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A Successful Andalusī *muwashshaḥ*: ‘Ubāda b. Mā’ al-Samā’’s *Man walī*

1 The Beginnings

One of the most important contributors to the formal evolution of the *muwashshaḥ* genre was the poet and anthologist ‘Ubāda Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’.¹ Probably born in Córdoba, he died in Málaga some time after Šafar 421 H/February 1030 CE, according to Ibn Ḥazm, although other dates have also been proposed.² Most of his poems were dedicated to the Ḥammūdīd rulers of Málaga, but previously he had eulogized the ‘Āmirids of Córdoba. Some of his classical poems are preserved in Andalusī anthologies and biographical dictionaries, e.g. Ibn Bassām’s *Dhakhīra*, Ibn al-Kattānī’s *Tashbihāt*,³ Abū al-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī’s *Rabī’*,⁴ Ibn ‘Askar/Ibn Khamīs’s *A’lām Mālaqa*, etc. Frequently his poems, or his personality, are found intermingled with those of another Andalusī poet, Muḥammad b.

1 See Granja, “Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’”, *EP*; Vizcaíno Plaza 2006.

2 Al-Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwat al-muqtabis* (1429/2008), 424–426 (biog. 663). Al-Ḥumaydī seems perplexed when confronted with the date 419 H/1028 CE provided by Ibn Shuhayd, as he believes his teacher Ibn Ḥazm to be more reliable; but this last date is accepted in other biographies: Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Šila* (1410/1989), 655 (biog. 973), quoting Ibn Ḥayyān; Ibn ‘Askar/Ibn Khamīs, *A’lām Mālaqa* (1420/2000), 281–285 (biog. 111); but, more frequently, the biographers give both dates: Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* (1978), 1: 468–480; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis* (1410/1989), 517–518 (biog. 1126); al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* (1413/1993), 28: 461 (biog. 361), and 29: 58–59 (biog. 23); Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* (1973), 2: 149–153 (biog. 209); al-Šafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1420/2000), 16: 355–359 (biog. 5911).

3 Ibn al-Kattānī, *al-Tashbihāt* (1966), index. Ibn al-Kattānī collected 22 poems or poetic fragments by ‘Ubāda. They have been translated into Spanish, along with those preserved in Ibn Bassām’s *Dhakhīra* (also 21 poems), by W. Hoenerbach (1986).

4 Al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rabī’* (1410/1989).

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‘Ubāda, known as Ibn al-Qazzāz,⁵ who lived in Almería at the court of al-Mu‘taṣim b. Ṣumādīh (r. 443–484 H/1051–1091 CE).⁶ Both were famous for their *muwashshaḥāt*, which has often led to confusion.

Ibn Bassām, in his brief report on the history of the *muwashshaḥ* genre, included at the beginning of ‘Ubāda Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’'s biography, emphasizes ‘Ubāda’s role as the last link in its evolution, a process which took place during the second half of the 4th/10th century.⁷ The *muwashshaḥ* poetic genre was very successful in Ibn Bassām’s times, and probably had been for many decades already. It was invented by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd or, according to Ibn Sa‘īd in his *Muqtaṭaf*, by Muqaddam b. Mu‘āfā,⁸ both of whom were poets during the reign of the emir ‘Abd Allāh (r. 275–300 H/888–912 CE). The genre had a very distinguished follower, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi (d. 328 H/940 CE), the author of the outstanding encyclopaedia of Arabic and Islamic knowledge entitled *al-‘Iqd al-farīd*. The only clue as to the formal characteristics of these first *muwashshaḥāt* is Ibn Bassām’s mention as to the use of a short song or statement (*lafẓ*) in the vernacular language (colloquial Arabic or Romance) as the prosodic foundation of the entire poem. Ibn Bassām, after Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd, called it the *markaz* (“centre”, pl. *marākiz*), and referred to the other parts of the poem as the *ghuṣn* (“branch”, pl. *aghṣān*). The first important innovation was introduced by Yūsuf b. Hārūn al-Ramādī (d. 403 H/1013 CE), who extended the use of internal rhymes into these *marākiz*. And, finally, ‘Ubāda Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’ was the first poet to insert internal rhymes into the *aghṣān*.

None of the *muwashshaḥāt* composed by the genre’s creator Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (or Muqaddam b. Mu‘āfā) have been preserved, and the same is true for his immediate followers Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi and, later, al-Ramādī. Moreover, al-

5 On this issue, see Stern 1950, who tries to disentangle the confusions in the Arabic sources, and draws up an inventory of Ibn al-Qazzāz’s classical poems and *muwashshaḥāt*. To the five strophic poems collected by Stern from *Dār al-ṭirāz* by Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk (1949) can be added those included in Ibn al-Bishrī (1992) (nos. 22, 109, 158, 214, 215, 275, 276, 309, 325, 327, 340, 341; nos. 23, 138 and 263 are also found in *Dār al-ṭirāz*).

6 Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* (1978), 1: 801–805, collected six classical poetical fragments by him.

7 Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* (1978), 1: 469–470. A very thorough analysis of Ibn Bassām’s report can be found in Monroe 1985–86, 121–147.

8 Ibn Sa‘īd al-Andalusī, *al-Muqtaṭaf* (1983), 255; in the last chapter of this book (*khamīla 12th*), 255–266, Ibn Sa‘īd outlines a history of the strophic poetry of al-Andalus for his Eastern audience (he wrote his book in Aleppo, between 640 H/1243 CE and 645 H/1247 CE). As is well known, Ibn Khaldūn (732–808 H/1332–1406 CE) quoted it freely in his *Muqaddima* (al-Ahwānī 1948, 19–33); see also, Garulo 2008, 361–369; Garulo 2006.

though Ibn Bassām says that in his time there were poets who composed *muwashshaḥāt* following al-Ramādī’s innovative rhyme scheme (he mentions the names of three poets, one of whom does not appear in other Arabic sources, Mukarram b. Sa’īd, and two others who are not identifiable, namely the sons of Abū al-Ḥasan), their poems were never collected. As such, their actual structure is a matter for conjecture. Perhaps, as suggested by Miqdād Raḥīm,⁹ al-Ramādī’s was the least sophisticated known *muwashshaḥāt* rhyme scheme: (*m m*) *a a a m m*, *b b b m m*,¹⁰ and so on up to five stanzas. However, why does Ibn Bassām mention these unknown poets, when some of his contemporaries, such as Ibn al-Labbāna,¹¹ al-Jazzār,¹² Ibn Arfa’ Ra’suh,¹³ Ibn Lubbūn,¹⁴ etc., were already using this pattern?

‘Ubāda’s *muwashshaḥāt* and their new style were an immediate success, and with them all the previous rhyme schemes seem to have been forgotten. The new rhyme schemes are probably those present in all collections of strophic poetry or in the *dīwāns* of the poets who composed them: (*m n*) *a a a m n*, *b b b m n*, etc., (*m m*) *a a a m m*, *b b b m m*, etc., or (*mn mn*) *ab ab ab mn mn*, etc., (*mn on*) *ab ab ab mn on* – the latter being the most frequent pattern in Ibn Bishrī’s (8th/14th century) *Uddat al-jalīs* – or all the possible combinations in the *aghṣān* or in the *marākiz* that the virtuosity of the *muwashshaḥ* authors afforded them. But Ibn Bassām never collected any of ‘Ubāda’s strophic poems, because, as he explains, this kind of poetry lies beyond the scope of his anthology. In fact, the same was true of all Andalusī anthologists, none of whom would include *muwashshaḥāt* in their works until the 8th/14th century, with the anthologies of Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d.

⁹ Raḥīm 1407/1987, 46–48.

¹⁰ In this paper, in order to describe the rhyme schemes I will use the letters of the alphabet up to the letter *l* for the rhymes of the *ghuṣn*, pl. *aghṣān* (Ibn Bassām) or *bayt*, pl. *abyāt* (Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk), the section of the stanza whose rhymes change with each new stanza (Spanish, *mu-danza*); and from letter *m* onwards for the rhymes of the *markaz* (Ibn Bassām) or *qufl*, pl. *aqfāl* (Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk), the last section of every stanza, whose rhymes are common to all the stanzas (Spanish *vuelta*); the name of the last *markaz* or *qufl* is *kharja*. This common rhyme can appear at the very beginning of the poem, in which case it is called *maṭla’* (prelude), and a *muwashshaḥa* with it is called *tāmma*, that is to say ‘complete’. About two thirds of the extant *muwwashshaḥāt* have a prelude, and are indeed *muwashshaḥāt tāmma*. In quoting a *muwashshaḥa*, or describing its rhyme schemes, I will use italics for the common rhymes.

¹¹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Jaysh al-tawshīḥ* (1997), 71–72, no. 5; 76–77, no. 8.

¹² Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Jaysh al-tawshīḥ* (1997), 180–181, no. 2; 188–189, no. 7.

¹³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Jaysh al-tawshīḥ* (1997), 92–94, no. 7 (but the rhyme scheme is *a a a m n*, like *Jaysh al-tawshīḥ* [1997], 182–183, no. 3, by al-Jazzār).

¹⁴ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Jaysh al-tawshīḥ* (1997), 197–199, no. 2 and no. 3; 207–209, no. 10.

776 H/1375 CE) and Ibn Bushrā/Bishrī.¹⁵ By then, and already from the second half of the 7th/13th century onward, Andalusī authors, who surpassed their Eastern colleagues in this poetic genre, were fully aware of the interest it aroused, of its success in Syria and Egypt, of the amount of imitations of the strophic poems, and of the Eastern treatises¹⁶ composed in order to master their technical difficulties and to teach them to people whose ears were not familiar with their rhythms. And so, when writing in the East, they began to include some *muwashshaḥāt*,¹⁷ or at least to provide their readers with an overview of the genre's history.¹⁸

2 'Ubāda Ibn Mā' al-Samā' in the East

Fortunately, thanks to the interest in Andalusī strophic poetry in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria, two *muwashshaḥāt* attributed to 'Ubāda Ibn Mā' al-Samā' have been preserved. Both poems were selected by the Syrian historian Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī (d. 764 H/1363 CE) in his biographical dictionary *Fawāt al-wafayāt*,¹⁹ and by his contemporary al-Ṣafadī (d. 764 H/1363 CE) in his *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*.²⁰

The first one is *Man walī*, alluded to in the title of this paper, and to which I shall return later. The second one begins *Hubbu l-mahā 'ibādah*²¹ (To love an antelope is worship). This poem exhibits something of the sophistication that seems to be at the root of the success of 'Ubāda's innovations. It is a *muwashshaḥa tamma*, that is, with a prelude (*maṭla'*), and five stanzas. However, while the lines of the *aghṣān* have the more habitual pattern ab ab ab, etc., the common rhymes

15 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Jaysh al-tawshīḥ* (1997); Ibn Bishrī, *Uddat al-jalīs* (1992).

16 On the *muwashshaḥa*, see Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, *Dār al-tirāz* (1949); García Gómez 1962. On the *zajal*, strophic poems in the Andalusī vernacular, see Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, *al-Āṭil* (1981).

17 Ibn Dihya (d. 633 H/1235 CE), writing in Egypt in the first third of the 7th/13th century, only includes two *muwashshaḥāt*, both by Ibn Zuh'r al-Ḥafid (d. 595 H/1198 CE). See Ibn Dihya, *al-Muṭrib* (1993), 203–206. In the second half of that century, Ibn Sa'īd collected in his *Mughrib* a considerable number of strophic poems (*muwashshaḥāt* as well as *azjāl*) in nineteen of the twenty sections of his work, entitled *ahdāb*, “fringes”, all dedicated to *hazl*, ‘humor’ and ‘humorous poems’. See Garulo 2009a, 311–330.

18 Ibn Sa'īd in the 12th chapter (*khamīla*) of *al-Muqtaṭaf*, mentioned above.

19 Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* (1973), 2: 149–153 (biog. 209).

20 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1420/2000), 16: 355–359 (biog. 5911).

21 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1420/2000), 16: 358–359; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* (1973), 2: 152–153; Ghāzī 1979, 1: 8–10.

(*marākiz*) have a very unusual rhyme scheme, *mno po*.²² Also the parts of the *aghṣān* are more regular than those of the common rhymes: all of them have seven syllables, and perhaps they can be metrically analyzed as a shortened form of the *rajaz* meter (x – ◡ – ◡ – –), as suggested by Ghāzī.²³ The metrics in the section of the common rhymes is again more sophisticated, because they have 7, 9, 5, 9, 5 syllables, respectively, in a way not so easily adjusted to that meter,²⁴ although there is an underlying heptasyllabic rhythm (9 + 5 = 14 = 7 + 7).

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ḥubbi l-mahā ‘ibādah
 min kulli bassāmi l-sirāri
 qamarun yaṭlu‘
 min ḥusni ‘āfāqi l-kamāli
 ḥusnu-hu l-‘abda‘

1

li-Llāhi dhātu ḥusni
 maliḥatu l-muḥayyā
 la-hā qawāmu ghuṣni
 wa-shinfu-hā l-thurayyā
 wa-l-thaghru ḥabbu muzni
 ruḍābu-hu l-ḥumayyā
 min rashfi-hi sa‘ādah
 ka-‘anna-hu ṣirfu l-‘uqāri
 jawharun ruṣṣi‘
 yasqī-ka min ḥulwi l-zalālī
 ṭayyiba l-mashra‘

2

rashīqatu l-ma‘āṭif
 ka-l-ghusni fi l-qawāmi
 shuhdiyyatu l-marāshifi
 ka-l-durri fi niẓāmi
 di‘ṣiyyatu l-rawādifi

²² A “freak”, in the words of Stern 1974, 25. There is no *muwashshaḥa* with this rhyme scheme in Ibn Bishrī, *Uddat al-jalīs* (1992); for instance, in this anthology, which records 354 *muwashshaḥāt*, there are only seven with five parts in the common rhymes (*markaz/qufl*), and all of them are unique in their combinations.

²³ See also Stern 1974, 32, who thinks that it may be “the catalectic *basīf*”, but that in the common rhymes matters are less clear.

²⁴ The nine-syllable segments can be scanned as: x – ◡ – – – ◡ – –; and the five-syllable segments are: x ◡ – – – (x stands for a syllable that can be short or long); but they do not fit any Arabic meter.

al-khaṣru dhū nhiḍāmi
jawwalatu l-qilādah
maḥlūlatun 'aqdu l-'izāri
ḥusnu-hā 'abda'
min ḥusni dhayyāka l-ghazāli
'akḥalu l-madma'

3
 layliyyatu l-dhawā'ib
 wa-wajhu-hā nahāru
 maṣqūlatu l-tarā'ib
 wa-rashfu-hā 'uqāru
 'aṣdāghu-hā 'aqārib
 wa-l-khaddu jullanāru
nadaytu wā-fu'ādah
min ghādatin dhāti qtidāri
laḥzu-hā 'aqṭa'
min ḥaddi maṣqūlin l-niṣāli
fī l-fatā l-'ashja'

4
 safarjalu l-nuhūdi
 fī marmari l-ṣudūri
 yuzhā 'alā l-'uqūdi
 min labbati l-nuḥūri
 bi-muqlatin wa-jīdi
 min ghadatin safūri
ḥubbī la-hā 'ibādah
'a'ūdhu min dhāka l-fakhāri
bi-rashan yarta'
fī rawḍi 'azhāri l-jamāli
kullamā 'ayna'

5
 'afīfatu l-dhuyūli
 naqiyyatu l-thiyābi
 sallābatu l-'uqūli
 'araqqu min sharābi
 'aḍḥā la-hā nuḥūli
 fī l-ḥubbī min 'adhābi
fī l-nawmi lī sharādah
wa-ḥukmu-hā ḥukmu qtidāri
kullamā 'amna'
min-hā fa-'in ṭayfu l-khayāl
zāra-nī 'ahja'

(0

*To love an antelope is worship.
Out of a smiling face
a moon rises
above horizons of perfection:
his amazing beauty.*

1

*How beautiful she is!
She has a pretty face,
her body is straight as a bough,
her earrings are the Pleiades,
her teeth, drops of rain,
and her saliva, an intoxicating drink
that produces happiness when drunk,
like a pure sparkling wine,
ornate pearls
that give you fresh and sweet water
from a good spring.*

2

*Her figure is slender
like a bough,
her mouth is like honey
with pearls neatly arranged,
her hips are a dune,
her waist so thin;
when she wears a necklace
over her open neckline
her beauty exceeds
the beauty of the gazelles
and their black eyes.*

3

*Her locks are the night,
and her face, the day,
her bosom is bright,
her saliva is wine,
her earlocks are scorpions,
her cheeks, pomegranate blossoms.
I cried: Oh my heart,
beware of a wondrous girl
whose glances are
for the courageous hero
sharper than the edge of a shining sword.*

4

Her breasts, like quinces
 on the marble of her bosom,
 ignore the necklaces
 that decorate her throat,
 and vaunt the eyes and the neck
 of an unveiled young girl.
*My love for her is worship,
 I seek the protection of this glory
 in an antelope who grazes
 in the garden of the blossoms of beauty
 when they grow ripe.*

5

Pure and clean
 in her appearance and clothes,
 more pleasant than wine,
 she is an enslaver of minds.
 The torment of her love
 has emaciated me,
*sleep has deserted me,
 she commands, as do the powerful,
 whenever I try to defend myself
 from her; but if her image should come to me
 at night I will be at peace).*

Far more popular than this poem, however, is the first *muwashshaḥa* collected in the biographical dictionaries of Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī and al-Ṣafadī, which begins with the phrase *Man walī*.²⁵ Al-Ṣafadī, in particular, seems fascinated by this poem, and returns to it two more times. He not only includes it in the biography of ‘Ubāda Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’, but also in that of Muḥammad b. ‘Ubāda Ibn al-Qazzāz,²⁶ out of the frequent confusion between these two poets to which we have already alluded. It again reappears in al-Ṣafadī’s *Tawshī‘ al-tawshīḥ*,²⁷ as the model of two of his *mu‘āraḍāt* (emulations, or contrafacta²⁸) of famous *muwashshaḥāt* from al-Andalus and elsewhere, and, a century later, Ibn Taghribirdī

25 Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* (1973), 2: 152–153; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1420/2000), 16: 358–359; Ghāzī 1979, 1: 5–7.

26 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1420/2000), 3: 156 (biog. 1168).

27 Al-Ṣafadī, *Tawshī‘ al-tawshīḥ* (1966), 113–115 (no. 32).

28 I use this technical term usually associated with music in order to bring to mind the close relationship between the *muwashshaḥāt* and music, as can be seen in the report in Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk’s *Dār al-ṭirāz*, his treatise on the genre, and today in the Andalusi musical traditions of Morocco and Syria. See also Monroe 1987, and Liu/Monroe 1989.

(d. 874 H/1470 CE) includes it in *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*.²⁹ But its success does not end here: there are emulations of ‘Ubāda’s poem from the 6th/12th century – Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk (d. 608 H/1211 CE)³⁰ – to the 20th century – ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm (1945–2014)³¹ – and there is even an emulation in Yemeni poetry by Muḥammad b. Sharaf (938–1010 H/1532–1601 CE).³²

Why, and how, were these poems by ‘Ubāda Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’ known in Syria and Egypt, when there is no trace of them in Andalusī or Maghribī sources? When did they migrate to the East? Who transmitted them? It does not seem possible to answer these questions, just as it is impossible to ascertain when the *muwashshaḥ* genre arrived in Egypt and Syria,³³ because it was probably transmitted orally, in the same way that the Andalusī poems included in *Yatīmat al-dahr* by al-Tha‘ālibī (d. 429 H/1038 CE) arrived in the East – a transmission not without weaknesses, as was later criticized by Ibn Bassām or Ibn al-Abbār –³⁴ therefore leaving no trace in the written sources. It can be assumed that the poems by ‘Ubāda Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’ travelled to Egypt at an early date, before they were forgotten in al-Andalus after the *muwashshaḥāt*’s period of greatest success, starting in the second half of the 5th/11th century and reaching its height during the 6th/12th century. It is indeed tempting to speculate as to the role of scholars like al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488 H/1095 CE), who left al-Andalus in 448 H/1048 CE³⁵ and was an appreciated teacher and transmitter of Andalusī science and literature to his Eastern students. Though he could not have met ‘Ubāda, he was a disciple of Ibn Ḥazm, who praises ‘Ubāda’s book on the poets of al-Andalus in his *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus*.³⁶

²⁹ Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal* (1993), 7: 50–52 (biog. 1302).

³⁰ Al-Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf* (1371/1952), 2: 237–238; Stern 1974, 94; Raḥīm 1407/1987, 161; more references in Dufourq 2011, 214–215.

³¹ See below, 5.7.

³² Ibn Sharaf al-Dīn, *Diwān* (1978?), 150–152; see also Semah 1988, 231–232; and Dufour 2011, 214–215.

³³ See a summary in Raḥīm 1407/1978, 132–142.

³⁴ Rowson/Bonebakker 1980, 11.

³⁵ Roselló Bordoy 2002.

³⁶ Pellat 1954, 53–102. For other transmitters of Ibn Ḥazm’s teachings, see Adang 2013, 513–537.

3 First examples of Andalusī strophic poetry in Egypt

In any case, at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the *muwashshaḥ* was being cultivated in Egypt and seems to have been well appreciated by the public. Ibn Zāfir al-Ḥaddād (d. 525 H/1131 CE),³⁷ an Egyptian Fāṭimid poet from Alexandria, composed at least two *muwashshaḥāt* that seem to be the earliest surviving examples of the genre in the East. Another poet from Alexandria, ‘Alī b. ‘Iyād al-Iskandarī (d. 526 H/1131-2 CE),³⁸ is the author of a poem introduced by al-‘Imād al-Isfahānī with these words: “*qara’ tu la-hu [‘Alī b. ‘Iyād al-Iskandarī] fī majmū’ fī madḥ Muḥammad b. Abī Usāma kalima dhāt awzān muwashshaḥa*” (‘In a collection of panerical poems in honor of Muḥammad b. Abī Usāma I read a poem [*kalima*] by him with the rhythms (*awzān*) of a *muwashshaḥa*’). I do not know how to interpret what exactly al-‘Imād means by this comment. Perhaps he is only trying to say that its metrics were peculiar, and that its peculiarities could be attributed to some degree to the influence of the *muwashshaḥ* genre. Here is the poem:

1
yā man ‘alūdhu bi-ḡilli-hi
fī kulli khaṭṭbin mu‘ḡili
lā ziltu min ‘aṣḡābi-hi
mutamassikan bi-yadi l-salāmah
‘āminan min kulli bāsi
fī l-ḡawādithi wa-l-ṣurūfi

37 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1420/2000), 16: 298–302 (biog. 5801): the *muwashshaḥa* beginning “*thaghrun lāḥ / yasta’siru l-’arwāḥ*” (a mouth appears and captivates the souls) in 301–302 (prelude, 5 stanzas, aa aa aa aa *mm mm*; the rhythm is 4–6, in all the rhyming segments); the second one beginning “*yā lāḥin fī sumrīn ka-l-sumrī / mahlan fa-’inna ṣabṛī ka-l-ṣibṛī*” (oh, you who rebuke me for my love of brown-skinned youths that are like spears, / bear with me, my endurance is like bitter aloe) (prelude, 4 stanzas, aa aa aa *mm*; a rhythm 7–3 in the *aḡḡṣān*, and 9–10 in the *aḡḡāl*), in *Dīwān Zāfir al-Ḥaddād*, <https://www.aldiwan.net/cat-poet-dhafer-al-haddad> and <https://www.aldiwan.net/poem14700.html> (last accessed Apr. 1, 2019); both in ‘Aṭā 1422/2001. The date of this poet’s death is variously reported: 525 H/130 CE (al-Ṣafadī), or 529 H/1134-5 CE (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a’yān* [1970], 2: 540–543), or 563 H/1167-8 CE (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm* [1383/1963], 5: 376–378). See Nassar, “Zāfir al-Ḥaddād”, *EP*.

38 Al-‘Imād al-Isfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* (1986), 2: 43–44; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḡāḍara* (1387/1967), 1: 562 (no. 18); Raḡīm 1407/1987, 139.

2

wa-’a’ūdhu min-hu li-faḍli-hi
fi kulli ’amrin mushkili
mā lāḥa fajru ṣawābi-hi
ka-l-shamsi min khalfi l-ghamāmah
lā tamīlu ’ilā shimāsi
dūna mawḍi’i-hā l-sharīfi

3

wa-’a’uddu-hu lī ma’qilā
’aḍḥā ’alay-hi mu’awwalī
’inda l-muthūli bi-bābi-hi
lammā ’amintu mina l-nadāmah
fi l-samā’ wa-fi l-qiyāsi
al-maḥḍi wa-l-naḥari l-sharīfi

4

wa-’ajullu-hu ’an mithili-hi
mithla l-ḥusāmi l-fayṣalī
māḍin bi-ḥaddi dhubābi-hi
fi kulli jumjumatīn wa-hāmah
thābitun ṣa’bu l-mirāsi
’alā mubāsharati l-ḥutūfi

(1

Oh prince, whose protection
I seek in all difficult circumstances;
like his followers,
I always look for the hand of welfare,
feeling safe from all the injuries
of adversities and misfortunes.

2

In all difficulties, I take refuge
in his favor to protect me
as long as the light of his righteousness shines,
just as the sun behind the clouds
does not approve of unruliness
that compromises its high position.

3

I think he is to me a refuge
on which I rely
when we gather in front of his doors,
because I am free of regrets
awaiting his words, his genuine
deductions and his noble discernment.

4

I consider that he has no equals,
 as he is like the sharp sword,
 ready to kill,
 that cuts
 skulls and heads,
 steady, unruly).

As can be seen, the poem al-ʿImād presents is not a *muwashshaḥa* at all. Indeed, although it is a strophic poem, its four stanzas invariably have the same rhymes (A B C D E F), but there is nothing like a refrain (*markaz*, *qufl*) whose rhymes are repeated in all of the stanzas, nor a set of rhymes (*ghuṣn*, *bayt*) that change in every one of them. As for the meter, allegedly akin to that of the *tawshīḥ*, it can be scanned as hemistichs of a dimeter *kāmīl*, but the rhyming segments E and F always lack the first syllable of the first foot (— ◡ — instead of — — ◡ —, or ◡ — ◡ — instead of ◡ ◡ — ◡ —).

ʿAlī b. ʿIyād al-Iskandarī probably composed this poem in 525 H/1131 CE, to be recited in the same public reception in which a group of poets offered their accolades to the Banū Abī Usāma family. Among the poets assembled for this occasion was the Egyptian Mūsā b. ʿAlī al-Iskandarānī, who recited a strophic poem, preserved, perhaps incompletely, in *Kharīdat al-qaṣr*.³⁹

0

'inna-nī badā lī	fī l-hawā badā lī
mudh jafat wiṣālī	ṭal'atu l-hilālī

1

'as'arta bi-qalbi	fī-hi ḥalla qalbī
ṣāḥa badru ḥubbī	fī wiṣālī ḥibbī
qad salabtī lubbī	fa-'anā 'ulabbī
rabbatu l-ḥijālī	lam tada' ḥijā lī

2

'asarat janānī	rabbatū l-ḥanānī
khaddu-hā dahā-nī	fa-hwa ka-l-dihānī
'ādhilay da'ā-nī	jīdu-hā da'ā-nī
fa-'abāda ḥālī	'āṭilan wa-ḥālī

3

lam yuḥiṭ bi-'ādī	mā janā bi-'ādī
hā 'anā 'unādī	naḥra kullī nādī

39 Al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* (1986), 2: 113; Raḥīm 1407/1987, 139.

man mujīru ṣādi mu’minin bi-ṣādi
sulla bi-l-niṣāli li-l-hawāni ṣāli

(0

*He appeared before me
 in my love he appeared;
 since his face like a moon
 rejected our union.*

1

You have left almost nothing
 where my heart was.
 The full moon of my love cried
 imploring my beloved for union:
 You stole my soul,
 and so I obey you.
*My lady had left
 nothing of my mind.*

2

A gentle lady
 has stolen my soul,
 her cheeks like a rose
 strike me as a misfortune.
 Oh my rebukers, leave me alone,
 her neck attracted me
*and ruined my present,
 leaving me destitute and lonesome.*

3

My enemy knows not
 how much I suffer because of her absence.
 Now I shout
 with all my strength:
 Who will protect a thirsty man
 who believes in⁴⁰ ...
*the sword is unsheathed against him
 and suffers to be disgraced).*

The poem presented by al-‘Imād al-Iṣfahānī has just three stanzas and a prelude, and, because the common rhymes are half the prelude, it is not a *muwashshaḥa* but a *zajal*, with the rhyme scheme *mm mm* (*maṭla’*), *aa aa aa mm*, *bb bb bb mm*, *cc cc cc mm*. All the rhyming segments have six syllables, which can be scanned

40 The meaning of this and some other lines is rather obscure.

as: $x \cup - \cup - -$. This combination of short and long syllables appears in some Andalusī *muwashshaḥāt*,⁴¹ but it also appears in a non-strophic poem by the great mystic Ibn ‘Arabī (560–638 H/1165–1240 CE).⁴² Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this poem is its pervasive use of *jinās*, or *tajnīs*, a rhetorical figure that can be described as “a pair of utterances (mostly, but not necessarily single words), within a line or colon, which are semantically different but phonetically, either completely or partially, identical”.⁴³ It is a very frequent figure in Eastern *muwashshaḥāt*, even when its authors imitate Andalusī ones, which are more natural and unaffected.

4 A successful *muwashshaḥa*

Let us turn now to ‘Ubāda’s *muwashshaḥa*, *Man walī*. It is a *muwashshaḥa tāmma*, that is to say complete with a prelude and five stanzas. It is a love poem addressed to one ‘Alī, whose name is mentioned in the *kharja*. The rhyme scheme is: *mm mm ab ab ab mm mm*, *cd cd cd mm mm*, etc. All the stanzas have a combination of verses of three and eleven syllables. Those with three syllables have a prosody like one possible foot in Arabic metrics ($x \cup -$; called *fā’ilun* in the treatises on metrics), but without full status as a meter. By contrast, those with eleven syllables can be scanned as the Arabic *sarī’* meter ($x x \cup - \mid x x \cup - \mid x \cup -$), rendering it easily imitated, as opposed to the other *muwashshaḥa* by ‘Ubāda, whose prosodic complexity, at least in the *aqfāl*, seems to have prevented emulations or contrafacta. This is the text:

0
Man walī
fī ‘ummatin ‘amran wa-lam ya’dili
yu’zālī
‘illā liḥāzu l-rasha’i l-’akḥālī

1
jurta fī
ḥukmi-ka fī qatliya yā musrifu
fa-nṣifi

⁴¹ For instance, Ibn Bishrī, *‘Uddat al-jalīs* (1992), no. 72, no. 73, no. 104 (by Ibn Zuhri), etc., in the segments of six syllables.

⁴² Gelder 2012, 133.

⁴³ Heinrichs, “Tajnīs”, *EP*.

fa-wājibun ‘an yunṣifa l-munṣifu
 wa-r’afi
 fa-’inna hādhā l-shawqa lā yar’afu
 ‘allili
 qalbī bi-dhāka l-bāridi l-salsali
 yanjali
 mā bi-fu’ādī min jawan mush’ali

2
 ‘innamā
 tabruzu kay tūqida nāra l-fitan
 ṣanamā
 muṣawwaran min kulli shay’in ḥasan
 ‘in ramā
 lam yukhtī min dūni l-qulūbi l-junan
 kayfa lī
 takhalluṣun min saḥmi-ka l-mursali
 fa-ṣīli
 wa-stabqi-nī ḥayyan wa-lā taqtuli

3
 yā sanā
 l-shamsi wa-yā ‘abhā mina l-kawkabī⁴⁴
 yā munā
 l-nafsi wa-yā su’lī wa-yā maṭlabī
 hā ‘anā
 ḥalla bi-’a‘dā’i-ka mā ḥalla bī
 ‘udhdhālī
 min ‘alami l-hijrāni fī ma‘zili
 wa-l-khalī
 fī l-ḥubbi lā yas’alu ‘amman bulī

4
 ‘anta qad
 ṣayyarta bi-l-ḥusni mina l-rushdi ghay
 lam ‘ajid

⁴⁴ Although all the medieval anthologists agree on this reading, here, as in the following eleven-syllable verse, Ghāzī writes ‘*al-shamsi* and ‘*al-nafsi* (with a *hamza* on the *alif* of the article), in order to highlight the pause at the end of the verse, but in doing so there is one extra syllable for the Arabic meter, so he had removed *wa-yā* in this line (to remove only *wa-* would give a succession of three long syllables inconsistent with the meter, although in Ghāzī’s reading a syllable is missing), and one *wa-* in the second line before *yā su’lī*. However Arabic metrics do not object to a caesura in the middle of a word – we will see it in a *muwashshaḥa* by al-Ṣafadī –, or between the article *al-* and the name it is appended to.

fi ʔarafay ʔubbi-ka dhanban 'alay
 fa-tta'id
 wa-'in tasha' qatliya shay'an fa-shay
 'ajmili
 wa-wāli-nī min-ka yada l-muʔdili
 fa-hya lī
 min ʔasanāti l-zamani l-muʔbili

5
 mā ghtadhā
 ʔarfiya 'illā bi-sanā nāʔiray-k
 wa-kadhā
 fi l-ʔubbi mā bī laysa yakhfā 'alay-k
 wa-li-dhā
 'unshidu wa-l-qalbu rahīnun laday-k
 yā 'Alī
 sallatta jafnay-ka 'alā maʔtalī
 fa-bqi lī
 qalbī wa-ʔud bi-l-ʔaḍli yā maw'ilī.

(0
*He who governs
 over a nation and is not just
 will be deposed
 unless the despot is the black eyes of a gazelle.*

1
 You were unfair
 when your harsh sentence put me to death;
 be equitable,
 that is the duty of a just ruler;
 show mercy on me,
 because my desire has no compassion;
*give me to drink
 the sweet and fresh water of your mouth,
 and the burning grief of my soul
 will go away.*

2
 You only appear
 to kindle the fire of seduction
 like an idol,
 painted with everything in place,
 who, when he throws his arrows,
 always hits the shield that protects the hearts.
*How can I be
 impervious to the darts that you send?*

*Love me
and keep me alive, kill me not.*

3
Oh light of the sun,
more brilliant than the stars,
oh desire of my soul,
oh my wish, and all that I request,
here I am
– may your enemies suffer all that I suffer!
*My rebukers
know nothing of the agony of separation,
and the carefree,
in love, do not ask after the afflicted.*

4
With your beauty
you induced me to err after doing right,
I do not find
in my love for you any guilt.
Hurry not,
and, if you wish to kill me slowly,
*be nice,
and give me your favor;
it will be to me
one of the blessings of the time to come.*

5
My eyes feed
on the light of yours,
and so
you know very well the love that I feel;
this is why
I sing, and give to you my heart on a pledge:
*Oh ‘Alī,
you gave your eyes power over my life,
spare my heart
and be generous, oh my refuge).*

5 A first set of emulations

5.1 Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk

The first poet to emulate this poem was the Egyptian Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (d. 608 H/1211 CE), the author of the first treatise on the *muwashshaḥ* genre.⁴⁵ His *muwashshaḥa* was collected by al-Ibshihī (790–after 850 H/1388–after 1446 CE), in his *al-Mustaṭraf fi kull fann al-mustazraf*,⁴⁶ one of the most famous anthologies of Arabic literature. It is also included in *'Uqūd al-la'āl*,⁴⁷ an anthology of *muwashshaḥāt* composed by al-Nawāji (788–858 H/1386–1454 CE), a contemporary of al-Ibshihī, but al-Nawāji attributes it to Muẓaffar al-'Aylānī (544–623 H/1149–1226 CE), a blind Egyptian poet contemporary to Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk.⁴⁸ This *muwashshaḥa* is a bacchic poem with a bucolic depiction of nature; in the sixth and last stanza the poem is reminiscent of the original *muwashshaḥa*, and employs Ibn Mā' al-Samā''s prelude as the *kharja* of his own poem.

0
kallilī
yā suḥbu tijāna l-rubā bi-l-ḥulī
wa-j'ālī
siwāra-ki l-mun'aṭifa l-jadwālī

1
yā samā
fi-ki wa-fi l-arḍi nujūmun wa-mā

⁴⁵ Stern 1974, 94; Raḥīm 1407/1987, 161; more references in Dufourq 2011, 214–215.

⁴⁶ Al-Ibshihī, *al-Mustaṭraf* (1371/1952), 2: 207–208. I will follow this version. Some of its stanzas are still sung in Syria and Egypt: see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bLUzIRLmX0> (last accessed Jan. 25, 2019); https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XGj-_2Xdd5E (here the singer is Ṣabāḥ Fakhri, b. Aleppo 1933) (last accessed Jan. 25, 2019).

⁴⁷ Al-Nawāji, *'Uqūd al-la'āl* (1420/1999), 164–167. For other references, see 'Aṭā 1422/2001, 173–174. The version provided by al-Nawāji has eight stanzas; that included in Ibn 'Umar's (1210–1273 H/1795–1857 CE) *Safīnat al-mulk* (1271/1854-5), fol. 44, without attribution, has seven, but some of these new stanzas seem to have been added more recently. There is an edition of Ibn 'Umar's *Safīnat al-mulk wa-naḥīyat al-fulk* published by Maṭba'at al-Jāmi'a in 1891, but I have only had access to the manuscript preserved at King Saud University MS 929 *adab*, which was copied in 1271 H/1854-5 CE. I could not verify the other sources of 'Aṭā.

⁴⁸ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* (1993), 2700–2701 (biog. 1149); Ibn Khallikān *Wafayāt al-a'yān* (1970), 5: 213–217 (biog. 724); al-Ṭayyib b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad Bā Makhrama al-Hijrānī al-Ḥaḍramī al-Shāfi'ī (870–947 H/1465–1540 CE), *Qilādat al-naḥr* (1428/2008), 5: 109–111 (biog. 2869).

kullamā
 ‘akhfayti najman ‘aḡharat ‘anjumā
 wa-hya mā
 taḡṭilu ‘illā bi-l-ṭilā wa-l-dumā
fa-hṭilī
 ‘alā quṭūfi l-karmi kay tamtalī
wa-nqulī
 li-l-danni ṭa‘ma l-shuhdi wa-l-fawfalī⁴⁹

2
 tattaqid
 ka-l-kawkabi l-durriyyi li-l-murtaṣid
 ya‘taqid
 fi-hā l-majūsiyyu bi-mā ya‘taqid
 fa-tta‘id
 yā sāqiya l-rāḥi bi-hā wa-‘tamid
wa-mla lī
ḡattā tarā-nī ‘an-ka fi ma‘zili
qalla lī
fa-l-rāḡu ka-l-‘ishqi n⁵⁰ yazid yaqtuli

3
 lā ‘ulīm
 fi shurbi ṣahbā’a wa-fi ‘ishqi rīm
 fa-l-na‘īm
 ‘ayshun jadīdun wa-mudāmūn qadīm
 lā ‘ahīm
 ‘illā bi-hādhayni fa-qum yā nadīm
wa-jlu lī
min ak’usin ṣayyarta min fawfalī
ladhdha lī
min nakhati l-‘ambari wa-l-mandalī

4
 khudh hini
 wa-‘ṭi-nī kāsi mithla kāsi-ka hanī
 wa-sqi-nī
 ‘alā ruḡābi l-faṭini l-mulsini
 wa-lhi-nī
 bi-ba‘ḡi mā ṣiḡha mina l-‘alsuni

⁴⁹ So in al-Nawāḡi, *‘Uqūd al-la’āl* (1420/1999), 164; and Ibn ‘Umar, *Safīnat al-mulk* (1271/1854-5), fol. 44. Al-Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf* (1371/1952), 2: 207, has *li-l-qaranfuli*.

⁵⁰ I think that the conditional particle ‘in must be read as *in*, without *hamza*, but with *waṣla*, and so it must be linked to ‘*ishqi*: *fa-l-rāḡu ka-l-‘ishqi-n yazid yaqtuli*.

law tulī
madḥu sanā-hu ma‘ rashan ‘akḥali
ladhdha lī
‘alā sanā l-ṣaḥbā’i wa-l-salsali

5
‘azharat
laylatu-nā bi-l-waṣli mudh ‘asfarat
‘aṣḍarat
bi-zawratī l-maḥbūbi ‘idh bashsharat
‘akḥkharat
fa-qultu li-l-ḡalmā’i mudh qaṣṣarat
ṭawwili
yā laylata l-waṣli wa-lā tanjalī
wa-sbilī
sitra-ki fa-l-maḥbūbu fī manzilī

6
man ḡalam
fī dawlati l-ḡusni ‘idhāmā ḡakam
fa-l-‘alam
yajūlu fī bāṭini-hi wa-l-nadam
wa-l-qalam
yaktubu fī-hi ‘an lisāni l-‘umam
Man walī
fī dawlati l-ḡusni wa-lam ya‘dili
yu‘zali
illā liḡāzu l-rasha’i l-akḥali.

(0
Oh clouds,
adorn with jewels the crowns of the hills,
and wear
the winding brook as a bracelet.

1
Oh sky,
you and the earth have stars and water;
whenever
you hide a star, the earth produces many others;
the earth
produces dark and white flowers like wine or fair women;
oh sky,
shower with rain the fruits of the vines, so that they ripen,
and bring
to the wine jar the flavor of honey and palm,

2

a burning wine,
to the eyes of the observer like a shining star
in which
the Zoroastrian believes.
Oh cupbearer,
come slowly with it, and rest here,
stay with me for a time
until you see me leaving you;
pour it sparingly
because wine, like love, when drunk in excess, can kill.

3

I do not blame anybody
for drinking red wine and loving a white gazelle,
for happiness
is new life and old wine –
I love only
these two pleasures; get up, my friend,
and show me
the drinking glass made of betel palm,
which I find more pleasant
than the scent of ambergris and sandalwood.

4

Hold it for me
and give, give me a glass like yours,
and let me drink
with an intelligent and eloquent man;
delight me
with something created from words,
that if they were read aloud,
praising his high rank, in the company of a black-eyed gazelle,
would delight me
more than the sparkle of red wine and of cool, sweet water.

5

The night shone
with our love, and glowed;
it disclosed
and announced the visit of my beloved,
but it was so delayed
that I said to the darkness, now so short:
Be long,
oh night of love, do not leave,
and drop
your veils, my beloved is in my home.

6

He who tyrannizes
 over the land of beauty
 will find sorrow
 and remorse enter his core,
 and pens will write
 about him through the mouth of nations:
He who governs
over the land of beauty and is not just,
will be deposed
unless the despot is the black eyes of a gazelle).

5.2 Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Mawṣilī

The second *mu'āraḍa* (contrafactum) of Ibn Mā' al-Samā's *muwashshaḥa* was composed by Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Mawṣilī, a poet well appreciated for his *muwashshaḥāt*, which were sometimes imitated by other Eastern poets.⁵¹ Almost nothing is known about him, except that he praised the Ayyūbid ruler al-Sulṭān al-Manṣūr (d. 683 H/1284 CE), who governed Hama from 642 H/1244-5 CE until his death.⁵² His eulogy for the Ayyūbid sultan was in fact a *muwashshaḥa*, beginning *bāsimun 'an la'āl / nāsimun 'an 'iṭri* (a smile like pearls, / a breath like perfume), itself a contrafactum (*mu'āraḍa*) of a *muwashshaḥa* by Andalusī poet al-A'mā al-Tuḡlī (d. 525 H/1130-1).⁵³ Later on this same poem (*bāsimun 'an la'āl*) by Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Mawṣilī would be imitated in turn by Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Ṣūfī al-Khaṭīb (693–750 H/1293–1349 CE)⁵⁴ and al-Ṣafadī.⁵⁵

Probably, as mentioned by al-Ṣafadī and Ibn Taghribirdī,⁵⁶ the *muwashshaḥa* by Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Mawṣilī is not a direct imitation of Ibn Mā' al-Samā's *Man walī*, but a *mu'āraḍa* of the poem by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk just quoted, and which is, in fact, alluded to in the prelude to al-Mawṣilī's poem. Thus, it begins as a bacchic poem, turns into a love poem, and then ends with a very short panegyric envoi.

51 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1420/2000), 6: 203–204; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal* (1410/1990), 1: 275–277 (only its prelude and the first three stanzas). See Raḥīm 1407/1987, 161, 200–201.

52 Ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīkh* (1417/1997), 2: 224; al-Yāfi', *Mir'āt al-janān* (1417/1997), 4: 150.

53 It is the famous *muwashshaḥa* beginning *Ḍāḥikun 'an jumān*, quoted by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk as an example of a *muwashshaḥa tāmma* (i.e. with a prelude) in his treatise *Dār al-ṭirāz* (1949), 32, and 57–58 (no. 1); García Gómez 1962, 33, 65–66.

54 Ibn Shakir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* (1973), 4: 343–349; Raḥīm 1407/1987, 210–211.

55 All three Eastern poems are quoted in al-Ṣafadī, *Tawshī' al-tawshīh* (1966), nos. 3, 4 and 5; and in al-'Adhārā al-mā'isāt (1902), 115–120 (nos. 44, 45, 46).

56 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1420/2000), 6: 203; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal* (1410/1990), 1: 275.

The need to end on this note of praise seems to be the reason for the displacement of the reference to Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’*’s muwashshaḥa*, now quoted in the fifth stanza.

0

jallilī
yā rāḥa ka’sī wa-la-hā kallilī
bi-l-ḥulī
wa-sawwiri-hā wa-la-hā khalkhalī

1

min ghurar
ḥabābu-ki l-manẓūmi mithla l-durar
bi-l-khamar
ka-’anna-hu l-yāqūti fawqa l-jamar
wa-l-zahar
fi l-rawḍi ’amthālu l-nujūmi l-zuhar
fa-nqulī
min danni-ki l-makhtūmi bi-l-mandali
wa-rsalī
ṭiba l-shadhā ma’ nasmati l-sham’ali

2

qad qadaḥ
zinādu ’anwāri l-ṭilā fi l-qadaḥ
wa-l-taraḥ
’adbar idhā ’aqbala min-hā l-faraḥ
wa-nsharaḥ
ṣadrī bi-hā wa-l-ghammu ’annī saraḥ
fa-jtalī
li-bnati l-karmi mina l-jadwali
salsalī
fa-qad shadā l-qumru ma’a l-bulbuli

3

dhī l-shumūs
bi-’aydi l-’aqmāri taḥki l-shumūs
fi l-ku’ūs
bi-ṣirfi-hā yuṣrifu hammun wa-būs
li-l-nufūs
rawḥun wa-rayḥānun wa-hadyu l-’arūs
tanjalī
’alayya fi muṭrafi-hā l-ṣandali
’anmulī
’akhḍibu-hā min kāsi-hā ’in mulī

4

bī rashā
 yasmū 'alā badri l-dujā wa-l-wishā
 law yashā
 yamshī 'alā ra'sī wa-'aynī mashā
 al-ḥashā
 bi-l-nāri min jafwati-hi qad ḥashā
qad qalī
muḥibba-hu bal qalbu-hu yanqalī
yaṣṭalī
min-hu ka-nāri l-ḥarbi fī l-qasṭalī

5

'ahyafu
 mina l-ṣabā fī laṭāfin 'alṭafu
 mutlifu
 siḥrun bi-'ayni-hi 'awi l-murhafu
 'awṭafu
 ruḍābu-hu l-shuhdu 'ami l-qarqafu
wa-l-khalī
'alayya qad jāra wa-lam ya'dilī
'idh walī
fī dawlati l-ḥusni wa-lam yaz'ali

6

mā khabā
 wajdi wa-'ashwāqī fu'ādī ḥabā
 wa-l-ḥibā
 jarradna min 'ajfāni-hinna l-ḥubā
 qad ṣabā
 'ilay-ka qalbī yā nasīm al-ṣabā
fa-qbalī
yā riḥu naḥwī wa-'alayya qbilī
fa-qbalī
qawlī wa-'aknāfu l-ḥimā qibalī

(0

Oh wine,
fill my cup and adorn it
with jewels,
and with bracelets and anklets,

1

with the stars
 of your bubbles arranged as pearls,
 a wine
 that resembles a ruby over embers,

and with flowers
 in a garden like shining stars,
and transfer it
from the earthen jar sealed with sandalwood,
and send
its fragrance on the breeze of the north.

2

Like tinder,
 the wine's sparkles set the goblets on fire,
 and sadness
 runs away, as the wine ushers in happiness;
 my heart
 rejoices with it and my worries take leave.
Look
from the brook at the daughter of the vine,
pour water into it,
now that the doves' song has joined that of the nightingales.

3

The sun of the wine
 in the hands of moonlike youths resembles the sun
 in the glasses,
 a wine so unmixed
 that it keeps away sorrows and sufferings;
 the souls find in it
 refreshment, aromatic plants and the serenity of a bride,
that appears
before me in her scented shawls.
The glass,
when filled up, tinges my fingertips.

4

In my heart lives a gazelle
 rising through the dark above moon and shimmering sword.
 If he wanted
 to walk on my head and my eyes, he would do so.
 My soul is full
 of the fire of his roughness,
he hates
his lover, indeed, his heart is the hater,
and burns
like the fire of war on the chestnuts.

5

Slender,
 gentler than the east wind in its gifts,

he kills the lovers,
 – is there magic in his eyes or is it a sword?
 Bushy-browed,
 – is his saliva honey or wine?
Carefree,
he was unfair to me, was not just
in governing
over the land of beauty, and was not deposed.

6
 My heart
 does not hide my love and desire,
 when young women like gazelles
 have unsheathed the sword of their eyes.
 My heart
 longs for you, oh breeze of the zephyr,
come to me,
oh wind, come close to me,
and receive favorably
my poem, as I head for the shadow of his shelter).

5.3 Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Azāzī

The following imitation of *Man walī* is a *muwashshaḥa* by Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Azāzī (Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im) (633–710 H/1235–1310 CE), a well-known Egyptian poet, as well as a merchant in Cairo, who was successful at writing both classical and strophic poems.⁵⁷ Both al-Ṣafadī and Ibn Taghrībirdī did collect, among al-‘Azāzī’s poems and contrafacta of Andalusi and Eastern poets, a *muwashshaḥa* with the same structure as *Man walī*, although with different rhymes in the common rhymed sections of the stanzas, which, as I will explain later on, was not unusual in the art of contrafactum. They did not collect, however, al-‘Azāzī’s contrafactum more closely following the poem by Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’, which begins ‘*Arsilī*. This *muwashshaḥa* seems to be preserved only in *al-Durr al-maknūn fī sab‘at funūn*, by Ibn Iyās al-Ḥanafī (852–ca. 930 H/1448–1524 CE), a source which I have been unable to access.⁵⁸ Fortunately it is also

⁵⁷ Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān al-‘aṣr* (1418/1998), 1: 269–275 (biog. 130); al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1420/2000), 7: 99–105 (biog. 734); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal* (1984), 1: 362–373 (biog. 196).

⁵⁸ Raḥīm 1407/1987, 161, who quotes only the first two lines. There is an *al-Shi‘r al-malḥūn. Awzānu-hu wa-qawāfi-hi ma’a taḥqīq Kitāb al-Durr al-maknūn fī al-sab‘at al-funūn*, by ‘Ahdī Ibrāhīm Muḥammad al-Sīsī, Ṭanṭā: Jāmi‘at Ṭanṭā, 2000; and a later edition: *al-Durr al-maknūn fī al-sab‘at al-funūn li-Abī al-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Iyās (t 930 h)*, ed. by ‘Ahdī al-Sīsī,

found in ‘Aṭā’s *Dīwān al-muwashshaḥāt al-mamlūkiyya*,⁵⁹ although the version included there appears to be incomplete, as it has only four stanzas. In this first contrafactum – a love poem, like that of ‘Ubāda Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’ – al-‘Azāzī did indeed follow his model closely.

0

’arsilī
satra dayājī sha’ri-ki l-musbalī
wa-njalī
ka-l-badri fī thawbi l-dujā l-’alyalī

1

yā ghinā
man lā la-hu ‘an-ki bi-shay’in ghinā
yā hanā
man nāla min waṣli-ki ṭiba l-hanā
yā ‘anā
man lam yushāhid min-ki ḥusna l-‘anā
fa-mhalī
fī qatlātī l-‘ushshāqī lā ta’jalī
’awṣilī
fa-l-hajru bi-l-maḥbūbi lam yajmulī

2

qalbu-hu
qad zāda min farṭi l-jawā karba-hu
laylu-hu
yazdādu ‘aḍ’āfan bi-hi ḥarba-hu
ḥubbu-hu
min-hā wa-’in ṭāla l-madā ḥubba-hu
fa-’dilī
fī dawlatī l-ḥusni fa-qad tu’dalī
wa-fḍilī
‘alā l-shajiyi l-mughrami l-mubtalī

3

yā ‘adhūl
jahlīta fī lawmi-ka mādhā taqūl
yā jahūl
al-‘aqlu fī ba’ḍi l-taṣābi yazūl
lā taḥūl

Risālat Duktūrāt Kulliyyat al-ādāb Jāmi‘at Ṭanṭā, 2014. But, as mentioned above, I have been unable to access them.

59 ‘Aṭā 1420/1999, 37–38.

‘ishqī wa-dhāka l-‘adhlu min-ka yaṭūl
fa-jmulī
fī qatlati l-mughrami kay tanṭalī
wa-qlilī
min rashqī sahmin ghāba fī maqṭalī

4
 law tarā
 dam‘ī ‘alā khaddī li-mā qad jarā
 ‘aḥmarā
 la-kunta li min dhā l-hawā mu‘dhirā
 wa-l-karā
 ‘amsā ‘ani l-‘ajfāni mustanfarā
kayfa lī
law bittu min wajḍī bi-qalbin khālī
man bulī
yaṣbir ‘alā ḥukmi l-qaḍā l-munzali

(0
Let down
the dark veil of your loose hair,
and show your face
like a moon upon the dark garment of night.

1
 Oh all that is needed
 for a man that cannot do without you;
 oh happiness
 of a lover who through your love has attained true happiness;
 oh pain
 of a heart that always sees you unpained;
so take your time,
do not hasten to kill your lovers;
join yourself to me,
for to take leave of the beloved is not right.

2
 His heart
 grieves more with so ardent a love;
 his nights
 through their strife multiply his sorrows
 and his love
 of her, if his love can last.
So be just
over the land of beauty, and perhaps be justly treated,
and grant your favor
to a sad and suffering lover.

3

Oh rebuker,
 when blaming me you know not what to say;
 oh foolish creature,
 sense abandons a man in love;
 you cannot stop
 my passion, and your censure is undue.
So be gracious
in killing the lover so as to deceive him,
and do not
strike my heart with a hidden arrow.

4

If you saw
 my tears afterward upon my cheek
 so red,
 you would excuse that passion.
 Sleep
 is denied to my eyes.
What can I do?
If only my heart cared not for this ecstasy!
One afflicted
must be patient with fate's sentence).

5.4 Al-Ṣafadī

The author of the next contrafactum is Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī (696–764 H/1297–1363 CE),⁶⁰ a well-known man of letters, biographer, and literary critic. His *Tawshī‘ al-tawshīḥ*⁶¹ is an anthology of *muwashshaḥāt*, with an introduction about this genre based on Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk’s *Dār al-ṭirāz*, in which al-Ṣafadī includes his own contrafacta of his favourite strophic poems. Among them, there are two *muwashshaḥāt* that the author describes as *mu‘āraqāt* of *Man walī*, numbers 33 and 34.⁶² I will deal now with the first of them, number 33, because it is a close emulation of *Man walī*, while the second one (no. 34) has different rhymes in the *aqfāl* (common rhymes). It is a second possibility of emulation that al-Ṣafadī expressly comments upon, and there are some other poems of this kind that in my opinion deserve special treatment.

⁶⁰ Rosenthal, “al-Ṣafadī”, *EF*.

⁶¹ Al-Ṣafadī, *Tawshī‘ al-tawshīḥ* (1966).

⁶² Al-Ṣafadī, *Tawshī‘ al-tawshīḥ* (1966), 116–118 and 118–121.

Al-Şafadī introduces his first *muwashshaḥa* by saying that in composing the poem's rhythm (*wazn*) he will follow certain rhyming rules ignored in 'Ubāda Ibn Mā' al-Samā's poem. He acknowledges that the latter does repeat some rhymes (*wa-i'tamadtu fi-hi luzūm⁶³ lam yaltazim-hu 'Ubāda al-madhkūr fi muwashshaḥi-hi 'alā anna-hu huwa takarrara ma'a-hu ba'ḍ al-qawāfi*), but not consistently. Al-Şafadī's is not the first *muwashshaḥa* whose rhyme scheme is different from 'Ubāda's, that is to say, it is aa aa aa in the *aghṣān* (rhymes which change in every stanza) as opposed to 'Ubāda's ab ab ab. This is the rhyme scheme chosen by all the preceding Eastern poets we are dealing with, probably after Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's poem. Although al-Şafadī's intention is to follow a sort of *luzūm mā lā yalzam*,⁶³ an enriched rhyme based on two consonants, he is not strictly consistent either: neither the prelude and *kharja*, nor the first stanza, follow these rules. As for its genre, al-Şafadī's *muwashshaḥā* is a love poem, in which the poet complains of the usual cruelty of the beloved and his own sufferings.

0
tanbalī
ḥushāshatī wajdan fa-lā tansa lī
mā bulī
qalbī bi-hi min ṭarfī-ka l-bābilī

1
kam 'ilā
hādḥā l-tajannī wa-l-jafā wa-l-qilā
wa-l-balā
fa-'inna dam'ī qad jarā jadwalā
min-hu lā
min ḡayri-hi ṣayyarta lī manhalā
fa-fṣilī
hādḥā l-jafā 'an-nī bi-waşlin jalī
yanjali
ṣadā fu'ādin bi-l-jawā mumtalī

2
salli-nī
bi-wa'dī zūrin fa-l-ḡanā salla-nī
malli-nī
bi-l-qurbi 'inna l-suqma qad malla-nī
ḡalli-nī
bi-durri waşlin fa-l-jafā ḡalla-nī
wa-'dili

63 Bonebakker, "Luzūm Mā Lā Yalzam", *EF*.

wa-‘an ṭarīqi l-waṣli lā ta’dali
wa-qbali
qawli wa-naḥwī bi-l-riḍā ‘aqbili

3
 al-sadam
 nādama-nī ba‘da l-hanā wa-l-nadam
 wa-l-‘alam
 bi-sā’iri l-‘a‘ḍā’i min-nī ‘alam(m)
 wa-l-saqam
 ḥaẓẓī fa-subḥāna l-ladhī qad qasam
fa-ḥṭālī
yā suḥba l-ajfānī wa-lā tamṭālī
ta’ṭālī
fa-‘inna nāra l-shawqi lam tabṭulī

4
 yā gazāl
 hazlu-ka ḥādhā jadda bī fi l-huzāl
 lā yazāl
 ṭarfu-ka yad‘ū l-qalba min-nī nizāl
 fi khtizāl
 wa-mālikī māla ‘ilā l-‘i‘tizāl
kam yalī
wasmiyyu dam‘ī fi l-dujā man walī
wa-l-walī
‘āda minā l-‘a‘dā’i fi l-‘awwali

5
 ‘antumā
 yā ‘ādhilay wajdi l-ladhī khuntumā
 qultu mā
 yadkhulu fi ‘udhnī l-ladhī qultumā
 sallimā
 ḥalī ‘ilā ‘amri l-hawā wa-slamā
fa-l-khalī
‘ammā yuqāsī l-ṣabbu fi ma‘zili
wa-l-malī
bi-l-wajdi mā yuṣghī ‘ilā l-‘udhdhali

(0
My dying breath
is hastened through ecstasy; do not forget
the suffering
of my heart under your charming gaze.

1

How long can I survive
such false incriminations, roughness, hate,
and trials?

My tears flow like rivers
only because of him;
you have made a spring of me.

Free me

*of this estrangement and renew our union,
and the thirst
of a heart full of passion will disappear.*

2

Console me
with a false promise, that this emaciation not consume me;
Come be
by my side, now that illness has overcome me;
give me
the pearls of union, as your enstrangment has given me grief.

Be just,

*and from the path of union do not just turn away;
accept
my poem and come to me with good will.*

3

Sadness
is my companion after happiness, and regret
and pain
fill my body.

Sickness

is my fate – praise to the one who arranges all affairs!
*Flow in torrents,
oh clouds of my eyes, do not delay,
or you will be useless,
the fire of longing is raging!*

4

Oh gazelle, I take your playfulness
quite seriously, which is why I've grown thin.

Your eyes
always call my heart to exchange blows
alone,

while my master remains aloof.

So near

*have my tears in the dark drawn me to him who governs;
this friend
who is among my enemies supreme!*

5

You two
 who rebuke a love you betrayed,
 I said: never
 will I hear what you say;
 commit
 my case to the hands of passion;
for one who is carefree
before the suffering of a lover, isolated
and filled
with ecstasy, will not listen to rebukers).

5.5 ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Mawṣilī

The next contrafactum is a wine poem. Its author is ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Mawṣilī (‘Alī b. Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr) (d. Dhū al-Qa‘da 789 H/November 1387 CE),⁶⁴ or, according to ‘Aṭā, Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ‘Umar ‘Uthmān.⁶⁵ ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Mawṣilī was a poet based in Damascus, although he also lived in Aleppo. He is the author of a *qaṣida badī‘iyya*, emulating *al-Kāfiya al-badī‘iyya* by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (677–749 H/1278–1348 CE)⁶⁶ in praise of the Prophet, and, just like his model, he also wrote a commentary on his own poem. The *muwashshaḥa* of ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Mawṣilī emulating Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’'s poem seems closely related to those of Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk and his followers, and, like in their poems, the prelude (*maṭla’*) of *Man walī* is now the *kharja*, with a small alteration.

0

ghanni lī
qad ṭāba lī shurbī ‘alā l-jadwali
wa-mli lī
mudāmatan tashgalu sirri l-khalī

1

fi l-ṭilā
shifā’u karbi l-mudnafi l-mubtali
qad ḥalā

⁶⁴ Raḥīm 1407/1987, 161–162, 216–217; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāḥ al-ghumr* (1389/1969), 1: 342; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* (1349/[1930-1]), 3: 43; Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* (1404/1984), 1, part 2: 389.

⁶⁵ The text of this *muwashshaḥa* can be found in ‘Aṭā 1422/2001, 175–176, but I have been unable to ascertain who this Fakhr al-Dīn is. ‘Aṭā’s sources are *al-Durr al-maknūn* of Ibn Iyās al-Ḥanafī (see above, footnote 58), and *Saj’ al-wurq* by al-Sakhāwī (830–902 H/1427–1497 CE).

⁶⁶ Heinrichs, “Ṣafī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Sarāyā al-Ḥillī”, *EP*; DeYoung 2011, 75–88.

tahattukī fī l-shurbi bayna l-malā
 kayfa lā
 yu'dharu man hāma bi-ka'sin milā
tanjalī
ka-l-kā'ibi l-ḥasnā'i taḥta l-ḥulī
taṣṭalī
min ḍaw'i-hā fī l-ka'si 'idh tamtalī

2
 mā l-surūr
 'illā samā'ī li-l-ghinā wa-l-zuhūr
 wa-l-khumūr
 wa-rashfu ka'sāti l-lamā wa-l-thughūr
 wa-l-ghurūr
 man yumsi 'an nayli l-'amānī ṣabūr
fa-bdhulī
mā 'azza fī l-rāḥi wa-lā tanjalī
tafḍulī
'alā l-warā māḍin wa-mustaqbali

3
 lan yaḍī'
 al-'umru fī l-dunyā bi-ghayri l-qaṭī'
 fa-l-rafi'
 'idhā du'ī li-l-ka'si labbā sarī'
 fa-l-raḡī'
 man bāta fī mithli zamāni l-rabī'
mukhtalī
bi-l-ṣaḥwi min nayli l-'amānī khali
mubtalī
'an ladhḍhati l-'ashyā'i fī ma'zali

4
 fī l-shamūl
 ma'nān bi-hi tasbī jamī'a l-'uqūl
 wa-l-jahūl
 man yuṣṣghi fī-hā li-maqāli l-'adhūl
 da' yaqūl
 mā shā'a fī-hā lastu 'an-hā 'aḥūl
tanjalī
'annī humūmī 'idh 'arā manzilī
mumtalī
min qahwatin 'adhrā'a lam tubdhali

5
 qad samā
 min ba'di dhā qalbi li-ḥubbi l-dumā

wa-ntamā
 li-ḥubbi badrīn fī-hi wajdī namā
 kullamā
 fawwaqa naḥwī ṭarfu-hu ‘ashumā
ladhdha lī
mawṭī wa-yā bushrā-ya ‘in ṣaḥḥa lī
fa-‘dhili
wa-l-lawmu fī-hi kaththara-w qalla lī

6
 mā ranā
 ‘illā ‘a‘āra l-jisma thawba l-ḍanā
 wa-jtanā
 min ghuṣṣni-hi qalba l-‘asā wa-l-‘anā
 wa-nthanā
 lisānu ḥālī qā‘ilan mu‘linā
man walī
fī ‘ummatin ‘amran wa-lam ya‘dali
yu‘zali
bi-nabli ‘alḥāzī l-rashā l-‘akḥali

(0
Sing to me,
it is delightful to drink by the stream;
fill my glass
with wine to hide my secrets from the carefree one.

1
 In wine
 is the cure for the sorrows of an emaciated and afflicted lover;
 it is so pleasant
 to drink shamelessly in public!
 Why shouldn't it be so?
 But they rebuke one who loves a full glass
that appears
like a beautiful maiden under her jewels,
when the wine
that glows in it warms his heart.

2
 Joy
 inhabits songs, flowers,
 and wine,
 and kisses the dark red lips of glasses and young girls;
 he who refrains
 from fulfilling his wishes is deceived.
Pay generously

*for this wine and do not go away,
and you will outdo
all mankind, past and future.*

3

Life will never be sweet
in this world without a group of friends.
A refined man,
when invited to drink, promptly obeys,
but the fool
passes the night, in a time like spring,
alone
and sober, indifferent to his desires,
afflicted,
deprived of enjoyment.

4

In the cool wine
there is something that captivates the mind;
Only a fool
listens to the words of a rebuker.
He can say
what he wants about the wine, I will not change my mind:
my worries
will disappear if I see my house
well provided
with a virgin wine sparingly served.

5

After drinking
my heart wishes to love young girls,
and ardently
longs for a full moon that my ecstasy might grow
whenever
it casts at me its gaze like arrows;
death is delightful to me,
oh joyful tidings if he cures me.
So rebuke me,
I am indifferent to all your criticism.

6

One look from him
and my body is clothed with emaciation;
the fruit
of his boughs is but a heart full of grief and worry.
Now my tongue
is ready to tell everyone:

*He who governs
over a nation and is not just,
will be deposed
with arrows from the black eyes of a gazelle).*

5.6 Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dīn

The success of the *muwashshaḥa* of Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’ did not end in Ayyūbid or Mamlūk Egypt. Two centuries later, a Yemeni poet, Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dīn (938–1010 H/1532–1601 CE), wrote yet another poem emulating Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’'s *muwashshaḥa*.⁶⁷ Although it is included in the poet's *Dīwān of mubayyatāt and muwashshaḥāt*, it is neither a *mubayyata* – the Ḥumaynī strophic poem more akin to an Andalusī *muwashshaḥa* – nor a Yemeni *muwashshaḥa* – whose structure is very different from its Andalusī equivalent. Still, it is clearly an emulation of *Man walī*, and, like it, contains five stanzas. As suggested by Semah, Ibn Sharaf al-Dīn probably also had in mind the *mu‘āraḍa* of Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk. It is a bacchic poem with the usual garden scenery, the beautiful cupbearer, and the love for gazelle-like youths. According to the compiler ‘Isā b. Luṭf Allāh, Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dīn composed his poem late in life, around 1008–1010 H/1599–1601 CE.

0
al-walī
‘alqā ‘alā l-rawḍi funūna l-ḥulī
fa-njalī
‘isfanṭa ka’sin nūru-hu yaghtalī

1
‘asfarat
zuhru l-dujā fi rawḍatin ‘azharat
ṣawwarat
la-nā l-samā fi l-‘arḍi ‘idh nawwarat
ḥayyarat
‘albāba-nā fi ḥusni mā ḥayyarat
ḥaythu lī
ka’si ‘alā zahri l-rubā yanjali
ka-l-ḥulī
yazīnu jīda l-‘āṭili l-‘ayṭali

⁶⁷ Semah 1988, 231–232; Dufour 2011, 214–215. See the complete poem in Ibn Sharaf al-Dīn, *Dīwān* (1978?), 150–152.

2

al-sa'īd
 ṣabbun yu'āṭī l-kāsa ghizlāna ghid
 ka-l-farīd
 mabāsīman wa-l-ḡabyu 'aynan wa-jīd
 al-rashīd
 man yamzuju l-ka'sa bi-khamri l-badīd
kallilī
bi-l-ka'si kaffa l-shādini l-'akḥali
wa-mli lī
ka'sī 'alā raj'i ghinā l-bulbuli

3

mu'nisi
 'alā rtishāfi durrata l-'anfusi
 'ak'usi
 bi-Llāhi 'adhiq-hā wa-lā taḥbasi
 wa-ḥtasī
 min kaffi sāqin 'aḥwari 'al'asi
salsilī
fī l-kā'si dhāka l-rā'iqi l-salsali
'allilī
'akwāba-hā bi-l-miski wa-l-mindali

4

al-maliḥ
 maliḥun mithla smih wa-fil'ih maliḥ
 wa-l-qabiḥ
 qabiḥun min bāhi l-muḥayyā l-ṣabiḥ
 wa-l-ṣaḥiḥ
 wa-Llāhi lā yaslā wa-lā yastariḥ
man bulī
bi-'ishqi ḡabyin 'ad'ajin 'anjali
yanḥalī
mithla muḥayyā l-qamari l-munjali

5

man naẓar
 'ilā ṭal'ati-h 'aqsam mā dhā bashar
 wa-l-bashar
 ḥārū wa-qālū dhā malak 'aw qamar
 wa-l-qamar
 min-hu khtafā wa-l-shamsu ghābat khafar
'asbilī
yā shamsu 'adhyāla l-ḥayā wa-khjalī
wa-'filī
bi-Llāhi min 'ujbi-ki dhā l-'awwali

(0

The Lord

*has cast down upon the garden countless jewels,
so unveil
a fragrant wine whose light shimmers in its glass.*

1

The stars of the night
shine in a garden full of flowers
that appears to us,
when it blooms, like heaven on earth,
and bewitches
our minds with its unrivalled beauty.
There
my glass, upon the flowers of the hills, appears
like jewels
adorning the long neck of a beautiful woman.

2

Happy
is a lover who offers a glass to tender gazelles
with unrivalled
mouths and an antelope's eyes and necks.
Wise
is he who mixes that wine into the glass.
Make the glass
a crown in the hand of the black-eyed gazelle,
and fill
my cup as the nightingales renew their song.

3

My companions,
when I drink the pearls of wine,
are the glasses;
by God, fill them up, and do not put them away,
sip from the hand
of a black-eyed and red-lipped cupbearer,
pour
it into the glass, fresh and pure;
serve
the cups with musk and sandalwood.

4

The beautiful
is as beautiful as his name and his deeds are beautiful,
and the ugly
is ugly in spite of his pretty face,

and the reliable,
 by God, never forgets nor finds rest.
One afflicted
by love for an antelope with large, dark eyes
wastes away
like the unveiled face of the moon.

5

He who looks
 upon his countenance cries “This is no mortal”.
 And the humans
 are at a loss and say: “This is an angel or the moon!”
 The moon
 vanishes and the sun sets before him out of shyness.
Let down,
oh sun, the last of the rain in shame,
and go down,
in awe – by God – of this one, supreme).

5.7 ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm (Abū Hammām) (1945–2014)

The last emulation of Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’'s poem is a very recent one. Its author is the Egyptian poet, researcher, critic, and translator – mostly of poetry from Spain and Latin America – ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm (1945–2014), also known as Abū Hammām. His poem, entitled “Muwashshaḥa miṣriyya”, was first published in the first issue of the literary journal *Ibdā’* (January 1994),⁶⁸ and later on was included in the poet’s last book of poetry, *Zahrāt al-nār* (1998), and in his *al-A‘māl al-shi‘riyya al-kāmila* (2011), pages 238–244. This contrafactum is the longest poem in this series, with ten stanzas instead of the usual five or seven. A further difference with the preceding poems, centered on love or wine, is that this one is a political poem,⁶⁹ in which the author denounces a corrupt and oppressive power, here identified with that of the last Fāṭimid sultan al-‘Āḍid (r. 555–567 H/ 1160–1171 CE) and his viziers, unable to fend off the Crusaders. It is not difficult

⁶⁸ Some months later, in the same journal, no. 12, December 1994, Maḥmūd al-‘Ashīrī published a study of the poem and its relationship with ‘Ubāda’s poem, entitled “‘Īqā’ al-ma’nā wa-shā’iriyyat al-‘īqā’. Dirāsa fī qaṣīda “an muwashshaḥa andalusīyya” li-l-shā’ir ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm (Abū Hammām)”, now included in Maḥmūd al-‘Ashīrī’s *al-Sayr naḥw nuqṭa muftariḍa*. See al-‘Ashīrī 2014.

⁶⁹ These two reasons, its length and its theme, have led me not to quote the poem in its entirety in this paper, in addition to the significant gap in time – four centuries – between this contemporary poet and the last pre-modern one, Ibn Sharaf al-Dīn.

to see in it the same critical attitude of Jamāl al-Ghīṭānī in his first novel *al-Zaynī Barakāt* (1971). Also like him, ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm uses the past as a metaphor for the present (the Mamlūks of the poem stand for the power of the military establishment under president Ḥusnī Mubārak [1981–2011]), likely a ruse to avoid censorship.

However, it is no surprise that, in order to address Egyptian politics, the contemporary poet turns time and again to the expressions of Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk’s original, framed around the concept of just governance. It is also likely that the author has in mind all the other emulations by Mamlūk poets. The poem seems encircled by the initial and final *aqfāl*, that is to say, by the prelude (*maṭla’*) and the *kharja*, which repeats the prelude almost word for word:

(Prelude)

Man walī

fī ‘ummatin ‘amran wa-lam ya’dilī

yu’zālī

‘illā l-mamālīku fa-lā tanjalī

(He who governs

over a nation and is not just,

will be deposed,

except the Mamlūks, who will not disappear).

(Kharja)

Man walī

fī ‘ummatin ‘amran wa-lam ya’dilī

yu’zālī

ḥattā l-mamālīki fa-qad tanjalī

(He who governs

over a nation and is not just,

will be deposed,

even the Mamlūks, who perhaps will disappear).

6 A second set of emulations

As mentioned before, al-Ṣafadī, after his first emulation of *Man walī* (*Tawshī‘ al-tawshīḥ* number 33), declares, when introducing number 34, that he wanted to compose another *muwashshaḥa* with the rhythm (*wazn*) of ‘Ubāda’s poem, but with a different set of rhymes (*wa-ghayyartu al-qāfiya al-ūlā*, ‘I changed the first

rhyme') – here considering only the common rhymes. It is not an infrequent device even when a *kharja* is in fact re-used by a younger poet, because it is enough to change the last word to create a poem that seems somewhat different.⁷⁰ Although there are plenty of earlier examples, even in these cases of reusing a *kharja*, in which the change of the last word compromises the original set of rhymes of the first *muwashshaḥa*, it is in the Mamlūk period, when al-Ṣafadī lived, that this possibility seems to have been fully developed. In any case, there are another four poems from this period that are emulations of the *muwashshaḥa* of 'Ubāda Ibn Mā' al-Samā'. Chronologically, Al-Ṣafadī's is the last one, but, as he states clearly that his poem is a *mu'āraḍa* of the Andalusī poet, I will begin with it because it is a very clear example. Although in the other poems it can be concluded based on the rhythm that they are in fact emulations, neither the poets who wrote them nor the anthologists who collected them mention this fact.

6.1 Al-Ṣafadī

Al-Ṣafadī's *muwashshaḥa* is a love poem; at six stanzas and a prelude, it is a bit longer than his previous one, and is even more affected, since the use of *tajnīs* in the rhymes is more frequent and more emphasized.

0
Qaddirī
'anna raqībī bi-l-liqā qad durī
'aw 'arī
hal yantahī 'an khulqī-hi l-'aw'arī

1
qad ḥashad
fī-ki saqāmī wa-'adhāba l-ḥasad
wa-l-ḥasad
min 'ādhilī mtadda 'ilā ghayrī ḥad(d)
wa-qṭaṣad
bi-'anna-hu yashmutu bī waqṭa ṣad(d)

⁷⁰ See for instance a *muwashshaḥa* by Ibn Zuhri (Ibn Bishrī, *Uddat al-jalīs* [1992], no. 292), in which the poet uses the same *kharja* as Ibn Baqī (d. 540 H/1145 CE or 545 H/1150 CE) (Ibn Bishrī, *Uddat al-jalīs* [1992], no. 177), but with a small change to the rhyme (Ibn Zuhri has *ṣana'ū*, where Ibn Baqī has *fa'alū*) that does not modify the meaning, as both verbs mean 'to do, to make'. A century later, the Hebrew poet Todros Abulafia (1247–ca. 1306 CE) again reused the *kharja* from Ibn Baqī's version. See Monroe/Swiatlo 1977, 146; more on this kind of reuse in Garulo 2009b.

fa-khburī
ḥāla l-mu‘annā fī l-ḍanā wa-ḥburī
wa-bṣurī
‘in kāna qad khāna fa-lā tabṣurī

2

‘anti fī
qalbī wa-fī fikrī fa-lā ‘antafī
fa-‘ṭifī
‘alayya wa-sta’nī wa-lā ta’sifī
wa-s’ifī
ya‘qūba hādhā ḥusna-ki l-yūsufī
wa-‘dhirī
man massa-hu l-ḍarru wa-lā taghdirī
wa-nṣurī
qalbī ‘alā ‘ādhilī-hi l-muftarī

3

jalla man
‘abdā la-nā hādhā l-muḥayyā l-ḥasan
wa-rtahan
‘ahla hawā-hu bi-l-shajā wa-l-shajan
wa-mtaḥan
‘ushshāqa-hu dūna l-warā bi-l-ḥazan
tanbarī
sihāmu jafnay-ki li-qatli l-barī
‘in barī
fa-‘inna-hu yaḥyā wa-lam yuqbari

4

bi-l-da‘aj
min jafni-hā safku dimā’i l-muhaj
wa-zdawaj
nūru thanāyā-hā wa-nūru l-balaj
wa-mtazaj
fī khaddi-hā mā’u l-ḥibā bi-l-ḍaraj
fa-nṣurī
li-yāsaminin fawqa wardin ṭarī
‘aḥmari
mudabbajin min khālī-hā l-‘akhḍari

5

man qaḍā
‘alā l-mu‘annā fī-ki ḥattā qaḍā
wa-qtaḍā
‘an shabba fī qalbiya jamru l-ghaḍā
wa-ntaḍā

min jafni-ki l-'aswadi lī 'abyaḏā
fa-qḏirī
 ṣabrī 'alā dhā qaddi-ki l-'asmari
wa-qṣirī
 yā ju'dharān ṣāla 'alā qaswari

6
 yā khali
 min ḥubbi man qalbi bi-hā qad buli
 khalli lī
 mā qāla-hu fī shāni-hā 'udhdhali
 wa-rsili
 ṭarfa-ka fī hādhā l-muḥayyā l-khali
tubṣiri
 nūra thanāyā thaghri-hā l-jawharī
'idh yārī
 yarwī l-sanā 'an khaddi-hā l-'azhari

(0
Suppose
that the spy already knows about our meetings
and comes to us –
will he change his rough nature?

1
 My sickness
 grows because of you, and consumes my body;
 the envy
 of my rebuker has no limits,
 and he rejoices
 at my sufferings when you send me away.
Now consider
the state of a lover suffering and emaciated; make him happy,
look at him,
but if he has betrayed you, look not.

2
 You live
 in my heart and in my mind, I do not deny it;
 so have mercy
 on me, take your time and do not act thoughtlessly;
 and grant
 this Ya'qūb your beauty, like Yūsuf's;
forgive and betray not
a man wounded by adversity,
and assist
my heart against a slandering rebuker.

3

How far above is
a youth who shows us that beautiful face
which makes his lovers
prisoners of sorrows and worries,
and afflicts
those who love him with sadness.
The arrows
of his eyes are sharpened to kill all creatures
even innocents.
Indeed, they are alive and cannot be buried.

4

Large and black,
her eyes shed the blood of hearts;
As one:
the light of her teeth and the light of dawn,
and blended
in her cheeks are shyness and blush.
Now look
at that jasmine above a fresh rose,
red,
adorned with a birthmark, green.

5

Who sentenced
your suffering lover to death?
Who decreed
that embers of tamarisk wood should burn in my heart,
and unsheathed
the bright sword of your black eyes?
May my patience
resist your spear-like figure,
and restrain you,
oh antelope who takes on lions.

6

You, carefree
without this love that afflicts my heart:
listen not
to my rebukers' words against her,
and fix
your gaze upon her carefree face.
You will see
the light of her teeth like jewels,
with a glow
that draws its brilliance from her bright cheeks).

6.2 Zayn al-Dīn Ibn al-Wardī

Al-Ṣafadī, however, was not the first poet to compose a *mu‘āraḍa* of Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’'s *muwashshaḥa* with altered rhyming. Some years earlier, Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749 H/1349 CE), a contemporary of al-Ṣafadī, had already composed an emulation of *Man walī*, in which he also modified the rhymes. Zayn al-Dīn ‘Umar b. Muḥaffar Ibn al-Wardī, a Shāfi‘ī jurist, philologist, man of letters, and poet, was born in Ma‘arrat al-Nu‘mān (Syria) in 689 H/1290-1 CE or 691 H/1291-2 CE, and died in Aleppo in 749 H/1349 CE, during the plague.⁷¹ Almost coeval with him, al-Ṣafadī includes a long biography of Ibn al-Wardī in his *A‘yān al-‘aṣr*, quoting poems and letters drawn from their mutual correspondence, as well as other poems. Among them is this *muwashshaḥa* whose structure imitates that of Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’, a poem that Ibn al-Wardī composed in his youth.⁷² His *muwashshaḥa*, which, with only four stanzas, appears to be incomplete, is a love poem with a profusion of rhetorical devices, especially *jinās* or paronomasia.

0
madhhabī
ḥubbu rashān dhī jasadīn mudhhabī
qad ḥubī
ḥusnan bi-hi yasta‘dhibu l-qadḥa bī

1
‘ādhilā
mā ‘anta fī lawmī-ka lī ‘ādilā
sā’ilā
yukhbīru-ka dam‘un qad hamā sā’ilā
āhi lā
ta’dhil fa-mā qalbī bi-dhā ‘āhilā
manṣibī
wa-l-‘aqlu ‘adhhābtu-humā min sabī
mā rubī
‘illā *wa-qad rubī fī-hi mā rubī*

2
raqqa mā
fī khaddī-hi l-wardiyyi qad raqqamā

71 Bencheneb, “Ibn al-Wardī, Zayn al-Dīn”, *EP*. See al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān al-‘aṣr* (1418/1998), 3: 677–706 (biog. 1301); Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* (1973), 3: 157–160 (biog. 383).

72 Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān al-‘aṣr* (1418/1998), 3: 705–706; ‘Aṭā 1420/1999, 263–264. I have followed ‘Aṭā’s version, that of the *diwān*, but in some cases have turned, as a contrast, to the one provided by al-Ṣafadī in *A‘yān al-‘aṣr*; in al-Ṣafadī the stanzas are ordered differently: 1, 4, 2, 3.

‘indamā
 ra’aytu dam‘ī qad ḥakā ‘andamā
 ḍarra mā
 fī muḥjaṭī min ḥajri-hi ḍarramā
min ‘abī
ya’bā l-riḍā niltu l-jafā min ‘abī
fa-r’a bī
riḍā-hu yā qalbu wa- tih wa-r’abi

3
 man ṣalā
 lī fakḥkha-hu bal qad naḍā munṣulā
 ‘awwalā
 mulāzimun ‘ākhiru-hu l-‘awwalā
 balbalā
 fu’ādu muḍnā-hu balā bal balā
fa-nha bī
ghayrī wa-ladhdhātu l-gharāmi nhabī
wa-lha bī
‘an ‘udhddalin bal yā ḥashā-ya lhabī

4
 mā nasī
 ṭība zamāni l-waṣli fī mā nasī
 wa-lmasī
 raqība-nā bi-l-kaffi lam ‘almasi
 jā nasī
 ḥarbī fa-‘alfī kullamā jā nasī⁷³
wa-rqa bī
yā ṭarfu suhdan wa-l-nujūma rqaḥi
wa-shna bī
man lam yahummu fī thagrin ‘ashnabi

(0
My creed
is the love of a willowy bodied gazelle,
endowed
with a beauty that sweetens the slander against me.

1
 Rebuker,
 how unjust are your reproaches;

⁷³ In al-Ṣafadī, *A ‘yān al-‘aṣr* (1418/1998), 701: *jānisī* / *ḥuznī fa-‘alfī kullamā jā nisī*, but its meaning is equally obscure.

inquirer,
 my flowing tears will inform you.
 Ah, do not
 blame me, my heart does not deserve it;
dignity
and reason, gone over of a boy
who grew
and, grown, so too his beauty did grow.

2

What beautiful is
 the down in his rose-colored cheeks,
 that, when
 I saw the safflower of my tears,
 the fire he has kindled
 in my soul by his absence will hurt me.
Oh what a proud youth,
who would deny me pleasure, leaving only the rough.
So, for me, desist
for pleasing him, oh heart, or be perplexed and frightened.

3

He who set
 his traps for me, and who, indeed, drew his sword
 in the beginning,
 keeps doing so, time and again.
 Confounded
 is the heart of his emaciated lover; his beloved besets him with woe.
Take leave of me,
distress another, and plunder the pleasures of passion;
let me forget
my rebukers, and you, my soul: burn in your fire.

4

He forgot
 completely the delightful time of union;
 now touch
 our guardian with a hand I did not touch,

...

...⁷⁴

Fend off
my insomnia, oh my eyes, and watch the stars,
and hate with me

74 See footnote 73.

a man unconcerned with a dazzling smile).

6.3 Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Azāzī

Even before Ibn al-Wardī and al-Ṣafadī, another Eastern poet had used this device, namely to change the rhyme of the *aqfāl* (common rhymes) in order to compose a new poem, perhaps perceived as more original. His name was Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-'Azāzī (d. 710 H/1310 CE), and his *muwashshaḥa* imitating *Man walī*, following closely its rhymes, has already been quoted in this chapter (see above, 5.3). His new imitation⁷⁵ begins *Mā 'alā*, thus representing a truly subtle variation of the rhyme, as al-'Azāzī maintains the rhyme letter (*lām*), changing only the vowel that follows it. It is collected in al-Ṣafadī's *Tawshī' al-tawshih*, no. 19, but he does not mention it being an emulation of *Man walī*, a poem that he includes in his anthology and that he imitates twice therein. This kind of omission is not especially noticeable, because al-Ṣafadī sometimes seems to forget the ultimate source for his imitations. An example at hand are the *muwashshaḥāt* nos. 3, 4 and 5 of his anthology: no. 3 (*bāsimun 'an la'āl*) is the poem by Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Mawṣilī (see 5.2), and nos. 4 and 5, the emulations composed by al-Ṣafadī and Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Sūfī. But al-Ṣafadī never says that the poem of this al-Mawṣilī is a *mu'āraḍa* of the *muwashshaḥa Dāḥikun 'an jumān* by al-A'mā al-Tuṭilī. And yet he must undoubtedly have been familiar with al-Tuṭilī's poem, the first quoted by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk in his treatise on the art of the *muwashshaḥ*, *Dār al-ṭirāz*, because al-Ṣafadī gives a summary of it at the beginning of *Tawshī' al-tawshih*. Is the change in the rhymes sufficient grounds to consider the new poem as completely independent? But al-Ṣafadī himself said that he composed an imitation of *Man walī* with different rhymes! Why do the same criteria not apply in the case of Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Azāzī?

Mā 'alā seems to have been a well-appreciated poem. In addition to *Tawshī' al-tawshih*, al-Ṣafadī included it in other two works: his biographical dictionaries *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt* ([1420/2000], 7: 103), and *A'yān al-'aṣr* ([1418/1998], 1: 273–274). It is also included in Ibn Taghribirdī's *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī* ([1984–2009], 1: 367–369), in al-Nawājī's *Uqūd al-la'āl* ([1420/1999], 161–163), and in al-Maqqarī's *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* ([1388/1968], 7: 91–92).⁷⁶

It is a love poem, and like the *muwashshaḥa* of Ibn Mā' al-Samā', it has five stanzas and a prelude:

⁷⁵ Stern called attention to this imitation in his 1950 doctoral dissertation. See Stern 1974, 94.

⁷⁶ And in 'Aṭā 1420/1999, 21–23.

0

*mā 'alā**man hāma wajdan bi-dhawāti l-ḥulā**mubtalā**bi-l-ḥadaqi l-sūdi wa-bīḍi l-ṭulā*

1

*bi-l-lawā**maliyyu ḥusnin li-duyūni lawā**kam nawā**qatli wa-kam 'adhdhaba-ni bi-l-lawā**qad hawā**fi ḥubbi-hi qalbi bi-ḥukmi l-hawā**wa-ṣṭalā**nāra tajanni-hi wa-nāra l-qilā**kayfa lā**yadhūqu man hāma bi-rīmi l-falā*

2

*hal turā**yajma'u-nā l-dahru wa-law fi l-karā**'am tarā**'ayni muḥayyā man li-jismi barā**bi-l-surā**yā ḥādiyā rakbin bi-laylin sarā**'allilā**qalbi bi-tadhkāri l-liqā 'allilā**wa-nzilā**dūna l-ḥimā ḥayya l-ḥimā manzilā*

3

*bi rashā**dam'i bi-sirrī fi hawā-hu washā**law yashā**barrada minni jamarāti l-ḥashā**mā mashā**'illā nthanā min sukri-hi wa-ntashā**'aṭṭilā**mina l-ḥumayyā yā mudīrā l-ṭilā**mā ḥalā**'idhā 'adāra l-nāzira l-'akḥalā*

4

*hal yulām**man ghalaba l-ḥubbu 'alay-hi fa-hām**mustahām**bi-fātiri l-laḥẓi rashīqi l-qawām*

dhī btisām
 ‘aḥsana naẓman min ḥabābi l-mudām
law malā
min riqī-hi ka’san la-’aḥyā l-malā
 ‘aw jalā
wajhan ra’ayta l-qamara l-mujtalā

5
 law ‘afā
 qalbu-ka ‘amman zalla ‘aw man hafā
 ‘aw ṣafā
 mā kāna ka-l-jalmadi ‘aw ka-l-ṣafā
 bi-l-wafā
 sal ‘an fatā ‘adhdhabta-hu bi-l-jafā
hal khalā
fu’ādu-hu min khaṭarāti l-walā
 ‘aw salā
wa-khāna dhāka l-mawthiqa l-’awwalā

(0
What accusation can be levelled
against one in ecstasy over young girls bejewelled,
and afflicted
by their black eyes and figures like white swords?

1
 Beautiful is he
 who has deferred payment of his painful debts;
 how frequently
 he resolved to kill me, and how he tormented me with his absence!
 My heart,
 ruled by the power of passion, loves him,
but he kindled
the fire of his reproaches and his hate;
why shouldn’t
he, in love with a desert gazelle, suffer too?

2
 I wonder
 if Fate would bring us together even in our dreams,
 or if my eyes
 would see the face of a beloved who wears out my body
 with night travel;
 oh caravan leader,
entertain
my heart with memories of our meetings,
and stop

at a dwelling in a protected valley – may God preserve it.

3

For a gazelle
is the love whose secret my tears betray;
if he wanted
he could cool the embers of my soul.
He walks,
tottering gracefully as if drunk.
You two, serving the wine,
serve no more,
for still sweeter
is a backward glance from his dark eyes.

4

Can one blame
a lover vanquished by ardent passion,
infatuated
by his languid glances, his slender frame,
and his smiles
revealing a string of pearls lovelier than the bubbles of wine?
If he filled
the glass with his saliva, it would give new life to the desert,
or if he showed
his face, you would see the shining moon.

5

If your heart
forgave the one who made a mistake, or erred,
or loved you
faithfully,
he would not be like a rock or a stone.
Ask about a young man you roughly torment,
if his soul
is free from thoughts and desires of fidelity,
or if he has forgotten
and betrayed his first covenant).

6.4 Al-Şafadī

Al-Şafadī was so enthusiastic about this poem that he not only recorded it, but was eager to compose an emulation (*Tawshīʿ al-tawshīḥ* no. 20) following al-ʿAzāzī, but with a degree of virtuosity in rhymes' *tajnīs* far superior to his model, affecting all the rhyme words in the *aghşān* of every stanza: *qamar* 'moon'/*qamar*

‘to be sleepless in the moonlight’; *khatar* ‘to come to the mind’/ *fī khaṭar* ‘in danger’; *saḥar* ‘to bewitch’/ *al-saḥar* ‘dawn’, etc.

0

lī ‘ilā
ḡabyi l-ḡimā shawqun wa-ḡad ‘anḡalā
‘in ḡalā
fa-‘inna-hu jarra ‘a-nī l-ḡanḡalā

1

bī qamar
sabā l-ḡashā minnī wa-‘aqlī qamar
law khaṭar
‘amsā bi-hi ‘ahlu l-hawā fī khaṭar
mudh saḥar
bi-ṭarfi-hi ‘talla nasimu l-saḥar
wa-ṣṭalā
muḡhibbu-hu tadḡkāra ‘aṣrin khalā
wa-btalā
bi-l-wajdi ḡattā ‘at ‘aba l-‘udḡdhalā

2

kam ‘alam
min ṭayfi-hi li-mā bi-jafnī ‘alam(m)
fī l-ḡalam
‘anṣafa lākin ḡīna wallā ḡalam
law nasam
mabsamu-hu ‘aḡyā jamī‘a l-nasam
‘aw jalā
ṭal‘atu-hu fī dāmisin ‘alyalā
la-‘talā
‘alā budūri l-timmi bayna l-malā

3

‘in qaḡā
bi-qatlati ṭarfu ḡhazālī nqaḡā
‘idh maḡā
fī kabidi jafnā-hu fī-mā maḡā
‘aw ‘aḡā
barqu l-riḡā lī ‘inda dhāti l-‘aḡā
la-njalā
‘annī l-‘anā ‘aw qalla min-hu l-qilā
wa-nsalā
qalbu ‘aduwwin qāla ‘annī salā

4

'in şafā
 lī qalbu-hu min hajri-hi 'anşafā
 'in tafā-
 'altu⁷⁷ li-qalbī bi-riḍā-hu ntafā
 'aw ṭafā
 dam'ī 'alā jafnin la-hu 'awṭafā
 'akhjalā
qaṭra ghawādin qad ghadat ḥuffalā
kayfa lā
wa-hwa ḥayā dam'ī wa-qad 'asbalā

5

bi'sa mā
 'āmala-nī l-ḥubbu l-ladhī bi samā
 'indamā
 'ajrā dumū'ī bi-l-jafā 'andamā
 'ajra mā
 ghafartu li-l-wāshī l-ladhī 'ajramā
fa-khtalā
bi-hi wa-khallā l-bāla rahna l-balā
'amma lā
dūna na'am fī kullī mā 'ammalā.

(0)

I yearn
for a gazelle from a sheltered valley; it has consumed me,
and, though sweet,
has made me swallow colocynth.

1

A moon
 has captivated me from within, its light dazzling my mind;
 if it appears,
 the lovers will be in danger;
 it has bewitched
 the dawn breeze, sapping its strength;
its lover is burning
with memories of a bygone time,
and suffers
an ecstasy that has exasperated even the rebukers.

77 Note the violence of the caesura, cutting a word (*tafā'altu*) in half at the end of a rhymed segment.

2

What pain
his specter before my eyes elicits
in the darkness!
He is equitable, but with power is unfair.
If his mouth
blew gently, he would give new life to all creatures;
and if his face
appeared in the dark of night,
it would rise
over the full moon on the desert.

3

If sentenced
to death by a look from my gazelle, it would be done,
for in the past
those eyes already pierced my soul;
if in a flash
I felt his approval, among other favors,
then gone
would be my suffering, or lessened his aversion,
and happy once more
this enemy heart, which said that he, about me, had forgotten.

4

If it would desist
from deserting me, his heart would be just.
If I regarded
his approval as a good omen for my heart, he would reject it.
If my tears
brimmed over eyelids beneath bushy brows,
they would put to shame
even a hard morning rain.
Why shouldn't
they, if my tears themselves are the downpour?

5

How badly
I am treated by this love that rose sky high
when
his roughness drew my tears – red resin:
a reward
for forgiving the slanderer his crimes.
He chose to be alone
with him, leaving my soul a prisoner of woe:
he said no –
better than a yes – to all of those high hopes).

7 A success only in the East?

Eleven Syrian and Egyptian contrafacta of ‘Ubāda Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’s *muwashshaḥa Man walī* is truly remarkable. Why did it not receive the same acclaim in al-Andalus? Was its rhythm forgotten? Perhaps amidst the new stage in the genre’s evolution in al-Andalus in the years that followed ‘Ubāda’s time his somewhat contrived patterns simply receded from memory. The combination of rhymed segments of three and eleven syllables, in this order, is infrequent in Andalusī anthologies of *muwashshaḥāt*, where it is more common to find poems with the long segment before the short one. Nevertheless, there are some examples. In the anthology by Ibn Bishrī, *Uddat al-jalīs*, there are two such *muwashshaḥāt*, no. 25 and no. 168.⁷⁸ Both are anonymous love poems that lack a prelude.

I will begin with no. 168, because it is more regular, or at least its rhyme schemes are of the more frequent sort in this anthology, in both the *aghṣān* (ab ab) and the *aqfāl* (*mn on*).⁷⁹ It is a love poem addressed to an Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad.

1
marḥabā
bi-l-qamari l-ṭāli‘i min ‘ufqi-hi
qad sabā
qalbī fa-ḥusnu l-nuṭqi min nuṭqi-hi
jannibā
yā ‘ādhilayya l-lawma fi ‘ishqi-hi
fa-l-munā
fi ḥubbi badrin laysa bi-l-’āfilī
mā salā
‘an ḥubbi-hi ḡhayru fatā jāhili

2
hākadhā
‘a‘shaqu ḡattā ‘an ‘urā hālikā
hākadhā⁸⁰

78 The sequence of three and eleven syllables also appears in another *muwashshaḥa* in *Uddat al-jalīs* (no. 195), but its rhythm is so different from all these poems, its metrics in the eleven-syllable segments so alien to Arabic prosody, that I will exclude it from the *Man walī* family.

79 In *Uddat al-jalīs* there are 68 *muwashshaḥāt* with exactly this rhyme scheme throughout the whole poem (ab ab ab *mn on*); the combination ab ab ab in the *aghṣān* is the most popular in Ibn Bishrī’s anthology (180 *muwashshaḥāt* have it); and, in the *aqfāl*, *mn on* is likewise the most frequent (77).

80 Ibn Bishrī, *Uddat al-jalīs* (1992), 257; its editor suggests in his notes as a possibility ‘ā’idhā.

min mālikin ‘aṣbaḥa lī mālikā
 fa-‘idha
 lāqaytu-hu lāḥaḥa-nī ḍāḥikā
wa-nthanā
yahtazzu kā⁸¹-l-ghuṣuni l-mā’ili
wa-btalā
qalbī bi-ḥubbin laysa bi-l-zā’ili

3
 Aḥmadu
 ḥallalta fī ḥubbi-ka safka l-dimā
 ‘uḥsadu
 fī l-mawridi l-‘adhbi wa-‘akhshā l-ḡamā
 ‘ashhadu
 law ‘anna-nī niltu rtishāfa l-lamā
wa-l-ḍanā
muḥtakamun fī jismiya l-nāḥili
la-njalā
mā ‘ashtakī min ‘alamin qātīli

4
 fī l-ḥashā
 law‘atu ḥubbin yā ‘Abā Ja‘fari
 qad fashā
 mā kuntu ‘akhfā min-hu fī muḍmari
 yā rashā
 nuzhatu-nā fī wajhi-hi l-qamarī
mā ‘anā
mimman yuṭī‘u l-‘adhla min ‘ādhili
wa-l-‘ulā
tamna ‘u-nī min khud‘ati l-bāṭili

5
 ‘innamā
 yatamannā l-yawma ghazālun sharūd
 qad ṣamā
 bi-laḥẓi ‘aynay-hi wa-wardi l-khudūd
 kullamā
 ghāzaltu-hu ‘aw qultu kayfa yajūd
hal la-nā

81 Ibn Bishrī, *Uddat al-jalis* (1992), 257; Jones is probably right when he proposes in his notes *mithla l-ghuṣuni*.

fi yawmi-nā⁸² min maw'idin 'ājili
qāla lā
ḥattā mina l-yawmi 'ilā qābili

(1

Welcome,
 moon rising over the horizon,
 who captivated
 my heart with an eloquence that is the heart of all eloquence.
 Spare me,
 rebukers, your reproaches over my love for him,
I desire
the love of a moon that never sets;
only the ignorant
could forget his love.

2

Thus
 will I love until I die;
 may I be saved
 by a master who has become my master.
 When I meet him,
 he looks at me smiling.
He walks gracefully
trembling like a swaying bough,
and afflicts
my heart with a love that knows no end.

3

Aḥmad,
 you think in love it is fine to shed blood;
 people want to hold me back
 from the sweet spring, and I fear thirst;
 I swear
 that if I win a kiss of his red lips,
now that emaciation
has taken over my thin body,
gone will be
the mortal pain that I suffer.

4

In my heart,

⁸² Ibn Bishrī, *Uddat al-jalīs* (1992), 257, has *fi l-yawmi*, but in this rendering it comes up one syllable short.

oh Abū Ja‘far, lovesickness
 disclosed
 what I kept secret in my mind.
 Oh antelope,
 in your moon-like visage we find solace,
don't think that I
will allow my rebuker to rebuke me;
dignity
bars me from liars' deceit.

5
 But
 what does he want today, this shy gazelle
 who hunts
 with the glint of his eyes and the roses of his cheeks?
 Whenever
 I speak words of love or ask if he will be generous,
or if we,
on this day, will have our tryst without delay,
he says: No,
neither today nor tomorrow).

But, can this *muwashshaḥā* be counted as belonging to the same family as that of Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’'s poem? The answer is yes, in view of the variations on the rhymes introduced by the Eastern poets who acknowledged – at least in the case of al-Ṣafadī – that they were emulating *Man walī*. It is worth noting that the Ayyūbī and Mamlūk poets had a clear preference for an aa aa aa rhyme scheme in the *aghṣān*, which was very infrequent in al-Andalus,⁸³ and which they furthermore highlighted through *tajnīs*. This seems to point to a difference in the literary tastes of the authors of *muwashshaḥāt* in the East and in the West, perhaps due to the higher degree of mannerism in the later periods of Arabic literature. In any case, it appears that in al-Andalus poets who chose to use *Man walī*'s pattern of three and eleven syllables preferred a simpler set of rhymes, resulting in a less rhetorically adorned poem. But it was precisely the rhetorical embellishment of the *aqfāl* of ‘Ubāda Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’'s *muwashshaḥa*, with the use of a *mm mm* rhyme scheme, that prompted the Egyptian poet Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulḳ to emulate it

⁸³ There are only three *muwashshaḥāt* with such a rhyme scheme in the *aghṣān* in Ibn Bishrī, *Uddat al-jalis* (1992), no. 2 (aa aa aa *mm nn*; 10–5 syllables), no. 10 (aa aa aa *mmn mmn*; 7–8 in the *aghṣān*, and 7–8–3 in the *aqfāl*), and no. 169 (aa aa aa *mm*; and this is a rhyme with its echo, that is, 10–2 syllables), and, besides, their *aqfāl* have a very different rhyme scheme from each other, as can be seen, and from *Man walī*.

and to add more sophistication to the rhymes of his entire *muwashshaḥa*, rhyming both short and long segments alike also in the *aghṣān*, a formula that hit the mark in the East, ensuring the poem's success over the centuries.

The other Andalusī *muwashshaḥa* that follows Ibn Mā' al-Samā's combination of three and eleven syllables is 'Uddat al-jalīs no. 25. This poem seems to belong to a stage in the evolution of the genre prior to 'Ubāda's innovations, at least partially, because while the *aqfāl* segments have an *mn xn* rhyme scheme (*x* being an unrhymed verse), the first segments of the *aghṣān*, those with three syllables, have no rhyme at all. The rhyme scheme is therefore *xa xa xa mn xn*. Lastly, as we have already mentioned, it has no prelude.

- 1
qad badā
mā kuntu 'ukhfi-hi 'ani l-'ādhili
fi hawā
man zāda fi l-siḥri 'alā bābili
fa-qṣiri
'an lawmi ṣabbīn danifin nāḥili
law mashā
fawqa ḥabābin ṣāra fi lujjati
lam yura
yaghriqu fi l-mā'i mina l-khiffati
- 2
shaffa-nī
ḥubbu ghazālin laysa bi-l-munṣifi
laḥḥu-hu
'amqā 'alā qalbī mina l-murhafi
rīqu-hu
ka-l-shuhdi wa-l-miskī ma'a l-qarqafi
mudh nashā
lam tastafiq min ḥubbi-hi sakrati
wa-hwa lā
ya'lamu mā 'uḍmira min law'atī
- 3
yā hilā.⁸⁴

84 In this stanza there are two cases in which the caesura falls in the middle of a word: here, in *hilā-lan* 'moon', and, in the third *ghuṣn*, in *ḥat-tā* 'until'. In the fourth stanza, in the second of the *aghṣān*, the caesura falls in the middle of the word *al-ḥisā-ni* 'the beautiful ones'. Also in the fifth stanza, in the first line, the caesura falls in the middle of the word *lam-mā* 'when'. See above, the poem 6.4 by al-Ṣafādī, who cuts the word *tafā'altu* 'I regarded as a good omen', in order to rhyme with *tafā*.

lan lam yazal yaṭla‘u bi-l-’as‘udi
 laysa fī
 ḥubbi-ka ḡhayru l-ḡhayni min mus‘idi
 dhubtu ḡhat-
 tā raqqā lī min raḡmatin ‘uwwadi
fa-l-wushā
lammā ra’aw dam‘iya min muqlatī
qad jarā
yukhbiru ‘an wajdī wa-‘an zafratī

4
 lam tara
 ‘aynī ka-man ‘ahwā-hu bayna l-warā
 fī l-ḡhisā-
 ni l-khurradi l-‘ayni wa-mā ‘in yarā
 layta-hu
 law jāda bi-l-waṣli wa-law fī l-karā
fa-l-ḡhashā
qad kāda yanḡaju mina l-waḡshati
mudh na‘ā
yā ‘ādhilī man wajhu-hu qiblatī

5
 qultu lam-
 mā ‘an badā ka-l-shamsi fī l-manḡari
 mā‘isan
 fī ḡllatin min sundusin ‘akhḡari
 ‘ābiqan
 min ‘indī riḡwāna wa-lam yash‘uri
yā rashā
yakhtālu fī thawbin mina l-baḡjati
qul matā
‘aqbalta yā ḡibbī mina l-jannati

(1
 It is now evident
 what I was concealing from the rebukers:
 I love
 one even more enchanting than Babel;
 so stop
 reproaching a lover so ailing and frail that
if he walked
over an ocean of bubbles,
he would not
drown in the waters, so light is he.

2

I was consumed
 by love for a gazelle, unjust,
 whose eyes
 penetrated my heart deeper than swords,
 whose saliva
 is like honey and musk with wine;
*ever since he appeared,*⁸⁵
my intoxication for his love has no cure,
and he knows not
the yearning I conceal.

3

Oh moon,
 ever rising auspiciously,
 there is nothing
 in this love for me but death;
 So gaunt
 have I become that my visitors, even the slanderers,
took pity on me
when they saw the tears in my eyes
flowing forth,
betraying my passion and my grief.

4

My eyes had not seen
 any like their beloved, not among all the creatures,
 nor among
 the shy beautiful maidens.
 If only
 he would join me in union, at least in my dreams!
My heart
has been so lonely it could burst,
since the departure
– oh rebuker – of the one whose face is my qibla.

5

I said
 when he appeared like the sun before me,
 swaying
 in robes of green silk brocade,

85 I think that *nashā*, ‘to be lightly inebriated’, stands for *nasha’a*, ‘to appear, to grow’. By dropping the *hamza*, the poet can preserve that evocation of intoxication that elicited the next line, as well as the allusion to the youth of his beloved.

running away
 from Riḍwān, unaware of his flight:
Oh gazelle
strutting about in the garments of beauty,
tell me: when
did you arrive, my love, from paradise?).

8 The End

Here ends the story of this family of *muwashshaḥāt*, a successful strophic poem structure that probably arrived in Syria and Egypt very early on, at the end of the 5th/11th century, but seems to have been forgotten in al-Andalus. What were the reasons behind its success? This is question with no easy answer, as nobody at the time bothered to record an explanation for its popularity. Only al-Ṣafadī expressly describes his enthusiasm for Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’'s *muwashshaḥa*, and his interest in composing a *mu‘āraḍa* or emulation of it – in fact, he composed three. As with several of his predecessors, he relies on the rhyme strategies, mostly word play or paronomasia (*tajnīs*), and specifically the repetition of very similar or identical words with different meanings, at the end of every rhymed segment. It is perhaps a rhetorical device used to cope with the asymmetry of a very short first verse. This would make sense in the Arabic poetic tradition, in which verses traditionally contain a caesura mid-way through, i.e. they are composed of two equal halves or hemistichs, with internal rhymes (as in *musammaṭ* poems), or without them. In this context, while the long segment of eleven syllables is easily scanned as *sarī‘* meter, the very short three-syllable rhymed verse seems to emphasize and even anticipate the next rhyme, especially because its foot is similar to the last foot of the *sarī‘*. Although by making this short segment repeat the last foot of the long one, echoing it, the effect can be amplified, it seems that Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’ was unaware of this ornate device. Although his poem is quite sophisticated, he only uses this sort of paronomasia in the prelude of the *muwashshaḥa* (*ya‘dili/ya‘dhalī*). His imitators were indeed much more interested in plays on words and *tajnīs* than he was.

Neither al-Ṣafadī nor other poets and anthologists mention the music that accompanied the poem, but it did have musical accompaniment. We know that at least *Kallilī*, the *mu‘āraḍa* by Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk (or perhaps Muḥaffar al-‘Aylānī), was sung, and is still sung today.⁸⁶ As an Andalusī song, *Kallilī*'s prelude

⁸⁶ See footnote 46.

and first stanza appear in *Kunnāsh al-Ḥā'ik*, the compilation of lyrics to the Andalusī songs still sung in the lifetime of its author, Muḥammad al-Andalusī al-Tiṭwānī (12th/18th century).⁸⁷

Another *muwashshaḥa* from this family that appears in recent repertoires of Andalusī songs is the last poem analyzed, the anonymous *Qad badā* – no. 25 of *‘Uddat al-jalīs*, the anthology by Ibn Bishrī (8th/14th century). It is found on at least two websites dedicated to Andalusī music and songs,⁸⁸ and to *malḥūn* poetry.⁸⁹ These sites are not identical, but all of them are similar to and seem to draw on *Kunnāsh al-Ḥā'ik*, compiling songs composed of one stanza of a *muwashshaḥa* or *zajal*, with or without a prelude. In this case the song – a *zajal* according to the compiler – contains the *ghuṣn* of the first stanza of this *muwashshaḥa* along with the *kharja*, with minimal but substantive variations. The first one reads:

qad badā mā kuntu 'akhfi-hi	'alā l-'ādhili
fī l-hawā man jāda bi-l-siḥri	'alā bābili
'aqṣiri l-lawma 'an ṣabbīn	danifin naḥīli
yā rashā yakhtālu fī thawbin	mina l-bahjāti
fa-matā 'aqbalta yā ḥibbī	mina l-jannāti

As one can see, this rendition reveals a kind of uneasiness at the combination of a very short segment followed by a long one. In fact, they have chosen the opposite combination, a long segment followed by the short one.

On the second and third web pages there is no caesura at all. In both typographical arrangements, all the lines have fourteen syllables. However, in all three pages the prosody of the *sarī'* meter disappears, altered into a sort of *ramal* meter, at least at the beginning of the line (— ◡ — — — ◡ — — — | ◡ — — ◡ —),⁹⁰ although in the third line this scansion is not possible, since it contains 8 + 6 syllables, instead of 9 + 5, with the following sequence of short and long syllables: — ◡ — — ◡ — — — | ◡ ◡ — ◡ — —. It is also interesting to note that the spelling suggests again that little attention has been paid to the syllable count

⁸⁷ *Kunnāsh al-Ḥā'ik* (1999), 364–365 (no. 362). See also, Valderrama, “al-Ḥā'ik”, *EP*; Davila 2016.

⁸⁸ <https://sites.google.com/site/starziko1andaloussi/hjdghjdfgs> (last accessed Apr. 21, 2019); <https://www.djelfa.info/vb/showthread.php?p=12011631&styleid=16> (last accessed Apr. 21, 2019).

⁸⁹ <http://montada.echoroukonline.com/showthread.php?t=221382&page=2> (last accessed July 4, 2020). On *malḥūn* see Pellat, “Malḥūn”, *EP*.

⁹⁰ Given that the *sarī'* meter is in fact a variety of *rajaz* verse (Frolov 2000, 170), this does not pose a problem, because in Arabic metrics both meters *rajaz* and *ramal* are included in the same circle.

and the supposed stress pattern of Classical Arabic. For example, in the lines of the *kharija*, instead of *bahjati* and *jannati*, it is written *bahjāti* and *jannāti*, a final succession of long syllables that is not possible in *sarī‘* meter (nor in *ramal*), following the actual stress pattern.⁹¹ The same is true with the substitution of *nāḥili* with the more common *naḥīli*, creating a final foot that is, again, impossible in *sarī‘* meter, not to mention that *naḥīli* can not rhyme with ‘*ādhili* and *bābili* in Arabic metrics.

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