba with these words:

“I wouldn't have accomplished just a bit of the duty that I am indebted to him, even if I was a slave on his door or I would set up a tent in his court, utter my thankfulness towards him or praise him as much as I could. But it's forbidden to me doing those and my own free will was shored of. My only complain about him is deadly torment, ending patience, tears and sadness for old, bad breath Cordoba.”

“I swear on my youthfulness that this mortal old woman (Cordoba) has a view of a young lady.”

⁷⁸⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 165; ed-Dabbî, *Bugye*, p. 192.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 165; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/207-208; Vernet, *Literature Arabe*, p. 114.

“Regardless of her old age she kept company with men. How beautiful such a woman is⁷⁹¹.”

“Regardless of her being slim, you can see that minds turn around her like a wheel horse.”

“While she was captive of her comfort, minds were captive of her love at the same time.”

“Kavanke⁷⁹² can not reach her length and Danye⁷⁹³ is far away from her coquetry and coyness.”

“Because of my passion towards there; I wrapped into sadness cloth of my life.”

“Lo, the unhappiness that I have towards her. Dying for the aim of her love makes me feel good. It would give pleasure to me to water her ground with my blood.”⁷⁹⁴

Cordoba is a beloved country for Ibn Suheyd, the city that he lived the enjoyments. It was the centre of his literary activities that he fed with his verse and prose.

Beside the clerkship, Ibn Suheyd acquired the chairs and the literary titles that he desired including the vizierate. However, he couldn't be one of the clerkship which assumed duty and authority in Andalusia and in Islamic countries. Although he wished for too much he wasn't appointed as a clerk by caliphates and emirs with whom he established close relationships. The biggest difficulty for this, as is mentioned by him as below, was his hard of hearing and in his own words, he was not qualified to be a clerks. “My hard of hearing and Ebu'l Kasım's big nose bulky eyes made us bunted.”

⁷⁹¹ It indicates that there is a change in the administration of Kurtuba because of the fights for throne.

⁷⁹² Kavanke, is a city in the west of Madrig and today it is known as Cuenca.

⁷⁹³ Danye, is known as “Denia” and it is a city on the south coast of Valencia

⁷⁹⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 15; *Dîvân*, p. 177; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/207-208.

As a result of this, although we think that Ibn Suheyd couldn't be a clerk because of his hard of hearing, the fact was his informal behaviors, jewelry, sarcasm, and his obscene literary studies. As a matter of fact, the emperors naturally chose people for clerkship chairs who were serious and had respect in the public. However, when we analyze phases of Ibn Suheyd we can see that he didn't live a decent life in this sense.

B. WORKS OF IBN SUHEYD

It's supposed that Ibn Suheyd's prose's and poems were disappeared in the length of time and just a little of it can be found today. By the help of his works that can extant to now, we learn that beside his authorship and being a poet he has also personality of a critic.

Although Ibn Hayyan states that Ibn Suheyd has works related to critics, humor, derision and epigram, only few of them extended up to now. In our estimation the reason to disappearance of Ibn Suheyd's works is his telling those works unscripted. This situation didn't let the poems to be memorized and recorded and soon they were lost.

3. Known Works

a. Risaletü't Tevabi' and 'Z-Zevabi'

It is only the parts that Ibn Bessam's declared has extended to our day⁷⁹⁵. We don't have enough information about how of the booklet was transferred by Ibn Bessam. Starting with the parts that Ibn Bessam transferred, before passing the content of the booklet we want to give the meanings of the word "tevabi" and "zevabi" that appear in the name of the booklet.

"Tevabi", is the plural for of the word "tabi'a"⁷⁹⁶ that means a kind of elf which loves that person and follows him everywhere that he goes. In our estimation Ibn Suheyd intended to say that he accepts presence of the elfs which his favorite writers loved and accepted the dominance of them

⁷⁹⁵ Mubarek, *en-Nesru 'l-fennî*, I/318; II/386; *La Prose Arabe*, p. 233; Abbas, , *The History of Andalusian Literature*, I/334; Epalza, "Ibn Suhayd", *Awraq*, V-VI/291.

⁷⁹⁶ el-Fîrûzâbâdî, *el-Kâmusu 'l-muhîd*, III/8.

Zevabi', It is plural form of the word zabi⁷⁹⁷, which means devil and goaled elf. We are in the opinion that he used this word for the elves of those people that did him evil and that he himself criticized bitterly on literary subjects.

i. The Content of The Booklet

Butru el Bustani who published Risaletü't-tevabi and z'zevabi' in a substantive form, separated the booklet in one introduction and four parts.⁷⁹⁸

Introduction: Here Ibn Suheyd is explaining in the letter he sent to his friend Ebu Bekr Ibn Hazm that how he was educated and how his conception vessels were upraised⁷⁹⁹. After this he express his sadness at his friends death and he tells that he couldn't accomplish the poem while he was ululating for his friend, in other words his tongue was tied and suddenly an elf had shown itself named Zuheyr b. Numeyr⁸⁰⁰ and by the help of its inspire he completed the poem. He also adds that this elf wanted to be friend with him and told him that he can come whenever he wants.⁸⁰¹

First Part. Ibn Suheyd wants from his Elf friend to carry on him to the Elf's land. When they arrived to the elves' land, the elf asks him whom he wanted to see first. Hereupon, when Ibn Suheyd says "In gradation orators have priority but I'm interested in poets", they visit⁸⁰² the elves of

⁷⁹⁷ el-Fîrûzâbâdî, *el-Kâmusu'l-muhît*, III/34.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 71-73.

⁷⁹⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 88; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/246.

⁸⁰⁰ Ibn Suheyd introduces this genie as the one from the tribe of his own family. see Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 72, 89; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/247; Abbas, *The History of Andalusian Literature*, I/335.

⁸⁰¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 89; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/247.

⁸⁰² For further information about Tarafa b. el-Abd b. Sufyân b. Sa'd (ö. 550?) who is a muallaka poet of the Ignorance Age see. Tarafa, *Dîvân*, p. 5-10; Ibn Kuteybe, *es-Si'r ve's-su'arâ*, I/117-126; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/14-5; *Suppl.*, I/45-6; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, III/324; Kehhâle, *Mu'cemu'l-muellifîn*, V/40; Blachere, *The History of Arabic Literature*, p. 327-28; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, I/114-127; Zeydan, *Târîhu'l-adâbi'l-lugati'l-arabiyye*, I/112-113; eş-Şinkitî, *Şerhu'l-muallakati'l-aşr*, p. 19-24.

İmru'û'l-Kays and Tarafa⁸⁰³. After that he wants to gravitate to the term of Abbasi's poets and while they were going for meeting the elves of Ebu Temmam, they encounter the elf of Kays b. El-Hatim⁸⁰⁴ who is one of the poets of the Cahiliyye Period. Those visits which started with Ebu Temman's and Ebu Nuvas' representative ends⁸⁰⁵ with the El-Numeyr's representative⁸⁰⁶. In those visits, Zuheyr b. Numeyr calls the representative of poets who they wanted to visit by reading a verse from their poems. Although the representative who comes near them first wants from Ibn Suheyd to read his poems, he declines that and asks to representative to start first. After the representative reads one or couple of verse from the poet whom he represented, Ibn Suheyd reads one part from the poems or odes that belongs to him. The conversation ends⁸⁰⁷ after the representative tells him that "Go I gave you authorization" or "Go you have already got the authorization."

In this stage, except the Kays b. El-Hatim who Ibn Suheyd encountered on the road, we see only the famous poets of their period. But we don't know why Ibn Suheyd didn't give place to Beşşar b. Burd and Muslim b. Velid; the poets of the Abbasi period whom he set value on.

Second Part: In this part Ibn Suheyd wants to meet with the writers that he called orators⁸⁰⁸. As he mentioned in the first part, if he hadn't given more importance to the poets, he would have met with the orators first. This subject reflects the importance that he attached to the prose as a

⁸⁰³ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 72, 87, 91; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/248.

⁸⁰⁴ For further information about Kays b. El-Hatim b. Amr who didn't convert into Islam although he was born at The Age of Ignorance and died at the Age of Islam, see. ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, VI/55; Kehhâle, *Mu'cemu'l-müellifin*, VIII/135; Blachere, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, p. 343-44; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/19; *Suppl.*, I/56; Zeydan, *Târîhu'l-adâb*, I/130.

⁸⁰⁵ For further information about Ebu't-Tayyib Ahmed b. el-Huseyn (ö. 354/965) who is a poet from the reign of Abbasi and called as "el-mütenebbî" as he claims his prophecy see. Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/62-66; Ibnu'l-Îmâd, III/13-16; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/86-8; *Suppl.*, I/138-42; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, II/309-362; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, I/110-111; Zeydan, *Târîhu'l-adâb*, II/555-59; Kehhâle, *Mu'cemu'l-müellifin*, I/201-204; Sevki Dayf, *el-Fen ve mezâhibuhu fi'ş-şi'ri'l-Arabî*, 303-349.

⁸⁰⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 72; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/265.

⁸⁰⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 93, 95, 97; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/250-53.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 72.

critic. They have a meeting on meadow with the aim of doing controversy by visiting some representatives with Zuheyr b. Numeyr. El-Cahiz's and Abdulmahid b. Yahya el-Katib's representatives also attend to this meeting. They reprove to Ibn Suheyd because of his fashion to disposition. When he tries to defend him, the representantive of Abdulhamid gives Ibn Suheyd a setting down. Whereupon Ibn Suheyd answers back the representantive by condemning his rude style. In the face of this answer, the representantive of Abdulhamid indulges him by smiling. After that Ibn Suheyd reads one of his booklets and they say that they consider that the booklet is beautiful. Ibn Suheyd complains about the people by el-Musta⁸⁰⁹, who envies and work against him. After that Ebu'l Kasım b. El İfili's representantive who works against Ibn Suheyd, appears and start to controversy about the subject by doing superiority behaviors. Ibn Suheyd answers him back. In the meantime Ibn Suheyd reads a beautiful poem about the depiction of the water to the Bedi u'z-zaman's representantive who tries to come between them. It was such a beautiful poem that they make the representantive ashamed. Abdulhamid and el-Cahiz's representantive who were the witnesses of this controversy gives authorization to Ibn Suheyd as a poet and orator.⁸¹⁰

Third Part: In this stage Ibn Suheyd and his representatives attend to a literary assembly that elves composed. In the assembly they do a controversy about a verse of famous poet en-Nabiğa. While some poets who couldn't reach to the level of en-Nabiğa tries to declare their opinions, some of the elfs tries to say some verses.⁸¹¹ (which has the same meaning with Nabiğa's verse) At the end the poem of Ibn Suheyd overbears the poem of en-Nabiğa. After that an elf wants from Ibn Suheyd to read a poem which is as smooth as el Mütenebbi's poem. Ibn Suheyd reads a poem which indicates that his grandfathers, father, uncle and brothers are also poets.⁸¹²

Fourth Part: In this stage, Ibn Suheyd and his representantive Zuheyr goes to land of elves. In the meantime they witness the meeting of elves

⁸⁰⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* ', p. 72-73; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/268-273.

⁸¹⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* ', p. 73; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/273-78.

⁸¹¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* ', p. 73; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/284.

⁸¹² Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* ', p. 73; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/294-96.

donkeys and mules. In the meeting, a donkey and a mule who fall in love with each other invite Ibn Suheyd to the arbitration when they conflict about a poem⁸¹³. They talk with some of mules that are present there about the world which people live in⁸¹⁴. Later on, a representative of a famous person overtakes to Ibn Suheyd in the figure of a goose⁸¹⁵. It wants to debate with Ibn Suheyd about strange words and grammar. Hereupon, Ibn Suheyd indicates it's simplicity and foolishness and snaps it.⁸¹⁶

ii. The Reason of Writing This Work

Betrus el-Bustani explains Ibn Suheyd's reasons for writing this work as such:

Ibn Suheyd had a lot of enemies that burdens and hurts him too much due to their jealousy and devilry. To show them that their literal capacity is insufficient, he tried to encounter them by displaying his poem, prose and literal arts and decisions. Therefore, in our opinion, the target of Ibn Suheyd in *et-Tevabi* and *'z-zavabi* was to injure and race with his enemies like viziers, writers, politicians and clerks who criticized him bitterly. Because of this, westerner orientalist Van Gelder said that "Ibn Suheyd didn't have toleration to the critics."⁸¹⁷ In fact, Ibn Suheyd, besides defending himself by answering with his knowledge to the people who criticize him, also he didn't leg behind on showing dominance to the previous writers, poets by meeting their inspiration elves.

Ibn Suheyd was interested in prose and poem⁸¹⁸ from the time of his childhood. And wrote his first poem at the age of twelve⁸¹⁹. He analyzed

⁸¹³ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 73; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/297.

⁸¹⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 74; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/298.

⁸¹⁵ Ihsan Abbas specifies that he didn't allude the name of Ibn Suheyd clearly and criticized him by showing his character as a goose, and with this statement he referred to this person as thick headed and goose see. *The History of Andalusian Literature*, I/340.

⁸¹⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 74; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/300.

⁸¹⁷ Gelder, *Studies in Arabic Literature*, p. 110.

⁸¹⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 88; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/246.

famous figures of Arabian literature whom he benefited from while he was evaluating his skill and his personality and gave place them in his works. Getting appreciation⁸²⁰ from his friends and teachers for his works that he wrote to show his ability caused to excite envy in his rivals' hearts. His proud personality pushed him to prove his dominance against his enemies and to show them how he is talented in poem, prose and declamation branch by collecting these works in an unexampled book. In our opinion, Ibn Suheyd's this work is a genius work that he made up for the aim of his purpose although he was in his very young ages.

When we analyze the *et-Tevabi'*, it can be seen that Ibn Suheyd didn't want to display a clear and different opinion while he was showing his decision about circumstances that a man of letters should have.⁸²¹ For the aim of reaching his goals he followed the ordinary style of easterners and only put up with demanding their authorization. In other words, while he was confessing that he benefited from them at the same time he expected from them to appreciate him.

iii. His Heroes

Ibn Suheyd's meetings with those poets we mentioned above, controversies and arguments with them, racing and expecting authorization from them didn't occur among those poets and writers. Instead, they occurred between the representatives of Ibn Suheyd and the representatives of those poets and writers.

Ibn Suheyd described the poets and writers he encountered differently. While some of the representatives were described as good and beautiful, some of the representatives were described as bad and ugly. In conjunction with not being able to confirm the source, those different descriptions were done either according the information's that reached to his period or to show the value of the personality in his opinion. Here are the descriptions of some of important representing people:

⁸¹⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 26; *Dîvân*, p. 121; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/219.

⁸²⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 114; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/267.

⁸²¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 49-51; Mubarek, *La Prose Arabe*, s. 235-37.

“While he was describing Uteybe b. Nevfel, the representantive of İmru’u l-Kays as a cavalier on a yellow horse⁸²² burning like a flame; Tarafa’s representantive b. El İclan as a young handsome boy with a silk dress⁸²³ and put on a beautiful sword and a pike in his hand⁸²⁴; Attab b. Hafna, the representantive of Ebu Temman as a young boy⁸²⁵ like a piece of moon dropped in the water in the night⁸²⁶ and ashamed when somebody says “you are reading good” although he couldn’t read poems well; Hüseyin ed-Dennan the representantive of Ebu Nuvas as a ratty oldster⁸²⁷ leaned to drink pump on the flowers, drinking for ten days with a lengthened beard and moustache, handling a drink cup, covered with concubines; Harise b. Mugalles the representantive of el-Mütenebbi as a horseman standing rigidly⁸²⁸ as if nailed on sands with a yellow tailed red turban on his hand; Ebu Uyeyne Utbe b. Arkam, the representantive of el-Cahiz as a bald, pop eyed oldster⁸²⁹ with a white cone on his head, he never described Ebu Hubeyre⁸³⁰ the representantive of Abdulhamid and Zubdetü’l Hikab⁸³¹ the representantive of Bedi’u’z-zaman. Ibn Suheyd’s this kind of behavior might be the reason of his respect to those two writers or having no information about their physical appearance. While he described Enfu’n-Nakab. Ma’mer, the representantive of İnbu’l İflili, one of the personalities that he made the descriptions as a, middle sized, frosty, fat nosed person walking beastly⁸³²; he talks about Ebû İshak b. Humâm’s representative Ebu’l-Âdâb⁸³³, who is probably his friend, as a goose.⁸³⁴

Ibn Suheyd, in his pamphlet, is mentioning with reverence the masters of verse and prose other than Kays b. el-Hatim and Ibnu’l-İflili and

⁸²² Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 92; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/249.

⁸²³ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 93; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/250.

⁸²⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 96; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/252.

⁸²⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 98; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/253.

⁸²⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 102; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/257.

⁸²⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 105; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/259.

⁸²⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 111-12; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/265.

⁸²⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 115; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/267-68.

⁸³⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 117; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/269.

⁸³¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 128; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/276.

⁸³² Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 124; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/273-74.

⁸³³ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 131; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/278.

⁸³⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 148-50; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/298.

expresses his respect towards them on every occasion. When we take into consideration the literary position which he has been figuring in his mind and has been aiming at, we think that it is quite meaningful that Ibn Suheyd is being dealing particularly with Abdulhamid⁸³⁵, Buhturi⁸³⁶ and Bedi'u'z-Zaman,⁸³⁷ the literary men and the poets of Ibn Suheyd whom we have already mentioned above.

When Ibn Suheyd targeted to write poems in a style of the poets he likes or accepts their superiority, he was rallying poem contests which were taking place at the Valley of Elves, in an amusing and literary circumstance. Imru'u'l-Kays⁸³⁸, reciting his ode on the way to Byzantine⁸³⁹, used to start crying in a traditional style for the ruins and was depicting the night, his horse and his weapons he fought with. Later on Tara-fa, was reciting his ode in the style of the preceding poets, whereas Kays b. el-Hatim was being uttering the ruins, showing devotion to his beloved⁸⁴⁰ and is being giving voice to his love.

Later they recite the odes of Ebu Temmam,⁸⁴¹ Buhturi⁸⁴² ve Ebu Nuvas,⁸⁴³ who abide to the skeleton of the classical Arabic odes of the sacred poets. And when he comes to el-Mutenebbi, Ibn Suheyd recites his ode,⁸⁴⁴ depicting the natural events like rain and thunder.

Ibn Suheyd, after these, includes his opinions about the developments that the Arabic literature until his time pursued. While he is putting forward these findings, he shows as much as he has got of the literary knowledge and skill that a poet or a literary man should have. Especially when we make an assessment of et-Tevâbi' ve'z-Zevabi in regard to this,

⁸³⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 115-16; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/269-70.

⁸³⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 102; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/257.

⁸³⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 127; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/276.

⁸³⁸ As it is known Imru'u'l-Kays went to Byzantium for hoping to find help to take the revenge of his murdered father. For further information see Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 92; Sevki Dayf, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, III/239-41.

⁸³⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 92; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/249.

⁸⁴⁰ Tarafa, *Dîvân*, p. 79; Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 94; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/250.

⁸⁴¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 98; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/253.

⁸⁴² Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 102; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/257.

⁸⁴³ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 104-105; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/260-61.

⁸⁴⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 112; *Dîvân*, p. 128-131; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/265.

we see that he makes determinations worth of applause with respect to the literary critique, though he wrote most of the verse and the prose pieces of art when he was young.

iv. Date of writing

Ibn Suheyd's having written this pamphlet addressing Ebu Bekr b. Hazm⁸⁴⁵ shows that he has written his work of art in a young age. For when Ebu Bekr b. Hazm died in the year of 401/1011,⁸⁴⁶ Ibn Suheyd was around twenty years old. There are many signs supporting this view on the pamphlet. In the beginning part of the pamphlet, Ibn Suheyd, addressing Ebu Bekr b. Hazm, says the following:

“For God's sake Ebu Bekr! When you look at your friend in whom you have discovered the most important part of the truth, you will see that he has held one side of the skies, that he has united the sun and the moon with his prose, that he has filled in between the two polar stars in the sky with his poems. After you have uttered some similar things, then you said the following: How was the child granted with reign. Your words shattered the branches of the dates and some fresh dates fell down to him. And although the devil and the evil elves come to do him harm, I swear that there are one good and one bad elf which support him⁸⁴⁷.”

On another part of the pamphlet, the subjects of el-Mutenebbi⁸⁴⁸ say to Ibn Suheyd the following: “If he lives more, a lot of more pearls will drop from his mouth.” And the mule that he met in the Valley of Elves says about Ibn Suheyl, “He left behind his childhood.”⁸⁴⁹

The above expressions that we have conveyed from the pamphlet show that Ibn Suheyd wrote his work *et-Tevâbi' ve'z-zevâbi* when he was young. However, we can say that he has given the last form to his

⁸⁴⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 87; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/245; “Ibn Suhayd”, *EI*, III/939; Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Endelüsî*, p. 380.

⁸⁴⁶ Ahmed Dayf, *Belagatu'l-Arab*, p. 48; Esad, *Masâdiru'd-dirâse*, I/227.

⁸⁴⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 87; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/245-46.

⁸⁴⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 114; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/267.

⁸⁴⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 149; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/298.

pamphlet before the death of his friend Ebu Bekr b. Hazm (401/1011). Along with this, we can't deny that there are some news and poems in the pamphlet belonging to the later periods written after 401/1011. Among these we can mention the poem he wrote while he was imprisoned in the year of 407/1016⁸⁵⁰ during the time of Ali b. Hammud, his poem where he indicates that he was from the sect of Shafii of Ibn Hazm⁸⁵¹ in 420/1029, who adopted the views of Zahiri⁸⁵², his elegy he wrote after the death of Ibn Abde,⁸⁵³ and his indication about the death of Ibn Zekvan.⁸⁵⁴ Butrus el-Bustani, relying on this information, says that "Ibn Suheyd wrote his pamphlet in the year of 414/1023, that is to say, after the age of thirty."⁸⁵⁵

Another fact proving that he wrote the pamphlet at a young age is that the dependent of Cahiz asks him the following question: We have been informed that you have never been rewarded because of other people and you have never surrendered to those who attacked you. So tell us which one were cruel to you. And Ibn Suheyd answers: two of them were my next doors. The third one is the one who caused disasters. He was the monkey on his masters' back. He charged me unfairly before Musta⁸⁵⁶ in and one of his accomplices helped him. Judging from this text, we can conclude that Ibn Suheyd wrote his pamphlet in the period of Süleyman b. Hakem el-Musta'in. For one thing, el-Musta'in raised to the throne twice in 401-401/1009-1010 and 404-407/1013-1016⁸⁵⁷. Thus it is widely assumed that the pamphlet dates back to before 407/1016.

⁸⁵⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 149; Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *I'tâbu'l-Kuttâb*, p. 203; Peres, *La Poesia Andolouse*, p. 108

⁸⁵¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 17, 21; *Dîvân*, p. 41-44; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/263.

⁸⁵² Dickie, "Ibn Suhayd", *el-Andalus*, XXIX/279.

⁸⁵³ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 100; *Dîvân*, p. 143-45; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/263.

⁸⁵⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 109; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/263.

⁸⁵⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 70.

⁸⁵⁶ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/273.

⁸⁵⁷ Ibn Haldûn, *el-İber*, IV/150-51; Hitti, *The History of Islam*, III/846

In addition to the fact that extracted some verse and prose without damaging the essence of the work, it is possible that he also added some verse and prose⁸⁵⁸ without damaging the essence of the work.

Adding late insertion of some poems and prose to such a work would not change the content of the pamphlet. Furthermore, any reader who is unaware of the ongoing events wouldn't notice this. For example, the parts "he told me to read out some other fascinating poem⁸⁵⁹ s, and so I did⁸⁶⁰" or "read out some more fascinating and clear elegies⁸⁶¹" and "read out one of your Cehderriye⁸⁶²" can easily be followed by some later inserted parts.

Based on these findings, we can claim that the pamphlet first took its shape⁸⁶³ before 401/1011 and later Ibn Suheyd or o friend of him added on this work. Actually, this is not a rare situation. It is a well-known fact that some Arabic poets corrected some of their published Works or only added on them.

For example, el-Mes'ûdî (dead 346/957)⁸⁶⁴ revised his *Murûcu'z-zeheb*⁸⁶⁵ in 336/947 although he had published it in 332/943⁸⁶⁶. A similar action was also taken by Ebû Muhammed b. Hazm.

⁸⁵⁸ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/193.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* ', p. 100; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/255.

⁸⁶⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* ', p. 109; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/263.

⁸⁶¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* ', p. 109; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/263.

⁸⁶² Mubarek, *La Prose Arabe*, p. 233.

⁸⁶³ For further information about famous historian Ali b. el-Huseyn b. Ali el-Mes'ûdî and his works see Ibnu'l-Îmâd, II/371; Katib Celebi, *Kesfu'z-zunûn*, II/1658-59; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, V/87; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, XII/80-81; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/150-52; *Suppl.*, I/220-21; Zeydan, *Târîhu'l-âdâbi'l-lugati'l-Arabiyye*, II/624-25.

⁸⁶⁴ This work is briefly and precisely about the creation of universe, the history of prophets, seas, earth and the weirdness of these places, the history of ancient nations and their religion and after giving this info it mentions Hz Mohammad, calips and the history of Islam. See el-Mes'ûdî, *Murûcu'z-zeheb*, I, mukaddime; Katib Celebi, *Kesfu'z-zunûn*, II/1658-59; Zeydan, *Târîhu'l-âdâbi'l-lugati'l-Arabiyye*, II/624-25.

⁸⁶⁵ el-Mes'ûdî, *Murûcu'z-zeheb*, I/1; Katib Celebi, *Kesfu'z-zunûn*, II/1659.

⁸⁶⁶ For further information about the work of the famous Andolusian fiqh scholar Muhammed Ali b. Sa'id b. Hazm see Halife, *Ibn Hazm el-Endelüsî*, p. 174-179;

Ibn Hazm in his pamphlet named *Risâle fî fadli 'l-Endelüs*,⁸⁶⁷ “One of our Belagatist Ahmed b. Abdilmelik b. Suheyd is our family friend. He is still alive and in his middle ages.”⁸⁶⁸ says and implies that while Ibn Suheyd was alive in 426/1034 whereas Ibnu'r-Rebîb' (d. 430/1038)⁸⁶⁹ whom he wanted to send his pamphlet was already dead. Whereas, resources indicate that Ebû Ali b. er-Rebîb was died in 430/1038, which is four years later than Ibn Suheyd's death. From this knowledge we understand that Ibn Hazm wrote his pamphlet before 426/1034 and several years later he revised it without changing the content but only the Mukaddime of it.

As we observe a similar case for *et-Tevâbi' ve 'z-zevâbi'*, we can come to the idea that this pamphlet could be revised without changing the content either by Ibn Suheyd or someone else.

V. Sources He Was Affected

When we examined the subjects Ibn Suheyd' based in his pamphlet and heroes he chose for these events and the settings he used for the events, we can come to the idea that he was the first in Arabic⁸⁷⁰ literature. But again it is nearly impossible to claim that he was never effected by any other poets of the age. It can not be condemned that there were a lot of factors caused him to write this pamphlet, or imitated the idea of writing it, mad him to write. That is why the question of from whom and which resources and from where the idea came out and caused Ibn Suheyd to write such a pamphlet. The shortest answer to this question would be that he himself had the idea of writing. But the cultural environment and the

Brockelmann, *GAL, Suppl.*, I/693-94; Abbas, *The History of Andalusian Literature*, I/347-362.

⁸⁶⁷ Halife, *Ibn Hazm el-Endelüsî*, p. 175; Makkari, *Nefhu't-tîb*, III/178; Abbas, *The History of Andalusian Literature*, I/348.

⁸⁶⁸ For further information about Ebû Ali el-Hasan b. Muhammed b. er-Rebîb who is a famous Andalusian fiqh scholar and man of letter see Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/133-36; Makkari, *Nefhu't-tîb*, II/301-302; Ferruh, *The History of Arabic Literature*, IV/465-67; Abbas, *The History of Andalusian Literature*, I/81, 348; Halife, *Ibn Hazm el-Endelüsî*, p. 173 vd.

⁸⁶⁹ Halife, *Ibn Hazm el-Endelüsî*, s. 174.

⁸⁷⁰ Watt, *A History of Islamic Spain*, p. 124; Peres, *La Poesie*, p. 38; Ahmed Dayf, *Belagatu 'l-Arab*, p. 44.

people around the circle of family friends indicate that there should be others to effect him to great extent. In this point, researchers put different views forward.

One of these ideas is that Ibn Suheyd started his translations during the period of III. Abdurrahman⁸⁷¹ and he could be effected from books Greek translated from Latin into Arabic. Ahmed Dayf said in the matter, “It is clear that there is a great effect of Greek philosophy on Ibn Suheyd. His style is similar to that of Eflatun’s (A. D. 428-347)⁸⁷² in his books. In fact this style is very new among the styles in Arabic poetry. On the other hand, H. Peres claimed similarly that he could be effected⁸⁷³ by Aristoteles and Platon.⁸⁷⁴ He bases this idea to the fact that Ibn Suheyd had close relations⁸⁷⁵ with Greeks and therefore he had access to Greek literature. ⁸⁷⁶ According to Peres, another proof for this influence could come from his grandfather Ahmed b. Abdulmelik⁸⁷⁷ who was a vizier of Abdurrahman III and had very close relations with the ambassadors who went from Byzantium to Cordoba and lived there for long years. Therefore his father could be transmitting this effect to Ibn Suheyd⁸⁷⁸. But all of these are unproved assumptions only.

To us, the main factor causing him to write such a book is that his friend, Ebû Bekr b. Hazm, meaning Ibn Suheyd’ says: “I swear that there is a source or a person who helped him by any means in his writings” This expression implies that Ibn Suheyd believed the idea of poets and writers’ having pixies. Because it is known that from his childhood on Ibn Suheyd was interested in Illiterate period and accordingly believed that every writer and poet had fairies in their close friendship. The deceased master Nihad Çetin says the followings about the matter.

⁸⁷¹ Abbas, *Târîhu’l-edebi’l-Endelüsî*, I/67.

⁸⁷² For further information about famous Greek philosopher Plato see “Platon”, *EB*, XVIII/48-64; “Platon”, *DG*, IX/231-33; “Platon”, *NLU*, I/498.

⁸⁷³ Peres, *Esplendor de al-Andalus*, s. 38, 46; Krş. Epalza, “Ibn Suhayd”, *Awraq*, V-VI/125.

⁸⁷⁴ Ahmed Dayf, *Belagatu’l-Arab*, s. 44.

⁸⁷⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, s. 81; Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, s. 18; Makkarî, *Nefhu’t-tîb*, I/525.

⁸⁷⁶ Peres, *Esplendor de al-Andalus*, s. 46; Krş. Watt, *A History of Islamic Spain*, s. 127.

⁸⁷⁷ el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, s. 191; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, s. 191; Ibnu’l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/238.

⁸⁷⁸ Peres, *Esplendor de al-Andalus*, s. 46.

“In ancient times poets were believed that they had fairies in their close friendship and via these fairies they were traveling to a magic side of the world and getting their inspirations from abstractions and wrote about them.”⁸⁷⁹

Although it was possible for Ibn Suheyd to learn these from the rumors and superstitions among people, but most probably he read the books of ⁸⁸⁰ el-Câhiz’ in *Kitâbu’l-Hayavân*⁸⁸¹ and *Kitâbu’t-Terbi’ ve’t-Tedvîr*⁸⁸² or Hemedânî’s *Makâmât*⁸⁸³. Although the character of these books gave him an idea about the book he imagined to write, he also could find a chance to prove his talents and formed the general framework of his ideal book by composing poetry from prose in the books.

Besides these, he could also be effected by the Miraç⁸⁸⁴ event which was a great source of inspiration for eastern and western poets with whom he produced similar style works.

In Islamic sources, such styles were used upon the event of Miraç in which Hz Profit traveled to the space on a horseback called Burak and met with Cibril as an immediacy to talk to Allah (CC). During Miraç, Hz

⁸⁷⁹ Çetin, *Eski Arap Şiiri*, s. 12-13.

⁸⁸⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi’*, s. 115-18; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/246; Mubarek, *La Prose Arabe*, s. 236-38.

⁸⁸¹ Câhiz, besides giving detailed information about animals, he mentions literary and miscellaneous sciences in his this detailed work. In his work he benefitted from the Quran, hadiths, Arabian poetry, proverbs and Greek sources. For further information about the work see el-Hafâcî, *el-Adâbu’l-Arabiyye*, II/477; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu’l-Arab*, II/269-273; Zeydan, *Târîhu’l-adâbi’l-lugati’l-arabiyye*, I/112-Ferruh, *The History of Arabic Literature*, II/308-309; “Câhiz”, *İA*, III/13-14.

⁸⁸² Cahiz, in this work of him -in which he writes about the social, philosophical, chemical, industrial, humanitarian, historical, literary subjects and matters about animals-, attaches his hero some animal organs in the style of caricature and makes him look ugly; together with this he tries to prove that he’s mentally unbalanced in order to take revenge. For further information about this work, see el-Cahiz, *Risâletu’t-Terbi’*, p. 3-8; Sevki Dayf, *el-Fen ve mezahibuhu fi’n-nesri’l-Arabi*, p. 177-188.

⁸⁸³ Vernet, *Literature Arabe*, s. 114; Krş. Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *al-Andalus*, XXIX/279; Mubarek, *en-Nesr*, II/384-85.

⁸⁸⁴ Peres, *Esplendor de al-Andalus*, s. 45, 228; Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *al-Andalus*, XXIX/279; Dante, *İlahi Komedyâ (Cehennem)*, s. 52; el-Ma’arrî, *Risâletu’l-gufrân*, s. 53, 55.

Profit was in world different from our globe. During this journey, Hz Profit was competing with the wind and passing from one world to other and from one space layer to the other.⁸⁸⁵

VI. People He Affected

Ibn Suheyd was inspired and affected by predecessors and he inspired subsequent science and literature people. The most well-known artists whom we think was inspired by Ibn Suheyd, like Ebu Hafs Ibn Suheyd (444/1052)⁸⁸⁶ Ebu'l-Ala El-Ma'arri, Ebu Mohammad Ibn Süfyan (516/1122?)⁸⁸⁷ Ibn Tüfeyl, Dante Alighieri (1265-1321)⁸⁸⁸ and La Fontaine (1601-1695)⁸⁸⁹, had some similar works. It is quite natural for predecessors to inspire the writer and philosophers coming after them. The abovementioned individuals can not be said to have been totally influenced by Ibn Suheyd but the contrary idea could not be defended either. Furthermore these individuals might have been influenced by many people like Ibn Suheyd. What we are to do at this point is to examine the works of these individuals and identify the differences to analyze them in an objective manner. Now we will try to examine these people who, we think, was influenced by Ibn Suheyd one by one and evaluate them.

⁸⁸⁵ For further information about Miraj even see ez-Zebîdî, *Tecrîd-i Sarîh Tercemesi*, II/260-63; Ibn Hisâm, *es-Sîre*, I/246 vd. ; Yazır, *Hak Dini Kur'ân Dili*, I/307; IV/3145-3152.

⁸⁸⁶ For further information about Ebû Hafs Omer b. Suheyd who is one of the poets of Meriye emir's el-Mu'tasım b. Sumâdih (ö. 484/1091) see el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 302-303; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 407-408; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/670-691; Peres, *Esplendor de al-Andalus*, p. 45; *La Poesie Andalouse*, p. 37.

⁸⁸⁷ For further information about Andalusian writer and poet Ebû Muhammed b. Sufyân who is a vizier and clerk see. Ibn Hâkân, *Kalâidu'l-ikyân*, II/391-99; III/629; Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-Edeb*, V/190-91.

⁸⁸⁸ For further information about Italian poet Dante Alighieri, who has a lot of works and who is accepted as the one of the greatest poets in the world, and his famous work *The Divine Comedy* see *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 4-22; "Dante", *EB*, III/36-41; "Dante", *DB*, III/45-47; "Dante", *NLU*, I/498.

⁸⁸⁹ For further information about famous French writer La Fontaine who shows similar character with Ibn Suheyd and who is known for his works in which animals speak see *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)* p. 4-22; "La Fontaine", *EB*, XIII/590-91; "La Fontaine", *GB*, VII/15; "La Fontaine", *NLU*, II/6; "La Fontaine", *ML*, VII/767; Perin, *The History of French Literature*, p. 228-29; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/371.

1. Ebu Hafs Ibn Suheyd

There are different opinions about whether he was from the same family⁸⁹⁰ as Ibn Suheyd. Ebu Hafs (444/1091) discussed his opinions by including animals⁸⁹¹ as Ibn Suheyd did and mentioned them with prose full of characterization he filled up with his Works. It can be assumed that style, subject and the way he handles subjects shows great similarities with tracts that of Ibn Suheyd as H. Peres⁸⁹² said, writer of this prose.

2. Ebu Mohammad Ibn Süfyan

In one of his poems addressed to Ebu İsa Ibn Lubbun⁸⁹³ and in his stories describing an imaginary journey above skies, Ibn Süfyan (516/1122) might have been affected by some writers who formerly employed an imaginary style of writing and by the event of Miraj. The idea that poet is from Andalucia and Ibn Suheyd was not only well-known in Andalucia but also in the east drives us to point that he was very much influenced by Ibn Suheyd.

Ibn Suheyd addresses Ebu İsa;

“Ebu İsa, Do you remember the time we raised up to the sky to camp and wander?

“We passed through the flowers of The Süreyya Star and we had them drink water when they were thirsty⁸⁹⁴”

⁸⁹⁰ While H. Peres claims that Ebû Hafs comes from the same family with Ibn Suheyd (see *La Poesie Andalouse*, p. 37, 368); Juan Vernet says that there is no relation between two families. (see *Literature Arabe*, p. 114).

⁸⁹¹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, II/674-85.

⁸⁹² Peres, *Esplendor de al-Andalus*, p. 45; *La Poesie Andalouse*, p. 37.

⁸⁹³ For further information about Emir Lubbûn b. Abdilaziz b. Lubbûn (ö. 490/1097) see. Ibn Hâkân, *Kalâidu'l-ikyân*, I/289-96; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, III/104-108; Ibnu'l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, II/167-171; Ibnu'l-Hatîb, *A'mâlu'l-a'lâm*, p. 209.

⁸⁹⁴ Ibn Hâkân, *Kalâidu'l-ikyân*, II/391.

Regarding the ones that was influenced by Ibn Suheyd, researchers point at two individuals, namely el-Ma'arrî and Dante. Therefore we will try to figure out to what extend el-Ma'arrî and Dante who wrote some works displaying similar qualities as Ibn Suheyd's pamphlets.

3-Ebu'l-Alâ el-Ma'arrî

Whether Ibn Suheyd or el-Ma'arrî wrote his work first, thus who affected the other, has always been a matter of debate among the researchers.

About this issue, Ahmet Dayf says: "Probably, while writing his pamphlet, Ibn Suheyd was imitating Ebu'l Alâ. For one thing they lived in the same region and Ebu'l Alâ was well-known in the West and East. Furthermore, as is evident Andalusians were imitating eastern civilization almost in every respect."⁸⁹⁵ In terms of this expression, he claims that Ibn Suheyd was influenced by el-Ma'arrî who had written⁸⁹⁶ his famous work *Risaletü'l-güfrân* as a response⁸⁹⁷ to his contemporary addressee Ibnu'l Karih and wrote *Risâletü't-tevabi ve 'z-zevâbi*⁸⁹⁸.

Zeki Mubarek, on the other hand, doesn't have a precise opinion about Ibn Suheyd's pamphlet's date, but he clarifies the situation as follows:

"We don't know exactly when Ibn Suheyd wrote his pamphlet. Yet, when we take the date of his death (426/1035), and his literary style into consideration, we can conclude that he wrote his work before 420/1029."⁸⁹⁹

⁸⁹⁵ Ahmed Dayf, *Belagatu'l-Arab*, p. 47-48.

⁸⁹⁶ For further information about Aleppon writer Ali b. Mansûr see Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-Edeb*, III/124-25; Karaarslan, *Ebu'l-Alâ el-Ma'arrî*, p. 46-53.

⁸⁹⁷ Karaarslan, *Ebu'l-Alâ el-Ma'arrî*, p. 46.

⁸⁹⁸ For further information about his famous work in which he shows el-Ma'arrî's historical, itikadi ve literary talent and performs his journey to ethereal world which he imagines in his mind see Zeydan, *Târîhu'l-adâbi'l-lugati'l-arabiyye*, II/571-72; el-Fâhûrî, *el-Câmi'*, p. 843-847; Sevki Dayf, *el-Fen ve mezâhibuhû fi'n-nesri'l-Arabî*, p. 275-80; Karaarslan, *Ebu'l-Alâ el-Ma'arrî*, p. 46-59.

⁸⁹⁹ Mubarek, *La Prose Arabe*, p. 239.

Zeki Mubarek analyses the date el-Ma'arrî wrote his pamphlet as follows: "Though we don't know when it was written, it is certain that the work wasn't well-known before 426/1034 because el-Ma'arrî wrote his letter as a response to Ibnu'l-Karih. Ibnu'l Karih, then, expressed that he was nearly seventy-three years old in his letter to el-Ma'arrî. In that Ibnu'l Karih was born in 351/962, if we add 73 to that, we get 424/1032. After a while, el-Ma'arrî had replied to Ibnu'l Karih. At the end of the pamphlet he apologizes for the delay... Here we can easily infer that Ibn Suheyd had written his pamphlet before el-Ma'arrî. Nevertheless, it shouldn't be neglected that Ibn Suheyd was a famous literary man whose fame was also recognized in the East."⁹⁰⁰

Butrus el-Bustânî, has evaluated the pamphlet. According to the dates of the mentioned events, as we stressed before, he claims that Ibn Suheyd had put his pamphlet down on paper before el-Ma'arrî did, but in a year after 414/1023.⁹⁰¹

Even Cevdet Rikabî, though he lacks a precise date in his writings, states the fact that Ibn Suheyd had written his pamphlet before el-Ma'arrî.⁹⁰²

Under the light of these revelations, it shall be inappropriate to assert that Ibn Suheyd wrote his pamphlet under the influence of el-Ma'arrî or the idea of his pamphlet comes from *Risâletü'l-güfrân*. Besides, Ibn Suheyd's creativity and imagination prove that he hadn't been influenced in such a way. He not only fantasizes a trip to a spiritual world, but also he meets some important figures of different periods, competes and proves his superiority, and finally makes those literary men appreciate his craft.

After clarifying the fact that Ibn Suheyd prescribed his pamphlet earlier than el-Ma'arrî, naturally, the idea that el-Ma'arrî was influenced by Ibn Suheyd falls into place.

⁹⁰⁰ Mubarek, *La Prose Arabe*, p. 239; Krş. Watt, *A History of Islamic Spain*, p. 124;

⁹⁰¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 67-70.

⁹⁰² Rikâbî, *Fi'l-edebi'l-Endelusî*, p. 97.

Some researchers refer to the similarities between the works of Ibn Suheyd and el-Ma'arrî, but they don't stress who influenced the other,⁹⁰³ but, as we noted before, only Ahmet Dayf claims that Ibn Suheyd was influenced by el-Ma'arrî.⁹⁰⁴ However, many literary men who seriously scholar into Andalusian literature has also tried to prove that el-Ma'arrî was influenced by Ibn Suheyd⁹⁰⁵. The first piece of evidence put forward by those researchers is that Ibn Suheyd wrote down his work earlier than el-Ma'arrî. Abdulvahhâb b. Mansûr, one of the researchers, comments on this issue as follows:

"Ibn Suheyd wrote his pamphlet before el-Ma'arrî. Most probably, a copy of this pamphlet reached the east, el-Ma'arrî. el-Ma'arrî wrote his own work by employing the same style and manner⁹⁰⁶." Many other researchers have also proposed similar ideas. However, as my respected lecturer Professor Karaarslan also stated, the fact that el-Ma'arrî made animals talk and presence some writings⁹⁰⁷ the dates of which are unknown makes it hard to decide who influenced the other one.

After making it clear that Ibn Suheyd wrote his work down earlier than el-Ma'arrî, and expressing el-Ma'arrî possibly influenced by Ibn Suheyd, the comparison of *Risâletü't-tevâbi* and *z'evâbi* against *Risâletü'l-güfrân* would display the course of this influence. Both works show some similarities. Both pamphlets handle issues by means of retaliation, and the events take place out of the actual world. For instance, Ibn Suheyd writes in Tarafa of his pamphlet:

"Zuheyf asked me 'Who do you want to see Now?'. I replied 'the tâbi'a of Tarafa'. Later we passed through a Uteybe Valley and arrived in a forest adored with the fantastic smell of daffodil flowers. Then we saw a river. Zuheyf shouted 'Oh

⁹⁰³ Esad, Masâdiru'd-dirâseti'l-edebiyye, I/227; Tercânîzâde, The History of Arabic Literature, p. 202; Chejne, Historia, p. 193; Rikâbî, Fi'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî, p. 97; Karaarslan, Ebu'l-Alâ el-Ma'arrî, p. 56.

⁹⁰⁴ Ahmed Dayf, *Belagatü'l-Arab*, p. 48.

⁹⁰⁵ Ibn Mansûr, *A'lamu'l-Mağrib*, III/58; Goldzieher, *A Short History*, p. 136; Palencia, *Târîhu'l-fikri'l-Endelüsî*, p. 73; Mubarek, *La Prose Arabe*, p. 239.

⁹⁰⁶ Ibn Mansûr, *A'lamu'l-Mağrib*, III/58.

⁹⁰⁷ Karaarslan, *Ebu'l-Alâ el-Ma'arrî*, p. 56.

Antara b. Iclân! Zuheyr and his human friend are before you' and 'for the sake of Zuheyr, show us your face just now at the night I am traveling'. Upon that, a horseman who was dressed silk clothes and whose face was bright, gird himself with a embroidered sword, and with a spear in his hand appeared and said 'Welcome'. Then he wanted me to read out a poem. I replied 'Priority is yours in terms of verse'. Hereupon he read a poem and I read him an eulogy of mine. Antara shouted 'May God bless you. Your eulogy has addressed where it was supposed to. Now, go'⁹⁰⁸.

In the A'sa part⁹⁰⁹ of *Risaletü'l-güfrân*, a scene before Ibnu'l-Karih is animated. Here exists a noble and dignified camel. Next to the camle is a young handsome man walking around in heaven with a bottle of wine. There is some immortality food with that young man. At that moment he heard a voice. That sound represented el-Bekrî (el-A'sâ). Having been surprised, Ibnu'l Karîh asked the voice what it meant, and read out a poem. The voice heard increased and told:

"Oh mortal that God has forgave! Do you know the actual credits for the eulogy you have just read?" As a response, Ibnu'l Karih said "It belongs to one of those whom we trust on. And those come from Ebu'l-Alâ, who saved Arabs from the lands where they used to hunt lions and eat them."⁹¹⁰

In the end, he clarifies more and tells that the poem belongs to Meymûn b. Kays Cender, the brother of Benî Râbi'a b. Dubey Atâ. Here, the strange voice says 'That is me! In a moment I gave up the hope for a forgiveness, Allah forgave me'. That time, es-Sec' (Ibnu'l-Karih) turns the way laugh coming from and sees a youngster with a heavenly lighted

⁹⁰⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 93; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/250-51.

⁹⁰⁹ For further information about Meymûn b. Kays b. Cendel b. Sa'lebe Bekr b. Vâil (ö. 7/629) who is one of Muallaka Poets of the Age of Ignorance see Ibn Kuteybe, *eş-Şi'r ve's-şu'arâ*, I/178; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, VIII/300-301; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, I/212-224; Abbûd, *Edebu'l-Arab*, p. 84-85; Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, I/221-28; Kehhâle, *Mu'cemu'l-müellifin*, XIII/65.

⁹¹⁰ el-Ma'arrî, *Risâletu'l-gufrân*, p. 57-59.

face. His eyes are as bright and shining as that of hours. Ibnu'l-Karih asks him 'How did you keep yourself from that evil fire?' and the voice replies to el-Aşâ:

"While demons were taking me to the hell, in the last judgement/armageddon I saw a person whose face was shining like the moon. People were running towards him, and yielding 'Ya Mohammad! Ya Mohammad! Commiserate with us. Fire burns our flesh. Then I also screamed 'Ya Mohammad, please save me, too!' Hz. Mohammad (s. a. v.) turned toward Hz. Ali (r. a) and said 'If intercession is possible, go next to him. ' When Ali b. Ebî Tâlib came to me and saved me from demons, he asked 'What's your sin?'. 'It was me to talk against the prophet' I said and I read out a poem against the prophet. Hz. Ali, hearing my verse, turned to Hz. Mohammad and said 'Oh, the prophet of Allah! This A'sâ now admits that you are the prophet sent by Allah'. Then, Hz. Mohammad asked 'Did he ever visit me in his worldly life?'. 'In fact, he did... But Kureyş and alcohol hindered him' said Hz. Ali. Thus, he didn't come often.' replied Hz. Ali. In spite of those, Hz. Mohammad interceded me and let me in the heaven on the sole condition that I wouldn't drink alcohol in the heaven. I will be fed up only with milk and honey. Those who drink alcohol in the world, don't have a grant in the afterlife."⁹¹¹

Though their forms are not alike, these two examples from the two pamphlets are similar in terms of their style, content, and the way how the incidents handled. Their similarity can easily be noticed in the scenes the events take place, in the dialogues, and the characters described.

The events that take place on the stage which belongs to Et Tevvabi ve'zzevabi are rather more unimposing compared to the Risaletü'l-güfran. The events which belongs to Et Tevvabi ve'z-zevabi occur in Ibn Suheyd's "ardü'l-cin" (demon's world). We see a closure in this place as we physically closer to it. The place is not explained and identified in every respect. It is only called "ardü'l-cin" (demon's world). Likewise Ibn Suheyd presents this place as a rather different place than our world.

⁹¹¹ el-Ma'arrî, *Risâletu'l-gufrân*, p. 60-65.

Although there are valleys,⁹¹² springs,⁹¹³ rivers and forests,⁹¹⁴ such a place is not mentioned in any reference. El-Ma'arri behaves very sensitively in his *Risaletü'l-güfran*⁹¹⁵ using strong description for his paradise while setting the stage.

Although Ibn Suheyd's characters are the demons⁹¹⁶ that depend on prevalent legends, the characters of El-Ma'arri depends on pre-Islamic poetry and public stories,⁹¹⁷ besides Islamic sources.

Ibn Suheyd describes the portraits of the characters with interesting descriptions which are not very different from each other. For example; he introduces Uteybe b. Nevfel, tabi'a of İmr'ul-Kays, as a cavalryman⁹¹⁸ on a dark horse with a lancer in his hand propping to his chin.

While he is defining Antara b. İclan, tabi'a of Tarafa, as cavalryman who is handsome with a bright face and an imposing caftan on with an ornamented sword,⁹¹⁹ he is showing Ebu'l Hattar, tabi'a of Kays b. El-Hatim, as a rider⁹²⁰ who is like a lion on a horse like a crow. Harise b. Mugalles, tabi'a of El-Mütenebbi, is carrying a lancer on a white horse. He has got a red turban with yellow tassel on his head.⁹²¹

We think that the examples mentioned above express a general opinion within the subject of Ibn Suheyd's material that are used for the description of people and the common sides of these material.

Against the method of Ibn Suheyd, El-Ma'arri describes the characters differently from each other in terms of detail. For example, he shows a perfect figure of el-A'sa, by describing him as fair, with perfect

⁹¹² Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* ', p. 91; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/248.

⁹¹³ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* ', p. 93; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/250.

⁹¹⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* ', p. 81; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/249.

⁹¹⁵ Cetin, *The Old Arabic Poetry*, p. 12; Karaarslan, *Ebu'l-Alâ el-Ma'arrî*, p. 50.

⁹¹⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* ', p. 91; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/248.

⁹¹⁷ Karaarslan, *Ebu'l-Alâ el-Ma'arrî*, p. 50.

⁹¹⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* ', p. 92; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/249.

⁹¹⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* ', p. 93; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/250.

⁹²⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* ', p. 96; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/252.

⁹²¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* ', p. 111; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/252.

appearance,⁹²² white of his eye is white, black of his eye is black and whose eyes were attractive. While he introduces Zuheyr b. Ebi Sulma as the most handsome⁹²³ and fair cavalryman who has a ruby stick, he didn't describe his characters in detail in many parts. He described Lebîd (d. 40/660)⁹²⁴ to be a horseman⁹²⁵ with a sword in his hand and in many places, he emphasized their heroisms as well. For example, this is true while he was writing about Hassan b Sabit (d. 54/674)⁹²⁶ who is a character of his pamphlet⁹²⁷ or speaking to Beşşar b. Burd⁹²⁸.

As we see above, individuals of el-Ma'arri are more duller than Ibn Suheyd in description. On the other hand, el-Ma'arri gives more importance to the description of the environment and the events that takes place in this atmosphere. As an example, there are some syntacticians and linguists like Müberred, Ibn Dured, Ibn Mesade, (d. 217/832),⁹²⁹ Sibaveyh, (d. 180/796),⁹³⁰ Ebu Ubeyde (d. 210/825),⁹³¹

⁹²² el-Ma'arri, *Risâletü'l-gufrân*, p. 57.

⁹²³ el-Ma'arri, *Risâletü'l-gufrân*, p. 65.

⁹²⁴ For further information about Lebîd b. Râbi'a b. Mâlik b. Ca'fer who is a Mu'allaka poet see Ibn Kuteybe, *es-Si'r ve's-su'arâ*, I/194-204; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, IV/104; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/29-30; *Suppl.*, I/64-65; Blachere, *The History of Arabic Literature*, p. 305-306; Abbûd, *Edebu'l-Arab*, p. 70; Kehhâle, *Mu'cemu'l-muellifîn*, VIII/152-53.

⁹²⁵ el-Ma'arri, *Risâletü'l-gufrân*, s. 105.

⁹²⁶ el-Ma'arri, *Risâletü'l-gufrân*, p. 128.

⁹²⁷ For further information about one of the poets of Islamic era Hassân b. Sâbit b. el-Münzir who is known as his odes to Hz. Mohammad see Ibn Kuteybe, *es-Si'r ve's-su'arâ*, I/223-26; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, II/188; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/31-32; *Suppl.*, I/67-68; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, I/272-281; Abbûd, *Edebu'l-Arab*, p. 122-23; Kehhâle, *Mu'cemu'l-muellifîn*, III/191-92.

⁹²⁸ el-Ma'arri, *Risâletü'l-gufrân*, p. 221-22.

⁹²⁹ For further information about Ebu'l-Fadl Amr b. Mes'ade who is a poet and writer with turkish origin from the era of Abbasid see Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, III/114; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, V/260; Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edeb*, II/215-17; Sezgin, *GAS*, II/616.

⁹³⁰ For further information about one of the greatest nahiv scholar Ebû Bîsr Sîbeveyh Amr b. Osmân see Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 51-52; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, II/103-105; Ibnu'l-Imâd, I/252-55; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/99-100; *Suppl.*, I/160; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, V/260; Kehhâle, *Mu'cemu'l-muellifîn*, VIII/10.

⁹³¹ For further information about Ebû Ubeyde Ma'mer el-Müsennâ who has profound knowledge about poetry and genealogy science see Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 53-54; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, II/554-560; Ibnu'l-Imâd, II/24-25; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/102-193

Esmâi (d. 216/831)⁹³² and Sa'leb in (d. 291/904)⁹³³ one of the stages which was described in the pamphlet.⁹³⁴

Writing about some of the important events between Arabs and Eyyamü'l Arab, Ebu Ubeyd also reads the famous qasidas and they sit together⁹³⁵ like brothers who were depicted in Koran⁹³⁶. Above mentioned characters of El-Ma'arri drink wine in golden bowls in shadow and then they throw those bowls into the pure wine river. The sound of these bowls that were striking each other creates a rather mysterious atmosphere.⁹³⁷

Having given the examples, we can enumerate the most evident special features of the two pamphlets as follows:

While the events in Ebu'l-Ala el Ma'arri's pamphlet take place in paradise, hell and in the afterworld, the ones in Ibn Suheyd's pamphlet take place in valleys in the Demon's world with its weird ground and strange valleys.

While philosophical, literary and involving religious issues dominate el-Ma'arri's pamphlet, Ibn Suheyd deals with literary and declarative matters.

103; *Suppl.*, I/162; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, VIII/191; Kehhâle, *Mu'cemu'l-muellifîn*, XII/309-310.

⁹³² For further information about language, nahiv scholar and poet Ebû Sa'îd Abdülmelik. el-Esmâ who lived in the era of Abbasid see Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 55-56; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/516-520; Ibnu'l-Imâd, II/36-38 Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/4; *Suppl.*, I/163-65; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, VIII/191; Kehhâle, *Mu'cemu'l-muellifîn*, VI/187; Abbûd, *Edebu'l-Arab*, p. 247.

⁹³³ For further information about one of the Kûfe nahiv scholars Ebu'l-Abbâs Ahmed b. Yahyâ see Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 110; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/51-53; Ibnu'l-Imâd, II/207-208; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/121-22; *Suppl.*, I/181-82; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, VIII/191; Kehhâle, *Mu'cemu'l-muellifîn*, II/203-204.

⁹³⁴ el-Ma'arri, *Risâletu'l-gufrân*, p. 54.

⁹³⁵ The verse is as follows: "We detached the hatred from their hearts. Now they are brothers who sitting side by side on divans." Hicr, 15/47.

⁹³⁶ el-Ma'arri, *Risâletu'l-gufrân*, p. 54.

⁹³⁷ Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Endelusî*, p. 385.

4 – Dante Alighieri

“The Divine Comedy” of the famous Italian poet Dante who lived about two centuries after Ibn Suheyd and el-Ma’arri , accepted as one of the most important classics even in today’s world, shows similarities both with the Islamic and Christian religious sources and the old Greek and Arabian sources.

A lot of Eastern and Western researchers show interest in how and in what ways Dante was inspired by the Arabic and Islamic resources. The Italian orientalist Miguel Asin Palacios tried to prove that Dante’s Comedia was based on the Islamic principles, in his work titled “La Escatologia Musulmana en la Divina Komedia” published in 1919.”⁹³⁸

Palacios put forward the idea that Dante was inspired by the Miraç event, some points of views about paradise, hell and afterlife written by the interpreters and some other points of views about the birth, center, rotation and the orbit of the universe by some Muslim philosophers. He claimed that transcripts of Islamic works arrived in the Europe and Dante read through these works before he wrote down “The Divine Comedy”⁹³⁹

When we examine Dante’s life, we realize that Dante and Ibn Suheyd had much in common. Both of them were the members of intellectual and wealthy families⁹⁴⁰ in their early lives, but afterwards they both became poor.⁹⁴¹ As well as their fathers influenced both of them badly,⁹⁴² they both trained themselves⁹⁴³ without getting any serious education by a

⁹³⁸ Heykel, *el-Edebu ’l-Endelusî*, p. 386.

⁹³⁹ Heykel, *el-Edebu ’l-Endelusî*, p. 385.

⁹⁴⁰ el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 280; ed-Dabbî, *Bugye*, p. 274; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/196, 258; Ibnu’l-Abbâr, *el-Hulle*, I/238, 240; Ibn Sa’îd, *el-Muğrib*, p. 199; Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 3; Karaarslan, *Ebu’l-Alâ el-Ma’arri*, p. 56.

⁹⁴¹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/193; Mubarek, *en-Nesru ’l-fennî*, II/639; Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)* p. 4, 35.

⁹⁴² Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/195; Abbas, *The History of Andalusian Literature*, I/273; Ibn Mansûr, *A’lamu’l-Magrib*, III/55; Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *el-Andalus*, XXIX/258; Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)* p. 4.

⁹⁴³ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/192; Heykel, *el-Edebu ’l-Endelusî*, p. 369; Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 5.

tutor or educational institution. They spent most of their lives in the political agitations and a period their countries breaking down.⁹⁴⁴

Ibn Suheyd and Dante had such similar points in their lives that they witnessed their country's decadence;⁹⁴⁵ they had an active role in the political platform; they got many enemies in their environments; they were convicted⁹⁴⁶ and so, they had to run away and they were exiled; they invited other emirs and kings for the occupation of their cities⁹⁴⁷ which they were depended on great desire to save them from the chaos;⁹⁴⁸ they considered deaths of the people that they loved so much as a starting point to motivate themselves for criticizing their enemies and in a way for taking a revenge and humiliating. As well as the happenings have brought along the common points accidentally, we see that Ibn Suheyd and Dante had much in common,⁹⁴⁹ in terms of having a good memory⁹⁵⁰ and an aimless way of life and personalities full of pride.

Having considered the common points,⁹⁵¹ we are of the opinion that it is beneficial to have a look at the work of Dante in order to understand whether there is any influence on Dante⁹⁵² by Ibn Suheyd.

⁹⁴⁴ Ibn Haldûn, *el-Iber*, IV/148-155; Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Endelusî*, p. 266-343; Brockelmann, *The History of Islam*, p. 205-232; Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 11-17, 33-35.

⁹⁴⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 117; Ibn Mansur, *A'lamu'l-Magrib*, III/55; Dickie, "Ibn Suhayd", *el-Andalus*, XXIX/266; Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 11-17, 33-35.

⁹⁴⁶ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/263, 321; Ibnu'l-Abbar, *el-Hulle*, II/13; Ibn Sa'id, *el-Mugrib*, I/55; Pellat, "Ibn Hazm, Ibn Suhayd et la poesia arabe", *al-Mulk*, p. 91; Monroe, "The Diwan of Ibn Shuhaid", *BSOAS*, XXXV/144; Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 15-17, 35.

⁹⁴⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 139; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/321; Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 19-20.

⁹⁴⁸ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/247; Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 7-8, 34-35.

⁹⁴⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 70; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, I/328; Monroe, "The Dîwân of Ibn Shuhaid", *BSOAS*, XXXV/144; Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 34.

⁹⁵⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 88; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/246; Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 25.

⁹⁵¹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/193; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/369; Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 18-21

The word “comedies” in the work named *Comedia* by Dante is the combination of the words “comos” (village, town) and “oda” (poem) and means a kind of “folksong.”⁹⁵³ The word “Divine” was added as a title afterwards. Since the concept of future life was discussed in the work, it was published with the name of *The Divine Comedy* in Venice in 1555.⁹⁵⁴

Living in an era of political changes, Dante had enemies in his political life therefore he was convicted and exiled.⁹⁵⁵ Dante who had to leave the country he loved, decided to compose a work to console his sufferings that were caused by his useless efforts to turn back to his country, to take revenge from the people who decided this punishment and judge them in his own court. While doing this he chose Beatrice whom he passionately loved with innocent feelings of childhood but couldn’t marry and who died at a young age, as a starting point by eternalizing her as an figure of fabulous and flawless person. He also chose Beatrice as a guide for himself through his imaginary journey to the other world.⁹⁵⁶

Dante started his journey in a sleepy manner on 8th April Friday night in a forest that he didn’t know how he came to be. He was (in his own words) 35 years old. Dante’s journey started on 8th April and ended on 9th April so lasted 24 hours⁹⁵⁷. During his sightseeing in the forest he meets some animals and Latin poets who will accompany him during his journey into the purgatory and hell⁹⁵⁸. Dante will then be sanctified in purgatory set out for heaven with his lover Beatrice.⁹⁵⁹

Dante meets with people who suffer for their sins like lust, gluttony, greed, wrath, parsimony, rape, betrayal, deceit. There are separate rooms

⁹⁵² Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 164; Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 17; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/193; Ibn Sa’îd, *el-Mugrib*, I/78; Ibnu’l-Imad, III/230; Mubarek, *en-Nesru’l-fennî*, II/370; Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 19-20.

⁹⁵³ Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 33.

⁹⁵⁴ Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 34.

⁹⁵⁵ Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 34.

⁹⁵⁶ Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 7.

⁹⁵⁷ Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 41, 72.

⁹⁵⁸ Purgatory is named as “Purgatoire” in the theology of Christianity and it is believed that sins are cleared here.

⁹⁵⁹ Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 41, 73.

for each sin and these rooms are located from outwards to center according to the severity of the punishments.⁹⁶⁰

The poets⁹⁶¹ Homeros,⁹⁶² Horatius,⁹⁶³ Ovidius⁹⁶⁴ who did not have the chance to get baptized since they lived before Christ, the philosophers Aristo,⁹⁶⁵ Socrates,⁹⁶⁶ Platon,⁹⁶⁷ and the Muslims Ibn Sina,⁹⁶⁸ Selahaddin Eyyübi⁹⁶⁹ and government of Floransa⁹⁷⁰ Federico II.⁹⁷¹ Who did not get along with Dante and The Roman Emperor and also various religious and political people were among the ones in the hell that Dante dreamed of. After hell, Dante goes onto purgatory and depicts this mountain as conic shaped and as the highest mountain of the world⁹⁷². Purgatory is the place where Adam and Eve ate the forbidden apple⁹⁷³ and punishments are

⁹⁶⁰ Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 43.

⁹⁶¹ Homer who is the greatest poet among the ones in the 9th Century B. C. is also the writer of the epic "Ilias ve Odysseia" See Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 100; "Homer", *NLU*, I/937, XI/699-703; "Homer", *GB*, V/530-31

⁹⁶² Horatius who died in 68-64 B. C. is the greatest lyric poet. See Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 100; "Horatius", *GB*, V/543; *NLU*, I/941.

⁹⁶³ Ovidius is the Greek poet who lived between 43 B. C. - 17 A. D. See Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 100; "Ovidius", *ML*, IX/714.

⁹⁶⁴ Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 98.

⁹⁶⁵ For information about the famous Greek philosopher Aristo who lived between 384-322 B. C. , see Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 103; "Dante", *EB*, III/350-55; "Dante", *GB*, I/402-403.

⁹⁶⁶ For information about the Greek philosopher Socrates who lived between 468-400 B. C. see Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 104.

⁹⁶⁷ The Greek philosopher Platon who lived between 429- 347 B. C. is the teacher of Aristo and the student of Socrates. See Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 104; "Platon", *IA*, IV/189-192.

⁹⁶⁸ For information about the Turkish and Islamic philosopher and scholar of medicine Ibn Sina, see Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 104; "Ibn Sina", *IA*, V/807-824.

⁹⁶⁹ After working for a while as the governor of Egypt, Salahaddin Ayyubî declared independence, founded the state of Ayyubi and reigned between 1174-1193. 583. In 1187, he became known in Europe as the saviour of Jerusalem. See Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 103; "Salahaddin Ayyubi", *EB*, XIX/866-67.

⁹⁷⁰ Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 120-21.

⁹⁷¹ For information about Federico who was announced to be the King of Rome in 1196, see Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 154.

⁹⁷² Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 45.

⁹⁷³ Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 46.

given on the basis of retaliation.⁹⁷⁴ Dante meets with Beatrice in purgatory, the place where people get sanctified, and after purifying himself he starts his journey in The Heaven with Beatrice.⁹⁷⁵

Dante, delineates Heaven as a motionless empyrean that rotates the circum of the earth. From the earth to outside there are 9 different sky layers⁹⁷⁶ and the last layer is empyrean. In Dante's heaven apart from the political and mythological characters, there are also religious characters such as Beatrice, Virgin Mary, Adam, Hz. Musa, Jesus's apostles⁹⁷⁷. God and angels are located⁹⁷⁸ at the outermost layer. Dante's journey finishes with his rise to empyrean on 7th April, Thursday.⁹⁷⁹

The style of Dante in *La Divina Commedia* (The Divine Comedy), in which he goes on an imaginary journey, goes back to the times he didn't exist. On the other hand his journey is almost entirely composed in accordance and shows similarities with Islamic understanding of facts. Feridun Timur, who translated The Divine Comedy into Turkish, states this similarity in his preface of the book as follows:⁹⁸⁰

“The Divine Comedy's narration is entirely inspired by the journey of the Muslim Prophet... It can be easily seen that the same infrastructure, same order, same army register, and same description are employed in Dante's work from Hell to Purgatory, Purgatory to Heaven. Dante did nothing but borrow the settled order in the works of Muslim poets.”

After these explanations, surely it is not possible to say which resources Dante was inspired by. However, it seems probable that he was inspired by Ibn Suheyd and el-Ma'arri who had those kinds of significant serious works in addition to the Islamic resources. Sharing commons

⁹⁷⁴ Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 47.

⁹⁷⁵ Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 47.

⁹⁷⁶ Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 47.

⁹⁷⁷ Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 48.

⁹⁷⁸ Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 230 vd.

⁹⁷⁹ Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 49.

⁹⁸⁰ Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 52-55.

with Ibn Suheyd in life experience and personal traits, Dante continuously traveled between cities and countries⁹⁸¹ after being exiled from Florance. Though we can't assume that he went to Cordoba and in these journeys, we know that a lot of scientific and literary works were translated from Arabic to Latin⁹⁸². One may not suppose that Dante who is one of the Italy's best poets interested in science and literature⁹⁸³ did not read these works. One again may not suppose that works of Ibn-Suheyd, living in Cordoba, the center of science and el-Ma'arri were not translated into Latin in over the time of two centuries and were not handed into the Europe. Considering the subjects he discussed, the style he employed, the places he chose for events and the depictions he used to understand these places, Dante seems to have been inspired by el-Ma'arri rather than Ibn Suheyd.

b. Divan

The resources imply that Ibn Suheyd had a divan although they alluded his prose works. But a big part of Ibn Suheyd's poems was recited in ez-Zehire by Ibn Bessam and Imaduddin el- Isfahani in Haridatül kasr, Feth b. Hakan in Kalaidu'l -ikyan and Matmahul'l – enfüs and es-Sa'alibi, Yetimetü'd –dehr. But we don't know how many poems Ibn Suheyd said were kept or how many poems of him weren't used by Ibn Bessam.

Charles Pellat prepared today's Divan⁹⁸⁴ we have now by gathering Ibn Suheyd's poems from different sources that most of which are due to ez-Zehire.

The depiction, blow, compliment, love, wine, satire, complaint about time and people burdening in Divan has a vital role to reflect that period's social and political structures.

⁹⁸¹ Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 21; el-Himsî, "el-Muvâzene beyne Ebi'l-Alâ ve Dante", IV/492.

⁹⁸² el-Himsî, "el-Muvâzene beyne Ebi'l-Alâ and Dante", IV/492-93.

⁹⁸³ Dante, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, p. 5.

⁹⁸⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 9-11.

Charles Pellat organized the Divan in alphabetical order as hemze, ba, te. Pellat wrote about Ibn Suheyd in the preface as a summary. There is one sentence at the beginning of the each poem and an explanation about why Ibn Suheyd wrote that poem. Lastly, he gave reference to the sources he explained some rare words.

When we analyzed the seventy five poems⁹⁸⁵ in Divan, we can organize Ibn Suheyd's poems by frequency of occurrence of the rhythms : Twenty five Taviil rhythm, fifteen kamil rhythm, fifteen basit rhythm, nine mütekarib rhythm, four remel rhythm, three hafîf rhythm, three münserih rhythm, one recez rhythm and one recez rhythm.

Divan was printed in Beirut in 1963. It was translated by James Dickie and published in Cordoba in 1975. It was translated into English by James Dickie and published in Cordoba in 1975⁹⁸⁶.

c. Hanutu Attar

Hanutu Attar (Attar store)⁹⁸⁷ is named after the lost work of Cahiz⁹⁸⁸. Ibn Suheyd cited Cahiz a lot in his works and maybe because of this, he used this title.⁹⁸⁹ This work was published by Muhammed b. Tavit et-Tanci in Cairo in 1951.

Although⁹⁹⁰ these poems are in the poems written by Ibn Sa'îd and dedicated to Ibn Suheyd and his uncle, we also see that these poems are in the content of⁹⁹¹ *et-Tevâbi' ve 'z-zevâbi' ile ez-Zehîre*.

⁹⁸⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 185

⁹⁸⁶ Epalza, "Ibn Suhayd", *Awraq*, V-VI/291

⁹⁸⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 46; el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 133; ed-Dabbî, *Bugye*, p. 191; Imâdu'l-Isfahânî, *Harîdatu'l-kasr*, III/555; Yâkût, *Mu'cemu'l-udebâ*, III/222; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/116; es-Safedî, *el-Vâfi*, V/144; Ziya Pasha, *The History of Andolusia*, IV/13; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, I/157; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, I/302; Sezgin, *GAS*, II/699.

⁹⁸⁸ Hafâcî, *el-Âdâbu'l-Arabiyye*, p. 360.

⁹⁸⁹ Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/460.

⁹⁹⁰ Ibn Sa'îd, *el-Muğrib*, p. 85.

⁹⁹¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 144-45; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/294-95.

Fuat Sezgin claimed that the work is about ma'ani's and rhetoric Belagat⁹⁹² but didn't give any reference.

Ez- zehebi presented this work as Cuna Atar.⁹⁹³

2. His Works Which Could Not Reach To Our Time

Some researchers specified these works according to et-Tevabi' ve'z – zevabi.

- 1- el-Helva (sweet)⁹⁹⁴
- 2- el-Berd ve'n-nar ve'l-hatab (cold, fire and wood)⁹⁹⁵
- 3- el-Burgus (flea)⁹⁹⁶

You can find these Ibn Suheyd booklets in et- tevabi' ve'z-zevabi.⁹⁹⁷ But some of them was only nominal.⁹⁹⁸

4- Kitabu kesfi'd-dek and asaru's-sek (Discovery of the ruins and traces of doubt.)⁹⁹⁹

Nothing has reached from this work that Ibn Hallikan¹⁰⁰⁰ conveyed as “Kesfu'd-dek ve izahu's-sek” to today's world but just a name”.

⁹⁹² Sezgin, GAS, II/670.

⁹⁹³ ez-Zehebî, *Siyer*, XVII/501.

⁹⁹⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 119-123; es-Sa'âlibî, *Yetîmetu'd-dehr*, II/47-49; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/270; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, I/382.

⁹⁹⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 118; es-Sa'âlibî, *Yetîmetu'd-dehr*, II/44-45; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/270; el-Isfahânî, *Harîdatu'l-kasr*, III/560-61; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, I/382.

⁹⁹⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 125-126; *Dîvân*, p. 38; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/219-20; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, I/382.

⁹⁹⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 119-123; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/270-73.

⁹⁹⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 118; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/270.

⁹⁹⁹ Ibn Suheyd *et-Tevabi*, p. 46; ez-Zehebi, *Siyer*, XVII/501; Ziya Pasha, *The history of Andulisia*, IV/13; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lam*, I/157; Ibn Mansur, *A'lamu'l-Magrib*, III/57; Kehhale, *Mu'cem*, I/302; Sezgin, GAS, II/698.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ibn Hallikan, *Vefayat*, I/116; Sezgin, GAS, II/698.

Apart from these, es-Sa'alibi¹⁰⁰¹ claims that also those pamphlets below are found ²¹³:

- 1- el-Berd ve'l-hammam (The Cold and Turkish Bath)
- 2- Be'uda (Mosquito)
- 3- Sa'leb (Fox)
- 4- Ma (Water)
- 5- Cariye (Concubine)

During our research, we didn't encounter any kind of information confirming es-Sa'alibi's claim that Ibn Suheyd actually wrote those works. However, about the subject of Be'uda (Mosquito) Ibn Bessam claims that only Ibn Suheyd depicts mosquito as "the queen with no army other than herself".¹⁰⁰²

Except for Yetimetu'd-dehr, there is nothing to be found a pamphlet as "el-Berd ve'l-hammam" and the word "el-berd" (the cold) in this pamphlet holds a place in the name of the pamphlet "el-Berd ve'n-nar ve'l-hatab",¹⁰⁰³ as we mentioned before. In addition, in relation to "el-Hammam" nothing has reached to current times apart from a poem¹⁰⁰⁴ that wrote after he was forced to get out of the hammam that he took a bath with.

In et-Tevabi' ve'z-zevabi, Ibn Suheyd portrayed water¹⁰⁰⁵ fox¹⁰⁰⁶ and he pointed out that he also described the concubine.¹⁰⁰⁷

We think that biography writers had a view that Ibn Suheyd had those pamphlets or works we mentioned above by taking some prose consisting of short and concise sentences of Ibn Suheyd into consideration. Perhaps, what made them take it this way is the fact that Ibn Suheyd had some works with those names and later for some unknown reasons he

¹⁰⁰¹ es-Sa'alibi, *Yetimetu'd-dehr*, II/45-49.

¹⁰⁰² Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/219.

¹⁰⁰³ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi'*, p. 118; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/270.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *Divan*, p. 92-93; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/302.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi'*, p. 12; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/276

¹⁰⁰⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi'*, p. 126; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/275

¹⁰⁰⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi'*, p. 128; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/276

mentioned very few of them or he quoted only one word in his works¹⁰⁰⁸. For instance, in *et-Tevabi'*, *ve'z-zevabi*, he says "It told me to describe concubine and I did"¹⁰⁰⁹

¹⁰⁰⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi'*, p. 118- 123, 125-26, 127, 128; *Divan*, p. 92-93; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/219-220, 270-73, 275-76.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevabi'*, p. 128; Ibn Bessam, *ez-Zehire*, I/276

CHAPTER THREE

LITERARY PERSONALITY OF IBN SUHEYD

A. HIS PLACE IN ARABIC POETRY

Ibn Suheyd, who started to write his poems in his childhood¹⁰¹⁰, published his favorite poems in *et-Tevabi*’ ve *‘z-zevabi*. Besides, the poems that he recited for various occasions but did not publish in his pamphlets, were past to present by Andalusian authors. Charles Pellat, who has valuable studies on Andalusia Arab Literature, published the complete works of Ibn Suheyd in a study entitled *Divanu Ibn Suheyd*. The poems in this work are composed of seventy five separate parts¹⁰¹¹ and enable the readers to analyze and evaluate Ibn Suheyd as a poet without sticking to any biographers and critics’ views. Some biographers and critics have not been able to evaluate Ibn Suheyd as it ought to be except for asserting some short and obscure ideas. But it should be also stated that, authors and researchers, who have spoken of Ibn Suheyd, have usually appreciated his talent in prose and poetry. For instance Ibn Hayyan made comments about Ibn Suheyd as in the following quotation:

“Ebu Amir would say what he wants to say without being wordy. If his clarity in speech is taken into consideration, one may overestimate his talent and art in declamation as if he is the Abdulhamid and Cahiz of that term. One thing wondrous about him is the fact that he was able to say something through his impulsive nature using his talent in prose and poetry in his own way without sticking to books and any requests. His poems are admired by the critics. He recited poem in the way of poets who had brilliant talent. He arrived at their perfection and he didn’t fall behind them.”¹⁰¹²

Ibn Bessam explicated Ibn Suheyd with the following glowing words:

¹⁰¹⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 26; *Dîvân*, p. 121; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/219; Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *el-Andalus*, XXIX/279.

¹⁰¹¹ See. Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 185.

¹⁰¹² See. Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/192.

“Ebu Amir, the child of Cordoba, is the supreme level and the beginning of an aim that is dreamed and desired to be achieved by everyone. He is the basic element of life, the real self of truth, the life source of Cordoba and the dignified governors of Cordoba. He was the unique pearl of the world, the one that flabbergasted the night and day, the meaning of the names and epithets of Cordoba. He was like a cooing pigeon when he was cheerful and like a ferocious roaring lion when he was serious. His poetry is like the pearls on a neck and his prose is like a cinnamon mixed musk. He has unique words that are sharp like spearheads attacking hearts without hurting bodies.”¹⁰¹³

Although praising the beauty of these works, Muhammed b. Kasim¹⁰¹⁴ claimed as “We can see that in his poems he plagiarized a lot from other eastern poets¹⁰¹⁵. It is just like that he was doing this on purpose”.

As is evident, it unfair to come up with a decision about Ibn Suheyd depending on these critics. They may have failed to evaluate his literary potential correctly since they didn’t bother to examine his literary work in great detail.

Today’s researchers and critics have put forward widely differing ideas about Ibn Suheyd’ literary characteristics. For instance, Hannâ el-Fâhûrî writes about him as follows:

“Hannâ el-Fâhûrî excessively imitated the poems of his predecessors in subject and style. Especially, he has an inclination towards Abbasids period.”¹⁰¹⁶

Ömer Ferrûh opts for parallel ideas and writes “we see that he quotes many topics from eastern poets. Furthermore, he did it on purpose.”¹⁰¹⁷

¹⁰¹³ See. Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/191-92.

¹⁰¹⁴ About Ebû Bekr Muhammed b. Kâsim, also known as “İşkihbât”, there is no information except *ez-Zehîre*. See. . Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/230.

¹⁰¹⁵ See. Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/230.

¹⁰¹⁶ el-Fâhûrî, *el-Câmi*’, p. 913.

¹⁰¹⁷ Ferruh, *Târîhu ’l-edebi ’l-Arabî*, IX/455.

Ihsan Abbas tells about the claim that Ibn Suheyd made a plagiarism:

“The claim that Ibn Suheyd made a plagiarism in the poems emanates from envy. He was a person who tries to invent and find the new. It doesn’t mean that he is doing a plagiarism because he is using the subjects of the old poets. He was making additions to what he had used and he was creating new meanings and new configurations. There is no one else like him about creativeness not only in Andalusia but probably among all the easterner poets.”¹⁰¹⁸

Ahmet Dayf, who made an important study about the prosers of Andalusia, says that; “The reader finds a new spirit of poem in the poems of Ibn Suheyd. The prevalence of the poet over the meanings and his talent in using them can obviously be seen. It is like he is telling his poems without thinking and with no difficulty¹⁰¹⁹. By telling these; he is drawing attention to Ibn Suheyd’s talent in poetry.

Ahmet Heykel is also recording these about the literary personality of Ibn Suheyd:

“The poem of Ibn Suheyd is attaining his handling the old with the new methods, his reflecting of his environment and the century, his using a style of story and mutual speaking, the easiness of the words and the styles and by the clarity of the meanings.”¹⁰²⁰

Van Gelder, one of the Western oriental researchers, after telling that the poetic talent of Ibn Suheyd is superior to his other talents, he had made an evaluation that Ibn Suheyd was very successful in the short poems¹⁰²¹.

On the other hand, Garci Gomez who seriously searched the Andalusian literature, had the following evaluation about the works of Ibn Suheyd:

¹⁰¹⁸ Abbas, *Târîhu’l-edebi’l-Endelüsî*, I/298.

¹⁰¹⁹ Ahmed Dayf, *Belagatu’l-Arab*, p. 46.

¹⁰²⁰ Heykel, *el-Edebu’l-Endelüsî*, p. 327.

¹⁰²¹ Gelder, *Studies in Arabic Literature*, p. 110.

“At the end of the IV century pertaining to the Hegira, Ibn Suheyd and Ebü Muhammed Ibn Hazn and a group of Cordobain young men tried to recover the Andalusian poems from the effect of the East and gave a new style of it. The members of that trend can be called a school. While they were finding out the faults of poets and writers before themselves, at the same time they belittled their works. They were against others who tried to benefit from those works. They brought new regulations and rules without need for any work. One thesis they supported intensively was that a person could become a poet or a writer with endowment only, it could never gained later on”.¹⁰²²

Either Andulus life or Ibn Suheyd literary personality did not confirm Gomez's opinion about that subject. Because it was a well-known fact that the Andalusian poems were the extension of the East poems in many ways. Whatever Ibn Suheyd said it was the reality of confirmation to Gomez when he wrote the poems, he did the opposite and we can see that he followed the Eastern poets in many ways like Andalusia poets.

Many of researches quoted here about Ibn Suheyd did not find him a new style and creative method. In contrast they claim that he took same quotations from the East literature and made copy from the East like other Andalusia poets. Ibn Bessam, who quoted many poems of Ibn Suheyd, did not compared him with the earliest poets. He did not give any opinions as to whether Ibn Suheyd made any quotations or not from the eastern poets in care of meaning and expression. It is necessary to examine the literary works of Ibn Suheyd to come up with a decision about that subject.

1. General Characteristics of the Poem

At the beginning of, *et-Tevâbi' ve'z-zevâbi'* Ibn Suheyd says the followings:

“I had a lot of passions during the early stages of my

¹⁰²² Gomez, *Poesia Arabigo*, p. 60-62.

childhood. This situation put me into trouble. These tendencies never left me. While I was very sad of these events, my best loved person died. I mourned for him in the garden all day long. The doors of that place closed on me. I was left alone and recited a few verses.”¹⁰²³

Perhaps the above phrases “I got to be tied and stopped and got silent” is an establishment designed to give him inspirations and believability to prepare him towards the following parts of the poem. He might have been to be tied in reality as well. But we understand from el-Makkarî that from time to time Ibn Suheyd’ got stuck in some parts of his poems:

“In a get together Ibn Mâkân,¹⁰²⁴ asked Sa’îd¹⁰²⁵ and Ebû Âmir to describe the flower of daffodil but two of them went to be tied and stuck. While they were in this poor state, Zuheyri¹⁰²⁶ who was the student of Ebu’l-Alâ’ (d. 410/1019)¹⁰²⁷ came in. Zuheyri was illiterate but he was very good at verbal poems. They told him what happened. He, laughing, said these verses. “What is happening these two writers? They are getting deprived from all heaven beauties.”¹⁰²⁸

From the above statements, we can not deduce that while illiterate people were so capable of saying such good verses, how come such famous poets get into that poor stage, in fact can not be said to be unable to say those verses. In his eulogy he presented to el-Mu’temen,¹⁰²⁹ he depicts the beautiful gardens of Cordoba with great wit. The recent critique Ahmed Dayf evaluates the eulogy of Ibn Suheyd and says: “Besides readers find a new point of view in these eulogies due to the effect of Ebû

¹⁰²³ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi’*, p. 88-89; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/246-47.

¹⁰²⁴ Ebû Abdillâh Ibn also known as Ibn Fâkân is a poet and an author from Andalusia. See. el-Makkarî, *Nefhu’t-tîb*, III/76.

¹⁰²⁵ We don’t know any information about this person except his name who is probably a poet of the term and a friend of Ibn Suheyd. See. el-Makkarî, *Nefhu’t-tîb*, III/76.

¹⁰²⁶ About a famous author and poet Ebu’l-Alâ Sa’îd b. Hasan el-Lugavî who immigrated from East to Andalusia in the term of Hişâm b. el-Hakem. See. el-Makkarî, *Nefhu’t-tîb*, III/76.

¹⁰²⁷ We couldn’t get any information about this person who is mentioned as Zubeyrî or Zehrî. See. el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, s. 240-44; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu’t-tîb*, III/76.

¹⁰²⁸ el-Makkarî, *Nefhu’t-tîb*, III/77.

¹⁰²⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 150-56.

Nuvâs, they also witness that the poet expresses his feelings without feeling any difficulty in these poems. Contrary to most poets, who usually do general descriptions, Ibn Suheyd reflected the picture of everything with the simplest detail as a painter.¹⁰³⁰ Later on while Ahmed Dayf mentioned the ability of vasf of Ibn Suheyd, he says: “Ibn suheyd depicted the poets and writers he was interested as a picture including every details.”¹⁰³¹

Ibn Bessâm also said: “Ebû Âmir competed with the prominent writers of Baghdat with the exhibition of his great talents and power”. He tried to handle very nice meanings and to express them with great intelligence.¹⁰³² After saying this, he noted that Ibn Suheyd depicted the bees¹⁰³³, fleas¹⁰³⁴, mosquitoes¹⁰³⁵ and foxes¹⁰³⁶ and then he quoted from his poetic works. Then he also indicated this: “These are such depictions that anyone wants to do the same they get toque-tied, legs totter and fall over.”¹⁰³⁷ These are the praises that he did for Ibn Suheyd.

In the end of *et-Tevâbi’ ve’z-zevâbi’* Ibn Suheyd in a get together of fairies he joined the debate of İmru’u’l-Kays for the first time:

سَمَوْتُ إِلَيْهَا بَعْدَ مَا نَامَ أَهْلُهَا سُمُو حَبَابِ الْمَاءِ خَالًا عَلَى حَالٍ

“After her family went to sleep, I went to her as the water gets into from shape to shape when flows, I also got into the same position.”¹⁰³⁸

Ibn Suheyd claimed that Ömer b. Ebî Rabi’a (d. 93/711),¹⁰³⁹

¹⁰³⁰ Ahmed Dayf, *Belagatu’l-Arab*, p. 46.

¹⁰³¹ Ahmed Dayf, *Belagatu’l-Arab*, p. 51.

¹⁰³² Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/219.

¹⁰³³ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 141; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/219.

¹⁰³⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi’*, p. 125-26; *Dîvân*, p. 38; es-Sa’âlibî, *Yetîmetu’d-dehr*, II/46; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/219.

¹⁰³⁵ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/219.

¹⁰³⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi’*, p. 126-27; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/219.

¹⁰³⁷ Bk. Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/219.

¹⁰³⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi’*, p. 126-27; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/219.

¹⁰³⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi’*, p. 126-27; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/219.

repeated the verses of İmru'u'l-Kays and his had himself to shown up.¹⁰⁴⁰

وَنَفَضْتُ عَنِّي النَّوْمَ أَقْبَلْتُ مِثْيَةَ الْ
حُبَابِ وَرُكْنِي خِيفَةَ الْقَوْمِ أَرْوَرُ

“I shook the sleep from myself, with the fear of relatives, I visited Hubâb.”¹⁰⁴¹

Later on İsmail b. Yesâr (d. 130/748)¹⁰⁴² discussed the verses of him on the plot of going somewhere kneeling and stalking, he implied they were nicely copied examples.¹⁰⁴³

لَمَّا تَسَامَى النَّجْمُ فِي أَفْقِهِ وَلَا حَتَّ الْجَوَزَاءُ وَالْمِرْزَمُ
أَقْبَلْتُ وَالْوُطَى خَفِيقٌ كَمَا يَنْسَابُ مِنْ مَكْمَنِهِ الْأَرْقَمُ

“I went with slow steps like stars rise and get into Gemini, and snakes creeping and getting into their holes.”¹⁰⁴⁴

After showing up the two poets, Ibn Suheyd implied how expertly he himself used the same techniques in the following verses.

وَلَمَّا تَمَلَّأَ مِنْ سُكْرِهِ فَتَنَامَ وَتَامَتْ عُيُونُ الْعَسَسِ
دَنُوتٌ إِلَيْهِ عَلَى بُعْدِهِ دَنُوتٌ رَفِيقٌ دَرَى مَا التَّمَسِ

For further information about Ömer b. Abdillâh b. Ebî Râbi who is accepted the Pioneer of the type of “Hadari” gazelle. See. Ibn Kutaybe, *eş-Şi'r ve's-su'arâ*, s. 131-34; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, V/211; Blachere, *Târihu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, s. 747-763; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, I/292-302; Zeydan, *Târihu'l-adâbi'l-lugati'l-arabiyye*, I/281-83; Şevki Dayf, *Târihu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, I/349-54; Kehhâle, *Mu'cemu'l-müellifîn*, VII/204.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/286; es-Safedî, *el-Vâfi*, V/145.

¹⁰⁴¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 135; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/286.

¹⁰⁴² About İsmail b. Yesâr en-Nisâî originally from Persia from the period of Omayyad. See. Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/286 ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, I/328; Brockelmann, *GAL, Suppl.*, I/95.

¹⁰⁴³ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/287.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 126-27; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/219.

وَأَسْمُو إِلَيْهِ سُمُو النَّفْسِ	أَدْبُ إِلَيْهِ دَبِيبَ الْكَرَى
إِلَى أَنْ تَبَسَّمَ ثَغْرُ الْغُلَسِ	وَبِثُّ بِهِ لَيْلَتِي نَاعِمًا
وَأَرَشُفُ مِنْهُ سَوَادَ اللَّعْسِ	أُقْبَلُ مِنْهُ بَيَاضَ الطُّلَا

“After getting blind drunk, he and security guides went to sleep deeply”.

“Instead of his distance, I approached him in the manner of a friend knowing what he wants.”

“I slowly approach him like the sleep and got into him like a breath.”

“All that night I kissed her white neck and sucked her dark colored lips.”¹⁰⁴⁵

In this poem, Ibn Suheyd tried to overtake Īmru’u’l-Kays, Ōmer b. Râbi’a and Īsmail b. Yesâr with whom he got into a competition. These poets lived before Ibn Suheyd and in their poems they handled the themes of silent approach and kneeling. As Ibn Suheyd remarks, these themes were first used by Īmru’u’l-Kays and the other two poets imitated him. The point we detect here is that while it is true that these themes were first dealt with by Īmru’u’l-Kays but Ibn Suheyd was the first to take the same themes and brought them from abstract to concrete. In other words, he realized the action of approach without kneeling, stalking and forwarding. While he took the poem of Īmru’u’l-Kays when he worked on “meaning”, he got the way of harshly expressions of illiteracy out and put it into a more literate and up to date shape. In the evaluation of his poems from this point of view, we clearly see that he overtook his masters and brought the poem to this state as he claims in his writings as well.

When we examine the poems of Ibn Suheyd, we see that he handled the

¹⁰⁴⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi’*, p. 136; *Dîvân*, p. 85; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/287; Ibn Sa’îd, *Unvânu’l-murakkasât*, p. 20; *er-Râyât*, p. 42.

subjects which were already studied by his precedents. Even if this was the case, he took the old and put it into a more modern style with different types of expression. For example, in the following poem of him he focused on swords and spears as the previous poets did, but he looked at them with a more up to date way and adopted them to his own age:

“I have a sword under my arm both sides of which are sharp.”

“These two have been my companions from my youth on, whenever I fell over, they stand me up.”

“With the first, nobility, with the second, the food is earned.”¹⁰⁴⁶

In another poem of him, he uses the art of comparison of rain and clouds and adds some obscenity as follows:

وَقَدْ فَعَرَّتْ فَاهَا بِهَا كُلَّ زَهْرَةٍ إِلَى كُلِّ ضَرْعٍ لِلْعَمَامَةِ حَافِلِ
وَمَرَّتْ جُبُوشُ الْمُزْنِ رَهْوًا كَانَهَا عَسَاكِرُ رَنْجٍ مُدْهَبَاتُ الْمَنَازِلِ

“The clouds on the hill opened their mouths as if they are trying to reach to the breasts full of milk.”¹⁰⁴⁷

When he was in the presence of Ibn Zekvân, he described the fresh bean as follows:

جَازَ ابْنُ دَكْوَانَ فِي مَكَارِمِهِ حُدُودَ كَغَبٍ وَمَا بِهِ وَصِيفًا
قَدَّمَ دُرَّ الرِّيَاضِ مُنْتَخَبًا مِنْهُ لِأَفْرَاسٍ مَدَجِهِ عَلَفًا
أَكَلَ ظَرِيفٍ وَطَعُمُ ذِي أَدَبٍ وَالْفُولُ يَهْوَاهُ كُلُّ مَنْ ظَرَفَا

“In the matter of generousness, Ibn Zekvân passed the

¹⁰⁴⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 137; *Divân*, p. 57; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/250.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 112; *Divân*, p. 129; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/265.

boundaries the Kâb¹⁰⁴⁸ and the thing he was mentioned.”

“Choosing the pearls of gardens, he offered them to the horses praising him.”

“Broad bean is the food of kind and modest people, everybody with delicacy like it.”¹⁰⁴⁹

“A group of his friend told Ibn Suheyd these: “Hey Ebu Amir! You are pulling and getting strange and funny things. But when you say nice things and put something good forward, you boast and imply greatness. Now we want you to describe the assembly we are in. But their desire here was nothing but forcing a person to do the thing that he normally can not. Because anybody dealing with bad meanings, can not display a favored thing no matter how hard he tries. Yet it disturbs the ears to listen to the depiction of the assembly they were in at that moment. In this place where a rug was on the floor, it was impossible to say or invent anything.”¹⁰⁵⁰ In such a situation, Ibn Suheyd said the following verses:

“All of the young people who are beautiful like a star, are poets.”

“The people in this community wanted me to leave pride and hubris.”

“It was appearing a blood sea which flowed like a flood under the rugs in that council.”

“and our enchanted seemed lost over him and doesn’t know where to go, they were like a boat which hasn’t got a guide, search the coast.”¹⁰⁵¹

The poem which was said by him, won great appreciation by the people in the council. Ibn Suheyd left with a great pride. He met with someone

¹⁰⁴⁸ Ka’b that Ibn Suheyd mentioned here is Ümâme el-Eyâdi’ that is actually became famous about generosity

¹⁰⁴⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 98; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu ’t-tîb*, III/245.

¹⁰⁵⁰ el-Makkarî, *Nefhu ’t-tîb*, III/245.

¹⁰⁵¹ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 123-24; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu ’t-tîb*, III/245.

who carries a basket which is full of artichoke, wants him to give the artichoke. Hereupon Ibn Suheyd said that poem:

هَلْ أَبْصَرْتَ عَيْنَاكَ يَا خَلِيلِي	قَنَافِدًا تُبَاغِي فِي زَنْبِيلٍ؟
مِنْ حَرَشَفٍ مُعْتَمِدٍ جَلِيلٍ	ذِي إِبْرٍ تَنْفُذُ جِلْدَ الْفِيلِ
نَقْلُ السَّخِيفِ الْمَائِقِ الْجَهُولِ	وَأَكْلُ قَوْمٍ نَازِحِي الْعُقُولِ
أُقْسِمُ لَأَطْعَمْتُهَا أَكِيلِي	وَلَا طَعَمْتُهَا عَلَى شَمُولِ

“hi fellow, have your eyes ever seen a hedgehog which is sold in a zenbil?”

“these are very strong artichokes, their strong needles drill strong elephant skin.”

“The snack of chump, uneducated and empty-headed people are the food of confused people.”

“I swear, Neither I give it to my guest, Nor I put it in my mouth during whole life.”¹⁰⁵²

We mention these verses, as Ihsan Abbas said, it shows the ability to improvise and having always ready answer of Ibn Suheyd.¹⁰⁵³

Ibn Suheyd didn't get his fame just only such poems. He considered compliment, boast description and except those ones in his poems obviously, without imitating any poet and didn't follow any century before himself.

One of determinations about Ibn Suheyd, his literacy pleasures changes in the course of time. One of the biggest features of Ibn Suheyd's traveling to elfins world, make animals talk from time to time,¹⁰⁵⁴ definitely he improvised his poems according to pleasure of that time. He

¹⁰⁵² Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 136-37; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu 't-tîb*, III/246.

¹⁰⁵³ Abbas, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/297.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi* ', p. 148; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/297.

knew and familiarized with this while doing this. Beyond this, he didn't refuse the past and didn't break off connection with the past.

Ibn Suheyd, mentioned obviously in his pamphlet that he wrote to Mu'temen. He didn't break off connection with the past.¹⁰⁵⁵

He is preparing a discussion topic in order to show his ability in poem after he mentioned nesib and medh subjects in his pamphlet.

"If anyone who attacks nesip episode of this poem,' doubtless kings aren't welcomed with such poems, adults didn't accept such poems' says, we say as a answer: actually this person says in this way, because he doesn't know the important people and their books. If I wanted to tell what is going on beside these people, how is behaved to those people and the ways of reaching those people, I would wrote lost of papers and books. I settled for interesting a short address about this topic."¹⁰⁵⁶

Ibn Bessam doesn't give detail information, later He cites reading poems which belong to Ibn Suheyd.

دَيْكُ فَتْنَبْ أَوْ تَوْبُ وَأَنْصَحَ الْقَلْبَ بِمَاءِ الْعِنَبِ

"Cock called for morning prayer,¹⁰⁵⁷ so come yourself and pray, wash your heart with grape water."

In the first verse of Ibn Suheyd's ode given beloved¹⁰⁵⁸, we see the expertise in his poetry. We witness how easily he played with words, changed meanings, conversed from bad to good or versus. In his following verses,

وَتَأْمَلْ آيَةً مُعْجِزَةً مَا قَرَأْنَا مِثْلَهَا فِي الْكُتُبِ
رَكَعَ الْإِبْرِيْقُ مِنْ طَاعَتِهِ وَبَكَى فَابْتَلَّ تَوْبُ الْأَكْوَبِ

¹⁰⁵⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 77; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/209.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/210.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 28; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/210.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 28.

“Think deeply about a miracle which doesn’t appear on books.”

“Tray kneeled down to pray and cried.¹⁰⁵⁹ Then, clothes of cups got drenched.”

He used mutual conversations as a style as he did in his many poems in addition to about love ones.

“I made fire for night walkers. Two walkers saw this fire as two lights under the star of Süreyya.”

“One came, frozen without any strength to avoid these pains.”

“I told him to come to fire. Then he replied, no fire if no smog.”¹⁰⁶⁰

What is interesting about this book is Ibn Suheyd’s move of this story¹⁰⁶¹ from Arabic peninsula to Spain Peninsula.

2. Themes in His Poems

a. Descriptive poems

The most significant feature of Andalusian poetry is its descriptive characteristics, especially natural descriptions. Ibn Suheyd depicted natural views in his poems in addition to visual descriptions. Ahmed Dayf tells Ibn Suheyd’s descriptive talents as;

“Ibn Suheyd doesn’t depict description with general lines as many do so, he puts the object to be described like an artist and describes it with the smallest details.”¹⁰⁶²

Verses below in an ode written for Mu’temen show his talent:

¹⁰⁵⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 28; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/210.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 167; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/311.

¹⁰⁶¹ Heykel, *el-Edebu’l-Endelüsî*, p. 375.

¹⁰⁶² Ahmed Dayf, *Belagatu’l-Arab*, p. 46.

“Wind shook the clouds in a stormy weather.”

“It rained until morning while flowers were sleeping.”

“Then flowers there fed by water¹⁰⁶³ like flowers among waves.”

“We saw the early clouds watering with horizon drops.”

“Then these clouds passed over us like stars”.¹⁰⁶⁴

In the following verses, he depicts the relation between wind, cloud and rain skillfully.

وَمُرْتَجِزٍ أَلْقَىٰ بِيَدِي الْأَثَلِ كُلُّكُلًا وَحَطَّ بِجَرِّ عَاءِ الْأَبَارِقِ مَا حَطًّا
سَعَىٰ فِي قِيَادِ الرِّيحِ يُسْمِحُ لِلصَّبَا فَأَلْقَتْ عَلَىٰ غَيْرِ التَّلَاعِ بِهِ مِرْطًا
وَمَا زَالَ يُرَوَّى الثُّرْبَ حَتَّىٰ كَسَا الرُّبَىٰ دَرَانِكَ وَالْغَيْطَانَ مِنْ نَسْجِهِ بُسْطًا
وَعَنْتَ لَهُ رِيحٌ تُسَاقِطُ قَطْرُهُ كَمَا نَثَرْتُ حَسَنَاءُ مِنْ جِيدِهَا سِمْطًا

“Slowly moving cloud unloaded its load over dense forests and it rained over bumpy area.”

“They were drawn bowing to wind and covered the land like a clothes covers body.”

“It continued to rain until making savannas a carpet and flowers cover the hills.”

“Wind bowed and drops of the cloud fell on near the beautiful jeweler of a girl.”¹⁰⁶⁵

While describing night, he used stars names.

وَرَعِيْتُ مِنْ وَجْهِ السَّمَاءِ خَمِيلَةً خَضِرَاءَ لَاحِ الْبَدْرِ مِنْ غُدْرَانِهَا

¹⁰⁶³ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/199.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 28; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/211.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 88; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/277.

وَكَاثِمًا الْجَوَزَاءَ رَاعِي ضَانِهَا وَكَانَ نَثَرَ النَّجْمِ ضَانٌّ وَسُطَّهَا
 نَثَرْتُ فَرَايْدَهُ يَدَا دَبْرَانِهَا وَكَانَمَا فِيهِ الثَّرَيَّا جَوْهَرٌ
 نَزَلْتُ بِأَعْلَى النَّسْرِ مِنْ وَلَدَانِهَا وَكَانَمَا الشَّعْرَى عَقِيلَةً مَعْشِرٌ

“there shined such a savanna on heaven that, full moon appeared in the lakes.”

“Stars were like sheep among them; then a Gemini was a shepherd with them.”

“Star of Süreyya was like a jeweler, Taurus grasped its jewelleryes.”

“Star of Sara was so high that it was like a tribe woman impossible to reach.”¹⁰⁶⁶

Applying for this way of depiction and simile, it affects the fluency of the poems badly, though slightly. For instance, when we examine his qasida, we see that he uses the letter of “kaf” once, “kema” once and “keenema” three times and “kema”¹⁰⁶⁷ eight times.

In the verses below he wants to reveal the darkness of the night with a very peculiar metaphor.

وَبَيْنَمَا نُرَاعِي اللَّيْلَ لَمْ يَطْوِ بُرْدَهُ وَلَمْ يَجِرْ شَيْبِ الصَّبْحِ فِي فِرْعِهِ وَخَطَا
 تَرَاهُ كَمَلِكِ الزَّنَجِ فِي فَرْطِ كِبَرِهِ إِذَا رَامَ مَشْيًا فِي تَبَخُّثِهِ أَبْطَا
 مُطْلَأًا عَلَى الْآفَاقِ وَالْبَدْرِ تَاجُهُ وَقَدْ عَلَّقَ الْجَوَزَاءُ مِنْ أُذُنِهِ قُرْطَا

“We sat in pitch black without the interference of the daylight”

“You would think that night was the king of the blacks who walks slowly because of his pride when he wants to walk.”

¹⁰⁶⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 170-71; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/206.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 150-56; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/199-203.

“The moon wearing a crown and Gemini being earrings on its ears covers the entire horizon.”¹⁰⁶⁸

In another poem he depicts his anger and fierce without dropping a tear.

“When we reveal our grief with tear to our enemies who nest grudge against us, we order our eyelids to keep the tears in order to upset the people who are looking for and blaming us.”

“Our pearl-like tears remained bewildered in our eyes.”

“Since our tears were afraid of envy people, they refused to come out, they lined up like pearls in our eyelids.”¹⁰⁶⁹

In the same poem the smile of the eyes are depicted with a highly elevated simile art like this:

“Our generous eyes smiled so much that the smile of the mouths were not fancied.”¹⁰⁷⁰

As we said before his love towards Cordoba was above everything. After he declined Mu'temen's invitation to Belensiye¹⁰⁷¹, he wrote a poem depicting his loyalty¹⁰⁷² to Cordoba.

Ibn Suheyd, in order to show his superior talent on depiction he depicted some animals, which wasn't a popular thing those times. When depicting the flea, he doesn't portrait only the animal itself, he also describes its world and lays out everything in detail.

وَمُنْفَرٍ لِلنَّوْمِ مَسْكُنُهُ إِذَا نَامَ الْمَمْلُوكُ بَيْنَ أَثْنَاءِ النَّيَابِ
يَسْرِي إِلَى الْأَجْسَامِ يَهْتِكُ غَدُوَّهُ عَنْ كُلِّ جِسْمٍ صَيْغَ بِالنُّعْمَى حِجَابٌ

¹⁰⁶⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 88; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/277.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 139-140; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/322.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 139-140; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/322.

¹⁰⁷¹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 15; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/207-208.

¹⁰⁷² Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 177; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/208.

كَفَّ وَلَكِنْ فَوْهُ مِنْ أَعْدَى الْحَرَابِ	وَيَعِضُّ أَرْدَافَ الْحِسَانِ وَمَا لَهُ
مُنْدَلِّ مَا بَيْنَ الْأَحَاطِ الْكَعَابِ	مُنْحَكِّمْ فِي كُلِّ جِسْمٍ نَاعِمٍ
يَنْثِيهِ عَمَّا قَدْ تَعُوذُهُ طِلَابُ	فَإِذَا هَمَمْتَ بِزَجْرِهِ وَلَّى وَلَا
يَدِمُ الْقُلُوبِ وَمَا تَعَاوَرَهُ خِصَابُ	وَتَرَى مَوَاضِعَ عَضِّهِ مَخْضُوبَةً
يَمْشِي الْبَرَارَ وَمَا تُوَارِيهِ ثِيَابُ	قَرَمَ مِنَ اللَّيْلِ الْبَهِيمِ مُكَوَّرَ
أَخْرَى وَأَهْوَنُ مِنْ دُبَابٍ فِي ثَرَابِ	عَظُمَتْ رَزِيئَتُهُ وَلَكِنْ قَدْرُهُ

“If it is in the clothes, it makes people hate sleeping.”

“It disturbs the life of the people whose skins it jumps into.”

“It bites the shoulders of beautiful girls with its sharp mouth sharper than spears though it doesn’t have hands.”

“It does anything on the smooth skins and it is spoiled by the girls gaze.”

“If you kick it of it will run away, but never gives up its desire that it is used to.”

“You can see the place where it bit in the color of blood red.”

“It is a part of pitch dark. It is circular. Walks in the emptiness, it doesn’t have horses or clothes.”

“The badness of it is enormous, but the value of it is blower than a bug”.¹⁰⁷³

b. Self- Praise Poems

Ibn Suheyd never avoided praising himself and his ancestry. But he never devoted his poems only for praising himself and his family.

¹⁰⁷³ Ibn Suheyd, *Divân*, p. 38; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/219.

It scattered his self-praising poems among his casual poems. In the journey to the realm of the genies he boasted about his tribe in front of Ebu Nuvas' people.

“Suheyd belongs to the highest rank of Eşca¹⁰⁷⁴ tribe in nobility.”

“When something happens they are the ones who lead. And they are the Bedouin Arabs on the noble horses.”¹⁰⁷⁵

In this poem which he devoted to Ibn Hazm he boasts about his family like this.

إِذَا نَحْنُ أَسْتَدْنَا إِلَيْهَا تَبَلَّجَتْ مَوَارِدُنَا عَنْ نَيِّرَاتِ الْمَصَادِرِ

“Should we attempt to search our origin, our nobility will be revealed.”¹⁰⁷⁶

In the booklet written to Mu'temen he didn't behave balanced when he was boasting:

أَنَا طَوْدُهَا الرَّاسِي إِذَا مَا زَلْزَلَتْ أَيْدِي الْحَوَادِثِ مِنْ فُؤَادِ جَبَانِهَا
وَعَلَيَّ لِلصَّبْرِ الْجَمِيلِ مُفَاضَةٌ زَعَفُ أَقْلٍ بِهَا شَبَابَةُ سِنَانِهَا
وَالنَفْسُ نَفْسٌ مِنْ شَهِيدٍ سِنْحَا سِنْحٌ عَدَّتْ مِنْهُ الْعُلَا بِلَبَانِهَا
مَا أَحْوَلَ نَحْوِي لِحَظٍ مُقْلَةٍ سَاخِطٍ إِلَّا وَضَعْتُ السَّهْمَ فِي إِنْسَانِهَا
مَدَحَ الْمُلُوكِ وَكَانَ أَيْضًا مِنْهُمْ وَلَقَدْ يَرَى وَالشَّعْرُ مِنْ دُوبَانِهَا

“When the hands of the events shook the heart of the coward, I am an unshakeable supreme mountain.”

“There is an everlasting patience amour on me that protects me from the sharp sword.”

¹⁰⁷⁴ For further information about “Eşca” family that Ibn Suheyd is a member of it, See. Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 36; Ibnu'l-Esîr, *el-Lubâb*, I/64.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 36; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/258.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 71; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/293.

“Suheyd is a dignified person. That actual self has such a root that the upper parts feed themselves from the root’s milk.”

“No angry eye can look askance at me. If it looks, I ‘ll place the arrow on his pupil.”

“He boasted the emperors. However he was one of them. He can be seen in the rank of the emperors when his poems in the council. ¹⁰⁷⁷”

In the couplets below where he presents the character he was proud of, he makes a display of one's knowledge:

وما أَلَانَ قَنَاتِي غَمْرُ حَادِيَةٍ	ولا اسْتَحَفَّ بِحِلْمِي قَطُّ إِنْسَانُ
أَمْضِي عَلَى الْهَوْلِ قُدَمًا لَا يَنْهِنُهُنِي	وَأُنْتِنِي لِسَفِيهِ وَهُوَ حَرْدَانُ
ولا أَقَارِضُ جَهْلًا بِجَهْلِهِمْ	والأمر أَمْرِي والأَيامُ أَعْوَانُ
أُهِيبُ بِالصَّبْرِ وَالشَّحْنَاءِ ثَائِرَةً	وَأَكْظِمُ الْعَيْظَ وَالْأَحْقَادُ نِيرَانُ
وما لِسَانِي عِنْدَ الْقَوْمِ ذُو مَلَقٍ	ولا مَقَالِي إِذَا مَا قُلْتُ إِذْهَانُ
ولا أَفْوَءُ بِغَيْرِ الْحَقِّ خَوْفَ أَخِي	وإن تَأَخَّرَ عَنِّي وَهُوَ غَضْبَانُ
إنَّ الْقُوَّةَ فَاعْلَمْ حَدُّ مَطْلِبِهَا	عَرِضٌ نَقِيٌّ وَنَطَقٌ فِيهِ تَبَيَّنَانُ
بِالْعِلْمِ يَفْخَرُ يَوْمَ الْحَفْلِ حَامِلُهُ	وَبِالْعَفَافِ عَدَاةُ الْجَمْعِ يَزْدَانُ

“Bad events could not weaken me, and nobody underestimated my tolerance.”

“I walk directly towards the dreadful events, and nothing can keep me from doing so. Although my enemy is very angry, I...”

“I do not talk to uneducated people. I do my work by myself. The days are my helpmates.”

“I call patience when the hospitality rises in rebellion. I bottle up my anger when the hatred becomes fire.”

¹⁰⁷⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *Dīvân*, p. 171-72; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/206-207.

“My tongue is not slimy among the people. When I speak, my words are not flattering.”

“Even if I know that you will leave me, I do not say anything except the truths to my brother.”

“To be a brave, trustworthy, and leader, the only thing you need is innocent race and a tongue that tells the plain truth.”¹⁰⁷⁸

c. His Eulogies

Among the themes that Ibn Suheyd is good at eulogy theme comes first. According to us, he was equal to the poets from the east in that respect. However he has not many poem of that type. We think that his pride prevented him from praising emperors. Moreover, in four odes from the booklet written to Mu'temen, he sometimes praises Mu'temen and Amiris which he sincerely appertained to. In the following verses, he utters his adherence as follows;

من عَامِرٍ أَصْبَحْتُ مِنْ أَغْصَانِهَا	وَقَضْتُ بِعِزِّ نَفْسٍ مِنْ دَوْحَةٍ
أُغْمِدُنْ نَصْلَ الصُّبْحِ رَهْجَانِهَا	وَرَمَى الْعَذَا بِكَتَائِبِ مَلِي الْفَضَا
يُنْسِيكَ مُؤَخَّرُهَا الْإِتْمَاحَ لِبَانِهَا	مِنْ كُلِّ سَلْهَنَةٍ تَطِيرُ بِأَرْبَعِ
وَكَانَهُمْ نَشَأُوا عَلَى عَسَانِهَا	نَشَأُوا بِزَاهِرَةِ الْمُلُوكِ وَمَائِهَا

“Amir Tree of which I am one of the branches dominated my self-esteem.”

“They sent so many people towards them that cloud of dust they raised covered morning light.”

“The horses they ride are so strong that they run as if they fly. Their backs make you forget the brightness of breasts.”

¹⁰⁷⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *Divân*, p. 165-66.

“They were grown up by the kings’ stock of grain and water. They were grown up in his wild youth.”¹⁰⁷⁹

While praising el-Ceziri, the vizier who helped Ibn Suheyd and died when he was twelve years old, Ibn Suheyd glorified him with a simile as follows;

هَزَزْتُكَ فِي نَصْرِي ضَحَىٰ فَكَأَنَّنِي هَزَزْتُ قَدْ جُنْتُ الْجِبَالَ حِرَائِهَا

“I shook you up to help me in the midmorning. I shook him up as if I came to Hira from the mountains.”¹⁰⁸⁰

While praising one of his best friends Ebu Muhammed Ibn Hazm in one of his poems, he points out that he is of Şafii sect as follows:

وَأَنْتَ ابْنُ حَزْمٍ مُنْعَشٍ مِنْ غَثَارِهَا إِذَا مَا شَرِقْنَا بِالْجُدُودِ الْعَوَاثِرِ
فَسَلَّ مِنَ التَّأْوِيلِ فِيهَا مُهَنْدًا أَخُو شَافِعِيَّاتٍ كَرِيمِ الْعَنَاصِرِ
لِمُعْتَزِلِي الرَّأْيِ نَاءٍ عَنِ الْهَدَىٰ بَعِيدِ الْمَرَامِي مُسْتَمِيتِ الْبَصَائِرِ

هُوَ الْمَذَاكِي عَنْ ظُهُورِ الْمَنَابِرِ يُطَالِبُ بِالْهِنْدِيِّ فِي كُلِّ فَنَكَّةٍ

“You are Ibn Hazım! When pleasures dragging to badness slide the rain, you lift us!”

“My brother Şafii member of a noble family, drew his sword of word.”

“He objected to Mu’tezili opinions of which perception vanished and far from truth.”

“At every fight he attacked with his sword and preferred horses’ back to pulpits’ backs.” ¹⁰⁸¹

¹⁰⁷⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 171; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/207.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 20; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/253.

¹⁰⁸¹ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 71; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/293.

Besides these poems we mentioned above, as we marked before, besides Mu'temen¹⁰⁸² there are some poems which praise some rulers who are close to him. such as: Süleyman Musta' in , Muzaffer Ibn Ebi Amir¹⁰⁸³, and III. Hisam.¹⁰⁸⁴

d. Love and (mucun) Obscene Poems

Beside Ibn Suheyd mentioned to the obscenity, mockery, humor, and comedy in the love poems, he hints his love adventures tendency clearly. Other features of these poems, they affirm the points we get, while we're investigating Ibn Suheyd's personality. In the poem which he wrote at a very young age¹⁰⁸⁵, he explained very successfully the mood of a lover person.

"My tears fall, when I see a dove on a branch."

"If the wind moans by my grief, you see me awake turning to left and right by my love."

"One who condemns me for my love! Pull yourself together. If you were in love like me, you wouldn't."

*"My inner man struggled a lot to forget him. But it was very hard."*¹⁰⁸⁶

Especially in his obscenity poems, Ibn Suheyd who looms large to physical beauties, implies his love by mentioning predominantly obscene meanings in the poem below written in Ebu Nuvas' style:

تَشْفٍ مِنْ عَمِّكَ تَبْرِيحَ الصَّدَى	قُلْتُ: هَبْ لِي يَا حَبِيبِي قُبْلَةً
قَانِلًا ثُمَّ أَعْطَانِي الْيَدَا	فَانْتَبَيْتَنِي يَهْتَزُّ مِنْ مَنْكِه

¹⁰⁸² Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 113; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/320.

¹⁰⁸³ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 45; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/303.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 15-17; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, III/520.

Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 15-17; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, III/520.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 21.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 21; es-Sa'âlibî, *Yetîmetu'd-dehr*, II/50.

فَهُوَ إِذَا قَالَ قَوْلًا رَدَّدَا	كَلِمَا كَلَّمَنِي قَبْلُئُهُ
وَارْتَشَافِي التَّغَرَّ مِنْهُ أَدْرَدَا	كَأَدَّ أَنْ يَرْجِعَ مِنْ لَثْمِي لَهُ
قَالَ لِي: يَمْطُلُ ذَكَرْنِي غَدَا	وَإِذَا اسْتَنْجَزْتُ يَوْمًا وَعَدَهُ
عَمَمْتُ صُبْحًا بَلِيلٍ أَسْوَدَا	رَشَاءُ بَلِّ غَادَةٍ مَمْكُورَةٍ
ثُمَّ عَصَبْتُ حُرًّا وَجْهِي عَمَدَا	أَحَحْتُ مِنْ عَصَبَتِي فِي نَهْدِهَا

"I said that: Hey darling! Give me a kiss to overcome my pain of thirst."

"She bowed her head and nodded her shoulder and said no. Then she gave her hand to me."

"She was speaking to me and i was kissing her. For my kissing she was always repeating the same word."

"She would be almost toothless because of my kissing and sucking her lips."

"One day when i reminded her to keep her promise she told me with a delay 'remind it me tomorrow.'"

"She was a beautiful girl like a gazelle child with meaty legs. She covered morning shine with a black darkness."

"She felt pain when i bit her breast and then she bit my cheek on purpose" ¹⁰⁸⁷

Another habit of Ibn Suheyd was passing a word to a girl, messing with them and reciting poems about them. The poem which is about a girl with whom he met by chance at the street, is a good example to this.

"Through a lot of girls with beautiful eyes, a moon encountered to me smiling with white teeth."

¹⁰⁸⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *Divân*, p. 49-50; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/261-62.

“I appeared suddenly in front of her to give myself to her. And she became arrogant and didn’t pay attention to me.”

“And she said: Who spoilt this slave? How could he annoy me?”

“Her gaze started to follow me. And I started to run away from her gaze.”¹⁰⁸⁸

This poem certifies most criticism about Ibn Suheyd’s personality.¹⁰⁸⁹ Although he has a haughty personality, when it comes about women, he puts aside this toughness and he gets down his inner man to a slave’s degree.

In another poem, he expresses his emotions to a Berberi woman:

“She was calling with lisping of a Berberian who makes medicine with the misvak trees’ buds in the desert.”

“She is the one thinking about the past, wrapped to her clothes, and talking about her caravan.”

“The one standing like a sapling, but shaking from top to bottom.”

“I told her some words. And I was the first person that nodding singing for her because of her beauty.”

“She walked to me and I attacked her without surprise like a lion attacking to its gazelle.”¹⁰⁹⁰

e. Wine Poems

Ibn Suheyd does not have many poems related to the theme of wine. It is obviously seen in his poems that he is influenced by Ebu Nuvas. He

¹⁰⁸⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 32; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/309-310.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 21; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/193; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/369; Peres, *La Poesie Andalouse*, p. 108.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 77-78; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/209.

described the councils of beverages and entertainment like this style. This influence sometimes reaches to a point of imitation. Before he does his praise in his pamphlet, he, in one of his eulogies¹⁰⁹¹ he wrote to Mu'temen says like this:

رِقٌّ وَهِيَ فَاهِقَةٌ الْحَلَاقِمُ	وَنَكَاسَتْ فِيهَا الْأَبَا
نَ فَتْرُنْ دَامِيَّةَ الْخَيَاشِمِ	وَكَانَهَا أَظْلَبُ رَعْفُ
بِاللَّهِ وَالْقُضْبُ اللَّوَائِمِ	وَجَرَى بِهَا فَلَكُ الصَّبَا
رِثُ وَالْكُؤُوسُ مِنَ الرِّوَاكِمِ	وَكَانْنَا فِيهَا الْعَفَا
إِلَّا الْإِنَابَةَ لِلْمَحَارِمِ	وَعَلَا بِنَا سُكْرُ أَبِي

“There were so many ewers full to their mouths there”.

“These ewers were like gazelles which had their noses bleeding.”

“When kissing branches were enjoying themselves, the wind passed there.”

“We were as if demons there and the cups were like the angels stoning the demons.”

“We were under an influence of a drunkenness that provoked us to do illicit deeds”.¹⁰⁹²

As it is seen in the poem, he is creating opposite atmospheres by using the words in many different meanings.

The verses below were taken from a wine poem which Ibn Suheyd sang after a night at which he spent in one of the churches in Cordoba:

“I passed the wine mixed with the youth water in the barkeeper’s inn among the young people who were drinking too much.”

¹⁰⁹¹ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 32; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/309-310.

¹⁰⁹² Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 51; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/200.

“He made me swear to drink from his big cup by his look and palm”.

“When the devotion time came, the bell rang and upon this noise, I opened my eyes”.¹⁰⁹³

In his another poem, he is describing a girl which is bearing cups in one of his councils:

شَمُولاً وَمِنْ عَيْنَيْكَ صَرَفَ شَمُولٍ	فَقُلْنَا لِسَاقِيهَا أَدِرْهَا سُلَاقَةً
يَمِيلُ بِهِ الْإِذْلَالُ كُلَّ مَمِيلٍ	فَقَامَ بِكَأْسِهِ مُطِيعًا لِأَمْرِنَا
بِرَأْسِ كَرِيمٍ مِنْهُمْ وَتَلِيلٍ	وَشَعْنَعٍ رَاحِيَةٍ فَمَا زَالَ مَانِلَا

“We told you to mix certain types of wine and serve us this mixture of wine from two fountains.”

“She rose in a coquettish way with a cup in her hand in order to our request.”

“Finally, she mixed the beverages by bowing her beautiful head and graceful neck.”¹⁰⁹⁴

f. Satire Poems

Ibn Bessam is reporting that he did not give place to most of Ibn Suheyd's satire poems in his work.¹⁰⁹⁵ This situation prevents us from having enough information about Ibn Suheyd's satire poems. Besides, his satire poems that reach up to now include ingenuity, courtesy, obscenity, tease and humor. For instance, we can see that he uses these features in a very skillful way when satirizing Ibnu'l Feth¹⁰⁹⁶ and especially he goes too far in his obscenity style.

¹⁰⁹³ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 81; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/20.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 134; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/251.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/547.

¹⁰⁹⁶ It is meant Vizier Ca'fer b. Feth who is one of the friends of Ibnu'l-Faradî is mentioned among the enemies of Ibn Suheyd. See. Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/214.

صَدَّهُمَا مِنْ قِرْدِكَ الْمُصْطَفَى	نَطَحَهُ نَطَاحَ بَرَوْقَيْنِ
وَمَا رَأَى النَّاسُ عَلَى مَا مَضَى	مِنْ قَبْلِهِ قِرْدًا بِقَرْنَيْنِ
قَدْ لَزِمَا جَنْبَيْكَ لَمْ يَبْرَحَا	لَهْفِي عَلَى ضِيْعَةِ جَنْبَيْنِ

“Those two were obstructed by the bumping of the horn of your two selected monkeys.”

“People haven’t seen a horny monkey like this before.”¹⁰⁹⁷

“Those two sat near the both sides of you without like they will never distinguish. I am very sad that the both sides of you were lost.”

He also used his tongue like a sword when he was stirring Ebu Cafer who was tasked with the management of Cordoba by Yahya b. Hummid.

أَبُو جَعْفَرٍ رَجُلٌ كَاتِبٌ	مَلِيحٌ شَبَا الْخَطَّ حُلُوُّ الْخِطَابَةِ
تَمَلًّا شَحْمًا وَأَحْمًا وَمَا	يَلِيْقُ تَمَلُّوهُ بِالْكِتَابَةِ

“Ebu Cafer is a clerk who has a cozy writing and declamation.”

“He is full of fat and meat. And his obesity is not appropriate for being a clerk.”¹⁰⁹⁸

He isn’t also passing over damning the vizier el-Faradi while squabbling one of his enemies, the vizier el-Faradi who had made all his life unbearable and whose devilries he had always been talking about.

نَأَلْتُ سُلَيْمَانَ مِنْهُ رَجُلٌ	مِنْ قَبْلُ وَمَا أُرْجِلْتُ أَبَاهُ
فَاسْتَنْدِرَجَا كَاشِفِي دُجَاهُ	يَا وَيْلَةَ الْمَرْءِ مَا دَهَاهُ
يَا سُخْطَ رَبِّ الْعُلَا عَلَيْهِ	إِذْ أَدَنْتُ الْمُرْتَضَى يَدَاهُ
لَمْ يَبْقَ مِنْ زُمَرَةِ الْمَعَالِي	إِلَّا هَشَامُ الْعُلَا أَخَاهُ
يَا رَبِّ فَاحْرُسْهُ لِي بَعَيْنِ	تَمْنَعُهُ الدَّهْرَ مِنْ أَذَاهُ

¹⁰⁹⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *Dīvān*, p. 175-76; Ibn Bessām, *ez-Zehîre*, I/215.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *Dīvān*, p. 26; Ibn Bessām, *ez-Zehîre*, I/307.

“He caused Suleiman¹⁰⁹⁹ to have the disasters which had not reached to his father before.”

“May the God put his curse upon him. Even Murteza¹¹⁰⁰ had suffering because of him.”

“He killed everybody from that royal family except for Hisam¹¹⁰¹ the brother of Murteza.”

“My God, please protect Hisam¹¹⁰² from his harm forever.”

He shows what he has already done while satirizing the vizier el-Faradi in one of his poems:

وَلَيْسَ كَمَنْحُوسٍ مِنَ الْقَوْمِ مُنْجِسٌ	تَعَاطَمَ حَتَّى قِيلَ لَيْسَ يُنَالُ
أَعَانَتْهُ أَمْوَالٌ تَخَوَّنَ عَيْنَهَا	وَأَعْلَنَتْهُ غُرٌّ سَوْفَةٌ وَسِقَالُ
لَهُ كَغَبٍ تَحْسِبُ لَمْ يُصَاحِبْ بِهِ إِمْرَأًا	عَلَى الدَّهْرِ إِلَّا رَدًّا وَهُوَ خَيَالُ
فَفِي كُلِّ عَصْرٍِ مِنْ عُصُورِ حَيَاتِهِ	تُنْثَلُ عُرُوشٌ أَوْ تَذْكُ جِبَالُ
هُوَ الدَّاءُ فَاصْتَأْصَلَتْهُ تَلْبَسُ جَمَالَهَا	وَدَاءُ كُغُوبِ الْمُنْحَسِرِينَ عُضَالُ

“He was not a person who had the ill-omen but he was the one who jinxed and was highly arrogant.”

“The goods that he had spent helped him and a group of ill-hearted people glorified him.”

“He had such great ill-omen that whenever he had a company, he spread his ill-omen; therefore he was side-lined.”

¹⁰⁹⁹ Indicates to Süleymân b. el-Hakem one of the Andalusia Omayyad caliphes.

¹¹⁰⁰ Indicates to thirteenth of Andalusia Omayyad caliphe IV. Abdurrahman b. Muhammed.

¹¹⁰¹ Indicates to one of the last Andalusia Omayyad caliphes III. Hişâm b. Muhammed.

¹¹⁰² Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 179; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/223.

“In every phase of his life, he caused the thrones and mountains to fall down.”

“He’s an illness and when you get rid of him you can get the joy of life, because the ill-omen of the people like him is like an illness without cure.”¹¹⁰³

While satirizing the people who denigrated him in front of the emperors, he defended himself as mentioned above:

“The people whose fathers were unknown defamed me. I swear that I have no bad sides to be defamed.”¹¹⁰⁴

As we mentioned before, it is difficult to reach a final judgment since we don’t have enough satire numbers, but his satires in prose are more effective than the ones in verse.

g. The Poems of Wisdom

Ibn Suheyd also wrote about religious matters on the last days of his life although he hadn’t written before. In a way, the poem that is below is in relation to the pray for the God for mercy.

أَنْحُنْ طُولَ الْمَدَى هَجُود؟	يَا صَاحِبِي فُمْ فَقَدْ أَطْلُنَا
ما دام من فوقنا الصَّعِيد	فَقَالَ لِي: لَنْ نَقُومَ مِنْهَا
رَحْمَةُ مَنْ بَطْشُهُ شَدِيد	يَا وَيْلَنَا أَنْ تَنْكَبُّنَا
يَا رَبِّ عَفْوًا فَأَنْتَ مَوْلَى	فَقَصَّرَ فِي أَمْرِكَ الْعَبِيد

“Oh, my brother! Wake up, we’ve kept it too long; are we going to be asleep forever?”

“Tell me: we won’t be awake as long as we’ve had this earth upon us.”

¹¹⁰³ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 120; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/223.

¹¹⁰⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 144.

“If God’s mercy is away; then woe to us.”

“My God, please forgive us. There is no doubt that you are the owner of everything and we are your slaves who have failed at obeying your rules.”¹¹⁰⁵

Ibn Suheyd tells the qualities of a virtuous person in the verses below:

أَقْلُ كُلِّ قَلِيلٍ جَدُّ ذِي أَدَبٍ	بَيْنَ الْمَوْرَى وَأَقْلُ النَّاسِ إِخْوَانُ
وَمَا وَجَدْتُ أَحَا فِي الدَّهْرِ يَذْكُرُنِي	إِذَا سَمَا وَعَلَا يَوْمَا بِهِ الشَّانُ
إِنَّ الْكَرِيمَ إِذَا نَابَتْهُ مَخْمَصَةٌ	أَبْدَى إِلَى النَّاسِ شِبْعًا وَهُوَ طَيَّانُ
يَحْنِي الضُّلُوعَ عَلَى مِثْلِ اللَّظِي حُرْقًا	وَالْوَجْهَ غَمْرًا بِمَاءِ الْبِشْرِ مَلَانُ

“The well-mannered ones among the creatures are lesser than little; and the true friends are the least among human beings.”

“During my whole life, I couldn’t find a true friend who still remembered me inspire of his growing fame.”

“The person who has the self-esteem shows himself as if he were not hungry, although it is the opposite.”

“He hides the flame of hunger inside; hence the others can only see the happiness and contentment in his eyes.”¹¹⁰⁶

Here in his verse below, he emphasizes that it is impossible to escape from death:

“I swear on my life that nobody will be able to escape from death no matter how clever and hard-working is he.”

“Although there are a lot of people who fight for him; the death arrow still catches him.”

¹¹⁰⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 47; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/334; Nykl, *Hispano Arabic Poetry*, p. 104.

¹¹⁰⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 163-64.

“In spite of his power, wealth, and horses,¹¹⁰⁷ the death struck Kelbi,¹¹⁰⁸ also.”

We mentioned about his poems that is in relation to the poems of wisdom. When we analyze these poems it can be shown that he was in complete submission.

h. Elegiac Poems

Two elegiac poems of Ibn Suheyd'den reached to our age. The first of them which carries nothing other than ordinary was said on the death of Ibn Zekvân, the Cordoba adjudicator.¹¹⁰⁹:

وَحَلْنَا الصَّبَاحَ الطَّلَقَ لَيْلًا وَإِنَّمَا	هَبَطْنَا خُذَارِيًّا مِنَ الْحُزْنِ كَارِبًا
تَكَلَّمْنَا الدُّجَى لَمَّا اسْتَقَلَّ وَإِنَّا	فَقَدْنَاكَ يَا خَيْرَ الْبَرِيَّةِ نَاعِيًا
وَلَمَّا أَبَى إِلَّا التَّحْمَلَ رَايَا	مَنْحَاهُ أَغْنَى الْكِرَامِ رَكَابًا
يَسِيرُ بِهِ النَّعْشُ الْأَعْرُ وَحَوْلَهُ	أَبَاعِدُ رَاحُوا لِلْمَصَابِ أَقَارِبًا
عَلَيْهِ خَفِيفٌ لِلْمَلَائِكِ أَقْبَلْتُ	تُصَافِحُ شَيْخًا ذَاكَرَ اللَّهِ تَائِبًا

“Since we went deep into blind dark due to our sorrow, we got the bright morning as it were the night.”

“When he died, even the night started to sing the mourning song: We lost you, hey the best of all creatures.”

“Since he did not accept anything but farewell, we endowed him the shoulders of honorable men as vehicle.”

“When his coffin was being taken to the graveyard, people came over and circled him as if they were his relatives.”

¹¹⁰⁷ About el-Kelbî who is an ancestor of a big tribe See. Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 55, 145.

¹¹⁰⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 55; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/55.

¹¹⁰⁹ Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 19.

“When approaching to shake the hand of this holy person who always spoke of the name of Allah, and beg him for mercy, we were about to hear the wing sounds of angels.”¹¹¹⁰

In the same elegy, then he pays his condolence¹¹¹¹ to the brother of Ibn Zekvân.

أَبَا حَاتِمَ صَبْرَ الْأَدِيمِ فَإِنِّي
رَأَيْتُ جَمِيلَ الصَّبْرِ أَحْلَى عَوَاقِبَا
وَمَا زِلْتُ فِيْنَا ثَرْهَبُ الدَّهْرِ سَطْوَةً
وَصَعْبًا بِهِ نَعِيَ الْخُطُوبَ الْمَصَاعِبَا
لِنْنِ أَقْلَتْ شَمْسُ الْمَكَارِمِ عَنْكُمْ لَقَدْ أَسَارَتْ بِذُرًّا لَهَا وَكَوَاعِبَا

“Hey Ebû Hâtîm! Be patient with dignity, in fact patience is much better in result.”

“You always scare dehr with your generosity, and with your difficulty, complex problems also got stuck.”

“Even if your sun of generosity sets, it leaves full moon and stars behind it.”¹¹¹²

The second elegy he wrote to Ebû Abde,¹¹¹³ we see that it was one of the most appreciated ones of Ibn Suheyd. In fact when he met the people of Ebû Temmâm¹¹¹⁴ during his mental journey and when he was wanted to read the elegy, he felt proud of Ibn Suheyd and dedicated him the following verses.”¹¹¹⁵

أَفِي كُلِّ عَامٍ مَصْرَعٌ لِعَظِيمٍ؟
أَصَابَ الْمَنَآيَا حَدِيثِي وَقَدِيمِي

¹¹¹⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 23; Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 19; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu 't-tîb*, III/353, 360.

¹¹¹¹ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 25.

¹¹¹² Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 24; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu 't-tîb*, III/360.

¹¹¹³ Daha önce zikrettiğimiz vezir Ebû Abde Hassân b. Mâlik b. Ebî Abde kastedilmektedir. Bk. el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 196; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/255.

¹¹¹⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 98; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/255.

¹¹¹⁵ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/255; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/331.

فكيف لِقَائِي الحَادَثَاتِ إِذَا سَطَأْتُ وَقَدْ قُلَّ سَيْفِي مِنْهُمْ وَعَزِيمِي

“Does a great person die every year? I had a lot of problems
on the past and now.”

“When the flames died off and encouragement faded, how
can I overcome the events that I happen to have.”¹¹¹⁶

i. His Eulogies

Ibn Suheyd does not have any eulogies except for those four placed in the pamphlet he wrote to Mu'temen. The first of these eulogies¹¹¹⁷ consists of seventy nine verses contrary to the classical beginnings of the type, “buka' ale'l-atlâl” (crying after the ruins), in the first eight verses he used the nature and the flowers.¹¹¹⁸ Between the ninth and thirty ninth verses,¹¹¹⁹ he described the drinking get together of men and women, and how they got drunk after the drink sessions. Between thirty fourth and fifty first¹¹²⁰ verses he described the morning and the entertaining group in great detail. The fifty second and fifty seventh verses, which are important in terms of history,¹¹²¹ he mentions the uprising in Cordoba. Between fifty eighth and seventieth verses,¹¹²² he praised Mu'temen and his ancestors as follows:

“Winds blow of his honor and brings his beautiful odors.”

“Although he did not drink the water of youth, all old aged
feel scared of him.”¹¹²³

In the following verses, he invites Mu'temen to occupy Cordoba:

¹¹¹⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 143; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/255.

¹¹¹⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 150-56; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/199-203.

¹¹¹⁸ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 150; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/199.

¹¹¹⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 150-52; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/199-201.

¹¹²⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 153-54; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/201-202.

¹¹²¹ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 154; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/202.

¹¹²² Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 155; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/202-203.

¹¹²³ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 156; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/203.

“Return the all invasions with doubled anti attack, because you are one of the person joined personally all those wars.”

“When animals went silent on that matter, please attention the words of the one calling for you.”¹¹²⁴

The second eulogy¹¹²⁵ is shorter than the above one and in the introduction, he follows a more traditional way of starting of hurt feelings, farewell and then he converts into his happy days he lived in front of his house after so much cry:

وَالنَّفْسُ نَفْسٌ مِنْ شُهَيْدٍ سَنَحَا سَنَخَ غَذَّتْ مِنْهُ الْعَلَا بِلْبَانِهَا

“My essence is an essence from Suheyd. His root is such a root that it fed greatness with its milk.”¹¹²⁶

Later on he praises Mu'temen and Âmirs.

From the third eulogy of him only a few verses reached to our age.¹¹²⁷ After reminding the nice days passed, he transmits to the part of love. In the end of the eulogy, as it was the case for all the eulogies of him, he praises Mu'temen as follows:

حَتَّى بَدَا عَبْدُ الْعَزِيزِ لِنَاطِرِي أَمَلِي فَمُرَّقَتْ الدَّجَى عَنْ نُورِهِ
مَلِكٌ تَبَقَّى الْمَجْدَ نَاصِرُهُ لَهُ وَتَقَبَّلَ الْعُلَيَاءَ عَنْ مَنْصُورِهِ

“Finally the person I desired, Abdulaziz¹¹²⁸, came into the sight. Darkness got scattered thanks to its brightness.”

“He was such a Sultan that he got the greatness from his

¹¹²⁴ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 156; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/203.

¹¹²⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 169-72; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/205-207.

¹¹²⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 171; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/207.

¹¹²⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 77-79; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/209-210.

¹¹²⁸ Hâcib Ebû Abdîrrahman that Ibn Suheyd had written many letters and praised indicates Abdulaziz who is the son of Ebî Âmir and nicknamed Mu'temen.

grand father Mansur and his dignity became forever thanks to his father Nasir.”¹¹²⁹

In the fourth eulogy of Ibn Suheyd, as we mentioned before, the effect of Ebû Nuvâs¹¹³⁰ is very clear. In this eulogy the poets mentions the drink, drink jugs and music¹¹³¹ first and then passes to the depiction and praise of a cloud coming from the east.

يَمْسَحُ الْأَرْضَ بِفَضْلِ الْهَيْدَبِ	فَدَنَا حَتَّى حَسِبْنَا أَنَّهُ
حَشَوُهُ الْعَيْنَ بِمَرَأَى مُعْجَبِ	فَسَأَلْنَاهُ وَقَدْ أَعْجَبَنَا
كَفَّهُ النَّفْخَةَ كَمَا دَرَبِ	أَنْتَ مَاذَا قَالَ مُزْنٌ عَلِمْتُ
رَحْمَةً مِنْهُ بِأَقْصَى الْمَغْرِبِ	سَامَنِي بِالْشَّرْقِ أَنْ أَسْقِيَكُمْ
قَالَ: هَلْ يَخْفَى ضِيَاءُ الْكَوْكَبِ	فَسَأَلْنَاهُ: أَبِنْ ذَلِكَ لَنَا
عَامِرِي الْمُتَنَمِّي وَالْمُنْصَبِ	مَلِكٌ نَاصَبٌ مَنْ خَالَفَكُمْ

“(Cloud) It fired us the rain in such a manner that we thought it was wiping the ground.”

“Filling the eyes with a beautiful scenery and we asked it “What is you?” It replied: “I am a rain cloud and my hands learned the generosity from Mu’temen.”

“He, ordered me from the east said that I should get up and go to the west and pour my rain there.”

“When we asked him to introduce it to us, he replied saying:” Can it ever be possible to hide the sparks of stars?”

¹¹²⁹ Abdurrahman b. Ebî Âmir who is the father of el-Mu’temen and the son of Mansûr b. Ebî âmir nicknamed “Nâsir” after he had been “hâcib”. See. Ibn Hazm, *Tavku’l-hamâme*, p. 20, 49; Ibn Haldûn, *el-Îber*, IV/148.

¹¹³⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 28-30; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/210-212.

¹¹³¹ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 28; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/210.

“He is such a leader that he opposed to anybody opposing you, his rank and ancestors go back to Amiris.”¹¹³²

Although we studied a lot of poems of Ibn Suheyd, it is not possible here to handle all of his poems. From his poems we learn that he had a very sensitive personality, and not writing poems as a type of entertainment, on the contrary he wrote poems to get rid of pessimism, hardships and problems, or perhaps he regarded poems as a way of escape or way out or sheltering. In one of his poems he wrote to Mu'temen in which he expressed¹¹³³ his love to Cordoba and then how he turned to his inner world. The following lines say that:

“When the time of words comes and words drop out of lips like the flowing water, when the known lover's wink struck and my love scatters around like pearls, the winds of excitement explode and my spirit is purified and turns to be my breaths and this breathes increase and become words of poems. It is me who puts these words on threads and make poems out of them.”¹¹³⁴

We conclude that Ibn Suheyd had great innate talent of poetry and did not write his poems for any interest of himself, In other words he never sought any benefit from it but to articulate his inner world as angers at times or cheers, sadness or happiness via poems. As we noted before, his often playing with words and meanings in his poems, putting the readers into thinking led him to exhibit his art, in other words, he gained the identity among poets that he used art for art. On the other hand we can easily say that he could easily manage the subjects he considered in his poems and realized them with a great innate talent.

B. HIS PLACE IN ARABIC PROSE

With his eulogies, Ibn Suheyd is accepted as the first example of that kind in Arabic prose in which he used a story style. As it is seen in

¹¹³² Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 29; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/211.

¹¹³³ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 177; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/208.

¹¹³⁴ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/208.

Risâletü't-tevâbi' ve'z-zevâbi, Ibn Suheyd accepted himself not only a poet but a prose writer and later on a talker. Because, according to him prose writers are the grandsons of talkers. When he wanted to be approved by Câhiz'in ve Abdulhamid, they replied him with the following verses:

“We got stunned in the desert of wonder in front of you. Our ears listened to you with admire. We do not know what to say. What should we call you, a talker, a poet. In his reply Ibn suheyd told them: “The truth is two. It is the best to turn the truth and God. When he was said: “you can not prevent the fate.” He replied:” Go away with fate, you are a poet and a talker as well.”¹¹³⁵

Ibn Suheyd's being given a duty by Hişâm III to be read to the people of Cordoba was the only one official duty of him.¹¹³⁶ Although he does not state clearly in his eulogies, it seems that to have a duty like this was over everything for him. But his deafness¹¹³⁷, as he himself acknowledges, prevented him from such duties. Perhaps Ibn Suheyd wanted to have the post of secretary ship and that is why he became a prose writer as well. But what is important for us is his involvement in prose with great care and production of important works in the field despite his short life span. Some claim that he was more successful in prose than in poetry. Most probably Ibn Hazm was one of these people because he classified Ibn Suheyd among prose writers not among poets. He said the followings about Ibn Suheyd's talent in Literature:

“One of our prose water Ahmed b. Abdulmelik b. Suheyd is our friend and companion. He is still in his mid ages. He has works in all areas of prose as if he speaks with the words of Amr¹¹³⁸ Sehl and Sanki¹¹³⁹. He has a lot of works in the areas of prose.”¹¹⁴⁰

¹¹³⁵ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 131; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/278.

¹¹³⁶ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, III/520.

¹¹³⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 21.

¹¹³⁸ Ebû Osman Amr b. Bahr el-Câhiz is meant.

¹¹³⁹ Sehl b. Hârûn is meant.

The important point in these evaluations is Ibn Hazm's comparison of bn Suheyd with Câhiz and continuously criticizing him, but his feeling of appreciation towards Sehl b. Hârûn. After Ibn Hayyân resembles Ibn Suheyd'i, to Abdulhamid and Câhiz, he says the followings:

“Besides his effective jokes, his expertise in the expression of interesting and scarce things was much better than any other one.”¹¹⁴¹

Ibn Bessam agrees with Ibn Hayyan about the sarcasm of Ibn Suheyd. After calling him “a singing pigeon when sarcastic”, he calls him^{1142a} roaring wild lion when serious to emphasize his seriousness.

es-Sa'libi calls the prose of Ibn Suheyd “absolutely gorgeous”.¹¹⁴³ One of the late time researchers Ahmed Dayf implies that he likes Ibn Suheyd's prose more than his poems¹¹⁴⁴. While Hanna el-Fahuri and Ahmed Tercanizade evaluates Ibn Suheyd's prose, they point that firstly he took the interesting and unique subjects in Arab prose, and his style is full of sarcasm and humor, and that he uses rhyme and implications in his compositions.¹¹⁴⁵

Zeki Mubarek implies about Ibn Suheyd himself and prose works that “I have read Ibn Suheyd's works of prose twenty times at least. Every time I read my belief, that he is a brilliant, gentle and tasteful person, has increased.”¹¹⁴⁶ He adds that “His prose is governed by anxiety, dither and closeness. This situation forces the reader to research for the content of his prose and makes one as a person trying to climb on a mountain which has treasures on top.”¹¹⁴⁷

¹¹⁴⁰ el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, p. 133; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 191; Yâkût, *Mu'cemu'l-udebâ*, III/222; ez-Zehabî, *Siyer*, XVII/501; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, III/178; Pellat, “Ibn Hazm, Ibn Suhayd et la poesia arabe”, p. 174; Dickie, “Ibn Suhayd”, *el-Andalus*, XXIX/267.

¹¹⁴¹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/192.

¹¹⁴² Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/192; krş. Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/377.

¹¹⁴³ es-Sa'âlibî, *Yetîmetu'd-dehr*, II/49; krş. Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/377.

¹¹⁴⁴ Ahmed Dayf, *Belagatu'l-Arab*, p. 47.

¹¹⁴⁵ Ref. el-Fâhûrî, *el-Câmi'*, p. 912-13; Mercânîzâde, *Târîh-i Edebiyat-ı Arab*, p. 202.

¹¹⁴⁶ Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/378.

¹¹⁴⁷ Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/379.

One of the western researchers Juan Verner implied that Ibn Suheyd is “the best prose writer that Muslim Andalusia grew”.¹¹⁴⁸

After all these readings of Ibn Suheyd’s prose writing, when we study *et-Tevabi’ ve’z-Zevabi*, we can see that he describes mainly people and animals. These prose works being in this book shows that he wrote these in his young ages. Again in this pamphlet story like and imaginary contented parts have reached us. What is significant here is, these parts come before the poems in the pamphlet. If we take the date of the pamphlet, we should accept that despite his young age he is very successful in this style of imaginary story which is unique in Arab literature. He writes as followed in the second part of the pamphlet in which this style can be clearly seen:

“Zuheyр asked me, “Who do you want now?”. And I answered, “Take me to the scriveners. Since I have taken what I needed from the poets.” We walked far to the direction where the sun rises and we came across with a rider coming near Zuheyр. The rider left us later. Zuhery told me “The scriveners of the gins came together for you in a field two leagues far from us. It would be enough if you regard them respectively.” When I asked “Why is this for?” he replied “For the young of the gins come to a disagreement about the difference of two words.” When we reached the field we saw a big crowd in which the leaders came together. Zuheyр called “Greetings to the cavalier of the word.” They saluted us and they pointed us to get down our horses. They stood aside leaving us some space that we found ourselves in the middle of the crowd. All of them were staring at a bald, left eye popped out old man with a long white conical hat.”¹¹⁴⁹

Ibn Suheyd treats descriptive narration very well in prose as in his poem. His most appreciated aspect in description is his describing the organs,

¹¹⁴⁸ Vernet, *Los Musulmanes Espanoles*, p. 81.

¹¹⁴⁹ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi’*, p. 115; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/267-68.

color, voice, and physical attributes, movements and personality of the thing he expresses. Thus he forms the picture of the person he describes on the mind of the reader clearly.

C. LITERARY CRITIQUE

1. His Ideas About the Literary Critique

The prose of Ibn Suheyd which he wrote to open up his ideas about literature, especially poem and to make criticism is mainly significant for us. He tried to lay down rules about the form of the description, in other words how the works of poem and prose should be written since he wrote *et-Tevabi' ve'z'Zevabi*. He made this in both of the literary styles that he also wrote in, that is to say expressing the objectives of the description in prose and poem. However it should not be disregarded that Ibn Suheyd's interest in this subject and his giving opinions in every chance his criticizing many writers and poets before and after him¹¹⁵⁰ is closely concerned with his egotism and arrogance. However one thing that should not be left out of account at this point is the fact that Ibn Suheyd's interest in this subject¹¹⁵¹, tendency to deliver his opinion on all occasions and aim to level criticism at the poets and authors of the period is related to his egotism and pride. Also he considers himself to be one of the great moguls in literature that was brought up in that period. Because of this fact, having innovated the rules of styles of Ibn Suheyd not only criticized poets and writers¹¹⁵² who were unaware of the science of declaration whose rules were innovated related to literary phraseology but he was also very much annoyed with the community that were speaking the Arabic language in disordered and different styles. Besides, according to him, he managed to struggle for this subject. When he started to complain about the accent of the people in Cordoba, the citizens of Ebu Temmam, who put forth great effort to perpetuate the old language and to conserve the styles and words of the Cahili period,

¹¹⁵⁰ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/193-97; Ibn Sa'îd, *el-Muğrib*, I/78; III/230; Abbas, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Endelüsî*, I/291.

¹¹⁵¹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/197.

¹¹⁵² Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 145; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/256, 269.

showed their respect and appreciation saying¹¹⁵³ “You are doing nothing but good against the badness of the time”

Mentioning on the same subject in one of the pamphlets he wrote to Mu'temen, Ibn Suheyd brought this subject up to date:

“We have people whose portion in understanding is memorization and whose portion in science is transference. These storytellers’ portion is on those mourners. When a poem is read one can see such people who frown and turn up their noses at it or when the khutba was told (Islamic sermon) one can see them moving their jaws and stumbling continuously. When such a person move their jaws and mouths at the same time, he leaves neither profits being mopped up nor a fruit being picked up. The basic reason of the rarity and inexplicability of this subject lies behind the violation of the period and the inconvenience of the location. Corruption annihilates science and desire. One can see that the mentality of mischief-making that causes the loss of property or rescinds the agreements is always hated and never welcomed in anywhere. This is our view and a subject that afflicts us. We announced it and told it in all languages. We put creativity before everything else. We understood the very essence of everything that is beautiful and we tried all the ways. However we meet neither someone cheering us up nor a governor leaning on us. If only there was no booty, there would be no pillage. We wanted enough delectation to pass time in a place where there is no peace and war, and, there exists no vigilance and dream. If there weren’t one of these generous stars and Mu'temen that is the one of the branches of this sublime tree, I would take the world in my hand and say ‘I’m sure you are disordered.’ Because the essence of it is change and its light is in the hand of a sordid person and its halter is in the hand of an owl or a monkey.”¹¹⁵⁴

Here Ibn Suheyd, with the anger of a writer suffering wrong, reproaches and criticizes those who have language problems or who do not deal with the art of statement. As it is stated in the text Ibn Suheyd was always interested in the art of statement and wanted to know its details although

¹¹⁵³ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*’, p. 101; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/256.

¹¹⁵⁴ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/213.

he had the ability of creativity. In order to achieve his aim, he searched a lot about Arabic literature. In the meantime he realized the improvement in his style and tastes. He explained not only his ideas about poems and clerks but also essences of prose and poetry. According to him the most important of these essences is that writing prose or poetry is not related to memorizing or learning. On the contrary it is related to the talent a person has.¹¹⁵⁵

Ibn Suheyd has taken his place among literary critics owing to his efforts and ideas. Ahmed Dayf states that because of his innovative personality his art of criticism is Ibn Suheyd's the most important literary characteristic.¹¹⁵⁶

2. Criticizing Cahiz

Ibn Suheyd has criticized Cahiz severely by any means. Particularly, he did not have mercy on him after getting permission from the followers of him. For us the reason of this is the pride and the jealousy¹¹⁵⁷ that masters Cahiz's character. As it is well known, Cahiz is one of the famous rhetoric's in his era. It is obvious that Cahiz, who researched most of the Eastern writers and poets and examined the works of them, gave importance on the writers and the poets that he mentioned in his tract and made researches in details about them. So we believe that Ibn Suheyd analyzed Cahiz's tracts and especially the work "el-Beyan ve't-tebyin¹¹⁵⁸ of him.

Ibn Suheyd's extant prose works are considered as one of the distinguished genres. There are lots of similarities between these works and Cahiz's works. When we make a short comparison between Ibn

¹¹⁵⁵ Mubarek, *en-Nesru 'l-fennî*, I/330; II/58.

¹¹⁵⁶ Ahmed Dayf, *Belagatu 'l-Arab*, p. 54.

¹¹⁵⁷ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/268-70.

¹¹⁵⁸ Câhiz by supporting Arabic genre's superiority in his masterpiece, he gave examples from Arabian's literal and social lifes. The masterpiece gives information about literal criticism and criticism methods. Not giving the topics in order made the masterpiece disarranged. For further information about the masterpiece, See. el-Bustânî, *Udebâu 'l-Arab*, I/268-85; Şevki Dayf, *el-Fen ve mezâhibuhu fi'n-nesri 'l-Arabî*, p. 161-67; Ferruh, *Târîhu 'l-edebi 'l-Arabî*, II/308-309; Zeydan, *Târîhu 'l-âdâbi 'l-lugati 'l-Arabiyye*, II/477.

Suheyd's and Cahiz's works the characteristics we analyze are: Besides its giving hints about whether Ibn Suheyd has influenced from Cahiz or not, it gives general information about Ibn Suheyd's prose.

In order not to make the reader get bored Cahiz intersperses his prose with humor and some conscious rare words or poems by separating the paragraphs into pieces. On the other hand Ibn Suheyd disapproves of the fact that these words and poems are given place in the prose parts where serious issues are dealt with; instead of this he divides the prose parts. Whereas Cahiz gives place to the others' poems -as it is seen as in *el-Beyan ve't-tebyin*- Ibn Suheyd gives place to his own poems¹¹⁵⁹. He explains his method in this way:

“When statements become too long, statesperson can not reach his aim and can not get benefit from the sources he uses, and when he is afraid of making the audience get bored; he adds a poem to attract attention and to reach the main aim.”¹¹⁶⁰

On the other hand, we see that Cahiz gives place to the rhymed sentences in his works. However, Cahiz uses these sentences in order not to make the art of rhyme but to be sure that he expresses what he thinks and to relax his readers when he wants. While doing this, he also uses different ways of expressions within comparison and metaphor synthesis, he repeats the same idea consecutively two times. However Ibn Suheyd uses *seci* art consciously, in order to make his prose elegant. For that reason, Ibn Süyeyd's prose is less boring than other the Andalusian writers. For instance, one of the most famous one is Fetih B. Hakan's, his expressions with *seci* is too long and at the same time is far away from comprehension and clearance. We can see this clearly if we look at the expressions while he is introducing IBN Suheyd.¹¹⁶¹

¹¹⁵⁹ See. Căhiz, *el-Beyân* different places.

¹¹⁶⁰ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/205

¹¹⁶¹ See. Ibn Hâkân, *Matmah*, p. 17.

Ibn Suheyd gives importance to *seci* in prose and he doesn't brush aside the lack of this style. He explains why he has chosen the art of *seci* in his conversation with the nature of *cahiz* on his booklet, as follows:

"The nature of *cahiz* said to me:" You are a real lecturer and you really play well with the words. If you weren't indulged in *Seci* your words would be not prose but poem. ' And I said to him," Let the god make you saint . This is not why I do not know the excellence of compression and replying in the *seci* art. But I couldn't find word master in my country . I displayed the stupidity of the people of my time. " How could they dare to talk among them" he said. And I said "There is no impact of *Sibeveyh*'s¹¹⁶² on your speech. Also no sign of *Ferahidi*¹¹⁶³ is seen. There is no characteristic of declaration enlightenment. I said" what they talk is rotten accent". At this point he said "God knows the Arabs and their language disappeared. Leave them. This is the *seci* of the prophets. Maybe this *seci* will help you to gain a value among them. Additionally he shouted saying that: I regard you as one to ignore them and not to appreciate the way of going." ¹¹⁶⁴

On the other hand, despite all this *Abdulhamid* and *Cahiz* 's nature confesses the priority of *Ibn Suheyd* 's *sec* and sweetness by these words:

For us, another feature of *Ibn Suheyd* prose is that by using less critics on his poetry nearly he wrote the prose for the aim of criticism. Due to this attitude he gained many enemies.

"Your character has a place in heart and a room in the desire. You created your character with your innate talent, the beauty of your words and the accuracy of articulation of them". ¹¹⁶⁵

The literary taste of *Ibn Suheyd* was highly different from his

¹¹⁶² *Ibn Bessâm, ez-Zehîre, I/268.*

¹¹⁶³ *el-Halîl b. Ahmed b. Amr b. Temîm el-Ferâhîdî'*

¹¹⁶⁴ *Ibn Bessâm, ez-Zehîre, I/269.*

¹¹⁶⁵ *Ibn Suheyd, et-Tevâbi', p. 122; Ibn Bessâm, ez-Zehîre, I/272.*

contemporaries. Gaining importance with his first handling the untouched matters in Arabic literature gained him a respective places with his expertise in the use of language against critics. Even he was alive, he obtained a distinguished place among his peers. As we dealt with in a detailed way, in those days he managed to reach to the east with his prose works and effected the ones came after him.

Another important characteristics of his prose, according to us, is his usage of prose completely for the aim of criticism whereas he never used poems with this purpose.

D. THE TOPICS HE DEALT WITH

1. Literary Style

While criticizing Ibn Suheyd, he never decides momentary and be prejudicial. As other critics do, he gives his decisions for the writer by handling his sample of literary work.¹¹⁶⁶ As an example, he displays his ideas about Ibn Derrac el-kastalli (ex. 421/1030).¹¹⁶⁷

“The difference between Ebu Ömer and the others is, he is born with this gift. He has a good command of words. He brought a lot of evidences about the topics; history, language and descendance. He became successful with his usage of words. Besides, he was specialized with the treasury of his stocks of learning and his excitement, his superiority on Bedi art.”¹¹⁶⁸

Like all other literary products, Ibn Suheyds literary content prose has not reached present adequately. We do not think that, as a writer who

¹¹⁶⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 132-39; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/283-89.

¹¹⁶⁷ For further information about the life and literary personality of Ebû Ömer Ahmed b. Muhammed b. Derrâc el-Kastallî who is one of the most important poets and authors of Andalusia See. el-Humeydî, *Cezve*, s. 110-14; Ibn Beşkuval, *es-Sıla*, I/40; ed-Dabbî, *Buğye*, p. 158-61; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/59-103; el-Makkarî, *Nefhu't-tîb*, III/195-96; 341-42; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, I/204; Ahmed Dayf, *Belagatu'l-Arab*, s. 94-100; Brockelmann, *GAL, Suppl.*, I/478; Kehlâle, *Mu'cem*, II/101.

¹¹⁶⁸ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/61.

gives that much importance to criticism limited amount of products. In our opinion, the large amount of his products got lost. Besides he takes literature as a whole. He was the one who assessed all periods literary products and by doing this he gave voice to continuously renovating literature. He exposes his ideas about this topic by these words:

“Likewise you can not say whatever you want to in everyplace, every time period has its style and every nation has its own way of rhetoric. These nations only respect their own style and they do not approve the others. Words do not keep still they change, like the world and the nations are changing. And can’t you see how the affirm ant evolved their methods? Because of their unlimited effort to expand their knowledge of art and their superior wisdom, the art became the most powerful thing and the most heavenly light that shines above everything.”¹¹⁶⁹

“After that, time passed by. Their method had a harmony¹¹⁷⁰ with İbrahim el-Abbās (243/857)¹¹⁷¹ and Muhammad b. Zeyyad (231/845)¹¹⁷². That’s why characters had a definite¹¹⁷³

¹¹⁶⁹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/237.

¹¹⁷⁰ Probably points to the prose of Sadru’l-İslâm period.

¹¹⁷¹ For further information about Ebû Muhammed Abdullah b. Mukaffâ who enriched the expressions, shortened the sentences, created the harmony among the words, gave great importance the meaning of writing and avoided rhymes. See. ez-Zirikli, *el-A’lâm*, IV/283-84; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu’l-Arab*, II/136-158; Zeydan, *Târîhu’l-adâbi’l-lugati’l-arabiyye*, II/438-40; Şevki Dayf, *Târîhu’l-edebi’l-Arabî*, III/507-26; *el-Fen ve mezâhibuhu fi’n-nesri’l-Arabî*, p. 13-138; Brockelmann, *GAL, Suppl.*, I/233-39; Kehhâle, *Mu’cem*, VI/156.

¹¹⁷² For detailed information about the Arabic author and poet Sehl b. Hârûn b. Râhibûnî See. ez-Zirikli, *el-A’lâm*, III/211; Zeydan, *Târîhu’l-adâbi’l-lugati’l-arabiyye*, II/441; Şevki Dayf, *Târîhu’l-edebi’l-Arabî*, III/526-40; *el-Fen ve mezâhibuhu fi’n-nesri’l-Arabî*, p. 144-154; Brockelmann, *GAL, Suppl.*, I/239-47; Kehhâle, *Mu’cem*, IV/286; Sezgin, *GAS*, I/272-73.

¹¹⁷³ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/237; krş. Ahmed Dayf, *Belagatu’l-Arab*, p. 57.

division from each other. The heavy atmosphere has gone and the language and expression has become more clear.”¹¹⁷⁴

“By the time folks avoided meaningless conversations and expressed themselves with the poetic words which were more elegant and graceful. By this the style of Bedi (o. 398/1008)¹¹⁷⁵ Semsu-Maali (o. 403/1012)¹¹⁷⁶ and with their friends had an harmony¹¹⁷⁷”

“Also with the newest style poets had given up and chanced their past habits in writing poems. In every century every poet started to researched what was in public hearts and what appeal to them in terms of art. This made Gavani, Besser(o. 167/782),¹¹⁷⁸ Ebu Nuvas(o. 198/814)¹¹⁷⁹ and their friends who were known alcohol lovers, to use different styles in art.”¹¹⁸⁰

¹¹⁷⁴ For detailed information about İbrahim b. el-Abbâs b. Muhammed eṣ-Şûlî one of the famous authors and poets of Abbasids Period See. Yâkût, *Mu'cemu'l-udebâ*, I/9; Ibnu'l-Îmâd, *Şezerât*, II/102-103; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/15-17; Şevki Dayf, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/547-86.

¹¹⁷⁵ For Detailed information about about a man of letters who is a member of Kûfe ecol Ibnu'l-Arabî Ebû Abdillâh Ibn Zeyyâd See. Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 69; Yâkût, *Mu'cemu'l-udebâ*, III/189-196; es-Safedî, *el-Vâfi*, III/79; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, II/299-301; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, VI/365-66; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/119-20; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, X/2.

¹¹⁷⁶ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/237.

¹¹⁷⁷ For further information about Ebu'l-Fadl Ahmed b. el-Huseyn b. Yahyâ el-Hemedânî who is famous for his speeches in the period of Abbasids. See. es-Sa'âlibî, *Yetîmetu'd-dehr*, IV/240-80; Yâkût, *Mu'cemu'l-udebâ*, II/161-190; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, I/112; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/93-94; *Suppl.*, I/150; Zeydan, *Târîhu'l-adâbi'l-lugati'l-arabiyye*, II/585; Şevki Dayf, *el-Fen ve mezâhibuhu fi'n-nesri'l-Arabî*, p. 238-42; el-Bustânî, *Udebâu'l-Arab*, II/381-403.

¹¹⁷⁸ For detailed information about Emir Şemsu'l-Maâlî Kâbûs b. who is a writer of Abbasids period. See: es-Sa'âlibî, *Yetîmetu'd-dehr*, IV/56-59; Yâkût, *Mu'cemu'l-udebâ*, XVI/216-233; Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, II/175-77; Ibnu'l-Îmâd, *Şezerât*, III/168-70; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, VI/3-4; Mubarek, *en-Nesru'l-fennî*, II/277-89; Brockelmann, *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I/154; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, VIII/91.

¹¹⁷⁹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/237.

¹¹⁸⁰ For detailed information about Beşşâr b. Burd, inborn blind, who is one of the Muhdes poets of Abbasids Period See: Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, p. 159; Ibn Hallikân,

“After that Ebu Temman¹¹⁸¹ had come and tried the newest style by using pun a lot and he enjoyed it very much. The public copied him. But today every poem with pun does not sound good¹¹⁸². The best way for everything is the midway. hats why the public in Basra preferred alcohol lover Gavani to Ebu Temmam. Because Gavani put the Muhdes poets crown to public.”¹¹⁸³

When we examined the text above we understand that even Ibn Suheyd didn't mention the names of Ibn Kuteybe (o. 276/889)¹¹⁸⁴ he had a great decision by looking for prose writers. We think because Ibn Kuteybe and Cahiz didn't work as a clerk they were out of these category. From the expressions of Ibn Suheyd we understand that he covered the time from Sadru'l-Islam to Abbasis and even Bediu'z-zaman el-Hemedani, Ibnu'l_Amid and Sahib b. Abbad who were the greatest prose writers of IV. /X century. We can conclude that he followed all the developments of Arabic prose.

The prose writers who were mentioned by Ibn Suheyd worked as a clerk for emperors or for senior executives they also had an active role in politics. That's why he had given much more importance to Sehl b. Harun to Cahiz. Moreover, Ibn Suheyd talked about his ideas as followed upon Sehl's working as a clerk and at the same time counseling to Harun er-Resid;

Vefeyât, I/156-58; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, II/24; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/72; *Suppl.*, I/108-110; Zeydan, *Târîhu'l-adâbi'l-lugati'l-arabiyye*, II/72-73; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, III/44-45.

¹¹⁸¹ For detailed information about el-Hasan b. el-Hânî who is one of the Abbasids Period's poets and known with wine poems See: Ibn Hallikân, *Vefeyât*, I/240-43; Ibnu'l-Îmâd, *Şezerât*, I/35-47; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, II/240-41; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/74-76; *Suppl.*, I/114-18.

¹¹⁸² Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/237.

¹¹⁸³ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/237-38.

¹¹⁸⁴ For detailed information about Ebû Muhammed Abdullah b. Müslim b. Kuteybe ed-Dineverî who is thought one of the first critic of Arabic literature and linguist See: Ibnu'n-Nedîm, *el-Fihrist*, s. 118; ez-Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, VI/280; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I/158; *Suppl.*, I/233-37; Ferruh, *Târîhu'l-edebi'l-Arabî*, IV/611-23; Zeydan, *Târîhu'l-adâbi'l-lugati'l-arabiyye*, I/526; Kehhâle, *Mu'cem*, VI/100-101.

“If Cahiz had witnessed that Sehl leaded the war in the name of Harun er-Reşid with his wisdom, and ruled the government he would have understood that it wasn’t anything to do with mules, mice, cockroach singing and would have realized the distinction between a writer and exact scholar.”¹¹⁸⁵

Ibn Suheyd had remarkable points about the poets who had made their mark on Abbasis somehow he kept silence about Mutenebbi who was a famous figure during the time. However he had defined all the processes the poetry had gone through in his time and also he explained all the differences among the poets in his period.

Besides indicating that poem changes according to time and taste, he also indicates that tastes change and differ when social groups differ too.

2. Expression

From the point of views of Ibn Suheyd that we mentioned, he indicates that literary works should develop and be in harmony with the status of social groups and necessities of time. Furthermore he expresses that these works which appear as the reflection of emotions and thoughts should be represented within the rules in accordance with time and society. By analyzing the parts which were written in *ez-Zehire*, that belongs to Ibn Suheyd, we will try to display his thoughts about expression.

According to Ibn Suheyd a person doesn’t get his ability of expression from studying, memorizing or imitating but he gets his talent from birth. In *et- Tévabi’ ve’z-zévabi*, he reports a speech between himself and a goose which he represents as the follower of a famous writer.

“Goose asked me ‘what do you know best?’ I said ‘I read poem wittily and declaim’ When he said that ‘I don’t ask you that’, I told him ‘I have no other answer but this’. And he told me ‘Your answer must be adequate to the content of the question’ he told me I meant superiority of meaning and

¹¹⁸⁵ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/243-44.

weird words which make up expression. And I told him ‘I have no other answer except what he heard’ He told me ‘I swear what you said is not subject to discuss.’¹¹⁸⁶

As it is seen in the text Ibn Suheyd didn’t esteem memorizing syntax rules or weird words, and he didn’t take them as basis for the science of expression. Instead of this we notice that he accepts that reading poems wittily which is a talent from birth and the ability of expressing words sincerely are the basis of expression. He expresses it clearly as below:

“Saying a good words is not possible by memorizing many weird words which are rarely used and by knowing the syntax rules. On the contrary it is possible by building a good balance between talent and those.”¹¹⁸⁷

On the other hand, he claims that talents are related to physical formation too, and with a medical approach, he tries to build a connection between someone’s physical formation and his skills:

“The criteria for someone’s talent is related to the harmony between his soul¹¹⁸⁸ and body. Someone whose soul prevails over his body means he or she is talented. He or she expresses his words and their meanings in the most suitable way. But the one whose body prevails over his soul and has a strict control over his feelings, makes mistakes when he expresses himself.”

As it is understood from the text, according to Ibn Suheyd; If someone has talent and has a strict control over his organs, then he can express his emotions in the most suitable way and can be very impressive with his words. It is not possible to have the talent of expression by using rarely used words, learning syntax or imitating someone.

¹¹⁸⁶ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi*, p. 151; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/299-300.

¹¹⁸⁷ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/231.

¹¹⁸⁸ The term “nefs” which means to give the body power, will and feeling separates parts according to philosophy and rethoric.

Ibn Suheyd's another point of view on Expression is that the talent of expression couldn't be gained by the help of books or teachers, but it is a gift from God. And God gives this gift not to the man who demands it but to the man he would like to.

In *et-Tevabi' ve'z-zevabi*, during a conversation between Ibn Suheyd and the follower of İflili; when the follower of İflili said that he was the master of the science of expression and he learnt that from his teachers, Ibn Suheyd claimed that science of expression couldn't be learnt from teachers and he defended his thesis by referring to holy Koran .

“The science of expression is not something special to teachers and something that they can teach. It is one of the sciences that God can teach. Because, ‘Allah taught Koran, created human being and taught him expression¹¹⁸⁹’ has been told by almighty Allah.”¹¹⁹⁰

With this evidence Ibn Suheyd thought that he convinced the follower of İflili and later on He criticised the teachers and Cahiz in an ironic way:

“Cahiz told the following statement after writing his book called *el-Beyan*; if we hire someone to teach our children syntax and odd words, he will accept twenty dirham a month as a salary. But, if we hire someone to teach our children expression, he will not except one thousand dirham a month. If he had understood the teaching method and divided the content of the book into parts, he would have understood how to say a word in order, how to enrich his expression, how to start a good conversation and how to make good parts in sentence. Doubtless all of those are the keystones of art. But Cahiz kept the benefits of his work for himself. He avoided to share the things he had with others because of being jealous and poor in understanding. What he explained about expression was only to the advantage of the people who was familiar with this subject. The man who wants to get benefit

¹¹⁸⁹ Rahmân Süresi, 55/1-4.

¹¹⁹⁰ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi'*, p. 124-25; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/274.

of his work will complete it either as a newly started person or as an illiterate person.”¹¹⁹¹

Ibn Suheyd didn't get satisfied with criticizing Cahiz for this aspect, he also claimed that he couldn't be a writer due to his physical features;

“Indeed, governors always need a writer by their sides. This writer must have a nice face so that they can impress and fascinate governors. He must also have a strong hearing ability so that he can keep the orders in his mind. Therefore, they expect fine clothed, nicely perfumed writers who have well-cared teeth. At the same time, this writer should have nice lips, well-cared fingernails and clean collars.”¹¹⁹²

Taking Ibn Suheyd's measurements into consideration, he lacks the qualities that an emperor would like. Sources note him as an ugly person with eyes popped out from their sockets. Ibn Suheyd also mentions 'deprived of wisdom' as a very important fault about him. According to Ibn Suheyd before anything a writer must be wise. But Cahiz was deprived of this as well. In this respect Sehl b. Harun was more knowledgeable than Cahiz. According to Ibn Suheyd's evaluations Sehl was for Harun er-Rašid a levelheaded undersecretary who would provide beneficial advice at the outbreak of hostilities or rebellion. Cahiz would make do with writing long articles about the mules male organ or the fights between rats.¹¹⁹³

“What Ibn Suheyd said for Cāhiz could have realities in them. But in his criticisms free from regard there is a very prominent sharpness. In fact Cāhiz was interested in nature and especially the depiction of the behaviors of animals. It is the sign of the knowledge he had to be able to take such topics and examine them till the tiniest detail. If for example he talks about the male organ of an animal it is not an ignorance but the requirement of the art. Feeling the disturbance of the hard criticism of Ibn Suheyd towards Chaiz, Zeki Mubarek defended him as follows: “When

¹¹⁹¹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/232-33.

¹¹⁹² Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/243.

¹¹⁹³ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/243-44.

performing his art, Cāhiz used all sciences. We are not criticizing Chaiz because of the form of his writing his work. Because we accept this style as specific to Chaiz. In fact he was passing from a scientific area to another and from a word to other.”

We do not think that the presence of bodily organs of a person indicates the mental and scientific abilities of a person. Thus, the ugly shape of Cāhiz does not indicate his inability towards science. Additionally we are not for the idea of Ibn Suheyd who criticized Cāhiz for his interest in animals and give them importance in his works. Furthermore, to be interested in simple and small things is not a shame or incompleteness.

In the matter of “Beyan”, Ibn Suheyd’s negative attitude towards people who use *nahiv*, *nahive* supporters and the memorization of scarce and simple words does not mean that he is negative towards them. Because these sciences are compulsory for a literary person. Whereas, the only ability of “Beyan” does not indicate that the person is skilled in literature and literary sciences. But he sees it important for a secretary to know some scarce words, especially the *fasih* of them among them.¹¹⁹⁴

Although Ibn Suheyd was not fully a teacher of literature, he was sitting with people interested in literature and poetry, he gave them advices about how to prepare themselves, and direct them. In one of his works, *Mensur* gives advice to these people about the correct use of words and their combinations as follows:

“We used to teach this to some students. They also liked this and understand how it happens. But reluctance and laziness are very common in the youth. The person who wants to teach this can only teach it to those who are highly interested in science and full of commitment. But who fails in educating the students are supposed to be unable and lack of knowledge.”¹¹⁹⁵

Ibn Suheyd talks about the conversation on “*beyan*, poem and literature”

¹¹⁹⁴ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/234.

¹¹⁹⁵ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/233.

with some of his students as the following discourse

“One day Yûsûf b. ʾîshak el-ʾîsrâîlî set by me. He was one of the cleverest students of mine. During that time I was saying the followings to a person from Cordoba whom I was a spouse: ‘Letters in a word has a very close relationship. If noble is with noble and relative is with relative, the talk seems fantastic. If these are decorated with nice words, it becomes so beautiful. Do you understand? He said to me: “I swear you said the right thing.” I told him: “If fesahat is desired and performed, the sweetness of words come up. Anybody who desires them can only understand it. Anybody turning back to them becomes lacking of them. Do you understand?”. ‘He said “yes”. I told him: Since he replied like that I added to him that if he could choose the nicest of words and avoids using the bad ones and using scarce but very effective words, he displays fantastic art.” He told me: “Yes, Of course it is... The Jews there understand my words and withdrawal. The Cordoban was too witty and he read a poem to me. Then the Jews read a poem as well. Everything was nice. On that occasion, the Cordoban said to me: “The poem of the Jews was better than mine.” I told him: If you know that it is not important fro you to understand or not.” “Then he bloomed, gave the fruits and ripened.”¹¹⁹⁶

AS we understand from the text, although Ibn Suheyd admits that he is not enough to be able to teach the science of “beyan”, he claims the reverse in the teaching of poetry and literary arts. The thing that attracted our attention here is Ibn Suheyd recommends and finds it very important in “beyan” that the importance of artistic word combinations is very high in poetry, but he ignores that it is also important to use scarce but nice words in these verses. He claims that without the ability of “beyan” it is impossible to be a good prose writer.

In his poems to reach our age we see such implications as well. From the words of Temmâm and his followers, about *et-Tevâbi’ ve’z-zevâb they*

¹¹⁹⁶ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/233-35.

say the followings:

“If you feel that you must say something and your inner desire puts you on, do not press you and your ability, when you complete, repeat it at least three times and finally work on that and correct the mistakes.”¹¹⁹⁷

In another section, he gives the following advice to the person who wants to use literary art:

“A person claiming that he is really good at literacy arts should use all kinds of arts when describing something. Only then a very nice art is possible in what he wanted to create. This implies that he grow with his ability of literary arts and all the words belong to him.”¹¹⁹⁸

According to Ibn Suheyd the ability of poetry can not be teachable. And to him, a real poem can be written by inspiration only.¹¹⁹⁹ The deficiencies of the poems written do not come from the people themselves, but the lack inspirations coming upon them. From his remarks in *et-Tevâbi’ ve’z-zevâbi*, we understand why he chose the inspirations of the poets to compete with, instead of the poems themselves as contestants.

According to Ibn Suheyd, beauty can not be restricted and define. Because it is an innate talent and its structure and contents can not be described. He, explains the concept of beauty as follows:

“The person whose spirit is superior to his body can articulate words to fill the heart and rehabilitate the desire. If you seek for a base of these beauties make sure that you can not find and also can not understand how such beautiful words come together and form such a beauty. The strange thing here is that beauty can exist without beauty. As we see the verses of

¹¹⁹⁷ Ibn Suheyd, *et-Tevâbi’*, p. 101; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/219.

¹¹⁹⁸ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/318-19.

¹¹⁹⁹ Ahmed Dayf, *Belagatu’l-Arab*, p. 55.

İmru'û'l-Kays and Ebû Nuvâs: "Although his family is in Yesrib, look at it from a place called Ezra. In reality, their closest home is in the further."¹²⁰⁰; To him "During the journey, you had me remember a memory and I got sad. If you could return it, the death would not let some of us to the dawn."¹²⁰¹ These words are mistaken, simple and meaningless words. In such that if you tell them to a ugly donkey, it can understand as well. But as you see, there are things in these words to fill the hearth."¹²⁰²

While Ibn Suheyd claims that there is nothing in his poems other than "beyan", he also quotes some parts from the Qur'an:

"Critics are required to search for words, look at the position of beyan, avoid from witty and beautiful word combinations, manage the harmony between parts consisting of beautiful words and literary art and to represent those having literary art. When you obey these rules, you see that the poem becomes as hard as lead and as bright as the sun. . . Then in the poem, the desire gets flamed, the weather around is burned, lightening come, rain falls, tears come upon it and fear comes up clearly. *It is like a spring in the desert, when you get there you can find nothing.*"¹²⁰³ A person can only be the person of the art on condition that he obeys the rules of the art, not to get rid of seriousness, to tell the truth, and using the scarce but very beautiful words. When a person like that die, he is still articulated with what he left behind."¹²⁰⁴

Certainly, when Ibn Suheyd talks about the above qualifications that a poet should have, he probably means himself and perhaps more than that, he finds himself as an example having more than those said above. If we consider that he had the art of poetry his main hobby from his childhood

¹²⁰⁰ Ebû Nuvâs, *Dîvân*, p. 556.

¹²⁰¹ *Şerhu Dîvânî İmri'û'l-Kays*, p. 161.

¹²⁰² Ibn Bessâm, *eż-Zehîre*, I/232.

¹²⁰³ Nûr Sûresi, 24/39.

¹²⁰⁴ Ibn Bessâm, *eż-Zehîre*, I/310-11.

on and from the Illiteracy period to his own time how he was so close with poetry, we can conclude that he was not wrong with his claim. But we do not want to give any clues about the secrets of “beyan” and talk about it. For him, the art of “beyan” is an innate talent and can not be possible later on in life.

3. Classification of Writers

According to Ibn Suheyd, although rhetoric people (belagatçılar) and writers have a discrepancy in thought about the beauty of beyan, the difficulty of its obtainment and learning, the amount and where and how much it will be used, the essence of it is “beyan”. Ibn Suheyd classifies these people in three categories: “people using the art of words have clear places and they are evident. They are only superior to each other in terms of the amount of their good deeds and honors.¹²⁰⁵” After saying this they make the classification as follows:

“Although some of them write descriptive poems, create new meanings and use nice words, they find it hard to say something. Writing tires them. That is why they keep the description short and this makes the poem ugly.”

“Some of them are like in the sea of abundance and mercy. They give light to their environments with their ability and art. For such a person, to begin the words is like a flood and to finish the word is like heavy rain. He never think of failure and is not scared of getting too long. When thing get difficult and harshly in terms of the requests about art of words, when he wanted to explain the aim of his ideas, and feels the heavy burden of hardships and problems, he can get over all these by himself. His braveness and dignity and spiritual talk are like hit ideas. Thus, during the day when words fight, the shots of these people with fesahat and balagat are on the target and their swords are sharp.”

“Some of them avoid from words, and cheats with his words.

¹²⁰⁵ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/238.

If he succeeds, he joins very aspect of beauty and takes part in all arts. Therefore he becomes the man of the day, and walks in the same line with high people. But in fact he neither have enough wisdom to compensate for his deficiencies nor the policy of living with the famous forever.”¹²⁰⁶

After Ibn Suheyd described these three categories he says: anybody out of any of these categories ca not find any place among the people of art.”¹²⁰⁷ He belongs to the second category according to his remarks. As we mentioned before, the characteristics of him as being very boastful of himself, prominent place, and his attacks to his enemies inevitable puts him in the second category. The third category is based on those who deceive others and they are usually on the easy side by their artificial behaviors. According to us, what Ibn Suheyd means with the third category is those of imitative teachers who usually copy from each other and their lack of ability of words.

4. Teachers

Ibn Suheyd, strongly believed that the talent of literary art came from birth, criticized those who believe that these talents were learnable and also he criticizes especially the teachers who tried to teach them:

“We see in our Cordoba that some teachers whom memorized some parts of nahiv are trying to educate those who have rigid lungs, camel- like hearts, clay-like minds and rusted memories. They try to soften their abilities. Whereas, they do not have a hole through which the lights will go and small ditches through which words will flow. Even if they had the books of criticism and Bedi, the thing they understand from them is only the same as they understand from the dance music of Yemen Monkeys and the rhythm of music coming from Ney. If they were not required to hit the strings and touch with the finger tips, anybody with a throat toque and palatal would do it. He puts his finger on the instrument and

¹²⁰⁶ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/238-39.

¹²⁰⁷ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/239.

makes some noises to accord it and make simple melodies out of them. This is what some teachers are.”¹²⁰⁸

After he emphasizes that teachers are to train those without innate abilities, Ibn Suheyd adds that teachers of that kind are lacking of understanding and these come from some bodily deficiencies. He says as follows:

“Although these teachers are aware of the nature, they are lacking of understanding and commenting on them. This deficiency of understanding comes from the incompleteness of their spirit. What causes this is the dirtiness of the clean blood following through the veins, the toughness of the nerves in the brain and their being less than the natural amount. These deficiencies are what help to repair the deficiencies in foresight and realization of unseen factors. The physical symptoms are the oval shape of the head, a prominent bone in the back head, the closeness of malar, the eyes being stretched and small, and the nose^{2s} being big and rabbit-like shape. We beg for mercy from Allah that let our hearts be perfect, not to be filled with bad thoughts, our voice cords to be sound and not to make us the slaves of our pride and prejudices.”¹²⁰⁹

As it is clearly understandable from the above part, when Ibn Suheyd tried to establish a relationship between the physical shape and poetic abilities in somewhat dim way, he tries to prove that there is close relationship between physical appearances and literary talents. Even if we are not for the ideas of Ibn Suheyd, we have a common idea that he had a very noticeable place among scholars in literary arts.

Although some Arabic literary critics mentioned Ibn Suheyd in terms of his poems, prose and style, they did not mention his point of criticism. To us Ibn Suheyd is one of the most important literary people of Andalusia came up as a result of ideological and thought movements

In another place, while talking about the deficiencies of teachers,

¹²⁰⁸ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/240.

¹²⁰⁹ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/240.

Ibn Suheyd, says the followings:

“These are the proofs of teachers in terms of their lack of the veins of understanding. They do not give what they know and they do not classify. Their tools at hand are not also enough for publication. Another feature of the is that when they look at au, they blame us as flattering. They are full of revenge and envy. When we get together with them, they try to be close to us. They try to make use of what we talk about. When experts of words get close to people and get faster, the error of the maker comes up with the excellence of the perfect as well. In this environment, you can not review what you think and this is not an opportunity for you to say something in these get together. It is no use to join these groups with prior preparations. What is effective there is a strong personality, and innate talents coming up spontaneously. And there it is clear there that the number one horse shows himself at the beginning. The way that looks is full of enthusiasm. His breaths as if the horses neigh and challenge others.”¹²¹⁰

Then, while describing such a get together, he never stays apart from talking good about himself.

“In an assembly where (d. 428/1036)¹²¹¹ were present, I was mostly the head. In these assemblies, scarfed heads get together to answer the unanswered questions and difficult situations.”¹²¹²

As a result, Ibn Suheyd criticizes only those teachers with limited words and under these situations try to teach their arts. Naturally these teachers are too far away from training talented poets. Therefore as we indicated

¹²¹⁰ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/244-45.

¹²¹¹ The last Onayyad caliphe in Andalusia Hişâm b. Muhammed b. Abdilmelik is meant. See. Ibn Hazm, *Tavku'l-hamâme*, p. 108; Hitti, *İslam Tarihi*, III/848; Heykel, *el-Edebu'l-Endelüsi*, s. 347.

¹²¹² Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/245.

before, the ability of beyan is something innate. Most probably teachers that Ibn Uheyd criticized unmercifully are perhaps his friends as well.

On the other hand in the words he says in *ez-Zehîre*, Ibn Suheyd' always displays negative views. This aspects makes us think whether Ibn Suheyd had a new school of literature and if so whether he had some of his followers in there. It is evident that Ibn Suheyd opposed those who were competing with him and had the same attitude to their supporters. Besides his extreme anger the group that Ibn Suheyd criticized harshly tried to make the same towards him in a single opportunity they had.

When we examined his works reached to our time, we see that he made use of all types of poetry from the period of Illiteracy to his own time, and realized that the art of poetry changes according to time conditions and the necessities of age. As he opposed to imitation with his own views, he also disagreed with the usage of uncommon resemblances with irrelevant words. With his attitude of being away from the poetry types of Muvaşşah and zecel, and his taken eastern norms as his guide he showed that he was against a new style in Andalusia poetry. Perhaps he had the same intuitions as Antara and thought: "is there anything left hat poets did not mention, and the new way of poetry was seen by him as a new way of the play with words. Therefore they introduce a new type f poetry.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULT

Andalusia where Ibn Suheyd was born and lived was conquered by Emevi period. At the beginning, Arabs were busy with the establishment of political stability in the region and then struggled to improve science and art. They mixed the cultural norms they brought from the east with the existing ones of the domestic people and created a new one specific to Andalusia. It is always clear that in Andalusia there are strong effects of eastern culture. With this features, Andalusia also affected the other western societies.

One of the people of literature came up in Andalusia is Ibn Suheyd, and he was born grown up in Andalusia which was developed politically, economically and scientifically. Although Arab conquerors was successful in Andalusia politically, scientific and cultural developments came up after political stability was established. At this stage, Arabs were also interested in poetry and literature as they did in the east. Ibn Suheyd was among them whose grand father was also Arab originated. Important state men and poets were grown in his family. Its having an aristocratic family played an important role in his training. Ibn Suheyd who wanted to reach a certain level in poetry and literature, had the protection of statesmen from time to time. Besides his literary characteristics, Ibn Suheyd had important ranks in the state administration as Viziership and undersecretary. Although he wanted to reach the post of general secretary, his deafness did not allow him

Although we do not know much about his education and he had a short life, he produced quality literary works enough to have his name among important men of literature. His work of prose named *Risâletü't-tevâbi' ve'z-zevâbi'* and his work of poetry named *Dîvân* were important sources of knowledge about him for us. What encouraged him to work in this field were his belief of an own innate talent and to pursue the ability of literature of his ancestors. He explains his feeling about this art as the expression pressure within himself and inability of resistance of that. He started to write poems in his childhood and competed with expert poets.

He wrote a perfect eulogy named *Risâletü't-tevâbi' ve'z-zevâbi'* and in it Ibn Suheyd, described the world of fairies. By writing this he wanted to compete with the well known Arabic poets. He made the frame of this eulogy with the best poetic and prose works. Thanks to his perfect work in which he displayed his imaginary power and high talents, he received the praises and appreciation of literary historians and critics. Although he was effected by a lot of literary people before him while he was writing this work, he also inspired a lot of writers after his time with it. Although they did not say it openly, Ebu'l-Alâ el-Ma'arrî came twenty years after his death and after three hundred years Dante came up, and their *et-Tevâbi'* type works it is thought that they were affected by Ibn Suheyd.

Apart from this eulogy, Ibn Suheyd wrote some poems and produced some more eulogies to satisfy his literary desire and o prove his superiority to the others. Unfortunately very few of these works could last to our age because of the political and social unrest in the country. Those which reached the us were came only through Ibn Bessam.

Although he had various subjects in his poems and eulogies, religious matters are very scarce in his works. He only write about “zühd” towards the end of his life.

Ibn Suheyd did not only wrote about the Andalusia region, going beyond the borders, he examined the Arabic literature as well. From İmru'u'l-Kays to his age he examined all Arabic literary figures and said that they wrote essentially on the same theme. Those who were the pioneers of poetry and prose in Arab literature changed their style in time and wrote according to changing desires and their personal choices. According to him these changes came up not via teaching of new things but from the innate talents of these literary people.

As we see when we examine the literary life in Andalusia, there was a prominent difference between real Arabic and the one used by ordinary people which was under the influence of foreign languages. In fact some ordinary people had to learn standard Arabic to use when they need it. To write in a language that a writer does not use himself means that the language is getting to lose its richness of expression and fluency. For that reason, the prose writers of that time had to learn the literary arts to be

able to use *nahiv* (correct grammar), words and the correct use of these words and thus they were able use them in an artistic way and give them fluency.

Although most of Arabic literary people and critics claim that he had no originality and was under the influence of eastern poetry, Ibn Suheyd had his own distinctive literary style. He never praised *muvaṣṣah* and *zecel* types poetry of his own age. With the belief of their being under the influence of Arabic poetry, he encouraged poets to be as creative as possible and stay away from imitation and prefer the poems of inspiration. He always defended this point of view.

In neither of his works, Ibn Suheyd claimed that there should be a specific type of poetry for Andalusia. In fact he said: “Words belong to Iraq, not Damascus”¹²¹³ and he meant that the real poetry belonged to Iraq not Damascus. For that reason he felt himself close to Iraqi poets rather than Andalusian ones. Although he put his love to Cordoba over everything, he was always proud of having an Arabic culture and race, and at times he criticized the Andalusian poets.

Ibn Suheyd displaces an innovative appearance among his contemporaries with his wisdom, nobility, literacy, opposition of moral values and cruel criticisms. He also earned enmity from some people around him because of his satiric expressions, imagination, enmity towards imitation, boastfulness and aristocratic behaviors. All these gave a chance to his enemies to humiliate him and dedicate a lot of rumors to him. In fact, Ibn Hayyam said about him: “aimlessness and laziness are in the essence of this man. In his life he was indifferent towards his religious values and dignity. He was so fond of his personal desires as to overlook his personal values. To satisfy himself, he did not get out of anything.”¹²¹⁴

Although the books of *Tabakat* and *Teracim* do not give detailed information about his life, and most of his works could not reach to our age, from the existing ones we can understand that he was among the

¹²¹³ Ibn Suheyd, *Dîvân*, p. 15-17; Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, III/520.

¹²¹⁴ Ibn Bessâm, *ez-Zehîre*, I/193; Mubarek, *en-Nesru 'l-fennî*, II/369.

most important literary figures of his age.

In his poems we see that he wrote about description, boasting, boastfulness, love, wine satire, and zühd. He wrote eulogies and elegies. In our study we evaluated him with a lot of examples. Besides these, we also found out that the poems of Ibn Suheyd contained the history, culture and art of Andalusia in them and therefore it is possible to do a detailed work about his literary personality.

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Born in 1956 at Trabzon, Dr. Mustafa Aydın graduated from Language, History and Geography Faculty of Ankara University after finishing his elementary and high school education in Trabzon. He finished his masters and doctorate studies both in Turkey and overseas. He continues to work on his academic studies to this day.

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He was always known for his enthusiastic philosophy of being strong, dynamic, and productive manager and leader. Earning ISO 9001 assurance system in his scientific and technological works, he established a highly professional management staff along with his strong leadership skills

and today he runs a large group of companies under BIL Holding.

In 2003, he established the Anatolian Education and Culture Foundation-AKEV, which he acts as the Chairman of the Board of Trustees. Through AKEV, he established the first Foundation Vocational School of Higher Education in Turkey named Anadolu BİL Vocational School of Higher Education. Following that, he established the Istanbul Aydın University in 2007. By the year 2016, Istanbul Aydın University is the biggest Foundation University with its 39,000 students and the most preferred University among all Foundation Universities in the last 8 consecutive years.

He still serves as the President of BIL Holding and Istanbul Aydın University.

Dr. Mustafa Aydın has established many scientific articles and publications and participated at countless national and international conferences. Along with his academic studies, he is actively involved as President in several non-government organizations such as Turkish Anti-Smoking Association (TSSD), Anatolian Education and Culture Foundation (AKEV), Turkish Franchise Association (UFRAD), Eurasian Universities Union (EURAS), Black Sea Franchise Federation (BSFF). He is also Vice President of Euro-Mediterranean Partnership of the Local and Regional Authorities (COPPEM), Vice-President of European Franchise Federation (EFF), Chairman of Kucukcekmece City Council and Higher Education Business Council of DEİK.

Along the years, Dr. Mustafa Aydın has received many prestigious awards such as Entrepreneur of the Year, Educator of the Year, NGO of the Year and WHO Award for Excellence.

He also wrote a newspaper column for several years and has published 2 books on the literary and political importance of Andalusia titled "İbn-i Şüheyd" and "Tevabi ve Zevabi". Both of his books are also available in English.

Dr. Mustafa Aydın speaks fluent Arabic and English and describes himself as 'A person Devoted to his Country'.

He is married and has three children.