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DESERT YEARNING OR PARTISAN POLEMIC? ON THE LINES ASCRIBED TO MAYSŪN, WIFE OF MU'ĀWIYA*

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In honor of Professor Ewald Wagner, to celebrate a career from which all benefit who learn - and learn to love - classical and medieval Arabic poetry: *Wa fawqa kulli dī 'ilmin 'allāma!*

Part 1

The poem here considered is said to have been composed by Maysūn, daughter of the Bedouin chieftain Baḥdal b. Unayf of the tribe of Kalb b. Wabara. Maysūn was best known as wife of Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, long-time governor of Syria (20-41/641-61) and first Umayyad Caliph (41-60/661-80), and mother of his son and successor Yazīd.[1] Married to Mu'āwiya early in his gubernatorial career, she was brought from her tribal home in the Palmyran desert region to Damascus and the relative luxury of life at court. After the third/ninth century, anecdotes and stories associating Maysūn's name with the verses report that her discontent with urban life and with her sedentary husband prompted her to recite them in his hearing and that he, offended, repudiated her and sent her - and the infant or still unborn Yazīd - back to her Kalbite kinsfolk. (Some later versions - e.g., **B** and **Š** - claim the verses even more inflamed his desire for her.)

* The bold-letter sigla which appear intermittently in the text and notes refer to specific versions of the lines in question and are clarified in the Appendix.

1 For several (primarily 19th-century English) accounts of the supposed circumstances of its composition and a sometimes imaginative historical *mise en scène*, see Redhouse 1886 (cf. below, p. 288f.; cf. also Nicholson 1956: 195f). A standard Arabic account, quoted from 'Abdalqādir al-Baġdādī (1) III: 592 (**Q**[1]), may be found in Cheikho 1924-27: 63. In substance this account is repeated by 'Abdalbadī' Saqr (*Šā'irāt al-'Arab* [Beirut, Manšūrāt al-Maktab al-islāmī: 1967], 396f), 'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla (*A'lām an-nisā' fī 'ālamay al-'Arab wa l-Islām* V [Beirut, Mu'assasat ar-Risāla: 1977], 136f), and Xayraddīn az-Ziriklī (*al-A'lām: Qāmūs tarājim li ašhar ar-rijāl wa n-nisā' min al-'Arab wa l-musta'ribīn wa l-mustašriqīn* VII [Beirut, Dār al-'Ilm li l-Malāyīn: 1979], 339ab) (I am grateful to my friend Prof. Joseph Zeidan for these references). The most thorough and complete presentation of historical data relevant to Maysūn, her role as Mu'āwiya's wife and Yazīd's mother, and - particularly - the importance of her predominantly Christian family and tribe during the early Umayyad period remains Lammens 1908: 150-93 *passim*; cf. idem *EI*^{2} VI: 924b. Interestingly al-Balāḏurī alleged that the marriage originally took place by mistake; see *Ansāb al-ašrāf* IVA: 127f.

The poem or some version of it has often been quoted and anthologized to exemplify the theme or genre of *ḥanīn ila l-waṭan* 'yearning for the homeland' (see below). The seven verses presented below make up neither the earliest nor the longest version of this poem; but, with minor variations in wording or sequence, they do seem to have become a "standard" version. I cite them from the earliest source known to me where all seven appear: *Durrat al-ġawwāṣ fī awhām al-xawāṣṣ* by Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. 'Alī al-Ḥarīrī[2] (= **Ḥ**). The same version, drawn from the same source, can be found in Theodor Nöldeke's *Delectus veterum carminum arabicorum* (Nöldeke 1890: 25).[3] After the transcribed text follow my translation and some lexical and/or cultural-historical glosses,[4] many of which will be expanded subsequently in Part 2.

1) *la baytun taxfiqu l-arwāḥu fī-hī*
   aḥabbu ilay-ya min qaṣrin munīfī
2) *wa lubsu 'abā'atin wa taqa/irra 'aynī*
   aḥabbu ilay-ya min lubsi š-šufūfī
3) *wa aklu kusayratin fī kisri baytī*
   aḥabbu ilay-ya min akli r-raġīfī
4) *wa aṣwātu r-riyāḥi bi-kulli fajjin*
   aḥabbu ilay-ya min naqri d-dufūfī
5) *wa kalbun yanbaḥu ṭ-ṭurrāqa dūnī*
   aḥabbu ilay-ya min qittin alūfī
6) *wa bakrun yatba'u l-aẓ'āna ṣa'bun*
   aḥabbu ilay-ya min baġlin zafūfī
7) *wa xirqun min banī 'ammī naḥīfun*
   aḥabbu ilay-ya min 'iljin 'alīfī

1) Yea, a tent that the winds whip buffeting through
   far more would I love than a palace on high.
2) And to wear coarse wool garb, my eye joy-refreshed,
   far more would I love than to wear sheer chiffon.
3) And eating a scrap at the flap of my tent
   far more would I love than eating baked bread.

2 D. 516/1122; Brockelmann *GAL* I: 276-78, Suppl. I: 486-89; *EI*^{2} III: 221a-222a (D.S. Margoliouth-[CH. Pellat]).

3 Louis Cheikho, S.J., (1924-27: 64) prints all seven verses, along with an additional two (see below), exactly as they appear here with respect both to sequence and to wording. Although he refers to Q(1) (and no other source) for supplementary information, Q's version of the nine verses has a different verse order and a couple of slight verbal variants (see Appendix). Since Cheikho indicates no other source for his version, I have decided to leave it out of consideration here.

4 See Appendix for a number of textual notes and variants to these lines.

4) And sounds of the winds gusting down every pass
far more would I love than the tambourines' beat.
5) And a dog that bays off from me comers by night
far more would I love than a genial pet cat.
6) And a camel-colt trailing closed litters, untamed,
far more would I love than a brisk-paced (bride's) mule.
7) And a freehearted man from my own tribe and lean,
far more would I love than a fat foreign brute!

Some very late sources add at the end of the poem one or both of the following two verses. Al-'Aynī's[5] *Šarḥ aš-šawāhid al-kubrā* is the earliest source in which I have encountered them. Since I have found no suggestion that these additional verses were known before the ninth/fifteenth century, I have not thought it necessary to treat them as integral to the poem in the discussion in Part 2. Inasmuch, however, as they seem to represent nothing so much as a moderately clumsy attempt to disambiguate the generic status of lines 1-7 (especially line 7) and ensure classification of the poem as *ḥanīn*-verse, they will be adduced as at least indirect evidence supporting the interpretation advanced below.

8) *xušūnatu ʿīšatī fi l-badwi ašhā*
ilā nafsī mina l-ʿayši z-zarīfi
9) *fa mā abġī siwā waṭanī badīlan*
fa ḥasbī ḏāka min waṭanin šarīfi

8) The harshness of living with Bedouins more
does my spirit find sweet than the elegant life.
9) In exchange for my homeland I crave nothing else.
For me *that* is enough - such a homeland sublime!

[NB: Throughout the study, all line or verse numbers not preceded by one of the bold-letter sigla that identify specific recensions will refer to the foregoing version.]

GLOSSES:

Line 1. Literally: "more beloved to me than ...."

Line 2. The *ʿabā'a (ʿabā', ʿabāt, ʿabāya*; "aba" in English) was (and still is) a sort of sleeveless mantle or cloak usually of wool and often striped, with arm slits and open at the front. It has been "l'habit caractéristique des Bédouins d'à peu près tous les temps" (Dozy 1845: 292, cf. 292-97)

5 Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad, d. 855/1451; see Brockelmann *GAL* II: 52f, Suppl. II: 50f; *EI*^{2} I: 790b-791a (W. Marçais).

and "le vêtement ordinaire, tant des hommes que des femmes" (ibid.: 294 [quoting Niebuhr]; cf. Musil 1928: 120; Y. Stillman in *EI*^{2} V: 740b). For *šaff* (a gauzy diaphanous fabric, 'through which one can see'; chiffon), see n. 62, below.

Line 3. On the precise sense of *kisr* - i.e., the folded or rolled bottom edge of a tent panel or flap, lying along the ground on the sides and at the rear - see Fleischer 1885-88: II, 763; *WkaS* I: 183, s.v. Like sleeping on the ground or floor, eating that way, even off a carpet, cloth, or piece of hide or leather (*sufra*), was widely considered to be a typical Bedouin practice. But like raised beds, low legged tables were more generally the rulein urban and village households, especially among the more well-to-do; and while their use may originally have been taken over from the indigenous, usually non-Arab populations, for whom eating and sleeping at a certain remove from the ground seems to have had some importance, "plus tard, toute différence d'origine (origine nomade, origine sédentaire, notamment) dans les pays sédentaires se traduit en une différence de classes sociales" (Sadan 1970: 1362; see esp. 1358-70). // Regardless of the fact that many Bedouin tribes have been known to engage in some meager short-term agriculture (especially during extended periods of rainy-season encampment), the planting, harvesting, and milling of grain for bread has always been the province par excellence of sedentary agrarian societies; and even in modern times Bedouin groups acknowledge their reliance on settled agriculturalists for this and many other foodstuffs (Jacob 1897: 88f; Musil 1928: 90; Waines 1987: 257f, 263-67). The preparation and eating of most oven-baked breads seem to have been associated above all with a sedentary and even upper-class way of life (cf. Goody 1982: 100f, 128, 231 n. 19; Waines 1987: passim, esp. 267-69). Among the Bedouins, "the expression *ākil al-khubz* 'breadeater' was a laudatory epithet implying considerable affluence"; and *raġīf* denoted primarily "a round bread ... quite thick and cooked in an oven" - a large and usually stationary construction that would seldom have been readily available to the nomadic tribes either on an individual domestic or a communal basis (see Ch. Pellat in *EI*^{2} V: esp. 41b, 42b; Waines 1987: 269-71, 278-81, 284f; also Lammens 1914: 141; cf. for *raġīf* as a kind of roasted bread among the Rwala Bedouins, Musil 1928: 91f). Note also that contrasting a Bedouin's mere "scrap" (*kusayra*, without the article) with an abstract quantity of baked bread (*ar-raġīf*, with the article) draws attention, as many classical poems already had done much earlier, to a "characteristic trait of the life of the ancient Bedouin: his (almost permanent) hunger" (Bravmann 1972: 298; cf. 296-300).

Line 4. On the *du/aff* 'tambourine, timbrel' (usually, but not always, square), see H.G. Farmer in *EI*^{2} II: 620f. It was the instrument most generally associated with popular celebrations, especially weddings.[6] According to legend it was first played on the marriage night of Sulaymān and Bilqīs, the Queen of Sheba (*EI*^{2} II: 620a). A ḥadīṯ reports that the Prophet recommended publicly proclaiming a marriage with "voice and tambourine."[7]

Line 5. Or: "...that bays all night-comers but me" (construing *dūna* in the sense of *ġayra* or *illā*). Or simply: "...that barks near me at comers by night." However, the most appropriate sense of *dūnī* here is 'this side of / in front of me' - i.e., between me and the night-comers, *protecting* me. For the traveller, usually by night, whose approach causes the camp dogs to bark (the *mustanbiḥ*) - a motif closely associated with Bedouin tribal hospitality -, see, e.g., *al-Mufaḍḍalīyāt* I: xxii$_{7ff}$ (cf. II: 86 n. 7), xxxvi$_{1f}$; al-Marzūqī *Šarḥ*: 1558 (§ 674$_{1ff}$), 1569 (§ 676$_{1ff}$), 1643 (§ 719$_{1ff}$), 1645 (§ 720$_{1ff}$), 1705 (752$_{1ff}$). Despite ambivalent attitudes toward them on the part of Muslim religious authorities and urban populations, dogs - especially hunting and watch dogs - have generally been accepted among the Bedouins (F. Viré in *EI*^{2} IV: 490; Henninger 1989: 371f n. 13). For a more recent period Alois Musil (1928: 73) notes that "there is perhaps not a single tent among the Rwala which does not contain at least one watch-dog."

Line 6. *Ẓa'īna* (p . *ẓa'ā'in, ẓu'un, aẓ'ān*) has a range meanings including 'a woman in a closed camel-borne litter or howdah', 'a camel (bearing such a litter)', 'a closed litter or howdah (with or without a woman)', or 'a woman (whether in such a litter or not)'.[8] The departure of the *ẓa'ā'in*, including the *ẓa'īna* of a beloved, is a recurrent motif of the classical *qaṣīda*. // Although *zafūf* means 'quick' or 'brisk' in pace (like an ostrich), the root *z-f-f* has a close and primary association with the notion of conducting a bride to her groom: 1) verbal forms I, IV, and VIII - *zaffat/azaffat/izdaffat (an-nisā'u) al-'arūsa ilā zawji-hā* - all signify '(The women) led or conducted the bride (with festive parade or pageantry and music) to her husband'; 2) the *zawāff* (p. of *zāffa*) are the 'women leading

6 See e.g., E.W. Lane (trans. & ed.), *The Thousand and One Nights' - Commonly Called The Arabian Nights' - Entertainments* (New York, National Library Co.: n.d. [1882?]) I: 451 (Ch. 4 n. 39), II: 464 (Ch. 10 n. 125); W. Heffening in *ShEI*: 608a.

7 *Faṣlu mā bayna l-ḥalāli w l-ḥarāmi ṣ-ṣawtu wa d-duff* - see az-Zamaxšarī *al-Fā'iq* I, 402; Ibn al-Aṯīr an-Nihāya II, 125; *ShEI*: 607 (Heffening).

8 See, e.g., Lane 1863-93: 1911c (s.v.); Goldziher 1896: 123f; Jacob 1897: 56.

or conducting the bride'; 3) a *mizaffa* is precisely the *uncovered* litter or saddle (as opposed to a *ẓa'īna*!) upon which the bride is so led or conducted. I am sure that such a paronomastic connection would not have gone unnoticed by a attentive and critical audience - especially inasmuch as the pivotal Xālidī version of the poem (= **X**; see below), though it omits *zafūf* (see Appendix, n. *m*, and n. 131, below), opens with the words: *lammā zuffat Maysūnu -bnatu Baḥdalin al-Kalbīyatu ilā Mu'āwiyata*... 'when Maysūn ... was *conducted* to Mu'āwya'. Such an audience, too, may have been aware that processional pomp and pagentry of that kind were particularly associated with villages and cities and old Near Eastern customs and would generally have been avoided, if not scorned, by the Bedouins as un-Arab (Wellhausen 1893: 443 n. 2; W. Heffening in *ShEI* 606b-607a, 608b). Cf. the anecdote detailing a purportedly late first/seventh-century Syrian village wedding as described, to the amusement of his urban audience, by a Bedouin utterly inexperienced in sedentary life (analyzed and partially translated in Sadan 1970): Abu l-Faraj *al-Aġānī* XIII: 178-81; Ibn 'Abdrabbih *al-'Iqd* III: 486-88. Cf., too, Henninger 1943: 79-83: "Bei den Beduinen sind die Hochzeitszeremonien meistens einfach, während sie bei den Sesshaften reich entwickelt sind" (p. 79).

Line 7. I.e., "one of my paternal uncle's sons." Among many Arab communities and especially among Bedouin tribes, a notion of endogamy has generally prevailed in which the daughter (or son) of one's paternal uncle (one's *bint* or *ibn 'amm*) would be - or would be considered to be - the socially preferred or prescribed spouse (i.e., "preferential patrilineal" [Brown & Sowayan 1977], "prescriptive patrilateral" [Kressel 1986], or "preferential patrilateral" [Holy 1989] parallel cousin marriage), so much so that a normal term of intimacy between husband and wife, regardless of actual relationship, has been - and in some places still is - "my (paternal) cousin" (*ibn/bint 'ammī*).[9] In some eras and areas the prevalence of this notion has led to the use of the term *ibn 'amm* to refer to any (male) member of the tribe or kingroup and the term *banū 'amm*

9 See, e.g., Wellhausen 1893: 436f; Robertson Smith 1903: 163f; E. Bräunlich, "Beiträge zur Gesellschaftsordnung der arabischen Beduinenstämme." *Islamica* 6 (1934): 186f; Henninger 1943: 54-56, 149; Walter Dostal in *l'Antica società beduina* (ed. Francesco Gabrieli [= Università di Roma, Centro di Studi Semitici, *Studi Semitici* 2; Rome, Centro di Studi Semitici: 1959), 13; Brown & Sowayan 1977, esp. 586f; Kressel 1986: 163-66 & passim. For a glimpse of some dissenting views among the early Arabs on the desirability of paternal-cousin marriage, see the verses and remarks in al-Xālidīyān *al-Ašbāh* I: 228-30; at-Tawhīdī al-Imtā' I: 94f; cf. Wellhausen 1893: 437 n. 3: "Es scheint, daß die Exogamie besonders bei den Vornehmen und Reichen beliebt war."

to designate, at least casually, the tribe or kingroup at some more comprehensive level (Wellhausen 1893: 437, 480f; Henninger 1943: 56f, 131; Holy 1989: 19, 43 n. 3 [references]).[10] // The term *'ilj* is said to denote variously 1) 'a (wild) ass'; 2) a 'foreigner, alien, barbarian, non-Arab'; 3) 'an infidel' (some sources specify 'a non-Arab infidel')[11]; 4)

10 To my knowledge the most comprehensive and far-reaching study on cousin marriage in the Middle East to date is Ladislav Holy's *Kinship, Honour and Solidarity* (Holy 1989). This work came to my attention only very late in the course of preparing this paper, and I fear that I have not utilized it to the extent it merits. Holy makes an important contribution to my own understanding of the question, however, which may be useful to adduce in clarification of the phenomenon as discussed here. Referring to the "kinds of data which are taken as manifestations of preferential FBD [sc., father's brother's daughter] marriage," Holy observes (1989: 5f) that "they relate to widely different aspects of social and cultural reality." Certain kinds of data – those that concern actors' statements about their marriage preferences and judgments about the comparative value of different marriages or those attesting to the operation of a cultural rule or preference in selecting marriage partners – "are informative about the actors' *notions*, i.e., about the ideals they entertain and about the norms to which they subscribe" (my emphasis); another kind of data – aimed at documenting patterns of marriages and determining which are actually preferred in practice – "is informative about the cumulative product of individual actions." In the present context, attention is given almost exclusively to the "notional" (perhaps even "ideological") aspect of the question insofar as it helps me to understand the poem. (For the sense of "notion" and "notional," as used by Holy, see ibid.: 14 n. 5). It is also appropriate to point out that Holy argues in a number of passages "that the preference for FBD marriages should be understood in the context of culturally-expressed preferences for marriages between close kin rather than as a preference for lineage endogamy" (ibid.: 42; cf. 16-23, 34 & passim). My use of the term "endogamy" is much less rigorous and technical and refers simply to a preference, rule, custom, or pattern of marriage within the kingroup.

11 *Rajul min kuffār al-'ajam*: e.g., al-Jawharī *as-Sihāh* I: 330a; Ibn al-Aṯīr *an-Nihāya* III: 286; ad-Damīrī *al-Ḥayawān* II: 69 (s.v.). Al-Ẋalīl (d. 175/791 or earlier), *al-'Ayn* 262, gave as primary sense of *'ilj* the ambiguous expression, *min ma'lūjā' al-'ajam*. Defining *'ilj*, Michael Morony gives simply – and, I think, insufficiently – "a person of low social status" (*Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* [Princeton, Princeton University Press: 1984], 531, cf. 184 [citing aṭ-Ṭabarī *Ta'rīx* I: 1041], 199, 475). But Th. Nöldeke translates the word as it occurs in Ṭabarī I: 1041, "ein Barbar," intending "einen Nichtaraber im verächtlichen Sinn" (hence as it were a subjectively regarded subclass of *'ajam*), though with a further reservation about its precise sense in the context of a Sāsānian historical narrative (*Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden. Aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari übersetzt und mit ausführlichen Erläuterungen versehen* [Leiden, E.J. Brill: 1879; reprint: Graz, Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt: 1975], 352 & n. 1). Yet, although the sense of 'coarse, uncouth, or rough person' (cf. Dozy 1881: I, 159b [s.v.]) or even of (lower class) 'peasant', 'serf' (see Frede Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period with Special Reference to Circumstances in Iraq* [Copenhagen, Branner & Korch: 1950; reprint in *Islamic Taxation. Two Studies* (New York, Arno Press: 1973)], 94, cf. 49, 172, 178; cf. also I. Goldziher, "Die Šu'ûbijja unter den Muhammedanern in Spanien," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 53 [1899]: 602), or 'manual laborer' can be attested, one cannot ignore the facts that 1) such status and

'strong, stout, rough, brutish (man)'; 5) 'hirsute, bewhiskered (man)' (as contrasted with *amrad*). I shall argue that the operative sense here is 2 (and perhaps 3), though late discussions of the poem and its attribution to Maysūn, wife of Mu'āwiya, led to the word's being generally interpreted otherwise (see below).

Line 8. Or: "... living in the desert."

* * *

Part ii (a)

In 1886 J.W. Redhouse published an article comprising a discussion and appreciation of the preceding short poem,[12] a critique of some English versions of it, an occasionally speculative outline of its supposed historical background, and "an Inquiry into Meysūn's claim to its Authorship" (Redhouse 1886). Apart from this, I am unaware that any serious critical attention has been devoted to these well known, popular, and - in late centuries - often anthologized lines. Redhouse rejected what had become the generally accepted attribution of the poem. "That it was not indited or sung by Meysūn the mother of Yezīd son of Mu'āwiya, is a moral certainty," he stoutly averred, "though sectarian or dynastic rancour has succeed-

occupations would invariably have been scorned as "un-Arab" (if not non-Arab) by the Bedouin and urban Arab elite; 2) the qualities of being "non-Arabian," "non-tribal," and of "low social status" were among characteristics shared by a majority of the converted conquered populations during the Umayyad period - the *mawālī* (Pipes 1980: 146f, 151) - to whom (and whose descendants and later equivalents; ibid.: 148) the term eventually came to be scornfully applied by tendentious writers and poets; and 3) the term itself was undeniably used as an ethnic (and, perhaps, religious) slur directed at non-Arabs (and initially non-Muslims?) during the early centuries of Islam. Lammens notes that the term *'ilj* was applied early on both to non-Arab Muslims and slaves of foreign origin (1906-08: 177 n. 2; cf. Leoni Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām* IV [Milan, Ulrico Hoepli: 1911 (Reprint: Hildesheim, Georg Olms: 1972)], 434 [= 20 a.H., § 383]; cf. also Ibn 'Abdrabbih *'Iqd* III: 416_{20f}, where al-Hajjāj refers to the rebellious *mawālī* of al-Basra as "'ulūj *and* 'ajam); but its emergence as a more widespread term of contempt for non-Arab Muslims in general probably more or less coincided with the abandonment of the requirement of *walā'* for non-freedman non-Arab Muslims and converts to Islam (toward the end of the second/eighth century) and, correspondingly, the gradual disuse of the formerly prevalent term *mawlā* to refer to them (Pipes 1980: 153, 157; Cl. Cahen in *CHI* IV: 309; P. Crone in *EI*^{2} VI: 880b). One suspects that it could have been precisely this group whose increasing social, cultural, political, and economic mobility - even ascendency - prompted resentment and vituperation from those who felt offended, threatened, or displaced by them and who called them *'ulūj* (see below).

12 Redhouse nowhere referred to the two appended lines, 8 and 9, mentioned above.

ed in commonly coupling her name with it" (Redhouse 1886: 294). H. Lammens, too, maintained that "the attribution to Maysūn ... is rightly disputed" (*EI*^{2} VI: 924b, taken over from *EI*^{1}; cf. Lammens 1906-08: 177f). I agree (in part) with Redhouse's conclusion, but not with with his reasons for reaching it; and I share Lammens' doubts about the validity of the attribution.

The earliest that any verse from the poem can be attested in extant sources is around the mid-second/eighth century with Sībawayh's[13] citation of line 2 as illustrative of the conjunction *wa* used with a following subjunctive verb (*al-Kitāb* [Derenbourg] I: 379f / [Būlāq] I: 426; see Appendix, n. *d*). The verse, with an initial asseverative *la* rather than *wa*, was cited anonymously, a circumstance not at all unusual with Sībawayh's poetical *šawāhid* and those of other early grammarians and philologists.[14] But it was also introduced as *qawlu-hu* 'what *he* said,' without a hint that the poet might have been a woman.[15] About a century later al-Mubar-

13 Abū Bišr 'Amr b. 'Uṯmān b. Qanbar, d. c. 180/796 (dates between 161/778 and 194/810 are given); see Sezgin *GAS* IX: 51-63 with references.

14 See Zwettler 1978: 202f, 230 n. 79; for a detailed discussion of the unattributed verses in Sībawayh's *Kitāb*, whose number far exceeds the "mythical" fifty, see Ramaḍān 'Abdattawwāb, *Buḥūṯ wa maqālāt fī l-luġa* (Cairo/Riyadh, Maktabat al-Xānjī/Dār ar-Rifā'ī: 1402/1982), 89-140. Moreover, the published portion of al-A'lam aš-Šantamarī's fifth/eleventh-century commentary on Sībawayh's *šawāhid* dealing with this verse gives no name for the poet (al-A'lam I: 426), although elsewhere a gloss to *'alīf* (in line 7) by al-A'lam (= Abu l-Ḥajjāj) is cited which specifically declares that it refers to Mu'āwiya (al-'Aynī IV: 398_{1f}; 'Abdalqādir al-Baġdādi *Xizāna* [1] III: 593 / [2] VIII: 505). I do not know whether this gloss would be found in the unpublished portion of the commentary mentioned or in another work of al-A'lam's - published, unpublished, or lost - unavailable to me. (On aš-Šantamarī [d. 476/1041] see Brockelmann *GAL* I: 309, Suppl. I: 542, with references; for his commentary on Sībawayh's poetical citations, see Sezgin *GAS* IX: 60 (§ 43), who says that the edition cited here was published in the form of extracts - "in Auszügen" - from the original.) Incidentally, Imām Ḥasan al-Jubūrī, discusses in some detail this *šāhid*; but he mentions only in passing that Sībawayh had not ascribed it to Maysūn (by oversight?), without adding that several of his commentators - including al-A'lam - had also left it unascribed (*Šawāhid Sībawayh min šawā'ir al-'Arab* [Cairo, Maṭba'at al-Amāna: 1411/1990], pp. 68-71).
Could Sībawayh have drawn the *šāhid* from the same verses that later Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, transmitting on al-Madā'inī's authority, attributed to a Minqarī wife of Yazīd b. Ḥubayra al-Muḥāribī (see below)? It is impossible to know for certain. When in subsequent centuries the *šāhid* is provided with an author, only Maysūn bint Baḥdal is mentioned.

15 As noted above (gloss to line 2), the *'abā'a* was a garment characteristic, above all, of the Bedouins and worn by both men and women. In fact, as Y.K. Stillman indicates for the early Islamic period at least, "many of the items of clothing worn by men and women were identical" (*EI*^{2} V: 733a). Whether garments of gauze or chiffon (*šaff, šufūf*) would have been correspondingly unisex at the time and among certain classes I cannot say with certainty.

rad[16] adduced, *also anonymously*, the same line as *šāhid* for the same grammatical feature (*Muqtaḍab* II: 27), just as did az-Zajjājī[17] (*al-Jumal* 199 [with *qawlu-hu*]) early and Ibn Fāris[18] (*aṣ-Ṣāḥibī* 118, cf. 112) late in the fourth/tenth century. Similarly, around the mid-fourth/tenth century, in his "Treatise on Terms for the Wind," Ibn Xālawayh[19] also quoted this line (with *wa*, not *la*) on the authority of Ibn Durayd[20] (*anšada-nā -bnu Durayd*), but again without naming a poet (*Asmā' ar-rīḥ* 337_{9f}).[21]

16 Abu l-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Yazīd aṭ-Ṭumālī al-Azdī, d. 285/898; see Sezgin *GAS* VIII: 98f, IX: 78-80 with references; *EI*^{2} VII: 279b-282a (R. Sellheim).

17 Abu l-Qāsim 'Abdarraḥmān b. Isḥāq, d. 337/949+; see Sezgin *GAS* VIII: 105f, IX: 88-95, with references.

18 Abu l-Ḥusayn b. Fāris b. Zakarīyā', d. 395/1005; see Sezgin *GAS* VIII: 209-14, IX: 194 with references. Ibn Fāris cites the line twice: first, to illustrate the emphatic *la* with which it begins in most grammatical works (cf. Appendix, n. *d)* and, second, to illustrate *wa* with the subjunctive.

19 Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad, d. 370/980; see Sezgin *GAS* VII: 178-80, IX: 169-71 with references; *EI*^{2} III: 824b-825a (A. Spitaler). Ibn Xālawayh merely appended the line, incidentally and without comment, to the one preceding (line 1), which he had cited to confirm the correctness of *arwāḥ* as plural for *rīḥ*, 'wind'.

20 Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Durayd al-Azdī (d. 321/933); see Sezgin *GAS* VIII: 101-105; IX: 85f. I have found none of the verses in any of the works of Ibn Durayd available to me (including *al-Jamhara fī l-luġa, al-Malāḥin, al-Ištiqāq, al-Mujtanā*, and *Wasf al-matar wa s-saḥāb*). Nevertheless, that Ibn Durayd may have been responsible for or involved in transmitting a version of some of the lines *and* attributing them to Maysūn cannot be discounted. The Xālidī brothers (see below) studied with him (*al-Ašbāh* I: i ['']), and their anthology includes the earliest instance of the attribution to Maysūn (though Ibn Durayd is not mentioned). Ibn 'Asākir related the story of her marriage to Mu'āwiya and her recital of five of the lines (1-5-6-2-7 [= K_2] on the indirect authority of Ibn Durayd, as cited by one Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Baġdādī in "a book composed by some Syrian on the subject of yearning for homelands" (see n. 49, below). An "Abū Sa'd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Baġdādī" is often cited directly by Ibn 'Asākir as a contemporary authority (see, e.g., *Ta'rīx T.n.* 605 [index, s.n.; the editor does not include this citation]). Hence, it would seem unlikely that he would have been cited on this occasion by way of "some Syrian's book"; and just who otherwise this Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Baġdādī, who adduced Ibn Durayd's authority, might purportedly have been cannot be determined. Ibn 'Asākir's "isnād," account, and version of the lines were later taken over without comment by as-Suyūṭī (K_2 = S1-5). So, although Ibn Durayd's role as the earliest source of the attribution so far uncovered cannot be said to be established beyond doubt, one may grant that he probably knew and transmitted some – at least two – of the lines themselves (based on Ibn Xālawayh's *anonymous* citation on his authority).

21 It must be emphasized that, while the foregoing attestations of the verse(s) and those that follow – with or without attribution – have been identified through examination of a wide range of sources, I cannot claim that no important reference has been overlooked. A number of potentially relevant sources remain either unpublished or otherwise inaccessible to me up to this time (including several commentaries on *šawāhid*-lines from the grammatical works mentioned). Thus, the chronology of developments in

Yet already in the third/ninth century a contemporary of al-Mubarrad, Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr,[22] had included this line (2), with the initial *la*, together with lines 6 and 1 (in that order: 2-6-1 [= Ṭ]), in a chapter of his large anthology of prose and poetry (*Balāġāt an-nisā'* 160f). On the authority of al-Madā'inī,[23] he explicitly ascribed the three verses to an unnamed wife of Yazīd b. Hubayra al-Muḥāribī,[24] 'Abdalmalik b. Marwān's (65-86/685-705) first governor of al-Yamāma (hence placing them more or less forty years *after* the time when Maysūn al-Kalbīya was supposed to have been sent back to the desert by Mu'āwiya[25]). This woman was a daughter of Ṭalaba b. Qays b. 'Āṣim al-Minqarī, whose father Qays (d. 47/667) had been chieftain of the Banū Muqā'is (of Tamīm) and a Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad. Qays had been called by the Prophet himself "the chieftain of the Bedouins" (*sayyid ahl al-wabar*), and Ṭalaba had been renowned for his generosity (M.J. Kister in *EI*^{2} IV: 832b). So the woman's noble Bedouin ancestry and status[26] can

the history of the "Maysūn" verses, as it is deduced and considered here, must be deemed provisional, since the possibility still holds that other and earlier references (of one kind or another) may pop up in such sources or in totally unexpected places.

22 Abu l-Fadl Aḥmad, d. 280/893; see Sezgin *GAS* I: 348f, with references; *EI*^{2} III 692b-693b (F. Rosenthal), with references. Only three sections are known to remain of the large fourteen-section *Kitāb al-Manṭūr wa l-manẓūm*; the section that includes these verses is devoted to trenchant utterances of women (*Balāġāt an-nisā'*). Cf., also, al-Xālidīyān *al-Ašbāh* II: 137 n. 2, and al-Baṣrī *al-Ḥamāsa* (2) II: 421, *at-taxrīj*).

23 Abu l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad (d. between 215/830 and 228/843 [F. Sezgin gives dates as late as 234/849 and 235/850]); see Sezgin *GAS* I: 314f; *EI*^{2} V: 946b-949b, opting for 228/843 as the most likely date of death [Ursala Sezgin]).

24 See Caskel 1966: I, Taf. 126_{20}, II, 594a (also Xalīfa b. Xayyāṭ *Ta'rīx* 301); not to be confused with Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayra al-Fazārī (Caskel, I, Taf. 130_{22}, II, 597a; *EI*^{2} III: 802b [J.-Cl. Vadet; for "Yūsuf" read "Yazīd"]).

25 Figures ranging from 35 to 43 years are given for Yazīd's age at his death in 64/683 according to H. Lammens, who prefers the higher number (*Le Califat de Yazid I*^{er} [Beirut, Imprimerie catholique: 1921; extract from Université Saint-Joseph, Beirut, *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale* 4-7 (1910-14)], 477f). Most sources assert or suggest that Mu'āwiya divorced Maysūn during Yazīd's early childhood or even while she was still pregnant, but Lammens (*EI*^{2} VI: 924) considers her and Yazīd's sojourn in the desert to have been temporary and to have given rise to the "legend" of her repudiation by Mu'āwiya (cf. *idem* 1906-08: 178, 186-89). Nevertheless, the repudiation itself seems to be confirmed by a report of Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 245/859-60; see Brockelmann *GAL* I: 106, Suppl. I: 165f; Sezgin *GAS* VIII: 90-92) on an entirely unrelated incident (*al-Munammaq* 490).

26 A niece (or cousin or sister?) of hers would have been Mayya bint Muqātil b. Ṭalaba, beloved of Du r-Rumma (Kister in *EI*^{2} IV 833a), "last" of the classical Bedouin poets. It is most interesting to note that Ibn Abī Ṭāhir immediately followed up these verses with three more quite unrelated verses by a woman also descended from Ṭalaba b. Qays reproaching her tribe of Tamīn for having married her off to a man of Jasr b. Muḥārib (see Caskel 1966: I, 1269, II, 260b) who was of questionable paternity (*wa kāna r-rajulu*

be considered well established and her three verses, *in the form and context presented by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir*, fit nicely into the *ḥanīn*-genre[27]: they forcefully express yearning for a desert homeland, in spite of its discomforts and hardships, and discontent with urban refinements and restraints, both of which were among the genre's primary motifs.

It is only in works dating a century or more after Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (i.e., well into the fourth/tenth century) that I begin to find the name of Maysūn bint Baḥdal in connection with any line or lines of the poem. One of the first instances - again the already well known and long anonymous *šāhid* of Sībawayh (which also introduced the three lines that were

da'īyan; on the *da'īy*, 'a person who falsely claimed descent other than the true one', see Goldziher 1889-90: I, 137f/129). See further below.

27 Nevertheless, none of the three verses anthologized by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr nor any others from the "Maysūn"-poem are to be found in the preeminent work on the subject of *ḥanīn*, the *Risālat al-ḥanīn ila l-awṭān*, composed even earlier by Abū 'Uṯmān 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9; see *EI*^{2} II: 385a-387b [Ch. Pellat]), nor among the verse and prose examples of the *ḥanīn*-motif collected by Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (d. after 400/1010; see *EI*^{2} I: 712b [J.W. Fück]) in his *Dīwān al-ma'ānī* II: 186-94. Brief discussions of *ḥanīn* in pre- and early Islamic Arabic poetry may be found in, e.g., G.E. von Grunebaum, "The Response to Nature in Arabic Poetry," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 4 (1945): 144 & n. 56 (= idem 1955: 39 & n. 56); Carlo-Alfonso Nallino, *La Littérature arabe des origines a l'époque de la dynastie umayyade. Leçons professées en Arabe à l'Université du Caire* (trans. from Italian of Maria Nallino by Charles Pellat [= *Islam d'hier et d'aujourd'hui* 6]; Paris, G.P. Maisonneuve: 1950), 81f, 112-14, 172: Haddāra 1963: 197-99 (noting that during the second/eighth century *ḥanīn* for cities and towns replaced *ḥanīn* for the desert homeland in poetry); Ḥusayn 'Aṭwān, *aš-Šu'arā' min muxaḍrami d-dawlatayn al-umawīya wa l-'abbāsīya* (Amman/Beirut, Maktabat al-Muḥtasib/Dār al-Jīl: 1974), 422f (I owe this reference to my friend Dr. Joseph Zeidan). H.A.R. Gibb's (1948) observations regarding the socio-psychological sensibility giving rise to the elegiac *nasīb* of the classical *qasīda* and Arab-Islamic civilization's "perennial fascination with the old bedouin life and traditions" (p. 577) hold much relevance for a more penetrating analysis of the *ḥanīn*-genre than can be undertaken here. Hussein Bayyud gives consideration to what might be classed a subgenre of *ḥanīn*-verse, to which these lines can obviously be related - viz., poetry that reflects an opposition or contrast between bedouin and urban life (Bayyud 1988: 191-205). Cf. also Albert Arazi's discussion of Abū Nuwās' sometimes satirical, sometimes parodic treatment of such desert- and Bedouin-related themes (Arazi 1975: passim). Finally, it should be noted that, during the first century of Islam - when *ḥanīn*-verse was flourishing - and perhaps somewhat later as well, if a nomadic tribesman who had settled in a city or one of the *amṣār* were to leave and return to the desert (i.e., to perform *ta'arrub*), 'he would be subject to punishment as if he was *murtadd*, who committed the crime of apostasy" (Athamina 1987: 11). Thus, we might suspect that early poetic longings for the desert homeland may at times have shared some of the disrepute and sense of impropiety that attached to *xamr*- and *ġazal*-verse, though to a much lesser degree and for a much shorter period of Arabic literary history. I am unaware, however, that any such disapproval was ever expressed.

recorded by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr and attributed to someone else) - is in *Sirr ṣinā'at al-i'rāb* by Ibn Jinnī,[28] an almost exact contemporary of the forementioned Ibn Fāris: the line is presented as "the utterance/words of [or: "what was said by" - i.e., *qawl*] Maysūn bint Baḥdal al-Kalbīya" (*Sirr* I: 274f).[29] In addition, at approximately the same time or more likely a little earlier, a full five lines of the poem (the three that had been anthologized by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir at least a century before, plus two "new" ones, 4 and 7)[30] came into circulation, assigned without quibble to Maysūn and accompanied by a very brief account of the supposed circumstances surrounding their composition. They appeared in *al-Ašbāh wa n-naẓā'ir* (or *Ḥamāsat al-Xālidīyayn*), a large miscellany comparing "ancient" with "modern" verse and interspersed with anecdotes, compiled by two brothers, Abū Bakr and Abū 'Uṯmān al-Xālidī.[31] As a younger colleague of the brothers Xālidī, Ibn Jinnī had undoubtedly had contact with them at the court of Sayfaddawla (333-56/945-67) - where, significantly enough, they were in charge of the amīr's library - and perhaps later at Baġdād as well; and it may have been through them that

28 Abu l-Fatḥ 'Uṯmān, d. 392/1002; see Sezgin *GAS* IX: 173-82; *EI*^{2} III: 754b (J. Pedersen).

29 The editors note (*Sirr* I: 274 n. 6) that the mss all read *al-Kilābīya*, rather than *al-Kalbīya* (the same is noted for all the mss of *al-Ḥamāsa al-baṣrīya* by its editor; see al-Baṣrī [2] 421m). Although there is practically no doubt whatever that the historical Maysūn's tribal descent was from Kalb b. Wabara, could this Kilābī *nisba* be somehow connected with the odd and otherwise unattested variant to line 7 found in the commentary on *šawāhid*-verses in az-Zajjājī's *al-Jumal* by Ibn as-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī (see n. 45, below): J4 - *la amradu min šabābi banī Kilābin * aḥabbu ilay-ya min šayxin 'anīfī* (see Appendix, n. *s*)? Ibn Manẓūr (*Lisān* XIII: 408a, s.r. *m-s-n*), who based his remarks on al-Baṭalyawsī, reads *banī Tamīmin* instead of *banī Kilābin* (see n. 46, below).

30 Or, more precisely, two and a half of the three. Could there have been six lines in an "original" version of *al-Ašbāh* (= **X**), since **X3** represents a conflation of lines 6 and 5 (**H**6a + **H**5b) - as does, even more radically, **B3** from the *Ḥamāsa al-Baṣrīya* (see Appendix, n. *m*)? The order of the lines in **X** is as follows: 1-4-6a+5b-2-7. Though not ascribed to Maysūn, line 6 had already been transmitted intact (i.e., as it is found in **H**) by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir (as **T**2) with virtually the same form that it was to have in **H** and other later sources (cf. Appendix, n. *p*). And certainly a riding animal like "a brisk-paced mule (*baġl zafūf*)" (as in **T**2, **H**6, etc.) would offer a more apposite contrastive alternative to "a camel-colt untamed (*bakr ... ṣa'b*)" than would "an amiable cat (*hirr* [*sic* in **X** and **B**] *alūf*)," which in subsequent versions (as *qiṭṭ* - **H**5, **Š**4, **D**5, etc.) is opposed to a baying dog (*kalb yanbaḥu*). So one must suspect either a scribal slip at an early stage in the transmission of the Xālidīs' anthology or the none too well disguised efforts of a pasticheur.

31 Abū Bakr Muḥammad (d. c. 380/990) and Abū 'Uṯmān Sa'īd (d. c. 390-400/1000-1010 [not 350/961, as in Brockelmann *GAL* I: 147 and *EI*^{2} IV: 936]) bb. Hāšim; see Sezgin *GAS* II: 382; *EI*^{2} IV: 936b-937a (Ch. Pellat); as-Sayyid M. Yūsuf, in al-Xālidiyān *Ašbāh* I: *'-m* (Introduction, i-xv).

he came to attribute the Sībawayh-*šāhid* to Maysūn (though Ibn Xālawayh, also in Sayfaddawla's service until the amīr's death, had not acknowledged the attribution, as was noted above).

Obviously, though, as we have seen, prominent contemporary scholars such as Ibn Xālawayh and Ibn Fāris[32] either had not yet learned the "true" identity of the line's author or had not found the "alleged" identity acceptable. Even more pointedly, the *adīb* and polymath Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī,[33] another younger contemporary, included three of the lines (2-1-7 [= **W**]) in his voluminous *adab*-anthology *al-Baṣā'ir wa ḏ-ḏaxā'ir* (II/i: 18f), composed early in the second half of the fourth/tenth century (S.M. Stern in *EI*^{2} I: 127a). The lines are incorporated in a short account which at-Tawḥīdī claimed to transmit on the authority of the second/eighth- to early third/ninth-century philologist and historian al-Haytam b. 'Adīy,[34] but which - despite differences in details - is suspiciously reminiscent of the anecdote in *Balāġāt an-nisā'*[35]: Yazīd b.

32 One can also include Abū Ahmad al-Hasan b. 'Abdillāh al-'Askarī (d. 382/993; see Sezgin *GAL* VIII: 181f; *EI*^{2} I: 712b [J. Fück]), who like most of his predecessors merely cites the same *šāhid* - with initial *la* and without attribution - to illustrate *waw al-ma'īya (Šarḥ mā yaqa'u* 294).

33 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-'Abbās (d. between 400/1009 and 414/1023); see Brockelmann *GAL* I: 244, Suppl. I: 435f; *EI*^{2} I: 126b-127b (S.M. Stern); Kraemer 1986: 212-22 & passim.

34 Ibn 'Abdirraḥmān aṭ-Ṭu'alī aṭ-Ṭā'ī, d. 206-9/821-4; Sezgin *GAS* I: 272; *EI*^{2} III: 328a (Ch. Pellat).

35 Since, so far as we know, none of the more than fifty works composed by al-Haytam has been preserved, there is no way of verifying either at-Tawḥīdī's citation of him as source of the report or the report itself. Al-Haytam died while Ibn Abī Ṭāhir (b. 204/819) was an infant; so al-Haytam's report - *if* it is his - would of course have preceded Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's by more than a generation and al-Madā'inī's (d. probably 228/842), Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's authority, by about half a generation. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir adduced at least ten reports on al-Haytam's authority (e.g., *Balāġāt* 131, 157, 191, 203, 214f, 220), but not this anecdote which he referred to al-Madā'inī. Nevertheless, it is not irrelevant, in light of this version's closing verse (**W3** = **H7**), that al-Haytam was credited with a book entitled *Man tazawwaja mina l-mawālī fi l-'Arab* "Those *mawālī* who intermarried with Arabs" (Ibn an-Nadīm *Fihrist* 99_{29}; cf. Goldziher 1889-90: I, 130/123, also 191f/177f). One might also consider, however, that at-Tawḥīdī "was branded a liar, forger, and distorter of tradition. ... He had the (deserved) reputation of being a fabricator of traditions" (Kraemer 1986: 219). Without further information, however, I do not see how the discrepencies between the two reports and between the two versions of the lines can be reconciled. (I have not yet seen Stefan Leder's *Das Korpus al-Haitam ibn 'Adī. Herkunft, Überlieferung, Gestalt früher Texte der aḫbār-Literatur* [= *Frankfurter wissenschaftliche Beiträge*, Kulturwissenschaftliche Reihe 20; Frankfurt am Main: 1991].) But for the present, let it be noted that both reports - the first well before the Xālidīs' version and the second contemporary with or shortly after it - ascribe lines from the poem to a woman other than Maysūn bint Baḥdal, of a tribe other than Kalb (but see n. 37, below),

Hubayra,[36] 'Abdalmalik's governor over al-Yamāma, here is reported to have defeated and killed a rebellious follower of the Xārijite Abū Fudayk (see *EI²* I: 120a [M. Th. Houtsma]), Sawwār b. 'Ubayd; thereafter, it is said, Yazīd's *son* - not Yazīd - married a daughter of Ṭalaba b. Qays b. 'āṣim al-Minqarī,[37] who purportedly voiced her displeasure with the marriage in the three lines.[38]

Whether the attribution *and* the additional verses, would have originated with the Xālidīyān or whether they would have been taken over by them from an even earlier source which has not yet been identified,[39] two things seem fairly certain. 1) There is no justification whatsoever for ascribing the Sībawayh-*šāhid* nor any of the rest of the verses to Maysūn bint Baḥdal al-Kalbīya, wife of Mu'āwiya (as Redhouse and Lammens pointed out long ago). 2) None of these verses can so far be attested ascribed to Maysūn before the middle (or, perhaps, the beginning) of the fourth/tenth century.[40] Furthermore, the fact that T2 (= [H]6) in the triad of lines which appears in Ibn Abī Ṭāhir (i.e., 2-6-1 = T) has been displaced by W3 (= X5 = [H]7) in the triad which appears in at-Tawḥīdī

from a period significantly later than Mu'āwiya's governorship over Syria. Let it also be noted, however, that about a century after at-Tawḥīdī, virtually the same version as **W** (with only one variant; see Appendix n. *s*) was transmitted by Abu l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Abīwardī (d. 507/1113; see Brockelmann *GAL* I: 253, Suppl. I: 447; *EI²* I: 100 [C. Brockelmann-(Ch. Pellat)]), who presented it as having been composed by Maysūn about Mu'āwiya. On al-Abīwardī's authority, it was so quoted by Ibn 'Asākir (*Ta'rīx T.n.* 401) as K_3 (see n. 49, below).

36 The text has "Zayd b. Hubayra," but this is apparently an error; cf. n. 24, above.

37 At-Tawḥīdī's report inexplicably calls her "one of the Kalbī women of the offspring of Ṭalaba ... (*imra'a mina l-Kalbīyāt min wuld/walad Ṭalaba ...*)." Inasmuch as there is no indication of any "Kalb" in Ṭalaba's lineage, I can only conjecture that al-Haytam (assuming that he actually ever transmitted the report) - or more likely, at-Tawḥīdī or some intermediary tradent - was influenced by, or somehow sought to reflect, the attribution of the lines to Maysūn al-Kalbīya, which the Xālidīs would have popularized around the time that at-Tawḥīdī was composing *al-Baṣā'ir*.

38 As if implicitly to confirm the authenticity of the lines and their attribution and to highlight the aptness of the last line (W3 = H7), at-Tawḥīdī quoted immediately after the report a favorable comment on the lines that he ascribed to Muḥammad b. 'Imrān at-Taymī, qāḍī of Medina under al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75; see Caskel 1966: I, Taf. 21_{26}, II, 423b) - hence before al-Haytam, al-Madā'inī, or Ibn Abī Ṭāhir: "These salty witticisms delight intelligent *men (hāḍihi l-mulaḥu tu'jibu 'uqalā'a r-rijāl)*!"

39 Perhaps Ibn Durayd? See n. 20, above.

40 In fact, the only other verses that I have been able to find ascribed to Maysūn are five *rajaz* lines that she reportedly would recite while bouncing the baby Yazīd on her lap (Ibn Ḥabīb *al-Munammaq* 434).

(i.e., 2-1-7 = **W**) raises two further considerations. First, the presence in at-Tawḥīdī's version of line 7 (= **W3**) -

wa ẋirqun min banī 'ammī naḥīfun
aḥabbu ilay-ya min 'iljin 'alīfī

And a freehearted man from my own tribe and lean
far more would I love than a fat foreign brute! -,

which is unattested before the Xālidīyān, strongly suggests influence of a version later than that of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, despite at-Tawḥīdī's nominal citation of al-Hayṯam b. 'Adīy as his source (see n. 35). And second, the placement of that line at the end both of at-Tawḥīdī's triplet *and*, previously, of the Xālidīs' version (as **X5**) has achieved the added effect of shifting the lines out of the relatively straightforward *ḥanīn*-genre into the genre of rhymed invective (*hijā'*; cf. Lammens 1906-08: 176f). The second consideration assumes even more importance when it is noted that, in all subsequent (post-fourth/tenth-century) versions of the poem that I have encountered, this line (**X5**, **W3**, **H7**, etc.; see Appendix n. *v*) serves either as the last line of the version itself or as the last of the series of epistrophic comparatives (*aḥabbu ilay-ya min CVCC*^{in} CVCī/ūf^{ī} [or *CVCC*^{ī} *l-CVCī/ūf*^{ī}], "far more would I love than...") - i.e., right before the late additions, lines 8 and/or 9 (see below).

About a century or more later, al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122; see n. 3) recounted the story of Maysūn and Mu'āwiya and quoted under her name the seven lines with which this study began.[41] Since the time of the

41 Al-Ḥārīrī adduced all seven verses as a *šāhid* in support of his rejection of *aryāḥ* as an incorrect plural form of *rīḥ* 'wind', in favor of the correct form *arwāḥ* (presenting essentially the same argument as Ibn Xālawayh who, however, is not cited). At the outset (*Durra* $3_{9\text{-}11}$) he had explicitly told his readers that he sought to brighten up his book of otherwise rather sober philological observations on non- or substandard usages of the educated classes (for a linguistic analysis of the work see Fück 1955: 179-86) with "appropriate anecdotes (*an-nawādir*) and pertinent stories (*or* quotations?: *al-ḥikāyāt*)." This account and several others throughout *Durrat al-ġawwāṣ* confirm the anecdotal rather than documentative style of a majority of the evidential citations and impart to the work a decidedly *adab*-like character not typical of most philological treatises. Although some of the anecdotes are attributed to earlier authorities, many - including this one - are not, giving point to W. Fischer's remark (made more specifically with regard to the linguistic material): "Wie weit al-Ḥarīrī den Stoff seines Werks selbständig gesammelt hat oder das Material seiner Vorgänger zusammenstellt, läßt sich beim heutigen Forschungsstand nicht abschätzen" (in *GAPh* I: 93). For an early third/ninth-century condemnation of *aryāḥ* as a non-classical non-standard plural form, see Goldziher 1896: 137 n. 4.

brothers Xālidī and at-Tawḥīdī an additional two lines (3 and 5), at least one of which (H3) has been so far unattested earlier, seem to have been "discovered,", "reconstructed," or even "interpolated."[42] In the later eighth/fourteenth century ad-Damīrī[43] took over almost word for word al-Ḥarīrī's version of the story and the lines (**D**), though without acknowledging his source.[44] And substantially the same version of the lines was anthologized in 1291-2/1874-5 by Ziyā (Ḍiyā') Pāshā (**Z**), "himself a poet of high standing and research," who "laconically marked the poem as being 'by an author unknown' " - a circumstance that Redhouse adduced, probably rightly, to corroborate his rejection of Maysūn's authorship (1886: 278, cf. 293).

There are a number of other post-Ḥarīrī versions of the lines that I have taken into consideration, which differ from **H** in both number and sequence and exhibit generally minor verbal variation (see Appendix). They include the following:

Ibn as-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī[45] = **J**: 4 verses - 2,1,5,7[46];

42 Cf. n. 30, above, for the possibility that line 5 - or some protoform of it - had been floating around earlier and perhaps lay behind the formulation of **X**3. I have so far found no substantive version of the lines or of a report concerning them between those of the Xālidīs and at-Tawḥīdī and that of al-Ḥarīrī. Again, let me emphasize that my failure to find such a version by no means proves that none exists!

43 Muḥammad b. Mūsā Kamāladdīn, d. 808/1405; see Brockelmann *GAL* II: 172f, Suppl. II: 170f; *EI*^{2} II: 107b-108a (L. Kopf).

44 Ad-Damīrī introduced the lines and the story of Maysūn and Mu'āwiya in the section headed "al-Qitt (the cat)" (*al-Ḥayawān* II: 212f). The only variant in the edition of *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā* that I have used is *'anūf* (*sic*, with *ū* - 'very harsh, rough') instead of *'alīf* in line 7 (*'anīf* is a common and paleographically explicable variant; see Appendix, n. *u*). After a rather elaborate and descriptive prose account, unparalleled earlier as far as I know, ad-Damīrī adds a second version that matches verbatim al-Ḥarīrī's.

45 Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad, d. 521/1127; see Brockelmann *GAL* I: 427, Suppl. I: 758; *EI*^{2} I: 1092b (E. Lévi-Provençal).

46 This version, **J**, deviates radically from all the others (see n. 29, above, and Appendix, nn. *i, s, t*; *Bajdal* printed in text, p. 261$_{10\text{-}12}$, but corrected to *Baḥdal* in the "Istidrāk wa tanwīh," p. 3b). It was quoted almost verbatim, though without credit to al-Baṭalyawsī, by Ibn Manẓūr (*Lisān* XIII: 408a [s.r. "*m-s-n*"]; *Lisān* 1. 3 reads *alūf* for $_{J3}$*alīf*, and 1. 4 reads *banī Tamīmin* for $_{J4}$*banī Kilābin*; on Ibn Manẓūr Abu l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Mukarram al-Miṣrī, d. 711/1311-12, see Brockelmann *GAL* II: 21, Suppl. II: 14; *EI*^{2} III: 864b [J.W. Fück]). But I have found no other attestation of it - certainly none independent of **J**. The deviant wording, particularly of **J**4 (≠**H**7!), seems to have been formulated so as to focus solely on the bridegroom's old age as reason for the bride-persona's distaste: the more serious implications of the *ibn 'amm*-vs.-*'ilj* polarity are thus avoided (see below). Al-Baṭalyawsī's version may perhaps be accounted for by the high regard in which Andalusian Muslims tended to hold Mu'āwiya, and the Umayyads generally (in general, see, e.g., Lammens 1930: 406f; Hussain Mones, "The Umayyads

Ibn aš-Šajarī[47] = **Š**: 6 verses - 1,4,6,5,2,7;
Ibn 'Asākir[48] = a) $\mathbf{K}_1$: 3 verses - 2,1,5; b) $\mathbf{K}_2$: 5(?) verses-1,5,6,2,7; c) $\mathbf{K}_3$ = 3 verses - 2,1,7[49];
Ṣadraddīn al-Baṣrī[50] = **B**: 5 verses - 1,4,5 (see Appendix n. *m*), 2,7;
Abu 1-Fidā'[51] = **F**: 5 verses - 2,1,6,5,7;

of the East and West. A Study in the History of a Great Arab Clan," in *Der Orient in der Forschung. Festschrift für Otto Spies zum 5. April 1966* [ed. Wilhelm Hoenerbach; Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz: 1967], 493-95), and a possible inclination on their part to minimize the offensive impact of a derogatory line presumed to be aimed at him.

47 Abu s-Sa'ādāt Hibatallāh b. 'Alī aš-Šarīf, d. 542/1148; see Brockelmann *GAL* I: 280, Suppl. I: 493; Sezgin *GAS* II: 74; *EI*^{2} III: 934b. Ibn aš-Šajarī (*Ḥamāsa* II: 573) claimed to have transmitted the lines and the occasion of their recital by Maysūn from 'Awāna b. al-Ḥakam (Abu l-Ḥakam al-Kalbī, d. 147/764 or 153/776; see Sezgin *GAS* I: 307f; *EI*^{2} I: 760a [Saleh El-Ali]), by way of "al-Kalbī" (probably Ibn al-Kalbī Abu l-Mundir, d. 206/821; see Sezgin *GAS* I: 268-81; *EI*^{2} IV: 494a-496a [W. Atallah]). I find this quite late designation of a very early source unconvincing; cf., for the rather similar problem with the citation of Ibn Durayd by Ibn 'Asākir, n. 20, above.

48 Abu l-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibatillāh Tiqataddīn ad-Dimašqī, d. 571/1176; Brockelmann *GAL* I: 331, Suppl. I: 566f; *EI*^{2} III: 713b-715a (N. Elisséeff).

49 Ibn 'Asākir's first 3-line version ($\mathbf{K}_1$) came to him from Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Īsā b. Ja'far al-Muqtadir bi-lLāh al-'Abbāsī (d. 440/1049; *Ta'rīx Baġdād* VII: 354f; Brockelmann *GAL* Suppl. I: 251f); and although, like Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's (**T**), it did not include line 7, it was ascribed to Maysūn and said to have been motivated by her *hanīn* for the desert (Ibn 'Asākir *Ta'rīx T.n.* 399_{19}-400_5). The second (5-line) version ($\mathbf{K}_2$) Ibn 'Asākir introduced thus:

> In a book compiled by one of the Syrians on the subject of yearning for homelands (*kitāb li ba'ḍi š-Šāmīyīn jama'a-hu fi l-ḥanīni ila l-awṭān*), I read: 'Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Baġdādī reported to us that Abū Bakr Ibn Durayd had related to him [the story and lines $\mathbf{K}_2$1-5]. ... (*Ta'rīx T.n.* 400_{6-17})

Lammens remarked that the last line ($\mathbf{K}_2$5 = [**H**]7), certainly goes well beyond nostalgia for the desert and observed that the line was not found in the ms of Ibn 'Asākir's *Ta'rīx* which he consulted, although Maysūn's "tirade" was included (1906-08: 177, 178 n. 1). Sukayna aš-Šahbānī, editor of the *Ta'rīx*, noted too that both mss at her disposal had lacunae after $\mathbf{K}_2$4 (*Ta'rīx T.n.* 400 n. 9), so one might wonder whether Ibn 'Asākir or his book by some unnamed Syrian had in fact included that line. Aš-Šahbānī supplied $\mathbf{K}_2$5 and the immediately following material (how much is not clear due to the omission of a closing parenthesis) from *al-Ḥadā'iq al-ġannā' fī axbār an-nisā'* by Abu l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ma'āfirī al-Mālaqī (d. 605/1208; *EI*^{2} V: 895b-896a [Aida Ṭibi]; cf. aš-Šahbānī in *Ta'rīx T.n.* "al-Muqaddima" 48f), a work I have not seen (ed. 'Ā'ida at-Ṭībī: Libya-Tunis, 1978). As-Suyūṭī also quoted from Ibn 'Asākir this passage - including $\mathbf{K}_2$5 - and $\mathbf{K}_2$1-5 constitute **S**1-5 (*Šarḥ šawāhid* al-Muġnī II: 703 [411]; $\mathbf{K}_2$5: *najībun* / **S**5: *naḥīfun*; cf. Appendix n. *s*). On $\mathbf{K}_3$ see n. 35, above.

50 'Alī b. Abi l-Faraj, d. 659/1261; Brockelmann *GAL* I: 257, Suppl. I: 457; Sezgin *GAS* II: 74.

51 'Imādaddīn Ismā'īl b. 'Alī al-Ayyūbī, d. 732/1331; See Brockelmann *GAL* II: 44-46, Suppl. II: 44; *EI*^{2} I: 118b-119b (H.A.R. Gibb). As "a major source of eighteenth-century

al-'Aynī (see n. 6) = **'A**: 7 verses - 1,6,5,2,7 + 8,9;
as-Suyūṭī[52] = **S**: 9 verses - -1,5,6,2,7 (from $\mathbf{K}_2$) + 3,4 (from **D**) + 8,9 (from "someone" - *'an ba'ḍi-him*);
Muḥibbaddīn al-Ḥamawī[53] = **M**: 6 verses - 2,1,6,5,7 + 9;
'Abdalqādir al-Baġdādī[54] = **Q**: 9 verses - 1,6,5,2,3,4,7,8,9.[55]

No attempt will be made here to discuss or reconcile the variations among these versions nor between them and that of al-Ḥarīrī and ad-Damīrī.[56] Yet it does appear from noticeable though minor disparities in line sequence and wording that two (possibly three; see n. 46, above) somewhat different formal conceptions or realizations of the verses came to prevail from the fourth/tenth century onwards: one originating with or transmitted by the Xālidiyān (**X**) and another represented by al-Ḥarīrī (**H**). The three-line "fragments" of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir and at-Tawḥīdī and their

orientalism" (Gibb *EI²* I: 119a), Abu l-Fidā"s *Muxtasar* was probably a primary vehicle through which the "Maysūn" poem reached European audiences and a major source of the versions and translations that Redhouse discussed and criticized.

52 Abu l-Fadl 'Abdarraḥmān b. Abī Bakr Jalāladdīn, d. 911/1505; see Brockelmann *GAL* II: 143-59, Suppl. II: 178-98; *EI¹* IV: 573a-575a.

53 Abu l-Fadl b. Taqīyiddīn, d. 1016/1618; see Brockelmann *GAL* II: 361, Suppl. II: 988. Al-Ḥamawī's version is somewhat ambiguous inasmuch as it is not entirely clear from his presentation whether he read line 2 as the initial verse (i.e., **M**1, as I have taken him) or as the fifth verse following line 7 (here taken as **M**5). In the latter case, the order of verses would be 1,6,5,7,2 + 9, and **M** would be the only version that I have encountered in which line 7 is not the last of the verses structured around the preferential comparative (*aḥabbu ilay-ya min ...*).

54 Ibn 'Umar, d. 1093/1682; Brockelmann *GAL* II: 286, Suppl. II: 397; *EI²* I: 68 (Mohammad Shafi).

55 In *Glossen* I: $575_{10\text{-}16}$, 'Abdalqādir quoted **H**1-7 exactly line for line (though the edition prints *ʒfī kisri baytin* instead of *ʒfī krisri bayti*), including al-Ḥarīrī's remarks. Then he introduced lines 8 and 9 with the explicit statement that they appeared *fī riwāyat ġayri-hi* 'in the version of someone else' - i.e., other than al-Ḥarīrī (*Glossen* I: $575_{18\text{-}20}$). Thereafter he added fairly extensive commentary to the verses, similar to that found with **Q**.

56 I should add that I seriously doubt whether much - if any - of the variation in these lines could have been due to the operation of an oral tradition as described in Zwettler 1978. It seems to me pretty well established that, certainly from the Xālidīs' time if not indeed from Sībawayh's, such lines as emerged were firmly ensconced and widely transmitted within a highly sophisticated literary tradition. How the verse or verses that provided Sībawayh with his *šāhid* might "originally" have been composed and rendered, however, is an altogether different question and one that would be impossible to answer, I think, given the paucity of evidence (cf. n. 14, above). At any rate, one might venture the observation that the phrase *aḥabbu ilay-nā/ilay-ya* recurs frequently and strategically enough, especially in *hanīn*-verse, to qualify it as formulaic, if not *oral*-formulaic (see, e.g., al-Jāḥiz *al-Hanīn* 399_4 [w. *ilay-nā*] = al-Xālidīyān *al-Ašbāh* II: 136_{14} [w. *ilay-ya*]; *al-Ašbāh* II: 32_8, 32_{16}, 34_4 [all w. *ilay-nā*]).

attributions to a Minqarī woman were overlooked or disregarded and fell into oblivion (though cf. n. 35).

It is with the Xālidīs toward the middle of the fourth/tenth century that the verses are first to be found in the form and with the features that would come to be designated with them up to the present: 1) they are presented as a barbed complaint, the complainant-persona - the speaking "I"[57] - being expressly identified as Maysūn bint Baḥdal al-Kalbīya; 2) they set up a series of polarized alternatives initially evoking a desert-city opposition and declaring the persona's clear preference for the former; and 3) they end - in fact or in effect - with a line that transforms the preferential polarities into what turns out to be, on the representational (i.e., mimetic) level, the persona's caustic attack on the character and ethnic origin of her husband, groom, or intended. However, as has been seen, the attribution to Maysūn is surely not to be - and perhaps was not at first meant to be - taken seriously: presumably knowledgeable contemporaries of the Xālidī brothers (such as Ibn Xālawayh, Abū Aḥmad al-'Askarī [see n. 32], and Ibn Fāris) and successors (such as al-Jurjānī[58] [*al-Muqtaṣad* II: 1058 (§ 273)] and Ibn Ya'īš[59] [*Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* VII: 25]) persisted in citing anonymously at least line 2, just as Sībawayhi had done long before. Based also on the prima facie evidence of available sources (but cf. nn. 21 & 42, above), the piece has shown undeniably accretive tendencies over the centuries, growing sporadically from the single anonymous *šāhid* verse of Sībawayh in the second/eighth century to the maverick triplet of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir (and, later, that of at-Tawḥīdī) to the Xālidīs' five-line *qiṭ'a* to, i.a., the seven-line recension set down by al-Ḥarīrī and even beyond - to the overwrought nine-line version offered without reservation by al-Baġdādī (Q) in the eleventh/seventeenth century (though lines 8 and 9 had already been floating around for a couple of centuries; cf. also n. 55, above).

One might say that the poem achieved maturity with the fourth/tenth-century Xālidī version, or better yet, with the much more satisfying late fifth/eleventh-century recension of al-Ḥarīrī (which serves as the focus of

57 For some interesting observations on the problem of the speaking persona, "the assertive 'I' of the Arabic lyrical poet," see Jaroslav Stetkevych, "The Arabic Lyrical Phenomenon in Context," *Journal of Arabic Literature 6* (1975): 71-74.

58 Abū Bakr 'Abdalqādir b. 'Abdirrahmān, d. 471/1078; Brockelmann *GAL* I: 287f, Suppl. I: 503f; Sezgin *GAS* IX: 103f; *EI*^{2} Suppl. 277a-278b (K. Abu Deeb).

59 Abu l-Baqā' Ya'īš b. 'Alī Muwaffaqaddīn al-Ḥalabī, d. 643/1245; Brockelmann *GAL* I: 397, Suppl. I: 521; *EI*^{2} III: 968a (J.W. Fück).

the following discussion). In selecting al-Ḥarīrī's recension as the primary version for analysis, I am by no means according it any priority or privileged status in the literary or textual tradition of the poem. In fact, I would be more inclined to accord such status to the Xālidīs' version, if to any at all. But, since the attribution to Maysūn as composer and the reported circumstances of composition are more "fictional" than the verses themselves, it can be said that a given version of the "poem" appearing at a given time (apart from one- or two-line evidential citations, *šawāhid*) took on its identity and "mode of existence" from the context in which it was presented and through the agency and will of the one who presented it there. Many Arabic "poems" - particularly those in florilegia, philological compendia, and *adab* works, as opposed to scholiated *dīwāns* and poetic anthologies - have identities that may fluctuate and modes of existence that may best be understood diachronically. For such poems the key question might be one of *reception* and/or *presentation*, rather than of *composition*. Although the quite plausible consideration should be kept in mind that the receiver/presenter could share or meddle in composing, it need not adversely affect actual understanding and interpretation. To choose and incorporate a certain version - perhaps even a "touched-up" version - of a "poem" into a larger work under the name of a certain "poet," in the face of available and presumably accessible earlier works containing known variant versions of the "same" poem unattributed or with differing attribution, does after all constitute an act of composition - of "authorship" - which critical inquiry can and should address, if only as a stage in the poem's career. It seems to me, therefore, that as long as one acknowledges and takes into account the multiplicity of variants and versions, one is not violating principles of critical integrity and impartiality by preferring to focus on a form of the "poem" that one, admittedly with some subjectivity, deems more satisfactory.[60]

60 In this connection the observations and remarks of G.J.H. van Gelder on the mode of existence of the medieval Arabic poem are most relevant (*Beyond the Line. Classical Arabic Literary Critics on the Coherence and Unity of the Poem* [= *Studies in Arabic Literature* 8; Leiden, E.J. Brill: 1982], esp. 194-203, 207f); and if I fail to acknowledge every instance in which I have benefitted from them, it is because their usefulness and applicability are general and pervasive. His caveats against too facilely identifying a classical or post-classical Arabic "poem" with a particular version of it or too eagerly imposing on it a kind of "organic unity" inappropriate to its compositional, textual, and receptional circumstances are well taken on the whole, especially his note that "a common misconception is the equation of unity with logical coherence or with narrative" (ibid.: 14 n. 52). But they should not discourage us - not that he would wish them to! - from seeking to discern, analyze, and appreciate kinds of complex verbal organization

Considering the poem, then, without its unarguably spurious attribution to Maysūn bint Baḥdal and association with Mu'āwya b. Abī Sufyān, we may ask, what is the significance of this "mature" form? What textual and intertextual effects are achieved by the addition of the final line and the transition from *ḥanīn* into *hijā'*, especially when we dismiss the idea of any first/seventh-century reference to the founder of the Umayyad "Arab Kingdom"? And who or what, consequently, was the target of the *hijā'*, the *mahjūw*? Can some conceivable motive (other than mere sentimental or philarchaistic anachronism) be discerned or proposed why, beginning apparently with the Xālidīs or their immediate predecessors, this particular poem would have been deliberately presented under false pretenses, in a form that bears all the earmarks of a pastiche, by quite well informed scholars and literati who, at least at that time, must have known better?

Part ii (b)

The poem in all its versions (disregarding for the present lines 8 and/or 9 in versions where they occur) has a surface form and texture which can appear deceptively simple. Redhouse, for instance, was led by such features as recurrences of the same word in a line[61] and "the sevenfold repetition" of the second-hemistich comparatives to characterize the "ditty" rather patronizingly as "a somewhat faulty, though striking, artless ballad, well adapted to captivate the rude uncultivated children of the desert and villagers, so as to elicit their applause on being recited" (1886: 278; cf. Smith 1968: 98f, 70; see also below). Yet this apparent "artlessness" of the piece is belied by even the most cursory examination of some of its basic linguistic, prosodic, and stylistic elements.

In the first place, irrespective of any variations in number, sequence, and verbal content of the lines from version to version, each individual verse is clearly framed, semantically *and* syntactically, to oppose an aspect of the desert and a Bedouin lifestyle to a contrastive aspect of the city -

and approaches to structuring or presenting poetic discourse (often involving contextual resonances or intricate, polyvalent intertextualities and cultural allusions on the level of "register" [ibid.: 204, citing Paul Zumthor]) that may well differ from what we or medieval literary critics would be conditioned to expect and that may imbue a particular "poem" with a (frequently non-linear) coherence, integrity, inner relatedness, or closure that one might not altogether unpardonably confuse with "unity."

61 Line 2 - *lubs* 'to wear'; line 3 - *akl* 'eating'.

its appurtenances and presumed amenities - and to express the poet-persona's preference for the former over the latter. A wind-buffeted tent; a sturdy handmade wool mantle worn at ease; the least bit of food in one's own tent; ubiquitous, free-ranging voices of the winds; a menacing and protective watch-dog at night; a young camel accompanying migrating litter-borne Bedouin women; a paternal cousin, bountiful and lean (due to his bounty?): in the insistent voice of the speaking "I," each of these is to be preferred over, respectively, a high-towering palace; flimsy, diaphanous fabrics (professionally woven or imported and probably of silk)[62]; oven-baked, often market-bought bread[63]; the festive rhythmic beat of tambourines[64]; a domesticated cat, ingratiating yet self-indulgent[65]; a frisky mule, bred and ridden primarily among urban or rural agrarian populations, hybrid and sterile (but here paronomastically associated with the bridal procession)[66]; an overfed, uncouth, lowborn (perhaps even infidel) non-Arab barbarian.[67]

62 For the long-established and close associatin of the silk industry and the manufacture (and, usually, wearing) of silk-based fabrics (such as *šaff*) with Near Eastern *urban* civilization, see, e.g., *EI*^{2} III: 218b-220b (H.J. Schmidt). To further appreciate the force of this contrast, above all in the context of medieval Islamic society, one should keep in mind not only official legal disapproval and prohibitions of wearing silk garments, but also the fundamental "minimum requirement of covering one's 'nakedness' (*'awra*)" (*EI*^{2} III: 209b-210a [Ed.]). A fabric by definition transparent (see Lane 1863-93: 1569ab, s.v.; cf. 1568b & 1569a, s.r. [verb]) 1 & 10) could scarcely meet that requirement or could do so only in the intimacy of the nuptial chamber.

63 According to Georg Jacob, "leben die Beduinen auf ihren Reisen fast gänzlich von *ungesäuertem* Brode" (1897: 88f, citing J. Burckhardt [my emphasis]).

64 The *duff* was "the one outstanding instrument of social life" (*EI*^{2} II: 621 [Farmer]) and the foremost signal of weddings (see above, gloss to 1. 4).

65 The word *qitt* itself, if not the animal, was suspected at least as early as Ibn Durayd of being non-Arabic (*al-Jamhara* I: 108a$_{7f}$ [*wa lā aḥsabu-hā 'arabīyatan ṣaḥīḥa*]; cf. Siegmund Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* [Leiden, E.J. Brill: 1886 (Reprint, Hildesheim, Georg Olms Verlag: 1982)], 113). Note that the variant *hirr* occurs in **X** (for *baġl* in line 6!) and **B** (with even more conflation of lines 5 and 6), but that the presumed loanword by far prevails; see Appendix, nn. *k* and *m*.

66 See above, gloss to 1. 6. On the rarity of mules among the Bedouins and outside of cities and towns generally see, e.g., Jacob 1897: 81f; Lammens 1914: 141; on mules in Islamic culture generally, see also *EI*^{2} I: 909 (Ch. Pellat). Professor Wagner has suggested that when, during the Umayyad period and later, poets began to lament the departure of mule-borne beloveds instead of *zā'ināt*s, they did so perhaps to achieve a comic effect (Wagner 1987-88: II, 115). At the very least, irony would have clearly been intended.

67 Perhaps bothered by having to reconcile the application of such an ethnically and socially pejorative word to the preeminently Arab Mu'āwiya (who had been after all a Companion of the Messenger and one of the scribes of Revelation), some later interpreters attempted to limit the sense of *'ilj* merely to a man who is 'strong, stout, rough' or 'hirsute, bearded' (see especially the author-compilers' comments on **J**, **'A**, **S**,

Now, a quasi-romantic back-to-nature, "noble-savage" (sc. Bedouin), "don't-fence-me-in" sort of idealistic nostalgia or pseudo-homesickness seems to have been socially, culturally, and religiously fashionable with a considerable segment of the predominantly well educated audiences among whom the poem would have been circulating after the beginning of the fourth/tenth century, if not earlier as well (cf. Gibb 1948; Nagel 1981: I, 444 n. 22, II, 57; Sadan 1974: 60; Wagner 1987-88: II, 153). This nostalgia, which shared many features and conventions with the *ḥanīn* genre (though technically it was not the same), was at least partially rooted both in the memory of the Bedouins' important role in the foundation and expansion of the Dār al-Islām and in the continuing supremacy of the canons of the "classicized" pre- and early Islamic Bedouin poetry. Yet a conventionalized and literarized nostalgia of this kind would not have precluded and might indeed have fostered the idea that desert life would be considerably cruder, more uniform, less complex, and certainly less "civil" than urban life (cf. Miquel 1988: 60f). As G.E. von Grunebaum has observed, "those very Bedouins whose poetry had at one time been the most potent means of integrating Arabian civilization, yet had never attained to comparable relevance in the Islamic age, were despised and kept at arm's length by the same urban public that insisted on the authoritativeness of their prosodical and thematic conventions" (1964: 102, also 113f & n. 27; cf. Sadan 1970: 1355 n. 1). Yet, perhaps paradoxically, despite all of its known hardships, incivilities, deprivation, and monotony, a "rude uncultivated" and uncomplicated Bedouin existence was often fancied - though condescendingly, of course, and from a safe, comfortable distance both in space and in time - to offer a therapeutic and less polluted alternative to the distracting complexities and alluring luxuries of cities (a view not unheard - of many centuries earlier nor even in our own day).[68] Superficially, the poem might seem little

and Q). These attempts seem futile at best. The poet has established an altogether unambiguous mutual exclusivity between the "far more loved" lean, pure-blooded fellow Bedouin tribesman and the "fat foreign brute." And prevailing Arabic usage throughout the early Islamic centuries dictates that the word generally should be construed as an insulting reference to one's ethnic origins, social class, and/or religious affiliation. See, e.g., examples cited by Goldzier (1889-90: I, 100n/97n, 118n/113n, 128/121 [with reference to this verse], 149/139 [cf. Ibn al-Aṯīr *an-Nihāya* III: 286 s.r.], 152/141 [i.e., "Barbaren/barbarians" in the line by Ibn Lankak]); also n. 11, above. In this poem, though, its clearly contemptuous use by the Bedouin persona, housed by her non-Arab husband in a palace and smothered in luxury, should be taken as an index more of her unhappiness and discomfort with him than of his social status or cultural level.

68 Pierre Briant, in a brilliant and suggestive discussion of "L'anthropologie antique du

more than a stock, if relatively more stylized and poignant, evocation of this fancy. But examine closely the formal structure of the verses, and one is immediately disabused of this impression.

The poem was composed in the meter known as *wāfir* 'ample', which is characterized by lines whose two hemistichs can each in theory consist of from eleven to thirteen long and short syllables distributed in a prosodically determined arrangement.[69] The *ṣadr* - or first hemistich (*a*) - in each of these verses fully exploits the syllabic variability of this meter:

11 syllables: 11. 1, 5, 6, and 7;
12 syllables: 11. 3 and 4;
13 syllables: 1. 2.

But the *'ajuz* - or second hemistich (*b*) - of every verse here has an unvarying number of twelve syllables, unvaryingly distributed; and more than half of the hemistich (the first seven syllables) is given over to the repeated phrase *aḥabbu ilay-ya min*$_{b7}$ 'far more would I love than...' leaving only the final five syllables (— | ∪ — $_{b12}$) to verbalize the supposedly rich, full, colorful, sophisticated, and complicated aspects of urban civilization. Furthermore, verbalization of these aspects is severely reduced in syntactic range to only two fairly elementary alternatives: a simple one-syllable undefined noun modified by a simple two-syllable adjective (*CVCC*^{in}

pasteur et du nomade," leaves no doubt that urban idealization and exploitation of the "primitive" nomad was scarcely new in the tenth century A.D. (*Etat et pasteurs au Moyen-Orient ancien* [Cambridge/Paris, Cambridge University Press / Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme: 1982], Ch. I). See also, e.g., Stanley Diamond, *In Search of the Primitive. A Critique of Civilizatuon* (New Brunswick NJ, Transaction Books: 1974), 203-226 & passim. Cf. Goldziher 1896: 141-43; also Miquel 1988: 57f. For a sensitive discussion of factors conditioning the ambivalent attitude of early Islamicate society towards its relatively simple (though undoubtedly oversimplifed) Bedouin Arab past in relation to its materially advanced urban international present, especially as regards the development of Arabic poetry, see Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's observations about Ancients and Moderns (1965: II, 9-13).

69 See, e.g., Wright 1896-98: II, 363. The syllabic form of the line is

∪ — — — | ∪ — — — | ∪ — — ||
∪ — — — | ∪ — — — | ∪ — —,

where ∪ — — — can regularly vary with ∪ — ∪∪ — (i.e., for the third and/or seventh long syllable [= —] of the base form the poet can substitute two short syllables [= —]). In the discussion that follows, a subscripted number at the beginning of a word or phrase will indicate the verse number in which it occurs, according to the "master" version **H** (e.g., $_{2}$*wa taqa/irra 'aynī*), and a subscripted *a* or *b* plus a number at the end of a word or phrase (or metrical unit) will indicate the first or second hemistich of a verse and the syllabic juncture in the verse at which the last syllable of the word or phrase falls (e.g., *wa taqa/irra 'aynī*$_{a13}$).

CVī/ūf^{i}: 11. 1, 5, 6, 7), signifying a certain kind of *thing* (palace, cat, mule, foreign brute), or a one-syllable verbal substantive in genitive construct with its two-syllable defined noun-object (*CVCC*^{i}*l-CVCī/ūf*^{i}: 11. 2, 3, 4), signifying a certain kind of act (wearing, eating, percussing). On the other hand, along with their greater degree of prosodic variety, the *ṣudūr* of all seven verses exhibit a considerably wider range of morphological and syntactical patterns, each *ṣadr* signifying an entity or activity within some concrete set of circumstances or in connection with some concrete state of affairs. In fact, although some *ṣudūr* are fairly similar in their syntax (e.g., 1, 5, and 6), no two or more of them are morpho-syntactically alike nor does any pair conform to a single rigid morphological and syntactical scheme such as predominates in the *a'jāz*.[70]

70 Examples:

1. lines 1, 5, and 6:

i **ii** **iii** **iv**

∪ — — | — ∪ — | — — ∪ | — —$_{a11}$

i) particle *la or* conj. *wa* + noun (undef. nom. sing.)
ii) verb (imperf., masc. *or* fem. sing) introducing relative clause to noun in **i**
iii) pl. noun (nom. *or* acc.), subject *or* object of **ii**
iv) adverbial prepositional phrase (11. 1 & 5) *or* adj. to noun in **i** (1. 6)

2. line 2:

i **ii**

∪ — ∪∪ — ∪ — | ∪∪ — ∪ — —$_{a13}$

i) conj. *wa* + verbal subst. (nom.) + noun (undef. sing.), object of verbal subst.
ii) conj. *wa* (= *wāw al-ma'īya*) + subj. verb. + noun subject

3. line 3:

i **ii**

∪ — ∪∪ — ∪ — | — — ∪ — —$_{a12}$

i) conj. *wa* + verbal subst. (nom.) + noun in gen. constr. (undef. sing.), object of verbal subst.
ii) adverbial prepositional phrase: prep. + gen. constr. phrase (noun + noun)

4. line 4:

i **ii**

∪ — — — ∪ — ∪ | ∪ — ∪ — —$_{a12}$

i) conj. *wa* + gen. const. phrase (= nom. pl. noun + def. gen. pl. noun)
ii) adverbial prepositional phrase: prep. + gen. constr. phrase (noun + noun)

5. line 7:

i **ii** **iii**

∪ — — | — ∪ — — — | ∪ — —$_{a11}$

i) conj. *wa* + noun (undefined nom. sing.)
ii) adjectival prepositional phrase: prep. + gen. constr. phrase (noun + noun)
iii) adj. to noun in i.

It is perhaps needless to point out that in the different modes of pronouncing *fuṣḥa* Arabic known to have been prevailing during the history of the language this variety of

Thus, the very linguistic and prosodic structures used to convey the persona's preference for desert Bedouin austerity over urban sedentary comfort conjure up a measure of complexity and diversity in the former and of plainness and vapidity in the latter that would both subtly contravene popular (mis)conceptions of the two different styles of life and subliminally corroborate the soundness of her preferences. These structures can be said to reinforce iconically - and at the same time, in the context of established tastes, expectations, and presuppositions, paradoxically - the representational, or mimetic, force of the surface discourse. Moreover, insofar as degrees of intricacy and nuance in description may be thought - or may have been thought - to be indices of the describer's familiarity with and sensitivity to what is described (speech as "the image of life," "the mirror of the soul," and the like), the *ṣudūr* and *a'jāz* of the verses leave absolutely no doubt where the speaker-persona's most intimate experience and deepest affections lie.

Naturally, overdetermining effects like these can only work to the extent that they are cumulative: they would be imperceptible and, for that matter, beside the point in a one- or even two-line *šāhid*. The contrast between the verbal flexibility, variety, and amplitude of the first hemistichs and the verbal rigidity, blandness, and dearth of the line-ending word-pairs - and a fortiori between the signified world (and world-view) of a Bedouin and that of an urbanite - surely gains force as the catalogue of preferences lengthens and the succession of wide open *ṣudūr* and tightly cramped *'ajuz*-ending word-pairs unfolds. Among the "modes of existence" of the poem (see above and n. 60), the three-line segments, ascribed to a

morpho-syntactic patterns would have given rise to a comparable variety of audible stress or accentual patterns which also would have contrasted sharply with the unvarying pattern of the *a'jāz* (see, e.g., Harris Birkeland, *Stress Patterns in Arabic* [= Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo. Hist.-Filos. Klasse. *Avhandlinger* 1954: No. 3; Oslo, Jacob Dybwad: 1954]). According to one current mode of pronunciation, the syllables of the *a'jāz* would all conform to the following uniform accentual pattern (**X** = strong stress, **x** = secondary stress, **o** = non-stress):

o X o o x o o X o o X o

In contrast, the diverse accentual (and syllabic) patterns of the *ṣudūr* would be as follows:

$_{1}$**o X o X o o o X o x o**
$_{2}$**o X o o X o o o o X o X o**
$_{3}$**o X o o X o o o X o X o**
$_{4}$**o o X o o X o o x o X o**
$_{5}$**o X o X o o o X o x o**
$_{6}$**o X o X o o o X o X o**
$_{7}$**o X o o x o X o o X o.**

Minqarī woman and anthologized with their accompanying aetiological vignettes in the *adab*-collections of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir and at-Tawḥīdī, would seem to have represented a length felt minimally sufficient to lend the verses a suitable degree of poetic homogeneity, even if as no more than an identifiable "fragment" of a longer work (cf. also Ibn 'Asākir's *two* three-line versions, K_1 and K_3). Nevertheless, the fundamental poetic principle through which all of the three-, five-, six-, and seven-line versions (and even the late nine-line versions) have been generated is a kind of formal and thematic repetition which marks what Barbara Herrnstein Smith calls a poem's "paratactic structure" (Smith 1968: 98-109 & passim). The textual history of the "Maysūn" poem certainly illustrates Herrnstein Smith's view that, "in paratactic structure ... (where the principle of generation does not cause any one element to 'follow' from another), thematic units can be omitted, added, or exchanged without destroying the coherence or effect of the poem's thematic structure" (Smith, 99). But it also confirms her further premise,

> namely, that a generating principle that produces a paratactic structure cannot in itself determine a concluding point. Consequently, the reader [or hearer - MZ] will have no idea from the poem's structure how or when it will conclude. (Smith, 100)

In this regard it is crucial to recall and emphasize that, by the mid-fourth/ tenth century, literary and philological consensus had "found" and fixed line 7 (= **X**5,**W**3,**Ḥ**7,**Š**6,**K**$_2$5,**K**$_3$3,**Q**7, etc.) as the *effective* closing verse - regardless of anticlimactic accretions appended to some later versions (see also, e.g., Smith, 222-24). But, as Herrnstein Smith again notes, "paratactic structure can be 'wound up' in a number of ways - the point is that it does not wind itself up" (Smith, 108); and formally, this verse may seem just a paratactic repetition of the two, four, five, or six preceding verses. How, then, could it have provided the sense of closure that some fourth/tenth-century audiences apparently felt it had? How has it been framed to function as a "winding up"? Right away one might note the occurence, in the verse's earliest documented appearances (viz., as **X**5, **W**3, and **Ḥ**7), of a striking formal closural device: the nonsystematic repetition at the end of the *ṣadr* of the morphological pattern and *rawīy*-consonant of the rhyme-words (*CVCī/ūf-*) with *naḥīf*^{un}a11 'lean, slender, gaunt'. *Naḥīf* phonetically echoes the recurrent rhyme and, as an antonym, semantically balances the final rhyme-word *'alīf* 'fattened, foddered', giving the verse a semi-symmetrical determination absent from

earlier verses.[71] In addition, the nearly paronomastic repetition of the first and second radicals *'-l-* in *ʾilj 'alīf*, the last word-pair in the *'ajuz*, even further overdetermines the phrase and enhances its closural effectiveness on the formal level (see Smith, 158-71).[72]

Thematically, however, line 7 breaks radically with the conventionalized *ḥanīn* of the previous verses and, in fact, changes the "meaning" of the whole utterance. The previous verses had been framed as expressions of nostlagic preference by a speaker-persona who, seemingly like other more conventional displaced Bedouin poet-personae (cf. Bayyud 1988: 191-205 & passim), decidedly favors the desert over the city and whose very patterning and organization of speech both ironically evoke the antithetical qualities of the two social and physical environments involved and iconically mirror her own perceptions and predisposition. Yet, although clearly in disfavor with this persona, who is only gradually identifiable as a woman, none of the urban sedentary aspects with which each of the preceding verse-final phrases deals is signified in ostensibly unfavorable terms: each wordpair is formulated with studiedly neutral language - even positive if we are ready to grant that palaces, silk chiffons, fine bread, and the rest are things to be desired. In this verse, however, there is no mistaking the palpably and uncompromisingly pejorative force of the last two words: *'ilj 'alīf* 'an overfed barbarian lout'. Not only would the phrase have denoted an alien - an "other" - of marked physical crudeness and obesity; but, because *'alīf* would ordinarily have been applied to livestock or cattle fattened with fodder (*'alaf*) and *'ilj* would have meant a brutish, low-born serf or peasant (even slave) as well as a non-Arab (see gloss to line 7 and nn. 11 & 65, above), it could also have connoted a domesticated farm or draft animal "kept" and "provendered" for heavy labor, slaughter, or breeding.[73] And this range

71 This phonetic echo of the rhyme-word at the end of the *ṣadr* is reminiscent of the well known poetic practice, called *taṣrīʿ*, of ending the first hemistich of a *qaṣīda* with the same *qāfiya* or "rhyme" (more properly, "rhyming sequence" of consonants and vowels) that ends each verse. Here, of course, *nahīfun* lacks the crucial final *-ī* of the *majrā* 'rhyme-vowel', and so *taṣrīʿ* proper cannot be said to occur. However, should the poet or "presenter" have chosen to *conclude* this short poem with a formal device suggesting the *opening* of a *qaṣīda*, such a choice could well enhance the force of surprise and irony that contribute so much to its effective closure.

72 The fact that variants are attested for both *naḥīf* and *'alīf* (see Appendix, nn. *s* & *u*) need not concern us here, since the *primary* aim is to consider the poem in what seems to be its best articulated version, al-Ḥarīrī's (= **H**), and since both the Xālidī brothers (**X**), earlier, and as-Suyūṭī (**S**) and al-Baġdādī (**Q**), considerably later, concurred with al-Ḥarīrī's reading of the two words.

73 Hence on another level of meaning the word-pair would produced the ironic, even

of lower-class, brutish implications could only have gained in irony and trenchancy by recalling that the unwanted " 'ilj" would evidently have been a man of great wealth and power. So, as already suggested, line 7 - specifically, this closing rhyme-position word-pair - propels the poem without warning from the level of intensely felt but, so far, rather lyrically expressed yearning to the level of open hostility and personal attack. Not only that, but within the matrix of socio-cultural mores and expectations prevailing at the time, to *portray* a woman, apparently a wife, uttering such a publicly circulated attack against a man, apparently her husband, would seem to require assuming that she had been either guilty of flagrantly unfeminine and unwifely behavior or victim of a wrong more heinous than having been brought out of desert austerity into urban luxury. Unquestionably, then, along with the terminal features indicated above, this wrenching thematic - indeed, generic and psychological - shift brings about precisely the kind of disruption of expectations and closural surprise that is "a major source of our 'excitement' - that is, our pleasure - in literature" (Smith, 14; also 212-20).

Given, therefore, that line 7 is formally and thematically structured so as aptly to "wind up" the paratactic structure of the preceding (two to six) verses and, thus, abruptly and effectively to close the poem, questions still remain. Is this ending one that "forces and *rewards* a readjustment of the reader's expectations" - one that "justifies itself retrospectively" (Smith, 213 [author's emphasis])? And if it is, *how* does it do so? In what ways might the "presenters" of the poem, for whom it ended with this "jarring" verse, have conceived of a *hijā'* attack by a woman against a man both as related to the earlier *ḥanīn* verses and as fittingly concluding them (cf. n. 38, above)?

First, we should note that underlying the "preference" expressed by the verse is in reality the fundamental endogamous marriage preference that has since the primal Jāhilīya formed one of the most elementary principles of Arab Bedouin kinship structure: a spouse is best chosen from one's own paternal cousins, *min banī* (or *banāt*) *'ammī* (see gloss to line 7, above). And coupled with this principle has been the principle of *kafā'a* - that is,

oxymoronic, combination of a "*wild* ass" (probably the earliest sense of *'ilj* most frequently attested in pre-Islamic poetry; see gloss to line 7, above) that is *domestically* foddered. The popular variant *'anīf* 'stern, harsh, violent, tough' merely dilutes the pejorative power of the phrase; and, since it could be considered to some extent redundant if *'ilj* be construed as "brutish barbarian," it seems designed to limit the latter word's semantic range to "a bulky *and/or* hirsute, bearded man."

"'equality (of the husband)' as a self-understood, natural and indispensable requirement of the marriage of a woman of genuine, noble Arab stock" (Bravmann 1972: 306; cf. Goldziher 1889-90: I, 127/120-133/125) - observance of which was deemed vital to the interests and honor of an Arab woman's family and guardian(s), if not to her as well (see Ziadeh 1957: 503, 510; Coulson 1964: 94; cf. Kressel 1986: 176f; Holy 1989: 120-26, esp. 122). The principle of *kafā'a* had originated as "a genuine Arab *ideal*" (Bravmann, 303 [my emphasis]), just as paternal-cousin marriage would have been endorsed not necessarily as "a rule," but as "an advisable way to conduct affairs" (Kressel, 178).[74] However, as the Arab-Muslim community evolved after the conquests into an international and inter-ethnic Islamicate empire, *kafā'a* became translated into a doctrine of *fiqh*,

> designating equivalence of social status, fortune and professions ..., as well as parity of birth, which should exist between husband and wife, in default of which the marriage is considered ill-matched and, in consequence, liable to break-up. ... However, from the very beginnings of Islam, the rule was generally accepted that there could only be misalliance, lack of *kafā'a*, for the woman, the misalliance of the man being [practically] of no consequence .... (Y. Linant de Bellefonds in *EI*^{2} IV: 404a; cf. P. Crone in ibid. VI: 876b, 882b; Ziadeh, 509f)

It was among the Ḥanafites, whose *maḏhab* predominated in the settled areas of the Islamicate heartlands (especially Iraq. Syria, and the Iranian provinces), that the doctrine of *kafā'a* was articulated in the greatest detail and the *mésalliance* of an Arab Muslim woman disapproved most stringently.[75] For them (as, less rigorously and explicitly, for other

74 Holy gives a fair amount of attention to the conjunction in Middle Eastern (especially Arab) society of the preference for patrialateral parallel cousin marriage and the preference "for marriage between social equals (homogamy), or for marriage of a man of higher rank to a woman of lower rank (hypergamy)" (1989: 112; see 112-14 [on p. 113-11 one must, I think, read "rank *lower*" for "rank higher"]). The principle of *kafā'a* involves essentially the same idea as the latter term. "Hypergamy," according to Holy (citing J.P. Parry), "refers to a norm which strongly recommends - but does not necessarily oblige - a man to marry his daughter to a groom of higher status. The minimum requirement of such systems is that a woman should preferably be married to a man of higher rank but may be married to an equal; and as a residual consequence of this, a man must necessarily marry an equal or inferior woman" (ibid.: 127 n. 2). Analogously, a "hypogamous" marriage would be that of a man of lower rank to a woman of higher rank: precisely what the šarʿī doctrine of *kafā'a,* as related to the union of an Arab woman with a non-Arab man, proscribed (see below). As to the conjunction spoken of above, Holy writes: "The expressed ideals of close agnatic marriage and hypergamy or marriage between equals are not determined by any practical function which they may fulfil, but are logically related to another asserted ideal, that of agnatic solidarity" (ibid.: 113).

75 Even before the social principle of *kafā'a* had been elaborated into a religio-legal

"schools" as well) lineage, *nasab*, was the foremost element determining a man's *kafā'a* with regard to a prospective wife; and by *nasab* they meant not the personal and tribal genealogies on which the original principle of *kafā'a* had been based, but rather a scale of social ranking according to which members of Qurayš held precedence over all and were of mutually equal worth and other Arabs, tribe for tribe and clan for clan, were of equal standing with one another, while the (non-Arab) *mawālī* were properly marriageable to *mawālī* women each to each (sometimes depending on the number of Muslim generations involved), but not to Arab Muslim women (Goldziher, 132/124f; Ziadeh, 510; Levy 1965; 63; cf. Lecomte 1965: 348f). As formulated by the fifth/eleventh-century Hanafī jurist as-Saraxsī[76]:

> [*Mawālī*] are co-equal. But they are not the equals of Arabs among whom Muḥammad arose, and in whose language the Koran was revealed. Since the [*mawālī*] lost their pedigree, their pride is not in lineage, but in the religion of Islam. (in Ziadeh, 511)[77]

In the closing verse, then, we find made explicit what has been suggested by previous verses, and those verses themselves in turn gain greater clarity and coherence, as well as new significance: the persona whose voice has been heard crying out for the wilderness is a wellborn Bedouin woman, and what has torn her away from the Bedouin life and surroundings that she "loves far more" - what has caused her to be carried off in a mule-borne bride's *mizaffa*, clad in flimsy finery and escorted by the tattoo of tambourines, to a high-looming castle, there to dine "civilly" on baked bread with only a cat for protection (see glosses

doctrine, we find that strong measures were taken to prevent or dissolve marriages of freeborn Arab women with foreigners; see Goldziher 1889-90: I, 127-30/120-23.

76 Šamsal'a'imma Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Abī Sahl Aḥmad, d. 483/1090 (other dates given); see Brockelmann *GAL* I: 373, Suppl. I: 638.

77 In addition to *nasab*, considerations of freedom and Islam also entered into determinations of *kafā'a*. "Freedom refers to the question of whether the prospective bridegroom is free, freed, or slave, and involves not only his personal status but that of his immediate forbears. A freedman is not as good as the son of a freedman, and he in turn not as good as the grandson of a freedman. This principle is pursued up to three generations, after which all Muslims are deemed equally free. The same is true of Islam. Non-Muslims are of course excluded. ... Here too the rule is limited to three generations [since the family's conversion], after which all are equal in their Islam" (Lewis 1979: 90f). To a less clear extent, considerations of piety (*dīn*), moral character (*ḥasab*), wealth (*māl*), trade or profession (*ḥirfa*), and knowledge (*'ilm*, meaning of course religiously based knowledge) also played a part. See discussion in Ziadeh 1957: 512-14.

and nn. 16, 60-64, above) - is an unacceptable marriage outside her tribal kingroup. Of course, this husband - this *'ilj 'alīf* - would be an unsuitable peer (*kuf'/kufu'*) for her by any traditional tribal standards (despite his evident wealth and position): he is neither one of her father's brother's sons (as is obvious from the verse) nor a free, fullblooded member of her own tribe or of any other Arab tribe recognized as equal to hers (see especially Bravmann, 301-310 [Chapter 12]; cf. also Henninger 1943: 54-59 & passim).[78] But quite above and beyond that, by the standards of Šarī'a, this husband should be held an illicit and ipso facto irreligious and immoral match, shameful for the woman-persona who speaks these verses and disgraceful for her guardians and kinsmen - especially had they acquiesced in it. So we realize that in the final word-pair we have been sharply and glaringly brought up against the protest of a woman wronged through such a *mésalliance* and, also, that important segments of, say, third/ninth- to sixth/ twelfth-century Muslim society would have condemned the wrong done to her as a grievous breach of moral, religious, and legal - not to mention social - propriety.

If that is the case, though, then the last verse also prompts us to reconsider and revaluate the significance of the earlier verses - to undertake a "retrospective reading" or "retrospective patterning" (see Smith, 10-14, 212f, 216-18; cf. Riffaterre 1978: 4-6 & passim). As a result[79] we become aware that, through manipulating fairly standard generic conventions and deploying a variety of prosodic and syntactic devices, the "presenters" of the poem have mimetically given us a series of statements of preference, involving sometimes varying but mutually exclusive alternatives, that moves from what would appear to be matters of taste and cultural bias to a matter of serious religious sanction and social morality. But cumulatively, the poem's repetitive comparative phrases and isochronous, isomorphic final word-pairs create a schematic

78 Already in 1889 Goldziher (1889-90: I, 127f/121) had recognized an association between these verses and the idea of *kafā'a*. He referred to the report that an-Nu'mān, Laxmid king of al-Ḥīra, and the Arabs who acknowledged his sovereignty "resolutely refused to marry an Arab woman to the mighty king of Persia" and quotes a statement about them ascribed to Zayd b. Ḥammād (father of the pre-Islamic Ḥīran poet 'Adīy b. Zayd): "They are miserly with their women to other nations, they prefer deprivation [lit., "hunger," *al-jaw'*; cf. gloss to line 3, above] and nudity to satiety and luxury, they choose desert storms [*as-samūm wa r-riyāḥ*] rather than the scents of Persia which they call a prison" (Goldziher, 127/121 [from *al-Aġānī* II: 124f]). For Goldziher the "Maysūn" poem (which he cited according to **F** and **D**) "sounds like a poetical elaboration of the *Weltanschauung* expressed by this statement."

79 Or, as Herrnstein Smith (and I) would affirm, as a "reward" (see above)!

uniformity that pervades the *a'jāz*, amounting almost to formal identity. This can effect or evoke in an audience a sense that the elements signified by those units are also, for all practical poetical purposes, mutually correlative and equivalent. Thus, attending to the overdetermining terminal features of verse 7 and responding to the closural power of the jarringly negative *'ilj 'alīf*, we may be disposed to revise our estimation of the preceding verse-ending elements of urban sedentary life, since their quasi-neutrality has been subverted - one might say "tainted" - by retroflexive association with this final word-pair to which they are formally congruous. By the same token, as alternatives "more beloved to me" (i.e., to the Arab woman persona) than a *'ilj 'alīf* and the now contaminated analogues of the previous verses, the tribally and Islamically approved spouse (a "lean" and "freehearted man from my own tribe"), together with all the other aspects of desert Bedouin life signified by the *sudūr*, would almost automatically assume an aura of religio-legal, moral, and social rectitude that could scarcely have been imputed to them otherwise.

The focal point of every verse and the axis on which the entire poem turns in all its versions is the word *aḥabbu* 'more beloved, dearer, preferable (*ilā* to)', the elative form of *ḥabīb*. As an idiomatic phrase to express preference, *aḥabbu ilay-ya min* (or: *ilay-nā, ilay-ka, ilay-hā, ilā ...*, etc.) has always been so familiar and widely used as to be commonplace (see, e.g., n. 56, above). Because of that and because the vast semantic and conceptual realm of *ḥubb/maḥabba* 'love' as it was generally understood and dealt with in poetry might seem to be remote from the discursive world of this poem, it is easy to overlook the strategic importance of formally and thematically structuring the discourse around the kernel of *ḥ-b-b*. But as the last in a paratactic sequence of repetitions, *aḥabbu* in verse 7 contributes materially to the closural effects already discussed; for it is only in this final verses that the root idea of "love" is drawn upon in connection with its most semantically appropriate object, a "beloved" person, a *ḥabīb*,[80] and that the substantival sense of the adjective's positive form - a sense at least as ancient as *qifā nabki*! - is appropriately

80 The lexical, literary, and intellectual traditions take pains to distinguish, often in great detail, "love" proper (*ḥubb/maḥabba*) from "pasionate love" (*'išq*) and related emotions; see, e.g., Giffen 1971: 4, 62-64, 83-96 & passim). Al-Jāhiz offered pertinent information about the semantic range of *ḥubb* during the late third/ninth century: "The word *ḥubb* (sentimental love) has the meaning normally attributed to it, and has no other connotation; for we say that a man 'loves' (*yuḥibb*) God, that God 'loves' the believer, that a father 'loves' his son, that a son 'loves' his father, and that we 'love' our friends, our country or our tribe" (*Kitāb al-Qiyān* 167; translated in Pellat 1969: 263).

recalled. Even without projecting present-day psycho-sociological assumptions back to the early Middle Ages, we should not find it extraordinary if the woman represented might actually "love" a freehearted, lean kinsman, not just "prefer" him as spouse over a "fat foreign brute" - however rich and influential the 'ilj might be. Insofar as a woman's "love" for a man might be thought an appropriate element in a marital relationship, the fact that the man who was a legally, religiously, and socially "preferred" spouse would also be "more beloved" to her could hardly have been judged an impediment to his marriage with her.

But this poem is not simply "about" an improper and dishonorable marriage, any more (or any less!) than it is "about" yearning for the desert. The concrete terms of the closural antithesis - a lean, pure-blooded tribal Bedouin *Arab* versus a fat citified, churlish *non-Arab* - seem too precisely and pointedly determined and the tone of the comparison seems too abruptly and perhaps unwarrantedly vituperative. No culturally aware reader or hearer of the poem during the earlier 'Abbāsid centuries could have overlooked in this pair of polarized terms such a self-evident "objectively correlativized" allusion to the notorious Arab-vs.-*'Ajam* controversy, familiarly known as the *Šu'ūbīya* movement[81] - albeit an allusion made from the anti-šu'ūbī, pro-Arab standpoint. As a major thrust of their anti-Arab polemic the šu'ūbī partisans touted the superior material, technological, and intellectual attainments of the non-Arab'Ajam (especially the Persians) and their higher degree of cultural refinement and greater capacity for sophisticated joie de vivre (see, e.g., Ibn Qutayba *al-'Arab* 363f; at-Tawḥīdī *al-Imtā'* I: 78f, 86f, 89; cf. Goldziher 1889-90: I, 167-72/154-59; Lecerf 1935: 39; Lecomte 1965: 349f; Sadan 1970: 1356f; Miquel 1988: 20f, 59f, 96-122 passim, 321f; Norris 1990: 37-40). Sometimes the anti-šu'ūbīs did respond directly, defending the virtues and achievements of the Arabs in their rough desert existence and maintaining that the environmental and economic exigencies of such an existence

81 No attempt will be made here to go thoroughly into the complex issues and manifestations of the Šu'ūbīya and their opponents, except such as might be directly relevant to the present study. Discussions of this ethnic, cultural, and - most conspicuously - literary controversy which I have consulted include most of the fundamental works, such as Goldziher 1889-90: I, esp. Chs. 3-5; Berthold 1912; Amīn 1974 (1352/1933): 17-100; Gibb 1953; Mottahedeh 1976; Norris 1990. Also very helpful, because of their often more specific or more nuanced investigation of the phenomena and sources involved, have been Lecomte 1965 (esp. pp. 343-59); Sadan 1970 & 1974; Busse 1973: Arazi 1975; Enderwitz 1979 (see esp. Index, p. 280b, s. vv. "Šu'ūbiten, Šu'ūbitisch, Šu'ūbīya"); Pipes 1986; Patricia Crone in *EI*^{2} VI: 874a-882b.

would have curtailed the lifestyle and dietary habits of any - even the most vaunted 'Ajamī rulers - who were forced to endure it (e.g., Ibn Qutayba 361f, 365-69; at-Tawḥīdī I: 72f [citing Ibn al-Muqaffa'!], 76-85 passim, 92f; cf. Lecomte 1965: 350f; Nagel 1981: II, 53f; Norris 1990: 37).

Already at the beginning of the third/ninth century Sahl b. Hārūn,[82] a prominent *kātib* at the 'Abbāsid court, "wrote a large number of books expressing his fanatical feelings against Arabs and his preference for Persians" (Goldzier 1889-90: I, 161/148). Perhaps his "tendency to ridicule Arab ideals" (ibid.) - especially the ideal of generosity - found an oblique rejoinder in line 7's specification of a Bedouin *xirq*, 'liberal, bountiful, munificent, generous (man)', as the one "more beloved." In verses composed by Sahl in praise of his non-Arab compatriots from southern Iraq and scorning their uncouth overlords, we find two to which "Maysūn's" line 1 seems almost to have been intended as a reply:

> Deemed you a house (*bayt*) high on a hill,
> o'erreaching stars as if a star,
> like a hair tent (*buyayt*), pitched none knows where,
> its space by lambs and beetles shared?
> (al-Ḥuṣrī *Zahr* I: 577_{7f}; cf. Goldziher, 161f/149)

Moving two centuries forward, one has but to compare the ensemble of elements listed in verses 1-6 with those mentioned by Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī in his refutation of the radical šu'ūbī views of a certain al-Jayhānī[83] (*al-Imtā'* I: 78-90 passim) to note a surprising correspondence

82 Abū 'Amr, d. 215/830; see Sezgin *GAS* I: 272f, with references.

83 On the still uncertain identity of the "Jayhānī" referred to by at-Tawḥīdī, see at-Tawḥīdī *al-Imtā'* I: 78 n. 11; Nagel 1981: II, 52f; esp. Ch. Pellat in *EI*^{2} Suppl.: 265a-266b. The *nisba* was borne by three viziers - perhaps father, son, and grandson - who held office under the Sāmānids during the first, second, and third quarters of the fourth/tenth century respectively. At least one of them - probably the eldest, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Naṣr, removed from office c. 310/922 - was responsible for the "book" whose virulently anti-Arab attacks at-Tawḥīdī was addressing around 373/983-4. If the book actually was authored by the eldest Jayhānī, as Pellat suggests (*EI*^{2} Suppl.: 265a; cf. also Kraemer 1986: 91f), then the fact that at-Tawḥīdī saw fit to respond to it two generations later is another testimony to the persistence and intensity of feelings on both sides of the controversy throughout the period (cf. Goldziher 1889-90: I, 175/161; Mottahedeh 1976: 163). In a summary of the first six nights of at-Tawḥīdī's *al-Imtā'*, however, D.S. Margoliouth ("Some Extracts from the *Kitāb al-Imtā' wal-Mu'ānasah* of Abū Ḥayyān Tauḥīdī," *Islamica* 2 [1926]: 289f) assumed the author to be the youngest of the three, Aḥmad [b. Muḥammad] b. Naṣr Abū 'Abdallāh (Sāmānid vizier until 367/978). In that event, at-Tawḥīdī would have been defending the Arabs against a much more immediate and current attack.

between the two sets. Asserting the superiority of the Persians over the Arabs, al-Jayhānī reportedly had said:

> It is indicative of our nobility, preeminence, power, and high position that God deluged us with favors, allotted to us lavishly, established us in gardens and fertile fields, and provided us with comfort and luxury. But this He did not do with the Arabs. Instead, He made them miserable, and He tormented, oppressed, and deprived them, bunching them up into a narrow peninsula on a tiny plot of land with only sunscorched muddy water to drink.[84] Thereby one may know that those endowed with favor and meant for generosity surpass those meant for contempt. (I: 86f)

But, as at-Tawḥīdī had already remarked, "Prosperity's vice is to give rise to stupidity (*balāda*), while poverty's virtue is to stimulate resourcefulness (*ḥīla*)" (I: 86). Thus, at-Tawḥīdī said, al-Jayhānī's opinion would lead one to believe that

> as long as an ignoramus wears delicate garments, eats fine white bread,[85] rides a swift mount, lounges around on cushions, drinks vintage wine, and enjoys sex with a supreme beauty, he is nobler than someone with knowledge should he be wearing rags and tatters, dining on greens, drinking plain water, pillowing his head on the ground, and contenting himself with a simple unencumbered life (*qana'a bi l-yasīr wa raxīyi l-'ayš*), oblivious to superfluities. This is an erroneous opinion, refutable by sound judgment – in the eyes, first, of God the Exalted, then, of excellent sagacious people and those of piety and intellect. According to his [sc., al-Jayhānī's] way of thinking, as well, a sighted person would be nobler than a blind one and a rich man superior to a poor man. (I: 87)

Curiously, however, since both proponents and opponents of the Šu'ūbīya had for a long time been more or less equally urbanized and well

84 The editors here read *wa saqā-hum bi arnaqa ḍāḥin,* noting (after *sq'hm*, but apparently referring to *b'rnq*) that "this word occurs in the ms missing the last letter which is a *qāf*" (at-Tawḥīdī *al-Imtā'* I: 87 n. 1). But W. Fischer includes the word *ranqā'* 'sumpfiges Gelände mit stehenden Gewässern' among a group of topographical terms for which "führen die arab. Lexikographen allein die *fa'lā'*-Bildung an; ein entsprechendes *af'al*-Adjektiv, zu dem sie als Fem. gebildet sein könnte, ist ihnen unbekannt und auch in den Texten nicht belegbar" (*Farb- und Formbezeichnungen in der Sprache der altarabischen Dichtung. Untersuchungen zur Wortbedeutung und zur Wordbildung* [Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz: 1965], 217). If the reading *arnaq* as proposed by the editors is valid it would provide attestation either of a genuine masc. form of this adjective or of a Middle-Arabic pseudo-correct form. However, without impugning the editors' judgment or proposing any alternative (especially since I have not seen the ms), I would prefer a bit more substantial justification for this and a significant number of other readings or "emendations" that they have introduced, often based simply on the rather arbitrary and subjective grounds of "what the context requires."

85 I.e., *al-xubz al-ḥūwārī*. See *EI*^{2} V: 42a (Ch. Pellat).

educated, "the Arab" at the center of the controversy was really an "academic" figure with whom neither party had much in common: the nomadic, tribal, desert-dwelling Bedouin, and often a Bedouin from the remote pre- or early Islamic past at that.

> The bedouin furnished - and throughout all changes continued to furnish - the living models for two characteristics which were felt to be fundamental to the Arab way of life. One was the cult of the Arabic language, the fountain-head of all Arabic artistic sensibility and emotion. ... In the second place, the heroic virtues of the desert supplied the human and social ideals which were held to be those of the Arabs *par excellence*. (Gibb 1948: 577; cf. Lecerf 1935: 39f; Sourdels 1968: 267-71; Nagel 1981: I, 444 n. 22, II, 57)

And this same Bedouin "Arab" - or a very close kinsman of his - shows up, cast as popular hero (or anti-hero) and usually engaged in confronting on some level sedentary culture or its agents, in a wide range of medieval Arabic tales, pseudo-historical narratives, and belletristic *maqāmāt* of urban origin. In those contexts, as in this poem, the image or persona of the Bedouin frequently constitutes what Joseph Sadan calls a "mask" concealing several layers of contrasts or conflicts inherent in the society (1974: 68-74, 80-82 & passim). Thus, as is already evident, the "surface" conflict signified by the poem is the old nomad-vs.-sedentary conflict whose beginnings medieval Muslims would have traced to the Islamic conquests (though, of course, it was much more ancient). Following Sadan's approach we find that this "surface" conflict masks an Arab-vs.-'Ajam conflict which is almost as evident: the step from Bedouin as model of Arabic linguistic virtuosity and ideal of Arab manliness and nobility to Bedouin as paradigmatic representation of the Arabs per se is a small one - especially when that Bedouin is explicitly contrasted with a "'ilj." It was with this Bedouin "Arab" that the pro-Arab, anti-šu'ūbī party identified themselves and were identified by their šu'ūbī adversaries.[86]

Not surprisingly, the main and most telling argument against the Šu'ūbīya was founded on the clear, indisputable reality that from the

86 It must be stressed that advocates of the anti-šu'ūbī cause were by no means limited to Arabs; see, e.g., Watt 1961: 124f; Gibb 1963: 55; Amīn 1964: 52; cf. also Goldziher 1889-90: I, 208/191; Browne 1956-59: I, 268; H. Busse in *CHI* IV: 296; S.H. Nasr & M. Mutahharī in ibid.: 465f; Norris 1990: 36, 43f. For an early example of an anti-urban, anti-'Ajam tendency see, in the account of the *ifk*, the remark ascribed to 'Ā'iša, scorning the indoor toilets of the A'ājim as unacceptable to an "Arab folk" (*qawm 'Arab*) (*Sīra* I: 733_{6f}; cf., al-Buxārī *aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* III: 228_{10f} ["Kitāb aš-šahāda: Bāb ta'dīl an-nisā' ba'ḍihinna ba'ḍan"], with some variation).

Arabs had come the Messenger of Islam, the language of the Qur'ān, the social and cultural foundations of the Islamic *umma*, the human resources (i.e., the Arab and largely Bedouin armies; cf. n. 91, below) through which the Dār al-Islām had originally reached its vast territorial expanse, and the caliphs who - for better or for worse - had tended the Islamicate Empire for three centuries or more (e.g., Ibn Qutayba *al-'Arab* 353, 370, 373; at-Tawḥīdī *al-Imtā'* I: 76-78, 81; cf. Norris 1990: 36). For believing Muslims, "hence, the privileged role that the Arabs played in this working-out of salvation (*Heilsgeschehen*) could not be doubted" (Nagel 1981: II, 50, cf. 52). By casting aspersions on the Arabs, the piety-minded majority held, the Šu'ūbīya were impugning the memory and the honor of the Prophet and his saintly Companions - a matter of gross impiety if not sacrilege.

> With excessive envy and deep-seated rancor they would exclude the Arabs from every virtue (*tadfa'u l-'araba 'an kulli faḍīla*) and pin on them every vice. Their doctrine goes to extremes (*taġlū fī l-qawl*) and their imputations are preposterous. They calumniate deceitfully[87] and they resist what is plain for any eye to see. They verge on unbelief (*takādu takfiru*); but then they hold back, fearing the sword. When the Prophet - May God bless him and grant him peace! - is brought up, that sticks in their craw and makes them wince. They are as far from God as they are from him whom He brought near and chose.[88] [Such] excess leads to ruin, and [such] extremism to destruction. (Ibn Qutayba *al-'Arab* 344; cf. Norris 1990: 35f, quoting al-Jāḥiẓ)

Even worse, the claims and slurs launched by the šu'ūbīs were adduced by many to indict them (though often quite unjustly) as irreligious and subversive *zindīqs*. *Zandaqa*, that catch-all label which came to cover a whole spectrum of allegedly antisocial, antinomian, and anti-Islamic tendencies from crypto-Manichaeism to intellectual nonconformity and indiscreet high living, was judged by many legal and religious authorities to be more pernicious and unpardonable than *kufr* 'unbelief'.[89] And so

87 Or, "Their lying/mendacity is astonishing": *wa tabhatu bi l-kaḍib*.

88 Reading *man qarraba wa -ṣṭafā*, instead of the editors' *man qurriba wa -ṣṭufiya:* "... who was brought near and chosen."

89 On *zindīq* (pl., *zanādiqa*; abstr. noun, *zandaqa*) and its rather slippery meaning and application (sort of an equivalent to "commie pinko" in the United States during the fifties), see, e.g., L. Massignon in *ShEI* 659a-660a; Vajda 1938; Amīn 1964: 137-161; Gabrieli 1961; Haddāra 1963: 222-80 & passim; Sourdels 1968: 159f; Lewis 1973: 228-30, 233f; etc. On the relationship and real or alleged links between the Šu'ūbīya and the Zanādiqa, see, e.g., Goldziher 1889-90: I, 160f/148f; D.B. Macdonald in *EI*[1] IV: 395; Gibb 1953: 69f; Ḥusayn 1965: II; 161-63 (cf. Vajda 1938: 221 n. 1); Amīn, 139, 155f (a Mu'tazilī opponent of Aḥmad b. Abū Du'ād is denounced as a *šu'ūbī zindīq*--157);

"the more virulent the propaganda of the shuubis, therefore, the more their anti-Arab sentiments lent themselves to the suspicion of being anti-Islamic sentiments" (Gibb 1953: 70; cf. Norris 1990: 38).

The alternatives "preferred" by the mismatched Bedouin woman, who is the speaking persona of the poem, entail then not just the aura of rectitude with which, retroflexively, the licitness and social propriety of a "more beloved" spouse from her own tribe endows them. The categorically Bedouin - and hence paradigmatically (one might say, stereotypically) *Arab* - character of her preferences, counterposed to the sedentary and *non-Arab* character of the disfavored "'ilj" and everything associated with him, would have reminded educated audiences in the third/ninth to fifth/eleventh century of a most salient feature of anti-šu'ūbī polemic. The pro-Arab party advanced an ideological vindication of the Bedouin-based Arab cultural tradition, the Arabic and Arabian foundations of Islam, and the Arab hegemony of the first two centuries or more after the Hijra. This they did in the face of indigenous sedentary traditions (especially that of the Persians), the ages-old prevalence and prestige of a distinctly "un-Arab" Near Eastern urbanism,[90] and the current, seemingly endless

Gabrieli 1961: 30; Watt 1961: 119-23; idem 1973: 171-73; Haddāra 1963: 232-34; Norris 1990: 41f.

It should also be added that in speaking of "orthodoxy" here and below, I am using the term rather loosely (cf. Watt 1973: 5f). For present purposes, I do not make a very sharp distinction between Sunnī Islam and other more or less "orthopractic" mainstream dissenters - especially Imāmī Iṯnā'ašarī Šī'ism as it was professed among the Arab chiefdoms of northern Syria and Iraq (see esp. Cl. Cahen in *L'Élaboration* 16f; cf. S.H. Naṣr in *EI*^{2} IV: 278 for common features shared by Sunnīs and Iṯnā'ašarīs) - but rather between what might have been thought of as "Islamic" and as "non-" or "anti-Islamic," or "subversive" (cf. Lewis 1973: 231-33, 335). "Orthodoxy meant the acceptance of the existing order; heresy or apostasy [or heterodoxy - MZ], its criticism or rejection" (ibid.: 335). See also Tilman Nagel, "Das Problem der Orthodoxie im frühen Islam, in *Studien zum Minderheitenproblem im Islam* 1 (= *Bonner Orientalistische Studien* n.s. 27/i; Bonn, Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität: 1973), pp. 7-44.

90 NB: "*un*-Arab," not "*non*-Arab." Pre-Islamic Near Eastern history offers several instances of cities and urban-based territorial domains (one hesitates to call them empires) founded, dominated, and largely inhabited by ethnic Arabs. One has but to think of Petra and the Nabataeans, Palmyra, and Hatra. However, these founding, ruling, and resident Arabs (whom one might suppose often to have had Bedouin origins) seem to have taken no great pains to advertise and insist upon their "Arabness." In the case of the presumably Arab rulers of Hatra, for instance, who during the second and third centuries A.D. held the title "King of 'Arab (*mlk' d[y] 'rb*)," the term *'Arab* ‹ *'rb* has been most plausibly interpreted to mean not the "Arabs," but rather the extensive extramural region, seasonally occupied by nomadic tribes (i.e., *'rb['ǰ]y'*?), for which Hatra itself served as adminstrative and probably cultic center and fixed residence of the tribal leaders (see, most recently, Klaas Dijkstra, "State and Steppe: The Socio-political

proliferation of non-Arabs (and non-Arab ideas and ideals) in high places in Islamicate government and society (see, e.g., Gibb 1962b: 12f; idem 1961: 122f). In this poem, through contrastively altering complex syntactic patterns in the first hemistichs and reduplicating a single simple pattern at the ends of the second, as I tried to show above, the successive lines build up an asymetrical formal structure, a *verbal* configuration that *nonverbally* confutes šu'ūbī ridicule of Arabs as naive primitives and cultural inferiors and pricks šu'ūbī pretensions of 'Ajamī intellectual sophistication, social and material complexity, and cultural superiority. Even further, as one takes account of the anti-šu'ūbī import the lines would have held for the Xālidīs' audiences and al-Ḥarīrī's, the Bedouin kinsman along with the complex of other elements signified in the *ṣudūr* would come to imply more than moral and legal rectitude. Altogether they made up the "preferred" alternative to the "fat foreign brute" and, by extension, to all else that was inherited, maintained, vaunted, and defended by the Šu'ūbīya - envious haters of God's Arab Messenger and impious, unbelieving corrupters of Islam that they were (or were alleged to be)! Once again Sadan's analyses are instructive; for he reveals how the Bedouin-vs.-sedentary framework can also "mask," as it does in this poem, a structurally homologous conflict between the authentic and the non-authentic religious tradition, between righteous orthodoxy and perfidious impiety (1974: 70f, 74; cf. B.S. Amoretti in *CHI* IV: 484f). Thus, "loving more" the Bedouin and Bedouin life as they are projected in this context may be construed as homologously entailing "loving more" the Arabian Prophet, the Arabic Qur'ān divinely revealed to him, and the Faith that had been Arab-borne to the ends of the earth - in short, behaving according to the dictates of true belief and true submission.[91]

Implications of Hatra Inscription 79," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 35 [1990]: 81-98, and references cited, especially those by Michael B. Rowton). In other words, becoming sedentarized and urbanized was not a process that was readily associated with being "Arab," even by ethnic Arabs who went through it.

91 Of course, the irony of such a constuction may not have been missed by some of those familiar with the rather negative Qur'ānic references to the Bedouins (e.g., ix_{97-99}, $xlviii_{11.16}$, $xlix_{14}$) and the discriminatory policy against them followed by some - though by no means all - of the early caliphs, their agents, and urbanized communities generally (see especially Athamina 1987). But the value of the Bedouins as military leaders and administrators had already been recognized by several of the Umayyad and Marwānid caliphs; and as time went on and the Arabophile-vs.-Šu'ūbī polarization intensified, memories dimmed and the image emerged of the Bedouins as invaluable allies during the years of conquest and as paradigms of a pristine Arabism and an uncorrupted Islam. The growing idealization of the Bedouin Arab seems to have been

But let us not forget the plight of the Bedouin woman wrongfully wedded to the "'ilj" - her whose "present" malaise and yearning for the desert and the right spouse have, on the mimetic level, prompted the strategically structured utterance that she speaks. Must we not conclude that her alienation from what she would "love far more" (with the implications outlined above) and her marital subjugation to one whose staunchest supporters would be the šu'ūbī enemies of God had to have been imposed upon her, since the tenor of her words precludes her having chosen such a condition? And by whom could the imposition most likely have been made if not by some of her own family and kin, in violation of the Arab tribal and Islamic legal principle of *kafā'a* (cf. p. 310-13 and n. 26, above)? So how, then, to understand this depiction of an Arab woman quite probably wronged by her Arab kinsmen who longs for reunion with one of them in marriage? The question is difficult to answer, perhaps impossible without a certain measure of speculation.

But first a bit of background is necessary. The growth in urban development which had followed the rise of the 'Abbāsids and the founding of Baġdād, had led to a breakdown in Bedouin cultural traditions and kinship bonds among the tribes who had settled in the *amṣār* and elsewhere within the Empire. At the same time, most of these sedentarized Arabs - together with many arabized, originally 'Ajamī Muslims who had not been ideologically and ethnically chauvinized (cf. von Grunebaum 1961: 33, 49 n. 6, 62-64, 68 n. 7) - developed a sense of Arab identity and a sympathy for Arabic culture, as well as an almost corporate nostalgia for an idealized Arab past (referred to above), all of which seem to have transcended traditional tribal limitations and obscured well defined tribal distinctions (cf. Nagel 1981: I: 146-48, 153). This process resulted in the formation of a self-consciously *Arab* bourgeoisie and also, abetted by the 'Abbāsid tendency to de-emphasize the Arab aristocracy which their Umayyad predecessors had so assiduously cultivated and to de-Arabize their military establishment, in the emergence

reflected by certain ḥadīṯs "in which the Prophet praises the *a'rāb* and describes them as the forefathers of the Arabs and the source of potential for Islam" (ibid.: 16 & n. 73), as well as by such sentiments as the second Caliph 'Umar's dying injunction to "care well for the Bedouins, for they are the original stock of the Arabs and the chief resource of Islam" (al-Buxārī *as-Sihāh* V: 21 ["Bāb Manāqib 'Utmān b. 'Affān"]: *wa ūṣī-hi* [sc., *al-xalīfata min ba'dī*] *bi l-a'rābi xairan fa inna-hum aṣlu l-'Arabi wa māddatu l-Islām*; *mādda* here could also mean 'raw material' [Nagel 1981: I, 51], reinforcement(s)', or even 'mainstay', though it is sometimes interpreted - not quite correctly in this context - as 'integral constituent' or "prime ingredient'; cf. also Lammens 1914: 332-34).

of a self-consciously *Arab* proletariat - both of which were foreign to the life and ideology of the desert (Gabrieli 1962: 293, also 295; cf. Levy 1965: 64f; Ira Lapidus in Juynboll [ed.] 1982: 68-70).

Among the Arab urban "bourgeoisie" of whom Gabrieli speaks, as well as among those urban "proletarians" who did not return to a Bedouin existence (see Cl. Cahen in *EI*^{2} II: 505b; idem in *EI*^{2} I: 729b; also Caskel 1953: 18), there seems to have arisen a tendency to view kinship, *primarily*, in terms of the nuclear or locally extended family and, *secondarily* but on a much more abstract notional level, in terms of the indeterminate congeries of all those who fit the viewer's concept of "Arab". To some degree, the project of "brothering" and detribalization that Prophetic policy and Qur'ānic revelation had set in motion some two hundred years earlier among the Arab tribes in and around Medina (with little immediate success) seemed finally to have worked itself out. On that secondary abstract level, at any rate, and among Arab (and perhaps fully arabized) Muslims, the general casual sense of *banū 'amm* had become (if it had not already long been) *notionally* more or less coextensive with the general agnatic genealogical sense of Banū Ismā'īl 'Sons of Ishmael': i.e., 'Adnān *and* Qaḥṭān, the eponymous ancestors of the northern and the southern Arabs respectively, now were *both* popularly traced back to Ishmael, "Father of *all* the Arabs" - ignoring discrepencies that most professional genealogists would have pointed out, had they been asked (cf. Caskel 1966: I, 39f; Norris 1990: 42f, citing R. Dagorn).[92] This is perhaps

92 In other words, Qaḥṭān could be looked to as the ultimate *'amm* of the Banū 'Adnān, and 'Adnān of the Banū Qaḥṭān. Tracing agnatic genealogical relationships *within* either of these major divisions would by the same token have presented no problem. According to standard genealogical ideas, of course, Qaḥṭān (= Yaqṭān/Joktan) was no agnate of 'Adnān. But in a well known ḥadīṯ, occuring twice in al-Buxārī's collection (*as-Saḥīḥ* IV: 179 ["Bāb qawl Allāh ta'ālā: wa -ḏkur fi l-Kitābi Ismā'īla ilx"] & 219 ["Bāb nisbat al-Yaman ilā Ismā'īl (!)]), the Prophet had exhorted some archery competitors from Xuzā'a, a tribe known to have descended from the southern Arabs (i.e., banū Qaḥṭān): "Shoot, Sons of Ishmael, for your father was an archer!" This ḥadīṯ offered a ready rationale for tracing the genealogy of the Qaḥṭānī tribes to Ismā'īl; and Ibn Hišām (d. 218/833 or 213/828) notes in his version of Ibn Ishāq's *Sīra* that "some Yamanīs say Qaḥṭān is a descendant of Ismā'īl and it is also said Ismā'īl is father of all the Arabs" (*Sīra* I: 5_{13-15}; cf. A. Fischer [& A.K. Irvine] in *EI*^{2} IV: 448b; but see also as-Suhaylī's critique in *ar-Rawḍ* I: 19) - a view which Ibn Ishāq himself seems to have upheld (see esp. Nagel 1981: I, 30-33). Later, al-Mubarrad affirmed the tradition that identified Qaḥṭān as a fifth-generation descendant of Ismā'īl (*al-Kāmil* II: 63f; cf. Goldziher 1889-90: I, 99/96; Robertson Smith 1903: 284). For the suggestion that the term *banū 'amm* could designate not just agnatic kinsmen, but also the people, nation, ethnic group (i.e., *Volk*) as a whole, see Wellhausen 1893: 480f.

the real significance of the difference between the older tribal notion of *kafā'a* and the Šarī'a doctrine, which maintained that Arab women were properly matched with Arab men (virtually regardless of tribal affiliation)[93] but not with non-Arab men. The old term *kafā'a* had long been connected with the Arab tribal *preference* for marrying women to men of higher or equal rank (hypergamy or homogamy; see n. 74, above), where the chief, though again not sole, factor determining differences in rank was the degree of close agnatic kinship (marriage between agnatic first cousins being the ideal). In theory, Islamicized *kafā'a* seems to have been an institutionalization of this preference under the guise of a *legal ban* against marrying women to men of lower rank (hypogamy), where ethnic identity - Arab/non-Arab - became the chief though again not sole determining factor of a man's suitability as a spouse.[94] Hence, especially in the cities of the central Islamicate lands, where Arab-'Ajam coexistence had gone on longest but also Arab-'Ajam differences were probably more sharply polarized and where the Ḥanafī *maḏhab* flourished whose doctrine of *kafā'a* - most rigorous of all - was often followed by the other *maḏāhib* (Ziadeh 1957: 504), Arab fathers who would once have preferred to marry their daughters to their brothers' sons might now be pleased to marry them to "sons of Ishmael."

This process of stretching to the utmost the logical and notional parameters of Arab agnatic genealogy also, I am convinced, lies behind the use of *banū 'ammī* in line 7 of this poem. Here the term serves to signify the group which, at once, can provide the spouse who would be preferable and proper to the speaking Bedouin Arab woman *and* does stand out as

93 Always keeping in mind the special status accorded to Quraysh; see Ziadeh 1957: 510

94 I say "in theory" because the work of Holy (1989) and an extensive ethnographic and sociological bibliography on the subject leave no doubt that the "older tribal notion" is still quite alive and operative in many areas of the modern Middle East; and, as Ziadeh says, "in general, it would seem that the doctrine of *kafā'ah* has ceased to be of major importance in determining or reflecting social stratification in Muslim society" (1957: 517). Even were one to question whether the doctrine had had much actual practical importance during the period in question here, its importance *as a theoretical legal construct* cannot be overestimated in a socio-cultural and literary milieu that presupposed some familiarity with and considerable reverence for the Šarī'a with its roots and branches. Islamicate Arabic literature is permeated with terms, images, concepts, attitudes, and modes of discourse directly and indirectly drawn from the intertexts of Šarī'a and *fiqh*; and culturally competent poets or belletrists had little hesitation in activating them allusively in their own compositions or in structuring whole works around them, confident that culturally competent audiences would respond to them.

semantically, structurally, and ethnically opposed to the group into which she has been improperly married - the 'ulūj.

There is no point here in detailing the relentless rise to power of non-Arabs in all areas of the 'Abbāsid administrative and military establishment throughout the third/ninth century and steadily thereafter, nor in enumerating the several independent and semi-independent realms that mushroomed almost everywhere during the same period, ruled by native or imported non-Arab dynasties who owed no or only nominal allegiance to the Arab caliph at Baġdād.[95] From 334/945 to 447/1055, in fact, Baġdād itself and successive 'Abbāsid caliphs were under the complete control of one of these dynasties of "'ulūj" (as the speaker of our poem might call them [cf. p. 341 and n. 129, below]), the Šī'ī Būyids from Daylam[96] - not to dwell on the situation after the Būyids. The caliphal army had for some time been composed mainly of half-Islamized Turks and other foreign elements, and the caliphal court and chanceries dominated by Perso-Mesopotamian administrators whose orthodoxy was thought at best questionable. A self-proclaimed descendant of 'Alī in Tunisia had already been established as the first Fāṭimid "caliph" shortly before 300/912. An Umayyad "caliphate" emerged at Cordova a few years later. It must have been fairly and disquietingly evident to contemporary Muslims even before the Būyid "captivity" that "the 'Abbāsid caliphate was already far on the way to becoming a remote and even alien force imposing its rule on the Muslim world" (Gibb 1961: 122). The humiliation of the 'Abbāsids and degradation of the Arab caliphate became complete when Mu'izzaddawla Aḥmad b. Būya entered Baġdād in 334/945 and had the reigning caliph al-Mustakfī dethroned and dragged from the palace

95 See, e.g., Nagel 1981: I, 279-84. For brief accounts of the ups and downs of various dynastic groups and for reliable genealogies and chronologies, I have relied heavily on Bosworth 1967 in preparing this and the following paragraphs. Other sources will be cited as indicated.

96 For a sensitive and nuanced analysis of the situation of the Islamic caliphate at this time, see especially Gibb 1961. Gibb argues, with respect to "the Shu'ūbī attempt to remould Islamic culture in traditional West-Asian patterns," that "in the sphere of government its influence became and remained paramount - so widening the rift between the Islamic concept and the realities of government" (1961: 123; cf. idem 1953: 65f, 69f). Cf. also Busse 1973, who notes the important role played by the Persian Šu'ūbīya in the gradual persianization of the caliphate under the 'Abbāsids, culminating in "the revival of Persian kingship under the Būyids." As part of such a programme, the Būyid *amīr al-umarā'* 'Aḍudaddawla Fanāxosrō (367-72/978-83) assumed the title (condemned in some ḥadīṯ-reports) of *šāhanšāh*, sought apparently to relegate the caliph to the role of a Šāsānian *mōbeḏānmōbeḏ*, and "felt himself obliged to imitate the high virtues ascribed by the Persian Shu'ūbīya to the pre-Islamic Iranian kings" (Busse 1973: 64f).

and his cousin proclaimed caliph with the less than subtle "honorific" al-Muṭīʿ 'the Obedient' (see Kraemer 1986: 35 [reading "al-Mustakfī's *cousin*" for "al-M.'s son"]).

But during the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries, particularly, at least partly as the result of 'Abbāsid deterioration, the Islamic heartlands saw the resurgence of *Bedouins* as major military powers and the emergence of *Bedouin* dynasts as territorial rulers. Leaving aside the heterodox Šīʿī-related Qarāmiṭa in the Arabian peninsula and southern Iraq, we find during this period at least four notable tribal regimes - all with at least nominal Šīʿī sympathies - established in the area stretching across northern Syria and northern and central Iraq.[97] The form of these "Bedouin states" was conditioned by a peculiar mixture of time-honored Bedouin usage and civil exigencies (Caskel 1953: 19). The rulers remained tribal chieftains; they had palaces in the urban capitals, but also stayed in tents, sometimes preferring to do so; their rule, though absolute, depended on tribal approval. Because of peculiarities like these and others, courtly and Bedouin cultures coalesced under the auspices of these Arab dynasts to produce a chivalric sort of character ("ein ritterlicher Typ") that was as foreign to the old Bedouin way of life (ibid.) as were the Arab urban bourgeoisie and proletariat mentioned above.

Of these regimes, that of the "the troubled and troublesome Ḥamdānids" (Shaban 1976: 169) was the most prominent, if not the most capable or successful[98] (see, e.g., ibid.: 169-73 & passim; *EI*^{2} III: 126a-131a [M. Canard]). R.A. Nicholson proposes that "the Ḥamdānids have an especial claim on our sympathy, because they revived for a time the fast-decaying and already almost broken spirit of Arabian nationalism" (1956: 269). The western branch of this dynasty was founded, with its capital at Aleppo, in 333/944 by the "Amīr of the Arabs," 'Alī b. Abi l-Hayjā' Sayfaddawla (333-56/945-67). It was in the famous "Circle of Sayfaddawla," the most stellar assemblage of poets, literati, and

97 These were the Ḥamdānids in Northern Syria and the Jazīra (293-394/905-1004); the Mazyadids around the Central Euphrates region centered at Ḥilla (c. 350-545/961-1150); the 'Uqaylids, taking over the Jazīra and, later, northern Syria from the Mirdāsids (c. 380-489/990-1096), and the Mirdāsids in Aleppo and northern Syria after the Ḥamdānids (414-72/1023-79). See, i.a., Bosworth 1967: 49-52, 55-58 & references.

98 Not one to bite his tongue, Adam Mez calls the Ḥamdānids (spelled in the English translation "Hamadanids") "representatives of the worst class of Beduins" and "by far the worst rulers of the century" (*The Renaissance of Islam*, trans by Salahuddin Khuda Bukhsh & D.S. Margoliouth [London, Luzac & Co.: 1937; photo-reprint: New York, AMS Press: 1975], pp. 16, 127; cf. 490).

intelligentsia of the age (see, e.g., ibid.: 269-71, 303-307, 313; B. Carra de Vaux in *EI*[1]IV: 74a; Busse 1969: 501-504; Sezgin *GAS* II: 480-504; etc.)[99] - in fact, as far as I have been able to determine, it was in the anthology *al-Ašbāh wa n-naẓā'ir* compiled by Sayfaddawla's head-librarians, the poet-philologist Xālidī brothers, that a version of the poem first appeared ending with the vital final verse (line 7 = X5) and explicitly attributed to Maysūn (see Part 2 [a], above).

Whether *al-Ašbāh* had been dedicated to Sayfaddawla during the Xālidīs' stay at his court or, as seems more likely (see M. Yūsuf [ed.] in *al-Ašbāh* I: "Ta'rīf," *t-x* [xxii-xxiv]), to the Būyid vizier al-Muhallabī (d. 352/963) after their arrival in Baġdād around 349/960, it can scarcely be doubted that the bulk of the materials would have been assembled and perhaps arranged in the Ḥamdānid library at Aleppo according to a scheme remarkably apposite to that venue. The avowed conception of the book, which was to demonstrate that for Arabic verse of the present day one could find similar and equivalent verses from the Arabs' recent and remote past (ibid. I: 1-3; cf. I: *n-t* [xiv-xxii]), was tied in closely with Ḥamdānid propaganda and the dual public image of pre-Islamic Bedouin *sayyid* and of Muslim *ġāzī* - even *mujāhid* - that Sayfaddawla cultivated and that his poets, especially al-Mutanabbī,[100] promoted (see Wagner 1987-88: II, 154; cf. Sourdels 1968: 99f; Busse 1969: 146f): one might be expected to infer that similar and equivalent normative, legitimizing precedents could be found for the current Arab "Bedouin" hegemony of Sayfaddawla, if not for his incessant and ruinous military campaigns against both Byzantine infidels and Muslim neighbors as well.

The "Maysūn" verses, however, are even more germane to a key feature of Sayfaddawla's ideological program - namely, an extravagant official policy of honoring, patronizing, and promulgating the classical heritage of the pre- and early Islamic Arabs and the classicizing achievements of Arab and "correctly" arabized poets and scholars. Given the constant threats which he faced from powerful non-Arab domains to the north (the Byzantines), the east (the Būyids), and the south and west (the Ixšīdids), Sayfaddawla's policy of state-supported Arabism not surprisingly had a chauvinistic and strong anti-'Ajam aspect to it that has been likened to a kind of racism, particularly as it seems to be reflected

99 See, too, the many biographical and anecdotal selections (in Arabic) relevant to "l'entourage littéraire et la vie de cour" of Sayfaddawla collected in Canard 1934: 281-364.

100 Abu ṭ-Ṭayyib Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn, d. 354/965; see Sezgin *GAL* II: 484-97 & references.

in some of al-Mutanabbī's poetry (Lecerf 1935; Wagner 1987-88: II, 154, citing Lecerf).[101] A poem that so poignantly represented a Bedouin woman trapped amid urban comforts in a hateful and wrongful marriage to a "fat foreign brute" and alienated from her native environment and "more beloved," rightful cousin-spouse - with all the contrastive over- and undertones that have been discussed above - could surely have aroused sympathies of audiences like those in the fourth- and fifth-century Arab chiefdoms of Iraq and Syria and others to whom the Xālidīs and, later, al-Ḥarīrī presented it. It would have required no extremist *bāṭinī* to suggest that that woman's situation bore a striking structural resemblance to what some would see as the current predicament of the captive caliphate or, in a larger sense, to what had happened to the charismatic Muslim community itself since it had been taken out of its Arabian desert homeland and confined within ancient 'Ajamī cities now dominated by 'ulūj of questionable character and faith.

Of course, for the Šī'ī Arab followers of Sayfaddawla and the Ḥamdānids, both Bedouin and sedentary, that the newly "presented" *'ilj 'alīf* was identified through the newly "presented" attribution as Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, their "bête noire" (Miquel 1988: 47), was hardly fortuitous: after all, not only had he and his descendants stolen the imāmate from the family of 'Alī (Muḥammad's *ibn 'amm*) for whom the Prophet had intended it, but he had also carried it off - like Maysūn - to Damascus and turned it into a 'Ajamī-style dynastic kingship. Yet, for practical political reasons perhaps, the official opinion of the ruling Ḥamdānid house seems to have been that what the Umayyads had perpetrated against the *Ahl al-Bayt* paled beside 'Abbāsid crimes.[102]

And so, a final twist of the intertextual dial carries us into one further dimension of signification. In the closing verse, once again, the two overdetermined contrastive elements are (*xirq min*) *banī 'ammī* and *'ilj ('alīf)*. *Banū 'amm* and *'ilj* are determined not just by their clear semantic, ethnic, legal, and ultimately moral opposition within this verse; but because of their closural unexpectedness, we are forced to reread the previous verses and reconstrue the hemistichal oppositions in terms of what this final opposition means, and this exercise of itself imparts added

101 Prof. Wolfhart Heinrichs graciously provided me with a copy of Lecerf's interesting and rather idiosyncratic study.

102 See, e.g., the anti-'Abbāsid *qaṣīda* by Abu l-Firās al-Ḥamdānī, Sayfaddawla's cousin, in Canard 1934: 325-33 (especially from 327_4 to the end). Cf. 329_3: *mā nāla min-hum banū Ḥarbin wa in 'aẓumat * tilka l-jarā'iru illā dūna nayli-kumū*.

salience to the last pair of elements. One of the most important functions of such overdetermination is *to allude* - i.e., overdetermined elements are charged with such prominence that their significance bursts the mimetic contextual bonds and must be sought beyond or outside the text. It is generally to be sought in some phenomenon, notion, institution, event, or other text which is known or knowable to the audience of the alluding text, to which those overdetermined elements point or refer, and pertinent features of which can be "activated" so as to form intertextual patterns and establish intertextual relationships (see Zwettler 1989: 1-6, esp. 4-6 citing Ziva Ben-Porat). No one needs to be reminded of just how richly and subtly allusive medieval Arabic literature can be. And after the Qur'ān itself and perhaps a very few classical *qaṣīdas* and short poems, the canonic ḥadīṯ collections (al-Buxārī and Muslim particularly) have furnished a major field for the effective operation of allusion.[103]

Study and knowledge of ḥadīṯ had become one of the foundations of the educational curriculum, a pillar of higher scholarship, and a prized blossom in the garden of *adab*. Furthermore, memorization of ḥadīṯ in enormous numbers remained throughout the medieval period an expectation of teachers and an aim of students at all levels (see, e.g., Goldziher 1889-90 II: 196-202/183-88; Sezgin *GAS* I: 71f). Of the several standard ḥadīṯ collections, al-Buxārī's compilation, achieving canonical status by the beginning of the fourth/tenth century, "has ever since enjoyed a veneration second only to the Koran" (Gibb 1962a: 78; cf. Goldziher 1889-90: II, 234-245/216-226; but cf. also Sezgin *GAS* I: 115f). So, by the middle of the century, one can take for granted a fairly widespread familiarity with al-Buxārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, certainly among the educated classes - widespread enough, at any rate, to make allusion a feasible cultural transaction between authors and their audiences.

In his *Ṣaḥīḥ* al-Buxārī[104] included a lengthy account of the assassination of 'Umar b. al-Xaṭṭāb, his deathbed testament, and his appointment

103 For some striking examples of literary allusions to the Qur'ān, see, e.g., selections 8 and 9 from Šākir al-Batlūnī's *Tasliyat al-xawātir* in Rudolf-Ernst Brünnow & August Fischer, *Arabische Chrestomathie aus Prosaschriftstellern* (6th ed. revised by Anton Spitaler [= *Porta linguarum orientalium* n.s. 17; Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz: 1984]), 4-6; cf. Zwettler 1989, esp. 17-21. The brief discussion of "The *Ḥadīth* and Arabic Literature" by A.M. Zubaidi (1983: 340-43) is not too enlightening for the present purposes. Zubaidi does note, however, that after the third century "the weaving of sayings of the Prophet into poetry became common practice and was generally looked upon as legitimate wit" (1983: 342).

104 Abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad b. Ismā'īl al-Ju'fī, d. 256/870; see Sezgin *GAS* I: 115-34; *EI*^{2} I: 1296b-1297a (J. Ṙobson).

of the *Šūrā* that designated 'Uṯmān his successor (V: 19-22 ["Qiṣṣat al-bay'a wa l-ittifāq 'alā 'Uṯmān b. 'Affān" (!)]). Shortly after being mortally wounded by a Persian slave (twice referred to as *al-'ilj* - $19_{17,19}$), 'Umar reproaches 'Abdallāh Ibn 'Abbās: "Praise God who did not make me die by the hand of a man who professes Islam! But you [Ibn 'Abbās] and your father would have loved to have the foreign brutes proliferate in Medina."[105] Goldziher maintains that "this fiction is nothing but a criticism of the conditions under that dynasty [i.e., the 'Abbāsids], linked with the dynasty's founder" (1889-90: I, 149/139). If so, conditions under the 'Abbāsids were criticized even more harshly by members of the "circle of Sayfaddawla." In an often quoted verse, al-Mutanabbī complained,

> Men from their kings alone their worth derive,
> But Arabs ruled by aliens cannot thrive.[106]

Much more pungent would have been a line from the explicitly anti-'Abbāsid *qaṣīda* of Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī[107] (Sayfaddawla's own *ibn 'amm*):

> Convey with you a missive to 'Abbās's sons:
> "Don't claim to rule! Its masters now are aliens!"[108]

Non-Arab dominion over large portions of the empire once ruled by Arabs (and now contested again by new Arab dynasties) was widely noted and deplored; and the caliphal office itself, so far from being fit to be held by a "Shadow of God on Earth," was reduced to a mere shadow of its former grandeur, squashed under a foreign thumb. Not a few were more than ready (and had been ready for a long time) loudly to condemn the 'Abbāsid rulers for having contributed to - in fact, enabled - this scandalous situation (Goldziher 1889-90: 151f/140f; Nicholson 1956: 279).

105 V: 20_{4f}: *al-ḥamdu li -lLāhi -llaḏī lam yaj'al mītatī bi yadi rajulin yadda'i l-Islām. qad kunta anta wa abū-ka tuḥibbāni* [!] *an takṯura l-'ulūju bi l-Madīna;* cf. Ibn al-Aṯīr *an-Nihāya* III: 286.

106 *Dīwān* 58: 2 (p. 148_{-1}): *wa innama n-nāsu bi l-mulūki wa mā * tuflihu 'urbun mulūku-hā 'ajamū* (trans. Nicholson 1956: 270; cf. Goldziher 1889-90: I, 153/142; Lecerf 1934: 37; Wagner 1987-88: 154, with further references).

107 Al-Ḥāriṯ b. Abi l-'Alā' Sa'īd b. Ḥamdān, d. 357/968; see Sezgin *GAL* II: 480-83 & references; *EI*^{2} I: 119b-120a (H.A.R. Gibb).

108 I.e., the caliphate (?). Canard 1934: 332_2: *abliġ laday-ka bani l-'Abbāsi ma'lukatan: * lā tadda'ū mulka-hā* [sc., *al-xilāfati?*] *mullāku-ha l-'ajamū*. Cf. n. 102, above.

But the allusive correlation that I claim to be activated between the *'ilj* of line 7 and the *'ulūj* of 'Umar's reproach would be elusive indeed if it were not reinforced by another pair of ḥadīṯs - or two versions of a single report - transmitted by al-Buxārī as if for exegetical purposes (*aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* V: 83_9-84_{11} ["Kitāb at-Tafsīr," *to* Qur'ān ix_{40}: *ṯāniya -ṯnayni iḏ humā fi l-ġār*]).[109] In these accounts we find, along with the figure of Ibn 'Abbās again, both the activating contrastive term *banū 'ammī* and the critical notion of *kafā'a* - as well as, perhaps most decisively, the pivotal formula *aḥabbu ilay-ya min* .... Both versions purport to apprise us of Ibn 'Abbās's attitude toward the two sides during the revolt of 'Abdallāh b. az-Zubayr against the Umayyads (61-72/683-92).[110] In the first version, he declares both parties to be "written off" by God as desecrators and himself to be

109 The ostensible purpose of these two "ḥadīṯs" - and another, also featuring Ibn 'Abbās, which immediately precedes them - seems to have been to present Ibn 'Abbās as "incidentally" confirming the earlier ḥadīṯ from Abū Bakr in which the latter identifies himself as the "second of two when they were in the Cave" - i.e., to confirm the exegesis of the otherwise obscure phrase in Qur'ān ix_{40}. The other ḥadīṯ, preceding these two and with a couple of editorial remarks about the isnād appended, is a conventional report "on the authority of" Ibn 'Abbās (*'an Ibn 'Abbās*) that, when the Zubayrid revolt had begun, he simply said, while listing Ibn az-Zubayr's relatives, "His grandfather is Abū Bakr." (Ibn az-Zubayr's mother was Asmā', daughter of Abū Bakr.) In the first of the two ḥadīṯs in question, Ibn 'Abbās is said to enumerate by their honorific epithets several pious and illustrious figures whose kinship with Ibn az-Zubayr should have made him realize the impropriety of his insurgence: Ibn 'Abbās mentions among them as his grandfather "the Companion of the Cave" - glossed by the *rāwī: yurīdu Abā Bakr*. The second has Ibn 'Abbās say, instead, simply that Ibn az-Zubayr is "son (= descendant, grandson) of Abū Bakr," as if to corroborate the previous gloss. Each of these ḥadīṯs, though naming Ibn Abī Mulayka (d. 117/728; see Juynboll 1983: 234) as its reporter from Ibn 'Abbās, varies substantially from the others. If all three of them are intended merely to establish the identity of Abū Bakr as the "Companion of the Cave," we have what seems to me to be a case of exegetical overkill. If, on the other hand, al-Buxārī had another purpose in mind having to do, say, with portraying the ancestor of the 'Abbāsids not only as verifying the Qur'ānic reference to Abū Bakr (and hence establishing Abū Bakr's appropriateness and indirectly his legitimacy as the first *xalīfa*), but also as submitting honorably himself to dominance by the Umayyads (cf. Ibn al-Aṯīr *an-Nihāya* II: 180_{6-8}; Bravmann 1972: 310 n. 1; cf. nn. 110 & 113, below) because of their closer agnatic kinship and their *kafā'a* (hence underlining the continuity of the office, irrespective of its holders, and of the community until the coming of the Blessed Dynasty) ... - well, that would be another matter altogether.

110 For a considerably more detailed and well documented discussion of the same issue, see Moshe Sharon, *Black Banners from the East: The Establishment of the 'Abbāsid State - Incubation of a Revolt* (= The Max Schloessinger Memorial Series. *Monographs* 2; Jerusalem/Leiden, Magnes Press/E.J. Brill: 1983), 82-84, 111-13, 115f. Sharon makes it clear that, later 'Abbāsid propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding, Ibn 'Abbās seems not to have wavered in his allegiance to the Umayyads - at least not in public.

no desecrator[111]; but then he adds (after a list of Ibn az-Zubayr's ennobling relatives and features): "By God! If they do bond with me amicably, it will be with me precisely as a close kinsman. And if they do dominate me, it will be noble peers dominating."[112] The second version, which seems in many ways both to corroborate and to gloss the first, presents Ibn 'Abbās[113] behaving with somewhat similar discretion, pursuing a policy of public non-alignment (though regretful of Ibn az-Zubayr's insurgence), and concluding: "But if there is no way out, them 'far more would I love' [!][114] to be dominated by men of my own tribe [lit., "my father's brother's sons"] than to be dominated by someone else."[115]

Audiences in the age of Sayfaddawla for whom line 7 had allusively activated these ḥadīṯs might have noticed that they had at least three things in common:

> first, all of them are to be found in *aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Buxārī, the best known and most important of all ḥadīṯ collections (although they also occur in other sources);
> second, none of them documents a *Prophetic sunna* - i.e., each deals with an event or situation after Muhammad's death and

111 VI: 83_{16}: *inna -lLāha kataba -bna z-Zubayri wa banī Umayyata muhillīn wa innī wa -lLāhi lā uḥillu-hu* [sc., *ḥarama -lLāhi*] *abadan*. On *muhillūn*, see Goldziher 1889-90: II, 89/90.

112 VI: 84_{1f}: *wa -lLāhi in waṣalū-nī waṣalū-nī min qarībin wa in rabbū-nī rabba-nī akfā'un kirāmun*. Cf. Bravmann 1972: 310 n. 1: "By God! if they (i.e., the Banū Umayyah) will be my confederates, they will be the confederates of one who is their kinsman; and if they want to relate to me as masters, then peers [and] nobles will be my masters" (author's brackets).

113 At least, the parallel versions and the context lead one to expect that it is Ibn 'Abbās speaking. Either a) there is some difficulty in determining whether the speaking "I" is Ibn 'Abbās or Ibn Abī Mulayka (the final *isnād* link in both versions), or b) the *matn* of the ḥadīṯ switches to first-person discourse with Ibn 'Abbās as speaker (a sylistic irregularity here, since he is technically not included in the *isnād*).

114 More idiomatically: "I would prefer, it would be preferable to me."

115 VI: 84_{10f}: *wa in kāna lā budda la-an yarubba-nī banū 'ammī ahabbu ilay-ya min* [!] *an yarubba-nī ġayru-hum*. Cf. Bravmann 1972: 310 n. 1 (citing vol. III, p. 252_b, of L. Krehl's [Leiden, 1862-68] edition): "and if my cousins will unavoidably be my masters, - [this] is in any case better for me than that others be my masters." Bravmann was slightly misled by the Krehl edition's omission of *la* after *lā budda*, which introduces the apodosis of the *in*-conditional (cf. *WkaS* II: $2b_{27-35}$, to which this *šāhid* might be added). The *la* is confirmed in the Egyptian edition and also in Ibn al-Aṯīr *an-Nihāya* II: 180_{6-8} (for "az-Zubayr" [1. 6] read "Ibn az-Zubayr"). Under the root *r-b-b*, Ibn al-Aṯīr adduces the clauses containing the verb *rabba/yarubba* from both versions, adding: "He means the Banū Umayya, for they would be related to Ibn 'Abbās more closely than Ibn az-Zubayr."

refers only indirectly, if at all, to circumstances from his lifetime[116]; and

third, each of them represents 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās (who as grandfather of the ruling caliphal dynasty was revered by 'Abbāsid partisans and most Sunnīs in general) not in his usual role of reporter, but rather in that of an actor and speaker reported about.

They might also have noticed that the social, moral, and religious stigma which became attached to *'ilj 'alīf* in the context of line 7 could only be made worse by association with that 'ilj, Abū Lu'lu', whose infamy it had been to be the first regicide of Islam. Nor could they have missed the connection between the Ibn 'Abbās who, with al-'Abbās his father, "would have loved to have the 'ulūj proliferate in Medina," the 'Abbāsid caliphs who had enabled them to proliferate in the empire and empowered them in its government, and the *'ilj 'alīf* who wrongly weds the Bedouin maid and dishonors her kin. But when those audiences were prompted by the evoked notion of *kafā'a*, the express mention of (*xirq min*) *banī 'ammī*, and the verbatim utterance of the formula *aḥabbu ilay-ya min* to bring into play the two pseudo-exegetical ḥadīṯs just discussed, then for many of them the words put in the mouth of Ibn 'Abbās could have imbued the verses ascribed to Maysūn with a significance and relevance that would have had immediate socio-political implications.

That we are meant to equate the "dominating" *akfā' kirām* 'noble peers' of the first ḥadīṯ with the "dominating" *banū 'ammī* of the second is clearly al-Buxārī's intention and can well have been that of the alluding poet or "presenter" of verse 7. We certainly need not assume, however, that *akfā'* and *banū 'ammī* in these two ḥadīṯs would have meant for Arab (and arabized) Muslims of the fourth/tenth century what they meant for Muslim Arabs during the first hundred or so years after the Hijra. Some semantic and notional changes that had likely taken effect have been indicated above. So when those who activated the allusions of the verse were moved to recall these two ḥadīṯs, what stood out for them would have been the terms *akfā'* and *banū 'ammī* and the circumstance that 'Abdallāh Ibn 'Abbās, the true eponym of the failing and 'ilj-dominated

116 On non-Prophetic ḥadīṯ, see, i.a., Juynboll 1983: 23-39 passim. Juynboll refers to the account of 'Umar's murder and final injunctions in ibid.: 26, 32. It also appears that, in the "Kitāb at-tafsīr," al-Buxārī allowed himself more latitude in admitting materials other than Prophetic ḥadīṯs (including *axbār* and strictly philological data) than in most other sections.

'Abbāsid dynasty and a cultural hero of Sunnī Islām, had intimated that he would accept domination by noble peers and announced that "far more would he love" to be dominated by his own *banū 'amm* than by "others". But audiences drawn from members of Sayfaddawla's circle, subjects of the troublesome Bedouin Arab chiefdoms, and large numbers of ordinary educated Muslims - Sunnī and Šī'ī - throughout the central lands would probably have found the significance and relevance of the verses to be double-edged.

On the one hand, Šī'ī supporters of the 'Alawī imāmate could interpret the ḥadīṯs with reductionist literalness, arguing quite correctly that none of the past or present contenders for "dominance" were peers nobler or agnatic kin closer to either Ibn 'Abbās or the Messenger of God than 'Alī and his descendants, sons of the *'amm* par excellence - the paternal uncle of both, Abū Ṭālib b. 'Abdilmuṭṭalib.[117] Since for them patrilineal genealogy held more importance ideologically than patrilateral kinship and provided the fundamental justification for their elitist claims to holiness and authority, they could conceive their imāms to correspond analogously (or analogically?) to the far more beloved, lean and freehearted kinsman from the closed lineage group and their loyal followers. Outside of these, all others - including, conspicuously, the arch-enemy Mu'āwiya and his dynasty - might with some justice, if not lexical precision, be classed as 'ulūj.[118]

117 Cf., already in the first/seventh century, the clear-cut statement at the end of verses addressed to Mu'āwiya by the strong supporter of 'Alī, Abu l-Aswad ad-Du'alī (d. *c.* 69/688; see Sezgin *GAS* II: 344; for other attributions, see *Dīwān* 71 n. 67), after 'Alī had been killed: "The Qurayš now know, wherever they may be, that thou [sc., 'Alī] art their noblest in merit and religion" (*Dīwān* 45_6: *laqad 'alimat Qurayšun hayṯu kānat * bi anna-ka xayru-hum ḥasaban wa dīnā*; translation, R. Strothmann in *ShEI* 535a). See also Nagel 1981: 140f, citing words ascribed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 114/732 or 117/735), the fourth Šī'ī imām, that stress the genealogical precedence of the *ahl al-Bayt*.

118 For the figure of the Bedouin used in medieval Arabic literature to "mask" the conflict between the Šī'a and orthodoxy, see Sadan 1974: 73-76. Ziadeh considers it "worthy of note that the heterdox Ithnā-'Asharī Shī'ah do not recognize the doctrine" of *kafā'a* (1957: 507; cf. Lewis 1979: 90 n. 120). This fact in no way lessens the efficacy of the *notion* of *kafā'a* as thematic and structuring element in the poem, particularly if we realize that the official Šī'ism of the Ḥamdānids and other Bedouin dynastic chiefdoms of the time was seldom if ever imposed on members of their entourage, many of whom were of different persuasions. Moreover, I am not sure if Šī'ī non-recognition of *kafā'a* was universal or a matter of doctrine; nor am I aware that the question of the purity of Šī'a doctrine and praxis among these groups has been thoroughly investigated. Similarly, we should not be surprised if materials susceptible of a pro-'Alawī interpretation or pleasing to a Šī'ī patron show up in works of reputedly Sunnī authors. Not only were such labels more flexible and less definitive during this period (e.g., the mutually hostile

On the other hand, much more accessible and less tendentious and abstruse to these audiences could have been a reading of the verse at its face value, construing (*xirq min*) *banī 'ammī* and *'ilj ('alīf)* simply in what had become their widest and most polarized significations of *Arab* and *non-Arab*, just as the sense and structure of the whole poem essentially require in almost all its versions. As suggested above, the succession of hemistichs produces a clearly demarcated series of binary oppositions between "Bedouinity" and "urbanity" that is ultimately and almost as clearly resolved into - or taken over by - the opposition between Arab(/orthodoxy) and 'Ajam(/heterodxy). Then, too, the pair of allusively activated ḥadīṯs from al-Buxārī's "Kitāb at-tafsīr" would again lend themselves to being construed quite otherwise than he seemingly had intended. On this reading the "noble peers," whose domination Ibn 'Abbās could acknowledge, would be drawn from the stock of socially acceptable and Šarī'a-approved Arab men marriageable to Arab women[119]; and the "men of my own tribe" (i.e., the agnatic kin), whom he would prefer as lords, would expand notionally to comprise the "Sons of Ishmael" (i.e., the Arabs in general). According to this interpretation, needless to say, the "someone else," the "others" (*ġayru-hum*, sc. *ġayru banī 'ammī*), could correspond only to the 'Ajam - or in the words of the poem, the 'ulūj.

In practical terms, from Ibn 'Abbās's statements in the ḥadīṯs one who wished to could affect to deduce 'Abbāsid assent to specifically *Arab* and Bedouin hegemony over the community of Muslims (or significant segments thereof) and, perhaps more immediately relevant, 'Abbāsid preference for themselves being dominated (if being dominated was unavoidable) by Arabs rather than, as they presently were, by non-Arabs.[120]

Būyids, Ḥamdānids, and Fāṭimids were all nominally Sī'ites of one brand or another); but among the piety-minded *ahl as-sunna wa l-jamā'a* there had long been pronounced sympathies for 'Alī and his descendants that must not be confused with Sī'ī tendancies.

119 Such a reading obviously would ignore or attach little importance to the precedence accorded Qurayš by the traditional šar'ī doctrine of *kafā'a*. Given the context of the poem, however, and the pretensions of the Taġlibī Ḥamdānids (whose aspirations were not irrelevant to the verses as "presented" by the Ẋālidīs) and other non-Qurašī tribal chiefdoms, I do not think that that technicality needs to be taken into consideration.

120 Perhaps of some interest in this regard is the short term of the Mosul-based Ḥamdānid, Nāṣiraddawla al-Ḥasan (brother of Sayfaddawla), as *amīr al-umarā'* (330-31/942-43; see B. Carra de Vaux in *EI*[1] IV: 73a; M. Canard in *EI*[2] III: 127b; Roy Mottahedeh in *CHI* IV: 84; but cf. Busse 1969: 161f, 167-73 passim, 174) - apparently the only Arab to hold the office. It is this title that was often taken during the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries by the Būyids and others under whose domination the 'Abbāsid caliphate had fallen (see K.V. Zetterstéen in *EI*[2] I: 446a).

Needless to say, either interpretation or both would have been quite satisfactory to the Xālidīs' Ḥamdānid patrons, if not enthusiastically promoted by them as well.

But where does that leave the key figure - the persona, the speaking "I"? As the poem represents her, she *was*, in the past (i.e., *before she speaks*), born, nurtured, sheltered, and acculturated with hardy Bedouin nomads in a harsh desert environment; but she *is*, in the present (i.e., *as she speaks*), married, encastled, richly provided for, yet confined and insistently discontented among wealthy, comfortable city-dwelling non-Arabs. Her *mésalliance* with a 'ilj (her *ba'l* 'lord and husband'[121] as she speaks) can be ruled a grievous wrong, to her and to her family, in terms of both tribal custom and Islamic law. Yet, even though there is no hint that her kin made any move to prevent this *mésalliance*, still a proper spouse from among her closest paternal kinsmen is what she most desires. Alienated from her native element, she is isolated among aliens: torn between both worlds, she is now at home in neither. Her condition is formally iconicized through the very syntax and prosody of every verse: in the *-ya* 'me' of *ilay-ya*, her speaking (and "loving") "self" is fixed *between* the free syntactical variety of her desert past and the rigid morpho-syntactic uniformity of her city present and stuck in the verses' second hemistichs with the urban features she abhors; yet in the suffix *-ī 'my, me'*,[122] her "self" manifests a residual (first-person) presence in the "far more beloved" experientially rich and various world of the first hemistichs. Such first-person affinities are totally absent from the impersonal, cramped two-word world squeezed into the last five syllables of every verse, despite the ironic assonance of the final *-ī* rhyme vowel. Ambivalent as it is, though, the figure of the speaking Bedouin woman mismarried to the "fat foreign brute" can in no way be construed to "mediate" or "reconcile" the two opposing worlds with which the poem associates it. Rather it seems to intensify and focus our attention on the tension and utter incompatibility that, within this poem, prevails between them: between the desert and the sown, between her past as a Bedouin virgin and her present as wife of a 'ilj, between the world she now must inhabit

121 On the term *ba'l* as appropriate in this context, see, e.g., Robertson Smith 1903: Index, s.v. *Ba'al* (with reservations); R. Brunschvig in *EI*^{2} I: 968. Apart from its more common usage (during the Islamic period) as an agricultural term (see ibid.: 968b-969b), it is regularly defined as both *zawj* 'spouse, husband' and *rabb* 'lord'; e.g., al-Jawharī *Aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ* IV: 1635b (s.r. *b-'-l*); Ibn al-Aṯīr *an-Nihāya* I: $141_{10f,16f}$.

122 I.e., $_{2a}$*'aynī* 'my eye', $_{3a}$*baytī* 'my tent', $_{7a}$*'ammī* 'my paternal uncle", and $_{5a}$*dūnī* 'this side of/athwart/other than *me*'.

and the world she would "love far more." How and what, then, can "she" be construed to signify in the more encompassing context of the Arab-'Ajam opposition, as it is articulated through the poem and its intertextual patterns?

The question may be posed as a kind of a homology between two structures or two sets of relationships. The first derives from the *meaning* of the discourse as straightforward literary representation or *mimesis*, the second from what is *signified* by what is said at the mimetic level and by how it is said (cf. Riffaterre 1978: 1-22 [especially 1-3, 4f, 12f] & passim).[123] The structure or set of relationships discernible through attending to and processing the mimetic "meaning" of the poem as persona-uttered, context-specific discourse **(1)** consists of three essential terms: the free-hearted, lean, and desert-hardened Bedouin kinsman, ***A*(1)**; the fat, wealthy and powerful, city-based 'ilj, ***B*(1)**; and the woman, the "I', analyzed in the preceding paragraph (and elsewhere), in relation to whom and by virtue of whose fictive sensibility and discourse the other two exist and are defined, ***C*(1)**. Through ways and means discussed above, these three structurally interrelated terms are so deployed and determined as to generate at the level of "significance" a second correlative set of terms **(2)**, relationally congruent with the first. It has been argued above that the first two terms (*xirq min*) *banī 'ammī* (***A*[1]**) and *'ilj* (*'alīf*) (***B*[1]**) can plausibly be construed to *signify* the more general notions, respectively, of all Muslim Arabs as an agnatically related kingroup, ***A*(2)**, and of the 'Ajam - especially those with wealth and power who could be implicated either as zindīqs or as non-Arab Muslims whose anti-Arab bias or secular domination over Arabs and other Muslims rendered their faith suspect, ***B*(2)**. But it is not nearly so evident what would be the signified correlate,

123 "Significance, to put it simply, is what the poem is really about: it arises through retroactive reading when the discovery is made that representation (or mimesis) actually points to a content that would demand a different representation in nonliterary language" (Riffaterre 1978: 167 n. 3; cf. p. 310, 313f, above). I should note that *homology*, in the sense intended here, involves a correlation between two complex systems, in each of which corresponding primary or specific elements have the same relative position, value, function, or form. In this sense, it is very like a complex ratio or analogy - e.g., 3:4:5::9:12:*x* or, perhaps more pertinently, 3:4:5::9:16:*y* - where the missing term or element constitutes part of the hermeneutical crux. At this stage, I do not intend here more than an oblique reference to the kind of "homologation" that forms the basis of A.-J. Greimas's "elementary structure of signification" - although that, too, can be usefully (if carefully) applied in analysis of classical and medieval Arabic literature (see Greimas, *Structural Semantics: An Attempt at a Method*, trans. by Daniele McDowell & al., intro. by Ronald Schleifer [Lincoln/London, University of Nebraska Press: 1983], Chapter II & Index, *s.v.* "Homologation").

C(2), to the Bedouin woman persona, *C*(1). The homological correlation, with its problematic hermeneutical gap indicated by "*X*," can be expressed thus,

$$A(1) : B(1) : C(1) :: A(2) : B(2) : X,$$

and schematized as follows:

	A	*B*	*C*
	Preferred	***Non-Preferred***	***"Preferrer"***
Mimetic:	Bedouin kinsman (*ibn 'amm*) + proper, preferred mate (*kuf'*) + desert + hardship & poverty	'Ilj non-kin + improper, but actual mate (*ba'l*) + city + comfort & wealth	Bedouin woman: *was* in A's context, *is* now wed improperly to B and in B's context, but longs for A
(1)			
Signified:	Orthodox Arab Muslims - Bedouin & urban (= Banū Ismā'īl) + *akfā'/banū 'amm* + "preferred" lord;	Zanādiqa or 'Ajam Muslims of suspect orthodoxy + not *akfā'/ banū 'amm* (i.e., *ġayru-hum*) + actual lords	***X***
(2)			

In all the longer or shorter versions of the poem that climax with line 7, the persona's social and marital status, her past and present situation, and her feelings in those regards are laid out very precisely on the mimetic level (*C*[1]) - either overtly through her surface discourse or inferentially through such syntactic, prosodic, iconic, and other aspects of discourse as have been considered above. Also precisely set forth is her relationship with her tribal agnate and her alien husband, *A*(1) and *B*(1), both in kinship and ethnic terms and in terms of preferred or actual marital affinity. Similarly, the correlation between the "meanings" of *A*(1) and *B*(1) and their Arab-'Ajam "significations," *A*(2) and *B*(2), has not been arbitrarily arrived at, but follows plausibly from the overdetermination of terms *A*(1) and *B*(1) at the mimetic level, reinforced by the intertextual patterns discerned and activated. Therefore, if the hermeneutic procedure I have adopted holds some measure of validity, it is reasonable to expect that *X*, the signified but unspecified correlate of *C*(1) and our hypothetical *C*(2), would fall within fairly well defined parameters. In our quest for the "significance" of the poem, the Bedouin woman persona cannot signify whatever we choose "her" to signify: "she" is *not* an inexhaustible source of interpretations. Yet, at the same time, one must take care not to look for a one-to-one equivalence or

congruence of each element on the mimetic level with its correlate on the level of "significance." The homological equivalence or congruence is that of structures or sets of relationships, as indicated above, not of individual elements; and *isomorphism*, though by no means a negligible factor in homological signification, is never complete.[124]

Recall once again that, from the early 'Abbāsid period on, the image and notion of the "Bedouin" were widely and popularly invoked to symbolize both a) Arab - and arabized - Muslim populations in general, sedentary and nomadic (as against a wealthier and more influential class of 'Ajam - and " 'ajamized" aristocratic Arabs - who wielded considerable

124 In this respect, the homological mode of signification or imagery that I consider to be operative in this poem is not unlike what traditional Arabic literary theorists called tamṯīl (or *ḍarb maṯal li-šay'*), as it is described and discussed by Wolfhart Heinrichs (1977: 6-8 & passim). It is clear that here, too, between the state of affairs mimetically expressed and that implicitly signified (what Heinrichs would call "analogue" and "topic" [8]), "the point of similarity (*tertium comparationis*) ... is a complicated net of aspects that can only be grasped intellectually and emotionally, but not perceived by our senses" (p. 6). The term was usually applied to more localized and circumscribed instances of figurative usage within a poem (seldom more than a verse or two), particularly where "the central element of the topic ... is retained in the resulting poetic image" (p. 8; on non-isomorphous correlation between analogue and topic, see ibid.). But there are many far lengthier instances of figurative or imagic discourse in classical and medieval Arabic literature, comparable perhaps to extended *tamāṯīl*, that seem to invite homological analysis like that undertaken here. Consider, for example, such multiverse "structural" metaphors as 'Antara's unfrequented garden image for the experience of kissing 'Abla's mouth or Labīd's onager and ibex images for the hardy endurance and the defiant courage of his mount, as ridden by the "compleat" Bedouin tribesman; or elaborate Qur'ānic *amṯāl* 'similitudes' like the sublime "Light Verses." In such cases, the correlation between "topic" and "analogue," regardless of some superficial "shared" elements, is far more emotional and intellectual - not to say cerebral - than sensory; and the topic, though often mentioned in introducing the metaphor, is omitted almost entirely from the complex analogue and often overlooked in interpretation. Moreover, certain kinds of fictive (not *necessarily* fictional) narratives or dramatic structures also lend themselves to this exegetical approach (which should be clearly distinguished from allegorical interpretation): specifically, those which purported to entail a lesson (*'ibra*) or lead to a resolution (*ta'wīl*) - such as Sūrat Yūsuf (Qur'ān xii) and the tales in Sūrat al-Kahf (xviii) - or which were meant to convey an oblique, hidden, or "inner" (*bāṭin*) significance - such as *Kalīla wa Dimna* (especially the first book), many of the fables recounted in the Epistles of the Ikwān as-Safā', and this poem. In these cases, the entire discourse constitutes a metaphorical analogue: the topic, never expressly mentioned, may be hinted at by narratorial asides (as frequently happens in the Qur'ān), signaled by striking circumstantial (often prosopopoeic) features of the analogue story line (e.g., a jungle and its denizens depicted as a royal court and the king, officers, and retainers), or brought into focus by strategically overdetermining key (often closural) elements at the mimetic level. Just as the *tamṯīl* metaphor "requires further investigation" (Heinrichs, 7 n. 10), so too does the whole question of extended structural metaphors and metaphorical discourse.

administrative and military power and whose Islam was not above suspicion); and b) a heroic and idealized Arab past comprising a rather sanitized Jāhilīya, the exalted career of the Prophet and formation of the Islamic *umma*, and the glorious early Conquests during the reigns of the four Rightly-Guided Caliphs.[125] Thus, as correlate to the Bedouin woman persona, might we not seek something that 1) would have had its origins in that Arab past; 2) would have developed among and accorded with the far-riding, empire-building Muslim Arabs; 3) would most properly have been linked to them, under their "lordship," but would have been taken over and co-opted by alien non-Arabs; and 4) could aptly and recognizably have been signified by a Bedouin woman persona?

I propose that the persona's figure and "her" wrenching predicament - "her" longing for an irrecoverable past and a lost world where "she" rightly belongs - can be reasonably construed to signify the Arab *xilāfa* 'caliphate' or *imāma* 'imāmate' and the sorry state to which it had been reduced by the end of the third/ninth century (cf. p. 334f, above). The rise and fall of the caliphate/imāmate,[126] both as Islamic civil and religious office and as imperial ruling institution, and its elaboration over more than three centuries are complex events that are not at issue here. Anti-establishment partisan polemic and public opinion, though, had combined to represent the course of those events as an only rarely interrupted downhill process of degeneration and foreign contamination, from the pristine reigns of the Rightly Guided caliphs at Medina down to the puppet caliphate controlled by, first, its own Turkish guards and, then, Daylamī overlords and by its Perso-Mesopotamian viziers. In the popular view, the process had begun with Mu'āwiya's high-handed transfer of the

125 Even though the origins and institutional foundations of the Islamic community were predominantly urban and the vast majority of actual Bedouins in the first half-century or so after the Hijra tended to be viewed by the authorities with skepticism, discriminated against, and exploited (see, e.g., Muranyi 1973: 122-24; Athamina 1987: 7f), this idealization prevailed. Apart from the many reports representing Muḥammad himself and other first-generation Muslim heroes and heroines as clad in the simple dress of Bedouins and acting and advocating the stalwart, tenacious, and unselfish virtues of the desert, see the remark ascribed to 'Ā'iša in n. 86, above.

126 See, i.a., W. Madelung in *EI*^{2} III: 1163b-1169b (art. "Imāma"); D. Sourdel & A.K.S. Lambton in *EI*^{2} IV: 937a-950a (art. "Khalīfa. i-ii"). Although the two terms *xilāfa/xalīfa* and *imāma/imām* were "broadly interchangeable" (Lambton, 948a), the latter tended more to be used in discussions of the religious and/or theoretical aspects of the office, most often by various disaffected parties - including later Sunnī jurists and theoreticians unhappy with the ineffectualness of the actual caliphs - who thought themselves rightfully entitled to designate its holder or wrongfully denied access to him.

ruling institution to the ancient 'ajamī city of Damascus and it had been exacerbated by the 'Abbāsid move to Baġdād and their eager promotion and patronage of persons, things, and ideas foreign to everything the Ḥijāzī *xulafā' Rasūl Allāh* 'Successors of God's Messenger' had stood for.[127] But if Mu'āwiya was to be blamed for having initiated the transformation of the imāmate into "a monarchy after the fashion of Chosroes" and the caliphate into "a tyranny worthy of a Caesar,"[128] the 'Abbāsids were to be censured for condoning the dismemberment of the empire and collaborating in the further debasement of the office - de-arabizing and " 'ajamizing" it beyond all recognition and allowing themselves, *xulafā' Allāh* 'Deputies of God', to be installed, deposed, subjugated, blinded, and even murdered by their own foreign amīrs and bureaucrats. And after 334/946, with Mu'izzad-dawla Aḥmad's brutal entry into Baġdād, the ironic scandal of the caliphs' predicament became only too blatantly obvious. "Preposterously, the son of an obscure Daylamī pauper, of a humble family only recently converted to Islam,[129] became the overlord of the 'Abbāsid caliph - scion of the Family of the Prophet, the 'Shadow of God on Earth'" (Kraemer 1986: 35). As noted earlier, Arab and pro-Arab opponents of the impotent 'Abbāsids and their too potent 'ajamī "lords" were not shy about voicing anger and alarm at this alienation of Arabs from imperial rule and "alienization" of imperial rule over the Arabs (see p. 330, above).

It is clear, then, that the pitiful situation of the Arab caliphate/imāmate in the fourth/tenth century, and even earlier, could without great difficulty have been seen to correspond to the mimetically portrayed plight of the Bedouin woman in the palace of the 'ilj and under his "lordship"

127 It is not essential to the validity of this interpretation that this "popular view" correspond to "actual" historical processes, just that it be a fairly widespread popular view.

128 *Mulk kisrawīy ... ġasb qaysarīy*: al-Jāḥiẓ *an-Nābita* 11_{3-5} (trans. Pellat 1969: 84); cf. Goldziher 1889-90: II, 31/40f; A. Ayalon in *EI*^{2} VI: 261a; G.R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam. The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661-750* (Carbondale/Edwardsville [Illinois], Southern Illinois University Press: 1987), 12f; M. Hinds in *EI*^{2} VII: 268a (with further references). G.R. Hawting indicates that "the Umayyads do not appear to have used the title *malik* (king) and they did not, at least in the earlier Umayyad period, affect in a very marked way the paraphernalia of kingship such as a crown, throne or sceptre" (p. 13). Further, Tilman Nagel argues that *malik* most likely became a term of pious opprobrium in later anti-Umayyad polemic (1981: 118) and that *mulk/malik* had been a concept familiar to the pre-Islamic Arabs (if not always welcome to the Bedouins among them) and one probably not unacceptable to the Arab-Muslim community of Mu'āwiya's time (1982: 192f).

129 I.e., a *'ilj* par excellence, who, incidentally, never effectively learned Arabic and required an interpreter (Kraemer 1986: 35, 54). See gloss to line 7 and nn. 11 & 65, above.

(see p. 325-28, above). More to the point, as Stefan Sperl has indicated, already in Arabic panegyric poetry of the early third/ninth century, "*al-khilāfa* or *al-imāma* appear as females linked to the Caliph to stay with him faithfully," and this image of "the union between King and Kingship" persisted at least until the fifth/eleventh century (1977: 30).[130] Thus, to personify the office of the caliph or the abstract notion of the caliphate as a beloved, bride, or wife lay well within the parameters of established poetic praxis during the early 'Abbāsid centuries. And so to construe the significance of the Bedouin woman person in these verses themselves, as "presented" by the Xālidīs and al-Ḥarīrī, seems not unjustified.

But in the "Maysūn" poem the proper, conventional union has been thwarted: in place of the "sacred marriage" between a noble Quraši descendant of 'Abbās and his noble high office we have an unrighteous "mating" and, implicitly, subordination of that office - or more precisely, of the power, prestige, and authority of that office - to an unworthy, unacceptable, and altogether unsavory foreign "ba'l." This is not to say that anyone - 'Ajam or non-Quraši Arab - was seriously trying to advance or buttress a claim to the Baġdād caliphate itself: by the end of the third/ninth century control (dominance, "lordship") over the 'Abbāsid holders of the office, and hence over what the office could bind and loose, was what really counted. So if the 'Abbāsid caliphs and their caliphate were to be "lorded over" (or as it was euphemistically put, "protected") by others, it was only proper and far more preferable, as the activated ḥadīṯs stipulated, that those *arbāb* 'lords' be of the same stock as that from which the institution had been born: their own *banū 'amm*, their own Arab cousins - be they 'Alid claimants (who in person were no longer really in contention east of Syria) or Arab amīrs and kings like Sayfaddawla, his kin, and his ilk. In terms rooted in Arab and Islamic ideas of propriety and right conduct, this poem eloquently affirms that preference.

Now, if I am correct, the crucial seventh verse first showed up (or at least first became established as part of this poem) in a "presentation" of fourth/tenth-century scholar-litterateurs (viz., as **X5**), quite likely at the court of Sayfaddawla. Evidence also suggests that in the same "presenta-

130 Cf. Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic Poetry. A Structural Analysis of Selected Texts ...* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 1989), 18: "Even a pagan rite like the *hieros gamos*, the sacred marriage of the monarch, finds a distant echo in the Arabic [panegyrical] poem. The relation of the sovereign to his office, *al-khilāfa* or *al-wizāra*, is frequently described as a male-female relationship. Some poems portray the two as linked to one another by marriage." Sperl cites instances of this image in poems by Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī, and Mihyār ad-Daylamī.

tion" the poem was probably first attributed to Maysūn, the wife of Mu'āwiya, as an expression of longing for her desert homeland. But for any supposed contemporary of Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān - even a homesick and disaffected Bedouin wife - to call him, the founder of the "Arab Kingdom," a *'ilj* must have struck many as infelicitous, if not downright absurd.[131] Apparently troubled by the incongruity, some later commentators did their best either to obscure the derogatory ethnic sense of the term by glossing it as 'stout', 'rough', and/or 'bewhiskered'[132] or to eliminate the problem altogether by transmitting a variant to the offending word.[133] None of those who "presented" versions of the poem, however, chose to deal with the term in its clearest, most common, and contextually most apposite meaning (cf. gloss to line 7 and n. 11, above). But inasmuch as, by the time of the Xālidī brothers, the spurious attribution to Mu'āwiya's Bedouin wife had become as much a fictive part of the whole "presentation" as the poem itself with its lately emergent climactic verse, the seeming inapplicabilty of *'ilj* 'foreign brute' to Mu'āwiya at the mimetic level can be more aptly accounted for at the level of significance. Mu'āwiya, who had indisputably alienated the caliphate from the true literal "banū 'amm" (i.e., the sons of Abū Ṭālib and of al-'Abbās), was also deemed reponsible for initiating its "alienization" into a 'ajamī (even 'iljī?) institution that came subsequently to be alienated from the Arabs them-

131 The Xālidīs' account, which presents Maysūn as *zuffat* 'conducted' to Mu'āwiya (cf. $_{6b}$*baġl zafūf*), also presents Mu'āwiya as decidedly nonplussed on hearing the verses: *fa lammā sami'a M. hāḏihi l-abyāta qāla: mā raḍiyat wa -lLāhi -bnatu Baḥdalin ḥattā ja'alat-nī 'iljan 'alīfan* 'Then, when M. heard these verse, he said: "By God!, Baḥdal's daughter wasn't satisfied until she made a 'fat foreign brute' out of me!" ' Cf. also n. 67, above.

132 See al-'Aynī on 'A5v, Muḥibbaddīn al-Ḥamawī on M5v, and 'Abdalqādir al-Baġdādī on Q7, all citing al-A'lam aš-Šantamarī (almost certainly the last two were citing by way of al-'Aynī; see too n. 14, above): *ta'nī bi ["iljin"] Mu'āwiyata li qūwati-hi wa šiddati-hi ma'a simani-hi wa na'mati-hi* 'By *'ilj* she means M. because of his strength and vehemence, despite his obesity and easy living'. Both al-'Aynī and al-Baġdādī further corroborate this sense by citing Ibn Durayd; and both also cite Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 215/830; see Sezgin *GAL* VIII: 76-80, IX: 67f) for *'ilj* in the sense of 'bewhiskered, bearded', contrasting it with *amrad* 'beardless' (al-'Aynī *Šarḥ* IV: $398_{2\text{-}13}$; al-Baġdādī *Xizāna* [1] III: $593_{23\text{-}27}$ / [2] VIII: $505_{10\text{-}15}$; note, too, that *amrad* inexplicably shows up in the aberrant recension of al-Baṭalyawsī in J4). As-Suyūṭī provides essentially the same glosses to S5, but without citing any other sources (*Šarḥ* II: $654_{11\text{-}13}$). All of them avoid entirely any suggestion that *'ilj* might have another less complimentary, more problematical acceptation.

133 So 'A5 and M5, with *jilfīn* 'boorish, crude' (obviously an "intrusive gloss"; see Appendix, n. *t*), and most conspicuously J4, with *šayxin* in a radically reworked line (see Appendix, nn. *s* & *t* and n. 48, above).

selves - the "Banū 'Amm" in the most all-embracing sense of the term. When, therefore, the compilers of *al-Ašbāh wa n-naẓā'ir* presented words and deeds from the pre- and early Islamic Arab past and made references to it, they did so to affirm the precedential and normative value of that past and its relevance to a present that overrated "modernity" and mistook for original what was in fact borrowed and derivative (see p. 327, above). What they expected of readers in the disintegrating and foreign-dominated 'Abbāsid realm was just to be aware of the relevance and applicability of what had already been said and done by Arabs long before to what was being said and done in their own time.

So regardless of whether line 7 (the Xālidīs' **X5**) had been fabricated or found when it was "presented" in *al-Ašbāh wa n-naẓā'ir* and regardless, too, of the spuriousness of the attribution to Maysūn, the poem-*cum*-attribution forms a well wrought verbal and cultural artifact that documents some aspects of a complex, precarious, and conflict-ridden period as sensitively as any chronicle. But as such, too, its point and currency might well have faded as the short-lived Arab dynasties died out and disappeared during the fifth/eleventh century and practically all of the central Islamic lands fell under non-Arab domination. Was it with some memory of the Xālidīs' apparent intent and a fine sense of irony that al-Ḥarīrī "presented" an even fuller version of the poem and attributed it to Maysūn in a work dedicated to illustrating how far mastery of the language of the Arabs had declined even among the educated and ruling elite (see Fück 1955: Chapter 13, esp. 179, 183)? If so, he seems to have been the last who was conscious of the polemic potential and the cultural and political significance of the verses. All later "presenters" appear to have taken the attribution at face value and "presented" the poem merely as supplementary material to a grammatical *šāhid* or as a sample of *ḥanīn*-verse, sometimes with an additional verse or two to make sure that no one would mistake it for anything else.

APPENDIX:
Text-critical Notes and Variants

1) *la*[a] *baytun taxfiqu l-arwāḥu*[b] *fī-hī*
aḥabbu ilay-ya min qaṣrin munīfi[c]
2) *wa*[d] *lubsu 'abā'atin wa taqa/irra 'aynī*
aḥabbu ilay-ya min lubsi š-šufūfi[e]
3) *wa aklu kusayratin fī kisri baytī*
aḥabbu ilay-ya min akli r-raġīfi[f]
4) *wa aṣwātu r-riyāḥi bi-kulli fajjin*
aḥabbu ilay-ya min naqri d-dufūfi[g]
5) *wa*[h] *kalbun yanbaḥu ṭ-ṭurrāqa*[i] *dūnī*[j]
aḥabbu ilay-ya min qittin[k] *alūfi*[l,m]
6) *wa bakrun yatba'u*[n] *l-aẓ'āna*[o] *ṣa'bun*[p]
aḥabbu ilay-ya min baġlin zafūfi[q,r]
7) *wa xirqun min banī 'ammī naḥīfun*[s]
aḥabbu ilay-ya min 'iljin[t] *'alīfi*[u,v]
[8) *xušūnatu 'cīšatī fī l-badwi ašhā*
ilā nafsī mina l-'ayši ẓ-ẓarīfi[w,x]
9) *fa mā abġī siwā waṭanī badīlan*
fa ḥasbī ḏāka min waṭanin[y] *šarīfi*[z]]

Bolded letters refer to versions of the verses to be found in these specific passages (the sources of which are given in full in the Bibliography). The versions are arranged in chronological order.:

T = Ibn Abī Ṭāhir (d. 280/893), p. 160f (3 ll.: 161_{2-4})
X = al-Xālidiyān (d. c. 380/990 & 390-400/1000-10) II, p. 137 (5 ll.: 137_{7-11})
W = at-Tawḥīdī (d. between 400/1009 and 414/1023) II/i, p. 18f
H = al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122), p. 41f (7 ll.: 41_{16}-42_{3})
J = Ibn as-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī (d. 521/1127), pp. 261-63 (4 ll.: 261_{8f}, 262_{13}-263_{2})
Š = Ibn aš-Šajarī (d. 542/1147) II, p. 573f (6 ll.: § 492)
K = Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571/1176), p. 400f (**K**$_1$, 3 ll.: 400_{3-5}; **K**$_2$, 5 ll. [?]: 400_{10-14}; **K**$_3$, 3 ll.: 401_{6-8}; see n. 49, above)
B = al-Baṣrī (d. 659/1260) (1) II, p. 72f (5 ll.: *Bāb al-adab* § 186); (2) p. 421 (5 ll.: § 806)
F = Abu l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331) I, p. 192f (5 ll.: 192_{29f}, 193_{1-3} [in: "Ḏikr wafāt Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya"])
D = ad-Damīrī (d. 808/1405) II, p. 212f (7 ll.: 212_{16-22} [s.v., *al-qiṭṭ*])
A = al-'Aynī (d. 855/1451) IV, p. 397f (7 ll.: 398_{7-19})
S = as-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) II, p. 653f (9 ll.: 653_{8-12}, $654_{16f,19f}$ [under § 411])
M = Muḥibbaddīn al-Ḥamawī (d. 1017/1618), p. 191 (6 ll.: 191_{15-20}) (cf. also n. 51 to this study)
Q = 'Abdalqādir al-Baġdādī (d. 1093/1682) (1) III, pp. 592-94 (§ 658; 9 ll.: 592_{-1}-593_{8}); (2) VIII, pp. 503-506 (§ 658; 9 ll.: 503_{17}-504_{8})
Z = Ziyā Pasha (c. 1874?), in Redhouse 1886: 276

The letter "v" after a verse number indicates a variant either reported by the author or adduced in the editor's critical apparatus.

a) *wa:* T3,W2,$K_1$2,$K_3$2,F2,M2.

b) *(a)l-aryāḥu:* F2,Z1.

c) *Ṭ*: 3 / W,J,K_1,K_3,F,M: 2 / X,Ḥ,Š,K_2,B,D,'A,S,Q,Z: 1.

d) *la:* Ṭ1,W1,J1,$K_1$1,$K_3$1,F1,M1. Practically all of the grammarians, beginning with Sībawayh (Derenbourg I, 379f / Būlāq I 426), who cite this verse as a *šāhid* to exemplify the use of the subjunctive with *wa* (*wāw al-ma'īya*), introduce it with the intensifying confirmatory particle *la*, rather than *wa* (e.g., al-Mubarrad II, 27; az-Zajjājī 199; Ibn Jinnī 270; Ibn Fāris 112; Ibn Hišām 247; etc.). Maḥmūd al-'Aynī (d. 855/1451), citing Ibn Hišām al-Laxmī (d. c. 557/1162; *not* the Ibn Hišām [al-Anṣārī] referred to here), and 'Abdalqādir al-Baġdādī (d. 1093/1682) explicitly maintained that, despite the grammarians' predilection for *la lubsu*, the version with *wa* is (more) authentic: *aṣaḥḥ*, *ar-riwāya aṣ-ṣaḥīḥa* ('A, p. $398_{14\text{-}22}$; Q, p. 504/592). They base their opinion primarily on the assumption that this verse is conjoined (*ma'ṭūf*) to the preceding one, which *does*, they hold, begin with *la*. This strongly suggests that, by the middle of the sixth/twelfth century at the latest, the order given here of at least the first few verses had become standard among some authorities, as opposed to an earlier order represented by the three verses in Ṭ and W and by J1-2.

e) X,K_2,B,'A,S,Q: 4 / Ḥ,D,Z: 2 / Ṭ,W,J,K_1,K_3,F,M: 1 / Š: 5.

f) Ḥ,D,Z: 3 / S: 7 (added from D) / Q: 5 / Ṭ,X,W,J,Š,K_1,K_2,K_3,B,F,'A,M: omit.

g) Ḥ,D,Z: 4 / X,Š,B: 2 / S (added from D), Q: 6 / Ṭ,W,J,K_1,K_2,K_3,F, 'A,M: omit.

h) *la*: J3.

i) *(a) l-adyāfa:* Ḥ5v (p. 41 n. a), J3,F4.

j) *'annī:* Š4,$K_1$3,$K_2$2,'A3,S2,M4,Q3 / *wahnan*: J3.

k) *hirrin:* X3,$K_1$3,B3,F4.

l) *alīfī:* J3 (but see also n. 46 to this study), $B_2$3 ($B_1$3 prints *alūfī*; see B_2 n. 3).

m) Ḥ,D,Z: 5 / J,K_1, 'A,Q: 3 / Š,F,M: 4 / K_2,S: 2 / Ṭ,X,W: omit. X3 and B3 conflate ll. 5 and 6 as follows: X3 = 6a + 5b (with *hirrin*) and B3 = *wa kalbun yatba'u l-az'āna ṣa'bun * aḥabbu ilay-ya min hirrin alī/ūfī.*

n) *tušbi'u* [*sic*]: 'A2,M3.

o) *(a)l-aṭlāla:* Z.

p) *ṣb* (‹ *ṣabbun?*): Ṭ2 (probably a misprint for *ṣ'b*) / *saqyan*: 'A2,M3 / *saqban*: Q2 (with *ṣa'bun* as var.)

q) *radūfī*: Z (misprint?).

r) Ḥ,D,Z: 6 / Ṭ,'A,Q: 2 / Š,K_2,S,M: 3 / W,J,F: omit. For X and B see n. *m*.

s) *najībun:* Š6,$K_2$5,B5, 'A5 / *karīmun:* $K_3$3 / *faqīrun:* F5 / *la amradu min šabābi banī Kilābin:* J4 (see n. 46 to this study).

t) *jilfin:* 'A5,M5 (both with *'iljin* as var.) / *šayxin:* J4.

u) *'anīfī:* W3,H7v,J4,Š6,F5,Z7 / *'anūfī:* D7 / *ġalīfī*: 'A5.

v) Ḥ,D,Q,Z: 7 / X,K_2,B,F,'A,S,M: 5 / J: 4 / W,K_3: 3 / Ṭ: omits.

w) *(a) ṭ-ṭarīfī*: 'A6,Q8.

x) 'A: 6 / S(added by "someone" [*ba'ḍu-hum*]), Q: 8 / Ṭ,X,W,Ḥ,J,K_1,K_2,K_3,B,F, D,M,Z: omit.

y) *waṭarin:* S9.

z) S(added by "someone" [*ba'ḍu-hum*]), Q: 9 / 'A: 7 / M: 6 / Ṭ,X,W,Ḥ,J,Š,K_1,K_2,K_3,B, F,D,Z: omit.

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