THE ARABIST
BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 49

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الملخص:

تتناول هذه المقالة خمس عشرة رسالةً عربيةً كتبها المستشرق البريطاني إدوارد غرانفيل برون إلى إغناتس غولدزيهر، باعتبارها مصدراً أساسياً لتاريخ الدراسات العربية في بريطانيا. ويُولى اهتمام خاص لصلتها بتطور تدريس اللغة العربية في جامعة كامبريدج.

وقد كُتبت هذه الرسائل باللغة العربية، وهي توثّق انخراط برون العلمي في اللغة وتعكس تعاونه مع علماء تخرّجوا في الأزهر، من بينهم الشيخ حسن توفيق. كما تتيح هذه الرسائل فهماً أعمق لعملية ترسيخ الدراسات العربية مؤسسياً في كامبريدج، وللشبكات الفكرية الأوسع التي ربطت بريطانيا بمراكز التعلّم الإسلامي وبمدينة بودابست.

وتذهب الدراسة إلى أنّ هذه الرسائل العربية تمثّل مصدراً وثائقياً مهماً لتتبّع تطوّر البحث العربي في بريطانيا، كما تُبرز الإسهام المشترك لكلٍّ من برون وغولدزيهر في ميدان الدراسات العربية والإسلامية.

الكلمات المفتاحية:

المراسلات العلمية، كامبريدج، الدراسات العربية، إ. غ. برون، إغناتس غولدزيهر

Abstract:

This article examines fifteen Arabic letters written by the British orientalist Edward Granville Browne to Ignaz Goldziher, considering them as a primary source for the history of Arabic studies in Britain. Particular attention is given to their relevance for the development of Arabic teaching at the University of Cambridge.

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Composed fully or partially in Arabic, these letters document Browne's scholarly engagement with the language and reflect his collaboration with Azhar-trained scholars, including Šayḫ Ḥasan Tawfīq. They provide insight into the institutional consolidation of Arabic studies at Cambridge and into the wider intellectual networks linking Britain with centres of Islamic learning and with Budapest.

The study argues that these Arabic letters constitute a significant documentary source for tracing the evolution of Arabic scholarship in Britain, while also illuminating the shared contribution of Browne and Goldziher to Arab and Islamic studies.

Keywords:
scholarly correspondence, E. G. Browne, Ignaz Goldziher, Arabic studies, Cambridge University

1 مقدمة

يُعَدُّ كلٌّ من إدوارد غرانفيل برون وإغناتس غولدزيهر من أبرز أعلام الدراسات العربية والإسلامية في أوروبا. وعلى الرغم من أن تقييم مجمل أعمالهما وتحديد مكانتهما في هذا الحقل يتجاوز نطاق هذه الدراسة، فإنه من المفيد تقديم عرض موجز لمسيرتهما العلمية وإسهاماتهما الرئيسة. فالإشارة إلى بعض ملامح إنتاجهما العلمي تساعد على فهم الإطار الفكري الذي نشأت فيه المراسلات موضوع هذه المقالة، كما تتيح وضع هذه الرسائل في سياقها الأكاديمي الأوسع ضمن تاريخ تطور الدراسات العربية في أوروبا.

فلا يمكن دراسة تاريخ الدراسات العربية في بريطانيا بمعزل عن السياق الأوسع لتطوّر الاستشراق في الجامعات الأوروبية منذ القرن السابع عشر. فقد ارتبط الاهتمام المبكر باللغة العربية في إنجلترا بجملة من الدوافع الدينية والعلمية والدبلوماسية، وأسهم عدد من الرواد في ترسيخ هذا الحقل المعرفي، من أمثال وليم بدويل (William Bedwell) الذي نبّه إلى أهمية العربية في فهم الكتاب المقدس وفي التواصل مع المشرق (Hamilton 1985:1). وقد تُوِّج هذا الاهتمام بتأسيس كرسي اللغة العربية في جامعة كمبريدج سنة 1632 بدعم من توماس آدامز (Thomas Adams) (Irwin 2006:97)، كما ارتبط تأسيس كرسي العربية في جامعة أكسفورد

بجهود رئيس الأساقفة وليم لود (William Laud) (Feingold 2017:45). ومنذ ذلك التاريخ أخذت الدراسات العربية في بريطانيا تتطور ضمن إطار مؤسساتي واضح وتتشكل من خلال شبكة من العلاقات العلمية العابرة للحدود. وفي أواخر القرن التاسع عشر وبدايات القرن العشرين برز عدد من العلماء الذين كان لهم أثر ملحوظ في تطوير الدراسات العربية والإسلامية في أوروبا.

2 إدوارد غرانفيل برون (Edward Granville Browne)

يُعد إدوارد غرانفيل برون (1862–1926) من أبرز المستشرقين البريطانيين في أواخر القرن التاسع عشر وبدايات القرن العشرين. وقد اشتهر أساساً بتخصصه في الأدب الفارسي وتاريخ إيران، ويُعد كتابه *التاريخ الأدبي لفارس*[1] من أهم الأعمال التي أُلِّفت في هذا المجال في عصره. وفي سنة 1902 تولّى منصب أستاذ اللغة العربية في جامعة كامبريدج، حيث أسهم في تطوير تدريس العربية وتعزيز حضورها في البرامج الجامعية.

ويمثل برون حلقة بارزة في تقليد الدراسات الشرقية في بريطانيا، الذي يمتد منذ أعمال علماء مثل توماس هايد (Thomas Hyde) في القرن السابع عشر، والسير ويليام جونز (Sir William Jones) في القرن الثامن عشر. وقد تميزت أعماله بجمعها بين البحث الفيلولوجي والاهتمام بالثقافة والآداب في العالم الإسلامي، فضلاً عن علاقاته العلمية الواسعة مع باحثين وعلماء من أوروبا والشرق. (Irwin 2006:206).

[1] صدر هذا الكتاب في أربعة أجزاء، وكان النص الأساسي في تاريخ الأدب في الدراسات الفارسية لسنوات عديدة. وباعتباره عرضا عاما للأدب الفارسي منذ أقدم العصور حتى العصر الحديث في أوائل القرن العشرين، فإنه لا يزال مرجعا قيما: *A Literary History of Persia*. 4 vols., London: Unwin, 1902–1924

3 إغناتس غولدزيهر Ignaz Goldziher

أما إغناتس غولدزيهر (1850–1921) فيُعد من أبرز علماء الدراسات الإسلامية في أوروبا الحديثة، وقد كان لأعماله أثر بالغ في تطور البحث الأكاديمي في الإسلاميات. تركزت دراساته على الحديث النبوي، وتفسير القرآن، وتاريخ الفكر الإسلامي، وأسهمت مؤلفاته في ترسيخ منهج تاريخي نقدي في دراسة التراث الإسلامي. وقد نشر عدداً من الأعمال التي أصبحت مراجع أساسية في هذا الحقل، من بينها كتاب *الظاهرية: مذهبهم وتاريخهم* (1884)، وكتاب *الدراسات الإسلامية* الذي صدر في جزأين (1889–1890)، و*محاضرات في الإسلام* (1910)، و*اتجاهات التفسير عند المسلمين* (1920).[2]

وقد حظي غولدزيهر بتقدير واسع في الأوساط العلمية الدولية، وانتُخب عضواً في عدد من الأكاديميات والجمعيات العلمية،[3] كما ارتبط بعلاقات علمية مع عدد من المستشرقين الأوروبيين، من بينهم إدوارد غرانفيل برون. وتعكس المراسلات المتبادلة بينهما جانباً مهماً من شبكات التعاون العلمي التي أسهمت في تطوير الدراسات العربية والإسلامية في أوروبا في مطلع القرن العشرين.

وهناك من المفكرين من يرى أن غولدزيهر بفضل أعماله الكبيرة في حقل الدراسات الإسلامية بلغ فيها الاستشراق مرحلة تاريخية مليئة بالإنتاج المعرفي (Dabashi 2009:19).

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[2] وصدر هذه الكتب باللغة الألمانية وهي كالآتي:

Die Ẓâhiriten: Ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte: Beitrag zur Geschichte der muhammedanischen Theologie. Leipzig: Schulze, 1884; *Muhammedanische Studien* I–II. Halle: Niemeyer, 1889–1900; *Vorlesungen über den Islam*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1910; *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*. Leiden: Brill. 1920.

[3] انتخب كعضو مراسل لأكاديمية العلوم المجرية في سن السادسة والعشرين (Dévényi 2018:39).

4 أهمية المراسلات العلمية

تحتلّ المراسلات العلمية مكانة مهمة في دراسة تاريخ المعرفة وتطور الحقول الأكاديمية، إذ تمثل مصدرا وثائقيا فريدا يكشف عن جوانب من الحياة العلمية لا تظهر دائما في المؤلفات المنشورة. فالرسائل المتبادلة بين العلماء لا تقتصر على تبادل الأخبار أو المجاملات، بل تتيح تتبّع مسار الأفكار، وظروف إنتاجها، وشبكات العلاقات العلمية التي ربطت بين الباحثين والمؤسسات في سياقات جغرافية وثقافية مختلفة. ومن خلال هذه المراسلات يمكن الوقوف على طبيعة التعاون العلمي، وتبادل الكتب والمخطوطات، ومناقشة القضايا المنهجية والمعرفية التي شكّلت خلفية كثير من الدراسات الأكاديمية.

ولهذا السبب تحظى المراسلات العلمية باهتمام متزايد في الدراسات التاريخية والفيلولوجية، لما توفّره من معطيات تساعد على إعادة بناء السياقات الفكرية والمؤسساتية التي نشأت فيها الأعمال العلمية. كما تتيح هذه الرسائل إضاءة شبكات التواصل العلمي العابرة للحدود، والتي أسهمت في تشكّل كثير من التقاليد البحثية في الدراسات الشرقية والإنسانية عموما. وفي هذا الإطار تكتسب الرسائل المتبادلة بين إدوارد غرانفيل برون وإغناتس غولدزيهر أهمية خاصة، بوصفها شاهدا على طبيعة التفاعل العلمي بين عدد من أبرز الباحثين في مجال الدراسات العربية والإسلامية في أواخر القرن التاسع عشر وبدايات القرن العشرين[4].

[4] لمحة عامة عن شبكة المراسلات العلمية الواسعة التي أقامها إغناتس غولدزيهر مع عدد كبير من العلماء في أوروبا والعالم الإسلامي، والدور الذي أدّته هذه المراسلات في تشكيل فضاء علمي عابر للحدود في مجال الدراسات العربية والإسلامية في أواخر القرن التاسع عشر وبدايات القرن العشرين، يمكن الاطلاع عليها في Becker et al. 2024.

5 رسائل برون لغولدزيهر

تنتمي الرسائل التي جرى نسخها إلى المجموعة الخاصة بغولدزيهر، الذي كان يحتفظ بعلاقات واسعة مع العديد من العلماء. ومعظم هذه الرسائل تناولت مسائل بحثية وأفكارًا كانت في صميم اهتمامات كلا العالمين. وما عزز هذه العلاقة بينهما رغبة برون في ضم غولدزيهر إلى هيئة التدريس بجامعة كمبريدج، نظرا لإلمامه البالغ بالثقافة العربية والإسلامية .أما الرسائل التي كتبها برون فقد تناولت منشوراته وأبحاثه. وتمتلئ رسائله أيضا بتقديره لشخصية غولدزيهر وعلمه.

إن الهدف من هذا البحث هو وضع هذه الرسائل موضع دراسة في أبحاث مقبلة، ولا سيما أن مجموع الرسائل المتبادلة بين العلماء قد بلغ سبعًا وأربعين رسالة، كثير منها بالفرنسية والإنجليزية والفارسية. أما الرسائل التي كتبها إدوارد برون باللغة العربية فعددها خمس عشرة رسالة، وقد نُسخت كلها في هذه الدراسة من مجموعة غولدزيهر المحفوظة في مكتبة أكاديمية العلوم المجرية في بودابست.

كما أُشير في ثنايا هذا البحث، حرص البحث على إحالة القارئ إلى الأعلام الوارد ذكرهم في هذه الرسائل، نظرًا لما كان لهم من أثر بارز في تطور الدراسات العربية في بريطانيا. ومن الأمور التي استرعت الانتباه أثناء قراءة هذه الرسائل العاطفة الجيّاشة التي أظهرها برون عند حديثه عن اللغة العربية، إذ وصفها بـ«اللسان الشريف».[5] ولا ريب في أن الشيخ الأزهري حسن توفيق كان له تأثير ملحوظ في أقسام اللغة العربية بجامعة كمبريدج.

[5] انظر الرسالة الخامسة مؤرخة في الثامن من يناير سنة 1895 (GIL/06/06/25).

الرسالة الأولى: مؤرخة في السابع من ديسمبر سنة 1892[6]

Pembroke College[7], Cambridge Dec, 7th, 1892 (GIL/06/06/33)

يا ايها الحبيب العزيز المحترم المكرم روحى لك الفدآء

قد بلغنى مكتوبک الكريم فى اسعد الاحيان و احسن الآوان و آنشرح صدرى و آبتهج قلبى بما فيه من علامات محبّتک و مودّتک و قلتُ فى نفسى الحمد لله الّذى جعل الوسائل الحقيرة سبباً للفوائد الخطيرة و جعل المكاتبة عوضاً للمخاطبة و انّس بين قلوب العباد و لا جوّز بُعْد المكان ان يكون مانعاً للاتّحاد لان المجلَّد[8] الّذى ارسلتُه اليک هو من احقر الاشيآء واقلّها حتّى لا يليق ذكره ابداً الّا انّه صار وسيلةً لاستفادتى بمكتوبک الشّريف والتفاتک المنيف الّذى جعل قلبى مسروراً مبتهجاً متشكّراً و اشهد بالله انّنى لست بغافلٍ عن ايّام الملاقاة[9] بل هى منقوشه على لوح روحى لا يمحوها الّا الموت لأنّى شاهدت في

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[6] أعيد نقل الرسائل وفق الإملاء العربي كما استخدمه إدوارد غرانفيل برون، وتليها ترجمتها إلى الإنجليزية بقلم المؤلف الحالي. السمات الرئيسية لإملاء برون هي كما يلي: كتابة حرف العطف "**و**" في كلمة مستقلة؛ وهذا يبدو أنه تأثير الإملاء الفارسي على نحو مشابه لشكل حرف الكاف في حالتيه النهائية والمستقلة، الذي كان يستخدمه كثيرًا، ولكن ليس دائمًا؛ وعدم وضع النقط تحت الياء النهائية مطلقًا، ونادرًا ما يضع الهمزة فوق الألف؛ ويقوم غالبًا بوضع علامة التشديد، وكثيرًا ما يضع علامة همزة الوصل.

[7] كان برون مدرسا فيها.

[8] يبدو أن المنشور الذي يشير إليه برون هو *ʿAbdu'l-Bahá ʿAbbás, A Traveller's Narrative Written to Illustrate the Episode of the Báb* (عبد البهاء عباس، سرد رحّالة مكتوب لتوضيح حادثة الباب) محرّر باللغة الفارسية الأصلية ومترجم إلى الإنجليزية، مع مقدمة وهوامش من قبل إدوارد غ. برون. كامبريدج: مطبعة الجامعة، 1891. انظر: عبد الحميد صالح حمدان، طبقات المستشرقين، ص 94.

[9] في سنة 1892 عُقد المؤتمر الدولي التاسع للمستشرقين في لندن، وشارك فيه كل من غولدزيهر وبرون (انظر: "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists. London, 1892" في مجلة *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*، أكتوبر 1892، ص 855–876). وبعد المؤتمر أمضى غولدزيهر يومين في كمبريدج على دعوة من روبرتسون سميث، حيث شعر، بعد لقاء قصير، بصداقة حميمة مع إدوارد برون (غولدزيهر، *يوميات* ص. 284، مدخل 2 سبتمبر 1892، *Tagebuch* ص. 150).

حضرتک روحاً و محبّةً و جذبةً و معرفةً لم توجَد الّا نُدرةً في اهل هذا الزّمان و رأئتک[10] علّامةً متبحّراً محقّقاً مدقّقاً صاحب شوقٍ و ذوقٍ ما رأئتُ[11] مِثْلَهُ الّا فی بعض اهل الوجد و العرفان و جذبتْنی جذبتك و ٱستولتْ محبّتک علی قلبی واخلصْتُ لک المودّة وظللْتُ داعیاً لصحّتک و سلامتک و دوام عمرك دائماً [12]

أمّا[13] استاذنا الشیخ رُوبَرْتسُن إسْمِیث[14] الذّی استفسرْتَ عن حاله الحمد لله الّذی خفّف ما ثقّل علیه من الضّعف و المرض و اعطاه الیُسْر بعد العُسْر و الفرج بعد الشّدّة و انّه یظلّ ظاعناً فی الافاقة و الصحة یوماً فیوماً حتّی یقتدر ان یشتغل بالتعلیم و التعلّم و تصنیف الرسائل و غیره و الآن ان شاء الله قد دنی من الصحّة و بَعُدَ عن المخاطرة و العلّة و یصیر عن قریبٍ سالماً ذا صحّةٍ کاملةٍ. و انی زرتُهُ الیوم و بلّغته سلامک و دعاءک و هو یجیبک بالدّعاء و السّلام و یرجو من فضلک فی محبّتک الدّوام و انا ایضاً من الراجئین[15] و الحمد لله ربّ العالمین و السلام علی کلّ من تفحّص فی الدّین و طلب علم الیقین

الداعی

اَدْوارْد برَوْن الکمبریجی[16]

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[10] رأيتك.

[11] رأيت.

[12] رسم برون هنا شكلاً شبيهاً بالدائرة للإشارة إلى أن الموضوع الرئيسي للرسالة سيبدأ بعد هذا.

[13] محدد بخط فوق الكلمة في الرسالة الأصلية.

[14] محدد بخط فوق الكلمة في الرسالة الأصلية. ويليام روبرتسون سميث (1846–1894)، مستشرق إسكتلندي وباحث في العهد القديم، وشغل منصب أستاذ العربية السير توماس آدامز بين عامي 1889 و1894. انظر: Irwin 2006: 182–185 والعقيقي، *المستشرقون*، ج. 3، ص. 489. خلال المؤتمر الدولي في لندن، كما كتب غولدزيهر، أصبح قريبا جدا من روبرتسون سميث، وقد شاركه عدة آراء (غولدزيهر، *يوميات* ص. 284، مدخل 2 سبتمبر 1892، *Tagebuch* ص. 150).

[15] الراجين.

[16] مسطَّر في النص الأصلي.

Letter 1, December 7, 1892 [English translation]

O beloved, dear, respected, and honoured one – May my soul be a sacrifice for you.

Your noble letter reached me at the happiest of times and in the best of circumstances. My chest expanded with joy, and my heart was gladdened at the signs of your love and affection it contained. I said to myself, Praise be to God, who has made humble means a cause for great benefits, and made correspondence a substitute for conversation, and an intimate bond between the hearts of His servants. He did not allow distance to be an obstacle to unity.

For the volume I sent you is among the most insignificant of things, so lowly that it hardly deserves mention. Yet it became the means through which I benefited from your noble letter and your gracious attention, which filled my heart with joy, delight, and gratitude.

I bear witness before God that I have not been oblivious of the days of our meeting – they are engraved upon the tablet of my soul, and nothing will erase them but death. For in your esteemed self, I beheld a spirit, a love, an attraction, and a knowledge that are rarely found among the people of this age. I saw you as a scholar, deeply immersed, investigative, and precise – a person of both learned discourse and spiritual taste. I have seen none like you, save in a few of the people of ecstasy and gnosis.

Your attraction drew me in, and your love took hold of my heart. I have offered you my sincere affection and remain ever in prayer for your health, safety, and the longevity of your life.

As for our teacher, Šayḫ Robertson Smith, about whose health you inquired: praise be to God, who has lightened the burden of his weakness and illness, granting him ease after hardship and joy after adversity. Day by day, he continues to recover and regain his strength, until he is once again able to engage in teaching, learning, writing treatises, and more.

Now, God willing, he has drawn near to full health, and is removed from danger and affliction, and will soon be entirely well and completely healthy. I visited him today and conveyed your greetings and prayers. He sends you in return his prayers and salutations and asks from your esteemed self the continuation of your love. I too am among those who hope for this.

Praise be to God, Lord of all worlds. Peace be upon all who search earnestly in religion and seek the knowledge of certainty.

Your well-wisher,

Edward Browne of Cambridge

الرسالة الثانية: مؤرخة في غرة أكتوبر سنة 1893.

Pembroke College, Cambridge
Oct. 1st 1893. (GIL/06/06/31)

يا حبيبی المحترم العزيز المكرّم جُعِلْتُ فداك قد وردت الیّ الرسالة الّتی صنّفتَها فی معنی لفظ السكينة[17] و ابلغنی غاية الفرح و الانشراح و اعجبنی كثيراً و ذٰلك انّها مشتملة على الدّقايق[18] البديعة و الاشارات المنيعة الّتی ما كان احدٌ يطّلع عليها قبل حضرتك و فرحتُ ايضاً لاجل تذكاركَ ايّایّ[19] و احمد الله الّذي جعل المكاتبة و المراسلة دوآءً للبُعْد و الفراق و سبباً لازدياد المحبة و الاشتياق و ان شاء الله انا ايضاً سأُرسلك عن قريبٍ كتاباً فی تاريخ البابيّة الّذی ترجمته من الاصل الفارسیّ[20] و هذا تاريخٌ اصحّ و اكمل ممّا ارسلت الی حضرتك من قبل ان شاء الله سيكون مقبولاً عند حضرتك و كتبت ايضاً كتاباً آخَر فی بيان سفری وسياحتی فی بلاد العجم و ما رأت[21] من العجائب و الغرائب و ما سمعت من اهل كلّ فرقة و ما يتعلّق لكلّ مذهب و طائفة و نبذةٌ من عقائد البابيّة و الشّيخيّة و الصّوفيّة و الحكما[22] و المجوس و سمَّيتُ هذا الكتاب بهذا الاسم – A Year amongst the Persians[23]

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[17] وهذا المقال هو:

I. Goldziher, “La notion de la Sakîna chez les Mohamétans”. *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 28 (1893) 1–13.

[18] الدقائق.

[19] إيّای.

[20] هذا الكتاب هو:

‘Abdu’l-Bahá ‘Abbás, *A Traveller’s Narrative Written to Illustrate the Episode of the Báb*. Edited in the original Persian and translated into English, with an introduction and notes by Edward G. Browne. Cambridge: The University Press, 1891.

[21] رأيت.

[22] الحكماء.

[23] هذا الكتاب هو:

A year amongst the Persians. Impressions as to the life, character, and thought of the people of Persia, received during twelve months’ residence in that country in the years 1887-8. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1893.

و ارید ان ارسل نسخةً منها الی السیّاح العلّامة الخواجه وامبری[24] و اذ کنتَ ترید ان تقرأ هذا الکتاب سأرسل نسخةً اخری الی حضرتک لتکون ان شاء الله مع قلّة لیاقتها وکثره نقائصها سبباً لتذکارك ایّای و اسئل[25] الله ان یفرّح قلبی عن قریب بملاقاتك فی أیّ مکان کان و اسئله[26] ان یحفظك فی حصن حفظه المتین فی کلّ حال و فی کلّ حین انّه هو المستعان و هو خیر الحافظین

الداعی

ادوارد برون الانکلیزیّ

Letter 2, October 1, 1893 [English translation]

O my beloved, honoured, dear, and honoured [friend] – could I but sacrifice myself for you.

The treatise you composed on the meaning of the word "Sakīna" has reached me, and it brought me the utmost joy and relief. I found it greatly admirable, for it contains exquisite subtleties and powerful allusions to which none had access before your esteemed self.

I was also gladdened by your remembrance of me, and I praise God who has made writing and correspondence a remedy for distance and separation, and a cause for the increase of love and longing.

God willing, I too shall soon send you a book on the history of Bábism, which I have translated from the original Persian. This version is more accurate and complete than what I previously sent to your esteemed self.[27] God willing, it will be acceptable to your esteemed self.

I have also written another book detailing my travels and journeys through the lands of Persia, describing the wonders and marvels I witnessed, and what I heard from the followers of each sect, and matters relating to every school and group. I

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[24] يقصد المستشرق المجري المتبحر في اللغة والثقافة التركية Ármin Vámbéry (1832–1913) عن حياته وإنجازاته، انظر http://vambery.mtak.hu

[25] أسأل.

[26] أسأله.

[27] وهذا الكتاب هو:

The Táríkh-i-jadíd or New history of Mírzá ʻAlí Muḥammad the Báb. By Mírzá Ḥuseyn of Hamadán, translated from the Persian by Edward G. Browne. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1893.

included a brief account of the beliefs of the Bābīs, Šayḫīs, Ṣūfīs, philosophers, and Zoroastrians. I have titled this book: *A Year Amongst the Persians*.

I wish to send a copy of it to the learned traveller Ḫwāğa Vámbéry. And since you expressed a desire to read this book, I will send another copy to your esteemed self, so that – God willing – despite its lack of merit and abundance of shortcomings, it may serve as a means for you to remember me.

I ask God to gladden my heart soon by allowing me to meet you, wherever it may be, and I ask Him to protect you in the fortress of His mighty care, in every state and at all times. He indeed is the One whose help is sought, and He is the best of protectors.

Your well-wisher,
Edward Brown from England

الرسالة الثالثة: مؤرخة في الحادي عشر من فبراير سنة 1894.

Pembroke College, Cambridge
Feb. 11. 1894. (GIL/06/06/30)

السلام عليك يا ايها الحبيب المكّرم المحترم اطال الله بقاءك الشّريف و اعلى مقامك المنيف اشكر الله و اشكرك على دوام محبّتك والتفاتك لانّ ليس في الدنيا بشيءٍ اعزّ من المحبّة الصّادقة الّتى بناؤها الشوق العلميّ و الذوق العرفانيّ و اذا تأمّلْتُ فى الدنيا رأتُ[28] كلّ ما عليها فان الّا ثلاثة اشياء ملازمة تحصيل العلوم و الآداب و مصاحبة الاحباب و الاتّصاف بالخصائل و الفضائل الّتى بواسطتها يقترب الانسان من الله العزيز الوهّاب الرّحيم التوّاب الّذى منه المبداء[29] و اليه المصير و المآب و ارجو منه الدوام على هذا المذهب و السلوك فى هذه الطريقة و اعوذ به من كلّ شئ يُبْعد العبد منه فامّا ما كتبت فى كتابك الكريم من قبيل الملامة و الشكاية و قولك ما اسكتك و ما منعك من اجابتى اعلم ان لطفك و كرمك ما كان منسياً آناً واحداً و ربّما اردتُّ الكتابة و اخذت القلم فى انامل للاجابة و كلّ مرّة منعتنى مانعةٌ من اتمام كتابى او اخّرتنى مؤخّرة عن الجوابِ حتّى بلغنى كتابك الآخر فى هذه الايّام و اوجب علىّ الكلام و تبليغ السّلام فامّا ما سألْتَ عن حالى لله الحمد حالى طيّب

[28] رأيت.

[29] يقصد المبدأ.

بارك الله فيّ فوق لياقتي و استحقاقي فامّا سؤالك عن حال شيخي و استاذي و مقام روحي في جسدي المعلّم روبرتسون اسميث يا ليت امكنني الجواب على ما تحب وما احب و لكنه مريض جداً يظلّ مُبْتلياً بالمرض و هو في غاية الضعف لا يمكنه التعليم و لا التعلّم و لا يفارق الفرش ابداً و نحن في غاية الحزن و الغمّ لاجله و نرجو من الله كما سترجوه ان يفيق عن قريب و الله السميع المجيب فامّا كتابي الّذي صنّفته في سَيْرِي وسياحتي[30] هذا كتابٌ لا افتخر به و لا استحسنه كتبتُهُ للعوامّ لا للخواصّ و اكثر ما فيه مشهور بين العلماء وربّما ندمْتُ عن تصنيفه و صرت خجلاً عن تأليفه و لاجل هذا ما قدّمْتُ نسخةً لحضرتك و سكتُّ عن القول فيه لكن اذ كُنْتَ تريد نسخةً منه هذا لك و ان شاء الله ستصل لك النسخة بيومٍ او يومَيْن بعد ورود هذا الكتاب و اسأل منك قطع النظر عن الهفوات والتّرهات التي توجد فيه و الدعاء لمؤلّفه الفقير الحقير المحتاج الى رحمة الله الغني الغفور حبيبك الصادق

ادوارد برون انكليسيّ ثم الكمبريجيّ

[أضاف برون في نهاية الرسالة مقطعا طويلا باللغة الفارسية.]

Letter 3, February 11, 1894 [English translation]

Peace be upon you, my honoured and respected beloved [friend]. May God prolong your noble life and exalt your lofty station.

I thank God and I thank you for the constancy of your love and your attention; for there is nothing in this world more precious than true love, whose foundation is the longing for knowledge and spiritual understanding. When I reflect upon the world, I perceive that all which is upon it is perishable save three persisting things: the pursuit of knowledge and culture, the companionship of beloved one, and the adornment with those qualities and virtues by which man draws nearer to God, the All Mighty, the Bestower, the Merciful, the Forgiving, from Whom is the beginning and unto Whom is the return and the final resort. To Him is the final return and ultimate abode, and I ask from Him the steadfastness in this path and conduct in this way, and I seek refuge in Him from everything that would distance the servant from Him.

As for what you wrote in your honoured letter in the way of reproach and complaint, asking what has kept me silent and what has prevented my replying to

[30] يقصد كتابه المذكور أعلاه بعنوان *A Year Amongst the Persians* والذي صدر عام 1893.

you, be assured that your kindness and generosity have not for a single moment been forgotten. Often indeed I intended to write and took the pen in my fingers to answer you; yet on each occasion some hindrance prevented me from completing my letter, or some delay deferred my reply, until your next letter reached me in these days and obliged me to speak and to convey my greetings.

As for what you asked about my condition, praise be to God, I am well, God has bestowed upon me blessings beyond my merit and worthiness.

But as to your inquiry regarding my Šayḫ and master, the very soul within my body, the teacher Robertson Smith – would that it were possible for me to answer as you and I alike should wish! Yet he is exceedingly ill; he remains constantly afflicted with sickness and is in a condition of great weakness. He is unable either to teach or to study and never leaves his bed. We are in the deepest sorrow and distress on his account, and we pray to God, as you also will pray, that he may soon recover; and God is the Hearer who answers prayer.

As for the book which I composed concerning my travels and journeys, it is a work of which I do not boast nor do I greatly esteem it. I wrote it for the general public, not for the specialists, and most of what it contains is already well known among scholars. Indeed, I have sometimes regretted having written it and have felt ashamed of its composition; for this reason, I did not send a copy to your esteemed self and remained silent about it. Nevertheless, if you desire a copy, it is at your disposal, and God willing, it shall reach you a day or two after the arrival of this letter. I beg you to overlook the slips and trivialities which may be found in it, and to offer a prayer for its poor, humble author, who stands in need of the mercy of God, the All-Sufficient, the Forgiving.

Your sincere friend,

Edward Browne,

an Englishman, and now of Cambridge

[At the end of the letter a longer passage was added in Persian.]

الرسالة الرابعة: مؤرخة في 4 مايو سنة 1894.[31]

Pembroke College, Cambridge
Le 4 Mai, 1894. (GIL/06/06/27)

[31] هذه واحدة من سلسلة رسائل حاول فيها برون إقناع غولدزيهر بتولّي كرسيّ اللغة العربية في جامعة كامبريدج. وعلى الرغم من أنّ معظم الرسالة مكتوب بالفرنسية، فإنّ برون أدرج فيها المقاطع القصيرة المقتبسة أعلاه بالعربية. يشير برون إلى جواب غولدزيهر السابق الذي فيه شرح رفضه النهائي للعرض بسبب اضطراره لرعاية أطفال أخته اليتامى.

جزاک الله خیراً کثیراً بما اظهرت من المعروف لانّک فدیتَ نفسك و ترکت ما تحبّه فی سبیل الله انّک لمن الصالحین الطاهرین بل من الابرار بل من اولیاء الله و اصدقآئه طوبی لک ثم بخّاً لك انّك لانت علی صراطٍ مستقیم !

اسأل الله ان یبدّل رأیك رأیاً آخر و یجعل جوابك الثانی اقرب من املنا و رجآءنا[32] من جوابك الاوّل و علیه التوکّل و هو حسبنا و نعم الوکیل

Letter 4, May 4, 1894 (partially in Arabic) [English translation]

May God reward you most abundantly for the kindness which you have shown; for you have sacrificed yourself and relinquished what you love in the path of God. Verily you are among the righteous and the pure – nay rather among the truly pious, indeed among the followers of God and His friends. You will have bliss and praise; for surely you stand upon a straight path.

I beseech God that He may change your opinion for another, and that your second reply may be nearer to our hope and expectation than your first answer. Upon Him is our trust; He suffices us, and He is the best of guardians.

الرسالة الخامسة: مؤرخة في الثامن من یناير سنة 1895.

Westacres, Benwell, Newcastle-on-Tyne
Jan. 8, 1895. (GIL/06/06/25)

یا ایها الحبیب الاکرم اشکرك عن صمیم القلب علی تذکارک ایّای فی هذا الموسم الذی فیه یلیق اشتداد روابط المحبّة و الاتّحاد بین العباد و ارجو انا ایضا ان تکون هذه السنة الجدیدة کثیرة البرکة والسعادة لحضرتک و لکلّ من فی بیتک و اسئل[33] الله ان یحفظکم عن جمیع البلایا فی حفظه المتین و هو علی هذا قدیرٌ و هو خیر الحافظین، اذ کنت ترید الاطلاع علی احوالی لله الحمد والمنّة انا فی احسن الاحوال اذ ظللْتُ منذ اسبوعَین او یناهز مقیماً فی

[32] رجائنا.

[33] أسأل.

بيت ابى المحترم و عندى امّى المحترمة و اخوانى و اخواتى و نعم الاقامة بين الاحبّآء[34] والاقرباء و البُعْد عن الاعدا[35] و لله درّ من قال

يقولون انّ الموت صعبٌ و انّما

مفارقة الاحباب و الله اصعبُ

و بعد اسبوع آخَر اريد العودة الى كمبريج و الاشتغال بالتّعليم و التعلّم و منذ كُنْتُ هنا فى الفراغة اشتغلت[36] اوّلاً بمطالعة كتاب الملل و النحل للشهرستانى و قرأتُ المجلد الاوّل اعنى البحث عن المذاهب غير الفلاسفة و استفدتُ منه فائذةً كلّيّة و بعد ابتدرت بمطالعة الجلد السّابع من التاريخ الكامل لابن الاثير و فرحت جدّاً عنه . و يا ليت اقتدارى على كسب نصيبٍ كافٍ من العربيّة و هذا الزم الاشياء لى و ربّما اتخيّل السفر الى بعض البلاد العربيّة لاتعلّم هذا اللسان الشريف فى مركزه امّا لا ادرى اين يكون تحصيل مرادى هذا على الوجه الاحسن أ فى مصر ام فى دمشق الشام و ارجو فى هذا ارشاداً و اشارةً من حضرتك الّذى ليس بمثله فى العلم و الفقه و الادب فى المغرب.[37]

اسأل الله ان يُبقى بقاءكم الشّريف و يُدِيمَ دوام عمركم المنيف و يزيد التفاتكم الى هذا العبد الضعيف و انا الداعى المخلص

ادوارد برون

Letter 5, January 8, 1895 [English translation]

O most honoured beloved, I thank you from the bottom of my heart for remembering me in this season, a time in which the bonds of love and unity among people are especially fittingly strengthened. I also hope that this new year brings abundant blessings and happiness to your esteemed self and everyone in your household. I ask God to protect you from all calamities with His strong safeguarding; He is fully capable of this, and He is the best of protectors.

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[34] الأحباء.

[35] الأعداء.

[36] في الأصل: استغلت.

[37] في الغرب.

As for my circumstances, thanks and praise be to God, I am in excellent condition, since I have been for about two weeks residing in my esteemed father's house, with my respected mother, my brothers, and my sisters. It is indeed a delightful residence among loved ones and relatives, and far from enemies. How excellent are the words of the one who said: "They say death is hard, but indeed it is parting from loved ones that is hardest."

After another week, I intend to return to Cambridge to resume teaching and learning. During my time here in leisure, I first studied *al-Milal wa-n-nihal* by aš-Šahrastānī, reading the first volume, which concerns the study of the *maḏāhib* other than the philosophers, and I derived great overall benefit from it. Then I began reading the seventh volume of *at-Tārīḫ al-kāmil* by Ibn al-Aṯīr, which brought me much joy.

I wish I had the ability to acquire sufficient mastery of Arabic, which is essential for these matters. I sometimes imagine travelling to certain Arab countries to learn this noble language in its own centre, though I am uncertain whether I would best achieve my goal in Egypt or in Damascus. I hope to receive guidance and direction from your esteemed self, for there is no one like you in knowledge, jurisprudence, and literature in the Western world.

I ask God to preserve your noble existence, to prolong your honourable life, and to increase your attention to this humble servant.

I remain your sincere well-wisher,

Edward Browne

الرسالة السادسة: مؤرخة في الثاني عشر من جويلية سنة 1896.

Pembroke College, Cambridge
July 12. 1896. (GIL/06/06/21)

يا ايّها الحبيب الاعزّ الاكرم و الاستاذ الافضل الاعلم الذى ليس فى عصرنا هذا مثلک فى كشف علوم العرب و العجم و لا فى الجهد و العلم و لا فى الاحسان و الكرم، بلغنى الكتاب المرغوب الّذى ارسلْتَه[38] الىّ هديةً وانّه عندى معزَّز محسَّن مثل كلّ ما صدر من لسانك و بنانك و لا ادرى كيف اشكرک على هذه النعمة العظمى الّتى لسْتُ بمستحقّ بها، و امّا ملامتك ايّاى لاجل سكوتى و شكايتك منّى اهمالى انّنى قد اعترفْتُ بقصورى وتشبّثْتُ بذيل عنايتک و العذر عند الكرام مقبول، و سبب هذا السكوت سفرى الى جزيرة

[38] هذا الكتاب هو الجزء الأول من مقالات في فقه اللغة العربية.

Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie, I. Leiden: Brill, 1896.

قبرص و اقامتی فی الجزیرة المذکورة اکثر من شهرین ثمّ سفری الی استنبول ثمّ بعد مراجعتی[39] الی وطنی المألوف کثرة اشتغالی بامری بعد فراغتی[40] منه و المسافر مثل المجنون قبل السفر و حین السفر و بعد السفر الی ان اجتمع ما تفرّق من افکاره و استقرّ فی منزله و داره، امّا کتابك المرغوب المستطاب ما تمّت قرأته[41] لانّنی لسْتُ بماهرٍ فی اللسان النمساوی[42] و لا اقرأه الّا بالاشکال و البطأ[43] و اما ما کتبته فی شعرآء[44] العرب و طرقهم و طبقاتهم و میزان اهل الذوق فیهم و ما یقول من فضّل المتقدّمین علی المتأخّرین و من کان قیاسه علی عکس هذا القیاس[45] انّنی قرأته بتمامه و استفدتُّ منه و فرحْتُ به و وجدتُه مُعْجِبًا بل مُعْجِزاً و حصل لی غایة السرور و الابتهاج منه علی الخصوص لانّنی اشتغلت[46] فی هذه الایّام باستنساخ و تصحیح کتابٍ فارسیٍّ یبحث عن احوال شعراء العجم و ارید طبع هذا الکتاب و هو تذکرة الشعراء[47] للدّولتشاه[48] و ترجمته و تزیینه بالحواشی[49] تشتمل علی کلّ ما لا بدّ

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[39] یقصد رجوعي.

[40] یقصد فراغي.

[41] قراءته.

[42] اللغة الألمانية.

[43] البَطاء.

[44] شعراء.

[45] یقصد الفصل الثاني *Alte und neue Poesie im Urtheile der arabischen Kritiker* (الشعر القديم والجديد في تقييم النقاد العرب).

[46] في الأصل: استغلت.

[47] محدد بخط فوق الكلمة في الرسالة الأصلية.

[48] "تذكرة الشعراء" هو كتاب تراجم فارسي شهير، ألفه دولتشاه بن علاء الدولة بختيشاه السمرقندي في القرن الخامس عشر الميلادي. يعد مصدرا أساسيا لتاريخ الأدب الفارسي، حيث يضم تراجم وحكايات عن أكثر من 150 شاعرا من الشعراء الفرس.

[49] لم يترجمه برون هذا الكتاب إلى الإنجليزية. ولكن تحقيقه صدر بعد خمس سنين وهو:

The Tadhkiratu 'Sh-Shu'ará ("Memoirs of the Poets") of Dawlatsháh bin 'Alá'u 'd-Dawla Bakhtísháh al-Ghází of Samarqand. Edited in the original Persian with Prefaces and Indices by Edward G. Browne. London: Luzac & Co., 1901.

للطالب من ان يعلمه و يفهمه ومن اراد الاطّلاع على احوال الشعراء الفارسية لا بدّ له من اطّلاعٍ على احوال شعراء العرب على قدر اقتداره وقابليّته، يا ليت كان فاضل يشتغل بالامور الفارسيّة كما تشتغل بالامور العربيّة !

طلبْتُ العفو فى اوّل كتابى هذا على اهمالى و سكوتى و اطلب العفو ايضًا فى آخره على ما و قع فيه من الغلط و الخطا[50] لانّنى لَسْتُ مثلك من فحول لسان العرب و لا من المستعربين بل اعجم من الاعاجم، ان شاء الله ستفهم مرامى و تعلم ما هو مقصدى من كلامى، حفظك الله تعالى من كلّ الرزايا و البلايا وصانك فى حصن حصين و ملاذ متين من كلّ ما خلق من الشر و هو خير الحافظين و ارحم الراحمين

الداعى الحقير الفقير ادوارد برون الانكليزي

Letter 6, July 12, 1896 [English translation]

O most beloved and noble friend, most generous and esteemed, and most excellent and learned master, he who, in this present age, has no equal in unveiling the sciences of the Arabs and the Persians, whether in diligence and scholarship or in beneficence and generosity. The welcome book which you sent as a gift has reached me, and with me it is held in honour and esteem, like all that proceeds from your tongue and your pen. I know not how to thank you for this great favour, of which indeed I am unworthy.

As for your reproach of me on account of my silence and your complaint of my neglect, I confess my shortcoming and cling to the hem of your kindness, for an excuse is accepted by the noble. The cause of this silence was my journey to the island of Cyprus and my stay there for more than two months; then my journey to Istanbul; and after my return to my accustomed homeland my great preoccupation with my affairs after being free from them. The traveller is like a madman before travelling, during travelling, and after travelling, until his scattered thoughts are gathered again and he becomes settled in his house and dwelling.

As for your delightful and most welcome book, I have not yet completed its reading, for I am not skilled in the Austrian tongue and can read it only with difficulty and slowness. But that which you wrote concerning the poets of the Arabs – their methods, their classes, the criteria of those who possess literary taste among them, and what is said regarding the superiority of the ancients over the moderns, and those who judge the matter by the opposite measure – this I have

[50] الخطأ.

read in its entirety, and I have profited from it and rejoiced in it. Indeed, I found it admirable, nay marvellous, and it gave me the utmost pleasure and delight, especially since in these days I have been occupied with copying and correcting a Persian book which treats the circumstances of the poets of Persia. I desire to print this book, namely the *Taḏkirat aš-šuʿarāʾ* of Dawlatšāh, to translate it, and to adorn it with notes comprising all that the student need to know and understand. For he who desires to acquaint himself with the circumstances of the Persian poets must also, according to his ability and capacity, have some knowledge of the poets of the Arabs. Would that there were a learned man who concerned himself with Persian matters as you concern yourself with those of Arabic!

At the beginning of this letter I begged your pardon for my neglect and silence, and at its end I again ask your pardon for the mistakes and errors which it contains; for I am not like you among the masters of the Arabic tongue nor among those well versed in it, but rather a foreigner among foreigners. God willing, you will understand my intention and perceive the meaning of my words. May God preserve you from every misfortune and calamity, guard you in a strong fortress and a secure refuge from all the evils of His creation; for He is the best of guardians and the most merciful of the merciful.

The humble and needy well-wisher,
Edward Browne, the Englishman

الرسالة السابعة: مؤرخة في الرابع من ديسمبر سنة 1903.

Pembroke College, Cambridge
Le 4 Decembre 1903 (GIL/06/06/12)
استاذى المفضال العلّامة المكرّم

بلغنى كتابك الكريم و فرحت كثيراً بما فيه من المضامين النافعة و ليس لى فرصة الآن ان اجيبك بالتّفصيل الذى اريده ولكن فيما قلتَ فى رسالة معانى النفس مع الحواشى والشروح وسأر[51] الافادات التى كتبها حضرتك اقول: —[52]

[51] سائر.

[52] بعد هذه المقدمة، يَرِدُ المتنُ الرئيسي للرسالة مكتوبا باللغة الفرنسية. وفيه يلفت برون انتباه غولدزيهر إلى *سلسلة غيب التذكارية* (*Gibb Memorial Series*) التي أُنشئت حديثا آنذاك، معربا عن أمله في أن يهتم غولدزيهر بنشر كتابه المذكور في الرسالة ضمن هذه السلسلة. غير أن هذا الأمر لم يتحقق فكتاب معاني النفس صدر عام 1907 في برلين. انظر الحاشية السفلية رقم 68.

[يختتم برون رسالته بالجملة العربية الآتية]

بلّغت سلامك الى حضرة الشيخ حسن توفيق و هو يبلّغ حضرتک ازکی السلام و خالص الاحترام.

Letter 7, December 4, 1903 [English translation]

My most excellent master, the honoured great scholar,

Your honoured letter has reached me, and I was greatly pleased by the useful matters which it contained. I have not at present the opportunity to reply to you with the detail which I should wish. However, what you said concerning the treatise *Maʿānī n-nafs* with notes, commentaries, and other useful remarks which your esteemed self has written, I can tell the following.

[After a long passage in French calling Goldziher's attention to the *Gibb Memorial Series*, Browne concludes his letter with the following sentence in Arabic:]

I conveyed your greetings to Šayḫ Ḥasan Tawfīq, and he in turn sends your esteemed self his most cordial salutations and sincere respects.

الرسالة الثامنة: مؤرخة في الخامس من فبراير سنة 1904.

Feb. 5.1904. (GIL/06/06/48)

استاذنا العلّامة المفضال المكرّم بلغنى اليوم رسالتک المفيدة التى ألّفتَها في سيرة محمّد بن تومرت[53] و فرحتُ بها و بتذكرک ايّاىّ[54] بارسالها وسأستفيد منها كثيراً ان شاء الله تعالى، هل رأيت[55] في الجرائد انّ مولانا العلّامة الشيخ محمّد الاشمونى[56] قد توفى رحمه الله رحمةً

[53] يشير إلى مقدمة كتاب "التوحيد" لمحمد بن تومرت الذي نشره Luciani سنة 1903. ينظر عبد الحميد صالح حمدان، طبقات المستشرقين، ص 116. وهذا الكتاب هو:

Le livre de Mohammed ibn Toumert, Mahdi des Almohades : texte arabe accompagné de notices biographiques et d'une introduction par I. Goldziher. Alger, Imprimerie orientale Pierre Fontana, 1903.

[54] إيّاى.

[55] رأيت.

[56] في مطلع عام 1874، وخلال إقامته القصيرة في القاهرة للدراسة، أُوكل الشاب غولدزيهر، بعد أن أبدى حرصه على الالتزام بنواياه العلمية الخالصة، إلى رعاية أحد أبرز علماء الأزهر في ذلك الوقت، محمد الأشموني (1803–1903). انظر غولدزيهر، *يوميات* ص. 152، *Tagebuch* ص. 70.

واسعة و اظنه كان من مشايخ حضرتك و هذا لا بدّ من ان يُحزنک كثيراً كما سيُحزن كلّ من يحبّ العلم و العلماء و امّا حالى فى غاية الصحّة و السلامة و معى الشيخ حسن توفيق الأزهري يساعد فى التدريس و فى كلّ الاشياء و قد ازداد عدد الطلّاب المستعربين حتّى بلغ العشرين او يناهز و انا مسرور جدّاً من هذا فتقبّل منّى فى الختام خالص تحيّتى و احسن السلام

صديقک الخالص

ادوارد برون

Letter 8, February 5, 1904 [English translation]

Our master, the eminent and honoured great scholar,

Today your valuable treatise reached me, which you composed concerning the life of Muḥammad ibn Tūmart. I rejoiced greatly in it, and also in your remembering me by sending it, and I shall profit much from it, God willing.

Have you seen in the newspapers that our master, the eminent Šayḫ Muḥmmad al-Ašmūnī, has passed away, may God have mercy upon him with a wide mercy? I believe that he was among your teachers, and this must surely grieve you greatly, as it will grieve all who love learning and the learned.

As for my own condition, I am in the best of health and well-being, and with me is Šayḫ Ḥasan Tawfīq al-Azharī, who assists in the teaching and in all matters. The number of students studying Arabic has increased until it has reached twenty or nearly so, and I am greatly pleased by this.

Pray accept from me in conclusion my sincere greetings and my best salutations.

Your sincere friend,

Edward Browne

الرسالة التاسعة: مؤرخة في الحادي عشر من أبريل 1904.

Westacres, Benwell, Newcastle-on-Tyne
April 11. 1904. (GIL/06/06/40)

سيدى العلّامة المفضال المكرّم وصلنى كتابك الكريم و انا الآن في ايّام المسامحة فى بيت ابى وسأرجع الى الكلّيّة ان شاء الله يوم الاثنين الاتى يعنى بعد اسبوع وقد كتبت مسئلة[57]

[57] مسألة.

حضرتک الی الشیخ حسن توفیق وسأرسل جوابه بعد وروده الی حضرتک . لقد سرّنی کثیراً خبر مجیئک[58] الی لوندره[59] في الشهر الآتی[60] و انا اکون في کمبرِیج[61] فی هذا الوقت لا محالة و ارجو أن تشرّف مدینتنا ایضاً و تقیم فیها بضعة ایّام و ربّما اکون حاضراً في المجلس الّذی ستأتی لاجله و ان شاء الله سترى حضرتک الاقسام العربیّة التي اسّستها مع الشیخ حسن توفیق و قد بلغ عدد طلّابنا الآن العشرین تقریباً و ما رأیته من قبل یبلغ اکثر من الخمس[62].

الداعی المخلص

ادوارد برون

Letter 9, April 11, 1904 [English translation]

My Sir, the eminent and honoured great scholar,

Your noble letter has reached me. At present I am on holiday at my father's house, and I shall return to the College, God willing, on the coming Monday – that is, in a week's time. I have written your question to Šayḫ Ḥasan Tawfīq, and when his reply reaches me, I shall send it on to you.

I was greatly pleased to hear of your coming to London in the next month. I shall certainly be in Cambridge at that time, and I hope that you will also honour our city with a visit and remain here for a few days. It may even be that I shall be present at the gathering for which you are coming. God willing, you will then see the Arabic classes which I have established together with Šayḫ Ḥasan Tawfīq. The number of our students has now reached nearly twenty, whereas previously I had never seen it exceed five.

Your sincere well-wisher,

Edward Browne

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[58] مجیئك

[59] محدد بخط فوق الكلمة في الرسالة الأصلية.

[60] حضر غولدزيهر في لندن اجتماع جمعية الأكاديميات كمندوب عن الأكاديمية المجرية للعلوم، وبعد ذلك توجه إلى جامعة كمبريدج حيث منحته الأكاديمية شهادة دكتوراه فخرية (غولدزيهر، *يوميات* ص. 454، مدخل 8 مايو و5 يونيو 1904، *Tagebuch* ص. 236).

[61] محدد بخط فوق الكلمة في الرسالة الأصلية.

[62] الخمسة.

الرسالة العاشرة: مؤرخة في الخامس من جوان سنة 1904.

Le 5 Juin, 1904. (GIL/06/06/49)

انّا لله و انّا اليه راجعون

توفّى الى رحمة الله الشيخ المفضال العلّامة حسن توفيق فجأةً ليلة السبت الماضى العشرين من شهر ربيع الاوّل سنه ١٣٢٢ (اليوم الثالث من يونيو سنه ١٩٠٤) فى كمبرتش وهو ابن اربعين سنة أو يناهز.[63]

رحمه الله تعالى رحمةً واسعة

من المحزون المغموم الغريق فى بحر الأحزان والهموم

ادوارد برون.

Letter 10, June 5, 1904 [English translation]

Verily we belong to God, and unto Him we return.

The eminent scholar Šayḫ Ḥasan Tawfīq has passed to the mercy of God, suddenly, on the night of Saturday the twentieth of Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1322 (the third day of June 1904) in Cambridge, being forty years of age or thereabout.

May God have mercy upon him with a wide mercy.

From one sorrowful and afflicted, overwhelmed in a sea of grief and distress.

Edward Browne

الرسالة الحادية عشرة: مؤرخة في الخامس والعشرون من فبراير سنة 1907.

Feb.25.1907. (GIL/06/06/08)

صديقى الفاضل الكامل العالم العامل العزيز المكرّم المحترم احزننى كثيراً ما سمعت بالامس من صاحبى و صاحبك البروفسور بيفن[64] بانّ حضرتك حسبتنى ناقصاً فى المحبّة و الاخلاص ناقضاً عهود الاخوّة لكونى ساكتًا مُنذ مُدّة طويلة غير متشكّرٍ بلسانى و قلمى للرّسائل

[63] نشر برون النعي التالي بمناسبة وفاة الشيخ حسن توفيق.

Brown, E.G. “Obituary: Shaykh Ḥasan Tawfíq”. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, July 1904, 523–529.

[64] بيفن، أنتوني أشلي Bevan, Anthony Ashley (1859-1933) مستشرق إنجليزي، من تلاميذ ”وليم رايت“ (Wright, William) في العربية. انظر عبد الحميد صالح حمدان، *طبقات المستشرقين*، ص. 108.

النفيسة التى ما زلت و لا تزال مُرْسلاً بها الىّ و والله يا سيّدى و استاذى ما كان سبب سكوتى و عدم مخاطبتى ايّاک الّا ما يكون من المشاغل الكثيرة المتوالية التى منعتْنى من ذلك و من كثيرٍ ممّا أُريد أداءه و انا كما تعرف حضرتك مولعاً بالعلم و مطالعة الكتب مُهْمِلاً شؤون الحيوة الدنيا و ربّما لُمْتُ نفسى على ذلك و لكن رأيت النّاس يموتون و يفوتون و رأيت آثارهم تبقى و تصير سببًا لتذكار اساميهم بعدهم و اردت أن اترك فى العالم قبل اتمام ايّامى اثارًا[65] تجعل اسمى داخل هذه الاسامى، ثم كما لا يخفى على حضرتكم تزوّجْتُ فى السنة الماضية و هذا زادنى فرحًا و سرورًا و لكنّ الرجل المأهّل المزدوج لا يكون كالعزب خليع العذار فى حركاته وسكناته و لا يمكن و لا يجوز له أن يترك امرأته ليشتغل بالكتب و الكتابة طول ليله و نهاره كما كنت افعل فى الماضى و ما اردتُ ان امتنع عن تأليف الكتب و تنقيح المتون و رجّحْتُ ترک المكاتبة حتى الامكان على ترک التأليف و مع هذا لا أجد للتّأليف اكثر من بضع ساعات فى اليوم و لكن اعلم يا سيدى و استاذى انّنى ما زلْتُ داعيًا لک متذكّراً فضائلك و كمالاتك مستفيدًا من ثمرات علمک الّذى لا يكاد احد مستشرقى الافرنج يصل الى عُشْر من أعشاره،

يا حبيبى الاكرم بالله عليك أن لا تظنّ انّنى نسيتُ محاسنكم و فضائلكم و ما كان بيننا من المحبّة و الاخلاص و الاتّحاد الروحانىّ الكائن بينى وبينک و اذا وجدتنى ناقصاً فى اداء لوازم المحبّة فاعلم انّ هذا النقصان فى الشؤون الخارجَة فقط لا فى المعنى و أرجو من الله عزّ و جلّ دائماً ان يجمع بينى و بينک و يُفيدَنى فى المستقبل كما افادنى فى الماضى من بركات انفاسک الشريفة

و امّا القصور من جهة المكاتبة فهذا شئ جبلّىّ عندى لا يمكننى أن ابدّله حتّى ربما لا اكتب الى والدى او اخوىّ الّا مرّتين و ثلاث مرّات فى السنة

[65] اثارًا.

و فی الختام تقبل یا سیدی و استاذی و حبیبی احسن سلامی واهی تحیّتی و اعتقد بدوام اخلاصی و صدقی و اخوّتی

اخوک الصادق الداعی

ادوارد برون

Edward G. Browne

Letter 11, February 25, 1907 [English translation]

My virtuous and accomplished friend, the diligent, dear, honoured, and esteemed scholar,

I was greatly grieved by what I heard yesterday from our mutual friend, Professor Bevan, namely that you had supposed me deficient in affection and sincerity, and as one who had broken the bonds of brotherhood, because I have remained silent for so long and have not thanked you by tongue or pen for the precious letters which you have continually been sending to me. By God, my dear Sir and master, the cause of my silence and of my not writing to you has been nothing other than the many successive occupations which have prevented me from doing so, and from many other things which I wished to accomplish.

As you know, I am passionately devoted to learning and to the reading of books, and I neglect the affairs of this worldly life. At times I have reproached myself for this; yet I have seen that men die and pass away, while their works remain and become the means by which their names are remembered after them. Therefore, I have desired to leave behind me in the world, before the completion of my days, some works which may cause my name to be included among such names.

Moreover, as you are aware, I married last year. This has increased my happiness and contentment; yet a married man is not like a bachelor, free and unrestrained in his movements and repose. It is neither possible nor proper for him to leave his wife and devote himself to books and writing throughout the whole of night and day as I used to do in former times. I was unwilling to refrain from composing books and revising texts, and therefore I preferred, so far as possible, to abandon correspondence rather than authorship. Even so, I find for writing scarcely more than a few hours in the day.

But know, my dear Sir and master, that I have never ceased to pray for you, to remember your virtues and accomplishments, and to profit from the fruits of your learning of which scarcely any European Orientalist can attain even a tenth.

My most beloved friend, I beg you by God not to suppose that I have forgotten your merits and virtues, nor the affection, sincerity, and spiritual fellowship which exist between us. If you find me wanting in the outward observances of friendship,

know that this deficiency lies only in external matters and not in the inward meaning. I continually pray to Almighty God that He may unite us again, and that I may in the future benefit, as I have benefited in the past, from the blessings of your noble breath.

As for my shortcomings in correspondence, this is something innate in my nature and not easily changed; indeed, it sometimes happens that I write even to my father or my brothers only two or three times in the year.

In conclusion, accept, my dear Sir, my master and my friend, my best salutations and my most cordial greetings, and believe in the constancy of my sincerity, truthfulness, and brotherly affection.

Your sincere and well-wisher brother,

Edward Browne

الرسالة الثانية عشرة: مؤرخة في التاسع مارس سنة 1907.

Pembroke College, Cambridge

(GIL/06/06/38) فی ۲۵ محرم الحرام سنه ۱۳۲۵

سیّدی العزیز الفاضل المحترم المکرّم قد تشرّفت بکتابك الکریم وفرحت کثیراً بما فیه من شواهد المحبّة و الاخلاص و الصداقة و العفو عن قصوری فی المکاتبة و المراسلة و أرجو من حضرتک ان لا تحسبنی ناقضاً للعهد من بعد. قد کتبت إلی ناشر کتابی تاریخ ادبیّات الفُرس وطلبت منه أن یرسل بنسخةٍ من الجلد الثانی الی حضرتك لتکون عندك تذکارًا عنی مع عدم لیاقتها، امّا الجلد الثالث فقد ابتدأت به ولکن هو اکثر صعوبة لقلّة التواریخ المعتبرة و کثرة المؤلّفین و الشّعرا[66] من المتأخّرین وأنا حیران فی انتخاب من له اهمّیة حقیقیّة لانّنی لا اعتمد علی کثیر من تواریخ المتأخّرین و أرید ان اکون فی هذا السّبیل مجتهدًا لا متقلّدًا تقبّل یا حبیبی فی الختام باهر تحیّتی و ابهی السلام الداعی

ادوارد برون

Letter 12, March 9, 1907 [English translation]

My dear, esteemed, honoured, and generous Sir,

I have been honoured by the receipt of your noble letter and was greatly pleased by what it contained of proofs of affection, sincerity, friendship, and your gracious

[66] الشعراء.

pardon for my shortcomings in correspondence and writing. I beg that hereafter you will not regard me as one who has broken his pledge.

I wrote to the publisher of my book *A Literary History of Persia* and requested him to send you a copy of the second volume [*From Firdawsí to Sa'dí*], that it may remain with you as a remembrance of me, though it is hardly worthy of such a purpose. As for the third volume [*The Tartar Dominion* (1265–1502)], I have begun work upon it, but it is more difficult, owing to the scarcity of reliable historical sources and the great number of later authors and poets. I am perplexed in choosing those who possess real importance, for I do not place much reliance upon many of the later histories, and I wish in this matter to proceed as an independent investigator rather than as a mere imitator.

Pray accept in conclusion, my dear friend, my most cordial greetings and my fairest salutations.

Your well-wisher,

Edward Browne

الرسالة الثالثة عشرة: مؤرخة في السابع عشر من مارس سنة 1907.

Aug, 17, 1907 Westacres, Benwell, Newcastle, on, Tyne (GIL/06/06/41)

حضرة الاستاذ العلّامة المفضال صاحب الفضل والكمال وصلنى بضعة ايّام قبل مفارقتى كمبريج[67] كتابكم النفيس المسمّى بكتاب معانى النفس[68] الذى اعطيتنى ايّاه هديّة مكرّمة من عند حبيب مكرّم و اشكر حضرتك كثيرًا على هذا الانعام الجديد، تكون قد سمعت اننى قد رُزِقْت ولدًا فى ٢٨ من شهر مايو[69] بمدّة احدى عشر شهرا[70] بعد ازدواجى و الولد بحمد [الله] تعالى فى غاية الصحّة و السلامة

[67] محدد بخط فوق الكلمة في الرسالة الأصلية.

[68] هذا الكتاب هو:

Kitâb ma'ânî al-nafs: Buch vom Wesen der Seele (= *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse* NF 9/1). Hrsg. I. Goldziher. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1907.

[69] محدد بخط فوق الكلمة في الرسالة الأصلية.

[70] أحد عشر شهرا.

أرجو من الله تعالى دوام صحّة حضرتک و أتمنّى دوام محبّتک فتقبّل فى الختام يا استاذى فائق سلامى و احترامى

المخلص ادوارد برون

Letter 13, August 17, 1907 [English translation]

My honoured and distinguished Professor, the eminent and gracious scholar, distinguished by excellence and accomplishment,

A few days before my departure from Cambridge I received your valuable book entitled *Kitāb Maʿānī n-nafs*, which you were kind enough to present to me as a generous gift from a noble friend. I thank you most sincerely for this new kindness.

You may perhaps already have heard that on the 28th of May – eleven months after my marriage – I was blessed with a son; and the child, praise be to God, is in the best of health and well-being.

I pray to Almighty God for the continuance of your good health, and I hope for the continuance of your friendship. Pray accept in conclusion, dear Sir and master, my warmest greetings and my highest respect.

Your sincere well-wisher,

Edward Browne

الرسالة الرابعة عشرة: مؤرخة في أكتوبر سنة 1910.

Firwood, Trumpington Road, Cambridge

(GIL/06/06/10) فى ٢٥ شوال المكّرم سنه ١٣٢٨ مطابق سلخ اكتوبر سنه ١٩١٠

سيّدى الفاضل الأديب الكامل اللبيب تشرّفت فى هذه الايّام بوصول نسخةٍ من كتابک العزيز[71] الذى سأستفيد كثيراً منه ان شاء الله تعالى و أشكرک كثيراً على إحسانک فى ارساله و اردتُ أن اتعوّض منه بشئ من عندى و لهذا أنا مرسل بنسخةٍ من كتابى الأخير تاريخ الانقلاب الايرانى[72] و أرجو ان يصل الى حضرتک مع هذا الكتاب او قبله و أن يستحسن عندک مع نواقصه و عدم كفايته بموضوعه العظيم و اردت أن ارسل بنسخةٍ ايضاً

[71] وهذا الكتاب هو محاضرات في الإسلام. انظر الحاشية السفلية رقم 2.

[72] محدد بخط فوق الكلمة في الرسالة الأصلية. وهذا الكتاب هو:

The Persian Revolution of 1905–1909 by Edward G. Browne. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1910.

الى المعلّم ڤامبرى[73] ولكن لا اعلم عنوانه فى مدينتكم و أرجو أن تخبرنى بذلک من لطفك وتجعلنى مرةً ثانيةً من الشاكرين.

و تقبّل فى الختام يا زبدة الكرام خالص تحيّتى وباهر السلام

الداعى لدوام وجودك الشريف

ادوارد برون الإنجليزي

Edward G. Browne

Letter 14, October 30, 1910 [English translation]

My esteemed Sir, the accomplished and discerning man of letters,

In these days I have had the honour of receiving a copy of your esteemed book, from which I shall, God willing, derive much benefit. I thank you most sincerely for your kindness in sending it. I wished to reciprocate this favour with something of my own, and therefore I am sending you a copy of my latest book, *The History of the Persian Revolution*. I hope that it may reach you together with this letter, or perhaps even before it, and that it may meet with your approval, notwithstanding its deficiencies and its inadequacy to so great a subject.

I also wished to send a copy to the learned Vámbéry, but I do not know his address in your city, and I beg you, of your kindness, to inform me of it and thus once more make me your debtor in gratitude.

Pray accept in conclusion, O best of the noble, my sincere greetings and my most cordial salutations.

Praying for the continuance of your honoured existence,

Edward Browne, the Englishman

الرسالة الخامسة عشرة: مؤرخة في الخامس عشر من مارس سنة 1914.

Pembroke College, Cambridge: England, March 15, 1904 (GIL/06/06/44)

صديقى الفاضل العلّامة العديم النظير أشكرک غاية الشكر على قبولک تكليفى فى امعان النظر في كتاب أخى الطرفَيْن ارنولد[74] وتفضّلک فى تقريظه ليتبيّن عند رؤساء الكلّيّة هل هو

[73] محدد بخط فوق الكلمة في الرسالة الأصلية. وانظر الحاشية السفلية رقم 24.

[74] محدد بخط فوق الكلمة في الرسالة الأصلية. وهذا العالم هو توماس وولكر آرنولد Sir Thomas Walker Arnold (1864–1930). والكتاب المذكور هو كتابه المشهور بعنوان الدعوة إلى الإسلام (*The Preaching of*

مستحقّ لما يطلبه من درجات العالميّة ويجوز أن تكتب حضرتک هذا التقريظ باللّغة الالمانيّة لا بأس فی ذلک، امّا ما کتبت فی کتاب فضائح الباطنيّة للامام الغزالی[75] فقد استنسخ لی هذه النسخة بعض کتاب الهنود فی السنة الماضية و اذا اردت حضرتک أن أُرسل لك بهذه النسخة فأتشرّف بإرسالها اذا ظننْتَ أن تخدم لک فيما انت فيه و لکن رُبّما ما عندک من الفوطوغرافات أحسن و أنفع و لا اظنّ أن کاتب نسختی و هو رجل فقير غريب اردتُ إعانته من فحول العلماء و لا من سابقی الکتّاب، وتقبّل فی الختام زاهر تحيّتی و السلام

الداعی لدوام بقاءک[76] الشريف ادوارد برون

Letter 15, March 15, 1914 [English translation]

My honoured friend, the eminent and incomparable scholar,

I thank you most sincerely for consenting to undertake, at my request, a careful examination of the book of our mutual friend Arnold, and for your kindness in writing an appraisal of him, so that the authorities of the College may determine whether he is deserving of the higher academic degree which he seeks. You may write this appraisal in German if you wish; there is no objection to that.

As for what you wrote concerning the *Faḍāʾiḥ al-bāṭiniyya* of Imām al-Ġazālī, this copy was transcribed for me last year by one of the Indian copyists. If you should wish me to send you this copy, I shall be honoured to do so, should you think that it might be of use to you in your present work. Yet perhaps the photographs which you possess are better and more useful. Nor do I suppose that the scribe of my copy – who is a poor and unfamiliar man whom I wished to assist – would be numbered among the eminent scholars or among the foremost copyists.

Pray accept in conclusion my most cordial greetings and salutations.

Praying for the continuance of your honoured life,

Edward Browne

Islam) والذي أرسل منه أرنولد الطبعة الثانية في خريف العام السابق إلى غولدزيهر (انظر رسالة أرنولد GIL/01/43/20).

[75] كان غولدزيهر في ذلك الوقت قد بدأ بالفعل في إعداد تحقيق ودراسة لكتاب الغزالي، وقد نُشر هذا العمل لاحقا سنة 1916. وهو: *Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja Sekte*. Leiden: Brill, 1916.

[76] بقائك.

الخاتمة

تكشف الرسائل المعروضة أعلاه عن الدور البارز الذي اضطلع به إدوارد غرانفيل برون في تدريس اللغة العربية في جامعة كامبريدج، وتبرز كذلك الأهمية الحاسمة للشبكات العلمية الدولية في نشأة هذا الحقل وتطوره. وتمثل هذه الرسائل العربية جزءاً من مجموعة أوسع تضم أربعاً وسبعين رسالة كتبها برون إلى إغناتس غولدزيهر.

وتُعد هذه الرسائل شاهداً واضحاً على ما كان يكنّه برون من احترام وتقدير عميقين لغولدزيهر، كما تكشف عن الدور المهم الذي أدّاه الأستاذ الأزهري الشاب الشيخ حسن توفيق، الذي أسهم إسهاماً كبيراً في ازدهار الدراسات العربية في كامبريدج خلال فترة عمل برون. وتبرز أيضاً التزام برون العميق باللغة العربية، إذ تعامل معها بوصفها فضاءً ثقافياً ومعرفياً حيّاً، وسعى — على غرار اهتمامه باللغة الفارسية — إلى التعمق فيها إلى أقصى حد ممكن. وفي هذا السياق، كان يستشير أحد أبرز علماء العربية في أوروبا في عصره، وهو غولدزيهر، الذي حاول دون نجاح إقناعه بتولّي كرسي اللغة العربية في كامبريدج.

وتسهم هذه الرسائل في تقديم قراءة أكثر دقة وعمقاً لتاريخ الدراسات العربية والإسلامية في أوروبا، قراءة تأخذ بعين الاعتبار دور العلاقات العلمية المتبادلة في تشكيل هذا الحقل المعرفي.

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[1] GIL/06/06/33 (7 December 1892).
[2] GIL/06/06/31 (1 October 1893).
[3] GIL/06/06/30 (11 February 1894).
[4] GIL/06/06/27 (4 May 1894).
[5] GIL/06/06/25 (8 January 1895).
[6] GIL/06/06/21 (12 July 1896).
[7] GIL/06/06/12 (4 December 1903).
[8] GIL/06/06/48 (5 February 1904).
[9] GIL/06/06/40 (11 April 1904).
[10] GIL/06/06/49 (5 June 1904).
[11] GIL/06/06/08 (25 February 1907).
[12] GIL/06/06/38 (9 March 1907).
[13] GIL/06/06/41 (17 August 1907).
[14] GIL/06/06/10 (30 October 1910).
[15] GIL/06/06/44 (15 March 1914).

GIL = *Correspondence of Ignaz Goldziher*.

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ANDALUSIAN *MUWAŠŠAḤ* POETRY

by Alan Jones (Oxford)
edited and introduced by Kinga Dévényi (Budapest)

Abstract:
This article, published posthumously, re-examines the origins, structure, and development of Andalusian *muwaššaḥ* poetry through a close reading of the surviving corpus and the medieval critical tradition. By analysing stanzaic structure, metre, rhyme, and the relationship between poetic composition and musical performance, the study argues for a more precise understanding of the formal evolution of the genre. Particular attention is given to the role of *tasmīṭ*, the expansion of Arabic metrical practice, and the structural importance of the *ḫarǧa*. The article also challenges approaches that isolate the *ḫarǧa* from the poem as a whole, advocating instead the study of the *muwaššaḥ* in its entirety as an integrated literary form. Through detailed textual examples drawn from the surviving corpus, it proposes a clearer framework for interpreting the formal and historical development of this distinctive poetic tradition.

Keywords:
Andalusian poetry; *muwaššaḥ*; *ḫarǧa*; Arabic metrics; stanzaic poetry; music and poetry; al-Andalus; medieval Arabic literature

0 Editor's introduction

This article is based on part one of an unfinished manuscript by Alan Jones (1933–2021), Emeritus Fellow of both Pembroke College and St. Cross College and Emeritus Professor of Classical Arabic at the University of Oxford, prepared for publication after his death.[1] The files from which the text was assembled were entrusted to the editor by the author's family to ensure the publication of his final scholarly project in a form befitting both its scope and the author's intentions.

Alan Jones's main research was in early Arabic, particularly pre-Islamic poetry and the Qurʾān, and in Andalusian Arabic stanzaic poetry. His translation of the Qurʾān was published in 2007. He also wrote *Arabic through the Qur'ān* to help

[1] For his obituary and personal bibliography, see Kinga Dévényi and Tamás Iványi, "In Memory of Professor Alan Jones". *The Arabist* 42 (2021) vii–xv. doi: 10.58513/ARABIST.2021.42.1.

those who wish to learn Qurʾānic Arabic. His interest in *muwaššaḥāt* was kindled by his colleague, Samuel M. Stern. He produced critical editions of the two main collections of Andalusian Arabic *muwaššaḥāt*, the *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs* of Ibn Bišrī (1992) and the *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* of Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb (1997). Prior to his final illness, he was working on his own anthology of Andalusian Arabic *muwaššaḥāt*, with texts, English translations and an extended introduction. He was also working on the *beta* version of a computerised corpus of all the Andalusian Arabic *muwaššaḥāt*.

Even though the author had discussed several aspects of this projected publication with the editor, it is always difficult to reconstruct the intentions of an author; accordingly, the decision was made not to publish material that appeared too sketchy. The present text therefore represents, as far as possible, Alan Jones's own sustained arguments. No attempt has been made to reconstruct passages from fragmentary notes. Draft notes, outlines, and duplicative fragments have been omitted. The order of the material reflects the most coherent arrangement recoverable from the surviving files.

Editorial intervention has been kept to a minimum. Apart from minor normalisation of spelling, references, and formatting, the text has been left unchanged. Arabic transliteration, even in passages quoted from other authors, has been adjusted to conform to the system used in *The Arabist*. Square brackets are used to indicate editorial interventions, including the completion of missing references and other clarifications where unavoidable. The abstract and keywords have been supplied by the editor.

Alan Jones envisaged a substantial volume on the *muwaššaḥāt* as a synthesis of his earlier work on the subject, combining analytical discussion with original texts, translations, and notes. Considering the nature of *The Arabist*, a decision was taken to publish the work in two parts: (1) Study, (2) Texts (in transliteration and translation with notes).

His projected plan, preserved in one of the files, was as follows. This outline also indicates if sections are missing or incomplete.

A. Preface [unfinished]
B. Introduction [reconstructed as far as possible from several surviving versions]
C. Glossary and abbreviations [the abbreviations used by the author have been resolved]

1. Arabic background texts [= Early Arabic sources on the *muwaššaḥ*]
2. Prehistory
3. The Primary Corpus [= The extant Andalusian *muwaššaḥāt*]
4. Authors
5. Constituent features
   (a) stanzaic structure
   (b) rhyme
   (c) metre
   (d) themes [missing]

(e) linguistic registers and the *ḫarǧa* [Only the topic of *ḫarǧa* was developed, the linguistic registers survive in tables but were not developed into an analysis.]

D. Texts, Translations and Notes [This part will be published separately in *The Arabist* 50 (forthcoming).]
E. Bibliography [Not preserved as such; compiled from references in the notes.]
F. Index [Not preserved; the publication of a relevant index is envisaged together with the texts in *The Arabist* 50 (forthcoming).]

Despite its slightly unfinished state, the work represents a significant and mature contribution to the study of the *muwaššaḥāt*, above all in its insistence that the poems should be read as whole compositions and within the context of the surviving corpus.

A Preface

This is a further attempt to encourage the serious study of the Andalusian Arabic *muwaššaḥ*. My first, *an Emperor's New Clothes* [Jones 1980], drew attention to the unsafe and deceitful nature of the texts published by García Gómez [1965] in *Las Jarchas Romances*. The second, *Romance Kharjas in Andalusian Arabic* Muwaššaḥ *Poetry* [Jones 1988], presented facsimile texts from the manuscripts containing the 'Romance *ḫarğa*s', together with a palaeographical commentary and some background notes, so that scholars might see for themselves what was in the manuscripts. I went on to publish editions of the two main anthologies of Arabic *muwaššaḥāt*, the *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* of Ibn Bišrī and the *Ğayš at-tawšīḥ* of Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb, so that a central corpus of just over 550 poems was available. An effort to produce a computerised version of this corpus ran into serious technical problems (a linked series of machine errors destroyed the first version), but it is at last nearing completion. The availability of the texts has attracted far too little attention, as the eyes of most scholars have remained fixed on '*ḫarğa* studies'. In a few cases this is justified. As a specialist in the Arabic dialects of al-Andalus, Federico Corriente [*e.g.* 1997, 2009] rightly paid special attention to the *ḫarğa*s. Others have no reason for ignoring the main part of the poems and treating the *ḫarğa*s as independent poems. They are not. Before one hears or reads the *ḫarğa* one will have heard or read eighteen lines at a minimum, more likely twenty-five or a few more. The poets did not write the lines that preceded the *ḫarğa* as long-winded introductory material. Each poem is a whole, with a carefully designed linear structure, metre and rhymes, and the *ḫarğa* rounds it off.

The present book[2] aims to encourage readers to read whole *muwaššaḥāt*, with such background material as is adequate to put the poems and the corpus into perspective. For instance, the section on metres will deal with the general problems but point to other books if the reader wants the minute details of technical variations, and the like. The poems[3] have been chosen to include pieces by the most famous *waššāḥ*s, but also an appropriate number of anonymous poems and of poems with 'Romance *ḫarğa*s'. Poems by named poets stretch from c. 1030 to the end of the Almohad period (1223), with the exception of the poem by Ibn Ḫātima (d. 1369), which has some unusual features.

I say little about the irreconcilable split between those who believe that the *muwaššaḥāt* have an Arabic origin and those who believe that they have a Romance origin. I favour the former view and think that is the only plausible explanation, but a diversion into this morass would detract from the purpose of the book.

[2] [The word "book" was not changed to reflect the author's original intention to publish the study and the poems together.]

[3] [To be published separately in *The Arabist* 50 (forthcoming).]

B Introduction

[*The musammaṭ, the muwaššaḥ and the zaǧal*]

It was in al-Andalus that stanzaic poetry first flourished in Arabic. Three forms became popular: the *musammaṭ*, the *muwaššaḥ* and the *zaǧal*. Exactly when and how they developed is unknown – and much disputed. There are two main propositions, both of which rely more on argument than on evidence: (a) Arabic origin, with *musammaṭ* leading to the *muwaššaḥ,* followed by the *zaǧal;* (b) Romance origin with *zaǧal* giving rise to the *muwaššaḥ*, with the *musammaṭ* irrelevant.

The most likely time for their appearance is the late ninth/early tenth centuries, which, in the case of the *muwaššaḥ*, fits with the information given by Ibn Ḫaldūn[4] that it occurred in the reign of ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Marwānī, the seventh Umayyad ruler of al-Andalus (reigned 888 to 912). The *muwaššaḥ*, however, appears to have developed into the forms that have reached us no earlier than the last decades of the tenth century and the earliest documented examples date from some years into the eleventh century.

Apart from its stanzaic form, the *musammaṭ* seems to have followed the norms of classical Arabic poetry. Very little of the genre survives, either in the east or the west,[5] though two poems by one of the greatest of Andalusian poets, Ibn Zaydūn (1003–1070) do survive.[6] If we are to judge by extant material, the *musammaṭ* seems to have drawn more attention from Andalusian Hebrew poets. There are also a few lines on the *musammaṭ* in the famous anthology *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, compiled by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (860–940), the earliest literary scholar of al-Andalus.[7]

The *muwaššaḥ* and the *zaǧal* differed from the *musammaṭ* in one striking feature. Both allowed, in quite different ways, the use of non-classical Arabic – either colloquial Arabic [or, most often, pseudo-colloquial Arabic] or Romance [or pseudo-Romance] or a mixture of the two. In the *muwaššaḥ* such material was confined, with only one or two exceptions, to the last section of the poem, the *ḫarǧa,* whereas the standard language of the *zaǧal* was non-classical, with Romance words and phrases appearing intermittently. Limits also applied to the number of stanzas in the *muwaššaḥ*, but not to the *musammaṭ or* the *zaǧal*.

Both genres were lyric, primarily intended to be sung, though there is some evidence that they were also simply recited. Unfortunately, the music to which they

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[4] Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Muqaddima*, ed. II, 425 "*al-Muwaššaḥāt wa-l-azǧāl li-l-Andalus*", Eng. tr. III, 440 ff. "The Spanish *muwashshaḥah*s and *zajal*s".

[5] See Schoeler 1993. The survival rate was better in Andalusian Hebrew poetry.

[6] There are several editions of the *Dīwān*. The text I refer to here is on pages 197–205 of the well-known edition of Kāmil Kīlānī and ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Ḫalīfa, Cairo, first printed in 1932/1351 and reprinted in 1956 and 1965.

[7] [Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIqd* V, 428.]

were set is entirely lost. Accompaniments from the nineteenth century and later do survive in the Maġrib, but that is no guide to the music of Arab al-Andalus some nine hundred years earlier.

Together with its allied form the *zaǧal*, the *muwaššaḥ* had considerable success over several centuries. The genres were well received in the Maġrib, and one of the most prominent of the later *waššāḥ*s, Ibn Zuhr [al-Ḥafīd] (d. 1198), though born in Seville, spent much of his life in Fes.

Later both genres found a second home in the east, when, in the twelfth century, stanzaic poetry managed to move first to Egypt, then to Syria and Iraq. However, the eastern devotees never acquired a proper understanding of the norms by which the Andalusians had composed their poems, probably because the poems appear to have travelled to the east in written form and without any of their accompanying music. Thus, when eastern literary figures, beginning with Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (d. 1202), started to produce their own efforts, they had to do so without access to the music and without any understanding of the *milieu* that had encouraged the use of the non-classical material. Though the popularity of the *muwaššaḥāt* is well attested, they never won the approval of Arab literary critics, and they suffered badly from neglect.

[*The history of modern muwaššaḥ studies*][8]

Prior to 1950 there was only one western source available, and that of limited value: Hartmann's *Das arabische Strophengedicht – I. Das Muwaššaḥ*, published in Weimar in 1897, the main source of which was the Leiden manuscript of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz*.[9]

A very small number of *muwaššaḥāt* had been found in biographical dictionaries,[10] and some latish examples, such as those in the *Dīwān* of Ibn Sahl,[11] were available in libraries; and the all too brief quotations to be found towards the end of the *Muqaddima* of Ibn Ḫaldūn[12] became well known.

In a short period (1948–1950) the situation was revolutionised, first by the work of my former colleague Samuel Stern. In an article published in *al-Andalus* in 1948, Stern's 'Les Vers finaux en espagnol dans les *muwaššaḥ*s hispano-hebraïques: une contribution à l'histoire du *muwaššaḥ* et à l'étude du vieux dialecte espagnol

[8] [Some parts of the forthcoming section were incorporated into Alan Jones's article, published posthumously on 23 November 2021.]

[9] An excellent edition of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz* was published in 1949 by the Syrian scholar Ǧawdat ar-Rikābī. It has since been reprinted several times in Damascus.

[10] In his Arabic literature Gibb translated a *muwaššaḥ* by Ibn Zuhr found in the *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* of Ibn Abī Uṣaybīʿa (Gibb 1963:111).

[11] Religious poems by Ibn al-ʿArabī, aš-Šuštarī and others form a distinct but overlapping corpus.

[12] [See note 4.]

"mozarabe"', set out his attempts to make sense of some twenty Hebrew *ḫarğa*s containing Romance material. This aroused great excitement amongst Romance scholars, which intensified with the next issue of *al-Andalus* [1949] in which he published 'Un *muwaššaḥ* arabe avec terminaison espagnole'. This gave the Arabic text of a poem beginning *damʿun safūḥun wa-ḍulūʿun ḥirār* by al-Aʿmā, found in the *Tawšīʿ at-tawšīḥ* of aṣ-Ṣafadī.[13]

This changed in the 1950s, when manuscripts were discovered that brought the number of surviving poems to over six hundred, including about fifty that contained Romance material in the poems' final section.

More specifically, in 1950 *al-Andalus* was able to announce the acquisition by Georges Colin, a great French specialist on the Maġrib, of an anthology of 354 *muwaššaḥāt*, the *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* of Ibn Bišrī.[14] Colin found twenty-four poems ending with *ḫarğa*s containing Romance material, and he supplied transcriptions of these and some notes to Emilio García Gómez in Madrid. Some additional notes were supplied to the latter by the Egyptian professor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī.

Using these materials, García Gómez published in *al-Andalus* his famous article 'Veinticuatro jaryas romances en muwaššaḥas arabes' [1952]. The texts of the *ḫarğa*s were printed in a standard modern Arabic font (not Maġribī), and even García Gómez called for caution as he was not working with the original manuscript, though he implied that he had done a good job. This was not the case, but none of his readers could judge that – and what they were interested in was the importance of the new material for Romance studies.[15] *Ḫarğa* studies had been born, much to the detriment of *muwaššaḥ* studies. It was to be forty years before the full text of the *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* was published. The Spanish scholar Federico Corriente summed up the situation as follows:[16]

> When the foreign-language *kharajāt,* referred to as "Romance," began to surface, Western scholars, in particular Spanish ones, began to consider this issue as more akin to their interests, and to become ideologically and even

[13] In a rare act of kindness García Gómez sent Stern a microfilm of a manuscript in the Escorial, never worked on and misattributed in the catalogue. Stern established that this was the *Tawšīʿ at-tawšīḥ* of aṣ-Ṣafadī, a work similar to, but slighter than, the *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz*. It contained only fourteen *muwaššaḥ*s, but one of them *damʿun safūḥun wa-ḍulūʿun ḥirār* had a Romance *ḫarğa*, and this was the poem that Stern published. The whole work was not produced until Muṭlaq published his edition in 1966.

[14] García Gómez 1950:157–158.

[15] The zeal is understandable, but the lack of perspective, the ignorance and the *hubris* that all too often accompanied it are inexcusable. For example, how seriously can one take the emendations of [Peter] Dronke, [at that time] Lecturer in Medieval Latin at Cambridge, a scholar with no proper knowledge of Arabic or Hebrew, however great his general erudition, however appropriate in theory his suggestions? [See, *e.g.* Dronke 1968:86].

[16] Corriente 2009:114–115.

> emotionally involved in the solution of the sociolinguistic, aesthetic, and literary problems posed by the texts. The tinge of elation and national pride is clearly detectable in Menendez y Pelayo (1894), upon disclosing his discovery of what he took for Castilian words in a *kharjah* of a Hebrew poem by Yehudah Halevi. In a field tilled and sown by Francisco Javier Simonet's fiery anti-Islamic discourse, and his nationalistically biased interpretation of Al-Andalus as a Spanish country only superficially Islamicized, it is hardly surprising that another Spanish Arabist, Ribera (1912), would develop a theory of the Hispanic origins of Andalusi stanzaic poetry, and that, finally, Ribera's countryman and disciple, García Gómez, would risk his hard-earned prestige by supporting this theory, defending the Romance scansion of not only *kharajāt,* but also the remaining parts of *muwaššaḥāt* and *azjāl,* propounding stress-based rhythms that simply do not match the true phonetic features of either language, Romance or Arabic. This ideological ingredient of the *kharjah* debate must be taken into account in the assessment of ensuing research. […]
>
> After García Gómez published [the *ḫarğa*s of] those texts in 1952, many scholars rushed in where Stern had wisely feared to tread too heavily. There was an additional impetus in this instance, as revealed by Hilty's clever remark (Hilty 2000:975) to the effect that, in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War, and with the emergence of a dictatorial rightist regime which was shunned by most Western democracies, the discovery of supposedly ancient poetry came as a windfall to those who believed and proclaimed that Spain had always been the cultural and moral vanguard of the West.

This Romance material gave rise to a surge of frantic academic activity (or, in some cases pseudo-academic propaganda) that took nearly sixty years to subside.

The anatomy of the muwaššaḥ

From 1950 onwards the study of the *muwaššaḥ* has been dominated by '*ḫarğa* studies'. In some cases, the evidence gathered from the *ḫarğa*s provides ample justification. One has only to read the illuminating work of Corriente on the study of dialect material to be convinced that this is so. Somewhat less solid is the claim that the 'Romance *ḫarğa*s' also deserve to be studied alone – this is patently not the case in many areas, particularly the palaeographical studies that try to establish what is actually written in the manuscripts. In any case, one's knowledge is better informed by study of the whole poem and not just 6% of it, and the whole poem is better understood by looking at the whole corpus.

My focus is on examining the key features of the *muwaššaḥ* as we know it*,* using the corpus of surviving poems from the period from c. 1030, the date of the death of

the author of the two earliest surviving attributed poems, to the end of the twelfth century, a total of roughly 550 poems. The starting date is about a century and a quarter after the invention of the *muwaššaḥ,* and another quarter of a century was to pass before the time of the composition of the first surviving *muwaššaḥ* with a Romance element in its *ḫarǧa*. None of these early survivals shows any sign of being less than fully developed. There may of course be some anonymous poems that are earlier than that, but anonymity precludes dating. In any case all the anonymous poems are also fully developed.

The notion of 'full development' is possible only if we can recognise a considerable amount of underlying homogeneity, even if the poems provide a plethora of patterns and sizes.

Full development in the case of the *muwaššaḥ* gives us a five- or six-stanza lyric composed in classical Arabic, with an optional *maṭlaʿ* and with the possibility of non-classical material in the *simṭ* of the final stanza, the *ḫarǧa*.

[As has been established, the *muwaššaḥ*s can be classified and differentiated according to several categories:]

- Language
    - a) classical language
    - b) non-classical language
- Origin of poets
- Format
    - a) use of stanza
    - b) number of stanzas
- Metre
- Rhyme
- Music

C Glossary

aġṣān	plural of *ġuṣn*, *q.v.*
ʿaǧamī	non-Arabic; in the context of Muslim Spain it normally means Romance.
aqraʿ	'bald': the technical term used to describe a *muwaššaḥ* that begins without a *maṭlaʿ*.
asmāṭ	plural of *simṭ*, *q.v.*
bayt	used by some medieval writers to mean a stanza; alternative term for *dawr.*
dawr	a stanza.
ġuṣn	one of the lines in a stanza linked by that stanza's rhyme (or rhymes).
ḫarǧa	the final part of the *muwaššaḥ*, normally the final *simṭ* but not always so.

markaz an alternative term for the *ḫarǧa.*

maṭlaʿ a *simṭ* line preceding the main part of the *muwaššaḥ*; sometimes referred to as a prelude, but strictly the term means ‘opening line’.

muʿāraḍa ‘imitation’; the composition of one poem in imitation of another. This was a common practice in both Arabic and Hebrew poetry, particularly when music was involved. The *muʿāraḍa* could be complete, in which case *simṭ* rhymes and metre (and, presumably, the music) would be retained, or partial. It is uncommon for material from the original poem to be quoted in the *muʿāraḍa*, except for the *ḫarǧa*, which may be quoted wholly or in part, either as a *maṭlaʿ* or as a *ḫarǧa*.

musammaṭ the earliest and simplest form of stanzaic poem in Arabic, with a rhyme pattern AAAB or AAAAB etc.

muwaššaḥ a stanzaic poem ending with a *ḫarǧa*; over 90% have five stanzas; a fair majority have non-classical material in the *ḫarǧa*, but the number of poems with classical *ḫarǧa*s is higher than is normally believed to be the case. The proportion of Andalusian Arabic *muwaššaḥ*s with Romance material in the *ḫarǧa* is about 8% (and 5–6% of the whole poem will be Romance). The Arabic plural is *muwaššaḥāt*.

qaṣīda a classical Arabic ode.

qufl alternative term, less common but interchangeable, for a *simṭ.*

simṭ line (later, sometimes pair of lines) at the end of a stanza with rhymes common to all stanzas. A *simṭ* preceding the first stanza is called a *maṭlaʿ*.

šaṭr a hemistich; sometimes in Andalusian writers a whole line.

šiʿr classical poetry.

taḍfīr insertion of an extra rhyme into a section of a *ġuṣn.*

taḍmīn insertion of an extra rhyme into a section of a *simṭ*; not to be confused with the use of *taḍmīn* in *šiʿr* to describe the use of a quotation to end a poem (final *taḍmīn*).

tāmm ‘complete’: a *muwaššaḥ* or a *musammaṭ* with a *maṭlaʿ*.

waššāḥ a composer of *muwaššaḥāt.*

1 Early Arabic sources on the *muwaššaḥ*

The most commonly accepted view is that there are two major sources that throw light on the Andalusian *muwaššaḥāt*: a passage from the *Ḏaḫīra* of Ibn Bassām and the Introduction to the *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz* of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk. It is also thought that a chapter at the end of the *Muqaddima* of Ibn Ḫaldūn gives some useful, if rather sketchy, general background.

To these three I would add a fragment from *Nuzhat al-anfus* by the Valencian savant Ibn Saʿd al-Ḫayr, a short piece from the *Talḫīṣ kitāb aš-šiʿr* of Ibn Rušd, and a short and slightly indirect piece from *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih.

1.1 Ibn Rušd (born Cordoba 1126, died Marrakesh 1198)

One of the greatest scholars of al-Andalus has a small but significant passage in his *Talḫīṣ kitāb aš-šiʿr.* The work was edited by Butterworth and Harīdī in 1986 and translated by Butterworth as *Averroes' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's Poetics* in the same year. His translation is given here with the key Arabic terms included.[17]

> With respect to poetical statements, imitation (*taḫyīl*) and representation (*muḥākāt*) come about by means of three things: harmonious tune (*naġam muttafiqa*), rhythm (*wazn*), and comparison (*tašbīh*) itself. Each of these may occur separately from the others—like tune (*wuǧūd an-naġam*) in flute-playing (*mazāmīr*); rhythm (*al-wazn*) in dance (*raqṣ*); and representation (*muḥākāt*) in utterances (*lafẓ*). I mean, in imitative non-rhythmic statement (*al-aqāwīl al-muḫayyila al-ġayra mawzūna*). Or all three may be brought together—as is found among the kind of poems called *muwaššaḥāt* and *azǧāl*, these being the ones the people of this peninsula have devised (*istanbaṭahā*) in this tongue. For it is in natural poems that the three things are brought together, and natural things are to be found only among natural nations. There is no melody (*laḥn*) in the poems of the Arabs. Indeed, they have either metre (*wazn*) alone or metre and representation (*al-wazn wa-l-muḥākāt*) together.

Ibn Rušd is writing in a technical and rather difficult way, as is normal with any Arabic commentary on Aristotle. Nevertheless, it is clear that he believes that:

1. The *muwaššaḥ* and *zaǧal* are genres of Arabic poetry;
2. They are of Andalusian origin;
3. Melody plays an intrinsic role in them; something not found in classical Arabic poetry.

1.2 Ibn Bassām (d. 543/1147)[18]

The search for early background information on the *muwaššaḥ* and the *ḫarǧa* in Arabic has so far revealed only one passage in a contemporary Andalusian literary source that is more than the briefest scrap. This is a piece in the *Ḏaḫīra* of Ibn Bassām

[17] Ibn Rušd, *Talḫīṣ*, Eng. tr. 1986: 63–64, ed. 1986:57.
[18] There is a sympathetic and useful article by Amin Tibi (1999).

(d. 1147), vol. I, part 1, where it is the second paragraph[19] of a section on the *adīb* ʿUbāda ibn Māʾ as-Samāʾ, two of whose *muwaššaḥ*s survive in other sources.[20]

Ibn Bassām's piece is normally thought to be an important source of evidence, but there is some disagreement about what that evidence is. Over the years, I have come to a different assessment. It is Ibn Bassām himself who sounds the warning. In his introductory remarks to the *Ḏaḫīra* he tells us in his typically exaggerated way that poetry was not his 'thing'.[21] That does not affect his ability to quote poetry but shows that it is not his first love. His interest lay in the epistolary style and in rhymed prose, including the *maqāma* genre, whose most influential exponent, al-Ḥarīrī[22] died only a quarter of a century before Ibn Bassām.

His stance appears to reflect a fashionable attitude in Andalusian literary circles towards the *muwaššaḥ*, one of some disdain; and, with few exceptions, this has remained the prevalent view in the Arab world to the present. Basically, Ibn Bassām has no great wish to be seen as an authority on genres such as the *muwaššaḥ* or the *musammaṭ* or the *zaǧal*. One wonders, too, about his silence about singing and music in general – though singing girls are occasionally mentioned in narratives.

The passage in the *Ḏaḫīra* has been translated several times, the best known in English being those of Stern[23] and Monroe.[24] My version differs from the latter in some significant details:

> They [the *muwaššaḥāt*] are measures [*awzān*] much used by the people of Andalus in *ġazal* and *nasīb* to great effect, such that carefully guarded bosoms and even hearts are torn upon hearing them.[25] The first to compose the measures of these *muwaššaḥāt* in our country, and to invent this form of composition was, from the information that has reached me, the blind [poet] Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Qabrī. He used to compose them using as a basis lines [*ašṭār*][26] of classical poetry [*aš ʿār*], though most of them employed

[19] The best available version of the text is to be found in the edition of Iḥsān ʿAbbās, I/1, 468–470.

[20] These are preserved for us by the eastern writers aṣ-Ṣafadī [*Tawšīʿ at-tawšīḥ* poem 32] and al-Kutubī. [*Fawāt* II, 151–153].

[21] Ibn Bassām, *Ḏaḫīra* I/1, 18, l. 7: *maʿa anna š-šiʿra lam arḍahu markaban wa-ttaḫaḏtuhu maksaban wa-lā aliftuhu maṯwan wa-lā munqalaban* 'despite the fact that I did not like poetry as a vehicle nor did I choose it as a means of profit nor was I accustomed to it as a dwelling or field of action'.

[22] d. 1122. The most authoritative commentary on the *maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī was written in Spain by aš-Šarīšī (d. 1222).

[23] Stern 1974:64.

[24] [James T.] Monroe's translation [1985–1986:136] is fully quoted in Zwartjes 1997:322.

[25] This is a clause of extravagant rhymed prose, which means no more than 'to great effect'. It implies, however, that the *muwaššaḥāt* were popular.

[26] This meaning of *ašṭār* is an Andalusian usage. The more common usage, 'hemistichs', only makes sense in a limited way.

neglected[27] or hitherto unused metrical patterns [*aʿārīḍ*],[28] taking colloquial Arabic and non-Arabic[29] expressions[30] and calling them[31] the *markaz*, and building the *muwaššaḥa* upon them, without any internal rhyme [*taḍmīn*] in it or [even] *aġṣān*. Some say that Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, the author of the *Kitāb al-ʿIqd*, was the first to compose this type of *muwaššaḥāt* among us. Next to rise to prominence[32] was Yūsuf ibn Hārūn ar-Ramādī. He was the first to make copious use of *taḍmīn* in the *marākīz*,[33] inserting it at every pause he came to, but in the *markaz* in particular.[34] The poets of our age continued after this fashion, such as Mukarram ibn Saʿīd and Abū l-Ḥasan's two sons. Then there appeared our ʿUbāda,[35] who invented the [use of] *taḍfīr*. He did this by focussing on[36] the pauses in the *aġṣān*, and using *taḍmīn* there, just as ar-

[27] The text has the technical term *muhmal, i.e.* not used in the original Ḫalīlian system. For a brief piece on the metres in al-Ḫalīl's circles that were not used by him (*muhmala*) but were taken up later, see van Gelder 2012:127–131.

[28] Stern, 1974:63–64, thinks that this is the start of a quotation from *ʿUbāda ibn Māʾ as-Samāʾ*. His point that Ibn Bassām himself could hardly have written the words *fī ʿaṣri-nā* 'in our age' is valid, but I find demarcation of the beginning of the quotation problematic. I think that *wa-qīla* 'some say that' is more likely.

[29] As Ibn Bassām was an Andalusī, we may be sure that for him the word [*ʿaǧamī*] meant 'Romance'.

[30] Arabic *lafẓ* in what appears to be its basic meaning. Abu-Haidar (2001:119) says, "*Lafẓ* has no denotations in classical Arabic apart from 'utterance', 'a word' or 'words', 'a phrase' or 'an expression'. It does not even remotely refer to 'a line of verse', 'a couplet', 'a ditty or song', or 'a snippet' of the latter." *The Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* [Kouloughli 2011:623] has the following definition: "Taken substantively, *lafẓ* is not to be understood as a singular noun but rather as a collective one. This collective and consequently generic meaning implies a globalizing comprehension of the utterance perceived as a whole, as opposed to the words that make it up. This means that *lafẓ* must not be understood as referring to an isolated word but rather to the global result of the uttering process. When single units making up this whole are intended, one uses the singulative form *lafẓa* 'term, word' and its plural *alfāẓ*."

It does not appear that the traditional and much-discussed dichotomy between *lafẓ* and *maʿnā* is involved here.

[31] *I.e.* the *lafẓ*

[32] Arabic *našaʾa*.

[33] This is the spelling printed by Iḥsān ʿAbbās. [Cf. Dozy 1881: I, 595.]

[34] As it stands this phrase does not make sense. Monroe [1985–1986:136] does his best by translating *ḫāṣṣatan* as 'exclusively' (instead of 'particularly'), but I suspect that the problem lies with a piece of carelessness by Ibn Bassām.

[35] This phrase has already been used in the previous paragraph and can only mean 'ʿUbāda of this chapter', *i.e.* ʿUbāda ibn Māʾ as-Samāʾ. It makes the introduction of *taḍfīr* a rather late development. However, it is also the case that ar-Ramādī died less than twenty years before him. [See also note 74 and 5a3.]

[36] The Arabic has *iʿtamada* followed by an accusative.

> Ramādī had done with the pauses in the *markaz*.
> The measures of these *muwaššaḥāt* lie beyond the scope of this anthology, since the majority of them are not [composed] according to the metrical patterns [*aʿārīḍ*][37] of the classical poetry of the Arabs.[38]

It is over-optimistic to say, as Stern does, that the 'interpretation of this passage of Ibn Bassām gives us no real difficulties, after we have gained an insight into the form of *muwaššaḥ*'.[39] Corriente, too, is equally sanguine about what he thinks he can extract from the text. He says:[40]

> Summing up, Ibn Bassām, writing at the beginning of the twelfth century, tells us: (1) that the *muwaššaḥ* had been invented by learned people in Al-Andalus roughly two centuries earlier, and that they made a somewhat unorthodox use of classical prosody by reducing the length of each line to a single hemistich, and by selecting infrequently used Arabic metres, and (2) that such poems were patterned upon a previously chosen *markaz*, an alternative term for *ḫarğa*, composed in a vulgar dialect, either of Arabic or Romance; subsequent poets would make the original basic stanzaic structure more complex by introducing inner rhyming, first in the *aqfāl* (*taḍmīn*), and later also in the *aġṣān* (*taḍfīr*). It should be said that Ibn Bassām's statement, when checked against the extant texts, appears to be absolutely accurate, albeit rather sketchy. He is unequivocal in his stand on two basic issues, namely, that the metre of the *muwaššaḥ* is a slightly modified version of the Classical Arabic standard system (= *ʿarūḍ*), and that the *muwaššaḥ* was metrically patterned after a pre-existing poetical utterance, the dialectal *ḫarğa,* which necessarily implies that the *ḫarğa* already exhibited the same "adapted" *ʿarūḍ.*
> This clear and obvious interpretation of a medieval text, which can by no means be deemed obscure, leaves little room for hypothesizing about a Romance origin of the *muwaššaḥ* or even merely its *ḫarğa:* Ibn Bassām declares that both were scanned after Arabic metrics.

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[37] Again, referring to the metres set out by al-Ḫalīl. See note 27.

[38] There is another passage in the *Ḏaḫīra* that should read with the above passage. It is an even shorter chapter referring to another poet who was also a *waššāḥ*, ʿUbāda ibn al-Qazzāz (I/1, 801–802). After praising in a couple of typically flowery phrases Ibn al-Qazzāz as a *waššāḥ*, Ibn Bassām rounds off his chapter: *ammā alfāẓuhu fī hāḏihi l-awzāni mina t-tawšīḥi fa-šāhidatun lahu bi-t-tabrīzi wa-š-šufūf wa-tilka l-aʿārīḍu ḫāriğatun ʿan ġaraḍi hāḏā t-taṣnīf*. The final clause here is more general, and thus less accurate, than the sentiment of *wa-awzānu hāḏihi l-muwaššaḥāti ḫāriğatun ʿan ġaraḍi hāḏā d-dīwān iḏ akṯaru-hā ʿalā ġayri l-aʿārīḍi ašʿāri l-ʿarab* of p. 470, as it no longer contains the word *akṯar*.

[39] Stern 1974:64. Stern's optimism was reinforced by his belief that the Egyptian Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk was a reliable authority on the Andalusian *muwaššaḥ*, a view I do not share.

[40] Corriente 2009:113.

I do not consider Corriente's interpretation to be 'clear and obvious'. So, what can we reasonably extract from Ibn Bassām's comments? Much less, I think, than we are normally led to believe.

He certainly tells us that there is a *muwaššaḥ* genre and that a *muwaššaḥa* has a *markaz* (*ḫarǧa*). He also tells us that the two are integral (*wa-yaḍaʿu ʿalayhi*[41] *l-muwaššaḥata*). He also tells us that the *waššāḥ*s use colloquial Arabic and non-Arabic[42] expressions in the *ḫarǧa*s. Most striking is his strong objection to what was *ʿalā ġayri l-aʿārīḍi ašʿāri l-ʿarab*. However, he does not expand on that statement, nor, given his approach, could we reasonably expect him to do so.

One has to presume that he objected to the use of such features as post-Ḫalīlian metres (*mustaṭīl, muštabih, mumtadd, muttaʾid, muṭṭarid* and *munsarid* all occur, but only occasionally[43]); the splitting of hemistichs and verses to form sections; and the scattered irregular variations in quantity.

Other problems are that:

a. we cannot be sure of the exact meaning of *yaʾḫuḏu* ('take' 'or 'use') and therefore we cannot assert that the verb implies quotation;

b. it is taken for granted that the *ḫarǧa* was a feature from the beginning;

c. the term *lafẓ* cannot reasonably be applied to the whole of a hemistich or a verse, even in theory.[44] The *ḫarǧa*s in the extant corpus confirm this.

We may also note various other failures that detract from the value of the piece:

d. there are no comments about stanzas or the length of the poem;

e. there is no mention of the *maṭlaʿ*;

f. there is no mention of muʿāraḍa.45

However, he does give some possible names of the inventor and of those who popularized *taḍmīn* and invented *taḍfīr*, but his comments are brief and vague; and he indicates that the *ḫarǧa* was playing a role before *taḍmīn* and *taḍfīr* were introduced.

With its few facts given little context, and with its obscurities, errors and omissions, this piece from the *Ḏaḫīra* cannot reasonably be considered a particularly valuable source. Apart from the names of the originators and developers, he tells us nothing that he could not have scribbled down about the *muwaššaḥāt* of his contemporaries; and his failure to say anything about the origin and development of the *ḫarǧa* is particularly unhelpful. It is revealing that he tells us in the sentences preceding the passage under consideration – sentences that are rarely quoted – that

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[41] The *markaz*.

[42] As mentioned in note 29, Ibn Bassām would expect the reader to understand *ʿaǧamī* as 'Romance'. It would also be contrary to his approach to be more specific.

[43] See van Gelder 2012:127–131.

[44] See also note 30.

[45] Thus, the piece offers no corroboration for the notion of the 'pre-existencia' of the *ḫarǧa* so beloved by García Gómez and his ilk.

ʿUbāda ibn Māʾ as-Samāʾ sorted out the genre and that what came before was as nothing.[46] Thus Ibn Bassām has an excuse for the early period. That is not so for his own lifetime. It is inconceivable that Ibn Bassām did not hear performances of *muwaššaḥāt*, and that fairly regularly. The genre was then at its zenith, with *waššāḥ*s such as Ibn al-Labbāna, al-Aʿmā and Ibn Baqī all active whilst the *Ḏaḫīra* was being compiled.[47] He does indeed have sections on those three as poets, but the material recorded is trite and hardly worth reading.

1.3 Ibn Saʿd al-Ḫayr (d. 571/1175)

The virtual disappearance of a work entitled *Nuzhat al-anfus wa-rawḍat at-taʾannus fī tawšīḥi ahli l-Andalus*, written by the Valencian *adīb* Ibn Saʿd al-Ḫayr, is a tragic loss. There is a brief and tantalizing quotation from it in the *Tawšīʿ at-tawšīḥ of* aṣ-Ṣafadī:[48]

> We have found that some of the most recent [leading] poets, such as Mihyār ad-Daylamī and al-Ḥarīrī and others have derived from these metrical patterns [*aʿārīḍ*] sections composed of different units and linked rhymes, which they called *malʿab*s.[49] Likewise the people of al-Andalus derived from them [*i.e. aʿārīḍ*] a beat[50] which they divided up according to linked measures and which they termed *muwaššaḥ*, and they made the adornment of utterance and the embellishment of the sections 'an adornment with rhyme',[51] and they were the first to establish this road and to pursue its path and to make clear its design and its method.

In drawing an interesting parallel between the metrical experiments of such eastern literary giants as Mihyār ad-Daylamī and al-Ḥarīrī and those of the people of al-

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[46] [Ibn Bassām, *Ḏaḫīra* I/1, 469].

[47] Ibn Bassām mentions in the *Ḏaḫīra* eleven of the sixteen poets whose surviving work contains one or more Romance *ḫarǧa*s, with brief sections on some such as ʿUbāda, Ibn al-Labbāna, al-Aʿmā and Ibn Baqī, but all the material is trivial and irrelevant.

[48] aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Tawšīʿ* 20–21. The Arabic is, as usual, in slightly opaque rhymed prose: *waǧadnā baʿḍa l-mutaʾaḫḫirīna ka-Mihyāra d-Daylamiyyi wa-Abī Muḥammadini l-Qāsimi l-Ḥarīriyyi wa-ġayrihimā qad istanbaṭū min tilka l-aʿārīḍi aqsāman muʾallafatan ʿalā fiqarin muḫtalifatin wa-qawāfin muʾtalifatin wa-sammaw-hā malāʿib; wa-stanbaṭa min-hā ayḍan ahlu l-Andalusi ḍarban qasamūhu ʿalā awzānin muʾtalifatin wa-sammaw-hu muwaššaḥan wa-ǧaʿalū tarṣīʿa l-kalāmi wa-tanmīqa l-aqsāmi tawšīḥan. wa-kānū awwala man sanna hāḏā ṭ-ṭarīqa wa-nahaǧahu wa-awḍaḥa rasmahu wa-minhaǧahu.*

[49] Muṭlaq [aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Tawšīʿ* 20] glosses as a poem with a fourfold or similar rhyme.

[50] Arabic *ḍarb*.

[51] Muṭlaq [aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Tawšīʿ* 20] reads *tawšīḥan* for the ms. *muwaššaḥan*. For the meaning of *tawšīḥan/ muwaššaḥan*, as a parallel to that found in al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāma* 51, no. 6, see Abu-Haidar 2001:127.

Andalus with the *muwaššaḥ*, Ibn Saʿd al-Ḫayr shows an understanding of and sympathy with the work of the Andalusian *waššāḥ*s that is so notably lacking in Ibn Bassām.

There is a heartfelt plea by Jareer Abu-Haidar in the *Preface* to his *Hispano-Arabic Literature and the Early Provencal Lyrics*:

> The first natural step, as far as Arabic poetry in Islamic Spain is concerned, is to study it as an integral part of the Arabic literary tradition. If this poetry is seen to appertain to its own tradition both in its beginnings and in its subsequent ramifications, any attempt to look for Hispanic formative influences on it would become superfluous or functionless. Any incidental or peripheral Hispanic influences on it, however, would, and should be studied with the utmost care and interest.[52]

I have the strong impression that this would be less of a problem if Ibn Saʿd al-Ḫayr's *Nuzhat al-anfus* had survived. But more to the point, there would hardly be a problem if Ibn Bassām, who mentions a number of the Andalusian *waššāḥ*s in addition to those to whom he devotes a section, had not been so narrow-minded.

1.4 Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (d. 608/1212)

For a long time – from his own lifetime onwards in the Levant, and, in the modern west from the time of the publication of Hartmann in 1897 – Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk has been held in high esteem, mainly for the information about the Andalusian *muwaššaḥ* that he gives in the introduction to his *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz.* Stern did politely criticise his schematic way of putting evidence together and his asserting 'clear-cut and scholastic rules where there are only vague conventions';[53] but on the whole he thought that he was a good source. There are still some who value Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's statements for what they think they can squeeze out of them; but from the 1970s there has been trenchant criticism about their value from a growing number of scholars, one of the earliest and best being Jareer Abu-Haidar.[54] I joined this group long ago, not least due to a passage from the *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz* itself. At the end of his Introduction Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk writes:[55]

> Excuse your brother [*i.e.* Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk], for he was not born in al-Andalus, nor did he grow up in the Maġrib, nor did he live in Seville, nor did he anchor at Murcia, nor did he cross to Meknes; nor did he reach the state of al-Muʿtamid or of Ibn Ṣumādiḥ, nor did he meet al-Aʿmā or Ibn Baqī, nor

[52] Abu-Haidar 2001:ix.
[53] Stern 1974:39.
[54] His thoughts on the problems are brought together in Abu-Haidar 2001.
[55] Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz* 39.

> ʿUbāda or al-Ḥuṣrī. Nor did he find a *šayḫ* from whom to take this knowledge nor a compilation from which to learn this art.[56]

Such an admission on the part of any Arab writer – no teacher, no 'set book', no knowledge of the area under consideration – usually calls for very cautious assessment of the work concerned. This is particularly so with medieval Arab writers. As a devotee of the art of the *muwaššaḥ*, Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk was able to assemble a fair collection of reasonably accurate texts. However, he was clearly unable to get material from any authoritative source (whether *šayḫ* or *muʾallaf*); and, if he did get hold of a poem with a *ḫarǧa* containing *ʿaǧamī* phraseology, it does not appear in the *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz*. In his case, too, we might hesitate to translate *ʿaǧamī* as 'Romance',[57] as there is a short (and largely ignored) passage from his *Fuṣūṣ al-fuṣūl wa-ʿuqūd al-ʿuqūl*,[58] which Ǧawdat ar-Rikābī printed as a note in his edition of the *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz*.[59]

> After becoming a devotee of the Maġribī *muwaššaḥāt* genre, when I composed a *muwaššaḥ* I would not borrow a *ḫarǧa* composed by anyone other than myself; rather I would create and invent it and would not be happy with borrowing it. I followed the same course about it as the Maġribīs had done, and my aims were their aim; and I chose as metres those that they happened to use; everything that they did I did – except for the non-Arabic *ḫarǧa*s, for they were Berber; and when I had learned Persian, I composed this *muwaššaḥ* and others, and made its *ḫarǧa* Persian in place of the Berber *ḫarǧa*.[60]

For years I took this second passage simply as confirmation of the evidence of the first passage, that his knowledge of the western *muwaššaḥ* is sketchy and of relatively little value, with 'Berber' as a loose approximation for *ʿaǧamī* or *maġribī*. However, I find it increasingly difficult to do so, with the word *maġribī* being used twice in the

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[56] *wa-ʿḏir aḥāka fa-innahu lam yūlad bi-l-Andalus, wa-lā našaʾa bi-l-Maġrib, wa-lā sakana Išbīliyya, wa-lā arsā ʿalā Mursiyya, wa-lā ʿabara ʿalā Miknāsa; wa-lā samiʿa l-urǧun; wa-lā laḥiqa dawlata l-Muʿtamid wa-bna Ṣumādiḥ; wa-lā laqiya l-Aʿmā wa-bna Baqiyyi, wa-lā ʿUbāda wa-l-Ḥuṣriyyi; wa-lā waǧada šayḫan aḫaḏa minhu hāḏā l-ʿilm, wa-lā muṣannafan taʿallama minhu hāḏā l-fann.*

[57] Clearly with Ibn Bassām *ʿaǧamī* can only have meant 'Romance'.

[58] [Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, *Fuṣūṣ*]. The manuscript is in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, A3333. Edited by M. M. ʿAbd al-Ǧawād, Cairo, 2005.

[59] [Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz*] 135, note 2.

[60] *wa-kuntu lammā awlaʿtu bi-ʿamali l-muwaššaḥāti l-maġāriba, fa-kuntu iḏā ʿamiltu muwaššaḥan lā astaʿīru ḫarǧata ġayrī bal abtakiru-hā wa-aḫtariʿu-hā wa-lā arḍā bi-stiʿārati-hā, wa-qad kuntu naḥawtu fīhā naḥwa l-maġāribati wa-qaṣadtu mā qaṣadūhu wa-ḫtaraʿtu awzānan mā waqaʿū ʿalay-hā wa-lam yabqa šayʾun ʿamilūhu illā ʿamiltuhu illā l-ḫarağāti l-ʿaǧamiyya, fa-inna-hā kānat barbariyya, fa-lammā ttafaqa lī an taʿallamtu l-fārisiyya, ʿamiltu hāḏā l-muwaššaḥa wa-ġayrahu wa-ǧaʿltu ḫarǧatahu fārisiyya badalan min al-ḫarǧati l-barbariyya.*

same passage. Perhaps the passage was written at the start of his studies, when his knowledge was very limited. If so, he never corrected it.

Others, for example Abu-Haidar[61] and Corriente,[62] have expressed different worries about Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk and also point to his lack of knowledge and judgement.

The new work of Professor Dwight Reynolds[63] will persuade many to see Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk in a more favourable light. On the grounds set out above, I personally feel that we should not take Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk too seriously as a commentator on the Andalusian *muwaššaḥ.* Yet it is fair to say that western scholars have been responsible for the overestimation of his worth. When the *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz* was our main source for Andalusian *muwaššaḥāt,* this was perhaps understandable, though mistaken. But no adjustments were made when the main corpus grew to over 550 poems. By then, however, more attention was being paid to '*ḫarǧa* studies', where Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's selection is not prominent. The selection is, however, a good one: twenty-seven of its thirty-four *muwaššaḥāt* are by renowned *waššāḥ*s including ʿUbāda, Ibn al-Labbāna, al-Aʿmā, Ibn Baqī and Ibn Zuhr. His zeal in collecting Andalusian material that was difficult to find and in establishing the genre in the east deserves our respect.

He was certainly respected in the Maġrib and al-Andalus. The second part of [Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb's] *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* starts with ten poems that are found in the *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz*. Six are from the Andalusian section, followed by four of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's own poems.[64]

1.5 Ibn Ḫaldūn (1332–1406)[65]

It is fortunate that Ibn Ḫaldūn, one of Islam's great thinkers, was interested in the *muwaššaḥ* and, to an even greater extent, the *zaǧal* (and other forms of non-standard poetry) and that he devotes sections to them towards the end of his *Muqaddima*, written in 1377. Ibn Ḫaldūn was a shrewd judge of earlier sources, which he customarily quoted without attribution. In the case of the *muwaššaḥ*, it has been shown that his main source was the *Muqtaṭaf* of Ibn Saʿīd [al-Andalusī/al-Maġribī, d. 1286], who in turn used *al-Mushib fī ġarāʾib al-Maġrib* of [ʿAbdallāh ibn Ibrāhīm] al-Ḥiǧārī [d. 1155], written in 1136 for the Banū Saʿīd family, another work sadly lost. From what we find in the *Muqaddima*, it appears that al-Ḥiǧārī believed that the

[61] Abu-Haidar 2001:136.

[62] Corriente, in various places, typically 1997:30–39.

[63] [Reynolds 2021, esp. 163–174, 185–186.]

[64] *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz* 3, 4, 7, 13, 29 and 34 of the Andalusian section, and 6, 7, 16, and 21 from the section devoted to Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's own poems.

[65] For a good, detailed biography, see Rosenthal's translation, I, xxix-lxvii.

originator of the *muwaššaḥ* had a different name from that given by Ibn Bassām[66] and that he used a different set of words for the terms describing the sections of the *muwaššaḥ*.

The following passage[67] gives Ibn Ḫaldūn's summary on the origins and structure of the *muwaššaḥ*:

> The *muwaššaḥ* consists of *aġṣān* and *asmāṭ* in great number and different metres. A certain number of *aġṣān* and *asmāṭ* is called a single *bayt* (stanza). There must be the same number of rhymes in the *aġṣān* (of each stanza) and the same metre (for the *aġṣān* of the whole poem) throughout the whole poem. The largest number of stanzas employed is seven. Each stanza contains as many *aġṣān* as is consistent with purpose and method. Like the *qaṣīda*, the *muwaššaḥa* is used for erotic and laudatory poetry.
>
> (The authors of *muwaššaḥa*s) vied to the utmost with each other in this (kind of poetry). Everybody, the elite and the common people, liked and knew these poems because they were easy to grasp and understand. They were invented in al-Andalus by Muqaddam b. Muʿāfā al-Qabrī, a poet under the *amīr* ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Marwānī.[68] Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Rabbih, the author of the *ʿIqd*, learned this (type of poetry) from him. (Muqaddam and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih) were not mentioned together with the recent (authors of *muwaššaḥa*s), and thus their *muwaššaḥa*s fell into desuetude.
>
> The first poet after them who excelled in this subject was ʿUbāda al-Qazzāz,[69] poet of al-Muʿtaṣim b. Ṣumādiḥ, the lord of Almería.

The great disappointment is that Ibn Ḫaldūn transmits nothing about the *ḫarǧa*, and hence nothing about *al-lafẓ al-ʿāmmī wa-l-ʿaǧamī.* He does quote the text of four *ḫarǧa*s, but only one of them[70] has clear colloquial features. Romance does not occur in his quotations. Likewise, he says nothing about the *maṭlaʿ*, though he quotes nine of them. It is hard to think that al-Ḥiǧārī did not say something about these features. Nor does he say anything about the metres of the *muwaššaḥāt*, though in the sections on *zaǧal*s, he has an interesting, though largely overlooked, comment:

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[66] Stern (1974:65–66 and 92–93) believes, on the basis of brief references elsewhere, that there were two poets from al-Qabra, but the evidence seems insufficient.

[67] Adapted from Rosenthal's translation, III, 440–441.

[68] The 7th Umayyad ruler of al-Andalus reigned 888–912.

[69] This is, of course, wrong. See below.

[70] Ibn Bišrī, *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs* 241.

> At the present time, the *zağal* method is what the common people in Spain use for their poetry. They even employ all fifteen metres[71] for poems in the vulgar dialect and call them *zağal*s.[72]

When it comes to the origins and early history, Ibn Ḫaldūn's suggestion that al-Qabrī was the originator, followed by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, is more plausible than Ibn Bassām's suggestion that they were alternative originators.[73] The further suggestion that there was a slump in the composition of *muwaššaḥāt* from before the time of ʿUbāda al-Qazzāz is not accurate, as the list of poets in Section 4 will show. As Ibn Bassām tells us with relative clarity,[74] the pivotal poet is ʿUbāda ibn Māʾ as-Samāʾ, not ʿUbāda ibn al-Qazzāz.

1.6 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (860–940)

Here we come to a "*ḫarğa*" for this reassessment. It is indirect evidence, but it needs to be taken into account. There is a brief passage on the *musammaṭ* found in *al-ʿIqd al-farīd,* in a chapter entitled *ʿIlal al-aʿārīḍ wa-ḍ-ḍurūb*, dedicated to the study of metrical variants and licenses found in classical Arabic poetry. It was first drawn to the attention of those who read Arabic by Professor Sayyid Ġāzī in his valuable *Fī uṣūl at-tawšīḥ*,[75] and has since been made more accessible by Professor Ignacio Ferrando.[76] The latter makes a further valuable point that it 'is important to note that the *musammaṭ* is not viewed as "irregular" or "deviant," but merely as a possible variation for the arrangement of poetical material'. His transliteration and translation, based on the Cairo edition of 1965, V, 428, run as follows:

> *wa-ʾiḏā ḫtalafati l-qawāfī wa-ḫtalaṭat wa-kānat ḥayzan ḥayzan min kalimatin wāḥidatin, fa-huwa* l-muḫammasu. *wa-ʾiḏā kānat ʾanṣāfun ʿalā qawāfin tağmaʿuhā qāfiyatun wāḥidatun, ṯumma tuʿādu li-miṯli ḏālika ḥattā tanqaḍiya l-qaṣīdatu, fa-huwa* l-musammaṭu. (emphasis IF)

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[71] *I.e*. the Ḫalīlian system in some form.

[72] Adapted from Rosenthal's translation, III, 460. This follows on from an earlier piece about metre in general: "The metres are governed by certain conditions and rules. They are the subject of the science of prosody. Not every metre that may occur in nature was used by the Arabs in poetry. The (metres used) are special ones called metres *(buḥūr)* by the prosodists, who restricted their number to fifteen, indicating that they did not find the Arabs using other natural metres in poetry" [Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Muqaddima*, Eng. tr.] III, 374.

[73] Ibn Bassām has remarkably few references to Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (860–940), probably because their interests were different.

[74] [Ibn Bassām, *Ḏaḫīra* I/1, 469. The passage where the reference "*ʿUbādatu hāḏā*" occurs forms part of the chapter on ʿUbāda ibn Māʾ as-Samāʾ.]

[75] Ġāzī 1976:25.

[76] Ferrando 1999:79–80. What is striking is that key Arab scholars such as Iḥsān ʿAbbās and Ğawdat ar-Rikābī never mention it.

> If rhymes are different and mixed, and they are now this, now that, of one word, this is the *muḥammas.* But if the rhymes of the hemistichs are linked by one single rhyme which is repeated after that until the poem ends, this is the *musammaṭ.* (translation IF)

One may well think that the passage is not well expressed, but the thrust is clear. It cannot be doubted that Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih refers to the *musammaṭ*. Given Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's mindset, this is proof that the *musammaṭ* is of eastern origin and is known among the literati of al-Andalus.

2 Prehistory

2.1 Origins

The earliest Andalusian Arabic *muwaššaḥ*s that survive in any datable time frame are two poems by ʿUbāda ibn Māʾ as-Samāʾ, who died in 1028/1030. Both of ʿUbāda's poems are fully fledged and thus throw no light on the early history of the genre.[77] Some anonymous poems[78] do have a simpler format that might antedate the two, but their anonymity means that they provide no datable evidence to show that this is so.

No date of origin for the *muwaššaḥ* is given by Ibn Bassām (d. 1147),[79] the sole Andalusian literary critic of whom more than a couple of sentences about the genre have survived. He tells us:

> The first to compose the measures of these *muwaššaḥāt* in our country, and to invent this form of composition was, from the information that has reached me, the blind [poet] Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Qabrī.

He tempers this with an alternative that is generally thought to be implausible:

> Some say that Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, the author of the *Kitāb al-ʿIqd*, was the first to compose this type of *muwaššaḥāt* among us.[80]

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[77] The first poem survives in aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Tawšīʿ at-tawšīḥ,* poem 32 and al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, II, 151–152, the second poem only in al-Kutubī, *Fawāt* II, 152–153. In the case of the first one, *man walī*, there is a slight problem. In *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt,* III,156 aṣ-Ṣafadī ascribes it to ʿUbāda ibn al-Qazzāz.

[78] Close to a third of the corpus of extant Andalusian Arabic *muwaššaḥāt* survives anonymously.

[79] For a full analysis of the piece by Ibn Bassām (*Ḏaḫīra* I/1, 469–470) see 1.2 above.

[80] Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (860–940) was the author of the most famous literary encyclopaedia from al-Andalus, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd.* It is remarkable for its concentration on the east and evinces no interest in al-Andalus at all. However, he does show in one brief passage knowledge of the *musammaṭ* in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIqd* V, 428. See also 1.6 above.

Though I have no great regard for Ibn Bassām's information on the origins, I do suspect that he is technically correct here. Some people *did* say precisely that, through simplification or misunderstanding of such information as had come down to them.

A possible source for this is [Muḥammad b. Futūḥ] al-Ḥumaydī (born Majorca about 420/1029, died Baġdād in 488/1095) who tells us in his sole surviving book, *Ǧaḏwat al-muqtabis*, that he had seen more than twenty *ǧuzʾ* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's poetry and that these included *muwaššaḥāt* and also a didactic *urǧūza* on the history of Islam.[81] al-Ḥumaydī was admired as a scholar, but there are obvious problems as he dictated *al-Ǧaḏwa* from memory in Baġdād. However, the statement that he had seen *muwaššaḥāt* by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih is not implausible.

The main source for the comments on the *muwaššaḥ* by the much later Ibn Ḫaldūn[82], [as we have seen] was the *Muqtaṭaf* of Ibn Saʿīd [and his sources]. Ibn Ḫaldūn gives a different name for the originator: Muqaddam b. Muʿāfā al-Qabrī. He also places the origin of the *muwaššaḥ* in the reign of ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Marwānī, the seventh Umayyad ruler of al-Andalus (reigned 888 to 912). As al-Ḥiǧārī and his contemporary Ibn Bassām were writing over two centuries after the reign of ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad, the suggestion that the *muwaššaḥ* first came into being about 900 is a very rough guess. However, it is not implausible if one thinks of the stages of development that must have taken place by the time that ʿUbāda ibn Māʾ as-Samāʾ re-established the genre.

Neither al-Qabrī appears to be entirely legendary – the scanty references are collected by Stern 1974:92–93 – and we cannot rule out the possibility that one of them was the originator. If anything, the date might have been earlier, but this is what the Qurʾān terms 'guessing at the unknown'.[83]

As we have seen [in the Introduction], two main propositions have been put forward for the origins of the *muwaššaḥ*. The first of these is in favour of an Arabic origin, with *musammaṭ* leading to the *muwaššaḥ,* followed by the *zaǧal.* The second favours a Romance origin for both the *muwaššaḥ* and the *zaǧal,* with the *musammaṭ* irrelevant. I can see neither evidence nor logic to support the second proposition. I accept the importance of the Romance material, but the earliest surviving *muwaššaḥ* containing Romance material cannot be dated earlier than 1050, again leaving us with no evidence earlier than the corpus.

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[81] [al-Ḥumaydī, *Ǧaḏwa* ed. Cairo 101, ed. Tunis 151, no. 172. Both editions mention the twenty *ǧuzʾ* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's poetry, but neither contain any reference to *muwaššaḥāt*. Since Alan Jones did not mention the exact reference for his information, it seems impossible to establish his source. His caution concerning Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's *muwaššaḥāt*, however, seems to be well-founded.]

[82] Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Muqaddima*, Eng. tr. III, 440-465.

[83] *raǧman bi-l-ġayb* (Q. 18:26).

The amount of Romance that has survived is limited by its being normally confined to the *ḫarǧa*. It will thus be less than 10% of the poem. Thus, in the splendid poem by ʿUbāda ibn al-Qazzāz, *min mawridi t-tasnīm,*[84] there are roughly twenty Romance words[85] in a poem containing just over 300 words altogether. However, one cannot merely say that the poem is 93.3% Arabic and 6.7% Romance. The *simṭ* rhyme pattern *-īm .. -ǧi .. -īb .. -ti … -iš .. -īb .. -ūb .. ti* is highly complex, and, in my view, works better in the *ḫarǧa* than in the other stanzas, in which some of the (Arabic) rhymes are strained.

Similarly, the *ḫarǧa* of *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs* 349 has seven sections all ending in *-aš*, representing the Romance feminine plural ending *-as*. Whilst this works well in the *ḫarǧa*, the other *asmāṭ* are sometimes strained, as Arabic rhymes ending in *-aš* are difficult in any quantity. Less demanding but still causing difficulties with the Arabic rhyme words is the *ḫarǧa* of *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs* 178, which uses the Romance diminutive *-ello* (*-illu* in written Arabic). Such *ḫarǧa*s, I think, indicate a telling influence, but they are far from the equivalent of DNA.[86]

For that it is logical to go back to *šiʿr* and its developments and to the 99+% of the corpus that is in Arabic, beginning with the *musammaṭ*.

2.2 The musammaṭ *and its origins*

The structure of Arabic poetry (*šiʿr*), built as it is on metre and rhyme, has from earliest times grown by slow evolution of those features. Poets by their nature are free-thinking beings, and they have always experimented, somewhat more in diction and thought than in structure, though there was scope here too. Success might range from the invention of a new metre[87] to a minor deviation in rhyme usage; whilst failure can sometimes be discerned in pieces composed in a metre used once or twice by early poets and then never again. However, it is rare for the texts themselves to yield such information. Instead, we have to turn to the minute analyses and schemata produced by the great ʿAbbāsid savants. The scope of this book precludes detailed examination of such points, and those interested in them and indeed in metre and rhyme in general should read Geert Jan van Gelder's *Sound and Sense in Classical Arabic Poetry* (2012). Unfortunately, Professor van Gelder's remit did not include stanzaic poetry, and he rarely mentions it; but on the general point I am making here, the continued occurrence of experimentation, examples galore are to be found in the

[84] Ibn Bišrī, *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs*, poem 22, A1.

[85] The exact number depends on whose realisation one is reading.

[86] I judge there to be an influence on the rhymes in a dozen poems, with several more involving the Romance diminutive.

[87] One has only to think of the Anacreontic, Alcaic and Sapphic metres, named after the Greek poets Anacreon, Alkaios of Mytilene, and Sappho.

section on 'Further Metrical Experiments' (pp. 123–136) and also in the section on 'Rhymes Rich and Richer' (pp. 252–268).

Alterations to conventions on rhyme normally made little difference to the structure of a poem. One, however, did. This was the changing of the rhyme pattern of two hemistichs from AQ to AAAQ by the use of internal rhyme. It would appear that the impetus for the earliest experiments, which are pre-Islamic, stemmed from the desire to add extra strength to some passages in laments (*marāṯī*). Several examples exist, the most vivid one in my view being Ǧanūb al-Huḏaliyya's lament on her brother, lines 22–24.[88]

22. *wa-ḥayyin abaḥta wa-ḥayyin ṣabaḥta* || *wa-ḥayyin manaḥta manāyā ʿiğālā*
23. *wa-ḥarbin waradta wa-ṯaġrin sadadta* || *wa-ʿilğin šadadta ʿalayhi l-ḥibālā*
24. *wa-mālin ḥawayta wa-ḫaylin ḥamayta* || *wa-ḍayfin qarayta yaḫāfu l-wakālā*

We may read this as:

wa-ḥayyin abaḥtā	Many is the tribe you have despoiled,
wa-ḥayyin ṣabaḥtā	many the tribe you have attacked in the morning,
wa-ḥayyin manaḥtā	many the tribe you have delivered
manāyā ʿiğālā	to swift fates.
wa-ḥarbin waradtā	Many is the war you took part in,
wa-ṯaġrin sadadā	many the gap you blocked [against an enemy],
wa-ʿilğin šadadtā	many is the strong warrior on whom you tied
ʿalayhi l-ḥibālā	the ropes [of captivity].
wa-mālin ḥawaytā	Much is the wealth you acquired,
wa-ḫaylin ḥamaytā	many the horses you protected,
wa-ḍayfin qaraytā	many the guest for whom you provided food
yaḫāfu l-wakālā	when he was afraid of [the consequences of] slow travel.

The metre of the poem is *mutaqārib*, and the lengthening of the internal rhyme syllables from *ta* to *tā* is in accordance with its norms.

The earliest such pieces are found embedded within longer poems and thus must be partly fortuitous. Eventually, others were to survive that were entirely stanzaic. We may ignore the spurious piece attributed to Imruʾ al-Qays, and the almost equally doubtful one attributed to Ḥammād ar-Rāwiya, though we may note that the literary

[88] The text is in my *Early Arabic Poetry*, I, 49–50 [Jones 1992]. A similar piece in a *riṯāʾ* by al-Fāriʿa bint Šaddād (in Cheikho 1897:99) has four such lines. For other pieces featuring internal rhyme, see van Gelder 2012:252 *ff*.

critics who transmitted the pieces take the genre for granted.[89] An earlier critic who describes a simple *musammaṭ* is al-Layṯ b. al-Muẓaffar (d. *ca*. 187/803).[90] The first *musammaṭ* to survive as a separate entity is not without its problems. It is a fourteen-stanza poem with a somewhat corrupt text, attributed to Abū Nuwās. The poem is probably not by him, but it is quoted in the *Aḫbār Abī Nuwās* compiled by Abū Hiffān (d. 255/869). Here are the first two stanzas, as given by van Gelder:

sulāfu dannī	Vintage wine in a jug
ka-šamsi dağnī	Like the sun in the dark
ka-damʿi ğafnī	Like the tears on my eyelids,
ka-ḫamri ʿadnī	Like the wine of Eden;
ṭabīḫu šamsī	Concocted by the sun,
ka-lawni warsī	Dyed as if with *wars*,
rabību fursī	Fostered by the Persians,
ḥalīfu siğnī	Prison inmate![91]

Early pieces like the above are rare, but there are enough for the basic patterns to be clear. *Musammaṭāt* tend to have three lines with separate rhyme and one line with common rhyme (*murabbaʿ)* or four lines with separate rhyme and one line with common rhyme (*muḫammas*). They may be either acephalous or cephalous. In the latter case the poem begins with a *maṭlaʿ*, and in the former it does not. This gives us the following basic forms for the *musammaṭ murabbaʿ*

1 (acephalous). AAAQ BBBQ CCCQ etc.
2 (cephalous). QQ AAAQ BBBQ CCCQ etc.

and for the *musammaṭ muḫammas*

1 (acephalous). AAAAQ BBBBQ CCCCQ etc.
2 (cephalous). QQ AAAAQ BBBBQ CCCCQ etc.

There is no limit to the number of stanzas.

When we turn to the question of the arrival of the *musammaṭ* in al-Andalus, information about the early period is minute. There is only one reference, and its importance lies more in who says it than in what it says. [The passage in question is found in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*.][92]

Hebrew *musammaṭāt* composed in al-Andalus also provide further corroboration for the Andalusian Arabic *musammaṭ,* but this is hardly needed when we can leave

[89] The redoubtable Ibn Rašīq [*ʾUmda*] and Abū l-Faraǧ al-Iṣfahānī [*Aġānī*].
[90] Quoted in al-Azharī, *Tahḏīb* XII, 348, s.v. *simṭ*.
[91] van Gelder 2012:264. The metre is *muḫallaʿ al-basīṭ.*
[92] See 1.6 above.

the last words on the subject to Ibn Zaydūn, whose two surviving *musammaṭ*s[93] are among the most pleasing poems of the eleventh century. They are substantial pieces, the first being ten stanzas in length, the second double that. Both are of the *muḫammas* pattern and are composed in the *basīṭ* metre. Gibb translated stanzas 3, 8 and 10 of the first poem, and I give the text and Gibb's translation:[94]

3 *saqā ğanabāti l-qaṣri ṣawbu l-ġamāʾimi*
wa-ġannā ʿalā l-aġṣāni wurqu l-ḥamāʾimi
bi-qurṭubata l-ġarrāʾi dāri l-akārimi
bilādun bihā šaqqa š-šabābu tamāʾimi
wa-anğaba-nī qawmun hunāka kirāmu

Still round thy towers descend the fertile rain!
Still sing the doves in every leafy den!
Córdova, fairest home of gallant men,
Where youth my childhood's trinkets snapped in twain,
And noble sires begat me noble, free!

8 *wa-ʾakrim bi-ayyāmi l-ʿuqābi s-sawālifi*
wa-lahwin aṯarnāhu bi-tilka l-maʿāṭifi
bi-sūdi aṯīṯi š-šaʿri bīḍi s-sawālifi
iḏā rafalū fī wašyi tilka l-maṭārifi
fa-laysa ʿalā ḥalʿi l-ʿiḏāri malāmu

Happy those days with purer pleasures blest,
Those winding vales we roamed with boyish zest,
White-throated, raven-haired, all mirth and jest;
Chide not the trailing robes, the silken vest,
The reckless pride of youth—no wantons we.

10 *fa-qul li-zamānin qad tawallā naʿīmuhu*
wa-raṯṯat ʿalā marri l-layālī rusūmuhu
wa-kam raqqa fīhi bi-l-ʿašiyyi nasīmuhu
wa-lāḥat li-sārī l-layli fīhi nujūmuhu
ʿalayka mina ṣ-ṣabbi l-mašūqi salāmu

Say to an age whose joys long since are fled,
Its traces by the lapse of nights now faint and mouldered
(Softly the breeze its evening fragrance shed!

[93] There are several editions. The text I have used here is on pages 197–205 of the much-used edition by Kāmil Kīlānī and ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Ḫalīfa, Cairo, 1932/1351, first printed in 1932 and reprinted in 1956 and 1965.

[94] Gibb 1963:113.

Bright shone its stars o'er the night-traveller's head!):
'Farewell from one whose love still burns for thee!'

2.3 E tenebris

We must now turn and sketch as best we can the components and characteristics of the original *muwaššaḥ.* The crucial source is the corpus of surviving material. Clearly, the poems in that corpus can only tell us about compositions from the 11th century onwards; but features that show up in the corpus as variables point to them being optional, whilst those that are invariable are obligatory. Secondly, we can turn to Ibn Bassām's brief comments in the *Ḏaḫīra* on the introduction of first *taḍmīn* and later *taḍfīr.* These indicate that they brought about structural changes through *tasmīṭ, i.e.* by the addition of extra rhymes. There is only one interpretation: that the original stanza structure had the minimum possible number of sections in the *asmāṭ* and in the *aġṣān.* Given that this cannot be AAAAQ, since this is the *musammaṭ* form, we have to conclude that another iteration of the rhyme variation that turned *bayt*s into *musammaṭ*s was involved, taking the basic pattern to AAAQQ (or AAAQR).[95] For more on this see 5a below.

The corpus contains some examples of *muwaššaḥāt* with this structure that have a *maṭlaʿ* and others that do not, showing that there is no difference from the *musammaṭ* in the use of this particular variable; and, leaving aside for the moment the *ḫarǧa,* we find a continuity of language and metre, though the metres of the *muwaššaḥ* inevitably become more complex after the introduction of *tasmīṭ* (*taḍmīn* and later *taḍfīr*).

The corpus also indicates that, with a small number of exceptions, the *muwaššaḥ* has a length of five or six stanzas, each stanza having a minimum of five hemistichs [QQQ AA and, perhaps, QQQ AB]. (Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk reaches the same conclusion from his much smaller sample.) This limitation of stanzas is a new feature found in neither the *musammaṭ* nor the *zaǧal.*

So far, we have the following essential features:

(a) use of the language and ideas[96] of *šiʿr;*

(b) use of an expanded form of the Arabic metrical system;

(c) use of a stanzaic format;

(d) a norm of five or six stanzas, each stanza having a minimum of five hemistichs, the basic patterns being QQQ AA and, perhaps, QQQ AB;

This latter was a new feature, as was

(e) the accompanying music.[97]

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[95] Or, of course, AAAAQQ etc.

[96] For an important background article, see Kennedy 1991.

[97] Apart from Ibn Rušd [*Talḫīṣ*, Eng. tr. 1986: 63–64, ed. 1986:57] the evidence is incidental. [See also 5a2.]

There is no doubt about

(*f*) the special role and importance of the final *simṭ* of the *muwaššaḥ.*

For Ibn Bassām it is the *markaz*, the centrepiece, of the poem, whilst for Ibn Ḫaldūn and Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk it is the *ḫarǧa*, the *envoi,* the rounding off. Moreover, Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk tells us that *ḫarǧa*s are his basis for writing the rest of the poem.[98]

This of course tells us nothing about the role of the final *simṭ* in the very first *muwaššaḥāt.* Of all the missing material this is the greatest loss. There is no way of knowing whether the earliest '*ḫarǧa*s' were composed in the same language as *šiʿr* or contained non-classical material from the outset. This will be discussed further in the section on the *ḫarǧa*s [5e].

There are three developments to the *muwaššaḥ* that occurred before we get to the extant material. Using the Arabic terms, they are *taḍmīn, ikṯār at-taḍmīn* and *taḍfīr.* Ibn Bassām does not link any poet with the introduction of *taḍmīn,* but he ascribes *ikṯār at-taḍmīn* to ar-Ramādī and *taḍfīr* to ʿUbāda Ibn Māʾ as-Samāʾ [see 1.2].

ar-Ramādī, once a court poet to al-Ḥakam (r. 961–976), fell into disgrace after the ruler's death, when he was imprisoned and exiled amid subsequent court intrigues. Although later allowed to return to Cordoba, he remained marginalized until his death in 1012. It would seem unlikely that the *ikṯār at-taḍmīn* post-dated this disgrace.

ʿUbāda Ibn Māʾ as-Samāʾ lived until 1028/1030, but Ibn Bassām classes him as a poet of the ʿĀmirid and Ḥammūdid periods, *i.e.* for the period up to 1018–1019. This was when he was likely to have been most influential, not least because, like the Ḥammūdids he was of Šīʿī persuasion.

The paragraph in Ibn Bassām about the *muwaššaḥ* does mention ʿUbāda's invention of *taḍfīr*, but it would seem that the most important information about him has already appeared a few lines earlier, slightly obscured by the use of rhymed prose:[99]

> *kānat ṣanʿatu t-tawšīḥi llatī nahaǧa ahlu l-Andalusi ṭarīqatahā, wa-waḍaʿū ḫaqīqatahā, ġayra marqūmati l-burūdi, wa-lā manẓūmati l-ʿuqūdi, fa-aqāma ʿUbādatu hāḏā munʾādahā wa-qawwama maylahā wa-sinādahā wa-kaʾannahā lam tusmaʿ bi-l-Andalusi illā minhu wa-lā uḫiḏat illā ʿanhu*

Put simply, in the time of ʿUbāda Ibn Māʾ as-Samāʾ the conventions of the *muwaššaḥāt* were not well defined and he sorted them out, thus consigning earlier material to oblivion.

At the beginning I said that some anonymous poems do have a simpler format that might antedate or at least reflect a situation prior to the poems of ʿUbāda Ibn

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[98] 'I say it precedes [the poem] because it should be the first thing that comes to mind.' Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz* 43.

[99] [Ibn Bassām, *Ḏaḫīra* I/1, 469; see also 1.2 and 1.5 above.]

Māʾ as-Samāʾ, but their anonymity prevents them from providing evidence to show that this is so. We see this in the anonymous *ʿUddat al-ġalīs* poem 283.[100]

It has a number of other features that take it out of the ordinary. It begins and ends with stanzas of nostalgia, with amatory material intervening. There is no panegyric, nor is any patron referred to. It is written with clarity and relative simplicity, well within the conventions of *šiʿr*, with few hyperbolic phrases. Further, the poet uses a rigorous form of the *madīd* metre, XLSL * LSL * SSL.

The linkage of expressions is notable: each *simṭ* ties in with the preceding *aġṣān.*[101] The final stanza also looks back to the *maṭlaʿ*, picking up *arbuʿ* by *rabʿ*, thus rounding off the poem as a whole, while the final *simṭ* summarizes the general mood of the poem.

*qif bi-tilka l-arbuʿi d-durusi ** wa-hmi damʿan bi-n-naǧīʿi maʿā*

ayna ṣāra r-rakbu yā ṭalalu
a-tarāhum ʿan qilan raḥalu
waddaʿū li-l-bayni fa-ḥtamalu

*kam ḥabībin qad naʾā fa-nusi ** wa-ḥadīṯin bāna fa-nqaṭaʿā*

bittu rahna d-damʿi wa-s-sahari
wa-ʿašiqtu amlaḥa l-bašari
šādinan yazhū ʿalā l-qamari

*law raʾāhu l-ġuṣnu lam yamisi ** aw raʾāhu l-badru mā ṭalaʿā*

yā ġazālan bi-ṣ-ṣudūdi qasā
hā anā qad ḏubtu fīka asā
wa-murād-ī min lamāka ʿasā

*an tudāwī ṣ-ṣabba bi-l-laʿasi ** aw bi-ẓalmi ṯ-ṯaġri qad qaniʿā*

kam qaṭaʿnā ḏālika z-zamanā
bi-ġazālin yuḫǧilu l-ġuṣunā
wa-mudāmin tuṭribu š-šaǧanā

*nūruhā fī l-kāsi ka-l-qabasi ** aw ka-barqin fī d-duǧā lamaʿā*

ayyu rabʿin ġayyara z-zamanu
kāna fīhi l-ḫillu wa-s-sakanu
wa-maḥat āṯārahu l-hutunu

[100] [Ibn Bišrī, *ʿUddat al-ġalīs* 425–426.] The format is QQ AAA QQ BBB QQ CCC QQ DDD QQ EEE QQ, with neither a verb of transition nor a final *simṭ* with the features of a *ḫarǧa*.

[101] This is presumably the reason for the use of enjambment between *ġuṣn* 3 and the *simṭ* of stanza 3.

*ʿāda baʿda n-nuṭqi ḏā ḫarasi ** fa-ʿtabir li-d-dahri mā ṣanaʿā*

Stop by the encampments whose traces are now erased;
and shed tears and blood together.

Where have the riders gone, O remains of the encampment?
Do you see them journeying away out of hatred?
They said goodbye to move to a distance and went away.

How many a loved one has moved to a distance and become forgotten;
How many a topic of conversation has gone away and been cut off!

I have spent the night as a hostage to tears and sleeplessness,
having fallen in love with the most handsome of mankind,
a fawn that shines above the moon.

If the branch were to see him it would not swagger;
if the moon were to see him it would not rise.

O gazelle, pitiless in shunning me,
here I am, having melted in love for you.
My wish from your red lip is that

Perhaps you will cure my love with the crimson of those red lips;
or it will be content with the whiteness of your teeth.

How much of that time did we spend
with a gazelle that puts slender branches to shame
and with wine which brings delight out of sadness!

whose light in the wine cup is like a lighted brand or like lightning in the dark.

What an excellent encampment has been changed by time,
where the friend and his dwelling used to be,
whose traces have been erased by continual rain.

After speech has been heard there, the place has become soundless.
Consider Fate and what it has done.

3 The Extant Andalusian *Muwaššaḥāt*

When Stern was writing his thesis on the Old Andalusian *Muwaššaḥ* in the late 1940s, he worked largely with manuscripts, particularly one of the *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz* of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk housed in Leiden. There were a few poems scattered around

elsewhere, very rarely in printed form, though the Ṣūfī *muwaššaḥāt* of Ibn ʿArabī[102] had been published as early as 1850.[103]

The situation was revolutionised in the 1950s when two major anthologies came to light in Morocco and Tunisia. The first was the *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs* of ʿAlī ibn Bišrī (dates unknown), which contains 354 poems, including 288 not found in full elsewhere[104] and twenty-six with 'Romance' *ḫarǧa*s. The second was the *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* of Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb (d. 1375), which contains 175 Andalusian poems,[105] including over 130 not known elsewhere and sixteen with 'Romance' *ḫarǧa*s. There are also twenty-eight poems that occur in both works but nowhere else.

Thus 446 poems survive only in these two works, and they contain all but three of the Arabic 'Romance' *ḫarǧa*s (though some of these *ḫarǧa*s recur in the Hebrew series). When we count all the poems that survive both in these two and in other sources the total rises to 484, over 85% of the total.

To these we can add poems found solely in the following:

Nine from *al-Muġrib* of Ibn Saʿīd (from a total of twenty-six);

Nine from the *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz* of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (from a total of thirty-four Andalusian poems);

Nine (eight from the *Tawšīʿ at-tawšīḥ* of aṣ-Ṣafadī, from a total of fourteen Andalusian poems, plus one elsewhere);

Twenty-one from the *Dīwān* of Ibn Sahl (from a total of twenty-four);

Fourteen from the *Dīwān* of Ibn Ḫātima (from a total of eighteen).

> Ibn Ḫātima (d. 1369) has not been given much attention, but in one respect he is important. The principal surviving manuscript of his *dīwān* was written by the author himself.[106] It therefore gives us his personal attempts to render 'colloquial language' in the *ḫarǧa*s.

One from al-Kutubī [*Fawāt*] (from a total of two Andalusian poems);

Two from al-Ḥillī [*ʿĀṭil*] (from a total of two Andalusian poems);

One from Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* (from a total of three Andalusian poems);

One from Ibn Diḥya, *al-Muṭrib*;

One from an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* (from a total of two Andalusian/ Maġribī poems);

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[102] [Ibn ʿArabī (d. 1240) was a highly influential and prolific Andalusian Ṣūfī author.]

[103] [See Stern (1974:83–89), who quotes the poems on the basis of the 1850 Būlāq edition of Ibn ʿArabī's *Dīwān*. This part of the volume is an abridgement of Stern's doctoral dissertation, submitted at Oxford in 1950 and entitled *The Old Andalusian* Muwashshaḥ.]

[104] Brief fragments of some survive.

[105] Excluding four eastern poems.

[106] [MS Escorial 381, which formed the basis of the 1994 edition of his *dīwān*.]

One from *ar-Rawḍa l-ġannāʾ*[107] (*hāti bnata l-ʿinabi* by Ibn Zuhr).

This gives a total of some 553 poems for what I treat as the primary corpus. However, there are some poems which have lost their endings, and for rough working a total of 550 suffices.

One cannot draw up objective criteria for any cut-off point for this corpus, if only because of the number of anonymous poems. It is tempting to point to the increase in the number of stanzas that took place in the fourteenth century as a good indicator. However, the *ʿUddat al-ġalīs* includes a poem by Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb[108] and the *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* has three by Ibn Ḫātima. If those are included so must others by the same authors. Further, the links with the Maġrib mean that poems written in the Maġrib or for rulers from the area might also be included. This is particularly so with the poems of Ibn Bišrī, the author of the *ʿUddat al-ġalīs,* whose dates are unknown.

There is also the question of the religious poems, in particular those by Ibn ʿArabī, aš-Šuštarī[109] and [Ibn] aṣ-Ṣabbāġ.[110] My preference is to place these in a secondary corpus, also including poems from later anthologists and collections, the most important being al-Maqqarī, whose *Nafḥ aṭ-ṭīb* contains twenty-six poems not found in earlier sources. Unfortunately, the majority of these, including fifteen by Ibn Zamrak,[111] are late.[112] This is also where we should put material found only in later anthologies, such as those of an-Nawāǧī[113] and also as-Saḫāwī,[114] with unreliable texts. If on a rare occasion they provide a poem with a good text, that poem can be allocated to the main corpus. As previously indicated, I have done this with Ibn Zuhr's *hāti bnata l-ʿinabi* from *ar-Rawḍa l-ġannāʾ* [*fī maḥāsin al-ġināʾ*]. The texts from this anthology are generally in poor condition, but it appears that in this poem short lines have facilitated better transmission.

The value of the corpus itself lies in its sufficient size to be searched for meaningful data that can be effectively scrutinized. But that means asking the right questions.

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[107] [The manuscript of this anthology, attributed to an unknown author and held in Rabat at the National Library of Morocco, is cited by ʿInānī (1982), who quotes Ibn Zuhr's poem from it.]

[108] Poem 135, eight stanzas.

[109] [Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Šuštarī (d. 1269), a famous Andalusian Sūfī poet, philosopher, and mystic.]

[110] [Scarce information survived concerning the poet Ibn aṣ-Ṣabbāġ al-Ǧuḏāmī, except for his *Dīwān*. He seems to have been active in the middle of the 13th century.]

[111] [Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf Ibn Zamrak (d. 1393) was a leading Andalusian poet and statesman of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada.]

[112] There are also half a dozen *muwaššaḥāt* in al-Maqqarī's *Azhār ar-riyāḍ.*

[113] [Šams ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan an-Nawāǧī (d. 1455), *ʿUqūd al-al-laʾāl fī l-muwaššaḥāt wa-l-azǧāl*.]

[114] [Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān as-Saḫāwī (d. 1497) *Saǧʿ al-wurq al-muntaḥiba fī ǧamʿ al-muwaššaḥāt al-muntaḫaba*.]

4 Authors

Of the 550 Arabic *muwaššaḥāt* that I use as my primary corpus, no fewer than 188 (fractionally over ⅓ and including twelve poems with 'Romance *ḫarǧa*s') have survived anonymously. The main culprit for this is Ibn Bišrī, whose information about authors seems to have been very patchy. When he gives an attribution, it usually seems reasonably reliable, though quite often contradicting the attribution in another anthology, mainly disagreeing with the *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ*. One might have hoped that Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb would have done better, as the majority of the *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* consists of sections devoted to named poets, but he does not seem particularly reliable and many of his poems are attributed to different poets elsewhere. Hence, we are left with a group of poems that we can only label 'Doubtful'. Irritatingly, two of the major *waššāḥ*s, al-Aʿmā at-Tuṭīlī and Ibn Baqī, whose paths frequently crossed, are at the centre of this confusion.

Occasionally it appears to be a copyist who gets the name wrong, as with *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs* 145, which the manuscript attributes to Ibn Sahl instead of Ibn Šaraf.

A further problem is the scanty quantity and mediocre quality of the biographical information about the *waššāḥ*s. Iḥsān ʿAbbās[115] tartly comments that we can get more information from the *Dīwān* of al-Aʿmā at-Tuṭīlī, the only *waššāḥ* whose *Dīwān* has survived, than from the normal sources.[116] Normally biographical entries provide some information about the families for whom the poets wrote and the year of a poet's death – though sometimes we do not even get that. On the other hand, a 'good story' may be recorded. Stern gives us the following:[117]

> Abū l-Ḥasan b. Nizār on the gradual collapse of the Almoravid Empire, carved out for himself the principality of Guadix. Owing to intrigues of the people of his town, he was captured and imprisoned by Ibn Mardanīš, the lord of the majority of the eastern districts. The unknown authority from whom al-Maqqarī (ii. 331–2) has the story continues:
>
> He remained in prison for a long time. At last he found the means to communicate with a good singing-girl, having a beautiful voice. He then composed his *muwaššaḥ* which begins:
>
> *nāzaʿaki l-badru l-layāḥ* *bintu d-danāni*
> *fa-lam yadaʿ laki qtirāḥ* *ʿalā z-zamāni*
>
> and which contains, among other things, the following lines:
> *yā hal aqūlu li-l-ḥasūd* *wa-l-ʿīsu taḥdi*

[115] al-Aʿmā at-Tuṭīlī, *Dīwān h–m*, Iḥsān ʿAbbās's Introduction to his edition.

[116] I shall refer to these sources only where unavoidable. The references are conveniently gathered together by Sayyid Ġāzī 1979: II, 755–773.

[117] Stern 1974:106. [Transliterations have been standardized to the system used in *The Arabist*.]

yā lāʾim-ī ʿalā s-sarāḥ *kānat amānī*
aḫrağahā ḏāka s-samāḥ *ilā l-ʿiyāni*

He then appointed someone to teach her the poem and its melody. The stratagem succeeded; the poem when recited before Ibn Mardanīš pleased the ruler, who, taking the hint contained in it, liberated his prisoner.

From other sources we learn that Ibn Mardanīš came to power in Valencia in 1147 and remained as ruler until his death in 1172.[118] This gives a time frame for the poem, and we can see roughly where Ibn Nizār fits in a list of poets; but it is hardly as important as the four stanzas of an 'echo' *muwaššaḥ* preserved in the *Muġrib* [of Ibn Saʿīd] or the two complete poems preserved in the *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* (144 and 274) [of Ibn Bišrī]. It is also the case that some of the incidental details in the 'good story' are rather more important than those concerning the poet: a singing girl is taught both poem and melody.

Another 'good story' shows us the fragility of attributions. Ibn Ḫaldūn[119] baldly quotes a piece from someone whom he calls Ibn Muʾahhal:

mā l-ʿīdu fī ḥullatin wa-ṭāqi *wa-šammi ṭīb*
w*a-innamā l-ʿīdu fī t-talāqī* *maʿa-l-ḥabīb*

The festival is not made by fine clothes and the smell of perfume.
The festival is made by meeting the beloved.

The piece is drawn into a more expanded story by the medical biographer Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa,[120] who on the authority of his informant the *qāḍī* Abū Marwān al-Bāğğī changed the name of the *waššāḥ* to Ibn Zuhr.

We were in Tunis together with an-Nāṣir (Almohad Caliph 1199–1214). Prices in the army were very high and barley was very scarce. Abū l-Ḥağğāğ Ibn Mūrātīr composed a *muwaššaḥ* for an-Nāṣir in which he included a parody *(taġyīr)* of a verse *(bayt)* written by al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr b. Zuhr in one of his *muwaššaḥ*s. The text of Ibn Zuhr read *mā l-ʿīdu...,* which Ibn Mūrātīr changed to:

mā l-ʿīdu fī ḥullatin wa-ṭāqi *min al-ḥarīr*
wa-innamā l-ʿīdu fī t-talāqī *maʿa š-šaʿīr*

The festival is not made by fine clothes made of silk
The festival is made by meeting *barley*.

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[118] Kennedy 2014:194–195.

[119] [Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Muqaddima*, ed. II, 428, Eng. tr. III, 445. The reading of the name is uncertain: Muʾahhil, Muʾahhal, Mūhal etc.]

[120] Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* 533–534. The Arabic text is given in Ġāzī 1979: II, 181.

an-Nāṣir ordered two *mudds* of barley to be given to him: this was, at that time, worth fifty *dīnār*s.

The piece is taken by Stern[121] to be a *maṭlaʿ*, but the place for such a twist is the *ḫarǧa*; and if we look at the *ḫarǧa* of a poem by al-Ḫabbāz (Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb, *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* 10:5),[122] there it is in what appears to be the original version. Stern was surely right to remove Ibn Zuhr from the story, and, in the absence of further evidence, I think that we might do the same with Ibn Muʾahhal.

The list that follows sets out in a rough time frame *waššāḥ*s of extant poems down to the death of the Almohads.

Umayyad period (–1031)

0. Yūsuf b. Hārūn ar-Ramādī (d. 1012). The place and date of birth of ar-Ramādī remain uncertain. The first definite thing we know about him is that he studied al-Qālī's *Kitāb an-Nawādir* with the great master. He also wrote a *qaṣīda* in his praise some thirty lines of which have survived in the *Yatīmat ad-dahr*.[123] He clearly flourished (the fact that aṯ-Ṯaʿālibī included some of his *šiʿr* in his sadly scanty treatment of Andalusian writers is external proof of that) and he was court poet to al-Ḥakam when the latter was caliph (961–976). He was on the wrong side in the court intrigues that followed al-Ḥakam's death. Ibn Abī ʿĀmir al-Manṣūr had him imprisoned and then exiled to Saragossa. Eventually he was allowed back to Cordoba but was never rehabilitated and spent the last forty odd years of his life in the shadows until his death in 1012. No *muwaššaḥ* of his has survived, but he was responsible for extending the use of *taḍmīn*.
1. ʿUbāda b. Māʾ as-Samāʾ (died 1028 or 1030) is the first poet from whom we have extant *muwaššaḥ*s. It would appear that al-Ḥiǧārī confused him with ʿUbāda b. al-Qazzāz.[124] His two surviving *muwaššaḥ*s are fully developed but contain no Romance elements.

   The place[125] and date of birth of ʿUbāda Ibn Māʾ as-Samāʾ are also uncertain. Ibn Bassām (*Ḏaḫīra* I/1, 468) tells us that he moved to Cordoba and was a leading panegyrist there during the ʿĀmirid and Ḥammūdid regimes: *wa-laḥiqa bi-Qurṭuba ad-dawlata l-ʿāmiriyya wa-l-ḥammūdiyya wa-madaḥa riǧālahā.* His most important teacher was az-Zubaydī. Given that az-Zubaydī left Cordoba for Seville some time before his death in 989, it seems reasonable to suggest that ʿUbāda was born no later than 960. Ibn Bassām (*Ḏaḫīra* I/1, 475) quotes a couple

[121] Stern 1974:113.

[122] [References are to the added chapter numbers, each corresponding to the oeuvre of a single poet, followed by the number of the *muwaššaḥa* cited from that poet.]

[123] [aṯ-Ṯaʿālibī, *Yatīmat ad-dahr* II, 114-117, no. 103.]

[124] Stern 1974:64–65.

[125] Malaga and Cordoba are mentioned in the sources.

of lines from a *qaṣīda* to Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, which must have been written before the latter's death in 1002. He also notes (*Ḏaḫīra* I/1, 478) ʿUbāda's Šīʿī leanings in his poetry *(wa-kāna ʿUbāda yuẓhiru t-tašayyuʿa fī šiʿrihi)* and quotes several pieces addressed to various members of the Ḥammūdids, especially ʿAlī ibn Ḥammūd, 'caliph' 1016–1018.

Ṭāʾifa period (1031–1086/91)

1. Ibn al-Muʿallim ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, a minister of al-Muʿtaḍid, the ʿAbbādid ruler of Seville from 1042 to 1069 AD. The use of al-Muʿtaḍid's *kunya* Abū ʿAmr in line 10 of his sole surviving *muwaššaḥ* makes it likely that it was dedicated to him, as the *kunya* is also found at the beginning of a part of a *marṯiya* on al-Muʿtaḍid by Ibn al-Muʿallim.[126]
   Ibn al-Muʿallim, like many Arab ministers, was something of a literary figure, enough to persuade Ibn Bassām to include a section on him in the *Ḏaḫīra.* Despite this, the *muwaššaḥ* is one of the weakest in the series. The handling of themes is trite, and the phraseology is flaccid. However, it is the earliest by a known poet to contain some Romance elements.
2. Ibn ar-Rāfiʿ Raʾsuh[127] is said by Ibn Ḫaldūn[128] to have been a poet at the court of the Banū Ḏī n-Nūn of Toledo. The poem from which Ibn Ḫaldūn's comments stem is *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* 241; it is addressed to Yaḥyā b. Ḏī n-Nūn, ruler from 429[129]–467 AH (1037–1075 AD). However, Ibn Bišrī, *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* 49 and Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb, *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* 5:4 mention Yūsuf b. Hūd, ruler of Saragossa from 473–477 AH (1081–1085 AD).
   The *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* has two poems (241 and 268) clearly ascribed to Ibn ar-Rāfiʿ Raʾsuh. Two more (76 and 305) are given anonymously but are found in the poet's section in the *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* (5:7 and 5:1). *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* ascribes two others (9 and 49) to al-Ḥuṣrī, but they appear as *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* 5:6 and 5:4. The latter has a seventh stanza, not found in the *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* 49, which contains Romance material. Finally, *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* 92 appears anonymously, but is ascribed to Ibn ar-Rāfiʿ Raʾsuh in *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* 5:2 and to al-Ḥuṣrī in [aṣ-

[126] Ibn Bassām, *Ḏaḫīra* II/1, 123.

[127] This seems to be the most likely spelling of his name. [His name has lately been standardised as Ibn Arfaʿ Raʾs, his full name being Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Mūsā al-Anṣārī. See Regula Forster and Juliane Müller, "The Identity, Life and Works of the Alchemist Ibn Arfaʿ Raʾs". *Al-Qanṭara* 41 (2020) 373–408, doi:10.3989/alqantara.2020.010, where his date of death is given as 1197.]

[128] [Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Muqaddima*, ed. II, 425, Eng. tr. III, 442, in Rosenthal's transliteration the name is Ibn Arfaʿ-raʾsah.

[129] Or possibly 435/1043.

Ṣafadī's] *Tawšīʿ at-tawšīḥ* 48.[130] Two other surviving poems (Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb, *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* 5:3 and 5:10) have Romance elements.

3. Ibn Labbūn is the composer of the poems in section twelve of the *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ*. He is referred once in Ibn Bassām, who typically tells us that the minister and poet Ibn ʿAmmār (murdered by al-Muʿtamid in 1086) sent Ibn Labbūn a present of apples and pears, and that there was an exchange of poetic pleasantries.[131] Two of his surviving poems have Romance elements.
4. Yaḥyā al-Ǧazzār lived in Saragossa under the Banū Hūd [r. 1039–1110]. He was a butcher who became a poet and then reverted to being a butcher, as we learn from Ibn Bassām.[132] Two of his surviving poems (section eleven of the *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ*) have Romance elements.
5. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Baṭalyawsī, known as al-Kumayt al-Ġarbī, is the subject of section six in the *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ*. He is linked in the *Muġrib* (1, 370–371) with Abū Ǧaʿfar Aḥmad al-Muqtadir who ruled Saragossa from 1058 to 1084; *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* 6:4 refers to Abū Ǧaʿfar. Two of his surviving poems have Romance elements. The title al-Kumayt al-Ġarbī[133] shows that he was highly esteemed as a classical poet.
6. Yūnus b. ʿĪsā al-Mursī al-Ḫabbāz is the subject of section ten in the *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ*, with 10:2 also found as *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs* 101. Otherwise, we have no information about him. Two of his surviving poems have Romance elements.
7. Muḥammad Ibn al-Qazzāz is the most commonly used way of referring to a poet (some say two poets) whose name appears in various guises. Ibn Bassām[134] gives his name as Muḥammad ibn ʿUbāda, known as Ibn al-Qazzāz. Among the other forms ʿUbāda b. Muḥammad b. ʿUbāda has caused much head-scratching. I believe that the various names refer to one poet. Stern's article on the subject[135] now needs some modification, as some details crop up in poems in the *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs*, which was unknown when the article was written. He was a court poet of al-Muʿtaṣim of Almería but also wrote for others such as the Banū Ṯābit of Tavira. He may reasonably lay claim to be the greatest virtuoso among the *waššāḥ*s who flourished in the period of the *mulūk aṭ-ṭawāʾif*. Seventeen complete *muwaššaḥs* of his have survived,[136] with three having Romance elements. They include the remarkable *min mawridi t-tasnīm* (Ibn Bišrī, *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs* 22).

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[130] [References are to section numbers.]

[131] Ibn Bassām, *Ḏaḫīra* II/1, 434.

[132] Ibn Bassām, *Ḏaḫīra* III/2, 905–908. See also Ibn Saʿīd, *Muġrib* II, 444.

[133] [A reference to the renowned Arabian poet al-Kumayt ibn Zayd al-Asadī (d. 743).]

[134] Ibn Bassām, *Ḏaḫīra* I/2, 801–805.

[135] Stern 1950.

[136] Thirteen in the *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs*, two in the *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz*, and two in both. Two of those in the *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs* are also to be found in the *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ*, but wrongly ascribed. The absence of a section devoted to him in the *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* is surprising.

8. Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād al-Muʿtamid ruled Seville from 1069 until he was toppled by the Almoravids in 1091 and exiled to Aġmāt in Morocco. An outstanding classical poet, he continued to compose until his death in 1095. His sole surviving *muwaššaḥ*, with its small Romance element, must come from the period before his fall.
9. ʿAlī b. Ġanī al-Ḥuṣrī moved from the Maġrib to al-Andalus in 1058 and stayed at various courts until his death in 1093. Two poems are ascribed to al-Ḥuṣrī in the *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* (9 and 49), but they appear in the *Ğayš at-tawšīḥ* in the section devoted to Ibn ar-Rāfiʿ Raʾsuh (5:6 and 5:4). The latter has a seventh stanza, not found in *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* 49, which contains Romance material. Finally, *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* 92 is anonymous, but the poem is ascribed to Ibn ar-Rāfiʿ Raʾsuh in *Ğayš at-tawšīḥ* 5:2 and to al-Ḥuṣrī in *Tawšīʿ at-tawšīḥ* 48.
10. Ibn al-Labbāna, a court poet of al-Muʿtamid, survived and mourned the fall of the ʿAbbādids. He then became a peripatetic poet, going wherever his poetry might earn him some sustenance, as was the case with other major poets of his period. He spent time in the Maġrib, and one of his most famous poems, *bi-narğisi l-aḥdāq,* is addressed to the Ḥammādid Bādīs ibn al-Manṣūr, a monster who ruled his small Algerian *ṭāʾifa* for less than a year (1104/5). Ibn al-Labbāna survived till 1113. He thus straddles the *Ṭāʾifa* and Almoravid period. One of his surviving poems has Romance elements.

Almoravid period (1086–1147)[137]

The earlier poets in this group were born in the *Ṭāʾifa* period.

1. al-Aʿmā at-Tuṭīlī died in 1126. Five of his surviving poems have Romance elements. [There is some confusion about al-Aʿmā and Ibn Baqī, as four poems listed among al-Aʿmā's works in the *Ğayš at-tawšīḥ* are attributed to Ibn Baqī in other sources.]
2. Ibn Ruhaym, d. 1126. Two of his surviving poems have Romance elements. [His *muwaššaḥāt* are preserved in both the *Ğayš at-tawšīḥ* (13:1–10) and the *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* (345).]
3. Ibn Baqī, d. 1145. [Several of his *muwaššaḥāt* are preserved in both the *Ğayš at-tawšīḥ* (1:1–9) and the *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* (thirty-two); one (50) among these is attributed to Ibn Zuhr in *Ğayš at-tawšīḥ* (15:2) and that attribution seems to be correct. Four of his surviving poems have Romance elements.]
4. Ibn az-Zaqqāq, d. 1133.
5. Muḥammad al-Abyaḍ, d. c. 1133 [*Ğayš at-tawšīḥ* (3:1–9), and five poems in the *ʿUddat al-ğalīs*.]

[137] [The biographical notices concerning authors from the Almoravid period onward remain incomplete or preliminary in many places.]

6. The polymath Ibn Bāğğa is linked with the famous *ğarriri ḏ-ḏayla ayyamā ğarri*, but the *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* attributes it to Ibn aṣ-Ṣayrafī.[138] Ibn Bāğğa was poisoned in Fes in 1138.
7. [Abū ʿAbdallāh] Muḥammad b. Šaraf[139] is placed in the Almoravid period by Ibn Ḫaldūn.[140] It is probable that eleven of his *muwaššaḥ*s survive. Section seven of the *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* has nine poems plus the first section of a *maṭlaʿ* beginning *qaḍat bi-qtināṣi l-usdi*, the whole poem being found as *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* 28. *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* 7:2 is mainly the same poem as *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* 229, but the final stanzas are different. Finally, there is the well-known poem beginning *šamsun qāranat badrā,* found in *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* 17:1 and *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz* 3 but ascribed to Ibn Zuhr by Ibn Abī Uṣaybīʿa.[141] However, Ibn Saʿīd ascribes it to Ibn Šaraf in *al-Muqtaṭaf*, and this is also the reading in the corrected text in Ibn Ḫaldūn.[142]
8. Abū ʿĀmir Ibn Yannaq (Íñigo) aš-Šāṭibī (1089–1152).
9. al-Manīšī (mid-12th century). One of his surviving poems has Romance elements.
10. Ibn Saʿīd (d. 1155).
11. Ibn Quzmān (1078/80–1160). A *muwaššaḥ* written by the famous *zağğāl* has Romance elements in its *ḫarğa*.

Almohad period (1147/1172–1212/1223)

1. Aḥmad b. [Muḥammad b.] Mālik [al-Balansī] as-Saraqusṭī, known in the *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* as al-Lāridī,[143] is said to have died in 571/1175.[144] Two of his surviving poems have Romance elements.
2. Ibn Hardūs (d. 573/1177) [one poem in the *ʿUddat al-ğalīs*].
3. [Abū l-Ḥasan] Ibn Nizār [two poems in the *ʿUddat al-ğalīs*].
4. [Abū Bakr] Ibn aṣ-Ṣayrafī, died 577/1181, appears to be the latest poet with Romance elements in a surviving poem [one poem in the *ʿUddat al-ğalīs*].
5. Ibn Maslama (d. 585/1189).
6. Ibn Zuhr al-Ḥafīd (1110–1198) [*Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* 15:1–10 and twenty poems in the *ʿUddat al-ğalīs*].
7. as-Sulamī (d. 603/1206).
8. Ibn Ḥazmūn (d. 614/1217) [five poems in the *ʿUddat al-ğalīs*].

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[138] Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb, *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* 9:3.

[139] [His grandfather was the famous scholar of Ifrīqiyya, who went to al-Andalus as a refugee, see Stern 1974:104.]

[140] [Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Muqaddima*, ed. II, 427, Eng. tr. III, 445. He became famous at the beginning of the Almohad dynasty.]

[141] [Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* 526, Chapter "al-Ḥafīd Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr".]

[142] For correction see Stern 1974:105.

[143] For the link, see Jones 1988:125.

[144] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* I, 70, *tarğama* 206.

9. Ibn Ḥarīq (d. 622/1225).
10. Ibn al-Faḍl (d. 627/1229).

Later

Ibn aṣ-Ṣābūnī (d. 1238) [three poems in the *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs*].
Ibn ʿUtba (d. 637/1239).
Ibn Sahl, drowned in the Guadalquivir in 1251 [three poems in the *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs*].
Ibn Ḫātima (d. 1369). Important because of the autograph manuscript [see Section 3 above; one poem in the *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs*].

5 Constituent features

5a Stanzaic structure

5a1 The basic form of the muwaššaḥ

The standard *muwaššaḥ* has five stanzas (*dawr/bayt*). Of the 354 poems in the *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs,* no less than 332 (nearly 94%) have five stanzas. There are another seventeen with six stanzas, bringing their combined total to 98%. Four and possibly all five of the poems with fewer than five stanzas are incomplete. The anthology also contains one (late) poem by Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb that breaks the mould by having eight stanzas.[145]

Using A etc. and Q *to* show the rhyme at the end of a segment, the simplest form is:

AAA Q-Q ** BBB Q-Q ** CCC Q-Q ** DDD Q-Q ** EEE Q-Q

Each section labelled A/B/C/D/E is called a *ġuṣn* and a whole line labelled Q-Q is called a *simṭ* or a *quf*l, whilst the final *simṭ/qufl*, labelled Q-Q, used to end the poem with a special twist,[146] is called the *ḫarǧa* or *markaz.*

Only nine poems in the whole corpus[147] have this simplest of forms, but there are also five[148] which have Q-R instead of Q-Q.[149]

Logic or common sense (or even both) indicates that these two forms, with their one minor variation, were the basic form from which many others were to develop – though again it must be stressed that with the *muwaššaḥ* no evidence survives for the

[145] The whole corpus gives proportions that are only marginally different.
[146] On the role of the *ḫarǧa* see section 5e below.
[147] Ibn Bišrī, *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs* 31 ('Romance'), 131 (Ibn Zuhr), 132, 218, 222, 224 ('Romance'), 321, 326; Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb, *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* 8:9.
[148] Ibn Bišrī, *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs* 51 (Ibn Zuhr), 52, 290 (Ibn Zuhr), 291 (Ibn Bišrī), 300.
[149] These fifteen poems are roughly 2.5% of the whole corpus.

first century and a quarter of its existence. However, Arabic poetry in general shows a marked tendency to evolve by elaboration rather than simplification.

One addition brings us to a more popular form, accounting for just over 14% of the total corpus. This is through putting another *simṭ/qufl* R R or R S at the beginning of a *muwaššaḥ*. Such a *simṭ/qufl* is known as the *maṭla*ʿ[150] (prelude), the term being that used for the first line of a classical *qaṣīda*. Poems with a *maṭla*ʿ are called *tāmm* (complete), whilst those without a *maṭla*ʿ are called *aqra*ʿ (bald).

It may well be that the presence or absence of a *maṭla*ʿ is determined by musical factors, but again it must be stressed that the music and all evidence about it has [almost completely] disappeared. [151]This is true even when fragments of poems survive in the repertoire of modern Maġribī musicians. Back projection is not possible. I am convinced that along with the stanza limit, music was crucial in differentiating the *muwaššaḥ* from earlier forms. In particular, I suspect that it led to features like *taḍmīn* and *taḍfīr*, and to the dominance of rhyme in general.[152]

The length of the segments depends jointly on the number of rhymes and on the metre used (see the sections on Rhyme and Metre).

5a2 How the structure of the muwaššaḥ *might have developed from that of the* musammaṭ

Given the absence of relevant evidence for the period of the origin and development of the *muwaššaḥ* and the dearth of information about the early *musammaṭ*, anything we glean from Arabic literary sources can provide only circumstantial pointers. However, there is enough to persuade leading western scholars working on ʿAbbasid literature, such as [Ewald] Wagner and van Gelder,[153] that the two are linked. Indeed, there are some examples of pieces from pre-Islamic poetry with a *musammaṭ*-like structure, but they appear to be fortuitous creations; whereas in ʿAbbasid times such

[150] The *maṭla*ʿ is not mentioned by Ibn Bassām [*Ḏaḫīra*], but it is found in about five-sixths of the surviving corpus and is thus a dominant feature.

[151] There are musical marginalia in the *ʿUddat al-ġalīs*. In the manuscript, they appear on the first forty pages, covering poems 1–60, though not every poem has a note. Although the ink is faded and the notes are positioned rather awkwardly, it is clear that the poems were accompanied by music. If a *muwaššah* (such as no. 10) begins continuously without a title, there is no note on the music, since such notes are otherwise placed in the margin next to the title of the *muwaššaḥ*.

[152] [Dwight F. Reynolds's book *The Musical Heritage of Al-Andalus* (2021) led Alan Jones to reconsider several key problems, but time did not allow him to elaborate on them.]

[153] Stanzaic poetry is on their periphery. It would be reasonable to include [Gregor] Schoeler, who also has firm views, and is a specialist in the field. [See, *e.g.* Schoeler 1978 and 1993.] In the sixties and seventies, two major Arab scholars, Ǧawdat ar-Rikābī and Iḥsān ʿAbbās, doubted the link between *musammaṭ* and *muwaššaḥ*, but more recent Arab scholars have not followed them.

pieces appear to result from the experiments that poets and even composers of *maqāmāt* tried out.

The only poem that can be said to provide an actual link between the *musammaṭ* and the *muwaššaḥ* is poem 164 of the *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs*, a six-stanza piece with a typical *musammaṭ* pattern:[154]

him bi-ṣ-ṣibā wa-daʿi
maqāla ḏī waraʿi
fa-innamā l-almaʿi
man bāta lam yasmaʿi
fī l-ḥubbi min ʿaḏali

fa-in ʿaḏūlun abā
wa-laǧǧa aw annabā
fa-ġannihi muṭribā
man lī bi-raddi ṣ-ṣibā
wa-lahwi wa-l-ġazali

wa-bi-ab-ī ǧuʾḏaru
muhafhifun aḥwaru
ruḍābuhu sukkaru
wa-waǧhuhu nayyiru
ka-š-šamsi fī l-ḥamali

wāfā ka-faṣli r-rabīʿ
rīmun ṯawā fī ḍ-ḍulūʿ
wa-šabba nāra l-wulūʿ
bayna l-ḥašā fa-l-huǧūʿ
qad bāna ʿan muqali

aḥbib bihi min rašā
aḥwā haḍīmi l-ḥašā
taḥāluhu in mašā
ka-l-badri yabdū ʿišā
fī sundusi l-ḥulali

kam ḏā uqāsī l-ġarām
fī ḥubbi badri t-tamām
wa-qad aliftu s-saqām

[154] No reason is given for the inclusion of what is ostensibly a *musammaṭ* poem in a collection of *muwaššaḥāt*. Nor does the piece have any title, though it is not the only poem without one. The only reason that comes to mind is the music, but of course there is no indication of that. The metre is classical: *maǧzūʾ al-basīṭ*.

wa-rāḥat-ī fī btisām
Muḥammadi bni ʿAli

Thus, the rhyme pattern is

AAAA Q ** BBBB Q ** CCCC Q ** DDDD Q ** EEEE Q ** FFFF Q

An alteration of the rhyme pattern from AAAA Q to AAA QQ etc. is relatively simple, giving:

AAA QQ ** BBB QQ ** CCC QQ ** DDD QQ ** EEE QQ ** FFF QQ

Nevertheless, it brings a change of structure, as can be seen in poem 321 of the *ʿUddat al-ġalīs*:

laʿalla zamāna ṣ-ṣibā	*ġuṣn*	
yuʿāwidu ṣabban ṣabā	*ġuṣn*	
tanaššaqa ʿarfu ṣ-ṣabā	*ġuṣn*	
*fattaqa li-miskin fatīq ** wa-rāqa li-damʿin arīq*		*simṭ / quſl*
a-mā wa-bayāḍu ṭ-ṭalā	*ġuṣn*	
wa-murtašifun ka-ṭ-ṭilā	*ġuṣn*	
wa-mā šaffa-nī min ṭilā	*ġuṣn*	
*lammā kuntu fī-man yufīq ** wa-mā zāla waǧd-ī yafūq*		*simṭ / quſl*
ʿaraftu rašan kullamā	*ġuṣn*	
ranā ṭarfuhu kallamā	*ġuṣn*	
wa-law šāʾa kāna l-lamā	*ġuṣn*	
*šifāʾuhu li-ṣabbin yaḍīq ** bi-aysari šay'in yaḏūq*		*simṭ/quſl*
ašāra bi-ʿunnābi-hi	*ġuṣn*	
wa-aʿraḍa ʿan-nā bi-hi	*ġuṣn*	
fa-kam ḏā uʿannā bi-hi	*ġuṣn*	
*wa-abkī li-ʿahdi l-ʿaqīq ** bi-damʿin ka-lawni l-ʿaqīq*		*simṭ/quſl*
sa-adʿū wa-in lam yajib	*ġuṣn*	
ḥabīban wa-in lam yujib	*ġuṣn*	
wa-ašdū bi-ṣawtin yajib	*ġuṣn*	
*laka l-ʿahdu min-nī waṯīq ** wa-ṯiq yā Bna ʿAbdi l-Waṯīq*		*ḫarǧa/markaz*

Similarly, poem 224, which contains Romance *ḫarǧa* 16, runs:

law anṣafa maḥbūb-ī
wa-ǧāda bi-marġūb-ī
wa-lam yarḍa taʿḏīb-ī

*la-aršafa-nī ẓalma-h ** fa-lam aštaki ẓulma-h*

bi-dīni l-hawā dintu
wa-muḏ kuntu mā ḫuntu
wa-ʿizz-iya lā huntu

*fa-man kāna ḏā himmah ** yarā farağan hammah*

raḍītu bi-iḏlāl-ī
wa-suqm-ī wa-awjāl-ī
fa-daʿ ʿanka taʿḏāl-ī

*fa-inniya min ummah ** raʾat suqmahā immah*

ḏimāmu l-hawā lāzim
li-kulli fatan hāʾim
fa-in lāmahu lāʾim

*fa-daʿ ʿanka man ḏamma-h ** wa-lā tadaʿi ḏ-ḏimmah*

wa-ḫawdin janat suqm-ī
bi-ṣawtin barā jism-ī
tugannī-hi li-l-ummi

*ktāl mī mā almah ** kkry mā almah*

The change from AAAA Q to AAA QQ etc. is the simplest possible, whereas a direct change from AAAA Q to AAA QR etc. is slightly more complicated. On the other hand, a change from AAA QQ to AAA QR is again simple. For an example see poem 16 of the *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* (which has a *maṭlaʿ*):[155]

*nasīmu r-rawḍi fāḥ ** fa-qūmū našrabu*

a-lā qum yā ġulām
adir kaʾsa l-mudām
maḍā ṣarfu ẓ-ẓalām

*wa-kāfūru ṣ-ṣabāḥ ** ilay-nā yuğlabu*

ṣilū mizğa l-ḫumūr
bi-salsāli ṯ-ṯugūr
fa-mā sirru s-surūr

*siwā kaʾsāti rāḥ ** wa-rīqin yaʿḏabu*

[155] I am not suggesting that this poem is early. We know from the language of the *maṭlaʿ* that it was originally the *ḫarğa* of another poem. It is also found as the *ḫarğa* of a Hebrew poem of Yehuda Halevi (*Muwaššaḥāt*, ed. Rosen-Moked, no. 10) and also in a *mukaffira* [see Dozy 1881: II, 485] by Ibn aṣ-Ṣabbāġ [*Dīwān* 61, no. 58: *nasīmun rawḍi s-samāʿi fāḥā …*].

ʿalā dahrin maḍā
taḥiyyātu r-riḍā
zamānun yuqtaḍā

*dinānun tustabāḥ ** wa-ʿūdun yuḍrabu*

ilā l-ʿišqi sbiqū
wa-raʾy-ī sābiqū
fa-in lam taʿšaqū

*fa-sīrū fī l-biṭāḥ ** ṣafā lā yaʿšabu*

daʿū-nī sāhirā
wa-ḥibb-ī hāǧirā
sa-adʿū l-qādirā

*yā rabb-ī ḏā l-milāḥ ** fuʾād-ī ʿaḏḏabu*

Such a development is logical, but the poems quoted, like the majority of poems in the *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs*, are anonymous. There is no way of dating them, and they thus fall short of being solid evidence. The *muwaššaḥa* obviously stands apart from *šiʿr* in having a stanzaic structure, but in language, metre and themes it starts from the same base. There is careful use of the *madīd* metre in the form XLSL LSL SSL, with only half a dozen segments starting with a short syllable.

5a3 Further stages in the development of the muwaššaḥ*'s structure*

This first involved the splitting up of the *asmāṭ* into smaller units (*taḍmīn*), and according to Ibn Bassām,[156] it was first used frequently by ar-Ramādī (d. 1012).[157] Note that Ibn Bassām does not tell us who was the first to use *taḍmīn*, nor does he tell us what form the division took. It seems natural to assume that the two sections of the *simṭ* would become four, but in the extant corpus poems with that pattern are rare. Poems in which the *aġṣān* have a single section and the *asmāṭ* have three sections are not uncommon but are not markedly popular.[158]

[156] The normal *caveat*s about Ibn Bassām's comments apply, and the phraseology he uses is both brief and vague.

[157] The *Ḏaḫīra* has a dozen or so references to, or quotations from ar-Ramādī, scattered through volumes I–III. Iḥsān ʿAbbās gathers references from other sources in a useful way [in note 1] on III/1, 346.

[158] There are only eight poems with four-section *asmāṭ* and single section *aġṣān*, whilst there are twenty-nine poems with three-section *asmāṭ* and single section *aġṣān*. Although these latter include four by the very late Ibn Bišrī, they count among their number al-Aʿmā's *damʿun safūḥun wa-ḍulūʿun ḥirār ** māʾun wa-nār ** mā ǧtamaʿā illā li-amrin kubār* – the first Arabic *muwaššaḥ* with a Romance *ḫarǧa* to come to light; (Ibn Bišrī, *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs* 124; Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb, *Ǧayš at-tawšīḥ* 2:6; aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Tawšīʿ at-tawšīḥ* 30).

The fourth stage[159] involved the splitting of all lines. Ibn Bassām[160] tells us that the poet responsible for this was 'our ʿUbāda, who invented *taḍfīr*' (using *taḍmīn* in the *aġṣān*). Stern[161] assumed that 'our ʿUbāda' means the 'ʿUbāda of this chapter (of the *Ḏaḫīra*)', *i.e.* ʿUbāda ibn Māʾ as-Samāʾ. It is hard to disagree with this; but it makes the introduction of *taḍfīr* a rather late development. This seems somewhat implausible.

This *taḍfīr* splitting occurs in the majority of the extant poems, with the most common pattern being:

[ABCB] QRQRQR ABCB ** STSTST ABCB ** UVUVUV ABCB ** WXWXWX ABCB ** YZYZYZ ABCB.[162]

An excellent example of a well-known poem of this format is poem 241 in the *ʿUddat al-ġalīs* composed by a leading *waššāḥ* of the *Ṭāʾifa* period, Ibn ar-Rāfiʿ Raʾsuh.

*al-ʿūdu qad tarannam ** bi-abdaʿi tarnīn ** wa-šaqqati l-maḏānib ** riyāḍa l-basātīn*

*wa-ġannati ṭ-ṭuyūru ** ʿalā quḍubi l-bān*
*wa-aḍḥaka s-surūru ** usūdan li-maydān*
*fa-kullu-nā amīru ** bi-r-rāḥi wa-sulṭān*

*min watarin takallam ** bi-s-siḥri l-mubīn ** wa-ṭāʾirin tuġāwib ** min quḍbi r-rayāḥīn*

*hāti sqi-nī l-ḥumayyā ** fa-r-rawḍu yafūḥu*
*qad mālati ṯ-ṯurayyā ** wa-ṭāba ṣ-ṣabūḥu*
*yaḥuttuhā ʿalayyā ** ġazālun malīḥu*

*ka-l-ġuṣuni l-munaʿʿam ** fī ḥullati nisrīn ** muṭarrizu l-ǧawānib ** yanqaddu mina l-līn*

*aqim ʿalā widādi ** ḏī l-maǧdayni wa-šrab*
*mumahhidi l-bilādi ** min šarqin wa-maġrib*
*wa-nāṣiri l-ʿibādi ** sulālati yaʿrub*

*al-maliki l-muʿaẓẓam ** muḏilli s-salāṭīn ** murattibi l-mawākib ** hizabri l-mayādīn*

*malkun lahu ǧanānu ** mina l-layṯi aqdam*

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[159] The chapters "Second stage" and "Third stage" are missing.

[160] Ibn Bassām, *Ḏaḫīra* [I/1, 469.]

[161] Stern 1974:26.

[162] Allowing for some variations in the rhymes in the *asmāṭ* (*e.g.* AABB, ABAB etc), this pattern occurs in over 37% of the poems in the *ʿUddat al-ġalīs*, a huge proportion for any one type.

*kamā lahu banānu ** mina l-ġayṯi akram*
*in ʿabasa z-zamānu ** yawman wa-taġahham*

*talqāhu yatabassam ** ka-nawri l-basātīn ** afʿāluhu kawākib ** li-d-dunyā wa-li-d-dīn*

*taraǧǧaʿa l-ḥabību ** ʿan raddi s-salāmi*
*wa-fī l-ḥašā lahību ** min farṭi l-ġarāmi*
*ḥattā šadā l-kaʾību ** šadwa l-mustahāmi*

*taḫṭur wa-lis tusallim ** ka-ʾannaka maʾmūn ** murawwiʿ al-katāʾib ** Yaḥyā bnu Ḏī n-Nūn*

There is universal agreement that the final *simṭ/qufl* of the *muwaššaḥ*, the *ḫarǧa*, is used to end the poem with a special twist. However, any such twists are not structural: metre and rhyme do not change. The only structural feature of the *ḫarǧa* is that it is the final piece of the *muwaššaḥ.* It is of course the case that in many poems the poet works out what his *ḫarǧa* is going to be and then goes on to compose the rest of the *muwaššaḥ*. That is not the point. By the time one reads (or, better still, hears) a *ḫarǧa,* one knows the content of at least fifteen *aġṣān* and at least four or five *asmāṭ* (*qufl*s). One will know from those *asmāṭ* the pattern of the metre and of the rhymes, and the final *aġṣān* might give some indication of what the content might be.

It borders on the perverse in those circumstances for modern western scholars to use the *ḫarǧa* as a way into looking at the preceding part of the poem – for the audience it is the end, the way out.

Let us look at two extremes. The first is an exercise in brevity by Ibn Zuhr that has fortunately survived in a minor source. Even so there are twenty lines before one gets to the *ḫarǧa*. Moreover, the fourth stanza has all the appearance of being a final stanza, whose *simṭ* is the subject of a well-known story.[163]

*hāti bnata l-ʿinabi ** wa-šrabi*

yā ṣāḥib-ī mā taqūl
māʾun wa-ẓillun ẓalīl
wa-qahwatu salsabīl

*ẓafirta bi-ṭ-ṭarabi ** fa-ṭrabi*

ẓamiʾtu wayḥ-ī wa-mā
kuntu aḫāfu ẓ-ẓamā
mā ḏuqtu[164] *māʾ al-lamā*

[163] The text was first published by ʿInānī 1982:55–56.
[164] The ms. has *ḏāqa*, but this cannot be right.

*wa-qahwata š-šanabi ** mašrab-i*

ẓabyun haḍīmu l-wišāḥ
yurʿā bi-mawlā l-milāḥ
aḏalla usda l-kifāḥ

*fī mawḍiʿi l-ʿağabi ** fa-ʿğabi*

yā zāʾir-ī fī l-manām
bi-ḥaqqi badri t-tamām
balliġhu ʿannī s-salām

*wa-fādi-hi bi-ab-ī ** ṯumma bī*

wa-salhu an yuṣḥibā
taḥiyyatan li-ṣ-ṣabā
wa-ġanni-hi in abā

*rudd is-salām yā ṣabī ** bi-n-nabī*

In contrast, poem 138 in the *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* (by ʿUbāda) has five enormous stanzas, and in the *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz* [15] recension it has six:

*kam fī qudūdi l-bān ** taḥta l-limam ** min aqmuri ** ʿawāṭi*
*ḏī anmulin wa-banān ** miṯli l-ʿanam ** lam tanbari ** li-l-ʿāṭi*

*hunna ẓ-ẓibāʾu š-šumūs ** qanīṣuhunna ḍ-ḍaygamu*
*mā in lahā min kunūs ** illā l-qulūbu l-huyyamu*
*al-qurbu minhā ʿurūs ** wa-l-buʿdu ʿanhā maʾtamu*
*tilka š-šifāhu l-luʿūs ** yušfā bi-hinna l-muġramu*
*lahā liḥāẓun nuʿūs ** tarnū bihā fa-tusqimu*

*bi-aʿyuni l-ġizlān ** wa-tabtasim ** ʿan ğawhari ** asmāṭ*
*qaḍā lahā l-ġayrān ** an tuktatam ** fī muḍmari ** anyāṭ*

*ahwā rašan sāḥirā ** huwa l-hawā mā aqtala-h*
*qad masaḫat ṭāʾirā ** alḥāẓuhu qalb-ī walah*
*fa-lam yazal ṣābirā ** qalb-ī ʿalā mā ʿallala-h*
*lammā ġadā qādirā ** aḍḥā qalīla l-maʿdalah*
*yā ẓāliman ğāʾirā ** qatalta man lā ḏanba lah*

*saṭawta bi-l-haymān ** ẓulman wa-lam ** tastabṣiri ** yā sāṭi*
*ḫaf saṭwata r-raḥmān ** iḏā ḥakam ** bayna l-bari ** wa-l-ḫāṭi*

*yā wayḥa man šuwwiqā ** ilā ḥabībin qad salā*
*qaḍā bi-an yuġriqā ** fī d-damʿi man qad anḥalā*
*ẓulman wa-an yaḫfiqā ** minhu l-fuʾādu l-mubtalā*
*kaʾanna-mā ʿallaqā ** minhu ʿalā tilka ṭ-ṭulā*

*fa-qāla mustanṭiqā ** man ḏā llaḏī ahdā ilā*

*fuʾād-iya l-ḥafīqān ** fa-qāla qum ** fa-l-tanẓuri ** fī š-šāṭī*
*ilā bunūdi š-šawān ** ʿādūka ṯam ** istaḥbiri ** aqrāṭ-i*

*a-mā tarāhā muṯūl ** ʿalā qināhā ḫāfiqa*
*ka-l-ǧālibāti taǧūl ** ḥawla l-ǧiyādi s-sābiqa*
*anšaʾahunna n-nuḥūl ** miṯla s-saḥābi l-wādiqa*
*lahā ʿalā n-naǧmi ṭūl ** minhā furūʿun bāsiqa*
*inna ṯ-ṯurayyā taqūl ** wa-innahā la-ṣādiqa*

*mā baʿda hāḏā makān ** min al-himam ** minhu turī ** manāṭī*
*bāna lahā kaywān ** minhu l-qidam ** wa-l-muštarī ** muwāṭī*

*aflāku mulkin tunīr ** saʿādatan li-l-muslimīn*
*tasrī d-duǧā wa-tasīr ** bi-l-fatḥi wa-n-naṣri l-mubīn*
*yasūʾu baʿda n-naḏīr ** minhā ṣabāḥu l-munḏarīn*
*tuḥdā bi-madḥi l-amīr ** ilā bilādi l-mušrikīn*
*annā naḥā fa-taṭīr ** bi-miṯli ašfāri l-ǧufūn*

*wa-mabsimu l-ḫirṣān ** qad intaẓam ** ka-asṭuri ** al-amšāṭī*
*wa-l-baḥru ka-l-burkān ** qad iḍṭaram ** bi-musʿari ** l-anfāṭī*[165]

*wa-mihraǧānin lahu ** yawmun anīqun manẓaru-h*
*baḥrun ḥakā ramlahu ** min kulli ṭībin ʿanbaru-h*
*wa-š-šāṭi qad ḥallahu ** Muḥammadun wa-ʿaskaru-h*
*wa-rākibun raḥlahu ** rakbun ḥakathu ḍummaru-h*
*fa-qāla ʿabdun lahu ** mustaḥsinan mā yubṣiru-h*

*yā ḥabbaḏā l-mihraǧān ** ramlun yanam ** ka-l-ʿanbar ** li-l-wāṭī*
*wa-l-fulku ka-l-ʿiqbān ** wa-l-Muʿtaṣam ** bi-l-ʿaskari ** fī š-šāṭī*

One can suggest that this poem, clearly composed to celebrate the festival mentioned in the *ḫarǧa*, is one in which the poet composed his *ḫarǧa* first. But surely the patron and the circumstances of the festival, together with the conventions and themes of the genre and the poet's own inspiration, drive the first forty-two lines of the poem. The *ḫarǧa*'s role is none of these; rather, it provides a twist and an anchor to round the poem off.[166] Yet the central fact is that either thirty-five or forty-two meaty lines, according to the recension, have occupied the hearer's/reader's attention before the

[165] Extra stanza, found only in the *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz.*

[166] The sharp-eyed will have noticed that four of the poems that I chose to illustrate structural points have a proper name in the *ḫarǧa*. This is a relatively common feature. Of the 350 *ḫarǧa*s in the *ʿUddat al-ǧalīs* there are fifty-four poems with a *ḫarǧa* including the name of at least one person (and occasionally more) and another twelve containing a placename.

ḫarğa is reached. It is absurd that most western scholars think that they can get all that they need from the *ḫarğa* or, if they read that much, the final stanza of such an imposing poem. The *aġṣān* of the final stanza contain several vignettes that are cleverly reprised in the *ḫarğa*; but the requirement for the *waššāḥ* was to compose a poem of at least five stanzas, and the earlier ones cover a range of themes with some virtuosity. It is only by studying whole poems that we can get an idea of what he used to entertain the audience.

5b Rhyme

Ideally Arabic metre and rhyme should be dealt with together, but each has its own innumerable intricacies that tend to swamp the salient points. My aim here is to deal with the changes that were brought about in their relative balance.

The splitting of hemistichs or lines into rhyming sections,[167] *tasmīṭ*, offered poets a range of opportunities to develop the rhyme patterns in their *muwaššaḥāt*. In other respects, *tasmīṭ* is disruptive of both meaning and metre.

This shows up clearly when the *aġṣān* of a poem have a number of short sections. A good example occurs in a famous and much lauded (*aqraʿ*) poem by ʿUbāda al-Qazzāz, which is found in three major sources.[168] The *aġṣān* are the first quotation to be given by Ibn Ḫaldūn.[169] They come from the third stanza [in the version included in *ʿUddat al-ğalīs*]:

*badru tam ** šamsu ḍuḥā ** ġuṣnu naqā ** misku šam*
*mā atam ** mā awḍaḥā ** mā awraqā ** mā anam*
*lā ğaram ** man lamaḥā ** qad ʿašiqā ** qad ḥurim*

The basic rhyming pattern for the *aġṣān i*s QRST QRST QRST, but in this stanza the first and fourth sections have the same rhyme QRSQ QRSQ QRSQ.

The verses have also been examined with insight and learning by Jareer Abu-Haidar, whose comments merit close attention.[170] He translates the *aġṣān* as follows:

A full moon	a forenoon sun	a branch on a sand dune	musk for smelling
How full!	how clear!	how leafy!	how fragrant!
Certainly	whoever has had a glance	has fallen in love	has been deprived.

[167] Sections that do not rhyme are very rare (Ibn Bišrī, *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* 276); and those that allow change of rhyme within one set of *aġṣān* are almost as uncommon (Ibn Bišrī, *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* 246 and 247 which share the same pattern, metre and *ḫarğa*).

[168] Ibn Bišrī, *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* [23] (ʿUbāda); *Ğayš at-tawšīḥ* 1:3 (Ibn Baqī); *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz* 18.

[169] Rosenthal's translation, III, 441:

Full moon – late morning sun – bough on a sand hill – sweet smelling musk:
How perfect – how resplendent – how exuberant – how fragrant!
No doubt – he who sees her – falls in love with her – has lost out.

[170] Abu-Haidar 2001:127ff.

The difficulties of making such short *aġṣān* (Q [three syllables]; R [four syllables]; S [four syllables]; T (here Q_2) [three syllables]) cohere are all too obvious; in addition, the poet has linked 1Q with 2Q; 1R with 2R; 1S with 2S; and 1T (Q_2) with 2T (Q_2). It is interesting that the *asmāṭ* have a less complicated rhyme pattern, with the last two sections of the *aġṣān* fused to give a seven-syllable section [ABC ABC]. The *ḫarğa* runs:

*al-ğamāl ** waqfun ʿalā ** ẓabyi Banī Ṯābiti*
*lā zawāl ** fī l-ḥubbi lā ** ʿan ʿahdi-hi ṯ-ṯābiti*

Beauty ** has been bestowed on ** the fawn of the Banū Ṯābit
There is no end ** in love, no, ** through his firm covenant.

Clearly ʿUbāda's focus is on the Banū Ṯābit, but the rhymes dominate. In another poem, *ʿUddat al-ğalīs* 214, beginning *mā ḥālu man lahu nafasun hāfit,* the sections are longer and the rhyme scheme of the *asmāṭ* is the simpler ABCB. The *ḫarğa* runs:

*in zurta fī Ṭabīra Banī Ṯābit ** fa-qrahumu s-salām*
*wa-qul lahum ʿUbāda laḏī tadru ** bāqī ʿalā ḏ-ḏimām*

If you visit the Banū Ṯābit in Ṭabīra ** convey to them my greetings,
and say to them, "ʿUbāda whom you know ** remains loyal."

Here, with only four sections in total, the flow is smoother, and there is more focus on the proper names, including, very unusually, that of the poet himself.

*man ḥāl ** fī-mā qāl ** fa-lā muḥāl ** wa-lā ntiqāl ** wa-bī maṭāl*
*mawlā l-mawāl ** ʿuḏran aḥāl ** ʿalā ttiṣāl ** awğāl ** bi-awğāl*

*ʿuḏḏāl ** yā ʿuḏḏāl ** qultum muḥāl ** lumtum ḍalāl ** lastu bi-sāl*
*ʿan ḏā l-ġazāl ** man šāʾa qāl ** fa-l-bāl ** ḏū balbāl*

*šawqun bi-qalb-ī ʿāṯ ** fa-nawmu ğafn-ī ḥaṯāṯ ** fa-l-ġiyāṯ ** min maṯāṯ ** ḥarrun naffāṯ*
*fī muhğatin aṯlāṯ ** ka-ḍ-ḍayġami d-dilhāṯ ** lā ktirāṯ ** li-ntiṯāṯ ** hāḏī l-aḥdāṯ*

A few poems are found with up to ten sections in the *asmāṭ*.[171]

[171] [The text of this chapter breaks off here.]

5c Metre

All known composers of *muwaššaḥāt*, whether illiterate like Ibn Ǧāḫ,[172] proletarian like al-Ǧazzār,[173] or from a ruling family like al-Muʿtamid,[174] also composed *šiʿr* (classical Arabic poetry). Moreover, roughly 98% of the *muwaššaḥ*s themselves use the language of *šiʿr.* Thus, it is reasonable to expect that the metres they use will be close to those of *šiʿr*. The metres of *šiʿr* first came into existence in pre-Islamic times, when up to a dozen metres came into general use, though some of them remained rare. Indications of experimentation with new metres are quite rare before 700 AD. The first person to schematize this prosody was al-Ḫalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 791). The aim of al-Ḫalīl was to describe the metrical system, but as with so much of his work, his findings became normative for later writers on the subject and for the poets themselves. The first summary of his work to survive was by none other than Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (see above) in his magnum opus *al-ʿIqd al-farīd.*[175]

However, just as the breaking up of hemistichs has allowed the additional formats to be added to the bases of *šiʿr,* so too the metres show additions to and variations from the *ʿarūḍ*, the system used for classifying Arabic metres. This was not an Andalusian innovation. Such changes are referred to succinctly in the brief quotation from the Valencian Ibn Saʿd al-Ḫayr found in the *Tawšīʿ at-tawšīḥ* of aṣ-Ṣafadī.[176] He is clearly sympathetic to the *waššāḥ*s, drawing a parallel between the metrical experiments of Mihyār ad-Daylamī and al-Ḥarīrī and those of the people of al-Andalus with the *muwaššaḥ*. Ibn Bassām, though disdainful and hostile to the genre, confirms this *ʿarūḍ* background, as does the enthusiastic but sometimes baffled Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk.[177]

This is still the approach of most modern Arab scholars.[178] It was also the way that western scholars scanned the rather small collection of *muwaššaḥāt* available until the late 1940s. For Stern there was no question of the metres not having an Arabic basis. In six pages[179] he gives a brief analysis of three classes of poem: (a) forms identical with one of the classical metres; (b) those where a hemistich of a classical metre is broken up by internal rhymes; and (c) classical metres with modifications. This simple division, which is used by Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (though

[172] [Ibn Ǧāḫ was a poet who lived in the Ṭāʾifa period in the court of al-Muʿtadid (r. 1042–1069), a member of the ʿAbbādid dynasty of Seville, see *e.g.* al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ aṭ-ṭīb* IV, 243–244.]

[173] [A poet of the Ṭāʾifa period, see above.]

[174] [Ruler of Seville in the Ṭāʾifa period, see above.]

[175] Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIqd*, chapter *Fī aʿārīd aš-šiʿr wa-ʿilal al-qawāfī* [V, 424 ff.].

[176] aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Tawšīʿ* 20–21. [See 1.3 above.]

[177] See, for example, his comments on pp. 35–36 of the *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz*.

[178] See, for example the work of Ġāzī and ʿInānī.

[179] Printed in Stern 1974:27–32.

without much rigour) is still useful, but it uses the low-level classifications of Arabic metre that do not address some of the more complex points that inevitably surface with the *muwaššaḥāt*. Apart from one or two printing errors, it contains nothing that might mislead us, and it has the great merit of looking at the initial lines of the poem concerned.

This form of analysis posits that Arabic metre is entirely quantitative. However, there is more to it than that. At the centre of the original explanation of the *ʿarūḍ* system put forward by al-Ḫalīl[180] is the fact that the feet comprising the constituent parts of a hemistich all contain an unchangeable nucleus (Arabic *watid* plural *awtād*), and that there are two basic nuclei: the *watid maǧmūʿ* (◡ –) [iamb in western terms] and the much less common *watid mafrūq* (– ◡) [trochee]. These nuclei provide a metre with its particular rhythm (and with it some stress)[181] and cannot be changed. Other syllables in a metre can be either long or short or modified by use of resolution (– becoming ◡ ◡); or they may be dropped (*e.g.* ◡ – ⏑ becoming ◡ –). Some of the variations remain constant throughout the poem; others change from line to line.

Poems that are anisosyllabic, with hemistichs varying in the number of syllables they contain, are common, as is usually the case in languages with a syllabic metrical system.[182] Resolution features in two prominent metres (*kāmil* and *wāfir*). Thus, the *Muʿallaqa* of Labīd,[183] composed in the *kāmil* metre, has in its eighty-nine lines one line containing twenty-five syllables, seven containing twenty-six, twenty-seven lines containing twenty-seven, thirty-three containing twenty-eight, eighteen containing twenty-nine and three containing the maximum of thirty. An even earlier example of variation is a sixth-century CE lament by Ǧanūb, a woman of the Huḏayl tribe. The poem is in the *mutaqārib* metre, in which the twelfth (final) syllable can be kept or dropped at will. Her poem of twenty-five lines has twelve first hemistichs that have twelve syllables whilst the other thirteen have eleven syllables; all the second hemistichs have twelve syllables.[184] This is a fairly common feature that is normally a matter of only minor interest to Arabic literary scholars.

When the poems containing 'Romance *ḫarǧa*s' returned to the light of day, the first western scholar to work on them was García Gómez [1905–1995], who had

[180] It should be remembered that a couple of centuries separate al-Ḫalīl's work from the earliest surviving poetry, and that his norms do not cover some very well known pre-Islamic poems.

[181] The Arab grammarians and philologists do not discuss stress as a phenomenon, but remarks about the rhythm of some Qurʾānic texts would appear to indicate that some stress was involved. More to the point, some stress is discernible when one listens to a recitation.

[182] See, for example, Greek or Latin verse.

[183] [For the poem, with translation and commentary, see Jones 1996:164–202].

[184] For the poem, with translation and commentary, see my *Early Arabic Poetry* I. [1992]: 37–50. The second hemistichs all have twelve syllables. Lines 22–24 provide a fortuitous forerunner to the *musammaṭ*.

been a student of [Julián] Ribera [1858–1934]. He lost little time in suggesting a Romance basis for the metres of the *muwaššaḥ* (and for the *ḫarǧa,* as we shall see later). One of García Gómez's key points, that a stress-syllabic system can be perceived in the *muwaššaḥāt*, is not implausible, but his suggestion that this was a Romance system is much more difficult; and his suggestion that the system was isosyllabic is an egregious error that flies in the face of the evidence. García Gómez's solution to this problem was silently to rewrite the offending material, cutting a syllable here and adding one there, as his theories required.

5d Themes

[This section is missing.]

5e Ḫarǧa

One possible factor in the development of the *ḫarǧa* is the likely wish of the *waššāḥ*s to signal the end of a poem with a twist or punchline. Endings of this kind are to be found from the time of ʿUmar ibn Abī Rabīʿa (c. 644–711), the originator of Arabic amatory poetry. Two pieces from his *Dīwān* show the sort of endings he could produce. They are not direct forerunners of the *muwaššaḥ*, but the work of popular and famous eastern poets was always influential in al-Andalus.

The first is the final line of an eleven-line piece:

*taqūlu iḏ ayqanat anni mufāriquhā ** yā layta-nī mittu qabla l-yawmi yā ʿUmaru*[185]

She said when she was sure that I was leaving her **
'Would that I had died before to-day, O ʿUmar!'

The second consists of the final two lines of a six-line piece:

*wa-laqad qultu yawma Makkata lammā ** arsalat taqraʾu s-salāma ʿalay-nā*
niʿamu llāhi bi-r-rasūli llaḏī ursila wa-l-mursili r-risālata ʿaynā[186]

I said on the day we spent at Mecca, when she sent someone (f.) to greet me,
'God has blessed the Messenger who was sent and who conveys the message as an overseer'.

Moving forward to Abū Nuwās (c. 762–814), who has already been mentioned in connection with the *musammaṭ,* the penchant is much stronger. In an article[187] I wrote thirty years ago I gathered together thirty-six pieces from his drinking songs

[185] ʿUmar ibn Abī Rabīʿa, *Dīwān* 142, no. 135.
[186] ʿUmar ibn Abī Rabīʿa, *Dīwān* 394, no. 424.
[187] Jones 1991.

(ḫamriyyāt) that could be looked on as precursors of the *ḫarğa*s. In these pieces Abū Nuwās shows a liking for quotations from famous poets. A good example is a piece that ends by quoting the first hemistich of the famous *Waddiʿ Hurayra* by al-Aʿšā.[188]

The final two lines run:

*akrim bi-him wa-bi-naġmin min muġanniyatin ** fa-fī l-ġināʾi bi-naġmin yuḍrabu l-maṯalu*
*hayfāʾu tusmiʿu-nā wa-l-ʿūdu yuṭribu-nā ** Waddiʿ Hurayrata inna r-rakba murtaḥilu*[189]

How noble they are, how excellent a melody from a songstress
In singing with melody words of wisdom are propounded.
A slender girl who can make us hear, with the lute thrilling us,
'Say farewell to Hurayra – the caravan is on its way.'

Other famous poets quoted by Abū Nuwās include al-Ḥuṭay'a, Nuṣayb, and Baššār, the latter two of whom he mentions by name, but the person he quotes most is himself. Thus, we have a *ḫamriyya* that ends by quoting one of his most famous poems:

*mā zāla tāğiruhā yasqī wa-ašrabuhā ** wa-ʿinda-nā kāʿibun bayḍāʾu ḥasnāʾu*
*kam qad taġannat wa-lā lawmun yulimmu-nā ** daʿ ʿanka lawm-ī fa-inna l-lawma iġrāʾu*[190]

The wine-seller kept on plying me and I kept on drinking,
And we had with us a fine, busty girl;
How often she sang, and no blame attached to us,
'Don't blame me, for censure only spurs me on!'

There is a third example that ought to be mentioned, which, with hindsight, has special interest. Here Abū Nuwās gives us a punchline that is of Persian origin, and not from Arabic at all:

*fa-btasamat ṯumma arsalat maṯalan ** yaʿrifuhu l-ʿuğmu laysa bi-l-kadabi*
*lā tuʾtiyanna ṣ-ṣabiyya wāḥidatan ** yaṭlubu uḫrā bi-aʿnafi ṭ-ṭalabi*[191]

She smiled and uttered a well-known saying
which the Persians know to be no lie:
'Don't give the young man one [kiss];
[if you do] he will press you very hard for another'.

[188] al-Aʿšā, *Dīwān* 55, no. 6.
[189] Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* 84.
[190] Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* 700.
[191] Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* 274.

Though we cannot say what the influence of such examples was, they were clearly part of the *waššāḥ*s' literary heritage;[192] but once again the loss of datable early material precludes further conclusions, though the corpus itself shows that verbs of transition were a well-recognised and dominant feature. Indeed, by the time Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk wrote the *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz*, the presence of a transitional verb in the final stanza was for him a *sine qua non*: "The *aġṣān* immediately preceding the *ḫarǧa* must contain an expression like 'he said' or 'I said' or 'she said' or 'he sang' or 'I sang' or 'she sang'."[193] This turns out to be incorrect, as he would have discovered if he had looked more carefully at the small corpus of Andalusian *muwaššaḥāt* that feature in the *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz*. No less than four of his thirty-four poems have no verb of transition: 7, 25, 32, 33.

They are, in fact, the tip of the iceberg. The corpus reveals that there are almost a hundred poems, covering all periods, that lack a verb of transition. In all there are slightly more poems without verbs of transition than there are poems without a *maṭlaʿ*.

He further tells us that "if it employs the classical form of the language, in the same way as the rest of the stanzas and *qufl*s that precede it, the *muwaššaḥ* is not a *muwaššaḥ* any more in the true sense of the word".[194]

Clearly, he was not acquainted with *ʿUddat al-ġalīs* poem 283, which was quoted at the end of section 2.3. This deceptively simple poem eschews both a verb of transition and a distinctive *ḫarǧa*, with the final *simṭ* containing no non-classical material.

The claim that the *ḫarǧa* is the base of a *muwaššaḥ* is a generalisation not always substantiated by the corpus.[195]

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[192] Both ʿUmar Ibn Abī Rabīʿa and Abū Nuwās make it to the Indices to Ibn Bassām's *Ḏaḫīra*, to go no further.

[193] Stern 1974:33, [Arabic text 159; Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz*, 31.]

[194] Stern 1974:33, [Arabic text 158; Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, *Dār aṭ-ṭirāz*, 30–31.]

[195] [The text breaks off here. Since the remaining materials consist only of sporadic and unfinished files, no attempt has been made to reconstruct the continuation.]

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DIFFICULTIES FACING ALGERIAN UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS IN TRANSLATING SPATIAL PREPOSITIONS FROM ARABIC TO ENGLISH

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Abstract:
This study investigates the major errors made by English language learners in translating Arabic spatial prepositions into English. The data were obtained from a diagnostic test involving Arabic spatial prepositions, administered to third-year university students in order to assess their proficiency in using these forms. The students' errors were examined and classified to identify the types of difficulties Algerian learners encounter in the use of English prepositions and to explore the possible sources of these difficulties. The analysis reveals both similarities and differences between English and Arabic in this domain. The findings indicate that the teaching and learning of English spatial prepositions can be enhanced by explicitly highlighting these cross-linguistic similarities and differences. To this end, the spatial meanings of English prepositions are compared with their Arabic counterparts to determine the extent to which these meanings are conveyed across the two languages. The results point to the need for more extensive comparative illustration in the teaching of prepositions.

Keywords:
Prepositions; spatial prepositions; contrastive analysis; errors; translation

1 Introduction

Translation of prepositions between English and Arabic often reflects a tendency toward direct lexical transfer. The translation of spatial prepositions (i.e. prepositions of place and movement) into English is particularly problematic, as learners' choices are often influenced by literal transfer from the first language. When translating Arabic spatial prepositions into their English counterparts,

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students tend to rely on direct lexical transfer, overlooking the linguistic and cultural specificities of English. This tendency appears to stem from the assumption that prepositions are equivalent across languages and that words presented in isolation can be fully translated in terms of their meaning.

This article argues that, although it is commonly assumed that prepositions are the same across languages, their usage can differ when constructing sentences and producing discourse. English frequently employs phrasal verbs, whereas Arabic expresses similar meanings through different syntactic constructions. Translating prepositions requires awareness of their functional use rather than a strictly literal or structural approach. A sample of students from the Department of English was selected to test the validity of this hypothesis, examining differences in their ability to translate prepositions and in their understanding of both immediate and extended meanings.

2. Participants and Data Analysis

The sample consisted of twenty-five third-year undergraduate students of English from the Department of English at Ouargla University, Algeria. The students were randomly selected from the entire class. Third-year students were chosen because they have been studying translation since their second year and have already covered grammatical rules, including prepositions, in their first year.

Participants were asked to read the following Arabic sentences carefully and then fill in the blanks with the appropriate English spatial prepositions that conveyed the same meanings as the Arabic ones:

Sample 1:

صعد الناس **إلى** السفينة جميعا.
*Ṣaʿida n-nās **ilā** s-safīna ǧamīʿan.*
All the people went ____ the ship.
Correct answer: All the people went **aboard** the ship.

The most frequent errors were the use of the prepositions *on* or *to*, or leaving the blank empty. These errors occurred because, in Arabic, the same meaning can be expressed in multiple ways, such as:[1]

صعد الناس **على ظهر** السفينة	(ascended the people on board the ship)
صعد الناس **على** السفينة	(ascended the people on the ship)
صعد الناس **إلى** السفينة	(ascended the people to the ship)
صعد الناس السفينة	(ascended the people the ship)

[1] For a general overview on the use of Arabic prepositions, see aš-Šamsān 1987.

All of these mean “the people got aboard the ship.”

The students who thought of the first option used either *on board* or the correct preposition *aboard*. On the other hand, the students who thought of the other options used the incorrect prepositions *on* or *to*, or left the blank empty. The use of the preposition *onto* was accepted as another correct answer.

correct responses		incorrect responses									total
aboard	(onto)	above	at	into	of	on	over	to	up	“blank”	
2	1	2	1	1	1	12	1	1	1	2	25 (100%)

Sample 2:

بني جسر آخر **فوق** هذا النهر.
*Buniya ğisr āẖar **fawqa** hāḏā n-nahr.*
Another bridge was built ____ this river.
Correct answer: Another bridge was built **across** this river.

In English, the preposition *across* is used to express the idea of “stretching from one side to the other.” In Arabic, the preposition *fawqa* is used to indicate the same meaning.

A potential problem arises because the Arabic preposition *ʻabra*, which is the literal equivalent of *across*, is not normally used in this context. Students often replaced *across* with *over* or *above*, which are the direct equivalents of *fawqa* in Arabic. The most frequent error observed is the use of *over*, a literal translation of *fawqa*. In Arabic, *fawqa* is commonly used to convey this meaning, while *ʻabra* does not carry the same sense in this context.

correct responses	incorrect responses								total
across	above	along	at	in	of	on	over	“blank”	
0	2	1	1	1	1	1	9	9	25 (100%)

Sample 3:

لا تتكئ **على** الجدار.
*Lā tattakiʾ **ʻalā** l-ğidār.*
Don’t lean ____ the wall.
Correct answer: Don’t lean **against** the wall**.**

In English, the preposition *against* is used to denote the idea of being "in contact with." In Arabic, the preposition *ʿalā* is used to indicate the same meaning.

A substitution problem may occur here, since the Arabic prepositions *ʿaksa* and *ḍidda*, literally meaning *against*, are not used to express this meaning. Students may therefore use the preposition *on*, the literal translation of *ʿalā*, instead of *against*.

correct responses	incorrect responses								total
against	at	beside	by	of	on	to	upon	"blank"	
0	4	2	1	5	9	1	1	2	25 (100%)

Sample 4:

بنى صديقي دارا **بين** الأشجار.
*Banā ṣadīqī dāran **bayna** l-ašǧār*.
My friend built a house ____ the trees.
Correct answer: My friend built a house **among** the trees.

The distinction between the prepositions *between* and *among* depends on our perception of things. *Between* is used when we see the surrounding objects separately, that is, when each one is clearly distinct from the others (Koffi 2010:27). *Among*, on the other hand, is used when there is a collection of things that we do not perceive separately, e.g., *He built a house **among** the trees*. Otherwise, *between* is used in reference to two or to more than two entities when expressing the relation of a thing to other surrounding entities individually. *Among* is used to express a relation to them collectively and vaguely.[2]

The most frequent error made by the participants is the use of *between* instead of *among*, or vice versa. The main cause of this error is twofold. First, in Arabic, there is only one preposition, *bayna*, which is used to denote all the senses expressed by both English prepositions. The second reason is the overlap in English between the two prepositions when referring to more than two entities.

correct responses	incorrect responses				total
among	between	inside	through	"blank"	
5	5	6	4	5	25 (100%)

[2] Therefore, we would not say "the space lying among three points" or "a treaty among three powers" or "the choice lies among the three candidates".

Sample 5:

كانت فاطمة تدرس **في** جامعة ورقلة.
*Kānat Fāṭima tadrus **fī** Ğāmiʿat Warqla*.
Fatima was studying ____ Ouargla University.
Correct answer: Fatima was studying **at** Ouargla University.

The most frequent error in this sample is caused by the overlap between the prepositions *in* and *at* when used in addresses. The highest number of errors made by the students is the use of the preposition *in* instead of *at*. Although the two prepositions *in* and *at* are sometimes interchangeable, the use of *in* instead of *at* in this example is generally not acceptable in standard English.[3]

correct responses	incorrect responses	total
at	in	
12	13	25 (100%)

Sample 6:

اشترينا تذاكرنا **من** محطة العاصمة الرئيسية.
*Ištaraynā taḏākiranā **min** maḥaṭṭat al-ʿāṣima ar-raʾīsiyya*.
We bought our tickets ____ the capital's Central Station.
Correct answer: We bought our tickets **at** the capital's Central Station.

In the sixth sample, only four of the twenty-five participants used the correct preposition. Most students used the preposition *from*, the counterpart of the Arabic preposition *min*, to express this meaning. Twenty-one students used the preposition *from* instead of *at*.

correct responses	incorrect responses	total
at	from	
4	21	25 (100%)

Sample 7:

سقطت الكتب **من على** الرف.
*Saqaṭat al-kutub **min ʿalā** r-raff*.
The books fell ____ the shelf.
Correct answer: The books fell **off** the shelf.

[3] On these prepositions, see Inezan and Najim 2010/2022.

There is a substitution problem here since, in Arabic, there is no exact equivalent of the preposition *off*. The students may use *from*, the literal translation of *min*, instead of *off.* Sometimes, to denote a similar sense in Arabic, the compound preposition *min ʿalā* (*from on*) is used. Thus, if the students think of this option, they will use the incorrect compound preposition *from on*, the literal translation of *min ʿalā*, instead of *off*.

correct responses	incorrect responses (100%)			total
off	from	from on	of	
0	20	2	3	25 (100%)

Sample 8:

يرتكز السقف **على** أربعة أعمدة.
*Yartakiz as-saqf ʿ**alā** arbaʿat aʿmida*.
The roof of the building is supported ____ four pillars.
Correct answer: The roof of the building is supported **on** four pillars.

In English, the preposition *on* is used to convey the idea of "a means of support from beneath." In Arabic, the same meaning is conveyed by the preposition *ʿalā*. No problems were expected or encountered here, since the two prepositions *on* and *ʿalā* are equivalent.

Sample 9:

سقطت **من** مهدها.
*Saqaṭat **min** mahdihā.*
She fell ____ her cot.
Correct answer: She fell **out of** her cot.

In English, the preposition *out of* is used to express the meaning "from within" or "from inside." In Arabic, the preposition *min* can indicate the same meaning. A substitution error may occur here since, in Arabic, there is no exact equivalent of the preposition *out of*. Instead of *out of*, the students may use *from*, the literal translation of the preposition *min*, which is used to indicate this sense.

correct responses	incorrect responses		total
out of	from	"blank"	
7	7	11	25 (100%)

Sample 10:

خرج السارق **من** الباب.
*Ḫaraǧa s-sāriqu **min** al-bāb.*
The burglar came ____ the door.
Correct answer: The burglar came **out of** the door.

In English, the meaning indicated by the preposition *out of* here is "from" or "through something to the outside." In Arabic, the preposition *min* indicates the same meaning.

correct responses (100%)
out of
25

Sample 11:

هل تستطيع استخراجه لي **من** الثلاجة؟
*Hal tastaṭīʿ istiḫrāǧahu lī **min** aṯ-ṯallāǧa?*
Could you take it ____ the fridge for me?
Correct answer: Could you take it **out of** the fridge for me?

In English, the preposition *out of* is used to express the idea of "removing something from the place where it is enclosed or stored." In Arabic, the preposition *min* preceded by the verb *aḫraǧa* can convey the same meaning.

correct responses	incorrect responses (100%)	
out of	from	of
0	22	3

Sample 12:

السماء فوق رؤوسنا.
*As-samāʾ **fawqa** ruʾūsinā.*
The sky is ____ our heads.
Correct answer: The sky is **over** our heads.

In English, the preposition *over* is used to indicate the meaning "directly above." In Arabic, the same meaning is indicated by the preposition *fawqa*. No difficulty is expected if students interpret *over* and *fawqa* as equivalent. However,

the students may be confused about whether to use *above* or *over*. This confusion is due to the overlap between these two prepositions in English, as well as the fact that the Arabic preposition *fawqa* represents both of them.

correct responses	incorrect responses (100%)
over	above
0	25

Sample 13:

فرشت قطعة قماش **فوق** المنضدة.
*Farašat qiṭʿat qumāš **fawqa** l-minḍada*.
She spread a piece of cloth ____ the table.
Correct answer: She spread a piece of cloth **over** the table.

Apart from the problem mentioned above, a substitution problem may arise if the students think of the preposition *ʿalā*. They may use the preposition *on*, the literal translation of *ʿalā*, instead of *over*.

correct responses	incorrect responses	total
over	on	
14	11	25 (100%)

Sample 14:

وضع اللص قناعا **على** وجهه.
*Waḍaʿa l-liṣṣ qināʿan **ʿalā** waǧhihi*.
The burglar put a mask ____ his face.
Correct answer: The burglar put a mask **over** his face.

In English, the preposition *over* is used to indicate the meaning "in front of" and "covering." In Arabic, the preposition *ʿalā* is used to denote the same meanings. A substitution problem may arise here since the preposition *fawqa* is not used to convey these meanings in Arabic. Students may use the preposition *on*—the literal translation adopted for *ʿalā*—instead of *over*.

correct responses	incorrect responses	total
over	on	
12	13	25 (100%)

3 Discussion of the findings

Most of the errors identified in this study are due to interlingual interference. Interlingual interference is a major source of error among language learners, referring to errors that result from language transfer.

Language transfer is the effect of one language on the learning of another. One form of language transfer is negative transfer, or interference, which is the use of a native language pattern or rule that leads to an error or inappropriate form in the target language.[4]

The results of this study indicate that students make errors in the use of spatial prepositions, including both prepositions of place and movement. Differences between the source language and the target language make the correct use of prepositions challenging for students. One reason why students make errors is their limited knowledge of the use and functions of prepositions. Therefore, students tend to repeat the same errors because of insufficient instruction at both school and university levels (Levin 1993:62).

Analysis of the test results shows that the sample consisted of twenty-five students and that a total of 243 errors were recorded across the fourteen test items, yielding an average of approximately 17 errors per item and indicating a high overall error rate. These results indicate a low level of mastery among students in the use of spatial prepositions. The errors observed in the students' translations can be attributed to several causes, two of which have already been mentioned. One results from interference from the native language, and the other from interference from other structures in English. Prepositions are especially difficult for EFL learners because they tend to understand them through the prepositional system of their mother tongue, in this case Arabic.

4 Conclusion

The findings of this study show that translating spatial prepositions between Arabic and English remains difficult for third-year Algerian EFL students. The results reveal two major types of prepositional problems: the use of an incorrect preposition and the use of an unnecessary one. In some cases, students also omitted prepositions where they were required. These errors were especially common when learners assumed that Arabic and English prepositions correspond directly.

The results further suggest that most difficulties stem from negative transfer from Arabic, together with limited awareness of the semantic and idiomatic uses of English prepositions. Because a single Arabic preposition may express several

[4] A brief overview of the language transfer together with other factors affecting second language acquisition was given by Richards and Sampson (1974).

meanings, learners often rely on literal translation, which can lead to inaccurate or unnatural English expressions.

These findings indicate that prepositions deserve greater attention in EFL teaching, even at advanced undergraduate levels. Rather than relying mainly on memorization, instruction should emphasize contextual use, comparison between Arabic and English, common collocations, and regular practice in translation and communication. Such an approach is likely to improve both translation accuracy and general fluency.

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MALḤŪN AS A CONCEPT: SOME PRELIMINARY REFLECTIONS

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Abstract:
This reflection addresses the epistemological challenges of defining *malḥūn*, a Maghrebi poetic genre whose contours remain unclear due to limited scholarly research. Rather than proposing a definitive definition, the study critically examines previous interpretations, particularly the debate on the meanings attributed to the root *l.ḥ.n* as discussed by al-Fāsī (1986–97) and al-Ǧirārī (2025). Building on insights from a contemporary *malḥūn* poet, Aḥmad Suhūm (1993), the article suggests a new reading that revisits an insight briefly articulated in the final pages of his work and develops it further by linking the term to intelligence, creativity, and persuasive expression, while grounding this interpretation in a lexicographical dimension beyond the two dominant interpretations expounded by al-Ǧirārī and al-Fāsī. By reflecting on language, geography, and metre, this contribution aims to stimulate further debate on what fundamentally defines *malḥūn*.

Keywords:
malḥūn, *zaǧal* poetry, Maghreb, epistemology

1 Introduction

The present reflection arises from the difficulty of defining what *malḥūn*[1] truly is. Despite several scholarly attempts to address this question, and due to the existence of only a few comprehensive studies[2], its contours remain blurred and uncertain. Rather than proposing yet another definition, this study approaches *malḥūn* as an

[1] While recognizing the challenges of providing suitable examples of the genre, due to the reasons discussed in this article and given that this study does not include an analysis of poems, it is nevertheless important to introduce the reader to *malḥūn* as a poetic form. For this purpose, the reader may consult, for example, Appendix IV in Melanie Magidow's dissertation (2013), which includes both original poems and their English translations. For those interested in its performance, see UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage 2003.

[2] See e.g Vocke (1990), al-Ǧirārī (2025) and al-Fāsī (1986–97).

epistemological problem, that is, as a question about the conceptual foundations and assumptions that have shaped its understanding as a genre.

This contribution acknowledges its limitations: it neither relies on an exhaustive corpus nor claims to resolve the long-standing debates surrounding *malḥūn*. Instead, it seeks to re-evaluate the foundations upon which existing definitions have been built, particularly through an examination of the etymology of the root *l.ḥ.n*. Such a perspective invites reflection on what we truly mean when we speak of *malḥūn*, encouraging us to move beyond the binary framework established by the debate between al-Fāsī (1986–97) and al-Ǧirārī (2025) and to reconsider, more fundamentally, what makes *malḥūn* "*malḥūn*". This reflection first considers the possible criteria used to define the genre (language, geography, and metre) and highlights their limitations, before proposing a new reading of what the term *malḥūn* may signify through the lens of its linguistic root.

2 Etymology and language

2.1 Etymology

This reflection begins by addressing the most prominent debate in *malḥūn* studies: the etymology of the word *malḥūn*. This debate is mainly shaped by the contributions of al-Ǧirārī (2025) and al-Fāsī (1986–97).

The debate focuses on the meaning of the root *l.ḥ.n*. Al-Fāsī (1986: I, 29) argues that the root refers to "melody", since the poems were usually sung. He defines *malḥūn* as follows: "I think that they derived this word from *talḥīn* in the sense that the *malḥūn* poetry was meant to be sung. We find support for this view in the words of Ibn Ḫaldūn, as he mentioned in his *Muqaddima*, Chapter 50" (*ibid*.). He also stresses that the root *l.ḥ.n* should not be understood as meaning "grammatically incorrect", that is, poetry in a language that does not follow the rules of *iʿrāb*. He adds that it is "hard to imagine someone calling their own poetry with a word that refers to ignorance" (*ibid*.). Al-Ǧirārī (2025: I, 98–99), by contrast, disapproves Al-Fāsī's analysis and interprets the root as referring to grammatical mistake, because the language of *malḥūn* does not follow the rules of *iʿrāb*. This interpretation is shared by Charles Pellat (2012) and Jamel Eddine Bencheikh (2000:249) in their definitions of *malḥūn*.

Even though both explanations are important and widely cited, they can be questioned. Looking at al-Ǧirārī's view, several questions appear. How important was *fuṣḥā* in working-class circles in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Morocco? Since *malḥūn* was first created and performed by urban artists, craftspeople, and Ṣūfī groups (Magidow 2021), how literate were these individuals for them to consider their own poetry as grammatically incorrect? Al-Fāsī's point about the unlikelihood of artists giving their own work a negative name also raises questions. Can we really

assume that this never happened, given that artists usually promote their work positively?

Looking more closely at al-Fāsī's interpretation, another question arises. If *malḥūn* refers to melody, then its existence and name are linked to performance, especially singing. How does this affect the status of written *malḥūn* poetry? Does its genre or identity change depending on performance, or do performers recognize these poems by other features besides performance? Finally, how should we understand the status of long *malḥūn* poems, like al-Maġrāwī's *Hawl al-qiyāma*[3] and Qaddūr al-ʿAlamī's *Ǧumhūr al-awliyāʾ*,[4] which, as al-Ǧirārī (2025: I,73) notes, were not meant to be sung?

2.2 Zaǧal *and* malḥūn *as synonyms? A semantic issue*

In the first part of his book, al-Ǧirārī attempts to describe the main features of *zaǧal*. He begins by defining the term and linking it to the poetic art produced in al-Andalus in colloquial Arabic, referring in particular to Ibn Quzmān (1078–1160) as a major figure of this genre. He suggests that the Moroccan variety of *zaǧal* is most likely a continuation of the Andalusian tradition. Al-Ǧirārī then presents eleven contextual synonyms for the word *zaǧal* used in Morocco, such as *aš-šiʿr* ("poetry") (al-Ǧirārī 2025: I,104) and *al-ʿilm al-mawhūb* ("the gifted knowledge") (al-Ǧirārī 2025: I, 101). Among these synonyms, he includes *al-malḥūn*. Further in the book, he identifies several forms of *zaǧal*, mentioning, for instance, *al-ʿayta*[5], *at-taqtūqa*[6], and

[3] See al-Maġrāwī, *Dīwān* 141–154, *qaṣīda* no. 11.

[4] See al-ʿAlamī, *Dīwān* 113-138, *qaṣīda* no. 8.

[5] "In the sense of a call, from *ʿayyaṭa*, "to call out." It is discussed by Idrīs al-Idrīsī in *Kašf al-ġiṭā ʿan sirr al-mūsīqā*, where he states: "*Al-ʿayṭa* is of two types: Mellāliyya and Marsāwiyya. The Mellāliyya is associated with Beni Mellal and the neighbouring mountains, as well as the outskirts of Tadla. Its melodies are always extremely high-pitched, resembling cries of lamentation and weeping. The expressions used in it are often mixed with Berber words. From it derives the Sūsī style, which is characterized by a lightness of rhythm and a shift in the musical cycle. As for the Marsāwiyya *ʿayṭa*, it is entirely different and is found among the various settled Arab tribes. It surpasses the former in the richness of its themes and in its emotional impact, and it is also the most refined and delicate in craftsmanship. Much of it is found among the tribes of al-Ḥawz, such as ʿAbda, Dukkāla, al-Rḥāmna, and aš-Šāwiya. Its original centre, where it first emerged and was composed, is ʿAbda. From there it spread among the tribes and became widely disseminated. Another centre exists in aš-Šāwiya, near Settat, called Qbāl and in al-Wādī al-Aḥḍar. The Marsāwiyya *ʿayṭa* is further divided into distinct types, within which it circulates and is categorized: Agbāḥ, from which aṯ-Ṯulṯī is derived, which corresponds to the *ḥaḍḍārī* rhythm; then the Sūsī; and finally, the Ḥrīzī, which is specific to the tribes of aš-Šāwiya" (al-Ǧirārī 2025: I, 119-120). For more about *ʿayṭa*, see Naǧmī (2024).

[6] "It is a form of singing specific to the mountainous regions of northern Morocco, though it has gradually spread to urban centres as well, where it enjoys considerable popularity. It

al-aʿyu[7]. We can represent his reasoning as a syllogism:

1. *zağal* is a synonym of *malḥūn*;
2. *al-ʿayta*, *at-taqtūqa*, and *al-aʿyuʿ* are forms of *zağal*;
3. therefore, *al-ʿayta*, *at-taqtūqa*, and *al-aʿyuʿ* are forms of *malḥūn*.

I would argue that this reasoning is inaccurate because the first premise, "*zağal* is a synonym of *malḥūn*," is not correct. As Magidow notes, "*Zajal* refers to any colloquial Arabic poetry[8], and thus *malḥūn* is a kind of *zajal*. (The term *malḥūn* became more specific with time)" (Magidow 2016:310). In other words, unlike *zağa*l, *malḥūn* is not an umbrella term for colloquial poetry, but rather occupies the same level as the other forms of *zağal*, such as *al-ʿayta*, *at-taqtūqa*, and *al-aʿyuʿ*. Each of these forms has its own unique characteristics, which makes it impossible to apply *malḥūn*-specific metrical rules to them.

This leads to a second point regarding the understanding of *malḥūn*. If al-Ǧirārī reached such a conclusion, and considering that other forms of *zağal* differ significantly from *malḥūn*, does this suggest that the boundaries between what counts as *malḥūn* and what counts as other forms of *zağal* are blurred and unclear?

3 The Linguistic status of *malḥūn*

Describing *zağal* and, by extension, *malḥūn* as poetry composed in colloquial Arabic should be reconsidered for two main reasons.

First, the question of intelligibility complicates this assumption. If we take the Moroccan and Algerian traditions as examples, since these are relatively well documented, one may ask whether two native speakers, one Moroccan and one Algerian, with limited or no familiarity with *malḥūn* would easily understand its

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consists of a composition made up of several sections, each composed of two lines sharing the same rhyme. The sections generally differ from one another in both rhyme and meaning. As for the performance, it begins with the solo singer, after which the group follows by repeating the section. During the singing, the phrases *ya l-wlād* or *ya sīdī* are added at the end of the first hemistich of each line in order to maintain the rhythm. The sections are separated by a formula such as *ayā mulāt ad-dlāl*, through which the singer seeks to regulate or "align" the rhythm, as they themselves say." (al-Ǧirārī 2025: I, 126). For more about *taqtūqa*, see Maghnia and Kharchafi (2000).

[7] "Its origin lies in the mountainous region, among Bni ʿArūs, Bni Amsūr, and Jbel Ḥabīb, though it later spread to the cities of the north. It is the closest of the genres to the *ṭaqṭūqa*; indeed, it resembles it in that it consists of a series of sections, each composed of two lines sharing the same rhyme. There may be a thematic link between the sections, though often there is none, especially with regard to the subject matter. At times, coherence may even be lacking within a single section, where the first hemistich or even the entire first line may diverge in vocabulary from the theme of the rest of the section. Yet this is of little concern to its practitioners, so long as the metre remains sound and the rhyme consistent." (al-Ǧirārī 2025: I, 128).

poems. The answer is most likely negative. The linguistic register employed in *malḥūn* appears "unnatural", or at least uncommon, from the perspective of contemporary speakers of colloquial Arabic.

Second, this raises the question of how this linguistic register should be defined more precisely. As al-Fāsī notes in the introduction to his glossary of *malḥūn* (1991), its basis is colloquial Arabic, albeit heavily influenced by borrowings from Classical Arabic. This observation has two implications. First, the composition of *malḥūn* presupposes a certain degree of competence in Standard Arabic, as illustrated by poets such as Saʿīd al-Mindāsī (d. 1677) and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maġrāwī (d. 1605). Second, not all *malḥūn* can be understood as purely "folk" poetry, since more "elitist" forms also exist, including poetry produced by figures considered part of the elite, such as Sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ (d. 1937).

The argument that *malḥūn* is rooted in colloquial Arabic is further supported by Saʿd Allāh, who, in his discussion of the superiority of Standard Arabic (1998: II, 313), notes that dialectal variation is such that a poem composed in Tlemcen may be difficult to understand in Constantine and vice versa. This raises further classificatory questions. In the case of Constantine, where the so-called *maʾlūf* (*mālūf*) tradition is dominant, should this observation be taken to imply that Constantine also produces *malḥūn* despite its association with a different poetic tradition, or should *maʾlūf* itself be reconsidered as a form of *malḥūn*? If so, what criteria would allow us to distinguish between *maʾlūf* and western Algerian forms such as *ḥawzī*?[9]

At first glance, one might conclude that the linguistic register of *malḥūn* occupies an intermediate position between colloquial Arabic and Standard Arabic. However, this raises further methodological questions. How can we measure the degree of proximity between this register and colloquial Arabic? If such a measurement is possible, can it be applied consistently across the various Maghrebi traditions of *malḥūn*? Moreover, how should we account for Judeo-Arabic *malḥūn*, as illustrated by the "Story of Joseph" in Magidow's dissertation (2013:212–219)? Further research is needed to clarify the position of these variants within the broader framework of the genre.

4 Geography and metres

Charles Pellat (2012) defines *malḥūn* as "the state of the language used for the expression of certain forms of dialectal poetry in the Maghrib, as well as the poetry itself". As some researchers have shown, there are indeed different varieties of dialectal poetry called *malḥūn*. The most documented ones, despite the general lack of research on this genre, are the Moroccan (al-Fāsī 1986–97, al-Ǧirārī 2025) and

[9] On *maʾlūf* see, e.g. Davis 2005. For a general overview of different genres, see Glasser 2016.

Algerian (Tahar 1975) *malḥūn*. Less known forms of *malḥūn* also exist in Tunisia (Sraïeb 1989), Libya (Dellai 1996), and Mauritania (Taine-Cheikh 2005).

This raises an important question: apart from the shared name and the use of dialect, are there any distinctive features that define this poetic genre? In other words, what do Moroccan and Libyan *malḥūn*, for example, really have in common?

It is well known that Moroccan and western Algerian *malḥūn* originated in Tafilalt in the 15th century (Magidow 2021). From there, it spread to Moroccan cities such as Fez and Marrakech, and to cities in western Algeria such as Tlemcen. Poets from both sides maintained close contact and continued to influence each other. We can therefore speak of a certain continuity between the Moroccan and Algerian varieties of *malḥūn*. But what about the other forms of *malḥūn*?

It seems quite unlikely that the Moroccan-Algerian tradition interacted intensively with the Tunisian and Libyan publics, given the large geographical distance and the absence of dialectal poetry known as *malḥūn* in the areas between western Algeria and Tunisia or Libya. Moreover, it is said that in Tunisia the genre originated in the 14th century. However, due to the lack of studies, we cannot confirm or reject this claim, nor assume that the same applies to the Libyan *malḥūn*. As for the Mauritanian variety, establishing a connection with the Moroccan or Algerian ones requires further research.

The question of metre remains crucial in defining a poetic genre. In the case of Moroccan *malḥūn*, four main metres are known[10]:

– *mbīyyat*: The *mbīyyat* metre is one of the commonly used forms in Moroccan *malḥūn*, characterized by its balanced structure and regular rhythm. An example can be found in the *al-Burāqiyya* poem:

[10] "The Moroccan scholar Abd al-'Azīz bin 'Abd al-Jalīl explains that there have been **four basic metres in *malḥūn* poetry** ever since it developed thematic categories in the tenth century. The first metre is ***mbīt*** / couplets (most commonly two parts, but possibly up to five). For example, see the first stanza of *al-Burāqiyya*. Each couplet contains two half-lines (Ar. *shaṭr* / hemistich), the first ending in *-ī* and the second ending in *-ā.* […] This metre, mbīt, was the norm until a new kind developed. In the second type of metre, ***maksūr l-jnāḥ*** / Broken of Wing, the basic unit is the stanza, and not the line. The stanza consists of lines of varying length, creating an effect of imbalance, resisting the need for closure that the simpler *mbīt* delivers so predictably. For example, in *Shāyq nzūrak* /Wanting to Visit You, every stanza is preceded by the phrase *qāl ana yā sīdī* / Sir, in order to balance the line, as if healing a broken wing. The third type of metre, ***mšattab***, takes its name from traditional furniture stuffing, and is characterized by "stuffing" that lengthens the stanzas. The fourth type of metre, ***sūsī***, is considered relatively free, allowing flexibility. The organization of the stanza can extend the introduction, increasing suspense, before arriving at the refrain. This final innovation suits narratives best because it provides the most flexibility." (Magidow 2013:27–29). Emphatics were added by the present author. Otherwise, the spelling follows that of Magidow.

نبدا باسم الجليل نعم الحي الرّزاقِ وِنْطرّز حُلّة المى صفاها
ونقول أفاهم اللغا هلّت دمع رماقي محمد جوارحي سباها
حب في دواخل الحشا مزّق مير سفاقي لا حولَ لي فيما قضاها[11]

– Another form is *maksūr l-ğnāḥ*, which, according to al-Fāsī (1987:22), is used in poems such as *al-Faraǧ* by ʿAbd al-Qādir al-ʿAlamī (2009:163):

وهو يا سيدي ربي لا رب غيرك امجيب في كل حين يصاب
انت الجليل وانت الحي المعبود
رب غني راحم ودود احليم معطي جيّد موجود
واسع الجود
لو اجتمعت اعبادك جملة في مكان واحد
واضحى كل عبد ايطلبك منهم شين رايد
القصد كلهم نالوا
امثيل من اشعل راس شمعة من لهيب مسراج[12]

– The *mšattab* metre, as noted by al-Fāsī (1986:145), appears in several poems, including *Rabīʿa aṯ-ṯāniya* by Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ (*Dīwān* 289–290):

هاني بهواك نبوح راحتي تعذابي
ما بين جمع احبابي صدها ايزيد اشغابي
ما ابحال الساعي ملدوغ في الصدر حالتي مطروحة في الجمر
من صدود الهجران ما اشبهني هايم ولهان

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11 We begin with the name of the Majestic, yes the Ever-Living, the Provider
We embroider a pure garment
And we say to those who understand the language, my eyes teared up
Muḥammad my insides did captivate
Love in the inner regions, my prince caused it to rip
I have no control over that which he appoints (translated by Magidow (2013: 175))

12 O my Lord, there is no god but You, the One who responds at every moment.
You are the Majestic, You are the Ever-Living, the One who is worshipped.
A Lord, Rich, Merciful, Loving, Forbearing, Giving, Generous, Ever-present,
Abundant in generosity.
If all Your servants were to gather in one place,
and every single one of them were to ask You for something they desire,
then all of them would receive their share.
Like one who lights the tip of a candle
from the flame of a lamp. (translated by author)

بالعكس هلكتنو وامحان رفيعة الشان
في الزين ما ليها تان
لله قول لها ولفي رانا بقيت واقف ما بين دفوف
دمعتي لحاحة[13]

– Finally, the *sūsī* form is sometimes described as closer to prose poetry (al-Fāsī 1986:145) and is frequently associated with Ḥarrāz poems[14] (Mtīrad 2008: 261):

حراز كافر ونصراني
شتوة وصيف كيرعاني
حاضي احريس كل ما كنبني ايريبه[15]

Imagine a respected shaykh, known for his mastery of these metres and for composing widely admired poems, decided to create a new poem using a fifth metre of his own invention, and claimed it as *malḥūn*. Would his poem be accepted as *malḥūn*? If yes, on what basis – his personal reputation, or on objective elements? And if the latter, what would those elements be?

This is not merely a philosophical question or a thought experiment. It reflects a real situation involving one of the most renowned Moroccan *malḥūn* poets, al-Ǧīlālī Mtīrad who invented the *sūsī* metre (al-Ǧirārī 2025: I, 220). On what objective grounds was his *sūsī* poem recognized as *malḥūn*? And considering that metre in

[13] Here I am, confessing my love for you —
my comfort has become my torment.
Among gatherings of my beloved ones,
her turning away only increases my longing.
I am not unlike a seeker, stung deep in the chest —
my state feels as if cast into burning coals.
From the pain of her distance and abandonment,
No one lost wandering in passion resembles me.
On the contrary, I am ruined and afflicted
by one of high rank,
unmatched in beauty.
By God, tell her, my beloved:
I remain standing, caught between the drums (or turmoil),
my tears flowing insistently. (translated by author)

[14] In Morocco, Ḥarrāz is a stock character in popular sung narrative and theatrical traditions, appearing in a variety of roles.

[15] A disbelieving Christian guardian,
in winter and in summer he keeps watch over me.
A vigilant guardian, watchful … whenever I try to build something, he ruins it.
(translated by author)

malḥūn is relatively flexible, as Magidow (2013:29) notes, how "free" is it really? In other words, could a free-verse poem still be considered *malḥūn*?

While *malḥūn* has often been described as strophic poetry (Taine-Cheikh 2005), this characterization does not appear to apply uniformly across all cases. Certain poems, particularly those with a narrative structure, do not rely on clear repetition, stable strophic organization, or consistent rhyme patterns (*absence de rimes régulières*). This suggests that features associated with Mauritanian *malḥūn* cannot necessarily be generalized to the genre as a whole. This can be illustrated by Mtīrad's Ḥarrāz poem, where stanzaic divisions vary significantly in length: the first stanza extends from verse 1 to 14, the second from 18 to 35, and the third from 39 to 59, with refrains occurring in between. Such variation, the irregularity of both stanzaic structure as well as the rhyme, points to a more complex and non-standardized poetic organization, which challenges the idea of a consistent strophic model. In addition, given the limited number of studies on the genre, it is currently difficult to maintain this characterization without further comparative research. Finally, returning to the question of geography, one may ask whether metres such as the *sūsī* are attested in other Maghrebi varieties of *malḥūn*, or whether they remain restricted to specific regional traditions.

4 Towards a new understanding of the concept *malḥūn*

Based on the observations made in the available studies and given the lack of research describing the specific features of *malḥūn*, it seems that the contours of this literary genre remain blurred and quite uncertain. In this part of my reflection, I do not claim to solve this issue by defining the genre, since such work would require extensive research on all the different Maghrebi varieties of *malḥūn*; something that, unfortunately, does not yet exist. However, I would like to propose a new interpretation that embraces the diversity of *malḥūn* by re-engaging with the debate concerning the etymology of the root *l.ḥ.n.*

As mentioned earlier, the debate about the meaning of this root has been most thoroughly developed by al-Fāsī and al-Ǧirārī. Despite their insightful views, their interpretations can be critically re-examined. Fully aware of the potential risks of inconsistency introduced by this paper and the possibility that a definitive answer cannot be provided, a new interpretation of the meaning of *malḥūn* is nevertheless proposed.

To do so, I start from an interpretation offered by Aḥmad Suhūm (1936–2020), a well-known *malḥūn* poet. At the end of his book, he analyses the definitions given by al-Fāsī and al-Ǧirārī, rejecting both as misinterpretations. Although he initially followed al-Fāsī's performance-based explanation that connects *malḥūn* to melody, he later noticed, through the poems of ʿAbdallah b. Ḥsāyn, that *malḥūn* goes beyond

al-Fāsī and al-Ǧirārī's interpretations. According to him, the word also refers to "eloquent, convincing, and persuasive speech"[16] (Suhūm 1993:230–231).

This interpretation offers an interesting perspective on the nature of *malḥūn*, though it should be supported by linguistic rather than experiential evidence. My main critique of al-Fāsī, al-Ǧirārī, and those who follow them, is that they all base their argument on the root *l.ḥ.n* and connect it directly to the verb *laḥana*. At first glance, this appears reasonable, but by doing so they automatically exclude the possible form *laḥina*. Morphologically, *malḥūn* refers to the passive participle of the triliteral verb *l.ḥ.n*, regardless of the vowel pattern.

If we look at Arabic dictionaries, such as that of Biberstein-Kazimirski (2004), we find that the verb *laḥina* exists and can mean "to be intelligent"[17]. Returning to Suhūm's interpretation (1993), the idea of performing "eloquent, convincing, and persuasive speech" indeed requires a form of intelligence and creativity. These two ideas therefore complement each other: intelligence as a condition for producing an elevated kind of speech.

In this contribution, I do not claim to resolve the long-standing debate about the meaning of *malḥūn*, nor do I intend to reinvent the concept or reject previous interpretations. Yet, the association between *malḥūn* and a form of intelligence appears meaningful for several reasons. First, it allows us to move beyond the binary framework established by al-Fāsī and al-Ǧirārī. Second, since few formal features unite the different Maghrebi varieties of *malḥūn*, such an interpretation might help strengthen the concept while still acknowledging its diversity[18]. Finally, one might ask: should *malḥūn* be understood as a single, unified genre, or should we rather speak of *malḥūns* in the plural – each national variety standing as a distinct poetic form in its own right?

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[16] "وهكذا فإن القول الملحون هو القول البليغ الواصل المقنع" (Suhūm 1993:231).

[17] We find similar interpretations in classical dictionaries:

- قال ابن بري وغيره: للحن ستة معان: "الخطأ في الإعراب، واللغة، والغناء، و**الفطنة**، والتعريض والمعنى (Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* 4014).

- اللحن: من الأصوات المصوغة الموضوعة، ج: ألحان ولحون، ولحن في قراءته: طرب فيها، واللغة والخطأ في القراءة، كاللحون واللحانة واللحانية واللحن، محركة. لحن، كجعل، فهو لاحن ولحان ولحانة ولحنة: كثيره. ولحنه خطأه. واللحنة: من يلحن. وكهمزة: من يلحن الناس كثيرا. ولحن له: قال له قولا يفهمه عنه ويخفى عن غيره، و– إليه: مال. وألحنه القول: أفهمه إياه فلحنه، كسمعه وجعله: فهمه. **واللاحن: العالم بعواقب الكلام. ولحن، كفرح: فطن لحجته وانتبه**. ولاحنهم: فاطنهم. و﴿في لحن القول﴾ (محمد: 30): في فحواه ومعناه (al-Fīrūzābādī, *Muḥīṭ* 1464).

[18] I acknowledge that this view could easily be challenged in the future, especially if further research is conducted on *malḥūn* across different parts of the Maghreb.

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REVIEWS

Das Bʕēri-Arabische bei Luxor: Grammatische Skizze und Text. (= *Semitica Viva*, 39,3). By MANFRED WOIDICH. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2025. XVI, 390 p., 1 Abb., 6 Tabellen. ISBN: 978-3-447-12245-0.

Woidich can be considered one of the most successful researchers of the modern Arabic dialects and perhaps also the most prolific. His main field of interest has always been the Egyptian dialects, especially the area of the Rīf and Cairo. In his new book, however, he explored a new territory, the Luxor area of Upper Egypt, about which he had already written a short treatise in 1974 (*Ein arabischer Bauerndialekt aus dem südlichen Oberägypten*) as well as many other studies during the last decades, in addition, of course, to his contribution to the entry "Egyptian Arabic" in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, where he was responsible, among other things, for the description of the Saʿīdī dialects.

The author describes in the Introduction how he collected the dialectal material described in the present book between 1969 and 1971 in Luxor, explaining why he delayed the organisation and publication of the whole collection for many years (it was sent to the publisher in 2015). While the population explosion, the large-scale migration of villagers and inhabitants of smaller towns into the great urban centres, together with the linguistic unifying role of the media, has changed the dialectal map considerably, this huge material presented in this book has kept its relevance at least as a historical linguistic description.

The study comprises two large parts, as indicated by the title: a briefer first part called "Grammatical Sketch" which consists of 74 pages and a significantly larger second part containing the texts and their German translations, comprising 314 pages. The grammatical outline of the Bʿēri dialect describes the most important phonetic, morphonological and morphological phenomena of the dialect under study, but it contains only incomplete and scanty references to the syntax of the Bʿēri dialect.

In the field of phonetics there are two interesting sounds, the glottalised emphatic [ḍ], which occurs in some of the Saʿīdī dialects, and the palatal or dorso-palatal [ɟ] which corresponds to [ǧ] and is also found throughout the Sudanese dialect area. Woidich accepts Gairdner's view that it is an affricate. Since this sound occurs in the Hungarian language as well, Hungarian linguists refuse to consider it as an affricate and instead it is viewed as a voiced plosive.

The author gives detailed descriptions of vowels occurring in contact with different consonants, such as emphatics and laryngeals. Word stress is also thoroughly described with regard to different syllable structures. The different types of consonantal assimilation occupy an important place in the phonetic description. The most interesting cases are the total assimilations between the laryngeal sounds, such as [ʿ] and [h] = [hh] (*bāʿhe* → *bāhhe*, he bought it), or [ʿ] and [ḥ] (*taṭlaʿ ḥāğa* → *taṭlaḥḥāğa*), etc. Although these are quite regular phenomena in the Arabic dialects, they are often neglected in grammatical descriptions. The assimilation of the article [l] follows the same pattern as in other Egyptian dialects, being assimilated to [ğ] and facultatively to [k] as well.

The assimilative power of the emphatic consonant, which expands to the whole word regressively as well as progressively, is correctly presented, but it might have been mentioned that this phenomenon generally characterises not only the dialects but also Classical Arabic, the emphatic being a so-called long phonological feature. In lexicography it appears as the exclusion of words which would have two consecutive emphatic sounds. Thus, there is *saṭara,* but no *ṣaṭara*, or *ṣadara*, but no *ṣaḍara*, as independent words, since they would be pronounced similarly. In the field of the emphatic sounds mention is made of the secondary emphatisation of [r], [l], and [m] in certain vocal environments.

The author discusses in detail the problems of syllabic structure which is very important for all dialects and even for Classical Arabic. He, among other things, deals with the so-called *gahawa-syndrome,* which means that after a laryngeal, pharyngeal, or postvelar fricative, an [a] sound is inserted in the syllable structure CaCC making it CaCaC: *gahwa* → *gahawa*. There is a similar well-known phenomenon in the eastern Bedouin dialects of Mesopotamia and the Arabian Peninsula, the only difference being that there it occurs in every case when the syllable ends in two consonants in pausal form, independently of the quality of the consonants. This clearly illustrates one of the most interesting characteristics of this dialect, namely its having some attributes of the Maghribi dialects together with other features characteristic of eastern dialects.

The pronouns are also thoroughly described together with some adverbial forms. The plural forms of the nouns and the verbal conjugation are also sufficiently presented. The only significant deficiency lies in the syntactic description, which is noticeably brief and we learn nothing about the relevant characteristics of this dialect, which may either resemble those of other Egyptian dialects or differ from them.

The second and bulkier part of the book under review is the collection and German translation of the texts which are mainly but not exclusively narratives. In a very stylish way Woidich divides this part into twelve thematic chapters (from A to L): Land and people, housework, the events of everyday life, popular medicine, herbs, agriculture, cattle, adventurous experiences, all kinds of narratives, storytelling, Ǧḥa

anecdotes and six proverbs. All texts are accurately transcribed and translated and they are captivating in themselves even without considering that they stand here as descriptions of a dialect and as material for linguistic analysis.

To summarise, I must say that this book represents another milestone in the recent scholarship of Arabic dialect studies.

Tamás Iványi

The Dialect of Għarb (Gozo/Malta). (Semitica Viva 67) By MARIA LIPNICKA. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2025. XII, 182 p., 3 ill., 1 map. ISBN: 978-3-447-12405-8.

The work under review presents an overall picture of an archaic dialect spoken in the small Gozitan village of Għarb. This village is situated at the western end of the island and is inhabited by about 1,500 people. Interestingly, the dialect reflects both Maghrebi and eastern Arabic dialectal features, especially Syro-Palestinian ones.

The Introduction gives a short account of the theoretical framework for the second chapter, which deals with the morphophonemics of the dialect. This is an interesting attempt to use a generative model of grammar in connection with prosodic phonology, especially regarding the relationship between the pausal forms and, in the author's wording, the overall linguistic architecture of the dialect. The short account of this theoretical introduction, however, contains several inaccuracies. First, the study by Chomsky and Lasnik was not published in 1974, but in 1977, and it does not speak about the minimalist T-model and the Y-Model of grammar, mentioned by Lipnicka, but these two notions may instead originate elsewhere, i.e. in Nespor and Vogel and Irurtzun respectively. Second, the subtitle of Figure 3 on page 2 is misleading, since 'the hierarchy of phonological constituents' cannot be found in this form in Nespor and Vogel 1986, p. 16, but it reflects rather the way our author, a bit arbitrarily, interpreted the theory of the above-mentioned authors. It must also be noted that the author does not appear to have applied this model in Chapter Two.

Chapter One deals with the phonology of the dialect. One of its main peculiarities lies in preserving not only the voiced fricative [ġ], but also both members of the pharyngeal fricative pair [ḥ] and [ʿ]. The note on page 7 that there are minimal pairs involving [ġ] and [ʿ], however, seems strange to me, since the voiceless counterpart of [ġ] is not [ʿ] but rather [ḫ], although [ḫ] has merged with [ḥ] into a single phoneme. On p. 8 one can read valuable information about the behaviour of the [ʿ] sound, which assimilates to [h] and [ḥ] and is devoiced at the end of a word. A similar example is cited in the dialect of Hatay (Antioch), although it should have been mentioned that these are well-known and documented phenomena in several other dialects or perhaps in most of them. In connection with the vocal system, the Arabic grammatical

terms *imāla* and *išmām* are used without specifying their meanings. It would have been important, because neither of these terms has been used unequivocally throughout the history of Arabic grammatical studies.

In Chapter Three, morphology, the expression ‘etymologically’ is always used in comparing the dialectal forms of words with Classical Arabic ones. This presupposes that the dialects are viewed as distortions of Classical Arabic and are therefore etymologically derived from it, but this theory is not supported by facts and is generally rejected today. The phenomenon of the special pausal forms occurring in the verbal conjugation is one of the interesting features of this dialect. The Maghrebi character of the Għarb dialect is well illustrated by the use of the *n-* prefix in 1st person singular. All in all, the verbal forms are thoroughly and excellently described. Chapter Four, which is short, contains a summary and conclusion, while Chapter Five contains texts with translations.

To sum up, this volume contributes significantly to our knowledge of the Maltese language, while the texts constitute valuable material for Arabic dialectology.

Tamás Iványi